

# House and Habitat of Venetian Crete in the Early-modern Period

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## Abstract

*The historical construction of the Mediterranean habitat is a highly debated subject and a very diversified historiography has been dealing with it. This article will focus on rural houses and habitat on the island of Crete during the late Venetian period (16th-17th century). It proposes a first reflection on the material and documentary traces of villages and houses, which indicate the ways of building the rural landscape according to precise objectives and needs. The architectural and building features of the houses, as well as the story of their owners and tenants in the context of the society and the economy of the villages, must be explored in order to better understand the permanencies and transformations of settlement strategies in the main Venetian maritime colony.*

## Keywords

*Good governance, House architecture, Habitat, Venetian Crete, Mediterranean*

## *1. Rural house and habitat in Greece: the multiple implications of historiography*

The traces of human action in the agro-pastoral lands are numerous. The starting point is that the territory is not an empty space to plan, but a complex and never neutral palimpsest. The links among political, social and cultural actions contribute to build up landscape and places: men set up their powers at different levels inside and through those places (Torre, 2000).

Houses are one main element of rural landscape. Isolated or aggregated to create habitats, they are the object of a wide historiography concerning the Mediterranean, from France to Italy, from the Arab world to Greece. As for Italy and France starting from Middle Ages, the first historical and morphological studies focussing on regional areas (Barbieri, Gambi 1938-87, Esquieu, Pesez 1998) were followed by works of synthesis on wider regions (Castellano 1986, Trochet 2006, Antoine 2005). In addition to historical-archaeological comparative studies (*Archeologia Medievale* 1980; Lorren, Périn 1995), researches started dealing with smaller contexts (Comba 1983, Milanese 2006, Schneider 2007). These and other studies have the merit of having brought to the centre of scientific investigation a category of architecture considered for a long time less worthy of attention than the main civil and religious monuments, and of having solicited a multidisciplinary study of rural house with respect to the landscape, the urban contexts and the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions.

In consideration of these multiple implications, D. Roche, in his study of material

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culture and consumption objects of the pre-industrial society, describes the rural house as a 'product of time and producer of different measurements of time, [integrated] with all the economic and social movements that transform the world'. All this contributes to what he calls 'bricolage of history', bringing together the multiple mechanisms of transformation of house and habitat in time and space (Roche, 2002, p. 111). The rural house, in short, had an inescapable relationship of interdependence with the urban house: the first usually duplicated types and features of the second in a simplified or reduced way; but we find villages and country-sides where greater creativity, often combined with greater financial capacity, allowed to build most valuable houses.

The Mediterranean rural habitat during the early-modern age is in many ways a scarcely explored subject, involving various aspects and many specialists who rarely collaborate with each other. The rural house should be studied not only as an artefact, but also as an element of the habitat system. In this sense, the aim of this article is to highlight some issues of a limited context, that is the island of Crete in the last Venetian centuries (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries), in view of a comparison with other Aegean regions sharing building and urban practices from different civilisations. Moreover, the current peripheral position of these territories in the Euro-Mediterranean area is a counterpoint to their ever-greater tourist visibility: this requires a special attention towards the built heritage, especially after the recent process of appropriation and renewal of historical buildings.

The most recent studies on Medieval and Post-Medieval habitat and housing in Greece aim to integrate architecture and settlement into a wider political, socio-economic and cultural context, considering the historical trajectories of its regions over the centuries (Bintliff, 2009; Lock, Sanders, 1996). Evidences for the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards are abundant, while archaeological records dating back to the Medieval period are very poor, and they are almost non-existent for the Post-Medieval period<sup>1</sup>. Surveys carried out in present-day Greece showed that the historical settlements can be divided into five broad groups according to function and layout. A more simplified classification could oppose nucleated to dispersed rural habitats. The first were usually fortified and involved in trade: on the islands, they may have acquired their form during the late Byzantine and Frankish period; on the mainland, instead, they often developed in longer spans of time. The dispersed habitats were not fortified, they are very common in the mainland and mostly self-sufficient. Both had a church at the earth of the village. In addition to these, isolated structures were scattered through the countryside, ranging from shelters to towers and rural mansions (Sigalos, 2004, p. 55). Throughout Greek history, especially from Byzantine to Ottoman times, hamlets also appeared and disappeared in a context of socio-economic mobility (Laiou-Thomadakis, 1977; Antoniadis-Bibicou, 1965).

Basing on a number of recorded house types in the Greek mainland and islands, mostly dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the longhouse type with a broad façade was the most frequent, probably stretching 'chronologically back into the Middle Ages', and providing multiple possibilities for arrangement, 'from simple single-room cells to complex multi-storey and multi-room, centralised arrangements'. As for the house itself, scholars recognised linear, courtyard, vertical, parallel and centralised arrangements<sup>2</sup> (Sigalos, 2004, pp. 57-58 and fig. 81, 83, 86). Moreover, excavations of urban centres in

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<sup>1</sup> For an up-to-date bibliography on architecture, archaeology and material culture of Greek dwellings, see Vionis, 2014, pp. 342-346.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek vernacular house greatly changed after the establishment of the modern Greek State in the 1830s: the two-storey houses replaced the longhouses, and areas began to be separated according to the prevailing functions (Sigalos, 2004, p. 137).

the Greek mainland let suppose that the two main arrangement types, the courtyard and the linear, mostly remained unchanged from the 14th century onwards (Vionis, 2014, p. 332).

The approach to Greek historical buildings was prejudiced for long by the claim of Greek Antiquity: Venetian and Ottoman buildings were seen as foreigner, until a new attitude took place in the mid-20th century, with restoration and reuse works (Damaskos, Plantzos, 2008). In that sense, in addition to the urban archaeological projects, intensive surface surveys of villages in Boeotia, Morea and Cyclades started at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: surviving architectural remains of Medieval and Post-Medieval villages can thus help in learning more about rural houses and habitats<sup>3</sup>.

Two Ottoman villages in Boeotia (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century) were built around a large tower-house (*konak*), and the longhouse was the predominant house-type, with humans and animals sharing the same space. Houses in the plains were built of mudbrick and had a thatched roof, while elsewhere they were built of roughly cut local limestone, sometimes mortared with mud, and had a tiled roof. In Euboea and Boeotia after the 4<sup>th</sup> Crusade, moreover, the feudal nobles settled in towers used to store agricultural supplies and control the village (Vionis, 2006, 2014).

No excavation of houses or settlements dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards has been yet carried out on the Aegean islands. Nevertheless, after the first typological studies of domestic and vernacular buildings, researches on Frankish Aegean are increasing, trying to relate architecture to the broader Mediterranean context, as well as to investigate the material culture and everyday domestic life (Lock, 1995; Vionis, 2012). In addition to cities and towns, the system of settlement was characterised by fortified villages (*kastra*) and non-fortified habitats, nucleated and set in visible places, dating back to the late Byzantine period or at the latest to the early Venetian period. They have been occupied until today. Here, like in Boeotia and the Greek mainland, the longhouse type prevailed, with an entry situated mainly in its narrow side and a flat roof. Houses usually were two-storey and single-roomed: the ground floor was used for storage or stabling, while the upper floor was used as dwelling, sometimes provided with a fireplace in one corner of the room. A courtyard for service activities was very often joined to the dwelling. As for Cyclades islands, there also were semi-permanent installations in the countryside. All these Medieval and Post-Medieval settlements continued to exist, and sometimes were extended, after the Ottoman conquest, but the new settlers also created smaller hamlets having a more dispersed layout (Vionis, 2012; Sigalos, 2004, p. 22).

A major example is that of Cyprus, where the habitat system dates to the Byzantine period and is based on the *chorio* (village) as a fiscal and economic unit. The village included the residence and properties of the feudal lord, as well as cultivated lands, and the peasant houses. If, due to the absence of sources, we are not sure about the presence of smaller-scale settlements and isolated houses, in Cyprus it is not even possible to verify traces of Medieval *encastellation* (10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries), probably because a system of coastal fortresses and towers was enough to defend the island. A peculiar phenomenon in Cyprus is deserted villages (*villages désertés*): the written sources speak of 1060 villages in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and 780 in 1881. The archaeological sources are still incomplete, with a few surface surveys such as those of Potamia, but we could venture to say that villages were abandoned because of population moving from the peaks to the plains and coastal hills, to develop intensive farming targeted at exports (Grivaud, 2009).

