Ανάλεκτα Σταγών και Μετεώρων

Τόμ. 1 (2022)

Ανάλεκτα Σταγών και Μετεώρων

ΑΝΑΠΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΥΛΙΚΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟ ΜΙΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ: ΥΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΚΩΔΙΚΑ ΤΡΙΚΚΗΣ ΕΒΕ 1471

Νικόλαος Βρυζίδης

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ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 1ο

ΜΕΤΕΩΡΑ 2022

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Εἰς μνήμην Χαραλάμπους Β. Στεργιούλη (†1.9.2021),

Διευθυντὴ συντάξεως τοῦ Περιοδικοῦ

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΩΝ Κ. ΘΕΟΚΛΗΤΟΥ

Πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου καὶ μετ' Αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Σειράχ, Α΄,1)

Πλήρεις χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης, ὑποδεχόμεθα καὶ προλογίζομεν τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ Περιοδικοῦ τῆς Μητροπολιτικῆς Ἀκαδημίας Θεολογικῶν καὶ Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν Ἁγίων Μετεώρων, τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλο «Ἀνάλεκτα Σταγῶν καὶ Μετεώρων – Analecta Stagorum et Meteororum». Τὸ ἐν λόγῳ Περιοδικὸν σκοπεῖ εἰς τὴν μελέτην τῆς Ἱστορίας καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς παρακαταθήκης τῆς ἁγιοτόκου πολιτείας τῶν Ἁγίων Μετεώρων καὶ τῆς παλαιφάτου ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν Σταγῶν, νῦν δὲ ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Σταγῶν καὶ Μετεώρων. Εἰς τὸ ἐν λόγῳ συλλογικὸν πόνημα ἀναδεικνύεται μετὰ πολλῶν γραπτῶν πηγῶν καὶ ἀρχαιολογικῶν μαρτυριῶν, ἡ πολύχρονος ἱστορία τῆς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁ πολιτισμικὸς θησαυρὸς τῆς μετεωρικῆς Θηβαΐδος, καὶ ἡ δρᾶσις τῶν μεγάλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προσωπικοτήτων τῆς Δ. Θεσσαλίας.

Διὰ τοῦτο εἴμεθα ἐκ τῶν προτέρων πεπεισμένοι ὅτι ἡ ἔκδοσις καὶ ἡ διάδοσις τοῦ Περιοδικοῦ Ἀνάλεκτα Σταγῶν καὶ Μετεώρων θὰ συντελέσῃ οὐχὶ μόνον εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς περιοχῆς τῶν Σταγῶν ἢ τῶν μετεωρικῶν Μοναστηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν περαιτέρω ἀναγνώρισιν τῆς συμβολῆς τῆς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἀπὸ τὰ βυζαντινὰ ἕως τὰ νεότερα χρόνια.

Ἐκφράζομεν τὴν εὐαρέσκειαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἡμῶν πρὸς τὰ κοπιάσαντα μέλη τῆς τριμελοῦς συντακτικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ Περιοδικοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλλόγιμα μέλη τῶν ἐπιμέρους ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐπιτροπῶν, διὰ τὴν ἀξιέπαινον αὐτῶν σπουδὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. Ὡσαύτως, θερμὰς εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐγνώμονας προσρήσεις ἐκφράζομεν πρὸς τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν μελετῶν τοῦ πρώτου τεύχους, οἵτινες διὰ τῆς ἐνδελεχοῦς ἐντρυφήσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς πηγάς, ἀπέδωσαν μὲ ἀντικειμενικότητα καὶ ἐπιστημονικὴν ἀκρίβειαν πάντα ὅσα οὗτοι πραγματεύονται.

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Μετεωριτίσσης καὶ πάντων τῶν Ὁσίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς λίθοις τῶν Μετεώρων λαμψάντων, εἴη μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν, Ἀμήν.

Ἔγγραφον ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ τῶν Σταγῶν, τῇ 25ῃ μηνὸς Ὀκτωβρίου, ἔτους σωτηρίου 2021

† ὁ Σταγῶν καὶ Μετεώρων Θεόκλητος

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Βαφειάδης Κωνσταντῖνος,
Βρυζίδης Νικόλαος,
Στεργιούλης Χαράλαμπος († 1.9.2021)

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΣ

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ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΩΝ

ΑΑΑ	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
ΑΒΜΕ	Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων Ἑλλάδος
ΑΕΘΣΕ	Ἀρχαιολογικὸ Ἔργο Θεσσαλίας καὶ Στερεᾶς Ἑλλάδας, Πρακτικὰ Ἐπιστημονικῆς Συνάντησης
ΑΔ	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
ΑΕ	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΕΕΘΣΠΘ	Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
ΕΜΑ	Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
ΕΕΦΣΠΑ	Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν
ΗπειρΧρον:	Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ
ΘεσσΗμ	Θεσσαλικὸ Ἡμερολόγιο
ΘεσσΜελ	Θεσσαλικὰ Μελετήματα
ΘεσσΧρον	Θεσσαλικὰ Χρονικά. Δελτίον τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Λαογραφικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
ΘΗΕ	Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία
ΙΑΙΣΕΕ	Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ΙΕΕ	Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους
ΚαρδΧρον	Καρδιτσιώτικα Χρονικά
ΚρητΧρον	Κρητικὰ Χρονικά
ΝΕ	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
Νεολόγου Ἐπιθεώρησις	Νεολόγου Ἑβδομαδιαῖα Ἐπιθεώρησις, Πολιτικὴ, Φιλολογική, Ἐπιστημονική.
ΠΑΑ	Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
ΠΑΕ	Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
ArtB	The Art Bulletin
AS	Acta Sanctorum

BalkSt	Balkan Studies
BHC	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, F. Halkin (ed.), vols. I, II, III, Bruxelles 1957
BHG	Nov. Auct. F. Halkin, Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiogra-phicae graecae, [Subsidia Hagiographica 65], Bruxelles 1984.
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJb	Byzantinische-neugriechische Jahrbücher
ByzForsch	Byzantinische Forschungen
ByzSl	Byzantinoslavica
ByzVindo	Byzantina Vindobonensia
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques
CahBalk	Cahiers Balkaniques
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
ChHist	Church History
CIÉB	Congrès International d'Études Byzantines
Corsi	Corsi di cultura sull' arte ravennate e bizantina
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, B. G. Niebuhr et al. (eds.), Bonn 1828-1897.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, H. Leclercq, F. Gabrol (eds.), vols I-XV, Paris 1907-1923.
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EChR	The Eastern Churches Review
ÉO	Échos d'Orient
EOE	Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire (2009)
EtBalk	Études balkaniques
GSND	Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva
IRAIK	Izvestija Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole
JEastCS	The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies

JACh	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JÖByzG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JSav	Journal des Savants
JThS	The Journal of Theological Studies
JWarb	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
LA	Liber Annus. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität (E. Trapp et alii), Wien 1994 k.e.
LOC	Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, E. Renaudot (ed.), vols I, II Parisiis 1716.
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehments
OKS	Ostkirchlische Studien
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
PBW	Prosopography of the Byzantine World
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, J.-P. Migne (ed.), vols. 161, Paris 1857-1866.
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes
RSBN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SemKond	Seminarium Kondakovianum
StP	Studia Patristica
SüdostF	Südost-Forschungen
Synaxarium EC:	H. Delehaye, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, e codice sirmondiano nunc berolinensi abiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Bruxellis 1902
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
Turcica	Turcica, Reuve d'études turques
VizVrem	Vizantinijskij Vremmenik
WJKg	Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
ZLU	Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske

Zograf	Zograf, Revue d'art médiévale
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRNM	Zbornik Radova Nărodnog Muzeja
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta
ZSU	Zbornik Srednovekovna umetnost

RECREATING A SOCIETY'S MATERIAL CULTURE: TEXTILES IN THE TRIKKE CODEX EBE 1471

Nikolaos Vryzidis

Abstract: *The Trikke codex EBE 1471 preserves a variety of documents, many of which are of interest to historians of material culture. In particular, church inventories, wills, and dowries are especially rich in mentions of different textiles: from the most luxurious cloths of gold to the more modest block-printed cottons. By drawing upon this valuable source, I will offer an as representative as possible compendium of the textiles consumed in the wider Trikke region from the late seventeenth century and on. The great variety of weavings and provenances mentioned in the codex certainly provides ample ground for an analysis of the textile trends prevailing in West Thessaly. Finally, by pairing the textual information with actual remnants this study aims at visualizing the specific period's eclectic aesthetic and cultural interconnectedness, thereby illuminating its place in the early modern "geography of cloth", and the dynamics woven within it.*

Keywords: *Microhistory, material culture studies, material culture of religion, Ottoman Thessaly, early modern textile trade.*

Λεξεις-κλειδια: *Μικροϊστορία, μελέτη του υλικού πολιτισμού, εκκλησιαστικός υλικός πολιτισμός, οθωμανική Θεσσαλία, εμπόριο των υφασμάτων κατά την πρώιμη μοντέρνα εποχή.*

I. INTRODUCTION: A MICROHISTORICAL INVESTIGATION

The fragmentary codex EBE 1471, formerly in the collection of the University of Athens, now resides in the National Library of Greece. It constitutes an important source of information regarding the ecclesiastical, social and cultural

* For the transliteration of Greek, I followed the system of the American Library Association - Library of Congress (ALA-LC Romanization). Surnames are also transliterated whenever the preferred romanized version is unavailable. Titles in the footnotes appear in chronological order, unless otherwise required by the explanatory discussion.

life of West Thessaly between 1688 and 1857[1]. The documents in the codex directly relevant to this study are inventories of ecclesial estates, mainly for their abundant mentions of textiles. Wills, dowries and encyclicals further complement the main body of evidence, providing a view of the flock's material culture, and how it associated to liturgical dress and veils. To state that this study is based on a microhistorical approach would be an understatement. The codex is a window into the textile culture of a very specific populace: the Christians residing in the historic region of Trikala, in North-western Thessaly. Its timeframe is also limited, as most of the documents of interest to this study begin to appear towards the last decades of the seventeenth century and continue to cover most of the eighteenth century. In other words, clearly defined geographic and chronological limits frame the codex's rich documentation, allowing for an in-depth analysis that may not be as applicable in other cases. This calls upon a tailored methodological approach, one that corresponds to the idiosyncrasy of the specific case.

For these reasons I believe that the methods used in microhistory can be particularly useful for the treatment of this material. In one of his articles, the historian István Szijártó stressed that good microhistory should be based on hard facts, appeal to the reader, and point out towards the general[2]. Although Szijártó has set the bar high it seems to me that the present study could comply with these objectives. Its narrative will rely on textual evidence that is unusually rich for one region, in an attempt to at least partially recreate the material culture of its everyday and ceremonial life. These mentions will also be paired with remnants from the sacristy of the Monastery of the Transfiguration (Great Meteoro), as well as other ecclesiastical collections and museums. Hence, a representation of the prevailing aesthetic will be provided, or at least a plausible version of it, within the limits of our knowledge and the availability of relevant objects. Moreover, I am always confident in the broad appeal that a study on textiles can attract: one should not forget that the average reader can more easily relate to the applied than the fine arts. This is even truer for textile arts,

1 The codex was first published in 1980 by Nikos Giannoulis (Giannoulis, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης*). The mistakes detected in the first edition led to the codex's subsequent publication by Dimitrios Kalousios in a series of articles (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 3-64. *Idem,* "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 65-128. *Idem,* "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 129-192. *Idem* "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 193-256.). Moreover, a second edition of Giannoulis's book, revised and edited by Theodoros Nemas, was recently published (Giannoulis, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης ΕΒΕ, αρ. χφ. 1471*). In this edition, Nemas also corrected the spelling and other mistakes made by the codex's scribes. My research is based on the articles by Kalousios, for, at least in my knowledge, they largely follow the original text.

2 Szijártó, "Four Arguments for Microhistory", 212.

being one aspect of material culture shared by all walks of life. The last element in Szijártó's framework also can be addressed sufficiently by drawing upon the sources available to us: as we will see, the material culture of a prosperous province can relate directly to the wider Ottoman context, and indirectly to the contemporary global trends. Taking these factors into account, it would also be useful to reflect on microhistory's belief in the worth of the margin and of the exceptional case when challenging established views[3]. While Trikke was a provincial society, and perhaps a margin of some sort, I would be reluctant to argue in favour of its exceptionality. On the contrary, my aim is to reveal how the international textile trends manifested in local dress, soft furnishings and ceremonial drapery, thus, chasing away notions of provincialism. While this may not be a standard objective in the grand project of microhistory, it is nonetheless revealing of the province's position in the global "geography of cloth".

II. TEXTILE HIERARCHIES

One of the standard ways to compile a compendium is to list the different elements according to their preciousness. In our case, this principle could be applied as a pyramidal hierarchy of weavings: starting with the sumptuous cloths rich in metal threads on top, continuing with the less expensive silks and half-silks, and ending with the more modest fabrics, such as cottons. In my view, a shortcoming often seen in the study of historical textiles is the tendency to focus only on elite artefacts. This study will endeavour to address this predicament by providing an as representative as possible list of the textiles used in the region of Trikke. The benefits of such an exercise are great: not only can it offer a rounded view on the subject, but it facilitates the proper contextualization of elite artefacts as well[4].

