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**Swansea University**  
**Prifysgol Abertawe**

**Servants of the Republic:  
Patrician Lawyers in *Quattrocento* Venice**

**Scott Lee Jones**

**Submitted to the University of Wales in fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**2010**

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## Thesis Summary

Candidate's Surname / Family Name: Jones

Candidate's Forenames: Scott Lee

Candidate for the Degree of: PhD

Full title of thesis: Servants of the Republic: Patrician Lawyers in *Quattrocento* Venice

### Summary:

Lawyers have widely been recognized as playing a role in the transition from the medieval to the modern state. Their presence in Renaissance Venetian politics, however, remains largely unexplored. Relying primarily on a prosopographical analysis, the thesis explores the various roles played by lawyers, dividing those roles into three main categories: diplomats, territorial governors, and domestic legislators. What emerges is a clear pattern of significant involvement by legally trained patricians in the Venetian political system. Noble lawyers were most often ambassadors, serving in many of the principal courts inside and outside of Italy as Venice was extending her influence on the Italian peninsula. They also served as administrators of Venetian rule throughout the Venetian *terraferma* (mainland) state. Lastly, their domestic political officeholding further confirms their continuing participation, as they held many of the most important domestic offices throughout the *Quattrocento*. The thesis ends with short biographies of each of the nearly three-dozen lawyers who make up this study, as well as chronologies of the offices they held. These chronologies include archival references for each office.

## **Declarations/Statements**

### **DECLARATION**

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed:

Date: 16/5/2011

### **STATEMENT 1**

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

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## List of Abbreviations

### Archival Series, Venice

AC-BO—Avogadori di Comun, *Balla d'Oro*  
AN—Archivio Notarile  
CLN—Collegio, Notatorio  
CXM—Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti  
MC—Maggior Consiglio  
SGV—Segretario alle Voci  
SMS—Senato, Deliberazioni Misti  
SM—Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar  
SS—Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti  
ST—Senato Deliberazioni, Terra

### Frequently Cited Works

*Acta Graduum I*—Zonta, Gaspare and Brotto, Giovanni. 1970. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*. 3 vols. Padua: Editrice Antenore.  
*Acta Graduum II*—Ghezzi, Michele Pietro. 1990. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1451 ad annum 1460*. Padua: Editrice Antenore.  
*Acta Graduum III*—Pengo, Giovanna. 1972. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1461 ad annum 1470*. Padua: Editrice Antenore.  
*Acta Graduum IV*—Forin, Elda Martellozzo. 2001. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1471 ad annum 1500*. 4 vols. Padua: Editrice Antenore.  
*DBI*—*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. 1960—. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.  
*I Diarii*—Sanuto, Marino. 1879-1903. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496-1533*. 58 vols. Edited by Rinaldo Fulin et al. Venice: Visentini. [Note: references to *I Diarii* include the volume number using Roman numerals, and the column number using Arabic numerals.]  
*Itinerario*—Sanuto, Marino. 1847. *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII*. Edited by Rawdon Brown. Padua: Tipografia del Seminario  
*Lettere*—De Medici, Lorenzo. 1977. *Lettere*. Riccardo Fubini, ed. Firenze: Giunti-Barbera. Vol. II of *Lettere*, Nicolai Rubinstein gen. ed. 12 vols. 1977—. *Libri Commemoriali*—Predelli, R., et al. 1876-1914. *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*. Monumenti storici publicati dalla R. deputazione veneta di storia patria. 1st ser., Documenti. 8 vols. Venice: Tipografia Visentini.

**Note:** Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscript sources are from the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV)

## Chapter One—Introduction

In 1973, noted Renaissance historian William Bouwsma wrote an article in which he “call[ed] attention to some of the larger possibilities” available to those historians who studied the relationship between work and culture. In particular, he examined the role of lawyers in the development of early modern Europe, arguing that such a study would prove fruitful in helping to make clearer the transformation of the medieval way of life to the modern.<sup>1</sup> Bouwsma concluded that it was the “peculiar task” of lawyers to “develop[] the institutions and conventions of early modern Europe.”<sup>2</sup>

In carrying out this task, lawyers performed a variety of functions on behalf of the emerging state. At various times they were called on to draft legislation and treaties, serve as ambassadors, staff state agencies, and administer state policies. Bouwsma argued that as both society and the state grew more complex at the end of the Middle Ages, the role of the lawyer was critical as the bridge between these increasingly complex bureaucracies and average citizens, helping to articulate the legality of the newly emerging state and to interpret the rapidly changing social situation to their fellow citizens.<sup>3</sup>

Why were lawyers so crucial to the transition to the modern era? Bouwsma posited that the lawyers’ outlook and training were the decisive factors in giving them the influence they wielded, influence beyond their numbers or social position would have otherwise indicated. The lawyer viewed the world with a somewhat jaundiced eye, for “his mind and character were shaped to a unique degree by contact with [the world’s] changing pressures and brutal realities, its dangers and uncertainties. . . .” Lawyers were trained to resolve conflicts, to find worldly, practical solutions to problems brought to them by their clients, whether private citizens or governments.<sup>4</sup>

The net result was that lawyers helped to advance the claims of the rising modern state over the competing claims of the feudal hierarchy or the church. They “were concerned

---

<sup>1</sup> Bouwsma, William J. 1973. “Lawyers and Early Modern Culture.” *The American Historical Review* 78:303-27.

<sup>2</sup> Bouwsma, 1973, 311. Bouwsma defined “lawyers” as “all those who supplied legal or quasi-legal services”—thus lawyers, judges, and notaries are all included in the definition. Bouwsma, 1973, 305. At times, however, Bouwsma’s argument gets a bit muddled, as he spends time discussing the influence of individuals “connected” to the law—sons of lawyers (e.g. Machiavelli), those who were lawyers but did not practise as such (e.g. Calvin), and those who had some schooling in the law but never completed their studies (e.g. Luther).

<sup>3</sup> For Bouwsma’s list of lawyers’ different tasks, see Bouwsma, 1973, 310. For his description of the lawyer as an intermediary between the state and the individual, see Bouwsma, 1973, 309 and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> For the lawyer’s outlook, see Bouwsma, 1973, 314. For the connection between the lawyer’s training and influence, see Bouwsma, 1973, 318 and *passim*; cf. Gilmore, Myron P. 1963. *Humanists and Jurists: Six Studies in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, ch. 3.



to enforce and extend the rights of central authority or to shape institutions that could do so more effectively, usually in an abrasive struggle with a hostile adversary.”<sup>5</sup> Ultimately, Bouwsma concluded, lawyers were “conservative[s] with a difference.” Lawyers were conservative in that their work helped to support the powers-that-be, increasingly centralized powers of what would eventually become the secular modern state. But they were radicals in that the institutions whose interests they advanced were markedly different from the religious-political institutions of the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

Bouwsma essentially argues that lawyers helped modernize government by making it more “secular” (that is, government transitioned from religion-based feudal hierarchies in the medieval period to secular reason-based systems in the modern period). Yet his underlying thesis, that government was becoming “modern” in the late Renaissance, is not necessarily true with respect to Italy in general, or Venice in particular. A large body of research into the nature of governance in Italy in the early modern period suggests that Italy’s experience was different from the traditional narrative about the rise of the modern state. In particular, these researchers emphasize the tensions that existed between the “center” (a government attempting to exert its authority over a somewhat extensive geographic area) and the “periphery” (those cities, regions, or territories the center is attempting to dominate).<sup>7</sup> This complex relationship between the center and periphery created a complicated arrangement of administrative bodies that sought to provide governance over an increasingly larger territory. The questions this thesis seeks to answer are: did Venice make use of lawyers in the development of this center/periphery relationship? If it did so, how did it do so? What functions did lawyers serve in Venice’s government? This thesis examines the period from 1400 to 1509, the years when Venice began its large-scale expansion on the Italian mainland, and thus the period when the center-periphery relationship was being born. In doing so, the various tasks performed by lawyers will be examined, in order to shed light on the heretofore unexplored roles they played in Venice’s government during this period.

The first step is to offer the reader a comparative look at how other late medieval/early modern systems made use of lawyers. Chapter One briefly examines the activities of

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<sup>5</sup> Bouwsma, 1973, 311-14.

<sup>6</sup> For the judgment that lawyers were “conservative with a difference”, see Bouwsma, 1973, 324. For an examination of the often open conflict between Italian lawyers and the Church, over their rival understandings of authority, see Gilmore, 1963, 73ff.

<sup>7</sup> For a useful survey of the historiography of the concept of “center and periphery” applied to Italy, see Guarini, Elena Fasano. 1995. “Center and Periphery”. *The Journal of Modern History*. 67:S74-96. The principal volume with respect to Venice is Zamperetti, Sergio. 1991. *I piccoli principi*. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton Treviso. Cf. the works of John E. Law listed in the bibliography as well as Viggiano, Alfredo. 1993. *Governanti e governati*. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton.

lawyers in Renaissance Florence, the early modern papal court, and then late medieval England.

Following this, in Chapter Two, the reader is introduced to Venice's patrician lawyers. The number of lawyers in the fifteenth century was small—less than three dozen—making it easier to isolate them from their fellow patricians and discover if there were any shared characteristics between them. This chapter examines the group of Venetian lawyers according to such characteristics as their family social status, wealth, education, and others.

Chapter Three provides a look at the proto-typical career of a Venetian lawyer in the *cursus honorum* (the sequencing of offices leading to increased responsibility after a time of “apprenticeship” in lower offices). The data reveal that Venice's lawyers had careers that looked different from their fellow patricians in potentially important ways.

Chapters Four through Seven examine patrician lawyers' participation in the Venetian system in various roles. Chapter Four focuses on diplomatic postings, which was the most common function served by lawyers. Following this, in Chapter Five, the reader is introduced to some of the ways lawyers served the state in the capacity of territorial governor. Chapter Six surveys the different domestic political offices in Venice, showing how lawyers participated in Venice's various legislative committees. Lastly, in Chapter Seven I explore other minor roles played by patrician lawyers in the Venetian system. These range from service as military leaders, to being involved in the ceremonial life of Venice, and occasionally even as individuals accused of crimes against the state.

Chapter Eight closes out the main body of the thesis with a summary of the data presented, some initial conclusions that can be drawn from this data, and suggestions for future research. Following this the reader will find three appendices. The first provides short biographies of each of the lawyers that comprise this study, including archival references to the various major political offices held by these lawyers. Appendix II is a chronology of lawyers' activities, broken down according to the categories explored in chapters four through seven. Lastly, Appendix III consists of a list of the degrees held by each lawyer, and where information about those degrees can be located.

One final note: the bibliographic essay which precedes the actual bibliography contains a brief examination of some of the principal sources available in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia for researching individual patricians in the Renaissance period.

## Chapter 1—Renaissance Lawyers: A Comparative Look

### Renaissance Lawyers in Florence

A defining work on lawyers in Renaissance Italian politics was written by Lauro Martines and concerned, specifically, the lawyers of Florence.<sup>8</sup> Martines' work shows, in painstaking detail, the many ways in which lawyers were at the center of Florence's development as a state in the fifteenth century. Here I present only a simple overview of the many contributions made by Florence's lawyers as described by Martines.

Throughout the time period that Martines studied (from 1380 to 1530), approximately two hundred lawyers left a trace in the records of the Florentine state. Of these two hundred, about half held some office in the Florentine state, and three-quarters of those became politically prominent. Approximately fifty lawyers in total had political careers of the highest prominence. All this took place in a city ostensibly ruled by a citizen class averaging between 2,000 and 2,500 citizens, although Martines argues that the reality was that an inner oligarchy comprised of anywhere from four hundred to seven hundred citizens was actually in control of the Florentine state during this time period.<sup>9</sup>

In order to practise law in Florence, one had to be a member of the guild of lawyers and notaries. In order to be admitted into the guild as a lawyer, five criteria had to be met, one of which was that the applicant had to have spent a minimum of five years studying the law at an Italian university. Most Florentine lawyers had attended the universities of Bologna or Pisa and had achieved the doctorate. In general, they came from one of three social backgrounds: old families (those entering the Signory<sup>10</sup> prior to 1350), new families (those who sat on the Signory following 1350), and "outsiders" (émigrés to Florence from either inside or even outside Florentine territory.) The largest number of lawyers, and especially the ones who had prominent political careers, came from among the old families.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Martines, Lauro. 1968. *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Martines, 1968, 5.

<sup>10</sup> The Signory was made up of eight Priors and the Gonfalonier of Justice. This group of nine were the chief government council in Florence. It held executive power as well as the power to initiate legislation and also engage in diplomacy with foreign powers. See Martines, 1968, 124ff.

<sup>11</sup> For the requirement of guild membership, see Martines, 1968, 12. The five conditions for entry into the guild in the fourteenth century were: 1.) production of proof of birth and residency in Florence; 2.) an entry fee of sixteen gold florins; 3.) proof of attendance in a program of legal study at a university for five or more years; 4.) passing an entry exam administered by the guild; and 5) production of sponsors willing to attest to the applicant's good moral character. See Martines, 1968, 31. For the discussion of what universities Florentine lawyers attended, see Martines, 1968, 81. The discussion of the three social orders that Florentine lawyers came from is at Martines, 1968, 62ff.

Martines finds lawyers engaged in all aspects of Florentine government. However, I will focus here on only the following three: first, Florence's internal government (its domestic political structure and practices); second, its territorial government (questions dealing with the administration of subject cities/territories); and third, its foreign affairs (diplomatic missions, treaties, etc.)

In the realm of Florence's internal affairs, Martines discerned five different functions that lawyers were called upon to perform. First, whenever the judiciary underwent reform, lawyers were called in to supervise the task. Second, lawyers also supervised the processes when the city's statutes were in need of wholesale review, reform, or reorganization. Third, lawyers were frequently asked to settle jurisdictional disputes between different executive committees or between the executive and judicial bodies. Fourth, they provided legal opinions on the legality/impact of proposed legislation. Lastly, they advised the Florentine executive regarding the "nature and authority of particular magistracies."<sup>12</sup>

Lawyers also played a crucial role in the administration of Florence's territorial government. In each of the major urban centers under Florentine control, territorial officials sent by Florence were usually accompanied by one or more attorneys. The recently arrived governor had to make sense of the potentially conflicting requirements of local custom, the Roman law, and Florentine statutory law. Thus lawyers were indispensable. However, because of the high costs associated with being absent from Florentine politics and legal practice for an extended period, lawyers usually took part only in the rule of major cities where they could enjoy income from a position as a judge on the staff of the territorial administration.<sup>13</sup>

Lawyers served other roles in administering Florence's subject cities. When a subject city sought to pass legislation, the new laws had to be in conformity with Florentine legislation, and lawyers on the paid staff of the territorial governors, or notaries in the Florentine chancery were used to help ensure the compatibility of the two bodies of law. In addition, whenever there was a dispute between two subject cities, the dispute would be heard by the Signory in Florence, which would then assign the case to an impromptu body of lawyers who would advise the government regarding a workable solution. Also, where there

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<sup>12</sup> These five tasks are described in detail, with numerous examples, in chapter 5 of Martines, 1968. The quoted material is found at Martines, 1968, 184.

<sup>13</sup> For the use of lawyers by territorial governors, see Martines, 1968, 220ff.

was domestic insurrection, lawyers were often used by the government to address any of the legal issues involved in resolving the rebellion.<sup>14</sup>

As in the other areas already considered, lawyers played a variety of critical roles in the conduct of Florentine foreign relations. In the first part of the fifteenth century, approximately one-fourth of all Florentine diplomatic missions included men who had had extensive legal experience. A closer examination of those records shows that lawyers were most often called on to staff the most important/prestigious of the embassies. For example, as the Florentines sought to counter Giangaleazzo Visconti's ambitions beginning in the late 1380s, the city sent two high profile missions to Milan, each of which included one knight, and one lawyer. In addition, even in those diplomatic missions where a lawyer was not directly involved in the actual negotiations, lawyers were often utilized either before the mission left (to help draft treaty provisions to be presented by the ambassadors) or after the negotiations had begun (to review proposed treaties submitted by foreign powers to the Florentine ambassadors.)<sup>15</sup>

Two other ways in which lawyers could be involved in Florentine foreign affairs were international arbitrations and foreign trade agreements. In the field of arbitration, Martines notes that "there were three points where the services of lawyers were often necessary: when Florence was presenting a case for arbitration; when it was acting as an arbitrator; and when it was attempting to persuade another to submit to arbitration." When the city was involved in negotiating trade agreements with another power, they found it most advantageous to send an embassy that consisted of two ambassadors, both a merchant and a lawyer.<sup>16</sup>

So what was the overall impact that Florence's lawyers, operating in all these different arenas, had on Florence's government? It would seem, from Martines' study, that the primary function performed by lawyers was to legitimate the ruling oligarchy's interests in the Florentine state. Rather than serving as a voice of protest, or a voice for the dispossessed of Florentine society, lawyers involved in Florentine politics largely served their fellow oligarchs. The picture that emerges fits Bouwsma's characterization well—Florence's lawyers were "conservatives with a difference"—they upheld the Florentine state's interests both at home and abroad.

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<sup>14</sup> The Signory was the leading decision making body in Florence. For a description of its creation, see Machiavelli, Niccolò. 1901. *The History of Florence*. New York: The Colonial Press, at 66-67. The role of lawyers as a gateway for proposed legislation is discussed at Martines, 1968, 237-38. Their role in resolving disputes between subject cities is addressed at Martines, 1968, 225. Lawyers' work in helping the government to put down domestic insurrection is discussed at Martines, 1968, 237.

<sup>15</sup> The information in this paragraph is derived from Martines, 1968 315-22.

<sup>16</sup> The role of lawyers in Florentine arbitration is discussed by Martines, 1968, 348ff.

One example of the lawyer-as-servant of the state is the murder case of Count Guido da Battifolle in 1421. Such a crime would typically have been tried by magistrates or other interested parties in the subject city where the murder took place. However, Martines documents how the central government in Florence, because the murder provoked civil unrest in the subject city, used that civil unrest as a justification for transferring the trial to Florence. Lawyers were used to draw up the legal justification for this transfer, and Martines writes that “[l]awyers were in this case the instruments of policy, the Signory and colleges its makers.”<sup>17</sup>

A second example of the nature of the lawyer’s role in the Florentine system involves its relations with the Church. Martines notes that lawyers made up perhaps half of the ambassadors sent to Rome. He hypothesizes that this reliance on lawyers was due to the perennial question of Florence’s ability to levy taxes on clerical property. The rule at that time was that clerical property could not be taxed without the pope’s consent, and therefore a skillful lawyer who could successfully wring from the pope his consent to tax would be of extreme importance to the sending power—thus the use of lawyers to advance the interests of their diplomatic principals.<sup>18</sup>

As Martines points out, though, these examples should come as no surprise, as the most prominent of Florence’s lawyer-politicians either came from the oligarchy itself or from a family closely aligned with the oligarchy.<sup>19</sup> Martines summarizes the point nicely when he says: “There was thus a certain predictableness in the political behavior of the city’s most eminent lawyers: unity prevailed among them when the foremost families were in accord, disunity when not. This is explained by the fact that lawyers who stood out in politics were themselves *of* the dominant bloc or of families *for* it.”<sup>20</sup> Or, as he puts it elsewhere, “In one sense, much of this book is a study of the ways in which lawyers put their skills at the service of the oligarchy. For we have seen that they were often the instruments of the oligarchy’s foreign policy, the tutors of its relations . . . with subject communities, and the moderators in conflicts arising from its internal structure of offices.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See Martines, 1968, 233.

<sup>18</sup> For the relationship between Florence and the papacy as well as the roles to which lawyers were put in mediating this relationship, see Martines, 1968, ch. VII.

<sup>19</sup> Martines closes his book with brief profiles of the principal lawyers used in his study. In the category of “Lawyers from old families” are members from several prominent families such as the Buonaccorsi, Guicciardini, Soderini, and Strozzi.

<sup>20</sup> Martines, 1968, 214.

<sup>21</sup> Martines, 1968, 395.

## Early Modern Lawyers in the Papal Court

As with Florence, lawyers were at the heart of much of the administrative order in Rome, from the pope himself to the subordinates in his administrative machinery. Of the eleven popes elected from Martin V to Julius II, five of them had at least studied law, three of them receiving doctorates in law.<sup>22</sup> The papal consistory, the pope's main council, was made up of the cardinals of the church. Of the roughly 170 cardinals created by fifteenth century popes, a little over one-third (58) held doctoral degrees in law.<sup>23</sup> In his study of the papal bureaucracy of the fifteenth century, Peter Partner wrote that "accomplishment as a teacher or practitioner of canon or civil law" was one of the "main paths by which new men could hope for advancement in the Roman court[.]"<sup>24</sup>

Looking at the vast array of offices below the consistory, Partner found that for some offices

legal qualifications were obligatory, as for example in the rota or in the signaturae of grace and justice, and in the cases of consistorial advocates, referendaries, of the auditor of the apostolic chamber, and so on. In other offices such qualifications, although not essential, were desirable, as in the cases of chamber clerks, and of major abbreviators of apostolic letters.<sup>25</sup>

Among the chamber clerks and secretaries (the primary focus of Partner's study), Partner found that just over half of the chamber clerks had received doctoral degrees in law, as did nearly a quarter of the secretaries.<sup>26</sup>

Among the chamber clerks, one career that is perhaps paradigmatic of the possibilities available to the ambitious lawyer in the pope's service is that of Alberto Alberti (1386-

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<sup>22</sup> The three who received doctoral degrees in law were: Calixtus III, Alexander VI, and Pius III. For Calixtus III, see Mallett, Michael E. 1973. Callisto III. In *DBI*, vol. 16, pp. 769-74; for Alexander VI, see Picotti, Giovanni Battista. 1960. Alessandro VI. In *DBI*, vol. 2, pp. 196-205; for Pius III, see Loughlin, J. 1911. Pope Pius III. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved August 18, 2009 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12128a.htm>.

<sup>23</sup> These numbers are based on the biographical profiles of catholic cardinals compiled by Salvador Miranda at *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*. Retrieved August 18, 2009 from Florida International University: <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> See Partner, Peter. 1990. *The Pope's Men: the papal civil service in the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, at 14-15.

<sup>25</sup> Partner, 1990, 15.

<sup>26</sup> See Partner, 1990, 73, Table 4. Chamber clerks were "the principal administrative officers of the bureau" as well as those in charge of handling the financial arrangements concerning the granting of major benefices. See Partner, 1990, 25. The secretaries were "among the most powerful and well-remunerated of curial officials, and they formed an important link between the chamber, the chancery, and the small group of powerful familiars who surrounded the pope." They often handled papal letters known as "briefs" which had, as Partner puts it, a "political nature." See Partner, 1990, 26-27.

1445).<sup>27</sup> Alberti, at the age of twenty, was named *podestà* of Perugia, taking over the office from his deceased father. He was later brought to the papal court under John XXIII, and then served as papal treasurer in Bologna under Martin V in 1425. In 1431 he was appointed to the office of chamber clerk. The following year he served as a papal envoy to Queen Giovanna II of Naples, and in 1434 he was named governor of Perugia by Eugenius IV. In addition to this office, Pope Eugenius also appointed Alberti bishop of Camerino in 1437, and then elevated him to the cardinalate in 1440. Shortly after becoming cardinal, Alberti was sent on his second mission to Naples, this time to negotiate peace between Alfonso of Naples and Renato of Anjou. Finally, in late 1444, only a few months before his death, he was appointed one of the pope's chamberlains.

Lawyers among the papal secretaries could also enjoy prestigious careers, as illustrated by Cristoforo Bordini (d. 1502).<sup>28</sup> Bordini was given the bishopric of Cortona in 1477, made a secretary in 1487, "maestro della cappella papale" in 1488, and a referendary<sup>29</sup> at some other, unknown date. Throughout his career Bordini was asked to deal with questions regarding the collection of papal taxes used to finance crusading efforts against the Turks. In 1487 Bordini had the task of answering King Ferrante of Naples' objections to paying the papacy taxes the king had agreed to pay in a peace treaty signed the previous year.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Bordini was occasionally used as an ambassador—for example in 1487 he was sent to greet Ercole d'Este upon his coming to Rome, and then to accompany the duke back to Ferrara at the conclusion of his stay in the city.

Lawyers were thus used in a variety of ways by popes in the implementation of papal policy and the advancement of papal interests both inside and outside the papal states. They were essential to the management of ecclesiastical business because petitions for various benefices or other papal concessions could create difficult legal questions either on the front end, when the request was discussed, or on the back end when the requested document was drafted.<sup>31</sup> Because of the way papal administration was set up under the consistory, papal

<sup>27</sup> According to Partner, Alberti was a "legum doctor" although his source for this designation is uncertain. His profile of Alberti is at Partner, 1990, 217. Other biographical data can be found in D'Addario, A. 1960. Alberti, Alberto. In *DBI*, vol. 1, pp. 679-80.

<sup>28</sup> Bordini is profiled in Partner, 1990, 221. The list of offices is derived from Zapperi, Roberto. 1970. Bordini, Cristoforo. In *DBI*, vol. 12, pp. 506-07. Bordini's birth date is unknown, although the Zapperi offers the first half of the fifteenth century as an educated guess.

<sup>29</sup> Referendaries "were qualified lawyers whom the popes authorized to read and sign certain categories of petition." Partner, 1990, 23.

<sup>30</sup> For a brief description of this dispute between Ferrante and Innocent VIII, see Setton, Kenneth M. 1976-84. *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*. 4 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, vol. II, at 397-98.

<sup>31</sup> See Partner, 1990, 30.



officials (lawyers included) tended to be grouped into competing interest groups centered around cardinals or other powerful officials. The net result was “a less rigidly centralized society than it appeared, but still an intensely conformist one.”<sup>32</sup> Once again, lawyers were used for their ability to advance the cause of the state, although in this case the state was the Church.

### **Lawyers in Late Medieval England**

The “law” in Italy primarily meant the civil law of ancient Rome and the canon law of the Church. In England, however, the law that developed in the medieval period was common law, or customary law, based on the interplay of statutes, judicial decisions, the activities of the common lawyers themselves, and their professional organizations, called the inns of court. There were, however, also “civilians” or lawyers who studied the Roman civil law, canon law, or both, and operated alongside the common lawyers. This section shall examine these two groups, describing briefly their education, social background, and political activities, thereby giving the reader another point of comparison with which to better understand Venice’s patrician lawyers.

#### *England’s Common Lawyers*

Individuals who wished to pursue a career in the common law began their studies at either an inn of court or an inn of chancery.<sup>33</sup> Education at these inns, sometimes called the ‘Third University of England’, began as early as the mid-teens. The student would spend his first two or three years attending ‘moots’ or mock trials put on by the inn as a means of testing the legal knowledge of the more advanced student. After watching and learning during this time, the student would himself then be admitted to the rank of “utter barrister”, meaning he would be expected to now argue ‘moots’ as they arose. After approximately another ten years, the inn could then invite the individual barrister to give a ‘reading’ on a particular statute. These readings were highly detailed analyses of the statute, making use of specific cases from the year books (summaries of cases recorded by clerks in the courts) and

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<sup>32</sup> Partner, 1990, 113.

<sup>33</sup> As the name implies, these “inns” were residences where the young trainee could live and work alongside established lawyers who regulated the inns, and, therefore, the profession itself. See Ives, E.W. 1983. *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, at 36-37. The inns of chancery served the courts operated by the Chancellor, the other inns produced lawyers who would argue at the King’s Bench and in the Common Pleas. Although the inns of chancery pre-dated the inns of court, by the time of the Renaissance the latter began to overshadow the former as a source of legal education. See Ives, 1983, 20-21 and 39-41.

hypotheticals developed by the reader himself or other readers who had discoursed on the statute. Once he had been invited to deliver a reading, the lawyer became a 'bencher' or one who sat on the inn's bench as a judge in the moots.<sup>34</sup>

All told, then, the educational process for the common lawyer could take a dozen years or more. Many men did not stick to the program for this extended period of time. Particularly for those who wanted to go back out into the countryside, either as an official in a manorial court or as a gentleman-farmer, the initial legal training was all that was sought, or even just the personal connections with those who were or would become the lawyers at the king's court.<sup>35</sup>

The social background of England's lawyers varied. Ives notes that "the upper ranks of the legal profession always included a sizeable number of men of humble origins." For these men, and many others in the legal profession, the law presented "an opportunity for a family to rise within or into the ranks of the gentry." Ives' study shows that nearly thirty percent of the serjeants-at-law (one of the chief offices to which a common lawyer could be appointed) between 1463 and 1521 came from humble social backgrounds.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the humble origins shared by many of the common lawyers, their activities demonstrate that lawyers in England during this time period acquired significant political influence. Unsurprisingly, the legal machinery of the crown was dominated by professional lawyers. The serjeants-at-law, created by the Lord Chancellor in consultation with the Chief Justice of Common Pleas, were selected from among the 'benchers' of the inns of court. It was from among the serjeants that justices of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and the assizes were selected. In addition to all this influence, the serjeants also possessed a legal monopoly on advocacy in the court of Common Pleas.<sup>37</sup>

Common lawyers also figured prominently in other aspects of English government. From 1484 to 1559, every Speaker of the House of Commons was a lawyer. The chancellor of the exchequer during this same period was also frequently a lawyer. The king's councils during this period also made significant use of lawyers. Lawyers made up over thirty percent of the commoners who were part of the councils of Edward IV and Henry VII, and Henry

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<sup>34</sup> This educational process is described in Baker, J.H. 2000. *The Common Law Tradition*. London: The Hambledon Press, at 72-73. The role of the moots is described by Baker, 2000, 19; that of the reading in Baker, 2000, 39-44.

<sup>35</sup> See Ives, 1983, 20-21 and Baker, 2000, 23.

<sup>36</sup> See Ives, 1983, 31-32.

<sup>37</sup> See Baker, 2000, 80-81.

VIII had more lawyers on his council than knights, church officials, or peers. Thus it is clear that common lawyers played a significant role in the politics of the period.<sup>38</sup>

### *England's civil lawyers*<sup>39</sup>

In addition to its common lawyers, England was also home to a number of “civilians”, so called because they were trained in the Roman law, either secular (civil) or religious (canon), or both. This training they sought primarily from Oxford and Cambridge, though a significant number also studied at the universities of northern Italy.<sup>40</sup> The course of their training, therefore, looked similar to the Florentine and Venetian lawyers discussed in this study.<sup>41</sup>

The men who pursued this more continental approach to legal education were probably from England's upper classes more so than the common lawyers discussed earlier. Allmand points out that both the cost of the educational regime at university and the large bequests left by the civilians indicate that many of them “appear to have been men of either noble or well-to-do birth, men who may have begun life with a measure of financial security.”<sup>42</sup>

Although most of these men pursued clerical careers, this did not mean that they were uninvolved in the politics of the day. In fact, the evidence is quite to the contrary. England's civil lawyers staffed the ecclesiastical courts, as well as represented her monarchs at the papal curia. They also played a central role in the development and expansion of both admiralty and chivalry courts in the secular government. During the period 1330-1515, fifteen of England's chancellors (in charge of the courts of chancery or equity jurisdiction) were civilians. They in turn were assisted in the hearing of cases by officials called “Masters of the Rolls” and this office was often held by a civilian.<sup>43</sup>

Another important contribution of the civilians was in the arena of diplomacy.

Allmand writes that:

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<sup>38</sup> For the numbers in this paragraph see Ives, E.W. 1968. “The Common Lawyers in Pre-Reformation England.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 18:145-73, at 153-54.

<sup>39</sup> This section is primarily derived from Allmand, C.T. 1982. “The civil lawyers.” In *Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later Medieval England*, edited by Cecil H. Clough, 155-180. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

<sup>40</sup> The universities where England's civilians studied are discussed by Allmand, 1982, 155 and 162. Cf. Allmand, 1982, 172 n.1 where he shows that in the fifteenth century over 1,500 students would be listed as having studied law at either Cambridge or Oxford during the century. Although he does not provide numbers for other universities, it is unlikely that any other group of universities outside England could claim such a number of English students during this time.

<sup>41</sup> See *infra* pp. 26-27.

<sup>42</sup> Allmand, 1982, 171.

<sup>43</sup> See Allmand, 1982, 155-57 for a brief discussion of these various contributions.

Few embassies (and they were many, especially in times of war) left [England] without a civil lawyer or two in attendance, their task being to offer advice on the presentation of a diplomatic case or to oversee the drawing-up of treaties which were becoming increasingly complex and more than ever in need of expert drafting.<sup>44</sup>

These patterns recurred in the lives of many of England's civilians, but for brevity's sake I shall discuss only one, that of William Lyndwood (c. 1375-1446).<sup>45</sup> Lyndwood was born in the latter part of the fourteenth century to a family of successful wool merchants. Lyndwood studied at both Cambridge, and then Oxford, eventually holding doctoral degrees in both canon and civil law by 1407. Within the church he held a large number of benefices, culminating in his being named bishop of St David's in Wales a few years before his death. Throughout his career he served as a judge in various ecclesiastical courts, rising to the "highest judicial offices in the English church."

In addition to these various religious activities, Lyndwood was also involved in numerous diplomatic missions. In 1417 he went to Calais as one of those sent to negotiate the continuation of a truce with the Duke of Burgundy. In 1422 he was sent to Portugal, in 1423 to France. In 1431 he was among those chosen to attend the coronation of Henry VI as king of France, and he also represented England at the Council of Basle during this time. Throughout the 1430s he was involved in a number of different sets of negotiations involving the Scots, the Hanseatic League, and others. In short, Lyndwood performed most, if not all, the main functions for which England's civilians would become known—prelate, church judicial official, and diplomat.

The picture that emerges from these three different regimes re-inforces Bouwsma's impression of lawyers—whether Florence, Rome, or England, lawyers were heavily involved in governance. In the process, they were frequently used to uphold the claims of the ruling power(s) in their respective states, and in turn gained political prominence in those systems. We will now turn to Venice, and begin exploring in what ways Venice's patrician lawyers fit these patterns.

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<sup>44</sup> Allmand, 1982, 157.

<sup>45</sup> The biographical information for Lyndwood in this paragraph and the next is derived from Helmholz, R.H. "Lyndwood, William (c. 1375-1446)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, May 2006. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17264> (accessed February 1, 2009).

## Chapter 2—Venice's Lawyers: An Introduction

Who were Venice's lawyers? Where did they come from? Were their backgrounds similar to their counterparts from other jurisdictions? In this chapter I shall firstly define who Venice's lawyers were, and secondly, discuss several categories of social characteristics possessed by the group.

Unlike Florence, Venice did not have a guild of lawyers in the fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The nobility maintained a monopoly on judicial power, limiting election to the various magistracies to patricians, although it did not establish any educational requirement for those holding these offices. The city even established some offices that involved legal advocacy, although it again did not place any formal educational requirements on those who held these offices. Non-nobles were allowed to act as advocates for parties, but again, the government did not establish any strict educational/professional standards similar to the lawyers' guild of Florence.<sup>47</sup> Thus, defining lawyers as those men who advocated on behalf of a client in a judicial setting (what we often think of as the unique function of lawyers), is an inexact and inadequate definition in the Venetian context. The official government records contain only one list of advocates in the entire period from 1400 to 1509, and it is dated 1489.<sup>48</sup> The list contains the names of a total of seventy-eight men. Of these, four were nobles, twenty-three were doctors of law, and the remaining fifty-one were neither. None of the four nobles who were listed as advocates carried the title of doctor, indicating that those patricians who sought the law degree probably did not make their living "practising" in the sense of defending clients before tribunals.

Since the purpose of this study is to outline the impact that lawyers had on the actual conduct of government in Venice, I shall limit myself to those patrician office holders who are either known to have held a doctoral degree in law, or who had such a background in law

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<sup>46</sup> I know of no satisfactory explanation for the lack of a lawyers' guild in Venice. Frederic Lane simply states that "there was no lawyers' guild at Venice as there was in Padua, Florence and many other cities" without offering any sort of explanation as to why this might be so. See Lane, Frederic C. 1973. *Venice, A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press at 151-52. The records of the time also remain silent on this question. Perhaps the lack of a guild was the result of the Venetian belief that an understanding of justice was accessible to mankind as a whole, and not the special province of an expert. Or, perhaps the patricians who ruled Venice, because they consisted of an essentially closed caste, did not feel the need to regulate lawyers since non-noble lawyers would not possess the ability of their compatriots in other jurisdictions to join the ranks of the nobility via their profession.

<sup>47</sup> For a description of the Venetian system of advocates, see Trebbi, Giuseppe. 1996. "Le professioni liberali." In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 4: *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura*, edited by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, 465-528. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 491-508.

<sup>48</sup> Collegio Notatorio, reg. 14, c. 5r. It is important to note that at this time twelve of the patrician doctors of law in this study were active, and yet none of them appears on this list. This appears to reinforce the idea that advocacy was not the particular preserve of patricians in Venice.

that the documents refer to the individual in question as a legal expert.<sup>49</sup> Using this definition reveals the names of thirty-five men who, during the fifteenth century, met these criteria. Of these thirty-five men, two will not be addressed in any significant way, because their circumstances resulted in no appreciable participation in the political life of Venice.<sup>50</sup>

The first thing to note about Venice's lawyers, then, is that they were not nearly so numerous as Florentine lawyers. As stated previously, Martines found approximately one hundred lawyers between 1380-1530 who held some office in the state. Extrapolating from the period under consideration for this study, Venice would have had roughly fifty during a similar 150 year time period, one half of the Florentine total. Although it is impossible to know for sure, two explanations for this dearth of lawyers present themselves. First, the fact that Venice's ruling class was essentially closed, meant that the law did not present a path to political prominence for outsiders, the way it potentially did in Florence.<sup>51</sup> Secondly, since being a patrician did guarantee one access to political office, there was not necessarily any incentive for any given patrician to seek a legal education as a means of entry to political prominence. I shall discuss later whether having a law degree did, in fact, provide any political advantages to its possessor, but, the summary answer seems to be "no." No lawyer was elected doge (the highest elective office)<sup>52</sup> during this time period, only two of them were elected procurators of Saint Mark (the second highest office), and no high office of the Venetian state seems to have been the particular province of lawyers. This might explain why there was such a relatively low supply of lawyers in Venice (one new lawyer every three years) compared to Florence (three new lawyers per year)—in Venice, the law was only one

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<sup>49</sup> The latter category includes only one person, Francesco Diedo, who may have held the doctorate in law. See Tournoy, Gilbert. 1991. Diedo, Francesco. In *DBI*, vol. 39, 1991; cf. the profile of Diedo, *infra* p. 154 for more information regarding Diedo's education.

<sup>50</sup> The first of these two is Lauro Quirini. Quirini, who was born c. 1420, earned his doctorate *in utroque iuris* in 1448, held one minor post in 1450, and then relocated to Crete, where he spent the rest of his life engaged in entrepreneurial activities. For a profile of Quirini's life, see King, Margaret L. 1986. *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, at 419-21. The other person excluded from this study is Benedetto Morosini, younger brother of Francesco Morosini (who is included). Benedetto Morosini was born c. 1461 (based on being presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1479 (AC-BO, 164/III, c. 219v)), and received his doctorate *in utroque iuris* from the University of Padua in 1489 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #1312). Unfortunately, Morosini then died in 1493, before his career really even began. See Consiglio di Dieci, *Deliberazioni Misti*, Reg. 26, c. 32r.

<sup>51</sup> Martines notes that even Florence "challenges the idea that by going into the legal profession a clever man could go from rags to riches and from the meanest to the highest social rank." Martines, 1968, 68. He notes further that among the "new families, there does not seem to be one of whom it can be definitely said that he both made a fortune and established his family's place in the sun. Now and then one man might do one or the other, but rarely if ever both." Martines, 1968, 68. Nevertheless, Martines then goes on to give a list of "new men" who had prominent careers, so legal education could be used as a means to gain influence in Florence.

<sup>52</sup> For a description of these offices and the other principal offices that made up the Venetian constitutional system, see *infra* pp. 90-95.

of several possible paths to prominence in Venetian politics, and not necessarily one that would guarantee access to the highest echelons of power.

These conclusions are further bolstered by the changes that were occurring in Venice's government system in the period surrounding the League of Cambrai. As Gaetano Cozzi and others have observed, the number of patricians seeking office in the late fifteenth century skyrocketed.<sup>53</sup> Thus, if law provided a significant boost to a prospective candidate's electoral chances, one would expect to see a corresponding increase in the number of lawyers in the system. However, the overall supply of lawyers remained relatively constant between the first and second halves of the fifteenth century—fourteen began their careers in the first half of the century, three in the middle decade of the 1450s itself, and sixteen in the latter part of the century.

### Family Social Status

Eminent Florentine lawyers tended to come from within the ruling oligarchy. Although “new men” and “outsiders” could participate in Florentine political life, the principal positions remained the province of those on the inside. The Venetian experience was somewhat different, if for no other reason than the closed nature of the Venetian ruling class. Nevertheless, there has been some attempt to show that, although every Venetian noble was technically eligible for any particular office, the higher offices of state were in fact reserved for an inner oligarchy.<sup>54</sup>

In his groundbreaking study of the development of the Venetian patriciate,<sup>55</sup> Stanley Chojnacki showed that the process that created Venice's ruling class was a dynamic one. The *Serrata* of 1297, far from permanently settling the identity of Venice's ruling families, merely began the more formal process of restricting rule in Venice to those families that would then be considered “noble.” Throughout the fourteenth century (the focus of Chojnacki's study), the patrician class expanded to take in new families, but also contracted as some families died out.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See Cozzi, Gaetano. 1973. “Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice.” In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J.R. Hale, 293-345. Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, at 298-99. Cf. Finlay, Robert. 1980. *Politics in Renaissance Venice*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g. Finlay at 26-27 and Lane, 1973, 256-57.

<sup>55</sup> Chojnacki, Stanley. 1973. “In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century.” In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale, 47-90. Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield.

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g. Chojnacki, 1973, Appendix I, 73 where he lists those families that appeared in the records as noble in 1379, but never prior (Category 6) along with those families that went extinct in the fourteenth century (Category 3).

As a means of assessing the relative “weight” of each family in the Venetian system, Chojnacki analyzed three variables. First, he examined the membership of the Greater Council in the years 1293-1297, counting how many members of this body came from each family. He then looked at “important offices”<sup>57</sup> during the middle part of the fourteenth century. And last, he examined the *estimo* of 1379, as a means of comparing relative wealth among the families.

By using these three variables, Chojnacki was able to suggest a number of things about the patriciate. Perhaps the most relevant finding for the purposes of this study is that, despite some fluctuations, the Venetian patriciate consisted of a core group of fourteen families who finished among the top forty-five families in each of the three variables, that is, these fourteen families possessed both political and economic influence throughout a good portion of the fourteenth century. Below this group were a number of families who possessed either great wealth, or great political influence, and then there was the vast majority of the Venetian patrician families, who enjoyed neither (relative to those at the top.)

The question then becomes, where do the lawyers of the fifteenth century fit into these patterns of the fourteenth?<sup>58</sup> Did Venice’s lawyers primarily come from the core group of fourteen families, other prominent families, or the lesser families? Of the thirty-three lawyers in this study, fifteen came from six of the core group of fourteen families, eleven (representing seven families) came from other prominent families, and only seven (also representing seven different families) came from the large number of lesser families.

At first glance then, it appears that the core group of families identified by Chojnacki also dominated the legal world as well. However, this is true only in the number of lawyers they contributed. In terms of office holding, at least, the numbers tell a different story. Of the roughly 600 important offices<sup>59</sup> to which Venice’s lawyers were elected, about 27% went to the fifteen lawyers from the core, prominent families, with an average of 10.4 elections per lawyer. The eleven lawyers who came from prominent families outside the core group were elected to 47% of the offices, for an average of 24.6 elections per lawyer. As for the seven lawyers who came from “lesser” families, it should come as no surprise that they were

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<sup>57</sup> In general he defines “important offices” as the “Senate, the *Quarantia*, the Ducal Council, [and] the Council of Ten. . . .” Chojnacki, 1973, 64.

<sup>58</sup> There is a potentially considerable danger in projecting Chojnacki’s data from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. The acquisition of the land empire along with frequent wars in the first half of the fifteenth century could have conspired to dislodge any of the families from their previous categories, but no studies exist that would provide data for the fifteenth century comparable to Chojnacki’s categories.

<sup>59</sup> For, this study, the term includes the following: diplomatic postings, governorships, *savio di terraferma*, *savio grande*, *avogador di comun*, Council of Ten, and ducal councilor.



elected the least—to only 26% of the offices. However, their average of 24.5 elections per lawyer mirrors that of their nearest peers, and more than doubles that of the core group. Thus while the largest and wealthiest families may have supplied almost half of Venice's lawyer politicians, the most politically active lawyers came from outside the inner circle indicating that, even in Venice, the law may have served as a path to power for those seeking to increase their family's influence.

Although the lawyers from the core, prominent families were elected to a share of offices similar in size to that of the lawyers from lesser families, were they elected to the same "type" of offices? In other words, were more prestigious offices reserved for those lawyers who came from more prestigious families? There is some evidence for this. Lawyers from more prominent families received the highest share of diplomatic postings (39%) among the three groups, and the lawyers from the least prominent families were used least often (24%). Thus, Venice may have been more likely to choose a lawyer from a prominent family when it came time to represent the city to a foreign power.<sup>60</sup> In addition, lawyers from the lesser families claimed 38.5% of the elections to the *savi di terraferma*, one of the lesser positions in the *Collegio*—a share more than double that of the core, prominent families (17.6%). However, in those offices of more prestigious character (for example *savio grande* or ducal councilor), lawyers from both lesser and more prominent families had an almost equal share of the offices.<sup>61</sup> Thus, there does not seem to be a clear trend indicating that lawyers from core, prominent families enjoyed a hold on political power that was not also accessible to lawyers from relatively unknown families.

## Lawyers and Marriage

Although they may not have been born into a core family, marriage offered a lawyer the opportunity to forge a relationship with one. Marriage was the norm among Venice's lawyers. Twenty-eight of the thirty-three lawyers in this study (85%) are known to have married at least once. Seven are known to have married at least twice, and at least one of the lawyers, Marco Dandolo, married on three separate occasions.<sup>62</sup> Of the five lawyers who did

<sup>60</sup> Lawyers from core, prominent, families were elected to diplomatic posts a total of eighty times. Those from the other prominent families were elected 75 times, and those from the lesser families 49 times. This represents an average number of elections per lawyer of 5 1/3 for the core, prominent families, 11 for the other prominent families, and 7 for the lesser families. Thus the "greater share" of the core, prominent families might be due to their larger numbers rather than any prestige attaching to their families of origin.

<sup>61</sup> Lawyers from core, prominent families represented twenty-four percent and twenty-one percent of, respectively, lawyer elections as *savio grande* and ducal councilor. The share of these two offices held by lawyers from lesser families was twenty-two percent and eighteen percent respectively.

<sup>62</sup> For further information about specific marriages, see the individual profiles of the lawyers, *infra* Appendix I.

not marry, two (Fantino Dandolo and Ermolao Barbaro) pursued ecclesiastical careers later in life.

The average age at the first marriage was approximately twenty-seven.<sup>63</sup> Those lawyers active in the earlier part of the fifteenth century tended to marry slightly sooner than their counterparts in the latter part of the century. Among the first group, the average age at marriage was just under twenty-six, among the latter, just under twenty-eight. In addition, all seven of the lawyers known to have married more than once came from those active in the latter part of the century.<sup>64</sup> Overall, the age at first marriage ranged from twenty or twenty-one (for Andrea Venier, Alvise Foscari and Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo) up to thirty-four (for Pietro Molin).<sup>65</sup>

Venice's lawyers overwhelmingly married daughters of fellow patricians. Of the thirty-six marriages known among the group, only three were to women from outside the Venetian patriciate. In 1413 Nicolo Contarini married Maria Carrara, the natural daughter of Giacomo Carrara, a member of the former ruling family of Padua. Andrea Venier married Perenzina Borromeo, a member of a prominent banking family from Milan that had marriage ties to Veronese nobles and business ties to the Medici. Lastly, Pietro Molin's second marriage in 1480 was to a daughter of Antonio di Bartolo, a knight of Collalto (a *terraferma* noble family).<sup>66</sup>

It is impossible to know for sure how long lawyers' marriages lasted. Records from the fifteenth century are fragmentary, and little information remains regarding when most women died. However, some information can be inferred from those records that are available. For example Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo's first marriage to Laura Trevisan (in 1466) must have lasted six years or less, given that he married Lucia Navagero in 1472. We also know that Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio's marriage to Elena Marcello was approximately nineteen years in duration, as they were married in 1394, and Elena gave birth to their son Zaccaria il Giovane in 1414 shortly after the elder Zaccaria had died in January of that year. Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, who married Dorotea Venier in 1439, was still married to her upon his death twenty-six years later in 1465, as indicated by her will from 1486, which calls

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<sup>63</sup> Given the imprecise nature of many of the dates of birth for individuals from this time period, the figures in this paragraph should be treated with at least a small amount of caution.

<sup>64</sup> The seven known to have married more than once are: Girolamo Barbaro, Bernardo Bembo, Marco Dandolo, Nicolo Michiel il Giovane, Pietro Molin, Francesco Morosini, and Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo.

<sup>65</sup> The dates of birth for these lawyers, and the data concerning their marriages can be located in their respective profiles in Appendix I, *infra*.

<sup>66</sup> See the lawyers' respective profiles in Appendix I, *infra*, for specific archival references for these marriages. Venier's marriage connections are further discussed in the next section.

her his widow. Similarly, Zaccaria Bembo's wife Agnese Bon was called his widow in her will dated 14 November 1461, meaning that the two had been married for approximately thirty-eight years when Zaccaria Bembo died in 1451.<sup>67</sup>

At least two other marriages were of even longer duration. Alvise Foscari married Elisabetta Zane in 1430. In 1479 Elisabetta served as a witness to the *Balla D'Oro* registration of her nephew Benedetto Morosini. Since Foscari himself did not die until 1480, the pair was married for at least forty-nine years. Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, the only other procurator among this group of lawyers, also had a long marriage. He and Deia Contarini were married in 1466, and, when Nicolo died in 1518, his wife of fifty-two years commissioned his tomb in the church of Saints John and Paul.<sup>68</sup>

### Connections between Lawyers

Venice's lawyers maintained a number of connections with each other. In addition to professional<sup>69</sup> and social ties,<sup>70</sup> the majority of them (nineteen of thirty-three) were related to one or more of their fellow lawyers in this study. Several were related to doges, and some were related to other significant personages of the fifteenth century. As will be shown, many of these relationships existed as a result of the lawyers' marriages, though a number are the result of direct family connections.

Beginning with the latter, there were three pairs of father-son connections among the lawyers: Ettore Bembo was the father of Zaccaria Bembo, Nicolo Contarini was the father of Francesco Contarini, and Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio was the father of Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane. There was also a grandfather-grandson connection between Angelo Michiel and Nicolo Michiel il Giovane. Lastly the lawyer Francesco Morosini had a younger brother

<sup>67</sup> For Pasqualigo's marriages, see vol. 22, c. 21 of Barbaro, Marco. *Arbori di patrizi veneti*. Miscellanea codici, I: Storia Veneta. Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio's marriage is recorded in Giomo, Giuseppe. *Indice per nome di donna dei matrimoni dei patrizi veneti*. 2 vols. Miscellanea codici, ASV, vol. 2, 32. His death and his son's subsequent birth are discussed in King, 1986, 436-37. Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane's marriage is recorded in Giomo, vol. 2, 450. His widow's will is located at AN Testamenti, Atti Savnia, b. 1237 #93. Zaccaria Bembo's marriage to Agnese Bon is recorded in Giomo, vol. 1, 137. For the evidence regarding the date of Bembo's death, see his profile *infra*, Appendix I. Bon's will is recorded at Cancelleria Inferiore Miscellanea Testamenti, b. 26 #2143.

<sup>68</sup> Foscari's marriage to Zane is recorded in Giomo, vol. 2, 488. The *Balla D'Oro* registration in which Zane appears can be found at AC-BO 164/III c. 219v. Foscari's death is given as 17 August 1480 in Moro, Giacomo. 1997. Foscari, Ludovico. In *DBI*, vol. 49, pp. 383-88. Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio's marriage to Deia Contarini is at Giomo, vol. 1, 257. His death in 1518 is recorded in Sanuto, Marino. 1879-1903. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496-1533*. 58 vols. Edited by Rinaldo Fulin et al. Venice: Visentini, at vol. XXV, 428.

<sup>69</sup> An examination of the career profiles *infra* Appendix I, shows a number of lawyers who served together on diplomatic missions, legislative committees, etc.

<sup>70</sup> The discussion of the lawyers' education at pp. 26-31 includes information on the connections made by lawyers to each other beginning in their university days. King provides copious data regarding connections (e.g. letters, book borrowing, etc.) between humanist lawyers and other humanists. See King, 1986, 315-449.

Benedetto who had also earned a doctorate *in utroque iuris*, but Benedetto's untimely death four years after earning his degree meant he had no significant career and is subsequently excluded from this study.

A few of the lawyers were cousins of varying degrees to each other. For example, Girolamo Contarini was a first cousin of Giorgio Pisani (their mothers being sisters). Bernardo Bembo's grandfather of the same name was a brother of Ettore Bembo, thereby making him Ettore's grand-nephew and a first cousin once removed of Zaccaria Bembo. Girolamo and Ermolao Barbaro were second cousins. Iacopo and Pietro Molin were more distantly related, as Iacopo's great-grandfather (also named Iacopo) was the brother of Pietro Molin's grandfather Giovanni.

In addition to these direct familial connections, some of the lawyers were related to each other by marriage. Zaccaria Trevisan and Andrea Venier were brothers-in-law, as were Nicolo Michiel il Giovane and Marco Dandolo.<sup>71</sup> Zaccaria Trevisan's daughter Laura was the first wife of Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, making him related to both Trevisan and Venier.<sup>72</sup> Lastly, Francesco Morosini's mother Francesca Zane was the sister of Alvise Foscari's wife Elisabetta Zane, making the two lawyers related by marriage.

As well as being related to each other, several of the lawyers were related to prominent non-lawyers. Perhaps the most prominent connection would have been to a doge, and a handful of lawyers had such a connection. Fantino Dandolo, for example, was the grandson of the fourteenth century doge Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343-54). Ermolao Barbaro was a grandson of Andrea Vendramin (r. 1476-77). Andrea Venier was the nephew of Francesco Foscari (r. 1423-57), making Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane a nephew-in-law, and Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo a grand-nephew-in-law.<sup>73</sup> Antonio Dandolo was married to a daughter of Giovanni Mocenigo, Foscari's successor. Lastly, Giorgio Pisani was distantly related to two doges—his brother was married to a daughter of Agostino Barbarigo (r. 1485-1501) and a nephew was married to a granddaughter of Antonio Grimani (r. 1521-23).

Lawyers were also related to other prominent fifteenth century figures besides doges, both inside and outside the Venetian patriciate. Marco Dandolo was a brother-in-law of Caterina Corner, the Queen of Cyprus from 1472-89, as well as being the grandson of humanist Bernardo Giustinian (1408-89). Nicolo Contarini was connected by marriage to the

<sup>71</sup> In both cases the former married the latter's sister.

<sup>72</sup> This being said, by the time Pasqualigo married Laura Trevisan in 1466, her father Zaccaria may have already died, and Andrea Venier had been deceased five years. Pasqualigo would also not have known his grandfather-in-law, Zaccaria Trevisan Vecchio, who had died decades prior, in 1414.

<sup>73</sup> Although again, the connection for Pasqualigo occurred following the death of the individual in question since Foscari had died in 1457 and Pasqualigo's marriage was in 1466.

former rulers of Padua, the Carrara family. Andrea Venier's wife Perenzina Borromeo may have come from the banking family of the same name.

### Lawyers and Wealth

A closely related question to the social status that Venice's lawyers possessed by virtue of their birth and/or marriages is the question of their relative wealth. No significant tax records from Venice in the fifteenth century survive, making a detailed, accurate picture of lawyers' wealth difficult to obtain. However, other records that do remain reveal some features of their wealth, and it is to these that I will now turn.

The very fact that each of these men received a university education is an indirect indicator that their families possessed at least moderate wealth. The father of the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini spent 500 gold ducats on his son's seven years of legal education, three of which (1502-05) had been spent at the University of Padua.<sup>74</sup> Several of Venice's lawyers spent a similar amount of time acquiring their university educations and thus would have spent a similar amount of money on their educations.<sup>75</sup>

Writing at about the same time that Guicciardini was at university, Marino Sanuto states that, in the city of Venice, "[t]here is an infinite number of houses valued at upwards of 800 ducats, with rooms having gilded ceilings, staircases of white marble, balconies and windows all fitted with glass."<sup>76</sup> Homes on the Grand Canal were even more expensive, beginning at about 3,000 ducats and rising up to 20,000 ducats for the palace bought by Giorgio Corner, brother to the Queen of Cyprus.<sup>77</sup> So, while investing in a son's legal education was significantly less expensive than a Grand Canal palace, it certainly approached and perhaps exceeded the cost of a comfortable house elsewhere in the city. That a family would choose to make such an investment speaks to their relative wealth.<sup>78</sup> This would be

<sup>74</sup> See Grendler, Paul F. 2002. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, at 148.

<sup>75</sup> For example, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane and Barbone Morosini studied law from at least 1436, when they are first mentioned specifically as law students, until 1442, when they were awarded their doctorates. For Trevisan, see *Acta Graduum I*, #1020 and 1649; for Morosini, *Acta Graduum I*, #1112 and 1645. Similarly, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo studied law from 1464 until 1470, and Iacopo Molin from 1465 to 1471. See *Acta Graduum III*, #323 and 953 (Pasqualigo); for Molin see *Acta Graduum III*, #398 and *Acta Graduum IV*, #17.

<sup>76</sup> See Chambers, David, and Brian S. Pullan eds. 1992. *Venice: a documentary history, 1450-1630*. Oxford: Blackwell, at 5.

<sup>77</sup> Chambers and Pullan, 1992, 5. One of the lawyers in this study, Marco Dandolo, married one of Corner's other sisters, receiving a substantial dowry. See King, 1986, 359.

<sup>78</sup> It should also be pointed out that by the son spending those five to seven years at university rather than learning or even working the family business, the family obviously gave up any income he would have produced in those years. Thus, the decision to educate indicates that the family could afford not only the monetary cost of the education but also the opportunity cost of the lost labor during those years.

especially true of Francesco Morosini's family, which sent not only Francesco to study law at the University of Padua from 1473 to 1484, but also his younger brother Benedetto, who attended from at least 1485 to 1489.<sup>79</sup>

Although tax records do not remain, other records demonstrating financial contributions to the state from lawyers and/or their families do exist. For example, on 12 May 1457 the Senate discussed repaying Barbone Morosini money that he had advanced the Republic for his mission to Rome the previous year. Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio's family had been ennobled following the War of Chioggia for their outstanding financial contributions to the war effort. Also, Ermolao Barbaro's father Zaccaria loaned the city 3,000 ducats during the War of Ferrara.<sup>80</sup> Again, although evidence of such loans is not necessarily indicative of the group as a whole, it certainly demonstrates that some lawyers came from wealthy backgrounds.

Perhaps the most substantial surviving records are the wills of the lawyers themselves. Wills from fifteen of the thirty-three lawyers have survived. These documents often listed various bequests, and in one instance (to be discussed shortly) included a detailed list of property, which reveals more than anything else the types and amounts of wealth that Venice's lawyers possessed.

Lawyers' bequests could vary significantly, an indicator of the various levels of wealth the lawyers possessed. Marco Lippomano's wills of 1442 included dowries for his daughters set at 1,600 to 2,000 ducats, a substantial amount of money in the first half of the fifteenth century. Giorgio Pisani's will dated 23 April 1524 lists cash of various types that totals an amount in excess of 3,000 ducats. Other bequests were not as large. Nicolo Contarini's will from 1427 contained bequests totaling between 150 to 200 ducats. Ettore Bembo's will, dated 1 March 1436 listed a number of bequests that ranged from four to eight gold ducats. One of the more interesting bequests is in Angelo Michiel's will of 1478. In it he leaves his law books to his grandson Nicolo (then age 11) as well as a small stipend for him to pursue studies at the University of Padua.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> For details of Francesco's education, see his profile *infra*, Appendix I. His brother Benedetto first appears in the Padua records as a witness in December 1484 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #968), but is first mentioned as an actual student in February 1485 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #988). Benedetto was awarded his doctorate *in utroque iuris* on 23 February 1489. See *Acta Graduum IV*, #1312.

<sup>80</sup> Morosini's loan is mentioned at Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 4, c. 37v. Zaccaria Barbaro's contribution to the war effort is mentioned in Malipiero, Domenico. 1843-44. "Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500." Edited by F. Longo and Agostino Sagredo, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 7:1-720, at 263-64. King, 1986, 436 briefly discusses the contributions of Trevisan's family to the War of Chioggia.

<sup>81</sup> Lippomano's wills can be located at AN, Testamenti A. Gambaro, b. 558.102 and 559.55 (22 and 24 September 1442); Pisani's at AN, Testamenti Grisolario, b. 1183.209 and 1185.213 (1520 and 1524);

The most comprehensive listing of property owned by a lawyer comes in the form of a codicil to Giorgio Pisani's will. The original will was dated 23 April 1524. On 30 August 1524 he executed a codicil in which he included a detailed, itemized list of his property. This list gives us a unique opportunity to look at the accumulations of one of Venice's lawyers. There are eighty-one lines of items in the codicil. It begins with sixteen lines set off with the heading "d'arzento" or "silver items." In this section Pisani listed a number of household objects, including what would amount to a silver table service for eighteen, three silver candlesticks, and even a pair of cups that may have been a souvenir from his time as ambassador to Hungary.<sup>82</sup> Following these silver items are another eight listings involving other miscellaneous metal decorative objects. Pisani lists, for example, a gold toothpick with a gold chain, a gold ring he had once worn; a velvet belt trimmed in silver, a shaving kit with a razor ornamented in silver, etc. Perhaps the most fascinating object from this grouping was a sword with gold sheath that, Pisani says, he had been given by the king of Spain—in all likelihood another souvenir from an ambassadorial mission, either to Spain in 1492 or to Naples (to greet the Spanish king) in 1506.<sup>83</sup>

The bulk of the codicil consists of the listing of Pisani's articles of clothing. Pisani listed almost three-dozen robes, approximately two-thirds of which are in "ducal" style.<sup>84</sup> These robes tended to be either black, dark blue, or crimson, and most were trimmed with one or more types of fur. Pisani also lists three robes that were made using gold thread, a type of outfit Sanuto mentions being worn during important processions.<sup>85</sup> Pisani also possessed three cloaks, one blue, one black, and one red.

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Contarini's at AN, Testamenti F. Sori, b. 1234.264 and 1234.520 (1427); Bembo's at AN, Cancellaria Inferiore Miscellanea Testamenti, Notai Diversi, b. 25, #1796 (1 March 1436); and Michiel's at AN, Cancellaria Inferiore Cassa, b. 27 #2560 (1478).

<sup>82</sup> The codicil states that they were "cope ongaresche", which I take to be a reference to the cups' style and/or place of origin. Pisani had served as Venice's ambassador in Hungary from 1501 to 1502, and had helped to negotiate an anti-Turk treaty between Venice and Hungary. It is possible, therefore, that the cups were a gift to Pisani from that mission, or even a souvenir that he brought back with him upon his return. Tessa Beverley notes that Caterino Zeno had been given two gold cups and two horses upon his arrival as ambassador in Hungary in the 1470s. Beverley, Tessa. 1999. *Venetian ambassadors 1454-94: an Italian elite*, (University of Warwick unpublished PhD dissertation) at 91.

<sup>83</sup> See Pisani's profile, *infra* Appendix I, for archival documentation of these two missions involving Spain. In February 1492 Pisani was elected ambassador to Spain, and was not recorded with the title of "eques." See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 34, c. 110v. In May of the following year, his next known assignment was to serve as an ambassador in Ferrara, and at his election he is recorded as possessing the title of "eques." See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 34, at c. 162v. It stands to reason that he was knighted by the King of Spain during the 1492 mission, and probably received the sword at that ceremony.

<sup>84</sup> The ducal style consisted of a long robe, made of silk, which had large sleeves. Only patricians and the Great Chancellor were allowed to wear this particular style of robe. See Boerio, Giuseppe. 1973. *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*. Reprint of 1856 edition. Milan: A. Martello, at 248.

<sup>85</sup> For example, in the Corpus Domini procession on 22 June 1508 Sanuto writes that the procession included "cavalieri 4, vestiti d'oro" one of which was Giorgio Pisani. See *I Diarii*, vol. VII, 555. Cf. Chambers, David

Approximately the last third of the codicil consists of a hodgepodge of items. Pisani listed the shield bearing his family coat of arms that would have been used whenever he took up residence in a subject city as *podestà* or captain. He also listed a painted box in which he kept the letters previously written to him by his then deceased brother Domenico. There was also an entry for two “anconeti” or small religious devotional paintings. Finally, Pisani had at least a small library, listing three containers of books (“1 cassa e 2 forzieri pieni de mei libri”).

Because this is the only detailed listing of its kind among the lawyers, it is difficult to say if Pisani’s wealth was typical of the group as a whole. However, it is illuminating in at least one respect: a number of the items that Pisani listed related in some way to his career. He maintained clothing in keeping with his title as a “cavalier”, he had a shield with the family crest for use as a governor, and he had a number of “souvenirs” from his various postings as an ambassador. No doubt his fellow lawyers would have picked up similar items along the way as they too were sent abroad by Venice, and were awarded various titles by foreign monarchs with whom they did business.

So far I have discussed examples showing that lawyers and their families had significant wealth. But there are also some signs to the contrary, that some of the lawyers in this study may not have had a great deal of money by patrician standards. For example, Zaccaria Bembo stopped his education after receiving his license in civil law, and did not pay to sit for the doctoral degree. Since the examination was largely ceremonial, the failure to sit for it may have been driven by a lack of cash, or perhaps Bembo did not see the need for the formal doctorate, it still being early in the century and the role of lawyers not yet being fully developed in Venice.<sup>86</sup> Other indications that some of the lawyers may not have been particularly wealthy include the fact that Marco Lippomano’s son Francesco complained of poverty to the Venetian government, as did Giovanni Alberti’s sons after a fire destroyed their homes at the end of the century.<sup>87</sup> Margaret King also suggests there is evidence that

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S. 1997. “Merit and Money: The Procurators of St Mark and Their *Commissioni*, 1443-1605.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60:23-88, at 26. Chambers also notes that these robes constituted a valuable asset in the hands of an heir, Chambers, 1997, 27.