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<sup>3</sup> It is about international projects as the Morea Project, the Boeotia Project by P. Lock and E. Sigalos among others, and the Cyclades Research Project by E. Vionis: cfr. Sigalos (2004); Bintliff (2012).

## 2. *The casali in the sources and in the current landscape*

As part of the Venetian *Stato da mar* from 1207 to 1669, the island of Crete (Candia) was a strategic territory. The process of colonisation led to form a class of feudal lords, *imperpetuum* owners of urban and rural fiefs, in return for a military service (*varnitio*). The methods of distribution of fiefs remain unknown, but the feudal lords – *feudati* in the documents – could dispose of their fiefs freely, exchange them, rent them, sell them at auctions or *in gonico*<sup>4</sup>. The capital, Candia (currently Heraklion), its suburbs (*Paracandia*) and the three biggest towns of the island, Chania, Rethymno and Sithia, were equally divided between Venice and the settlers. The remaining territory, instead, was divided into four *turme* according to the ancient Byzantine subdivision (referred to as the four main towns): it was organised into 190 *cavallerie*, each subdivided into 6 *sergenterie*, respectively assigned to noble Knights (*Cavalieri*) and non-noble Sergeants (*Sergenti*). The rural lands and villages were under the jurisdiction of 19 castles, forming the so-called *castellanie* (Gasparis, 2015; Gallina, 1989).

Among the *feudati* there were above all Venetian nobles (*nobili veneti*) and Cretan nobles (*nobili cretensi*): the first came from Venetian noble families, while the latter, Venetian or indigenous, acquired this title by grace and for merits, on the condition of being legitimate sons of Venetian or Cretan nobles, having served for the Republic or having financed public works and fortifications<sup>5</sup>. In addition, the non-noble *feudati* – the most numerous – belonged to the world of intellectual professions (doctors, lawyers, notaries, etc.): they could acquire great social prestige and eventually the title of noble from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. At the same time, the progressive splitting up of properties led to an increase in the number of tenants and owners, thus extending the title of *feudati*. After the Cyprus war (1570-73) this occurred more and more frequently, in order to mobilise most of the inhabitants to defend the island (Lambrinos, 2014; Papadia-Lala, 2004; Vlasi, Maltezou, Tzavara, 2009, pp. 183-197).

The Cretan territory always kept a strong rural character: outside the major towns, habitats mostly consisted in small inland agglomerations (*casali* or *ville* in the sources), fortified villages (*castra casalia*), hamlets of just over ten houses (sometimes gathering some field-houses, and often grouped into *casali* for administrative reasons), and small seasonal or semi-permanent settlements depending on a *casale* (*metochia* and *loci*), mostly dating back to the Byzantine period. The type of isolated house in the middle of fields, as we will see, was rare and probably used as a noble country house (*villa*). If Middle Crete was mostly a village country, the Kissamos district in the west of the island is still today ‘a hamlet land’. Basing on a sample of 160 settlement toponimes found in 14<sup>th</sup>-century records, about half are still inhabited today: most of the others probably were abandoned before 1583, or during the Ottoman period. (Rackam, Moody, 1996, pp. 89-105). In the period under consideration, the Venetian censuses listed the *casali* and their inhabitants: the number of *casali* grew from 996 in 1542<sup>6</sup> to 1066 in 1577 (Kaklamanis, 2004, p. 278-286), then to 1064 in about 1589<sup>7</sup> and to 1152 at the end of the 16th century

<sup>4</sup> The *gonico* concession meant the transfer of the assets, while the auction sale lasted 29 years (renewable once) and the assets remained in the hands of the *Serenissima*. The *gonico* became more frequent after the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (Gasparis, 2015, pp. 78-82; Gallina, 1989, pp. 36-45). The buste 25 and 25-bis (1338-1641) at the Archivio di Stato of Venice (ASVe) specifically concern the auctions (Imhaus, 1975).

<sup>5</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 54, *Verifiche di Nobiltà Cretense 1572-1662*.

<sup>6</sup> ASVe, Collegio V (Secreta). Relazioni, b. 61, *Relatione presentata per il Clarissimo Marcantonio Trivisan Consigliere de Venetia* (16 maggio 1542), f. 25-27.

<sup>7</sup> ASVe, Archivio Privato Famiglia Grimani ai Servi, b. 3, fasc. 3, *Castelli et Casali del Regno* (1589?), f.

(Coronelli, 1696, pp. 210-221). Such an increase could also be attributed to the fact that some *metochia* grew and became *casali*, as it happened at the end of the 14th century for a *casale* named Vicilea in Candia district, corresponding to the current deserted site of Vitsilias (Gasparis, 2005, p. 239).

In the last period of Venetian rule (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries) here considered, the *Serenissima* consolidated its territorial power on Candia, in particular after the Cyprus war, and new public works and military infrastructures were constructed (Vlassi, Maltezu, Tzavara, 2009, pp. 585-595, Calabi, 1989, pp. 813-843). Because of the increasing number of properties, feudal lords, owners and tenants, we can argue that there was also an increase in the building activity of new private urban and rural houses. If we look at the material sources, Venetian houses are often better preserved in rural context, because the isolated houses and the small agglomerations did not suffer the same process of renovation which invested cities. At a first inspection, in addition to Vitsilias in Candia district, the surviving deserted villages of Vainia and Voila in Sithia district, as well as Vrisses and Akoumia in Rethymno district, all dating back to the Byzantine period at least, are potential sites for surface and archaeological surveys. Nevertheless, a first challenge is to find data on deserted and inhabited villages in the written sources: an in-depth examination of the documents is underway, and the first results will be given here. Concerning the scale of the building that can be deduced from the available written sources, fragmentary and mostly dealing with the capital Candia and its surroundings, the most relevant surviving houses are in Chania and Rethymno rural areas: this is one of the reasons why the subject of residential architecture is little explored for Venetian Crete. This is aggravated by three factors that make difficult their study: a greater dispersion of houses, a lesser visibility and protection in comparison with religious and military monuments, and the transformations occurred over the centuries (Maltezu, 1991, pp. 35-43, Vlassi, Maltezu, Tzavara, 2009, pp. 781-784).

The Cretan villages and hamlets reveal a quite dynamic history. Unfortunately, most transformations highlighted in the written sources have not left visible traces in architecture and vice versa. A significant case found in the texts concerns the ‘posto di Cisternes’: it is the small town currently called Sternes, in the southern part of the Akrotiri peninsula, not far from the bay of Souda and the city of Chania. We know that the Ottoman troops entered Chania in August 1645, as part of a long siege that began in the western part of the island and led them to conquer it village after village: the heart of clashes between Venetian and Turkish troops in that period is partly represented by a watercolour drawing kept at the Archivio di Stato of Venice, associated with a report by the ‘Sig.<sup>r</sup> Dalla Valletta, general dello Sbarco’ to Francesco Morosini, ‘General da Mar’ in 1646. Dalla Valletta wanted Cisternes to be abandoned, but he gave recommendations on how to fortify the village: according to him, a moat should be built all around the wall surrounding the central square and in front of the domed church in the middle of the square, and ‘due fianchi a maniera di mezzi baloardi’ towards east and west. Moreover they should ‘spianare [...] le altre case più avanzate dalla parte di levante’, and use some houses on the north side for defense purposes and shelter in case of siege<sup>8</sup>. Such works were probably never approved, since the village was taken by the Ottomans in the same year, shortly after the nearby village of Cicalaria south of Souda and Chania (current

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266-272.

<sup>8</sup> ASVe, Collegio, Relazioni finali di ambasciatori e pubblici rappresentanti, b. 81, fasc. 36, *Relatione presentata à Sa Ser.<sup>ità</sup> et all’Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Senato dal Sig.<sup>r</sup> Dalla Valletta de i casi principali successi mentre essercitava in armata la carica di general dello Sbarco* (29 novembre 1646), ff. 3-65.

Tsikalaria) (Brusoni, 1673, pp. 65-81). In the map, Cisternes (letter N) and Cicalaria (letter V) are the only non-fortified hamlets: Cisternes is represented by a church, two series of narrow side-by-side houses and some scattered houses (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. ASVe, Collegio, Relazioni finali di ambasciatori e pubblici rappresentanti, b. 81, fasc. 36, *Relatione presentata à Sa Ser.<sup>ia</sup> et all'Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Senato dal Sig.<sup>r</sup> Dalla Valletta de i casi principali successi mentre essercitava in armata la carica di general dello Sbarco* (29 novembre 1646), f. 65, map associated with the report.

