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95. *Miscel.lania de Textos medievales* 7 (1994), p. 161.
96. ACA, C., Rg 1422, ff. 87r-88r (13/3/1363). In the war fleet as well; cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafrides, des origines au XIV^e s.*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1947), pp. 95-6.
97. Brunschvig speaks of 'technique retardataire': 'les progrès techniques si remarquables réalisés par les Européens des derniers siècles du moyen âge dans la construction navale et la conduite du navire n'étaient certainement suivis que d'assez loin, et d'une manière très imparfaite, par les gens de Berbérie' (ibid., p. 97).
98. On nautical and geographical knowledge, see M. Chapoutot-Remadi, 'Les Charfi et la cartographie', in H. Annabi, M. Chapoutot-Remadi and S. Kamarti (eds.), *Itinéraires du savoir en Tunisie* (Tunis and Paris, 1995), pp. 84-95.
99. An arsenal is mentioned in Bugia in the chronicle of the conquest of the town by the Merinid sultan Abū 'Inān in 1357. Ibn al-Hajj al-Numayrī, *Fayd al-'ubāh*, ed. M. Bencheikroun (Beirut, 1990), p. 266. The arsenal of Tunis is mentioned by Anselme Adorne in 1470. Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyages*, p. 189.
100. John H. Pryor does not see real differences between Muslim and Christian commercial ships in the western Mediterranean at the beginning of the fourteenth century, although the technical innovations came from Christian ports. J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 46.
101. The Andalusians who settled in Ifriqiya had lived for a time in the lands of the crown of Aragon, and the merchants who travelled on Christian ships could see these innovations. We must not forget also that some ships were bought by Muslims, a practice which must have facilitated technology transfers.
102. M. Lombard, 'Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane du VIII^e au XI^e s.', *Le navire et l'économie maritime du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e s., principalement en Méditerranée: Actes du II^e colloque international d'histoire maritime* (Paris, 1958), pp. 53-106.
103. In the middle of the twelfth century, Idrīsf pointed to active shipbuilding in Bugia, 'car les montagnes et les vallées environnantes sont très boisées et produisent de la résine et du goudron d'excellente qualité' (Idrīsf, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and trans. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1968), p. 105). Iron could also be found in the mines near Bugia (ibid.).
104. Dufourcq, 'Le commerce du Maghreb médiéval', p. 180.
105. Pardessus, *Collection de lois*, Vol. 3, p. 82.
106. If a captive is the subject of a sovereign with whom there is peace, he must be delivered, and the conclusion of a treaty is often followed by an exchange of captives (e.g. the treaty of 23/1/1312 between Bugia and Majorca). Aguiló, 'Tractat de pau', p. 233.
107. ACA, CRD, Jaime II, caja 21, no. 4160 (26/07/1304); Dufourcq, *Recueil*, no. 654.
108. 'Plus tard, la puissance maritime des Musulmans déclinait de nouveau, en raison de la faiblesse de la dynastie régnante'. Ibn Khaldūn, *Discours*, p. 525.
109. A tax was paid in Majorca by foreign captains but was not specific to Muslims. Sastre Moll, 'El puerto', p. 161.
110. C. Cahen, *Makzūmīyyāt: Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale* (Leiden, 1977); idem, 'Quelques mots sur le déclin commercial du monde musulman à la fin du Moyen Âge', in M. A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London, 1970), pp. 31-6.

The Account Books of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily (1500-1550) as a Source for the Study of Material Culture in a Mediterranean Country

NADIA ZELDES

This article attempts to use the account books of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily as a source for the study of material culture in a Mediterranean country at the beginning of the Modern Period. Situated on a crossroads between the world of Islam and Christian Europe, Sicily was a unique place of encounter. The articles found in Sicilian homes of the urban middle class carry the hallmark of this cross-cultural influence. The inquisitorial records, and especially the detailed inventories listing the property of the accused, most of them Jewish converts to Christianity, offer an unusual insight into everyday life at the time.

Although the Spanish Inquisition was introduced into Sicily as early as 1487, it succeeded in establishing a local branch on the island only by the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ It was on 9 November 1500 that it published its first edict of faith for the Kingdom of Sicily.² In the years that followed, the organization grew, and its officials established a bureaucratic tradition which meticulously recorded its revenues and expenses in a series of detailed account books, including inventories of the property of the accused.³ Since the other records of the Inquisition in Sicily were burnt in 1783 when the institution was abolished,⁴ these account books are almost the only remaining source on inquisitorial practice and procedures in the island. At the same time, they offer unique insight into everyday life in Sicily at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The importance of the inquisitorial records for increasing our knowledge of social history was noted in 1956 by Pierre Chaunu,⁵ and several other studies based on this material have been published since. Among the better known are the works of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie on Montaliou and Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms*.⁶ These studies, as well as others, were based on records of inquisitorial trials and focused on the world

view of the accused, their customs and beliefs. A different kind of source material is the inventories made by the Spanish Inquisition. Some of them were published by historians studying the problem of the Marranos of Spain and accordingly concentrated on books and artifacts demonstrating the Judaizing tendencies of the owners of these inventories or at most tried to use them in order to investigate family relationships.⁷ The account books of the Spanish Inquisition of Sicily offer a wealth of statistical data concerning the accused, more than 2,000 individuals, according to the calculations of Francesco Renda.⁸ In his studies Renda provides important statistics as to the numbers of the accused, their social and economic characteristics, family composition, types of sentences, and so on. These studies, however, with one exception,⁹ do not concern themselves with specific inventories or analyze their content. But the inventories also offer a sort of time travel through which we can catch a glimpse of everyday life in early modern Europe and especially in the Mediterranean countries. Sicily, being situated on a crossroads between the two great Mediterranean cultures – Islam and Christian Europe – was a unique place of encounter. The articles found in the Sicilian inventories carry the hallmark of this cross-cultural influence.

There are more than 20 surviving account books of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily written between 1500 and 1550.¹⁰ Most of these were written in the Sicilian dialect of the later Middle Ages, which is a mixture of late Latin and Italian with some Spanish influence as well as typical Sicilian words and terms. Two of the books were written in Spanish. The inventories recorded in the account books were made in cities all over Sicily, and therefore they represent a fairly comprehensive picture of material culture in the Kingdom of Sicily in the first half of the sixteenth century. They were made by the Inquisition's officials, who listed all the property owned by the accused, most of them Jewish *conversos* belonging mainly to the urban middle class. Although these lists bring out the details of the everyday life of former Jews, there is no reason to suppose that they differ in any way from those of the Old Christians (*cristiani naturali*). Moreover, since there are several inventories of Old Christians in the account books as well, it can be ascertained that there are no significant differences between them and those of *conversos*.

The inventories were made up as part of the inquisitorial procedure, which had several steps, starting with the sequestration of the property of the accused. Sequestration meant that the property was listed and recorded, and then placed in the care of a trustworthy person (*fidejussore*) until the conclusion of the trial. It was not confiscated unless the accused was found guilty and punished; if he was acquitted, it was returned to him after the deduction of the costs of keeping him in prison. Contrary to common belief,

there were cases in which the property was indeed returned. When the inventories represent only the lists that were made before the trial, the items appear without their prices. If the accused was found guilty or if he escaped before the trial, the property was confiscated by the Holy Office¹¹ and sold in a public auction.¹² The auction lists then provide information as to the value and prices of various items, including real estate, domestic animals, and even slaves.

The inquisitorial records list hundreds of items, not all of them readily identifiable. Many of the articles and furnishings mentioned in these records are described in the 'La Casa del "Borgese"' (The Bourgeois Home), by Geneviève and Henri Bresc,¹³ which gives detailed information on the material culture of early modern Sicily based on a different sort of inventory found in the Sicilian archives (dowry lists, wills, bills of sale and so on). Others can be identified with the help of dictionaries, but some remain obscure.

BUILDINGS AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS

All of the buildings mentioned in the inquisitorial records are urban dwellings situated in various quarters of the city. Usually the description of a building includes details such as its immediate neighbours and its exact location in relation to the public way (*via publica*), the public square (*plaza publica*) or some other special landmarks.¹⁴ Some houses were located in the former Jewish quarter of the city, the Giudeca, but many were not. This does not necessarily mean that *conversos* changed their addresses after their conversion, since many Sicilian Jews lived outside the Jewish quarter; there was no such thing as a ghetto in Sicily.¹⁵ The fact that the dwellings listed in the inquisitorial records were situated in different quarters of the city, poor as well as affluent, suggests that they can be considered a fairly representative sample of the housing of the urban middle class.

