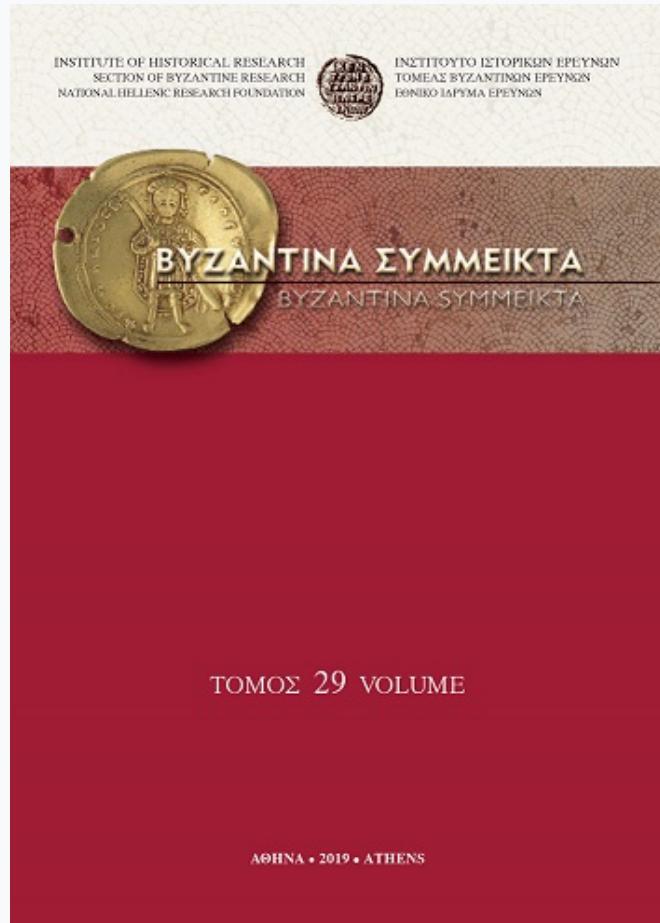


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Byzantine families in Venetian context: The Gavalas and Lalinas family in Venetian Crete (XIIIth-XIVth centuries)

Χαράλαμπος ΓΑΣΠΑΡΗΣ

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ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ



ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ

BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA

CHARALAMBOS GASPARIS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
MIKLOSICH – MÜLLER	F. Miklosich – J. Müller, <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> , v. 1-6, Vienna 1860-1890
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , v. I/2, Vienna 1977
ROL	<i>Revue de l’Orient Latin</i>
TAFEL – THOMAS	G. L. Fr. Tafel – G. M. Thomas, <i>Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig</i> , v. 1-3, Vienna (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 13) 1856-1857
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>

INTRODUCTION

From the first decade of the 13th century, and gradually until the 1250's, Crete, an ex-territory of the Byzantine Empire, became part of the Venetian Maritime State (Stato da Mar). Local people of all social strata were obliged to adapt to the new political, social and economic context. Each person, family or group of people fought to preserve or even improve its position and all privileges in various ways. During the thirteenth century the greatest part of the Byzantine landowners, as well as the upper stratum of urban society managed to be included in the new social regime. Here we are going to study two families as characteristic examples of how the old local Byzantine "upper class" reacted after the arrival of the Venetians and what finally obtained.

The term "Byzantine" in the title, rather than "Greek", is used to highlight the transition in medieval Crete from the old Byzantine world to the new Venetian one during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Given that almost all the local population was Greek speaking and Orthodox Christian, the "Byzantine" identity in the new Venetian territories, such as Crete, gradually became a "Greek" identity, which took place in opposition to an Italian-speaking and Catholic minority. However, even these strong cultural characteristics were not always enough, mainly from the fourteenth century onward, to define a clear identity. Each of these two main characteristics was often adopted by both ethnicities, since Venetians, after some generations usually spoke Greek, while some Greeks were converted to the Catholic rite. Thus, a Greek or Latin/Venetian identity, when necessary, was based hereinafter also on ancestry, while the new identity of "Cretan" based on the locality was crystallized¹.

1. On the topic of the identities and the Byzantine tradition in the Venetian territories see D. TSOURAKIS, Cultural assimilation through language infiltration: some early examples from Venetian Crete, in: *Bosphorus. Essays in honour of Cyril Mango* [= *BF* 21 (1995)], eds. St. EFTHYMIADIS - Cl. RAPP - D. TSOURAKIS, Amsterdam 1995, 181-194; IDEM, La tradizione

As a “family”, we may consider individuals who bear the same surname; they are linked by kinship, not necessarily of the first degree, but with strong actual or perceived common origins, and they belong to the same social class and share common interests². Since we are studying the history

culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità culturale, in: *Venezia e Creta, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chania, 30 settembre - 5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gh. ORTALLI, Venezia 1998, 509-522; IDEM, Η συνείδηση της ταυτότητας των κοινοτήτων της Κρήτης στη βυζαντινή εποχή και στην πρώιμη βενετοκρατία, in: *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Κεντρικές Εισηγήσεις*, Iraklio 2006, 25-45; Chr. A. MALTEZOU, Byzantine “consuetudines” in Venetian Crete, *DOP* 49 (1995), 269-280; EADEM, Byzantine Legends in Venetian Crete, in: *Aetos. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. I. SEVCENCO - I. HUTTER, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1998, 233-242; EADEM, Η διαμόρφωση της ελληνικής ταυτότητας στη λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα, in: *Byzance et l'hellénisme. L'identité grecque au Moyen-Âge, Actes du Congrès International tenu à Trieste du 1er au 3 Octobre 1997*, *EtBalk* 6 (1999), 105-119; S. MCKEE, Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian world, in: *Identities and allegiances in the eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, eds. J. HERRIN - G. SAINT-GUILAIN, Farnham/Burlington 2011, 291-300.

2. Among all persons bearing the family name Gavalas or Ialinas there are those who belong to the class of the villeins or free peasants. It is obvious that these persons cannot be studied together with the members of the main branches of the two families, at least as far as their social or economic strategies are concerned. In the course of the fourteenth century we find many such examples. See, for example, five villeins bearing the surname Ialinas: Vasilis Ialinas, state villein and resident in the village of Katsambas (1320) [Z. N. TSIRPANLIS, “Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών και μοναστηριών του Κοινού” (1248-1548), Ioannina 1985, 283]. Theodoros Ialinas who is affranchised by Potha Kallergi (1343) (*Wills from the Late Medieval Venetian Crete. 1312-1420*, ed. S. MCKEE, Washington 1998, 507), Georgios, Iannas and Emmanuel Ialinas villeins in the fief of Bartolomeo Bono (1356) (Ch. GASPARIS, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη. 13ος-14ος αι.*, Athens 1997, 337). Xenos Gavalas resident in the village of Kaiafa cultivates a vineyard in the nearby village of Silamos that belongs to the Barbarigo family (1300-1304) (*Pietro Pizolo. Notaio in Candia*, ed. S. CARBONE, v. 1, 1300, Venice 1978, no. 668; v. 2, 1304-1305, Venice 1985, no. 1100), meanwhile, in 1300, his natural son Nikolaos Gavalas, resident in the burg of Candia, bought a donkey for 10 *yperpera* (*Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 619). See also various persons bearing the surname Gavalas, living in villages around the city of Candia: Kostas Gavalas, resident in the village of Vassiliki; Zoe and Georgios Gavalas, with their children Maria, Annitsa and Vasilis, all residents in the village of Kondeo; Kostas Gavalas resident in the village of Archanes; Frankiskos and Kalogeros Gavalas, millers in the village of Dafnes [El. SANTSCHI, *Régestes des Arrêts Civils et des Memoriaux (1363-1399) des archives du Duc de Crète*, Venice 1976, 133 no. 241, 280 no. 1274, 327 no. 1483, 374 no. 1718].

of families during the first two centuries of Venetian rule in Crete, we will try, if the evidence permits, to put the trunk of a genealogical tree in the first half of the thirteenth century or even earlier and the main branches of the tree in the second half of the thirteenth century and the next century. Unfortunately, our sources do not always offer the necessary information for a clear delimitation of branches. Therefore, we often speak only of simple families or persons, who belong to the same extended family without any particular kinship.

To detect such prominent families during the second Byzantine period in Crete and follow their history through time is very difficult because of the poverty of our sources. Thus we usually judge the prominence of a Byzantine family according to its importance during the period of Venetian dominion, i.e. from the thirteenth century onward. Apart from the somewhat ambiguous documents relating to the famous twelve Byzantine “archontopoula” (*αρχοντόπουλοι* or *αρχοντόπουλα*), we know very little about the upper class of local Cretan society before the arrival of the Venetians³. On the other hand, there is no doubt that among the families who provided leaders and participants for the various Cretan revolts in the thirteenth century there were undoubtedly members of the upper class, since only the landowners could really react against the Venetians, thanks to their economic and social strength. One nevertheless wonders if only those who participated in the revolts were actually the only or the strongest and most dynamic members of the local upper class, or whether others existed who as yet remain unknown. Even if there is insufficient documentation about this issue, it is evident that the families who opposed Venice and participated in the revolts during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were indeed the strongest part of the local society.

3. On landownership and the upper class of the landowners in Crete before the Venetian conquest see N. OIKONOMIDES, Η διανομή των βασιλικών “επισκέψεων” της Κρήτης (1170-1171) και η δημιουρονομική πολιτική του Μανουήλ Α΄ Κομνηνού, in: *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Χανιά 1966), v. 3, Athens 1968, 195-201; IDEM, Οι αυθένται των Κρητικών το 1118, in: *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Ηράκλειο 1976), v. 2, Athens 1981, 308-317; D. TSOURAKIS, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens 1988, 290-301; N. SVORONOS, Το νόμιμα και η τυπολογία των κρητικών επαναστάσεων του 13ου αι., *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), 1-14.

The myth of the twelve “archontopoula”, although originating earlier than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is very significant⁴. Among them, we find all the prominent families and their most powerful members, presumably of the second Byzantine period in Crete, who managed not only to maintain their economic strength after the arrival of the Venetians, but even to increase it. The Byzantine term “archontopoula”, as used in these documents, means the “sons of the lords”⁵. Venetians adopted the Greek terms *arcon* or *arcontus* (ἀρχων/ἀρχοντας) and *arcondopulus* (αρχοντόπουλος), but these two terms were rarely used in public documents⁶. Furthermore, their exact meaning (and the distinction between them) is unclear: on occasion they seem to be identified, on others not. In thirteenth-century Venetian documents we find only the term *arcondus*⁷. In the famous treaty of Alexios Kallergis (1299), where the stratification of Cretan society at that time is defined, we find both the terms *arcondus* and *arcondopulus*⁸. This means that they see two different strata among Greek landowners: the lord

4. For the documents concerning the twelve “archontopoula” see TSOURGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete*, 81-88. In later times, members of eminent Greek families used the “archontic” origin in order to achieve certain privileges from Venice. See, for example, the case of Skordilis family in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in: Chr. MALTEZOU, I privilegi degli *arcondopoula* e di Notara: osservazioni sulle copie dei documenti, in: *Xρόνος συνήγορος. Mélanges André Guillou*, ed. L. BENOU - Cr. ROGNONI, *Nέα Ρόμη, Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 9 (2012), 261-279; P. TZIVARA, Βυζαντινοί «αρχοντόπουλοι» και «ευγενείς» βενετοί υπήκοοι: με αφορμή την επανάγνωση του προνομίου της οικογένειας Σκορδίλη, *Θησαυρίσματα* 38 (2008), 388-434.

5. See TSOURGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete*, 84 based on Anna Komnena.

6. The Greek terms in Latin letters are mentioned in the Venetian documents by various ways: *arcon* or *archon* (in plural *arcontes* or *archontes*), *arcondus* (in plural *arcondi*), *arcondopulus* or *archondopulus* (in plural *arcondopuli* or *archondopuli*).

7. We find the term, for example, in the treaty of 1213 between the duke of Crete and Marco Sanudo in 1213 (*XX arcontes de insula cretensi et debeant habere potestatem exire de insula cum suis bonis*: TAFEL - THOMAS, v. 2, Vienna 1856, 163) and in the treaty of 1265 between the duke of Crete and rebels [*cum omnibus aliis arcontis graecis infrascriptis qui fuerunt ad talem pacem et concordiam*: K. P. BANDIA, Η βενετοκρητική συνθήκη του 1265 (διπλωματική έκδοση του κειμένου), *Κρητική Εστία* 2 (1988), 111].

8. *Item volumus quod... qui est arcondus sit arcondus et qui est arcondopulus debeat esse arcondopulus* [K. D. MERTZIOS, Η συνθήκη Ενετών-Καλλέργη και οι συνοδεύοντες αυτήν κατάλογοι, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949), 271].

(*arcondus*) and the small lord (*arcondopulus*)⁹. In contrast, in fourteenth-century documents we find only the term *arcondopulus*, which seems to integrate both terms¹⁰. Finally, in some cases we find the Latin term *dominus* or even *nobilis* (not necessarily as an official title), substituting the term *arcondus*¹¹. Although these two Greek terms are rarely used by the Venetians, they were probably used very often either by the local people for the powerful Greek landowners or by the landlords themselves to designate their social status.

9. See a similar interpretation in K. LAMBRINOS, Η εξέλιξη της κοινωνίς ευγένειας στους πρώτους αιώνες της βενετοκρατίας, *Θησαυρίσματα* 26 (1996), 209.

10. In August 1342, according to the Cretan authorities, after the military operations against the rebels in western Crete: *in manibus multorum nobilium et aliorum fidelium est ad presens bona quantitas pecunie de pecuniis rebellium tam francorum quam archondopulorum et villanorum* (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 159r). A ducal decree of August 1367 in Crete contains the names of ten *arcondopuli* in the area of Milopotamos, in the district of Rethimno, who had participated in the revolt of Saint Titus and are condemned (*omnes arcondopulli insule cretensis tamquam proditores et rebelles ducalis dominacionis simul cum aliis grecis rebellibus*: ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 137r-v). In September of the same year, another ducal decree condemns *Manoli Gavala habitator Orthea et Guarda Caffato habitator la Coprana districtus Rethimi ambo arcondopuli* (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 137v). See the names of these *arcondopuli* in Ch. GASPARIS, Η τούρμα Απάνω Συβρίτου στα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια. Η επαρχία Αμαρίου από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα, in: *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Δήμοι Κονορητών και Συβρίτου, 27-31 Αυγούστου 2010*, v. 1, ed. St. M. MANOURAS, Athens 2014, 420.

11. Tzortzis Skordilis Malafaras and members of the Gavalas family are referred to as *arcontes* in the treaty of 1265, but *domini* in the cadastre of Chania from the same period. See BANDIA, Η βενετοκρητική συνθήκη, 123-124. Immediately after the outbreak of the revolt of Saint Titus the Venetians tried to find a way to parley with the rebels and the Doge of Venice wrote to the *provisores Crete* that: *in partibus Coroni et Mothoni vel Nigropontis est quidam Georgius Scordili dictus Cazamumiri, grecus, qui est nobilis et potens*. The Doge proposed that the *provisores* send him to Crete in order to find other Greeks and support Venice's interest and dominion on the island. See J. JEGERLEHNER, Der Aufstand der kandiotischen Ritterschaft gegen das Mutterland Venedig. 1363-1365, *BZ* 12 (1903), 110. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetian chronicler Lorenzo de Monacis uses the terms *arcontes/archontes* or *archondopuli*, but also the term *nobilis* for the prominent Greek landowners: *ad domum Johannis Melissino nobilis Graeci sitam in casali Curuna or aliquorum tamen Graecorum nobilium tempestate illa tanta fuit fidelitas* (LAURENTII DE MONACIS *Veneti Cretae cancellarii chronicon de rebus Venetis ab U. C. ad annum MCCCLIV*, Venetiis MDCCCLVIII, 168, 169).

Apart from the prominent Greek *arcondi*, in thirteenth-century Crete, we also find other families who owned land, but we are not aware of how they acquired it. In other words, we do not know if it was a property coming from the Byzantine period, or if it was perhaps acquired later, after the arrival of the Venetians. In the late thirteenth century, for example, Konstantinos Katalaktis owned three *cavallarie* in the region of Chania. It is a big fief, which places him not only among the powerful Greek landowners of the time, but also among the powerful Latin ones. Konstantinos Katalaktis cannot be linked with any of the well-known Cretan families of long tradition or with those who had participated in any Cretan revolt¹². We cannot conclude with certainty if his land was a patrimony going back to Byzantine times. On the other hand, it is certain that some small or medium Greek landowners could not manage to keep their social status in the new political circumstances. A great part of these families probably turned to other economic activities and later on they may have returned to landownership¹³.

With the conquest of Candia in 1206-1207 and the dispatch of three groups of colonists from Venice to the island in 1211, 1222 and 1252, there was a significant upheaval of the local landowner class¹⁴. Since the beginning, the whole land of Crete passed into the hands of the Venetian state, which kept the right to manage it as it wished. Thus, Byzantine landowners immediately lost all the public land they had used, while a great part of them managed after all to keep the land they owned in their own names.

12. For the land property of Konstantinos Katallaktis and his children see Ch. GASPARIS, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Chanee. 1314-1396*, Athens 2008, 52-53, 166-167.

13. Ch. GASPARIS, Terra o Mare? Greci e Veneziani nel nuovo contesto economico delle colonie XIII-XIV secolo, in: *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.)*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 3-7 dicembre 2007, ed. Chr. MALTEZOU - A. TZAVARA - D. VLASSI, Venice 2009, 39-51.

14. On the Venetian colonies and the new landowning system in Crete see Ch. GASPARIS, *Catastici Feudorum Crete. Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri. 1227-1418*, v. 1, Athens 2004, 19-57; IDEM, The period of Venetian rule on Crete: Breaks and continuities during the thirteenth century, in: *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences / La IVe Croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. A. LAIOU, Paris 2005, 233-246; GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 27-56; Ch. Gasparis, Land and landowners in the Greek territories under Latin dominion. 13th-14th centuries, in: *A companion to Latin Greece*, ed. N. I. TSOURGARAKIS - P. LOCK, Leiden/Boston (Brill) 2015, 73-113.

It is obvious that the new landowning system established by the Venetians substantially restructured the class of local landowners. However, since we know almost nothing about this class before the arrival of the Venetians, we cannot estimate the extent of this reversal, or if the group of Greek landowners in the thirteenth century was very different from what it had been in the past. It is worth noting that under the new circumstances from the thirteenth century onward the number and strength of the Greek landowners was more important in the western part of the island than in the eastern part¹⁵. It is interesting that, even according to the well-known “Byzantine” document of the twelve “archontopoula”, seven out of twelve these families (i.e. Gavalas, Chortatzis, Varouchas, Melissinos, Vlastos, Kallergis, Skordilis) are mentioned as being landowners of western Crete, and Chania in particular. Very few of them (Gavalas, Litinos, Chortatzis, Kallergis) appear to exist in eastern Crete, where Venetians embarked first¹⁶. Could this be explained by the fact that the Venetians arrived in the area of Chania considerably later, or might there be other reasons going back to the Byzantine past of the island? Unfortunately, as yet the question remains unanswered.

The matter of the continuity or not of the old class of Cretan landowners is quite complicated and it is not easy to come to a definite conclusion. One thing is certain: during the thirteenth century there existed a significant number of Greek landowners who formed a particular group among the landowning class of Crete. The particularity of that group is based not only on doctrinal and cultural characteristics, but also on its exclusion from the local administrative mechanism. The group of Greek landowners was formed during the first decades after the arrival of the Venetians and included more and more members as time went by. Inevitably, economic stratification within that group was established over the years. Consequently, we find powerful or less powerful Greek landowner

15. The Venetian cadastres (*Catastici Feudorum*), i.e. the registers of the fiefs, provide information about the Greek property in the eastern part of Crete during the thirteenth century. See Ch. GASPARIS, Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro. Στοιχεία για την ελληνική γαιοκτησία στη μεσαιωνική Κοίτη, *Σύμψεικτα* 15 (2002), 195-227. On the Greek property in the western part of Crete see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 47-56.

16. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 150 (table 5), 162-170 (table 7); GASPARIS, Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro, 199-200.

families in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Crete, exactly as occurred in the Latin group¹⁷.

The significant number and duration of the thirteenth-century Cretan revolts mean that the Greek landowners, or a considerable part of them, decided from the very beginning to react forcefully to the Venetian plans¹⁸. However, there was no organised total uprising. On the contrary, from the first reaction of 1212,¹⁹ i.e. immediately after the arrival of the first colonists, small groups of Greek families reacted gradually to the possible loss of their land as the Venetians marched from east to west, conquering the island. The results of the revolts are impressive; as we have already noted, Greek landowners succeeded in keeping or extending their land, and in getting part in the new landowning system established by the new overlords. It seems, however, that another section of Greek landowners managed to save their land or even acquire some new lands, not necessarily by means of struggle. Thanks to its experience in the revolts, Venice decided very soon to accept more Greeks as landowners, offering them land by various other ways and under certain circumstances. Personal relations, services performed for Venice or neutrality during the revolts were the means for some Greeks to have their land recognised or to get it back. However, from the last decades of the thirteenth century, but mostly in the fourteenth century, new strategies

17. For the Greek landowners and the economic strata of the Latin feudatories in the early Venetian Crete see GASPARIS, Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro; IDEM, *Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, 41-57; IDEM, *Catasticum Chanee*, 40-56, 150, 162-170; IDEM, “Feudatarii Cretenses”: La formazione della classe dei proprietari terrieri a Creta veneziana nel XIII secolo, in: *Byzantina et Moderna. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou*, ed. G. GRIVAUD – S. PETMEZAS, Athens 2007, 57-73. We can also detect the various strata of the Greek landowners in thirteenth-century treaties between Venice and the Cretan rebels, through which Greek land property was recognized by the Venetian authorities. See for example the characteristic treaty of 1265: BANDIA, Η βενετοχορτική συνθήκη, 102-135; GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 144-145. The entrance of other families into the group of the Greek landowners widened this stratification during the fourteenth century.

18. For the thirteenth century Cretan revolts see S. BORSARI, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, Naples 1963, 27-66; Svoronos, Το νόμιμα και η τυπολογία.

19. For the revolt of 1212 by the family of Aghiotestanitis in eastern Crete see G. SAINT GUILLAIN, *Ex insita animi levitate rebelles? Date, causes et conséquences de la révolte d'Hagiostephanites contre la domination venitienne en Crète*, in: *Ministerium Historiae. Τιμή στον π. Μάρκο Φώσκολο*, ed. K. A. DANOUSIS – K. G. TSIKNAKIS, Tinos 2017, 507-542.

by Greek families for keeping or improving their social, economic and even “political” status became common: a. marriages either between members of Greek families or between Greeks and Latins, and b. investment in land of money coming from urban economic activities.

Marriages between Greeks were not just a result of doctrinal, social or cultural homogeneity, but also a conscious strategy to keep the land they already possessed in Greek hands. Mixed marriages, on the other hand, gave Greek families many chances to improve their position among the Venetian leading class, and the opportunity to get benefits directly from the Venetian state or indirectly from their economic activities in a friendly environment. Mixed marriages between Greeks and Latins were initially prohibited by Venice, but gradually came to be accepted, although legally they remained prohibited. During the thirteenth century, permission for a mixed marriage was sometimes given to Greeks as a reward, as happened in the Kallergis treaty (1299), but this particular Venetian strategy was actually overtaken by the facts. Very soon, permission for mixed marriage was no longer required. The most common was marriage between a Greek daughter and a Latin son, whereas the opposite was quite rare.

Urban economic activities were a means for Greeks to increase their profits and consolidate their position in the new social context. Furthermore, profits and social status helped Greek families obtain land for the first time. However, special permission was indispensable if a Greek wanted to buy land for the first time. In that case, the Venetian authorities used to give permission to the future Greek landlord and his descendants for a maximum of land surface²⁰.

Prominent Greek families in Crete seem to have two differ tendencies. Some of them are mostly interested in keeping and exploiting their own land, remaining close to the Greek Orthodox environment, especially during the thirteenth century, while others are interested mostly in commercial and other financial activity in order to increase their wealth and the land in their possession, or to have the opportunity to buy land for the first time. This last group of Greek families appears more open to the new ruling class and to intermarriage with Latin families. However, during the fourteenth

20. GASPARIS, Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro, 216-217, 220-221, 224-225.

century urban economic activity and marriage with Latin families became common among all the Greek upper class families.

The comparison between the Greek families, as well as the comparison between the branches of the same family is of particular interest for the history of the Greek families in the new political and socio-economical context in Crete, after the arrival of the Venetians. In the early thirteenth century Venice, along with the local population, had shown impressive adaptability in the new context, much more than the proclamations of Venice reveal. We are now going to study two representative examples: the old and powerful Cretan families of Gavalas and Ialinas, whose histories from the beginning of the thirteenth century onward are quite distinct. In order to highlight the profile of these two families, as happens for every family, we will take into account the following factors: 1. The number of members and branches of each family; 2. The marriages of its members; 3. Its attitude toward the Venetian regime; 4. Its wealth and activity in the local urban and/or rural economy. These factors decisively contributed to their mobility in the new political, social and economic context or even to the improvement of their position.

1. THE GAVALAS FAMILY

The Gavalas family belonged to the twelve “archontopoula” of Crete. In the document of 1092/1182²¹ we find Filippos Gavalas, and in that of 1192 Ioannis Gavalas, son of Filippos, and his uncles (Filippos’s brothers) Ioannis, Georgios, Sifis, Antonios and Marinos²². According to the same tradition, their land property was located in the western part of Crete in the region of Chania²³. Despite the questionable authenticity of these documents, the Gavalas family, a well-known and prominent family in the Byzantine Empire²⁴, possessed important property in Crete in the twelfth century, as is shown by the family’s activity under the Venetian dominion. In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Venetian documents, we find members

21. For the date of this document see TSOUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete*, 82-83.

22. Modern scholars consider Filippos Gavalas, though without any evidence, the founder of the Gavalas family in Crete, when he was sent there to suppress a local revolt. See N. KALOMENOPoulos, *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυλοπαίδεια*, v. Η, 5 (lemma: Φύλιππος Γαβαλάς). See also A. G. K. SAVVIDIS, *Βυζαντινά στασιαστικά και αυτονομιστικά κινήματα στα Δωδεκάνησα και στη Μικρά Ασία. 1189-c. 1240 μ.Χ.*, Athens 1987, 322.

23. E. GERLAND, L’histoire de la noblesse crétoise au moyen âge, *ROL* 11 (1905-1908), 38, 44.

24. Although not among the greatest families, various Gavalas had important roles in the Byzantine Empire. For some examples of Gavalas family members during the twelfth and early thirteenth century see in MIKLOSICH – MULLER, v. VI, Vienna 1890, 130 (1195: Ο εν τω σεκρέτω ενεργών δικαίω του ανθέντου θείου μου του μεγαλοδοξοτάτου πρωτονοβελισμού κυρού Στεφάνου του Γαβαλά), 174-176 (1216: Βασίλειος ο Γαβαλάς και η γυνή σύμβιος ημών Καλή η Αληθινή sold land to the monastery of Saint John of Patmos). For the Gavalas family during the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire and especially its role in the Dodecanese see SAVVIDIS, *Βυζαντινά στασιαστικά και αυτονομιστικά κινήματα*, 301-341; *PLP*, no. 3290-3313. See also other examples in St. SOLOMOU, *Ο πολιτικός ρόλος των μεγάλων οικογενειών κατά την παλαιολόγεια περίοδο. Τα πρόσωπα και τα κείμενα (1258-1453)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Philology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens 2016 (<http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/39415#page/1/mode/2up>), 122 note 475, 234 note 1369, 532 note 363, 846 note 609, 861 note 712, 1073 note 290.

of the Gavalas family called *arcondi* or *arcondopuli*, a title that proves the long tradition of the family in Crete²⁵.

