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***Life and Death in Damascus: the material culture of Venetians  
in the Syrian capital in the mid-fifteenth century***

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LIFE AND DEATH IN DAMASCUS:  
THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF VENETIANS  
IN THE SYRIAN CAPITAL IN THE MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY\*

I. INTRODUCTION

The records of the Venetian priest and notary Cristoforo del Fiore, preserved in the Cancelleria Inferiore of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, have received little attention despite his two periods of duty in Venetian overseas trading colonies under the Mamluks.<sup>1</sup> In this capacity, Cristoforo served as the Venetian chaplain in Damascus. This article publishes a particularly interesting series of documents that have never before been discussed or studied in detail. The first group consists of the inventories of the belongings of three Venetians, Stefano Ravagnino, Stefano di Bossina and the Consul Marino da Molin, all of whom died in Damascus in 1455-1457, together with the list of the personal effects of a fourth, Nicolò de Ruzino, who unfortunately never reached his destination, but died aboard one of the Beirut galleys.<sup>2</sup> By a lucky chance, the wills of the first three deceased have also come to light, and these are also transcribed below, together with the complete inventories, in Appendix 3. A fourth testament, that of Andrea da Raguxio, a Venetian galleot who died on one of the Alexandria galleys in 1453, has also been transcribed, together with the inventory of the possessions which he left on board ship at his death. This body of material aptly complements the evidence of the Venetian merchant letters sent from Damascus in the 1480s, recently analysed by Éric Vallet.<sup>3</sup> Not only do the documents fill out the economic context of the individuals' visits to Syria; they also offer a fascinating insight into the personal and social lives of Venetians in one of their principal overseas trading posts.

It is important to stress that the inventories published here were not probate valuations. Instead they simply provided descriptive records of all the items left by their

\* Deborah Howard is the principal author of the article itself, apart from the section on the life of the notary Cristoforo del Fiore, which was written by Francesco Bianchi. The transcriptions of all the documents and the glossary have been prepared by Dr. Bianchi. The list of Venetians in Damascus in 1455-1457 was compiled collaboratively. Obviously we have each contributed many details to each other's work.

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1. All the records that we have considered here come from the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV): see Appendix 1 for archival details. Only Ashtor made extensive use of these documents in many studies relating to trading transactions (see later footnotes for these sources).

2. Specific citations from the inventories themselves were made in DEBORAH HOWARD, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 22, 33, 59-61. The importance of the present material in its art-historical context is discussed in EAD., *Death in Damascus: Venetians in Syria in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> Century*, «Muqarnas», 20 (2003), pp. 143-157.

3. ERIC VALLET, *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du xve siècle*, Paris, Association pour le développement de l'histoire économique, 1999.

late owners, to ensure that these goods be correctly returned to Venice. Among the trading privileges granted by the Mamluks to Venetian merchants in Syria was a long-standing agreement that Moslems should not interfere with the estates of those unhappy Venetians who perished in Syria: «And if any Venetian should die, we command that no Moor may meddle with his belongings, but that his goods and possessions should be placed in the hands of the Consul».<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, the documents describe the visual characteristics of the various belongings, such as colour, material, size or condition, specifically in order to allow them to be identified by the executors; monetary value is indicated only in the case of coins. In contrast to the 628 inventories compiled in Damascus around 1700 and analysed in a series of articles by Jean-Paul Pascual, these five inventories obviously cannot be subjected to statistical analysis.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the profusion of detail that they provide helps to illuminate a relatively little studied aspect of Venetian material culture, that of the *oltremare*.

## 2. CRISTOFORO DEL FIORE

According to long-established practice, every overseas Venetian trading colony was served by a chaplain, who performed a dual function as priest and notary, as it were, drawing up deeds with one hand and blessing with the other.<sup>6</sup> This overlap of function is neatly illustrated by Cristoforo del Fiore's deeds, drawn up in Damascus, where he officiated in his parallel duties as chaplain and notary to the Venetian colony.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Cristoforo is not an unusual character in medieval Venetian society, since the two professions of priest and notary were closely linked. Indeed, until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ordinary notaries were recruited among the parish clergy, even if the employment of lay notaries from the *terraferma* in the ducal Cancelleria was already recorded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and it became common at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> Not until 1514 did the Venetian government begin to secularize the office of public notary.<sup>9</sup>

Venetian notaries were appointed by the doge, who kept this prerogative until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the conditions for ob-

4. «E se algun Venetian vegnirà a morte, comandemo che algun Moro non se possi impazar in la roba soa ma vegni i beni e robe soe in le man del consolo so». The text of the treaty is published in JOHN WANSBROUGH, *Venice and Florence in Mamluk commercial privileges*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies», 28 (1965), 3, pp. 483-523; the relevant clauses are on pp. 495, 513.

5. See, for example, JEAN-PAUL PASCUAL, *Aspects de la vie matérielle à Damas à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les inventaires après décès*, in THOMAS PHILIPP (ed.), *The Syrian Land in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: The Common and Specific in the Historical Experience*, Stuttgart, 1992, pp. 165-178; COLETTE ESTABLET, JEAN-PAUL PASCUAL, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700*, Damascus, 1994; COLETTE ESTABLET, JEAN-PAUL PASCUAL, *Ultime voyage pour la Mecque: les inventaires après décès de pèlerins morts à Damas vers 1700*, Damascus, 1998. Thanks are due to Heghnar Watenpaugh for suggesting these sources.

6. Other examples of Venetian chaplains serving abroad as priest and notary are to be found in FRANCO ROSSI (ed.), *Servodio Peccator notaio in Venezia e Alessandria d'Egitto (1444-1449)*, Venice, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, 1983, and LUCIA GRECO (ed.), *Quaderno di bordo di Giovanni Manzini prete-notaio e cancelliere (1471-1484)*, Venice, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, 1997.

7. Cristoforo defines himself as «capellanus et cancellarius» of the Venetian consul in Damascus: see Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai (hereafter CIN), busta 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v, unnumbered folios, 27 Sept. 1460 and 25 Oct. 1463. He was son of Andrea: see CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. IV, f. 8v, 15 Mach 1447 («Instrumentum per Cristoforum de Flore Andree de Flore notarium infrascriptum»).

8. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century we can consider just 16 foreign notaries operating in Venice, although the first evidence of an imperial notary working in the city dates back to 976. Nevertheless, in the medieval period it seems that lay notaries were taken on exclusively inside the Cancelleria: see ATTILIO BARTOLI LANGELI, *Documentazione e notariato*, in LELLIS CRACCO RUGGINI et al. (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*. I, *Origini - Età ducale*, Rome, Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, p. 852 and MARCO POZZA, *La cancelleria*, in GIORGIO CRACCO, GHERARDO ORTALLI (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*. II, *L'età del Comune*, Rome, Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995, p. 350.

9. MARIA PIA PEDANI FABRIS, «Veneta auctoritate notarius». *Storia del notariato veneziano (1514-1797)*, Milan, Giuffrè Editore, 1996, pp. 8-9, 12-13.

taining this office were that the candidate should be at least 25 years old and Venetian by birth (or resident in Venice for at least fifteen years). This last condition was extended in 1419 to every notary or public registrar accompanying Venetian representatives abroad, such as Cristoforo del Fiore.<sup>10</sup> In the lagoon area and the overseas colonies, notaries appointed by the doge had to draw up their deeds according to Venetian practice (*more veneto*), but they could also receive an imperial investiture and use *more imperii*, with the possibility of working on the mainland too. It was not until 1612-1613 that the Venetian Senate finally forbade the use of *more imperii* in the city.<sup>11</sup>

Cristoforo del Fiore was an imperial notary as well as a Venetian one. He defines himself everywhere as «Venetiarum notarius», but he also writes: «Ego Cristoforus de Fiore, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius, omnibus et singulis promissis in hoc protocollo contentis interfui eaque, rogatus, manu propria scripsi meum apponens signum consuetum».<sup>12</sup> Thus, his deeds alternate between *more veneto* and *more imperii*, not only with regard to the authority giving him *publica fides*, but also in the dating system. In Venice he preferred to style dates *a nativitate* (that is, with the year beginning on 25<sup>th</sup> December), whereas in Damascus he generally used the *ab incarnatione* system (with the year beginning on 1<sup>st</sup> March), though not rigidly. His handwriting is rather brisk, rich in abbreviations, not always easy to read and to understand, characterized by the typical Venetian conventions and by a very simple *signum tabellionis* (personal sign or logo). In all respects, his manner of proceeding appears well adjusted to the busy and pragmatic Venetian community in Damascus.

Our notary was an itinerant professional man, who apparently preferred this peripatetic lifestyle to permanent residence in Venice. In 1446-1453 he worked in Venice or on the *terraferma*; in January 1454 he was travelling with the Alexandria galleys.<sup>13</sup> In March 1454 he was again at the Rialto, but by October 1454 he was in Damascus, where he stayed until 1457. In 1458-1460 he was probably in Venice, but in September 1460 he was again in the Syrian capital. He returned to Venice, perhaps definitively, in 1464 or 1465.

In Damascus Cristoforo appears to have occupied a room in the consulate, within the *fondaco* or trading post.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the consulate was the hub of the Venetian community, since it included not only the house of the main Venetian representative in Damascus, but also the chapel and the registrar's office.<sup>16</sup> There Cristoforo drew up most of his deeds. The consul and the priest-notary were not the only resident Venetians who served the colony in Damascus on an official basis. Between 1455-1457 and

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 21, 26, 47, 55.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 19. Evidence of deeds drawn up in the *more imperii* in Venice dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

12. CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. IV, f. 16v. Similar wording was used in: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, fasc. I (*Processus presbiteri Nicolai quondam Maphei de Salvatoris capellani*), unnumb. f., and *ibid.* (*Processus domini Moisi de Buffarellis contra Iacobum Antonium de Citaadella, 1448 die 8 iunii*), f. 16v. None of these examples refers to deeds drawn up in Damascus.

13. The Alexandria and Beirut galleys left Venice between August and September, and came back within 4-5 months: see DORIS STÖCKLY, *Les systèmes de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII-milieu XVe siècle)*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995, pp. 140-142, 150-151.

14. The first deed of Cristoforo's that we know dates back to 10 Nov. 1446 (in Venice): see CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. IV, f. 1; the last one is dated 22 July 1465 (in Venice): ASV: Notarile, Testamenti (hereafter NT), b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore, doc. no. 6.

15. See, for example, the deed drawn up on 31 Aug. 1456 in the «notarii camera in domo habitata spectabilis domini Marini de Molino pro illustrissimo ducali dominio Venetiarum honorabilis consulis Damasci»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.

16. Between 27 Oct. 1460 and 4 Jan. 1463, Cristoforo drew up five deeds «in cancelleria in domo spectabilis domini consulis posita»: see CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. V, unnumb. ff., 27 Oct. 1460, 13 and 17 March 1461, 3 June 1462 and 4 Jan. 1463. On 10<sup>th</sup> March 1461 and on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1462, Cristoforo drew up deeds «in capella Venetorum in domo spectabilis et generosi domini consulis posita»: see *ibid.*, unnumb. ff.

TABLE I. Cristoforo del Fiore's movements, 1446-1465<sup>14</sup>.

DATE	PLACE OF WORK	SOURCE
10 Nov. 1446	Venice	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. IV, f. 1
21 May 1447	Torcello	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. IV, f. 9
4 Dec. 1447	Villa Tribano (district of Padua)	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. IV, f. 12v
25 May 1453	Torcello	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, f. 3
8 Jan. 1454 (1453 <i>mv</i> )	aboard the galley Capetanea, moored in Modon	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, f. 5
27 March 1454	Venice	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, f. 7v
27 July 1454	Venice	NT, b. 982, f. 70
11 Oct. 1454	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 1
22 July 1457	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnumb. f.
29 Oct. 1457	Beirut	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnumb. f.
12 Nov. 1457	aboard the Beirut galley	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnumb. f.
8 Dec. (1457?)	Lesina	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnumb. f.
18 Feb. 1458 (1457 <i>mv</i> )	Venice	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, f. 11
10 June 1460	Venice	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, f. 14v
20 Sept. 1460	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. v, unnumb. f.
4 Jan. 1463	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. v, unnumb. f.
5 Feb. 1463 (1462 <i>mv</i> )	Aleppo	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. v, unnumb. f.
14 April 1463	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. v, unnumb. f.
24 Oct. 1463	Damascus	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. v, unnumb. f.
7 Feb. 1464 (or 1465)	Venice	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. I, unnumb. f.
22 July 1465	Venice	NT, b. 982, doc. no. 6

1460-1462, the name of Giacomo Candi appears fourteen times in the deeds in different capacities, that is as executor, witness or arbitrator.<sup>17</sup> He was the barber of the community, perhaps with the additional function of surgeon, and he too was a member of the consul's *familia*, along with some servants.<sup>18</sup> Sometimes Cristoforo also acted as notary in the private house of a merchant.

The inventories published in Appendix 4 were compiled in the residences of the deceased, the notary passing from room to room and listing every article. The objects in each room appear to be recorded in a random fashion, except when certain items were found in a particular bag or chest. Nonetheless, one must assume that the notary worked his way systematically around the living space and storerooms. Merchandise is not distinguished from personal effects; similarly, old or broken everyday articles are listed alongside wares of considerable value.<sup>19</sup>

The trading privileges granted by the Mamluk sultans in 1442, and still in force in the 1450s, stipulated that the notary had to be present at every commercial transaction and to keep a written record.<sup>20</sup> As we shall see shortly, Cristoforo del Fiore had long experience of monitoring east-west trading transactions and was familiar with

17. See Appendix 5 and CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v, unnumb. ff., 30 Sept. 1460, 10 Oct. 1460, 20 Nov. 1460, 30 Oct. 1461 and 15 Oct. 1462.

18. On the consul's *familia* see: MICHEL BALARD, *Consoli d'Oltremare (secc. XII-XV)*, in GIOVANNA PETTI BALBI (ed.), *Comunità forestiere e "nationes" nell'Europa dei secoli XIII-XVI*, Naples, Liguori Editore, 2002, p. 89. In the period 1455-1457, a fourth person appears to be a permanent resident in Damascus, that is the noble and merchant Luca Loredan: see Appendix 5.

19. On the difficulty of distinguishing locally purchased from imported goods, and merchandise from personal effects, see also VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 85-86.

20. WANSBROUGH, *Venice and Florence*, p. 487: «Anchora have recherido che, sel achazerà algun marchado de ogni sorta de spetie da Saraini a Venitiani, chel sia scriti i pacti che occorerà tra lor per scrivani noderi, per le spetie da puo facto el marchado e recevudo el caparo, e maormente quando monta le spetie.».

daily life in Mamluk cities. Thus, when he specified that certain articles were of local manufacture, his testimony should be taken seriously. In the east he had direct contact with Moslems as well as western Europeans. The letters from the 1480s analysed by Vallet indicate that the Venetian chaplain in Aleppo at that time, Domenico, was a highly regarded and well-educated member of the overseas community, with recognised literary skills.<sup>21</sup> He knew commerce from the inside, for he had to take an active part in negotiations to protect the interests of Venetian merchants – Domenico was himself involved in trade, both in his own right and on behalf of others.<sup>22</sup> In short, the priest-notary was the necessary lubricant for the perfect running of the Venetian commercial operations. In the case of Cristoforo, we may suppose that he also played the role of linguistic intermediary, given his long experience abroad and his familiarity with foreign terms, testified by the infusion of words of Arabic origin in the inventories that he drew up. Indeed, Cristoforo displays an impressive capacity to distinguish different textile materials, as well as to describe their kaleidoscopic range of colours. Moreover, our notary even served non-Venetian merchants,<sup>23</sup> thus confirming the superior organization and significance of the Venetian community in Damascus.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, we should mention the sources of income of our notary. When Cristoforo drew up a will, the testator would usually pay him, not only for his duties as notary, but also for the masses he was to say as priest for the spiritual salvation of the deceased. For example, Stefano Ravagnino gave Cristoforo three ducats «For masses to the Virgin Mary and to Saint Gregory to be celebrated for the sake of my soul» and five ducats «for the labour of drawing up the will».<sup>25</sup> However, Andrea de Raguxio paid him only as priest,<sup>26</sup> while the consul Marino da Molin gave him twenty-five ducats «for love and charity and for services rendered».<sup>27</sup> To sum up, payments to Cristoforo confirm the dual role of the priest-notary, as dispenser of both legal and religious services.

### 3. DAMASCUS: THE CONTEXT

One of the oldest inhabited cities in the world, Damascus lies on the River Barada at the point where the main north-south route through Syria intersects with east-west caravan routes linking the Mediterranean coast to the Persian Gulf, the Silk Route and the Red Sea. Ever since the Umayyad conquest in AD 635, Damascus had

21. The role of the Venetian chaplain in Damascus in the 1480s is discussed in VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 18, 194-195, 199-201, 254-256, 267-271.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 267.

23. For example, on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1461 he drew up a «promissio et obligatio facta per certos tres mercatores ser Perotio de Perutiis [...] quondam ser Antonii de Florentia, ad presens mercator in hoc loco Damasci», that is: «ser Agapirus de Pagliarexis de Ancona, ser Angelus quondam Titi de Perusia ac ser Bindazio quondam ser Bernardi de Florentia, etiam mercatores ut supra»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. v, unnumb. f. Similarly Servodio Peccator, priest-notary of the Venetian community in Alexandria in 1447-1449, drew up acts for foreign merchants, both European and Arab: see ROSSI (ed.), *Servodio Peccator*, p. XII.

24. Ashtor has written much about the commercial supremacy of Venice in the Near East in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. For example, he said: «Depuis la quatrième décennie du xve siècle la suprématie des Vénitiens dans le commerce du Levant était un fait incontestable», ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *L'apogée du commerce vénitien au Levant. Un nouvel essai d'explication*, in ID., *Technology, Industry and Trade*, ed. by BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR, London, Variorum Reprints, 1992, VI, p. 324. See also ID., *The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?*, in ID., *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, VI and ID., *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983.

25. NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore, f. 6v, 15 Aug. 1455.

26. «Pro missis sancte Marie et illis sancti Gregorii per eum celebrandis pro anima mea», and «pro labore huius testamenti»: *ibid.*, f. 69, 14 Jan. 1454.

27. «Pro amore et caritate ac suo bene servire»: *ibid.*, f. 64, 2 May 1457.



TABLE 2. Cristoforo del Fiore's income in Venetian ducats.

DATE	EARNING AS NOTARY	EARNING AS PRIEST	TOTAL	SOURCE
14 Jan. 1454		3	3	NT, b. 982, f. 69
15 Aug. 1455	5	3	8	NT, b. 982, f. 61v
22 Aug. 1455	5	10	15	NT, b. 982, ff. 62r-v
2 May 1457			25	NT, b. 982, f. 64
3 May 1461	3.5	2	5.5	NT, b. 982, doc. no. 14
26 March 1462			8	NT, b. 982, doc. no. 15
	<b>13.5</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>64.5</b>	

been continuously under Islamic rule. The Great Mosque lies on the site of a Roman temple of Jupiter, which in turn became a Christian church dedicated to Saint John, before its transformation begun in AD 706 under the Umayyad caliph al' Walid.<sup>28</sup> Despite its importance in biblical times, Damascus never fell to the Crusaders, a fact that favoured the relatively peaceful co-existence of Christian and Jewish communities alongside the Islamic population. Significantly, continuous Moslem domination throughout the Middle Ages benefited the stability of trade with Venice, for, despite the commercial benefits offered by the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Crusades had often complicated Venetian interactions with their Moslem trading partners.

In the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, the city was the principal Mamluk provincial capital, ruled from Cairo.<sup>29</sup> The incursions of Tamerlane in 1401-1402 had badly damaged the city and disrupted local industries – indeed, several crafts such as glass, textiles and metalwork were devastated by the removal of their artisans to Samarkand.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, the status of Damascus as a major international market (especially for silk) at the confluence of the principal trade routes of Eurasia quickly revived. Even the local industries recovered, at least partially, as the inventories under discussion here will show. Although the relative importance of Aleppo was beginning to grow, the more northerly city did not finally overtake Damascus as the main centre of Venetian trading activity in Syria until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup>

Politically, relations with Damascus were not a major concern of the Venetian State in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, in the tumultuous final years of the reign of Doge Francesco Foscari (1423-1457). On the *terraferma*, the Republic had been distracted by the long campaign of westward expansion, halted by the stout resistance of Francesco Sforza of Milan and concluded at the Peace of Lodi in 1454. In the eastern Mediterranean, meanwhile, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had thrown the menace of Ottoman expansion into sharp focus. Indeed, the Mamluks and the Venetians were being drawn ever closer together by the common threat presented by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>32</sup> In the proceedings of the Senate, recorded in the Mar series, Damascus figured

28. See especially FINBARR BARRY FLOOD, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies in the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, Brill, 2001.

29. See especially NICOLA A. ZIADEH, *Damascus under the Mamluks*, Norman (Oklahoma), University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

30. JEAN SAUVAGET, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas* (extrait de la «Revue des Études Islamiques», 1934, cahier IV), Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1935, p. 467; ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *Levantine Sugar Industry in the later Middle Ages - An example of Technological Decline*, in Id., *Technology*, III, pp. 263-264.

31. The letters analysed by Vallet indicate that Venetians were still much more numerous in Damascus than in Aleppo in the 1480s. See VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 106.

rarely in the mid 1450s. Only a few minor problems arose. For example, in 1455 a difficulty had arisen over the level of the tax or *cottimo* in Damascus. In response, the Senate requested the Consul to convene the Council of XII of the Venetian colony in Damascus, in order to appoint four noble to examine the matter.<sup>33</sup> The Council of XII was the body elected by the local Venetian community in each overseas trading post to represent their own interests.<sup>34</sup> In August 1455 the Senate imposed measures to tighten up the taxation of goods on the Beirut galleys.<sup>35</sup> In 1456 the Senate agreed to allow Domenico de Pamaliotis to receive for life the same salary previously enjoyed by his father Novacho, because of his usefulness to the Venetian merchants in the city – it is not clear what form these services took.<sup>36</sup> In the same year the consul in Damascus was asked to investigate a claim of extortion in relation to a single cargo of pepper.<sup>37</sup> In March 1457, it was claimed that many goods had not been loaded on to the returning Beirut galleys because of difficulties caused by Mamluk officials.<sup>38</sup> It should be remembered that the Mamluk authorities caused irritation to the local Damascene community as well as to overseas traders. The distance from the authorities in Cairo may even have allowed Venetians to trade more freely in Damascus than in Alexandria in the Mamluk era.<sup>39</sup> In the general spectrum of international relations in the period, these issues were only minor perturbations in the usual ebb and flow of Venetian trade with Syria.

Damascus was the main destination served by the official, state-protected Venetian galley route to Beirut.<sup>40</sup> The documents discussed here reveal the presence of about seventy Venetians in Damascus in the mid 1450s (see Appendix 5).<sup>41</sup> Many of these were living in the city on a year-round basis, although some were probably short-term summer visitors (see Appendix 5). As in other overseas trading bases, the colony included the consul, the priest-notary, a barber (who acted as surgeon), and a tailor. The prominence of Damascus in the gem trade encouraged the presence of a goldsmith and several jewellers. There is no mention of the physician, whose presence in a consulate was often required by the Venetian government, but he was probably little involved with the commercial activity that is illustrated in these documents.<sup>42</sup> Physicians were among the most learned of the Venetian community as well as the best Arabic-speakers: two of the doctors who attended the colony in Damascus in the 15<sup>th</sup> century each translated Avicenna's *Canon* into Italian directly from the Arabic.<sup>43</sup>

32. VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 214-215, 285, 298.

33. ASV: Senato Mar (hereafter SM), reg. 5, f. 99, 28 June 1455. In future two nobles in Damascus would be elected each year to oversee the *cottimo*.

34. Little is known about how the Council functioned but as an organ it was probably very similar to the Council of XII that functioned aboard galleys and ships, on which see UGO TUCCI, *Le conseil des douze sur les navires vénitiens*, in *Le navire et l'économie maritime du Moyen-Age au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1958, pp. 119-125; cf. also LUCIA GRECO, *Sulle rotte delle galere veneziane: il cartulario di bordo del prete notaio Giovanni Manzini (1471-1486)*, «Archivio Veneto», s. v (1991), vol. 137, pp. 5-37: on p. 24.

35. SM, reg. 5, ff. 105-105v, 7 Aug. 1455.

36. *Ibid.*, f. 147, 29 April 1456.

37. *Ibid.*, f. 167v, 5 Aug. 1456.

38. SM, reg. 6, ff. 5v and 6v, 26 March 1457.

39. See ROSAMOND E. MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 2002, p. 21.

40. On the galley routes to and from Syria, see STÖCKLI, *Le système de l'incanto des galées*, p. 2; VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 17, 40-47.

41. The correspondence from the 1480s examined by Éric Vallet suggests that the Venetian colony then numbered around 40 residents. See VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 103-104.

42. See *ibid.*, p. 199; HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 33-34.

43. AGOSTINO PERTUSI, *Episodi culturali tra Venezia e il Levante nel medioevo e nell'umanesimo fino al sec. xv*, in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo xv*, Florence, 1974, vol. II, *Arte-Letteratura-Linguistica*, pp. 331-360: on p. 359. Venetian translations of Avicenna are further discussed in CHARLES BURNETT, *The Second Revelation of Arabic Philosophy and Science 1492-1562*, in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by CHARLES BURNETT, ANNA CONTADINI, London, 1999, pp. 185-198:

The social standing of the members of the Venetian colony in Damascus ranged from the consul's slaves (of unknown geographical origin) to nobles. The Council of XII, elected by the local Venetian community, provided a degree of local autonomy, in effect, a microcosm of the Republic. A motion of the Senate in 1435 had tried to restrict the Council of XII in Alexandria to members of the nobility, suggesting that this was not the case at the time.<sup>44</sup> Our sources reveal a high degree of integration between different social classes, for commerce was a great leveller. Ravagnino and di Bossina were not nobles, yet the sophistication and value of their personal possessions is remarkable, as the inventories will show. Nonetheless, the hierarchies borrowed from Venetian society at home are explicit in the documents, where noble status is always clearly indicated.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the patricians who were active as merchants in Damascus came from the elite families of the nobility, those in whom wealth and power was concentrated.<sup>46</sup> For instance, in 1486 Donata Donà, widow of Luca Loredan, Ravagnino's landlord in Damascus, had the substantial sum of 1,000 ducats to dispose of in her second will.<sup>47</sup>

One significant point to be noted is that, apart from the consul's one female slave, women hardly figure in the documents. Even the long-term residents in Damascus retained their principal family home in Venice, and the female family members invariably remained at home. In the *oltremare*, the *famuli*, that is, the household staff other than the slaves, were male. If the female slaves served as concubines, our documents are silent on this point.<sup>48</sup> In the sources published here, only one pair of ladies' scissors and one woman's jacket are specifically designated as feminine articles, although presumably much of the jewellery was intended to be worn by women. Yet, as recipients of bequests, women at home in Venice were important conduits for the channelling of eastern material culture into Venetian daily life. The wills transcribed below indicate the involvement of female relatives as *commissarii*, and reveal the testators' affectionate feelings towards them. Specific bequests, such as the two coral paternosters that Stefano Ravagnino left to his sister, confirm that women were recipients of precious articles sent back from the east. In 1466 Luca Loredan, Ravagnino's former landlord in Damascus, had in his household at S. Felice in Venice a certain «Catarina tartara», presumably a slave acquired in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. DOMESTIC LIFE IN DAMASCUS

A beautiful, well-watered city surrounded by gardens on the edge of the desert with a backdrop of hills, Damascus had long been a favourite destination of Venetian merchants. Sauvaget's picture of fifteenth century Damascus as a city in deep decline does not seem to be borne out by the evidence of European visitors.<sup>50</sup> In 1432, Bertrand de la Broquière enthused about the «large spacious town where there are most

on pp. 190-191, 194-195. See also NANCY G. SIRIASI, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1987.

