

## INTRODUCTION

The Jewish presence in Crete under Venetian rule (1211-1669) along with its impact to the local society have already been subject of many commendable studies accomplished by scholars from all over the world.<sup>1</sup> Most studies focused on the social, economic and juridical aspects of the Jewish-Cretan history while much less attention has been drawn – albeit not as a case study – to the intellectual and literary tracks of this longtime coexistence between Christians and Jews. The present volume does not aim to exhaustingly fill this gap – since the Jewish literary part belongs to the Jewish-speaking researchers, but to serve both as a basic study for the

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1. Due to the very vast bibliography, it is suffice to mention the following: R. N. LAUER, *Colonial Justice and the Jews of Venetian Crete (The Middle Ages Series)*, Philadelphia 2019; G. CORAZZOL, *Gli ebrei a Candia nei secoli XIV-XVI: l'impatto dell'immigrazione sulla cultura della comunità locale*, Bologna/Paris 2015 (unpublished PhD dissert.); A. PAPADIA-LALA, The Jews in early modern Venetian Crete: community and identities, in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27 (2012), pp. 141-150; D. JACOBY, Jews and Christians in Venetian Crete: segregation, interaction, and conflict, in U. ISRAEL – R. JÜTTE – R. C. MUELLER (eds), *“Interstizi”. Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini dal medioevo all'età moderna (Edizioni di storia e letteratura)*, Roma 2010, pp. 239-275; K. G. TSIKNAKES, Η εβραϊκή κοινότητα του Χάνδακα στα μέσα του 16ου αιώνα, in *Άνθη Χαρίτων (Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών της Βενετίας. Βιβλιοθήκη*, 18), Venetia 1998, pp. 729-752; A. MALTEZOU, “From Crete to Jerusalem”: The Will of a Cretan Jew (1626), in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10/1-2 (1995): *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of Davis Jacoby*, pp. 189-201; E. SANTSCI, Contribution à l'étude de la communauté juive en Crète vénitienne au XIV siècle, d'après des sources administratives et judiciaires, in *Studi Veneziani* 15 (1973), pp. 177-211; Z. ANKORI, Jews and the Jewish Communities of Crete in the History of Medieval Crete, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 3, Athina 1968, pp. 312-367; J. STARR, Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice, in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. 12 (1942), pp. 59-114; I. LEVI, Les Juifs de Candie de 1380 à 1485, in *Revue des études juives* 26 (1893), pp. 198-208. For Crete under Venetian rule, see the later synthesis of CH. GASPARI, Venetian Crete: The Historical Context, in A. LYMBEROPOULOU (ed.), *Hell in the Byzantine World. A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. 1 (*Essays*), Cambridge 2020, pp. 60-116.

exploration of the local anti-Jewish Greek literature, as well as a point of reference for the tracing of the literary interactions between Greeks and Jews in the late Medieval Crete.

The Cretan intellectual environment in the period under consideration benefits from the presence of many local and foreign Greek scholars for whom we possess – in many cases – a significant amount of information regarding their lives, their works, and their manuscripts. Furthermore, the period extending from the late 14th to the mid-15th century in Crete was characterized by intense religious-dialectical conflict between Orthodoxies and pro-unionists. The eminent protagonist was Ioseph Bryennios from Constantinople, sent to Crete by the patriarch Neilos in 1382 due to advocate the Orthodox thesis against the pope's aspirations for the dominance of the Catholicism in the island.<sup>2</sup> Around 1399-1400 in Chandax, Bryennios participated in a public controversy against the Dominican Maximos Chrysoberges<sup>3</sup> towards the Procession of the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> Chrysoberges was also the recipient of two apologetical letters on the same topic sent to him by another defender of the Orthodoxy in Crete, Neilos Damilas, resident at the monastery of Karkassa in the province of Hierapetra.<sup>5</sup> Because of his preaching in Crete, Bryennios was accused as a threat for the Regime and exiled by the local Venetian authorities in 1402. Venice, however, did not seem to be concerned about the religious-dialectical conflicts of that period, nor they were only focused to the Orthodox trends; the same attitude has been also applied to the Franciscan monk Marco Sclavo who had disturbed the local society with his unionist preaching and he was finally expelled from Crete in 1414.<sup>6</sup>

2. For Joseph Bryennios, see mainly the bibliography reported by H. BAZINI, *Une première édition des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les Traités adressés aux Crétois*, in *REB* 62 (2004), pp. 83-132.

3. *PLP* 31123.

4. Published by E. VOULGARES, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου. Τὰ Εὐρεθέντα*, Leipzig 1768, vol. 1, pp. 407-423.

5. M. M. NIKOLIDAKES, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλάς*, Heraklion, 1981 (unpublished PhD diss.), pp. 76-82.

6. F. THIRIET, *Le zèle unioniste d'un franciscain crétois et la risposte de Venise (1414)*, in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag herausgegeben von Peter Wirth (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit.*

At the same period, the Roman Church had to face multiple problems with regard to the island of Crete; on the one hand, the papal court was struggling for the Latinization of the Cretan-Orthodoxies; on the other, the continuous absence of the local Latin clergy from their religious seats constituted a constant impediment against the pope's aspirations for the dominance of the Catholicism in the island. The abstinence of the Latin clergy from their duties was not due to problems of coexistence with the Orthodoxies but it was just another echo of the internal schism which afflicted the Catholics since the late 14th century and ended with the Council of Constance with the subsequent election of Martin V in 1417.<sup>7</sup> The new pope immediately campaigned for the prevalence of the Catholicism in the island through the promotion of the Venetian prelate Fantino Vallaresso as Latin archbishop of Crete in 1425.<sup>8</sup> After the outcome of the Council of Florence in 1439 and the Union proclaimed between the Eastern and the Western Churches, Fantino Vallaresso and the Dominican Simon of Candia played the most significant role into the papal efforts for the dominance of the Uniate faith in Crete. The Uniate mobilization in the 15th-century Crete was complemented by the establishment of an annual economic subsidy for twelve Uniate priests of the island (1463),<sup>9</sup> among whom was Ioannes Plousiadenos, scribe, theologian and champion of the Unionism until his death in 1500.<sup>10</sup>

From the 15th-century ecclesiastical and religious context of interaction created by Orthodoxies, Catholics and unionists in Chandax, the Jewish

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*Reihe D, Beiheft. Forschungen zur griechischen Diplomatie und Geschichte*, Bd. 1), Heidelberg 1966, pp. 496-504.

