

**CANDIA AND THE VENETIAN *OLTREMARE*: IDENTITY AND VISUAL
CULTURE IN THE EARLY MODERN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN**

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Abstract

The University of Manchester

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PhD

Candia and the Venetian *Oltermare*: Identity and Visual Culture in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean.

2010

Following its acquisition in 1204, Crete became one of Venice's prime colonial possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean. Venice's maritime empire was known as the *Stato da mar* or the *Oltremare*. Candia, Crete's capital, was the island's largest urban centre, the heart of the colony's administration, and a thriving port. Its inhabitants included patricians sent from Venice to govern the island, noble Cretans and noble Venetians, descendants of the early Venetian colonisers, *cittadini*, and a host of transient residents. The city's Jewish community was confined to the *Judaica*, a section of the urban expanse inside the city's Byzantine walls. By the sixteenth-century, three centuries of Creto-Venetian co-existence had given birth to an urban society which was polyglot and multi-denominational. Cretans travelled frequently to Venice, which hosted a large Greek community after the fall of Constantinople (1453). This thesis examines aspects of Cretan identity in the sixteenth century, such as class, religion and locality. The importance of appearances in the early modern colonial context is discussed and evidence is presented of Venice's influence on Cretan attire and the language used to describe such artefacts. Stemming from this, sumptuary legislation is examined and instances when appearances deceived and threatened social order. Sources consulted and brought to bear on the discussion include extant material records, such as embroidery, and archival and published documents, such as state and private correspondence, notarial records, costume books, maps, atlases, contemporary literature, and historical accounts of Crete. The last chapter examines aspects pertaining to Crete's insularity: the experience of sea travel, the cartographic genre of *isolarii*, island-books, where Crete featured prominently, the maps of Crete's most famous cartographer and, finally, the unpublished wills of the *Regno di Candia* and the island of Scio.

Declaration

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Note on Measures, Currency and Dates

Measures

1 Italian *miglio* = 1,740 metres.

1 Italian *passo* = 1.74 metres.

1 silk-cloth (Venetian) *braccio* = 63.8 cm.

1 wool-cloth (Venetian) *braccio* = 68.3 cm.

Currency

In Venice and the Venetian empire the gold ducat was the basic high-denomination coin for all large transactions. In the mid-sixteenth century it became known as a *zecchino* or *cecchino*, *τσεκίνι* or *τσικίνι* in Greek. In 1517 the Venetian state established the convention of a fixed ducat of account equivalent to 6 *lire* 4 *soldi*. In everyday transactions in Crete the most common monetary unit was the *perpero*, *υπέρπυρον* or *πέπερο* in Greek. The term derived from the Byzantine coin *hyperpyron* which circulated in the Empire before the Fourth Crusade (1204). In the period under consideration one Cretan *perpero* was equivalent to 32 *soldini* or 128 *tornesi*. The *perpero* was not normally represented as an actual coin, but instead it functioned as the measure of value used by Cretans to calculate and understand monetary transactions. *Marcelli* were silver coins originally valued at half a *lira* (equivalent to 10 *soldi*) which circulated widely in Crete.

Alfred Vincent, "Money and Coinage in Venetian Crete, c. 1400-1669: An Introduction," *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 (2007). This is the most comprehensive and thorough account of the topic.

Dates

More Veneto (*m.v.*), 'Venetian style', refers to the fact Venetian year began on 1 March. Thus, 14 February 1514 *m.v.* is 14 February 1515 in modern usage.

Abbreviations and Note on Translations

Archives and Primary Sources

ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice.

BL = British Library, London.

BMV = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, Venice.

BUP = Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, Padova.

GL = Gennadius Library, Athens.

MCV = Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr di Venezia, Venice.

V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PTM = Senato, Dispacci, Provveditori da terra e da mar.

b. = busta.

reg. = registro.

Secondary Sources

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

DDV = Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano.

Note on Translations

Unless otherwise specified all translations and transcriptions are mine. Abbreviations in primary sources have been opened; spelling and punctuation have not been modernised.

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Introduction

‘Questa fertilissima isola si havrebbe il dominio assoluto del mare, essendo come centro in mezzo del mar Mediterraneo, anzi del mondo poichè è quasi egualmente distante dall’Asia, Africa et Europa.’

Lazaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno* (Ferrara, 1598), 60.¹

In the heart of Venice, opposite the Church of San Marco and the Ducal Palace and at the foot of the Campanile, stands Jacopo Sansovino’s loggetta. It was commissioned in 1537 and the main structure was completed by 1540 when the sculptural decoration began to be applied.² The structure functioned as a meeting place for the Venetian nobles who came to the Piazza on government business. The relief sculpture on the building’s façade proclaims Venice’s destiny as an imperial force. (Fig. 1) The central panel expresses Venetian dominance over the *Terraferma*: two reclining figures of river gods empty their water flasks at the feet of Venice personified as Justice. (Fig. 2) Flanking the central panel are the figures of Venus and Jupiter. (Figs 3 & 4) According to classical mythology, Venus emerged from the sea on a shell at the shores of Cyprus, and Jupiter, the Greek Zeus, was born in Crete and spent his childhood on Mount Ida, in the hinterlands of the Cretan capital, Candia. The labyrinth, Minotaur’s prison, behind the reclining god is another reference to Crete’s mythical past and was ubiquitously depicted on maps, searched for by travelers and discussed in contemporary literature. (Figs 67, 69, 72, 74) The two Olympian gods personify Venice’s most important maritime possessions: *Il Regno di Candia* and *Il Regno di Cipro*. The message of Venetian geopolitical dominion was expressed by Sansovino’s son, Francesco, who in 1581 wrote, ‘[a]nd so you see that the façade of this small structure embodies the sea and land empire of their lordships.’³

¹ Cited in Alberto Tenenti, "Il senso del mare," in *Storia di Venezia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti e Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto Enciclopedia Italiana), 53.

² Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), 29.

³ Bruce Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1991), 80. This is echoed by Howard who writes, ‘The loggetta is the most complete surviving visual representation of the “myth of Venice” –that is, the Venetian view of their own state as the perfect republic. While this concept coloured the political writings of the time, the great fires in the Doge’s Palace in 1574 and 1577 destroyed virtually every other artistic interpretation dating from before the loss of Cyprus.’ (Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice*, 34).

The Venetian empire in the Levant, the *Oltremare*, consisted of a conglomerate of maritime possessions in the Greek-speaking world. The acquisition of Crete in 1204, following the assignment of the Archipelago islands to the Republic, established Venetian hegemony in the Aegean.⁴ As early as 1211 Crete hosted a landed Venetian aristocracy sent from the capital to defend the island.⁵ Three centuries later, in the sixteenth century, the descendants of these Venetian patricians and the indigenous nobles, the *nobili Cretensi*, formed the island's urban elite. Intermarriage played a significant role in bringing the two social groups closer and with time their class interests widely converged. Patricians from Venice were assigned the highest-ranking positions in the colony's local government. While in office these patrician administrators sought to maintain the power balance between the island's social classes and to reinforce the centralised government's control of the colony. Meanwhile, throughout the century the Ottoman Empire gradually annexed Venice's possessions in the region culminating in the conquest of Crete in 1669.

The colonies of the *Oltremare*, according to Benjamin Arbel, served three purposes: the ports functioned as docking stations in international trade routes; they were trade emporia and sorting centres; and their natural and human resources were exploited so that wealth was transferred from the periphery to the centre, permitting Venice to maintain an empire without tapping into its own resources.⁶ Scholarly interest in the maritime empire has conventionally focused on economic and political issues, overlooking the heavy human traffic and the concurrent cultural dialogues between Venice and its colonies. Venetian patricians sent to govern Candia faced many and unique challenges in their role as representatives of the Republic: they were exposed, for instance, to a majority population that spoke another language and professed a different Christianity, while they also ruled over the noble Cretan-Venetian descendants of their social peers whose interests with time often diverged from those of the Republic. Meanwhile Crete's ancient past intrigued visiting foreigners with humanist inclinations and the Cretan countryside offered ample opportunities for the pursuit of such interests among its numerous ruins. Venetians' testimonies of their experiences in Crete not only reveal patrician attitudes towards their subject populations, but also offer insight into their views of their own state,

⁴ Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶ Benjamin Arbel, "Colonie d'Oltremare," in *Storia di Venezia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti e Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 987.

class and religion. The Greek community of Venice was a further and constant reminder of Venetian ties with the East: in the second half of the sixteenth century its membership is estimated at approximately 4,000 - 5,000 people.⁷ These numbers do not include transient presences such as Greek-speaking merchants and mariners who continuously arrived and departed from the Serenissima. In both Crete and Venice, Cretans were exposed to Venetian culture and, as we shall see, they learnt to negotiate their identities in accordance with the circumstances. Class and family interests in many cases were determining factors of the indigenous population's relationship with their rulers. Contemporary archival documents also attest to the importance of birthplace, *patria*, and religion for issues regarding identity.

Scholarship on the *Oltremare* is recently emerging from the margins of Venetian historiography and to a large extent is still plagued by undercurrents of regionalism and nationalism. Linguistic challenges add further barriers for researchers interested in the region's history. Thus, Greek scholarship for the most part remains a tightly-knit body of work, with very limited reliance on secondary literature in other languages and a marked preference for presenting unpublished sources, rather than engaging in analysis and commentary. This approach to the historical record can be partly understood by the wealth of archival material that awaits publication, on the one hand, and, on the other, by a national academic tradition which favours the presentation of archival findings over more theoretically framed projects. This is especially true for many of the publications in *Thesavrismata*, the academic journal of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice. Interdisciplinary scholarship is rare, if not discouraged, and interest in material culture remains confined to specialist publications.

Italian scholarship on the *Oltremare*, as mentioned above, tends to form a subsection of Venetian history and approaches the topic with Venice as the departure point and, ultimately, as the main subject of interest. The difficulty of linguistic access to Greek literature imposes artificial boundaries between the two academic communities, although, it should be noted that Greek scholars in most cases engage with Italian scholarship. The same, however, is not true vice versa. Colonial societies, such as Crete, perched on the fringe of the Venetian Empire, were often

⁷ Estimations reach as high as 15, 000. (Ειρήνη Παπαδάκη [Papadaki], "Συνέταιροι κι έμποροι: Η οργάνωση μίας εταιρίας για τη έκδοση Ελληνικών βιβλίων στα τέλη του 16ου αιώνα," *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 [2007]).

thriving regional centres, which followed early modern developments and faced the social problems and challenges of their time. In this sense, they are important and rewarding topics of historical enquiry in their own right. At the same time, ‘Venetianists’ stand to benefit from the better understanding of the empire, an undertaking which ultimately enriches and nuances our knowledge of Venetian politics, economy, military and naval history, and culture.

Change in scholarship on the empire’s Greek-speaking regions has been slow and primarily driven by historians at American universities, who form the third group of scholars publishing on the region’s history. In the case of Crete, indicatively, I mention the work of historians Sally McKee, Monique O’Connell, Molly Greene and Maria Georgopoulou, an art historian. McKee’s research focuses on fourteenth-century Crete using notarial records to discuss the interactions of the Latin and Greek communities in the early stages of their co-existence. Her work alerts the reader to the difference between the state’s self-serving agenda in keeping the two communities separate and the picture that emerges from the existing records. McKee emphasises the pivotal role of the Venetian nobles’ illegitimate children in changing the island’s social landscape. O’Connell also focuses on the early period of Venetian rule and, in particular, on issues regarding the Veneto-Cretans’ legal and social identity as rightful members of Venice’s ruling elite. More recently, the author has shifted her attention to the broader geographical region and has published a book on administrative history and the intricacies of the patrician networks which governed Venice’s colonies. Georgopoulou examines Crete’s urban and architectural landscape and the Venetian appropriation of Byzantine rituals. She maintains that the Venetians’ approach to their colony was coloured by their high esteem of Byzantine culture and that their contact with the latter on Cretan terrain paved the way for the incorporation of Byzantine treasures from the Fourth Crusade (1204). Her analysis in *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* covers a broad chronological period of Venetian rule from the island’s acquisition to the early sixteenth century and presents a prime example of the aforementioned change in scholarship, whereby a wealth of sources are consulted and archival findings are brought to bear on broader lines of enquiry. Finally, Greene moves forward in time and examines Ottoman Crete and the transitions which occurred when the island was annexed to the neighbouring Muslim empire. She argues against the theory which proposes an abrupt break between the consecutive rules, a theory which she believes

serves Greek nationalist purposes. Despite the sixteenth-century chronological focus of this thesis, the above scholarship will be consulted on several occasions and the authors' arguments regarding Cretan society will be discussed. In terms of Greek scholarship which engages with changes in academic trends and challenges the long-established narratives of the genre the following stand out: George Tolias' work on *isolarii*, which is partly published in English as well as Greek; Stefanos Kaklamanis' comprehensive publication of Francesco Barozzi's *Descrittione dell' Isola di Creta* (1577/8); and Kostas E Lambrinos' scholarship on Cretan peasants and noble women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, two social groups ignored by previous scholarship.

This thesis will seek to address the lacunae in literature on attitudes towards and perceptions of Greek-speaking Venetian subjects and Cretans in particular. Throughout, attention will be given to the hybridity of linguistic terms which bear the signs of Creto-Venetian interaction and yet have rarely caught the attention of writers addressing such issues. Close consideration will also be given to modern historical analyses which have sought to interpret the period in light of later historical developments, such as the numerous publications of the historian, Chryssa A Maltezou. New evidence from unpublished sources will be presented for the insights it offers into the varying perspectives and diverging interests of Cretan social classes. Cretans' appearances, a topic almost entirely ignored in literature, will be examined from a variety of perspectives and current developments in Venice will be brought to bear on the topic. This project will benefit from a broad spectrum of sources both written and visual on sixteenth-century Crete: specimens of extant material culture, such as fabrics, embroideries and frescos; notarial records; literary and historical accounts of the island; travel literature; personal and state correspondence; costume books and early modern maps, printed and manuscript. Some of these sources have been confined to the margins of historical enquiry, others have fared better, and yet others remained unpublished. The notarial records, for instance, which will be used in the sections relating to appearances are found in the published records of Cretan notaries; I have extracted the information which is pertinent to my interests and incorporated these testimonies into the narrative. In the case of *isolarii*, collections of maps of islands, scholarship conventionally focuses on the genre's cartography, whereas Chapter Five will look at the accompanying narrative texts and some of the *topoi* they contain regarding Crete. What, if anything, can these texts tell us of

Venetian perceptions of locals and how did they instruct Cretans to view themselves, their island and its past? Embroidery is a Cretan cultural production which is almost entirely ignored in historical accounts despite the insights it offers into contemporary attire, gender roles, household and regional economy, and inter-cultural dialogue. The latter will be explored in Chapter Three and, in addition, attention will be given to early twentieth-century collecting and discussion of Greek embroidery which has set the field's discursive frameworks. The project will capitalise on the existing scholarship on Venetian Crete, occasionally turning back in time in order to provide the necessary frameworks for understanding the sixteenth-century context, and simultaneously introduce new evidence from my archival research. The thesis will enrich and nuance current understandings of sixteenth-century Cretan society, its rulers' efforts to control and comprehend it, and will expose the genre's historiographical narratives.

Chapter One begins by setting the historical parameters which will permeate the thesis and addressing the most important aspects of identity in Crete, in particular locality, religion and class. The chapter presents and examines the island's social hierarchy and pays close attention to contemporary testimonies of self-referential terms. Language as a marker of identity is examined both in the sixteenth-century context and in historical analyses. In this chapter and throughout the thesis, I rely both on published material and newly presented archival documents. These are brought together in a syncretistic manner and a meta-analysis of previous scholarship is presented. Candia's Jewish community is discussed in a separate section as an insightful case study of the complexity of inter-communal relations in the colonial environment.

Chapter Two turns to sixteenth-century primary sources regarding Crete: a letter of advice on running a household in Candia addressed to a Venetian administrator about to start his tenure on the island; an anonymous and undated poem on Crete, which paints a grim picture of the island and its inhabitants; and three early modern treatises on the island's history and geography penned by members of its social elite, permanent and transitory. A varied picture emerges in regards to class interests and preoccupations, breaking down any efforts to homogenise the population along 'national' lines. Crete's ancient past and its wealth of ruins attracted resident Humanists' attention and eventually that of the local elite, who were keen to promote Cretan antiquity in the hope of elevating their social status.

Chapter Three and Four examine Cretans' appearances, a significant aspect of early modern Crete which is conventionally overlooked in literature. Notarial records attest to the importance and value of clothes as commodities in urban Cretan households and their nomenclature offers strong evidence of the ongoing dialogue with Venice. The impact of imported clothes and fabrics on Cretan fashion and issues pertaining to the tailors' guild will be examined, followed by a discussion of Cretan embroidery. Stylistic and aesthetic developments will be addressed using visual evidence from surviving artefacts and relevant contemporary printed sources such as costume and lace-pattern books.

After investigating appearances at an embodied level, Chapter Four turns to structural efforts to confine, control and regulate appearances in the *Regno*. Sumptuary legislation is examined and evidence is provided on Venetians' acute awareness of external appearances' power to impress and re-iterate hierarchical social structures. Any attempts to subvert the island's symbolic order were dealt with the greatest severity as evidenced in a case of masquerading which will be discussed in detail. This chapter also examines sumptuary restrictions from the city's *bandi* regarding Candia's Jews and presents a section on the importance of beards as ethnic markers in the early period of Venetian rule. Chapter Four ends with a discussion of the Greek presence in sixteenth-century costume books and particularly the interest in the Cretans of Sfachia. The misunderstanding of the appellation *Romeoi* in Cesare Vecellio's *Degli habitii antichi et moderni...* (1590) points to difficulties in cross-cultural transpositions of self-referential terms and instigates a brief analysis of relevant Byzantine terminology.

Chapter Five moves away from issues pertaining to the island's inhabitants to address another aspect of Crete: its insularity, the condition of being an island. The chapter begins with contemporary accounts of the experience of sea travel that was required to access any island and continues by discussing one of the means the early modern public came to examine and envision islands, maps. The popular cartographic genre of *isolarii*, island-books, is discussed after a brief introduction of the early modern map revolution. A sample of maps of Crete in *isolarii* is presented with special emphasis on the content of the accompanying texts. A separate section presents new archival evidence regarding Crete's most famous cartographer, Georgio Sideri, and the chapter ends with a discussion of two unpublished final testaments of

the islands of Scio and Candia. The texts' satirical spirit bespeaks the contemporary political atmosphere regarding the changing world of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Chapter 1
Identity in Sixteenth-century Candia

‘Αν δεν μ’αρέσει ο Δάνδαλος, πάω με τον Κορνάρο.’
‘If I do not like Dandolo, I side with Cornaro.’
Cretan Proverb

‘Ad proficuum et honorem Venetiarum.’¹

1. Introduction

By the sixteenth century the *Regno di Candia* had been under Venetian rule for over three hundred years. In the island’s urban centres, namely Canea (Chania), Rettimo (Rethymnon) and Candia (Herakleion), populations and cultures met and interacted daily: indigenous Cretan nobles, *cittadini* and peasants, Venetian noble residents descendants of the thirteenth-century colonists, feudatories, Venetian patricians sent to administer the colony, Jewish and Armenian residents, Greeks and foreigners from other locations in the Eastern Mediterranean; priests and friars of both rites, mercenary soldiers, transient merchants, mariners and travellers. Religions, languages, social classes and occupations separated and divided these groups. Urban Cretans worshipped in Orthodox and Catholic churches and in synagogues, spoke Greek, Italian and Hebrew, were members of guilds, confraternities and local *Accademie*, sent their sons to Italian universities, dressed in the Venetian fashions and travelled to Venice and Venetian territories for business, to pursue their legal cases and visit relatives.

Any effort to neatly categorize individuals is negated by the historical records which abound in cases of boundary transgressions. Contrary or, more accurately in light of these transgressions, state and church authorities were perpetually anxious to enforce the sense of social separation and enhance the distinctiveness of social groups. Such efforts and anxieties will be witnessed, among others, in the legislation concerning the interaction of Christians and Jews in Candia, the pressure asserted on partners in inter-denominational marriages, the concern and measures taken regarding the credentials of Creto-Venetian nobles, and in Cretan sumptuary legislation. The complexity and fluidity of early modern identities appears to have

¹ The phrase was continuously repeated in the *commissioni* of the *rettori* assigned to posts in the *Oltremare*. Benjamin Arbel writes, ‘...fissava gli obiettivi gi ogni aspetto della presenza veneziana oltremare. Profitto e onore per la metropoli e per i suoi abitanti, e in particolare per i patrizi.’ (Arbel, “Colonie d’ Oltremare,” 964).

found a stabilising anchor in locality, in a person's birthplace, his *patria*. Peter Lock comments on the privileging of smaller regions and links the tendency towards introversion to the Eastern Mediterranean's geographical structure. 'The mountainous terrain', he writes, 'fostered any impetus for regionalism and tended to accentuate the process of fragmentation.'² The association of natural terrain and human characters was an antique *topos*, repeated by Cesare Vecellio in his sixteenth-century costume book where he drew a link between the rebellious and defiant characters of the *Sfachiotti*, inhabitants of a mountainous region in the south-east of Crete, and the rough, inhospitable terrain of their land.³

A binary opposition with the Cretans, on the one side, and the Venetians, on the other, would present a simplified and inaccurate picture of sixteenth-century Crete. Factors such as class, religion and gender cut across the two categories. The overriding of the differences in the relationship each Cretan social class developed with the island's rulers characterises a large portion of Greek historical scholarship which 'imagin[es] [the nation] as a community ... regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, ...[it] is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.'⁴ Thus although the plight of the Cretan peasants and their adversarial stance to Venetian rule is routinely mentioned, most scholarship glosses over the diverging class interests of the Cretan nobles and the peasants. The interests of the former were greatly aligned with those of Venice, while the latter were usually exploited by Venetian and Greek nobles alike. Furthermore, as indicated by the Cretan proverb above, individuals often switched alliances or adapted to their circumstances as best suited their interests. This is best exemplified by the cases of the Cretans who left Candia to seek work and a better life in the Ottoman capital. Having fled Venetian lands, they sought to retain their legal status as Venetian-subjects by attaining a legal document (*fede*) from the resident Venetian *bailo*.⁵ A *fede* ensured its holder was exempt from special taxes required from non-Muslims in Ottoman lands and guaranteed all matters concerning this person were referred to the

² Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204-1500* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 1.

³ Vecellio writes, '[e]t per esser (come si dice) gente aspra, & ruvida, conforme al paese, che le produce...' (Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo. Libri due fatti da Cesare Vecellio & con discorsi da lui dichiarati*. [Venetia: Damian Zenato, 1590], f. 423v).

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, (London; New York: Verso, 1983; reprint, 2006), 7.

⁵ Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople; Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 86.

bailo's courts.⁶ Cretans sought these permits which identified them as Venetian subjects for the political and economic privileges they offered. Eric R Dusteler writes that the identity of Venice's Greek subjects from the *stato da mar* in Constantinople was 'hyphenated... [t]hey were "political amphibians," and they were not unique in their adaptability.'⁷

Issues regarding identity can be approached by unpacking statements of political and religious affiliation, as the ones above, and by close attention to outward signs of identity such as appearances and costumes. These provided visual cues to aspects of the individual's identity which could be interpreted and understood by members of his or her environment. Identity as an internalised state of existence, an awareness each person has of their individuality, of their role in their family and in society, their religious and political beliefs, and so on is hard to locate in the historical records. A conversion presents a telling example of this difficulty: the convert's religious identity is traceable, but the reasons and sincerity of the conversion are usually much harder to determine. The sharing of a common faith, social class, education, gender and so on often provide criteria for inclusion in social groups. Thus, people who shared the same faith might attend the same church, belong to the same confraternity and live in the same neighbourhood. All these activities played a significant role in determining Cretans' identities. Criteria that sanctioned inclusion into groups are harder to determine and record than ones that signalled exclusion. Judaism in both Venice and Crete, for example, placed restrictions on social integration, while not being Jewish, being Orthodox for instance, did not guarantee social acceptance or mobility. Similarly, ignorance of the Italian language in the Cretan context indicated a person removed from circles of power and education; its knowledge, however, did not ensure access to those circles. Furthermore, knowledge of Italian could be linked to the Catholic faith, but again exceptions abound.

This thesis will examine issues of early modern identity both as a perceived phenomenon and as an experienced one. This dual approach promises to yield more comprehensive and interesting results, while overcoming the limitations of each approach taken separately.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 269 cited in *ibid.*, 16.

2. Localised or Regional Identity and Language

The sixteenth century and the centuries that preceded it saw the rising of importance of locality for Greek-speaking people and its ultimate prevalence in the process of identity formation over claims associated with vaster geographical expanses. The Byzantine Empire previously ruled the Eastern Mediterranean and provided the unifying force of powerful state structures and ideology; for the Greek-speaking subjects this Empire was ruled by a dynasty that professed the same faith, the Eastern Orthodox rite, and spoke the same language, Greek. Following the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 and the ensuing formal end of the Byzantine Empire, the concept of being a Byzantine subject became obsolete. As long as two centuries before 1453, however, a large number of Greek-speaking communities on islands and mainland settlements were under foreign rule, practically negating their inhabitants' claims to Byzantine sovereignty. By the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire had annexed most of the small Aegean crusader states and many of the Venetian colonies and was threatening the remaining Venetian holdings in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Venetians used the term 'Greco' to identify their Greek-speaking subjects, as well as the Christian Orthodox rite referred to consistently as 'il rito Greco.' The term was also used by the Byzantine émigrés when they petitioned the Council of Ten for the right to form a confraternity; they used the term 'nazione greca' to collectively present themselves before the authorities. By 1478 the Greek community of Venice, which had taken refuge in the lagoon city after 1453, numbered over 4,000.⁸ The Albanians, the Dalmatians and the Slavs were already organised in confraternities, and, in November 1498, the Venetian authorities granted the Greeks this right. The headquarters of the confraternity were in the church of San Biagio (Saint Blaise), where the community had been allowed to worship since 1470, and their patron saint was St Nicholas, 'an impartial protector of Venetians and Greeks alike.'⁹ The registers of the confraternity give an indication of the social

⁸ Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 416; M.I. Manoussacas, "The History of the Greek Confraternity (1498-1953) and the Activity of the Greek Institute of Venice (1966-1982)," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 (1989), 322-3. Nicol erroneously gives 1494 as the year of the petition.

⁹The Byzantine émigrés in Italy faced persistent obstacles in observing the Orthodox dogma. San Biagio was the church designated to the Orthodox Greeks in Venice following the Council of Florence (1439) and the union of the two churches. However, the majority of believers, approximately four-fifths according to Manoussacas, were not Unionists. Their adherence to the Orthodox Christian rite

composition of the community: the members came primarily from Venetian-held territories (Cyprus, Crete, the Ionian Islands, and the Peloponnese) and were seamen, merchants, artisans, shopkeepers, mercenaries (known as *stradiotti* from the Greek term for soldier), and painters.¹⁰ In 1533 the confraternity numbered 242 registered members, whereas in 1561-63 this increased to 613 men and 128 women, totalling 741 members.¹¹ The number is not representative, however, of the total number of Greeks in Venice as it does not include Greeks who were not permanent residents in the city and those who were not registered members of the community. In 1511 the Greek *scuola* (or *confraternita*) asked permission to buy a plot of land and build a church to be dedicated to San Giorgio, the patron of fighting men.¹² Their numbers had increased to such a degree that San Biagio was no longer adequate, they stated. In 1514 the doge granted them permission, which was subsequently approved by the Pope who granted the community the extraordinary privilege of being independent of the jurisdiction of the local ecclesiastical authority, the Patriarch of Venice.¹³ As expected, the Patriarch considered this privilege ‘a restriction of his authority and an affront to his dignity,’¹⁴ signalling the beginning of a period of tension between him and the Greek community. In 1573, San Giorgio dei Greci was completed, becoming the first church of the Greek diaspora in Western Europe.¹⁵

Although the community in its petitions presented itself to the Venetian authorities as the ‘nazione greca’ in the confraternity’s statutes, the *mariegola*, the members identified themselves by their first names and birthplaces: ‘Zorzi da

led the Venetian Senate to revoke a decision granting them the right to build a church in 1457. Two petitions for their own church (1473, 1479) did not meet a better fate. (Manoussacas, “The History of the Greek Confraternity,” 322-3).

¹⁰ *Stradiotti*, light-armed Greek and Albanian cavalymen, fought under the flag of San Marco in the East and were present in Crete. Manoussacas believes that these brigades changed the prevailing negative impression among Venetians regarding the Greeks. (Manoussacas, “The History of the Greek Confraternity,” 323-4) For a discussion of one of the most famous *stradiotto*, Matthew Spandounes or Spandugnino, see Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 417.

¹¹ Giorgio Fedalto, “Stranieri a Venezia e a Padova. 1550-1700,” in *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi e Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1984), 255.

¹² Manoussacas, “The History of the Greek Confraternity,” 324.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 325-6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 417. The total cost of both the construction and decoration amounted to fifteen thousand ducats. (Manoussacas, “The History of the Greek Confraternity,” 325-6) For the roles of Tintoretto and Jacopo Palma in the decoration of the church according to the ‘divota maniera greca’ see Μαλτέζου “Οι Έλληνες μέτοικοι στη Βενετία,” 181; for a discussion of the dome see Αθανάσιος Παλιούρας (Paliouras), “Η Εικονογράφηση του Τρούλου του Αγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 8 (1971).

Candia, Maria da Corfù, Nicolò da Zante, Zuanne da Malvasia.¹⁶ The terms ‘Greci’ and ‘stradioti Greci’ were only used in the statutes’ summaries which were compiled for the benefit of the *Provveditori del Comun*.¹⁷ When called upon to formally identify themselves, regional identities emerge as primary signifiers of people’s sense of *patria*.

A pride and identification with their region is also witnessed in the coats-of-arms of Greek students in Italian universities, and particularly of the University of Padova.¹⁸ These emphasized their place of origin in terms of region, such as *Cretensis*, *Retymnensis*, *Cephalenus*,¹⁹ rather than the more inclusive *Greco*. The Greek students belonged to the student body entitled ‘natio ultramarina’, one of the *nationes* of the *Oltramontani*, the organization of students from ‘beyond the mountains’, in this case the Alps.²⁰ The student body of the University of Padova was divided into two groups: the *Oltramontani*, mentioned above, and the *Citramontani*, students from the Italian peninsula, further organised by city of origin.²¹ The *nation ultramarina* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries consisted of Cypriots, Greeks, Dalmatians, Istrians, Illyrians and Sicilians.²² The motto on the coat of arms ‘inclita Natio Ultramarina sive Cypria,’ reflects the early predominance of the Cypriot students. The diverse background of the *oltramaroni* negates any understanding of these *nazioni* as expressions of an early form of national consciousness; the criteria for inclusion were clearly much broader than language,

¹⁶ Μαλτέζου, “Οι Έλληνες μέτοικοι στη Βενετία,” 178. For a published register of the Greek confraternity in the period 1615-6 containing the names of several mariners from Crete (‘da Candia’, ‘da Canea’, ‘Sfachioto’) see Μαλτέζου, ed., *Όψεις της Ιστορίας*, 77; for a list of mariners see Κρίστα Παναγιωτοπούλου (Panayiotopoulou), “Έλληνες ναυτικοί και πλοιοκτήτες από τα παλαιότερα οικονομικά βιβλία της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας Βενετίας (1539-1576)” *Θησαυρίσματα* 11 (1974).

¹⁷ Μαλτέζου, “Οι Έλληνες μέτοικοι στη Βενετία,” 178, note 14. The *provveditori di Comun* were responsible for ‘streets, bridges, canals and public wells; some of the crafts, especially in the woollen trade; grants of citizenship to foreigners.’ (David Chambers and Brian Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, vol. 12, Renaissance Society of America Reprint Series [Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press in association with Renaissance Society of America, 2001], 462).

¹⁸ Fedalto, “Stranieri a Venezia,” 271-2. For a discussion of the Greek students in Padova, the prime location of Greeks seeking higher education see ‘*Studenti stranieri a Padova*’ in *ibid.*, 271-8; for a list of the coats-of-arms of Cretan students in Padova see Giuseppe Gerola, “Gli Stemmi cretesi dell’ Università di Padova,” *Atti del Real Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 88 (1928-29).

¹⁹ Maltezos, “Η Διαμόρφωση της Ελληνικής Ταυτότητας,” 115.

²⁰ Βασιλική Μπόμπου-Σταμάτη (Bobou-Stamati), *Τα καταστατικά του Σωματείου (Nazione) των Ελλήνων Φοιτητών του Πανεπιστημίου της Πάδοβας (17ος-18ος αι.)*, (Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς, 1995), 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Μαλτέζου, “Οι Έλληνες μέτοικοι στη Βενετία,” 178.

religion or ethnic origin alone.²³ By the eighteenth century the inclusive nature of student *nazioni* appears to have ceased: an anonymous eighteenth-century copy of the statutes of the *Otramarini*, entitled *Statuto della Nazione Oltramarina* states that the *Nazione Oltramarina* ‘principalmente risiede nella nazione greca...’²⁴

While the Eastern Mediterranean was breaking down into small geographical units in the worldview of its indigenous population, their perception of foreigners followed the opposite trend. The Greek ‘Φράγγοι’/ Phrangoi, ‘Franks’, was a generic term which by the middle of the twelfth century came to signify western Europeans *en masse*.²⁵ ‘The pejorative aspect of this terminology,’ writes Lock, ‘equated all Franks, that is west Europeans, with barbarians, that is with the subjective late antique assessment of the Franks proper. This was a survival of the cultural snobbery of late antiquity...’²⁶ As a generic term, for a diverse group of settlers, ‘Franks’ imposed a greater degree of homogeneity on Westerners than the group ever really possessed.²⁷ The appellation ‘Λατίνοι’/ Latini, ‘Latins’, carried less pejorative connotations. Interestingly, as a term of convenience rather than of conviction ‘Franks’ continues to be used today in academic writing, mainly as ‘Φραγκοκρατία,’ the period of ‘Frankish’ occupation of Greek lands.

In documents from sixteenth-century Crete, the appellation ‘Franks’ and its derivative ‘Frankish’ is no longer common. The long period of cohabitation and exposure to Venetian culture had sensitised the locals to the vocabulary of their rulers when referring to themselves and to elements of their culture. The term ‘Frankish,’ thus, came to signify Western languages and in most cases Italian. Tommaso Porcacchi, author of a sixteenth-century *isolario*, in his discussion of Crete clearly states, ‘I nobili Vinitiani & Candioti vivono quasi tutti, secondo la Chiesa Latina & Romana: & cosi usano la lingua nostra, che da Greci è chiamata franca.’²⁸ This usage is confirmed in a Greek letter written in 1574 by the otherwise unknown

²³ Μπόμπου-Σταμάτη, *Τα καταστατικά του Σωματείου*, 41-2. For the significance of the term ‘nazione’ in the Ottoman capital see Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, esp. 13-4.

²⁴ The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Marciana (IT II, 131 [4996]) and Bobou-Stamati estimates it dates from 1702-38. (Ibid., 42).

²⁵ Ibid., 8.

²⁶ Discussing the ideological implication of the continuing usage of this term, Lock writes, ‘Labelling them as instruments of colonial exploitation misreads both the nature of the states and rulers of the Aegean, a process which linked that region firmly to the west.’ (Ibid., 9).

²⁷ Ibid., 8-9.

²⁸ Tommaso Porcacchi, *L’Isole piu Famose del Mondo...* (Venetia: Simon Galignani & Girolamo Porro, 1572), 18 (bis).

Leos.²⁹ The letter offers a glimpse into Venetian rule in rural Crete. Leos' place of residence is unknown but he clearly originated from the village of Keramia (*Κεραμεία*) in the Cretan region of Canea.³⁰ Written in lively, conversational Greek Leos addresses Loukas, a resident of the above village, who is illiterate, as were most villagers at the time. Leos instructs a certain Nicolò to read the letter to him.³¹ After discussing business issues Leos expresses a passionate anger towards the Venetians for the living conditions the Cretan peasants were forced to endure. He writes that if he were in Crete he would proclaim his condemnation publicly and challenge the Venetians to hang him if he were lying. It did not matter at his age, he continues, if he were to live a couple more years because he would rather be remembered by the Cretan people for the impact of his justified outburst.³² Leos expresses his desire to speak 'Frankish' so that he could write all that he wanted to say with Greek characters.³³ The author, we discover, only knew Greek, a fact that hindered his ability to communicate with the island's rulers. He desired to speak 'Frankish', Italian in other words, so he could use the Greek alphabet he already knew to transliterate his complaints. Leos requests that Loukas give his letter to a noble so that the powerful see the error of their ways and be content with half of what they now take from the peasants or risk losing it all. The Cypriot nobles, who lost everything to the Turks and whose women and children are now left begging, Leos claims, should stand as a warning of fate's unpredictability.³⁴

The term 'Frankish' in Leos' letter undoubtedly refers to the Italian language. Alfred Vincent understands the term 'φράγκικα' / frankish in Marcantonio Foskolos' urban comedy *Stathis* (late sixteenth to early seventeenth century) to refer to the Venetian dialect. The author translates the poet's extract regarding a pedant's linguistic training, as follows, 'and I'm learned in Italian ('volgare') and in Latin ('λατίνα' / latina), colloquial Greek ('ρωμαίικα' / romaika), Venetian ('φράγκικα' /

²⁹ ASV, *Documenti Greci*, b. 2. The document is published in Ελένη Αγγελολομάτη-Τσουγκαράκη (Aggelomati-Tsougaraki), "Η Κοινωνική Συνείδηση ενός Κρητικού του 1574," *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 (2007).

³⁰ Aggelomati-Tsougaraki posits he was living in Ottoman lands. (Ibid).

³¹ Ibid., 122.

³² Ibid., 128-9.

³³ Ibid., 129.

³⁴ Ibid., 128-9. Leos is an adamant supporter of Ottoman over Venetian rule. He writes that even though the Venetians were Christians they treated their co-religionists worse than the Ottomans. He discusses the taxes on Greeks under Ottoman rule, claiming they were fewer, and believes that only the 'paidomazoma', the obligatory conscription of Christian boys, was a problem. Even that, though, was for their own good as 'γίνονταν μετά άνθρωποι,' they then became human, which is to say more refined.

fraghika), Spanish ('σπανιόλα'/ spaniola), French ('φραντσόζα'/ frantsoza)...³⁵ Vincent comments on his translation, "[t]he rendering of 'φράγκικα' as 'Venetian' (as distinct from 'literary' Italian) is merely a guess. The same word is used to refer to a non-literary kind of Italian in contracts for the provision of instruction... But it may be wrong to credit the pedant with such fine linguistic distinctions- perhaps he is simply repeating the sense of *volgare*.'³⁶

As evidenced in Leos' letter the co-existence of the two communities had given birth to particular linguistic phenomena on the island. Greek written with Latin characters and less commonly Italian with Greek characters were not uncommon in this period. Evidence of such practice is found in witnesses' signatures in notarial documents. The notary Manuel Gregoropoulos' records are composed exclusively in Greek, but his witnesses occasionally use Latin characters to write the Greek language.³⁷ Greek, Cretan dialect to be precise, became the predominant spoken language in this period; Italian was restricted to the realm of administration and culture.³⁸ Referring always to the indigenous population David Holton argues that '[e]ducated men would of course be bilingual, but it is clear from documents of the sixteenth century that women, even from the noble Venetian families, would usually know only Greek.'³⁹ A significant number of the literary works belonging to the corpus of the 'Cretan Renaissance' were written using the Latin alphabet for the Greek language, a phenomenon known as 'Φραγκοχιώτικα'/ Phrangohiotika.⁴⁰ If the Greek language had dominated the Italian one, the opposite was true in respect to

³⁵ Alfred Vincent, "Comedy," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 121.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Witnesses sign in Greek, Italian and Hebrew. Indicatively see Μανουήλ Γρηγορόπουλος (Gregoropoulos), *Διαθήκες, Απογραφές, Εκτιμήσεις*, ed. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης και Στέλιος Λαμπάκης, vol. 1, Βενετικές Πηγές της Κρητικής Ιστορίας (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2003), 57, 248.

³⁸ David Holton, "The Cretan Renaissance," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 14.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ N. M. Παναγιωτάκης (Panayiotakis), "Η Παιδεία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία," in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. N. M. Παναγιωτάκης (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη και Σύνδεσμος Τοπικών Ενώσεων Δήμων & Κοινοτήτων Κρήτης, 1988), 189. Cretan literature is conventionally divided into two periods: from the late fourteenth century to roughly 1580 and the period of the 'Cretan Renaissance', which covers the last ninety or so years of Venetian rule and was characterised by a strong Italian influence. For a provocative critique and questioning of the usage of the term 'Renaissance' in this context see Νίκος Χατζηνικολάου (Hadjinikolaou), "Σκέψεις για τη 'Κρητική Αναγέννηση'," in *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης, Αθανάσιος Μαρκόπουλος, Γιάννης Μαυρομάτης (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης και Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη Ηρακλείου, 2000).

their alphabets. The Latin alphabet dominated the written form probably due to the easier access to a Western education in Cretan urban centres.⁴¹

Rare printed samples of this linguistic phenomenon, although written in a satirical spirit and not out of necessity, are found in the works of the Venetian author Antonio Molino, who travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean as a merchant.⁴² Molino wrote in Venetian dialect, but his protagonist Manoli Blessi, a Greek *stradiotto* from Napoli di Romania (Nauplion), often used Greek words ('Greco volgare') written with Latin script and translated into Italian in the margins.⁴³ Giuliano Lucchetta labels Molino's language a 'dialetto stradiottesco', defined as 'un ibrido di veneziano, deformato da forme fonetiche istriane e dalmate e mescolato as elementari lessicali grecomoderni, in uso tra gli stradiotti, merceneri assoldati da Venezia nella penisola balcanica...'⁴⁴ Ludovico Dolce, who dedicated *I Fatti e le Prodezze di Manoli Blessi* to the nobleman Giacomo Contarino on behalf of his 'carissimo amico, e come fratello' Molino, writes that the author while in Candia and Corfu began acting in comedies ('recitar comedie') and praised his linguistic talents; 'oltre alla lingua comune Italiana, contrafacendo la Greca e la Bergamasca, passò in quelle così avanti, che egli meritamente si può chiamare il Roscio della nostra età.'⁴⁵ Dolce's choice of *contrafare*, to imitate, to falsify, 'fare come altri fa, cioè imitarlo nei gesti, nella voce e nel modo favellare,'⁴⁶ can bear a double meaning: as an actor

⁴¹ Παναγιωτάκης, "Η Παιδεία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία," 189.

⁴² Thus far I have come across the following works by Molino with Blessi as the protagonist: *Manoli Blessi sopra la presa de Margaritin Con un Dialogo piacevole di un Greco, et di un Fachino* (Venetia: Andrea Muschio, 1571); *Dialogo de Selin, con Giosofebreo de Manoli Blessi. Et una barzelletta contra Mustafa Bassa. De tonda Theriarcchi Cipriotto* (Venetia: s.n., 15...); *I Fatti e le Prodezze di Manoli Blessi Strathiotto di M. Antonio Molino* (Venetia: Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1561); *Barzeletta de Quattro Compagni Strathioti de Albania, Zuradi di Andar per il Mondo alla ventura capo di loro Manoli Blessi da Napoli di Romania* (Venetia: s.n., 1570). Anastasia Stouraiti mentions another work entitled *Manoli Blessi nella Rotta dell'Armata de Sultan Selin Ultimo Re de Turchi* (Venetia: s.n.). (Anastasia Stouraiti, *La Grecia nelle Raccolte della Fondazione Querini Stampalia* [Venezia: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 2000], 54).

⁴³ For example 'chienurio castro' is translated 'Castel nuovo', 'giathi' as 'perche', 'chymona' is 'inverno', 'panda' is 'sempre' and so on. In *I Fatti e le Prodezze...* Molino offers a table with translations of the transliterations entitled 'Dichiaratione di tutte le parole Greche sparse per quest'opera: per piu intelligentia di chi legge.' (Antonio Molino, *I Fatti e le Prodezze...*, f. 103).

⁴⁴ Giuliano Lucchetta, "L'Oriente Mediterraneo nella Cultura di Venezia tra Quattro e Cinquecento," in *Storia della Cultura Veneta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1980), 404. Lucchetta discusses Molino's poetry regarding the loss of Cyprus and the battle of Lepanto; specifically A. Molino, *Il vero successo della presa di Nicosia in Cipro, di Manoli Blessi, strathiotto*, Venezia 1572 and idem, *Manoli Blessi nella Rotta dell'Armata de Sultan Selin Ultimo Re de Turchi*. Both works are reprinted in C.N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, (Paris, Londres, Athènes [...]), vols VIII (pp. 460-5) and IX (pp. 262-80) respectively.

⁴⁵ Ibid., f. 4. Upon his return to Venice, Molino founded an *Academia di Musica* and developed a reputation as an actor and author. The Roman actor Roscius (126-62 BC) was quoted in the Renaissance as a paradigm of dramatic excellence.

⁴⁶ Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana di Ottorino Pianigiani, www.etimo.it, (26/08/2010).

Molino imitated others on stage and, furthermore, his insertion of Greek into his works was a conscious mimicking of contemporary Greek characters. Anastasia Stouraiti, in her discussion of Molino's work, writes of the birth of the '*grecheso*, sorta di caricaturale veneziano dei Greci, che tra l'altro ben si presta a criticare la condotta, ritenuta debole, della Guerra contro il Turco, trasferendo in capo all'oppresso popolo Greco la responsabilità della critica.'⁴⁷ Blessi, a Venetian caricature of Greek *stradiotti*, became one of the most celebrated characters of this 'giocosso ibrido greco-veneziano.'⁴⁸

Despite this documented hybridity of the recorded written word, from literary ventures to notarial records, the Greek language, has been understood and used by Greek scholars as one of the outward manifestations of Greek identity in Crete. Undoubtedly language was associated with a sense of belonging, of *patria* and community, and for this reason close attention will be given throughout this work to linguistic forms used by both Cretans and Venetians. Language, in the past as today, brought people together, consolidating the bonds that linked them to each other, their land, religion and customs. In the early modern context, however, centuries before the emergence of the modern state and the ideological construct of nationalism, there is no evidence to suggest that language was a means to distinguish between people in the way that it came to be used in later periods.

Scholarship on early modern Crete has not escaped the pitfalls of nationalist ideology. A section of Greek academic discourse presents language in essentialist terms, as beyond time and space, as a direct and unbroken link to Greek Antiquity. Language, in this guise, becomes an outward sign of a pure bloodline connecting classical Antiquity to the historical period discussed and, by implication, to the present. One of the prime exponents of this view is Chryssa Maltezou who has written extensively on Venetian Crete and more recently on issues pertaining to identity.⁴⁹ In possibly the most frequently referenced source on the social and historical context of the Cretan Renaissance, and especially if one limits this to

⁴⁷ Stouraiti, *La Grecia nelle Raccolte della Fondazione Querini*, 54. On 'grechesco' see also Manlio Cortelazzo, "Nuovi contributi alla conoscenza del grechesco," in *Venezia, il Levante e il Mare* (Ospedaletto [Pisa]: Pacini Editore, 1989).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ For similar views expressed in regards to the first centuries of Venetian rule in Crete see Dimitrios Tsougarakis, "La tradizione 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. Gherardo Ortalli (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), esp. 513; for Maltezou see following notes.

publications in English, Maltezou writes, ‘Local customs and above all the Greek language – the *altera lingua* of the Latins – are the links binding Cretan society together.’⁵⁰ Discussing the Rethymniot scholar Daniel Furlano (d. 1596), whose family origins were Italian, she notes his ‘deep sense of the historical continuity of Greek tradition.’⁵¹ The dominance of the Greek language in its spoken form, together with the prevalence of the Orthodox faith in Crete are considered as signs of ‘the Hellenisation of the Venetians.’⁵²

Maltezou discusses the view held by some Byzantine, post-Byzantine, and contemporary scholars regarding the ‘barbarization’ of the Greek language which occurred in areas under ‘Latin occupation.’ ‘Barbarization’ refers to the effect of the infiltration of foreign linguistic terms and structures into the Greek language which is held to have derived directly from ancient Greece. Maltezou calls attention to rural populations which were geographically secluded from urban centres and, as a consequence, with little or no contact with ‘foreigners’ and ‘foreign languages.’ These populations succeeded in protecting Greek in a state ‘of diminished susceptibility to linguistic influences, purer than in its urban counterpart.’⁵³ The seclusion of the rural population stood in contrast to the ‘international’ world of merchants, professionals and sailors, who according to the same author, prioritised the communicative function of language, as opposed to the ‘prestige of Greek learning.’⁵⁴ This was the world the *lingua franca*, of the common language of the Mediterranean. However, even the Greeks who spoke a ‘barbarised’ version of the language, Maltezou contends, ‘surely must have had an awareness that the language they spoke was a later version of the old one, which with time had evolved.’⁵⁵ For this author and others who share her opinions, being ‘Greek’ in the centuries following 1453 came to signify a person of the Orthodox rite, ‘*il rito Greco*’, and one who spoke Greek. Although the former usage of ‘Greco’ is supported by Venetian contemporary sources, the latter, Maltezou admits, does not enjoy such archival support. ‘It is true,’ she writes, ‘that there is no special mentioning of language as a

⁵⁰ Chryssa Maltezou, “The historical and social context,” in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 34.

⁵¹ Ibid., 35.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Chryssa A. Maltezou, “Η Διαμόρφωση της Ελληνικής Ταυτότητας στη Λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα,” *Etudes Balkaniques* 6 (1999), 116.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 118.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

constituent of Greek identity in the sources.⁵⁶ This aside, she maintains that the people who referred to themselves as ‘Greek’ undoubtedly spoke Greek, regardless of their bilingual education.⁵⁷

The importance of language in the rise of the modern nation begins for Benedict Anderson with the demise of Latin and its gradual replacement with vernacular languages. In his classic study of nationalism *Imagined Communities* he writes that ‘the fall of Latin exemplified a larger process in which the sacred communities integrated by old sacred languages were gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialised.’⁵⁸ What made the emergence of the new communities possible was the interaction between a novel system of production (capitalism), a technology of communication (print), and ‘the fatality of human linguistic diversity,’ which refers to the general condition of diversity in human linguistic idioms.⁵⁹ This is not to be confused ‘with the common element in nationalist ideologies which stresses the primordial fatality of *particular* languages and their association with *particular* territorial units.’⁶⁰ The second type of understanding and discussion of language is exemplified in the scholarship discussed above. The Greek language, however, infiltrated by foreign elements at certain stages of its history is regarded as the primordial and primary expressive medium of Greeks; notwithstanding the historical anachronism of the use of the term ‘Greek’ in this context. For historians seeking to establish historical continuity, ‘Greekness’ was always felt, even if was not consistently expressed in the same way.

McKee’s scholarship offers a different approach to language in the early period of Venetian rule in Crete. McKee contends that Cretans of Latin descent often spoke Greek as their first language, while Cretans often spoke Italian. In her opinion the historical record hinders any attempt to use language as a ‘determining ethnic marker.’⁶¹ She acknowledges, however, the importance of language as a medium used, among others, by the communities to mark themselves off from each other. ‘As they did in matters concerning religion,’ she writes,

⁵⁶ Χρύσα Μαλτέζου (Maltezou), “Οι Έλληνες μέτοικοι στη Βενετία μετά την άλωση. Ταυτότητα και εθνική συνείδηση,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), 180.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 19.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 115.

‘the Greeks and Latins of Crete tended to align themselves with one nominal community or the other when it came to choosing which language to learn, which music to play, which religious or philosophical texts to study, and in which style of painting to adorn the walls of their churches, even though an outsider visiting Crete would be unable to pinpoint where Greek culture left off and Latin culture began. From an historical perspective, their cultural choices were never neutral.’⁶²

Tellingly she concludes that ‘the Candiotes of yesterday would have had just as much trouble articulating why they defined themselves in whatever way they did as we have in defining them today.’⁶³ McKee denies language any inherent value, while for Maltezou its (nationalist) value is paramount. The picture of sixteenth-century Candiote society which will emerge in this work is one of linguistic hybridity, which ultimately sides with the former rather than the latter opinion. The following section will examine another constituent element of early modern identity, religion, which in the Cretan context was closely linked to social hierarchy.

3. Religious and Class Identity: Noble Christians

The late N. M. Panayiotakis, wrote that Cretan society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was ‘a society structured on class and income, not on ethnicity, nor on religion.’⁶⁴ Stefanos Kaklamanis later qualified the statement pointing to the presence of the Jewish community which stood as ‘a separate ethnic group with a tightly-knit composition and identity, the result of the lasting seclusion from the remainder of the population of the Cretan cities due to differences in customs and primarily the difference of religion.’⁶⁵ The Jewish community’s precarious position in the social dynamics of Candiote life will be examined in the following section; here I would like to briefly examine the issue of religious affiliation and the gradual waning of its significance in the colonial context of sixteenth-century urban Crete.

The topic of the two Christian rites, Orthodox (*Greco*) and Catholic (*Latino*) is one of the standard themes discussed in *relazioni* penned by the *provveditori* at the

⁶² Ibid., 116.

⁶³ Ibid., 124.

⁶⁴ N. M. Παναγιωτάκης, ‘Ο ποιητής του Ερωτόκριτου,’ *Κρητική Αναγέννηση. Μελετήματα για τον Βιτσέντζο Κορνάρο*. Επιμέλεια Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης και Γιάννης Μαυρομάτης, (Αθήνα, 2001), 156 cited in Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης (Kaklamanis), “Η χαρτογράφηση του τόπου και των συνειδήσεων στην Κρήτη κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας,” in *Candia/Creta/Κρήτη: Ο Χώρος και ο Χρόνος, 16ος- 18ος Αιώνας*, (Athens: Μορφώτικο Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2005), 36.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

end of their term in office. These Venetian administrators consistently expressed their dislike and disapproval of the lack of denominational boundaries in the island's urban elite, voicing concerns over the growing numbers of Cretan nobles and the permissiveness of the Orthodox rite. The island's inhabitants were conventionally divided into the following groups: 'Nobili Veneti, Nobili Cretensi, Feudati, et Popolo che abbraccia li cittadini, et le plebe.'⁶⁶ In Crete, unlike Venice, social class and financial means – the two not always went hand in hand – went a long way towards determining faith: the overwhelming majority of the island's inhabitants, the *populo* of the countryside, and the urban *cittadini*, confessed to the Orthodox faith, as did the noble Cretans, the *nobili Cretensi*, and the impoverished part of the feudatories, the *feudati*. Venetian nobles, on the other hand, followed the Western rite and, given their position at the apex of Crete's social hierarchy, their faith became intertwined with their political and social status. This resulted in Catholicism becoming the religion of the powerful and a declaration of affiliation to the regime and its representatives.

With the sole exception of the Greek Orthodox Calergi family, the Venetian nobles, *nobili Veneti*, were descendants of the island's thirteenth-century colonists, to be discussed separately. By the sixteenth century, however, many of them no longer held fiefs, which with time had passed into the hands of local land-owners.⁶⁷ The latter were not necessarily nobles, hence, the separate category of 'feudatories' mentioned above.⁶⁸ Many of the feudatories who had remained in the countryside lived in impoverished conditions, gradually losing touch with their ancestral culture and assimilating into the indigenous way of life. In the document this is expressed as

⁶⁶ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 79, 'Relatione dall'Ill.mo Benetto Moro ritornato di Provveditor Generale del Regno di Candia, 1602', f. 26v. (For a published, annotated edition see Στέργιος Γ. Σπανάκης [Spanakis], ed., *Benetto Moro, Ritornato di Provveditor General del Regno di Candia, Relazione, 1602*, vol. IV, Μνημεία της Κρητικής Ιστορίας [Ηράκλειο: Εκδόσεις Σφακιανός, 1958]) Alvise Grimani, provveditor general, writing in 1585/6, similarly writes, 'la isola ... di Candia, è habbitata da Nobili Veneti nobili Cretensi, popolo della città, populi dal territorio, et d'alcune famiglie descedenti [da nobili ?] Greci chiamati Ancondoromei.' (ASV, Archivio Privato Correr, b. 263, 'Relazione del Regno di Candia [di Alvise Grimani Provveditor general 1585 o 1586], f. 22v).

⁶⁷ Κώστας Ε. Λαμπρινός (Lambrinos), "Αποσκίρτηση από το Λατινικό Δόγμα και Αντίκτυπος στην Κοινωνική Θέση. Στερήσεις Τίτλων Βενετικής Ευγενείας; Κρήτη, Τέλη 16ου-17ος Αι.," *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), 306.

⁶⁸ McKee's discussion of the feudatory class from its inception to the fourteenth century remains the most insightful source on the topic. The author proposes a possible link between the second *Serrata* (1414), thus coined by Stanley Chojnacki, which was a further effort to define and safeguard the Venetian patrician class, and an influx of Candiot feudatories gaining entry into Venice's Great Council. The original *Serrata* (1297-1323), 'lock-out', was the period when membership in the Great Council of Venice became fixed and hereditary and, in this manner, 'the defining moment in the patriciate's corporate identity.' See *ibid.*, 21-31, 128-32.

‘to live in the Greek manner’, ‘vivere alla greca.’ The lack of catholic churches outside of the urban centres posed a further practical obstacle to their adherence to Catholicism.⁶⁹ Benetto Moro, *provveditor general*, wrote in his 1602 *relazione*,

‘Gli nobili Veneti veramente eccetuato però la famiglia Calergi che tiene il medesimo rito greco, vivono secondo il rito Romano. Et seben’alcuni che per povertà sono ridotti al habitar ne i Casali vivono in alcune cose alla Greca tuttavia nelli Sacramenti passano alla latina. Nel medesimo Rito Latino li mantengono anco tutte le famiglie de’nobili Cretensi originalij mandate con la Colonia in questo Regno, et investite di feudi, eccetto alcuni che per l’istesso rispetti di povertà ridottisi ad habitare fuori à i loro feudi, sono passati nel rito greco. Gli altri nobili Cretensi che hano ottenuto come Naturali di Nobili Veneti quali tengono il rito latino. Gli semplici feudati parte sono dell’uno, et parte dell’altro rito, ma il Popolo è tutto di Rito Greco.’⁷⁰

As the most privileged social group on the island, the *nobili Veneti* had exclusive access to Crete’s highest administrative positions, apart from the governing positions filled by patricians sent from the capital. They also held the privilege, as did the Cretan nobles, of sending deputations to the authorities in Venice to directly communicate their requests.⁷¹ O’Connell has examined the appellate process, one of the forms of communication between periphery and centre, and found that there were almost as many as three times more appeals arriving in Venice from Crete than from any other maritime colony.⁷² Beyond the privileges in Crete, Venetian nobles had an inherited right of entry into the Venice’s *Maggior Consiglio*, which in turn gave them access to prestigious and lucrative positions in the maritime empire’s

⁶⁹The *Provveditor* Giacomo Foscarini writing in 1597 commented on the feudatories poverty, their confinement to the countryside and the distance that separated them from their ancestors, both in linguistic and religious terms. ‘[N]on conservano altro, che il cognome et il poco feudo, che per le division, et subdivision li è rimasto’, he wrote, ‘[et] hanno del tutto perso la cognitione, et intelligentia della lingua Italiana.’ (ASV, Collegio Relationi, b. 78, ‘Dell’Ill.mo et ecc.mo s.r Giacom Foscarini, Cavallier Provedditor General, et Inquisitor nel Regno di Candia, Presentata l’anno 1597 à 25 Settembre,’ Seconda parte, ff. 232v-233r).

⁷⁰ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 79, ‘Relatione dall’Ill.mo Benetto Moro,’ f. 27r. For Moro’s discussion on feudatories see *ibid.*, f. 26v.

⁷¹ Λαμπρινός, “Αποσκίρτηση από το Λατινικό Δόγμα,” 297. The right to class representation and direct communication with Venice was denied to the *cittadini* and the *popolo*. A request by the former to send representatives to Venice was rejected, whereas the latter never attained the level of class consciousness to form such a request. There was, however, an unofficial system of representation in the countryside ensuring complaints were carried to officials and were incorporated into the official correspondence with Venice. (Κώστας Ε. Λαμπρινός [Lambrinos], “Οι Κάτοικοι της Κρητικής Υπαίθρου κατά το 16ο και 17ο Αιώνα. Κοινωνικο-πολιτικά Γνωρίσματα και Πρακτικές Εκπροσώπησης,” *Θεσaurίσματα* 32 [2002], 140).

⁷² The author believes this is partially explained by the large number of Venetians and Veneto-Cretans who had the knowledge of Venetian law and the resources to pursue their appeals in the capital. (O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 86).

administration.⁷³ This right, however, was dependant on a *prova di nobiltà* before the Venetian authorities – Cretan nobility, conversely, could be verified in Crete.⁷⁴ In order to better control these applications, the Venetian Senate on 12 July 1590 decided that henceforth all marriages of Venetian nobles in Crete had to be registered within forty days in special registers sent by the *Avogaria di Comun* to Candia, Canea and Rettimo.⁷⁵ Copies of these registers were to be sent back to the *Avogatori* who could consult them before reaching decisions and thus ‘ensure Venetian nobility remained uncontaminated.’⁷⁶

The status of Cretan nobility, second in importance and social standing to the Venetian one, apart from the prestige bestowed on its bearers, permitted access to a number of lower-rank positions in the local administration.⁷⁷ The granting of these titles was one of the governing tools employed by the colonial authorities to reward military, political and financial services rendered to the Republic.⁷⁸ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the Ottoman Empire’s gradual enveloping of the Venetian colonies, Cretan authorities routinely rewarded faithful subjects with noble titles, ultimately hoping the bond between Cretan families and the Venetian state would act as further incentive to protect Venetian interests.⁷⁹ Aspasia Papadaki tellingly records three occasions in the late sixteenth century where nobility was granted on the condition that the benefactor contributed a set number of daily wages for public works to the Venetian coffers.⁸⁰ It would not be long before Venetian nobility would also be up for sale, this time in the capital: the Cretan War put such a serious strain on public funding that following a series of measures to raise necessary funds, on 15 February 1646 Venetian patricians decided that for 60,000 ducats

⁷³ Λαμπρινός, "Αποσκίρτηση από το Λατινικό Δόγμα," 298.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 299.

⁷⁵ The nobles of Sitia were allowed 55 days to register their marriages in Candia. Births and baptisms also had to be registered. (Ασπασία Παπαδάκη (Papadaki), "Η Κρητική Ευγένεια στην Κοινωνία της Βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης," in *Πλούσιοι και Φτωχοί στην Κοινωνία της Ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, ed. Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου [Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βενετίας, 1998], 432-3).

⁷⁶ Ibid., 436. For the effect of these measures on noble women’s lives see E. Λαμπρινός (Lambrinos), "Οι γυναίκες της ανώτερης τάξης στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη. Νομικο-κοινωνική θέση, αντιλήψεις, συμπεριφορές (16ος-17ος αι.)," *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 7 (2004), esp. 93-7.

⁷⁷ For a list of these positions see Παπαδάκη, "Η Κρητική Ευγένεια," 20; idem, "Αξιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη," 105-10.

⁷⁸ Idem, "Η Κρητική Ευγένεια," 317.

⁷⁹ Ibid. The right to grant nobility was officially limited to the *Signoria* and the *Venetian Senate*, but with time Cretan authorities began to take such initiatives. The situation appears to have got out of control as Papadaki lists the following authorities granting nobility: ‘the admirals of the Venetian navy, the Cretan authorities, the *Sindaci* and the *provveditor straordinario dell’armi*.’ These decisions had to be verified within two years by the Venetian Senate. (Ibid., 310).

⁸⁰ The amounts cited are 500 daily wages to be given to the fortress of Spinalonga, 1,000 and 2,000 for the public works of the city of Candia. (Ibid., 311-2).

Venetians noble status could be purchased.⁸¹ In Crete, the increase in the numbers of Cretan nobles eventually became threatening to the balance of power in the *Regno*. In order to control the granting of noble status and to regulate the individuals who were claiming to be nobles, a *Libro d'Oro* of Cretan nobility was introduced in 1572.⁸² Alvise Grimani, *provveditor general*, wrote in 1585 of the low esteem some Cretans nobles were held,

‘Vi si attrova anco come ho detto nella citta un'altra sorte di Nobilita chiamata Cretense qual è stata datta dal Ser.ta in gratia per meriti (?) con autorità di poter participar dei feudi, et delli offitij che disperano le Città....ogni sorte vengono creati Nobili cretensi senza osservar quelle ordini che è stà mente di V Ser.ta bisogna confessare che da questa qualita de feudati se ne habbia da far poca stimà.’⁸³

Among the Venetian nobles who applied for a *prova di nobiltà* in Venice some faced anonymous accusations of defecting to the Orthodox rite and living ‘alla greca.’ In 1633, Giorgio Barozzi, a Venetian noble from Rettimo, applied to have the nobility of his three sons verified before the *Avogaria di Comun*. An anonymous letter sought to prevent such a development by stating that Barozzi ‘...passa alla greca, confessandosi et comunicandosi alla greca, com'è notorio alla città di Rettimo et è contra li boni ordeni di questa Serenissima Repubblica.’⁸⁴ The ‘boni ordeni’ of the Republic required that Venetian nobles follow the religion of their forefathers and accusations of defection from the Latin rite clearly aimed to deprive the applicants of their titles. In 1589 Zuanne Mocenigo famously claimed in his *relazione* that few Venetian nobles would follow the Latin rite if it were not for the impediment in the *prova di nobiltà*.⁸⁵ Kostas E. Lambrinos, however, has shown

⁸¹ The only prerequisites for entry into the Venetian nobility were that the candidate was born into wedlock and could prove that his father and grandfather had not been manual labourers. The value of 60,000 ducats was equivalent to the maintenance expenses of 1,000 soldiers for a year. (R. Sabbadini, *L'acquisto della tradizione. Tradizione aristocratica e nuova nobiltà a Venezia (sec. XVII-XVIII)*, [Udine: 1995], 15 cited in Μαλτέζου, “Η Τύχη των Τελευταίων Βενετών Ευγενών,” 449-50) In the period 1646-1718, 128 families gained nobility in this manner, 80 of which during the Cretan War (1645-69). (A. Cowan, ‘New Families in the Venetian Patriciate 1646-1718,’ *Ateneo Veneto* 23, 1-2, [1985], 64 cited in *ibid.*, 455).

⁸² Παπαδάκη, “Η Κρητική Ευγένεια,” 309-10.

⁸³ ASV, Archivio Privato Correr, b. 263, ‘Relazione del Regno di Candia (di Alvise Grimani Provveditor general 1585 o 1586), f. 22v.

⁸⁴ ASV, Avogaria di Comun, b.291/9 (Barozzi), folio without date or pagination cited in Λαμπρινός, “Αποσκήρτηση από το Λατινικό Δόγμα,” 299-300.

⁸⁵ ‘Se non fosse l'impedimento che haveriano li nobili Veneti nella prova della nobiltà, vivendo alla greca, pochi credo seguirano il rito latino.’ (Στέργιος Γ. Σπανάκης, ed., *Zuanne Mocenigo, Provveditore Generale, Μνημεία της Κρητικής Ιστορίας* [Ηράκλειο: Εκδόσεις Σφακιανός, 1940], 13 cited in *ibid.*, 297).

that, despite Mocenigo's comment, accusations such as the ones leveled against Barozzi came to no avail. There is no record to date documenting the loss of noble status due to defection to the Orthodox rite.⁸⁶ Venice's primary concern to ensure the continuation of the regime required the support of the island's ruling class and alienating a faction of its members, regardless of the possibility that they had lapsed into the Orthodox faith, was not a wise strategy. Meanwhile over three centuries of co-existence and frequent intermarriage between the island's noble elites had inevitably brought the two communities closer and given birth to a religious syncretism not easily understood by the patricians in Venice and openly condemned by the island's Latin clergy. As McKee writes, 'Familiarity, contrary to the adage, does not always breed contempt.'⁸⁷ Interestingly, the term 'syncretism,' which entered the English language in the early seventeenth century, has a Cretan pedigree as it derives from the Greek 'synkrētismos', a federation of Cretan cities.⁸⁸

Provveditor Moro, whose *relazione* was first presented above, paints a picture of religious tolerance and mutual respect for each other's rites. He writes,

'...vivendo gli uni, et gli altri liberamente nelli riti loro, andando li principali greci, et altri del medesimo rito spesse volte ad udir gli ufficij nelle chiese latine, et gli latini per acquistarsi gli animi de' greci, si mostrano divoti, et frequentano le chiese greche. Sono riveriti vicendevolmente li sacerdoti dell'uno, et l'altro rito, et quello che indica maggiormente la riverenza de i Greci verso il rito latino è una universal divotione loro in San Francesco, nella cui festività corrono quei popoli a visitar la sua Chiesa, et nelle più gravi infermità de' figli sono soliti di far voto à questo santo, et vestirgli dell'habito berettino, il che in altri tempi non si vedeva nel Regno. Et per fino nella Sfacchia sono molti di loro che per divotione di esso mettono alli figlioli il suo nome. Nelli passati anni non erano li sacerdoti latini riveriti, non visitate le chiese Latine, non udit i gli ufficij Latini da' Greci; et al presente da pochi anni in qua si veggono molto sedati et acquetati gli animi de gli uni, et de gli altri.'⁸⁹

According to the *provveditor* the justice, compassion and temperance which Venice had shown the Cretan population, along with its 'paternal affection' (*dilettione paterna*) for the colony managed to erase the memory of the Byzantine Empire from their hearts. Their devotion cannot be doubted, Moro astutely observed, for the added

⁸⁶ Ibid., esp. 302-3.

⁸⁷ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 114.

⁸⁸ Merriam Webster Dictionary Online, www.merriamwebster.org, (22/09/2010).

⁸⁹ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 79, 'Relatione dall'Ill.mo Benetto Moro,' f. 28r-v.

reason that there was no Orthodox state which could compete for the Cretans' royalty.⁹⁰

If co-habitation had blurred the religious differences of the two rites on an individual level, state ceremonial protocol aimed to ensure the hierarchy of rites remained symbolically visible. The predominance of the Latin over the Orthodox Church was continuously re-enacted in the symbolic order observed in solemn processions where the Orthodox clergy was assigned to the last position, 'not only after the Latin clergy but also behind the secular confraternities.'⁹¹ Both rites, however, ultimately and crucially owed allegiance to the state; '[n]o matter what the starting point of the procession,' writes Georgopoulou, 'all processional paths converged at the ducal palace.'⁹² It comes as little surprise that the Orthodox clergy were less than keen to participate in these events as evidenced by the repeated records in the *bandi* aimed at reminding the Orthodox priests of their obligations and threatening them with penalties in case of disobedience.

In this religiously-charged environment miracles quickly took on political tones and were appropriated by the regime to sanctify its rule. Georgopoulou discusses the early appropriation by the regime of the cult of St. Titus, an early Christian saint whose relics were in the eponymous cathedral of Byzantine Chandax.⁹³ The latter was promptly modified to conform to Latin liturgical needs and became the seat of the Latin archbishop of the island.⁹⁴ The Cathedral was the only church dedicated to the saint, whose veneration interestingly was not popular outside the city's capital.⁹⁵ As in Venice, the nearby church of San Marco, which was completed before 1244, was the chapel of the *Duca di Candia* and, like its prototype in the capital, was directly under the jurisdiction of the Pope rather than the local archbishop.⁹⁶ When the damage caused to Candia's San Marco by the 1303 earthquake could not be promptly repaired with local funds, the Venetian Senate sent

⁹⁰ '...aggiungendovisi quello ch'è forse fondamento principale da non dubitar della devotion loro, che, non vi è meno Principe di rito greco di cui ella possa dubitare.' (Ibid., f. 29v).

⁹¹ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 226. For a list of the festivities observed in Candia see ibid., 223-4; for a complete list of the processions in Candia see Ασπασία Παπαδάκη (Papadaki), *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*, (Πέθυμο: Νέα Χριστιανική Κρήτη, 1993).

⁹² Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 225.

⁹³ St Titus was a pagan who converted to Christianity and followed the Apostle Paul to Crete in 66 A.D. There Paul ordained him the first Bishop of the island. For further information on the cult of S. Titus see ibid., 116; idem, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 [1995], 483-7.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 483.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 484.

⁹⁶ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 120-2.

1,000 ducats to the island claiming ‘the bad condition of the church of St. Mark was harmful to the honor of the Republic.’⁹⁷

Although San Marco enjoyed the state’s favour and together with the secular architecture stood as a continuous reminder of Venetian rule, the island’s holiest artefact was housed in the nearby Church of St. Titus. The miracle-working icon of the ‘Madonna of St. Titus’ or the ‘Virgin Mesopanditissa’, a Byzantine icon of the Madonna and Child of the *Hodegetria* type, was believed to have found refuge in Crete from Constantinople during Iconoclasm.⁹⁸ The icon, now permanently displayed on the high altar of the *Madonna della Salute* in Venice, intervened in 1363, according to popular belief, to bring peace between the opposing sides of the rebellion of St Tito when the islands’ feudatories rose up against Venice and proclaimed the independent Republic of St. Titus.⁹⁹ McKee writes, ‘Short-lived though the revolt may ultimately have been, the raising of the St. Tito standard displayed a flash of imaginative political will that sought to redefine the people of this colony as neither Greek nor Latin, but as Cretan.’¹⁰⁰ Henceforth, the icon’s mediating and conciliatory powers were celebrated in an annual solemn procession on May 10 which commemorated the favourable outcome of the rebellion, the only rebellion in Venetian history when patricians turned, albeit momentarily, against the *Serenissima*.¹⁰¹ In addition to this annual commemoration, every Tuesday from at least 1368 onwards, the icon was carried by the *protopapas* (the head of the Greek priests of Candia) in a public procession commencing at the cathedral and proceeding to the city’s Latin and Catholic churches.¹⁰²

Kostas G. Tsiknakis has published an article describing a miracle which occurred outside the church of San Tito in October 1575. A paralysed woman, known to have been born disabled and to beg for alms outside the city’s cathedral, suddenly stood up and began to walk.¹⁰³ The Venetian authorities promptly organised processions, where, according to the *duca* and the *provveditor*, litanies

⁹⁷ ASV, Senato Misti, Liber XVII, f. 46r (February 15, 1336) cited in Fedalto, *Chiesa Latina*, 3: 44, no. 74 in *ibid.*, 124.

⁹⁸ Georgopoulou maintains based on stylistic analysis that the work was a ‘product of a Byzantine atelier of the twelfth or thirteenth century.’ (*Ibid.*, 218).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 218, 118.

¹⁰⁰ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 166.

¹⁰¹ Petrarch, who was living in Venice at the time of the revolt, expressed his opinion of the Venetian nobles in Crete as follows ‘Venetians in name, enemies by design and character.’ (Francesco Petrarca, *Epistole de rebus senilibus*, ed. U. Dotti [Torino, 1978], Lib.III, IX cited in *ibid.*, 130).

¹⁰² Georgopoulou, ‘Late Medieval Crete and Venice,’ 488.

¹⁰³ ASV, Senato, PTM, filza 736 cited in Τσικνάκης, ‘Περιθωριακά Στοιχεία στην Κρήτη,’ 260.

were sung to commemorate the event perceived by contemporaries as a miracle and to ask God for the continuing protection and favouring of the Venetian Republic. Archival research reveals another such instance: on 27 April 1599 the *arcivescovo* reported another miracle to the *provveditor*, who in turn wrote to the Venetian authorities.¹⁰⁴ A Milanese soldier in the service of the Republic four months earlier had fallen from the city's walls and severely injured himself, breaking many bones and his back ('di questo poverello, che per morto, con gl'ossi rotti, e particolarmente con la schiena in tre parti divisa'). The medics could do little to help him and the man was destined to spend the rest of his life moving on the ground like a snake, wrote the *arcivescovo*. On the feast day of San Marco, the soldier dragged himself to the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary of St Tito where he made an offering for a mass and prayed. That night while he was sleeping in the court of the 'Palagio Metropolitano' the Virgin Mary visited him and commanded him to stand on his feet and walk.¹⁰⁵ The miracle, wrote the *provveditor* to the doge, occurred 'mediante l'intercessione della Sacrosanta Maria vergine...l'immagine della quale si viene in sua capella della chiesa di San Tito...'¹⁰⁶ A solemn procession was subsequently organised, as was customary. The details of the second miracle were particularly conducive to state appropriation: the benefactor was Catholic and a representative of Venetian military authority on the island, while the miracle, 'causato da una fide, vera, calda, e sincera,' occurred on the feast day of San Marco and on ecclesiastical grounds. Such miraculous incidents were promptly appropriated by the colonial authorities and presented as divine proof of the sanctity of their rule.

The relationship between the Venetian state and Catholic authorities both in Venice and in Candia was complicated and prone to abrupt changes. Following the naval battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571) when the Christian coalition of the Holy League heavily defeated the Ottoman Empire and gave rise to a short-lived period of Western jubilation, the Venetians had famously declared 'Prima semo veneziani, poi cristiani.'¹⁰⁷ Venice's priority to safeguard its colony and the Christian zeal of some of the island's Catholic clergy often clashed. The behaviour of such clergymen

¹⁰⁴ ASV, Senato, Provveditori da Terra e da Mar, filza 767-8, Letter by the 'Proveditor general' to the Doge dated 27 April 1599 and Letter by the 'Arcivescovo' to the 'Proveditor' (same date).

¹⁰⁵ The above account is from the *Arcivescovo*'s account of the events. See *ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter of the *Proveditor*.

¹⁰⁷ Gino Benzoni, *Venezia nell'età della controriforma*, (Milan: Mursia, 1973), 27 cited in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 12.

threatened to disturb the sensitive equilibrium and prompted fierce responses from the capital.¹⁰⁸

A document of the *Santo Ufficio*, Venice's Inquisition,¹⁰⁹ records the case brought against a woman named Rosana in April 1589 in Candia for the neglecting of her obligation to confess.¹¹⁰ Rosana's story, one of cross-denominational marriage, is far from unique and offers an example of the pressure exerted on individuals by parish priests, who were eager to retain control over their congregations. The document is examined here for the first time. The caulker, Zuane, Rosana's father, wrote a letter in his daughter's defence explaining the complexity of her situation. While under the care of her uncle, Rosana, thirteen years old at the time, became sexually involved with a 'garzon greco chiamato Manoli,' who was finally persuaded to marry her after promising he would live 'alla Latina.' The marriage took place according to the Catholic rite in the Church of San Zuan Novo, a fact confirmed in a separate letter by the parish priest. However, two to three years after the wedding Manoli went back on his promise as 'non ha piu voluto viver alla latina.' Furthermore their daughter attended the Orthodox church with him and he obliged his wife to confess, always according to her father, 'alla greca.' On Holy Saturday, Rosana tried to attend Catholic Mass but the priest refused her Communion as according to him she was not absolved of her sins 'perche stava con un greco, che voleva che la vivesse alla greca.' She confessed to her father that even on her wedding day 'detto Manoli al tempo del sposalitio...come fu fuori di chiesa, sputò et disse Io non stimo niente questa comunione.' Such personal testimonies serve to highlight the daily resonance of religious beliefs, on the one hand, and, on the other, the banality and frequency of transgressions and negotiations which occurred in the colonial environment. Rosana and Manoli did not belong to the Cretan elite, whose adherence to a specific rite came to bear on their social standing and political affiliations. However, feelings ran high regarding their loyalty to their mutual

¹⁰⁸ The divergence of interests is showcased in the treatment of the Jesuits in Crete, who after refusing to celebrate mass following the Interdict of 1606 were expelled from the island. Crete's local population reacted enthusiastically at the news of a crusade against the Pope and volunteered their services, money and supplies to the cause. (Eva Tea, "Saggio sulla storia religiosa di Candia dal 1590 al 1630," *Atti del Real Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* LXXII, no. pt 2 [1912-13], 1389-94).

¹⁰⁹ The Inquisition in Venice was never allowed to function wholly independently of the state. The presence of three lay members, the *Savii contro l'Eresia*, was obligatory in every hearing and the state held the right to suspend decisions. For further discussion see Frederic C Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 304-5; Andrea da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Indice Generale, Storico, Descrittivo ed Analitico. Tomo I*, vol. V, *Bibliothèque des 'Annales Institutorum'* (Roma: Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice, 1937), 181.

¹¹⁰ ASV, Santo Ufficio, Processi b. 64.

upbringings and, at a later stage in their lives, their choices to live ‘alla greca’ or ‘alla Latina.’

There was also a third religious group in Candia, one probably present prior to Venetian rule. The Candiote social position of the Jewish community serves as an revealing counterweight to the cross-denominational dynamics, discussed above.

4. The Confined Space: The Jewish Ghetto in Candia and Inter-communal Relations

In terms of state attitudes and discriminatory policies towards Jewish communities living under Venetian rule, the Serenissima appears to have sought to regulate its colonies in accordance to developments in the lagoon city. Jewish Cretan homes and workplaces were sectioned off, confined and designated to areas outside the protected urban centres; in Crete’s capital Jews were allotted an undesirable location within the city walls. Apart from the designation and rejection of Jewish space, Jewish people were forced to mark their bodies with signs proclaiming their faith and, by implication, their difference. The movement of the marked individuals through the urban landscape became visible, traceable, controllable and ultimately controlled. The regime reinforced this social order with symbolic rituals, as well. On the arrival of every newly-appointed Archbishop, the Jews of Candia were obliged to greet him communally carrying their holy scripture and one of them was obliged to pray for the preservation of their laws. The Archbishop, in turn, prayed that they see the error of their beliefs and placed a ring on their holy books.¹¹¹ A state proclamation from the early seventeenth century forbade Jews from eating or drinking in Christian *taverne*.¹¹² Restrictive measures were implemented in Crete in an effort to unify the landscapes, urban and social, of centre and periphery. As in Venice, authorities sought to control Venetian subjects’ clothing and ornamentation by introducing legislation regulating appearances, which will be examined in a following chapter. The social landscape in Crete, however, varied significantly from that of Venice: a minority of Catholics ruled a population which was overwhelmingly Orthodox, with the exception of the Jews and possibly an Armenian

¹¹¹ Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 49-50.

¹¹² ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 17, reg. 16, f. 54r.

community.¹¹³ How were the Jewish of Candia treated by the authorities? What was the attitude of the indigenous population of Candia towards their Jewish neighbours? How did the Jews negotiate their sensitive position in Crete?

There is evidence to suggest that a Jewish quarter existed in Byzantine Chandax, as such a community is mentioned in the 1299 treaty between Venice and the rebel *archon*, Byzantine lord, Alexios Calergi.¹¹⁴ The treaty stated that Jews could settle wherever they wished and could own landed property in accordance with earlier Byzantine practises.¹¹⁵ By the fourteenth century the situation had taken a turn for the worse: the *Maggior Consiglio* in 1334 decreed that Jews could not own or rent property outside their assigned quarter, the *Ιουδαία*/Judaica, without special permission.¹¹⁶ Similar decrees were issued for other locations in the maritime empire: in 1304 in Negroponte and 1325 in Canea.¹¹⁷ The north-western expanse within Candia's walls, an area exposed to attacks from both sea and land and in proximity to the always undesirable tanneries, took on the characteristics of a compulsory ghetto.¹¹⁸ Confinement, over-crowding and the tanning activities resulted in permanent hygiene problems in the ghetto, an issue addressed repeatedly in the Venetian documents.¹¹⁹ By 1390, an arch engraved with the lion of St. Mark was erected on the south-eastern limit of the Judaica, spanning the width of the street and marking the ghetto off from the rest of the city. The windows and doors of Jewish homes on the south side of the street were forcefully blocked from view of the Christian homes on the north side.¹²⁰ There is no indication, however, of a

¹¹³ The two petitions (1363, 1414) from Armenians of the Black Sea to the Venetian Senate asking to settle in Candia were answered favourably, but it remains unclear if either group successfully completed the journey. (Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 190-1).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* For a discussion of medieval Jewish communities in the Aegean, as for instance on the islands of Lesbos and Chios, and further bibliography see Demetrios Letsios, "Jewish Communities in the Aegean during the Middle Ages," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea; Proceedings of the First International Colloquium, held at the Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London 21-22 September 2001*, ed. J. Chrysostomides, Charalambos Dendrinis, and Jonathan Harris (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 2004).

¹¹⁶ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 193.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 193, 331. Canea was founded by the Venetians in 1252 and, therefore, no Jewish settlement existed there in the Byzantine period. Jewish inhabitants are first mentioned in documents regarding the aforesaid city in 1325 and by the second half of the 16th century the Jewish population had reached 300. (*Ibid.*, 202-4).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.; Joshua Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 12 (1942), 61.

¹¹⁹ Κώστας Γ. Τσικνάκης (Tsiknakis), "Οι Εβραίοι του Χάνδακα τον 16ο Αιώνα" in *Ο Ελληνικός Εβραϊσμός* (Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Νεοελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας), 226.

¹²⁰ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 194. The obligatory confinement of Jews to an enclosed space affected the density of its population, the price of real-estate in the ghetto, as well as its

guarded gate to regulate the movement of Jews in and out of this space.¹²¹ A 1532 document records the request by David Maurogonato, a Jew friendly to the regime, to be exempted from the obligation to mark his door with the sign ‘Θ’.¹²² In Rettimo the local Jewish quarter, which was established in the suburbs close to the old fortifications, was demarcated by symbols of the cross.¹²³

At approximately the same time as the Candiot Jewish community was being restricted, in 1394, the Venetian Jews were permanently evicted from the city which only nine years earlier had invited them to help fund a war against Chioggia. New legislation allowed Jews to enter the city for a period of no more than fifteen days and obliged them to display a yellow badge on their clothing for the duration of their stay.¹²⁴ Arbel writes that ‘[w]hile consenting to the presence of Jews in many centres throughout the Venetian empire, Venice’s leaders took special care to prevent Jews from establishing themselves in the capital.’¹²⁵ The first ghetto in Venice was established a significant time after that of Candia: the *Ghetto Nuovo* was instituted in 1516, a period marked by ‘religious fanaticism characterised by anti-Jewish persecutions.’¹²⁶ The decades that followed until the war over Cyprus in 1571 saw the anti-Jewish policy of the Roman Church reach new heights, while the Venetian state’s attitudes also hardened. In fact, Arbel comments that the century leading up to 1570 has been ‘characterized as a most difficult period in the history of Western and Central European Jews.’¹²⁷ During this time, Jews were gradually pushed to the margin of economic life and commencing in 1546 a number of towns in the Veneto

architectural development. For a discussion of these repercussions see Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, 197-8.