44. ASV: Senato Misti, reg. 59 (copia), f. 128v, 12 Sept. 1435.

45. See VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 26, 108.

46. VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 114.

47. NT, Savina, b. 1236, no. 242, 14 Jan. 1486 (1485 mv).

48. The tensions caused by this all-male society are evident from a letter of 1484 written by Paolo Cappello, a notable Venetian merchant resident in Damascus. The letter reports that he was at that time imprisoned in the Citadel because two Moorish women had been seen leaving his house. See VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 363, letter no. 38.

49. NT, Tommaso de Tomei, b. 1238, no. 203, 11 Dec. 1466.

50. For these negative comments, see SAUVAGET, *Esquisse*, pp. 462, 467. For a reassessment of Sauvaget's conclusions see NIKITA ELISSÉEFF, *Damas à la lumière des théories de Jean Sauvaget*, in A.H. HOURANI, S.M. STERN (eds.), *The Islamic City: A colloquium*, Oxford, Bruno Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, pp. 157-177.

beautiful gardens, the largest I have seen anywhere, and the best fruits and great abundance of water, for there are few houses without a fountain, so they say. A river runs around various places and there is a fine fortification, although the suburbs are larger than the part within the walls».<sup>51</sup> In his *Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure*, published in Venice in 1503, Bartolomeo di Paxi doubted whether many of his readers would not already be familiar with «the customs of Damascus and the conditions there». <sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, for the sake of those who had never been, he had to force himself («me sforzéro») to publish a nine-page list, itemising all the commodities from Venice that would be marketable there.<sup>53</sup>

In the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest, a Jewish traveller, Rabbi Bassola, who visited the city in 1521-1522, repeatedly compared Damascus with Venice, in terms of commercial and industrial activity, as well as the cost of living.<sup>54</sup> Like Venice, Damascus was penetrated by a network of canals, 129 within the city and 19 outside.<sup>55</sup> (Most of these were covered over in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, like the *rii terà* of Venice in the Austrian period).<sup>56</sup> These canals distributed the water of the Barada river to all the neighbourhoods of the city, both inside and outside the walls.<sup>57</sup>

Hellenistic and Roman urbanism had left their mark on the fabric of Damascus, its two main streets intersecting at the principal crossroads of the city. It was here that the Venetian Senate asked, in 1421, to have the Republic's trading privileges inscribed on a stone tablet.<sup>58</sup> The east-west artery is still known by its Latin name, the *Via Recta*, although the original positions of the Hellenistic *agora* and the Roman *cardo* and *decumanus* are the subject of debate.<sup>59</sup> The north-eastern quadrant of the city was the Christian quarter, inhabited by largely Arabic-speaking Syrian sects such as Jacobites and Nestorians, while the Jewish quarter occupied the south-east quadrant. Although figures are not available for the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, it has been estimated that at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century local Christians formed 11% of the population of some 50-55,000; they were about twice as numerous as the Jewish community.<sup>60</sup> The main Moslem quarter lay in the western half of the city, which also contained the chief commercial area, dominated by the *sūq* to the north of the *Via Recta* – the *Sūq al-Qaymariyya* – running east from the Great Umayyad Mosque to the probable site of

51. BERTRAND DE LA BROQUIÈRE, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. by CHARLES SCHEFER, Paris, 1892, p. 35: «C'est une grande ville et spacieuse où il y a de tres-beaulx jardins et les plus grans que je veys oncques et les milleurs fruitz et grant foison d'eaues, car il y a peu de maisons en la ville qui n'ait sa fontaine, comme on dit. Il y passé un riyvere par plusieurs lieux et sy y a une belle murailled d'autant qu'elle contient, car lesdicts forbourgs contiennent beaucoup plus».

52. BARTOLOMEO DI PAXI, *Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure*, Venice, Albertin da Lisona Vercelese, 1503, f. 50: «Li costumi & le conditione de Damasco».

53. DI PAXI, *Tariffa*, ff. 50-54.

54. BERNARD LEWIS, *A Jewish source on Damascus just after the Ottoman conquest*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies», 10 (1940-1942), pp. 179-184; on pp. 181-182; JEAN-PAUL PASCUAL, *Damas à la fin du xvie siècle d'après trois actes de waqf ottomans*, Damascus, Institut Français de Damas, 1983, p. 11.

55. NIKITA ELISSÉEFF, *La description de Damas d'Ibn 'Asakir*, Damascus, Institut Français d'Études Arabes, 1959, p. 257. Ibn 'Asakir was a historian who died in Damascus in 1176.

56. DOROTHÉE SACK, *The historic fabric of Damascus and its changes in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, in THOMAS PHILIPP, BIRGIT SCHAEBLER (eds.), *The Syrian Land: Processes of Integration and Fragmentation*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1998, pp. 185-199; on pp. 191-192.

57. See HEINZ GAUBE, *The traditional water and sewer system in the Old City of Aleppo and its changes in the mandatory period*, in PHILIPP and SCHAEBLER (eds.), *The Syrian Land*, pp. 157-164; on p. 158; SACK, *The historic fabric*, p. 186.

58. ASV: Senato Misti, reg. 53 (copia), f. 482, 23 Dec. 1421.

59. ELISSÉEFF, *La description*, 165-170; SACK, *The historic fabric*, figs. 1-2 on pp. 195-196.

60. PASCUAL, *Damas*, pp. 16, 32; TAHA THALJI TARAWNEH, *The Province of Damascus during the second Mamluk Period (784/1382 - 922/1516)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Jordan, Mutah University, 1994, p. 82, citing statistics published in MUHAMMAD ADNAN BAKHIT, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1982, pp. 41-42. According to ASHTOR, travellers' reports suggest that the number of Jewish families in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century was around 4-500. See ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *Prolegomena to the Medieval History of Oriental Jewry*, «The Jewish Quarterly Review», 50 (1959), pp. 55-68, cited by TARAWNEH, *The Province*, pp. 82-83.

the ancient *agora*. This had been the principal market for luxury textiles since at least the time of Nur al'Din in the later 12<sup>th</sup> century; trade in other precious commodities such as jewellery and metalwork was concentrated to the south of the Great Mosque.<sup>61</sup> Later, during the Ottoman period, the centre of gravity was to shift south-westwards, to the area just to the north of the Via Recta.<sup>62</sup>

Between the Roman arteries, the city had evolved into a network of labyrinthine residential neighbourhoods (*hāra*), a type of urban development that characterised Venice as well as other Islamic cities.<sup>63</sup> As in Venetian parishes, each of these local neighbourhoods centred around a mosque (or, in the Christian quarter, a church) and included a range of social groups, from wealthy local notables to the poorest manual workers, bound together by strong local loyalties.<sup>64</sup> Administrative and educational functions were concentrated to the south of the Great Mosque, around the Governor's residence, on the site of the Ummayyad rulers' palace. During the Mamluk era, most of the administrators were members of the military elite sent from Cairo, whereas the *ulamā* – lawyers, teachers of religion and scholars – were members of the local *intelligentsia*.<sup>65</sup>

In contrast to Alexandria, where visiting merchants were obliged to live in one of the Republic's two *fondaci*, in Damascus Venetians were free to live outside the *fondaco* in rented housing, as the trading privileges of 1442 asserted: «And the said merchants may stay in a house and live wherever they like in the land, paying their own rent». <sup>66</sup> Indeed, it seems that Venetians could even acquire property on a permanent basis. In a legal document regarding his property, one Venetian resident, Ludovicus Ziola son of Benedictus, referred in January 1457 to his house («domus») and possessions to be sold, suggesting that he may have owned property in Damascus.<sup>67</sup>

## 5. THE FOUR DECEASED

### 5. 1. Stefano Ravagnino

Son of Apollonio, Stefano Ravagnino came from the parish of S. Giovanni Nuovo in Venice. In Damascus he occupied an apartment in the house of the nobleman Luca Loredan.<sup>68</sup> In addition, he rented a warehouse belonging to a certain Ebenelara (presumably an Arabic name such as Ibn al-Ara) in the *qaysariyya*, one of the specialised markets in the city. His will indicates that he and his late brother also owned goods in transit in Beirut. In Damascus he served as a *fattore* for several Venetians, who are named as the owners of merchandise or deeds in his possession at his death, namely, Paolo Davanzo (gems), Marco Santini (gems, cloth, spice-jars), Tommaso Zane (gems, jewellery, glass beads), Tommaso Zorzi (transaction with a local tailor), and Matteo Zusto (cloth). Marco Santini himself was to be in Damascus in 1457, when he addressed

61. SACK, *The historic fabric*, p. 188.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 188. The detailed description of Damascus in 1700 by JEAN-PAUL PASCUAL, *Damas*, pp. 11-17, gives much useful information, although the later date must be taken into account for present purposes. On pp. 78-85, he attempts to locate various types of economic activity.

63. ELISSÉEFF, *La description*, p. 173; HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 5-9.

64. IRA M. LAPIDUS, *Muslim Urban Society in Mamluk Syria*, in HOURANI and STERN (eds.), *The Islamic City*, 1970, pp. 194-205.

65. LAPIDUS, *Muslim Urban Society*, pp. 203-205.

66. WANSBROUGH, *Venice and Florence*, p. 495: «E possa i diti marchadanti star in caixa e habitar in che parte i vuol de la terra pagando el suo fito». See also HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, p. 38.

67. CIN, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. ff., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv).

68. Luca Loredan lived in the parish of S. Felice. Three wills of his wife Loredan Donata survive: NT, Tommaso de Tomei, b. 1238, no. 203, 11 Dec. 1466; Savina, b. 1236, no. 242, 14 Jan. 1486 (1485 mv); and Bossi, b. 51, no. 150, 19 Sept. 1504 (copy in Bossi, b. 50, no. 76).

a petition to Ravagnino's executor, also published below (see Appendix 3). Both Zane and Zusto were executors (*commissarii*) of the estate; in his will Matteo Zusto is described as Ravagnino's *magistrum*, or principal employer/patron in Venice.<sup>69</sup>

The abundance of luxury objects among the personal possessions in his private bedroom and study indicates that Ravagnino was extremely wealthy and successful. Although he traded in a wide range of goods, he seems to have specialised in jewellery and may even have worked as a jeweller himself, for he owned a number of tools such as touchstones, scales for weighing gems, files, a goldsmith's polishing stone and a jeweller's pear-wood block.<sup>70</sup> His testament reveals that his wife had already died, leaving two children. His brother Ludovico was also dead, but he was survived by his sister, his mother Benedetta and his uncle Nicolò Bertolini.

### 5. 2. Stefano di Bossina

While the name suggests that his family may have been of Bosnian origin, Stefano di Bossina, son of Andrea, was a Venetian merchant from the parish of S. Giustina in Venice. Like that of Ravagnino, his inventory includes a wide range of merchandise as well a rich array of valuable personal items. It is difficult to differentiate his own possessions from articles that he intended to sell, but the goods listed indicate a wide network of trading contacts. Their sources range from Germany to India – he even owned a German roasting spit operated by counter-weights. His landlords in Damascus were two Venetian nobles, Paolo Erizzo and Giovanni Lando, both of whom witnessed the inventory. His executors were the barber of the Venetian colony, Giacomo Candi, and a goldsmith named Filippo, son of Andrea. Like Ravagnino, di Bossina also owned goods in Beirut, in this case spices, which he wished to have dispatched back to Venice on the next galley to be captained by Antonio Loredan. One of his contacts was Nicolò di Giovanni, formerly a servant («famulo») of the Venetian nobleman Leon Contarini in Damascus.<sup>71</sup> Di Bossina left six ducats to Nicolò to pray for his soul, as well as twenty-five ducats for the dowry of Nicolò's daughter Luchina. By contrast, his own family does not figure in the will. He presumably died without direct heirs, for he asked for the residue of his estate to be given to charitable causes: to the poor, the sick and the incarcerated.

### 5. 3. Marino da Molin, consul to the Venetian colony in Damascus

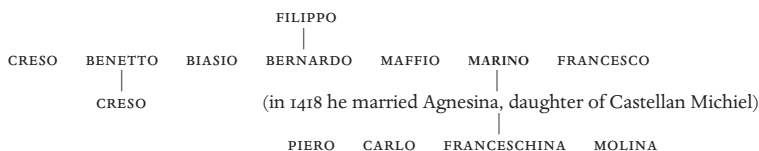
Marino da Molin, son of Filippo, came from the branch of the family at S. Giovanni Nuovo in Venice, the parish where Ravagnino lived, but himself resided at S. Marina.<sup>72</sup> He was elected consul in Damascus on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1453. Not long before, he

69. On the relationship and distinction between *fattore* and *maestro*, see VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 38-39, 94-95.

70. On Renaissance jewellery techniques, see ANNA SOMERS COCKS, CHARLES TRUMAN, *Renaissance jewels, gold boxes and objets de vertu*, London, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, 1984, pp. 38-50. Venice is mentioned as a jewel-trading centre on pp. 1-2.

71. On the role of the *famulo* (or *famejo*), see VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 203-204.

72. Marino da Molin's genealogy:



See ASV: MARCO BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, Misc. Cod. s. I, Storia Veneta, nos. 17-23, vol. v, 23, p. 211.

had served as Venetian consul in Tunis, elected to that office on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1447 (1446 *mv*).<sup>73</sup> According to the Venetian-Mamluk trading treaties, the consul's stipend was paid by the host country, that is by the local admiral or *diwan*.<sup>74</sup> Like those of Ravagnino and di Bossina, da Molin's inventory lists a variety of valuable possessions, impressive in both quantity and range, but the emphasis is very different. It must be remembered that the consul's official duties involved a ceremonial diplomatic role requiring appropriate formal robes. In Mamluk society, as in Venice, the nuances of social and political interactions were carefully defined by formal conventions of dress.<sup>75</sup> The celebrated painting from the Bellini circle illustrating *The Reception of the Venetian Ambassador in Damascus*, now in the Louvre (Fig. 1), vividly illustrates the prominent role of dress in diplomatic exchanges. Molin's inventory is therefore particularly notable for the large number of splendid gowns in various colours and materials, with carefully differentiated sleeves, often with fur linings. His well-equipped kitchen and the liquor barrels in his cellar suggest that his official duties also included entertaining. A century later – by which time the consulate had moved to Aleppo – weekly suppers were held for the Venetian community in Syria.<sup>76</sup> Similar social occasions probably took place in mid-15<sup>th</sup>-century Damascus. In theory at least, consuls were not allowed to engage in trade.<sup>77</sup>

Marino da Molin's will of 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1457 reveals that the testator's son Piero, named executor, was in Damascus at the time of his death. Another of the consul's *commisarii* then in the city, Marco da Molin, son of Piero, came from a different branch of the family. However, since his mother was a sister of Marino's own wife Agnesina Michiel, Marco was the testator's nephew-by-marriage. Marino himself had four children in all: two boys and two girls. His elder son, Carlo, had predeceased, leaving him a young granddaughter Lucretia, for whom Marino asked his executors to provide a dowry when she reached marriageable age. His own two daughters, Franceschina and Molina, as well as his wife, were named as executors in Venice, together with Piero and his brother-in-law Jacopo da Molin. Provision was made only for Molina's dowry, suggesting that Franceschina may have been already married.

#### 5. 4. Nicolò de Ruzino da Feltre

We know relatively little of the owner of the goods listed in the fourth inventory, namely Nicolò de Ruzino, a non-noble, who perished on one of the Beirut galleys in 1457. If he was himself a merchant, he was certainly not accompanied by goods for sale, for his possessions consisted almost entirely of clothes and books, carefully differentiated (as today) between those to keep on deck and those in a chest in the hold. The only other items listed were a small amount of money, garlic, a sugar loaf, two pillows and some pilgrim's articles – indeed, pilgrimage may have been one of the purposes of his journey.

Nicolò's name suggests that his family originated from the town of Feltre, on the Venetian *terraferma* west of Belluno, but we do not know where he himself lived. He

73. See Appendix 5.

74. WANSBROUGH, 'Venice and Florence', p. 514.

75. See LEO A. MAYER, *Mamluk Costume: a Survey*, Geneva, 1952; CARL F. PETRY, *Robing Ceremonials in Late Mamluk Egypt: Hallowed Traditions, Shifting Protocols*, in STEWART GORDON (ed.), *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, New York, 2001, pp. 353-378; STELLA NEWTON, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495-1525*, Aldershot (England), 1988, especially pp. 75-93.

76. UGO TUCCI (ed.), *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien: Andrea Berengo (1553-56)*, Paris, 1957, p. 177.

77. On restrictions on trade by consuls see ASHTOR, *Levant Trade*, p. 414. However, VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 198-199, observes that, despite this regulation, the Venetian consul in Damascus in 1483 was involved in trade.

was not related to the young Venetian nobleman, Giorgio Ruzzino, son of Francesco, who had died on one of the Alexandria galleys just four years earlier, in on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1454 (1453 *mv*), aged about 20, and whose possessions were likewise inventoried by Cristoforo del Fiore.<sup>78</sup> Nicolò de Ruzino was a keen reader – his inventory reveals that he owned a number of books, both in his deck luggage and in the hold. For reading during the voyage, he had a copy of St. Jerome's *Lives of the Saints*, together with Boccaccio's *Elegy of Madonna Fiammetta*.<sup>79</sup> Two more books in de Ruzino's sea-chest offered the same combination of fourteenth-century secular reading and devotional literature, namely «one book of stories of Griselda and Walter» (the last novella of Boccaccio's *Decameron*), and «one office-book of Our Lady with other things».<sup>80</sup>

#### 5. 5. *Andrea da Raguxio*

Andrea da Raguxio was a Venetian galleot from the parish of S. Simeon Profeta, who died at his bench («ad suum banchum») on one of the Alexandria galleys, the ship named Raimunda, in 1453. His inventory offers a useful measure of comparison with that of Nicolò da Ruzino, for his only possessions were small amounts of goods to sell (pepper, oil and wine), some money and a broken cutlass. In his testament he named as his executors: the captain of the galley, Francesco Loredan; his compatriot Alegretto, a furrier, who was a galleot on the galley Bernardo in the same convoy (the galley on which Giorgio da Ruzzini died); and a fellow galleot on his bench on the Raimunda, named Gregorio. His executors in Venice were to be his wife Helena and another furrier named Giorgio from his own parish. With touching loyalty, he left his two barrels of wine to his fellow galleots on the Raimunda, the rest of his estate passing to his children (if any) or to his wife.<sup>81</sup>

#### 6. DOMESTIC SPACE

Since the inventories published below are limited to movable goods, they offer only fragmentary evidence about the houses occupied by their owners in Damascus. It is noteworthy that their dwellings were each apparently arranged in the form of a typical Renaissance apartment, that is, a suite of rooms incorporating carefully defined gradations of privacy, passing from outer chamber to bedroom to study.<sup>82</sup> This lay-

78. Giorgio Ruzzino's genealogy is in BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VI, 30, p. 487. His inventory (8 Jan. 1454, 1453 *mv*) is well-known to historians, for it was published by Molmenti a century ago: see POMPEO MOLMENTI, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 3 vols., Bergamo, 1905-1908, I, pp. 446-447.

79. The «libero di santi pari composto per San Girolamo»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f. St. Jerome's *Lives of the Saints* was a standard textbook prescribed in Venetian vernacular schools for the teaching of reading. The version used in school was the Italian translation by the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Dominican friar Domenico Cavalca, who had transformed the stories into exciting chivalric romances. See PAUL F. GRENDLER, *What Zuanne read in school: vernacular texts in sixteenth century Venetian schools*, «Sixteenth Century Journal», 13, I, pp. 41-54 (republished in ID., *Books and Schools in the Italian Renaissance*, Aldershot, 1995, essay VII: on pp. 47-48. For the «I libro d'ito Fiammeta» (CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.), see BOCCACCIO, *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, ed. by V. PERICONE, *Scrittori d'Italia*, Bari, 1928. For the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, generally attributed in the past to Jerome but now more correctly to Cavalca, see CARLO DELCORNO, *La tradizione delle "Vite dei Santi Padri"*, Venice, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2000, especially chap. II, *Diffusione del volgarizzamento*.

80. «I libro de istorie de Grixeldo e de Gualtier»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.; «I officieto de Nostra Dona e con altre chosse suxo»: *ibid.*, unnumb. f.

81. Further testaments and inventories made on board ship by galleots, a crossbowman and others may be found in the register-book of another priest-notary active somewhat later on a Flanders galley: see GRECO (ed.), *Quaderno di bordo di Giovanni Manzini*.

82. See PETER THORNTON, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991, pp. 284-319; especially pp. 300-312; JEAN GUILLAUME (ed.), *Architecture et vie sociale: l'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, Paris, Picard, 1994.



out characterised the configuration of domestic space in elite circles across Europe. We know that Stefano Ravagnino's dwelling within the house of Luca Loredan had at least three rooms, among them his private chamber, another bedroom also described as «sua camera», and a study. The furniture included beds, chests, lattice-work boxes, carpets and cushions. Stefano di Bossina's lodgings in the house of Paolo Erizzo and Giovanni Lando were on at least two levels, for his bedroom was «in solario» (upstairs, like an English medieval "solar" chamber). Both these merchants had elegantly appointed *studioli*, not only equipped to serve as business offices, but also designed to give an impression of cosmopolitan sophistication. Their contents included articles such as pomanders, rose-water sprinklers, bells, gilded scissors, musk, seals and paternosters.<sup>83</sup> In Syria as in Venice, the merchant's dwelling was not only used for keeping accounts and records, but also for storing merchandise – supplemented by additional warehouse space when necessary, as in the case of Ravagnino's goods stored in the *qaysariyya*.<sup>84</sup>

Consul da Molin's house was certainly in the Venetian *fondaco*: this is confirmed by another document in Cristoforo del Fiore's *registro*, drawn up «in domo spectabilis domini consulis venetorum in seraia».<sup>85</sup> The whereabouts of this *fondaco* in the fifteenth century is uncertain.<sup>86</sup> The living quarters included a small room occupied by Piero, the consul's son, containing a little devotional picture of the *Dead Christ* and a tapestry bed-hanging with figures. The consul himself had a large private bedroom, with a good feather bed and a small bed with a straw mattress, suggesting that a servant or slave also slept there (just as Ravagnino's bedroom contained a new bed and an older cot). This is the only inventory to record the existence of a separate kitchen, well equipped with pewterware, copper cooking pots and a wide variety of other equipment for preparing food. The cellar, containing a barrel of liqueurs as well as empty casks, was presumably underground.

We can only guess where the other houses occupied by our Venetian merchants were located. Since their occupants had little interaction with local Christians, these houses were unlikely to be in the Christian quarter.<sup>87</sup> The *fondaco* was certainly a secure structure, locked at night, for it is called the *seraia* in our documents. The Genoese, Anselme Adorno, who visited Damascus in 1470-1471, remarked that «there are many Venetians, all living together in one place, who are shut up in their houses at night by the Moors».<sup>88</sup> Vallet used this evidence to suggest that the entire community was housed in a single street or bazaar, closed overnight, but his conclusion goes against the evidence of the trading treaty cited earlier, that Venetians could «live wherever they liked in the land».<sup>89</sup> Adorno may not have been aware of the more integrated semi-permanent residents elsewhere in the city, writing instead of the short-term visiting merchants who lodged in the *fondaco*. Some Venetians, such as Ravagnino's landlord Luca Loredan, settled in Damascus for periods of years, perhaps inter-

83. See especially DORA THORNTON, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven-London, 1997, pp. 74-75 and *passim*.

84. On the use of the house for business and storage in Syria, see VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 206, 209; in Venice see HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 133-137.

85. CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 16, 20 May 1456.

86. VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 208. Vallet uses the evidence of Anselme Adorno who was in Damascus in 1470-1471 to refute Ashtor's claim (*Levant Trade*, p. 407) that there was no Venetian *fondaco* in Damascus. See also ENNIO CONCINA, *Fondaci: architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*, Venice, Marsilio, 1997, pp. 94-95.

87. HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 36-42. Vallet mentions only one instance of a Venetian house located in the Christian quarter, in that case in Aleppo (VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 208).

88. ANSELMO ADORNO, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, ed. J. HEERS, G. DE GROER, Paris, CNRS, 1978, p. 333: «Sunt multi Veneti omnes simul in un loco habitantes, qui in domibus suis nocte ab Mauris includuntur».

89. VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 209.

rupted by visits home. The number of miscellaneous personal items owned by Ravagnino and di Bossina, including many objects acquired locally, suggests that both were long-term residents. The consul's stay of four years in Damascus was an unusually long period of tenure. The normal term of office was two years, although one of his recent predecessors in Damascus, Leone da Molin (not a close relative), had served five years there, from 1446-1451.

