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OBJECTS AND THEIR STORIES
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE: ANEZINA'S TANGIBLE
AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE (1647)*

TATIANA MARKAKI**

Abstract

This article seeks to illuminate the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of women who lived in the Venetian colonies of the eastern Mediterranean in the first half of the 17th century, based on probate inventories detailing the material world in which they lived. The objective of this article is to unveil aspects of women's history through the objects they used in their daily lives, with a specific focus on the case of Anezina, a cittadina (i.e., a woman belonging to the middling social stratum) in the Venetian city of Candia (modern Heraklion) in Crete. The diplomatic edition of her probate inventory, drawn up by a notary in 1647 and preserved in the State Archives of Venice, provides a unique insight into Anezina's life story by presenting and contextualizing 535 objects recorded in her household: clothing items, bed linen, table utensils, secular and religious paintings, furniture, decorative interior elements, and goods related to professional activities.

These objects are brought to light as a cultural unit for the first time, clarifying how they functioned as active agents by revealing social interactions, shared cultures and distinctive identities. Consequently, the article delves into hidden aspects of early modern European material culture and aims to de-marginalize women's daily life in urban spaces of the eastern Mediterranean, offering a "different" narrative of the particular spacetime.

* Special thanks are owed to Arnold van Gemert, professor emeritus Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) for his invaluable assistance in the diplomatic edition of the text.

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Keywords: Women's history; Venetian Crete; material culture; probate inventories; diplomatic edition; tangible cultural heritage; intangible cultural heritage

INTRODUCTION

OVER the past fifty years, material culture historians have regularly examined probate inventories, whether in Venetian Crete or in other regions of the Greek world and Europe, using various approaches¹. However, diplomatic editions of Cretan inventories are scarce and not systematic. The scarcity partially stems from the limited availability of this type of document in the 16th and 17th centuries, as evidenced by the fact that large published archives of notaries such as I. Olokalos, Y. Cazzara, M. Maras, M. Gradenigo, Z. Longo, and J. Dono contain a vast number of acts but not a single probate inventory². The lack of systematic presentation stems from the fact that the published inventories represent only a small fraction of larger notarial archives. These archives are meticulously published, but they pri-

¹ See relevant bibliography in T. MARKAKI, Κρητικός Πόλεμος, γυναίκες και καθημερινός βίος: οι καταγραφές κινητών στο Χάνδακα (1646-1655), in: G. MAVROMATIS *et al.* (eds.), *Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669). Άγνωστες πτυχές*, Heraklion 2021, pp. 204-205, notes 2-4.

² See G. MAVROMATIS (ed.), *Ιωάννης Ολόκαλος, νοτάριος Ιεράπετρας. Κατάστιχο (1496-1543)*, Venice 1994; K. ILIAKIS (ed.), *Παπα-Ιωάννης Κατζαράς, νοτάριος Καστελίου Φουρνής. Κατάστιχο 43 [1608-1635]*, Heraklion 2008; M. G. DRAKAKIS / T. MARMARELI (eds.), *Μιχαήλ Μαράς. Νοτάριος Χάνδακα. Κατάστιχο 149. Τόμος Γ' [1/7-28/9 1549]*, Heraklion 2006; M. G. DRAKAKIS / T. MARMARELI (eds.), *Μιχαήλ Μαράς. Νοτάριος Χάνδακα. Κατάστιχο 149. Τόμος Δ' [1/10-31/12 1549]*, Heraklion 2009; K. LAMBRINOS (ed.), *Michiel Gradenigo. Νοτάριος στη Δουκική Γραμματεία του Χάνδακα. Libro 1593-1617*, Athens 2010; A. F. VAN GEMERT (ed.), *Zuane Longo, Publicus Notarius Candide et Rethimi. Κατάστιχο 131 (1479-1511/12). Ρέθυμνο 1487. Χάνδακας 1479-1511/12, τ. Α'*, Heraklion 2017; E. PAPAĐAKI (ed.), *Johannes Dono. Νοτάριος Χάνδακα 1416-1422*, Heraklion 2018. On the scarcity of inventories and a relevant bibliography see MARKAKI, Κρητικός Πόλεμος, pp. 204-205.

marily focus on other types of documents³. An exception to this rule is Detorakis's diplomatic edition of the probate inventory of *cittadino* Stefanos Yizis⁴. When Detorakis published this lengthy notarial document drawn up in Greek in 1568 in Venetian Candia, he could not have known the impact of this publication. It was the first time that such a comprehensive inventory of Venetian Crete was integrally published, accompanied by a systematic commentary, demonstrating the historical and linguistic significance of such editions.

The present edition builds upon Detorakis's commendable effort of 1990 and complements an earlier presentation of this document⁵. It follows the diplomatic method according to the guidelines formulated in 1952 and implemented until today in the publication of notarial texts⁶. By publishing the first probate inventory related to a *cittadina* of Candia, *i.e.* a woman from the middling social stratum of the city⁷, the research focus shifts to women's material world. This

³ See, indicatively, four inventories in the Amari countryside (in the vicinity of Rethymnon) in W. BAKKER / A. VAN GEMERT (eds.), *Μανόλης Βαρούχας. Νοταριακές πράξεις. Μοναστηράκι Αμαρίου (1597-1613)*, Rethymno 1987, pp. 383-384, 437-438, 476-477, 726-727; one inventory in Candia (1558) in A. ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ed.), *Πέτρος Καστροφύλακας, Νοτάριος Χάνδακα. Πράξεις 1558-1559*, Heraklion -Athens 2015, pp. 205-210; eleven inventories drawn up in Candia in 1523 in S. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ / S. ΛΑΜΒΑΚΙΣ (eds.), *Μανουήλ Γρηγορόπουλος. Νοτάριος Χάνδακα (1506-1532). Διαθήκες, Απογραφές – Εκτιμήσεις*, Heraklion 2003, pp. 281-296 & 302-304; only one inventory in M. G. ΔΡΑΚΑΚΙΣ (ed.), *Μιχαήλ Μαράς. Νοτάριος Χάνδακα. Κατάστιχο 149. Τόμος Α' [16/1-30/3 1549]*, Heraklion 2004, pp. 335-336. See also three more cases concerning registration of movables in monasteries and registration of tools in the workplace of a craftsman in ΜΑΡΚΑΚΙ, *Κρητικός Πόλεμος*, p. 204, note 3.

⁴ T. DETORAKIS, *Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου στον Χάνδακα (1568)*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 30 (1990), 77-102.

⁵ A short comparative presentation and interpretation of the document is offered in ΜΑΡΚΑΚΙ, *Κρητικός Πόλεμος*, pp. 203-214.

⁶ See I. CHATZAKIS, *Ο Κώδικας ΓΑΚ 85 του πούμπλικου νοταρίου Ιωάννη Μηνιάτη (1668-1676). Δικαιοπρακτικά έγγραφα της Οθωμανικής περιόδου*, τ. Α, Athens 2021, p. 119, note 306.

⁷ On *cittadini* in Venetian Crete see K. E. LAMBRINOS, *Οι cittadini στη βενετική Κρήτη. Κοινωνικο-πολιτική και γραφειοκρατική εξέλιξη (15^{ος}-17^{ος})*

edition reveals not only domestic routines, household organization, and women's professional activities but also their desires, priorities, and experiences⁸. Additionally, it can serve as a valuable resource for scholars interested in the history of early modern Mediterranean societies, shedding light on the lived experiences of women belonging to the middling social groups. Simultaneously, it facilitates the identification of daily life objects that have either not been physically preserved or remain unidentified. Providing the original Greek technical terms in italics in footnotes, alongside their English translations in the main text, enhances the clarity and precision of the presentation. By including these footnotes, the presentation acknowledges the importance of linguistic accuracy and cultural specificity in conveying the nuances of material culture.

The Greek text's language is intriguing not only because it contains numerous technical terms related to artifacts, but also because it showcases a multilingual blend of informal everyday Cretan and Venetian dialects, somewhat archaic notarial linguistic styles, and formal Latin and Greek language⁹. Throughout the text, elements of the Central- and East-Cretan dialect from the 17th century are evident, such as the use of "τσι" with its three functions¹⁰. The notary uses a simple phonetic orthography without accents, and his vocabulary is heavily influenced by Western clothing terminology, especially in its Venetian form. Additionally, he tends to prefer words of Latin origin, like "σιγβιταρο" (< sequi + the verbal ending -αρο), over existing

αι.), Athens 2015; On *cittadini* in this specific time-period see K. E. LAMBRINOS, Διεργασίες στον κοινωνικό ιστό του Χάνδακα κατά την εποχή του Κρητικού Πολέμου (1645-1669) in: G. MAVROMATIS *et al.* (eds.), *Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669). Άγνωστες πτυχές*, Heraklion 2021, pp. 215-229.

⁸ On women's position in Venetian Crete see relevant bibliography in MARKAKI, *Κρητικός Πόλεμος*, pp. 203.

