

Nanetti, Andrea. 'The Jews in Modon and Coron during the first Venetian rule (1207-1500), with a focus on the second half of the fifteenth century'. In *Minorities in Colonial Settings: the Jews in the Hellenic Territories of Venice (1400-1800)*, Acts of the International Research Workshop (Tel Aviv, March 7-8, 2011). *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Special Issue, 27/2 (2012), expected Dec. 2012.

ABSTRACT¹. The maritime stations of Modon and Coron were conquered by the Ottomans in August 1500, after almost three centuries of Venetian government (1207-1500), during which they reached an extremely high level of economic development, never again to be achieved. The Venetian phase of their history provides scholars with a unique treasure of evidence for the study of Venetian colonial life, from both a historical and an archaeological point of view. The Venetian archival records (especially for the fifteenth century) and the journals of Western travellers to the Holy Land (during the last two decades of the century) are rich in information that illustrates the position of minorities in these urban settings where Jews played an important economic role.

*I odii grandi è in quella tera che alguno non se
voia ben l'uno l'altro/The hatred is so great in
that land, that no one loves others*
(Easter 1422. Cf. *Codice Morosini*, §64.984)

The two Greek port-towns of Modon and Coron (*Μεθώνη/Methōnē* and *Κορώνη/Korōnē* in Greek, *Modon* and *Coron* in Venetian Vernacular) were the two larger urban settlements fully fortified by the Venetian Republic in the Mediterranean before 1500 [See Plate 1. **Buondelmonti**]. They are placed at the southwestern corner of the Peloponnese, at the crossroad between the Ionian and Aegean Seas. Since the end of the nineteenth century the historiographical interest has progressively increased, and the consequent development of sources' heuristics has acknowledged them to be of strategic maritime importance at Mediterranean level: they are mentioned in all publications concerning Latin trade in the late medieval Eastern Mediterranean².

The highly strategic role played by Modon and Coron in Venetian seafaring – in addition to the stores crammed with merchandise and the port crowded with people coming from all over the Mediterranean – emphasized the common characteristic of the life of all ports, as already pointed out in 1934 by Nicolas Iorga³.

*Il y à une vie très intéressante, où se rencontrent toutes les races et se confondent toutes les influences
... on découvrira même une synthèse dans l'apparition d'un type humain qui tient en même temps de
l'Occident et de tous les Orients.*

¹ This essay is based on my paper given on March 7, 2011 at the International Seminar "Minorities in Colonial Settings: the Jews in the Hellenic Territories of Venice (1400-1800)" in the University of Tel Aviv (Tel Aviv, March 7-8, 2011). I wish to thank all the participants for their constructive collaboration, which helped me to improve the paper and to prepare it for publication.

² See MOMFERRATOS, *Μεθώνη και Κορώνη*; SOULIS, *Notes on venetian Modon*; HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*; ΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΣ, *Η ιστορία της Κορώνης*; ΚΩΤΣΙΡΗ, *Ιστορία της Μεθώνης*; ΛΙΤΣΑ, *Κορώνη*; NANETTI, *Βενετία και Πελοπόννησος*; NANETTI, *Atlas of Venetian Messenia*; NANETTI, *Modone e Corone*.

³ See IORGA, *Coron et de Modon*.

In an act of the Venetian Senate dated 30th March 1375, the two ports are designated by the title of *oculi capitales communis Venetiarum*. But the landing points were not utilized solely by the Venetians; indeed, on 7th September 1500 the Venetian government, notifying friendly powers the loss of Modon (10th August), called it in its dispatch «the principal receptacle and nest of all our galleys, ships, and vessels which set sail towards the Levant» (*receptaculo et nido precipuo de tute galie, nave, et navilii nostri che andavano in Levante*)⁴. Thus, besides Venetian officers and native Greek majority, Modon and Coron saw all sorts of Italians, Salvs, Albanians, Saracens (i.e. Muslims from the Mamluk Sultanate of Cairo), Turks, Gypsies (from Egypt)⁵, Spanish (Castilians, Catalans, Andalusians, Valencians, Navarrese, and Aragonese), French, Flemish, Germans, Portuguese, and young slaves, for the most part Tartarian, but also Russian, Circassian, Armenian, Greeks, Saracenic and Black⁶. Modon was far more cosmopolitan than Coron, because it was one of the main Venetian stations for the pilgrims' journeys to the Holy Land, whose late medieval monopoly was Venetian⁷. Last but not least, on the mainland, the internal political fragmentation of the Peloponnese (Venetian domains, Principality of Achaia, Despotate of Mistras, Ottoman possessions) favoured the movements of merchants and population⁸.

This complex social environment and the consequent extraordinary wealth of historical information offered by Modon and Coron – in archival documents, chronicles, travellers' journals and archaeological evidence for the most part still to be investigated – make them a key area for the study of the choices made by Venice in the pursuit of a good economic and ethnic relationship both among her domestic social groups (vertically and horizontally) and with foreign societies; Venice's most important goals being, constitutionally, the internal social peace and, geopolitically – as writes the Venetian diarist Antonio son of Marco Morosini – «to trade peacefully» (*far la marchadantia pacifichamente*)⁹.

In the long history of the first Venetian government of Modon and Coron (1207-1500), I have chosen the second half of the fifteenth century as especially relevant to the sources on the Jewish community. I did not consider the so-called Venetian Kingdom of the Morea (1684-1715), because – as far as I know – the very rich available sources had not been investigated yet, regarding the Jewish presence¹⁰.

For this period all evidence is Venetian, apart from the account of a Jewish traveller (yet sailing on a Venetian galley) and a Jewish chronicle (possibly based on Venetian sources). Therefore the documentation does not show the Jewish community from the inside (apart from the travel account), but by way of the political boundaries between the Latin Christian dominant and Jewish minority communities.

In 1463 the legitimate demarcation of these social borders was the subject of a petition forwarded by the Council of Ten (institutionally through the Doge and the *Signoria*) to Cardinal Bessarion, who was in Venice as legate *de latere*, in order to

⁴ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, I, 318-320 (ASVe, *Senato-Secreta*, Reg. XXXVIII, c. 64v).

⁵ The travellers' accounts provide evidence of Gypsies in Modon since 1483 (Breidenbach and Felix Faber: *Ziguener*) or, possibly, since Frescobaldi (1384: *Romiti*). See WINSTEDT, *The Gypsies of Modon*, and FRASER, *The Gypsies*.

⁶ Cf. *Documenta Veneta*, *passim*.

⁷ See FOLLIERI, *Santi di Metone*; EYANΓEΛΑΤΟΥ-NOTAPA, *Η Μεθώνη*; CARDINI, *Venezia e i Veneziani*; KÜLZER, *Peregrinatio Graeca; Byzance retrouvée*; CARDINI, *In Terrasanta*; NANETTI, *Atlas of Venetian Messenia*, § 1.5.

⁸ See David Jacoby in *Morea*.

⁹ Cf. *Codice Morosini*, §63.316. Starting from this basis, I reflected on three synoptic considerations, in sequence. They helped me to investigate the sources: JACOBY, *I Greci*, 67-68; MÖSCHTER, *Norme giuridiche*, 156-157; BOESCH GAJANO and LUZZATI, *Premessa*, 781.

¹⁰ It is a specialist historiographical field, that moved from the studies by Leopold von Ranke on the Kingdom of Venetian Morea (1684-1715) resumed in the late nineteenth century by Spyrido Lambros, for which see STOURAITI, *Colonial Mapping*, and NANETTI, *Modone e Corone*, § 1.8.

represent Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1458-1464) in preaching a crusade against the Ottoman Empire¹¹. The Council of Ten put to him the question of the possibility of recognizing the Jews' rights to live and work in the Venetian territories and the Christians' freedom to do business with them, without either government or citizens (*dominationem et celsitudinem tuam* [the Doge and the Signoria] ... *ac omnes et singulos rectores, comunitates, cives, universitates et officiales provinciarum, terrarum et locorum*) incurring the condemnation of the Church, the reversal of which required sending ambassadors to the Roman Curia to seek absolution and removal from excommunication, probably by paying a "tax"¹².

In the meantime, in that same 1463, Venice had accepted the invitation of Pius II and opened hostilities with the Ottoman Port, starting what would later be known as the first Venetian-Turkish War (1463-1479)¹³. In truth, the Republic of Saint Mark began to prepare for war as early as 1461, when, after the Ottoman conquest of Trabzon (the birthplace of Bessarion) in August 1461, the *Provveditori al sal* – the richest Venetian magistracy – decided to set aside a fund of 6,000 ducats a month in view of a war against the Turks¹⁴. Hostilities began after the Ottoman conquest of the Peloponnesian fortress of Argos (April 3, 1463) and of the Kingdom of Bosnia (May 1463). On 19th October an alliance was ratified between the Holy See, the Venetian Republic and the Duke of Burgundy.

Thus satisfied, Bessarion addressed a letter patent (a provision having the force of law) to the Doge Cristoforo Moro. The letter was dated – perhaps not by chance – December 18, 1463¹⁵, on the anniversary of his appointment as Cardinal of the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the consistory of 18th December 1439 by Pope Eugene IV (the Venetian Gabriele Condulmer, 1431-1447). The letter gave the Jews the right to "stay, live, converse and trade with them in peace and quiet" (*pacifice et quiete cum illis stare, vivere, conversari ac traficari*), and the Christians both the absolution of past excommunications and future immunity with reference to their dealings with the Jews.

This act of tolerance was theologically motivated by the hope of a conversion of the Jews. Bessarion wrote: "This is why, following in the footsteps of the Roman pontiffs, we allow the Jews to dwell among Christians, so that they can, if they want, quietly mend their ways, if instead they do not want, they shall not find any excuse for their persistence in front of the court" (*Hinc est, quod Romanorum pontificum vestigiis inherentes Iudeos inter Christianos habitare permittimus, ut si voluerint, possint aliquando commodo resipiscere; nolentes vero nullam valeant apud districtum iudicem sue pertinacie excusationem invenire*). From an economic stand point, the Cardinal stressed, quoting the Doge's petition, that the Jews carried out activities in the Venetian territories "to the great advantage of the same Venetians and their subjects and at lower expense" (*cum maximo ipsorum hominum et subditorum tuorum commodo ac pro minori dispendio*)¹⁶.

¹¹ See KOURNIAKOS, *Die Kreuzzugslegation Kardinal Bessarions*.

¹² Cf. *Interstizi*, 17.

¹³ Cf. GULLINO, *Le frontiere navali*, 62-79 (4. *Guerra decisiva contro i Turchi, 1463-1479*) with footnotes 66-91 at pp. 108-109; BABINGER, *Maometto*, 240-245; and, on the beginning of the war, LOPEZ, *Il principio della guerra nel 1463*.

¹⁴ Cf. GULLINO, *Le frontiere navali*, 62.

¹⁵ For the edition of the bull, see *Interstizi*, 17-27. For the force of law of this letter see the passage: *auctoritate qua fungimur apostolica et plenaria super hoc facultate suffulti* (p. 22).

¹⁶ Cf. the above-mentioned edition of the cardinal bull. As in LE GOFF, *L'argent*, ch. 2 [Italian translation *Lo sterco del diavolo*, 11-12]. The Church's reaction to the increase in business, even before the Crusades, from the early eleventh century had faced two basic themes, as express for example the works by Nordic monks, Alpert from the region of Utrecht and Ælfric instructor of the novices at the Abbey of Cernel in Dorset. Alpert in his *De diversitate temporum* (1021-1024) condemns the mercants of Tiel accused of various sins, among which the appropriation of pawns. Ælfric, in his *Colloquium* (ca. 1003), gives one of the first justifications of mercantile jobs, defined «useful to the King, the Lord, to rich/powerful, and to all people». Ælfric stresses that the merchant, taking the risks of navigation, sells his goods so far as the overseas lands, from where he comes back with with

On 22nd February 1464 the Council of Ten implemented the bull of the papal legate, and granted to Venetian territorial administrations the right to accept Jews, specifically mentioning their role of moneylenders (*pro banchis tenendis*)¹⁷. Venice had got what she wanted: e.g. negotiate pacts or *condotte* with Jewish bankers-moneylenders¹⁸. The decision cannot be considered as an obvious one, especially two years after the “invention” of the Mount of Piety (institutional pawnbroker run as a charity against usury) preached by the Franciscans and supported in Perugia by the governor of the city, the Venetian bishop of Verona Ermolao Barbaro (1462)¹⁹.

On 23th July 1489 the Council of Ten abrogated the 1464 law and sent the argument to the Senate, where the debate *pro Iudeis tenendis* continued with different interpretations of Bessarion’s letter and brought to the institution of the *Ghetto* in 1516²⁰.

In this setting, a letter copied out by the Venetian diarist Antonio son of Marco Morosini (which gives us the epigraph of this essay) acts as a bridge between Venice and Messenia and sheds light on the mentality and religious life of Modon and Coron in the early fifteenth century (i.e. after this Greek speaking district of the Roman *oikoumenē*, ruled first by Rome and then by Constantinople, had been governed by Venice for more than two centuries). The original letter had been written by the castellan of Modon [Andrea Barbaro]²¹ to inform his *Signoria* about a severe earthquake, that struck those territories in Easter 1422, and the processions made immediately after to ward off another one.