The most complete inventories start with a description of the house of the accused and its surroundings as well as other kinds of real estate belonging to him, such as shops, stores, vineyards, farms and fields. The house could be one of several types that were in use at that time in Sicily. The simplest dwellings were the *casa terrana*, a one story house of one room, and its smaller version, described as *casetta* or *casalino*, which was little more than a hut. Larger and more expensive was the *casa solerata*, a house with an upper floor under the roof or *solaio*. Some buildings were composed of several parts and were described accordingly as *tenimenti di casi* or *palazzi* with apartments for rent, such as the following: *unu palazzottu esistenti in la dicta terra [Salemi] in lo quarteri di Santa Maria incantu la via publica di tri parti sublecto* (an apartment building existing

in that city [Salem] in the quarter of Santa Maria close to the public way partitioned and rented out to three parties).¹⁶ Sometimes even what was considered a single house had several *corpi* (parts, additions) usually between three and five; rarely there were more, and in one case a house belonging to Bartolillo Russo of Agrigento had 14.¹⁷ Frequently the property included a courtyard, a storehouse or a well. Two good examples are the following descriptions from a list composed in 1513: *Una casa cum dui casalini mezi murati cum unu loco davanti et unu puzu di aqua in la ruga di Bratuchia* (a house and two small half walled dwellings with some space in front [of the house] and a well in the street of Bratuchia [in the town of Caccamo]), and *uno tenimentu di casi esistenti in corpi quattro cum cortigliu, puzu et pila* (a tenement house consisting of four parts with a courtyard, a well and a water trough).¹⁸ The property of an escaped *converso*, Andria Cochino of Trapani, listed on 2 September 1512 and sold at auction in 1514, included a house which was described as a *tenimento di casi*, meaning a large building of several parts or connected buildings with upper and lower floors *di alto et da baxo* situated in the *Giudeca* of Trapani.¹⁹ In this case there is no price listed. The prices are always given in ounces, tari, and grana. The gold ounce, the legal tender in the Kingdom of Sicily, was worth 30 silver tari, and 1 tari was worth 20 grana. However, the ounce was in fact only a nominal value. Coins actually in use were of two kinds: those minted by the Aragonese kings of Sicily and foreign coins such as the florin of Florence, 1 gold ounce being equivalent to 5 gold florins.²⁰ The prices of private dwellings varied greatly, and the inventories list dwellings worth 2 ounces or even less as well as houses worth 50 ounces.²¹ A house with two upper stories *casa a dui solari* and a courtyard in the city of Castrogiovanni (today Enna, in the mountainous centre of Sicily) was sold for 23 ounces 17 tari. Two one-storey houses *case terrane* in Palagonia (in the south-eastern part of Sicily) were sold for 12 ounces, and a smaller house *casalino* owned by the same person was sold for a little more than 2 ounces. A small house in Messina, a *domunculo* (which derives from the Latin *domus*), was sold for seven ounces.²² The most expensive private dwelling in these records was sold for 52 ounces, and the most expensive single building is an inn, sold for 60 ounces.²³

Of course, not all *conversos* owned the houses they lived in, and many had to pay rent and taxes (*loheritis, juris censis*). The payment was a complicated matter, since a house or a piece of land could have several owners. A rich man like Alberto Scamiglia of Bivona rented several houses from different owners. For his own house, which had two parts, Scamiglia paid rent to Giovanni de Stephano. At the same time, he rented houses to others; one of his lodgers was a *converso* woman named Angila, who paid him 1 tari a month in rent.²⁴

The inquisitorial records also list other kinds of real estate. In addition to a house and its adjacent courtyard and other property, many of the accused had vineyards. Their prices ranged from 1–2 ounces to 200 ounces. This is consistent with what we know about the involvement of Sicilian Jews in the wine trade in the later Middle Ages.²⁵ Less frequent in the lists are mentions of fields and plots, which were common especially in the area of Trapani and Sciacca. A few of the *conversos*, such as the rich banker Geronimo Galiumi of Sciacca, had farms (*massaria*),²⁶ as well. Still, in spite of the relatively widespread ownership of farms and domestic animals, it seems that the *converso* population lived mainly in the cities and towns, since there are no descriptions of dwellings in which people lived in proximity to their livestock, such as could still be found in rural Italy and France even in the twentieth century.

THE INTERIORS

After a general description of the house and its location there usually follows a detailed account of the contents of each room. The main room or entrance usually had several benches and seats, a table or tables, various chests, and sometimes weapons and pictures hanging on the wall. The most useful item listed in all the inventories was the tripod (*trispì, trispeditis*), a three-legged stand usually made of wood.²⁷ Almost every piece of furniture was propped on this sort of stand, whether it was a table, a board, a nightstand or a basin. The tripods were sometimes listed separately from the tabletops.²⁸ In the main room (*camara principale*) there was usually a dining table propped on a tripod (*tavula di manjari cum soy trispidi*), several benches and seats (*banca, bancalecto, segia*), and various carpets and mattresses (*matarazi*). Against the walls usually stood wooden chests, such as the (*caxa de nuchi*) which held linens and other cloths. *Caxa* is the Sicilian word for 'chest' or 'case', and *casa de nuchi* may mean either a dowry or wedding chest (*cassia di noce*),²⁹ or a chest made of nut wood. Sometimes the chest functioned as a bench as well (*unu bancu incaxatu* was a boxed bench, a chest that served as a seat).³⁰ Another sort of container was the *coffa*, a box or basket.³¹ What strikes one is that the furnishings consist mainly of textiles: carpets, cushions and pillows, wall hangings (*gassira di muro*), mattresses, and the like. This fits well with the description of the 'bourgeois home', although the material on which that study is based dates from a later period (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).³²

When recording the contents of a large house consisting of more than one room, a description of the bedroom usually follows. First and foremost was the bed with all its furnishings, which almost always included two side tables propped on tripods. The bed itself was a complicated structure

composed of a mattress (*matarazo*) and a stuffed linen bag described as *un sacco plino di paglia* (a bag stuffed with straw). This bag could also be stuffed with wool. The bed had a coverlet, sometimes made of expensive cloth and decorated. The following description is an example: *una lictera consistente in tri tavuli et dui trispidi, unu sacco plinu di pagla, unu matarazu usatu cum la fachi plina di lana, dui cuxini lunu russu laitru blancu plini di lana, unu paru di linzola grossetti usati, una cultricea minata lavurata a scarche* (one bed consisting of three boards and two tripods, a sack stuffed with straw, a used mattress with wool-stuffed cover, two wool stuffed cushions, one red and the other white, a used pair of coarse sheets, a decorated blanket, sewed in stripes).³³ In addition to the above, in many inventories the bed's furnishings included a variety of cushions. The biggest and most important of these were the *traviserium*, a stuffed headboard, or a long cushion which lay across the bed.³⁴ This item usually appears with the added description *purpurigno*, made of coloured silk.³⁵ Also on the bed or on part of it was the 'sponsera' (its purpose is unclear), which was frequently embroidered and decorated like the one described as *raccamiata di sita nigra* embroidered in black silk.³⁶ Another frequently mentioned item is the *avantilecto*, a wool carpet spread on the floor beside the bed.³⁷ The bedrooms of the well-to-do sometimes had additional luxury items such as copper flasks for rose water or a gilded mirror.³⁸ The poor had simpler arrangements, as can be attested by the inventory of Angelo di Andria of Naro, who did not have a bed at all: one sack filled with straw, two pairs of used sheets, an old patched coverlet (*una chilona vecha arripiezata*) sold for 4 tari and another set of straw sacks with an old pair of sheets which the Inquisition's officials left for the family to sleep on.³⁹

Except for the chests, there were few heavy items, and most furnishings could be easily moved around. This type of home reminds one of the way of life prevalent in the Muslim world, as it is depicted in earlier centuries in the Cairo Geniza.⁴⁰ The fact that Sicily was under Muslim rule for almost 300 years makes this comparison relevant, but in fact where, as in the Mediterranean region, wood is scarce⁴¹ and the climate is mild or hot, it is more convenient to use easily moveable furniture.

The inventories give a detailed description of all the rooms in the house, including the kitchen (*cuchina*). Whereas the modern reader may take the existence of a separate kitchen for granted, it was not necessarily so in earlier times. In France up to the modern period different rooms of the house were not reserved exclusively for specific purposes, and even in middle class homes the cooking was done in the main room of the house, on the hearth.⁴² The mention of a separate room intended for cooking shows a degree of sophistication in the lifestyle of Sicilian urban society, in accordance with the norms prevalent in other cities of Renaissance Italy.⁴³

In poorer homes the equipment of the kitchen was very rudimentary, but the homes of the better-off had a variety of cooking vessels and utensils: a pan (*padella*), a cauldron (*caldaio*), an iron griddle (*gradiglia di ferro*), a sieve for sifting flour (*criva di cherniri farina*), a kettle (*conculina*), a pot (*piglata* or *pignata*), a basin (*bachilo*), a mortar, usually made of marble,⁴⁴ and two items that invariably go together: *una maylla* and *una sbriga*, the necessary utensils for mixing dough and kneading it.⁴⁵ In some of the richer homes the kitchen's 'equipment' included a slave who was employed as a cook.⁴⁶

SHOPS AND CRAFTS

Shops, smithies, and other workshops were usually part of the house or attached to it. Only a few had a shop or shops in a separate section of the town, for example, Pietro de Bononia of Palermo owned three blacksmith's shops in the Cassaro, the old citadel in the inner city.⁴⁷ The inventory of a smith's shop contained the tools necessary for the exercise of his trade: a pair of bellows for the forge (*unu paru di mantichi di forgia*), an anvil (*incayna* or *incudina*), pincers (*tinagli*), a table and tripods, scissors, a mortar, hammers of various sizes, and so on. These tools fetched 7 ounces, 10 tari and 15 grana when sold at auction.⁴⁸ A shoemaker's shop in Salemi held several pieces of leather, three different knives, 18 pairs of *furni* (forms), probably wooden models, and a cutting table.⁴⁹ The shop of the Palermitan merchant Manfredo La Muta is a good example of the stock of a cloth merchant.⁵⁰ Other inventories list spindles and distaffs for spinning, spoofs of thread, combs for carding wool and flax, and looms.⁵¹ This evidence points to the manufacture of homespun cloth of different types.