A special privilege afforded to Venetian merchants in Mamluk regions was that of wearing local dress: «And the said merchants may dress in Arab-style clothing in this country for their own security, as they please».<sup>90</sup> On his travels in Syria in 1432 the French pilgrim Bertrand de la Broquière had contacted Venetian merchants for the best possible advice on how to buy local clothing.<sup>91</sup> Stefano di Bossina owned a «mudanda morescha» (Moorish underpants), and Ravagnino had ten new pairs which he may also have bought in Syria. A pair of long Mamluk striped drawers has survived in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels.<sup>92</sup> In these two inventories the handkerchieves, belts, buckles and skullcaps were mainly of local workmanship. The *zuponi* that figure frequently may have been short tight-waisted jackets like those worn in Venice and known by that name. However, given the number of words with Arabic roots used in the documents, these could equally well be Moorish-style knee-length coats, known in Arabic by the term *jubba*. The letters from Damascus in the 1480s seem to confirm that these *zuponi* were indeed long coats, often sent out from Venice.<sup>93</sup> By contrast, the consul Marino da Molin had a Venetian-style wardrobe amply supplied with formal robes, including no fewer than five ceremonial purple gowns. This distinction seems to have lasted into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when an English visitor to Aleppo, Alexander Russell, remarked that the consuls were dressed in European style, whereas many merchants wore local dress.<sup>94</sup>

The inventories reveal that numerous everyday articles were acquired locally for domestic use, particularly knives, handkerchieves, containers such as purses and boxes, inkwells and notebooks. The consul's kitchen contained a «Moorish copper cooking pot».<sup>95</sup> Even Ravagnino's *offizieto* (or mass-book) had a damascene binding, and he owned a two-stringed Moorish musical instrument.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, everyday articles also came from a range of European destinations: for example, Ravagnino owned French-style clogs and a Florentine inkwell, while di Bossina had several objects from Germany, including a leather purse, a compass, an old knife and the roasting spit already mentioned. The consul owned a box of twelve knives from Milan. These domestic interiors thus illustrate the cosmopolitan horizons of Venetian merchants at the time.

On the other hand, the touching humanity of their lives is also vividly conveyed. Many of the objects are intimate and often modest domestic possessions: for example, Ravagnino's twelve «linen and muslin shirts, worn and old», his «hairbrush with black and white bone handle», his «old torn handkerchief with blue borders» or his «waxed cloth of crimson for the stomach».<sup>97</sup> Even the consul had old socks and torn

90. WANSBROUGH, *Venice and Florence*, p. 497: «E possa i diti marchadanti vestir a la rabescha per lo paixe per segurtà sa, come i piaxerà». The same privileges state earlier that «per bene e segurtà di marchadanti Venetiani che quando i chavalca per lo paixe per trafegar che i posa vestir a la morescha» (p. 495). See also VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 226.

91. DE LA BROQUIÈRE, *Le voyage*, pp. 40-41, 77-78.

92. Illustrated in LEO MAYER, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*, Geneva, Albert Kundig, 1952, plate XIII, fig. 2.

93. VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 109, 281, 386. Vallet interprets the «minzoli», likewise ordered from Venice, as another type of clothing, whereas the term in reality refers to sheets, as their length makes obvious (*loc. cit.*).

94. ALEXANDER RUSSELL, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. revised by PAT RUSSELL, 2 vols., London, 1794: vol. II, p. 2.

95. «Pignata de rame morescha I»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.

96. «Vergeta morescha da balotar con do chorde e con la coverta de pano negro I»: *ibid.*, f. 7.

97. «Chamixe de tella et de bochasin uxade e vechie I2»: *ibid.*, f. 5v; «choda da petene con el manego d'osso biancho e negro I» (f. 5v); «fazuol vechio e roto con i chavi azuri I» (f. 6); «zera de pano de grana per el stomego I» (f. 6).

tablecloths. Ravagnino seems to have enjoyed fishing for he owned two «togne» (fishing lines with flies) in a small bag. Di Bossina left well-used underwear and torn shirts (one of them dirty), as well as two nightcaps<sup>98</sup> and two pairs of old, monkish-style («frateschi») clogs. Both this type of clogs and the kind known as «zoccoli battanti» (either pattins or wooden soles attached to the foot with a strap) were sent out from Venice.<sup>99</sup>

Of particular interest in the study of mercantile life is the profusion of everyday necessities for office work and for packaging goods. As well as the display items in the *studiolo* already mentioned, such as pomanders and rose-water sprinklers, many objects were intended for use, even if the inkstands were ornate objects of local workmanship. The possessions of Ravagnino and di Bossina included inkwells, letter pouches, writing tablets, silver styluses, scales, seals, rulers, scissors, string, rope sacks and padlocks. By comparison, although he owned an abacus, Consul da Molin seems to have done little desk-work himself, presumably because the notary was at hand.

## 7. PILGRIMAGE

Throughout the medieval world pilgrimage had been inextricably bound up with trade. Markets clustered around cathedrals, and trade fairs coincided with major festivals in the Christian calendar such as the Festa della Sensa in Venice. Damascus was an important point of departure for the Moslem *hajj* to Mecca, and the departure and return of the pilgrim “caravan” played a major role in stimulating local crafts and trade.<sup>100</sup> For Christians as for Moslems, Damascus was a convenient setting-off point for pilgrimage to the Holy Land when in the city for commercial or diplomatic reasons. One of the Venetian merchants in Damascus, Barbon Morosini, who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1514, left a manuscript account of his journey, now in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, a precious survival of a pilgrim narrative written by a Venetian.<sup>101</sup>

In the documents under discussion here we notice the tight interweaving of commercial and religious interests. Consul da Molin’s decision to free his slave Zuanne in 1455 was taken «for the love of God, to make up for my sins, and for the health of my soul».<sup>102</sup> His own possessions included «a small bag with relics from Jerusalem inside, together with a cross and a “peace” (small devotional image in relief)».<sup>103</sup> His successor, Stefano Malipiero, before taking up office, was to obtain permission from the Senate «to go to visit the Holy Sepulchre, leaving in his place a vice-consul».<sup>104</sup> Doubtless, after his predecessor’s death, Malipiero was only too aware of the dangers of dying in office, and wished to collect indulgences in the Holy Land. Among Stefano di Bossina’s possessions was a wooden chest containing articles of pilgrim’s luggage:<sup>105</sup>

98. «Berete de tella da portar de note 2»: *ibid.*, f. 8v.

99. See VALLET, *Marchands*, pp. 109, 244. Vallet’s material refers to «zoccoli frateroni» rather than «frateschi». He interprets these tentatively as flat-soled mules. Giorgio Ruzzino’s luggage aboard ship also contained «unum par zoccolorum battantium» (see MOLMENTI, *La storia di Venezia*, I, p. 477).

100. ROBERT G. IRWIN, *Egypt, Syria and their trading partners 1450-1550*, in ROBERT PINNER, WALTER B. DENNY (eds.), *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies ii: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400-1600*, London, Hali, 1986, pp. 73-82: on p. 76; PASCUAL *Familles et fortunes*, pp. 22-23; ENNIO CONCINA, *Dell’arabico: A Venezia tra Rinascimento e Oriente*, Venice, Marsilio, 1994, pp. 109-118 (Caterino Zen on Moslem pilgrims setting off from Damascus).

101. Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, ms. Marc. It. Cod. 6 (= 5887), ff. 1-30.

102. «Pro divino amore, remedio peccatorum meorum et salute anime mee»: CIN, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 4, 14 Aug. 1455.

103. «Busteta con reliquie de Ierusalem entro e con I + et I paxe I»: *ibid.*, unnumb. f.

104. SM, reg. 6, f. 34, 17 Aug. 1457: «ire ad visitatem sepulcri Domini, dimittendo loco sui unum viceconsulem».

105. Croxe de Ierusalem con reliquie entro 2 scharsela todescha de chuoro negro rechamada I

Crosses from Jerusalem with relics inside	2
German purse of black leather, tooled	1
Agnus Dei with a glass, with some relics from Jerusalem inside	1
Crimson belt inlaid with silver and worked in niello	1
Gilded candlesticks and big <i>benedetti</i> (candles) of 3 oz. each	3
Small candles of 1 oz.	5

He may even have dealt in pilgrim equipment, for he also left sixteen «small crosses of mother-of-pearl of various sorts», one «small cross of mother-of-pearl engraved with a Crucifixion», four «gilded lead images of Jesus from Jerusalem», six «ropes from Jerusalem for measuring the Holy Sepulchre», and eight «wooden rosaries from Jerusalem». <sup>106</sup> Ravagnino owned a «cross from Jerusalem with relics inside». <sup>107</sup> Nicolò de Ruzino's sea chest contained pilgrim girdles and *paternostri* from Jerusalem. Both di Bossina and da Molin left money to the Franciscan monastery on Mount Sion. <sup>108</sup> As custodians of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, the Franciscans of Mount Sion were experiencing severe financial difficulties following the collapse in 1453 of the Soranzo bank, where many of their funds were deposited. <sup>109</sup> In 1456 the Guardian of the convent of Mount Sion appeared before the Collegio to explain that «as for the needs of the convent, the friars might lack the means to live and to serve God in those infidel parts». <sup>110</sup>

Devotional concerns are apparent in the reading matter of our four Venetians and in their works of art. Two of the deceased owned religious books – de Ruzino had Christian books both on deck and in the hold, as already mentioned. In addition to the *offizieto* with a Damascene cover noted earlier, Ravagnino also owned a «small book with the seven psalms on good paper». <sup>111</sup> Di Bossina left «eleven scenes of the Passion painted on paper», <sup>112</sup> while the consulate contained two small devotional pictures («anconete»), one depicting the *Crucifixion* and the other a *Dead Christ*.

It is in the wills, however, that we find particularly interesting evidence of the concerns of the testators to ensure their salvation. One of the duties of Ravagnino's *commissarii*, in both Venice and Damascus, was to check his account books for errors, in order to clear his conscience and assist his personal salvation. Consul da Molin was the only testator to lay aside money for his tomb («sepoltura»), presumably in Dam-

Agnus Dei con el vero con algune reliquie de Ierusalem entro 1  
zentura de cremexi arzentada e lavorada a nielo 1  
chandeloti doradi e benedeti grandi de onze 3 l'uno 3  
chandeloti picholi de onza 1 5

(CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 9)

On the contents of Italian chests in general, on the basis of inventories, see M. GIUSEPPINA MUZZARELLI, *Guardaroba medievale: vesti e società del XIII al XVI secolo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1999.

<sup>106.</sup> «Croxeta de schorzo de perle con 1 crucifixo intaiado 1» and «croxete de schorzo de perla de più sorte 16»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7v; «Ihesus de piombo indoradi de Ierusalem n° 4», «Ihesus de piombo indoradi de Ierusalem n° 4», «cordele de Ierusalem per mexure del Santo Sepulcro 6» and «paternostri de legno de Ierusalem chorde 8» (f. 8).

<sup>107.</sup> «Croxte de Ierusalem con reliquie entro 2»: *ibid.*, f. 9.

<sup>108.</sup> On the role of the Monastery of Mount Sion in receiving Venetian pilgrims, see DAVID JACOBY, *Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: la perspective vénitienne*, «Ateneo Veneto», n.s., 24 (1986), pp. 27-58; reprinted in DAVID JACOBY, *Studies in the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, Variorum Reprints, 1989; and HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>109.</sup> On the failure of the bank of Benetto di Luca Soranzo in 1453 and again in 1455, see REINHOLD C. MUELLER, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, pp. 200-219.

<sup>110.</sup> ASV: Collegio, Notatorio, reg. 9, f. 78: «pro necessitatibus dicti conventus et fratrum non haberent unde vivere et servire Deum in illis partibus infidelium». Cited in JACOBY, *Pèlerinage*, p. 57, note 123.

<sup>111.</sup> «Libereto con i sete salmi in bona carta 1»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7.

<sup>112.</sup> «Algune carte depente con la passion zoé n° 11»: *ibid.*, f. 7.

ascus. Ravagnino wished a pilgrim to travel to Rome and Assisi for the soul of his late brother Ludovico; similarly, Consul da Molin asked his executors to send a pilgrim to Santiago di Compostella to pray for his own soul. All three testators made charitable bequests and endowed masses for their own souls in their parish churches back in Venice. The Consul bequeathed an embroidered altar frontal to his parish church of S. Marina in Venice. The interest in Observant causes is particularly noticeable, perhaps stimulated by the recent death of (later St.) Bernardino of Siena. Since notaries were expected to remind testators to make bequests to the state hospitals, all three left small sums to the hospital of the Pietà and the Lazzaretto in Venice.

## 8. COMMODITIES

The inventories published here are particularly valuable for their evidence of local crafts in a wide variety of media. Whereas the Bahri Mamluk Sultans had actively patronised Egyptian and Syrian manufactures, their successors, the Burji Mamluks (1382-1517), were less interested in commissioning luxury products from local artisans.<sup>113</sup> The situation was exacerbated by the Timurid incursion of 1401, when numerous Syrian craftsmen were taken back to Samarkand by Tamerlaine. As a result, industrial production in Damascus is often thought to have declined drastically in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, few items of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Mamluk workmanship are displayed in Western museum collections. Our inventories suggest, however, that even without the elevated patronage enjoyed under the Bahri Mamluks, local crafts were flourishing.

At the same time, the role of Venice as an entrepôt is thrown into sharp relief. Items from a variety of European destinations are found alongside spices, textiles, furs and porcelain presumably imported to the markets of Damascus from further east. Apart from the Consul's robes, very little seems to be of Venetian origin. The main exception is the jewellery set with glass beads of various colours and sizes in Ravagnino's possession, contained in a «small pine box from Venice belonging to Tommaso Zane».<sup>115</sup>

### 8. 1. Textiles and furs

In terms of bulk, textiles figure most prominently in the inventories.<sup>116</sup> In the case of Consul da Molin and Nicolò de Ruzino, these were usually items of clothing, seemingly intended for their own use. The main exception is the consul's ownership of one *chavezò* (six-foot length) each of dark-coloured «ormexi de chanza» and of heavy crimson velvet silk. In his own house Ravagnino's textile articles, too, were limited to clothing, apart from one knapsack of white wool. In the warehouse of Ebenelara, however, he had stored a range of woollen fabrics belonging to two Venetian contacts, Marco Santini and Matteo Zusto. Santini's merchandise consisted of «pani de 60» in light green, purple and red, whereas Zusto's cloths are described as «pani quarantini acholoradi». These were woollen cloths probably made in the Veneto, the «quar-

113. ESIN ATIL, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, 1981, pp. 16-18, 53-55, 150-151.

114. See ASHTOR, *Le Proche-Orient au Bas Moyen Age. Une région sous-développée*, in ID., *Technology*, 1; ID., *The Economic Decline in the Medieval Middle East during the Later Middle Ages - An Outline*, in ID., *Technology*, 11; ID., *Levantine Sugar Industry*.

115. «Busteta d'albedo da Venexia de raxon de Sier Thomaso Zane»: CIN, b. 83 (11), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7v.

116. Textiles were also the most important commodity in the inventories from Damascus of c. 1700 studied by PASCUAL, *Familles et fortunes*, p. 76.

antini» narrower and less costly than the «pani de 60». <sup>117</sup> Santini's goods in the *qay-sariyya* also included a «robe of heavy silk green velvet, used, old and undone in 6 pieces», suggesting that valuable textiles were recycled. <sup>118</sup>

Di Bossina left textiles and skins of a dazzling variety and it is not always clear where they originated. He owned skeins of thread, canvas (both waxed and unwaxed), sailcloth, fustian, leather, a white goatskin, unspun linen, a bundle of wool, sackcloth, white lining material and woollen cloth. Only occasionally is their origin specified – for example, the thirteen rolls of «new linen from Rhodes, of narrow width». <sup>119</sup> The Consul's inventory illustrates the wide range of furs available to line the robes of the Venetian elite. <sup>120</sup>

In conclusion, it is worth noting the rather surprising absence of the commodities most sought after by Venetian merchants in Damascus for their clients back in Venice: raw cotton and raw silk. Either our men did not invest in these raw materials or they used warehouses in Beirut, as emerges from Stefano Ravagnino's testament. In that case, these commodities would not have been inventoried in Damascus.

## 8. 2. Carpets

Since scarcely any 15<sup>th</sup>-century Mamluk carpets of Syrian workmanship survive today, the evidence regarding carpets in the inventories is particularly interesting. The «*chaierim* carpet with borders woven in the Moorish style» owned by Stefano di Bossina may have been acquired from the Karimi guild of merchants who dominated trade with India during the Mamluk period. <sup>121</sup> Alternatively it may simply have been a *killim*, or even a Cairene carpet. He presumably purchased his two «new small carpets» in a local market although their origin is unknown – it is often assumed that carpets for sale in Syria were imported from Turkey, Egypt, or even further afield. <sup>122</sup> Ravagnino owned two hessian (jute) mats, one described as «red and good», the other «small and sad». <sup>123</sup> These were probably examples of the type of rugs known in Arabic as *hanbals*. <sup>124</sup> The most intriguing testimony is to be found in Consul da Molin's inventory, where the large private chamber contained no fewer than six carpets:

Large carpets for covering a bench, used, quite good	2
Medium-sized thick-pile carpets, used	2
Small thick-pile carpets, old	2 <sup>125</sup>

The first two point to the existence of local carpet-weaving production. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's manual on the inspection of markets from the late fifteenth-centu-

<sup>117</sup> The «pani de 60» were woven on a loom with two rows of 15 bobbins, while the «quarantini» were woollen cloth made using two rows of ten bobbins and 40 *portate*. See DOMINIQUE CORDON, *La draperie au Moyen Âge: Essor d'une grande industrie européenne*, Paris, CNRS, 1999, p. 366; EDOARDO DEMO, *L'anima della città. L'industria tessile a Verona e Vicenza (1400-1550)*, Milan, Unicopli, 2001, p. 342.

<sup>118</sup> «Vesta de zetani veludà verde vechia e desfata in pezi 6»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7.

<sup>119</sup> «Tella nuova da Rodi streta pichi 13»: *ibid.*, f. 9v.

<sup>120</sup> A useful account of the sources of furs in the Islamic world is to be found in R.B. SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1972, pp. 209-211. On furs in the medieval west, ROBERT DELORT, *Le commerce des fourrures en Occident à la fin du moyen Âge*, 2 vols., Rome, École Française de Rome, 1978.

<sup>121</sup> «Tapedo chaierim con i chavi tessuto a la morescha I»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 9v. The possibility of its acquisition from the Karimi merchants was kindly suggested to me by Jeremy Johns of the Oriental Institute in Oxford.

<sup>122</sup> «Tapedi nuovi pizoli 2»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 9v. See IRWIN, *Egypt, Syria*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>123</sup> «Charpeta da stramazo rossa e bona I» and «tapedo da stramazo picholo et tristo I»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 6.

<sup>124</sup> IRWIN, *Egypt, Syria*, p. 75.

<sup>125</sup> Tapedi grandi da mastabe uxadi asa' boni 2

tapedi mezani grossi uxadi 2

tapedi piccoli grossi e vechi 2

(CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.)

ry, ten or more types of carpet were woven in Damascus.<sup>126</sup> By 1520 carpets from Damascus were considered so superior that an example worth 1,000 ducats was given to Cardinal Wolsey by the Venetian ambassador as a diplomatic gift.<sup>127</sup>

### 8. 3. Paper

Our documents display a keen interest in different types of paper. As we have seen, Ravagnino's psalter and *offizieto* were both «on good paper», although we do not know its source. Unfortunately we have no details of the paper in his own ledger, or of his treasured merchant's handbook with a silver cover.<sup>128</sup> His «white Turkish book» is a little mysterious.<sup>129</sup> Letters and papers were carefully stored: Ravagnino had 15 folders with letters, while di Bossina left a «sheepskin bag for paper and letters»<sup>130</sup> and a «pouch of accounts and letters, of painted sailcloth».<sup>131</sup> His «old book written in the vernacular, torn» had clearly been well used.<sup>132</sup> Nicolò de Ruzino's copy of the *Lives of the Saints* by St Jerome was on rag paper.<sup>133</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain the direction of the trade in paper at this time. Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the manufacture of rag paper was widespread all over the Islamic world, but by the 15<sup>th</sup> century it had begun to spread to northern Italy.<sup>134</sup> In his seminal study of 1935, Sauvaget stressed the importance of paper manufacture in Mamluk Damascus, but Bloom suggests that the industry never recovered from Tamerlane's incursions.<sup>135</sup> Ravagnino's books included two «small books from the bazaar», presumably bought outside the Great Umayyad Mosque in the paper market that still exists today.<sup>136</sup> Whether they were blank notebooks or books with written content is unknown. Nonetheless, there is evidence that paper was already exported to Syria from Venice by the later 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>137</sup> De Paxi lists «carta da scrivere» as a marketable commodity for Venetian merchants to take to Damascus.<sup>138</sup>

### 8. 4. Metalwork

Mamluk metalwork is celebrated especially for its copper articles inlaid with silver or tin, with or without gilding, a type of workmanship that later came to be imitated in Venice.<sup>139</sup> The evidence of our inventories suggests that the industry continued to prosper in Syria in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, despite the view among some scholars that decline had set in.<sup>140</sup> Consul da Molin left an «Arab-style copper cup, inlaid and tin-plat-

126. IRWIN, *Egypt, Syria*, p. 80.

127. MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 24-25.

128. «Libro grande de suo raxon 1»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7; and «tarifa de spexe de marchadanthia con coverta morescha 1»: *ibid.*, f. 6v.

129. «Liberò turchescho biancho 1»: *ibid.*, f. 6.

130. «Borsa da carta et da lettere de carta pegorina»: *ibid.*, f. 8v.

131. «Scharsela da letere de botana nuova con letere suxo 1»: *ibid.*, f. 6v.

132. «Libro vecchio scripto per vulgar squarzado 1»: *ibid.*, f. 8.

133. «In carta bambaxina»: *ibid.*, unnumb. f.

134. HOWARD, *Venice & the East*, pp. 54-59; JONATHAN BLOOM, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper on the Islamic World*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 60-61.

135. SAUVAGET, *Esquisse*, p. 466; BLOOM, *Paper before Print*, pp. 60-61.

136. «Libereti de bazarò 2»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7.

137. IRWIN, *Egypt, Syria*, p. 73; VALLET, *Marchands*, p. 297.

138. DE PAXI, *Tariffa*, f. 54.

139. For an introduction to this type of metalwork, see RACHEL WARD, *Islamic Metalwork*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1993, pp. 95-96, 104-109, 113-117; MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 139-144. On Venetian imitations see SILVIA AULD, «Master Mahmoud»: *Objects fit for a prince*, in *Venezia e l'oriente vicino*, ERNEST J. GRUBE (ed.), *Atti del primo congresso internazionale sull'arte veneziana e l'arte islamica*, Venice, Ateneo Veneto, 1989, pp. 185-201.

140. See, for example, JAMES W. ALLAN, *Sha'ban, Barquq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry*, «Muqamas», II (1983), pp. 85-94.

ed» and a «Moorish copper bucket, with tin-plated lid».<sup>141</sup> Several items are described as made of silver alone, or of gilded and/or enamelled silver. These include Ravagnino's gilded silver pomander, his plain silver rings and di Bossina's «silver cup, gilded and enamelled».<sup>142</sup> A 15<sup>th</sup>-century spherical incense burner from Damascus, made of brass inlaid with gold and silver and now in the British Museum, is likely to resemble Ravagnino's pomander.<sup>143</sup> Another in the Museo Correr still preserves its gimbal mechanism to prevent the incense or oil from spilling when the ball is rolled along the floor. The inventories also mention «small Moorish bells» owned by both Ravagnino and di Bossina.<sup>144</sup> Although such items were valuable, they seem to have been in use for display, rather than acquired for sale. As Damascus was also a major centre for the production of watered steel, our Venetians had evidently seized the opportunity to purchase articles with steel blades such as Ravagnino's «scimitar with a sheath», his «Arab-style knives with white handles and sheath», and di Bossina's «Moorish-style knives with sheaths» remind us.<sup>145</sup> On the other hand the silver items decorated with niello ornament («lavorado a nielo») without the designation «morescha» may have been of Italian origin.<sup>146</sup>

Among the profusion of jewellery bequeathed by both Ravagnino and di Bossina, we find evidence of the flourishing trade in coral, especially in the form of *paternostri*, to which Bartolomeo de Paxi's *Tariffa de Pexi e Measure* also testified.<sup>147</sup> Ravagnino's landlord, Luca Loredan, was likewise involved in dealing in coral.<sup>148</sup> Loose gems in Ravagnino's inventory include diamonds, pearls and rubies, many of these the property of two Venetian contacts, Paolo Davanzo and Tommaso Zane, as well as uncut chalcedony and «garnet jewels, Arab-style», said to be 370 in number.<sup>149</sup> In a «silvered Moorish-style jewel-box», di Bossina had four gold rings with various gems mounted «a la francha», which he may have hoped to sell in Damascus, as well as one silver ring set with turquoise «a la morescha» and some unmounted gems.<sup>150</sup> (His mother-of-pearl crosses have already been discussed above). Tommaso Zane's box of Venetian jewellery set with glass beads in Ravagnino's possession, noted earlier, is the only example of glassware apart from a glass phial containing a relic and one glass inkwell.

#### 8. 5. Spices, dyes and aromatics

The inventories offer striking evidence of the Venetian trader's ability to buy precious, rare and exotic commodities whenever the opportunity arose and the price was right. Di Bossina's inventory suggests that he was active in the spice trade, for he left musk, balsam, nutmeg, ginger (both ground and potted), cloves, cinnabar, borax paste, cinnamon, mastic, pepper, cloves and mace, not to mention a small piece of

141. «Taza d'arabescha de rame intaiada e stagnada 1»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.; and «segielo de rame moresco con el coverchio stagnado 1»: *ibid.*, unnumb. f.

142. «Pomo da l'oldano con la pasta entro d'arzeno e dorado 1», «anelli d'arzeno rabeschi senza alguna chossa entro pezi 3»: *ibid.*, f. 5; «taza d'arzeno dorada et smaltada 1» (f. 7v).

143. See WARD, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 115, fig. 92.

144. «Champanelle moresche 5»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7v.

145. «Simitara con la vazina 1» and «cortelli rabeschi con i manegi bianchi con la vazina 2»: *ibid.*, f. 6; «cortelli moreschi con le vazine 2» (f. 8). On the production of steel knife blades in Damascus see, for example, MAYER, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 44-45; ESIN ATIL *et al.*, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington DC, 1985, pp. 50-51.

146. For example, di Bossina's «cortelli arzentadi et pontizadi con uno piron d'arzeno lavorato a nielo con la suo vazina per 1»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 8.

147. DE PAXI, *Tariffa*, c. 48.

148. CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, ff. 13-13v, 31 March 1456; 14-14v, 1<sup>st</sup> April 1456.