<sup>86</sup> Bembo’s father, Ettore, in his will left several small bequests in the range of four to eight gold ducats, also indicating that the family may not have enjoyed great wealth. See Canc. Inf. Miscell. Testamenti Notai Diversi, b. 25 #1796 (1 March 1436).

<sup>87</sup> Lippomano’s son is mentioned by King, 1986, 389. For Alberti’s sons, see, e.g. Consiglio de Dieci Deliberazioni Misti reg. 27, c. 62r. Pietro Bembo writes:

On the home front, to make public assistance available to citizens who had suffered financially when their houses burned down and to make it easier for them to make good their losses, in line with ancient custom and practice, the Council of Ten passed a law that the Salt



Bernardo Bembo experienced pecuniary difficulties at times in his career.<sup>88</sup> Lastly, there is the case of Vitale Lando, who although he came from a wealthy family, was discovered to have taken bribes in exchange for revealing state secrets.<sup>89</sup>

### Lawyers' Education

Having examined the general social status enjoyed by noble lawyers in Venice, the next task is to examine their education. Legal education in the Renaissance was an arduous and costly undertaking. Completing a law degree would typically take anywhere from four to seven years, with the lengthier time generally being reserved for those who sought degrees in what was called *utroque iuris*, or both civil and canon law. The educational process would have been even lengthier for those who also pursued arts degrees, as did many of the lawyers in this study.

The civil law education focused on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian.<sup>90</sup> This sixth-century compilation of Roman law was viewed as a *ius commune*, or common law, universally applicable to all cities and peoples. Of course, the intervening centuries had altered the governmental and social structures of Italian cities in fundamental ways. Thus, medieval jurists had spent a considerable amount of time “glossing” the ancient text, that is, analyzing its language and structure, and commenting on it in such a way as to bring the text up to date to reflect medieval realities.

A lawyer trained in the civil law should therefore have been equipped with the skills to apply what was perceived as a generally applicable set of legal principles across the various jurisdictions of Renaissance Italy. Undoubtedly these skills would have been valuable in the context of the expanding territorial states of the fifteenth century. As Venice acquired its land empire, it had to find a way to incorporate the subject cities, not just economically, but also politically. Venice asserted the power to legislate for its subject cities, although in fact it typically allowed subject cities to keep their own laws, practices, and even those political institutions that were not inconsistent with Venetian rule.<sup>91</sup> Keeping this

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Office should award 20 gold pounds to the sons of Pietro Molin and 15 to Girolamo and Marino Alberti, whose houses at San Cassiano and Sant'Apollinare had burned down.

Bembo, Pietro. 2007. *History of Venice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, at 237-39.

<sup>88</sup> See King, 1986, 336.

<sup>89</sup> For references to Lando's case, see *infra* p. 118.

<sup>90</sup> For an excellent introduction to the system of legal education in Renaissance Italy, see Grendler, 2002, 431 ff.

<sup>91</sup> See *infra* ch. 5 where the role of lawyers as territorial governors is discussed in more detail.

whole system together was the special task of the civil lawyer, and thus having colonial administrators versed in civil law would be a priority.

Having a background in canon law also proved useful to Renaissance lawyers. The canon law curriculum focused on what were called the *Decretals*, a compilation of laws, decisions and decrees by popes and various Church councils. In the medieval and early Renaissance periods, canon law degrees were often seen as essential for those pursuing an ecclesiastical career. In the context of the fifteenth century, however, canon law degrees could be useful in another way: the competing claims of various Italian powers also had to take into account papal claims to both temporal and spiritual authority. Thus, having diplomats versed in canon law as well as civil law would enhance a power's ability to negotiate with the Church, and navigate these often conflicting claims.<sup>92</sup>

Fortunately for Venice, the city had one of the leading institutions of higher learning nearby in Padua, one of its subject cities. The university had been founded long before the Venetian take-over of the city in 1405, but the change in patronage from the Carrara family to the patriciate of Venice only increased the funding and status of the university as a source of legal education. In 1407 the Republic forbade its citizens from attending any university other than Padua, and in 1463 a rule was put in place barring degree holders from other universities from state employment. Although there is no hard evidence that these provisions were strictly enforced, the educational data regarding Venice's fifteenth century lawyers confirms that, in practice, Padua was the primary location for legal education among Venetian politicians.<sup>93</sup>

Of the thirty-three lawyers in this study, thirty-one were known to hold a doctoral degree in law, one held a license in civil law,<sup>94</sup> and one had no known degree in law, but was considered an expert in the law nonetheless.<sup>95</sup> Of the thirty-two degree holders, the date and

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<sup>92</sup> One of the chief examples of this from the fifteenth century would be Venice's assertion of authority over the region of Friuli, in direct conflict with the temporal jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia. See pp. 90-92 *infra*. Six lawyers were involved in the dispute with the patriarch throughout its various phases: Zaccaria Bembo, Fantino Dandolo, Alvise Foscari, Giovanni Marino, Barbone Morosini, and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane. Of these six, only Bembo did not have a degree *in utroque iuris*. The pope was also the most frequent power to whom Venice's lawyers were sent. See *infra* Table 2, p. 49.

<sup>93</sup> See Grendler, 2002, 22, 28.

<sup>94</sup> Zaccaria Bembo was awarded the license in civil law on December 31, 1412. See *Acta Graduum I*, #275. He was never referred to with the title of "doctor" in any document known to me, leading to the conclusion that he did not take the formal (and sometimes costly) step of actually receiving the doctoral degree in law.

<sup>95</sup> Francesco Diedo's educational background is somewhat murky. He clearly received the doctor of arts degree sometime prior to 20 March 1456 when he was referred to as an arts doctor and civil law student (see *Acta Graduum II*, #422), and it is perhaps because of this that he is referred to as "doctor" throughout the Venetian governmental records. Padua's records do not reveal any doctoral degrees in law being awarded to Diedo, only

location of their degrees can be identified with precision for twenty-six of them, with all the known degrees coming from the University of Padua.<sup>96</sup>

As Table 1 indicates, this group of thirty-three men was very highly educated. Over half (seventeen) possessed a doctor of arts degree in addition to their legal education. Three-quarters (twenty-four) possessed degrees either in *utroque iuris* (twenty-two) or separate degrees in both civil and canon law (two). Only one-quarter (though perhaps less since two of this number may very well have had *utroque iuris* doctorates but left no definite trace of them) held degrees only in civil law. The overall picture that emerges, then, is of a group of highly trained legal professionals capable of serving the state in a variety of venues based on their extensive and varied education.

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that he studied law from the aforementioned 1456 until at least 1461 (*Acta Graduum III*, #56). Later in his career, he was Venice's representative to the papacy in the dispute over Ferrara in the early 1480s, and in that context he is referred to as a "jurisconsult," thus indicating he had enough of a legal background for Venice to use him in this sensitive position. See Piva, Edoardo. 1907. "La cessione di Ferrara fatta da Sisto IV alla repubblica di Venezia (1482)." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 14:396-426.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix III for the list of those whose degrees are known along with the date of the degree. The six who are unknown are: Ettore Bembo, Antonio Bernardo, Nicolo Contarini, Antonio Dandolo, Pietro Molin, and Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio. Ettore Bembo was referred to by Capellari as both a doctor and jurisconsult, leading to the conclusion that he was a doctor of law. See vol. I, c. 139r of Capellari Vivaro, Girolamo Alessandro. *Il campidoglio veneto*. 4 vols Marc. Ital. VII, 15-18 (8304-8307). Padua's records reveal that Antonio Bernardo held the doctorate *in utroque iuris*, but give no indication as to when or where this degree was awarded. See *Acta Graduum III*, #385. Nicolo Contarini was called a doctor of *utroque iuris* in multiple Venetian government documents, a title not mentioned anywhere in the records of Contarini's involvement at the University of Padua. See, e.g., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 7, c. 122r. Antonio Dandolo was referred to as "doctor" in his appearances in Venetian records, and Barbaro states that he taught law at Perugia, Pisa, and Padua, which would have been extraordinary if his doctorate had not been in law. See Barbaro, vol. 19, c. 188. However, no firm evidence exists as to the date and location of his degree. Margaret King's profile of Pietro Molin discusses the evidence suggesting that he held doctoral degrees in arts as well as *in utroque iuris*, see King, 1986, 405. Her profile of Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio also contains data suggesting that Trevisan earned a doctorate *in utroque iuris* from the University of Bologna in the 1390s. See King, 1986, 437. That he held that degree is also confirmed in Padua's records. See *Acta Graduum I*, # 57.

Table 1: Types of Degrees Held by Venice's Lawyers

Civil Law (5)	Utroque Iuris (8)	Arts & Civil Law (2)	Arts & Utroque Iuris (15)
Zaccaria Bembo	Girolamo Barbaro	Iacopo Contarini	Giovanni Alberti
Girolamo Contarini	Fantino Dandolo	Marco Dandolo	Ermolao Barbaro
Angelo Michiel	Marco Donà		Bernardo Bembo
Iacopo Molin	Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio		Antonio Bernardo
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	Nicolo Michiel il Giovane		Nicolo da Canal
	Francesco Morosini		Francesco Contarini
	Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane		Nicolo Contarini
	Andrea Venier		Alvise Foscari
			Vitale Lando
			Marco Lippomano
			Giovanni Marino
			Pietro Molin
			Barbone Morosini
			Giorgio Pisani
			Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

In addition to preparing Venice's patrician lawyers for a lifetime of service to the state, the legal education at Padua also helped these men begin developing social networks of contacts both inside and outside the Venetian patriciate. Very little, if any, material survives that "proves" that this group of lawyer-politicians began social networking at university. However, the graduation records of Padua do include at least one piece of information that allows us to infer that these men had begun developing their networks.

The awarding of the doctoral degree had two major steps<sup>97</sup>—first, the candidate was examined in private by a board of examiners who tested the student's knowledge in the area for which the student had applied for the doctoral degree. He was assisted in this process by his promoters, typically faculty members from the same subject area as the degree being sought. Following his successful completion of this examination, the student was then "publicly examined" although this was little more than a formality at which the degree was actually granted. For this stage of the process, the student brought in witnesses, typically friends or even family members. Since this was a public ceremony, there were also many times that local politicians (for example the *podestà* and/or captain of Padua) or religious leaders (the ceremony typically occurred at the bishop's palace) were in attendance. Since

<sup>97</sup> The following description of the degree conferral process is derived from Grendler, 2002, 172-78.

this was an important moment in the life of the degree recipient, it would make sense that the candidate would want to have witnesses with whom he had some sort of relationship. It is with this assumption in mind that I now turn to some examples from among the group of lawyers under consideration.

Giovanni Marino, who had received his doctor of arts degree in 1426, appeared alongside Alvise Foscarini as a fellow witness on two occasions in 1433. He then served as one of Barbone Morosini's witnesses when Morosini was granted his doctor of arts degree in January of 1434. In November of that year, when Zaccaria Trevisan received his doctoral degree in arts, Marino, along with Morosini, and Nicolo da Canal, appeared as witnesses. In 1435, when it came time for Marino to receive his doctor *in utroque iuris*, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane returned the favor, serving as one of Marino's witnesses. A decade later the two men would cross paths again, when Marino served in office alongside Trevisan as *savio di terraferma* in late 1445. Marino would also meet his fellow witness Nicolo da Canal again, when the two were *savi di terraferma* both in early 1446 and early 1447, before Marino's untimely death later that year.<sup>98</sup>

Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, mentioned in connection with Giovanni Marino in the previous paragraph, also developed relationships with other future patrician lawyers while at Padua. He served as a witness, alongside Nicolo da Canal, on multiple occasions, and da Canal, in turn, had served as a witness at Trevisan's arts doctorate as previously mentioned. Trevisan also served as a witness with Andrea Venier in late 1438, and when Venier was awarded the doctorate in canon law on 19 March 1439, Trevisan was there. The two men's relationship deepened further, as Trevisan married Venier's sister Dorotea, sometime in 1439. Besides da Canal, Trevisan served as a witness along with Marco Donà on more than one occasion in the 1430s, and when Donà was awarded his doctorate *in utroque iuris* in 1443, Trevisan again showed up as one of the witnesses. Trevisan would later serve as a member of the *savi di terraferma* alongside Nicolo da Canal in 1446. In the fall of that year,

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<sup>98</sup> For his role as witness with Foscarini, see *Acta Graduum I*, #930 & 942. References for the lawyers' degrees discussed in this paragraph can be found in Appendix I. Marino's election as *savio di terraferma* on 1 October 1445 can be found at Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, c. 167v. Trevisan had been elected earlier that year, on 27 June 1445. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, at c. 157v. When Trevisan's term expired at year's end, Nicolo da Canal was one of the replacements elected on 1 January 1446. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, at c. 177r. When Marino's term expired in March, Trevisan came back on the *savi di terraferma*. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, at c. 186. Marino was re-elected to the committee on 30 December 1446 and da Canal, in turn, was elected on 31 March 1447. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 2, cc. 14v & 26r. Marino's term expired in June of 1447, and although he had been elected a rector of Canea in May of that year, there is no evidence that he ever served in the office. See Collegio Notatorio, reg. 8, c. 59v. He in fact disappeared from the records from this point, an abrupt end to what had been an active political life, leading Margaret King to speculate that he must have died that year. See King, 1986, 399.

Venier would be elected to the *savi di terraferma*, and Trevisan, whose term on that council had just expired, would head to Florence as an ambassador, a post which Andrea Venier had held until spring of that year, and had in turn yielded to Giovanni Marino. In the 1450s, Trevisan and Donà served together as part of the *Collegio*, when the former had been elected a member of the *savi grandi*, and the latter a member of the *savi di terraferma*.<sup>99</sup>

Trevisan's brother-in-law, Andrea Venier, had a number of interesting witnesses at his degree ceremonies. Venier's deceased father, Santo, had been married to Franceschina Foscari, sister to Doge Francesco Foscari. Thus, when Andrea, their son, was awarded a doctoral degree in civil law on 6 May, 1436, two members of the Foscari family were present, Andrea's cousin Iacopo (the doge's son) and his uncle Marco (Francesco's brother). In addition to his family members, Andrea's witnesses included Palla Strozzi, Lancelot du Lusignan, and Antonio Borromeo, among others. Strozzi had been instrumental in sending Cosimo de' Medici into exile in 1433 before he himself was exiled in 1434 after Cosimo's return. Lusignan was related to the king of Cyprus. Borromeo, from a prominent Paduan family, was or would become an in-law—Andrea would marry Perenzina Borromeo, daughter of a Galeazzo Borromeo that same year. Each of these three would show up at other degree conferrals, but surely Venier's status as nephew of the doge helped bring them to this particular ceremony. In 1439, Andrea Venier was awarded a doctoral degree in canon law to go along with his civil law doctorate from 1436. Although no members of the doge's family showed up this time, this ceremony was witnessed by, among others, the previously mentioned Palla Strozzi and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Trevisan served as a witness with da Canal on at least four occasions during the 1430s. See *Acta Graduum I*, #1022, 1085, 1174 and 1308. The degree at which both Trevisan and Venier appeared as witnesses can be found at *Acta Graduum I*, #1308. Venier's canon law doctorate is at *Acta Graduum I*, #1327. For Trevisan's wedding to Dorotea Venier, see Giomo, vol. 2, 450. Trevisan and Donà appeared together at least twice, at *Acta Graduum I*, #1085 and 1174. The career paths of Trevisan and da Canal intersected on the *savi di terraferma*, in early 1446 when da Canal was elected on 1 January 1446 and Trevisan on 31 March 1446. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, cc. 177r & 186r. Venier had been elected ambassador to Florence on 2 December 1445. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 16, c. 231r. Marino replaced him on 29 April 1446, only to be joined by Trevisan after he left the *savi di terraferma* at the end of September. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 17, cc. 15r & 72r. Venier's election to the *savi di terraferma* on 1 October 1446 can be found at Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 2, c. 4v. Regarding Trevisan's service with Donà in the *Collegio*, Trevisan was elected a *savio grande* on 30 June 1455, and Donà joined the *savi di terraferma* later that year on 29 September. See SGV, reg. 4, c. 148v and Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 3, c. 176r.

<sup>100</sup> Venier's degree conferrals can be located at *Acta Graduum I*, #1119 and 1327. Strozzi's life is examined in detail in Bell, Lawrence William. 1972. *A Renaissance Patrician: Palla di Nofri Strozzi*, University of Rochester unpublished PhD dissertation. Evidence of Venier's connection to Antonio Borromeo comes from the letters of Isotta Nogarola. In a 1438 letter to a Nicolo Venier, Nogarola tells Venier to "give my best greetings to Andrea, your brother and my cousin." See Nogarola, Isotta. 2004. *Complete Writings: letterbook, dialogue on Adam and Eve, orations*. Edited by Margaret L. King and Diana Maury Robin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, at 475. Antonio was Nogarola's maternal uncle. See Nogarola, 2004, 33. Thus Venier's wife Perenzina, was in all likelihood a niece of Antonio.

The previous three examples came from among the first cohort of lawyers, those entering politics prior to 1454. However, similar patterns continued throughout the century. For example, Giorgio Pisani first appeared in the Padua graduation records as a witness in 1471, alongside Andrea Trevisan, son of Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, discussed above. He appeared as a witness with Trevisan a number of times, and, on 14 December 1474 the two were awarded their doctoral degrees in arts at the same ceremony. Pisani also appeared as a witness at Ermolao Barbaro's arts doctorate ceremony, along with Andrea Trevisan, Marco Dandolo, and others. Dandolo, along with Trevisan, and also Francesco Morosini, would be among the witnesses to Pisani's *utroque iuris* doctorate in 1481. Of these men, Pisani came into contact most with Dandolo. In 1506 they served as *savi di terraferma* together, and then they were sent together as ambassadors to the king of Spain, in Naples, later that year. They continued to serve on the *savi di terraferma* at the same time in both 1507 and 1508.<sup>101</sup>

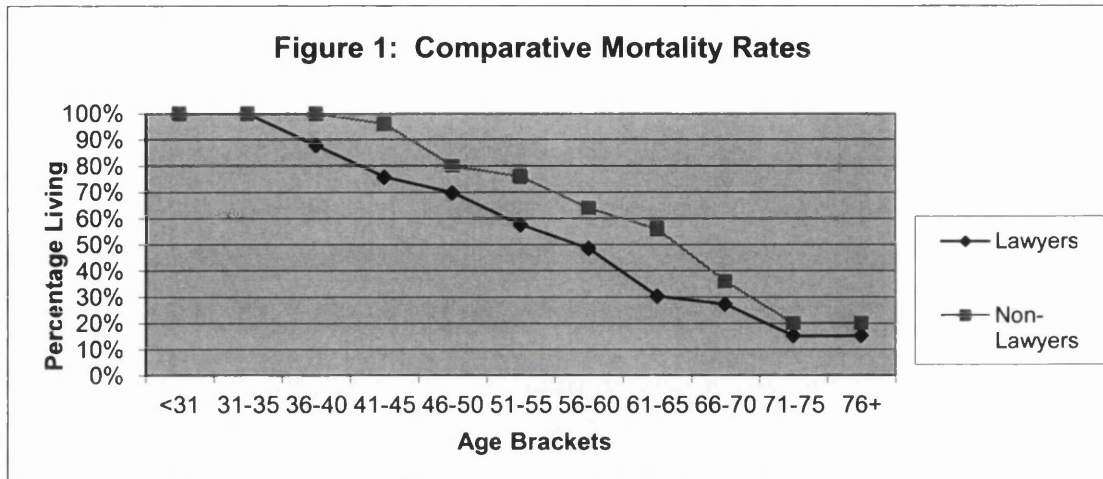
### Lawyers' Lifespans

One last characteristic of Venice's lawyers should be addressed before moving on to a detailed analysis of their activities. This characteristic is their general lack of long lifespans. Venice's lawyers were not particularly long-lived in comparison to their non-lawyer counterparts.<sup>102</sup> The average lifespan of lawyers was around fifty-eight years, compared to over sixty-four for non-lawyers. Four of the thirty-three lawyers had died at age forty or younger, whereas none of the members of the non-lawyer comparison group had died by that age. Only seventy-percent of the lawyers were alive by age fifty, whereas eighty-percent of the non-lawyers were still alive. Just under half the lawyers were still alive by age sixty, compared to almost two-thirds of non-lawyers. By age sixty-five, the difference is even more pronounced—nearly half the non-lawyers reached age sixty-five, whereas only thirty percent of the lawyers did. This trend continued throughout all the age groups, as illustrated by Figure 1 below.

<sup>101</sup> Pisani's first appearance is at *Acta Graduum IV*, #61. His arts doctor ceremony is at *Acta Graduum IV*, #301 and his doctor of both laws is at *Acta Graduum IV*, #713. For references to Pisani's concurrent office holding with Marco Dandolo, see their respective profiles *infra* Appendix I.

<sup>102</sup> For this section, the thirty-three lawyers of this study are compared to twenty-five non-lawyer patricians from King. The twenty-five men in the comparison group are similar in many ways to the lawyers—they were all politically active, both inside and outside Venice, they all came from a variety of Venetian noble families, and many were very highly educated, with several holding degrees from the University of Padua in fields other than law.

It should also be noted that the numbers in this section are somewhat tentative. Many of the birth dates for the fifteenth century are uncertain, often times being calculated by subtracting eighteen years from the time the noble in question registered for the *Balla d'Oro*. But not every noble registered, and not every noble who registered did so on their eighteenth birthday. See *infra* pp. 223-24 for further discussion of the *Balla d'Oro* records.



The significance of this data lies in the fact that Venice's political system was largely a gerontocracy.<sup>103</sup> Because many of Venice's offices were reserved for the oldest politically active patricians, lawyers who did not live long would not be available to serve in many of the higher offices of the state. To take elections as *savi grandi* as only one example, nearly half of the 137 instances in which non-lawyer patricians were elected to this office occurred at age sixty-five or older, when almost half of the non-lawyers were still living. Since not as many lawyers lived past age sixty-five, you would expect to see fewer elections to this office. The data bear this out—lawyers were elected *savi grandi* only sixty times, less than half the amount of their non-lawyer counterparts, and only thirteen percent of those elections occurred after the age of sixty-five, when nearly half of the non-lawyer elections to *savio grande* occurred. Thus, although a six year difference in lifespan does not seem significant, those six years represented the time period when Venetian patricians were most likely to be elected to principal offices of the state, meaning that lawyers operated at something of a disadvantage in terms of being elected to major offices in the Venetian system.

The foregoing examination of the group of men who served as Venice's patrician lawyers in the fifteenth century reveals group characteristics that are both similar to and different from their Italian and English counterparts. Similar to the other jurisdictions, Venice's lawyers came from both political insider families and some ambitious "outsider" families seeking advancement in the system. Although Venice's lawyers did not operate

<sup>103</sup> The gerontocratic aspect of Venice's system, and its impact on lawyers' careers is discussed in more detail *infra* pp. 122-25. The numbers that follow are compiled from the profiles in Appendix I *infra* as well as the profiles of non-lawyer humanists found in King.



within a guild system as in Florence (or in England since the inns of court could be seen as a guild equivalent), they nevertheless formed an identifiable group in terms of their common educational experience as well as numerous familial connections. What remains to be explored is whether or not the political experiences of Venice's lawyers mirror those of their counterparts elsewhere. The following chapters will explore this question in more detail—beginning with an examination of lawyers' careers in terms of the *cursus honorum*, or general career path.

### Chapter 3—Venice's Lawyers and the *Cursus Honorum*

Although it varied significantly from lawyer to lawyer, aggregating the career data for Venice's lawyers reveals that there was a definite pattern to when they were elected to various offices.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, separating the lawyers according to when they entered their political careers reveals that this pattern differed for those lawyers who came of age before or after the Peace of Lodi in 1454 (what I will call "first half" and "second half" lawyers respectively). This section discusses the general patterns of lawyer careers in both halves of the century, using the careers of two lawyers, Alvise Foscari (1409-1480), and Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (c. 1440-1518) as illustrative examples for the respective halves.

Officeholding of any type invariably began for a Venetian lawyer upon the completion of his legal education, which was typically begun in the late-teens and completed by the mid- to late-twenties.<sup>105</sup> Foscari and Michiel completed their studies at ages twenty-five and twenty-seven respectively. Typically there was a gap of a few years between completion of their studies and their first election to a major office.<sup>106</sup> For Foscari the gap was three years, for Michiel, only two. What lawyers did in this initial gap varied. A number were elected to minor offices,<sup>107</sup> some stayed at Padua and pursued brief teaching careers,<sup>108</sup> but for many their early activities remain unknown.

<sup>104</sup> Specific details about each of the lawyers' careers can be found in the biographical sketches section of this work, *infra* Appendix I. What follows in this section are a series of generalizations based on the totality of career data contained in these individual profiles.

<sup>105</sup> The only exception to this general rule was Francesco Contarini, who was elected ambassador to Bologna in 1451, but was not awarded his doctor *in utroque iuris* until 1453.

Degree dates can be determined with some precision for thirty-one of the thirty-three lawyers in this study. Of those, thirty received one or more doctoral degrees, and one (Zaccaria Bembo) stopped at the licentiate in civil law. See Appendix III. Bembo's degree was awarded at the age of twenty-two. See *Acta Graduum I*, #275. For those who received the doctoral degree, the average age was twenty-seven, the median twenty-six. The youngest to receive the doctoral degree was Fantino Dandolo, who was awarded a law doctorate at age twenty-two from the University of Padua. See King, 1986, 359. The oldest was Giacomo Contarini, who was thirty-five in 1491 when he was awarded the doctorate in civil law from Padua. See *Acta Graduum IV*, #1457. For more on the education of Venice's lawyers, see *supra* pp. 26-31.

<sup>106</sup> The median number of significant offices to which lawyers were elected was eleven. For those elected to more than eleven offices, the average gap between receiving their degree and their first significant office was five years. For those under eleven offices, the gap was 10.5 years. For four of those lawyers, the gap was at least twenty years, indicating that some lawyers at least pursued other careers besides politics.

<sup>107</sup> Zaccaria Bembo, for example, was elected a captain of the *Quarantia* in 1415, three years following his degree in civil law, but five years before his first significant office as *podestà* and captain of Portogruaro. See *Maggior Consiglio*, Ursa, c. 1v. Fantino Dandolo had been on the *Giudici de Petizion* in 1404. See *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti*, reg. 3, c. 50v. Among the sixteen lawyers who were active in the latter part of the fifteenth century, perhaps the most common "entry-level" office for them was the *Auditori Vecchi*. Seven of the sixteen were elected to this position, all within one to three years after leaving Padua.

<sup>108</sup> According to Margaret King, Pietro Molin was teaching law at Padua in 1462, sometime (presumably) after having acquired his doctorate degree. See King, 1986, 405. She also states that Barbone Morosini "perhaps substituted for a professor of law in 1442 or 1443." King, 1986, 408. Antonio Dandolo had the longest teaching

In most instances, the first major office lawyers were elected to was that of ambassador. This was the case for twenty-six of the thirty-three lawyers in this study. Of the remainder, six were elected governors as their first serious position, and one, Alvise Foscari, was elected to the Council of Ten. This pattern holds true for all lawyers throughout the fifteenth century. The only difference in those lawyers who came of age after the Peace of Lodi is that they were even more likely to be elected ambassadors as their opening position—fourteen of sixteen, versus twelve of seventeen for early fifteenth-century lawyers. As already noted, Alvise Foscari's first office was as a member of the Council of Ten, making him unique among all the lawyers and somewhat unique among patricians in general, since he was only twenty-eight at the time of election, an event practically unheard of in Venetian politics. Nicolo Michiel's first office was as ambassador to Senj, in Croatia, in 1468.<sup>109</sup>

The initial period of a lawyer's career—to age forty, or roughly a decade—was largely spent outside the city of Venice, typically as an ambassador. Among first half lawyers, forty-five percent of their elections were to ambassadorships, and a further fifteen percent were to governorships. The remaining forty percent was split among the legislative offices, with the *savi di terraferma* (21%) and the Council of Ten (9%) being the two primary committees to which they were elected. For each of these four offices, approximately half of all elections to them occurred during this period of the years leading up to the fortieth birthday.<sup>110</sup> Alvise Foscari's career illustrates these trends. He was elected an ambassador a total of six times, a governor on five occasions, and to various legislative offices a total of nine times, of which four were to the *savi di terraferma*, and two to the Council of Ten.

Second half lawyers demonstrate these trends in an even more exaggerated fashion. Among these lawyers, a remarkable seventy-one percent of all elections by age forty were as ambassadors. Governors accounted for another fifteen percent, meaning that almost seven out of every eight offices held by second half lawyers at or before age forty were outside the city of Venice. In the few instances when young second half lawyers were elected to legislative positions, they, like the previous group, were elected most frequently as *savi di terraferma* and to the Council of Ten. Even for these two offices, however, the majority of

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career, spending perhaps a decade teaching in Perugia, Pisa, and then Padua prior to taking up a political career in the 1460s. See Gullino, Giuseppe. 1986a. Dandolo, Antonio. In *DBI*, vol. 32, pp. 443-45.

<sup>109</sup> Foscari's presence on the Council of Ten in 1437 is first noted at the end of February 1437. See Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 11, c. 152v. Michiel's commission as ambassador to Senj can be found at Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 24, c. 8r-v.

<sup>110</sup> This ranges from the high of sixty percent of all ambassadorial elections, to a low of forty-five percent of governorships.

instances of election for second half lawyers occurred after the fortieth birthday. In the first twelve years of his career, for example, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio spent roughly six years in three different ambassadorships, at least two years as a governor on two different occasions, and the rest of his time between these various offices remains unaccounted for.<sup>111</sup>

In the second decade of their careers—roughly ages forty-one to fifty—Venice’s lawyers continued to spend significant amounts of time in elected offices outside the city, although the overall proportion does go down slightly. Among first half lawyers, the proportion of external offices drops from sixty-percent to forty-percent. The proportion for legislative offices, particularly election to the *savi di terraferma*, increases significantly, even though the number of elections to this office, in absolute terms, declines. Elections as a *savio di terraferma* nearly equal ambassadorships: thirty for the former, thirty-two for the latter. It is in this decade that first half lawyers were elected to a little over half of their total in the office of *avogador di comun*, ten times out of nineteen total.

This decade represents the most active period in Alvise Foscari’s life as well. Foscari opened the decade as *podestà* of Verona, a city he would return to as captain just six years later. His third governorship during this decade came in the intervening years, when he was sent to be *podestà* of Brescia in 1453. During this decade he had only four ambassadorships, a drop from the six missions he was sent on in the previous decade of his life. His legislative elections increased from nine to thirteen, with *savio grande* being the most frequent (five times during the decade).

Second half lawyers also spent much of their forties outside of Venice. Ambassadorships and governorships amounted to nearly seventy-percent of all elections. Among legislative offices, *savio di terraferma* was the one to which second half lawyers were most frequently elected, similar to their first half predecessors. Despite the fact that first half lawyers had already seen almost two-thirds of their total elections to the office of Ducal Councilor, not a single second half lawyer was elected to this office by age fifty.

Nicolo Michiel continued the trends from the first decade of his career. He opened the decade with the governorship of Corfu, which absorbed the first two years of this ten-year period. Upon his return from Corfu, he was elected to three more ambassadorships, and then, at the age of forty-seven, he was elected *consigliere di Cipro*, where he in all likelihood

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<sup>111</sup> Michiel was sent to Senj and Croatia from 1468 until at least 1470, possibly 1471. In 1472 he was elected Count of Spalato, a position he served in for an indeterminate time. His next office did not come until 1476, when he was sent to Aragon as an ambassador, remaining there until 1478. In 1479, he was elected *podestà* of Vicenza, and probably served as such until 1480 or even 1481 when he was elected, at age 41, to be *bailo* and captain of Corfu. For references for each of these elections, see Michiel’s profile, *infra* Appendix I.

remained for at least two years. He closed the decade out with his first legislative office—as a member of the Council of Ten—after twenty-two years in off-and-on service outside of Venice.

In the third decade of their careers, Venice's lawyers turned increasingly away from external offices, and spent more time in legislative offices inside the city. Whether this was because the rigors of travel and/or life as a territorial governor were considered too much for a man in his fifties, or this age represented the point at which Venice's lawyers were increasingly seen as viable candidates for major domestic offices is unknown.<sup>112</sup> What is known, however, is that among first half lawyers, the number of ambassadorships dropped from the first-decade high of seventy-eight down to only sixteen, and governorships similarly dropped from twenty-six down to seven.<sup>113</sup> This represented a total of only one-third of all elections during the decade of the fifties. Clearly the focus had changed for first-half lawyers from external assignments to domestic political offices.

This pattern is well illustrated by Alvise Foscari's career in his fifties. During this decade he was elected ambassador only three times, and had only one stint as a governor, when he served as *luogotenente* of Friuli from 1461 to 1462. The rest of the decade was spent in a dozen legislative posts. Among those, *savio grande* was by far the most frequent, with seven elections occurring during this decade. He was also elected *avogador di comun* twice, early in his fifties.<sup>114</sup>

Among second half lawyers, external offices dominated for the third decade in a row. Missions as ambassador and elections as governors still represent almost sixty-percent of all elections for second half lawyers in their fifties. Among legislative offices, *savio di terraferma* continues to represent around one-sixth (17%) of all elections. The most notable change in this decade is that elections to *avogador di comun* represent nearly fifteen percent of the total of all elections, and roughly forty-percent of all elections to that office for second half lawyers.

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<sup>112</sup> There is even the possibility that this was the informally determined point at which the lawyer's "apprenticeship" in offices outside the city paid off in the form of offices at home. This would parallel the careers of non-lawyers who spent much of their adulthood as merchants, and then, only in their twilight years would enter into political offices back home. King, for example, hypothesizes that Domenico Morosini pursued a mercantile career before beginning his political career at age 54. See King, 1986, 409-10.

<sup>113</sup> This decline could merely be due to the fact that only ten of the seventeen lawyers lived beyond age fifty to begin with. However, the fact that elections to *savio grande* outnumbered the elections to ambassador and governor combined tends to undercut this argument.

<sup>114</sup> One other interesting feature of this decade for Foscari was his election as a member of the *savi di terraferma* in 1466 at age fifty-seven, the oldest for any first half lawyer, and third oldest among all the lawyers.

As one would expect from the previous paragraph, Nicolo Michiel's career continued to contain significant amounts of time outside of Venice. He spent roughly four years on three different ambassadorial missions, plus one to two years as captain of Brescia. The remainder of his fifties Michiel spent primarily as an *avogador di comun* (three different terms lasting a total of roughly 40 months) with a brief stint on the Council of Ten. At the age of 60, Michiel was elected to the second highest office in the Venetian system, that of Procurator of Saint Mark, a reward from the Greater Council for his prosecution of Antonio Grimani.<sup>115</sup>

Roughly half of the lawyers in this study lived beyond their sixtieth birthdays. By the end of the fourth decade of their careers, only nine of the thirty-three had survived. Among first-half lawyers, the survival rate was even lower—over eighty-percent had died on or before their seventieth birthday. For second half lawyers, approximately three-eighths lived into their seventies. These last two decades saw a marked decline in the number of offices held, no doubt due to the low numbers of lawyers still living and actively engaged in politics. Among first half lawyers, the number of offices declined almost eighty percent in the fourth decade (from 72 to 15), and they held no offices at all in their seventies (only two first half lawyers lived past age 70). The decline was not quite so steep for second half lawyers—in the fourth decade offices declined approximately forty-three percent (from 46 to 26) and then a further thirty-eight percent (from 26 to 16) in the subsequent decade.

These final two decades saw continued declines in the number of elections to external offices, with corresponding increases in legislative office elections. Overall, lawyers were elected ambassador a total of nine times, and governor seven times, equaling twenty-eight percent of the total of fifty-seven elections. Among first half lawyers, the most common legislative office was *savio grande*, five of the eight total. For second half lawyers, the Council of Ten was most frequent (eleven of thirty-three) closely followed by *savio grande* (ten total). Among both groups of lawyers, elections to *savio di terraferma* had basically ceased—Marco Dandolo was the only lawyer elected to this post after age sixty, when he was elected in 1528 at the age of seventy.

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<sup>115</sup> The full order of offices that Michiel held between ages 51 and 60 is as follows: *avogador di comun* (January 1491-February 1492); ambassador to Naples (February 1492 to June/July 1493); captain of Brescia (elected in 1493, he may have held this office up to two years); Council of Ten (September 1495 to December 1495 or January 1496); ambassador to Rome (January 1496 to October 1497); *avogador di comun* (October 1497 to June 1498); ambassador to France (June 1498 to June 1499); *avogador di comun* (June 1499 until June 1500 when he was elected a procurator). These dates are derived from the archival sources noted in the profile of Michiel, Appendix I *infra*, and also Marino Sanuto's diaries for the relevant periods. For the relationship between Michiel's procuratorship and his prosecution of Grimani, see Finlay, 1980, 150.

Although Alvise Foscarini lived to age seventy-one, his active political career came to an end roughly five years prior. Foscarini began his sixties as ambassador to Rome along with the future doge Andrea Vendramin. Not long after his return to Venice in 1471, Foscarini was made a Procurator of St Mark's. He was then elected to the *savi grandi* five times throughout the first half of the 1470s. In 1476 he is last mentioned as a part of the *zonta*<sup>116</sup> of the Council of Ten. Although he would have remained a procurator until his death in 1480, he was not elected to any other major offices after 1475.

Nicolo Michiel's career looked almost identical to Foscarini's. Having been elected a procurator at age sixty, Michiel's subsequent significant offices were all elections to the *savi grandi*. He was elected to this office a total of three times, the last time coming at age sixty-seven in 1507. Following this, Michiel was elected to some ad hoc offices during the crisis period following Venice's defeat at Agnadello, and he spent the period from 1512 until his death in 1518 as a permanent fixture on the *zonta* of the Council of Ten.<sup>117</sup>

This cursory look at the aggregate career data for Venice's lawyers leads to two general observations. First, and foremost, Venice's lawyers began their careers abroad. They served the state extensively in the realm of its foreign affairs, either as ambassadors or as territorial governors. Although punctuated with some domestic positions, lawyers involved in politics primarily served their apprenticeship in external offices. This apprenticeship lasted approximately two decades, at which point a significant shift towards domestic offices began. Secondly, although these trends are seen throughout the century, they are even more exaggerated for lawyers who came of age after the Peace of Lodi in 1454. The domestic offices in the Venetian system appear to have tilted in an even more gerontocratic direction in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Returning to the first observation, regarding the apprenticeship in foreign offices served by Venice's lawyers, the following two chapters will explore these offices in more

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<sup>116</sup> The *zonta* (plural *zonte*) of the Council of Ten was simply an additional set of members elected by the Council of Ten for the purpose of advising the council on specified matters. Early in the fifteenth century the election occurred for a specific matter that the Ten wished to have wider input on. By the latter part of the century, the Ten's *zonta* seems to have taken on the more permanent nature of the Senate's *zonta*, whose members were elected annually. The members of the Senate *zonta* had the power to vote on matters before the Senate. Similarly, those *zonte* called to hear specific matters before the Ten also had voting powers, at least earlier in the century. By the time the *zonte* in the Ten became more fixed later in the fifteenth century, its members were no longer allowed to vote.

<sup>117</sup> Other second half lawyers who lived to advanced ages had more varied careers. Bernardo Bembo, who lived to be eighty-six, was elected an *avogador di comun* five times in his seventies and eighties, in addition to being the *podestà* of Verona at age seventy-nine and an ambassador to the pope at the age of eighty-two. Marco Dandolo, who was already mentioned as the oldest lawyer to be elected a *savio di terraferma*, was also an ambassador twice in his early seventies. Giorgio Pisani, who died in 1524 at the age of seventy-two, spent the last decade of his life rotating between the Council of Ten and its *zonte* (three elections each), the *savi grandi* (also three elections) and the ducal council (two elections).

detail. Chapter Four examines lawyers' activities in various diplomatic postings, and Chapter Five examines the lawyers' varying activities as territorial governors in the Venetian empire.



## Chapter 4—The Lawyer as Diplomat

### General Background

The post of ambassador represented the single most common office to which Venice's lawyers were elected. Throughout the period from 1400 to 1509 Venice's lawyers were sent throughout Italy and Europe to represent the Most Serene Republic to her friends and enemies alike on over two hundred occasions. A general examination of the role of ambassador then is critical to understanding this significant source of employment for Venetian patrician lawyers.

During the fifteenth century the role of ambassador was gradually changing. During the medieval period and into the first part of the fifteenth century, the ambassador was seen as a public servant whose function was "to serve the general welfare, by promoting peace."<sup>118</sup> All of western Europe was considered to be one great society, Christendom, whose members operated according to shared principles derived from a mix of Roman civil law, Christian canon law, and local customary law. Throughout the medieval period canon law had been the primary source of international law, though by the fifteenth century civil law had become the dominant source. Thus, during this period of change from the medieval to modern, "officials employed in foreign affairs were expected to be trained in civil and canon law."<sup>119</sup>

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, as modern states began to form, the role of the ambassador had changed from public servant to essentially private advocate. As Ermolao Barbaro wrote in the late 1480s/early 1490s in a treatise about the office of ambassador: "The first duty of an ambassador is exactly the same as that of any other servant of a government, that is, to do, say, advise and think whatever may best serve the preservation and aggrandizement of his own state."<sup>120</sup> The sense of responsibility to a shared understanding of Christendom was being replaced by patriotism towards one's own state/sending power.

During the medieval period, and into the early fifteenth century, the primary function of the ambassador was to serve as a negotiator on behalf of his sending power. The sending power could have a variety of forms—a corporation, a town, a major city, a monarch, the emperor, or pope—because there were no clear rules about who could/could not be

<sup>118</sup> See Mattingly, Garrett. 1988. *Renaissance Diplomacy*. Reprint of 1955 edition. New York: Dover Publications, at 40.

<sup>119</sup> Mattingly, 1988, 22. It is no surprise, then, that among Venice's lawyers, the majority (twenty-four of the thirty-three) had degrees in both types of law. See *supra* p. 28.

<sup>120</sup> Quoted in Mattingly, 1988, 95.

represented by ambassadors. But in each case the ambassador was sent to take part in specific negotiations, for specific purposes, and, upon the conclusion of those negotiations, returned back to the sending power, with document in hand for the sending power to ratify if it was satisfactory. In most instances the ambassador's authority was strictly circumscribed, and if negotiations went beyond the scope of his sending document, or commission, then the ambassador had to seek instructions from the sending power in order to continue negotiating.<sup>121</sup>

During the fifteenth century, however, a new type of ambassador—the resident ambassador—began to be employed by various powers. Unlike the ambassador sent for a specific purpose or set of negotiations (and therefore for a limited time period lasting a few months at most), the task of the resident ambassador was more open-ended. He was still to represent his sending power to the receiving power, but in more general terms. The primary task of the resident ambassador became to gather information on behalf of his sending power, passing that information along to his home government, communicating the views of his government to the receiving power as needed, and so on. In the Venetian records this ambassador was often referred to as an “ordinary” ambassador, with the implication being that this was increasingly becoming the standard system, with the ambassador sent for a specific purpose becoming the exception, rather than the rule, as it had been prior to the fifteenth century.<sup>122</sup>

### *The Legal Framework of Ambassadorial Missions in Venice*

In two small, but important works, Donald E. Queller laid out the legal framework that governed Venetian ambassadorships from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.<sup>123</sup> In the first of these, he drew several conclusions about the legal framework of

<sup>121</sup> Regarding the practice of various entities to send ambassadors, see Mattingly, 1988, 24. The general authority of ambassadors is discussed at Mattingly, 1988, 37. An example of this occurred in 1498, when Louis XII had assumed the throne of France after the death of Charles VIII. Pietro Bembo, in his *History of Venice* states that the Republic had sent three ambassadors to the king to congratulate him upon taking the throne and to deliver a gift for the occasion. Upon arriving, however, the king revealed to the ambassadors his intent to take the duchy of Milan by force from Lodovico il Moro, and wished to have the assistance of the Republic in the endeavor. The ambassadors responded that they would have to write back to the Senate in order to receive instructions before any further negotiations could take place. See Bembo, 2007, 307ff.

<sup>122</sup> The rise of the resident ambassador is chronicled in Mattingly, 1988, 50ff. Mattingly even conjectures that Venetian lawyer Zaccaria Bembo might have been the world's first resident ambassador when he was sent to Rome in 1435. See Mattingly, 1988, 68. Tessa Beverley argues, however, that Venice's switch to resident ambassadors was not necessarily any faster than that of other regimes. See Beverley, 1999, 3.

<sup>123</sup> These works were: Queller, Donald E. 1966. *Early Venetian legislation on ambassadors*. Geneva: Droz; and Queller, Donald E. 1977. *Two studies on Venetian government*. Geneva: Droz.

Wenetian diplomacy.<sup>124</sup> Firstly, he noted that the jurisdiction over ambassadors was changing during this time period. In the medieval period, legislation dealing with ambassadors was almost exclusively the province of the Greater Council. However, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Senate had gained almost exclusive control over the sending of ambassadors, and thus exercised the lion's share of authority in the area. Although the Greater Council occasionally still legislated in the area, and the Council of Ten also passed some laws regarding ambassadors, the bulk of the legislation in the fifteenth century was coming from the Senate.<sup>125</sup>

Secondly, Queller noted that much of this legislation focused on protecting the public interest from the private interests of the ambassadors from start to finish in the ambassadorial mission. Venice passed laws dictating when, and under what circumstances, individuals could refuse to serve as ambassador. It passed laws dictating how much ambassadors could be paid, in terms of a salary for the office plus a stipend for expenses associated with the mission. It attempted to regulate conflicts of interest, such as refusing to send individuals as ambassadors who had commercial/property interests in the territory of the receiving power, or forcing ambassadors to hand over for public auction any gifts received from the foreign power. It also attempted to deal with issues of security by regulating how much ambassadors could say, and to whom.

From his reading of the relevant statutes, Queller concluded that, first of all, Venice must have had a difficult time staffing its diplomatic posts. He argues that the large number of provisions dealing with the precise circumstances under which nobles could decline to serve as an ambassador, along with the purpose statements of these laws—which indicated that evasion of ambassadorships was a regular occurrence—indicate that Venetians would avoid diplomatic assignments wherever possible because of the financial costs to the individual associated with such missions. Queller writes: “The Republic could not or would not assume anything like the real cost of its diplomatic administration, and most patricians on most occasions would not, if they could possibly avoid it, sacrifice their family fortunes to a stingy state.”<sup>126</sup> Although he notes that there were some reasons individuals might accept an

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<sup>124</sup> These conclusions are discussed in Queller, 1977, 56-57.

<sup>125</sup> Beverley argues that the Council of Ten was beginning to take a more active role in diplomacy by the end of the fifteenth century, signaled in part by the more permanent nature of the *zonta* of the Ten. Beverley, 1999, 208.

<sup>126</sup> Queller, 1977, 39. Queller also notes the statements of two nobles, one who had been ambassador to Hungary, the other to Rome, who had spent 1000 and 2900 ducats of their own money, respectively, during their ambassadorships. Queller, 1977, 27-28.

ambassadorial mission, by and large, Venetian nobles “went to fantastic lengths to avoid election” as ambassador.<sup>127</sup>

This raises a question regarding Venice’s lawyers: did they fall into this pattern perceived by Queller? The data from the fifteenth century appears to indicate that Queller’s general assertions about Venetian nobles avoiding diplomatic postings do not hold true for Venice’s lawyers. In the period from 1400 to 1509 Venice’s lawyers were elected to ambassadorial posts a total of nearly 250 times. Of those 250 elections, the evidence exists to show that the lawyers served probably just over two hundred of those missions. Of the approximately forty missions they apparently did not serve in, only fifteen of those represented clear refusals by the lawyer in question, and in four of those cases, the lawyer was later re-elected and accepted the mission.<sup>128</sup> In fourteen cases the lawyers were absolved of the mission because they were serving in other offices of the Venetian state (e.g. the Council of Ten) that they did not wish to relinquish in order to take up the ambassadorship, and in twelve cases they were absolved/excused for various other reasons.<sup>129</sup> At its worst, then, it could be said that Venice’s lawyers failed to serve in about one out of every six ambassadorial posts to which they were elected, although the more realistic figure is about one out of every ten. While it is hard to judge precisely what level the refusals have to rise to

<sup>127</sup> Queller, 1977, 31. Such circumstances under which the general rule of avoidance would not apply, according to Queller included: “wealthy younger men seeking political advancement”, “exceptionally public-minded men”, and “exceptional reasons of state.” Queller, 1977, 31.

<sup>128</sup> The fifteen instances were as follows:

Year	Name	Mission	Source
1409	Fantino Dandolo	Pope Gregory	CLN, reg., 4, c. 56v
1426	Nicolo Contarini	Savoy	SS, reg. 9, c.151r
1427	Nicolo Contarini	Savoy*	SS, reg. 10, c.22r
1430	Marco Lippomano	Bologna	SS, reg. 11, c. 36r
1441	Giovanni Marino	Renate of Anjou	SS, reg. 15, c. 100v
1444	Andrea Venier	Segne	SS, reg. 16, c. 108v
1446	Nicolo da Canal	Bologna	ST, reg. 2, c. 14r
1454	Nicolo da Canal	Morea	SM, reg. 4, c. 41r
1486	Antonio Bernardo	Dalmatia	SS, reg. 33, c. 2r
1495	Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio	Milan	SS, reg. 35, c. 199v
1501	Marco Dandolo	Rome	<i>I Diarii</i> , vol. IV, 231
1502	Giorgio Pisani	Holy Roman Emperor	<i>I Diarii</i> , vol. IV, 299
1502	Nicolo Michiel il Giovane	Ferrara*	ST, reg. 14, c. 58v
1502	Francesco Morosini	Ferrara*	ST, reg. 14, c. 58v
1503	Francesco Morosini	France*	<i>I Diarii</i> , vol. V, 331

\*indicates that the lawyer was later re-elected to the mission and accepted.

<sup>129</sup> See, e.g., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 16, c. 154v (12 March 1445) where Giovanni Marino was elected ambassador to Francesco Sforza but then absolved due to illness. See also *I Diarii*, vol. III, 1176 where Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was excused from service as ambassador to Hungary in 1500 due to previous interactions with the Hungarians nearly three decades prior as Count of Spalato.

in order to constitute a moral failing, it hardly seems accurate to say that Venice's lawyers "went to fantastic lengths to avoid election" as ambassadors.<sup>130</sup>

### **Where Venice's Lawyers Served as Ambassadors**

In this section I shall examine where it was that Venice sent its lawyers on their missions as ambassadors. The data reveal some interesting trends about Venetian diplomacy, and how it changed in some respects during the course of the fifteenth century.

The first thing to examine is the overall breakdown in the geographic distribution of the lawyers' missions. In order to do this I have divided lawyers' missions into three basic categories: Italy, Europe, and the Orient. As can be seen from Figures 2 and 3, lawyers were rarely sent to the East. In fact, only one (Nicolo da Canal) of the twenty-nine lawyers who served as an ambassador was sent there. Almost four-fifths of all ambassadorial missions were to fellow Italian powers. The remaining fifth were missions to Europe.

Dividing these missions between those undertaken by lawyers who came of age prior to the Peace of Lodi, and those who began their careers after reveals an interesting change, as illustrated in Figures 2 and 3. Missions to Italian powers constitute almost seven-eighths of the pre-Lodi lawyers' assignments. Their post-Lodi counterparts, however, spent only about three-fifths of their missions being sent to other Italian powers. Instead, the post-Lodi lawyers were sent more frequently to European powers.

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<sup>130</sup> The most frequent avoider of diplomatic postings was Zaccaria Bembo. In seven different instances he avoided a diplomatic mission, but in six of the seven cases he "hid" behind the fact that he was already serving in another office of state. In only one instance was he "excused" without the reason being given. In an eighth instance, Bembo sought to be excused from continuing in his office as *podestà* of Verona in November 1438. The Senate rejected his request for repatriation, but in Bembo's defense, Milanese forces were in the area at that time, making both Bembo's request and the Senate's rejection of it more reasonable.

### Pre-1454 Elections to Ambassador

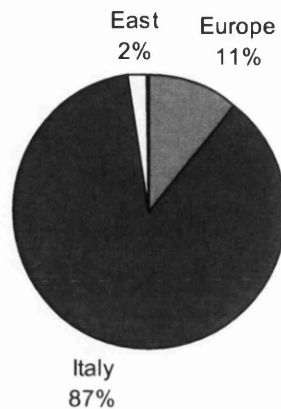


Figure 2<sup>131</sup>

### Post-1454 Elections to Ambassador

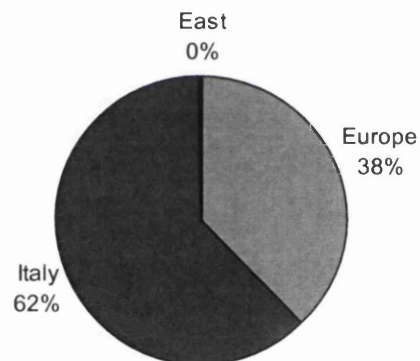


Figure 3

What this data indicates is that, first, lawyers were hardly ever the first choice for a mission to the East. This makes sense given the legal training that lawyers received. Their education prepared them to deal with fellow Catholic powers, in effect, not with the fundamentally different judicial systems of the East. Thus, since their legal training would

<sup>131</sup> For both this and the following Figure, an Italian power is defined as one possessing significant lands on the Italian peninsula (e.g. Naples, Florence, Milan, Savoy, etc.); a European power is one whose primary territorial holdings are outside the peninsula (e.g. the Holy Roman Empire, France, Spain, etc.); and eastern powers are those geographically located to the east of the Italian peninsula (e.g. Serbia, the Byzantines, the Turks, etc.)

not give them an advantage in these situations, other considerations no doubt led to the Senate selecting different ambassadors for Eastern missions. The second trend revealed by these figures is that while Venice was expanding its mainland empire in the first half of the century, Venice's lawyers were primarily being used to negotiate with the other powers of Italy who would be impacted by this expansion, and who would therefore be most interested in Venice's foreign policy. Once the boundaries of this mainland state were largely fixed by the Peace of Lodi, and the Turkish threat became the principal worry of the Republic, Venice's lawyers were sent increasingly to the extra-Italian powers that would be a part of the various schemes to crusade against the Turks.

Table 2 below lists the most frequent destinations of Venice's lawyers. Included in the table are those destinations to which lawyers were sent either ten or more times, or for a total of missions occurring in ten or more different years. As this table shows, the single largest share of ambassadorial missions by lawyers was to Rome. Missions to the pope accounted for almost one-sixth of the entire number of missions from 1400 to 1509. There was also a lawyer either in Rome, or with the pope when he was outside Rome, in thirty-nine of these 110 years. The largest gap in legal representation in Rome came from 1400 to 1406 and 1409 to 1420, when there were very few lawyers active in Venice at the time, and the papacy itself was in turmoil due to the Great Schism and its aftermath. After 1420, Venice did not go more than four years without a lawyer visiting the pope until the period of 1472 to 1480, when there were once again no lawyers from Venice in Rome.<sup>132</sup> Following this long hiatus, lawyers were present in Rome fairly regularly during the years 1481 to 1509, being present in eighteen of those thirty years.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> According to a study by Stella Fletcher, Venice relied primarily on cardinals in Rome to carry out its diplomacy. See Fletcher, Stella. 1991. *Venetian cardinals at the papal court during the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, 1471-1492*, University of Warwick unpublished PhD dissertation.

<sup>133</sup> These facts argue for the central role played by Venice's lawyers in her diplomatic efforts. Mattingly notes that "Rome was, after the Peace of Lodi, the nerve-center of the Italian diplomatic system" and concludes that "Italian states sent their most accomplished diplomats, their most promising juniors, and their handsomest and best supplied legations" to the Holy See. Mattingly, 1988, 91. Beverley also argues that in the informal hierarchy of diplomatic destinations, Rome was the top post, typically reserved for the most important patricians. See Beverley, 1999, 63-64.

**Table 2: Frequent Ambassadorial Missions by Location/Length**

Location of Mission	No. of Missions to Location	No. of Years in Location
Rome	34	39
Florence	24	21
Milan	19	23
Ferrara	21	16
Holy Roman Empire	11	11
Naples	9	17
Genoa	7	10
France	6	12
Burgundy	5	10

The next three locations are also relatively easy to explain. The second most common place for a Venetian lawyer to be sent was Florence. Throughout much of the fifteenth century, Florence loomed large in Venetian diplomacy, first as an ally against the common threat of Milan, then as an adversary when the Florentines switched sides. But the Peace of Lodi neutralized the Milanese threat for a time, and with the Turks looming larger in Venetian concerns, lawyers were rarely sent to Florence after 1454, and, when Milan did become a threat to Venetian interests in the latter part of the century, Venice sought help outside of Italy, in the form of France.

Milan, as Venice's primary rival in northern Italy, was the third most common city for a Venetian lawyer to be sent to. Venetian lawyers were sent to negotiate several of the treaties that the two powers signed throughout the century. They would not only serve in this capacity, but they also were sometimes placed as Venetian governors in the region to keep a watchful eye on Milan's activities, to ensure that treaties negotiated would be adhered to.

The fourth, and final Italian power to which Venice's lawyers were sent at least ten times was Ferrara. The Venetians maintained a complex relationship with Ferrara during the fifteenth century—viewing the city at various times as a commercial rival, a protectorate, a source of mercenary captains, and, in the early 1480s a legitimate target for conquest.<sup>134</sup> All these reasons led Venice to send its lawyers to Ferrara during the fifteenth century.

Among European powers, the most frequent object of lawyers' attention was the Holy Roman Empire. The figure of eleven missions is a little misleading, as three of the elections

<sup>134</sup> Many of these issues are explored in some detail in Dean, Trevor. 1986. "Venetian Economic Hegemony: the Case of Ferrara, 1220-1500." *Studi Veneziani* 12:45-98. Dean also discusses the role of the *visdomino* of Ferrara, noting that the position, though nominally like that of a *podestà* or captain in one of Venice's subject cities, was also in many ways a diplomatic position, as the *visdomino* was responsible for maintaining Venice's day-to-day relationship with the D'Este family. See Dean, 1986, 74ff.



involved a ceremonial visit to the Emperor as he was passing through Venetian lands in 1468. However, most of the missions to the Emperor were of a more serious nature, involving negotiations over how to respond to the Turkish threat in the latter part of the century. Accordingly, the great majority (nine of the eleven) occurred after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The second most common European power for lawyers to be sent to was France. Each of the six missions to France occurred after 1454, and five of the six occurred after the French invasion of 1494. Again, as Venice saw the shift in the power balance in Italy, and the increasing influence of external powers in Italian affairs, the location of lawyers' missions changed in response.

### **Frequency of Election as Ambassadors**

In her study of Venetian ambassadors from 1454 to 1494, Tessa Beverley isolated what she called a "core group" of 135 patricians who served on diplomatic missions during this period. She found that the average ambassador served on four missions, but that one percent served on fifteen or more missions, another ten percent were sent out from ten to fourteen times, approximately nineteen percent served from five to nine times, and the vast majority, seventy percent, served on four or less missions. She also found that the average age at first election for an ambassadorial post was forty-five. With this in mind, a brief look at similar statistics for the lawyers of this study will further demonstrate the powerful role that they played in Venetian politics during the fifteenth century.<sup>135</sup>

Thirty of the thirty-three lawyers in this study were sent on diplomatic missions approximately 210 times.<sup>136</sup> This means the average number of missions was seven, almost twice as high as Beverley's core group. Three of the lawyers, or ten percent, were sent on over fifteen missions. Another four were sent on ten to fourteen missions. This means that nearly one quarter of the lawyers were sent on ten or more diplomatic missions, whereas just over ten percent of Beverley's core group had the same distinction. Finally, the average age at which Venice's lawyers were first elected as ambassadors was thirty-four, over a decade younger than their non-lawyer counterparts.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Beverley's definition of the "core group" can be found at Beverley, 1999, 41. The statistics regarding the number of missions members of this core group were sent on can be found at Beverley, 1999, 66. The average age at election is given in Beverley, 1999, 167.

<sup>136</sup> The three who were never ambassadors were Giovanni Alberti, Ettore Bembo, and Giacomo Molin.

<sup>137</sup> Only two of the thirty lawyers served on their first mission after the age of forty. Angelo Michiel was sent to Rome at the age of fifty-two in 1466, and Antonio Bernardo went to Dalmatia at the age of fifty-six in 1486. These would prove to be the only diplomatic missions for either lawyer went on.

## Different Types of Ambassadorial Missions

A comprehensive examination of Venice's diplomacy in the fifteenth century does not exist, and is beyond the scope of this present study.<sup>138</sup> Looking at the activities of Venice's lawyers however, shows that they were sent for roughly three basic reasons. By far the most common reason lawyers were sent as an ambassador was for the purpose of negotiating some aspect of Venice's foreign policy. This could include negotiating an alliance, delivering instructions to a general, concluding a peace treaty, and other aspects that could be labeled more generally as "war and peace." This represents, by far, the most common reason lawyers were sent as diplomats, as will be shown below. A second purpose for which a lawyer might serve as an ambassador would be to negotiate some facet of Venice's commercial policy. This could also involve treaties, perhaps to guarantee (favorable) access to markets, or protection from pirates, or it could sometimes involve the purchasing of grain, a perennial issue in the Renaissance since famines due to crop failure or uncertain grain supply were regular occurrences. The final reason Venice sometimes sent lawyers as diplomats was to serve as ceremonial representatives of the Most Serene Republic, whether to congratulate a new monarch, provide condolences for the passing of a previous ruler, or to celebrate a wedding.<sup>139</sup> Although not all of the missions discussed below should be considered "equal" in the sense of importance/prestige, the overall picture that emerges is that Venice's lawyers were at the heart of her negotiations in Italy and beyond during the fifteenth century.

### *Lawyers as Ambassadors of War and Peace*

The fifteenth century would prove to be a contentious one for Venice. The Most Serene Republic would be involved in two major external conflicts that would result in absorbing much of her diplomatic energy and resources—wars with Milan and then the Ottoman Empire—not to mention numerous smaller conflicts that would prove to be just as wearing, and, ultimately, nearly fatal as one of these—the intervention in the Romagna in

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<sup>138</sup> Two useful general surveys are Mattingly, 1988, and Mallett, Michael E., and John R. Hale. 1984. *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c. 1400-1617*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Also helpful for the reign of Francesco Foscari, a period of intense diplomatic activity, especially by lawyers, is Romano, Dennis. 2007. *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari, 1373-1457*. New Haven: Yale University Press. There are numerous books and articles that deal with individual events in the fifteenth century, which will be cited as those events are discussed later in the text.

<sup>139</sup> It should also be noted at this point that some missions involved multiple purposes. For example, in 1455 Alvise Foscari was part of the delegation sent to Rome to not only congratulate Pope Calixtus III upon his taking up the throne of St. Peter (a "ceremonial" act), but also to discuss the Republic's attitude towards the Turkish threat (an aspect of "war and peace").

1503—would serve as one of the justifications for the League of Cambrai. In most of these lawyers played some part, and the purpose of this section is to outline their contributions to Venice's attempts at managing these various conflicts between 1400 and 1509. I will first examine the role played in trying to counter the threat of Milan between 1425 and 1454, followed by an examination of their contributions to the diplomacy that sought to contain the Turkish threat following the fall of Constantinople in 1454. Lastly I shall describe a few of the ways in which Venice's lawyers were involved in some of the other, smaller conflicts.<sup>140</sup>

### Countering Milan

Venice's lawyers were involved throughout the conflict with Milan, from the beginning stages in the mid-1420s,<sup>141</sup> all the way to the creation of the Italian League in the mid-1450s which brought an end, on the surface at least, to the incessant warfare between the major powers. Lawyers were sent to most of the major players in the drama, whether to Florence (Venice's chief ally for much of this time), Savoy (another potential ally), the pope—often a broker of peace between the warring factions, the various mercenary captains that commanded Venice's armies during the conflict, or even Milan itself.

The first example of a Venetian lawyer involved in the Republic's attempts to respond to the threat of Milan is in late 1425. In November of that year the Senate had agreed to form a league with Florence against Milan.<sup>142</sup> The terms of the league were approved on 3 December, and the *Libri Commemoriali* record that when the treaty was signed on 4 December, Marco Lippomano was one of the Venetian representatives.<sup>143</sup> Early in 1426 Nicolo Contarini was sent to Florence to discuss the league with the Florentines. In the summer of that year Contarini and Fantino Dandolo were involved in the negotiations to add

<sup>140</sup> By smaller I only mean smaller in duration or importance. For example, Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494 was short-lived, but nonetheless vitally important to the future of the Italian states. Venice's conflict with the Patriarch of Aquileia, which flared up periodically throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, was almost as long-lived as the city's conflict with Milan, but did not necessarily present a serious threat to the safety of Venice itself, particularly after Venice had made peace with Sigismund of Hungary in the early 1420s.

<sup>141</sup> The 1420s was the decade in which direct conflict with Milan began. Even before this, however, Venice became involved in Milanese affairs, allying with the Visconti to eliminate the threat of the Carrara and then taking territory from Milan following the death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. See ch. XXII of Simeoni, Luigi. 1950. *Storia politica d'Italia: le signorie*. 2 vols. Milan: Francesco Vallardi. Cf. Lane, 1973, 225-28. Fantino Dandolo was part of peace negotiations in 1405 between Gian Galeazzo's son, Giovanni Maria, and Francesco Gonzaga, the ruler of Mantua. See Gullino, Giuseppe. 1986b. Dandolo, Fantino. In *DBI* vol. 32, pp. 460-64.

<sup>142</sup> Venice's decision to ally with Florence against Milan, and the events of this first Milanese war are discussed in Simeoni, 1950, 462-68.

