

The making of a lawyer: humanism and legal syncretism in Venetian Crete

PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES

In the history of European humanism law and legal scholarship have been distinctly connected with processes of ideological change. Conceptions of law, the uses of legal texts and the professional practices of lawyers have repeatedly provided the matrix within which the understanding of the collective destinies of societies has been shaped.¹ It is therefore rather paradoxical that research on Venetian Crete, the foremost hearth of post-Byzantine civilization in the Greek lands whose experience has been stamped by a sustained growth of humanism over three centuries, has paid scant attention to this aspect of humanist culture. With the exception of some important empirical studies of judicature, based on the evidence of archival documents,² the exploration of law

1. Among the extensive relevant bibliography I might cite those studies that have contributed specifically to the clarification of my own views, such as Myron Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought, 1200-1600* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 24-27, 36-44, 45-87, 127-132; Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism* (London 1977) 118-148; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge 1978) I, 105-106, 201-208; II, 123-134 and passim; Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton 1968) 405-455 and Brian Pullan, *A History of Early Renaissance Italy* (London 1973) 184-186. See also Linton C. Stevens, 'The Contribution of French Jurists to the Humanism of the Renaissance', *Studies in the Renaissance* 1 (1954) 92-105; Guido Kisch, 'Humanist Jurisprudence', *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961) 71-87; Peter Riesenber, 'Civism and Roman Law in Fourteenth Century Italian Society', *Explorations in Economic History*, nos. 1-2 (Fall-Winter 1969): *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in memory of Robert L. Reynolds* 237-254.

2. On the subject the several studies by Elizabeth Santschi are of great value, not least because they appeal systematically to empirical evidence in order to show the centrality of the *Statuta Venetorum* as the basis of the administration of justice in Venetian Crete. See *Θησαυρίσματα* 7 (1970) 82-96; 9 (1972) 104-136; 10 (1973) 163-171; 11 (1974) 89-127; and 13 (1976) 47-80; and especially *eadem* 'L'apparition des considérants de droit dans la jurisprudence vénéto-crétoise du XIVE siècle', *Θησαυρίσματα*

as a form of consciousness in the culture of Venetian Crete has been eclipsed by the great attention attracted by modes of creative expression such as poetry, painting, the theatre and other forms of art.

The methodological frameworks within which research on these subjects was carried out, have determined the exclusion of a consideration of political ideology from the study of Cretan culture. This involves another paradox in that this very research itself was largely motivated by a broad political concern, namely to bring out and underline the survival of the basic Hellenic ethnological character of Cretan society which absorbed but was not 'adulterated' by Western influences and the Catholic religious culture of the dominant power. This overriding concern, largely borne out by the evidence of the sources, did not encourage the examination of mutations and differentiations within Cretan humanism itself, considered as an integral entity especially during the period of its greatest flowering in the last century of Venetian rule in the island.

On account of the foregoing considerations it might be of interest to look at the contents of a legal library in early seventeenth century Candia in order to glean a few hints about certain political aspects of humanism in Venetian Crete. The source of our information is an inventory of movable property, drawn up by the notary Tomaso Sachiellari in Candia in January 1609,³ when

12 (1975) 14-34. On the subject of law and justice in Venetian Crete see also Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age* (Paris 1959) 235-243 and Gaetano Cozzi, 'La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia', in *idem*, ed., *Stato, società e giustizia nella Repubblica Veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)* (Rome 1980) 31-42 and *idem*, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati italiani. Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Turin 1982) 227-235. On the administration of justice in the early seventeenth century cf. the observations of the Venetian governor of Candia Venier in his report ed. by S.G. Spanakis, 'Η έκθεση του Δούκα της Κρήτης Ντολφίν Βενιέρ (1610)', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 4 (1950) 319-352, esp. 326-328.

3. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (A.S.V.), *Notai di Candia*, b.254, Tomaso Sachiellari, libro XVI (1606-1614), ff. 134v-135v: 24 January 1609. The document has been brought to my attention by Mary Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, who had noticed it in the context of her extensive researches on the *Notai di Candia* in connection with the history of post-byzantine painting in Venetian Crete. Her scholarly advice has been substantial over the years of the preparation of this article. A special debt is owed to her for pointing out to me illustrations pertinent to the subject matter of this paper. Professor N.M. Panayiotakis has been kind enough to inform me that he has noticed

the property was entrusted by Piero Drimin to the care of the well known clergyman and scholar Meletios Vlastos, parish priest of the Orthodox church of Saint Mary Trimartiros in Candia and a prominent representative of Cretan learning at the period.⁴ The document informs us that the books, clothing and furniture, 'made and bought with his very own money' by Piero Drimin and entrusted to the reverend Vlastos were to be kept for Piero's son Zuan Drimin, 'dottor di leggi'. The evidence could be hinting at the transfer of professional practice within a family, a phenomenon which characterised the corporate world of guilds in Medieval and early modern Europe.⁵ The incidence of this social practice might provide the basis of a hypothesis concerning the existence of a guild of jurists besides the numerous other

documentary evidence at the A.S.V. referring to a Cretan student by the name of Drimin at the University of Padua in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This obviously must be identified with the son Drimin who was pursuing his studies at Padua at the time while his father in Candia was assembling law books and creating a professional vestuary for him. Other documentary evidence in the same notary's records suggests that the curious transaction between father and son through Vlastos's intercession was due to a disagreement which also led to a transfer of the inheritance of Piero's wife and Zuan's mother Caterina Canetto from the first to the second, who was to hold it on trust until his younger brothers and sisters came of age. See A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.254, Tomaso Sachiellari, libro XVI (1606-1641), f.135v: 24 January 1609. On Piero Drimin see also *ibid.* b.206, G. Pantaleo, libro VII, Atti, 1589-1590, f.17v: 29 December 1589, where he is referred to as 'captain of the public place' (καπετάνιος του φόρου). In 1581 he is already recorded in the sources as 'vice capitano de piazza'. See A.S.V., *Duca di Candia*, b.40 bis (Memoriali, Serie II), 53 (1581), f.167. For this information too I am indebted to Mary Constantoudaki.