⁹ On the language of similar notarial documents see T. MARKAKI, *Objects and identities. Dowry and material culture in Venetian Crete in regional and European context (1600-1645)*, Amsterdam 2018, pp. 104-106, see <http://hdl.handle.net/11245.1/88113211-ad31-46df-839d-983825f03745>

¹⁰ See also the dictionary M. I. ΠΙΤΙΚΑΚΙΣ, *Το Γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Ανατολικής Κρήτης*. τ. Α & Β, Neapoli Crete 2001.

terms from the Cretan dialect. However, he adeptly integrates these loanwords and foreign elements into the Greek morphological and syntactic system, following the informal language of his clients. Understanding the language and content of this inventory is made easier by the glossary provided through open access in Markaki's publication "Objects and Identities"¹¹. Similarly, useful glossaries can be found in all diplomatic editions of notarial archives¹².

THE PEOPLE

Anezina Andronikopoula, a Venetocretan *cittadina* of Greek origin (daughter of Fraggias Andronikos), was married to *cittadino* Giannas Stanilas¹³ and had two adult children, Marietta Stanilopoula and Stavrakis Stanilas. She resided with her husband in Candia, Crete, in a house comprising a *portego* on the ground floor, two rooms on an upper level (*ανογι*), and a bozzo serving as a workspace and storage area. Her house appears modest in comparison to that of other *cittadini*, such as Stefanos Yizis, who resided in a more spacious dwelling, boasting four chambers, a *portego*, and six storage rooms¹⁴. A thorough examination of house interior arrangement in Candia, based on the information about the division of the house into rooms provided by probate inventories, presents an intriguing avenue for future research. The stark difference in the size and layout of these two houses submits evidence for the varying levels of wealth and social status among the *cittadini* of the time.

On November 2, 1647, Anezina dictated the content of her will to notary Ioannis Zervos and stipulated that a probate inventory had to

¹¹ MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*. pp. 359-392.

¹² See, indicatively, BAKKER / VAN GEMERT, *Μανόλης Βαρούχας*, pp. 818-851; ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Πέτρος Καστροφύλακας*, pp. 451-487; DETORAKIS, *Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου*, 90-102.

¹³ The surname Stanila is registered among Candia's *cittadini* in the Trivan/Trivisan catalogue (1644), published in M. I. MANOUSAKAS, *Η παρά Trivan απογραφή της Κρήτης (1644) και ο δήθεν κατάλογος των Κρητικών οίκων Κερκύρας*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949), 50.

¹⁴ DETORAKIS, *Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου*, 78-89.

be drawn up after her death, recording her movables to ensure that these objects would be passed down to her husband and/or children. The short period between the dates of the will and the inventory suggests that Anezina was anticipating her death, presumably due to severe illness. Unfortunately, Anezina's will is not preserved due to the loss of I. Zervo's notarial archive, depriving us of additional information about her personal life. The two executors of Anezina's will – her son and Ioannis Pelekanos – enlisted notary Cesarin Querini to meticulously register all movable belongings of Anezina that were transferred from all houses owned by her to her own residence¹⁵.

Querini registered 535 movables room by room. Unlike other notaries who, in similar cases, open the chests and other storage items one by one to see and describe the contents in detail, Querini begins and completes the registration without opening any chests. This suggests that many of the movables were transferred there and placed loosely in the space. After the registration, Querini expected that the objects should be neatly arranged and stored in locked chests or other storage items which would be sealed¹⁶. The preservation of Querini's notarial archive is significant as it comprises thirteen inventories in Greek from August 1647 until September 1650 which concern a wide range of individuals from diverse social backgrounds in Candia¹⁷. This collection includes both probate inventories and lists of evaluated dowry objects (*stime*) offering valuable insights into the daily lives of Querini's clients. These clients ranged from craftsmen and manual workers (*popolani*) to *cittadini* and members of the upper social class (nobles). The diplomatic edition of these inventories holds promise for future publication. These inventories account for 13% of the total acts in Querini's archive suggesting that Querini was presumably specialized in this type of notarial acts¹⁸.

¹⁵ τα σπιτια και σινιθικην της κατικιαν.

¹⁶ ισε βλεπισι και ισε φιλαζι καλη να τα κλιδοσου και να τα βουλοσου.

¹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereinafter ASV), *Notai di Candia*, busta 234 (1647-1652), filza without numbering.

¹⁸ Another notary in the city of Candia who certainly specialized in these types of documents is Manouil Grigoropoulos, who was active between 1506 and 1532. See ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ / ΛΑΜΒΑΚΙΣ, *Μανουήλ Γρηγορόπουλος*.

THE MOVABLES

The traced movables in Anezina's house can be categorized as relating to female appearance (clothing items and textiles for cloth production), the house interior (furniture, interior decoration including icons and paintings), sleeping (furniture and bed linen), eating (kitchen and dining utensils), and professional activities (money lending and presumably usury)¹⁹. Women's predominant role in household activities (sewing, storing things, preparing food) is evident. However, the document also offers insight into Anezina's professional activities and contacts at the end of her life.

The following presentation of the movables, based on the aforementioned classification, facilitates a deeper understanding of the material culture, economic practices and social relationships prevalent in a city under Venetian authority in the eastern Mediterranean during the first half of the 17th century.

FEMALE APPEARANCE: CLOTHING ITEMS, FABRICS AND TEXTILE

Among the 47 recorded clothing items and accessories, a significant number can be traced back to Venice or other regions in Italy or Western Europe. Particularly, the gowns and decorative motifs made of silk illustrate resemblances with Italian fashion, either explicitly, such as an *ormesin* gown made in Florence / according to Florentine fashion²⁰, or indirectly through the adoption of Italian/European elements. These elements include various features, such as a) the long tail, b) ribbons and c) bands with silver-gilt / golden-gilt threads²¹. Additionally, a wide range of silk qualities are documented, mirroring trends seen in Italy and other regions of Europe: *camacas*, *ca-*

For more information on the specialization of notaries in specific deeds in Venetian Crete see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*. pp. 89-90.

¹⁹ For a similar classification see D. VLAMI, Το υλικό περιβάλλον και ο οικιακός χώρος ενός Άγγλου εμπόρου στη Θεσσαλονίκη στα τέλη του 18^{ου} με αρχές του 19^{ου} αιώνα, *Μνήμων* 30 (2009), 96-104.

²⁰ *ενα ορμιζι ντα Φιορεντζα*.

²¹ a) *Κουδα*; b) *κορδελινες*; c) *αργιρι ρομανετα / χρουσι βαρνιζο*.

*nevazzéta, ormesin, brocadello, raso, velluto, velluto rizzo*²². The production of such a wide variety of silk fabrics required a specialized industry, which Crete could not provide with its limited silk production and infrastructure. Although there is evidence of some silk manufacturing in Rethymnon, the *canevazzéta* and *tabbi* gowns made there were considered of inferior quality due to their faded colors, presumably due to the use of cheaper dyestuffs²³. Mass and high-quality silk manufacture during this time period occurred in Spain and primarily in Italy involving numerous craftsmen²⁴. Thus, wealthy women in Venetian Candia, from at least the 15th century, were aware of the higher quality of Western-styled clothing and ordered gowns of the *vestura* type²⁵, textiles, and other clothing accessories from Venice²⁶. Moreover, ample archival evidence demonstrates the need to supply Candia with Venetian or other imported fabrics²⁷.

²² *καμοκάς, κανεβατζέτα, ορμιζένιο, (μ)προκαντέλο, ράζο, βελούδο, βελούδο ρίτζο*. All silk qualities are included in the index of L. MONNAS, *Merchants, Princes and Painters. Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings. 1300-1550*, New Haven & London 2008, pp. 404-405.

²³ Zuanne Papadopoli complained explicitly about the faded colors of these gowns in 17th century Candia. See A. VINCENT / N. DELIGIANNAKI (eds.), *Τζουάνες Παπαδόπουλος, Στον καιρό της σχολής. Αναμνήσεις από την Κρήτη του 17^{ου} αιώνα*, Heraklion 2012, pp. 126-127.

²⁴ See MONNAS, *Merchants*, pp. 4-8.

²⁵ On this type of gown see T. MARKAKI, *Υλικά αγαθά σε αέναο ταξίδι: η περίπτωση της vestura στον βενετοκρατούμενο Χάνδακα*, in: *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Section B*, <https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/el/proceedings/category/38/33/129>, Heraklion 2017, pp. 1-10.

²⁶ See C. MALTEZOU, *Βενετική μόδα στην Κρήτη (Τα φορέματα μιας Καλλεργοπούλας)*, in: *Βυζάντιον. Αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Στράτοι* vol. 1, *Ιστορία-τέχνη και αρχαιολογία*, Athens 1986, pp. 139-147 on the purchase of a vest(it)ura in Venice.

²⁷ See, for instance, document nr. 204 about the purchase of colorful floral fabrics in Venice in 1549 in DRAKAKIS, *Μιχαήλ Μαράς*, pp. 192; documents nr. 157 and 178 about the delivery of fabrics in 1603 and 1612 in LAMBRINOS, *Michiel Gradenigo*, pp. 294-295, 329-330; VINCENT / DELIGIANNAKI, *Τζουάνες Παπαδόπουλος*, p. 127.