1.1. Branches and members

The evidence about the Gavalas family leaves serious gaps in the family tree either in the thirteenth or the fourteenth centuries, though many members are mentioned in our sources (see the Gavalas family Chronological table and Gavalas family Documentation table). According to the available thirteenth century documents and the place where they live, three different branches of the Gavalas family are identified so far: 1. Emmanuel Gavalas and his descendants, who owned land in the district of Candia and were residents in the capital city (see tree 1). 2. The brothers Ioannis senior, Ioannis junior, Georgios and Nikiforos, whose father's name is not known. They are connected with the revolt in the years 1262-1265 and the land owned in the area of Apokoronas in Chania (see tree 2). 3. Kostas Gavalas and his descendants, who owned land mainly in the area of Kissamos, but Apokoronas as well, in Chania (see tree 4). It is quite probable that all the above three branches of the Gavalas family during the thirteenth century were linked to each other by kinship going back to the twelfth century, but there is not enough evidence to come to a definite conclusion. A fourth branch is also identified in fourteenth-century Rethimno.

Emmanuel Gavalas was active during the first half of the thirteenth century and had at least two sons: Georgios and Gabriel (see tree 1)²⁶. Georgios was already an adult in 1237, for in that year he and his father were registered on the cadastre of Dorsoduro (*Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*) as owners of a fief equal to two *serventarie*²⁷. Gabriel, already dead in 1272, had at least one son, Emmanuel, and a daughter, Keranna. Emmanuel was married to Agnes; the latter made her will in 1322 and his husband six

25. See notes 10 and 11.

26. It is quite possible that Emmanuel Gavalas can be identified with the individual bearing the same name, who in 1248 testified before the Venetian authorities about the possessions of the Latin archbishopric in the area of Paracandia (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 105.IX).

27. For Emmanuel Gavalas and his descendants see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexterii Dorsoduri*, no. 909, 911-914; TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 105.IX; Pietro Pizolo, v. 1, no. 653; ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 142, 11v, 63r; Stefano Bono. *Notaio in Candia (1303-1304)*, ed. G. PETTENELLO - S. RAUCH, Venice 2011, no. 106, 181, 631, 632.

years later, in 1328²⁸. The couple, according to their wills, were residents in Candia and childless. The only relatives mentioned in Emmanuel's will are his sister Keranna and his nephew Pietro Rosso²⁹. The amount of money left by both Agnes and Emmanuel to various churches, monasteries and hospitals in Candia, to various persons and even to their slaves suggests a rather wealthy couple living in a Greek Orthodox environment. Three persons with the surname Gavalas, namely Ioannis, Georgios and Nikolaos, were active in the capital city during the first half of the fourteenth century³⁰. We do not have any further information about either their fathers' name or any other relatives. However, it is not impossible that they were linked with the Emmanuel Gavalas branch of Candia; Georgios could be a grandson of Georgios Gavalas son of Emmanuel.

The four Gavalas brothers, Ioannis senior, Ioannis junior, Georgios and Nikiforos, lived during the thirteenth century; their father's name is unknown (see tree 2). The Venetians, through the treaty of 1265, recognized their land in the village of Armenoi in the district of Chania, already possessed in 1255³¹. Leos Gavalas son of the late Ioannis and resident in the village of Nipos in the *turma* of Psichro (Chania) is mentioned in a contract of 1301³². We cannot however be sure who of the two homonymous brothers

28. See the will of Agnes in *Wills*, 315-316 and the will of Emmanuel in *Wills*, 316-317.

29. Pietro Rosso is mentioned by Emmanuel as *nepos*, which means either grandson or nephew. Since neither Emmanuel nor his wife Agnes mention any child in their wills, while Agnes does not mention him at all, it is possible that Pietro can be linked with Emmanuel's sister Keranna, possibly married to a Rosso.

30. For Ioannis, Georgios and Nikolaos Gavalas see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 1, 5v, 19r; q. 6, 30r, 46v. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 11, q. 9, 1v. *Duca di Candia. Bandi (1313-1329)*, ed. P. RATTI-VIDULICH, Venice 1965, no. 199. See also below note no. 54.

31. BANDIA, Η βενετοκρατική συνθήκη, 115, 124. For Ioannis Gavalas (senior or junior remains unknown) see also ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. I, 5r.

32. *Benvenuto de Brixano. Notaio in Candia. 1301-1302*, ed. R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, Venice 1950, no. 436. A certain Maria Gavaladena, widow of Ioannis Gavalas, and resident in the district of Chania, is mentioned in an act of 28 October 1334. By this act, Kostas Kapsokalivis confirmed that Maria received the money that the government of Crete had promised for the damages that Maria had suffered during the revolt of 1333 [see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 3, 47v; for the issue of the compensations after the revolt of 1333, see Ch. GASPARIS, Η κρητική επανάσταση του 1333. Η επανάσταση των «άλλων» Καλλέργηδων, *Κρητικά Χρονικά ΛΒ'* (2012), 94-95]. Maria, who according to the above document had a

the late Ioannis is. Finally, since a Georgios Gavalas existed in both the above-mentioned branches, it cannot be ruled out that these four brothers were first cousins of Georgios and Gabriel, the sons of Emmanuel, having a common grandfather, called Georgios.

Kostas Gavalas lived in the thirteenth century and had at least two sons: Dimitrios, who died before 1336, and Choniatis, who was dead by 1346 (see tree 4). Dimitrios and his wife Kali had three sons: Kostas, Sifis and Georgios. The latter, already dead in 1381, was married to Frossini Melissinos and had two sons, Ioannis and Manolis. Ioannis son of Georgios, mentioned as late in 1381, and his wife Franceschina had at least one daughter, Maria. The second son of Kostas Gavalas, i.e. Choniatis, and his wife Potha had a daughter Maria, who was dead in 1378³³. Two women are linked with this branch and specifically with Dimitrios, but the documents do not give their exact relation. These are Paraskevi, wife of Petros Thalassinos and Potha Gavaladena. Paraskevi (already dead in 1387) is referred to as granddaughter of Dimitrios and had a son, Emmanuel. Given that in 1387 Emmanuel sold part of his land to Sifis, without any mention of kinship between them, means that Paraskevi was not Sifis's daughter, but a daughter possibly of Kostas or Georgios. Potha is mentioned as late in 1374 and she had a daughter, Maria, who was also dead in that year. Maria was married to a member of the Darmario family and had two daughters, Marchesina or Marchetta and Annitsa, and a son, Pietro. Marchesina was married to a member of the Gritti family, but Annitsa and Pietro died without children and probably unmarried³⁴. Potha is referred to as Gavaladena, which means that she was widow of a Gavalas. The fact that she possessed land in both Kissamos and Psichro linked her with the branch of Kostas Gavalas, the only one who possessed land in both regions. Given that Georgios, son of Dimitrios, was married to Frossini, and Sifis was alive in 1374, Potha was possibly wife of Kostas, son of Dimitrios, or to an unknown son of

son called Georgios, could be linked as possible wife with one of the two brothers Ioannis, probably with Ioannis junior.

33. For Kostas Gavalas and his descendants see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 143, 179, 197, 299, 331, 350, 383, 406.

34. For Potha Gavaladena and her descendants see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 314, 319. This Potha Gavaladena cannot be identified with Potha wife of Choniatis Gavalas (both of them had a daughter Maria), because the latter was alive in 1378.

Choniatis. Finally, a certain Donato Gavalas, who possessed land in the village of Topolia in Kissamos was probably linked also with this branch but there is no more information so far³⁵.

Iakovos Gavalas (see tree 3) had at least one son, Michael, who was married to a certain Magdalini, who became a nun probably after the death of his husband, and had a son Iakovos. All these four persons were dead in 1359³⁶. In his will Iakovos, son of Michael, left half of his land in the area of Kissamos to his mother Magdalini and the other half to Michele Zubano, who finally inherited the other part after the death of Magdalini. This suggests that Michele Zubano was quite probably a grandson of Iakovos Gavalas from his daughter and great-grandson of Michael and Magdalini Gavalas. Given that Iakovos's land was located in the area of Kissamos, he can be linked with the above-mentioned branch of Kostas Gavalas. Iakovos the first, who lived approximately during the second half of the thirteenth century, could be a brother of Kostas Gavalas.

Three persons called Michael Gavalas, all residents in the area of Apokoronas, are mentioned in the middle of the fourteenth century³⁷. These are Michael Gavalas, resident of the village of Nipos in the area of Apokoronas (1350), Michael Gavalas called Chloros, resident in the village of Tzitzifes also in the area of Apokoronas (1357) and, finally, the rebel Michael Gavalas called Lissiaris (already dead in 1374), whose land, also located in the same area of Apokoronas, was confiscated. The nicknames Chloros and Lissiaris were probably given to these two Michael in order to distinguish one from the other. The proximity of their places of residence is an additional indication of close kinship, probably of first cousins. Furthermore, the three Michael Gavalas can be also linked with the above-mentioned four brothers Gavalas, who a century before in the middle of the thirteenth century owned land in the village of Armenoi in the area of Apokoronas. Finally, a certain Moschanna Gavaloudena can be linked with all the above-mentioned Gavalas of Apokoronas. She owned land in this area and in 1340 she donated it to her grandson Georgios Chandakitis³⁸.

35. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 180-181,

36. For Iakovos Gavalas and his descendants see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 263.

37. See GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 218, 247, 311.

38. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 163.

The *arcondopuli* brothers Emmanuel and Sifis Gavalas were residents in the village of Orthes in the district of Rethimno. They participated in the revolt of Saint Titus and were condemned in 1367³⁹. Along with Sifis Gavalas, his mother in law, the *papadia* (i.e. wife of priest) Rovithou, was also condemned⁴⁰.

After all, we can conclude that there were three main branches of the Gavalas family, which started in thirteenth century Crete: the branch of Emmanuel Gavalas in Candia, the branch of the four Gavalas brothers associated with Psichro in Apokoronas (Chania), and the branch of Kostas Gavalas associated with Kissamos (Chania). A fourth branch of the two brothers Gavalas is also identified in fourteenth-century Rethimno. A connection between all branches, going back to the twelfth century, is probable, but a closer kinship between the two branches in the district of Chania is certain.

1.2 Land property

The main part of the Gavalas family lived in western Crete in the district (*territorium*) of Chania, as both “Byzantine” documents related to the “archontopoula” and Venetian documents prove, and the rest in the districts of Rethimno and Candia. It is very interesting that the members of the Gavalas family active in Candia soon succeeded in acquiring land that had formerly belonged to Venetians, and in being registered on the official cadastres (*Catastici Feudorum*) as feudatories. In fact, it was in 1237 that two *serventarie*, once possessed by Stefano Giustinian, were registered by Emmanuel Gavalas and his son Georgios on the cadastre of Dorsoduro in the district of Candia in the villages of Doraki and Pirgos. The two *serventarie* remained in the possession of the family for about forty years. In 1252, they came into the hands of Gabriel Gavalas, second son of Emmanuel, and twenty years later, in 1271, into the hands of Emmanuel, son of Gabriel. Unfortunately, we cannot determine whether the Gavalas owned that land as early as the twelfth century and the Venetians returned it to them, or whether it was new land granted by the Venetian authorities. In any case, at some point, these two *serventarie* returned to the state, which in 1281 conceded

39. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 137v-138v.

40. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 137v-138v. Rovithou was condemned to blindness and exile.

them by public auction to Pietro Sclavo⁴¹. It is also not known if or where the last owner, Emmanuel Gavalas, son of Gabriel, possessed any other land, or whether he remained without any land property after the loss of these two *serventarie*. However, he continued to be active in Candia either in land cultivation or in other urban economic activities⁴². In 1300, he leased for ten years from Guglielmo Trivisano a villein called Leos Saranda, resident in the village of Kalandares in the area of Milopotamos⁴³. On 17 December 1303, Emmanuel leased for six years from Clemente Lando another villein from Lando's fief in the village of Tilissos. On the same day, Lando appointed Emmanuel as his proxy to manage his fief in the same village⁴⁴. The lease of two villeins between 1300 and 1303 means that Emmanuel would probably have used them to cultivate land, maybe in the area of the above-mentioned village of Tilissos near Candia. The area of Malevisi, where Tilissos is located, continued over the following years to be the place where he was active. In 1327, a year before his death, Emmanuel leased from Marco Falier the area of one *serventaria* in the village of Krousonas for the next four years, at an annual rent of fifteen *yperpera*⁴⁵. Two years earlier, in 1325, he had also leased the area of one *serventaria* for six years and an annual rent of a hundred *mensure* of wheat⁴⁶. In the meantime, in 1326, he had leased a vineyard for three years⁴⁷. The lease of these large areas of land suggests that Emmanuel was interested in commercial agricultural products.

The above-mentioned evidence reveals that the branch of the Gavalas family in the district of Candia had managed to keep its land or acquire new territory from the first decades of the thirteenth century and after the conquest of the area by the first colonists dispatched from Venice. On the other hand, the Gavalas of Chania, as already mentioned, had deeper roots in the area. According to the document of 1192, the land property

41. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri*, v. 1, 309, and v. 2, no. 909, 911, 912, 913. These *serventarie* were perhaps confiscated by the authorities because of their owners' possible participation in the revolt of the Chortatzis family (1272-1278).

42. For the urban economic activity see below p. 30-32.

43. *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 653.

44. *Stefano Bono*, no. 631-632.

45. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 142, notaio Benedetto da Milano, 63r.

46. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 142, notaio Benedetto da Milano, 11v.

47. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 142, notaio Benedetto da Milano, 50r.

of the Gavalas was located in the villages or the areas of Gavalochori (i.e. village of Gavalas), Chrissopolis, Kavodrepano and Kissamos⁴⁸. As long as the district of Chania had remained unconquered by the Venetians, the land had certainly remained in the hands of the old Byzantine landowners. We therefore assume that the Gavalas of Chania retained their land until 1252, when the last group of colonists dispatched from Venice arrived in the western part of the island. The document of 1255-1257, by which the Venetian authorities distributed the land of Chania to the Venetian colonists, reveals that the Gavalas of western Crete ultimately managed to secure their land. The three brothers, Ioannis senior, Ioannis junior and Georgios Gavalas, along with Emmanuel Skordilis, received one third of the village of Armenoi in the area of Apokoronas in Chania as a large fief equal to three *cavallarie*⁴⁹. A few years later, the participation of the above-mentioned Gavalas in the revolt of 1262-1265 threatened what they had already won about ten years previously. However the treaty signed in 1265 confirmed their previous status and the three Gavalas brothers kept their land property. Furthermore, in the same treaty, the land property of a fourth brother, Nikiforos Gavalas, was also recognized separately⁵⁰.

The first evidence that we have of the fourteenth-century land property of the Gavalas is from 1301, when Leos Gavalas, son of the late Ioannis, resident in the village of Nipos in Apokoronas, conceded for 29 years to Gabriele Bono a villein from the *cavallaria* that Leos owned in the village of Kaina in the same area⁵¹. Then, during the fourteenth century, thanks to the documents of land transfer registered in the so called cadastre of Chania, we learn not only of the kinships of the Gavalas family in the area,

48. According to the first variation of the Greek document, the land of the Gavalas is located: “από το σύνορον του Βαμένου ποταμού αρχίζει των αρχόντων Γαβαλάδων, όπου χύνουν τα νερά, να υπάγη προς τα βορεινά, έως να φθάση εις το Γαβαλοχώριον, αρχίζοντας από την Χρυσόπολιν, να τελειώσει εις την Καβοδράπανον, έχοντας και τα μερίδας αυτών εν τη Κισάμῳ”. See GERLAND, *La noblesse crétoise*, 38.

49. BANDIA, Η βενετοκρητική συνθήκη, 124; GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanei*, 49.

50. BANDIA, Η βενετοκρητική συνθήκη, 102-135, 115.

51. *Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 436. It is possible that Leos Gavalas was son of one of the two Ioannis who owned land in the area of Apokoronas during the years 1255-1257 and 1265, as we have already seen. Leos conceded his villein, called Ioannis Pangalos, to Gabriel Barbo “for the services that Gabriel had offered to him”.

but also the extent and location of their land property, or at least a part of it. According to these documents, the family was located in two regions of Chania district, namely Psichro (in the villages of Nipos, Tzitzifes, Kaina and Maza) and Kissamos (in the villages of Prodromos, Voukolies, Deliana, Palaiokastro, Anemolea, Topolia, Armos, Ayco, Abendite and Lamnia). These two regions correspond, as mentioned above, to two separate small branches of the family, although some of their members possessed land in both regions. This means that they were ultimately connected with each other and highlights their common origin and the sense of a wider Gavalas family in Chania. The location of the Gavalas land in Chania during the fourteenth century confirms the content of the document of 1192, although we can assume the opposite, i.e. the latter, made in a later period after the fourteenth century, included the land possessed by the Gavalas during the previous centuries.

In the fertile area of Kissamos and especially in the villages of Voukolies, Deliana and Topolia we find the branch of Kostas Gavalas, who at the same time possessed land in the area of Psichro. The rest of the Gavalas lived mainly in the area of Psichro in Apokoronas, as well as in the nearby village of Kournas in the *turma* of Kalamonas in the district of Rethimno.

The extent of the Gavalas land, according to our documents, was not large and ranged from a small part of a *serventaria* to two and a half *serventarie*. That extent certainly does not reflect the real size of the Gavalas land in the district of Chania, which remains unknown because of the loss of the local cadastres. However, our information, apart from the location and extent of the land, documents an interesting case of the transference of land, although with no clear objectives. A small number of those land transfers concern changes of owners because of inheritance, while the greater part relates to sales or purchases of land. These transactions seem in some cases to be aimed at gathering fragmented land into a particular place, and in others at raising money in order to give a dowry, to repay debt or to invest in various economic activities. Among the buyers of Gavalas land we find members of the same family or other Greeks and Latins.

One of the main aims of a family, whether Latin or Greek, was to keep the land it already possessed (or, at least, a great part of it) in its hands for as long as possible. Thus, when the family land passed into other hands, a member of the old family very often came later and repurchased either the

whole or a part of that land. A part of a *serventaria* in Kissamos, for example, owned by Dimitrios Gavalas, passed to his granddaughter Paraskevi, who gave it in dowry to her husband Petros Thalassinos. Then, that land passed to Paraskevi's and Petros's son, Emmanuel Thalassinos, who sold it in 1387 to Sifis Gavalas⁵². In this way, the family kept in its ownership a whole territory for a long time (in certain cases for centuries). This is also the reason why a family name sometimes became the name of a region or a village, as happened in the case of the village of Gavalochori, i.e. the village of Gavalas, in Apokoronas (Chania).

It was a common practice to gather, through various transactions, the fragmented land property of a family into a particular territory, which was the traditional domicile of the family, or in an area where many Greeks possessed land. Such a case is the area of Psichro in the district of Chania, where the Gavalas family used to own land during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and probably from the Byzantine period. In the fourteenth century in that same area a total number of twelve other Greek landowners were gathered: among them, there were the well-known families of Skordilis, Kallergis, Chandakitis and Vlastos⁵³.

1.3. Urban activity

During the fourteenth century, some of the urban economic activity of Gavalas family members in the capital city was documented, but the lack of archival documents from the western part of Crete raised questions about the real size of such activity of the family in general. Even so, the activity in Candia seemed to be rather limited. Moreover, it is quite difficult to link the members who had such an activity with all of the above-mentioned who owned land - a correlation that would be very useful for a more complete profile of the family's activity. In our documents, three persons bearing the surname Gavalas are involved with maritime transport and the minor

52. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 406. It is possible that Sifis Gavalas was son of Dimitrios Gavalas and uncle of Paraskevi and grand uncle of Emmanuel Thalassinos, who sold the land. In 1340, Sifis Gavalas also owned land in the village of Topolia in the area of Kissamos (GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 299).

53. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 197-203. Apart from the above four families, we find also members of the families Mourouzos, Kontis, Katalaktis, Gorgoraptis, Metavolinos, Sarakinopoulos, Mazokopos and Kiriakopoulos.

trade in eastern Crete. In 1326, Ioannis Gavalas owned a small boat (*barca*) along with Giacomo Borgognono; the following year, Georgios Gavalas was mentioned as the owner of a *ligno*; in 1356, Nikolaos Gavalas was mentioned in one case as the owner of a *barca* and in another of a *gripo*. In the last case we cannot be sure if Nikolaos was actually the owner of two vessels or just one mentioned differently each time⁵⁴. In 1314, a contract concerning Ioannis Gavalas is of particular interest⁵⁵. A certain Guglielmo Cavrini leased from Francesco da Porto and his brothers a piece of land. Ioannis Gavalas, in that same year, “leased” for seven years all the contributions in agricultural products (wine, cereals or other annual cultivations and fruits) that Guglielmo Cavrini should pay to Francesco. Ioannis Gavalas also “leased” all the contributions that he should pay to the same Francesco da Porto. The total annual rent was settled at 16 *yperpera*. The agreement is quite strange and although the terms “lease” (*concedo atque afficto*) and “rent” (*affictum*) are used in the contract, the case is no more than a long-term preemption of agricultural products at a pre-price. The fact that Ioannis Gavalas was interested in these products, in conjunction with the ownership of a small boat, suggests that he was involved in the trade of agricultural products. Finally, in 1368 another Ioannis Gavalas, resident in the burg of Candia, stood as guarantor for Pietro Nigro from Coron; Pietro intended to transport products from Crete to the port of Coron⁵⁶. We can assume that this last Ioannis Gavalas is the same person as the previous one, still active in the market and the port of Candia.

54. In 1326, *dona* Flordalisa Corner and her son-in-law Giovannino got permission from the Venetian authorities to transport wheat and barley from the area of Ierapetra to Candia with the *barca* of Giacomo Borgognono and Ioannis Gavalas (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 1, 5v). In 1327, Georgios Gavalas got permission to transport 16 *vegetes* of olive oil from Candia to Thessaloniki with his *ligno* (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 1, 19r). In January 1356, Nikolaos Gavalas as a *patronus barche* got permission to transport various products, and in April of the same year, the same Nikolaos as *patronus griparee* got permission to transport various products to Rhodes (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 6, 30r, 46v).

55. The contract, presented by Ioannis Gavalas, is included in a decree of the Venetian authorities of Candia between the end of 1318 and the beginning of 1319. There is no mention why this decree had been published, but we believe that this is a new recognition of the old agreement after it had been disputed by the brothers da Porto. See *Bandi*, no. 199.

56. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 11, q. 9, 1v.

Emmanuel Gavalas, son of Gabriel, also seems to have been active in the Candiope market, having many connections with people also active there. In 1282, he borrowed an amount of money, but we do not know for what purpose⁵⁷. We have already mentioned the land that he had leased in 1303, in order to produce agricultural products for trade⁵⁸. In 6 June of the same year, the brothers Georgios and Ioannis Sachlikis appointed Emmanuel Gavalas and Georgios Selopoulos as arbitrators to judge their difference and make a decision about two vineyards. A month later, on 6 July, Gualterono della Splaza commissioned Emmanuel to search for and find his slave Georgios from Samos who had escaped⁵⁹.

In 1370-1371, the priest Georgios Gavalas “bought” from Katerinos Ialinas the land property and the houses of the monastery of Saint George Mouglinos located in the burg of Candia. Georgios bequeathed that property in his will to his son Emmanuel⁶⁰, who later on conceded them to the notary Emmanuel Fokas⁶¹. This last Emmanuel Gavalas, who lived during the second half of the fourteenth century, cannot with certainty be linked with any branch of the same family, since his Christian name was very common among the Gavalas family members⁶². In any case, this is the only evidence so far for the crossing of the Gavalas and Ialinas family.

1.4. Social status

The Gavalas family is included among the *arcondi* of Crete, although this is not clearly reflected, except in a few cases, in their titles in the Venetian sources. The treaty of 1265 states that it was signed jointly by the Duke of Crete, Georgios Chortatzis and Michael Skordilis, and “all other Greek

57. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 115, notaio Crescenzo Alessandrino, 26v.

58. See above p. 27.

59. *Stefano Bono*, no. 106,181.

60. SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 42 no. 1587.

61. TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, 218. SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 339 no. 1574.

62. Emmanuel can be linked with two branches of the Gavalas family: that of Emmanuel Gavalas of Candia (see tree 1), where we find both names altered from father to son, i.e. Georgios and Emmanuel, and that of Kostas Gavalas of Chania (see tree 2), where we find a certain Emmanuel son of Georgios, who lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. The fact that Emmanuel leased the property of a Candiope monastery from Katerinos Ialinas, resident of Candia, suggests that he was probably a member of the first branch.

archontes as mentioned below”⁶³. This means that the title of *archon* belongs also to the four brothers Gavalas, who secured their lands in the district of Chania, and that their family was a prominent one among the local Greeks of the time. A century later, the brothers Emmanuel and Sifis Gavalas, who had participated in the revolt of Saint Titus on the side of the rebels in the Amari area of Rethimno, also bore the title of *arcondopulus*⁶⁴. Of the other Gavalas, the only ones that bore titles in the second half of the 14th century are some members of the Kostas Gavalas branch. Dimitris son of Kostas and Sifis son of Dimitris bear the title of *ser*, unlike all other Gavalas at the same time who are without any other title. Three female members of the same branch also have the title *dona/domina*. These are Potha Gavaladena, her daughter Maria Darmario and her granddaughter Marchesina Gritti⁶⁵. The latter two were married to Venetians and their title could have been derived from their husbands, but at the same time it seems that they also maintained the tradition of their mother and grandmother respectively, who probably took the title from her Gavalas husband.

