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THE GENOESE CITIZENSHIP OF CARLO I TOCCO OF DECEMBER 2, 1389

The Genoese citizenship, granted to Carlo I Tocco and his regent mother Magdalene by the authorities of the Republic of Genova (December 2, 1389) is a document the existence of which is widely accepted in the scholarly circles despite the fact that the details of its contents have still remained largely unknown. Attempting to contribute to a better understanding of the circumstances under which the grant was issued, the first part of this paper brings the transcription of the entire document, as well as an analysis of its political and legal context. The paper's second part deals with the document's palaeographic, diplomatic, and sigillographic features as well as with its prosopographic and topographic details.

(I)*

The beginning of the rule of Carlo I Tocco (b. c. 1374 — d. July 1429) is generally considered a “dark” period.¹ The remaining sources, mostly confusing and anachronistic, allow few certain conclusions about this episode of the history of the

* Due to technical reasons, the second part of the paper which contains the results of various segments of documentary analysis (paleography, diplomatic, sigillography, prosopography and topography), will be published in the next volume of *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (vol. 42).

¹ For useful overviews of the history of the Greek branch, see *W. Miller*, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)*, New York — Cambridge 1964 repr (London 1908!), 292–490. The history of this Tocco branch is the subject of my study *The Tocco of the Greek Realm (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)* (Ph.D. dissertation defended at the Central European University, Budapest 2004). Among important views on particular Tocco episodes in Greece, see especially *G. Schirò*, *Manuele II Paleologo incoronò Carlo Tocco Despota di Gianina, Byzantion 29–30 (1959–60) 209–230*; *M. Bénéiteau*, *Una famiglia nobile di origine beneventana nella “Romania” medievale, Samnium 61 (1988): 1–13*. *Sp. Asonites*, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας και των νησιών του Ιονίου. Από την προσάρτηση της κομητείας της Κεφαλληνίας στο πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας μέχρι το θάνατο του Καρόλου Α' Τόκκου (1325–1429) (Ph.D. dissertation defended at Aristotle University, Thessaloniki 1987). Recently, the Neapolitan branch of the family has attracted more attention than the Greek one; see *M. Bénéiteau*, *Vassalli e cittadini: la signoria rurale nel Regno di Naples attraverso lo studio dei feudi dei Tocco di Montemilieto (XI–XVIII secolo)*, Bari 1997; *V. del Vasto*, *Baroni nel tempo: i Tocco di Montemilieto dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, Napoli 1995.

Neapolitan family that governed the Ionian islands and Epiros in the late Middle Ages.² One of these certain notions is that Carlo inherited the familial domain upon the death of his father, Leonardo I, most probably around 1375.³ As Carlo was of minor age between c. 1375 and 1390,⁴ the government was controlled by his Florentine mother, Magdalene Buondelmonti.⁵ Governing a domain must have been a hard task for the widow because of her foreign origin, but also because of the extraordinary political position in which the Tocco domain was left after Leonardo's death.⁶ With closest neighbours that showed only but hostile attitudes — especially strong reactions came from the Navarese company, Venice and Albanians led by the Spata kindred — Magdalene had to find her own means of preserving the domain for her eldest son.⁷ Among the methods she relied upon while accomplishing her task was her net-

² Direct documentary sources referring to this Tocco period are few. Among the narrative works, the most important information is yielded by the Tocco Chronicle, see Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo, ed. G. Schirò, Roma 1975 (=CroToc), book 1, chapter 5, verses 57–86, p. 224–6; 1, 6, 87–93, 226; 1, 8, 107–14, 228; 1, 10, 120–133, 228–30; 1, 5, 57–86, 224–6; 1, 9, 115–119, 228; 3, 20, 1012–1019, 292. Also, see I. K. Bogiatzides, Συμβολή εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἠπείρου, *Ἱστορικὰ χρονικά* 1 (1926), 79. Laonicos Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum libri X*, in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (=CSHB), ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1843, book 4, pp. 209–211, and id., *Historiarum demonstrationes I–II*, ed. E. Darkó, Budapest 1922, book 4, vol. 1, pp. 197–9. The difficulties in modern attempts at a full understanding of the Albanian attacks on the Tocco territory were noted by D. Zakythenos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1, Paris 1932, p. 131, i *ibid.*, n. 3.

³ As there is no direct documentary reference to Leonardo's death, its chronology has been differently calculated by modern scholars, covering a wide period between 1364 and 1382. The years 1374 and 1375 seem to have been most commonly accepted; see e.g. Miller, *The Latins*, 332, n. 2; A. T. Luttrell, *Vonitza in Epirus and its Lords*, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoelenici* 11 (n. s. 1) (1964) 141; J. Chrysostomides, *Italian Women in Greece in the late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Century*, *Rivista di studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982) 123.

⁴ CroToc, 1, 1, 4–7, 220.

⁵ In this period, the Buondelmonti family was considered a representative of the “ancient” Guelph circles of Florence some of which were expelled during the Ghibeline reaction at the end of the thirteenth century. Magdalene's mother Lappa was the natural sister of Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the man who financed and actually ruled the Neapolitan throne during the 1330s. For more details on him, see C. Ugurgieri *Della Berardenga*, *Gli Acciaiuoli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi (1160–1834)*, 2 vols., Firenze 1962. For the connections between Florence and the Kingdom of Naples, see D. Abulafia, *Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265–1370*, in id., *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean 1100–1400*, London 1987 (Variorum), no. VI, pp. 377–388. On Magdalene, see Chrysostomides, *Italian Women*, 122–125.

⁶ In general, modern scholars consider this to have been the period 1375–1385; see G. Schirò, *Prolegomeni* 1, in id., *CroToc*, p. 27; *Id.*, *Il Ducato di Leucade e Venezia fra il XIV e XV secolo*, *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti: Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 132 (1973–4) 597; P. G. Rontogiannes, *Ἱστορία τῆς νησοῦ Λευκάδος*, vol. 1, Athens 1980, 320. An opinion that the Albanians kept attacking the Tocco territory until 1389 was given by C. Gasparis, *Il patto di Carlo I Tocco con il Comune di Genova (1389–1390): una conseguenza delle incursioni albanesi*, in *Οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ στο Μεσαίωνα: The Mediaeval Albanians*, Athens 1998 (=Gasparis, *Il patto*), 254.