The presence of these fabrics in Anezina's house indicates her awareness of the particular qualities of each silk variety and, consequently, of fashion trends in Europe where these textiles were produced and traded. As Monnas pinpoints: "during the late medieval and renaissance period it actually mattered whether your clothing was made of wool or silk, and precisely what grade of silk fabric you wore as well as the expense and appropriateness of the color"²⁸. For example, *canevazzeta*, *brocadello*, and *tabbi* were lower-quality, though fashionable, silk fabrics belonging to the so-called mixed cloths, a 16th-century novelty that gained popularity in Europe during the first half of the 17th century²⁹. On the contrary, *velluto* and *velluto rizzo* were considered luxurious and particularly valuable³⁰. The desire to wear Western-fashioned clothing items illustrates a tendency to appropriate Venetian or Italian cultural traditions, which is apparent in this last phase of the Venetian dominion on the island (1570-1669) in various other fields as well, including literature, artistic production, religious architecture, gastronomy, and language use³¹.

²⁸ MONNAS, *Merchants*, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ Κανεβατζέτα, προκαντέλο, νταμπι. On mixed cloths see T. MARKAKI, Innovations and the art of deception: mixed cloths in Venetian Crete (17th century), in: G. NIGRO (ed.), *La moda come motore economico: innovazione di processo e prodotto, nuove strategie commerciali, comportamento dei consumatori / Fashion as an economic engine: process and product innovation, commercial strategies, consumer behavior*, Firenze 2022, pp. 15-24. DOI 10.36253/978-88-5518-565-3.04; On silk mixed cloths see L. MOLÀ, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, Baltimore and London 2000, pp. 161-185.

³⁰ See A. VITALI, *La moda a Venezia attraverso i secoli. Lessico ragionato*, Venezia 1992, pp. 398-407; MONNAS, *Merchants*, pp. 23-24, 404-405.

³¹ For a comprehensive presentation of all these developments see C. MALTEZOU (ed.), *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, vol. A & B, Athens-Venice 2010; Particularly on material culture see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*; On language see S. MAMIDAKI / A. DRAKOULI, Μελέτη του γλωσσικού δανεισμού στην κρητική διάλεκτο από την βενετσιάνικη και την ιταλική γλώσσα, in: A. DRAKOULI *et al.* (ed.),

The silk gowns described in detail in Anezina's inventory resemble gowns circulating in Italian regions, fully decorated with colorful silk, silk buttons, detached sleeves and lining³². Recording extra details portrays the added value of clothing pieces, as these details distinguish them from plain examples. Intense colors of bright red, orange and sea-blue, extravagant color combinations in one item (a green, orange, bright red and pink velvet gown³³), and several decorative motifs, usually apparent in the lower part of the dress³⁴, make the high degree of detailing obvious. Anezina's wardrobe showcases her financial standing, as she can afford such distinct colorful clothes. The use of dyestuffs significantly increased the cost of textiles, indicating that the majority of Anezina's gowns were likely of considerable value³⁵.

The thirteen gowns named *fistani* (*φιστανί*) give the impression of a local type, less costly than explicitly European-styled examples like *velluto*, *velluto rizzo*, *ormesin*, *tabbi*, which presumably were purchased. However, the fact that all these gowns are decorated with silk or other colorful motifs implies their value. This type of dress could have been homemade by Anezina herself or other women in Candia. Evidence for this assumption is provided by the formulation *one unfinished dress*³⁶. This local type can be found in large numbers in various regions of the Cretan countryside³⁷. It demonstrates different decorative forms³⁸ than the European-styled gowns which often fea-

Συνάντηση δύο πολιτισμών. Συλλογή Μελετημάτων Κρητικού και Ιταλικού Θεματολογίου, Heraklion 2013, pp. 189-216.

³² *κομπια τζαντουνενια; μανικετα; ενα φεραρολι ... ντιμενο απο μεσα με κανεβατζετα*. See also R. L. PIZETZKY, *Storia del costume in Italia*, vol. III, Milano 1966.

³³ *ενα βελουδο πρασινο νεραντζατο καρναδο ... με τρις ρομανετες ροζαδες*.

³⁴ *με μια αργιρι ρομανετα κατο; με μια χρουσι βαρνιζο κατο*.

³⁵ On the use of dyestuffs see MONNAS, *Merchants*, pp. 24-28.

³⁶ *ενα φιστανι... αζετελεφτο*.

³⁷ See, indicatively, ΙΛΙΑΚΙΣ, *Παπα-Ιωάννης Κατζαράς*, pp. 887-888; ΒΑΚΚΕΡ / VAN GEMERT, *Μανόλης Βαρούχας*, pp. 175, 264-265, 414, 462, 547, 575.

³⁸ *γαμπέτες, τζιμπιστά, βέργολες*. The *vergola*, *gambeta* and *τζιμπιστό* appear often as embroidery type in the local dresses of the Fourni countryside

ture a *romaneta*, *cordelina*, *gallon*. Nevertheless, both types of gowns present a common feature, *i.e.* edgings made of silk. The incorporation of silk narrow wares (bands, braids, ribbons, fringes, girdles) was the most widespread use of silk throughout Europe³⁹.

A noteworthy detail in this clothing catalogue is the absence of terms like brand new, new, old, used, or shabby, which are common in the evaluated inventories of dowries (*stima*)⁴⁰. Anezina's imminent death eliminates the need to proclaim social prestige issues that are relevant during marriage and dowry rituals⁴¹. The notary seems to pay no attention to the state of the garments. Only one dress is described as being made of recycled material, *i.e.*, pieces of cloth put together (*πετζιστικο*), resembling patchwork. The tendency to make garments from 'recycled' materials and to re-use fabrics was common in various regions of early modern Europe⁴².

Anezina's underwear comprises ten female undershirts: four plain, four 'countryside-styled', and two luxurious embroidered examples decorated with red silk⁴³. Having only two examples decorated with silk is relatively modest compared to the fourteen highly decorative undershirts possessed by other *cittadine*, such as Manetusca Stathopoula, daughter of pharmacist Zuanne Stathis. The difference in quantity might be attributed to the different stages of life (Anezina

(territorio di Candia). See relevant cases in ILIAKIS, *Παπα-Ιωάννης Κατζαράς*, pp. 749, 752, 877.

³⁹ MONNAS, *Merchants*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ *Ολοκαινούργιο, καινούργιο, παλιό, ουζάδο, τριμενο*. See MARKAKI, *Objects and Identities*, pp. 165-172.

⁴¹ On this theme in Venice and Venetian Candia see MARKAKI, *Objects and Identities*, pp. 82-84.

⁴² An example is the re-use of the silk fabric of gowns in ecclesiastical vestments in 18th-century Holland. See D. O. R. LUGTIGHEID, *Van aardse stof tot hemels lof: De transitie van de achttiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse damesjapon van modeartikel tot kerkelijk gewaad in de katholieke eredienst*, Amsterdam 2021. On the rich activities of the second-hand dealers in Florence see A. MENEGHIN, *The Social Fabric of Fifteenth-Century Florence. Identities and Change in the World of Second-Hand Dealers*, New York 2020.

⁴³ *ποκαμισα γινεκια, σκλετα, χοργιατικα, ... λαβοραδα με κοκινο μεταξι*.

nearing the end of her marital life, whereas Manetusca is at the beginning), but the notable contrast is evident⁴⁴.

The analysis of textiles and quantities suggests that Anezina must have been active in sewing, either for her own and her family's clothing needs or for providing other women with fashionable clothes or bed linen and curtains. The textile quantities, expressed in *brazzi*⁴⁵, are not large enough to justify trading, and the absence of a loom in the house indicates that sewing replaced weaving activities, which were common in the Cretan countryside and served family needs. Furthermore, explicit formulations imply Anezina's sewing activity, such as *four pieces of sheets, embroidered, partly finished; three sleeves ... half-sown*⁴⁶.

Among the dyed fabrics, we find pure silk ones, such as the originally Byzantine *camacas* in black color, blue *grogra*, and orange *raso*, but also blue cotton and red wool⁴⁷. Anezina has also silk, cotton, and pieces of golden-gilt thread in storage, either in raw condition or somewhat processed⁴⁸. She possesses decorative accessories as well, such as a black band for the decoration of a coat⁴⁹. Given the difficulty for the dyers to achieve certain colors, such as black, we understand that great skill and time were needed by the dyers, which consequently drove the price of these colored items up⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Manetusca gets married on February 10, 1644. See MARKAKI, *Objects and Identities*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁵ 1 braccio = braccio = 0.583 metres.

⁴⁶ *τεσερα πετζα σεντονια λαβοραδα παρτε καμομενα και παρτε ακαμοτα. Τρις μανικες ... μεσοραμενες.*

⁴⁷ *Καμοκας* (see also DETORAKIS, *Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου*, 93). *Γόβρα* (see also MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 178, note 189). *ρασα νερατζατι. πανι μπλαβο βελεσερο. σαγια καρναδι.*

⁴⁸ *Χρουσοπετζα. οργο ανηψητο. μπαμπακι κλοσμενο.*

⁴⁹ *Ρομανετα μαβρι του φεραρολιου μπρατζα δεκαπεντε.*

⁵⁰ On *paonazzo* and other colors and their functions see MARKAKI, *Objects and Identities*, pp. 196-200. On the use of *paonazzo* in the clothing industry in Florence see C. C. FRICK, *Dressing Renaissance Florence. Families, Fortunes and Fine Clothing*, Baltimore & London 2002, p. 176. On black, *paonazzo*, *kermisi* and the dying process see MONNAS, *Merchants*, pp. 24-28.