Today the town has largely a modern appearance, with a nucleated layout and expansions along the main roads. Of its ten churches, the oldest is the Byzantine *Ágioi Pántes*, probably consistent with the domed church mentioned in the document: the surviving church was a single apsed room with an apsed transept, whose remains are the elevation walls for about 1,5 m.

The iconography of Candia in the last Venetian centuries is quite rich. However, except for images depicting the whole island, the known drawings mainly concern the coastal towns and fortresses, whose walls were reinforced or rebuilt 'alla moderna' according to the projects of the main Italian military engineers working for the Venice (Porfyriou, 2004). It is extremely rare to find here a useful representation of rural houses and villages. One example is Marco Boschini's work *Il Regno tutto di Candia*: it was first published in 1645, the same year of the Ottoman conquest of Chania, which was a prelude to the capture of Candia in 1669. The 61 images contained therein represent towns, fortresses, natural harbours and beaches in the very last years of Venice. For the towns of Candia and Chania, the drawings almost focus on their urban walls, while the territory outside them consists in agricultural plots dotted with trees. On the contrary, as for the smaller town of Rethymno, the rural land gains more weight and space in the drawing. Here, in fact, in addition to the Venetian fortress and the walled town, we can see the typical rural landscape elements (rivers with names, rows of trees, and plots of agricultural land); to

the south-east of the walled town, west of Platanea river, we can also distinguish a rural settlement with flat-roof houses, sloping-roof houses and some towers<sup>9</sup>. The drawing does not allow to know the extent of that settlement, but other 17th-century maps of the town fill in some way this gap. The first image is taken from *Città, fortezze, porti di Candia* (1601), the work of the Paduan engineer Angelo Oddi. Since it aims to reproduce Rethymno urban fortifications and the natural resources of the rural land outside its walls, the urban fabric is not depicted at all. We can distinguish a series of houses, all with a flat roof and aligned on both sides of a straight road leaving the town at its south-eastern corner and going towards South; the settlement is parallel to a river flowing into the walled town. We also can observe two bell towers, thus two churches that probably identify two contiguous villages<sup>10</sup>. A second image is from Raffaele Monanni's *Descrizione topografica di Candia* (1631): here the settlement has a linear layout along the North-South road, but we cannot distinguish the two villages nor any religious building<sup>11</sup>. A third image called *Civitas Rethymnae*, instead, drawn by an anonymous author between 1620 and 1660, has different characteristics: it has no military purpose, but aims to show the appearance of the town and life within it. In this regard, we find a more detailed representation of the agro-pastoral land outside the walls, with the subdivision of agricultural plots, the rows of olive trees, and the scattered houses. On the left, we clearly distinguish a village with a dense urban fabric, protected by some walls and arranged along a straight road running next to the river flowing into the town. Among the stone buildings with flat roofs and sometimes sloped roofs, next to what looks like a domed church, stands a tower, perhaps a bell tower, which is not provided with a spire (unlike all the depicted urban bell towers)<sup>12</sup>.

If we compare those images to the current territory south of Rethymno, we can say that the North-South road is the one leading to the hamlets of Megalo Metochi and Mikro Metochi, both provided with a church. The two contiguous hamlets have preserved their linear layout along the main road and consist of a few houses spaced from each other by olive trees. However, we identified one tower in each of them: both in bad conditions and not dated, but probably dating back to the late Venetian or the early Ottoman times, these towers seem to have had a residential use, in addition to a military use. The tower in Mikro Metochi shows elements referring to a house: stone lintels and corners, and large framed windows on two levels. The existence of a scarp simply built against the vertical wall of the north façade may refer to a later defensive use (fig. 2).

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<sup>9</sup> Biblioteca Museo Correr (BMC), E 1209, M. Boschini, *Il Regno tutto di Candia, delineato a parte a parte, et intagliato* (1651), tav. 14, *Fortezza di Rettimo* (in Porfyriou, 2004, p. 86 fig. 29).

<sup>10</sup> BMV, MS. it. IV, 1 (=5061), A. degli Oddi, *Città, fortezze, porti di Candia* (1601), tav. 17, *Città di Rettimo* (in Porfyriou 2004, p. 84 fig. 26). There are two versions of the work: that of 1601 was dedicated to Benedetto Moro, *procuratore generale* and *inquisitore* in Crete. A second of 1603 was dedicated to Alvise Priuli, who succeeded Moro.

<sup>11</sup> BMV, MS. it. VII, 889 (=7798), R. Monanni, *Descrizione topografica di Candia* (1631), p. 251, *Rettimo* (in Porfyriou, 2004, p. 86, fig. 28).

<sup>12</sup> The image is kept in the Rethymno municipal art gallery and has been published twice (Dimakopoulos, 2001, Calabi, 1989, p. 822, fig. 8).





Fig. 2. Mikro Metochi hamlet, tower-house (Maglio 2014).

Venetian villages of Candia, as the documents confirm, were often characterised by one or more tower-houses (*torre sive pyrgo*) very possibly inhabited by the feudal lord: these buildings were aimed at controlling the fiefs and collecting taxes, and were in some way connected to the coastal fortifications. Some of these towers were built by the nobles themselves, others by the Venetian State (*turris communis*) starting from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Gasparis, 2005; Vallianos, 2014, p. 56; Vlasi, Maltezou, Tzavara, 2009, pp. 573-584). Almost all reveal a similar layout: the blind basement used as storage or cistern; the first floor used as storage and accessible from a raised door which was accessed through a wooden ladder; the second and last floor, the dwelling, was formed by one or two adjacent rooms and a kitchen equipped with a protruding stone fireplace. The scarcity of written sources and the extremely fragmentary material sources, due even to the long occupation of the buildings until recent times, prevent us from dating them with certainty. In addition to the Megalo Metochi and Mikro Metochi towers, indeed, this is the case of residential towers in Maroulas and a tower-house in Giannudion, two villages southwest of Rethymno<sup>13</sup>. In particular, the tower of Giannudion, whose place name dates to 1422 at least, shows traces of renovation works, possibly to convert a purely defensive building into a feudal house. Maroulas instead, whose place name appears for the first time in the Venetian census of 1577, is unique because of the presence of 13 olive oil mills (built from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards), as well as multiple tower-houses that are not dated, among which only two survive intact. One of the towers has features identical to those of

<sup>13</sup> Other fortified houses were built by the Ottomans, fostering the blending of architectural forms.



the Giannudion tower, showing the probable presence of a same project replicated in several villages. These buildings probably controlled both the village and the valley bottom roads leading to the hinterland (Giapitsoglou, 2012; Maglio, 2016).

### 3. *The settlement scale: some case-studies of casali*

Each fief owned by a feudal lord could consist of one or more houses and land, but it could also extend over one or more villages. A *casale* could belong to one or more noble or non-noble *feudati*. It often took the name from the feudal family and included a variable number of buildings: houses for rent, land and gardens, mills, as well as one or more *case del Cavalier* where the lord lived with his family. If we observe the urban fabric of current villages, most of them have an irregular nucleated layout, others have a linear shape along the main road, but in general it is not yet possible to establish the phases of transformation of villages over the centuries or to reconstruct their form in the last two Venetian centuries. On the other hand, many villages still have a dense urban fabric, with the so-called *case conzonte/congionte* (contiguous houses).

A first review of written sources allowed us to identify some *casali*, mostly in Candia district. The examined texts from the archive collections of *Memoriali*, *Stime* and notarial acts concern estimates and divisions of houses or settlements, occasionally providing information on buildings and place names, but they rarely say anything about the habitats' shape. In these texts we find data on rural houses owned by nobles – although it is rare to guess if Venetian or Cretan nobles – and *cittadini*. In conclusion, the appearance of houses and settlements are mostly described incidentally or indirectly.

The divisions of properties usually concerned one or more *casali* (often including their *loci* and *metochia*) and could extend over several *castellanie*, defining larger and more profitable fiefs. Here we find extremely different information about dwellings: almost nothing on rented houses, but often something on houses of the feudal lords.