The Gavalas, like the other prominent local families of Greek landlords, were forced to respond, directly or indirectly, to the new political situation after the arrival of the Venetians, defending either the interests of the family or those of the class of the great Byzantine landowners in general. During the first half of the thirteenth century the Gavalas family seems to have maintained a neutral stance toward the new Venetian rulers, as did many Greek families, as long as their property was not in danger. The acquisition of the two *serventarie* in 1237 revealed not only the neutrality of the Candiope branch, but also their good relations with the Venetians. However, during the second half of the century the Gavalas, especially the branches of the western Crete, seem to have approved rather than condemned resistance to the Venetians. The fact that the treaty of 1265 recognized the land property owned by the four Gavalas brothers undoubtedly proved that these brothers had participated in the revolt of the previous years (1262-1265). About two decades later Georgios Gavalas, a member of the Gavalas family also from the western part of Crete and quite probably one of the four Gavalas

63. BANDIA, Η βενετοχολητική συνθήκη, 111, 115.

64. See below p. 34.

65. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 299, 314, 319, 406.

brothers of Armenoi, participated in the great revolt of Alexios Kallergis⁶⁶. It is not, then, a surprise that about a century later members of the family were on the side of the Venetian rebels of Saint Titus. Two members of the Gavalas family appear among the Greek *arcondopuli* who were condemned in 1367: Emmanuel and Sifis Gavalas, residents in the village of Orthes in the district of Rethimno. The two brothers were at the head of the revolt in the area of Milopotamos and, according to the testimonies presented to the Venetian authorities, Sifis proclaimed himself as “captain” in the village of Eleftherna (*capitaneus in Lefterna*). The ducal decree of 1367 refers to Sifis Gavalas as “one of the main rebels, head of the war, leader, instigator, and depredator of the honour of our dominion”, and that is why his tongue should be cut out and he should be sent into exile and all his property to be confiscated⁶⁷. The other brother, Emmanuel Gavalas, was killed during the military operations and by a ducal decree all his property was confiscated. A third member of the family, Michael Gavalas Lissiaris, also participated in the revolt of Saint Titus and this is why, in 1374, his fief located in the area of Apokoronas was confiscated and sold by public auction⁶⁸.

In 1397, Emmanuel Kapsodasis, his son Leos and Ioannis Miriokefalitis, all residents in the district of Rethimno, expounded before the Venetian authorities of Candia the important services they had offered to Venice, claiming permission to bid for the rent of the village of Miriokefala. Among the services they mentioned was the denunciation to the authorities of an impending conspiracy by the Gavalas family against Venice. According to their testimony, these three denunciators organized a troop of their own men, chased and captured many conspirators, and gave them up to the authorities, getting a share of the confiscated Gavalas property as a result. Although we have no other information about this, the rather depreciatory term *societas de Gavaladis* used by the Venetian Senate in its decision reveals that the Venetians considered the Gavalas family, or at least a part of it, to be a concrete front against Venice⁶⁹. Much later, around the middle

66. GERLAND, Noblesse crétoise, 220-221.

67. According to the decree of the Cretan authorities, Sifis was *unus ex principalibus actoribus rebellium... caput guerre, doctor, seductor, detractor honoris dominationis*. See ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, 137v-139v.

68. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 311.

69. H. NOIRET, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*, Paris 1892, 88.

of the fifteenth century, the Gavalas family in western Crete seems to have been divided in their attitude to Venetian rule. Ioannis Gavalas had a leading role in the conspiracy against Venice in Rethimno during the years 1460-1462, while Georgios Gavalas was an informer, revealing the participants in the previous conspiracy of Sifis Vlastos (1453-1454). Finally, in 1458 Petros Gavalas is mentioned as “protopsaltis” in Candia, which means that he was considered a person loyal to Venice⁷⁰.

In the end, although the Gavalas of Candia initially appeared to remain neutral or maintain good relations with the Venetians, from the second half of the thirteenth century the Gavalas of the western Crete, and quite probably the Gavalas of Candia as well, stood against Venice. In fact, it was exactly this adverse attitude towards the Venetian plans to weaken the old Byzantine landowners that helped them maintain not only their land property, but also their economic strength and social prestige among the local people.

The cadastre of the district of Chania is a rich, although incomplete, source of information about the members of the family and their marital and economic relations with other families during the fourteenth century. Our sources reveal relations with families of both Greek and Latin origin, thus keeping a balance between the two main elements of Cretan society.

Marital relations with families of both ethnic origins, i.e. Greek and Latin, are recorded. Among these families are the Melissinos, Chandakitis and Thalassinos, as well as the Gritti, Darmario and Zubano. Georgios Gavalas, son of Dimitrios Gavalas, was married to Frossini, daughter of Kostas Melissinos; Paraskevi, granddaughter of Dimitrios Gavalas, was married to Petros Thalassinos⁷¹; Moschanna Gavaloudena's daughter was married to a son of Chandakitis family⁷². On the other hand, Maria the daughter of Potha Gavaladena was married to a member of the Darmario family and his daughter (and Potha's granddaughter) Marchesina, to a member of the Gritti family⁷³. Finally, the daughter of Iakovos Gavalas was

70. For these members of Gavalas family see M. I. MANOUSAKAS, *Ἡ ἐν Κρήτῃ συνωμοσία τοῦ Σήφη Βλαστοῦ (1453-1454), καὶ ἡ νέα συνωμοτικὴ κίνησις τοῦ 1460-1462*, Athens 1960, 68, 76-79.

71. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 383, 406.

72. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 163.

73. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 314, 319.

married to a member of the Zubano family. Although the available evidence is very poor, it should be noted that all the above-mentioned three marriages with members of Latin origin were of daughters and not sons of the Gavalas family.

The Gavalas family during the fourteenth century used to be quite open towards the two ethnic elements for social relations or economic activities. We have already seen, for example, the relations between Emmanuel Gavalas, son of Gabriel, with Georgios and Ioannis Sachlikis from the one side, and Gualterio della Splaza and Clemente Lando from the other. The latter commissioned him to manage his affairs in Candia, buying and selling land⁷⁴. However, to buy and sell land, the Gavalas seem to have preferred Greeks to Latins. According to our documentation, they sold land or other property to the Greek families of Kallergis, Chortatzis, Xamodis, as well as to the Latin families of Vizemano, de Albaxiis, Cocco, de Lorenzo and Dono, and they have bought land from the Greek families of Vlastos, Kiriakopoulos, Thalassinos and Ialinas⁷⁵.

After the arrival of the Venetians in Crete and during the thirteenth century the Greeks and Latins gradually became closer; however, relations between Greek families continued to be very close, even if they fought one another from time to time. A case concerning the Gavalas family reveals these relations. Kostas Melissinos conceded half a *serventaria* in dowry to his daughter Frossini, who was married to Georgios Gavalas. The land passed to their son Emmanuel Gavalas, who in 1383 sold it to Iannoulis Chortatzis and Vassilis Kallergis with the mediation of Ioannis Kallergis⁷⁶. That is an example of how four of the most famous Cretan families were involved in one case.

74. See above p. 27 and *Stefano Bono*, no. 632.

75. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 143, 179, 197, 218, 247, 263, 314, 319, 331, 350, 383. See also above p. 30.

76. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, no. 383.

2. THE IALINAS FAMILY

We know nothing of the Ialinas family in Crete during the Byzantine period, but its status in Candia during the first decades of the thirteenth century implied its presence at least during the twelfth century. As active residents in Candia our documentation about the members of the Ialinas family is far richer than that about the Gavalas family. Two documents from the second decades of the fourteenth century, i.e. about a century after the arrival of the Venetians in the island, offer some interesting information about the family. In 1320, Georgios Ialinas, according to his testimony before the Venetian authorities of Crete, in order to keep his rights to a church in the area of Candia, declared with possible exaggeration that his family had possessed the church for as long as three hundred years⁷⁷. Two years earlier, in 1318, Stefanos Ialinas, the son of the late Emmanuel, in an attempt to prove that he had never been a state villein, declared before the ducal court that his grandfather had been transferred from Crete to the small port of Anaea, in Asia Minor, where he and his father had been born, but after some time they had returned to Crete and Nigroponte (Euboea)⁷⁸. According to his short but interesting testimony, he originated from the Ialinas family (*Ialinadhes*) of Crete, and he and his relatives were considered to be “as Venetians” (*pro Venetis*) in all places under Venetian dominion. Furthermore, an uncle of his, who lived in Chania, was also considered *pro Veneto* by the local authorities. The status of *venetus*, mentioned by Stefanos Ialinas, was probably assigned to his father or grandfather in

77. According to the testimony, Georgios Ialinas ...*dixit quod antecessores sui et ipsem cum omnibus de domo sua, iam sunt anni CCC et plus, tenuerit et possiderit dictam ecclesiam cum monasterio de Manolitissa...* (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 121.II).

78. *Quare cum ipse Stephanus probaverit legitime quod avus et pater suus in Ania, ubi pater suus et ipse nati fuerunt, et hic in Candia et in Nigroponte, ubi conversati fuerunt, semper transiverunt pro Venetis et fuerunt de Iallinadhis Crete et hinc iverunt in Aniam ad habitandum, et quod unus patruus eius in Chanea est et ibi transit et transivit pro Veneto...* (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 1, 3r).

Anaea, where there was a “community” of Venetians or *veneti* of various origins, Greeks among them⁷⁹. Venice was interested in finding persons to work for its interests there, especially those from its colonies. The *veneti* retained economic privileges as the Venetians⁸⁰. The members of the Ialinas family kept their status of *venetus* when they returned to Venetian Crete or Nigroponte.

The “story” of Stefanos as well as the testimony of Georgios confirm that the Ialinas family actually had roots in Crete before the arrival of the Venetians. Stefanos’s testimony in 1318 gives some details about a member of the family, who unfortunately is not linked so far with the other members of the family mentioned below. We do not know the age of Stefanos, but since he was an adult in 1318 and his father had been born in Anaea, his grandfather should have left Crete during the decade of 1270 at the latest. The early 1270’s in Crete were marked by the unsuccessful revolt of the Chortatzis family and their exile in the territories of the Byzantine Empire. The members of the Chortatzis family and other Cretans that had participated in the revolt left the island and settled in the small port of Anaea in Asia Minor⁸¹. The departure of Stefanos’s grandfather to Anaea could be linked with that revolt. However, if Stefanos’s grandfather was involved in an unsuccessful revolt in Crete, it is to be wondered how he or his son managed to obtain from Venice the status of *venetus*. Although this could have happened under certain circumstances, it is also possible that Stefanos’s grandfather left Crete for economic reasons, maybe searching for new opportunities in Anaea. It is not a coincidence that Stefanos Ialinas arrived in Crete and was acclaimed as state villein in 1318, a year after the fall of Anaea to the Turks in 1317. The Turkish occupation temporarily put an end to Venetian economic activity there and forced many Venetian or Greek residents to leave the small port. Finally, the Greek form of the surname Ialinas in the plural, *Ialinadhes* (Γιαλινάδες), mentioned by Stefanos and cited in the document, is worth noting. This means that he

79. See also another example in *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 679-680. In 1300, Michalis Dracondopoulos, mentioned as *veneciano habitator de Ania*, is active in commerce and keeps contact with Crete from where was probably originated.

80. See D. JACOBY, Les vénitiens naturalisés dans l’Empire Byzantin: Un aspect de l’expansion de Venise en Roumanie du XIII^e au milieu du XVe siècle, *TM* 8 (1981), 217-235.

81. El. A. ZACHARIADOU, Cortazzi καὶ ὄχι corsari, *Θησαυρίσματα* 15 (1978), 62-65.

refers not only to his father and his uncle but also to the extended family to which he belonged.

2.1. Branches and members

The important position of the Ialinas family in Candiote society from the first decades of the thirteenth century, as well as the intense economic activity of its members has left many traces in the archival sources (see the Ialinas family Chronological table and the Ialinas family Documentation table). This enables us to recompose some branches of the genealogical tree of the family from the beginning of the thirteenth to the first decades of the fifteenth century. The documentation used here is not exhaustive, although quite rich, and certain questions about the Ialinas remain open for either the fourteenth or the next centuries.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, three members of the Ialinas family appear in our documents: Michael and the priests Nikiforos and Nikitas⁸². We do not know if there was a close relationship between them, but the fact that among all their descendants we find certain Christian names, like Katerinos for example, a rather unusual name among the Greeks, suggests that they may have been brothers or first cousins with a common ancestor back in the twelfth century. Two of these three Ialinas, Michael and Nikiforos, head the main branches of the family in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Crete.

2.1.a. The branch of Michael Ialinas

A. The branch of Michael Ialinas (see trees 5, 5a, 5b) is the best documented of the two main branches, mainly because of the status and activity of his descendants in Candia. Michael Ialinas, already dead in 1281, had three sons, Georgios, Antonios and Georgios junior⁸³, who were still alive during the first two decades of the fourteenth century.

82. Michael is mentioned as deceased in a contract of 1281 (*Leonardo Marcello. Notaio in Candia. 1278-1281*, ed. M. CHIAUDANO – A. LOMBARDO, Venice 1960, no. 485). The priest Nikiforos was still alive in 1282. He is mentioned as deceased in a document of 1320 (TSIRPANIS, *Κατάστιχο επικληψιών*, 217), but he had very likely died many years before. The priest Nikitas Ialinas is recorded as deceased in a contract of 1339, but he had also died, like Nikiforos, many years before (*Franciscus de Cruce. Νοτάριος στον Χάνδακα. 1338-1339*, ed. Ch. GASPARIS, Venice 1999, no. 202).

83. The identification of Georgios junior as a son of Michael Ialinas is made with great

A.a. Georgios Ialinas son of Michael was married to Eirene and had three sons: Michael, Gabriel and Katerinos, and three daughters: Thomasina, Eleni and an unnamed one (see tree 5). Georgios had died by 1301, when we find him referred to as deceased for the first time⁸⁴.

A.a.1. Michael Ialinas, son of Georgios, and his wife Maria had six children: three sons, Petros, Ioannis and Nikolaos, and three daughters, Frangoula, Annitsa and Eleni (see tree 5a). Michael died during the last months of 1347 or the first months of the next year⁸⁵. Petros and his wife Agathia had at least two sons: Frankiskos and Antonios⁸⁶. Frankiskos and his wife Marula Sagredo had two sons, the *nobilis vir* Ioannis and Georgios, both married during the first decade of the fifteenth century, but still without children⁸⁷, and at least one daughter, the wife of Giacomello Sagredo⁸⁸. Antonios, second son of Petros, had a son bearing the name of his

caution. There is only one mention of *Georgius minor* in a contract of May 1301, according to which he bought in advance wool worth 24 *yperpera* (*Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 111). Since we know that Georgios Ialinas died at the latest in 1301, we may assume that every mention of a living Georgios Ialinas after that year refers to Georgios junior. The adjective junior refers usually to a son bearing the name of his father. In this case, although rare (see however above the brothers Ioannis senior and Ioannis junior Gavalas), we can assume that it refers, according to our evidence, to a younger brother. The fact that in 1304 there was an adult Michael Ialinas, son of a living Georgios (see *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 2, no. 996) and a second Michael, son of an already late Georgios, means that the two Michaels are first cousins, bearing the name of their grandfather. Furthermore, if Georgios junior was a son of Georgios, it is then to be wondered why in 1314 only three sons of Georgios got permission to acquire a fief (see below p. 49).

84. *Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 473.

85. In June 1347, Michael Ialinas was elected a deputy member of a committee in Candia [*Duca di Candia. Quaternus Consiliorum (1340-1350)*, ed. P. RATTI-VIDULICH, Venice 1976, no. 163], and in April 1348, in the will of his son Ioannis, he is referred to as deceased (*Wills*, 67). It is probable that he died during the Black Death, which spread in Crete at exactly that time.

86. Antonios Ialinas, son of late Petros, is mentioned in the will of Eleni Ialinas, widow of Pietro Mudacio. See *Wills*, 224.

87. It is a coincidence, although a mistake in the documents cannot be excluded, that the brothers Ioannis and Georgios had a wife called Marietta. In 1403 Georgios received a dowry of 1.000 *yperpera*, and Ioannis in 1410 a dowry of 2.000 *yperpera* from their wives (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. VI, 120v).

88. For Giacomello Sagredo as son-in-law of Frankiskos Ialinas see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 544r. In 1395, Frankiskos Ialinas mortgaged half a *serventaria* for the dowry

grandfather and a daughter Maroula. Ioannis, second son of Michael, had an illegitimate son, called Katerinos, born from Evdokia a servant of his father⁸⁹. Finally, Nikolaos, third son of Michael, was married to a daughter of Ioannis and Maria Modinos and had a son, Ioannis⁹⁰. All three of Michael's daughters were married to members of Venetian families: Frangoula to Giovanni Ghisi, Annitsa to Andrea Pantaleo and Eleni to Pietro Mudazzo. Frangoula had three daughters, Angelotta, Agnes and Nicolotta. The two first are referred in 1357 as nuns and were probably unmarried. The third daughter, Nicolotta Ghisi, was married to Pietro da Vigonza and had three sons, Filippo, Andrea and Angelo, and a daughter, Frasenda wife of Marco Gradenigo. The second daughter of Michael, Eleni, and Pietro Mudazzo had three sons: Giacomo, Francesco and Matteo. Finally, we know nothing about the descendants of the third daughter, Anniza Pantaleo⁹¹.

of Francesca, wife of Pietro Gradenigo (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 543r). Our document does not make the relationship between Frankiskos and Francesca clear, or the reason of the mortgage. Francesca could be a second daughter of Frankiskos.

89. *Wills*, 68.

90. In her will, made in 1361, the nun Maria, widow of Ioannis Modinos, appointed as executor of her will and as the heir of all her property her grandson Ioannis, son of Nikolaos (*Wills*, 797-798). Although the will does not contain any specific information that could help us identify Ioannis with certainty, it is probable that he is actually the son of Nikolaos Ialinas and grandson of Michael Ialinas, son of Georgios, bearing the name of his grandfather Ioannis Modinos. The Christian name of his father, Nikolaos, is rather rare among the members of the Ialinas family and we find it only twice: the already mentioned Nikolaos son of Michael, still alive in 1359-1360 (see tree 5a), and Nikolaos son of Ioannis, who is mentioned in his father's will, made in 1353 (see below p. 44). The latter Nikolaos was still unmarried in 1353 and consequently, in 1361, a possible son would not be more than seven years old and could not have been appointed executor of his grandmother's will.

91. A possible daughter of Annitsa and Andrea Pantaleo could be Margarita. We know that Alexios Kallergis son of Markos and grandson of the well-known *arcondus* Alexios Kallergis was married to Margarita daughter of Andrea Pantaleo. In 1377, a woman named Margarita Kallergi made her will, according to which she had some kind of kinship or close relation to a certain Andrea Pantaleo and the Pantaleo family, but she does not mention any husband, her parents, or any person from Ialinas family (*Wills*, 705-707). Therefore, it is not sure if these two women named Margarita are the same. Furthermore, since three different individuals with the name Andrea Pantaleo are identified around the middle of the fourteenth century, we cannot conclude that Margarita Kallergi was actually a daughter of Annitsa Ialinas and Andrea Pantaleo. See S. MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the myth of ethnic purity*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2000, 81, 150.

A.a.2. Gabriel Ialinas, second son of Georgios and brother of Michael, was still alive in 1361 had one son, Markos, who died in 1349 before his father and probably without children (see tree 5).

A.a.3. Katerinos, third son of Georgios, was married to a daughter of Cocco family and died in 1349 probably without children (see tree 5).

A.a.4-6. All three daughters of Georgios were married to Venetian husbands (see tree 5): Thomasina to Andrea Querini, Eleni to Vitale Abramo and the unnamed daughter to Giovanni Gradenigo⁹². They were born during the last decades of the thirteenth century and lived during the first decades of the next century.

A.b. Antonios Ialinas, the second son of Michael, who died between 1322 and 1324, had at least two sons, Michael and Gabriel (see tree 5)⁹³. Michael had a son bearing his grandfather's name Antonios. According to a premarital contract made in 1320, Gabriel's brother Michael, along with Marco Marino, promised to his father Antonios that he would ensure that Gabriel was married to the daughter of a certain Lentakis⁹⁴. This also means that Gabriel's wife was or was going to be of Greek origin. Gabriel had at least two sons born after 1320: Markos and Ioannis (see tree 5b). The first had three sons: Iakovos, Thomas and Antonios. The latter was married to Marula Cavallier⁹⁵. Ioannis, second son of Gabriel, was married first to Marizzoli Abramo, who gave birth to two children, Gabriel and Markesina, and secondly in 1378 (after the death of his first wife) to Rosa Sagredo, who gave birth to another son, Georgios.

92. In 1341, Thomasina's dowry, worth 1.800 *yperpera*, was guaranteed by her husband with a piece of land of equal value (GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri*, no. 335). In 1337, Vitale Abramo as widower of Eleni Ialinas received along with their unnamed sons not only her dowry but also her non-dowry property left to her by her brother Michael Ialinas (GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri*, no. 405).

93. In 31 September 1325, Gabriel, son and executor of the will of his late father Antonios, received the debts of certain Jewish people (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 142v). This means that his father had died not long before that year.

94. According to the same contract, the dowry of the future wife would be 700 *yperpera* plus the marital presents. Unfortunately, the surname of Gabriel's future father-in-law is missing. See ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 32v.

95. In 1421, Antonios Ialinas received one third of a *serventaria* in the village of Aghios Thomas as a dowry, according to the marital contract of 1410 (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 16v).

A.c. Georgios junior, the third and probably the youngest son of Michael, was already an adult in 1301 and still living in 1321 (see tree 5). He probably had a son Michael, but we have no further information about his family.

2.1.b. The branch of the priest Nikiforos Ialinas

B. The priest, *protopapas* and notary Nikiforos, who flourished during the second half of the thirteenth century, had two sons, Emmanuel and Ioannis, and probably a daughter, Keranna wife of Mizelino, a maker of cross bows (see tree 6)⁹⁶. Both of his sons were married to daughters of Greek families: Emmanuel to a daughter of Georgios and Maria Sachlikis and Ioannis to a daughter of Antonios Metachiristis⁹⁷.

B.a. Emmanuel, the first son of the priest Nikiforos, was still alive in 1356 but already dead in 1358, and was married to a daughter of Georgios Sachlikis called Katsomatas and Maria daughter of Konstantinos Verivos. He had two daughters: Maria and Eirene, and four sons: Georgios, Petros, Konstantinos and Ioannis (see tree 6a).

B.a.1. A certain Ioannis made his will in 1353, but he does not mention his father's name. However, the fact that he and his daughter Thomasina left a legacy to the church of Saint Mary Ialini, close related to Nikiforos, as well the period during which he lived, suggest that he was the son of

96. In 1344, a decree issued by the Venetian Senate concerns Keranna widow of Mizelino, a maker of cross bows in Candia, and her nephew Antonios Ialinas [Venezia-Senato. *Deliberazioni miste. Registro XXII (1344-1345)*, ed. E. DEMO, v. 9, Venice 2007, no. 246]. This means that Keranna was born Ialinas, but we know nothing more about her. We have also no further information to identify Antonios, a given name that exists in both main branches of the Ialinas family. However, we know that in November 1329, Mizelino had donated by his will one hundred *yperpera* to all Orthodox churches located in the suburb of Candia (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 319r). This means that he and his wife Keranna lived in an Orthodox environment that links them with the branch of the priest Nikiforos. Taking into account that both Keranna and Antonios lived in the first half of the fourteenth century, we could identify Antonios with the son of Ioannis son of Nikiforos, and his aunt Keranna with a daughter of Nikiforos.

97. In 1325, Kali wife of Arriano Contarini appointed executors of her will her grandfather Antonios Metachiristis and her uncle Leos Metachiristis (*Wills*, 528). About the Sachlikis and Metachiristis families and their relation with Ialinas family see below p. 77 and note 223.

Emmanuel and grandson of Nikiforos. Ioannis's will contains information about his family⁹⁸. He was married to Anniza Sirigo⁹⁹ and had two sons: Nikolaos and Katerinos, and four daughters: Ergina, Maritsoli, Eleni and Thomasina (see tree 6a). In that year, Nikolaos was an adult, but Katerinos was less than 14 years old. Of his daughters, Maritsoli was probably also an adult, but Ergina and Eleni were less than 16 years old. Three of his daughters were unmarried in 1353, but the fourth, Thomasina, was married to Nicolo Matono and already dead. Thomasina, who was pregnant and already mother of an underage daughter named Filippa, had made her will in 1351, appointing as executors of her will her parents and directing that in the event of her death, Filippa should go and live until her marriage with her grandparents¹⁰⁰. Thomasina actually gave birth to a son named Marco, who is referred already dead in 1373¹⁰¹. She died, if not in 1351, at the latest in 1353. However, her father Ioannis does not mention his grandchildren in his will, probably because in the end they lived with their father.

B.a.2-4. Petros, second son of Emmanuel, was married to Cecilia, whose surname remains unknown¹⁰². We know nothing about a possible marriage or children of Georgios and Konstantinos, the other two sons of Emmanuel.

B.a.5. Maria, the first daughter of Emmanuel, was married to Ioannis or Tzanakis Sachlikis, a member of the extended family of her grandfather Georgios Sachlikis Katsomatas, and had a son, the well known poet Stefanos Sachlikis (c. 1331-c. 1391), and a daughter named Eleni¹⁰³. Maria, according to the will of her grandmother Maria Sachlikis, was still unmarried in

98. *Wills*, 228-229.

99. In the same will, Ioannis appointed as consultant of the executors of his will his *cognato* Moscholeos Sirigo. This means that Moscholeos was very likely the brother of his wife.

100. *Wills*, 231-232.

101. A dispute between the executors of the wills of Marco Matono from the one side and of Cecilia widow of Petros Ialinas from the other was settled by the decision of the Giudici di Petizion of Candia in July 1373. See SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 72 no. 283.

102. See the will of Eirene, daughter of Emmanuel Ialinas (*Wills*, 207-208) and the decision of the Giudici di Petizion, in 1373, regarding the payment of a debt of the late Cecilia by her husband Petros Ialinas, son of the late Emmanuel (SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 72 no. 283).

103. Eleni was married to Cirillo Pantaleo and probably died in 1348 during the Black Death, when she made her will. See A. VAN GEMERT, Ο Στέφανος Σαγλίκης και η εποχή του, *Θησαυρίσματα* 17 (1980), 79-80.

1330¹⁰⁴. She married however during the next couple of years, since her son Stefanos was born between 1331 and 1332¹⁰⁵.

B.a.6. Emmanuel's second daughter Eirene was married to Theodoros Gemistos, a physician from Constantinople. She was childless and, in 1358, bequeathed in her will all her property to relatives¹⁰⁶.

B.b. Ioannis son of the priest Nikiforos died in 1333 or a little after¹⁰⁷, and had a son, Antonios, and a daughter, Kali (see tree 6). According to Kali's will, made in 1325, she was widow of Arriano Contarini, who "was from Venice" and she had a son, Francesco, less than 17 years old in that year¹⁰⁸. Antonios, son of Ioannis, is mentioned as being deceased in 1358¹⁰⁹ having two sons, Katerinos and Markos. The latter had at least one son called Petros.

After all, apart from the common Christian names used by both branches and the churches of Mouglinos and Manolitissa, the only clear evidence about a probable linkage between the two branches of the Ialinas family is the possession of land in the same area by a member of each branch. This area is located in the village of Bombadena, where both *dominus* Michael Ialinas, grandson of Michael head of the first branch, and Emmanuel Ialinas, son of Nikiforos head of the second branch, possessed land during the last years of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century¹¹⁰. This suggests a common ancestor owner of that land.

104. *Wills*, 598.

105. VAN GEMERT, Ο Στέφανος Σαχλίκης 37-39, where it is also mentioned that Stefanos's mother died before 1334. However, the late Maria Sachlikena mentioned in a document of 1334 (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 3, 46v) is not his mother but his great-grandmother Maria, wife of Georgios Sachlikis Katsomatas. For the latter see below p. 79-80.