Of special cultural interest are the following pieces: “four pieces of fabric with three golden-gilt ribbons to be used for a (bed) curtain, similar to those used in Jewish synagogues”⁵¹; “4.6 meters of orange ‘Cretan’ satin-woven silk *raso*”, implying that this pure silk fabric was of Cretan/local origin, thus not imported⁵²; cloth *dimito*, a novelty of mixed flax and cotton⁵³; “three brazzi of black sopra signoria”, where the term *sopra signoria* concerns an unidentified Italian fabric⁵⁴.

Last but not least, when considering female appearance, we notice an evident lack of jewelry in Anezina’s house. The loss of her will makes it impossible to trace jewelry that could have been mentioned there as a bequest to female servants or other family members. However, this absence of jewelry can be explained when considering the consumption patterns of the elite and non-elite in Candia: jewelry is demonstrably present in the dowries and probate inventories of elite/noble women of Candia (*nobili Veneti and nobili Cretesi*), whereas it is almost absent from the belongings of women from the strata of *cittadini* and *popolani*⁵⁵.

FURNITURE AND INTERIOR DECORATION ITEMS

A total of 33 items were recorded, including 14 storage objects found in all rooms and 19 sitting items (14 chairs and five stools) located only in one room (the main chamber). The storage objects

⁵¹ *τεσερα πετζα κουρτινα τζαρδι απο κινα απον βανουσι ι γιοβρη ις το σμαιδιν τος με τρις κορδελινες χρουσες*. In Kriara’s dictionary of medieval Greek language the lemma *σμαιδιν* refers to *μασγίδιον* meaning a mosque. See E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, τ. Κ’, Thessaloniki 2016, p. 363 and E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, τ. Θ’, Thessaloniki 1985, p. 356. The notary here explicitly refers to a synagogue.

⁵² *οκτο μπρατζα ρασα κριτηκι νερατζατι*.

⁵³ *πανι διμιτο*. On *dimito* as a mixed cloth see MARKAKI, *Innovations*, p. 21. On a different meaning of *dimito* in earlier time periods see E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, τ. Ε’, Thessaloniki 1977, p. 142.

⁵⁴ *τρια μπρατζα σοπρα σινιορια μαβρι*.

⁵⁵ See MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*. pp. 153, 251.

consisted of nine chests, primarily made of walnut wood; a large strongbox for keeping, presumably, wheat or other rural products⁵⁶, two large cupboards⁵⁷ and one sideboard with a new coverlet of fine linen cloth, as was the custom in Venice⁵⁸. Among these items, only two pieces were carved and decorated: one chest made of cypress wood and the old sideboard⁵⁹. These storage items, along with the 14 chairs covered with cowhide, added a distinctive character to the interior. Additionally, the interior decoration included two mirrors with six fitting, probably decorative towels⁶⁰, three carpets made of calf skin, and two other carpets.

Furthermore, 27 icons (*κονισμα*) and paintings (*καδρο*) were traced⁶¹. This number is notably high compared to other known cases of noble women. For example, the inventory of the noble Querina Barbarigo in 1647 includes only seven images⁶². Although the reason for drawing up that inventory was different (moving from Candia to Venice and transferring a number of dowry and family movables), the difference is remarkable. Similarly, the probate inventory of the noble Marietta, wife of Zanachi Papadopoulo, drawn up in 1646,

⁵⁶ *μα αρτζελα μεγαλι*. See also ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Πέτρος *Καστροφύλακας*, p. 210.

⁵⁷ On chests and sideboards and their distinctive character see MARKAKI, *Objects and Identities*, pp. 201-202.

⁵⁸ *Ταβλομαντιλο ντερενιο κενουργιο τζι κρεδετζερας*. On a similar use in Venice see P. FORTINI BROWN, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice. Art, Architecture and the Family*, New Haven & London 2005, p. 102.

⁵⁹ On the craftsmen (*intagiador*) who carved household wooden furniture see M. KONSTANDOUDAKI, *Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων στο Χάνδακα σε έγγραφα του 16^{ου} και 17^{ου} αιώνα*, *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975), 63.

⁶⁰ It is difficult to comprehend the precise function of these six towels (*λιτρομπολιες του καρφικτη*). They could serve as a decorative addition, but it is not clear why bath towels (*λιτρομπολιες*) would play this role.

⁶¹ M. Konstandoudaki has briefly commented on two of these items in KONSTANDOUDAKI, *Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων*, 45, 88.

⁶² O. KARAGIANNI, *Καταγραφή κινητής περιουσίας κατά τη μεταφορά της από το Χάνδακα στη Βενετία: Το Libretto sive inventario της Querina Barbarigo (1647)*, *Θησαυρίσματα* 41/42 (2011/2012), 332.

mentions only a few icons⁶³. Not only the number, but also the style differs in this case: Anezina mainly possesses icons made in the Eastern Orthodox style (21 < 27), as she is Greek Orthodox herself. These icons depict, though, common saints in both rites, such as Saint George, Saint Nicholas, Saint Catherine, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ. Two icons of Saint Demetrios and one Virgin and Child icon in the *Kardiotissa* type specifically refer to the Eastern Orthodox faith. There are no saints exclusively of the Catholic faith depicted, as in the inventory of the noble Querina Barbarigo⁶⁴.

However, seven icons/paintings are explicitly mentioned to be made in the Western style⁶⁵. One of these depicts a secular theme, as there is no explicit mention of a religious theme, as in the other cases. Four paintings depicted Sibyls, the paganistic female seers whose prophecies played an important role within Christian iconography. This theme from the Old Testament was popular in Western art but also well-known to painters in Candia⁶⁶. The large size and the location of the Western-styled Deposition from the Cross icon (*ι* *Επικαθιλοσι*) in the front room of *portego* is striking as the house belongs to a Greek Orthodox. Together with the Saint George icon, these two are the only icons in this room, as if the owner wished to highlight the coexistence of both faiths and both artistic styles⁶⁷. Surprisingly enough, there are no icons of the patron saints of Anezina (Saint Anna) and/or her husband (Saint John) here, as we see in the *portego* of *cittadino* Stefanos Yizis (an icon of Saint Stephen)⁶⁸. The rest of the icons are placed in the two chambers of the upper level.

A small number of icons (3 < 27) are explicitly mentioned as having been painted (*σγουραφισμενα*). That implies that the rest must have been made with a different technique. They could be engrav-

⁶³ MARKAKI, Κρητικός Πόλεμος, pp. 210-211.

⁶⁴ KARAGIANNI, Καταγραφή κινητής περιουσίας, 332-333.

⁶⁵ *ενα καθρο μεγαλο ι* *Επικαθιλοσι φρακινο, ενα καθρο, αλο ενα καθρο ι* *Παναγια φρακικι, τεσερα καθρα Σιμπιλες.*

⁶⁶ On Sybils see KONSTANDOUDAKI, Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων, 57-58.

⁶⁷ See also MARKAKI, Κρητικός Πόλεμος, pp. 211-212.

⁶⁸ DETORAKIS, Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου, 86.

ings, a common practice in that period⁶⁹, or made on some other metal or paper⁷⁰. One of them is painted on silk textile, a practice which was common as well but mostly preferred by painters using Western style⁷¹. Many of the recorded icons must have been of certain value because they are framed (*με τι κνιζόλα*) or of large size.

SLEEPING EQUIPMENT

The sleeping arrangements included several items: two iron beds in the inner chamber, thirteen pairs of sheets (equivalent to 26 sheets) and four unfinished ones, two quilts, two bed mosquito-nets, three blankets, two decorated mattress pads, eight pillow-cases, and three pillows made of pure red and green silk⁷². The blankets were made of mixed *brocadello* silk, cotton, and presumably wool. The bed curtains were made of *paonazzo* (blue and black shade) pure silk fabric, one being full with yellow silk *ormesin* decoration⁷³. The fact that dyers had difficulty achieving polychrome colors, such as *paonazzo* (a complex mixed shade of blue and black), indicates that the specific

⁶⁹ See KONSTANDOUDAKI, Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων, 95-97; KARAGIANNI, Καταγραφή κινητής περιουσίας, 333.

⁷⁰ These techniques were less common, but they were absolutely present in Candia. See, indicatively, KONSTANDOUDAKI, Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων, 89-92.

⁷¹ ... *Παναγια σγουραφισμενι αποπανοθιο στον ταφτα*. In the inventory of Querina Barbarigo there is a similar case traced: Saint Laurentius was painted on cloth (in tela) KARAGIANNI, Καταγραφή κινητής περιουσίας, 332. See many similar cases in KONSTANDOUDAKI, Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων, 87-89.

⁷² *διο καργιολες σιδερενιες, παπλομα, πρεσβερια, κουβερτορια, τοναλετο του στροματου, ψηδια, διο προσκεφαλαδια καμοκενια κοκινα, αλο ορμιζι πρασινο*. On bed furnishings in early modern Europe and Venetian Candia see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 186-189.

⁷³ *κουρτινα καμοκενια παγονατζα, διο κοματια κουρτινες γοβρα μπλαβι ολογεματι μετα κιτρινα ορμιζα*. On the function of bed curtains in Paris see R. SARTI, *Europe at Home. Family and Material Culture 1500-1800*, New Haven and London 2002, pp. 119-120.

bed curtains must have been precious. All these items added comfort and a touch of luxury to the household interior.