To begin, there can be few doubts that the most prestigious textiles by far were those interwoven with precious metals, often described by art historians with generic terms such as cloths of gold and/or silver. One of the historic terms relevant to this rank of precious cloth, which appears early in the chronological scope of the codex, is *seraserenio* (σερασερένιο), meaning 'made of *seraser*'. As is now known, this is one of the loan words of ultimate Persian origin the Greek

3 Vries, "Playing with Scales", *passim*.

4 Similar observations have been recently made in a discussion of luxurious Ottoman silk velvets vis-à-vis the more modest cotton double cloths (Phillips, "Art History from Below and Outside").

language owes to Ottoman Turkish[5]. *Seraser* usually corresponds to a *taqueté* in Western textile terminology: a plain weave with inner warps which form the surface on which complementary (or co-equal) wefts float. The front face of the best quality *seraser* was almost completely covered with wefts of metal thread (either silver, gold or silver-gilt foil wrapped around a silk core) (Fig. 1)[6]. These silks were normally patterned with sizeable floral or geometric motifs, recognizable from a distance (Fig. 2), thus, justifying the meaning of the term ("from one edge to the other")[7]. Equally recognizable was their status in Ottoman society as a form of social currency, mainly for their preeminent use in court ceremonial as robes of honour (*hil'at*)[8]. These associations probably spread to ecclesiastical attire through the investiture ceremony and the bestowal of robes of honour upon the high clergy by the Ottoman bureaucracy[9]. Apart from the typical aniconic motifs, Christian patterns also were rendered in *seraser*, although much fewer examples have survived[10]. In the codex this material appears in association with three vestments, already in the 1694 inventory of the Church of Saint Stephen in Trikala (*Agios Stefanos Trikalōn*)[11]: an *epigonation*[12], *a phelonion*, and a *sakkos*[13]. This moderate use gives the impression that seraser was not as accessible to the local clergy, and that it was reserved for specific vestments only. However, the image is quite different in the 1752 inventory of the Church

5 Vryzidis, "Ottoman textiles", 97-98.

6 Gürsu, *The Art*, 28-29. Atasoy *et al., İpek*, 217 and 220-222. Mackie, *Symbols*, 289-290, Phillips, *Sea Change*, 87-90. This type of metal thread is called *filé*. See Karatzani, "Characterisation of metal threads", fig. 1c. On the development and evolution of metal threads in textiles from Europe and the Middle East see idem, "Metal Threads".

7 The pictured *seraser* had a documentable ecclesiastical use, as implied by the traces of four crosses detected on it (N. Vryzidis, "Towards a History", 182-184). On the variety of *seraser* designs see Atasoy *et al., İpek*, 36-49 and 256-263, cats. 33, 35, 45, 73 and 75 (author unspecified). Mackie, *Symbols*, figs. 8.6-8.9 and 8.41.

8 Atasoy *et al., İpek*, 21, 25, 29 and 32-35. Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 148, 150 and 163. For an overall discussion of the Ottoman *hil'at* read Phillips, "Ottoman *Hil'at*".

9 Vryzidis, "Towards a History", 176-191. It is also quite telling that in the glossary of the revised edition of Giannoulis's publication of the codex *seraseri* is defined as a luxurious cloth suitable for vestments (Giannoulis, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης ΕΒΕ, αρ. χφ. 1471*, 323).

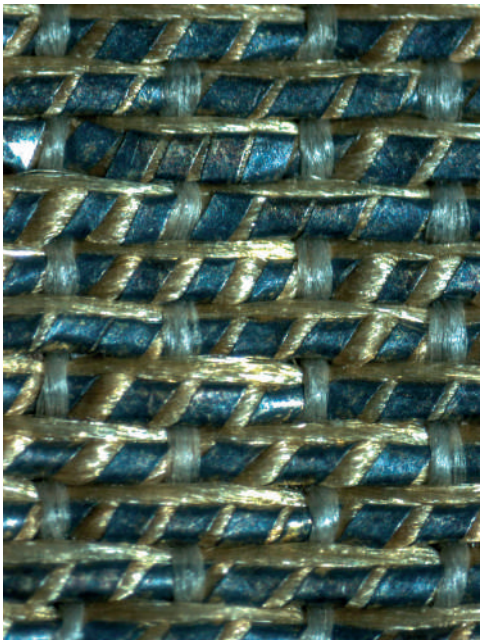
10 Atasoy *et al., İpek* 48-49 and 246-247. Vryzidis, "Threads of Symbiosis", 144 and 146-147, figs. 4, 8 and 9.

11 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 25.

12 Mention of an *epigonation* made of *seraser* appears in an undated inventory of the same church as well (*ibid.,* 22). On the *epigonation* see Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, 17-18.

13 Mention of a *sakkos* made of *seraser* reappears in the 1708 and 1736 inventories of the same church (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 27 and 45). A *sakkos* was usually reserved for the more important feasts of the Christian calendar and was therefore less often used than other vestments. Considering the material's preciousness, I assume it is the same vestment in all three inventories. On the *sakkos* and the *phelonion* see Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, 11-12 and 25-28.

of Panagia-Visitation (*Panagia tēs Episkepseōs*): it notes two *sticharia* of *seraser* and twelve *phelonia* of golden *seraser* (σερασέρια χρυσᾶ)[14]. This is an impressive amount of prestigious cloth used for larger ecclesiastical vestments, highly visible in rituals[15]. It is interesting to note that *seraser* does not appear in the earlier inventory of the same church (ca. 1730-1735)[16]. This implies that the local clergy gained more access to this exclusive material towards the mid-eighteenth century. It may also be relevant that examples of *seraser* of more modest quality survive from this period[17]. Thus, *seraser* could have become a more accessible fabric by then. Another interesting observation regarding *seraser* is its complete absence from documents relevant to the laity (e. g. , dowries).



1. Metal thread (*kılaptan*) in an Ottoman taqueté (*seraser*); image source: Topkapı Palace Museum (inv. no. TSM 13-131), © Recep Karadağ, Istanbul Aydin University.

Furthermore, the codex preserves terms of Latin and Slavic origin that possibly pertain to cloth of gold or silver. One of them is *atlampaza* (ἀτλαμπάζα). It appears in the codex as early as *seraser*, in relation to two *sticharia*[18]. In my search to identify this less common term I had to turn to Eastern Europe, as the appellation closest to *atlampazo* (singular of *atlampaza*) seems to be the Russian term *atlabas* (атлабас). This probably corresponds to the generic designation for textiles interwoven or embroidered with

14 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 75.

15 For example, the pattern on a deacon's *sticharion* enjoyed high visibility, as the stole worn over it (the *orarion*) was nothing but a narrow strip of cloth. On the deacon's vesture see Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, 5-9. On the priest's and bishop's *sticharion* read *ibid.,* 9-10 and 13-15.

16 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 68-69 and 71-72.

17 E.g., see the *seraser* discussed in Phillips, *Sea Change*, 192.

18 This is not to be confused with *atlazenio* (ἀτλαζένιο) which appears also in the same inventories in relation to other vestments that were made of *atlas* (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22 and 25). *Atlas* will be discussed later in this article. On *atlabas* see Mayasova, Vishnevskaya, *Russkoe hudozhestvennoe*, 134. I am thankful to Yuliana Boycheva for providing me this reference.

2. Fragmentary panel, formerly in ecclesiastical use, taqueté weave (*seraser*), silk and silver thread, seventeenth century, Constantinople; © Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv. no. BXM 20859).

metal threads, regardless of their provenance. The term's genericity becomes evident by its use. For example, a sixteenth-century *sakkos*, associated with Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Job/Iov (d. 1607), is noted by Russian scholars to be of *atlabas*. Its fabric is an Italian silk interwoven with threads of gold wire (*oro tirato*) and golden thread (*oro filato*)[19]. On the other hand, a mid-seventeenth century Ottoman saddle in the Kremlin Treasury, heavily embroidered with golden thread, is again noted to be of *atlabas*[20]. Although my accessibility to Russian scholarship is hardly sufficient for conclusive statements, it seems that the term's genericity extended to manufacture: it probably referred to a metal ground or surface, regardless of the technique through which this effect was achieved. Notwithstanding this, the possibility that the term denoted a Russian provenance cannot be ruled out. Otherwise, its use in a Greek document seems hardly justifiable. As is known, Russian textiles gained particular popularity among Greek clerics during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[21]. Perhaps these listings indicate imports had started earlier. In any case, the next mention of a Russian textile appears towards the 1730s and is in relation to an antimins[22]: *antimē(n)sion moschoviko* (ἀντιμή(ν)σιον μοσχόβικον)[23].

To continue, other terms of European provenance with a similar meaning must have been *lastra* (λάστρα) and *lastrenio* (λαστρένιο)[24]. Their root points out to the Italian *lastra* and *lastrare*, which were used to describe the act of covering surfaces with a resistant material to give a "plating" effect[25]. This term is not used by modern textile historians, but it appears in Italian texts of the period

19 Vishnevskaya, "Tessuti pregiati italiani", 63. Wires could either be simple wires, or spun around a silk yarn (*tir-tir*). See Karatzani, "Characterisation of metal threads", fig. 1b and d, *et passim*.

20 See *Gifts to the Tsars 1500-1700*, cat. 32 (O. Borisovna Melnikova). For the use of couched gold thread in Ottoman embroideries see Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, 164, 168, ills. 86-87.

21 This underexplored subject is being currently treated by the EU-funded project RICONTRANS, under the direction of Yuliana Boycheva. On the circulation of Russian art in Greece see *Θρησκευτική τέχνη. Από τη Ρωσία στην Ελλάδα*. Also see Varvounis, Macha-Bizoumi, "Συνέχειες και ασυνέχειες", 137-138.

22 Antimins literally means "instead of the table/altar". On the origins of the Byzantine antimins (*antimension*), and its use as an altar furnishing and substitute read Karapli, Papastavrou, "Autels portatifs (Altaria portatilia)".

23 Terms denoting a Russian provenance appear in relation to metal objects (e.g., disks, candleholders) as well (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 71, 74, 77).

24 In the codex we find the following versions of the word: *lastr-a/an/ais* (λάστρ-α/αν/αις), *lastren-ion/ia* (λαστρέν-ιον/-ια), *glastrenia* (γλαστρένια), *lastr-in/ē/on* (λάστρ-ιν/η/ον) (*ibid.*, 27, 45, 69, 75, 121, 123, 133, 154). In the glossary of the revised edition of Giannoulis's publication of the codex it is described as a fabric used for vestments (Giannoulis, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης ΕΒΕ, αρ. χφ. 1471*, 316).

25 This is one of the meanings *lastra* conveyed in Italian since the thirteenth century. See "LASTRA s.f." [Online] Available at http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/index.php?vox=033540.htm [Accessed 29 April 2020].

in discussion[26]. During the eighteenth century, textual sources regarding the European community of Larnaca also reveal that a sumptuous version of *lastra d'oro*, silk interwoven with gold and silver strips, was imported from Venice to Cyprus[27]. Regardless of which weave exactly corresponded to this Italian term, it is well-known that Greek Orthodox and Jewish merchants imported textiles from Venice to mainland Greece from as early as the seventeenth century, if not earlier. These were sold in the local big fairs, including Mascholouri (Maşkolur/Μασχολούρι), which was relatively close to Trikala[28]. Although I have not been able to trace *lastrenio* in the published business correspondence, it should be noted that merchants, especially Jewish ones, often used generic terms for high quality textiles, like *belacosa* (μπέλακοσα/μπελακῶσα), from the Italian *bella cosa*, literally meaning "good stuff"[29]. In fact, *belacosa* could have referred to any high-quality weaving imported from Italy.

To continue, the codex also features Greek terms whose association with gold oscillates between specificity and generality. For example, *chrysoϋfanton* (χρυσοΰφαντον), which literally means "woven with gold", leaves no doubts as to its materials[30]. On the other hand, the meaning of *chryson* (χρυσόν), plainly gold, was shaped probably according to individual contexts. For example, as the adjective defining an *epitaphios* it refers to gold-embroidery, for the simple reason that such liturgical veils were more often embroidered than woven[31]. Moreover, its appearance in the same inventory alongside *seraserenio* and *atlampazo* indicates a third, distinguishable type of textile[32]. However, the limits of these interpretations are revealed in two inventories of the Church of Panagia-Visitation. As already mentioned, the church's 1752 inventory lists 12 *phelonia* of golden *seraser*[33]. On the contrary, the 1754 inventory enlists 14 golden (*chrysa*) *phelonia* but no *seraser*[34]. It is known that the two lists were compiled by different churchwardens. Therefore, it can be assumed that the *seraser phelonia*, already

26 E.g., the 1709 edition of the *Tesoro della lingua greca-volgare ed italiana,* a Greek-Italian dictionary compiled by Alessio da Somavera (*Tesoro,* 357).

27 Chatzēkyriakos, *Τα υφάσματα και οι ενδυμασίες*, 79-80, 298, figs. 160-161.

28 Zampakolas, *Η ιστορική παρουσία*, 54-55. *Idem,* "IL MERCANTE GRECO NICOLÒ GLYKIS", 604, 606. *Idem,* "ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΑΣ «Κ. ΣΕΛΕΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ Λ. ΣΑΡΟΣ»", 93, 96, 98, 108. On the history of Mascholouri read Karafyllēs, *Το Μοσχολούρι*.

29 Zampakolas, *Η ιστορική παρουσία*, *passim.*

30 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 26.

31 *Ibid.,* 49.

32 *Ibid.,* 22, 25, 27 and 75.

33 *Ibid.,* 75.

34 *Ibid.,* 77.

in the sacristy since 1752, were plainly noted as *chrysa* by the second churchwarden. Generic or not, the use of so many terms related to gold underlines that luminosity was integral to ecclesiastical ceremonial. This is further attested by the vestments which were processed to enhance their iridescence. The codex records a series of vestments and veils as *dia ma(n)gkanou* (διά μα(ν)γκάνου), which refers to their varnishing with a machine called *mangano*[35]. Apart from passages in the codex that specifically mention embroideries were processed in this way (e.g., τά διά μαγγάνου κεντητά), it should be noted that the vestments and veils accompanied by this indication are more frequently embroidered (e.g., *epitrachēlion*, *epimanikon*, *aeras*)[36].