106. For Eirene and the Constantinopolitan Theodoros Gemistos see Th. GANCHOU, Iōannès Argyropoulos, Gèōrgios Trapézountios et le patron crète Gèōrgios Maurikas, *Θησαυρίσματα* 36 (2008), 126; McKEE, Sailing from Byzantium, 296-297. McKee wrongly considered Eirene to have been a member of a Catholic family and her father a member of the Candiote Great Council. Actually Eirene was a granddaughter of the Orthodox priest Nikiforos and her father had never been member of any local Venetian Council.

107. When he made his will. See *Wills*, 599-600.

108. *Wills*, 528-529.

109. In 1358, Eirene daughter of Emmanuel Ialinas appointed as executor of her will Katerinos son of the late Antonios Ialinas (*Wills*, 207).

110. For the land property of Michael and Emmanuel in the village of Bombadena see below p. 51-52. For the churches of Mouglinos and Manolitissa and their connection with the Ialinas family see below 59-63.

2.1.c. Other members

Apart from the two main branches mentioned above, there is also documentation relating to some other members of the Ialinas family, mainly from the fourteenth century. Although there is no clear evidence, we suggest that these individuals were linked, more or less close, with both the above-mentioned branches of the Ialinas family.

The priest Nikitas Ialinas, still alive in 1257 but already dead in 1267, remains rather obscure, thanks to poor documentation. He can be identified with *Nichitas humilis sacerdos et tabellio Sallinas*, one of the three witnesses who testify and subscribe to the agreement between the Venetian authorities and the Cretan rebels in 1236 about the castle of Aghios Nikolaos in the area of Apokoronas¹¹¹. This means that he was probably born during the last years of the twelfth century; he experienced the arrival of the Venetians in Crete and was a distinguished member of the Candiote society. In the “Cadastral of the churches and the monasteries of the Venetian state” (*Catasticum ecclesiarum et monasteriorum communis*) Nikitas’s heirs are mentioned in the plural (*heredes papatis Nikete Ialinas*), but without their Christian names¹¹². In a contract of 1339 a certain Ioannis, son of the late priest Nikitas Ialinas, resident in Candia, signed as a guarantor¹¹³. It is quite probable that he is one of the Nikitas’s heirs, who in an old age (born before 1267) is still active. The fact that the priest Nikitas and the priest Nikiforos both had sons called Ioannis, who lived in the same period, means that probably they were brothers, who gave their father’s name, Ioannis, to their sons. Furthermore, both Nikitas and Michael, head of the first branch, are related to the monastery of Manolitissa¹¹⁴. After all, it is very likely that Michael, Nikiforos and Nikitas not only had common origins but they were also close relatives.

111. TAFEL – THOMAS, *Urkunden*, 335. The other two witnesses are the priest and notary Konstantinos Sachlikis and the also priest and notary Emmanuel Akalyptos.

112. TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 118 (the year is not 1257 but 1267), 119 and 120.

113. *Franciscus de Cruce*, no. 202.

114. Ioannis, son of the priest Nikiforos, made his will in 1333 (*Wills*, 599-600), while Ioannis, son of the priest Nikitas, was still alive in 1339 (*Franciscus de Cruce*, no. 202). For the monastery of Manolitissa see below p. 59-61.

The name Petros is found in both branches of Ialinas family: a great grandson of Michael Ialinas and a grandson of Nikiforos Ialinas. Both lived mainly during the second half of the fourteenth century. In the first half of the same century we find two Ialinas named Petros, who however cannot be identified or linked so far with any branch or simple member of the Ialinas family. The first one, the priest Petros Ialinas, is mentioned in two documents. In his will, made in 1336, Giovanni de Rogerio, son of the late Emmanuele, left to his relative, the priest Petros Ialinas, a bequest of fifteen *yperpera*¹¹⁵. Three years later, according to a Candote court decision of 1339, the priest Petros Ialinas was due to receive from Nicolo Lambardo, a soldier in Castro Novo, eighteen *yperpera* and four *grossi*¹¹⁶. It is quite probable that the priest Petros Ialinas is de Rogerio's uncle, i.e. a brother of his mother, born Ialinas and married to Emmanuele de Rogerio. As an Orthodox priest, Petros can be linked with that of Nikiforos, or even Nikitas. Finally, a second Petros Ialinas is also recorded in 1327. He was married to Agnes and had a son. In this year Petros received back, in the name of his minor son, the dowry of her late wife Agnes, worth 550 *yperpera*, that they were invested by the executor of her will¹¹⁷.

A certain Stefanos Ialinas flourished in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first years of the fifteenth century¹¹⁸. The only reason why we note this person is the absence of any further information about the older Stefanos Ialinas, who in 1318 testified about his antecedents and proved that he was not a state villein¹¹⁹. The Christian name Stefanos does not exist in any of the above-mentioned branches or single members of the Ialinas family. Therefore, the two Stefanos, i.e. that of the early fourteenth century and that of the end of the same century, could be linked maybe as grandfather and grandson.

115. *Wills*, 159. Cf. McKEE, *Uncommon dominion*, 73.

116. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 5, 8v.

117. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 1, 3v.

118. In 1376, Stefanos Ialinas signs as witness in the will of Maria Sanudo (*Wills*, 702). In 1405, Stefanos was involved in the trade of fabrics, according to a letter sent by the doge of Venice to the duke of Crete [*Duca di Candia. Ducali e lettere ricevute. (1358-1360; 1401-1405)*, ed. F. THIRIET, Venice 1978, no. 175].

119. See above p. 37-38.

2.2. Land property

The Ialinas family is not included among the twelve “archontopoula” of Crete and therefore among the great Greek landowners with a long tradition on the island. Their position in Candia during the thirteenth century suggests that initially they were more active in the city than in the countryside. However, under the new circumstances, without abandoning urban activity, almost all members turned gradually to land exploitation for more profits and social prestige.

The land property of the Ialinas family was located in various regions, mainly in fertile areas of the district of Candia (*territorium Candide*), and partly in the district of Rethimno (*territorium Rethimi*). Initially, during the thirteenth century, it was generally a small sized property, which increased during the next century through purchases or dowries, but remained no more than medium-sized. That land was the first step for some members to gain access to the Councils of the Feudatories, the Great Council and the Senate of Candia.

We do not know if Michael Ialinas, the founder of the first branch of the family, possessed any land during the first half of the thirteenth century. The earliest information we have concerns his son Georgios, who in 1271 possessed a small fief equal to one *serventaria* in the villages of Amigdalos and Damania in western Monofatsi (*Bonifacium*). Georgios acquired his fief through concession by the Duke of Crete, who the next year granted also him a villein¹²⁰. We know also that his brother Antonios was a feudatory and possessed a fief in the district of Rethimno. The only evidence we have about the third son, Georgios junior, is that he had leased a vineyard in the state village of Metaxa, which was connected with his older brother Georgios and his heirs¹²¹.

Georgios senior, apart from the *serventaria* in Amigdalos and Damania, had also leased the state villages of Kato Thodoritsi and Metaxa, since at least the last decade of the thirteenth century. According to the

120. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexterii Dorsoduri*, no. 897, 899, 900, 903. See also below p. 65.

121. In 1303, the village of Metaxa, or part of it, was possessed by the brothers Giovanni and Lorenzo Barbarigo, who had leased a piece of land to Georgios Ialinas junior (*Stefano Bono*, no. 306).

testimony given by his son Katerinos in 1320, Georgios had constructed churches in those two villages more than twenty years before¹²². After the death of Georgios, in 1301 at the latest, the villages came to his sons. We know that Katerinos probably retained part of the village of Metaxa, at least until 1330¹²³. Georgios's sons also shared the paternal property, the extent of which remains unknown.

In 1314, the Venetian Senate granted the brothers Katerinos, Gabriel and Michael, sons of Georgios, the right to possess half a *cavallaria* each¹²⁴. In the same year, the two Councillors of Crete conceded to Katerinos, son of the late Georgios, the above-mentioned *serventaria* in Amigdalos and Damania, as one of the three *serventarie* that the latter had the right to possess¹²⁵. It seems that Katerinos never acquired more than one *serventaria*. According to his father's will, if he were to die without issue, his share from the paternal property would pass to his sister Thomasina after his death. In 1324, Katerinos appealed to the Cretan ducal court, claiming that the terms of his father's will were equal to disinheritance, since he had no right to manage and bequeath his property as he might wish, and he asked for

122. According to Katerinos, his father Georgios had constructed the church of Saint George in the village of Kato Thodoritsi about twenty-eight years before and the church of Saint John the Evangelist in the village of Metaxa about twenty-one years before. Katerinos himself restored the church of Saint Marina eight years before, probably after the earthquake of 1303. See TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο επικλησιών*, 218-219. A court decision from 1319 mentions that Xenos de Adelenda had leased a vineyard in the village of Kato Thodoritsi from the commissaries of the late Georgios Ialinas sixteen years previously, i.e. in 1303. See ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 1, 39r.

123. As evidenced by a contract of 1303, about two years after Georgios's death, the village of Metaxa, or part of it, was possessed by the brothers Giovanni and Lorenzo Barbarigo, who had leased a piece of land to Georgios junior, the younger brother of Georgios Ialinas (see *Stefano Bono*, no. 306). According to the later testimony of the priest Michael Andrinopolitis in 1320, Katerinos had appointed him priest of the village of Metaxa six years earlier, i.e. in 1314 (TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο επικλησιών*, 219). In 1329, Katerinos leased to Pietro Pantaleo a vineyard in the village of Metaxa for as long as he also kept the village from the state (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 244, notaio Giorgio Similiante, 98v).

124. S. M. THEOTOKIS, *Θεοπίσματα τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας. 1281-1385* [Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἰστορίας, v. 2/1], Athens 1936, 61 no. 6. On the Ialinas family land property in the *territorio* of Candia, see also GASPARIS, *Ἐλληνες φεουδάρχες*, 215-219.

125. GASPARIS, *Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri*, no. 901.

the terms to be annulled. The court accepted his arguments and Katerinos received his share with full rights¹²⁶. However, many years later, in 1341, probably after his marriage, he was forced to prove in the ducal court that he had actually received his share from his paternal property, something that had been questioned by his brother in law Nicoletto Cocco¹²⁷. In the event, Katerinos never had children and after his death his brother Gabriel, by a decision of the Cretan Senate issued in 1349, undertook the military obligations (*varnitio*) for three *serventarie* of Katerinos, although his late brother “possessed just one *serventaria*”¹²⁸. A few years later, in 1352, the two thirds of the same *serventaria* passed into the hands of Maria Querini, wife of Domenico Dono, who sold them in 1359 to Pietro Vido¹²⁹. A few months earlier, in the same year 1359, the other one third had been also sold by public auction to the same Pietro Vido, to pay Katerinos’s debts¹³⁰.

Gabriel Ialinas, the second son of Georgios, owned two *serventarie* in the village of Pendamodi in 1339 and he had land in the village of Varni in 1345, along with his brother Michael¹³¹. By the same decision of the Cretan Senate in 1349, mentioned above, we learn that his son Markos possessed one *serventaria* of the three he had the right to possess according to his father’s

126. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 2, 16v, 18v-19v.

127. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 6, 5r. Nicoletto Cocco was interested in Katerinos’s property because his sister’s dowry should be secured on her husband’s property. Katerinos also appealed to his other brothers in law Francesco and Zanachi Cocco as testators.

128. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 219.

129. The circumstances under which the land passed to Maria Querini are not clear enough. We only know (GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri*, no. 905) that this happened according to the will of Georgios Ialinas, which however is not preserved. Georgios Ialinas or his sons had probably some kind of kinship with Maria Querini that remains unknown so far. This is confirmed by a court decision of 1370, according to which Petros Ialinas son of Michael and Ioannis son of Gabriel had been appointed by a certain Sofia Querini widow of Andrea Querini as executors of her will, made in 1348, and after her death they claimed her property as the closest relatives. See SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 61 no. 245.

130. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sextierii Dorsoduri*, no. 904.

131. A court decision of 3 September 1339 states that Giacomina Zeno had sold two *serventarie* in the village of Pendamodi to Gabriel Ialinas (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 5, 49v). In 1345 Gabriel and Michael leased to five peasants, residents in the villages of Aghios Miron and Bombadena, pieces of land in the village of Varni for the cultivation of vineyards (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 10, notaio Angelo Bocontolo, 26r-v).

privilege of 1314, which Markos had probably inherited. However, Markos died in 1349 and his father Gabriel undertook the military obligations for three *serventarie* exactly as in the case of his brother Katerinos.

In the 1330's, Michael the third son of Georgios owned land equal at least to one *serventaria* in the fertile area of Malevisi in the villages of Kitharida, Bombadena, Mavromati and Koklifas. By a series of twenty contracts signed in 1337-1338 Michael conceded *imperpetuum* (i.e. *in gonico*) to more than twenty peasants an area of land in those villages equal to 254 *mensure*¹³². This meant that the peasants could seed a quantity of about 4.318 kilos of cereals on that land and Michael could receive an equal quantity every year. Furthermore, in the same villages he also owned vineyards and in Candia he had leased state land for cultivation¹³³. His son Petros inherited the *serventaria* in those villages during the decade of 1340, and many years later, some time before 1386, he also bought a second *serventaria* in the same area of Bombadena, as part of a *cavallaria* once possessed by Emmanuel Ialinas, son of Nikiforos¹³⁴. Petros, along with his uncle Gabriel and Andrea Correr, agreed by a contract signed in 1357 to share the military obligations for one *cavallaria* and two *serventarie* in the villages of Bombadena and Mavromati¹³⁵. The document does not mention the share of land owned by each of the three parties. Nevertheless, according to the terms of the agreement it seems that Petros and Gabriel possessed two thirds of the *cavallaria*, i.e. two *serventarie* each. During the decade of

132. Apart from land, Michael also sold cows to some of the same peasants for the cultivation of their land. See ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 244, notaio Giovanni Granella, 145r, 146r-v, 147v, 148r, 149r-v, 150r, 151r, 154r, 155v, 156v. Another document of 1339 concerning a land dispute reveals that the same Michael owned a *serventaria* in the village of Koklifas (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 5, 47v).

133. The land in Candia was located in its suburb in the area of Mesambelitissa and according to the terms of the contract, the tenant could cultivate on it even cereals (wheat, barley or oat) (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 244, notaio Giovanni Granella, 148r).

134. In 1349, Petros received 100 *mistata* (about 2000 litres) of must from Emmanuel Ialinas, resident in the village of Bombadena, who cultivated a vineyard in the same village (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 10, notaio Angelo Bocontolo, 105r). In 1374, he conceded eternally in *gonico* to Vassilis Mouschopoulos, resident in the village of Bombadena, two houses in the same village (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 13, notaio Egidio Valoso, 194v).

135. N. TSOURAKIS, The documents of Dominicus Grimani notary in Candia (1356-1357), *DOP* 67 (2013), no. 109.

1360, Petros also owned land in the villages of Kourtes and Miliarissi in the plain of Messara in southern Crete and Voni in the area of Pediada¹³⁶. In 1386, the *serventaria* in Bombadena passed into the hands of Frankiskos, son of Petros, who in 1388 bought one more *serventaria*, as part of the same *cavallaria* of Bombadena, in the villages of Kousses and Kourtes where his father already possessed land. After the death of Frankiskos in circa 1407 his sons Georgios and Ioannis shared the two *serventarie* in Bombadena and between 1410 and 1415, Georgios bought his brother's share¹³⁷. That land, and eventually only a part of it, remained in the hands of Frankiskos and his sons until the middle of the fifteenth century¹³⁸. Thus the presence of the Ialinas family in the area of Bombadena was maintained, initially by a descendant of Nikiforos Ialinas and then by the descendants of Michael Ialinas, for at least one and a half centuries. Apart from his land in Bombadena, Kourtes, Kousses and Miliarissi, Frankiskos also possessed half a *serventaria* in the village of Voni in the area of Pediada¹³⁹. In 1390 Frankiskos passed the one and a half *serventaria* in Miliarissi to his son-in-law Giacomello Sagredo. In 1395 the land in Miliarissi was sold with the consent of Frankiskos to Nicolo Corner and a few days later Frankiskos also sold his half *serventaria* in Voni to the same Nicolo Corner¹⁴⁰.

Our evidence about the land property of Antonios Ialinas son of Michael and his descendants is very poor. Antonios, as already mentioned,

136. Petros leased land to peasants in the village of Miliarissi in 1366 and in the village of Kourtes in 1367 (GASPARIS, *H γη και οι αγρότες*, 386-387). In 1367 he also leased land located in the village of Voni (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 11, notaio Antonio Bresciano, 103r). It is not thus a coincidence that a graffito, engraved in 11 October 1371 in the church of Saint Nikolaos and Saint Charalambos in Miliarissi, mentions the presence of *miser* Petros Ialinas in the village along with Marco Gradenigo and Thomas Kostomiris [D. TSOURAKIS - E. ANGELOMATI-TSOURAKI, *Σύνταγμα (Corpus) χαραγμάτων εκκλησιών και μονών της Κρήτης*, Athens 2015, 194]. In that year two Petros Ialinas were living: Petros Ialinas son of Michael and his grandson Petros Ialinas son of Antonios. It was probably the first one.

137. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. VI, 119r-120v.

138. In 1446, for example, Ioannis Ialinas, son of Frankiskos, sold a piece of land located in the villages of Bombadena and Kitharida (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. II, 54v).

139. Frankiskos son of Petros bought one and a half *serventaria* in the village of Miliarissi in 1366 for 725 *yperpera* (see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 544r). We do not know when he bought the half *serventaria* in the village of Voni.

140. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 542r.

possessed a fief in the district of Rethimno, according to a document of the fourteenth century. In 1364, the Duke of Crete and his Councillors decided that Antonios Ialinas, son of Michael, could be accepted as a member of the Great Council of Crete, because his grandfather Antonios was registered in the cadastre of Rethimno as the owner of a fief¹⁴¹. However, the size or the exact location of this fief remains unknown so far. In 1367, Petros Ialinas, son of Michael and second cousin of the aforementioned Antonios, commissioned his villein Emmanuel Theodosis, resident in the village of Ghena in the area of Amari, to collect from all his other villeins the usual contributions¹⁴². This means that Antonios's fief was probably located in this area. The cadastres of the district of Rethimno are not preserved and thus we do not know the history of Antonios's fief. We have some more information about the land property of Antonios's grandsons, Ioannis and Markos, sons of Gabriel. In 1377 the two brothers claimed Michalis Drouloukis as their own villein and they used as witnesses three peasants from villages located in the district of Candia¹⁴³. This means that they possessed land in the area. The same Ioannis had also received three quarter of a *serventaria* in the village of Kainourgio Chorio in the area of Mirabello as a dowry of his second wife Rosa Sagredo¹⁴⁴. In 1404, he also bought a small piece of land (equal to one *caratum*) in the village of Sueri in the district of Candia¹⁴⁵. Finally, Antonios, son of Markos and grandson of Gabriel, possessed also land in the district of Candia in the villages of Vrida, Aghios Thomas and Gadouriani¹⁴⁶.

In the end the land property of the grandsons of the first Michael Ialinas, despite their privileges granted in 1314, which allowed them to

141. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 14, 25v. See a summary of the document in SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 104 no. 49.

142. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 11, notaio Antonio Bresciano, 91r.

143. SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 194 no. 787.

144. SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 250 no. 1145.

145. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. IX, 164r.

146. In 1421, Antonios Ialinas son of Markos received one third of a *serventaria* in the village of Aghios Thomas near Candia as a dowry of his wife Maroula Cavallier. In 1434 he sold this land and mortgaged his fief in the village of Vrida for the dowry of his wife. In 1432, Thomas as a proxy of his brother Antonios sold houses in Candia, which were part of one *serventaria* in the village of Gadouriani. See ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, 16v; b. 19, q. II, 37r.

possess half a *cavallaria* each (i.e. three *serventarie*), remained rather small even in the next generations and never exceeded the two *serventarie*.

Our evidence about the land property of the members of Nikiforos Ialinas branch is rather poor and concerns only Nikiforos and his son Emmanuel. In 1281 the head of the branch, the priest and notary Nikiforos Ialinas lent the significant amount of 500 *yperpera* and took as a pledge two *serventarie* in the village of Mochos¹⁴⁷. The following year, he conceded the greatest part of the land of two *serventarie* in the same village, keeping only the necessary pastureland for his animals¹⁴⁸. We are not sure if these two *serventarie* were the above-mentioned pledge or his own property in the same area. In any case, Nikiforos kept the two *serventarie* in the village of Mochos and his son, Emmanuel, inherited a share of them, as well as houses near the Jewish quarter of Candia along with his brother Ioannis¹⁴⁹. In 1311, Emmanuel also owned part of a mountain in the fertile area of Messara in southern Crete, along with Marino Cavallier and Andreas Peripteras. All three owners leased the land to Marino Querini, who was going to build a tower and houses around it for “the cultivation and safety” of the area¹⁵⁰. According to the same agreement between the parties, Emmanuel Ialinas retained the right to settle twenty families in those houses. This special term in the agreement meant that Emmanuel most probably possessed a bigger part of the mountain than the other two co-owners did, and that activity was a serious investment. In the same period (1313-1315), he possessed a large fief of one *cavallaria* in the village of Bombadena¹⁵¹. Apart from those

147. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 20, q. II, 321v.

148. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 115, notaio Crescenzo Alessandrino, 29r. Nikiforos conceded to Leonardo Gradenigo a large piece of land equal to “three pairs of oxes”, all the houses that he possessed in the village, as well as all the pastureland, except that for his own animals and the animals of his villeins.

149. In 1334, Emmanuel Ialinas son of Nikiforos asked permission to rent his houses located near the Jewish quarter of Candia to Jewish people (THEOTOKIS, Θεοπίσματα τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας, 143 no. 35). Sixty years later, in 1393, a dispute between Katerinos Ialinas son of Ioannis and grandson of Emmanuel and a Jewish neighbour confirms also that Nikiforos owned houses near the Jewish quarter of Candia (SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 324 no. 1459). The Jewish possessed probably the share of Ioannis Ialinas, brother of Emmanuel, who had sold it in 1341.

150. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. II, (19r) 265. Cf. GASPARIS, *H γη καὶ οἱ αγρότες*, 167.

151. During the term of the Duke of Crete Marino Badoer (1313-1315) they were

lands, Emmanuel had also leased state land in the villages of Ambroussa and Kinamo, as well as land in the area of Lidha owned by the Cretan archdiocese, with which his father Nikiforos used to keep contact many years before¹⁵². Emmanuel invested the profits from the exploitation of land and houses in various urban economic activities, like keeping a tavern in Candia¹⁵³. However, in 1333, he was forced to sell in public auction his *cavallaria* of Bombadena for 6.500 *yperpera* in order to pay his debts. The *cavallaria* was bought by Marco Correr and during the decade of 1380, as we have already seen, Correr's descendants sold part of it to Frankiskos Ialinas son of Petros. Thus, this part of land was returned to the Ialinas family, though to members of Michael Ialinas branch¹⁵⁴.

Finally, the only evidence we have so far about the land property of Ioannis's Ialinas, second son of Nikiforos, descendants concerns Markos Ialinas son of Antonios and grandson of Ioannis. In 1394, Markos asked the Venetian authorities permission for Ioannis Armenis, resident in the village of Archanes near Candia, to be ordained an Orthodox priest¹⁵⁵. This means

settled the boundaries between the land of one *cavallaria* possessed by Emmanuel Ialinas and the land possessed by the archbishopric of Crete in the village of Bombadena. These boundaries were determined between Emmanuel Ialinas on the one hand and on the other the archbishop of Crete, Alessandro, members of his *capitulo* and the *canonici* who possessed the land. See ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. VI, 119r.

152. In 1303, Emmanuel rent for 29 years to Stefano Promundino and his son Leonardo a vineyard in the village of Ambroussa, under the same terms that Emmanuel had also rent it from the state (Stefano Bono, no. 374). In 1344, Francesco Contarini, Giovanni Suriano and Emmanuel Ialinas leased the state village of Kinamo (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 8, 117r) and three years later, in 1347, Emmanuel was invited by the two other tenants to contribute to the expenses for the restoration of ruined mills in the same village (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 8c, 32r). Petros son of Emmanuel Ialinas kept the same village rent until 1388 (SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 266 no. 1210). In 1332, the authorities forbade the forager in the area called Lidha, which the archbishop of Crete had rent to Emmanuel Ialinas (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 14, 77v). For Nikiforos and his relations with the Latin archdiocese in Crete see also below p. 61-62.

153. In 1326, Maria Katena agreed to sell wine in the tavern of Emmanuel Ialinas in Candia (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 244, notaio Giovanni Similiante, 17v). Cf. S. MCKEE, Women under Venetian colonial rule in the early Renaissance: Observations on their economic activities, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998), 43.

154. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. VI, 119v. See also above p. 51.

155. SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 342 no. 1590.

that probably Markos possessed the whole village or part of it, since the owner of the village used to ask for it.

2.3. Urban activity

The usual economic activities of local people in Candia and other cities on the island during the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth century were the small and medium bulk or retail trade of agricultural products, the trade of animals and various investments mainly in loans and sea or land trade through *colleganze*. The Ialinas as men of the city were involved in all these activities.

There is no information about the activity of Michael Ialinas, the head of the first branch, in the city of Candia until his death in around 1280. On the contrary, we know that his sons Georgios, Antonios and Georgios junior, as well as some of their descendants, were active in the market of Candia. Georgios was intensively involved in animal sales, loans and investments in land and sea trade. At the same time, as we have already seen, he possessed land to supply the necessary agricultural products for trade. During the year 1271, for example, when he obtained the fief of one *serventaria*, he also invested in a loan and two *colleganze* to various persons a total amount of 85 *yperpera*¹⁵⁶. Ten years later, between the years 1300 and 1301, Georgios, an already middle-aged man, was still very active in Candia. From the end of March until the middle of August 1300, he invested in land and sea trade the significant amount of 467 *yperpera*¹⁵⁷. That same year, he set as proxies for the management of all his affairs his brother Antonios Ialinas, his nephew Michael, son of Antonios, and his son-in-law Giovanni Gradenigo¹⁵⁸. This activity suggests that he had a good knowledge of the local market mechanisms¹⁵⁹. His office as a scribe

156. *Pietro Scardon. Imbreviature (1271). Documenti della colonia veneziana di Creta*, ed. A. LOMBARDO, Turin 1942, no. 260, 400, 446.

157. *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 293, 316, 322, 363, 398, 403, 610, 709.

158. *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 551.

159. In 1290, a certain Georgios Ialinas along with two other Greeks chartered a vessel in Black Sea in the area of Caffa, in order to transfer a big quantity of fishes from Copo to Trebizond. See *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto. 1289-1290*, ed. M. BALARD, Paris 1973, no. 438. Georgios Ialinas of Trebizond cannot be identified with Georgios Ialinas of Crete, although both were involved in trade in the same period. The office of scribe and the economic activity of the latter in Candia, and the area and the bulk of trade

in the ducal chancellery and his occupation as a notary undoubtedly had much to do with that.