7. See mainly, G. FEDALTO, *Il grande scisma d'occidente e l'isola di Creta (1378-1417)*, in *Δ' Διεθνές Κρητολογικόν Συνέδριον (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου-3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976)*, vol. 2, Athina, 1981, pp. 94-96.

8. *HC*, vol. 2, p. 216. For Vallaresso, see E. DESPOTAKIS, Vallaresso, Fantino, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 98, Roma 2020.

9. Z. N. TSIRPANLES, *Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικούς τῆς βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1439-17ος αἰ.) (Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, 12)*, Thessaloniki 1967; H. D. SAFFREY, *Pie II et les prêtres uniates en Crète au XVe siècle*, in *Θησαυρίσματα* 16 (1979), pp. 39-53.

10. On him, see E. DESPOTAKIS, *John Plousiadenos (1423?-1500). A Time-Space Geography of his Life and Career (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 284. Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 21)*, Leuven 2020.

minority seems to be absent. Since the first half of the 14th century, the Jews of Chandax were forced to reside at the so-called “Judaica”, in the western area of the city’s suburb, along the city-walls attached to the Bay of Dermatas.<sup>11</sup> Their local history has been recorded within the *Taqqaṇot Qandi’ah*, an assemblage of regulations from 1228 onwards, shaped by the Cretan Jew Rabbi Elijah ben Elqanah Capsali in 1514 and implemented by the community leaders throughout the 16th century.<sup>12</sup> Their rite was the so-called *Romaniote*,<sup>13</sup> viz. the native rite of the Jewish communities established in ex-Byzantine territories.<sup>14</sup> Migratory flows of the mid and late 14th century augmented the number of Jews in Crete.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the 15th century the Jewish quarter was counting four Synagogues.<sup>16</sup> The leader of the community was called “Condestabulo” (*comes stabuli*)<sup>17</sup> and he was assisted by a small council of three men called auditors.<sup>18</sup> Thanks to Jacques Le Saige’s account of his visit in Chandax in 1518 we learn that Jews and Cretans were dressed in the same way, with the exception that Jews were obliged to wear a yellow beret due to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population.<sup>19</sup> A

11. As Jacoby has already observed, this location had somehow been chosen by the Jews themselves due to their most common occupation, the tanning, a profession which was anyway concentrated along the Bay of Dermatas and therefore gave its name to the bay (D. JACOBY, *Jews and Christians*, pp. 244-245).

12. Edited by E. S. ARTOM – H. M. D. CASSUTO, *Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae eorumque mirabilia*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1943.

13. In 14th-century notarial acts of dowry, we read: *secundum legem Moisi et ritum iudeorum* (N. TSOUGARAKIS, *The Documents of Dominicus Grimani, Notary in Candia [1356-1357]*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 [2013], p. 260, doc. 73; p. 262, doc. 78).

14. L. J. WEINBERGER, *Jewish Hymnography. A Literary History (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization)*, London 1998, p. 351.

15. D. JACOBY, *Quelques aspects de la vie juive en Crète dans la première moitié du XVe siècle*, in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Γ’ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, Athina 1974, p. 109.

16. STARR, *Jewish Life in Crete*, pp. 98-100; cf. M. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 196-197.

17. For this office, see V. A. LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα και υπηρεσίες στην πρώιμη και μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Athener Reihe, 8)*, Athina, 1996, pp. 45-46.

18. STARR, *Jewish Life in Crete*, pp. 101-102.

19. D. HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, *La Crète sous la domination vénitienne et lors de la conquête turque (1322-1684). Renseignements nouveaux ou peu connus d’après les pèlerins et les voyageurs*, in *Studi Veneziani* 9 (1967), p. 566.

15th-century (1481) Jewish traveler from Tuscany, Mešullam ben Menahem, surprisingly observed that although all four synagogues were facing the street, the Jews were not stone-bombarded by the Christian Greeks. On the other hand, and with regard to the latter's perfidy, Menahem specified that if a Jew had to touch the merchandise of a Greek trader, he was obliged to buy it despite the price subsequently imposed to him.<sup>20</sup>

The aforementioned report of Menahem hints to a generally peaceful but untrustworthy coexistence between Christians and Jews. This everyday reality referred by Menahem is not far from what Joseph Bryennios – housed in Crete from 1382 to ca. 1402 – had stated against the Jews within his chapter towards the reasons for the Orthodoxies' disgrace (*Τίνες αίτιαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λυπηρῶν*): [because] we consider Jews as physicians, and we thoughtlessly eat those things which are touched by their hands and sullied by their saliva (*Ὅτι τοῖς Ἐβραίοις χρώμεθα ἰατροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων χερσὶ ψηλαφώμενα, καὶ μολυνόμενα τοῖς σιέλοις, ἀλογίστως ἐσθίομεν*).<sup>21</sup> There is no way to conclude in which period Bryennios wrote this chapter but we shall observe that his mention to Jewish physicians mirrors their progressively increased number in Venetian Crete from the late 14th century onwards.<sup>22</sup>