Another luxurious silk to appear in the codex, in relation to a variety of vestments and liturgical veils, is *kamouchas*[37]. In its Ottoman version, called *kemha*, it is a lampas weave rich in metal threads, usually combining a satin ground with a twill pattern[38]. From the surviving objects and textual sources, it seems that it had a standard ecclesiastical use from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries[39]. Although it cannot be ruled out that the term *kamouchas* was used for imports from Italy as well[40], it can be assumed that most of the codex's mentions referred to vestments of Ottoman lampas. Besides vestments, *kamouchas* also appears in the codex in relation to bookbindings, specifically the dressing of evangeliaries[41]. When it comes to actual textile remnants, one of the boldest designs to survive in a Greek Orthodox sacristy is that of a *sticharion* from

35 The term has an Italian origin and there is at least some evidence that in the Modern Greek context this technique was considered to be Venetian. See Kriaras, *Λεξικό* XIX, 265. Païzē-Apostolopoulou, Apostolopoulos, *Ἀφιερώματα καὶ δωρεὲς*, 154-155.

36 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 25, 27, 45, 49, 75, 130, 135, 155. For embroideries processed in this way before being presented to Vatopedi Monastery see Mertzimekis, ""...Ποδίαις τρανές διά μαγκάνου επτά..."", 349-360.

37 The term appears in many different versions, indicative of the lack of standardization of Modern Greek at the time: *kamouch-as/an/ades* (καμουχ-άς/ᾶν/άδες), *kampouchan* (καμπουχᾶν), *kampouchen-ion/ia* (καμπουχέν-ιον/ια), *kampochades* (καμποχάδες), *kamchadenia* (καμχαδένια), *kamo(u)chenia* (καμο(υ)χένια), *kamouchitik-on/a* (καμουχίτικ-ον/α), (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22, 25-27, 45, 61, 65, 68-69, 71, 75, 77, 87-88, 172).

38 Atasoy *et al.*, *İpek*, 217, 224-225. Mackie, *Symbols*, 304.

39 The use of silk lampas with generically secular patterns probably emerged even earlier though, sometime during the late Byzantine period. On the Greek Church's use of Ottoman lampas see Vryzidis, "Towards a History", 178 and 184-189. *Idem,* "Ottoman textiles", 93-97.

40 Nonetheless, Italian lampas-weave silks usually present decoration and technical characteristics notably different from their Ottoman counterparts, which is not the case with velvets. On the infrequent occasion of an Italian lampas directly copying Ottoman aesthetic see Mackie, "The Ottoman Sultans' Penchant", 321-323.

41 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 68. On the specific practice see Vryzidis, "Reflections of Mediterraneanism", 121 and 123-124.

the collection of the Great Meteoro Monastery (Fig. 3). The clean-cut pattern is based on the contrast between the triplets of spheres and the silver threads covering most of the textile's surface[42]. The spheres are rendered as closed crescents by the revealed parts of the blue satin and the white silk pattern wefts in twill. This is a generically secular design, conveying connotations of prestige understood by the wider society[43].

Moreover, there is evidence that the same workshops produced silks that were custom–made for the Church, as most Christian designs from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were woven in Ottoman lampas[44]. One of the finest examples is a tricolour *polystaurion* (bearing multiple crosses) pattern found in a *plelonion*, again in the collection of the Great Meteoro (Fig. 4)[45]. Against an ivory satin silk ground are roundels that carry crosses and the popular Christogram "Jesus Christ Victorious" (IC XC NI KA) rendered in yellow silk and silver thread. The interstices are adorned with a quadrilateral motif, with curvilinear sides and stylized niches from which two blue stems grow. The blue details are woven in twill, while the use of silver thread is more restrained. This is not the case with a panel at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, originally coming from an *epitrachēlion* that was collected from the Great Meteoro (Fig. 5)[46]. It is a tricolour *kemha* almost completely covered with silver thread. Its design is rendered by the surfaces of the blue satin ground that are left exposed and details woven in white silk twill. The pattern is a combination of the *polystaurion* and

42 Cf. Atasoy *et al., İpek*, pl. 48. Papastavrou, Vryzidis, "Sacred Patchwork", fig. 1.

43 The three dots or spheres, often in the form of closed crescents and accompanied by wavy stripes, constituted one of the most popular patterns in Ottoman art, especially ceramics and textiles. The prevailing interpretation associates it with symbols from the animal kingdom, thus, recalling the ancient regal tradition of wearing skins of powerful animals, e. g., leopards and tigers (Arseven, *Les Arts*, 33. Gürsu, *The Art*, 57-60. Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 50. Thompson, *Silk*, 32. Mackie, *Symbols*, 294). Relevant to this discussion is that leopard skins were among the gifts exchanged between Orhan Gazi (c. 1281-1362) and Andronikos Palaiologos (1297-1341) in 1333 (Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, 220-221). As it is generally accepted that the three spheres were a stylized version of the leopard's spots, this incident may indicate that the motif's prominence was based on earlier cultural traits (Redford, "Byzantium and the Islamic World", 393-395). The palette and patterning of certain earlier Ottoman velvets clearly associate the three spheres and the wavy stripes with the leopard and the tiger (Atasoy *et al., İpek*, pls. 65-66, figs. 288, 290). Finally, this motif's popularity extended to various Western European religious contexts as well (Folda, "The Use of Cintamani as Ornament", 183-204.).

44 Vryzidis, "Threads of Symbiosis", figs. 1-3, 5-7, 10-12, 14-18. Phillips, *Sea Change*, 108-112. The production of woven silks with Christian motifs should also be interpreted within the frame of the blossoming finances of the Greek Orthodox communities during the sixteenth century (Vapheiades, *Η τέχνη της δουλείας*, 141-170).

45 On the *polystaurion* see Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 13-16. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, 20-25.

46 *The World of the Byzantine Museum*, cat. 340 (O. Fatola). On the monastery's donation of liturgical objects to the Byzantine and Christian Museum see Vapheiades, *Η Μονή του Αγίου και Μεγάλου Μετεώρου*, 192.

3. *Sticharion* (detail), lampas weave (*kemha*), silk and silver thread, sixteenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; photographer: Christos Galazios, © Great Meteoro Monastery.

the iconographic type of Christ as Archpriest, a standard decoration for ecclesiastical silks[47]. Some of these silks predate the inventory lists in the codex. But their survival until today makes it almost certain that they continued to be recorded in these lists, even if they first arrived in the sacristy a century before the inventorying took place. What is more, older and precious vestments probably continued to be used for many decades or even centuries. Therefore, among the vestments inventoried as *kamouchas*, there must have been such designs as well. It is worth noting that *kamouchas*, like *seraseri*, does not appear in household inventories, not even in the most evidently affluent cases recorded in the codex.

Velvet is another luxurious weave, the popularity of which is attested by the varied uses detected in the codex: from ecclesiastical furnishings to vestments, and from manuscript bindings to secular dress and household items[48]. The velvet

47 The iconographic type of Christ as Archpriest, crowned and in Patriarchal attire, has been associated to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch's emergence as a symbol of Orthodox unity in Later Byzantium (Papamastorakis, "Η μορφή του Χριστού". Woodfin, "Orthodox Liturgical Textiles". Vryzidis, "Threads of Symbiosis", 142-143).

48 *Katēfes* (κατηφές), *katēfen-ion/ia/iai* (κατηφέν-ιον/ια/ιαι), *katifenion* (κατιφένιον), *katoufen* (κατουφέν), *katoufen-ion/ia* (κατουφέν-ιον/ια), *katoufedes* (κατουφέδες), *velouta* (βελοῦτα) (Kalou-

4. *Phelonion* (detail), lampas weave (*kemha*), silk and silver thread, sixteenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; photographer: Christos Galazios, © Great Meteoro Monastery.

weave consists of a ground fabric and a supplementary set of threads woven into it and projecting outwards, with different options for decorative effects[49]. In Ottoman velvets the ground fabric is a satin of silk warps that cover the weft threads, usually of a less expensive material such as cotton[50]. It would be safe to state that Ottoman Turkish and Italian loan words in Modern Greek reflect how standard was the use of Ottoman and Italian velvets[51]. In the codex, variations of the word *katēfenio* (κατηφένιο), from the Ottoman Turkish *kadife*, account for all the mentions to velvet but one; in this case, the term *veloudo*, from the Venetian *veludo*[52], is used. Unfortunately, apart from some generic descriptions of floral patterns, there is not much direct evidence pointing to a specific provenance or manufacture[53]. Moreover, certain Ottoman and Italian velvets shared so many decorative features that their provenance becomes hardly distinguishable without

5. Panel, from an *epitrachēlion*, lampas weave (*kemha*), silk and silver thread, sixteenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; provenance: Great Meteoro Monastery, © Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv. no. ΒΧΜ 20841).

sios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 49, 51, 61-63, 68, 69, 75, 77, 87, 115, 121, 123, 131, 135, 141, 143, 163, 171, 172, 180, 234).

49 Atasoy *et al.*, *İpek*, 217, 220, 222-224.

50 Phillips, *Sea Change*, 77 *et passim*.

51 Vryzidis, "Ottoman textiles", 98-99.

52 Kriaras, *Λεξικό* IV, 94. Furthermore, on the role that Venetian textiles played at the Ottoman court, especially during the sixteenth century, see Phillips, *Sea Change*, 102 *sqq*.

53 E.g., *steichari katēfenion me louloudia* (στειχάρι κατηφένιον μέ λουλούδια): velvet *sticharion* (patterned) with flowers (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 75).

6. Fragment, from a vestment, voided velvet, silk and cotton (?), sixteenth century, Ottoman Empire or Italy; provenance: Holy Trinity Monastery at Meteora, © Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv. no. BXM20840).

the trained eye of a textile technologist[54]. An example of this entanglement is a fragment collected from the Holy Trinity Monastery at Meteora (Ιερά Μονή Αγίας Τριάδος Μετεώρων), now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Fig. 6). The pomegranate, as the pattern's dominant motif, and the pentachromic palette are features we see in velvets that could be both Italian and Ottoman[55]. But given the fragment's size and the absence of illuminating technical characteristics (e.g., metal threads) safe attributions seem improbable[56]. Thus, I would argue that the loan word prevailing in the local dialect perhaps acted as an umbrella term for both provenances[57].

54 The representation of textile patterns in Greek religious painting which blend Ottoman and Italian aesthetic clearly reflects this phenomenon. See Merantzas, "Le Tissue de Soie", *passim*. Also see Vryzidis, Papastavrou, "Italian and Ottoman Textiles", *passim*.

55 Cf. King, *Imperial Ottoman*, 16-17, fig. 3. Lisa Monnas has attributed a similar velvet to an Ottoman workshop on the grounds of the atypical rendering of individual motifs, weaving technique and dye analysis (Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*, cat. 47).

56 For a comparison of Ottoman and Italian velvet weaving see Sardjono, "Velluti ottomani o italiani?". On the distinctive characteristics of Ottoman velvet weaving see Phillips, *Sea Change*, 112 *sqq*.

57 The opposite phenomenon appears in seventeenth-century documents of the Naxos notary archive, where the term *veloudo* supplants *katēfe* and a Venetian provenance is relatively often noted. This could be attributed not only to trade with Venice but to the long-standing cultural bonds between the Cyclades and Venice as well. Naxos passed to Ottoman control in 1566. See Sifoniou-Karapa, Rodolakē and Artemiadē, *Ο Κώδικας του νοταρίου Νάξου Ιωάννου Μηνιάτη*, *passim*. 62 The similar, if not identical, decoration can also be found in the central part of a complete seventeenth-century velvet pillowcase at the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Phillips, "A Material Culture", fig. 2).

7. Fragment from a pillowcase, voided and brocaded velvet (*çatma*), silk, cotton (?) and silver thread, seventeenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; © Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv. no. BXM20837).

Nevertheless, other mentions could act as pieces of indirect evidence on a velvet's provenance. For example, velvet pillowcases, which were one of the most marketable items produced by Ottoman velvet weavers[58], appear in the inventories of both ecclesiastical and private estates[59]. Generally speaking, converting secular furnishings, such as velvet pillowcases, into vestments was standard practice. The transformative dynamic of reusing textiles within the context of the Church often gave these items a second life[60]. For example, a velvet panel, evidently cut of an Ottoman pillowcase, was collected by archaeologist George Lampakis for its documented ecclesiastical use (Fig. 7)[61]. Despite its wear, the articulateness of its design remains visible, as is the use of metal thread[62]. The large central and circular medallion features a multi-pointed star-like motif with tulips in its beams' ends. The core of the star-shaped motif is adorned by

58 Phillips, "A Material Culture".

59 E.g., *proskefala katoufenia* (προσκέφαλα κατουφένια) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 75, 77, 115, 121, 143, 163)

60 Papastavrou, Vryzidis, "Sacred Patchwork", figs. 5, 6. Also see Macha-Bizoumi, "Secular Embroideries". Varvounis, Macha-Bizoumi, "Συνέχειες και ασυνέχειες", *passim*.

61 Some panels of Ottoman textiles in the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum derive from vestments. The specific fragment is thought to have come from an *epitrachēlion*. See Vryzidis, Papastavrou, "The double life".

62 The similar, if not identical, decoration can also be found in the central part of a complete seventeenth-century velvet pillowcase at the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Phillips, "A Material Culture", fig. 2).

a floral motif, while the spaces between the tulips are filled by smaller flowers, marigolds, or plum blossoms. The rest of the fragmentary composition consists of a mix of vegetal motifs: *saz* (twisting and serrated) leaves adorned by hyacinths, pinecones, stylized roses, and to the sides what one could interpret as carnations. An intriguing mention in the codex refers to six golden velvet pillowcases (προσκέφαλα κατηφένια δέκα, τά ἕξ χρυσᾶ)[63]. This was a clear reference to velvet interwoven with golden or gilt thread, although the use of silver thread with a yellow silk core could also create a similar decorative effect (Fig. 8)[64].