Antonios, the other son of Michael, was also active in the Cretan capital city during the first two decades of the fourteenth century. In 1303, he collaborated, as did his brother Georgios, with the brothers Georgios and Ioannis Sachlikis in animal trade or in *colleganze*¹⁶⁰. Eighteen contracts of 1321-1322, some years before his death, highlight his intense activity in various sectors of the local economy, such as the *colleganze* and the trade in agricultural products and leather¹⁶¹. The mention of his son Michael in three contracts during the same period means that he was already active alongside his father and probably continued his father's activity¹⁶². The intense activity of Antonios and his son Michael in local trade established a family tradition that probably was continued and strengthened by their descendants. More than a century later, in the mid-15th century, a certain Antonios Ialinas, probably a descendant of the homonymous one of the early 14th century, is characterized by the Venetian authorities as *notabilis homo maris*. Antonios had an important commercial activity in Constantinople, the fall of which to the Turks seriously damaged his interests, creating serious financial problems. As a result, he addressed the Venetian authorities for help in solving his problems. The relevant decision of the Venetian Senate, in 26 December 1453, offers us a small portrait of Antonios and his family. "Antonios Ialinas from Crete has always been a great sea man and owner of boats, and his daughters were married to noble men of the island. In Constantinople, he lost all his fortune and remained with great debts, mainly to Jews, but also to some Christians"¹⁶³. The Venetian Senate decided

of the first in Trebizonde do not match.

160. *Stefano Bono*, no. 154, 158, 206, 326.

161. In a year time, namely between February 1321 and January 1322, Antonios invested 167 *yperpera* in eight different *colleganze*, and traded various products worth 247 *yperpera*. See ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 20r, 34v, 35v, 46r, 47r, 57v, 58r, 62v, 63r, 65v, 67v, 69v, 73r, 76v, 78r.

162. In 1320 Michael pre-empted wine worth five *yperpera*, and in 1321 he bought a slave worth 25 *yperpera* and sold a cow. See ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 26r, 61r, 73v.

163. According to the decision of the Venetian Senate: *Antonius Ialina de Creta semper fuit notabilis homo maris et patronus navium et suas filias in nobilibus Crete maritavit et*

to instruct the government of Crete to mediate for an agreement between Antonios and the creditors so that he remains on the island.

The third son of Michael, i.e. Georgios junior, was active in Candia during at least the first decades of the fourteenth century and it seems that he continued the activity of his homonymous older brother, and his brother Antonios as well. In 1303, he invested a total sum of 140 *yperpera* in three different *colleganze*, paid off rents for land and was commissioned by two different persons for their affairs in Candia¹⁶⁴. In 1304, Georgios kept a *statio*, which was the base of his various economic activities in Candia¹⁶⁵. Finally, in 1319, he sold thirteen pieces of cloth worth the significant amount of 250 *yperpera*, while he invested in wool and cheese¹⁶⁶.

Loans and investments in *colleganze* were a common practice among the wealthy residents of the Cretan cities. The descendants of Georgios and Antonios Ialinas would not have been exceptions, although we do not know to what extent. Michael and Gabriel, sons of Georgios, are recorded, for example, in 1336, among the creditors of Donato de Gribia¹⁶⁷. In that economic environment, the priest Nikiforos and his son Emmanuel Ialinas were also active in Candia during the second half of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the next century. In 1282, Nikiforos offered a loan of 15 *hyperpera*; in 1285, he paid off 40 of the 100 *yperpera* that he had borrowed in the previous year, and finally in 1300 he leased to a shepherd

tandem in Constantinopoli ammisit omnia bona sua et remansit debitor non nullis iudeis, quorum credita sunt quasi omnia ex usuris, et insuper etiam tenetur aliquibus cristianis Crete. See ASV, *Senato Mar, Deliberazioni*, reg. 5, 14v. See also a short summary of the document in F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, v. 3, 1431-1463, Paris 1961, no. 2950.

164. *Stefano Bono*, no. 9, 134, 269, 297, 306, 312, 443, 497.

165. *Pietro Pizolo*, no. 1071. In 1301, Georgios pre-empted wool worth 24 *yperpera* and in 1305 sold a cow (*Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 111; *The documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella Venetian notaries in fourteenth-century Crete*, ed. A. M. STAHL, Washington 2000, no. 255).

166. In 13 July 1319 Georgios sold the pieces of cloth and two days later he delivered 150 goats to two villeins in order to breed them and receive every year for the next two years wool and cheese worth ten *yperpera*. See ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 3r, 7v.

167. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 4, 27r-v.

100 goats for an annual rent in products¹⁶⁸. During the last years of the thirteenth and the first of the next century Emmanuel lent money to some Orthodox priests and claimed compensation of thirty *yperpera* for an escaped slave¹⁶⁹.

A particular profitable investment of the time was also the city churches and their estates, i.e. the cemetery and mainly the empty yard, on which houses for rent were constructed. Two common terms used in our documents are worth clarifying here: house (*domus*) and monastery (*monasterium*). A house in medieval Candia was usually just a room in a building complex with common facilities and yard. A monastery in the same city and its suburb was a church with a cemetery and a complex of houses around it, used as a hospice mainly by laymen and not necessarily by monks. Those houses used to cover the increased housing needs in the Cretan capital, especially from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Thus, some churches in Candia were transformed gradually into monasteries with the construction of houses on their adjacent land. These houses next to the churches multiplied even more after the great earthquake of 1303. The Ialinas family was connected with two such monasteries in the suburb of Candia near to the main street named “Platia Strata” (Strada Larga): Saint Mary Manolitissa and Saint George Mouglinos¹⁷⁰.

The Orthodox church of Saint Mary Manolitissa in the burg of Candia (built during the byzantine period) has a significant connection with the Ialinas family. According to the “Cadastre of the churches and monasteries of the Venetian state” in the area of Candia in 1320, “the church [of Manolitissa] was very old and possessed by the *ca Ialina*, and includes a cemetery and houses built on state land”. During the second half of the thirteenth century this church was linked with the priest Nikitas Ialinas, although his role is not very clear. According to a registration in the state treasury of Candia (*camera comunis*) in 1257, the priest Nikitas Ialinas “had a house next to

168. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 115, notaio Crescenzo Alessandrino, 29v, 55v. *Pietro Pizolo*, v. 1, no. 708.

169. TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 32, 36, 87.

170. For the churches of Saint Mary (Panagia) Manolitissa (nowadays Aghia Paraskevi) and Saint George Mouglinos and their location in the city of Candia see M. GEORGOPOLOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge University Press 2001, 173-174, 180, 182-183, 267-268.

the church and its *balneum* (a place to bath and wash) for an annual rent of two *yperpera* paid to the state". Nikitas died at the latest in 1267, when the church of Manolitissa is now referred to as a monastery belonging to Nikita's heirs (*heredes papatis Nichite Ialina... habent in monasterio suo*)¹⁷¹. Nikitas was probably a priest and tenant of the church, which gradually became a monastery. The investigation of 1320, and the *Catasticum ecclesiarum* emerging from that, offers more evidence about Manolitissa. In the context of that investigation Georgios, Emmanuel and Katerinos Ialinas testify about the monastery of Manolitissa. Unfortunately, no father's name is given for these three members of the Ialinas family, but they can be only identified with Georgios junior, son of Michael, Katerinos, son of Georgios, and Emmanuel, son of Nikiforos. The heirs of Nikitas, mentioned anonymously between the years 1267 and the last quarter of the thirteenth century, did not give evidence, although we know that his son Ioannis was still alive in 1339. The reason for their absence cannot be detected so far. All three above-mentioned Ialinas, i.e. Georgios, Emmanuel and Katerinos, testify that Manolitissa belonged to them and their antecedents of the Ialinas family as much as three hundred years before. This confirms the close kinship and common origin of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Ialinas. This also means that the monastery of Saint Mary Manolitissa was, together with that of Saint George Mouglinos, a place of importance for the Ialinas family.

In 1320, the monastery of Manolitissa included a cemetery of about 120 square meters and 42 houses that yielded the considerable sum of 65 *yperpera* per year. The main question of the Venetian authorities was who the owner of those houses was and who earned the rents. According to the testimonies of the three Ialinas, they paid an annual rent of four *yperpera* to the state treasury only for "the houses next to the *balneum* of the church" (i.e. old houses, the same ones that Nikitas had 60 years ago), but for the rest of the houses they paid no rent at all. The officials responsible for the investigation noted that they could not verify which of those houses were old and which new. The treasurers of the Cretan state treasury argued that at least a part of those houses were new and built on state land, which is why

171. TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, 209-212 no. 116-121. The year of the act no. 118, according to the indiction, is 1267 and not 1257.

they demanded an annual rent from the Ialinas family that possessed the “monastery”. On the other side, the Ialinas argued that the land on which the houses were built was always their own and they were not obliged to pay any rent. After all, the responsible officials recorded in the *Catasticum ecclesiarum* that the issue remained open until the final decision.

From all this evidence, we may conclude that the church of Saint Mary Manolitissa in the (old) burg of Candia was built by the Ialinas family before the arrival of the Venetians and was in the possession of the priest Nikitas Ialinas during the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1257, Nikitas also had a house built on state land next to the church, for which he paid an annual rent to the treasury. In 1320, the Ialinas continued to keep the same house probably with an expansion next to it. From 1257 and until 1320 Nikitas, his descendants or other members of Ialinas family constructed more houses around the church and thus Manolitissa became a “monastery”. The dispute between the Ialinas and the Venetian state in 1320 concerned the ownership of the land and consequently the houses that were constructed on it. As yet we do not know how that dispute ended.

The Orthodox church and monastery of Saint George Mouglinos in the burg of Candia was associated with the priest Nikiforos Ialinas and his descendants for about a century. In 1320, Mouglinos was an important complex that included the church, a cemetery of about a hundred square meters and 39 houses, 27 of which were old and 12 newly constructed after the great earthquake of 1303 in Candia. These houses yielded 55 and a half *yperpera* per year¹⁷². In 1320 and in the frame of the investigation about the churches and the monasteries of the Venetian state, Emmanuel Ialinas, son of Nikiforos, testified *pro parte ecclesie* (i.e. the Latin archbishopric) and confirmed that he did not have any documents from the Venetian authorities, but on the contrary had a contract for the houses of the church from the archbishop of Crete and paid an annual rent of eight *yperpera*. He added also that his father Nikiforos kept the church for his entire life, paying an annual

172. TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 126. In 1323, the perimeter of the monastery complex is calculated at $120\frac{1}{2}$ *passi*, i.e. 163 meters. See St. SPANAKIS, Συμβολή στην εκκλησιαστική ιστορία της Κρήτης κατά τη βενετοκρατία, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 13 (1959), 258.

rent to the archdiocese, and he died very old¹⁷³. On the other hand, three older deponents testified *pro parte communis* and confirmed that the church was built on state land, and consequently belonged to the Venetian state¹⁷⁴. Two of them added that the church was very old and the priest Nikiforos Ialinas had retained it for a long time. One of them even said that he had seen Nikiforos take possession of the church forty years before. This meant that Nikiforos had leased the monastery in circa 1280. Mouglinos passed into the hands of the archbishop of Crete after the agreement of 1322-1323 between Venice and the Latin Church¹⁷⁵.

In 1320, Emmanuel appears to have been the only tenant of the monastery, but according to the will of his brother Ioannis, made in 1333, the monastery belonged to both of them, according to their father's will¹⁷⁶. In any case, in 1320, Emmanuel continued to pay the archdiocese of Crete an annual rent for the rent of the monastery, which was subleased to the priest Ioannis Fastafilis¹⁷⁷. About twenty years later, in 1339, Emmanuel Ialinas alone, because his brother and co-owner Ioannis was already dead, faced a serious problem¹⁷⁸. In contrast with the case of Manolitissa, the controversy now concerned the ownership not only of the houses but also of the whole Mouglinos complex. Furthermore, the dispute about Mouglinos was not between the state and the Ialinas family, but between them and the Latin archdiocese of Crete. In that year of 1339, the archbishop of Crete Egidio claimed that the concession of the monastery had expired and Emmanuel had to vacate it. Emmanuel tried to defend his *ius patronatus* on the monastery producing all the privileges granted by previous archbishops of Crete or Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and claiming that his father

173. TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο επικλησιών*, 217 no. 126.II.

174. TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 126.

175. See the document of that agreement between Venice and the Latin Church of Crete in SPANAKIS, Συμβολή, 246-288, and especially about Saint George Mouglinos, 258.

176. In 1333, Ioannis Ialinas notes in his will: *Item dico et confiteor quod monasterium Sancti Georgii Muglinos cum omnibus domibus et terra est comune inter me et suprascriptum fratrem meum secundum quod continetur in testamento patris nostri* (Wills, 599).

177. TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο επικλησιών*, no. 126. The priest Ioannis Fastafilis was one of 130 orthodox priests under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of Crete (SPANAKIS, Συμβολή, 250).

178. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 5, 17v-20v.

had leased it for twenty-nine plus twenty-nine years, a period that had not expired¹⁷⁹. However, Emmanuel did not manage to convince the Duke of Crete Nicolo Priuli and his Councillors, who decided that he must return the monastery to the archbishop, although certain of his rights were recognized. Many years later, three other documents of 1392-1394 shed more light on the history of Mouglinos. The documents repeat that the archbishop of Crete Angelo Biacqua, during his term of office between 1294 and 1302¹⁸⁰, had conceded the monastery to the priest Nikiforos for twenty-nine plus twenty-nine years and mentioned the decision of the Duke Nicolo Priuli. We also learned that at some point the monastery came to Katerinos Ialinas, son of Antonios (and grandnephew of Emmanuel Ialinas and great grandson of the priest Nikiforos) and during the term of Duke Pietro Corner, i.e. 1370-1372, to the priest Georgios Gavalas, who bequeathed it in 1376 to his son Emmanuel Gavalas¹⁸¹.

Another Orthodox “monastery” in the suburb of Candia, that of Saint Simeon, owned by the monastery of Mount Sinai, was leased by Petros Ialinas, son of Emmanuel, and grandson of the priest Nikiforos. The only thing we know is that in 1346 the “monastery” had houses, two of which were leased by Petros to Kostas Tourkos for as long as he possessed them too¹⁸².

As evidenced by all the above-mentioned, the Ialinas or at least many of them, despite their land property, which offered them economic, social and political benefits and prestige, maintained after the arrival of the Venetians in the early 13th century in Crete their old urban tradition, which was strengthened in the 14th century. During the next century, it seems that

179. The ecclesiastical officials involved were: the archbishop of Crete Angelo Biaqua (1294-1302), the patriarchs of Constantinople and archbishops of Crete Leonardo Pantaleo (1302-1307) and Nicolo Correr (1308-1314) and the archbishop of Crete Alessandro (1314-1333).

180. For the term of Angelo Biacqua as archbishop of Crete see G. FEDALTO, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, v. 2, Verona 1976, 105-106.

181. In 1392, Emmanuel Gavalas, sold his rights on the monastery to the notary Emmanuel Fokas. Two years later the monastery was sold by public auction to Maria widow of Nicolo Marcello. See SANTSCHI, *Régestes*, 342 no. 1587; TSIRPANLIS, *Katáστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 127, 128.

182. ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 10, notaio Angelo Bocontolo, 36r.

they enjoyed greater prosperity, favored by the edge of Venetian trade at that time. We have seen above the case of Antonios Ialinas and his activity in Constantinople. Another characteristic example comes from 1430 and concerns a ship in the port of Venice ready for departure to Crete. In the relevant decision of the Venetian Senate the ship is noted as “Ialinas’s boat from Candia” (*navis del Ielina de Candida*) without unfortunately mentioning a Christian name. The Venetian authorities decided to take advantage of the forthcoming voyage of the vessel and use it for state affairs, i.e. sending money to Modon and oars to Candia, all for the equipment of galleys for the Gulf fleet¹⁸³. The value of this testimony, no matter who this Ialinas was, lies in the information he provides about the social position of the family, or at least some of its members, at that time. It is the ownership of a large boat, the commercial activity in the metropolitan harbor and, of course, the Venetian authorities’ confidence in that person.

2.4. Social status

It is usually quite difficult to conclude if the social status of a person or a family is a consequence of its economic wealth or the opposite. Given the political circumstances and the position of the Ialinas family in fourteenth century Crete, we can suggest that during the thirteenth century the Ialinas had an economic strength that helped them gradually to improve their social status in the new Greek-Venetian context and then to reach a prominent social position in fourteenth-century Candia. This is also confirmed by the titles that many members of the Ialinas family bore, mainly during the

183. To send money to Modon was urgent and thus the Venetian Senate initially decided to send them with another vessel, as the Ialinas’s boat was delayed to depart. On the same day, however, they decided to approve the request by the authorities of Crete, asking for oars to equip the local galleys. So the Senate eventually concluded that they would use the Ialinas’s boat to send both money and oars. Their argument was based on the fact that since the ship was empty and waited to load to leave, loading the oars it would depart immediately. As there was enough space available, it would load at least 1.000 wooden borads (*stelle*) for oars and 200 oars, or even more that could be loaded. See ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Miste*, reg. 58, 16v. See also a short summary of the document in NOIRET, *Documents inédits*, 346; F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, v. 2, 1400-1430, Paris 1959, no. 2218. The unnamed Ialinas could be linked or identified with Antonios Ialinas active in Constantinople until 1453 (see above p. 57-58). The volume of cargo highlights also the size of the vessel.

fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries. Many of them had the rather common title of *ser*, which however indicates a particular social status, while others had the more prestigious titles of *fidelis*, *dominus*, *dona* or *nobilis vir*. This general view of the Ialinas family as a prominent “noble” family changes slightly if we study each branch or each person of the family in greater detail. We can thus discern some interesting differences between the branches or members of the family.

Of Michael Ialinas, founder of the first branch of the family, we know very little. In contrast, we have more information about his son Georgios and his descendants. Georgios was a notary, probably in the Greek language and, at the same time, a scribe in the ducal chancellery (*scribanus curie cretensis*)¹⁸⁴; a modest but important public office for a Greek during the second half of the thirteenth century. It is exactly this office, which permitted him to have contact with Venetian officials and members of the local upper class, as well as the possibility of improving his economic and social position. We are not sure if this economic and social advance, documented in the early 1270’s, was Georgios’s personal achievement or whether he had simply maintained or even improved his father’s already significant social and economic standing. An important step was undoubtedly that of 1271, when Georgios acquired a *serventaria* that formerly belonged to his fellow Greek Emmanuel Katsaras in the villages of Amigdalos and Damania, in the area of western Monofatsi (district of Candia)¹⁸⁵. Georgios did not buy this fief, but he acquired it by concession from the Venetian authorities. A year later, in 1272, Georgios registered in the local cadastre under the same *serventaria* a villein who was donated (*de gratia*) by the Duke of Crete¹⁸⁶. These two acts demonstrate his position and connections in the new political and social context and maybe imply a service to the local government and Venice. Georgios did not simply remain an owner of a *serventaria*, but, as already mentioned above, he also leased public and feudal land, probably in order to acquire more agricultural products¹⁸⁷.

Georgios’s children improved their social position even more thanks to

184. See GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexteri Dorsoduri*, no. 897; IDEM, Ἐλληνες φεουδάρχες, 216.

185. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexteri Dorsoduri*, no. 896, 897, 899, 900, 903.

186. GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexteri Dorsoduri*, no. 899.

187. For the urban activity of Georgios Ialinas see above p. 56-57.

new privileges granted by the Venetian authorities. Around the year 1314, the Venetian Senate permitted the brothers Michael, Gabriel and Katerinos to possess half a *cavallaria* each¹⁸⁸. By that privilege, the three sons of Georgios Ialinas became members of the middle stratum of the Cretan feudatories, thus having the chance to participate in the local administrative system alongside the Venetians.

Our documentation enables us to follow the rather interesting history of Georgios's descendants during the fourteenth century, until the second decade of the fifteenth century. We do not know when the three brothers became members of the local Councils, because the documentation is missing for the period up to 1341. We suppose that this had probably happened before this year. The first mention we have concerns the brothers Gabriel and Katerinos, who were elected members of the Cretan Senate in January 1341¹⁸⁹. Four years later, their brother Michael was also elected a member of the same Council¹⁹⁰. Between the years 1341 and 1363, and before the abolition of all these Councils after the revolt of Saint Titus in 1363, the three brothers were elected to the same Council several times: Gabriel twelve times (1341, 1346, 1348-1350, 1352, 1354, 1356-1359, 1361), Katerinos twice (1341, 1345) and Michael once (1345)¹⁹¹. The "political" career of Michael and Katerinos finished because of their deaths between 1347 and 1349. In the meantime, a new generation of Ialinas also entered the local administration system. Markos, son of Gabriel, was elected *rogatus* in 1347, but his career was soon ended by his death, which probably occurred during the following year¹⁹². His first cousin Petros, son of Michael, was elected member of the Cretan Senate for the first time in 1358 and then in 1359 and

188. On the Ialinas family land property in the *territorio* of Candia, see above p. 48-56. See also GASPARIS, Έλληνες φεουδάρχες, 215-219.

189. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 8.

190. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 17.

191. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 8, 17, 64, 67, 82, 188, 215, 244, 246; *Duca di Candia, Quaternus Consiliorum* (1350-1363), ed. P. RATTI VIDULICH, Venice 2007, no. 37, 55, 56, 72, 93, 123, 136, 173, 199, 202, 225, 229, 260, 273, 277, 328, 378, 381.

192. Markos probably died in 1348 during the plague of Black Death in Crete. He was elected in January of that year, but his name along with six others is cancelled in the manuscript. See *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 127, 188.

finally in 1362, in the penultimate elections before the last ones in 1363¹⁹³. In the end, every year between 1341 and 1362 at least one Ialinas was a member of the Cretan Senate.

To be a member of the Senate, the most powerful Council of the Venetian administration in Crete, it was necessary to be first a member of the local Council of Feudatories and probably of the Great Council of Candia as well. Indeed Gabriel is referred to as a member of the Council of Feudatories in 1352 and as a member of the Great Council from 1356 until 1361 after the “reformation” of 1356 for election to the Council¹⁹⁴. Petros, son of Michael, also passed the *proba* for the Great Council five times during the last six years of its existence in Crete¹⁹⁵. Furthermore, we find all three brothers and two of their sons elected to the usual temporary offices and committees in the context of the Council of Feudatories and the Great Council of Candia, which means that they were members of those Councils. As *partitor* or *suprapartitor*, Katerinos was elected by the members of the Great Council in 1345, Michael in 1346 and Gabriel in 1350, 1352, 1353, and 1355. In September 1345 Michael was elected by the Council of Feudatories of Candia to be a member of the committee of five *sapientes* in order to prepare an embassy to Venice. In 1352 in the same session of the Senate, Gabriel was elected *capitaneus* for a month in the village of Iofirakia near to Candia, while his nephew Petros, son of Michael, was elected to the same position in the village of Melissa, in the area of Messara. All three brothers, as well as Markos, son of Gabriel, were also elected *guarantors* (*plezii*) of members of committees in the Great Council¹⁹⁶. As *plezius* of a *partitor*, a certain Georgios Ialinas was

193. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1350-1363), no. 229, 433.

194. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1350-1363), no. 72, 199, 225, 273, 328, 378. For the procedure for the election of the members of the Great Council in Candia see Ch. GASPARIS, Η αρχή της πλειοψηφίας στο βενετικό διοικητικό σύστημα του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα, in: «Η τών πλειστών ψήφος κρατείτω». Η τύχη της αρχής της πλειονοψηφίας από τη μετακλασική περιόδο ώς τους νεότερους χρόνους, *Πρακτικά Ημερίδας στη μνήμη Κ. Γ. Πιτσάκη*, Athens 2017, 160-161.

195. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1350-1363), no. 225 (1357), 273 (1358), 329 (1359), 378 (1360), 478 (1362).

196. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 33, 87, 110, 111, 142, 144, 163, 246; *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1350-1363), no. 55, 56, 93, 136, 260.

also elected by the members of the Great Council in 1347¹⁹⁷. He could be identified, though very tentatively, with Georgios junior, the son of Michael, who was still alive in that year.

Finally, Antonios Ialinas son of Michael was accepted in the Great Council of Candia in 7 February 1364, according to a previous decision of 12 August 1363 and after submitting the necessary supporting document, namely the registration of his grandfather as feudatory in the cadastre of the district of Rethimno¹⁹⁸. Antonios's effort to enter the Cretan Great Council was made after the outbreak of the revolt of Saint Titus in early August 1363 and before the fall of the new revolutionary regime in April 1364. We cannot be sure if Antonios tried to take advantage of the new regime to gain access to Great Council or this was an older plan, since he fulfilled all the prerequisites. The participation of some of his relatives in the revolt made his effort undoubtedly easier. In any case, his "political" career ended very soon with the suppression of the revolt and the abolition of the Council.

The grandsons and great grandsons of Georgios, with the exception of Petros son of Michael and Markos son of Gabriel, did not have the opportunity to have a "political career" since the Cretan Councils, as already mentioned, were abolished after the revolt of Saint Titus in 1363. However, their social and marital relations confirm their elevated social status and their integration into local Venetian high society. In 1406, for example, Markos son of Gabriel, about two years before his death, was involved in the controversy between the archbishop of Crete and Nicolo Lambardo. We do not have information about this controversy. The only we know is that Markos had probably a key role, since he had commissioned Donato Michiel, an ex *auditor sententiarum* in Crete, who introduced the case in the Council of Forty in Venice during the last months of 1406 and the first months of 1407¹⁹⁹.

197. *Quaternus Consiliorum* (1340-1350), no. 174.

198. See above p. 53 and note 141.

199. ASV, *Collegio Notatorio*, reg. 4, 8v [= F. THIRIET, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, v. 2, (1364-1463), Paris 1971, no. 1065]. The Council of Forty postponed the discussion of the case several times from 15 November 1406 until at least 14 January 1407. We have no more evidence about the case. See ASV, *Collegio Notatorio*, reg. 4, 9r-v, 10v.

This all means that all the aforementioned descendants of Georgios Ialinas were active members of the Councils with an important social status among the Venetians. This is also confirmed by the titles mentioned in our sources. All three brothers, sons of Georgios, and two of their sons, as well as Georgios junior, son of Michael, bear the title of *ser*, which during the first half of the fourteenth century was rarely used in public documents, although later on this title was quite common among members of the rising middle stratum of the “bourgeois” of Candia, whether Latins or Greeks. In particular, we find Michael, son of Georgios, mentioned in 1343 and 1345, also as *dominus* and *nobilis vir*, two titles generally assigned to high class Venetians²⁰⁰. About ninety years later, in 1431, Michael’s grandson Frankiskos bears also the title of *dominus* and his great grandson and son of Frankiskos the title of *nobilis vir*, who had also his own coat of arms²⁰¹.

The *nobilitas* of the Ialinas family, or better say of certain of its members, remains as yet obscure. According to the lists of the patrician families of Venice, the Ialinas family was included among the families that entered the Great Council of Venice in 1326²⁰². Unfortunately, we miss

200. In a document of 1343, Michael Ialinas is mentioned as *dominus* (see ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. IV, 103v). In 1345, among the *nobles viri* elected as *sapientes* in the Council of Feudatories was Michael Ialinas [see *Quaternus Consiliorum (1340-1350)*, no. 67].