⁷ Among the numerous analyses of the Navarese activities in Epiros and Greece, I stress those by A. Rubiò y Lluch, *Los Navarros in Grecia, y el Ducado catalan de Atenas en la Epoca de su Invasion*, Barcelona 1886; J. Longnon, *Empire Latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, Paris 1949, 333–4; R. J. Loenertz, “Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce: 1376–1383”, in id., *Byzantina et Franco-Greca*, The Vatican 1970, 329–69; K. M. Setton, *The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379*, in *Id.*, *Europe and Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London 1974 (Variorum), 108–9; A. T. Luttrell, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades: 1291–1421*, London 1982 (Variorum). A demonstration of tension between Magdalene and Venice during the 1380s can be found in F. Thiriet (ed.), *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant*

work of useful private-political alliances. At the end of the 1380s, Magdalene added the Republic of Genoa to the circle of her friends, which had largely featured the Florentines. The widely known fact that on December 2, 1389, the authorities of the Genoese republic granted citizenship to Magdalene and her young son Carlo prompted some modern scholars to define this relationship in the light of a “pro-Genoese” policy of the Tocco family.⁸

Although the Tocco citizenship in Genoa is a widely accepted fact among scholars, the details of this event have remained largely unknown until the present day. The contents of the granting instrument seems to have been known to several researchers dealing with the family archive, but the document itself has never been published or adequately analysed.⁹ Such a situation created grounds for various speculative interpretations of the entire act, especially of the circumstances that had led to its conclusion.¹⁰ For instance, the instrument of the Genoese citizenship granted to the Tocco was directly — but with no reference to particular details — mentioned in several fourteenth-century documents.¹¹ Analysing one of them (the ratification of the Tocco citizenship grant dated to October 7, 1390),¹² Charalambos Gasparis concluded that the Tocco citizenship in Genoa should be explained with the family’s need for protection from the Albanians, and possibly for their counter-attack. Such an interpretation, however, although logical and hardly refutable because of the lack

la Romanie, vol. 1, Paris 1958 (=Thiriet, Régestes, vol. 1), no. 645 (May 15, 1383), p. 157 and J. Valentini (ed.), Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV, Palermo 1967 (=AAV), vol. 1, fasciculum 2, p. 280. For Albanian offensives recorded in neighbouring Epiros between 1377 and 1390 that coincide with Magdalene’s regency, see Τὸ χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, ed. L. Branoussis, in Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχελοῦ 12 (1962), (=Croloan), chapter 18, p. 87 (dated to before and after February 26, 1377); 29, 94 (December 1384–January 1385); 32, 96 (before 1386); 34, 97–98 (after March 21, 1389–before December 4, 1390). For an assessment of these events, see E. Zachariadou, Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380–1418), Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 78 (1988) 195–210.

⁸ R. Cessi, Venezia e i regni di Napoli e Sicilia nell’ultimo trecentennio del secolo XIV, Archivio storico per la Sicilia Orientale 8/III (1911) 323–325; 348. On Carlo’s age, see below, n. 24.

⁹ A short note on the contents of the documents was given by A. Allocati, Archivio di Stato di Napoli: Archivio Privato di Tocco di Montemilieto, Roma 1978, p. 25, no. 35. The contents of the document must have been known to the famous scholar and director of the Neapolitan State Archive, Riccardo Filanghieri, who, probably through his personal connections — his family was aligned to the Tocco — enabled the transfer of the family archive from the private hands of a side Tocco branch to the fonds of the Archivio di Stato in 1949. Among the modern scholars acquainted with the Tocco archive are Anthony T. Luttrell (see *id.*, Guglielmo de Tocco, Captain of Corfu: 1330–1331, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 3 [1977] 45–56), Michele Bénéteau (v. supra, n. 1), Valeria del Vasto (v. supra, n. 1), Paolo Petta (see *id.*, Despoti d’Epiro e principi di Macedonia: Esuli albanesi nell’Italia del Rinascimento [Lecce 2000]) and Momčilo Spremić (as from the latter’s kind information). The fact that the pact of 1389 did not attract a significant scholarly attention is undoubtedly the result of the scholarly interest into other Tocco branches or the Tocco connection with other important regional factors.

¹⁰ Gasparis, Il patto, 250.

¹¹ Gasparis, Il patto, 252, assumes that the ratification act had one copy. The two Venetian documents that mentioned the pact of December 1389 can be found in the regestum form in Thiriet, Régestes, vol. 1, no. 764 (December 30, 1389), p. 184 and *ibid.*, no. 787, p. 189 (April 11, 1390) (the full form of the same document in AAV 1: 2, no. 413, p. 117).

¹² E.g. Gasparis, Il patto, 255: “omnia et singula federa, promissiones, juramenta et obligationes promissa, facta et conventa per predictum Jordanum eorum nuncium [...] et quemcumque alia contenta et expressata in dicto publico instrumento [i.e. in the citizenship instrument of December 2, 1389].”

of documentary evidence about the Spata advancement during the 1380s, disregarded several other possibilities. For example, the Tocco might have desired Genoese protection because of other powers in their neighbourhood.¹³ One of these powers, the Ottoman Empire, was swiftly approaching the family's domain — in 1385 the Turks marched into Albania, in 1387 they occupied Thessaloniki, and only a few months before the Tocco citizenship was granted, they defeated the Serbs in the battle at Kosovo Polje (June 15, 1389). Another political power that might have also initiated Magdalene's turn to the Genoese was the Venetian Republic. During the early 1380s, the Venetians were on the verge of an open conflict with Magdalene, and it would not be surprising for the widow to turn towards the Genoese in order to ensure defence in the case of a full-scale Venetian attack.¹⁴ The Genoese, for their part, might have incited this orientation of the Tocco, for the family's loyalty would give them an important post in their own struggle with the Venetians for influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁵ As is commonly known, the Genoese enjoyed a number of privileges granted to them in 1155 by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), confirmed in 1267 by Michael VIII Palaeologos (1259–1282) and in 1352 by John VI Kantakuzenos (1347–1354). During the second half of the fourteenth century, this position was menaced by the Venetians — not long before the Tocco became Genoese citizens, the Genoese had put an end to one of their open conflicts with the Republic of St. Mark (1375–1381).¹⁶ Finally, the reception of the

¹³ *Gasparis*, Il patto, 253–254.

¹⁴ For tension between Venice and Magdalene, see *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 645 (May 15, 1383), p. 157 and *AAV* 1: 2, p. 280. Venetian claims to the island of Leukas were justified by a short period when the island was governed by one of their subjects, Gratianos Zorzes (v. *C. Hopf*, Γρατιανός Ζώρζης, Ἀυθένης Λευκάδος, transl. I. Romanos, Corfu 1870). For a documentary confirmation of the existence of these claims even in the period of the Tocco government, see *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 558 (March 20, 1375), p. 138.

¹⁵ Among the recent titles on this issue, see *E. Basso*, *Genova, un impero sul mare*, Cagliari 1994.