<sup>143</sup> For a discussion of the events surrounding the decision to go to war with Milan, see Romano, 2007, 67-68. Cf. Cessi, Roberto. 1916. "Venezia alla pace di Ferrara del 1428." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 31:321-71. Lippomano's involvement is recorded in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 11, c. 168r.

Savoy to the league. A treaty of peace was signed by the two sides at the end of 1426, and again Dandolo was involved.<sup>144</sup>

This treaty would prove to be short-lived, however, as Contarini would find out in early 1427. In January of that year he was sent, along with Paolo Tron, to take possession of the various castles and towns ceded to Venice by the Duke of Milan. The reception they received was less than friendly, and open conflict broke out again soon after. Contarini was then sent to the Marquis of Montferrat to seek his accession to the anti-Visconti league, and afterward to Savoy, during which mission he would die from causes left unrecorded.<sup>145</sup>

The Peace of Ferrara in 1428 created a somewhat longer lull in the conflict than the treaty negotiated at the end of 1426. However, as early as 1429 Marco Lippomano was sent to Florence to discuss matters concerning Milan. Later that same year Lippomano would head to Rome in order to take part in papal arbitration of some of the claims between Milan and Venice left unresolved by the Peace of Ferrara. Not long after Lippomano returned from these missions in 1430 the peace between the parties began to unravel, and in 1431 open conflict resumed.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Contarini's mission to Florence is mentioned in Romanin, Samuele. 1972-75. *Storia documentata di Venezia*. 3rd edition. 10 vols. Venezia: Filippi Editore, vol IV, 113-14. The negotiations to add Savoy are recorded at *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 11, c. 186r and Senato, Sindicati II # 6. Dandolo's participation in the treaty negotiations at the end of the year is recorded in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 11, c. 232 and Senato, Sindicati II #9. Cf. Gullino, 1986b, at 462.

<sup>145</sup> Contarini and Tron's work as *proveditori* in Brescia is recorded in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 11, c. 197r and Senato, Sindicati II, #11. There is also left to us a copy of the oath of fealty that the two were supposed to take to the various towns in the Bresciano ceded to Venice. See *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 35, #1042. Regarding the reception the two received, Romanin writes:

Rifiutò quindi consegnare a Nicolò Contarini e Paolo Tron le fortezze che si era impegnato di cedere, ed era il 5 febbraio 1427 quando la Repubblica, vedendo per la mala fede del duca prossima a scoppiare di nuovo la Guerra, richiamava a Venezia il Carmagnola per discuterne il piano ed il 24 marzo vi si accoglieva splendidamente anche la contessa sua moglie.

Romanin, 1972-75, vol. IV, 119. Cf. Treccani degli Alfieri, Giovanni. 1963-64. *Storia di Brescia*. 5 vols. Brescia: Morcelliana, vol. II, 19-20, and Sanuto, Marino. 2004. *Le vite dei dogi (1423-1474)*. Edited by Angela Carraciolo Aricò. 2 vols. Venice: La Malcontenta, vol. I, 62. For Contarini's mission to Montferrat, see Senato, Sindicati II, #13 and *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 35 #1025. His mission to Savoy is recorded in Senato, *Deliberazioni Secreti*, reg. 10, cc. 31v-34r (17 March 1427). Cf. Cognasso, Francesco. 1915. "L'alleanza sabauda-viscontea contro il Monferrato nel 1431." *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 5th ser., 2:273-334. That he died en route is recorded in Cicogna, Emmanuele A. 1969-70. *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*. Reprint of 1824-53 edition. 6 vols. Bologna: Forni Editore, vol. 3, 294. The *Registro di Ambascerie*, Marc. Ital. VII, 197 (8162), c. 82v, however, states that he served as an ambassador to the negotiations at the end of 1427 that resulted in the Peace of Ferrara.

<sup>146</sup> For Lippomano's mission to Florence, see Senato, Sindicati II, #34. His mission to Rome for arbitration is found in Senato, Sindicati II, #41. Fantino Dandolo also went to Florence in 1429, in an attempt to have the Florentines mediate peace between Venice and the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund. However, the effort ultimately failed, and the Hungarians sided with Milan in 1431 after hostilities broke out. See Mallett and Hale, 1984, 35-36.

Although a new peace treaty was signed in 1433, conflict broke out once again in 1434, and Marco Lippomano was once again involved, this time as *proveditor* with the army during parts of 1434 and 1435. In 1435 Zaccaria Bembo was sent to Florence, where he was involved in negotiations between Venice, Florence, and their newly added allies Francesco Sforza and Pope Eugenius IV.<sup>147</sup> In 1436 Bembo would be the Venetian agent in Florence sent to negotiate Francesco Sforza's contract as captain general of the league armies.<sup>148</sup>

In 1439, after Venice had successfully broken the Milanese siege on Brescia, a new source of danger emanating from Milan appeared. The Duke of Milan had helped to finance Giacomo Scrovegni, a citizen of Padua, in an attempt to foment rebellion in that city. Scrovegni was in the company of Borso d'Este, a Venetian *condottiere*, and also son of Nicolo d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara. The Ten, upon learning of the plot and its participants, sent a letter to Zaccaria Bembo, ambassador in Ferrara, asking him to seek the help of the Marquis in arresting Scrovegni. Before all the arrests could occur, however, the conspirators were able to flee to Milan.<sup>149</sup>

Throughout the first half of the 1440s, conflict between the two sides was reduced, particularly following the signing of a peace treaty in 1441, with which Venice's lawyers did not deal directly. War would not come again until 1446, when Milan threatened Cremona.<sup>150</sup> In the interim, Venice's lawyers were sent to Francesco Sforza, who continued to be the captain general of the league armies, on at least four different occasions. Venice's lawyers were also sent to Florence repeatedly during this lull in the fighting. They continued to work with the various mercenary captains, being sent to Ferrara (the d'Este family) and Rimini (the Malatesta). Venice also sent Marco Lippomano to Milan to deal directly with the Duke, both in 1444 and 1446. Alvise Foscari was sent to Milan as well to deliver the Republic's ultimatum to the Duke to cease from his designs on Cremona or face attack by the Venetian-Florentine league.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Eugenius IV, a Venetian, had been driven from Rome in 1434, and relocated himself to Florence and then Bologna during his nine-year exile. See Simeoni, 1950, 474.

<sup>148</sup> Lippomano's time with the army is mentioned in Senato, *Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 58. The resulting agreement from Bembo's mission to Florence in 1435 can be found at *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 36 #1067. His commission for the renewal of Sforza's contract at the end of 1436 can be found at Senato, *Sindicati II*, # 82.

<sup>149</sup> This episode is described in more detail in Segarizzi, Arnaldo. 1916. "Contributo alla storia delle congiure padovane." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 31:48-78, at 48-58.

<sup>150</sup> See Mallett and Hale, 1984, 40.

<sup>151</sup> Lawyers sent to Francesco Sforza during this period included Nicolo da Canal in 1442, Andrea Venier in 1443 and 1445, and Giovanni Marino, also in 1445. Between 1444 and 1447, four different lawyers were sent to Florence for a total of seven times: Zaccaria Bembo in 1444; Nicolo da Canal in 1444 and 1446; Giovanni Marino in 1445 and 1446; Zaccaria Trevisan in 1446; and Andrea Venier in 1445. Lawyers sent to Ferrara

When conflict broke out again in 1446, Venice's lawyers were once again in the center of the fray. Marco Lippomano was sent to the Venetian captain general, Michele Attendolo di Cotignola, in order to spur him on to action as war loomed. Nicolo da Canal was sent to Attendolo the following year as well, as the fighting continued. Meanwhile, Zaccaria Trevisan and Andrea Venier were sent to Florence, with Venier also being sent to Francesco Sforza.<sup>152</sup>

The year 1447 saw the beginnings of the seismic shifts in the political landscape that would result in the Peace of Lodi and the Italian League in 1454. Filippo Maria Visconti died, leaving a power vacuum that several others were eager to fill. The resulting struggle saw Francesco Sforza become the captain of the Ambrosian Republic (as the citizenry of Milan now chose to call itself), and Florence became suspicious of Venetian territorial aspirations. Alfonso of Aragon, who also had a claim to the rulership of Milan, became increasingly aggressive in his policies towards the northern half of the peninsula as well. When the dust had finally begun to settle in the early 1450s, Francesco Sforza had become ruler of Milan, Florence had chosen its long-time relationship with Sforza over its even longer alliance with Venice, and Venice replaced Florence with Naples as its new partner. As with the other phases in the conflict with Milan, Venice's lawyers were again playing an important part in Venetian diplomacy during this period of changing relationships.<sup>153</sup>

In 1448 Nicolo da Canal and Barbone Morosini were sent separately as ambassadors to Florence. Da Canal reassured the Florentines of the continued friendship of Venice, and its desire to remain united in the conflict against Milan. Meanwhile Zaccaria Trevisan was sent that same year to Savoy, in order to try to broker a peace with Milan. The following year da Canal returned to Florence, and then went on to Milan where he was to seek peace with the Ambrosian Republic. Alvise Foscari, meanwhile, was sent to Genoa, where he was seeking to keep that maritime republic neutral in the conflict between Florence and Naples (Alfonso had been seeking Genoese help to threaten Florence). Similarly, Nicolo da Canal was also sent to Rome in 1449, seeking papal mediation in the negotiation of a peace treaty

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included Giovanni Marino in 1441, Nicolo da Canal in 1442, Zaccaria Trevisan in 1443, and Marino again in 1445. Regarding Foscari's mission to Milan, see Moro, 1997, at 383.

<sup>152</sup> Agostini, in his profile of Lippomano, discusses Lippomano's task of encouraging Attendolo to vigorously prosecute the military action. See Degli Agostini, Giovanni. 1752-54. *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori veneziani*. 2 vols. Venice: S. Occhi, vol. 1, 493. For records of this, and the other missions in this paragraph, see the lawyers' respective profiles in Appendix I, *infra*.

<sup>153</sup> For a basic discussion of the diplomatic maneuvers involving the powers from 1448 onward, see Soldani, Maria Elisa. 2007. "Alfonso il Magnanimo in Italia: pacificatore o crudel tiranno? Dinamiche politico-economiche e organizzazione del consenso nella prima fase della Guerra con Firenze (1447-1448)." *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 165:267-324, and Rossi, Luigi. "Venezia e il re di Napoli Firenze e Francesco Sforza, dal novembre del 1450 al giugno del 1451." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 10:5-46; 281-356; cf. Simeoni, 1950, 492-508.

with Alfonso. In the military realm, Venice replaced Michelle Attendolo as captain general, choosing Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini as its new military leader, a ceremony attended by Nicolo da Canal, among others.<sup>154</sup>

In the second half of 1450 Venice made peace with Naples, though the treaty was not officially announced until the following year. Soon after the treaty was signed, Venice sent Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane to Alfonso, possibly as resident ambassador. In 1451 the shift in the alliances was completed, and Zaccaria Bembo was sent to Siena in order to negotiate a defensive alliance between the two cities in case Florence chose to attack either. Offensively, Venice hired Gentile Leonessa as its new commander. Nicolo da Canal was sent to Leonessa with the rod of command, and as a *proveditor* with the army. Zaccaria Trevisan would be sent to Leonessa at the end of the year.<sup>155</sup>

The war over whether or not Francesco Sforza's power play for Milan would remain successful was fought from 1452 to 1454. During 1452 another lawyer, Alvise Foscari, was sent to the captain general, and Siena continued to receive the attentions of Venice's lawyers, this time as Vitale Lando was sent as resident ambassador from late 1452 until 1454. Meanwhile, Barbone Morosini was resident in Naples, Venice's ally in the war against Milan and Florence, for parts of 1452 and 1453. Finally, in 1454, Marco Donà was involved in some of the negotiations in what would become the Peace of Lodi (between Florence, Milan, and Venice) and Nicolo da Canal was one of two ambassadors sent to attend the signing of the treaty. Zaccaria Trevisan was instrumental in extending the treaty to include the Pope and, finally in 1455, Naples.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> The Venetian republic's relationship with Florence during this time, and da Canal's role of reassuring the Florentines of Venice's continued friendship, is discussed in Soldani, 2007, 289-99. The nature of Trevisan's mission to Savoy is mentioned in Senato, Sindicati II, #119 and Registro di Ambascerie c. 74r. The treaty da Canal was sent to negotiate with Milan in 1449 is recorded at *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 41r and Senato, Sindicati II, #125. Foscari's mission to Genoa is discussed in Moro, 1997, at 383. The attempt to have the pope mediate a treaty between Venice and Naples is found at Senato, Sindicati II, #126. Da Canal's presence at Malatesta's ceremony is recorded at *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 32r.

<sup>155</sup> With the exception of da Canal's mission to the Pope in the mid-1450 to explore the possibility of papal mediation between Venice and Naples, lawyers were not directly involved in the treaty between the two powers. Trevisan's role as Venice's first resident ambassador to Naples is hinted at by Mattingly, 1988, 74. The treaty between Venice and Siena can be found at *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 39 #1138. Marco Donà was sent to Montferrat later in the year to expand the treaty to include the Marquis of Montferrat. See *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 110. For da Canal and Trevisan's missions to Leonessa see the citations in their profiles, *infra* Appendix I.

<sup>156</sup> Regarding the missions of Foscari and Morosini, see their profiles, *infra* Appendix I. Lando's time in Siena is discussed in Gullino, Giuseppe. 2004. Lando, Vitale. In *DBI*, vol. 63, pp. 462-65. Following Lando's return from Siena in 1454, Francesco Contarini was sent to Siena from 1454-55. Thus, Siena was the recipient of Venice's lawyers' attentions throughout the first half of the 1450s, and it is perhaps interesting to note that lawyers ceased to be sent to Siena after Contarini left in 1455, about the same time that the system put in place by the Peace of Lodi finally began to take hold. For a brief description of the events surrounding the outbreak of war in 1452, see Ilardi, Vincent. 1959. "The Italian League, Francesco Sforza, and Charles VII (1454-61)."

Thus, during the almost-three-decade conflict with Milan, Venice's lawyers were sent on over fifty separate missions to various Italian powers to try to create some form of lasting peace or alliance to Venice's advantage. They were involved both directly and indirectly in the signing of peace treaties, the creation and shoring up of various alliances, and serving as go-betweens for the Signory and the Republic's captains general. Venice's lawyers played an integral part in the diplomacy of this central aspect of Venice's foreign relations.

### Countering the Turks

The next great threat facing Venice after Milan was the Turks. Much of the diplomatic effort in the second half of the fifteenth century was in some fashion related to the question of exactly how to address the threat posed by the expansionist policies of the Ottomans. Yet the nature of the threat was somewhat different, so the role of Venice's lawyers changed in subtle ways. For example, as previously noted, during the second half of the century, Venice's lawyers were increasingly sent to powers outside Italy. Many of these missions were designed to seek the cooperation of the other major Christian powers of Europe in dealing with the Turkish threat. The threat posed by Milan concerned primarily peninsular powers, and so Venice's lawyers were sent to those powers. The Turkish threat could be seen to have wider implications, and therefore Venice's lawyers were increasingly sent to the major powers most likely to wield the resources needed to combat the Turks. During the first half of the century, Venice's lawyers were repeatedly sent to deal directly with the enemy. In the second half, however, the lawyers were rarely sent to deal directly with the Turks. Whether this was because the lawyer's training in the Roman civil law tradition offered no advantages in dealing with an "alien" power such as the Turks, or because the sending of a lawyer would be a signal that Venice was formally dealing with the Turks at a diplomatic level other powers would find unacceptable, is unknown. But the fact remains that whereas Venice's lawyers were sent on at least a half dozen occasions to deal directly with Milan between 1425 to 1454, lawyers were sent to the Turks on one, perhaps two, occasions between 1454 to 1503. On the other hand, as will be shown below, Venice's lawyers continued to play a similar role in that they were shuttling back and forth between

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*Studies in the Renaissance* 6:129-66, at 136-38. Marco Donà's role in the Lodi negotiations is recorded at *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 147r and Senato, Sindicati II, #132. For da Canal's mission to the treaty signing, see Beverley, 1999, 203. Trevisan's activities are recorded in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 1r. When the Pope sought to issue a treaty renewing the League in 1470, Venice sent Alvise Foscari along with Andrea Vendramin to Rome for the negotiations. The resulting document, found at *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 43, #1268 also includes references to the work of Donà and Trevisan in 1454-55.



Venice and its erstwhile allies in an effort to successfully contain the threat facing the Republic.

Even as the Peace of Lodi was being negotiated in 1454, the Holy Roman Emperor called an imperial diet at Ratisbon, to discuss the western response to the fall of Constantinople. Venice sent two of its lawyers, Nicolo da Canal and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane to that meeting to stake out the Venetian position that would be reiterated throughout the coming years—Venice faced great personal risk in opposing the Turks, and therefore would do so only if it received the active support of the other major powers of the West.<sup>157</sup>

It was around five years later before lawyers were again called to the task of dealing with the Turks, and the occasion was the Diet of Mantua, called by Pope Pius II in 1459. Foscarini delivered an oration at the papal consistory bemoaning the slowness of the Christian powers to respond to the Turkish threat, while applauding the zeal of the new pope in wishing to call a crusade.<sup>158</sup> The following year Nicolo da Canal was elected to the first of two missions by lawyers to deal directly with the Turks.<sup>159</sup>

In 1463, as open conflict between the Turks and the Venetians flared in the Morea, Venice's lawyers were sent abroad in another flurry of diplomatic activity.<sup>160</sup> Pope Pius II was interested in declaring a crusade against the Turks, and an agreement was sought between Venice, the Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, and the King of France to carry out the crusade. Venice sent Alvise Foscarini to the pope in late 1463, and he remained with the pope until the latter's untimely death in the summer of 1464, just as the crusade was beginning. Meanwhile, Nicolo da Canal had been dispatched to France, to seek the aid of the king in the crusaders' efforts, and Marco Donà was sent to Burgundy to seek the contribution of troops from that power for the coming crusade. As already mentioned, however, Pope

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<sup>157</sup> The mission to the Diet of Ratisbon is discussed briefly in Ventura, Angelo. 1974. Canal, Nicolo. In *DBI*, vol. 17, pp. 662-68. Da Canal himself was knighted by the Emperor during this mission. See Picotti, G.B. 1912. *La dieta di Mantova e la politica dei veneziani*. R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Miscellanea di storia veneta. Ser. III, Vol. IV. Venice: La Società, at 44.

<sup>158</sup> See Moro, 1997, at 385. Cf. Picotti, 1912, for a detailed look at what happened before, during, and after, the diet.

<sup>159</sup> Both King and Ventura express doubt that da Canal actually carried out this mission. He was elected to travel to Constantinople in August 1460, but by September he is listed as a part of the Senate, and in the beginning of 1461 the secretary Nicolo Sagundino is sent as the Venetian representative in Constantinople. Da Canal himself was the only patrician lawyer ever actually sent to the Turks, as his mission to that power in 1467 was the only other one by a lawyer.

<sup>160</sup> This war is discussed briefly in Simeoni, 1950, 582-84.

Pius died in August 1464, and the crusade died with him.<sup>161</sup> Fighting would continue in 1465, and in that year Pietro Molin was sent to Albania, to Duke Stefano of Santa Sava, who was the Grand Voivado of the King of Bosnia. Molin was to seek the Duke's help in combating the Turks in that region.<sup>162</sup>

In 1467 Nicolo da Canal was elected *proveditor* at Negroponte, where it was expected the next major Turkish offensive would come. As part of that assignment da Canal was authorized to negotiate directly with the Turks, to try to find a peaceful resolution to the situation. Meanwhile, Francesco Diedo, who had been sent to Hungary that same year, was also working on a peace settlement with the Turks that would involve the Hungarians (whose territory was also directly threatened by the Turkish advance).<sup>163</sup>

The following year Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was sent to the Balkans on a two year mission that would see him shuttling back and forth between Senj (in modern day Serbia) and Corbavia (Croatia) trying to reconcile the rulers of these two areas to each other. The Turks had been taking advantage of the discord to send troops into the region while they would meet little resistance. In 1469 Michiel wrote back to the Senate that an army of 16,000 Turks was marching through the Balkans towards Venetian territories. Also in 1468, Nicolo da Canal was sent to the Venetian captain general in Albania, Bartolomeo Colleoni, although the mission had more to do with Colleoni's forays into the Romagna the previous year than any military issues surrounding the Turkish incursions.<sup>164</sup>

In 1470, ambassadors were called to Rome from the various Italian powers in order to draw up the provisions for a new league. Venice sent as its representatives Andrea Vendramin and Alvise Foscari. The resulting document, a copy of which is located in the *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, recalls that the negotiations in 1454 and 1470 were motivated by a need to respond to the threat posed by the Turks.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Foscari's mission is described in Moro, 1997, at 387. Da Canal's ultimately unsuccessful mission to France is described in Ventura, 1974, at 665. Marco Donà's mission to Burgundy is briefly described in De Peppo, Paola. Donà, Marco, 1991. In *DBI*, vol. 40, pp. 774-75. Cf. Malipiero, 1843-44, 22.

<sup>162</sup> Duke Stefano's identity is confirmed by Sanuto, 2004, 516. The purpose of Molin's mission is mentioned in *Registro di Ambascerie* c. 41v.

<sup>163</sup> Da Canal's peace overtures to the Turks are mentioned in *Senato, Sindicati II*, #145. Cf. Malipiero, 1843-44, 42; Ventura, 1974, at 665-66. Diedo's negotiations in Hungary are also recorded in *Senato, Sindicati II*, at #146. Cf. Malipiero, 1843-44, 43; Tournoy, 1991, at 770.

<sup>164</sup> Michiel's mission is discussed in Cicogna, Emmanuele A. 1865. *Nicolo Michiel: Illustre uomo di stato del secolo XV*. Venice: Antonelli 1865, at 10-11. Cf. Malipiero, 1843-44, 48; *Registro di Ambascerie* cc. 2r, 3r. For da Canal's mission to Colleoni, see Ventura, 1974, at 666.

<sup>165</sup> For a discussion of the events surrounding the Pope's decision to seek a new general league, see Fubini, Riccardo. 1996. "The Italian League and the Policy of the Balance of Power at the Accession of Lorenzo de' Medici." In *The Origins of the State in Italy 1300-1600*, edited by Julius Kirshner, 166-99. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. A copy of the document that resulted from these negotiations can be found at *Miscellanea*

In 1471 Bernardo Bembo was sent to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in a continuing effort to influence the outcome of the struggle between the Dukes of Burgundy and the Valois dynasty for control of France. Bembo successfully negotiated a defensive alliance between Venice and Burgundy, the Treaty of Perrone, signed in June 1472. The treaty, which called for either power to protect the other in case of attack, also mentions the duty of every Christian power to defend the faith against the infidel, further signifying that Charles was agreeing to assist Venice in its continuing struggle against the Turks.<sup>166</sup> Also in 1472 Pietro Molin was sent to Istria as a *proveditor* and an ambassador in Croatia.<sup>167</sup>

In the mid-1470s as the conflict with Turkey continued, Venice's lawyers continued their efforts to forge a diplomatic consensus against the Turks. Bernardo Bembo was sent to Florence in late 1474, and Vitale Lando to Milan a few months later, in order to try to form an anti-Turk league that would include these two powers.<sup>168</sup> In 1476 Pietro Molin came to Florence in an effort to keep the Florentines involved in the planned anti-Turkish operations.<sup>169</sup> Within two years of the conclusion of Molin's mission to Florence, the Venetians made peace with the Turks, and lawyer involvement in the Turkish question would disappear until the 1490s.

In 1492 Marco Dandolo was sent to Hungary to congratulate Ladislaus upon his accession to the throne, and also to attempt to negotiate a league between the two powers against the Turks.<sup>170</sup> War with the Turks would not break out again until the end of the century, lasting from 1499 to 1503.<sup>171</sup> However, most of the diplomatic and political focus was placed on events at the other edge of Venice, as the French had once again entered Italy in 1498, and the ramifications of their involvement were still being worked through. Thus, with respect to addressing the Turkish threat to the east, the only diplomatic effort made by lawyers during this time was Giorgio Pisani's mission to Hungary in 1501. Pisani and Sebastian Giustinian were sent to Hungary to negotiate a league between Venice, Hungary,

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Atti Diplomatici e Privati, b. 43, #1268. Cf. Senato, Sindicati II, #160, 165; *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 16, c. 64r.

<sup>166</sup> See *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati*, b. 43, # 1281, 1282. Cf. Ventura, Angelo and Pecoraro, Marco. 1966. Bembo, Bernardo. In *DBI*, vol. 8, pp. 103-09.

<sup>167</sup> See Molin's profile, *infra* Appendix I for the archival references to this mission.

<sup>168</sup> For a discussion of these negotiations, see De Medici, Lorenzo. 1977. *Lettere*. Riccardo Fubini, ed. Firenze: Giunti-Barbera. Vol. II of *Lettere*, Nicolai Rubinstein gen. ed. 12 vols. 1977—. Galeazzo Maria Sforza, in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, Angelo della Stufa and Tommaso Soderini states that Lando, and his fellow ambassador Vittore Soranzo are "de li principali et più degni cittadini del stato che l'havi." *Lettere*, vol. II, 85.

<sup>169</sup> See *Lettere*, vol. II, 372-75 and 392-97.

<sup>170</sup> See Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 284.

<sup>171</sup> Discussions of this war include Cogo, Gaetano. 1899-1900. "La Guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 18:5-76; 19:97-138; Finlay, Robert. 1994. "Crisis and Crusade in the Mediterranean: Venice, Portugal and the Cape Route to India (1498-1509)." *Studi Veneziani* 28:45-90; Mallett and Hale, 1984, 61-62; and Simeoni, 1950, 778-79.

Poland, and the Pope against the Turks. The negotiations took up much of the first half of 1501, and the resulting document called for, among other things, the king of Hungary to supply 100,000 ducats towards the war effort. By 1502, however, the Venetians had secretly negotiated peace with the Turks, and the conflict would end by 1503.<sup>172</sup>

By the end of the second war with the Turks in 1503, Venice's lawyers had been sent on over a dozen missions to various powers both inside and outside of Italy in an effort to combat the Turkish threat. Although this is much less than the fifty-plus missions dealing with Milan, it still represents a significant amount of diplomacy carried out by lawyers to deal with the other major conflict facting the Republic during the fifteenth century.

### Other Conflicts

The conflicts with Milan and the Ottomans were by no means the only ones that Venice faced in the fifteenth century, nor were they the only ones that lawyers took part in. There were several other "smaller" conflicts that nonetheless managed to consume a great deal of Venetian time and effort between 1400 and 1509, and lawyers were often involved. What follows, then, is a brief description of some of these conflicts, and the role played by lawyers in their resolution, presented in a chronological order.

### War with Hungary

War broke out with Sigismund, king of Hungary, in 1411 occasioned by the sale of Zara to the Venetians in 1409 by Ladislaus of Naples (who was a claimant to the Hungarian throne) and subsequent Venetian efforts to secure control of its purchases in the region. At the outset of the conflict, in late 1411, Fantino Dandolo was sent to the Dukes of Austria in Trent, in an attempt to persuade them to ally against Sigismund. This first war with Hungary would be concluded with a five-year peace treaty signed in 1413. The second war, which lasted from 1418-21, saw Dandolo again involved, this time as a peace negotiator with Udine, one of the principal cities of Friuli, in 1420.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> The mission to Hungary by Pisani and Giustinian is described in Senato, Sindicati II, # 191 and *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 18, cc. 156v-170r. The treaty that resulted is located at Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati, b. 48, #1538.

<sup>173</sup> For a brief description of these conflicts, see Mallett and Hale, 1984, 26-31. Dandolo's mission to Austria in 1411 is recorded in Senato, Sindicati I, #462 and Registro di Ambascerie, c. 80r. The negotiations with Udine, and Dandolo's role in them can be found at Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 7, c. 155v.

## Conflict with the Patriarch of Aquileia

In resolving its conflict with Hungary in the early 1420s, however, Venice created a new enemy in the person of the Patriarch of Aquileia. The Patriarch enjoyed both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction throughout the region of Friuli. Therefore, the invasion of those lands by Venice during the second war with Hungary, and the Republic's subsequent refusal to return the territory at the cessation of hostilities with Hungary, created a conflict with the Patriarch that ran concurrently with much of the Milanese conflict. As early as 1421 Venice sent Nicolo Zorzi and Fantino Dandolo to Rome to seek an accord with the pope regarding the status of Friuli. Although the precise outcome of the negotiations is unclear, it appears that Dandolo and Zorzi convinced the Holy See to accept the status quo, at least for the time being—Venice still being at war with Sigismund at the time. In 1425 Dandolo would return to Rome, again to deal with matters concerning Friuli.<sup>174</sup>

The Council of Basle, in the first part of the 1430s, proved to be the next round in the conflict. The patriarch, Lodovico di Teck, brought accusations before the Council that Venice had usurped Church lands when it took control of Friuli in 1420. Venice, for its part, was represented by Giovanni Francesco Capodilista, a doctor of both laws and professor of civil law at Padua, along with at least two other non-lawyer patricians.<sup>175</sup> The Council eventually sided with the patriarch, going so far as to place an interdict on Venice in December 1435. In January 1436, the Republic sent the procurator Marco Foscari and lawyer Zaccaria Bembo to appeal the Council's decision to Pope Eugenius IV (himself a Venetian), and the Council was over-ruled.<sup>176</sup>

In 1439 Lodovico di Teck died, and was replaced by Lodovico Trevisan, a Venetian. Negotiations with the papacy began to sour, and as a result Venice chose to begin negotiating

<sup>174</sup> A more detailed description of the 1421 mission to Rome can be found in Law, John E. 1988. "Venice and the Problem of Sovereignty in the Patria del Friuli." In *Florence and Italy: Renaissance studies in honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, edited by Peter Denley and Caroline Elam, 135-48. London: Committee for Medieval Studies, Westfield College. The mission in 1425 is touched on very briefly in Gullino, 1986b, at462; cf. Senato, Sindicati I, # 522 and Registro di Ambascerie c. 173v.

<sup>175</sup> The Senate attempted to send a patrician lawyer to the Council—in the initial election for ambassadors on 18 May 1433, Marco Dandolo was the back-up choice after Ermolao Donà had refused the mission to serve in the Council of Ten. However, Dandolo also refused the mission so that he could serve as a ducal counselor. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 12, c. 177v. The text states that Donà then accepted the mission the second time around, but the commission for the embassy on 28 September 1433 states that Andrea Donà (rather than Ermolao) was commissioned with Giovanni Francesco Capodilista. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 13, c. 9v. Federico Contarini was also mentioned as an ambassador in 1434. See Senato Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 59, c. 19r.

<sup>176</sup> For the dispute between the patriarch and Venice at the Council of Basle, see Law, John E. 2000. "Venetian Rule in the Patria del Friuli in the Early Fifteenth Century: Problems of Justification." In *Venice and the Veneto in the Early Renaissance*, by John E. Law, VII:1-22. Aldershot: Ashgate. Bembo's role in the affair is noted in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 12, c. 149r and Senato, Sindicati II, #77.

directly with the patriarch himself in the 1440s. In 1442 the Republic commissioned two of its lawyers, Alvise Foscari and Giovanni Marino, to negotiate with the representative of the patriarch regarding Friuli. It was not until 1445 that an agreement was finally reached, again with Alvise Foscari involved, this time being joined by Marco Foscari, Zaccaria Bembo's partner from 1436 and the brother of Doge Francesco Foscari. Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane and Barbone Morosini were involved in a further round of negotiations in 1451, and in that same year Pope Nicholas V endorsed the agreement between the two parties, largely bringing this issue to a close.<sup>177</sup>

### The War of Ferrara

Although limited, the diplomatic involvement by Venice's lawyers in this conflict was of the utmost importance. In 1481 Francesco Diedo was sent as the resident ambassador to Rome. During his time there he was given the task of forming the alliance with Sixtus IV. He also had to counter the activities of the Neapolitan ambassador, Arcamónio Anello, who was seeking to turn the Pope away from maintaining an alliance with the Venetians. However, by 30 April 1482 Diedo had secured the Pope's approval of Venice's policy towards Ferrara. A few days later, Venice invaded. Diedo also negotiated contracts with some of the *condottieri* who were to take part in the military exercises with Ferrara. Ultimately, however, Diedo's mission ended in failure, as the Pope switched sides at the end of 1482, signing a peace treaty with Naples in December. Although Venice continued to fight until 1484, Diedo left Rome in early 1483 and moved on to his next post as *podestà* of Verona.<sup>178</sup>

### The French Invasions of 1494 and 1498

In 1493, around the same time that Lodovico il Moro had begun to set in motion the negotiations that would result in Charles VIII's invasion of Italy the following year, Venice sent Giorgio Pisani to be its resident ambassador in Milan.<sup>179</sup> Pisani would stay in Milan until the end of 1494, after Charles had already entered Italy. Pisani reported on the

<sup>177</sup> Foscari and Marino's mission in 1442 is recorded in Senato, Sindicati II, #102. The agreement reached in 1445 is noted in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 13, c. 171r and Senato, Sindicati II, #111. The text of the treaty can be found at Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati, b. 38, #1104. The round of negotiations in 1451 is recorded in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg. 14, c. 98v. Cf. Law, 2000, 15-17.

<sup>178</sup> For a discussion of Diedo's work in Rome, see Piva, 1907; cf. Tournoy, 1991, at 771. For his interactions with the *condottieri* see Senato, Sindicati II, #180-183. Although a minor role, some of Venice's lawyers were also sent to deliver the Republic's standard to its generals during the war. See *infra* p. 71.

<sup>179</sup> The events leading up to the French invasion in 1494 are outlined in Simeoni, 1950, ch. XXXIV.

preparations being made, and also relayed the Venetians' official neutrality to Lodovico during this time. However, once Charles had entered Italy and captured Naples seemingly without effort, the Venetians became alarmed and abandoned their neutrality, taking up arms with Milan, Florence, the Pope, and Naples, in what would be called the Holy League, against the French. In 1496 Nicolo Michiel, as ambassador to Rome, helped to negotiate the addition of England to the Holy League, as well as handle negotiations for the return of territory to Naples by the French. Meanwhile, Marco Dandolo was sent to Milan, and Giacomo Contarini was sent to Spain, whose government had hinted at wanting to attack France.<sup>180</sup> Throughout this time period (1494-96) Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo served as *visdomino* of Ferrara, a quasi-diplomatic post that, in the 1490s at least, may have been used by the Venetians as a conduit for diplomatic intelligence gathering in the region.<sup>181</sup>

In 1498 Charles VIII died and Louis XII took the throne in France. Venice sent three ambassadors to France to congratulate the new king, and to seek a treaty with him that would divide Milan's territory between the two of them.<sup>182</sup> Among the three was the lawyer Nicolo Michiel, who only a year before had been in Rome negotiating treaties designed to counter

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<sup>180</sup> A description of the events surrounding Charles' invasion in 1494, centering on the relationship between Milan and Venice at the time can be found in Segre, Arturo. 1902. "Lodovico Sforza, ditto il Moro, e la Repubblica di Venezia dall'autunno 1494 alla primavera 1495." *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 3rd ser. 18:249-317. Cf. Mallett and Hale, 1984, 55-56. Michiel's work in Rome is detailed in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 18, cc. 86r, 87r, 98r. For archival references to Dandolo's mission to Rome, see his profile *infra* Appendix I. Contarini's mission is described in Povolo, Claudio. 1983. In *DBI*, vol. 28, pp. 192-93.

<sup>181</sup> The role of the *visdomino* is described by Trevor Dean as follows:

The diaries of Marin Sanudo, for the last decade of the fifteenth century, reveal in detail the consul's diplomatic importance, as they summarise many of his reports. These cover a wide range of matters: political manoeuvrings and troop movements in north-east Italy, Ferrarese reactions to Venetian foreign policy and the comings and goings of foreign ambassadors and whatever the consul was able to discover about their missions (which was often not very much). He was in contact with Venetian envoys elsewhere in Italy and would relay their letters on to Venice. He acted as intermediary for nobles of the Este state seeking Venetian military *condotte* and obtained licenses for the passage through Este territory of Venetian troops. Talking to people seems to have taken up much of his time: he frequently had discussions of a diplomatic nature with the Este and with other visiting lords and ambassadors; he reports on court gossip and uses the typical phrases of a man with his ear close to the ground. . . . It might, however, be that the diplomatic side of the consul's business became unusually active in the politically intense last decade of the fifteenth century and it is significant that two of the consuls appointed in those years were experienced career diplomats.

Dean, 1986, 76. Dean states that the two "experienced diplomats" sent during the time were Bernardo Benbo (a lawyer) from 1497-99 and Girolamo Donà (who studied law) from 1499-1501. However, Pasqualigo was also a seasoned diplomat at the time he took up the position of *visdomino*, having been sent on at least a half dozen diplomatic missions prior to this posting in Ferrara.

<sup>182</sup> See Simeoni, 1950, 748-51 for a brief description of the events surrounding their negotiations.

France's influence in Italy. But Venice had changed sides, and France invaded once again. And, once again, a lawyer was serving as *visdomino* of Ferrara.<sup>183</sup>

### The League of Cambrai

In 1503 Venice took advantage of the political chaos following the death of pope Alexander VI and attempted to gain possession of some of the territory of the Romagna, including Faenza and Rimini. This move by Venice was strongly protested by Pope Julius II after his election in late 1503. Although the two sides concluded a peace agreement in 1505, the pope did not consider the situation resolved, and he began to push the major European powers for a league against Venice, negotiations for which came to fruition in 1508 with the formation of the League of Cambrai.<sup>184</sup>

In the intervening years between the foray into the Romagna and the battle of Agnadello, Venice's lawyers continued to be front and center in the diplomatic arena, being sent on missions to the major powers that would be arrayed against it in the League. Lawyers would serve as ambassadors to France from 1502 to 1506 (Marco Dandolo from 1502 to 1504, and Francesco Morosini from 1504 to 1506), the Holy Roman Empire from 1505 to 1507 (Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo), Naples in 1506 to 1507 (Marco Dandolo and Giorgio Pisani) as well as 1509 (Girolamo Barbaro), and Rome itself (Bernardo Bembo as part of the formal mission to congratulate Julius II following his election to the papacy in 1503,<sup>185</sup> and Giorgio Pisani in 1508 right up to the opening of hostilities in 1509). Despite all these diplomatic efforts, however, Venice's lawyers were unable to prevent the formation of the League.

### Lawyers and Commercial Negotiations

In addition to their standard role as negotiator of alliances and peace treaties, lawyers were sometimes called upon to negotiate commercial arrangements, or to help resolve commercial disputes, between Venice and other powers. Most of these incidents were not strictly commercial—they also had a “political” aspect to them that would explain the

<sup>183</sup> Bernardo Bembo served as *visdomino* from 1497-99. The three ambassadors sent to France were Michiel, Girolamo Zorzi and Antonio Loredan. Their mission is described in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 18, c. 122v, while the resulting treaty, the Treaty of Blois, is found at *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 18, c. 139r. Cf. Lizier, Augusto. 1936. “Il cambiamento di fronte della politica veneziana alla morte di Carlo VIII (il trattato di Blois, 9 febb. 1499).” *Ateneo Veneto* 120:20-40.

<sup>184</sup> The events leading up to the formation of the League of Cambrai are discussed in Simeoni, 1950, 779-83 and 788ff.

<sup>185</sup> This mission did not occur, however, until 1505, after tensions between Venice and the Pope over the Romagna had been eased by a treaty signed by the two powers in that same year. See Simeoni, 1950, 783.



presence of a skilled lawyer in the negotiations. The following then, is a sample of these instances, to give the reader a sense of the scope (both geographic and substantive) of the lawyers' missions.

Although not strictly "commercial", one of the earliest instances of lawyer involvement in this area came in 1402 when Venice purchased the island of Corfu. Venice sent three men to negotiate with Ladislaus, King of Naples and Hungary—the procurator Avise Loredan, Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, and Giovanni Mocenigo. The trio successfully negotiated the purchase of the island from the king for 30,000 ducats. A year later Trevisan was involved in the resolution of a commercial dispute with Genoa involving damage done by Genoese ships under Marshal Boucicaut to Venetian merchants in the waters off Cyprus and Rhodes. Trevisan negotiated the payment of over 3,000 florins in compensation to the various Venetian merchants damaged in clashes between the two powers. A half century later Alvise Foscari was sent to Genoa to resolve another round of negotiations dealing with damages done to Venetian shipping by the Genoese. A generation later the Republic sent yet another lawyer, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, to Genoa to ensure that Venetian merchants would continue to be treated fairly by this long-term commercial rival.<sup>186</sup>

Genoa was not the only power with whom Venice's lawyers negotiated commercial agreements. The Republic sent lawyers to Spanish rulers on more than one occasion to try to resolve commercial differences. Fantino Dandolo spent a good portion of 1424 and some of 1425 negotiating with Alfonso of Aragon regarding payment owed to Venetian merchants for damages done to them during the reigns of Alfonso's father Ferdinand and Ferdinand's predecessor Martin. Alfonso agreed to pay a sum of 60,000 Aragonese gold florins as compensation, but the method of payment would involve a temporary suspension of some of the taxes owed by Venetian merchants who did business in Aragonese lands. All told, Dandolo's negotiations were credited with recovering 35,000 ducats for Venetian merchants. In 1447, while serving as ambassador in Rome, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane passed along Venetian concerns regarding pirates based in Valencia, to Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon. Three decades later, another lawyer, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, was sent to Spain to

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<sup>186</sup> The purchase of Corfu is discussed in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 9, c. 143r. For Trevisan's mission to Genoa, see *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 9, c. 153r plus the other archival sources recorded in Trevisan's career profile *infra* Appendix I. Foscari's trip to Genoa in 1455 is described in Agostini's profile of the lawyer-humanist. See Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 65. Pasqualigo's mission to Genoa is mentioned in Sanuto, Marino 1989. *Le vite dei logi (1474-1494)*. Edited by Angela Caracciolo Aricò. Padua: Antenore, at 305-06 and 328. This mission was especially important to Venice as it was on the eve of the War of Ferrara. Ferrara was allied with Milan, thus Venice needed to ensure that Genoa would remain friendly in order to ensure the safety of its merchants as they passed through the region once war was declared on Ferrara.

negotiate with Alfonso's brother and successor, John II. Once again, the issue involved damages done by the Aragonese to Venetian shipping. Finally, in the years just prior to the League of Cambrai, Giorgio Pisani and Marco Dandolo were sent to Naples to discuss with King Ferdinand of Aragon the provisions of yet another commercial treaty.<sup>187</sup>

Meanwhile, in neighboring Castile, Venice was also attempting to limit the damage done to Venetian merchants in the region. In 1423 Nicolo Contarini was sent to Castile in order to negotiate with the king regarding interferences caused to Venetian shipping in the region. In 1468, Bernardo Bembo was sent to negotiate with Henry IV, the nephew of Alfonso and John II of Aragon. Bembo's task was to re-confirm provisions Venice had previously negotiated with Henry's father, also called John II. Castile agreed to assist Venetian ships, and to guarantee their safety along Castile's coastline.<sup>188</sup>

In 1471 Bernardo Bembo was sent to Burgundy to seek resolution of a commercial issue the Republic was having with the King of England. Venice had upheld the judgment of an English judicial body in favor of an English merchant against the Republic for losses suffered by the merchant. Venice was now seeking the same sort of treatment for its merchants, and wanted the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy in the form of letters written on behalf of the Republic to the English king Edward IV. Bembo was sent to Burgundy to persuade the Duke to write these letters, plus to offer his (Bembo's) own assistance to the Venetian merchants in the region.<sup>189</sup>

Although Venice's lawyers were typically employed to secure Venice's trade routes to the west, on one occasion a lawyer was sent to the East, to Constantinople, in order to sort out trade difficulties with the Byzantines. The new Emperor, Constantine XI, had seen fit to impose a whole range of new taxes that, in Venetian eyes, violated a series of treaties the Venetians had negotiated in the fourteenth century and then renewed numerous times since. In response, Venice dispatched Nicolo da Canal to Constantinople to protest this perceived abuse of Venetian merchants, and to remind the emperor that the Empire owed Venice a great

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<sup>187</sup> For archival references to Dandolo's mission, see his career profile *infra* Appendix I. Cf. Gullino, 1986b, at 461-62. Trevisan's activities are briefly described in Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, reg. 3, c. 32v. Michiel's subsequent trip to Spain is briefly described at Cicogna, 1865, 11. Pisani and Dandolo's mission, and the text of the treaty that resulted, can be found in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 41. The treaty was debated into the summer of 1507, and was finally sent back to the Venetian ambassador in Spain at that time for further renegotiation. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 41, c. 110v.

<sup>188</sup> See Registro di Ambascerie c. 92r for Contarini's mission. The purpose of Bembo's mission is recorded in *Libri Commemoriali*, reg 16, c. 1r; cf. Ventura and Pecoraro, 1966, at 104.

<sup>189</sup> See Brown, Rawdon L. et al., ed. 1864-1947. *Calendar of State Papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy, 1202-1674*. 38 vols. London: H.M. Stationery Office, at vol. I, 129. Bembo also negotiated a defensive alliance with Burgundy during his time there, further demonstrating that diplomatic missions often had multiple purposes. See p. 60 *supra*.

deal of money. Da Canal was also instructed to notify the *bailo* and local merchants that they were to withdraw from Constantinople if the emperor refused to rescind the new taxes. The Senate had further instructed da Canal that if negotiations with the emperor broke down, he was authorized to negotiate with the Turks regarding the possibility of Venetian merchants making use of a Turkish port instead of Constantinople. The Emperor later wrote to Venice, affirming his continued friendship for the city, but since the taxes were still being levied a year later it would seem that da Canal's success on this occasion was limited.<sup>190</sup>

Lastly, Venice's lawyers sometimes dealt with fellow Italian powers besides Genoa in commercial matters. Zaccaria Trevisan Vecchio again paved the way in this area, when he was sent to Ferrara in 1400 to negotiate with Nicolo d'Este the terms of payment of d'Este's debts to Venice arising from the Venetians' role in defending Nicolo's possession of the city. Venice's commercial relationship with Ferrara often revolved around the tax exemptions enjoyed by Venetians living in the Ferrarese *contado*, as well as the issue of smugglers who were using Ferrara to circumvent Venetian controls on the Adriatic trade. By 1455 these issues had come to a head, and Nicolo da Canal was sent to Ferrara in 1455 to negotiate a treaty designed to create a more permanent solution.<sup>191</sup> In the subsequent year, Barbone Norosini, while ambassador in Rome, was given the task of negotiating for the sale of grain from the Marche to the Republic.<sup>192</sup>

### *Lawyers as Ceremonial Representatives*

On a handful of occasions, lawyers were sent abroad to perform ceremonial functions, sometimes as the exclusive purpose of their mission, sometimes as one part of a larger commission. These roles, though sporadic, are a further indicator of the high status held by lawyers in Venice, as this brief examination will show.

Perhaps the most common, and yet highly prestigious, ceremonial function played by lawyer-ambassadors was to greet a new pope upon his accession to the throne of St Peter. During the period from 1400 to 1509, thirteen popes were elected. Upon their election, it was customary for various powers to send ambassadors who were sent "in obedientia" that is, to

<sup>190</sup> For further discussion of this incident, see Nicol, Donald MacGillivray. *Byzantium and Venice: a study in diplomatic and cultural relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, at 390-91

<sup>191</sup> Trevisan's mission is described in *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 11, c. 107r. The general commercial relationship between Venice and Ferrara is outlined in Dean. Dean argues that the economic issues over which the two cities fought were deeply ingrained in the relationship, to the point that da Canal's mission was ultimately unsuccessful. See Dean, 1986, 93. Da Canal's mission to Ferrara and the resulting provisions of the treaty he helped negotiate can be found at *Libri Commemorativi*, reg. 14, c. 143r.

<sup>192</sup> See Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 15, cc. 80v, 93r.

declare the continued obedience of their sending state to the new pope.<sup>193</sup> This was an important opportunity for the sending state to influence its relationship with the pope, and not a mission to be taken lightly.<sup>194</sup> Thus, sending powers tended to reserve these missions for the more prestigious individuals among their corps of ambassadors.<sup>195</sup>

Lawyers were elected to represent Venice to a new pope after seven of the thirteen papal elections. On the two occasions when a Venetian was elected pope (Eugenius IV in 1431 and Paul II in 1464), two lawyers were among the delegation to congratulate the new pontiff. Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane and Alvise Foscari were both elected twice—Trevisan in 1447 (to Nicholas V), Foscari in 1455 (Calixtus III), and the two together were sent in 1464 to Paul II.

As part of the ceremonial aspect of the occasion, one or more of the ambassadors would deliver a formal oration to the new pope.<sup>196</sup> Orations by lawyers are known from four of the six occasions they were sent to Rome, and two of those orations have survived to the present day.<sup>197</sup> Although primarily sent as ceremonial representatives of Venice, these ambassadors could also be sent with more serious messages besides simple congratulations. In 1455, for example, the Venetian delegation that consisted of Iacopo Loredan and Alvise Foscari informed Calixtus III that Venice stood ready to assist in any military exercises against the Turks, but only if the other powers of Europe committed to do so as well. Thus, the Venetians made sure to take the opportunity to inform the newly-minted successor to St Peter that its policy towards the Turkish threat would continue as before.<sup>198</sup>

Lawyers were also occasionally sent when a secular ruler took the throne. For example, in 1441 Nicolo da Canal was sent to Ferrara to congratulate Lionello d'Este upon his assumption of the marquisate as well as to bring the Republic's condolences for the passing of Nicolo d'Este, Lionello's father. Similarly, in 1467 Antonio Dandolo was sent to Burgundy not only to congratulate Charles the Bold upon his inheritance of the throne from his father Phillip the Fair, but also to sound out the new Duke, and explore the possibilities of an anti-French alliance. In 1492, Marco Dandolo had been sent to Hungary to congratulate

<sup>193</sup> See Mattingly, 1988, 91; cf. Beverley, 1999, 133.

<sup>194</sup> In most circumstances, at least. When Paul II was elected in 1464, Venice, which had had a stormy relation with its native son, had a difficult time selecting the patricians who would go to Rome to pay homage to the new pope. See Setton, vol. II, 272.

<sup>195</sup> See Beverley, 1999, 134.

<sup>196</sup> The role of the oration in an ambassador's mission is described by Mattingly, 1988, 34.

<sup>197</sup> Marco Lippomano delivered an oration in honor of Eugenius IV, Zaccaria Trevisan to popes Nicholas V and Paul II, and Alvise Foscari delivered one to Calixtus III. Of these, Lippomano's oration and Trevisan's to Paul II are still extant. For references to these orations, see King's profiles of these three individuals.

<sup>198</sup> On the Calixtus III delegation, see Setton, vol. II, 163-64.

Ladislaus II upon his succession to the throne, as well as negotiate a league against the Turks. That same year Giorgio Pisani was selected to congratulate the crown of Spain for its conquest of Granada. Later that decade Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was among the three Venetian ambassadors sent to congratulate Louis XII upon his succession to the French throne, and to negotiate an anti-Milanese alliance. Michiel was later one of two procurators elected to travel to Ferrara to congratulate Alfonso d'Este upon his accession to the marquisate.<sup>199</sup>

There were other ceremonial occasions when lawyers were sent as ambassadors. In the autumn of 1468, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III was passing through Venetian territory on his way to Rome. The Senate elected twelve patricians to greet him in Padua, and this group included two lawyers: Nicolo da Canal and Vitale Lando. The Republic also elected four ambassadors to accompany the Emperor to Rome, and this group included one lawyer, Pietro Molin. Lawyers had also been involved in the Emperor's prior visit to the city of Venice itself in 1452, and at least two lawyers visited with the emperor when he was in Italy in 1489. Molin himself would also serve as a Venetian representative sent to the wedding of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to the daughter of the duke of Savoy in 1470. In 1490 Giorgio Pisani was a Venetian representative at the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga, duke of Mantua to Isabella d'Este. Marco Dandolo was sent to the wedding of Federigo II, duke of Mantua in 1531. In addition, two lawyers, Nicolo Michiel il Giovane and Francesco Morosini, were sent to the wedding of Alfonso d'Este to Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Alexander VI, in 1501.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Antonio Dandolo's mission is discussed in Gullino, 1986a, at 443. Dandolo may also have traveled to Bruges during this mission in order to deal with issues affecting Venetian merchants. See Registro di Ambascerie, c. 31r. Marco Dandolo's mission to Hungary is briefly described in Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 284. Pisani's mission to Spain is mentioned in Sanuto, 1989, 656. Michiel's mission to France is described in Cicogna, 1865, 13. The goal of the Ferrara mission is described at SS, reg. 40, c. 77v. For archival records of these missions, see the lawyers' respective profiles, *infra* Appendix I.

<sup>200</sup> The twelve honorary ambassadors, including da Canal and Lando, are listed at Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 6, c. 41v. The group of four that included Molin is listed at Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 6, c. 42r. The commission for this latter group can be found at Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 23, c. 147r-v. In 1489 lawyer Girolamo Barbaro was among the four sent to visit with the Emperor while he was in Trent. Barbaro was knighted at that time by the Emperor. See Sanuto, 1989, 615. Antonio Bernardo was also knighted by the Emperor when he was in the Trevisano and Bernardo was serving as *podestà* of Treviso. See Sanuto, 1989, 615. For references regarding the two Mantua weddings, see the lawyers' respective profiles, *infra* Appendix I. For the D'Este wedding of 1502, see Registro di Ambascerie c. 61r. Cicogna, in his profile of Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio casts doubt upon the attendance of Michiel il Vecchio at the wedding, citing Priuli's diaries. Cicogna, 1865, 14. Sanuto states that it was Nicolo Michiel "dotor" who was elected, and Sanuto was careful to include the title of "Procurator" attached to Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio's name following his election to that position earlier in the same year. This indicates that it was the younger Michiel, not the older, who was elected. Sanuto's diaries further state that Michiel and Francesco Morosini initially refused the ambassadorship but subsequently accepted it. See *I Diarii*, vol. IV, 191, 193.

One final ceremonial ambassadorship should be discussed. As previously mentioned, the Senate often sent individuals it labeled “ambassadors” as its representatives to the Venetian *condottieri* who were in charge of the Republic’s armies. The general would be given a baton of command and the standard of the Republic to symbolize his receipt of authority from the Venetian government. On at least three occasions lawyers were elected to carry out this task. In 1451, after being elected a *proveditor in campo*, Nicolo da Canal delivered the rod of command to Gentile Leonessa. In 1482, as the War of Ferrara was beginning, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio and Pietro Molin were both elected to deliver the symbols of the Republic’s authority to Robert of San Severino.<sup>201</sup> The following year René, Duke of Lorraine received the standard of the Republic, possibly from one or more lawyers.<sup>202</sup>

From the information presented in this chapter it should be clear that lawyers played a central role in Venetian diplomacy throughout the fifteenth century. From the frequency of their election (an average of seven times versus four for ambassadors in general), to the places they were sent (most often to Rome, the hub of diplomatic activity on the Italian peninsula), lawyers were present throughout the many conflicts facing Venice during this turbulent century. Lawyers had a hand in trying to overcome every major adversary facing Venice as it was expanding its influence on the Italian peninsula in the first half of the *Quattrocento*. In the second half, as the Turkish threat loomed large, lawyers’ diplomatic responsibilities changed, and their assignments reflect this—whereas before the Peace of

<sup>20</sup> For da Canal’s mission to Leonessa, see the archival references listed in his profile, *infra* Appendix I. Sanuto provides the following description of the process involving Michiel and Molin:

Fu preso, per alegrar l’animo dil Signor Ruberto di San Severin, Lochotenente nostro, qual procedeva felicemente, di mandarli il baston et stendardo. Qual a dì 12 mazo, in chiezia di San Marcho fo ditto una solenne messa, et beneditto ditto baston d’ariento et stendardo, per il Principe con le cerimonie solite fo dato a domino Piero Salerno veronese, ambasator dil prefato Ruberto a la Signoria nostra, et, per Collegio fono electi do ambasadori a portar in campo al ditto signor Ruberto esso baston e stendardo di Locotenente Zeneral. I qualli fonno: sier Nicolò Michiel, el dottor, fo Podestà a Vicenza, *quondam* sier Domenego, et sier Piero da Molin el dottor, fo Podestà e Capetanio in Caodistria, *quondam* sier Zuanne. Et cussi apresso Catelnuovo andono et con gran plauso ge lo apresentono.

Sanuto, 2004, 246.

<sup>202</sup> The identity of who delivered the standard is a murky issue. According to Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 9, c. 13v, on 7 July 1483 Bernardo Bembo, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, Pietro Molin and (non-lawyer) Benedetto Pesaro were all elected ambassadors to René, Duke of Lorraine. The commission from Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 31, c. 44r (22 July 1483) lists only Bembo and Pesaro as the ambassadors, and this is supported by the Registro di Ambascerie, c. 6r and 73r. But the profiles of Bembo from King and Ventura and Pecoraro do not show him as having been elected to this office, and there was another Bernardo Bembo, who did not hold the doctorate in law, who was active at the same time. Perhaps Michiel and Molin had refused the office and the refusal was not recorded. But as for which Bernardo Bembo was elected, this remains uncertain.

Lodi lawyers were very rarely sent to powers outside of Italy, after that treaty trips to “foreign” powers made up three out of every eight of their diplomatic postings. Throughout these changes though, the one constant that remained was lawyers—they faithfully served the state as ambassadors at every turn in Venetian policy, from Venice’s early conflicts with Milan all the way up until the conflict with the League of Cambrai. Although the role of diplomat was, perhaps, their primary function, it was not their only one. Another prominent function they served was as a territorial governor, and it is to this I now turn in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5—The Lawyer as Governor

### General Background

The Venetian dominion was generally divided into two zones: the older *stato da mar*, and the newer *stato di terra*. The *stato da mar* generally consisted of Venice's "overseas" possessions—islans in the Aegean, cities in the Peloponnesus, holdings on the opposite side of the Adriatic—aswell as the "dogado"—that territory immediately surrounding the Venetian lagoon, such as Chioggia. Although some territories were added to the *stato da mar* in the fifteenth century, most notably the island of Cyprus in the 1480s, much of the growth in Venice's holdings occurred in the *stato di terra*.<sup>203</sup>

Venice had possessed some territories on the Italian mainland prior to the fifteenth century (for example Treviso, from 1388), but the vast majority of its holdings that it lost at the Battle of Agnadello in 1509 had been acquired by Venice during the period of this study. These territories had been acquired through a series of wars with Milan and the Holy Roman Empire during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

With each new city or territory that it added, Venice sent a small cadre of officials to govern the new territory. In larger or more prominent cities, this group was led by two men, the *podestà* and captain. In some smaller cities, these two positions were combined into one, or just a *podestà* was sent, with the captain's duties performed by the captain of a nearby larger town. Occasionally the title given to the governor varied due to the particular circumstances of the locale, but the basic function(s) remained the same.<sup>204</sup>

The relationship between Venice's governors, the subject cities they governed, and the government back "home" in Venice was a complicated one.<sup>205</sup> The duties and powers of Venice's governors were laid out in commissions that were delivered to the governors prior to taking office. The precise contents of the commission received by any given governor are somewhat difficult to ascertain; although the government kept several volumes of "formularies" or patterns for the commissions, the commissions were often updated or

<sup>203</sup> For example, the number of Venetian officials in the *stato da mar* grew from 71 in 1400, to 109 in 1437, further increasing to 138 by 1493. In the *stato di terra*, however, the number of offices grew from 16 in 1400 to 61 in 1437, and reached 113 by 1493. Thus while the number of offices nearly doubled in the *stato da mar* in the fifteenth century, the *stato di terra* saw a sevenfold increase in the number of offices. See Zannini, Andrea. 1996. "L'impiego pubblico." In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 4: *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura*, edited by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, 415-63. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, at 459-62.

<sup>204</sup> Padua, Verona, Brescia and Bergamo, for example, all had both a *podestà* and captain. Belluno, Feltre, and Ravenna are examples of subject cities whose governor held both titles. Lonigo is an example of a city which received only a *podestà*, with the nearest captain being located in Vicenza. Variants on these titles included "Luogotenente" (of Udine or Friuli), "Duke" (of Candia or Crete), "Count" (of Zara), "Bailo and Captain" (of Corfu), etc.

<sup>205</sup> For a general survey of the development of the relationship between the subject cities and their Venetian rulers during this time period, see Zamperetti, 1991, Part I.



amended by legislation passed by various constitutional bodies (e.g. the Senate, the Maggior Consilio, etc.) and these amendments, when recorded in the formulary books, were simply tacked on to the end of the original. In one instance, however, it is possible to determine the precise commission that a lawyer received when entering office as a governor. Because he was the first *podestà* of Portogruaro in 1420, Zaccaria Bembo's commission would have been the same as what was recorded in the formulary book.<sup>206</sup>

Theoretically, Venice's territorial governors held supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction in the cities and territories where they governed. They were the direct link between the central magistracies of the Republic and the subject cities' population and indigenous administrators. The *podestà* was in charge of administering justice, overseeing communal institutions according to the local statutes, and, in general, protecting public order. Zaccaria Bembo, for example, was told simply to provide "law and justice" in Portogruaro ("debeas ministrare in civilibus ius et iustitia.") The captain oversaw the garrison and defence of the city, as well as the major part of the fiscal organization of the city.<sup>207</sup>

Venetian rectors would also bring a small staff with them to assist in the task of governance. In Vicenza, for example, the *podestà* and captain also brought with them three judge-assessors, one chancellor, one chamberlain, personal servants, and a few constables. This staff size would, of course, vary somewhat depending upon the size of the city being governed, but even in the case of Vicenza, this was a small sized staff when seen in light of the fact that the population in the region they governed numbered in excess of 100,000.<sup>208</sup> Zaccaria Bembo was authorized a staff of seven assistants ("tres equos, tres famulos et unum socium militem"), and their income was to be paid out of Bembo's salary.<sup>209</sup> These staff members were non-patricians who, generally, came from the *terraferma* state, although sometimes citizens of Venice would make up a portion of the rectors' entourage. In any event, the staff usually included one or more law doctors to assist the rectors.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>206</sup> The commission can be found at Collegio Formulari di Commissioni, reg. 6, cc. 120r-121r. References to Bembo's commission throughout this section are to this document.

<sup>207</sup> The description of the jurisdiction of the respective rectors comes from Mallett, Michael E. 1996a. "La conquista della terraferma." In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 4: *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura*, edited by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, 181-244. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 221.

<sup>208</sup> This is the population not just of the city of Vicenza, but also the surrounding countryside that fell under the jurisdiction of the Venetian governors in the city. See Grubb, James. 1988. *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the early Renaissance state*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, at 49.

<sup>209</sup> For the staff size of the Vicentine rectors, see Grubb, 1988, 49.

<sup>210</sup> See Trebbi, 1996, 497.

Venice's governors were typically commanded to use the already existing laws of the place they governed in any cases brought before them.<sup>211</sup> Zaccaria Bembo's commission, for example, stated that he was to apply the laws and customs of Portogruaro so long as they were not contrary to the honor of Venice ("In quo quidem regimine secundum statute et ordinamenta dicte terre dummodo non sit contra honorem nostrii dominii.") Often the laws of the subject cities were based on the Roman civil law tradition. Since, however, very few Venetians had any significant background in the civil law, problems would arise frequently due to the mis-application of the civil law principles by these non-expert governors.<sup>212</sup> At least three strategies arose to help deal with this problem. The first possibility was to send a patrician who did have a background in the civil law. However, as this study makes clear, the number of such men totaled roughly three-dozen in the fifteenth century, and there were typically ten or fewer of these men available in any given year, far less than the total number of governorships available. The second strategy was to send non-noble lawyers to the subject cities as part of the staff of the patrician rectors. The final possibility was to limit the jurisdiction of the rector, increasing the jurisdiction of municipal courts staffed by local law experts. In Portogruaro, for example, the *podestà* was to rule with the help of four citizens elected from the city's Greater Council.<sup>213</sup>

In ruling its cities, Venice's government also attempted to minimize financial abuses by its governors. Zaccaria Bembo's commission primarily consisted of a list of things he was *not* allowed to do while serving as *podestà*. Some of these restrictions were: any property Bembo received from the Republic during his rectorate was to be returned at the conclusion of his time in Portogruaro, with any damage or loss to be paid to the Republic by Bembo himself; Bembo was not allowed to mingle any of the Republic's funds with either his own

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<sup>211</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Venetian law and that of its subject cities, see Mazzacane, Aldo. 1996. "Law and Jurists in the Formation of the Modern State in Italy." In *The Origins of the State in Italy 1300-1600*, edited by Julius Kirshner, 62-73. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, at 66-71.

<sup>212</sup> As should be clear from this study, very few Venetian patricians had any significant legal training. The Venetian system emphasized the ability of the rational individual to perceive natural justice, or equity. Thus no particularized training would be needed for its judges, since every patrician would be theoretically capable of perceiving this standard of justice and applying it to a case before him. Venice actually wanted its governors to remain ignorant of the law in some sense. Grubb writes: "Sheer inexperience obliged Venetian officials to work closely with civic agencies. Governors arrived ignorant of local law, procedures, and judicial precedents. The Republic deliberately sought ignorance, lest rectors' overfamiliarity with the local situation lead either to a personal power base or to favoritism." Grubb, 1988, 49.