The inventories sometimes reveal the existence and extent of special crafts such as the delicate work on coral typical of Trapani. The harvesting of coral was for local use as well as for export, an old Sicilian commercial activity.⁵² Coral figures mainly as the preferred material for rosary beads, which appear in most inventories. The prevalence of these articles means that there was a significant coral industry in Sicily in this period, as can also be deduced from the large stock of coral paternosters (rosaries) owned by the merchant Francisco di Yona of Trapani. This stock covers several pages in the registers.⁵³ In fact, coral craftsmanship had been a Jewish profession for a long time and had remained so after their conversion.⁵⁴ Indeed, the pronounced presence of coral articles in the inquisitorial registries indicates that this industry continued to play a role in the Sicilian economy even after the expulsion because it survived in the hands of the *convertos*.⁵⁵ A different type of artisan skill is represented in a Palermitan inventory which lists 29 pairs of spectacles (*occhiali*).⁵⁶

Although inventories are rich in information concerning the possessions of the people investigated by the Holy Office, they do not always reveal their professions. These can sometimes be inferred, but in most cases one can only conclude that this or that person owned a shop (*putiga* or *poitica*), practised some craft, or had no identifiable occupation. Still, it should be kept in mind that the differentiation of trades and professions was not as clear as it is nowadays. Thus a banker such as Geronimo Galioni of Sciacca also owned cattle and fields, a physician such as Gabriel Zavatteri of Bibbona owned a farm, and another physician, Ferrante Moncata of Paterno, was also a tax farmer (*gabellotto*).⁵⁷

LIGHTING IMPLEMENTS

Scholars of medieval culture have remarked on the darkness of the nights during the Middle Ages. Braudel maintained that the general use of candles came late, about 1527, and that 'they paid dearly for this victory over the night'.⁵⁸ But according to the inquisitorial inventories composed at the beginning of the sixteenth century almost every family had candlesticks made of iron or bronze. One of the most interesting pieces of information is the detailed description of a candle-making industry in one inventory from Messina. The family of Angelo de Cusenza used part of its house for the manufacture of tallow (*sivu*) for candles. For this they kept 34 barrels of animal fat (usually bovine) and large cauldrons for melting, molds and wicks for the candles, etc. The quantities are astounding: 19 quintars (1,500 kilograms) and 73 rotuli (58 kilograms), more than a ton of tallow. The whole amount was sold to the city of Messina for 1 ounce 10 grana a quintar. There is no doubt that this converso family manufactured candles on a large scale.

TEXTILES

The prevalence of textiles in the inquisitorial lists allows one to analyze the provenance of the cloths, their types, and even the colours that were most popular at the time. In addition to carpets, cushions and linens, the account books describe in detail various items of clothing. Many textiles were imports, such as Perpignan cloth, Cambrai cloth (a fine cloth suitable for shirts and underwear), *tele de Landa* (= Olanda), cloths from Holland, *panni de Londra* (English cloths) and one painted wall hanging from Flanders.⁵⁹ This proves that at the beginning of the sixteenth century even middle-class residents of Sicilian towns could afford to buy imports and expensive textiles.⁶⁰ The cloths were woollens, cottons, or linen, but not infrequently the lists also include silk (*siti*, *seta*) and velvet (*viluti*).⁶¹ Clothing for men

and women is composed of the usual items suitable to the fashion of the period. The item most in use was the shirt (*camisa*, *camicha*), which had different designs for men and for women. The poor or old people wore used ones, while the rich had them decorated with silk. Men and women wore the *doublettu*, in all likelihood the same as the 'doublet', a kind of short coat; the original word derives from 'double', the cloth being made from a mixture of cotton and linen.⁶² Men and women wore shirts with attached sleeves,⁶³ as can be gathered from their separate mention: *unu paru di manichi di donna di panno nigri guarniti cum carmine* (one pair of woman's sleeves made of black cloth garnished with carmine).⁶⁴ Women wore *gonne* (skirts) made of various materials and sometimes decorated; men wore *canzoni* (trousers). Headgear was indispensable. Men wore *birrecti*, whose shape can be seen in paintings of the period. Gasparo Russo, a *converso* from Messina, made his living manufacturing berets. In his shop there were several kinds: three dozen red berets of Mantua with two folds, fifteen dozen black berets of Neapolitan style decorated with red and shaped with two folds, two dozen grey berets, and so on.⁶⁵ The women wore a variety of veils made of thin cotton or silk. The fashion of the day is also represented in the inventories by pleated collars for men and for women. In one case the collar was quite lavish: *unu concertu di donna di cuctuni usato di tila cum uno frixo di oro* (a pleated [collar] for women made of woven cotton, used, with a gold fringe).⁶⁶ A good example of the wardrobe of a well-to-do woman is the inventory of Caterina Samma, a *converso* woman from Trapani. She had managed to hide her best clothes and pieces of jewellery, but they were revealed to the Inquisition's officials by a neighbour. The list includes a long doublet with inlaid silk ribbons (*cum li listi di serichi lavurati*), which was sold for 9 tari, and two sleeves made of silk described as *sita cammixina*, which could either be mixed silk or carmine (red) silk, sold for 8 tari 3 grana. A beautiful item in this list is *una faja di villuto circondato di oro filato cum li curduni di sita et oro filato infurchato di tila chilestra* (a long cloth or cover made of velvet edged with gold thread with a silk cord and gold thread mounted with sky-blue woven cloth). She also owned a belt with a silver buckle and five silver buttons on blue silk.⁶⁷ Another frequently mentioned garment was the *cuttetto* (dress). In an inventory from Naro this garment appears to be quite elaborate: *unu cuttetto di purpurigna incannelato cum li manichi et bustu guarnuto di sita nigra* (a dress made of ribbed coloured silk with the sleeves and the bust trimmed with black silk); it was sold for 1 ounce 13 tari, a very large sum for a dress. A similar garment was also in the possession of Flori de Vignuzo, a woman from Polizzi, who had a used one made of red English cloth (*di Londres*) with narrow sleeves and black velvet trimming. Flori de Vignuzo also had several veils (one made of silk and another of light cotton), a hood

(*cappuletto*) trimmed with black silk, another hood (*cagula*) made of green silk in antique style, and a *tocca morisca* (a Moorish headgear) of red silk and other colours.⁶⁸ A man had among other things a red *gippuni*, a sort of coat.⁶⁹ Sometimes the lists mention also children's clothes, such as a girl's sleeveless coat (*dubletto di picchirilla senza manichi*) and a child's silk-embroidered hood (*una cappuletta di picchetto lavurata intigra di sita*) – both in the inventory of Francisco de Gigli of Polizzi.⁷⁰

In addition to 'professionally' manufactured textiles, whether imported or produced locally, many homes possessed a hand loom on which the woman of the house wove cloth. Looms appear in several inventories, such as that of a poor woman, Rosa La Vestina of Polizzi. Bartholo Firruini, a blacksmith of the same town, had a loom with partially woven cloth. A poor widow, Antonia Romano of Mazara, also had one.⁷¹ Still, looms and home-woven cloth seem to be found usually in poor people's homes, while the well-to-do could afford better types of cloth.

The favourite colours were black (especially black silk), green, blue (*chilestri*), red, and a sort of pink called *leonato*, 'lion-coloured'. Many garments had fringes (*frinzi*) of contrasting colours (and sometimes even of gold thread). The choice of colours is of course a question of fashion and personal taste, but sometimes it can indicate cultural trends. Bresc, in his monumental book focusing on economy and society in Sicily, tried to distinguish patterns of preferred colours in different periods. Thus he found that the preferred colours of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, blues and reds, gave way by the end of the fifteenth century to dark ones, with black becoming the colour of choice. Bresc attributes this to increasing Aragonese and Catalan influence on the island.⁷² While it is true that black silk was used for decoration and there are indeed many black pieces of clothing, other colours are not absent from the inventories. The furnishings were even more colourful than the clothes, and there were many striped carpets with alternating yellow and blue stripes, reds and whites, or simple whites, yellows and blues. Among the textiles intended for household use we find a variety of tablecloths, napkins and towels, invariably called *tuaglia*. Tablecloths are *tuaggi di tavula*, face towels *tuaglia di fachi*, hand towels *tuaglia di mani*, and so on. They were occasionally trimmed with silk: *una tuaglia intagliata ali capi com frinzi di sita azoli* (a cloth trimmed at both ends with blue silk fringes).⁷³ These were kept in the *caxa* (chest) in the bedroom or in the main room. A middle-class home also had a variety of carpets, usually coloured or striped. In well-to-do homes there were wall hangings (*gasira*) as well. These were decorated with painted or woven figures. In addition to these there was a profusion of mattresses, pillows and cushions filled with wool, cotton or straw. This arrangement complements the lack of solid and heavy furniture.

JEWELLERY

Only a few inventories have lists of jewellery. This is not because the *conversos* of Sicily did not possess such items but because they were the first to be hidden from the greedy hands of the Inquisition's officials. Moreover, it is likely that in many cases the officials themselves chose to steal jewellery instead of listing it. Still, the few remaining items give us some idea of the usual items possessed by the middle class. There are many rings of gold as well as silver, some with semiprecious stones and others with decorations. Some gold rings functioned as seals bearing the name of the owner.⁷⁴ But the most common pieces of jewellery were the rosary beads or *paternostri*. They were usually made of coral, jet, silver, or (rarely) amber. A full list of jewellery is displayed in the inventory of Antonella de Sansono of Trapani, which had been hidden with another person and was discovered by the Inquisition's officials.⁷⁵ Antonella, a widow, had four silver spoons, three silver belts, a pair of *paternostri* made of coral beads alternating with silver pieces, a silver brooch, a silver thimble, several silver bells, a crystal vessel decorated with silver and a choker (*xannaca*)⁷⁶ of four rows of pearls. She also had another choker made of pearls and *joyoto* (jet) beads and various pieces of coral, pearl and silver. What is striking is that even in this impressive collection there are no gold items. Whenever jewels are mentioned, they are mostly made of silver, and only rings were sometimes made of gold. Nowhere are there precious stones. The most likely reason for this omission is the fact that even the richer *conversos* in fact belonged to the middle class; gold and precious stones were probably a privilege of the nobility.