4. Meletios Vlastos was a leading personality in the religious and intellectual life of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Candia and mentions of his presence are quite numerous in contemporary sources. A distinguished representative of the humanist movement himself, he was also in touch with one of its most prominent leaders, Maximos Margounios whom we will encounter in the survey of humanist libraries in Candia. On Vlastos's life and contribution to Cretan humanism see N.B. Tomadakis, *Μεταβυζαντινά φιλολογικά* (Athens 1965) 37-47 and 49-56 and P.D. Mastrodimitris — A.L. Vincent, 'Ανέκδοτο εγκώμιο του Μελετίου Βλαστού (1625)', *Θησαυρίσματα* 9 (1972) 97-103. More recent contributions on this important Cretan humanist include G. Papazoglou, 'Ανέκδοτη ὀμιλία Μελετίου του Βλαστού', *Κληρονομία* 12 (1980) 95-124 with earlier bibliography. He is attested as possessing a personal library which included Greek manuscripts. See J. Pargoire, 'Meletios Syrigos, sa vie et ses oeuvres', *EO* 11 (1908) 332.

5. Cf. Anthony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1984) 27.

guilds known to have operated in Candia.⁶ In this regard as well the urban society of Venetian Crete could be seen to be fully integrated into the broader patterns of social organisation and institutional structures prevailing in West European society.⁷ The hypothesis however cannot be confirmed since nowhere in the document is the donor, Piero Drimin, referred to with the professional title of a lawyer.

These admittedly important aspects of the evidence should be of interest to the student of the social history of Venetian Crete, but will not retain us in this paper. The document that is edited diplomatically and published below, is of special importance because it adds a new dimension to the picture of humanist culture in the Cretan Renaissance. I hasten to add that the presentation of this material and the commentary that follows is no more than an initial and provisional attempt⁸ to come to grips with a very rich and complex subject and does not therefore pretend to exhaust the voluminous literature on either Cretan culture and society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or on the topic of legal humanism.

A GIFT OF BOOKS, CLOTHES AND FURNITURE
FROM PIERO TO ZUAN DRIMIN, ENTRUSTED TO
MELETIOS VLASTOS.

A.S.V. — *Notai di Candia*, b.254 (T. Sachiellari),
libro XVI (1606-1614), fols.134v-135v.

Die 24 Januarii 1609 more imperiali.

*Il molto reverendo padre Melletio Vlasto officiator
de Santa Maria intitullata Trimartiro in questa città,
per l'auttorita data et attributa a soprascritto molto*

6. For a case in point see Mary Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, 'Ειδήσεις για τη συντεχνία των ζωγράφων του Χάνδακα τὸν δέκατο ἔκτο αἰὼνα', *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* II (Athens 1981) 123-145.

7. Cf. Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution. The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 390-392.

8. At the moment I am working on a bibliographical reconstruction of the contents of the library, that will hopefully allow a more precise identification of the books mentioned in Tomaso Sachiellari's notarial list.

5 *reverendo dall'eccellentissimo dottor di leggi il signor*
Zuan Drimin di ricever da misser Piero Drimin suo padre
tutti li drappi et tutti li libri et scritture, che s'
attrovano in man del ditto signor Piero suo padre et
10 *delli scossi et havuti far scritto et caution notarial,*
come appar per instrumento di procura rogato nelli atti
de misser Nicolo Negriz sotto il giorno d' hoggi.

Il giorno di hoggi il soprascritto signor Piero in
presentia di me nodaro et testimonii infrascritti ha dato
et consignato al predetto molto reverendo padre Vlasto
15 *nomine predetto tutti l' infrascritti drappi, libri delle*
leggi, scritture et altro dice ditto signor Piero esser
sta fatti et comprati tutti essi beni col danaro proprio
del ditto signor Piero, ma gli da et gli consigna per
20 *hora al ditto signor Zuan suo figliolo, senza alcuno*
minimo pregiudicio et con general risserva delle ragion
del ditto signor Piero quocumque et qualitercumque, li
quali beni saranno qui sotto registrati et di quelli
soprascritto reverendo nomine predetto far validita et
25 *irrevocabil securita et perpetua acquietation al*
soprascritto signor Piero Drimin et con li suoi posterì
lo rende cauto et sicuro per imperpetuo.

Magnifico Giorgi detto Draco Sarasin quondam
Dimitri. Magnifico Constantin Papadopulo quondam
magnifici Caligari.

30 *Seguita il registro di libri.*
Li libri si registrano ut infra.

Institutiones Imperatoris semper Maximi Divi
Justiniani in primo volumini con il suo comento.

35 *Codex Imperatoris Maximi Divi Justiniani con il*
suo comento de primo volume.

Digestum novum pandectarum pars terzia con il
suo commento in primo volume.

Digestum vetus Divi Justiniani Imperatoris.

40 *Inforciatum quinquaginta librorum Digestorum in*
primo volume.