149. «In una carta granate conze a l'arabescha numero disse pezi 370»: *ibid.*, f. 5v.

150. «Chofinetto arzentado a la morescha 1»: *ibid.*, f. 7v.



the resinous pigment known as dragon's blood (*sangue de drago*).<sup>151</sup> The other three deceased, by contrast, had few such items apart from sugar products and garlic, presumably for their own use.<sup>152</sup>

#### 8. 6. Ceramics

Spices were kept in a variety of containers – jars, pots, bowls, bladders, phials, barrels and bags – but the inventories suggest that the trade in new spice-jars or *albarelli* was also flourishing.<sup>153</sup> In the warehouse in the *qaysariyya*, on behalf of Marco Santon, Ravagnino had stored not only textiles but also a consignment of 280 «big spice-jars piled up, glazed in black and some white and red».<sup>154</sup> Di Bossina owned some maiolica ware, described as «between soup-bowls and saucers», which his landlord, Paolo Erizzo, evidently admired, for the inventory states that he wished to buy these items.<sup>155</sup> The references to porcelain in the inventories are intriguing, for at this time true porcelain was only manufactured in China. The locally produced Syrian blue-and-white pasteware, made in imitation of Chinese porcelain, was coarse by comparison.<sup>156</sup> Ravagnino left one porcelain bowl, while di Bossina owned one blue and white bowl (described as cracked), four small green bowls, and a large bowl containing ground ginger, all in porcelain. Consul da Molin's possessions included as many as five «large porcelain vessels, that is, bowls».<sup>157</sup> If Cristoforo del Fiore could distinguish the real product from Syrian imitations, then these were presumably of Chinese origin, imported via the Silk Route.<sup>158</sup>

#### 9. CONCLUSION

The documents presented here touch on many aspects of Venetian activity in Syria in the mid-fifteenth century. As vignettes of the lives of a few enterprising individuals they can be analysed as *microstoria*, but they also offer broader insights into Venetian colonial life – the respective roles of the consul, the chaplain and the visiting merchants – and into life on board the galleys. Evidence of contacts with Moslem traders and the presence of numerous local artefacts in the homes of the deceased confirms their experience of local culture on a day-to-day basis. Furthermore, the inventories offer valuable testimony of flourishing local crafts in Damascus under the Burji Mamluks. Finally, the belongings of the deceased highlight Venice's far-reaching commercial network extending from northern Europe to India and China.

151. «Pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1»: *ibid.*, f. 7v.

152. On sugar production see ASHTOR, *Levantine Sugar Industry*, pp. 226-280.

153. See MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 97-99.

154. «Alberioni in monte grossi negri e alguni bianchi e rossi varnaze 280»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, f. 7.

155. «Lavori da maioricha tra schudelle e padenete»: *ibid.*, f. 10.

156. For examples of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Syrian underglaze blue and white ware, see ATIL, *Renaissance of Islam*, cat. nos. 74-76. Important information on Syrian 15<sup>th</sup>-century ceramics is contained in MARCO SPALLANZANI, *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Florence, 1978, pp. 42-51, 104.

157. «Porzelane grosse zoè schudelle pezi 5»: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III, unnumb. f.

158. See especially REGINA KRAHL, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*. Part I, *Yuan and Ming Dynasty Celadon Wares*, 3 vols., ed. by J. AYERS, Sotheby's Publications, 1986: vol. 1, pp. 102-103, 109; vol. II, pp. 414-438. JULIAN RABY, *The Porcelain Trade Routes*, in *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 55-63, stresses the importance of the overland caravan route via Damascus. The problem of how to interpret the use of the word *porcelana* in Italian inventories is examined in SPALLANZANI, *Ceramiche orientali*, pp. 36-43, and further discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 58-59, 74-75, 84-85, 96-97; on pp. 164-165 he publishes a document mentioning the acquisition by Filippo Strozzi of porcelain from Venice in 1475. See also MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 104-106.

## DOCUMENTS

*Appendix I**Sources and Archival Details*

All records we have studied are preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

The testaments come from: *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile, Testamenti, busta 982, Cristoforo del Fiore*, here indicated as ASV: NT, **b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore**. Two additional Venetian wills from Damascus in 1461-1462 have been included for the sake of completeness. These are not discussed in the text.

The inventories come from: *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai, busta 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore*, here indicated as ASV: CIN, **b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore**.

This *busta* consists of 8 different *fascicoli* ascribed to as many notaries. In the *fascicolo* no. 8, headed «Cristoforo del Fiore», there are seven *protocolli* (registers), one *rubrica* and another *fascicolo*. Two out of these seven *protocolli* and the *rubrica* do not belong to Cristoforo, but to a certain notary named Francesco.<sup>159</sup> We have marked these documents in the following way.

*Cristoforo del Fiore's Records*

Paper register with parchment cover and inner *rubrica* (15 Oct. 1449-24 April 1465), entitled «Prothocollum Cristofori de Flore de Millesimo 1449-1459»: **reg. I**

Paper register (3 Feb. 1449-2 July 1449), entitled «1449»: **reg. II**

Paper register (11 Oct. 1454-12 Nov. 1457), partially numbered, entitled «Cristophorus de Flore notarius 1454 cancellarius in Damasco»: **reg. III**

Paper register with parchment cover and inner *rubrica* (10 Nov. 1446-29 Dec. 1448), entitled «Prothocollum Cristofori de Flore de millesimo a nativitate domini 1449 ecclesiasticorum»: **reg. IV**

Paper register with parchment cover (20 Sept. 1460-24 Oct. 1463), unnumbered, entitled on the back cover «Prothocolo domini presbiteri Cristofori»: **reg. V**

Paper *fascicolo* (15 March 1448-22 April 1449), partially numbered, entitled «Processus domini Moisi de Buffarellis supra litem de Gutticho 1448-1449»: **fasc. I**

*Other Notaries' Records*

Paper register (25 May 1425-24 Sept. 1426; notary Francesco): **reg. VI**

Paper register (8 July 1426-23 June 1427; notary Francesco): **reg. VII**

Paper *rubrica*, entitled «1425» (anonymous notary): **rubrica**

159. The name of the notary Francesco appears only once in: CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. VII, f. 34v, 7 May 1427; he was operating between Venice and Alexandria. Indeed, we are very doubtful if the *rubrica* belongs to Francesco, because it seems to be written by a third hand; surely it does not belong to Cristoforo. The documents of Francesco were incorrectly inventoried and placed in folders bearing the name of Cristoforo del Fiore, an error that was not detected by ASHTOR, *The Levant Trade*, p. xv, nor by HOWARD, *Venice and the East*, pp. 39, 60, 123.

## Appendix 2

## Weights, Measures and Coins

## Venetian Units of Weight Used for Precious Metals and Coins

1 marco	= 8 oncie	= 32 quarti	= 192 denari	= 1,152 carati	= 4,608 grani	= 238.49936 grams
1 oncia	= 4 quarti	= 24 denari	= 144 carati	= 572 grani	= 29.81242 grams	
1 quarto	= 6 denari	= 36 carati	= 144 grani	= 7.45311 grams		
1 denaro	= 6 carati	= 24 grani	= 1.24218 grams			
1 carato	= 4 grani	= 0.20703 grams				
1 grano	= 0.05176 grams					

Sources: FREDERIC C. LANE, REINHOLD C. MUELLER, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*. Vol. 1, *Coins and Money of Account*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, p. 526.

## Venetian Units of Weight for Spices, Sugar and Soap

1 carica or carico (for pepper)	= 400 libbre sottili	= 120.49188 kilograms
1 libbra sottile	= 12 once	= 0.3012297 kilograms
19 libbre sottili	= 12 libbre grosse	
1 Damascene rotolo	= 5 Venetian libbre sottili, 11 once and 11 (or 12) denari	

Sources: ANTONIA BORLANDI (ed.), *Il manuale di mercatura di Saminiato de' Ricci*, Genoa, Di Stefano, 1963, pp. 76, 100, 120; FRANCESCO BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. by ALLAN EVANS, Cambridge, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936, p. 137; ANGELO MARTINI, *Manuale di metrologia*, Turin, 1883, p. 818.

## Others Measures of Length and Volume

1 picco of Cyprus	= 0.6718 metres
1 Damascene picco	= 0.6775 metres
1 Venetian braccio da lana	= 0.683396 metres
1 Venetian braccio da seta	= 0.638721 metres
1 Venetian barila	= 6 secchie = 24 bozze = 64.3859 litres
1 Venetian secchia	= 4 bozze = 10.730983 litres

Sources: MARTINI, *Manuale di metrologia*, pp. 190, 412, 817-818.

## Venetian and Syrian Coins

1 Venetian ducat	= 6 lire and 4 soldi (from 1456) <sup>160</sup>
1 lira	= 20 soldi = 240 denari
1 soldo	= 12 denari (or piccoli)
1 grosso	= 48 denari (or piccoli)
1 Syrian serafo (ashrafi) <sup>161</sup>	= 0.96 Venetian ducats (1455-1459)
1 Syrian serafo	= 50-55 deremi (dirhams) <sup>162</sup> in the period 1450-1459, and 50-52 deremi from 1460.

160. Before 1456 see LANE, MUELLER, *Money and Banking*, pp. 573-616.

161. «In 1425 Sultan Barsbay made a second attempt to replace the Christian gold coin by a Moslem one, of the same weight and value. His reform was a great success and ever since the new gold coin, called ashrafi [serafo] after his honorific title al-Malik al-Ashraf, was the currency used in the Near East, as well as the ducat»: ASHTOR, *The Venetian Supremacy*, p. 50.

162. The dirham was a silver coin struck by the Mamluk Sultans' mints. It was the most widespread currency in the Near East until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when the Venetian ducat began to supersede it, and in c. 1400 minting ceased. In 1415, however, the dirham's production resumed in Syria and Egypt, in spite of lasting problems in the supply of silver. Its value changed considerably depending on places and periods. See ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *Pagamento in contanti e baratto nel commercio italiano d'oltremare (secoli XIV-XVI)*, in ID., *East-West Trade in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. by BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR, London, Variorum Reprints, 1986, III, pp. 367, 376-377, 379, 388-389, and ID., *Les prix dans l'Orient médiéval: sources, méthodes et problèmes*, in ID., *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, I, pp. III-113.

Sources: LANE, MUELLER, *Money and Banking*; ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *Études sur le système monétaire des Mamlouks circassiens*, in ID., *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1978, XI, pp. 273, 282.

## Appendix 3

Testaments (ASV: NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore)

**Doc. no. 1. Testament of Andrea da Raguxio: Modon, 14 January 1454 (1453 more veneto). Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 10, f. 69. Autograph signatures of witnesses. Preparatory rough draft on “cedula bombacina” no. 1.**

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, indictione secunda, die quartodecimo mensis ianuarii, Motoni ad statium Sapientie<sup>163</sup> in galea Raimunda.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Andreas de Raguxio quondam Primi de confinio sancti Simeonis Prophete, licet corpore languens sanam tamen habens mentem,<sup>164</sup> timens<sup>165</sup> ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata derelinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi in presentia testium infrascriptorum, ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum pariterque post mei obitum compleret et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper legibus, statutis, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque comendans animam meam meo creatori, ordino et esse volo meos commissarios in galea tamen et extra Venetias pro gubernandis et conservandis omnibus meis bonis existentis in galeis presentis viagii Alexandrie, capetano spectabili domino Francesco Lauredano, Alegretum Pelizarium compatrem meum, hominem a remo galee Bernarde, et Gregorium meum terzarolum, hominem a remo dicte galee Raimunde, qui gubernent, conservent et conducant usque Venetiis omnia mea bona que sunt in galeis dicti viagii. Item volo et ordino esse meos commissarios Helenam dilectam uxorem meam, in quocumque gradu vixerit, et ser Georgium pelizarium de dicto confinio sancti Simeonis Prophete qui,<sup>166</sup> secundum quod hic inferius ordina-vero, sic ipsi exequi et adimplere debeant et teneantur.

Item dimitto in presentia testium infrascriptorum presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto, pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii ab eo celebrandis pro anima<sup>167</sup> mea, ducatos tres auri.

Item dimitto<sup>168</sup> Francisco titulato ecclesie sancti Simeonis Prophete ducatos tres pro eisdem missis ad eo celebrandis pro anima Alegre, olim uxoris mee.

Item dimitto duas meas barilas<sup>169</sup> cum vino existentes in dicta galea Raimunda omnibus galeotis dicte galee pro anima mea.

Interrogatus a notario infrascripto de hospitalibus de Nazareth et Pietatis, respondi: «Nil volo dimittere hospitali Pietatis»<sup>170</sup>. Item dimitto hospitali de Nazareth ducatum unum pro anima mea.

Item dimitto predictae<sup>171</sup> uxori et commissarie mee suam dotem.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne caducum et inordinatum et quod ad caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum devenire posset quocumque modo, via, iure et forma michi, nunc et in futurum spectante et pertinente, dimitto uno filio vel pluribus utriusque sexus michi<sup>172</sup> nascituris cum hac tamen conditione quod, deficiente dicto<sup>173</sup> filio seu filiis utriusque sexus ut supra<sup>174</sup> michi nascituris, dictum residuum deveniat in Helenam predictam uxorem et commissariam meam. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et cetera ut supra in aliis latius paret.

163. ad statium Sapientie *interlinear*.

164. *there follows habens crossed out*.

165. *limens corrected over timens*.

166. *there follows secundum crossed out*.

167. *there follows d crossed out*.

168. *there follows presbitero Christophoro crossed out*.

169. *there follows v crossed out*.

170. *there follows sed h crossed out*. Venetian notaries had a legal obligation to ask testators for bequests on behalf of the Ospedale of S. Maria di Nazareth and the Ospedale della Pietà, in conformity with two laws of 1431 and 1436: see PEDANI FABRIS, “*Veneta auctoritate notarius*”, p. 100.

171. *there follows Helene crossed out*.

172. *there follows natis seu interlinear and crossed out*.

173. *dictos corrected over dicto*.

174. *there follows natis seu crossed out*.

Ego Iachobus Parisinus testis subscripsi.

Ego Marinus quondam Nicolai de Agis testis subscripsi.

Testes ser Marinus quondam Nicolai de Agis de confinio sancti Leonis, ser Iacobus Parixoto marangonus dicte galee, qui mihi notario fidem fecerunt de persona testatoris.

Ego presbitero Christophorus de Flore Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

**Doc. no. 2. Testament of Stefano Ravagnino: Damascus, 15 August 1455. Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 1, ff. 61v-62. Autograph signatures of witnesses.**

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione tertia, die quintodecimo mensis augusti, in Damasco.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Stephanus Ravagnino quondam ser Apolonii de confinio sancti Ioannis Novi, licet corpore languens sanam tamen habens mentem et integrum consilium, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata relinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi in presentia testium infrascriptorum,<sup>175</sup> ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum ultimamque voluntatem scriberet pariterque post mei obitum compleret et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam meam meo<sup>176</sup> creatori comendans, vollo et esse ordino huius mei testamenti<sup>177</sup> meos fidei commissarios,<sup>178</sup> tam hic in Damasco quam Venetiis, viros nobiles ser Nicolaum Barbo, ser Thomam Zane domini Maphei, ser Lucam Lauredano domini Jacobi meum comitem, dominam Benedictam relictam dicti ser Apolonii Ravagnino matrem meam dilectam, egregios viros ser Nicolaum Bertolino meum avunculum et ser Matheum Iustum meum magistrum, ut ipsi qui reperirentur in Damasco tempore obiti mei pro rebus et legatis exequendis hic in Damasco, uti hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero, sic ipsi vel maior pars ipsorum possint et valeant adimplere, similiter vero Venetiis per maiorem partem eorum.

Item vollo et ordino quod, in quantum per prefatos meos commissarios reperiretur in meis libris aliquis error quo animam meam et conscientiam meam ab eis cognosceretur<sup>179</sup> agravari, prorsus ipsa anima mea ab eisdem exoneretur omni errore ab ipsis cognito.

Item dimitto loco mee decime ducatos quadraginta monasteriis viginti Observantie in diocesi Venetiarum existentibus, videlicet ducatos duos pro singulo eorum in discretione meorum commissariorum predictorum.

Item dimitto hospitalibus infantium Pietatis et sancte Marie de Nazareth ducatos unum pro singulo ipsorum.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos tres<sup>180</sup> pro missis sancte Marie et illis sancti Gregorii per eum celebrandis pro anima mea.

Item vollo et ordino quod mittatur una persona Romam et Asixias pro anima mea;<sup>181</sup> similiter etiam vollo aliam personam mitti ad dicta loca pro anima quondam Ludovici<sup>182</sup> fratris mei.

Item vollo et ordino quod omnia<sup>183</sup> mea<sup>184</sup> vestimenta<sup>185</sup> et omnia mea bona et quondam dicti fratris mei, tam hic in Damasco quam in Baruto existentia, vendantur hic in Damasco per prefatos meos commissarios ad publicum incantum, exceptis mei iocalibus.

175. in presentia testium infrascriptorum *interlinear*.

176. *there follows c crossed out*.

177. huius mei testamenti *interlinear*.

178. *there follows dominam Benedictam relictam dicti ser Apolonii Ravagnino matrem meam dilectam v m crossed out*.

179. *there follows ono crossed out*.

180. *there follows ut crossed out*.

181. *there follows et crossed out*.

182. *there follows quondam crossed out*.

183. omnia *corrected over omnes*.

184. mea *corrected over mee*.

185. Vestimenta *corrected over vestes*.

Item vollo et ordino quod per prefatos meos commissarios, de voluntate dicte matris mee, dispensentur pro anima quondam fratris mei Ludovici ducatus decem et octo Venetiis inter pauperes Christi infirmos et in necessitate constitutos.

Item vollo quod omnia mea iocalia, perle et margarite quelibet de mea ratione existentes, que sunt in una busteta de chorio nigro non completa sub bulla, mittantur Venetias per galeas proximas,<sup>186</sup> quam bustetam<sup>187</sup> vollo sigillari sigillo mei anuli, sigillo mei bulatoris a litteris et sigillo parvo sancti Marci spectabilis domini consulis<sup>188</sup> et nollo ipsam<sup>189</sup> aperiri neque desbulari nisi presente prefata matre mea dilecta aliisque meis commissariis Venetiis existentibus.

Item vollo et ordino quod omnes dimissorie sine legato ordinate per testamentum quondam uxoris mee non complete neque solute completantur et solvantur per prefatos meos commissarios.

Item vollo et ordino quod due<sup>190</sup> corde<sup>191</sup> paternostri de corallo quas habeo hic in Damasco dentur sorori mee dillecte pro decem ducatis minus quam ab aliis inveniri poterit.

Item dimitto prenominato presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto pro labore huius testamenti ducatus quinque in presentia testium infrascriptorum.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum et omne caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum et omnium que ad inordinatum caducum et per non scriptum devenire possent et actionum quodcumque mihi spectante et qualibuscumque et<sup>192</sup> pertinente et que mihi spectare et pertinere possent in futurum dimitto Dominico et Salvatori filiis meis dilectissimis cum hac tamen condicione quod, decedente uno ipsorum, dictum meum residuum deveniat in supraviventem et, decedentis ambobus filiis meis predictis,<sup>193</sup> deveniat in supradictam matrem meam dilectam et, in casu quod etiam dicta mater mea moreretur, vollo et ordino quod totum dictum meum residuum dispensentur pro anima mea.

Item vollo et ordino quod dicti filii mei gubernentur et teneantur per prenominatam matrem meam dilectam donec et quousque quilibet ipsorum filiorum meorum pervenerit ad etatem perfectam et quod separari non possit alter ab altero<sup>194</sup> infradictam etatem. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem // [f. 62] do, tribuo atque concedo post mei obitum predictis meis commissariis, vel maiori parte eorum, suprascriptam meam commissariam intromittendi, administrandi et furniendi insuper autem intromittendi, exigendi omnia mea bona mobilia<sup>195</sup> et immobilia a cunctis mihi dare debentibus ubicumque de eis vel ex eis inveniri poterit, cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam, et de receptis quietandum<sup>196</sup> et omnia mea negotia, tam specialia quam generalia, tractandi, faciendi, operandi et exercendi ac dimissorias persolvendi.<sup>197</sup> Item in quocumque iudicio comparendi, causandi, agendi, petendi, placitandi, inquirendi, interpellandi, advocandi et advocatos, tollendi, legendi, petendi, sententias audiendi et ipsas fieri et executioni mandari, tam realiter quam personaliter, faciendi, appellandi et appellationem persequendi, expensas petendi et recipiendi, cartas quoque securitatis et promissionis et quaslibet alias cartas rogari faciendi et quicquid in predictis et singulis predictorum fuerit opportunum faciendi et in animam meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, actuandi, operandi et exercendi que iudiciis quolibet requirantur et que quolibet verus et legitimus commissarius, tam de iure quam de consuetudine, generaliter quocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potest et quod vivens facere possem, statuens firmum et ratum quicquid predictos.<sup>198</sup> Et hoc statuo et esse vollo meum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando cunctis testamentis per me actenus<sup>199</sup> ordinatis cui, si quis contravenire vel venire presumpserit, componat se cum suis heredibus et successoribus solutionem mee commissarie no-

186. *there follows venturas Baruti crossed out.*

187. *bustetam interlinear.*

188. *there follows quam crossed out.*

189. *ipsam interlinear.*

190. *due corrected over duabus.*

191. *corde corrected over cordis.*

192. *et interlinear.*

193. *predictis interlinear.*

194. *there follows dummodo quibus eorundem crossed out.*

195. *mobilia corrected over immobilia.*

196. *quietandum for quietandi.*

197. *there follows cartas quoque securitatis et promissionis et omnes alias cartas rogari faciendi et expunged.*

198. *statuens firmum et ratum quicquid predictos interlinear.*

199. *there follows factis crossed out.*

mine pene auri libras quinque; qua pena soluta vel non, nichilominus<sup>200</sup> hec mei testamenti carta in sua perpetuo permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti ser Stephani Ravagnini qui hec fieri rogavit.

Ego Iacobus Candi testis subscripsi  
Ego Stefanus Volzamoto testis subscripsi.

Ego presbiter Christophorus de Flore Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

**Doc. no. 3. Testament of Stefano di Bossina: Damascus, 22 August 1455. Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 2, ff. 62-62v. Autograph signatures of witnesses.**

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione tertia, die vigesimo secundo mensis<sup>201</sup> augusti, in Damasco.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Stephanus quondam ser Andree de Bossina de confinio sancte Iustine de Venetiis,<sup>202</sup> licet corpore languens sanus tamen mente et intellectu, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata relinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum<sup>203</sup> ipsumque rogavi in presentia testium infrascriptorum, ut hoc meum ultimum scriberet testamentum ultimamque meam voluntatem pariterque post mei obitum compleret et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam meam meo creatori comendans, vollo et esse ordino meos fidei commissarios huius mei testamenti et voluntatis providos et discretos viros magistrum Philipum quondam Antonii aurifabrum et compatrem meum et magistrum Iacobum Candi barbitumso-rem qui, tam hic in Damasco quam Venetiis, possint e<t> valleant post mei obitum, uti hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero, exequi et adimplere cum hac tamen conditione quod,<sup>204</sup> dicto compatre meo non existente in Damasco obitus mei tempore, vollo quod prefatus magister Iacobus commissarius meus possit et valleat sollvere, complere et exequi omnia que complenda et exequenda erunt hic in Damasco et quicquid sibi videbitur fore melius et utilius commissarie mee, sed Venetiis et alibi vollo quod simul exequantur et compleant infrascriptam voluntatem meam ultimam. Quibus acceptantis dictam meam commissariam dimitto ducatos quinque pro quolibet.

Item dimitto pro mea decima dicte mee contrate sancte Iustine ducatos quinquaginta auri.

Item dimitto monasterio et conventui<sup>205</sup> sacri montis Syon ducatos viginti quinque pro anima mea.<sup>206</sup>

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos decem pro missis sancte Marie et pro illis sancti Gregorii et ut oret pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali infantium Pietatis ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitali sancte Marie de Nazareth ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto monasterio fratrum sancte Marie de monte Artono ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto monasterio // [f. 62v] monialium sancti Ludovici de Venetiis ducatos decem pro anima mea.

Item dimitto monasterio fratrum santi Francisci de deserto Torcelani diocesis,<sup>207</sup> in quantum dicti fratres sint observantes, ducatos quinque pro anima mea.

Item dimitto Nicolao Ioannis de Seravalle, olim famulo viri nobilis ser Leonis Contareno hic in Damasco, ducatos sex ut oret<sup>208</sup> pro anima mea.

200. nichilominus *interlinear*.

201. mensis *interlinear*.

202. de confinio sancte Iustine de Venetiis *interlinear*.

203. infrascriptum *interlinear*.

204. there follows absente *crossed out*.

205. conventui *corrected over* conventuo; there follows fratrum *crossed out*.

206. mea *corrected over* meam.

207. Torcelani diocesis *interlinear*.

208. ut oret *interlinear*.



Item dimitto Luchine filie<sup>209</sup> dicti compatris et commissarii mei ducatos viginti quinque pro<sup>210</sup> suo maritare, pro anima mea.

Item dimitto Nicolao Faxolo de Corphu ducatos sex ut oret pro anima mea et vollo quod eidem restituantur ducati quatuor quos mihi dedit ut pro eo e<t> memoria Bochasini.