FOOD

The inventories almost invariably mention the essential food staples of Sicily: wine, oil and grain. The wine was stored in *vucti*, *barrili*, *caractelli* barrels of different capacities (it is not clear how much each of them held). Almost everyone had a barrel of wine, even the poor.⁷⁷ Viticulture was well developed, and the picture emerging from the inquisitorial account books reflects this. Many of the inventories include vineyards. The widespread ownership of vineyards as well as the prevalence of wine barrels in the inventories reflect a culture in which wine played a major role in the diet of the population, as has been already attested by other studies.⁷⁸

Olive groves appear in many inventories together with vineyards. Francisco Moncata of Caltanissetta had an olive grove which fetched 2 ounces 4 tari when it was sold at auction.⁷⁹ A woman from Castrogiovanni claimed an olive grove as part of her dowry.⁸⁰ One inventory from

Caltagirone lists an olive press (*trappeto*, in this case for pressing olives, rather than sugarcane).⁸¹ Paris Damiano, a rich merchant from Sciacca, was owed 86 ounces for a transaction involving oil, which means that the quantity must have been large.⁸² It goes without saying that the oil in question was the most expensive kind, olive oil. Other sorts of fat, usually of bovine origin, were used for frying and for lighting and were far cheaper.⁸³

The most important staple was grain – wheat and other cereals. Some of the well-to-do had their own grain stores underground in a *fossa* or pit. Bresc mentions the *fosse* for grain storage in the ports prior to exportation,⁸⁴ but from the inquisitorial account books it appears that grain was stored in this way also by private persons.⁸⁵ Some hoarded great quantities; Francisco La Padula of Salemi, for example, kept 20 *salmas* of grain in his *fossa*.⁸⁶ Still, this is not much compared with the dealings of the richest *conversos* of Sicily: Antonio Balbo paid part of his debts with 500 *salmas* 9 *tumuli* of wheat, whereas Antonio Gatto was owed 50 ounces for 100 *salmas* of wheat that he had sold to the city of Chimina.⁸⁷ There is no need to expound on the importance of grain to the Sicilian economy, as the island had been a great exporter of wheat from ancient times to the beginning of the modern period.⁸⁸ The fact that grain appears in many of the inventories, especially those of rich people, proves its importance and its value, even as a means of exchange. But its importance lies mostly in the fact that cereals, and especially grain, were the main food staple. The Sicilians ate a lot of bread, and a poor harvest threatened immediate famine. Grain – or, to be exact, flour – was not used solely for bread making. The Later Middle Ages witness a slow change in eating habits: a gradual transition from plain bread to cooked dishes made of grain such as pasta and couscous.⁸⁹ Evidence from the account books supports this. In one inventory there is a special spoon for macaroni and in another a cloth for pasta (*una tovaglia di pasta*).⁹⁰ In another inventory appears a basket, *coffa*, containing three *mondelli* (approximately 4 kilograms) of semolina sold for 7 grana.⁹¹ One wonders if it was indeed intended for making couscous, which by this time together with pasta was considered to be a dish for festive occasions and cost about triple the price of regular bread.⁹²

Cheese also figures as a staple. Sicily was famous for the cheese it produced and exported. Cheese was a major component of the diet of the common people and played an important role during Lent.⁹³ The inquisitorial books mention several *conversos* who were involved in the production and sale of cheese, among them Andrea Cuxino of Trapani, whose profession is described as *emptor caseorum* (buyer of cheese).⁹⁴ Giovanni Actuni of Marsala was probably manufacturing cheese, since in his inventory there were several moulds and other implements for cheese-

making. Another *converso* had in his possession 40 pieces of cheese for sale.⁹⁵ Still, this is nothing compared with the impressive quantity of 11 quintars of cheese sold by Francisco Casacho of Mineo (who was a sheep owner).⁹⁶ This is not surprising, as it is well known that Sicilian Jews were making cheese and exporting it long before the expulsion; in the Cairo Geniza there is even mention of exports of kosher Sicilian cheese to Egypt.⁹⁷ The *conversos* probably continued to practise the same trade they had learned before as Jews. The pieces of cheese mentioned in the inventories were likely to be a type of hard salted cheese such as the famous *caciocavallo* or *pecorino*,⁹⁸ since they are sometimes described as *fractiti* (broken), they were in all likelihood fashioned in large solid wheels. In any case, it seems that this type of cheese was suitable for lengthy storage and would keep without refrigeration.

Strangely, the inventories are completely silent about a major food industry of the island: sugar. Many Jews worked in the sugar plantations and the cane-processing plants,⁹⁹ and many continued to do this work after their conversion.¹⁰⁰ Why is this not mentioned in the Inquisition's registers? Only one *converso*, Angelo de Amato of Ragusa, is designated as the owner of a sugar press.¹⁰¹ Even more intriguing is the omission of sugar itself from these lists. A possible explanation lies in the decline of the sugar industry of Sicily at the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to Trasselli, this decline was due to a deterioration of the water supply in the sugar-producing region around Palermo. Trasselli also quotes a physician from the middle of the sixteenth century complaining about the scarcity of sugar.¹⁰² Epstein, however, maintains that there was a continued production of Sicilian sugar until the seventeenth century, mainly in the eastern parts of the island.¹⁰³ In any case, sugar may have been too expensive for daily consumption by the middle class, which could explain its omission.¹⁰⁴ Unlike sugar, honey does appear in these sources. One inventory from Salemi includes 11 beehives, and one Stephano Raffaeli of Trapani had honey in such quantity that it was sold for 5 ounces 28 tari.¹⁰⁵

As no Mediterranean food list should end without spices, it is appropriate to mention a sack of pepper and unknown quantities of cinnamon, cloves and saffron listed in the inventory of Matteo Porco, a merchant from Messina.¹⁰⁶

LIVESTOCK

Although the inventories reflect an undoubtedly urban society, several of them include livestock. In the western part of Sicily – in Trapani, Salemi, Sciacca and Agrigento – several of the accused had large herds of cattle. Geronimo de Galioni of Sciacca, a banker, also owned at least 70 head of

cattle, Niccolo Antonio de Tudisco of Mazara had 140 head of cattle, and Giovanni Hectaro of Giuliana had 97 cows and 20 calves.¹⁰⁷ A bill of sale from 1490 can give us an idea of the value of such numbers of cattle: the Jew Chaim de Yona of Trapani (who later converted and became Giovanni Battista Yona) bought 100 head of cattle for 35 ounces 14 tari.¹⁰⁸ In other areas, especially in the southern and eastern parts of the island, there were several owners of large flocks of sheep and goats. It seems that many inhabitants of Mineo, in eastern Sicily, had flocks numbering hundreds of sheep: Raphaelo Buccheri of Mineo had 450, Francisco Casacho of the same town had 420 and Giovanni Casacho had 300, to name just a few. There were also owners of great flocks in Caltabelotta and Mazzarino.¹⁰⁹ Many inventories list a donkey, one or two mules, a horse, a cow or two, and the like. These were kept in the courtyard or in an adjacent shed and served the needs of the family either as suppliers of milk or as pack or riding animals; they do not constitute a major part of their property. A few chickens kept in the courtyard appear in many lists¹¹⁰ and were in all likelihood kept in order to supply fresh eggs and meat. Perhaps it is not surprising that none of the inventories include pigs, although it would have been normal for Old Christians to have one.¹¹¹

Still, the inventories cannot supply us with a full picture of the diet of the time, because they obviously include only non-perishable items. Staples such as tunny fish do not figure in these records.

SLAVES

Sicily functioned as a major slave market in the Mediterranean throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period.¹¹² Many Jews owned slaves, mainly for household work. This is attested by acts of sale dealing in black and white slaves. The Church as well as Roman law forbade Jews to own Christian slaves, yet allowed them to own pagans and infidels. These too were frequently subject to attempts at conversion and baptism,¹¹³ but it was still more convenient for Jews to buy slaves than to engage Christian servants.¹¹⁴ All this is to say that in many cases the slaves that appear in the inquisitorial records had probably belonged to their masters long before these converted.¹¹⁵ The slaves are described in the inventories as black, white or Moorish. In one case a woman slave is designated as a Christian.¹¹⁶ They were employed as cooks or house servants and in no inventory are there more than two or three slaves. The picture emerging from the inquisitorial registers is one of private ownership of a few slaves, and there is no question of large numbers of slaves working on the sugar plantations or elsewhere.

CULTURAL TRAITS

Assessing aspects of cultural life on the basis of the inquisitorial records is not an easy task. While there is no doubt that the inventories faithfully represent the prevailing fashion and customs of the Sicilian middle class when they list furnishings, clothes or kitchen implements, there are other manifestations of material culture to be found in the inquisitorial registers which may differ from the norm of everyday life of the general population. The obvious items of this sort would be religious artifacts such as icons, rosaries, prayer books and secular books and the like. Since all the inventories belong to people accused of heretical tendencies, the prevalence of such items (or the lack of them) might reflect the customs of this particular social group, and because of this it would be incorrect to use the inventories as a source of information on the customs of the rest of the population. At the same time, the occurrence of certain liturgical books, icons and rosaries in many lists might prove that they were indispensable in any Sicilian house and even the Judaizing *conversos* had to have them in their homes in order to conform to the norms of Christian society.

Many inventories list icons, usually of the Virgin (described as *una cona di nostra donna*), hanging on a wall. A picture of the Virgin also figures in the only surviving protocol of an inquisitorial trial held in Sicily. In a trial of faith conducted in the city of Mazara in 1494, a *converso* woman was accused of throwing orange peels at the icon of the Virgin after her husband brought it home and hung it on the wall above the hearth. The woman claimed that she had thrown the peels into the hearth and not at the picture.¹¹⁷ The evidence presented at the trial shows that bringing the image of the Virgin into the house was considered a necessary act of devotion. For this reason it is no wonder that these icons figure in many of the inventories; omitting them was probably considered in itself proof of heresy. But what strikes one is the representation and appearance of these pictures. In more than one list the icon is described as *una cona di nostra donna ala greca cum una avanti cona murisca* (an icon of our lady in Greek style in a Moorish frame).¹¹⁸ The 'Greek style' here probably means a Byzantine representation, and what was then perceived as Moorish frame reflects more than anything the cultural syncretism of Sicily, drawing from its historical past. Some inventories have wall hangings decorated with figures of saints (*gassira di muro affigurata di sancti*). Others mention crosses. The common denominator of all these religious artifacts is that they are displayed on the wall, in plain view. One can only conclude that they were the kind of furnishings that were part of any Christian home. Still, in an inventory made of the belongings of a mixed couple — an Old Christian (*cristiano di natura*) and a *converso* woman — there are more devotional objects than in other

inventories. Pandolfo and Flori di Vignuzo had a small copper vessel for keeping holy water (*aqua benedicta*) not present in other inventories, a figure of the Virgin painted on a wall hanging, an icon of the Virgin in the Greek style, an old breviary, a missal, and another breviary described as *di mano*.¹¹⁹ This couple also possessed several rosaries made of coral and other materials. Rosaries appear in many inventories and are frequently listed with the jewellery, which may exclude them from being considered true religious artifacts and put them somewhere in between the devotional and the aesthetic.