An interesting detail is the quality of the sheets: the majority of them are of high quality, being either luxurious, embroidered, or somehow decorated⁷⁴. The lower-quality ones are explicitly mentioned as being old and/or shabby or plain. Two pairs are decorated with a Jewish decorative motif⁷⁵, a fact that illustrates relevant knowledge and conscious use of cultural features. The same applies to two pillow-cases, which are explicitly decorated in an old-fashioned way or in a style identified as old/antique, what could also refer to a Byzantine motif⁷⁶. Knowledge of what is contemporary or of what is considered fashionable is obviously present⁷⁷. Ultimately, the colors of the sleeping equipment in Anezina's house touch upon the "Venetian engagement with color"⁷⁸: *paonazzo*, yellow, red, and green colors are traced in these items, with blue and yellow being predominant⁷⁹.

FOOD CULTURE

The culinary aspects of Anezina's household encompass two primary elements: kitchen utensils for food preparation and dining utensils. The first category consists of only basic copper items: two small

⁷⁴ Σφοτζαντα. Λαβοραδα. Με κορονετες πλεκτηνιες, τζι βελονας, φουνταδες, με δεματα. On the importance of the existence of decorative motifs see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, pp. 203-209.

⁷⁵ με γαμπετες φουνταδες οβρεκες.

⁷⁶ διο ψηδια με αντιγο ζομπλι. On the meaning of this term see KARAGIANNI, Καταγραφή κινητής περιουσίας, 334, note 16; KONSTANDOUDAKI, Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων, 61 note 187; T. MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 209.

⁷⁷ On fashion styles, present in the Cretan material world, see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 209.

⁷⁸ FORTINI BROWN, *Private Lives*, p. 85.

⁷⁹ On the use of blue and yellow colors in early modern Europe see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 198.

pots, a funnel, a large basin, a water jug, seven large and small frying pans, and three large iron soup ladles⁸⁰.

The second category is more extensive and includes more valuable items: a walnut wood table with three drawers, two silver trays made according to Venetian State regulations, a silver jug, a silver carved carafe, a tin-coated basin from Flanders/in Flemish style, fourteen tablecloths, a striped tablecloth/coverlet, and twelve decorated dinner napkins⁸¹. Most of the tablecloths were embroidered and made of fine linen cloth (*ντερενιο / tela deregna*). This high-quality flax was primarily used for table linen, including tablecloths and napkins, and was intended for display during social eating. It was traced particularly in wealthy dowries in Candia⁸². Some of the fourteen chairs mentioned earlier would have been used for dining purposes.

Upon closer examination of these dining items, it becomes apparent that Anezina placed special emphasis on social dining and was aware of the social etiquette surrounding this activity. For instance, she used twelve napkins, had silver liquid containers on the table, possessed luxurious chairs, and included Western-styled items. While she possessed only a few of these items, she had just enough to showcase her refined taste and knowledge. The absence of cutlery, especially spoons and forks, is surprising, as they are necessary complements to social dining. However, this absence may seem justified by the fact that Anezina did not belong to the highest segment of the *cittadini*. The distinguished *cittadini*, such as bureaucrats, wealthy merchants, doctors and pharmacists, went further in displaying their wealth and social status⁸³.

⁸⁰ διο χαρκοματακια, χονι χαρκοματενιο, μια βατζελα χαρκοματενια, σιγλα, εφτα πιγανια μιτζα μεγαλα, σηδεροκουταλες.

⁸¹ ταβλα καρενια με τρια σιρματα, διο σοτοκουπες αργιρες λιγα νοβα, κανιν αργιρο, ενα μαστραπα αργιρο ινταγιαδο, ενα βατζελι στανενιο φιλαντριανο. Ταβλομαντιλα, μια καρπετα τζι ταβλας ζαβιδοτι, πετζετες.

⁸² MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 182.

⁸³ For a detailed presentation of their behavior see T. MARKAKI, Cultural Transfers and social ruptures in Venetian Crete: Dowries of distinguished *cittadini* in seventeenth-century Candia, in: K. A. DIMADIS (ed.), *Continuities, Discontinuities, ruptures in the Greek world (1204-2014): Economy, society, history, literature*, Proceedings of the 5th European Congress of

“Food culture was an important component of the *vivere civile* in towns. Serving food was influenced by the Venetian dining etiquette: luxurious tableware, including silver and golden cutlery, glasses, salt-cellars, was set on the dining table. They were all objects that people had to know how to use according to the most important rules of etiquette of the Western world at the time”⁸⁴. Moreover, silver items served a dual purpose, acting as both ostentatious displays and potential assets, as they could be melted down and transformed into something else⁸⁵.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Goods that reveal Anezina’s professional activities were kept in the room with the well (*pozzo*), which functioned as storage place⁸⁶. Specifically, a considerable quantity of white and black shoes with silk ribbons and a substantial amount of raw materials may have been held as pledges. Additionally, a number of documents providing credit to individuals in financial need were found there⁸⁷. Ultimately, the introduction of the notarial text makes it obvious that Anezina owned more houses which she presumably rented out.

It’s noteworthy that Anezina, a married *cittadina*, was involved in financial activities such as renting real estate in the city and lending money to residents of the city and countryside, including even the abbot of the nearby significant Angarathos monastery. Archival evidence reveals that when women in Candia participated in the labor market or in other activities outside the household, it was predomi-

Modern Greek Studies of the European Society of Modern Greek Studies, Thessaloniki, 2-5 October 2014, Vol. 5, Athens 2015, pp. 207-220.

⁸⁴ MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, p. 224.

⁸⁵ On the function of silver items in Venetian Candia see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, pp. 222-227.

⁸⁶ For a similar case in the house of Stefanos Yizis see DETORAKIS, *Μια εικόνα αστικού πλούτου*, 88.

⁸⁷ 94 σκριτα χοργιάτικα, αλα σκριτα απο δεπα απον τι χορα.

nantly those from the lowest social group (*popolani*)⁸⁸, widows⁸⁹ and convent nuns. Certainly, this remark does not suggest that other women could not be active participants as well⁹⁰. The absence of Giannas on the day of his wife's death and two weeks later, on the day the inventory was drawn up, may suggest that he was on a distant business trip or that his return was delayed due to warfare on the island. Consequently, these financial activities might have been conducted jointly by Anezina and her husband.

The 94 debt bonds presumably resulted in high profits *in natura*, such as wine, must, barley, cheese and other rural products, which farmers often pre-sold before the harvest due to limited financial liquidity⁹¹. However, with the Ottoman conquest of parts of the island in November 1647, it is likely that some debtors were unable to repay their debts. The total amount lent by Anezina is quoted in *lire* (*λιτρες*) without any further qualification, indicating that the standard Vene-

⁸⁸ On the daily activities of *popolane* see, indicatively, C. MALTEZOU, Η παρουσία της γυναίκας στις νοταριακές πράξεις της περιόδου της βενετοκρατίας, *Κρητολογία* 16-19 (1983-1984), 62-79.

⁸⁹ For information on the important role of widows in financial and social activities see the following publications: for their involvement in the marriage procedure see MARKAKI, *Objects and identities*, pp. 114-117. On their financial activities see, indicatively, DRAKAKIS / MARMARELI, *Μιχαήλ Μαράς. Τόμος Δ΄*, pp. ι-ια, 27-28, 101,102, 118-119. On the daily activities inside and outside the household of noble widows see the case of Pandou Meseri in G. VARZELIOTI, Η διαχείριση του νοικοκυριού μιας χήρας του Χάνδακα (17^{ος} αι.), in: *Πεπραγμένα Ι΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006)*, τ. Β1, Χανιά 2010, pp. 311-318.

⁹⁰ For information on the various activities outside the household of women coming from all population groups in the city of Candia and the countryside see, indicatively, LAMBRINOS, *Michiel Gradenigo*, pp. 89-91 and note 305.

⁹¹ There is abundant published archival evidence illustrating this widespread practice of pre-selling rural production. On Venetian Candia see, indicatively, LAMBRINOS, *Michiel Gradenigo*, pp. 101-106; DRAKAKIS, *Μιχαήλ Μαράς*, pp. ιζ-κα; DRAKAKIS / MARMARELI, *Μιχαήλ Μαράς. Τόμος Δ΄*, pp. ια-ιγ, ιε-ις, 11-12, 16-17, 22-25, 44-46.

tian unit of account is meant, *i.e.*, the *lira* equivalent to 20 *soldi*⁹². Querini chooses the *lira* in this case, as this was the most common unit for commercial transactions. The sum amounted to 25,400 *lire* including debts from both city residents and countrymen. In addition to these debts, there were copper coins stored in cash in the same room, equivalent to 1,800 *lire*⁹³, bringing Anezina's total disposable funds to 27,200 *lire*. The sum of 27,200 *lire* was equivalent to 63,778 *yperpyri*⁹⁴. The conversion to *yperpyri/perperi* is useful because the *yperpyro/perpero* was a stable unit of account in Venetian Crete, widely used for transactions⁹⁵. As Vincent puts it, the *perpero* was "of fundamental importance in the conceptual framework of local money"⁹⁶. Considering that, for instance, two houses in Candia in 1641 were estimated to be worth 3,000 *yperpyri*, we can understand that 63,778 *yperpyri* was a substantial amount⁹⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

The absence of Anezina's will leaves us with uncertainties and prompts us to make assumptions regarding her professional activities. Questions arise regarding the presence of certain items found in her house, such as the 150 pairs of shoes with their silk ribbons stored

⁹² A. L. VINCENT, *Money and Coinage in Venetian Crete, c. 1400-1669. An Introduction*, *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 (2007), 313, 316.