201. In 1431, Giorgio Marcado commissioned Pietro Dellaporta to collect from the *nobilis vir* Ioannis or Zanino Ialinas son of the late *dominus* Frankiskos, who acted as proxy or guarantor of Ettore Marcello, 13 golden ducats. It is also noted that Ialinas had given to Marcado as a pledge a “golden ring with his coat of arms”. See M. I. MANOUSAKAS – A. VAN GEMERT, Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα (1324-1435) για τον κρητικό ποιητή Λεονάρδο Ντελλαπόρτα και την οικογένειά του, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 27 (1987), 163.

202. See the list of the patrician families of Venice, among them the Ialinas, in A. DA MOSTO, *L’Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, Rome 1937, 72; D. RAINES, Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: le casate del patriziato veneziano. 1297-1797, in: *Storia di Venezia - Rivista* 1 (2003), 59. The Ialinas family, however, is not included in the lists published by Stanley Chojnacki (S. CHOJNACKI, In search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and factions in the fourteenth century, in: *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R HALE, London 1973, 72-75; IDEM, La formazione della nobiltà dopo la Serrata, in: *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, v. III, *La formazione dello stato patrizio*, ed. G. ARNALDI – G. CRACCO – A. TENENTI, Rome 1997, 655-674). According to the list of Raines, the Ialinas family was present in the Venetian Great Council from an unknown date until 1326. This means that the only mention we have concerns this year.

a Christian name or any other evidence, and thus we cannot detect who was the Ialinas who entered the Great Council in that year. Was he from the Ialinas of Crete, or a member of another branch of the family from a long time resident in Venice? Why the presence of the family in the Great Council is recorded only in 1326? In this year, they had passed just three years from the law of 1323, by which the changes on the Venetian society, inaugurated by the *Serrata* of 1297, were accomplished²⁰³. After this, many Venetians from the city or the colonies rushed to apply for membership in the Great Council and nobility. For the Venetians of Crete the most important arguments to gain the title, apart from their origin from an old noble Venetian family, were the possession of a fief, the participation in a local Council and their social profile²⁰⁴. The same criteria applied to the few Greeks who tried to acquire the Venetian nobility. However, from this early period petitions for the nobility and consequently the appropriate investigations by the responsible authorities in Venice are not preserved: the earliest case we have of a Venetian from the city of Venice comes from 1342, while of a Venetian of Crete from the year 1355²⁰⁵. Therefore, the fact that both Michael Ialinas son of Georgios, in 1343, and his great grandson, Ioannis Ialinas son of Frankiskos, about a century later, are referred as *nobiles viri* makes us to turn our attention to the branch of Michael Ialinas of Crete. The three brothers Michael, Gabriel and Katerinos sons of Georgios Ialinas, had obtained, as noted above, the *gratia* from the Venetian Senate

203. For the *Serrata* of 1297 and the Venetian nobility during the fourteenth century see S. CHOJNACKI, In search of the Venetian patriciate, 47-58; IDEM, Social identity in Renaissance Venice: the second *Serrata*, *Renaissance Studies* 8/4 (1994), 341-358; IDEM, La formazione della nobiltà dopo la *Serrata*, 642-687. For the years between 1297 and 1323 see G. RÖSCH, The *Serrata* of the Great Council and Venetian society. 1286-1323, in: *Venice reconsidered. The history and civilization of an Italian city-state. 1297-1797*, ed. J. MARTIN - D. ROMANO, Baltimore-London 2000, 67-87.

204. For the Venetians of the colonies and their right to the Venetian nobility after the *Serrata* of 1297 see M. O'CONNELL, The Venetian patriciate in the Mediterranean: Legal identity and lineage in fifteenth-century Venetian Crete, *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004), 466-493. See also the example of the Venetian Pietro Zeno from Crete to get the nobility in the early fifteenth century in Ch. GASPARIS, Un ramo della famiglia Zeno a Creta medievale (XIII-XV sec.), *Θησαυρίσματα* 45 (2015), 105-121 and especially 114-117.

205. O'CONNELL, The Venetian patriciate, 476 note 35.

in 1314 to acquire each one a fief equal to half a *cavallaria*²⁰⁶. This privilege, coupled with the conversion to Catholic doctrine, has been the springboard for their social and political recognition in Crete. The three sons of Georgios Ialinas fulfilled all the prerequisites for the nobility except the Venetian origin, which was partly replenished by their Catholic rite. Even so, our evidence does not help us to understand if the entrance of the Ialinas in the Cretan Councils was just a consequence of the possession of a fief and the Catholic rite, or their possible nobility helped as well. On the other side, their membership in the local Councils could be also a strong argument for the acquisition of the Venetian nobility. In the end, we can suggest that Michael Ialinas son of Georgios was the person who first got the *nobilitas* in 1326 and then returned to Crete keeping the title but not the membership in the Venetian Great Council²⁰⁷. However, the question about the nobility of members of the Ialinas family remains open.

We have enough information about the marriages of Georgios's sons and their descendants, and especially about those of Michael, as well as Antonios's descendants. We know that four of Georgios's six children were married to members of Venetian families: Katerinos to a daughter of the Cocco family who remained childless²⁰⁸; Thomasina to Andrea Querini; Eleni to Vitale Abramo, and an unnamed daughter to Giovanni Gradenigo. We know only the name of Michael's wife Maria and nothing of Gabriel's wife. From Michael's sons, Ioannis remained unmarried, Petros was married to a certain Agathia, who according to her Christian name was probably of Greek origin, and finally Nikolaos was married to a daughter of Ioannis and Maria Modinos²⁰⁹. On the other hand, we know that all three of Michael's daughters were married to members of Venetian families: Annitsa to Andrea Pantaleo,

206. See above p. 66.

207. A Venetian subject from the colonies that entered the Great Council, leaving Venice, could keep his title of *nobilis* in the colony, but not his membership in the Council. On the contrary, a resident of Venice could gain access to the Great Council and get the title of *nobilis*, and then to leave the city for an undefined period. In this case, he loose not only the membership to the Council but also his *nobilitas*. However, if he or one of his descendants returned to Venice, it was much easier to ask and get the *nobilitas*. See RAINES, Cooptazione, 3.

208. In 1341, land property was shared between Katerinos Ialinas and his *cognato*, Nicoletto Cocco (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 6, 5r).

209. See page 41 and note 90.

Eleni to Pietro Mudazzo and Frangoula to Giovanni Ghisi. Michael's grandson Frankiskos, son of Petros, was married to Marula Sagredo and his granddaughter, Nicolotta Ghisi, to Pietro da Vigonza. Among all these sons or daughters-in-law of Michael's descendants, Giovanni Ghisi stand out from the others. Giovanni Ghisi was from a distinguished Venetian family and was lord of a quarter of the island of Amorgos²¹⁰. It is obvious that Michael Ialinas and his descendants had close relations not only with the Venetian authorities, but also with members of the Venetian upper class in Crete. Finally, as it concerns Antonios's descendants, we know that his grandson Ioannis, son of Gabriel, was first married to Marizzoli Abramo, and secondly to Rosa Sagredo. His homonymous great grandson Antonios, son of Markos and grandson of Gabriel, was married to Marula Cavallier.

Although it remains unclear how Georgios's sons were integrated into local Venetian society and managed to become members of the local Councils, which was generally forbidden for Greeks, we suggest that the major factor was their "Latinitas", a prerequisite for entering the Councils. The "Latins" in Venetian Crete were a social category based not only on the ancestry but also, and mainly, on devotion to Roman Catholic Church. Thus Latin was the equivalent of Catholic, exactly as Greek was that of Orthodox. To be Latin meant freedom and political and economic privileges²¹¹. The adherence to the Catholic Church was a prerequisite to gain access to Cretan Councils and other administrative offices, but it was not to acquire land.

210. For Frangoula Ialinas and Giovanni Ghisi see G. SAINT-GUILAIN, Amorgos au XIVe siècle. Une seigneurie insulaire entre Cyclades féodale et Crète vénitienne, *BZ* 94/1 (2001), 134-135.

211. The prerequisite of the Catholic rite for the acceptance of a Greek into the administrative system in Crete is not made explicit in our documentation, although it was certainly a factor, even for minor offices. In 1341, for example, the Venetian Senate granted Michael Loureas the privilege of being appointed *preco* or *serviens* in Rethimno, because "although he was originally Orthodox, he was baptized in the Catholic rite and thereafter continued to live as a Catholic" (*non obstante quod traxerit ortum a Grecis, cum baptismum latinum suscepit et semper vixerit, ut dicit, secundum ritum et mores Latinorum*) [THEOTOKIS, Θεοπίσματα τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας, 212 no. 3; *Venezia-Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XX* (1341-1342), v. 7, ed. F. GIRARDI, Venice 2004, no. 23]. For the topic of "Latinitas" as a social and political privilege and its connection to personal freedom, see MCKEE, *Uncommon dominion*, 102-115; EADEM, Inherited status and slavery in late medieval Italy and Crete, *Past and Present* 182 (2004), 31-53 and especially 38-39.

This means that not all Greek feudatories were Catholics. As it concerns the Ialinas, we do not know who converted first to the Catholic rite: Georgios's sons, their father, or even their grandfather Michael. Although it cannot be excluded that Georgios was a Catholic, it is most likely that his sons, Michael, Katerinos and Gabriel, sons of Georgios, were those who decided to convert in order to improve their social status even more. This probably is related to the *gratia* that they obtained from the Venetian Senate in 1314 to acquire half a *cavallaria* each. And indeed, as we have seen, they achieved their goal during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The Catholic rite of Michael Ialinas's descendants, or at least some of them, an affiliation that brought them still closer to the Venetian society of Crete, is more apparent. The will of Ioannis, son of Michael, made in 1348, is worth mentioning. It clearly proves not only his Catholic faith, but also his social and economic status²¹². Ioannis appointed as executors of his will five Venetians: the chancellor of Crete Andrea da Fermo, Pietro Querini from Venice, Ermolao Bianco and his brothers-in-law Andrea Pantaleo and Pietro Mudazzo. He chose as his place of burial the Catholic church of Saint Francis and desired his executors to buy a grave near the confessional of the same church, where he and the bones of his fathers, brothers and other relatives would be buried. He left donations to the Catholic convents of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, to the convent of Saint Mary of the Crucifers, to the cathedral of Saint Titus in Candia and finally to the confraternity called the Verberati (*Scuola Verberatorum*) of Saint Marc in Candia. Donations were also left for the restoration or the construction of the churches of the Franciscans and the Augustinians. Furthermore, he wished the executors of his will to buy a plot in Candia in order to construct a church in honor of his "beloved" saint Giuliano. Nor did he forget his confessor, the monk Eremundo. It is also quite characteristic of his relations with the city of Venice, where he lived sometime during the decade of 1330²¹³. Among the bequests made in his will, we find the donation of a

212. *Wills*, 67-70. Cf. MCKEE, *Uncommon dominion*, 108-109; N. COUREAS, The Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine lands under Latin rule, in: *A companion to Latin Greece*, [as in n. 14], 173.

213. In 1335, Venetian Senate gave permission to a certain Ioannis Ialinas, who can be identified with Ioannis Ialinas son of Michael, to embark on the vessels of the fleet against the Turks or that of the Adriatic and travel from Venice to Modon and Coron with his servant

candle that he wished to remain lit for ten years in the church of Santa Maria Misericordia in Venice. He also pointed out the economic difference with Giovanni Stornado from Venice, which was pending “from the time when Ioannis used to live in his house”. His stay in Venice is also confirmed by a letter of Francesco Bartolomei, a merchant from Candia, written on 9 September 1348. In an attempt to prove that he had already been resident in Venice or in a Venetian possession for twenty-five years in order to obtain Venetian citizenship, Bartolomeo invoked his acquaintance with Gabriel²¹⁴ and Ioannis Ialinas for twenty-five and twenty-three years respectively, in Candia but also in Venice²¹⁵. The reason for which Ioannis, and probably his uncle Gabriel too, travelled to Venice remains unknown, but it probably had to do with his economic activity, as well as with an effort to join the Venetian nobility like his father Michael.

Ioannis’ will contains some more information worth mentioning. He wished his executors to offer money for the crusade against the “infidel” Turks and for the “support of the Christian faith, the Roman Church and the Holy Places”. He bequeathed 100 *yperpera* to his brother Petros “to be received after his ordination as a Franciscan monk”. As a Catholic, Petros had probably already expressed his will to be ordained monk and his brother had left this considerable bequest of money for the Franciscan Order, to which he was apparently devoted. Two more Ialinas are mentioned in Ioannis’s will: Nikitas and Andreas. The first inherited a small amount of money and the second signed as one of the witnesses. Both are as yet unidentified, because we lack more information about them. If Nikitas is a descendant of the thirteenth-century priest Nikitas, then it means that a relation between different branches, and the Orthodox and Catholic members, of the Ialinas family still existed. There is no doubt, therefore, that the will clearly illustrated the characteristics of Ioannis Ialinas.

and baggage [*Venezia-Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XVII (1335-1339)*, v. 4, ed. F.-X. LEDUC, Venice 2007, no. 24]. From these two Peloponnesian ports Ioannis could easily travel to Candia, thanks to the frequent connections between those ports.

214. We are not sure who this Gabriel is, because a patronym is missing. In 1348, there were two first cousins with the same name: Gabriel son of Georgios and Gabriel son of Antonios.

215. *Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchello (1336-1350)*, ed. R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, Venice 1957, 113.

On the other hand, Nikolaos, another son of Michael, was between the two Christian rites. He was married to a daughter of the Greek family of Modinos, and even though he was a Catholic, his wife remained Orthodox. It is worth noting that in her will the nun Maria Modinos, Nikolaos's mother-in-law, named her relative Katafighi, another Orthodox nun, as advisor (*consultrix*) to her grandson Ioannis, probably out of a desire to keep him in an Orthodox environment.

As for Michael's daughters, who were married to Venetians, they probably retained the Orthodox rite, although they were at the same time close to the Catholic one. That "mixed" religious life is obvious in the will of Eleni Ialinas, widow of Pietro Mudazzo, which was made in 1360. She wished to be buried next to her husband in the Franciscan convent of Candia, but at the same time she left money for commemoration both in the same convent and in Orthodox churches. Furthermore, she bequeathed money to the same Franciscan convent and church, as well as to the nunnery of Saint Catherine in Candia and to the Orthodox churches of Saint Mary Ialini and Saint Mary Manolitissa in Candia, as well as to the church of Saint Mary in the village of Varvaroi²¹⁶.

We have already suggested that conversion to the Catholic rite was a conscious and probably well-planned decision by some members of the third generation of the Michael Ialinas branch, in order to achieve faster social promotion. Their true feelings about the Catholic rite cannot be proved, but their descendants seem to have been devout Catholics, fully integrated into the Venetian society of Crete. It is no exaggeration to say that they were now "Venetians" of Greek origin. It is worth remembering that Ioannis Ialinas, son of Frankiskos and grandson of Petros Ialinas, is referred to as a *nobilis vir* in 1431, like his great grandfather Michael almost a century before. This means that Ioannis was a Catholic like his grandfather and quite probably his father too.

The multiple religious identities of Michael's branch members was typical of the new mixed Cretan society, as was the characteristic balance of a family of Greek origin between the Orthodox and Catholic rite, as well as between the Greek-Byzantine and the Venetian-Latin tradition. This attitude is more obvious in the third generation of Michael's descendants,

216. *Wills*, 223-225.

who lived mainly in the first half of the fourteenth century and managed to be considered “veneti”. It is characteristic that the *dominus* and *nobilis vir* Michael Ialinas, son of Georgios, wrote his will before 1336 in Greek, while his brother *ser* Gabriel, a feudatory and member of the local Venetian Councils, was also referred to as Gavrili, the local Greek version of the name Gabriel²¹⁷.

The second branch of the Ialinas family, that of the Orthodox priest Nikiforos, shows some very different characteristics from Michael’s branch. The members of this branch lived in a Greek Orthodox environment and Nikiforos was the *protopapas* of Candia from the last decade of the thirteenth century (1296)²¹⁸. This means that he was considered loyal to Venice and maintained close relations with the Venetian authorities. Apart from being a priest and *protopapas*, Nikiforos was also a notary²¹⁹. The priest and notary Nikiforos Ialinas and Michael Ialinas’s children lived around the same years, during which time the members of both branches attained important positions in local society. The name of Nikiforos’s father remains unknown, and consequently we cannot determine his kinship with the previous branch. A common origin is quite probable, however, given the characteristic position of the members of both branches in the Candiote society and the possession of land in the same area²²⁰. The priest

217. For Michael’s will written in Greek, see GASPARIS, *Catasticum Sexterii Dorsoduri*, no. 453. For Gabriel Ialinas mentioned as Gavrili, see *Quaternus Consiliorum (1340-1350)*, no. 144; *Quaternus Consiliorum (1350-1363)*, no. 37.

218. The only evidence we have for Nikiforos as *protopapas* comes from a document of 1320, according to which the church of Saint George in the village of Pirathi had been built 24 years earlier, when Nikiforos Ialinas as the *protopapas* of Candia granted permission for its erection (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, 267 no. 200). Cf. BORSARI, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta*, 123 note 69.

219. For the identification of the *protopapas* Nikiforos Ialinas with the notary Nikiforos Ialinas see P. TOPING, Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete, in: *XVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Rapport et co-rapports*, Athens 1976 (= P. TOPING, *Studies on Latin Greece. A.d. 1205-1715*, Variorum Reprints, London 1977, no. 11), 18-19.

220. The fact that the *dominus* Michael Ialinas (of the first branch) and Emmanuel Ialinas son of Nikiforos (of the second branch) possessed land in the same village of Bombadena during the first decades of the fourteenth century suggests a common origin. See above p. 51.

Nikiforos is mentioned for the first time in a contract of 1271, where an older contract of his as a notary is mentioned²²¹. All the above-mentioned activities (the profession of notary, the office of *protopapas*, the possession of a fief, the lease of a monastery owned by the archdiocese of Crete and the urban economic activity) demonstrate the significant position of the priest Nikiforos Ialinas in local society. Nikiforos was still alive in 1301 and he died, very old, during the first or second decade of the fourteenth century²²².

Emmanuel and Ioannis, sons of Nikiforos, improved the social and economic position established by their father. Both of them were married to daughters of Greek families: Emmanuel to the daughter of Georgios Sachlikis and Ioannis to the daughter of Antonios Metachiristis. The Greek families of Sachlikis and Metachiristis belonged to the same social stratum and environment as the Ialinas family. Members of the Sachlikis and Metachiristis families are mentioned among the 130 priests under the Latin archbishop of Candia; they owned land and were active in trade and investments in Candia²²³. As we have already seen, the well-known poet

221. *Pietro Scardon*, no. 428. See also another contract of 1271, in which the priest Nikiforos Ialinas acts as proxy to Nikolaos Katakalos (*Pietro Scardon*, no. 444).

222. In a contract of 1301 *Hemanuel filius papatis Nichifori* is mentioned (*Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 119), and in a document of 1320 the same Emmanuel Ialinas declares that his father, the priest Nikiforos, had died *in magna senectute* (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, 217 no. 126.II).

223. The Sachlikis is a well known Candiote family, mainly because of the famous fourteenth-century poet Stefanos Sachlikis. On the land property of the Sachlikis family see VAN GEMERT, Ο Στέφανος Σαχλίκης 43-47; GASPARIS, *Catasticum Chanee*, 51-52. In 1268, among the 130 priests under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of Candia, we find four members of the Sachlikis family: Stefanos and his sons, Georgios and Konstantinos, as well as Vassilis Sachlikis (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 7). A member also of the Sachlikis family, Ioannis, was elected in 1345, 1346 and 1347 to the Cretan Senate, and in 1346 as *partitor ponentis* [*Quaternus Consiliorum (1340-1350)*, no. 17, 82, 87, 127]. Although less well-known, the Metachiristis family is of particular interest. We find four members of this family among the above-mentioned 130 priests: Leos Metachiristis and his son Antonios, as well as Georgios and Michael Metachiristis, sons of the late priest Michael (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, 142). In 1281, the “Greek notary” Antonios Metachiristis was exempted from paying the duty of the Small Gate (*Porta Parva*) in Candia and the *commercium, tamquam Venetus* (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 75). In 1310, Antonios Metachiristis is referred to as *vicarius sanctissimi patris domini Nicolai Corario patriarche Constantinopolis* in Crete (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*,

Stefanos Sachlikis was a grandson of Emmanuel and great grandson of Nikiforos Ialinas. The Ialinas and the Sachlikis also collaborated in various urban economic activities²²⁴. It is thus not a coincidence that both daughters-in-law of *protopapas* Nikiforos belonged to those two families.

Emmanuel Ialinas, Nikiforos's son, is better documented than his brother Ioannis. He is mentioned as *dominus* and *fidelis noster*, two terms that highlight his social status and his relations with the Venetians²²⁵. In a court case from 1435 (about 80 years after his death) the late Emmanuel is referred to as an Orthodox priest and vicar of the Latin archbishop in order to "judge the Orthodox priests"²²⁶. Those two qualifications, i.e. priest and vicar, are not confirmed by any earlier document and consequently are questionable. If he was really a priest, this would certainly have been confirmed in all the documents we have about him. As concerns the office of vicar, this remains to be confirmed in any new documentation. In any case, this evidence proves a probable close relationship between Emmanuel and the local Latin archdiocese.

Emmanuel was undoubtedly a wealthy and educated man and in 1312-1313 he commissioned the scribe and priest Michael Louloudis a manuscript with the *Chronicon* by Manasses. Louloudis in his dedicatory poem to Emmanuel Ialinas sings "the great and happiest" Ialinas family and recalls

no. 160). Finally, in 1313, the rent that Antonios Metachiristis had to pay to the owner of the vineyard he cultivated was determined (TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 86). Antonios Metachiristis also seems to have been active in local trade. In 1301, for example, in two contracts Antonios received from Leonardo Mazamano the significant amount of 800 *yperpera* to use in trade in Crete. In the same year Antonios borrowed from Michael Thalassinos 110 *yperpera*, but the reason for the loan remains unknown (*Benvenuto de Brixano*, no. 237, 421, 495).

224. See for example contracts of collaboration between Georgios and Ioannis Sachlikis and Antonios Ialinas in 1303 and 1304 (*Stefano Bono*, no. 154, 158, 206; *Pietro Pizolo*, no. 730).

225. In 1342, in his will Bartolomeo de Hengelardis bequeathed to his heirs the amount of money that *dominus Hemanuel Ialina* owed him (*Wills*, 412). In a decision of the Venetian Senate of 1334 Emmanuel Ialinas is mentioned as *noster fidelis de Candia* (THEOTOKIS, *Θεοπίσματα τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας*, 143 no. 35).

226. According to the document of 1435, the priest Emmanuel Ialinas, son of the priest Nikiforos, was appointed, in 1304, by the Latin archbishop of Crete as *vicario a cudegar li preti e diaconi greci* (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 26, q. 7, 11r-v).

to his commissioner as the “noblest lord ser Manuel Ialinas” (εὐγενέστατον ἄρχοντα κυρον Μανουὴλ τὸν Ὑαλινᾶν), who was raised and educated with great care, and developed many interests²²⁷.

In his personal life Emmanuel had a serious disagreement with his mother-in-law and with his brother Ioannis as well. The will of the latter, made in 1333, reveals close cooperation between the two brothers, but also some disputes between them. Emmanuel had built part of the house next to the church of Saint Mary Ialini inside the walls of Candia, where his brother Ioannis lived. According to the will, Antonios, son and heir of Ioannis, would keep the whole house immediately after the reimbursement of the debt to his uncle. Apart from the houses that Ioannis had built at his own expense, he, along with his brother Emmanuel, also built two houses in the yard of the monastery of Saint George Mouglinos. According always to Ioannis’s will, Emmanuel kept these houses without his brother’s consent. The common activity of the two brothers included also state land located in Loutra, from which each brother earned an annual rent²²⁸.

In 1319, a dispute between Emmanuel Ialinas and his mother-in-law, Maria, widow of Georgios Sachlikis Katsomatas, about the property of Emmanuel’s late wife appeared in the ducal court²²⁹. Some years later, in 1330-1331, Maria’s will shed light on the dispute with her son-in-law Emmanuel Ialinas²³⁰. After the death of Emmanuel’s wife, Maria disagreed with her son-in-law about her daughter’s dowry. Eventually Maria was able to keep her daughter’s dowry and in her will Emmanuel was excluded from any involvement in the management of the property inherited by his children and Maria’s grandchildren. Maria appointed as executor of her will for the first six years her sister, Eleni widow of the *specarius* Androcio, and then,

227. For the manuscript commissioned by Emmanuel Ialinas and the dedicatory poem see A. MARKOPOULOS, Συμπληρωματικά για τον Μιχαήλ Λουλούδη, in: *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, v. 2, *Bυζαντινοί και Μέσοι Χρόνοι*, Athens 1981, 235-239.

228. In 1320, Ioannis and Emmanuel leased to a third person a piece of land in Loutra for as long as they had also leased it from the state (ASV, *Notai di Candia*, b. 9, notaio Andrea de Bellamor, 31v). In his will, made in 1333, Ioannis notes that the rent owed by the tenant for a piece of land in Loutra (*Wills*, 599).

229. ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 1, 33v.

230. *Wills*, 597.

maybe after her adulthood, her granddaughter Maria. All her movable and immovable property was divided between her grandchildren, some of whom were minors and unmarried. The legacies that Maria left to the churches and monasteries were tokens of her Orthodox faith; meanwhile the legacy left to her grandson Georgios would only be significant if he married a Greek wife²³¹. Maria actually died in the next few years and in September and October 1334 her grandchildren, children of Emmanuel Ialinas, received the legacies left by her will without the intervention of their father²³².

The two sons of Nikiforos, as already noticed, were married to Greek wives, but at least three of his grandchildren, as well as a great-granddaughter were married to members of Venetian families: Kali daughter of Ioannis to Arriano Contarini²³³, Petros son of Emmanuel to Cecilia, whose surname is unknown but whose Christian name indicates a possible Latin origin, Ioannis son also of Emmanuel to Anniza Sirigo and finally Thomasina daughter of the latter to Nicolò Matono²³⁴. Despite these marriages, especially of sons to

231. Maria, wife of Georgios Sachlikis and daughter of Konstantinos Verivos, left in her will a bequest to the church of Santa Lucia (Aghia Fotini), where she wished to be buried next to her husband, and to the churches of Saint Mary Ialini and Saint Mary Manolitissa. She also left to her grandson Georgios, who bears the name of his grandfather and Maria's husband, *par unum combothilica auri, si ipse acceperit uxorem grecam* (*Wills*, 597).

232. In 24 September 1334 Georgios and Petros Ialinas, sons of Emmanuel, received their share from the inheritance of their grandmother Maria Sachlikis Katsomatou (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 10, q. 3, 43v). In 19 October 1334, Ioannis Sachlikis husband of Maria Ialinas, Petros Ialinas, Eleni wife of the *speciarus* Androcio and sister of Maria, and Andrea Querini received also their share of the inheritance (*ibid.*, 46v). Finally, in an act of 28 October 1334, Maria is mentioned as guarantor of her grandchildren Georgios and Petros Ialinas, sons of Emmanuel, for 68 *yperpera* that they had borrowed from Giovanni Fradello. Now, after Maria's death Fradello asked the money back from the property inherited by her grandchildren (*ibid.*, 47v).