The prayer books – breviaries, missals and the like – reflect the pious behaviour expected of a good Christian. Many *conversos* had books of Christian liturgy. They were needed for prayer but they also functioned as aesthetic objects, since it was customary for them to be beautifully decorated and illuminated.¹²⁰ Other books reflect the personal interests of their owners, professional or other. Francisco Patella of Sciacca, a physician, had 37 books of medicine listed in his inventory,¹²¹ and Matteo Sansono of Palermo, a musician, owned 28 books of music and several pieces of books.¹²² Flori and Pandolfo de Vignuzo, mentioned above, had a copy of Terence's *Comedies*. Matteo Sansono had, in addition to the music books, works by Ovid, Virgil, and Petrarca and an unnamed book in the Tuscan dialect. Not all the books mentioned in these inventories are easy to identify. What are we to make of the description *uno libro in lo quali chi e li miraculi di nostra donna e distraccioni di hierosalem* (a book in which are the Miracles of Our Lady and the Destruction of Jerusalem)?¹²³ The owner was one Paulo de Santa Fide (an appropriate name for a *converso*), a tailor from Trapani. This description means in all probability that these were two different compilations bound together in one book. The first poses no particular problem: stories of miracles and especially of the Virgin were very popular in the Later Middle Ages.¹²⁴ The second is more difficult to identify. It might be an Italian or Sicilian version of the well-known legend of the Holy Grail which appeared in French, Provençal and Spanish under the title *La destruction de Jerusalem*, dating from the fourteenth century onwards.¹²⁵ But keeping in mind that the owner of this compilation was a *converso*, there is also a possibility that the 'Destruction of Jerusalem' was in fact the biblical Scroll of Lamentations. No less of a problem is posed by a book called *Lu Serafino*, found in the inventory of a basket maker or basket seller (*corbisero*). It may be either a book of sermons of the monk Cherubino of Spoleto, edited by Seraphinus Mantuanus, or a collection of poems and literary pieces by the poet Serafino de Ciminnelli Aquilano, entitled *Poema di Serafino*, both printed in the early years of the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ If the identification of these titles with the above-mentioned compilations is correct, this might constitute evidence for the spread of the Renaissance literature among the Sicilian middle class. Still, the

books are few, and they appear only in a small number of inventories, and this makes it difficult to draw any general conclusions. At the same time, the very existence of books in the inventories of a basket weaver or a tailor¹²⁷ is proof of an unexpected level of literacy among these people. One wonders if it was characteristic of the *converso* population or of the urban middle class in general. Moreover, it seems that these former Jews could read Latin or the vernacular without any trouble.

The registers also teach us something about leisure activities. The musician Matteo Sansono of Palermo had several musical instruments: five violas to be played by hand (like guitars), four violas to be played with a bow, and a clavichord. But even ordinary people had musical instruments such as violas or a hunting horn.¹²⁸ The hunting horn and the existence of crossbows in several inventories may suggest that in Sicily hunting was not restricted only to the nobility but enjoyed also by the affluent middle class. In fact, other studies relating to an earlier period point in this direction.¹²⁹ As to other leisure activities, one can easily imagine the use these people made of the chess set which appears in one inventory or of the pack of 11 paired cards – *para XI di carti di jocu* – mentioned in another.¹³⁰

Many inventories include weapons: swords, daggers, crossbows and pieces of armour such as cuirasses and mail shirts, helmets and buckles. This seems strange, since all inventories list property which belonged to the urban middle class, most of them merchants or artisans. What is even more striking is the attitude towards weapons and the warlike behaviour reflected in these registers. Thus, several entries from the 1530s prove that reconciliated *conversos* continued to bear arms and ride horses in spite of being forbidden to do so; as a consequence, they had to pay fines ranging from 6 to 12 ounces to the Holy Office.¹³¹ Now, the reconciliation of persons found guilty of heresy included various restrictions on their behaviour and outward appearance in addition to the confiscation of property. They were not allowed to wear silk and gilded cloth, they could not practise honorable professions such as that of a magistrate or a physician, and they were forbidden to ride horses or bear arms.¹³² That many of the Sicilian *conversos* stubbornly chose to pay fines (or bribes) rather than give up riding horses and bearing arms may be explained in terms of their social environment. Sicilian society was at that time (and in fact for a long time thereafter) a very violent one.¹³³ By behaving the way they did, they were no more than echoing the norms of the surrounding society.

CONCLUSIONS

The account books present a faithful picture of the material life of those investigated by the Holy Office. The accused belonged mainly to the urban

middle class, and the inventories accordingly reflect the way of life of this particular segment of the population. Although the majority of the accused were former Jews, there is no reason to suppose that the particulars of their everyday life differed in any significant way from those of the Old Christians of the same social class. Moreover, a few inventories that list the property of Old Christians or mixed couples prove that in fact there were no real differences. The houses described in the inquisitorial registers are the types of houses that were common in Sicilian cities at the time. The furnishings are also typical of the Sicilian house, as can be demonstrated through comparison with other sources, such as dowry lists, testaments or bills of sale. These other sources, however, have their limitations, since they usually list only the most valuable items.¹³⁴ The Inquisition's records, in contrast, list everything, large or small, regardless of value, and describe it exactly the way it was. Thus, the most important contribution of these documents to the study of material culture is the fact that they bring us inside homes of the distant past and enable us to enter them room by room, observe the exact position and function of various articles that were in use, and obtain a glimpse of daily life in a Mediterranean country at the beginning of the modern period.

APPENDIX I

INVENTORY OF ANDREA CUXINO OF TRAPANI

ASP *Ricevitoria Reg.* 8 c 2r - 3v

Die II septembris prime Ind. 1512. Bona inventa in domo Andree Cochino neophiti per suam absenciam et fugam inventariato per Offitricum Sancte Inquisitionis et vendita per nobilem Diecum Martines de Cabrera locumencientem mei Dieci De Obregon receptoris dicti Sancti Officii ad publicum incantum in Civitate Drepani cum interventum magnifici Francisci de Pace loco magnifici algozirri cum nota egregii notario Andree de Sexta pro absentia magnifici Alfonsi de Moya magistri notarii sequestorum per mani Micaelis de Pulicco publici preconis que fuerunt venditos die ultimo marcii II Ind. 1514

In primis uno tenimento di casi di alto et da baxo in la contrata di la Judeca cum certu carico di inchenso di pagari a lu nobile Lanzuni Fardella

2 September at first indiction, 1512. The goods found in the house of Andrea Cochino the neophyte, listed by the Holy Office in his absence because of his escape and sold in public auction in the city of Trapani by the noble Diego Martines de Cabrera as my proxy, Diego de Obregon, receiver for the said Holy Office, by the intervention of the magnificent Francisco de Pace, in place of the algozirro, written down by the notary Andrea Sexta because of the absence of the magnificent Alfonso de Moya the notary of sequestrations, sold by the public erier Micael de Pulicco on the last day of March, second indiction, 1514.

First, a tenement house, with upper and lower floors in the Jewish quarter which pays certain taxes to the noble Lanzuni Fardella.

<i>In la camera dallo sunte</i>	<i>In the upper room are</i>	Buyer	Price
una caxa di abito	One chest of clothes	to magistro Jacobo San Marco	2 tr. 11 gr.
Item una stagnata	One tin plated utensil	to notary Jacobo Jansera	1 tr. 12 gr.
Item uno strapuntino picchulo vecho	One small old seat	to Giovanni Bianco	5 tr.
Item una maylla vecha	One old mail shirt	to Palmeri Canalca	7 gr.
Item uno cannistro grandi	One big canister	to notary Jacobo Jansera	10 tr. 1 gr.
Item un'altra caxa di abito	Another chest of clothes	to Bastiano Pipi	5 gr.
Item una caxitella usitata	One small used chest	to magistro Vito di Chaza	6 tr. 10 gr.
Item una cuyraza	One cuirass	to Antonio di Tisa	3 tr. 16 gr.
Item una chilata	One helmet	to Vito Coppula	2 tr. 6 gr.
Item octo mazuni di lino grossu	Eight spools of coarse linen	to Don Francisco Jani of Trapani	10 tr.
<i>In la camera grandi</i>	<i>In the big room</i>	Buyer	Price
Item una caxa di nuchi	One wedding / nut chest	to Giovanni Bonjardino	6 tr.
Item uno strapuntino di tela jalu chino di lana	One seat of yellow cloth stuffed with wool	to Julio d'Alaymo	5 tr.
Item una caxa grandi musciata	One large decorated chest	to Gugliermo Suser	1 oz. 9 tr.
Item dui scrigni russi pinti	Two red painted boxes	to the same	18 tr. 11 gr.
Item unu traviseri purpurigno	One large coloured silk pillow (lying across the bed)	to Giovanni Jacobo Bianco	2 tr. 10 gr.
Item una caxa grandi	One large chest	to Bartolo Cartuni	20 tr. 10 gr.
Item un drappu pintu	One painted cloth	to Cola d'Ajuto	3 tr. 2 gr.
Item una cultra vecha	One old blanket	to Francisco lu Buriu	2 tr.
Item una cona	One icon	to Antonio Vuturu Ginuisti	6 tr.
Item uno lamperi	One lamp	to Antonio di Tisa	11 gr.
Item una tavula di manjari cum li trispi	One dining table with its tripod	to Jacobo Bianco	1 tr.
Item tri segi	Three seats	to magister Cola Scrigna	1 tr. 15 gr.
Item una gassira	One wall hanging	to Cola d'Ajuto	tr. 1 gr.
Item una quartara di ramo	One copper jug	to Andrea Fardella	4 tr. 11 gr.
Item uno bachili di ramo	One copper basin	to notario Jacobo Jansera	tr. 10 gr.
Item una tavula di campo	One camp table	Jansera	5 tr. 5 gr.
Item unu saccuni di pagla	One sack of straw	to Jacobo Lumbaro	3 tr.
Item una finesira intagliata di petra	One window cut of stone	to notario Jacobo Jansera	6 tr.
Item un banco di sala	One bench for a hall	to Antonio Filechito	2 tr. 11 gr.
Item una caldara	One cauldron	to notario Andrea Fardella	2 tr. 3 gr.
Item una caldara grandi et rucia	One big broken cauldron	to the same	3 tr. 12 gr.
Item una sartania	One pan	to Gugliermo Suser	1 tr. 1 gr.
Item unu spitu	One skewer	to Micheli di Pulizi	10 gr.
Item una gratalora	One grater	to notario Jacobo Jansera	5 gr.
Item unu mortaro di mitallo picchulo	One small metal mortar	to Vito Coppula	2 tr. 1 gr.