⁹³ *Γροσέτα και κατρίνια λιπρες χιλίες οκτακοσες*. *Grossetti (γροσέτα)* were coins of 4 Venetian *soldi*. *Quattrini (κατρίνια)* were copper coins valued at 4 *piccoli*, *i.e.* one third of a *soldo*. (VINCENT, *Money and Coinage*, 316-317).

⁹⁴ ASV, *Notai di Candia*, notary M. Seppi, busta 267, minute filza 5, without nr. In a *stima* in Candia dated on September 12, 1643, we trace the equivalence 5,347 *lire* = 12,532 *yperpyri*. Thus, 1 *lira* = 2,34 *yperpyri*.

⁹⁵ In this period its rate of exchange with the *ducato cretese* is fixed: 1 *ducato cretese/candioto* = 8 *perperi* and 12 *soldini*. On the *yperpyro/perpero* see VINCENT, *Money and Coinage*, 287-293.

⁹⁶ VINCENT, *Money and Coinage*, 289.

⁹⁷ ASV, *Notai di Candia*, notary M. Seppi, busta 267, minute filza 6, without nr.; *stima* in Candia dated on June 14, 1641.

in her house or the 443 playing cards⁹⁸, and whether they were pledges or not. Anezina appears to be involved, perhaps alongside her husband, in financial activities lending money to city and countryside residents and renting out city real estate. It's unclear whether she accepts goods as pawns and whether lending money was her primary financial activity.

However, what is evident is Anezina's awareness of the coexistence of different religious rites and cultural traditions. Her possessions reflect a mix of Eastern Orthodox and Western religious imagery, as well as a blending of local and Italian/European cultural styles. Icons depicting Eastern Orthodox saints are found alongside paintings with Western themes, while her clothing includes both local garments and Western-styled gowns. The presence of decorative motifs from various cultural backgrounds further underscores Anezina's appreciation for diverse cultural influences: Jewish, Flemish, Florentine, Venetian, Byzantine, local decorative elements appeared side by side. Last but not least, there is an awareness of how wealth can be best demonstrated: through colorful silk gowns, silk decorative edgings, (silver) dining utensils, and colorful bed furnishings.

Anezina's inventory offers us a valuable glimpse into the material possessions, financial activities, and social dynamics of women from the middling social group in Candia during the last phase of the Venetian dominion on the island and enriches our understanding of this dynamic period in European history.

⁹⁸ *χαρτια του τζογου ματζα τετρακοσα σαραντα τρια.*

DIPLOMATIC EDITION

November 16, 1647
Candia, Crete

Notary Cesarin Querini entered Anezina Andronikopoula's house to meticulously document the belongings left behind by the deceased. From clothing articles to kitchenware, pawns and financial bonds, every movable item was carefully cataloged. The inventory was to be entrusted to two executors appointed by Anezina's will, who would oversee the distribution of her possessions to her husband, Giannas Stanilas, or her children according to her wishes.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Notai di Candia*, notary Cesarin Querini, busta 234, filza 1647-1652, without numbering

1647, εν μηνί Νοεμβρου εις τας 16

|² Ετζι ανεγυρεμενος εγω ο παρο νοταριος απου τον αφεντι το Σταβρακι Στανιλα υιος |³ του αφεντι Τζουανε και απου τον αφεντι Ιωαννη Πελεκανο ποτε αφεντι Μανολι |⁴ και ι διο απου τιν μπαρουσα χορα κομεσαριν τζι ποτε καιρ-Ανεζινας Αντρονικοπου|⁵λας ποτε αφεντι Φραγγια, γινη του αφεντι Γιανα Στανιλα μανα του απανο|⁶γεγραμενου αφεντι Σταβρακι αφιτους με το ντεσταμεντον της καμομενο |⁷ δια χιρος του μισερ-Ιωαννη Ζερβου νοταριου πουμπλικου εις τας 2 του Νοεμβριου |⁸ του παροντος μινος 1647, οσαν ις εκεινο δια να γραφο και να βενταριαρο τα |⁹ πραματα ολλα μομπελε οπου βρεθικανε ις τα σπιτια και σινηθικην της |¹⁰ κατικιαν τζι ανοθεν ποτε καιρ-Ανεζινας τζι ντεσταδορισας, τα οπια πραματα |¹¹ ιβενταριαροντας τα εγω ο παρο νοταριος εμπροστε τον κατογεγραμενο μαρ|¹²τιροντα εκονσενιαρισα τον ανοθε διο κομεσαριον δια να τηχени να τα |¹³ κρατου ισε βλεπισι και ισε φιλαζι καλη να τα κλιδοσου και να τα βουλοσου να |¹⁴ τα κονσενιαρου του λεγομενου αφεντι Γιανα Στανιλα του αντρος της ερχοντας με |¹⁵ δοξαν Θεου καλα απου το ταζιδι οπου παγι γι πουρι τον πεδηοντης κατα |¹⁶ τι φορμα και κοντινετζια του τεσταμεντου τις, τα οπια ολα τα κατογεγραμενα

πραματα |¹⁷ ι ανοθε διο κομεσαρι ινε πρεζεντι, κοτεντι και παραλαμβανου τα |¹⁸ ις ομπλιγατζιον τον καλον τος ολονω σταμπελε και μομπελε.

|¹⁹ Σιγβιταρουσι τα κατογεγραμενα πραματα, |²⁰ εν μπροτις εμπενοντας ις το πορτιγο και εβρεθικασι:

²¹ + ενα κονισμα με τι κνιζολα ονομαζομενο ο Αγιος Γεοργιος	No 1
²¹ + ενα καθρο μεγαλο ι Επικαθιλοσι φρακικο	No 1
²² + μια κρεδετζα καρενια ινταγιαδι παλια	No 1
²³ + τρις κασελες ι διο ταλπεδενιες και ι γι-αλι καρένια	No 3
²⁴ + μια αρτζελα μεγαλι ταλπεδενια	No 1
²⁵ + αλι μια κασελα κιπαρισενια ινταγιαδι	No 1
²⁶ + ενα αρμαρι ταλπεδενιο με διο ανιζες	No 1
²⁷ + πεντε μπαλες πανι διμιτο μπρατζα ενιακοσα ογδοιντα	No 980
²⁸ + ενα φιστανι λουρατο με κοκινο μεταξι	No 1
²⁹ + αλο φιστανι ολογεματο με μεταξη κιτρινο και πρασινο	No 1
³⁰ + αλο φιστανι ολογεματο με γαμπετες ασπρες μπαμπακερες	No 1
³¹ + αλο φιστανι ολογεματο με τζιμπιστα	No 1
³² + αλο φιστανι με κορφες με μαβρες γαμπετες μεταξοτες	No 1
³³ + αλο φιστανι λουρατο με γαμπετες ασπρες μπαμπακερες	No 1
³⁴ + αλο φιστανι λουρατο με μεταξι κοκινο	No 1
³⁵ + αλο φιστανι λουρατο με γαμπετες ασπρες μπαμπακερες	No 1
³⁶ + αλο φιστανι με κορφες με μεταξι κοκινο	No 1
³⁷ + αλο φιστανι ος τι μπλετα με βεργολες ασπρες μπαμπακερες	No 1
³⁸ + αλο φιστανι λουρατο με μεταξι μπλαβο	No 1
³⁹ + αλο φιστανι πετζιστικο με κοφτα αποπανοθιο ις το γιροποδι	No 1
⁴⁰ + αλο φιστανι ολογεματο με μαβρες γαμπετες μεταξοτες	No 1
⁴¹ + ενα παπλομα μεταξοτο διμιτο μπλαβο και κιτρινο	No 1
⁴² + μια καρπετα με κομπια τζαντουνενια κοκινη ρεκαμαδη λουρατι	No 1
(φ. 3v)	
⁴³ + ενα νταμπι καρναδο αμαριτζο με κουδα με μια χρουσι βαρνιζο κατο	No 1
⁴⁴ + ενα βελουδο πρασινο νεραντζατο καρναδο με κουδα με τρις ρομανετες ροζαδες	No 1
⁴⁵ + ενα ορμιζι ντα Φιορεντζα μπλαβο με κουδα με διο χρουσες ρομα ⁴⁶ νετες ρεκαμαδες ις τι μεσι και ι τζι ακρες	No 1