We will examine two similar documents. In the first, the *nobel homo* Alvise Iulin and the heirs of the *cittadino* Marco Abramo shared the assets of four *casali*: Partira, Arcalorghorio, Gurnià and Dhumilion, all in Candia district (1531)<sup>14</sup>. In the second, the *cittadini* Piero and Francesco Mudazo shared the assets of five *casali*: Petropanaga, Varvaro and Muctaro (in Candia district), Petanius and Chiendri (in Sithia district) (1567)<sup>15</sup>. Both documents consist of a list of assets for each *casale*, namely: agricultural land divided into plots (*pezzi*) and vineyards measured in *opere*, with the name of the tenant and the annual rent in wheat measures; empty lands considered *pro indiviso*, in which the two owners could freely build; gardens evaluated as homes; and finally houses, whose details are often discordant and incomplete. For each house are given the tenant's name, the annual rent and the value of the building. In the *casale* there could be one or more feudal lord's houses (*Case del Cavalier*), sometimes provided with descriptions of the distribution, architecture and building elements. In this analysis we will focus more

<sup>14</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 34, *Memoriali II Serie (1529-1542)*, fasc. 9 (ex 17), f. 106-114v (8 novembre 1531). Partira and Arcalorghorio still exist and depended on Castel Belvedere; Gurnià was under Castel Bonifacio and Dhumilion (Demelies?) under Castel Pediada. In the text, Gurià was simply splitted in two parts without providing a list of assets.

<sup>15</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 36, *Memoriali II Serie (1556-1565)*, fasc. 32, f. 40v-77v (20 mars 1567). Varvaro (current Archaggelos near Heraklion) depended on Castel Pediada, Petropanaga/Panagia (under Castel Pediada) and Chiendri (Kendri under Castel Hierapetra) still exist while Petanius (Potamus under Castel Hierapetra) and Muctaro (Muctarie and Castel Pediada) disappeared.

on the names of tenants in the *casali*, on the probable number of dwellings for each *casale* and on the characteristics of houses.

Tables 1 and 2 list the buildings of each *casale*. According to the first document, tenants had to pay some hens (*galine*) and other animals per year, while the corresponding value of each rented house was given in *hyperperi*. The value was sometimes given in *hyperperi* and maybe *soldini*, submultiple of *hyperperi* (as it often happens in other documents of the same type and period), but that is never explicit. The total value of each property is unexpectedly missing in 10 cases out of 46, as if the texts were non completed – which is not infrequent in the *Memoriali* and *Stime*. For this reason, the indicated total values in the tables are to be considered with great caution.

According to the second document, the annual rent was mostly quantified in money and animals, but we sometimes found variants that we noted in the penultimate column of table 2. The variability of data also concerned the values: houses in Petropanaga were evaluated in eggs and hens, those of Chiendri and Petanius in *hyperperi* and hens, and those of Varvaro in hens and *p.* (*soldini?*). In this case too, some items are missing: 13 out of 17 rented houses in Varvaro, 1 out of 27 in Petanius, 11 out of 79 in Chiendri.

The concerned villages had a quite different size: within the 20 rented houses in Partira, Archalogorio, Dhumilion and Varvaro; about 40 in Petanius and Petropanaga (in the latter case, half of the buildings were in the Chieratea *loco* and in the Poles *metochio* depending on the *casale*); Chiendri was the largest *casale* with 79 rented houses, among which a deposit, a stable, five huts, a shop and four olive oil mills.

Unfortunately, the village shape and the building typologies of the current habitats do not allow us to make a comparison with their presumed extension and layout in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, in the absence of a survey. Another question concerns the distribution of these villages on the island, where it was possible to identify them today. Partira and Archalogorio are two contiguous villages that are just over 4 km away, but we do not know where Dhumilion and Gurnià were located and we can only assume that they were not too far from the first two. If we look at the family names of the tenants, however, we can make some considerations. In general, in the smaller *casali* we find (few) tenants with the same surname, thus maybe belonging to the same family: for example, the Musuro family members were tenants of 6 properties out of 10 in Partira, and they probably were related to those who rented one house in Archalogorio and Dhumilion. In larger *casali* such as Petanius and Chiendri, instead, the names of tenants are more numerous, but it is possible to identify a monopoly of rents to the advantage of a few families: Zadin (16 rental houses) and Fucha (5 rental properties in the name of papa Manoli and his son, including 3 olive oil mills and a warehouse, that constituted the main source of income for the family) in Chiendri; Pangallo in Petanius with 7 properties (other renters of a Pangallo family were in Chiendri, but we cannot establish with certainty if they belonged to the same family). A further investigation of notarial acts in the same period may help to find those family names and retrace the real estate transactions involving those properties.

A quite important question concerns terminology: *habitatio(n)* always means the house, formed of one or more *case*; the term *casa* means generically a room, while the humblest construction, associated or independent from the dwelling, is referred to as a *spitotopo* or *casicula* (hut). When there is no indication of *habitatio* but only of *casa/case*, it must be understood that it is about a house made up of as many rooms as the number of listed *case*. Therefore, the *casa monospito* rented to G. Remundo in *casal* Varvaro was a single-

roomed house, that was very common throughout the Aegean area<sup>16</sup> (Georgalli, 1991) as well as in other Greek lands, as we saw before with the single-roomed longhouse. The ‘habitatio una ... , case n. 2, una aepian et una insoler’ rented to Manuso Musuro Grimani in *casal Partira*, instead, was a two-storey house with a room per floor.

More generally, each row of the lists of both documents refers to one house, except in the case where a different non-residential use is clearly specified: *case* where *miter falconi* or *li vini, mezado, magazen et stalla*, shops or *case* provided with a *masena de olive* were not living spaces. In particular, the wide presence of olive oil mills (*masine da olive con li suoi mangani furnidi*) in Petanius, Varvaro and Chiendri refers to a specific economic vocation. A field survey could lead to find some vestiges of this kind of buildings in Maroulas near Rethymno.

It is rarely possible to grasp information about the layout of rented houses: apart from the description of non-residential use, and apart from single-roomed homes, it is not given the intended use of each room. On the contrary, documents often give an idea of the building conditions (*mal conditionate, ruinate* or *discoperte* houses) and the mutual position of dwellings (*conzonte, separate* houses or *dentro* other houses). However, even the simplest house of peasants, breeders or artisans was almost certainly built in stone, with stone doorways and window openings, and usually multi-layered flat roofs (Rackam, Moody, 1996, pp. 166-167).

#### 4. The house scale: documents and buildings

The house of the *Cavalier* is usually the focus of the texts. In *casal Partira* it was divided into two parts, making it necessary to precisely identify its rooms, so that we can roughly reconstruct its layout. Alvise Iulin would have had the following parts: ‘la mità del portego del Cavalier, zoè la prima et antiqua intrada de dita casa, fazando uno muro in mezo per separar questa parte da la segonda a spese della presente parte; la casa che adop[er]ava el q. m[isser] Marco Habramo per camera, et le case ruinate che forono stal[l]a e pagier del Cavalier ... Questa prima parte deba far uno muro araso del balcon de la camereta | che se mete in la seconda parte’<sup>17</sup>. The heirs of Marco Abramo, instead, had the following parts: ‘la mità del portego del Cavalier zoè la parte de dentro dal muro che se die far da la prima parte per separarla da questa segonda; la casa che adop[er]avano per caneva dentro il dito portego. Con questo, che debia far la strada intro el suo portego & la camereta che averze avanti a li patitiri cha Habramo e la cusina per la dita casa del Cavalier sià de la presente parte, dichiara[n]do che questa segonda parte debia succuber a la mità de la spesa che se diè far per fabricar el muro che diè divider la corte della prima parte dalla seconda. Volemo che ... sia di questa parte ... [anche] la caseta mezo ruinata ... in la quale solevano meter altre volte i formazi’<sup>18</sup>. This was a courtyard house with the following rooms:

- a main room (*portego*) where the main entrance was located. This room was divided into two parts by a wall;
- a first room within the *portego* and used as a cellar (*caneva*);
- a second room (*casa*), probably next to the *portego*, used as a bedroom (*camera*);

<sup>16</sup> The *kamara-house* is widespread in Crete and Rhodes (Rackam, Moody 1996, p. 167).

<sup>17</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 34, *Memoriali II Serie (1529-1542)*, fasc. 9 (ex 17), f. 106-114v (8 novembre 1531), f. 106v-107.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 111.

- a third room (*camereta*), which was perhaps also next to the *portego*, accessible by a corridor (*strada*) to be built within the *portego* itself;
- a kitchen;
- two ruined rooms with the stable and the barn, without further indications on their position;
- a room (*caseta*) used as a deposit for dairy products, also without indications on the location.