Item	Buyer	Price	Buyer	Price
Item unu mondello [measure?]	to Stefano Rapallo	4 gr.		
Item quatro criva vecchi	to notario Jacobo Jansera	10 gr.		
Item una caxa vecha chi chi esti una armatura di armi bianchi	to Cola d'Ajuto	4 tr. 4 gr.		
Item unu parco di balanzi	to Giovanni Michelecto	1 tr. 10 gr.		
Intro to magazzino da baxo	Buyer	Price		
Item uno paro di bilanzi grandi	to Guglielmo Suser	8 tr. 10 gr.		
Item una tavula cum li trispi di nuchi	to Antonio lu Burgo	6 tr. 11 gr.		
Item tri segi	to Bartolo Cantuni	2 tr. 1 gr.		
Item una caxa grandi vecha	to Petru di Mura	4 tr. 13 gr.		
Item una caxetta musiata	to Bartolo Cantuni	5 tr.		
Item tri vutti vacanti	to notario Jacobo Jansera	4 tr. 10 gr.		
Item jarri vacanti XXVI intro la camara recto di a baxo	to Bartolomeo Cantuni	12 tr. 10 gr.		
Item una caxa vecha	to Paulo Mantisi	2 tr.		
Item una sbriga	to Bartulo Cantuni	1 tr. 19 gr.		
Item una caxa di abito	to don Giovanni Petru Gisinti	3 tr. 2 gr.		
Item intro lo magazzino jarri di oglu chento quatro in circa	to Jacobo di Palensi			
Item catemi seu libri intro picchuli e grandi V fu li libri di li cumpti di Cuhino				
Item una lictera di campo cum li trispi				
Item dui casi intro lo cortigno di Malerba chi foro di notario Jacobo di Fieri	to Cola d'Ajuto	5 tr. 6 gr.		
Item uno tenimento di casi a la porto di lo marino				
Item uno magazzino grandi in la contrata di Sancto Juliano chi l'acaptao per oz. 25 di madonna Alixandra di Bandino cum pacto di ritarcarlo				
Item uno debito chi divi Antonio di Catania di oz. 210 et ultra di prezzo di formagi				

Item	Buyer	Price	Buyer	Price
Item un debito di 60 oz. owed him by Georgi Bufoni [crossed out in the original, marked 'taken by the Treasury]				
A debt of approximately 60 oz. owed him by Georgi Bufoni [crossed out in the original, marked 'taken by the Treasury]				
A debt of 50 oz. that he owes the noble Francisco di Pachi for the cheese of the present year				
The noble Petri Fieri owes 20 oz. for the cheese of this year, paid this debt through the bank of the heirs [of Battista Lombardij] by Antonio Corsetto.				
The price of the carded wool that he sold to the noble Simuni San Climento				
A rent that he used to pay to Antonio di Nicola for a piece of land at []				
Certain rents that he received from the noble Andria Rizo				
The part that he held in the ship of the patron Antonio di Catania				
In a storeroom in the Sancto Juliano quarter				
Thirty-two pieces of cheese, broken				
Half a salma of salt				
A circle for weighing cheese				
Two loops for weighing buckets				
One sealed barrel				
A table base and pieces of a base				
A spear				
Two bells				
An old carpet				
Seven empty jars				
Two tables set over four barrels				
Four pieces of chestnut [wood? Coloured cloth?]				
A small empty box and a saddle and a ladder				

Summa lo presente inventario di lo predicto Andrea Coyno vendito in publico incantu Civitate Drepani per officiales ut supra oz. XXVIII tr. XVIII gr. V de quibus deductis tr. VIII gr. V de expensis preconsis in vendendo et aportando et aliis expensis factis per predictum procuratorem remanent oz. XXVIII tr. X de quibus facio michi introitum. In anno Ite Indictionis in libro meo [foglio ...] oz. XXVIII tr. X gr.

APPENDIX 2

CONTENTS OF A KITCHEN IN A WELL-TO-DO HOME

ASP *Ricevitoria* reg. 8bis c 24/v

Inventarium bonorum magistri Angeli de Cosenza neophiti, apud Messanensem die XI octobris 1512

Intra la cucina

Inprimis una tuvaglia di tavula di tila grossa minata
Item di piutro quatro scutelli et dui piatti et dui sauceri vecchi
Item una coppa di ramo cum fucularu

Item una padella di ramo
Item una gradiglia di ferro
Item una piglata di ramo mezana
Item una caudara di ramo pichula vecha
Item una conculina di ramo pichula vecha
Item uno bachelii di lattumi usatu
Item una sbriga
Item uno furnello di ferro
Item uno spitu
Item una caxa vecha intru la quali e unu plancitu grandi di piutro et una grattalora
Item una scava nigra nomine Pina xpiana (=cristiana)
Item una quartara di rami

The sum total of this present inventory of the said Andrea Coyno sold in public auction in the city of Trapani by the above-named officials 28 oz. 29 tr. 5 gr., of which 9 tr. 5 gr. were deducted for the expenses of the public crier for selling and bringing [the goods] and other expenses incurred by the procurator, 28 oz. and 10 tr. remaining which I enter in my book in the year of the second indiction, 28 oz. 10 tr. grana...

APPENDIX 2

CONTENTS OF A KITCHEN IN A WELL-TO-DO HOME

ASP *Ricevitoria* reg. 8bis c 24/v

Inventary of Angeli de Cosenza the neophyte, Messina 11 October 1512

In the kitchen

First, a tablecover made of decorated thick cloth
Four tin bowls, two plates, and two old saucers
One copper bowl with a wick for lighting a fire
One copper pan
One iron griddle
One middle-sized copper pot
One small old copper cauldron
One small old copper kettle
One used tin basin
One kneading board
One iron stove
One skewer
One old box containing a large tin board and a grater
a black woman slave named Pina, a Christian
One copper jug

APPENDIX 3
CONTENTS OF A WORKSHOP
ASP *Ricevitoria* reg. 8 c 43r

Inventarium bonorum Benedicti de Termini di Polizzi et eius uxoris absentis, die VIII aprilis Ite Ind. 1514.

Inventory of the goods of Benedicto de Termini di Polizzi and his wife, absent, the eighth of April the second indiction 1514

In the shop

Paro XXVdi furni intra pichuli e grandi
Item uno lumero bono di ferro
Item uno martello
Item uno mannara
Item una tavola di tagliari
Item uno raspaturi cum dui manicchi
Item una vucti vacanti
Item uno carratello
Twenty-five pairs of moulds, large and small
One good lamp
One hammer
One small axe
One cutting table
One two handed rasp
One empty cask
One barrel

Abbreviations: oz. = ounces tr. = tari gr. = grana

NOTES

- C.H. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908); V. La Mantia, 'Origine e vicende dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 3 (1886), pp.481-598; reprinted as *Origine e vicende dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1977). F. Renda, *L'Inquisizione in Sicilia, I fatti. Le Persone* (Palermo, 1997), pp.27-42.
- La Mantia, *Origine e vicende*, p.28, n.10; Renda, *L'Inquisizione*, pp.34-5.
- The account books were first described by P. Burgarella, 'Diego de Obregon e i primi anni del San'Uffizio in Sicilia (1500-1514)', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, series 3, 20 (1972), pp.257-357. Further research based on the account books was done by F. Renda, *La fine del giudaismo siciliano* (Palermo, 1993) and: '*I marrani di Sicilia*' in Corrado Vivanti (ed.), *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2, *Gli ebrei in Italia* (Einaudi, 1996), pp.679-705.
- Burgarella, 'Diego de Obregon', p.258.
- P. Chaumt, 'Inquisition et vie quotidienne dans l'Amérique espagnole au XVII siècle', *Annales E.S.C.*, 11 (1956), p.230.
- E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montailou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975) and in English translation, *Montailou, the Promised Land of Error* (New York, 1978); C. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un magnano del '500* (Turin, 1976); in English translation, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, MD, 1980).
- More recently, J.P. Dedieu, 'Archives of the Holy Office, Toledo, as a Source for Historical Anthropology', in G. Henningsen and J. Tedeschi (eds.), *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods* (1986), pp.158-89. Good examples of studies based on inventories are H. Beinart, *Records of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real 1483-1485*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1974-84), and 'Two Documents Concerning Confiscated Converso Property', *Sefarad*, 17 (1957), pp.281-313; E.M. Padilla, 'Inventario de los bienes muebles del judío bibilitano Salomon Ezi en 1492', *Sefarad*, 48 (1988), pp.93-115, 309-41; Y. Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford, 1989).
- In his first study Renda published 1,890 names listed by city and town of origin (*La fine del giudaismo*, appendix); in a further study he increased this number to 2,121 ('I marrani', p.685).
- The inventory of the musician Matteo Sansono of Palermo: Renda, *I marrani*, p.696.
- For a detailed history of the first years of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily and a description

of the account books see Burgarella, *Diego de Obregon*, pp.257-66; Renda, *La fine del giudaismo*, pp.120-67. I became familiar with these records while working on my Ph.D. thesis: N. Zeldes, *The Converted Jews of Sicily Before and After the Expulsion (1460-1550)* (Tel-Aviv, 1997). They provided an important source for the study of the *conversos'* fate from the expulsion of the Sicilian Jews in 1492 until 1550. From the middle of the sixteenth century onward, the Inquisition ceased looking for Judaizers and concentrated on Protestants, witches, and other offenders. This article focuses on the records of its first 50 years of activity in Sicily.