- |⁴⁷+ μια κανεβατζετα με κουδα με πολο λογιο φιορε με μια αργιρι
ρομανετα κατο |⁴⁸ με τα μανικετα τζι No 1
- |⁴⁹+ ενα βελουδο ασπρος ο καμπος με πολλα φιορε με κουδα με τρις
κορ|⁵⁰ δελινες χρουσες κατο No 1
- |⁵¹+ ενα νταμπι αμαρητζο με το ρεκαμο κατο και ις τι κουδα No 1
- |⁵²+ ενα βελουδι ριτζο με κουδα με πολο λογιο φιορε με ενα πλεκτο
⁵³ χρουσο εξεδακτιλιο No 1
- |⁵⁴+ ενα βελουδο παληο ασπρος ο καμπος ολογεματο με φιορε με ενα
⁵⁵ κορδονι κατο με κουδα No 1
- |⁵⁶+ μια καρπετα ορμιζενια γαλαζα με μια κορδελινα φουνταδι
⁵⁷ κατο No 1
- |⁵⁸+ ενα βελουδο ασπρος ο καμπος με τα καρναδα φιορε σκλετι No 1
- |⁵⁹+ ενα διμιτο αρισμαρατο με τρις κορδελινες πρασινες μεταζοτες
⁶⁰ κατο No 1
- |⁶¹+ ενα φεραρολι μαβρο σαγια ντιμενο απο μεσα με κανεβατζετα
⁶² μαβρι No 1
- |⁶³+ ενα πρεσβερι κανεβατζετο κιτρινο και κοκινο οργο και μεταξι με
⁶⁴ φουνταδες κατο No 1
- |⁶⁵+ ενα ορμιζι μπλαβο με ενα γαλόν κατο χρουσο No 1
- |⁶⁶+ ενα πρεσβερι μπολιστικο με ζαβιδια μπαμπακερα No 1
- |⁶⁷+ διο μοσκες, ι μια κενουργια και ι γι-αλι παλια No 2
- |⁶⁸+ διο ταπεδα, το ενα κοκινο και το αλο ασπρο, μα ηνε παλιο No 1
- |⁶⁹+ διο μπρατζα κουρτινα καμοκενια παγονατζα No 2
- |⁷⁰+ πεντε μπρατζα καμοκα μαβρο παλιο No 5
- |⁷¹+ τεσερα μπρατζα ζαβιδοτο μεταζοτο No 4
- |⁷²+ ενα ταβλομαντιλο πεντε μπρατζα ντερενιο απιαστο λαβοραδο με
⁷³ κορονετες τζι βελονας No 1
- |⁷⁴+ αλο ταβλομαντιλο ντερενιο μπρατζα δεκατεσερα λαβοραδο με
κο|⁷⁵ ρονετες πλεκτενιες No 1
- |⁷⁶+ αλα διο ταβλομαντιλα κατινατα παλια με λιγο λαβορε No 2
- |⁷⁷+ αλα διο ταβλομαντιλα κατινατα παλια No 2
- |⁷⁸+ αλο ταβλομαντιλο ντερενιο κενουργιο τζι κρεδετζερας με
κορονε|⁷⁹τες πλεκτενιες No 1
- |⁸⁰+ αλα τρια ταβλομαντιλα κατινατα σκλετα No 3
- |⁸¹+ αλο ταβλομαντιλο διμιτο παλιο No 1
- |⁸²+ εντεκα πετζετες κατινατες με λιγο λαβορε με δεματα πλεκτενια No 11
- |⁸³+ ενα ζεβγαρι σεντονια λαβοραδα σφοτζαντα με κορονετες τζι

⁸⁴ βελονας	No 1
⁸⁵ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια κενουργια λαβοραδα με κορονετες τζι βελονας	No 1
⁸⁶ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια με πλεκτα με κορονετες πλεκτενιες	No 1
⁸⁷ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια λαβοραδα τζι βελονας	No 1
⁸⁸ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια τριμενα με λιγο λαβορε με κρουσα	No 1
(φ. 4r)	
⁸⁹ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια, το ενα με πολι λαβορε με διχος κορονετες και το αλο ⁹⁰ με κορονετες τζι βελονας φουνταδες	No 1
⁹¹ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια, το ενα λαβοραδο με κορονετες τζι βελονας ⁹² και το αλο με δεματα	No 1
⁹³ + τεσερα πετζα σεντονια λαβοραδα παρτε καμομενα και παρτε α ⁹⁴ καμοτα	No 4
⁹⁵ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια με γαμπετες φουνταδες οβρεκες	No 1
⁹⁶ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια με γαμπετες φουνταδες οβρεκες	No 1
⁹⁷ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια και κινα με γαμπετες	No 1
⁹⁸ + ενα κουβερτορι ολογεματο με βεργολες ασπρες μπαμπακερες	No 1
⁹⁹ + πανι ασπρο μπρατζα δεκα	No 10
¹⁰⁰ + εμισο πρεσβερι βελιστικο παλιο	No 2/4
¹⁰⁰ + πεντε πετζα φιστανι ντισενιαδο αραφο	No 5
¹⁰⁰ + μια λαγογι ρουχα ζουπονι ορμιζένιο μαβρο και βρακες βελου ¹⁰¹ δενιες μαβρες κοπελιαρι μικρου	No 1
¹⁰² + ενα πετζι σεντονι φατζα με πολι λαβορε	No 1
¹⁰³ + και αλο πετζι λαβοραδο με κορονετες τζι βελονας	No 1
¹⁰⁴ + τρια μπρατζα σοπρα σινιορια μαβρι	No 3
¹⁰⁵ + ενα ζουπονι μαβρο ορμιζι μικρο	No 1
¹⁰⁶ + εξε λιτρομπολιες του καρφικτι	No 6
¹⁰⁷ + τρις μανικες ολογεματες με κοφτα μεσοραμενες	No 3
¹⁰⁸ + μια σφοτζετα με τα δεματα μεσα	No 1
¹⁰⁹ + εξε ψηδια λαβοραδα, τα τρια ολογεματα και τα αλα τρια με λιγο λα ¹¹⁰ βορε	No 6
¹¹¹ + διο ζεβγαρια βρακες μαβρες μικρες	No 2
¹¹² + ενα ζεβγαρι μανιγοτα μαβρα μπροκαδα μετα κοραλια	No 1
¹¹³ + ενα ζεβγαρι ποκαμισα γινεκια λαβοραδα με κοκινο μεταξι	No 1
¹¹⁴ + αλα τεσερα ποκαμισα γινεκια χοργιατικα	No 4
¹¹⁵ + πεντε ποκαμισα αντρικια	No 5
¹¹⁶ + εντεκα μπρατζα σαγια καρναδι	No 11

¹¹⁷ + δεκα μπρατζα πανι μπλαβο βελεσερο	No 10
¹¹⁸ + αλα τεσερα ποκαμισα γινεκια σκλητα	No 4
¹¹⁹ + μια καρπετα τζι ταβλας ζαβιδοτι	No 1
¹²⁰ + οκτο μπρατζα ρασα κριτηκι νερατζατι	No 8
¹²¹ + διο κοματια κουρτινες γοβρα μπλαβι ολογεματι μετα κιτρινα	
¹²² ορμιζα	No 2
¹²³ + ικοσεξε λιτρες μπαμπακι ψιλες κλοσμενο	No 26
¹²⁴ + μεταξι λιτρες εκατο τριαντα πεντε, ι δεκαφτα καμομενο	No 135
¹²⁵ + κερι λιτρες ψηλες ακαμοτο κοκινο ογδοιντα εφτα	No 87

|¹²⁶ εμπενοντας ις το ανογι ις τιν ομπρος καμερα οπου διχνη ι πορτα του ανετολικά

|¹²⁷ και εβρεθικασι

¹²⁸ + ενα κονισμα με τι κνιζολα ονομαζομενο ο Αγιος Γεωργιος	No 1
¹²⁹ + αλο κονισμα με κνιζολα τριμορφο	No 1
¹³⁰ + αλα πεντε μικρα ονομαζομενα τα διο ι Παναγιες και τα αλα διο ο Αγιος ¹³¹ Νικολαος και ι αγια Κατερινα	No 5
¹³² + ενα καδρο	No 1

(φ. 4ν)

¹³³ + αλο ενα καδρο ι Παναγια φρακικι	No 1
¹³⁴ + ενα αρμαρι ταλπεδενιο με διο ανιζες	No 1
¹³⁵ + μια κασελα ταλπεδενια	No 1
¹³⁶ + ενας μπακος ανιζις τζι κασελας ταλπεδενιος	No 1
¹³⁷ + διο καρφικτες	No 1
¹³⁸ + χαρτια του τζογου ματζα τετρακοσα σαραντα τρια	No 443
¹³⁹ + μια κανεβατζετα μπλαβι και κοκινη	No 1
¹⁴⁰ + ενα φιστανι γιροποδατο με μεταξι μπλαβο, κοκινο και πρασινο	No 1
¹⁴¹ + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια παλια λαβοραδα με κορονετες τζι βελονας	No 1
¹⁴² + αλο ζεβγαρι σεντονια, το ενα σκλητο και το αλο λαβοραδο με	
¹⁴³ κορονετες πανενιες	No 1
¹⁴⁴ + διο ταβλομαντια. το ενα ντερενιο και το αλο κατινατο μετα δεματα	No 2
¹⁴⁵ + ενα κουβερτουρι πανενιο κοκινο με τζι μπλαβες γαμπετες	No 1
¹⁴⁶ + ενα τορναλετο του στροματου πανενιο μπλαβο με κιτρινες γαμπετες	No 1
¹⁴⁷ + μια γογρα πρασινη με μια κορδελα ασπρι φουνταδι	No 1
¹⁴⁸ + αλο τορναλετο μπολιστικο μετα ζαβιδια τα μπαμπακερα	No 1