The processions and prayers are very big, both by Greeks and Latins, but especially Greeks, who do not sleep all night, going into the city and outside in the villages, shouting thus “Κύριε, ἐλέησον” (Κύριε, ἐλέησον/Lord, have mercy). The hatred is so great in that land, that no one loves others, and now they are all friends and forgiven and kiss on the mouth like brothers.

E ave semo le precesion e oracion xè grandissime, si d’i grexi chomo d’i latini, ma spizial menti i griexi, che tuta la note quei non dorme, andando per la tera e de fuora per i chaxali cigando cusì “Chiere leixon”. I odii grandi è in quella tera che alguno non se voia ben l’uno l’altro, e al prexente tuti son fati amixi e àse perdonado tuti e baxadose per la bocha chomo fradeli²².

The text offers the testimony of a rare moment, in which Greeks and Latins joined fraternally in a religious event. The castellan recounts how the great emotional strain of the natural calamity – felt like a punishment from God for the division among Christians – generated an element of communion, which momentarily put aside the strong social unrest of a religious nature that had been forming in the colonial milieu between the Greek and the Latin populations. In this context of evident social conflict, we can only wonder, given the absence of direct sources, if and how in Modon and Coron the late medieval anti-Semite tradition took root²³; that which, as Ariel Toaff would say, saw the Jew as Christ-killer, a monster capable of drinking the blood of

goods otherwise unavailable in Christendom. To the question if he sells at purchase price, the merchants give a negative answer: "What would I gain from my work? I sell products more expensive than I paid for them to make a profit and feed my wife and my children". Cf. LEBECQ, *Aelfric et Alpert*. Thus, here is envisaged the evidence adduced to justify the gains of moneylenders: the remuneration for work, the reward for a taken risk, the need to eat even for those who are not farmers.

¹⁷ Cf. the edition in *Interstizi*, 26. On Jews in Venice between 1200 and 1600 see JACOBY, *I Greci*, 67-79.

¹⁸ Moneylenders were the principal source to assure immediate payment. The borrower had to give to the lender the full property of pawns, which at the time of expiry had not been redeemed, without the need to sell the object by public auction and without the delivery to the original owner of the overlaps gained by the sale. See NARDELLO, *Il prestito ad usura a Vicenza*.

¹⁹ See TOAFF, *Jews, Franciscans*.

²⁰ See *Interstizi*, 19-20, 27.

²¹ The name of the castellan is an ipohesis, based on the list of the castellans of Modon published in *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 378-382, and on the other one published by FOUTAKIS, who use the manuscripts of the *Reggimenti* to make up for gaps in the records of the registers *Universi* in the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. It is the main source for the compilation of the lists of Venetian rectors, but it does not provide evidence for the period 1388-1437. See NANETTI, *Modone e Corone*, footnote 109.

²² Cf. the edition MOROSINI 2010, *op. cit.*, §64.984.

²³ See JACOBY, *Venice and the Venetian Jews*.

Christian children²⁴; that which in 1468 led the Observant Franciscan friar Fortunato Coppoli da Perugia to say that the Jews "were truly wild and thirsty dogs, who have sucked and go sucking our blood, and who devour poor Christians [through lending] as rust devours iron"²⁵.

Heuristics of the sources for the study of the Jews in Modon and Coron (1334-1500)

To understand the focus on the second half of the fifteenth century, a preliminary panorama of all the sources concerning the Jews in Modon and Coron under Venetian rule is needed. Stephen B. Luce (1938) and George C. Soulis (1958) analyzed most of the evidence on Modon provided by the journals of the Western pilgrims to the Holy Land²⁶, which inform us of a Jewish community in Modon in the last two decades of the fifteenth century.

The image of the Jewish community and the information on its activities, as perceived by pilgrims, is confirmed and enriched by the archival evidence, which provides evidence of the Jewish presence in Modon and Coron starting in 1334²⁷. Even if Joshua Starr (1949) was the first scholar to focus on the Jewish community of Modon, it was Christine A. Hodgetts to provide a deeper analysis of the sources for both Modon and Coron (1974); she took advantage of the work published in 1971 by Andrew Sharf on Byzantine Jewry up to 1204, to which she added the information available in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Venetian public archival documents (*Maggior Consiglio*, *Cancellaria Secreta*, *Senato Misti*, *Senato Mar*, and *Statuta*), as published by Riccardo Predelli, Hippolyte Noiret, Konstantinos N. Sathas and Freddy Thiriet between 1876 and 1971²⁸.

One of the most, if not *the* most, valuable archival source for the study of Jews in Modon and Coron is the compilation of laws known as "Statutes of Coron and Modon" (1337-1487). This was compiled in the Chancery of Modon in about 1440, referring to the legislative sources in force preserved in the archives, followed by later additions up to 1487. The *Communis Venetiarum* exerted control over many aspects of life in the cities, and though Venetian laws generally applied to the colonies, the castellans were active in issuing regulations to govern the conduct of the population. These ranged from the prevention of public disorder, maintaining the security of the cities, and giving legal sanctions to the rules of the Church²⁹.

²⁴ See the controversial TOAFF, *Pasque di sangue*. For the increasing anti-Semitic attitude of Venice in the fifteenth century, see the contribution by Renata Segre to this publication.

²⁵ Cfr. STOW, *Jewish Dogs*, 28, and *The Friars and the Jews*.

²⁶ See LUCE, *Modon*, and SOULIS, *Notes on Venetian Modon*.

²⁷ See *Documenta Veneta Coroni & Methoni*.

²⁸ See STARR, *Romania*, 64, 66-67; SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry*; and HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 360-363, that uses, with some incomprehensions, the following editions of Venetian sources: *I Libri commemoriali*; NOIRET, *Documents*; *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*; THIRIET, *Régestes*; THIRIET, *Délibérations*. MAJOR, *Etrangers et minorités ethniques*, 365-371, 374-377, 380-381, has the merit to have overviewed all those that he calls "ethnic minorities" in Venetian ruled Messenia, but his frequent misinterpretation of the sources affects his conclusions. The need of substantial corrections, at least for what I have verified referring to the Jews, reinforced my choice to provide passages of the traveller's accounts translated into English and articles of the Venetian public resolutions as published by Sathas emending them on the original manuscripts; instead of quoting in detail the differences between my and Major's interpretations of the same sources. BOWMAN, *The Jews in Greece*, deals slightly only with the twentieth century, and does not mention Modon and Coron. This synoptic bibliographic review can end with David Jacoby's most recent studies on the Jews in Latin *Romania*. He uses all published archival sources referring to the Jewish presence in Venetian Modon and Coron up to mid-fifteenth century: see JACOBY, *The Jews in Byzantium*; JACOBY, *Jews and Christians in Venetian Crete*; and JACOBY, *The Jews in the Byzantine Economy*.

²⁹ The manuscript of the *Statutes*, published in *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, vol. IV, 1-186, is in Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, Ms. It. II, 40 (4866). The main source of this codex is probably the lost *quaternus* of the castellans' resolutions, compiled by the local chancery. See the edition of the only relic of the lost series for Crete: *Duca di Candia - Quaternus Consiliorum*. For Modon and Coron there is no evidence of Jewish Statutes comparable to the ones of Candia (*Taqqānōt Qandyā*) compiled by Elias Capsali (up to mid-sixteenth century) and his continuators, which contains the regulations that shaped the life of this Jewish community from 1228 to 1574; see the edition of the Hebrew codex *Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae*,

In any way, the real effectiveness of juridical sources, taken alone, is always uncertain. Let us just think at the papal legislation, which prevented the Jews from travelling on Venetian ships. It has always been unattended since the tenth century³⁰. Again, on 4 June 1429 the Senate of Venice sent a communication to all Venetian governors in *Romania* to inform them of the papal bull, which prevented the captains of ships to embark Jews, or their goods, for bringing them to the lands of Cairo's Sultan, because some Palestine Jews withdraw the ornaments of David's chapel from the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion (established between 1335 and 1337) for their own cult³¹.

Cultural life in fifteenth century Modon and Coron is a very interesting field not studied yet. For the fifteenth century there is evidence of Latin, Greek, and Jewish intellectuals and manuscripts. Agamemnon Tselikas (1984) traced professional Greek copyists in Modon (1430-1493) and in Coron (1439-1500), who copied ancient Greek and Christian texts. Francesca Bertolo (2002) studied the schoolteacher Giovanni Mosco (Constantinople 1425-Corfù post 1498), who directed the school of Mystras (1453-1460) and lived then in Coron (1460-1485) and Corfù (1485-1498), where he copied classical Greek authors for teaching purposes. The chancellor of Modon from 1434 to 1458 was the famous Venetian humanist Sebastiano Borsa, whose essential biography has been provided by Elisabetta Barile (1994)³².

Nurit Pasternak and Giacomo Corazzol informed me on Hebrew copyists. The earliest testimony consists in just a colophon (the manuscript is lost) dated Modon 1404 by the physician Shem Tov son of Yaaqov of Toledo³³. Other Hebrew manuscripts attest the same copyist in Negroponte (1401), Thessaloniki (1403), and later in Thebes and Philippopolis (1412)³⁴. In 1498 Modon³⁵, Shalom son of Shelomoh called Yerushalmi ended the copy of the tables of eclipses from the *Calendarium* composed by the Bavarian mathematician Johann Königsberger (Latinized *Johannes Regiomontanus*, 1436-1476) and first published in Venice in 1485. This *Calendarium* provides position of sun and moon for the period 1475-1531 including precise time regulation tables. It became an indispensable tool for the sailors of the time for its computational reliability³⁶.

These are the years of Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), who in his early twenties – with a flurry of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic philosophical and linguistic

and the contributors to this publication by Aleida Paudice and Rena Lauer, who, during the International Seminar (Tel Aviv, 7-8 March, 2011) announced that they are going to translate the Hebrew text into English.

³⁰ Cf. David Jacoby's discussion in ASHTOR, *Gli Ebrei*, 477.

³¹ Cf. NOIRET, *Documents*, 329 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 57, f. 111v) and the French summary in THIRIET, *Régestes*, 261 (nr. 2142). See bibliography between VERNET, *Le pape Martin V*, and STOW, *Papal Mendicants*.

³² See ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ, *Μεθόνη και Κορώνη*; BERTOLO, *Giovanni di Corone*; and BARILE, *Littera antiqua*. An ownership note, on folio 2 verso of the codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 1504 (discourses by Saint John Chrysostom), testimonies that the manuscript was used by the castellan of Coron: + *αυθ(έντρα) μου / M(agnifi)co et generoso d(omi)no Luberto dj Piroli, djnjssimo chasselano Chorons. / Spett(a)belj ett generoso *** ***. Cf. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticanae* ..., 40.

³³ Cf. Munich, *Bay. Staatsbibliothek*, Cod. Heb. 119, of which only one folio is extant, the one with the colophon stating that «Shem Tov (the physician) son of Yaaqov of Toledo wrote the text for his own use in Modon, which is located by the sea [and ended the writing] on 7th November 1404». See *Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican Library*. I thank Nurit Pasternak for the information and the translation. See also *Sfar-Data*, the codicological database of the Hebrew Palaeography Project, Jerusalem.

³⁴ See *Manuscrits médiévaux en caracteres hébraïques*.

³⁵ Cf. Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. Ebr. 379 (mostly dealing with astronomy), which – as stated in the colophons – was compiled by Shalom ben Shelomoh ben Se'adyah ben Zekaryah ben Hiyya ben Ya'aquov called Yerushalmi: f. 61r (1483 with no place name), f. 70v (... in Old Patras), f. 74r (1486, Palermo), f. 75v («Here they are the tables that I, Shalom Yerushalmi, copied from the *Calendar* by *Johannes Regiomontanus*, on the New Year's day of 5259 [i.e. 1498] here in Modon»), f. 163v (1484, in Syracuse). See the *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, 323 (the Index mentions Syracuse omitting Modon and Patras among the place names). I thank Giacomo Corazzol for the information and Mauro Perani for the translation (cf. PERANI, *I manoscritti ebraici*).

³⁶ On the author see BUES, *Johannes Regiomontanus*, and METZ, *Regiomontanus*. His work, digitalized, is available on the website of The National Library of Israel.

insight – received in his Florentine residence the quarrelsome Jewish-Christian symposium, and conceived his 900 theses of the *Conclusiones philosophicae, cabalisticæ et theologicae*, "the great work, which brought together the knowledge of philosophy, Christian theology and Jewish wisdom, ransacking the culture of the time"³⁷.

That is all about cultural life. Therefore, I will forcibly limit my observations to the economic side of Jewish life in Modon and Coron, adding some considerations of a religious nature but at the same time strictly connected to economic and financial issues, because of the nature of the available sources.