Item vollo et ordino quod omnes mee spezies quas habeo, tam hic in Damasco quam in Baruto, mittantur per dictos meos commissarios Venetiis per galeas proximas, cum ordine quod dirrigantur domino Antonio Erizo pro mea ventura et quod iddem dominus Antonius Erizo ipsas vendat et omne illud quod extrahet, tam de ipsis spezibus quam etiam de duobus caricis piperis quos ad illum misi per galeas proxime preteritas, capetaneo domino Antonio Lauredano. Prefatus dominus Antonius consignare debeat Venetiis prefatis commissariis meis una cum extraxto filatorum quod etiam sibi misi Venetias, ut de ipso extracto prenominati commissarii mei possint exequi voluntatem meam ultimam.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro de Flore notario infrascripto pro labore suo huius mei ultimi testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos quinque.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et stabilium presentium et futurorum et quomodocumque et qualitercumque mihi spectante et pertinente nunc et in futurum et omne caducum et inordinatum per non scriptum et quod ad caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum pervenire possent vollo despensari pro anima mea per meos commissarios superdictos et in omnibus animarum suarum inter pauperes et debiles personas, infirmas precipue et carceratas, quorum commissariorum meorum vollo super hoc animam plurimum onerari. Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo atque concedo sepedictis commissariis meis post mei obitum dictam meam commissariam intromittendi, administrandi et furniendi, inquirendi, interpellandi, placitandi, respondendi, advocandi advocatos,<sup>211</sup> precepta et interdicta tollendi, leges petendi, sententias audiendi et consequendi et executiones mandari faciendi, appellandi et appellationes prosequendi, expensas petendi et recipiendi, petendi, exigendi et recipiendi omnia mea bona et havere a cunctis mihi dare debendibus, nunc et in futurum, ubicumque vel apud quoscumque ea vel ex eis poterunt quolibet reperiri, cum cartis et sine cartis, per curiam et extra curiam, cartas quoque securitatis de eo quod receperint et promissionis et omnes alias cartas existentes, necessarias et oportunas faciendi et rogandi et si opus fuerit in anima meam iurandi et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, actuandi, operandi et exercendi que in iudiciis quolibet requirantur et que quolibet verus et legitimus commissarius, tam de iure quam de consuetudine, generaliter<sup>212</sup> quomodocumque et qualitercumque facere et exercere potest et debet et quod<sup>213</sup> si viverem facere possem et deberem, statuens firmum et ratum quicquid per prefatos meos commissarios in promissis et quolibet promisso factum fuerit sive gestum. Et hoc meum vollo esse in perpetuum ultimum testamentum meamque ultimam voluntatem, quod et quam prevalere iubeo atque mando ceteris meis testamentis actenus ordinatis, si quis igitur ipsum frangere et corumpere presumpserit aut ei ausu temerario contraire, omnipotentis Dei iram et vindicationem suorum<sup>214</sup> pauperum se noverit intursurum, insuper componat cum suis heredibus et successoribus suprascriptis meis commissariis et eorum successoribus solutionem<sup>215</sup> auri libras quinque et nichilominus hec mei testamenti carta perpetuo in sua permaneat firmitate. Signum suprascripti ser Stephani qui hec rogavit fieri.

Ego Ludovicus Lando quondam domini Marini manu mea testis subscripsi.

Ego Stefanus Vallerio quondam domini Iacopo testis subscripsi.

Ego presbiter Christophorus de Flore Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

**Doc. no. 4. Receipt addressed by Marco Santini to Stefano Ravagnino's executors: Damascus, 17 February 1457 (1456 more veneto). Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 2 bis, f. 63.**

Millesimo CCCCLVI, indictione quarta, die xvii mensis<sup>216</sup> februarii, Damasci.

209. filie corrected over filii.

210. there follows anima me crossed out.

211. advocatos interlinear.

212. generaliter interlinear.

213. there follows facere crossed out.

214. suorum interlinear.

215. solutionem interlinear.

216. there follows marcii crossed out.

Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facio ego Marcus Santini cum meis heredibus<sup>217</sup>, tam nomine meo proprio quam etiam nomine ser Rasmini Santini et meorum fratrum<sup>218</sup>, vobis viris nobilis ser Nicolao Barbo quondam domini Ioannis et ser Luce Lauredano domini Iacobi, uti commissariis quondam ser Stephani Ravagnino hic in Damasco defuncti ceterisque commissariis dicte commissarie ac etiam heredibus dicti predefuncti, de seraphis quinquaginta auri quos recepi a vobis duobus suprascriptis commissariis, nomine dicti quondam ser Stephani et quondam ser Ludovici Ravagnino olim fratrum, pro parte unius computi michi nomine predicti ser Rasmini mei fratris per vos duos commissarios prefatos hic in Damasco assignati.

Item de ballasiis duobus et perlis tribus.

Item de diamantis<sup>219</sup> quinque.

Item de petiis quatuor pannorum finorum.

Item de petiis sex veluti viridis que fuerunt de una veste muliebri.

Item de varnatiis centum quadraginta albertonum,<sup>220</sup> que omnia et singula suprascripta recepi ego Marcus prefatus<sup>221</sup> hic in Damasco a vobis suprascriptis duobus commissariis.

Insuper<sup>222</sup> ego Marcus suprascriptus dictis nominibus cum meis heredibus plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facio vobis viro nobili ser Luce Lauredano predicto,<sup>223</sup> soli commissario ad presens hic in Damasco dicti<sup>224</sup> predefuncti, de deremis 429 quos recepi a vobis per resto dicti computi ut supra michi assignati<sup>225</sup> ratione unius carte arabice<sup>226</sup> debiti unius Mauri vocati Anibech Amachadis, que carta fuerat deremorum 3458.

Item ego Marcus prefatus<sup>227</sup> recepi a vobis ser Luca commissario<sup>228</sup> deremos 1400, quos exegerat dictus quondam ser Ludovici Ravagnino et deremos 613 quos exegerat predictus quondam ser Stephanus, qui sunt in summa ratione dicte carte deremi<sup>229</sup> 2013.

Item ego Marcus prenominatus<sup>230</sup> recepi a vobis ser Luca commissario prefato<sup>231</sup> cartam predicta per exigendum residuum ipsius carte<sup>232</sup> a dicto Anibech Amachadis.

Item recepi a vobis ser Luca prefato, pro erroribus inventis in libris dicti quondam ser Stephani, deremos 1016<sup>233</sup> in pluribus partitis<sup>234</sup>, videlicet in una partita damni piperis deremos 70, in una partita sansarie pannorum deremos 40, in una partita pannorum mihi consignatorum deremos 116, in una partita posita de pluri deremos 34 et in una partita pannorum venditorum per dictum quondam ser Stephanum, in qua trahebat seraphos ad rationem deremorum 52 et eos trahere debebat<sup>235</sup> ad rationem deremorum 58,<sup>236</sup> deremos 756.

Et, quia de omnibus et singulis denariis et rebus suprascriptis vos suprascripti commissarii simul et vos ser Lucas Lauredano prefatus ut solus commissarius<sup>237</sup> dictis nominibus me bene et perfecte apacastis et contentavistis, ideo ego Marcus Santini sepedictus dictis nominibus vos suprascriptos commissarios<sup>238</sup> et quemlibet utrum de per se<sup>239</sup> omnes alios et singulos commissarios<sup>240</sup> heredesque dictorum ser Stephani et<sup>241</sup> Ludovici Ravagnino cum meis heredibus reddo et facio securos pariter

217. cum meis heredibus *interlinear*.

218. *there follows* cum heredibus meis *crossed out*.

219. *there follows* petiis *crossed out*.

220. *there follows* que omnia era *crossed out*.

221. ego Marcus prefatus *interlinear*.

222. *insuper repeated twice, the second one on the margin*.

223. predicto *interlinear*.

224. *there follows* quondam *crossed out*.

225. *there follows* item de deremis 1400 quos recepi nomine predicti quondam ser Ludovici Ravagnino *crossed out*.

226. arabice *interlinear*.

227. item ego Marcus prefatus *added on the margin*.

228. commissario *interlinear*.

229. *there follows* 916 *crossed out*.

230. ego Marcus prenominatus *interlinear*.

231. commissario prefato *interlinear*.

232. ipsius carte *interlinear*.

233. *indeed, the total of lots values equals 1126 dirhams*.

234. in pluribus partitis *interlinear*.

235. *there follows* et debebat *crossed out*.

236. *there follows* et *crossed out*.

237. *there follows* suprascripto ser Nicolao Barbo abscente altero commissario abscente *crossed out*.

238. *there follows* et *crossed out*.

239. et quemlibet utrum de per se *interlinear*.

240. *there follows* et *crossed out*.

241. *there follows* ser *crossed out*.

et quietos in perpetuum quod nichil inde remansit unde vos omnes et singulos suprascriptos pro suprascriptis denariis et rebus michi consignatis et per me receptis, ut<sup>242</sup> premittitur,<sup>243</sup> molestari possit sive requiri per ullum ingenium sive modum. Preterea ego Marcus prenominatus cum meis heredibus me obligo ac promitto quod, in quantum per suprascriptos ser Rasminum et meos fratres sive alios quoscumque ullo tempore aliquid impedimentum seu aliqua molestia vobis omnibus et singulis suprascriptis innovarentur<sup>244</sup> sive fierent pro sepeditis denariis et rebus suprascriptis<sup>245</sup> seu pro aliquibus aut pro aliquo<sup>246</sup> ipsorum michi consignatorum, ut premittitur, semper ad omne vestre libitum voluntatis,<sup>247</sup> omnes et singulos<sup>248</sup> denarios et<sup>249</sup> omnia et singula<sup>250</sup> suprascripta,<sup>251</sup> quos et que<sup>252</sup> a vobis ut supra recepi, exbursare et vobis restituere usque ad integram satisfactionem vosque omnes et singulos suprascriptos conservare et gaurentare indemnes ab omni damno et interesse que vobis omnibus et singulis prenominatis sequi possent pro talibus exbursationibus et consignationibus mihi per vos factis. Si igitur contra ha<n>c securitatis et obligationis cartam ire reptavero et cetera.

Testes ser Ioannes Zeno domini Antonii  
ser Dominicus de Priolis quondam domini Iacobi.

**Doc. no. 5. Testament of Marino da Molin: Damascus, 2 May 1457. Fragment of parchment register, deed no. 3, ff. 63v-64. Autograph signatures of witnesses. Preparatory rough draft on "cedula bombacina" no. 26.**

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero secundo mensis maii, Damasci.

Salutiferum est et honestum unicuique sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, quapropter ego Marinus de Molino quondam spectabilis domini Philippi, ad presens pro illustrissimo ducali dominio Venetiarum consul Damasci, de confinio sancte Marine de Venetiis, licet corpore languens sanus<sup>253</sup> tamen mente et intellectu Dei gratia, timens ab intestato decedere et mea bona sic inordinata relinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi, ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum ultimamque meam voluntatem scriberet pariterque post mei obitum compleret et daret cum clausulis et additionibus necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consiliis ac consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam meam meo creatori commendans, vollo et esse ordino huius mei testamenti meeque voluntatis meos fidei commissarios, hic in Damasco et in hac Syria tamen, viros nobiles ser Antonium Lauredano, ser Iheronimum Gabriel, Iustum Mauraceno, Iheronimum et Marcum de Molino domini Pauli, ad presens hic mercatores, nec non Petrum de Molino filium meum dilectum qui, sicut hic inferius ordinavero, sic ipsi vel maior pars ipsorum possint et valeant<sup>254</sup> adimplere, existente tamen prefato Petro<sup>255</sup> filio et commissario meo pro maiori parte ipsorum hic in Damasco et in hac Syria quando ipse aderit.

Item volo quod dicti mei commissarii immediate post mei obitum aperiant meam capsetam a scripturis et de ipsa accipiant denarios existentes in uno sacculo et de ipsis faciant meam sepulturam et solvant mea legata necessaria et opportuna, hic in Damasco et in hac Syria, ac etiam accipiant claves mei schrigni, in dicta capseta existentes, et ponant illas in uno sacchetto sub bulla cuiuslibet ipsorum et sic seratura dicti mei schrigni bulletur per quemlibet dictorum meorum commissariorum et sic sub eorum bullis serventur dicte claves et predictum schrignum donec et quousque dictus filius et commissarius meus huc appulerit.

242. there follows supra crossed out.

243. premittitur interlinear.

244. there follows et crossed out.

245. suprascriptis added on the margin.

246. aut pro aliquo interlinear.

247. there follows prefatas res crossed out.

248. omnes et singulos interlinear.

249. there follows res crossed out.

250. omnia et singulas interlinear.

251. suprascripta corrected over suprascriptas.

252. que corrected over quas.

253. n crossed out over u of sanus.

254. there follows sive possit et valeant crossed out.

255. there follows et crossed out.

Item volo et esse ordino extra hanc Syriam meos fidei commissarios Agnesinam de Molino uxorem meam dilectam, in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit, viros nobiles ser Jacobum de Molino generum meum et Petrum filium et commissarium meum prefatum, Franceschinam de Molino et Molinam filias meas dilectas, qui per maiorem partem ipsorum, prout hic inferius ordinavero ac dari iussero, sic valeant et possint exequi et adimplere, exente tamen dicta uxore et commissaria mea, pro maiori parte prenominatorum commissariorum meorum in omnibus et per omnia.

Item dimitto ecclesie sancte Marine prefate pro mea decima ducatos quinquaginta.

Item dimitto monasterii fratrum montis Syon civitatis Ierusalem ducatos sex pro anima mea.

Item vollo et ordino quod unus presbiterus secularis cotidie in perpetuum celebret unam missam in dicta ecclesia sancte Marine pro anima mea et omnium meorum defunctorum, nec non pro anima quondam ser Ludovici de Molino nepotis mei quondam ser Bernardi, et quod dicto presbitero celebraturo ut supra in dicta ecclesia dentur de meis prode imprestitorum pro suis helemosina et portione ducati viginti quinque auri omni anno et ad rationem anni per prefatos meos commissarios et, in quantum plures ducati contineantur et specificentur in una bulla apostolica michi concessa per felicem recordationem sanctissimi domini nostri domini Nicolai quinti, volo quod tot ducati dentur dicto presbitero celebraturo et prefertur quot in ipsa bulla specificantur et nominantur et non pauciores, ita et taliter quod anima mea superinde omnino exoneretur in omnibus ad que per dictam bullam sum obligatus. In casu vero quod Deus advertat quod per prenominatos commissarios meos non observaretur sive adimpleretur hec mea voluntas sive ordinatio de dicta missa, volo<sup>256</sup> et ordino quod per capitulum et procuratores unum vel plures predictae ecclesie sancte Marine occupentur, sequestrentur et intromittantur omnia mea bona mobilia et immobilia, ita et taliter quod suprascripta mea voluntas sive intentio de dicta missa totaliter ut promittitur exequatur et sortiatur effectum.

Item dimitto plebano presenti dicte ecclesie ducatos quatuor in quantum ipse voluerit celebrare missas sancti Gregorii pro anima mea et, nollente ipso celebrare dictas missas, dimitto eidem ducatos tres ut oret pro anima mea.

Item dimitto presbitero Matheo beneficiato in dicta ecclesia ducatos duos ut ipse celebret missas sancte Marie pro anima mea.

Item dimitto dicte ecclesie paramentum unum de bochassino albo fulcitum cum suis crucibus et gramitis de cendato de grana.

Item volo et ordino quod omni et singulo anno in perpetuum in die festi sancte Marine de meis bonis dentur et largiantur dicte ecclesie doplerii duo cerei librarum trium cum dimidia singulus ipsorum. // [f. 64]

Item volo et ordino quod primo anno tantum post mei obitum dispensentur ducatos decem pro anima mea inter pauperes personas dicte mee contrate.

Item volo quod in primo festo sancti Bernardi tamen presententur et largiantur de meis bonis ecclesie sancti Bernardi de Muriano doplerii duo cerei librarum trium singulus ipsorum et quod eodem die in dicta ecclesia celebretur una missa pro anima mea.

Item volo et ordino quod ad expensionem mee commissarie mittatur unus peregrinus ad visitandum loca et limina sancti Iacobi apostoli de Galizia pro anima mea.

Item dimitto hospitalibus de Nazareth et Pietatis ducatos tres pro singulo eorum pro anima mea.

Item volo quod de bonis mee commissarie Agnesina prefata uxor et commissaria mea habeat in vita sua victum et vestitum, in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit.<sup>257</sup>

Item volo quod Molina filia et commissaria mea predicta habeat pro suo maritare de meis bonis tantum quantum superinde ego scripserim sue matri et nichil plus.

Item volo quod Lucretia quondam Charoli mei filii maritetur quando ipsa erit in etate perfecta de bonis mee commissarie, cui detur pro suo maritare illa dos que videbitur seu placitur dicte mee uxori et commissarie.

Item dimitto omnes meas domos et proprietates Petro filio et commissario meo prenominato, cum hac tamen conditione quod ipse Petrus non possit ipsas sive aliquam dictarum mearum domorum et proprietatum per ullum ingenium sive modum vendere, alienare in pignus, designare et in animam iudicare sive ordinare, nisi idem filius habuerit liberos unum vel plures sexus utriusque et, decedente dicto Petro filio meo absque liberis uno vel pluribus utriusque sexus, volo et

<sup>256</sup>. there follows quod crossed out.

<sup>257</sup>. in quocumque gradu ipsa vixerit *interlinear*.

ordino quod supradicte mee domus et proprietates perveniant in Franceschinam et Molinam filias meas et comissarias suprascriptas habentes filios unum vel plures utriusque sexus et, decedente una ipsarum, deveniant in superviventem earum habentem filios ut supra et, decedentibus ambabus filiabus meis prefatis, volo quod sepedicte mee domus et proprietates perveniant in liberos masculos viri nobilis ser Benedicti de Molino fratris mei et in eorum heredes, exceptuando tamen Chressi eius filium et dicti Chressi heredes a dicto legato ac etiam deveniant in liberos masculos viri nobilis ser Antonii de Molino quondam ser Henrichi et in eorum heredes, equaliter videlicet tam in liberos dicti ser Benedicti et eorum heredes ut prefertur quam etiam in liberos dicti ser Antonii quondam ser Henrichi et eorum heredes, equaliter et sic perveniant de herede in heredem omnium et singulorum suprascriptorum.

Item dimitto Martinum meum sclavum francum et liberum; item dimitto Chatherinam meam sclavam francam et liberam, cum hac tamen conditione quod dictus Martinus et ipsa Chatherina servire debeant predicto Petro filio et comissario meo annibus tribus continuis et deinde ambo remaneant in sua libertate.

Item dimitto de bonis mee comissarie presbitero Christophoro de Flore meo capellano et notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos xxv auri pro amore et caritate ac suo bene servire.

Item volo quod pro exoneratione anime mee aliquo bono et cauto modo dentur sive largiantur ducatos X<sup>em</sup> auri nepotibus sive heredibus aut propinquiorebus quondam ser Georgii Barbado sancte Margarite.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum quomodocumque et qualitercumque mihi spectante et pertinente, nunc et in futurum, et omne caducum et inordinatum et per non scriptum sive que ad inordinatum et per non scriptum pervenire possent dimitto sepedicto Petro filio et comissario meo et, decedente dicto Petro, volo quod de dicto residuo sepedicta uxor et comissaria mea faciat quodcumque sibi placuerit et videbitur.

Preterea plenissimam virtutem et potestatem do, tribuo atque concedo predictis comissariis meis et maiori parti eorum suprascriptam meam comissariam post mei obitum intromittentem et cetera ut supra in aliis testamentis latius apparet.

Ego Iacobus Candi testis subscripsi.

Ego Martinus quondam Ioanis testis subscripsi.

Ego presbiter Christophorus de Flore Venetiarum notarius complevi et roboravi.

**Doc. no. 6. Testament of Giorgio di Iadra: Damascus, 3 May 1461. "Cedula bombacina", deed no. 14, unnumbered ff.**

MCCCCLXI, indictione VIII, die vero tertio maii, Damasci, presentibus infrascriptis.

Intus scriptus Georgius de Iadra quondam Alegreti, licet corpore languens sanus tamen Dei gratia mente et cetera timens et cetera,<sup>258</sup> rogavit hoc<sup>259</sup> suum ultimum testamentum in manibus mei presbiteri Christophori de Flore Venetiarum notarii, secundum tenorem presentis cetule, servatis semper statutis, legibus et cetera Venetiarum.

Testes Petrus quondam Urandi de Placentia

Franciscus quondam Viti de Venetiis

ambo famuli spectabilis domini consulis nostri. //

Salutiferum est et honestum est unicuique<sup>260</sup> sic se et sua bona disponere, dum viget in hoc seculo quod futuris remediis perfrui valeat sempiternis, eapropter ego Georgius quondam Alegreti de Iadra, licet corpore languens sanus tum Dei gratia mente et intellectu, timens ab intestato decedere et sic mea bona inordinata derelinquere, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium et presentialiter capellanum et cancellarium in Damasco ipsumque

258. timens et cetera *interlinear*.

259. *there follows* ~~ho~~ *crossed out*.

260. est unicuique *interlinear*.

rogavi, ut hoc meum ultimum testamentum ultimamque voluntatem scriberet pariterque<sup>261</sup> post mei obitum compleret et daret cum clausulis necessariis et opportunis, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consuetudinibus et consiliis Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam<sup>262</sup> meam creatori meo<sup>263</sup> comendans, vollo et esse ordinos<sup>264</sup> meos fidei commissarios magistros Jacobum Chandi barbitonsorem et Antonium quondam Natalis sutorum, commorantes presentialiter in hoc loco<sup>265</sup> qui, post mei obitum, secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero ac<sup>266</sup> dari iussero, sic ipsi possint et valeant exequi et adimplere.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto in presentia testium infrascriptorum ducatos 3 1/2 pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii et ducatos duos pro suo<sup>267</sup> labore et mercede huius testamenti.

Item volo quod pro mea sepultura expendantur ducatos 1<sup>268</sup> 1/2 in duobus dopleriis et aliis ceris<sup>269</sup> seu candellis.

Item dimitto magistro Jacobo Candi prefato ducatos 2 pro suo labore et magistro Antonio commissario meo prenominato ducatum 1.

Item dimitto Georgio famulo qui mihi servivit in hac mea infirmitate meam vestem duplam pro sua mercede et eius bene servire.

Item dimitto hospitalibus Nazareth et Pietatis et monasterio sancte Marie de Gratia civitatis Venetiarum ducatum dimidium pro<sup>270</sup> singulo eorum<sup>271</sup> locorum.<sup>272</sup>

Item dimitto Petro de Mediolano meo socio qui ivit in Ciprum<sup>273</sup> quinque chamisias, omnes et singulas meas<sup>274</sup> scutellas de petra et choncas ligneas magnas<sup>275</sup>, omnes meos arcus, pichos quinque de athelas<sup>276</sup> et unum charamale quod constitit mihi<sup>277</sup> ducatum 1, que omnes res sunt in Tripolli apud Jacobum famulum domini Francisci Contareno,<sup>278</sup> ibidem factoris, nec non unam meam diploidem de chamozia quam hac habeo, cum hac tame<n> condicione quod ipse nichil possit petere meam commissariam de et<sup>279</sup> pro rationibus ac rebus quas habuimus facere ad invicem et insimul et ut oret pro anima mea.

Item dimitto ducatum 1 monasterio fratrum mons Syon ordinis sancti Francisci pro anima mea.<sup>280</sup>

Item dimitto ducatum unum qui pro anima mea fratrem qui est Iadre expendatur in tot candelis<sup>281</sup> quarum unum tertium sit loci sancti Nicolai<sup>282</sup> de Iadra, unum tertium sancti Simeonis et reliquum tertium sancte Chaterine dicti loci pro votis per me factis.

Residuum vero quod michi restabit, solutis omnibus et singulis<sup>283</sup> supradictis modi, dimitto reverendo Christo Patri et domino domino Antonio de Zuchis de Chochania, episcopo Nimunsiensi<sup>284</sup> dignissimo Limisso districtus insule Cipri,<sup>285</sup> pro eo quod ipse posset restare habere a me ultra ducatos 24 rerum sibi pro me transmissarum per navem mute martii proxime preteriti et ut roget Deum pro me. //

261. scriberet pariterque *interlinear*.

262. *there follows* meam *interlinear and crossed out*.

263. meo *interlinear*.

264. ordinos *for* ordino.

265. commorantes presentialiter in hoc loco *added on the margin*.

266. ac *interlinear*.

267. suo *corrected over* sus.

268. 1 *corrected over* 2.

269. *there follows* ve *crossed out*.

270. *there follows* quolibet *crossed out*.

271. eorum *interlinear*.

272. *there follows* prenominato *crossed out*.

273. Petro de Mediolano meo socio qui ivit in Ciprum *added on the margin*.

274. meas *interlinear*.

275. *there follows* ac etiam *crossed out*.

276. *there follows* nec non *crossed out*.

277. mihi *interlinear*.

278. in Tripolli *added on the margin*.

279. de et *interlinear*.

280. *there follows* residu *crossed out*.

281. *there follows* qui pro tertio partire debeant *crossed out*.

282. *there follows* de *crossed out*.

283. et singulis *interlinear*.

284. *there follows* d *crossed out*.

285. Antonio Zucco of Cucania was appointed bishop of Nemosia, Limisso and Limasol on 18 January 1460: see CONRADUM EUBEL (ed.), *Hierarchia Catholica*, II, Ravensburg, 1914, anastatic reprint (Padua, 1960), p. 203.

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Die 3 maii.

Ego Georgius quondam Alegreti de Iadra, sanus mente licet corpore languens timens et cetera, vocari feci et cetera. Ordino esse meos comissarios magistrum Iacobum Candi, magistrum Antonium quondam \*\*\* sutorem qui et cetera.

Item<sup>286</sup> dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto pro missis sancte Marie et sancti Gregorii ducatos 3 1/2 celebrandis pro anima mea.

Item dimitto meam vestem duplam Georgio qui michi servit pro suo bene servire; item dimitto meum tapetum, meam clamidem.

Item vollo quod pro sepultura mea in duobus dopleriis<sup>287</sup> in chandellis expendatur et in aliis<sup>288</sup> ceris ducatum 1 1/2.

Item dimitto magistro Iacobo ducatos 2 pro suo labore.

Item magistro Antonio ducatum 1.

Residuum vero omnium meorum bonorum mobilium et cetera dimitto ut<sup>289</sup> dentur et consignentur prefato domino episcopo et ei recommitto animam meam.

Item dimitto Nicolao famulo domini Dominici Trivisano 1 meum biretum vetus.

Item pro labore notarii ducatos 2.

Item hospitalibus Nazareth et Pietatis et sancte Marie de Gratia ducatos 1/2 pro singulo.

Item 1 vestem de pelle et panno Mathei<sup>290</sup>.

Domini Antonii Zuchi de Chochania episcopi de Limiso insule Cipri.

Item petia 1 zambeloti uchola<sup>291</sup> de pichis 20 de Cipro.

petia 1 chamocha bianca de Cipro <de pichis> 18

Item diploidem 1 de zendato

magistri Leonardi

Item paria tria sotularum

Item biretum unum de grana<sup>292</sup> simplex.

Item 1 malotam novam

Item 1 sexam

in manibus Benedicti

Item 1 bracham

Item 1 tapetum.

In Tripoli in manibus Iacobi<sup>293</sup> famuli domini Francisci Contareno factori Tripolli.