¹⁶ This was the fourth open conflict between the Genoese and the Venetians. For useful overviews and opinions about the relationship between the two republics in the Eastern Mediterranean, see the following: *F. Hodgson*, *Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Sketch of Venetian History from the Conquest of Constantinople to the Accession of Michelle Steno*, A. D. 1204–1400, London 1910, 403; 512–538; *F. Thiriet*, *Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 65 (1953) 219–245; 226–227; *D. J. Geanakoplos*, *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West 1258–1282: a Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (reference according to Cambridge, MA, 1959;¹ Hamden, Conn., 1973), 86; 147–148; 206–9; *M. Balard*, *Les Génois en Roumanie entre 1204 et 1261*, *Mélanges d'École française de Rome* 78/2 (1966) 468; *Thiriet*, *La Roumanie*, 168–174; 177–178; *C. Kyrris*, *John Cantacuzenus, the Genoese, the Venetians and the Catalans (1348–1354)*, *Βυζαντινά* 4 (1972) 331–356; *B. Z. Kedar*, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, New Heaven 1976; *M. Balard*, *La Roumanie génoise (XII^e–début du XV^e siècle)*, Roma 1978, vol. 1, 78–83; 88–91; *D. Nicol*, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge 1988, 271; 312–314; *M. Balard*, *The Genoese in the Aegean*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989) 158–174; *R. Radić*, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa (1332–1391)*, Belgrade 1993, 205–208; 390–392; *P. Lock*, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London–New York 1995, especially 155–159; *M. Balard*, *Veneziani e genovesi nel mondo egeo del Trecento*, in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XIV s.)*: Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz (Venezia, 1–2. dicembre 2000), Venezia 2002, 189–202; *Gh. Ortalli* — *D. Puncuh* (eds.), *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII–XIV*: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Genova–Venezia, 10–14. III 2000), Venezia 2001.

Tocco among the Genoese citizens coincides in time with a period of peace which the authorities of the Ligurian Republic and its colonies ensured with several powerful rulers in the East (the Bulgarian Ivanko, the Tartars and Sultan Murad I).¹⁷ This suggests that the Tocco loyalty, adding to the general stability in the East, was one of those desirable conditions that allowed the Genoese involvement in other regions of their interest, namely northern Africa.¹⁸

In order to contribute to a better understanding of the Tocco citizenship in Genova, and, consequently, of the “dark” stage of the family’s history, in my paper I shall return to the original document and provide its analysis.¹⁹ This document is kept in the family archive (Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto), which was donated to the Neapolitan State Archive (Archivio di Stato di Napoli) by a side family branch in 1949.²⁰ Marked as “Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto, Privilegi, busta 1, no. 33,²¹ and dated December 2, 1389, the parchment containing the act measures 33.5 × 48.9 cm, and is in relatively good condition. According to its light colour, the parchment can be classified as an Italian-Spanish type, also typical for a notable difference in colour and material structure between the document’s obverse and reverse sides.²² As can be clearly seen in the reverse, the parchment was folded twice; the traces of

¹⁷ For a reference to the agreement with the Bulgarian ruler Ivanko, see below, n. 30. For the Genoese treaty with the Tartars, see *C. Desimoni*, *Trattato dei genovesi col Chan dei Tartari nel 1380–81*, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, series IV, tomus XX (1887) 161–165. For the Genoese settlement with the Ottomans, see *K. Fleet*, *The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56/1 (1993) 13–33. A detailed analysis of the Genoese politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period can be found in *G. G. Musso*, *Navigazione e commercio Genovese con il Levante nei documenti dell’Archivio di Stato di Genova*, Rome 1975, especially pp. 63–97.

¹⁸ *Stricto sensu*, none of these treatises can be compared with the Tocco citizenship grant, firstly because of the different motives and circumstances that had led to their composition, and secondly because of formal differences between the documents. On the importance of these treaties for Genova see *S. Epstein*, *Genoa and the Genoese 958–1528*, Chapel Hill 1996, 244 (= *Epstein*, Genoa).

¹⁹ I here take the advantage of this occasion to express my gratitude to the Director of the Archive, Dr. De Negri, for her kind advice and authorisation for the publication of this document. I am also grateful to Ms. Di Nocera and Mr. Tedeschi of the Department for photo-reproductions of the Neapolitan State Archives for providing me with several copies of this document, as well as to others members of the archival staff for their kind assistance during my research in the archive. My research in this archive 2001–2002 was funded by the Central European University for which I express my deepest gratitude. I am also indebted to Prof. Đuro Tošić (Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade) and Prof. László Veszprémy (Medieval Studies Department, CEU, Budapest) for their advice on certain palaeographic issues. My gratefulness further goes to Matthew Suff of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University (Budapest) for checking the English in this paper. Finally, I thank to Ms. Aleksandra Pavlović (Interlibrary loan service of the University Library “Svetozar Marković” in Belgrade) for her assistance in acquiring the literature necessary for this research.

²⁰ The last direct member of the “Greek” Tocco died in an accident at the beginning of the twentieth century. The family’s legacy was transferred through the female line to the Italian noble families of Gorga and Soderini.

²¹ The notes written by hand on the reverse of the parchment suggest that the document was differently classified according to some earlier organisation of the archive. The documents of the “Greek” branch seem to have been added to an already existing archive after the fusion of the “Greek” and the “Neapolitan” branch in the seventeenth century. For more on the history of the archive, see *Allocati*, *Archivio privato*, 11–12.

²² *G. Čremošnik*, *Studije za srednjevjekovnu diplomatiku i sigilografiju Južnih Slovena* (Studies for the medieval diplomatics and sigillography of the Southern Slavs), Sarajevo 1976, 22–23.

overlapping are also visible from the obverse of the parchment, although not as clearly as from the reverse.

The contents of the instrument reveals several important elements of the granting procedure. As seen from a Tocco letter quoted in the exposition of the instrument,²³ the initiative for granting the family with the Genoese citizenship came from Carlo, or more precisely, from his regent mother.²⁴ This quoted letter also shows that the Tocco request for citizenship was submitted a few years earlier (October 13, 1385), which further suggests a conclusion about the procedure's long duration.²⁵ In addition, it is important to note that the Tocco request for citizenship, issued, as early as 1385 challenges the existing modern assumptions about the beginning of the Tocco-Genoese negotiations in 1388.²⁶ Another important set of information emerging from the grant instrument concerns the identity and competencies of the person who negotiated the citizenship on behalf of the Tocco. This person was "Jordanes Catanzarus", no doubt a member of the prominent south-Italian family Catanzaro mentioned during the 1370s in connection with Carlo's father.²⁷ Moreover, it is important to note that "Jordanes Catanzarus" was specially authorised to represent the Tocco case before the Genoese authorities, and it seems that his diplomatic activities in Genova were performed in accordance with oral instructions of his masters.²⁸

The particular terms and conditions of the citizenship were specified in the disposition of the instrument: the Tocco were received among the citizens of Genova,

²³ On this, see the text of the document, lns. 6–26.