¹²¹ Georgopoulou adds that ‘[n]ot only was the Jewish community free to enter or exit the city through this gate, but the Jews of Crete were free to immigrate to other Venetian territories, such as Constantinople or Padua, and other Western European cities to attend foreign *jeshivas*.’ (Ibid., 196) The Jewish ghetto in Canea, which had two synagogues, was outside the city walls. (Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 93-5).

¹²² Sathas, K. N., *Ελληνικά Ανέκδοτα*, (Athens, 1867) II, xxviii-ix cited in ibid., 68-9. The meaning of this symbol (is it the Greek letter theta (θ)? Or just a circle with a line through it?) is unclear to me and I have been unable to locate an explanation in the literature.

¹²³ The document attesting to this dated from 1448. (Ibid., 93-5.; D. Jacoby, ‘Un agent juif au service de la Republique de Venise. David Maurogonato de Candie,’ *Thesaurismata* 9 [1972], 75 cited in Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, 205, 335-6).

¹²⁴ Benjamin Ravid, ‘The Legal Status of the Jews in Venice to 1509,’ *Proceedings of the Academy for Jewish Research* 54 (1987): 180-1 cited in ibid., 194, 331.

¹²⁵ Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

¹²⁷ J. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Merchantilism, 1550-1750*, (Oxford: s.l., 1985), 23-31 cited in ibid., 8-9. Doge Alvise Mocenigo expressed the opinion that the Jews were responsible for the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1570-3 and following Lepanto, on 18 December, the Senate voted to expel the Jewish population from Venice. (Τσιγκάκης, "Οι Εβραίοι του Χάνδακα," 230-1).

requested that Venice abolish Jewish money-lending and replace it by the Christian institutions of *Monti di Pietà*.¹²⁸ While Jews in the *Ghetto Nuovo* were not allowed to engage in international trade, Venice's role in the latter was increasingly under pressure by Jewish merchants settled in Ottoman lands and other Italian centres.¹²⁹ The Venetian-Ottoman war in the 1530's gave the opportunity to these Jewish merchants to step into the coveted position of intermediaries between East and West.¹³⁰ Hoping to reverse this trend and boost local economy, Venice invited Jewish Ottoman subjects engaged in trade to live for a limited period in a new enclosed neighbourhood, the *Ghetto Vecchio*.¹³¹ The second ghetto, where the *Levantini* were settled, was adjacent to the first one, where Jews involved in money-lending lived. By 1589 a charter addressed to all Jews, *Levantini* and *Ponentini*, permitted their settlement in Venice providing they pay 'the usual customs-duties.'¹³²

The 1385 expulsion from Venice led to an influx of Jewish refugees in Crete, a Venetian colony at this point for almost two centuries. This influx was indirectly documented by the authorities in the justifications put forth for an increase in the tax demanded from the community: instead of 2,000 *hyperpera*, an amount fixed in 1389, 3,000 was demanded in 1394 on the premise that wealthy Jews had recently arrived to the island from Venice.¹³³ Candia's Jews, according to Joshua Starr, never exceeded 12-15 percent of the population although they consistently bore a disproportionate portion of the tax demanded from the *Regno*.¹³⁴ Candia's Jewish community of Candia had four synagogues: two were present before 1228 (one named after the Prophet Elijah, the other *Kretiko*, 'of Crete'), a third is mentioned in 1363 (its Greek name was *Siviliatiko*, 'of Seville,' indicating Jewish immigration from Spain to Crete) and a fourth in 1432.¹³⁵ Georgopoulou writes that another

¹²⁸ Ibid., 9. Moneylending was abolished in Padua (1547), Verona, Conegliano and Asolo (1548), Udine (1556) and Bergamo (1557). Jewish economic activities were restricted in Padua in 1545; ghettos were established in Udine (1543) and in Padua (1547), while fourteen years later the Udinesi expelled Jews altogether. (Arbel, *Trading Nations*, 9).

¹²⁹ On the migration of Jews to the East, especially following their expulsion from Spain, Portugal and Sicily, and their settlement in Ottoman lands and certain Italian states which invited them in order to stimulate their economy see *ibid.*, 3-4.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹³¹ Ibid., 6.

¹³² Ibid., 7.

¹³³ Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 77.

¹³⁴ Ibid. For a discussion of the taxation on Cretan Jews see *ibid.*, esp. 76-81.

¹³⁵ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 196-7. The Jewish woman Ploumou Choulina's (Πλουμού Χουλίνα) 1528 will attests to the presence of four synagogues; Ploumou left three 'μέτρα'/ metra of olive oil to 'τέσσερα Συναγωγία'/ the four Synagogues. (ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, f.B.78r-v [18 February 1529] in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 236-7).

synagogue by the name of *Alamanico/Allemaniko* is mentioned in 1496 which would indicate the presence of Ashkenazi (German) Jews in Crete.¹³⁶

‘As the subjects of the *Serenissima*,’ Starr writes, ‘the Jews enjoyed essentially the same status as their Greek neighbors (in the towns) who were, of course, not treated as equals of the Venetian colonists. Although the relations between the Jews and the native Christians were far from uniformly harmonious, they were to a large extent on an equal plane.’¹³⁷ This aside, he continues ‘the hostility of the oppressed population toward the Jews, nourished by an unhealthy economic complex, threatened to flare up again and again.’¹³⁸ During the first centuries of the island’s occupation, a period which saw local revolts, the Jewish population found itself in the position of having to choose between siding with the indigenous population and risking Venetian retaliation, or supporting the authorities and risk provoking the anger of the overwhelming Orthodox majority of the island’s inhabitants.¹³⁹ Starr points out that ‘[t]he available documents give no adequate basis for deciding what the wiser course would have been from the standpoint of self-defence; in all likelihood the question was a perplexing one for the leaders of the Jewish community.’¹⁴⁰

The case of the wealthy Jewish Candiot merchant, David Maurogonato, clearly demonstrates the complexity of the Jewish situation in Crete and, as such, will be briefly examined. In 1460 Maurogonato and the Greek priest Ioannis Limas appeared before the authorities in Venice to warn them of a Greek conspiracy to revolt against the regime in Crete. Limas was already known to Venetians: a revolt in Retimo in 1453, instigated and headed by Sifis Vlastos, came to an abrupt end when Limas and Andrea Nigro informed the authorities on the whereabouts of the rebels. Rewarded by the Venetians for his services, Limas was granted Cretan nobility and was elevated to the highest position in the Orthodox religion’s hierarchy on the

¹³⁶ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 197. Starr ascertains it was built in 1400. (Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 98).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹³⁹ For an account of the revolts which occurred in 1211, 1228, 1272-3, 1283 (Alexios Calergi’s revolt), 1363, 1366 (St. Titus’ revolt) and 1453-4 (Sifi Vlastos’ revolt) see Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου (Maltezou), "Η Κρήτη στη Διάρκεια της Περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)," in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. Νικόλαος Μ. Παναγιωτάκης (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 1988), 115-29; for an account of the St Titus revolt and a different interpretation than the one found in Greek literature see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 133-67.

¹⁴⁰ Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 67.

island, *protopapas* of Candia.¹⁴¹ Seven years later, Limas collaborated with Maurogonato to warn the Venetian government of another conspiracy.¹⁴² The rebellion was prevented and, following their policy of rewarding informants, Maurogonato was given a bounty of 3,000 and an annual income of 500 *hyperpera*. In due time, the merchant tried to use his newly-found favour with the authorities to benefit the Jewish community: in 1463, in response to his petition, a proclamation protecting Jews from molestation and allowing their re-entry to Castelnovo and Castel Bonifacio was issued, and in 1465, again following his instigation, the Jewish executioner - the Jewish community was obliged to provide a volunteer for this position - was exempted from his duties on the Sabbath and other rest days.¹⁴³ A petition from 1462, predating the above, however, offers a glimpse into another reality. Here Maurogonato complained to the doge about the money owed to him by the Cretan regime, claiming that his loyalty to the Republic '[had] earned him *publicum odium* among Jews as well as Greeks.'¹⁴⁴ The Greeks' resentment caused by the crushed rebellion targeted the Jewish community, who, in turn, blamed Maurogonato. His petitions on behalf of his community might be seen as an effort to regain their favour. A year after the petition regarding the money owed to him, he was given permission to carry arms for his own protection,¹⁴⁵ indicating his social standing in Candia had not improved. Maurogonato's decision to support and protect the Venetian regime resulted not only in his alienation from his own religious community, but also in open animosity from the local population. His story exemplifies the delicate balance of power and interests that the Candiot Jews strove to maintain and the serious consequences of any actions that upset this balance.

¹⁴¹ Χρύσα Μαλτέζου (Maltezu), "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (s.l.: Εκδοτική Αθηνών, 1974), 204.

¹⁴² Both these efforts to overthrow the island's governors have been linked to the fall of Constantinople and the subsequent influx of refugees to Crete. Starr writes that the latest arrivals to the island 'revived Greek nationalism' and Maltezu claims that '[i]t is not to be entirely dismissed, as has poignantly been observed, that the Cretans might have envisioned, following the cessation of the Byzantine Empire, the creation of a free Greek state.' (Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 67; Μαλτέζου, "Η Κρήτη στη Διάρκεια της Περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας," 126).

¹⁴³ Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 68. This demand from the Jewish community was common in the Venetian empire. (See *ibid.*, 74-6) Letsios writes that Jewish executioners date from Byzantine times and poignantly comments '...the use of Jews for socially hated occupations, such as executioners, even if occasional, contributed to a negative popular image of the Jew.' (Letsios, "Jewish Communities," 130).

¹⁴⁴ Sathas, *Ελληνικά Ανέκδοτα*, II, xxx-xxxi cited in Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice," 68.

¹⁴⁵ Sathas, *Ελληνικά Ανέκδοτα*, II, xxviii-ix in *ibid.*, 68-9.

In 1538, during an Ottoman-Venetian war, tension between the Greeks and Jews reached new heights. The fear of an imminent Turkish invasion in combination with the famine hysteria and rumours that Jews were hiding Turks in the quarter led to a Greek mob entering the Judaica.¹⁴⁶ All able-bodied men at the time were absent, obliged to dig trenches for the upcoming battle; a fact unlikely to have been coincidental. The pogrom ended with the intervention of the *Provveditore Generale* Giovanni Moro, but the Greeks captured several Jewish hostages claiming they were Turkish spies. A local *Purim* to commemorate the near escape of those left to fight off the intruders was celebrated in the 1541 anniversary of the event and continued to be celebrated annually.¹⁴⁷

Events like these confirm the ‘trepidation or even hostility’ of the Greek population towards the Jewish community.¹⁴⁸ Whether instigated by doctrinal fanaticism or class struggle, as sections of both groups were disadvantaged in terms of their access to power, it is clear that the local population viewed Jews as a separate social group, one that could not be trusted to ally with them in a war or a rebellion against the regime.¹⁴⁹ In this sense, they were viewed as a foreign body and, whereas the Venetians settlers with time had heavily integrated with the Greek Cretans, this was not true of the Jews. Yet, on occasion and on an individual level, one of micro-history, the boundaries of the communities were transgressed and a more permeable picture than the one prescribed in state legislation or in communal actions emerges.

Conversions, individuals’ movements between the faith-based groups, present one form of social transgressions. Fragiskina Christina (Φραγκισκίνα Χριστίνα) of Canea wrote her will in Candia in 1506.¹⁵⁰ Her married name had been Salvador (Σαλβαδώρα), which she noted in order to declare her previous testament null and void and to revoke the status of her husband as sole beneficiary. In her new testament she proclaimed she was once Jewish, but had been baptised a Christian (Catholic). Fra Francesco of Santa Maria in Rettimo was in possession of the bequest (‘ψυχικό’) given to her by Christians when she was baptised and she bequeathed this to Joanna Katelanopoula (Τζοάνα Κατελανοπούλα) of Canea, then in Candia. Joanna also

¹⁴⁶ Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 69-70; Τσιγκνάκης, "Οι Εβραίοι του Χάνδακα," 232.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. A *Purim* is a Jewish festival which commemorates the deliverance of the Jews from massacre under the Persian Empire (473 BC). (Oxford Reference Online, www.oxfordreference.com, 23/09/2010).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 231.

¹⁴⁹ On Orthodox ecclesiastical writing from Crete on Jewish matters see *ibid.*, 236-7.

¹⁵⁰ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, f.7r cited as ‘Διαθήκη Φραγκισκίνας Χριστίνας’ in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 3-4.

stood to inherit Frangiskina's dowry, which was in the possession of Manoli Salvador, her ex-husband, a pearl necklace and a 'κορπαρόλον'/ korpapolon/ carpariol, 'a specie di farsetto femminile.'¹⁵¹ She bequeathed her mattress, pillow and *carpeta*, a bed cover, to Kali, wife of Iakovos, stating that Kali had kept her in her house until her death. Natalie Rothman discusses the role of god-parenthood in Jewish and Muslim conversions orchestrated by the *Pia Casa dei Catecumeni* in Venice in the period 1590-1670. This role was shared between the god-parents who 'were able to further their civic as well as spiritual claims' and the *Pia Casa* which "claimed paternal guardianship over all 'children of the House'."¹⁵² It is possible that Joanna, the main beneficiary of Frangiskina's will, had been her godmother. Financial aid to the newly-converted, mentioned above, was also common in the case of *Pia Casa* conversions, where converts were eligible for charity and female converts of childbearing age, in specific, received dowries when they married.¹⁵³ Regarding Frangiskina's motivation to convert, Rothman has shown that sometimes conversions were an 'attempt to break free from an unhappy marriage.'¹⁵⁴ Frangiskina was clearly not on good terms with her ex-husband when she wrote her will, but her motivation for converting is impossible to establish with any degree of certainty. Her last testament indicates, however, she had developed social ties with at least two members of her new faith, the beneficiaries of her will.

A case of inter-faith marriage is hinted at a 1523 inventory of the deceased Jewish woman, Kali Bonanitena (Καλή Μπονανίτενα).¹⁵⁵ Her husband is recorded as Ilias (Ηλίας), which could be both the Jewish Elijah and the Orthodox Ilias. The lack of an epithet stating his religion, however, adds credence to the possibility he was not Jewish as the law demanded Judaism be explicitly declared. Three *commessari* were present when the *stima* was compiled: two Jewish men and a non-Jewish woman. If Kali had married a Christian, her choice of executors shows she had remained close to members of the Jewish community. In fact, a survey of the witnesses of last

¹⁵¹ Ibid.; Boerio, DDV cited in *ibid.*, 397.

¹⁵² E. Natalie Rothman, "Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 21, no. 1 (2006), 42, 46. About a quarter of the 1,300 catechumens recorded were Jewish, while the majority of converts were Muslims from the Ottoman Balkans, North Africa, the Greek Islands and Anatolia. Of the Jewish converts 43 percent of the men and 64 of the women were Venetian. The overwhelming majority of godparents were men and in most cases they were patricians. (*Ibid.*, 43-4, 46-8).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁵⁵ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, f. 144r-v cited as 'Απογραφή της Κινητής Περιουσίας της Ποτέ Καλής Μπονανιταίνας' in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 288-9.

testaments drawn by Gregoropoulos for Jewish clients – eight testators in total with dates from 1509 to 1528 - presents a mixed picture: in three cases both witnesses were Jewish and signed in Hebrew, in four cases neither were Jewish and in one there was one witness of each faith. In one telling instance, the pregnant wife of a rabbi drafted her last testament with a priest as a witness, *papa* Manouel Kaliatis (παπα μανουήλ καλιάτης).¹⁵⁶

The friendships and ties of affection of otherwise unknown people rarely leave traces in the historical records which privilege the lives of the higher social classes. In a will drawn on 11 June 1510 Kali Capsali (Καλή Καψάλη), widow of Rabbi Leon, bequeathed Erini Axiotisa (Ερήνη Αξιότισσα), who was not named as a Jew, the ground floor of her small house in the Judaica.¹⁵⁷ Erini, Kali explained, already lived there, while she occupied the top floor. She made this bequest, she wrote, ‘because she (Erini) has stood by me and has done a lot for me. I leave her this, therefore, for my soul, after my death, for her to do with it what she like as if it were hers.’¹⁵⁸ Kali and Erini, who lived as neighbours, had become close friends, enough so that Kali was moved to honour this friendship in her final will.

The last testimony of social interaction between the two communities comes from the city’s *bandi*. On 6 July 1569, a period marked by anti-Jewish sentiment, the regime attempted to put an end to behaviour that according to its representatives went against the ‘sacri canoni et sacrissime legge christine.’¹⁵⁹ It becomes clear from the proclamation that Christians were working and living in Jewish homes and Christian women were employed by Jews as wetnurses (*nene, nena al lattar*).¹⁶⁰ The regime expressed its discontent and fear that such arrangements could lead to these Christian women falling pregnant by Jewish men. Henceforth the proclamation stated Christians were forbidden from ‘stantiar o habitar in case de algun zudio o zudia ne

¹⁵⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, f. B36r-v cited as ‘Διαθήκη Ναχαμάς Γαδηνέλενας’ in *ibid.*, 189-90.

¹⁵⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, f. 28r cited as ‘Διαθήκη Καλής Καψάλη’ in *Ibid.*, 34-4. Tsiknakis mentions that the Capsali family was among the wealthy Jewish families who had close ties with the Venetian authorities. (Τσικνάκης, “Οι Εβραίοι του Χάνδακα,” 227).

¹⁵⁸ ‘Και αυτό της αφήμι, επειδή μου επαραστάθη πολλά και εκοπιάσεν πολλά δια μένα. Αφίνω της λουπόν και εγώ αυτός αυτής διά την ψυχήν μου, ήγουν μετά τον θανάτον μου, και αυτό να κάμει αυτή ως θέλει ως ιδίον αυτής πράγμαν.’ (*Ibid.*, 35). If Erini was not Jewish, it remains unclear why she chose to live in the Judaica. I have not found any literature discussing the presence of non-Jews in the Cretan Jewish quarters which could shed some light on the issue. If Erini was married to a Jew or a widow of one, this probably would have been recorded in the document.

¹⁵⁹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 10, f. 75r-v.

¹⁶⁰ For a discussion of the importance of wetnurses’ role in upper class Cretan society, their social background, responsibilities (often spelled out in contracts), and the bonds of affection which developed between them and the family members of the households where they were employed see Λαμπρινός, “Οι γυναίκες της ανώτερης τάξης στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη,” 114-22.

per nena ne ad algun servitio loro....ne in lassar, nutrir, ne governar alguno fiollo, over fiolla de essi zudei, come si voglia ne dentro, ne for a di case loro, ne meno in case de esse christiane, ne amodo alguno...' ¹⁶¹ If a Christian woman was caught breaking the law she was to be whipped along the *ruga maestra* 'della porta del mollo fino alla porta del piazza' and left there for three hours 'in berlina', the city's pillory, in public shame. Christian men would be condemned to ten years in the galleys, while Jewish men would have to each pay 50 ducats and would be exiled from Candia. ¹⁶² Jewish women would be punished like the Christian ones, and then exiled 'senza gratia et remission alcuna.' ¹⁶³ The severity of the punishment indicates the perceived threat to the established social order not only due to the fear of social interaction between followers of the two faiths but the even greater danger that these activities might lead to children of mixed heritage.

This chapter has presented the *dramatis personae* of sixteenth-century Cretan society and begun to unpack the layers of contemporary identities. The evidence which has been presented combined relevant published material with new documentary evidence relating to this period. In instances when published material was discussed the focus was on interpreting the evidence in novel ways and on intertwining existing and newly-presented data in order to yield answers to the proposed line of enquiry. Class and religion emerge as important factors on a micro-level, whereas the concept of homeland or birthplace played an important role in people's ways of perceiving and presenting themselves when they were outside their natural environment. Efforts to use language to distinguish between social groups are not supported by the primary sources, despite historians' desire to find such distinctions in the past. A critical discussion of the appropriation of language towards ideological ends exposed the underlying nationalist discourse of such efforts. Finally, a short evaluation of the position of Candia's third religious group, the Jewish community, served to exemplify the complexities of colonial rule and inter-communal relationships in this period.

¹⁶¹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 10, f. 75v. Stanziar(e) is to dwell, to reside. (Boerio, DDV, 701).

¹⁶² If they could not pay, they were condemned to five years in the galleys and then exiled. (ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 10, f. 75v).

¹⁶³ Ibid., f. 76r.

Chapter 2

Candia: Narrative Testimonies on the City and the Island

‘Venetian culture in Crete was...almost entirely an urban culture, like its prototype.’

McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (2000), 115.

‘...havendosi da tutti cognosciuto quanta sia la devosione, et bon animo di questo fidelissimo popolo verso la Illustrissima Signoria dimostrato in ogni occasione...di mostrare la fede, et carita, che hano prima a nostro san marco, et poi alla patria sua...’

ASV, Duca di Candia, b.15bis, reg. 9, f. 90v.

1. Introduction

Locations often make strong and lasting impressions on their transient visitors, sometimes recorded visually and other times in written form; cities inspire odes of admiration, love and devotion and treatises of criticism and denigration by both residents and foreigners. City toponyms become roots for appellations and frequently surnames which accompany individuals for life, literally identifying them and distinguishing them from others whose names or sobriquets carry no such connection to a locality. Miniaturists and cartographers conventionally depict cities by recording their urban topography, emphasizing their most prominent structures and fortifications, while authors describe their inhabitants, streets, buildings, squares and so on. On certain occasions the classical language of a female figure can be deployed to personify a city. Thus, a city in the form of a woman lifts a sword to indicate its struggle against invading forces or rebellious locals. Finally, cities can talk – in the first person.

Crete’s capital, Candia, derived its name from the Italianised version of the Byzantine *Chandax* which, in turn, came from the Arabic *al-Khandaq*, the moat;¹ locals, however, referred to the city simply as *Κάστρο*, the Castle. The city lent its Italian name to the entire island, the *Regno di Candia*, whose population in 1571 numbered around 160,000, a third of Venice’s entire *stato da mar*.² A fortified port on the island’s north shores, Candia was the centre of Crete’s administration and

¹ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 45.

² Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 78 where further references are offered.

commerce. (Fig. 5) In good weather the city was approximately a month-and-a-half-long journey by sea from Venice, although the trip's duration frequently increased.³ In 1532 Michele Sanmicheli, the famous architect, redesigned the city's fortification in accordance with the latest developments in military structures.⁴ (Fig. 6) The new fortification enclosed the earlier Byzantine walls, effectively merging the *borgo*, the area outside the walls, with the *civitas*, the enclosed city.⁵ Their respective inhabitants, however, continued to distinguish themselves in official documents as 'habitor Candide' and 'habitor burgi Candide' until the end of Venetian rule.⁶

The island's civic centre and the majority of its Catholic churches were inside the Byzantine walls. Its two gates, regulating and controlling access from land and sea, were connected by the *ruga magistra*, which cut across the confined urban space. The land gate opened onto Candia's main piazza, renamed by the Venetians piazza San Marco, the city's civic heart, where one found 'the Latin Cathedral [of San Titus], the ducal palace, the loggia, the palace of the general [*provveditor*], the public warehouse,'⁷ the ducal chapel of San Marco and the city's clock tower.⁸ The piazza was also lined with shops and permanent benches, serving as Candia's main supervised marketplace.⁹ The city's public crier read the regime's proclamations there, while the presence of Candia's pillory marked the location as one of state punishment and shaming.¹⁰ The city's Orthodox Cathedral, St. Mary of the Angels, the seat of the *protopapas*, was just outside the land gate, and diagonally across from the city's most important Orthodox establishment, the monastery of St. Catherine of Sinai.¹¹ By the sixteenth century, Candia was also home to eleven conventual

³ Tenenti, "Il senso del mare," 45. Antonio Ratti and Paola Ratti-Vidoli estimate the journey took on average two to three weeks. (Antonio Ratti and Paola Ratti Vidoli, "Giorgio Sideri Callapoda, cartografo cretese del Cinquecento," *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 [1991]).

⁴ Sanmichele also designed the forts of Canea and Rettimo. (Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 22).

⁵ The *borgo* was known in Greek as 'εξώπορτο' (exoporto, outside/beyond the door) or 'βούργος' / *bourgos*.

⁶ Ibid., 48-9.

⁷ Ibid., 84. For a discussion of the ducal palace, which also housed juridical offices see *ibid.*, 94-100; for the *loggia* see *ibid.*, 84; for the city's *ospedali*, *ospizii* and *lazzaretti* see Αναστασία Παπαδιά-Λάλα (Papadia-Lala), *Εναγή και Νοσοκομειακά Ιδρύματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*, vol. 4, Ελληνολατινική Ανατολή [Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών της Βενετίας & Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη Ηρακλείου, 1996].

⁸ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 85.

⁹ Ibid., 90-91.

¹⁰ Ibid., 91, 84.

¹¹ Ibid., 177-8.

churches, most prominent among them the Franciscan monastery of St Francis and the Dominican one St. Peter Martyr.¹²

The prolonged Ottoman siege in the seventeenth century, the heavy bombardment in World War II and subsequent reckless urban development have largely erased the city's architectural past. *Kandiye*, Candia's Turkish name for almost three centuries during its Ottoman occupation (1669-1913), met a similar, if not worse, fate than its predecessor. Efforts to access the period of Venetian rule, thus, stand to benefit from contemporary written sources which can enrich our knowledge of the city, the island and its inhabitants. This chapter will examine a series of sixteenth-century documents, both published and unpublished, with the intention of accessing perceptions and experiences of Crete in the period under consideration. In some cases the material discussed will be presented for the first time and in others my analysis will build on earlier scholarship, bringing the published material to bear on the new evidence and focusing on different issues from the previous scholarship. The documents which will be examined yield insightful commentary by attentiveness to the authors' agency in the textual narrative. Bearing this in mind, a variety of primary sources will be presented such as a Venetian patrician's personal correspondence, an anonymous poem on Crete, extracts from the city's public proclamations, scholarly treatises on Cretan history and geography, and a speech from the inauguration ceremony of a Cretan academy of letters. As an entity the authors of these writings offer a representative sample of the diverse social groups in sixteenth-century Crete; the concerns and opinions they express mirror the interests and preoccupations of their social peers.

2. Advice on Managing a Household in Candia

An undated, anonymous letter in the Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini offers a glimpse into the networks of friendship uniting Venetian patricians in the maritime empire, the commercial relationships developed with locals, and the organization and daily running of a Venetian statesman's household in the Serenissima's largest colony. (Appendix A) The document lives in the private archive of Giacomo (Jacomo) Contarini (Nicosia, 1536 – Venice, 1595), which

¹² Ibid., 133. For further information see 'The Blessings of the Friars' in *ibid.*

passed into the care of the Venetian state in 1713.¹³ The letter, which is unpublished and to my knowledge altogether ignored in the literature, is contained in a folder of diverse sixteenth-century materials pertaining to Corfu, Zante, Cefalonia and Candia. A comparison with Foscarini's handwriting seen in his diary in the same folder excludes the possibility the letter was autograph.¹⁴ Furthermore, the absence of a named addressee and the fact that the letter is not signed indicate it is a copy. A direct link to Contarini, either as recipient or as author, has thus far been impossible to establish. The other documents in the folder regarding Candia refer to the island's defence against the Ottoman threat, the island's nobles and its cavalry; these letters are also copies and bear no connection to the advisory letter. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, former director of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, in the introduction of the Contarini archive's index writes that Venetian patricians' archives typically contain private and personal documents, alongside ones of public and state interest.¹⁵ This letter exemplifies the merging of the public and private domains: addressed to a newly-appointed Venetian officer about to set off to his Cretan post it offers personal advice on a private issue.

Giacomo Contarini belonged to the San Samuele branch of the prominent patrician family and spent his entire life in the service of the Republic's administration. During his lifetime he held the offices of *Deputato alla guardia e fortificazione del porto di San Nicholò al Lido* (1572), *Deputato* in charge of the preparations for a visit by Henry III of France (1574), *Savio alla Mercanzia*, *Savio alle Biade* (1590), *Provveditore all'Arsenal* (1593-5), member of the *Consiglio di Dieci* and *Podestà di Bergamo*.¹⁶ His erudition and knowledge of the arts made him

¹³ In his will dated 1 July 1595 Contarini requested that his famous collection of 'libri a stampa come de'scritti a penna, instrumenti mathematici, pietre, secreti et altro' be passed down the family line following the custom of primogeniture. When the male line was extinct, he wrote, 'voglio che caschi nella mia carissima patria, perchè ella s'è degnato d'honorarmi oltre ogni mio merito...' (ASV, Archivio Notarile, Testamenti, Notaio Galeazzo Secco cancelliere ducale, b. 1191, n. 350 cited in Joseph Velentinelli, *Biblioteca Manuscripta ad Sancti Marci Venetiarum, Codices mss. latini*, vol. I [Venezia: Typographia Commercii, 1868], 69) For an account of the collection's history after 1713 see *Secreta. Archivio Proprio di Giacomo Contarini (1536-1595)* a.c. di Maria Francesca Tiepolo, ed. Franco Rossi, 4-6; Marino Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco. Libri, Lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1987), 246-7; for a discussion of the content of Contarini's collection see Paul Lawrence Rose, "Jacomo Contarini (1536- 1595), A Venetian Patron and Collector of Mathematical Instruments and Books," *Physis* 2 (1976), esp. 119-21.

¹⁴ The diary covers the period 7 July 1584 – 3 January 1585. ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, filza 24, ff. 5r- 31r.

¹⁵ Tiepolo, *Secreta, Archivio Proprio di Giacomo Contarini*, 3.

¹⁶ ASV, *Secreta, Archivio Proprio di Giacomo Contarini*, Inventario 311/4, 1. Tiepolo's introduction in the unpublished index of the Contarini archive contains certain information not found on the pdf document on the ASV website.

the ideal choice for preparing a new iconographic scheme for the rooms in the Palazzo Ducale which were destroyed by fire in 1577.¹⁷ Contarini amassed a considerable collection of manuscripts and printed books, mathematical instruments, drawings and designs of modern machines, paintings and sculpture.¹⁸ His intellectual pursuits and especially his interest in mathematics and architecture nurtured his friendships with such prominent contemporary figures as Andrea Palladio, Galileo Galilei, Guidobaldo del Monte, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.¹⁹ Contarini also corresponded with the Venetian Cretan Francesco Barozzi, whose treatise on Crete will be examined later in this chapter.²⁰ Information connecting Contarini to Crete, however, is not forthcoming; there is no evidence that he served in the island's administration or indeed that he ever visited Crete. Questions of the letter's provenance, therefore, point in the direction of Contarini's social peers and family members; Venetian men, in other words, whose experience in the *Oltremare* gave them the knowledge to compose such a letter and who stood to benefit from its content. Despite the mystery surrounding its authorship and audience this document provides an effective springboard for looking at Crete's topography, administration and agricultural produce, as well as the relationships between the locals and the Venetian authorities.

The letter's recipient as mentioned above is not named but the content points towards a close friend of the author who had recently been assigned a post in Crete, or possibly his successor in office. The author's stated purpose in writing the letter was to relate his personal experiences from his tenure in Crete, giving advice to his addressee on the management of his new home and, in particular, on the procurement of food provisions while in Crete. From the first lines he makes clear his intentions and the guiding principle of his advice: true to the Venetian mercantile culture the author seeks and promotes local providers of good quality merchandise at affordable prices. He writes,

‘Perche deve l’huomo savio attendere alla Economica, et governo della sua Famiglia, come alle cose pubbliche, Io ho giudicato, che non sarà discaro a Vostra Serenità Illustrissima che io, conforme alla

¹⁷ He shared this responsibility with Giacomo Marcello and Girolamo Bardi. (Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco*, 185).

¹⁸ Rose, ‘Jacomo Contarini,’ passim. See note 13 above.

¹⁹ Tiepolo, *Secreta, Archivio Proprio di Giacomo Contarini*, 3; Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco*, 185-7; Rose, ‘Jacomo Contarini.’

²⁰ Regarding Contarini's relationship with Barozzi see *ibid.*, 119, 123 (30), Appendix I; Gino Benzoni, "La Cultura: Contenuti e Forme," in *Storia di Venezia* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994), 565-6.

servitù, che tengo con lei, et al desiderio, che io ho di farlo servitio in ogni occasione, li raccordi il modo, con che lei possi dar ordine per il viver, et spesa della sua Famiglia in Candia, havendo sempre fornita la casa di buonissima robba, er con prezzo tale che si potrà reputar, che s'avantaggi il doppio nella bontà, et nel costo.²¹

To ensure governors did not neglect their formal responsibilities and prioritise their private lives and financial profits, earlier Venetian legislation had forbidden officials from taking their family members with them to their assigned posts in the *stato da mar*.²² Thus, the commissions for the governors of Crete in the thirteenth and fifteenth century forbade those accepting the position from bringing their wives and children to the island.²³ The continuous disregard for this measure, however, resulted in a change of the state approach: a fifteenth-century ruling made the governors responsible for their family members' encounters with the law.²⁴ In addition to this ruling, the Senate decreed that governors' children (like their parents) were forbidden from engaging in commerce and that local offices were not to be awarded to any member of the governor's family.²⁵ Clearly, by the time this letter was written, close members of kin accompanied statesmen and established households in the colonies. It is worth noting that the distinction between household, which included kin and non-kin members who shared a residence, and family, who were individuals related by blood or marriage, was firmly established in antiquity and carried on to the modern period.²⁶ The arrival of the new *duca* and *capitan general* in Candia was an occasion for a ritual procession, attended by both departing and arriving dignitaries and, as testified by the Milanese Canon Pietro Casola, their wives.²⁷ In an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1494, Casola discusses how his ship stopped in Candia to take the retiring dignitaries back to Venice; the *duca* and *capitano* were accompanied by their wives 'and attended by many ladies,

²¹ ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, filza 24, f. 44r.

²² Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 61, 183.

²³ There was a failed attempt to revoke the law in 1319. For further references see *ibid.*, 61, 183-4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Sally McKee, "Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete," *Speculum: A Journal of the Medieval Academy of America* 70 (1995), 28.

²⁷ For further discussion see 'Η Είσοδος του Δούκα στο Χάνδακα' in Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 41-50.

so adorned and so magnificent that I seemed to be in Venice on a great festival,' wrote Casola.²⁸

The professional administrators sent to Crete served short tenures and their stay on the island was envisaged as largely detached from local life. The tenures of the offices of *duca di Candia* and that of *capitan grande* or *general*, for instance, lasted two years.²⁹ This approach to governance intended to discourage the development of local networks of acquaintances which could create conflicts of interest. The highest positions offered to patricians in the maritime empire were those of governors and captains of 'Zara, Corfu, Crete and Cyprus, all regional capitals with some control over nearby towns and countryside.'³⁰ The letter does not specify the position the addressee had been appointed to but it is evidently one of importance which would require touring the island ('quando lei anderà in visita per il Regno') and controlling the local Venetian officers. 'The men who held these positions,' writes O'Connell, 'acted as the primary Venetian administrators in a region as well as in an individual city; the offices brought large salaries and correspondingly heavy diplomatic, administrative, and judicial responsibilities.'³¹ The governor or *duca*, in the case of Crete, was responsible for civil matters such as judicial and financial administration, whereas the captain (*capitano*) had military responsibilities and oversaw issues of public order.³² Administrators were referred to collectively as *rettori*, rectors, or *governatori*, governors.³³ *Provveditori* were 'temporary military and administrative officials' with open-ended tenures and supreme power sent to collaborate with the elected governors and captains; they became increasingly important with the Ottoman advance in the region.³⁴ In some of the Venetian

²⁸ M. Margaret Newett, ed., *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494* (s.l.: Manchester University Press, 1907). See also S. Rossi Minutelli, 'Casola, Pietro', DBI, vol. 21, 375-7.

²⁹ The offices' tenures varied: the two *consiglieri* who together with the *duca* formed the island's *Signoria* had a 32-month tenure; the two *sindici* – also named *inquisitori* and *avogatori* – 18 months; the *provveditor general della cavalleria* three years. For an account of the structure of Crete's colonial administration see Ασπασία Παπαδάκη (Papadaki), "Αξιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη κατά το 16ο και 17ο Αιώνα," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 (1986), 101-3; O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 41-2.

³¹ O'Connell divides the administration of the *stato da mar* into three tiers: The first and most prestigious was the one mentioned above; the second comprised of the administrators of Cattaro, Coron and Modon, Durazzo, Negroponte, Nauplion, Sebenico, Scutari, Spalato and Traù who 'still had heavy responsibilities, but headed smaller regimes of two or three other Venetian officials'; and the third was composed of maritime officers in charge of smaller locals such as Brazza, Egina, or Malvasia. (O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 41-2).

³² Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 211.

³³ O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, Appendix A.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 47. For the position of castellans, who were responsible for Venice's castles in Dalmatia, Albania and Greece see Monique O'Connell, "The Castellan in Local Administration in Fifteenth

maritime locations *provveditori* were sent in cases of military emergency, whereas Crete, Zara and Corfu, all strategic locations in the empire, were permanently equipped with such an administrator.³⁵ In Crete the office of the *provveditore* was established in the second half of the sixteenth century and as a supervisory office its executive powers outweighed those of all other local offices, including that of the *duca*, the highest authority on the island until that point. At the end of his tenure the *provveditor general, sindaco e inquisitor* presented his report (*relazione*) before the Venetian Senate. Greene comments that the creation of the position was ‘an attempt to wrest control of Crete away from the locals who, it was felt, had penetrated the lower levels of administration and were bending it to suit their own desires.’³⁶ She argues this measure was part of the reform policies taking place over the previous one hundred years of Venetian rule when the authorities had become desperate to improve the living conditions of the Cretan peasantry and, thus, ensure their loyalty in the case of an Ottoman invasion. However, these efforts met the resistance of the local landlords, who had vested interests in the status quo, while the Venetian authorities were always mistrustful of Cretan peasants. This culminated in their refusal to arm them when the Turks finally arrived for fear they would side with the invaders.³⁷

The letter is full of advice on purchasing products from local providers for the Venetian patrician’s household. Such transactions aided local economy, nurtured relationships with the islanders and exposed visiting foreigners to local dietary products and customs. The Venetian ideal of governance, however, envisaged office-holding as ‘an impersonal public service,’³⁸ one where no close contact with the subject population was desirable, no bonds were to be formed, no familial, commercial or marital connections forged. In the *Commissio del doge di Venezia al rettore di Canea* (1589), the terms and conditions of the office explicitly stated that the rector was forbidden from eating with the locals, except during wedding ceremonies, and from accepting any form of gifts while in office. In 1569, the Venetian authorities extended the restriction by forbidding departing officials from

Century Venetian Crete," *Θησαυρίσματα* 33 (2003); Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13.

³⁵ Conversely in Modon, Coron, Nauplion and Lesina the title and powers of *provveditor* were given to the elected rector. (Παπαδάκη, "Αξιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη," 102-3.).

³⁶ Greene, *A Shared World*, 13.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 73.

accepting gifts from the city's population.³⁹ Both the rector of Canea and the duke of Candia were forbidden from marrying or acquiring property for a year after leaving their office.⁴⁰ Furthermore, all Venetian officials were forbidden from engaging in commerce while in office; restrictions, notes O'Connell, which were not unique to Venetian officials but, in fact, prevalent among all Italian *podestarie*.⁴¹ Obviously these restrictions did not extend to provisioning one's household, although the latter also fostered social interaction. Thus, as ideals usually go, the image of the completely detached governor was purely prescriptive, while records such as the one discussed here repeatedly show that 'Venetian maritime governors built up multiple layers of connection to places and people of the maritime state through individual and family repeat officeholding, marriage, and property ties as well as economic endeavors.'⁴²

The author offers advice on the provisioning and costs of all the basic and necessary food supplies for a household of that time: wheat (*formento/frumento*), cheese (*formaggio*) – both salted (*salado*) and sweet (*dolce*) -, veal (*vitello*) and wild game (*selvaticine*), wines (*vini*), oil (*oglio/olio*), fish (*pesce*), roosters and chickens (*polli e galline*), kids and piglets (*capretti e porcelli*), lambs (*agnelli*), and rams (*castradi*). At the time of harvest, the *esator* (*essattore*, collector) *della proceSSIONe della sithi* writes the author, must be informed of the quantity of wheat needed for the household ('per il bisogno della casa'). The specification to the controlling authority that the wheat was for the consumption of the official's household and not for commercial purposes hints at the state's efforts to regulate and control this trade.

Wheat was a sensitive and political commodity in Crete. The island had once served, in Greene's words, 'as Venice's breadbasket, particularly in the fifteenth century when huge amounts of Cretan grain were sent to the Italian mainland to feed the Venetian armies fighting in Lombardy.'⁴³ By the second half of the sixteenth-century its import from the *stato da mar* was rare and minuscule.⁴⁴ Grain came from the Messara plain, a district south-west of the Candia, and, until the sixteenth

³⁹ Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 47.

⁴⁰ Chryssa Maltezou, ed., *Commissio del doge di Venezia al rettore di Canea 1589; Ire debeas in retorem Caneae*, vol. 4, *Graecolatina Nostra* (Venice: Hellenic Institute, 2002), 52, 51, 71. For the formal responsibilities of the *duche* in public ceremonies see Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*.

⁴¹ O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 57.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁴ Greene, *A Shared World*, 62.

century, it was the island's main export along with local wine and cheese. Cretan grain nurtured the indigenous population, the military and the *galleotti*.⁴⁵ The island's mountainous ranges run along its spine dividing it in half: the north, where all its main cities – all of them ports - lie facing the Aegean, and the south, which is exposed to the African winds and is arid and uncultivable with the exception of the aforementioned Messara plain. Candia is built in an optimal position: to the east extends a broad plain, known as *Pediada* (Greek for plain), suitable for cultivation which almost reaches the south coast, and its immediate hinterlands, known as *Temenos*, are also fertile.⁴⁶ Although today Crete's mountains are deforested and the lowlands for the most part urbanised, in the period discussed the landscape was entirely different. Francesco Barozzi, writing in the later part of the sixteenth century, describes the natural terrain thus;

‘La detta isola di Creta si trova haver alcune campagne over pianure, la principal delle quali è la Messarea, dalli antichi Messaraca, la qual è forma longa et stretta. . . . un'altra campagna chiamata Pediada, a tale detta campagna della Messarea è di longhezza de miglia 40, et è per tutto arativa e buona da seminar, et nel mezzo ha un terreno fertilissimo ch'è il nervo et fondamento della seminason del distretto di Candia.’⁴⁷

The production of cheese, which the provider of wheat could also procure for the addressee, was concentrated in the district of Pediada.⁴⁸ The author, however, recommends the sweet cheese of Sfachia. Finally, wine, to be discussed shortly, came from the vineyards behind the city. Candia's market and port acted not only as the point of contact between the island and the markets that lay beyond, but also and importantly for the local economy, a redistribution centre for local produce.⁴⁹ All

⁴⁵ For the export of other products such as citrus fruit, lemon juice, salt – especially after the loss of Cyprus – see Benjamin Arbel, "Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta nel Commercio Mediterraneo del Cinquecento," in *Venezia e Creta: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Iraklion-Chania, 30 settembre-5 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 249. Arbel also mentions more specialised export products, '*vino e formaggio Kasher*' destined for Jewish communities in the Mediterranean. For further discussion and relevant bibliography see Arbel, "Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta," 258.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 48, 112.

⁴⁷ Barozzi, *Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta* cited in Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης (Kaklamanis), ed., *Francesco Barozzi: Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) 1577/8*, Βενετικές Πηγές της Κρητικής Ιστορίας-3 (Ηράκλειο: Βυκελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2004). Barozzi overestimates the length of Pediada, which is between 15-20 kilometres (not 70 as Barozzi claims).

⁴⁸ Greene, *A Shared World*, 112.

⁴⁹ Ibid. For the importance of Crete in the routes of the state galleys, *mudae*, see Serena Pollastri, "Il mercato dei tessuti a Creta alla fine del XIV secolo," *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005).

three Cretan products, wheat, cheese and wine, staples of the contemporary diet, are singled out and discussed in the letter.

Crete's enthusiasm for viticulture and the profits it procured, led to the reliance on the importation of Ottoman wheat which predictably caused mounting unease among the Venetians. This was especially true after the first Ottoman ban on wheat export in 1555.⁵⁰ Such concerns find expression in the letter's instructions on the procurement of wheat and the necessity to regulate its supply and market price. In 1550, the *capitano* of Candia poignantly commented that 'quando i Turchi ritiravano le tratte di esportazione, Candia si sentiva assediata.'⁵¹ Yet attempts to persuade the locals to switch from cultivating vines to wheat consistently fell on deaf ears. Policies of ripping out vines and replacing them with wheat were introduced, which only caused further resentment and unwillingness to co-operate with the authorities.⁵² Cretan landowners, writes Greene, were obliged to sell a percentage of their grain to the state, which they avoided by lying about their harvest; according to one contemporary estimate they reported as little as a fifth of their actual production.⁵³ At times, the Venetian authorities became so desperate that they broke down the doors of granaries and pleaded with the landowners to sell them grain 'con parole di molto amore, et affetto.'⁵⁴ On other occasions the approach was less friendly. On 28 January 1569 *m.v.* the town crier announced that those exporting wheat and other grains from the island were a 'cattivissimo esempio et discontento' to the Republic.⁵⁵ The authorities decreed that whoever directly or indirectly exported ('cavar over far cavar') wheat or other grains from Candia or other Cretan territories would be punished by death and lose the aforementioned grain, a measure that affected the heirs of the deceased; additionally his goods would be used to reward the accuser with fifty *zecchini*. The owner and scribe ('padrone et scrivan')⁵⁶ of any ship which

⁵⁰ Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 35 cited in Greene, *A Shared World*, 62. As the population of the Ottoman Empire grew such measures become more frequent and ever stricter.

⁵¹ M. Aymard, *Venise, Ragusa et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1966, 27 cited in Arbel, "Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta," 258.

⁵² For more on these policies see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 63, 110-1.

⁵³ Greene, *A Shared World*, 63.

⁵⁴ Sagredo, *Duca di Candia* (1602-4), reported that the harvest was so bad in Crete that he sent ships to Ottoman ports hoping to find provisions in order to avoid having to break down granaries' doors in Candia. They came back empty-handed and the 'words of love and concern' he voiced did nothing to change the hearts and minds of the locals. See Στέργιος Γ. Σπανάκης (Spanakis), "Ἡ Ἐκθεση του Δούκα της Κρήτης," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949): 527-8 cited in Greene, *A Shared World*, 63-4.

⁵⁵ ASV, Duca di Candia, b.16. reg. 10, f. 105v.

⁵⁶ A *scrivano* is 'colui che sulle navi o nelle galere teneva scritture, amministrazione, depositi, viveri e dispensa... Ed infatti, tuttora, sui piccoli velieri e piroscafi mercantili, aventi oltre il comandante

carried the contraband merchandise would be exiled for life from the island and his ship would be confiscated.⁵⁷ Three days earlier, on January 25, the authorities informed the ‘Nobelli come feudati cittadini et altri abitanti in questa citta niuno eccetuato’ that they had to bring all their grain to the capital by March 15 or risk losing it.⁵⁸ The following winter was critical for Venice and clearly the anticipation of an Ottoman-Venetian war was putting pressure on Cretan authorities to ensure the island was adequately equipped.⁵⁹ These worries proved justified when on 17 March an Ottoman envoy ended a thirty-year period of peace by asking the Venetian Senate for the unconditional surrendering of Cyprus.⁶⁰ Its subsequent loss turned the spotlight on Crete. The letter’s author is firmly aware of the importance of wheat and discusses it in connection to the ‘health of the Regno,’ while stating that its guaranteed and continued availability at a reasonable price would be an ‘economical gain for the Serenissima Signoria.’⁶¹

Wine, the author recommends, should be bought at harvest time and the barrels opened in October, when the weakest (‘i più deboli’) are consumed first.⁶² The monks of Santa Caterina could procure this commodity for the newcomer and the author personally recommends Michel Lombardo’s services for the handling of the barrels. Wine was the product most commonly associated with Crete in popular Western culture. Arbel characterises ‘il Cinquecento cretese, forse più di ogni altro

(capitano o padrone) un solo ufficiale, questi viene generalmente chiamato Scrivano.” (“Dizionario di Marina: Medievale e Moderno,” [Roma: Reale Accademia d’Italia, 1937]).

⁵⁷ ASV, Duca di Candia, b.16. reg. 10, f. 105v.

⁵⁸ Ibid., f. 105r. These concerns are continuously voiced in the *bandi*; for an example of a similar public announcement from the beginning of the seventeenth century ASV, Duca di Candia, b.16. reg. 11, f. 43r.

⁵⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; London, England: University of California Press, 1995), 1077.

⁶⁰ The naval battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571) took place in the fall following Venice’s loss of Cyprus. This was the moment when Braudel writes ‘the spell of Turkish supremacy had been broken.’ Both events are considered part of the fourth Veneto-Ottoman war (1570-3). The bibliography on the topic is extensive. Indicatively for the formation of the Holy League, the battle and its immediate aftermath see *ibid.*, 1077-1124, esp. 1088-1106; Nicolo Capponi, *Victory of the West: The Story of the Battle of Lepanto* (London: Macmillan, 2006); for a critique of Braudel and an account based on Ottoman sources see Andrew C Hess, “The Battle of Lepanto and its Place in Mediterranean History,” *Past and Present* 57, no. 1 (1972); for a discussion of the celebrations of the victorious battle in Venetian literature and art see Cecilia Gibellini, *L’Immagine di Lepanto: La celebrazione della vittoria nella letteratura e nell’arte veneziana* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2008).

⁶¹ ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, filza 24, f. 45r

⁶² Ibid., f. 44r. The author uses the expression ‘*bote candiote*.’ *Botta* – butt in English – is a unit both for volume and weight used to measure the freight capacity of a ship. (Chambers and Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, 460) ‘*Bota candiota*’ in Venetian dialect also referred to an ‘exceedingly small, fat and disproportionate’ woman (‘*soverchiamente piccola, grassa e sproporzionata*’). (Boerio, DDV, 94).

periodo, fosse il secolo del vino par excellence.⁶³ 'Malvasia,' the name a corruption of the Peloponnesian city Monemvasia, was produced in the wine district of Malevizia, west of Candia.⁶⁴ Cretan wine was exported as far north as England, which nominated its first consul in Crete, a merchant from Puglia, in 1522; sixty-one years later Queen Elizabeth granted exclusive commercial rights to a company of English merchants petitioning to trade with Venice, Zante, Candia, Cefalonia and other Venetian territories with the explicit requirement that the Cretan wine known as malmsey feature among the company's imports.⁶⁵ Tommaso Porcacchi in *L'Isole Piu Famose del Mondo* (Venetia, 1576) discusses Crete's products, singling out its wines; he writes, 'Abbona quest'Isola di viti, d'olive, di melarance, & di cedri in gran copia: ma sopra tutto fa vini eccellentissimi & in grandissima quantità, che chiamano Malvagie: di maniera che di Candia escono tale anno per uso d'altri paesi, & massimamente di Vinetia, & d'Inghilterra fino a dodici mila botti di vino.'⁶⁶ A special variety of wine was exported from Crete to Constantinople: in October 1520 approximately fifty ships carrying wine arrived in the eastern capital.⁶⁷ In 1532 the secretary of the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople announced the arrival of six ships (*navi*) and twenty-two *navigli* from Crete full of wine; even more were waiting in Candia to make the same journey.⁶⁸ From the Ottoman capital by way of the Bosphorus, Cretan wine reached further north to Moldavia and Poland.⁶⁹ In 1570 according to the figures given in Piero Navagero's *relazione*, the Cretan capital's surrounding countryside alone produced 10,000 barrels of *moscato*, almost all destined for export: 6,000 to Venice and 3,000 to elsewhere in the West. The same

⁶³ Arbel, 'Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta,' 254.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 110-1. Crete's other famous export wine was Moscato, muscadell in English.

⁶⁵ Sanudo, *I diarii*, VIII, Venezia 1882, n. 160 (1583) cited in Arbel, 'Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta,' 252.

⁶⁶ Porcacchi, *L'Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, 17.

⁶⁷ Sanudo, *I diarii*, XXIX, Venezia 1890, co. 365 cited in *ibid.*, 251.

⁶⁸ Sanudo, *I diarii*, LVI, Venezia 1901, col. 700 (lettera del 9 luglio); *ibid.*, XXIX, coll. 295-96 cited in *ibid.* As an indication of the quantity of wine carried in these ships Sanudo mentions the arrival of two Cretan ships in Constantinople in 1519 carrying a total of 2,000 *botti* (barrels). (Sanudo, *I diarii*, XXVII, Venezia 1890, col. 474 cited in *ibid.*, 251) For other exports from Crete to the Ottoman capital, as well as the thriving contraband trade between the two see Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 81-3.

⁶⁹ The Jewish merchant, Don Joseph Nassi, who had a commercial agent on Crete, received a commission from the Ottoman court for the annual importation of 1,000 *botti* of Cretan wine. The wine was destined for Moldavia by way of the Bosphorus. Sultan Selim II upon his ascension to the throne in 1566 conceded a monopoly to Nassi, who took advantage of this privilege until his death in 1579. (Arbel, 'Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta,' 251-2) For a later unsuccessful attempt (1586) to monopolize the Cretan wine trade by way of Constantinople to Poland and Lithuania see Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 87. According to Dursteler, barrels of malvasia were found by Vasco da Gama as far away as Calicut (Calcutta) in 1498. (*Trevisan Manuscript*, Library of Congress, Mss. Med. & Ren., 26, c, 35r cited in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 81).

territory also produced 20,000 barrels of a wine called *logade*.⁷⁰ The popularity of Cretan wine is attested by a satirical print from 1656 depicting a sick, bedridden sultan surrounded by foreign doctors who have been called to offer their advice. (Fig. 7) The Venetian physician proclaims, ‘Questa virpa è infammata, ha bevuto troppo Vino di Candia.’⁷¹

Apart from the provision of the dietary staples the author offers advice on ‘buonissimo et à buon prezzo’ oil which can be procured from Gierapetra, a port on the southeast shore of the island. ‘[E]t questo servitio potrà esser fatto dal vescovo di detto luoco, che è fratello del Colonnello Monogiani, che lo farà volentieri...’⁷² Marin Stactea, who was in charge of the *cernide*⁷³ in the region, could provide the Venetian with a hundred or so partridges (*cotorni*) in the winter. When the addressee was in Spinalonga to inspect the fortress, he should buy fish, and when he inspected the villages accompanied by the *Castellano del Castello Mirabello* the author recommends he buy poultry, lambs, piglets, kids and so on, all the time keeping note of his expenses. Then he should make arrangements with the *castellano* for the animals to be sent to him according to his needs. The hides, the author suggests, should be saved or sold to the Jews, who as we have already seen were involved in tanning activities. Nothing need go to waste, if one were prudent. Such advantageous arrangements could be struck with other *castellani* as well: ‘li Castellani di Temene, de Pediada, di Castelnovo, Belveder, et Bonifaccio.’ The letter illustrates how local trade networks were developed by establishing supply chains composed of Cretan farmers, local authorities, who acted as middlemen, and touring Venetian noblemen.

Following the advice regarding food provisions, the author offers his insight on how best to deal with the locals. First comes a warning (‘a buono avertimento’) regarding the tour of the *Regno*: the supplier should be sent two days in advance to

⁷⁰ ASV, Relazioni, b.81 cited in Arbel, 'Riflessioni sul Ruolo di Creta,' 255.

⁷¹ A *vipera* (*vipra*), a viper, was used metaphorically for ‘[un] uomo collerico e facile all’ira.’ (Boerio, DDV, 795).

⁷² ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, filza 24, f. 44r.

⁷³ Venice’s mercenary army, the ‘stradiotti’, could not control the island alone. Cretans volunteered as *stradiotti*, but the regime always viewed them with suspicion, fearing that given the opportune moment they would desert their post and side with the locals. A second military force was created, the *cernide* or *ordinanze*, who were conscripted exclusively from local Cretans ‘homini/huomini da fatti’ (able-bodied men aged 18-50). The term ‘cernide’ derived from the Venetian *cernir* (*cernere*), to choose. This drafting of Cretans was proposed and implemented in 1575 by the *provveditor general* Giacomo Foscarini who had to overcome Venetian inhibitions about arming Greek peasants (‘poner armi in mano de Greci’). They were divided into brigades of 25-30 with a Cretan or Venetian noble as their head and were responsible for guarding the Regno’s coast and fortresses. Their presence became increasingly important with the eminent threat of an Ottoman invasion. (Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 212).

make the necessary provisions and one should be aware of the cheating village *gastaldi*,⁷⁴ '[che] fanno mille furfanterie.'⁷⁵ Furthermore, he warns his correspondent to make sure his administrators are truthful and loyal and do not manage his belongings poorly or keep whores outside the house at his expense.⁷⁶ The author's experiences in dealing with the locals taught him to approach them with caution and mistrust. However, his relationship with Cretans is far from universally adversarial. In Brazzo de Maina he informs his addressee that he has two friends, 'miei amici', Nicolò Giatro and Callopotò Fucà, who can provide the recipient with meat and fodder.⁷⁷ Throughout the letter we are confronted with an array of personal feelings from apprehension and hostility to affection and the bonds of friendship.

Officials' tours across the hinterlands of Crete combined, as we have seen, state and personal affairs. While visiting the countryside on official business, Venetian statesmen attended to the affairs of their household by developing and maintaining networks of middlemen and local providers. The Greek villagers must have welcomed this income and the facilitators of the transactions ingratiated themselves with both parties. The letter in the Contarini archive has offered us the springboard to examine these networks, as well as Crete's most important products and their local and international trade. The author's portrayal of Cretans comes across as unbiased and there is little evidence of preconceived judgments or intentional malice. Clearly some Cretans tried to swindle government officials, especially, one imagines if they were new to the island and inexperienced in local customs. Hence, the motivation behind the drafting of this advisory letter which was to share firsthand knowledge and help one's peer in the smooth and efficient maintenance of his household in a foreign, subject land. The empire's administration demanded that Venetian patricians set up households in various locations in the course of their careers and an insider's help and advice in this daunting process must have always been welcomed.

In the course of the letter's narrative we witnessed a variety of parties such as monks and lay Cretans, officials and populace, Christians and Jews engaging in an

⁷⁴ 'Gastaldi ducali' were those responsible for the execution of sentences in the name of the doge. The word also could refer to a person who is in charge of another's possessions or shops. (Boerio, DDV, 301) Papadaki mentions the position of two *gastaldi ducali* in the Crete's administrative structure. (Παπαδάκη, "Αξιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη," 114) However, such a role makes no sense in this context and one must assume that *gastaldi* here refers to the village's local authority.

⁷⁵ ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, filza 24, f. 44r.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., f. 45v.

island-wide trade that facilitated local economy, and involved Venetian and Cretan, urban and countryside households. Aside from formal accounts of their experiences in colonies, exemplified in the genre of *relazioni*, letters such as the one examined record the daily concerns of statesmen abroad and their routine interactions with the locals they were sent to rule. Occupation, economic means and the conventional mistrust between social classes emerge as determining factors in these interactions. The incoming Venetian official is advised to control and distrust his social inferiors – a practise and attitude not specific, of course, to the colonial context, but emblematic of the time. In this sense, the Cretan social landscape was not unlike more familiar environments for the Venetian statesmen: one's authority as an elected representative of the Serenissima and the undeniable status of Venetian nobility guaranteed the newcomer's social standing in the island's hierarchy.

3. *Canzone Rustica*: 'Beautiful Venice' and 'Filthy Crete'

The next source to be discussed is an undated, anonymous poem of sixty-six octaves entitled 'Candia Canzone Rustica.' The poem offers an early modern satirical description of Crete and is located in a bound compendium of manuscript *miscellanea* in the Biblioteca Marciana.⁷⁸ (Appendix B) It is unpublished and in my research thus far I have not been able to locate any related secondary commentary. The following section is the first time to the best of my knowledge the work is being presented. My discussion will be enriched and supported by relevant sections from the city's *bandi* documents. The poem was probably composed before the Ottoman invasion and siege of the capital (1645) as no mention is made of a Turkish presence on the island. The condemning and occasionally lewd content of the work leads one initially to discount the possibility of its composition by one of the island's nobles. The poem's theme is the disparity between the author's expectations regarding the famous island and the wholly unsatisfactory reality he encountered there. He expresses his desire to leave Crete behind and his inability to do so. The use of the Venetian dialect points to a Venetian provenance; the author, in fact, writes that he wished he knew 'il Tosco ò il Florentin' so the whole world could read his opinions on Crete and the Cretans.⁷⁹ The Venetians (*Signori Venetiani*), however, are

⁷⁸ Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 123r-130r.

⁷⁹ Appendix B, octave 50.

mentioned only once and in connection to the island's military administration.⁸⁰ The author interestingly prefers to use the words *Italiano* and *Greco* to refer both to the languages and the respective ethnic communities. In accordance with the poem's theme, in the end 'Italia bella' - 'Europa bella' is mentioned also - is set up in juxtaposition to 'Candia sporca.'

The author is completely silent regarding his own identity. Perhaps he was a resident merchant, a mariner or a soldier; soldiers, in fact, feature prominently in the work. Two facts, however, seem to argue against these propositions: the current location of the poem and the genre of the work. The latter allows room for speculating that the author could have been assuming an outsider's voice to critique the islanders, albeit tongue in cheek. The poem's survival and presence in the Biblioteca Marciana suggests that at some past time it entered the library of one of the city's elite. The poem's ending, where the author makes an exception to his unyielding critique of Cretans for a small number of nobles 'who love Italy and its lands,' might offer a clue to his identity. Could the hand that penned this poem be a disenchanted Creto-Venetian noble, a *cittadino*, a soldier, or, perhaps, an unimpressed Venetian patrician in an administrative position on the island?

The poem is not a work of noted literary accomplishment, but it nonetheless displays sharp social and political criticism targeting the morals and customs of the local population. Crete is presented as an unhygienic, unruly, dangerous domain and its inhabitants as dirty, dishonest, morally corrupt, untrustworthy, arrogant, and rude. Even the sea surrounding Crete has no fish! The historical accuracy of the narrative is, to say the least, dubious, although the problems of public hygiene and the bearing of arms, which are frequently addressed in the *canzone*, also appear often in the city's *bandi*. The value of the poem lies in its testimony to popular, albeit negative, Venetian perceptions of Crete. As a result, the current discussion of the *canzone rustica* contributes to the body of Venetian literature expressing contemporary opinions on the nature of their distant colony's inhabitants. Fra Paolo Sarpi, speaking from a position firmly within the Venetian elite, expressed the following opinion on Cretans in 1615: 'For your [Venice's] Greek subjects of the island of Candia... must be watch'd with more attention, lest, like wild beasts, as they are, they should find

⁸⁰ Ibid., octave 46.

occasion to use their teeth and claws...'⁸¹ His antipathetic view formed part of the debate regarding whether to trust Cretans in the Venetian military service. There is little doubt that Venice valued its possession of the island and praise such as Crete's characterisation as 'Regina tra l'altre isole dell'Archipelago'⁸² although the commonplace was primarily aimed at inflating Venetian pride rather than expressing a candid opinion. The poem under consideration juxtaposes the islanders, bearers of all debased and unfavourable characteristics, and the Italians, who occupy the other end of this continuum. The reader is continuously warned of the locals' trickeries and their violent outbursts, the dishonest local customs and the grotesqueness of Cretan women. The author invites his audience to observe the islanders from a distance, to join in the ridicule and ultimately to rejoice in his own superior culture and nature. The implicit thesis is that 'they' – the Cretans – differ from 'us' – the Italians. This dichotomy is the founding principle of the *canzone rustica*.

The poem begins by the author proclaiming his intention to set the record straight regarding Crete's marvels, as only disappointment awaits the traveller who sets out with these in mind. Setting the tone for what follows, the poet proclaims,

'Quasi per volo in Candia volesi andare
sol per sue gran meraviglie sentire
insser che quando in quella hebbi arrivare
della gran doglià mi credei morire
Perche tutto il contrario à ritrovare
hebbi di quel che di essa sentij à dire
Dunque chi udir vuole la virtù di quella
venghi da me che li darò novella'⁸³

The description of the island is universally condemning and unforgiving: 'Il più misero corpo mai non visto, in molte parti dell' Europa bella,' states the poet.⁸⁴

Conforming to contemporary gender roles, he defines the men as honourless ('senza fe [fede]') and the women as shameless ('senza vergogna'). The children are mischievous, he contends, and the terrain arid. We read,

⁸¹ He continues, 'they being of the nature of galley-slaves, who, if they were well us'd, would return the kindness, by seizing the gally, and carry it and its commander to Algiers...' (Paolo Sarpi, *The Opinion of Padre Paolo of the Order of the Servites, consultor of State, given to the Lords the Inquisitors of State...*, trans. W. Aglioby, [London: R. Bentley, 1689] cited in Greene, *A Shared World*, 44).

⁸² ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 79, 'Relazione del nob.l ms Nicolò Donado... adi 5 Zuigni, 1598', f. 1r.

⁸³ Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 124v, ottava 6.

⁸⁴ Ibid., f. 124v, octave 9.

‘Strade da porci, e case da cavalli
trovai in quella à non vi dir menzogna
huomeni senza fe che han fatto i calli⁸⁵
nelle lor lingue à dir d altrui rampogna
li figli lor cometton molti mali
E le lor donne son senza vergogna
Nei monti lor si trova appenna un stecco
E di pesse il lor mar è quasi secco.⁸⁶

Filth apart, Crete is also dangerous: its population is heavily armed and fearless. One must be armed to the teeth for protection against the locals, warns the author. The image of Candia as a dangerous location, where guns were carried and often used, where the authorities had to warn the public repeatedly against helping bandits and continuously remind them of the laws against bearing arms, is in fact consistent with other contemporary documents. Discussing Crete in the late fifteenth century Stefanos Kaklamanis and Stelios Lambakis paint a dire picture: ‘The questioning of traditional values, pugnacity, violence and criminality, moral depravity, the spread of gambling, conceited and arrogant behaviour, the flaunting of wealth and avarice, speedy enrichments and sudden bankruptcies, risk and the persistent quest for social and financial ascent were components of the new climate that was forming in Crete....’⁸⁷ An announcement from the city’s *bandi* in 1524 warns Candiots that in order to carry weapons of any kind they must obtain a ‘boletino’, free of charge, from the *Cancellaria*.⁸⁸ The authorities were desperately trying to prevent and minimise robberies, attacks, fights and murders. A 1566 declaration explicitly states the problems caused by weapons ‘against the will of the Serenissima’:

‘Perche il portar delle arme in una città et massime da quella alli quali non apartegono il portar di esse seguono per tal causa molte ofe(se) omicidii ferison et altri mancamenti contra il voler di Sua Serenita...per il presente ordine statuiscono et efficacemente ordinano a tuti li intrumentali a tali li ... che portassero arme se degiorno come di notte si offensive come deffensive...li nobili se intendono in mediate haver preso le arme et cazer alla pena de ducati cento...’⁸⁹

⁸⁵ ‘Far il calo, detto fig. Incallire, Fare il callo; Far sopr’osso, valgono Assuefarsi. (Boerio, DDV, 119)

⁸⁶ Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 124 v, octave 8.

⁸⁷ Στέφανος Ε. Κακλαμάνης (Kaklamanis) and Στέλιος Λαμπάκης (Lambakis), "Εισαγωγή" in Γρηγορόπουλος, Μανουήλ : Διαθήκες, Απογραφές, Εκτιμήσεις, Βενετικές Πηγές της Κρητικής Ιστορίας (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2003), κη-κθ.

⁸⁸ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 15 bis, reg. 6, f. 162r.

⁸⁹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 10, f. 13r.

Further in the same public proclamation a picture of the disregard for these laws emerges since offenders hide their weapons, ‘senza alcun timor della Justitia...’, and enter shops in the city’s piazze, taverns and brothels armed.⁹⁰ This sense of lawlessness and of imminent danger permeates the *canzone*’s depiction of Crete, as well. The poem informs us that the night hours are especially dangerous and that violent attacks and brawls frequently occur. The author also discusses the lamentable state of the soldiers sent annually from Venice to protect the colony.⁹¹ They arrive to the island ill from the sea journey and face the hostility of the population, who are ‘senza giudizio e senza honore.’⁹²

Such hostilities and altercations with the authorities caused many locals to flee justice and to seek refuge in the Cretan mountains. One of the most common punishments decreed by the state’s representatives and one that repeatedly appears in contemporary documents is that of banishment, *banditi* being the men exiled from the Venetian state. Dursteler writes, “During the ‘hot years’ of crime in the late sixteenth century, increasing population combined with agricultural shortfalls, rising prices, and expensive military and political ventures by the Venetian Signoria created an environment in which levels of criminality, and thus of banishment, increased precipitously.”⁹³ Men banished from the maritime empire, especially Greek-Venetian subjects and Cretans prominent among them, were attracted to the Ottoman capital. The reasons were twofold: Istanbul had a thriving urban economy, on the one hand, and, on the other, it offered the possibility of obtaining a *salvacondotto*, a safe-conduct, from the resident Venetian *bailo*.⁹⁴ *Salvacondotti* were judicial documents that partially revoked the convict’s imposed banishment allowing him to return for a limited time to designated areas of the Venetian state. The permit of passage gave the opportunity to the banished person to visit his family and friends and often to attempt to repay debts, which were the most common cause of their punishment.⁹⁵ The

⁹⁰ Ibid., f. 13v.

⁹¹ Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 128v, octave 46.

⁹² Ibid., f. 129r, octave 48.

⁹³ Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 63. Unfortunately, figures specifically for Crete do not exist, although Dursteler writes – and the sources attest to this – that banishment was widely used. Indicatively, for the Venetian state as a whole the period 1600-7 *banditi* have been calculated to have numbered as many as 17,294. (Pompeo Molmenti, *I banditi della Repubblica veneta*. 2nd ed. [Florence: n.p., 1898]. Reprint, Vittorio Veneto: Dario de Bastiani, 1989, 85 cited in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 64).

⁹⁴ Ibid. For a history of the office of the *bailo*, his formal responsibilities and extensive entourage in *Vigne di Pera* see *ibid.*, 28-40.

⁹⁵ It is not certain when *baili* obtained this politically sensitive right as they could not be seen to overrun Venice’s local justice authorities or give the impression that the law could be broken with

appearance in Istanbul of banished carpenters, caulkers and other master craftsmen from the arsenal in Candia, as well as sailors and men with maritime experience, was especially disconcerting for the Venetian authorities. Venetians were afraid these men, ill disposed towards the Serenissima, would share their trade secrets with the Turks. Bailo Antonio Tiepolo in the years before Lepanto estimated there were enough Cretan *banditi* in Istanbul to man at least thirty of the sultan's galleys.⁹⁶

These Greek-Venetian sailors and ship workers in Istanbul were known as 'marioli',⁹⁷ a term defined by Boerio as 'malvivente, perverso.'⁹⁸ The history and usage of the word bears testimony to prevalent Venetian attitudes towards Cretans, in general, Cretan sailors in particular. In this sense it lends itself to brief consideration in conjunction with the repertoire of negative stereotypes found in the *canzone*. Manlio Cortelazzo cites a 1576 Venetian source which states, 'Soleano esser anco li mariuoli ... così chiamandosi quei Candiotti, che banditi di Candia, s'intertenevano in Pera su le taverne sì numerosi, che bastavano almeno trenta galee...'⁹⁹ Cortelazzo writes that the word's etymology remains unclear, but that it belongs to the 'negative slippages' from maritime vocabulary ('potendo contare su analoghi slittamenti negative dei nomi della gente di mare.')¹⁰⁰ We come across the term 'mariol' in Onorio Belli's account of Crete, to be examined shortly, and specifically his description of the inhabitants of Sfachia, a region which caused many problems to the Venetians. Belli writes, 'È loco [il Castello della Sfachia] di poca consideratione habitano dalli Sfachiotti, gente in ogni tempo ladra e mariola; pur sono valenti homeni.'¹⁰¹ 'Mariol' evolved from a characterization describing one's profession to one that referred to one's character, all the time maintaining a strong link to Cretans.

impunity. Meanwhile the official Venetian nation of Pera, headed by the *bailo* and comprising of Venetian merchants and diplomats, could not afford to jeopardise its relationship with the Porte. The presence of large numbers of *banditi* in Istanbul was seen as a threat to this relationship and their immediate removal from the capital by the issuing of safe-passages was the preferred solution. (Ibid., 63-7).

⁹⁶ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 5, c. 13v cited in *ibid*, 68. A decade later the number dropped to twenty galleys. ('Relazione di Giovanni Moro' 9: 353-54 in Eugenio Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori venetian senato durante il secolo decimosesto*. 3rd ser., vol. 1-3. [Florence: Società editrice fiorentina, 1840-55] cited in *ibid*).

⁹⁷ Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 68. Unfortunately Dursteler does not reference this observation.

⁹⁸ Boerio, DDV, 399.

⁹⁹ Manlio Cortelazzo, "La Conoscenza della Lingua Turca in Italia nel '500," in *Venezia, il Levante e il Mare* (Ospedaletto (Pisa): Pacini Editore, 1989), 444. The author also offers a 1557 source which supports Dursteler's comment; 'Delli quali [uomini da remo] ne sono gran parte dell'isola di Candia, sudditi di Vostra Serenità, e li chiamano marioli.' (Ibid.)

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁰¹ Κώστας Γ. Τσικνάκης (Tsiknakis), "'Ενα άγνωστο κείμενο του Onorio Belli για τις αρχαιότητες της Κρήτης (1591)," *Παλίμψηστον* 9/10 (Δεκ. 1989 - Ιουν. 1990), 225.

This ‘slippage’ confirms the power of commonplace perceptions of a people or a specific social group to alter a word’s meaning or, more precisely in this case, to affix an additional layer of meaning to it. Thus, ‘mariol’ entered Venetian vernacular as a derogatory term.

Returning to the negative stereotypes in the *canzone*, we find among others: ‘perfido’, ‘infido’, ‘vilissimo’, ‘giotto’ (ghiotto), ‘sporco’, ‘ha tanta superbia et arroganza che non saluta che l’ha salutato’, ‘sporco sta sempre in casa’. The theme of poor hygiene and of uncleanness is repeatedly addressed in the poem and is picked up in the twentieth octave where Cretan women are discussed. The author comments on their dishonesty, their dirtiness and ugliness, and declares them to be undesirable to ‘our appetites.’ The use of the first person re-inscribes the dichotomy between the foreigner and the indigenous population and by extension between the reader and the poem’s subjects. ‘Tutto è contrario al nostro appetito’¹⁰² clearly sets the boundaries of ‘us’ and ‘them’, giving licence to the audience to join in the condemning, sycophantic spirit of the poem.

According to the poet, Candia’s marketplace is disorganised, the produce is never ripe because of the locals’ gluttonous nature and the vendors are incapable of selling without deception and fraud (‘non potrebbon vender senza inganno’). Furthermore, the best produce is reserved for the Greeks - marketplace politics apparently disfavoured the Italians.¹⁰³ The knowledge of Greek, we are told, offered tangible advantages in Crete. The poet, thus, implies solidarity among the local population which was facilitated by their shared linguistic idiom.

Notwithstanding the poem’s unreliability for historical accuracy, public hygiene was a recorded concern in early modern Candia. A public announcement from 6 February 1569 reads ‘De ordine del Clarissimo Signor Duca si fa saper il presente pubblico proclamo intender a tutti sia che esser si vogli che non debbano buttar sporchezze urinar ne far altre in modi ciò appresso li muri, et porte delli magazeni che sono posti arente (vicino) della chiesa di S Marco.’¹⁰⁴ The author of the *canzone rustica* confirms this picture of Candia when discussing the piazza San Marco and revisits the theme of hostility towards foreigners. He writes,

Non credo mai che ritrovar se persa

¹⁰² Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 125v, octave 21.

¹⁰³ Ibid, f. 127r, octave 34.

¹⁰⁴ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 10, f. 106r.

una citta come questa mal messa
 Tu vedi un po di piazza tutta sporca
 li porci vanno à pascolar in essa
 In mezzo sempre tu vedrai la forca
 Et sotto vi si vende paglia (straw) e vezza¹⁰⁵
 per li colombi; e in torno li lupini
 Et circondata da molti fachini

Città che volgli mal à forestiero
 sotto la luna non credo che sia...¹⁰⁶

The poem ends by exempting the city's nobles from the critique levelled against Cretans. The nobles who love *Italia* must not be conflated with the rest of the island's population. There are many 'valorosi e magni signori', writes the author, in this *Regno* who love 'Italia e sue contrade.'¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, class shelters the island's nobles from ridicule. The poem portrays Crete as a filthy, dangerous and hostile place and its inhabitants as dishonest, immoral, dirty and unattractive. The *canzone rustica*, whether kept by its author, its recipient or an amused reader, glosses over all subtleties of Cretan society allowing room only for the broad categories of 'greci' and 'italiani.' The playful, satirical and often lewd content of the poem is relayed from an outsider's perspective, that of the 'Italiano', and invites the reader to occupy the same position. The poet relies on platitudes and gender stereotypes to negatively describe the Cretans. The status of class, however, is respected and introduced at the end in order to protect and exempt the nobles from defamation. In many ways, the *canzone rustica*, is a reminder of the cruder and simpler methods of describing difference through time-respected stereotypes and oppositions. The *topos* of the superiority of the foreign rulers who are faced with a lawless, honourless and, by implication, ungrateful indigenous population is an early modern precursor of later colonial attitudes and vocabulary. In this context identity is based on a system of binaries, sometimes clearly articulated and other times implied. Here Cretans embody all the opposite, and hence undesirable, qualities compared to those of their rulers. They are made to represent everything their rulers and the poem's audience are not and their shortcomings and failings become the subjects of pity, contempt and ridicule.

¹⁰⁵ 'Pianta leguminosa a che nasce specialmente tra il frumento e produrre un granno dello stesso nome.' (Boerio, DDV, 792).

¹⁰⁶ Marciana, Misc. IT VII 918 (8392), f. 128r, octaves 43 and 44.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., f. 130v, octave 65.

4. Descriptions and Histories of Crete: Francesco Barozzi, Antonio Calergi and Onorio Belli

Histories and descriptions of the island penned by its social elite stand in stark contrast to the anonymous poem just examined. They form a tightly-knit body of literature where authors relied heavily on ancient authorities, contemporary printed sources and earlier manuscripts which addressed similar subjects. Unlike the *canzone rustica* these treatises on Cretan history and geography were formal, erudite texts written by members of the local elite or visiting foreigners. Quite often they were dedicated to high-ranking Venetian administrators and their authors were embedded in local networks of patronage and friendship which extended to the Italian peninsula. None of the treatises which will be discussed was ever printed in the period under consideration. Recently, however, Francesco Barozzi's *Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta* (1577/8) has been published and annotated by Stefanos Kaklamanis in a comprehensive work in Greek. Antonio Calergi's sixteenth-century *Commentarii delle cosse fatte dentro e fuori del regno e isola di Candia* remains unpublished, while Onorio Belli's writings during his Cretan sojourn are, for the most part, lost. Discussion of Belli's work relies primarily on a 1591 treatise re-discovered and published by Kostas G. Tsiknakis entitled *Descrittione geografica dell'isola di Candia* (1591). Consequently, the following section focuses on both published and unpublished material. These primary sources are examined as insightful testimonies on contemporary perceptions and narratives of the island and its people. The authors' agencies and the motivation behind these works to a large extent determined the narrative choices and biases of their compositions. Their different backgrounds and ties to Crete provide an opportunity to examine how such factors influenced their approach to their common subject-matter. My discussion aims to bring these biases to the forefront and to scrutinise these essays bearing in mind issues of agency and sixteenth-century identity.

Francesco Barozzi belonged to the Venetian, or Veneto-Cretan, nobility, who were descendants of the initial feudatory group that arrived in the colony in 1207.¹⁰⁸ Born in 1537 in Rettimo, Barozzi studied at the University of Padova (1556-9),

¹⁰⁸ For a glorified account of the Barozzi family history see the relevant passage from the documented speech by Antonio Mainero delivered at the opening of the *Accademia dei Vivi* in N. M. Παναγιωτάκης (Panayiotakis), "Ο Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vivi του Ρεθύμνου," in *Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Αθήνα: Δήμος Ρεθύμνου, 1974), 155-6.

where he also briefly taught philosophy and mathematics (1559-60).¹⁰⁹ Following his studies, he returned to Crete where he spent the next thirty years of his life, frequently travelling to Venice to arrange the publication of his scientific research.¹¹⁰ Barozzi was a mathematician, geographer, cosmographer and philosopher with numerous publications in these areas,¹¹¹ who corresponded with leading Italian intellectuals of his time, among whom Giacomo Contarini as discussed above.¹¹² Following trends in the scientific community of his time, he also took an active interest in the occult, which did not escape the attention of the Church authorities; in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* we read: ‘la personalità del condannato in cui vediamo coesistere scienza e superstizione, magia naturale e astrologia giudiziaria, interessi matematici e demoniaci.’¹¹³ In 1587 the Venetian Inquisition condemned Barozzi and apart from the fines he incurred, ‘he was possibly the only Veneto-Cretan noble ... who was obliged to publicly denounce his ideas in San Marco piazza.’¹¹⁴ His problems with the church authorities, as well as an earlier, short stint in prison (1575) followed by a twelve-year banishment from the city and district of Rettimo for abuse of authority, have been viewed by scholars as possible reasons for the *damnatio memoriae* by his contemporaries.¹¹⁵ Notwithstanding his turbulent personal life, Barozzi is a rare example of Crete’s sixteenth-century intellectual elite and his *Descrittione* expresses the interests of his social peers and those of the visiting Venetian patricians, whose patronage and favour he systematically sought.

Barozzi’s intentions for writing the *Descrittione* are explicitly stated in a letter to Doge Pasquale Cicogna written in 1594, almost twenty years after the work itself. Barozzi writes,

‘Havendo io una copiosissima descrittione del Regno di Candia, della qual ho dato copia ad alcuni illustrissimi generali, senatori et

¹⁰⁹ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 35-6. Barozzi’s 242 Greek manuscripts, known as *codices Barocciani*, are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Παναγιωτάκης, “O Francesco Barozzi,” 163).

¹¹⁰ Both his marriages took place in Venice, where he also chose to spend the last years of his life in his home in the *parrocchia* of San Moise. (Ibid., 160, 163).

¹¹¹ For a complete list of his publications see (anonymous), ‘Francesco Barozzi’, DBI, vol. 6, 495-99. Kaklamanis notes the entry was written by G. Spiazzi. (Κακλαμάνης, *Francesco Barozzi*, 35).

¹¹² See note 20. For a list of his surviving correspondence see ibid., 39-40, 51-3.

¹¹³ [anonymous], DBI, 467.

¹¹⁴ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 44. For his documented interest in the occult and his dealings with the Venetian Inquisition see ibid., 38, 44-5; for an account of some of the accusations discussed in the Inquisition documents see Παναγιωτάκης, “O Francesco Barozzi,” 161-2.

¹¹⁵ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 47. His prison sentence and banishment were linked to complaints made against him to the *Provveditor general* Giacomo Foscarini, during Barozzi’s tenure as *Provveditor ad Utilia* in Rettimo. The accusations brought forth by Rethymniots regarded Barozzi’s injustices, blackmail, and oppressive and cruel behaviour swiftly led to his punishment. After continuous appeals he was allowed to move to the capital, Candia. (Ibid., 42-3, 87).

personagi d'importanza nella Republica come all'illustrissimo signor Giacomo Foscarini, signor Alvise Giustiniano et signor Giovanni Battista Monte, li quali tenendola cara et secreta appresso di se per loro informatione possono con quella giovar molto le cose di questo Regno, ma non l'harei data ad altri che non fossero del Senato et potessero divulgarla in modo che capitasse ancho in man de Turchi, il che saria con interesse publico.¹¹⁶

Barozzi specifically accuses Rettimo's *Rettore* Bartolomeo Pesaro for dishonestly acquiring a copy of the work intended for the *provveditor general della cavalleria*, Marcantonio Venier.¹¹⁷ Two of the men he names as recipients of his work, Giacomo Foscarini and Alvise Giustiniano were *provveditori* - during the periods 1574-77 and 1589-91 respectively – and Giovanni Battista Monte was initially *capitano delle fantarie* and later *capitano della guardia del Regno di Candia* (1588-90).¹¹⁸ Barozzi's *Descrittione* was never intended to circulate in printed form. Instead, it was conceived as a treatise on the Cretan natural and cultural landscape which would act as an introduction to the island's past and present and serve the island's Venetian authorities as a governing aid. Kaklamanis warns us that despite Barozzi's claim that he wrote the treatise on his own initiative, the possibility the work was encouraged, inspired or even commissioned by Foscarini cannot be conclusively excluded.¹¹⁹ The links that tie Foscarini to Barozzi's work will become evident throughout this section.

In 1575, two to three years before Barozzi penned his description of Crete, *provveditor* Foscarini had condemned him for abuse of power and exiled him from his native city. Barozzi had held the position of *provveditor ad utilia* in Rettimo, the highest office available in the provincial town.¹²⁰ His relationship with the authorities, and indeed the local population, was strained and it appears reasonable that he had hoped the *Descrittione*, whether commissioned or not, would regain him the *provveditor*'s favour or, at least, ease the way to a more lenient punishment. The surviving evidence of his gifting strategy supports such a view. Barozzi's complaints about the unauthorised copying of his work stemmed from the fact that this rendered him powerless to utilise and benefit from his intellectual property. Meanwhile, the

¹¹⁶ Διονυσία Γ. Γιαλαμά (Yialama), “Νέες ειδήσεις για τον βενετοκρατικό λόγιο Φραγκίσκο Barozzi (1537-1604),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), 394 cited in Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 90.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

manuscript's popularity indicates Barozzi's research and editorial decisions found an eager and interested audience in Crete's Venetian rulers. Unfortunately, the absence of a dedication in all the *Descrittione*'s surviving copies hinders further speculation regarding the milieu for which it was intended.¹²¹ However, Barozzi praised Foscarini several times throughout the work and also incorporated information compiled by the *provveditor* into the *Descrittione*. Implicitly at least, Barozzi must have been given permission to proceed with the essay. In addition, we know that Foscarini read and, in fact, used the work because he repeated a mistake from the *Descrittione* in his *relazione* on Crete.¹²²

Barozzi was eager to distance his established reputation as a scholar from his personal problems and it appears that up to a certain point Foscarini and other prominent local figures were willing to help him.¹²³ In a letter written in Candia and addressed to Foscarini on 6 April 1577, Barozzi presented him with the luxury edition of Leo VI's prophecies (*Leonis sapientissimi Constantinopolitanae urbis imperatoris Vaticinia*).¹²⁴ Barozzi explicitly stated that he had been commissioned to write this work by Foscarini.¹²⁵ In a subsequent letter to the latter on 24 June 1580, he expressed an interest in publishing the illustrated, bilingual edition as he believed this would help mobilize the Christian powers against the Turks.¹²⁶ The evocation of the Turkish threat to Venice's colony was intended to attract Foscarini's attention. Barozzi tried repeatedly to take advantage of the Venetian officials' trepidation in regard to the island's future; we saw this type of argument in his letter to Doge Cicogna. Foscarini was an ardent reformist, who was resolute on ensuring the continuation of Venetian rule on Crete, especially after the recent loss of Cyprus.¹²⁷ These efforts earned him the title 'fondator et istitutor di nuovo Regno.'¹²⁸ Barozzi

¹²¹ Ibid., 98. See note 129 below.