Wider tensions and conflicts between Christians and Jews seem to be extremely rare within the Veneto-Cretan society, though are not missing. During the Holy Week of 1451 the Jews of Chandax were accused of blasphemy against the Christian faith by crucifying a milk-fed lamb and thus insinuating the *Agnus Dei*, viz. the Passion of Christ. The trial involved the supreme authorities of Venice and finally ended on June 7, 1454, with the acquittal of the accused.<sup>23</sup>

20. CORAZZOL, *Gli ebrei a Candia*, p. 12.

21. E. VOULGARES (ed.), *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου. Τὰ Παραλειπόμενα*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1784, p. 120; cf. L. OECONOMOS, L'état intellectuel et moral des Byzantins vers le milieu du XIVe siècle d'après une page de Joseph Bryennios, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl (Études sur l'Histoire et sur l'art de Byzance)*, vol. 1, Paris 1930, p. 227.

22. On this issue, see mainly G. CORAZZOL, Jewish Medicine in Venetian Crete (Late Thirteenth to Early Sixteenth Centuries: Physicians, Surgeons, and Manuscripts), in G. CHRIST – F.-J. MORCHE (eds), *Cultures of Empire: Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400-1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, economies and cultures, 1400-1500)*, pp. 329-365; E. SANTSCHI, Médecine et justice en Crète vénitienne au XIVe siècle, in *Θησαυρίσματα* 8 (1971), pp. 17-48.

23. A. TOAFF, *Pasque di Sangue. Ebrei d'Europa e omicidi rituali (Biblioteca Storica)*, Bologna 2007, pp. 48-54; cf. STARR, Jewish Life in Crete, pp. 65-67.

During the last decades of the 15th century another episode took place, this time involving the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and Archbishop of Crete Girolamo Lando who threatened to excommunicate inhabitants and soldiers due to their hostile behavior against the Jews. For this reason, more measures have been demanded to Lando by the Jewish leaders against the Christian violence.<sup>24</sup> In 1566, and with the same spirit of protectiveness, Metrophanes III, Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, issued an encyclical letter to the Cretans with vivid recommendations towards the injustice applied to the Jews of Crete.<sup>25</sup> Both cases evidently demonstrate that from time to time the Jews were suffering both from Orthodox and Catholic residents of Crete and for this reason they were addressing to the supreme ecclesiastical authorities of each case.<sup>26</sup> Following the conclusions of David Jacoby, “this hostility was basically rooted in collective religious, ethnic and social attitudes, stereotypes and fantasies regarding the Jews, which provided a fertile ground for accusations...”.<sup>27</sup> At what extent, however, whether such a context reflects to the literary production or manuscript reproduction of polemical works from both sides in the period under consideration still needs to be explored.

The earliest mention to the Jews within the Cretan literary-vernacular genre belongs to Stephanos Sachlikes, composer and lawyer of the mid-14th century Chandax.<sup>28</sup> In his autobiographical poem *Αφήγησις παράξενος τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Σαχλίκης* composed around the years 1385-1390, Sachlikes

24. L. SCHIAVI, *Gli Ebrei in Venezia e nelle sue colonie. Appunti storici su documenti editi e inediti*, in *Nuova Antologia* 131 (1893), pp. 489-490, though without reference to his sources; cf. JACOBY, *Jews and Christians*, p. 275.

25. M. I. GEDEON, *Κανονικαὶ διατάξεις. Ἐπιστολαί, λύσεις, θεσπίσματα τῶν ἀγιοτάτων πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, vol. 2, Constantinoupoli 1889, pp. 70-71; cf. G. PAPADEMETRIΟΥ, *An Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarch Metrophanes III (1520-1580) condemning the oppression of Jews*, in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 26/2 (1989), pp. 338-340, pp. 70-71.

26. As Tom Papademetriou has noticed, this letter may also be viewed as a part of the support provided by Metrophanes III to Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos (T. PAPADEMETRIΟΥ, *Render unto the Sultan. Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*, Oxford 2015, p. 206.

27. JACOBY, *Jews and Christians*, p. 275.

28. For him, see mainly A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Ὁ Στέφανος Σαχλίκης καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του*, in *Θησαυρίσματα* 17 (1980), pp. 36-130.

blames the Jews for his heavy debts, through the words spoken by his Fate:

*Καὶ λέγει ἡ Τύχη μου ἡ κακὴ: «Ἐδὰ ἔβγαλες τὰ χρέη,  
ἐλείψαν ἀπὸ πάνω σου οἱ ἄνομοι Ἑβραῖοι» (vv. 83-84).<sup>29</sup>*

Additionally, Sachlikes devalues the sacred burial site of the Jews by encouraging his audience to bury there a prostitute:

*Ὅλοι τὴν Πόθα Τζουστουνιά, ὄλοι πομπεύετε τὴν  
παντοῦ τὴν διαλαλήσετε καὶ κουμουδέψετε τὴν,  
στὴν Ἀφεντιὰ τὴν βάλετε καὶ μαντατέψετε τὴν,  
καὶ εἰς τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰ μνήματα ὑπᾶτε θάψετε τὴν (vv. 94-97).<sup>30</sup>*

A much more aggressive predisposition against the Jews has been shown by the 15th-century (first half) Cretan poet Marinos Phalieros.<sup>31</sup> In his poem with title *Lament on the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord, God and Savior*