The house of the *Cavalier* in Varvaro, instead, was formed by the following parts: ‘portego mezo ruinato con la sua corte, pozzo, camere tre, una apepian et duo insoler, cucina con la masina da olive, la casa mal conditionata, uno magazen da olive, et duo magazen da vini, graneri duo in soler, et stalla, una granda mal conditionata’<sup>19</sup>. The house of the *Cavalier* in Petropanaga had a similar layout, made up of ten rooms on two floors: ‘portego con camere tre et salvarobba con uno graner grando in soler sopra il portego, et cucina et stalla dentro, nel qual da la si atrovano duo pagieri, et da drio delle dette case inver levante un’altra casa scoperta. Sono case con la ruinata in tutto n. diese’<sup>20</sup>.

The house of the *Cavalier* could therefore have several rooms on one or two floors, often with a courtyard distributing the various functions of the dwelling. This type of plan, with or without courtyard, was constantly found in urban and rural houses of noble and non-noble *feudati*. Documents about the city of Candia starting from the 13<sup>th</sup> century give indeed information about two- and even three-storey houses, whose distribution remained unchanged until the 15<sup>th</sup> century at least: a ground floor with barn, stable, warehouse, cistern, and sometimes rented houses; and a first floor with the dwelling. Here, as well as in the houses of *Cavalieri* in the aforementioned *casali*, the main room of the house was the *portego*, generally a rectangular space flanked by one or more rooms (bedroom, kitchen) and provided with a balcony or a terrace in the biggest houses. The *portego* was a typical feature of Venetian houses from the Middle Ages as the main reception room (Trincanato, 2008; Maretto, 1992). In Crete we find it in the houses of nobles and *cittadini*, given the vivacity of the real estate market (Georgopoulou, 2000, pp. 114-120).

In other Venetian documents, such as the *Stime*, in addition to a description of rooms we often find information on architectural and building elements. This is the case of the house of the *Cavalier* in a *casale* named I[r]ra, a village no longer existing but possibly located somewhere North of Archalogorio. In 1646, Irra belonged to the Cretan noble Giacomo Gavala, and the estimate of its goods included as usual houses for rent, vineyards, gardens and agricultural plots, but also the orchards and the so-called *zardino veneratorio* (maybe a hunting forest) belonging to the *Cavalier*, and his mansion on three floors (ground floor, mezzanine, and first floor). The mansion was made up of ‘Portego, Camera, mezado graner insoler; magazen, stalla, pager, Cusina, et una Caminada, et una Collombera con la loro corte grande, con una Porta grande alla Romana’<sup>21</sup>. This description was followed by a room-by-room list with dimensions given in *passi*, building materials, and value. The list generically mentions parts built of stone – probably the local yellow tuff and limestone – and gives details on slabs: a system of beams or *rulli* in larch wood (more precious and resistant) for the *portego* and beams in cypress wood for the

<sup>19</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 36, *Memoriali II Serie (1556-1565)*, fasc. 32, f. 40v-77v (20 mars 1567), f. 47.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 64.

<sup>21</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 75, *Stime. 06-Stime di stabili 3 (1644-1665)*, f. 192-202v (26 janvier 1646). Irra, which was under Castel Pediada, was not listed in the Ottoman census of 1881 and does not exist anymore (Spanakis, 1991, p. 288).

other rooms, surmounted by joists and a wooden planking (*quadretti*)<sup>22</sup>. We know nothing of the roof structure of the building, but it was probably flat. Another estimate was made in 1645 in Chieglia *casale*, the current Kellia village, 10 km west of Archaggelos (the ancient *casale* Varvaro), on behalf of the owner, the widow of the Venetian noble Zorzi Dandolo. Here the houses of the *Cavalier* were made up of the following parts, all of which were not in good conditions: ‘uno portego di largheza passi sei con travi di larise e tutte vechie marze, coperto; mezado uno, di passi quatro di lungheza, con li travi et soffito tavolato con la sua lozeta di fianco; una camereta con ... trave de larise vechie marze, una cucina con ... travi rotti di ancipresso; uno magazen con travi ... coperto con uno giago; una corte con due case malcondionate con travi coperte ... marze vechie’<sup>23</sup>.

Houses in the villages, like other civil and religious buildings, reflect the application of architectural models from the motherland, as it happened in other parts of Grece (Grivaud, Fourrier, 2006; Georgopoulou, 2011). However, these elements are today mostly visible in the surviving buildings that have not been radically transformed or incorporated into recent edifices. The Italian archaeologist G. Gerola (1877-1938) was the first to carry out a photographic survey in search for Venetian monuments of Crete: he found more than 100 rural houses (and yet he did not see them all), including tower-houses and *villas* (Gerola, 1917, pp. 258-264). Many of them have disappeared during the last century, but some others survive at the centre of villages and hamlets or out in the fields, often in bad conditions<sup>24</sup>. In the absence of a historical study of these buildings it is very difficult to date them, also because of their use throughout the Ottoman period and until recent times. These mansions are reasonably dated back to the Venetian period and they show late-medieval and Renaissance features; they are two- to three-storey, with cut stone arches, vaults, windows and staircases (Rackam, Moody, 1996, p. 173).

At least four *villas* probably built from the mid-16th century onwards have an identical layout: the *villa* Trevisan in Cato Drapanias, the *villa* Clussia in Ano Drapanias, and a *villa* in Rodhopos (all villages in the current prefecture of Kissamos, west of Chania) and a *villa* in Katochori (in Chania district)<sup>25</sup>. A marble slab found by Gerola at *villa* Clussia, now reduced to a few ruins, bears the date 1636, while an inscription on the Rodhopos *villa* bears the date 1575. The other two are not dated, but the strong analogies with the *villa* in Rodhopos allow us to suppose that they were built at about the same time; in any case, we know that the four villages already existed in 1577. The four houses have a tripartite plan (fig. 3): service rooms connected by arches on the ground floor; an external staircase leading to the first floor, where the main entrance is directly to the *portego*. The *portego* itself covers the entire depth of the building and is flanked by pairs of rooms, including a kitchen with a large protruding fireplace. This layout is displayed on the façade: a higher central part is that of the main entrance, whose door is surmounted by a triangular pediment with the carved coat of arms of the client family: some remains of the coats of arms can be seen at *villa* Trevisan and in Rodhopos (fig. 4).

<sup>22</sup> For a wider description of the building from a distributive, metric and architectural point of view, and for a comparison with other houses of noble *Cavalieri* in Venetian Crete on the basis of documents, see the recent (Maglio, 2018, pp. 162-166).

<sup>23</sup> ASVe, Duca di Candia, b. 75, *Stime. 06-Stime di stabili 3 (1644-1665)*, f. 113-118 (17 maggio 1645). Chieglia or Chieglia was under Castel Pediada and is the current Kellia (Spanakis, 1991, p. 389).

<sup>24</sup> A map of Venetian *villas* visited by Gerola is in (Rackam, Moody, 1996, p. 173-174 fig. 15.5).

<sup>25</sup> The names Trevisan and Clussia come to us from Gerola but were not subsequently confirmed by scholars.



Fig. 3. Sketch of the tripartite layout of Venetian villas (Maglio 2019).

Fig. 4. Cato Drapanias village, villa Trevisan (Maglio 2014).

The four mansions share the same architectural language. The walls are in blocks of yellow tuff, with a cavity made of fragments of mortar, earth and stone. The main architectural elements (frames, shelves, and staircase) are in sculpted limestone blocks. Moreover, Gerola observed two arched mullioned windows on the back of the *portego* at villa Trevisan and in Rodhopos, now both destroyed. Some horizontal structures are still *in situ*: beams on carved shelves, joists leaning against the walls that had to be surmounted by wooden planking. The roof was probably flat – on three levels, the highest one above the *portego* and the lower one above the side rooms – as was the case in urban Venetian houses of Candia and Rethymno (Georgopoulou, 2000, Dimakopoulos, 2001), rather than pitched with a wooden structure, as was the case in Venice (Piana, 2000). Such a plan was borrowed from the urban palaces of Venice, as we said, and provided one of the main architectural models for 16<sup>th</sup>-century rural villas in the Veneto region. In those Cretan villas that plan was certainly simplified, reduced, and adapted to local skills and materials. However, it was replicated with an exact correspondence of shape and size, materials and decorative elements. We compared the villas in Cato Drapanias and Rodhopos. These two projects have almost everything in common, excepting their orientation and position. The *portego* of villa Trevisan is east-west oriented, the mansion is nestled among the olive trees but not far from the village of Cato Drapanias, the small Kokkino Metochi and the sea: it may have played the role of a holiday house and at the same time a place for property control and deposit of agricultural supplies. The villa in Rodhopos, on the other hand, has a north-south oriented *portego*, it is located next to the main square of the village, opposite to the church; even more noticeable is the fact that the building has a clear dominant position, perhaps as a former house of a *Cavalier* (fig. 5). Therefore, it is possible that there were no special needs for sunshine or ventilation related to the house projects, but the main needs may have been related to different aspects of land control.