- |¹⁴⁹+ οκτο μπρατζα ρασα κοκινι No 8
- |¹⁵⁰+ αλι μια πετζετα τερι τον οπισο γεγραμενο πετζετο No 1
- |¹⁵¹+ τεσερα πετζα κουρτινα τζαρδι απο κινα απου βανουσι ι
- γι-ο|¹⁵²βρεη ις το σμαιιδιν τος με τρις κορδελινες χρουσες No 4
- |¹⁵³+ διο ψηδια με αντιγο ζομπλι No 2
- |¹⁵⁴ εμπενοντας ις τι μεσα καμαρα του ανογιου οπου διχνη προς τα
δισικα
- |¹⁵⁵ και εβρεθικασι
- |¹⁵⁶+ ενα κονισμα μεγαλο με τι κνιζολα ονομαζομενο Η Κιρια ι
Καρδιοτισα No 1
- |¹⁵⁷+ αλο κονισμα με τη κνιζολα ο Ιησούς Χριστος δεσποτικο No 1
- |¹⁵⁸+ αλο κονισμα με τη κνιζολα ο Αφεντης ο Χριστος No 1
- |¹⁵⁹+ αλο κονισμα με τη κνιζολα ο Αγιος Γεοργιος No 1
- |¹⁶⁰+ διο κονισματα σγουραφισμενα, κι τα διο ο Αγιος Διμιτριος No 2
- |¹⁶¹+ αλο κονισμα τριμορφο μικρο σφαλιστηρι No 1
- |¹⁶²+ αλο κονισμα ι Αγια Κατερικα No 1
- |¹⁶³+ αλο κονισμα ο Αγιος Νικολαος σκλητο No 1
- |¹⁶⁴+ αλο κονισμα ο Αγιος Γεοργιος σκλητο No 1
- |¹⁶⁵+ αλο κονισμα μεγαλο ι Παναγια σγουραφισμενι αποπανοθιο
στον ταφτα No 1
- |¹⁶⁶+ ενα σταβρομενο μικρο No 1
- |¹⁶⁷+ τρις κασελες καρενικες No 3
- |¹⁶⁸+ μια κασελα ταλπεδενια No 1
- |¹⁶⁹+ ενα ζεβγαρι σεντονια λαβοραδα με κορονετες τζι βελονας No 1
- |¹⁷⁰+ ενα κουβερτορι διοπετζο προκαδελο κοκικο και κιτρινο No 1
- |¹⁷¹+ ενα παπλομα μπλαβο μεταξοτο διμιτο No 1
- |¹⁷²+ ενα νταμπι πρασινο μετα κιτρινα φοιρε με μια χρουσι κατο No 1
- |¹⁷³+ διο προσκεφαλαδια καμοκενικα κοκικα No 2
- |¹⁷⁴+ αλο προσκεφαλαδι ορμιζι πρασινο No 1
- |¹⁷⁵+ αλι μια μοςκια No 1
- |¹⁷⁶+ διο καργιολες σιδερενικες No 2
- (φ. 5r)
- |¹⁷⁷+ μια ταβλα καρενικα με τρια σιρματα No 1
- |¹⁷⁸+ δεκατεσερικες καδεγλες ντε μπουργαρο, ι οκτο παλικες No 14
- |¹⁷⁹+ πεντε σκανια μεσινταγιαδα No 5
- |¹⁸⁰+ τεσερα καδρα Σιμπλες No 4

- |¹⁸¹+ μια κανεβατζέτα με πολο λογιό φιορε με τι κουδά με μια
βγερνετζιο χρουσι No 1
- |¹⁸²+ ις τιν ιδία καμερα εβρεθικασι γροσεται και κατρινια λιτρες
χιλιες οκτακοσες No 1800
- |¹⁸³+ απου τα οπια τορνεσα επλεροσασι λεγατα ι ανοθε κομεσαρι
λιτρες
- πεντακο|¹⁸⁴σες ενμπροστας εμου του παροντος νοταριου και τον No 500
κατογεγραμενο μαρτιρο |¹⁸⁵τζι Εργινας Κοντοβουροπουλας και
εκατο τζι Εργινας Μαντουφενας, |¹⁸⁶εβγανοντας τα αφτα λεγατα No 100
αβαντζαρουσι νετα λιτρες χιλιες διακοσες, |¹⁸⁷τα οπια τα No 1200
κονσενιαρου τζι κερα-Μαργετας Στανιλοπουλας θυγατερας τζι
απανο|¹⁸⁸γεγραμενις ποτε κερ-Ανεζινας Αντρονικοπουλας τζι
τεσταδορισας
- |¹⁸⁹+ ενα φιστανι ολογεματο με μεταξι κολορε ντε μαρε αζετελεφτο No 1
- |¹⁹⁰εμπενοντας ις τομ ποτζο αποπανοθιο του πορτιγου και εβρεθικασι
- |¹⁹¹+ κορδελες μεταξοτες μαβρες και ασπρες το μπαπουτζο πρατζα
τριακοσα πενιντα No 350
- |¹⁹²+ και ρομανετα μαβρι του φεραρολιου μπρατζα δεκαπεντε No 15
- |¹⁹³+ παπουτζα μαβρα και ασπρα ζεβγαρια εκατο πενιντα πεντε No 155
- |¹⁹⁴+ οργιο ανηψητο λιτρες χοντρες τριαντα πεντε No 35
- |¹⁹⁵+ δωδεκα κοματια χρουσοπετζα μικρα μεγαλα No 12
- |¹⁹⁶+ μπαμπακι λιτρες ψηλες εκατο ηντζιρκα No 100
- |¹⁹⁷+ μια σπινετα No 1
- |¹⁹⁸+ ενα βατζελι στανενιο φιλαντριανο No 1
- |¹⁹⁹+ ενα χονι χαρκοματενιο No 1
- |²⁰⁰+ διο χαρκοματακια No 2
- |²⁰¹+ μια βατζελα χαρκοματενια No 1
- |²⁰²+ τεσερα στροματζα No 4
- |²⁰³+ ενα ταπεδο παλιο No 1
- |²⁰⁴+ ενα φασο φουλαμουρι No 1
- |²⁰⁵+ διο φελτζαδες παλιες No 2
- |²⁰⁶+ διο προσκεφαλαδες No 2
- |²⁰⁷+ μια σιγλα χαρκοματενια οπου διρνου το νερο No 1
- |²⁰⁸+ πενιντα λιτρες ατζαλε ρεφουδαγιο No 50
- |²⁰⁹+ εφτα τιγανια μιτζα μεγαλα, τα τεσερα σιδερενια ρεφουδαγια No 7
- |²¹⁰+ τρις σηδεροκουταλες, ι μια μεγαλι, ρεφουδαγιας No 3

- |²¹¹+ ενα σκεπασμα του λαμπικου μολιβενιο No 1
 |²¹²+ ικοσι ενια καρτακαζες ρεφουδαγιες No 29
 |²¹³+ τρια φτιαρια παλια No 3
 |²¹⁴+ σκριτα χοργιατικα ενενιντα τεσερα, ιπορταρουσι ι σουμα τος λιτρες
 |²¹⁵ τορνεσα εντεκα χιλιαδες και εξιντα εφτα No 11067
 |²¹⁶+ αλα σκριτα οπου εβρισκουντε απο δεπα απου τι χορα, ιπορταρουσι
 |²¹⁷ λιτρες χιλιες εκατο σαραντα οκτο No 1148
 |²¹⁸+ αλο σκριτο του ποτέ αφεντι πατερα Κορναρο οπου ιονε γουμενος
 του μοναστηριου του Ανκαρα²¹⁹θου ογια λιτρες οκτακοσες ιγου No 800
 |²²⁰+ ακομι μια γραφι του αφεντι Μαθιο Φαλιδιστρι και ιπορταρουσι λιτρες τορνεσα |²²¹ δεκα χιλιαδες και εκατον ογδοηντα πεντε No 10185
 |²²²+ αλο σκριτο του Γερανου οδια λιτρες διο χιλιαδες και διακοσες No 2200
 (φ. 5ν)
 |²²³+ διο σοτοκουπες αργιρες λιγα νοβα ογγες τριαντα διο
 |²²⁴+ ενα κανιν αργιρο ογγες δεκαπεντε
 |²²⁵+ ενα μαστραπα αργιρο ινταγιαδο ογγες δοδεκα
 |²²⁶+ ενα γατζο μοδερνο χρουσο μετα περατα
 |²²⁷+ ισε καπια τζακισματα χρουσαφι ιγου καμπιες και μισο βουλοτιρι αζαγια | πεντε
 |²²⁸ Μαρτιρες παρακαλετη
 |²²⁹ ο αφεντις ο Κοσταντης ντε Φεραρα ποτέ αφεντι Νικολο
 |²³⁰ και ο μισερ Γεοργακις Παπαδοπουλος ποτε μισερ Μανολι και ι διο απου τι μπα²³¹ ρουσα χορα

14. λεγομενου πάνω από τη γραμμή διορθωμένη από ανοθε, 16. ολα τα κατογεγραμενα πάνω από τη γραμμή, 24. πριν από μεγαλι διέγραψε καρενια, 102. πριν από ζουπονι διέγραψε αντρικό, 141. διέγραψε όλο το στίχο: ενα ξεβγαρι σεντονια λαβοραδα με διχος κοροντετες, 142. και το αλο έγγραψε δυο φορές, 184. πριν από το ενμπροστας διέγραψε πενιντα, 194. πριν από το χοντρες διέγραψε ψηλες.