29. G. K. MAVROMATES – N. M. PANAGIOTAKES (eds), *Στέφανος Σαχλίκης. Τα ποιήματα*, Athina 2015, p. 114; cf. Van GEMERT, Ὁ Στέφανος Σαχλίκης, pp. 40-41. According to Van Gemert's research, Sachlikes indeed was in debt to some Jews but the amount of money that he owed to them was not excessive and also referred to a posterior period of his life. Sachlikes' Jewish creditors were a) Joste Angura, who lent him 25 hyperpera in 1358, 26 hyperpera in 1359, 90 hyperpera in 1367, 73 hyperpera in 1370. Most of these amounts should be paid back in three months; b) Anastasù, widow of Abraam, who lent him 110 hyperpera in 1377 and 200 hyperpera in 1383. These latter amounts were increased in 145 and 280 hyperpera respectively because of Sachlikes' delayed payoff (new amounts imposed in 1483 and 1490 respectively). Nevertheless, if we compare the amounts of which Sachlikes was from time to time in debt to other values of the mid-14th century Chandax we understand that Sachlikes' debts to his creditors were indeed excessive: e.g. In 1352, the cost for renting a house in the city-centre of Chandax was 14 hyperpera per year (A. LOMBARDO [ed.], *Zaccaria De Fredo. Notaio in Candia [1352-1357]*, Venezia 1968, pp. 11-12, doc. 7); In 1356, the cost for renting a storeroom in the burg of Chandax was 20 hyperpera per year (TSOUGARAKIS, *The Documents of Dominicus Grimani*, p. 234, doc. 2). In 1388, the cost for a six-years teaching of Byzantine chanting was 8 hyperpera (I. MARKOURIS, *Apprenticeships in Greek Orthodox chanting and Greek language learning in Venetian Crete (14th-15th century)*, in Ch. MALTEZOU – A. TZAVARA – D. VLASSI (eds), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.)*. *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia 3-7 dicembre 2007 (Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετία. Συνέδρια*, 13), Venezia, 2009, pp. 244-245, doc. 2).

30. MAVROMATES – PANAGIOTAKES (eds), *Στέφανος Σαχλίκης*, p. 157.

31. On him, see mainly A. F. Van GEMERT, *The Cretan poet Marinos Falieros (πίν. Α'-Ε')*, in *Θησαυρίσματα* 14 (1977), pp. 7-70.

*Jesus Christ* (Θρηῆνος εἰς τὰ Πάθη καὶ τὴν Σταύρωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), Phalieros addresses several times to the Jews through the words spoken by Theotokos:<sup>32</sup>

Κι ἐσεῖς, Ἐβραῖοι, γιὰ νά' χετε πολλὴ τὴν ὀλουχθρία,  
 πράσσετε καταπάνω του ὡς ἄνομα θερία.  
 Μά, ἄδικο γένος, ἄγνωρο, ἔπρεπε νὰ κατέβουν  
 ὅλες οἱ στίες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κι αὐτὲς τῆς γῆς ν' ἀνέβουν... (vv. 131-134)

Λοιπὸν ἡ καταφρόνεση τὴ δίδουν οἱ Ἐβραῖοι  
 ἃς εἶναι γιὰ νὰ πλερωθοῦν τῆς ἀμαρτιᾶς τὰ χρέη... (vv. 201-204)

Ἵ πῖβουλοι, γιὰ εὐχαριστιὰ τῆς μάννας τὴν ἐλάβα  
 οἱ πρῶτοι σας εἰς τὸ φρικτὸ τῆς θάλασσας τὸ διάβα... (vv. 217-218)

Ἵ σκύλοι, ἐκεῖ ποῦ 'τύχαινε νὰ τὸν ἀποδεκτῆτε  
 καὶ μὲ τιμὲς καὶ μὲ πολλὰς δόξες νὰ συγχαρῆτε... (vv. 227-228)

τί 'ναι λοιπὸν τὰ κάμνετε, τί 'ναι τὰ μεριμνᾶτε,  
 δὲ βλέπετε, ταλαίπωροι, τὸ πὼς τὸν ἀδικάτε; (vv. 231-232)

Ἵ γένος ἀνεγνώριστο, ἀνοίξετε τὸ φῶς σας  
 καὶ δέτε καὶ γυρέψετε νὰ βρῆτε τὸ καλὸ σας.  
 Κι ἂν ἔν' καὶ δὲν τὸ κάμετε, τὸ γένος σας ὁμάδι  
 θέλετε πάρει τὴν ὄργη τὴ θεϊκὴ στὸν Ἄδη. (vv. 243-246)

As Bakker and Van Gemert already observed, no other text – Greek or Latin – referring to the *Passion of Christ* mentions the Jews so often, except of the *Lament of Theotokos* composed by the 15th-century (second half) Cretan unionist Ioannes Plousiadenos.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Plousiadenos faithfully follows Falieros' pattern in addressing to the Jews through the sorrowful words of Theotokos, using even more disrespectful terms against them:<sup>34</sup>

32. W. F. BAKKER – A. F. VAN GEMERT (eds), *Θρηῆνος εἰς τὰ Πάθη καὶ τὴν Σταύρωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου ἄρχοντος κυροῦ Μαρίνου τοῦ Φαλιέρου (Πανεπιστημιακὲς Ἐκδόσεις Κρήτης)*, Heraklion 2002, pp. 80-82.

33. *Ibidem*, p. 83.