The Zudecha of Modon according to the traveller's accounts (1480-1500)

The evidence on Modon provided by the travellers can be viewed against a unique and surprisingly accurate backdrop, the engraving of a panorama of Modon [See **Plate 2. Breydenbach**] published as an illustration of the *Opusculum sanctarum peregrinationum ad sepulcrum Christi venerandum* by canon Bernhard von Breydenbach, dean and chamberlain of the diocese of Mainz, whose first Latin edition was printed in Mainz in 1486. This view is based on first-hand drawings made by the painter Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, whom Bernhard von Breydenbach took along on his pilgrimage of 1483-1484 for the explicit purposes of having his *Peregrinationes* illustrated³⁸.

An anonymous French pilgrim, who called there between 14th and 16th July 1480, makes the earliest mention of Jews in Venetian Modon, referring only to the poorest, who lived outside the town walls, together with other minorities, both Christians (Orthodox and Catholic?) and Muslims (Mameluks and/or Gypsies?)³⁹.

And outside the city, there are a great many poorly built houses, and they are nothing but poor stalls full of poor people, who are like savages, black like half Moors, and they are ugly people, almost completely naked, who have long beards and long hair and are Christians, Jews and Saracens together.

Et hors la ville, y a grande quantité de maisons moult meschantes, et ne sont que povres logettes plaines de povres gens qui sont comme sauvaiges, noirs comme demy mores, et sont laides gens, presque tous nudz, qui ont grandes barbes et longz cheveux et sont chretiens, juifz et sarrazins ensemble.

The *Travel to Israel (Massa' be-Eres Yis'ra'el)* by the Tuscan Jew Meshullam son of Menahem of Volterra – who, during his return journey, stayed in Modon from 24th to 26th September 1481 – is the first to reveal a community of some 300 Jewish families, who lived inside the walls of the bourg⁴⁰. The bourg of Modon in 1402 had no walls and was protected only by a moat⁴¹. On 23th December 1410 the Senate ordered its fortification⁴². In 1414 the building of stonewalls proceeded and in 1434 the work was already accomplished⁴³. In 1497 the Venetians were still working to the northern ditch and to further fortifications (see *infra* Arnold von Harff).

³⁷ Cf. BUSI, *La cabbala umanistica di Pico*, 567; BORGHESI, *Pico Project*; and BORGHESI, *Conclusiones*.

³⁸ See NANETTI, *Atlas of Venetian Messenia*, §3.3; and FABRI, *Evagatorium*, I, 329).

³⁹ Cf. *Le Voyage de la Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem*, 46-47. The first edition was published in 1517.

⁴⁰ Cf. the Italian translation based on the edition of the Hebrew text by YAARI, *Massah Meshullam*, in MEŠULLAM, *Viaggio*, 90-92. The English translation in *Jewish Travellers*, 202-204, is penalized by the many mistakes of the 1882 edition by Luncz. Both editions are based on the autograph manuscript preserved in Florence, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Plut. 44, caps. 11. David Jacoby commented Meshullam of Volterra's Pilgrimage about the estimate of 600 households for the largest Jewry in Crete as clearly too high, given the small area of the Jewish quarter in Candia, even if the existence of three-storied houses is taken into account (cf. JACOBY, *Jews and Christians*, 254).

⁴¹ Cf. *Statutes*, 96.

⁴² Cf. ASVe, *Senato-Secreta*, Reg. 48 (1408-1410), c. 200, in *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, II, pp. 256-257.

⁴³ Cf. *Statutes*, 123 and 96, respectively.

Their district was called *Zudecha*⁴⁴ in two ordinances, dated 1437 and 1445, both preserved in the Statutes⁴⁵. There the Jews seemed to be well off and wealthy, at least the ones having crafts and/or a commercial activity on the main street of the quarter.

On the evening of Tuesday 24th [September 1481] ... we arrived at Modon. Modon is a small town, situated on a beach and lapped by the sea on the left side. It has a well-defended fortress and a bourg, which lies outside the gate, at the side of the fortress; three hundred Jewish families live there, all employed in industry and commerce. They honoured me in their homes, particularly Rabbi Avraham Cohen, the son of Rabbi Matatyah Kohen Sadeq, Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Matathias, Rabbi Zachariah – may God preserve them – sons of the mentioned Rabbi Avraham, all very honored. In the city there are also other honored Jews, Rabbi Natan and his sons and many others whose names I could not know.

La sera di martedì 24 [settembre 1481] ... arrivammo a Modon. Modon è una piccola città, posta su una spiaggia e lambita dal mare della parte sinistra. Ha una fortezza ben munita e un borgo, che sorge fuori dalla porta, a lato della fortezza; vi dimorano trecento famiglie di ebrei, tutti occupati nei settori dell'artigianato e del commercio. Essi mi onorarono nelle loro case, specialmente rabbi Avraham Kohen, figlio di rabbi Matatyah Kohen Sadeq, rabbi Eli'ezer, rabbi Matatyah, rabbi Zekaryah, che Iddio li conservi, figli del detto rabbi Avraham, tutti molto onorati. In città ci sono anche altri ebrei onorati, rabbi Natan e i suoi figli e molti altri di cui non ho potuto sapere i nomi.

This same account also documents the author's moneylending activity practiced on the galley.

Thursday, 26th September 5242 [i.e. 1481] we left Modon and boarded a *skiff* to get to our ship. We were three men, two Gentiles and I. The *skiff* was small and the two youths transporting us rowed one against the other, so that the *skiff* overturned and we all fell into the water. The Lord willed that my left hand already clutched the ladder of the *galley*, so I was immersed in water but my life was not threatened; the others fell into the waves of the sea, but they came up again because they could swim. When I wished to clasp the ladder of the *galley* with my right hand, it happened to me that slipped from my hand a ring with a really very beautiful *cameo* that I had on my thumb, which had been pledged with me for six *ducats* by *Messer Piero*, the interpreter on the *galley*; the ring fell into the sea, and I was obliged to pay twenty *ducats* for it, as is explained in the decision in my hand, which was given by three *arbitrators* that we appointed by mutual agreement. I was also in danger of death, blessed be He that saveth and delivereth!

Giovedì 26 settembre 5242 [1481] lasciammo Modon e ci imbarcammo su uno *schifo* per raggiungere la nostra nave. Eravamo in tre, io e due *goyim*. Lo *schifo* era piccolo e i due giovani che ci trasportavano davano di *remo* uno contro l'altro, di modo che lo *schifo* si rovesciò e cademmo tutti in acqua. Il Signore volle che avessi potuto afferrare con la mano sinistra la scala della *galea*, cosicché ero immerso in acqua ma non in pericolo di vita; gli altri caddero nei flutti del mare, ma ne uscirono fuori perché erano capaci di nuotare. Quando volli afferrare con la mano destra la scala della *galea*, accadde che mi si sfilasse dalla mano un anello con un *cammeo* veramente bellissimo che avevo al mio dito pollice e che mi era stato dato in pegno per sei *ducats* da *messer Piero*, l'interprete della *galea*; l'anello cadde in mare, e fui costretto a pagarlo venti *ducats*, com'è spiegato nella sentenza che ho con me e che hanno emesso tre *albitri* che chiamammo di comune accordo. Io misi anche a repentaglio la mia vita, benedetto sia Colui che salva e libera!

The best-known traveller's account about Modon is the journey to the Holy Land by Pietro Casola, canon of the metropolitan church of Milan. In his journal entry for 26th June 1494 he provides information on both the above-mentioned social groups of Modon's Jewish community⁴⁶.

There is a large walled bourg. It seems to me that the greater part of the silk industry is carried on in

Ha un borgo asai grande, e pur murato. A me pare che in dicto borgo sia el più forte de li lavoreri de

⁴⁴ See CALABI, *The Jews*.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Statutes*, 159 (1437, 9 February), 169 (1445, 30 March, with the wrong transcription *a la zudeicha*, instead of *Zudecha*; cf. ms., f. 91v).

⁴⁶ Cf. LAMBERTENGI, *Viaggio di Pietro Casola*, 37. For the English translation see NEWETT, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 192.

the said bourg; certainly many Jews, both men and women, live there, who work in silk. They are very dirty people in every way and full of very bad smells. Their society did not please me; I speak, however, of those outside the city.

seda, o vero ch'el sii perché li habitano de molti Judei homini e femine che lavorano de seda: sono in tuto sporcha gente, e pieni de grandi fetori: a me non piace la loro conversatione; parlando tutavia de quelli de fora.

Another important, albeit less-known journal, is by the knight Arnold von Harff of Köln, who called in Modon in 1497⁴⁷, and provides a detailed list of silk products sold by the Jews.

On the land side it has three suburbs with three walls and three ditches hewn out of the natural rock, on which they are building daily ... We went further beyond the gate into the first suburb in which there is a very long street inhabited solely by Jews, whose women make precious silk products, such as belts, caps, veils and scarves, that I bought from them.

As sij hait zo dem lande drij vurstede mit dryn muren ind dryn grauen vss edelichen fijtzen gehauwen, dar zoe sij noch degelijchs daer an bouweden ... Item voert gyngen wir buyssen die portz an die eirste vurstat, dae inne steyt eyn lange straesse, dae ijdeliche joeden in wonen dae yer vrauwen gar koestlich werck van sijden maichem, as gurdelen huuen sleuwer ind faciolen, der ich etzliche van inne keuffte.

The veils (*Sleuwer* in the source, *Schleier* in Modern German) provide the only available reference that might allow us to date the silk industry and the Jewish presence in Modon prior to the Fourth Crusade. Indeed a document of dowry, drawn up in Rialto in March 1145, in a context of luxury fabrics and clothes from Thebes, mentions also "four veils of Modon" (*quatuor orales de Modones*)⁴⁸.

Maybe related to travellers' accounts is also the information on the Jews who were "killed in battle" in Modon at the time of the Ottoman conquest (10th August 1500⁴⁹), as provided by the Jew of Crete Elia Capsali (Candia ca. 1485/90-post 1550) in his Chronicle/Diary of the Ottoman Empire with title *Seder Eliyyahu Zuta*⁵⁰.

So the Turks conquered the city, raging on the Venetian with such fury that had never been seen in all the earth nor among any of the nations (Ex. 34:10): the same light galleys that entered the city were hit by a thunder clap and tongues of devouring fire (Isaiah 29:6), and their crews were put to the sword. Even many Jews – all those who remained in town – were killed in battle: in that town there was, in fact, a *congregation* (Josh. 6:20), most of whose members perished in the flames (Ps. 73:19), because the hand of the Lord fell on them (Job 19:21).

Dunque i turchi espugnarono la città, inferendo sui veneziani con un accanimento quale non mai si era visto in altra terra o tra altra gente (Es. 34,10): le stesse galere sottili che erano entrate in città furono investite da un rombo di tuono e da lingue di fuoco divoratore (Is. 29,6), e i loro equipaggi furono passati a fil di spada. Anche molti ebrei – tutti quelli che erano rimasti in città – rimasero uccisi nella battaglia: in quella città vi era, infatti, un *qahal* (Gs. 6,20), i membri del quale perirono per la maggior parte tra le fiamme (Sl. 73,19), ché su di loro si abbatté la mano del Signore (Gb. 19,21)⁵¹.

It is interesting to note that, according to Capsali, part of the Jews had already left before the Ottoman conquest, but he does not add anything about why they left and where they relocated. In the setting of the constant phenomenon of Jewish mobility, many conjectures might be made, between two opposite guesses. They might have feared the Ottoman danger, and thus moved westwards to Venice or to one of the Venetian Ionian Islands with a Jewish community. Or, they moved to the Ottoman Empire, as did part of the Jews of Negroponte around 1450. In any way Venice did

⁴⁷ Cf. *Die Pilgerfahrt*, 66-68; and *The pilgrimage*, 81.

⁴⁸ Cf. ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, II, 405-406 (doc. I), which published a copy of the document that is in Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, Ms. It. VII, 551 (7281), p. 117.

⁴⁹ For the date see MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA and TIEPOLO, *Cronologia veneziana*, 366 (10th August 1500).

⁵⁰ Cf. CAPSALI, *Seder Eliyyahu Zuta*.

⁵¹ Cf. CORAZZOL, *Le guerre di Venezia*, 471.

not issue any decree of expulsion of non-native Jews from Modon, as it will happen in Famagusta two years before the war that will lead to the Ottoman conquest of 1571⁵².

To conclude this outline of the Jewish presence in Modon as provided by travellers' accounts, one might guesstimate that a similar situation would have been found in Coron if the pilgrims had called there too. The sole evidence seems to be offered by just a name (Mandachia in 1348 is tenant of a *domus* in Coron) and by a partially preserved act drawn up in Coron on 9th August 1368, where "the Jew Elia son of the former [...] of Candia now resident in the bourg of Coron" (*Ellias Iudeus condam [...] Iudei de Candida nunc habitator burgi Coroni*)⁵³.