233. The Contarini family was one of the most important Venetian families. In her testament (*Wills*, 528-529), Kali notes not only the origin of her husband from Venice, but also that the objects left to her son Francesco bore the family coat of arms and expressed the desire for her son Francesco to be cared for by her slave until he was 17 years old. All these suggest an elevated social environment.

234. The social and economic status of Ioannis seems to have been considerable, for he left a dowry worth 1.500 *yperpera* to his daughter Maritsoli, as well as to the other two younger daughters. He bequeathed the greater part of his property to his sons. The only mention about land property is a vineyard in the village of Plemenou, meanwhile a bequest

Latin daughters, the branch of the priest Nikiforos Ialinas remained close to the local Greek Orthodox environment of Candia. However, the members of the branch were maintaining close relations with the Venetian authorities and the Latin archdiocese of Crete at the same time. The balance between the local Greek and the Venetian element was exactly the means that helped the members of Nikiforos Ialinas family to improve their social and economic position.

2.5 An overview of the family

The information mentioned so far proves that the Ialinas family was undoubtedly one of the most active Greek families in Crete with close relations with the Venetians and the Catholic Church, and fully integrated into the new mixed Candiote society. It is worth mentioning that in some sources the Ialinas family is called *ca' Ialina*, a term commonly used by the great Venetian families. This means that the Ialinas family was a real clan with branches and members and with a significant prestige among the local society²³⁵. The only clear evidence about a probable common origin and close linkage between the two main branches of the Ialinas family is that both of them used certain Christian names, like Katerinos, Georgios Antonios and others, were closely linked with the churches of Saint George Mouglinos, Saint Mary Manolitissa and Saint Mary Ialini²³⁶ in Candia, and possessed land in the same area. This area was located in the village of Bombadena, where both *dominus* Michael Ialinas, grandson of Michael head of the first branch, and Emmanuel Ialinas, son of Nikiforos head of the second branch, possessed land during the last years of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century²³⁷. This suggests a common ancestor owner of that land. However, despite the probable common origin, these two branches of the family had an interesting and

to the church of Saint Apostles in the village of Pigaidoulia just outside the walls of Candia suggests that he possibly also owned land there (*Wills*, 228-229).

235. See, for example, TSIRPANLIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 121.V (1320: ...*a predictis de Ca Ialina, qui tenent ecclesiam et domos predictas...*); *Wills*, 223 (1360: ... *Mathei filii mei atque Agnetis, Zorzi et Chrussi de ca' Ialina...*).

236. For Saint Mary Ialini see below p. 83.

237. For the land property of Michael and Emmanuel in the village of Bombadena see above p. 54.

rather different course into the new Venetian environment in Crete. Both branches very soon came close to the local Venetian authorities (Georgios Ialinas son of Michael was a notary and ducal scribe – the priest Nikiforos Ialinas was a notary and *protopapas* of Candia) getting the opportunity to improve their social and economic position. From the last decades of the thirteenth century onwards, and especially during the fourteenth century, Michael's grandchildren acquired important fiefs, and several of them at least were married to members of Venetian families and were Catholics²³⁸. They penetrated the circle of powerful Latin feudatories and were elected in local Councils, where the entrance of the Orthodox Greeks was prohibited. Finally, some Ialinas family members, such as Nikolaos or Nikoletos son of Ioannis from the Nikiforos branch and Petros Ialinas son of Michael from the Michael branch, participated in the great revolt of Saint Titus at the side of the Venetian leaders, as did Michael Ialinas's two sons-in-law, i.e. Giovanni Ghisi and Andrea Pantaleo²³⁹. On the other hand, three of Michael Ialinas's grandsons, Giacomo, Francesco and Matteo Mudazzo, sons of his daughter Eleni and Pietro Mudazzo, were killed by the Greek monk Milletus, because they had soon abandoned the revolt and remained loyal to Venice²⁴⁰.

As he was considered loyal, the priest Nikiforos Ialinas was elected *protopapas* of Candia by the Venetian authorities on Crete. His children, although in close relation with the Venetian authorities and Latin society, remained Orthodox, in contrast with Michael Ialinas's Catholic grandchildren who lived in the same period. For the Nikiforos Ialinas branch, the Orthodox monastery of Saint George Mouglinos was a symbolic religious "centre". At the same time two Orthodox churches in Candia, Saint

238. M. O'CONNELL, *Men of Empire. Power and negotiation in Venice's maritime state*, Baltimore 2009, 69. According to the author, the Ialinas family stood out for the number of marriages contracted with Latins immediately after the Kallergis family.

239. We find Nikolaos Ialinas among the wanted rebels in the decree of the Venetian Inquisitors in 1364. See *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive acta et diplomata res venetas, graecas atque Levantis illustrantia*, v. 2, 1351-1454, ed. G. M. THOMAS, Venice 1899, 409. In this document, there is no mention of Nicoletos Ialinas's father's name, but he can be identified with Nikolaos Ialinas, son of Ioannis and great grandson of Nikiforos, because he is the only one Nikolaos Ialinas alive in those years. For the rest of the rebels connected with Ialinas family see MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, 148-149.

240. MCKEE, *Uncommon dominion*, 148.

Mary Manolitissa and especially Saint Mary Ialini, were linked with all the branches of the Ialinas family. In both churches many members of the family, mainly from the Nikiforos branch but also from the Michael branch, bequeathed small or large sums of money during the fourteenth century²⁴¹. The adjective Ialini for Saint Mary suggests the surname Ialinas, but we cannot be sure if the family “adopted” the existing church of Saint Mary Ialini (i.e. Saint Mary of the sea = γιαλός/ialos) because of a similar name or if they gave it their own name. In any case, it seems that the church was actually identified with the family, at least during the second half of the thirteenth century, as it suggests the mention of Saint Mary of the Ialinas (*Sancta Maria de Iallinathe*) in a contract of 1280²⁴². Although there is no clear evidence, the members of all branches seem always to have kept in mind a probable common origin going back to the twelfth century. At the end of the fifteenth century, a member of the Ialinas family, Nikolaos Ialinas, confirmed once again the new profile of a family of Greek origin: As a clergyman, Nikolaos was the representative of the Latin archbishop in Crete (*vicarius archiepiscopi cretensis*). Later on, and until 1502, we find him as bishop of Santorini (*Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Santurinensis et reverendissimi... archiepiscopi cretensis meritissimi vicarius generalis*) and from 1502 to 1514 as bishop of Ierapetra in Crete²⁴³. We are not sure with which of the two main branches of the Ialinas family Nikolaos was linked, but he could have been a member of the Michael Ialinas branch, whose Catholic faith was of long standing and sufficiently documented²⁴⁴.

A common characteristic of both main branches of the Ialinas family was their activity both in agriculture and urban economy of Crete (trade,

241. Donations to Saint Mary Ialini are bequeathed by Ioannis Ialinas son of Nikiforos, Ioannis Ialinas son of Emmanuel, his grandmother Maria widow of Georgios Sachlikis and his daughter Thomasina wife of Nicolo Matono, and Eleni daughter of Michael Ialinas and wife of Pietro Mudazzo. Similarly to Saint Mary Manolitissa by Maria widow of Georgios Sachlikis and Eleni wife of Pietro Mudazzo. See *Wills*, 223, 228, 231, 597, 599.

242. By this contract, they were leased five houses, three of which were located “just outside the courtyard and two near to the church of Saint Mary of the Ialinas inside the walls of Candia”. See *Leonardo Marcelllo*, no. 221.

243. TSIRPANIS, *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*, no. 272, 273, 277, 281-286; FEDALTO, *La Chiesa Latina*, 132, 199.

244. See above p. 73-75.

loans and other investments). At the end of the thirteenth century, members of the Ialinas family owned hereditary land or land leased from the state. As far as the urban economy is concerned, the activity of the Ialinas family is remarkable, especially in the sectors of commerce and loans. This profitable activity offered them the opportunity to maintain close relations with Venetians.

The marriages of the Ialinas family members are also of great interest. Four cases of marriage between the Ialinas family and other Greek families are recorded. These are the Sachlikis, Metachiristis, Gemistos and Modinos families, with some of whom they also associated in their economic activities in Candia. On the other hand, we found many more marriages with members of Venetian families, as Querini, Cocco, Mudazzo, Ghisi, Pantaleo, Abramo, Contarini, Serigo, Sagredo, da Vigonza and Matono. In the fourteenth century, for example, all three daughters of Michael and Maria Ialinas were married to members of Venetian families (Mudazzo, Ghisi, Pantaleo). Some male members of the Ialinas family were also married to female members of Venetian families, like Frankiskos Ialinas, son of Petros, to Marula Sagredo, and Ioannis Ialinas, son of Gabriel, to Marizzoli Abramo in his first marriage and to Rosa Sagredo in his second marriage, and finally Ioannis Ialinas to Anniza Serigo. These are some of rare examples of marriage between Venetian daughters and Greek sons, a consequence of the hybrid identity of the Ialinas family. Finally, it is worth noting the particular position of the Sagredo family among the Ialinas. Three members of Michael Ialinas branch were married to members of Sagredo family during the second half of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century: Ioannis son of Gabriel to Rosa Sagredo, Frankiskos son of Petros to Marula Sagredo and his daughter to Giacomello Sagredo.

What really distinguished the Ialinas family from other Greek families was the participation of some of its members in various levels of the administrative system of Crete during the fourteenth century²⁴⁵. As already noticed, members of the Ialinas family were recorded as scribes and notaries

245. Another local Greek family, the Sachlikis, also produced members of local administrative Councils (see note 223). It is worth remembering the close relations between the Ialinas and Sachlikis families.

in the ducal chancellery of Candia, as well as scribe of a castle²⁴⁶, or as extra officials such as *partitores* or *suprapartitores*. But most important of all was their election to the Council of the Feudatories, the Senate and the Great Council of Crete, because of their Catholic faith. From 1296, when Nikiforos Ialinas was mentioned as *protopapas* in Candia, the Ialinas family was without doubt a Greek family that the Venetian authorities considered to be loyal to Venice and trustworthy. It is not a coincidence that the above-mentioned Stefanos Ialinas in his defence before the court in 1318 declared that the members of Ialinas family in Crete had been considered “as Venetians” (*pro Venetis*) for a long time already, denoting at the same time his non Venetian origin. Their elevated social position in conjunction with their prosperous economic situation helped the Ialinas family to appear among the prominent Greek families of the island, at least during the first two centuries of Venetian dominion in Crete. However, given their social status, participation in the local administrative system and the Catholic rite, one wonders about the identity of at least some members of the Ialinas family. They can without question be considered a characteristic case of a mixed identity, a bridge between the Venetian and the Greek elements, which formed in Crete as early as the thirteenth century and developed even more during the next centuries.

246. In 1344, for example, Titos Ialinas was appointed scribe in the castle of Milopotamos until the arrival of Giovanni Suriano (ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 29, reg. 7, 31r).

3. AN ASSESSMENT

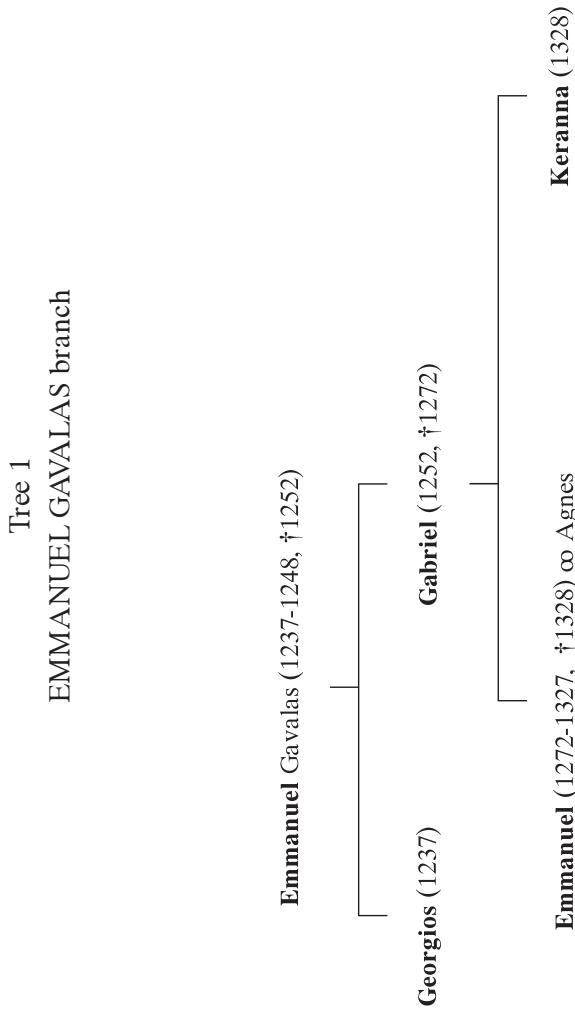
Studying the Ialinas and Gavalas family together, the difference between them becomes obvious, even if the comparison is sometimes precarious, primarily because of we have less information about the Gavalas family. The Gavalas family was a powerful landowning family even before the arrival of the Venetians in Crete. In contrast, the Ialinas family must be classified among the members of a middle, “urban”, stratum of Byzantine Cretan society. During the thirteenth century, the Gavalas family stood against the new Venetian rulers, unlike the Ialinas family, which seems to have been constantly on the side of the Venetians and close to the Catholic hierarchy of the island. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Gavalas family continued the old tradition of the Byzantine landowners, who were interested in keeping their role and prestige among the Greek population of the island, which explains why its members participated enthusiastically in some of the great revolts of the thirteenth century. The Gavalas family was open to the Latin element; however, it remained at the margin of the new economic activities in Venetian Crete. In contrast, the Ialinas family did not have the social prestige of the Gavalas family and did not take part in any revolt in the thirteenth century by which previous land had been recognized or new land had been offered to the participants. The Ialinas family remained always interested in commerce and profitable urban financial activities, but at the same time it became involved systematically with the exploitation of land; it aimed at close relations with Venetian families and with the Venetian authorities; it attained a significant position in the local mixed society of Candia, some of its members were granted the privilege of taking part in the administrative system of Crete and at least two of its members were referred to as *nobilis vir*. The main part of the Gavalas family lived in the western part of the island, far from the central power and the capital city of Candia, which had evolved into a significant Mediterranean port and an important trading centre as early as the thirteenth century. It is exactly during this period, that the Ialinas family gained its social and economic strength.

The Gavalas family did not have as many members living in Candia as the Ialinas family, and certainly the members living in Candia did not have the same social and economic influence as those in the region of Chania. The two families did not cross each other until the second half of the fourteenth century, at least according to the sources available, and this is perhaps a coincidence. As we have already seen, in 1370-1371 Katerinos Ialinas, son of Antonios, subleased the monastery of Saint George Mouglinos to the priest Georgios Gavalas, who later bequeathed his rights to the monastery to his son, Emmanuel²⁴⁷.

In conclusion, we may say that immediately after the arrival of the Venetians in Crete the prominent Byzantine families on the island tried to retain possession of their properties, forge a relationship with the new rulers and explore the new economic and social opportunities. Consequently, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they proceeded either to mixed marriages or to new urban activities, which offered them new possibilities of wealth and social prestige. Some of them were more active than other families in following both strategies; others hesitated at first and adopted that strategy later. In fact, there was no single common strategy followed by all the prominent Greek families. It would be better to talk of the strategies followed by each family, by a branch of a family or even individually by only a member of a family. However, during the thirteenth century we can observe the attempts made by all of them to protect Greek property from coming into Venetian hands. On the other hand, despite the long-standing great revolts of the thirteenth century and the almost permanent disputes between the parties, the coexistence of Greeks and Latins and the integration of elements from both ethnic groups was in fact achieved quite soon. As a result, the new identity of the Cretan, whether Greek or Latin, began to be established as early as the fourteenth century.

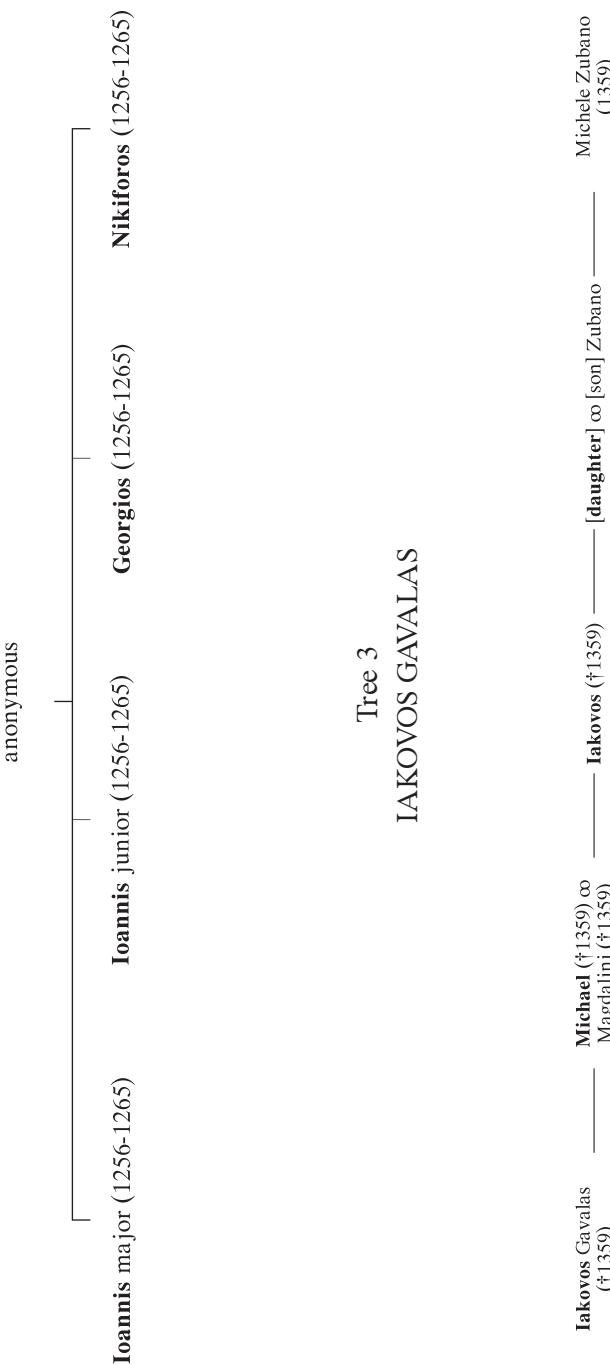
247. Santschi, *Régestes*, 342 no. 1587. See also above p. 63.

4. GENEALOGICAL TREES

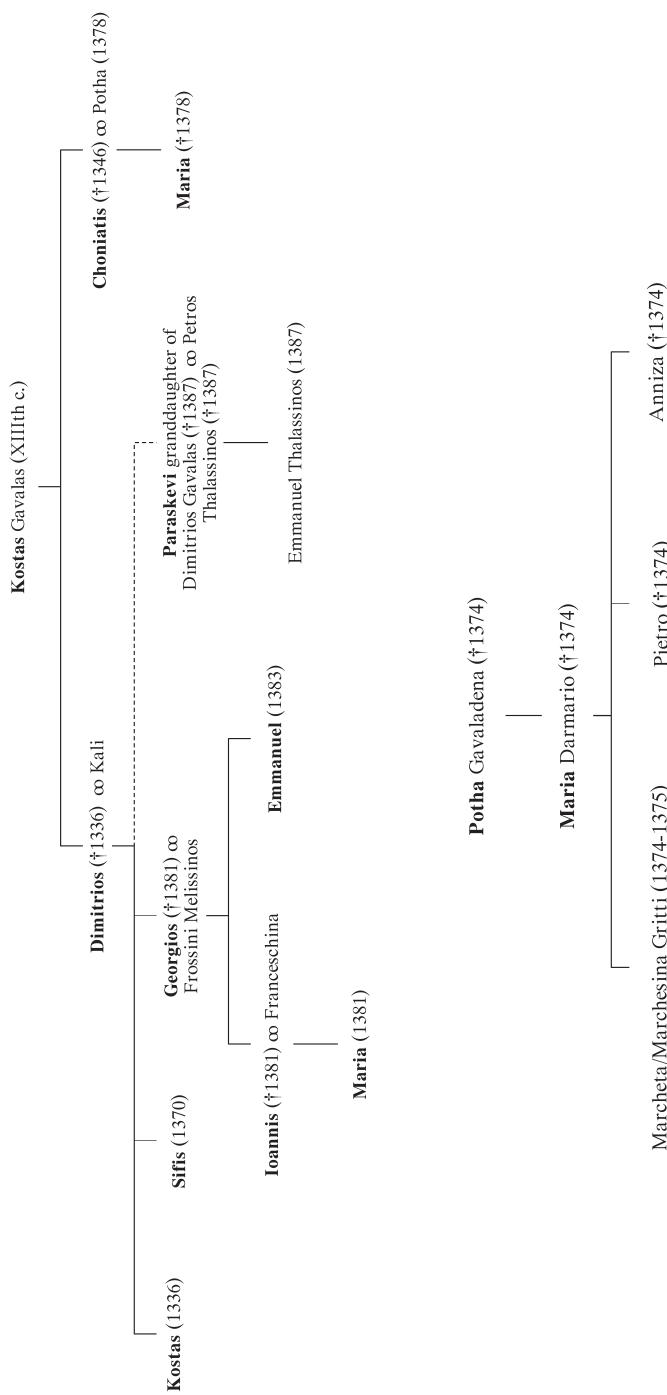


1. In brackets: the year of the first and the last mention of a person still alive, and the year (†) of his first mention as late or of his death. The year of a will is considered as the year of death, although the two events do not always coincide.