34. Edited by P. VASILEIOU, Ο αὐτόγραφος «Θρηῆνος τῆς Θεοτόκου» του Ἰωάννη Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, in *Ἑλληνικά* 32 (1982), pp. 278-284; cf. M. I. MANOUSSAKAS, *Ἀνέκδοτοι*

Ἰσραὴλ κατάρατε, ὧ γενεὰ τοῦ σκότους  
καὶ τί κακὸν σοὶ ἔποικεν τὸ ποθινόν μου τέκνον (vv. 30-31)

Ἰουδαῖοι ἄνομοι, ὧ φάλσοι παραβάται,  
τὸν Βαρραβᾶν τὸν ἄνομον καὶ τὸν ληστήν ζητεῖτε (vv. 33-34)

Ἰγένος φιλοτάραχον, ὧ γένος λυσσασμένον,  
διὰ ποῖον πταισίμον, τυφλοί, λέγετε τῷ Πιλάτῳ; (vv. 36-37)

Καὶ σύ, λαὲ ἀχάριστε, τώρα τοῦ ἀποδίδεις,  
διὰ τὰ καλὰ ποῦ σοῦ ἔποικεν, ὅλα τὰ ἐναντία (vv. 55-56)

Τί τὸ λοιπόν, ἀχάριστε λαὲ καταραμένε,  
κακὸν ἤξευρες ἀπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθανάτωσές τον; (vv. 82-83)

Ἰ γῆ καὶ πῶς <ἐσὺ> βαστᾶς καὶ δὲν ἀνοίγεις ὄλη,  
νὰ καταπῆς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αὐτόνους τοὺς Ἑβραῖους (vv. 87-88)

Brief mentions against the Jews are also included to Plousiadenos' admonition letter to the priests of Crete, likely in the years 1464-1465:<sup>35</sup>

*Τί γὰρ ἄλλο κάκιστον τούτων μᾶλλον ποιῆτε ἢ ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐφρονήσατε...*

*Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι χειρὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κριθήσεσθαι. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, τουτέστι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκβαλόντες ἀπέκτειναν σταυρῶ προσηλώσαντες καὶ οὐ διεῖλον αὐτοῦ τὴν χιτῶνα, τὸν δηλοῦντα τὸ σύστημα τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸν ἀρραγῆ θέμεθλον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ...*

The latest 15th-century Cretan author who accuses the Jews within his text on the ethical collapse of his contemporaries is Neilos Bertos from Hierapetra, in Eastern Crete:<sup>36</sup>

στίχοι καὶ νέος αυτόγραφος κώδιξ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, in *Ἄθηνά* 68 (1965), pp. 54-59.

35. Published by V. LAOURDAS, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, ὑποθήκαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς Κρήτης, in *KX* 5 (1951) (*Κρητικὰ Παλαιογραφικά*, 12), pp. 252-262. For the date of its composition, see DESPOTAKIS, *John Plousiadenos*, p. 41-43.

36. Νείλου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Μπέρτου στιχοπλοκία εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἑβδομὸν αἰῶνα, περιέχων ἀνεμπῶς πάσας τὰς πράξεις σχεδὸν τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων, ἱερέων καὶ λαϊκῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πνευματικῶν πατέρων καὶ μοναχῶν, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν: H. APOSKITI-STAMMLER, *Nathanael-Neilos Bertos. Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 91, Nr. 59, München 1974 (unpublished PhD diss.), pp. 74-117.

καὶ ὡσπερ φεύγει ὁ Ἑβραῖός, ὅταν ἰδῆ εἰκόναν,  
σταυρὸν ἢ ἀγίου λείψανον, ὁ ἄνομος, υἱέ μου,  
οὕτως φεύγουν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (I, vv. 22-24)

ἐκεῖνος διὰ τὰ στάμενα ἐπρόδωκεν εἰς φόνον,  
τὸν ἀγαθὸν διδάσκαλον τῶν ἀνόμων Ἑβραίων (I, vv. 389-390)

ὀρῶντα ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ληστῶν ἐν μέσῳ δύο,  
ὅταν τὸν ἐσταυρώσασιν οἱ ἄνομοι Ἑβραῖοι (I, vv. 457-458)

τὰ Φῶτα πάλιν τὸν παπὰν ζυγώνει καὶ τὸ ἀγιάσμα,  
καὶ ἀπομένει ἀφώτιστος ὡσὰν κακὴ Ἑβραῖα (I, vv. 523-524)

τοὺς μὲν ἐκατακόψασιν, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλωτίσαν,  
καὶ ἀγοράζουν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ σκύλοι, οἱ Ἑβραῖοι,  
τὲς θαυμαστὲς ἀρχόντισσες ὡσὰν κακὲς Τατάρες.  
ἀνοίγουσιν τὸ στόμαν των καὶ πτύουσιν ἀπέσω,  
καὶ δίδουν των καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν, βαβαί, νὰ τὸν πατήσουν,  
δίδουν τες τὲς Σαρακοστὲς κρέας καὶ μαγαρίζουν,  
ἐκάμαν τ' ἀρχοντόπουλα Ἑβρόπουλα καὶ Τούρκους (I, vv. 626-632)

ξηρίζουσιν τὰ γένια των, γίνονται σὰν δαιμόνιοι,  
ὅμοιοι γίνονται ἐκείνων τῶν ἀπίστων Ἑβραίων,  
ὅπου ἐσταυρῶσαν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης (I, vv. 881-883)

Ὅμοιος γίνεσαι τῶν ἀγνωμόνων καὶ ἀχαρίστων  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ σύ (IV, vv. 300-301)

Εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν

συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐννόησον, πόση ἀσχημοσύ-  
νη ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ, διότι τοῖχος ἐστὶν εὐκαιρος μετὰ καν-  
δήλων καὶ μόνον (IV, vv. 742-745)

The aforementioned Cretan authors of the vernacular literary genre blame the Jews with more-less the same adjectives: outlaws (ἄνομοι), dogs (σκύλοι), ungrateful (λαὲ ἀχάριστε), unjust (ἄδικο γένος).<sup>37</sup> Evidently these