Fig. 5. *Rodhopos village, villa (Maglio 2014).*

### *5. Concluding remarks*

Considering the existing bibliography on Greek territory in the early-modern age and the first analyses of documents concerning the villages that were active in the Venetian period, the two most widespread village layouts were the irregularly nucleated and the linear, set in a pre-eminent position in the agro-pastoral land. Certainly, the transformations of villages from the Venetian period until recent times cannot be retraced without combining a historical study with a direct work on the settlement, starting by specific surface surveys.

A further investigation of written sources (notarial acts in addition to *Memoriali*, *Stime* and other official texts) would allow a first reconstruction of the geography of *casali* with their *metochia* and *loci*, the distribution of properties and the real estate transactions of feudal and rented houses, as well as the social actors involved (*feudati* and families of tenants), and therefore shed some light to the dynamics of Venetian colonisation of Crete, now quite unknown.

Moreover, we must consider that on the long run, and with the progressive expansion of the feudal class, only the financial capacities differentiated the potential of nobles and *cittadini* in building and purchasing houses: architectural and cultural models were also adopted by an increasingly large class of non-noble *feudati*. Crete thus has been not a border territory but an open region, where Venetians and non-Venetians had equal access to the fiefs, where the *cittadini* could become nobles or behave like nobles (Markaki, 2015).

Concerning the houses' architecture, their appearance was mostly described incidentally or indirectly. Nevertheless, some considerations can be done. Fortified elements and towers were very important in the urban fabric, and probably much more widespread than what we can deduce from the inspection of current villages. There were several towers used for defence and residence: the two functions probably overlapped over time, indicating a dynamic character of the settlements according to the needs of defence from local and external enemies. With regard to the houses' layout, we do not know if the longhouse type was predominant, but surely the multifunctional single-roomed house was very frequent. The house of the Cavalier, on the other hand, had a more complex layout, generally with the a portego and a courtyard. We can suppose that houses had a masonry structure, with wooden slabs and mostly terrace-like roofs, while the sloping roof was perhaps reserved for churches.

Rural houses must thus be analysed as artefacts and as parts of the habitat system. The first aspect involves the architectural models and forms, the building characteristics coming from the adaptation of the Venetian Gothic and Renaissance architecture to the colony. An analysis of surviving buildings must be combined with a historical study of relations between the Cretan rural houses, the urban residences on the island and minor home architecture of Venice of the same period, looking for connections<sup>26</sup>.

Such an analysis cannot be separated from a study a) of the role of houses in the villages and the agro-pastoral landscape, and b) of the connections between dwellings and powers (that of the Serenissima and the local feudal lords) with respect to the use of human and natural resources, settlement strategies and habitat growth. The casali were the socio-economic base unit of the island and so were the houses of the cavalieri, which were not situated in all the casali: this is due to a precise choice of location of the feudal residence as the main architectural sign in the rural landscape, in addition to religious buildings.

It will therefore be possible to better understand the settlement and growth strategy in Venetian Crete, and to recognise its possible peculiarities with respect to a shared constructive heritage and a similar colonial dynamic of other Greek regions under a Western domination (Venice, Genoa, the Hospitallers, etc.). It is certainly important to consider the value of pre-existing built and landscape structures dating from the Byzantine period (Maltezou, 1995): aspects linked to both the foreign domination and the circulation of men, ideas, models and drawings are obviously intertwined. In between there are the material and documentary traces of permanencies and transformations, indicating the ways of building the rural landscape according to precise objectives and needs. Finally, a main goal strictly connected to nowadays demands seems to us to reconstruct the history of a very fragile built heritage, due to abandonment, to reuse and renewal – often very far from the original destination – and in many cases even to a dangerous disaffection with the heritage.

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<sup>26</sup> Houses of modern Venice have been studied with respect to the urban context, their architecture and furniture (Chauvard, 2005; Trincanato, 2008; Palumbo Fossati, 2013; Maretto, 1992).

Tab. 1. Data extracted from Duca di Candia, Memoriali II Serie, b. 34 (1529-1542), Fasc. 9 (ex 17), ff. 106-114v (1531). ‘-’ means a missing datum.

<i>Casale</i>	District	Asset	Dwelling	Occupant	Value
Partira de Arcalocori	Castel Belvedere	Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere, agozo e donegal'	Habitatio una [...], case n. 2, una aepian et una insoler	Manuso Musuro Grimani	ip. 2
			Casa una	Zonachi Musuro suo fratello	ip. 4
			Casa una, mal conditionata	q. Maria Musurena	ip. 4
			Habitatio una ruinata, case n. 2	q. G.º Musuro	-
			Habitatio una ruinata, case n. 2	Jani Musuro q. Michali	-
			Casa una [...] ruinata	q. Stavrati Sclavo	-
			Casa una ruinata in la qual soleva miter i falconi [...], conzonta con [la casa di Stavrato]	q. m. Zuan Abramo	-
			Habitation una, case n. 4	Filipa relicta de Coli Musuro	ip. 3 p. -
			Habitation una, case n. 2	G.º Mauropulo	ip. 1 p. -
			Habitation una ruinata [...] a lato della predetta, case n. 2	G.º Mauropulo	ip. - p. -
			Habitation una ruinata, case n. 3	q. Stravati Sclavo	ip. - p. -
		Casa del Cavalier	Casa del Cavalier		
<b>yperperi 14</b>					
Arcalohorio	Castel Belvedere	Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere, agozo e donegal'	Habitazione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfaco	ip - p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfaco	ip - p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 3	Dimitri Maurica	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	Jani Maurica	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	G.º e Jani Sfaco Manusopulo (fradeli)	ip. 1 p. 24
			Casa una separata da la [precedente] habitation	G.º e Jani Sfaco Manusopulo (fradeli)	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 3	Jani Dolzo	ip. 1 p. 8
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	Cocoli Soroco	ip. 1 p. 8
			Case n. 2 separate una da l'altra [...] in una delle qual meteli vini misser Alvise Iulin	Erini Musurena	ip. - p. -
			Casa una	G.º Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 8
			Casa una	G.º Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 8
			Habitazione una, case n. 4	G.º Soroco	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	Jana Soroco	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitazione una, case n. 2	Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 24

			Habitation do, case n. 4, et un'altra cond. e coverta	G.° Pirofani	ip. 2 p. 8
			Habitation una, case n. 2, & una mezo ruinata	missier Caneto	ip. - p. 8
			Habitation una, case n. 3	Jani Coti	ip. - p. 24
<b>yperperi 13 p. 288</b>					
Dhumilion	Castel Pediada?	Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere, agozo e donegal'	Habitation una	Cali Culastopula dita Papada	ip. 2
			Habitation over casa una	G.° Pacidioti	ip. 1
			Habitation una, case n. 2, et un'altra separata da quelle	Manoli Agheli	ip. 3 p. 8
			Habitation una, case n. 2	Michali Manaroli	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitation una over casa una	Michali Cornaro	ip. 1
			Habitation over case n. 3, separate una da l'altra	l'una ... tien al presente ser Nicolo Abramo; l'altra G.° Athanasi; et l'altra Cali Culastopula predetta	ip. 2 p. 8
			Casicula una	Jani Musuro	ip. - p. 16
			Case ruinate ... appresso la casa de Manoli Manaroli	Jani Melisino	ip. - p. -
			Habitation una, case n. 2, ... appresso la casa che tien Cali Culastopula	ser Nicolo Abramo	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitation over casa una, ... conzonta con la predetta	relicta Smerliti	ip. 1
			Habitation una, case n. 2	G.° Athanasi	ip. 2
			Habitation una, case n. 2	q. M. Filipiano	ip. 2 p. 8
			Casa una	relicta del q. Nicola Agheli	ip. 1
			Casa 1, con certa casicula inclusa in quella	relicta de Leo Cacituni	ip. 1 p. 8
		Casa una scoperta ... conzonta con la predetta	q. Nicola Agheli [ma la] tien la sua relicta	ip. - p. -	
Casa una scoperta ... conzonta con la supradetta	G. <sup>a</sup> Smerliti [ma la] tien m. Smerliti	ip. - p. -			
	Case del Cavalier	Casa una in soler & l'altra aepian sotto de questa	il Cavalier	ip. 2	
<b>yperperi 19 p. 96</b>					
Arcalohorio	Castel Belvedere	Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere,	Habitatione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfacò	ip - p. 24
			Habitatione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfacò	ip - p. 24