11. Confiscation was the standard punishment for those who were either reconciliated (i.e., confessed their guilt and were returned to the fold of the church) or condemned to the stake. For a more detailed discussion of inquisitorial procedures and punishments, see H. Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain* (London, 1985), pp.161-97.
12. The Sicilian account books provide a detailed description of the procedure of the public auction. The various items were put on sale by the highest official of the town, the Capitano, and the public crier (*pubblico preco*) announced the sale (see appendix 1). Although there are several studies on the subject of inquisitorial finance and the policy of confiscations, the exact procedure for disposing of the property is not noted: Kamen, *Inquisition*, p.170; Idem, 'Confiscations in the Economy of the Spanish Inquisition', *Economic History Review* 18 (1965), pp.511-25; J. Martínez Millán, 'Structures of Inquisitorial Finance', in A. Alcalá (ed.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Spanish Mind* (New York, 1987), pp.160-61.
13. G. Bress and H. Bress, 'La casa del "Borgese": Materiali per una etnografia storica della Sicilia', *Quaderni Storici* 31 (1976), pp.110-25.
14. One house was situated near the salt mill of Trapani: Archivio di Stato di Palermo (hereafter ASP). La Ricevitoria dell Sant'Uffizio (hereafter Ricevitoria) reg. 16 c 9v.
15. On Jews living outside the Jewish quarter in Palermo and Trapani, see E. Ashtor, 'Palermitan Jewry in the Fifteenth Century', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 50 (1979), pp.227-30; and 'The Jews of Trapani in the Later Middle Ages', *Studi Medievali* 25 (1984), pp.12-14.
16. On types of houses in use in Sicily in the later Middle Ages, see D. Ventura, *Editizia urbanistica ed aspetti di vita economica e sociale a Catania nel '400* (Catania, 1984); on the apartment see ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 66r.
17. A house composed of 5 *corpi*, ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 235r; 14 *corpi*, ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 30v.
18. The first property belonged to Andrea de Rizo alias Xachitano from Caccamo (in the northern part of Sicily, inland from Termini); this *converso* was reconciliated and as a consequence his property was confiscated by the Holy Office (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 170v); the second is the house of Benvenuta de Ljono of Marsala (reg. 8bis c 339r).
19. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 2r-3v. the location of the Jewish quarter in Trapani, see Ashtor, *Trapani*, pp.13-14.
20. On the types of coins in use in Sicily at that time see H. Bress, *Un monde méditerranéen: Economie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450* (Rome, 1986), 2 vols. pp.55-6; C. Trasselli, *Noie per la storia dei banchi in Sicilia nel XV secolo* (Palermo, 1968), 2 vols. For a detailed study of the coinage of Ferdinand the Catholic in Sicily, see P. Grierson and L. Travani, *Medieval European Coinage* (Cambridge, 1998), vol.14, pp.324-34.
21. A *tenimento* from the city of Ragusa was sold for 45 ounces (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 37r); a *tenimento* of four parts was sold for 19 ounces and 7 tari (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 184r); another *tenimento* sold for 60 ounces (Ventura, *Editizia*, p. 85).
22. Castrogiovanni, ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 19r; Palagonia, ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 110r; 267v; *domunculo* in Messina, ASP Ricevitoria reg. 7 c 9v.
23. The house sold for 52 ounces was that of a cloth merchant named Manfredo La Muta, who was burned at the stake (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 4r); for the Inn: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 255v.
24. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 152r-v.
25. Vineyards: Jacobello Stayti of Messina had a vineyard sold for 21 ounces (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 60v); Marino Criximano of Piazza had a vineyard sold for 3 ounces (ASP

Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 253v); Cayolaro de Cona of Callagrone had a vineyard sold for 6 ounces (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 299v). Jewish involvement in vine growing and wine trade: D. Abulafia, 'The Jews of Erice, Sicily, 1298-1304' (in Hebrew), *Zion* 51 (1986), pp.309-10; Ashtor, *Trapani*, p.19; Bress, *Un Monde*, pp.192-3.

26. Galuni had 20 oxen on this farm (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 79r).
27. Bress and Bress, 'Casa', p.112.
28. Dui lavuli et uno paro di trispidi (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 91v).
29. Bress and Bress, 'Casa', p.114.
30. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 229v.
31. E. Elefante, *Dizionario Siculo-Latino (tratto dal Valtium di Niccolò Valla sec. XVI)* (Palermo, 1991), 5.v. *paniere, canestrino* and see also V. Morrillaro, *Dizionario Siciliano-Italiano* (Bologna, 1876, reprint 1970): *vaso rotondo col fondo piano fatto di sottili schegge di castagno intessuto insieme o di altra materia*.
32. Bress and Bress, 'Casa', pp.110-11.
33. This description appears in the inventory of Angelo de Cusenza of Messina (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 243r).
34. This item is described as *traversales sive capitata lecti*: P. Sella, *Glossario latino italiano: Stato della Chiesa-Veneto-Abuzzi* (Vatican city, 1940, reprint 1965); Morrillaro, *Dizionario*.
35. Sella's glossary gives the explanation: *tessuto in seta di vari colori*.
36. This may be the same as the *sponda di lecto*, 'the side of the bed'.
37. Bress and Bress, 'Casa', p.113.
38. These items appear in the inventory of Angelo de Cusenza of Messina (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 247v).
39. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 350r.
40. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4 (Berkeley 1967-88), pp.105-50 and 107-8. There is some confusion as to the extent of deforestation in Sicily during the Later Middle Ages: Bress maintains that the forest was disappearing and only royal decrees intended to preserve some areas for hunting saved it from total destruction; H. Bress, 'La chasse en Sicile (XII^e-XV^e siècles)', in *La chasse au Moyen-Âge (Actes du colloque de Nice, 22-24 juin 1979)* (Nice, 1981), p.201. Epstein, however, believes that the wooded area grew during the demographic decline of the fourteenth century: S.R. Epstein, *An Island for Itself* (Cambridge, 1992), p.29.
42. This description fits not only peasant homes but urban dwellings as well, at least up to the eighteenth century: F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* (London, 1973), vol.1, pp.195-202.
43. P. Pavanini, 'Abitazioni popolari e borghesi nella Venezia cinquecentesca', *Studi Veneziani* 5 (1981), p. 86.
44. See appendixes 1 and 2.
45. Bress and Bress, 'Casa', p.117.
46. See appendix 2.
47. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 92v; reg. 6 c 117r.
48. All these tools appear in the inventory of Pietro de Bologna of Palermo (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 352r-353v).
49. The inventory of Carlo di Constanzo of Salemi (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 66v-67r).
50. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 22v-23r.
51. Distaffs in an inventory from Alcamo: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 245v; spools in an reg. 13 c 6r; carding flax and cotton: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 327v; a loom, almost the only inventory from Palermo: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 327v; a loom, almost the only possession of a poor woman, Rosa La Vestina: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 31r.
52. Bress, *Un monde*, pp.224-5.
53. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 357r-360r.
54. Bress, *Un monde*, p.225; A. Sparti, *Fonni per la storia del corallo nel medioevo mediterraneo* (Palermo, 1986), pp.324-6.
55. C. Trasselli, 'Sugli ebrei in Sicilia', *Nuovi Quaderni del Meridione* 7 (1969), p.47; and 'Sull'espulsione degli ebrei della Sicilia', *Annali della facoltà di economia e commercio di*

- Palermo, 8 (1954), pp. 14-21.
56. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 84v.
57. Burgarella, Obregon, p. 301; ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 80r.
58. M. Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London, 1989), p. 72; Braudel, *Capitalism*, p. 225.
59. *Tele de landa*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 249r; *pipignana*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 245r; *calambrazo* (Cambrà): ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 72v; *una tila di figuri di muru pinta di liandes*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 226r.
60. This disagrees with Epstein's statement that 'foreign cloth was a luxury good and as such was restricted to a narrow, elite market' (Epstein, *An Island*, p. 300).
61. A good example of a list of expensive clothes and textiles is the inventory of Paris Damiano, a rich merchant of Sciacca (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 72v).
62. Sella, *Glossario: dublettus-tessuto di lino e cotone*.
63. Such as 'a pair of sleeves made out of red silk': ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 8v.
64. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 223v.
65. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 289v-290r.
66. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 246r.
67. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 7r-8v.
68. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 50r.
69. The coat: Elefante, *Dizionario: vestito doppio, mantello*; the inventory: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 243v.
70. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 40v.
71. R. La Vestina: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 31r; partially woven cloth: reg. 8 c 26r; Antonia Romano: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 336v.
72. Bress, *Un monde*, pp. 479-81 and especially the table on p. 479.
73. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 224r.
74. Rings: Salvatore Bruno of Corteone had three gold rings sold for 3 tari (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 9 c 91v); seal rings: inventory of Catherina Sarma (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 8v).
75. The goods were found in another house and were revealed by one Vincenzo Romano. The list consists only of jewelry and valuables without the usual household items, which proves that it was recorded separately (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 236r-237v).
76. The word *xannaca*, also written as *cannaca* or *hannaca*, derives from the Arabic for 'choker': Corrado Avolio, *Introduzione allo studio del dialetto siciliano* (Palermo, 1975), p. 45. It can be compared to a similar jewel which appears in the Cairo Geniza marriage contracts, in Judeo-Arabic: M.A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine* (New York, 1981), vol. 2, no. 18, p. 199.
77. The inventory of Benedetto of Polizzi, who owned a workshop included four casks of "good" wine (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 42v-45r) and even a poor man such as Bartolo de Firrini of Polizzi, whose property was worth only 2 ounces 2 tari had two barrels of wine, one full and the other containing a little (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 26r).
78. 'The whole of Europe drank wine', as Braudel put it, and in fact all of the Christian Mediterranean countries drank wine almost exclusively (Braudel, *Capitalism*, pp. 162-3); as for Sicily, see Ventura, *Edilizia*, p. 189; Bress, *Un monde*, p. 191.
79. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 220v.
80. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 19r.
81. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 107v.
82. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 116v.
83. Bress, *Un monde*, p. 173 and see above the use of tallow for candles.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 547.
85. Elefante, *Dizionario; una fossa plina di frumento*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 66r.
86. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 66r. The salma corresponded to 2.75 hl.
87. Antonio Balbo: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 125r; Antonio Gatto: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 235r.
88. Bress, *Un monde*, pp. 527-68; Epstein, *An Island*, pp. 270-91.
89. Bress, *Un monde*, pp. 745-6; M. Aymard and H. Bress, 'Nouritures et consommation en Sicile entre XIV e et XVIII e siècle', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome Moyen Age-Temps Modern*, 87 (1975), pp. 535-81.