5 chamixas

6 schudellas<sup>294</sup> de petra et choncas de legno magnas et arcus dimitto Petro de Mediolano qui est in Cipri et pichos 5 athelas et 1 caramalle quod constitit ducatum 1, diploidem 1 de chamoza.

**Doc. no. 7. Testament of Gabriel Marino: Damascus, 26 March 1462. "Cedula bombacina", deed no. 15, unnumbered ff.**

MCCCCLXII, indictione x, die vero xxvi mensis martii, Damasci.

Intus scriptus ser Gabriel Marino domini Charoli, licet corpore languens sanus tamen et cetera, rogavit hoc suum ultimum testamentum secundum tenorem huius cedule.

Testes venerabili nobilis ser Marchus Bragadin domini Hieronimi et \*\*\* famulus dicti domini Marci. //

286. *there follows vollo crossed out.*

287. *in duobus dopleriis interlinear.*

288. *aliis interlinear.*

289. *there follows dispen crossed out.*

290. *there follows de Pergamo crossed out.*

291. *word of uncertain meaning.*

292. *there follows sum crossed out.*

293. *Iacobi interlinear.*

294. *there follows et cho crossed out.*

Salutiferum est et honestum est et cetera quapropter ego Gabriel Marino magistri domini Charoli, licet corpore languens sanus tamen et cetera, timens et cetera, vocari feci ad me presbiterum Christophorum de Flore Venetiarum notarium presentialiterque huius loci<sup>295</sup> capellanum et cancellarium notarium infrascriptum ipsumque rogavi et cetera, servatis semper statutis, legibus, consiliis et consuetudinibus Venetiarum.

In primis, namque animam comendas altissimo meo creatori, volo et esse ordino huius mei ultimi testamenti ac ultime mee voluntatis meum fidei commissarium venerabilis nobilis ser Petrum Marino meum germanum consanguineum qui, secundum quod hic inferius ordinavero darique iussero, sic ipsi post mei obitum adimplere debeat et exequi.

Item volo quod omnia et singula tam denarii quam merces, qui mittentur michi et ad meum ordinem, pervenire debeant in dictum commissarium et consanguineum meum cum provisionibus omnibus solitis.

Item volo quod misse sancti Gregorii hic in Damasco<sup>296</sup> celebrentur pro anima mea.

Item volo quod per dominam<sup>297</sup> matrem meam dilectam dispensentur ducati 25 et plures et paviores eis et sicut ipsi videbitur et placuerit in missis et aliis elemosinis sive ad alias pias causas pro anima mea.

Item dimitto monasterio fratrum montis Syon ducatos 2 pro denaris fors<it>am per me indelitate ablati et hoc ad cautelam et meum discaricum.

Item dimitto presbitero Christophoro notario infrascripto ducatos octo pro anima mea et pro labore suo huius testamenti in presentia testium infrascriptorum.

Item dimitto magistro Jacobo Chandi ducatos 8 pro suo labore.

Item Bartole qui me servivit et servit in hac mea infirmitate dimitto ducatos 8.

Item interrogatus a notario infrascripto et in presentia infrascriptorum testium si quod dimittere volebam hospitalibus Nazaret et Pietatis et monasterio sancte Marie de Gratia respondi de his nil aliud velle ordinare neque legare, sed omnia velle esse in discretionem dicte domine matris mee dilecte preterea et cetera.

295. *there follows cancellariu crossed out.*

296. *in Damasco added on the margin.*

297. *dominam interlinear.*



*Appendix 4**Inventories (ASV: CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, registers I and III)***Doc. no. 1. Inventory of Andrea da Raguxio: Alexandria galley, Jan 1454 (1453 more veneto). Reg. 1, f. 7.**

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, indictione \*\*\*<sup>298</sup>, die vero lune mensis ianuarii, in galea Raimonda surta in statio Sapientie apud Motonum.<sup>298</sup>

Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum Andree de Raguxio quondam Primi, infirmi, que inventa fuerunt ad suum banchum in galea Raimunda ad viagium Alexandrie, capetaneo spectabile et generoso domino Francesco Lauredano, factum ad instantiam et requisitionem ser Alegreti Pelizarii,<sup>299</sup> compatriis dicti Andree, hominis a remo galee Bernarde, et Gregorii Terzaroli dicte galee Raimunde,<sup>300</sup> que omnia bona infrascripta commissa et consignata fuerunt dictid duobus, videlicet Alegreto Pelizario et Gregorio Terzarolo, presentibus viro nobili domino Georgio Raimundo, patrono dicte galee, et ser Marino quondam Nicolai de Agis, balistario dicte galee.

In primis, in una capsula subtus suum banchum:

una capsula de talpono plena piperis  
 unus sacus super dictam capsulam plenus piperis, quod asserunt fore unam sportam in totum  
 una culleessa fracta  
 una barila a quinque sechis plena oleo  
 due barile plene vino a sechis quinque pro qualibet.

In dicta capsula:

unum marsupium de corio albo veteri  
 ducati tres auri  
 ducati tres de moneta  
 libre tres et soldi tresdecim, que libre tres date fuerunt magistro Alegreto medico, quibus confectionibus et medicinis pro dicto infirmo<sup>301</sup>  
 unus anulus aureus de bulla  
 una polizia scripta quod marsupium cum dictis denariis et rebus remansit apud dictum Alegretum Pelizarium  
 una capseleta de anzipresso plena piperis  
 una pellis vulpis  
 una bandinela ziala pro panis  
 unum par chaligarum grixi albi veterorum  
 una chamixia  
 unus sachus plenus naranzis  
 unus gabanus albus vetus  
 una mezarola  
 una clamis blava vetera  
 una diplois viridis vetera  
 quatuor zenie a spetiebus.

**Doc. no. 2. Inventory of Stefano Ravagnino: Damascus, 17 August 1455. Reg. III, ff. 4v-7.**

Ihesus MCCCCLV

Die xvii augusti

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione tertia, die xvii mensis augusti, in Damasco. Inventarium omnium re-

298. there follows presentibus crossed out.

299. there follows h crossed out.

300. there follows ied crossed out.

301. there follows marsupium vero cum dictis denariis crossed out.

rum et bonorum quondam ser Stephani Ravagnino, defuncti hic in Damasco in domo habitatio-  
nis viri nobilis ser Luce Lauredano spectabilis domini Iacobi, repertorum in dicta domo et in  
magazeno posito in capsaria<sup>302</sup> choze Ebenelara<sup>303</sup>, factum et annotatum per me presbiterum Chri-  
stoforum<sup>304</sup> de Flore Venetiarum notarium, ad instantiam viri nobilis ser Nicolai Barbo et ser Luce  
Lauredano, comissariorum eiusdem predefuncti, presentibus infrascriptis.

Item i<n> la cassetta da le scripture:

busteta de chuoro negro non compida, bollada de bolle 3, una de san Marco el piccolo de  
misser lo consolo, una del suo bolador et una con la suo arma bolada del suo anelo de  
bolla con zoie de asai sorte entro, la qual busta el dito vivante ordenò non fosse aperta se  
non presente suo madre.

De ratione viri nobili  
ser Thome Zane

In una busta con ballassi entro, una carta<sup>305</sup> scripta de sora  
quelli esser de sier Thomado Zane i ballassi infrascripti:  
ballassi foradi pezi 18 de pexo da Veniexia carati 76.

// [f. 5] Ihesus MCCCCLV

De ratione ser Marci  
Santini

In una carta<sup>306</sup> scripta de sopra de sier Marco Santini zoie  
infrascripte:  
ballassi foradi pezi 2 de pexo da Veniexia carati 22 bon pexo  
perle grosse pezi 3 de pexo da Veniexia carati 7 bon pexo.

De ratione ser Pauli

In una carta scripta de sopra de raxon de ser Pollo  
d'Avanzo chosse infrascripte:  
diamanti pezi 38 de pexo da Veniexia carati 13 1/2.

De ratione ser Marci  
Santini

In una carta scripta de sopra de raxon de sier Marco  
Santini diamanti infrascripti:  
diamanti pezi 6 de pexo da Veniexia carati 3 grane 3.

De ratione dicti ser  
Thome Zane

In una carta bianca scripta de sopra de ser Thomà Zane le zoie  
infrascripte:  
rubini pezi 130 de pexo da Veniexia carati 20 bon pexo  
diamanti pezi 6 de pexo da Veniexia carati 5 bon pexo  
perla grossa pezi 1 de pexo da Veniexia carati 4 bon pexo  
diamanti pezi 43 de pexo da Veniexia carati 14 grana 1  
diamanti pezi 17 de pexo da Veniexia carati 14 grane 3  
diamanti pezi 16 de pexo da Veniexia carati 5 grane 3.

In una busta: paternoster de corallo, oliveti in corde 2, zoè:  
1 corda de più menudi numero 32  
1 corda de più grossi numero 76.

In un borson de chamoza rossa, lavorato con seda cremixi, con  
oro entro et con i serafi infrascripti de zecha pezi 500:  
in uno sacheto serafi vechi pezi 171  
in uno sacheto veneti ducati vechi pezi 54  
in el dito sacheto serafi pezi 126  
in uno sacheto serafi pezi 154  
in nel dito sacheto aziali pezi 3

302. *there follows ebene crossed out.*

303. *Ebene (or Bene) is used to refer to the Arabic Ibn. This person would therefore have a name such as Ibn al'Ara.*

304. *there follows Christoforum repeated.*

305. *there follows que crossed out.*

306. *c corrected over s.*

in 1 sacheto veneti ducati pezo 1  
 nel dito sacheto serafo pezo 1  
 in uno sacheto arzenti deremi 744 1/2  
 in una carta serafo et azial pezi 2  
 in un sacheto veneti ducati pezi 5  
 in nel dito sacheto grosseti veneti da soldi 4 pezi 31, soldini 3  
 anelo d'oro da bolla con la suo arma 1  
 zerzello d'oro morescho pezo 1  
 bolador d'avuolio con la suo bolla d'arzeno 1  
 pomo da l'oldano con la pasta entro d'arzeno e dorado 1  
 tavolele da scriver senza arzeno per 1  
 anelli d'arzeno rabeschi senza alguna chossa entro pezi 3  
 zentura d'arzeno choverta de veludo negro senza arzeno  
 1.

// [f. 5v] Ihesus MCCCCLV

piron d'arzeno roto in do pezi 1  
 paternoster de chalzedonia granda pezo 1  
 chorniole de più sorte non taiade pezi 43  
 rocheleto da spago de legno 1  
 porzeleta da lissar granda 1  
 borsa de chamoza bianca dopia e nuova 1  
 deremi erano in dita borsa 78  
 taolele da scriver con balanze<sup>307</sup> d'arzeno e stillo d'arzeno  
 con azolador de rame e coverta morescha per 1  
 in una carta granate conze a l'arabescha numero disse pezi  
 370.

De ratione viri  
 nobilis ser Thome<sup>309</sup>  
 Georgio de ratione  
 dicti

Carta rabescha de debito de raxon de ser Thomado<sup>308</sup> Zorzi  
 in la persona de Aias sartor, scripta de sopra de deremi  
 4233, 1  
 carta rabescha de raxon del dito in la persona de<sup>310</sup> Abdelcherim,<sup>311</sup>  
 scripta de sopra de deremi 4180,<sup>312</sup> 1  
 carta de debito del dito Aias<sup>313</sup> de deremi 1690, 1  
 fazoleti lavoradi a la damaschina con seda et de ixaro 5  
 fazoletto lavorato a la damaschina con i chavi deffiladi 1  
 relojeto de laton de chognoser le hore al sol 1  
 tocha da oro et arzeno pichola 1  
 vazina con el chospello d'arzeno senza cortelli 1  
 piron d'arzeno entro la dita vazina 1.

In la zestella forada con la suo arma con chiave do, 1:  
 charmaruol de aze a la fiorentina 1  
 entro el dito charmaruol arzeno deremi 29  
 velada grossa bianca 1  
 sonai moreschi pezi 2  
 verzi pezeto picholo 1  
 dozana de stringe nuove 1  
 +<sup>314</sup> de Ierusalem con relique entro 1

307. *there follows e stillo crossed out.*

308. *there follows Zore crossed out.*

309. *there follows Zane crossed out.*

310. *there follows Abderaman crossed out.*

311. *Abdelcherim is equivalent to Abd al-Karīm, literally "the servant of the Noble [God]".*

312. *1 corrected over 6.*

313. *Aias is equivalent to the Arabic name Iyās.*

314. *+ symbolizes "cross".*

zentura de chuoro d'alogar danari 1  
 tachie tonde de ixaro 2  
 zebelin pezo 1  
 tachia de tella 1  
 cholar de fustagno negro 1  
 scharpete de bianchete vechie pera 5  
 mudande nuove 10  
 chamixe de tella nuove 2  
 chamixe de tella et de bochasin uxade e vechie 12.

In sua chamera ad  
 refuxum res  
 infrascripte

Nenzuoli de tella nuovi con i chavi deffiladi per 1  
 nenzuoli de botana per 1  
 choda da petene con el manego d'osso bianco e negro 1  
 bereta negra dopia e bona 1  
 bereta bianca ugnola 1

// [f. 6] Ihesus MCCCCLV

chalze da scharpe vechie per 1  
 chalze solade uxade per 1  
 seola granda 1  
 penaruol con el charamal 1  
 zentura de chuoro vechia 1  
 fazuol vechio e roto con i chavi azuri 1  
 lucheto granda da barcha 1  
 pelle de chuoro rosso da stivali pezi 3  
 valixe de chuoro da pani 1  
 zupon de pano paonazo de grana bon 1  
 simitara con la vazina 1.

In una sua capsia a panis de albedo res infrascripte invente fuerunt:  
 vesta dopia negra voltada fodrada de pano beretin 1  
 vesta da contor<sup>315</sup> de pano malinori fodrada de volpe 1  
 mantello de pano meschio a la franzexe bon fodrado de  
 bianca 1  
 libero turchescho bianco 1  
 volpe rota e vechia pezo 1  
 coltra de bochasin bianca e vechia 1  
 chusini pieni de piuma 2  
 entemele vechie 2  
 charpeta da stramazza rossa e bona 1  
 tapedo da stramazza picholo et tristo 1  
 gabanichio beretin over de grixo fodrado de bianca 1  
 vesta de pano verde schuro vechia fodrada de volpe trista 1  
 schufoni tristi de grixo bianco pera 2.

In una capsia de albedo cum sera et chavi erant res infrascripte:  
 cortelli rabeschi con i manegi bianchi con la vazina 2  
 zera de pano de grana per el stomego 1  
 mantello de zambeloto chocholo fodrado de sarza paona-  
 za 1  
 zocholi batanti nuovi para 2 e vechi per 1, suma pera 3  
 scharpe nuove per 1  
 sacheto uno con do togne entro n° 2  
 udreto uno picholo con noxe muschade 1

315. *word of uncertain meaning.*

vesta de pano mostovalier fodrada de pelle de chastron  
 con le veste de fuine 1  
 mantelin de pano mostovalier con le fenestrele bon 1  
 mantelin de pano chupo quasi nuovo con le fenestrele 1  
 vesta morella dopia bona 1  
 zupon de pano meschio fodrado de biancheta bon 1

// [f. 6v] Ihesus MCCCCLV

scharsela da letere de botana nuova con letere suxo 1  
 zupon de zetani negro uxado 1  
 zupon de fostagno raxo negro 1  
 zupon de scharlato vechio 1.

De ratione viri nobilis ser Thome Zane:  
 campo d'oro da Chologna verde et apizolado peza 1  
 campo d'oro da Chologna verzi peza 1  
 bexaze de lana bianche per 1.

In sua camera

Leto nuovo de entema e de piuma 1  
 chavazal nuovo de entema 1  
 letexello vechio de piuma 1  
 nenzuoli vechi paro 1  
 galoze de legno a la fratischa paro 1.

In suo scriptorio

Spechio 1  
 charamal de vero 1  
 charamal de legno 1  
 lime pichole 2  
 piombo da letere 2  
 penaruol da pene con el charamal 1  
 temperarini 2  
 compassi de fereo 2  
 marco da pexar<sup>316</sup> oro et arzento 1  
 pena de fero 1  
 molete de fero da horexì 3  
 brunior da horexì 1  
 riga de fero 1  
 tazeta de laton schieta con la suo choverta 1  
 ponzoneti con letere 15  
 corda de paternostri de coralo e de chalzedonia tondi 25  
 porzeleta picola da scriptor 1  
 tarifa de spexe de marchadanthia con coverta morescha 1  
 taolele da scriver con el stillo d'arzento per 1  
 bossoleto da polvere con deremi de pexo, pezi 2, 1, deremi 4  
 offizieto in bona charta con choverta damaschina 1  
 chasseleta over busteta con balanze e pexi da zoie con le borsele  
 d'arzento e pexi de rame 1  
 bazinela stagnada da mochar candele 1  
 piera da guar con la vazina morescha 1  
 bossoleto d'osso da zibeto con rasadure de diamanti 1  
 seoleta pichola da testa 1  
 chasseleta con balanze d'arzento da zoie con pexi de rame 1  
 chandelier de laton picholo e roto 1

// [f. 7] Ihesus MCCCCLV

316. pexar *interlinear*.

riga de legno con el rigado 1  
 libereto con i sete salmi in bona carta 1  
 vergeta morescha da balotar con do chorde e con la coverta de  
 pano negro 1  
 libereti de bazarò 2  
 libro grando de suo raxon 1  
 chusin de chuoro vechio pien de goton 1  
 chatramis<sup>317</sup> con zucharo roxado 1  
 goto chrestalin con el choverchio 1  
 legno de perer da zoielieri pezo 1  
 scharpete de biancheta nuove pera 5  
 scharpini da chalze negri pera 2  
 chalze solade nuove pera 2  
 fuine crude pezi 6  
 fiascheto da vin de legno 1.

Busteta d'albedo da Venexia de raxon de sier Thomado Zane con  
 le chosse infrascripte entro:

anelli d'arzeno con veri verdi ligadi in deali 4 n° 38  
 anelli d'arzeno con veri biavi ligadi in deali 2 n° 28  
 anelli d'arzeno con veri rossi ligadi in deali 4 n° 62  
 anelli d'arzeno con veri turchini ligadi in deali 6 n° 96  
 9 veri infiladi verdi con pomoleti d'arzeno n° 12  
 6 veri biavi infiladi con pomoleti d'arzeno n° 12  
 10 veri paonazi infiladi con pomoleti d'arzeno n° 20  
 64 dopie rosse infilade con pomoleti d'arzeno n° 63.

In una zestella pichola vechia chosse infrascripte 1:

peteni vechi de legno 2  
 busteta de chuoro nuova morescha 1  
 bolador d'avuolio nuovo senza arzeno 1  
 filado sotil madassa 1  
 azal pezeto 1  
 pontaruol 1  
 forfede vechie per 1.

In un magazen in cha' de Benelara de raxon de ser Marco Santin:

chanevaze rodoletto 1  
 pani<sup>318</sup> de 60 verde chiaro peza 1  
 paonazi peze 2  
 rosso peza 1  
 vesta de zetani veludà verde vechia e desfata in pezi 6  
 alberioni in monte grossi negri e alguni bianchi e rossi var-  
 naze 280.

De raxon de sier Mathio Zusto:

panni quarantini acholoradi balle 2 pezi 16.

Testes vir nobilis ser Cosmas Pasqualigo quondam domini \*\*\*  
 vir prudens ser Angelus de Corado quondam ser Iacobi.

<sup>317</sup>. word of uncertain meaning.

<sup>318</sup>. i corrected over o.

Doc. no. 3. *Inventory of Stefano di Bossina: Damascus, 29 August 1455. Reg. III, ff. 7v-10.*

Ihesus MCCCCLV

Die xxviii iugusti

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo CCCCLV, indictione tertia, die xxviii augusti, Damasci. Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum repertorum<sup>319</sup> post obitum Stephani quondam Andree de Bossina, defuncti in domo habitationis virorum nobilium ser Ioannis Lando et Pauli Erizo, factum per me presbiterum Christoforum de Flore Venetiarum notarium, de voluntate et ad instantiam magistri Jacobi Candi barbitunoris cotimi Damasci et commissarii dicti predefuncti, presentibus infrascriptis.

In una capseleta ascripte res infrascripte:

in un sacheto de tella oro serafi 67  
 in una scharsela de chuoro negro arzentada e morescha oro veneti ducati 9  
 in un sacheto de tella arzento deremi 203  
 chofineto arzentado a la morescha 1 in quo inventi fuerunt anuli et iocalia infrascripta:  
 aneieto d'oro con una turchexe e ligado a la francha 1  
 aneieto d'oro con 1 rubin ligado a la francha 1  
 aneieto d'oro con 1 perla tonda ligado a la francha 1  
 anello<sup>320</sup> d'arzeno con 1 turchexe ligado a la morescha 1  
 anello d'oro con 1 testa in corniola ligado a la francha 1  
 perla<sup>321</sup> grossa non tonda ziala desligada de charati 3 vel circa 1  
 rubineto conzo in terzo in una carta involto 1  
 croxeta de schorzo de perle con 1 crucifixo<sup>322</sup> intaiado 1  
 croxete de schorzo de perla de più sorte 16  
 chospeli d'arzeno da vazina pizoli 2  
 algune carte depente con la passion zoé n° 11  
 borson bianco de chamoza lavorato con peroli grossi e con frascheti 2 d'arzeno 1  
 schudela de porzelana bianca e azura sfessa 1  
 schudellini de porzelana verde 4  
 bossoli de turiaga tra grandi e picholi 16  
 pezeto de sangue de drago mezan 1  
 taza d'arzeno dorada et smaltada 1  
 oldano d'arzeno 1  
 champanelle moresche 5  
 agi mazeti 2  
 tazeta morescha bianca 1  
 medaie de rame vechie e triste 14  
 chalzedonia tonda pezo 1  
 tornexi in uno scharnuzo n° 154  
 cordelle da entemelle lavorade d'oro e d'arzeno pezi 2  
 stringe dozena 1

// [f. 8] Ihesus MCCCCLV

319. *there follows in crossed out.*

320. *there follows 1 crossed out.*

321. *there follows rubineto crossed out.*

322. *ci of crucifixo interlinear.*

spago da letere madasse 25  
 paternostri de legno de Ierusalem chorde 8  
 pontaruol con el manego negro 1  
 violeto scharnuzeto 1  
 Ihesus de piombo indoradi de Ierusalem n° 4  
 manego de cortello arzentado 1  
 cortelli moreschi con le vazine 2  
 lima senza manego 1  
 piere da guar 2  
 forfete dorade per 1  
 peneli da segnar colli 7  
 una rocha da oro et arzento 1  
 fazoleti de ixaro lavoradi a la damasca con seda 9  
 muschio pocho in vessiga 1  
 vesige da muschio vuode 2  
 cordele de Ierusalem per mexure del Santo Sepulcro 6  
 ampoline pichole con balsamo 2  
 petene de osso over spina 1  
 rigadori de piombo 2  
 oro batudo per depentori pezi 20  
 chorteli arzentadi et pontizadi con uno piron d'arzento  
 lavorato a nielo con la suo vazina per 1.

In chamera sua in solario posita invente fuerunt res infrascripte ad refusum:

anchoneta 1  
 ampoline de balsamo 2  
 scharsela de chuoro todescha 1  
 cera nuova pezeti 6  
 zucheta con oio roxado 1  
 spechio 1  
 seola mezana 1 et 1 pichola n° 2  
 petene 1  
 noxe de India 7  
 zinziber verde impignatado pignate 5  
 ellectuario de sugo de ruoxe alberelato 1  
 schudella de porzelana grossa con garbeladure de zinziber 1  
 zucharo roxado in uno albarello mezan 1  
 antofani<sup>323</sup> e garbeladure de garofolo scharnuzeto 1  
 dopier mezo bruxado  
 seda de porcho da far penelli mazi 2  
 libro vechio scripto per vulgar squarzado 1  
 chandelier de legno 1

// [f. 8v] Ihesus MCCCCLV

chortelli grossi da chuxina 3  
 zenabrio menudo scharnozeto 1  
 temperarin in una vazina d'osso bianco 1  
 chassetina da bater fuogo 1  
 chandelle bruxade mazo 1  
 charamalli de osso negro 2  
 chandelier de laton picholo 1  
 chofineto morescho con i ordegni da bater fuogo 1  
 feral 1  
 seola da pani 1

323. *first a of antofani corrected over s.*



riga de legno 1  
 lucheto todescho 1  
 borsa da carta e lettere de carta<sup>324</sup> pegorina 1  
 schatola de aze con aze entro e altre fusare 1  
 verigolete 2  
 barilli da ambra vuodi 2  
 chalze vechie para 4  
 gona de pano negro fodrada de volpe trista 1  
 sacheto de tella con algune straze de tella 1  
 mudande 2  
 fiascho de legno depento a la morescha 1  
 stivaletti rossi per 1  
 chalze solade bianche uxade pera 2  
 zorneda de fostagno negro vechia 1  
 tella inzerada pezeti 5  
 chamixe squarzade 2  
 entemelle 2  
 schapini negri e bianchi pera 3  
 berete de tella da portar de note 2  
 chavo de zentura d'arzeno lavorado a nielo 1  
 sacheto de boraxo pasta 1  
 zuponi vechi 4  
 stivali da chossa per 1  
 mudanda morescha 1  
 scharpe dopie nuove per 1  
 botana pezeti 2  
 fazuol furlan 1  
 fostagno bianco nuovo pezo 1  
 sacho morescho con zinziber belledi pexo camerado rotoli 15 onze 7  
 sacho 1 con chanelle pexo chamorado rotoli 4 onze 6  
 sacheto 1 con delio<sup>325</sup> fin entro pexo chamorado rotoli 1 onze 1 1/3  
 sacho 1 con piper con el segno de ser Felipo di Garzoni camerado  
 rotoli 14 onze 10

// [f. 9] Ihesus MCCCCLV

schatola 1 con lacha r<sup>o</sup> 2  
 sacheto con garbeladure de noxe 1  
 piper sharnuzeto 1  
 sacheto con garbeladure de zinziber 1  
 garofali pondo uno colmo pexo chamorado r<sup>o</sup> 45 onze 9  
 garofali in uno sacho quasi per uno terzo pexo chamorado r<sup>o</sup> 19  
 onze -  
 sacheto 1 con noxe entro pexo camerado r<sup>o</sup> 6 onze 10  
 sacheto 1 con mazis entro pexo chamorado r<sup>o</sup> 2 onze 1  
 martello 1  
 tenaia 1  
 verigola grossa 1  
 verigole mezane 3  
 seradura granda con chiave do fornida 1  
 scharpello da taiapiera 1  
 maio da bater goton 1  
 scharsela da conti e letere de botana depenta 1  
 invoie de tella zalla 2

324. *there follows b crossed out.*

325. *word of uncertain meaning.*

choltra morescha de tella depenta 1  
 chavezo 1 de pano meschio beretin chiaro alto pichi 10  
 veste da mumi<sup>326</sup> de botana indorade 2  
 forme da scharpe nuove per 1  
 chanevaza da velle nuova pichi 13  
 pelle de chuoro peza 1  
 sacho tento de rosso de chanevaza 1  
 chorda nuova da ligar colli peze 3  
 spago da chuxir madasse 5  
 chanevaza nuova in do pezi pechi 4  
 zocholi frateschi vechi pera 2  
 tavolele da scriver per 1.