*The evidence of Jews' main economic activities in Modon and Coron: silk industry (1328-1497), tanneries (1357-1487) and moneylending (1334-1434)*⁵⁴

Two of the above-mentioned travellers (Casola in 1494 and von Harff in 1497) remarked that the Jewish community of Modon was involved in production of silk good (Casola in 1494 and von Harff in 1497). When a local silk industry began is not clear, but it is a craft, which had generally been associated with the Jews for centuries, first in the Byzantine Empire and later in Latin Romania⁵⁵. In Modon – if one does not want to take into account the previously quoted «veils of Modon» in 1145 – the first evidence dates back to 1242, and comes from an unpublished Venetian document⁵⁶. In Coron it dates to 1289-1290⁵⁷. Later, the fourteenth century mercantile manuscripts known as *Zibaldone da Canal* refers to Clarentza and Coron as equally important for exporting silk from the Peloponnese to Venice⁵⁸. But it does not mean that the two town-ports had the major silk industries of the country. As argued by Christine Hodgetts «it was naturally in the interests of Venice to encourage the transportation of silk overland to join the galley convoys at Coron and Modon, and silk, together with *grana*, was referred to as one of the principal products which went along the land routes often in the hands of peasants, to the Venetian cities. Apart from the Peloponnese, Crete also supplied silk to the market of Coron, at least in the thirteenth century»⁵⁹. The silk trade from Modon and Coron to Venice is well described in an ordinance dated 29th May 1409⁶⁰, by which the castellans followed the content of a letter received by the *Dogal Signoria*, that complained of fraud, for «*vien comesso grande falsitade et malicie in le sede in metando fero, piombo et strusii in*

⁵² See the contribution by Benjamin Arbel in this publication.

⁵³ Cf. *Documenta Veneta*, I/2, doc. 6.77, and I/3, doc. 11.1.

⁵⁴ See ASHTOR, *The Jews in the Fifteenth Century*; ASHTOR, *Gli Ebrei*; ASHTOR, *The Jews in the Later Middle Ages*.

⁵⁵ Cf. JACOBY, *The Jews and the Silk industry*; CHRYSOS, *The Jews and other minorities*; and the recent *Jews in Byzantium*.

⁵⁶ Cf. ASVe, *S. Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello*, b. 3 (pergg. 1235-1275), perg. 45 (mm. 117x254, good preservation state, note on the reverse «ducha Da(n)dolo»), dated Rivoalto, 15 November 1242, with autograph subscriptions. Summary: *Ugerio abate del monastero di S. Nicolò del Lido fa quietanza a Marco Fermo dalla contrada di S. Basilio, al tempo castellano di Modone, per aver ricevuto in suo nome da Marino dalla Torre 32 libbre e 3 once di seta, in cui erano stati investiti dallo stesso Marco Fermo i 40 iperperi ricevuti dal castellano di Corone a cui erano giunti a sua volta da Costantinopoli per l'abate. – Edition: † In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo secundo, mensis novembris [die] XV, indictione prima, Rivoalti. Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatis facimus nos, Ugerius abbas monasterii Sancti Nicolai de Littore cum nostris successoribus, tibi namque Marco Firmo de confinio Sancti Basilii castellano Motoni et tuis heredibus de illis yperperis quadraginta, quos recepisti a castellano Coroni, que fuerunt nobis misi de Constantinopoli et ea yperpera suprascripta investita in seta, que est libras triginta duas et uncias tres, et dicta seta duxit Marinus dala Torre. Nunc autem quia dicta seta cum omni integritate habemus, a modo inde securus et quietus permanes in perpetuum, quia nichil inde remansit unde te amplius requirere aut compellere valeat per ullum ingenium. Si igitur contra hanc securitatis cartam ire temptaverimus, tunc emendare debeamus cum nostris successoribus tibi et tuis heredibus auri libras quinque et hec securitatis carta in sua firmitate permaneat. Signum suprascripti domini Ugerii abbatis, qui hec rogavit fieri. / + Ego ***. / + Ego Vitale Mastrorso testis subscripsi. / + Ego Turianus de Conse testis subscripsi. / Signum Tabellionis. Ego Phylipus de Arimino Sancti Iohannis de Rivoalto plebanus, notarius, complevi et roboravi.*

⁵⁷ Cf. LOMBARDO, *Pasquale Longo*, 9, 32; and PARMEGGIANI, *The people of Corone*.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Zibaldone da Canal*, 58 (c. 35v, 15-18).

⁵⁹ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 423, based on HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II, 670, 674.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 108-109 (emended on the base of the original manuscript, f. 59).

quelle, et bagnandole cum aqua salsa o maliciando cum diversi muodi, et metando spago plui de lo raxionevole». But, in the text there is no mention of Jews.

Con çò ssia cossa che nuovamente li signori castellani habia ricevudo letera da la nostra Dogal Signoria. Per la qual, la dita Signoria scrive a li diti signori chastellani che vien comesso grande falsitade et malicie in le sede, in metando fero piombo et strusii in quelle, et bagnandole con aqua salsa, o maliciando cum diversi muodi, et metando spago plui de lo raxionevele. Et che però la dita Signoria comanda a li diti signori chastellani che 'li debia proveder sovra de çò. Unde voiando li egregii et potenti signori missier Andrasio Iustinian et missier Anthuonio da le Bochole, honoradi castellani al presente de Coron et de Modon, mandar ad exsechution lo dito comandamento de la Signoria et proveder sovra de çò in quanto a lor sia possibelle; manda comandando et faxe publicamente proclamar che cadauna persona, de che condition vuol esser sia, in man de la qual serà trovado alcuna seda, in la qual sia comesso alguna falsitade o malicia, chaça a pena de XXV per C del valor della dicta seda...

Anchor, a çò che 'l se possa meio invegnir in la veritade de la dicta seda, che chadaum missita et pesador sia tegnudi de far a ssaver a li diti signori chastellani, inmediate avanti che la dicta seda sia desligada, la quantitate de la seda, de la qual elli serà stadi misseti, ch'i vorà pexar, et manifestar eciandio, sì al comprador como al vendedor, in quello histante 'sser che 'li averà fato lo mercado, in pena de per yperperi cento per cadaum et per chadauna fiada, et de esser privado dello hoffitio per X anni continui inmediate sequente. E per lo simele lo vendedor et comprador sia ascende infra lo dicto termene de manifestralo a missier lo castellan et dir la quamtitade in caso che lo haveisse facto el mercado sença missita sotto la pena de yperperi cento per cadaum et per cadauna fiada...

A presso, a zò che lla intencion della Signoria cum efeto sia adimplida, li predicti signori castellani faxe assaver che 'l'è deputadi alcuni che die andar cerchando sovra de çò, et sì li è stado dado libertade de poder cerchar magaçeni, volte, sachi, chasse, navilii et d'altro dove li plaserà...

"Silk was probably widely produced in small quantities by peasants who had a few mulberry trees in their gardens or orchards. Obviously the small area of Modon and Coron was unlikely to produce all the silk, which was sold there, but at least in the *casale* of Monista in the territory of Coron in 1328, the peasants found this an important source of revenue. The majority of the complains made in their petition against the malefactions of the chancellor of Coron refer to his enforced purchasing silk cocoons (*folleselli*) from them at unfair prices, for the silk was then sold by the chancellor to the merchants in the cities and the market price was up to twice that which they received"⁶¹.

An even larger number of Jews seem to have been tanners, an occupation whose smell and dirt made them disliked in the many areas where they pursued it⁶². In fact, tanning had long been a pursuit of the Jews in Byzantine areas, and their participation in this unpleasant industry in Chonae and Constantinople may have been a contributory factor in their segregation and bad relations with the Christians in these cities, compared with their normally favourable situation elsewhere in Byzantium, as pointed out by Andrew Sharf (1971)⁶³.

Tanneries seem to have been a very important industry for the economy of Venetian Modon. The activity of Jewish and Christian tanners there is documented since the mid-fourteenth century⁶⁴. In Candia on 26th and 28th April 1357⁶⁵ Moses son of David from Coron and another Jew, both residents of Candia, shipped skins to Coron and promised to pay for them after their return from that city. The former resident of

⁶¹ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 422-423, which uses ASVe, *Commemoriali*, reg. III, ff. 40r, 44v, 45, for which see the partial summaries in *I libri commemoriali*, II, doc. 152-153 (1328, reg. III, f. 40 and f. 44v).

⁶² Cf. JACOBY, *The Jews in Byzantium*, and the bibliography there cited.

⁶³ Cf. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry*, 152-154.

⁶⁴ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 429-437; and JACOBY, *The Jews in Byzantium*, 35.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Zaccaria de Fredo*, doc. 104, and 120, which relates to the same journey.

Coron must have been acquainted with local Jewish tanners there and assumed that tanning would be cheaper than in Candia, as argued by David Jacoby⁶⁶. The same evidence seems to be offered by a partially preserved act drawn up in Coron on 9th August 1368⁶⁷, where *Ellias Iudeus condam [...] Iudei de Candida nunc habitator burgi Coroni* encharges an attorney to sue a sum of money to another [Jewish?] resident of Candia.

Another document ties the Jewish community of Candia to that of Modon and Clarentza. In Modon on 24th-25th August 1372⁶⁸ *Anna olim filia magistri Heliachi medici Iudei de Candida, moram trahens in Mothono*, wife of *Iochuda Iudeus*, appoints attorney general *Iohannes Flamengo stipendiario in Mothono* (a member of the local militia), especially to produce the affidavits of some Jews in front of the Duke of Crete, and other courts if necessary, to get back from her husband her dowry. The day after, 25th August, Anna agrees to give his attorney John Flamengo twenty hyperpyra of Modon if he will obtain in Crete the necessary licenses to compel her husband Iocuda, at the time in Clarentza, to repay the dowry, or fifty hyperpyra of Crete if he will just get licenses to carry out legal action against her husband for obtaining the dowry⁶⁹.

In fact, even if the most immediate source of skins for tanning would be the local meat market, the *beccaria*, there was also a regular traffic from Crete, for on 16th September 1359 the *Consilium Rogatorum* of Venice (the *Pregadi*, later called Senate) was informed that the ships taking oil from Coron and Modon to Crete usually returned with skins (*pellamines*), cheese and cypress wood⁷⁰. In Modon sheepskin (*moltoline*), goatskin (*bechine*), ox (*manzo*) and buffalo hides are specially mentioned as being cured. Interestingly, Jews owning sheep and goats (*anemali menudi*) in the vicinity are attested on 22nd June 1483⁷¹. It is unclear since when it was the case.

The hides' market, both before and after tanning, was publicly regulated in Coron and Modon. The castellans were repeatedly forced to take action against fraud. It is worth to recall the earliest extant resolution, for they present the main problems, even if at the beginning there is no special mention of Jews.

[Before 1391, April 23] *che alguna persona ... e si griega et çudia como latim non olsa ni debia vender churame over pellame bagnado et non sutto, ma sutto et ben conçado in merchato et fuora et dentro del castello, sotto pena de yperperi V et de perder el churame hover pellame trovado bagnado ... Lo qual churame hover pellame non possa fir venduto fim quanto el non serà sta' veçudo et bollado per li Sovrastanti della Bolla de Comun, la qual debia star in una cassela che abia Il clave, l'una debia esser in man de l'um et l'altra in man de l'altro ... Et debia pagar tutto lo churame et pellame che se venderà per ogni muodo dentro et de fuora per la boladura al sovrastante over datier, che averà la bolla, tornese uno per yperpero*⁷².

[1391, April 23] *Lo datio de la bolla del churame se die delivrar con questa condition: che alguna persona si dentro como de fuora non holsa né debia vender per algum muodo algum churame ni pelo conço ni far lavorier d'esso se 'lle non serà imprima bollade per lo bollador, sovra de ciò pagando per*

⁶⁶ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 430; and JACOBY, *The Jews in Byzantium*, 35. They both use the above mentioned deeds drawn up by the notary Zaccaria de Fredo.

⁶⁷ Cfr. *Documenta Veneta*, I/2, doc. 6.77.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Documenta Veneta*, docc. 6.55-56.

⁶⁹ On Jewish women turning to the Venetian authority to get back their dowry see the contribution by Aleida Paudice in this publication.

⁷⁰ Cf. ASVe, *Senato-Misti*, reg. 29, in the edition that is going to be published in the series directed by Maria Francesca TIEPOLO, Dieter GIRGENSHON and Gherardo ORTALLI for the *Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*.

⁷¹ Cf. *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, IV, 126-127.

⁷² Cf. *ibidem*, 60 (emended > f. 33v). On 20th February 1456 the Jews obtained a temporary exemption from this ordinance, but, later, on 5th June 1471 another resolution went back to the above-mentioned ordinance issued in 1391.

*la bolladura soldo I per chadaum chuoro, sì de bo et de buffalo como de cadaum altro animal grosso. Et per chadauna pelle tornese I*⁷³.

[1396, 26 January] *che alguna persona sì latina como griega et çudia non holsa per algum muodo né inçeño vender algum churame né pellame in algum luogo se non al mercado publico hover a la plaça del chastello, et non in casa né in botega*⁷⁴.