90. *Una cucchara di maccurrani*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 25r; *uvaglia*: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 26r, and see appendices 1 and 2.
91. The inventory of Marchisa Cuchino of Trapani (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 10v).
92. Aymard and Bress, 'Nouritures', pp. 541-2. cousous suggests North African influence but may also be a remnant of Sicily's Muslim past. In this respect Sicily can be compared with medieval Andalusia, where Moorish influence gave rise to similar customs and eating habits: L. Bolens, 'L'étonnante apparition du couscous en Andalousie médiévale', *Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Anne-Marie Piz* (Geneva, 1989), pp. 61-70.
93. Aymard and Bress, 'Nouritures', pp. 563-5; I. Peri, *Restaurazione e pacifico stato in Sicilia 1377-1501* (Bari, 1988), p. 47; Bress, *Un monde*, pp. 162-3.
94. ASP Ricevitoria 1 c 8r and appendix 1.
95. Molds: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 121r; cheese: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis 272r.
96. ASP Ricevitoria 19 c 252v.
97. Involvement of Sicilian Jews in cheese-making: Bress, *Un monde*, p. 563; kosher cheese: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, p. 251.
98. Pieces of cheese appear in the inventory of Andrea Cuxino (appendix 1); in another inventory there are *XIII pezzi di formaju pecurino* (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 91r).
99. Bress, *Un monde*, p. 251.
100. Quite a few *conversos* appear in notarial labour contracts dealing with the sugar industry prior to the expulsion (Zeldes, *The Converted Jews of Sicily*, pp. 82-3).
101. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 28r. This is consistent with Epstein's view that in the western part of the island the sugar industry was dominated by the aristocracy while by the beginning of the sixteenth century in other areas, especially the east, sugar-press owners could be also found among the merchant class (Epstein, *An Island*, pp. 217-18).
102. C. Trasselli, *Storia dello zucchero siciliano* (Caltanissetta and Roma, 1982), pp. 268-73.
103. Epstein, *An Island*, pp. 216-18.
104. Sweet dishes were eaten only on feast days: Aymard and Bress, 'Nouritures', p. 541.
105. Beehives: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 66r; honey: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 38r.
106. ASP Ricevitoria 8bis c 255r.
107. Geronimo di Galioni: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 78r; Niccolo Antonio de Tudisco: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis 44r; ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 179r; Giovanni de Hectaro of Giuliana: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis 179r.
108. Archivio di Stato di Trapani (hereafter AST), notaio Nicolo Tobia reg. 8866 c 78r-9v.
109. Mineo: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 10 c 3r, c 3v; ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 32v; Caltabellotta, 100 sheep sold for 10 ounces: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 7r; Mazzarino: 150 sheep and 2 oxen sold for 30 ounces: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 292r.
110. Giuliano Ramusano Pantalirso of Alcamo had six chickens and a rooster (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 39r). Even poor people had a few chickens, as did Bernardino Cundro and Lucrezia Santiglia (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 39r, c 53r).
111. Aymard and Bress, 'Nouritures', p. 560.
112. Bress, *Un monde*, pp. 439-74; C. Verlinden, 'L'esclavage en Sicile au bas Moyen Age', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 35 (1963), pp. 13-113. For a wider picture of slavery in the Mediterranean world see Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Age dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1981), but there are only few references to Sicily.
113. Jewish ownership of slaves in the Christian world was problematic; see S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews* (Toronto, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 158-63; Heers, *Esclaves*, pp. 67-8. Some of the stricter measures against Jewish ownership of slaves appear in Frederick III's 1310 legislation: C.R. Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 258-64.
114. R. Toaff, 'Schiavità e schiavi nella Nazione Ebraica di Livorno nel Sei a Settecento', *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 51 (1985), pp. 82-95.
115. Giliu Ferrante, formerly named Elia Balam, asked for royal protection for property that he had owned before his conversion, including slaves (ASP Real Conservatoria di Registro reg. 77 c 427r).
116. Giovanni de Actuni of Trapani had three slaves (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 6 c 46v); Cola

- Cappello of Caltagirone had two slaves, a man and a woman (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 127); Angelo de Bonnano, a blacksmith from Messina, had an old Moorish slave (ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 286r). See also appendix 2.
117. A. Rizzo-Marino, 'Gli Ebrei di Mazara nei secoli Quattordicesimo e Quindicesimo', *Atti della Società Trapanese per la Storia Patria*, 1971, p.55.
118. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 245v.
119. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 48r - 49v.
120. H. Bress, *Libre et société en Sicile* (Palermo, 1971), p.53.
121. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 9 c 93r.
122. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 158v-161v, reg. 9 c 93r-v; Renda, 'I marrani', p.696; Renda, *L'Inquisizione*, p.291.
123. ASP Ricevitoria reg. 13 c 17v.
124. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Bruxelles, 1898-1911).
125. J.P. Migne, *Dictionnaire des légendes du christianisme* (Turnhout, 1989), p.444 n.292, gives a detailed history of this legend, which appeared in several languages from the fourteenth century onward.
126. These books appear in the Catalogue of the British Museum: Cherubino da Spoleto, Franciscan, *Sermones quadragesimales*, edited with a dedicatory epistle by Seraphinus Mantuanus, Venetis 1502, and *Poema di Seraphino Aquilano*, novamente cum diligentia da Hieronimo Soccino impresso, 1505, in *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1966).
127. The registers also list calendars (*libri lunarii*) and account books.
128. Matteo Porco, a cloth merchant from Messina, had a viola and a hunting horn: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 251v; another viola: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 168v.
129. Bress, 'La chasse', pp.201-17.
130. Chess set: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8 c 54r; pack of cards: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 304v.
131. Weapons in inventories: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 8bis c 59v, 74r, 249r, 338v; fines: ASP Ricevitoria reg. 19 c 333v, 335r, 339v.
132. Kamen, *Inquisition*, pp.188-94; La Mantia, *Origine e vicende*, p.47 n.45.
133. A. Ryder, 'The Incidence of Crime in Sicily in the Mid-Fifteenth Century', in T. Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (eds.), *Crime and the Law in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.40-59; V. D'Alessandro and G. Gianizzo, *La Sicilia dal Vespro all'Unità d'Italia* (Turin, 1989), pp.195-201.
134. Bress, *Casa*, p.111.

Book Reviews

David W. Tandy, *Warriors into Traders: The Power of the Market in Early Greece*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997. Pp.xv + 296. ISBN: 0-520-20269-4.

It is generally acknowledged that the eighth century BC was a period of great transformation during which the foundations of the later Greek city-state were laid. This book investigates the roles of economy and poetry in this process. It combines textual data and information from archaeological sources and draws extensively upon theories and models developed in sociology and (economic) anthropology, especially upon the work of Karl Polanyi and Morton Fried.

What according to the author happened during this period was that the redistributive institutions of the Dark Age *oikos* system broke down and were replaced by a disembedded market economy. The catalyst for this shift was a cyclical process of strong demographic growth and changes in agricultural practices at the beginning of the eighth century. Because of this population boom, ranking became more strict. As a consequence, a smaller number of community leaders could collect from the expanded population larger quantities of goods, which they used for overseas trade activities. The new 'unobligated wealth' that the emerging élite extracted from external sources was withheld from the rest of the community. This resulted in the introduction of private property, land alienation and debts on the part of those who failed to cope with the rules of the new system. Moreover, members of the new élite started to acquire 'luxury goods' at (peripheral) markets and in commercial colonies that developed along new trade routes all around the Mediterranean. At home, this meant that the centre became increasingly dissociated from its periphery, which until then had fulfilled an important role in the conversion of agricultural surplus into prestige items. According to Tandy, it was this institution of new political and economic centres trying to exclude the peripheral members of the community from the economic mainstream that constituted the rise of the polis. In his opinion, this was a catastrophe of the same order as the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system (p.2).

The new élite introduced various strategies of display and exclusion, such as gift giving, restricted participation in councils and feasts, warrior burials, and hero cults. But it was especially heroic poetry that helped to obfuscate the distinction between the heroic past, when wealth followed status, and the élite present, with status following wealth and market forces dictating social relationships. Tandy finds a different and critical response to the newly emergent system in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. In his view, the poet pleads for a new solidarity of community as a replacement for the protective mechanisms once provided by the redistributive structure of the pre-polis *Gemeinschaft*. In this manner, Hesiod can be considered the voice of the politically and economically excluded peasants struggling on the periphery of the new polis centres.

Tandy aims to arrive at 'a new understanding of the economy and society of the eighth-century Aegean' (p.15). To accomplish this, he has assembled and integrated into his reconstructions an impressive quantity and variety of data. A 45-page bibliography may serve as testimony to this. However, it should be pointed out that the argument compounds a number of issues that are still the subject of scholarly debate