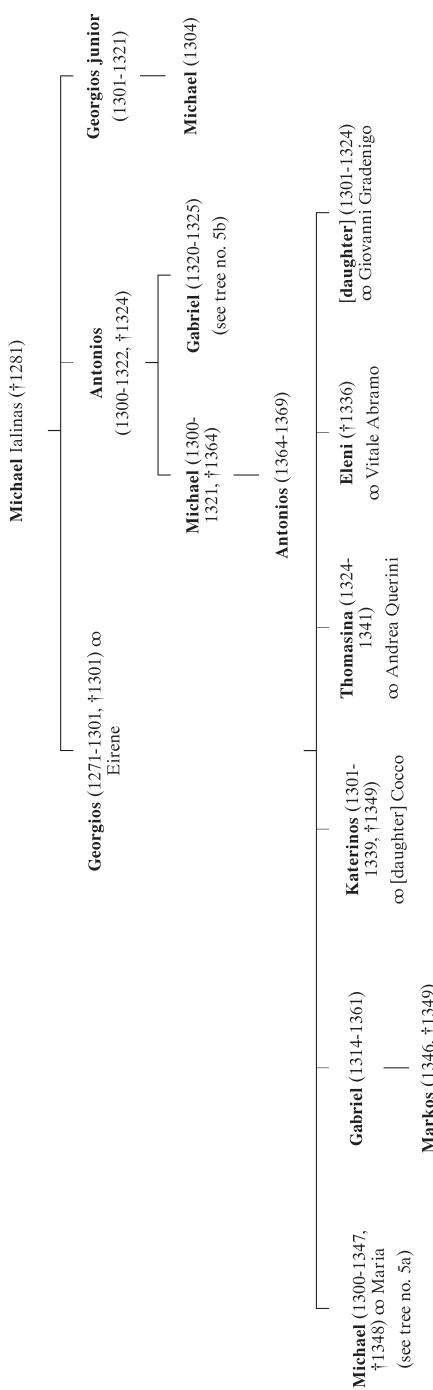
Tree 2
The brothers GAVALAS branch



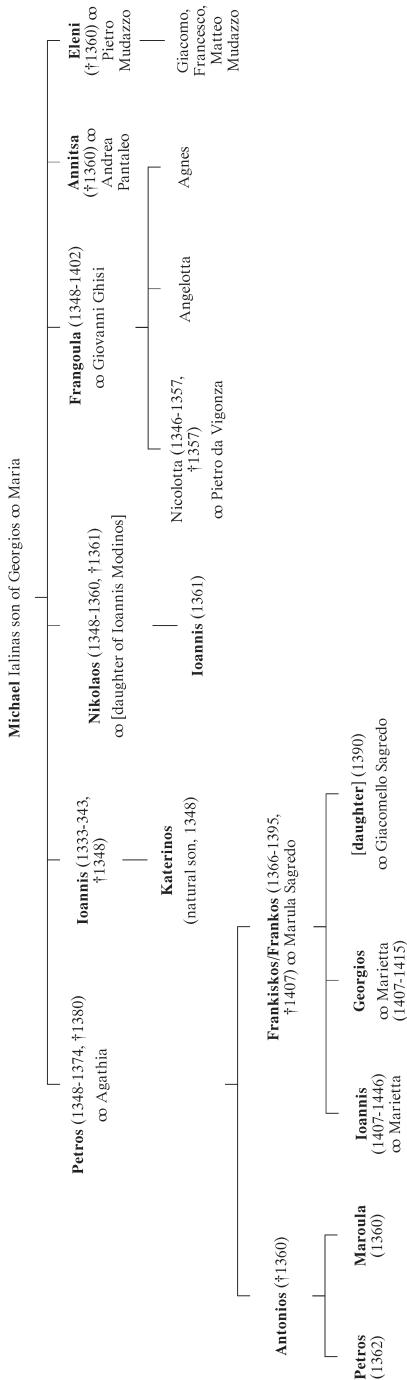
Tree 4
KOSTAS GAVALAS branch



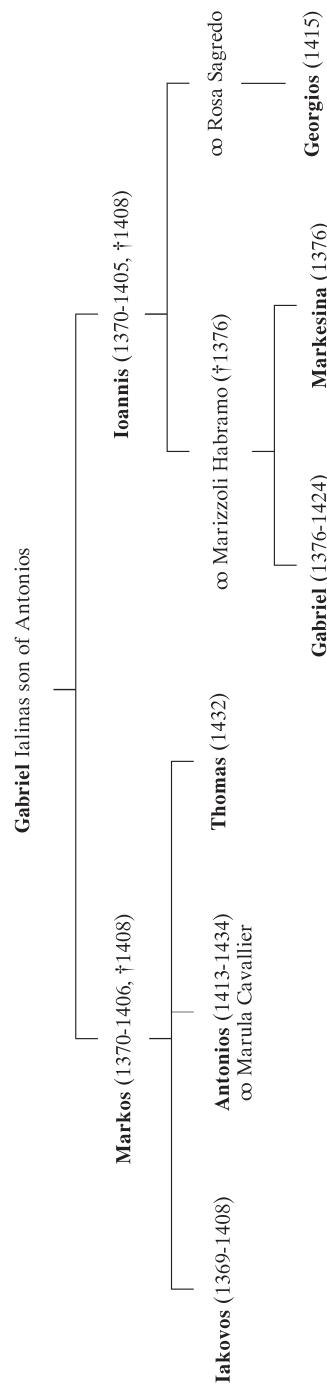
Tree 5
MICHAEL IALINAS branch



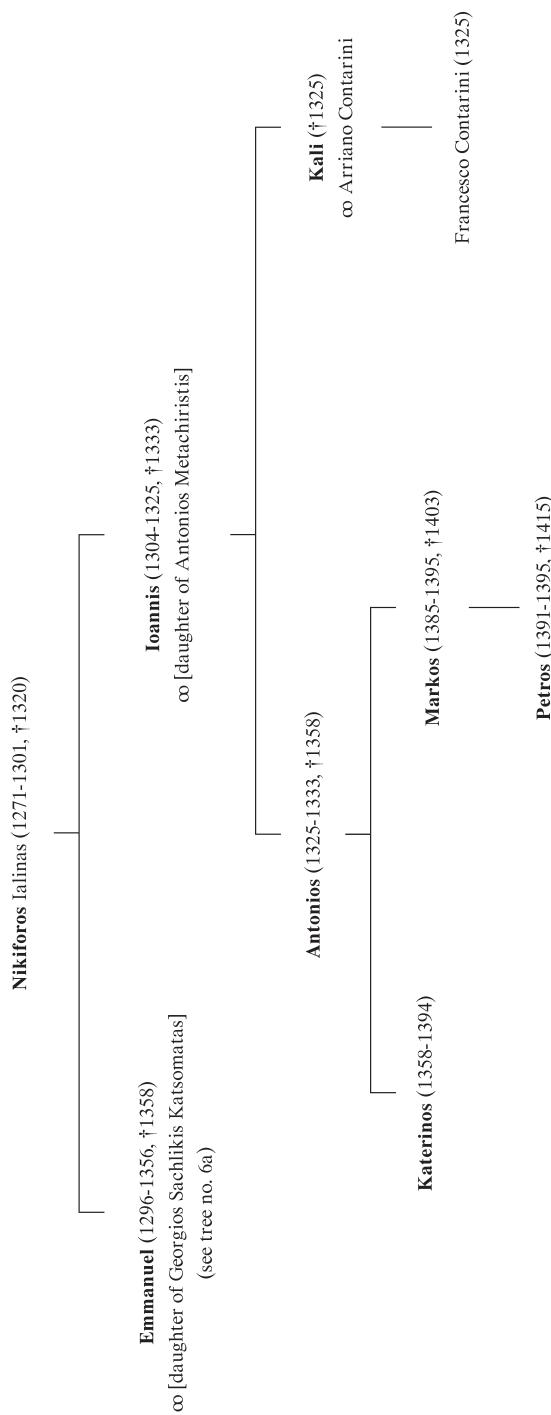
Tree 5a
MICHAEL IALINAS branch



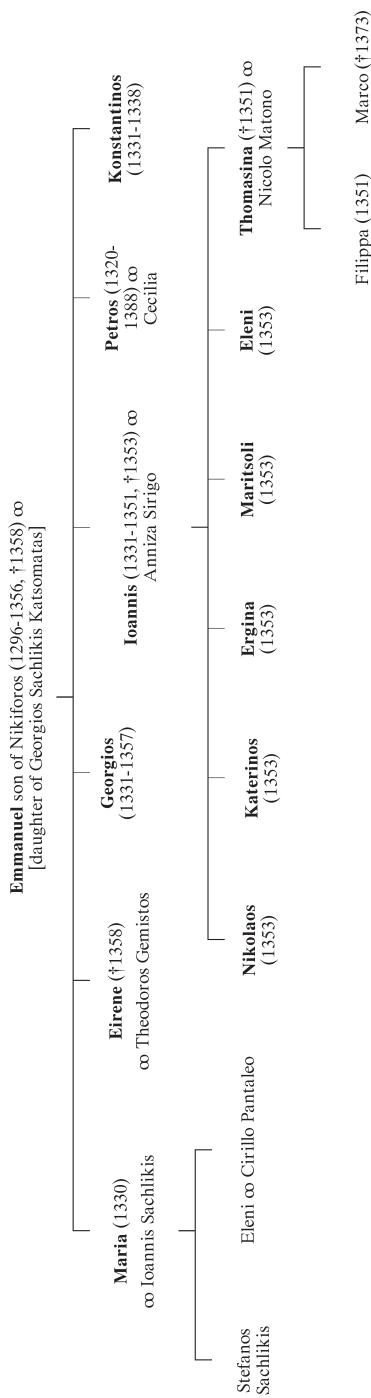
Tree 5b
MICHAEL IALINAS branch



Tree 6
papas NIKIFOROS IALINAS branch



Tree 6a
papas NIKIFOROS IALINAS branch



5. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

The Gavalas family

(s. = son, d. = daughter, grands. = grandson, grandd. = granddaughter)

GENERATIONS					FLORUIT	QUONDAM
Emmanuel					1237-1248	1252
Georgios s. of Emmanuel					1237	
Gabriel s. of Emmanuel					1252	1272
Emmanuel s. of Gabriel					1272-1327	1328
Anonymous					13th c.	
Ioannis major s. of anonymous	Leos s. of Ioannis major				1256-1265	
Ioannis junior s. of anonymous					1256-1265	
Georgios s. of anonymous					1256-1265	
Nikiforos s. of anonymous					1256-1265	
Kostas					13th c.	
Dimitrios s. of Kostas	Dimitrios					1336
	Kostas s. of Dimitrios				1336	
	Sifis s. of Dimitrios				1370	
	Georgios s. of Dimitrios					1381
	Ioannis s. of Georgios					1381
	Maria d. of Ioannis					
	Manolis s. of Georgios				1383	

		Choniatis s. of Kostas	Maria d. of Choniatis				1346
							1378
			Paraskevi Thalassinos grandd. of Dimitrios	Emmanuel s. of Paraskevi	1387		1387
		Potha Gavaladena					1374
			Maria				1374
			Darmario d. of Potha	Marchesina Gritti d. of Maria	1374-1375		
				Pietro			1374
				Darmario s. of Maria			
				Anniza			1374
				Darmario d. of Maria			
		Iakovos					1359
			Michael s. of Iakovos				1359
				Iakovos s. of Michael			1359
					Michele Zubano grands. of Michael	1359	

The Ialinas family

(s. = son, d. = daughter, grands. = grandson, grandd. = granddaughter)

GENERATIONS		FLORUIT	QUONDAM
Michael			1281
Georgios s. of Michael		1271-1301	1301
Michael s. of Georgios		1300-1347	1348
Petros s. of Michael		1348-1374	1380
Antonios s. of Petros		1360	
Petros s. of Antonios		1362	
Maroula d. of Antonios		1360	
Frankiskos s. of Petros		1366-1395	1407
Ioannis s. of Michael	Ioannis s. of Frankiskos	1407-1446	
	Georgios s. of Frankiskos	1407-1415	
	[daughter] of Frankiskos	1390	
Ioannis s. of Michael		1333-1343	1348
	Katerinos s. of Ioannis	1348	
Nikolaos s. of Michael		1348-1360	1361
	Ioannis s. of Nikolaos	1361	
Frangoula Ghisi d. of Michael		1348-1402	
	Nicolotta d. of Frangoula	1346-1357	1357
	Angelotta d. of Frangoula		1357
	Agnes d. of Frangoula		1357
Annitsa d. of Michael			1360

		Eleni Mudazzo d. of Michael	Giacomo Mudazzo s. of Eleni	1360	
		Francesco Mudazzo s. of Eleni		1360	
		Matteo Mudazzo s. of Eleni		1360	
		Gabriel s. of Georgios			1314-1361
		Katerinos s. of Georgios	Markos s. of Gabriel		1346
					1349
		Thomasina d. of Georgios			1324-1341
		Eleni d. of Georgios			1336
		[daughter] of Georgios			1301-1324
	Antonios s. of Michael				1300-1322
		Michael s. of Antonios	Antonios s. of Michael		
					1364-1369
		Gabriel s. of Antonios			1320-1325
		Markos s. of Gabriel			
			Iakovos s. of Markos		1369-1408
			Antonios s. of Markos		1413-1434
		Ioannis s. of Gabriel	Thomas s. of Markos		1432
			Iakovos s. of Markos		
			Gabriel s. of Ioannis		1376-1424
		Markesina d. of Ioannis			1376
			Georgios s. of Ioannis		1415

	Georgios junior s. of Michael				1301-1321	
	Michael s. of Georgios junior				1304	
Nikiforos					1271-1301	1320
	Emmanuel s. of Nikiforos				1296-1356	1358
	Georgios s. of Emmanuel				1331-1357	
	Ioannis s. of Emmanuel				1331-1351	1353
	Nikolaos s. of Ioannis				1353-1364	
	Katerinos s. of Ioannis				1353	
	Ergina d. of Ioannis				1353	
	Maritsoli d. of Ioannis				1353	
	Eleni d. of Ioannis				1353-1376	
	Thomasina Matono d. of Ioannis					1351
	Filippa Matono d. of Thomasina				1351	
	Marco Matono s. of Thomasina					1373
	Petros s. of Emmanuel				1320-1388	
	Konstantin os s. of Emmanuel				1331-1338	
	Maria Sachlikis d. of Emmanuel				1330	
	Stefanos Sachlikis s. of Maria				c. 1331	c. 1391
	Eleni Sachlikis d. of Maria					1348
	Eirene d. of Emmanuel					1358

	Ioannis s. of Nikiforos				1304-1325	1333
	Antonios s. of Ioannis				1325-1333	1358
	Katerinos s. of Antonios				1358-1394	
	Markos s. of Antonios	Petros s. of Markos			1385-1395	1403
	Kali Contarini d. of Ioannis	Francesco Contarini s. of Kali			1391-1395	1415
						1325
	Nikitas					1236
	Ioannis s. of Nikitas				1320-1339	
	[son or sons] of Nikitas				1320	

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The Gavalas family

	NAME ¹	FLORUIT	QUONDAM	SOURCE
1.	<i>Hemanuel/Manuel</i>	1237-1248	1252	Dorsoduro, no. 909; Tsirpanlis, no. 103, 105.IX
1.2.	<i>Georgius/Iorci f. Manuelis</i>	1237		Dorsoduro, no. 909
1.3.	<i>Gabriel f. Manuelis</i>	1252	1272	Dorsoduro, no. 909, 911
	<i>Hemanuel/Manuel f. Gabrielis</i>	1272-1327	1328	Bono, no. 106, 181, 631, 632; Wills, 315-317; Pizolo, no. 653; Dorsoduro, no. 909, 912, 913, 914; Notai di Candia, b. 142, Benedetto da Milano, 11v, 50r, 63r
	<i>Kerana f. Gabrielis</i>	1328		Wills, 316
2.	Anonymous			
2.1.	<i>Ioannis maior [f. anonymi]</i>	1256-1265		Bandia, 115, 124
	<i>Leo f. Iohannis [maioris]</i>	1301		Brixano, no. 436
2.2.	<i>Ioannis minor [f. anonymi]</i>	1256-1265		Bandia, 115, 124
2.3.	<i>Georgius/Zorzi [f. anonymi]</i>	1256-1265		Bandia, 115, 124
2.4.	<i>Nichiforo [f. anonymi]</i>	1256-1265		Bandia, 115
3.	Costa	13th c.		Chanea, no. 299
3.1.	<i>Dimitrius f. Coste</i>		1336	Chanea, no. 143, 197, 299, 350
3.1.1.	<i>Costa f. Dimitrii</i>	1336		Chanea, no. 143
3.1.2.	<i>Sifi f Dimitrii</i>	1370		Chanea, no. 299
3.1.3.	<i>Georgius f. Dimitrii</i>		1381	Chanea, no. 350, 383
3.1.3.1.	<i>Iohannes f. Georgii</i>		1381	Chanea, no. 350
3.1.3.2.	<i>Maria f. Iohannis</i>	1381		Chanea, no. 350
	<i>Manoli f. Georgii</i>	1383		Chanea, no. 350, 383
3.1.4.	<i>Paraschevi Thalasino [neptis Dimitrii]</i>		1387	Chanea, no. 406

	<i>Hemanuel Thalasino f.</i> <i>Paraschevi</i>	1387		Chanea, no. 406
3.2.	<i>Cognatus/Choniati f.</i> <i>Coste</i>		1346	Chanea, no. 197, 331
	<i>Maria f. Cognati</i>		1378	Chanea, no. 331
4.	<i>Iacobus</i>		1359	Chanea, no. 263
4.1.	<i>Michael f. Iacobi</i>		1359	Chanea, no. 263
4.1.1.	<i>Iacobus f. Michaelis</i>		1359	Chanea, no. 263
	<i>Michael Zubano [nepos</i> <i>Michaelis]</i>	1359		Chanea, no. 263
5.	<i>Potha Gavaladena</i>		1374	Chanea, no. 314, 319
5.1.	<i>Maria Darmaro f. Pothe</i>		1374	Chanea, no. 314
	<i>Marchesina Griti f.</i> <i>Marie</i>	1374-1375		Chanea, no. 314, 319
	<i>Petrus Darmaro f. Marie</i>		1374	Chanea, no. 314
	<i>Anniza Darmaro f.</i> <i>Marie</i>		1374	Chanea, no. 314

1. In Latin, as it appears in the documents. Abbreviation: f. = *filius* or *filia*.

The Ialinas family

	NAME	FLORUIT	QUONDAM	SOURCE
A.	<i>Michael/Michali</i>		1281	Marcello, no. 485; Bono, no. 269, 497; Pizolo, no. 30, 85, 293, 316, 322, 345, 363, 398, 403, 417, 551, 610, 709, 1021; Notai di Candia, b. 115, Crescenzo Alessandrino, 38v, 44r, 57r, 63v.
A.a.	<i>Georgius f.</i> <i>Michaelis</i>	1271-1301	1301	Scardon, no. 98, 260, 400, 446; Marcello, no. 180, 255, 485, 506, et passim; Brixano, no. 473; Pizolo, no. 30, 85, 167, 293, 316, 320, 322, 345, 363, 398, 403, 417, 551, 610, 709; Tsirpanlis, 218, 219; Dorsoduro, no. 896, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905; Wills, 224; Notai di Candia, b. 115, Crescenzo Alessandrino, 38v, 44r, 57r, 63v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 1, 39r.
A.a.1.	<i>Michael f. Georgii</i>	1300-1347	1348	Wills, 67, 223; Θεσπίσματα, 61 no. 6; Brixano, no. 163, 478, 480; Pizolo, no. 551, 791 et passim; Fontanella, no. 45, 66; Cruce, no. 208, 209; Quaternus Consiliorum I, no. 17, 64, 67, 87, 163; Santschi, no. S245, M49; Gasparis, 386-387; Notai di Candia, b. 244, Giovanni Similiante, 98v; b. 244, Giovanni Granella, 145r, 146r-v, 147v, 148r, 149r-v, 150r, 151r, 154r, 155v, 156v; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. IV, 103v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 5, 47r; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 14, 25v (= Santschi, no. M49).

A.a.1.1.	<i>Petrus f Michaelis</i>	1348-1374	1380	Wills, 69, 223; Grimani, no. 109; Santschi, no. S245, M1206, M1207; Quaternus Consiliorum II, 55, 225, 229, 273, 277, 329, 378, 433, 478; Gasparis, 320, 386-387; Notai di Candia, b. 10, A. Bocontolo, 91r, 105r; b. 13, Egidio Valoso, 194v; b. 11, Antonio Bresciano, 103r; Duca di Candia, b. 20, q. II, 542r, 544r; b. 19, q. VI, 119v, 120r-v; Tsougarakis - Angelomati, 194.
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	<i>Petrus f. Antonii</i>	1362		Wills, 823.
	<i>Marula f. Antonii</i>	1360		Wills, 223.
A.a.1.1.2.	<i>Franciscus/</i> <i>Francus f. Petri</i>	1366-1395	1407	Santschi, no. M667, M1206, M1207; Gasparis, 320; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. II, 54v; b. 19, q. VI, 119v, 120r-v; Duca di Candia, b. 20, q. II, 542r, 544r; Manousakas - Van Gemert, 163.
	<i>Iohannes/</i> <i>Zanachius f.</i> <i>Francisci</i>	1407-1446		Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. II, 54v; b. 19, q. VI, 120v; Manousakas-Van Gemert, 163.
	<i>Georgius f.</i> <i>Francisci</i>	1407-1415		Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. VI, 120v.
	<i>[filia] Francisci</i>	1390		Duca di Candia, b. 20, q. II, 544r.
A.a.1.2.	<i>Iohannes/</i> <i>Zanachius/</i> <i>Zanachi f.</i> <i>Michaelis</i>	1333-1343	1348	Wills, 67-70, 223; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. IV, 103v; Duca di Candia, b. 10, q. 3, 9v.
	<i>Caterinus/</i> <i>Katerinus f.</i> <i>naturalis Iohannis</i>	1348		Wills, 68.
A.a.1.3.	<i>Nicolaus f.</i> <i>Michaelis</i>	1348-1360	1361	Wills, 68, 69, 223, 797.

	<i>Iohannes f. Nicolai</i>	1361		Wills, 797-798.
A.a.1.4.	<i>Frangula Gisi f. Michaelis</i>	1348-1402		Wills, 68, 223, 397; Santschi, no. M1207.
	<i>Nicolotta Gisi f. Frangule</i>	1346-1357	1357	Dorsoduro, no. 282-284, 286, 288, 567; Wills, 209-210; McKee 150.
	<i>soror Angelotta Gisi f. Frangule</i>		1357	Wills, 210.
	<i>soror Agnes Gisi f. Frangule</i>		1357	Wills, 210.
A.a.1.5.	<i>Anniza f. Michaelis</i>		1360	Wills, 223, 224; Santschi, no. M1451.
A.a.1.6.	<i>Helena Mudacio f. Michaelis</i>		1360	Wills, 223-225.
	<i>Iacobus Mudacio f. Helene</i>	1360		Wills, 223-225.
	<i>Franciscus Mudacio f. Helene</i>	1360		Wills, 223-225.
	<i>Matheus Mudacio f. Helene</i>	1360		Wills, 223-225.
A.a.2.	<i>Gabriel/Gavrili f. Georgii</i>	1314-1361		Θεοπίσματα, 61 no. 6; Quaternus Consiliorum I, 8, 144, 219, 246; Quaternus Consiliorum II, 37, 55, 56, 72, 93, 123, 136, 173, 199, 202, 225, 273, 229, 260, 277 280, 328, 378, 381; Dorsoduro, 1128. [Grimani, 109; Duca di Candia, b. 10, q. 3, 2r, 47v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 5, 49v; Notai di Candia, b. 10, notaio Angelo Bocontolo, 26r-v.] ¹
	<i>Marcus f. Gabrielis</i>	1346	1349	Quaternus Consiliorum I, no. 87, 110, 127, 219.

1. These references may concern also Gabriel Ialinas son of Antonios.

A.a.3.	<i>Caterinus/ Katerinus f. Georgii</i>	1301-1339	1349	Quaternus Consiliorum I, no. 8, 17, 33, 111, 142, 219; Tsirpanlis, no. 121.IV, 218, 219; Θεσπίσματα, 61 no. 6; Brixano, no. 473; Pizolo, no. 810, 1035, 1066, 1205; Cartura, no. 53, 82, 131; Cruce, no. 185; Bandi, no. 336; Dorsoduro, no. 901, 904, 905; Notai di Candia, b. 244, Giovanni Similiante, 98v; b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 50v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 1, 6v; reg. 2, 16v, 18v-19v; reg. 6, 5r.
A.a.4.	<i>Thomasina f. Georgii</i>	1324-1341		Dorsoduro, no. 335; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 2, 18v-19v.
A.a.5.	<i>Helena f. Georgii</i>		1336	Dorsoduro, no. 405, 453, 454.
A.a.6.	<i>[filia] Georgii</i>	1301-1324		Brixano, no. 473; Duca di Candia, b. 29, q. 2, 18v-19v.
A.b.	<i>Antonius f. Michaelis</i>	1300-1322	1324	Bono, no. 154, 158, 206, 326; Brixano, no. 177; Pizolo, no. 551, 555, 730, 797, 946, 818; Cartura, no. 17, 109-110, 115, 189, 232, 268, 354, 458, 461; Fontanella, no. 35, 40; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 14v, 15r, 18v, 20r, 32v, 34v, 35v, 46r, 47r, 57v, 58r, 62v, 63r, 65v, 67v, 69v, 73r, 76v, 77v, 142v; Wills, 600.
A.b.1.	<i>Michael f. Antonii</i>	1300-1321	1364	Santschi, no. M49; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 26r, 32v, 61r, 69v, 73r-v.
	<i>Antonius f. Michaelis</i>	1364-1369		Manousakas - Van Gemert, 135; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 14, 25v (= Santschi, no. M49).

A.b.2.	<i>Gabriel f. Antonii</i>	1320-1325	1370	Santschi S245, M787, M1145; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 32v, 142v. Duca Di Candia, b. 19, q. IX, 164r;
A.b.2.1.	<i>Marcus f. Gabrielis</i>	1370-1406	1408	Dorsoduro, no. 433; Wills, 963; Santschi, no. M787, M1272; Assemblées, 1065; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. II, 37r (167).
	<i>Iacobus f. Marci</i>	1369-1408		Dorsoduro, no. 433; Wills, 694.
	<i>Antonius f. Marci</i>	1413-1434		Dorsoduro, no. 1084; Duca di Candia, b. 20, q. II, 16v; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. II, 37r (167); Dono, no. 58.
	<i>Thomas f. Marci</i>	1432		Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. II, 37r (167).
A.b.2.2.	<i>Iohannes/Iana f. Gabrielis</i>	1370-1405	1408	Wills, 957, 963; Dorsoduro, no. 432, 433, 434; Santschi, no. S245, M787, M1145; Duca Di Candia, b. 19, q. IX, 164r; q. IX, 164r-v.
	<i>Gabriel f. Iohannis</i>	1376-1424		Assemblées, no. 1154; Wills, 958; Dorsoduro, no. 432, 433, 434; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. IX, 164v.
	<i>Marchesina f. Iohannis</i>	1376		Wills, 958.
	<i>Georgius f. Iohannis</i>	1415		Gasparis, 320.
A.c.	<i>Georgius minor f. Michaelis</i>	1301-1321		Bono, no. 9, 134, 269, 297, 306, 312, 443, 497; Pizolo, no. 1021, 1071; Brixano, no. 111; Cartura, no. 255; Tsirpanlis, 88.I, 121.II; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 3r, 7v, 42r.
	<i>Michael f. Georgii [minoris]</i>	1304		Pizolo, no. 996.

B.	<i>Nichiforus/</i> <i>Nichiforo/</i> <i>Nikiforus</i>	1271-1301	1320	Wills, 599; Santschi, no. M1459, M1587; Brixano, no. 119; Tsirpanlis, no. 126.II, 126.IIIa-b, 200; Scardon, no. 428, 444; Pizolo, no. 708; Duca di Candia, b. 20, q. II, 321v; Notai di Candia, b. 115, Crescenzio Alessandrino, 29r-v, 55v.
B.a.	<i>Hemanuel f.</i> <i>Nichifori</i>	1296-1356	1358	Wills, 207, 253, 412, 521, 538, 597, 599, 633; Santschi, no. S106, S283, M1210, M1459, M1587; Cruce, no. 140, 270-271; Venezia-Senato, no. 3.526; Brixano, no. 119; Tsirpanlis, no. 32, 36, 87, 121.III, 126.I-III; Cartura, no. 565, 569; Bono, no. 372-374; Grimani, no. 67, 109; Duca di Candia, b. 14, 77v; Duca di Candia, b. 10, q. 1, 2r; q. 3, 43v, 47v; Duca di Candia, b. 19, q. VI, 119r; q. II, 19v; Duca di Candia, b. 26, q. 7, 11r-v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 1, 16r, 33v; reg. 5, 16v-19v; q. 8c, 32r; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 31v.
B.a.1.	<i>Georgius f.</i> <i>Hemanuelis</i>	1331-1357		Cruce, no. 140, 281; Fredo, no. 2 et passim; Wills, 597; Tsirpanlis, no. 88.I, 121.II; Duca di Candia, b. 10, q. 3, 43v, 47v.
B.a.2.	<i>Iohannes f.</i> <i>Hemanuelis</i>	1331-1351	1353	Wills, 228-229, 231, 597.
	<i>Nicolaus/</i> <i>Nicolettus f.</i> <i>Iohannis</i>	1353-1364		Wills, 228-229; Diplomatarium, 409; Duca di Candia, b. 14bis/15, 45v.
	<i>Caterinus/</i> <i>Katerinus f.</i> <i>Iohannis</i>	1353		Wills, 228-229.
	<i>Ergina f. Iohannis</i>	1353		Wills, 228-229.

	<i>Marizoli f. Iohannis</i>	1353		Wills, 228-229.
	<i>Helena f. Iohannis</i>	1353-1376		Wills, 228-229, 869; Santschi, no. S37, S48, S53.
	<i>Thomasina Matono f. Iohannis</i>		1351	Wills, 228-229, 231-232.
	<i>Philippa Matono f. Thomasine</i>	1351		Wills, 231-232.
	<i>Marcus Matono f. Thomasine</i>		1373	Santschi, no. S283
B.a.3.	<i>Petrus f. Hemanuelis</i>	1320-1388		Wills, 207, 253, 597; Cruce, no. 281, 428; Wills, 597; Santschi, no. S106, S283, M1210; Grimani, no. 67, 109; Tsirpanlis, no. 121.I; Cattapan, no. 27; Notai di Candia, b. 10, Angelo Bocontolo, 36r, 105r; Duca di Candia, b. 10, q. 3, 43v, 46v, 47v.
B.a.4.	<i>Constantinus f. Hemanuelis</i>	1331-1338		Wills, 597; Cruce, no. 55.
B.a.5.	<i>Maria Saclichi f. Hemanuelis</i>	1330		Wills, 597.
	<i>Stephanus Saclichi f. Marie</i>	1331	1391	Van Gemert
	<i>Helena Saclichi f. Marie</i>		1348	Van Gemert
B.a.6.	<i>Herini f. Hemanuelis</i>		1358	Wills, 207-208.
B.b.	<i>Iohannes f. Nichifori</i>	1304-1325	1333	Wills, 529, 599-600; Tsirpanlis, no. 58, 121.I, 126.I; Notai di Candia, b. 9, Andrea de Bellamor, 31v; Duca di Candia, b. 29, reg. 5, 16v-19v.
B.b.1.	<i>Antonius f. Iohannis</i>	1325-1333	1358	Wills, 207, 529, 599; Tsirpanlis, no. 127; Santschi, no. M1587, M1590.
	<i>Caterinus/ Katerinus f. Antonii</i>	1358-1394		Tsirpanlis, no. 127; Wills, 207-208; Santschi, no. M1587.

	<i>Marcus f. Antonii</i>	1385-1395	1403	Santschi, no. M1590, M1707, M1735; Duca di Candia, b. 11, q. 11/2, 57r; Notai di Candia, b. 273, Nicolo Tonisto, 2v, 8v.
	<i>Petrus f. Marci</i>	1391-1395	1415	Santschi, no. M1707; Duca di Candia, b. 11, q. 11/2, 57r; q. 13, 2r, 3r.
B.b.2.	<i>Cali Contareno f. Iohannis</i>		1325	Wills, 528-529.
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C.	<i>Nichita</i>	1236	1257	Tafel-Thomas, 335; Cruce, no. 202; Tsirpanlis, no. 119-120.
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