¹²² For further information see *ibid.*, 96-7.

¹²³ For two commissions for Latin inscriptions for prominent members of Candiot society see Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 45-6.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 86-7. Leo VI, known also as The Wise or The Philosopher, was Byzantine Emperor (866-912 AD.)

¹²⁵ Ibid., 87-8.

¹²⁶ This letter was written on the occasion of Foscarini's election as *Procurator di San Marco*. In the letter, Barozzi expresses his intention to publish Leo VI's prophecies during his next visit to Venice. For more on Barozzi's edition of Leo VI's prophecies see *ibid.*, 45, 85-87; for a transcription and a reproduction of the letter addressed to Foscarini on 24 June 1580 see *ibid.*, 370-74. These plans never materialised.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 87.

¹²⁸ Μ. Θεοτόκης, "Ιάκωβος Φωσκαρίνης ή η Κρήτη το 1570," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών* 1 (1938) cited in Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 87.

cunningly evoked the statesman's preoccupations in their personal correspondence in an effort to advance his personal agenda.

The *Descrittione* survives in several manuscript copies; none of these is in Barozzi's handwriting.¹²⁹ The author divides his work into distinct thematic sections, which for the purpose of analysis can be further divided into a narrative part and a compendium of appendices. There are no drawings or illustrations in the extant manuscripts. The first part begins with a geographical description of the Cretan landscape. The author displays his firsthand knowledge of the island's terrain by offering a survey of its natural features. Special attention is given to the land's fertility; a reminder of the Venetian preoccupation with wheat cultivation in Crete. The author enriches his text with references to Crete's mythological past and with etymological explanations of antique toponyms and Greek terms. This gives Barozzi the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of ancient and contemporary Greek. Barozzi's competence in ancient Greek was one of his most desirable assets in Italian intellectual circles. Thus, for instance, Giacomo Contarini entrusted him with the translation of a Greek manuscript of Pappus' Eight Book from his *Mathematical Collections* in the hope that his edition would surpass the circulating Latin text by Federico Commandino.¹³⁰ Realising the leveraging power of his rare linguistic capabilities and the opportunities they afforded him, Barozzi ensured these were properly featured in his *Descrittione*.

Following Crete's geography, Barozzi turns to its remote past and the physical remains of antiquity scattered across the island. The author hopes to engage the attention of the learned Venetian patricians with this narrative, while impressing them with his erudition and culture. Foscarini was an ardent collector of antiquities like many of his social peers, and he was especially interested in coins.¹³¹ Barozzi's praise of the 'infinite medaglie che si trovano nell'isola di Creta'¹³² addresses the

¹²⁹ There are three extant copies which directly attribute the text to Barozzi; these are found in the Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr di Venezia (cod. Donà dalle Rose, 136 [fasc. 7], f. 98r-145r), Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia (Marcianus Ital., cl. VII, no. 914 [colloc. 8592], f. 153r-192r) and Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Parisinus, Fonds Italien, cod. 384 (olim 10.181), f. 1r-33r. Two further manuscript copies exist, the first anonymous and the second, a seventeenth-century edition, carries the name of Benetto Gatto. (BMV, Marcianus Ital. cl. VII, no. 363 [7873], f. 166r-233r; BMV, Marcianus Ital. cl. VII, no. 569 [coll. 7946]) For technical reasons Kaklamanis rejects the editing approach based on a *codex optimus* and instead bases his publication of Barozzi's work using the 'copy text' approach. The copy at the MCV becomes his primary text. For further discussion see Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 160-174.

¹³⁰ Rose, 'Jacomio Contarini,' 123.

¹³¹ Ibid., 92.

¹³² Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 217.

provveditore's collecting interests. In fact, several of the statesmen sent to the island took an active interest in its numerous antiquities.¹³³ Foscarini's interest and knowledge of the field led to a request from the Venetian Senate that a 'buon numero di colonne et altri marmi' be sent from Crete for the restoration of the Palazzo Ducale, which suffered serious damage in a fire on 11 May 1574.¹³⁴ Barozzi was firmly aware of cultural trends in Italy and the types of artefacts that might interest Venetian patricians and, indeed, the Venetian state. The transportation of cultural artefacts from the Eastern Mediterranean to adorn the Venetian urban landscape was an established and ongoing practice, which had reached its apogee with the pillaging of the Byzantine capital in the Fourth Crusade (1204). Sixteenth-century antiquarian interests are further entertained in the *Descrittione* by the transcriptions of antique epigraphs encountered and recorded by Barozzi *in situ*. The epigraphs are presented first in their original Greek form and followed by Latin ('la tradottione latina') and Italian translations ('la tradottione volgare'). Barozzi's 'archaeological' survey of the island, in so far as the term can be applied to this period, procured twenty-one epigraphs.

A treatise of Cretan ruins would have been incomplete without a discussion of the famous Cretan labyrinth, built by King Minos to imprison the Minotaur. The labyrinth became a ubiquitous feature in the island's maps; depicted as a round maze in the hinterlands of Candia, it fascinated the early modern imagination.¹³⁵ A coin from ancient Knossos shows a profile portrait of King Minos, on one side, and the labyrinth on the other. (Fig. 8) Barozzi contends that despite popular opinion the cave near the city of Gortina was not the mythical structure but a quarry. In Gortina, he writes, one finds 'una spelonca grandissima... fu fatta dagli antichi Cretesi con molte strade et concavità sotterranee...'¹³⁶ He continues, 'Questa spelonca molti moderni hanno chiamata Labirintho, pigliando questo per il famosissimo Labrintho Cretico, tanto nominato da poeti...'¹³⁷ The true labyrinth, according to Barozzi, is

¹³³ For a list see *ibid.*, 74-5.

¹³⁴ Κώστας Τσικνάκης, "Μία μαρτυρία για τη μεταφορά αρχαιοτήτων από την Κρήτη στη Βενετία," *ΗΟΡΟΣ* 8-9 (1990-1991) cited in *ibid.*, 92. For Foscarini's procurement of statues from Knossos for Cardinal Giovanni Grimani see *ibid.*, 87; or another reference to private collections of antiquities in Crete – one belonging to Marco Corner Bogognon – see Barozzi, "Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta," 226.

¹³⁵ The labyrinth is also mentioned in the *canzone rustica* see Appendix B, octave 63.

¹³⁶ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 215-7. For an account of others who shared this opinion see *ibid.*, 215 (91).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

located under the city of Gnosos, three *miglia* (approximately five kilometres) from Candia.¹³⁸

Barozzi's reportage of contemporary Cretan life and the Cretan people is marginal. References to the present are limited to miraculous, inexplicable events. He mentions the tombs of five virgin martyrs which fill with healing water ('...acqua santa, et molti ammalati la bevono con divotione et guariscono; et la si manda anco a pigliar da paesi lontani, et la si conserva senza mai putrefarsi, del che io ne posso far amplissima fede havendola portata a Venetia e tenuta, che mai si è putrefatta');¹³⁹ a fire lit not by human hands which is perpetually beyond reach;¹⁴⁰ and a cross that heals those possessed by the Devil.¹⁴¹ As discussed, the author was actively interested in the occult and these bizarre occurrences must have intrigued and perplexed him. Imagining his readers would share his fascination with the inexplicable, he included the stories in the *Descrittione*. He even mentions how he successfully transported the Cretan healing water to Venice, an endeavour, therefore, which can be repeated without concern by his readers.

Anticipating his audience's knowledge and experiences, on rare occasions Barozzi includes overt Venetian references in his descriptions of the Cretan landscape. Thus, the cave in Gortina is referred to 'come la famosa spelonca che è sul territorio di Vicenza chiamata il covolo di Costozza',¹⁴² and another one in a village near Rettimo is described as having crystal formations which 'se' c'è lecito comparar le cose divine con l'humane,' cause a similar sensation as entering the Venetian church of San Rocco.¹⁴³ By drawing attention to their common reference points Barozzi placed himself among the high-ranking company of Venetian officials. These comments regarding Venice and the Veneto were class-specific and could be understood only by members of Cretan society with strong Venetian affiliations. Barozzi was clearly indicating his own social background and emphasizing his strong ties with Venice and Venetian patricians.

The narrative sections of the *Descrittione* are followed by an alphabetical list of Crete's one hundred ancient cities in Greek, Latin and Italian. The choice and order of languages echo the earlier discussion of epigraphs. The list is compiled

¹³⁸ Ibid., 217.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 234.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 235.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 235-6.

¹⁴² Ibid., 213.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 225.

based on classical authors and augmented by Barozzi's observations.¹⁴⁴ This section forms the last part of the work with an antiquarian focus. Barozzi henceforth turns his efforts towards compiling an administration manual for its foreign rulers, one that could serve as an introduction and a reference guide to their official responsibilities as representatives of the Serenissima. Apart from the previously discussed information that Foscarini might have provided for this section, Barozzi also had access to official documents as a public officer in Rettimo. The only explicit acknowledgement of any debt to contemporary sources, however, is found in the title of the population census which reads *Descrittione delle anime de tutto il Regno fatta novamente dall'illustrissimo signor General Foscarini*.¹⁴⁵ Nonetheless, Kaklamanis' research has uncovered close affinities between Barozzi's text and the *relazioni* by Domenico Marcello, *Consigliere di Candia* (1574), and Marino Cavalli, *Provveditor general di Candia* (1571-2).¹⁴⁶

It appears reasonable that Barozzi's concerns that the *Descrittione* might fall into Turkish hands referred to this last part of his work. Here, Barozzi gives a short historical account of the Venetian acquisition of Crete, the early administrative structures introduced to govern the new colony and the organization of the island's Catholic Church. He lists the islets surrounding Crete, its rivers, 1,066 Cretan villages and repeats the population figures from the official census conducted in 1576 by Foscarini.¹⁴⁷ There is a report on each district's fortresses and, finally, a detailed account of the local government's administrative structure.

The narrative sections of the *Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta* testify to the Cretan ruling class' knowledge and understanding of the cultural trends taking place in the social elite of the Italian peninsula. Barozzi sought to ingratiate himself with the island's Venetian rulers by offering them an account of Crete's deep roots in antiquity, a period revered by the Humanists. Furthermore, he used the island's wealth of ruins as springboards for exposing his own education and learnedness. Even more telling of the attitudes developing among the Cretan elite towards their island's past is Barozzi's speech during his involvement in the short-lived Rethymniot *Accademia dei Vivi*. Barozzi seized this opportunity to discuss the humanist ideals of a glorious antiquity paired with the current moral obligation of the

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of Crete's one hundred cities see Chapter Four, note 154.

¹⁴⁵ Barozzi, "Descrittione dell'Isola di Creta," 287.

¹⁴⁶ For more on these two *relazioni* and their relationship to Barozzi's work see *ibid.*, 115-9.

¹⁴⁷ The census was compiled using the categories 'homini da fatti', 'vecchi', 'putti' and 'femine' and arrived at a population of 193,798. (*Ibid.*, 115).

learned to emulate the achievements of the past. Panayiotakis describes Barozzi's text as 'an encomium that constitutes a true monument to the worship of Crete.'¹⁴⁸

Written and delivered over a decade before his *Descrittione*, Barozzi masterfully tailored the humanist *topoi* to the Cretan locality, giving them a Cretan spin one can say.

No written record of the activities of the Vivi Academy has survived apart from the two speeches, one by Barozzi and the other by his friend Antonio Mainero, given at the inauguration ceremony on 4 January 1562.¹⁴⁹ The ceremony probably took place in Rettimo's *loggia*, where Rettimo's *rettore*, the two *Consiglieri*, the twelve members of the Academy and nobles of the city, had gathered for the occasion.¹⁵⁰ Mainero's speech praised Barozzi's virtues and his personal contribution to the realisation of the project. Barozzi, in turn, delivered a eulogy to Crete and to the new era ushered in by the newly-founded Academy.

Barozzi began his speech by discussing the achievements of Ancient Greece in science and all other fields when Italy was still uncultured (*inculta*) and consisted solely of its natural elements. Their respective fates changed, though, Barozzi wrote, and Italy took the lead becoming in the words of Petrarch, a 'giardin del mondo.'¹⁵¹ 'Grecia' in Barozzi's text is the Greece of classical antiquity, humbled by the passage of time but slowly awaking to the new age of letters and erudition. Barozzi discusses the future hope offered by the education of young Greeks in Italian universities, where they are taught virtue, so as to return enlightened to their *patria*. He writes,

‘La onde havendo forsi hormai havuto compassione il Signor Iddio dell’infelicità di questa povera patria, gli è parso d’incominciar un’altra volta a illuminarla. Dal che noi veggiamo apertissimamente d’alquanti anni in qua gli habitatori di quella, ispirati di sopra,

¹⁴⁸ '[E]να εγκώμιο που αποτελεί αληθινό μνημείο κρητολατρίας.' (Παναγιωτάκης, "O Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vivi," 169).

¹⁴⁹ Mainero and Barozzi became friends at university. Mainero's record of the two speeches is in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova (BUP). (For further details see *ibid.*, 164; note 108 above).

¹⁵⁰ Παναγιωτάκης, "O Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vivi," 164.

¹⁵¹ 'Pero veggiamo la Grecia, ,che ne'tempi suoi felici ha fiorito non solamente nelle scienze, ma in tutte le altre cose, hora esser affatto priva di tutte quelle cose, per le quali a que'tempi si riputava sovr'ogni altra patria felice. E per il contrario l'Italia, la qual a que'tempi era inculta, piena di mari, laghi e boschi, hora essere veramente (come dice il leggiadro Petrarcha) giardin del mondo...' (BUP, cod. 64, 'Oratione di Francesco Barozzi recitata da lui nel principio dell'Academia de'Vivi nella città di Rethimo del MDL XI nel giorno 4 di gennaio,' f. 74r-v cited in *ibid.*, 168) For a publication of the oration containing extracts not offered by Panayiotakis see Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, Appendix A, 349-51.

mandar continuamente i suoi figliuoli in Italia per imparar virtù e
venir poi a illuminar la patria sua.¹⁵²

As a representative of the Veneto-Cretan elite, Barozzi is eager to draw connections between Venetian culture, on the one hand, and Cretan, on the other. This link was forged by invoking classical antiquity and emphasising Crete's heroic and glorious role in it. Greece's decline passed the torch of cultural eminence to Italy and in the author's time the latter became a beacon of hope for Cretans, the paradise of 'amenità, bellezza, nobilità, ricchezza, virtù, et d'ogni altra cosa buona.'¹⁵³

Barozzi maintains that this thirst for a bright future characterises 'questa isola di Creta, ch'in altro loco di Grecia, forse perche egli ha più compassione di quest'isola, che di tutte le altre parti della Grecia patria, e non per altro, che per le sue buonissime qualità cosi passate come presente.'¹⁵⁴ In this way Crete is singled out from all other Greek locations as the most deserving and appropriate to revive the achievements of the past, always, of course, under the guidance and patronage of its current rulers. Barozzi discusses Minos, Crete's mythical king, and eulogises the island's perfect geographical position, climate, flora and fauna. Ultimately, Crete's blessings culminate 'ne gli huomini,' in whom, 'si vegono nature e complessioni fortissime et ingegni acutissimi.'¹⁵⁵ The speech concludes with the author's proclamation of Greece's joy ('mi resta rallegrami con tutta la Grecia') for this new beginning after such a long period of ignorance: Crete rejoices, the most perfect part of Greece, Barozzi continues, for it is here that this beginning took place; Rettimo, in particular, rejoices and ultimately its rulers 'che sotto il suo felicissimo Regimento sia occorso il dar principio ad una cosi virtuosa et honorata Academia...'¹⁵⁶ Barozzi succeeds in creating a narrative that unites Crete's ancient past, its subsequent decline and the hope which burgeons under its current rulers. Both Cretans and Venetians are praised and the promise of a brighter future for Crete, according to Barozzi, lies in the fruit of the ongoing bicultural dialogue.

¹⁵² BUP, cod. 64, 'Oratione di Francesco Barozzi,' f. 74v cited in *ibid.* Maltezoú mentions a 'prose satire in Cretan dialect' by Barozzi written in 1562 where again he refers to 'his poor fatherland (*povera patria*).' (Παναγιωτάκης, "O Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vívι," 162 cited in Maltezoú, "The historical and social context," 34. The author's reference, however, seems to be erroneous.)

¹⁵³ BUP, cod. 64, 'Oratione di Francesco Barozzi,' f. 74v cited in Παναγιωτάκης, "O Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vívι."

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ BUP, cod 64, f. 74v-75v cited in *ibid.*, 169.

¹⁵⁶ BUP, cod 64, f. 79r cited in *ibid.*, 171-2.

The Vivi Academy was a cultural initiative staged in Candia's third largest city, which Panayiotakis estimates had approximately 3,000 inhabitants at the time.¹⁵⁷ Barozzi was twenty five when he delivered the speech and had recently returned from the Veneto where he had been an active member of local academies.¹⁵⁸ It is impossible to know whether the ultimate failure of the Vivi Academy was linked to Barozzi's personal troubles. Around 1590, approximately twenty years after the failure of the Vivi Academy, another academy was founded in Candia, the *Accademia dei Stravaganti*.¹⁵⁹ Barozzi was a personal friend of its founder and president, the Veneto-Cretan noble, Andrea Cornaro (1548-1616).¹⁶⁰ Opinions vary as to whether he was actually ever a member of Crete's most renowned literary society. Panayiotakis believes his conviction by the Inquisition three years before the *Stravaganti*'s foundation led to his exclusion by Cornaro and his fellow academicians; Cornaro never mentions the *Accademia dei Vivi* in his surviving writings and, in fact, had distanced himself from Barozzi as early as 1577.¹⁶¹ Kaklamanis, however, appears more optimistic about Barozzi's social standing in

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 173.

¹⁵⁸ Barozzi was a member of the *Accademia dei Potenti* of Padova, an academy of students at the city's university. His first publication in 1575 was a oration delivered at the Academy entitled 'ad philosophiam virtutemque ipsam adhortatoria.' (Ibid., 157) The *Accademia Venetiana* intended to republish Barozzi's translation of Proclus' *Commentary on Euclid* (1570), which Paul Lawrence Rose writes was 'the most important formulation of this – a Platonist – concept of mathematics.' Barozzi was not a member of the short-lived *Accademia Venetiana* (1557-61), but shared a circle of acquaintances with its founder, the Venetian patrician Federigo Badoer (1519-93). (Ibid., 197; Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 65) For his role in the establishment of the *Accademia dei Potenti* see M. Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. 4 (Bologna, 1929), 339-40 cited in ibid; for an understanding of the role of academies in the Venetian social and political milieu see Paul Lawrence Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana, science and culture in Renaissance Venice," *Studi Veneziani* XI (1969).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 160-1. For more on the *Accademia dei Stravaganti* see N. M. Παναγιωτάκης (Panayiotakis), "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," *Θησαυρίσματα* 5 (1968), 58-104; idem., "Η Παιδεία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία," in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. N. M. Παναγιωτάκης (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη και Σύνδεσμος Τοπικών Ενώσεων Δήμων & Κοινοτήτων Κρήτης, 1988), 191; Idem and A. L. Vincent, "Νέα Στοιχεία για τη Ακαδημία των Stravaganti," *Θησαυρίσματα* 7 (1970); David Holton, "The Cretan Renaissance," in *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 8. The nobles of Canea also founded their own academy, the *Accademia dei Sterili*, active in 1637, if not earlier. (Παναγιωτάκης, "Η Παιδεία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία," 191; Holton, "The Cretan Renaissance," 8).

¹⁶⁰ Cornaro is widely believed to have been the brother of Vitsentzos Kornaros (Cornaro or Corner in the Italian form), poet of *Erotokritos* and also a member of the *Stravaganti*. (Holton, "The Cretan Renaissance," 8. For a discussion of *Erotokritos* see idem., "Romance" in *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 211-2. For an introductory bibliography on Vitsentzos Kornaros see the one offered in Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 145).

¹⁶¹ Relations between the two men were evidently still cordial in 1576 as a poem by Cornaro dedicated to Barozzi has survived. (See Irma Merolle, *L'abate Matteo Luigi Caninici e la sua biblioteca. I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle biblioteche fiorentine*, [Roma; Firenze, 1959], 93 cited in Παναγιωτάκης, "Ο Francesco Barozzi και η Ακαδημία των Vivi," 160. The sonnet is published in Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 387-8).

Candia and claims his membership in the *Stravaganti* cannot be ruled out.¹⁶² Despite their personal history Cornaro relied heavily on Barozzi's *Descrittione* when he penned *Storia di Candia*, the first literary work to deal exclusively with the island's history.¹⁶³ Clearly, Barozzi's literary achievements were recognised by his contemporaries and peers, even if his company was avoided.

David Holton maintains that although Cretan academies never enjoyed large membership, they had a significant impact beyond the small circle of noble members. He writes, 'Although, there is little direct evidence to connect native Cretans with these academies, it is possible that they provided one of the most important fora for Italian-Greek cultural interchange.'¹⁶⁴ As we have seen in Barozzi's speech in Rettimo the men who participated in these societies were inspired by Venetian culture and eager to continue to enjoy its fruits after their return to Crete. Barozzi clearly took pride in Crete, its history, its natural beauties and the qualities of its people. Expressing the sentiments of his social class, he also was unabashedly proud of his Venetian heritage and adamant on the current superiority of Italian culture. Humanism's admiration of ancient Greece found an eager advocate in Barozzi and other nobles in Crete who could reconcile their sense of loyalty to their island, which after all was part of the venerated ancient world, and their affiliations with its current administration. His inaugural speech exposed the ideological frameworks imported to Crete by its indigenous elite in order to explain, justify and gentrify their position. Later in his life, Barozzi presented the island's rulers with an account of Crete's noble past in the *Descrittione*. Adhering to the principles expressed in his earlier work, he emphasized Crete's wealth of ruins, its ancient toponyms and the references to the island in classical sources. Barozzi hoped to impress Venetian statesmen with the island's history, on the one hand, and his education, on the other.

Barozzi's *Descrittione* was partly based on an unfinished historical account of Crete by Antonio Calergi (1521-1555), a close family friend of Barozzi's uncle. Calergi's narrative is entitled *Commentarii delle cosse fatte dentro e fuori del regno e isola di Candia d'Antonio Calergi gentilhuomo venetiano* and ends with a

¹⁶² Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 145.

¹⁶³ Cornaro also bases large parts of his text on Calergi's work. For further information and comparative analyses of the three works see *ibid.*, 145-151.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

discussion of the 1303 earthquake, almost two centuries before the author's time.¹⁶⁵ Calergi belonged to the most powerful Orthodox family on the island. In 1546 he had been awarded the title of *Cavalier di San Marco* by Doge Francesco Donà for his services in the last war against the Turks.¹⁶⁶ His work was a learned effort to document the island's past with an emphasis on his family's contribution to local history and on the legitimization of their political choices. It is unfortunate that Calergi's narrative ends so early, as his family continually served the Republic in its struggle against the Ottomans and pirates and the author's account of these events would have provided revealing commentary.

The Calergi family, or Kallergis in its Greek form, claimed descent from the tenth-century Byzantine Emperor, Nikephoros Phokas. As a tribute and reminder of their Byzantine heritage, they displayed the double-headed eagle on their family crest. This can be seen in George Clontzas' drawing of the tomb monument of Antonio's brother, Matteo.¹⁶⁷ (Fig. 9) The family crest can also be found *in situ* in the courtyard of Venice's municipal casino, which was once the Palazzo Vedramin-Calergi.¹⁶⁸ (Fig. 10) The family's powerful position was established by Alexios Calergi, who led a revolt against the Venetians in 1283, several decades after the Venetian occupation of the island. In 1299 a treaty was signed which established the privileges of the noble Cretans, the *archontes*, as a socially cohesive group within the Venetian establishment.¹⁶⁹ Calergi's leading role in the events secured his position of prominence among the *archontes*. Most important for the future of the Cretan nobles was the right they established in this treaty to form marriage alliances with the Latin feudatory families.¹⁷⁰ Over the next centuries the Calergi family actively pursued

¹⁶⁵ Two copies of Callergi's work exist in the BMV: It. VI. 3 (5999) and It. VI. 155 (5801). My transcription is from the second.

¹⁶⁶ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 68. See also Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 51.

¹⁶⁷ Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus discusses a *tragicommedia pastorale*, *L'Amorosa Fede* by Antonio Pandimo, (Venice, 1620), printed on the occasion of a Calergi wedding, with its title page decorated with 'the double-headed eagle crest of the Calergi with the cross and the motto EN TOYTΩ NIKΑ.' (Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus, "The Pastoral mode," in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. David Holton [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 97) Translated in Latin as 'IN HOC SIGNO VINCES', the latter was Constantine the Great's motto adopted after he saw the vision of the Cross in the sky prior to the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312 AD. For further discussion of the Calergi crest see Αθανάσιος Παλιούρας (Paliouras), *Ο Ζωγράφος Γεώργιος Κλόντζας (1540ci.-1608) και αι Μικρογραφίαι του Κώδικος Αυτού*, (Αθήναι: Εκδόσεις Γρηγόρη, 1977), 206-7.

¹⁶⁸ Matteo Calergi's family relocated to Venice following his death. (Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 47; see also notes 187 and 205 below).

¹⁶⁹ Maltezou, "The historical and social context," 24; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 75.

¹⁷⁰ K. D. Metzios, "Sintheke Eveton-Kallerge kai oi sinodeuontes auten katalogoi," *Kretika Chronika* 3 (1949), 269 cited in *ibid*.

such alliances to the extent that McKee speaks of '[t]he Calergi *policy* [my italics] of intermarriage with Latin feudatory families.'¹⁷¹

A further enhancement of the family's fortunes came in 1381 when Alexios' son, Georgios, was granted Venetian nobility. This was the unique instance in Greco-Venetian relations when Venetian nobility was bestowed on a Greek subject.¹⁷² Georgios and his successors continued to profess the Orthodox faith, but their new social standing gave them the impetus to become the wealthiest and politically dominant branch of the family.¹⁷³ This 'philo-Venetian' Calergi branch, in Panayiotakis' words, was established in both the capital and in Rettimo.¹⁷⁴

In the Calergi's family mythology Matteo (Matthaios) Calergi's encounter with the island's first modern and arguably most famous chronicler, the Florentine Franciscan Humanist Cristoforo Buondelmonti (b. circa 1385), holds a prominent place.¹⁷⁵ The episode occurred in the early fifteenth century and is enlightening in regards to the endurance of Byzantine legends on the island, as well as for its subsequent appropriation by historians as primary evidence of the bond of affection between the Calergi family and the Cretans. In *Descriptio Insulae Cretae* (1417) Buondelmonti recalls his encounter with an Orthodox monk who told him the story of an early Byzantine Emperor who had accepted the true faith (Orthodox) and thereby distanced his empire from the schismatic and corrupt Latin Church. This emperor sent Captain Calergi to govern the island and protect it from the treachery of the Latins. Calergi ruled with love and devotion and to that day, the monk told Buondelmonti, the members of this noble family were loved like gods on the island.¹⁷⁶ The monk, who would later take Buondelmonti to his lord's estate, explained that the members of the Calergi family had never lived in the same place

¹⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of such marriage alliances, which form part of McKee's larger argument against 'the myth of ethnic purity' in Crete see *ibid.*, 77-83.

¹⁷² Maltezou, "The historical and social context," 24.

¹⁷³ Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 46.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 46-7.

¹⁷⁵ Buondelmonti travelled extensively in the Eastern Mediterranean, collecting Greek manuscripts for his patron Nicolò Nicoli and studying the remains of Greek antiquity. In this period he penned *Descriptio Insulae Cretae*, an account of his sojourn in Crete, and *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, which will be discussed in Chapter Five. For a complete list of his works see R. Weiss, *DBI*, vol. 15, 198-200.

¹⁷⁶ Cristoforo Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete et Liber Insularum, Cap. XI: Creta," ed. Marie-Anne van Spitael (Ηράκλειον Κρήτης: Σύλλογος Πολιτιστικής Αναπτύξεως Ηρακλείου, 1981), 185-6.; Στυλιανός Αλεξίου (Alexiou) and Μάρθα Αποσκήτη (Aposkiti), eds., *Ένας Γύρος της Κρήτης στα 1415: Χριστόφορου Μπουοντελμόντι Περιγραφή της Νήσου Κρήτης* (Ηράκλειο: Σύλλογος Πολιτιστικής Αναπτύξεως Ηρακλείου, 1983), 76-7; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 74.

for fear they would be arrested by ‘Franks.’¹⁷⁷ Buondelmonti writes that Calergi greeted him with a friendly demeanour for he was ‘partial to his native city, Florence.’¹⁷⁸ As they walked in the countryside, the two men conversed in Latin and Greek and Calergi explained to Buondelmonti that the Byzantine Emperor had sent twelve noble families to Crete to rule the island.¹⁷⁹ These families, the *archontes* mentioned earlier, were still present on the island, respected and obeyed by all Cretans.

McKee cautions against a literal reading of Buondelmonti’s work given that he ‘invented a good deal of what he purports to have learned from the locals.’¹⁸⁰ She notes that ‘[i]n spite of this ... more than one historian has argued that Buondelmonti’s report is evidence of the survival of Byzantium in the memories of the island’s Greek population and constitutes an example of nascent national sentiment among them.’¹⁸¹ McKee points out that Calergi’s knowledge of Latin should come as little surprise as he was a member of the Venetian Great Council and spent a lot of time in the city.¹⁸² When the encounter is discussed as an instance of the Cretan upper class’s Renaissance culture, the Venetian link is rarely mentioned. Maltezou unravels the political layers at play in Buondelmonti’s text with a slightly different understanding to that of McKee. The former does not question the sincerity of Buondelmonti’s narration but instead views his account as an accurate report of the political propaganda disseminated by the *archon* class. Maltezou comments on the precision of the ‘Byzantine phraseology...preserved intact in Buondelmonti’s text’ and ‘the [impressive] description of the social landscape of the interior of the island.’¹⁸³ By recording the oral accounts he was offered by the locals, Buondelmonti was in effect reporting ‘a Byzantine motif which had been constructed to declare the

¹⁷⁷ Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete," 186.

¹⁷⁸ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 74. For original Latin text and French translation see Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete," 187.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. This part of the story will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

¹⁸⁰ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 75. Specifically she notes, ‘The entire text describing Crete is littered with Virgilian Latin tags, specifically and most suspiciously from Book III of the *Aeneid*, when the Trojans land mistakenly on Crete, thanks to Apollo’s vague directions.’ (Ibid.)

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 75, 210.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Byzantine 'consuetudines' in Venetian Crete," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries (1995), 278. In regard to the former, Maltezou writes, ‘Nikephoros Phokas is referred to as *chyr*, the *archontes* as *Romani*, Constantinople as *Poli urbs*, and Kallergis as *capitaneus*.’ (Ibid., 279).

utopian bond that existed, through the *archontes*, between Crete and the empire.¹⁸⁴ Buondelmonti's report on the just, benign and loved local nobles, who protected the Cretan population from Latin abuse, was a self-serving myth, propagated by the indigenous ruling class, the Calergi family most prominent among them, to ensure and perpetuate their social standing.¹⁸⁵ Antonio Calergi found many occasions in his narrative to repeat the myth of his *archon* family's care and selfless love for the Cretan population; a myth that Buondelmonti with the aid of Matteo Calergi had helped establish over a century before.

Antonio Calergi set out to record his family's rendition of Crete's history, while firmly aware of the privilege granted to him by his ancestral line. At the time the *Commentarii* was written the threats posed by the Ottomans to Venetian sovereignty over Crete were present, but not yet ominous. The records of the holdings of Calergi's private library in Candia paint a picture of a learned man with a variety of interests. Among other works, he owned copies of Ptolemy's *Liber Geographie*, Strabo's *De situ orbis libri XVII*, Pausanias' *Ελλάδος Περιήγησις*,¹⁸⁶ Enea Silvio Piccolomini's (Pope Pius II) *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima descriptio*, Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario, nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'isole del mondo*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae universalis libri VI* and Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*.¹⁸⁷ Calergi laments the glorious past of both Italy and Greece, a past when both their lands extended far beyond their current borders and they feared no enemies. The *topos* of a Golden Age and its decline was repeated in Barozzi's later speech for the *Accademia dei Vivi*, as we have seen above. Both authors grieved for the present, miserable state of Greece, but where Barozzi emphasized Italy's present rise to cultural eminence, Calergi emphasized political

¹⁸⁴ F. Luzzati Laganà, "La funzione politica della memoria di Bisanzio nella Descriptio Cretae (1417-1422) di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 94 (1988), 403 ff cited in *ibid.*, 278.

¹⁸⁵ Maltezou, "Byzantine 'consuetudines'," 279.

¹⁸⁶ The manuscript copy of Pausanias' *Περιήγησις* (Description of Greece) documented in 1418 in Nicolò Niccoli's library introduced the author's work to Western Europe; Niccoli's *Περιήγησις* is believed to have been the sole copy of the work in existence in the Byzantine Empire. The first printed edition was published by the Aldine press in 1516. In 1551 it was translated and published in Latin and an Italian edition was published in 1593. For more on the circulation of Pausanias' work in the early modern period see Μαρία Γεωργοπούλου (Georgopoulou) et al., eds., *Στα Βήματα του Πανσάνια: Η αναζήτηση της ελληνικής Αρχαιότητας* (Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών και Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 2007), esp. 57-104.

¹⁸⁷ For further information on Calergi's library see Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 68-70. Calergi was also a systematic collector of antiquities and 'Western-style paintings.' An inventory of the content of the Venetian home of Matteo Calergi, his brother and heir, offers proof of Antonio's (and the family's) collecting activities. For more on the inventory, taken on 2 September 1572 see *ibid.*, 76; Παναγιωτάκης (Panayiotakis), "Ερευνα εν Βενετία," 54.

and military issues. Barozzi's focus is not surprising given that he was delivering an oration for the inauguration of the first Cretan society of letters whereas Calergi was concerned with more practical matters. The latter writes,

‘Veggiami le forze della misera Italia, che già tutto il mondo domarono esser hoggi di ristrette frà i confini delle Alpi, e dei monti, che la circondano; et lei di continuo oppressa, et calpestata da Barbari, et governata da Prencipi tanto divesti di parere, et di volontà, quanto di nazione, et di numero. Et che dirò io della infelice Grecia! La quale se già fù madre di tutte le scienze, ritrovatrice di tutte le arti, maestra delle armi, et dominatrice di molte Provincie, hora /che non estremo cordoglio mi conviene apertamente confermare il vero/ è fatta un ricetacolo di ogni barbarie, sentina d’ogni ignoranza...’¹⁸⁸

In his discussion of the Venetian occupation of Crete, Calergi explains that foreign overlords are always resisted in contrast to those of one's own nation ('loro propria nazione'). This is especially true during transitional periods, when regardless of whether the previous overlords were oppressive and tyrannical, they are remembered with affection and all efforts are channelled towards throwing off the new yoke ('sottrarsi il collo dal nuovo giogo').¹⁸⁹ We stand witness to Calergi's efforts to reconcile his family's vested interest in the Venetian regime and their past opposition and rebellions against it. The noble-Cretans, that is to say the local social elite, and especially the Calergi family were eager to appear as protectors of the local population despite the fact that their class interests allied them, in most cases, to the foreign rulers. Matteo's conversation with Buondelmonti strove to achieve the same objective. The primacy of class interests over those of a 'proto-national' solidarity, for lack of a better way of expressing it, are poignantly illustrated by the contrasting fates of the respective classes when Venetian rule came to an end: the population of the countryside, left unarmed by the regime against the invading Turks had no option but to accept the new reality brought forth by the regime change,¹⁹⁰ while the nobles, Venetian and Cretan, and the wealthy *cittadini* escaped to Venice. A petition to the doge dated 9 November 1669, the year of Candia's eventual surrender, written in Venice on behalf of the 'nobili Cretensi, cittadini et sudditi di Candia' begins with the following: ' Il destino de sudditi non si trova situato in altra sfera che nella

¹⁸⁸ BMV, Antonio Calergi, *Commentari di Candia*, It. VI. 155 (5801), ff. 625-626.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., f. 700.

¹⁹⁰ The most comprehensive study of Crete's transition from a Venetian colony to an Ottoman province is Greene, *A Shared World*.

corona del Principe; quando questa s'ingemma di glorie in quelli non vi sono influenze che possano renderli capaci del titolo d'infelici. Il regno di Candia, patria di noi humilissimi servi di Vostra Serenità...caduto più per la forza di fatalità che per difetto di cuore ha primo violentato l'inimico alla pace.'¹⁹¹ The last comment was an effort to silence critics who considered the nobles partly responsible for their own fate and, more crucially, for the Republic's loss of the island.¹⁹² Most of the members of the Calergi family had fled the island prior to 1669. By the sixteenth century when Crete was coming increasingly under Ottoman threat, the Calergi families were becoming ever more anxious to retain the noble status awarded to their ancestor. Largely settled in Venice, by this point, they composed genealogical trees tracing their lineage back to their first noble ancestor.¹⁹³

Their flight to Venice is confirmed by a seventeenth-century manuscript attributed to Giovanni Antonio Muazzo entitled *Cronaca delle famiglie nobili venete che abitarono il Regno di Candia*. The entry on the Calergi notes that '[h]abitavano in Canea et in Rettimo dove furono numerosi et molti altri anche non Nobil ma quasi tutti ricchi et alle tempo della Guerra molti si portarono in Venetia.'¹⁹⁴ Even though these events postdate Calergi's text by over a century, they serve as a reminder of the author's position of privilege and the paramount importance of class as an omnipresent factor in the narrative accounts of the period.

¹⁹¹ ASV, *Miscellanea Atti diversi manoscritti*, b. 35-36, no. g published in Χρύσα Μαλτέζου (Maltezou), "Η Τύχη των Τελευταίων Βενετών Ευγενών της Κρήτης," in *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης, Αθανάσιος Μαρκόπουλος, and Γιάννης Μαυρομάτης (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης και Βικελαία Δημότικη Βιβλιοθήκη Ηρακλείου, 2000), 457. The Venetian nobles of Crete were not among the petitioners. Doge Giovanni Pesaro, who was in favour of the continuation of the costly Cretan war, belonged to the political faction which had ensured the (Cretan) Venetian nobles' settlement in the capital. The latter, however, experienced a dramatic reversal of their social standing, moving from the top of the social pyramid of Crete to the lowest rank of the Venetian patrician class. In the capital they were only allowed entrance to the Maggior Consiglio and not the Senate, which in effect barred the access to higher-ranking administrative positions in Venice and the empire. Furthermore, local patricians viewed the life-style of their newly-arrived peers as entirely foreign to theirs and ultimately considered them as uncouth, rough people from the provinces. (Ibid., 450-4).

¹⁹² For the articulation of such feelings of resentment on the part of Venetian patricians see *Relazione sulla organizzazione della Repubblica di Venezia al cadere del secolo decimosettimo*, a cura di G. Bacco, Vicenza, 1856, 44 cited in ibid., 452. Maltezou comments that the Cretan War 'has not yet found its historian' and, as a result, 'many aspects of the Veneto-Ottoman confrontation, especially those that regard the understanding of mentalities, remain in the dark.' (Ibid., 454).

¹⁹³ The Calergi family archives are now in Museo Correr in Venice. (McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 76) For a detailed account of the history of the various branches of the Calergi family and their archives see Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 45-58.

¹⁹⁴ BMV, *Famiglie Nobili Venete che Abitarono a Candia*, IT.VII. 36 (8380), f. 6v. For the attribution see P. Zorsanello, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Italiani della Nazionale Marciana di Venezia*, vol. LXXVII, MSS Italiani, Classe VI., 12-3. For information, biographical and bibliographic, on the author, who was a member of the Candiote *Accademia dei Stravangati*, see Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 87-9.

Both Barozzi and Calergi belonged to the island's established elite which travelled between Venice and Crete, owning property and enjoying privilege in both; they, and those of their social circle, had the luxury of forming advantageous alliances by way of association, marriage, education and business. Above these men and their families in terms of social standing on the island were the temporary Venetian administrators sent from the lagoon city to rule the colony. Their presence, however important, was transitory as shown in the letter of advice for setting up a household at the beginning of this chapter. As we have seen in Barozzi's case and in the anonymous author of the advisory letter, the relationship between the local elite and their Venetian rulers was frequently one of negotiation. The authority bestowed on those ruling in the name of the Republic cannot be overstated. For the Venetian patricians Crete was a provincial centre in their maritime empire, albeit precious by virtue of the economic and political advantages it offered Venice. For Cretans, however, the stakes were inevitably much higher.

In his discussion of the twelfth-century rebellions when the Calergi clan and their social peers were struggling to establish their status vis-à-vis the island's new rulers, Calergi writes, 'Non credo che mai Città, ò Provincia alcuna sia stata tanto dalle continue rebbelioni travagliata quanto fù la Città, et la Isola di Candia dopoi che venne sotto l'Impero da Venitiani.'¹⁹⁵ He continues by discussing a rebellion encouraged by the Byzantine emperor who promised to send the Cretans aid but failed to do so. Antonio's ancestor, Alessio (Alexios) Calergi, participated in the struggle and was the last to make peace with the rulers. 'Sarrei troppo lungo,' Calergi comments, '...se io volessi raccontare tutte le essentioni, et privilegi che furono in quella capitulazione concessi ad Alessio.'¹⁹⁶ These privileges awarded to the Cretan nobles and primarily to Alessio Calergi have been discussed above. The author is keen to note that following this reconciliation, Alessio never went back on his word and to his dying day remained 'sempre fidellinssimo...servitore al stato Veneto.'¹⁹⁷ Soon after Alessio's reconciliation with the regime another rebellion broke out; according to Calergi 'i Candiotti fatto disegno di voler viver liberi, et non esser sottoposti à signore alcuno.'¹⁹⁸ This time Alessio was on the side of the Venetians and he reasoned with the rebels: the Cretans, he argued, needed protection from

¹⁹⁵ Calergi, *Commentari*, f. 842.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., f. 869.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., f. 871.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., f. 891.

pirates, who would otherwise pillage the island. '[Se] non esser sotto la protetione d'alcun signore, la speranza della preda haverebbe invitato ogni nimico corsaro à molestargli di maniera che non haverebbore mai potuto godere pur un hora di quiete.'¹⁹⁹ Protection was necessary, and Alessio presented the Cretans with their options and what could be expected of each one; the Byzantines would bring 'la superbia delli Imperadori', the Genoese 'l'orgoglio de Genovesi', and the Spaniards 'l'avarita de Catalani.'²⁰⁰ For the Venetians, their current rulers, he writes, 'Essendo necessario che fossero sotto l'ombra, et protetione d'altrui, meglio era star sottoposti à Venetiani i quali havevano già conosciuti à piu d'una prova humani verso i suoi sudditi, amatori del bene de i suoi popoli, er facili al perdonare i loro falli.'²⁰¹ Better the devil that you know, he argued. In his line of reasoning, Calergi omitted the threat a regime change would pose to his clan, whose interests were allied by this point to those of the Venetians. When word reached the *Duca* of Alessio's intervention, Calergi writes, first he thanked God and then 'laudò la fedeltà di Alessio, che haveva liberato lui et tutta la nazione d'un gran pericolo.'²⁰² In this way, Alessio guaranteed the continued privileges of his family. Centuries later, Matteo Calergi, Antonio's brother, would echo his ancestor's actions. Matteo, who was married to a granddaughter of a doge, persuaded the rebellious villagers from a region outside of Rettimo to put down their arms.²⁰³ The timing of the revolt in the early months of 1571 was critical for the Republic and in return for his services Matteo was rewarded 'by the unprecedented honour of a place on the Venetian Senate.'²⁰⁴ Matteo can be seen here on horseback leading a group of volunteers on their way to Rettimo, which was under Ottoman siege.²⁰⁵ (Fig. 11)

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., f. 892.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., f. 893.

²⁰¹ Maltezu interprets Calergi's actions slightly differently. She writes, 'An ambitious and talented man with a keen understanding of the wider political situation, he came to realise that the union of Crete with the Byzantine Empire was unattainable. He therefore sought to extract from Venice privileges that would enable him to create an autonomous state, at the same time damaging the prestige of the Republic.' (Maltezu, "The historical and social context," 24) McKee, conversely, sees the 1299 treaty as the basis on which Calergi 'was given back much land and a considerable degree of judicial and ecclesiastical autonomy on those lands.' (Metzios, "Sintheke Eveton-Kallerge," 262-92 cited in McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 75).

²⁰² Calergi, *Commentari*, f. 894-5.

²⁰³ Bancroft-Marcus, "The Pastoral mode," 83-4. See also Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 51.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 84.

²⁰⁵ Παλιούρας, *Ο Ζωγράφος Γεώργιος Κλόντζας*, 135. Matteo Calergi died a few months after his admittance to the Senate in circumstances that have led to speculation of a political assassination. (For more see Bancroft-Marcus, "The Pastoral mode," 84; Παναγιωτάκης, "Ερευναι εν Βενετία," 55-7).

The last literary work to be discussed varies from Barozzi and Calergi's insofar as its author, Onorio Belli (1550-1604), had no personal connection to Crete. He arrived on the island in the spring of 1583 as the personal doctor of the *provveditor general* Alvise Grimani (1518-1590) and two years later, when Grimani's tenure had ended, he chose to remain in Canea as the city's public doctor.²⁰⁶ He occupied this position for no less than fourteen years. Belli was trained as a physician at the University of Padova and following his studies he returned to his native Vicenza where he practised his profession. In this city of the Venetian *terraferma*, Belli actively participated in public life: he was among the founding members of the *Collegio dei Medici Vicentini* (1561) and in 1579 he became a member of the *Accademia Olimpica*, where he played an active role.²⁰⁷ While in Crete and on tour of the island's fortifications in the company of the *provveditor*, he had the opportunity and was encouraged by his patron to pursue his interests in botany and architecture by observing Crete's rich natural flora and its numerous, unexcavated ancient ruins.²⁰⁸ During this period (1583-5), Belli conducted excavations, recorded epigraphs and facilitated the removal of antiquities from Crete and their transportation to Venice, where they entered the private collections of patricians.²⁰⁹ This period of travels and archaeological digs saw Belli pen a two-volume manuscript entitled *Rerum Creticarum observationes*, usually referred to as *Descrittione della isola di Candia*. The manuscript was dated 1 October 1596 and dedicated to the secretary of the *Accademia Olimpica*, nobleman Alfonso Ragona. Belli also wrote a treatise on botany in collaboration with Silverio Todeschini, a resident of Canea.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Κώστας Γ. Τσικνάκης (Tsiknakis), ed., *Η Αρχαιολογική έρευνα του Onorio Belli στη Κρήτη*, vol. B', Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος 'Ο Χρυσόστομος', 1991), 577; Luigi Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta. Un manoscritto inedito della scuola archeologica italiana di Atene (1587). Premessa, trascrizione, commento di Luigi Beschi* (Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 1999), 10.

²⁰⁷ Belli became an *Accademico Olimpico* together with Silla Palladio, Andrea's son, who became his friend. (See Belli's letter to his uncle signed and dated 'Dalla Canea adi 24 aprile stil vecchio 1586' published in Lionello Puppi, "Onorio Belli. Due Lettere sui teatri di Creta," in *Scrittori Vicentini d'Architettura del Secolo XVI* (G.G. Trissino, O. Belli, V. Scamozzi, P. Gualdo) [Vicenza: Accademia Olimpica, 1973], 90-92, esp. 92) The following year Belli was among the group nominated to prepare the 'intermezzi' for the performance of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* in the yet unfinished *Teatro Olimpico*. ([anonymous], DBI, vol. 7, 671; Τσικνάκης, "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο του Onorio Belli," 180-1).

²⁰⁸ Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 10.

²⁰⁹ Τσικνάκης, "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 182.

²¹⁰ Luigi Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 10. The full title of the first work is *Honorii Belli Medici Vicentini Rerum Creticarum observationes variae, continens diversos actus aedificia inscriptiones etc.* (Barbarano, *Historia ecclesiastica della città ... di Vicenza*, IV, [Vicenza, 1760], 357 cited in

Neither work was particularly fortunate: the botanical treatise was never completed, scattered parts finding their way into other publications or manuscripts, while all traces of Belli's *magnum opus* become lost by the mid-eighteenth century.²¹¹ Today any effort to reconstruct the content of *Rerum Creticarum* is based on a short treatise recently re-discovered by Tsiknakis entitled *Descrittione geografica del isola de Candia* (13 April 1591), dedicated to Alvise Grimani, a nephew of Belli's eponymous patron and his extant letters from Crete, especially one containing nine drawings he sent his uncle as a sample of his ongoing research.²¹² Belli's *Descrittione* was offered to the *sindaco* Grimani (August 1590-April 1591) on his departure from Crete and presented the recipient with a learned discussion of Crete's antiquities. It has been viewed as evidence of the 'common pursuits and interests of the two men... a revealing testimony of the archaeological pursuits taking place in Venetian-ruled Crete.'²¹³ Belli's research for the *Descrittione* relied on a variety of sources: the time-honoured accounts of the ancient authorities (Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, Pausanias, Aristotle); Byzantine authors (Στέφανος Βυζάντιος, Γεώργιος Κεδρηνός, Ιωάννης Ζωναράς); Pierre Belon's essay on Cretan fauna and flora based on his 1548 tour of the island;²¹⁴ Cristoforo Buondelmonti's seminal work; and Francesco Barozzi's *Descrittione*, although this last source is never openly acknowledged.²¹⁵ Kaklamanis convincingly argues based on a textual comparison

[anonymous], DBI, 671) For information on his botanical treatise and its contribution to the field see Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 10.; idem, *Onorio Belli, Accademico Olimpico: Scritti di Antiquaria e Botanica (1582-1602), Introduzione, edizione critica e commento di Luigi Beschi* (Roma, Viella: 2000), XXXI-XXXIII.

²¹¹ On the providence of Belli's *Rerum Creticarum* up to 1760 see [anonymous], DBI, 671; Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 10.

²¹² For Belli's letters to his uncle, Valerio Barbarano, currently in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, and reproductions of Belli's drawings see Puppi, "Onorio Belli. Due Lettere." Prior to Tsinak's discovery, knowledge of Belli's work was primarily based on extracts from his lost manuscript copied by Apostolo Zeno in a manuscript in the BMV. (For an late nineteenth-century English translation of these extracts see E. Falkener, *A Description of some important Theatres and other Remains in Crete from a ms. History of Candia by Onorio Belli, Suppl. to the 'Museum of Classical Antiquities'* [London: Truebner & Co., 1854]). The *Descrittione geografica* was located by Tsinak's in ASV, Archivio Privato Famiglia Grimani dai Servi, b. 3. vol. II, ff 1r-12v. Its full title reads *Descrittione geografica del isola de Candia. Di Honorio De Belli medico da Vicenza. All' illustrissimo signor Alvise Grimani dignissimo sindaco in Levante*. Tsinak's published the entire work in 1989-90. For a full transcription see Τσικνάκης, "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 205-26.

²¹³ Τσικνάκης "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 187.

²¹⁴ Antonio Calergi and Francesco Barozzi's uncle, also named Francesco Barozzi, both helped the Frenchman, Pierre Belon du Mans, in his excursions into the Cretan countryside. These were published in 1553 under the title *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges*, (A Paris, En la boutique de Gilles Corrozet, 1553). (Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 65-8).

²¹⁵ Τσικνάκης "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 188; Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 153-9. For Belon's essay see *ibid.*, 65-9.

that there is little doubt that Belli used Barozzi's treatise.²¹⁶ He claims that all the epigraphs in Belli's text are lifted from Barozzi, mistakes included;²¹⁷ '[h]e does not, however,' writes Kaklamanis, 'take the time to state this.'²¹⁸ Tsiknakis offers a plausible explanation: Barozzi and Belli must have met in Crete as both men moved in the same circles and clearly shared similar interests.²¹⁹ Besides a spirit of antagonism that might have developed due to the closeness of their intellectual pursuits, Tsiknakis proposes that Belli avoided Barozzi because of his difficult character and the array of accusations regarding 'his strange way of life'.²²⁰ In the small circle of Cretan intellectuals personalities certainly clashed and it appears reasonable given Barozzi's record that this might have been another such case. Cornaro and Barozzi's problems have already been discussed and like Cornaro, Belli also did not hesitate to use Barozzi's intellectual labour.

Luigi Beschi, one of Belli's modern commentators, writes of the latter, 'nonostante le sue aperture culturali, non era un letterato. Non deve quindi sorprendere che la sua prosa presenti spesso debolezze o vizi grammaticali, errori e diseguglianze ortografiche, carenza di interpunzione e frequenti forme dialettali (ovviamente vicentine e venete).'²²¹ Although Belli's credentials as a humanist might be lacking, his nine surviving architectural drawings with titles such as 'Tempio nella città di Leseno', 'Nelle rovine della città di Gnosso', 'Theatro della città di Cheronesso,' display a deep knowledge of architectural theory, both ancient and

²¹⁶ Ibid., 156-7. Kaklamanis comments on Belli's false claims to be the first author to compare the ancient authorities with contemporary toponymy and, furthermore, points out that Beschi 'is equally convinced as his protagonist that between the *Descrittioni di Candia* there is no textual interplay.' (Ibid., 155).

²¹⁷ Ibid., 156. For his translations Belli depended on his close friend and colleague, Daniel Furlani (Δανιήλ Φουρλάνος), a prominent Cretan intellectual and member of the *Accademia dei Stravanganti*, whom he openly acknowledged in his text ('tradottami dal eccellente signor Daniel Furlani, medico di Rettimo'). (Τσιγκνάκης, "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 192-3, 212) Belli was modest in regards to his linguistic abilities. In a letter to his uncle he invokes his help in translating some of his findings – one can assume these were ones Furlani had not already translated; he writes, 'Avea alcune lettere ma guaste come vederete nelli epitafi che vi mando, quali vi prego a voler fargli tradurre et mandaremeli che mi sarà favor singulare poichè in questo Regno non ho trovato alcuno che lo sappia fare, et avvertite nel mandarmi la traduzione che prima sia l'epitafio greco et poi la traduzione, prechè come sapete, se bene leggo e scrivo greco, nondimeno non possedo la lingua.' (Canea, 24 Aprile stil vecchio [=4 maggio] 1586, Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano [cod. D 138/3 inf.] published in Puppi, "Onorio Belli. Due Lettere," 90).

²¹⁸ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 156.

²¹⁹ One of their common acquaintances was Daniel Furlani, mentioned above. (Τσιγκνάκης, "Ένα άγνωστο κείμενο," 194).

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 13.

contemporary.²²² Belli's approach to his research was surprisingly modern: 'Andar,' he wrote, 'nei luoghi stessi et usar diligenza non solo nel parlar con gli abitanti ma per cavar e guardar minutamente nelle rovine...per trovar scritture e memorie nelle pietre.'²²³ Clearly, Belli was captivated by the richness of Crete's ruins and was eager to record his findings and share them with like-minded peers in his homeland. His complaint to his uncle about the quality of his utensils and his assurance that the final products would be more beautiful than the early drafts testify to Belli's dedication and affection towards his work. In his words, 'Questi disegni che ora le mando sono fatti in pressa, et l'inchiostro et carta mi hanno assassinato, ma quelli del mio libro sono molto più belli, ma vi mando solo questi così per mostra...'²²⁴ The missing manuscript of his final work included designs of Cretan 'teatri, amfiteatri, templi, basiliche, terme, cisterne, acquedotti, chiese bizantine,'²²⁵ and, had it survived, it would have been a valuable addition to the body of sixteenth-century writing on Crete.

Beschi draws a parallel between Barozzi and Belli claiming that 'Onorio Belli, come già di Francesco Barozzi, un ricercatore e un rappresentante della cultura tardo-rinascimentale italiana, dedito con passione alla scoperta e al servizio di Creta.'²²⁶ Barozzi and Belli's *Descrittioni* offer us perspectives of Venice's colony through and for the eyes of its elite, educated residents. The two texts confirm the current interest in certain humanist circles in Cretan antiquity and, indeed, the pleasure foreign residents derived in pursuing these interests in the island's countryside. As mentioned above, both Belli and Foscarini not only studied Cretan antiquities but also facilitated their export to Italy. The strength of Barozzi's work lies in his transcriptions of Cretan epigraphs, a task made possible by his education and knowledge of ancient Greek. Belli's contribution to the genre was the architectural drawings of the ruins he encountered while travelling across the island.

The portrayals of the city and island of Candia discussed in this chapter were encountered in an anonymous letter with practical advice on running a household; an

²²² "Non si tratta di semplici 'anticaglie', ma di documenti che entrano nel dibattito sugli ordini, che il nostro medico, appassionato di architettura, aveva recepito a Vicenza, dall'edizione vitruviana del Barbaro e dai quattro libri dell'Architettura di A. Palladio." (Ibid., 11).

²²³ Milano, Ambros. D 195 inf., 71v cited in ibid.

²²⁴ Letter (Canea, 11[=21] Ottobre stil vecchio 1586) published in Puppi, "Onorio Belli. Due Lettere," 95.

²²⁵ Beschi, *Onorio Belli a Creta*, 11.

²²⁶ Ibid., 13.

anonymous poem describing the province as dirty and morally deprived; a humanist treatise emphasizing Crete's ancient history, the wealth of its ruins and the hope for its future made possible by its contact with Italian Renaissance culture; a history of the island coloured by the family and class interests of its most prestigious and influential Orthodox family; and, finally, a testimony by a resident Italian physician with established humanistic and horticultural interests. The content and tone of the narratives reflected the authors' positions in the social hierarchy of the time, their motivation for writing their essays and their respective audiences.

Tenures in the empire's colonies exposed Venetian patricians to life in their subject territories, offering them firsthand experience of different societies and diverse living conditions. In cases such as Belli's, men chose to reside in the *Oltremare* and to explore the Mediterranean urban and natural landscape. The author of the *canzone rustica* found himself in Crete for a long period, perhaps for professional reasons, giving him the opportunity to form his negative opinions of the locals. The two anonymous authors examined in the beginning of the chapter and Belli, who was discussed last, were all foreigners in Crete; they arrived there in different capacities and remained in Crete for varying periods. Ultimately, their experiences were conditioned by their social status, which provided the framework for their interaction with the locals.

The foreigners with humanist backgrounds who found themselves in Crete took an active interest in its ancient history, looking beyond the island's current problems so vividly described in the *canzone*, and focusing on its ruins and antiquities. The island's nobles, both Venetian and Veneto-Cretan, were quick to see the potential benefits that the Humanist narratives could offer and, as we have seen, in Barozzi and Calergi's texts embraced these *topoi*. For Barozzi the interest in antiquity offered an opportunity to promote his family's Cretan connections while remaining proud and loyal to his Venetian heritage. As a member of the local elite, Calergi was more concerned in legitimising his family's status vis-à-vis the Venetians. Meanwhile he was eager to portray his ancestors as protectors and benefactors of the local population. The Calergi family's legends linked them to Byzantium, a cultural currency stronger among Cretans than foreigners by the sixteenth century. The author of the *canzone rustica* premised his poem on binary oppositions which built contrasting identities; contemporary Cretans disappointed the author who arrived on the famous island, as he claims, with high expectations.

The authors of the texts examined were all keen to establish and reinforce their social standing, to ally themselves with Venetian culture and politics, and to appease the island's rulers. Their personal motivation and objectives for writing their compositions largely affected their portrayal of Cretans, who in some cases were vilified and in others glorified. Crete's ancient history and mythology, its Byzantine past, its current status, its social problems and its ancient ruins were all invoked to help construct favourable or unfavourable impressions of those whose identities were in question. Weaving narratives allowed their authors to negotiate and generate the identities they chose to project and proclaim.

Chapter 3

Creating Appearances: Fabrics, Clothes and Embroideries

It is only the shallow people who do not judge by appearances.
The true mystery of the world is the visible, not the invisible.
Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)¹

‘...il saper cucire a noi Donne tanto appartiene, quanto a voi
huomini el saper scrivere.’/ ‘...knowing how to sew for women is
equivalent to knowing how to write for men.’

Dorothea, Dolce’s interlocutor and daughter, in Ludovico Dolce,
Dialogo della istitution delle donne (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de
Ferrari, 1547)²

1. Introduction

McKee, a historian of medieval Crete asks, ‘Are there other regions where the coexistence of the two distinct communities might be better understood by studying documents pertaining to the material life of the population? ...What practical, day-to-day meaning, if any, did being Latin or Greek have for the average person on Crete or in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean?’³ McKee alerts the reader to the importance of studying material life when contemplating questions that are by their conception more abstract. In this spirit, this chapter will look at sartorial life in Crete, one of the many aspects of material life, and explore what insights, if any, it can offer into issues of identity. In as far as clothing, especially daily clothing and that of non-elite members of society, is organic and perishable, it does not tend to survive in significant quantities from this far back in time. Clothes in this period were worn to death, so to speak, a fact evidenced in inventories where the description ‘old’, ‘worn’, ‘ragged/tattered’ frequently accompanied the listed item. Towards the end of their lives clothes were put to other household uses or given to those less fortunate, who wore them even further before eventually discarding them or recycling them in some other way. In Venice there was a flourishing market for the rental of second-hand clothes and *strazzaruoli*, their retailers, were among the city’s most successful professions.⁴ Clothes were also altered and updated to conform to changing fashions or to the physique of their new owners, if, for instance, they were bequeathed in

¹ Cited in Fred Davis, *Fashion, culture, and identity* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1.

² Cited in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 113, 275. Translation is Fortini Brown’s.

³ McKee, “Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete,” 66.

⁴ Mary Margaret Newett, “The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester*, ed. College Owen’s, James Tait, and Thomas Frederick Tout (London and Bombay: Longman’s, Green and Co., 1902), 327.

wills. In terms of alterations aimed at modernising clothes, one can reasonably assume that the surviving samples generally favour later rather than earlier fashion trends. Furthermore, like artefacts, the more luxurious, expensive clothing was recorded and has survived. Such attire would have been owned by the higher echelons of society, clothes worn for special occasions such as weddings or formal garb required for ceremonial events, state functions, and so on.

My intent is not to piece together the extant evidence and to figuratively re-dress the Cretans in their sixteenth-century clothes, but rather to approach clothes as ephemeral elements in the urban Cretan landscape. There is ample evidence to suggest that Venetians were keenly aware of the power of clothes to identify the age, class and religion of their bearers, to impress their observers, and to denote authority and magnificence (or lack of it). Was the acknowledgment of the power of ephemeral external appearances brought to bear in the colonial context? Were people's appearances, in terms of clothing and physical characteristics, controlled and regulated? Is there evidence that Cretans and Creto-Venetians dressed and understood clothes in the same way as Venetians in the capital? Furthermore, and most importantly, can any conclusions be drawn between external appearances and internalised states of mind pertaining to identity?

2. Notarial Records and Clothes

Glimpses into the everyday are offered in a wide variety of documents from official records and public proclamations to merchants' contracts and literary passages. Among these notarial records are particularly rewarding; Menelaos G. Parlamas has evocatively described them as 'history's whispers'.⁵ The notarial records of Michail Maras (1538-1578), possibly the most prosperous notary in sixteenth-century Candia judging from the surviving evidence, record Crete's material wealth.⁶ Following the death of Stefanos Gizis in 1568, an inhabitant of *Κάστρο/Kastro*, his brother, Michail, executor of his will and legal guardian of his underage children requested an inventory of the Stephanos' movable possessions. The deceased belonged to the Gizis family who ruled the small island of Amorgos in

⁵ Detorakis offers no further reference. (Θεοχάρης Δετοράκης, [Detorakis], "Κρητικά Προικοσύμφωνα του 16ου αιώνα" in *Βενετοκρητικά Μελετήματα (1971-1994)* [Ηράκλειον: Δήμος Ηρακλείου-Βικελαία Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996], 195).

⁶ Maras' records are extensive in absolute terms as well: 19 of his 41 *buste* survive in the ASV. In these 148 notaries, 68 doctors (20 were graduates of Italian universities), 63 lawyers (22 Italian graduates) and 41 painters are mentioned. (Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 204-5).

the Cyclades for almost two centuries (1207-1390).⁷ Their presence on Crete dates back to the late thirteenth century and judging from the aforesaid record, Stefanos was a wealthy, although not noble, Venetian subject. His profession is not recorded in the document. In the inventory, Maras records his movement through the house, 'I opened the door to the room where I found...' or 'Opening a sculpted walnut-wood *cassone* ('κασέλλα καρένια λαβοράδα'/casella karenia lavorata) I found the following...'⁸ In this manner we are informed of the contents of Gizis' house. This included items such as gold-plated silver cutlery and tableware; extensive quantities of bedding and linen 'λαβοράδα'/lavorata taken here to mean embroidered; and jewellery such as a 'κολαῖνα'/colaina from the Italian *collana* for necklace, specifically a cross with four rubies and pearls enamelled in gold, as well as rings with precious stones. There are rugs, swords, a small icon of the Virgin ('ένα ικονισμα Θεοτοκιον μικρον με την κνιζολαν του ιντοραδα'/ena ikonisma Theotokion mikron me tin knizolan tou intorada)⁹, as well as a large one of the Virgin with Christ, St Stefanos/Stephen and Megas Georgios/St George. St Stefanos was the deceased's namesake and St George his father's, who is named in the document as Tziorgis. The house had two lutes, an abundance of wooden furniture and even *libre antiche* by the now unknown Syrianos ('λιμπρα αντιγα απο του Συριανω'/libra antiya apo tou Syriano).¹⁰ In terms of Venetian artefacts, we find four chairs described as 'Venetian'; an old Venetian 'σεκιω'/sekio/*secchio*, a bucket; two Venetian barrels ('βαρέλλαις'/varelles/*barelle*); and a small silver bowl for salt ('σαλιέρα'/*saliera*) defined by Boerio as a 'vasetto nel quale si mette il sale per la tavola.'¹¹ It is not entirely clear whether 'Venetian' in this context refers exclusively to these artefacts' city of origin and/or the style in which the items were crafted. The only other uses of adjectives of place are for a Turkish saddlebag made of carpet and leather and a couple of items described as 'Cretan' which will be discussed shortly.

⁷ Θεοχάρης Δετοράκης (Detorakis), "Μία εικόνα αστικού πλούτου στον Χάνδακα (1568)" in *Βενετοκρατικά Μελετήματα (1971-1994)* (Ηράκλειον: Δήμος Ηρακλείου-Βικελαία Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996), 153.

⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 149 (M. Mara), loose document transcribed in *ibid.* Following the original Greek text, I will offer a transliteration and a translation. Where relevant and possible, I will provide the (Venetian) Italian word from which the Greek derived.

⁹ Detorakis points out that 'knisola' derives from *chiesola*, a small church, and 'intorada' from *indorato*, gilded. The item could be an icon in a gilded frame, or a family altar, an icon-stand (*εικονοστάσι* / *ikonostasi*), which are still common in Orthodox homes. (Idem, "Κρητικά Προικοσύμφωνα" 169).

¹⁰ Detorakis points out that these would have been manuscripts. (*Ibid.*, 172).

¹¹ Boerio, DDV, 393-4.

There is ample evidence of clothes in the Gizis household. They are described in terms of colour, material, constituent parts when relevant and their condition, which ranges in descending order from ‘καινούρια’/kenouria/new to ‘τριμένα’/trimena/worn or threadbare, ‘μπαλωμένα’/balomena/mended, ‘(ξε)σκισμένα’/(xe)skismena/(severely)torn and ‘παλαιά’/palea/old. The most common condition is ‘old’, an adjective which usually precedes the less common ‘worn’ or ‘torn’ to further emphasize their poor condition: thus ‘παλαιά σκισμένα’/palaia skismena/old tattered or torn.¹² Clothing nomenclature borrows heavily and exclusively from Italian and specifically from the Venetian dialect making the process of deciphering meanings challenging. For instance, Maras records a ‘στοτοβέστα ντεσετάντα’/sotovesta desetada. The item is a *sottoveste*, a petticoat, and Detorakis notes that ‘ντεσάγια’/desagia derives from *de saja- sagia* or *saia*, which according to Boerio is a ‘sorta di panno lano sottile e leggero.’¹³ Other items include ‘τζαμπερλούκο ντεσετάνια’/tzaberlouko desetania from the Venetian *zamberluco*, ‘[una] lunga e larga veste di panno, che usavano i nostri vecchi (Venetians) per ripararsi dal freddo.’¹⁴ Another *zamberluco* listed subsequently is black with two ‘ματζαντούνια’/matzadounia/*mazzetine*, which are decorative bands.¹⁵ A ‘ζουπάνι’/zoupani, found in various versions of the word (‘ζούπα’/zoupa, ‘ζιπόνι’/ziponi), derives from the *zipon* or *giubbone* and was a narrow, short garment, covering the chest and without sleeves or collar.¹⁶ Maras describes the one in the inventory as black velvet and, he notes, it is accompanied by its sleeves (‘μανίκια’/manikia/*maniche*); another pair of sleeves, these tattered, are listed directly afterwards. *Zupone*, in fact, tend to be accompanied in the documents by separate sleeves: In his will dating from 1531, Georgios Sakellionos, leaves his nephew a black, silk ‘ζουμπόνιν’/zoubonin with two pairs of black, velvet sleeves. The deceased bequeaths these, as was customary in testators’ language, ‘for his soul.’¹⁷ There were not only black *zuponi*: one red and one ‘παγονάτζον’/pagonatzon/*pavonazzo* are recorded in the registers of another Greek

¹² The use of language varies between notaries. Thus, for instance, the notary Manuel Gregoropoulos’ vocabulary is more limited than that of Maras. See Μανουήλ Γρηγορόπουλος (Gregoropoulos), *Διαθήκες, Απογραφές, Εκτιμήσεις*, ed. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης και Στέλιος Λαμπάκης, vol. 1, Βενετικές Πηγές της Κρητικής Ιστορίας (Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2003).

¹³ Boerio, DDV, 591.

¹⁴ Ibid., 805.

¹⁵ Δετοράκης, "Μία εικόνα αστικού πλούτου," 169.

¹⁶ Boerio writes ‘Quest’ abito era stretto, corto e senza bavero; cuopriva il busto, e si allacciavano le calze e i calzoni’ (Boerio, DDV, 812).

¹⁷ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, ff. 134v-135r published in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 272.

notary, Manuel Gregoropoulos (active 1506-32).¹⁸ Gregoropoulos' records have been transcribed and published in an annotated Greek edition, which will be consulted frequently in this chapter.¹⁹

Stella Mary Newton writes that the *zupon*, worn by the Venetian youths before they took to wearing the toga, was sleeveless and accompanied by matching or appropriately coloured sleeves fitted in the armholes.²⁰ In Venice, the *zupon* was made by *zupponieri*, whom Newton terms doublet-makers. They belonged to the tailors' *arte*, but were distinguished from *sartori*; *zupponieri* made inner garments whereas *sartori* made outer ones.²¹ Evaggelia K. Fragaki, who has written extensively on Cretan costume, claims the *zupon* was worn underneath the toga (or 'βέστα'/vesta or 'ρόμπα'/roba), in such a way that the long sleeves of the former were visible underneath the latter.²² According to Fragaki the *vesta* was worn in Crete by public office-holders, men of letters and doctors of medicine.²³ As a garment of distinction a parallel can be drawn with the long black gown worn to the ground (*toga*), by patricians and citizens alike in Venice.

There is evidence, however, that the *vesta* was used more broadly in Crete in keeping with the Venetian use of the term. *Sartori delle veste*, for instance, referred to tailors of the outer garments of both men and women.²⁴ In 1525, Nikolaos Kalliopoulos, a master tailor, 'πρωτομάστορας σαρτούρος'/protomastoras sartouros/*maestro sartor*, who lived in Candia, made his last testament. He asked to be buried in the Monastery of Saint Catherine of Sinai.²⁵ Kalliopoulos bequeathed his 'new

¹⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, 'Διαθήκη Σωσάννας Ντελαρταινας' f. 30r-v and 'Διαθήκη Τζανη Κολωνα' f. B 55r in ibid. Rosenthal and Jones claim that *pavonazzo* covers a range of colours 'as in a peacock's tail, ranging from purplish-blue to blue-black to peacock blue.' 'In Venice,' they write, it referred to 'most often a bright purple, made from a shade of red obtained from a first bath in red dye and a second in a *vagello*, a blue-dye bath based on indigo with the addition of madder, alum of lees, and bran.' (Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 589. Also see Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495-1525*, Pasold studies in textile history 7 [Aldershot: Scholar (for) The Pasold Research Fund, 1988], 18-19, Appendix C).

¹⁹ See above note 12.

²⁰ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 33.

²¹ The Cretan tailors' guild will be discussed later in this chapter. Suffice to say at this point that in Candia such a distinction does not appear to have existed. For further reading on the Venetian context see ibid., 127-131.

²² This garment, writes Fragaki, was adopted by women in Crete in the late sixteenth century. They were heavily embroidered with gold thread and were known as 'χρυσοζίπινα'/chrissozipona/ golden *zupone*. (Ευαγγελία Κ. Φραγκάκι [Fragaki], *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης: Γυναικεία Φορεσιά* [Αθήνα: s.n., 1960], 39-40).

²³ In the winter these were lined with fur. (Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 8).

²⁴ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 128.

²⁵ For the importance of St Catherine see Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, esp. 176; for the problems in the Ottoman period between the monks of St Catherine and the Patriarch of

vesta’ to the churchwarden, specifying proceeds from its sale were to be used to cover the expenses of his ‘αρκλαν’/arklan/*arca*, his grave.²⁶ The master tailor made only two other references to clothes. After bequeathing his lands and estates, he left his mother and sister all that remained of his movable goods, namely clothes, silver, gold, pearls, furniture and so on. ‘For his soul,’ he requested that his young boy servant, Manolis, ‘be dressed’ in his old clothes.²⁷

The continuous recycling of clothes, whereby people bequeathed their clothing in their wills to relatives, to those less fortunate or nominated clothes as items to be sold in order to cover posthumous expenses, is routinely found in Candiot final testaments. The circulation of clothes in this manner brings to mind the question asked in Greece when one’s clothes are ill-fitting: ‘Did they belong to the deceased?’ The language in Kali Capsali’s will, dated 11 June 1510, is almost colourful, offering an immediate, graphic image of clothes being passed on from one owner to the next, from one’s deathbed to another’s wardrobe.²⁸ Kali, a rabbi’s widow, bequeaths Erini, a woman who in the testator’s words ‘has stood by her and done a lot for her,’ one of her two sheets, the bedding and ‘the clothes that I wear.’²⁹ It is not often that the transition from one owner to the next takes this tone of intimacy.

In the sixteenth-century clothes were among the most precious items in a household and, as a consequence, they were often pawned. Carole Collier Frick discusses the ‘inordinate portion’ of their total wealth Florentines spent on clothing in the Renaissance. This comment is based on inventories of personal possessions, where as much as forty percent of the recorded fortune could be invested in clothing.³⁰ Sosanna Delartena (Σωσάννα Ντελάρταινα) was ill when on 4 November 1510 she called the notary Gregoropoulos to record her final wishes.³¹ Her mother, her husband and three children were her beneficiaries and she duly recorded how she wished her possessions to be distributed. She ‘made known’ that she had pawned

Constantinople, who tried to assert his authority over the island’s Orthodox population and met the fierce resistance of local clergy see Greene, *A Shared World*, esp. 174-194.

²⁶ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, ‘Διαθήκη Νικόλαου Καλλιόπουλου’, f. 34r-35v cited in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 186-9.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, ‘Διαθήκη Καλής Καψάλη’ cited in *ibid.*, 34-5.

²⁹ Ibid. Kali’s affection for Erini has been discussed in Chapter One in the section on Candia’s Jews.

³⁰ Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 180.

³¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, f. 30r-v cited as ‘Διαθήκη Σωσάννας Ντελάρταινας’ in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 39-40.

items in “the Judaica, in particular at the [shop of?] Jewess, ‘the slave.’³² Among other things, she had pawned the following two: a pearl necklace, a pair of red velvet pillows (3 ducats and one ‘μαρτζελον’ /martzelo/marcello),³³ a black silk *zupon* worth 2 ducats, a pair of silk woman’s sleeves (1 ducat), another pair of black sleeves for 3 *marcelli*, a sheet and more pillows. Another pawnbroker, the Spanish Jew Samuel Rosso (Σαμούηλ Ρόσο), had received the following from Sosanna: 14 ‘ογγιές’/ogies/*oncie* of gold-plated silver buttons worth 20 ducats,³⁴ three forks (worth 11 *marcelli*), a red, striped (‘βεργάδο’/vergado/*vergato*) *zupon* (valued at 2 *marcelli*), a red, silk *scufia* for 10 *soldi*, and a piece of fabric (*pezza*) from ‘Saracen’ lands (‘σαρακηνική’/sarakiniki).³⁵

Returning to Gizis’ inventory, following the *zupon*, he lists a black ‘μπερέτα’/bereta/*bareta*, in modern Italian a *berretto*, and another black, fluffy ‘καππέλλο’/*cappello*. This may have referred to a woven *bareta*, which according to Fragaki, were worn in Crete, as were *barete* of silk and of velvet.³⁶ There is one more hat; a ‘σκιάδη’/skiadi, a term referring to the fact it produced shade. This headgear with its non-Italian name dates back to the Byzantine period and was made of straw.³⁷ Another *casella/cassone* is listed as containing curtains, tablecloths, sheets, and, among other things, twelve men’s shirts.

In terms of female garments the linguistic pattern of hybrid words mirrors that of men’s. The inventory includes: a ‘καρπέτα’/karpeta/*carpet(t)a*, defined by Boerio as a ‘sottana, gonnella’ (petticoat, skirt)³⁸ which was black and worn at the seams; a couple of ‘καμιζέτες’/*camisete*; and a ‘βεστούρα’/vestoura/*vesture*³⁹ with its ‘μανιγέτα φουργάδι’ /manigeta fourgadi/*manicotti fregiati*, with decorated sleeves. Another *vestura* is described as ‘σάρτζα παγονάτη’/startza pagonati/*strazza pavonazzo*, of the colour *pavonazzo* and tattered. There is one more tattered *vestura*, black this time, but even more intriguingly, Maras refers to it as ‘ντόπια’, indigenous. The only other reference to specifically Cretan attire is a *carpetta* which is ‘old and

³² On Jews and slavery in Crete see Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete," 73-4,104.

³³ Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 413.

³⁴ One *uncia* was approximately 30 grams. (Ibid., 434).

³⁵ Ibid., 40.

³⁶ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 61. Also see Φ. Κουκουλές (Koukoules), "Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν επί Βενετοκρατίας," in *Επετηρίς Κρητικών Σπουδών*, (Αθήνα: s.l., 1940), 51-2.

³⁷ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 61.

³⁸ Boerio, DDV, 141. Koukoules notes that in their daily lives women fastened their *carpette* around their thighs and wore the garment down only to enter churches and for formal occasions. (Κουκουλές, "Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν," 50).

³⁹ 'Abito, ma intendevasi da donna.' (Ibid., 791).

Cretan.’ There are also separate sleeves for women’s clothes with fine ‘ιτάγιο’/itagio/*intaglio* lace and buttons; headscarves; socks (‘καλτζέτες’/kaltzetes/*calzetta*) and several dresses (‘φουστάνια’ /foustania), some described as fine, others as linen.

One of the more interesting items found in Gizis’ inventory are two pairs of ‘βράκες’/vrakes/*braghe*. Boerio defines *braghe* or *braghesse* as ‘quella parte del vestito, che cuore dalla cintura al ginocchio.’⁴⁰ The first pair are black baize (a coarse woollen fabric) and decorated with *stame*, a fine woollen thread, and the second are simply described as linen. *Vrakes* were worn in Crete until recently when they gradually came to be substituted by industrially-produced, ‘European’ clothes. This process began in the early twentieth century, while women’s traditional clothing was abandoned much earlier. The traditional Cretan costume for men can be seen in an early twentieth-century photograph: the *vrakes* are worn with tall, black leather boots known as ‘στιβάλια’/stivalia/*stivali* and a cape (‘καπότο’/*cappotto*).⁴¹ (Fig. 12)

The precise date *vrakes* took their ultimate form is unknown, but there is evidence to suggest they were worn in Crete in the period under consideration. Fragaki dates their introduction there to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, specifically from the 1530’s onwards, and argues that by the end of the century, they had taken their final form.⁴² Faidon Koukoules maintains that a short and tight style of coloured *vrakes* (‘κουρτσουβράκιν’) were worn by Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean from as early as the thirteenth century.⁴³ A portrait by the Cretan Domenikos Theotokopoulos, better known as El Greco, offers a portrayal of a contemporary type of *braghesse*.⁴⁴ (Fig. 13) The work was painted in Rome in 1575 to commemorate the Knight of Malta, Vincenzo Anastagi’s appointment to the office of *Sergente Maggiore* of the Castel Sant’Angelo at Rome.⁴⁵ The subject stands, arms purposefully perched on either side, in an indistinct interior space, looking directly

⁴⁰ Ibid., 96-7. Achille Vitali suggests the term ‘braghe’ derives from the Latin ‘braca’ of Gallic origins – in the Islandic language, he notes, the term is ‘brök.’ (Achille Vitali, *La Moda a Venezia Attraverso i Secoli: Lessico Ragionato* [Venezia: Filippi Editore, 1992], 67).

⁴¹ The term ‘μαντέλον’/mantelon/*mantello* was also used for a cape. Rachiel Agapi, widow of Moise, in her 1497 will written in the *Judaica*, bequeathed two *mantelli* to male relatives. (Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 309-10).

⁴² Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 63.

⁴³ Κουκουλές, “Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν,” 44-5.

⁴⁴ Theotokopoulos was born in Candia in 1541 and left for Venice during the spring or summer of 1567. There is extensive bibliography on the artist, but indicatively I mention David Davies and John Huxtable Elliott, *El Greco* (London: National Gallery Company and Yale University Press, 2003); for additional bibliography see Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, 273, n.33.

⁴⁵ Davies and Elliott, *El Greco*, 33.

towards the viewer. His imposing physical presence is further emphasized by his costume: bearing armour over his chest, his helmet discarded on the floor, he wears a pair of deep green, velvet breeches. David Davies comments on the visual play of shapes, 'from the verticals of the legs to the billowing shapes of the breeches to the diagonals of the arms.'⁴⁶ El Greco also creates a contrast in terms of the tactile qualities of the outfit. On the one hand, the warm, soft and luxurious velvet, and on the other, the hard, cold surfaces of the metal armour, reflecting the light, while the velvet appears to absorb it into pockets of darkness. Fragaki wishfully wonders if El Greco might have conflated the knight's costume with the memories of his native island - a rather unlikely possibility, however, given the importance of the commission.⁴⁷ It is more probable that the breeches worn by the Knights of St John and the *vrakes* worn in Crete resembled each other. Such a possibility is further supported by another portrait of a Knight of Malta, Caravaggio's *Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt with his Page* (1607-8). (Fig. 14) The sitter was Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John and the second figure in the work, the knight's page-boy, dons a pair of black breeches closely resembling those found at later dates in Crete.

The origins of *braghesse* have conventionally been associated with the Ottoman presence in the region. Fragaki, however, suggests an Algerian connection. The coasts of Algeria, not far from Crete, were havens for pirates, not least Hayreddin Barbarossa, the most famous, who frequently pillaged the coasts of the island. Crete's southern coasts were especially exposed to such danger and Venice was under constant pressure to build forts and protect the local population.⁴⁸ The presence of pirates at sea was sanctioned by the Ottoman Sultan and their activity posed a danger, not only to coastal settlements, but also to ships' cargos and crews. The latter might be enslaved and trafficked in the flourishing slave trade of the Mediterranean. Cretans were not only victims, though; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Cretan ports were popular trading posts in the regional slave trade and Cretans participated in this lucrative activity.⁴⁹ Fragaki argues that Cretans on Venetian ships, such as merchants, mercenaries or drafted peasants, took to wearing

⁴⁶ David Davies, "El Greco's Portraits: The Body Natural and the Body Politic" in *ibid.*, 253.

⁴⁷ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 73.

⁴⁸ For piracy in Crete, as well as sixteenth-century documents regarding the ransoming of Cretan slaves from Turkish pirates see Θεοχάρης Δετοράκης, (Detorakis), "Πειρατικές Επιδρομές στην Κρήτη κατά την Περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας," in *Βενετοκρατικά Μελετήματα (1971-1994)* (Ηράκλειον: Δήμος Ηρακλείου-Βικελαία Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996).

⁴⁹ Idem, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης (History of Crete)*, B' (2nd ed. (Ηράκλειο: n.p., 1990), 226.

pirates' garb in a defensive maneuver to elicit confusion at sea and protect them against enemy attack.⁵⁰ With time, she argues, freed slaves and sailors continued to wear the *vrakes* upon their return to their villages.⁵¹ Their widespread adoption was facilitated by the extreme poverty of the Cretan peasants, who did not have the luxury of owning more than one outfit, and undoubtedly by the garment's practicality.

The paintings by El Greco and Caravaggio confirm that at least at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Malta young boys were wearing breeches very similar to later Cretan ones. Is there visual evidence that they were worn more broadly in the Mediterranean region? Cesare Vecellio sheds some light on the issue. A native of the province of Belluno and resident of Venice, Vecellio published two costume books: *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* in 1590 and eight years later, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*.⁵² The first edition, an octavo with 421 woodcuts, was written in Italian, whereas the revised, second edition was written in the international language of the time, Latin.⁵³ Each woodcut figure was accompanied by an explanatory text with detailed descriptions of the figures' attire and information about the geography, agriculture, diet and customs of their homeland.