Moreover, there are also terms which may refer to a specific aesthetic and weaving at the same time, such as *chatagi* (χαταγί), which is the Greek orthographic transcription of *hatayı*[65]. As an Ottoman Turkish term, it is thought to have denoted motifs of Chinese origin (*hatay* as in from Cathay/China), especially in relation to ceramics[66]. Indeed, motifs of ultimate Chinese origin, like the lotus, proliferate in ecclesial vestments and religious painting since the sixteenth century; an indication of the Greek receptivity to this aesthetic (Fig. 9)[67]. The question I would raise is to what extent *hatayı* denoted certain textile patterns and/or weaving. Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) mentions the presence of *hatayı* in the Old Bedesten in a list of items marked with terms that denote foreign provenance, but without additional details[68]. It has been supported

63 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 121.

64 See Phillips, "A Material Culture", 151, 153, 155, 157. It cannot also be ruled out that this mention refers to velvet pillowcases embroidered with metal thread or wire. An eighteenth-century pillowcase, now in the collection of the Jewish Museum of Greece, comes from a synagogue in Trikala. See "Mappah" [Online] Available at https://artifacts.jewishmuseum.gr/artifacts/mappah-4/ [Accessed 1 April 2021].

65 The following versions of the term appear in both the ecclesiastical and private inventories of the codex: *chataï* (χαταΐ), *chitaï* (χιταΐ), *chatageni-a/oi* (χαταγένι-α/οι), *chatagi* (χαταγί), *chitagi* (χιταγί), *chatagitikon* (χαταγίτικον) (Kalousios "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 51, 115, 121-123, 131, 143, 155, 162). We also find *chitaenio* (χιταένιο) and *chataenio* (χαταένιον), but it is unclear if they derive from *chitaï*/*chataï* (*ibid.*, 49, 61, 65, 75, 143). The glossary in the revised edition of Giannoulis's publication of the codex defines both *chatagi* and *chitaenio* as velvets (Giannoulis, *Κώδικας Τρίκκης ΕΒΕ, αρ. χφ. 1471*, 328-329). Although *hatayı* was not used to describe a velvet weave during the Ottoman period, the definition given implies a linguistic association between the two terms.

66 Ottoman statesman and poet Cafer Çelebi (1459-1515) refers to *hatayı* in one of his poems, written sometime in 1493 or 1494 (h. 899), in relation to the decorations of the Fatih Mosque. Moreover, sixteenth-century account books mention Iznik tiles with *hatayı* motifs, which were produced for the Topkapı Palace's beach kiosk (Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman", 138, 165).

67 On its use in representations of vestments see Merantzas, "Ottoman Textiles", fig. 8. Also see Vryzidis, "Ottoman textiles", figs. 1-2.

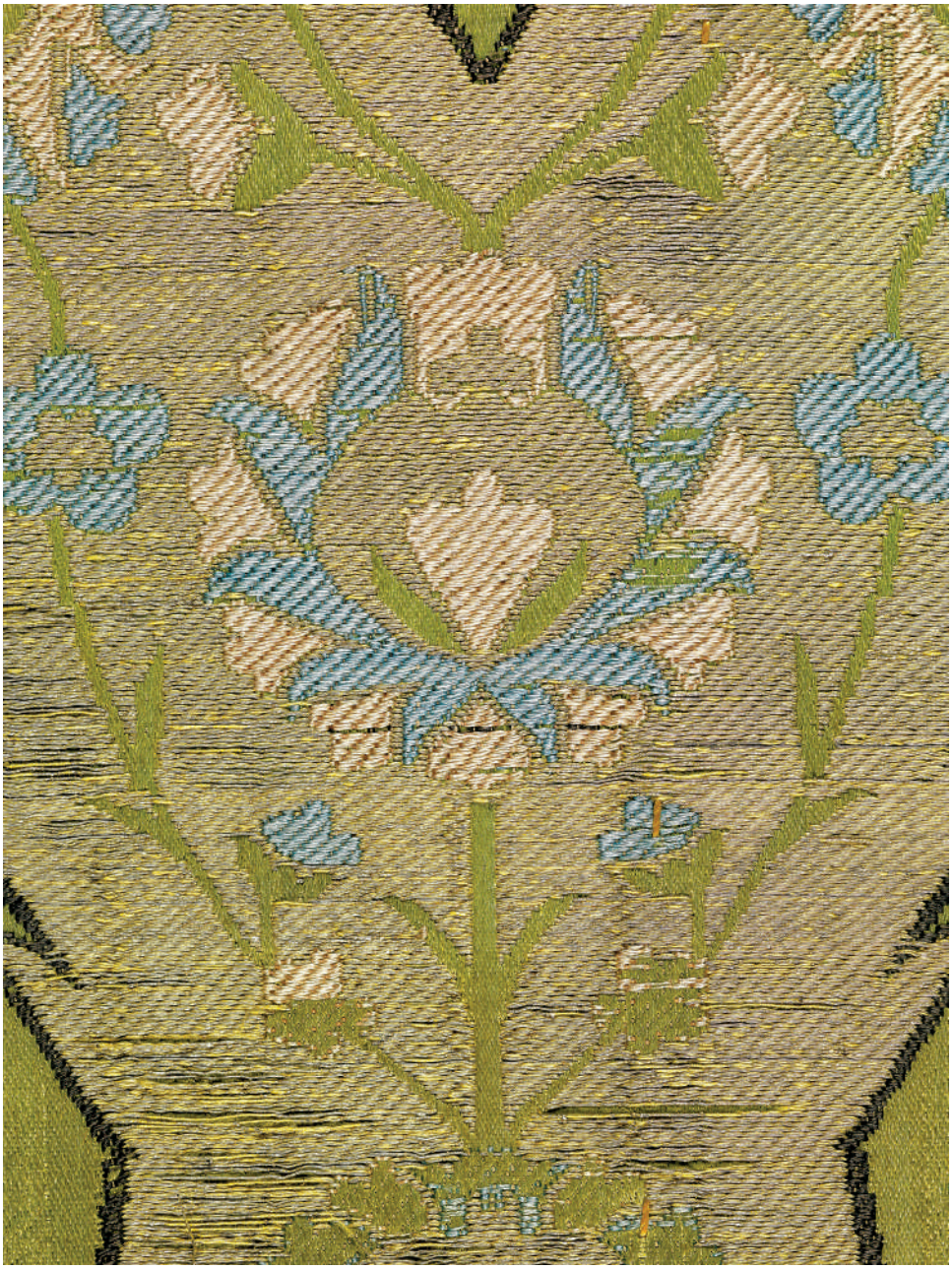
68 Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, 223. Kahraman, Dağli, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle*, 620. It is unclear to me whether Evliya referred to an Ottoman production of *hatayı* or silks imported from China. On Chinese silks in the Ottoman Empire see Tezcan, "Textiles of Asian Origin", 657-658. Vryzidis, "Animal motifs", 161-162. Furthermore, an eighteenth-century *sakkos* associated with Patriarch Neophytos VI (d. 1747) is also attributable to a Chinese workshop (Theochari, "Χρυσοκέντητα Άμφια", 199, 217).

8. *Sakkos* (detail), voided and brocaded velvet (*çatma*), silk, cotton (?) and silver thread, seventeenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; photographer: Thanos Kartsoglou, © Iveron Monastery (inv. no. 264).

that *hatayı* emerged in the Late Middle Ages as the Central Asian imitation of Chinese silk[69]. However, I am inclined to assume that much of the *hatayı* mentioned in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman documents was locally made[70]. Unfortunately, although it seems likely that Ottoman *hatayı* began as a type of Chinoiserie, scholarship has not defined its weaving in detail yet. It has been generically described as a stiff patterned silk, sometimes interwoven with

69 İnalcık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi*, 200.

70 İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: vol. 20/156, fol. 25a-3 (no. 156); vol. 20/297, fol. 60a-2 (no. 353); vol. 20/332, fol. 69a-2 (no. 399); vol. 20/360, fol. 76a-2 (no. 439); vol. 25/145, fol. 21b-1 (no. 138); vol. 25/279, fol. 55a-1 (no. 340); vol. 29/165, fol. 37a-2 (no. 198); vol. 54/360, fol. 55a-2 (no. 241); vol. 56/203, fol. 48b-2 (no. 230); vol. 57/266, fol. 57b-1 (no. 168); vol. 57/503, fol. 122b-1 (no. 386); vol. 57/595, fol. 152a-1 (no. 455); vol. 58/83, fol. 3b-1 (no. 12); vol. 58/104, fol. 10a-1 (no. 34); vol. 58/129, fol. 16b-2 (no. 49); vol. 58/144, fol. 20b-1 (no. 60); vol. 58/221, fol. 37b-1 (no. 126). I am thankful to Elif Bayraktar-Tellan for bringing to my attention the appearance of *hatayı* in such an abundance of Ottoman legal documents. The mentions to *hatayı* during the eighteenth century further proliferate. During this period *hatayı* was also used for *hil'ats* (Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul*, 187, 193).



9. *Sticharion* (detail), lampas weave (*kemha*), silk and silver thread, sixteenth century, Bursa or Constantinople; photographer: Thanos Kartsoglou, © Iveron Monastery (inv. no. 197).

metal threads (*telli*) and other times plain (*sade*)[71]. It has also been supported that the term is associable with the distinctive look achieved by a set of materials, motifs and colors, and not a specific weaving structure[72]. To add to this confusion, *hatayı*, or what was understood as such, was also imported from Europe to Constantinople during the eighteenth century[73]. Of particular interest to this study is the fact that Greek Orthodox and Jewish merchants sold *hatayı* in Epirus and Thessaly that was imported from Venice[74]. More illuminating than confusing is the 1723 letter by a certain Nikolaos Plakas from Ioannina, active in the Mascholouri fair (Maşkolur). Its text provides important information regarding local trade of the specific textile. The merchant complains that while he sold the 'heavy' *chatagi* he faces difficulties selling his stock of the 'light' variation. He also describes the marketable type of *chatagi*, which was woven by a certain Petrinis: sleek flowers (woven) on the yellow (silk), like shiny *aspra* (Ottoman silver coins) and *pastosa* (pastel/pasty?)[75]. Plakas also ordered good quality *chatagi*, which was ornamented and adorned with gold thread (ένα χαταγή καλο με χρησαφη ναναι πλουμηστο)[76]. The distinction between plain (χαταγί σαντέτικον) and golden *chatagi* (χρυσοῦν χαταγί) is found in a 1726 dowry in the Trikke codex, among other instances[77]. What is more, the *Tesoro della lingua greca-volgare ed italiana* makes the same distinction between plain and gold-woven *chatagi*: the first is translated into Italian as a *damascetto di seta* and the second a *damaschetto di seta et oro*[78].

However, although *chatagi* from Venice circulated in Thessaly the only clear provenance mentioned in the codex is that of Chios[79]. It is fortunate that the textile in a short-sleeved caftan, associated with Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-1622), has been at least tentatively attributed to the Chios *hatayı* production[80]. It features a

71 Gürsu, *The Art*, 29. Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 158.

72 Phillips, *Sea Change*, 47.

73 Genç, "Ottoman Industry", 75.

74 Koem, "Επιστολή του Χαήμ Κοέμ". Zampakolas, *Η ιστορική παρουσία*, 125.

75 The original text goes as follows: 'δηα καπηα χαταγηα που ο Πετρίνις φκιανει με ληανολουλουδηα απανου στο κητρηνο οσαν ληανὰ ασπρα τουρκηκα καὶ παστοζα, το στρομα κοκηνο…' (Mertzios, "Ιωάννινα-Βενετία", 264).

76 *Ibid.*, 264.

77 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 122. In order to make this distinction I assume that *santedikon*/*santetikon* (σαντέδικον/σαντέτικον) in the codex follows the meaning of the Ottoman Turkish *sade*: plain, simple (Koukkidis, *Λεξιλόγιον Ελληνικών Λέξεων*, 82.)

78 Somavera, *Tesoro*, 357.

79 There is a mention of a dress of Chios *chataï* (φόρεμαν χιώτικον χαταΐ) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 51).

80 Atasoy *et al.*, *İpek*, 174 (n. 226).

10. Woman's gown (detail), slashed, figured and brocaded silk, ca. 1600, attributed to Italy; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 189-1900).

pastel lamé ground on which medium-sized and stylized tripartite bouquets have been woven. The floral motifs go along with Ottoman aesthetic but the sense of space in the way the pattern unfolds is less dense from what is usually present in *kemha*[81]. Similar decorative devices, like repeating bouquets against a metal ground and those in which colours alternate, recall Iranian silks of the same period, although the result is slightly different[82]. A few more textiles, including an early-seventeenth century gown at the Victoria and Albert Museum, seem to share the same features: e.g., the pastel ground and similar, medium-sized bouquets (Fig. 10)[83]. As the gown's silk has been attributed to Italy and does not feature metal threads, I would associate it, without insisting, to the plain *chatagi* imported to continental Greece from Venice[84]. As for the weaving, the *Tesoro* might again be indicative in this regard: *kamouchas* (*kemha*) translates in Italian as *damasco*, and *chatagi* as *damaschetto*[85]. This gives way to a hypothesis that *chatagi*, despite the expected variations in its weaving in Italy, Chios, and Constantinople, was thought to be a brocaded silk, sometimes interwoven with metal threads, but different from *kamouchas*. In any case, it seems that the Chios *chatagi* interwoven with gold thread successfully competed with comparable Venetian weavings during the second half of the eighteenth century[86]. The appreciation of Chios weaving is also evident in the movement of Christian weavers from the island to a work-

81 Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, ill. 39.

82 Vryzidis, "Persian Textiles", figs. 2-5.

83 See note 82.

84 *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, 121.

85 Somavera, *Tesoro*, 357.

86 Phillips, *Sea Change*, 161. On the silk industry of Chios also read Ballian, "From Genoa to Constantinople".

shop which was managed by an Ottoman bureaucrat during the first decades of the same century. Among other types of textiles, these Chian weavers produced *chatagi*[87].