In una capsia a pannis de talpono invente fuerunt res infrascripte:

croxe de Ierusalem con reliquie entro 2  
 scharsela todescha de chouro negro rechamada 1  
 Agnus Dei con el vero con algune reliquie de Ierusalem entro 1  
 zentura de cremexi arzentada e lavoriada a nielo 1  
 chandeloti doradi e benedeti grandi de onze 3 l'uno 3  
 chandeloti picholi de onza 1 5  
 charamal morescho 1  
 agi da sachi in una chana n° 17  
 fazuoli lavoradi de seda cremexina a la morescha 8  
 fazuol lavorato de seda bianca con vuovre large moresche 1  
 fazuol de ixaro stretto con i chavi de seda cremexa 1  
 fazuol de bochasin schieto uxado 1

// [f. 9v] Ihesus MCCCCLV

lima con el manego d'osso bianco 1  
 lima rota senza manego 1  
 forfexe da dona per 1  
 cortello da taiar in taola con le vere d'arzeno 1  
 chortello todescho con la vazina vechio 1  
 compasso todescho 1  
 forfexe da penaruol triste per 1  
 fazoleti vechi schieti 2  
 bereta paonaza ugnola e vechia 1  
 fazuol de seda verde e de più colori lavorato a la morescha 1  
 tapedo chaierim con i chavi tessudo a la morescha 1  
 tapedi nuovi pizoli 2  
 bexaze de lana de più colori fodrade de chanevaza paro 1  
 oneiz<sup>327</sup> rabescho de pano rosso e biavo a binde fodrà de botana e  
 nuovo 1  
 mantelin tondo de pano chupo nuovo 1  
 mantelin de pano mostovalier schuro nuovo 1  
 zorneda de pano negro fodrada tella 1  
 gona de pano vermeio fodrada de beretin vechia 1  
 gona de pano biavo fodrada de albertoni vechia 1  
 zupon de fostagno beretin 1  
 chapello de bivaro con cordon de seda cremexina 1  
 pezeto de pano chupo 1  
 pezeto de mostovalier schuro 1  
 pezeto de pano verde 1

326. word of uncertain meaning.

327. word of uncertain meaning.

biancheta nuova pichi 5  
 fostagno bianchizado pichi 4  
 tella nuova da Rodi streta pichi 13  
 botana pichi 3  
 nenzuol de botana de telle 3, 1  
 nenzuol de tella de telle 3, 1  
 chamixe de tella bone 4  
 mudande bone 4  
 vellada vechia 1  
 choda da petene 1  
 Chavezeto de pano verde da invoia pichi 3  
 Chavezeto de pano biavo da invoia pichi 2 2/3  
 maiuoli de zera bianca 18  
 fazuol 1 con chandi entro zercha r° 1  
 sacheto 1 de tella con maalef entro zercha r° - onze 6

// [f. 10] Ihesus MCCCCLV

pironi d'arzeno in una vazina 2  
 zucharo de do chote pan 1  
 mazeto de lin non trato 1  
 chavazal de entema 1  
 chusini 2  
 chebre<sup>328</sup> bianco 1  
 entemella 1  
 vardachuor rosso 1  
 bereta dopia negra uxada 1  
 chamixa sporcha vechia 1  
 entemella 1  
 lavori da maioricha tra schudelle e piadenete et zestella de venchi  
 da taola<sup>329</sup> 1  
 spedo todescho che lavora con contrapexo 1  
 manaruola 1  
 semoza 1  
 nota che diti lavori da maioricha fin qui tute quelle chosete havé  
 ser Pollo Erizo per ducati 2 d'oro et deremi 40  
 zenie dopie 19  
 zenia ugnola 1  
 anello da bolla d'arzeno con uno Iesus schulpido 1.

Testes vir nobilis ser Joannes Lando quondam domini Marini  
 vir nobilis ser Paulus Erizo domini Antonii.

**Doc. no. 4. Inventory of the consul Marino da Molin: Damascus, 4 May 1457. Reg. III, unnumbered ff.**

Ihesus MCCCCLVII

In nomine Dei eterni, amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, indictione v, die quarto mensis maii, Damasci, presentibus infrascriptis. Inventarium presens<sup>330</sup> omnium rerum et bonorum repertorum in domo habitationis quondam spectabilis domini Marini de Molino,<sup>331</sup> pro illu-

328. word of uncertain meaning.

329. there follows uno crossed out.

330. presens interlinear.

331. there follows consul crossed out.

strissimo ducali dominio Venetiarum<sup>332</sup> consulis<sup>333</sup> Damasci,<sup>334</sup> hic in Damasco defuncti,<sup>335</sup> scriptum et anotatum post eius obitum<sup>336</sup> per me presbiterum Christoforum de Flore<sup>337</sup> Venetiarum notarium, ad instantiam et requisitionem<sup>338</sup> virorum nobilium ser Antonii Lauredano, Iheronimi Gabrielis, Iusti Mauraceno,<sup>339</sup> Iheronimi et Marci de Molino, domini Pauli commissariorum quondam dicti domini Marini predefuncti.

Et primo.

n° 1

In una cassa de talpon da panni nuova con le teste de nogera n° 1,<sup>340</sup> le chosse infrascripte:

vesta de pano chamelin fodrada de volpe da contor<sup>341</sup> 1  
 vesta paonaza de zambeloto con manege a comedo curta  
 fodrada de niste<sup>342</sup> de fuine et el resto de albertoni 1  
 vesta de panno morelo fodrada de lovi cervieri vechia con  
 manege a comedo<sup>343</sup> curta e frusta 1  
 vesta de panno paonazo frusta con manege a comedo fo-  
 drada de colli de martori 1  
 vesta de zambeloto de grana con manege averte longa fina  
 in terra fodrada de martori le manege el busto 1  
 vesta de panno cupo ugnola frusta<sup>344</sup> con manege a come-  
 do 1  
 mantello de panno cupo longo e frusto 1  
 zupon de zetani negro vechio 1  
 zupon de ormexi chanza color bon con manegeti de pano  
 negro 1  
 zupon de veludo<sup>345</sup> cremexi pian vechio e roto 1  
 zupon de pano mostovalier bon 1  
 chavezo de ormexi chanza cholor schuro pichi 35, 1  
 zetani veludà cremexi pichi 5 chavezo 1  
 zexendelo morescho grando fornido de laton<sup>346</sup> vechio 1  
 chusin de chuoro azuro longo 1  
 martori conzi e tarmadi pezi 4  
 zupon de fostagno negro fodrado de voltor uxado 1  
 fuine chrude pezi 5.

n° 2

In una cassa da panni simele a la predita le chosse infrascripte:<sup>347</sup>

vesta longa de pano paonazo de grana con manege a co-  
 medo longa fodrada de fuina 1  
 vesta de pano paonaza con manege averte fodrada de dos-  
 si longa 1  
 vesta de panno morelo fodrada de varo con manege aver-  
 te longa 1

332. *there follows in crossed out.*

333. *consulis interlinear.*

334. *Damasci corrected over Damasco; defuncti follows, crossed out.*

335. *there follows post eius mortem factum crossed out.*

336. *post eius obitum interlinear.*

337. *there follows curatorem Damasci crossed out.*

338. *et requisitionem added on the margin.*

339. *there follows et crossed out.*

340. *n° 1 interlinear; con follows, crossed out.*

341. *word of uncertain meaning.*

342. *word of uncertain meaning.*

343. *there follows fod crossed out.*

344. *f corrected over a*

345. *veludo interlinear over zetani crossed out.*

346. *there follows arze crossed out.*

347. *In una cassa da panni simele a la predita le chosse infrascripte added on the margin.*

vesta<sup>348</sup> de pano paonazo con manege a comedo fodrà de  
dossi vechia 1  
zorneda de fostagno negro con pello uxada 1  
chapuzo de panno morelo 1  
zexendelo moresco de rame arzentado e fornido 1  
banchali vechi e uxadi pezi 7

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berete dopie de scharlato 2  
berete ugnole de scharlato 2  
bereta paonaza da preti dopia e vechia 1  
bereta negra ugnola 1<sup>349</sup>  
chandeloti doradi pezi 4  
chandelloti bianchi schieti pezi 4  
chuslier d'arzeno vechie tra sane e rote pezi 12  
pironi d'arzeno tra sani et roti pezi 12  
confeneta d'arzeno e dorada pizola 1  
taza d'arzeno mezana 1  
cortelini varmidi d'arzeno in 1 vazina con le arme da cha'  
da Molin 2  
saliere d'arzeno basse senza pè 2  
corteli grandi arzentadi<sup>350</sup> smaltadi da taiar in taola 4  
corteli simeli mezani 2  
cortello simele piccolo 1  
zentura de cuoro con 1 fiba d'arzeno 1  
taza<sup>351</sup> arabescha de rame intaiada e stagnada 1  
corteliera milanexe con cortelli milanexi 12, 1  
zambeloto negro anguri grosso peza 1  
chalze solade uxade morelle para 5  
schapini nuovi da chalze negri para 2  
scharpete de biancheta tra nuove e vechie para 4  
pizeti de panno mostovalier e verde pezeti 4  
chalze bianche da scharpe vechie par 1  
schapuzin de grixo rosso 1.

n° 3

In una cassa de talpon da pani vechia, numero 3, le chosse infra-  
scripte:

vesta de zambeloto chocoło longa con manege a comedo  
fodrà de volpe 1  
vesta de panno rosso curta vechia fodrada de albertoni e  
dossi manege a comedo 1  
vesta de zambeloto paonazo longa fodrada de zendado de  
grana con manege a comedo 1  
vesta de panno negro frusta con manege a comedo fodrà  
de varo 1  
vesta de zambeloto biavo curta fodrà de dossi rossi e giri  
con manege a comedo 1  
busteta con reliquie de Ierusalem entro e con 1 +<sup>352</sup> et 1  
paxe 1  
pianelle nuove par 1  
chanapiera nuova con colti 3, 1

348. *there follows p crossed out.*

349. *below follows banchali vechi pezi 7 crossed out.*

350. *there follows da crossed out.*

351. *there follows de crossed out.*

352. + *symbolizes "cross".*

mantello de zambeloto biavo vechio fodrado de panno  
 negro curto 1  
 balanzuole da pexar ducati de chuoro moresche par 1  
 zalon con figure da leto 1  
 fodra de pelle de chavre de Chandia longa 1.

In la suo borsa, oro:  
 prima veneti ducati 4  
 ongaro pezo 1  
 serafo falso pezo 1

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deremi vechi da deremi 2 el pezo pezi 11  
 grosso venezian pezo 1  
 soldo furlan pezo 1  
 deremi nuovi da deremo uno el pezo pezi 42.

n° 4

In una chassa piccola de albedo, numero 4, le chosse infrascripte:  
 porzelane grosse zoè schudelle pezi 5  
 nenzuoli paro 2  
 mantilli vechi tra grandi e piccoli 7  
 mantilli de tarlix da credenziera 3  
 tovaie de lin over de stopa 5  
 tovaie de tarlix 2  
 tovaioli vechi e roti 12  
 fazuol con i chavi deffiladi bianco e roto 1  
 fazuol furlan 1  
 entemelle 5  
 tachie de tella da bereta 3  
 chamixe 3  
 mudande 2  
 mezaruola da navegar 1  
 gaban de grixo longo ugnolo e vechio 1.

In chamera granda a refuxo le chosse infrascripte e prima:  
 tapedi grandi da mastabe uxadi asa' boni 2  
 tapedi mezani grossi uxadi 2  
 tapedi piccoli grossi e vechi 2<sup>353</sup>  
 leto de entema con piuma bon 1  
 chavazar simele bon 1  
 letexelo da stramazzo simele 1  
 chussini simeli 4  
 moscheto morescho da bochasin schieto 1  
 coltra de bochasin bianco uxada mezana 1  
 coltra de bochasin sanguinea uxada piccola 1  
 carpeta da leto vergada vechia 1  
 mirabolani pegnata 1  
 segielo de rame moresco con el coverchio stagnado 1  
 forfexe vechie mezane par 1  
 arco con el suo tabarro e freze 1  
 schiavina vechia 1  
 tavola da l'abacho 1  
 anchoneta con Cristo in croxe e Nostra Dona e san Zuane 1

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In chamera pichola, fo de miser Piero quondam dito miser conso-  
lo, le cosse infrascripte:

anconeta con Cristo passo 1  
cortinazo de sarza rossa over rassa rechamado con figure 1.

In chuxina, le chosse infrascripte:<sup>354</sup>

schudele de peltre 10  
schudelini de peltre 12  
piadene grande de peltre 4  
piadene pichole chome schudelle da l'or<l>o largo de pel-  
tre 2  
taieri de peltre 8  
barilli 2  
ramini 2  
morter de bronzo<sup>355</sup> con la suo maza 1  
entiani<sup>356</sup> de rame 5  
lume da oio 3  
chaldiera mezana 1  
pignata de rame con el suo choverchio da galia 1  
pignata de rame morescha 1  
fersora longa da tegnir soto el rosto 1  
fersora de rame da frizer 1  
gradella 1  
chaze de fero forade 2  
gratachaxo 1  
spedo grandio 1  
spedo piccolo 1  
chandeleri piccoli de laton da taola 2  
pestaruole 2  
follo da chuxina 1  
taieri de legno grandi 5  
taieri de legno piccoli 9  
chaze de legno 2  
cesto grandio da pan 1  
cestella da pan rota 1  
piatello de peltre mezan 1  
piter de aqua 1.

In chaneva le chosse infrascripte:

taieri nuovi grandi 10  
barillo da soma con romania e malvaxia in summa rotoli  
22, 2  
barille de quarta vuode 2  
charatello de sechi 6, 1.

**Doc. no. 5.** *Inventory of Nicolò de Ruzino da Feltre: Beirut galley, 12 November 1457. Reg. III, unnumbered ff. Messy preparatory draft on loose sheet.*

MCCCCLVII, die XII mensis novembris, in galea patrono viri nobilis domini Fantini Lauredano vi-  
gii de Barutho.

Inventarium rerum et bonorum quondam Nicolai de Ruzino de Feltre, defuncti in galea patrono  
viri nobilis domini Fantini Lauredano<sup>357</sup> viagii de Barutho, repertarum in dicta galea post mortem

354. *there follows 10 crossed out.*

355. *there follows d crossed out.*

356. *word of uncertain meaning.*

357. *there follows spectabilis domini Ioannis crossed out.*

dicti predefuncti, presentibus viro nobili ser Donato Contareno, spectabile domino Nicolai, nec non provido viro ser Georgio quondam Benedicti Ioculatoris et aliis restantis, ad hoc vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

i borsa al suo zupon apichada con oro veneti ducati 2  
i sacheto con horo veneti ducati 20

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i par de bolze vuode  
i gaban dopio de pano persegin  
i gona dopia de pano mostovalier  
i mantel dopio con el suo schapuzin  
i vesta de mostovalier fodrà de volpe  
i libro de santi pari composto per san Iheronimo in carta bambaxina  
i libro dito Fiameta.

In una chapsa erant et invente fuerunt res infrascripte, videlicet:  
i scharsela de chuoro<sup>358</sup> con le cosse infrascripte, zoè:  
3 mazi over peze de agi  
algune scripture  
i entemela

i zupon de fostagno  
i bereta dopia negra  
i bereta ugnola negra  
i chamixa  
i mudanda  
i entemela  
2 berete ugnole beretine  
2 tachie de tella  
i fazuol  
i fazoleto  
i per de schufoni,  
i pan de zucharo  
i bereta de pele agnelina  
i per de scharpe nuove;

in uno sacco parvo erant res infrascripte, videlicet:  
2 chamixe  
i mudanda  
algune centure de Ierusalem  
algune corde de paternostri de Ierusalem de piui sorte  
i libro de istorie de Grixeldo<sup>359</sup> e de Gualtier  
i mazo de chandele  
i bereta bianca con pendoli  
i zorneda biava fodrada de tella

//

i mantelo de pano chupo  
i schapuzin todescho de pano verde  
i vesta dopia meschia  
i per de nenzoleti  
i per de chalze solade  
i centura de tessuto vermeio con chavo e fiba e passeti 7  
d'arzeno

<sup>358</sup>. *there follows vuoda crossed out.*

<sup>359</sup>. *interlinear.*



i zupon de chamoza fodrado de pelle  
i per de guanti de chamoza  
i libereto de charta bambaxina nuovo  
i dozena de stringe  
i officieto de Nostra Dona e con altre chosse suxo.

Testes vir nobilis<sup>360</sup> ser Donatus Contareno spectabilis domini Nicolai  
vir providus ser Georgius quondam Benedicti Ioculator.

*Appendix 5*

## VENETIANS IN DAMASCUS, 1455-1457

The lists of Venetian people operating in Damascus between 1455 and 1457 have been created by going through the records we studied. We have pointed out any cases of doubt about the real presence of someone in Damascus during this period, and also about people not clearly defined as Venetians. Moreover, we have considered as Venetian nobles only those people explicitly indicated with this title or strongly suspected of being patrician. It has been not always possible to shed light upon the family relationships of Venetians sharing the same surname and/or patronymic. In the footnotes there are references to patricians or *popolani* whose wills and genealogies are to be found in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia: obviously, the recurrent possibility of homonyms could not be resolved in most cases.

## 1455

Filippo	quodam Antonio, goldsmith, executor of Andrea di Bossina NT, b. 982, f. 62, 22 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. IIv, 27 Nov. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455
Giovanni	slave of consul CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4, 15 Aug. 1455
Barbo, Nicolò	q. Giovanni, noble, executor of Ravagnino NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455
Bertolino, Nicolò	uncle and executor of Ravagnino, perhaps not in Damascus NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455
di Bossina, Stefano	q. Andrea, merchant, testator, NT, b. 982, ff. 62-62v, 22 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 7v-10, 29 Aug. 1455
Candi, Giacomo	barber, witnessed Ravagnino's will NT, b. 982, f. 62, 14 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), f. 7v, 8 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. IIv, 27 Nov. 1455 executor of Andrea di Bossina NT, b. 982, f. 62, 22 Aug. 1455
Contarini, Leone <sup>361</sup>	noble, perhaps no longer in Damascus NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455
di Corrado, Angelo	q. Giacomo, witnessed inventory of Ravagnino CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 7, 17 Aug. 1455
Erizzo, Antonio <sup>362</sup>	merchant NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455

<sup>361</sup>. He may be Leone Contarini son of Carlo, from the parish of S. Agostino and dead in 1464: see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. II, 10, p. 483.

<sup>362</sup>. We are uncertain whether he is the father of Paolo and Girolamo Erizzo; he does not enjoy the title of noble.

Erizzo, Paolo	son of Antonio, probably brother of Girolamo, noble, merchant and landlord of Bossina with Giovanni Lando CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4, 24 April 1455 witnessed Bossina's inventory, bought his maiolica CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 7v and 10, 29 Aug. 1455
del Fiore, Cristoforo	priest and notary
de Garzoni, Antonio	q. Natale, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 10, 20 Nov. 1455
Giusto, Matteo	<i>magistrum</i> and executor of Ravagnino, perhaps not in Damascus NT, b. 982, f. 6IV, 14 Aug. 1455
Lando, Giovanni	q. Marino, brother of Ludovico, noble, landlord of Bossina with Paolo Erizzo CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 7v and 10, 29 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 10v, 20 Nov. 1455
Lando, Ludovico <sup>363</sup>	q. Marino, brother of Giovanni, noble, witnessed testament of Bossina NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455
Longo, Francesco <sup>364</sup>	q. Marco, brother of Girolamo, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 12, 30 Nov. 1455
Loredan, Luca <sup>365</sup>	q. Giacomo, noble, merchant, landlord and executor of Ravagnino NT, b. 982, f. 6IV, 14 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4v, 22 Aug. 1455
Loredan, Marco <sup>366</sup>	q. Paolo, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 11, 20 Nov. 1455
da Molin, Marco	q. Paolo, noble, merchant, brother of Girolamo and consul's executor CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4, 24 April 1455
da Molin, Marino <sup>367</sup>	q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4, 15 Aug. 1455
da Molin, Piero <sup>368</sup>	q. Girolamo CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 11, 20 Nov. 1455
da Molin, Piero	q. Marino, son of consul, noble, CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 11v, 28 Nov. 1455

363. For the genealogy of Giovanni and Ludovico Lando see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 18, p. 223.

364. Francesco Longo died in 1478: see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 18, p. 301. For his will see NT, b. 1186, Domenico Groppi, no. 6, f. 4v (26 April 1474); it is a copy in *forma publica* of a previous will drawn up by Vittore Rosati in 1472.

365. For the genealogy of Luca Loredan see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 19, p. 329.

366. For the genealogy of Marco Loredan, from the parish of Santa Maria Formosa and dead in 1490, see: BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 19, p. 333. For his will see ASV: Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea Testamenti, b. 28, Francesco Belletto, no. 2728 (23 May 1488).

367. For the genealogy of Marino da Molin and his son Piero see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. V, 23, p. 211. Piero died in 1484.

368. For the genealogy of Piero da Molin q. Girolamo see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. V, 23, p. 221.

Pasqualigo, Cosma <sup>369</sup>	noble, witnessed inventory of Stefano Ravagnino CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 7, 17 Aug. 1455
Ravagnino, Stefano	q. Apollonio, merchant, testator NT, b. 982, ff. 61v-62, 14 Aug. 1455 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 4v, 22 Aug. 1455
Refaganelli, Simeone	merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. II, 29 Nov. 1455
da Serravalle, Nicolò	son of Giovanni, formerly servant in the household of Leone Contarini in Damascus NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455
Trevisan, Piero <sup>370</sup>	q. Giovanni, noble, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. II, 20 Nov. 1455
Valerio, Stefano	q. Antonio, witnessed Bossina's will NT, b. 982, f. 62v, 22 Aug. 1455
Volzamonte, Stefano	q. Cristoforo, witnessed Ravagnino's will NT, b. 982, f. 62, 14 Aug. 1455
Zane, Tommaso <sup>371</sup>	q. Maffeo, noble, merchant, executor of Ravagnino NT, b. 982, f. 61v, 14 Aug. 1455
Zanon, Giovanni	q. Andrea CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. IIv, 28 Nov. 1455
<b>1456</b>	
Antonio	q. Natale, tailor CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 16, 20 May 1456 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 16v, 26 May 1456
Martino	q. Giovanni, jeweller CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, un. f., 31 May 1456
Piero	q. Giovanni, barber, perhaps non-Venetian CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 16, 26 May 1456 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, un. f., 16 Aug. 1456
Bembo, Girolamo <sup>372</sup>	q. Giorgio, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, un. f., 31 May 1456
Candi, Giacomo	barber CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 14, 1 April 1456 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 16v, 29 May 1456 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, un. f., 31 May 1456
Contarini, Urbano	q. Carlo, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 13-13v, 31 Mar 1456

<sup>369</sup>. He may be Cosma Pasqualigo son of Paolo: see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VI, 26, p. 21. He died in 1505.

<sup>370</sup>. For the genealogy of Piero Trevisan see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VII, 32, p. 105.

<sup>371</sup>. The genealogy of Tommaso Zane is in BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VII, 34, p. 323. For his will see NT, b. 14, Bartolomeo Almerici, nos. 12 and 43 (25 June 1483); currently these documents cannot be consulted.

<sup>372</sup>. For the genealogy of Girolamo Bembo see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. I, 4, p. 321.

- Dolfin, Dolfino<sup>373</sup> q. Giacomo, noble  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 13v-15v, 1 April 1456
- Dolfin, Vittore q. Giorgio, noble  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 31 Aug. 1456
- del Fiore, Cristoforo priest and notary
- Giustinian, Girolamo<sup>374</sup> q. Marino, noble  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 14v-15v, 1 April 1456
- de Guarisco, Giovanni merchant, perhaps non-Venetian  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 16 Aug. 1456
- Loredan, Luca q. Giacomo, noble, merchant, landlord and executor of Ravagnino  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 12v-13v, 31 March 1456  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 14-15v, 1 April 1456
- Michiel, Ludovico<sup>375</sup> q. Pietro (procurator of S. Marco), noble  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, ff. 13-13v, 31 March 1456  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 14, 1 April 1456
- da Molin, Marino q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus
- Trevisan, Domenico<sup>376</sup> q. Stefano, noble  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 13v, 1 April 1456
- Zane, Tommaso q. Maffeo, noble, merchant  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, f. 13v, 1 April 1456
- Zorzi, Domenico son of Giovanni (described as «young»)  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 31 Aug. 1456
- 1457**
- Caterina and Martino slaves of consul  
NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457
- Giorgio q. Benedetto, jeweller  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 22 July 1457
- Marino q. Bartolomeo, jeweller and merchant  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 mv)  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 11 April 1457  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 12 April 1457  
CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unn. f., 1 July 1457
- Martino<sup>377</sup> q. Giovanni, witnessed consul's will  
NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457

373. For the genealogy of Dolfino Dolfin see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. III, I, p. 291.

374. For the genealogy of Girolamo Giustinian, from the parish of S. Maria Zobenigo, see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VII, 35, p. 452. For his will see NT, b. 1149, Paolo Benedetto, f. 100v (4 Feb. 1462, 1461 mv).

375. For the genealogy of Ludovico Michiel see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. V, 22, p. 128.

376. For the genealogy of Domenico Trevisan, from the parish of San Baseggio, see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. VII, 32, p. 115.