The first figure which bears on our discussion is the 'Soldato A' Piedi', who appears in Vecellio in his wartime and off-duty attire. (Figs. 15, 16) Vecellio comments on the superior design of contemporary costume by writing, 'for in our day soldiers are not encumbered by their clothing, as used to be the case and as we see is still the case in foreign nations, for too much cloth or too voluminous breeches have caused many soldiers to die by tangling themselves up in them.'⁵⁴ Further on,

⁵⁰ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 141. For the compulsory draft, known as 'αγγαρεία' / *angaria* / *angheria*, a practice much despised and feared see Θεοχάρης Δετοράκης, (Detorakis), "Η Αγγαρεία της Θάλασσας στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη," in *Βενετοκρατικά Μελετήματα (1971-1994)* (Ηράκλειον: Δήμος Ηρακλείου-Βικελαία Βιβλιοθήκη, 1996).

⁵¹ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 142.

⁵² Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 8.

⁵³ Kristen Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World: Costume Books and Ornamental Cartography in the Age of Exploration," in *A Well-fashioned Image: Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850*, ed. Elizabeth Rodini, Elissa Weaver, and Kristen Ina Grimes (Chicago, Ill: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002), 15; Leslie Meral Schick, "The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroghi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: EREN, 2004), 94-5. Vecellio was sensitive to local dialect, as well as foreign terms. For Vecellio's use of language see Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Introduction: Vecellio and his world," in *The clothing of the Renaissance world: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 12-3, 26-7.

⁵⁴ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 215.

he describes the soldier's clothing, '... [they] also wear close-fitting *braghese* or knee-length trousers made of chamois, deerskin, colored cloth, satin, or various types of wool. Many such trousers are of patterned silk or brocade, depending on their status, but always rich and beautiful.'⁵⁵ He specifies that the costume depicted resembles those worn in the 'naval victory over the Turks in 1571', the battle of Lepanto, thus dating the look as roughly contemporary to the portrait by El Greco. The link with Lepanto is supported by another work depicting a distinguished sitter with his young page, Tintoretto's *Portrait of Sebastiano Venier with a Page* (c.1580). (Fig. 17) Venier, who was doge during Lepanto, stands before a view of the battle. To his side his page offers him a letter presumably bearing the joyous news of the victory.⁵⁶ The boy's breeches closely resemble those offered in Vecellio's work.

The soldier's off-duty breeches were named *braghese alla Savoina* and they first appeared in Venice after the 1552 Ottoman siege of Szeged in Hungary when the Prince of Wallonia and Duke of Savoy were seen wearing them.⁵⁷ If El Greco's depiction of the knight takes the upper-body gear of the soldier in battle, the *braghese* resemble those of another figure, the 'Venetian Bravo' which Vecellio describes as 'knee-length silk braccioni.' (Fig. 18) The presence of this fashion in Venice, however, by no means excludes the possibility proposed by Fragaki that in Crete they *also* wore such voluptuous breeches.

But Vecellio offers evidence that the *vrakes* were, in fact, narrower. According to the author, a 'Soldato o Scappolo' was 'a certain kind of sea-going soldier, not drafted by the Venetian state but free, who works at times when the galleys of these lords need to be armed.'⁵⁸ (Fig. 19) 'For the most part,' he continues, 'they are Slavs or Greeks or men from similar nations, accustomed to endure such activity over long periods, brave, strong and robust by nature.' Regarding their clothes, he says '... they wear *braghese* of linen or fine wool in a solid color, rather wide, tied below the knee...' ⁵⁹ Not as short as these breeches, but breeches nonetheless can be discerned in the fragment of a seventeenth-century Cretan embroidery.⁶⁰ (Fig. 20) The male figure on the bottom right of the fragment appears

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of possible readings of the iconography see Paola Rossi, *Jacopo Tintoretto*, vol. 1 (Venezia: Alfieri, 1974), 64-65.

⁵⁷ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 216, 577.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 223. *Scapolo* means 'libero da soggezione'. (Boerio, DDV, 619).

⁵⁹ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 223.

⁶⁰ Most early embroideries which have survived are, unfortunately, in fragments. Walter Hauser mentions their appearance on pillow cases, valances, bed curtains, towels and on parts of women's

holding a lute and wearing long *vrakes*, a vest, shirt and a small red cap. A young man similarly clad and bearing a musical instrument appears on a pillowcase, serenading his love. (Fig. 21) His *braghese* are clearly depicted, as well as a scarf draped around his neck, called a πέτσα/*pezza* and worn by men in the countryside by the end of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ The female figure's apron with its characteristic band of needlework at the hemline and fringe, depicted in both figures above (Figs. 20 & 21) can also be seen in a twentieth-century photograph of the island's traditional female costume. (Fig. 22)

In conclusion, Vecellio's testimony supports Fragaki's position that *braghese* were worn aboard ships by Greek sailors. Furthermore, the same garment, albeit tailored in various fashions, was worn by knights and soldiers alike. It would appear that *braghese* were favoured by men involved in a physically active life. In Crete, *vrakes* came to be worn and, with time, associated with the countryside, the inhabitants of which were predominately indigenous. However, *vrakes* also appear in wills composed by Candiotes; Stefanos Gizis, whose inventory was discussed earlier, owned two pairs of *vrakes*, for example. Fragaki proposes that Cretan city-dwellers, most of whom had familial and business relationships with the extensive countryside that lay beyond the cities, might have worn *vrakes* when outside the city.⁶² This is confirmed in the documents regarding a peasant masquerading as a rector. His own attire, according to the authorities, included a pair of *braghese*.⁶³ Michelis Kondaratos who lived in the capital also owned a pair. In his 1526 will he left a pair of red *vrakes* and a black 'καββάδι'/kavadi, a long overcoat, to his father for the expenses of his burial.⁶⁴ Unfortunately no monetary estimate is offered for his breeches, nor the circumstances they were customarily worn.

clothing. (Walter Hauser, "Greek Island Embroideries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* New Series 1, no. 8 [April, 1943], 258).

⁶¹ Fragaki records several folk songs where *pezze* are mentioned. (Ευαγγελία Κ. Φραγκάκι [Fragaki], *Από την Κεντητική στην Κρήτη* [Αθήνα: s.n., 1979], 15) On the importance and many household and clothing uses of *pezze* in Crete see Ροδούλα Σταθάκη-Κούμαρη (Stathaki-Koumari), "Κατάλογος Κρητικών Υφασμάτων," *Κρητολογία* IV, no. Ιανουάριος - Ιούνιος (1977), 119-20.

⁶² Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 61.

⁶³ See section 'Una mascherata fatta in dispreggio del Clarissimo Rettor Faliero...' in following chapter.

⁶⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, 'Διαθήκη Μιχέλη Κονταράτου', f. B47r. cited in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 201.

3. The Trade of Fabrics and Clothes in Crete

The presence of clothes in notarial records allows us to place them in the homes of the past, to imagine them worn, bequeathed, pawned and sold. The language used to describe the items points to strong Venetian influences; Cretans had clearly adopted Venetian vocabulary to describe their clothing. Is there evidence regarding the trade of clothes and fabrics in Crete? Were items of clothing imported from Venice for the local urban elite? Were sartorial trends set in Venice emulated in the colony? The traffic between Crete and Venice was frequent: merchants, administrators, students, *galeotti*, family members. These roles cannot be seen as strictly distinct given that they often overlapped as in the case to be examined shortly when Quirina Calergi contracted her uncle to act as a purveyor of fine clothes in Venice. How did this bilateral movement affect the choices of clothing available and, ultimately, made by the Candiotes?

In his *relazione* presented before the *Gran Consiglio* on 17 April 1589, Zuanne Mocenigo, the repatriated *Provveditore Generale del Regno di Candia*, tried to persuade those present of the importance of introducing a new tax on wine in Crete.⁶⁵ He wrote that a kingdom as strong and great as that of Crete ('un Regno così potente, et così grande come quello') was draining the state coffers, while its inhabitants amassed personal wealth. The introduction of a tax on wine could contribute 34,000 ducats yearly to the Venetian treasury and, Mocenigo claims, the evidence of the Cretans' ability to provide this amount was in their extravagant lifestyle. Although there is no reason to question Cretans' material wealth, Mocenigo aimed to awaken the anger of his patrician compatriots, who were discontent with the increasing expences required for the island's defence and with Cretans' ungratefulness.⁶⁶ Mocenigo writes,

‘...quasi tutti essi Magnifici nobili, et alcuni de gl’ altri, si sono fatti commodi; et molti di loro richissimi, et opulentissimi: come assai bene lo dimostrano nelli loro vestimenti superbi, et in quelli delle loro donne superbissimi; et nelle feste e nei conviti, et nei mortorij, che fanno di pompa più che privata: cosa che non sono vedute in quel Regno, se non dopo la guerra; innanzi la quale vestivano positivamente le maniche a comedo; ne usavano le copiose argenterie

⁶⁵ Σπανάκης, ed., *Zuanne Mocenigo*, 203-8.

⁶⁶ Greene, *A Shared World*, 65.

c'ora usano. Però essendo essi passati in questi eccessi, e superfluità, che dinotano la ricchezza loro...⁶⁷

The *provveditore*'s comment regarding the 'maniche a comedo' is intriguing, if not puzzling. He claims that the excesses he describes could not to be found before the war, most probably the Ottoman-Venetian war which led to the loss of Cyprus (1570). Then the Cretans neither wore 'maniche a comedo' nor used lavish silverware. The former, from *gomito*, Tuscan for elbow, were tailored to hang like bells from the elbows.⁶⁸ In Venice the perceived extravagance of this dress style repeatedly provoked rebuke from the authorities. In 1503 the state had banned 'manege (maniche) a comedo' finding them to be 'an ugly fashion' which required three or more *brachia* of cloth and gold or silk for their execution.⁶⁹ Fashion, though, was always moving towards further extravagance and what was once considered excessive soon became outdated. When trends changed the older styles became more acceptable as the memory of their disapproval faded and moral indignation was channelled towards the more recent sartorial developments.

Four years after 'maniche a comedo' were criticised, on 4 January 1507 the Senate complained again about the ever-greater size of sleeves. 'And if [women] are granted the right to put six *brachia* [into the sleeves], in a few months they will grow to even larger size...', they bemoaned.⁷⁰ The sleeves targeted this time were 'manege ducali' and these were henceforth limited to 32 *brachia* of silk or 28 of serge or any other non-silken fabric.⁷¹ The excessive extravagance of this style becomes clear when one compares the six *brachia* for a pair of sleeves, mentioned previously, as compared to 32 *brachia*. 'Manege ducali' were originally worn only by the doge, procurators and doctors of medicine and were the most prestigious fashion for

⁶⁷ Ibid., 207.

⁶⁸ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 11. Frick discusses 'maniche a gozzi', from *gozzo*, a bird's crop, referring to their 'distinctive baglike shape.' She writes, '[t]hese very fashionable fifteenth-century sleeves hung full at the underside of the sleeve, then were gathered up at a wide wristband, creating a volume of fabric that hung with a certain degree of studied nonchalance...' (Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 192) Both Newton and Frick comment on the confusion regarding the etymology of this fashion. Whether *maniche a gozzi* or *a comedo*, the style appears to describe similar sleeves. For more on sleeve fashions see *ibid.*, 11-2; Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 158, 191-7.

⁶⁹ ASV, Senato, Terra, reg. 14, f. 197 cited in Diane Owen Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy, *Past and present publications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 89. For a list of garments and the amount of fabric required for their construction see Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, Appendix 3. It is worth noting, though, that the *braccio* varied among cities; Frick estimates that in Florence it was approximately a yard, which is 0.9144 metres. (*Ibid.*, 231).

⁷⁰ ASV, Senato, Terra, reg. 15, f. 190 cited in Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 90.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

sleeves.⁷² Returning to Mocenigo's text, 'maniche a comedo' stand in contrast to contemporary men's 'vestimenti superbi' and the 'superbissimi' clothes he observes on women. The style of 'maniche a comedo' had reached Crete by the mid-century and by 1589 when Mocenigo wrote his *relazione* this attire was considered demure and representative of a bygone period that was less extravagant and lavish than the present one. This passing comment as part of an argument on taxation, biased as it undoubtedly was, portrays the Cretans through the eyes of a high-ranking Venetian: Cretan nobles dressed opulently and splendidly, he tells us, and followed Venetian sartorial developments, albeit with a time lapse.

An inventory compiled in 1595 by an anonymous Greek merchant in Venice sheds light into the trade of fabrics, clothes and accessories, and specifically their import into Crete.⁷³ It is written in Greek interspersed with Venetian words and indexical traces of the Cretan dialect are also abundant. Based on this linguistic evidence, it is safe to say that the merchant was Cretan or had lived on the island for a substantial period. The account of the expenditure is painstakingly thorough and allows us to reconstruct not only the shipment he compiled for Chania, but also the duration of his stay in Venice (he records 10 ducats for renting a 'γκάμερα'/*camera* for five months); his professional activities and associations (fees for the 'φακίνοι'/*fakini/facchini*, porters, and the 'γοντελες'/*godeles/gondole* which transported the goods, as well as the 'φατόρο'/*fatoro/fattore*, the agent who helped him with the transactions);⁷⁴ and aspects of the storing and transporting of fabrics. The author also records details of the ship which took the merchandise to Crete: its name was 'Cagiana' or 'Cagliana', a ship known to travel the Venice-Constantinople route.⁷⁵ The total worth of the merchandise listed amounted to approximately 3,373 ducats.

The unknown merchant must have specialised in fabrics and clothing which composed the overwhelming majority of his purchases; significantly the closing line

⁷² Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 12.

⁷³ Ρένα Βλαχάκη (Vlachaki), "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά και Μεταφορά Εμπορευμάτων από τη Βενετία στα Χανιά (1595)," *Θησαυρίσματα* 17 (1980). For the circulation of fabrics in fifteenth-century Candia see Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου (Maltezos), "Βενετική Μόδα στην Κρήτη (Τα φορέματα μιάς Καλλεργοπούλας)," in *Byzantium. Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (Athens: s.n., 1986), 140, n. 8; for the trade of fabrics in earlier periods see Silvano Borsari, "Il Mercato dei Tessuti a Candia (1373-1375)," *Archivio Veneto* 178 (1994) and Serena Pollastri, "Il mercato dei tessuti a Creta alla fine del XIV secolo," *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005); for a list of fabrics circulating in Crete see Σταθάκη-Κούμαρη, "Κατάλογος Κρητικών Υφασμάτων."

⁷⁴ Βλαχάκη, "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά," 307.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

of the document reads, 'I put the above *clothes* in the ship, the Cagiana.'⁷⁶ A picture begins to emerge of the variety and sophistication of fabrics available in Crete, not only Venetian but also from beyond the Alps. Among others, the merchant mentions: 'φγιωρέτα πετζες'/fgioreta petzes /*fleuret pezze* 12,⁷⁷ a type of silk cloth; 'μετζασκοτα πετζες'/metsaskota petzes /*mezzo-scoto pezze* 9, a fabric with part-Scottish origin;⁷⁸ 'γρογραδες πετζες'/grogrades petzes /*grogranno pezze* 21, another type of silk;⁷⁹ 'σαγκαλα πετζες'/sangala petzes /*sangallo pezze* 10, an embroidered fabric from San Gallo (St Gallen);⁸⁰ 'ρασες σκλαβουνικαις πετζες'/rases sklavoukines petzes 9, pieces of coarse woollen fabric from Dalmatia;⁸¹ 'νταμπι μαβροκομαριτζο'/dabi mavro komaritzo brazza 54, 54 *brachia* of black *amarizo tabi*, a type of heavy silk. *Amarizo*, according to Boerio, describes an imprinted pattern which causes variations in the fabric's colour resembling sea-waves.⁸² In two cases, he paid for the fabric to be treated to enhance its appearance and durability - the term used is 'παρικιαδουρα'/parikiadoura/*apparecchiatura*.⁸³ For three of the fabrics the expenses included 'πονταδουρα'/pontadura, a word derived from the Italian *appuntatura* which referred to the addition of decorative stitching.⁸⁴ In terms of storing and transporting, the author enters the cost for the 'μπαντιλενα'/badilena/*bandinella*,⁸⁵ a cloth which was wrapped around precious fabrics to protect them from dust and tearing. Other fabrics were stored in *cassele*.⁸⁶

The shipment did not only contain fabrics: the merchant used 5 *brazza* of 'Λονδρα'/Londra (worth 3 ducats a *brazzo*) to make a 'γκαπα'/gapa/*gaban*,⁸⁷ a coat, worth 15 ducats. *Londra* was a type of cloth originally from London, possibly the

⁷⁶ 'Τα ανοθε ρουχα εβαλα ιστο καραβι τη Γιαγιανα'. Istituto Ellenico di Venezia, Παλαιό Αρχείο, reg. 120, loose document, verso cited in Βλαχάκη, "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά," 313. Emphasis my own.

⁷⁷ Istituto Ellenico di Venezia, Παλαιό Αρχείο, reg. 120, loose document. Vlachaki's unpacking of the document's terminology relies heavily on Alberto Tenenti, *Naufraiges, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise* (1592-1609), Paris: 1959. Indicatively these pieces of silk cost 456 ducats.

⁷⁸ *Scoto*, 'Specie di Drappo spinato di stame, così ditto perchè sul principio il migliore veniva di Scozia.' (Boerio, DDV, 634). The estimated cost was 257 ducats.

⁷⁹ Tenenti, *Naufraiges*, 637 cited in *ibid.*, 314. This material was significantly cheaper than the previous two costing 51 ducats.

⁸⁰ Βλαχάκη, "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά," 316.

⁸¹ 'Rassa' is a 'specie di panno di lana grosso ed assai ordinario: forse così detto dal Regno di Rascia, oggi di Servia, donde sarà stato portato.' (Boerio, DDV, 554).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸³ 'parechio (apparecchio). In tutte le manufatture di sete, nastri, berrette, cappelli ecc. questa parola significa il lustro e la consistenza, che si dà alle stoffe e ad altre merci per mezzo delle colle, gomme ed altre droghe disciolte nell'acqua.' (*Ibid.*, 472).

⁸⁴ 'Pontadura dei stramazzi, Impuntura.' (*Ibid.*, 521).

⁸⁵ 'Bandinela' in *ibid.*, 61.

⁸⁶ Βλαχάκη, "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά," 311.

⁸⁷ 'Gaban' is described as a 'mantello con maniche.' (Boerio, DDV, 294).

same as *londrina*, defined by Boerio as ‘una sorta di Panno venuto il primio da Londra, ed è una Specie di mezzo panno che fabbricasi ora fra noi a quella foggia.’⁸⁸ Furthermore, he bought 15 pairs of ‘καρτζογνα σταμε ντε Φιααντρα’/*kartzonia stame de Fiandra/calzone stame di Fiandra*, winter *calze* (hose) from Flemish wool, 15 dozens ‘καπελα ντε φελτρε’/*kapela de feltre/capelli di feltro*, felt hats, 3 dozens *καπελα το γκοπεγλιο/capela to gopeglio*, *capelli* (hats) of a material I have been unable to determine, one dozen ‘μπερετες ντε σαγια’/*beretes de sagia/berrette de saja- sagia or saia*, and two ‘μπερετες ντε βελουδες ριτζες’/*beretes de beloudes ritses/berrete di veludo rizzo*.⁸⁹

Barete or *barrette* formed part of Venetian men’s daily attire. The astute observer of Venetian life, Marin Sanudo (1466-1536), wrote that gentlemen and citizens were virtually indistinguishable as they wore the same outfit: a long black gown to the ground (*toga*), a black cap (*bareta*), and a black cloth or velvet stole, known as a *becho* or *bechetto*.⁹⁰ Given the quantity of hats in this shipment bound to Chania – totalling no less than 230 - it is safe to assume that Cretan men followed headgear fashions set in Venice. *Barete* and *cappelli* were also mentioned previously in Gizis’ inventory written in Candia and were also worn by Cretan embroidered male figures. (Fig. 23) Another testimony comes from an early twentieth-century photograph by Giuseppe Gerola.⁹¹ (Fig. 24) The photograph recorded a fresco depicting a sixteenth-century noble family of the Cretan countryside. The fresco was situated in the Church of St George in Voila, an abandoned medieval village in south-eastern Crete and portrayed both the father and his young son donning black *barete*. Furthermore, there is evidence that wealthier Cretans sometimes ornamented their headgear. In her final testament Iakoumina Synadini of Candia requests that her ‘μπερέταν μαύρην βελούδενην με τα μαργαριτάρια’, her black velvet *bareta* with pearls, be appraised and used to cover the expenses for her posthumous commemoration in Church.⁹²

⁸⁸ Ibid., 375.

⁸⁹ *Veludo rizzo* is velvet with uncut pile. (Ibid., 784).

⁹⁰ Marin Sanudo il Giovane, *La Città di Venetia*, p.22 cited in Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 9.

⁹¹ In 1899 the *Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* sent Giuseppe Gerola to Crete, which was Ottoman at the time, to record the Venetian monuments of the island. In many cases, his photographs remain the only surviving record of Venetian public and private architecture. The complete corpus of Gerola’s work is published in Spiridione Alessandro Curini and Lucilla Donati, eds., *Creta Veneziana: L'Istituto Veneto e la Missione Cretese di Giuseppe Gerola Collezione fotografata 1900-1902* (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1988).

⁹² ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 122, f.45r-v, Διαθήκη Ιακουμινας Συναδηνης, 11 January 1513 cited in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 60-1.

In addition to hats, our unknown merchant purchased two *cravatte*: one ‘δαμασκετο’/damasketo/damaschetto, a type of sanguine silk with a flowery pattern,⁹³ and another ‘dabi αμαριτζο’/dabi amarizo.⁹⁴ The cost of the first *cravatta* is recorded as 15 ducats and the second as 10; six and four times more expensive respectively than the value of the two listed firearms (‘αρκομπουζα’/archibugio), bought for 5 ducats; and a ‘λαγουτο’/lauto, a lute, valued also at approximately 5 ducats. The shipment also contained items used in fabric manufacture and treatment: 5 combs for weaving (‘κτεγναδες’/ktegnades), black and ‘ροβαν’/rovan/rovano, reddish, dye for *fleuret* fabric, and dye for 26 *fleuret* cloths recorded as ‘κολοραδα’/colorada/colorata, coloured.⁹⁵

The colour of clothes worn by state officials was closely regulated in Venice and early modern understanding of colour hues cannot be assumed to coincide with our own. Thus, for example, the Senators of the magistracy, unlike the *togati* of the *Maggior Consiglio*, who wore a black toga, were obliged from the age of twenty-five to wear colour.⁹⁶ ‘The colours allowed to those mature Venetian men who were not *popolani* and were allowed to wear the toga were...four, crimson, *pavonazzo*, scarlet and black, although only crimson and scarlet were strictly named as ‘colours’.⁹⁷ Black was not a colour. We can, therefore, deduce that the ‘coloured fabrics’ were not black or *pavonazzo*. The doge’s councillors were required to abstain from sombre clothes when in the presence of the head of state; such garments were permitted only in periods of personal mourning. The exception for periods of mourning, when black was worn, was lifted on 30 October 1433, when the Senate obliged the councillors to remain continuously in colour; wearing mourning attire when sessions were adjourned was viewed as ‘diminishing the glory of their country and office.’⁹⁸ A document entitled *Solenità et ceremonie che si costumano nella città di Candia* and dated 20 December 1595 offers evidence that the Venetians authorities also regulated

⁹³ ‘*Damasco, Dammasco o Dommasco e Damaschetto, Sorta di drappo di seta a fuori, di color rubicondo.*’ (Boerio, DDV, 217).

⁹⁴ Βλαχάκη, "Καταγραφή Εξόδων για Αγορά," 314.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 311 and 313.

⁹⁶ Sanudo, *Città*, p.22: ‘...le Senatori delli magistrati, mentre sono in officio...vanno vestiti de color per lezzi’ cited in Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 9, 157. Members from privileged backgrounds were permitted entry, if they were so inclined, at the age of 20 and, if willing to pay, as early as 18. (*Ibid.*, 157).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁸ Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 90-1; Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice," 249.

the colour of clothing in state ceremonies in their colony.⁹⁹ In the case of a Venetian noble's death 'gli eccellentissimi signori sono obligate metter la vezza (vesta) paonaza et andar sotto la loza (loggia) per aspettar che la precession di detto cadavero si passi...'¹⁰⁰ On Easter Sunday ('la domenica della Settimana santa') a change of the colours worn by the duca was required; he was obliged to attend mass in San Tito 'con la vesta rossa di raso', but 'doppo dinar (desinare) si va con la vesta paonazza.'¹⁰¹

More than just fabrics journeyed between Venice and Crete. A contract drafted in 1444 in Candia on behalf of the young Quirina Calergi authorized her uncle, Francesco Dandolo, to buy clothes for her in Venice.¹⁰² The contract states that in order for Quirina to dress in accordance with her social standing (*secundum conditionem meam*) and to please her husband, Antonio Muazzo, she requests that her uncle, using his own judgement and following her instructions, purchase clothes on her behalf. The contract makes clear that Francesco would not be responsible, however, for any damage or loss in transport.¹⁰³ Quirina's first order was for a dress of gold fabric (*vestitura texta cum auro*) and a purple cloak of velvet and silk or decorated with purple velvet on the top and bottom part.¹⁰⁴ Maltezou points out the extravagance of this request by juxtaposing the cost of the dress, a hundred ducats or 445 Cretan *hyperpera*, and the monthly wage of barrel-maker, around 6.5 *hyperpera*.¹⁰⁵ Another request for Venetian clothing appears in a sixteenth-century document from the Venetian-ruled island of Cefalonia, where a 'vesta' of the colour 'pavonazzo' from Venice has been ordered.¹⁰⁶

Clothes on rare occasions washed-up on the Crete's shores. A list of items lost at sea off the coast of the island compiled by the Cretan authorities on behalf of Turkish merchants on 26 January 1586 reveals the variety of fabrics and clothes circulating in the region. The merchants claimed that some of their *cassoni* survived

⁹⁹ MCV, Archivio Morosini-Grimani, b. 568-54, no. 3, ff. 1r-13v transcribed in Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 197-215.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 205.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 200. Similar clothing restrictions applied to the entrance into the city of the new *duca*, where the *capitano grande* was obliged to wear 'la vesta di raso rossa ducal' and for the 'ceremonia del sabbo santo' when the *duca* 'con li altri eccellentissimi signori portion la vesta ducal paonazza et la stolla di veludo paonazzo et il suo cameriero porta la stolla cremisa...' (Ibid., 197, 201).

¹⁰² Μαλτέζου (Maltezou), "Βενετική Μόδα στην Κρήτη," 141.

¹⁰³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 279 (Marco de Ugolinis) is published in ibid., 142.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 142-3.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 143.

¹⁰⁶ Τοπικό Ιστορικό Αρχείο Κεφαλληνίας, Νοτάριος Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος, 1573-1582, f 32 cited in Μαλτέζου, "Βενετική Μόδα στην Κρήτη," 146.

the shipwreck and were subsequently pillaged by the nearby villagers who became aware of the loot. Among the items listed, we find: ‘duoi paia di braghese l’uno di scarlato, et l’altro turchino di panno,’ ‘un paro di manighe di damasco rosso, un Zamberlucio di panno fin verde tre brazza di panno scarlato, trè ò quatro camise... un gaban negro di panno con mostra di panno rosso, una camisola rossa di panno fin, un zamberlucio di panno cremisin usado un Tuliman di panno verde, dieci paia di braghese di tela otille bianche, et otto camise...’¹⁰⁷ The ship had set sail eight days earlier from Tripoli di Barbaria, today in Libya, and was en route to Constantinople when its misfortune provided the opportunity for Cretans to freely acquire clothes.

4. Making Clothes: Venetian and Candiote *Sartori* (Tailors)

The fabric which was imported to Candia most frequently ended its journey in tailors’ workshops. Fragaki mentions a tailors’ guild with the Archangel Michail as a patron.¹⁰⁸ She further maintains that when Candia fell to the Turks some of its members moved to the Venetian island of Zante (Zakynthos) where they continued practising their trade.¹⁰⁹ Maltezou informs us that the guild, in fact, maintained a church dedicated to their patron, the ‘Archistrategos’, Commander-in-chief.¹¹⁰ Gerald Werdmüller, a Swiss general involved in the defence of Candia (1667-9), gives the names of over one hundred churches, both Latin and Greek, including four *San Michel*’s, two inside the city walls and two outside.¹¹¹ Further information points in the direction of the churches outside the city walls, in the *borgo*. On 24 November 1652 a public announcement was read out ‘for the intelligence of the Reverend Protopapas’ and the ‘Reverends Greek priests.’¹¹² The city’s authorities reprimanded the Orthodox clergy for their absence in Candia’s ritual processions, both ‘ordinarie et estraordinarie’; specifically the document mentions the procession in honour of the

¹⁰⁷ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 753, *registro* not foliated.

¹⁰⁸ Fragaki offer no reference. (Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 144) The patron saints of Venetian tailors were St. Barbara, an early Christian martyr, and St. Omobono, a medieval saint from Cremona, a city in the Venetian terraferma from the middle of the fifteenth and for most of the sixteenth century. (Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 116-27).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 209. The sobriquet refers to the Archangel Michael’s leadership of the angels Seraphim.

¹¹¹ Georgopoulou’s list is reproduced from Gerola, ‘Topografia delle chiese della città di Candia,’ *Bessarione* 22 no 1-4 (1918), 99-119 and 239-81. She has added, however, dates of construction and alternate names found in documents. Regarding the four St Michel’s: the one in the walls first appears in documents in 1376, the other in 1320; in the suburbs one can be traced back to 1320, while for the last no information is available. (Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, 41, 265-8).

¹¹² ASV, Duca di Candia, b.17, reg. 18, ff. 9v-10r. For a published transcription see Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 225-8.

Virgin Mary on the ‘giorno di Marti’, which began in St. Tito and ended in San Marco, as well as the weekly procession which took place every Saturday ‘come si fa anco a Benetia.’ Henceforth the Orthodox priests would have to promptly appear for these processions according to a weekly rota of the parish churches and in the list of churches for the fourth week’s procession we come across ‘San Michel Arcangelo di sartori.’ Other churches associated with guilds are ‘Santo Elia di mureri’, ‘Santo Spirito di bastasi’¹¹³ and Santa Croce di calafati.’¹¹⁴

Craftsmen or *artigiani* were the third social estate in the Venetian social hierarchy, following those of the patricians and the *cittadini*. In most cases craftsmen were members of an *arte*, an organization defined by Brian Pullan as ‘consist[ing] of all persons legally entitled to exercise a particular trade’, and they also belonged to a *scuola*, or a ‘religious brotherhood consisting of persons who came together to honour saints, maintain altars and lights, and assist each other in times of distress.’¹¹⁵ Pullan translates the term ‘*arte*’ as ‘craft’ - keeping *scuola*, on the other hand, unchanged -, but he clarifies that ‘in practice Venetians often used the terms interchangeably.’¹¹⁶ The English guild is conventionally used to convey the concept of the Italian *arte*. The relationship between *arte* and *scuole*, Frederic C. Lane points out, was strictly speaking an organic one. The *scuole* had formed spontaneously as associations of religious devotion which met in the parish churches of their members. By the twelfth century certain *scuole* were composed of men working in the same trade or craft, which led to the *scuola* taking on the activities that came to be associated with *arti*, guilds.¹¹⁷ Membership in a guild provided religious and social benefits and, crucially, allowed the elected representatives of the *arte* to petition the authorities regarding the interests of their members.¹¹⁸ In Venice, unlike in some other city-states, the governing councils of guilds could not participate in the communal governing bodies; instead the Venetian *arti* were subordinate to governmental magistrates and acted as transmitters of state policies and regulations to their members, the *artigiani*.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ A *bastaso* is a ‘[f]acchino impregato al servizio delle dogane e de’ Lazzaretti.’ (Boerio, DDV, 67).

¹¹⁴ Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 227-8.

¹¹⁵ Chambers and Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History*, 280.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 105.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 313-4.

¹¹⁹ Chambers and Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, 281. For a case of early-modern industrial dispute, in specific a strike by shearmen in 1556 who were demanding higher prices for each finished piece see Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 314.

In accordance with Venetian practices *arti* and confraternities were present in Crete's capital and were obliged to participate in ritual processions bearing their *insegne* and led by their elected members.¹²⁰ *Arti* brought together men practising the same craft (evidence regarding women has yet to emerge) and Cretan confraternities were organised along denominational lines. Catholic confraternities were founded first in emulation of the organization of Western societies and drew members from the noble and *citadini* classes; Orthodox confraternities followed suit.¹²¹ Based on surviving evidence, it seems safe to assume that Venetians imposed the same organization in the colonial context.

The tailors' guild was among the first recorded and officially regulated guilds in Venice; as early as 1219 they are recorded as revising their statutes and, thus, laying down the basic regulations (*capitulari*) of their trade.¹²² Other guilds established at such an early date included those of jacket-makers, goldsmiths and jewellers, dyers, coopers, cordage makers and barber-surgeons.¹²³ A month after the *capitulari* were issued for the *Scuola dei Sartori*, in March 1219, similar rules were set for the *giubbonari*, *zuparii* or *giubbettieri*, jacket-makers.¹²⁴ In this manner the tailors responsible for outer garments and those for the clothes that were worn beneath them, the *zuponi*, were distinguished.¹²⁵ Almost three centuries later there was a move for the establishment of a third guild relating to clothing: the makers of

¹²⁰ Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 139-40. For the dispute over precedence in the *Corpus Domini* procession between painters and sailors see *ibid.*, 140; for the transcribed document see Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου (Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou), "Ειδήσεις για τη Συντεχνία των Ζωγράφων του Χάνδακα τον 16ο Αιώνα," in *Πεπραγμένα Του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου- 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1979)* (Αθήνα: Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, 1981), 137-42.

¹²¹ Αγγελική Πανοπούλου (Panopoulou), "Πλούσιοι και Φτωχοί Μέλη Θρησκευτικών Αδελφοτήτων στην Κρήτη της Βενετικής Περιόδου," in *Πλούσιοι και Φτωχοί στην Κοινωνία της Ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, ed. Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου (Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βενέτίας, 1998), 229, 232. Alvise Grimani mentions five catholic confraternities in 1610 with nobles, merchants, soldiers, artisans and *cittadini* as members. (*Ibid.*, 225).

¹²² Among these regulations were attempts to protect clients against fraud, rules to ensure only good quality cloth was used and the correct quantity was quoted to the client, and that workmanship was of a high standard. Following standard practises, their workshops, located around the Rialto, were not allowed to be open on Sundays and public holidays. (Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 106; Newton, *The Dress of Venetians*, 127).

¹²³ Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 106. For a discussion of the organization of tailors in Florence for comparative purposes see Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 13-31, esp Table 2.1 'Florentine Clothiers and the Seven Guilds That Controlled Them (ca.1415).'

¹²⁴ Newton, *The Dress of Venetians*, 127.

¹²⁵ Newton suggests that this distinction could have occurred because the construction of *zuponi* involved materials other than just cloth, such as leather and cotton-wool. (*Ibid.*)

taie calce, following internal altercations in 1492, attempted unsuccessfully to separate themselves from the *Scuola dei Sartori*.¹²⁶

Sartoresse, women employed in the art of clothes-making, were subject to the same rules as men.¹²⁷ Carole Collier Frick writes that female tailors in fifteenth-century Florence ‘worked outside the guild system informally or sewed at home for the *bottega* of a *maestro sartore*.’¹²⁸ Although women tailors were mentioned occasionally in guild regulations, Frick maintains there was a clear distinction between a male tailor and a female seamstress in Renaissance Florence.¹²⁹ Tailors, according to Frick, were involved in the more lucrative and high-end aspects of the business, whereas professional women were called to cut the piece of clothing which was later ‘stitched, lined, and trimmed by the women of the family.’¹³⁰ ‘Cloistered single women (or formerly cloistered married women)’ made the *biancheria* or *panni lini* for wealthy families.¹³¹ *Camiciiai*, the craftswomen responsible for both family linen and *camicie*, were often cloistered, but not always.¹³² The low trading cost of linen and *camicie* made these items uninteresting to those regulating the clothing market and informal female networks could therefore dominate their production. Frick states that “[t]his intimate ‘woman’s work’ provided the clothing layer next to one’s skin, while the professional (male) tailor was increasingly called upon to make the public layer of formal, decorated attire.”¹³³ The handiwork of women in convents and the issue of gendered labour will be discussed further in the chapter. Suffice to ask at this point whether the Florentine division of labour was representative of this period. In other words, given that the Cretan records have thus far only provided names of male tailors, can one assume a similar division of labour as in Florence? Were the (male) members of the tailors’ guild responsible for creating the formal, outer garments of urban Cretans, while seamstresses and networks of women (cloistered or not) laboured in providing auxiliary services?

¹²⁶ Ibid., 128. For a discussion of the type of arguments put forth by the authorities regarding the organization of new guilds (in this case the candlemakers’ request to be separated from the grocers’ guild) see Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 314-6.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 230.

¹²⁹ There were, however, exceptions and records have survived noting female tailors as heads of households. Their numbers, though, steadily declined. For details see *ibid.*, 19.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 39.

¹³³ Ibid., 40.

For retracing the presence of tailors in Crete, who were known as ‘σαρτούροι’/*sartouri/sartori*, ‘history’s whispers’, the notarial records again prove helpful. My research thus far has not brought to light a direct reference to the tailors guild. However, in Gregoropoulos’ records ‘σαρτούροι’/*sartouri* are found as testators, as deceased husbands of testatrices, as witnesses and as ‘στιμάρη’/*stimari*, a Cretan lexical variation of ‘στιμαδόρος’/*stimador*, a person who compiles a *stima*, an inventory. The master tailor Nikolaos Kalliopoulos (Νικόλαος Καλλιόπουλος) has already been discussed for leaving his old clothes to his young servant.¹³⁴ In his last testament dated 31 May 1525, Kalliopoulos makes provisions for his workshop (‘το εργαστήριο μου’). He explains that it has been rented (and paid for) until the nineteenth of the coming October and that if his ‘λαβοράτες’/*laborates*, workers from the Italian verb *laborare*, are contracted and looked after, and a new ‘μάστορας’/*mastoras/maestro* is found he can take over the workshop providing he pay for half of its ‘φουρνιμέντα’/*fournimenta/fornimento*, its outfitting.¹³⁵ The remaining half of the *fornimento*, excluding the large, white Venetian ‘casella’/*cassone*, Kalliopoulos bequeaths to his mother and sister. In the case that the workers do not agree to continue in the workshop, he writes, everything should be given to his two female relatives. On the content of a tailor’s *bottega*, Frick writes that their goods were sparse as ‘[t]ailoring was evidently an art that relied primarily on skill with scissors and needle, not an inventory of goods.’¹³⁶ Unfortunately, no specific mention is made on the content of the Cretan’s workshop, its location, or the tailors’ guild. We do find out that his workshop employed more than one contracted worker and a master-tailor was required to run it. In Venice, where the trade occurred on a much grander scale, there were stated objectives for matriculating to the status of master-tailor. For the maker of *veste* to become a master he had to exhibit competence in making all types of *veste* for both men and women; in the case of doublet-makers, he had to be able to make *zuponi* with sleeves and also with fur.¹³⁷ In Crete there is no evidence to suggest that tailors specialised in outer and inner garments; in a more provincial environment these distinctions appear not to have

¹³⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b.122, ‘Διαθήκη Νικολάου Καλλιόπουλου’, ff. B 34r-45v cited in Γρηγορόπουλος, *Διαθήκες*, 186-9.

¹³⁵ Boerio defines *fornimento* as clothing (*abbigliamento*), or, in the case of a room or church as hangings (*paramento*). (Boerio, DDV, 283).

¹³⁶ Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 65.

¹³⁷ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 128-9.

been upheld. A master-tailor like Kalliopoulos was probably able to make a wide range of clothes.

Sartoresse, who were formally addressed in the statute-books of the Venetian guild, are not present in the Cretan documents I have thus far consulted. Yet, in Marcantonio Foskolos' *Φορτουνάτο*/Fortunato, a comedy written during the siege of Candia by the Turks, one of the poem's character mentions a 'μαστόρισσα'/mastorissa, the female variant of *maestro*, and wonders whether the clothes she is making will be prepared by nightfall.¹³⁸ Koukoules maintains that Cretan seamstresses were responsible for the creation of women's garments.¹³⁹ The poet Foskolos offers another first-hand account in *Fortunato* which verifies the influx of both materials and clothing styles from Venice to Candia: 'in our Kastro – Candia -, ' he writes, 'all the women dress *a la forestiera*', in the 'foreign style.'¹⁴⁰

5. The Art of Embroidery in Crete

Embroidered patterns, polychrome and monochrome, were generously applied to embellish and beautify garments and household linen in Crete. The art of embroidery was practised widely across the Aegean and mainland Greece; this led, on the one hand, to the development of localised styles of needlework, and, on the other, to the transport of motifs across media and geographical distances.¹⁴¹ The extant samples of Cretan embroidery, such as fragmented skirt borders, bed-tents, bed-covers, hand-towels and pillow-cases, testify to a creative re-interpretation of contemporary Venetian patterns for lace and fabrics, and at the same time an adherence to Byzantine motifs. Fabric ornamentation whether on cloth, worn directly

¹³⁸ Φραγκάκι, *Από την Κεντητική στην Κρήτη*, 11. For biographical information on Foskolos and a summary of *Furtounatos*, which has survived in an autograph copy bearing the date 1655 see Στυλιανός Αλεξίου (Alexiou), "Η Κρητική Λογοτεχνία κατά τη Βενετοκρατία," in *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. Νικόλαος Μ. Παναγιωτάκης (Ηράκλειο: Σύνδεσμος Τοπικών Ενώσεων Δήμων & Κοινοτήτων Κρήτης, 1988), 221-2.

¹³⁹ Κουκουλές, "Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν," 49.

¹⁴⁰ 'όλες εδώ στο Κάστρο μας ηγού αλά φορεσιτιέρα'. (Foskolos, *Fortunatos*, v 500 cited in Φραγκάκι, *Γυναικεία Φορεσιά*, 46.)

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of Greek island embroidery, as well as work from the mainland region of Epirus see Pauline Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1972); Sumru Belger Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region: Harpies, Mermaids, and Tulips* (London: Scala, 2006); Roderick Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus* (New York: Interlink Books; Yeovil: Marston House/Taylor Kerwin, 1998); James Trilling, *Aegean Crossroads: Greek Island Embroideries in The Textile Museum* (Washington: The Textile Museum, 1983); Benaki Museum, *Crete, Dodecanese and Cyclades Embroideries* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1966); idem, *Skyros Embroideries* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1965); idem, *Epirus and Ionian Islands Embroideries* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1965).

on the body, or used in the Cretan home would have featured prominently in the sixteenth-century material environment. The fabric of Cretan dresses which has survived is hand-loomed linen or a combination of linen warp and cotton weft; the embroidery yarns are silk from the unspun surplus of silk locally produced for export and hand-dyed with vegetable dyes.¹⁴²

The archival silence on women professionally declared as seamstresses should not divert attention away from women's household labour. Vincenzo Cornaro in *Ερωτόκριτος* /*Erotokritos*, one of the classical works of the 'Cretan Renaissance', writes of a youth who fell in love with a girl he saw 'sitting on the windowsill with prudence and order, holding a cloth and embroidering with silk.'¹⁴³ From an early age weaving, sowing, mending, and embroidering household linen and clothing were common activities for Cretan women, as for the vast majority of the female sex before the industrial revolution. Judith Brown's scholarship on women's contribution to the procurement of food in preindustrial societies "found that the issue of whether or not the community *relies* upon women as the chief providers of a given type of labor depends upon 'the compatibility of this pursuit with the demands of child care'."¹⁴⁴ Building on this, Elizabeth Wayland Barber suggests that textiles became the craft *per excellence* of women as '... the crafts of spinning, weaving, and sewing: [were] repetitive, easy to pick up at any point, reasonably child-safe, and easily done at home.'¹⁴⁵ Prior to their marriage young girls, aided by their female relatives, used their embroidering skills to prepare their trousseaux. In addition to their own handiwork, heirlooms were inherited and taken by the bride to her new home.¹⁴⁶

Fragaki mentions *κεντήστρες* /*kentistres/embroiderers*, women who embroidered professionally, and in this way provided additional income for their

¹⁴² van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," 289.

¹⁴³ Βιτσέντζος Κορνάρος (Kornaros), ed., *Ερωτόκριτος*, Δ' ed. (Εστία, 1995), Part 2, vv 607-610. *Erotokritos* was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century and first published in Venice in 1713. It became hugely popular among the Greek-speaking people and is considered one of the most important Greek works of its time. For biographical information on Cornaros (1553-1613), a member of the 'hellenised veneto-cretan noble family', and a discussion of his works see Αλεξίου, "Κρητική Λογοτεχνία," 215-6; Κορνάρος, ed., *Ερωτόκριτος*, γ-μστ.

¹⁴⁴ Judith Brown, 'Note on the Division of Labor by Sex', *American Anthropologist* 72: 1074 -1078 cited in Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years. Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times* (New York; London: Norton, 1994), 30.

¹⁴⁵ Barber, *Women's Work*, 30.

¹⁴⁶ Dowries for the most part belonged to women, reverted to them on their husbands' deaths and could be dispersed at their own discretion in their final testaments. (Lilo Markrich, "Embroidery-A Mirror of Social Expression," in *Aegean Crossroads: Greek Island Embroideries in The Textile Museum*, ed. James Trilling [Washington: The Textile Museum, 1983], 51-6).

households.¹⁴⁷ Female convents were also centres of embroidery in the past. Frick provides an image of nuns quietly embroidering: ‘besides praying, such [cloistered] young women...could devote their energies to the hypnotic involvement of daily needlework within the confines of conventual life...’¹⁴⁸ Fragaki maintains that cloistered nuns in the numerous Cretan convents embroidered pieces on demand, contributing to the monasteries’ incomes. Ioanna Papantoniou maintains that in the ‘Frankish’ (Catholic), monasteries in the Cyclades, Crete and the East Aegean, nuns were taught to work lace that was later sold to the West.¹⁴⁹ These lace patterns, according to the author, were later copied in their embroidery patterns by the islanders. The new medium of hand-spun linen and cotton cloth decorated with bright-coloured silk threads completely altered the prevailing aesthetic of the Italian lace pattern giving birth to hybrid material artefacts.¹⁵⁰ Apart from decorative, secular needlework Fragaki mentions Eleni Koukou’s research into the inventory of the Orthodox convent for Greek women in Venice (*Ορθοδόξου Μονής Ευγενών Ελληνίδων της Βενετίας*), where many Cretan nuns lived, which lists embroidered icons.¹⁵¹ The author believes such icons were also produced in Crete, which was famous, after all, for its icon production and export.¹⁵² Unfortunately, no archival records have emerged to date to support the export of embroidered icons, or, alternatively, an internal demand for these religious artefacts.

¹⁴⁷ Φραγκάκι, *Γυναικεία Φορεσιά*, 19. This activity continued until recently in Greece. My grandmother’s trousseau in the middle of the previous century was partly prepared by professional embroiderers on the island of Lesbos.

¹⁴⁸ Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 42. Convents were centres of embroidery as far away as England. On English convent embroidery and the Church’s reservations on such activities see Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the making of the feminine* (London: Women’s Press, 1984), 42-3.

¹⁴⁹ Ioanna Papantoniou, *Greek Dress; From Ancient Times to the Early 20th Century*, trans. Dr. David A. Hardy (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 2000), 166. Papantoniou and Fragaki do not offer further references.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Fragaki offers only the page number (153) for Koukou’s reference.

¹⁵² Greek icon painters, *Maddoneri*, produced icons (primarily of the Virgin and Child) in the Byzantine style, known at the time as ‘*maniera greca*.’ Crete had the prevailing share of this market, exporting large numbers of icons to Venice. A 1499 order for an impressive seven hundred icons of the Virgin Mary to be painted by three Cretan artists attests to the popularity of these artefacts. (M. Cattapan, ‘Nuovi documenti riguardanti pittori cretesi dal 1300 al 1500’, *Πεπραγμένα του Β’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Τ, [Αθήνα, 1968], 211-3 cited in Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου (Constantoudaki-Kitromelidou), “Οι Κρητικοί Ζωγράφοι και το Κοινό τους: Η Αντιμετώπιση της τέχνης τους στη Βενετοκρατία,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26, 256-8) For more on Cretan icons indicatively see *From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek frescoes and icons*, (s.l.: Greek Ministry of Culture, 1987); Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, “Le icone e l’arte dei pittori greci a Venezia. Maestri in rapporto con la confraternita greca,” in *I Greci a Venezia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio; Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998*, ed. Maria Francesca Tiepolo ed Eurigio Tonetti (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002).

Although to a great extent embroidering was a female activity, it was not exclusively so. In the Byzantine era the decoration of fabrics used in church rituals, such as sacerdotal vestments, was conventionally the work of monks who continued the tradition of the male *χρυσορράπτες/chryssoraptes*.¹⁵³ The opulent decoration of these ritual garments using gold thread gave rise to the term ‘golden’ to their maker’s professional designation, ‘golden tailors.’¹⁵⁴ In Florence, Frick discusses the *ricamatori*, male embroiderers, who belonged to the *arte della seta*, the silk guild.¹⁵⁵ The term, however, typically referred to the male dealer in embroidery items produced by women.¹⁵⁶ Rozsika Parker highlights such labour division in *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the making of the feminine*. In her discussion of *Opus Anglicanum*, the ecclesiastical embroidery produced in England from approximately 900 to 1500, she notes that it was Victorian historians who were responsible for the impression that these were primarily men’s productions. These later historians ‘imposed their ideal sexual division of labour’ on earlier embroidery production.’¹⁵⁷ Parker argues that the advent of guild organization, which sought to distinguish between professional and private lives, the domestic and the public spheres, served to gradually marginalise women from the production process. Women continued to work as embroiderers - and in other crafts such as ‘chandlers, painters, ironmongers, netmakers, shoemakers, smiths and goldsmiths’ -¹⁵⁸ but as the mid-sixteenth century guild structures moved towards increasingly rigid structures and hierarchies, women were assigned to embroidering at home. Thus, embroidering became an amateur activity seen as suitably and with time quintessentially, ‘feminine’; this process of domestication of both women and embroidery was so

¹⁵³ Φραγκάκι, *Γυναικεία Φορεσιά*, 13. In later centuries, embroidered heirlooms were often donated to religious institutions as industrially-produced clothes became fashionable and these items no longer served an immediate purpose in households. A robe at the Victoria and Albert Museum pieced together from fabric with a monochrome embroidered border, characteristically Cretan, bears a faded mark of a cross on the back. This sacerdotal vestment was clearly created from ‘recycled’ material. (V&A, T.703-1950).

¹⁵⁴ For examples of such icons see 'Αγγελος Δελιβοριάς (Delivorias), *Οδηγός του Μουσείου Μπενάκη* (Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 2000), 71; Trilling, *Aegean Crossroads*, 18.

¹⁵⁵ Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 53.

¹⁵⁶ Names of women engaged professionally in embroidery rarely survived. Mona Chaterina, a widow resident in Borgo San Frediano in Florence is recorded as a ‘ricamatrice’. (Ibid., 54).

¹⁵⁷ Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 45.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 46.

successful, Parker writes, that '[t]o know the history of embroidery is to know the history of women.'¹⁵⁹

Most extant samples of Cretan embroidery are conventionally assigned to the eighteenth century. In the V&A's guide to Greek island embroidery, Pauline Johnstone notes that these dates are 'in fact no more than guesswork.'¹⁶⁰ Although, dating works is challenging our knowledge of embroidery production permits the assumption that existing patterns reflect the ones that preceded them.¹⁶¹ 'Once a design was established in a certain island,' writes Johnstone, 'it appears to have been repeated almost stitch for stitch by succeeding generations.'¹⁶² A conservative medium *par excellence*, in both patterns and colours, Cretan skirt embroideries present the modern eye with a uniform aesthetic, one that is instantly discernable from the prevailing aesthetic of other Aegean regions. Cretan embroidery ran along the hem-line of 'the long shift-like *poukamiso*, which did not have a bodice but hung from two shoulder straps supporting a thick gathered band that would have set on the breasts.'¹⁶³ (Figs. 25, 26) In Greek the words φουστάνι/foustani, and πουκάμισο/poukamiso are used to describe these garments.¹⁶⁴ Each skirt was made 'of five loom widths, 50 cm wide, of a fairly heavy and coarse home-woven linen.'¹⁶⁵ In later times, shirts embroidered along the cuff-line were worn underneath the dress. The needlework on the sleeves of a shirt from the Ottoman period conforms to our knowledge of earlier costumes.¹⁶⁶ (Figs. 27, 28) The impressive width of the sleeves indicates the garment was intended for ceremonial use, perhaps a wedding celebration. Such an assumption is supported by a letter written in 1931 by Charlotte C. Boys-Smith, daughter of Thomas B. Sandwith, one of the early collectors of

¹⁵⁹ Parker also discusses the rise of the Renaissance notion of the individual artist as genius and its association with speed of execution. These ideas served to devalue embroidery, often a collective effort which demanded labour, patience and persistence. (Ibid., 80-1).

¹⁶⁰ Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 9. Also see Wace, *Catalogue of a Collection of Old Embroideries*, xxiv.

¹⁶¹ On the complexity of dating these works see Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 29.

¹⁶² Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 6.

¹⁶³ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 110. A *poukamiso* is defined by the author as 'a woman's shift, worn singly or in layers.' (Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 190). Also see Κουκουλές, "Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν," 43.

¹⁶⁴ Zora, Popi, *Embroideries and Jewellery of Greek National Costumes*, (Athens: Museum of Greek Folk Art, 1981), 10-1 cited in van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," 289.

¹⁶⁵ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 110.

¹⁶⁶ The shirt's length is 181cm and the sleeves' width 171cm. (Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 104).

Greek embroideries.¹⁶⁷ Boys-Smith was responding to letter by A. J. B. Wace, keeper of textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, who had asked her for information regarding her father's embroidery donation. She wrote, 'When my father bought these petticoats etc the peasants still wore them I believe on fête days. But their extreme poverty after the frequent disturbances in the island obliged them to part with them, and they often wept as they brought them for sale'¹⁶⁸

The Benaki Museum in Athens holds a rare piece donated to the Museum in the 1930's by King George II of Greece - a complete Cretan dress with its original shoulder straps from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.¹⁶⁹ (Fig. 29) The hem of this dress, embroidered thirty centimetres deep, is a typical sample of the polychrome variety of Cretan skirt borders. Typically the depth of these borders varied from approximately 25 cm on the earlier samples to as much as 70 cm in the later ones.¹⁷⁰ A French traveller in the region, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708), provides a contemporary engraving depicting the way these garments were worn. Tournefort, a French botanist, penned the *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1717) after travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean with the painter Claude Aubriet in 1700-2.¹⁷¹ The skirt and shirt in the engraving entitled 'Candiotes' closely resemble those displayed at the Benaki and V&A. (Fig. 30) Although, there is no indication of embroidery in Tournefort, a hem line with two tucks is distinguishable on the engraved figure which can also be found in the surviving samples of dresses. It is unclear whether this was purely an aesthetic

¹⁶⁷ While British Council in Chania (1870-1885), Sandwith amassed a collection of approximately 160 items, primarily specimens of bobbin lace (104), to be discussed shortly, and skirt pieces (56). In 1876 these were donated to the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum), the first donation of its kind to a British institution. Unfortunately, the donation included no information on the provenance of these works. Additional donations were offered by Sandwith's daughter (1953 and 1967) and granddaughter (1977). (Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 109, 175, 189.; Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 5) For a brief discussion of the collections of Cretan embroideries in Greece, in specific the Benaki Museum and the Museum of Greek Folk Art, both in Athens, see Catherine van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," *Hali* 5, no. 3 (1999); for a detailed account of the early collectors of Greek island embroidery see Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 175-86, and Ann French, "The Greek Embroidery Collecting of R.M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace," in *Scholars, Travels, Archives: Greek History and Culture through the British School of Athens: proceedings of a conference held at the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 6-7 October 2006* ed. Michael Llewellyn Smith, Pascalis M. Kitomilides, and Eleni Calligas (London: British School of Athens, 2009).

¹⁶⁸ V&A, MA 1B2164. I would like to thank Ann French for generously sharing this document with me. Also see Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 109.

¹⁶⁹ van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," 287. See also Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region*, 17. The mannequin at the Museum is wearing a shirt underneath the dress, which is sleeveless.

¹⁷⁰ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 110.

¹⁷¹ Leonora Navari, *Η Ελληνική Ενδυμασία: Έντυπες πηγές από το 16ο-20ο αιώνα από τη Συλλογή Ι.Α. Κοιλαλού* (s.l.: Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 2006), 350.

feature or served a structural purpose, such as allowing adjustments in the length of the skirt or, perhaps, hiding the seamline which attached the lower, embroidered part to the upper one. The depth of the pleats, especially one at the V&A leads me to favour the former. (Fig. 25) The absence of embroidery in Tournefort's engraving could indicate the depicted costumes were daily outfits and not the ornamented ones reserved for special occasions. Moreover, in compliance with Orientalist fantasies and stereotypes of the sensuality and lasciviousness of Eastern women, Tournefort reveals the Cretan's bust to the viewer. Throughout *Relation d'un Voyage*, in fact, the women are eroticised: The 'Femme de Metelin' unabashedly exposes her naked breasts.

One of the more unusual samples of skirt borders depicts a Cretan dance circle: women, wearing long skirts, and men in *vrakes* hold on to either ends of handkerchiefs, forming a line of dancers. (Fig. 31) The leading dancer and the one at the tail of the line perform dexterous pirouettes, a feature of Greek folk dances still observed today. The embroidery is executed in monochrome red silk and the chain of dancers move among stylised flower motifs, while the continuous frieze beneath them offers the ground on which the dance occurs. Roderick Taylor discusses 'one spectacular skirt collected by Sandwith' which he believes to be among the earliest 'Italianate' works. His description could easily refer to this item. He writes, 'The figures are dressed in renaissance costume, the men wearing a variety of hats and caps and even crowns, and the women in the basic *poukamiso* with narrow sleeves.'¹⁷²

More common, however, are the polychrome borders with intricate stylised vegetal patterns stemming from vases. Many varieties of animals live in the embroidered vegetation: from the smallest birds to peacocks, stags, rabbits, monstrous snakes, and elfish creatures, which in one instance even carry machetes. (Figs. 32, 33) A continuous frieze runs along the bottom of the embroidery forming a border at the hem of the fabric. These intricate patterns are created using yarn of vivid shades of red, green, blue, yellow, black and white, creating an overall effect which is animated and vibrantly colourful.

¹⁷² Ibid., 111. Johnstone has published an almost identical embroidery which is attributed to the Sandwith collection. This might be Taylor's "'Italianate' work." Its caption reads, 'Detail from a skirt border. Crete. Red silk on linen and cotton, Cretan feather, satin, chain and whipped stem stitches... Sandwith Collection. 2047-1876.' (Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 101).

The two-tailed mermaid and the double-headed eagle stand out as the most popular motifs in Cretan embroidery. Taylor adopts the English term gorgon to describe this half-woman, half-fish, probably transliterating the Greek *γοργόνα/gorgona*, mermaid.¹⁷³ Catherine van Steen Haywood claims the medieval motif reached Crete via Italy and points specifically to Etruscan funerary monuments and grave *stele*, where similar figures can be found.¹⁷⁴ The mermaid in Cretan embroidery is conventionally portrayed as a woman naked down to her navel where her body splits into two fish tails, which she holds to either side with outstretched arms. (Figs. 34, 35) The preference for a frontal representation, according to van Steen Haywood, dates back to twelfth-century version of the motif.¹⁷⁵ An antique example can be found in an Etruscan ash urn from 3rd- 2nd century BC; the Etruscan variation is portrayed with two wings, a double tail and anchors in both hands.¹⁷⁶ Sumru Belger Krody writes: ‘... she [the mermaid] appears most of the time as a kind of fish-demon, of which the fish is the serpent in disguise, the one that lost her humanity. She has been seen as an original mother, a protectress, and at the same time a ferocious seductress who sang bewitchingly and drew men to their death.’¹⁷⁷ Crete’s intimate ties to the sea could, perhaps, account for the popularity of this mythical sea creature.

The other ubiquitous motif in Cretan embroidery is the double-headed eagle, another mythical creature, in this case with links to the Byzantine era. There it symbolised the Empire’s claims to east and west, to the lands spreading between the rising and setting of the sun. A Byzantine representation of the double-headed eagle can be seen on the small glazed bowl (Fig. 36) and a bejewelled pontifical pendant. (Fig. 37) Taylor writes that ‘[i]n later iconography, particularly in the Christian parts of the Ottoman Empire, it [the eagle] became both a religious and a political symbol;

¹⁷³ The mythical Gorgons, Medusa the most famous of the three, could petrify those who looked at them. Like mermaids they were victims of grotesque metamorphosis.

¹⁷⁴ van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," 289.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ The figure’s depiction is frontal; she has wings and a double tail and holds anchors in both hands. The author writes that ‘she has been equated with the monster Skylla, who protected the passage at the Strait of Messina between Sicilly and the peninsula of Italy.’ (Nancy Thompson de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006], 228) I would like to thank Tom Rasmussen for his help with the Etruscan reference.

¹⁷⁷ Michel Cazenave, ‘Melusine’ in *Encyclopedie des Symbols*, 403-4; Cazenave, ‘Sirene’ in *ibid.*, 634-6; Oxford English Dictionary 1989, vol. 6, 637 cited in Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region*, 15. The Sirens, half-woman, half-bird, featured in Homer’s *Odyssey*, where they tried to lure the Argonauts with their seductive song to their island with the intention of devouring them. (Grimal and Kershaw, *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 403).

Skanderberg used it as a symbol of Albanian resistance to the Turks in the sixteenth century [sic], and in Epirus it became the emblem of the endurance of the Orthodox Church.¹⁷⁸ We have come across the double-headed eagle in the family crest of the Calergi family, where it clearly asserted the family's claims to Byzantine lineage. (Fig. 10) It should be noted that apart from the imperial eagle, birds in general were popular decorative motifs. A Byzantine, glazed bowl features a bird similar to ones found in Cretan embroidery. (Fig. 38)

Embroideries display a persistent adherence to convention and an overall tendency towards repetition of inherited iconographical patterns. Their makers, however, often diverted slightly from the common motifs, creating visually playful and inventive personal pattern variations. On rare occasions embroiderers dated and signed their works: a skirt border collected by Sandwith carries the inscription '1733 εγω γεω γραμ κο το καμ', 'I Geo(rgia) Gram(...) ko(...) made it.'¹⁷⁹ This departure from anonymity and the action of leaving a visible trace of one's labour on the work, Georgia writes in demotic Greek 'I made it', is one of the rarer instances of personalising embroideries.¹⁸⁰ Echoing painters' signatures, the embroiderer had the confidence to claim an artefact as the fruit of her labour. The surviving evidence assigns all signed works to Crete.¹⁸¹ These few embroidered dates and, even fewer, names constitute the only signed records of women's artistic expression at a time when Candia was a thriving regional centre of religious art.¹⁸² The result of long

¹⁷⁸ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 112; Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 7. Skanderbeg lived in the fifteenth century (1405-1468).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 100-1. Johnstone mistakenly notes 'κανι' (third person singular) rather than 'καμ' (first person singular) which would grammatically follow the 'εγω/I' at the beginning. The surname might be an abbreviated form of Gramatikopoula. Maltezou explains the meanings of suffixes on Cretan women's surnames: 'the suffix -poula attached to the father's name (Pateropoula, Tzangeropoula) was used to form a patronymic for unmarried women; married women, on the other hand, take their husband's name with the suffix -aina (Kallergaina, Varouchaina).' (Maltezou, "The historical and social context," 37).

¹⁸⁰ For an interesting comparison see the discussion of the varying use of 'high' Greek in Domenicos Theotokopoulos' signatures in Νικόλαος Μ. Παναγιωτάκης (Panayiotakis), *Η Κρητική Περίοδος της Ζωής του Δομήνικου Θεοτοκόπουλου* (s.l.: Τροχαλία, 1987), 3-4.

¹⁸¹ Van Steen Haywood claims five dated pieces exist: two in the Seager Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (the one dated 1726 is one of the two) and three at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (dated 1733, 1757 and 1762). Two at the V&A are also signed. (van Steen Haywood, "Early Cretan Embroideries from Greek Museums," 288).

¹⁸² On notarial evidence on painters and the painters' guild in Candia see Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη (Constantoudaki), "Οι ζωγράφοι του Χάνδακος κατά το πρώτον ήμισυ του 16ου αιώνας οι μαρτυρούμενοι εκ των νοταριακών αρχείων," *Θησαυρίσματα* 10 (1973); idem, "Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων στο Χάνδακα σε έγγραφα του 16ου και 17ου αι.," *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975); Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου (Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou), "Ειδήσεις για τη Συντεχνία των Ζωγράφων του Χάνδακα τον 16ο Αιώνα," in *Πεπραγμένα Του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου- 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1979)* (Αθήνα: Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, 1981;

hours of labour these works bear witness to a prevalent aesthetic in the Cretan home and Cretans' clothes. The earliest dated embroidery from the wider region is a skirt-border with '1697' embroidered between two flower motifs.¹⁸³ (Fig. 39) On permanent display in the embroidery section of the V&A is a Cretan embroidered dress collected by Sandwith and donated by his granddaughter. (Fig. 25) The monochrome border of the dress is embroidered using deep blue silk thread and the pattern is characteristically Cretan. The dress' extraordinary feature is located above the embroidered border, where its creator signed and dated the piece '1757 Maria Papadopoula.'

Is there evidence, however, of direct Italian influence on these patterns? Taylor claims that the design of gorgons (mermaids) was 'certainly derived from sixteenth century Italian pattern books for lace and cut work.'¹⁸⁴ Krody, citing James Trilling, confirms this view when she writes, '[e]mbroidered textiles serve as a testament to this relationship [the one between Venice and Crete] by exhibiting designs obviously inspired by the European textiles and pattern books that found their way to Crete at this time.'¹⁸⁵ Johnstone discusses the possibility of an influence from Italian silk patterns; she writes, '... one of the two traditional versions of the famous Cretan skirt pattern suggests very strongly the repeating design of a certain type of Italian silk of the seventeenth century, while the other is a frieze based on a formal vase of carnations, which was another motif popular in Italian silks of the same period.'¹⁸⁶ There is ample evidence of the import of fabrics from Italy, some of this has been examined earlier, which would have allowed direct observation of the fashionable, foreign patterns and styles. Johnstone agrees with Wace's theory that the embroideries stemmed from the locals' desire to copy the patterns adorning fabrics which were above their purchasing means.¹⁸⁷ Unfortunately no direct reference to Italian pattern books in the Cretan context has survived. Elisa Ricci argues that the fate of such books was to be consumed, not least because their pages were torn out

Μαρία Καζανάκη-Λάππα (Kazanaki-Lappa), "Οι ζωγράφοι του Χάνδακα κατά το 17ο αιώνα. Ειδήσεις από νοταριακά έγγραφα," *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981). Also see note 152.

¹⁸³ Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 9; Φραγκάκι, *Από την Κεντητική στην Κρήτη*, 17; Hauser, "Greek Island Embroideries," 256. Hauser erroneously claims this work is one of the only two dated Greek embroideries.

¹⁸⁴ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 112.

¹⁸⁵ Trilling, *Aegean Crossroads: Greek Island Embroideries in The Textile Museum*, 27-9 cited in Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region*, 22.

¹⁸⁶ Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 7.

¹⁸⁷ A. J. B. Wace in the introduction to Tahsin Öz, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets*, 1950, x-xi cited in *ibid.*

and distributed to 'needlewomen, just as one does today with the patterns found in fashion periodicals.'¹⁸⁸ Faced with the absence of any such record, we must rely on the material evidence for any possible links.

One of the most popular publications of lace patterns was Cesare Vecellio's *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne* (1591), a collection of four books on lace patterns containing no less than 450 illustrations.¹⁸⁹ (Fig. 40) In his dedication to the Venetian noblewoman Viena Vendramin Nani, Vecellio compares the achievements of lacemaking to those 'che i più eccellenti Pittori possono co'l penello operare.'¹⁹⁰ Over the course of the sixteenth century lacemaking became 'the noble ladies' activity *par excellence*.¹⁹¹ Books with patterns for embroidery and lace, targeting an amateur female audience rather than one of professional artisans, began to be published in Venice and Germany in the 1520's.¹⁹² The domestication of such labour is evidenced on frontispieces, such as Vecellio's, which, in Patricia Fortini Brown's words, 'emphasize conviviality.'¹⁹³ Women are depicted in the confines of their homes peacefully crouched over their work, often chatting with each other and instructing younger girls. In the frontispiece of the *Corona delle nobili* two women in the background appear engrossed in their needlework: one holds a *tombolo*, a cushion, in her lap for making lace, while the other brings her handiwork closer to her eyes to aid in the delicate task at hand. The adjacent scene of a sculptor chiselling the lower part of a female statue is harder to discern: is he giving form to the ideal woman? One that is industrious, docile and beautiful? In the following page, above a female bust set within a medallion and flanked by lace patterns, Vecellio writes, '*Conviensi, che de la donna la bontà, & non la bellezza sia divulgata,*' it is suitable

¹⁸⁸ Elisa Ricci, "Editor's Preface," in *Renaissance Patterns for Lace, Embroidery and Needlepoint: An Unabridged Facsimile of the 'Singuliers et Nouveaux Pourtraicts' of 1587* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971), v.

¹⁸⁹ Cesare Vecellio, *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne*, Libro Primo, (Venetia: Alessandro de Vecchi, 1620). On the cover Vecellio writes, '*Con le dichiarazioni a le Mostre a' Lavori fatti da Lugretia Romana.*' Romana published her own work entitled *Ornamento nobile per ogni gentil matrona, dove si contiene bavari, frisi d'infinita bellezza, Lavori, per Linzuol Traverse....* (Venice: Appresso Lessandro de' Vecchi, 1620). For further details see Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, 117-8. Vecellio's *Corona delle nobili* went through several editions and continued to be published after his death (1601). (Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Introduction: Vecellio and his world," in *The clothing of the Renaissance world: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni* [London: Thames and Hudson, 2008], 14).

¹⁹⁰ Vecellio, *Corona delle nobili*, not paginated, (2r). This is the first book in the series.

¹⁹¹ Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, 113.

¹⁹² For details of these publications see *ibid.*, 113-7. The association between lacemaking and feminine virtue loosened in the seventeenth century when demand for Venetian lace increased throughout Europe and production moved to industrial-style large workshops. In Venice hospices and orphanages increasingly took over production. (Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, 118).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 116.

that a lady shows her good nature rather than her beauty.¹⁹⁴ (Fig. 41) Federico Luigi in *Il Libro della bella Donna* (1554) offers further insight into slightly earlier perceptions on gender, class and embroidery. He claimed that the needle ‘belonged to women both high and low, but where the poor find only utility in these arts, the rich, the noble, and the beautiful lady wins honor also.’¹⁹⁵

There are two ways Italian lace patterns can be related to the needlework produced in Crete: one approach is to trace the presence of specific motifs and patterns in both bodies of work and the other to look for similarities in general aesthetic trends such as the contours of their design, the rhythms of repetition in the patterns, the preference for geometric patterns over floral and figurative ones, and so on. In regards to the former, some of the patterns for lace production offered by Vecellio and others could have provided inspiration to Cretan embroiderers, either in the form of models for patterns or as executed pieces. Figure 42 is a design for needle lace (*punto in aria*)¹⁹⁶ containing blackbirds (*merli*), which was used according to Vecellio by noble Frenchwomen for their *maneghetti*, shirt cuffs.¹⁹⁷ Figure 43 shows another pattern of blackbirds intertwined with flowers, branches and tendrils, which on occasion sprout out of vases. A sixteenth-century embroidered hem of a chemise at the Benaki Museum displays similar patterns of birds, vases and vegetation. (Fig. 44) The figure of a siren emerging from a vase can be seen on lace cuffs in the Flemish (*Fiamengho*) style (Fig. 45); such hybrid, mythical creatures feature heavily in Cretan embroidery as we have already seen. The two-tailed mermaid is also found in a variety of guises in Italian work of the time. Trilling reproduces a detail from a pattern for cut linen (*punto tagliato*) from *Ornamento Delle Belle & virtuose Donne* (Venice, 1554). (Fig. 46) Here we find a mermaid very close to that of Cretan embroidery in a frontal position, holding her tails on either side. An unfinished work from the middle of the sixteenth century currently at the Museo Nazionale in Florence offers a different variation of the mermaid motif: a hybrid between a siren, evidenced in the figure’s wings, and a mermaid, seen in her

¹⁹⁴ Vecellio, *Corona delle nobili*, not paginated, (3r).

¹⁹⁵ Federigo Luigi, *Il Libro della bella Donna*, 1554 cited in Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, 116.

¹⁹⁶ Rosenthal and Jones write about *punto in aria*, also referred to as *merletto di opera d’acco* in Vecellio’s *Habiti Antichi e Moderni*: ‘needle lace, open work constructed stitch by stitch, using needle and thread. Includes cut-work, made by removing threads from fine linen and adding others to create intricate patterns.’ (Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 589).

¹⁹⁷ A *manegheto* is ‘[q]uella tela lina finissima increspata in cui sogliono terminare le maniche della camicia, e che pende sui polsi delle mani per ornamento.’ (Boerio, DDV, 395-6).

fish tail.¹⁹⁸ (Fig. 47) The fanciful floral patterns emerging from the figure's tail are also familiar. However, it is in the pattern for bobbin lace from a book on the same topic entitled *Le Pompe*, first printed in Venice in 1557 by Giovanni Battista and Marchio Sessa for Matio Pagano that we come across the mermaid motif bearing the greatest similarity to its Cretan counterpart.¹⁹⁹ (Fig. 48; for Cretan samples of this motif see figs. 35, & 49)

Regarding the general aesthetic qualities of Cretan embroidery, its similarity with Venetian *reticella* is evident. Federico Vinciolo, a Venetian in the service of Catherine de Medici, Queen of France, published the first book exclusively on lace patterns entitled *Les singuliers et nouveaux pourtraicts*. The introduction of the French edition in 1587 leaves room for speculation that an Italian edition had predated it.²⁰⁰ The book ran through no less than seventeen editions from 1587 to 1658 and continued to enjoy popularity even after similar works, such as Vecellio's, were published.²⁰¹ *Reticella* lace, *point coupe* in French, developed intricate snowflake-pattern borders which sat on a rectangular band. (Fig. 50) The lower-half was horizontally oriented, whereas the floral patterns above it intertwined to create points and crevices, waves of lace of elaborate visual complexity. Allowing room for the difference of the two media, the aesthetic similarities between *reticella* lace and Cretan embroideries on skirt borders are pronounced. (Figs. 35, 50) In fact, the Italian word *reticella* entered the Cretan dialect: in the late nineteenth century, Sandwith collected 104 *aratzidelles*, bobbin lace bands, in Crete.²⁰² Taylor maintains that the *azatzidelles* were inserted into the linen of the *colletto*, a 'pezzuolo di pannolino finissimo, che si portava al collo dalle persone civili,'²⁰³ which was taken up on the island at around 1650.²⁰⁴

Observations regarding common artistic motifs found across the Mediterranean region have led Trilling to conclude, '... that Egyptian, Italian and

¹⁹⁸ It is not entirely clear if underneath her waist she also has bird's claws, a further addition to her monstrosity and hybridity.

¹⁹⁹ *Le Pompe* was reprinted in 1558 and 1559 and later editions were published in 1560 and 1562. The book contained only lace patterns with no text. The frontispiece read, 'dove le belle et virtuose donne portanno fare ogni sorte di lavoro, cioè merli di diverse sorte, Cavezzi, Colari, Maneghetti, & tutte quelle cose che le piaceranno.' For a facsimile of the 1559 edition see Santina M. Levey and Patricia C. Payne, *Le Pompe, 1559: Patterns for Venetian Bobbin Lace* (Carlton Bedford: Ruth Bean, 1983).

²⁰⁰ Ricci, "Editor's Preface," v.

²⁰¹ Ibid., v-vii. Vecellio copied some of Vinciolo's designs.

²⁰² Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 109, 116-7.

²⁰³ Boerio, DDV, 179. Two complete *colletti* can be found in the Sandwith Collection at the V&A. For reproductions and detailed descriptions of these see Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 107.

²⁰⁴ Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 115.

Greek examples all represent survivals of an older tradition common to much of the Mediterranean world.’²⁰⁵ He continues, ‘[w]hat this implies is the existence of a widespread ornamental style, perhaps, confined to embroidery, which was fundamentally domestic and which was transmitted not by the trade of luxury items but by more modest trade, or more likely, by the actual movement of people throughout the Mediterranean world.’²⁰⁶ In terms of Cretan embroidery the author rules out Ottoman or Mamluk (Egyptian from the period of 1250-1517) influences, which however can be found strongly present in other Greek-speaking regions such as Epirus.²⁰⁷ Krody’s understanding of the historical conditions which led to the development of Cretan embroidery is more bound with the specific social conditions of the island. She argues that the local embroidery style developed in the period from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. ‘During these centuries,’ she writes, ‘Cretan women might have been copying, transforming, and adapting many Italian Renaissance patterns and dress forms that helped them formulate their own style, and it led to the crystallization of the Cretan embroidery style in the late seventeenth century.’²⁰⁸ Influential factors are cited as being the marriage of Venetians to local Greek women, the increasing presence of Greek servant women and slaves in Latin households, the gradual loss of control of the Eastern Mediterranean and the resulting loosening of the capital’s grip on Cretan society.

The early scholarship on embroideries was coloured by the interests and training of their collectors, whose donations to British institutions gave birth to an interest in the genre. A. J. B. Wace and R. M. Dawkins, while in the British School in Athens, amassed over 1,200 pieces, all collected before the 1920’s. Dawkins bequeathed his entire collection to the V&A in 1950 and Wace before him divided his bequests between the V&A, Liverpool Museums and the Textile Museum in

²⁰⁵ Trilling, *Aegean Crossroads*, 27.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Epirus was annexed much earlier than other regions of Anatolia to the Ottoman Empire and the embroidery from this region reflects this long-lived co-existence. On the Ottoman contribution on Epirote embroidery see *ibid.*, 20-3.; Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 127-45; Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region*, 91-109. The embroidery of the island of Skyros, which belongs to the Sporades, a group of islands in the southwest Aegean, like that of Crete is very distinctive and ‘successfully and skillfully combines Italian, Greek, and Turkish embroidery traditions.’ See Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus Region*, 79-89; Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 87-105; A. Χατζημιχάλη (Hadjimichaeli), *Ελληνική Λαϊκή Τέχνη Σκύρος* (Athens: Makris, 1925).

²⁰⁸ Krody, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 22.

Washington.²⁰⁹ In fact, these exhibitions led to a short-lived revival of the art in Crete with small workshops catering to a foreign market with an interest in the folk embroideries of the Balkans.²¹⁰

Dawkins' linguistic training and Wace's work as an archaeologist, as well as their common interest in 'ethnographical work' in contemporary Greece, set the tone for subsequent study of these artefacts.²¹¹ Significantly, one reads in the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition from 1906, 'The Greek island world may be divided into six areas, the Ionian Islands, the North Greek Islands, the Cyclades, the Southern Sporades, Crete and Cyprus... Each of these areas speaks a dialect of its own and has an embroidery style of its own, for it has been noticed that in the islands the area of the different dialects corresponds on the whole with different type of embroidery.'²¹² While Wace acknowledges the Italian influence on works from the Cyclades and Crete, he insists on regarding all embroidery as quintessentially 'Greek.' The remoteness and inaccessibility of Greek islands, he believes, protected indigenous artistic styles from foreign influences. This brings to mind Maltezou's argument on the geographical barriers which 'protected' the Greek language from foreign corruption. 'The very insularity of the... islands,' wrote Wace 'has modified any alien influences which have reached them, and their inhabitants, like their language and their culture are essentially and naturally Greek.'²¹³ This is in contrast to mainland Greece and the Peloponnese which, according to the author, had been 'overrun by invaders so often that they are Greek by culture and language rather than by race.'²¹⁴ Apart from geographical factors, the Ottoman occupation safeguarded local production from the corruption of Western 'civilization.' After declaring the art of embroidery dead in the Greek islands, Wace wrote, 'That it lived so long in some islands is due to their having been recently under Turkish rule, and to their isolation

²⁰⁹ For the details of Wace's three bequests see French, "Greek Embroidery Collecting," 87-8; for Dawkins' bequest to the V&A see *ibid.*, 88-9. Wace later became keeper of textiles at the V&A (1924-34) and Dawkins became the first Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford (1920-39). (*Ibid.*, 87; Taylor, *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, 177).

²¹⁰ For a discussion of these works, which Taylor has termed 'revival' pieces, see *ibid.*, 116-7.

²¹¹ French, "Greek Embroidery Collecting," 81.

²¹² Wace, *Catalogue of a Collection of Old Embroideries*, viii. For a call to re-evaluate Wace's attribution of Epirote embroideries to the Ionian islands based on an argument of the 'Greekness' of Epirus see A. Χατζημιχάλη (Hadjimichali), "Μεσογειακά και Εγγύς Ανατολής Κεντήματα," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbuecher* XII (1936). Hadjimichali, one of the few Greek contemporaries of Wace and Dawkins working on embroideries, is cited in Wace's later work. (Wace, *Mediterranean and Near Eastern Embroideries*, 11; for a list of Hadjimichali's publications see Johnstone, *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, 32.)

²¹³ Wace and Dawkins, "Greek Embroideries- I: Ethnography," 49.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

from the blessings of civilization. It is civilization – that is to say the civilization of Western Europe, that has killed this exceedingly interesting specimen of Greek Arts and Crafts.²¹⁵ This early writing on Greek embroideries has recently come under criticism. Trilling explicitly challenges Wace's nationalist narrative by questioning the assumption that these embroideries are 'somehow fundamentally Greek' despite the fact that 'Greek' has never been defined in this context.²¹⁶

This chapter began with McKee's challenge to researchers to examine material life in Venetian Crete with a view towards better understanding Creto-Venetian coexistence. Written testimonies from a variety of primary sources, contemporary printed books and extant material records have been discussed for their insight on the styles and fashions, the trade, the gifting and bequeathing patterns, the manufacturing and the ornamenting of clothes and fabrics in early modern Crete. The heavy influence of Venetian dialect on fabric and clothing vocabulary and the import of fabrics and clothes from Venice suggest the island's urban elite followed Venetian trends, albeit with a time lapse. Furthermore, local embroidery creatively combined contemporary Italian developments in fabric ornamentation and lace patterns with indigenous aesthetic considerations and motifs inherited from the island's own past. This led to the creation of a distinctively Cretan style, several samples of which have been examined in this chapter. The hybridity of the fabric specimens examined and the language employed to describe them allude to the blurring of boundaries in sixteenth-century Cretan society and attest to the vibrant cultural dialogue which was taking place. The close study of material culture in the Eastern Mediterranean, to return to McKee's comment, enriches our understanding of the coexistence of distinct communities, alerts us to the processes which gave birth to new cultural trends, and, ultimately, allows us to observe on a micro-level the fruits of this coexistence in the everyday experiences and appearances of the members of such societies.

²¹⁵ Wace, *Catalogue of a Collection of Old Embroideries*, vii.

²¹⁶ Trilling, *Aegean Crossroads*, 17-8.

Chapter 4

Managing Appearances: Sumptuary Legislation and the Perception of Cretans in the Sixteenth Century

1. Introduction

The *calogero* (Orthodox monk) Yieremia Maraveglia from Crete was described by the Bailo of Constantinople Marco Venier as ‘...[un] huomo di bassa statura di color olivastro, con barba lunga, et con ... occhi grandi, et negri, et di aspetto di anni quaranta in occasione vestito di habito di Calogero...’¹ In a letter addressed to the doge Nicolò Venier, the *Provveditor alla Sanita* in Crete described one of the persons he had ordered to remain in the *lazaretto* of Callus Limiones in Crete as ‘una persona de bassa statura, vestito con habbiti da forestiero, con uno gabanozio de griso bianco atorno et con turbante turchino in testa...’² A letter by the *Duca et Capitano di Candia* sent to Venice referred to a Christian enslaved by the Turks as a ‘persona di mediocre statura poca barba bianca di anni 50...’³ Another contemporary description by the authorities in Crete described ‘...una persona di prima statura con barba rossa, vestito da Turco , il quale parla in greco mostra haver eta di anni 36...’⁴

These descriptions taken from Venetian state correspondence draw attention to the importance of external appearances as outward, visible symbols of social identity and, as a consequence, the interest state authorities took in their management. In the above cases the physical description provided by each author included facial features (complexion, facial hair, eye colour), clothing and approximate age. Clothes provided visual cues to social recognition and categorization; they were instantly discernable signs of constituent elements of the observed’s identity. One’s attire was inscribed with markers of gender, wealth, class, education, religion, marital status, profession and place of origin. This belief, strongly upheld in the sixteenth century, is witnessed in the contemporary proliferation of costume books which will be examined. By the same token, however, attire or more precisely the person donning it, could mislead, could counterfeit claims by utilizing, in the words of Alan Hunt, the ‘unreliability of appareential ordering.’⁵

¹ ASV, Senato, PTM, b.761, 1 January 1564, not foliated.

² ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 782-3, filza 1, 7 Settembre 1619, not foliated.

³ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 762, 19 Settembre 1595, not foliated.

⁴ ASV, Senato, PTM, b.750-1, 23 Luglio 1584, not foliated.

⁵ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996), 137.