[1411, 15 June] *Cum çìo sia che tra li datieri de la Bolla del Churame et special persone, che conduxeua de alter parte chuori et pellame conçe, resorça question et differentia. Alegando i datieri che quelli chuori et pelle chussi condute d'altre parte le die esser viste per lor se 'lle xè bem conçe e dover esser pagadi sì de quelle como de altre che se lavora qui. Et special persone defendeva et diseua non dover esser astrecti bollar i dicti chuori et pelle né hesser tegnudi a pagar. Impertanto voiendo lo egregio et potente missier Donado da Porto, honorabel castellam et cetera, proveder et far sì che le dicte defferentie cessa, hordena et dechiara et statuise che tuti et chadauni chuori et pelle che d'ogni parte sia condute, salvo da Veniexia [et] da Coron, perché de là le fi viste et bollade, sia tegnudi, quelli che le condurà et che le venderà per consumarse qui, de farle veder⁷⁵ al datier che averà la bolla et farle bolar. Et de quelì pagar como paga quelle che si lavora de qui*⁷⁶.

The same problems are still matter of future concerns, as witnessed by further ordinances issued for the same purpose on 28th August 1440⁷⁷, 17th January 1445⁷⁸, 20th February 1447⁷⁹ and 14th August 1452⁸⁰. The Statutes recorded the names of the *sovrastanti* incharged of branding (*bullare*) tanned animal skins (hides) from 1440 to 1487, and two of them are Jews: Zorzi Abramo (1464) and Andrea Manara (1482)⁸¹.

But the Jews are the real protagonists of late fourteenth and fifteenth century ordinances on tanning, starting with the problem of municipal waste in the bourg and its disposal in the port, which was strictly linked to tanning. On 12th February 1391 the Jewish tanners were forced to leave their homes by 15th March and move across the river.

*Cum çìossia che a li Çudei che sta de fuora*⁸² *al borgo fasesse granmente inmonditia davanti le abitation, o che 'li sta, le qual inmonditie revertisse tuto el porto, missier lo castellam à fato far plui fiade conmandamento che elli non fassesse alguna inmonditia per le strade, là ocche 'li abita, li qual offersse de observer. Et da puo' quelli non abia churado el conmandamento predicto. Imperò, voiendo el dicto missier lo castellam proveder sovra de çò, faxe far conmandamento che li diti Çudei debia esser partidi de le habitason che 'li habita al presente da mo' fin XV di de março proximo. E che 'li non holsa da mo' in avanti habitar de qua dal fiume, sotto quella pena che parerà a missier lo chastellam*⁸³.

[1391, 12 March] *Missier lo castellan fexe far comandamento che li Çudei da mo' in avanti non holsa lavar alguna pelle a la splaça, se non a la manrea, né che li tegna alguna inmonditia davanti le sue porte, né alguna altra cossa che avança dalle soe conçe né altro che possa daniçar el porto, in pena de yperperi V per cadauna fiada ... Et che da li do ponti in su li dicti Çudei non holsa per muodo algum de habitar in la dicta habitation né dentro dal borgo, in pena de yperperi C per chadaum de lor*⁸⁴.

In any way, for what concerned public waste in general, there was no discrimination at the beginning. On 27th April 1392 the castellan issues an ordinance for all inhabitants.

⁷³ Cf. *ibidem*, 61 (emended > f. 34r).

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, 60-61 (emended > ff. 33v-34r).

⁷⁵ *Da vender con n espunta e depennata.*

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, 61 (emended > f. 34r).

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, 164-165.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, 166.

⁷⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, 110.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibidem*, 61-62 (to be emended > f. 34r: *Per el magnifico misser lo castellan et intrambi i spetabili soi conseieri, in observation del ditto ordene, fo azonto che cadaun vendedor et comprador contra la forma del ditto ordene cada a pena de soldi 4 per cadauna pelle. Dechiarando che anche quei de le galie nostre non siano obligadi al ditto ordene*).

⁸¹ Cf. *ibidem*, 164-165, 184-186.

⁸² The Venetians started to wall the bourg in 1410. Cf. *ibidem*, II, 256-257.

⁸³ Cf. *ibidem*, IV, 64-65 (emended > f. 35v).

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, 65 (emended > f. 36r).

*Missier lo castellan fasse far comandamento che alguna persona del castello de Modon, de che condition he stado sia, non olsa né prosuna gitar né far gitar de çorno né de note, per le ruge de Modon ni per driedo le mure de Modon da la parte dentro, inmonditia alcuna ni schuvavide, sotto pena et in pena de yperperi V per çaschadum et per çascaduna fiada ... Siando veramente licito a chaschuna persona poder gitar çasschaduna inmonditia et schovavide de fuora dal muro de Modon dalla perte de marina sença alguna pena*⁸⁵.

A similar resolution was taken by another castellan on 23rd February 1402 with more severe punishments⁸⁶. On 10th January 1434 a resolution was made just to extend the ban to the sea walls of the bourg⁸⁷, whose fortification started about 1414⁸⁸.

On 9th February 1437 another special resolution was taken for the Jewish tanners:

*Missier lo castellan faxe far comandamento che tuti i Zudie habitadori de borgo debia andar dal capitano et statuir un di, in lo qual esi et cadaun de lor hogni domanda debia andar a gettar le so' vellanie et inudizie per la porta de la becharia zoxo al mar, soto pena per cadaun de lor et per cadauna fiada contrafazando de yperperi V*⁸⁹.

On 1st August 1434 it is forbidden to the Jews tanners [who at the time had already moved across the river] to wash their tanned skins at the beach except across the church of St Mary of Valverde⁹⁰:

*Missier lo castellan ordena et statuisse che, cussì como è devedado che i Çudei non può lavar le so' pelle e suolle cavade de la conça a la splaza de qua de Sancta Maria, cussì da qui in avanti non posa meter a mole né lavar alguna pelle né cuoro de alguna raxon, se non fuora de la gliexia de Sancta Maria de la splaza soto pena de perperi V per cadaun et per cadauna fiada contrafazando*⁹¹.

[1437, 2-3 June] As far as da certo tempo in qua el sian per alcuni comprado le pele che se fa a la becaria, si boiene como bechine e castroni et altre sorte pele, e comprade cussì crude i le traze fuora de Modon per via de mar, shoemakers have seen a rise in commodity prices and the shoes are in consequence sold più care de l'usado: che è gran dano e sconzo de tuti. Therefore, the castellan Zuan Corner takes the resolution that *alcun non posa tuor pele, si conze como desconze de alguna, salvo se i non danno el terzo de quele pele i vuol trar ai calegeri, de quele sorte i vuol trar, zoè prime seconde et terze per i prexi i haverano comprado, loro non intendando in questo cuori de bufalo*. But, passed the law passed the trick too, so much so that an integration to the resolution was needed just the day after. *Perché a di II del presente mexe de zugno fo cridado l'ordene ... per questi Zudie si à zà provezudo che i se vende l'un con l'altro fentizamente e mete le pele che priesio i vuol, e debiando dar el terzo ai calegeri i vuol che le i vegna pagade quel priexio che i àno messo tra loro, et la intencion de l'ordene vuol che le se meta quel priesio che le serà comprade dai becheri. E per dichiaration de questo, a zìò che questo non posa seguir, el ditto missier lo castellan vuol che 'l ditto terzo de le pele che se dà ai calegeri non se posa meter se non el priesio che le serano comprade dai becheri, le prime seconde et terze como hè ditto de sopra. Item perché l'ordene de sopra dixè de le pele che vien trate per mar, et zà alcuni voia mandar le pele per tera fin'a Coron over altri luogi dove i farà vegnir i navilii per carger quele, el ditto missier lo castellan vuol che 'l sse intenda de le dite pele quele che se vorà trar si per mar como per tera*⁹².

But things didn't go any better. On 11th November 1438 the castellan Gabriel Barbarigo was forced to take further resolutions to control the price of shoes and leather goods and to assure their third to the local shoemakers:

per el gran senestro se ha de pelame secundo che tuta la terra se lamenta, statuisse et ordena che da mo' in anzi tute le pelle che se trazerà, si per mar come per terra, debia pagar in comun XX per cento

⁸⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, 66 (emended > f. 36v).

⁸⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, 95.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, 151.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, 123.

⁸⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, 159 (emended > f. 33v).

⁹⁰ Cf. *Documenta Veneta*, Indice, ad vocem: *Modone, S. Marie de Valverde (sita et posita de extra/de foris/de extra castrum/ad splaçiam castrum Mothoni/prope extra castrum Mothoni/supra mare)*, with docc. 3.53; 3.105; 6.219; 6.265; 7.14; 7.17; 7.23).

⁹¹ Cf. *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, IV, 153 (emended > f. 84v).

⁹² Cf. *ibidem*, 159-160 (emended > ff. 87v-88r).

*oltra i dacia uxadi, soto pena a chi contra farà de perder le pelle et pagar el dacio; romaganndo fermo el dacio de la suprascripta ternaria*⁹³.

Furthermore, all these protective ordinances discouraged foreign merchants to purchase leather in Modon. Thus, on 12th April 1447 the castellan Benedetto Venier:

*ordena et statuisse che [da mo' in anzi] chadauna persona che condurà over farà condur de le pelle et chuori de Romania et altre [parte a questo luogo] sia tegnudo et debia sollamente el terzo de quei tegnir et dispensar in questo luogo a uso et [beneficio de habitadori] et subditi de Modon, et del resto, zoè le do parte, chadaun possa disponer et far quello i piax[erà como de cossa] soa, o trarle o tegnirle, non sotozasando ad alguna stretura over contrabando né a la graveza de 20 per cento*⁹⁴.

By the mid-fifteenth century the Jews appear to have a monopoly position in the tanning industry in Modon. The problem of the high price of shoes was already taken into consideration in an ordinance issued by the castellan on 20th May 1448⁹⁵, without mentioning the Jews. Later, On 19th August 1464 the castellan of Modon Lorenzo Loredan states that the Jews *esser loro soli in questa terra che conza i detti pellami et curami*, by which he took measures to mitigate the complains of the population that accused the Jews to buy cheap animal skins (*pellami et curami ... per bon marcao*) and then, in reason of their monopoly, to sell at high prices (*i stravende*) leather to the shoemakers, who in turn are forced to sell shoes at high prices⁹⁶. Thus he takes the resolution that:

*de çetero i Çudii che adoperano el mestier de aconçar i corami et pelami siano obligadi, soto pena de yperperi çento per cadaun et cadauna fiada, salvo iusto impedimento de conçar tute pelle et corami li serà dadi per i mercadanti et altri habitenti in questa terra / havendo de le pele moltoline prima segunda et terça soldi IIII per una et de le bechine prima segunda et terça soldi cinque et d'i cuori de manço prima segunda et terça soldi XXX per uno de tornesi et d'i cuori de bufalo soldi LX*⁹⁷.

In the fifteenth century some Jews in Modon and Coron were wealthy enough to take part in moneylending⁹⁸, possibly as a result of having cornered the leather market, or maybe from some other enterprises, as pointed out by Christine Hodgetts⁹⁹.

The Statutes provide ordinances also for moneylending, where the gravamen is usury. And here too, at the beginning there is no special mention of Jews, when on 25th March 1341 it is forbidden to give and accept money lended at a rate exceeding 10% per year putting as pawn possessions¹⁰⁰. Neither the so-called *prostichi* («*prestito creditizio verso la popolazione agricola*»¹⁰¹) were here associated solely to the Jews. On 5th January 1397 it is forbidden to undervalue and buy new wine before the end of August¹⁰², and so is buying oil ahead of time¹⁰³. The subject is treated again in the fifteenth century, with slightly different restrictions, without mentioning the Jews. On 24th December 1447 it was forbidden to buy oil before October and must before November¹⁰⁴. On 8th November 1456 wine must be bought after July and oil after September¹⁰⁵.

Jews appear for the first time as moneylenders in the Statutes on 10th July 1416.

⁹³ The ordinance is reported twice in the Statutes. Cf. *ibidem*, 162, 170-171 (emended > ff. 88v-89r and 92v).

⁹⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, 171 (emended > f. 93r).

⁹⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, 174-175.

⁹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, 33-34.

⁹⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, 33-34 (emended > ff. 20v-21r).

⁹⁸ See TODESCHINI, *La ricchezza degli Ebrei*.

⁹⁹ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 361.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 5-6.

¹⁰¹ See the contribution by Marianna Kolyvã in this publication.

¹⁰² Cf. *ibidem*, 76-77.

¹⁰³ Cf. *ibidem*, 77-78.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, 180-181.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, 181.

*Missier lo chastellam faxe ordene et bando che alguna persona sì cristiana como çudia sia de che condition se voia non olsa imprestar dener algum ad algum comandador sovra pegno sotto pena de perder tuto quello hi avesse prestado et render i pegni indriedo*¹⁰⁶.

On 1st August 1434, there were complaints that Jewish moneylenders defrauded Christians by making oral agreements, which the borrower could not then prove. Thereafter, they were obliged to make out a record of the whole transaction if they could write, or have it done if they could not, and have it fully witnessed. If the lender failed to have this done, his word could not be accepted in any arising dispute¹⁰⁷.