- Bartolus a Saxo Ferrato in primam. A. veteris partem.*
Bartolus in secundam veteris. A. partem.
Bartolus in primam codicis partem.
45 *Bartolus in secundam codicis partem.*
Bartolus in secundam infortiati partem.
Bartolus in primam infortiati partem.
Bartolus in primam. A. novi partem.
Bartolus in secundam. A. novi partem.
50 *Philippi Detii Mediolanensis Ingestum vetus comentarii.*
Repertorium Bartoli in omnes lecturas.
Concilia questiones Bartoli.
Jacobi Menochii I consulti.
55 *Bartolus in tres codicis libros.*
Hyeronymi Cagnoli comentaria tomus tertius.
Splendidissimi Juris consulti tomus tertius.
Speculum aureum Hyeronimi de Cavallis tomi duo.
Aymonis Crevetae consiliorum primus et secundus
60 *tomus.*
Summa Azonis Juris civilis Thesaurus.
Didaci Covarruvias Alleyva Toletani tomus secundus.
De fidei commissis tractatus Marci Antonii Peregrini.
65 *Andreae Faschinei controversiarum juris libri decem.*
Commentaria de testamentis ordinandis Domini Pietri Rizardii.
Speculum Aureum Hyeronimi de Cavallis tomi duo.
Liber sextus decretalium Domini Bonifatii Papae
70 *VIII.*
Jacobi Menochii I consulti de arbitrariis.
Hyeronymi Burigellae papiensis.
Didaci Covarruviati tomus primus.
Regule tam civilis quam canonici cum suis
75 *ampliationibus.*

- Julii Clari sententiarum recertarum liber quintus.*
Domini Roberti Marantae speculum et lumen ad-
vocatorum partis praxis civilis.
- 80 *Tractatus de successione tamen ex testamento quam*
intestato per Michaellem Crassum juris consultum.
Iohannis Ionotomi in quatuor Institutionum
imperialium Justiniani Imperatoris.
Institutiones juris canonici libri quatuor a
Iohanni Paulo Lanciloto.
- 85 *Bernardini Rutilii matutinarum et vespertinarum.*
Hermani Vulteii In Institutiones juris civilis a
Justiniano comentarius.
Summa Gofredi de Trano in titulos decretalium.
Della materia medicinale libri quatro.
- 90 *Decretum Gratianni.*
Baldi in decretales comentaria.
Decretales Domini Gregorii Papae X.
Praxis rerum criminalium auctore uno Domino Jodaco
Dabonderio.
- 95 *Praeclarissimo ac imprimis omnibus juris peritis*
per necessaria plurimorum insignorum doctorum.
Summa et repertorium codicis Justiniani
imperatoris.
Compendium juris canonici auctore Francesco
Gratiano.
- 100 *Proghiron Nomon Constandinu tu Armenopulu*
exavivlos graecum et latinum.
seguita
- 105 *Paratitla in libris quinquaginta digestorum seu*
pandectarum Jacobi Cujacii.
Andrae Alciati libri 4 de verborum significatione.
Jacobi Cugatii observationum.
De pheudis libri quinque Jacobi Cugatii.
Jacobi Cugatii opera quae de jure fecit.
- 110 *Sintagmatus juris universi pars prima, auctore*
Petro Gregorio Tholesano.

- Sintagmatis juris universis pars tertia.*
Consilia Hyppoliti de Marsiliis.
Marii Nizolii Thesaurus ciceronianus.
115 *Compendium Juris Civilis Francisci Gratiano.*
Hystoria venetiana scritta da Johanne Nicolo
Doglietti dedicata all' illustrissimo Signor Giacomo
Foscarini.
- 120 *Porphyrii ad praedicamenta Aristotelis.*
Marci Mantuae Benavidii Patavini juris consulta.
Repetitio sive lectura Domini Hyeronymi Campi.
Statum Venetum.
De humana fisiognomonia Johannis Baptistae
Portae.
- 125 *Bartolo in octavo volume comentaria super*
institutionibus.
Jacobi Menochii in quarto in omnes precipuas
recuperande possessionis.
- 130 *Domini Francisci Tolletti societatis Yhesu.*
Institutiones Juris civilis Domini Justiniani
imperatoris in octavo.
Idoneschi defetti de Juseppe Passi Ravenati in
octavo.
- 135 *Hyeronimi Cagnoli digestis in octavo.*
Phillippus Decius in titulo folii de regulis juris.
Lotti argumentorum legales auctore Domino Nicolao
Everardo in octavo.
Jacobi Cugiatii ad tres posteros libros codicis
domini Justiniani in octavo.
- 140 *Nicasii de Voerda enarrationes in quatuor libros*
Institutionum imperialum in octavo.
Vocabularium juris utriusque in octavo.
Apophthegmatum Pauli Manutii in octavo.
Summa Aurea Divi Bernardini Hernici in octavo.
- 145 *Titulorum omnium juris civilis et canonici*
Sebastiano Brava in doctore in octavo.
Tobiae Novii interpretationes institutionum in
titulos in octavo.

- 150 *Mantuae Patavini epitomae in omnibus legibus.*
Nel modo de componer i versi nella lingua italica
de Hyeronymo Russelli.
Index librorum omnium juris auctore Joanne Battista
Zilletto in 4^o.
- 155 *Andrae Alciati Juditiarrii processus compendium.*
Plutarchi Cheronei philosophi Opuscula moralia.
Il Tesoro della sanita in ottavo di Castor
Vallerii Maximi.
Institutiones Justiniani imperatoris in 8vo.
Declarationes Juris Civillis Domini Vaconii a
160 *Vacum.*
Practica Papiensis in 8vo.
Rettorica Marci Tullii Ciceronis.
Sertum poeticum Christofori Finiotti.
Rime et prose del Signor Torquato Tasso.
- 165 *Orationum Marci Tullii Ciceronis in 8^o.*
Aristotelis Peripateticorum principis logica in 8^o.
Orationum Marci Tullii Ciceronis in 8^o.
Seguita
Andrianus de sermone latino.
- 170 *Antonii sophisti progimnasmata.*
Oratius Flacus in 8^o.
Modus legendi abbreviaturas.
Osservationi de Misser Lodovico Dolce.
Mettamorphosi volgar d' Ovidio.
- 175 *Item libretti /25/ fra volgari et latini dell'*
humanita.
Seguita il registro delli drappi et vestimenti
della persona del soprascritto signor Dottor et prima:
180 *Una vestura de damasco negra alla pretina con*
bottoni et passamani.
Un' altra vestura de dimito de seda negra nova
alla pretina con passamani intorno.
Uno ferariol de dimito de seda negro.
Un' altra vesta de grogran negro et
185 *Uno ferariol dell' istesso.*