²⁴ The priority of Magdalene's position in decision-making has been suggested by the intitution of the *addressati* in the citizenship instrument (see lns. 27; 32; 43; 48; 57; 61), where first her name was mentioned and after this Carlo's. The situation changed by the time of the ratification document of October 7, 1390 (see *Gasparis*, *Il patto*, 254–257), which indicates that Carlo came to mature age before this period. My analysis of the chronology referring to Carlo's age (Zečević, *The Tocco of the Greek Realm*, 83, n. 241) suggests that he was born around the end of May/beginning of June 1374.

²⁵ The Tocco letter sent to Genova in 1385 coincides with the Spata offensive against Epiros in 1384–1385, see CroIoan, 29, 94 (December 1384–January 1385); 32, 96 (before 1386). There is no direct documentary confirmation that the Albanian groups went astray towards the Tocco domain, but if this had indeed happened, then Gasparis' explanation of the Tocco citizenship in Genova as caused by the Albanians would be further supported. For a different indication emerging from the citizenship instrument, see text of the document, lns. 29–30.

²⁶ *F. Thiriet*, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1959, 358 (=Thiriet, *La Romanie*); *Gasparis*, *Il patto*, 251.

²⁷ Cf. *Gasparis*, *Il patto*, 254, where this envoy was referred to as "Jordanum vocatum Cadenzanus". A reference about a close relationship of the Tocco with the Catanzaro ("Catanzano") family can be found in *The Letter of Leonardo I Tocco to Lappa Accaioli* (May 28, 1374), in *Luttrell*, *Aldobrando*, 277: "In Calavria fummo alla Roccella, et loco trovando lo Conte, e la Contessa di Catanzano con tutti i loro figli a stare per la gratia di Dio bene, salvo che Pietro di Catanzano, che ne venne a scontrare, et a riceverne: Incontronne, et con lui era Simoncino, et Andrea, et assai honorata Compagnia, et grande: Assai consolatione havemmo con Madama di Catanzano, e grande allegrezza fece di nostra venuta con farne assai carezze" [...].

²⁸ For the importance of oral communication in the diplomacy of Carlo Tocco during his independent rule, see *N. Zečević*, *Λέξις γλυκεῖα: The Importance of the Spoken Word in the Public Affairs of Carlo Tocco* (from the *Anonymous Chronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia*), in *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, eds. G. Jaritz and M. Richter, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 12–CEU *Medievalia* 3, Krems–Budapest, 2001, 108–116.

which, consequently, allowed them to receive the Genoese protection. As this condition was formulated generally, with no precise reference to the identity of their enemies — just as in the Tocco demand quoted in the exposition of the document — it may be concluded that Magdalene Tocco counted to protect the domain from all of her enemies, not just from the Albanians as suggested by Gasparis in his interpretation of the ratification document.²⁹ Further on, the grant stated that from the point of taxes and exemptions, the Tocco could regard themselves equal to other citizens of Genova. In return, their representative promised that the Tocco and their subjects would behave just like any other “good, true and loyal” Genoese, which specifically meant that they would receive in their domain, “with good will and beneficence”, all Genoese envoys, ambassadors and other citizens. In addition, the Tocco obliged themselves to: supply the above-mentioned Genoese visitors with food and other necessary articles; take part in the preservation and defence of the Genoan Republic and its property and, consequently, participate in any Genoese military action east of Sicily (under the condition that they were not required to refuse loyalty to their supreme suzerains, the Angevin rulers of Naples) by sending a completely furnished galleon (or money necessary for this) for a period of three months per year,³⁰ pay taxes required by the Genoese authorities just like other Genoese citizens; ratify the grant as soon as possible.³¹

The quoted terms seem to have mostly followed the existing Genoese practice of citizenship granting. Similarly to the situation in other maritime republics of the time,³² the Genoese administration received oaths of loyalty from the local lords — diminishing, at the same time, their feudal rights, but offering, in return, protection during the frequent struggles of these lords against their hostile neighbours. This system, probably developed as early as the first half of the twelfth century, required the new Genoese citizens to reside in the city for three-months every year (in case of war even longer),³³ as well as to actively participate in the city’s defence from any kind of hostile attack.³⁴

²⁹ See above, p. 2. Cf. the text of the document, lns. 29–30.

³⁰ See the instrument, ln. 53. According to the treaty with the Bulgarian ruler Ivanko of 1387, the authorities of the Genoese colony in Pera required the Bulgarians to place a ship (or money for one) at their disposal for six months. For this treaty, see *S. de Sacy*, *Mémoire sur un traité fait entre les Genoïs de Péra et un prince de Bulgares*, *Mémoires de l’Institut Royal de France: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 7 (1824) 292–343; *И. Дужев*, *Договоръ на добруджанския княз Иванко съ генуесците отъ 1387 г.*, in *id.*, *Стара Българска книжнина*, vol. II, Sofia 1944, pp. xxviii; 185–197; 394–5 (=Dujčev, Ivanko).

³¹ Prompt ratification was also specifically mentioned as a condition in the ratification document of October 1390; see *Gasparis*, *Il patto*, 255.

³² For references to Venetian citizenship see below, n. 39. Among the most recent results of the investigations about the conditions and procedure of citizenship granting in other maritime republics of the time, especially useful (for the case of Ragusa) are those by Z. Janeković-Römer, *Diversified Differences: Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Medieval Dubrovnik*, communication presented at the Interdisciplinary Workshop on Segregation, Integration and Assimilation in Medieval Towns (20–22. February 2003, Central European University, Budapest).

³³ It is important to note that the Tocco were not required to reside within the city for three months, as were many other new Genoese citizens.

³⁴ *G. Day*, *Genoa’s Response to Byzantium 1155–1204: Commercial Expansionism and Factionalism in a Medieval City*, Chicago 1988, 49 (=Day, *Genoa’s Response*) considers the treaty with Marquise Alderamo of Ponson (1135) to be the first Genoese pact of this kind.

From the Tocco perspective, at first sight the alignment with the Genoese might seem a somewhat unusual matter. First, the Republic of Genova became yet another among their supreme masters, which, in a formal sense, was undesirable.³⁵ Second, the alliance with the Genoese meant an alignment with the Ghibeline (“popular,” pro-German) party that ruled the city at the time. This, given the existing Tocco preferences towards the traditional Guelph circles of power in the Apennines and further on (pontifical Curia, Neapolitan Angevins, Acciaioli), was, again, hardly a desirable model of political behaviour.