37. The Jews' injustice is also implied within the 16th-century (!) Cretan poem on the *Passion of Christ* (Λόγοι παρακλητικοὶ εἰς τὰ τίμια καὶ ἅγια πάθη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θρῆνος τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου): Κ' εἶντα κακὸ σᾶς ἔκαμε καὶ ὄλοι αὐτὸν μιλεῖτε; (v. 89) (M. I. MANOUSSAKAS – O. PARLANGELI, "Ἄγνωστο κρητικὸ

are shades of depictions found in the Testaments and previously used by the Church Fathers against the Jews:

e.g., ἐξήρηνται δὲ πάντες οἱ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ ζῶντες ἀνόμως, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οἱ τῆς Ἰουδαίων Συναγωγῆς ἡγεμονεύειν λαχόντες, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄνομοί τε καὶ ἀλαζόνες...<sup>38</sup>

e.g., τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων φησί, περὶ ὧν ἐγγέγραπτο· πάντες κύνες ἐνεοὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ὑλακτεῖν...<sup>39</sup>

To what extent, however, Greek manuscripts bearing on the anti-Jewish Byzantine tradition were circulating in Crete during the 15th century? Among fifty-six Greek manuscripts of the Vatican Library containing anti-Jewish texts and listed by Patrick Andrist for the period 11th-16th centuries (M.1-33, S.1-23),<sup>40</sup> none is apparently linked to the Island of Crete. The only exception is constituted by the 10th-century MS *Vat. gr.* 577 which bears 15th-century-restoration touches and annotations of the priest and scribe Georgios Drazinos,<sup>41</sup> whose Cretan origin has recently been proved.<sup>42</sup> MS

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«Μυστήριον τῶν Παθῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ», in *KX* 8 [1954], pp. 120-128). Such a poem is the last text comprised in the MS Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 2Qq A 078 which is truncated. For this reason, the narration arrives at the episode where Jesus stands in front of Pilatus (ff. 80r-91v), thus missing several parts of the *Passion* and the lament of Theotokos in which blames against the Jews would have probably been launched. For certain similarities with Western 14th-century texts (*Planctus Mariae*), see BAKKER – VAN GEMERT, *Θρήνος*, p. 83, n. 15-16.

38. [CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA], *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, PG 70, col. 60C.

39. [JOHN OF DAMASCUS], *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli [Dub.]*, PG 95, col. 872C-D.

40. P. ANDRIST, *Les codex grecs Adversus Iudaeos conservés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane (s. XI-XVI). Essai méthodologique pour une étude des livres manuscrits thématiques (Studi e Testi, 502)*, Città del Vaticano 2016. Among an extremely vast bibliography on “adversus Iudaeos-manuscripts and literature, we shall indicatively mention H. SCHRECHENBERG, *Die Christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld*, vols 3 (*Publications Universitaires Européennes*, s. XXIII, Fankfurt 1991-1995; A. KÜLZER, *Disputationes Graecae Contra Iudaeos. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen antijüdischen Dialogliteratur und ihrem Judenbild (Byzantinisches Archiv, 18)*, Stuttgart 1999; P. ANDRIST, Pour un repertoire des manuscrits de polémique anti-judaique, in *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 270-306; G. DAGRON – V. DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin de Byzance (Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Bilans de recherche, 5)*, Paris 2010.

41. *Ibidem*, pp. 204-214.

42. DESPOTAKIS, *John Plousiadenos*, p. 64, n. 324.

*Vat. gr. 577* comprises chrysostomic texts among which we find the *Adversus Iudaeos Orationes* (*Orat.* 1, 4-8) (ff. 2r-75r). Therefore, MS *Vat. gr. 577* shall be listed among those manuscripts located in Crete during the 15th century.<sup>43</sup> As will be shown below, a similar procedure of restoration was followed by Drazinos in Crete for the restoration of MS *Lond. Add. 34060*.<sup>44</sup>

Famous Greek manuscript collections of “Cretan” provenance, such as the Barocci<sup>45</sup> and the Holkham Hall,<sup>46</sup> both kept at Bodleian Library, add very little to the repertoire of anti-Jewish texts circulating in Crete during the Late Middle Ages. On one hand, MS *Bodl. Barocci 33* comprises Georgios Scholarios’ *Refutatio Erroris Iudaeorum in modum dialogi* from the hand of the 15th-century (second half) Rethymnian scribe Michael Lygizos (ff. 117r-209v);<sup>47</sup> on the other hand, MS *Holk. gr. 55*, once belonged to the Cretan family of Morezenos,<sup>48</sup> is a 11th-12th-century volume which includes ‘excerpta’ from Pseudo-Athanasius’ *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Duce*m (ff. 71r-85r).<sup>49</sup> It is worth mentioning that ‘excerpta’ of the same work are also found in MS *Bodl. Barocci 76* (ff. 5v-8v), mostly copied by

43. One more MS, the 16th-century *Vat. Barb. gr. 551* partially falls under the hand of another Cretan scribe, Antonios Episkopoulos, protopapas of Kydonia (Chania) (ANDRIST, *Les codex grecs*, pp. 130-134).

44. Cf. below, p. 34.

45. See in general, F. CICOLELLA, Greek in Venetian Crete: Grammars and Schoolbooks from the Library of Francesco Barocci, in EAD. – L. SILVANO (eds), *Teachers, Students and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance (Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 264)*, Leiden-Boston 2017, pp. 371-393.