- Una muda d' ormisin negro.*
Uno ferariol de damascheto usato negro.
Una baretta d' ormisin de Fiorenza.
Una vesta de zambeloto negra nova fodrata de vari
190 *fini, oltra fini.*
Una posta de seda negra d' onze tre.
Uno stramazzo novo col suo cavezal et duo cussini.
Incioli para due.
Una coltra turchina usada.
195 *Una felzada de lana usada.*
Doi mantil da taola.
Sie tovaglioli.
I cavaletti con le tolle nove de dormir.
Tavola una in froza de scanzia per tenir la
200 *libraria.*
Item inter uno seppeti de bulgaro camise 15 et tre
facioli da viso et doi camesseti de bocassin et bragesse
de boccassin et facioleti 4 de bocassin.
- Finis.*

As evidence of social and cultural history the document is significant on two levels. First, on that of cultural history, it represents one of the most complete records yet available concerning the contents of a private library in Crete during the Venetian period. This aspect of the evidence and its political implications in the broader sense are discussed at greater length below. Secondly on the level of social history the latter part of the document which follows the list of books, supplies us with a valuable glimpse into the daily life of the professions in Candia at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The listing of clothes and basic furniture that are included in the donation, registers the functional needs and external symbols associated with the assumption of professional roles. Obviously the older Drimin, Piero, took care to build up for his son Zuan the necessary professional basis in order to enable him to start his legal practice upon his return from Padua to Candia: this professional basis comprised an extensive collection of sources of laws and manuals

of legal practice and the external attire proper to the dignity of Padua-trained lawyers, immortalised in contemporary engravings and drawings evoking what a ‘Jurisconsultus patavinus’ looked like (Plate I). Thus we are probably in sight of a form of social behaviour that can be understood as a case of the operation of the norms associated with the organisation of the professions in early modern Europe. The closing lines of the document depict ‘from below’ an aspect of urban life and its daily requirements, that often eludes the formal writing of history.

The enumeration of the black over-coats with their specific ornaments, white shirts and black hats that made up the costume of a Venetian lawyer, corroborates the visual evidence we possess from the representation of the donors in an icon of the Crucifixion by the Cretan painter Emmanuel Lambardos, dated to 1610-1620, now in the Museum of Icons at the Greek Institute in Venice (Plate II). The donor depicted kneeling at the bottom of the icon is identified by the dedicatory inscription as the lawyer Marcos Pandimos (Plate III) active in Candia in the 1590s and up to 1615.⁹ The chronological coincidence between the document and the icon makes the visual evidence of Lambardos’s work a particularly apt illustration for the documentary evidence discussed here. I should now however turn to a consideration of the contents of Drimin’s library which is of special interest from the vantage point of the history of ideas.

It is likely that other scholars, especially historians of law and of judicature, will read the list of Drimin’s books through the prism of their analytical approaches and will hopefully use the evidence presented above in connection with the research needs of their disciplines. The present commentary in its turn will focus on the insights offered by the evidence of the law library into the ideological climate of early seventeenth century Candia. One might note in passing that the pluralism of approaches and levels of analysis to which the same source of historical evidence can be put, is one of the most eloquent indications of the complex symbolism that forms the content of collective life.

9. See *M.I. Manousakas*, ‘Ο ζωγράφος, οί αφιερωταί και ή χρονολόγησις τής Σταυρώσεως του ‘Αγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας’, *Θησαυρίσματα* 8 (1971) 7-16.



Plate I. 'Jurisconsultus patavinus'. A Padua lawyer. Early seventeenth century print. Mary Constantoudaki print collection, Athens.