It could be the reason why, previously, the sources are mainly laconic. For example in Coron on the 22nd October 1334¹⁰⁸ Robert, cuirass-maker from the Principality of Achaëa, property-holder (in town) and resident of Coron (*Robertus curaçerius [dictus de Principatu Achaie]¹⁰⁹ burgensis et habitator Coroni*), constitutes attorney *Iani de Brutis famulo domini Marci de Brutis [de contrada] Sancte Marie Formose [de Venetiis]* to sue from *magistero Nicolino medico Iudeo de eadem contrata* a sum of money that the same Robert paid for having acted as a guarantor *cum amore* on his behalf for *domino Iacobo de Carlevar olim armigerus Coroni* (captain of mercenaries in Coron)¹¹⁰. Among the witnesses there is also *Iacobinus straçarolus habitator Coroni*. His presence is probably an indirect evidence of moneylending, possibly connected to the payment of the mercenaries. The *strazzaria*, the trade of used goods is a commercial sector closely linked to the banks, because initially, by partnerships between bankers and *strazzaroli*, it became specialized in the disposal of unredeemed pawns¹¹¹.

An even more laconic, but not less clear evidence of a Jewish moneylender can be found in Modon on 22nd April 1336¹¹², when *Nicholaus condam Iudeus habitator Mothoni* is witness in two obligations. Another indirect source could be a document drawn up in Modon on 21st September 1406¹¹³, in which *Samarigia Iudeus filius Mardache habitator burgi Mothoni* constitutes attorney Lazzaro from Brindisi *habitator* of Modon, in order to collect from *Donato Foscarei nato ser Andree de Coron* the money made from two jars of wine of Romania, who gave him to sell, or, if it had not sold them, to get them back or their price.

Jewish physicians (medicus phisicus) and surgeons (medicus cirogicus)

«In Coron and Modon it had become the practice by 1342 to employ a doctor and a surgeon [*medici sallariati*, salaried practitioners] in each city»¹¹⁴. The local government organized the medical service in collaboration with the hospitals.

«A hospital at that time was primarily a hostel for the lodging of travellers, and there was a great need for this in Coron and Modon, especially Modon, which was a regular

¹⁰⁶ Cfr. *ibidem*, 112 (emended > f. 61r).

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. *ibidem*, 154.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. *Documenta Veneta*, I/2, doc. 6.99.

¹⁰⁹ Cfr. *ibidem*, doc. 8.40 for the information.

¹¹⁰ *Armigerus*, in Latin, i.e. *uomo d'arme* in Vernacular, is the name given between 1300 and 1400 to the captains of fortune who, in command of mercenaries, placed themselves at the service of a lord.

¹¹¹ See MUELLER, *The Jewish Moneylenders*.

¹¹² Cf. *Documenta Veneta*, I/2, docc. 6.183-184.

¹¹³ Cf. *ibidem*, I/3, doc. 11.31.

¹¹⁴ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 377, referring to ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 20, f. 29v (26 January 1342) and f. 34 (26 February 1342), for which see the French summary in THIRIET, *Régestes*, I, nr. 136 (p. 48) and the edition in *Registro XX*, docs. 212 (1342 gennaio 26: *Elezione di tre savi con il compito di informarsi e riferire su indebite iniziative dei castellani di Corone e Modone*) and 247 (1342 febbraio 26: *Disposizioni in merito a concessioni di varia natura, arbitrariamente fatte a Corone e Modone dal castellano Marco Giustinian e dai suoi consiglieri, senza l'autorizzazione di Venezia; con una proposta non approvata*).

call for pilgrim ships as well as galleys and cargo ships. Conditions were sufficiently cramped, even on passenger ships, that most travellers preferred a night ashore. In addition to this accommodation, it was usual for a hospital to have an almshouse for the poor. It is clear that it was a function of the friars' houses, and this often extended its scope to provide an infirmary... It is not clear how much share the government had in the endowment of these [hospitals], apart from the grants made to the friars»¹¹⁵. Thus, once the major mendicant orders had permanent convents in the cities, since at least the mid-thirteenth century, the Dominican in Modon, and the Franciscans in Coron, they become a principal organ of assistance to the poor, and it seems likely that a hospital would soon be built¹¹⁶. At least since 1334, Venice granted to both Dominicans and Franciscans 20 *soldi grossi per annum*¹¹⁷.

Both Modon and Coron had one hospital each; according to two distinct legacies, one to the *Hospitali de Coron* (Coron, 16th February 1347) and the other to the *Spedal de Modon* (Modon, 12th January 1348)¹¹⁸. If the hospitals were more than one per place, the testator and the notary had to specify to which of them the legacy had to be left.

In Modon there was the *hospitalis Voldane* (1485)¹¹⁹, which Freddy Thiriet locates in Coron (1342)¹²⁰. It is impossible to tell when the Voldana was founded. There is a reference in 1320 to the appointment of a captain of the Voldana, and as no other institution of that name has been found anywhere else in Venetian territory, it may indicate that this hospital dates from before this time¹²¹, and that in his buiding settled the friars in the thirteenth century giving to it the name of St Dominic the Confessor, attested in 1341¹²².

On 7th August 1422¹²³ the Senate confirms the hire of two practitioners for Modon, made by the castellan of Coron Andrea Barbaro: "pro medico phisico magistrum Iacobum de Adria et pro medico ciroico magistrum Samuelem Iudeum". But on 6th June 1427¹²⁴ it seems to be him "the Jewish practitioner, unwelcome and unpleasant to the subjects" (*quidam medicus Iudeus, non gratus nec acceptus fidelibus nostris*), whose dismissal and replacement with another surgeon (*de uno alio medico ciruicho*) was confirmed by the Senate upon request of the community of Modon, that had proposed (*ad requisitionem dicte Comunitatis electus fuit*) the Venetian citizen Giorgio Cornaro (*fidelis civis noster magister Georgius Cornario ... mitti debeat Mothonum pro ciruicho dicti loci, loco dicti Iudei, qui subito cassari debeat*). The reason for his removal is not stated clearly, and it might have been related to both his unprofessional conduct and local population's religious intolerance. One might be legitimate to suspect that the Dominicans friars conducting the hospital of Modon didn't appreciate him. But, the almost five years in which he practiced as salaried practitioner are a problem. If the friars just did not like to have a Jew in the hospital, why did they wait so long to have him removed?

In any way his position was not an exception. In the fifteenth century, many Christians, among whom there were eminent people and even emperors and popes,

¹¹⁵ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 380-381.

¹¹⁶ For the establishemnt of mendicant orders in Modon and Coron see NANETTI, *Houses of Mendicant Orders*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 380.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, 377-386; where a good heuristics of the sources is not followed by a correct interpretation/location/naming of the two hospitals. These two notarial deeds are resolutive: *Documenta Veneta*, I/2, doc. 7.7 (Coron) and 7.23 (Modon).

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, I, 285 (ASVe, *Comm. Rettori*, b. II, n. 52; Francesco Bragadin, castellano di Modone).

¹²⁰ Cf. THIRIET, *La Romanie*, 261-262.

¹²¹ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 381-382, referring to ASVe, *Avogaria de Comun*, 21/4, f. 128 (21st December 1320).

¹²² Cf. ASVe, *Procuratori di S. Marco-Commissarie Miste*, b. 299, *Commissaria Trevisan*, testament Violante Trevisan (5th May 1338) and testament Domenico Trevisan (1st January 1341).

¹²³ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, III, 239 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 54, f. 44).

¹²⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, 321 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 56, f. 101).

entrusted their health care to Jewish practitioners¹²⁵. As stressed by Alfred Haverkamp, they acted as mediators among religions, because their education was based on ancient scientific traditions, not only Jewish¹²⁶. Manuscripts of medical knowledge are attested in Modon as copied by Jews, as we have seen at the beginning of this essay.

Religious observances (1409-1485)

All above-mentioned regulations concerning Jews were provoked by their economic activities. Those referring to religious observances seem that might be related to economic issues too.

On 25th January 1455, a compromise was made over the question of kosher meat; by allowing them to buy it on the hoof, but only after the animal producers had sold it to the butchers in the *beccaria*, so that the butchers received their normal profit¹²⁷.

A more contentious subject was the observance of Christian feasts days. Until 1409 there was only a customary rule: «No Latin, Greek and Jew dare to work on public holidays». But it was too general and, as a matter of fact, if the Jews had strictly complied with the law, summing up Christian and Jewish feasts they were barely able to work enough to sustain their lives. The result was that they had to pay penalties. In that year, the castellan of Modon Andrea Giustinian defined these feasts, fairly leniently for the Jews, as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin, and the feast of the translation of the body of St Mark to Venice (April 24). In addition they had to observe every Sunday of the year.

Con ciò ssia che, secondo la forma d'i ordeni e le uxance de questo luogo, algum latim, griego et zudio non holsa lavorar in li dì festivi che se lieva la insegna, sotto certe pene. E verso li Çudie ampuo non vegna observado, perché, a la verita', festiçando le nostre feste e lle so', che è divide da le nostre, 'li non vignerave quaxio a lavorar et dur la vita soa. E molte volte, parlando chussi çeneralmente l'ordene «Che algum non olsa lavorar in li dì festivi», li dicti Çudie vien achusadi et condanadi. Imperò, voiando lo egregio et potente missier Andreas Iustinian, honorado castellam de Coron et de Modon, trovandose al presente a lo reçimento de Modon, dechiarar e far sì che se sepa qualle è quelle feste che i die festiçar, dechiara in questa forma et dixè che le nostre feste che li diti Çudie die vardar sie queste: prima el dì de Nadal, el dì de Pasqua, el dì de la Pentecosta, el dì de la Anuntiada, el dì de la Nostra Dona de meço agosto, et de septembrio, el dì de san Marcho de avril, et el dì della sancta Domenega tuto el tempo de l'anno¹²⁸.

This rule, however, cannot have met with approval in some quarters, for the next year the castellan Donado da Porto added fourteen more holidays to the list, and a penalty of twenty *soldi* for failure to observe them.

Per lo egregio et potente missier Donado da Porto, honorado castellam et cetera, fo hordenado che li prediti Çudie debia vardar, oltra le predite feste, le infrascripte, et si li sera trovadi lavorar in alguna de le predite feste over sotto scripte chaça a pena de soldi XX per chadaum et per chadauna fiada. E prima la festa del dì del Corpo de Christo, la festa san Piero et san Pollo de çugno, de san Çane Batista, de san Iachomo Maor, de san Lorenço, de san Lucha, de san Mathio, de san Andrea, de san Thomado, de san Çane evançelista, {de Nadal,} la Circumcision e lla Epiphania, sancta Maria Candelorum et san Philippo et Iacomo¹²⁹.

¹²⁵ See SHATZMILLER, *Jews, Medicine*, that uses mainly notarial documents from Southern France. On Jewish practitioners in Venice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see SEGRE, *Medici ebrei*.

¹²⁶ Cf. HAVERKAMP, *Ebrei in Italia e in Germania*, 54, 83-84 (e.g. the career of Mosè Bonavoglia of Messina, †1446).

¹²⁷ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 166-167.

¹²⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, 107-108 (emended on the base of the original manuscript, f. 58v).

¹²⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, 108 (emended > ff. 58v-59r).

In 1420 there was evidently even more pressure to make the Jews conform, and the fine, being considered too low, on 10th November was raised from 20 *soldi* to five hyperpyra (i.e. from 240 to 400 *torneselli*)¹³⁰, and the feast of All Saints was added to the Holydays of Obligation.

*Chon çiodò ssia che in l'ordene de lo lavorar d'i Çudie in li di festivi se contegna che i chaça a pena de soldi XX per ogni volta che i serà trovadi lavorar in li çorni contignudi in l'ordene. La qual pena è molto piccola. E 'l prenominado missier lo castellan dechiara che da mo' avanti la dita pena debia esser de yperperi V per cadaum et chadauna volta, et che oltra le feste notade in l'ordene el se intenda etiamdio et debiasse intender la festa de Ognisancti*¹³¹.

From an economic point of view, all gravamen becomes more clear in a later regulation which, on 14th September 1450, ordered that the Jews were not to buy or give the deposit to buy poultry or any other foodstuff or firewood during the entire Sunday and on Monday until about 9am, on the same penalty of 5 yperpyra¹³². It seems like that they bought foodstuff on Sundays at a cheaper price in order to sell them on Mondays in their shops¹³³.

*El magnifico missier lo castellan et i spetabel so consieri ordena, statuisse et comanda che da mo' [in anzi] alcun zudio né zudia né altri per lor non possa comprar né incaparar polame né alcuna [altra] vituaria né legne da brusar tuto el zorno de la domenega et lo luni avanti terza sonada soto pena de yperperi V et perder la cossa comprada ... Et a quella medema pena debia cazer se i comprase o fesse comprar in altro luogo ca su el mercado e su la piazza*¹³⁴.

But the Jewish community seems to have had a certain power, if, after only two weeks, the castellan had to limit the prohibition from Sunday's vespers to 9am on Monday.