<sup>213</sup> In the case of Vicenza, both the second and third strategies were pursued. Jurists were hired regularly to accompany the rectors as vicars or judge-assessors. See Grubb, 1988, 43-44. Although the central government initially transferred power from itself to the rectors in an attempt to lessen the burden of empire on the central magistracies, because of problems in the rule by Venetian rectors following this transfer of authority, the latter part of the fifteenth century saw the central government again transfer power, but this time from the rectors to the communes themselves. See Grubb, 1988, 156ff.

monies or those of his family, with the threat of a penalty in the amount of ten times the loss suffered by the Republic due to the mixing of funds; neither he nor his family were allowed to receive gifts from anyone under his rule, or take benefices in Friuli, or even acquire any financial interest in the region until after the conclusion of his rectorate; finally he was to keep careful records of every action carried out by him during his rectorate, delivering this record to the Republic upon his return. Venice sought to use these methods as one way to limit opportunities for abuse, with mixed results.<sup>214</sup>

An additional check on the governors' power existed in the form of oversight by officials located in Venice. The sentences of a rector could be appealed in various venues inside of Venice itself. In general, the two bodies in charge of these appeals were the *auditori novi* and the *avogadori di comun*.<sup>215</sup> In practice, however, the Council of Ten also began to second-guess rectors in the fifteenth century, bypassing these other two bodies. Ostensibly this was because their streamlined procedures allowed for faster resolution of appeals than could be found among the other organs of the Venetian government, but this expanded jurisdiction occurred in the context of a more general expansion of the Ten's power.<sup>216</sup> In addition to these forms of oversight, syndics occasionally were sent to investigate and correct any abuses that might exist in the administrations of the subject cities. These syndics were drafted from the *auditori novi*. Marino Sanuto, in 1483, traveled with his cousin Marco, who was serving in this low level office, along with Pietro Vitturi, and the lawyer Giorgio Pisani. In addition to the three syndics themselves, a retinue of various officers was sent with them to assist in the hearing of appeals in each of the towns they visited. These officers were non-nobles, and often included legal experts, to help make up for any deficiencies in training that might have existed in either the syndics themselves or the governors and their administrations.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Grubb notes that during the fifteenth century the salary of the *podestà* was reduced by nearly 30%, while still requiring the payment of assistants' salaries from that of the *podestà*. Governors also ended up paying nearly a two-thirds tax on their salaries. This combination of reduced salaries, increased taxes, a provision that required an additional four months of service without salary, in addition to the financial restrictions already put in place in the commissions did not help morale much. By the end of the century, quality governors understandably became more difficult to find. See Grubb, 1988, 154ff.

<sup>215</sup> The *Auditori Novi* and their jurisdiction are described in Da Mosto, 1937-40, 85. The *avogadori di comun* are described *infra* p. 94.

<sup>216</sup> The role of the *avogadori di comun* and the *auditori novi* in the appellate process is described in more detail in Viggiano, 1993, Parts I and II. The Ten's expansion of power over matters dealing with the subject cities is described in Viggiano, 1993, Part III, and Cozzi, 1973.

<sup>217</sup> The description of the various officers sent with the syndics can be found in Sanuto, Marino. 1847. *Itinerario per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII*. Edited by Rawdon Brown. Padua: Tipografia del Seminario, fn. 2.

### Where Venice's lawyers governed

As previously mentioned, Venice's dominions were divided into two distinct groups: the *stato da mar*, and the *stato di terra*. Although the number of elected offices in each varied from time to time as Venice gained and lost territories, the *stato da mar* offices outnumbered those of the *stato di terra* throughout the fifteenth century. As the century progressed the *stato di terra* offices approached the overseas offices in number, a sign of the increased role played by the *stato di terra* in the Venetian government.<sup>218</sup>

Despite the numerical domination of *stato da mar* offices in the Venetian territorial administration, lawyers were predominantly governors of cities in the *stato di terra*. Of the ninety-three governorships held by lawyers, sixty-eight (73%) were in *stato di terra* cities, and only twenty-five (27%) were in the *stato da mar*. This ratio held fairly constant throughout most of the fifteenth century as Table 3 indicates. Even in the first three decades of the fifteenth century, when Venice was in the process of acquiring much of its mainland state, *stato di terra* governorships outnumber *stato da mar* governorships by a two-to-one ratio (12 to 6). The only decade in which *stato di terra* posts did not constitute the majority was the 1510s, when Venice had lost much of the *stato di terra* to the League of Cambrai, and very few of the lawyers in this study remained active in Venetian politics.

Using the Peace of Lodi as a dividing line reveals two interesting features. First, governorships in the *stato di terra* increased following the treaty. Only twenty-seven elections to *terraferma* governorships occurred prior to 1454, whereas forty-one followed the treaty. Both before and after the treaty, governorships in the *stato da mar* remained nearly constant—there were twelve prior to the treaty, and thirteen subsequent to it.

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<sup>218</sup> For the specific numbers, see fn. 203 *supra*.

**Table 3: Governorships Held by Lawyers, by Decade and Location**

<b>Decade</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Mar</b>	<b>Terraferma</b>
1400-09	4	1	3
1410-19	6	2	4
1420-29	8	3	5
1430-39	6	2	4
1440-49	8	2	6
1450-59	14	2	12
1460-69	13	3	10
1470-79	11	2	9
1480-89	9	3	6
1490-99	7	2	5
1500-09	4	1	3
1510-19	2	2	0
1520-29	1	0	1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>68</b>

Secondly, although the *stato di terra* was largely fixed by the treaty, and the number of offices expanded to almost the same number of *stato da mar* offices, second half lawyers<sup>219</sup> were actually less likely to hold governorships in the *stato di terra*. They were elected to a total of thirty-five governorships, as opposed to fifty-eight for first half lawyers. Almost all of this decrease occurred in *stato di terra* governorships—governorships in the *stato da mar* decreased from thirteen to twelve, while *stato di terra* governorships declined by almost fifty percent (from forty-five to twenty-three).

The most common city to which Venice's lawyers were sent was Verona. Lawyers were sent to the city a total of fourteen times—eight as *podestà*, five as captain, and one time in an unknown capacity.<sup>220</sup> Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, elected *podestà* of the city in 1408, was the first lawyer sent as a governor of Verona.<sup>221</sup> In all, lawyers were sent to Verona in nine of the eleven decades that comprise this study. Their highest level of involvement came from 1449-59, when lawyers were elected *podestà* twice and captain three times.

<sup>219</sup> Second half lawyers were those who came of age following the treaty; first half lawyers prior to the treaty. See *supra* page 35.

<sup>220</sup> This "unknown" assignment was given to Pietro Molin in 1465. King cites a letter from Alvise Foscarini to Molin in which Foscarini congratulates Molin for his recent election to the rectorate in Verona. Beyond this letter, however, there is no other evidence that suggests which of the two positions he held. Since the letter was dated 1 May 1465, it is possible that Molin had been sent to Verona to replace Marco Donà, who died sometime before 14 September that year, when he was replaced as Captain. However, Molin is not included in Tagliaferri's list of rectors of Verona for 1465, so it is likely that Molin's position was a temporary one at best. See Tagliaferri, Amelio. 1973-79. *Relazioni dei rettori veneti in terraferma*. 14 vols. Milan: A. Giuffrè, vol. 9., lxxxi.

<sup>221</sup> Trevisan had previously been the first captain of Padua, a post he vacated in 1407. He was quickly becoming one of Venice's governors-of-choice for new cities—in 1410, the year following his time as *podestà* in Verona, Trevisan was sent to Zara as its first count.

The second most common destination for Venetian lawyer-governors was Brescia. Fantino Dandolo, who had been a *proveditor* in the Bresciano during the wars with Milan in 1426-27, was then elected as captain of the city for 1427-28. In eight of the ten cases, lawyers were elected captains of the city. The two exceptions were Fantino Dandolo, who was *podestà* of the city in 1427 right after it passed into Venice's hands, and then Alvise Foscarini, who served as *podestà* in 1453-54. Similar to Verona, the most consistent involvement by lawyers in the city occurred in the 1450s, when lawyers served as captain three times, and *podestà* once between the years 1451-58.<sup>222</sup>

Among the cities of the *stato da mar*, Zara holds the distinction of being the place lawyers were most frequently sent to. On six different occasions, lawyers served as counts of Zara. The first of these, Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, was also the first person to hold that office. Three of the six instances were during the first two wars against the Turks.<sup>223</sup>

Not every governorship carried the same weight. Some cities were obviously more prominent than others. Thus, Ettore Bembo's service as *podestà* of Noale, a small town not far from Venice itself, should probably not be considered the equivalent of serving in either Verona or Brescia, the two centers of Venice's army in the *stato di terra*. On the other hand, service in what might otherwise be thought of as a minor outpost could actually have significance beyond what one might otherwise think. Thus the tiny town of Portogruaro played host to a lawyer as its governor only once, but that came at the very beginning of its time as a Venetian possession, when the Venetians were seeking to expand their borders into the previously Hungarian-held area of Friuli.

One indicator of the important posts held by Venice's lawyers can be derived from a copy of the Venetian state finances from 1469 published by Pullan and Chambers. This accounting showed the revenue from the *stato di terra* broken down according to nine cities.<sup>224</sup> Election as governor to one of these nine cities accounts for approximately eighty-four percent of all *stato di terra* governorships held by lawyers, and roughly sixty percent of all governorships. Thus, in general, lawyers were primarily sent to the principal cities of the Venetian state not minor outposts lacking significance.

<sup>222</sup> For a general survey of Venetian rule in Renaissance Brescia, see Bowd, Stephen D. 2010. *Venice's Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

<sup>223</sup> Antonio Dandolo was Count in 1469, during the first war with the Turks (1465-79). Iacopo Molin was Captain of the city from 1498-1501, and Girolamo Barbaro arrived as captain in 1503, at the end of the second war with the Turks (1499-1503).

<sup>224</sup> The nine cities were: Friuli, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, and Ravenna. See Chambers and Pullan, 1992, 141-42.

## The Activities of Venice's Lawyer-Governors

As was previously shown in the examination of Zaccaria Bembo's commission as *podestà* of Portogruaro, the governor's role was complicated. As the physical representative of Venice to the subject cities, the Republic's rectors were engaged in the task of trying to manage those cities in the context of Venetian territorial policy. This policy was not to create a unitary state in the modern sense. Instead scholars who study the *stato di terraferma* refer to the arrangement as one of rule by the "center" (Venice) over the "periphery" (the subject cities.) Yet the relationship was far from a one-way street—Venice's rectors stood at the intersection of a whole host of potentially conflicting constituencies, whether local elites, the local population, or competing elites back in Venice itself. Trying to navigate these constituencies while still maintaining general order in the subject city was the difficult task of the Venetian rectors.

In general, an examination of lawyers' activities while serving as governors can be divided into four categories. The first was to bring stability to a city that was in crisis, whether the crisis was war, natural disaster, or some other destabilizing event. Another activity Venice's lawyers sometimes engaged in was reformation of a subject city's laws. A third function was to oversee public works projects. Lastly, lawyer-governors occasionally served as the eyes and ears of the Republic, particularly with respect to the enforcement of a recently negotiated treaty. I shall now turn to a more detailed description of lawyers' activities in each of these areas.<sup>225</sup>

### *Governors in times of instability*

Lawyers had a knack for getting into trouble; or to put it more charitably, they were frequently sent to govern in cities during periods of instability and crisis. With an average of only eight lawyers available in any given year, and over ninety different governorships to fill, obviously lawyers could not be everywhere.<sup>226</sup> Yet their education and political experience made them prime candidates for governing subject cities, especially in tough times. Lawyers had the expertise to serve as a bridge between the situation "on the ground" in the subject city and the political requirements of the Senate and Signoria back in Venice. This seems to be

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<sup>225</sup> In describing these activities it is not my intent to provide a comprehensive description of where lawyers' activities place them in the general development of Venice's rule over its subject cities. Such an examination is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>226</sup> The total number of governorships is derived from the office lists compiled by Andrea Zannini. See fn. 203 *supra*.

clearly illustrated by the types of situations that lawyers were sent into as governors. What follows is a brief description of three of these kinds of unstable situations that the subject territories could face, and examples of lawyers who governed through them.

#### War/military conflicts

Obviously wartime represented the ultimate challenge in terms of testing the ability of Venice to maintain control of one of its subject cities. As the challenge of the League of Cambrai would demonstrate, Venice's subject cities could use external conflicts as opportunities to throw off Venetian rule. Thus, an able administrator in a time of conflict could be an important tool in warding off such losses. Venice's lawyers would serve this function on multiple occasions throughout the fifteenth century.

The first instance of a lawyer governing through a military conflict occurred in Brescia in 1427. Venice had acquired Brescia late in 1426 while Dandolo was serving as a *proveditor* in the Bresciano during one of the many rounds of fighting between Venice and Milan. With the conclusion of a shaky peace in 1426, Dandolo went on to be captain in the spring of 1427.<sup>227</sup>

The next instance of a lawyer-governor leading during a time of instability came in Corfu in 1431. Zaccaria Bembo had arrived as the *bailo* and captain of Corfu probably in late 1430 or early 1431. Sometime during 1431, the island was unsuccessfully attacked by Turkish forces. The following year, Genoese privateers attempted to take the citadel, although this in all likelihood occurred after Bembo had returned to Venice.<sup>228</sup>

Other lawyers besides Dandolo served as governors during the wars with Milan, particularly in Brescia, the military headquarters closest to the frontier with Milan. During the early 1450s, in the last stages of the conflict prior to the Peace of Lodi, lawyers were consistently present in the city as rectors. From 1451 to 1453 Nicolo da Canal served as the city's captain. Around the same time da Canal departed in 1453, Alvise Foscarini arrived as the new *podestà*, a post he held until 1454.

Meanwhile, in Verona, the other Venetian military headquarters, lawyer-governors served on multiple occasions during the wars with Milan. Marco Lippomano was captain of the city from 1431-32, and Zaccaria Bembo was *podestà* from 1437-38 when the army of

<sup>227</sup> See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 10, c. 41r for the mention of Dandolo becoming captain by April of 1427.

<sup>228</sup> Miller, William. 1903. "The Ionian Islands under Venetian Rule." *The English Historical Review*, XVIII(LXX): 209-39. Bembo served as an ambassador to Ferrara in the autumn of 1430 prior to departing for Corfu. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 11, c. 144v. He returned to Venice in sometime in 1432. See Senato, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 58, c. 93v.



Milan was marauding in the area. A decade later, during the war over the succession in Milan, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane served as *podestà* from 1449-50, followed not that long after by Alvisè Foscari (from 1450-51). Finally, Barbano Morosini was dispatched to Verona as that city's captain in 1453 as fears of an attack by the Milanese grew.<sup>229</sup>

At the conclusion of the peace among the major Italian powers in 1454, the Venetians' focus switched to the increasing threat posed by the Turks. In the latter part of the 1460s attacks in Dalmatia increased significantly and, once again, lawyers began to arrive to administer some of the larger cities in the region. The first of these was Giovanni Alberti, who served as *podestà* and captain of Capodistria in 1467. Antonio Dandolo was the Count of Zara in 1469, not long after the Turks had made their first attempt at taking that city the previous year.<sup>230</sup> In 1472 Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, who had observed the Turkish armies' advance as an ambassador in Serbia and Croatia in the late 1460s served as the Count of Spalato.<sup>231</sup> The following year, when the Turks made their first serious attempt at invading the region of Friuli, a lawyer again governed in nearby Capodistria.<sup>232</sup> From 1475-6 Vitale Lando was the *luogotenente* of Friuli as the Turkish raids continued.

The Venetians made peace with the Turks in 1479, and for the next two decades attention was turned back to peninsular politics. In 1481, with relations between Venice and Ferrara souring and the two headed towards war the following year, Bernardo Bembo was dispatched to serve as *podestà* and captain of Ravenna, which sat on the frontier between the Republic and the Marquisate. During the course of the war, Bembo was involved in at least one military exercise, recapturing the city of Comacchio in the autumn of 1482.<sup>233</sup> In 1483, Francesco Dieci departed Rome after the Pope had abandoned his alliance with Venice during the same war, and Dieci was sent to Verona to serve as that city's *podestà*. Verona was the Republic's other military command center besides Brescia.

<sup>229</sup> Regarding fear of war in 1453, see della Corte, Girolamo. 1744. *Storia di Verona*, lib. xv, 93.

<sup>230</sup> The Turks first entered the territory of Zara in 1468. See de Benvenuti, Angelo. 1944. *Storia di Zara dal 1409 al 1797*. 2 vols. Milan: Bocca, at vol. I, 57.

<sup>231</sup> Michiel's letter from Croatia is reported by Malipiero, 1843-44, 48. SGV, reg. 6, c. 73v records that a Nicolo Michiel *di Pietro* was elected Count of Spalato in 1472. The entry states that he held a doctoral degree, a notation typically reserved for law doctors (though not exclusively so). No record of a Nicolo Michiel di Pietro exists, however, in the *Acta Graduum*. However, in *I Diarii*, vol. III, 1176, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio seeks to be excused from serving as ambassador to Hungary, citing his previous time as Count of Spalato. Thus, it seems certain that the *Segretario alle Voci* made a mistake in recording the father's name in this instance.

<sup>232</sup> Pietro Molin was *podestà* and captain from 1473 to 1475. For a brief discussion of the Turkish attacks in the region, see Mallett and Hale, 1984, 48-50.

<sup>233</sup> Bembo's role in the war while in Ravenna is detailed in Giannetto, Nella. 1985. *Bernardo Bembo umanista e politico veneziano*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki at 152-56.

In the 1490s as the French invaded twice, in 1494 and 1499, Venice's lawyers again found themselves serving as governors on the frontier with the conflict. Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was serving as the captain of Brescia from late 1493 until the spring of 1495, thus being present for the French invasion as well as the Venetian military preparation. In fact, in a letter dated 6 May 1495, Agostino Barbarigo wrote to the rectors of Brescia, authorizing the payment of twenty-five ducats to the *condottiere* Ranuccio Farnese for the loss of a horse that had died while in the service of the Venetian ambassador to Milan, Giorgio Pisani.<sup>234</sup> Meanwhile, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo served as *visdomino* of Ferrara, a position that carried some diplomatic and some governor-like functions, from 1494 to 1496. During the second French invasion in 1499, Pasqualigo had moved on to serve as captain of Brescia. Meanwhile, Bernardo Bembo had taken up the post of *visdomino* of Ferrara.<sup>235</sup>

While the French were invading Italy from the west, the Turks again attacked Venice from the east. In the opening phases of this war (1499), yet another lawyer found himself governing a city in the path of a hostile army. Thirty years after the Turks had first attempted to take Zara, Iacopo Molin arrived as the captain of the city. Within a year the city was under attack by the Turks again. Molin witnessed these attacks, and told the Senate of their devastating results upon his return to Venice in 1501.<sup>236</sup>

The final major conflict that occurred during the period of this study was the War of Cambrai itself. Marco Dandolo had arrived in Brescia as that city's captain in the spring of 1508. The following year the city was under siege by the League's armies, led by the French. The city fell, and Dandolo would remain in captivity until his return was negotiated in 1513.

### New political institutions

A second type of unstable situation that lawyers were sometimes put into was the governorship of a city added only recently to the Venetian dominions. The task of the governor in this situation would generally be to solidify the Venetian hold on that city. The

<sup>234</sup> Miscellanea, Ducali e Atti Diplomatici, b. 20, f. B #18.

<sup>235</sup> For a description of the role of the *visdomino* in Ferrara, see fn. 133 *supra*.

<sup>236</sup> Word of the impending attacks reached Venice in the late spring/early summer of 1499. See, e.g. *I Diarii*, vol. II, 853-54. Francesco Venier, the count of Zara, and Molin, its captain, wrote numerous letters back to Venice throughout the attacks. Molin's report to the Senate came on 29 March 1501. Sanuto wrote:

Vene sier Jacomo da Molin, doctor, venuto capetanio di Zara. Referì assa' cosse, et chome stava uella povera terra e misero contado, dil qual tra incursion di turchi, stata tre volte, e peste, ne manca anime X milia, tra morte da peste e menate via da turchi, et animali da 80 milia.

*I Diarii*, vol. III, 1618.

difficulty of this task could obviously vary—in some cities Venice's rule would be more acceptable than others. There were six cities that, as Venice was expanding in the first part of the fifteenth century, lawyers governed in the first few years of Venetian rule. What follows is a brief description of each of those instances.

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio was something of a specialist in helping to administer new cities on behalf of Venice. In 1405, after serving as one of the many *proveditori* in the Carrarese war for control of Padua, Trevisan was elected a vice-captain, and then captain of the city, the first to hold either post. He continued in Padua until 1407, and then spent a year in various other positions before being elected *podestà* of Verona in 1408.

At the time of his election, Venice had held Verona for roughly three years, and was in the process of relocating Veronese families out of the citadel in order to make room for the Venetian army. In a letter from October 1408 Trevisan wrote to the government in Venice regarding these efforts.<sup>237</sup> In 1409 Trevisan oversaw the first known *estimo*, or tax survey, of the Veronese population.<sup>238</sup>

From Verona, Trevisan was called upon to serve as the first Count of Zara in 1410. Venice had purchased the city from Ladislas of Naples the previous year, for 100,000 ducats. Venice had lost the city to the Hungarians in 1358, and was eager to take advantage of Ladislas' asserted rights to the Hungarian throne and attached territories in order to get back what they had previously held. The sale of the city and its subsequent occupation by the Venetians helped start a war with Hungary in 1411.<sup>239</sup> Thus Trevisan's time in the city from 1410 to 1411 would have been fraught with political implications far beyond the simple rule of that one city.

Wars with Hungary and their fallout helped to prompt the second round of governorships by lawyers in newly acquired cities. The second Hungarian war from 1418 to 1420 resulted in the recapture of several towns to the north of Venice, as well as the addition of Friuli and certain cities of that region. One of the cities that Venice recaptured was Belluno. Upon the conclusion of peace with Sigismund in 1420, Venice sent Ettore Bembo

<sup>237</sup> The letter from Trevisan to Venice is located at Senato dispacci antichi di ambasciatori, rettori, e altre cariche (1321-1528) b. 1, #100. See also the section on building projects undertaken by lawyer-governors, *infra* pp. 87-89.

<sup>238</sup> For more information regarding the *estimo* of 1409, see Herlihy, David. 1973. "The Population of Verona in the First Century of Venetian Rule." In *Renaissance Venice*, edited by John R. Hale, 91-120. Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield. Herlihy states that the *estimo* of 1409 is the earliest surviving one from Verona under Venetian rule. See Herlihy, 1973, 95.

<sup>239</sup> See Mallett and Hale, 1984, 26.

to Belluno as its *podestà* and captain. He would be followed by another lawyer, Marco Lippomano, in 1421.

Meanwhile, the war with Hungary also resulted in Venice adding some cities to its dominion. Among these was the coastal town of Portogruaro. The town was annexed in early 1420, after the city had approached the Venetians about joining their dominion the previous year. Venetian troops entered the city in mid-May, and not long after Zaccaria Bembo arrived as the city's first *podestà*.<sup>240</sup>

The last example of a lawyer governing a recently acquired city occurred in 1427. Venice had been fighting with Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan since 1425, and, late in 1426, had captured Brescia from the Milanese. Fantino Dandolo had been serving as a *proveditor* with the army in the Bresciano sometime after the fall of the city in November of that year or early in 1427. He was subsequently elected the captain of the city, a position he held until right around the time the Peace of Ferrara was concluded between Venice and Milan in April 1428. There is little doubt that this was a challenging assignment for Dandolo. In addition to the normal duties of a captain, fighting in the region continued throughout 1427, culminating in Carmagnola's victory in the nearby town of Maclodio in October.<sup>241</sup>

#### Natural disasters

Another type of challenge that Venice's governors would have had to face was that of natural disasters, such as plague or weather-related acts of God. Venice's lawyers were no exception. Corte, in his *Storia di Verona* records several instances of disasters that occurred while lawyers were ruling in the city. For example, the city suffered from severe flooding in 1431 while Marco Lippomano was the city's captain. In 1484 the city suffered from plague, an outbreak that might have occurred while Francesco Diedo served as the city's *podestà*. Agostini records that plague had also broken out in 1450, at about the same time that Alvise Foscarini replaced Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane as the city's *podestà*.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>240</sup> For a brief chronology of the events leading up to the acquisition of Portogruaro, see Zanco, Guido. 1984. "Epigrafi civili dei *podestà* veneti a Portogruaro." *Veneto Orientale*, 3, at 42, fn. 1. Regarding Bembo's presence as the city's first *podestà* see Cicogna, Emmanuele. 1982. *Documenti storici inediti pertinenti alla città di Portogruaro*. Reprint of 1851 edition. Portogruaro: Società di Storia, at 110.

<sup>241</sup> For the archival evidence of Dandolo's presence in the Bresciano in 1426-28, see his profile *infra* Appendix I. Regarding the military events of this period, see Mallett and Hale, 1984, 34-35.

<sup>242</sup> For the flood of 1431, see della Corte, 1744, lib. xiv, 24. The plague of 1484 is discussed by della Corte, 1744, lib. xvi, 110ff. This would have been the second plague during which Diedo governed. Sanuto, in his *Itinerario* mentions that while Diedo was captain of Brescia in 1478, the area lost 24,000 people to a plague in the space of three months. See Sanuto, 1847, at 72. Agostini's mention of plague in 1450 is discussed in his profile of Foscarini. Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 57.

In 1485, while Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo was serving as *podestà* and captain of Feltre, plague broke out in the district, causing great fear in the city. Pasqualigo successfully navigated his way through this crisis, only to have rebellion nearly break out in the city. Again, however, he successfully kept things in check, and guided the city out of the threat to Venetian control.<sup>243</sup>

### *Lawyers as Reformers of a City's Laws*

On occasion, while serving as a governor, Venice's lawyers would be involved in the re-writing of a subject city's laws. There are at least three instances of this occurring during the fifteenth century. The first of these revisions, in Feltre, was undertaken by Alvise Foscari. According to the *Storia di Feltre*:

Resse il Foscari la città con molta saviezza ed equal zelo, invigliando indefessamente al pubblico bene; onde riformò alcuni abusi con nuovi ordini e salutevoli costituzioni, le quale, distinte in quindici capi, si leggono registrate nel fine del quinto libro delle Leggi Municipali. Per la confermazione di queste e per altri affari della patria, i Feltrini mandarono oratori a Venezia Giovanni Pietro Ramponi e Giorgio Teupone, i quale, espone al principe Foscari le incombenze avute dalla loro Comunità, riportarono, a' 12 di gennajo dell'anno che segui 1440, l'approvazione dei capitoli già detti.<sup>244</sup>

The second example occurred in Verona in 1449 when Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane was *podestà*. The third time a lawyer was involved in the revision of a subject city's statutes was when Bernardo Bembo was *podestà* of Bergamo from 1489-90.<sup>245</sup>

Although it is certain that the revision of these cities' statutes occurred while the lawyers in question were governors of the respective cities, what is not certain is the extent of involvement by the lawyer-governors themselves in the process. Michael Mallett states that the revision of Verona's laws undertaken in the late 1440s/early 1450s (when Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane and Ludovico Foscari served as *podestà*) was the work of jurists and other local elites. John Law has argued that the process was largely controlled by local elites since the Venetian governors lacked expertise in the law generally, and the local statutes specifically.<sup>246</sup> As has already been mentioned, Venetian rectors brought with them legal experts from the subject cities, so it would be no surprise that they would play a role in the

<sup>243</sup> These events during the rectorate of Pasqualigo are described in vol. II, 173-75 of Cambruzzi, Antonio. 1874-77. *Storia di Feltre*. 4 vols. Feltre: Premiata tipografia sociale Panfilo Castaldi.

<sup>244</sup> Cambruzzi, 1874-77, vol. I, 115.

<sup>245</sup> For Trevisan's role in the revision of Verona's statutes see Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 376. Bembo's work is mentioned in Consiglio de Dieci, *Deliberazioni Misti*, reg 25, c. 3r; cf. Ventura and Pecoraro, at 105.

<sup>246</sup> Mallett, 1996a, 219; cf. Law, John E. 1992. "The Venetian mainland state in the fifteenth century." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 153-74, at 172-73.

revision of a subject city's laws. However, the exact nature of the role of any of these actors (lawyer-governors, local elites, lawyer-assistants) remains largely unknown.

### *Lawyers as Builders*

Cities are, in some sense, living organisms, changing over time not just in their demographics, but also in their infrastructure. This process obviously would not have stopped under Venetian rule; the subject cities continued to expand, adding new infrastructure as needed. Some elements were ordered by the central government in Venice, and would have been overseen by the Venetian governors on hand. Others would have been the result of the local governments themselves, and some were the result of private patronage. The following are three examples of “building projects” that were either sponsored by, or overseen by (or even both) Venetian lawyers during their time as governors of subject cities.

The first example comes from the military sphere. When Venice took control of Verona in 1405, the city came complete with multiple military installations, including the *Citadella*. The Republic determined that it wanted to use this structure to house its troops that would be garrisoned in the city, but the process whereby this would occur would be a long one as the area also was home to numerous civilians. Two lawyers were involved in different phases of the project. In 1408, Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio was sent to Verona as the city's new *podestà*. That same year the Senate had decided that the captain—the other Venetian rector—was to convert all housing inside the area of the fortress into public property for the purpose of housing soldiers, and to compensate the losses of the citizens who lived there by giving them equivalent property held by the government elsewhere in the city. However, in November of that year, the rectors wrote back to the Senate to inform them that the “equivalent” properties were not viewed as such by the displaced citizens, and therefore it was their recommendation that those properties be sold and cash payments made to the citizens displaced from the *Citadella*.<sup>247</sup>

Five years later, following an attack on the city by troops sponsored by Sigismund, King of the Romans, the Republic decided to get serious about building up the *Citadella*. Late in the year arrangements were made to re-construct the fortress into a more suitable location for housing troops. This work began at the end of 1413 or beginning of 1414, approximately the same time Fantino Dandolo arrived as *podestà*. Although the Republic

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<sup>247</sup> This event is discussed in Law, John E. 1993. “The *Cittadella* of Verona.” In *War, Culture, and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honour of John Hale*, edited by David S. Chambers et al., 9-28. London: Hambledon Press, at 15-16. The letter from the rectors can be found at Senato, Lettere di Rettori, b. 1, #100.

sent two *proveditori* to oversee the actual building process, the rectors of the city had previously been given instructions dealing with the preparation for the coming works.<sup>248</sup>

The second and third examples are both much smaller in scale, and represent examples of personal patronage in the building realm, both of them tombs of famous individuals. In 1440, while *podestà* and captain of Feltre, Alvise Foscari commissioned a new base for the martyrdom of Saints Victor and Corone in their eponymous church just outside the city. The relics of the saints had been kept in a Roman-era sarcophagus, but this was now to be enhanced by being elevated through the support of four columns bearing a platform and small statue of Saint Victor, along with an inscription commemorating the event. Besides the mention of Foscari as the patron of the addition in the inscription, one of the columns also bore the Foscari coat of arms.<sup>249</sup>

The other tomb reconstructed at the behest of one of Venice's lawyer-governors was that of Dante Alighieri. Bernardo Bembo, while *podestà* and captain of Ravenna from 1481-83 found that Dante's tomb had fallen into a state of disrepair. He subsequently sponsored the reconstruction of the tomb in 1483, which included a sculpted portrait of the poet by Pietro Lombardo.<sup>250</sup>

Although perhaps not as significant as their role as ambassadors, lawyers nonetheless played an important role in the administration of Venice's territorial state. This small body of men was elected to serve as territorial governors on just over ninety occasions. The majority of those elections were to the most important cities in Venice's land empire, and over a quarter of their elections as governor were to the two headquarters of Venice's army—Verona and Brescia. Just as Venice's lawyers spent a significant time shuttling back and forth between Venice and her diplomatic partners, they also spent time on the frontiers of the Venetian empire, where they would have been able to see the conflicts facing Venice firsthand. No doubt these two roles (diplomat and governor) had a reciprocal influence on each other as these men went from the one role to the other. Venice's lawyers' combined

<sup>248</sup> The building phase of 1413-14 is discussed Law, 1993, 16-17. In 1461-62, while *podestà* and captain of Ravenna, Vitale Lando helped to oversee the construction of the Brancaloneo fortress in that city. See Senato, *Deliberazioni*, Mar, reg. 7, c. 85v; cf. Gullino, 2004, at 463.

<sup>249</sup> See Cambruzzi, 1874-77, vol. 1, 116.

<sup>250</sup> This event is described in Giannetto, 1985, 156ff; cf. Moore, E. 1888. "The Tomb of Dante." *The English Historical Review* 3:635-54, at 639-40. The portrait of Dante is reproduced in Callegri, Raimondo. 1997. "Bernardo Bembo and Pietro Lombardo; News from the 'Nonianum'." *The Burlington Magazine* 139:862-66, at 864. Bembo's role as a humanist, which undoubtedly spurred his interest in Dante's works, is documented extensively by Giannetto, as well as King.

experience as both diplomats and governors would surely have also had an impact on their activities in the domestic political scene, the arena to which I will now turn.



## Chapter 6—The Lawyer as Legislator

### Introduction

Although lawyers primarily served the republic outside the city, they also spent a considerable amount of time taking part in the various committees that made up the Venetian government inside Venice itself. This section shall examine lawyers' service in various central councils of the Venetian government. The examination is divided into two basic parts. First, I shall give the reader a brief overview of the Venetian government structure, focusing on the central offices of the domestic system. Following this will be a description of lawyers' involvement office by office, tracing lawyers' participation in the various committees in terms of how often they served in various offices, as well as when they served in these offices. This notion of "when" they served in a given office is examined both in terms of the lawyers' careers (e.g. was the office held primarily early or late in a career), as well as the time period under consideration (e.g. how much of the fifteenth century saw lawyers represented in any given committee).

### The Structure of Venice's Government

To the modern observer, Venice's government structure is impossibly complex. Although once renowned for its stability, it has also been maligned for its inefficiency and corruption. Its composition, a bewildering array of committees of varying sizes and overlapping jurisdictions, defies easy explanation. Nonetheless, certain features stand out, and should be explained, in order to provide a fuller context for the work Venice's lawyers did in the Republic's domestic political offices.

The titular head of the Venetian system was the doge, or duke, of Venice. The man elected to this office would hold it for life, and serve, at a bare minimum, as the head of state of Venice, living in the ducal palace on St Mark's Square, and also presiding over many of the committee meetings where decisions would be made. Upon taking office, the doge took an oath of office in which various restrictions were placed upon his activities, including such prohibitions as meeting with foreign ambassadors without his councilors, opening or responding to foreign correspondence without his councilors, leaving Venice itself without the permission of the government, and so on. Although these were "restrictions", their very existence indicates that the Venetian system feared the potential, if not actual, influence that the doge could have in the Venetian system.

The second “highest” office, at least in terms of prestige, was that of procurator of St Mark. The procurators were also elected for life, and it was typically from their ranks that a new doge would be selected. Procurators oversaw the upkeep and operation of St Mark’s basilica, served as trustees of estates and also acted as executors of wills. It was therefore an office of high trust in the Venetian system, and in addition to serving as a source of candidates for doge, oftentimes procurators were elected to some of the more significant offices discussed below.

Surrounding the doge, were his six councilors, one elected from each of the six *sestieri* or neighborhoods of Venice. These men were elected to eight-month terms, and, because of the prestige of the office, it was often reserved for the oldest and/or most distinguished patricians. The ducal councilors served as a hedge around the doge, theoretically serving as a check against his unbridled use of power.<sup>251</sup>

The doge and his councilors served on three other important committees. The first of these was the *Signoria*. The Signoria consisted of the doge, his six councilors, plus the three heads of the *Quarantia* or Court of Forty. During the Renaissance Venice came to have three *Quarantie*, each of which held jurisdiction over either civil or criminal appeals. The *Signoria* in turn presided over the meetings of the Greater Council (described below), setting the agenda for meetings of the same.

The second important committee was the *Pien Collegio*, which consisted of the previously mentioned *Signoria* and the body called, simply, the *Collegio* (discussed in more detail below). The *Pien Collegio* presided over the meetings of the Venetian Senate.

The final committee in which the doge and his councilors sat was the Council of Ten. This council originated in the crisis brought on by the Querini-Tiepolo conspiracy in 1310. Like other committees (e.g. the *savi alla guerra*) the Council of Ten was initially a temporary response to a crisis, and was later made permanent (in 1335). Over time, its jurisdiction expanded to cover a variety of crimes besides treason that were considered threatening to the state; in the early fifteenth century, for example, the Council took up prosecution of homosexual sodomy.<sup>252</sup> On occasion the Council was also involved in foreign affairs issues (receiving letters from and writing them to ambassadors and governors) and even the

<sup>251</sup> This description is drawn from Finlay, 1980, xv and vol. I, 21 of Da Mosto, Andrea. 1937-40. *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Indice generale storico, descrittivo ed annalitico*. 2 vols. Rome: Biblioteca d'arte.

<sup>252</sup> For lawyer involvement in this particular expansion, see pp. 102-03 *infra*. For the expansion into prosecution of homosexual sodomy in more general terms, see Ruggiero, Guido. 1985. *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex crime and sexuality in Renaissance Venice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, at 126-35.

prosecution of criminals in the subject cities.<sup>253</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, its tendency to expand into various areas under the guise of “national security” resulted in a power struggle that eventually curtailed what were seen as the more egregious jurisdictional excesses of the Council.<sup>254</sup>

The Council consisted, first, of the ten “ordinary” members, elected by the Greater Council to one year terms. Each month three of these ten would be elected as “Heads” of the Ten, given the responsibility to be the executive officers of the committee.<sup>255</sup> Voting rights were also given to the doge and his six councilors, making a total of seventeen voting members on the council.<sup>256</sup> In addition, the *avogadori di comun* also sat in the council, though not as voting members. During the fifteenth century, the Council began to elect a monthly College, which was composed of one of the state attorneys, one of the Heads of the Ten, a regular member of the Ten designated as an “Inquisitor”, and one Ducal Councilor; this *collegio* initially served as the investigators of matters regarding homosexual sodomy.<sup>257</sup> Lastly, the Council of Ten could be expanded through the use of *zonte*. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, these additional nobles were elected on an *ad hoc* basis, for various ‘crisis’ situations in which it was thought that the Council of Ten would proceed best with the addition of more nobles to the discussion. An example of such an event was the deposition of Francesco Foscari, for which a *zonta* of twenty-five patricians was elected. By

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<sup>253</sup> For example, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 20, cc. 87v-88r, contains a letter dated 10 October, 1481 from the Council to Francesco Diedo, Venice’s ambassador in Rome. The Council sent a number of letters to Bernardo Bembo in the second half of 1482 while he was *podestà* and captain of Ravenna. See Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 20, cc. 143v-190v.

An example of the Council of Ten involving itself in territorial governance involved the prosecution of a counterfeiting operation in Brescia in 1499. Letters from the rectors of Brescia dated 6 February 1498 [m.v] and 21 March 1499 can be found at Capi del Consiglio di Dieci, lettere dei Rettore, b. 192. The Ten replied in letters dated 6 March and 13 May of 1499 (Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 28, cc. 2r and 9v).

<sup>254</sup> Finlay writes:

[T]he executive councils, led by the Ten, had been expanding their power against the Senate since at least the last decades of the Quattrocento. . . . When the Ten bypassed the Senate in making peace with the Turks in 1540 and 1573-1574, it was acting from an authority it had definitively arrogated to itself from the time of Cambrai. The much-discussed reform of the Ten in 1582-1583, in which the *zonta* was abolished, reduced that council’s administrative power but otherwise amounted only to a slight reformulation of the governing circle’s technique of domination.

Finlay, 1980, 281-82. Cf. Cozzi, 1973, at 303ff.

<sup>255</sup> The majority of proposals made among the Ten were made by one or more of the Heads of the Ten. Occasionally one of the other voting members, or even the non-voting *avogadori* would make proposals.

<sup>256</sup> On occasion, one or more of the Heads of the Forty would replace absent, disqualified, or not-yet-elected Ducal Councilors.

<sup>257</sup> See Ruggiero, 1985, 134.

the close of the fifteenth century, the *zonte* of the Council were a more permanent fixture, as was service on them.<sup>258</sup>

In addition to the above committees, three more bodies of great importance operated in the Venetian system. The first of these is the already mentioned *Collegio*. This body served as a “steering committee” for the Senate, setting the agenda for that body, and making proposals before it that would then be voted upon.<sup>259</sup> It thus was responsible for establishing the contours, and suggesting the content, of Venice’s various policies. It in turn consisted of three smaller committees. The *savi grandi* were elected to six-month terms, with half the committee being elected every three months in order to provide continuity along with frequent turn-over. The committee was responsible for general governmental policies.<sup>260</sup> They were considered the highest-ranking members of the *Collegio*. Next in line were the *savi di terraferma*, who were responsible for policy matters dealing with Venice’s mainland possessions.<sup>261</sup> They were elected to six-month terms in quarterly elections that alternated between electing three and two members to the body.<sup>262</sup> Lowest in prestige, and generally reserved for younger patricians, were the *savi agli ordini*, who oversaw policies regarding Venice’s maritime possessions.<sup>263</sup>

Among the above offices, patricians typically held only one office at a time, although there were a few exceptions. Procurators, for example, were not barred from holding other

<sup>258</sup> Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio served on *zonte* of the Ten continuously from 1512 until his death in 1518. See his profile *infra* Appendix I.

<sup>259</sup> The term is from Finlay, 1980, xv; cf. Da Mosto, 1937-40, vol. 1, 22-23.

<sup>260</sup> See Da Mosto, 1937-40, vol. 1, 22.

<sup>261</sup> In 1412, during the Venetians’ first war with Hungary, the Republic instituted a special office called the *savi alla guerra*. These men were to help in the coordinating of the war effort. They continued to be elected throughout the decade until, at the conclusion of the Republic’s second war with Hungary in 1420, the office was replaced by the more permanent *savi di terraferma*. See Da Mosto, 1937-40, vol. 1, 22.

<sup>262</sup> Elections generally occurred in late-March/early-April, late-June/early-July, late-September/early-October, and late-December/early January. The staggered election system allowed for both frequent rotation and continuity, as only a portion of the committee would be replaced in any given election. It also allowed for frequent appearances by the same small group of patricians. Although a patrician could not be re-elected immediately upon relinquishing the office, with the next election only three months away, it was possible for patricians to be re-elected frequently nonetheless. Multiple elections in the same year could also happen as a result of a patrician being elected to fill out a term for another noble who had been elected to a different office, leaving an open seat in the *savi di terraferma*. Nicolo da Canal’s career is one example of these possibilities. Da Canal was elected a *savio di terraferma* for a three-month term on 30 December 1448. On 31 March 1449 he and Girolamo Barbarigo were replaced by Alvise Foscari and Zaccaria Trevisan. Then, on 30 June da Canal was re-elected to the committee, leaving probably in November as an ambassador to Rome. See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 2, cc. 98v-123r.

<sup>263</sup> Only one of the thirty-three lawyers in this study ever served in this office. Zaccaria Bembo served on the committee as his second elected office in 1415. See his career profile, Appendix I, *infra*. This further confirms the general impression that it was an entry-level office. Another possible explanation for lawyers’ absence from it could be that, since it centered on the *stato da mar*, and therefore the commercial relationships therein, lawyers, not being particularly connected to that traffic, would be unlikely to be chosen for the office.

offices. In addition, several of the lawyers in this study served simultaneously on the Council of Ten while holding a seat on one of the committees that made up the *Collegio*.<sup>264</sup>

As mentioned, the *Collegio* helped to oversee the business of the Senate. The Senate was the primary source of Venice's foreign policy, and the place where many domestic policies were developed as well. Venice's ambassadors were almost exclusively elected by, and responsible to, the Senate. The Senate had sixty ordinary members, sixty members of its *zonta*, plus it included the Court of the Forty. In addition to these 160 voting members, the Senate also included approximately 140 other officials who could enter by virtue of their offices, but could not vote.

Every Venetian patrician male aged twenty-five and older could sit, as of right, in the Greater Council, the last major council of the Venetian system. In addition, a certain number of patrician males under age twenty-five, but at least eighteen, could be admitted to the council by virtue of a lottery that took place on the feast of St Barbara each year. Because of its size, the Greater Council was not particularly well-suited for extended policy debates, but it did serve as the venue in which most other elections to Venetian offices occurred, including the doge himself, and it could also occasionally serve as a jury in a high profile case.

The last principal office of the Venetian system that should be mentioned is that of *avogador di comun*, or state attorney. There were three state attorneys, and they performed a variety of functions in the Venetian system. For example, one state attorney was expected to be at every meeting of the principal bodies discussed above in order to serve as a guardian of the laws, making sure that proposals made and passed complied with the Venetian constitution. A second important function they had was to serve as the Republic's attorney in criminal cases before the *Quarantia*. A third role they played was as gatekeeper of the patriciate class itself, overseeing the admission of young patricians to the Greater Council, verifying their eligibility to be included in the patrician class itself.

All of these central offices were supported by a whole host of minor offices of varying types and jurisdictions, an army of notaries in the ducal chancery, the colonial governors and their staffs, etc. In sum it was a complicated system, one within which Venice's lawyers flourished. What follows is a description of the varying ways in which

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<sup>264</sup> Regarding procurators holding offices after their election to the procuratorship, see the profiles of Alvise Foscari and Nicolò Michiel il Vecchio *infra* Appendix I. Nine lawyers held two offices concurrently on a total of eighteen different occasions. In eleven of the cases, the lawyers sat on the *savi di terraferma* at the same time as the Council of Ten, and in the other seven cases held seats simultaneously as members of the *savi grandi* and Council of Ten. The last instance of this happening was in 1477, by Vitale Lando, thus the practice may have died out or subsequently been banned.

lawyers served in many of the above offices, throughout the time period from Venice's principal mainland expansion up until the League of Cambrai.

### Lawyers and the dogeship

Although fifteen doges were elected between the years 1400-1509, none of them was a lawyer. No lawyer is mentioned even as a serious candidate for the office, though one, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, was perhaps maneuvering for the job in the ducal election of 1501.<sup>265</sup> Nevertheless, although their direct influence in the office was nonexistent, their indirect influence, through their role as ducal electors, was significant.

It is perhaps difficult to think of the role of ducal elector as a "legislative office." The position was one that lasted a few days at most, more typically less than a day, depending on where in the ducal election process one was elected. However, there were at least two ways in which being involved in the ducal election process could be thought of as a policy-making position, making it similar to the other offices discussed throughout this section. First, with each new ducal election came the opportunity to revise the doge's oath of office. Thus, serving as a revisor of the ducal *promissione* (as it was called) was an important opportunity both to look back, at the previous doge's use and/or misuse of power, and to look forward, at instituting new restrictions on the next doge. The second way in which participants in this process could be thought of as policymakers is that, whether choosing someone to fill the next stage in the process, or to elect the doge himself, each elector no doubt took certain policy preferences into account in making his choices. Indeed, Robert Finlay has shown how the jockeying for the title of *Il Serenissimo* was intense, and that the families of Venice engaged in heavy politicking in an attempt to control the outcome of the ducal elections.<sup>266</sup>

The process of electing a new doge was fairly complex. It is thus worth quoting Finlay's description at length:

The ducal election lasted five days, with two stages of the process allotted to each day. Thirty members of the Great Council, exclusive of patricians under thirty years of age, were selected by lot. Retiring to a separate chamber, this group of thirty reduced themselves by lot to nine, who then elected forty men by a majority of at least seven votes each. After electing the forty, the nine returned to the hall of the Great Council with their

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<sup>265</sup> Regarding Michiel's aspirations, see Finlay, 1980, 150.

<sup>266</sup> The discussion of ducal politics is found in Finlay, 1980, 41-62. One lawyer even fell afoul of this competition. In 1521 Marco Dandolo supported his brother-in-law Giorgio Corner for the dogeship. After Antonio Grimani emerged victorious, Grimani's supporters sought to punish Corner's supporters, in Dandolo's case by trying to expel him from the Senate *Zonta*. See Finlay, 1980, 154.

list of nominees, “without looking at, speaking or making a sign to anyone.” These nominees were announced to the chamber and checked to insure that no clan had more than one representative, a precaution followed at every stage of the election. The group of forty assembled in a separate room and reduced their number by sortition to the twelve men who were to elect the next group of twenty-five by at least seven votes apiece; although forbidden to nominate themselves, the twelve could elect a member of the previous group of forty. The twenty-five were reduced by lot to nine, who elected forty-five patricians by the usual majority of seven votes. The forty-five drew lots to select eleven of their number, and the Eleven (the *Undici*) elected the Forty-one (the *Quarantuno*) that then elected the doge by at least twenty-five votes.<sup>267</sup>

Although this process had the appearance of randomness, Finlay argues that its random nature effectively ended after the thirty were reduced by lot to nine. That group of nine was expected to elect “important politicians”, or what Finlay also calls the “Primi,” to the next group of forty.<sup>268</sup> These important politicians would then go on to elect other members of this inner circle throughout the process, so that the forty-one who elected the doge would invariably come from among these central families.

Therefore, the presence of lawyers in this process would further demonstrate their important role in the political life of Venice. If lawyers can be regularly found among the latter stages of the ducal election process, it would be safe to conclude that they were considered central to the politics of Venice. On the other hand, if lawyers are rarely, or never, found among the rolls of ducal electors, this would then perhaps indicate a marginal status held by the group.

The first thing to examine, then, is the level of lawyer participation in ducal elections. In the fifteen ducal elections that occurred from 1400 to 1523, lawyers were electors in eleven (73%).<sup>269</sup> Of the thirty-three lawyers in this study, at least six were incapable of participating in a ducal election, either because no elections occurred during their careers, or because they were outside the city of Venice during the election(s) they were eligible to

<sup>267</sup> Finlay, 1980, 141-42 (internal citation omitted).

<sup>268</sup> Finlay defines the Primi as follows: “The *Primi* were almost invariably *ricchi* (‘rich ones’), who had the education, social standing, and resources to devote themselves full time to politics. Strengthened by marriage alliances and bolstered by patrician clienteles, they dominated the *piazza del broglio* and had the favored seats in the Loggetta. With money and influence, they dictated Venetian tax laws and commercial policy.” Finlay, 1980, 26.

<sup>269</sup> The fifteen elections were: 1400, 1413, 1423, 1457, 1462, 1471, 1473, 1474, 1476, 1478, 1485, 1486, 1501, 1521, and 1523. The four in which lawyers did not participate were: 1400, 1476, 1478, 1485. The absence of lawyers from the first two can be mostly accounted for: only two lawyers were eligible to participate (Ettore Bembo and Zaccaria Trevisan), and one of them (Trevisan) was not even in Venice at the time. In the latter two, although several lawyers were eligible and available for each, none participated.

participate in.<sup>270</sup> Sixteen of the remaining twenty-seven (59%) were involved at some stage of the election process, each of them beyond the initial two, more random, stages.<sup>271</sup> Of those sixteen, seven (26% of the total, 44% of the participants) were among the forty-one actual ducal electors during seven of the fifteen elections.<sup>272</sup>

Venice's lawyers had a total of 119 opportunities to partake in ducal elections. They did so a total of twenty-seven times (23%). This is compared to an overall participation rate of 36% (43 of 119) for the twenty-five non-lawyer humanists included in King's study. Adjusting for those instances when these individuals were ineligible because they were outside the city in service to the state narrows the gap slightly. The total of lawyers' opportunities goes down to 86, increasing their participation rate to 31%. Non-lawyer humanists were outside Venice a total of twenty times, reducing their total opportunities down to ninety-nine, and boosting their participation rate to 43%. Thus, overall, although Venice's lawyers participated in ducal elections on numerous occasions, they did so at a less frequent rate than their similarly situated humanist counterparts.

Age at election is a second factor to examine. As previously quoted from Finlay, electors had to be at least thirty years old. Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo was a member of the forty-five in the election of 1474 at approximately thirty years of age.<sup>273</sup> The next

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<sup>270</sup> In chronological order, the six were: Zaccaria Bembo, Nicolo Contarini, Giovanni Marino, Barbone Morosini, Andrea Venier, and Giacomo Contarini. The only election for which Zaccaria was eligible was that of 1423, and he was the *podestà* of Pirano at the time. Nicolo Contarini, also eligible only for the 1423 election, was an ambassador to Castile at the time. Giovanni Marino's entire career was encompassed by the dogeship of Francesco Foscari. The only election for which Barbone Morosini was eligible was that of 1457, and he was serving as *podestà* of Bergamo at the time. That same election also was the only one that Andrea Venier was eligible for, but since Venier was the nephew of the recently deposed Foscari, he was probably, for all intents and purposes, ineligible for being an elector. Giacomo Contarini was probably still a student at the University of Padua in 1486, the only election for which he was eligible.

In addition to these six, there were three other lawyers who were eligible, but unlikely, candidates for the ducal elections that occurred during their careers. Marco Lippomano was thirty-three when the ducal election of 1423 was held. Although he, in all likelihood, was in Venice at the time, his young age meant that his chances of being selected as a ducal elector were slim. Only one lawyer throughout the fifteen elections was ever selected prior to his fortieth birthday—Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo who was thirty years old when he participated in the election of 1474. Similar to Lippomano, Francesco Contarini was thirty-three when the only ducal election of his career (1457) occurred. Finally, Ermolao Barbaro was old enough to be eligible for the elections of 1485 and 1486, but he was only thirty-two when the former occurred, and he was away on an ambassadorial mission when the latter was held. It would thus not be stretching the data too far to say that a total of nine lawyers were never eligible to participate. However, the figures given presume only the six mentioned in the first paragraph of this note.

<sup>271</sup> During the election of 1457, Angelo Michiel became the only lawyer to be a part of the initial thirty.

<sup>272</sup> As stated previously, lawyers were involved in eleven of the fifteen elections from 1400-1523. This means that they were among the 41 in a little under half (47%) of the total number of elections, and just under two-thirds (64%) of the elections in which they actually participated.

<sup>273</sup> Pasqualigo had been presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1463, making him somewhere between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four at that time. However, since most families tried to register their sons as near to their eighteenth birthdays as possible, it is reasonable to assume that Pasqualigo was probably nineteen in 1463, and thus 30 in 1474.



youngest lawyer participant was Antonio Dandolo who, at the age of forty, was also a member of the forty-five, but in the election of 1471. The average age of all lawyer electors across all elections was fifty-three. Among the non-lawyer humanists examined by Margaret King, the average age of a ducal elector was fifty-eight. Non-lawyer humanists, however, were also about three times more likely to participate in the process prior to their fortieth birthdays.<sup>274</sup>

As mentioned previously, the other way in which an individual could be involved in the ducal election process was as a revisor of the ducal promissione. There were five revisors, and they were typically procurators, though other prominent patricians were also elected. Their task was to make suggestions as to how the doge's oath of office should be modified, usually in light of the Republic's experience with the previous doge. For example, Finlay notes that the 1521 oath taken by Antonio Grimani included a stipulation prohibiting the doge from speaking to foreign representatives in anything other than general terms, in response to Leonardo Loredan (the previous doge) having expressed himself on a policy matter in explicit terms to the Mantuan ambassador.<sup>275</sup>

Lawyers were elected to carry out this task twice. Alvise Foscari, not long after he had been elected procurator in 1471, was one of the revisors of the oath taken by Nicolo Tron. Giorgio Pisani, who was not a procurator, participated in the revision of the aforementioned oath taken by Antonio Grimani in 1521. Although at first glance it would make sense for lawyers to have had a larger role in the revision of the *promissione* (after all, in drafting a "contract", who better than a lawyer to have a say?), the task was generally reserved for those at the pinnacle of power in Venice, a level of influence that very few of the lawyers reached.<sup>276</sup>

Overall then, lawyers were involved in the ducal politics of Venice, but apparently not at a significantly high frequency. That they were included repeatedly speaks to their perceived influence, yet their lack of extensive participation (at least relative to the non-

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<sup>274</sup> Why this would be the case is unknown. One possible explanation is that several of the principle lawyers turned forty during the rule of Francesco Foscari, resulting in them never having the chance to be electors at younger ages. Only three lawyers were younger than forty during the elections of the 1470s, and only the aforementioned Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo ever participated. Three more were under forty during the elections of 1485 and 1486. Thus, the lack of participation prior to age forty may simply have been the result of lack of opportunity more than anything else.

<sup>275</sup> Finlay, 1980, 112.

<sup>276</sup> An examination of the records of ducal elections from the fifteenth century that can be located in the registers of the Greater Council reveals that, on average, three of the five correctors of the promissione would be procurators. In the fifteen ducal elections that occurred from Michele Sten through Leonardo Loredan, there were sixty-five elections to corrector of the promissione. Of these, forty-one, nearly two-thirds, went to procurators. See Maggior Consiglio, regs. *Leone* (1384-1416), *Ursa* (1415-55), *Regina* (1455-80), and *Stella* (1480-1503).

lawyer humanists) indicates that they were not seen as crucial to the process. Of course, these are two small groups that are being compared—perhaps a more systematic study of ducal electors would yield better data from which to draw more accurate conclusions regarding lawyers' participation in the election of Venice's doge.

### Lawyers as Procurators

Only two of the thirty-three lawyers in this study were elected procurators. Alvise Foscari was elected in 1471, at the age of sixty-two, after more than three decades of service to the Republic in various offices both inside and outside the city. He served as a procurator for nine years until his death in 1480, often appearing in *zonte* of the Council of Ten. Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was elected procurator at age sixty in 1500, as a reward for his prosecution of Antonio Grimani following the latter's loss at the battle of Zonchio. Michiel would continue in this role until his death eighteen years later. Like Foscari, Michiel served in *zonte* of the Council of Ten on multiple occasions following his election to a procuratorship.

Sanuto records three other lawyers as having been considered for procuratorships. Antonio Bernardo was among the candidates nominated in January 1501 to replace Marino Venier. However, Bernardo received the least number of votes among the sixteen candidates, and failed to make it into the final round of four. Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo was among the candidates to replace Andrea Gabriel in 1503, but he too failed to pass out of the first round of voting. Bernardo's name again came up in May 1504, but he was not even voted upon in that particular election. Lastly, in the April 1509 election that eventually went to future doge Andrea Gritti, Bernardo Bembo finished in the middle of the field of candidates to replace Marcantonio Morosini.<sup>277</sup>

### Lawyers as Ducal Councilors

Lawyers' involvement as ducal councilors varied. On the one hand, they served as councilors during the reigns of eight of the fifteen doges (a little over fifty percent) elected during their collective lifetimes. On the other hand, they were elected a total of only thirty-nine times, occupying this office for only about thirty-percent of the years covered by this

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<sup>277</sup> The elections involving Antonio Bernardo can be found in *I Diarii*, vol. IV, 212 and VI, 19. The election involving Pasqualigo is recorded in *I Diarii*, vol. V, 61; the election involving Bernardo Bembo in *I Diarii*, vol. VIII, 82. Unfortunately we do not have a record of the candidates from earlier in the century, and therefore do not know how many of the lawyers who were prominent during and after Francesco Foscari's reign were also listed among the prospects for procuratorships.

study. Furthermore, most of the elections to ducal councilor (twenty-seven) occurred prior to the deposition of Francesco Foscari in 1457. In 1478 Vitale Lando was the last lawyer to be elected to the office until Bernardo Bembo in 1510.<sup>278</sup>

What to make of this lack of input by lawyers in such a sensitive post? Perhaps it was a sign of lawyers' declining influence later in the century. Before the thirty-year hiatus, the last two lawyers to hold the office were Nicolo da Canal (in 1468) and Vitale Lando (in 1478). Da Canal would end up disgraced after the battle of Negroponte in 1470, spending the remainder of his life in exile. Vitale Lando was also tried as a traitor, for selling state secrets to agents of the pope. He too was exiled and died outside the city. So perhaps lawyers-as-councilors were disfavored by the latter part of the fifteenth century because of these high profile scandals. Following this explanation then, it was perhaps the shock of Agnadello and the challenges Venice faced from the League of Cambrai that led to the re-inclusion of lawyers on the Ducal Council.

Another possible reason for lawyers no longer serving in this post in the latter part of the century might be tied to the changing focus of Venetian policy during the period. In the earlier part of the century, when Venice was acquiring its land empire, lawyers' advice would have been especially valuable in dealing with the policy issues surrounding territorial acquisition. The lawyers who served during this time had had extensive experience as ambassadors to the other powers with which Venice was dealing, as well as serving as governors in the cities of Venice's burgeoning empire. By the latter part of the century, when the principal threat to the state was perceived to be the Turks, Venice's lawyers were not so clearly advantageous as councilors. They had little experience dealing with the type of threat that the Turks posed to Venice's maritime state, and their limited forays into that realm, mostly by Nicolo da Canal, were generally disastrous. Thus, when peninsular politics again took center stage in the first decade of the sixteenth century, lawyers' advice was needed again.<sup>279</sup>

Yet another possible explanation could be the change in doges in the fifteenth century. Perhaps lawyers' inclusion in the early part of the century was a sign of distrust in the policies of Francesco Foscari and lawyers were seen as effective checks on his power.

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<sup>278</sup> The doges who did not have the benefit of lawyers' advice as councilors were: Pasquale Malipiero, Nicolo Tron, Nicolo Marcello, Pietro Mocenigo, Giovanni Mocenigo, Marco Barbarigo, and Agostino Barbarigo. Leonardo Loredan was in his tenth year as doge when Bernardo Bembo was elected ducal councilor in 1510.

<sup>279</sup> This is essentially the argument made in Mallett, Michael. 1996b. "Venezia e la politica italiana: 1454-1530" In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 4: *Il Rinascimento: Politica e cultura*, edited by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, 245-310. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. "Venezia e la politica italiana: 1454-1530" in vol. 4 of *Storia di Venezia*, at 250.

On the other hand, maybe by the end of Foscari's reign, lawyers were identified too closely with his policies, and thus were seen as either dangerous, or even unnecessary, in light of the changing domestic political situation following Foscari's deposition.<sup>280</sup>

The last, and perhaps most realistic, possibility is more idiosyncratic in nature. Perhaps there were simply not any lawyers of suitable age and/or status available during this time for this office. Although there were roughly ten lawyers available for election in any given year between 1478 and 1509, very few of them were old enough to be elected until the latter part of this period. Because the average age at which a patrician would be elected to this office would have been in the decade of their fifties, the lawyers most likely to be elected during this time would have been born in the 1430s or 1440s. There were five lawyers who were born in the 1430s, three of whom died by 1483 (none of them being elected to ducal councilor in the meantime). Of the other two—Bernardo Bembo and Antonio Bernardo—only one (Bembo) served in this office. Of the four lawyers born in the 1440s, one died before reaching age fifty, another spent his adult life in relative obscurity, and the other two (one of whom, Nicolo Michiel, would be elected procurator) simply never were elected. Contrast this with the seven lawyers born during the period from 1409 to 1415. Of these seven, four went on to be elected ducal councilors a total of fourteen times between 1441 and 1468.

Lawyers' thirty-nine elections to the post of ducal councilor were spread across twelve different men, for an average of 3.25 elections per lawyer elected to the office. Alvise Foscari was elected most frequently, a total of seven times over his career. Foscari was also the youngest to be elected, his first time coming at age 29. Bernardo Bembo was the oldest to be elected, at age 77. The average age at election to the office was 49. By contrast, non-lawyer humanists were elected a total of sixty times, with eighty percent (twenty of twenty-five) holding the office. Domenico Morosini was elected to the office a total of six times, the most among non-lawyer humanists. Interestingly, the average age at election for non-lawyers was fifty-nine, nearly a decade higher than among lawyers.

<sup>280</sup> Debate continued throughout the period of Venetian expansion regarding the wisdom of Venice's expansion under Foscari. Tommaso Mocenigo, the doge immediately preceding Foscari, allegedly gave a speech on his deathbed in which he counseled against electing Foscari, because of Foscari's willingness to get involved in mainland politics. Dennis Romano, in his recent biography of Foscari, disputes the authenticity of this speech, and in fact argues that early in Foscari's rule, the vast majority of patricians supported mainland expansion, as evidenced by their overwhelming vote to join a league with Florence against Milan. Instead, Romano argues that the negative assessment of the future doge Foscari was actually written after the fact, to lend weight to arguments against expansion made in subsequent decades. See Romano, 2007, 30-33, 68 and 210; cf. Baron, Hans. 1966. *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (discussion of the question of expansion faced by Venice following the end of the Visconti rule of Milan), 297ff.



## Lawyers and the Council of Ten

Gaetano Cozzi has argued that “it was the ambition of the most prominent men in the Republic to become [the Council of Ten’s] members.”<sup>281</sup> Lawyers were elected “ordinary” members a total of fifty-one times, covering just under half (fifty-two years) of the time period of this study. Adding the years in which lawyers would have been voting members in their role as ducal councilors, and non-voting participants as state attorneys, one or more lawyers was involved in the Council of Ten in ninety-one of the 110 years of this study.

The fifty-one elections to the Council of Ten were shared by eighteen of the thirty-three lawyers, leading to an average of just under three elections per lawyer. Bernardo Bembo was elected an ordinary member of the Ten six different times, making him the lawyer most frequently elected to the Council. When the other forms of involvement with the Ten are accounted for, however, Alvise Foscari’s career displays the highest degree of involvement with the Council. Foscari was elected an ordinary member of the Ten four times, a Ducal Councilor seven times, one of the state attorneys four times, and was elected to *zonte* in fourteen different years, including each of the last seven years of his active career (1470 to 1476). All told, of the forty years Foscari was active in Venetian politics, he was involved with the Council of Ten in one form or another in thirty different years.<sup>282</sup>

The following are two examples of the issues addressed by the Ten in the fifteenth century that lawyers also played a role in resolving. In 1418 and 1419 the Council of Ten had occasion to address the prosecution of sodomy in the Republic. The Ten had been dissatisfied with the resolution of certain cases by the *Signori di Notte* for over a decade, and decided it was time to take a more active role in prosecution of the crime. On 6 May a *zonta* of eight men was elected to address the issue. At the time, Fantino Dandolo was a voting member of the Ten (as a councilor), and Ettore Bembo was a member of the *zonta*. The proposal that resulted from these discussions was presented by ducal councilors Fantino Dandolo and Paolo Correr, and two heads of the Ten, Bulgario Vitturi and Lorenzo Venier. Their proposal passed with sixteen affirmative votes of twenty-three cast. Dandolo’s

<sup>281</sup> Cozzi, 1973, at 308.