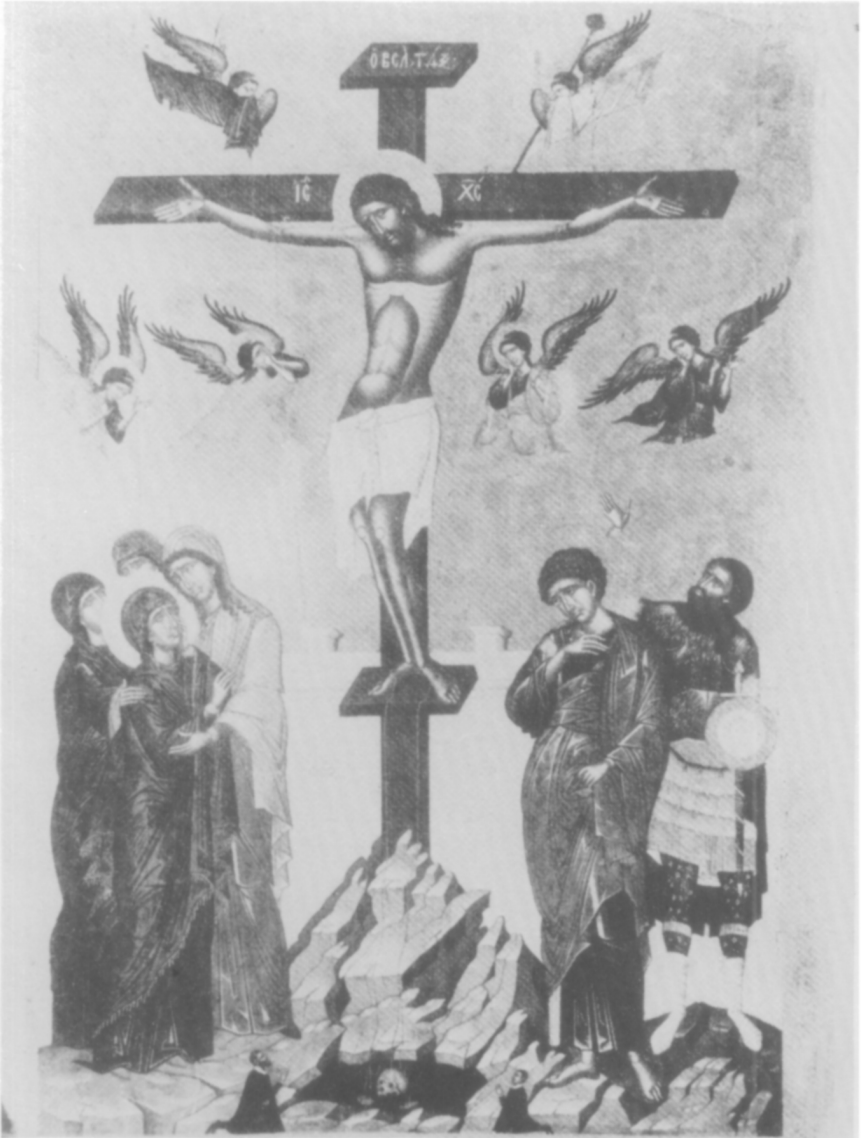


Plate II. Emmanuel Lambardos, 'The Crucifixion' with donors Marcos and Antonios Pandimos, c.1615-1618. Museum of Icons, Hellenic Institute, Venice.



Plate III. Marcos Pandimos, a Candia Lawyer. Donor portrait. Detail of Plate II.

The list of the contents of Drimin's law library comes to complete our information about libraries in Candia during the great age of Veneto-Cretan civilisation. The extent of our knowledge concerning libraries and the propagation, trade and use of books in Renaissance Crete has been rather limited. Some important evidence does exist however, supplying hints about many facets of the intellectual outlook of the period. Besides the detailed knowledge of the contents of the library of the medieval monastery of Saint Francis and some more sketchy information about Orthodox monastic libraries later on,¹⁰ we also possess information about at least eight collections of classical Greek manuscripts in Crete between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹¹ In the case of one of these collections, that of the learned bishop Maximos Margounios at the end of the sixteenth century, we also know that his Greek manuscripts formed a part of a larger library which included many printed books as well. Furthermore we know of fifty seven manuscripts belonging to the most important private library in sixteenth century Candia, that of Antonios Callergis.¹²

Over the past three decades research in the Venetian State Archives has unearthed a trickle of information about private libraries in Candia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A few small book collections have been traced in the possession of learned or professional men from 1515 to 1647. These included

10. G. Hoffman, 'La biblioteca scientifica del monastero di S. Francesco di Candia nel medio evo', *OCP* 8 (1942) 317-360. The contents of this Catholic monastic library, which are known in remarkable detail, can now be contrasted with the holdings of the library of an Orthodox Cretan monastery, that of Valsamonero, which are known from a 1644 stock-taking. See G.K. Mavromatis, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη και ή κινητή περιουσία της κρητικης μονης Βαρσαμονέρου (1644)', *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990) 458-499. This Orthodox monastic library contained primarily theological and liturgical books, four books of canon law and seven classical authors, including Plutarch's *Moralia*, one dictionary and one music book. In contrast a sixteenth century record of another Orthodox monastic library in Crete indicates only ecclesiastical books in its holdings besides a chronographical source. See N.B. Tomadakis, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη της Μοής Θεοτόκου Κερά-Καβαλαρέας μεταξύ 1555 και 1580', *Κρητολογία* 2 (January-June 1976) 76-80.

11. See C.G. Patrinelis, 'Κρήτες συλλέκται χειρογράφων κατά τούς χρόνους της Αναγεννήσεως', *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* III (Athens 1968) 202-206.

12. N.M. Panayiotakis, 'Έρευναί εν Βενετία', *Θησαυρίσματα*, 5 (1968) 54-55.

the priest Manuel Damos who possessed forty eight books of unspecified content in 1515.¹³ In all likelihood these were ecclesiastical and liturgical books because in his will the owner stipulates that they should be made available by his widow to his two nephews in the event they took holy orders. Ecclesiastical books appear to be rare in Crete a century later and in 1606 when a church in the village of Monastiraki near Rethymno was leased by its owner to a priest, it was noted in the contract that the church contained holy icons but not a single book.¹⁴ It seems therefore that ecclesiastical and liturgical books were professional items which the priest had to own himself. By and large the character of the private libraries whose contents have been recorded in the notarial registers of Venetian Crete, reflects the professional purpose they had to serve. As it will be made evident from what follows they appear to have been mostly assembled for the professional use of their owners: notaries, lawyers, physicians and priests. In view of the extent of literary activity in Crete during the sixteenth and especially during the seventeenth century, we may assume nevertheless that private libraries did exist as well in the possession of poets, writers and other men of learning.

Through these book collections the culture of humanism and Renaissance letters penetrated into the urban society of Candia. Thus in 1549 in a small collection of ten volumes in the possession of a Veneto-Cretan gentleman were found Cicero's letters in both manuscript and printed form and the works of Petrarch.¹⁵ In 1566 in a collection of twenty three volumes primarily of religious content in the possession of the priest Michael Armacola were found as well *Ariosto a stampa vecchio*, and *uno libro de istorie antiche scritte a man anticho*.¹⁶ Of special importance in the sixteenth century were the book collec-

13. M.I. Manousakas, 'Βενετικά Έγγραφα αναφερόμενα εις την εκκλησιαστικην ιστοριαν της Κρητης του δεκατου τεταρτου — δεκατου εκτου αιωνος', *DIEE* 15 (1961) 225.

14. See Manolis Varouhas, *Νοταριακες πραξεις. Μοναστηρακι Αμαριου (1597-1613)*, ed. by W. Bakker — A. Van Gemert (Rethymno 1987) 342.

15. See Stephanos Caclamanis, 'Ειδησεις για τη διακίνηση του έντυπου βιβλιου στον Βενετοκρατούμενο Χάνδακα (Μέσα του ΙΣτ' αιωνα), *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 (1986) 152-153.