I propose to draw a distinction between what I see as two different types of sartorial disguise: fraud, on the one hand, and hybrid dress style, on the other. Fraud, always in the context of discussing clothing, can be seen as a deliberate disguise in clothes that hide one's ascribed identity and provide the means for taking on an adopted one. This was done with the intent to deceive and as such was a conscious subversion of social order, one that is particularly revealing since it 'presents us with a crystal clear instance of meanings presumed by contemporaries and it thus gives us one avenue to interpretation.'⁶ Specific examples include lay members of society dressed like monks or clerics, or instances when Jews consciously refused to follow the Venetian legislation which demanded they wore a yellow *baretta* and, therefore, identify themselves to the public. On such occasions the disguised aimed to masquerade, 'trasvestire' in contemporary terminology, as members of social groups they did not belong to. Sartorial fraud was targeted by the *Maggior Consiglio* when it forbade persons from walking around the city so disguised 'as not to be recognisable,' especially during the early hours of the morning.⁷ Fraud was also the target of a law passed in August 1443 stating that every man found wearing woman's clothing or any other 'habito desconveniente' would lose the aforesaid garment, pay a fine of 100 *lire* and be liable to a prison sentence of six months.⁸ During carnival, a period of sanctioned fraud, Cretan women were not allowed to masquerade and when caught wearing a mask, they were forbidden by their confessor to attend church for forty days.⁹

Hybrid forms of dress, on the other hand, can be defined as the imitation of foreign fashion choices with no evident malign intentions, such as the adoption of Venetian fashion in the Republic's empire or foreign influences from beyond the Alps on Venetian dress. Such behaviour inevitably took on political dimensions when foreign influences on local dress codes were interpreted as dangerous for indigenous societal norms. Venetian sumptuary legislation in the majority of cases was drawn up in the spirit of curtailing such tendencies in the capital. Both fraud and sartorial hybridity present moments of tension when the prescribed behaviour was

⁶ Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994), 59.

⁷ *Maggior Consiglio*, Delib. Spiritus p. 109 cited in Mary Margaret Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester*, ed. College Owen's, James Tait, and Thomas Frederick Tout (London and Bombay: Longman's, Green and Co., 1902), 266.

⁸ ASV, Senato Terra, Reg. 1, p.105 cited in *ibid*.

⁹ Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 101.

shattered by individuals fashioning themselves in unexpected, subversive ways. When regulatory efforts were unsuccessful, when people adopted foreign customs or disguised themselves in order to merge with the crowd or, in a case to be examined, to ridicule the ruling elite, order failed and by failing it exposed the underlying belief-systems that aided in the ordering of the world.

The ephemeral nature of people's appearances makes a study like this quite elusive and necessarily reliant on a variety of diverse sources. The architecture of Crete under Venetian rule, for instance, has been insightfully examined by Maria Georgopoulou who makes a convincing argument regarding the appropriation of space and Byzantine ritual by Venetians in the Cretan capital.¹⁰ However, it is often overlooked that the urban space created by this architecture existed to accommodate people and, in turn, these people reacted and interacted with their physical environment. Buildings outlive their inhabitants and any effort to understand the complexity of the past inevitably faces the problem of reconstructing the ephemeral in the context of that which has survived.

2. Una 'mascherata fatta in dispreggio, del Clarissimo Rettor Faliero'¹¹/ A masquerade to demerit (ridicule) the Rector Faliero

In 1594 in Rettimo an incident occurred which is telling in regards to the importance Venetians placed on the 'apparential order' of the colony's inhabitants and the extent they were willing to go to protect it from subversive efforts. The documentation survives in two series in Venice's Archivio di Stato: in the *Quarantia Criminale*, one of the appellate courts available to the subject territories, and the correspondence sent from Crete in the *Senato, Dispacci, Provveditori da terra e da mar*.¹² The *dispacci*, to my knowledge, are unpublished, while Bronwen Wilson has discussed the incident based on the records of the *Quarantia*. Taken together these documents allow us to reconstruct a fascinating story of disguise, subversion of authority (in one version of the events) or (in the other) a farcical performance orchestrated by one noble at another's expense. In either case the capital took notice

¹⁰ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*.

¹¹ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 26 Luglio 1594, not foliated.

¹² The *Quarantia*, Council of Forty, was a court of appeals in criminal cases positioned at the top of the judicial system. Additionally, it prepared legislation concerning coinage and finances, which were then sent for approval to the Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio*). On occasion the council acted jointly with the Senate (*Consiglio dei Pregadi*). For further discussion see Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 96, 254; for a discussion of the role of the *Quarantia* in the appeals sent from the maritime empire to the capital see O'Connell, *Men of Empire*, 75-96.

of the allegations and was keen to ensure such behaviour was appropriately condemned and order duly restored.

The denunciation of the event was sent to Venice from Zuanne Semitecolo, a counsellor in Rettimo, who wrote of a ‘mascherata fatta in dispreggio del Clarissimo Rettor Faliero per commissione del Clarissimo Pesaro hora Vice Rettor di questa città...’¹³ According to Semitecolo’s understanding of the events a *villano*, a peasant, was dressed up by the vice-governor Pesaro as the rector Faliero. In Semitecolo’s words, Pesaro ‘ha vestito in Palazzo un Villan con li suoi drappi rossi con una Romana e beretta tonda; poi diceva ecco qui il Rettor Falier... io quando lo vidi hebbi grandissimo dolor considerando l’atto brutto fatto contra un nobile.’¹⁴ A *romana* according to Boerio was an ‘abito lungo, di color nero...ultimamente usavasi dai pubblici Rappresentati Veneti, come abito di mezza comparsa in certe funzioni.’¹⁵ *Romane* were worn by Venetian administrators in the *terraferma* in the second half of the sixteenth century, whereas a mid-seventeenth century account described the garment as ‘l’abito de Dottori d Legge, o di Medicina...di tale Abito loro servivansi nelli Regimenti, nelle Ambascerie, e ne Tribulali, conveniente a Personaggi gravi, e di maturo giudizio.’¹⁶ Undoubtedly *romane* were worn by society’s elite; a Venetian 1562 inventory lists *romane* tailored in luxury cloths and lined in fur: one of ‘veludo negro fodra de martori (weasels)’¹⁷, another ‘de raso paonazzo, fodra di volpe vecchia’ and a third lined in ‘pelle bianca.’¹⁸

Another account of the Rettimo event reads, ‘[il] Clarissimo Signor Bartolomeo Pesaro, dignitissimo Rettor di questa città... haver trasvestito... un villano di habbito rosso, et con brevi et altre inventioni denominandolo come se fosse la persona del Clarissimo Signor Luca Falier lasciandosi pubblicamente intendere ciò haver fatto l’scherno (the ridicule) di esso Clarissimo Falier et altre simil calumnie (slanders).’¹⁹ The peasant’s own clothes, described elsewhere by the counsellor were more humble, reflecting his social standing and financial means. It is worth recalling

¹³ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 26 Luglio 1594, not foliated. See also Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*, Studies in book and print culture (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 124.

¹⁴ ASV, Quarantia Criminale, b. 127, 16 June 1594, not foliated cited in *ibid.*, 124, 306.

¹⁵ Boerio, DDV, 582. Vecellio describes it as a floor length overgown worn by Venetian nobles at home. (Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 163).

¹⁶ G. Grevembroch, *Gli abiti de Veneziani di quasi ogni età con dilligenza raccolti e dipinti nel secolo XVII* (Venezia, 1754), tav. 83 cited in Achille Vitali, *La moda a Venezia attraverso i secoli. Lessico ragionato*, 333.

¹⁷ ‘Martorelo’ in Boerio, DDV, 400.

¹⁸ ASV, Proprio, Mobili, reg. 24, c.20 cited in Achille Vitali, *La moda a Venezia*, 333.

¹⁹ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 4 Maggio 1594, not foliated.

the hardships endured by the peasants described in Leos' letter in chapter one. The Cretan was 'vestito da Villano,' writes the councillor, 'con braghesse sepezzate di tella bianca grossi colla tola camise et senza altro guibone et un capello negro alla schiavona et stivali di corame negri.'²⁰ This rare description of a Cretan peasant, wearing *braghese*, a shirt with no boublet, a cap in the Dalmatian style and black boots, conforms with embroidered figures examined in the previous chapter. (Figs. 23, 12)

The masquerade aimed at humiliating Falier took place in two stages: the first was the dressing up of the peasant in clothes worn by nobles and declaring him to be the 'rettor Falier' and the second was the parade in the streets of Rettimo for the amusement of bystanders. Regarding the parade, the accused offered the following explanation to the magistrates when questioned: he was stranded in Rettimo, he claimed, with only a shirt and trousers and asked Pesaro for some clothes. Pesaro had nothing to offer but his old, red *romana* and upon giving it to him, he instructed him to take it to a lawyer who would pay him for it. Pesaro must have intended that the money from his old *romana* would be used for an appropriate new (or used) garment for the peasant. The magistrates then asked the accused man 'non ti potevi tu immaginar che quelli drappi non si convenivano ad un contadino quale sei tu et che portandoli pubblicamente havesti dato ad'intendere di voler nell'habito immitar un Rettore et che perciò ogn'uno sarebbe venuto con ammiratione a vederti'?²¹ The question presumed that the significance and 'language' of clothes was common to all - the peasant *should* have understood, the magistrates claimed, that the clothes he was given would attract admirers since they belonged to social superiors and reflected this position. The peasant coyly pleaded ignorance to this aspect and function of clothing responding that he had no 'knowledge of the significance of the attire.'²² He took this line of defence even further by asking 'how could he have imagined the effect, since he had never worn the costume before?'²³ His *bragesse*

²⁰ ASV, Quarantia Criminale, b. 127, Letter to the doge dated 17 June 1594 cited in Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 307. The letter described the man as ' [un] huomo di commune statura bruno in faccia con occhi rasi barba folta è lunga di color grigia naso aquilino con un segneto negro appresso dalla parte sinistra et un'altro segno di cicatrice nel mezo d'esso naso per traverso dalla parte destra d'aspetto d'anni cinquanta sei incirca seben lui disse haverne sessanta..' Wilson comments on the 'a lack of fit between the governor's clothes and the peasant's body'; 'the threat of the performance,' she writes, 'lay in potentially exposing the clothes or all that they were: the material remainder of their symbolic function.' (Ibid., 126-7, n. 144).

²¹ ASV, Quarantia Criminale, b. 127, 1594 cited in *ibid.*, 125, 307.

²² *Ibid.*, 125.

²³ *Ibid.*

offered him anonymity, whereas the rector's clothes singled him out in a crowd, drew attention to his presence and, inevitably, created problems for him. This, however, he claimed, was completely unintentional on his part.

The disguise was intended as a mockery of the rector, but its publicity was a more serious and dangerous offence. Dressed in Pesaro's clothes, the peasant was 'accompagnato da molti l'habbi fatto caminar per la città lasciandossi intendere che fosse il Clarissimo Signor Luca Falier cio commettendo per offesa dell'honor di Sua Serenissima Clarissima con pericolo anco che non nascesse qualche inconveniente fra questi del Rito Greco, et Latino...' ²⁴ Semitecolo feared that tensions between Orthodox and Catholics would be ignited by this event; a concern which was shared by the central authorities who took the accusations seriously. The public mocking of a noble governor by implying he was a peasant in a nobleman's clothes was a direct affront to the colonial authorities and as such could not be tolerated. As Wilson writes, '...by undermining the authority of costume, the charade threatened Venetian control in the colony.' ²⁵

There was, however, a different version of the events, which is presented here for the first time, one which cleared Pesaro of any intentional malice when offering his old clothes. Such views were expressed in the letters sent to Venice in his defence by an array of city authorities. In these accounts emphasis is shifted away from the formality and class-specificity of the garment and attention is channelled towards its poor state; the 'drappi rossi con una Romana e beretta tonda' became a 'muda di drappi vecchi di nessun valor', a change of old clothes, or simply an 'habbito rosso.' ²⁶ Semantically this shift in the terms used to describe the clothes annulled or at least softened the accusatory tone exhibited in the other extracts. The narrative of events was transformed from one where a noble dressed a peasant in state garments in order to ridicule another official to a benevolent act of charity the consequences of which could not have been predicted by the benefactor. These are, in fact, precisely the terms used in documents defending Pesaro: '[una] muda di drappi vecchi che donò questo illustrissimo Vice Rettor Pesaro ad un poverohuomo...non fece altro che semplicemente donar per carita la detta muda di drappi vecchi di nessun valor à quel

²⁴ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 27 Aprile 1594, not foliated.

²⁵ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 127.

²⁶ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 12 Aprile 1594 and 4 Maggio 1594.

povero huomo che gliela ricercò senza fine di offender alcuno; ne l'ha fatto accompagnare; ne fu speso il nome del Clarissimo Falier altrimente...'²⁷

This incident brings us back to the distinction between fraud and hybrid forms of clothes. Was the peasant's masquerade as the rector Falier deliberate fraud on his own initiative (or masterminded by the man who gave him the robe, Pesaro) or a case of misidentification, an unintended consequence of a charitable act? A letter written by Semitecolo and dated 26 July 1594 indicates the authorities concluded that, at least as far as Pesaro was concerned, the garment was given to the peasant in good faith. The exchange of clothes between social groups, made possible in Venice by the second-hand clothes market and, in this case charity, 'facilitated disguise and the breaking of sumptuary legislation.'²⁸ The Venetians feared the humiliation of a noble statesman might lead to a deterioration of the relationship between the local elite and the indigenous population and ultimately jeopardise the state's authority. This could occur as a consequence of a momentary lapse, a subversion of the 'apparential ordering', and a transgression made possible by a 'muda di drappi vecchi.' Without these the peasant, 'vestito da Villano', could never have impersonated a noble and, in this sense, whether intentional or not, the event reveals contemporary attitudes regarding the direct link between one's clothes and identity.

Despite the peasant's claim to ignorance regarding the importance of attire, there is evidence that Cretans were fully aware of the Venetian vocabulary of appearances. Zuane Mocenigo, *Provveditor General del Regno di Candia*, in his 1589 *relazione*, discusses the need to improve the governors' jurisdiction in the region of Sfachia. The Sfachiotti, writes Mocenigo, were requesting a commissioner elected directly from the *Maggior Consiglio* in Venice and sent to the region to administer justice with the authority to impose capital punishment on local criminals.²⁹ This would inspire obedience and bring order to the region which was plagued by lawlessness and experienced a sense of absence of Venetian authority.³⁰ Mocenigo writes, 'Ma quando vi fosse un Provveditore ch'avesse autorità maggiore, nella persona del quale quei popoli potessero riconoscere la dignità della Serenità

²⁷ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 760, 12 Aprile 1594.

²⁸ Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Studies in Iconography* 25 [2004], 259. Gifting old clothes was also common in Cretan wills, as we have seen.

²⁹ Σπανάκης, ed., *Zuane Mocenigo*, 10.

³⁰ The governor had jurisdiction only for crimes which called for less than eighteen months at the galleys. Any criminal offence calling for a greater punishment stood trail in Candia leading to long delays and many Sfachiotti fleeing from justice altogether. (Ibid.).

Vostra della quale hora, com' essi sogliono dire, non sanno quasi di esser sudditi, non vedendo, per usar le proprie lor parole, calce rosse al loro governo...'³¹ Their desire 'to see red stockings' is repeated in a 1602 *relazione* by Benetto Moro, where *calze* has been substituted with the more generic *vestiti*; the context, however, remains the same. Moro writes, '...essi [the Sfachiotti] sommamente desiderano, ciò è di haver al loro governo Rappresentante, come essi dicono, vestito di rosso, che habbia autorità, e forze da assicurar li buoni, et tenero a freno li cattivi...'³² Boerio explains that due to the colour of their garments 'rosso' was the popular term used to refer to the *Consiglieri*, who were also *Inquisitori di Stato* – in other words, who also had judicial authority.³³ Vecellio comments that Venice's *Senatori* and *Cavallieri* wore an overgown of plain velvet and 'their stockings and *pianelle* were red';³⁴ red was also worn by the *magistrati* as Vecellio tells us: 'these men sometimes wear a red overgarment, which is true as well of the *Avvogadori* [state lawyers]...The same gown is worn by the Dottori who go to govern cities and important places subject to the Venetian Republic.'³⁵ Stergios G. Spanakis understands the Sfakiot demand for an official in red as an insistence that the official sent from the capital have judicial jurisdiction. This aside, it is clear that Venetian idiomatic expressions relating to clothing were understood and used by the Cretan population, who were not only fully aware of their rulers' codes of appearance, but, like them, adopted the terms used for an official's dress to describe his office. The instance of disguise in Rettimo and the Sfachiotti's awareness of Venetian codes of dress, beg the question whether the Venetians tried to control appearance in their colony. Was sumptuary legislation in place in Crete?

3. Restrictions of Clothing: Sumptuary Legislation in Crete and Venice

None of the literature on sumptuary legislation discusses Venetian legislation in the *Oltremare*. Research in the Venetian archives has proven unfruitful in terms of

³¹ Ibid., 11. *Calze* refer to 'hose or stockings usually made of woollen cloth, but also of silk. The men's *calze* are conventionally attached to the *farsetto* [this was also known as a *zupone*, a man's doublet] by means of laces and eyelets... Some form of harder footwear (*botte*, *scarpe*, *stivali*) is often worn over the *calze*.' (Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500*, ed. Aileen Ribeiro, The History of Dress Series [London: Bell & Hyman, 1981], 211).

³² Σπανάκης, ed., *Benetto Moro*, 78-9.

³³ Boerio, DDV, 585.

³⁴ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 156. A *pianella* was a type of shoe 'with a leather sole built into a wedge, the foot being covered with a strap or band of silk textile.' (Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 224).

³⁵ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 157.

coming across such legislation regarding Crete. A few references to sumptuary legislation, however, exist in secondary literature which unfortunately do not record their primary source. Fragaki writes,

‘Many times, especially during the first centuries of occupation, Venice issued legislation prohibiting luxury to the Cretans. From this legislation we find out that Cretans wore furs, velvets, [and] golden dresses adorned with precious stones. We do not know the extent to which these laws were imposed nor their duration, but Cretan texts write of velvets, ‘τζατουνιά και καμουχάδες/*tsatounia kai kamouxades*,’³⁶ ζαμπέτια/*zabetia*³⁷ and musks, which goes to say that Cretans’ clothes during the Venetian occupation had a wide variety and always followed Venetian fashion, which in turn adjusted to Spanish and later the French fashions.’³⁸

Ioannis Havakis quotes a sumptuary law regarding Crete which ‘forbade any person under penalty of twenty-five hyperpyra, regardless of their social class, to wear a velvet dress or from ‘εξάμιτο/*examito*,’³⁹ or from gold cloth, or pearls, or gold, or gold and silver embroideries, or ribbons, or tassels...’⁴⁰ Another law from the same year, which is not offered by the author, forbids women with a fine of ten *hypepyra* from wearing overcoats with long trains or jewellery worth more than four *hypepyra*.⁴¹ Koukoules and Maltezou helpfully inform us that this legislation dates to 1339; Koukoules adds that he is unaware when the legislation ceased to be valid.⁴² Adornment with jewels and jewellery was a sign of the individual’s wealth and prosperity, especially for women. Poorer Venetian nobles would hire ornaments to keep up appearances. In 1460 the state intervened forbidding the payment of more than 25 ducats a year on hiring necklaces or rings.⁴³ In 1497 the Venetian Senate became concerned with the ‘immoderate use of pearls,’ lamenting that women were wearing pearls worth 600 to 800 ducats, when the 1476 law openly stated that only a

³⁶ Both terms refer to types of silk material. I would like to thank Louli Arzoglou for her help with the Greek terms in this reference.

³⁷ *Zabeti* was an expensive perfume imported from Constantinople. (Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 57).

³⁸ Koukoules, “Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν” cited in *ibid.*, 56-8.

³⁹ This is a reference to the fabric’s weave.

⁴⁰ Ιωάννης Χαβάκης (Havakis), *Ο Κρητικός Αργαλειός και τα Κρητικά Μεσαιωνικά και Μεταμεσαιωνικά Ρούχα* (Ηράκλειο, Κρήτης: Ανδρέας Γ. Καλοκαιρινός, 1955), 47.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Koukoules, “Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν,” 41; Maltezou, “The historical and social context,” 43. Both sources cite J. Jegerlehner, ‘Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Kandiens im XIV. Jahrhundert,’ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13, 464-6.

⁴³ Senato, Terra, Reg. IV, fol. 146 (14 June 1460) cited in Newett, “The Sumptuary Laws of Venice,” 251. There was also a flourishing market for rental of second-hand clothes and house adornments. (*Ibid.*, 327).

single strand of pearls worth not more than 50 ducats was allowed.⁴⁴ As a result, pearls were entirely forbidden to all persons, whether displayed on themselves (head, neck, neckline, breast, fingers, or arms), on their dress, on their home furnishings.⁴⁵ If men could promote their social status by appearing *togati*, women's 'tokens of virtue', in the words of Nicolosa Sanuti, a defendant of women's rights to ornament themselves according to their social class, were their ornaments.⁴⁶ Displaying such movable wealth reflected paternal or conjugal fortune. Women belonging to society's elite were expected to bear the visible signs of their rank and to impress with the wealth of their attire and ornaments. In so doing, they represented their noble or citizen class as well as the Republic.

Venetians were keenly aware of the importance and power of their appearances for this projected familial, professional and civil identities. Appearances were not fixed, however: the clothing deemed appropriate for each individual changed with age and, related to the latter, with life's different stages. The choice of suitable clothing also changed with an individual's financial capacities and, in the case of Venetian patricians with their positions within the city's administrative hierarchy. Such regulations and restrictions, as we have seen, were also in place in Crete. The authorities regulated the display of luxury but behind this curtailing of wealth, at the heart of sumptuary legislation, lay the "persistent preoccupation about being able 'to know' or to 'recognise' others."⁴⁷ 'Reduced to its simplest the sumptuary imperative,' writes Hunt, 'was that the ranks of people should be discerned by their clothes.'⁴⁸

According to Havakis the sumptuary legislation in Crete specified that the prohibition applied to all social classes; Koukoules writes that the law explicitly stated that the restrictions 'did not apply only to Venetians, but also to Greek Cretans

⁴⁴ ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Regina, fol. 160 cited in Brown, "Behind the Walls," 322.

⁴⁵ The husbands and fathers of women who were caught breaking the law were to be taxed 25 ducats at each tax declaration for 10 years - which amounted to approximately 30-40 percent of the total value of the necklace. Anyone, officials included, who turned in a guilty party would be awarded the offending item. (Idem, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, 322).

⁴⁶ The most interesting objection to sumptuary legislation and the only extensive treatise formulating such ideas in the Renaissance comes from Bologna and was penned by Nicolosa Sanuti, Countess of Porretta. The treatise was composed in response to the sumptuary law of 1453 by Cardinal Giovanni Bessarion, then papal legate to Bologna, which laid out in details the attire appropriate to each class of women in the city. For a detailed discussion of the treatise, as well as an translation of the entire work see Catherine Kovesi Killerby, "'Heralds of a well-instructed mind': Nicolosa Sanuti's defence of women and their clothes," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 3 [1999].

⁴⁷ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 108-9.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

and Jewish women.⁴⁹ The luxurious nature of the items prohibited, however, would have affected the nobles and a small group of wealthy citizens. What purpose could this curtailment of luxury have served? Given the turbulent background of the first centuries of Veneto-Cretan coexistence such precautionary legislation could have been introduced in the fourteenth century to prevent further animosity provoked by the ostentatious display of wealth by Venetians. As the law appears to have targeted all residents, its universal jurisdiction can be seen as a further measure to ensure that the locals did not outshine their rulers and upset the established social hierarchy. Such restrictions on the Jewish population were common and will be examined shortly. Sumptuary law was rarely about luxury *per se* but rather about limiting or altogether banning access to luxury to those considered a threat to the dominant social group's interests. Such anxieties might well have been the motivational drive behind this legislation which followed the lead set in the capital. A look at Venetian sumptuary laws will confirm this alignment and, furthermore, enrich the discussion with information on additional aspects such as enforcement and public responses. Such information does not exist specifically for Crete.

Sumptuary legislation dates back to ancient Rome, where *legge sumptuaria* originally denoted regulation of dining habits.⁵⁰ These were later extended to control spending (*sumptus*) and the display of luxury in funerals and banquets as well as clothing.⁵¹ Laws seeking to regulate luxury appear in Venice as early as 1299 when legislation limiting expenditure for marriage celebrations appeared; the statute applied to all men and women in Venice regardless of social rank, with the exception of the doge and his family.⁵² Patricia Fortini Brown writes that this 'egalitarian tone was typical of sumptuary legislation throughout Italy during this period, when other emerging communes sought to blur class distinctions, thus allowing new merchant elites to share power with, if not to replace, traditional hereditary elites.'⁵³

⁴⁹ J. Jegerlehner, 'Beiträge,' 466 cited in Κουκουλέζ, "Συμβολή εις την Κρητικήν Λαογραφίαν," 41.

⁵⁰ Catherine Kovesi Killerby, "Practical problems in the enforcement of Italian sumptuary law, 1200-1500," in *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Trevor Dean and K J P Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 99.

⁵¹ Ibid. For a detailed discussion of ancient and early medieval sumptuary legislation see idem, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 9-22.

⁵² Patricia Fortini Brown, "Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of Venetian Elites," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-state, 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 319.

⁵³ Ibid. The doge as head of state was afforded exceptional status and exempt from sumptuary legislation. This was also the case for any member of his family resident in the Palazzo Ducale. Newton does not specify whether 'family' referred to blood-relatives or the doge's household; I suspect given the governing principles of such legislation it referred to the former. (Stella Mary

Luxury and wealth *per se* were not disapproved of by any lay authority in Italy. Venetian nobles were both state administrators and merchants, and this latter capacity provided the human and material resources for the former. In Venice trade was inextricably linked to the higher social classes and the wealth generated was partly channelled into items of luxury, such as opulent artefacts, jewellery, sumptuous fabrics and rare furs. Hunt comments on the fundamental contradiction of sumptuary law which restricted or prohibited the display of luxury items in societies which encouraged the accumulation and exhibition of wealth.⁵⁴ Sumptuary legislation is replete with internal inconsistencies which can only be understood when paired with the acknowledgment that items of luxury were not condemnable in and of themselves. The true target of these laws was their inappropriate display or more accurately, as Brown puts it, '[i]t was just as wrong to push beyond as to fall short.'⁵⁵

In 1512 the Senate consolidated the piecemeal approach to sumptuary legislation in an effort 'intended to pull together all the previous legislations, passed at different times, into a single statute, thus eliminating contradictions, and to make some modifications "in order to quiet unbridled appetites".'⁵⁶ Women's attire was targeted, wedding feasts and gifts were regulated, home furnishings, *momarie*, a form of theatrical performances, and masquerades, usually produced for wedding celebrations by the *compagnie della calza*, were discussed.⁵⁷ The constant flow of those fined requesting that their case be handled 'cum instantia expeditione' led to the appeals being handed over from the doge and his councillors to the *XX Savij in Rialto*.⁵⁸ In 1514, a permanent magistracy was set up entitled *Magistrato alle Pompe*,

Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495-1525*, Pasold studies in textile history 7 [Aldershot: Scholar [for] The Pasold Research Fund, 1988], 51).

⁵⁴ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 128.

⁵⁵ Brown, "Behind the Walls," 318.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 324.

⁵⁷ Ibid. See also Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice," 272-3. The *compagnie della calza* were 'exclusive clubs of wealthy younger members of Venice's hereditary ruling patriciate.' They distinguished themselves by their multi-coloured *calze*, tights, and were responsible for the entertainment (of themselves and) 'on behalf of the Republic - of foreign rulers and other dignitaries visiting Venice.' (Chambers and Pullan, *Venice: A Documentary History*, 376; Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 253; Stanley Chojnacki, "Identity and Ideology in Renaissance Venice," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-state, 1297-1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000], 263-4).

⁵⁸ The *XX Savij in Rialto* was a tribunal responsible for debts to the Commune. (Brown, "Behind the Walls," 325, 337).

which consisted of three *provedditori* (commissioners), each with a two-year term. The office remained open for nearly five decades.⁵⁹

Regulating private gatherings met with practical difficulties arising from a reliance on informants from within the household, from guests attending social events held in private houses, from neighbours or, in the case of attire, from members of the public who happen to observe illegal clothes or ornaments. In Perugia, Florence and Venice special boxes were set up where secret denunciations could be placed.⁶⁰ The date of their introduction in Venice is unknown, but two *bocche*, mouths (of lions), were definitely in place when the *Magistrato alle pompe* was moved to the ducal palace in 1562. The inscriptions on the *bocche*, still *in situ* in Venice today read, 'Denontie secrete in materia d'ogni sorte di pompe contro cadauna persona con benefici de ducati 42 per cento giusto alle leggi' and, 'Denontie secrete contro ministri dele pompe con l'impunità secreteza e benefitii giusto alle leggi.'⁶¹ The state encouraged anonymous denunciations, enticing with monetary rewards and, when possible, by rewarding the informer with the valuable item forbidden by the legislation.

Fines were the most common penalty and in most cases the amount was set regardless of the section of the law broken.⁶² Confiscation of the offending item was common; the fines and articles confiscated were divided up between the officers carrying out the law, the commune, the secret accusers, and, in certain periods, the arsenal.⁶³ Husbands and fathers were responsible for their womenfolk and legislation from 1443 threatened them with exclusion from the *Maggior Consiglio* and all other political offices.⁶⁴ The same legislation forbade all cloth-of-gold and silver, as well as embroideries employing the latter; ownership of such fabrics was considered proof of abundance of funds and, in the spirit of the common good, the men responsible for women donning such items were required to give the treasury a forced loan of 1,000 ducats.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ ASV, Senato, Terra, reg. 18, fols 184v-185 (14 Feb. 1514 *mv*) cited in *ibid.*, 325.

⁶⁰ Killerby, "Practical problems," 111.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 112. See also Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice," 245.

⁶² Killerby, "Practical problems," 102. Jane Bridgeman has examined the costs of luxury clothing in relation to the fines they incurred in Renaissance Florence and concluded that sumptuary legislation was a form of a 'supplementary taxation' on the rich. (Jane Bridgeman, "'Pagar le pompe': Why Quattrocento Sumptuary Laws Did Not Work," in *Women in Italian Renaissance culture and society*, ed. Letizia Panizza [Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000]).

⁶³ Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice," 256.

⁶⁴ Killerby, "Practical problems," 103.

⁶⁵ Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 78; Killerby, "Practical problems," 103.

When fines were not considered adequate deterrents, legislators requested the Church's help to further threaten the members of their congregations with excommunication. From the ecclesiastical point of view, the sins of pride, avarice and *luxuria* threatened Christian souls' perdition; their allure was also dangerous for society as a whole.⁶⁶ In terms of the Church's doctrinal stance on attentiveness to external appearances, St Thomas Aquinas had made an allowance for women displaying their beauty, even enhancing it, in the pursuit of a husband.⁶⁷ When Andrea Gritti wrote to Pope Sixtus IV in 1471 he was doing so on behalf of twelve of his female relatives. He succeeded in obtaining a licence from Rome allowing his female kin to wear long trains, platform shoes (*zoccoli*) and false hair so that they might remain attractive to their husbands and, for those who were unmarried, 'for reasons of propriety not vanity - in other words [so as] to attract a husband.'⁶⁸ However, legislation, for the most part, came from secular authorities and the vast majority of bishops seemed comfortable with lay governments taking the dominant role in efforts against sumptuary excess.⁶⁹

The complexity of societal attitudes to wealth and luxury is reflected in the legislation. Boerio defines *pagar le pompe* as 'pagare la multa o pena stabilita dalle leggi suntuarie per poter derogare alle stesse leggi, e far quello che esse proibivano.'⁷⁰ Paying to break the law offered the wealthy the opportunity to publicly display their luxury items, in other words to promote their social status, and simultaneously to further broadcast their financial status by trivializing the penalty. One cannot help but wonder whether the Cretans also 'pagavano le pompe' and continued displaying their luxurious garments and precious jewels.

4. Regulation in *Bandi*

The state drive to regulate appearances has been linked to other legislative efforts which appeared at the same time, such as the governance of public health. For

⁶⁶ Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 79-80. Excommunication appears to have deterred women more than state fines. Following the introduction of excommunication for breaking sumptuary law in 1445 in Perugia, Pope Paul II received a series of requests from Perugine women for absolution during Lent of 1468.

⁶⁷ Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae, quaestio 169 cited in Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 80.

⁶⁸ Killerby, "'Heralds of a well-instructed mind,'" 257. For a discussion of *zoccoli*, which were often targeted by the lawmakers see Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 91-2.

⁶⁹ Killerby, "Practical problems," 102.

⁷⁰ Boerio, DDV, 520.

example Hunt mentions ‘the attempts to regulate what kind of garbage could be disposed of in the streets, public thoroughfares and water systems, and what animals could be kept where.’⁷¹ Such information is found in Candia’s *bandi*, the announcements of the city’s public crier recorded in official *registri*, a fraction of which have survived in the Venetian state archive.⁷² We do not know whether these oral proclamations were accompanied by the bill-posting of the announcements in manuscript form. This question, Paola Ratti Vidulich writes, brings up issues of levels of literacy among the Cretan public and the existence of printing workshops in the city which could provide such a service.⁷³ There is no evidence to suggest the existence of publishing houses in Crete, therefore the possibility of printed *bandi* can be excluded.⁷⁴ The author comments, ‘Ci limitiamo a notare come, mediante la conoscenza di essi, viene abbondantemente illustrata l’attività normativa di questi organi e insieme la vita della colonia nei campi giuridico, economico e sociale.’⁷⁵ *Bandi* record the information local authorities conveyed to the city’s population; a picture of daily life in the capital begins to emerge from the announcements on criminal activities, the grazing of animals, waste disposal, the presence of pirate ships and the obligation to attend state processions.

The Cretan crier most frequently stated that the announcement was publicised ‘a tutti et cadauno’ ‘sopra la Colona di St. Marco’; Ratti Vidulich claims that on occasion other locations were sometimes chosen such as the *loggia* near the *palazzo*

⁷¹ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 187.

⁷² Cretan *bandi* are found in the following *buste*: ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 14 reg. 1 (1313-1352); b. 15 reg. 2-4 (1356-1475); b. 15bis reg. 6-9 (1518-1538); b. 16 reg. 10-14 (1566-1622); b. 17 reg. 15-19 (1622-1669).

⁷³ Paola Ratti Vidulich, ed., *Duca di Candia Bandi (1313-1329)* (Venezia: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1965), ix.

⁷⁴ Modern Greek books were being printed in Venice. The firm of Aldus Manutius was foremost among publishers of Greek classics (see note 109 below). The most famous Greek firm dedicated to the publication of Greek books, was that of Zacharias Kalliergis and Nikolaos Vlastos, located in Venice. They published four incunabula editions in 1499 and 1500. The first Modern Greek book was the 1519 edition of Bergadis’ *Apokopos*. For a discussion of the network of printers, publishers and financiers of Greek printing see Evro Layton, “Notes on some printers and publishers of 16th century modern Greek books in Venice,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981); for a discussion of Greek publishing in the incunabular period and the contribution of Greek scholarship to Renaissance Humanism see Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *Charta of Greek Printing: The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*, trans. Timothy Cullen, vol. I: Fifteenth Century (Cologne: Dinter, 1998); on printing of Modern Greek books, primarily religious ones see Στέφανος Ε. Κακλαμάνης (Kaklamanis), “Ειδήσεις για τη Διακίνηση του Έντυπου Δυτικού Βιβλίου στο Βενετοκρατούμενο Χάνδακα (Μέσα ΙΣ' Αιώνα),” *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 (1986); for an annotated list of publications in Greek in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the classic reference is Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963).

⁷⁵ Ratti Vidulich, ed., *Duca di Candia Bandi*, x.

ducale, the *ruga Magistra*, the *borgo* and in some cases the Jewish *ghetto*.⁷⁶

However, her comment regards the early fourteenth century and it is possible that by the sixteenth century matters had changed. Some proclamations explicitly state that they were read out in both languages, ‘in latino sermone et in greco sermone.’⁷⁷ This would have ensured all relevant parties understood the announcements’s content. The only social group which appears in the *bandi* in connection to issues of appearances is Candia’s Jewish community. In 1608 the Jewish inhabitants of Candia were informed that,

...perche alcuni hebrei vano portando berete o capelli negri senza che habbino privilegio o gratia⁷⁸ alcuna di maniera che non essendo conosciuti per hebrei possono commetere delle fraude fra i christiani pero essendo conveniente che detti hebrei siano de ogni uno conosciut(i) per tali ordinamo et statuiamo che alcuno di loro non sia cossi arditto di portar barita negra o capello ne conegno ne senza segno ma debbano senza alcuna escusatione sempre et ogni tempo portare le beretta et li capelli...⁷⁹

We discover that some Cretan Jews were disregarding their obligation to wear a *baretta* with the assigned mark and instead were wearing the black hat, *barita negra*, forbidden to them by legislation. Fears of the inability to register alterity in this case, religious difference, are expressed repeatedly in the *bandi*. On 27 January 1661 an announcement reads,

...alcuni hebrei habitenti in questa Judaica...mettendo del tutto in oblivione ogni lor debito hanno da se medissimi tralasciato di portar ne loro capelli e berete il segno del galan⁸⁰ galo instituito per esser distinti, e conosciuti trà Christiani...⁸¹

According to the document there are certain Jews who ‘per grazia di particular privilegio’ were allowed to wear a black hat, ‘capel nero.’ They had to report to the authorities, however, to avoid abusing this right.

Similar incidents were occurring in Venice. Headgear as a signifier of social class played a significant role in ritualised social interaction as, for example, the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ For a sample of such announcements see ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 15bis, reg. 16, f. 115r, f.139r; reg. 9, f. 90v.

⁷⁸ *Gratie (grazie)* ‘[i]n Venetian terminology [collectively referred to] a whole range of special favors, permissions, pardons, remissions of debt, and awards of privileges and offices.’ On the granting of *grazie* to residents of the maritime empire as a negotiating tool of governance see O’Connell, *Men of Empire*, 97-118.

⁷⁹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 16, reg. 12, f. 94r-v.

⁸⁰ A *galan* is a ribbon or a ribbon’s ornament; in this case we can understand it to be a hatband. (Boerio, DDV, 295).

⁸¹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b.17, reg. 18, ff. 82v-83r.

removing of hats in the presence of social superiors. On 20 July 1525 Sanudo records the following incident: a son of Anselmo dal Banco, who was known to be Jewish, was arrested in the city for wearing a black *scufia* and holding the assigned yellow *bareta* in his hand.⁸² The Jewish community in Venice was obliged - with the exception of doctors of medicine- to wear yellow *barete* so as to be distinguished from the city's Christian majority.⁸³ Sanudo's constant impulse to record his city's daily life led him to narrate a similar event of an earlier date. On 21 June 1509 he reported that a French spy was arrested for disguising himself as a Jew by donning the yellow *bareta*. He attempted to mingle with the locals, 'vestito da zudio e con la bareta zalla', dressed like a Jew and with a yellow cap.⁸⁴

As we have seen in Chapter One, Candia's Jews were assigned their own quarter within the city walls and, as testified by the information provided in the *bandi*, they also were restricted in terms of their attire. Georgopoulou reports that ethnic differentiation by means of clothing was observed in the Crusader States and that the practice was further disseminated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁸⁵ As early as 1421 Jews in Crete were obliged to wear a yellow badge which had to be round and the size of a four-*denari* bread loaf.⁸⁶ In 1421 local authorities tried to increase the size of the badge and imposed a three-finger-wide yellow veil on Jewish women. The Jewish community complained against the excessive nature of the legislation and it was subsequently revoked.⁸⁷

It is worth noting that the function of headgear as a signifier of religious and social differences extended beyond Christian lands to the neighbouring Ottoman Empire where it provided a marker of ethnic diversity. In 1567 Nicolas de Nicolay published a costume book following his travels in the East entitled *Les quatres premiers livres des navigations et pèrègrinations Orientales... Avec les figures au naturel tant d'hommes que de femmes selon la diversité des nations & de leur port*,

⁸² Newton does not offer the reference in Sanudo's work. (Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 137).

⁸³ Ibid. The literature on the topic is vast. Indicatively for medieval precedents and visual representation of difference see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval art* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003); for a discussion of later developments and the role of Franciscan theology in regards to discrimination against the Jewish people see Diane Owen Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City," *Past and Present* 112 (August 1986).

⁸⁴ Marin Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*. A cura di F. Stefani, (Venezia, 1879), col. 424 (21 June 1509) cited in Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 137, 171.

⁸⁵ Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 331.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 331.

⁸⁷ Freddy Thiriet, *Assembles* 2 (1971), 145 cited in ibid.

maintien & habitz.⁸⁸ In his discussion of Thessaloniki, an Ottoman port in northern Greece, he distinguishes three types of current inhabitants; Christian Greeks, Jews and Turks. Regarding their appearance he writes, 'Il loro habito di testa è un Turbante giallo inzafronato (zaffron yellow), quello de Christiani Greci turchino (turquoise), & quello de' Turchi è puro bianco, acciò che non tal diveristà di colore si riconoschino l'uno dall'altro: ma quanto alle vesti eglino tutti quanti vestono longo come tutti gli altri Orientali.'⁸⁹ The colour of the turbans alone differentiated the three groups, whereas their clothes, were all 'Oriental.' In the Ottoman Empire dress codes aimed to ensure that Muslim subjects, non-Muslim subjects (*zimmi*s) and non-Muslim foreigners (Franks) remained visibly distinct; headgear, its form and more frequently its colour, was conventionally used to draw these distinctions.⁹⁰

5. Beards: A Sign of Orthodox Faith?

The men who penned the descriptions at the beginning of this chapter recorded the physical appearance, the approximate age and the clothes of the persons observed. As historians we approach the past and attempt to reconstruct and interpret it by way of its material remains, such as household artefacts, artworks, literature, diplomatic correspondence or private letters. Ephemera do not survive and any effort to utilise them as historical evidence necessarily relies on secondary sources that recorded such detail for reasons often unrelated to the questions at hand. Thus an authority recording the appearance of a declared bandit, for instance, can offer insight into not only how people looked and dressed but also what people noticed and recorded when they looked at their contemporaries. The human body acts as a bearer of non-verbal symbols, and, among these, hair has the potential to be 'a fertile and powerful bearer of meaning.'⁹¹ Hair, exceptionally malleable and usually highly visible in public, conveys social messages regarding age, sex, class, profession, and race. On a temporary basis, hair can be fashioned by the individual to carry

⁸⁸ Nicolo de Nicolai, *Le Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia... con diverse singolarità in quelle parti dall' Autore viste & osservate* (Amversa: Guil. Silvio, 1577), 297. This is an Italian translation of the original French work published a decade earlier.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Matthew Elliot, "Dress codes in the Ottoman Empire: the case of the Franks," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: EREN, 2004), 103-5. Elliot confirms that Jews commonly wore yellow, Christians blue and Zoroastrians black. Non-Muslim subjects and Franks could obtain special permission to dress as Muslims for their safety when travelling. Muslim attire implied the right to bear arms. For further discussion see *ibid.*, 104-114.

⁹¹ Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair," 43.

messages, such as mourning or religious pilgrimage. The enforced shaving of hair acted as a form of punishment, a branding of the accused or the condemned with a visible sign of society's rejection. Thus, Vecellio writes that the hair and beards of the 'Sforzati', criminals sentenced to serve in the galleys, was shaved, leaving only a moustache.⁹² Indeed, the distinction between ethnic groups is, in fact, '[o]ne of the oldest and most general functions of hair treatment was to distinguish ethnic groups.'⁹³ Beards in Crete during the first centuries of coexistence between Venetians and Cretans came to signify religious difference and, in turn, political affiliations.

McKee comments on the cultural significance of men's facial hair in Crete by stating that in the early thirteenth century differences in dress and hairstyle, such as Greek men's beards, made it easy to visually separate Greeks and Latins.⁹⁴ From Candia's *bandi* we are informed that in 1314 'no feudatory supplying a troop may henceforth appear at muster in the presence of the regime wearing a beard, under penalty of ten *hyperpera* for each time, unless he has the excuse of *mesticie*.'⁹⁵ *Mestizia* (ant. *Mesticia*) is a 'stato d'animo di profonda tristezza, di depressione più o meno durata...',⁹⁶ such as a period of mourning. In 1324, the son of a Latin man, Paolo Dono, was granted free status by the regime on the condition that he never wore a beard in the Greek fashion, that he never attended a Greek church and that he lived as a Latin in every other way.⁹⁷ The early period of Venetian rule saw Cretans revolt against the authorities and prohibiting beards must have aimed to establish instant recognition of soldiers fighting for the Republic and enemy rebels. Clearly to the state's disapproval some of the Venetian settlers had adopted the local habit of wearing beards, thus creating visual homogeneity among the populace. Venice feared the political implications and sought to regulate men's external appearances and to differentiate between its local subjects and the governing elite. The regime was willing to grant the right to wear a beard only to those with blood links to locals, in other words, feudatories of mixed heritage who were permitted to be bearded as a

⁹² Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 225. Clearly in addition to socially shaming the convicts, such a measure took hygienic considerations into account as well.

⁹³ Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair," 45.

⁹⁴ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 126.

⁹⁵ ASV, Duca di Candia, Bandi, p. 20, n. 53, 15 July 1314 cited in *ibid*.

⁹⁶ Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1978). Vecellio associates the term with mourning when he discusses special clothing requirements on Cretan women as sign of mourning or grief; he writes, '*segno di lutto ò di mestitia*.' (Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni*, f. 425r).

⁹⁷ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 125. Latin paternity in Crete led automatically to free status.

sign of their ties with the local populace. The cultural custom of wearing a beard, which was not conventionally associated with being Latin, was, thus, permitted to men of mixed heritage.⁹⁸

It should be noted that the preferred treatment of hair, whether one wears a beard or is clean-shaved for instance, has no intrinsic value, but acquires meaning 'as a marker in a system of oppositions.'⁹⁹ This system acquires greater potency in areas where different populations live in close proximity.¹⁰⁰ In Crete the arbitrary opposition ascribed beardedness to men of the Orthodox rite and non-beardedness to those of the Catholic rite. Almost three decades after the 1314 proclamation in Candia, the same problem appeared elsewhere in the Venetian maritime empire. In 1341 in Modon, a Venetian colony in the Peloponnese, Venetian soldiers were reprimanded for their beards and ordered to shave immediately. According to the source, the authorities were displeased that the Venetians were indistinguishable from the Greeks.¹⁰¹ The potency of such oppositions is attested by the existence of the same binary distinction between 'the short-haired, shaven Normans and the long-haired, whiskered Anglo-Saxons.'¹⁰² As late as the 1190's some Englishmen wore beards to express their hostility to the Normans.¹⁰³

Almost three centuries later, in the sixteenth century, were beards still associated with the Orthodox faith and the indigenous population? Social conditions had greatly changed and organised hostility had long been suppressed. According to Vecellio's sixteenth-century illustrations of Venetian patricians, not least of the doge, beards had become fashionable in the capital and, indeed, adopted universally by the elite. In Vecellio's virtual tour of the city, the only completely beardless Venetian is the 'Giovane Nobile'; all adult Venetians don beards. Beards by the sixteenth century, therefore, had come to define age categories and rites of passage from a stage of life without social responsibilities to one as life-long representative and administrator of the Republic. In Crete, evidence suggests that beards never went out of fashion. Two sixteenth-century church frescoes photographed by Giuseppe Gerola attest to this. The fresco of the *Greek nobles (Archontoromei) of the countryside* (Fig.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 160.

⁹⁹ Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair," 57.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 45.

¹⁰¹ Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, 4:6 cited in Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, 259.

¹⁰² Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair," 45.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

24), previously examined for the depicted *berete*, portrays a Greek nobleman with a closely trimmed beard. Another wall-painting photographed by Gerola depicts Georgios Hortatzis, a priest, in the position of supplication. (Fig. 52) He has a beard and long hair; Fragaki writes that the latter was the hair style preferred by Cretan men.¹⁰⁴

The appropriateness of beards for members of the clergy was contended between the two rites, no doubt adding another layer of meaning to an already loaded social marker. The Eastern Church remained faithful to a fifth-century canon which approved of clerical beards, whereas the Western Church creatively re-interpreted the text in the ninth century and henceforth insisted on clerical shaving.¹⁰⁵ As Bartlett has noted, the two churches' antithetical approaches to this issue confirms the futility of making any intrinsic association between a specific hair style and an assigned social meaning, in this case between Christian priesthood and the donning of a beard. It is also worth noting, however, the link between hair removal and sexual renunciation which interprets the shaved state of Latin clergy as a sign of their commitment to celibacy in contrast to lower-rank Orthodox priests who are permitted to marry.¹⁰⁶ Vecellio, who rarely includes textual commentary on his male figures' hair, comments on the link between hair and chastity in his discussion of the Greek clergy, albeit to oppose the interpretation offered above. Unlike the Roman Catholic Christians, he writes in his description of the 'Religioso Greco', Orthodox priests were allowed to lead secular lives. Following this, he comments on a type of Greek religious man who, like Catholic friars, remained chaste. 'These men', he writes, 'usually wear... a small cap with a mane of long hair, as long as they remain virgins.'¹⁰⁷ In this case then, keeping one's hair long signaled sexual abstinence.

One priest's insistence on keeping his beard, in spite of his conversion from the Orthodox to the Catholic faith, allegedly cost him the Papacy since the Catholics remained unconvinced of the sincerity of his conversion.¹⁰⁸ Cardinal Bessarion

¹⁰⁴ Φραγκάκι, *Η Λαϊκή Τέχνη της Κρήτης*, 61.

¹⁰⁵ The original canon reads 'Clerics should not grow their hair long nor shave their beards.' In the ninth century this was read 'Clerics should not grow their hair long but should shave their beards.' (Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair," 57).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Tonsure, the continuous reminder of Christ's crown of thorns, is another example linking abstinence with hair removal.

¹⁰⁷ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 467.

¹⁰⁸ Bessarion was considered twice for the Papacy. For further reading and extensive bibliography on Bessarion see Jonathan Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West: 1400-1520* (Camberley, Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 1995), 99-100. Regarding the 1455 election for papal succession, L. Labowsky writes

(1403-72) was without doubt one of the most famous Byzantine personages in Renaissance Italy and by far the most influential.¹⁰⁹ The Byzantine delegation in Florence for the discussion of the unification of the two Churches, made a significant impression on locals at the time. Bessarion, then known as Bessarion of Trebizond, Bishop of Nicaea, was present in Florence. Jonathan Harris writes that the Greeks' beards and their extravagant manner of dress fascinated the Western audience.¹¹⁰ Bessarion, always with a long beard, served Italian painters as a model for St Jerome and other Church fathers.¹¹¹ Despite his illustrious career in the service of the Pope, the cardinal remained, writes Labowsky, close to '[la] tradizione cristiana dei Bizantini...anche nel suo aspetto esteriore...per tutta la sua vita continuo a indossare l'abito di monaco basiliano, e le fonti contemporanee sono piene di annotazioni, talora rispettose, talora ironiche, sulla sua lunga barba.'¹¹²

There is little doubt that Bessarion was keenly aware of the power of appearances: in 1453 as papal legate to Bologna, he formulated a sumptuary law laying out in detail the appropriate attire for women based on their social class.¹¹³

that 'i pregiudizi sulla sua nazionalità e forse anche il timore del suo rigore morale si opposero a che egli venisse scelto.' (L.Labowsky, 'Bessarione,' DBI, vol. 9, 690).

¹⁰⁹ On Bessarion's activities and charitable acts towards Greek émigrés in the West see Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West: 1400-1520*, 99-101; Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 418-9. On his promotion of Greek studies and the copying of Greek manuscripts see Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West: 1400-1520*, 126-31. His personal library of between 800 and 900 manuscripts (600 of them Greek) was bequeathed to Venice and later become the Biblioteca Marciana. This collection was the primary reason Aldus Manutius chose Venice as the location for his Greek printing press, which published all the major works by ancient Greek before 1515. The Aldine Press and its later imitators employed many expatriate Byzantine scholars who had sought refuge in Venice. (Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West: 1400-1520*, 127-8; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 420-1) For a discussion of the importance of the Aldine Press for the exiled community of Byzantine Greeks, Greek humanism and a discussion of some of its Greek collaborators see M. I. Manoussacas, "The History of the Greek Confraternity (1498-1953) and the Activity of the Greek Institute of Venice (1966-1982)," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 5 [1989]: 324-5; for the publication, circulation and reception of Greek books in the late sixteenth century see Παπαδάκη, "Συνέταιροι κι έμποροι".

¹¹⁰ Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West*, 77.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Labowsky, DBI, 688.

¹¹³ Families of knights were set at the pinnacle of this hierarchy, followed by 'nobles, doctors, notaries, clothiers, and members of the silk guild', then households of workers, and, at the very end, peasant women. Women related to families of knights were allowed four expensive dresses ('one of valuable crimson fabric, one of velvet, and two of the highly valued, rose-coloured cloth, *rosato*), trains two-thirds of a *braccio* in length, two jewels (one on the breast and one on the forehead), six bejewelled rings, and six rings without jewels.' At the opposite end of the spectrum, peasant women were not allowed to use silk or any red-coloured fabric for their clothes, were not allowed trains or any jewellery save for silver and this less than eight ounces. (Killerby, "Heralds of a well-instructed mind") For a treatise arguing against these regulations see note 46 above.

Killerby comments that these restrictions were comparatively moderate in contrast to the cardinal's threat to excommunicate those who disobeyed his legislation.¹¹⁴

Bessarion's efforts to promote the union of the two churches led to a long-lasting connection between the Cardinal and Crete. Negotiations for his bequest to the pro-union Cretan Orthodox clergy began in the mid-fifteenth century and, although such views were never popular with the local population, the bequest survived to the end of Venetian rule.¹¹⁵ At the instigation of Bessarion, who in 1463 had become titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Pope Pius II granted an allowance to twelve Unionite Cretan priests who found themselves in dire straits.¹¹⁶ The income, totalling three hundred ducats, was to be provided by the patriarchal property in Crete, then controlled by Bessarion. In return, the aforementioned priests were to promote the union of the two Churches which had formally taken place at the Council of Florence in 1439.¹¹⁷ The number of the recipients of Bessarion's bequest increased in 1466 from twelve to seventeen priests and a lay Greek tutor. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the number decreased to sixteen most probably due to the absence of candidates to fill the positions.¹¹⁸ Returning to the importance of headgear as markers of difference, a seventeenth-century source reports that Unionite priests were obliged to distinguish themselves by the sign of a purple cross on their hats ('con obligo...di portare una croce violate nel cappello per distinzione.')¹¹⁹

Bessarion's initiative ostensibly created a third Christian group in Candia, whose rights were sometimes defended and other times ignored by the Venetians, depending on their relationship with the Papacy, the Ottoman Empire and the local Orthodox population. The locals never warmed to the Unionite priests: characteristically a commentator in 1467 wrote that they were ridiculed and belittled everywhere in Candia, even more so than the Jews.¹²⁰ By 1577 the *Provedditore*

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 259.

¹¹⁵ Τσιρπανλής, *Το Κληροδότημα του Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος*, 101. Tsirpanlis discusses the bequest exhaustively. For a brief introduction to the issue see Maltezou, "The historical and social context," 28-9.

¹¹⁶ Τσιρπανλής, *Το Κληροδότημα του Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος*, 95.

¹¹⁷ Bessarion had received the honour of reading the decretal of the union in Greek. (Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West*, 99-100).

¹¹⁸ Τσιρπανλής, *Το Κληροδότημα του Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος*, 167.

¹¹⁹ Muazzo, *Fragmenti e Memorie Historiche del Regno e Guerra di Candia*, (1670) cited in Τσιρπανλής, *Το Κληροδότημα του Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος*, 115. It is not known when this legislation was introduced.

¹²⁰ Κώστας Γ. Τσικνάκης (Tsiknakis), "Οι Εβραίοι του Χάνδακα τον 16ο Αιώνα," in *Ο Ελληνικός Εβραϊσμός* (Αθήνα: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Νεοελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας), 244-5.

Generale, Giacomo Foscarini, commented that the Unionites were Catholic only in name so as to receive the bursaries. In reality, he wrote, they were completely ignorant of the Catholic faith, and Foscarini concluded, ‘in effetto non sanno ne qual che sia fede, ne qual che sia cattolico, ne alcuno merita li denari.’¹²¹

The imperatives of successfully ruling a majority foreign population demanded Venetians use the powers of military, administrative and legislative authority, and, simultaneously, closely control and manage the symbolic order. The elite’s appearance in terms of clothing and initially also of facial hair, were carefully monitored and regulated to ensure they remained visually distinct from the locals. Whether an *abito rosso* of a rector, a beard in the Orthodox fashion, or excessive display of wealth, appearances mattered.

6. The Greeks in the World of Costume Books

‘Costume illustrations,’ writes Wilson, ‘located identity in the representation... [i]n contrast to long-standing familial and corporate affiliations, viewers were prompted to find their place in a world catalogued by dress.’¹²² Costume books enjoyed considerable popularity in Venice, where a total of nine were produced between 1540 and 1610.¹²³ The genre set out to map the known world using clothes as the ordering principal; this allowed for the unknown, the ‘Other’, to be understood and familiarised as a variation of the self. Projecting the notion that clothes corresponded to social rank, costume books were organised on the premise that the world’s inhabitants could be distinguished and recognised by the variations of their dress.¹²⁴ Nudity, conversely, came to be understood as a sign of the primitive stage of human existence, one that predated that of civilization and becoming European.

Wilson’s discussion of the Venetian costume books focuses on the interactive qualities of these prints. She views costume books as gradually instructing Venetians

¹²¹ S. Spanakis, ‘Η Θρησκευτικο-εκκλησιαστική κατάσταση στην Κρήτη τον XVI αιώνα,’ *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 21 (1969), 145-6 cited in Maltezou, "The historical and social context," 28.

¹²² Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity," 260.

¹²³ Ibid., 221. The beginnings of the genre are located in France with the publication in the years 1562 to 1601 of approximately twelve costume books, six of which in multiple editions. For a complete list see Ollan, "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," 20-1.

¹²⁴ Wilson also discusses the absence of physiognomical markers to indicate race in the modern sense - ‘a concept,’ she writes, ‘not yet clearly articulated.’ Instead, physiognomy acted as an external indicator of one’s internal character traits. (Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity," 230-2).

‘to see themselves as they were seen by others...by learning to see oneself as an image, individuals were instructed in the representational weight of their own bodies, gestures, posing, their style.’¹²⁵ Costume books, in other words, not only succeeded in trivialising all differences between early modern peoples apart from the superficially apparent, but also sensitised readers to their own assigned position in this closely controlled world. All other differences, apart from those of appearance, such as religious beliefs, social organisations and rituals, were confined to the accompanying text. As soon as these lines were clearly drawn, Wilson maintains, the potential for them to be crossed also became possible and hence easier.¹²⁶ How were subjects of the Venetian territories, Crete in specific, portrayed in this popular genre? After exploring appearances, using state documentation, costume books present a contemporary source on the topic which appealed to the early modern public and, in turn, contributed to their knowledge and opinions of the world beyond the lagoon.

Vecellio’s two costume books have been introduced in the preceeding chapter. The second edition, *Habiti antichi et moderni*, was published with the addition of 87 prints of the New World totalling an impressive 507 plates.¹²⁷ The author provided single-page woodcut figures dressed in the attire characteristic of their sex, age, nation and social class, each set against a blank background save for a hint of land at their feet. Each figure is enclosed in an engraved frame and introduced on a separate page in a description that focuses primarily on their costume. On occasion, Vecellio offers additional information on the geography, agriculture, diet and customs of their homelands. The figures’ overhead captions indicate their professions, whether the attire is for inside or outside the house, and in the case of women, their marital status. Leslie Meral Schick discusses this lack of background context in costume books and states that, ‘This absence lends the pictures authority and verisimilitude. They are almost never portraits of individuals, but they are presented as very accurate portraits of their respective types and reliably reflect social standing... The location, the context of these images appears curiously absent, but it is in fact embedded in the image itself, for here, *dress is place*.’¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity," 264-5. Wilson sees this as a Lacanian process citing Jacques Lacan’s mirror-phase theory, as well as his understanding of the screen as a ‘threshold through which the subject negotiates its place within the social order.’ (Ibid., 260-1).

¹²⁶ Idem, *The World in Venice*, 260.

¹²⁷ Ollan, "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," 29.

¹²⁸ Schick, "The place of dress," 94-5. The italics are my own.

In his address to the reader Vecellio warns of the endless variety and variations of people's costumes. He writes, 'Et è cosa verissima, come hò ditto nel principio di quest'opera, che la cosa de gli Habiti non conosce stato nè fermezza, & si vanno sempre variando à voglia et capriccio altrui.'¹²⁹ This is re-iterated when he comments, 'Volendo io parlar della diversità degli Habiti, li quali sono portati di diverse Nationi di genti, le quali si riferiscono alli paesi, che loro habitano, si come quelli alle persone, che gli portano...'¹³⁰ Cesare had travelled with Titian, his cousin once removed, outside his native province to Augsburg, but he does not mention this experience.¹³¹ Instead, Vecellio concentrates on issues relating to Venice, building upon his firsthand expertise of the city.¹³² He frequently writes in the first person, naming individuals such as Bartholomeo Bontempele whose fabrics were coveted in the city and beyond, or to thank contacts who helped him in the collection of information for his book.¹³³ The world's sartorial diversity is laid out first in chronological and then in geographical terms. He begins with the costumes of Ancient Rome, followed by those of medieval and Renaissance Venice, then turns to the dress of other Italian cities, followed by that of Europe, Asia and Africa, and, at the end of the 1598 edition, the Americas. When discussing a specific location, his guiding principle is the city's social hierarchy. Thus, for Venice the figures descend 'from the doge to the Senators down through professional men, merchants and shopkeepers to galley slaves and porters; and, for women, from the *dogaressa* (the wife of the doge) through noblewomen and artisans' wives down to prostitutes and state-supported orphans.'¹³⁴

The ecumenical breath of the work does not obscure the fact that Venice lies at its heart. A map of Venice is offered and no less than sixty woodcuts portray the costumes of its inhabitants, both past and present.¹³⁵ The author justifies this Veneto-centricity by claiming that there was no need to travel the world in order to

¹²⁹ Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni...* (Venetia, 1590), not foliated.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Rosenthal and Jones, "Introduction: Vecellio and his world," 13. For more on his travels see *ibid.*, 23.

¹³² Ibid., 13.

¹³³ Messer Bontempele is discussed in the entry 'Donne per casa'. See Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 38-41.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 139.

¹³⁵ An emphasis on the costumes of the place of publication is consistent throughout the genre. Publishers promoted such choices to attract an audience among locals, as well as foreigners. (Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 222-3).

experience its richness and diversity, since the whole world came to Venice.¹³⁶ The Republic, which could not lay claim to a Roman heritage, follows the parade of Roman figures and acts as a springboard for viewing the world.

Firsthand observation forms the core research technique for Vecellio's Venetian attire, while for past costumes he often turns to works of art for information. His representation of figures from beyond the lagoon, however, relies heavily on the costume books that preceded his own. Jo Anne Ollan comments that the author 'makes up in ambition what he lacks in authenticity.'¹³⁷ For his Turkish costumes and Greek figures, Vecellio relied on Nicolas de Nicolay, whose discussion of headgear in Thessaloniki was examined above. Nicolay's original French publication was reissued throughout Europe in the sixteenth century.¹³⁸ The book records the fifteen years he travelled in the Ottoman Empire as a geographer in the retinue of 'Signor d'Aramonte', ambassador of the French king to 'Solimanno Impertor de Turchi.'¹³⁹ Besides costumed figures, the author offers extensive textual descriptions of the locations he visited. In this sense Nicolay's work bridges the gap between travel accounts and costume books with a heavier emphasis on the textual element than the visual. For Nicolay the figures function clearly as illustrations to the narrative text. His interest in the Greek-speaking lands derives primarily from their link to classical Antiquity and, secondarily, from their early Christian past. This is also true, as we shall see, for island-books.

While it is clear that Vecellio turned to Nicolay's figures for the Eastern Mediterranean, he did not hesitate to take certain liberties with the details. In *Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, the relevant figures are *Patriarcha de Greci*, *Religioso Greco*, *Frate Greco in Schena*, *Religiosa Greca*, *Nobile Greco*, *Mercante Greco*, *Sposa Greca di Pera*, *Greca in Pera*, *Donna Greca (sotto la Repubblica Venetiana)*, *Sfachiotto di Candia*, and *Sfachiotta di Candia*. Following these, he presents three women of Macedonia who live in the Turkish manner: *Nobile Donzella (Macedonica)*, *Matrona Macedonica*, *Sposa Tessalonica*. He ends the first book on Europe (the second begins from the borders of Greece as the title page indicates, 'comiciando da' confini della Grecia') with *Dona Mitilena* and, *Concubina*

¹³⁶ Rosenthal and Jones, "Introduction: Vecellio and his world," 23.

¹³⁷ Ollan, "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," 29.

¹³⁸ Ollan gives a partial account of these sixteenth-century publications: three editions in France, two in Italy, one in Antwerp in 1576, two in Germany and one in England in 1585. (Ibid., 24).

¹³⁹ Nicolai, *Le Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia*, 65.

Rhodian.¹⁴⁰ Nicolay's figures often change identities in Vecellio's work or retain only some features of their original costumes, usually the most striking ones. Thus, Vecellio's *Nobile Donzella* of Macedonia (Fig. 53) closely resembles Nicolay's *Donna di Macedonia* (Fig. 54), which the latter claims is a 'ritratto al naturale'.¹⁴¹ Vecellio altered the profile to a three-quarter view, lengthened the undergarment and provided the figure with a scarf and a second gown which extends beneath the knee.¹⁴² More drastically, he removed the loaf of bread from the woman's hands, which according to Nicolay was sold to travellers along village streets and paths, and repositioned her arms in a resting position. By eliminating any reference to the woman's work, he shifted emphasis entirely to her costume and particularly to her large, conical headdress.

The figure of the 'Sfachiotta di Candia' derived from Nicolay's 'Contadina Greca' offers another instance of selective borrowing. (Figs. 51, 55) Both women carry baskets, a visual shorthand for their country life, and wear a scarf which covers their head, upper chest and shoulders, cascading down the back to the waist. They are also both barefoot, a visual cue for their affinity to nature and, by implication, a reference to their primitive state. Vecellio comments that some of the *Sfachiotte* wear a *casso*, 'a stiff bodice in the Venetian style, with woollen sleeves, red or some in color'.¹⁴³ Sleeves, as we have seen in the previous chapter, appear frequently in Cretan notarial records, albeit from urban rather than rural centres. This *casso* and the jewellery worn differentiate Vecellio's figure from Nicolay's. Vecellio comments that the wealthier women of Sfachia wear large 'hoop earrings of gold' and a silver chain tied as a belt 'which hangs down in front of them with two or three pear-shaped chimes or silver bells'.¹⁴⁴

Nicolay follows the figure of the Greek peasant women with those of the 'Gentiluomo Greco' and the 'Mercante Greco' with no accompanying commentary. However, in the text which precedes all three, entitled 'Moderna Religione de Greci,' the author offers an insight into contemporary popular opinions on Greeks, opinions which will be echoed in Vecellio's work. After discussing the Orthodox faith and its

¹⁴⁰ For the women of Mitilena (Mytilene), then Ottoman, Vecellio writes that '[t]ali Donne di questa Isola sono Greche per la maggior parte, & hanno belle fattezze.' Rhodians were admired for their beauty and sensuality, live on an island occupied by Turks. (Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni*, 430 [pagination not continuous]).

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 325.

¹⁴² Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 478-9.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 477.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

differences from the Catholic one, Nicolay sets up the grounds for an opposition between the glory of Greek Antiquity and the Greeks' current undignified state. The Greek people were once flourishing and famous, '[il] gia tanto florida e famosa gente Greca,' had led all other European nations, were governed by republics, administered justice, were talented and brave in war, and could be called the fathers ('origine & fonte') of philosophy and liberal sciences. 'Hoggidi,' he writes, 'et per il variabil corso di natura, & per l'instabilità di fortuna, la più diserta, barbara, & desolata provincia di tuto l'universo, per essere cadute in tal vergogna & miserabil servitù appo quegli che sono piu che barbari...' ¹⁴⁵ The fall from grace is re-iterated: '...la povera Grecia affatto fù diguasta, dissipata, dilacerate, & distrutta...' ¹⁴⁶ With only themselves to blame, 'castigo de' lor fallo,' the Greeks lost their empire, Byzantium, and its capital, Constantinople, and now, 'sono rimasti i calamitosi Greci, nella miserabil servitù de gli infideli & miscredenti Maumetisti...' ¹⁴⁷ The notion that the fall of Constantinople was divine retribution for Byzantine sins and the fallacy of the Orthodox Church had circulated, in fact, immediately after 1453. The construction of the binary opposition of the glorious past and decadent present had become the accepted mode of discussing the Greek-speaking lands. We have seen this in the literary accounts in chapter two, where Creto-Venetians repeat this topos.

Vecellio's discussion of Greek religious figures centres on the schism between the two churches. *Greco* and *Greca* are defined in religious terms. In the text accompanying 'Religiosa Greca quasi monaca appresso de' Catholici' Vecellio casts a positive light on the cherishing of virginity among contemporary Greeks. ¹⁴⁸ Echoing Nicolay's argument, he blames the present subservient condition of the Greek people on their abandonment of the true faith. On two occasions Vecellio makes this explicit. In his discussion of the *Nobile Greco*, he writes 'Non è alcun dubbio, che la Chiesa Greca quattordici volte non si sia discostata dalla nostra Chiesa Cattolica, & ogni volta si è riunita...Et però per questa dissensione sono ridotti à tale, che ovunque si ritrovino, sono servi, & tenuti pocco in pregio.' ¹⁴⁹ Further on, he draws a surprising parallel between Greeks and Jews, 'Si come i Giudei vanno disperse per haver croficcisso Christo, cosi i Greci per non rendere ubidienza al Suo Vicario Pontefice Romano, e però nè l'una, nè l'altra natione ha Signoria in alcuno

¹⁴⁵ Nicolai, *Le Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia*, 323.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 324.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 325.

¹⁴⁸ Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 469.

¹⁴⁹ Idem, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni*, f. 418r.

paese.¹⁵⁰ The diaspora of the Greeks and the Jews is therefore interpreted as a punishment for the error of their confessional ways since Greeks, on the one hand, refuse to accept the Catholic doctrine and Jews, on the other, were responsible for Christ's Crucifixion.

Vecellio's book functions on the premise that costumes lend order to the world in the same way as place, conventionally portrayed in maps. The figure of a Venetian senator functions as a metonymy for Venice. Following Vecellio's logic, Greeks who have no land can have no distinctive clothing either. Regarding Greek married women in lands held by Venetians, Vecellio writes, 'La Greca dunque nel Dominio Veneto, essendo maritata, va vestita alla Venetiana, e quasi tutta di negro, eccetto però che hanno in testa, & alle spalle un fazzoletto bianco; ne gli ornamenti imitano similmente le donne Venetiane; & sono astute, & accorte.'¹⁵¹ Greek women are refused autonomy and presented simply as imitating Venetian style. The final comment on their characters, added almost as an afterthought, ensures the reader realises the similarities are confined to external appearances and that Cretans' characters are inferior to those of Venetians.

7. Sfachia/Sfakia

Nicolay's travels in the Eastern Mediterranean did not include the island of Crete. His itinerary took him to Cerigo, Tino, Chio, and Metelina (Mytilene), bypassing Candia and focussing on the Ottoman presence in the region. Vecellio, on the other hand, provided two Cretan costumes, one of the *Sfachiotta di Candia* and *Sfachiotta di Candia*. The introduction offers the reader the often-repeated comments regarding Crete: '[the island was] called Crete in ancient times, and the story is that it contained a hundred cities; its people long ago were commended for their shrewdness ('astutia'), so that Cretan shrewdness became proverbial.'¹⁵² Both were rehearsed comments repeated in the literature on the island and most probably entered popular circulation via Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Descriptio Insule Crete*, the first travelogue on Crete. Buondelmonti's account of his peregrinations remained one of the most consulted accounts of the island until at least the end of the sixteenth century. The claim regarding the existence of a hundred cities on the island dates

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., f. 422v.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.; Vecellio, *The clothing of the Renaissance world*, 476.

back to Homer's *Odyssey* where the poet described Crete as having 'εννήκοντα πόλεις,' ninety cities.¹⁵³ According to legend, before the Trojan War, there were a hundred, but Leucia (Leuco/Leucos) destroyed ten.¹⁵⁴ The second comment regarding Cretans' characters refers to an extract from an epistle of the Apostle Paul to Titus. Paul warns Titus to be careful of the locals as "[i]t was one of them, their very own prophet, who said, 'Cretans are always liars, vicious brutes, lazy gluttons'."¹⁵⁵ Vecellio continues by discussing the island's fertility and the abundance of rich wines, which are held universally in high esteem. Sfachia is introduced as follows 'In questa Isola posseduta hora dalla Serenissima Republica di Venetia, è una Regione detta Sfachia...'¹⁵⁶ The landscape of south-western Crete is rough and infertile, 'alpeste & selvaggia', and the region sustains people like their terrain, rough and wild, 'aspra, & ruvida.' Vecellio is explicit on the link between nature and human characters: 'habitata da gran numero di gente, la quale, conforme al sito ove ella nasce...' and again, 'Et per esser (come si dice) gente aspra, & rovina, conforme al paese che le produce...'¹⁵⁷ In the introduction to his book, the author claimed that the diversity of clothing worn by the peoples of various nations reflected the regions they inhabited and the people who wore them.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ The relevant passage from the *Odyssey* (Rhapsody T) reads: 'There is a fair and fruitful island in, mid-ocean called Crete; it is thickly peopled and there are, ninety cities in it: the people speak many different languages, which overlap one another, for there are Achaeans, brave, Eteocretans, Dorians of three-fold race, and noble Pelasgi.' (<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext99/dyssy10.txt>, 07/06/2010.)

¹⁵⁴ Porcacchi in *L'isole più famose del mondo* (1572) writes, 'Concordansi quasi tutti gli scrittori in dire che già in quest' isola fossero cento città, benche presso Homero nell' *Odissea* novanta sole se ne legga, chiamandola egli con voce greca *εννενηοστοπολις*, percioche Leucia dopo la guerra Troiana ne ruinò dieci.' (Cited in Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 121; for Porcacchi's comment on owning an anonymous manuscript 'nel qual erano per ordine disegnate tutte l'isole et tutti gli scogli dell' Archipelago con qualche poca narratione pertinente alle misure de'luoghi' which Kaklamanis claims is Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* see *ibid.*, 126) According to O. Tsagarakis the reference to the number of ancient Cretan cities should not be taken literally but understood as a metaphor for the island's power and sizable population. (O. Τσαγκαράκης [Tsagarakis], 'Εκατόμπολις Κρήτη', *Αριάδνη* 5 [1989], 83 cited in *ibid.*, 131).

¹⁵⁵ Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy, eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal /deuterocanonical Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 312, New Testament. Buondelmonti disembarked at the port of Candia where he came across the notary Bonaccorsi (*Bonaccursius*) who spoke of Candia's abundance of wine, cheese and cereals that were exported by the Venetians to the entire world. The only produce lacking, he commented, were olives and this was because the islanders were too lazy to collect them. This attitude, commented Buondelmonti, was 'rightfully' recorded by the Apostle, who said, 'Κρήτες αεί ψευσαι, κακά θηρία, γαστέρες αργαί.' (Αλεξίου and Αποσκίτη, eds., 'Ενας Γύρος της Κρήτης στα 1415, 29, 59; Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete, 151). I would like to thank Christos Plousios for his help with this translation and the one from Homer's *Odyssey* quoted above.

¹⁵⁶ Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni*, 423v.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ This link is also drawn out in *relazioni*. In 1589 *provveditor* Zuanne Mocenigo writes of Sfachia: 'sottil territorio...è luogo forte per la ferocia di quelgl' abitanti, et per il sito montuoso da terra, et

Vecellio's figure of the Sfachiotta emphasizes his warrior qualities and physical vigor. He portrays him with an arrow resting on his shoulder, a bow held in his hand, and others hanging from a case on one side and a sword on the other. (Fig. 56) He stands firmly on the ground, his eyes downcast, averting the reader's gaze. His attire and appearance are described by the author, who concludes by stating that all Sfachiotti were excellent archers ('perfettissimi arcieri') and that they were divided into two factions, the Pateri and the Sfachiotti, who lent their name to the inhabitants of the entire region. Two fragments of Cretan embroidery in the V&A in blue monochrome silk thread on linen cloth depict a hunting scene with human figures holding bows and arrows in aiming positions. (Figs. 57, 58) The men have moustaches and wear knee-high boots, *vrakes* and shirts. A detail of the second fragment, partly deteriorating, shows one of these archers donning fantastical headgear. (Fig. 59) Vecellio points out that Sfachiotti wear sailors' hats ('cappell[i] alla marinara'), knee-high boots ('stivali in gamba') and, uniquely among Cretan peasants, they do not wear white wool ('panno di lana bianco') like the *facchini*, the porters, of Venice. In the text on the women of Sfachia Vecellio writes that Cretan peasants wore white linen or cotton ('tela bianca di lino, ò di bombace').¹⁵⁹ The figure of the Sfachiotta, holding a basket to denote her peasant status, has been discussed above. Regarding particular information pertaining to local customs, Vecellio comments on mourning traditions which called for women to wear dark yellow head-scarves following the death of a relative and to dress entirely in black when widowed. They only take off their black clothing, he writes, when they remarry. Vecellio reflects on his decision to discuss only the Sfachiotti, 'this rough group of people', rather than any other inhabitants of Crete. He writes, 'Ho voluto nel far mentione de gli Habiti della Grecia, far mentione fra quei di Candia di questi soli della gente roza: perche i Nobili, & tutti quegli, che in detto Regno habitano nelle città, usano Habito conforme al Venetiano; se bene alcuni anchora si conformano più à quello del rimanente d' Italia.'¹⁶⁰

Venetians faced problems in subjugating and controlling this region of Crete which received special attention not only from Vecellio but also in state *relazioni*.¹⁶¹

importuoso da mare...' For the author, the mountainous land and port-less sea are echoed in the roughness and ferocity of the land's inhabitants. (Σπανάκης, ed., *Zuanne Mocenigo*, 8).

¹⁵⁹ Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni*, 425r.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 424.

¹⁶¹ The severity of one *Provveditor Generale*, Marino Cavalli, who set out in November 1571 to put an end to the problems of controlling the region remained infamous in Crete. Following heavy

Famously disobedient of the law and notorious rustlers, they were divided into clans which administered their own justice by the prevailing custom of *vendette*, a form of honour-killing.¹⁶² In many ways, the population of this region, doubtless aided by the natural protection from intruders offered by the uninviting terrain, remained semi-autonomous from Venetian rule.

The robustness and athleticism of Vecellio's male figure is mirrored in descriptions from *relazioni*. Foscarini writes, 'Solevano fra loro far del continuo molte costionj,¹⁶³ et se era morto uno della parte contravia, li parenti, et le donne loro no si spogliavano mai la camisa nera, che si vestivano subito, se non ne facevano vendeta, conservando la camisa insanguinata del morto.'¹⁶⁴ He also comments on the physical strength and their characters, '...sono agili; et destij, correno sopra le montagne, come Dainj, et li Sfachiottj sono sopra tutto valorosj, et cosi buoni arcierj, et archibusierj...'¹⁶⁵ *Provveditor* Moro (1602) offers a more flattering description,

‘non dirò solo nella virilità de gli aspetti, dispositione et sveltezza de i corpi asciuti, robusti et gagliardi, o nell’ardire, et nel genio di grandezza con che trattano naturalmente, ma, quello che maggiormente importa, nella sottilità dell’ingegno, nella grandezza dell’animo, et nella maestria del maneggiar l’armi, cosi l’arco, come l’archibusco, nel qual sono fatti, quanto si possa essere, eccellenti, che si possino dire, senza dubbio, la più ardita, più brava, et più valorosa gente che habbia quel Regno.’¹⁶⁶

The Venetian authorities did not leave such martial skill untapped. Maltezos writes that in 1513 the island's authorities called for the recruitment of 2,000 Cretan archers; the island's villages were estimated to number 1,600, so this amounted to

destruction and bloodshed, the locals surrendered and proclaimed their faith and obedience to Cavalli and the Republic. Giacomo Foscarini, Cavalli's successor, had a more conciliatory approach to the politics of Western Crete. However, the Sfachiotti continued to pose problems for subsequent governors and the situation reached another breaking point in 1608 when Nicolo Sagredo devised a plan of invasion, which was never put into action. (Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 206-7) Moro in his 1602 *relazione* refers to Cavalli's 'spectacolo di strage (slaughter, massacre)' only to conclude that its results were short-lived. (Σπανάκης, ed., *Benetto Moro*, 77).

¹⁶² Sfachiotti also made their living from the surrounding forests as wood-cutters, caulkers and sawyers. Moro writes, 'la maggior parte di loro più di latrocinij che d'altra industria la vita, se bene ve ne sono pur alquanti che vivono de i loro sudori con honesto essercitio nell' arte di marangone, di segatore, di calafato, di tagliaboschi et di altri mestieri da huomini da bene.' (Σπανάκης, ed., *Benetto Moro*, 75-6. See also idem, ed., *Zuane Mocenigo*, 9-10).

¹⁶³ 'Costion (custion) = contesa [disagreement], lite.' (Boerio, DDV, 215).

¹⁶⁴ ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 78, *Dell' Illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor Giacomo Foscarini Kavalier Provveditor General, et Inquisitor nel Regno di Candia Presentata l'anno 1579 à 25 Settembre Prima parte*, f. 236v.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Σπανάκης, ed., *Benetto Moro*, 78.

one or two men from every village.¹⁶⁷ Some *provveditori* appeared keen to reverse the climate of hostility, attracted by the prospect of gaining such athletic and spirited men as allies on the island. Moro succinctly summarizes the tension between repulsion at Sfakiot lawlessness and attraction to their unyielding, proud nature. He speaks of their natural, incurable inclinations towards evil and how distant Justice was from those parts of the island, ‘havuto rispetto all natura inveterata nel mal far, et alla lontananza della Giustitia da quelle parti.’¹⁶⁸ This was partly linked, he believed, to the limited jurisdiction of the local *provveditor* on issues of serious crime.¹⁶⁹

Moro’s discussion of Sfachiotti is comparatively extended and he refers to his personal experience as governor, stating that during his tenure he received little notice of and few serious complaints from the region. This he attributed to his initiative to make an example of three Sfachiotti cattle-thieves caught with stolen animals at sea outside Gerapetra on the north-east of the island. His decision to publicly hang them outside the gates of the city was ‘per dare con la continua vista del loro supplicio, continuo terrore agli altri.’¹⁷⁰ The effect of this punishment, however, he admitted, was short-lived.

Vecellio laconically mentions the Sfakiot claim to have descended from ‘Romans’, only to reject its truth.¹⁷¹ Late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century *relazioni* provide a possible explanation for such a claim. The *Provveditor* Foscarini in his 1579 *relazione* writes of the twelve families of the *Archondoromei*, noble Greeks who claimed descent from the ancient kingdoms of the Empire (‘antichi principali dell Imperio’) and some of whom, with the passage of time, had changed their surnames.¹⁷² According to the author, in his time there existed two factions of the Scordili family, one of the noble Greek families of *Archondoromei*, who had changed their names to Pateri and Papadopoli. The first lived in the region of Sfachia and the second in Rettimo and they had been great enemies for many years. This

¹⁶⁷ Μαλτέζου, "Λατινοκρατούμενες ελληνικές χώρες," 212.

¹⁶⁸ He advised the Venetian authorities to approach the Sfachiotti and attempt to rein in their services for the Republic’s benefit. (Σπανάκης, ed., *Benetto Moro*, 76-8).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 76-7.

¹⁷¹ The island was conquered by the Romans in 67 BC and remained a province for about four centuries. With the eventual division of the Roman Empire in 395 AD, Crete became part of the Eastern Roman Empire. For a summary of Crete’s Roman history see Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 103-24.

¹⁷² ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 78, ‘Dell’Ill.mo et ecc.mo s.r Giacomo Foscarini...Proved.r G.nal, et Inquisitor nel Regno di Candia Presentata l’anno 1579 à 25 Settembre’, Seconda parte, 236r.

story was repeated in most of the *relazioni* that discuss Sfachia; Vecellio repeated the name of the Pateri but replaced Papadopoli with ‘Sfachiotti.’ Mocenigo’s *relazione* of 1589 estimated that the Sfachiotti numbered approximately 2,500, nine hundred of whom were ‘huomini da fatti’, while six hundred of the latter served in the *ordinanze*.¹⁷³ Yet, he explained, the Sfachiotti were not obliged to provide men for the *angarie* (corvées) or for the galleys since almost all of them were considered privileged *Archondoromei* and claimed descent from royal Roman families that had been sent from Constantinople to this colony (‘rij famiglie Romane che anticamente furono mandate da Constantinopoli in quella Colonia.’)¹⁷⁴ Repeating what we have already read, he discusses their factions and their natural, unbridgeable hatred for each other.¹⁷⁵ Problems between clans were resolved with guns and offences answered with crimes. Clans, he writes, protected and hid their own bandits, who thus fled justice and, in turn, committed more crimes.¹⁷⁶

The Ρωμαίοι/Romeoi in Foscarini and Mocenigo’s accounts and the Romans in Vecellio’s text refer to different groups. The *Archondoromei* in the context of the Greek-speaking world and, in this specific instance of Crete, were believed to have been noble Byzantine families. ‘Archontes’ was a title of nobility; hence the term can be translated as ‘noble-Romans.’ The medieval Cretan folklore of the *Archondoromei* was first recorded for a Western audience by Cristoforo Buondelmonti who in his travels on the island met a monk who took him to one of the local lords (*archontes*), Captain Matteo Calergi.¹⁷⁷ Calergi told him that when the island had been conquered by the Byzantines, the Emperor sent his son accompanied by twelve families chosen from the elite of Roman Constantinopolitan nobles (‘*filii dicti imperatoris una cum nobilibus duodecim principibus Romanorum de Poli*’)¹⁷⁸ to rule the land.¹⁷⁹ The descendants of these nobles still lived on the island, he told Buondelmonti, and had kept their Byzantine names and crests. If it were not for their continuous fighting each other, they could easily re-conquer Crete, Calergi told

¹⁷³ On *ordinanze* see Chapter Two, note 73.

¹⁷⁴ Σπανάκης, ed., *Zuanne Mocenigo*, 9.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁷⁷ Αλεξίου and Αποσκήτη, eds., *Ένας Γύρος της Κρήτης*, 76-8. See also McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 74-5. The Calergi family, descendants of Matteo, has been discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁷⁸ Buondelmonti, “*Descriptio Insule Crete*,” 187-8.

¹⁷⁹ Αλεξίου and Αποσκήτη, eds., *Ένας Γύρος της Κρήτης*, 78. The Byzantine era in Cretan history is divided into three periods: the first Byzantine period (330-824); the Arab conquest of the island (824-961); and the subsequent re-conquest introducing the second Byzantine period (961-1204). (Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 128).