46. For this collection, see D. SKREKAS, The Prestige of Manuscripts: From Venetian Crete to Holkham Hall and Beyond. An Online Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts from Holkham Hall now in the Bodleian Library, in P. DEGNI – P. ELEUTERI – M. MANIACI (eds), *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present and Future (Bibliologia, 48)*, Turnhout 2018, pp. 167-175.

47. *RGK 1A*, nr. 282; cf. ANDRIST, *Les codex grecs*, p. 58.

48. E. KAKOULIDE, Ὁ Ἰωάννης Μορεζῆνος καὶ τὸ ἔργο του, in *KX 22* (1970), pp. 7-78, 389-506.

49. [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_6180](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6180); cf. R. BARBOUR, Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall, in *The Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 6, nr. 5 (August 1960), p. 602. It is worth noting that this collection includes only one more MS with anti-Jewish content, the 16th-century (1595) MS *Holk. gr. 48*, which comprises the *Dialogue against the Jews* of Andronikos I Comnenos (ff. 261r-312r) ([https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_6172](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6172); cf. R. BARBOUR, Summary Description, p. 601).

Michael Lygizos. On the contrary, Pseudo-Athanasius' text has been copied almost in its entirety by the Cretan Georgios Agapetos in MS *Par. gr.* 2500 (ff. 226r-257r).<sup>50</sup>

Several Cretan manuscripts belonged to Markos Mamounas from Crete.<sup>51</sup> Among forty-nine manuscripts of his, spotted because of Mamounas' 'ex libris', we shall mention the 13th-century MS *Vindobon. Theol. gr.* 76,<sup>52</sup> which contains the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymios Zygabenos, and MS *Angel. gr.* 30. Although for the first MS there is no evidence for its Cretan provenance, the second is – for its greater part – an autograph of the 14th-century Cretan scholar Ioseph Philagrius.<sup>53</sup> The anti-Jewish content is spotted on ff. 321r-327r and bears the title *Κεφάλαια καιριώτατα κατὰ Ἑβραίων ἕκ τε τῶν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγων καὶ λοιπῶν πατέρων*. As Papazoglou has already observed, such a text mostly consists of 'excerpts' traced into the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Zygabenos.<sup>54</sup> One more manuscript should be counted, once included to Mamounas' collection, but later left out of it; this is the 15th-century MS *Vindobon. Theol. gr.* 243, which comprises a short text against the Jews entitled *Λόγος καὶ προφητεῖαι κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* (ff. 130r-136v), and its Cretan provenance has already been demonstrated by Rudolf Stefec in 2013.<sup>55</sup> Such a text which falls under

50. On him, see P. CANART, Un manuscrit byzantine au monogramme d'un Agapetos, in *Scriptorium*, 63 (2009), pp. 220-230 and DESPOTAKIS, *John Plousiadenos*, p. 24, n. 126. For a detailed description of the MS, see <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1031238>.

51. Forty-one manuscripts have been listed by A. CATALDI PALAU, La biblioteca di Marco Mamuna, in G. CAVALLO – G. DE GREGORIO – M. MANIACI (eds), *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio (Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia)*, 5, vol. 2, Spoleto 1991, pp. 521-576.

52. *Ibidem*, p. 575; H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Teil 3/1. Codices Theologici 1-100) (Museum)*, Wien 1976, pp. 136-137.

53. For him and especially for this manuscript, see G. K. PAPAZOGLOU, *Ἰωσήφ Φιλάρχης ἢ Φιλάριος. Ἐνας λόγιος κρητικός ἱερωμένος καὶ ἀριστοτελικὸς σχολιαστὴς τοῦ 14<sup>ου</sup> αἰῶνα (Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Βενετοκρατίας στὴν Κρήτη)*, Komotini 2008.

54. *Ibidem*, p. 177. A very similar title also appears into Zygabenos' text referring to some crucial chapters of John Chrysostom against the Jews: *Ἐτι κατὰ Ἑβραίων, τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου κεφάλαια καιριώτατα ἐπιλεγέντα ἕκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς περιεχοῦσης τοῦς κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους αὐτοῦ* (PG 130, col. 276C).

55. Such a MS was mentioned by Bick as a part of Mamounas' library. Mamounas'

anonymity, is nothing more than ‘excerpta’ from John Chrysostom’s treatise *Adversus Iudaeos Orationes* (I, IV-VII). Several manuscripts once possessed by Markos Mamounas made later part of the library of Georgios, Count of Corinth.<sup>56</sup> Another considerable part of manuscripts (seventeen) was once owned by the Cretan scholar and scribe Aristovoulos-Arsenios Apostoles,<sup>57</sup> son of the Constantinopolitan refugee in Crete, Michael Apostoles and uncle of Georgios. Arsenios’ collection made part of Georgios’ library as well but manuscripts with anti-Jewish content are absent.

The short list of manuscripts with anti-Jewish content continues with the 15th-century MS *Marc. gr.* II 54 (= 981), which bears a 16th-century (1532) dedicatory note indicating it as a part of the Cretan monastery of Angarathou.<sup>58</sup> On ff. 140r-143v the third homily of John Chrysostom

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ownership was later denied by Cataldi Palau while from the catalogue of Hunger-Hannick any mention to Mamounas’ ‘ex libris’ is missing (J. BICK, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften [Museion]*, Wien 1920, p. 109; CATALDI PALAU, *La biblioteca di Marco Mamuna*, p. 523, n. 12; H. HUNGER – Ch. HANNICK, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek [Teil 3/3. Codices Theologici 201-337] [Museion]*, Wien 1992, pp. 141-145). As demonstrated by Stefec, MS *Vindobon. Theol. gr.* 243 bears some annotations of the Cretan scholar Aristobulos Apostoles while the ‘ex libris’ placed in f. 139v (έτοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἔστιν τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀλητροῦ διδασκάλου, καὶ ἵνε πάνει ὀφέλιμον, καὶ οὐ [nec plura]) belong to the hand of Markos Mamounas (R. STEFEC, *Zu Handschriften aus dem Umkreis des Michael Apostoles in Beständen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, in *JÖB* 63 (2013), p. 233, n. 69).