To finish off with the silks interwoven with metal threads, I will refer to the later Ottoman weavings, which perhaps reflect a more pronounced infiltration of European aesthetic. Especially the emergence of small floral patterns within stripes is indicative of how much tastes could change overtime. So, during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the assimilation of French decoration has been associated with the lightweight fabrics such as *selimiye* and *savayı*[88]. In the codex we find a term which seems to be phonetically transcribing *savayı*; what is more, its appearance in an 1823 dowry coincides with the emergence of *savayı* as a fabric fit for upper class female dress[89]. It is fortunate that we know of these patterns not only from documents but also from a Greek merchant's pattern book written in *Karamanlidika* (Ottoman Turkish with Greek characters), now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 11)[90]. A fabric with a pattern like the ones we see in this book is found in a *sticharion* at the Great Meteoro (Fig. 12). Its small floral motifs are woven in relief with warp threads on a tabby ground, which creates the impression of embroidery, while the wider stripes of metal-wrapped silk threads enhance the fabric's luxuriousness[91].

Another up-market cloth, but certainly less exclusive, to appear in the codex was *atlazenio* (ἀτλαζένιο), which stands for made of *atlas*[92]. It was a silk satin, usually plain but sometimes with designs, either embroidered or brocaded[93]. In the Ottoman Empire it was a standard fabric for the wardrobe of the upper classes especially during the eighteenth century[94]; good quality glossy *atlas* was also

87 Phillips, *Sea Change*, 201.

88 Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, ills. 57, 66-69, 71. Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 36, 63, 70, 80-106, 110, 130, 134-136, 174, 184, 185, 187, 188, 194-197, 231-235, 239-241. İpek, "Ottoman Fabrics during the 18th and 19th Centuries". *Idem,* "European Influences", 695-720. Tezcan, *Bursa'nın İpeklisi*, 255 *sq.* Nonetheless, Amanda Phillips resists the idea that the novel patterns which emerged in the eighteenth century can only be attributed to the assimilation of French aesthetic. She brings forward the Indian contribution to Ottoman weaving instead (Phillips, *Sea Change*, 203).

89 *So(u)vai* (σο(υ)βαΐ) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 171).

90 Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, 150-151.

91 Cf. with row 126 in the pattern book in fig 11. Also cf. Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 96, 184.

92 It is one of the textiles that is most often mentioned in the codex (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22, 25, 26, 27, 45, 46, 56, 61, 62, 65, 69, 72, 75, 77, 87, 115, 121, 122, 162, 163, 172).

93 Gürsu, *The Art*, 29-30. Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 30, 122-124. Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, 94. Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 162. Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul*, 232, 239, 243. Phillips, *Sea Change*, 46.

94 Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul*, 150, 155 *et passim.*

11. Pattern book, ca. 1800; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. T.671-1919).

12. *Sticharion* (detail), warp-patterned weave, silk, cotton (?) and metal thread, eighteenth century, Constantinople; photographer: Christos Galazios, © Monastery of the Great Meteoro.

used for court caftans in a strategy of splendour through simplicity[95]. Unsurprisingly, it is one of the fabrics which appear in the lists of both ecclesiastical and private estates of the codex. While the term has an Arab origin, this does not always indicate a Middle Eastern or Ottoman provenance of the textile inventoried[96], as *atlas* was also imported from Europe, especially Italy[97]. For example, written sources reveal that Jewish merchants of Ioannina imported good quality Florentine *atlas*[98]. Unpublished vestments of *atlas* have been found in the Great Meteoro collection, but also in other sacristies of the wider area (e. g., the Zavorda Monastery). Apart from vestments there are other items of *atlas* recorded in the codex, such as embroidered wrapping cloths[99]. Such textiles were widely used as *aeres* by the Greek Church, as their shape and size made them acceptable for covering the holy vessels[100]. A square silk satin cloth, heavily embroidered with metal threads, is in the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Fig. 13). Its vegetal decoration is typical of Ottoman art of the period, notably consisting of stylized tulips and other stems. While there is no documentation in relation to this cloth it is quite probable that it had an ecclesiastical use, as most of the objects in the museum's collection were gathered from sacristies in Greece or donated by clerics[101]. In fact, this could have been an *aeras*[102].

An additional high-status cloth which often appears in the codex is the brocatelle or *brocadelo* (μπροκαδέλο), as it was called in Greek, a type of lampas woven in relief[103]. As the term's origin (*broccatello*) clearly denotes an Italian provenance, the same commercial circuit connecting Venice with continental

95 Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, ills. 15-17. *Turks. A Journey of a Thousand Years*, cats. 230, 293 (various authors). *Tulips Kaftans and Levnî*, unnumbered cat. on pages 162-163 (S. Alpaslan Arça).

96 Kriaras, *Λεξικό* III, 318.

97 Genç, "Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth Century", 75.

98 Mertzios, "Ιωάννινα-Βενετία", 264. Zampakolas, *Η ιστορική παρουσία*, 52, 125, 126.

99 E.g., Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 27.

100 *Relics of the Past*, cat. 65 (A. Ballian). Vryzidis, "Textiles and Ceremonial", 72, 73, 75. On the original form, evolution and symbolism of the *aeras* read Soteriou, "Τά λειτουργικά ἄμφια", 608-612. Boycheva, "L 'aer dans la liturgie orthodoxe".

101 Gratziou, "Από την ιστορία του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου", 54-73.

102 There are mentions of various covers and liturgical handcuffs (*epimanika*) which are wire-embroidered on *atlas* satin: 'δύο καλύμματα κεντητά σιρματένια εἰς ἀτλάζι κριμεζί κ(αί) ἕτερον κάλυμα καί ἀέρας εἷς ὅμοιος. ζυγή μία ἐπιμανικων εἰς ἀτλάζι σιρμοκέντητα σελίδα' (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 56).

103 The brocatelle begins to appear in the sixteenth century. For the prevailing designs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see *Seta & Oro*, cats. 3a, b, 4b, c, 20 (P. Margarito, M. Mariutti Carboni, R. Zucco); inv. cats. 79, 82, 84, 101, 146 (D. Davanzo Poli, F. Zampieri). *La Collezione Gandini*, cats. 123, 124, 141, 151, 256, 260-262, 267, 268, 274, 623 and 624 (L. Lorenzini), 127-129, 131-134, 138-140, 142-144, 193 (I. Silvestri), 169 (G. Cambini), 255 (M. Cuoghi Costantini), 488 (S. Bombino). On the Greek term's Venetian origin see Kriaras, *Λεξικό* XI, 142-143.

13. Wrapping cloth or *aeras*, seventeenth or eighteenth century, embroidery on silk satin; © Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (inv. no. ΒΧΜ 21384).

Greece must have been responsible for its import, although I have not managed to trace a direct mention in the relevant correspondence. The codex records different uses for *brocadelo*, especially for larger vestments, like *phelonia*, and the more visible church veils, like sanctuary curtains (πέτασμα Ωραίας Πύλης)[104]. In Western Europe, especially Italy and Spain, it was a standard furnishing fabric, usually woven with silk and linen. During the seventeenth century these half-silks featured complex compositions of floral motifs, animals, crowns and vases (Fig. 14)[105]. As for the weaving of the fabric shown in fig. 14, it is fairly simple yet technically sophisticated: the supplementary yellow weft, covering much of the fabric's surface, contrasts with the revealed parts of the red satin ground, thus, forming the pattern. The tension produced results in a slightly raised satin ground, while some of the pattern's details are rendered with a second sup-

104 The local dialect also prefers the word's spelling with -π alongside the usual –μπ, as the mentions in the codex reveal: *porkadelon* (πορκαδέλον), *prokadelo(n)* (προκαδέλο(ν)), *brokavel-a/ou* (μπροκαβέλ-α/ου), *barkavela* (μπαρκαβέλα), *borkavela* (μπορκαβέλα) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22, 25, 26, 69, 75, 77, 131, 133 and 135).

105 *Lo Stile dello Zar*, cats. 66 (T. Lekhovich), 67 (author unspecified). A sixteenth-century dating of this piece has also been suggested (*La Collezione Gandini*, cat. 149 (I. Silvestri)).

plementary weft of powder blue silk[106]. Finally, metal threads adorned its more exclusive version[107], although there is no direct evidence this was the case with the textiles we find in the codex.

Another term referring to half-silks is *koutouni*, a loan word from Arabic (*kutni*)[108]. A type of warp-faced weave in which a silk warp covers a cotton weft, it became a standard for the upper classes in the Ottoman Empire during that period[109]. Its great variety of secular and ecclesiastical uses in the codex suggests that it was one of the popular fabrics[110]. *Koutouni* is often striped, which went along with the aesthetic sensibility prevailing in Europe and the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century[111]. The costumes of *koutouni* from the nearby townlet of Metsovo are certainly an indication of the fabric's integration into the sartorial idiom of the wider area[112]. Another term referring to a mix of silk and cotton is *sandalenio*. It probably corresponds to the type of light-weight silk that was known as *sandal*[113]; its popularity in the Grand Bazaar of Constantinople (Kapalıçarşı/Büyük Çarşı) led to one of its sections being named after it (the *Sandal Bedesteni*)[114]. Although it appears slightly more sporadically than *koutouni*, it seems to have been a popular textile in Thessaly[115].

To continue, there are other terms in the codex which refer to textiles woven in silk and can also be associated with certain decorative effects. One of these seems to be *deraï* (ντεραΐ)[116]. It appears as early as 1694 in relation to a scarlet red *sticharion*[117]. Called *darayı* in Ottoman Turkish and *dara'i* in Persian, it was a light silk, perhaps close to a taffeta[118]. It is interesting that a seventeenth-cen-

106 *Ibid.,* cat. 149 (I. Silvestri).

107 Kriaras, *Λεξικό* XI, 143. *Lo Stile dello Zar*, cats. 68 (author unspecified), 69 (I. Vishnevskaya).

108 Kriaras, *Λεξικό* VIII, 350.

109 Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 28. Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 150, 152, 153, 155, 162. Tezcan, *Bursa'nın İpeklisi*, 113 *sq.* Phillips, *Sea Change*, 47, 164 *sqq*.

110 These are the relevant mentions in the codex: *koutouni* (κουτουνί), *koutounen-ia/ion* (κουτουνέν-ια/ιον), *koutounitik-on/ē* (κουτουνίτικ-ον/η) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 51, 65, 72, 81, 115, 122, 143, 178)

111 On *kutnu* patterns, including striped, see Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 64, 107-109, 170-172, 190, 203, 217-219.

112 Rokou, *Φορέματα*, 18-21, 58-59.

113 Phillips, *Sea Change*, 256.

114 Denizeri, "Pricing and Sales Practices", 264.

115 The term appears in two versions: *sandalen-ios/ion* (σανδαλέν-ιος/ιον), *sandalētika* (σανδαλήτικα) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 75, 77, 122, 163, 178).

116 The following versions of the word appear in the codex: *deraï* (ντεραΐ), *teraï* (τεραΐ) (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 25, 26).

117 '*stoicharia…*: *kai apo teraï aliko ena*' (στοιχάρια…: -και από τεραΐ άλικο ένα) (*ibid.,* 25).

118 Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi*, 57. Esiner Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları", 310. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry*, 149-150. Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 151, 162. Phillips, *Sea Change*, 253.

14. Panel, brocatelle weave, silk and linen, seventeenth century (?), Florence or Lucca; Gift of John Pierpont Morgan, © Cooper Hewitt Museum (inv. no. 1902-1-417).

tury list of fixed prices (*narh*) mentions the finishing process which gave to a type of *darayı* a textured or shining effect[119]. Moreover, reports from early twentieth-century fieldtrips to Iran describe *dara'i* as a fabric used for drapes that presented a flame effect as decoration, clearly recalling the ikat technique[120]. In this technique some parts of the yarns are soaked in dye vats before weaving, while other parts are protected with a resist. In this way the textile's pattern is achieved by using resist-dyed yarns for the warp or the weft or both (Fig. 15)[121]. More research is required to forge a clear connection between the term *darayı* and ikat, if there is one. However, the fact remains that the specific technique in textiles enjoyed popularity in the Ottoman Empire[122].

Another decorative effect appearing in the codex is the moiré. The watered effect in silks, half-silks or other fabrics was achieved by pulling the cloth between heated rollers after it was woven (Fig. 16). In the codex the words *charedes* (χαρέδες) and *charenion* (χαρένιον) render the Ottoman Turkish term *hare* for moiré[123]. *Hare* or *hareli* fabrics were made in the Ottoman Empire but also imported from Europe (e.g., Italy)[124]. An early nineteenth-century Greek mercantile handbook uses the Ottoman-derived term *charedes* interchangeably with the Italian-derived term *tavinia* (ταβίνια), while noting that the moiré fabrics produced in Messene were preferred in the Ottoman Empire[125]. Thus, like with velvet, the moiré fabrics have an alternative name as well, the *tampi(a)* (ταμπί(α)) or

119 *Ibid.,* 131.

120 'Les *darâïs* (portières), tissus spéciaux dont l'ornementation, en forme de flammes à contours dégradés, est assez curieuse' (Rabino and Lafont, "NOTES AGRICOLES ET INDUSTRIELLES", 171). 'Un tissu de soie original qu'on faisait beaucoup à Yezd, qui a diminué mais qu'on fait à Kachan, est ce qu'on nomme les daraï (portières)…L'originalité est dans la manière de teindre les fils de chaîne. Ces fils étant rangés, on en trempe une partie dans des bains de teinture, de sorte qu'avant le tissage la chaîne tendue possède des taches de couleurs différentes. Le contour de ces taches manque naturellement de netteté. On obtient ainsi après le tissage des dessins en forme de flamme, aux contours vagues et dégradés qui sont d'un heureux effet' (Olmer, "Rapport sur une mission", 40).

121 A similar ikat survives in the sleeves of a *sticharion* in the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM 20982). Also, in the same collection there is another *sticharion* which carries an ikat decoration throughout (BXM 20985).