The evidence of the political practices of the time shows, however, that Magdalene acted in a manner that was, above all, useful. The Tocco family governed the Ionian islands first and foremost as the representatives and vassals of the Guelph-oriented Angevin court in Naples.³⁶ Of course, the family’s vassalage to the Angevin court did not follow the ideal dual bond ‘vassal-King’ — during the rule of Carlo Robert (1309–1343), the Tocco obliged themselves to serve also the King’s brother, Philip of Anjou, who held the titles of Prince of Taranto (1294–1331), Despot of Romania (1294–1315), Prince of Achaia (1307–1313) and Emperor of the Latin Empire (1313–1331).³⁷ As Philip’s titles were transferred to his offspring during the fourteenth century, throughout this period the Tocco had two suzerains among the Neapolitan Angevins, one being the ruler himself, another being a younger member of the ruling family.³⁸ This kind of subjection, similar to the complex vassalage examples noted by Marc Bloch, was additionally amended by Magdalene’s husband Leonardo who, for himself and his posterity, obtained the status of a Venetian citizen (1361),³⁹ strengthening at the same time also the connections with other

³⁵ Less than a month after the granting of Genoese citizenship to the Tocco, the Venetians openly protested on this matter before the Genoese Doge. With an unusually sharp tone, the Venetians directly stated that the subjection to two republics at the time was not legally justified; see *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 764 (December 30, 1389), p. 184. Cf. *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 787 (April 11, 1391), p. 189 and *AAV* 1: 2, no. 413, p. 117.

³⁶ Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto (=ASN, ATM), *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 4 (November 20, 1322 in Naples).

³⁷ As is widely known, Philip was the younger son of King Charles II of Anjou. His first title came from his marriage to Thamar, the daughter of the Despot of Epiros; his second title was granted to him by his father, while the third was acquired through his marriage to Catherine of Valois. Details of the chronology and nature of his titles can be found in *Longnon*, *Empire Latin*, 283–300; *A. E. Laiou*, *Constantinople and the Latins: the Policy of Andronicus II 1282–1328*, Cambridge, MA 1972, 37–57, and 260; *A. M. Talbot*, Philip I of Taranto, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, vol. 3, p. 1652. The direct subjection of Carlo’s ancestor Guillelmo Tocco to Philip was documented in several charters, e.g. ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 1 (August 10, 1322, in Naples).

³⁸ The Tocco were recorded as the vassals of King Robert in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 4 (November 20, 1332, in Naples); Prince Philip in *ibid.*, perg. no. 8 (October 27, 1347, in Naples); Prince Robert in *ibid.*, perg. no. 9 (October 30, 1347, in Naples), Queen Joan I in *ibid.*, perg. no. 10 (November 1, 1347, in Naples).

³⁹ *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia*, *Regesti*, ed. R. Predelli, Venezia 1883, vol. 3, 1, 6, no. 295 (February 19, 1361), p. 329, i *E. A. Tsitseles*, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμεικτα: συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν και λαογραφίαν της νησου Κεφαλληνίας*, vol. 2, Athens 1960, pp. 91–92 (February 18, 1361). The Venetians referred to this citizenship on several occasions later; see *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 764 (December 30, 1389), p. 184, and *ibid.*, no. 829 (April 15, 1393), 197–8. Apart from being granted Venetian citizenship, Leonardo I Tocco affirmed his position in this maritime republic also

Guelph circles of power, namely with the pontifical Curia and the powerful Acciaiuoli of Florence.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that such a policy of loyalty to various political factions was commonly practised in the West at the time, and that due to this practice Leonardo established the *de facto* independence of his domain.⁴¹ Ironically, after Leonardo's death Magdalene's connection with the Guelphs — although strongly based upon her private liaisons with the Florentine circle — lost a great deal of its primary significance. The Guelphs were in crises several times during the late 1370s and early 1380s, as the pontificate was overburdened with the issues of the "Great Schism", Charles III (1382–1386) and Jacques de Baux fought for the Neapolitan throne and supremacy over the Principality of Achaëa,⁴² while the Acciaiuoli were involved both in the pontifical disputes and an internal fight for power in Florence featured by the Ciompi revolution and the troubles between the guild regime and the conservatives.⁴³ Loyal to Charles III,⁴⁴ Magdalene directly felt the consequences of this situation as her domain was attacked by the Navarese who were in the service of de Baux.⁴⁵ In such circumstances, her alliance with the ruling Genoese Ghibelines, even though it implies an unusual ideological turn (unusual from the perspective of

through personal lineage, for instance with the marriages of his daughter Petronella: in 1372. to Niccolò dalle Carceri (Duke of Naxos and Aegean Archipelago), a in the early 1390s to Niccolò Venier, the son of the Doge Marino Venier.

⁴⁰ An illustration of his ties with Florence can be found in the Acciaiuoli correspondence, e.g. the Letter of Lappa Acciaiuoli to Philipo Bardi, in *J. A. Buchon*, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée et ses hautes Baronnie*, Paris 1843, vol. 2, 207, and the same in *I. G. Rao*, ed., *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*, Roma 1996, no. 151. For the fragments of this correspondence, see also *A. T. Luttrell*, *Aldobrando Baroncelli in Greece 1378–1383*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36 (1970) 277. On Florentine interests in Greece, see *A. T. Luttrell*, *Interessi fiorentini nell'economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento*, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, Storia e Filosofia* 2: 27 (1959); second edition in *id.*, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440*, London 1978 (*Variorum*), no. VIII.

⁴¹ *M. Bloch*, *Feudal Society*, vol. 1, English translation L. A. Manyon, London–New York, 1989^{repr} (first English edition 1962), 211–214 (= *Bloch*, *Feudal Society*).

⁴² On the struggle for the Neapolitan throne see Longnon, *Empire Latin*, 333–335, and *É. Léonard*, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris 1954, 446–9. Jacques de Baux died on July 7, 1383, transferring his rights to the Principality of Achaëa and the Latin Empire to his cousin, Louis I of Anjou (1382–1384), the son of the French King, Jean the Good. It is important to note that the struggle attracted the attention of other powers in the region, especially of the pontificate, which itself was divided at the time (Charles III was the favorite of Pope Urban VI while his rival enjoyed the favor of Clement VII).

⁴³ For a useful recent overview of the political situation in Florence of the time, see *G. A. Brucker*, *Florence: The Golden Age 1138–1737*, Los Angeles 1998, especially pp. 131–136.

⁴⁴ *CroToc*, 1, 219–27, 220–222, suggests that Magdalene visited Naples not long after the death of her husband, and that she contacted the King to have her ruling position confirmed; yet it does not say anything about her role in the Angevin struggle for the throne. There is, however, a clear documentary confirmation that the close Neapolitan kin of Magdalene's late husband was loyal to Charles III during the struggle (*ASN, Atti notarili, busta 4*, perg. no. 162 [August 12, 1383 in Naples]).