16. Caclamanis, *loc. cit.*

tions of professionals and intellectuals like the young graduate of the Medical School of the University of Padua, Manousos Maras, who besides his medical manuals and compendia possessed several 'heretical' books of Protestant inspiration and found himself in the dungeons of the Venetian Inquisition for that reason.¹⁷

More detailed information about the contents of private libraries in Renaissance Crete is available in the case of a small group of four collections. Although small the sample is nevertheless very important, not only on account of the wealth of the contents of these libraries, but especially because each collection represents a different aspect of the humanist culture flowering in Venetian Crete. Thus our information about the library of the scholar prelate Maximos Margounios,¹⁸ whose Greek books were bequeathed to the monastery of Saint Catherine in Candia in 1602, conveys an impression of the intellectual basis of religious humanism in the Orthodox East, so intimately connected with the Cretan tradition of learning. On the other hand the library of the Callergis family constitutes an outstanding example of the intellectual world of the upper classes of Cretan society in the first half of the sixteenth century and strikes the student of political ideas with the intense interest in civic humanism that is evident in its contents. The contents of this particular library feature works by Machiavelli and other civic humanists, historical writings on Venice and other Italian cities and books by Protestant luminaries, besides a complete series of Greek and Latin classics.¹⁹ The composition of the collection leaves no doubt as to the intellectual

17. See briefly M.I. Manousakas, "Εκθεση Πεπραγμένων", *Θησαυρίσματα* 16 (1979) 403, reporting on pertinent researches by N.M. Panayiotakis.

18. Deno J. Geanakoplos, 'The library of the Cretan Humanist-Bishop Maximos Margounios, especially his collection of Latin books bequeathed to Mount Athos', *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* III (Athens 1968) 75-91. On the broader connection between humanism and Christianity cf. Myron P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism 1453-1517* (New York 1952) 204-228. This relation is often overlooked by scholars who tend to juxtapose humanism and religion as antithetical cultural forces. In fact it is of fundamental importance for an understanding of the inception of the humanist movement in the Greek Orthodox East as well as in the Latin West.

19. See N.M. Panayiotakis, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία", *Θησαυρίσματα* 5 (1968) 45-118, esp. 54-55.

interests and political orientations of its possessors, especially Antonios Callergis (1521-1555), the great prototype of the 'Renaissance man' in Cretan culture.

A similar, if slightly modified impression in one important respect, is conveyed by the information concerning the library of Andrea Cornaro contained in his will (1611). The collection comprised Italian, Latin and Greek editions, including books on history, rhetoric, logic, vernacular poetry and Orthodox and Catholic theology.²⁰ It seems that the theological dimension of the library was particularly pronounced, featuring among other works the *Summa Theologica* by Saint Thomas Aquinas. In this connection it is noteworthy that in the half century between Callergis and Cornaro, although the humanist basis of Cretan upper class culture persisted, the pressures of the Counter-Reformation made themselves deeply felt in the spiritual world of Candia and stamped out the incipient interest in Protestantism that has been noted for the period of the mid-sixteenth century. Opposition to Protestantism brought the Orthodox and Catholic Churches together in a common front against the religious challenge of the Reformation. The new spiritual climate is evident in Drimin's book collection as well, which is exactly contemporary to that of Cornaro.

An inventory of a mid-seventeenth century collection of works of medical humanism belonging to the 'dottore fisico' Zuane Roditi, has also been made available.²¹ In many ways the composition of this 1647 collection of medical sources replicates in

20. See S.G. Spanakis, 'Η διαθήκη τοῦ Ἀντρέα Κορνάρου (1611)', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 9 (1955) 379-348, esp. pp.450-455. It is interesting to note that Meletios Vlastos is among the beneficiaries of Cornaro's will, being left 100 hyperpyra. See *ibid.*, p.391. On Cornaro's stature as a humanist see N.M. Panayiotakis — A.L. Vincent, 'Νέα στοιχεία γιὰ τὴν Ἀκαδημία τῶν Stravaganti', *Θησαυρίσματα* 7 (1970) 52-62.

21. See Maria G. Constantoudaki, 'Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικῶν ἔργων στὸ Χάνδακα σὲ ἔγγραφα τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου καὶ δεκάτου ἑβδόμου αἰῶνα', *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975) 123. In all likelihood this is the same person as Giovanni Roditi, whose coats of arms, dated 1643 and 1644, have been identified among the emblems of Cretan students at the University of Padua. See G. Gerola, 'Gli stemmi cretesi dell' Università di Padova', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 88 (1928-1929) 267, nos. 134-135. An interesting comparison can be made between the evidence of Roditi's library and that presented by B. de Vecchi, 'I libri di un medico umanista fiorentino del secolo XV', *Bibliofilia* 35 (1933) 293-301.

the field of medicine the character of the legal library presented above. The major sources of classical medicine appear side by side with modern medical works and manuals of professional practice. Thus works by Galen, parts of the Hippocratic corpus, Dioscorides and a 'text by Aristotle' coexist in the collection of a practising physician with modern works on anatomy and physiology, manuals on medical practice and various medical specialities, a dictionary of medicine and the *Farmacopea Veneta*. Roditi's is a much smaller and an entirely professional book collection without the broader cultural interests that surface in Drimin's library. Both of them however are marked by the strong presence of the heritage of classical letters, whose revival had paved the way to the several fields of modern science and scholarship. Evidence of this character reveals with remarkable precision how the mechanisms and the intellectual content of Renaissance humanism were replicated in Cretan culture.