56. D. PINGREE, *The Library of George, Count of Corinth*, in K. TREU (ed.), *Studia Codicologica (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 124)*, Berlin 1977, pp. 351-362.

57. On him, see E. DESPOTAKIS, *Nuovi materiali sulla carriera ecclesiastica di Aristobulo-Arsenio Apostolis*, in S. COSENTINO – M.-E. POMERO – G. VESPIGNANI (eds), *Dialoghi con Bisanzio. Spazi di discussione, percorsi di ricerca (Atti dell’VIII Congresso dell’Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Ravenna, 22-25 settembre 2015) (Fondazione Centro Italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo)*, Spoleto 2019, pp. 409-421, where previous bibliography is included.

58. ἀφλβ’ νοεμβρίῳ ιη’ αὕτη ἡ βίβλος ἀφιερῶθι εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν μου θεοτόκον τὴν ἐπονομαζομένην Ἀγκάραθο ἐξ ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος μοναχοῦ καὶ ἀμετανοήτου· καὶ ὁ βουληθεὶς ἐξῶσαι καὶ ἀποξενῶσαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγίας μονῆς ἐχέτω τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἱεροσύλων, ὁμοίως τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων (E. MIONI, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum. Codices in classes a prima usque ad quintam inclusi*, vol. 1 [pars altera], Roma 1972, p. 168-169).

*Adversus Iudaeos* is comprised while ff. 206r-216v enclose 'excerpta' from the *Questiones 136 ad Antiochum ducem*.<sup>59</sup>

One more MS of Cretan provenance which includes anti-Jewish texts is MS *Lond. Lambeth Palace 2794*.<sup>60</sup> On ff. 1r-2v and 316r-366r the authors of Lambeth Palace Library catalogue identified the hand of the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos while two more hands appear on ff. Ir-IVv (Hand C) and 3r-313r (Hand A). Notwithstanding, this latter hand (Hand A) seems to belong to the Cretan priest and scribe Manouel-Matthaios Trapezountios<sup>61</sup>. On ff. 272v-313r copied by Trapezountios we find some anonymous anti-Jewish works, mostly related to already known authors, such as the *Disputatio adversus Iudaeos* of Pseudo-Athanasius of Sinai and *Papisci et Philonis Iudaeorum cum monacho colloquium* (ff. 276r-292r). There is, however, a short text in dialogue form which does not relate to any other known work; this falls under the title *Διάλεξις κακομαχοῦντος Ἰουδαίου καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι εἰς ἄνθρωπον κατάδικον ἐλπίζομεν οἱ Χριστιανοί* (ff. 273r-276r).<sup>62</sup> As expected, the anonymous author mostly used biblical passages from Deuteronomy and Isaiah while other argumentation seems to have been drawn from the *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* of Gregory of Nyssa and the *Questiones ad Antiochum Ducem* of Pseudo-Athanasius.

In conclusion, we may observe that Venetian Crete of the 15th century did not constitute a field of Byzantine literary polemic against the Jews. The same applies to the other side, i.e. the Jews of Crete, whose intellectual written-activity never seemed to have turned against the Orthodoxies. At a parallel end of the argument concerning the absence of Crete from the Greek anti-Jewish manuscripts of the Vatican Library we find several

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59. As Elpidio Mioni already noticed, the collection of homilies comprised in MS *Marc. gr. II 54* (= 981) is identical to that enclosed to the 13th-century MS *Marc. gr. II 46* (= 1014) of Cretan provenance as well. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 151-155.

60. Ch. WRIGHT – M. ARGYROU – H. DENDRINOS, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscript Collection of Lambeth Palace Library*, London 2016, pp. 373-386.

61. On him, see the forthcoming study of E. DESPOTAKIS, *Greek Copyists and Sinaitic Manuscripts from Crete (Fifteenth Century). An Archival Perspective*, in B. DASKAS-M. DETORAKI (eds), *Book culture, erudition and scholarship in Venetian Crete (15th-16th c.)*, Berlin 2026.

62. See, Appendix, pp. 145-146.

Jewish manuscripts that were copied in Crete or once were in possession of the Jews of Crete.<sup>63</sup> As we saw above, anti-Jewish emotions were periodically expressed by Cretan authors, representatives of a modern Greek literature, as Stephanos Sachlikes, whose writings were not directly bound to a Byzantine theological tradition of anti-Jewish tendencies. The exception is constituted by just two local authors, Manouel Savios and Angelos Gregorios whose importance lies not so much in the gravity of their work from a theological point of view, but in their authenticity compared to their local contemporaries in dealing with anti-Jewish texts. On this purpose, the present study aims to present an 'editio princeps' of their so far unpublished anti-Jewish works, e.s. Manouel Savios' *Disputatio contra Iudaeos* and Angelos Gregorios' *Iudaeorum Quaestiones et Rationes*, and to contextualize the authors' activity within the late medieval intellectual landscape of Venetian Crete.

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63. B. RICHLER, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library (Studi e Testi, 438)*, Città del Vaticano 2008 (e.s. *Vat. Ebr.* 44, 54, 84, 105, 147, 149, 165, 171, 187, 195, 206, 211, 218, 225, 229, 247, 249, 250, 254, 257, 285, 303, 343, 344, 345, 349, 393, 413, 431, 530, 555, Barb. Or. 82).