⁴⁵ *Luttrell*, *Aldobrando*, letter no. 2, (April 24, 1382) (to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli), cap. 2, p. 293; letter no. 3 (June 15, 1382), (to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli), cap. 2, p. 296. Before February 1383, the Tocco county of Cephalonia was conceded by de Baux to John Lascaris Kalopheros. Not much later, before August 22, 1383, Louis I of Anjou, the successor of Jacques de Baux, declared the Tocco traitors, and proclaimed the confiscation of their entire Greek domain, which he donated to the family of the Grimaldi. The confiscation, however, never took place, due to his defeat in the struggle for the throne in Naples.

the fixed party loyalties of many Italian families of the time), should be perceived, above all, as a “pragmatic”⁴⁶ means of survival.

At this point, however, an enquiry into the Tocco citizenship in Genova can easily fall again into the field of speculation as there is no evidence that the important procedure details and circumstances revealed by the instrument of December 2, 1389, were ever really enacted.⁴⁷ Magdalene and Carlo I Tocco did become the citizens of the Republic of Genova, and their status was indeed ratified on October 7, 1390. Yet no document directly confirms that the Tocco ever received any kind of serious military help from the Genoese, sent any kind of tribute to the Ligurian Republic, resided there, or received in their insular domain a significant number of the Genoese.⁴⁸ Instead, less than three years after the ratification of the Tocco citizenship grant, the Venetian documentation revealed that the son of Magdalene Tocco attempted to enter the circle of the Genoese rivals in the Republic of St. Mark.⁴⁹ In such a context, the instrument of December 2, 1389 — although a most important source for the issues of the Genoese and Tocco diplomatic, chronology, prosopography and documentary practices — can be seen only as a ceremonial document with no real political significance.

TEXT

Edition criteria:

The orthography of names follows the forms quoted by the original text. The transcription keeps the use of the graphemes as in the original document: “j” meaning “i”; “u” meaning “v”; “v” meaning “u”; the original orthography of the diphthong “ae” (“e”) has been kept in the transcription; the syllabled form “-ti” has been kept as the form “-ci” appearing in the original text. The numbers in the text mark the beginning of the original lines (with the exception of the first); the same principle is followed for the designation of the subscription lines that are counted separately.

⁴⁶ This Tocco political “pragmatism” was noted by *Miller*, *The Latins*, 487.

⁴⁷ The reasons for which the citizenship grant was never enacted cannot be assessed with precision. On one hand, one could simply conclude that this was not required by the actual political situation. On the other hand, it is equally probable that the grant’s enactment was actively obstructed by the Venetians. An allusion to this emerges from a document in *Thiriet*, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 803, (September 7, 1391), in which the Venetian authorities openly indicated their attempts to “detach” Carlo from the Genoese — ironically enough, with the help of Magdalene Tocco.

⁴⁸ The presence of Genoese merchants on the Tocco island of Cephalonia was recorded by Jean Froissart, in his *Chroniques*, in *Ouvres de Froissart*, vol. 16, ed. *K. de Lettenhove* (Bruxelles: Closson, 1875), 53: “et que plusieurs fois les marchans de Venise et de Jennes et des autres terres qui là arrivoient et qui y séjournoient ung temps pour les fortunes qui sur la mer estoient [...]”. This reference, however, was made almost a decade after the Tocco were granted citizenship in Genova (1397), and it does not contain any particular detail that would define the presence of the Genoese merchants as a direct result of the implementation of the Tocco citizenship grant.

⁴⁹ *Commemoriali*, 8, no. 387, cap. 166 (168) (January 9, 1393), p. 216. *Ibid.*, 388, s.d. (c. January 1393), c. 166 (168), conditions Carlo’s rapprochement to Venice with the termination of his subjection to Genova.

- “*ab̄cd̄*” = less legible letters.
- “*...*” = letters that exist but can not be read.
- “*..*” = signs written by the notary.
- “*/abcd/*” = letters added by the notary in an interline.
- “*+abcd+*” = language error.

In Nomine domini amen. Illustris et Magnificus dominus dominus Antoniotus Adurnus dei gratia Januensium dux et populi defensor. Et .. Consilium quindecim Sapientum |2| Ancianorum Ciuitatis Janue in sufficienti et legitimo numero congregatum et Illorum de dicto consilio qui interfuerunt nomina sunt hec: hieronimus de aviolo, notarius procurator Nico|3|laus Gatinanti bancherius damianus Bambonus Antonius de Biuso Antonius Bellonus Johannes de Ederico de Bulzaneto Antonius Biusulfus de pelis Antonius de Eurignono |4| Petrus dardella et Batistus de Negro quondam ubi. Audita et plene intellecta requisitione coram eis facta per dilectum virum Jordanum dictum catanzarum procuratorem et procurationis nomine |5| Magnifici et potentis viri domini Karoli ducis luchate et Comitis Cephalonie palatini iuxta formam litterarum dicti domini karoli suo sollito sigillo sigillatarum et quarum litterarum |6| tenor talis est: Innomine domini nostri Yhesu Hristi amen. Anno a natiuitate eiusdem m^occc^olxxxviii^o die xii^a mensis Octobri vii^o Indicis. Nos Carolus dux lucate et Comes Cepha|7|lonie palatinus certis causis et consideracionibus inducti ne minus confisi de fidei prudencie et legalitatis meritis Jordani dicti Catanzarij ligij et familiaris nostri carrissimi. |8| Eundem Jordanum presentem coram nobis et onus presentis procurationis in se sponte suscipientem tenere precium et certa nostra facta constituimus facimus et ordinamus nostrum procuratorem negociorum gestorem |9| factorem et nuncium specialem ac quocumque alio nostro melius dici et conferi de Jure potest et debet Ad conferendum se nomine vice et pro parte nostra ad Ciuitatem Janue et ad presenciam Spectabilis et |10| Magnificorum /virorum/ domini Antonioti Adurni ducis Januensium et consilij Ancianorum ac communis ciuitatis Janue nobis honorabilium et carissimorum tamquam fratrem et tractandis in eisdem domino .. duce consilio |11| et communi ciuitatis Janue certa que dicto Jordano +oratorius+ commisimus et de quibus eum plene informauius que hic haberi volumus pro appertis et expressis Illasque terminandum prosequendum repli|12|candum concludendum et ad finem debitum perducendum promisiones de illis per nos obseruandis faciendum et ab eisdem domino .. duce consilio et communi similiter petendum requirendum et recipiendum |13| et acceptandum factamentum in animam nostram prestandum cautelas et scripturas alias ex inde faciendum seu fieri rogandum et recipiendum nosque heredes successores et bona nostra propria obli|14|gandum ac omnia et singola cum hec faciendum et exequendum que quilibet veri et legitimi procuratores negociorum gestores fidei comisarij et nuncij speciales facere possent et deberent nosque |15| similiter facere possemus si ibidem personaliter adessemus dicto et Concedentes eidem Jordano plena libera et omnimodo potentem auctoritatem licenciam et specialem mandatum ad omnia et singola supra |16| dicta et alia que sibi commisimus exequendi tractandi terminandi faciendi et concludendi vt predicatur nostri parte.