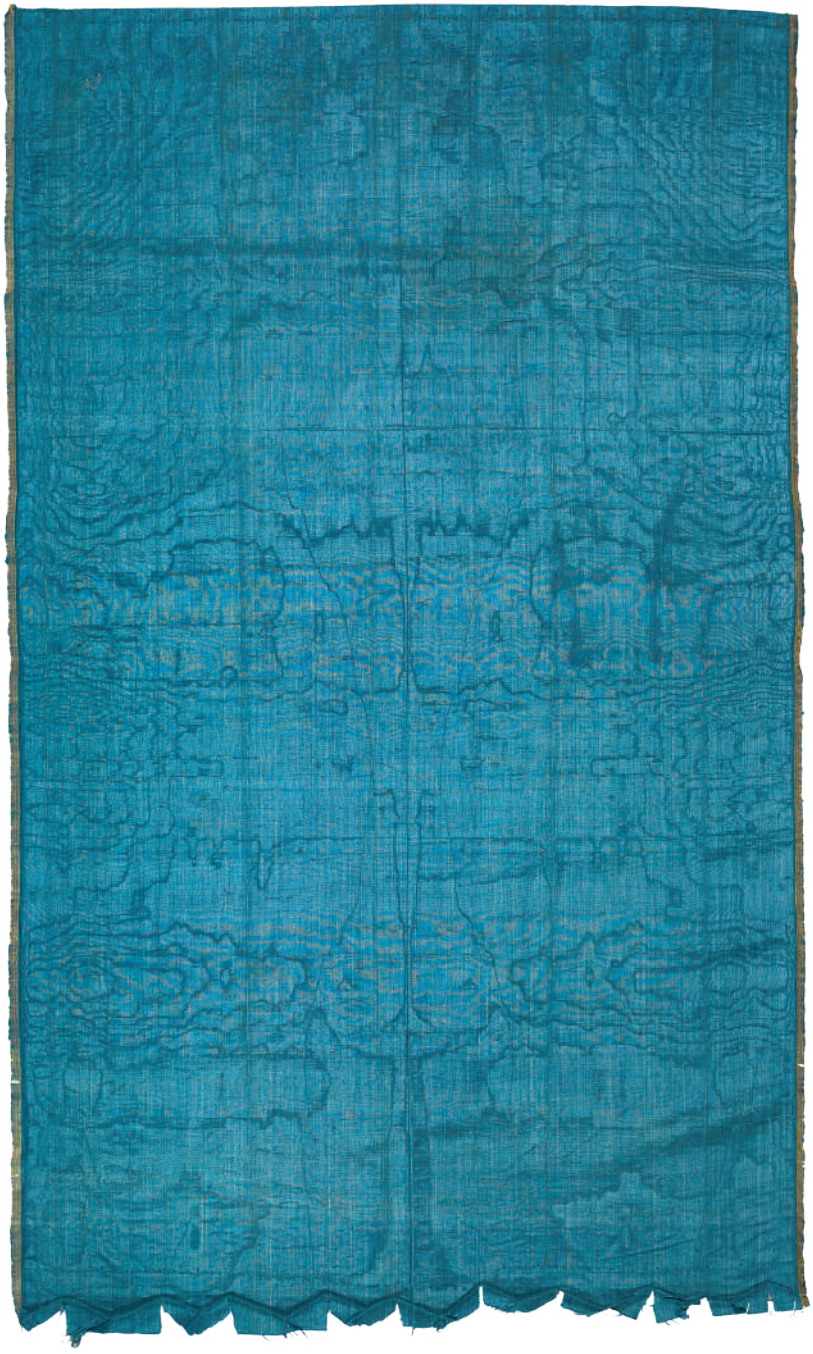
122 Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 36, 40, 111, 189, 200, 201. Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, 183 (n. 459). Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire", 151. Tezcan, *Bursa'nın İpeklisi*, 114.

123 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22, 26, 77, 143. Phillips, *Sea Change*, 254. On the use of moiré in the costume of Metsovo see Rokou, *Φορέματα*, 38-39.

124 Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 30.

125 'Καμηλωτὰ ὀνομάζονται, καὶ τὰ μεταξωτὰ ὑφάσματα, ὅσα μετὰ τὸ στίλβωμα εἶναι στερεὰ, καὶ ὑελιστερὰ, καὶ κυματηρὰ, καθὼς εἶναι οἱ λεγόμενοι Τουρκιστὶ Χαρέδες, καὶ Ἰταλιστὶ Ταβίνια τῆς Μεσσήνης, καὶ τῆς Βερώνης, καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν. Οἱ κάτοικοι τοῦ Ὀθωμανικοῦ Κράτους προτιμῶσι τὰ τῆς Μεσσήνης…' (Papadopoulos, *Ἑρμῆς ὁ Κερδῷος*, 253).

15. *Epitrachēlion* (detail), fabric patterned with the ikat technique; photographer: Christos Galazios, © Monastery of the Great Meteoro.



16. Fragment of moiré silk, late eighteenth century, France (?); previously owned by Mrs. George T. Bliss, gift of Anonymous Donor, © Cooper Hewitt Museum (inv. no. 1952-162-69-a,b).

17. Wrapping cloth, plain weave, block-printed cotton, eighteenth or nineteenth century, India or Ottoman Empire; photographer: Christos Galazios, © Monastery of the Great Meteoro.

tampenion (ταμπένιον)[126], which corresponds to the Italian *tabi*[127]. This again reflects the consumption of both Ottoman and European products[128]. Interestingly, monochromatic moiré was one of the decorative effects found in garments at the Ottoman court, as a solemn manifestation of luxury[129]. Nevertheless, moiré could also be a ground fabric, gold-brocaded with flower patterns, as pointed out by relevant mentions in the codex[130].

Among the less luxurious but still popular textiles, even for vestments, were the different types of cottons and linens[131]. This comes as no surprise as Thessaly was one of the main producers of cotton during that period[132]. Many of these more modest textiles depended for their decoration on block-printing. The relevant terms in the codex are variations of the word *basoumades* (μπασουμάδες), from the Ottoman Turkish *basma*[133]. Their presence more often in private than ecclesiastical inventories is an indication that they were more accessible fabrics[134]. Moreover, a block-printed wrapping cloth from the collection of the Great Meteoro, which I tentatively attribute to the eighteenth century, may give us an idea as to their decoration (Fig. 17)[135]: it features a central rosette framed by circular chains of vegetal motifs. The motifs progressively grow in size towards the outer circles which decorate the cloth. Moreover, a great variety of uses is evident in the mention of printed pillows (e.g., *proskefala basoumitika*)[136]. One of

126 These terms appear in the codex more often than *charedes* (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 56, 61, 62, 69, 71, 75, 143).

127 See Somavera, *Tesoro*, 357. *Tampi* (ταμπί) appears in documents from the Ionian Islands as well (Zōēs, "Έγγραφα του ΙΣΤ΄ αιώνος", 40, 44).

128 France was one of the most prolific producers of *tabi* during the eighteenth century, while *tabi* of Verona was equally famed (Tortora, Johnson, *The Fairchild Books*, 603).

129 Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, ills. 12, 13, 59, 73. Also see Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 115-121.

130 '...ταμπί γραβανί μέ χρυσᾶ λουλούδια...' (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 69).

131 The following terms refer to cotton and linen cloths: *pani* (πανί), *panika* (πανικά), *panitiko* (πανίτικο), *panētika* (πανήτικα), *panilinon* (πανίλινόν), *bampakera* (βαμπακερά), *bouchasitiko* (μπουχασίτικο) (*ibid.,* 45, 69, 115, 143, 163, 180). *Bouchasitiko* (μπουχασίτικο) renders the Venetian term *bocassin* and may refer to either cotton or linen. There is some evidence that *bouchasitiko* was considered a higher quality than standard cotton (*bampakero*). See Kriaras, *Λεξικό* XI, 130. Markaki, *Dowry and material culture*, 179-181, 252-253.

132 Notably, the Janissaries were given Thessalian cotton for their under-garments and the linings of their clothing (Faroqhi, "Textile Production in Rumeli and the Arab Provinces", 64-65).

133 Koukkidis, *Λεξιλόγιον Ελληνικών Λέξεων*, 80. Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 22, 24.

134 In the codex the following terms appear: μπασουμ-ᾶν/άδες (*basoum-an/ades*), μπασιμίδικοι (*basimidikoi*), μπασουμίτικ-οι/η/α/ον (*basoumitik-oi/ē/a/on*), (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 45, 49, 51, 115, 121, 143, 154, 155, 172, 180).

135 In the codex these cloths are noted as *bochtziades basoumidikoi* (μποχτζιάδες μπασουμίδικοι) (*ibid.,* 45).

136 *Ibid.,* 143.

18. Lining of a *phelonion* (detail), plain weave, block-printed linen or cotton, sixteenth or seventeenth century, Ottoman Empire; photographer: Vassilios Tsonis, © Monastery of the Virgin of Tatarna, Evrytania (by permission of EFA of Fhthiotis & Evrytania, Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports).

the very few block-printed textiles imitating the decoration of pillows, which survives in its entirety, is used as the lining of a *phelonion* from the collection of the Monastery of the Virgin of Tatarna (Panagia Tatarna) (Fig. 18)[137]. There is no doubt that the popularity of such block-printed cotton and linen textiles could be linked to the local artisanal production; Thessaly was a major producer of cotton[138], and textile printing workshops continued to function in Tyrnavos until relatively recently[139]. Moreover, the discovery of printed textiles used as a foundation layer or support in earlier icons in continental Greece perhaps implies a continuous local production, although more research is required on the subject[140]. The success of Indian products with similar decorations[141], the presence of Indian dyers in Constantinople[142], and the Ottoman imitations of Indian cottons complicate matters when it comes to secure attributions[143]. As a sidenote, the only term in the codex clearly signalling an Indian provenance or aesthetic is *lachouri* (λαχοῦρι)[144]. This was a generic term for richly patterned silks or sashes imported from Lahore, as well as their local imitations (Fig. 19)[145].

To continue, it might be relevant to our discussion that block-printed textiles with Christian patterns present a similar palette to that of the Great Meteoro cloth and have been attributed to Armenian workshops in Tokat and Constantinople[146]. Similar textiles survive in numerous Greek vestments as well, al-

137 Other examples survive in a fragmentary state (Phillips, *Sea Change*, fig. 5.16).

138 Notably, the Janissaries were given Thessalian cotton for their under-garments and the linings of their clothing. See S. Faroqhi, "Textile Production in Rumeli and the Arab Provinces", 64-65. Gekas, "A global history of Ottoman cotton textiles", 5-7, 9, 11, 13-14, 16, 18-19. Also read Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialization", *passim*. Katsiardi-Hering, "The Allure".

139 Gourgiōtē, "Βιοτεχνιών Συνέχειες", 86-117.

140 Vryzidis, "Islamic Material Culture", figs. 13-14. Papanastasoulē, "Η Εικόνα του Αγίου Δημητρίου της Μονής του Βαλέτσικου", 109-111. On the use of fabric support in icons see Karydis, "The Fabric Support".

141 Cf. *The Fabric of India*, pls. 46, 142.

142 Phillips, "Little-known", 596.

143 Faroqhi, "Ottoman Cotton Textiles, 1500 to 1800", 97-98. For a general discussion of block-printed cottons and linens in the Ottoman empire see Phillips, *Sea Change*, 184 *sqq*. On the impact of India on Ottoman textile culture see *ibid.,* 192 *sqq*.

144 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 171.

145 Bampiniotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, 995. The same term was used in Ottoman Turkish for textiles imported from India (Esiner Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları", 325). For the primarily Indian-inspired designs identified as *lachouri* in Greek see ΕΟΜΜΕΧ, *Ελληνικά Παραδοσιακά Μοτίβα*. In certain Greek dialects *lachouri* evolved into meaning a specific clothing item (Vrellē-Zachou, *Χειρόγραφα Ενδυματολογικής Λαογραφίας*, 21, 28).

146 Kévorkian, Achdjian, *Tapis et Textiles*, cat. 141 (author unspecified). Kouymjian, "Armenian altar curtains", fig. 11. Also see Phillips, "Little-known", 596-597. On the textile industry of Tokat read Duman, *Notables, Textiles and Copper*, 115-173. On the use of block-printed textiles in Armenian manuscripts see Kyurkchyan, Khatcherian, *Armenian block printed fabric*. Similar cottons with misspelt inscriptions

19. *Sticharion* (detail), lampas weave(?), silk and metal thread, nineteenth century, possibly Ottoman Empire; photographer: Thanos Kartsoglou, © Vatopedi Monastery

though they have not received much scholarly attention until now[147]. A relevant piece in this regard is a *phelonion* in the collection of Karakallou Monastery: it is decorated with representations of the Saints Constantine and Helen, Christ Pantokrator, the Virgin and the Child, the standard abbreviated Greek inscriptions (i.e., IC XC for Jesus Christ, MP ΘY for Mother of God), vegetal motifs, and an idiosyncratically-stylized ΔOΞA ΣOI O ΘEOΣ HMΩN (Glory be to Thee, O our God) repeated many times along the margins (Fig. 20)[148]. The collection of the Pantokratoros Monastery contains another block-printed *phelonion* that is roughly contemporary with the previous example and is patterned with vegetal motifs and a very similar representation of the Virgin and the Child[149]. The pattern is rendered in the same palette. Under the Virgin and the Child, one reads the misspelled inscription *DIMETRI* (ΔIMHTPI), perhaps the artisan's name. This implies a Greek artisan, rather than just a Greek clientele. To continue, it would

in Greek have also been attributed to India by Anna Muthesius but without an explanatory discussion (Muthesius, *Studies*, pl. 48).

147 *Ἄμφια*, cat. 7 (A. Ballian).

148 I am indebted to Konstantinos Palaiologos for deciphering the longer inscriptions.

149 See "Φελόνιο" [Online] Available at https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/handle/20.500.11957/148983 [Accessed 29 May 2020].

20. *Phelonion* (detail), plain weave, block-printed cotton, 1776, Ottoman Empire; photographer: George Makkas, © Karakallou Monastery

be a mistake to consider that all block-printed textiles were of lesser value: the codex also mentions golden *basoumades* (μπασουμάδες χρυσοῖ)[150]. This could be a reference to the act of printing textiles with the design executed in melted gold and/or silver[151], although very few examples of this survive[152]. *Basoumades* could also be gold-embroidered (μπασουμάν χρυσοκέντητον)[153]. Museum holdings reveal that silk- and metal thread-embroidery on plain-weave cotton and linen was common during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[154].