The legal library published above raises the number of known substantial private libraries in Candia to five and rounds up the picture of Cretan humanism by revealing its close interconnection not only with religion, politics, history and medicine but also with law. The evidence of our document in a way confirms an entirely predictable expectation one might have as to what a Padua-trained lawyer in the early seventeenth century might have had in his library. On an initial reading the contents of Drimin's library can be considered typical of a practising lawyer's book collection. It is composed of three distinguishable groups of professional books: first there are the compendia of Justinianic Roman law; next follow the works of scholastic commentators and glossators on Roman and Canon law, including all the illustrious names of the late Medieval revival of legal thought such as Azo, Baldus, Bartolus and Gratian;²² finally and perhaps most remarkably the library includes a noticeable number of

22. On the place of these authors in political and ideological debate see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* I, 53-65; II, 123-134 and L. Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence*, 407-408.

works by legal humanists led by Alciato and Cujas.²³

The classical sources of Justinianic Roman law and the scholastic commentaries were of course the manuals of legal practice and therefore constituted indispensable professional aids. A noteworthy feature of the library is the coexistence in its contents of manuscript codices and printed editions of these sources. The existence of multiple copies and editions of the same titles in the library can be explained by the availability of legal texts in the Venetian domains, made possible by the rising production of legal works by Venetian publishers in the 1590s and into the first decade of the seventeenth century.²⁴ Bartolus's impressive presence in the collection is readily accounted for not only by his pivotal importance for legal thought in Northern Italy²⁵ but also by his special appeal to the Venetians because of his praise of the Venetian constitution.²⁶ How deeply ingrained Bartolus had been in Venetian but also in Veneto-Cretan culture and daily life is made evident by the mention of the famous name in the Cretan comic drama 'Στάθης', whose composition is dated between circa 1590-1610. In order to show how overtaken by love the aged protagonist had been, he claims that he had even forgotten Bartolus and Azo.²⁷ One of the most remarkable aspects of the collection is due to the one hint it contains at syncretism in the system of law prevailing in Venetian Crete: this is suggested by the existence of both the *Statum Venetum*, the basic legal source

23. See Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship* (New York 1970) 87-115 and Richard Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories. Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge 1979) 32-45.

24. See Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540-1605* (Princeton 1977) 131.

25. For the political reason of this see briefly Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, I, 10-12, 61-65.

26. Frederic C. Lane, *Venice and History* (Baltimore 1966) 305-306.

27. See Στάθης, *Κρητική Κωμωδία*, ed. Lidia Martini (Thessaloniki 1976) 92, verse 292: 'Μπόρτολους ἔλησιμόνησα, τς Ἀτσόνους δὲ θυμοῦμαι'. For the suggested dating of the play see A.L. Vincent in D. Holton, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge 1991) 287.

of the Venetian domains²⁸ and Armenopoulos's *Πρόχειρον Νόμων* (*Εξάβιβλος*), which fulfilled the same function in the law of the Orthodox East.²⁹

The third group of legal sources noted in Drimin's library, the works of the legal humanists, is less indicative of the needs of legal practice and more suggestive of a cultural climate. As is well known these sources never quite became instruments of legal practice.³⁰ The humanists' critique of law left legal practice unaffected, much as it had a powerful impact on the development of political theory. This precisely is the special significance of the particular law library that concerns us here. The existence of works by the legal humanists among its contents next to the manuals and texts of legal practice, suggest that the reformist and critical ideas associated with legal humanism could be seen to make their way from the areas of their original inception in Northern Italy and France into the distant Southeastern periphery of European civilisation. Thus this library list offers a glimpse into the broader intellectual context of ideological changes in the making in Crete, during the last century of Venetian rule and especially after Giacomo Foscarini's far-ranging reforms in 1573-1577.

28. G. Gozzi, 'La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia', 21-30. On the extensive use of this source as a basis of the adjudication of civil cases since the early days of Venetian rule in Crete see Elisabeth Santschi, *Régestes des arrêts civils et des mémoriaux (1363-1399) des archives du Duc de Crète* (Venise 1976) XXXII and *passim* under individual cases.

29. The appearance of Armenopoulos among Drimin's books might be interpreted as the indication of a potential osmosis between the prevailing Venetian law and the customary right of the Orthodox subject population of Crete. In this respect the evidence of the early seventeenth century legal library can be cited as a response to a problem noted by Elisabeth Santschi for the fourteenth century: 'Les Statuta Venetorum sont principalement appliqués (. . .) Quant au droit byzantin de basse époque, il n'est représenté en Crète par aucun texte écrit, et il faut imaginer que son application était passée au domaine coutumier, et par conséquent susceptible d'être absorbée par les critères législatifs purement vénitiens, quand ceux-ci sont à l'avantage de la Dominante'. See E. Santschi, 'Aspects de la justice en Crète vénitienne d'après les Memoriali du XIVe siècle', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 24 (1972) 324. The edition of Armenopoulos in Drimin's books was almost certainly the Greek and Latin version *Πρόχειρον νόμων . . . Promptuarium iuris* (Geneva 1587).

30. See F. de Zulueta, 'The Science of Law', in *The Legacy of Rome*, ed. Cyril Bailey (Oxford 1957) 179.

The interests of humanism in classics, politics and ethics are graphically represented in the contents of the library. In our list we can notice with a predictability that could be surprising if it was not so historically natural, those typical sources that defined and symbolised the humanist outlook. Cicero's salient presence only confirms his idolisation by the civic humanists,³¹ while the compilations of Aristotle's logical writings and the edition of Plutarch's *opuscula moralia* constitute also typical and representative indications of the framework of their values.³² It should be recollected here that Plutarch's *Moralia* in this period was even to be found, as we saw earlier, in the library of an Orthodox monastery in Crete.

The distinct interest of Venetian humanism in contemporary affairs and in vernacular literature is also reflected in the contents of the library which include important works by two prolific luminaries of sixteenth century Venetian letters, Giovanni Nicolo Doglioni's *Historia Venetiana*³³ and Lodovico Dolce's *Osservazioni*³⁴ as well as the poetry of Torquato Tasso and the vernacular version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was one of the most popular literary works of the Renaissance.³⁵ Paolo Manutius's collection of apophthegms³⁶ and Giovanni Battista della Porta's *De Humana Physiognomonia*³⁷ complete the pic-

31. See Lane, *Venice and History* 532. Cf. R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1973) 266-268 and Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton 1966) 121-129 and *passim*.