		agozo e donegal'			
Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere, agozo e donegal'		Habitatione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfaco	ip - p. 24	
		Habitatione una, case n. 2	Janaco Sfaco	ip - p. 24	
		Habitatione una, case n. 3	Dimitri Maurica	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitatione una, case n. 2	Jani Maurica	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitatione una, case n. 2	G.° e Jani Sfaco Manusopulo (fradeli)	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Casa una separata da la [precedente] habitation	G.° e Jani Sfaco Manusopulo (fradeli)	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitatione una, case n. 3	Jani Dolzo	ip. 1 p. 8	
		Habitatione una, case n. 2	Cocoli Soroco	ip. 1 p. 8	
		Case n. 2 separate una da l'altra ... in una delle qual meteli vini misser Alvise Iulin	Erini Musurena	ip. - p. -	
		Casa una	G.° Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 8	
		Casa una	G.° Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 8	
		Habitation una, case n. 4	G.° Soroco	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitation una, case n. 2	Jana Soroco	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitation una, case n. 2	Sfaco Scordo	ip. 1 p. 24	
		Habitation do, case n. 4, et un'altra cond. e coverta	G.° Pirofani	ip. 2 p. 8	
		Habitation una, case n. 2, & una mezo ruinata	misser Caneto	ip. - p. 8	
		Habitation una, case n. 3	Jani Coti	ip. - p. 24	
<b>yperperi 13 p. 288</b>					
Rented houses 'pagano galine, opere, agozo e donegal'	Habitation una		Cali Culastopula dita Papada	ip. 2	
	Habitation over casa una		G.° Pacidioti	ip. 1	
	Habitation una, case n. 2, et un'altra separata da quelle		Manoli Agheli	ip. 3 p. 8	
	Habitation una, case n. 2		Michali Manaroli	ip. 1 p. 24	
	Habitation una over casa una		Michali Cornaro	ip. 1	
		Habitation over case n. 3, separate una da l'altra	l'una ... tien al presente ser Nicolo Abramo; l'altra G.° Athanasi; et l'altra Cali Culastopula predetta	ip. 2 p. 8	
		Casicula una	Jani Musuro	ip. - p. 16	
		Case ruinate ... appresso la casa de Manoli Manaroli	Jani Melisino	ip. - p. -	

			Habitation una, case n. 2, ... appresso la casa che tien Cali Culastopula	ser Nicolo Abramo	ip. 1 p. 24
			Habitation over casa una, ... conzonta con la predetta	relict Smerliti	ip. 1
			Habitation una, case n. 2	G.° Athanasi	ip. 2
			Habitation una, case n. 2	q. M. Filipiano	ip. 2 p. 8
			Casa una	relict del q. Nicola Agheli	ip. 1
			Casa 1, con certa casicula inclusa in quella	relict de Leo Cacituni	ip. 1 p. 8
			Casa una discoverta ... conzonta con la predetta	q. Nicola Agheli [ma la] tien la sua relict	ip. - p. -
			Casa una discoverta ... conzonta con la supradetta	G. <sup>a</sup> Smerliti [ma la] tien m. Smerliti	ip. - p. -
		Case del Cavalier	Casa una in soler & l'altra aepian sotto de questa	il Cavalier	ip. 2
<b>yperperi 19 p. 96</b>					

Tab. 2 – Duca di Candia, Memoriali II Serie, b. 36 (1556-1565), Fasc. 32, ff. 40v-77v (1567). ‘-’ means a missing datum.

<i>Casale</i>	<i>Distri ct</i>	<i>Asset</i>	<i>Dwelling</i>	<i>Occupant</i>	<i>Rent (variant)</i>	<i>Value</i>
Varvaro	Caste l Pedia da	Rented houses ‘pagano galine, opere, persuto, agozo, donegal, aial, somier’	Case 3, le due mezo ruinate	Michielin Sclavo		g. 3, p. -
			Case 3, l’una discoverta	Janni Sclivi	galine	g. 3, p. -
			Casa una monospito	G. Remundo	galine, piegore	g. 3, p. -
			Case 4	M. Soroco	galine, aial	g. 3, p. -
			Case 2	Vassili Soroco	galine, aial, piegore, donegal	-
			Casa una monospito	Mighali Soroco	galine, buo	-
			Case 2, con uno spitotopo conzonto con le dette et una casicula	Michailo Muazi	galine, aial, piegore	-
			Case 3	Jacumi Romeniti	galine, donegal	-
			Case 3 [...] over portego crozolado con due camere ruinate	P[i]jero Serepeci ditto Manolari	galine	-
			Case 2	Manoli Mazo ditto Sulomiti	galine, donegal	-
			Case 3	Manoli Serepeci ditto Peropullo	galine, aial, donegal	-
			Case 2 discoverte conzonte con le preditte	Manoli Serepeci ditto Peropullo	galine, aial, donegal	-
			Case 2 conzonte con le preditte et discoverte	-	galine	-
			Case 3	Giorgi Scordhili	galine, piegore	-
Spitotopi over case 4 conzonte con le case del preditto Manoli	Tavà Petrarca	-	-			



			Casa 1 congiunta con le case [di] Jacomo Romiti, scoperta	Constantino Serepeci Madopulo	-	-
			Casa 1 scoperta conzonta con le case de Vassili Soroco	-	-	-
		Case del Cavalier	Casa 1 mal conditionata [usata come] mezado, poco ruinato	Il Cavalier		
			Casa 1 scoperta	Il Cavalier		
			Habitation del Cavalier	Il Cavalier		
<b>hens 12, p. -</b>						
Petanius	Caste 1 Hiera petra	Case del Cavalier	Habitation del Cavalier	Il Cavalier		
		Rented houses	Casa una granda con la masena mal conditionata [...], con altre 5 case ruinate descoverte congiunte con la ditta	q. Michielin Stiacio		-
		'Case de ditto Casal poste a S. Constantin, tengono li serzenti et pagano [...] yperperi sedese, galina una, opera una, donegal uno et uno agozo, havendo prosuto q[ua]n[do] amaza porco, et porcelen q[ua]n[do] parturira la porca'	Casa una	Antonio Andalo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Nicolo Marguni		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Cocoli Colona		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Sofia Danigozopula		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Cali relicta de Vassili Chissumiti		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case duo	Il figliollo del q. G. <sup>1</sup> Caravella		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case duo	Ergina Rapanopulo		ip. 16, g. 1
		'Case poste sta Cutruliana in ditto Casale, pagano ut sopra'	Case duo	G. <sup>1</sup> Pangallo overo li figliolli del q. Michielin Cutrulopulo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Dimitri Sifi Cutrulopulo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case tre, le duo ruinate	Cali Cutrulonifi Damilopulla		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Dimitri Sifi Cutrulopulo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una ruinata	de Piero Ze Carioti		ip. 16, g. 1
		'Case in ditto Casal, tengono li Serzenti et pagano ut sopra'	Case duo	Antonio Pangallo ditto Codinachi		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case quattro con la sua corte	Mighali Pangallo ditto Talassachi	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una ... che ha la masena da olive	Mighali Pangallo ditto Talassachi		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	fiolli de li Fiago Segredo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case tre	Marco Cutado	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una ... dentro cali Cutrulonifi	Marco Cutado		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una vuota	al presente del Cavalier ... fuo de Ergina Pingalopulla detta Mausolemi		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Marchiesina relicta de Antonio Pangallo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una ... conzonta con la [precedente]	Marchiesina relicta de Antonio Pangallo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2, l'una scoperta	Aniza fiolla del q. Antonio Muloto		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case do	m. <sup>o</sup> Mighali Pangallo ditto Muloto		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Nicola Damolin	piegore	ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Antonio Pangallo		ip. 16, g. 1
		Case 2	papa Janni Pangallo		ip. 16, g. 1	