<sup>282</sup> Foscari was not the only lawyer who was deeply involved with the Council of Ten. During Bernardo Bembo’s forty-seven year career of service in high office, twenty-four of those years saw him involved with the Council of Ten in one capacity or another. Proportionally, Fantino Dandolo had the highest level of involvement with the Council. Of the twenty-seven years of his political career (he took up holy orders in 1431 at the age of fifty-two) Dandolo was involved with the Council in twenty-one of those years. Unlike the other lawyers discussed in this section, Dandolo was only elected once to *zonte* of the Ten (in 1429). The other twenty years of involvement were spread across four elections as an ordinary member of the Ten, six as a Ducal Councilor, and three as a state attorney.

proposal resulted in the creation of the Ten's *collegio* (not to be confused with the *Collegio* discussed *infra*), which would soon after become a permanent feature of the Ten.<sup>283</sup>

Lawyers were also involved with the prosecution of Jacopo Foscari, the doge's son. Zaccaria Bembo was elected to two *zonte* in 1445 that were charged with assisting in the younger Foscari's corruption trial. In January 1451 Bembo was re-elected to the *zonta* called to investigate Foscari for the murder of Ermolao Donà. In April Bembo was elected an *avogador di comun*, allowing him to sit in the Ten, although he died soon thereafter.<sup>284</sup> Zaccaria Trevisan, who was Foscari's cousin by marriage, was serving as a Ducal Councilor beginning at the end of January. Trevisan, along with Alvise Foscari, were serving as *avogadori di comun* in 1456 when Foscari again occupied the Ten's concerns.<sup>285</sup>

On occasion lawyers assisted each other while on the Council. In September 1464 the Ten took up matters involving an offer from Bartolomeo Colleoni, Venice's captain general, to take command of Venetian forces in the Morea. Vitale Lando was an ordinary member of the Council, Zaccaria Trevisan was serving as a state attorney, and Alvise Foscari was elected to the *zonta* created for the matter. The Council selected the lawyer Marco Donà for the post, and the vote tally shows that Lando cast one of the votes in favor of Donà.<sup>286</sup> In April 1465 the Ten was again turning its attentions towards Colleoni and the renewal of his contract with the city. This time Foscari was the ambassador to Colleoni, and the Ten itself included Nicolo da Canal as an ordinary member and Marco Donà as a Ducal Councilor. Da Canal was among those who proposed the text of Foscari's commission, and, along with Donà, continued to be involved in the negotiations until they were concluded later that spring.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>283</sup> For the history of the Ten's involvement with prosecuting the crime of sodomy, see Ruggiero, 1985, ch. 6. The proposals discussed here can be found at Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 9, cc. 179r-184v. Bembo was subsequently elected to a further *zonta* of five dealing with sodomy on 9 March 1419. See Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 10, c. 1r.

<sup>284</sup> Bembo's service on the *zonte* in 1445 is recorded at Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 12, cc. 171v-179r. His service on the 1451 *zonta* can be found at Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti reg. 14, cc. 20r and 26r-v. Bembo died between 28 April 1451, when he was elected *avogador di comun*, and June, when he was replaced on the *zonta* by Andrea Contarini. See SGV, reg. 4, c. 152r (election to *avogador*) and Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 14, cc. 24v, 26 (replacement by Contarini).

<sup>285</sup> Archival references to Trevisan's activities in 1451 can be found in his profile, *infra* Appendix I. Foscari's third trial, and Trevisan and Foscari's involvement in it, are described in Romano, 2007, 277-85.

<sup>286</sup> The events from 1464 are described at Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 16 cc. 132v-146v. The incident is discussed briefly by Michael Mallett in his profile of Colleoni. See Mallett, Michael E. 1982. Colleoni, Bartolomeo. In *DBI*, vol. 27, pp. 9-19.

<sup>287</sup> The 1465 negotiations with Colleoni can be found at Consiglio de Dieci Deliberazioni, Misti reg. 16, cc. 152v-165v. Foscari and Donà had also been involved with Colleoni's contract negotiations in April 1460. Donà was an ordinary member at the time, and Foscari had been elected to the *zonta*. See Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti reg. 16, cc. 3v-5r.

## Lawyers and the *Collegio*

The *Collegio* has been called “the leading policy-making body in Venice.”<sup>288</sup> By looking at the *Collegio* we can gain a clearer sense of the level of participation of patrician lawyers in Venice’s government. As an examination of the chronology in Appendix II shows, from 1400 to 1509 there were a total of eighty-two years in which there was at least one lawyer who would have taken part in this body. From 1418 to 1481, lawyers’ presence was nearly continuous, with lawyer input missing in only three years (1432, 1467, and 1479). In the period immediately before this sixty-four year stretch there were very few lawyers active (3.5 on average). Following 1481, the number of lawyers was not the problem—in any given year there were approximately eleven lawyers available for office. However, during this period most of the lawyers then active were very early in their careers and therefore engaged in foreign service. The lawyers most likely to hold the higher offices in the *Collegio* (ducal councilor and *savio grande*) had passed away somewhat younger than usual, meaning there was a unique combination of factors that depressed overall lawyer participation in the *Collegio*. Despite these two gaps, however, lawyers were present and actively involved in the development of Venice’s policies from the second war with Hungary, through the wars with Milan, up until the conclusion of the first war with the Turks—the bulk of the fifteenth century, and certainly the period in which most of the serious challenges facing Venice occurred.

## The Savi Grandi

Among all the principal legislative offices, the *savi grandi* is the one council the lawyers were the least likely to be elected to in comparison with their humanist peers. Only twelve lawyers (36%) were elected to the council during their careers, for a total of sixty elections. Among the twenty-five humanists, however, twenty (80%) were elected a total of 137 times, over twice as many as the lawyers. Among lawyers, Alvise Foscari was elected the most frequently, at seventeen times. The next closest in number was Fantino Dandolo, who was elected seven times. The rest of the lawyers were elected six or fewer times. Among humanists, however, the highest total of elections belonged to Bernardo Giustinian, who was elected over two dozen times as a member of the *savi grandi*. His father, Leonardo Giustinian, served a total of twenty times. In all, seven of the twenty humanists were elected at least seven times.

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<sup>288</sup> Cozzi, 1973, at 300.

Why lawyers were passed over for this office compared to the humanists is unknown. One explanation would be that lawyers were not among the highly esteemed citizens for whom the office was typically reserved. Yet that seems to ring hollow, since several of the lawyers were elected to this and other prestigious offices. Although it is true that, proportionally, not as many lawyers were elected as humanists, the biggest difference appears to be in the sheer number of times each humanist was elected to the office.

Perhaps the best explanation for this disparity lies in the different types of political careers that lawyers tended to pursue. Compared to the humanists, lawyers spent far more time involved on diplomatic missions and as territorial governors. The top four humanists in terms of number of elections to the *savi grandi* (Bernardo Giustinian, Leonardo Giustinian, Domenico Morosini and Francesco Barbaro) were elected to that office a total of seventy-five times. Yet these same three men were elected ambassadors only eleven times, and governors only six times, despite having 125 years of political experience between them. Compare this to the four lawyers most frequently elected to the *savi grandi*: these four (Alvise Foscari, Fantino Dandolo, Zaccaria Bembo, and Vitale Lando) were elected to the *savi grandi* a total of thirty-six times, a total of forty-six times as ambassadors (with Foscari and Dandolo both being elected, individually, more than the four humanists combined), and twenty-two times as governors. These elections occurred across four lawyer careers that totaled 126 years of experience. Thus, even though these two groups of four spent approximately the same amount of time engaged in Venetian government, their energies were focused differently. Lawyers were focused more on postings outside of Venice, humanists on domestic political offices. It is this difference in emphasis that probably explains the much higher sum of elections to *savi grandi* among humanists.<sup>289</sup>

### *The Savi di Terraferma*

Because of the committee's focus on military matters, Mallett and Hale argue that the nature of this office changed during the fifteenth century. In the war years (roughly 1420-60) the office was generally held by patricians in their 30s and 40s, the office was passed around

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<sup>289</sup> This conclusion is further bolstered by the observation that among those humanists who were most frequently elected ambassador and/or governor, the number of elections to the *savi grandi* also seemed to go down. The four humanists most frequently elected ambassadors (Zaccaria Barbaro, Sebastiano Badoer, Girolamo Donà and Paolo Morosini) held forty-nine ambassadorships but were elected *savi grandi* only fifteen times (with six being the highest individual number). Meanwhile, the five humanists elected governor most frequently (Francesco Barbaro, Candiano Bollani, Andrea Giuliani, Marcantonio Morosini and Paolo Morosini) held twenty-six governorships between them and were elected to the *savi grandi* a total of thirty-six times. That number is halved when you remove Francesco Barbaro from the group (he was tied with three others for second most governorships at five apiece).



in any given decade among a group of roughly forty nobles, and during times of crisis, men were elected who had had more (rather than less) political experience. After 1460, however, the number of times a patrician would be elected to the *savi di terraferma* declined, and the number of political “novices” in the office increased. Mallett and Hale theorize that these changes were a result of the general peace brought about by Lodi in 1454, and a shifting of some military affairs to the Council of Ten by the end of the century.<sup>290</sup>

Examining the involvement of lawyers in the *savi di terraferma* partially confirms Mallett and Hale’s thesis. For example, among those lawyers elected to the office, the average number of times they were elected significantly declines between the first and second half lawyers. First half lawyers were elected an average of 5.7 times to the office; second half lawyers only 3.4.<sup>291</sup> Furthermore, the vast majority of elections to the office did occur while lawyers were in their 30s and 40s—forty-five percent of elections to the office occurred by the lawyer’s 40<sup>th</sup> birthday, an additional forty-three percent by age fifty.

On the other hand, lawyers reveal some features that undermine the above-stated thesis. For example, second half lawyers were not elected to the *savi di terraferma* nearly as young as their first half counterparts. The average age of election for a first half lawyer was 40; for second-half lawyers 48.5.<sup>292</sup> Furthermore, second half lawyers were not “novices” when elected to the *savi di terraferma*. For example, Antonio Dandolo, although elected to the *savi di terraferma* only five years into his career of major office holding, had already been elected as an ambassador a half dozen times, as a governor of Zara (one of the principal *stato da mar* cities) and also an ordinary member of the Council of Ten.<sup>293</sup> While it is true that the military threat facing Venice changed following the Peace of Lodi (shifting from *stato di terra* threats by Sforza to *stato da mar* threats by the Turks), at least some of the changing composition of the *savi di terraferma* was probably due to the hardening of the Venetian gerontocracy that occurred as the century progressed.

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<sup>290</sup> See Mallett and Hale, 1984, 162

<sup>291</sup> The decline is more significant among non-lawyer humanists profiled in King. Among that group, the average number of elections drops from 5.9 to 2.

<sup>292</sup> Among non-lawyer humanists, however, the average age stayed basically the same—49.6 for first half humanists and 49 for second half humanists. This too tends to undermine Mallett and Hale’s theses.

<sup>293</sup> Marco Dandolo had been elected an ambassador four times (including twice to Rome, the center of Italian diplomacy) prior to his first election to the *savi* at age forty-three. Francesco Diedo, first elected in 1471 in his late thirties, had previously been an ambassador three times, a governor (of Vicenza) once, and also a member of the Ten. Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, not elected a *savio di terraferma* until age forty-nine in 1493, had previously been an ambassador on a half dozen different occasions, and a governor twice. These were not strangers to politics, and might be considered novices only in the sense that they had not previously held many offices inside Venice.

The office of *savio di terraferma* was the legislative office to which the most lawyers were elected. A total of nineteen different lawyers were elected ninety-two times to this office. From 1420 to 1509, lawyers were *savi di terraferma* in fifty-seven of those years. From 1444-1466 one or more lawyers was elected to the office in each year.<sup>294</sup> Nicolo da Caral led the way, with a total of fourteen elections to the council between the years 1446-64. Eight other lawyers were elected at least six times to this office.<sup>295</sup>

### Lawyers as *Avogadori di Comun*

The *avogadori di comun*, or state attorneys, fulfilled several vital functions in the Venetian system of government. Their overarching role was to serve as guardians of the laws, and they did this in at least four ways. First, at least one state attorney was required to be present at all meetings of the various central organs of the Republic, in order to prevent those bodies from violating the Republic's previous laws. Secondly, the state attorneys served as the prosecutors before the three *Quarantie*, or Courts of the Forty. Thirdly, they handled some appeals in the Venetian judicial system, notably appeals from the judgments of rectors in the subject cities. Lastly, the state attorneys helped to police the boundaries of the patriciate, by overseeing the registration and entry of young nobles through the *Balla d'Oro* process.<sup>296</sup> The number of state attorneys was eventually settled at three, and their term of office was set at sixteen months.<sup>297</sup>

Although at first glance one would think Venice's lawyers would be especially suited for the office of state attorney, the reality is slightly more complicated. On the one hand, only sixteen of the lawyers were elected to this office, for a total of thirty-six times.<sup>298</sup> Their terms of office cover only fifty-one out of the 110 years of this study. On the other hand,

<sup>294</sup> From March 1444 through December 1449 and from June 1463 through March 1466 lawyers were continuously serving in the office. During the rest of the time, there were a total of eleven gaps ranging from three to twelve months (for a total of sixty-six months) in which there was not a lawyer present on the committee. Thus during this twenty-two year period, lawyers were on the committee for a total of seventy-five percent of the period.

<sup>295</sup> Vitale Lando was elected a total of ten times; Marco Lippomano eight; Zaccaria Bembo, Marco Dandolo and Marco Donà seven; Alvise Foscari, Giorgio Pisani and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane six. Details for these elections can be found in the career profiles of the respective lawyers, *infra* Appendix I.

<sup>296</sup> For the first of these two functions, see Finlay, 1980 and Da Mosto, 1937-40. The *avogadori*'s role in the appellate process is discussed extensively in Viggiano, 1993, at pp. 51-146. For the role of the state attorneys in the *Balla d'Oro* procedure, see Chojnacki, Stanley. 1985. "Kinship Ties and Young Patricians in Fifteenth-Century Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38:240-70.

<sup>297</sup> It was not uncommon, however, to see only two names appearing in the records during the fifteenth century. Also, many of the lawyers elected to this position did not serve out the entire term—especially in the first half of the century—due to being elected to other offices.

<sup>298</sup> This represents roughly fifty-percent of the lawyers in this study. Seventeen out of twenty-five (or almost seventy-percent) of the non-humanist lawyers were elected state attorney.

when compared to the similar group of humanists found in King, lawyers were “more likely” to be state attorneys in some senses. First, the thirty-six terms served by lawyers represents roughly twenty-five percent more than their non-lawyer humanist counterparts.<sup>299</sup> Second, among the group of non-lawyers, it was rare to be elected a state attorney more than twice, whereas almost half of the lawyers who served as state attorney were elected three or more times.<sup>300</sup> It may thus have been the case that attorneys’ somewhat spotty presence among state attorneys is due to a combination of the low number of attorneys that were in Venice to begin with along with the demand for them in other posts such as ambassador and governor.

As mentioned previously, one of the tasks of a state attorney was to prosecute criminals on behalf of the Republic. Lawyers who were elected state attorneys were no exception to this rule. Among the many cases prosecuted by Venice’s lawyers, at least three deserve mention. The first, although it took place in the Council of Ten, was that of Jacopo Foscari, the doge’s son. Zaccaria Bembo was one of the state attorneys at the time of Jacopo’s first trial for corruption in 1445. Bembo was also elected a state attorney in 1451, the year of Foscari’s second trial, for murder, but died before the trial took place. Alvise Foscari and Zaccaria Trevisan were both involved in Foscari’s final trial in 1456, with Trevisan serving as one of the seven assigned by the Council of Ten to investigate the allegations that the doge’s son had been corresponding illegally with Francesco Sforza, who had become duke of Milan.<sup>301</sup>

The second prosecution deserving mention involved one lawyer prosecuting a fellow lawyer. In 1448 Andrea Venier was charged with having profited from a protection racket carried out by a subordinate while he was an ambassador in Florence. Zaccaria Bembo was one of the state attorneys at the time of his trial.<sup>302</sup>

The third prosecution involved Nicolo Michiel while he was state attorney in 1499 to 1500. Michiel was the prosecutor in charge of handling the case of Antonio Grimani, who was accused of dereliction of duty for his failure as Captain General of the fleet to win the

<sup>299</sup> Non-lawyer humanists were elected a total of twenty-nine times. Even though the group of non-lawyer humanists is smaller (twenty-five as opposed to thirty-three for lawyers), the group was longer lived, on average. Controlling for the differing group sizes and their differing lifespans still produces the same total number of elections.

<sup>300</sup> Only three of the seventeen non-lawyers were elected three or more times. Leonardo Giustinian was elected the most often, at four terms. Among lawyers however, Zaccaria Bembo, Fantino Dandolo, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane were all elected three times. Alvise Foscari was elected four times, and Bernardo Bembo an impressive six times.

<sup>301</sup> The various trials of Jacopo Foscari are discussed in greater detail by Romano, 2007, 191ff (the first trial), 216ff (the second trial) and 277ff (the third and final trial.)

<sup>302</sup> Venier’s trial is recorded at Avogadori di Comun, Raspe 3649, c. 164, and is discussed further, *infra* pp. 116-17.

battle of Zonchio against the Turks.<sup>303</sup> The doge and the Signoria pushed for the trial to be held in the Senate, but Michiel pushed back just as forcefully, arguing that the trial of Grimani belonged before the Greater Council. This deadlock continued for several months, until Michiel's intransigence finally paid off in the spring of 1500. Grimani was tried and convicted in the Greater Council, exiled from the city, and stripped of his procuratorship. The Greater Council subsequently elected Michiel procurator in place of Grimani, advancing Michiel's rumored designs on the dogeship.<sup>304</sup>

This chapter demonstrates that just as Venice's lawyers served the republic in posts outside the city, they also repeatedly served throughout the domestic legislative system. Their time was spent primarily in those committees dealing with foreign affairs rather than domestic policies. Thus, they were more frequently found among the *Collegio* (which oversaw the Senate) rather than the *Signoria* (which oversaw the Greater Council). Within the *Collegio* itself, lawyers were most likely to serve as a *savio di terraferma* rather than as a member of either of the other two sub-committees. Furthermore, lawyers found themselves serving on the Council of Ten throughout the fifteenth century, at precisely the same time that committee was expanding its jurisdiction to cover the increasing number of threats to Venice from within its own expanding empire. Since lawyers had spent the bulk of their earlier careers in *terraferma* governorships or as ambassadors to fellow Italian powers, their record of domestic officeholding in those offices most concerned with those same policy areas makes perfect sense.

In addition to the three major roles discussed so far, there were other, more minor, roles lawyers played in the political life of the republic throughout the fifteenth century. In order to gain a more complete picture of the ways Venice's lawyers were involved with the Republic's political life, it is necessary to also explore some of these roles. The following chapter provides a snapshot of some of these roles performed by lawyers.

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<sup>303</sup> Lane argues that Grimani's orders were inadequate, and that he failed to punish the disobedience of his subordinates. See Lane, 1973, 360. Finlay states that Grimani's lack of decisiveness was the result of his desire to be elected doge upon the expected death of Agostino Barbarigo. Grimani felt constrained in his actions as commander lest he make enemies of his subordinates, political appointees elected by the Greater Council, the same body that would ultimately be responsible for electing the next doge. See the discussion in Finlay, 1980, 148-49.

<sup>304</sup> See Finlay, 1980, 150ff.

## Chapter 7—Lawyers in Other Roles

In addition to the three principal roles played by lawyers as diplomats, governors, and legislators, lawyers also engaged in a number of other important activities on a less frequent basis. An examination of three of these (military official, ceremonial functionary, and criminal) helps to round out the picture of lawyers' involvement in Venice's public life in the fifteenth century.

### Lawyers and the Military

Venice's lawyers were involved in the development and execution of Venice's military policies throughout most of the fifteenth century, though their role here, as in so many others, changed as the century progressed. Lawyer involvement most frequently took the form of sitting in the Senate as a member of the *savi di terraferma* "the Venetians most involved in the military organization and the process of military decision making."<sup>305</sup> Perhaps second in frequency was as an ambassador, a role already discussed more fully.<sup>306</sup>

Therefore, the first role to be discussed in this section, and the first truly military role, since it involved actual service in the field, was as *proveditor*. There were at least two "levels" of *proveditor* to which a Venetian noble could be elected. At the low end, "younger nobles sent out from time to time to help with provisioning, enrolling of troops and inspections" could be given the title of *proveditor*. There was also, however, the more prestigious title of *proveditor in campo* which was given to a noble who was "largely responsible for coordinating the execution of [military] policy." These men were to stay close to the captain-general, serving as the Senate's liaison, giving him the Senate's instructions, guarding Venice's political interests in the war effort, and reporting back to the Senate regarding what was happening amongst both the troops and their commanders. Nobles elected to the position had "considerable experience of both military and Terraferma affairs. Most of them had served as rectors in the Terraferma cities and they would have been particularly aware of the logistical and disciplinary problems involved in the creation of a standing army." Mallett and Hale also point out that with the Peace of Lodi in 1454, the

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<sup>305</sup>Mallett and Hale, 1984, 162. Lawyers' involvement in the *savi di terraferma* is dealt with more extensively *supra* pp. 105-07.

<sup>306</sup>See chapter 4 *supra*.

incidence of serious conflict declined, leading also to fewer appointments of “prestigious” *war proveditori*.<sup>307</sup>

The fifteenth century, then, opened with lawyers serving in some of the minor *proveditor* roles just discussed. Fantino Dandolo served as a *proveditor* in the conflicts that would add Padua and Verona to Venice’s holdings, and Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio was also one of the *proveditori* at Padua.<sup>308</sup> Perhaps the first serious role as *proveditor* was that of Trevisan at the siege of Sebenico in 1412. Trevisan had been serving as the Count of Zara when he was called upon to assist the army in its ultimately successful efforts to conquer Sebenico and take it from the Hungarians.<sup>309</sup> Lawyers would continue to play a role when relations with Hungary again erupted into war in the early 1420s. Ettore Bembo and his son Zaccaria were made governors in 1420 of two of the cities taken from the Hungarians in the campaign. In addition, Nicolo Contarini served as a *proveditor* in Friuli in 1421.<sup>310</sup>

When war broke out with Filippo Maria Visconti in the mid-1420s, lawyers were again involved. Both Fantino Dandolo (1426) and Nicolo Contarini (1427) served as *proveditori* in Brescia sent to make sure that Venetian gains there were consolidated. Dandolo would go on to serve as captain of Brescia from 1427-28, making him the person in charge of military policy inside the city during those critical years.<sup>311</sup>

Lawyers would again return to the region in a time of turmoil, this time in the early 1450s, after Francesco Sforza became Duke of Milan. Alvise Foscarini served as *proveditor* in the Bresciano in 1452, and went on to the office of *podestà* of Brescia from 1453-54. Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane served as captain of the city from 1456-57. Meanwhile, Nicolo da Canal was serving as captain of nearby Bergamo from 1455-57, and Barbone Morosini was *podestà* of the same city from 1457-58. Venice was clearly using lawyers to protect its interests in the area during that time. Da Canal himself helped to resolve a dispute between

<sup>307</sup> For the description of *proveditor* in general, see Mallett and Hale, 1984, 102. *Proveditori in campo* are discussed in Mallett and Hale, 1984, 168ff.

<sup>308</sup> For Dandolo’s service in Padua in 1406, see Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 6, c. 3r; for his service in Verona in 1407, see Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 6. Trevisan’s service in the war for Padua is recorded by Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 316. Mallett and Hale, 1984, 24 state that, by their count, at least eighty nobles served as *proveditori* in the taking of Padua. That fact combined with Dandolo and Trevisan’s relatively young ages at the time (twenty-seven and thirty-five respectively) also argue that their role was probably limited.

<sup>309</sup> For archival references to Trevisan’s service as Count of Zara see his profile, *infra* Appendix I. His time as the rector for the siege of Sebenico is referenced at Senato Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 49, cc. 141r and 144r.

<sup>310</sup> Ettore was *podestà* and captain of Belluno, and his son Zaccaria was the first Venetian *podestà* and captain of Portogruaro. These offices are discussed in more detail at pp. 73-76 *supra*. Contarini’s service as *proveditor* is noted at Senato, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 53, c. 192r.

<sup>311</sup> Dandolo’s stint as *proveditor* is recorded in Senato, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 56 and Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 9-10; the same registers also record Contarini’s service in the office. Dandolo’s captaincy is recorded also in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 10.

Milan and Venice in 1456 regarding the possession of certain territories left unresolved by the Peace of Lodi.<sup>312</sup>

When Constantinople fell in 1453, lawyers also became involved in Venice's attempt to hold back the invading Turkish armies. Nicolo da Canal was sent as a *proveditor* in the Morea in 1453, and again in 1463. He would later serve as *proveditor* in Negroponte in 1457, sent to prepare the city against Turkish assault, and then in 1469 he was elected Captain General of the Fleet in order to defend Negroponte. Vitale Lando was a *proveditor* at the siege of Trieste in 1463. Nicolo Michiel spent a portion of his early career in Senj, serving alternatively as an ambassador and *proveditor*. Lastly, Pietro Molin was elected to serve as a *proveditor* in Istria in 1472.<sup>313</sup>

The conflict with the Turks in the 1460s and 1470s though would prove to be the last time that lawyers were regularly used as *proveditori*. As was already noted, Mallett and Hale argue that the post declined in usage in the second half of the fifteenth century, and the experience of lawyers bears this out. No evidence exists that lawyers served in any significant capacity as *proveditori* after the early 1470s.

The final way in which lawyers could have an impact on the military of Venice was as a commander of forces. In the period from 1405-1509, there are only two instances of this happening. The first came in 1469 when Nicolo da Canal was elected Captain General of the Fleet. Da Canal had previously been *proveditor* of Negroponte in 1467-68 and had even been sent to negotiate peace with the Turks during that time. By 1469 it was certain the Turks would attack, and since da Canal had so recently been setting up the defenses against the Turks, it made sense to place him directly in charge of the vessels that would execute that defense. Unfortunately for Venice, da Canal's service was less than exemplary, and, after a long siege, the Turks took Negroponte when da Canal failed to attack the besieging forces seriously. This failure would not only cost Venice dearly; it would also severely affect da

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<sup>312</sup> Foscarini's time as *proveditor* is recorded in Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 14; his time as *podestà* in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 19. Trevisan's service as captain is noted in Collegio Notatorio, reg. 9. For da Canal's service in Bergamo, including his role in negotiating with Milan, see *Libri Commemoriali* reg. 15. Morosini's role as *podestà* is also noted in Collegio Notatorio, reg. 9.

<sup>313</sup> Da Canal was first sent to the Morea as an ambassador in 1450. See, e.g. *Libri Commemoriali* reg. 14, c. 79r. His times as *proveditor* are recorded in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 19 and 21. His role as *proveditor* in Negroponte can be found in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 23. As Captain General of the Fleet, he was spectacularly unsuccessful in the defense of Negroponte. See *infra*. Lando's role in Trieste is mentioned in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 21. Michiel's service in the Senj region, which extended from at least 1468-70, and also involved trips throughout Croatia, is detailed in Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 23-24. Molin's role as *proveditor* in Istria is mentioned at Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 25, cc. 144v, 158v. Molin would go on to serve as *podestà* of Capodistria from 1473 to 1475. See e.g. Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 7, c. 109v.

Canal, resulting in his permanent banishment from Venice, and confinement in Pertogruaro.<sup>314</sup>

The only other instance of a lawyer being placed in command of Venetian military forces had come a decade-and-a-half earlier when Francesco Contarini was placed in charge of a Venetian expedition to aid Siena in 1454 while he was serving as ambassador there.<sup>315</sup>

### **Lawyers and Public Ceremonies**

Just as lawyers often served as the public face of Venice as her ambassadors in foreign courts, they also played a role as the public face of the government domestically. This occurred in two primary ways: first, they sometimes took part in state processions by virtue of their office and/or title; second, on various occasions they played a role in welcoming foreign dignitaries to the city. In the years 1496-1509 Marino Sanuto records at least forty different occasions on which one or more lawyers carried out one of these two functions. Undoubtedly the list would stretch into the hundreds were we to have similarly detailed records for the entire period of this study. The examples that follow are just a few of the ones recorded by Sanuto.

Each year the Corpus Domini procession involved many of the principal members of the Venetian elite. The Procurators of Saint Mark's Basilica marched in the procession, and so Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio's presence is recorded on multiple occasions after his election to this office in 1500.<sup>316</sup> Sanuto often took note separately of those participating patricians who held the title of "cavalier," noting in several instances the special form of dress to which their title entitled them. For example, Giorgio Pisani was among the cavaliers who wore

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<sup>314</sup> For further information regarding da Canal's trial, see *infra* p. 118.

<sup>315</sup> See Tiraboschi, Girolamo. 1805-13. *Storia della letteratura italiana*. 9 vols. Florence: Presso Molini Landi, vol. 6, 695.

<sup>316</sup> See, e.g. *I Diarii*, vol. VI, 32, wherein Sanuto lists members of the 1504 procession. No doubt Alvise Foscari, made a procurator in 1471, would have participated in these same processions during the 1470s before his death in 1480.



“vestiti d’oro” in a 1508 procession.<sup>317</sup> Sanuto’s procession lists also made special note of any doctors in attendance, and thus often included one or more lawyers.<sup>318</sup>

Venice’s lawyers were also frequently called upon to interact with foreign ambassadors when they arrived in the city. For example, Nicolo Michiel il Giovane, delivered two Latin orations as part of delegations to welcome ambassadors to the city in 1495. In October 1499, as a member of the *auditori vecchi*, he was among those given the task of preparing a house for a soon-to-arrive Spanish embassy.<sup>319</sup> Between August 1498 and August 1500 Sanuto records five separate occasions when Marco Dandolo was sent to greet and/or meet with foreign ambassadors who had recently arrived in the city.<sup>320</sup>

On occasion the lawyer in question was probably chosen because he had previously served as a Venetian ambassador to the country in question. For example, on 21 September 1498, the Senate sent four patricians (including the lawyers Marco Dandolo and Giorgio Pisani) to visit the recently arrived ambassador from the King of the Romans. Dandolo had been among the four Venetian ambassadors sent to visit with the emperor-elect at Vigevano in 1496, while serving as ambassador in Milan. Pisani had returned from the imperial court only two months previously, where he had been Venice’s ambassador since the middle of 1497.<sup>321</sup> In August 1499, just a few weeks after he had returned from a mission to France, Nicolo Michiel was among the four patricians sent to meet with that country’s ambassadors to Venice.<sup>322</sup> Finally, in mid-1501 Francesco Morosini was called upon to visit with the

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<sup>317</sup> *I Diarii*, vol. VII, 555. A codicil to Pisani’s will included three “vestiti de oro amarize ducal” no doubt for use on such ceremonial occasions. See Archivio Notarile Testamenti, Atti Giacomo Grassolario, b.1183 #209 (30 August 1524).

Fifteen of the thirty-three lawyers held either the title “miles” or “eques” (sometimes rendered as “cavalier” as in Sanuto). This included Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio at the beginning of the fifteenth century, all the way up to Pisani and Marco Dandolo, who lived well into the sixteenth century. Thus lawyers would have been in the public eye in these ceremonies throughout the time period studied. The fifteen lawyers were: Ermolao Barbaro, Girolamo Barbaro, Bernardo Bembo, Antonio Bernardo, Fantino Dandolo, Marco Dandolo, Alvise Foscari, Vitale Lando, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, Francesco Morosini, Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, Giorgio Pisani, Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, and Andrea Venier.

<sup>318</sup> See, e.g. *I Diarii*, vol. V, 25 (Francesco Morosini’s participation in a 1503 procession).

<sup>319</sup> The 1495 incidents are recorded in Sanuto, Marino. 1883. *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia*. Edited by Rinaldo Fulin. Venice: Tipografia del commercio di Marco Visentini, at 458 and 649. His preparations in 1499 are described in *I Diarii*, vol. III, 21.

<sup>320</sup> *I Diarii*, vol. I, 1061 (Florentine ambassadors); *I Diarii*, vol. I, 1102 (ambassador from the Holy Roman Emperor); *I Diarii*, vol. II, 1136 (Spanish ambassadors); *I Diarii*, vol. III, 343 (welcoming papal ambassador); *I Diarii*, vol. III, 607 (French ambassadors).

<sup>321</sup> The four member delegation is mentioned in *I Diarii*, vol. I, 1102. The list of the four ambassadors to Vigevano is found in *I Diarii*, at 308. Details regarding Pisani’s mission to the Emperor can be found in his profile *infra*, Appendix I.

<sup>322</sup> *I Diarii*, vol. II, 1003.

kingdom of Naples' ambassadors to Venice, to which kingdom he had been sent as the Venetian ambassador from late 1499 to early 1501.<sup>323</sup>

Lawyers sometimes engaged in other ceremonial events. In 1449 Nicolo da Canal served as a witness to the renewal of Venice's contract with its *condottiere* Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta.<sup>324</sup> Andrea Venier was knighted by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1452 upon the conclusion of the Emperor's visit to the city.<sup>325</sup> That same year Alvise Foscari and Zaccaria Trevisan were witnesses at the ceremony granting feudatory rights by the Republic to the *condottiere* Cristoforo da Tolentino. When the humanist Marcantonio Sabellico died in 1506, Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio was one of the attendees Sanuto noted at the funeral.<sup>326</sup>

Venice's lawyers also delivered public orations for major events on occasion. In 1462 Antonio Dandolo delivered the funeral oration for doge Pasquale Malipiero. Bernardo Bembo delivered a congratulatory oration to Malipiero's successor Cristoforo Moro, and Antonio Bernardo delivered the funeral oration for Moro when he died in 1466. Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo delivered the funeral oration for Moro's successor, Nicolo Tron in 1473, and then Ermolao Barbaro delivered that of Tron's successor, Nicolo Marcello, in 1474. Girolamo Contarini continued the trend in 1477 when he delivered the funeral oration for Andrea Vendramin.<sup>327</sup>

### Lawyers as Criminals

Although we tend to think of lawyers as the primary guardians of the law, they are not immune to the temptations to abuse the very laws they are entrusted with. Of the thirty-three lawyers in this study, six found themselves on the wrong side of the law at various points in their lives. Four of the lawyers emerged relatively unscathed, two had their careers brought to premature ends. A brief look at these cases will help to dispel any notions that lawyers were unswervingly devoted to the Venetian state.

The first two cases involve the same individual, Ettore Bembo. In 1399 he was accused of electoral improprieties involving his brother Scipio.<sup>328</sup> He was found guilty,

<sup>323</sup> Sanuto records the visit with the Neapolitan ambassador in *I Diarii*, vol. IV, 8.

<sup>324</sup> See *Libri Commemoriali* reg. 14, c. 32r.

<sup>325</sup> See Sanuto, 2004, 472-73; cf. Romano, 2007, 233.

<sup>326</sup> Tolentino's feudal investiture is described in *Libri Commemoriali* reg. 14, c. 145. *I Diarii*, vol. VI, 329 describes Sabellico's funeral.

<sup>327</sup> Dandolo's oration is mentioned in Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 510. King, 1986, 337, 339 and 322 mentions the orations by Bembo, Bernardo, and Barbaro, respectively. Pasqualigo's oration is cited by Cicogna, 1969-70, vol. 6, 648. That of Contarini is mentioned by Sanuto, 1989, 104.

<sup>328</sup> The case can be found at Avogadori di Comun Raspe 3645, c. 94v (14 July, 1399).

sentenced to one-month imprisonment plus a fine of 100 lira. A note in the margin indicates that the fine was paid and Bembo's career carried on: by 1401 he was elected *podestà* of Voale, and held other major offices throughout the next three decades. Bembo's second run with the *avogadori di comun* came about a decade later. Ettore was one of three patrons of the Arsenal, and the group had been accused of financial improprieties. In this instance, though, the case was dismissed.<sup>329</sup>

Ettore's great-nephew Bernardo Bembo also had his own troubles with the law towards the end of the century. In 1487 he was tried before the Council of Ten for financial improprieties, but was acquitted in October of that same year.<sup>330</sup> The accusations did little to damage his career; he was shortly thereafter sent to Rome as an ambassador, and would spend almost another three decades serving Venice in high offices.<sup>331</sup>

The third noble lawyer accused of financial crime was Andrea Venier. Venier's case was more serious than those previously discussed if for no other reason than that Venier was the nephew of the doge Francesco Foscari.<sup>332</sup> In 1447 Venier had been sent as an ambassador to Florence. While there, he hired Iacopo de Machario<sup>333</sup> as a commander for the Venetians. Allegedly, Machario had then engaged in a series of extortions, and Venier was accused of having profited from Machario's misdeeds, thereby damaging the reputation of the Republic. Venier was recalled, and maintained his innocence throughout the trial.

The Senate took up the charges three different times in early 1448. At the first hearing, on 26 January, two votes were taken to proceed against Venier. The first ballot saw 44 votes in favor, 41 against, and 50 abstentions. The trial failed to proceed after the second

<sup>329</sup> Bembo's second prosecution can be found at *Avogadori di Comun*, Raspe 3646, c. 95v (5 January 1410).

<sup>330</sup> Bernardo's case is discussed at various points in *Consiglio de Dieci*, *Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 23, cc. 131r-137r.

<sup>331</sup> Senato, *Deliberazioni*, Terra, reg. 10, c. 72r calls him the ambassador to Rome by 31 December 1487.

<sup>332</sup> See Venier's profile, *infra* Appendix I. Another interesting side note to this case is that one of the three *avogadori di comun* at this time was Zaccaria Bembo, son of Ettore. Bembo was also involved with the prosecution of Jacopo Foscari, the doge's son, before the Council of Ten in 1445. See p. 103 *supra*.

<sup>333</sup> No trial of Machario is recorded at or around this time. There are two potential explanations for this. First, in 1443 a Iacopo de Machario was tried, along with two other co-conspirators, for counterfeiting Milanese money. In that trial, Machario was perpetually banished from Venetian territory. See *Avogadori di Comun*, Raspe 3649, c. 34r. Assuming this is the same individual with whom Venier was involved in 1447, perhaps Machario simply disappeared—his previous brush with Venetian justice gave him an even greater incentive to avoid trial this second time. However, Venice certainly didn't mind prosecuting people *in absentia*, so why they would not do so in this instance remains unexplained.

Another possibility, involving even more speculation, is that the prosecution of Venier was politically motivated. As mentioned in the previous footnote, one of the three *avogadori di comun*, Zaccaria Bembo, had served on the *zonta* of the Council of Ten that had convicted Jacopo Foscari in 1445. The fact that the *avogadori* brought Venier's case before the Senate three times, and the closeness of the votes indicates that the Senate was deeply divided over the question of Venier's guilt. It is possible that that division occurred because it was seen that Venier's prosecution was part of a witch hunt of those close to the doge. If this were the case, then there was no need to charge Machario, as the charges would not cause political damage to the doge.

ballot as well: although the votes in favor of proceeding increased to 55, the no votes and abstentions continued to outnumber the yes votes. The second hearing, on 3 February was no more conclusive, and the charges were brought up again, for the final time on 8 February. The vote at the third hearing was as follows: seventy-four in favor of proceeding, sixty-four against, and twenty abstaining. Nevertheless, the trial was then allowed to proceed, and Venier was convicted. He was sentenced to two months in jail, a fine of two hundred lire and was perpetually banned from serving as an ambassador to Florence in the future.

Venier's career, which had gotten off to a promising start just a few years prior, did not end despite this conviction. He was appointed an ambassador on at least two further occasions, served as a *savio di terraferma* in 1456, and was even knighted by the Holy Roman Emperor during a state visit to Venice in 1452. However, although Venier lived another fourteen years following his conviction, his record of officeholding was clearly not of the same caliber as one would expect from someone with his background and experience, nor of the same level as many of his cohort who were active during this time.<sup>334</sup>

The fourth, and final, example of a lawyer accused of crime but left largely untouched by the accusations was Alvise Foscari. In 1459 Foscari and Orsato Giustinian were elected to represent the Republic at the Diet of Mantua. One of the issues that the ambassadors were to bring up with the pope was the identity of the next bishop of Padua. The Senate had nominated Gregorio Correr but the papacy had ignored the Republic's wishes and instead installed Pietro Barbo (who would later become Pope Paul II). Upon his return to the city, Foscari was brought before the Ten for having had dealings with Barbo, which was expressly forbidden by the instructions given to the ambassadors. He was found guilty, and deprived of all ambassadorships for a period of two years. The Ten for that year included Marco Donà, who was excluded from the trial because of his friendship with Foscari. The *zonta* that was brought in for the trial also included a lawyer, Nicolo da Canal.<sup>335</sup> This conviction, of course, did not hamper his career in any significant manner, as he spent the two year period as a state attorney and then *luogotenente* of Friuli. He would go on to serve

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<sup>334</sup> Venier was elected an ambassador in 1450 (Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, reg. 4, c. 3r) and in 1456 (Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 20, c. 105v). The election as a *savio di terraferma* can be found at SGV, reg. 4, c. 147r. See Romano, 2007, 233 for the knighting of Venier by Emperor Frederick III. One need only look at the careers of other lawyers during this time, such as Alvise Foscari, Zaccaria Trevisan, and Nicolo da Canal to realize that Venier's post-conviction career was not what it could have otherwise been.

<sup>335</sup> The event is discussed in Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 15, c. 195v. Cf. Picotti, 1912, ch. 7; Moro, 1997, at 385; Picotti, G.B. 1909. "Le lettere di Lodovico Foscari." *Ateneo Veneto*, 32:21-49, at 35; and in Robertson, Ian. 1993. "Pietro Barbo—Paul II: zentilhom e Venecia e pontifico." In *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honour of John Hale*, edited by David S. Chambers et al., 147-72. London: Hambledon Press, at 155.

in several other ambassadorial posts after 1462, and was eventually elected a procurator in 1471.

Two other lawyers had their careers ended somewhat prematurely by criminal convictions, one for the betrayal of state secrets, the other for dereliction of duty. The first of these, Vitale Lando, was elected to his first major office (ambassador to Siena) in 1452, at the age of 31. By 1478 (the year of his conviction), Lando had been an ambassador on behalf of the Republic multiple times, elected to offices within the Collegio close to twenty different times, acted as a territorial governor on four different occasions, and even been elected to the Council of Ten three times when it was discovered that he was part of a group of nobles selling secrets to Rome. Lando was subsequently tried before the Council of Ten, which convicted him and decreed that he be deprived of all future offices, and confined to Vicenza for 10 years, in the midst of which sentence of banishment he died.<sup>336</sup>

Like Vitale Lando, Nicolo da Canal had enjoyed a long and illustrious career before disaster struck. Beginning in the early 1440s, da Canal served as an ambassador almost two dozen times, *savio di terraferma* a dozen times, a territorial governor three times, and held several other high offices in the Republic. His outstanding career culminated in his election as Captain General of the Fleet in 1469. Unfortunately for Venice, while da Canal might have been an ideal ambassador—he had even been given the task of trying to negotiate with the Turks during his recent stint as a *proveditor*—he was a poor Captain General. The Turks captured Negroponte, allegedly because of da Canal's temerity and inability to decisively engage the Turkish fleet when he had the chance. As a result, da Canal was recalled to Venice, tried before the Senate, and confined to Portogruaro, where he spent the remaining thirteen years of his life, merely a spectator rather than a participant in the politics of the Republic.<sup>337</sup>

<sup>336</sup> For the record of Lando's officeholding, see his profile in Appendix I, *infra*. Lando's trial before the Ten is recorded in Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 19, cc. 79ff. Cf. Malipiero, 1843-44, 668-70. King places his death sometime between 1482 and 1485. See King, 1986, 385 for her evidence.

<sup>337</sup> For the details of da Canal's career, see his profile in Appendix I, *infra*. The events surrounding the siege of Negroponte, and da Canal's failure to break that siege, are discussed in several places—two brief examples are Lane, 1973, 358-60; and Pepper, Simon. 1993. "Fortress and Fleet: The Defence of Venice's Mainland Greek Colonies in the Late Fifteenth Century." In *War, Culture, and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honour of John Hale*, edited by David S. Chambers et al., 9-28. London: Hambledon Press. His trial is discussed, among other places, in Fincati, Luigi. 1886. "La perdita di Negroponte (Luglio 1470)." *Archivio Veneto* 32:267-307. Fincati reproduces the formal charges levied against da Canal by the *avogadori di comun*:

... Primo Per che da poi chel armada del turco intro de sotto nel canal de Negroponte, et el signor turco cum l'hosted a terra, ne per lui ne per altri el socorse la cita de Negroponte: 2<sup>o</sup> Perche poi hauti i aduisi che le mure de la cita erano ruinate da molte parte, et in periculo euidetissimo el non sollicito el suo soccorso: chome el douea far et podea: 3<sup>o</sup> Perche sendo adi XI zonto nel canal de Negroponte cum larmada de le naue et gallie a si commesse: cum uento

As the various examples from this chapter indicate, the record of lawyers' service to the state did not exclusively consist of traditional offices, nor was it without blemish. Lawyers were called upon to serve the state, not just in a political capacity, but also in a military one. Their record in these offices was less than perfect. Imperfection also sometimes caused more serious harm to the state, as lawyers sometimes engaged in behaviors that undermined the power or majesty of the state, and lawyers sometimes paid the price for their own ineptitude/corruption. However, these defects serve to underscore the basic point that has been pursued throughout this thesis—lawyers were placed in positions of trust, to serve the state, throughout the period 1400 to 1509.

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propsero a mia.XV. per hora: el non inuesti el ponte: et soccorse quella misera terra: 4° Perche usita larmada inimical per tornar in stretto: in più luogi et diuersi zorni, et tempi: quella el non inuesti per romper et fracassar quella: V° Perche cussi imprudente et inconsultamente el se ne ando a Negroponte poi persa quella cita: mettendo in euidentissimo periculo tanto numero de valenti huomini cum tuta larmada a lui commess: VJ Quel che lui ha hauto si de raxon de bottini come de decime ouer per altri mezi, modi et uie: VIJ Sel ha concesso la tracta de formenti de Negroponte, ixola, et canal et a che persone, che quantita, a che tempi et quante volte et perche. . .

## Chapter 8—Conclusions

Throughout this thesis we have seen that lawyers were consistently involved in the governing of the Venetian state in the fifteenth century. As the chronology in Appendix II makes clear, in every single year in the period from 1400 to 1509 at least one lawyer held at least one important office in the Venetian state. Certainly the level of lawyers' activities varied, with the high point coming in the decade of the 1440s, but one or more lawyers remained active in Venetian politics throughout the period under consideration.

I have divided lawyers' activities on behalf of Venice into three basic categories: diplomat, governor, and legislator. The record reveals that lawyers served Venice repeatedly in these roles throughout the fifteenth century. That said, the data show that Venice used lawyers primarily in the realm of foreign affairs. Of the nearly 600 times lawyers were elected to one of the three categories of posts explored in this thesis, almost 400 were to what I would call foreign affairs posts.<sup>338</sup> An additional fifty elections were to the Council of Ten, a body that increasingly dealt with issues involving Venice's foreign affairs and administration of the territorial state. Slightly less than one-quarter of all elections were to positions that could be considered solely "domestic" positions.<sup>339</sup>

It is in the diplomatic realm that lawyers' skills were allowed to express themselves most fully. As the representatives of the Most Serene Republic, Venice's lawyers were called upon to serve as the advocates of her foreign policy in courts throughout Italy and Europe. Lawyers' educational background in both civil and canon law suited them for this task well. Thus it should come as no surprise that elections to the post of ambassador accounted for roughly one-third of all elections. Furthermore, when compared to non-lawyer humanists, another highly educated group engaged in Venetian politics, Venice's lawyers were elected ambassadors more frequently.<sup>340</sup> In terms of their individual careers, diplomatic postings represent the bulk of lawyers' earliest government service. Venice's lawyers were sent on diplomatic missions more frequently than non-lawyers, and, as a group, they were sent on a larger number of important missions than their non-lawyer counterparts. In the first

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<sup>338</sup> Foreign affairs posts include ambassadorships, governorships, and elections as *savi di terraferma*. My research has uncovered 584 elections of lawyers; 397 were to these foreign affairs posts.

<sup>339</sup> "Domestic" offices include the *avogadori di comun*, *savi grandi*, and ducal councilors. Yet even the *avogadori* could occasionally deal with territorial administration in that they were sometimes involved with judicial appeals from the subject cities to the courts in Venice.

<sup>340</sup> Twenty-nine lawyers were elected to a total of 211 ambassadorships, an average of 7.3 times per ambassador. Twenty-two non-lawyer humanists were elected to a total of 123 ambassadorships, an average of 5.6 times. It is at the highest end that the differences become more apparent: whereas eight lawyers were elected ambassador ten or more times, only four non-lawyer humanists can lay claim to this distinction.

half of the fifteenth century, lawyers played a key role in trying to contain the threat posed to Venice by Milan, and in the second half of the century they were frequently given the task of trying to coordinate the Christian powers of Europe in order to respond to the threat of Turkey. Examining lawyers' missions during this time period demonstrates that Venice was paying attention to the politics surrounding its expansion, and was actively seeking to manage the international situation to its advantage. As the threats to Venice's power changed over time, it shifted its lawyers to meet those changing threats.

One thing that remained constant in lawyers' diplomatic efforts, though, was the centrality of the papacy. Throughout the period of this study, Venice's lawyers were sent to Rome in order to handle the Republic's relationship with the Holy See. However, one potentially significant area left untouched by this study was the role of Venetian prelates in the politics of the fifteenth century. The lawyers in this study represent only a portion of the total number of Venetian patricians who trained in the law during the fifteenth century. The university in Padua also turned out dozens of patricians who trained in law in order to pursue ecclesiastical careers. In order to gain an even more complete picture of Venice's diplomatic policy in this period of expansion, an examination into the careers of these church lawyers is called for. In its absence we may only be seeing one half of the picture of diplomacy between Venice and the papacy.

The second way Venice's lawyers served the state, particularly in the realm of foreign affairs, was as a territorial governor. Although not strictly "foreign" (since Venice laid claim to the city being governed by the lawyer in question), because Venice allowed subject cities by and large to keep their pre-existing laws and governing structures that were consistent with Venetian rule, the Venetian state consisted of a patchwork of legal regimes that were not necessarily consistent with each other. Having been trained in the civil law which underlay many of these jurisdictions, lawyers would have had a better understanding of the legal situation he was stepping into compared with the average patrician who did not have a legal education. Combined with their experience from the diplomatic realm, it is unsurprising then that lawyers were most frequently sent to Verona and Brescia, the two headquarters of the Venetian army. Both their education and their experience would have enabled Venice's lawyers to bridge the gap between the (potentially) competing interests of the local populace, the army, and the requirements of Venice's foreign policy. Unfortunately, these conclusions rest largely on conjecture. There is no single Venetian government document that indicates a conscious policy on the part of the Senate or Greater Council to send men trained in the law to hot-spots in the Venetian territorial state. In the absence of such a document, a careful



examination of the activities of each of the lawyers in the various subject cities would go a long way in helping to prove or disprove this theory. A thorough examination of the remaining archival records in Venice's subject cities might reveal patterns that indicate if lawyers were being regularly sent to deal with specific kinds of problems in these cities.

Thirdly, this dissertation examined the role of lawyers in Venice's domestic politics, primarily through an examination of patterns in lawyers' officeholding. It should come as no surprise, given the lawyers' background in diplomatic efforts and administering territorial cities, that Venice's lawyers were most frequently found in the *savi di terraferma* and the Council of Ten. These two committees were the domestic groups most closely identified with the development and implementation of Venice's territorial policy and diplomatic efforts.

Lawyers' penetration of domestic politics was far from complete, however. Only two of the lawyers in this study ever served as procurators, and none were elected doge. Furthermore, lawyers as a whole served as *savi grandi* and ducal councilors (two of the premier offices in the Venetian state) less frequently than their non-lawyer counterparts. I have suggested that this was possibly the result of a number of factors, particularly the slightly shorter lifespans of lawyers, and their foreign policy expertise. These two factors may have resulted in their exclusion from the more prestigious offices that focused on domestic policy issues. It is possible lawyers were viewed as foreign affairs specialists and, because of their lack of experience in the more traditional areas of commerce and war, were not considered experts in the things that mattered most to the ruling class.

One thing that the examination of lawyers' domestic political careers can shed light on is the development of the gerontocracy in Venice. Robert Finlay, in his book *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, argued that Venice's government during the Renaissance was a gerontocracy, that is, rule by the aged. Finlay writes:

It is likely that the well-to-do patricians who formed the governing circle enjoyed a longer average life expectancy than the rest of the population. They could expect to occupy high office as long as they were able, willing, and acceptable to their peers. Veneration for old age found institutional expression in the Great Council, where patricians deferred to and elected their elders, the senior members of the clans that composed the ruling class.

Venice was governed by the old men (*vecchi*) of the hereditary patrician caste. By custom, high office was generally closed to those considered "young men" (*giovani*). Patricians entered the Great Council at the age of 25. They were eligible for election to the Senate at 32 (after 1431), although it was unusual for a patrician to become a senator before he had

passed 50. A patrician could legally enter the Ten at 40; but again, it was rare for election to occur before 50. Election as a ducal councilor could occur at the age of 25, although in practice, as Sanuto says, only "the oldest and most important of the city" gained that post. In short, deference to the elderly pushed the age of de facto eligibility to councils some ten to twenty years beyond the legal requirement.<sup>341</sup>

This leads, then, to the question of what constituted "old age" in the Renaissance. According to Creighton Gilbert's 1967 study,<sup>342</sup> the age of forty was considered the beginning of old age among the general population. According to Gilbert, old age began "five to ten years less than the modal age of death", which in an "agricultural society" such as that of the Renaissance, would be roughly fifty years of age. He speculates that an urban elite might have had a longer lifespan, but suggests that the artists who formed the bulk of his study did not prove such to be the case.<sup>343</sup>

Whether or not the Venetian patriciate considered forty to be old is unknown for certain. Finlay states that the Venetians reserved high office for those over the age of fifty, suggesting that they viewed that age as old, though whether it was the "beginning" of old age or not is unknown. Looking at the thirty-three lawyers of this study, plus twenty-seven non-lawyer humanists from Margaret King's study, reveals that this group of fifteenth century patricians died at the age of sixty-one on average.<sup>344</sup> If this average held true across the population of patricians as a whole, then it would not be unreasonable to assume that fifty would be considered as the beginning of old age among Venice's political elite.

The question then becomes whether or not lawyers were consistently elected to high political offices before age fifty.<sup>345</sup> Although not quite as defined if all offices are included, lawyers still demonstrate a propensity to be elected to the central councils of Venice at earlier ages. By age forty the lawyers of this study had been elected to legislative offices seventy-nine times, equaling twenty-nine percent of their total legislative elections. By age fifty this number more than doubles to 171, so that almost two-thirds of all elections to legislative office by lawyers occurs before the age at which Finlay says patricians generally became eligible for such offices.

<sup>341</sup> Finlay, 1980, 127 (internal citation omitted).

<sup>342</sup> Gilbert, Creighton. 1967. "When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?" *Studies in the Renaissance* 14:7-23.

<sup>343</sup> Gilbert, 1967, 12.

<sup>344</sup> Lifespans for the lawyers were derived from the profiles in Appendix I, *infra*. Profiles of the non-lawyer humanists can be found in King, 1986, 315-449.

<sup>345</sup> This study defines the following legislative offices as "important": *savio di terraferma*, *savio grande*, ducal councilor, *avogador di comun*, and the Council of Ten. For descriptions of these various offices, see pp. 90-95.

For non-lawyers, however, the pattern fits much closer to Finlay's description. By age forty, the number of legislative offices to which non-lawyers were elected (20) amounts to around six percent of the total. By age fifty, the total still approaches only 26% of the whole. In fact, between the ages of fifty and sixty non-lawyers were elected to legislative offices a total of 136 times, amounting to 36% of all legislative elections—more than all elections in all periods combined prior to age fifty. Thus, with 74% of non-lawyer legislative elections occurring after age fifty, it could indeed be said to be the custom to elect patricians to these central legislative offices only once they had reached the age of fifty.

Lastly, if we divide the two groups chronologically, into those officeholders who came of age prior to 1454, and those who came of age after 1454, we can see the gerontocratic ideal described by Finlay taking shape in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Lawyers from the first group were elected to legislative offices a total of 146 times prior to the age of fifty, an amazing 72% of their total elections to such offices. Lawyers who entered politics in the latter half of the century were elected to legislative offices a total of only twenty-five times (32%) prior to their fiftieth birthdays. Among non-lawyers, approximately one quarter of their elections to legislative offices occurred prior to age fifty, whether one entered politics in the first or second half of the century. The principal difference between these two groups of non-lawyers was that those from the latter part of the century were not elected prior to their fortieth birthdays, whereas some of their predecessors had been elected at those younger ages—twenty elections equaling seven percent of the total. Thus both groups show that as the fifteenth century progressed, the Venetian gerontocracy became more and more a reality. However, when Venice was most active in the acquisition of its mainland state, in the first half of the fifteenth century, 'young men' were elected to major offices much more frequently.<sup>346</sup>

These conclusions regarding the gerontocracy are somewhat provisional. The number of lawyers and non-lawyer humanists is admittedly small, and therefore a potentially unrepresentative sample of the Venetian patriciate as a whole. Recently, however, with the release of *The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524: Interpretations, Methods, Database* by Kohl, et al., scholars will be able to more systematically study the careers of an even larger portion of the patriciate. This database should make it possible to gain a better sense, statistically, of the

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<sup>346</sup> See, e.g. chapter 1 of Romano, 2007, outlining the career of doge Francesco Foscari. Foscari was elected an ambassador at age 29, a member of the *savi alla guerra* and *avogador di comun* at age 32 or 33, member of the *savi grandi* at 35, etc.

*cursus honorum*, providing a baseline from which to more accurately compare specific subsets of the patriciate.<sup>347</sup>

Lawyers' careers were not only emblematic of the changes occurring in Venetian politics in the fifteenth century—they also further illustrate some of the trends discussed in the comparative study in Chapter 1. For example, the men profiled in this study would not have been the only lawyers in the diplomatic arena. As Martines noted, Florence often used lawyers for its diplomatic missions, and its lawyers would also have been involved domestically in the examination and approval of treaty texts submitted by Venice's lawyer-ambassadors. Similarly, in England, the evidence shows that the monarchy made frequent use of civil lawyers in its diplomatic efforts with continental powers. In all three of the regimes described in Chapter 1, lawyers served in many of the higher level offices of the state in question, as they did in Venice.

On the other hand, Venice's lawyers were unique in some respects too. Florence's lawyers were required to join the guild, England's common lawyers gained access to power through the inns of court, but Venice's lawyers did not have any formal institutional expression of their profession. Although law did prove useful in obtaining political power in the Venetian system, since at least some basic political rights belonged to every patrician male as a result of the *Serrata*, or closing off of the Venetian patriciate, a lawyers' guild would not have been necessary to open the doors to power for its members. Venice's seeming belief in the inherent capacity for human beings (or at least patricians) to understand justice and its requirements would also have undermined the need for a guild or guild-like structure. Unlike the papal curia, or the English judicial system, there were no offices in Venice that were the peculiar province of its lawyers.

In conclusion, Venice's lawyers were a consistent presence throughout the Venetian government in the fifteenth century. Whether in the "center", the "periphery", or abroad, Venice's lawyers served the Venetian republic in a variety of capacities. Throughout the turbulent fifteenth century, lawyers were a steady component of Venice's ruling class, as servants of the Republic.

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<sup>347</sup> For more on this source, with a discussion of some of its potential limitations, see the essay at the start of the bibliography, *infra*.

## **Appendices**

## Appendix I—Short Biographies of Venetian Patrician Lawyers

### Introduction

What follows are biographical sketches of the men discussed throughout this study—Venice's patrician lawyers. The careers of these thirty-three individuals varied in length and importance. Some held short but distinguished political careers, others spent decades without rising beyond minor offices. A small number enjoyed long *and* prestigious careers.

Following the name of the lawyer is a brief narrative describing the lawyer's life. Included here are such pieces of information as the lawyer's birth and death dates (where known), educational information, family background, and a brief synopsis of their career. Included next is a listing of all known offices, along with all archival references for those offices from the major series of Venetian registers. The format of these office entries is as follows: the year(s) during which the office was known to be held; the name of the office/mission, typically either the Venetian or anglicized name, but sometimes a description, especially for some of the diplomatic missions; the archival sources making mention of the lawyer holding this office, beginning with primary materials, arranged alphabetically, sometimes followed by secondary material references where very few direct references from primary materials exist. Explanations of the abbreviations used for the archival materials can be found in the bibliography.

Several of the lawyers in this study were previously profiled in Margaret King's work, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*. I have sought to verify independently each of these offices as much as possible. However, in many instances King did not, herself, provide any archival references for an office, and where no independent archival evidence could be found, I have simply noted the page number from King. In addition, King did not make use of the materials in the Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti registers in preparing her profiles. Many diplomatic missions were recorded solely in these registers, and therefore were not included in her profiles. These missions are indicated throughout the profiles with the following symbol: †.

## Alberti, Giovanni

### Profile:

Son of Marino Alberti and Samaritana, daughter of Michele Malipiero (AC-BO 163/II, c. 4 for his mother's name; Capellari, vol. 1, c. 31r for identity of her father), Giovanni was born c. 1405 (AC-BO 162/I c. 4, presented 3 December 1428). Marino had most likely died by the date of 1428, as Giovanni was presented by his brother Paolo and Darius Malipiero.<sup>348</sup> A student at Padua, he received his doctor of arts degree on 9 September 1425 (*Acta Graduum I*, #640) and his doctor in *utroque iuris*<sup>349</sup> on 2 June 1434 (*Acta Graduum I*, #997). Giovanni married Pesarina, daughter of Luca Pesaro in 1437 (Giomo, vol. 2, 219). The marriage was a fruitful one, producing at least six sons. According to Capellari, one of his sons, Tommaso, brought the body of San Rocco to Venice in 1487. Although his will is dated 1446 (AN, Cancelleria Inferiore Cassa, Atti Francesco Bon, B.26 #156),<sup>350</sup> Giovanni could not have died prior to 1467, when he served as *podestà* and captain of Capodistria (see below for references). The actual year of his death therefore remains unknown.<sup>351</sup>

Although Capellari calls him “dottore e giurisconsulte celebre” the official records of Giovanni's career are sparse. The records of the *Segretario alle Voci* indicate that he was elected to the Senate repeatedly during the 1440s and 1450s. In all likelihood he engaged in other pursuits besides politics, the precise nature of which remains unknown. Outside of his time in the Senate, Giovanni held three governorships, one in the 1450s (Trau in 1454) and two in the 1460s (Trau in 1462 and Capodistria in 1467). As such, Giovanni Alberti's career is similar to the other lawyers in this study (nearly every lawyer held at least one governorship) and yet his lack of high office over the three decades from his first known election to the last, leaves him among the handful of lawyers who remained at the periphery of power in fifteenth century Venice.

<sup>348</sup> For the general significance of the *Balla d'Oro* registration records, see the note on archival sources in the bibliography, *infra* pp. 223-24. When a young patrician male was presented for registration before the *avogadori di comun*, he was typically presented by his father, or other close male relatives, because the law required the registrant to have guarantors of his identity as a Venetian born legitimately of patrician stock. For more on this process, and the significance of the identity of those family members involved in it, see Chojnacki, 1985, 246ff.

<sup>349</sup> This was a degree in both civil and canon law. See p. 26 *supra*.

<sup>350</sup> A search of this busta revealed no will bearing Giovanni Alberti's name among those notarized by Francesco Bon, and no wills with this date among any of the other documents in the busta.

<sup>351</sup> Sanuto records Giovanni Alberto among the list of those for whom a daily mass was said in the Church of the Frari. See Sanuto, Marino. 1980. *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città*. Edited by Angela Caracciolo Aricò. Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, at 194.

## Offices:

- 1440-41 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 4, c. 103r)
- 1441-42 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 4, c. 106r)
- 1443-44 Senate (SGV 4, c. 110r)
- 1445-46 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 4, c. 115v(bis))
- 1446-47 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 4, c. 120r)
- 1447-48 Senate (SGV 4, c. 120r)
- 1450-51 Senate (SGV 4, c. 127r)
- 1451-52 Senate (SGV 4, c. 130v)
- 1453-54 Senate (SGV 4, c. 134r)
- 1454-55 Count of Trau (SGV 4, c. 71r; SGV 5, c. 24v; *Libro di reggimenti*, c. 156r)
- 1457-58 Senate *Zonta* (CLN 9, c. 176r)
- 1462-63 Count of Trau (*Libro di reggimenti*, c. 156r)
- 1467 *Podestà* and captain of Capodistria (SGV 5, c. 10r; SGV 6, c. 63r)<sup>352</sup>

**Barbaro, Ermolao**

## Profile:

Son of Zaccaria Barbaro and Chiara Vendramin (daughter of Doge Andrea Vendramin). Ermolao was born in either 1453 or 1454 (based on his admission to the Greater Council in 1471). He spent his early years traveling with his father on his (Zaccaria's) missions on behalf of the Republic of Venice. By 1471 he was a student at Padua, receiving his doctorate in arts on 23 August 1474 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #275). Witnesses at his doctorate included future fellow lawyers Giorgio Pisani and Marco Dandolo. His doctorate *in utroque iuris* was awarded three years later, on 17 October 1477 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #520).

Barbaro's future certainly looked promising. He was the son-in-law of a doge, and his father Zaccaria and grandfather Francesco had both served the Republic with

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<sup>352</sup> See also Pusterla, G. 1891. *I rettori di Capodistria*. Capodistria: Cobol e Priora, at 11.



distinction.<sup>353</sup> Not long after Ermolao was sent on his first mission as ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor in 1486, his father Zaccaria was made a Procurator of Saint Mark, a position also held by Zaccaria's father Francesco. Ermolao himself was elected an *avogador di comun* in 1490, at the age of thirty-seven, a younger age than his contemporaries. However, this promising background did not result in a long, office-filled career like that of his forebears due to two factors: first, he died young, possibly before reaching the age of forty; second, while ambassador to Rome in 1491 he made the decision to take up an ecclesiastical career, being appointed Patriarch of Aquileia by Pope Innocent VIII. This appointment came over the strong objections of the Republic, particularly ironic given that Barbaro had recently completed *De officio legati*, a handbook for ambassadors in which he argued that the chief task of an ambassador was to serve wholeheartedly the interests of his sending government.<sup>354</sup> The damage already being done, he was forced to resign his position a year later, and then died the following year, in 1493.