Promittentes nichilominus sub verbo et fide magnatu omnia et singola que dictus [17] Jordanus nostri parte tractauerit procurauerit agerit promisit conclusit et fecerit in promissis rata grata firma et accepta omni futuro tempore habere tenere et reputare eaque obseruare attendere [18] et adimplere ac obseruari et adimpleri facere cum effectu in illis contrauenire facere dicere uel opponere directo uel indirecte palam publice uel occulte aliqua racione uel causa per nos aut alios [19] nostri parte. Et ipsam et unumquodque aut aliud uel alia ipsorum ad omnem requisicionem dictorum domini .. ducis consilij et communis uel alterius pro parte ipsorum simplice uel plenne ratificare acceptare [20] et approbare per alias nostras litteras omniaque supra hijs expedientes fieri facere cautellas scripturas uel alia documenta veritatis subfacia non mutata. Et pro promissis omnibus et singulis [21] firmiter per nos attendendis et obseruandis et ut continuo fiat obligamus nos ad penam unciarum duomillium prefatis dominis .. duconsilio et communi in casu quo per nos promissis contrauenientis [22] contingat applicandam que pena factionis exigetur quociens fuerit exinde quolibet argentum aut argueniri quolibet attentatum dicta pena comissa uel non comissa et exacta uel non exacta [23] aut graciose remissa parte nostra procuratio cum omnibusque que in se continet in jus robore et efficacia firmiter perseueret. Volentes insuper quod in presenti procuracione per nos eidem Jordano ut predicatur facta omnia [24] intelligatur dicta acta expressa cogitata et narrata quam rem illam quacumque neccessariam et expediencia videretur. In quorum omnium fidem perpetuamque memoriam et tam dictorum domini .. duci .. consilij et [25] communis quod omnium aliorum quorum interuenit et interesse poterit consuetudinem et cautellam presentis nominis procuracionis litteras exinde fieri facimus nostro jmo sigillo que vtimur comuniri. data in [26] castro nostro Sancti Georgij de Cephalonia. Anno die mense et Indictione predictis. .. Et casu audita et plene intellecta requisicione facta per dictum Jordanum Ambassiatorem et nuncium Magnifici et po[27]tentis domine domine Magdalene genetricis prefati Magnifici domini karoli ducisse luchate et Comitisse Cephalonie palatine ad petentem et requirentem circa sub cuius vna Magnifice domine Magdalene [28] rerum contractarum Nomine et vice prefatorum Magnificorum dominorum Magdalene et karoli et prefati Magnificus dominus dominus dux Januensium et .. Consilium dignemur cumque placeat recurri [29] proprius dominam magdalenam et dominum karolum et ipsorum et alterius eorum Subdictos in Ciues Ciuitatis Janue et in numero et greaio Ciuium Janue admittere et aggregare. Et casu in protectione et [30] defensione predictorum Magnificorum domini domini .. ducis Januensium .. Consilij et communis Janue admittere. Et ipsos decetero habere tenere et reputare et habeoteneri et reputari facere pro Ciuibus Janue quo ad ho[31]nores nomina priuilegia immunitates et functionarias ciuibus Janue concessas. Et ipsis gaudere vti et frui possint prout ceteri ciues Janue. Volentes requisicionibus dicti Jordani nominibus quibus supra [32] omnem tenetur in jus benigne et gractanter et perpetuo affectionem singularem quam prefati Magnifici domina Magdalena et dominus karolus et ipsorum antecessores semper gesserunt erga commune Janue et presi[33]dentes dicto communi ac ceteros Januenses. Omnia via Jure modo et forma quibus melius potuerunt et possunt. habito jus super inscriptis consilij et

deliberacione Officij Octo prouisionis parcium [34] Ciuitatis Etcetera caperetur sapiatur dictum Jordanum presentem nominibus quibus supra et per ipsum prefatos Magnificos dominam Magdalenam et dominum karolum eiusdem domine Magdalene primogenitum eorumque [35] et liberos eorum heredes et successores ac ipsorum et cuiuslibet eorum subditorum in Ciues Ciuitatis Janue et in numero et gremio ceterorum ciuium Janue aggregauerunt et aggregant. Et sub protectione [36] et defensione virorum Magnifici et Illustris domini domini .. duci et consilij et communis Janue Aduerserunt et advenerunt ita quod decreto habeantur teneantur et reputentur pro veris et fidelibus ciuibus Janue [37] tam in ciuitate Janue quam in quacumque alia mundi parte. Et quod decreto vtantur et gaudeant et vti et gaudere possint et placeant decreto et singulis honoribus priuilegijs immunitatibus et [38] facultatibus que sunt in Ciuitate Janue et quibuscumque terris et locis communis Janue quibus vtuntur et gaudent et vti et gaudere soliti sunt ceteri Ciues Janue. Mandantes statuentes et decernentes quod decreto [39] per quoscunque Officiales et Rectores in quarumque mundi parte constitutos et per quoscunque Januenses seu qui pro Januensibus appellantur et reputentur prefati Magnifici domina Magdalena et dominus karo[40]lus et eorum et alterius eorum heredes et successores ac subdicti tractentur reputentur habeantur et defensantur tampro veri et fideles Ciues Janue et prout et sicut ceteri Ciues Janue tractantur [41] reputantur et defensantur. Dominus Jordanus nominibus quibus supra gractanter et benigne acceptans omnia et singula supradicta volens eidem iurata et comissa pro dictos eius dominos adimplere et obseruare [42] promisit et solempniter continerit prefatis Magnifico domino domino .. duci et .. Consilio ac michi notario infrascripto tamquam publice persone officis publico stipulantibus et recipientibus nomine et vice communis Janue et omnium et [43] singulorum quorum inest interit uel in futurum poterit interesse quod prefati Magnifici domini Magdalena et karolus et Ipsorum et cuiuslibet eorum subditorum erunt decetero boni veri et fideles ciues [44] Janue et pro bonis veris et fidelibus ciuibus Janue se gerent tractabunt et reputabunt verbo et facto in quacumque mundi parte et iurabuntur et perseuerabunt sub protectione et +defensione+ et defensione [45] prelibati Magnifici domini domini .. ducis Januensium Consilij et communis Janue. Nuncios et Ambassiatores dicti communis Janue et presidencium eidem communi et personas quorumcunque Januensium et qui pro Januen[46]sibus reputentur et tractentur benigne gractanter et fauorabiliter tractabunt et in terris portubus Insulis et locis communis receptabunt tam in mari quam in terra et ipsis existentibus in dictis [47] locis uel aliquo eorum prebebunt victualia et alia opportuna et necessaria quibus prefati Januenses indigerent pro ipsis Januensium partibus. Ipsisque sanos saluos et Illesos et ipsorum bona in dictis lo[48]cis et quolibet eorum conseruabunt et bona fide et pro posse ipsorum Magnificorum dominorum Magdalene et karoli subditorum quod suorum contraomnem personam corpus Collegium seu Vniuersitatem [49] Januenses prefatos defendent et tuebuntur. Et eciam soluent et subibunt omnia et singula onera communis Janue quocumque nomine conseruantur qua per dictum commune Janue seu .. presidentes dicto communi imponentur sicut ceteri [50] ciues Janue facient. Item promisit dictus Jordanus nominibus quibus supra prefatis Magnifico domino domino duci supra consilio et michi dicto notario