			Case 2	Giorgi Pangallo Papadhopulo	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Giorgila Colona	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case tre	m.º Mighali Crustiano	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Janni Marguni diaco		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Mighali Procatefti	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case duo	Giorgi Colona		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Marco Carunni	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Antonio Damila	donegal et piegore	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Janni Damolin		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2 con la sua corte	Cali relicta de Andrioli Pangallo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Micali Pramasti	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Micali Pramasti		ip. 16, g. 1
<b>yperperi 608, hens 38</b>						
Chiendri	Caste 1 Hiera petra	‘Case del ditto casal Chiedri, tengono li serzenti [...] pagano yperperi sedese, galina uno <sub>2</sub> opera una, donegal, et agozo, ha- vendo prosuto q[ua]n[do] amaza porco, et porcelen q[ua]n[do] parturira la porca’	Case 3 ... con la sua corte	Antonio Vlagho sto. q. Micali		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una	Jacumi Rapani ditto Cazurali da Hierapetra dal castello	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 4 ... con la sua corte	Constantino da Gradho	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Janni Zadin ditto Ralio	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Nicolo Caliva maistro de scolla	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 2	Mighieli Flegi		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 3, l’una descoverta	Manoli Mauradi		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa 1	Marieta Pangalopula		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa 1 over bottega	fiolli del q. Maistro G.º Pangalo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa 1	Fadia Agri- moianopulo		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa 1 piccola uoda ... conzonta con le case ruinate del q. Marco Zadin	al presente del Cavalier, fo della q. Ghionu Acrodopula		ip. 16, g. 1
			Spitotopi do ... confina con le case de Ghanaro	fuo de Janni Marguni		ip. 16, g. 1
			Spitotopi tre, con- gionti con le case delli fiolli del q. Marco Flegi	-		-
			Spitotopo uno, con- gionto con la casa de Michailo Theofilacto	-		-
			Casa una ruinata con uno messodochio congiunta con la casa de papa Nodaro	-		-
			Case 2 nove	Janni Fucha de papa Manoli	donegal et aial et piegore	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 9	papa Manoli Fuc[h]a	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 3 ... che tien per magazen et stalla	papa Manoli Fuc[h]a		ip. 16, g. 1
			Casa una ... che ha dentro la masina da olive	papa Manoli Fuc[h]a		ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 6	fiolli del q. Marco Flegi [ma] al pre- sente stano dentro li duo fratelli carzurali del predetto	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 3	Marco Agrimoiani	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
			Case 4	Nichita Zadin q. Janni	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1

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Casa una	Nichita Zadin q. Janni		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 3	papa Janni Locallo	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	papa Janni Locallo		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2 [...] con la masina de olive	Nicoletto Zadin q. Marco Spano	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 5	Nicoletto Zadin q. Marco Spano		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Nicoletto Zadin q. Marco Spano		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa una	Nicoletto Zadin q. Marco Spano		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Migheli Relano [ma] sono de rason de Cali Carchiado- pulla	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 5	Manoli Ghavaro	aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 7 ... con la masina da olive	papa Janni Dagradho nodaro	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 3	papa Janni Dagradho nodaro		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Michali Zadin		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Michali Zadin		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 6	Constantin Zadin q. Nicola	donegal	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2 ... con la masina da olive	Nichita Zadin q. Marco	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 4	Nichita Zadin q. Marco		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Janni Pangallo Phitopullo		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 6	papa Marco Locallo	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 5 ..., le duo de-scouverte	papa Marco Locallo		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 4	m.º Giorgi Plumopullo	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	m.º Giorgi Plumopullo		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 4	papa Janni Dagrad[h]o ditto Spano	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2 piccole	Nichita Zadin q. Marco		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 1	Maria Zadinopulla		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 1	Anastassu Milonopulla		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Manoli Rodhiti		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Migheli Segredho		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Marco Rapani Sfaca		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Marco Rapani Sfaca		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 3, l'una scoperta	Giorgi Marguni		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Giorgi Marguni		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 4	Giorgi Marguni		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Maria Vlaghena overo Manoli suo fiollo	donegal et aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 2	Maria Vlaghena		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Nicoletto Thofilacto	buo	ip. 16, g. 1
Case 3	m.º Antonio Zudiri fauro	aial	ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1 over bottega	m.º Antonio Zudiri fauro		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	papa Giorgi Caravella		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1 piccolo voda	Giorgi Urodo		ip. 16, g. 1
Case 4	Heleni relictta de Janna Maurodhi		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	Filippa Segred- hopulla		ip. 16, g. 1
Casa 1	papa Janni Caravella		ip. 16, g. 1

		Casa 1	Sofia Pasavalopulla		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Case 2	Janni Flegi		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Casa 1	Jacumi Zadin		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Casa 1	Ergina relicta de Stamati Veneza Xenocostina		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Case 2	Manoli Rapani Thromili		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Case 2 [...] con uno spitotopo congiunto con le ditte	Nicola Zadin q. Janni		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Casa una	m.º Giorgi Aletra		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Casa una	m.º Giorgi Aletra		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Case 3	Maria Dhrasino-pulla fiolla del q. Nicola Dhrasino		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Case 2	Leo Rapani Ralio		ip. 16, g. 1		
		Casa 1 scoperta con la casa de Janni Flegi	Nicola Dhrasino		-		
		Case 3 ruinate con le case de Manoli Ghavaro	-		-		
		Casa una conzolada scoperta con suo messodochi de suso con la casa de papa Manoli Fuca che adopera per stalla	papa Manoli Fuca		-		
		Spitotopi duo congiunti con le case de Constantin Zadin q. Nicola	-		-		
		Spitotopi 2, congiunti con le case de papa Janni Dagrado Spano, et con la casa che ha la masina [de] papa Manoli Fuca	-		-		
		Casa del Cavalier	Habitation del Cavalier				
<b>yperperi 192, p. 12</b>							
Petropanaga	Caste 1 Hiera petra	Case del Cavalier	Habitation del Cavalier				
		'Case nel Metochio vocato Poles ... posto in ditto Casale, tengono li serzenti'	Case tre	G.º Dramitino		g. 2, u. 15	
		'Case delli serzenti poste nel [ditto casal Panagia] pagano proprie come quelle del Metochio di Poles'	Case quattro	Constantin Dramitino	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case tre	Cocoli Calbo			g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Janni Chrizzoti	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 3	Papadia Larezena Camiludena	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Michielin Curmulu	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 4, l'una ruinata	Manoli Fotini			g. 2, u. 15
			Casa 1	Ergina relicta de Giorgi Varanago			g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Michielin Berdhona	donegal et aial		g. 2, u. 15
			Case tre	Michielin Curi	donegal et aial		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 3 con uno spitotopo	papa Giorgi Ghamilo	donegal et aial		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Nicola Varugha	buo		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Nicolo Copana	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Manusso Sclavo			g. 2, u. 15
			Casa una	G.º Varanago			g. 2, u. 15
			Case 2	Anglin Curmulu	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Casa una	Nicolo Copana	donegal		g. 2, u. 15
			Case 4, l'una ruinata	Costa Varanago	donegal et somier		g. 2, u. 15
		Case 4, l'una ruinata ... de sopra alle [precedenti] case	Costa Varanago			g. 2, u. 15	
		Case 2	Nicolo Darodho	donegal et aial		g. 2, u. 15	
		Case una	Janni Xenico			g. 2, u. 10	

			Case 2	Janni Gligoropulo	duo donegal et aial	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case una	Janni Glabe	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case una	Ergina Gharchiad-hopulo		g. 2, u. 10	
		'Case in ditto loco de Panagia poste nello loco de Chieratea, le qual pagano come di sopra excepto in le uovi che pagano queste case, uove diese solamente per uno'	Case 2	Janni Selini	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case tre	Cocoli Cafuro	duo donegal et aial	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case tre	Janni Glabe	donegal et aial	g. 2, u. 10	
			Casa una	Manoli Aspra	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case tre con il suo pagier	Michielin Gligoropulo	duo donegal et aial	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case tre	Manoli Caffiero	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case 2	Michielin Caffiero	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Casa una	Andrea Mighairo		g. 2, u. 10	
			Case 2	Janni Calbo	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Casa una	Stamati Sfachioti		g. 2, u. 10	
			Case 2	Michielin Gligoropulo	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
			Case 2	Giorgi Caffiero	donegal	g. 2, u. 10	
<b>hens 72, eggs 460</b>							

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