Buondelmonti. These old Romans dressed like the rest of the island's inhabitants, according always to Buondelmonti's account of the conversation, and their families married only among themselves so as not to mix their ancient, noble blood with that of people foreign to them.¹⁸⁰ When one was born to these noble families he was spoken of only with words of praise and referred to as "sir" until his death.¹⁸¹ However, the chrysobull dated 1082 by the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) which attests to the existence of these twelve noble families has been established as a later forgery.¹⁸² In fact, these noble families were most probably local Cretan feudatories, who by the beginning of the twelfth century had gained considerable wealth and land in return for their military and political support of the Byzantine Empire. Detorakis convincingly suggests that the myth of the 'twelve *archontopoula*' probably dates from the beginning of the Venetian period when these elite families were eager to ensure the continuation of their privileges under the new regime.¹⁸³

The appellation *Romeoi* generally referred to the Greek-speaking subjects of the Byzantine Empire and after 1453 the term continued to be used by those same populations as they became subjects of other regional powers.¹⁸⁴ Taken out of the context of the Greek-speaking Byzantine and post-Byzantine world Vecellio understood the word to refer to the citizens of the Roman Empire and reported the Sfachiotti's claim in this manner. Not surprisingly he judged such an ancestral line quite implausible. The misunderstanding of the term *Romeoi* serves to highlight the difficulties in cross-cultural transpositions of self-referential terms. Meanings are seldom fixed, and words, even more so appellations of these kind, easily acquired unintended significance. The authors of the *relazioni* mentioned above had become aware of the Greek use of *Romeoi*, whereas Vecellio, removed from the cultural environment of the Eastern Mediterranean, understood the term as defined conventionally. Regarding the levels of inter-cultural knowledge, Nicol paints a grim picture of Venetian knowledge of Byzantine culture after 1453 despite the

¹⁸⁰ Αλεξίου and Αποστίτη, eds., *Ένας Γύρος της Κρήτης*, 79-80. The original text reads, 'Hii autem antiqui Romani non uarios uestes aliis induunt. Et ad inuicem contrahunt ut ne sanguis antiquorum nobilium aliis forensibus ualeat commisceri.' (Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete," 191).

¹⁸¹ Αλεξίου and Αποστίτη, eds., *Ένας Γύρος της Κρήτης*, 80; Buondelmonti, "Descriptio Insule Crete," 191.

¹⁸² Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 156-7.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁸⁴ The Ottomans adopted the Greek use of the term: 'Rum' was used to refer to their Greek-speaking subjects and 'Rumeli', land of the Rum, referred to their Balkan lands which were once Byzantine. (Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 409).

subsequent influx of Byzantine immigrants to Venice. He comments on the surprising fact that after many centuries of close contact, Byzantines and Venetians never developed a 'fruitful rapport,' but instead kept their distance.¹⁸⁵

In order to fully understand the cultural significance of the term *Romeoi* in the Eastern Mediterranean context it is necessary to briefly look at issues pertaining to Byzantine identity and how Byzantine terminology continued to be used in the centuries following the end of the Empire. Byzantine identity was premised on two separate strands, Graeco-Roman Antiquity, on the one hand, and (Eastern) Christianity on the other.¹⁸⁶ Byzantine culture, the culture of the court and the ruling elite, proceeded by means of a 'constant and mutual readjustment' of these two strands.¹⁸⁷ The majority of Byzantine thinkers and writers saw the two as constituent parts of a common heritage which allowed them to differentiate themselves from the Jews, Muslims and pagans of their surrounding environment, as well as from the Christians of the Western and the Slavonic worlds.¹⁸⁸ Although this view is held by the majority of scholars, a note of caution needs to be drawn, one indicative of the complexity of such elusive issues as identity. Cyril Mango, a 'Byzantinist' art historian, advocates a view of Byzantium as a break with classical antiquity and a 'construct of Christian and Jewish apologists built up in the first five or six centuries A.D.'¹⁸⁹ He argues that the widespread reshuffling of populations and the virtual disappearance of cities in the seventh century ended the Graeco-Roman culture of late Antiquity. According to Mango, the social composition of medieval Byzantium was formed by a tiny intellectual elite which advocated a connection to the classical past set against the backdrop of a larger, relatively literate public, and the overwhelming majority of illiterate members of society who constituted roughly over ninety-five percent of the population.¹⁹⁰ He polemically asserts, '[t]he reason why

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 421.

¹⁸⁶ Speros Vryonis Jr., "Byzantine Cultural Self-Consciousness in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire. Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University, 8-9 May 1989*, ed. Slobodan Curcic and Doula Mouriki (Princeton, N.J.: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Program of Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, 1991), 5; Robert Browning, "The Continuity of Hellenism in the Byzantine World: Appearance or Reality?," in *Greece Old and New*, ed. Tom Winnifrith and Penelope Murray (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1983), 122.

¹⁸⁷ Browning, "The Continuity of Hellenism," 5.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 122, 124.

¹⁸⁹ Cyril Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981), 57.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 49.

Byzantium so often appears to us in an antique guise is simply that it has been dressed in theatrical costume by its own learned authors. We are presented with a ritualized ballet in which the realm of the Romans (or, better still, of the Ausonians) is advancing or retreating amidst a troupe of Achaemenids, Babylonians, Scythians and Mysians.¹⁹¹ Mango maintains that this guise of ‘a beacon of classical civilization shining among the barbarous gloom of the Middle Ages’ has been promoted by those wanting to see Byzantium as a transmitter of classical tradition to the West and a direct link connecting Antiquity to the modern Greek state.¹⁹² Among these, the Greeks are paramount.

Speros Vryonis, Jr. examines the ethnic nomenclature used by Byzantines to describe themselves, their state, culture and language in the last period of Byzantine history, the Palaeologan era (1261-1453). He claims that the lines between the terms *Ρωμαίος* /Romeos and *Έλληνας* /Hellenas were on the whole blurred and their usage varied between authors.¹⁹³ Vryonis’ examination of contemporary historians, such as Symeon of Thessaloniki, Critovoulos, Ducas, George Gemisthos Pletho and Laonikos Chalcocondyles, identifies a variety of approaches to terminology in their works; Critovoulos, for instance, consistently uses the word *Ρωμαίοι* and its derivatives to refer to Byzantium, whereas Chalcocondyles reverses the traditional designation, using the epithet *Έλληνες* and its derivatives for everything relating to the Byzantines and derivatives of *Ρωμαίος* for the Hapsburgs and the Pope.¹⁹⁴ Another approach comes from Ducas who uses both *Ρωμαίοι* and *Γραικοί* /Grechi for Byzantines and *Έλλην*/Hellene for ‘the ancient Greeks, the pagan education... and geographical regions.’¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, he uses the term *Grechi* in opposition to *Ιταλοί*/Itali in his discussion of the union of the two rites. Vryonis concludes that ‘the usage of *Ρωμαίος* and *Έλλην* (and even *Γραικος*) are not absolutely and clearly drawn. Critoboulos and Ducas, despite their preponderant use of *Ρωμαίος* as the Byzantine ethnic epithet, also employ the form *Έλλην*, not only as a linguistic, geographical, and ancient epithet but also as a sobriquet for contemporary

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 50.

¹⁹² He writes, ‘The Byzantine Empire, we are assured, saw itself as the custodian of a priceless deposit of ancient culture, and more particularly of Greek culture, which it lovingly guarded century after century until forced by the advancing hordes of Asiatic Turks to convey it to Italy, thus causing the Renaissance in the West.’ (Ibid., 48).

¹⁹³ Vryonis Jr., "Byzantine Cultural Self-Consciousness," 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 8-9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 8.

Byzantines.¹⁹⁶ He adds that in the fifteenth century the boundaries of ethnic terminology varied between authors and were inconsistent even in the scholarship of a single author.¹⁹⁷ Simultaneously feelings ran high among advocates of the different camps. A Byzantine metropolitan attending the Council of Florence was enraged at being addressed as a *Γραικός*/Grecos, considering this a horrible offence to his Byzantine identity.¹⁹⁸

Maltezou concurs on the fluidity of the 'ethnic' terminology and points out that for the 'Greek of the Frankish- and Venetian-held Greece' the debate taking place among the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia surrounding terminology was of little consequence.¹⁹⁹ She suggests that the Greeks who lived under the rule of the Genoese or Venetians had become accustomed to the foreign term 'Greco', which so offended the metropolitan mentioned above, and moved comfortably between *Ρωμαίος* /Romeos and *Γραικός* /Grecos, gradually coming to prefer the second to the first. From the point of view of the Venetians the term 'Greco' was used to refer to the inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean who spoke Greek as their mother tongue and, for the most part, were Orthodox. In this sense the term was used in both a geographical and a devotional sense. The language in the *capitula*, the terms and conditions of surrender which were negotiated between the local population and Western conquerors from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries is also telling. The term *Romeos* and its derivatives were used to refer to the local religion, language and customs ('consuetudines'). Even here, though, vocabulary was not consistent: the Corfiots used the term 'nation greca' to refer to themselves, while the burgers of Monemvasia requested the continuation of the privileges they enjoyed under the rule of 'i Signori Greci', referring to the Byzantines.²⁰⁰

For Maltezou the gradual substitution of *Romei* for *Greci* was a symptom of the shrinking cultural horizons of the former subjects of the Byzantine Empire. 'Romeos' from the thirteenth century onwards began to lose its ecumenical dimension and the sense of entitlement to an epithet with vast geographical jurisdiction gave way to the predominance of regionality, of pride in the locality of

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 9.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Maltezou, "Η Διαμόρφωση της Ελληνικής Ταυτότητας," 113.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου (Maltezou), "Η αρχαία κληρονομιά στην ιδεολογία του βενετοκρατούμενου ελλήνισμού," *Τα Ιστορικά* 28, 29 (1998), 61.

one's birthplace.²⁰¹ By the sixteenth century the story of the *Archontoromeoi* and the link between certain Cretan families and Byzantium that it promoted had become a harmless legend for the Venetians. In fact, it could even have been considered a useful tool for inciting local support against the Ottomans, the conquerors of the lost Byzantine Empire. For the (alleged) descendants of the twelve noble Byzantine families this legend offered social prestige and served their class interests, which by this time were for the most part aligned with those of the island's Venetian rulers.

The importance of social class in Cretan society is reflected in the different relationship each indigenous social group developed with the island's rulers. The alignment of Cretan nobles' and Venetians' interests was discussed above. However, this aspect of Cretan society is usually overridden in historical accounts which favour the national 'fraternal ideal.' Anderson argues that 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each [community], the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.'²⁰² Thus, although the plight of the Cretan peasants and their adversarial stance to Venetian rule is often mentioned, Greek scholarship routinely glosses over the diverging interests of the Cretan nobles and the peasants. The latter were universally exploited by their social superiors: the Cretan and Venetian nobles, and the local governing authority. McKee's work on fourteenth-century Crete argues against views which present both the Venetian and Greek communities as monolithic, homogenous groups. Her analysis of the revolt of St Titus of 1363 presents an instance when Cretan-Venetians and their Venetian compatriots did not see eye to eye on matters of governing the colony.²⁰³ The distance separating the Venetian and Cretan societies, both literal and mental, created conflicts of interest and lapses in communication, as we have witnessed in the instance of Vecellio's inability to comprehend the Sfachiots' claim of 'Roman' descent.

The following chapter will move beyond the ephemeral aspects of Cretan life examined in the last two chapters to examine the treatment of the Eastern

²⁰¹ Characteristically Maltezou writes, '[h]aving realised that *Romania* (*Ρωμανία*) is no longer the vast world that embraced people and nations, and having meanwhile understood that the name *Ρωμαίος/Romeos* had lost its ecumenical dimension, without ceasing to use it, he [the Greek] starts to increase the frequency of the name *Γραικός/Greco*.' (Maltezou, "Η Διαμόρφωση της Ελληνικής Ταυτότητας," 113-4).

²⁰² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

²⁰³ Friction and factionalism existed also within the noble community, in specific between the descendants of the original Venetian feudatory families and those who had arrived more recently. See McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, esp. 160-7.

Mediterranean in maps. In a similar manner to the way costume books ordered the world using sartorial appearance as the taxonomical principle, *isolarii* presented the reader with a world composed of separate, isolated islands. *Il Regno di Candia* featured prominently in this popular cartographic genre. Two seventeenth-century maps, one of the world and the other of the Italian Peninsula, are framed by a frieze of costumed figures and cityscapes, quite literally bringing costumes and maps onto the same page, and, thus, providing evidence of the strong link in the early modern conception of the world between place and clothing.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ They are Jan Jansson's *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula* (1632) and Nicolaus Johannes Visscher's *Tabula Italiae, Corsicae, Sardiniae, et adjacentium Regnorum* (1652). The illustrated borders also contain cityscapes, coat of arms, and equestrian statues of rulers. See Grimes, "Dressing the World," 18-20.

Chapter 5

Islands: Insularity and Connectedness

‘Isola. Dura e inospitale schiena d’asino, come la voleva Archiloco, o paradisiaco luogo di beatitudine, mai irrilevante. Frattura nello spazio, nell’orizzonte sul quale irrompe, punto singolare di comunicazione tra spazio immanente e spazio trascendente, tra acqua e terra, tra vita e morte.’

Tarcisio Lancioni, *Viaggio tra gli Isolari*, (1991).¹

‘...mi bisogno veder mille volte l’immagine della morte in mezo al mare per ventidue ore...’

Nicolò Donado, *Relazione del nobil ms Nicolò Donado Provveditor General nel Regno di Candia*, 5 Zuigno 1598.²

‘Non conosce il mare, come se fosse un Candiotto.’

Tommaso Porcacchi, *L’Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, 18.

1. Introduction

Crete’s strategic location in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean ensured the popularity of its cities and ports; many travelers visited the island, patrician administrators and merchants arrived and departed, locals traveled for trade and education, pilgrims stopped on their way to the Holy Lands. Candia, an island and city, and Venice, an island-city, were both surrounded and accessed by sea. Sea travel, therefore, became a prerequisite and complementary experience to that of the cities themselves. Insularity, defined as ‘the state or condition of being an island, or of being surrounded by water’³ was celebrated in its own right in the cartographic genre of island-books, *isolarii*. Venice’s insular urban landscape provided a departure point in many of these books, which were produced primarily during the sixteenth century in Venetian print-shops. The city’s landscape, coupled with its intricate involvement in an island empire sensitized the Venetian audience to the ordering of the world with islands as its measuring units. Islands were viewed as microcosms of human activity, fauna and flora and in the case of the Archipelago,

¹ Tarcisio Lancioni, *Viaggio tra gli isolari. Con una prefazione di Umberto Eco*, Almanacco del Bibliofilo (Milano: Edizioni Rovello, 1991), 3.

² ASV, Collegio Relazioni, b. 79, Relazione del nob.l ms Nicolò Donado..., f. 33r.

³ Online Oxford English Dictionary (www.oed.com), 10/04/2010).

reliquaries of Antiquity, Humanism's lost paradise. By the sixteenth-century, the Archipelago had become the stage of an ongoing war between the Ottoman Empire and Western powers for ownership and control of the region. The sea journey that brought one to Candia was often grueling and dangerous, plagued by the discomforts of travel and the perils of the elements, war and piracy.

The Venetian *Oltremare* during its long history at times included Crete (and Cerigo [Kythira] which was under its jurisdiction) and Cyprus,⁴ described by Fernand Braudel as 'miniature continents of the Mediterranean world';⁵ Negroponte (1390-1470); Coron and Modon, the 'eyes of the Republic'; Malvasia (Monemvasia, 1464-1540); 'Napoli di Romania' (Nauplion, 1389), an important port in the northeast Peloponnese; Tino, which after 1540 and until 1715 remained the last Venetian colony in the Aegean; Micono; Delo; and the islands of the Ionian Sea, Corfu (1386-1797), Zante (1482-1797), Cefalonia and Itaca. In addition to state ownership, a number of Aegean islands following the fourth crusade fell into the hands of Venetian patrician families. Scarpanto (Karpathos), for instance, an island between Crete and Rhodes, and Caso (Kassos) belonged to a branch of the Corner family until 1537; Andro (Andros) to the Zen family (1384-1437); Stampalia (Astipalea) and Amorgo to the Querini (1433-1537); Serifo to the Michiel; and Paro to the Venier and Sagredo families (1520-3).⁶ Other Aegean islands belonged to families not originating from Venice: the Duchy of Naxos or the Archipelago, composed of Thirasia, Andro, Anafi, Santorino, Melos, Syra, Iso, Paro and Antiparo, was founded by the Venetian Marco Sanudo, but passed into the hands of the Crispo family until its fall to the Ottomans in 1566.⁷ The principality of Sifno belonged to the Bolognese Gozzadini, while Rhodes was famously home to the Knights of St John until 1523 when it was conquered by Süleyman the Magnificent.

The terms used for Venice's share of the Eastern Mediterranean, the *Oltremare* or *Stato da mar*, linguistically bound the colonies in relation to the sea, *mare* being present in both. *Oltremare*, 'beyond the sea' or, more conventionally

⁴ Cyprus passed into Venetian control in 1489 when Caterina Cornaro was forced to abdicate her title following the death of her husband and infant son. Unlike Crete, the island was never settled by colonists, but provided sizable profits for certain patrician families such as the Cornaro/Corner della Ca' Grande, the Contarini and the Giustiniani. Cyprus was an important purveyor of grain, sugar, cotton, salt, and, most importantly, it served as a gateway to the Levantine markets. (Arbel, "Colonie d' Oltremare," 957-9).

⁵ Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 148. The characterization extends to Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily and Rhodes.

⁶ Ibid., 947.

⁷ See Lock, *The Franks*, 147-8.

‘overseas’ in English, emphasized the distance separating Venice from the islands and ports of its colonies. The ‘beyond’, however, required a ‘here’ to be fully comprehensible and this was provided by Venice, which firmly anchored itself at the centre of its worldview. Samuel Y. Edgerton refers to such positional enhancing as the ‘omphalos syndrome,’ the tendency, in other words, to always imagine oneself as the centre.⁸ Whether ‘beyond’ the sea, *Oltremare*, or ‘in/at’ the sea, *stato da mar*, the colonies’ relationship with Venice was firmly fixed in maritime terminology. Tenenti speaks of Venice’s relationship to the sea as organic, a physical extension of the city which was collectively experienced by the population. ‘Nella psicologia collettiva della comunità,’ he writes, ‘si era comunque innegabilmente formato su questo piano il senso che il mare fosse come qualcosa di tutt’uno, almeno per quanto riguardava lo spazio navale che andava da Venezia, sino al Levante.’⁹ No civic ritual bespeaks more tellingly of the Venetian intimate ties and mental mapping of the sea than the doge’s annual ‘marriage to the sea’, the *sposalizio del mare* or *Sensa festival*, a reference to the celebration occurring on Ascension day. (Fig. 60) The ritual blessing of the sea, a *benedictio* of the Adriatic, to pacify and gain its favour and an invocation to protect sailors, dated back to the eleventh century.¹⁰

On the day of the *Sensa*, the *bucintoro*, the doge’s ceremonial galley, carrying the doge, high magistrates and foreign ambassadors rowed into the lagoon accompanied by choir music, the sound of church and monastery bells and hundreds of adorned *gondole*, guild barges, young noblemen in pilot boats and galleys manned by sailors from the arsenal. Near the convent of Sant’ Elena, Venice’s north-eastern point, the procession met the patriarch who blessed the waters by repeating three times the evocation: ‘We worthily entreat Thee to grant that this sea be tranquil and quiet for our men and all others who sail upon it, O hear us.’¹¹ Following this, he

⁸ Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr, "From Mental Matrix to *Mappamundi* to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance," in *Art and cartograph : six historical essays* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 26 cited in J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape, Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, *Cambridge studies in historical geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; reprint, 1989), 289.

⁹ Tenenti, "Il senso del mare," 51. For a discussion of Venice’s changing relationship with its land and sea empire throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the impact of the Portuguese discoveries on the Venetian perception of ‘economic space’ see idem, "The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973).

¹⁰ Edward Muir, *Civil ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1981), 98. The benediction of the waters was a common ritual in sea-faring communities performed at the beginning of the sailing season.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

approached the *bucintoro* where he blessed the doge and together they proceeded to the lagoon's opening into the Adriatic. Upon a signal from the doge the patriarch emptied an ampulla of holy water into the sea, at which point, the doge dropped his gold ring (the *vera*) overboard, saying 'We espouse thee, O sea, as a sign of true and perpetual dominion.'¹² The dignitaries proceeded to San Nicolò al Lido for prayers and a banquet, while the first merchant galleys and pilgrim ships of the season embarked on their journeys for the East.¹³ San Nicolò al Lido, the site where the relics of the patron saint of sailors were believed to rest, was imbued with associations of ducal power, divine protection and intervention in favour of the maritime republic and its seamen. A chapel in the ducal palace dedicated to the saint credited him with the success of Venetian naval battles.¹⁴

The blessing of the sea was a hydramantic rite, an evocation for divine protection against the adversities of nature and a supplication for secure crossing for sailors and travellers. The marriage to the sea, conversely, was a ritual performance of Venetian dominance over nature. The doge, personifying the Republic, and in this instance, the groom, eternally bound his fate and fortune to that of his wife, the sea. The ceremony was a symbolic proclamation of lordship over the trade routes, lands, seas and subjects beyond the lagoon. The ritual geography of the *Sensa* and the location of the marriage ceremony were also important.¹⁵ The doge was transported from the civic heart of the city, the piazza San Marco, to its periphery, where Venice's aquatic frontier merged with the Adriatic. There at the threshold of 'here' and 'beyond' the patriarch blessed their union and Venice and the sea were symbolically united. Muir maintains that '[i]n applying their legal conception of marriage to territorial dominion, the Venetians created an unequal ritual partnership wherein they would protect subject territories, exercise supreme authority over them, and enjoy the income from the subjects' in the same fashion that the husband administered the wife's dowry.'¹⁶

Re-enacted on an annual basis, Venetians were reminded of their close ties to the sea and their distant maritime colonies. Building on the discussion of narrative accounts of Candia's urban landscape and portrayals of its inhabitants in costume

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 121-2.

¹⁴ The chapel was built in the honour of Doge Enrico Dandolo, who had conquered Constantinople in 1204. (Ibid., 98).

¹⁵ For a map following the movements of these processions see *ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶ Ibid., 125.

books, we now turn our attention to another aspect of the *Regno*, ‘its condition of being an island.’ Manuscript and printed maps were one of the ways sixteenth-century Venetians experienced and understood the world and, by consequence, their maritime empire. Maps, however, did not only reflect their perceptions of foreign and subject lands, but they also informed these perceptions. This chapter will examine cartographic representations of the *Oltermare* and particularly of Crete in *isolarii*, and will present new archival information on Crete’s most famous cartographer. The last section will allow islands to speak.

2. The experience of Sea Travel

In *Letters of Old Age* Petrarch voiced his objection to travelling on the grounds that it kept him away from his beloved books and marvelled at the alternative he had found in maps. He wrote, ‘Therefore I decided not to travel just once on a very long journey by ship or horse or on foot to those lands, but many times on a tiny map, with books and the imagination, so that in the course of an hour I could go to those shores and return as many times as I liked ... not only unscathed, but unwearied too, not only with sound body, but with no wear and tear to my shoes, untouched by briars, stones, mud and dust.’¹⁷ Travel, sea travel is specific, played a significant part in Venetian life, due to the demands of empire and trade. Ships not only connected Crete with other lands, but were also the primary means of transport of people and goods between Cretan locations. The island’s mountains formed prohibitive barriers and overland transport was limited to mule paths well into the twentieth century.¹⁸ Coastal trade was constant, heavy and vital to the island’s life and, as a consequence, Greene notes that any area without good sea access was essentially isolated.¹⁹ Braudel characterises the mountains of Crete and Cyprus as ‘no-man’s-lands of the Mediterranean, the refuge of the poor, bandits and outlaws.’²⁰ The experience, perils and advice on sea journeys found expression in both published travel books and in personal correspondence. Islands were not, after all, only

¹⁷ Francesco Petrarca, *Seniles* (9.2); idem, *Letters of Old Age: Rerum senilium libri*, 2 vols., trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 1:329 cited in Theodore J. Cachey Jr., “Maps and Literature in Renaissance Italy,” in *The History of Cartography*, 450.

¹⁸ About half of the villages in rural Crete were accessible only by mule paths until 1958. (L. Allbaugh, *Crete: Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area*, [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953], 311 cited in Greene, *A Shared World*, 113).

¹⁹ Ibid., 113-4.

²⁰ Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 154.

surrounded by sea, but entirely depended on it for all contact with the outside world; insularity could signify isolation as well.

Nicolo Sagredo, *Capitan General*, writing from Rettimo to Venice on 14 June 1608 expressed the sense of anxiety caused by the difficulty in communication with the capital caused by the severe weather conditions. He wrote that the last correspondence he had received was on December 28, 'et s'io debbo dir il vero, mi rissolsi, dovendo errar, che fusse meglio nel far, che nel non fare: questo Regno è lontano da venetia /1400/ miglia; la navigatione interrotta per mille cose, et più di ogni altro tempo nella stagion del [in]verno, si che si sta tal hora quatro et più mesi senza haver avisi da venetia: s'immagini Vostra Serenità con quanto crucio convengono viver quelli rappresentati, che vorriano obidendo far il loro debito.'²¹ Sagredo expressed the difficult decisions, the torment, 'cruccio' to use his own words, facing public officers who were cut off from all communication with their superiors in the administrative hierarchy. His comments reveal the sense of distance from Venice, the perils of travel and the slowness of communication, which left him feeling stranded and forced to act on his own initiative.

Sea travel was a transitional period, one of encounters with the elements and enemy vessels, the challenges of co-existence with fellow-travellers, and the novelty of foreign lands. Ships have been described as 'living micro-cultural, micro-political system[s] in motion... focus[ing] attention on the middle passage.'²² The 'middle passage,' however, fades into obscurity in most historical accounts: ships are always leaving or arriving at ports, rarely discussed assail between them. Peregrine Horden traces the word 'travel' via the French *travail* to the medieval '*tripalium*, [a] three-pronged instrument of torture on which the victim is stretched' leading him to claim that '[e]xercise... is pain, *ponos*. But travel is torture.'²³ The Franciscan monk Fra Noe begins his travel advice to pilgrims in *Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro al Monte Sinai* (1600?) by asking them to ensure they embark on the journey driven by religious sentiment and not 'con intenzione di veder del mondo, o per ambizione, o

²¹ ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 773-4, *registro* not foliated, '17 di Luglio 1608.' Sagredo's letter was received in Venice on 3 September.

²² P. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), 4 cited in Steve Pile and N. J. Thrift, *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation* (London: Routledge, 1995), 11.

²³ Peregrine Horden, "Travel Sickness: Medicine and Mobility in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Renaissance," in *Re-thinking the Mediterranean*, ed. W.V. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 186.

per esaltazione di dire.²⁴ He recommends drafting a will before embarking on a pilgrimage and then adds, ‘porti due borse seco, una ben piena di pazienza, e l’altra con dugento ducati Veneziani.’²⁵ The author explains what clothes to take to avoid the cold and fleas, recommends choosing a ship exclusively for pilgrims and negotiating the price with the captain, and lists the foodstuffs to buy before-hand and ones that can be purchased en route. In terms of sleeping arrangements, he suggests buying a ‘gabbano (mantello) fin in terra per dormire all’aria’ and, once aboard the ship, he writes, ‘procura per tempo d’aver il tuo loggiamento a mezza galea, massime chi ha tristo capo per l’agitazioni del mare e cosi appresso alla porta di mezo per avere un poco d’aria.’²⁶ Sea sickness, a common problem with sea travel, can be combatted with ginger syrup; in Noe’s words, ‘zenzebre siropatto per acconciare li stomaco, che fosse guasto per troppi vomiti; ma usalo poco, perche è troppo calido.’²⁷ Regarding ‘violepe,’ a drink made of sugar and herbs, he writes ‘egli è quello, che tien vivo l’uomo in questi estremi caldi.’²⁸

Ibn Sina’s (Avicenna, d. 1037) advice on sea-sickness was to ‘ignore it,’ whereas a fourteenth-century author suggested drinking sea water with wine, or neat if one could not afford the latter, several days before travel.²⁹ In *De Viaggi di Pietro della Valle* (Roma, 1650), the Roman traveler whose work was published in four volumes (*Turchia, Persia, and India e ritorno alla patria*), gives us a vivid account of the difficulties at sea,

‘Travaglio di mare, non habbiamo havuto mai, che è stato sempre tranquillo; eccetto il secondo giorno, dopo che uscimmo da Venetia, che io hebbi un poco di fastidio: ma, a rispetto di molti altri, la passai più che bene; perche fu un mare, che travaglio tutti, infin i marinari: non era tutta via fortuna di pericolo; e pero si vomitava in

²⁴ Fra Noe, *Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro e al Monte Sinai, Col disegno delle Città, Castelli, Ville, Chiese, Monasteri, Isole, Porti, e Fiumi, che fin là si ritrovano..Composto dal R. P. Fra NOE dell’Ord. Di. S. Francesco...*, (Lucca: Salv. e Giand. Marese, 1600?), 3. The Gennadius edition’s binding bears the date ‘1600.’ Shirley Howard Weber writes that the author is Noe Bianco and, quoting Brunet (Venice, 1566), claims that the voyage took place in 1527. (Shirley Howard Weber, *Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Previous to the Year 1801, Catalogues of the Gennadius Library II* [Gluckstadt: J.J. Augustine, 1953], 31) However more recent scholarship argues that the work was first published in Bologna in 1500, followed by multiple editions – its first Venetian edition dates at least from 1518 – and that it recycled Fra Niccola da Poggibonsi *Il libro d’Oltramare* of 1346. As early as 1629 it was attributed to ‘un certo padre Noè’, who furthermore has been erroneously identified as Noè Bianco. For further bibliography see Camillo Tonini and Piero Lucchi, eds., *Navigare e Descrivere: Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia, XV-XVIII secolo* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2001), 50, 89.

²⁵ Noe, *Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro*, 3.

²⁶ Ibid., 4.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. For ‘violepo’ see Boerio, DDV, 795.

²⁹ Horden, “Travel Sickness,” 193-4.

conversatione, ridendo, e dando la burla l'uno all' altro. Di corsari, non temevamo, per la bontà del nostro vascello; e non ne habbiamo mai trovati benché piu volte ne habbiamo havuto sospetto, e ci siamo preparati per combattere, quando incontravamo vascelli non conosciuti..³⁰

Giovanni Zuallardo in *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme* offers a grave picture of the claustrophobic conditions at sea; even in a large ship, he writes, one has about ten 'passi per passeggiarvi; ne in barca un solo...'³¹ He discusses the impossibility of leaving the ship for a period of 'one, two, three or more months' and writes of the 'discomodità, puzza, et sporchezza' which very soon have one longing for the comforts of home. If one falls ill, there is neither doctor nor medicine on board; 'dopo se l'huomo muore sine Cruce, sine luce, et deprecatione, il corpo si getta et sepelisce in mezzo dell'onde.'³² Apart from death from natural causes, the *dispacci* sent from Crete to Venice testify to numerous shipwrecks in the seas surrounding Crete. We have encountered the case of an Ottoman ship laden with clothes and fabrics which set sail from 'Tripoli di Barbaria' and was destined for Constantinople. On board were twenty merchants, two-hundred and seventy slaves ('Mori e More') and thirty-five sailors, of whom thirty-two were Turks and three Greeks. The ship sank outside of Canea in January 1586 when '[c]i alsaltò una fortuna grande rompendoci le gomela, il mare ci butto all'Isoletta piccola et il vasello andò in peci, et si affogorano mori e turchi et un cristiano...'³³

Although there is no evidence to suggest Venetians imported hydramantic rituals to Crete, two Orthodox churches in the capital bear names with clear evocative power for protection at sea: 'Santa Maria Thalassomaghisa', St Mary Sorceress of the Sea, and 'Santa Maria Psighosostra', St Mary Redeemer or Rescuer of Souls.³⁴ A Cretan icon of Hagios Nicholaos, Saint Nicholas, protector of sailors, depicts the saint in the central panel and eight scenes from his life on either side.

³⁰ Pietro della Valle, *De'Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino, descritti da lui medesimo in Lettere familiari...* (Roma: Vitale Mascardi, 1650), 'Parte Prima cioè La Turchia, Lettera I. da Costantinopoli de'23 di Agosto 1614', 47-8. For biographical information and a summary of della Valle's work see Luigi Bianconi, ed., *Pietro della Valle Viaggio in Levante* (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1945), xi-xlv.

³¹ Giovanni Zuallardo, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme, Fatto, & descritto in sei libri dal Sig.r Giovanni Zuallardo, Cavaliero del Santiss.Sepolcro di N.S. l'anno 1586...* (Roma: F. Zanetti & Gia. Ruffinelli, 1587), 12-3.

³² *Ibid.*, 13.

³³ The survivors, stranded on the shore, were taken in by the villager Gianni Siriano. ASV, Senato, PTM, b. 753, filza 1, '26 Genaro 1586.'

³⁴ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 17 (Bandi e proclami), reg. 18, ff. 9v-10v transcribed in Παπαδάκη, *Θρησκευτικές και Κοσμικές Τελετές*, 226-7.

(Fig. 61) One of these scenes, painted in the second half of the sixteenth century, presents the saint rescuing a man drowning in a storm while his shipmates struggle to gain control of the vessel in the background. (Fig. 62) By the end of the sixteenth century most Cretan homes had at least one icon and some as many as thirty;³⁵ in one particular home, possibly a seaman's, we find 'uno quadroto con la imagine di san Nicolo alla greca...'³⁶

3. The Early Modern Map Revolution

Maps are defined by A.G. Hodgkiss as 'a form of graphic communication to convey information about the environment... provid[ing] a scaled-down view of reality, extending the observer's range of vision so that he sees before him a picture of a portion, perhaps a large portion or even the whole of the earth's body.'³⁷ The sixteenth century saw such a dramatic increase in map production that not surprisingly it has been termed a 'revolution': Robert Karrow has estimated that in 1500 one map corresponded to every 720 persons inhabiting the 'cultural heartlands of Europe, where more than 90 percent of the maps were produced (and presumably, where most of them stayed)', whereas by 1600 the production dropped to one map for every four persons.³⁸ In the span of a century maps were taken out of scholars' *scriptoria* and the governing rooms and walls of the powerful and entered public spaces as items on sale in shops and by street sellers.³⁹ This proliferation of map production and consumption was closely linked with concurrent trends in the print

³⁵ Θάλεια Γκούμα-Peterson (Gouma-Peterson), "Η Εικόνα ως Πολιτισμική Παρουσία μετά το 1453" in *Η Βυζαντινή Παράδοση μετά την Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης*, ed. John J. Yiannas (Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 1994), 199.

³⁶ ASV, Notai, b. 84 (Michiel Cosiri), libro 1 (1635-44), f. 185v, dated 19 March 1641 cited in Κωνσταντουδάκη, "Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων στο Χάνδακα," 41.

³⁷ He adds, 'or of some celestial body, for not all maps are earthbound.' (A. G. Hodgkiss, *Understanding Maps: A Systematic History of their Use and Development* [Folkestone: Dawson, 1981], 11).

³⁸ The estimate is based on population figures for England and Wales, France, Belgium and Luxemburg, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Italy. If one includes Scandinavia, southern and eastern Europe and Russia to the Urals, in 1500 there was one map for every 1,400 persons, while in 1600 one for every 7.3. (Population figures from Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* [New York: Facts on File, 1978] cited in Robert Karrow, "Centers of Map Publishing in Europe, 1472-1600," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 621).

³⁹ David Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade, 1480-1650," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 794.

trade as the production and distribution of maps was dependant on advances and developments in the latter.⁴⁰

Venice, Florence and Rome were leading cartographic centres in Europe until the 1560's when production and innovation moved to the Low Countries.⁴¹ The maps to be discussed in this chapter formed part of compilations, composite atlases, which began to appear around the time of this northward shift. David Woodward comments on the maturity of the map trade by the late sixteenth century when cartography gained the attention and captivated the imagination of a wider public, who even ordered custom-made collections which could be bound to suit their taste.⁴² The most famous works of the atlas genre are known as 'Lafreri atlases' from their publisher and engraver, Antonio Lafreri (Antoine du Pèrac Lafrèry) who was active in Rome in the years 1553-1580.⁴³ Over fifty of his bound collections have survived featuring a variety of maps in terms of number, subject and authorship. Lafreri's signature title-page portrayed Atlas bearing the world on his shoulders – hence the term 'atlas' for such map collections.⁴⁴

By the sixteenth century cartography was a well-established tool of territorial management in the lagoon city; a practice which would become widespread across Italy only after two centuries.⁴⁵ Venetian carto-literacy developed, on the one hand, from the 'need for accurate and up-to-date charts of its trading sphere,' and, on the other, as a consequence of the commanding imperative to control the lagoon environment by protecting marine defences, dredging channels and diverting fresh water.⁴⁶ Venice instituted specialised offices responsible for the maps and surveys

⁴⁰ Ibid. For technical issues pertaining to map production indicatively see David Woodward, "Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*; idem, "The Manuscript, Engraved and Typographic Traditions of Map Lettering," in *Art and cartography: Six historical essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Arthur H. Robinson, "Mapmaking and Map Printing: The Evolution of a Working Relationship," in *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

⁴¹ Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade," 794.

⁴² Ibid., 788, 795.

⁴³ Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (London: Watts & Co., 1964), 137-9. Also see 'Antonio Lafreri and his atlas' in Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade," 775-7.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 139.

⁴⁵ Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory," 877.

⁴⁶ Denis Cosgrove, "Mapping New Worlds: Culture and Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992), 67. On state use of cartography indicatively see Denis Cosgrove, "The Geometry of Landscape: Practical and Speculative Arts in Sixteenth-century Venetian Land Territories," in *The Iconography of Landscape, Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, *Cambridge studies in historical geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; reprint, 1989); Richard L Kagan and Benjamin Schmidt, "Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography," in *The History of*

needed for the management of its territories, such as the *Provveditori sopra Boschi* (Superintendents for Forests), the *Magistrato delle Acque* (Magistrature for Water) and *Provveditori alle Fortezze* (Superintendents for Fortresses).⁴⁷ The patrician merchant class, time-honoured colonial administrators of overseas resources, turned to maps for the novel challenge of administering their land resources.⁴⁸ In 1548 the Senate, which was firmly aware of the complexity of the challenge at hand, created the position of *cosmografo della Reppublica*, whose responsibilities included offering the Senators lessons in cosmography and cartography.⁴⁹

A 1660 treatise on the supremacy of Venetian to Florentine painting attests to the familiarity of the Venetian elite with navigational terminology. The title described by Anna Pallucchini as ‘immaginosamente barocco’, makes the work’s nautical metaphor explicit: *La Carta del navegar pitoresco, dialogo tra un Senator Venetian deletante, e un professor de pittura soto nome d’eccellenza e de compare, comparti in oto venti con i quali la Nave veneziana vien condotta in l’altro Mar dela Pitura, come assoluta dominante de quello, a confusion de chi non intende el bossolo della calamita*.⁵⁰ The author, Marco Boschini, was a Venetian merchant of false pearls and glass beads, an accomplished engraver and a literary writer with a reputation as an art connoisseur.⁵¹ *La Carta del navegar*, written in Venetian dialect ‘di difficile lettura anche per i Veneziani’,⁵² is a triumphant account of Venetian painting divided into eight parts to correspond to the divisions of a wind-rose. ‘[La] metafora centrale,’ writes Pallucchini, ‘il navigare, sulle cui variazioni il Boschini è veramente inesauribile, si ramifichino altre affini, in cui si rispecchiano la laguna, i

Cartography; Emanuela Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory in Renaissance Veneto and Lombardy," in *ibid.*; Silvino Salgaro, "Cartografi e cartografia come strumenti di controllo e gestione territoriale nella Repubblica di Venezia," in *Cartografi Veneti: mappe, uomini e istituzione per l'immagine e il governo del territorio*, ed. Vladimiro Valerio (Padova: Editoriale Programma, 2007).

⁴⁷ For a complete list offering their founding date and a description of their responsibilities see Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory," 879; Kagan and Schmidt, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 666.

⁴⁸ Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory," 877. For the shift which occurred in Venice between the fifteenth century, a period of expansion and growing horizons, and the sixteenth century, which began in 1509 with the loss of the Terraferma in fifteen days see Alberto Tenenti, "The Sense of Space and Time."

⁴⁹ Kagan and Schmidt, "Maps and the Early Modern State," 666.

⁵⁰ Marco Boschini, *La Carta del Navegar Pitoresco* ed. Anna Pallucchini, vol. VII, *Civiltà Veneziana, Fonti e Testi* (Venezia, Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1966), xx.; M. Murraro, *DBI*, vol.13, 199.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* His other works on painting include *Le minere della pittura veneziana* (1664) and *I gioielli pittoreschi. Virtuso ornamento della città di Vicenza* (1676).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 201. In the introduction, Boschini tellingly writes, ‘Mi, che son venezian in Venezia, che parlo de Pitori veneziani, ho da andarme a travestir?’ (Boschini, *La Carta del Navegar*, ed. Pallucchini, lxxiv).

pescatori, le barche, i barcaioi.⁵³ The author envisions Venice as a ship in the sea of painting, navigable only with the help of a compass and navigational instructions, *carte del navigar*.

Boschini was known in cartographic circles for his *isolario*, to be examined shortly, and an atlas on Crete entitled *Il Regno tutto di Candia delineato a parte a parte et intagliato da Marco Boschini Venetiano....*, (Venetia, 1651). This was a publishing venture which sought to capitalise on the interest in Crete during the siege of its capital by the Turks;⁵⁴ in the dedication, reflecting the rhetoric of the time, Boschini wrote that Venice ‘continua a difendere Sola con stupore del Mondo tutto contra la potenza vastissima Othomana.’⁵⁵ The author had never visited Crete; instead he based his two maps of the island and sixty-one engravings of its cities and castles on the published works of the engineer Francesco Basilicata and on the works of Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Benedetto Bordone and Tommaso Porcacchi.⁵⁶ The public interest in the Cretan war had created a market for maps of the island, especially its fortifications. These permitted the Venetian public to visualise the distant lands the Republic was fighting to retain. Boschini added a powerful image with a clear message to his work: the lion of St Mark hovering over Crete holding a sword to declare the Republic’s defence of the *Regno*. (Fig. 63)

As witnessed above, maps are not passive reflections or reproductions of geopolitical truths but rather products of their social perceptions and instruments of control permeated by all the trappings of power. The information they display perpetuates the subjugation and control of the depicted lands – in J. B. Harley’s words, ‘[t]o own the map was to own the land.’⁵⁷ As early as 1460, the Council of Ten requested that all city governors of Venetian subject-lands draw up and dispatch chorographical maps of their areas of jurisdiction, complete with ‘longitude, latitude, borders, details on neighbouring states, and information with regard to transport’; the request displayed a firm awareness of the power of maps to enhance the efficacy and

⁵³ Ibid., lxxix. Another interesting linguistic use of ‘navigare’ is for ‘drappi da navegar’, a term used for ‘low-quality fabrics produced [in Venice] exclusively for export.’ (Mola, *The Silk Industry*, 404).

⁵⁴ Κακλαμάνης, "Η χαρτογράφηση του τόπου και των συνειδήσεων," 54. For a detailed discussion and further bibliography see Tonini and Lucchi, eds., *Navigare e Descrivere*, 116-9; for a discussion of seventeenth-century Venetian engineers in Crete, among them Francesco Basilicata, and Boschini’s reliance on their work see Stella A. Chrysochoou, "Images of Crete in the Seventeenth Century: The Contribution of Five Engineers to the Cartographical and Topographical Representation of the Island," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos and Jonathan Harris Julian Chrysostomides (Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 2004).

⁵⁵ Boschini, *La Carta del Navigar*, ed. Pallucchini, 116.

⁵⁶ Κακλαμάνης, "Η χαρτογράφηση του τόπου και των συνειδήσεων στην Κρήτη," 54.

⁵⁷ J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape*, 298.

grip of rule.⁵⁸ Over the last decades historians of cartography have emphasized the social roles of maps, viewing them as susceptible to the same analyses and scrutiny which had previously been reserved for works of the visual arts. Harley comments that ‘maps ceased to be understood primarily as inert records of morphological landscapes or passive reflections of the world of objects, but are regarded as refracted images contributing to dialogue on a socially constructed world.’⁵⁹ In the same spirit, Emanuela Casti writes, ‘The map is not a window thrown open onto the world; it is a deceptively naturalistic and transparent system of symbolism that conceals a hidden, opaque, and arbitrary mechanism of representation.’⁶⁰

Given that maps formed part of the material culture which facilitated, reflected and contributed to ongoing dialogues between governors and those governed, what type of cartographic material regarding the *Oltremare* formed the basis for this dialogue? What cartographic images of their islands, the Ionian Islands, Crete, the Archipelago and Cyprus did the Venetians produce and consume? Is there evidence these artefacts circulated in Crete? How can they inform our way of understanding contemporary perceptions of distance, locality and empire? Yi-Fu Tuan writes of the difference between space and place,

“Place is security, space is freedom... ‘Space’ is more abstract than ‘place.’ What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we get to know it better and endow it with value... if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.”⁶¹

The ability of place to give rise to feelings of belonging, intimacy and home link it to the formation of identity and to the contemporary notion of ‘patria’, which undoubtedly had a strong spatial dimension. When in 1539 the authorities of Candia demanded that locals ‘mostrare la fede, et carita, che hano prima a nostro San Marco, et poi alla patria sua,’⁶² they were reminding Cretans of their moral obligation to serve and protect the Serenissima before attending to their own collective interests. The imperative, however, contained another dimension as well: ‘patria’, conventionally translated as homeland, was a geographical location, one imbued with

⁵⁸ Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory," 878.

⁵⁹ Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 278.

⁶⁰ Casti, "State, Cartography, and Territory," 908.

⁶¹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1977; reprint, 2008), 3-6.

⁶² ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 15bis, reg. 9, f. 90v.

value; a 'place' rather than a 'space' where one held historical and sentimental connections to the land, the people, the language, the faith and the customs. J. H. Elliot understands the 'patria' as 'home community' and writes that in the sixteenth century loyalty to it 'was not inherently incompatible with the extension of loyalty to a wider community, so long as the advantages of political union... outweigh[ed] the drawbacks.'⁶³ If space permitted movement, in Tuan's words, and its suspension transformed location into place, then we can imagine the Mediterranean sea as the space which allowed the transport of people, arriving and departing from locations, which for some, on certain occasions were also their *patrie*.

The presence of cartographic material in Cretan homes is supported by notarial records which offer testimony to the popularity of the medium. Characteristically among Candiotes' possessions we find: 'Uno retratto della giografia del modo';⁶⁴ 'Quatto paesi et una città de Amsterdam';⁶⁵ 'Un quadroto di Dalmacia et Albania, Un altro del Regno di Candia et un altro del territoria di Zara';⁶⁶ 'Un quadro grande della description del mondo depento in carta, vechio, strazza (worn)...';⁶⁷ and 'doi quadri piccolo [sic] con le loro corneigion l'uno appa mondo (= mappamondo) et l'altro depento con deversi fiori'.⁶⁸ The term *mappamondo* was sometimes used to refer to portolan charts, a genre of maps with a Cretan connection, to be discussed shortly.⁶⁹ Antonio Calergi, a member of the prominent Orthodox Venetian noble family and author of *Commentatii delle cose di Candia*, owned several books of cartography, including Bordone's *Isolario*.⁷⁰ These

⁶³ J. H. Elliot, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies,' *Past and Present* 137 (1992), 58 cited in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 16.

⁶⁴ ASV, Notai, b. 255 (Filippo Scienza), libro 1 (1585-94), f. 163r-v, dated 26 November 1592 cited in Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη (Constantoudaki), "Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικών έργων στο Χάνδακα σε έγγραφα του 16ου και 17ου αι." *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975), 82.

⁶⁵ ASV, Notai, b. 60 (Giacomo Cortesan), libro 9 (1623), f. 150v, dated 16 October 1623 cited in *ibid*.

⁶⁶ ASV, Notai, b. 63 (Giacomo Cortesan), libro 24 (1639-40), f. 163v, dated 12 December 1639 cited in *ibid*.

⁶⁷ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 57bis (Giudici del Proprio), Stime nobili 2 (1640-6), f. 33r dated 5 March 1646 cited in *ibid*.

⁶⁸ ASV, Notai, b. 84 (Michel Cosiri), libro 1 (1635-44), f. 185v dated 9 December 1640 cited in *ibid*.

⁶⁹ Eva G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art: A History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1956), 115-7 cited in Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 375.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of Calergi's library see Chapter Two, note 187; for the content of three seventeenth-century Cretan private libraries see Ειρήνη Λυδάκη (Lidaki), "Νέες αρχαικές μαρτυρίες για την ύπαρξη ιδιωτικών βιβλιοθηκών στον Χάνδακα τον 17ο αιώνα," in *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνης, Αθανάσιος Μαρκόπουλος, and Γιάννης Μαυρομάτης (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης και Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη Ηρακλείου, 2000). There is no cartographic material in the inventories of these libraries apart from 'un libro delle fortificationi' in a 1657 *stima*. This could refer to Boschini's *Il Regno tutto di Candia* (1651), which

loose prints and bound books were either purchased outside of Crete, most probably in Venice, or were sold by itinerant salesmen who purchased books and prints with the intention of supplying the island's urban markets. One such instance is recorded in 1548 when the Venetian printer Zuan Piero Griffio sent Francisco da Salla to Candia to sell a case of books; the profit was to be used to purchase cheese or any other local product da Salla considered a profitable investment.⁷¹ A year later, Andrea Vorani signed a contract to sell approximately 500 books by the same publisher in Candia.⁷²

In terms of cartographic production which can securely be traced to Greek-speaking authors, apart from the Cretan Giorgio Sideris who will be discussed separately, seven sixteenth-century manuscript portolan texts have survived, all anonymous and written in Greek.⁷³ The term portolan is used to describe two different media of cartographic material: portolan charts and atlases, on the one hand, and the more obscure genre of narrative portolans, on the other.⁷⁴ The latter belong to the 'literary mode' of mapping history when territories were known through "itineraries, journeys, and lists of places, in other words, through assembling local knowledge contained in written descriptions."⁷⁵ These works were prosaic narrations of voyages containing sailing directions, descriptions of coasts and harbours, information on the directions of winds, tides, submerged rocks, sandbanks and other dangers.⁷⁶ Portolans enabled their users to establish direction, maintain a course, and

primarily contained prints of Candia's fortifications. Lidaki offers other alternatives. See *ibid.*, 443; see also note 54 above.

⁷¹ Da Salla decided to buy malvasia wine. Griffio's publications did not include cartographic material. (Στέφανος Ε. Κακλαμάνης [Kaklamanis], "Ειδήσεις για τη Διακίνηση του Έντυπου Δυτικού Βιβλίου στο Βενετοκρατούμενο Χάνδακα (Μέσα ΙΣ' Αιώνα)," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 [1986], 154, 162-4).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 165.

⁷³ These can be found in the Library of the Hellenic Parliament (Athens), the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Rome), the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), the Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Leiden, the Library of Zagora (Thessaly, Greece) and two are in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna). (Στέφανος Μακρυμίχαλος [Makrimichalos], "Ελληνικοί Πορτολάνοι του 16ου, 17ου και 18ου αιώνας," *Ο Ερασιστής* 3/4 [1963]) For the two holdings in Greece see Βίκτωρ Θ. Μελάς (Melas), *Δύο Χειρόγραφοι Ελληνικοί Πορτολάνοι: Οι Κώδικες της Βιβλιοθήκης της Βουλής των Ελλήνων και της Δημόσιας Βιβλιοθήκης της Ζαγοράς* (Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2003).

⁷⁴ The most comprehensive discussion of portolan charts is Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 384-5.

⁷⁵ David Turnbull, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996), 16.

⁷⁶ Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (London: Watts & Co., 1964), 61; Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 384-5. See also Michel Mollat du Jourdin et al., *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, 13th to 17th Century*, trans. L. le R. Dethan (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

calculate the speed of their ship and the depth of the sea.⁷⁷ Contemporary scientific knowledge was incorporated in the form of compass bearings and distances (no latitude or longitude) in contrast to their ancient antecedents, *peripli*, which offered directions without compass bearings.⁷⁸ Editing or writing a narrative portolan demanded the type of knowledge that was impossible to gain with one's feet on solid ground. The narrative was frequently based on the authors' own experiences at sea which served to update and enrich pre-existing works. In the case of the Greek portolans, their prototypes, according to Victor Melas, were undoubtedly Italian *portolani*.⁷⁹ The prose was composed in informal demotic Greek, 'Greco volgare' in the words of Ludovico Dolce;⁸⁰ the use of the spoken form of the language lent immediacy to the work. This was further enhanced by the author's encouraging, personal remarks to the overwhelmed sailor, such as 'μηδέν φοβάσαι', don't be afraid.'⁸¹

Echoing the linguistic forms regarding clothing we have encountered in wills, the Greek language of narrative portolans also borrowed heavily from Italian: words such as *terra ferma* or *alta mare*, were transliterated into Greek, while others were 'hellenised', altered, in other words, to conform to Greek grammar. When a passing was safe, the author assured the reader it could be crossed 'σιγουραμέντε' / sigouramente, from the Italian *sicuramente*. When an island is inhabited (*habitato*), it is described as 'μπιτάδο' / bitado or if it had a summit (*cima*), it became 'τσιμαρόλο' / tsimarolo.'⁸² These hybrid linguistic idioms point to the early modern *lingua franca*, the common language which emerged from the linguistic convergence of the Mediterranean trading communities.⁸³ The *lingua franca* was the language spoken aboard ships, in ports, taverns and bazaars of the Mediterranean shores. It represented the merging of languages and dialects of the Mediterranean's seafaring peoples allowing those who lived, travelled, and worked in this environment to

⁷⁷ Hodgkiss, *Understanding Maps*, 103.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Μελάς, *Δύο Χειρόγραφοι Ελληνικοί Πορτολάνοι*, 45.

⁸⁰ See Chapter One on Antonio Molino.

⁸¹ Ibid., 27.

⁸² George Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts: 15th-17th centuries. A Contribution to the Mediterranean Cartography of the Modern Period*, trans. Geoffrey Cox and John Solman (Athens: Olkos, 1999), 72.

⁸³ J. E. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996). See also Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 132; for an exhaustive discussion and listing of Italian and, to a lesser extent, Greek words imported into Turkish nautical vocabulary see Henry Romanos Kahane, Renee Kahane, and Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958).

successfully communicate and conduct business. A comparative analysis of toponyms in Greek and Italian portolan charts has led Tolias to comment,

This similarity in the expression and rendering of place-names which reflects the uniform and functional maritime tradition of the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century also leads us to some other hypothesis. Undoubtedly we are dealing here with the *lingua franca*, the common sailors' language which, as far back as the fifteenth century, had begun little by little to give shape to the background of communication and meaning shared by all sailors, especially in the eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁴

Apart from the extant manuscripts, there are a small number of printed Greek portolans, one of which dates back to the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Dimitrios Tayias' portolan was printed in Venice in June 1573 and survives in a single copy in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.⁸⁶ Tayias, the editor, was from Parga, a town in north-western Greece, opposite the island of Lefkada (Santa Maura). There is no information on the author apart from what he provided in his only book, namely that on 15 April 1559 he came across the portolan at hand and 'for the honour of seafaring, for those who might enjoy and love it, for sailors, be they young or old, he decided to publish it.'⁸⁷ He continues by accusing those who keep portolans hidden and locked away so as to be boastful and appear great to others, adding that, unlike them, he decided to share the information contained in the manuscript. This would allow those interested to purchase it, he wrote and added, 'as long as they can read.'⁸⁸

⁸⁴ The comment is based on a comparative analysis of toponyms of the coastline between Alexandria, Egypt and Tripolis, Syria. Tolias studied two portolan charts, one attributed to Giorgio Sideris (1560) and the other by the Venetian Battista Agnese (1536), and an anonymous 1534 narrative Greek portolan. (Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες, Πορτολάνοι*, 72-3). For further discussion of linguistic issues regarding Greek portolans see Manlio Cortelazzo, "L'elemento romanzo nei portolani Greci," in *Venezia, il Levante e il Mare* (Spedaletto (Pisa): Pacini Editore, 1989); idem, "Zoonimi di origine Italiana nella toponomastica dei portolani Greci," in *Venezia, il Levante e il Mare* (Spedaletto (Pisa): Pacini Editore, 1989).

⁸⁵ Makrimichalos discusses six such works: Tayias' portolan, two from the first half of the seventeenth century (both contain Tayias' poem-preface) and two eighteenth-century ones. (Μακρυμύχαλος, "Ελληνικοί Πορτολάνοι," 129).

⁸⁶ The title-page reads: -:ΠΟΠΤΟΛΑΝΟC:-/CON GRATIA, ET PRIVILEGIO/del Illustrissimo Dominio, che nessuno non/possa stampar la presente opera sotto le/pene contenute in esso priuilegio./IN VENETIA, 1573. Nel mese di Zugno. (Ibid.).

⁸⁷ Στέφανος Μακρυμύχαλος (Makrimichalos), "Ο Εκδότης του Πορτολάνου του Τάγια του 1573," *Ο Ερανοστής* 27-28 (1967), 83.

⁸⁸ Idem, "Ελληνικοί Πορτολάνοι," 145. Based on the amount of detail provided on the navigation of the seas Makrimichalos believes that Tayias must have been an experienced seaman. (Ibid., 148).

Tayias and the other authors of navigational manuals did not attain fame and their works rarely entered the private collections of the wealthy as prized artefacts. Their consignment to those for whom the information was professionally useful eventually led these works to obscurity. Furthermore, their continuous use onboard ships lessened the likelihood of their survival. Their authorship by a stratum of society with little or no access to wealth and power, as was the case of Tayias, was another nail in the coffin. For the modern reader, impenetrable as the text might be in terms of both language and content, they enhance our understanding of the navigational landscape of the early modern Mediterranean.

4. Insularity and Island-books, *Isolarii*

The popularity and appeal of books of islands, *isolarii*, for the Venetian public was closely related to the city's cultural ties to the sea. By the sixteenth century, however, this cartographic and literary genre came to represent a backwards glance, a nostalgic one perhaps, as the empire's borders in the Eastern Mediterranean were gradually receding and shrinking ever closer to the Adriatic sea. 'For a full century,' writes Tenenti, 'the Venetian empire *'da mar'* passed through a phase of drama, punctuated by threats and serious losses, underscored and pervaded by constant tension.'⁸⁹ Braudel discusses Venice's two island 'flottillas', one in the Ionian Sea and the other in the Aegean Archipelago; the second, he writes, is so scattered across the sea that it is virtually inseparable from it.⁹⁰ 'But taken all together,' Braudel writes, 'the islands provided a stopping route from Venice to Crete; from Crete a busy trade route linked Cyprus and Syria. These islands, running along the axes of her power, were Venice's stationary fleet.'⁹¹

While the fleet was slipping under Ottoman control, the Venetian sense of entitlement not only to the islands, but to the sea persisted. This is clearly expressed by Porcacchi in his discussion of the *Arcipelago* in *L'Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, where he writes, 'Quel Mare, che da Tucidide nel primo libro, è chiamato Greco; da'nostri naviganti hoggi è domandato Arcipelago: & è cosa chiara, che vien

⁸⁹ Tenenti, "The Sense of Space and Time," 24-5.

⁹⁰ Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 149.

⁹¹ Ibid.

compreso *nel nostro mar Mediterraneo*.⁹² By the 1570s, ‘nostro Mediterraneo,’ an appropriation of the Roman *mare nostrum*, had become a hollow claim, notwithstanding the short-lived confidence of Western powers after Lepanto. Such claims, however, have histories of their own and are telling of contemporary attitudes and their resistance to change in spite of new historical realities. Drawing attention to the concurrent expanding horizons of the known world, Lancioni writes of *isolarii*, “[s]i tratta di ‘enciclopedie’ prodotte, in gran parte a Venezia, nel periodo che segna il passaggio del centro nautico dal Mediterraneo agli oceani, che pretendono di esaurire il sapere sulle isole di un singolo mare, in genere l’Egeo, o su quelle di tutto il mondo.”⁹³

Giorgio Magnani proposes that maps hold close ties to the established narratives of the lands they depict rather than the territory itself.⁹⁴ Sixteenth-century *isolarii* combined in varying degrees the navigational, the antiquarian, the literary, the informative, the moral, the mnemonic, the biased and the propagandistic. Candia, as far as we know, had no publishing houses and depended on Venice and, to a lesser extent, other printing centres for its consumption of printed material. In terms of cartography produced in Greek by Greek-speaking Venetian subjects, thus far, narrative portolans and a limited number of maps have emerged, but no *isolarii*.⁹⁵ However scant the evidence, we know at least of one *isolario* in Calergi’s library in Crete. In addition, it has been proposed that Francesco Barozzi might have consulted *isolarii* for writing *Descrittione dell’isola di Creta* (1577/8),⁹⁶ indirectly signaling therefore their possible presence in another Cretan nobleman’s library. Francesco Lupazolo’s manuscript *isolario* of 1638, signed ‘Franciscus Lupazolus Chiense’ (from Chios), openly acknowledges the work of Bordone in several instances.⁹⁷ Again, then, in an indirect way we discover that Bordone’s work circulated in the Archipelago. Although arguably limited, there is evidence, therefore, to suggest that

⁹² Porcacchi, *L’Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, 27. (My italics) Porcacchi’s *isolario*, first published in 1572, was the first to use the technique of copperplate engraving, which thereafter became commonplace. (Tolias, “Isolarii,” 272).

⁹³ Lancioni, *Viaggio tra gli isolari*, 69.

⁹⁴ Giorgio Mangani, *Cartografia morale; Geografia, Persuasione, Identità* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006), 17.

⁹⁵ Based on a contemporary source, Tolias believes that Antonio Millo, an author of manuscript *isolarii*, was Greek. His work, however, is exclusively in Italian. See notes 122 & 123 below.

⁹⁶ Κακλαμάνης, ed., *Francesco Barozzi*, 119.

⁹⁷ Francesco Lupazolo, *Isolario dell’Arcipelago, et Altri Luoghi Particola di Francesco Lupazolo...fatto l’Anno del S 1638 in Scio*, BL, Landsdowne MS. 792, f. 61r. For Lupazolo’s references to Bordone see his discussion of Milo (f. 74r) and Nixia (f. 77v); for more on the author and his work see Τόλιας, *Ta Nησολόγια*, 38, 76-5.

isolarii were known to the indigenous population of the *Oltremare*. The question that begs consideration is how this popular genre of island-literature, in which almost invariably Crete featured prominently, might have informed the way Cretans viewed themselves and their island. Furthermore, how did *isolarii* contribute to Cretans' understanding of the way they were perceived by their rulers? If we were to subscribe to J. W. Zinkeisen's characterization of each of the larger islands of the Archipelago as 'a world in itself' ('...jedes für sich eine eigene Welt'),⁹⁸ can we speak of an 'island identity' promoted and perpetuated by *isolarii*?

'The conventional term *isolario*,' Tolias writes, 'is used to denote manuscript or printed atlases that - regardless of title, format, or structure, and of whether a work contained text - consist of maps, mostly of islands but also of coastal areas of the mainland, arranged in the form of a thematic encyclopedia.'⁹⁹ The term, derived from the Latin *insularium* and in its Italian form, *isolario*, was in use by 1534.¹⁰⁰ *Isolarii* are neither exclusively a sixteenth-century phenomenon nor solely a Venetian one. The sixteenth century, however, saw the largest number of *isolario* publications and, although they were also produced in France and in the Low Countries, the genre primarily flourished in Venice. These works have conventionally been viewed as cartographic efforts to catalogue and organize islands by virtue of their similar and containable geophysical formations in an ordered and easily-accessible manner for a wide readership. They were works of popular cartography which responded to the public's fascination with maps and sought to capitalise on this new consumer market. One of the attractions of such works was undoubtedly the curiosity to discover the variety of the world's islands, in the way that lists of famous and illustrious men, costumes or proverbs presented the reader with encyclopedic information and mnemonic challenges. In the introduction to his *isolario*, Porcacchi is explicit about the notion of the island as a way of organizing the world. He claims that the ancient authorities Strabo and Pliny considered the whole world an island ('tutta la terra è un' Isola') since it was surrounded by water.¹⁰¹ Providing an indicative list of the information offered in *isolarii*, he stated that he would have to limit the content of his work only to

⁹⁸ J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, 1840-1863*, III, 7 cited in Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 161.

⁹⁹ Tolias, "Isolarii," 264.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Porcacchi, *L'Isola piu Famose*, 'Prohemio,' unpaginated.

‘... the most famous of these with the greatest of brevity that is possible and with the intention of commenting on each island that which is in his power, that is: in what seas they are situated, their borders and names, their perimeter, length and breadth, their nearby islands and their ports, the goods they hold in abundance, the most notable matters regarding them, the marvels of nature, the ownership of the land, who first inhabited them, who inhabits them now, their famous cities and illustrious men, in a few words I have summarized’, he writes, ‘the most pertinent histories of each island.’¹⁰²

Veronica della Dora recently affiliated *isolarii* with medieval bestiaries or books listing “miracles, costumes, battles, famous men and the like, rather than portolan charts.”¹⁰³ In the encyclopaedic spirit, *isolarii* invited cognitive interplay between the unit, the island, and the body, the cosmos, between the detail and the whole. Tolias writes, “An island map presents to our view one of the smallest units of space, a unit that is visible all at once: this is cartographic readability at its maximum.”¹⁰⁴ In his seventeenth-century *isolario* *L’Archipelago con tutte le isole*, Marco Boschini offers forty-eight consecutive maps of islands, each a different shape set against its aquatic background, inviting visual comparison.¹⁰⁵ The multiplicity of viewing points, from ninety-degree angles to bird eye’s views to frontal views, shatters any effort to create a unified space and encourages the individual consideration of each island.

James R. Akerman makes a useful distinction between the two tiers of space present in atlases. On the one hand, Akerman writes, each atlas presents the viewer with ‘the conventional space of the map’ - the individual or small groups of islands in *isolarii* - and, on the other, “the structural ‘metaspace’ of the book itself, the space contained in the experience of thumbing through an atlas and comparing its maps with one another.”¹⁰⁶ Buondelmonti’s *Liber insularum archipelagi* (c. 1418) is

¹⁰² Ibid. Regarding Porcacchi’s sources he enigmatically writes that when he told the Brescian nobleman Leone Ghidella of his endeavour to write a book on islands, Ghidella gave him ‘un libro scritto à penna, senza il nome dell’autore, nel quale erano per ordine disegnate tutte l’Isole, & tutti gli scogli dell’Archipelago, con qualche poca narratione pertinente alle misure de’luoghi...’ (Ibid).

¹⁰³ Veronica della Dora, “Mapping a Holy Quasi-Island: Mount Athos in Early Renaissance *Isolarii*,” *Imago Mundi* 60, no. 2 (2008), 155.

¹⁰⁴ Tolias, “*Isolarii*,” 280.

¹⁰⁵ Marco Boschini, *L’Archipelago Con tutte le Isole, Scogli Secche, e Bassi Fondi...di Marco Boschini..* (Venetia: Francesco Nicolini, 1658). The accompanying text offers information on the etymology of the island’s name, the population, fauna and flora, the important ports, the directions of the winds, and always concludes with the distance from nearby islands. For further discussion see Tonini and Lucchi, eds., *Navigare e Descrivere*, 120-1 (additional bibliography provided); Tolias, “*Isolarii*,” 277; idem, ‘*Ta Nησολόγια*,’ 128.

¹⁰⁶ James R. Akerman, “The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases,” *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995), 139.

widely considered to have given rise to the *isolario* genre.¹⁰⁷ In his dedication to Cardinal Giordano Orsini, the Florentine included the following reasoning: “I am sending this to you so that you can have the pleasure of letting your thoughts wander when you are tired.”¹⁰⁸ The pleasure of reading, observing and studying the written word accompanied by maps, which Buondelmonti alluded to, derives from Akerman’s ‘metaspace.’ Bordone, a Paduan ‘miniaturist, draughtsman, geographer, editor of classical works and possibly also a painter’,¹⁰⁹ worked in Venice and published the *Libro di Benedetto Bordone...de tutte l’Isole del mondo* (Venice, 1528) dedicating it to his nephew, Baldassare Bordone, ‘an excellent surgeon.’¹¹⁰ Bordone wrote, ‘Donque nipote mio carissimo...acio quelli, che d’altro studio occupati si trovano, & anchora quelli che al navigare inchinati non sono, possino i luoghi & i costumi de gl’huomini del mondo leggendo iparare, state sano & come usato sieti amatimi.’¹¹¹ The engraver and publisher of Porcacchi’s *L’Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, Girolamo Porro, in the dedication to Georgio Trivultio wrote that there are ‘huomini in terra’, others who ‘non aggradendo quella vita...va piu tosto peregrinando per il mondo, & con gli occhi viene dal la diversità de’luoghi...’ and yet others ‘che ne all’una, ne all’altra delle due vie non vogliono, ne possono attendere:& perciò si danno a leggere de’libri: con la lettione de’quali vengono apprendendo tutto quello, che nell’una & nell’altra maniera potevano acquistare, & non maggior consolatione, & minor fatica.’¹¹² Petrarch was quoted earlier in this chapter making a similar distinction between men of action and men with contemplative natures. The compilers and publishers of *isolarii* were evidently firmly aware of the works’ appeal to the second type of men. Consulting *isolarii* was promoted as the effortless and leisurely acquisition of knowledge without any of the sacrifices demanded by travel.

Bordone’s *isolario* was a publishing enterprise, according to Tolias, which targeted non-specialist audiences such as the author’s nephew, an educated man, but

¹⁰⁷ The work survives in sixty-four manuscripts and was translated into Greek, Italian and English. (della Dora, "Mapping a Holy Quasi-Island," 142).

¹⁰⁸ Tolias, "Isolarii," 266.

¹⁰⁹ M. Billanovich, DBI, vol. 12, 511.

¹¹⁰ Tolias, "Isolarii" 271.

¹¹¹ R. A. Skelton, ed., *Benedetto Bordone, Libro...de tutte L’Isole del Mondo, Venice 1528* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Urbis Terrarum Ltd, 1966), (v).

¹¹² Porcacchi, *L’Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, unpaginated.

not one with any direct links to travel or overseas ventures.¹¹³ The author's attentiveness to facilitating the reader's experience of the book is evidenced by the innovation of including lists, such as one with the names of the winds ('Questi sono I nomi de venti greci & latini...'), and maps of Europe and of the *Arcipelago* followed by keys. (Figs. 64, 64) This is the first effort to present the islands together on a regional map, permitting the reader to place each island in relation to the others and, in this manner, to acquire a synoptic picture of the Eastern Mediterranean.¹¹⁴ From the 112 woodblock maps of islands contained in the work, over half depict ones in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹¹⁵ It is revealing of the expectations the public came to have of an *isolario* that Bordone falsely claimed to have had first-hand experience of the places he described, when he had actually never left northeastern Italy.¹¹⁶ His claim aimed to align him with known author-travelers such as Buondelmonti and Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti and the tradition of eye-witness, erudite accounts of the world. Mangani writes,

'With Buondelmonti and Bordone the maps did not so much document the past or the geography, but conditioned the reading. In Bordone's book, a pan-venetian book ('un libro panveneziano'), as a good part of the genre of *isolarii*, the same ambition takes on a political value: to underline Venice's role in the Adriatic and the Aegean and to lay claim to the 'leadership' of most of the world's islands.'¹¹⁷

Antonio Millo was a prolific cartographer who produced manuscript portolan charts, atlases and *isolarii*. Portolan charts, drawn in inks on vellum, dated back to the beginning of the fourteenth century. They were sea charts related to narrative accounts of seafaring, although this link has been impossible to firmly establish.¹¹⁸ The complementary nature of texts and maps, however, has led to speculation that the two might have originally been paired by their users.¹¹⁹ Tony Campbell believes that portolans have preserved the Mediterranean sailors' firsthand experience of their

¹¹³ Bordone's work went through several dated editions (1534, 1547) and an undated one by the publisher Francesco di Leno, who was active in the years 1559-70. (M. Billanovich, DBI, 513; see also Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* [Chicago: Published for The Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis Press, 1993], 89-93).

¹¹⁴ Bordone also offers a map of the world which is attributed to Francesco Rosselli. See Tolias, "Isolarii," 270.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 271.

¹¹⁶ Tolias, "Isolarii," 271.

¹¹⁷ Mangani, *Cartografia morale*, 164.

¹¹⁸ The precise origins of the genre are not agreed by scholars. For a thorough discussion of the ongoing debate see Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 380-392.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 383.

sea.¹²⁰ Portolan atlases offer similar information to that of charts, but their content is compartmentalised and spread over several sheets. As a result, unlike charts which were usually kept rolled, the former were handled like books.¹²¹ Millo was considered a Venetian cartographer until recent scholarship has claimed he was a ‘Venetianised Greek.’¹²² This reassessment is partly based on a contemporary commentator who met Millo while travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean and described him as ‘Graeco parte natus in Melo insula, conductus a navracho ut index itineris esset.’¹²³

Millo produced about ten nautical *isolarii* prefaced in some cases with navigational treatises (‘arte del navichar.’)¹²⁴ Nautical *isolarii*, one of the sub-categories of the *isolario* genre, usually ‘deal only with the Mediterranean islands; often they are in manuscript form and were intended primarily as basic navigation manuals for mariners.’¹²⁵ Millo’s knowledge of the Eastern Mediterranean was acquired, at least in part, through his experience as a professional seaman. One of his two *isolarii* in the British Library, dated 1591, is dedicated to ‘Zuane Bembo dignissimo provedidor de armada padron et signor mio’ and signed as ‘Armiralgio di Candia.’¹²⁶ The position of the ‘ammiraglio’ referred to the head boatswain of the fleet, port and arsenal.¹²⁷ Based on the dedication’s tone of familiarity, Tolias proposes that Millo might have been ‘an officer in the fleet commanded by Bembo.’¹²⁸ An earlier *isolario* confirms that Millo was also ‘Armiralgio al Zante.’¹²⁹

¹²⁰ Ibid., 372.

¹²¹ Ibid., 376-80.

¹²² Γιώργος Τόλιας (Tolias), *Τα Νησολόγια: Η Μοναξιά και η Συντροφιά των Νησιών*, (Athens: Olkos, 2002), 83.

¹²³ The author is the German scholar and historian Johannes Leonclavius who visited the region in 1582 and penned *Pandectes Rerum Turcicarum*. (Idem, *The Greek Portolan Charts: 15th-17th centuries. A Contribution to the Mediterranean Cartography of the Modern Period*, trans. Geoffrey Cox and John Solman [Athens: Olkos, 1999], 40-1).

¹²⁴ Idem, "Isolarii, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century," in *The History of Cartography*, 274-5. For an annotated list of his complete works see idem, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 191-202; see also ‘Un ammiraglio Greco’ in *Navigare e Descrivere: Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia, XV-XVIII secolo*, ed. Camillo Tonini and Piero Lucchi (Venezia: Marsilio Editor, 2001), 62-3.

¹²⁵ Tolias, "Isolarii," 281-2.

¹²⁶ Antonio Millo, *Isulario de tuto el Mare Meditereno...de Antonio Millo Armiralgio di Candia*, 1591, BL, Add. MS. 10365. The work carries the Bembo coat-of-arms. The other BL *isolario* is entitled ‘Isulario de Antonio Millo, nel qual se contiene tutte le isole dil mar mediteraneo... 1587’ (Cotton MS Julius E.ii). In the entry on the island of Millo (Milos), most probably the author’s birthplace judging from his surname, the author writes ‘Millo e’ isulla dello [?] piu nobile del mar egeo...’ (f. 32v.) For further bibliographical on both works see Rodney W. Shirley, *Maps in the atlases of the British Library: A Descriptive Catalogue c. AD 850-1800* (London: British Library, 2004), 1873-4; Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 193, 196.

¹²⁷ *Dizionario di Marina*, 26.

¹²⁸ Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 196.

Millo's island books drew heavily on published works such as the *isolario* of Bartolommeo da li Sonetti. Bartolommeo, who claimed to have made eighteen journeys as 'oficiale, e poi patrone in nave' in the service of noble Venetians,¹³⁰ was the author of the first printed *isolario* and also of the first *isolario* in vernacular Italian. The incunabulum appeared around 1485 and contained forty-nine 'silent' (without place-names) woodblock maps accompanied by sonnets, hence his sobriquet.¹³¹ In his work, Bartolommeo describes himself as a 'bon Venitian',¹³² a comment which has been interpreted as proof of his status as *cittadino originario*, a 'native-born' citizen.¹³³ The 'marinaio-poeta' combined his first-hand knowledge of the Arcipelago with a close reading of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum*.¹³⁴ His map of Crete, framed by eight sonnets and a scale-bar, is superimposed on a compass circle and oriented towards the south. The outline of the island conforms to Sonetti's 'tipico contorno costiero a mezzaluna.'¹³⁵ (Fig. 66) Candia, the capital, appears as a circular, walled city at the centre, whereas the island's landscape is scattered with symbols of mountains, trees, rivers, and small buildings indicating human settlements. In the surrounding sea, crosses mark dangerous locations, a system of symbols developed in portolan charts.¹³⁶ Millo's depiction of Crete in his 1590 *isolario* offers a more detailed map of the island than Bartolommeo's and one that is oriented towards the north, which was the more conventional representation.¹³⁷ (Fig.

¹²⁹ Idem, "Isolarii," 274. This *isolario* is in the BMV; see Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 41. For his other dedicatees see Tolias, "Isolarii," 283. Interestingly, Millo also wrote an illustrated collection of the antiquities in Rome. (Ibid., 281).

¹³⁰ Massimo Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo *Isolario* e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo (1525-1530)," *Geographia Antiqua* III-IV (1994-1995), 213.

¹³¹ Tolias, "Isolarii," 268. The date of the first edition is based on a cryptogram in the first three lines which is resolved as 'Dux Zuan Mocenigo.' (R. Frederick Goff, ed., *Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, Isolario, Venice 1485* [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1972], v) For Sonetti's treatment of Crete in sixty-seven sonnets and the accompanying map see Μάρθα Αποσκήτη (Aposkiti), "Τα περί Κρήτης Σονέτα του Bartolomeo da li Sonetti," *Κρητολογία* 14-15 (1982); A. Stylianos, "An Important Venetian Map of Crete by Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, ca. 1480," in *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Αθήνα: Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης 1976). See also Piero Falchetta, "Bartolomeo 'da li Sonetti' e Battista Agnese," in *Navigare e Descrivere: Isolari e portolani del Museo Correr di Venezia, XV-XVIII secolo*, ed. Camillo Tonini and Piero Lucchi (Venezia: Marsilio Editor, 2001).

¹³² Bartolommeo da li Sonetti, [A description of the Aegean Sea, in sonnets, with wood engraved maps of all the Islands], [Venice?], 1532, pages not numbered.

¹³³ Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti," 212. After nobles, *cittadini originari* were the highest-ranking members of the middle-class (*cittadini*). They had the right to engage in international trade, were recruited as clerks of the Ducal Chancery, were notaries, lawyers and directed local businesses. (Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 151-2).

¹³⁴ Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti," 220-4. For a re-evaluation of Bartolommeo's debt to Buondelmonti see Tolias, "Isolarii," 268-9.

¹³⁵ Tonini and Lucchi, eds., *Navigare e Descrivere*, 95.

¹³⁶ For symbols in portolans see Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 376-7, 395-401.

¹³⁷ The work is prefaced by an 'arte del Navigar.' (BMV, Ms. It. IV 2 [5540]) For reproductions of other maps see Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 193-4.

67) Millo emphasizes Crete's harsh landscape by covering the island in mountain ranges, while the 'labarinto' is also prominently marked and placed between Candia and the Messara plain on the island's south shores. The four administrative territories are indicated by dotted lines, but are not named, while in a later work he records the place-names of 'Canea', 'Retimo', 'Cita de Candia', 'Setia', and 'Sfachia.' Millo draws vineyards in the hinterlands of Canea and Candia, which allude to the island's famous wine production. Millo's *isolarii*, 'lavori di utilità pratica,'¹³⁸ reflect his background and service at sea; writing in informal Italian, he proudly claims, 'larte da navichare sie la piu nobile arte sie almondo.'¹³⁹

The intended practical use of Millo's *isolarii* is attested by the additions and corrections made in a copy of his work by another hand. On the page depicting the island of Calamo a contemporary hand has added a new islet and crossed out and corrected the name of another.¹⁴⁰ A copy of Sonetti's work has also survived with heavy annotations added over a period of time by Giovanni di Domenico Bembo, 'rettore di Skiathos and Skopelos' (1525-6), and traveller in the region (1529-30).¹⁴¹ Massimo Donattini writes of the annotated edition: 'Il libro assolve, almeno in parte, a una funzione di Baedeker *ante litteram*: un baedeker tutt'altro che esauriente, e quindi per nulla autoritario, con le cui pagine il Bembo può stabilire un dialogo fitto, affidato a una mole considirevole di annotazione depositate ... sugli ampi, invitanti spazi bianchi che incorniciano testi e carte.'¹⁴² Bembo's writing has filled the margins of Sonetti's work with comments of antiquarian interest from classical authors like Herodotus, Virgil, Ptolemy, Strabo; with additions and corrections of toponyms; notes on the presence of inhabitants and animals ('ha animali', 'habitata, fa X millia anime'); and records of the numbers of 'uomini da facti' and Venetian galleys present in the ports. In certain cases Bembo has even re-drafted the shorelines. The information regarding the Venetian colonies was possibly requested from the travelling patrician by the Maggior Consiglio.¹⁴³ Although there is only one direct reference to the Ottoman presence in the region, Bembo's preoccupation with noting the recruitment figures for each island has the effect of shattering the a-

¹³⁸ Tolias, 'Un ammiraglio Greco' in *Navigare e Descrivere*, 62.

¹³⁹ Millo, *Isulario de tuto el Mare*, 'Arte del Navichar,' f. 3r.

¹⁴⁰ Millo, *Isulario de Antonio Millo*, BL, Cotton MS Julius E.ii., f. 51r. Two new islands have been added to the map and one renamed.

¹⁴¹ Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, 229.

¹⁴² Ibid., 226.

¹⁴³ For details of these annotations see *ibid.*, 227-230.

temporality of the work. Sonetti's *isolario* was detached from contemporary events and presented the reader with an idyllic Eastern Mediterranean, a reading experience whereby, 'le sue pagine ci consegnano un'immagine mitica, cristallizzata dell'Arcipelago.'¹⁴⁴ Conversely the annotations intervene to update this world frozen in the ancient past, and, by so doing, fill the 'socially empty' space with contemporary politics.¹⁴⁵

Porcacchi's *isolario*, according to Tolias, inaugurated a new type of island-book, the 'topical *isolario*', which for the first time offered the reader political information regarding the depicted island.¹⁴⁶ The author's 1576 *isolario* not only contained maps of islands, but also presented a description and print of the naval battle of Curzolari (Lepanto), dated '7 October 1571.'¹⁴⁷ The inclusion of depictions of battles, especially Lepanto, became popular in later *isolarii* such as that of Giovanni Francesco Camocio, which will be examined shortly. The first edition of Porcacchi's *isolario* (1572) began with 'the city and island of Venice' which merited inclusion by complying to the author's definition of an island as 'the land that is surrounded by water, that which is separate and divided from land and is bathed from all sides by the sea;...as is also the case with those in lakes, because they are encircled by water.'¹⁴⁸ Emphasizing Venice's unique landscape, Porcacchi describes the Serenissima as a magnificent city placed on an island with streets of both earth and water.¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 68) Porcacchi's text on Candia, in accordance with the established narratives of the genre, emphasized the island's mythology and antique history.¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 69) Thus Pliny and Homer are cited before a discussion of the four regions of the island, and the abundance of agricultural products, most famously wine. Mount

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 223, 230.

¹⁴⁵ The term is Harley's. (Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 303).

¹⁴⁶ Tolias, "Isolarii," 272.

¹⁴⁷ Porcacchi, *L'Isole piu Famose del Mondo*, 87. For a complete list of the contents see Shirley, *Maps in the atlases of the BL*, 817-8.

¹⁴⁸ Porcacchi, *L'Isole piu Famose*, 'Prohemio,' unpaginated.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 'Descrittione della Isola et Città di Vinetia.' The only other city contained in this edition – the 1576 also included Constantinople – is Temistitan, the capital of the Aztec Empire, first encountered by the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés in 1519. Its map presents an urban landscape very similar to that of Venice, a similarity which is noted also in the text. Porcacchi writes, 'The streets of this city are very beautiful and large and well-ordered. Some of these are brick-laid and some of water, in which (like in Venice one goes in the canals with gondolas) they go with their canoes.' Before Porcacchi, Bordone in 1528 commented on the alleged similarities between the two cities. Mangani comments, 'Both (Venice and Temistitan) are constructed on a system of islands...: the *isolario* wants to represent the model of the Venetian imperial system as *the* system of government, unique in its capacity to allow space for open trade.' (Mangani, *Cartografia morale*, 164) See also Barbara E. Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998).

¹⁵⁰ Porcacchi, *L'Isole piu Famose*, 16-18bis.