#### Offices:

- 1486      Ambassador to Emperor Frederick III and King Maximilian in Belgium (SS 34, cc. 2r, 19r-v; ST 10, c. 12r)
- 1488      *Savio di Terraferma* (ST 10, cc. 73r-87r)
- 1488-89   Ambassador to Milan (SS 33, cc. 133r-172r; SS 34, c. 1v; ST 10, cc. 68v, 87v, 133r, 155v)
- 1489      *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 12, cc. 173v-183r; SS 34, cc. 13r-37r; ST 10, cc. 147r-167r)
- 1490<sup>355</sup>   *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 12, c. 199r; SM 13, c. 3r; SS 34, cc. 49r-57r; ST 10, cc. 188r-197v)
- 1490      *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 24, c. 142r; SGV 6, c. 135r)
- 1490-91   Ambassador to the Pope (CXM 24, cc. 150r-191r; SM 13, c. 6r; SS 34, cc. 67r-84v; ST 11, cc. 2v-37r)

<sup>353</sup> Profiles of his father and grandfather can be found in King, 1986, 323-27.

<sup>354</sup> Barbaro's book is discussed more fully in Mattingly, 1988, 108ff.

<sup>355</sup> King lists this office as having been a part of the prior one from 1489. However, the records from Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, register 10, indicate that Barbaro's term ended in September 1489, and he was subsequently elected to the office again in January 1490.

## Barbaro, Girolamo

### Profile:

Son of Daniele Barbaro and Cristina Morosini, daughter of Silvestro Morosini (Barbaro, vol. 17, c. 203), Girolamo was born c. 1450. Girolamo's grandfather was Zaccaria, brother to Francesco Barbaro, the grandfather of Ermolao, profiled above. No registration in the *Balla d'Oro* for Girolamo exists, although his brothers Alvise (1457) and Zaccaria (1462) were presented. His university career culminating in the receipt of the doctorate in both laws in 1476 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #416) suggests the birth date given. Barbaro and Capellari record a marriage in 1479 to a daughter of Marco Venier (Capellari, vol. 1, c. 105v). In 1501, Girolamo married Laura, daughter of Girolamo Ferro, who was the widow of a Girolamo Contarini (not the same as profiled below) (Giomo, vol. 1, 450). Neither marriage produced any children. Just as his date of birth is shrouded in mystery, so is his date of death. The last mention of Girolamo in Sanuto's diaries is an entry from September 1523 (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXIV, 466). Given that he had been elected to the Council of Ten *zonta* earlier that year, it is unusual that Sanudo does not mention him any further, although it is also unusual that Barbaro's death would go unreported by Sanudo either.

### Offices:

- 1479-80 Ambassador to Faenza (ST 8, cc. 77r-v, 81v, 94)
- 1489 Ambassador to Emperor Frederick III in Trent (Capellari Vivaro vol. 1, c. 100r)<sup>356</sup>
- 1495-96 Senate (CLN 15, c. 100v; SGV 9, c. 6v)
- 1503-04 Count of Zara (SGV 8, c. 75v)
- 1507-08 Senate *Zonta* (CLN 16, c. 17r)
- 1509 Ambassador to King Ferdinand in Italy (Barbaro vol. 17, c. 203)
- 1512-13 Senate (SGV 9, c. 18v)
- 1519 Senate (*I Diarii*, vol. XXVIII, 37)
- 1520-21 Senate (SGV 9, c. 31)
- 1521-22 Senate (SGV 9, c. 32v; *I Diarii*, vol. XXX, 151)

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<sup>356</sup> Barbaro was knighted by the Emperor during this mission. Sanuto, 1989, 615.

- 1522      *Sopra Atti del Sopragastaldo*<sup>357</sup> (SGV 7, c. 25r)  
 1523      Council of Ten, *zonta (I Diarii*, vol. XXXIV, 107)

## Bembo, Bernardo

### Profile:

Son of Nicolo Bembo and Elisabetta di Andrea Paruta, Bernardo Bembo was born 19 October 1433. He received his doctor of arts degree from Padua on 10 November 1455. He was later awarded his doctor in *utroque iuris* on 19 January, 1465 (*Acta Graduum III*, #391). Bembo had in the interim married Elena di Matteo Morosini in 1462 (Giomo, vol. 2, 143). After her death, Bembo would remarry, this time to Elena Marcello, who would later give birth to multiple children, including a son who would become one of the major figures of the Italian Renaissance—Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547).<sup>358</sup>

Before his death in 1519, Bernardo Bembo spent over four decades in service to the Venetian state. He started as an ambassador to Spain, and went on to represent Venice to several European powers, both inside and outside of Italy, all the way into his seventies. He was a governor of Venetian territories on five different occasions, including serving as the *podestà* and captain of Ravenna during the War of Ferrara (1482-84). Within the administration of Venice itself, he was elected one of the *avogadori di comun* an impressive six times, and also was elected a member of the Council of Ten on six different occasions (each of these being the highest total for any of the lawyers).

### Offices:

- 1468-69    Ambassador to Castile (Comm. 16, c. 1r; SM 8, cc. 175r, 179v, 181; SM 9, c. 9v)  
 1471-74    Ambassador to Burgundy (Comm. 16, c. 64r; SM 9, c. 100v; SS 24, c. 115; SS 25, cc. 43r-183v; SS 26; ST 6, cc. 85v-160v; ST 7, cc. 9r-16v)  
 1474       Ambassador to Austria (King, 1986, 336)  
 1474-76    Ambassador to Florence (SS 26, cc. 161r-163v; SS 27, cc. 6v-61r; ST 7, cc. 62r, 83r)

<sup>357</sup> As the name implies, this position involved overseeing the office of *Sopragastaldo*, which in turn was placed in charge of executing civil judgments rendered in Venice's courts. See Da Mosto, 1937-40, vol. I, 102-03.

<sup>358</sup> For a profile of Pietro Bembo, including an extensive bibliography of works concerning his life, see Dionisotti, Carlo. 1966. Bembo, Pietro. In *DBI*, vol. 8, pp. 133-51.

- 1476 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 18, c. 151r)
- 1476 Ambassador to Ferrara (ST 7, c. 132v)
- 1477-78 Council of Ten (CXM 19, cc. 29r-75v)
- 1478-80 Ambassador to Florence (Senato, Sindicati II, #169, 172r; SS 28, cc. 95r-135v; SS 29, cc. 26r-83r; ST 8, cc. 12r-89v)
- 1480 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 20, c. 22r)
- 1481-83 *Podestà* and Captain of Ravenna (CXM 20, cc. 119v-190v; CXM 21, cc. 40r-v, 66r; SGV 5, c. 7r; SGV 6, c. 24v; SM 12, c. 16r)
- 1483-84 Ambassador to France and England (CLN 13, c. 31r; SS 31, c. 40v; ST 9, cc. 14r, 54v-55r)<sup>359</sup>
- 1485 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Innocent VIII (SS 32, cc. 136r-153v)
- 1486 *Savio di Terraferma* (SS 32, cc. 195v, 196r)<sup>360</sup>
- 1486 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 23, cc. 3v-65v; SGV 6, c. 114r; SM 12, c. 94r; ST 10, c. 25)
- 1487-88 Ambassador to the pope (CXM 24, c. 21r; SM 12, c. 95r; SS 33, cc. 60r-158v; ST 10, cc. 72r-116v)
- 1489-90 *Podestà* of Bergamo (CXM 25, c. 3r; MC Stella, c. 93r; SGV 6, c. 21)
- 1493 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 26, c. 45r)
- 1494-95 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 26, cc. 99r-188v; MC Stella, c. 136r; SGV 6, c. 135r; SM 14, c. 80r-v; ST 12, cc. 108r, 113r;)
- 1496-97 Council of Ten (CLN 14, cc. 146r, 151r; CXM 27, cc. 52v-85; SGV 9, c. 10v)
- 1497-99 Visdomino of Ferrara (CXM 27, cc. 169v, 170v; SGV 6, c. 17v; SGV 8, c. 5r)
- 1499-1500 Council of Ten (CXM 28, cc. 32r-92r)
- 1500 *Avogador di Comun* (MC Stella, c. 169r)
- 1501-02 Council of Ten (CXM 28, cc. 193r, 199v)
- 1502-03 *Podestà* of Verona (SGV 6, c. 137v; SGV 8, c. 42r; ST 14, cc. 80r, 89r)
- 1502 Ambassador to King of France in Pavia and Milan (SS 39, c. 12v)
- 1503 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 29, c. 186v)
- 1504-05 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 15, c. 140v; CXM 30, cc. 43r-121r; SGV 7, c. 3r; SM 16, c. 63r; ST 15, c. 54r-v)

<sup>359</sup> There is no evidence to prove that Bembo actually went to England on this mission. Bembo was elected to this ambassadorship at the beginning of July. In the middle of that same month, he was also possibly elected to carry the standard of the republic to the *condottiere* René, duke of Lorraine. See p. 71 *supra*.

<sup>360</sup> Neither King nor Ventura and Pecoraro mention this office. The two records mentioned here are dated in the first half of February. The *Segretario alle Voci* records that Bembo was elected an *avogador* on 26 February, indicating that his tenure in the *savi di terraferma* was short.

- 1505 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Julius II (CXM 30, c. 128r; SS 39, c. 129v; 361 SS 40, cc. 90r-92)
- 1505-06 Council of Ten (CXM 30, c. 161v; CXM 31, cc. 1-44v)
- 1506 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 31, c. 76v)
- 1507 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 31, c. 127r)
- 1509-10 *Avogador di Comun* (MC Deda, c. 41r; SGV 7, c. 3r; ST 16, c. 130r)
- 1510-11 Ducal Councilor (King, 1986, 337)
- 1512-13 *Avogador di Comun* (King, 1986, 337)
- 1513-14 Council of Ten (King, 1986, 337)

### Bembo, Ettore

#### Profile:

Son of Giovanni Bembo, Ettore was born c. 1360. This date is based on his election to the Quarantia in 1387, SGV 3, c. 44r, his mention in notarial acts of the 1390s, and the projected date of his son Zaccaria's birth.<sup>362</sup> Giovanni was wealthy, according to Capellari, and was also involved in politics. The university where Ettore studied and the date of his degree are uncertain, but Capellari refers to him as a doctor and jurisconsult. Capellari also states that Ettore married a daughter of Lorenzo Negri with whom he had at least two sons—Zaccaria, profiled below, and Giovanni—and three daughters.<sup>363</sup> Although his last known office ended in 1432, Ettore's will (AN, Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea Testamenti, Notai Diversi, B. 25.1796) is dated 1 March 1436, placing his death at some unknown time after that date.

Ettore began his political career with minor offices in the late 1380s (see, e.g. SGV 3, c. 5v). He then does not appear in office again until 1401 when he is mentioned as *podestà* of Noale. He disappears from office for another 15 year stretch, reappearing as a member of the Council of Ten in 1416. From this election until his final office as *podestà* and captain of Capodistria a further 15 years later, Ettore was regularly elected to central offices in the Venetian system. While his election to a dozen offices over a thirty year period does not place him among those lawyers most heavily involved in Venetian politics, he was a regular

<sup>361</sup> Although the eight ambassadors to congratulate Julius II on his election were elected in November 1503 (this entry), they did not leave until several months later because of strained relations between the papacy and Venice regarding the latter's invasion of the Romagna in 1503. Cf. Finlay, 1994.

<sup>362</sup> Ettore's son Zaccaria is profiled *infra* pp. 135-38.

<sup>363</sup> See Capellari Vivaro, vol. I, cc. 138v-139r for this branch of the Bembo family tree.

part of Venice's central administration during the wars of the 1420s with both Milan and Hungary, making his career one of distinction.

#### Offices:

- 1401-02 *Podestà* of Noale (SMS 45, c. 98r; SMS 46, cc. 14r, 27v)
- 1416-17 Council of Ten (CXM 9, cc. 150v-156v)
- 1417-18 *Podestà* of Chioggia (Tagliaferri, 1982, xlvi)
- 1418 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 9, c. 179r)
- 1419 Ducal Councilor (CXM 9, c. 191v)
- 1419 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 10, c. 1r)
- 1420-21 *Podestà* and captain of Belluno (SMS 53, c. 45v)
- 1422 Ducal Councilor (CLN 5, cc. 171v-179r; CXM 10, cc. 41r, 41v, 43v; MC Ursa cc. 39v, 40v, 42v; SMS 54, cc. 30v-53v; SS 8, c. 57v)
- 1425 *Podestà* of Chioggia (SMS 55, c. 123v)
- 1428 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, cc. 52r-62v; CXM 11, cc. 12v, 13v, 14r; SMS 58, cc. 20v-46v)
- 1429 *Podestà* and captain of Belluno (SMS 57, c. 54r)
- 1430-31 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, cc. 92v-97r; CXM 11, cc. 12v, 13v, 14; SMS 58, cc. 20v-46v)
- 1431-32 *Podestà* and Captain of Capodistria (Pusterla, 1891, 11)

#### Bembo, Zaccaria

##### Profile:

Son of Ettore Bembo, Zaccaria Bembo was born c. 1390. This date is based on the fact that he received his license in civil law from the University of Padua on 31 December 1412 (*Acta Graduum I*, #275), and was a captain of the Quarantia in 1415 (see offices list *infra*). He married Agnese, daughter of Lorenzo Bon, in 1413 (Giomo, vol. 1, 137). Zaccaria died sometime between 27 April, 1451, when he was elected an *avogador di comun* (SGV 4, c. 152r) and the end of June 1451, when he was replaced by Andrea Contarini.

There has been a certain amount of confusion about the career of Zaccaria di Ettore. Capellari and Barbaro both record two men with the name of Zaccaria Bembo in the early fifteenth century: Zaccaria di Ettore, and Zaccaria di Bernardo (Bernardo and Ettore were

brothers, making the two Zaccaria's cousins). Because Zaccaria di Ettore did not earn a doctorate in law, the title of "doctor" never appears, making it difficult to distinguish the two when no patronymic is included (as is often the case). Capellari attributes two offices to Zaccaria di Bernardo: rector of Corfu in 1431 and ambassador to the King of Aragon in Naples in 1443. The profile of Zaccaria di Ettore (for citation, see below) states that the first record we have of him is in 1435, when he served as ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV. However, this cannot be the first time that he appears, because Zaccaria di Bernardo was not presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration until 1424 (AC-BO 162/I, c. 187v), almost a decade after the name Zaccaria Bembo begins appearing in the records (see above and the offices listed below). Since it would be impossible for Zaccaria di Bernardo to have served in the *Quarantia* at the tender age of nine (his birthdate is given as 27 September 1406 in his *Balla d'Oro* registration), that office was held either by Zaccaria di Ettore, or a third, unknown Zaccaria Bembo. Furthermore, the *Segretario alle Voci* records Zaccaria di Bernardo as having been elected to several minor offices in the 1430s and 1440s, including the *Quarantia* in 1439 (SGV 4, c. 100v). It is highly unlikely that a Venetian patrician would be elected Bailo and Captain of Corfu in 1431, and then eight years later be elected to the *Quarantia*, one of the entry-level offices in the Venetian system. Also odd is the attribution of the Naples mission in 1443 to Zaccaria di Bernardo, when the *Segretario alle Voci* records that he was elected to the *Quarantia* in December of 1443, and Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti register 16 includes evidence that someone named Zaccaria Bembo was ambassador to Naples from mid-1443 through early 1444. It makes sense, therefore, to attribute all offices prior to 1424 to Zaccaria di Ettore, as well as all high offices prior to 1449, when Zaccaria di Bernardo was elected to the Giudici di Petizion (SGV 4, c. 7r), another lower level position. This leaves only a handful of offices in any kind of doubt, though these remaining offices (*savio grande* and *avogador di comun*) are of such a nature that they fit better with what we can know about Zaccaria di Ettore's career than the known career of Zaccaria di Bernardo.

Zaccaria Bembo was among the handful of lawyers who enjoyed both longevity and access to the central offices of Venice. In his three decades of service to the Republic, he was elected to every major legislative office, except for the offices of doge and procurator. In addition he represented Venice to many of the major Italian powers, and served as a governor in both the Terraferma and the Stato di Mar. His career spanned most of Venice's wars leading up to the Peace of Lodi, and although he did not live to see that peace, he certainly played a role in advancing Venice towards its status as a major Italian power in the second half of the fifteenth century.

## Offices:

- 1415 Captain of the *Quarantia* (CLN 5, c. 30v; MC Ursa, c. 1v)
- 1415-16 *Savio agli Ordini* (CLN 5, c. 40r; SMS 51, cc. 73v-117v; SS 6, 78v-89r)
- 1420-22 *Podestà* of Portogruaro (SMS 53, c. 72r) [first to hold this office]
- 1423 *Podestà* of Pirano (SMS 54, c. 141r)
- 1430 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 11, cc. 6v, 7r)
- 1430 Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 11, c. 144v)
- 1430-32 *Bailo* and captain of Corfu (SMS 58, c. 93v; cf. CLN 6, c. 164v)
- 1434 Council of Ten (CXM 11, cc. 85v-103r)
- 1435 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 59, cc. 85v-91v; SS 13, cc. 131v-134v)
- 1435-36 Ambassador to the pope (in Florence) (Comm. 12, c. 149r; CXM 11, c. 131v; SS 13, cc. 125r-192v; Senato, Sindicati II, # 73, 77)
- 1436 *Savio di Terraferma* (Comm. 12; SMS 59, cc. 143v-161r; SS 13, cc. 198r-243v)
- 1436 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 59, cc. 164r-188v; SS 13, cc. 253r-267v)
- 1436 Ambassador to Francesco Sforza (Comm. 13, c. 26v; SS 13, cc. 267v-271r; SS 14, cc. 1v-8r; Senato, Sindicati II, c. 46r)
- 1436 Council of Ten (CXM 11, cc. 137r-145r)
- 1436-37 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 60, cc. 1r-31v; SS 14, cc. 10r-52v)
- 1437-38 *Podestà* of Verona (SMS 60, cc. 31r, 125r; SS 14, cc. 116v, 163r)
- 1438-39 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, c. 147v; CLN 7, cc. 2r, 3r; CXM 12, cc. 30r, 31v, 32v; MC Ursa, c. 122r-v; SGV 4, c. 1r; SMS 60, cc. 135v-166r; SS 14, cc. 208r 216v, 223r)
- 1439 Ambassador to Ferrara (CXM 12, c. 34v; SS 14, cc. 216r-v, 217v)
- 1440 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 60, cc. 185r-220r; SS 15, cc. 6v-25v)
- 1440-42 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 12, cc. 62v-105r; SGV 4, c. 152r; ST 1, cc. 2v-36r)
- 1442 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 12, c. 97r)
- 1442 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 1, cc. 109r-127v; SS 15, cc. 128v-138v; ST 1, cc. 71r-77r)
- 1442-43 Ducal Councilor (CLN 7, cc. 56v-63v; CXM 12, cc. 118r-125r; MC Ursa, cc. 140v-141, 143; QC 18, cc. 1r-6r; SGV 4, c. 92r; SM 1, cc. 132v-162v; SS 15, c. 150v; ST 1, cc. 79r-90v)



- 1443-44 Ambassador to the king of Naples (SS 16, cc. 22v-70v)
- 1444 Ambassador to Florence (SS 16, cc. 78-85v; ST 1, c. 123r)
- 1444 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 4v-14v; ST 1, cc. 124v-135v)
- 1444-45 *Savio Grande* (SM 2, cc. 17r-65r; SS 16, cc. 138v-156r; ST 1, cc. 140v-150r)
- 1444-45 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, cc. 20v-28v; CXM 12, c. 181r-v; CXM 13, cc. 8v-17v; MC Ursa c. 154r-v; QC 18, cc. 63v-77v; SGV 4, c. 92v; SM 2, cc. 79v-106v; SS 16, cc. 202v, 209r; ST 1, cc. 153v-172v)
- 1445 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 12, cc. 171v, 172v, 174)
- 1445 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 12, cc. 177v, 179r)
- 1446 *Savio Grande* (SM 2, cc. 116v-151v; SS 16, cc. 236v-248v; SS 17, cc. 3r-28r; ST 1, cc. 177r-194v;)
- 1446-48 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 8, c. 51v; CXM 13, cc. 35v-96r; SM 1, cc. 5v-55v; SGV 4, c. 152; SS 17, c. 178v)
- 1448-49<sup>364</sup> Captain of Padua (SGV 4, c. 57v; ST 2, c. 67)
- 1449 Rector of the Fleet (SM 3, c. 155v)
- 1449-50 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 145v; SM 3, cc. 154r-200r; SM 4, c. 3; SS 18, cc. 123v-205r; ST 2, cc. 119r-137r)
- 1449-50 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 148v-190r; CXM 14, c. 6r; SGV 4, c. 124v)
- 1450 *Savio Grande* (ST 2, cc. 138v-143r)
- 1450 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 145v; SS 19, cc. 3v-9v; ST 2, cc. 147r-153v)
- 1450-51 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 146r; SS 19, cc. 34r-51v; ST 2, cc. 165v-182v;)
- 1451 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 14, cc. 20v, 26r-v)
- 1451 Ambassador to Siena (Comm. 14, c. 89r; Sindicati II, #128)
- 1451 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 14, c. 43r; SGV 4, c. 152r; ST 2, c. 183v) [died shortly after taking this office]

### Bernardo, Antonio

#### Profile:

Born to Andrea Bernardo, probably around 1430. Antonio's year of birth remains unknown, although King hypothesizes the previously given date based on his university

<sup>364</sup> Bembo was still in office on 9 January 1449 when the Florentine ambassador Giannozzo Manetti visited the city. See Trivellato, Francesca. 1994. "La missione diplomatica a Venezia del Fiorentino Giannozzo Manetti a meta Quattrocento." *Studi Veneziani* 28:203-35, 235. He also appears as a witness of various degree granting ceremonies through June of that year. See, e.g., *Acta Graduum I*, #2328 (2 June 1449).

career, date of marriage—in 1462 to Elena di Carlo Querini (Giomo, vol. 2, 287)—and first known office, among other pieces of data<sup>365</sup>. The date of his doctorate, and the location of where it was awarded are unknown. However, that he held a doctorate is certain in that he is given the title repeatedly in the Venetian records. That it was in law can be inferred from the fact that he was teaching civil law in Padua by 1462, and is confirmed by an entry from 7 January 1465, which states that he held the degree of doctor of utroque iuris.

Antonio Bernardo's career also remains shrouded in mystery. He does not appear in any significant offices until the 1480s, when he was elected *podestà* of Vicenza in 1484. During his time there he was responsible for expelling the Jews from the city, and his anti-Semitism had not declined any over a decade later when Sanuto reports that Bernardo gave a speech against the Jews in the Senate in September 1500.<sup>366</sup> While Bernardo was a governor in Treviso, he was made a cavalier by the Holy Roman Emperor while the latter was on his way to Rome.<sup>367</sup> In 1501 and 1504 he was a candidate for procurator of Saint Mark's (*I Diarii*, vol. IV, 212 and vol. VI, 19), indicating a career that had to have been much broader than his record of limited public service would suggest. This is the last record of him still living. His date of death is unknown, although King indicates that it must have occurred prior to 1512 when the Council of Ten records refer to him as being deceased (CXM 35, c. 39r).

#### Offices:

- 1484-86 *Podestà* of Vicenza (CXM 22, c. 104r-v; SGV 6, c. 58r; ST 10, c. 48v)
- 1486-87 Ambassador to Dalmatia (SS 33, c. 39r)
- 1489 *Podestà* & Captain of Treviso (SGV 5, c. 47r; SGV 6, c. 30r)
- 1493-94 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 9, c. 5r)
- 1494-95 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 9, c. 7r)
- 1495-96 Council of Ten (CXM 26, cc. 187r-202r; CXM 27, cc. 9v-47r; SGV 9, c. 8r)
- 1496-97 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 9, c. 11v)
- 1497-98 Captain of Bergamo (SGV 8, c. 57r; *I Diarii*, vol. II, 74)
- 1499-1500 Council of Ten (CXM 28, cc. 32r-117v)

<sup>365</sup> Bernardo's marriage is recorded in Giomo, vol. 2, 287. See also King, 1986, 339. Cf. Caravale, Mario. 1967. Bernardo, Antonio. In *DBI*, vol. 9, pp. 304-05, for discussion of his teaching at the University of Padua.

<sup>366</sup> The expulsion of the Jews from Vicenza is briefly discussed in Agostini, vol. I, 500-01 and Caravale, 1967, at 305. Regarding Bernardo's speech in 1500, Sanuto writes: "Sier Antonio Bernardo, dotor e cavalier, cao di X, andò in renga, e parlò contra zudei, dicendo era di scazarli dil mondo." *I Diarii*, vol. III, 808.

<sup>367</sup> See Sanuto, 1989, 615.

1501-02 Council of Ten (CXM 28, c. 193r; CXM 29, cc. 1v-106r)

### da Canal, Nicolo

#### Profile:

Born to Vito da Canal and Bianca Muazzo around 1415, Nicolo was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1433 (AC/BO 162/I, c. 49v), indicating his birthdate. He was an arts student at Padua in the early 1430s, receiving his doctorate in arts on 11 January 1434 (*Acta Graduum I*, # 972). He then went on to study law, receiving the doctorate in utroque iuris on 11 March 1439 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1326). In the interim he had married Orsa di Giorgio Soranzo in 1438 (Giomo, vol. 2, 367).

Da Canal's career indicates that he belongs among the handful of lawyers who had a significant impact on the rise of the Venetian state in the fifteenth century. Although he got his start in the 1440s after Venice had already acquired the basic contours of the *stato di terra*. Nicolo da Canal's numerous ambassadorial missions (over twenty) combined with repeated service as a *savio di terraferma* (in the two decades of 1444-64 he was elected to this office over a dozen times) demonstrate that he was heavily involved in the development of Venice's mainland policy.

What distinguishes da Canal from many of his fellow lawyers was that he also had a significant involvement in Venice's eastern affairs as well. He was sent as an ambassador to Constantinople before and after its fall, dealing with both the Byzantines and the Turks (the only lawyer, in fact, to have been sent as ambassador to Constantinople). In 1467 he was given the task of preparing the defenses of Negroponte against what was perceived to be an imminent attack by the Turks, and he was the only lawyer to have ever served as a military commander, as Captain General of the fleet, in 1469-70.

It was no doubt thought that, given his previous experience with the Turks, da Canal would succeed in his new role as Captain General. Unfortunately for both da Canal and Venice, he was not up to the task, and he failed to come to the rescue of Negroponte, the very city he had previously tried to prepare for such an attack, and presumably was elected to keep in Venice's hands. Failure to do so was costly. After almost three decades of service to the state, and at the pinnacle of an otherwise glittering career, da Canal was tried for his failure to save the city, condemned, and then exiled to the Venetian city of Portogruaro.<sup>368</sup> He would

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<sup>368</sup> Da Canal's trial is discussed in more detail at p. 118 *supra*.

spend over a decade there in exile, before finally passing away in 1483. While it is probably a futile exercise to speculate, one still has to wonder what would have happened had he succeeded at Negroponte. Perhaps it would have been da Canal rather than Alvise Foscari who would be elected procurator in 1471, and maybe even a dogeship would have awaited him, given his prior track record.

#### Offices:

- 1442 Ambassador to Ferrara (ST 1, c. 51v)
- 1442-43 Ambassador to Francesco Sforza (SM 1, cc. 136r, 142v, 147r; SS 15, cc. 156v-157r; SS 16, cc. 2v-12r)
- 1444 Ambassador in Florence and Perugia (Comm. 13, cc. 164r, 166v; SM 2, c. 31r; SS 16, cc. 66v-129; ST 1, cc. 118v, 132v)
- 1444-45 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 44r-68r; SS 16, cc. 127r-162r; ST 1, cc. 140v-153v)
- 1445 Ambassador to Portugal (Comm. 13, c. 175r; SM 2, cc. 72r, 74r, 79r; SS 16, cc. 165v, 187v-189r;)
- 1446 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 116v-148v; ST 1, cc. 177r-196r; SS 16, cc. 236v-248v; SS 17, cc. 3v-31v)
- 1446 Ambassador to Florence (Senato, Sindicati II, #114)<sup>369</sup>
- 1446 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 31r-44r; SGV 4, c. 115v)
- 1447 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, cc. 19v, 22r; SS 17, cc. 124r-144v; ST 2, cc. 26r-37r)
- 1447 Ambassador to Venetian captain general and *proveditor* with the army<sup>†</sup> (SS 17, cc. 144v-154v)
- 1448 Ambassador to Florence (MC Ursa, cc. 164r, 165r; SS 18, cc. 63v-78r; ST 2, cc. 69r-88r)
- 1448 Council of Ten (MC Ursa, c. 165r; SGV 4, c. 122)
- 1448 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 145r; SM 3, cc. 87v-93r; SS 18, cc. 63v, 64r ; ST 2, cc. 86v-92r)
- 1449 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, cc. 98r-109r; SS 18, cc. 68r-78r; ST 2, cc. 98v-103v)
- 1449 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, cc. 122r-138r; ST 2, cc. 112v-123r; SGV 4, c. 145; SS 18, cc. 93r-124v)

<sup>369</sup> This mission is not mentioned in either King, or Ventura, 1974. Thus it is possible that the negotiations with Florence anticipated here did not take place.

- 1449 Ambassador to Florence (Ventura, 1974, at 663)
- 1449 Venetian representative in negotiations with Ambrosian Republic (Comm. 14, c. 41r; Senato, Sindicati II, #125)
- 1449 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 146v-157v; SGV 4, c. 124)
- 1449-50 Ambassador to Rome (MC Ursa, c. 171v; SS 18, cc. 119r-193r; Senato, Sindicati II, # 126; ST 2, cc. 131r, 140v)
- 1450 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 145v; SM 3, c. 200r; SS 18, cc. 198r-204v; ST 2, c. 149v)
- 1450 Ambassador to Constantinople and Morea (CLN 8, c. 130; Comm. 14, c. 79r; SM 3, cc. 202v, 203r; SM 4, c. 14v; SS 18, cc. 206r-207r; SS 19, c. 1r-v; ST 2, c. 177v)
- 1451 *Savio di Terraferma* (ST 2, c. 180v)<sup>370</sup>
- 1451 Ambassador to Gentile Leonessa, and *proveditor* with the army (SS 19, cc. 46r-69v; ST 2, c. 198v)
- 1451 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 14, c. 79v)
- 1451-53 Captain of Brescia (CLN 9, c. 4; Comm. 14, cc. 107v, 108v; CXM 14, cc. 45r-81r; MC Ursa, c. 177; SGV 4, c. 87v; SS 19, cc. 108r, 124r, 203r)
- 1453 Ambassador and *proveditor* in Morea (SS 19, c. 218v)<sup>371</sup>
- 1453-54 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, cc. 146r, 148r; SM 5, cc. 15r, 19r; SS 20, cc. 1r-17v; ST 3, cc. 95r-111r)
- 1454 Council of Ten (SGV 4, c. 136r; CXM 14, cc. 186v-195v)
- 1454 Ambassador to the Diet of Ratisbon (SS 20, cc. 18v-19r, 20v; ST 3, c. 103r)
- 1454 Ambassador to the duke of Milan (CLN 9, cc. 21v, 35r; ST 3, cc. 130v, 142r; SS 20, cc. 32v, 38v, 42r-43r)
- 1455 Venetian representative in negotiations with Ferrara (Comm. 14, c. 143r)<sup>372</sup>
- 1455-57 Captain of Bergamo (CLN 9, c. 49r; CXM 15, cc. 39v, 136v; SGV 4, c. 89v)
- 1456 Ambassador to Milan (SS 20, cc. 112v, 113r)<sup>373</sup>
- 1458 Captain of Brescia (CLN 9, c. 126v; CXM 15, cc. 153v, 156v)
- 1459 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 15, c. 194v)

<sup>370</sup> This office is not listed in King, but probably held for only a short time inbetween his time with the army and being sent to Brescia, as this is the only reference to da Canal holding the office.

<sup>371</sup> Da Canal was elected in October 1453, and no other record of him exercising the office exists. Neither King nor Ventura, 1974 list him holding this office.

<sup>372</sup> Also not mentioned in King or Ventura, 1974. The *Libri Commemoriali* make it clear, however, that da Canal and Paolo Barbo were the Venetian representatives who negotiated this treaty with Ferrara.

<sup>373</sup> This mission was performed while serving as captain of Bergamo.

- 1460 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 6, cc. 192v-197v; SS 21, cc. 11v-27r; ST 4, cc. 147r-155r)
- 1460 Ambassador to Constantinople (MC Regina, c. 26v; SS 21, c. 14r)
- 1461 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 7, cc. 27v, 31r; SS 21, cc. 48v-73r; ST 4, cc. 178v-185r)
- 1462 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 7, cc. 59r-83r; SS 21, cc. 86r-111v; ST 5, cc. 5v-19v)
- 1462 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 40v)
- 1462-63 Ambassador to Milan (SS 21, cc. 123r-134v)
- 1463 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 7, cc. 133v-140v; ST 5, cc. 59r-63v; SS 21, cc. 191v-207v)
- 1463 *Proveditor* in Morea (CLN 10, c. 87r; SS 21, c. 151r)
- 1463-64 Ambassador to France (SS 21, cc. 210r-217r; SS 22, cc. 1r, 15r; ST 5, c. 84r)
- 1464 *Savio di Terraferma* (ST 5, c. 84r)
- 1465 Council of Ten (CXM 16, cc. 152r-157r)
- 1465 Ambassador to Rome (CXM 16, cc. 168r-177v; MC Regina, c. 59r; SS 22, cc. 77v-121r; SM 8, cc. 37r, 44v; ST 5, cc. 110r-139r)
- 1466 *Savio Grande* (SM 8, c. 58r; SS 22, cc. 138r, 142r; ST 5, c. 151v)
- 1466-67 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 16, cc. 196v-208r; CXM 17, cc. 1v-10r; SGV 5, c. 9r; ST 5, c. 158r)
- 1467-68 *Proveditor* in Negroponte (CLN 10, c. 166v; CXM 17, c. 67v; SS 23, cc. 39v-75v)
- 1467-68 Ambassador to the Turks (Sindicati II, #145; Malipiero, 1843-44, 42)
- 1468 Ambassador to Bartolomeo Colleoni (SS 23, cc. 117r-119v)
- 1468 *Savio Grande* (SM 8, cc. 169r, 172v, 174r; SS 23, cc. 115r-132r; ST 6, cc. 27r-37r)
- 1468 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 17, c. 60v)
- 1468 Ducal Councilor (CLN 11, cc. 33v-35r; CXM 17, c. 70r; MC Regina, c. 78r-v; SGV 6, c. 2r; SM 8, c. 189r-v; SS 23, cc. 135v-143r; ST 6, cc. 33r-40v)
- 1468 Honorary Ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor, passing through Venice (ST 6, c. 41v)
- 1469-70 Captain General of the Fleet (CLN 11, cc. 40r, 86r; CXM 17, c. 88r; SGV 6, c. 89r; SM 8, c. 193v; SM 9, c. 55r; SS 23, c. 142r; SS 24, cc. 1v-3r, 44v, 62r-v)

## Contarini, Francesco

### Profile:

Son of Nicolo Contarini (profiled *infra*) and Maria, natural daughter of Giacomo Carrara of Padua, Francesco's birthdate is not known for certain. He was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1441, making the likely year of birth either 1423 or 1424. He first appears in the records of Padua's university in 1436, as an arts student (*Acta Graduum I*, #1094). He was awarded the doctorate of arts degree on 27 May 1442 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1612), and then proceeded to study law. In 1446 he married Contarina di Giovanni Contarini (Giomo, vol. 1, 252). He did not receive his doctorate *in utroque iuris* until 1 September, 1453 (*Acta Graduum II*, #247), two years after he had been elected to his first mission, as ambassador to Bologna.

Francesco's career consists of three diplomatic missions, the previously mentioned mission to Bologna, a later mission to Siena, and lastly a mission to Rome as an ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Pius II. His mission to Siena stands as the most important of the three, as he was not only the Venetian representative there during the conclusion of the war between Siena and Florence, but the record of his time there remains extant in a series of letters he wrote back to the Senate, preserved now in the Marciana Library.<sup>374</sup>

Like his father, Francesco Contarini died young, probably around 1460. As King notes, there is some difficulty in establishing his death date due to the existence of homonyms, but certainly the references to the Francesco Contarini who held a doctorate disappear by 1460, and the Venetian legislative records very rarely failed to include a title for those who had one. He had certainly died by 1475 when Contarina appears in the records as his widow. Francesco's son Zaccaria would recount the woes of his father's and grandfather's short lives in the service of Venice in 1500 when he was seeking to be excused from a mission to Hungary.<sup>375</sup>

### Offices:

- 1451-52 Ambassador to Bologna (CLN 8, c. 147r; ST 3, c. 10r)
- 1454-55 Ambassador to Siena (CLN 9, c. 51v; ST 3, cc. 66r-162r; SS 20, cc. 9v-64r)
- 1455 Commander of a Venetian expedition (Tiraboschi, 1805-13, vol. 6, 695)
- 1458 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Pius II (ST 4, c. 88v)

<sup>374</sup> Marc. Ital. VII, 1196 (8884).

<sup>375</sup> See Beverley, 1999, 102.

**Contarini, Giacomo****Profile:**

Son of Ambrogio Contarini and Andriana, daughter of Andrea Gritti, born c. 1456.

Giacomo was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 10 November 1474 (AC-BO 164/III, c. 69v). He is first mentioned in the records of the University of Padua (with no designation) in 1481 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #719), though he is not mentioned as a student of law until 1490 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #1381). In 1491 he received his doctorate of arts in February (*Acta Graduum IV*, #1445) and his doctorate of civil law in March (*Acta Graduum IV*, #1457). There is no record of Giacomo marrying, including in his will (AN Testamenti, Atti Grappi B. 1186 #70, dated 1 June 1496).

Giacomo's first, and only, significant office was serving as ambassador to Spain from 1496 to 1498. After returning to Venice in June 1498, he died within a few months. His career, although unusually short, is important nonetheless, in that his mission to Spain came at a crucial time—the Italian states, led by Venice, were still trying to come to grips with the aftermath of Charles VIII's expedition to Naples in 1494. The Venetians, through Contarini, were attempting to keep the Spanish from signing a separate peace with the French. Contarini's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, and by 1498 the Venetians, too, were making overtures to the French, which would eventually lead to the second French invasion in 1499.<sup>376</sup>

**Offices:**

1496-98    Ambassador to Spain (SM 14, cc. 91v-98r; SS 35, c. 229r; SS 36, cc. 34v-162v; SS 38, c. 65v)

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<sup>376</sup> The mission is discussed at some length in Povoio, 1983.



## Contarini, Girolamo

### Profile:

Son of Bertucci di Girolamo di Bertucci<sup>377</sup> and Maria, daughter of Francesco di Federigo Corner (Barbaro, vol. 18, c. 439). Girolamo was a cousin of Giorgio Pisani. Born c. 1441 based on his presentation for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 3 December 1459 (AC-BO 163/II, c. 137). He married a daughter of Marino Falier q. Bertucci in 1463. No children of the marriage are recorded in either Barbaro or Capellari Vivaro. His doctor of civil law was awarded 6 June 1470 (*Acta Graduum III*, #948). He died relatively young in 1489 or 1490 (cf. CXM 24, c. 126r).

The existence of homonyms makes it difficult to trace Girolamo's career. The offices listed below are those in which a Girolamo Contarini with the designation of "doctor" is recorded.<sup>378</sup> Sanuto also states that Girolamo Contarini, doctor, delivered a funeral oration for Doge Andrea Vendramin in 1477.<sup>379</sup>

### Offices:

1478 Ambassador to Austria (ST 8, cc. 14v, 15v)

1484 Ambassador to peace negotiations in Cesena (CLN 13, c. 51v; SS 32, c. 27r)

## Contarini, Nicolo

### Profile:

Son of Luca Contarini, born c. 1388. Nicolo was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration by his brother Giovanni in 1412. Further, Agostini, in his profile of Nicolo's son Francesco, cites an oration given in honor of Francesco to the effect that Niccolo had been elected to the Senate at the age of 25 in 1413.<sup>380</sup> In 1413 he married Maria Carrara, natural daughter of Giacomo Carrara, lord of Padua. Their union produced the aforementioned son Francesco (see profile *supra*).

<sup>377</sup> Another Girolamo di Bertucci (di Marin) was also alive and politically active at the end of the fifteenth century. See Barbaro, vol. 18, c. 511.

<sup>378</sup> Capellari Vivaro states that Girolamo served as *luogotenente* of Friuli. See Capellari Vivaro, vol. I, c. 289r. However Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 9, c. 121v (11 December 1484) does not give this particular Girolamo Contarini the title of doctor, even though the Girolamo Contarini who served as ambassador to the peace negotiations in Cesena in April of that same year was designated a doctor. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 32, c. 27r (13 April 1484).

<sup>379</sup> See Sanuto, 1989, 104.

<sup>380</sup> See Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 45.

The location and date of Niccolo's degree in law are uncertain. He was awarded his doctor of arts degree on 11 June 1410 (*Acta Graduum I*, #90). He is then mentioned as a student of civil law and canon law in the records from 1411 (*Acta Graduum I*, #192) until 1418 (*Acta Graduum I*, #488). In November 1419 when he was sent by the *podestà* and captain of Padua to Venice (SS 7, c. 122r) he held the title of "doctor utriusque iuris." It would thus seem that he had been awarded his doctorate somewhere between the autumn of 1418 and this mission in the autumn of 1419.

Niccolo's political career was brief but important. He was heavily involved in the Venetian wars with Milan during the 1420s, as a diplomat marshaling support from various powers against Milan, as a representative at the peace negotiations in Ferrara in 1427, and as a *proveditor* in the Bresciano charged with overseeing Milan's compliance with the peace treaty. He died in 1427 during en route to Savoy, on a mission to negotiate an alliance with that power against Milan.

#### Offices:

- 1419      Ambassador to Venice (SS 7, c. 122r)
- 1421      *Proveditor* in Friuli (SMS 53, c. 192r)
- 1423      Ambassador to Castile (SMS 54, cc. 93r, 106r-107v)
- 1426      Ambassador to Florence (Comm. 11, c. 186r; SS 9, cc. 70v-116r; Senato, Sindicati II, # 6)
- 1426-27   *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 56, cc. 21r-85r; SS 9, cc. 131v-194r; SS 10, cc. 6v-34v)
- 1427      *Proveditor* in Brescia (CLN 6, c. 36v; Comm. 11, cc. 196r, 197r; SMS 56, c. 67r; SS 9, c. 151; SS 10, cc. 4v-6r, 8r, 25v; Senato, Sindicati II, #11)
- 1427      Ambassador to Montferrat & Savoy (SS 10, cc. 22r-78r; Senato, Sindicati II, #13)

#### **Dandolo, Antonio**

##### Profile:

Son of Andrea Dandolo and Maria, daughter of Antonio Michiel, (Barbaro, vol. 19, c. 188) born 13 January 1431. He was presented by his father for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 1 December 1451 (AC-BO 163/II c. 189v) and his date of birth is given in that entry. In 1456 he married Luchina Mocenigo, daughter of future doge Giovanni Mocenigo. The marriage

produced four daughters and five sons, one of whom, Pietro, later became bishop of Padua in 1507 (Barbaro, vol. 19, c. 188). One of Dandolo's daughters married Giovanni Frangipane, the count of Veglia and Segne in Dalmatia (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 514)

The facts of Antonio's education are somewhat clouded. He is recorded as a student of law in the 1450s, but no doctorate is listed. However, he is repeatedly given the title of doctor throughout the Venetian records. Furthermore, according to Gullino, 1986a and Barbaro, he held lectureships in law at the universities of Padua, Pisa, and Perugia, which further argues for a doctorate in law.

Antonio's career showed significant promise before his untimely death in 1473. He had been sent on multiple diplomatic missions designed to counter the threat of Milan, and then the Turks, in the late 1460s. He held two important governorships (Zara and Ravenna) by his early forties, and he was elected to the Council of Ten when he was thirty-nine years old, a relatively young age for that post.

#### Offices:

- 1466      Ambassador to Hungary (ST 5, c. 169v)
- 1467-68   Ambassador to Burgundy (SM 8, c. 160v; SS 23, cc. 60v, 78r-v, 89v; ST 6, cc. 4r, 22r)
- 1468      Ambassador to Milan (ST 6, c. 25r)
- 1468      Ambassador to Florence (SS 23, c. 132; ST 6, c. 32v)
- 1468-69   Ambassador to Savoy (SS 23, cc. 132r-153v; ST 6, cc. 36r-54r)
- 1469      Count of Zara (MC Regina, c. 79v)
- 1469-70   Ambassador to Burgundy (SS 24, cc. 27r-145r; ST 6, cc. 57r, 77v, 82v)
- 1470-71   Council of Ten (CXM 17, cc. 108v-130v)
- 1471      *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 9, cc. 88v-110v; SS 25, cc. 15r-48r; ST 6, cc. 128v, 132v, 141v)
- 1471-73   *Podestà* and captain of Ravenna (SGV 5, c. 7r; SGV 6, c. 24v; SM 9 c. 192v)
- 1472      Council of Ten ("ad condemnationem") (CXM 17, c. 146r)<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> It is difficult to see how Dandolo could have served in this position given that he was resident in Ravenna from his election at the end of 1471 until his death in March 1473.

## Dandolo, Fantino

### Profile:

Son of Leonardo Dandolo, born in 1379. His grandfather Andrea was doge from 1343 to 1354. Fantino began his studies at the University of Bologna, but received his doctorate in *utroque iuris* from the University of Padua on 18 August 1401. He pursued a political career for the following three decades, but then took up an ecclesiastical career in 1431,<sup>382</sup> and died as Bishop of Padua in 1459.

Before joining the Church, however, Dandolo had an impressive political career in keeping with his family background. His first major office was as an ambassador to Cardinal Filargo in Bologna in 1405. He would go on to serve as a Venetian ambassador on more than a dozen other occasions, almost exclusively to other Italian powers. He was elected a Ducal Councilor, one of the most important offices in the Venetian state, at the almost unheard of age of 29. Dandolo was also elected to the Council of Ten in his early thirties, again something that was very unusual among men his age. Dandolo played an important part in Venice's mainland expansion, having served as one of Venice's *proveditori* during the taking of both Padua and Verona in the opening decade of the fifteenth century, as well as a *proveditor* in Brescia and that city's captain in the 1420s when Venice won Brescia and Bergamo from the control of the Visconti of Milan. In addition he held every principal elective office in Venice at least twice, including seven times as *savio grande* and six times as ducal councilor, second only to Alvise Foscari among lawyers for both of those offices.

### Offices:

- 1404      Ambassador to France<sup>383</sup> (SS 2, cc. 42v, 50v)
- 1405      Ambassador to Bologna<sup>384</sup> (SS 2, cc. 81v-116r)
- 1406      *Proveditor* in Padua<sup>†</sup> (SS 3, c. 6r)
- 1406-07   Ambassador to Florence<sup>385</sup> (Comm. 10; SS 3, c. 36v)

<sup>382</sup> Dandolo may have been married up until 1420, although the precise identity of his wife is unclear. Little evidence of the marriage survives, but a letter from Ludovico San Bonifacio dated 1420 sends the author's condolences to Dandolo upon having heard of the death of the latter's wife. See Segarizzi, Arnaldo. 1910. "Lodovico Sambonifacio e il suo epistolario." *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* n.s. 19:69-114 at 87-88. Cf. Agostini vol. I, 22.

<sup>383</sup> Elected on 4 September, 1404, he was absolved from the mission on 5 September and took a position on the *Giudici Petizioni*.

<sup>384</sup> Although called an ambassador to Bologna, Dandolo was sent to Cardinal Filargo of Bologna, and in turn accompanied the Cardinal to Lombardy for peace negotiations with Milan.

- 1407 *Proveditor* in the Veronese (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 6)
- 1408-09 Ducal Councilor (CLN 4, cc. 43r-46r; Comm. 10, c. 75v; CXM 9, c. 21v; MC Leona cc. 175r-180r; SMS 48, cc. 34r-66r; SS 3, cc. 119v-146r; SS 4, c. 5v;)
- 1409 Ambassador in Tuscany<sup>†</sup> (SS 4, cc. 22r, 23r-24r)
- 1409 Ambassador to Milan (SMS 48, c. 122v; SS 4, c. 89v)
- 1410 Ducal Councilor (CLN 4, cc. 76r, 77r, 79r; CXM 9, c. 53; SMS 48, cc. 131r-177v; SS 4, cc. 120v-133v; MC Leona cc. 181r-197r)
- 1410-11 Council of Ten (CXM 9, cc. 55r-66v; SMS 48, c. 188r)
- 1411-12 Ambassador to dukes of Austria (in Trent) (SS 4, cc. 212r-243r; SS 5, c. 7v; Senato, Sindicati I, #462)
- 1412 *Savio alla Guerra*<sup>386</sup> (SMS 49, cc. 105r, 121r; SS 5, cc. 7v-29v)
- 1412-13 *Podestà* of Padua (CLN 5, c. 9r; SMS 49, cc. 132r, 145r; SMS 50, c. 105r)
- 1414 *Podestà* of Verona (CLN 5, cc. 36r, 38v; SMS 50, c. 188v)
- 1415-16 Council of Ten (CXM 9, cc. 137v-146r)
- 1416 Ambassador in Lombardy (Comm. 10, c. 211r; SS 6, cc. 99r-109v; Sindicati 1, c. 206v)
- 1417-18 Council of Ten (CXM 9, cc. 166r-173v)
- 1418 Ducal Councilor (AC 3647, cc. 36v, 59r; CLN 5, cc. 96r-102r; CXM 9, cc. 175v-185v; MC Ursa, cc. 20r-v, 21v; SMS 52, cc. 85r-115v; SS 7, cc. 12r-23r)
- 1418-19 *Podestà* of Padua (*Acta Graduum I*, #488-514)
- 1419-20 *Savio alla Guerra* (SMS 53, cc. 32r, 45r; SS 7, cc. 114r-184v)
- 1420 Peace negotiations with Udine (SS 7, c. 155v)<sup>387</sup>
- 1420 Council of Ten (CXM 10, cc. 28r-29r)
- 1420-21 *Savio Grande* (SMS 53, cc. 80r-124v; SS 7, cc. 185r-210r; SS 8, c. 3r)
- 1421 Ambassador to Rome (Comm. 11, c. 60r; SS 7, c. 203r; SS 8, cc. 5v-27r)
- 1421-23 *Avogador di Comun* (AC 3647, cc. 1r-36v; CLN 5, cc. 183v, 187r; CXM 10, cc. 33r-56v; MC Ursa, c. 49v, SMS 54, c. 33r)

<sup>385</sup> Although the *Libri Commemoriali* states that the ambassadors in question gathered in Florence, the purpose of the mission was to resolve a dispute between Venice and Genoa. The dispute was eventually resolved under the arbitration of the Count of Savoy. See Gullino, 1986b, at 460.

<sup>386</sup> This office was the pre-cursor to the *savio di terraferma*, discussed *supra* at pp. 105-07.

<sup>387</sup> This mission is not recorded by King or Gullino, 1986b. However, this is not surprising as it was carried out while serving as a *savio alla guerra*, and probably took place in Venice as a meeting between representatives from Udine and Dandolo.

- 1423-24 Ducal Councilor (AC 3647, c. 89r; CLN 6, c. 211v; CXM 20, cc. 61v-63v; MC Ursa, cc. 53v-56r; SMS 54, cc. 150r-182r; SMS 55, cc. 3r-7v; SS 8, cc. 127v, 132r, 135v)
- 1424 *Savio Grande* (SMS 55, cc. 10r, 11r; SS 8, c. 149r-v)<sup>388</sup>
- 1424-25 Ambassador to Alfonso, King of Aragon (Comm. 11, cc. 133r, 134r; SMS 55, cc. 11r-125v; SS 8, cc. 152r-178v; SS 11, c. 134v; Senato, Sindicati I, #514, 521)
- 1425 *Savio Grande*<sup>†</sup> (SS 9, cc. 8v-12r)
- 1425-26 *Avogador di Comun* (AC 3647, c. 97v; CXM 10, c. 80v)
- 1425-26 Ambassador to Rome (SMS 55, cc. 105v, 123r; SS 9, cc. 13v-98v; Sindicati 1, c. 228v)
- 1426 *Savio Grande* (SMS 56, cc. 4-53v; SS 9, cc. 131v-170v)
- 1426 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, c. 29v; CXM 10, c. 84v; SS 9, cc. 175v, 179r)
- 1426 Venetian representative for signing of anti-Visconti league between Venice, Florence, and Savoy (Comm. 11, c. 186r; Senato, Sindicati II, # 6, 9)
- 1426-27 *Proveditor* in Brescia<sup>389</sup> (CLN 6, c. 51v; Comm. 14, c. 30v; SMS 56, cc. 68v, 69r, 110v; SS 9, c. 182v; SS 10, c. 41)
- 1427-28 Captain of Brescia (SS 10, c. 41; Tagliaferri, 1973-79, vol. XI, li)
- 1428 *Savio Grande* (SMS 57, c. 45v; SS 10, cc. 200r-211v)
- 1428 Ambassador for peace negotiations in Milan (King, 1986, 357)
- 1429 Ambassador to Florence (SS 10, cc. 206r-238r; SS 11, cc. 2r-5v; Senato, Sindicati II, # 33, 35)
- 1429 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, cc. 68r-73r; CXM 10, cc. 106r-116v; MC Ursa, c. 79r-v; SMS 57, cc. 99v-158v; SS 11, cc. 8v-36r)
- 1429 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 10, c. 101v)
- 1429 Ambassador to Sigismund, King of the Romans (SMS 57, c. 96r-v)
- 1429-30 *Savio Grande* (Comm. 12, c. 84r; SMS 57, cc. 160v-228r; SS 11, cc. 40r-112v; Senato, Sindicati II, #44)
- 1430-31 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 6, c. 92; CXM 11, c. 5v; MC Ursa, c. 85)
- 1430 Venetian representative in commercial negotiations with Trani<sup>390</sup> (Comm. 12, c. 84; Senato, Sindicati II, #44)

<sup>388</sup> This office is not listed by King or Gullino, 1986b. Dandolo was elected a *savio grande* on 1 April, and was subsequently elected ambassador to Alfonso later the same month, making his tenure in the office very short indeed.

<sup>389</sup> King states that Dandolo was a *proveditor* from 1427-28. However, the records make clear that he was first sent as a *proveditor* at the end of 1426, and the office was converted to that of captain in 1427. Cf. Gullino, 1986b, at 462.

1431      Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Eugenius IV (SMS 58, c. 71v; SS 11, cc. 170v-213r)

## **Dandolo, Marco**

### **Profile:**

Son of Andrea Dandolo and grandson of the noted humanist Bernardo Giustinian.

Marco Dandolo was born 25 March 1458. He was studying at the University of Padua by age thirteen in 1471. He was awarded a doctorate in arts on 18 January 1481 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #703), and a doctorate in civil law on 9 December 1484 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #965).

Dandolo was married three times. Following the conclusion of his law studies, in 1485 he married Laura di Marco Corner, the sister of Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus. In 1491 he married Nicolosa di Pietro Loredan (Giomo, vol. 1, 606). This marriage lasted perhaps three decades, because in 1521 Marino Sanuto reports that Dandolo married a sister of Gasparo Contarini (*I Diarii*, vol. XXX, 29).

Marco Dandolo's public career spanned four decades, just about evenly divided by Venice's defeat at Agnadello in 1509. The first half, leading up to Agnadello, was dominated by a series of diplomatic missions in the first decade, and then repeated elections to the *savi di terraferma* in the years leading up to the League of Cambrai. At the time that war broke out between Venice and the League, Dandolo was Captain of Brescia. He was captured in the siege of that city, and held prisoner in France for four years. Following his release, he stayed on in France as Venetian ambassador, the second time he had served as such. The last half of his career involved a stint in Crete as Captain, and then a decade or so in some of the central legislative offices of the Republic (he was elected a ducal councilor twice, and a *savio grande* six times between 1523-31). Thus, Marco Dandolo was heavily involved in Venice's attempts to prevent the League of Cambrai, and then to recover from the aftermath of Agnadello.

### **Offices:**

1492-93      Ambassador to Hungary (SS 34, cc. 110v-148r)

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<sup>390</sup> This event is not listed in either King or Gullino, 1986b. This is probably due to it occurring in Venice during Dandolo's tenure as a member of the *savi grandi*.

- 1496-97 Ambassador to Milan (CXM 27, cc. 29v-53r; SS 35, c. 199v; SS 36, cc. 70r, 77v, 85r; ST 12, cc. 116r, 119v)
- 1498 Ambassador to Pope Alexander VI<sup>391</sup> (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 285)
- 1501 Ambassador to Rome (SS 38, cc. 155r, 197r; ST 14, c. 39)
- 1501 *Savio di Terraferma* (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 285)
- 1502-04 Ambassador to France (CLN 15, c. 75r; CXM 29, cc. 97r, 164r; SS 39, cc. 144v, 150; SS 40, c. 8r; ST 14, cc. 89v, 95v)
- 1504 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, c. 46r; SS 40, cc. 25v-36r; ST 15, cc. 19v-26r)
- 1505 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, cc. 59v-61r; SS 40, cc. 73r-82v; ST 15, cc. 47r-52v)
- 1505 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 30, c. 131v)
- 1505 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 30, c. 133)
- 1506 *Savio di Terraferma* (MC Deda, c. 28r; SM 16, cc. 111r-119v; SS 40, cc. 166r-196r; ST 15, cc. 121r-132r)
- 1506 *Avogador di Comun (I Diarii, vol. VI, 412)*<sup>392</sup>
- 1506-07 Ambassador to Naples (CLN 15, c. 173v; CLN 16, c. 10; CXM 31, c. 81r-v; SS 40, cc. 188v, 200r-v; SS 41, cc. 38r-v, 109v, 110v; ST 15, c. 132r)
- 1507 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, cc. 152v-160v; SS 41, cc. 31r-44r; ST 15, cc. 166r-175r)
- 1508 *Savio di Terraferma* (CXM 31, c. 229r; SM 16, cc. 168v-170r; SS 41, cc. 60r-78r; ST 15, cc. 191r-195v)
- 1508-09 Captain of Brescia (SGV 8, c. 50v; SS 41, cc. 175v, 184v-185r)
- 1513-15 Ambassador to France (King, 1986, 359)<sup>393</sup>
- 1515-19 Captain of Candia
- 1521 Ducal Elector
- 1522-23 Ambassador to the Pope
- 1523 Ducal Elector
- 1523 *Savio Grande*
- 1524-25 Ducal Councilor
- 1528 *Savio di Terraferma*

<sup>391</sup> It is possible that Agostini was confused regarding the dates of this mission. Sanuto does not record Dandolo going to Rome in 1498, but does show him being elected in August of 1501. See *I Diarii*, vol. IV, 99.

<sup>392</sup> Sanuto states he was elected *avogador* on 6 September 1506. About a month later he was elected, along with Giorgio Pisani, ambassador to Naples. The two departed for this mission in late November. See *I Diarii*, vol. VI, 498. This short time period would explain the lack of other documentary evidence for this position.

<sup>393</sup> All offices after 1509 are beyond the scope of this study and therefore have not been independently verified. Thus, the reader is directed to the citations listed by King, 1986, 359-60 for these offices.



1528	<i>Savio Grande</i>
1529	<i>Savio Grande</i>
1530	Ambassador to the Pope and Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna
1530-31	Ducal Councilor
1531	<i>Savio Grande</i>
1531	Ambassador to the wedding of the Duke of Mantua

## **Diedo, Francesco**

### **Profile:**

Son of Alvise Diedo and Creusa di Giovanni Boldù, born in the early 1430s. He was a student at the University of Padua by 1456, studying with Bernardo Bembo (profiled *supra*). In a university record dated 30 August 1461 he is called both a doctor of arts and a student of *utroque iuris*. It is uncertain if he was ever awarded a doctoral degree in law, though Tournoy argues that Diedo did indeed have that degree by no later than 1463.<sup>394</sup> Nearly twenty years later Diedo would be called a jurisconsult in a series of documents detailing his mission to the Pope in the early stages of the conflict over Ferrara, indicating at least that his knowledge and experience in the law were held in high regard.<sup>395</sup>

Following his university studies, Diedo was sent on his first mission as an ambassador to Sigismund, duke of Austria in 1464. Upon his return in 1465 he married Elena di Antonio Erizzo (Giomo, vol. 1, 437). The couple had three children, two sons and a daughter.

In his twenty-year career in service to the Republic, Diedo spent over half of it outside the city, either as an ambassador or a territorial governor. He was integrally involved in the implementation of Venetian mainland policy, especially before and during the War of Ferrara (1482-84). In addition to his mission to Rome mentioned previously, he had earlier been sent to the Duke of Milan in late 1479 to try to shore up relations with that state after the Venetians had made peace with the Turks and could turn their attentions back to the affairs of their mainland state.<sup>396</sup> Diedo entered his last office, *podestà* of Verona, while the war was still being fought, and died in that office in March 1484, only a few months prior to the signing of a peace treaty at Bagnolo (August 1484).

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<sup>394</sup> See Tournoy, 1991, at 769.

<sup>395</sup> See Piva, 1907.

<sup>396</sup> See Tournoy, 1991, at 771.

## Offices:

- 1464-65 Ambassador to Sigismund, duke of Austria (SS 22, cc. 57r-v, 62r)
- 1467-68 Ambassador to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary (Senato, Sindicati II, # 146; ST 6, cc. 29v, 56r)
- 1469-70 Ambassador to Amadeo IX, duke of Savoy (ST 6, cc. 67v, 82v, 93v)
- 1470-71 Captain of Vicenza (SGV 6, c. 58v)
- 1472 Council of Ten (CXM 17, cc. 149v-173r)
- 1472 *Savio di Terraferma* (ST 6, c. 168v; SS 25, cc. 167r, 169r)
- 1472 Ambassador to Federico III, duke of Urbino (ST 6, c. 188r; SS 25, cc. 145v-146r)
- 1473-74 *Podestà* and captain of Ravenna (SGV 5, c. 7r; SGV 6, c. 24v; CXM 18, c. 19r)
- 1474 *Savio di Terraferma* (King, 1986, 361)
- 1474-75 Council of Ten (CXM 18, cc. 86v-111v)
- 1475-76 Captain of Bergamo (SGV 6, c. 21v; CXM 18, c. 127v)
- 1475 *Proveditor* in Malpaga<sup>397</sup> (CXM 18, cc. 128r-133v)
- 1477 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 10, c. 118r)
- 1478-79 Captain of Brescia (SGV 6, c. 93r; ST 8, c. 41r)
- 1479-80 Ambassador to Milan (Senato, Sindicati II, #174; ST 8, c. 65)
- 1480 *Savio Grande* (King, 1986, 361)
- 1480-81 Council of Ten (CXM 20, cc. 19v-57v)
- 1481 *Savio Grande* (SS 30, cc. 6r, 7r; ST 8, c. 122r; SM 11, c. 104r)
- 1481-83 Ambassador to Rome (CXM 20, cc. 87v-193r; CXM 21, cc. 6v-32v; MC Stella, c. 12v; SS 30, cc. 11r-166v; Senato, Sindicati II, #80-83; ST 8, cc. 116r, 121v, 150r; ST 9, c. 9r)
- 1483-84 *Podestà* of Verona (CXM 21, cc. 108r-v, 117v, 124r; MC Stella, c. 26v; SGV 6, c. 18v)

<sup>397</sup> Malpaga, writes Sanuto, was a castle in the Bergamasco, belonging to Bartolomeo Colleoni. When Colleoni died, Diedo was among those sent to the castle to take possession of Colleoni's estate, and to make an inventory of it for the Signoria. Sanuto, 1989, 20. Cf. Tournoy, 1991, at 771.

**Donà, Marco**

## Profile:

Son of Nicolo Donà and Franceschina di Zaccaria da Mosto, born probably around 1415 based on his *Balla D'Oro* registration in 1433 (AC/BO 162/I, c. 175). Marco begins appearing in the records of the University of Padua in 1434, when he is a witness to Barbone Morosini's arts doctorate (*Acta Graduum I*, #977). He first appears as a student in 1436, and is labeled a student of civil law at that time (*Acta Graduum I*, #1085). On 18 August 1443 Donà received his doctorate *in utroque iuris*, with fellow lawyer Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane serving as one of the witnesses (*Acta Graduum I*, #1732). In 1444 he married Elisabetta, daughter of Galeotto Malaspina da Verona.

Like so many of his fellow lawyers, Donà's first significant office was as an ambassador—to the marquisate of Montferrat in 1451. Although he got a bit of a late start compared to his contemporaries—his friend Zaccaria Trevisan, for example, had been elected an ambassador at the age of twenty-nine in 1443—Donà's fifteen-year career was quite full. He was involved with the negotiations in 1454 that were part of what is now called the Italian League. He was elected a *savio di terraferma* seven times in the 1450s and early 1460s, the time in which Venice was adjusting to the peace brought about by the Italian League. In 1463 he was sent to the duke of Burgundy in an attempt to secure troops for attacking the Turks, the threat that would consume so much of Venice's energy in the latter part of the fifteenth century. His last office was captain of Verona in 1465, the third time he had been elected a governor. Although his precise date of death is unknown, an entry for 14 September 1465 in *Maggior Consiglio Regina* (c. 59v) states that a new captain had to be elected due to Donà's death.