32. There is no better indication of Plutarch's appeal to Renaissance minds than Montaigne's essay, 'Defense of Seneca and Plutarch', composed in 1578-80. See *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, translated by Donald M. Frame (Stanford 1965) 545-550. See also Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 340.

33. Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana scritta brevemente . . . sino anno di Christo 1597* (Venice 1598).

34. Lodovico Dolce, *Nuove osservazioni della lingua volgare co i modi, et ornamenti del dire parole piu scelte, et eleganti* (Venice 1597).

35. See R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 207. Cf. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 66.

36. *Apophthegmatum ex optimis utriusque linguae scriptoribus libri iix P. Manutii studio adque industria doctissimor* (Venice 1577).

37. Giovanni Battista della Porta, *De Humana Physiognomonia librii iiii* (Vici Aequensis 1586), with newer editions in 1593 and 1601. It could be that Drimin possessed one of these newer editions. The importance of the subject to Renaissance minds is suggested by the long essay devoted to it by Montaigne. See *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, 792-814.

ture of humanist culture. We would certainly very much like to know the precise contents of the twenty five 'booklets' of vernacular and Latin authors on 'humanity', which close the list of the book collection but this information is denied by our source.

The evidence presented above can be read as a hint, I think, at a connection between law and humanism taking shape in Cretan culture in the century of its greatest flowering. This was replicating in the case of Venetian Crete a general pattern marking the European Renaissance. The broader theoretical issues arising out of this interrelationship cannot be discussed here in even the most cursory way. It might be appropriate to conclude this analysis however by noticing that the replication of this relation in the case of Venetian Crete can be seen as a pointer to an incipient ideological transition to modernity. In the same manner that humanist jurisprudence elsewhere in Europe contributed to the shedding of medieval legal mentalities, its incidence in Crete can be seen as a catalyst for the reorientation of social thought to a modern outlook.

The stirrings of ideological change in Crete appear to be multi-ple in this period. One indication of the trend was the appeal of Protestantism, a doctrine closely associated with humanist jurisprudence,³⁸ which Cretan law students encountered at hearths of legal humanism like the University of Padua,³⁹ where for generations they had been pursuing higher education. Whether Piero and Zuan Drimin shared this outlook is rather doubtful given the existence of texts associated with the Counter-Reformation in their library.⁴⁰ A prominent representative of

38. See Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories*, 42-45. Cf. also G. Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice', in J.R. Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* (London 1973), 321.

39. For a case in point see Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 198. See also Frederic C. Church, *The Italian Reformers 1534-1564* (New York 1932) 296-303 and M.I. Manousakas-N.M. Panayiotakis, 'Η φιλομεταρρυθμιστική δράση του Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου στη Μόδενα και στη Φερράρα και ή δίκη του από την 'Ιερά 'Εξέταση τής Βενετίας (1536-1559)', *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981) 7-118.

40. On the pressures of the Counter-Reformation in the Venetian domains see Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 128-181 and N.M. Panayiotakis, 'Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, Κρητικός στιχουργός του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα στη Βενετία', *Θησαυρίσματα* 16 (1979), 120 and *idem.*, 'Ο 'Ιωάννης Κασσαμάτης και τὸ Κρητικὸ Θέατρο', *Ἀριάδνη* (1983) 86-102, esp. 96-99.

Counter-Reformation legal thought in the Drimin collection is archbishop Diego de Covarruvias y Leuva whose *Opera Omnia* are recorded in its holdings.⁴¹ The involvement of Meletios Vlastos, an Orthodox priest, in the transaction seems to confirm that the Drimin family belonged to the Orthodox Church. What can be considered certain however is that through the medium of Roman law and legal humanism members of the urban population of Candia such as the Drimins, were exposed to evolving ideas about sovereignty, the distinction between public power and private property and of legally secured magistracy.⁴² Such ideas contributed to the gradual formation of the concept of the modern state as an autonomous entity expressing the collective will of the citizen body — a conception which was at the heart of political humanism.⁴³ Furthermore legal humanism was breaking the ground for the emergence of a new sense of history and for an understanding of the past which, through its cultural ramifications, was leading up to the principles of individual judgement and independent thinking.⁴⁴

Insights into the relationship between law and humanism such as those afforded by the catalogue of the Drimin library presented here, lead the student of political ideas to hypotheses about reorientations and gropings in Cretan culture which reveal one of its essential components that has eluded researchers so far. This is the dimension of political ideology. All these trends and indications suggest the vitality of a culture which was setting itself on the road to an internal transformation on the pattern of the larger European tradition into which it had been integrated, just a few decades prior to its submergence into the levelling violence of the Ottoman conquest.

41. Didaci Covarruvias a Leuva, *Opera Omnia* (Frankfurt am Main 1583) vols. 1-2. Later ed. Frankfurt 1592. Drimin could have possessed either of these editions. It is clear from the document that he did have both volumes.

42. Cf. Gilmore, *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought*, 127-132 and Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* II, 269-275.

43. Cf. Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism*, 118-148 and Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence*, 412-413.

44. Cf. Donald R. Kelley, 'Legal Humanism and the Sense of History', *Studies in the Renaissance* 13 (1966) 184-199.

These considerations on the significance of the cultural outlook reflected in the composition of Drimin's legal library, point with tolerable certainty, I hope, to the conclusion that Renaissance Crete had been affected by the broader currents of political speculation prevailing in Venice at the same period. Legal humanism and its preoccupation with the meaning of history can be seen to provide the pertinent background in Crete as it had done earlier on in Venice herself, for the emergence of republican political thought. I believe that we are essentially in sight of evidence suggesting the growth in Venetian Crete of that variety of political reflection on the interplay between liberty and order that formed the response of Venetian republican discourse to the pressures of the Counter Reformation.⁴⁵ The significance of this aspect of Veneto-Cretan culture is such that the exploration of this problem at greater depth should be, I dare suggest, at the top of the agenda of Cretan studies in the years ahead.

University of Athens

45. Cf. William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley 1968) 417-482.