Ida is presented and Porcacchi discusses the location of Crete's labyrinth before presenting proverbs on Cretans' maritime inclinations ('non conosce il mare, come se fosse un Candiotto'), their astuteness ('...dicendo d'alcuno astuto & trincato: Ei Creteggia')¹⁵¹ and their reputation for fine laws. Crete was famously the birthplace of Zeus, another oft-repeated mythological detail. After an extensive discussion of the remote past, Porcacchi introduces contemporary Crete. Prefaced by the account of Venice's purchase of the island in 1204 he writes, '...gli habitatori di questa Isola sono hora di tre sorte d'huomini, cioè Nobili Vinitiani, nobili Candiotti, & Greci. I nobili Vinitiani, e i nobili Candiotti sono tutti Vinitiani...' ¹⁵² The elite resembled the Venetians, he claimed, in both religion and language, whereas the Greeks observed their own customs. Regarding Candia, the capital, he writes, it is the seat of government, where 'sono il Consiglio, i magistrati, & le leggi a uso in gran parte della Republica di Vinetia. I nobili Vivitiani & Candiotti vivono quasi tutti, secondo la Chiesa Latina & Romana: & cosi usano la lingua nostra, che da' Greci è chiamata franca: ma i Greci osservano il rito, e'l linguaggio Greco..' ¹⁵³ The author uses 'Greco' to refer to the Orthodox rite and the Greek language, and, as we have already seen in a previous chapter, he comments on the local use of 'franco' to refer to vernacular Italian, 'nostra lingua.' Porcacchi's final observation on the Cretans is positive, repeating some of the *topoi* examined earlier in this thesis: '...tutti generalmente sono huomini valorosi, & sopra tutto buonissimi arcieri: il qual costume è a quei popoli antico, come è ancho l'esser buonissimi marinari...' ¹⁵⁴

Zuallardo's *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme* offers evidence that travellers consulted Porcacchi's *isolario* for information on the region. In his discussion of Crete, which also includes a map of the island, the author writes of St Tito, who was made bishop by St Paul on the island, and comments on the fact that most of the island's inhabitants 'vivono la più parte secondo la religione, & rito de Greci.' ¹⁵⁵ Zuallardo adds that his geographical co-ordinates of the island follow 'la descrittione del sig. Tommaso Porcacci.' ¹⁵⁶ The author mentions Crete's hundred cities of Antiquity, the four important centres of contemporary Crete, Malvasia wine, the labyrinth, Crete's Roman and Byzantine past, and ends with its acquisition by the

¹⁵¹ See Chapter Four on the Apostle Paul's epistle to Titus, esp. note 155.

¹⁵² Porcacchi, *L'Isole piu Famose*, 18.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 18bis.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Zuallardo, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, 89.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Venetians. With the latter the historical narrative ceases and time is suspended as the Venetian domination of the island and contemporary political developments are outside of the immediate interest of the author and his readership. In this manner, Zuallardo echoes the content of works such as Sonetti's and Porcacchi's.

Giovanni Francesco Camocio's *Isole famose, porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla Serenissima Signoria di Venetia* is roughly contemporary to Porcacchi's *isolario* but marks a significant shift in the genre.¹⁵⁷ This departure is evidenced in the complete absence of narrative text and in the landscape's animation by galleys, armed troops, soldiers and cavalry, often in open warfare. Tolias attributes Camocio's *isolario* to his category of 'topical *isolarii*' which incorporated material on contemporary events previously published as loose leaves.¹⁵⁸ Camocio, a well-established map editor in Venice, published compilations of island maps and prints of contemporary military events in response to the public's interest and curiosity to geographically locate contemporary political events. War and conflict paved the way for commercially viable enterprises. As Eugenio Turri writes regarding Candia during the Cretan war, '...Candia è negli interessi di Venezia (sino al 1669), quindi vendibile.'¹⁵⁹ Sometimes, notes on the maps offered the public additional information, as for instance on an islet near the besieged Venetian city of Sebenico on the Dalmatian coast, where one reads 'Qui si fa la calcina (mortar).'¹⁶⁰

Departing from the humanist world of mythology and etymological analyses, Candia appears amidst a sea of battles featuring the opposing armies of Christians and Muslims, cartographically presented by the juxtaposition of crescents and crosses. In time this turmoil would infringe on the island's shores as well. Turning the pages of Camocio's *isolario* the reader is gradually transported away from Venice and down the Adriatic coast, entitled 'Golfo di Venezia' and into the Ionian Sea. (Fig. 70) In this virtual tour, the reader witnesses a series of violent battles to control ports and the sea that surrounds them. Sebenico, in central Dalmatia, is

¹⁵⁷ Giovanni Francesco Camocio, [Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre maritime sottoposte alla Serenissima Signoria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Signor Turco, novamente poste in luce. In Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco] (Venice, c. 1572) (BL, Maps C.22.a.3) Two other copies in the BL (Maps c. 22.a.4 and Maps c.22.a.5.) are coloured by a contemporary hand, one is clearly a 'luxury' copy and the other, executed in a hasty manner, a less expensive version. The 'libreria del segno di S. Marco' belonged to the Bertelli family, who also published works containing many of the same prints. (C. Palagiano, DBI, vol.17, 289) For more on the Bertelli's cartographic activities see Shirley, *Maps in the atlases of the BL*, 209-14; Tolias, "Isolarii," 273; Palagiano, DBI, vol 19, 490-3.

¹⁵⁸ Tolias, "Isolarii," 273.

¹⁵⁹ Eugenio Turri, "Gli isolari ovvero l'idealizzazione cartografica," in *Navigare e Descrivere*, 26.

¹⁶⁰ Camocio, [Isole famose, porti, fortezze], 7.

besieged by Ottoman troops, while Venetian galleys and galleons protect its waters; the sea of Modon, one of the ‘eyes of the Republic,’ hosts the ships of the Holy League, whereas crescents on the domes of the mosques within the city signify the Ottoman presence on the land. (Fig. 71) Notwithstanding the hostile atmosphere, Camocio takes time for the depiction of whimsical details such as a giant sea turtle among the ships carrying the caption ‘as big as a ship.’ Described in the cartouche as ‘locho delli Illustrisimi Signori Veneciani’, Crete appears on a vertical axis with its capital prominently featured as the largest settlement and the characteristic sign of a maze for its famous labyrinth. (Fig. 72) Camocio informs the reader that nearby Rhodes is already Ottoman. (Fig. 73) Returning to Akerman’s ‘metaspace’, the thumbing through of such an atlas would have been an unsettling reminder of the mounting Venetian military effort to retain its maritime empire.

In Giuseppe Rosaccio’s *Viaggio da Venetia, a Constantinopoli per Mare, e per Terra...* (1598) Candia is once more removed from contemporary turmoil and features as one of the important stations on the sea route between the two cities.¹⁶¹ Giacomo Franco, the publisher, in the dedicatory epistle comments on the importance of this specific journey, which is ‘così publico, come privato.’¹⁶² He records his intention of compiling a book with maps of the important cities and locations between the two capitals, as well as ‘alcuni avvertimenti necessarij a tal viaggio: in modo che egli si possa non solo leggendo imparare, ma quasi vedere in fatto con gli occhi propri.’¹⁶³ The Florentine Rosaccio ‘combined the old style of *isolario* with the travel literature tradition,’¹⁶⁴ offering the public a first-person narrative account of the journey down the Dalmatian coast and into the Archipelago. A later edition of the *Viaggio* circulated without the accompanying text, satisfying the public demand for cartographic material of the region, similar to Camocio’s work.¹⁶⁵ Rosaccio’s discussion of Candia, which is accompanied by a map with minimal toponyms (Fig.74), begins with the island’s characterization as the ‘Regina dell’Isole del Mare Mediterraneo’ by virtue of its optimal geographical location.¹⁶⁶ The description emphasizes the remote past (‘si mirano per tutta l’Isola molte ruine

¹⁶¹ Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia, a Constantinopoli per Mare, e per Terra*, (Venetia: Giacomo Franco, 1598). For a facsimile edition see idem, *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli* (Monfalcone: Edizione della Laguna S.R.L, 1992).

¹⁶² Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia*, ‘All’Illustrissimo Signor...Marco Veniero,’ dated 20 Febraro 1598

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Tolias, “Isolarii,” 274. See also idem, *Ta Nησολόγια*, 126-7.

¹⁶⁵ Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia*....(Venetia, 1610 ?).

¹⁶⁶ Idem, *Viaggio da Venetia*... (1598), f. 44v.

di fabbriche antiche, dale quali si puo giudicare la sua grandezza e magnificenza che fu appresso gli antichi'), the island's fertility and its famous wines, but remains mute on modern historical developments.¹⁶⁷ Candia's reputation for wine and particularly for Malvasia is given prominence in the woodcut portrayal of the city in Fra Noe's travel book, *Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro*.¹⁶⁸ (Fig. 75) The depiction is that of a generic port, with the exception, however, of the wine barrels prominently lined up along the shore, waiting, one imagines, to be transported onto ships for export.

Throughout the sixteenth century as Venice lost its islands, it nostalgically sought to list, order and describe them in *isolarii* – possessing them thus in the symbolic sphere a while longer. Marziano Guglieminetti writes, 'Dire 'isolario', a fine secolo, vuol dire Venezia', 'to say *isolario* at the end of the century (the sixteenth) is to say Venice.'¹⁶⁹ The narrative which sometimes accompanied the maps in *isolarii* completely ignored the present in favour of the remote past. Addressing a Venetian audience, the texts invited the reader to contemplate on the islands of the Archipelago as famous locations of Antiquity and early Christian history, as purveyors of wine or skilful archers. This all arguably changed with Camocio's works, which undoubtedly shifted focus forward to the contemporary war. In Camocio *isolarii*, the Eastern Mediterranean was transformed from a vast site of ruins, mythical labyrinths and birthplaces of Olympian gods to the threshold of 'us' and 'them', the protective Eastern buffer zone between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. In the first instance, *isolarii* would have exposed Cretans to humanist interests in their lands, interests which for the most part they did not share with the exception perhaps of a fraction of the indigenous elite, who had been educated in Italy and exposed to Humanist culture. The excavation of archaeological sites, the fascination with Minotaur's labyrinth, the export of marbles ruins to Venice, or the collection of antique coinage by Venetian patricians were expressions of the same interests as those discussed in the *isolarii*. Presuming a local had the opportunity to read an *isolario*, this would have been immediately evident. Camocio's *isolario*, conversely, addressed the universal concerns of war, a war that Cretans were obliged to fight on their ruler's behalf and which, ultimately, concerned their future as well. Yet, the Venetians could not rely on the Cretans' support in the battle to hold on to

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., ff. 44v-45r.

¹⁶⁸ Fra Noe, *Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro*, 20-21.

¹⁶⁹ Marziano Guglieminetti, "Per un Sottogenere della Letteratura di Viaggio: Gl' Isolari fra Quattro e Cinquecento," in *La Letteratura di Viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: Generi e Problemi*, ed. L. Formisano et al S. Benso (Alessandria: Edizioni dell' Orso, 1989), 116.

their colonies. The only allies they could confidently depend on were the noble Cretans, whose class interests and exposure to Venetian culture had bound their fate to that of their rulers.

5. A Cretan Cartographer: ‘Georgio Sideri dicto Calapoda cretensis’

Although there is no evidence to date to support the existence of cartographic workshops in Venetian Crete, or, in fact, any other Greek-speaking region,¹⁷⁰ the extant portolan charts of Georgio Sideri attest to the production of maps by a Greek Cretan – although not necessarily in Crete.¹⁷¹ The oldest map to have been produced in Greek-speaking lands is an unadorned chart of the Adriatic from Rettimo and bears the inscription ‘antonio pelekan admiralo de retymo o fato questo cholfo 1459 ano 4-lujo.’¹⁷² An *admiralo* was a port inspector, responsible for the safe passage of ships entering a port.¹⁷³ Millo had held such a position in the Venetian government and Sideri, as we shall see also held public offices associated with maritime administration. Tolias has noted that the small sample of works, forty in total, which can be attributed to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Greek cartographers, testify to the infiltration of Venetian maritime culture in the Greek regions, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the incorporation of Greeks into the Venetian maritime administration.¹⁷⁴

During the period 1537-1565 Sideri produced a range of loose portolan charts, signed and ‘anonymous’, nautical atlases and maps of his homeland.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁷⁰ Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 37.

¹⁷¹ His name appears in many variations in literature. His own variations include ‘Georgio Ghallapoda’, ‘Georgi Callapoda’, ‘Georgio Calapoda’, ‘Giorgi Sideri dictus Calapoda.’ (Ratti and Ratti Vidoli, “Giorgio Sideri Callapoda.”) Tolias maintains that his actual name was Zorzi Sideros, while Gerola notes a ‘Sidero’ coat-of-arms among those of the Cretan students in Padova. (Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 39; Giuseppe Gerola, “Gli Stemmi cretesi dell’ Università di Padova,” *Atti del Real Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 88 [1928-29], 270).

¹⁷² Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 434; Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 37. Pelekan’s ‘nationality’ is unknown and archival research is hampered by the fact that the Venetian archive of Rettimo was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1646. His name could be both Greek and Venetian. See Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες*, 35; idem, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 37.

¹⁷³ Boerio cited in ibid. See also Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 434.

¹⁷⁴ Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες*, 49. Five names are associated with these works: Antonio Pelekan, Ioanis Xenodocos, Sideris, Antonio Millo, Nicolaos Vourdopoulos; three anonymous cartographers have also been identified. For further discussion see ‘The Greek Chartmakers’ in Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 35-45; idem, “Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες της Αναγέννησης: Μία Δημιουργική Ανταπόκριση σε μια Βενετική Τεχνολογία,” in *Ακτίνες Ανέμων στη Θάλασσα*, ed. Evangelos Livieratos (Thessaloniki: National Centre for Maps & Cartographic Heritage, 2000), 33-46; for Vourdopoulos see also Michel Mollat du Jourdin et al., *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, 13th to 17th Century*, trans. L. le R. Dethan (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 244.

¹⁷⁵ Idem, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 38.

above dates respond to his only two works which can be securely linked to their location of production in both instances Crete.¹⁷⁶ Sideri consistently signed his works with an appellation referring to his Cretan origin: most commonly ‘Georgio Sideri dictus (dicto) Calapoda cretensis...’ In his earliest recorded work, the 1537 portolan atlas mentioned above, he signed with the epithet ‘Candioto,’ while in eight other instances he used ‘cretensis;’¹⁷⁷ the latter ostensibly formed part of his extended signature. By doing so, Sideri was complying with contemporary trends in using one’s birthplace as a form of identification. The importance of locality in early modern identity was also witnessed earlier in the registers of the Greek confraternity of Venice. There, mariners used their birthplace, which in most cases were islands, as surnames.

Tolias characterises Sideri’s work as uneven, given that his cartographic output ranges from luxury maps dedicated to prominent Venetian patricians to ‘less skilful and even crudely-made’ works clearly intended for other audiences.¹⁷⁸ His 1561 portolan chart belongs to the former: signed and dated ‘Georgio Sideri dictus Calapoda Cretensis fecit nelanno dni: 1561,’ it is dedicated to Marc’Antonio Calbo, *Duca di Candia* in the years 1560-2.¹⁷⁹ (Fig. 76) The dimensions of this luxury portolan are drastically reduced so as to negate any practical purpose while retaining the visual conventions of the genre; wind-roses, rhumb lines, scale bars, the perpendicular (to the shore) inscription of port names and the use of red ink to indicate the more important cities.¹⁸⁰ The work was composed in Italian, as all of Sideri’s signed maps; the only city depicted with a miniature cityscape in this portolan is Venice, Calbo’s *patria*.¹⁸¹ The coat-of-arms of the Calbo family decorates the neck of the portolan, and flags, indicating alliances, are deployed above cities: the winged *leone* at Venice, the flag of St. George at Genoa, the *fleur-de-lis* at Marseilles, the crescent as a symbol of Muslim (Ottoman) lands. Rhodes, home of

¹⁷⁶ The signature on the 1537 atlas clearly states ‘composuit Chandia’, whereas the 1565 chart is presumed to have been produced in Candia as Sideri was resident there after 1564. (Ibid., 38-9, 179, 187).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 179-80.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 67.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 182-4 (where further bibliography offered); Ασπασία Παπαδάκη (Papadaki), "Κατάλογος των Δουκών της Κρήτης (μέ διορθώσεις καί συμπληρώσεις)," *Ροδωνία* 2, 394.

¹⁸⁰ Its dimensions are 255 x 423mm as compared, for instance, to Sideri’s 1560 portolan chart which measured 980 x 570mm. (Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 182-3) Other interesting features include the red pigment used for colouring the Red Sea, a tradition inherited by Jewish cartographers; the depiction of Scotland as a separate island, a re-occurring ‘mistake’ in Sideri’s work with a cartographical pedigree of its own; and the anachronistic use of ‘troia’ for Minor Asia.

¹⁸¹ An anonymous Greek portolan from c. 1560 is attributed to Sideri; it is his only extant Greek map. (See *ibid.*, 187-190).

the Knights of St John, is anachronistically painted red and overlaid with a white cross. This work could only have served a decorative purpose, paying tribute to the pervasive maritime culture and Venetian taste for maps.

Apostolo Zeno, a Veneto-Cretan who penned *Appunti genealogici di famiglie Venete*, lists Sideri under the heading ‘Giorgio Sideri detto Calapodo, Candiotto.’¹⁸² Zeno begins his entry with ‘lui visse nel 1563. fu marinajo di profession’ and proceeds to discuss the content of ‘un libro da navigare, ...presso in undici tavole, et dedicato a Giovanni Francesco Michele, Gentilhuomo Vinetiano, et Consigliere in detto anno del Regno di Candia.’¹⁸³ Sideri was evidently quite successful in ensuring noble patronage. Among his surviving work we find: a nautical and topographical map of 1541 dedicated to Francesco Zeno;¹⁸⁴ a portolan chart or atlas now in three fragments dated 1560 and bearing the coat-of-arms of the Giustiniani family;¹⁸⁵ another chart from the same year with the coat-of arms of the Bragadin family;¹⁸⁶ and an atlas of 1562 dedicated to the ‘nobile famiglia Emo veneta per il suo pasagio a Constantinopoli.’¹⁸⁷ In all, six of Sideri’s thirteen surviving works were either commissioned or offered as gifts to members of noble Venetian families. Evidence of Sideri’s cartographic activity, notwithstanding the artefacts themselves, has yet to emerge from archival sources. His name, however, appears in contemporary official documents. A decree by the *Duca di Candia* issued on 18 August 1568 warns the merchant Manolis Dacypris that he must deliver the ‘disegni’ entrusted to him in Venice by Menegin Theotokopoulos to ‘Zorzi Sidero detto Calapodà’ within three days or risk a fine of fifty *hyperpyroi*.¹⁸⁸ It appears that Sideri had requested that Theotokoupolos, who later became known as El Greco, purchase

¹⁸² BMV, Apostolo Zeno, *Genealogie di famiglie venete*, ms IT.VII 351 (8385), f.175r-v. The manuscript is cited in Ratti and Ratti Vidoli, “Giorgio Sideri,” 347.

¹⁸³ Zeno, *Genealogie*, f. 175r.

¹⁸⁴ See Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 180-1; Ratti and Ratti Vidoli, “Giorgio Sideri,” 350. Antonio Ratti claims that this portolan, accessible only by reproduction since it is in a private collection, is a copy of a lost work by Fra Mauro or his workshop. See Antonio Ratti, “A Lost Map of Fra Mauro Found in a Sixteenth Century Copy,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988).

¹⁸⁵ See *ibid.*, 352-3; Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 182.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Individuals of the patrician family who participated in public life and might have been the first owners of the map are: Antonio Bragadin (d. 1566), ‘a uomo di mare,’ *capitano della guarda* (1558) and in 1565 *provveditore generale* of Cyprus (G. Pillinini, DBI, vol.13, 663); Filippo Bragadin (1509-72), distinguished for his efforts against the corsairs, *capitano* in Candia (1569) and ‘provveditore generale del Golfo durante le grande coalizione contro i Turchi (1571)’ (*idem*, DBI, vol. 13, 671); and, the most famous member of the family, Marcantonio Bragadin, defender of Famagosta, (Cyprus), who was flayed alive by the Turks (1570). (A. Ventura, DBI, vol, 13, 687-9).

¹⁸⁷ See Tolias, *The Greek Portolan Charts*, 184; Ratti and Ratti Vidoli, “Giorgio Sideri,” 354-5. There are questions regarding whether two hands were involved in this work. Ratti and Ratti Vidoli propose that other than Sideri a cartographer ‘di derivazione dell’Agnese’ was involved. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁸⁸ Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες*, 39-40.

these ‘disegni’ in Venice on his behalf. It is unknown when and where the two Cretans met: Theotokopoulos (Candia, 1541 –Toledo, 1614) did not leave Candia before 1560, whereas Sideris was definitely permanently residing in the Cretan capital in 1564 as he requested the local authorities’ aid against his son-in-law who was allegedly harassing him.¹⁸⁹ Prior to his return to Crete, Sideri appears in the records of the Greek confraternity of Venice: in 1538 he is recorded as ‘Zorzi Calapodan’ ‘padròn di galion’ and in 1554 as ‘Calapoda’ ‘padròn di naviglio.’¹⁹⁰ In the second entry the ship is declared as ‘Candioto’ indicating it departed from Candia.¹⁹¹ Toliaς has mistakenly proposed that Sideri was a paying member of the confraternity, but Krista Panayiotopoulou’s list of Greek mariners and ship-owners does not support this claim.¹⁹² The appearance of his name in these records confirms the following two facts: Sideri was present in Venice at the time and he had some type of financial dealings with the community. The names of many mariners found their way into the community’s records when they donated funds; Sideri’s 1554 record, however, most likely records the payment of a tax imposed by the community in the years 1546-56 on all Greek ships arriving in Venice.¹⁹³ This measure was taken to help raise funds for the construction of the Church of San Giorgio.¹⁹⁴ In the later part of his life, Sideri held two public offices in Candia: *deputato alla Spina* until 1573 and *deputato al datio del commercio* from 1575 to his death in 1581.¹⁹⁵ An unpublished document from Candia’s *bandi* enriches our knowledge of the Cretan cartographer’s professional maritime life. (Appendix C) An announcement dated 21 July 1540 and publicised at the loggia of San Marco in the city’s main piazza calls all the sailors who have been paid to quickly proceed to ‘li navilij patronizati per ser marco sfachioti et ser giorgio calapoda, nolizati per sue servitù per

¹⁸⁹ ASV, Duca di Candia, b. 35 (Memoriali), libro 29bis, f. 76v cited in Παναγιωτάκης, *Η Κρητική Περίοδος της Ζωής*, 27-8.

¹⁹⁰ Παναγιωτοπούλου, “Ελληνες ναυτικοί,” 308, 316; see also Ratti and Ratti Vidoli, “Giorgio Sideri,” 347.

¹⁹¹ Παναγιωτοπούλου, “Ελληνες ναυτικοί,” 316.

¹⁹² Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες*, 39. Panayiotopoulou assigns asterisks beside the names of the listed mariners who were members of the community; in both instances Sideri’s name appears without this sign.

¹⁹³ Παναγιωτοπούλου, “Ελληνες ναυτικοί,” 288-9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. For the San Giorgio see Chapter One, ‘Localised or Regional Identity.’

¹⁹⁵ Παναγιωτάκης, *Η Κρητική Περίοδος*, 28; Τόλιας, *Οι Ελληνικοί Ναυτικοί Χάρτες*, 39. *Deputato alla Spina* might refer to the island of Spinalonga in the Mirabelos Gulf in northeastern Crete. Its strategic position led to its fortification in the sixteenth century, while it remained under Venetian rule until 1715. (Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 284).

il viazo di cypri.’¹⁹⁶ Sideri and Sfaciotti’s ships, which were in the service of the Republic, were about to embark on a journey from Candia to Cyprus. The term ‘patron,’ Massimo Donattini writes, could reflect diverse social standings depending on the circumstances: ‘dal proprietario indipendente di una piccolo imbarcazione, dedito a modeste attività di trasporto e commercio, ai capitani di grandi navi impiegate nelle principali line di traffico.’¹⁹⁷ The information provided by this document allows us to conclusively state that three years after the production of his first recorded work in Candia (1537) and a year before Sideri produced the 1541 map dedicated to Zeno, the Cretan was a ship’s ‘patron’, that he was in close contact with his homeland and that he enjoyed a good relationship with the local regime. It is not entirely beyond reason that some of his connections with members of the local elite could have been forged during his sea journeys in the Eastern Mediterranean. The transit time between Candia and Venice, as we have seen, could last from two to three weeks to a month and a half, a substantial period of confinement in a ship. This otherwise routine announcement of a ship’s departure from Candia comes to add new information to our scant knowledge of the life of Crete’s most famous early modern cartographer.

Piri Reis, the famous Ottoman cartographer, wrote in the early sixteenth-century that ‘[i]t is impossible to include in a map the built-up and devastated places on shores and islands, their harbours, their springs, the reefs and shallows in the sea...’¹⁹⁸ Thus far this chapter has attempted to expand beyond the cartographic information displayed on maps by examining the experience of sea travel implied in map compilations such as *isolarii* and that of the reading and handling of the actual objects. In addition, emphasis has been given to the popular narratives which conventionally accompanied the maps in *isolarii*. Echoing Piri Reis’ observation, one

¹⁹⁶ ASV, Duca di Candia, b.15bis, reg. 9. (See Appendix C) Marco Sfachiotti does not appear in the registers of the Greek confraternity in Venice. I would like to thank Ntina Kyriazi for her help with this transcription.

¹⁹⁷ Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, 213.

¹⁹⁸ *Kitab-i Bahriye Piri Reis*, ed. E. Zekâl Ökte, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1988), 41 cited in Elisabeth Malamut, "Travellers in the Aegean Islands from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris and Julian Chrysostomides (Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 2004), 193. There are two versions of this work, one completed in 1521 and another in 1526; neither copy has been identified as autographed. For further reading on Piri Reis and Ottoman cartography see Svat Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); for an edition with parallel Ottoman, Turkish and English texts see Ertugrul Zekai Ökte, ed., *Kitab-i Bahriye Piri Reis*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, 1988). I would like to thank Colin Imber for kindly lending me his copy of *Kitab-i Bahriye Piri Reis*.

can argue that maps cannot encapsulate the experience of ‘space’, much less that of ‘place’ as discussed by Tuan. However, they had and still have the power to evoke strong feelings and trigger associations with the depicted locations, to travel the reader’s mind and to feed his imagination, and to inform perceptions of foreign lands and people. The following and last section will offer a novel perspective on islands, giving them centre stage and allowing them to speak in the first person.

6. When Islands Speak: Candia and Scio’s Last Wills

As hinted in the beginning of the second chapter and above, on rare occasions islands and cities speak. Proof of this lies in three unpublished manuscripts in the Biblioteca Marciana: a last testament written by Candia which has survived in two closely related copies and one written by Scio (Chios), one of the largest islands of the Archipelago.¹⁹⁹ (Appendix D) These anonymous, satirical texts record the islands’ bequests, name their executors and heirs, and record their final wishes in regards to their burials and posthumous commemorations. Islands might not literally die, but regimes change and islands adjust to their new rulers. In this sense islands die from the perspective of those who lose their sovereignty. Candia, after a long and costly war for the Venetian Republic, was annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1669, and Scio, an Ottoman island, was conquered by the Venetians for a couple of months in the course of the *Guerra di Morea* (1648-1699). Candia’s will dates to the middle of the seventeenth-century when the city’s siege was still under way, while Scio’s testament must have been drafted after October 1694, when Venice conquered the island, and before February 1695, when they lost it. Although separated by at least three decades, the two texts were written in the same spirit and their stylistic affinity permits speculation that the author of Scio’s testament was aware of Candia’s and might have even written the former as a literary counterpart to the latter.

Candia’s death for its Venetian rulers was both prolonged and financially draining. In the spring of 1645 the Ottoman navy appeared off the north-western

¹⁹⁹ Candia’s two testaments are found in Andrea Corner, *Storia di Candia*, It. VII 1566 (8539), ff. 100v-103r and Miscellanea, It. VII. 2487 (10547), ff. 84r-85v. Scio’s is in *Scritture Varie, brevi, suppliche in copia uniforme*, It. VII. 149 (952), ff. 47r-49r. The Marciana’s manuscript catalogue mentions another testament (‘Testamento e codicilli della città di Candia [pasquinate]’) in *Guerra di Candia: raccolta diplomatica (1645-68)* (It. VII. 211 [7468]), but the document is not there. (*Catalogo dei Manoscritti Italiani della Nazionale Marciana di Venezia*: CL VII 1-500, ed. P. Zorzanello, 81).

coast of Crete signalling the beginning of the formal end of Venetian rule.²⁰⁰ Canea surrendered the same summer and Rettimo, along with most of the Cretan countryside, was in Ottoman possession before the end of the following year.²⁰¹ Two years into the campaign, in 1647, the invading army turned its attention to the island's capital. During the city's siege, which lasted over two decades and left Candia accessible only by sea, Venice struggled to fund the war and to gain ally support against the Ottomans.²⁰² In September 1669 the keys of Candia were handed over to the Ottoman Grand Vizier Körpülü Fazıl Ahmet Pasha.²⁰³ The Ottomans received a city depleted of its population as the local elite, the Venetian and Cretan nobles, had joined the departing army²⁰⁴ and the remaining inhabitants, who had not already fled the city during the siege, were given twelve days to depart.²⁰⁵ Francesco Morosini, the general who had defended the capital for the last three years, negotiated a special clause in the surrender treaty, permitting the removal of the Venetian state archives.²⁰⁶ These were loaded onto five ships bound to Venice in the hope that in the future the island would be re-conquered and the state documentation would once more serve the Venetians; three of the five ships reached the capital and their content now serves historians interested in the period.²⁰⁷ Plans for the future conquest were plotted over the next years on the three islands held by the Venetians off the shores of Crete, namely Gramvousa, Souda and Spinalonga. These were used

²⁰⁰ Greene, *A Shared World*, 4.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 18. For an account of the siege of Rettimo see Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 258-60.

²⁰² As previously discussed, one of the methods of raising funds for the war was the selling of titles of Venetian nobility. (See Chapter One, note 88) For an account of the last years of the Cretan war see Robert Mantran, "Venezia e i Turchi (1650 -1797)," in *Venezia e i Turchi*, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milano: Electra Editrice, 1985), 250-6; for contemporary accounts of the war in Italian and Greek literary works see Γιάννης Κ. Μανρομάτης (Mavromatis), "Ο Κρητικός Πόλεμος (1645-1669) στη Γραμματεία του 17ου Αιώνα," in *Candia/ Creta/ Κρήτη: Ο Χώρος και ο Χρόνος, 16ος- 18ος Αιώνας* (Αθήνα: Μορφώτικο Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2005).

²⁰³ Greene, *A Shared World*, 18.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 37. For a discussion of the Ottoman repopulation strategies see *ibid.*, 83-109.

²⁰⁵ Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 269. The population of the city on the eve of the war is estimated at 14,451. (Μ.Ι. Μανούσακας [Manousakas], 'Η παρά Τρίταν απογραφή της Κρήτης (1644) και ο δήθεν κατάλογος των Κρητικών Οίκων Κέρκυρας,' *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 [1949], 31 cited in *ibid.*, 100) In 1659 the Archbishop of the primatial see, Giovanni Querini, who visited the island, claimed there were 500 Catholics and 10,000 Orthodox, when once there had been 4,000 and 20,000 respectively. (Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, [Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991], 135).

²⁰⁶ Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 269-70.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. For a detailed discussion of the shipment's fate and the current organisation of the surviving documents by Maria Francesca Tiepolo, former Director of the Archivio di Stato, see Maria Francesca Tiepolo, "Le fonti documentarie di Candia nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia," in *Venezia e Creta: Atti del Governo Internazionale di Studi, Iraklion-Chania, 30 Settembre-5 Ottobre 1997*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Atti, 1998); *idem*, "Note sul riordino degli archivi del Duca e dei notai di Candia nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia," *Θησαυρίσματα* 10 (1973).

as bases for ‘an extensive spy operation’ on the island.²⁰⁸ In 1715, the Ottoman navy conquered the remaining two islands, Souda and Spinalonga,²⁰⁹ and, thus, the last Venetian garrisons departed almost over five centuries after they had first arrived on the island.

The most important and noteworthy difference between the two copies of Candia’s *testamento* is the inclusion of a letter written by the ‘Regno di Candia’ to the ‘Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia, mia Amarissima Madre,’ which is absent in the second copy. The letter serves as a foreword to the *testamento* in the copy found in Andrea Cornaro’s *Storia di Candia*, an unpublished manuscript history of the island penned in sixteen volumes. The *Storia di Candia* was written by the Cretan Venetian noble in the seventeenth century and survives in several copies of varying content in the Biblioteca Marciana.²¹⁰ Cornaro traces Crete’s history from the time of the Old Testament to the Cretan War; his work, as we have seen in chapter three, relied heavily on Barozzi’s *Descrittione dell’ Isola di Candia* (1577/8). Venetian rule is introduced in the twelfth volume, while the latter part of the work focuses on the Venetian-Ottoman wars: the conflict over Cyprus, the Holy League and Lepanto and, most importantly, the war over Crete. Candia’s *testamento* is included in only one of the work’s copies. This is not an autograph, which allows for speculation that the owner of the said manuscript added the testament to Cornaro’s *Storia di Candia*.

In the letter of the *Regno* to its beloved mother, the island claims to have been gravely ill for twelve years and, for this reason, to have summoned four doctors of medicine: a Spaniard, a peasant from Padua (‘contadino del territorio di Padua’) and two Venetians.²¹¹ The reference to the twelve-year illness in conjunction with the fact that the letter is by the *Regno* (‘Attrovandomi io Infelice Regno di Candia’), could mean the work was written twelve years after the invasion of 1645 and, therefore, in 1657, when Candia was under siege and would continue to be so for another twelve years. All other dates which can be inferred from internal evidence

²⁰⁸ A *provveditore straordinario* was positioned in Souda and forwarded the correspondence to Venice. For a discussion of the spy network see Greene, *A Shared World*, 197-201.

²⁰⁹ Gramvousa had been handed over to the Turks in 1691 by the Napolitano mercenary who betrayed the Venetians for a handsome sum. (Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 284).

²¹⁰ Andrea Cornaro, *Storia di Candia*, It. VI. 154 (5800); idem, *Storia di Candia*, It. VI. 177 (6348); idem, *Istoria di Candia*, It. VI. 183 (6010); idem, *Storia di Candia*, IT. VI. 286 (5985); *Storia di Candia*, It. VII. 648 (8067); Andrea Corner, *Storia di Candia, ecc.*, It. VII. 1566 (8539). *Storia di Candia* (It. VI. 286 [5985]) is a complete copy bearing the title-page ‘Historia di Candia di Andrea Corner g. Giacomo Nob. Ven.o Abitante nella Città di Candia.’

²¹¹ Corner, *Storia di Candia*, ‘Scrittura/Alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia mia Amatissima Madre,’ f. 100r.

point to earlier events, thus establishing 1657 as the latest date of composition based on textual evidence. In the letter, Candia's doctors cannot agree on a cure for its illness and a Jewish doctor is summoned, who concurs with the advice of bleeding offered by the Spaniard and the Paduan. Given the gravity of its health, Candia writes, 'presento l'Infrascritta scrittura alla mia Serenissima cara madre', meanwhile pleading that Venice should send the only truly courageous and capable doctor, namely 'la Carità, sopra il quale ho fondato ogni respiro di me sfortunato Infermo.'²¹²

Candia's testament is recorded 'dalli Atti de quondam Pasquino Nodaro Publico.'²¹³ Pasquino, one of Renaissance's antique 'talking statues,' was set up by Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa in Rome in 1501 near the location the Roman copy of a Hellenistic statue was found.²¹⁴ On the feast of San Marco (25 April) the Cardinal established the tradition of dressing Pasquino as a mythological figure and affixing Latin verses, 'to encourage the study of humane letters',²¹⁵ by the mid-sixteenth century these verses had acquired satirical content, and, in particular, an anti-papal tone, and were attached to the base of the statue by the public year-round.²¹⁶ Verity Platt writes, '*Pasquino* spoke for Rome itself. The voices of individual citizens thus united to speak through the very stones of their city, appropriating these markers of antiquity in order to comment upon the way in which institutional power was exercised over and against the ancient city and its inhabitants.'²¹⁷ Pasquino, the notary who recorded Candia's testament, like his Roman namesake, silently stood witness to a poignantly expressed, satirical critique of contemporary political events. The literary re-invention of Pasquino in this guise served to underline the politically charged content of the text and to align the work with other *pasquinate*.

Candia begins recording its final testament in the conventional manner, 'Ritrovandomi io Città di Candia gravemanete inferma di corpo, ma' sana per Iddio gratia di mente, conoscendo di dover in breve render lo spirito alla forza Ottomana, per non lasciar le cose mie senza la dovuta ordinatione costituisco il presente mio Testamento.'²¹⁸ The city requests it be buried in Venice 'dove s'attrovano buona

²¹² Ibid., f. 100v.

²¹³ Ibid., 'Testamento della Città di Candia,' f. 101r.

²¹⁴ Verity Platt, "'Shattered visages': Speaking statues from the ancient world," *Apollo* 158 (2003), 9.

²¹⁵ F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 291 cited in *ibid*.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 10.

²¹⁸ Corner, *Storia di Candia*, 'Testamento della Città di Candia,' f. 101r.

parte delle mie ceneri' and that its grave 'be erected in the cemetery of public memory, near those of her deceased brothers, Negroponte and the Regno di Cipro', both Venetian colonies already lost to the Turks. Its beloved sisters are listed as '[le] Isole del Zante, Zaffalonia, Cerigo, Tine;' all islands still under Venetian domination in the mid-sixteenth century. The 'Golfo di Venetia,' Candia's 'first sibling' and the 'Regni di Napoli e Sicilia,' its relatives, inherit all the Cretan inhabitants and families who do not wish to live under Ottoman dominion, with the obligation to dress in mourning for the city's death and to annually commemorate its loss. Candia records its desire that a vesper be sung in its memory in church gardens. The Christian princes inherit all the benefits to their respective interests which will accrue from the city's death. The Vatican is the next target of criticism for its unwillingness to aid in the city's defence: 'Alla Corte Romana per non havermi assistito con quella carità spirituale, che doveva; non voglio lasciar altro, che la sola autorità d'eleger Vescovi Titolari nelle mie Jurisdictioni.'²¹⁹ The Christian armies who have been injured in their effort to help the city and who will no longer be able to use the island's ports and its manpower, must comfort themselves with occasionally taking refuge on the island's shores.

'Alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia mia Principessa, e Signora,' whom I have served for a long time as a wetnurse, writes Candia, nursing and nurturing many of her children, I now bequeath the care and rule of mine. The city then forgives all her enemies, public figures and generals and, specifically, embraces those who had once offended her: Giovanni Capello, *capitano generale da mar*, and Antonio Navager, *provveditor alla Canea*. 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do,' writes Candia.²²⁰ Capello (1573-1653), seventy-three years old when elected to the post, was reluctant to take action against the Turks for fear of defeat.²²¹ Detorakis records that during the siege of Canea, Capello was stranded in Souda, a fortified island in Canea bay, and did not attempt to reach the besieged city but instead sent three galleys with provisions.²²² The author writes of a note in the Historical Museum of Crete in Herakleion dated 29 June 1646, less than a year after Canea's

²¹⁹ Ibid., f. 101v.

²²⁰ Ibid., f. 102r; Luke 23:34 (www.kingjamesbibleonline.org, 06/09/2010).

²²¹ Capello's journey from Venice to Canea (25 March – 21 June 1648) was exceptionally slow and representative of his reluctance to attend to the urgency of the events. (Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, 140-1). Benzoni writes, 'L'età avanzata, una naturale costante incertezza, una titubanza persin patetica paralizzavano il Capello, al quale, d'altronde, poco poteva giovare la limitata e lontana esperienza marittima fatta in gioventù.' (G. Benzoni. DBI, vol. 18, 785).

²²² Δετοράκης, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 257.

conquest, which curses Capello for his cowardice.²²³ In the spirit of reconciliation, Candia also absolves Andrea Cornaro – not to be confused with the author of the *Storia di Candia* – of any accountability for funds he embezzled while in office. Andrea Cornaro (1610-1689) was elected *provveditore generale delle Armi nel regno di Candia* on 15 January 1654 and arrived in Crete with 62,000 ducats and a written commission ‘to attend to the maintenance of the island and to gain back the lost territories.’²²⁴ He faced a grave situation on arrival and reported back to Venice that the city needed 49,350 ducats monthly for its maintenance; following this realisation, his modern biographer writes that “[e]gli chiese perciò quasi quotidianamente l’invio di denaro ‘l’unico instrumento che move et opera tutte le cose’.”²²⁵ It is probably Cornaro’s continuous requests for funds that earned him the unsavoury reputation for embezzlement.

Candia continues by stating that its remaining goods rightfully belong to the ‘Casa Ottomana’ but there are ‘vinti quarto caratti d’honor’ which the city wishes to distribute to named individuals who played a significant role in recent events: ‘Nicolò Dolfìn fù mio Proveditor Generale’; ‘A Tomaso Morosini fù Capitan delle Navi’; ‘A Zan Alvise Emo... sacrificò (anch’) egli la vita in mio servitio’; ‘A Benetto Canal, che fù il primo à insegnare à Nobili Venetiani à morir per me’; and to Antonio Lippomano, ‘mio Generale, e Signore di molta Pietà’, who is named as responsible for the funerary arrangements. Nicolò Dolfìn is bequeathed ‘gradi sei d’honor, e di gloria’ for having put his life in danger many times and for ‘losing his own son’ who is recorded as currently in the hands of the Turks. Dolfìn (1592-1669) was elected *provveditor general a Candia* in November 1646 and played an important role in defending Rettimo against the Turks.²²⁶ His son Marcantonio (1627-1668) followed his father to Crete and was taken hostage during the siege of Rettimo in June 1647.²²⁷ Dolfìn, citing poor health, returned to Venice and became one of the prime voices in favour of ending the war, while at the same time exploring all diplomatic avenues to repatriate his son. Marcantonio died in captivity in Istanbul a year before his father.²²⁸ Antonio Lippomano (1590-1666), whose character and piety Candia praises, was appointed *provveditore generale delle arme in Candia* on

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ By 1656 records show Cornaro was back in Venice. (C. Pavolo, DBI, vol. 29, 161-4).

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ G. Benzoni, DBI, vol. 40, 558-9.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid., 560.

11 May 1648; a ‘carica prestigiosa’ given the city’s besieged state.²²⁹ He left Crete in 1650, complaining about ‘febre e male gravissimo.’²³⁰ His death in 1666 provides the *terminus ante quem* for the testament since when the work was written he was still alive.

The three remaining *caratti*, Candia requests, should be distributed equally, one part, for the souls of those who died in its service and, the other, to the city’s poor, who give their blood for curing its suffering. Caustically commenting on the political landscape, the notary Pasquino records Candia’s dire prediction of the events which will follow its death: ‘perchè intendo, che nella confusione della mia malatia, molti della professione, così maritima, come da terra hanno aspetato il Residuo, havendo indebitamente rubato honori, e glorie, ch’è loro non aspetano; voglio, che questi siano tenuti à render conto, à tempo, e luogo.’²³¹

Scio’s testament was written in the same spirit of political satire, although the political circumstances were different, if not reversed. The island of Chios (Scio) was at the centre of the Genoese trading empire for almost three centuries (1261-1566), when the Ottomans annexed it ‘without a shot fired,’ as Braudel points out.²³² Famous for its mastic, consumed as a resin and a drink, the island lay approximately two days sail from Istanbul, while its ports played a central role in the Aegean trade routes.²³³ Lupazolo, mentioned above as the author of a manuscript 1638 *isolario*, wrote of his native Scio that the island’s capital ‘sono doi parti Greci, una Turchi et una Itagliani tra quali sono molte cassate nobili e derivati da Giustiniani.’²³⁴ Lupazolo estimated the population at 60,000 inhabitants and noted that among them were many foreigners. The island’s capital was described as ‘well-kept, clean, abundant in all goods and free to all.’²³⁵ ‘Il governo temporale,’ wrote Lupazolo, ‘è tenuto dalli Turchi, cioè un Bei et un Cadi cioè giudice.’²³⁶ In the course of the

²²⁹ G. Gullino, DBI, vol. 65, 232.

²³⁰ Ibid. Regarding Lippomano’s period in Crete, Gullino writes, “qualche anno dopo, un anonimo *Testamento della città di Candia* definì il Lippomano ‘signore di molta pietà et molto religioso’.” (M. Casini, “Immagini dei capitani, generali ‘da mar’ a Venezia in età barocca” in *Il Perfetto Capitano: Immagini e realtà (secoli XV- XVII). Atti dei seminari... Ferrara 1995-97*, ed. M. Fantoni, [Roma, 2001], 236 cited in *ibid*). This is the only reference to the wills I have found in literature.

²³¹ Corner, *Storia di Candia*, f. 103r.

²³² Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 115, 343.

²³³ Ibid., 361.

²³⁴ Φίλιππος Π. Αργέντης και Στίλπων Π. Κυριακίδης, (Argentis and Kiriakides) eds., *Η Χίος παρά τοις Γεωγράφοις και Περιηγηταίς απο του Ογδόου μέχρι του Εικοστού Αιώνος* vol. 1 (Αθήνα: Εστία, 1946), 185.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid. Lupazolo’s opinion of his compatriots is flattering: the men are ‘civili’ and the women are polite (‘cortese’), dress well and adorn their hair with flowers; they always speak in the plural, the

Guerra di Morea when Francesco Morosini re-conquered the Peloponnese and briefly occupied Athens, the Catholic population of Chios asked for Venetian help against the Turks.²³⁷ In October 1694 the Venetians under the command of Antonio Zeno conquered Chios and transferred its Turkish population to Çeşme, near Smirne. By February of the following year, however, the Turks had taken back the island.²³⁸ The majority of the Catholics fled with the Venetians, while the Greek population '[was] exposed to the insolence and plunder of the Turkish soldiery.'²³⁹

In its last testament, Scio, ill with fever and sensing death is near, renounces 'la religione Maomettana, e la falsità di quel Profetta che adorai per il passato più per timore delle forze Ottomane, che per genio naturale' and asks that following its death the Christian Cross be raised over its head and 'il glorioso San Marco sotto da cui Prottettione intendo, e voglio morire.'²⁴⁰ Scio requests to be buried in Smirne and states that it wishes its mosques to be transformed to Catholic churches. Given that the testament was composed by the dying Muslim Scio, the burial in Smirne must be understood as a direct reference to the exile of its Muslim population to the nearby port. Scio's primary beneficiary is Venice, 'che altre volte mi ha governato con tanto affetto, e pietà.' Antonio Zeno, 'Capitan General of Venice,' mentioned above, is named as executor, 'Mazzammama', one of Scio's medics, is offered a chain worthy of cowardice and 'mezo morto', its other doctor is given the ships and goods in the Arsenal to aid his speedy escape from the Venetian Armata. Mezzomorto Hüseyin Paşa (d. 1701), 'il capo supremo della pirateria' in Algiers in the 1680's and later an Ottoman governor, had arrived too late to protect the island from Venetian attack.²⁴¹ He headed the re-conquest of the island in the following year and was awarded the

polite form in Greek, 'se bene ormai [il Greco] è corrotto con l'Italiano'. (Ibid., 185-6) This account stands in contrast to Lupazolo's opinions of Cretans: 'mentre che San paulo Apostolo quando fu qui via Predicare disse che manco la polvere che era attaccata alle sue scarpe non voleva portarne via sbatenvole l'una con l'altra agiungendo di più che erano gente bagiarda et bestiale, e ben vero che da quel tempio in qua ce stato in tutto mutatione in quei populi particolarmente adesso che dalla serenissima Republica d Venetia sono governati, come dissi per avanti, tanto nel temporale come spirituale.' (Lupazolo, *Isolario dell'Arcipelago*, f. 86r-v).

²³⁷ Mantran, "Venezia e i Turchi," 262-3. For contemporary reactions and accounts of the *Guerra di Morea* in primary sources see Anastasia Stouraiti, *Memorie di un Ritorno: La Guerra di Morea (1684-1699) nei Manoscritti della Querini Stampalia*, (Venezia: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 2001).

²³⁸ Mantran, "Venezia e i Turchi," 263.

²³⁹ Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 395. On the reluctance of the local Greek clergy and population to commit themselves to Venetian rule, unlike their Catholic compatriots see Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 172.

²⁴⁰ BMV, *Scritture varie, brevi, suppliche*, f. 47r.

²⁴¹ Rinaldo Panetta, *Il Tramonto della Mezzaluna: Pirati e Corsari Turchi e Barbareschi nel Mare Nostrum XVII, XVIII, XIX secolo*, (Milano: Ugo Mursia Editore, 1984), 132-3.

position of Kaptan Başa (Admiral) of the Ottoman navy for the successful outcome of his effort.²⁴² ‘Hassam Bassà Comandante della mia fortezza’ is bequeathed a golden cup filled with poison. The islands of the Arcipelago, Scio’s sisters which are still under Ottoman occupation, inherit a year’s tribute of tears to lament their misfortunes and Morea, Scio’s older sister, recently married to the ‘Leone di Venetia’, the joy of her newly-found happiness. Scio writes, ‘... lascio alli Regni di Cipro, Candia, e Negroponte miei Germani di sangue un continuo timore d’essere attaccati di Veneti...’²⁴³ Mettelino, Scio’s niece (or granddaughter) inherits the certainty of its fall in the coming year. Ending its testament, Scio requests a funeral in Piazza San Marco ‘con fuochi di artificio, e quantità di lumi per la Città.’²⁴⁴

The feeling of exuberance and confidence in Venetian military superiority which permeates Scio’s will indicates it was drafted during the short period of Venetian rule. Candia’s testament was written when the island’s Venetian rule was coming to an end, while Scio’s when Venetian rule was commencing. The first testament is replete with accusations of mismanagement, pardons to those who have wronged the dying city, provisions for its impoverished and homeless inhabitants, and the desire to be remembered posthumously. Scio’s will, conversely, bears the signs of the arrogance brought about by the military victories of the *Guerra di Morea* and the hope of the re-establishment of a maritime empire. Regarding the developments of the seventeenth century, Daniel Goffman writes, “Remarkably, Ottoman-Venetian relations did not collapse as a result of these humiliating losses. Rather, they became richer and more complex as Venice learned to replace empire with commerce, power with diplomacy.”²⁴⁵ Greene warns against the reliance on the historical cliché of a Christian-Muslim confrontation and recasts the ongoing wars as struggles between the *ancien* regime, in this case the Venetian and Ottoman Empires, and the newly-arrived powers in the Mediterranean, namely France, England, Holland, and, later on, Russia. She maintains that the latter upset the long-established balance of power in the Mediterranean given that their world expanded beyond its confines.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Ibid. For further reading on Mezzomorto see *ibid.*, 114-9.

²⁴³ BMV, *Scritture varie, brevi, suppliche.*, f. 48v.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., f. 49r.

²⁴⁵ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, New approaches to European History: 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 231.

²⁴⁶ Greene, *A Shared World*, 5.

On the eve of the regime change, the Venetian imagination conceptualised Candia and Scio as living entities which voiced their anger, admiration, compassion, forgiveness and gratitude for the individuals and the states that had affected the course of their lives. The island-testators wrote of their relatives, other islands of the Archipelago: some shared the joyous fate of Venetian sovereignty and others were ruled by enemy powers. The isolated islands of the *isolarii*, detached from each other and perpetually captive of their remote past, gained agency and contemporary voices in these wills. The island-testators placed themselves in imaginary familial networks comprised of other Aegean islands and cities and gave voice through their bequests to the turmoil enveloping the region. The satire was sharp and reflected contemporary perceptions of people and events; the topicality of the narrative, however, was fragile as political developments and the balance of power rapidly changed.

Conclusion

Candia's complex and multi-faceted history is reflected in the consecutive names the city has held throughout its modern history: al-Khandaq for the Arabs, Chandax for the Byzantines, Candia for the Venetians, Kandiye for the Ottomans and, today, the fourth largest city in Greece is known as Herakleion. Conquerors renamed or adjusted the city's name to their language, seeking in this manner to symbolically appropriate the city and its history. The Greeks opted to erase it all and re-introduce its ancient toponym. Braudel compares the history of the Mediterranean islands to an enlarged photograph which offers researchers one of the most rewarding ways of approaching an explanation of violent Mediterranean life. 'It may make it easier,' he writes, 'to understand how it is that each Mediterranean province has been able to preserve its own irreducible character, its own violently regional flavour in the midst of such an extraordinary mixture of races, religions, customs and civilizations.'¹

This thesis has contributed to the ongoing academic discussion of early modern identity in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Crete, in particular, by examining aspects of its material basis and views expressed in both archival and published documents. Throughout the thesis there has been a heightened awareness of the importance of language in the colonial context. Instances when language has emerged as especially revealing of contemporary attitudes and cultural interactions have been the Venetian misunderstanding of the appellation *Romeoi*, the generic term 'Franks' applied to Western Europeans, the derogatory characterization 'marioli' which slipped into everyday Venetian vocabulary, the wealth of Italian terms regarding fabrics and clothes encountered in Cretan notarial records, the Sfachiote desire to 'see red stockings', and the *lingua franca* of Greek narrative portolans. The two chapters on Cretans' appearances presented overlooked material artefacts, such as embroidery, for the insight they offer into aspects of daily Cretan life and their contribution to the better understanding of the development and movement of cultural trends and fashions across the *Oltremare*. *Braghesse*, *vrakes* in the Cretan context, were singled out and located in notarial registers, paintings, costume books, and frescos attesting to their ubiquitous presence in the broader region and their 'regional flavour', in Braudel's words. Stylistic developments in Cretan embroidery were juxtaposed for the first time with contemporary Italian pattern books and with surviving samples of embroidery in the Victoria and Albert

¹Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 161.

Museum. This juxtaposition highlighted the Italian influence on specific embroidered motifs and patterns, as well as on the genre's general aesthetic trends. The importance of appearances in maintaining social hierarchy and reinforcing social and religious identity were revealed by the local government's serious response to an incident when a Cretan peasant masqueraded as a rector and by the introduction of sumptuary legislation to the island. The city crier's records revealed sumptuary restrictions targeting the resident Jews, a community precariously positioned in Cretan society.

Throughout the thesis unpublished primary sources were brought to bear on the discussion. Chapter Two presented archival documents such as the advisory letter on managing a household in Crete, the anonymous *canzone rustica*, and extracts from Calergi's unpublished *Storia di Candia*, Barozzi's *Descrittione dell'Isola di Candia* and Belli's identically titled work. Written by representatives of different social classes and serving a variety of stated and implicit purposes, these works furthered our understanding of Venetian attitudes towards their subject lands and their inhabitants, and served as prime samples of the indigenous population's literary efforts to legitimise their social status. The discussion of these sources left us with a strong sense of the paramount importance of class in issues regarding identity and the different relationship each indigenous group developed with the island's rulers. Barozzi's speech for the Vivi Academy in Rettimo exposed the Cretan elite's adaptation of Humanist *topoi* for discussing their island's past towards self-serving ends, while the striking oppositions set out in the satirical *canzone rustica* offered evidence of early modern binary frameworks for understanding and building identities. The final testaments of Scio and Candia, presented and published for the first time in Chapter Five, added to the body of scholarship on Mediterranean islands. These whimsical, satirical texts exhibit poignant political commentary on contemporary events in the Eastern Mediterranean and place the region's islands, like *isolarii*, in the heart of their narrative viewpoint. Here the early modern imagination conceived of dying islands recording their final wishes, allotting blame for their fortunes and expressing gratitude to their benefactors. Meanwhile this thesis also revealed historical frameworks for discussing Crete's Venetian past as laden with modern ideological baggage and telling of contemporary societal preoccupations. In particular, the myth of linguistic continuity from Antiquity to sixteenth-century Crete was examined, as well as scholarship that presents the Greek

language as a constituent element of ‘Greek’ identity. Buondelmonti’s discussion of the noble Calergi family in *Descriptio Insulae Cretae* was given special attention for its subsequent appropriation towards nationalist ends.

The research presented in this thesis helped to open a series of lines of enquiry which hold the promise for further enriching scholarship in the field. Thus, for instance, the current discussion brings forth questions regarding the Ottoman presence in the greater region. Many of the motifs in Cretan embroidery, for example, share common elements with contemporary Ottoman specimens, while there is ample evidence of the trade of fabrics and, to a lesser extent, clothing between Venice, Venetian colonies and Ottoman lands. Research into relevant Greek and Turkish collections could offer primary material for further analysis. We stand to gain a more comprehensive picture of an important and prevalent component of the Eastern Mediterranean’s material culture and the effects of cross-cultural dialogue on this medium. Equally important is the question, how did this trade enable and facilitate this dialogue? Such research could contribute to the lifting of the national barriers which, as we have seen, still restrain scholarship in this region.

A close examination of sixteenth-century Cretan literature, known as the ‘Cretan Renaissance’, holds the potential of enriching the current discussion on clothes and language. For example, how is clothing described in works such as Cornaro’s *Erotokritos*? Are there passages in other contemporary literary works regarding Cretans’ perceptions and attitudes to their own and their rulers’ external appearances? Are there relevant passages in the unpublished *Histories of Crete* in the Biblioteca Marciana? In which other aspects of everyday life beyond clothing can we find such hybrid language? The extensive extant notarial records, conventionally overlooked by historians of Venetian Crete in favour of other archival *serie*, would also yield findings on these issues. A further layer to this discussion might come from the Greek-speaking subjects of Ottoman lands or from other locations in the Venetian empire. How did the Greeks of Constantinople or the Corfiots, for example, view Cretans? Did they make distinctions between themselves and other Greek-speaking subjects? If so, what were these based on? The answers to such questions can begin to deconstruct the homogenizing and anachronistic approach to ‘Greek’ identity in the pre-modern period.

A final line of enquiry stemming from the present research regards an unpublished, anonymous costume book of Ottoman attire in the Gennadius Library

and an eighteenth-century Venetian *isolario* which combines the two genres with an emphasis on the Turkish element. The Western fascination with Ottoman dress and court culture is evidenced not only in costume books but also in the period's travel literature. In addition, early modern maps are now in the process of being studied and explored as objects of visual culture and not solely as cartographic treatises. Building and expanding on this thesis, these two works present promising points of departure for future research.

Figures



Fig. 1: Jacopo Sansovino, Detail of the Façade of the Loggetta, Campanile of the Basilica, c. 1537-45. Piazzetta San Marco, Venice.



Fig. 2: Jacopo Sansovino, Relief of Venice as Justice, Façade of the Loggetta of the Campanile, c. 1537-45. Piazzetta San Marco, Venice.



Fig. 3: Jacopo Sansovino, Relief of Venus, Façade of the Loggetta of the Campanile, c. 1537-4. Piazzetta San Marco, Venice.



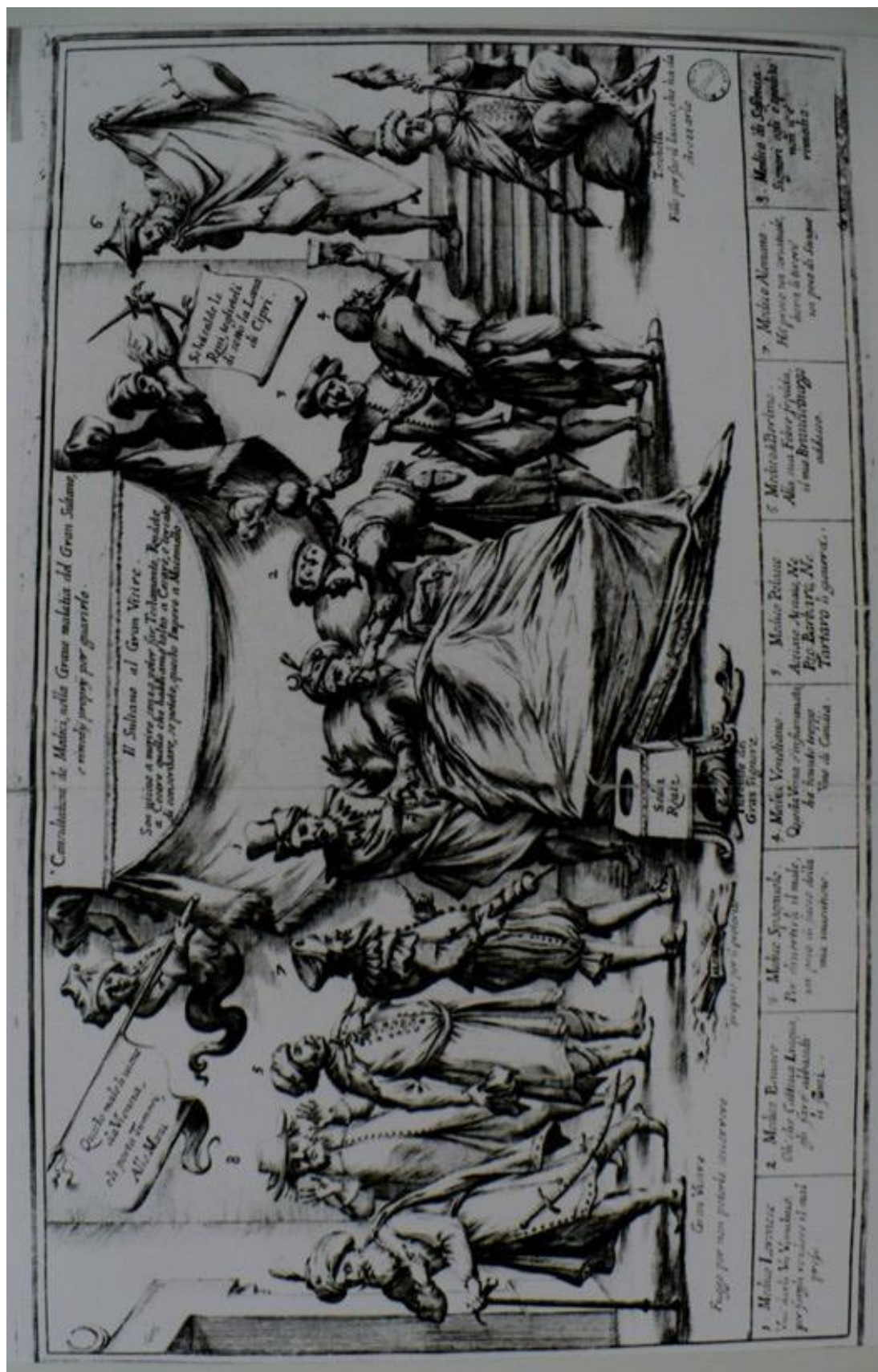
Fig. 4: Jacopo Sansovino, Relief of Jupiter, Façade of the Loggetta of the Campanile, c. 1537-41. Piazzetta San Marco, Venice.



Fig. 5: Georgio Sideri, *La Isola di Candia*, 1562. Museo Civico Correr, Venice.



Fig. 6: Marco Boschini, *Citta di Candia, Il Regno tutto di Candia* (Venetia: s.l., 1651).



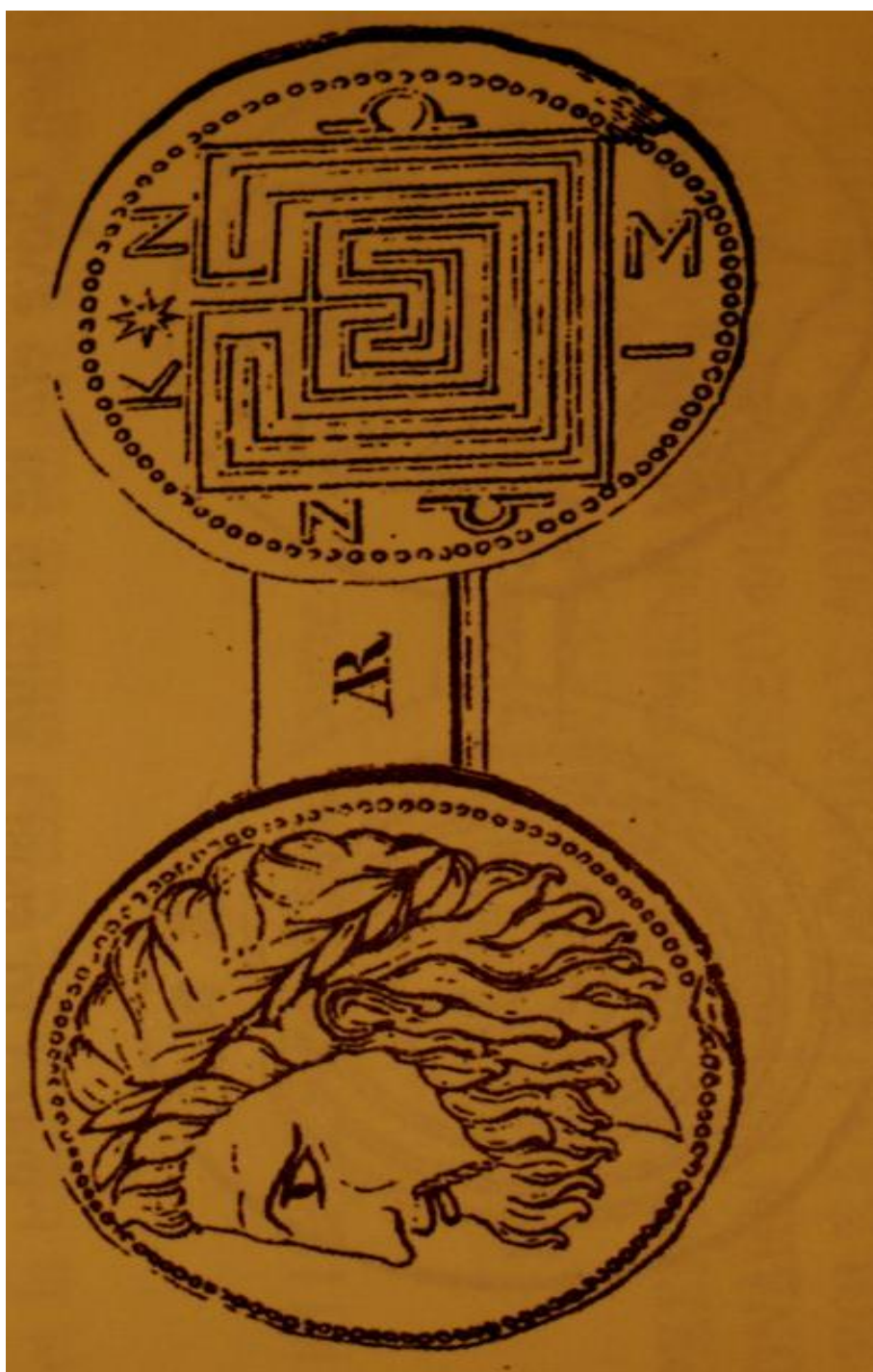


Fig. 8: Drawing of the two sides of a coin from Ancient Knossos, Crete.

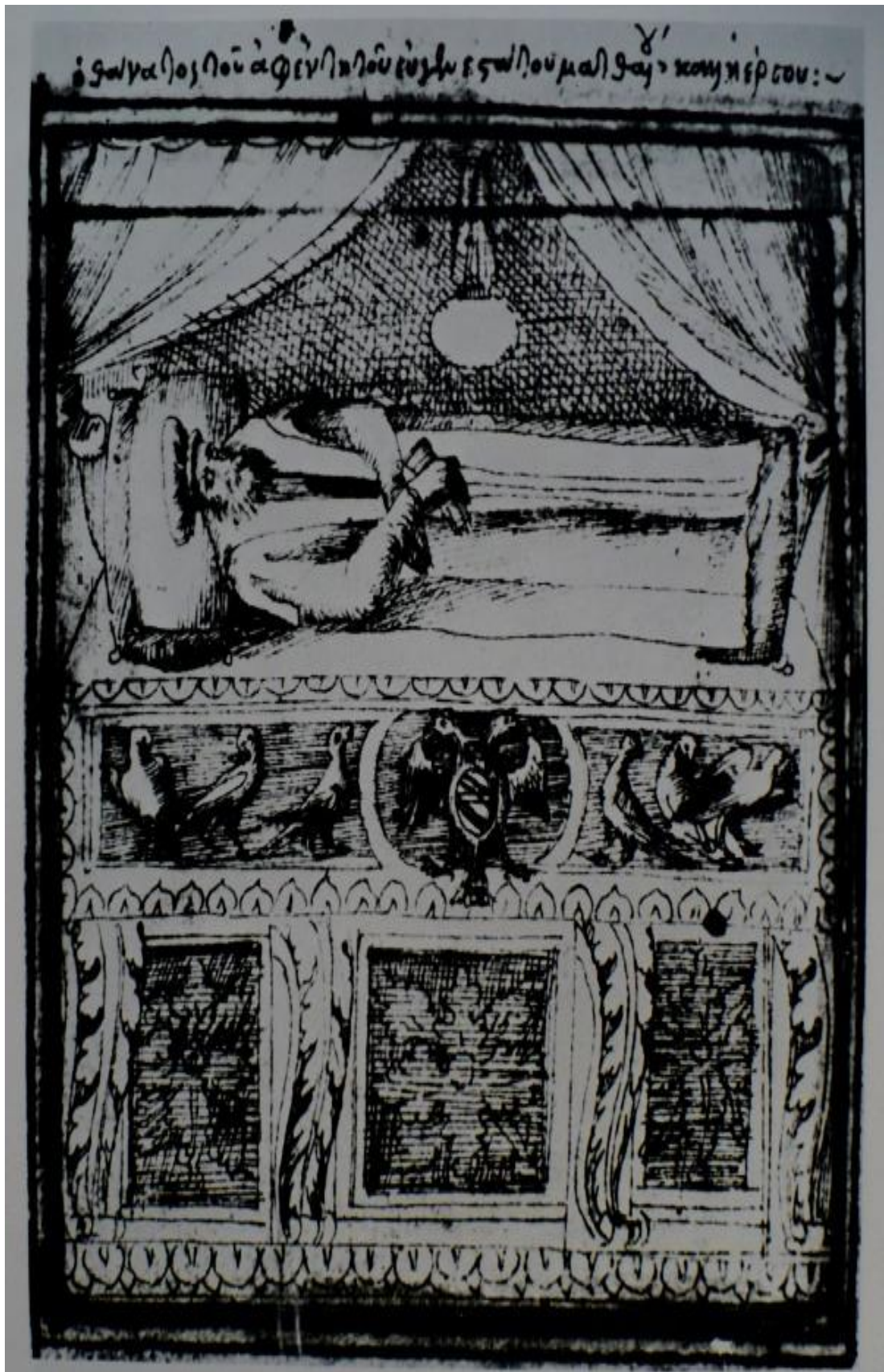


Fig. 9: George Clontzas, *Matteo Calergi in his Deathbed*, Codex Marc. Graec. Cod. VII. 22 (=1466). Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, f. 135v.



Fig. 10: The Calergi family crest *in situ* at the Venice Municipal Casino, Venice.

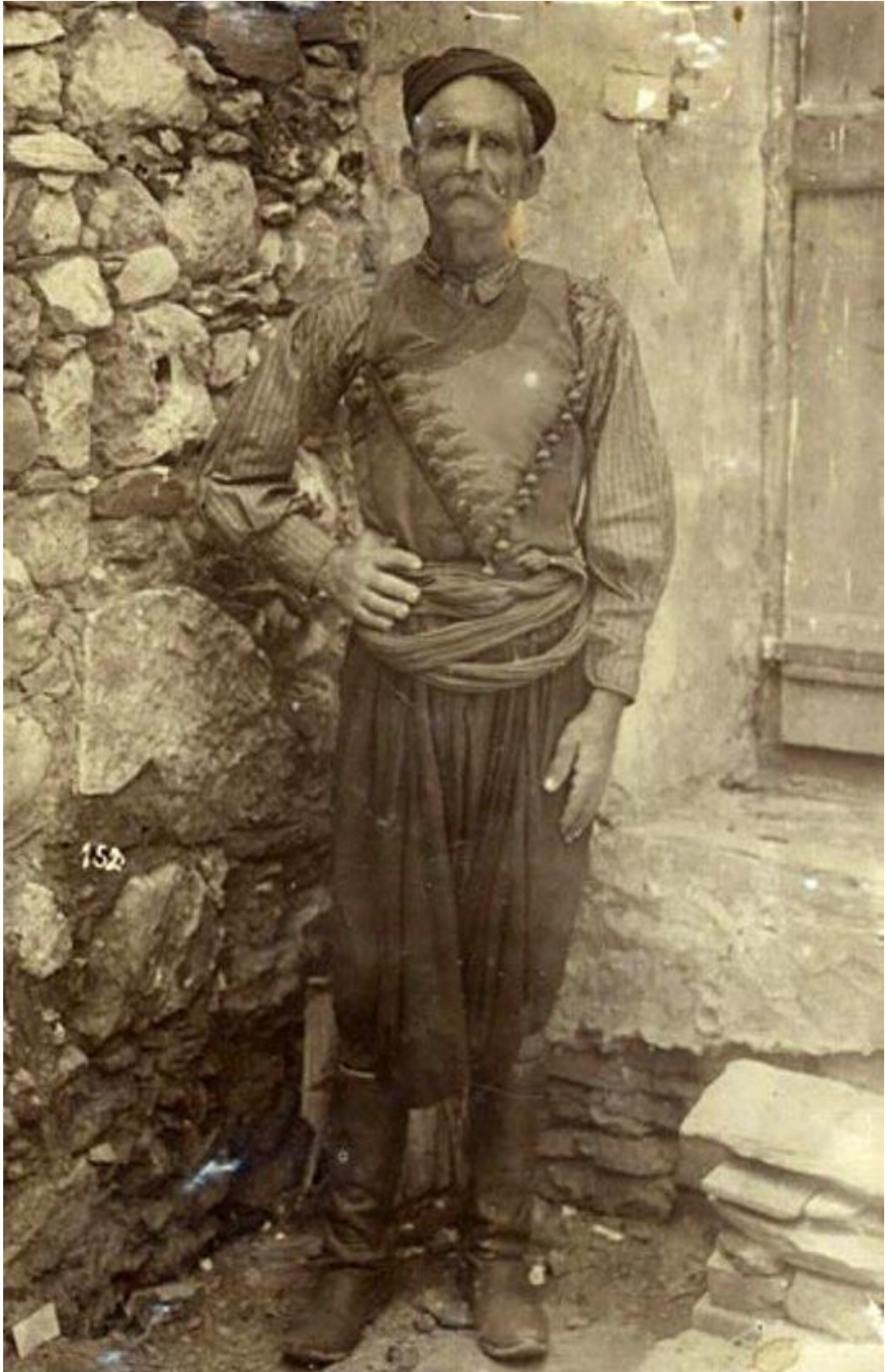


Fig. 12: *Cretan Man in Traditional Costume*, Beginning of Twentieth Century. Collection of Tzani Ioanni.



Fig. 13: Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), *Vincenzo Anastagi*, 1571-6. The Frick Collection, New York.



Fig. 14: Caravaggio, *Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt with his Page*, 1607-8. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 15: Cesare Vecellio, *Soldato A' Piedi*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8°, 20 cm.



Fig. 16: Cesare Vecellio, *Soldato Disarmato*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8°, 20 cm.



Fig. 17: Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *Portrait of Sebastiano Venier with a Page*, c. 1580. Private Collection.

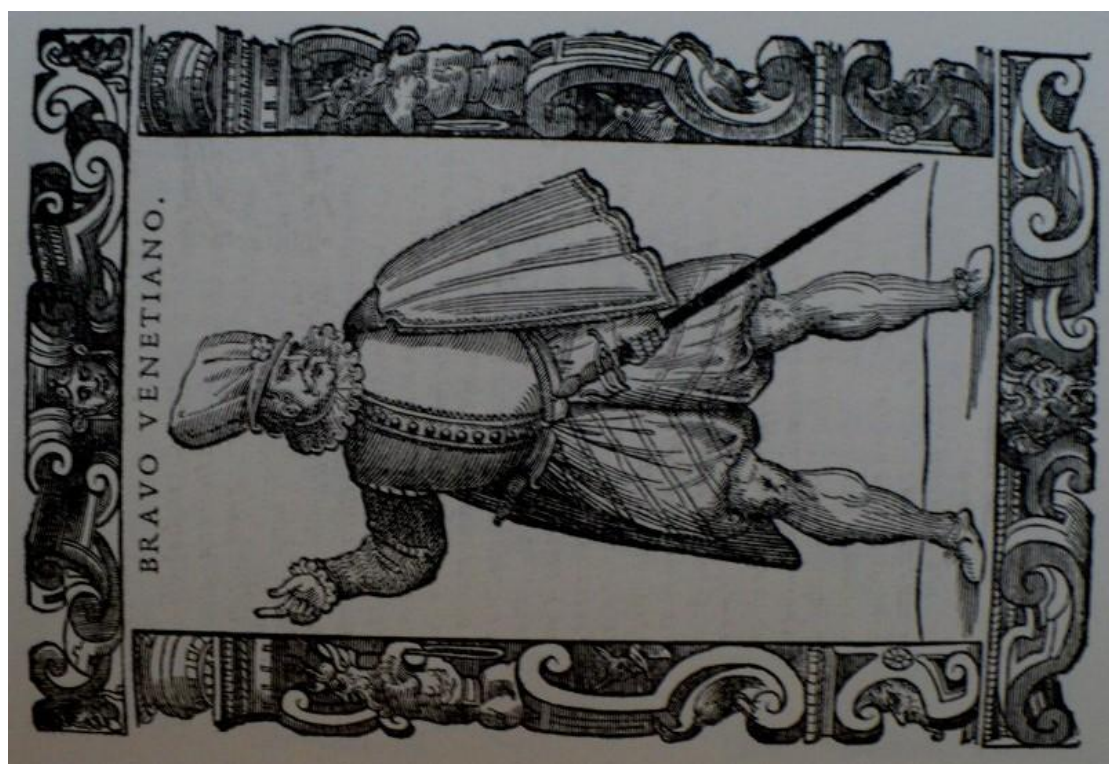


Fig. 18: Cesare Vecellio, *Bravo Venetiano*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8", 20 cm.



Fig. 19: Cesario Vecellio, *Soldato, O' Scappoli*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8", 20 cm.



Fig. 20: Fragment of Cretan embroidery, seventeenth century. The Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 21: *A Romance*. Pillowcase. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 22: Traditional Cretan costume, twentieth century (?). Collection of Elefteria Ranoutsou.



Fig. 23: Detail of musician on Cretan skirt border, eighteenth century. Silk on cotton. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

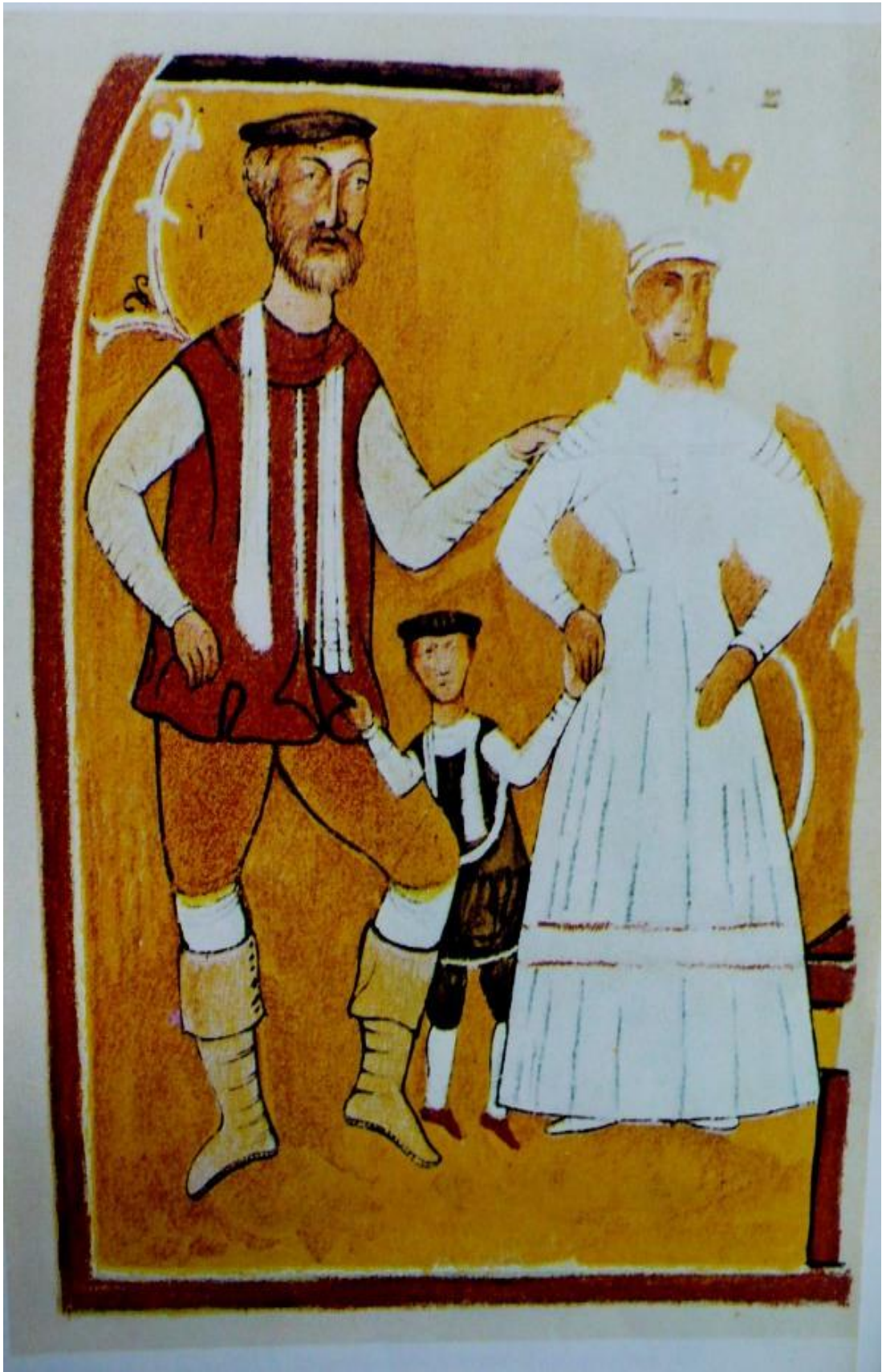


Fig. 24: Anonymous, *Cretan Nobles ('Archontoromei') of the Countryside*, Sixteenth Century. Church of St George, Voila Sitias, Crete. Fresco.



Fig. 25: Maria Papadopoula, Autographed and dated embroidered skirt, 1757, Crete. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 26: Cretan dress, 1700's. Polychrome silk embroidery on linen and cotton. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 27:
Detail of
embroidered sleeve
of Cretan skirt.
Victoria and Albert
Museum, Sandwith
Collection 2064-
(18)76.



Fig. 28: Detail of sleeves of Cretan skirt (See also Fig. 27-VVV). Victoria and Albert Museum, Sandwith Collection 2064-(18)76.



Fig. 29: Cretan dress on mannequin, late seventeenth - early eighteenth century. The Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 30: Claude Aubriet, *Candiotas*, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant fait par ordre du Roy* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1717). Woodcut, 8°, 10 x 15.8 cm.



Fig. 31: Cretan skirt border, 1700s. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. T. 706-1950.



Fig. 32: Detail of embroidered skirt border featuring a mermaid (Fig. 26). Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 488-1903.



Fig. 33: Detail of fragment of a Cretan skirt border featuring figures holding swords. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 2055-(18)76. D.1.



Fig. 34: Two-tailed mermaid on carved stone. The Benaki Museum, Athens. 2906.



Fig. 35: Skirt border from Crete, c. 1570.



Fig. 36: Glazed small bowl with a representation of a double-headed eagle, late thirteenth or fourteenth century. Glazed ceramic. The Benaki Museum. Athens.



Fig. 37: Pontifical pendant in the shape of a double-headed eagle, end of seventeenth century. The Benaki Museum, Athens



Fig. 38: Glazed small four-lobe bowl with a representation of a bird. Constantinople, eleventh century. Glazed ceramic. The Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 39: Piece of linen skirt border from Crete, 1697. Ladder stitch, featherstitch and satin stitch in yellow, tan, red, dark and light blue and green silk.



Fig. 40: Cesare Vecellio, Frontispiece, *Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*. (Venetia: Alessandro de Vecchi, 1620). Woodcut, (obl) 15 x 19 cm.



Fig. 41: Cesare Vecellio, *Conuiensi, che de la donna la bontà..*, *Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*, (Venezia: Alessandro de Vecchi, 1620). Woodcut, (obl) 15 x 19 cm.



Fig. 42: Cesare Vecellio, *Corona di mostra, & Merli, di Ponto d'Aiere, Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*, (Venezia: Alessandro de Vechi, 1620). Woodcut, (obl) 15 x 19



Fig. 43: Cesare Vecellio, *Merli, & Mostre diverse, Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*, (Venezia: Alessandro de Vechi, 1620). Woodcut, (obl) 15 x 19 cm.



Fig. 44: Embroidered hem of a chemise, seventeenth century, Crete. The Benaki Museum, Athens.

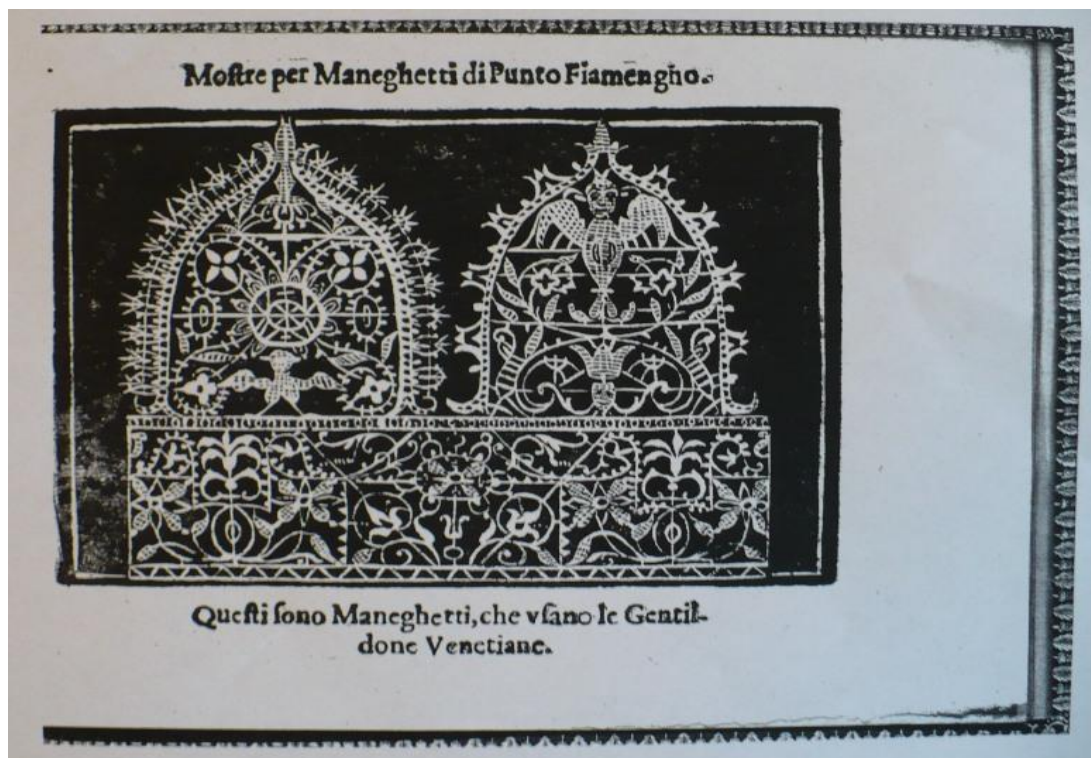


Fig. 45: Cesare Vecellio, *Mostre per Maneghetti di Punto Flamengo, Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*, (Venezia: Alessandro de Vechi, 1620). Woodcut, (obl) 15 x 19 cm.