**Offices:**

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1451-52 | Ambassador to Marquis of Montferrat and Duke of Savoy (SS 19, cc. 76v-134r; ST 2, c. 203r-v; ST 3, cc. 24v, 49r, 66r) |
| 1452    | Ambassador to Rome (Comm. 14, c. 110r)  |
| 1454    | <i>Savio di Terraferma</i> (SM 5, cc. 35r-57r; ST 3, cc. 106v-126r; SGV 4, c. 148r; SS 20, cc. 16r-35v; 54v)          |

- 1454 Venetian representative in negotiating treaty between Venice, Milan and Florence (Comm. 14, c. 147r; Senato, Sindicati II, #132)<sup>398</sup>
- 1455-56 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147r; SM 5, cc. 119v; SS 20, cc. 70v-84r; ST 3, cc. 176r-192r; ST 4, c. 1r)
- 1456 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147r; SM 5, cc. 141r, 164v, 165v; SS 20, cc. 98r, 113r; ST 4, cc. 11v, 14r-v)
- 1457 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147v; SM 6, cc. 25r, 35r-v; SS 20, cc. 120v-132v; ST 4, cc. 35r-39v)
- 1457<sup>399</sup> Ambassador to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta and the Marquis of Ferrara (SS 20, c. 109r)
- 1458 *Podestà* of Vicenza (CXM 16, c. 16r; ST 4, c. 98v)
- 1459 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 6, cc. 135r-147r; ST 4, cc. 112r-128r; SS 20, cc. 187r-v, 196r)
- 1459-60 Council of Ten (CXM 15, cc. 189v-197r; CXM 16, cc. 1r-6r)
- 1460 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 6, cc. 173v-181v; SS 21, c. 9r; ST 4, cc. 139r-149r)
- 1460-62 Captain of Bergamo (CLN 10, c. 8r; ST 4, c. 163v; SS 21, cc. 35r-v, 123r)
- 1463 *Savio di Terraferma* (CLN 10, c. 167v; SM 7, cc. 127v, 128v, 138v; SS 21, cc. 177r, 200r-207v; ST 5, cc. 45v, 59r, 61r)
- 1463 Council of Ten (CXM 16, cc. 100r-105v)
- 1463-64 Ambassador to Burgundy (SS 21, cc. 213r-227r; SS 22, cc. 5v-10v; ST 5, cc. 62r, 63v)
- 1464 Ambassador to Bartolomeo Colleoni (CXM 16, cc. 132v-146v; SS 22, cc. 47v-53r)
- 1465 Ducal Councilor (CLN 10, c. 116v-122r; CXM 16, cc. 152r-163r; MC Regina, cc. 55v-57r; SM 8, cc. 15v, 21r; SS 22, cc. 66r, 72r; ST 5, cc. 110v-116r)
- 1465 Captain of Verona (MC Regina, c. 59v)

<sup>398</sup> King does not include this assignment, possibly because the signing of the treaty occurred in Venice itself.

<sup>399</sup> The Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti makes it clear that Donà was elected to this office on 22 January 1457, not in 1456 as listed by King and De Peppo, 1991 (although it was still 1456 by the Venetian calendar).

## Foscarini, Alvise

### Profile:

Son of Antonio Foscarini and Beruzia di Federigo Giustinian, Alvise Foscarini was born in 1409. Foscarini was an arts student at Padua in the late 1420s, receiving his doctorate in the same on 27 January 1429 (*Acta Graduum I*, #977). He continued at the university, studying law, taking a doctorate in *utroque iuris* on 22 August 1434 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1010). In the interim he had married Elisabetta di Andrea Zane in 1430 (Giomo, vol. 2, 490). Almost five decades later his wife would serve as a witness at the *Balla d'Oro* registration of her sister's son Benedetto Morosini, brother of Francesco Morosini (profiled *infra*).

Foscarini's career contains several features making him unique among the lawyers in this study. Within three years after completing his university studies, Foscarini was elected to serve on the Council of Ten in 1437. At the time he was not even thirty years old, making his election to this office truly unusual—perhaps a sign of his family's status in the Venetian patriciate, the high regard in which his skills were held, or some combination of the two. He would be elected a *savio grande* on seventeen occasions, more than twice the number of the next highest total among lawyers (seven, for Zaccaria Bembo). Foscarini also holds the record for lawyers elected as a Ducal Councilor, having been elected to that office on seven different occasions. Lastly, he was elected a territorial governor a total of nine times, with eight of the nine positions being in terraferma cities.<sup>400</sup> At the age of sixty-one he achieved the second highest honor in the Venetian state, being elected a procurator of Saint Mark, an honor held by only one other lawyer (Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio). Foscarini died a decade later, in 1480, though his record of public service comes to an end in 1476, serving with the Council of Ten, the same body he had begun his career with almost four decades prior.

### Offices:

- 1437 Council of Ten (CXM 11, cc. 152v-157v; CXM 12, cc. 2v-4r)
- 1438 *Podestà* of Ravenna (SGV 4, c. 61v)
- 1439-40<sup>401</sup> *Podestà* and captain of Feltre (Tagliaferri, 1973-79, vol. 2, liv)

<sup>400</sup> His election as castellan of Modone in 1442 is the only exception.

<sup>401</sup> King states that Foscarini served as *luogotenente* of Friuli in 1439, following his time in Feltre. However, Foscarini was in Feltre until the spring of 1440. Furthermore a list of governors of Friuli in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia does not list him serving in that role at that time. See *Luogotenente alla patria del Friuli*, ASV Misc. Codici vol. 153, 3.

- 1441-42 Ducal Councilor (CLN 7)
- 1442 Venetian representative for negotiations with the Patriarch of Aquileia<sup>402</sup> (Senato, Sindicati II, # 102)
- 1442 Castellan of Modone (SGV 4, c. 75; SM 2, cc. 69r-v, 71r)
- 1444-45 Ducal Councilor (King, 1986, 375)<sup>403</sup>
- 1445 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 1r-15v)
- 1445 Venetian representative for negotiations with the Patriarch of Aquileia (Comm. 13, c. 171r; Sindicati II, # 111)
- 1445 Venetian representative for negotiations with Bosnia (Comm. 13, c. 175v; Senato, Sindicati II, #112)
- 1445 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 73r-97r; v; SS 16, cc. 172v-222r; ST 1, cc. 154v-166r)
- 1445<sup>404</sup> *Podestà* of Vicenza (Tagliaferri, 1973-79, vol. 7, xxxv)
- 1445-46 Ambassador to Bologna (ST 1, cc. 173r, 174r, 174v; SS 16, c. 232v; SS 17, cc. 8v-34r)
- 1446 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, c. 171v; ST 1, cc. 186r, 199r; ST 2, c. 3r; SS 17, cc. 38v-63v)
- 1446 Ambassador to Milan (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 53)
- 1446-47 *Podestà* of Vicenza (SGV 4, c. 69v; Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 54)
- 1448 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, cc. 40v-60v; SS 17, cc. 195r-230r; SS 18, c. 1v; ST 2, cc. 53r-70v)
- 1448 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, cc. 76v-84v; CXM 13, cc. 99v-111r; MC Ursa, cc. 164r-166r; SM 3, cc. 75r-86v; SS 18, cc. 11v-63v; ST 2, cc. 72v-98v)
- 1449 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 13, c. 125r)
- 1449 *Savio di Terraferma* (CXM 13, c. 130v; SM 3, cc. 118r-135r; SS 18, cc. 80v-96v; ST 2, cc. 105v-114r)

<sup>402</sup> Neither this, nor the subsequent round of negotiations in 1445 are mentioned by King. It is possible the negotiations took place in Venice.

<sup>403</sup> King states that Foscarini is mentioned as a Ducal Councilor in Collegio Notatorio, reg. 8 and Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1. However, this study uncovered no specific references to Foscarini in this office in this period in these two registers.

<sup>404</sup> The sequence of offices held by Foscarini from 1445 to 1448 is somewhat confusing. Tagliaferri states that Foscarini was in Vicenza in 1445. However, Foscarini appeared regularly as a *savio di terraferma* from the end of April until the end of September, and was elected ambassador to Bologna in November, where he stayed until the middle of 1446. King states that Foscarini was elected *podestà* in 1446 (relying upon Agostini), but that he perhaps was delayed in taking up the office due to his mission to Milan that same year.

- 1449-50 Ambassador to Genoa (MC Ursa, c. 171r; SM 3, cc. 135r, 136r-v; SS 18, cc. 98r-166r; ST 2, c. 115r-v)
- 1450 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 145v; SM 3, cc. 191v-204r; SM 4, c. 3r; SS 18, cc. 183r-207v; SS 19, cc. 1v-9v; ST 2, cc. 140v-155r)
- 1450 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, c. 170v)
- 1450-51 *Podestà* of Verona (MC Ursa, c. 173v; ST 2, c. 151v)
- 1451-52 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 4, c. 108v; SS 19, cc. 113v-129r; ST 3, cc. 15r-22r)
- 1452 Council of Ten (CXM 14, cc. 97r-119r)
- 1452 *Proveditor* in Brescia (CXM 14, cc. 114r-116r)
- 1452 Ambassador to Gentile Leonessa<sup>405</sup> (SS 19, cc. 146r, 147v-148r)
- 1452 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 146v; SM 4, c. 113v; SS 19, cc. 131r-158r; ST 3, cc. 23r-38r)
- 1452-53 Ducal Councilor (CXM 14, cc. 132r, 149v; SS 19, cc. 158v-170v; ST3, cc. 41r-45v)
- 1453 *Savio Grande*<sup>406</sup> (King, 1986, 375)
- 1453-54 *Podestà* of Brescia (ST 3, c. 54r; SS 19, cc. 223r, 224v, 227v)
- 1454 Council of Ten (CXM 15, c. 27v)
- 1454-55 *Savio Grande* (Comm. 14, c. 168v; SGV 4, c. 148v; SM 4, cc. 62r, 63r, 64r; SS 20, cc. 37r-63r; ST 3, cc. 132r-144r)
- 1455 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Calixtus III (Comm. 14, c. 169v; CXM 15, cc. 24v, 39v; SS 20, cc. 59r-66r)
- 1455 Ambassador to Genoa (SM 5, cc. 101v-102r)
- 1455 Ducal Councilor (CLN 9, cc. 39r-v, 40; CXM 15, c. 34r; SM 5, c. 72v; SS 20, cc. 54v, 56v)
- 1455-56 *Avogador di Comun* (AC 3650; CLN 9, c. 78; CXM 15, cc. 71r-102r; SM 5, cc. 165v, 166r; ST 3, cc. 170v, 180v, 188r; ST 4, c. 3v)
- 1456-57 Captain of Verona (CLN 9, c. 87v)
- 1457-58 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 147v; SM 6, c. 49r; SS 20, cc. 140v, 146v ST 4, cc. 62r, 68v, 69r)

<sup>405</sup> This office was carried out at the same time as his service as a *proveditor* in the Bresciano, and is not listed separately by King.

<sup>406</sup> King states that Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 3 lists Foscarini in this office in 1453. However, this study uncovered no such references. Furthermore, in an entry dated from January 1453 Foscarini is stated to be *podestà* of Brescia. Letters from the Senate to Foscarini as *podestà* can also be found in December 1453, indicating that he served almost the entire year in that post. It therefore seems unlikely that he served as a *savio grande* in 1453.

- 1458-59 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 9, c. 160v; CXM 15, cc. 148v-181r; SM 6, cc. 89r, 96v, 145v; ST 4, cc. 72v-91v)
- 1459 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 15, c. 185r)
- 1459-60 Ambassador to the Diet of Mantua (CLN 9, c. 170v; CXM 15, c. 195v; SS 20, cc. 188r-208r)
- 1459-60 *Savio Grande* (SM 6, cc. 139r-181v; SS 21, c. 8v; ST 4, cc. 139r-144v)
- 1460 Council of Ten, *zonta* (3 times) (CXM 16, cc. 2v, 3v, 5v)
- 1460 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 16, cc. 10v-20r)
- 1461-62 *Luogotenente* of Friuli (CLN 10, c. 21r; CXM 16, c. 81r; ST 5, c. 4r)
- 1462 *Savio Grande*<sup>407</sup> (SM 7, c. 85v; SS 21, cc. 114v-132v)
- 1462-63 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 16, cc. 81r-105r; MC Regina, c. 42r)
- 1463-64 Ambassador to Rome (CXM 16, c. 110r; SM 7, c. 141r; SS 21, cc. 211r-231v; SS 22, cc. 3v-25v; ST 5, cc. 60v-88v)
- 1464 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Paul II (CLN 10, cc. 89r, 110v, 117v; CXM 16, c. 136v; SS 22, cc. 35r-49v)
- 1464 Council of Ten, *zonta* (twice) (CXM 16, cc. 132v, 136v)
- 1465 *Savio Grande* (SM 8, cc. 9v-11r; SS 22, cc. 57r-87v)
- 1465 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 16, c. 136v)
- 1465 Ambassador to Bartolomeo Colleoni (CXM 16, cc. 152v-165v; SS 22, cc. 86v-87r)
- 1465-66 Ducal Councilor (CLN 10, cc. 124v-138r; CXM 16, cc. 168v-189v; MC Regina, cc. 58r-62v; SM 8, cc. 34r-50v; SS 22, cc. 90r-132r; ST 5, cc. 123v-142v)
- 1466 *Savio Grande* (SS 22, cc. 164v-175r; ST 5, cc. 153r, 159r)
- 1466-67 *Podestà* of Padua (SGV 6, c. 52v; ST 5, c. 183v)
- 1468 *Savio Grande* (SS 23, cc. 94v-95r)<sup>408</sup>
- 1468 *Savio Grande* (SS 23, cc. 122r-152v; ST 6, cc. 26r-42r)
- 1468 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 17, c. 40v)

<sup>407</sup> This office is also not included in King's profile. Foscarini appears as a member of the *savi grandi* only for about two months, from early October until mid-December. He begins appearing as an *avogador di comun* as early as the second half of November. During his time as a *savio grande*, in late October, he was sent back to Friuli to take possession of a town ceded to Venice by the count of Gorizia. See Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 21, c. 119r and Senato, Sindicati vol. II, #140.

<sup>408</sup> These two entries both come from February 1468. Foscarini disappears from the lists of *savi grandi* until the end of June, when he is re-elected, and begins appearing regularly through December (see the next entry). Since he was clearly elected in June, and yet appeared in the office in February, I have broken these references out into two separate periods in the office, and thus differ from King, who lists only one period of office as a *savio grande* in 1468.



- 1468-69 Council of Ten (CXM 17, cc. 69r-84v)
- 1469 *Savio Grande* (SM 8, c. 199r; SM 9, cc. 8v, 15v; SS 23, c. 165r; SS 24, cc. 1r-56r; ST 6, cc. 49r-66v)
- 1469-70 *Savio Grande*<sup>409</sup> (ST 6, cc. 80r, 81v, 83v)
- 1470 Council of Ten, *zonta* (three times) (CXM 17, cc. 92v, 94v, 97r)
- 1470-71 Ambassador to Rome (CLN 11, cc. 68r, 69r; Comm. 16, cc. 19v, 35r; MC Regina, c. 93v; SS 24, cc. 81r, 99r-138v; Senato, Sindicati II, cc. 84r-88v; ST 6, c. 116v)
- 1471 Procurator of St. Mark's (SGV 6, c. 89; MC Regina, c. 93v)
- 1471 Council of Ten, *zonta* (four times) (CXM 17, cc. 103v-130v, 134r, 135v, 139r)
- 1471 Ambassador to Ferrara<sup>410†</sup> (SS 25, cc. 52v, 53r)
- 1471 Reviser of Ducal *Promissione* (MC Regina, c. 98r)
- 1471 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 102r)
- 1471-72 *Savio Grande* (SM 9, cc. 100v-110v; SS 25, cc. 30v-110r; ST 6, cc. 135r-151v)
- 1472 *Savio Grande* (CLN 11, cc. 117r, 128v; CXM 17, cc. 170r, 171r; SM 11, c. 148v; SS 25, cc. 143r-169r; ST 6, cc. 154v, 157v, 174)
- 1472 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 17, c. 178r)
- 1472-73 Council of Ten (CXM 17, cc. 146v, 169v; CXM 18, cc. 1v, 41r)
- 1473 *Savio Grande*<sup>†</sup> (SS 26, cc. 14v-33r)
- 1473 Council of Ten, *zonta* (twice) (CXM 18, cc. 13r, 15r)
- 1473 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 123v)
- 1474 *Savio Grande* (CLN 11, c. 172v; SS 26, cc. 58v-93; ST 7, cc. 32r, 39v)
- 1474 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 18, c. 58v)
- 1475 *Savio Grande*<sup>411†</sup> (SS 27, c. 29v)
- 1475 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 18, c. 126r)
- 1476 Council of Ten (CXM 18, c. 151v)

<sup>409</sup> Similar to 1468 (see n. 398), Foscarini appears to have served a short time as a *savio grande* from 20 December 1469 (when he is elected) until sometime in January 1470. This period of office is not recorded by King, again perhaps because of its short tenure, even though it is clearly separable from the previous entry.

<sup>410</sup> Foscarini and Andrea Vendramin were elected on 22 August, and the commission was passed on 27 August. No further mention of the mission is made in the records, making it possible that the mission was not carried out.

<sup>411</sup> This lone entry, from 28 August 1475, does not include the designation "doctor" after Foscarini's name, though there is no record of any other Alvise Foscarini active at the time.

## Lando, Vitale

### Profile:

Son of Marino Lando and Marina di Nicolo Baseggio, Vitale was born circa 1421 based on his presentation for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1439 (AC-BO 163/II, c. 294). Lando's family was well connected to the Church hierarchy in the fifteenth century. His great uncle Francesco Lando had been a cardinal, and an uncle, Marco Lando, served as Bishop of Castello. His aunt married into the Barbo family, making Vitale related (distantly, by marriage) to Paul II. Finally, Vitale's brother-in-law, Lorenzo Zane, held several ecclesiastical titles, including Patriarch of Antioch (1473) and Bishop of Brescia (1478-80). These connections would later figure prominently in Lando's downfall.

Lando probably began his university studies in the early to mid-1430s, in all likelihood at the University of Padua. He is first mentioned in that university's records on 15 December 1442 as a student in *utroque iuris* and a vicerector of the law college (*Acta Graduum I*, #1671). Just under three years later he was awarded both a doctor in *utroque iuris*, and an arts doctorate, on 6 and 7 September 1445 respectively (*Acta Graduum I*, # 1969 and 1970). Lando would not marry until 1451, marrying Elisabetta di Paolo Zane, who was the widow of Giacomo Contarini (Giomo, vol. 2, 491).

Lando's first major office was an ambassadorship to Siena in 1452, the second of three lawyers sent to that city following the signing of a defensive treaty in 1451.<sup>412</sup> The next few years would be spent as an ambassador, and, in 1456 Lando was elected a member of the *savi di terraferma* for the first of ten times. In the 1470s Lando rotated between the *savi grandi*, the Council of Ten and the ducal councilors. His career unraveled, however, in 1478, when it was revealed that someone had been passing the details of Venice's secret deliberations to Church officials. Lando confessed to being involved in the plot along with his brother-in-law, the Bishop of Brescia. He was subsequently deprived of all offices, and confined to Vicenza for ten years. King states that Lando died during this confinement, between 1482 and 1485, although Gullino's profile casts doubt on this assertion, preferring instead 1498.<sup>413</sup> Either way, Lando's trial put an end to what had been a solid career in service to the Republic.

<sup>412</sup> Zaccaria Bembo was one of the negotiators of the treaty in 1451. See p. 56 *supra*. Following Lando's return from Siena in 1454, Francesco Contarini was sent to Siena from 1454-55.

<sup>413</sup> Lando could not have died prior to the middle of 1483, when Marino Sanuto speaks of Lando as still being living when Sanuto visited Vicenza while traveling through the mainland state with his brother and the lawyer Giorgio Pisani, who were serving as syndics. See Sanuto, 1847, 109.

## Offices:

- 1452-54 Ambassador to Siena (SS 19, cc. 172r-216r; ST 3, cc. 37v-114r)
- 1455-56 Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 20, cc. 72v, 85v, 87v; ST 3, cc. 179v-188r)
- 1456-57 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147r; SM 5, cc. 182v-186v; SM 6, cc. 1r-25r; SS 20, cc. 113v-126r; ST 4, cc. 22r-39v)
- 1458 *Savio di Terraferma* (CXM 15, c. 160r; SM 6, cc. 80v-92r; SS 20, cc. 149v-156v; ST 4, cc. 71r-87r)
- 1459 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147v)<sup>414</sup>
- 1461 Ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor<sup>415</sup> (ST 4, cc. 163r, 165r; MC Regina, c. 29r; SS 21, cc. 36v-37r, 41v)
- 1461-62 *Podestà* and captain of Ravenna (CXM 16, cc. 45v, 46r, 110v; MC Regina, c. 29r; SGV 5, c. 7r; SM 7, c. 85v; ST 5, c. 23)
- 1463 *Savio di Terraferma* (CLN 10, c. 167v; SM 7, cc. 117r-143r; SS 21, cc. 148r-177r; ST 5, cc. 45r, 47r, 59r)
- 1463 *Proveditor* with the army at the siege of Trieste (SS 21, c. 191r)
- 1463 *Savio di Terraferma* (SS 21, cc. 206v-219r)
- 1464 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 7, cc. 175v-192r; SS 22, cc. 12v-40r; ST 5, cc. 77v-88r)
- 1464 Council of Ten (CXM 16, cc. 121v-135v)
- 1465 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 8, cc. 1r-30r; ST 5, cc. 106r-139r; SS 22, cc. 12v-40r)
- 1465-66 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 8, cc. 44r-59r; SS 22, cc. 122r-138r; ST 5, cc. 146v-151v)
- 1466 Ducal Councilor (CLN 10, cc. 145r-156v; CXM 16, cc. 196r-205v; CXM 17, cc. 1v, 2r, 4r; MC Regina, cc. 64v-67v; SM 8, cc. 82r-99r; SS 22, cc. 164r-182r; SS 23, cc. 1v-14v; ST 5, 156r-173r)
- 1467-68 Captain of Brescia (CXM 17, c. 34v; SGV 6, c. 93r; ST 5, c. 184v)
- 1468 Honorary ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor (as he passed through Italy on his way to Rome) (ST 6, c. 41v)
- 1468-69 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 11, cc. 41r, 46v; CXM 17, cc. 69r-88v; SGV 6, c. 9r; SM 9, cc. 5v, 10v; ST 6, c. 38r)

<sup>414</sup> This is his election to the office only. The absence of any other mentions of him holding this office at this time argues against him actually having served in this capacity, but any other activities of his during this year also remain unknown.

<sup>415</sup> King mistakenly refers to this mission as having been to the Pope, but the archival records and Gullino, 2004 indicate that the mission was to the Emperor instead.

- 1469-70 *Savio di Terraferma* (CXM 17, c. 94v; SS 24, cc. 74v-93r; ST 6, cc. 80r-96v)
- 1470 *Savio Grande* (CXM 17, c. 97r; SM 9, cc. 53v, 55r; SS 24, cc. 99r-132r)
- 1470-71 *Podestà of Verona* (SGV 6, c. 18v; ST 6, c. 103r)
- 1471 Ducal Elector (King, 1986, 385)<sup>416</sup>
- 1471 Council of Ten (King, 1986, 385)<sup>417</sup>
- 1472 Council of Ten, *zonta* (twice) (CXM 17, cc. 134r, 160v)
- 1472 *Savio Grande* (ST 6, c. 168)<sup>418</sup>
- 1472-73 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 11, cc. 142v, 155r, 168r; CXM 17, c. 168v; CXM 18, cc. 1v-13v; SGV 6, c. 9r; SM 10, c. 26v)
- 1473 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 123v)
- 1474 *Savio Grande* (SS 26, cc. 58v-110r; ST 7, cc. 29r-41r)
- 1474 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 145v)
- 1474-75 *Savio Grande* (CLN 11, c. 172v; SM 10, c. 37v; SS 27, cc. 5r, 6r; ST 7, cc. 56v-62v)
- 1475 Council of Ten, *zonta* (twice) (CXM 18, cc. 92v, 98v)
- 1475 Ambassador to Milan<sup>419</sup> (SS 26, cc. 166v-173v)
- 1475-76 *Luogotenente* of Friuli (CXM 18, c. 133v; SGV 6, c. 51v; ST 7, cc. 104r, 110r)
- 1476 *Savio Grande* (SM 10, c. 99r; SS 27, cc. 86r-112r; ST 7, cc. 124v, 145r)
- 1476-77 Council of Ten (CXM 18, cc. 170r, 173r, 185r; CXM 19, cc. 1r-25r)
- 1477 *Savio Grande* (CLN 12, c. 70v; SM 10, cc. 133r, 134v; SS 28, cc. 11r-46r; ST 7, cc. 160v, 176v, 187r)
- 1477 *Savio Grande* (SM 10, c. 148r; SS 28, cc. 59v-64r; ST 7, c. 187r) [Nov]
- 1478 Ducal Councilor (CLN 12, cc. 78v-83r; CXM 19, cc. 66r-81r; MC Regina, cc. 170r-180v; SM 10, cc. 161v-190v; SS 28, cc. 89r-95v; ST 8, cc. 2v-19v)

<sup>416</sup> I was unable to find any mention of Vitale Lando's name in the records for the election of Doge Nicolo Tron in 1471 in *Maggior Consiglio*, Regina.

<sup>417</sup> *Consiglio de Dieci, Deliberazioni Misti*, reg. 17, which King cites for this, does not, so far as I could ascertain, show Vitale Lando serving on the Council of Ten in 1471.

<sup>418</sup> King does not include this office in her profile. Since there is only this one reference to him having held the office, it is possible that he did not actually hold the office, or held it only temporarily.

<sup>419</sup> King incorrectly places this mission in 1473.

**Lippomano, Marco****Profile:**

Son of Pietro Lippomano, born c. 1390. Lippomano's birthdate is calculated largely based on his university career—he was awarded a license in arts in 1410 from Padua, and then doctoral degrees in arts and both canon law and civil law in 1417 (*Acta Graduum I*, # 135, 436, 437, 438 respectively). King notes that, in addition to Latin, Lippomano also knew Greek and Hebrew, and may have acquired some Arabic in his studies. He married Marina di Fantino da Pesaro in 1421 (Giomo, vol. 2, 219).

Lippomano's career spanned a crucial quarter-century in the history of Venice's expansion. His first office, as *podestà* and captain of Belluno in 1421 occurred as Venice had re-acquired that city from the Sigismund of Hungary during the city's war with the emperor-elect at the beginning of the decade. He served as a *savio di terraferma* throughout the 1420s and 1430s, a time of continued conflict with Milan. Lippomano would serve as a governor in several high profile positions (Zara, Verona, Crete, Padua, and Friuli) throughout his career, and was also sent on several important diplomatic missions to Rome and Milan. Although his date of death is unknown, he disappears abruptly from the government records in 1446, suggesting that he may have died sometime during that year.

**Offices:**

- 1421-22 *Podestà* and captain of Belluno (SMS 54, c. 44r)
- 1424 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 55, cc. 64r-77r; SS 8, cc. 174r-182v)
- 1425 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 55, cc. 110r-130v; SS 9, cc. 9v-20r)
- 1425 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 55, cc. 133r-177r; SS 9, cc. 23r-54r)
- 1425 Venetian representative for signing of anti-Visconti league with Florence (Comm. 11, c. 168r)
- 1426 *Savio di Terraferma*<sup>420</sup> (SMS 55, c. 183v; SMS 56, cc. 11v-21r; SS 9, cc. 118r-138r)
- 1427-28 Captain of Zara (SMS 56, c. 85v; SMS 57, c. 2v)

<sup>420</sup> King states that Lippomano was elected a *savio di terraferma* twice in 1426 and only once in 1425. However, elections are recorded for him only on 1 July, 1425 (Senato, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 55, c. 133r) and 2 January, 1426 (Senato, Deliberazioni Misti, reg. 55, c. 183v). Prior to the election on 1 July, he had been serving in the same office from the beginning of May until the end of June, indicating that he had been elected to two terms in 1425. However, his election for this term remains unrecorded. It is possible that a second election in 1426 was also unrecorded, since Lippomano does not appear as a *savio di terraferma* between late January and May 1426.

- 1429 Council of Ten (CXM 10, c. 118r)
- 1429-30 Ambassador to Florence and the pope (CXM 10, cc. 118v, 119r, 120v; MC Ursa, c. 80r; SS 11, cc. 39r-90v; Sindicati II, #34, 41)
- 1430 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, cc. 70v, 83v, 86v; CXM 11, c. 5r; SMS 57, cc. 213r-224v(bis))
- 1430 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 57, cc. 224v(bis), 230r, 244r; SMS 58, cc. 11v, 14r, 21v; SS 11, cc. 124v-154r)
- 1431 Ambassador *in obediencia* to Pope Eugenius IV (SS 11, cc. 170v-183v)
- 1431 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 58, cc. 67v-91v; SS 12, cc. 10r-42r)
- 1431 Council of Ten (CXM 11, cc. 22r-v, 23r-v)
- 1431-32 Captain of Verona (SMS 58, cc. 91r, 179r)
- 1433 Ambassador to Rome (SMS 58, c. 193r)
- 1433 Ducal Councilor (CLN 6, cc. 126r-129r; CXM 11, cc. 76r-82v; MC Ursa, cc. 94r-97v; SMS 58, cc. 217v-228v; SMS 59, cc. 1r-18r; SS 12, c. 177v; SS 13, cc. 8v, 18r)
- 1434 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 59, cc. 21r-55r; SS 13, cc. 36r-79r)
- 1434-35 *Proveditor* with the army (SS 13, cc. 108r, 109r)
- 1435-37 Duke of Candia (Crete) (SMS 59, c. 114v)
- 1438 *Savio di Terraferma* (SMS 60, cc. 49v-66; SS 14, cc. 87v-98r)
- 1438-40 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 12, cc. 14r-53r; SGV 4, c. 152r; SMS 60, cc. 90r-120r)
- 1440 *Podestà* of Padua (SGV 4, c. 57v)
- 1441 Ducal Councilor (CLN 7, cc. 31v-40v; CXM 12, cc. 84v, 85r, 89r; MC Ursa, cc. 130v-132v; QC 18, c. 9v; SGV 4, c. 92; SM 1, cc. 54v-69v; SS 15, cc. 92v, 104v; ST 1, cc. 32v-56v)
- 1442-43 *Savio Grande* (SM 1, cc. 143r-165v; SS 15, c. 160v; SS 16, cc. 2v, 4r, 4v; ST 1, cc. 83v-92r)
- 1443 *Luogotenente* of Friuli (SGV 4, c. 56v)
- 1444 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, cc. 15r-v, 16v; CXM 12, c. 163r; QC 18, cc. 63v-77v; SGV 4, c. 92v; SM 2, cc. 37v-58v; ST 1, c. 142r)
- 1444-45 Ambassador to Milan (MC Ursa, c. 152v; SS 16, cc. 131v-184r; ST 1, cc. 128r, 142v)
- 1445-46 *Savio Grande* (SM 2, cc. 87r-147r; SS 16, cc. 196r-234r; ST 1, cc. 157v-176r)
- 1445-46 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 16r-28r; SGV 4, c. 115v)

- 1446 *Savio Grande* (ST 1, c. 191r; SS 17, cc. 22r, 23r, 23v)
- 1446 *Savio Grande* (ST 1, c. 199r)
- 1446 Ambassador to Milan (SS 17, c. 12r-v)
- 1446 Ambassador to Michele Attendolo di Codignola (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 493)

## Marino, Giovanni

### Profile:

Son of Rosso Marino, born c. 1410. The exact year of Giovanni Marino's birth is hard to calculate with any great precision. There is no record of him being presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration, though his older brothers were presented during the years 1416-19. He was awarded the doctor of arts degree from Padua in October 1426 (*Acta Graduum I*, #670), and his doctorate in *utroque iuris* in 1435 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1083). Since the average age at which Venice's lawyers earned their law doctorates was roughly twenty-seven years, a 1410 birth would remain consistent with his known legal studies, though the award of an arts doctorate in 1426 may indicate a slightly earlier birth date.

In 1437 Marino married Elisabetta di Andrea Zulian (Giomo, vol. 2, 533). King mentions that the couple had at least two children: the *Balla d'Oro* registry records a son, Antonio, registered by Giovanni's brother Carlo in 1460, and Paolo Ramusio dedicated one of his books to Marco Marino, son of Giovanni.

Marino's brief career was dominated by ambassadorial missions. He was sent as a Venetian ambassador on six occasions in the first five years of holding major offices. In addition, he served twice as a member of the *savi di terraferma*, and was elected to be the rector at Canea, when he suddenly disappears from the records. It is quite possible that he died before he was able to assume this office, but there is no certain information regarding his date of death other than the previously mentioned 1460 *Balla d'Oro* registration of his son Antonio, which indicates that Giovanni was deceased at that point.

### Offices:

- 1441<sup>421</sup> Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 15, cc. 69v-87r; ST 1, cc. 8v-39v)

<sup>421</sup> King lists this mission as occurring in 1440. Marino was elected 8 January, 1441 according to Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 1, c. 8v, and letters to him can be found throughout much of 1441 in Senato,

- 1442 Venetian representative for negotiations with the patriarch of Aquileia<sup>422</sup> (Senato, Sindicati II, #102)
- 1442 *Podestà* of Rovigno<sup>423</sup> (SGV 5, c. 13v)
- 1442-43 *Podestà* and captain of Feltre (SGV 4, c. 56r)
- 1445 Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 16, c. 138r)
- 1445 Ambassador to Florence (SS 16, cc. 163v-219v; ST 1, cc. 154r-176v)
- 1445-46 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 111v-137v; SS 16, cc. 227v-247r; SS 17, cc. 3-9v; ST 1, cc. 167v-186v)
- 1446 Ambassador to Florence (Comm. 14, c. 1r; SS 17, cc. 15r-94r; ST 1, c. 191v)
- 1446-47 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, c. 188r; SM 3, c. 1v; SS 17, cc. 98v-142v; ST 2, cc. 14v-32r)
- 1447 Rector of Canea (CLN 8, c. 59v)

### Michiel, Angelo

#### Profile:

Son of Francesco Michiel, and Daria di Leone Corner (Barbaro, vol. 23, c. 130), Angelo was born c. 1414. He was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in December 1432 (AC-BO 163/II, c. 312). Angelo married Nicolosa di Giacomo Cocco in 1438 (Giomo, vol. 1, 229). Barbaro records three sons from the marriage, including Francesco, who was the father of Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (profiled *infra*). Angelo was a student of law at Padua from 1436 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1138), earning the doctorate in civil law on 14 April 1439 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1330).

Angelo Michiel is one of the handful of lawyers who had a largely unremarkable political career. The bulk of his political experience consisted of lower offices and the Senate. Towards the end of his life he was elected to one ambassadorship and two governorships, indicating that he had perhaps turned to politics on a more full time basis by his fifties, the pattern of the patriciate in general. Approximately a decade later, though, he disappears again from the records.

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Deliberazioni Secreti, reg. 15. There is no record of him having served in the office in 1440, except in the sense that the Venetian calendar did not start the new year until 1 March.

<sup>422</sup> See pp. 62-63 *supra*.

<sup>423</sup> Neither this office nor the next are listed in King's profile of Marino. However, this election occurred in April, and in August Marino was elected to be *podestà* and captain of Feltre. It seems unlikely that he would have served in both positions, and since independent evidence for Marino's time in Feltre exists (see Cambruzzi, 1874-77, vol. 1, 120-21) it seems unlikely that he actually served in Rovigno.



Angelo's date of death is unknown, although it must have occurred sometime after 31 May, 1478, the date of his will (AN, Cancellaria Inferior, Cassa B. 27, #2560). His will lists bequests in excess of 1,000 ducats, including one that gives his books and a stipend for his grandson Nicolo Michiel il Giovane to study at the University of Padua.

#### Offices:

- 1445-46 *Proveditor di Comun* (SGV 4, c. 29v; ST 1, c. 197v)
- 1452 *Ufficiali alle Rason Nuove* (SGV 4, c. 28v)
- 1455 Senate (SGV 4, c. 143r)
- 1456 Senate *Zonta* (CLN 9, c. 174r)
- 1457 Senate *Zonta* (CLN 9, c. 176r)
- 1466 Ambassador to Rome (CLN 10, c. 146r)
- 1469 *Podestà* and captain of Feltre (SGV 6, c. 43r)
- 1475-77 Captain of Vicenza (SGV 6, c. 58v; SM 10, c. 113v)

#### Michiel, Nicolo il Vecchio

##### Profile:

Son of Domenico Michiel and Elisabetta di Bernardo Marcello (Barbaro, vol. 21, c. 120), Nicolo was born either in 1439 or 1440.<sup>424</sup> He married Deia, daughter of Maffeo Contarini, in 1466 (Giomo, vol. 1, 257). Their wills reveal that they had at least three sons<sup>425</sup> and three daughters (Biblioteca Museo Correr, Mss. P.D.C. 2166/17, pt. II; Deia's will is located at cc. 1r-3r, Nicolo's, at 5r-v and 27r-30r). One of their sons, Maffeo, was imprisoned in Ferrara during the war of the League of Cambrai (cf. *I Diarii*, vol. XI, 543).

Michiel was a student of law at Padua from at least January 1465 (*Acta Graduum III*, #391) when he is first mentioned. However, since he was awarded the doctorate in *utroque iuris* on 2 December 1466 (*Acta Graduum III*, #574), he had in all likelihood been at Padua for some time prior to 1465.

Nicolo's career was paradigmatic of lawyers from the second half of the fifteenth century. Not long after completing his legal education, he was sent abroad almost

<sup>424</sup> *I Diarii*, vol. XXV, 428, says he was 78 when he died in 1518.

<sup>425</sup> Barbaro lists six sons for the couple, though at least one of the six, Pietro, is probably incorrectly attributed to Nicolo. Barbaro indicates that Pietro would have been alive in 1517-18 when Deia and Nicolo wrote their wills, but neither will mentions a son by this name.

continuously for two decades, primarily as an ambassador, though with some governorships interspersed among the diplomatic postings. After a quarter century almost exclusively in Venice's foreign service, he returned to the city to be a state attorney, and the next decade of his life saw him alternating some high profile diplomatic missions with service in high domestic elected offices. This culminated in him being elected a Procurator of St. Mark in 1500, a reward for his prosecution of the future doge Antonio Grimani. Following this, his career in high elective offices began to decline, particularly once the War of Cambrai started, and he spent his remaining years on *Zonte* of the Council of Ten and various other miscellaneous positions. He died at the age of 78 on 24 May 1518, and was buried in SS Giovane e Paolo.

#### Offices:

- 1468-70 Ambassador to Senj (SM 8, cc. 180v, 182v, 193r; SM 9, c. 24r, 26r; SS 24, cc. 8r-75r)
- 1469 Ambassador to Croatia (CLN 11, c. 43v; SM 8, c. 196; SM 9, cc. 1r(bis)-18v; SS 23, cc. 156v, 158v-159r)
- 1472 Count of Spalato (CXM 17, c. 170r-v; SGV 6, c. 73v426)
- 1476-78 Ambassador to King of Aragon (Comm. 16, cc. 123r, 133r, 134v; SM 10, cc. 100r-122r; SS 27, c. 112v; SS 28, cc. 17r-88v; ST 8, c. 30r)
- 1479-80 *Podestà* of Vicenza (SGV 6, c. 58)<sup>427</sup>
- 1481-82 *Bailo* and captain of Corfu (CXM 21, cc. 9-14v; SGV 5, c. 31; SGV 6, c. 78v; SM 11, c. 151r; SM 12, c. 58r)
- 1482 Ambassador to Robert of San Severino (ST 8, c. 150r)
- 1483 Ambassador to Duke René of Lorraine (SS 31, c. 37r; ST 9, c. 13v)
- 1486 Ambassador to Rome (SS 33, c. 39v; ST 9, c. 173r)
- 1486 Ambassador to Milan (CLN 13, c. 117r)
- 1487-89<sup>428</sup> *Consigliere di Cipro* (SGV 5, c. 38; SGV 6, c. 105)

<sup>426</sup> The *Segretario alle Voci* states that it was Nicolo q. Pietro who held this office. No other records of such a Nicolo exist. Furthermore, Sanuto states that this was Nicolo q. Domenico. See Sanuto, 1989, 79.

<sup>427</sup> The Conti della camera di Vicenza 1477-1481 shows Michiel drawing a salary as *podestà* of Vicenza through the latter part of September. See Governatori delle Pubbliche Entrate, b. 377. Michiel's salary for the year was paid in three installments totaling L.1784 S.12 D.27 (4 months was paid at L.833 S.6 D.8)

- 1490 Council of Ten (CXM 24, cc. 154r-182r)
- 1491-92 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 25, cc. 6r-86r, 126v; MC Stella, c. 107v; SGV 6, c. 135r; ST 11, cc. 93v, 100r-v)
- 1492-93 Ambassador to Naples (CLN 14, c. 51v; SS 34, cc. 110r-175v; ST 11, c. 107r; ST 12, c. 16v)
- 1493-94 Captain of Brescia (CXM 26, cc. 44v, 62r, 63v; MC Stella, c. 128v; SGV 8, c. 50v; SGV 6, c. 93r)
- 1495-96 Council of Ten (CLN 14, c. 127v; CXM 26, cc. 184v-189v; CXM 27, cc. 4r-16v; SGV 9, c. 8r)
- 1496-97 Ambassador to Rome (Comm. 18, cc. 86r, 87r, 98r; CXM 27, cc. 6r, 16v, 70v; MC Stella, c. 146v; SS 35, cc. 222v; SS 36, cc. 17v, 111v; ST 12, c. 136v)
- 1497-98 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 27, cc. 134r-168v; MC Stella, c. 146v; SGV 6, c. 135r; SGV 7, c. 2v; ST 13, cc. 29v-46)
- 1498-99 Ambassador to France (Comm. 18, cc. 122v, 139r; CXM 27, cc. 197v-198r; CLN 15, c. 2r; MC Stella, c. 164; SS 37, cc. 12v-128r)
- 1499 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 28, c. 11v)
- 1499-1500 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 15, c. 34v; CXM 28, cc. 17r-87v; MC Stella, cc. 164v-182r; SGV 6, c. 135r; SGV 7, c. 2v; ST 13, cc. 98v-120r)
- 1500 Procurator of St. Mark's (SGV 6, c. 88v)
- 1500 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 28, cc. 98v, 109r, 151r)
- 1501 *Savio Grande* (SM 15, c. 100r-v; SS 38, cc. 171r-174; ST 14, c. 56v)
- 1501 Ducal Elector (MC. Stella, c. 187v)
- 1501 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 28, c. 194v)
- 1503 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 29, c. 186v)
- 1504 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 30, c. 95v)
- 1504 *Savio Grande* (SS 40, cc. 44v-58v; ST 15, cc. 28v-36r)
- 1505 Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 40, c. 77v)
- 1507 *Savio Grande* (SM 16, cc. 153r-158v; SS 41, cc. 31r-41r; ST 15, cc. 166r, 168r, 171v)
- 1512-13 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XIII, 440)
- 1513-14 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XVI, 341)

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<sup>428</sup> Michiel took part in a public ceremony in 1489 whereby the Queen of Cyprus handed control of the island over to Venice. See Hill, George. 1940-52. *A History of Cyprus*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. III, 748.

- 1514-15 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XIX, 106)
- 1515-16 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXI, 195)
- 1516-17 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXIII, 6)
- 1517-18 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXV, 9)

## Michiel, Nicolo il Giovane

### Profile:

Son of Francesco Michiel and Maria, daughter of Nicolo Contarini, born c. 1467. Grandson of Angelo Michiel (see profile *supra*). Nicolo was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 2 December 1485 by Girolamo Bon and a member of the Malipiero family (AC-BO 164/III, c. 240). He was a student of law at Padua from at least 1488 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #1291), receiving his doctorate in *utroque iuris* on 26 August 1493 (*Acta Graduum IV*, # 1677). In 1495 he married Cecilia Dandolo, daughter of Andrea, the sister of Marco Dandolo (for whom, see profile *supra*). They had three sons according to Barbaro. According to Sanuto, he was one of the 220 patricians who died in 1528 (*I Diarii*, vol. XLIX, 515).

The beginnings of Nicolo di Francesco's career are obscured because of the existence of Nicolo di Domenico (profiled *supra*). The *Segretario alle Voci* records the father's name in several instances, but in the absence of that, the records simply say "Nicolo Michiel, doctor." Nicolo di Domenico was also referred to as "doctor et eques" beginning in 1495, and then, following his elevation to the procuratorship in 1500, he invariably appears with the title of procurator. The offices list below has been compiled with these caveats in mind.

### Offices:

- 1501 Ambassador to Ferrara (ST 14, c. 58v)
- 1509 Senate (SGV 9, c. 13r)
- 1511 Senate (SGV 9, cc. 16r, 17v)
- 1512 Senate (SGV 9, c. 18v)
- 1513 Senate (SGV 9, c. 20r)
- 1514-16 *Consigliere di Cipro* (SGV 8, c. 106v; *I Diarii*, vol. XIX, 71)
- 1517 Senate (SGV 9, c. 26v)

- 1518-19 *Avogador di Comun* (SGV 7, c. 21r; *I Diarii*, vol. XXV, 353)  
 1520 Senate (SGV 9, c. 31r)  
 1525-26 Captain of Bergamo (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXVIII, 145)  
 1526-27 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XLIII, 17)

## Molin, Giacomo

### Profile:

Son of Girolamo Molin and Teologia daughter of Giacomo Zane<sup>429</sup> (Barbaro, vol. 21, c. 221), Giacomo was born c. 1440. He was distantly related to Pietro Molin (profiled *infra*). On 1 December 1458 he was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration by his father (AC-BO 163/II, c. 346). In 1473 Giacomo married Chiara, daughter of Francesco Erizzo (Giomo, vol. 2, c. 436). According to Barbaro, the couple had one son, Pietro.

Giacomo first appears in Padua as a student of civil law in 1465 (*Acta Graduum III*, # 398). In the ensuing years he apparently developed a friendship with other Venetian patricians who were studying law in Padua, including Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo and Girolamo Contarini.<sup>430</sup> Molin himself was awarded the doctorate in civil law on 6 April 1471 (*Acta Graduum IV*, # 17).

Although his career started out normally enough, with low offices in the early and mid-1490s, at the end of that decade, Giacomo was given his first major post—Captain of Zara. Like many of the other lawyers in this study, he was a governor of a city that was in trouble. His tenure as Count coincided with the Turkish War of 1499-1501, which saw multiple attempted invasions of the city by the Turkish army. Following his return in 1501, he was elected to the *Collegio dei Dieci Savi del Corpo del Senato* (*I Diarii*, vol. IV, 869), and that is the last known mention of him. Barbaro indicates that he died sometime in 1503, although the source for this date is unknown—there are no extant wills for either Giacomo or his wife.

<sup>429</sup> Capellari Vivaro vol. 3, c. 110r states that Molin's mother was instead a daughter of Filippo Corner.

<sup>430</sup> Molin appeared as a witness with these two men for others' doctorates in 1465 (*Acta Graduum III*, #417) and 1468 (*Acta Graduum III*, #792), then, in 1470 appeared as a witness at their doctorates (for the archival references for these doctorates, see the lawyers' respective profiles in this section). In addition, he served as a witness to the doctorate of Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio in 1466 (*Acta Graduum III*, #574).

## Offices:

- 1472      *Auditori Nuovi* (SGV 6, c. 11r)
- 1493      *Ufficiali al Rason Vecchie* (SGV 6, c. 126v; SGV 7, c. 41v)
- 1496      *Senate Zonta* (SGV 9, c. 9v)
- 1497      *Proveditor of Rovigo* (CLN 14, c. 151v; *I Diarii*, vol. I, 799)
- 1498-1501 Captain of Zara (CXM 28, c. 174v; SS 38, cc. 107v-108r; ST 13, cc. 91r-v; SGV 6, c. 71r; SGV 8, c. 76r)
- 1502-03   *Senate Zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. IV, 869)

**Molin, Pietro**

## Profile:

Son of Giovanni Molin, whom Barbaro also calls “dottore”, Pietro was probably born c. 1430. Not much information regarding his date of birth exists, thus the year given is based on other facts known about him: his university career in the 1450s and marriage in 1464 to a daughter of Antonio di Stefano Quirini. Molin was also a distant cousin of Giacomo Molin, profiled *supra*.<sup>431</sup>

Pietro Molin’s university career is similarly shrouded in mystery. The Venetian governmental records refer to him as a doctor, indicating that he held at least one doctoral degree. On 6 November 1462 the Venetian Senate discussed his salary as a professor of law at the University of Padua, a week later raising it from ten to fifty ducats. It would be unusual, to say the least, for the University to have hired someone who did not hold a doctoral degree in the field in which he taught. Molin also held a doctor of arts degree, as he appears with that title on a few occasions in the Padua records (cf. *Acta Graduum III*, #40). He was granted the license in arts on 8 January 1456 (*Acta Graduum II*, #405).<sup>432</sup> Presumably these degrees were awarded by the University of Padua, though the *Acta Graduum* do not record the conferral of any degrees on a Pietro di Giovanni Molin.

The lack of concrete details also creates difficulties in reconstructing fully his career. As King notes in her profile of Pietro Molin, the records reveal a handful of homonyms active in the latter part of the fifteenth century. As did King, I have reconstructed Molin’s

<sup>431</sup> King, 1986, 403 provides a more detailed description of the evidence for Molin’s date of birth.

<sup>432</sup> To confuse matters further, *Acta Graduum II*, #107 states that a Pietro Molin was awarded the doctorate in arts on 31 January 1452. No father’s name is given, making an authoritative identification of this Pietro Molin difficult, if not impossible.

career only using those offices to which the title “doctor” was added to the holder’s name, as there is no evidence for the existence of any other Pietro Molin holding this title.

King states that the last known office for Molin was as *provisor salis*, to which he was elected in August 1482 according to SGV 6, c. 48v. However, the Senate records show Molin, along with fellow lawyer Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, being replaced as ambassadors to the Duke of Lorraine on 7 July 1483. Presumably Molin was either still alive, or recently deceased at that point.<sup>433</sup> After that date though, there are no further mentions of Pietro Molin, doctor, in the government records, leaving his death, like the rest of his life, subject to speculation.

What can be known from the records is that Molin served on a number of different diplomatic missions, mostly inside Italy, but also to Croatia during the Venetian war with the Turks during the 1470s. In addition, he served as a governor on at least two occasions, in Belluno in 1469 and Capodistria in 1473 (following his service as a *proveditor* in the region).<sup>434</sup> For someone who was clearly involved in Venetian politics for close to two decades, however, his legislative involvement was non-existent, an unusual feature.

#### Offices:

- 1464      Ambassador to the Roman Curia (ST 5, c. 71r)
- 1465      *Podestà* or Captain of Verona (King, 1986, 404)
- 1465-66   Ambassador to Duke Stefano of Santa Sava (MC Regina, c. 62r; SM 8, c. 46r; SS 22, c. 138r)
- 1468      Ambassador to Milan (ST 6, c. 25r)
- 1468      Honorary ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor (ST 6, c. 42r; SS 23, c. 147r-v)
- 1469      *Podestà* and captain of Belluno (SGV 6, c. 45)
- 1470      Ambassador to wedding of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Bona, daughter of Amedeo, Duke of Savoy (Sanuto, 2004, vol. 2, 112)
- 1472      *Proveditor* in Istria & ambassador to Croatia (SS 25, cc. 144v, 158v)

<sup>433</sup> See Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 9, c. 13v. The entry does not mention that Molin is deceased, I simply raise that as a possible reason for why he might have been replaced.

<sup>434</sup> King discusses evidence that Molin was a rector of Verona sometime in 1465, citing a May 1 letter from Alvise Foscari to Pietro Molin to that effect. If so, the assignment had to have been a temporary one. Molin was elected ambassador to Duke Stefano of Santa Sava on 25 November 1465 according to Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, reg. 8, c. 46r. Marco Donà had been elected captain of the city the same year, dying sometime before 14 September.

- 1473-75 *Podestà* and captain of Capodistria (SGV 5, c. 10r; SGV 6, c. 63r; SM 10, c. 58; SS 26, c. 9r-v)
- 1476-77 Ambassador to Florence (SS 27, cc. 46r-127v; SS 28, cc. 7r-32r; ST 7, c. 109v)
- 1482 Ambassador to Robert of San Severino (ST 8, c. 150r)<sup>435</sup>
- 1483 Ambassador to Duke René of Lorraine (ST 9, c. 13v)

### **Morosini, Barbone**

#### **Profile:**

Son of Barbone Morosini, the younger Barbone was born c. 1414 based on his *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1432 (AC-BO 163/II c. 302). In 1434 he first appears in the records of the University of Padua at Nicolo da Canal's licensure in arts (*Acta Graduum I*, #972). In all likelihood, however, he had already been there for some time since, two weeks later, Morosini himself was awarded his doctorate in arts on 26 January (*Acta Graduum I*, #977). His degree conferral was witnessed by fellow future lawyers Marco Donà, Alvise Foscari and Giovanni Marino. Morosini stayed on in Padua, studying law, first as a student only of civil law, but switching to both laws by 1440. It was during this time that he married Suordamor di Giovanni Molin (in 1441 according to Giomo, vol. 2, 121). He finished his education in 1442 when he was awarded his doctorate in *utroque iuris* on 19 August 1442 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1645).

Like most of the lawyers in this study, Barbone Morosini's career began with a mission as a Venetian ambassador. Morosini was one of three different lawyers sent to Bologna during the years 1445-47 as the Bentivoglio family was reasserting control over that city. In 1451 he and Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane were elected to negotiate with the Patriarch of Aquileia, the result of which was the transfer of the patriarchate of Grado to Venice. Morosini was sent to Naples in 1452 following the signing of an alliance between Venice and Naples against Florence and Milan. Following this assignment he was captain of Verona during the conflict surrounding Francesco Sforza's rise to power in Milan. His final office was *podestà* of Bergamo in 1457, and he died while in this office.

<sup>435</sup> King does not include either this or the following mission in her profile. The records clearly indicate, however, that the Pietro Molin elected held a doctorate, including the title of "doctor" with his name in both instances.



## Offices:

- 1446-47 Ambassador to Bologna (SS 17, cc. 33r-96r; ST 1, c. 190v; ST 2, cc. 14r, 20r)
- 1448 Ambassador to Florence (ST 2, c. 85v)
- 1450 Ambassador to Ferrara<sup>†</sup> (SS 19, cc. 10v, 11r-v, 16r)
- 1450 Count of Trau (SGV 4, c. 80r)
- 1451 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 146r; SM 4, cc. 48v, 75v; SS 19, cc. 51r-80v; ST 2, cc. 180v-202r;)
- 1451 Ambassador to Aquileia<sup>436</sup> (Comm. 14, c. 98v)
- 1451-52 Council of Ten (CXM 14, cc. 80r-118r; SGV 4, c. 130r)
- 1452 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 148r; SM 4, c. 135v; SS 19, cc. 131r-151v; ST 3, cc. 23r-32v)
- 1452-53 Ambassador to Naples (CXM 14, cc. 117r, 125r, 168r; SM 4, cc. 131r-161v; SS 19, cc. 157r-198r)
- 1453-54 Captain of Verona (SGV 4, c. 62v; Tagliaferri, 1973-79, vol. IX, lxxxi)
- 1455 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147r; SM 5, cc. 119r, 123r; SS 20, cc. 70v-81v; ST 3, cc. 176r-187v)
- 1455-56 Ambassador to Rome (Comm. 15, c. 33r; CXM 15, cc. 80v, 93r; SS 20, cc. 75r-96r; ST 3, cc. 187v-190r; ST 4, cc. 2v, 16r;)
- 1457-58 *Podestà* of Bergamo (CLN 9, c. 93v; ST 4, c. 61v)

**Morosini, Francesco**

## Profile:

Son of Roberto Morosini and Francesca, daughter of Andrea Zane (Barbaro, vol. 23, c. 335), Francesco was born c. 1456. He was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 27 November 1474 by his uncle Marino Morosini and Girolamo Corner (AC-BO 164/III c. 219v). His younger brother, Benedetto, was presented in 1479 by Elisabeta Foscarini, wife of Alvise Foscarini, profiled *supra*, and sister of Francesco and Benedetto's mother Francesca (AC-BO 164/III c. 219v). Barbaro indicates that Francesco married twice, both to fellow members of the Morosini house, the first being a daughter of Paolo Morosini in 1484

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<sup>436</sup> This event took place while Morosini was serving as a *savio di terraferma* and the negotiations may have taken place in Venice itself. This perhaps explains why King did not include it as a separate office in her profile of Morosini.

and the second a daughter of Alvise Morosini in 1502. Francesco's will, dated 13 April 1504 lists only two children, both daughters, among his beneficiaries (AN Testamenti, Atti Cristoforo Rizzo B. 1227 #127; B. 1229 #144).

Francesco is first mentioned in the University of Padua records in 1473 as a student of civil law, when he served as a witness alongside fellow future lawyer Giorgio Pisani (*Acta Graduum IV*, #180). By 1481 he was listed as a student of *utroque iuris* (*Acta Graduum IV*, #713), and he was awarded the doctor in *utroque iuris* on 13 May 1484 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #907).

Morosini's career in significant offices did not begin in earnest until he was approximately forty years old, when he was elected ordinary ambassador to Naples. He served in two other diplomatic posts in his forties, and then was finally elected as an *avogador* in his early fifties. Unfortunately, his blossoming career came to an untimely end soon after. Sanuto records that both Francesco and his wife died within just a few days of each other in August 1508 (*I Diarii*, vol. VII, 605).

#### Offices:

- 1486      *Auditori Nuovi* (SGV 6, c. 116r)
- 1498-1500 Ambassador to Naples (CXM 27, c. 208; SS 36, c. 179r; ST 13, cc. 49r, 58v, 64r)
- 1502      Ambassador to Ferrara (*I Diarii*, vol. IV, 193; SS 38, c. 188r)
- 1504-06   Ambassador to France (SS 39, c. 102v; SS 40, c. 8r; SS 41, c. 137v; ST 14, c. 186r; ST 15, cc. 1v, 8r, 48v; CXM 30, cc. 39v, 228r)
- 1507-08   *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 16, c. 4v; CXM 31, cc. 196r-229r; CXM 32, c. 56v; MC Deda, c. 34v; SGV 7, c. 3r; ST 15, cc. 168v, 186r)

#### **Pasqualigo, Giovanni Francesco**

##### Profile:

Son of Alvise Pasqualigo and Elisabetta di Vielmo Marcanova (Barbaro, vol. 22, c. 21), born c. 1444. Giovanni Francesco was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 12 December 1463 by his father (AC-BO 164/III c. 286) making him between 18 and 24 at that point. Because he was a ducal elector in 1474, a position restricted to patricians at least 30 years of age, Pasqualigo was born no later than 1444. He married Laura, daughter of Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (profiled *infra*) in 1466 and Lucia, daughter of Luca Navagero

in 1472. Neither marriage produced any children according to Barbaro and Capellari Vivaro (Capellari Vivaro, vol. 3, c. 193v).

Giovanni Francesco appears in the records of the University of Padua as early as 1461, although his precise status is not listed (*Acta Graduum III*, #40). He is first recorded as a student of civil law in 1465, when he served as a witness alongside fellow future lawyer Girolamo Contarini (*Acta Graduum III*, #466). He was subsequently awarded the doctorate in civil law on 8 June 1470 (*Acta Graduum III*, #953).

Like most of his contemporaries in the second half of the fifteenth century, Giovanni Francesco spent his first years in minor offices in Venice, followed by another decade-plus on diplomatic missions and governorships before he was elected to his first major domestic office (*savio di terraferma*) in 1493. This second phase of his career saw him serve in a mixture of high domestic offices (e.g. *avogador di comun*, the Council of Ten) and important foreign postings (*visdomino* of Ferrara 1494, Captain of Brescia in 1498). In May of 1503 he was given leave to be absent from the Council of Ten in order to recuperate from an illness. Later that summer he was an unsuccessful candidate for Procurator of Saint Mark's, and the last mention we have of him is as a captain of the Ten for the month of September. Given that he appeared regularly throughout the records up until this time, his abrupt departure from them argues for a death date in late 1503 or shortly thereafter.

#### Offices:

- 1477      Ambassador to Galeotto Manfredi, lord of Faenza (SS 28, c. 69r-v)
- 1478      Ambassador to Mantua (ST 8, cc. 14r, 16r)
- 1480      Ambassador to Genoa (Comm. 16, c. 116r; SM 11, cc. 78r, 105r; SS 29, cc. 71v-119r)
- 1482-83   Ambassador to Genoa (SM 11, cc. 150v, 154v; SM 12, c. 19v; SS 30, cc. 118v-170r; SS 31, cc. 9r-135r; ST 8, c. 169v)
- 1483-84   *Podestà* and captain of Feltre (SGV 6, c. 43; MC Stella, c. 31r)
- 1484      Ambassador to Genoa (SS 32, cc. 30v-105v)
- 1487      Count of Zara (CXM 24, c. 193r; SGV 5, c. 19r; SGV 6, c. 70v)
- 1491-92   Ambassador to Milan (CLN 14, c. 33r; Comm. 17, c. 141v; ST 11, cc. 56r-115v)
- 1493      *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 14, cc. 16r-18v; SS 34, cc. 158r-180v; ST 12, cc. 14r, 14v, 15)
- 1493      Ambassador to Mantua (SS 34, c. 153v)

- 1493-94 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 26, cc. 29v-91v; SGV 6, c. 135r; ST 12, cc. 20v-50v; Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 525)
- 1494 Negotiator with *condottiere* Ruggero Accrocciamuro (SS 34, c. 208v)
- 1494-96 Visdomino of Ferrara (CXM 26, c. 189v; CXM 27, c. 1v; SGV 8, c. 5r; SGV 6, c. 17v)
- 1496 *Savio di Terraferma* (SS 36, cc. 51r-83r; ST 12, c. 170r)
- 1497-98 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 27, cc. 83v-159v; SGV 6, c. 135r; SGV 7, c. 2v; SM 14, c. 118r; ST 12, c. 200v; ST 13, cc. 10r-39v)
- 1498-99 Captain of Brescia (CXM 28, cc. 2r-22v; SGV 8, c. 50v; SGV 6, c. 93; ST 14, c. 72v)
- 1500 *Savio di Terraferma* (SS 37, c. 189r; *I Diarii*, vol. 3, 99)
- 1502-03 Council of Ten (CXM 29, cc. 113v-193v)

### Pisani, Giorgio

#### Profile:

Son of Giovanni di Nicolo Pisani, and Franceschina di Francesco Corner (Barbaro, vol. 22, c. 129), Giorgio was born c. 1452. He was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration on 2 October 1470 (AC-BO 164/III c. 82v). His mother was a sister of Maria Corner, the mother of Girolamo Contarini, making the two lawyers cousins. His brother Domenico was married to a daughter of Doge Agostino Barbarigo. No marriages or children are recorded for Giorgio by either Barbaro or Capellari.

Giorgio first appears in the Padua records, without any designation, in 1471 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #61). He was an arts student from at least 31 May 1473 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #175), and a law student from August 1473 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #203). Giorgio received his arts doctorate on 14 December 1474 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #301) and finally his doctor of both laws on 14 March 1481 (*Acta Graduum IV*, #713).

Within a year of completing his university studies, Giorgio was elected to his first office, as a member of the *Auditori Vecchi* in March 1482 (SGV 6, c. 107r). During his time in this office he accompanied Marco Sanuto, along with Sanuto's cousin Marino, who wrote his *Itinerario* based on the journey.<sup>437</sup> Pisani then spent the next decade being sent on various diplomatic missions, as well as a governorship of Chioggia. In the decade leading up to the

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<sup>437</sup> Sanuto, 1847.

War of the League of Cambrai, Giorgio held important posts both inside the city of Venice (*savio di terraferma* and *avogador di comun*) as well as external to the city (ambassador to the King of Spain in Naples in 1506-07). He was sent by Venice in 1508 on an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade Pope Julius II from going to war against the Republic, and spent the last fifteen years of his life holding some of the highest offices in the Republic (the Council of Ten, ducal councilor, and *savio grande*). Sanuto records that Pisani died on 21 December 1524 (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXVII, 346), leaving a moderate fortune (see discussion of his will, *supra* pp. 23-25).

#### Offices:

- 1484-85 Ambassador to Genoa (SM 12, c. 30r; SS 32, cc. 104v-105r)
- 1490 Ambassador to Mantua (ST 10, c. 188r)
- 1492 Ambassador to Spain (SS 34, c. 110v)
- 1493 Ambassador to Ferrara (SS 34, c. 162v)
- 1493-94 Ambassador to Milan (CXM 26, c. 52r; SS 34, cc. 183v-213v; SS 35, cc. 18v, 21r, 48r; ST 12, cc. 18r, 26r)
- 1497-98 Ambassador to Maximilian I, King of the Romans (CXM 27, cc. 95v-208v; SS 36, cc. 85r-141v; SS 37, c. 11v; ST 12, c. 181r)
- 1499-00 *Podestà* of Chioggia (SGV 8, c. 2v; SGV 6, c. 7v; SS 37, c. 96r; capo del Consiglio dei Dieci lettere de rettore, B. 73, #151-152)
- 1501 Ambassador to Hungary (CLN 15, c. 29r; CXM 28, c. 134v; CXM 29, c. 17r; Comm. 18, cc. 157r-170r; Senato, Sindicati II, #191; SS 38, cc. 88v-144r)
- 1502 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 15, c. 149v; SS 39, cc. 49r-58r; ST 15, cc. 88r-110r)
- 1502 Council of Ten, *zonta* (elected twice) (CXM 29, cc. 124v, 131r)
- 1503-04 Captain of Bergamo (SGV 8, c. 57r)
- 1504-06 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 30, cc. 116r, 121r; SGV 7, c. 3r; SM 16, c. 63r; ST 15, c. 54r-v)
- 1506 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, cc. 93v-107v; SS 40, cc. 134v-163r; ST 15, cc. 88r-110r)
- 1506 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, cc. 119r-120v; SS 40, cc. 186r-196r; ST 15, cc. 126r-132r)

- 1506-07 Ambassador to Naples (CLN 16, c. 10r; CXM 31, c. 81r-v; SS 40, cc. 188v, 200r-v; SS 41, cc. 38r-v, 109v, 110v; ST 15, c. 151r; Agostini, 1752-54, vol. II, 286)
- 1507 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 16, cc. 152v-160v; SS 41, cc. 31r-44r; ST 15, cc. 166r-175r)
- 1508 *Savio di Terraferma* (CXM 31, c. 229r; SM 17, cc. 1v-32v; SS 41, cc. 74v-123r; ST 15, c. 195r-v; ST 16, cc. 1v-48v)
- 1508-09 Ambassador to Rome (CXM 32, cc. 61r-v, 158r; ST 16, c. 39r)
- 1510 *Savio di Terraferma* (*I Diarii*, vol. XI, 348)
- 1510 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XI, 483)
- 1511 Ducal Councilor (SGV 7, c. 28r; *I Diarii*, vol. XI, 784 and vol. XII)
- 1512-13 Council of Ten (SGV 9, c. 18r; *I Diarii*, vol. XV, 136; vol. XVI and XVII)
- 1513 Ambassador (*in obedientia*) to the Pope (Capellari Vivaro, vol. 3, c. 218r)
- 1513-14 Ducal Councilor (*I Diarii*, vol. XVII, 109; vol. XVII, XIX)
- 1515 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XX, 222)
- 1518 Council of Ten (SGV 9, c. 27v; *I Diarii*, vol. XXVI, 16)
- 1518-19 *Savio Grande* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXVI, 88-490)
- 1520-21 Council of Ten (SGV 9, c. 30v; *I Diarii*, vol. XXIX, 217; vol. XXX)
- 1521 Corrector of ducal *promissione* (MC Deda, c. 180r; *I Diarii*, vol. XXX, 407)
- 1521 *Savio Grande* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXX, 378; vol. XXXI)
- 1521 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXII, 7)
- 1522 Ducal Councilor (SGV 7, c. 29v)
- 1523 Council of Ten (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXV, 36)
- 1523-24 *Savio Grande* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXV, 304; vol. XXXVI)
- 1524 Council of Ten, *zonta* (*I Diarii*, vol. XXXVII, 42)

### Trevisan, Zaccaria il Vecchio

#### Profile:

Son of Giovanni Trevisan, the elder Zaccaria was born sometime around 1370. His family was ennobled in 1381 as being one of the contributors to the war effort in the War of Chioggia. Although he began his education at the university of Padua in 1389, he had completed his studies at what was then the more prestigious university of Bologna, earning his doctorate in *utroque iuris* by 1394 when that university's records show him embarked on

a teaching career.<sup>438</sup> In 1395 he married Caterina di Giovanni Marcello. Their son, Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, also became a lawyer and is profiled *infra*.