III. THE FABRIC OF CULTURE

In my view, the codex's prime importance lies in the fact that apart from informing us about textiles used locally it also sheds light on important aspects of the fabric of culture itself. At a first glance it seems difficult to interpret many

150 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 180.
151 Tezcan, *Atlaslar*, 22, 24.
152 For a silk gown printed in silver see Tezcan, Delibaş, *The Topkapı*, ill. 26.
153 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 122.
154 Ellis, Wearden, *Ottoman Embroidery*, *passim*.

of the dynamics detected as local manifestations, specific to the region of Trikke. On the contrary, I am inclined to believe that they probably reflect wider cultural dynamics and practices that display the region's interconnectivity within the Ottoman and global contexts. In fact, I would argue that the life of textiles depicted in the codex can reveal as much about the local society as the study of its economic history and anthropogeography. In that respect, it seems pertinent to me to state the obvious: the Church was directly or indirectly involved, in different capacities, in the manufacture, consumption and trade of textiles. Its multifaceted role is easily detectable in the codex's documents, as is its embracing of wider trends.

First, the inclusion of caftans and women's dresses in the ecclesiastical inventories calls our attention to the close relationship between ecclesiastical and secular dress[155]. Most of these sartorial items must have been pious oblations by the flock, a custom indicative of the Church's receptivity to secular aesthetic. It is indicative that the epithet *kavadenia*, from the Byzantine *kabbadion* for caftan[156], accompanies a surprisingly high number of vestments in the codex[157]. This is a standard practice seen throughout the Ottoman period, although *kavadenia* perhaps appears here more often than in most published ecclesiastical codices. What is more, the sacral character that secular objects could gain is evident in the distinction made in the codex between *leitourgēmena* and *aleitourgēta*: objects that were used in the liturgy and those that were not[158]. Although such a distinction appears sporadically, it is nonetheless paradigmatic of the dynamic of appropriation, surely deserving a more analytical anthropological study within the frame of Greek Orthodox culture[159]. If there is a difference between ecclesiastical and private estates, it would be that the former in general contained a greater variety of sumptuous weavings, an indication of the local Church's ability to attract prestigious oblations[160].

In the social and economic realm, the Church's active participation seems equally decisive. The 1795 episcopal encyclical, signed by the bishops of Larissa, Trikke, and Stagai, gives clear instructions regarding the items of clothing a dowry should entail; it also urges women to conform to the norms of sartorial

155 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 22, 25, 51, 62, 63, 75, 77, 79, 88, 131, 133, 135, 172.

156 Shukurov, "Oriental Borrowing in Medieval Greek", 224. Vryzidis, "Textiles and Ceremonial", 63-69. Kriaras, *Λεξικό* VII, 186.

157 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", *passim*.

158 The adjective is used in reference to *perizōnia* (girdles) (*ibid.*, 88).

159 Papastavrou, Vryzidis, "Sacred Patchwork".

160 This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the eighteenth century was a time of crisis for the local Church's finances (Vapheiades, *Η Μονή του Αγίου και Μεγάλου Μετεώρου*, 130-147).

modesty, notably by covering themselves when in public[161]. This recalls other eighteenth-century documents, like the encyclical issued by the bishop of Mytilene in 1729 against the "Babylonian" attire adopted by women of his flock[162]. It has been suggested that such documents were responding primarily to official or unofficial requests advanced by the local council of elders (*dēmogerontia*)[163]. A 1759 document from the Mytilene codex was indeed issued by the elders' council, mentioning all the textiles women ought to avoid[164]. It might also be quite telling that most of the weavings deemed unfit for women appear in the Trikke codex in relation to church vestments. Other ecclesiastical documents were quite specific about the textiles that every class could use; an example of this is the 1803 encyclical, issued by the bishop of Kozani Theophilos, which gives a very clear prescription[165]. Such prescriptions could have been dictated by notions of Christian modesty and decorum. Nonetheless, they recall, at least to a certain extent, the European sumptuary laws that were meant primarily to protect the symbols of prestige from wider social appropriation[166]. In the case of the Greek Orthodox Church the sumptuous textiles were de facto incorporated into its visual narrative and were sometimes even invested with spiritual metaphors[167]. In a previous article, I proposed the notion of *seraser* being the cloth of angels in the religious fantasy *Diēgēsis kai Optasia* (Διήγησις και Οπτασία)[168]. Taking this into account, *seraser* does not appear in private inventories of the Trikke codex for a very good reason. Although no historian has touched upon this aspect so far, such encyclicals issued by Greek bishops may have also expressed the struggle for order, as well as protecting the symbolisms conveyed by certain fabrics from being diluted. If everyone, and especially lay women, could appropriate exactly what the higher clergy wore then the intended message would have been significantly undermined.

161 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 7-11.

162 Michaēlarēs, "Προσπάθειες περιστολής της πολυτέλειας", 224-225.

163 *Ibid.,* 222, 225.

164 *Ibid.,* 228-229.

165 See Kalinderē, *Τα λυτά έγγραφα*, 99-102. On ecclesiastical encyclicals on dress read Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά σιρίτια καί μπαλωμένα παπούτσια", 61-62.

166 Scholarship on the subject is quite extensive and does not fall within this article's scope. For some of the latest research see Riello, Rublack, *The right to dress*.

167 Merantzas, "Le Tissue de Soie". *Idem,* "Ottoman Textiles".

168 In the narrative an angel appears in the form of a young eunuch, wearing a porphyry inner garment and a surcoat of *seraser*. *Hil'ats* were surcoats worn over an inner garment, and were often made of *seraser* during the seventeenth century (Vryzidis, "Towards a History", 185-186). This description recalls Byzantine court eunuchs, whose angelic appearance was complemented by iridescent garments (Parani, "Look like an Angel"). This is a powerful merging of multiple symbolisms in the case of *seraser*: Byzantine, Ottoman, secular and religious.

But the regulatory functions of the Church were not limited to what people should wear. For example, the codex contains the 1714 declaration by the guild of *metaxades* (either silk dealers or silk producers), confirmed by the bishop of Larissa. The declaration dictates that members of this homogenously Christian guild cannot do business with a Jewish colleague. Members who did not comply were subject to a fine[169]. This document recalls a 1595 *fetva* from the Bursa Ottoman archive which forbade Muslim apprentices from working under a Christian or Jewish master weaver. The *fetva* was the response to the complaint placed by two Muslim master velvet weavers who could not attract apprentices for the vacancies in their workshops[170]. Both decrees were issued by a religious authority and corresponded to a demand for religious separation in the textile business. Nonetheless, the very act of placing such a complaint implies that interreligious cooperation was more widespread than expected[171]. After all, the Jews of Thessaly were particularly active in textile-related commerce[172], which probably made these restrictions harder to follow. For example, it is known that Greek merchants based in Venice were fulfilling orders by the Jews of Larissa and Ioannina[173]. But the aforementioned document implies collaboration on a local level as well. As François Pouqueville (1770-1838) noted upon his visit to Kalampaka, the local silk and cotton production was bought by the Jews of Larissa[174]. This of course does not mean that interreligious conflict did not emerge when different communities cooperated[175]; but perhaps their separation was not as stark as previously thought[176].

In the realm of aesthetic, the compiled compendium has confirmed that the area of Trikke generally followed the period's trend of amassing textiles from different local and foreign productions[177]. First, this diversity is more than apparent in the codex. For example, while *seraser* was primarily produced in state-controlled workshops, the appearance of Italian and Russian terms attributable to the cloth of gold implies that the local Church did not limit itself to using Ottoman products only. Then, it seems that peripheral centres, such as

169 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 112-113.

170 Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi*, 321.

171 This is what the preaching of Kosmas the Aitolian against the Christians' doing business with Jews probably signified as well. See Efthymiou, "Οι Εβραίοι της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας", 13-14.

172 Shmuelevitz, *The Jews*, 132-139.

173 Zampakolas, "ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ", 91-94, 96-118, 120-130 *et passim*.

174 Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 338.

175 Yildirim, "Ottoman Guilds", 407-419.

176 On the subject read Faroqhi, "Did Cosmopolitanism Exist in Eighteenth-century Istanbul?", 21-36.

177 Phillips, "The Localisation of the Global", 113.

Chios, claimed their share of the local market alongside the main weaving hubs of Bursa and Constantinople, as well as other European or Asian productions. Undoubtedly, the main market for imported textiles was the yearly fair of Mascholouri (Maşkolur), situated only a few kilometres to the south of Trikala. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) mentions that merchants came to Mascholouri from the four corners of the world to sell their precious merchandise, including textiles[178]. Although I would be weary of Evliya's exaggerations about merchants arriving from a dazzling diversity of countries, from Iran to India and from Sweden to Tunisia, tax registers do show that the fair had grown significantly during the sixteenth century[179]. This expansion probably continued well into the seventeenth century. It is indicative that in the early eighteenth century Mascholouri was among the fairs which attracted the attention of the French consul of Arta, who invited merchants from Marseille to consider their participation. Notably, textiles are mentioned as one of the prime goods traded[180]. As has been noted earlier in this article, Greek Orthodox and Jewish merchants imported Italian textiles to be sold in the fairs of Epirus and Thessaly, including at Mascholouri[181]. At the same time, the Jewish mercantile circuit connecting Trikala with Ragusa (Dalmatia) probably was an alternative way through which Italian textiles could have arrived in the region[182]. Perhaps a lot more could be said on the subject, but even this concise commentary serves the purpose of showing the diversity of provenances of textiles consumed in Trikke during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

However, despite the importance of imports one should not ignore the region's local production of textiles. Quite a few inhabitants of Trikala were involved in many different textile-related professions: from tailors to yarn dyers, and from weavers to blockprinters[183]. Moreover, the codex informs us of silk and other textile workshops in the possession of the Church, some of which were pious oblations and others rented by its flock[184]. I find it hard to support that this production's only trait was provincialism or localism, especially given the scarcity of supporting textual evidence. For example, despite the prominence of

178 Palioungas, *Η Θεσσαλία*, 87-88.

179 Faroqhi, "The Early History", 57-60.

180 Karanatsēs, "Οἱ ἐτήσιες περιοδικές ἀγορές", 316.

181 Notably, Venetian was the only Italian provenance to be mentioned in the codex (Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 69, 77, 79, 115, 121, 131, 133).

182 Shmuelevitz, *The Jews*, 136.

183 Beldiceanu, "Un acte", 131. Beldiceanu and Năsturel, "LA THESSALIE", 121. Bichta, "Η Εβραϊκή Κοινότητα Τρικάλων". 11-12. Balamōtē, "Τρικαλινά εργαστήρια και συντεχνίες", 12. Laïou, "Τα Τρίκαλα στα τέλη του 17ου αιώνα", 19-20.

184 Kalousios, "Ο Κώδικας Τρίκκης", 23,70, 75, 234.

Vlach culture in the region, there are surprisingly few mentions of "Vlach" textiles in the codex[185]. On the contrary, the diversity of textile terms already mentioned could equally relate to a local production which responded to the global aesthetic made familiar by imports[186]. For example, the *hatayı*, or what was understood as such, sold in the fairs of Thessaly and Epirus was woven in Italy as well as the Ottoman Empire. That said, the mention of the Greek weaver Petrinis in Nikolaos Plakas's letter implies that locally-made *hatayı* was also sold in Mascholouri. *Hatayı's* allusion to an aesthetic of ultimately Chinese origin points out to a "topography of cloth": in an effort to emulate a foreign aesthetic the local weavers probably adopted a geographical term, regardless of the process's end-product[187]. Revealing of the internationalism of Christian aesthetic in the empire is its receptivity to the dress of both the Ottoman elite and the European diplomats and merchants. Yet, this balance leaned more towards Europe from the eighteenth century and onwards[188].

Finally, it is useful to put the textile consumption of the Trikke region into its wider perspective, by at least concisely examining other comparable case studies, like that of Athens. Although endowed with monuments of a glorious past, Athens was nothing but a modest Ottoman city during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is therefore quite important that comparable traits can be traced in the fragmentary sources relevant to textile consumption in the city. Evliya Çelebi, always lively in his descriptions, mentions that colourful silks, velvets, and broadcloths (τζόχα/çuha) and "Frankish-style" hats comprised

185 There is for example a mention of a "good vlach phelonion" (φαιλόνιον βλάχικον καλόν) (*ibid.,* 87). This could have been an allusion to embroidery or weavings characteristic of the Vlach community. On domestic weaving workshops in Metsovo see Rokou, *Υφαντική Οικιακή Βιοτεχνία*. For traditional costume in Thessaly also see Papageorgiou, *Ελληνικές Παραδοσιακές Φορεσιές - Θεσσαλία*. Also see Koutsias, "Η παραδοσιακή υφαντική", 267-294. Moreover, "folk" textiles, which fall under the generic typology of "Epirotic" embroideries, have been recorded in the sacristy of Saint Stephen's Nunnery (Chatzimichali, "Ηπειρωτική Λαϊκή Τέχνη", 264, fig. 15). Vassiliki Rokou recently supported that these embroideries were imports, and not local products, which seems like an entirely plausible hypothesis. Nonetheless, the Armenian connection proposed requires knowledge of iconographies that I personally lack, a fact that prevents me from engaging with its substance (Rokou, "ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΙΚΑ ΚΕΝΤΗΜΑΤΑ Ή ΚΕΝΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ". *Idem,* "The Embroidered Portrait of a Horseman". *Idem,* "Ηπειρωτικά κεντήματα: παραγωγή και εμπόριο τον 17ο και 18ο αιώνα"). Finally, it would be an omission to not mention that the palette and style of the "Epirotic" embroideries relates to contemporary or earlier Safavid-style productions (Franses, "Safavid-style Domestic Embroideries").