377. Martino q. Giovanni is probably the same person as the jeweller of 1456 (see above).

Nicolò	son of Giovanni q. Giacomo CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 1 <sup>st</sup> July 1457
Balbi, Bartolomeo <sup>378</sup>	q. Bernardo, noble, brother of Paolo CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> )
Balbi, Paolo	q. Bernardo, noble, brother of Bartolomeo CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> ) CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 12 April 1457
Barbo, Nicolò	q. Giovanni, noble, executor of Ravagnino NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> )
Becino, Antonio	q. Ludovico CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 3 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> )
Bon, Francesco	q. Ludovico, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> )
Candi, Giacomo	barber, witnessed consul's will NT, b. 982, f. 64, 2 May 1457
Cappello, Cristoforo <sup>379</sup>	q. Francesco, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> )
Duodo, Piero	q. Luca CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 22 July 1457
Erizzo, Girolamo	son of Antonio, probably brother of Paolo, noble CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 22 June 1457
Falier, Francesco <sup>380</sup>	q. Piero, noble, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 22 June 1457
del Fiore, Cristoforo	priest and notary
Gabriel, Andrea	CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 19 May 1457
Gabriel, Girolamo <sup>381</sup>	q. Benedetto, noble, executor of consul NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> ) CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 4 May 1457 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 19 May 1457
Longo, Girolamo <sup>382</sup>	q. Marco, brother of Francesco, noble, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 22 July 1457
Loredan, Antonio <sup>383</sup>	q. Giacomo, brother of Luca, noble, merchant

378. For the will of Bartolomeo Balbi, from the parish of Sant' Agnese, see NT, b. 986, Francesco Rogeri, nos. 216 (11 Oct. 1455).

379. For the genealogy of Cristoforo Cappello see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. II, 8, p. 274. He died in 1488.

380. For the genealogy of Francesco Falier see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. III, 14, pp. 443-444. He died in 1504.

381. For the genealogy of Girolamo Gabriel see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. II, 7, p. 185.

382. For the genealogy of Girolamo Longo see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 18, p. 301.

383. For the will of Antonio Loredan, from the parish of S. Maria Formosa, see NT, b. 1157, Benedetto Croci, prot. II, f. 156v (19 July 1446).

- CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 *mv*)  
 executor of consul  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 4 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 19 May 1457
- Loredan, Luca<sup>384</sup> q. Giacomo, brother of Antonio, noble, merchant, landlord  
 and executor of Ravagnino  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 Jan. 1457 (1456 *mv*)  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 *mv*)  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 19 May 1457
- da Molin, Girolamo<sup>385</sup> q. Paolo, noble, brother of Marco, executor of consul  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), unnn. f., 4 May 1457
- da Molin, Marco q. Paolo, noble, brother of Girolamo, executor of consul  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), unnn. f., 4 May 1457
- da Molin, Marino q. Filippo, noble, consul of Damascus  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 4 May 1457
- da Molin, Piero q. Marino, noble, son of consul  
 NT, b. 982, ff. 63v-64, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 4 May 1457
- Morosini, Giusto<sup>386</sup> q. Benedetto, noble, merchant, executor of consul  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 *mv*)  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63v, 2 May 1457  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), unnn. f., 4 May 1457
- Morosini, Nicolò q. Carlo  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 12 Apr. 1457
- Priuli, Domenico q. Giacomo, witnessed receipt of Marco Santini  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 *mv*)
- Santini, Marco<sup>387</sup> merchant  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 *mv*)
- Trevisan, Domenico q. Stefano, noble  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 10 Jan. 1457 (1456 *mv*)
- de Zane, Ludovico q. Simone  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 *mv*)  
 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 12 April 1457
- Zen, Giovanni q. Antonio, witnessed receipt of Marco Santini  
 NT, b. 982, f. 63, 17 Feb. 1457 (1456 *mv*)

384. For the genealogy of Antonio and Luca Loredan see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. IV, 19, p. 329.

385. For the genealogy of Girolamo and Marco da Molin see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. V, 23, p. 232.

386. For the genealogy of Giusto Morosini, from the parish of S. Maria Formosa, see BARBARO, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, vol. V, 24, p. 380.

387. The will of Marco Santini is to be found in NT, b. 1234, Francesco de Soris, no. 499, 2 May 1485.

Ziola, Ludovico	q. Benedetto, merchant CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 20 Jan. 1457 (1456 <i>mv</i> ) CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 11 April 1457 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 12 April 1457 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 22 June 1457 CIN, b. 83 (II), reg. III, unnn. f., 1 July 1457
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TABLE 3. Venetian Community in Damascus, 1455-1457.

NAME	STATUS	JOB	1455	1456	1457
Antonio q. Natale		tailor		present	
Caterina	slave	servant			p
Filippo q. Antonio		goldsmith	p		
Giorgio q. Benedetto		jeweller			p
Giovanni	slave	servant	p		
Marino q. Bartolomeo		jeweller and merchant			p
Martino	slave	servant			p
Martino q. Giovanni		jeweller		p	p
Nicolò son of Giovanni					p
Piero q. Giovanni*		barber		p	
Bartolomeo Balbi q. Bernardo	noble				p
Paolo Balbi q. Bernardo	noble				p
Nicolò Barbo q. Giovanni	noble		p		p
Antonio Becino q. Ludovico					p
Girolamo Bembo q. Giorgio	noble			p	
Nicolò Bertolino			?		
Francesco Bon q. Ludovico		merchant			p
Stefano di Bossina q. Andrea		merchant	p		
Giacomo Candi		barber	p	p	p
Cristoforo Cappello q. Francesco	noble				p
Leone Contarini	noble		?		
Urbano Contarini q. Carlo	noble			p	
Angelo di Corrado q. Giacomo			p		
Dolfino Dolfin q. Giacomo	noble			p	
Vittore Dolfin q. Giorgio	noble			p	
Piero Duodo q. Luca					p
Antonio Erizzo		merchant	p		
Girolamo Erizzo son of Antonio	noble				p
Paolo Erizzo son of Antonio	noble	merchant	p		
Francesco Falier q. Piero	noble	merchant			p
Cristoforo del Fiore	religious	priest and notary	p	p	p
Andrea Gabriel					p
Girolamo Gabriel q. Benedetto	noble				p
Antonio de Garzoni q. Natale		merchant	p		
Girolamo Giustinian q. Marino	noble			p	
Matteo Giusto			?		
Giovanni de Guarisco*		merchant		p	
Ludovico Lando q. Marino	noble		p		
Giovanni Lando q. Marino	noble		p		
Francesco Longo q. Marco	noble		p		
Girolamo Longo q. Marco	noble	merchant			p
Antonio Loredan q. Giocomo	noble	merchant			p
Luca Loredan q. Giacomo	noble	merchant	p	p	p
Marco Loredan q. Paolo	noble		p		



Ludovico Michiel q. Piero	noble			p	
Girolamo da Molin q. Paolo	noble				p
Marco da Molin q. Paolo	noble	merchant	p		p
Marino da Molin q. Filippo	noble	consul	p	p	p
Piero da Molin q. Marino	noble		p		p
Piero da Molin q. Girolamo	noble		p		
Giusto Morosini q. Benedetto	noble	merchant			p
Nicolò Morosini q. Carlo					p
Cosma Pasqualigo	noble		p		
Domenico Priuli q. Giacomo					p
Stefano Ravagnino q. Apollonio		merchant	p		
Simeone Refaganelli		merchant	p		
Marco Santini		merchant			p
Domenico Trevisan q. Stefano	noble			p	p
Piero Trevisan q. Giovanni	noble	merchant	p		
Stefano Valerio q. Antonio			p		
Stefano Volzamonte q. Cristoforo			p		
Nicolò da Serravalle q. Giovanni		servant	p		
Giovanni Zanon q. Andrea			p		
Ludovico de Zane q. Simone					p
Tommaso Zane q. Maffeo	noble	merchant	p	p	
Giovanni Zen q. Antonio					p
Ludovico Ziola q. Benedetto		merchant			p
Domenico Zorzi son of Giovanni				p	

\*Perhaps not Venetian.

Sources: NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore; CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III.

According to E. Ashtor, the Venetian *fattori* (merchants often trading as agents on behalf of others) in Damascus were 24 in 1455, 14 in 1456 and 34 in 1457.<sup>388</sup>

Our documents display similar figures. Nevertheless, sometimes we cannot ascertain the real occupation of Venetians in Damascus, even if we might suppose that they were nearly all merchants, except for a few people (the priest-notary, the servants, the barbers and perhaps the tailor). In all we count 68 (5 uncertain) Venetians in the Syrian capital during the period 1455-1457, and this community was composed by of 31 people in 1455 (3 uncertain), 17 (2 uncertain) in 1456 and 34 in 1457.

TABLE 4. Venetian Presence in Damascus, 1455-1457.

VENETIANS IN DAMASCUS	1455	1456	1457
Nobles	15 <sup>a</sup>	10	16
Servants	2	0	2
Others	14 <sup>b</sup>	7 <sup>c</sup>	16
Total	31 (3 uncertain)	17 (2 uncertain)	34

<sup>a</sup> 1 uncertain if present in Damascus.

<sup>b</sup> 2 uncertain if present in Damascus.

<sup>c</sup> 2 uncertain if Venetian.

Sources: NT, b. 982, Cristoforo del Fiore; CIN, b. 83 (II), Cristoforo del Fiore, reg. III.

<sup>388</sup> ELIYAHU ASHTOR, *Il commercio levantino di Ancona nel basso Medioevo*, in Id., *Studies on the Levantine*, VIII, p. 226; see also Id., *The Volume of Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1370-1498)*, in Id., *Studies on the Levantine Trade*, X, p. 596.

TABLE 5. Elections of Venetian Consuls in Damascus, 1439-1453.<sup>389</sup>

DATE	CANDIDATE ELECTED	GUARANTOR
1 May 1439	Luca Donato q. Leone <i>Procurator</i>	Francesco di Marco Tiepolo
10 May 1439	Marino Zane <i>consiliarius</i>	Paolo di Marco Querini
7 May 1441	Nicolò Soranzo <i>maior</i> (S. Samuele)	Fantino di Giovanni Corner
3 May 1444	Luca da Lezze q. Donato	Marco Valier q. Biagio
29 May 1446	Leone da Molin q. Nicolò	Paolo di Lorenzo Zane
28 March 1451	Stefano Trevisan q. Michele	Vitale Paradiso <i>maior</i>
11 April 1451	Giacomo Dandolo q. Antonio <sup>a</sup>	Lodovico (Alvise) da Lezze q. Andrea
11 April 1451	Maffeo Michiel q. Fantino <i>Procurator</i>	Giacomo Polani q. Lodovico
27 Dec. 1453	Marino da Molin q. Filippo <sup>b</sup>	Benedetto Barozzi q. Lodovico q. Antonio

<sup>a</sup> Ineligible because «erat in contumacia» having just been Podestà and Capitano of Capodistria.

<sup>b</sup> Marino da Molin q. Filippo had been elected Consul of Tunis on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1447 (1446 *mv*), with Antonio Bellegno *minor* as his guarantor (f. 85).

Sources: ASV: Segretario alle voci, misti, reg. 4, f. 84v.

389. This list has been kindly transmitted by Reinhold C. Mueller. An incomplete list of Venetian consuls in Damascus between 1370 and 1500 is to be found in ASHTOR, *Levant Trade*, pp. 555-557.

## Appendix 6

## Glossary

This glossary offers explanations of terms appearing in the inventories, even if we cannot hope to clarify everything. Indeed, words of Arabic origin, in particular, are not always easy to interpret and some of their meanings remain unsolved.

All words are given in the singular form. The studies we have found most useful in compiling this glossary are listed below.

Battaglia:	SALVATORE BATTAGLIA, <i>Grande dizionario della lingua italiana</i> , Turin, UTET, 1961.
Boerio:	GIUSEPPE BOERIO, <i>Dizionario del dialetto veneziano</i> , Venice, 1856.
Demo:	EDOARDO DEMO, <i>L'«anima della città». L'industria tessile a Verona e Vicenza (1400-1550)</i> , Milan, Unicopli, 2001.
Cange:	CHARLES DU CANGE, <i>Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis</i> , 1883.
Reynolds:	BARBARA REYNOLDS, <i>The Cambridge Italian Dictionary</i> . Vol. I, <i>Italian-English</i> , Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962.
Sella:	PIETRO SELLA, <i>Glossario latino-italiano. Stato della Chiesa, Veneto e Abruzzi</i> , Vatican City, 1944.
Vitali:	ACHILLE VITALI, <i>La moda a Venezia attraverso i secoli</i> , Venice, Filippi Editore, 1992.

## A

- Agio: garlic (Boerio, p. 25)  
 Agnus Dei: small medallion or container for holy unguent (Boerio, 25)  
 Albedo: pine (Boerio, 27)  
 Alberioni: large *albarelli*, that is spice jars (Battaglia, I, 287)  
 Albertone: “albert” cloth (high-lustre twill, usually dark coloured, used for linings)  
 Alberelato: stored in a spice jar  
 Anconeta (or anchoneta): small altarpiece (Sella, 20)  
 Anguri: probably “of Angora”  
 Antofano: clove (Cange, I, 304)  
 Anzipresso: cypress (Sella, 20)  
 Avuolio: ivory (Boerio, 52)  
 Aza: thread of linen and hemp (Sella, 46)  
 Azial or azal: steel (Boerio, 52)  
 Azolador: eraser (Boerio, 52 and 553)

## B

- Ballasso: *balascio*, that is balas-ruby (Reynolds, 79)  
 Bambasino: cotton (Sella, 53)  
 Banchale: rug (Cange, I, 544)  
 Bandinela: cloth for covering or wrapping bread (Boerio, 61)  
 Beretin: woollen cloth dyed grey (Demo, 339)  
 Bexaza: wallet or knapsack (Sella, 66)  
 Binda: band (Boerio, 80)  
 Bossolo: small jar of wood or tin (Boerio, 93)  
 Biancheta: white wool cloth of low quality (Demo, 339)  
 Bivaro: beaver (Sella, 70)  
 Bochasin: cotton cloth (Sella, 73)  
 Bolador: seal (Boerio, 88)  
 Bolza: suitcase (Boerio, 88)  
 Boraxo: borax (Boerio, 91)  
 Botana: cheesecloth or fine cotton (Boerio, 94)  
 Brunior: polishing stone (Boerio, 326)

## C

- Camerado (or chamerado): packed into a case (Sella, 106)  
 Capsaria: = *qaysariyya*, in Arabic a roofed market place with storerooms, often for specialised goods  
 Capseleta: small chest (Sella, 122)  
 Carpeta: rug (Sella, 128)  
 Chaierim: type of carpet<sup>390</sup>  
 Chaliga: footwear (Sella, 102)  
 Chandi: candied (Boerio, 127)  
 Chamoza: silk cloth (Sella, 108)  
 Chanevaza: sackcloth (Sella, 113)<sup>391</sup>  
 Charamal: inkwell (Boerio, 136)  
 Charatello: small cask (Reynolds, 133)  
 Charnaruol: game-bag (Sella, 127)  
 Chavazal (or chavazar): cushion or pillow (Sella, 141)  
 Chavezzo: remnant from a roll of cloth (Boerio, 154)  
 Chavo: border (Battaglia, II, 933)  
 Chaza: ladle (Boerio, 155)  
 Chorniola: cornelian (Battaglia, III, 788)  
 Chospelo: chape for sheaths (Boerio, 202)  
 Chuslier: spoon (Boerio, 637)  
 Clamis: coat (Sella, 156)  
 Cultelessa: cutlass (Sella, 193)

## D

- Deale: probably a ring of metal wire (Battaglia, IV, 842)  
 Diplois: jacket, coat (Sella, 209)  
 Dosso: back, fur from an animal's back (Sella, 215)

## E

- Ellectuario: electuary, a medicinal syrup (Battaglia, V, 93)  
 Entemella: flax pillow-case (Sella, 221)

## F

- Feral: lantern (Boerio, 265)  
 Fersora: cooking pan (Boerio, 266)  
 Follo da cuxina: *folle*, kitchen bellows (Reynolds, 306)  
 Forfede (or forfete or forfexe): scissors (Boerio, 281)  
 Frascheto: little flask (Sella, 250)  
 Fuina: beechmarten (Boerio, 290)  
 Fusara: spindle (Boerio, 292)

## G

- Gaban: coat with sleeves (Boerio, 294)  
 Galoza: clog or galosh (Boerio, 297)  
 Garbeladure: grated substance (Sella, 262)  
 Garofalo: clove (Boerio, 300)  
 Goto: large glass (Boerio, 312)  
 Grana: cochineal, a red dye obtained from insects (Demo, 341)

## H

- Horexe: goldsmith (Boerio, 455)

<sup>390</sup>. See text of the above article, p. 251.

<sup>391</sup>. For "chanevaze" see also LUCA MOLÀ, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, pp. 172-173, 403.

## I

Invoia: wrapping or sack (Boerio, 353)

Ixaro: white cotton or in Arabic *al-izar* (sometimes referred to in Italian as *lisaro*)<sup>392</sup>

## L

Laton: brass (Boerio, 362)

Lavorado a nielo: worked by filling incised ornament with another metal or alloy (Battaglia, XI, 432)

Lovo cervier: lynx (Boerio, 376)

## M

Maalef: perfumed cherry seeds<sup>393</sup>

Maiuolo: rod (Sella, 341)

Malmori: probably “of Malines”

Manaruola: axe (Sella, 342)

Manega a comedo: long, loose sleeves that widen towards the bottom (Vitali, 151)<sup>394</sup>

Martori: marten (Sella, 353)

Mastaba: in Arabic, a bench or platform

Mazis: mace (Sella, 338)

Meschio: mixed (Sella, 363)

Mezarola: small phial (Boerio, 415)

Mirabolani: small plums or mirabelles used in tanning (Battaglia, X, 511)<sup>395</sup>

Mochar: to snuff (Boerio, 419)

Morter: mortar (Boerio, 428)

Mostovalier: wool cloth produced in Montivilliers (Normandy)<sup>396</sup>

## N

Naranja: orange (Boerio, 436)

Nenzuolo: sheet (Sella, 383)

Nogera: walnut wood (Boerio, 442)

## O

Oldano: a highly perfumed resinous substance used in pomanders. Pomanders are spherical perforated metal balls that were rolled along the floor to perfume the room (sometimes also used as incense burners or handwarmers).

Oliveto: olive-shaped bead (Battaglia, XI, 880)

Ormeze: ermine (Boerio, 455); also thin silk from Ormuz in the Persian Gulf (Reynolds, 524)

## P

Paternoster: round rosary beads

Peltre: pewter (Boerio, 487)

Perer: pear-tree (Boerio, 492)

Persegin: Persian

Pestaruola: pestle (Sella, 430)

Piadena: saucer (Boerio, 501)

Piera da guar: sharpening stone (Boerio, 320)

392. *Lisaro* is mentioned as a cloth to be bought in Damascus by DI PAXI, *Tariffa*, f. 145v. For *al-izar* see CARL JOHN LAMM, *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East*, Paris, 1937, p. 243.

393. Since the double “a” may well hide a guttural, and the Arabs often interchange “f” and “b”, this is likely to be the Arabic “mahaleb” (English: perfumed cherry), scientific name *prunus mahaleb*. The seeds are small, elliptical and used as a condiment for biscuits and in medicine to treat stomach aches and internal maladies. (Personal communication from Professor Stefan Reif, Cambridge.)

394. See also STELLA NEWTON, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495-1525*, Aldershot (England), 1988, pp. 9-13 and 153 (where these sleeves are said to be gathered tight at the wrist).

395. See also RAFFAELE CIASCA, *L'arte dei medici e speziali nella storia e nel commercio fiorentino dal secolo XII al secolo XV*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1927, p. 407.

396. See FEDERIGO MELIS, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII-XVI*, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 1972, p. 160.

Pignolato: cloth of linen and jute (Sella, 408 and 434)  
 Piper: pepper  
 Piron: fork  
 Piter: pitcher (Boerio, 514)  
 Pontaruol: small pointed metal instrument for making or enlarging holes (Boerio, 521)  
 Ponzoneto: pot (Sella, 453)  
 Porzeleta da lissar: perhaps a porcelain brush<sup>397</sup>

## R

Relogieto: small watch or clock  
 Rocheleto: bobbin (Boerio, 580)

## S

Sangue de drago: resinous red substance used as a pigment or for medicinal purposes (Sella, 502)<sup>398</sup>  
 Sarza: ordinary woollen cloth (Boerio, 602)  
 Schapino: boot (Sella, 510)  
 Scharnuzo: bag (Sella, 511)  
 Scharsela: bag attached to a garment (Boerio, 621)  
 Schiavina: cape of coarse wool cloth, used by seamen and pilgrims (Reynolds, 709; Vitali, 345)  
 Schorzo de perla: mother-of-pearl (Sella, 518)  
 Schufone: woollen gaiters (Battaglia, xviii, 107)  
 Semoza: particular kind of hammer (Boerio, 662)  
 Seola: brush (Sella, 526)

## T

Tachia: skull cap<sup>399</sup>  
 Talpono: poplar (Sella, 569)  
 Tarlix: *terliso*, mixed cloth of hemp, cotton and linen, generally of south German manufacture (Demo, 344)  
 Tocha: touchstone (Sella, 584)  
 Togna: fishing line with bait (Boerio, 753)  
 Turiaga: possibly tortoise-shell

## U

Udreto: small leather flask (Sella, 601)

## V

Vardachuor: waistcoat (Boerio, 778)  
 Varo: squirrel (Sella, 609)  
 Vellada: dress-coat (Vitali, 395)  
 Verigola: gimlet (Boerio, 788)  
 Voltor: vulture (Boerio, 801)  
 Vuovra: probably “embroidery” or “ornament”

## Z

Zalon: bedspread (Sella, 632)  
 Zambeloto: light cloth of various materials, originally cloth of silk and camel's hair (Vitali, 109-111)  
 Zebelin: sable (Boerio, 811)  
 Zenabrio: cinnabar (Sella, 636)  
 Zendado: satin cloth (Vitali, 428-432)  
 Zenia: gondola mat (Boerio, 809)  
 Zorzello: earring (Sella, 147)  
 Zestella de venchi: wicker basket (Boerio, 784)

397. See SPALLANZANI, *Ceramiche orientali*, p. 39.

398. See also CIASCA, *L'arte dei medici e speciali*, p. 368.

399. For *tāqiyya* see ESTABLET, PASCUAL, *Ultime voyage pour la Mecque*, pp. 113, 193.

- Zetano: satin-weave cloth<sup>400</sup> (Sella, 635)  
Zexendelo: *cesendello*, hanging lantern (Sella, 149)  
Zibeto: musk-rat (Boerio, 811)  
Zinziber: ginger  
Zorneda: cloak (Sella, 638)  
Zucheta: gourd or small container (Sella, 638)  
Zupon: men's jacket (Boerio, 812)<sup>401</sup>

400. See MOLÀ, *The Silk Industry*, p. 408.

401. See text of the above article, p. 247.

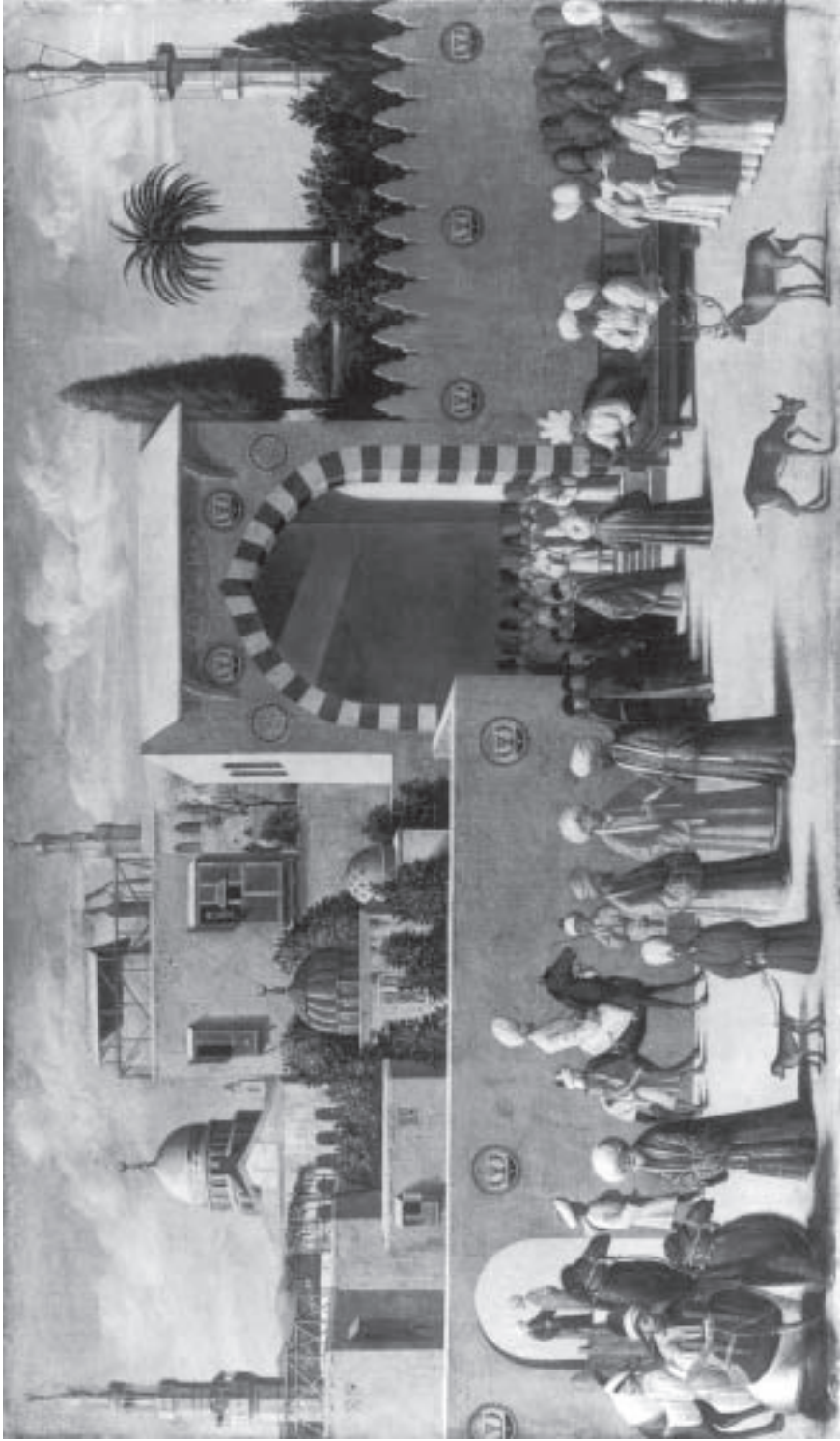


FIG. 1.



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