stipulantibus et recipientibus nominibus quibus supra |51| eorum prefati Magnifici domini Magdalena et karolus et ipsorum et cuiuslibet eorum subditorum facient decetero pacem et guerram pro communi Janue et ad uoluntatem et requisitionem dicti communis seu presidentium dicto |52| communi contra quoscumque contra quos dicti communis seu presidentes dicto Communi guerram facient et cum quibuscumque pacem seu treguam facient bona fide et pro posse. Item quod dabunt ad seruitias cuiuscumque |53| guerre dicti Communis seu presidencium dicto communi vnam galeam armatam pro mensibus tribus quolibet anno expensis ipsorum dominorum .. Comitisse et ducisse ac .. Comitissis et ducis siue pecuniam |54| necessariam pro stipendis dictis galeis pro dictis tribus mensibus ad dictas seruitias cuiusque guerre dicti communis Janue quodcunque commune Janue voluitur pro dicto tempore et vbicumque a Sicilia inclusiue vltra |55| versus orientem. Salus et exceptato quod non obstantibus supra dictis non teneantur facere guerram seu aliquam offensionem realem uel personalem contra Serenissimam dominam dominam Margaritam |56| dei gratia Jerusalemij Sicilie et Vngarie Reginam nec contra Serenissimum dominum +Venceslaum+ primogenitum eiusdem et natum Illustris principis quondam domini domini Regis karolij consortis ipsius nec contra sub|57|dictos seu vassallos ipsorum. Item promisit dictus Jordanus nominibus quibus supra quod prefati Magnifici domini Magdalena et karolus expresse ratificabunt et approbabunt omnia et singula in presenti instramento |58| et predictus Jordanus promissus per vnum aut plura publica instrumenta cum promissionibus iuramentis obligationibus racionibus penarum adiectionibus et alijs cautellis debitis et necessarijs |59| instrumentis per proxime venturos. Jurans ad Sanctissima euangelia tactis scripturis dictus Jordanus dictis nominibus et presentibus nominibus quibus suprascriptis stipulatis intrari etc. Prefatis Magnifico domino domino |60| duce Januensium et consilio et communi iamdicto notario notario stipulantibus et recipientibus nomine et vice dicti communis Janue et omnium et singulorum quorum interest intererit uel interesse poterit predicta omnia et singula habeantur perpetuo et tenere et |61| quod dicti Magnifici domini Magdalena et karolus eorumque et cuiusque /ipsorum/ subditorum et quilibet eorum habebunt perpetuo et tenebunt rata grata et firma accendentur complebuntur et obseruabuntur omnia et singula suprascripta per dictum Jorda|62|num dictis nominibus promissa et quorum non facient uel venient aliquas res cum animo uel ingenio qui dici uel excogitari possit de Jure uel de facto Sub ypotecha et obligatione bonorum suorum dictis nominibus presencium et futu|63|rorum. Et de predictis mandauerunt prefati Magnificus dominus .. dux et .. Consilium dictusque Jordanus dictis nominibus rogauit confici debere publicum instrumentum presentis Antonii de Credencia notarii publici et ipsorum Magnificorum domini .. |64| ducis consilij et communis Janue cancellarium infrascriptum. Actum Janue in sala parua Cancellarie veteris palacij ducalis in qua discumbit fanulus praefati Magnifici domini .. ducis. Anno dominice natiuitatis Mille|65|simotrecentesimo octuagesimonono. Indicione duodecima. secundum cursum Janue. die Jouis huius mensis decembris vespera hora vigessimatercia. Presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis specialiter et rogatis Alde|66|brando de Conuersia

Conrado Mazurro Petro de Burgilio et Masimo de Judicibus notarijs et dicti comunis Janue Cancellarijs.

Ego Antonius de Credencia quondam Conradi publicus Imperiali auctoritate notarius et prefatorum magnifici domini domini .. ducis consilij et Comunis Janue cancellarius perduxi omnibus |2| interfui et rogatus hoc publicum Instrumentum composui et scripsi. Tamen alijs pluribus occupatus per alios et readjunctus nomen michi feci et composui vidi legi corexi |3| et sigillo commisso approbavi originali instrumento scripto manu mea et utroque mandatis iuramentis me subscripsi in publicum signo in nomine apposito de iure uel de facto huius instromenti ... quod de manu |4| prefati Magnifici domini .. ducis consilij pendenti sigillo ducalis communis Janue ypnessione muniui.

f. verso

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ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI NAPOLI

Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto

Pergamena N. 33-33 priv. 1389, 2 dic.

Cittadinanza di Genoa

..... Duce

Luchate et

Nº 32”

Нада Зечевућ

ЂЕНОВСКО ГРАЂАНСТВО КАРЛА I ТОКО (2. XII 1389)

(1)

У фокусу рада налази се документ о грађанству у Ђенови које су власти ове поморске републике 2. XII 1389 дале Карлу I Токо и његовој мајци, регенткињи Магдалени. Овај документ, вековима чуван у породичном архиву, у модерно време није привукао пажњу научних кругова, што је довело до тога да се о његовим детаљима може шпекулисати иако се постојање самог документа не доводи у питање. Како би се документ о Токо грађанству у Ђенови што боље разумео, у првом делу рада доноси се транскрипција његовог текста, као и анализа политичко-правних прилика које су довеле до његовог настајања. Међу посебно значајним приликама потребно је истаћи настојање Магдалене Токо да

обезбеди ђеновску заштиту од свих евентуалних непријатеља, те ђеновску аспирацију на Токо домен, посебно значајну у контексту борбе ове републике са Венецијом за интересне сфере на Истоку. Поменута анализа такође указује и на баланс Токо регенткиње, не само између две међусобно супротстављене поморске републике, него и између гвелфских и гибелинских центара моћи на Апенинском полуострву. Недостатак документарних података о стварној примени одредби из документа о грађанству од 2. XII 1389. наводи на закључак да се ради о церемонијалном акту без стварне политичке вредности.