186 It has also been convincingly supported that the shifting trends in Ottoman weaving were shaped by European and Asian imports (Phillips, "The Localisation"). Also read Faroqhi, "The Material Culture of Global Connections".

187 Schulz, "Entangled identities", 132.

188 Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, "Χρυσά σιρίτια", 63-66 *et passim.*

Athenian attire[189]. One of Athens's best-known Byzantine churches probably owes its historic name, Kamoukarea (now Kapnikarea), to a cloth of *kamoucha* that adorned an icon of the Virgin[190]. Important resources for lay material culture during the eighteenth century are the city's notarial archives, which contain a significant number of private documents, especially dowries[191]. Despite the expected difference in the local dialect, one can recognize most Ottoman and Italian textile terms already discussed in relation to the Trikke codex: *atlazē* (*atlas*), *basimas* (*basma*), *bouchasi* (*bocassin*), *chētagē* (*hatayı*), *chares* (*hare*), *kamouchas* (*kemha*), *koutounē* (*kutnu*), *santalē* (*sandal*), *velouditza* (*veludo*)[192]. Likewise, a wide variety of provenances is noted: Venetian[193], "French" or "Frankish" (*frantzeziko*)[194], Chian[195], "Persian" (*antzemikos*)[196], from Kalamata (S. Peloponnese)[197], *mesineziko* or *misineziko*[198], from Adrianople[199], from Smyrna[200]. *Chētagē* is by far the most popular textile recorded in private documents and associated with different provenances: Venetian, "Frankish" and Chian[201]. Unsurprisingly, the more emblematic cloths of gold we see in ecclesiastical inventories (e. g., *seraser*), are absent. Terms denoting block-printed textiles appear far less than in the Trikke codex, perhaps an element that helps us trace the tension between local production and consumption. At the same time, rarer terms of Italian origin appear such as: *rekamo* or *rekamado* (ρεκάμο/ρεκαμάδο) from *ricamo*/*ricamato* (embroidery/embroidered)[202], and *altampasio* (ἀλταμπάσιο), perhaps from the expression *alto e basso*, which denoted the pile-on-pile weave we see in Italian vel-

189 Biris, *ΤΑ ΑΤΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΒΛΙΑ ΤΣΕΛΕΜΠΗ*, 46.

190 Zēsiou, "ΚΑΜΟΥΚΑΡΕΑ", 8-10. An alternative name for the specific church was *chrysokamouchariōtissa*, an epithet deriving from "golden *kamoucha*" (Kampouroglou, *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* 2, 286-289).

191 For an analysis of Athenian costume from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries read Bada-Tsomōkou, *Η Αθηναϊκή φορεσιά*.

192 The linguistic root of the term appears within parenthesis. See A. G. Momferratos, "ΑΡΧΕΙΑ", 27-117.

193 *Ibid.,* 30, 49, 64, 66, 103.

194 *Ibid.,* 28, 39, 53, 54, 56, 72, 77, 78, 103, 105.

195 *Ibid.,* 30, 35, 48, 57.

196 *Ibid.,* 54, 57, 74, 82, 83, 104, 107.

197 *Ibid.,* 29.

198 *Ibid.,* 39, 42, 57, 63, 66, 67, 73, 75, 77, 82, 84, 90. This was either a reference to textiles produced in Messene (S. Peloponnese) or Messina (Sicily) (Bada-Tsomōkou, *Η Αθηναϊκή φορεσιά*, 156).

199 Momferratos, "ΑΡΧΕΙΑ", 47, 64, 86, 90.

200 *Ibid.,* 28, 49.

201 These are only the instances where the textile is accompanied by its provenance: *ibid.,* 30, 35, 48, 49, 57, 66, 72, 103.

202 *Ibid.,* 32, 35, 57, 67, 80, 84, 85, 90, 114.

vets[203]. On the other hand, Indian imports, or their local imitations, represented by the term *lachouri*, seem to gain more prominence towards the last decades of the eighteenth century[204].

It has been supported that the documents relevant to Athens can give us at least an indicative view of the changing trends in local textile consumption; I would also add that they are indicative of wider trends[205]. Despite the absence of the ecclesiastical inventories from this picture, it seems reasonable to note the following: 1) despite Athens's provincial character at that time, imported textiles and trends, especially Italian, were central in the local consumption; 2) textiles associated with the Ottoman upper classes (e.g., *kutnu*), were consumed also by the Athenian elite; 3) the diversity of provenances in relation to *chētagē* confirm its status as a "topograhy of cloth"; 4) terms denoting local fashions (e. g., *arvanitiko*) appear as sporadically as in the Trikke codex[206]. Therefore, it could be supported that Athens, like Trikke, is another case study of a society where regional and global trends arrived, were received, and merged with local customs, eventually producing yet another version of the global.

IV. CONCLUSION

The present microhistorical investigation of the textiles appearing in the Trikke codex is a first effort to recreate the region's material culture and to visualize its aesthetic. An overall evaluation of the particularly rich textile heritage preserved in Trikke certainly deserves much more extended studies. Still, this relatively short study proposes a fact-based and transdisciplinary approach for the treatment of similar subjects, one which points outwards, from the local towards the global. In my view the benefits from such an approach are twofold. First, by contextualizing the regional textile consumption, notions such as "traditional", "local", and "native" in relation to provincial cultures are filtered and put into perspective. This approach forms a more complex narrative, based on a

203 *Ibid.,* 80. This term is often used in relation to pile-on-pile velvets, in which the ground is covered in cut pile with a pattern formed by a higher register of pile (Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*, 152). For *alto e basso* velvets see *ibid.,* cats. 8, 13, 18, 20, 32, 35-39.

204 Bada-Tsomōkou, *Η Αθηναϊκή φορεσιά*, 46.

205 *Ibid., passim.*

206 Momferratos, "ΑΡΧΕΙΑ", 95. Athens is surrounded by Arvanite villages, and one would expect more mentions of that culture in relation to costume. Furthermore, there were domestic silk weavers in Athens as well, just like in other cities of Greece (Skouze, *ΧΡΟΝΙΚΟ*, 39-40)

society's interconnectedness and synthetic capacity. On the other hand, the very same traits illuminate how one aspect of "proto-globalization", namely the early modern textile trade, impacted on less metropolitan regions. But on a different level as well, the study of textiles provides access to lesser-known aspects of social history at a micro-, meso- and macro-scale. It can inform us about the fabric of culture itself: from the ways ecclesiastical material culture associated to the wider textile trends, to the Church's role in dress regulation and interreligious relations. In the greater scheme of things, I believe such case studies contribute to the global map of cloth by integrating all the detected trends, cross-references, and diversifications, almost in the same way that a drawloom's harnesses are arranged for the reproduction of characteristically complex patterns.

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CORRIGENDA

Please not the following corrections in the eprint of the above article:

Page 304: '...the surface on which supplementary pattern wefts float.' now reads as '... the surface on which complementary (co-equal) wefts float.'

Page 339: 'The Christians and Jews of Trikala...' now reads as 'Quite a few inhabitants of Trikala...'

Page 340: '...sometimes interwoven with metal threads, but lighter than kamouchas' now reads as 'sometimes sometimes interwoven with metal threads, but different from kamouchas ."

ΑΝΑΠΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΥΛΙΚΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟ ΜΙΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ: ΥΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΚΩΔΙΚΑ ΤΡΙΚΚΗΣ ΕΒΕ 1471

Νικόλαος Βρυζίδης

Ο κώδικας Τρίκκης ΕΒΕ 1471, ο οποίος σήμερα φυλάσσεται στην Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη, αποτελεί μία ανεκτίμητη πηγή για την ιστορία και τον πολιτισμό της Θεσσαλίας. Τα σωζόμενα έγγραφα φωτίζουν σημαντικές πτυχές της θρησκευτικής, οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ζωής του χριστιανικού πληθυσμού της Τρίκκης, καλύπτοντας μία χρονική περίοδο από τα τέλη του 17ου έως το πρώτο μισό του 19ου αιώνα. Η παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρεί για πρώτη φορά μια όσο το δυνατό πιστότερη αναπαράσταση του υλικού πολιτισμού της Τρίκκης, μέσω της συστηματικής μελέτης των αναφορών σε εκκλησιαστικά και κοσμικά υφάσματα σε έγγραφα του κώδικα. Επίσης, εάν λάβουμε υπόψη ότι ο κύριος όγκος της αρχειακής αυτής πηγής αφορά στον 18ο αιώνα, τότε γίνεται φανερό ότι η εν λόγω μελέτη αποτελεί πρότυπο μικροϊστορικής ανάλυσης: με άλλα λόγια καλούμαστε να συστηματοποιήσουμε πληροφορίες πάνω σε μια έκφανση του πολιτισμού μιας κοινωνίας σε συγκεκριμένο χρόνο και χώρο. Η δε μικροϊστορική προσέγγιση του υλικού επιτάσσει τόσο την εστιασμένη μελέτη του κώδικα όσο και τη συσχέτιση των ευρημάτων μας με το ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της εγχώριας παραγωγής υφασμάτων αλλά και των τάσεων του διεθνούς εμπορίου.

Στο πρώτο μέρος του άρθρου επιχειρείται μία αντιπροσωπευτική σύνοψη των κυριότερων υφασμάτων που καταγράφονται στον κώδικα, αντιστοιχώντας τα με σωζόμενα αντικείμενα τόσο από τη συλλογή της μονής του Μεγάλου Μετεώρου όσο και από διάφορα μουσεία, όπως το Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο Αθηνών. Η ιεράρχηση ξεκινά με τις πιο πολυτελείς υφάνσεις, και ειδικά τα χρυσοΰφαντα και αργυροΰφαντα μεταξωτά διαφόρων προελεύσεων και τεχνικών, στα οποία η πλούσια χρήση χρυσών, επίχρυσων και αργυρών νημάτων δημιουργούσε την εντύπωση της μεταλλικής επιφάνειας. Ακολουθούν τα μεταξωτά, όπου η χρήση μεταλλικών νημάτων χαρακτηρίζεται από φειδώ, καθώς και εκείνα τα οποία είναι ολομέταξα, αλλά χωρίς μεταλλικά νήματα. Στη συνέχεια περιγράφονται τα λιγότερο πολυτελή υφάσματα π.χ. τα μισομέταξα και βαμβακερά σταμπωτά, ενώ δεν παραλείπεται η αναφορά σε υφάσματα, το όνομα των οποίων δεν υποδηλώνει το υλικό, αλλά το διακοσμητικό εφέ, όπως π.χ. τα μουαρέ με την κυματοειδή και γυαλιστερή επιφάνεια. Ένα γενικό συμπέρασμα που προκύπτει από αυτή τη σύνοψη είναι ότι η Εκκλησία είχε ευρεία πρόσβαση σε όλα τα είδη κοσμικής στόφας, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των πιο πολυτελών εισαγόμενων προϊόντων, τα οποία εμ-

φανίζονται σπανιότερα στα προικοσύμφωνα και τις διαθήκες των λαϊκών. Τα δε γλωσσικά δάνεια σχετικά με το ύφασμα μαρτυρούν την κοσμοπολίτικη αισθητική κλήρου και λαού.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος του άρθρου ακολουθεί σχολιασμός της σύνοψης καθώς και τοποθέτηση των κυριότερων ευρημάτων σε εννοιολογικό πλαίσιο. Το προφανές είναι ότι η Εκκλησία βρισκόταν στο κέντρο των κοινωνικών, πολιτιστικών και άλλων ζυμώσεων που εντοπίζουμε μελετώντας τα υφάσματα στον κώδικα Τρίκκης. Η δεύτερη χρήση κοσμικών ενδυμάτων, ως άμφια, αλλά και ο κανονιστικός ρόλος που έπαιζε η Εκκλησία σε δραστηριότητες σχετικές με το ύφασμα είναι δύο μόνο από τα πολλά φαινόμενα, τα οποία χρήζουν ερμηνείας τόσο από ανθρωπολογική όσο και κοινωνιολογική άποψη. Δεν θα ήταν μάλιστα υπερβολή να διατυπωθεί η άποψη ότι μέσω της μελέτης των υφασμάτων μπορεί να αποκομίσει κανείς μια αντιπροσωπευτική άποψη ως προς τη λειτουργία της τοπικής κοινωνίας, καθώς και το νευραλγικό ρόλο που η Εκκλησία, ως αρχή αλλά και φορέας πολιτισμού, έπαιζε σε αυτή. Η σημαντική εμποροπανήγυρη της Μοσχολούρης, με υφάσματα που έφθαναν από διάφορες γωνιές του κόσμου, καθώς και η τοπική παραγωγή υφασμάτων, από μετάξι έως βαμβακερά σταμπωτά, αναδεικνύουν ότι η αισθητική στην περιοχή της Τρίκκης, και της Θεσσαλίας εν γένει, αποτελούσε μία τοπική εκδοχή των ευρωπαϊκών και μεσογειακών τάσεων. Ταυτόχρονα η μελέτη της υφαντουργίας και του εμπορίου των υφασμάτων, δραστηριότητες που στη Θεσσαλία ήταν στα χέρια χριστιανών και εβραίων κυρίως, μπορούν να φωτίσουν ακόμη και λιγότερο γνωστές πτυχές του κοινωνικού γίγνεσθαι, όπως π.χ. τις σχέσεις μεταξύ των διαφορετικών θρησκευτικών κοινοτήτων. Ο σχολιασμός κλείνει με συνοπτική αναφορά στα υφάσματα που εμφανίζονται στους κώδικες νοταρίων του 18ου αιώνα μιας άλλης πόλης της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας, της Αθήνας. Η σύγκριση του υλικού πολιτισμού της Αθήνας εκείνης της εποχής με αυτόν της Τρίκκης ακριβώς επιβεβαιώνει την τάση για την παραγωγή μίας εγχώριας εκδοχής των διεθνών τάσεων, και ιδιαίτερα σε σχέση με το ύφασμα.

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