*Di 28 settembre 1450, el magnifico missier lo castellan et i spetabil so consieri hà conzesso de grazia a i Zudie che dove i non poteva comprar la domenega tuto el zorno, da mo' innanti i dicti Zudie possa comprar la domenega per fina al vesporo, et [de li] in zoxo et lo luni per fin'a terza I non posa comprar alguna vituaria e polame come de sovra se contien*¹³⁵.

All that not because of Jews in general, but for “some Jews perfidious”¹³⁶, as stated on 30th March 1445 by the castellan Zacharia Valaresso, those who did not want to leave the place or to make the proper signs of respect when the Host, a cross, or an icon was paraded through the streets. Anyone failing to do so was liable to immediate exile, and even the clothes from his back could be taken with impunity.

Con ziò sia che molte fiade, quando el corpo de Nostro Signor missier Iesu Christo over la croxe santa over le inchone de chiesa vien portado, alcuni zudie perfidi se truova, i qual non se muove né fa la debita reverentia. La qual cossa è in despriexo et vilipendio de la fede nostra. Pertanto ... manda comandando et faxe pubblicamente proclamar che quando el se truova alcun zudio, al passer del corpo del Nostro Signor predicto over de alcuna croxe over de alcuna inchona de chiesa, lui se deba immediate partir, non possando esser tegnudo da 'lcun. Et se 'l non si partirà et lui el non se inzenochierà in terra fin che le sie

¹³⁰ In Latin Morea the yperpyron is a coin of account. It is equal to 20 *manus* (a unit of account, i.e. 4) of the *denier Tournois* silver coin, called *tornesello*. Thus, 1 yperpyron is equal to 80 *torneselli*. Cf. *Documenta Veneta, passim* ("ad manus viginti denariorum Turonensium pro quolibet iperpero"), and *Zibaldone da Canal*, c. 35v, 29-31: "A Çllarença e a Choron e per tuta la Morea se fa li pagamenti a yppr., e mane XX de tornesi se conta ippr. J ch'è s. VJ, dir. VIII de tornesi". See TRAVAINI, *Un sistema di conto*.

¹³¹ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 145 (emended on the base of the original manuscript, f. 80v).

¹³² In 1432 a similar regulation had been issued for all *venderigoli* (market dealers). Cf. *ibidem*, 149.

¹³³ "Almost always, perhaps always, it happens to me to start from an anomalous particular to try to arrive at a form of generalization", it is the research method more congenial to Carlo Ginzburg, who takes its root from Kierkegaard: "The exception contains in itself the norm" and not viceversa. This method allows the historian to experiment the generalization of both questions and answers. Cf. *Intervista a Carlo Ginzburg*.

¹³⁴ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 176 (emended on the base of the original manuscript, f. 94v).

¹³⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, 176 (emended > f. 94v).

¹³⁶ Here the literary topos of the “Jewish perfidy” is deserved only to a part of the Jewish community, possibly less integrated and affected by religious integralism.

*passade, el sia licito a cadaun tuorli le veste et capuzi da dosso, le qual sia de chi le torà al dicto muodo*¹³⁷.

In the commission given to the castellan of Modon Francesco Bragadin (10th May 1485)¹³⁸, two articles enforced the Jews' fiscal status both to prevent their attempts to bypass the imposts and to protect the Jews from possible abuses by Venetian officers. Up to 1485, the Jews seem to be accustomed to buy exemptions from *angarie* (>αγγαρείες, compulsory services and duties)¹³⁹, therefore a clause of the commission ordered that no Jew, man or woman, could be exempted without being baptized¹⁴⁰.

Captum est etiam, quod aliquis Iudeus vel Iudea non possit franchari ab aliqua angaria, nisi per assumptionem baptismatis, et sic tibi commisimus quod debeas observare.

On the other hand, the same document¹⁴¹ commissions to the castellan that who will tax the *comerclum* (>κομμέρκιον, customs dues)¹⁴² to be paid by the Jews will lose half of the income, and the accusator will have half of that half, and the remainder will go to the dominion.

Quicumque tanxabit comerclum solvendos per nostros Iudeos perdat medietatem sic tanxati, et accusator habeat medietatem dicte medietatis, et sic de credentia, et dominium reliquum.

As a Conclusion. Some reflexions on the concept of wealth referred to Jews

The Venetian colonial settings of Modon and Coron, according to the examined evidence, give an economic connotation to the question of the Jewish minority. Until a certain point the Jews provided solutions, and they were tolerated. Later, in the second half of the fifteenth century, when their economic power grew in an increasingly poor urban and rural setting, they started to become a possible cause of social disorder in this territory of mostly Greek-Orthodox people with a Latin *dominant* minority¹⁴³. A solution was found in legal discriminations, which tried to, rather than succeeded in, restraining the effects of Jewish economic power on local population.

Thus, Jewry during the second half of the fifteenth century in Modon and Coron – an area and a period richly documented for investigating Venice's Greek speaking territories up to 1500 – is an anomalous case study to investigate minorities in colonial settings, because Jews represent a minority playing a major economic role, while the Greeks being the majority had a weaker economic impact, and in front of the ruling Venetian administration the Jews demonstrated to have more power than the Greeks.

In these fifteenth century Venetian Hellenic territories, there is evidence to trace the social dialectic and the coexistence of both medieval wealth dichotomies, or predominant social distinctions: the early medieval one between powerful (*potentes*) and humble people (*humiles*) and the other between rich (*dives*) and poor (*pauper*) which emerged in Western Europe from the thirteenth century onwards¹⁴⁴.

Already in one of the earliest available evidence for their presence in Modon and Coron, some of the Jews seemed to have more social power than the Greeks. In Venice,

¹³⁷ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, IV, 169 (emended on the base of the original manuscript, f. 91v).

¹³⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, I, 283-306 (ASVe, *Comm. Rettori*, b. II, n. 52).

¹³⁹ Cf. HODGETTS, *Coron and Modon*, 210-227.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, I, 294.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibidem*, 298.

¹⁴² Cf. LONGNON – TOPPING, *Documents*, 275-276.

¹⁴³ In this last element lies the main difference between *Terraferma* and *Stato da mar* of the Venetian Republic.

¹⁴⁴ For the concept see LE GOFF, *Le Moyen Age et l'argent*, Introduction.

on 19th March 1359, the *Consilium Rogatorum* (later know as the Senate) decided to respond to the proposals of the Greek ambassadors sent by the Emperor John V Palaiologus. At the end appears the proposal to suppress the taxes imposed on the Greeks by the castellans of Modon and Coron to repay the damages caused by Turks to a Venetian Jew, who instead had claimed that Greeks had damaged him. The Senate resolved to send the castellans an order to ask for no more and give back to the Greeks any overpayment exceeding the 100 yperpyra lost by the Jew.

*Item dicit ambaxator quod quidam Iudeus Venetus, reperiens se in partibus Amoree tempore quo Turchi cursicabant, tunc ille Iudeus fuit damnificatus per Turchos ad valorem centum yperperorum, de quo damno ipse Iudeus fecit querellam castelanis Coroni et Motoni, lamentans se de Grecis non de Turchis, qui castelani propterea imposuerunt cotimum super mercibus Grecorum contra ius. Propterea petit quod mandetur dictis castelanis quod desistant ab hoc et amplius nil exigant, sed si ultra damnum est exactum, restituatur, ut est iustum*¹⁴⁵.

On 21 April 1456 the castellan of Modon Alessandro Marcello was allowed by the Council of Ten to treat secretly with a Jew who offered to kill Sultan Mehmet II «nec petit aliquod premium nisi peracto negotio sicut per capitulum ipsius littere [sent by Alessandro Marcello to his brother Andrea in Venice] lectum isti consilio [the Council of Ten] plene constat»¹⁴⁶.

In 1481 the above-mentioned traveller Meshullam of Volterra estimates, maybe overestimates, as 300 the Jewish families in Modon. For the year 1439, an idea of the wealth (more then of the number) of the Jewish community of Modon and Coron – the most modest when compared to the Jewish communities of Crete, Negroponte and Corfù – comes from the decision taken by the Senate to charge also the Jews of the *Stato da mar* for the necessities of the war of Lombardy¹⁴⁷. On 21st February 1439¹⁴⁸: the Jews of Crete, «who are many and rich» (*qui sunt multi et divites*), shall pay a supplementary contribution of 4,000 ducats per year for three years (it is the same amount asked to the feudatories of Candia's and Sitia's districts together¹⁴⁹); the *messetaria* tax shall rise in Crete from ½% to 1%. On the 9th March 1439 a list of supplementary contributions is set to collect 6,250 ducats for the same purpose «in the seawards» (*in terris maritimis*)¹⁵⁰: in the island of Negroponte, the city and the castles shall pay 1,500 ducats, while the Jewish community 750; in Coron the city and the castles (i.e. *Grissum/Akritochori, Castrumleonis, Castrum Francum* and *Lauraminum*) shall pay 1,000 ducats and in Modon the city and the castles (i.e. *Zonchii/Port-de-Jonc/Navarino, Temoline/Molendines, S. Elie/Sant'Elia*) 300, while the Jewish community of the two cities 200 ducats together; in Corfù, the city and the rural villages 2,000 ducats while the Jewish community 500¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁵ Cfr. ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 29, f. 95v, nell'edizione del *Registro XXVIII*, doc. <783>, which has a summary in French by THIRIET, *Régestes*, I, 91-92 (n. 342, 8°).

¹⁴⁶ See THIRIET, *Délibérations*, II, nr. 1523 (p. 210 summary and 327-328 edition; ASVe, *Consiglio dei Dieci-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. XV, f. 91v).

¹⁴⁷ Note that on 25th September 1431 the Senate did not mention Modon and Coron while ordering to the governors of the *Stato da mar* to contract loans from Jews for sustaining the war: 20,000 ducats in Crete by two months; 2,000 in Negroponte; 3,000 in Corfù; 1,000 in Istria. See *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, III, 409 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 58, f. 80v) and the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations*, III, 18 (nr. 2263).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. NOIRET, *Documents*, 387 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 60, f. 125) and the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations*, III, 70 (nr. 2488).

¹⁴⁹ Those of the *Canea* district had to pay 1,200 ducats, Rethimno's feudatories 800. Cf. NOIRET, *Documents*, 387-388 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 60, f. 125v) and the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations* 1971, 70-71 (nr. 2489).

¹⁵⁰ See the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations*, III, 71 (nr. 2492; ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 60, f. 131v).

¹⁵¹ See *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, III, 449-450 (ASVe, *Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, reg. 60, f. 131) and the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations*, III, 71 (nr. 2491).

Another deliberation of the Senate on the same subject of war-tax, generally referred to all dominions. On 5th September 1441¹⁵² the Senate takes the resolution to revoke all exemptions granted to the above-mentioned extraordinary taxes, for many powerful (*potentes*) Jews find the way to be exempt from all charges. Thus, the Senate orders that all who did not pay anything must start paying the first installment.

¹⁵² Cf. NOIRET, *Documents*, 399 (ASVe, *Senato Mar*, reg. 1, f. 57) and the French summary by THIRIET, *Délibérations*, III, 89 (nr. 2555).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

- Città del Vaticano, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*
Vat. Ebr. 379
Vat. Gr. 1504
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*
Plut. 44, caps. 11
- München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*
Cod. Heb. 119
- ASVe = Venice, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*
Avogaria de Comun, 21/4, f. 128.
Commemoriali, reg. 3, ff. 40r, 44v, 45.
Commemoriali, reg. 15, c. 88v.
Commissioni ai Rettori, b. II, n. 52.
Consiglio dei Dieci-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 15, f. 91v.
Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni miste, reg. 16, c. 150v.
Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni miste, reg. 24, c. 87r-v.
Procuratori di S. Marco-Commissarie Miste, b. 299, *Commissaria Trevisan*.
San Giovanni Evangelista di Torcello, b. 3, perg. 45.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 20, f. 29v, 34.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 29.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 54, f. 44.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 56, f. 101.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 57, f. 111v.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 58, f. 80v.
Senato-Deliberazioni miste, reg. 60, f. 125, 131.
Senato Mar, reg. 1, f. 57.
Senato-Secreta, reg. 38.
Senato-Secreta, reg. 48, c. 200.
- Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*
Ms. It. II, 40 (4866).
Ms. It. VII, 551 (7281).

CATALOGUES of MANUSCRIPTS

- Biblioteca Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscript recensiti ... Codices Vaticani Graeci*, Codices 1485-1683, recensuit Gianelli, Cyrus. Città del Vaticano, 1950.
- Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Catalogue*, compiled by the Staff of Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, ed by RICHLER, B., paleographical and codicological descriptions by BIET-ARIÉ M. in collaboration with PASTERNAK, Nurit. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Studi e Testi, 438), 2008.
- Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques, portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540*. 3 vols. Comité de paléographie hébraïque. Paris-Yerûšalayim: Académie Nationale des sciences et des lettres d'Israël, Centre nationale de la recherche Sciences et des lettres d'Israël, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972 (1-2) and 1986 (3).