Trevisan's career, although it spanned the relatively short period of roughly fifteen years, was filled with important actions carried out on behalf of the Republic, particularly in the areas of territory acquisition and consolidation. Trevisan helped negotiate the sale of Corfu from Ladislaus, King of Naples and Hungary, in 1402. He was one of Venice's many *proveditori* in the conflict that added Padua to Venetian territory, and he consequently served as the city's first captain from 1405-07. He then went on to help consolidate Venetian control over newly acquired Verona in 1408, and upon completion of his office of *podestà* of that city in 1409, he was shortly thereafter elected the first Count of Zara. Following this Trevisan served as *proveditor* again, this time at the siege of Sebenico in Dalmatia, helping to firm up Venetian holdings in that region. Finally, he returned to Padua for his second time as a captain, dying in that office shortly before his son's birth. In total, Trevisan was elected to almost twenty different offices in just over a decade of service to the Republic, an impressive total, especially given the high profile that many of these missions had.

#### Offices:

1398-99 *Podestà* of Florence<sup>439</sup>

1399-1400 Senator of Rome<sup>440</sup>

1400 Papal ambassador to Florence (Gothein, 1937, 21)

1400 Ambassador to Ferrara (Comm. 9, c. 107r)

1400-01 Council of Ten (CXM 8, cc. 63r-67r)

1400-01 *Savio Grande* (SMS 45, cc. 35r-62v; SS 1, cc. 1r-4)

1401 Ambassador to Rupert of Germany, King of the Romans (SMS 45, c. 116r; SS 1, cc. 30v-31r)

1401-02 *Avogador di Comun* (AC 3645, cc. 19v-48r; CLN 3, cc. 68r, 86r)

1402 *Savio Grande* (SMS 46, cc. 11v-40v; SS 1, cc. 55r-83r)

1402 Venetian agent for purchase of Corfu from Ladislaus, king of Naples and Hungary (Comm. 9, c. 143r)

<sup>438</sup> See Gothein, Percy. 1937. "Zaccaria Trevisan." *Archivio Veneto* 21:1-59, at 2.

<sup>439</sup> See Gothein, 1937, 4. Obviously this was not an office in the Venetian state, but is included as an indicator of the stature held by Trevisan even before the age of 30.

<sup>440</sup> Gothein, 1937, 5. This position was essentially that of a governor of the city, as the papacy was still based in Avignon.

- 1402 Council of Ten (CXM 8, c. 78v)
- 1402 Ambassador to Ferrara<sup>†</sup> (SS 1, cc. 56v-65r)
- 1403 Ambassador to Genoa (Comm. 9, c. 153r; SMS 46, cc. 76v, 83v, 149v; SS 1, cc. 81r-103r)
- 1403-04 Captain of Candia (Crete) (Gothein, 1937, 21)
- 1405 *Proveditor* in Carrarese war (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 316)
- 1405-07 Vice-Captain & Captain of Padua (Comm. 15, c. 52v; CXM 8, c. 125v; SS 3, cc. 11v, 24r)
- 1407 *Savio Grande* (SMS 47, cc. 128v-150r; SS 3, cc. 72r-83v)
- 1407 Ambassador to Ferrara (Comm. 10, c. 48)
- 1407-08 Ambassador to 2 rival popes (SMS 47, c. 142; SMS 48, c. 28; SS 3, cc. 84v-86r)
- 1408-09 *Podestà* of Verona (SMS 48, c. 57)
- 1410-11 Count of Zara (Comm. 10, c. 173; SMS 49, c. 186; SMS 50, c. 14v; SS 4, c. 198r-v)
- 1412-13 Rector at siege of Sebenico (Comm. 10, c. 140; SMS 49, cc. 141r, 144r, 161v; SS 5, cc. 75r-111v)
- 1413-14 Vice-captain of Padua<sup>441</sup> (SMS 50, c. 105r; SS 5, c. 118v)

### Trevisan, Zaccaria il Giovane

#### Profile:

Son of Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (profiled *supra*) and Caterina di Giovanni Marcello, the younger Zaccaria was born in 1414, soon after his father's death in January of that year. He was awarded a doctorate in arts on 8 November 1434 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1023), at which ceremony fellow future lawyers Nicolo da Canal, Giovanni Marino, and Barbone Morosini were all present. He was a law student throughout the rest of the 1430s, appearing as a witness either for, or alongside of, many of Venice's lawyers that would be active in the middle part of the fifteenth century. He was eventually awarded his doctorate in *utroque iuris* on 26 August 1442 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1649).

In 1439 he married Dorotea Venier, a daughter of Santo Venier and sister of fellow lawyer Andrea Venier (Giomo, vol. 2, 450). His father-in-law, Santo Venier, was married to

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<sup>441</sup> King states that Trevisan served as captain from 1412 to 1413 in her profile. However, Senato, *Deliberazioni Secreti*, reg. 5, c. 118v clearly states that he was elected vice-captain on 18 March 1413, with his successor being elected on 8 January 1414 following Trevisan's death. See Senato, *Deliberazioni Secreti*, reg. 5, c. 171v.



Doge Francesco Foscari's sister Franceschina, making Trevisan a nephew by marriage. Among Trevisan and Venier's children was a daughter, Laura, who married Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (profiled *supra*) in 1466, the year of Trevisan's death.

Within a year of having received his law degree, Trevisan was elected as an ambassador to the Marquis d'Este, the first of a dozen diplomatic missions to which Trevisan would be elected over his career. In 1450, while serving as *podestà* of Verona (a post held by his father four decades prior), Trevisan revised the city's laws. Two years later, Trevisan was made a knight by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III as the emperor passed through Udine, where Trevisan was serving as *luogotenente* of Friuli (Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 378). Two years following this honor, Trevisan was instrumental in negotiating the accession of Naples and the papacy to the Italian League following the Peace of Lodi. Throughout his career he also was elected to a variety of legislative posts, including a half dozen times as *savio di terraferma*, and five times each as a ducal councilor, *savio grande*, and a member of the Council of Ten.

#### Offices:

- 1443 Ambassador to Ferrara<sup>†</sup> (SS 16, c. 26r)
- 1444 Ambassador to Sigismondo Malatesta<sup>†</sup> (SS 16, c. 84r-v)
- 1445 Ambassador to Bologna (SS 16, cc. 141r-226v; ST 1, cc. 149r, 154v)
- 1445 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 113v-173v; SS 16, cc. 220r-234r; ST 1, cc. 157v, 174v, 176r)
- 1446 *Savio di Terraferma* (SS 17, cc. 11r-63v; ST 1, cc. 186r-198v; ST 2, cc. 2r-3v)
- 1446 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 31r-44r; SGV 4, c. 115v)
- 1446-47 Ambassador to Florence (SS 17, cc. 72r-126r; ST 2, cc. 8r, 11v)
- 1447 Ambassador *in obedientia* to pope Nicholas V (Comm. 13, c. 199r; SM 3, c. 32v; SS 17, cc. 118r-181v)
- 1448 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, c. 52r; SS 17, cc. 194r-217v; ST 2, cc. 54r-67r)
- 1448 Council of Ten (CXM 13, cc. 86v-97r; SGV 4, c. 119v)
- 1448 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, cc. 73v-84v; CXM 13, c. 99v; MC Ursa, cc. 164r, 166r; SGV 4, c. 93r; SM 3, cc. 64r-86v; SS 18, c. 1r; ST 2, cc. 67v-98v)
- 1448 Ambassador to Savoy (CLN 8, c. 75v; CXM 13, c. 152v; SS 17, c. 224v; SS 18, cc. 17r-59r; Senato, Sindicati II, #119, 120; ST 2, cc. 72v, 73r)

- 1449 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 3, cc. 118r-127r; ST 2, cc. 105v-112v; SGV 4, c. 145r; SS 18, cc. 80v-92v)
- 1449-50 *Podestà of Verona* (Comm. 15, c. 50r; SGV 4, c. 62v)
- 1450 *Savio di Terraferma*<sup>442</sup> (King, 1986, 438)
- 1451 Ducal Councilor (CLN 8, cc. 130r-141v; CXM 14, cc. 26r-81r; MC Ursa, cc. 176r-v, 177; SGV 4, c. 93r; SM 4, cc. 29r-59r; SS 19, cc. 46r, 51v, 58r; ST 2, cc. 168r-196v)
- 1451 Ambassador to Aquileia<sup>443</sup> (Comm. 14, c. 98v)
- 1451 Ambassador to Naples (SM 4, cc. 21r, 24r; SS 19, c. 22v)
- 1451 Council of Ten (CXM 14, cc. 76v-81r; SGV 4, c. 130r)
- 1451 *Savio di Terraferma*<sup>444</sup> (SGV 4, c. 146v; SS 19, c. 85r; ST 3, c. 3v)
- 1451 Ambassador to Florence (SS 19, cc. 87v-99r; ST 3, c. 7v)
- 1451-52 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 146v; SM 4, c. 98r; SS 19, cc. 87v-129v; ST 3, cc. 13r-22v)
- 1452 *Luogotenente of Friuli* (SGV 4, c. 56v; Agostini, 1752-54, vol. I, 378)
- 1453-54 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 148v; SM 5, cc. 22r, 26r; SS 20, cc. 2r-17v; ST 3, cc. 96v-112r)
- 1454 Ambassador to the Diet of Ratisbon (SS 20, cc. 18v-19r, 20v; ST 3, c. 103r)
- 1454-55 Ambassador to Rome and Naples (Comm. 15, c. 1r; MC Ursa, c. 192r; SM 5, c. 60v; SS 20, cc. 32v-58r; ST 3, cc. 130v, 154v)
- 1454-55 Ducal Councilor (CXM 15, c. 39v; SGV 4, c. 94r; ST 3, cc. 151r-v, 152r)
- 1455 *Savio Grande* (SGV 4, c. 148v; SM 5, cc. 104v-119r; SS 20, cc. 68r-81v; ST 3, cc. 160v-188r)
- 1455 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 15, c. 39v)
- 1455-56 Council of Ten (CXM 15, cc. 74r, 83r, 85r)
- 1456 *Avogador di Comun* (CLN 9, c. 78r; CXM 15, cc. 90r-105v; SGV 4, c. 152v; SM 5, cc. 165v, 166r; ST 4, cc. 3v, 11r)
- 1456-57 Captain of Brescia (CLN 9, c. 90r)

<sup>442</sup> King cites Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 2 for this office. The only instance of Trevisan's name appearing in this office during 1450 occurred on 23 November 1450 (Senato, Deliberazioni, Terra, reg. 2, c. 160r). However, subsequent lists of the *savi di terraferma* include Zaccaria Vallaresso, not Zaccaria Trevisan, indicating that the lone entry with Trevisan's name may have been a slip of the pen by the notary.

<sup>443</sup> This mission is also not listed by King, but the negotiations occurred while Trevisan was a ducal councilor in June, and thus may not have been a separate office. Cf. footnote 436 *supra*.

<sup>444</sup> King does not include this office in her profile of Trevisan. According to the records of the *Segretario alle Voci*, Trevisan was elected on the first of October. By the 26<sup>th</sup>, however, he was elected ambassador to Florence. Thus, the short duration of this office may explain why King did not include it.

- 1458 Council of Ten, *zonta* (CXM 15, c. 146r)
- 1458-59 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 15, cc. 151v-167r; SM 6, cc. 89r, 96v, 145v; ST 4, cc. 83r, 91v)
- 1459 Captain of Verona<sup>445</sup> (Tagliaferri, 1973-79, vol. IX, lxxxi)
- 1460 *Savio Grande* (SM 6, cc. 199v, 200r, 207v; SS 21, cc. 22v, 26v; ST 4, cc. 154v-161v)
- 1461-62 *Savio Grande* (SS 21, cc. 60r-80r; ST 4, cc. 180v-190v; ST 5, c. 3v)
- 1461-62 Council of Ten (CXM 16, cc. 41r-59v)
- 1462 Ducal Elector (MC Regina, c. 23r)
- 1462-63 *Podestà* of Padua (Comm. 15, c. 82r)
- 1464 *Avogador di Comun* (CXM 16, cc. 115v, 119v)
- 1464-65 Ambassador *in obedientia* to Pope Paul II (ST 4, c. 120r; SS 22, cc. 35r, 45v-46r, 49r-v)
- 1465-66 Ducal Councilor (CLN 10, cc. 136r-144v; CXM 16, cc. 190v, 193v; MC Regina, cc. 61r-64v; SM 8, cc. 50v, 55r, 59r; SS 22, c. 133v ST 5, cc. 150v, 152r)

### Venier, Andrea

#### Profile:

Son of Santo Venier and Franceschina daughter of Nicolo Foscari, Andrea was born c. 1415.<sup>446</sup> His mother was the sister of Doge Francesco Foscari. He was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration in 1437 (AC-BO 162/I, c. 3v) by his brother Francesco (who had been presented in 1432 by Marco Foscari, brother of Doge Foscari). In 1436 he married Perenzina, daughter of Galeazzo Borromeo, an agent of the Medici bank in Venice.<sup>447</sup> Capellari Vivaro records one son, Antonio, that was born to the couple (Capellari Vivaro,

<sup>445</sup> This office is not included in King's profile.

<sup>446</sup> The dates for Andrea Venier are confusing at best. Giomo, vol. 1, 156, states that Venier's marriage occurred in 1436, which is the same year that he was awarded his doctorate in civil law. See *Acta Graduum I*, #1119. However the *Balla d'Oro* (AC-BO 162/I, c. 3v) dates Venier's registration to 1437, meaning that he was no older than twenty-four and no younger than eighteen at that time. Given that he was already married and a law doctor, it seems unlikely that he was only eighteen in 1437. However, Venier was presented for *Balla d'Oro* registration by his presumably older brother Francesco, who himself had been presented in 1432. Francesco was therefore no older than twenty-nine and no younger than twenty-three in 1437, unless we have the previously unheard-of situation where a younger brother is serving as the sponsor to an older brother's registration! In all likelihood, therefore, Andrea Venier was somewhat younger than twenty-four in 1437, putting his date of birth sometime in 1415 or 1416, making him twenty or twenty-one at his marriage.

<sup>447</sup> For Bembo's marriage, see Giomo, vol. 1, p. 156. For a profile of Galeazzo Borromeo, see De Roover, Florence Edler. 1971. Borromeo, Galeazzo. In *DBI*, vol. 13, p. 48.

vol. 4, c. 170r), although the *Acta Graduum* of Padua also record another son, named Santo, who was awarded a doctor of both laws in 1473 and went on to be bishop of Corfu.<sup>448</sup>

Andrea was a student at Padua from at least 1434, when he served as a witness alongside fellow future lawyer Nicolo da Canal (*Acta Graduum I*, #995). He earned a doctorate in civil law in 1436 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1119) and in canon law in 1439 (*Acta Graduum I*, #1327).

In his fourteen years of public service, Andrea Venier was used almost exclusively as a diplomat. Of his nine major positions held, seven of these were as an ambassador. His career was probably both helped and hindered by the fact that he was a nephew of Francesco Foscari. He was entrusted with serious diplomatic missions in his early thirties. In 1448 he was tried for corruption in connection with one of his missions in Florence, but perhaps because of his connections it took three trials to successfully prosecute him (for discussion of this trial, see *supra* pp. 141-42). His last known office was in 1456, when he was elected ambassador to the *condottiere* Bartolomeo Colleoni. From 1457, when Foscari was deposed, until Andrea's death in 1462, he was not elected to any offices. Following his death, he was buried in the church of Corpus Domini (Cicogna, 1824-53, vol. 2, 26).

#### Offices:

- 1442 Senate *Zonta* (SGV 4, c. 108v)
- 1443 Ambassador to Francesco Sforza (SS 16, cc. 16v-32v; ST 1, c. 97r)
- 1444 Senate (SGV 4, c. 110r)
- 1444 Ambassador to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, lord of Rimini (SS 16, cc. 108v-125v)
- 1445 Senate (SGV 4, c. 115v)
- 1445 Ambassador to Francesco Sforza (SS 16, cc. 155r-186v)
- 1445-46 Ambassador to Florence (SS 16, cc. 231r-249r; SS 17, cc. 7v-19v; ST 1, c. 191)
- 1446-47 *Savio di Terraferma* (SM 2, cc. 179r, 180r; SM 3, c. 1v; SS 17, cc. 64r-122r; ST 2, cc. 4v-26v)
- 1447 Ambassador to Florence & Francesco Sforza (SS 17, c. 105r; ST 2, cc. 28r, 36v)
- 1454 Senate (SGV 4, c. 139v)

<sup>448</sup> Santo Venier's doctorate can be found at *Acta Graduum IV*, #205. His church office is listed at vol. 2, 136 of Eubel, Konrad. 1898. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*. 3 vols. Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae.

- 1455 Senate (SGV 4, c. 143r)
- 1456 *Savio di Terraferma* (SGV 4, c. 147r; SS 20, cc. 98r-112v; ST 4, cc. 11v-21r)
- 1456 Ambassador to Bartolomeo Colleoni (SS 20, c. 105v)

## Appendix II—Chronology of Lawyers' Activities

The following is a year-by-year breakdown of lawyers' activities, divided into the four categories of the dissertation: diplomats, governors, legislators, and military men. Within each category, the names are arranged alphabetically, and are therefore not in chronological order within the year (e.g. an office spanning 1410-11 could be listed prior to an office held only in 1410). An office that spanned more than one year is given the label "continued" in years following the initial year of election. Although offices were of relatively short duration (anywhere from a few weeks for a temporary diplomatic posting to longer than a year for a governorship), they could span more than one year based on when election took place. Descriptions of the various legislative offices can be found *infra* pp. 116-20. Archival references for each of these offices can be located in the individual lawyers' profiles in Part III.

### 1400

#### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Ferrara)

#### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (1400-01)

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (1400-01)

### 1401

#### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Rupert of Germany, King of the Romans)

#### Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* of Noale 1401-02)

#### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (1401-02)

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, continued

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, continued

### 1402

#### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Ferrara; Venetian agent for purchase of Corfu)

#### Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* of Noale, continued)

#### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio, continued

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (twice)

### 1403

#### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Genoa)

#### Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (captain of Candia 1403-04)

#### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio

## 1404

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (captain of Candia, continued)

## 1405

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Bologna)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (vice-captain & then captain of Padua 1405-07)

Military Men:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (*proveditor* in Carrarese war)

## 1406

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Florence)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (vice-captain & captain of Padua, continued)

Military Men:

Fantino Dandolo (*proveditor* in Padua)

## 1407

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Florence); Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Ferrara; Pope Gregory XII and Antipope Benedict XIII 1407-08)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (vice-captain & then captain of Padua, continued)

Legislators:

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio

Military Men:

Fantino Dandolo (*proveditor* in the Veronese)

## 1408

Diplomats:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (Pope Gregory XII and Antipope Benedict XIII, continued)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (*podestà* of Verona 1408-09)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo (1408-09)

## 1409

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Tuscany; Milan)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (*podestà* of Verona, continued)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo continued

## 1410

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (count of Zara 1410-11)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Fantino Dandolo (1410-11)

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo

## 1411

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (dukes of Austria 1411-12)

Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (count of Zara, continued)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Fantino Dandolo, continued

## 1412

Diplomats

Fantino Dandolo (dukes of Austria, continued)

Governors:

Fantino Dandolo (*podestà* of Padua 1412-13)

Legislators:

*Savio alla Guerra*: Fantino Dandolo

Military Men:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (rector at siege of Sebenico 1412-13)

## 1413

Governors:

Fantino Dandolo (*podestà* of Padua, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (vice-captain Padua)

Military Men:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio (rector at siege of Sebenico, continued)

## 1414

Governors: Fantino Dandolo (*podestà* of Verona)

## 1415

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Fantino Dandolo (1415-16)

## 1416

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Lombardy)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Ettore Bembo (1416-17); Fantino Dandolo, continued



## 1417

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* of Chioggia)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Ettore Bembo, continued; Fantino Dandolo (1417-18)

## 1418

Governors:

Fantino Dandolo (*podestà* of Padua)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Fantino Dandolo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo (1418-19)

## 1419

Diplomats:

Nicolo Contarini (Venice)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Ettore Bembo; Fantino Dandolo, continued

*Savio alla Guerra*: Fantino Dandolo (1419-20)

## 1420

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (peace negotiations with the city of Udine)

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* & captain of Belluno 1420-21); Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Portogruaro 1420-22)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Fantino Dandolo

*Savio alla Guerra*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo (1420-21)

## 1421

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Pope Martin V in Rome)

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* & captain of Belluno, continued); Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Portogruaro, continued); Marco Lippomano (*podestà* & captain of Belluno 1421-22)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo (1421-23)

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

Military Men:

Nicolo Contarini (*proveditor* in Friuli)

## 1422

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Portogruaro, continued); Marco Lippomano (*podestà* & captain of Belluno, continued)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Ettore Bembo

## 1423

Diplomats:

Nicolo Contarini (Castile)

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Pirano)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo continued

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo (1423-24)

## 1424

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (kingdom of Naples 1424-25)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo

## 1425

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (kingdom of Naples, continued; Rome 1425-26); Marco Lippomano (Florence)

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* of Chioggia)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo (1425-26)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano (twice)

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo

## 1426

Diplomats:

Nicolo Contarini (Florence); Fantino Dandolo (Rome, continued; Ferrara)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo Contarini (1426-27); Marco Lippomano

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo

Military Men:

Fantino Dandolo (*proveditor* in Brescia 1426-27)

## 1427

Diplomats:

Nicolo Contarini (Montferrat; Savoy)

Governors:

Fantino Dandolo (captain of Brescia 1427-28); Marco Lippomano (captain of Zara 1427-28)

Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo Contarini, continued

Military Men:

Nicolo Contarini (*proveditor* in Bresciano); Fantino Dandolo (*proveditor* in Brescia, continued)

## 1428

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Milan)

Governors:

Fantino Dandolo (captain of Brescia, continued); Marco Lippomano (captain of Zara, continued)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Ettore Bembo

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo

## 1429

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Florence; Sigismund, King of the Romans); Marco Lippomano (Florence & Rome 1429-30)

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Belluno)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Marco Lippomano

Ducal Councilor: Fantino Dandolo (1429-30)

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo

## 1430

Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Ferrara); Marco Lippomano (Florence & Rome, continued)

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*bailo* and captain of Corfu 1430-32)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo (1430-31)

Ducal Councilor: Ettore Bembo (1430-31); Marco Lippomano

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano

*Savio Grande*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

## 1431

Diplomats:

Fantino Dandolo (Pope); Marco Lippomano (Pope)

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria 1431-32); Zaccaria Bembo (*bailo* and captain of Corfu, continued); Marco Lippomano (captain of Verona 1431-32)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Fantino Dandolo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Ettore Bembo, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano

## 1432

Governors:

Ettore Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria, continued); Zaccaria Bembo (*bailo* and captain of Corfu, continued); Marco Lippomano (captain of Verona, continued)

## 1433

Diplomats:

Marco Lippomano (Rome)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Marco Lippomano

## 1434

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Bembo

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano

Military Men:

Marco Lippomano (*proveditor* with the army 1434-35)

## 1435

Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Pope Eugenius IV in Florence 1435-36)

Governors:

Marco Lippomano (duke of Crete 1435-37)

Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo

Military Men:

Marco Lippomano (*proveditor* with the army, continued)

## 1436

Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Pope Eugenius IV in Florence, continued; Francesco Sforza)

Governors:

Marco Lippomano (duke of Crete, continued)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Bembo

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo (twice & 1436-37)

## 1437

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Verona 1437-39); Marco Lippomano (duke of Crete, continued)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Alvise Foscarini

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

## 1438

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Verona, continued); Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of Ravenna)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Marco Lippomano (1438-40)

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Bembo (1438-39)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Lippomano

## 1439

Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Ferrara)

Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (*podestà* of Verona, continued); Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* and captain of Feltre 1439-40)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Marco Lippomano, continued

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

## 1440

Governors:

Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* and captain Feltre, continued); Marco Lippomano (*podestà* of Padua)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo (1440-42); Marco Lippomano, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo

## 1441

Diplomats:

Giovanni Marino (Ferrara)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscarini (1441-42); Marco Lippomano

## 1442

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Ferrara; Francesco Sforza 1442-43); Alvise Foscarini (patriarch of Aquileia); Giovanni Marino (patriarch of Aquileia)

### Governors:

Alvise Foscarini (castellan of Modone); Giovanni Marino (*podestà* of Rovigno; *podestà* and captain of Feltre)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Bembo (1442-43); Alvise Foscarini, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo

*Savio Grande*: Marco Lippomano (1442-43)

## 1443

### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Naples 1443-44); Nicolo da Canal (Francesco Sforza, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Ferrara); Andrea Venier (Francesco Sforza)

### Governors:

Marco Lippomano (*luogotenente* of Friuli)

### Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

*Savio Grande*: Marco Lippomano, continued

## 1444

### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Naples, continued; Florence); Nicolo da Canal (Florence & Perugia); Marco Lippomano (Milan 1444-45); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini); Andrea Venier (Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini)

### Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Bembo (1444-45); Alvise Foscarini (1444-45); Marco Lippomano

*Savio di Terraferma*: Zaccaria Bembo; Nicolo da Canal (1444-45)

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo (1444-45)

## 1445

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Portugal); Alvise Foscarini (patriarch of Aquileia, Bosnia, Bologna 1445-46); Marco Lippomano (Milan, continued); Giovanni Marino (Francesco Sforza; Ferrara; Florence); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Bologna); Andrea Venier (Francesco Sforza; Florence 1445-46)

### Governors:

Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of Vicenza)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Alvise Foscarini; Marco Lippomano (1445-46)

Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscarini, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal, continued; Alvise Foscarini; Giovanni Marino (1445-46); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1445-46)

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued; Marco Lippomano (1445-46)

## 1446

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Florence); Alvise Foscari (Bologna, continued; Milan); Marco Lippomano (Milan; Venetian captain general Michele Attendolo di Cotignola); Giovanni Marino (Florence); Barbone Morosini (Bologna 1446-47); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Florence 1446-47); Andrea Venier (Florence, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo (1446-48)

Council of Ten: Nicolo da Canal; Marco Lippomano, continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscari; Giovanni Marino (continued and 1446-47); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (continued and 1446; Andrea Venier (1446-47)

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo; Marco Lippomano (continued and twice)

## 1447

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Venetian captain general Michele Attendolo di Cotignola); Barbone Morosini (Bologna, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Florence, continued; Pope); Andrea Venier (Florence; Francesco Sforza)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Giovanni Marino, continued; Andrea Venier, continued

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor*); Giovanni Marino (rector of Canea)

## 1448

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Florence); Barbone Morosini (Florence); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Savoy)

### Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (captain of Padua 1448-49)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

Council of Ten: Nicolo da Canal; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

## 1449

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Milan; Florence; Rome 1449-50); Alvise Foscarini (Genoa 1449-50)

### Governors:

Zaccaria Bembo (captain of Padua, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (*podestà* of Verona 1449-50)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Bembo (1449-50); Nicolo Canal

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal (twice); Alvise Foscarini; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo (1449-50)

## 1450

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Rome, continued; Constantinople; Morea); Alvise Foscarini (Genoa, continued); Barbone Morosini (Ferrara); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Naples 1450-51); Andrea Venier (Ancona)

### Governors:

Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of Verona 1450-51); Barbone Morosini (count of Trau); Zaccaria Trevisan (*podestà* of Verona, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Bembo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscarini

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscarini; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo (continued, plus twice in 1450 and also 1450-51)

## 1451

### Diplomats:

Zaccaria Bembo (Siena); Nicolo da Canal (Gentile Leonessa, governor general of Venetian forces); Francesco Contarini (Bologna); Marco Donà (marquis of Montferrat 1451-52); Barbone Morosini (patriarch of Aquileia); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Naples, continued; patriarch of Aquileia; Florence)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Brescia 1451-53); Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of Verona, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Bembo

Council of Ten: Barbone Morosini (1451-52); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscarini (1451-52); Barbone Morosini; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Bembo, continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1451-52)

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor* with the army)



## 1452

### Diplomats:

Marco Donà (Montferrat, continued; Rome); Alvise Foscari (Gentile Leonessa, governor general of Venetian forces); Vitale Lando (Siena 1452-54); Barbone Morosini (Naples 1452-53)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Brescia, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (*luogotenente* of Friuli)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Alvise Foscari; Barbone Morosini, continued  
 Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscari (1452-53)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Alvise Foscari, continued; Barbone Morosini  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued

### Military Men:

Alvise Foscari (*proveditor* in Brescia)

## 1453

### Diplomats:

Nicolo Canal (Morea); Vitale Lando (Siena, continued); Barbone Morosini (Naples, continued)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Brescia, continued); Alvise Foscari (*podestà* of Brescia 1453-54); Barbone Morosini (captain of Verona); Zaccaria Trevisan (*luogotenente* of Friuli, continued)

### Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscari, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal (1453-54)  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1453-54)

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor* in Morea)

## 1454

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Duke of Milan; imperial diet of Ratisbon); Francesco Contarini (Siena 1454-55); Marco Donà (Italian League negotiations); Vitale Lando (Siena, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (imperial diet of Ratisbon; Florence, Papacy & Naples 1454-55)

### Governors:

Giovanni Alberti (count of Trau 1454-55); Alvise Foscari (*podestà* of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Nicolo da Canal  
 Ducal Councilor: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1454-55)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal, continued; Marco Donà  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (1454-55); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued

## 1455

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Ferrara); Francesco Contarini (Siena, continued); Alvise Foscari (Pope; Genoa); Vitale Lando (Ferrara 1455-56); Barbone Morosini (Rome 1455-56); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Florence, Papacy & Naples, continued)

### Governors:

Giovanni Alberti (count of Trau, continued); Nicolo da Canal (captain of Bergamo 1455-57)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari (1455-56)  
 Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1455-56)  
 Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Donà (1455-56); Barbone Morosini  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari, continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

### Military Men:

Francesco Contarini (commander of Venetian expedition)

## 1456

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (duke of Milan); Marco Donà (Ferrara); Vitale Lando (Ferrara, continued); Barbone Morosini (Rome, continued); Andrea Venier (Bartolomeo Colleoni, Venetian captain general)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Bergamo, continued); Alvise Foscari (captain of Verona 1456-57); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (captain of Brescia 1456-57)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane  
 Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Donà, continued; Vitale Lando (1456-57); Andrea Venier

## 1457

### Diplomats:

Marco Donà (Ferrara)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Bergamo continued); Alvise Foscari (captain of Verona, continued); Barbone Morosini (*podestà* of Bergamo 1457-58); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (captain of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Donà; Vitale Lando, continued  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (1457-58)

## 1458

### Diplomats:

Francesco Contarini (Rome)

### Governors:

Nicolo da Canal (captain of Brescia); Marco Donà (*podestà* of Vicenza); Barbone Morosini (*podestà* of Bergamo, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari (1458-59); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1458-59)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Vitale Lando

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari continued

## 1459

### Diplomats:

Alvise Foscari (Pius II and Council of Mantua 1459-60)

### Governors:

Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (captain of Verona)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari, continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued

Council of Ten: Marco Donà (1459-60)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Donà; Vitale Lando

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (1459-60)

## 1460

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Constantinople); Alvise Foscari (Pius II and Council of Mantua, continued; Rome)

### Governors:

Marco Donà (captain of Bergamo 1460-62)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari

Council of Ten: Marco Donà, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Marco Donà

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari, continued; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane

## 1461

### Diplomats:

Vitale Lando (Holy Roman Emperor)

### Governors:

Marco Donà (captain of Bergamo, continued); Alvise Foscari (*luogotenente* of Friuli 1461-62); Vitale Lando (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna 1461-62)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1461-62)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal

*Savio Grande*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (1461-62)

## 1462

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Milan 1462-63)

### Governors:

Giovanni Alberti (count of Trau 1462-63); Marco Donà (captain of Bergamo, continued); Alvise Foscari (luogotenente of Friuli, continued); Vitale Lando (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (*podestà* of Padua 1462-63)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari (1462-63)  
 Council of Ten: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued  
 Ducal Elector: Nicolo da Canal; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari; Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane, continued

## 1463

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Milan, continued; France 63-64); Marco Donà (Burgundy 63-64); Alvise Foscari (Rome 63-64)

### Governors:

Giovanni Alberti (Count of Trau, continued); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (*podestà* of Padua, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Alvise Foscari, continued  
 Council of Ten: Marco Donà  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Marco Donà; Vitale Lando (twice)

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor* in Morea); Vitale Lando (*proveditor* with the army at siege of Trieste)

## 1464

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (France, continued); Francesco Diedo (Sigismund, duke of Austria 1464-65); Marco Donà (Burgundy, continued; Bartolomeo Colleoni, Venetian captain general); Alvise Foscari (Rome, continued); Pietro Molin (Roman Curia); Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane (Pope 1464-65)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane  
 Council of Ten: Vitale Lando  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Nicolo da Canal; Vitale Lando

## 1465

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Rome); Francesco Diedo (Sigismund, duke of Austria, continued);  
 Alvise Foscarini (Bartolomeo Colleoni, Venetian captain general); Pietro Molin  
 (Duke Stefano of Santa Sava, Albania 1465-66); Zaccaria Trevisan (Pope,  
 continued)

### Governors:

Marco Donà (captain of Verona); Pietro Molin (rector of Verona)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Nicolo da Canal  
 Ducal Councilor: Marco Donà; Alvise Foscarini (1465-66); Zaccaria Trevisan il  
 Giovane (1465-66)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Vitale Lando (twice & 1465-66)  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscarini

## 1466

### Diplomats:

Antonio Dandolo (Hungary); Angelo Michiel (Rome)

### Governors:

Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of Padua 1466-67)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo da Canal (1466-67)  
 Ducal Councilor: Alvise Foscarini, continued; Vitale Lando; Zaccaria Trevisan,  
 continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Vitale Lando, continued  
*Savio Grande*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscarini

## 1467

### Diplomats:

Nicolo da Canal (Turks 1467-68); Antonio Dandolo (Burgundy 67-68); Francesco  
 Diedo (Hungary 1467-68)

### Governors:

Giovanni Alberti (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria); Alvise Foscarini (*podestà* of  
 Padua, continued); Vitale Lando (captain of Brescia 1467-68)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo da Canal, continued

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor* at Negroponte 1467-68)

## 1468

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Castile 1468-69); Nicolo da Canal (Turks, continued; Bartolomeo Colleoni, Venetian captain general; honorary ambassador to Holy Roman Emperor); Antonio Dandolo (Burgundy, continued; Milan, Florence, & Savoy 1468-69); Francesco Diedo (Hungary, continued); Vitale Lando (honorary ambassador to Holy Roman Emperor); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Senj 1468-70); Pietro Molin (Milan; honorary ambassador to Holy Roman Emperor)

### Governors:

Vitale Lando (captain of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Vitale Lando (1468-69)  
 Council of Ten: Alvise Foscari (1468-69)  
*Ducal Councilor*: Nicolo da Canal  
*Savio Grande*: Nicolo da Canal; Alvise Foscari (twice)

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (*proveditor* at Negroponte continued)

## 1469

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Castile, continued); Antonio Dandolo (Burgundy, continued; Burgundy 1469-70); Francesco Diedo (Savoy 1469-70); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Senj, continued; Croatia)

### Governors:

Antonio Dandolo (count of Zara); Angelo Michiel (*podestà* and captain of Feltre); Pietro Molin (*podestà* and captain of Belluno)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Vitale Lando, continued  
 Council of Ten: Alvise Foscari, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Vitale Lando (1469-70)  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (1469 & 1469-70)

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (captain general of the fleet 1469-70)

## 1470

### Diplomats:

Antonio Dandolo (Burgundy, continued); Francesco Diedo (Savoy, continued); Alvise Foscari (Rome 1470-71); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Senj, continued); Pietro Molin (wedding of Galeazzo Maria Sforza)

### Governors:

Francesco Diedo (captain of Vicenza); Vitale Lando (*podestà* of Verona 1470-71)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Antonio Dandolo (1470-71)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Vitale Lando, continued  
*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari, continued; Vitale Lando

### Military Men:

Nicolo da Canal (captain general of the fleet, continued)

## 1471

Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Burgundy 1471-74); Alvise Foscari (Rome, continued; Ferrara)

Governors:

Antonio Dandolo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna 1471-72); Vitale Lando (*podestà* of Verona, continued)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Antonio Dandolo, continued; Vitale Lando

Ducal Elector: Alvise Foscari

Procurator of Saint Mark: Alvise Foscari

Revisor of Ducal *Promissione*: Alvise Foscari

*Savio di Terraferma*: Antonio Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (1471-72)

## 1472

Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Burgundy, continued); Francesco Diedo (duke of Urbino); Pietro Molin (Croatia)

Governors:

Antonio Dandolo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna, continued; Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Count of Spalato)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Vitale Lando (1472-73)

Council of Ten: Francesco Diedo

*Savio di Terraferma*: Francesco Diedo

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari (continued and 1472); Vitale Lando

Military Men:

Pietro Molin (*proveditor* in Istria)

## 1473

Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Burgundy, continued)

Governors:

Francesco Diedo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna 1473-74); Pietro Molin (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria 1473-75)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Vitale Lando, continued

Ducal Elector: Alvise Foscari; Vitale Lando

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari

## 1474

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Burgundy, continued; Austria)

### Governors:

Francesco Diedo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna, continued); Pietro Molin (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Francesco Diedo (1474-75)

Ducal Elector: Vitale Lando

*Savio di Terraferma*: Francesco Diedo

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari; Vitale Lando (1474 and 1474-75)

## 1475

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Florence 1475-76); Vitale Lando (Milan)

### Governors:

Francesco Diedo (captain of Bergamo); Vitale Lando (*luogotenente* of Friuli 1475-76); Angelo Michiel (captain of Vicenza 1475-77); Pietro Molin (*podestà* and captain of Capodistria, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Francesco Diedo, continued

*Savio Grande*: Alvise Foscari; Vitale Lando, continued

### Military Men:

Francesco Diedo (*proveditor* sent to Malpaga following the death of Bartolomeo Colleoni)

## 1476

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Florence, continued; Ferrara); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Aragon 1476-78); Pietro Molin (Florence 1476-77)

### Governors:

Vitale Lando (*luogotenente* of Friuli, continued; Angelo Michiel (captain of Vicenza, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Vitale Lando (1476-77)

*Savio Grande*: Vitale Lando

## 1477

### Diplomats:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Aragon, continued); Pietro Molin (Florence, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Galeotto Manfredi, lord of Faenza)

### Governors:

Angelo Michiel (captain of Vicenza, continued)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo (1477-78); Vitale Lando, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Francesco Diedo

*Savio Grande*: Vitale Lando



## 1478

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Florence 1478-80); Girolamo Contarini (Austria); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Aragon, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Marquis of Mantua)

### Governors:

Francesco Diedo (captain of Brescia 1478-79)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo, continued  
Ducal Councilor: Vitale Lando

## 1479

### Diplomats:

Girolamo Barbaro (Faenza 1479-80); Bernardo Bembo (Florence, continued);  
Francesco Diedo (Milan 1479-80)

### Governors:

Francesco Diedo (Captain Brescia, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*podestà* of Vicenza)

## 1480

### Diplomats:

Girolamo Barbaro (Faenza, continued); Bernardo Bembo (Florence, continued);  
Francesco Diedo (Milan, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Genoa)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Francesco Diedo (1480-81)  
*Savio Grande*: Francesco Diedo

## 1481

### Diplomats:

Francesco Diedo (Rome 1481-83)

### Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna 1481-83)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Francesco Diedo, continued  
*Savio Grande*: Francesco Diedo

## 1482

### Diplomats:

Francesco Diedo (Rome, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Robert of San Severino, Venetian captain general); Pietro Molin (Robert of San Severino, Venetian captain general); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Genoa 1482-83)

### Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*bailo* and captain of Corfu)

## 1483

### Diplomats:

Francesco Diedo (Rome, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Duke Renè of Lorraine); Pietro Molin (Duke Renè of Lorraine); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Genoa, continued)

### Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* and captain of Ravenna, continued); Francesco Diedo (*podestà* of Verona 1483-84); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*bailo* and captain of Corfu, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*podestà* and captain of Feltre 1483-84)

## 1484

### Diplomats:

Girolamo Contarini (peace negotiations in Cesena); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Genoa); Giorgio Pisani (Genoa 1484-85)

### Governors:

Antonio Bernardo (*podestà* of Vicenza 84-86); Francesco Diedo (*podestà* of Verona, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*bailo* and captain of Corfu, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*podestà* and captain of Feltre, continued)

## 1485

### Diplomats:

Girolamo Barbaro (Holy Roman Emperor); Bernardo Bembo (Pope); Giorgio Pisani (Genoa, continued)

### Governors:

Antonio Bernardo (*podestà* of Vicenza, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*bailo* and captain of Corfu, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*podestà* and captain of Feltre, continued)

## 1486

### Diplomats:

Ermolao Barbaro (Emperor Frederick III and King Maximilian in Belgium); Antonio Bernardo (Dalmatia 1486-87); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Rome; Milan)

### Governors:

Antonio Bernardo (*podestà* of Vicenza, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo

## 1487

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Pope 1487-88); Antonio Bernardo (Dalmatia, continued)

### Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*consigliere di Cipro* 1487-89); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (count of Zara)

## 1488

Diplomats:

Ermolao Barbaro (Milan 1488-89); Bernardo Bembo (Pope, continued)

Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*consigliere di Cipro*, continued)

Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Ermolao Barbaro

## 1489

Diplomats:

Ermolao Barbaro (Milan, continued)

Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* of Bergamo 1489-90); Antonio Bernardo (*podestà* and captain of Treviso); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (*consigliere di Cipro*, continued)

Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Ermolao Barbaro

## 1490

Diplomats:

Ermolao Barbaro (Pope 1490-91); Giorgio Pisani (marquis of Mantua)

Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* of Bergamo, continued)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Ermolao Barbaro

Council of Ten: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

*Savio di Terraferma*: Ermolao Barbaro

## 1491

Diplomats:

Ermolao Barbaro (Pope, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Milan 1491-92)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (1491-92)

## 1492

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Hungary 1492-93); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Naples 1492-93);

Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (Milan, continued); Giorgio Pisani (Spain)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, continued

## 1493

### Diplomats:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Naples, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (marquis of Mantua); Giorgio Pisani (Ferrara; Milan 1493-94)

### Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (captain of Brescia 1493-95)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (1493-94)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo

## 1494

### Diplomats:

Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (negotiations with *condottiere* Ruggero Accrocciamuro, duke of Celano); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*visdomino* of Ferrara 1494-96); Giorgio Pisani (Milan, continued)

### Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (captain of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo (1494-95); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, continued

## 1495

### Diplomats:

Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*visdomino* of Ferrara, continued)

### Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (captain of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo, continued

Council of Ten: Antonio Bernardo (1495-96); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (1495-96)

## 1496

### Diplomats:

Giacomo Contarini (Spain 1496-98); Marco Dandolo (Milan 1496-97); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Rome 1496-97); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (*visdomino* of Ferrara, continued); Giorgio Pisani (Maximilian I, King of the Romans)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo (1496-97); Antonio Bernardo, continued; Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, continued

*Savio di Terraferma*: Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo

## 1497

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (*visdomino* of Ferrara 1497-99); Giacomo Contarini (Spain, continued); Marco Dandolo (Milan, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (Rome, continued)

### Governors:

Antonio Bernardo (captain of Bergamo 1497-98)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (1497-98); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (1497-98)

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo, continued

### Military Men:

Giacomo Molin (*proveditor* of Rovigo)

## 1498

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (*visdomino* Ferrara, continued); Giacomo Contarini (Spain, continued); Marco Dandolo (Rome); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (France 1498-99); Francesco Morosini (Naples 1498-1500)

### Governors:

Antonio Bernardo (captain of Bergamo, continued); Giacomo Molin (captain of Zara 1498-1501); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (captain of Brescia 1498-99)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, continued; Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, continued

## 1499

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (*visdomino* of Ferrara, continued); Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (France, continued); Francesco Morosini (Naples, continued)

### Governors:

Giacomo Molin (captain of Zara, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (captain of Brescia, continued); Giorgio Pisani (*podestà* of Chioggia 1499-1500)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio (1499-1501)

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo (1499-1500); Antonio Bernardo (1499-1500)

## 1500

### Diplomats:

Francesco Morosini (Naples, continued)

### Governors:

Giacomo Molin (captain of Zara, continued); Giorgio Pisani (*podestà* of Chioggia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo; Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, continued

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo, continued; Antonio Bernardo, continued

Procurator of Saint Mark's: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

*Savio di Terraferma*: Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo

## 1501

### Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Rome); Giorgio Pisani (Hungary)

### Governors:

Giacomo Molin (captain of Zara, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio, continued

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo; Antonio Bernardo (1501-02)

Ducal Elector: Bernardo Bembo; Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

## 1502

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (King of France in Pavia and Milan); Marco Dandolo (France 1502-04); Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (Ferrara); Francesco Morosini (Ferrara)

### Governors:

Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* of Verona 1502-03)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Antonio Bernardo, continued; Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (1502-03)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Giorgio Pisani

## 1503

### Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (France, continued)

### Governors:

Girolamo Barbaro (count of Zara 1503-04); Bernardo Bembo (*podestà* of Verona, continued); Giorgio Pisani (captain of Bergamo 1503-04)

### Legislators:

Council of Ten: Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, continued

## 1504

### Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (France, continued); Francesco Morosini (France 1504-06)

### Governors:

Girolamo Barbaro (count of Zara, continued); Giorgio Pisani (captain of Bergamo, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo (1504-05); Giorgio Pisani (1504-06)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

## 1505

### Diplomats:

Bernardo Bembo (Pope); Francesco Morosini (France, continued); Giovanni  
Francesco Pasqualigo (Maximilian I, King of the Romans 1505-07)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo, continued; Giorgio Pisani, continued  
Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo (1505-06)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo

## 1506

### Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Naples 1506-07); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (King of the  
Romans, continued); Giorgio Pisani (Naples 1506-07)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Marco Dandolo; Giorgio Pisani, continued  
Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo; Giorgio Pisani (twice)

## 1507

### Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Naples, continued); Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo (King of the  
Romans, continued); Giorgio Pisani (Naples, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Francesco Morosini (1507-08)  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo; Giorgio Pisani  
*Savio Grande*: Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio

## 1508

### Diplomats:

Giorgio Pisani (Rome 1508-09)

### Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Brescia 1508-09)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Francesco Morosini, continued  
*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo; Giorgio Pisani

## 1509

### Diplomats:

Girolamo Barbaro (King Ferdinand in Naples); Giorgio Pisani (Rome, continued)

### Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Brescia, continued)

### Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo (1509-10)

Although outside the time period that is the focus of this study, the following positions were held by the lawyers in this study after 1509, and, as such, are a part of the overall picture of fifteenth century Venetian lawyers' careers.

## 1510

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Bernardo Bembo (1510-11)

*Savio di Terraferma*: Giorgio Pisani

## 1511

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Bernardo Bembo, continued; Giorgio Pisani

## 1512

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo (1512-13)

Council of Ten: Giorgio Pisani (1512-13)

## 1513

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (France 1513-15); Giorgio Pisani (Rome)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Bernardo Bembo, continued

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo (1513-14); Giorgio Pisani, continued

Ducal Councilor: Giorgio Pisani (1513-14)

## 1514

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (France, continued)

Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (*consigliere di Cipro* 1514-16)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Bernardo Bembo, continued

Ducal Councilor: Giorgio Pisani, continued

## 1515

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (France, continued)

Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (*consigliere di Cipro*, continued)

## 1516

Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Candia 1516-19)

Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (*consigliere di Cipro*, continued)



## 1517

Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Candia, continued)

## 1518

Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Candia, continued)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (1518-19)

Council of Ten: Giorgio Pisani

*Savio Grande*: Giorgio Pisani (1518-19)

## 1519

Governors:

Marco Dandolo (captain of Candia, continued)

Legislators:

*Avogador di Comun*: Nicolo Michiel il Giovane, continued

*Savio Grande*: Giorgio Pisani, continued

## 1520

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Giorgio Pisani (1520-21)

## 1521

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Giorgio Pisani, continued

Corrector of Ducal *Promissione*: Giorgio Pisani

Ducal Elector: Marco Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Giorgio Pisani

## 1522

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Rome 1522-23)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Giorgio Pisani

## 1523

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Rome, continued)

Legislators:

Council of Ten: Giorgio Pisani

Ducal Elector: Marco Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Marco Dandolo; Giorgio Pisani (1523-24)

## 1524

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Marco Dandolo (1524-25)

*Savio Grande*: Giorgio Pisani, continued

## 1525

Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (captain of Bergamo 1525-26)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Marco Dandolo, continued

## 1526

Governors:

Nicolo Michiel il Giovane (captain of Bergamo, continued)

## 1527

(none)

## 1528

Legislators:

*Savio di Terraferma*: Marco Dandolo

*Savio Grande*: Marco Dandolo

## 1529

Legislators:

*Savio Grande*: Marco Dandolo

## 1530

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Ambassador to the Pope & Holy Roman Emperor, in Bologna)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Marco Dandolo (1530-31)

## 1531

Diplomats:

Marco Dandolo (Wedding of the duke of Mantua)

Legislators:

Ducal Councilor: Marco Dandolo, continued

*Savio Grande*: Marco Dandolo

### Appendix III: Doctoral Degrees held by Venice's lawyers

<i>Name</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Date of Degree</i>	<i>Source</i>
Giovanni Alberti	Arts	9 September 1425	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #640
	Utroque Iuris	2 June 1434	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #997
Ermolao Barbaro	Arts*	4 July 1474	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #266
	Utroque Iuris	17 October 1477	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #520
Girolamo Barbaro	Utroque Iuris	1 June 1476	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #416
Bernardo Bembo	Arts*	12 September 1464	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #357
	Utroque Iuris	19 January 1465	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #391
Ettore Bembo	Unknown Law	Unknown	Capellari vol. I, c. 139r
Zaccaria Bembo	Civil Law <sup>449</sup>	31 December 1412	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #275
Antonio Bernardo	Arts*	1 June 1461	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #40
	Utroque Iuris*	7 January 1465	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #385
Nicolo da Canal	Arts	11 January 1434	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #972
	Utroque Iuris	11 March 1439	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1326
Francesco Contarini	Arts	27 May 1442	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1612
	Utroque Iuris	1 September 1453	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #247
Girolamo Contarini	Civil Law	6 June 1470	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #948
Iacopo Contarini	Arts	11 February 1491	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #1448
	Civil Law	23 March 1491	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #1457
Nicolo Contarini	Arts	11 June 1410	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #90
	Utroque Iuris*	22 November 1419	SS, reg. 7, c. 122r
Antonio Dandolo	Unknown Law	Unknown	Gullino, 1986a
Fantino Dandolo	Utroque Iuris	8 August 1401	King, 359
Marco Dandolo	Arts	18 January 1481	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #703
	Civil Law	9 December 1484	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , 965
Francesco Diedo	Arts	30 August 1461	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #56
Marco Donà	Utroque Iuris	18 August 1483	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1732
Alvise Foscari	Arts	27 January 1429	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #711
	Utroque Iuris	22 August 1434	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , # 1010
Vitale Lando	Utroque Iuris	6 September 1445	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1969
	Arts	7 September 1445	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1970
Marco Lippomano	Canon Law	14 September 1417	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #436
	Civil Law	14 September 1417	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #437
	Arts	14 September 1417	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #438
Giovanni Marino	Arts	28 October 1426	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #670
	Utroque Iuris	18 December 1435	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1083
Angelo Michiel	Civil Law	14 April 1439	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1330
Nicolo Michiel il Vecchio	Utroque Iuris	2 December 1466	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #574
Nicolo Michiel il Giovane	Utroque Iuris	26 August 1493	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #1677
Iacopo Molin	Civil Law	6 April 1471	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #17
Pietro Molin	Arts*	Unknown	King, 405
	Utroque Iuris*	Unknown	King, 405
Barbone Morosini	Arts	26 January 1434	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #977
	Utroque Iuris	19 August 1442	<i>Acta Graduum I</i> , #1645
Francesco Morosini	Utroque Iuris	13 May 1484	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #907
Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo	Civil Law	8 June 1470	<i>Acta Graduum III</i> , #953
Giorgio Pisani	Arts	14 December 1474	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #301
	Utroque Iuris	14 March 1481	<i>Acta Graduum IV</i> , #713

<sup>449</sup> This was a license, not a doctorate, in civil law.

Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio	Utroque Iuris*	Unknown	<i>Acta Graduum I, #57</i>
Zaccaria Trevisan il Giovane	Arts	8 November 1434	<i>Acta Graduum I, #1023</i>
	Utroque Iuris	26 August 1442	<i>Acta Graduum I, #1649</i>
Andrea Venier	Civil Law	6 May 1436	<i>Acta Graduum I, #1119</i>
	Canon Law	19 March 1439	<i>Acta Graduum I, #1327</i>

\*Indicates that the source listed specifies that the individual held this degree, without giving any definite information regarding when/where the degree was awarded.

## **Bibliography**

The story of Venice's lawyers is scattered across numerous archives both inside and outside of Italy. Of necessity this study has focused primarily on the materials that are to be found in the libraries of Venice itself, particularly the Archivio di Stato. What follows is a brief description of some of the more important resources that were used to prepare this study—what the resource contains, and how it was used to glean the various details that went into the stories of the lawyers presented here.

### **Personal Data**

Acquiring biographical data regarding specific individuals alive during the fifteenth century is not always an easy task. Discovering personal facts about Venetians from the period is made even harder by the fact that many of the Venetian records from the Renaissance were lost to fires in subsequent centuries. This makes the task of reconstructing the personal details of Venice's lawyers (e.g. birth-date, education, family size, wealth, etc.) a task that is somewhat reliant on guesswork of varying degrees of specificity.

One of the most basic pieces of data, and yet one of the most difficult to acquire about an individual living in the Renaissance, is their date of birth. Very rarely did parents record a specific date of birth for their children, and the Venetian government certainly did not issue birth certificates during the fifteenth century.

That being said, however, the Venetian system did have certain institutional features that do make it possible to guess individual patricians' ages with some degree of specificity. In particular, because only patricians could hold elective office in the Venetian system, and because only patricians of a certain age could be admitted to the Greater Council where these elections would then take place, it is possible to estimate an individual patrician's age. Venetian law stated that a patrician male could enter the Greater Council, as of right, at age

twenty-five. However, the system also allowed for individuals to enter earlier, through a sort of lottery that was held every December at the feast of Saint Barbara.

In order to be eligible for this lottery, a Venetian patrician male had to first be registered, with the *avogadori di comun*. As part of this registration process, a sponsor (typically the registrant's father, though any person knowledgeable regarding the required details could do) had to verify the legitimacy of the registrant's birth, and that the registrant was at least eighteen years of age. The records of these registrations, referred to as the records of the *Balla d'Oro*, survive down to the present day.

As Stanley Chojnacki has shown, it is a fair inference that those patrician youth who registered for the *Balla d'Oro* did so as close to their eighteenth birthdays as possible. Earlier entry into the Greater Council would help to cement a family's influence in the various councils of Venice, making it more likely that the family's interests could be advanced because more members of the clan would be eligible to vote. This incentive, therefore, encouraged families to register their sons as quickly as they could. Although there is evidence that some families lied about their sons' ages in order to gain them admission to the Greater Council, these lies would have all worked in the same direction—to make sons appear older than they actually were.<sup>450</sup> However, this study has followed Chojnacki's lead and started from the assumption that a patrician male who registered for the *Balla d'Oro* did so at approximately eighteen years of age.<sup>451</sup>

As with the date of birth, the date of death of a person in the fifteenth century is difficult to produce with any great degree of accuracy. In a few instances a diarist would

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<sup>450</sup> See Law, John E. 1971. "Age qualification and the Venetian constitution: the case of the Capello family." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 125-37.

<sup>451</sup> On occasion it can be demonstrated that a lawyer registered after his eighteenth birthday. For example, Antonio Dandolo's registration in 1451 states an exact date of birth for Dandolo in 1431, making him twenty at the time of his registration. Giovanni Francesco Pasqualigo, who was registered in 1463, had to have been born no later than 1444 since he served as a Ducal Elector in 1474, a post reserved for patricians thirty years and older. Again, though, in the absence of such evidence to the contrary, the assumption is that registration took place at around the eighteenth birthday of the patrician in question.

record a death date, in some cases we have a tomb that has survived down to the present day and happens to include the year of death, but by and large the records remain silent about when specific individuals died. On rare occasions a lawyer who had been elected to office, died while in that office, and therefore we have a record of the election of a successor, with some sort of note to the effect that the previous officeholder had died. But mostly we are left with inferences based on individuals whose careers were active and then suddenly ceased. Although not conclusive, these sudden silences in the records indicate that something happened to end an otherwise productive career that had been leaving numerous traces in the records, and the most obvious conclusion is the death of the individual in question.

Happily, tracing the educational attainments of Venice's lawyers is not nearly so difficult as some other facets of their personal data. First of all, the Republic had passed legislation forbidding its patricians from seeking higher education from any other institution than the University of Padua. Though it is doubtful that there was 100% compliance with this law, nearly every one of Venice's lawyers can be shown to have studied at Padua. Starting in 1922, the records of the university from the time the Venetians took Padua in 1405 have been published. The records for the entire fifteenth century have now been published in four series under the title of *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini*.<sup>452</sup> These records provide a wealth of details about which Venetian patricians studied at university, what they studied, with whom they studied, and so on. Also, because the degree granting ceremonies of the university often happened before either the rectors of the city and/or the bishop of the city, we are also given useful details about who filled these various offices at specific times.

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<sup>452</sup> The four series are: Zonta, Gaspare and Brotto, Giovanni. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*. 3 vols. Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1970; Ghezzi, Michele Pietro. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1451 ad annum 1460*. Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1990; Pengo, Giovanna. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1461 ad annum 1470*. Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1972; and Forin, Elda Martellozzo. *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1471 ad annum 1500*. 4 vols. Padua: Editrice Antenore, 2001.



Three sources proved particularly helpful in tracing the lineage for each of the lawyers in this study. With the exception of Andrea Venier, each of the lawyers presented in this study were recorded by Marco Barbaro in his *Arbori di patrizi veneti*. This source, although difficult to read in places, served as a valuable aid in determining familial and marital relationships among the lawyers. Barbaro also included career “highlights” for many of the lawyers, listing various delegations they served in, as well as some prominent offices held. He also on occasion recorded the names of women the lawyers married. A second useful source, from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, is Girolamo Capellari Vivaro’s *Il campidoglio veneto* which provides family trees for the various lawyers (including Andrea Venier), marriage information, and other significant events in the lives of the lawyers in question. Finally, Giuseppe Giomo’s *Indice per nome di donna dei matrimony dei patrizi veneti*, a two-volume compilation of over ten thousand marriages that took place among the Venetian patricians from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries, proved to be another valuable source in identifying the women Venice’s lawyers married, and additional clues to the social and familial connections that bound them to each other and the ruling class as a whole.

### **Career Data**

The Archivio di Stato in Venice contains a wealth of information concerning the various political activities Venice’s lawyers engaged in. The various series of registers listed at the beginning of the bibliography were the core sources for the career data given for each of the lawyers in their respective profiles. Some series, however, were more suited to particular kinds of offices than others, and other archives (notably the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana) also contain valuable sources in reconstructing the careers of Venice’s lawyers.

The single best source for determining who Venice's ambassadors were, where they were sent, and why they were sent, is the series *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti*. This series recorded the deliberations of the Venetian Senate that dealt with the most important matters of state business, both foreign and domestic. Thus the most important diplomatic missions were sure to be dealt with in this series, and there are many instances in which the only reference(s) to a mission occur within this series. Thus, although the "regular" records of the Senate deliberations (*Misti, Mar, and Terra*) often included references to ambassadors, no study of Venetian diplomacy would be complete without reference to the *Secreta* series. On occasion the records of other committees, e.g. the *Collegio* or the Council of Ten, would also make mention of various ambassadors and their missions, but none to the extent of the *Senato, Deliberazioni Secreti* series.

In addition to the records of the various government committees, three other useful sources should be mentioned. First, many diplomatic missions were recorded in *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: regesti*,<sup>453</sup> a printed compilation of a manuscript source that recorded many of the public acts of the Venetian state. Here the researcher can find records of treaties negotiated, disputes settled, investiture ceremonies of Venice's feudatories, etc. A second source useful for researching Venice's diplomatic history is *Senato, Sindicati*. This two-volume nineteenth century copy of an older manuscript gives a brief description of the formal commissions delivered to various ambassadors sent abroad by Venice. The third series useful for exploring the work of Venice's ambassadors is *Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati* which, as its name suggests, contains various diplomatic records, most notably copies of the treaties negotiated by Venice's ambassadors, including autographs of the parties that negotiated the treaties.

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<sup>453</sup> Predelli, R., et al. 1876-1914. *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*. Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. deputazione veneta di storia patria. 1st ser., Documenti. 8 vols. Venice: Tipografia Visentini.

Fewer traces of various governorships remain in the Venetian records. Although the *Segretario alle Voci* would record the election of various nobles to positions as rectors in the subject cities, information about the actual activities of Venice's governors is rarely to be found in the Archivio di Stato in Venice.<sup>454</sup> On occasion a committee would deliberate the text of a letter to be sent to a rector, or, on those occasions when the central government saw fit to regulate some aspect of a subject city, the then-serving rectors might be mentioned. Beyond this, however, few traces remain. Three notable exceptions to this are Chioggia, Crete, and Friuli, for which extensive series of records remain for the fifteenth century. In addition to the records of the *Segretario alle Voci* previously mentioned, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana possesses a manuscript titled *Registro di reggimenti*<sup>455</sup> which also provides a listing of the governors sent out by Venice to its various cities, a list that is particularly useful for reconstructing governorships in the period for which the records of the *Segretario alle Voci* have been lost. By and large, however, the records of the activities of Venice's lawyers as rectors remain hidden in the archives of the various subject cities, untapped by this particular study.<sup>456</sup>

The Venetian archives preserve the most information about domestic political offices. The *Segretario alle Voci* recorded the lawyers' elections to the various councils in the Venetian system. A portion of these registers has recently been digitized and released by the Renaissance Society of America as *The Rulers of Venice, 1332-1524: Interpretations*,

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<sup>454</sup> As a result, future research in the various archives preserved in some of the subject cities would provide a more full picture of lawyers' activities as governors.

<sup>455</sup> Vol. I. Marc. Ital. VII, 198 (8383).

<sup>456</sup> An additional source from the fifteenth century that sheds light on Venice's colonial administration is Marino Sanuto's *Itinerario*, the record of his journey with his cousin Marco and two of his fellow members of the *Auditori Novi* sent out from Venice to ride a circuit, so to speak, through the Venetian mainland cities. Sanuto records information about the various colonial administrations in the different subject cities, frequently listing the names of the men holding the administrative offices at the time he visited the city, their salaries, and sometimes a brief mention of notable achievements by the officeholder in question. Unfortunately, at the time of Sanuto's journey, very few lawyers were serving as governors, so this otherwise useful record adds little to our understanding of the role of lawyers as governors.

*Methods, Database.*<sup>457</sup> This source holds a wealth of information for the researcher who desires to gain a sense of what patricians were being elected to various offices in the Venetian state.

The series of registers for each of the councils in turn recorded the activities of Venice's lawyers while holding these offices. These registers typically recorded the names of individual patricians, along with the office held by the patricians, in the margin of the proposal under consideration by the council in question, along with the date the proposal was considered. It is thus possible to trace, in detail, the various legislative offices held by individual lawyers.

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<sup>457</sup> The source is located at the website of the Renaissance Society of America: [www.rsa.org](http://www.rsa.org). Although generally very helpful, a few caveats are in order with respect to the fifteenth century. The records of the *Segretario alle Voci* are no longer extant for the period from 1387-1437. In addition, elections to ambassadorships occurred in the Senate, and those records are not included in the database for the period after 1400. Similarly, elections to the Council of Ten are recorded only up to 1408. Finally, just because a lawyer was elected to office does not mean he actually served in the office. For example, Zaccaria Bembo, profiled *supra*, was elected *Luogotenente* of Friuli in 1441 and 1446 according to *Segretario alle Voci* reg. 4, c. 56v. However, he did not actually serve in the office either time as shown by his repeated appearances as an *avogador di comun* in the records of the Council of Ten during the years in question.

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