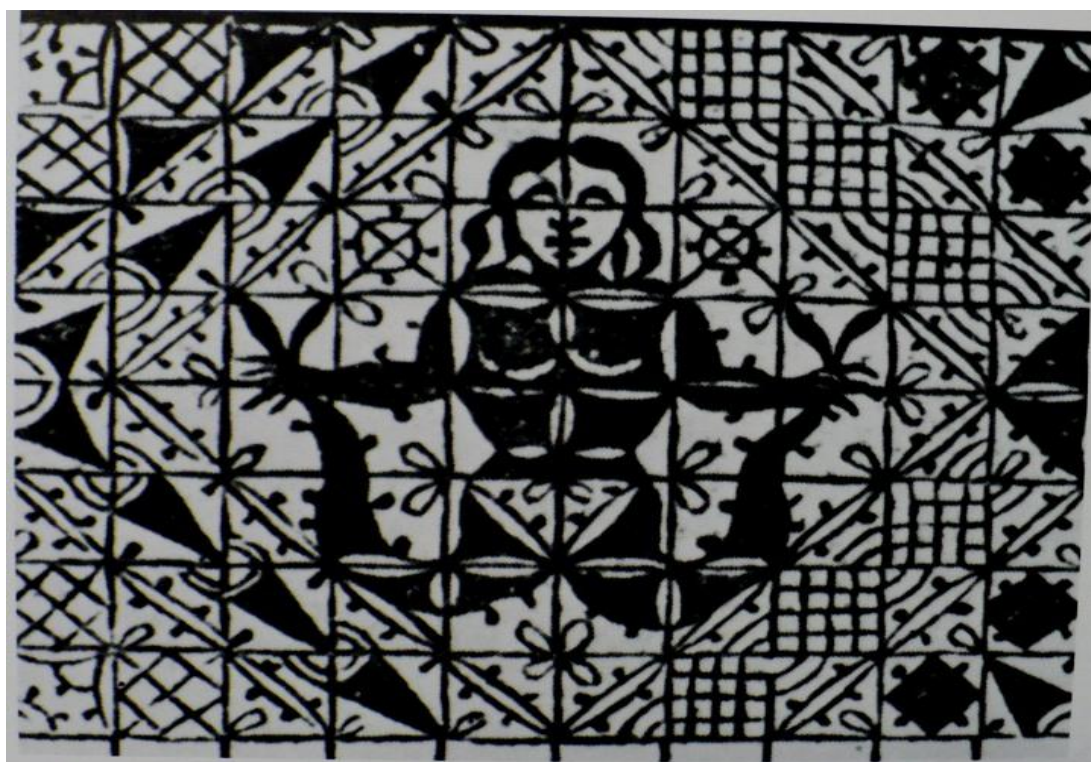


Fig. 46: Matteo Pagano, [Two-tailed mermaid], *Ornamento delle Belle & Virtuose Donne*, (Venice, 1554). Woodcut, 19 x 15 cm.

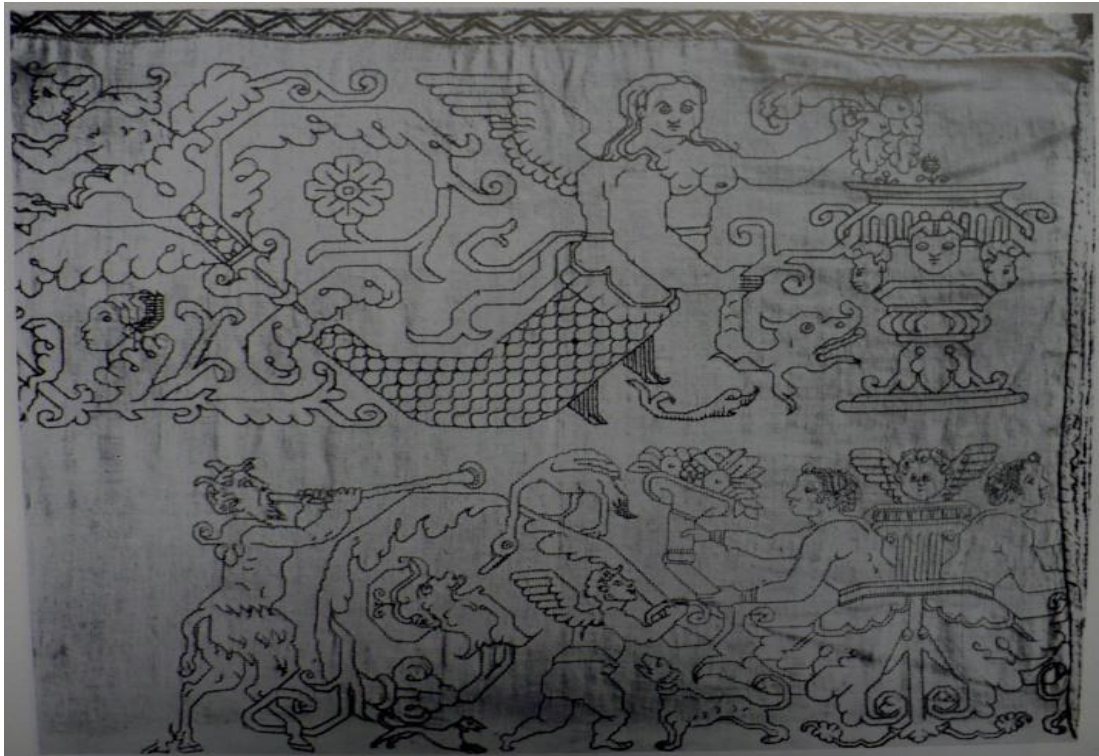


Fig. 47 Unfinished embroidery in silk on linen featuring mermaid/sphinx, middle of the sixteenth century, Florence. 33 x 42 cm. Museo Nazionale, Florence.



Fig. 48: [Matteo Pagano], [Mermaid motif for bobbin lace], *Le Pompe* (Giovanni-Battista and Marchio Sessa: Venice, 1559).



Fig. 49: Detail of Cretan Skirt Border. Victoria and Albert Museum, 2015.1876.



Fig. 50: Federico Vinciolo, *Ouvrages de point coupe*, [Reticella Lace], *Singuliers et nouveaux pourtaicts* (Paris: Jean Leclerc, 1587).



Fig. 51: Cesare Vecellio, *Sfachiotta di Candia*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8", 20 cm.



Fig. 52: Anonymous, *The Priest Georgios Hortatzis*, Church of Hagia Paraskevi, Asomaton Amariou (Ασωμάτων Αμαρίου), Crete. Fresco.



Fig. 53: Cesare Vecellio, *Nobile Donzella*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...* (Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8", 20 cm.



Fig. 54: Nicolo de Nicolai (Nicolas de Nicolay), *Donna di Macedonia*, *Le Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia... Novamente tradotto di Francese in volgare da Francesco Flori da Lilla* (Anversa: Guil. Silvio, 1577).



Fig. 55: Nicolo de Nicolai (Nicolas de Nicolay), *Contadina Greca*, *Le Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia... Novamente tradotto di Francese in volgare da Francesco Flori da Lilla* (Anversa: Guil. Silvio, 1577). Engraving.



Fig. 56: Cesare Vecellio, *Sfachiotto di Candia*, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni...*(Venezia: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut, 8°, 20 cm.



Fig. 57: Fragment of Cretan embroidery. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.598-1950.



Fig. 58: Fragment of Cretan embroidery featuring an archer. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. CIRC. 327-1930.



Fig. 59: Detail of fragment of Cretan embroidery (Fig. 58). Victoria and Albert Museum, London. CIRC. 327-1930.

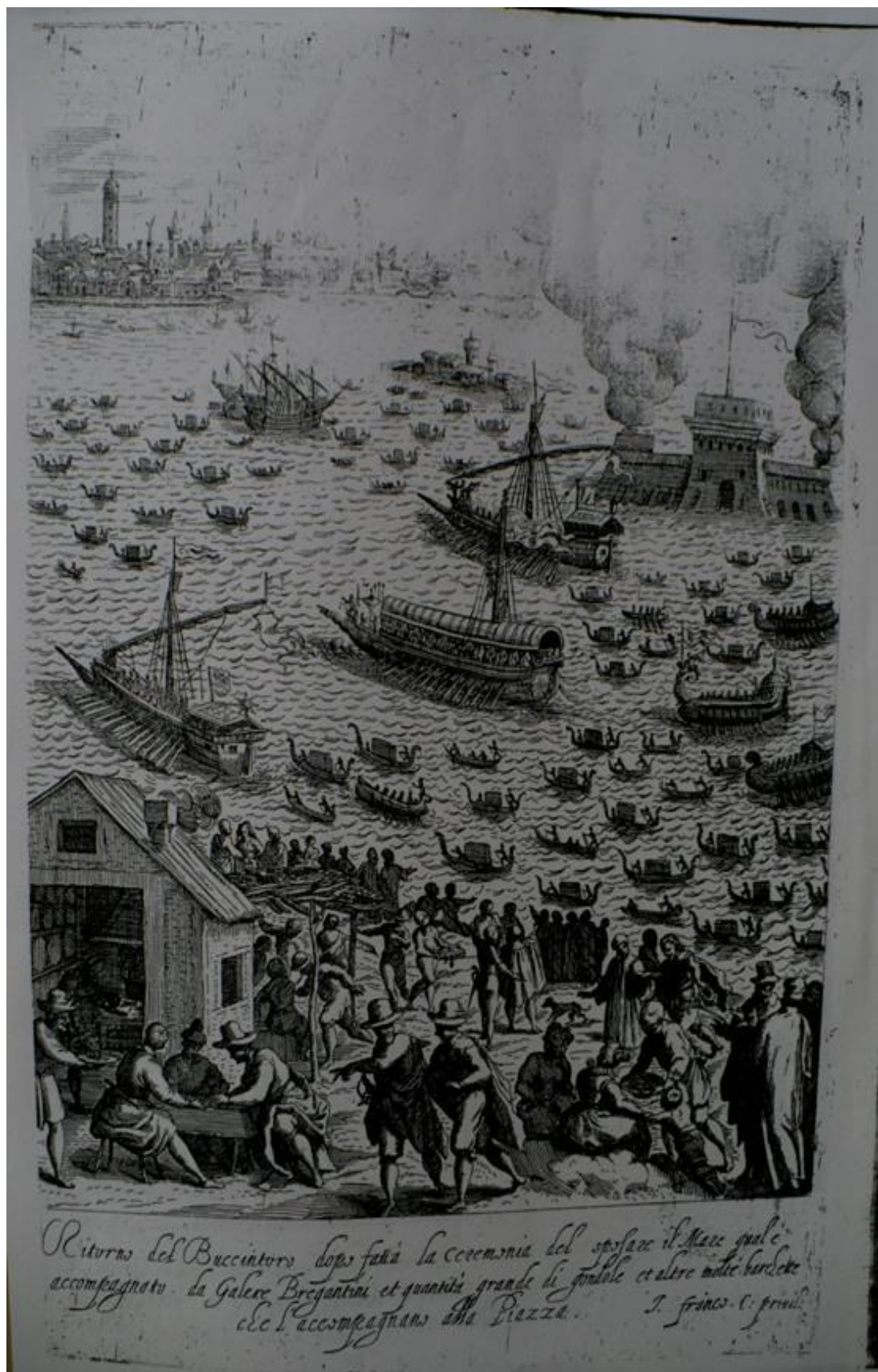


Fig. 60: Giacomo Franco, *Ritorno del Bucintoro dopo fatta le cerimonia del sposare il mare, Habiti d'huomini et donne Venetiane con le processione della ser.ma signoria...città di Venetia.* (Venice, 1609).



Fig. 61: *St Nicholas and scenes of his life*, first half of the fifteenth century (main panel) and second half of the sixteenth century (side panels), Crete. Main panel by Cretan painter Angelos. Wooden icon. Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 62: Detail, *St Nicholas at shipwreck scene*, (detail of Fig. 61). Second half of the sixteenth century. The Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 63: Marco Boschini, Frontispiece, [The Lion of St Mark over Crete], *Il Regno tutto di Candia* (Venetia, 1651). Engraving.



Fig. 64: Benedetto Bordone, [Arcipelago], *Libro di Benedetto Bordone... de tutte l'Isole del Mondo* (Venice, 1528). Woodcut.

Tauola per ritrouar ciascuna ifola al numero di qual charta posta sia.

41 Andre	45 fecufa & herac	45 nicxia
44 amurgo	45 clia	44 nio
18 astore	56 fermaco	47 nanfio
30 arbe	68 condur	6 norbegia
60 arfara limene	18 gade	62 negroponte
& iura	14 guadalupe	46 nicaria
4 baia	1 iflanda	34 nifaro
28 buran	1 irlandia	69 necumera
33 brazza	3 inglitera	15 porto santo
69 butigon	13 iamaiqua	21 palmofa
70 bazacata	20 icuiza	30 pago
45 chiero heraclia	26 ifchia	34 pacfu
pyra	47 iero	47 palmofa ouer
5 chatheride	68 iaua maggiore	patmos
14 cuba	69 iaua minore	44 pario
21 corfica	70 imagla	45 polimnio &
31 chiozza	7 inebila	policandro
32 cherfo & ofcero	33 liezena	57 pfara
33 curzola	32 legina	69 panthera
34 corfu	59 lembro	52 rhodo
35 compare	60 limene pelagife	12 fpagnola
35 cuzolari	55 lango	22 fardigna
39 cerigo & cece	69 locaz	35 fcilia
rigo	14 matinina	37 ftriuati
47 calamo	16 madera	37 fapientia
51 candia	20 maiorica & mi	40 fdile
53 carchi	norica	42 fcrfone
54 caloiro	30 murano	47 fcampalia
63 calomio	31 mazorbo tor	51 fcarpanto
65 cypro	celo & buran.	52 fimie
68 cimpagu	33 S. maria de tre	56 famo
62 condur	miti	57 fcio
14 dominica	28 morea	59 fciao efcopoli
60 dromo & fara	35 S. maura	9 famothratia
chino	43 milo	59 fcio
70 darufe	55 mandria lipfo	60 ftalimene
62 helefpono	& crufia	63 fimplegade
45 S. crini	46 micole	marmora
16 fortunate ifole	58 metelin	70 fcilan
17 fortueutura	70 maniole	70 fcorfia
42 fermene	70 maidegafcar	39 feno faronico

Fig. 65: Benedetto Bordone, Tavola per ritrouar ciascuna ifola, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone... de tutte l'Isole del Mondo* (Venice, 1528). Woodcut, 295 x 405 mm.

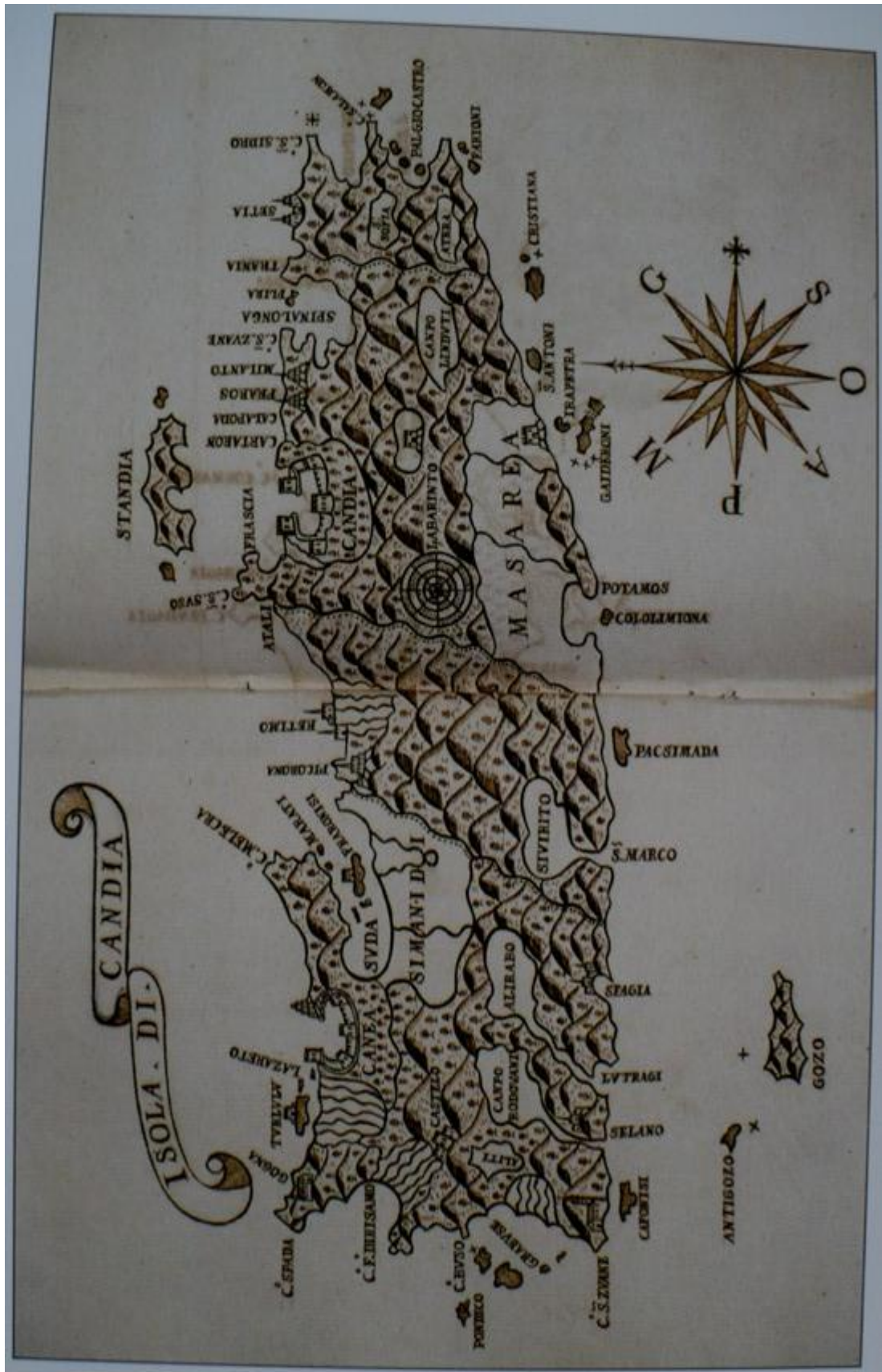


Fig. 67: Antonio Millo, *Isola di Candia*, *Isolario* (c. 1590), Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, Ms. IT IV 2 (5540), ff. 107v-108r.

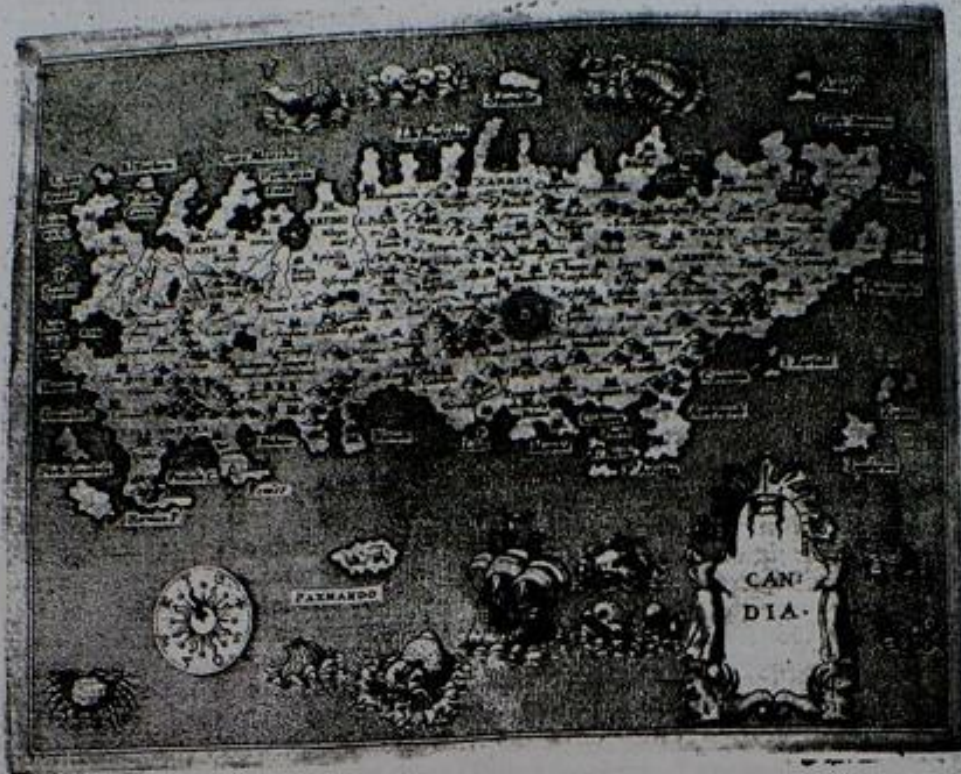
DI THOMASO PORCACCHI
DA CASTIGLIONE ARRETINO.



VENEZIA Città magnifica è posta in isola nel più intimo golfo del mare Adriatico in mezzo a stagni, & a lagune: & dalla parte di Levante ha il detto mare, che si distende littoralmente fino a Capo d'Otranto per **dc c.** miglia, & uerso Levante **v.** Da Mezogiorno, da Tramontana, & da Ponente ha parte del lito, che la serra: percioche questa marauigliosa Città piantata in mezzo all'acque salse, per gran providentia di Dio ha fra'l mare, & le lagune, oue è posta, vna lingua di terra, chiamata Lito, che la difende dalle impetuose onde del mare: & essendo formato a guisa d'un arco; si distende per spatio di **xxxv.** miglia; in modo che la Città, o è serrata da terra ferma, o da questo Lito difesa. E' nondimeno questo lito aperto in cinque luoghi, per dare entrata a' nauili grossi & piccoli, che di fuori vengono, da potersi ridurre in porto, & anchora accioche gli stagni, oue la Città è piantata, si mantengano pieni d'acqua. La prima apertura è verso Tramontana, chiamata Treponti: l'altra in faccia di Garbino Lito maggiore: indi Santo Erasmo: poi i due Castelli: da' quali cinque miglia lontano è il porto di Malamocco, già nominato Meduaco dal fiume della Brenta, così da' Latini chiamata, che quiui cadeua in mare: & questo è posto fra Sirocco, & Ostro, & dicono ch'era porto de' Padouani, all' hora

*Lito di
Venezia.*

DESCRITTIONE DELL'ISOLA DI CANDIA.



CANDIA Isola famosa per li uersi & per le fauole de gli antichi Poeti Greci & Latini, i quali hanno uoluto che fosse patria de gli Dei, parèdo lor quasi, che per la bellezza sua douesse esser reputata a pari del Cielo; è Isola del mar Mediterraneo; & ha questi confini. Da Leuante è terminata dal mare Carpathio: da Ponente dall' Adriatico: da Tramontana dal Cretico, & da Mezo giorno dal Punico. E' ella posta a principio del quarto clima, al parallelo nono: & essendolunga & stretta di sito & di figura; gira di circuito, secòdo alcuni 6xx. miglia: ma i nostri moderni, hauendola cò l'esperientia piu uolte sensatamente misurata; còcludono, ch'ella non gira piu di cccciv. miglia: in che potrebbe essere, che chi la fa di circuito maggiore; l'hauesse misurata littoralmente dentro a tutti i golfi, & non dalla parte di fuora per drittura. Lascio di dire altre opinioni intorno a questa misura, cioè di 6xxv, 6xii, & di 6lxxxix, ch'io trouo presso gli Scrittori, & m'accosto alla moderna: la quale ho piu per uera, essendomi massimamente stata data co'l ragguaglio dell'altre cose ch'io ne son per dire, dal Magnifico M. Francesco Pesaro figliuolo del Clarissimo & prestantissimo Senatore il S. Lionardo Pesaro: il qual M. Francesco ne gli studi che fa intorno alle cose di Geografia, a' gouerni de' Regni, & alle scienze pertinenti, & necessarie a chi uole in questa Santa Republica ascendere a' primi gradi d'honore; ha di questa, & d'altre isole, Prouincie, & Regni hauuto uera, & distinta informatione. N'ho anchora ha-

Candia
quanto gi-
ra di cir-
cuito.

Fig. 69: Tommaso Porcacci, *Descrittione dell'Isola di Candia, L'Isole piu Famose del Mondo* (Venetia: Simon Galignani and Girolamo Porro, 1572). Engraving, 105 x 104 mm.

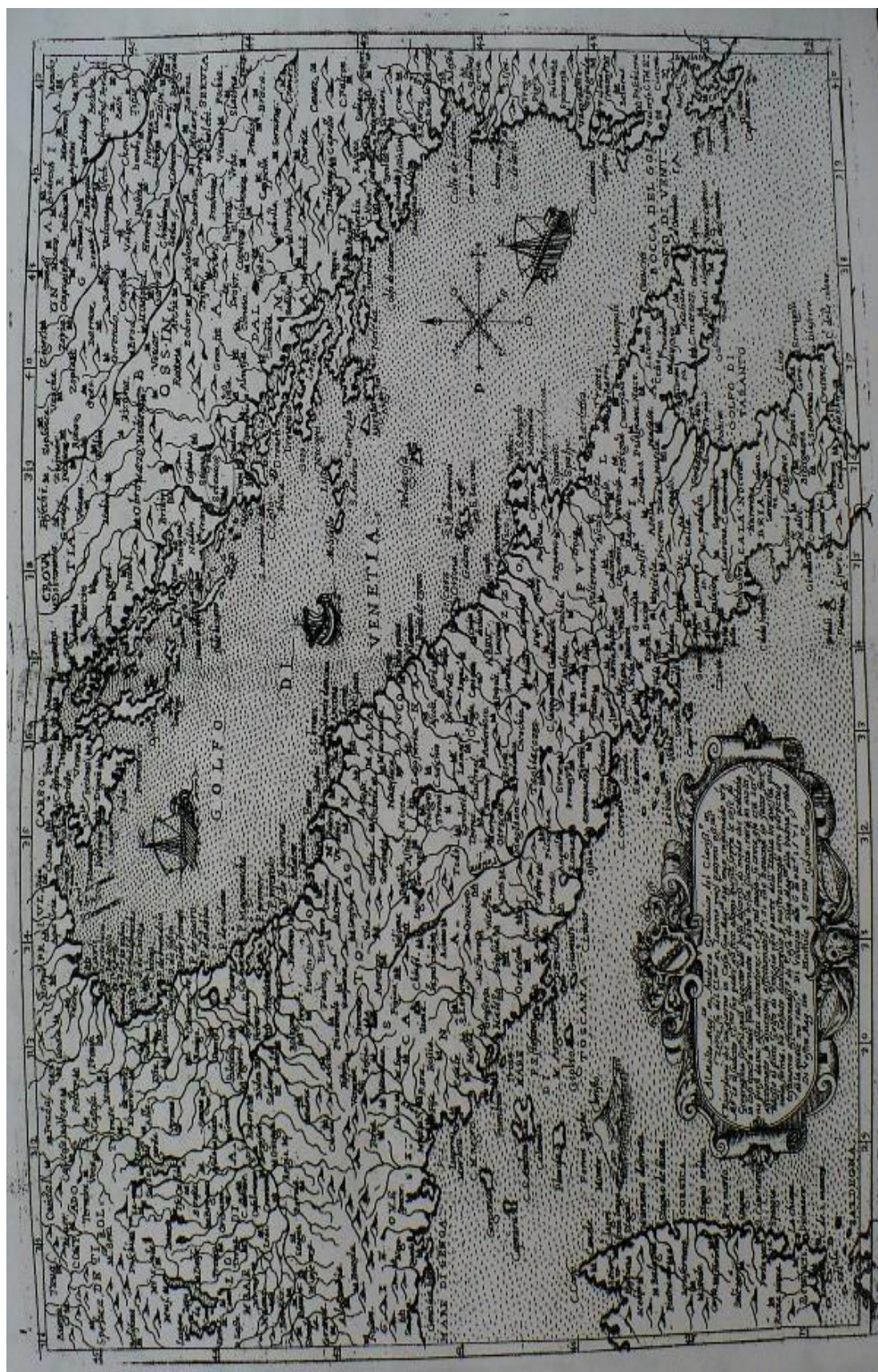


Fig. 70: Giovanni Francesco Camocio, [Untitled map of Italy], [Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre marittime sottoposte alla Serenissima Signoria di Venetia...], (Venetia: Libreria del segno di S. Marco, [c. 1572]). Engraving, 170 x 220 mm.

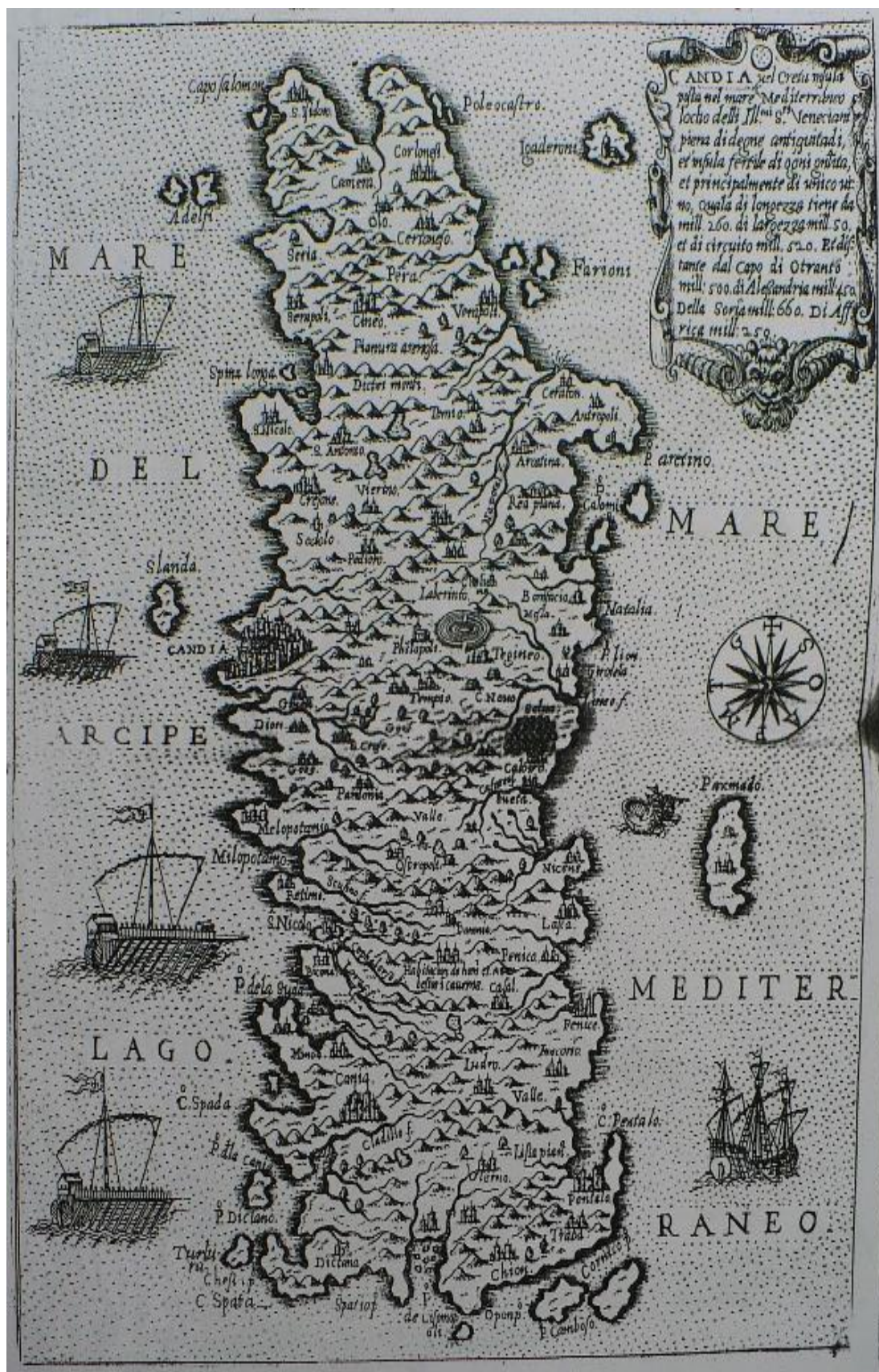


Fig. 72: Giovanni Francesco Camocio, *Candia*, [Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre maritime...], (Venetia: Libreria del segno di S. Marco, [c. 1572]). Engraving, 190 x 155mm.



Fig. 73: Giovanni Francesco Camocio, *Rhodi*, [Isole famose, porti, fortezze e terre maritime...], (Venetia: Libreria del segno di S. Marco, [c. 1572]). Engraving, 195 x 155mm.

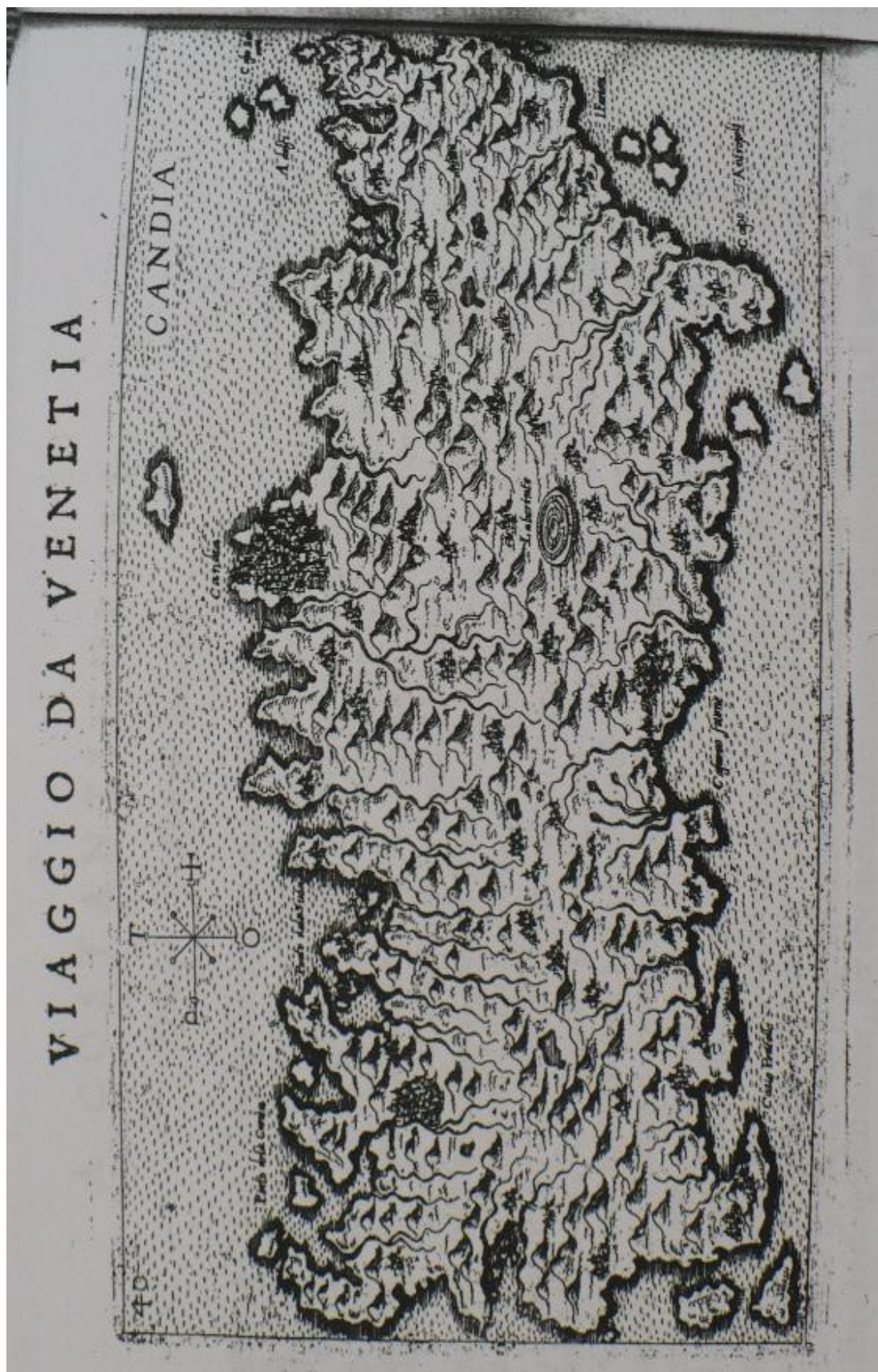


Fig. 74: Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Candia, Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli* (Venetia: Giacomo Franco, 1598). Engraving, 95 x 170 mm.

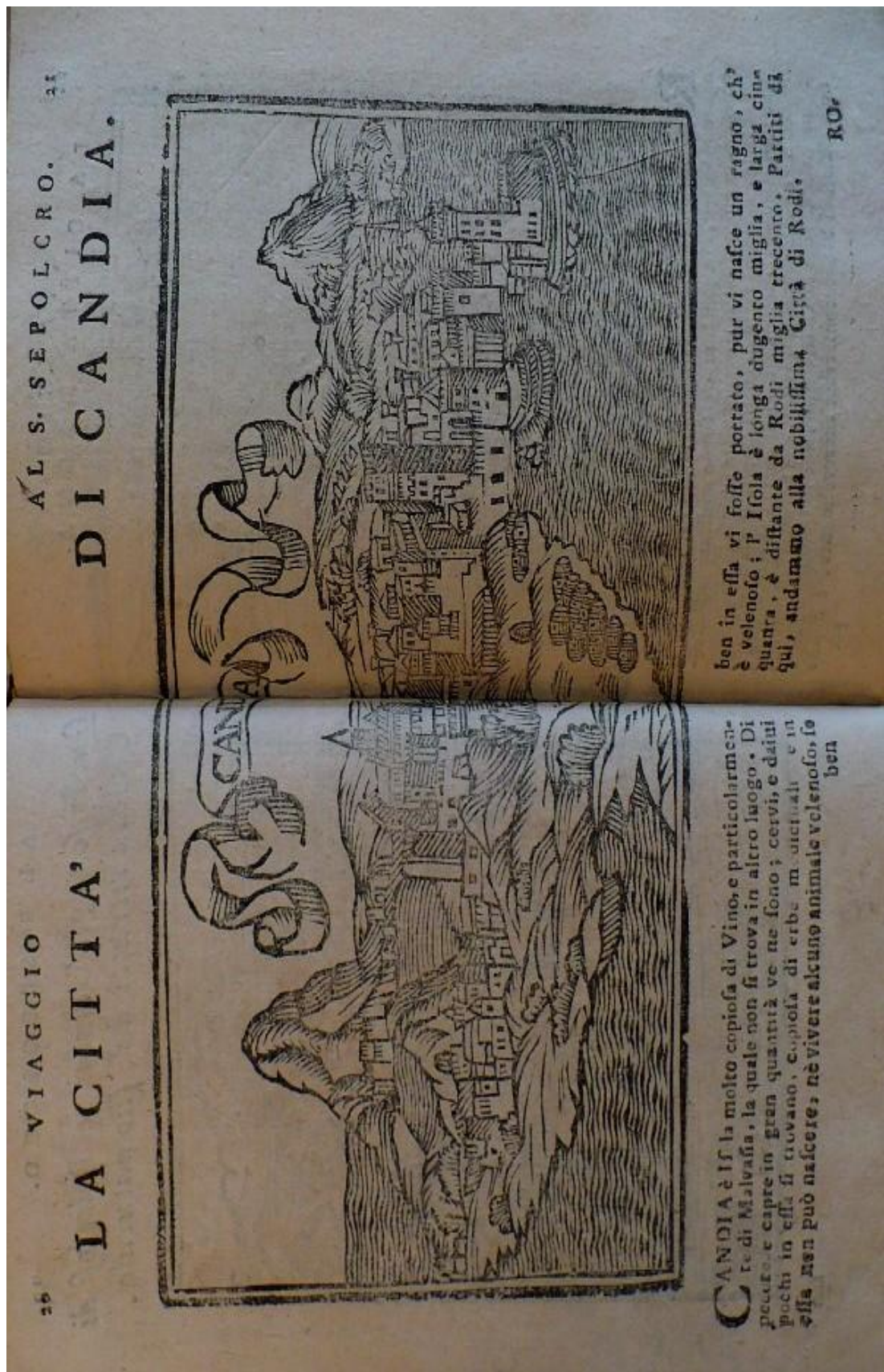


Fig. 75: Fra Noe, La Città di Candia, Viaggio da Venezia Al S. Sepolcro al Monte Sinai, (Lucca: 1600). Woodcut.



Fig. 76: Georgio Sideri, [Portolan Chart of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea & the East Coast of the Atlantic bearing coat of arms of Calbo Family], 1561. Museo Correr, Portolano 8. Parchment, 255 x 423 mm.

Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of Advice in the Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini

ASV, Archivio Proprio Giacomo Contarini, *filza* 24, ff. 44r- 45r.

(f. 44r)

Perche deve l'huomo savio attendere alla economica, et governo della sua Famiglia, come alle cose/ pubbliche, Io ho giudicato, che non sarà discaro i Vostra Serenita Illustrissima che io, conforme alla servitù, /che tengo con lei, et al desiderio, che io ho di farli servitio in ogni occasione, li raccordi il/ modo, con che lei possi dar ordine per il viver, et spesa della sua Famiglia in Candia,/ havendo sempre fornita la casa di buonissima robba, et con prezzo tale che si potrà reputar,/ che s' avvantaggi il doppio nella bontà, et nel costo. Et perche ciò consiste/ nel far le provvisioni alli tempi, et nelli luoghi à proposito, però qui sotto descriverò/ et l'uno, et l'altro con ogni particolare, che mi pare, che si debbi haver in consideratione.

Al tempo dunque del raccolto, et avanti qualche giorno, la potrà, facendo chiamar l'esator/ della possession della sithi, che è quello, che se scuode le intrade pubbliche, et dandoli/ denari, ordinarli che li compri quanto formento, che li facci per il bisogno della/

casa, che non li costerà più de Lire 6 il staro, et lo torrà à misura Colona, che cresce/ à quel che si vende nella città forse X per cento il qual potrà anco cernirlo del più/ bello, et migliore, poi che ne scuode 8 o 10 mille mesurade per conto del pubblico facendolo/ ben crivelar, et condurlo dagli affittuali, che sono obbligati di condurlo, alli quali/ lo potrà consignar à peso, con ordine, che à meza strada, ove sono li molini, lo faccino/ masenar, portando le farine nella città, e consignandole à peso à chi ne haverà/ il carico. L'esator predetto similmente potrà fornir la casa di formaggio di quel/ luogo, che fa il miglior salado, che si facci nel Regno, pagandolo a soldi 3. In 3.½ /la libra. Di dolce poi se ne fa alla Sfachia di perfettissimo che con dar ordine/al Proveditor di quel loco sarà fornita à / soldi 4 la libra, et similmente detto Isattor della/sithi la fornirà di qualche vitello, er selvaticine.

De vini poi la potrà fornirse al tempo delle vendeme, dando denari avanti tratto/ à chi ne suol tuore, et anco al Monastero di Calogeri di Santa Caterina, li quali si/

pagheranno perperi cento, che sono ducati 7 da lire 6 soldi 4 per ogni cento mistati, che/ fanno due bote candiote, et per ogni buon rispetto sarà bene tuorne qualche/ bota di più di quello che bisognerà, et nel mese d'Ottobre farle spinar tutte, et/ far, che si bevino sempre li più deboli prima: et questa Compreda potrà esser/ fatta da monsignore Michel Lombardo, che è praticissimo.

Da Gierapetra havrà oglio buonissimo et à buon prezzo, dando li denari avanti tratto, et/ lo haverà à 7 perperi, che sono Lire 3 il mistato, che è un miro giusto: et questo/ servitio potrà esser fatto dal vescovo di detto luoco, che è fratello del Colonnello Monogiani,/ che lo farà volontieri, et da questo luogo medesimamente potrà haver la/ Invernata qualche centenaro de cotorni, che non costano più di quattro galette/ l'uno, et anche qualche baril de Zeladia, il che tutto li sarà fatto da monsignore Marin Stactea/ cittadin del luoco, et che hà carico delle Cernede. À spinalonga, quando lei anderà

(f. 44v)

à veder quella fortezza, la vederà il Castellano del Castello Mirabello, nel/ qual luogo si prende gran quantità di pesce, del quale esso potrà tenerla/ fornida al tempo dell' Inverno, che nella città non se ne vende, se non pochissimo/ et piccolo: et questo non lo pagherà soldi 4 la libra, et potrà anco mandar il suo spenditor/ da detto Castellano, che insieme con lui vadi per le ville della sua Guiridizione/ et dij alli contadini danari per polli; et galline, che costeranno un perpiro, che/ sono soldi 8 ½ et tolti in nota quelli che haveranno havuto il pagamento secondo il/ bisogno, potrà detto spenditor scriver al Castellano, che faccia di tempo in tempo/ mandar detti polami alla città secondo che bisognerà, et similmente/ potra anco mandar qualche capretto, et qualche porcello, pagandoli, et caparandoli,/ come è detto: et questo istesso modo potrà tenir il spenditor con/ li Castellani di Temene, de Pediada, di Castelnovo, Belveder, et Bonifacio,/ pagando, come è predetto polli, capretti, agnelli, porcelli, et castradi,/ tolendo in nota, come è predetto, et ordinando, che siano mandati alli/ tempi che bisogneranno: li agnelli, capretti, et li porcelli da latte li pagherà/ perperi 2 che sono soldi 17 li Castradi perperi 6 l'uno, che sono Lire 2 soldi 11/ che salvandosi le pelli ò vendendole à Hebrei , che le comprano de li/ se ne caverà anco qualche cosa; et de castradi anche li datieri delle/ Beccarie potranno fornirla. Et altre volte mi raccordo che nel vendersi/ li datij, si dava dalla Camera certa soventionone alli datieri/

per comprar carnali, et erano obbligati di dar alli Clementissimi Signori tanta/ carne di regalia ogni giorno, che li feva d'avantaggio.

Sarà buono avertimento, che quando lei anderà in visita per il Regno,/ mandi il suo spenditor sempre dui giorni avanti à far provisione delle/ cose necessarie Insieme con li Castellani, over li Gastaldi delle ville/ che loro chiamano Moti, non lasciando mai, che li Moti spendano soli,/ perche fanno mille furfanterie, ma che sempre il spenditor paghi/ le robbe à chi le darà, et sempre di loco in loco far far le proclame/ che, se alcuno si tien gravato della Corte, ò d'altri, compari à lametarsi.

Potra Vostra Serenità Illustrissima veder, che li Ministri siano reali, et fideli, et che non dispensino/ malamente la sua robba, come è stato sotto degli altri, à costo/ e quali mantenivano li suoi servitori delle puttane fuor di casa.

Nel viaggio l'haverà occasione di dar ordine alla Ceffalonia, ò al Zante/che alli tempi gli sia mandata dell'una passa, perche in Candia non se ne/ fà. La tocherà anco al Brazzo de Maina, et facendo chiamar/ (f. 45r) Nicolò Giatro, et Callopotò Fucà, facendoli carezze et nominando me/ per suo servitore, che sono miei amici, potrà lasciarli ordine, che con/ l'occasione delle barche, che passano dalla Canea in quel loco, gli mandino/ biave, carnali, et qualche cavallo, et tutto quello, che nasce in/ quelle parti, et massime carne de porco à vilissimo prezzo, et quaglie,/ di che ne salano le bote.

Et sopra il tutto laudo, et raccordo à Vostra Serenità Illustrissima che poi che il Signor/ Dio hà mandato questa ventura in quell' Isola, che li sono condotti tanti formenti /che si vendono à Lire 6 il staro, che la procuri, che con il danaro pubblico et/privato se ne compri almeno stava mille100 et immediate farlo dar à/ renovo à contadini con buone piezarie, et con una gazetta per misura/ di più, per le spese, et magazeni, accioche si mantenesse sempre à/ Lire 6 il staro, et de anno in anno rinnovarlo, che à questo modo si semineria l'Isola, et li contadini non patiriano, et li nobili non/haveranno ardimento di accrescer il suo, et in ogni occasione si/troveria preparata una monitione de stara cento mille, che sarebbe/la salute di quel Regno, et grandissimo sparagno alla Serernissima Signoria.

Appendix B: *Candia Canzone Rustica*

Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia (BMV), MISC. IT. VII 918 (8392)

(f. 123r/20r)

Candia Canzone Rustica

(f. 124r)

[1]

Per tutto il mondo una gran fama vola
Dell'isola di Candia sì famosa
Che il petto mio a lei tutto s'invola
quella veder sì antica e pretiosa
Credendo certo che essa fosse sola
Degna à veder da gente valorosa
Vista che io l'hebbi fecci un gran lamento
D'haver gitato il mio viaggio al vento

[2]

Dunque ti prego ò superno Giove
Contedi gratia alla mia pura mente
Perche senza di te nulla si move
Che narrar possi particolarmente
Di Creta le viltà che hor non son nove
In ogni luogo pur generalmente
Darò dunque principio alla mia impresa
Pregando il Cielo non mi dia contesa

[3]

Saggio lettore, et voi sacri ingegni
li quali il vago udir in rima e in prosa
Voi scritto havete dove che ogn'hor degni
hornati sette sopra ogn'altra cosa
Voi scuserete me se alli alti segni
Trovar non posso dove ogn'hor gloriosa
li sente a risonar la degna fama
La qual, che in virtù segue a se richiama (?)

[4]

A questi preghi vostri io non ho volsuto
ò Padre Archangel mio amico caro
Mancar di dargli quanto egli ha volsuto
Che io le son stato molti giorni avaro
Per qual causa io l'ho fatto el sì ha saputo
Siche limene à lei il don sì caro
Che liberale gliene sono adesso
Doppoi che fedelmente gli hò premesso

[5]

Creder mai più per detto alcun non voglio
ò un le vergate carte o in sculto sasso
(f. 124v/21v) Perche al contrario laudar mi doglio
Esempre hò visto in qual si voglia passo
Perche se qualche volta com' io soglio
dimandar à qualche d'un solo per spasso
Come si noma il luogo, il sito, il muro
quando lo lauda voglio esser sicuro.

[6]

Quasi per volo in Candia volesi andare
Sol per sue gran meraviglie sentire
Inser che quando in quella hebbi arrivare
Della gran doglià mi credei morire
Perche tutto il contrario à ritrovare
hebbi di quel che di essa sentij à dire
Dunque chi udir vuole la virtù di quella
Venghi da me che li darò novella

[7]

La prima volta che io girassi in sto luogo
In fra me stesso à me questo dicea
Mi par bruciato dall' ardente foco
e senza tetto le case credea,
ma dimandando poi à poco à poco
fami narrato et creder non volea
Se non che io viddi con li occhi aperti
terrazzi negri eran suoi coperti.

[8]

Strade da porci e case da cavalli
Trovai in quella à non vi dir menzogna
huomeni senza fe che han fatto i calli
nelle lor lingue à dir d' altrui rampogna
li figli lor commetton molti mali
E le lor donne son senza vergogna
Nei monti lor si trova appenna un stecco
E di pesse il lor mar è quasi secco.

[9]

Il più misero corpo mai ho visto
In molte parti dell' Europa bella
Come di Candia l'huom pessimo e tristo
Degno di non veder alcuna stella
Gia verà per la Vergine e per Christo
Di dir, di far, poi metterà cervello
Siche l'huom' di Candia, e l'Affricano
quanto di fe, si posson dar la mano.

[10]

Fra tutto quanto questo populazzo
huom' non vi è che timido (?) non sia
però se qualche di uno via à solazzo
(f. 125r/22r) la notte el di van per la sua via
per gran paura che han un vil ragazzo
senza arme andasse correr lo faria
va tutto armato, e le arme son di tal sorte
che al primo cigno vi daran la morte.

[11]

In prima una camizia vuol portare
di finissima maglia gazarina
dippoi per non haver à sospettare
di un stil si veste e una corrazza fina
gambier à mezza coscia vuol portare
quanto da presa una celata fina
arco, spada, pugnol, targa e saletto.

[12]

Ci vuol haver per esser più sicuro
quattro pistole, e sette in compagnia
Acciò tal volta in qualche scontro duro
non si trovasse meschin per la via
E così per lo chiaro e per le scuro
Va facendo il grandasso à tutta via
ma se ben v'è facendo il bravo assai
Pare custion fra lor far li vedrai.

[13]

Poiche se bene armato si ritrova
Tal come qui di sopra si è dipinto
rare volte s'arrischia far la prova
del suo valor il qual è tutto finto
onde per non cascar in cosa nova
Acciò non possa rimaner estinto
con qualche armato contrestar non vuole
una volta altrove l'ira e le parole.

[14]

Tra con li suoi ad' un passo ad' aspettare
qualche soldato che vadi al quartiere
Et quel con gran fatica v'è ad affrontare
A quel che se ne v'è sopra pensiero,
poi se ne v'è fra li amici à vantare
Dicendo ò bella prova hò fatto hieri
Hò ritrovato un povero soldato
Et con molte ferite l'hò lasciato

[15]

Siche vilissimo è l'huomo Candiottio

E più d'ogn'altro perfido e infido
Et è di bacco così vago e giotto
(f. 125v/22v) che alli Todeschi han tolto il vanto el grido
nell'avaritia è più del rospo detto
ne mai fan ben, se ne fan me ne rido
Perche se pur limosina fan mai
Un bagattino, e più non li vedrai.

[16]

In se non ha proceder ne creanza
In ogni cosa è assai disordinato
et hà tanta superbià et arroganza
che non saluta che l'hà salutato
sporco stà sempre in casa per usanza
che ben di mostra esser tra percinato
In somma è fastidioso et molto giotto
queste son le virtù del Candiotto.

[17]

E porci loro stano sotto il letto
Et l'asino el caval pocco lontano
bevono il vino tutto presto schietto
Gridano sempre et mai non metton mano
hanno fra loro il più tosto detto
più perfido, più brutto, et più profano
con biastemar al compagno alla morte
Et l'anima, che l Diavol chiaman forte.

[18]

In un canton fan la lor pescaria
con quattro pesci in un picciol cestello
che mai non viddi tal giottoneria
Chi l' tien nascoso nel sen, chi nel capello
Acciò da questo gente iniqua e ria
li sia pagato più che non vol quello
Perche staran più tosto di mangiare
che quando pono quello non comprare.

[19]

Se in una botte de pesse nascesse
Et in quel brodo fosse battezado
non crederia che tanto li piacesse
E tanto fosse di quello affamato
E s' huom di questo mondo nol credesse
Io gliel ho visto sempre apparecchiato,
nel fresco poi à voi lascio pensare
quello ne fan, quando ne puon comprare.

[20]

Il piu sporco vestir non viddi mai
Che usan le lor donne, et le lor putte

van spetorate più d'una palma assai
(f. 126r/23r) Et le lor schene mostran quasi tutte
non credo Appolo con suoi chiari rai
Donne più dishoneste sporche e brutte
habbi mai visto eccetto in Candia sola
D'ogni mal far, d'ogni sporcitià scola.

[21]

S'infra tutte le donne di partito
una si trova che marcia non sia
se con lor v'intrigate io v'invito
A star sempre contenti, e in penaria
A biastemar con orgoglioso grido
Tutte le donne che qui in Candia sia
Siche il luoco, la citta, el sitto
Tutto è contrario al nostro appetito.

[22]

Se tu t'incontri in qualche donna ò putta
in strada ò in piazza, over in altro luogo
E se per sorte tu quella saluta
Si come si usa à far in ogni luogo
quella il saluto tuo presto rifiuta
con viso torbidoso e pien di foco
Ti dice molta, e molta villania
Come se usato le havesti scortesia.

[23]

Se per le strade poi ve n'anderete
dico in presentia de tutta la gente
le donne qui di Candia voi vedrete
star inchinate, vergognosamente
lagando in strada, hora che direte
di questa trista, e dionesta gente
Che io mi stupisco come il Cielo conporti
questi nefandi et abominosi torti.

[24]

Ma ben vi giuro à fe che io ne ho vedute
di queste donne dishoneste starsi
griso inchinate, et le calcagna tutte
di puzzolente sterco ad' imbrattarsi
ma come che infra porci son nasciute
In quel fettor tu le vedrai ingrassarsi
diro di molte ma non già di tutte
salvando le più belle dalle brutte.

[25]

La notte quando ogn'uno è à riposare
Et ogni cosa tacita si sente
Voi vedrete queste donne andare

come le streghe van confusamente
con strepito e rumore à caminare
sempre varlando et poi dicon sovente
(f. 126v) che lor vanno con divotioni
alle lor chiese et alli lor perdoni

[26]

Poi ve ne son di quelle che appostati
han i bertoni loro in qualche loco
Et come infra di loro son cordati
vansi a godere et à spenger il foco
che infiamma il cuore à dolci Amanti
ò dolce,ò lietto et ben da rider gioco
che in vece di andare alli perdoni
vanosi à godere con li loro bertoni.

[27]

Ma come un bel tacer non fù mai scritto
ò il troppo parlar non già ciascuno
Io temo che il dir mio non sià punito
E che io para ad ogn'un troppo importuno
donque non voglio in ciò esser ardito
Acciò di me non si lamenti alcuno
Perche se il tutto volessi narrare
Un'anno intiero non potrià bastare.

[28]

Un giorno come spesso andar solea
sopra pensiero ma non per costume
gionsi in un loco dove io mi credea
stomaccato restar da un vel lordume
Che in'una gran caldara lor metea
ruggone e sporca come è suo costume
le teste, piedi, con le trippe; certo
piene d'un sporco e puzzolente sterco.

[29]

Se alle lor bevarie ve ne andate
un loco proprio di squartati pare
Con d'inverno, come anco d'instae
sempre ad' un modo l'havete à trovare
le strade loro vi dan certe nasate
Che spesso in dietro vi fan ritornare
E questo avien la sera e la mattina
quando si sparge in lei la gelattina.

[30]

Questi li profumi son, questi li odori
li solazzi e piacer che qui si prende
Dove già il Re del Ciel con semmi cori
Visse già un tempo dir s'intende

queste le lode son delli scrittori
Che di veder tutto il cor (tutto), s'accende
Come di Candia sentendo il laberinto
Che il tempo à lungo andar la quasi estento

(f. 127r/24r)

[31]

Circa la robba che si vende in piazza
Udite un poco quel che s'usa fare
da questi rei di maledetta razza
quando qualche cosa vogliono comprare
si levan la mattina per la guazza
Et par che propriò la voglia robbare
Et questo in carne in pan non solo avviene
Ma in ogni herba, e insino al pētersone

[32]

Donde disordin tal puol più venire
che si usa tanta calca in questo luogo
Per altra causa non vi saprei dire
Che per la tolta robba à pocco à pocco
la robba à pocco à pocco fan venire
da magazeni e da qualche altro luogo
Acciò da questa Città popolata
subito che sià vosta sià comprata.

[33]

Et questo sol i traditor lo fanno
Per poter meglio vender à lor modo
Che non potrebbon vender senza inganno
se nelli pesi non usaser frodo
Et questo è quel che à tutti da il mal anno
Et questo è quel che tanto me ne rodo
Che sopra gl'occhi proprij mi voglion robbare
E che saper non vale ne meno il mio gridare.

[34]

Cosa di buono in piazza non comprare
che il buono dal tristo voglion di partire
il meglio à greci lor la voglion dare
Accio l'Italiano non possi fruire
Ne frutto alcun non lasciar maturare
Et questo certo ne lo sò ben dire
Et tutto vien per lor giottoneria
Che non ponno aspettar che buona sia

[35]

Ma benche di viltà Corona portar
di vanto poi, e son timidi e forti
E tanto vanno con sicura scorta
Armati poi, con arme di più sorti

siche di lor temer bisogna à forza
Insin al tempo delle buie notti
Perche lor vanno tanto ben armati
Che paura vi fan se li scontrati

[36]

Non pensate la notte già di andare
in luogo alcuno di questa Cittade
perche se sentiranno à camminare
Vi faranno fuggire con le sassate
(f. 127v/24v) E non pensate poi di rivoltare
che contra à voi saran piene le strade
Et le terrazze di questa gentaglia
Vi butan sassi, et frezze la Canaglià.

[37]

Talche bisogna che alla campana
Viritirate alli alleggiamenti
Se non volete lassarli la lana
overo rimaner sempre scontenti
E benche di costar se ne trapania
con botte che le vanno sino à denti
Ma fà mestier di esser ben armato
Et anco esser bene accompagnato

[38]

Quando banchetti fra lor van facendo
Udite un po le sporcherie che fanno
s'imbratan tutti mangiando e bevendo
che a pena star in piedi più non sano
Di poi le ditta in golla van mettendo
per gomitar cio che mangiato hanno
Doppoi che havranno tutti gomitati
Subito altri cibi vien portati.

[39]

Et così van facendo giorno e notte
Per fin che sono in tutto imbriacati
Et che dal vino hanno le panze cotte
chi qua, chi là saranno poi gittati
Et così stanno poi tutta la notte
Per fin che chiaro sole li han svegliati
quando si levan si trovan molto brutti
di sterco hanno pien li membri tutti.

[40]

Un'altro stil osserva questa razza
quando conducon le lor robbe in volta
In tre si metton questa vil gentazza
legati insieme per non dar la volta
sotto li cassettoni per la piazza

vanno tirrando con vergogna et onta
Non servando Domeniche ne Feste
Scandalo dando alle persone honeste.

[41]

Ò Plebe dishonesta e iniqua gente
senza costume alcuno e senza honore
come possebil fra che l'Ciel consente
Insieme con la terra à non vi pore
(f. 128r/25r) sommersi à stare tutti in continente
levandovi dal mondo in curte (?) hore
E condenarvi à stare ne bui hospitij
che degni sette (?) di più gran supplitij.

[42]

Non credo mai che ritrovar se possa
una citta come questa mal messa
Tu vedi un po di piazza tutta sporca
li porci vanno à pascolar in essa
In mezzo sempre tu vedrai la forca
Et sotto vi si vende paglia e vezza
per li colombi; e intorno li lupini
Et circondata da molti fachini

[43]

Città che vogli mal à forestiero
sotto la luna non credo che sia
quanto costei che l'odia à dirvi il vero
Come il demonio il nome di maria
sia pur mercadante ò cavalliero,
ò soldato che qui in pressidio stia
che li vuol mal et l'odia di tal sorte
che altro non li brama che la morte

[44]

Aguisa (?) di Teatro è questa terra
E da tre milla passi gira intorno
da Tramontana il mar la cinge e sera
Ha le muraglie verso il mezzo giorno
Et l' ostro in mezzo ancora li fà guerra
hor dal destro, hor dal sinistro Corno
ma il Maestrale con benigna aurora
Assai questa Citta spesso ristaura

[45]

Ma non pensate però che sol uno
spasso e piacer in questa se ritrovi
ne luogo non sarà tanto opportuno
che vi dia giuoco, ò vi rallegrì ò giove
ne credete trovar mai che nessuno
Con verità lodar costei si trovi

Costei che aguisa di porca stassi
Piena di corni, di sterco, e di sassi

[46]

Udite un pò ciò che costor diranno
se viene à gionger qui novi soldati
che da signori Venetiani ogni anno
per guardia del pressidio son mandati
perche li drappi rotti in nave havranno
Et quasi tutti saranno amalati`
(f. 129r/25v) diranno poi fra lor questi arroganti
ecco un vassel de pedochi e forfanti

[47]

Questo contendo un giorno un'Italiano
dette al'un greco sù nelle mascelle
che quanto lungo fù cascò sul piano
facendoli veder del di le stelle
Et poi con molta furia cacciò mano
che li voleva romper le cervelle
Ad esempio d'ogn'un accio guardasse
Quanto il dir mal d'altrui caro costasse

[48]

Ma ritenuto da alcuni soldati, et
Et mitigato alquanto il suo furore
disse à quei greci, che siate squartati
gente senza griudizio e senza honore
pensate forse che siano affamati
perche non hanno in viso il lor colore
et che d'Italia si partin costoro
parte non haver argento e oro.

[49]

Per dieci che vi son che non han' arte
Et che son privi di robba e d'argento
siche soleti in questa e in quelle parte
vanno con gran sudore e con gran stento
essercitando il stil del sacro marte
dall'altra parte ve ne son ben cento
parton di casa lor sol per vedere
non per mancarli la robba e l'havere.

[50]

S'io havessi havuto almen la gratia che hebbe
Il Tosco ò il fiorentin di pur in carte
Di questa plebe tanto dir vorrei (?)
Per fin che fosse noto in ogni parte,
Ma poiche questa gratia à me non deve
Lo restarò di più scriver in carte
Ma ben pregarò qualche sacro ingegno

Per me supplisca à quel ch'io non son degno

[51]

Sacra madre d'Amor venere bella
che fedel scorta sei del mio pensiero
Pregoti di voler esser tu quella
Sicome sempre hò già sperato e spero
che vogli trasmita un dì di quella
Citta, che dove il semmo Giove altero
Visse già un tempo qui un ricco pondo
A dir che questa brutta è fior del mondo.

(f. 129r/25r)

[52]

A passo tal condotto mi hà costei
Costei che la più sporca non si trova
di quante mai fra l'Indie Caldei
ò Francia ò Spagna, ò pur la vecchia e nova
visita si sia degna di star da lei
soletta. Abenche il dir mio lor non mi giova
lasciar la patria del sommo mitore (?)
se non mi è reso il mio pristino honore

[53]

Miser di chi mi posso io più dolere
se non di me che à creder fu leggiero
vendetta lo cuor mio contra me chiede
che lasciai il bianco per correr al nero
troppo le voglie mie fanno leggiere
A creder ciò, che non può esser vero
Tutto quel che narrato mi era iriante (?)
di questa terra, ch' hor tengo le piante.

[54]

In gran miseria stanno li soldati
che in pressidio tien la Signoria
Perche da questi cani ronegati
li è detto in greco molta villania
Se si voglion voltar tutti addrenati
quasi in un tempo la canagliaria
siche non si può vincer ne impatarla
Et cosi avvien à chi di casa falla.

[55]

Guardatevi fratelli à non venire
dove che io venni et anco mi ritrovo
Che voi ve ne vorrete poi pentire
Et chiusa troverete porta e luogo
Et converete Candia si fruire
Per sin che la Fenice facci l'oro
A consumar et stracciarvi la pelle

Et far d'inverno aspre sentinelle

[56]

Mandovi sto ricordo à voi soldati
Che mal viver si può à chi non piange
Perche li sensi ogn'hor son conturbati
E distento e di rabbia ogn'hor si frange
Et del continuo siamo perturbati
Di quelle cose che il aver nostro piange
Io parlo, et io m'intendo et à voi diro
Che hoggi al mondo non si trova amico

[57]

Amici che ti ama frà che ne hai
Et segueti per farti consumare
Et dipoi quando privo ne sarai
ogn'uno ti fugge e non ti vuol parlare
(f. 129v/26v) Et se dinari tu trovar vorrai
Un pegno vuol, che più del doppio vale
Delli danari che sopra ti danno
Poi gazette poi per lira vorranno.

[58]

Ma se in Italia bella volgo il passo
Tanto nomar ti voglio Candia sporca
Scriver ti voglio in carta, in legno, in sasso
In ogni vesca d'ogni riva e porta
Acciò che ogn'un ti fuga et volga il passo
lontan dal sito tuo dalla tua porta
Acciò che lamentar meschin ogn'hora
Non possi di sua sorte e sua sciagura.

[59]

Spesse volte ò Candia mi hai condotto
Non una volta sola, ma ben cento
A beber aqua et mangiar pane asciuto
E trovarmi di questo esser contento
Et à termene tal tu m'hai condotto
A star trentasett' hore con gran stento
senza mangiare, e tal vigilie fare
Che l'Papa mai non l'hebbe à comandare

[60]

Ma t'un'prometto Candia e giuro à fe
Per Dio vero, e per tutti li Santi
Che se in Italia bella volgo il pie
Di vedermi mai voglio ti avanti
Che se credesse diventar tuo Re
Io non restarei con tutti quanti
Tuoi scelti, tuoi tesori, e tuoi palazzi
Tanto di te mi trovo gli tali satij

[61]

Non ciò già dir che à questi tempi vetusti
nobil non fusse appo quei semidei
Appo quei vecchi è giovani robusti
che poi furon messi in Ciel fra li alti Dei
ma se pur bella e dilettevol fusti
molto hor da quella differente sei
Io tel io dir, per vederti opposta
lascia i la Patria mia, e car mi costa.

[62]

Siche ciascun deve considerare
che se le cose lor son lucide e belle
A longo tempo quelle han da mancare
che cosi vuol che com'anda alle stelle
Troia la bella fù fatta abrucciare
Per terra andò Cartagine e Babele
Argo e Corinto che fuor superbe
hor se ne stanno à mezzo frori e herbe

[63]

Ma s'io al fin considerato havessi
(f. 130r/27r)meglio che io non ho fatto à casi miei
Io non sarei cascato in tali eccessi
ne in laberinto tal mi troverei
ma s'una volta pur andar potessi
In Candia certo più non tornarei
Ma è forza starvi poiche si hebbi à venire
E contra mia voglià gran tempo finire

[64]

Non vorrei già che alcuno si pensasse
che tutta Candia fosse di tal sorte
E che di fede ciaschedun mancasse
Et che non vi fosse un valoroso e forte
Et che un costume ogn'un di lor usasse
Perche tal cosa mai io non direi
Che Armato bugiardo ne sarei

[65]

Perche son molti valorosi e magni
Et nobili signori che in quella regna
Che con costumi lor alti e soprani
Dimostran ben la nobiltà sua degna
Degna do companir in fra Italiani
Et quelli honorar sua ricca insegna
Dico li nobeli di questa Cittade
quelli che amano Italia e sue contrade

[66]

Ti voi dunque pregar lettor mio degno
Se alcun error havesti ritrovato
Col tuo sottil e sublime ingegno
haver all'ignoranza perdonato
Perche arrivar non posso ad altro segno
Che facci di bisogno tal trattato
Et per non attediarti farò fine
Pregando il Cielo che ti dia buon fine.

Fine

Appendix C : Georgio Sideri in *Bandi*

ASV, Duca di Candia, b.15 bis, reg. 9 (1538, 2 guigno - 1543, 30 dicembre).

f.123v

21 Julii 1540

Clamatum fuit publice per angelum Barbo precorne (consiglior) in lobio/ sancti marci ad intelligentiam omnium ad sonus tubarum/ siando intitution del Clarissimo Regimento Clarissimo dominus Capitano et/ Clarissimo dominus provedador general di questa cita che con piu/ presteza li navilij patronizati per ser marco sfachioti et/ ser giorgio calapoda, nolizati per sue servitù per il viazo di/ cypri che con piu presteza sia possibile si debano levar / et proseguir tal loro viazo pro la presente publica proclama, si fa saper et comanda che tuti li marinarj hano,/ tocati paga et sono tenuti andar con diti navilij si debano veder et in barcharsse in essi navilij/ per tut il jorno di hozi perche deo dante stanote si volvo levar per tal loro viazo aliter et/ alio modo li serano dati tre stropa de corda a tal/ disobbedienti. In ... (?)

Appendix D: Islands' Last Wills

Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, Andrea Corner, *Storia di Candia*.
It. VII. 1566 (=8539).

[Candia's Last Testament]

(f. 100r)

Scrittura

Alla Serenissima Reppublica di Venetia
mia Amatissima Madre

Attrovandomi io Infelice Regno di Candia, Figliolo obedien/tissimo di Vostra Serenita, aggravato d'una malatia/ di dodici anni, e che finalmente, quando credevo d'esser sollevato, la fortuna fece, che la cura restò/ in mano di quatro Medici; uno di nation Spagnola, l'/altro Contadino del territorio di Padua, e doi Venetiani:/ ridestiri questo quatro Medici per consultar le forme, che/si dovessero praticare per rendermi la salute; doppo/ longhissimi discorsi li doi Medici Venetiani erano di/parere, che si dovessero subito applicarmi le più po:/tenti remedij, che si attrovano frà gl' afforismi d'Ipocrate;/ il Spagnolo, doppo una lunga disputa fù di contra:/ria opinione, apportando, che si dovesce attender/ alla cura di certe Vedove, quale tenivano bisogno/alla sua malatia la curatione del Corpo di quelle,/ con sallasargli il sangue. Così concorse nell'istessa/ opinione il Medico Contadino, il quale non conoscendo/le complessioni d'huomini grandi, facendone particolar/ professione di cavar sangue, e curar delle Galere;/ per tal cura non si essere molto in discorsi.

Restanda dunque l'opinione di questo quatro Medici/ discondanti, risolsero chiamar in Medico hebreo, il/ qual s'attrovava avidentalmente in queste parti/(100v) e questo isteso, subito si portò alla Consulta discorse li pa:/rerì differenti dalli medici, e la qualità del mio male, doppo/fatte molte considerationi, concorse anco questo hebreo/ nelle resolutioni del Spagnolo, e Contadino, anzi aggion:/gendo chi il purgar queste Vedove,/ riuscirà di gran beneficio/ à chi ne haverà la cura.

Prevalse dunque l'opinione di questi tre, ond'io povero ama:/lato mi conviene continuare nel letto col mio solito male,/ e per vedermi abbandonato in ottima

congiuntura son/ ridotto in disperatione, che per tal causa mi è concorso/ molti
humore nel Corpo, onde dubito no mi generi un/letargo, e cosi finalschi la mia vitta.

Per tal effetto presento l'Infrascritta scrittura alla mia/ Serenissima cara madre,
supplicandola dover quella/spedirmi quanto prima il valoroso, et unico medico
no:/minato la carità, sopra il quale ho fondato ogni respiro/ di me sfortunato Infermo.
Gratie.

(f. 101r)

Testamento della Città di Candia

Copia tratta dalli Atti de quondam Pasquino Nodaro Publico

Ritrovandomi io Città di Candia gravemente inferma di corpo,/ ma' sana per Iddio
gratia di mente, conoscendo di dover/ in breve render lo spirito alla forza Ottomana,
per /non lasciar le cose mie senza la dovuta ordinatione/ costituisco il presente mio
Testamento. Prima/

Voglio, che nella Città di Venetia, dove s'attrovano buona/ parte delle mia ceneri, se
bene in case particolare, sia/ non dimeno eretta la mia Arca nel Cimiterio nelle/
Pubbliche memorie, appresso quelle de miei defonti/ Fratelli Negroponte, e Regno di
Cipro.

Lascio per legato alle miei diletissime sorelle Isole del/Zante, Zaffalonia, Cerigo,
Tine; Item al Golfo di Venetia/mio primo Germano, et alli Regni di Napoli, e Sicilia/
miei amorevoli Parenti, tutti gl'habitanti, e famiglie/delle mie terre, che non vorrano
doppo di me venire/sotto il Dominio Turco, con obbligo alli sudetti miei Lega:/torij
vestirsi di lutto per la mia morte, e di fare il/ mio anniversario ogn'anno,
principiando la celebratione/ funebre, e della mia annual memoria dal giorno,
ch'escono/le fuste Barbaresche dalli Porti d'Affrica, e l'armata/ Ottomana dalli doi
Castelli di Costantinopoli, fino all/tempo preciso del sio ritorno.

Voglio, che mi sia cantato un Vespero delli morti dalli orti/(f. 101v) delle Chiese,
cioè dalli Prencipi Christiani, et a' loro/ lascio per elemosina per una volta tanto tutti
gli/loro vantaggi, che riescono nelli loro interessi della/ mia morte.

Alla Corte Romana per non havermi assistito con quella/ carità spirituale, che doveva; non voglio lasciar/ altro, che la sola autorità d' eleger Vescovi Titolari/ nelle mie Jurisdictioni.

Medemamante alle armate Christiane per essersi state/ ferite à soccorermi nella mia presente indispositione/ intendo, che restino escluse dall'heredità de miei Porti;/ e dall' usufrutto de riaforzi di Gente, e di rinfrescamenti/ come godevano per il passato, ma' solamente loro/lascio per semplice legato di poter rinvenire tal/volta alla sfugita far aqua, e legne elle mie/ spiagge.

Alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia mia Principessa,/e Signora, alla quale anco ho'servito longo tempo/ per Bailla, havendo allatato, e nudrito nelle mie/viscere molti de suoi figlioli, raccomando hora la/ cura, e governo de miei, instituendola mia Commissaria/ e gli lascio per legato perfetto il mio titolo Reggio,/ sopra il possesso del quale, non eredo haveva alcun/ litiggio, e cio'per havermi sostenuta sino all'ultimo/ della mia vitta.

(f.102r)

Lascio perdonno à tutti li miei nemici, cosi Rappresentanti, e ministri/ Pubblici, Capi da mar, Capi da Guerra, Governatori de quatro/ Galeoni, com'ogn'altra Persona, ch'in qualunque maniera/ m'havesse offeso; abbraccio in particolare con animo intie:/ramente reconciliato le Persone di Giovanni Capello fù Capitano/ Generale da mar, et Antonio Navager fù Proveditor alla/ Canea, quali benche m'habbia offesa, non di meno sono/tenuta à dire. – Pater ignose illis, quia nesciunt quid/faciunt.

Ad Andrea Cornaro mio Generale, e suoi heredi, lascio tutto/ quello indebitamente rubato del mio, nel tempo dell' ammini:/stratione della sua Carica, non volendo ch' il nome di lui/sia più tenuto a' render conto, ne per mezzo di stampe, ne/ per quali si volgia altra guistificatione, cosi si procurò sin/hora di fare, ma' sia in avvenire evente di ogni obbligo di/restituire, e cio' per l'anima mia.

Il Residuo de miei beni mobili, che resterano alla mia dispo:/sitione, poiche detti (?) stabili non posso testare per esser/sotto fidei commissio spettarti alla Casa Ottomana, quali/ mei beni mobili, restano per la maggior parte nelli/ Capitoli della gloria, e dell' honore, che posso doppo la/ morte mia lasciare alli miei heredi, voglio che sij/ destribuito secondo la seguente forma.

Sia detto mio residuo diviso in vinti quatro caratti d'honor,/che sono carati sei d'honor, e di gloria ad Alvise Mocenigo,/(f.102v) è alla sua casa in perpetuo.

A Nicolò Dolfìn fù mio Proveditor Generale, per havermi/ sommamente armata, esponendosi più volte con la/ propria Vitta contro schieve Ottomane, perse il proprio/ Figliolo, qual fra hora frà le Barbare (word crossed out) genti/ doloroso se ne vive; gli lascio gradi sei d'honor, e di/ gloria, potendo meritamente addimandare dalla Prin:/cipessa Venetia qual si voglia honore, grado, ò dignità,/ di più per la sua costanza contro perfide Lingue gli/ lascio, che nel mezzo della sua impresa gli sia scol:/pito un scoglio durissimo, contro il quale venghino/ lasciate Saette, quali non potendo ferire, se/ne vadino à terra spuntate, e rotte, col motto, che/sotto di chi.- Frustra.

A Tomaso Morosini fù Capitan delle Navi molto mio bene:/merito caratti tre.

A Zan Alvise Emo, che doppo haver per il corso d'anni tre/ sostenuto la cura della mia infirmità, finalmente/ sacrificò anch'egli la vita in mio servitio li lascio/tre caratti.

A Benetto Canal, che fù il primo à insegnare à Nobili/ Venetiani à morir per me, li lascio caratti tre.

Gl' altri caratti, che restano, che sono tre, voglio sijno/distribuiti, l'una parte in beneficio dell' amime/ degl'altri defonti, che sono morti in mio servitio,/(f.103r) l'altra parte alli poveri della Città di Canda, che ren:/dono il sangue per guarirmi, dovendosi fare la dis:/tributione, conforme la consienza del Capitan/ General, il quale habbi però sempre da beneficiare,/ come si usa: più uno, che l'altro de suoi amorevoli,/ e perchè intendo, che nella confusione della mia/ malatia, molti della

professione, così maritima,/ come da terra hanno aspetato il Residuo,
havendo/indebitamente rubato honori, e glorie, ch'è loro non/ aspetano; voglio, che
questi siano tenuti à render/ conto, à tempo, e luogo.

Item dovendosi con segno di mestitia per la mia mancanza/ conforme lo stile
ordinario in occasione di lutto/ spogliare la mia Casa, et in particolare la mia/
Camera, lascio, che le spoglie restino devise tra quei/ de miei famigliari,
ch'assisterano alla mia morte.

La cura, et assistenza de miei funerali, raccomando ad/ Antonio Lippomano mio
Generale, e Signore di molta/ Pietà, e per offitio tanto Religioso assai à proposito,/ e
la presente ordinatione voglio, che habbi vigore,/ et intiera osservanza in cadauna, e
tutte le sue/ parti.-



Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, Scritture Varie, bevi, suppliche in copia uniforma.
IT. VII. 149 (8952)

[Scio's (Chios') Last Testament]

(f. 47r)

Copia

Testamento dell'Isola famosa di Scio nel Mare Egeo.

Ritrovandomi in letto aggravata da febre malinga/ dubitando di dover Spirar l'anima
nel giorno settimo/ del mio male già che mi ritrovo in buoni/ sentimenti rissolvo di
fare il mio Testamento, ò sia/ ultima volontà accio li miei heredi restino legittimi/
possessioni de miei Beni, che distribuisco nella/ seguente forma.

Primo essendo l'anima mia più Nobile del Corpo per la Sua/ immortalità per
restituirli al Suo Creatore abiuro/ la religione Maomettana, e la falsità di quel
Profetta,/ che adorai per il passato più per timore delle/ forze Ottomane, che per
genio naturale, e voglio,/ che subito doppo la mia morte sia alzata/ sopra la mia Testa
la Santissima Croce di Giesù Christo/ Salvatore del Mondo, et il glorioso San Marco/
sotto la di cui Protezione intendo, e voglio morire.

Item voglio, che tutte le mie Moschee hano tramutate/ in Tempij di divotione, accio li Cattoloci Romani/(f. 47v) possino essercitarsi liberamente l'essercitio della loro vera Religione.

Item voglio, che il mio Corpo doppo spirata l'Anima mia sia/ sepolto con poca pompa alle Smirne, accompagnato da/ tutti li miei Parenti addolorati e mesti, alli quali lascio le loro Armi, e tanto bagaglio quanto possono portar sotto il/ braccio, e che non possino pretender d'avantaggio per non/ havermi governato con quell' affetto, ch' essi dovevano.

Item lascio herede universale di tutta la mia robba/ la Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia, che altre volte mi ha/ governato con tanto affetto, e pietà, e per havermi riguardato/ con buoni occhi (?) in tutto il tempo della mia/ vita, con obbligatione di dover tenere alla mia difesa/ una Squadra di Nave da Guerra con qualche/ Galeazza, e Galera sottile sotto il Comando di/ un valoroso Soldato, altrimenti, che la mia/ heredità ricada alla Porta Ottomana.

Item dichiaro per mio essecutor Testamentario il Nobile/ A. Antonio Zeno Capitan General di detta Serenissima Repubblica/ che prego istantemente di assistere con affetto/ nella divisione de miei Mobili, Gioie, Argenti, Drappi d' Oro/ (f. 48r) Biancarie, Schiavi, Mori, e More, che si troveranno/al mio Servizio, lasciandogli la libertà di prendersi/ per le tutto quello gli parerà, e gli raccomando con/ tutto il cuore di trattar bene gli ufficiali della squadra/ Bontifera che mi hanno data la beneditione/ in Articolo morbis con tante Indulgenze, che/ hanno portato da Roma per mezzo delle quali spero/ di lasciar l'anima mia, come pure di trattare nella/ stessa forma li Cavalieri di Malta, che hanno tenuto le Croci nel mio morire.

Item lascio al medemo Capitan General Antonio Zeno essecutor/ Testamentario la gloria immortale, che guistamente/ se gli deve, per il Suo valore, giustitia/ e generosità.

Item lascio al Medico Mazzammama, che ha assistito/ alla mia malatia, venuto a posta con tre Galere/ una Cattena di ferro, premio con degno della sua viltà.

Item lascio all' altro medico mezo morto, che in compagna/ del Capitan Bassà tutte le Nave, e Beni che si troveranno nel/ mio Arsenale, accio possa per l'avvenire/ fuggir più velocemente dall' Armata Veneta.

(f. 48v)

Item lascio al Conte di Steino Generale da Sbarco/ dell' Amrta del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto in Quadro/ di Rafaele, che rappresentata il valor Coronato/ coll' Arte vera del guereggiare.

Item lascio ad Hassam Bassà Comandante della/ mia fortezza una Tazza d'oro piena di Veleno/ che tengo nel mio scrigno accio possa valersene/ prima di ritornar in Costantinopoli.

Item lascio all' Isole dell' Arcipelago mie/ Sorelle amatissime un Anno tributo di lagrime/ per piangere le loro disaventure.

Item lascio all' Isola della Morea mia Sorella/ maggiore maritata pochi Anni solo (?) col/ Leone di Venetia la gioia inestimabile del/Suo gran contento.

Item lascio alli Regni di Cipro, Candia, e Negroponte/ miei Germani di sangue un continuo/ timore d'essere attaccati da Veneti.

Item lascio all' di Isola di Mettelino mia cara/ nezza la certezza della Sua caduta nell' Anno ventuto.

(f. 49r)

Item lascio per ultimo in libertà il mio Heredeti/ di poter in caso di una pace col
Turco tramutare/ la mia Fortezza con quella di Negroponte/ per meglio assicurare il
Regno della Morea.

Item ordino, e voglio, che seguita la mia morte/ il luogo del Deprofundis sia cantato
il Te Deum/ con lo sparro di tutto il Cannone, e Moschettaria,/ e mandatone
immediatamente l'avviso/ al mio herede sia obbligato di farmi fare nella/ Piazza di
San Marco un bellissimo funerale/ con fuochi di artificio, e quantità di lumi/ per la
Citta.

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