EDITION of PRIMARY SOURCES

- CAPSALI, Elia. *Seder Eliyyahu Zuṭa*, ed. by S. SIMONSHON, M. BENAYAHU, and A. SHMUELEVITZ, 3 vols. Tel Aviv - Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, University of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem University, 1975, 1977, 1983.
- Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques par HOPF, Charles. Berlin, 1873.
- Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschreiben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat*, nach der ältesten Handschriften und mit deren 47 Bildern in Holzschnitt herausgegeben von Dr. E. von Groote. Cöln: Verlag von J.M. Heberle (H. Lempertz), 1860 (Athens, The Gennadius Library, GT 378.425).

Documenta Veneta Coroni & Methoni rogata. Euristica e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum (secoli XIV e XV), di Andrea NANETTI, vol. I. *Documenta a presbiteris et notariis cappellanis castellanorum rogata*, Pars prima *Antonius Paulo, Lucianus Girardo, Marcus Marzella, "Iohannes Bono" nec non Antonius de Vatazis*, con Prologo di Nicolaos OIKONOMIDES, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institut of Byzantine Studies, Athens 1999 (Sources, 3, 1/1); Pars secunda *Nasciben de Scarena, Stefanus Silvo dictus Petenello, Nicolaus Sancti Gervasii*, Athens 2007 (Sources, 3, 1/2); Pars tertia *Marcus de Odorico, Victor Sancti Cassiani, Thomas de Georgio, Iohannes Gaço, Marchus Baialardo, Cristoforus Paulo, Franciscus Novello, Thadeus de Thadeis, et Michael Belli*, work in progress.

Duca di Candia - Quaternus Consiliorum (1340-1350), a cura di RATTI VIDULICH, P. Venezia: Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti per la storia di Venezia (Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Sez. I. Archivi pubblici), 1976.

Edizione commentata della lettera di Bessarione al doge, 1463, sullo 'status' degli ebrei [based on the copy in ASVe, *Commemoriali*, reg. 15, c. 88v], in *Interstizi*: 17-27.

FABRI, Fratrīs Felicis. *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. by C.D. Häiler, 3 vols. Stuttgartiae, 1843-1849.

Jewish Travellers. A Treasury of Travelogues from 9 Centuries, ed. by Adler, Elkan Nathan. Second Edition with a Preface by Roth, Cecil. New York: Hermon Press, 1966 (First edition London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1930).

Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094-1433), Edizione critica, introduzione, indice e altri apparati di A. NANETTI, 4 tomi, in custodia, con fac-simile della carta nautica di Francesco de Cesanis datata 1421, Fondazione CISAM, Spoleto 2010.

I Libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia. Regesti, tomi 8, a cura di PREDELLI, Riccardo. Venezia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie (*Monumenti storici*, Serie I: Documenti), 1876-1914.

LAMBERTENGI, G. P. *Viaggio di Pietro Casola a Gerusalemme tratto dall'autografo esistente nella Biblioteca Trivulzio*, Edizione *propter nuptias* fuori di commercio di copie 100. Milano: Tipografia di Paolo Ripamonti Carpano, 1855 (Athens, The Gennadius Library, GT 432).

LONGNON, Jean and TOPPING, Peter. *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton & Co. (École pratique des Hautes Études VI^e Section. Documents et Recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamique et slaves et leur relations commerciales au Moyen Age, IX), 1969.

LOMBARDO, Antonino. *Pasquale Longo, notaio in Corone (1289-1293)*. Venezia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie. (*Monumenti storici*, Nuova Serie, VI), 1951.

Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας (Monumenta Hellenicae Historiae). Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age, publiés sous les auspices de la Chambre des Députés de Grèce par Constantinos N. SATHAS, 9 vols., Paris 1880-1896; reprint Vas. N. Grigoriadis, Athens 1972.

Le Voyage de la Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem avec la description des lieux, portz, villes, citez et aultres passaiges fait l'an mil quatre cens quatre vingtz, estante le siège du grant Turc à Rhodes et regnant en France Loys unzième de ce nom, publié par Schefer, M. Ch. Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur (Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle, publié sous la direction de MM. Ch. Schefer et H. Cordier, II), 1882 (Athens, The Gennadius Library, GT 385).

MEŠULLAM [BEN MENAHEM] DA VOLTERRA, *Viaggio in terra d'Israele*, Italian translation, Introduction, Notes and Appendix by VERONESE, A. Rimini: Luisè (Gli erranti – Collana di viaggiatori ebrei diretta da G. Busi, 2), 1989.

NEWETT, M. M. *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*. Manchester, 1907.

NOIRET, Hippolyte. *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*. Paris: Ernest Thorin (Bibliothèque des Écoles Française d'Athènes et de Rome, 61), 1892.

Registro XX (VII.1341-XII.1342 ff. 120), a cura di GIRARDI, Francesca. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (*Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, vol. 7. Series directed by Maria Francesca TIEPOLO, Dieter GIRGENSHON and Gherardo ORTALLI), 2004.

Registro XXVIII (1357-1359), a cura di ORLANDO, Ermanno. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (*Senato-Deliberazioni miste*, vol. 15. Series directed by Maria Francesca TIEPOLO, Dieter GIRGENSHON and Gherardo ORTALLI), 2009.

Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae eorumque memorabilia, ed. by Artom E. S., and H. M. D. Cassuto, t. I [the only published]. Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1943 [in Hebrew with title in Hebrew and Latin].

- 'Statutes of Coron and Modon (1337-1487)'. In *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, vol. IV, 1-186.
- The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff knight from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*, translated from the German and edited with notes and an introduction by M. LETTS. London: Hakluyt (Works issued by the Hakluyt society. Second Ser., 94), 1946.
- THIRIET, Freddy. *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 3 vols. Paris, 1958-1961.
- THIRIET, Freddy. *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, 2 vols. Paris, 1966-1971.
- YAARI, A. *Massah Meshullam mi-Volterra: be-Erets-Israel bi-shenath rm" a (1481)* [Meshullam of Volterra's Pilgrimage: in Erets-Israel in 1481]. Jerusalem, 1948.
- Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia (1352-1357)*, a cura di LOMBARDO, Antonino. Venezia: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti relative alla Storia di Venezia (Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Sez. III: Archivi notarili), 1968.
- Zibaldone da Canal, manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV*, a cura di STUSSI, Alfredo, con studi di F. C. LANE, T. E. MARSTON e O. ORE. Venezia: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti relative alla Storia di Venezia (Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Sez. V: Fondi vari), 1967.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- ASHTOR, E. 'The Jews in the Mediterranean Trade in the Fifteenth Century'. In *Festschrift Hermann Kellenbenz*. Nurenberg, 1978: 441-454.
- ASHTOR, E. 'Gli Ebrei nel commercio mediterraneo nell'alto medioevo (sec. X-XI)'. In *Gli Ebrei nell'alto medioevo*, XXVI Settimana di studio del CISAM (1978). Spoleto: CISAM, 1980: vol. I, 401-487.
- ASHTOR, E. 'The Jews in the Mediterranean Trade in the Later Middle Ages'. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 55 (1984): 159-178.
- BABINGER, F. *Maometto il conquistatore e il suo tempo*. Torino: Einaudi, 1967².
- BARILE, Elisabetta. *Littera antiqua e scritture alla greca. Notai e cancellieri copisti a Venezia nei primi decenni del Quattrocento*. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (Memorie. Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti, Vol. LI), 1994: 17-32.
- BERTOLO, Francesca. 'Giovanni di Corone o Giovanni Mosco?'. *Medioevo greco* 2 (2002): 21-48.
- BOESCH GAJANO, Sofia and LUZZATI, M. 'Premessa'. *Quaderni storici* 55 (1983): 779-782.
- BORGHESI, Francesco. *Pico Project*. In http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/pico
- BORGHESI, Francesco. *Conclusiones CM Project*. In <http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/pico/index.php>
- BOWMAN, Steven. 'The Jews in Greece'. In *Textures and Meaning: Thirty Years of Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst*, ed. by EHRlich L. H., S. BOLOZKY, R. A. ROTHSTEIN, M. SCHWARTZ, J. R. BERKOVITZ, J. E. YOUNG. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2004, pp. 419-435 (<http://www.umass.edu/judaic/anniversaryvolume/articles/30-F3-Bowman.pdf>); revised and updated version of a paper delivered in Oxford in January 1996 and published in *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*, ed. by CLOGG, R. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- BUES, I. 'Johannes Regiomontanus (1436-1476)'. *Frankish life pictures* 11 (1984): 28-43.
- BUSI, G. 'La cabbala umanistica di Pico'. In *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, vol. I. *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2010: 567-571.
- Byzance retrouvée. Érudits et voyageurs français (XV^e-XVIII^e siècles) [catalogue of the exhibition]*. Paris, 2001.
- CALABI, Donatella. 'The Jews and the City in the Mediterranean Area'. In *Mediterranean Urban Culture 1400-1700*, ed. by COWAN, A. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000: 56-68.
- CARDINI, Franco. *Venezia e i Veneziani in alcune memorie di pellegrini in Terrasanta (secolo XIV-XV)*. *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982): 161-185.
- CARDINI, Franco. In *Terrasanta. Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2002.
- CHRYSOS, Evangelhos. 'The Jews and other minorities in Byzantium'. In *Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. by Idem and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Andros 2009: 63-77.
- CORAZZOL, Giacomo. 'Le guerre di Venezia contro i Turchi nel 'Seder Eliyyahu Zuta' di Elia Capsali'. In *Interstizi*, 425-476.

- EYANGEΛAATOY-NOTAPA, Φ. 'Η Μεθώνη, σταθμός στα ταξίδια βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων στη Δύση'. *Πελοποννησιακά* 16 (1986): 97-107.
- FOLLIERI, Enrica. 'Santi di Metone: Atanasio vescovo, Leone taumaturgo', *Byzantion* 41 (1971): 378-451.
- FOUTAKIS, Patrick. *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες* 81 (Δεκ. 2001): 114-116.
- FRASER, A. *The Gypsies*. Malden-Oxford-Melbourne-Berlin: Blackwell Publishing, 1992: 51-55.
- GULLINO, G. 'Le frontiere navali'. In *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, Vol. IV. *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, a cura di TENENTI, Alberto e Ugo TUCCI. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondato da Giovanni Treccani, 1996: 13-111.
- HAVERKAMP, A. 'Ebrei in Italia e in Germania nel Tardo Medioevo. Spunti per un confronto'. In *Interstizi*: ____ - ____.
- HEYD (VON), Wilhelm. *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, édition française refondue et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur, publiée sous le patronage de la Société de l'Orient Latin, [the first German edition, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, published in 1879 was completely outdated by this French edition translated by F. Raynaud on the autograph manuscript]. 2 vols. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1885-1886, 1923², 1936³.
- HODGETTS, Christine A. 'The colonies of Coron and Modon under Venetian Administration, 1204-1400'. PhD diss., University of London, 1974.
- Interstizi. Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna*, [Atti del Convegno del Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani e Dipartimento di Studi storici dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia (Venezia, 5-7 settembre 2007)] a cura di Israel, U., R. Jütte, e R. C. Mueller. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura (Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani. Ricerche, 5), 2010.
- Intervista a Carlo Ginzburg*, by D. Ragone. *Sant'Anna News* 32 (Jan. 2009), 1, 6-9 (www.sssup.it/santannanews).
- IORGA, Nicolas. 'Documents sur les villes de Coron et de Modon'. *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* 11 (1934): 157-166.
- JACOBY, David. 'Venice and the Venetian Jews in the Eastern mediterranean'. In *Gli Ebrei a Venezia (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, Atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5-10 giugno 1983), a cura di COZZI, Gaetano. Milano: Edizioni Comunità, 1987: 29-59.
- JACOBY, David. 'I Greci ed altre comunità tra Venezia e oltremare'. In *I Greci a Venezia*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998), a cura di TIEPOLO, Maria Francesca ed Eurigio TONETTI. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002: 41-82.
- JACOBY, David. 'The Jews and the Silk industry of Constantinople'. In *The Jewish presence in the Greek territory (4th-19th centuries)*, ed. by LAMBROPOULOU, A., and K. TSIKNAKIS. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation-Institute for Byzantine Research (International Symposium 12), 2008: 2-37.
- JACOBY, David. 'The Jews in Byzantium and the Eastern Mediterranean: Economic Activities from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century'. In *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, herausgegeben von Toch, M. unter Mitarbeit von Müller-Luckner, E. München: Oldenbourg (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 71), 2008: 25-48.
- JACOBY, David. 'Jews and Christians in Venetian Crete: segregation, Interaction, and Conflict'. In *Interstizi*: 243-279.
- JACOBY, David. 'The Jews in the Byzantine Economy. Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century'. In *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. by BONFIL, R., O. IRSHAI, G. G. STROUMSA, R. TALGAM. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012: 219-255.
- Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. by BONFIL, R., O. IRSHAI, G.G. STROUMSA, R. TALGAM. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012.
- ΚΩΤΣΙΠΗ, Ν. Ι. *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Μεθώνης*. Αθήνα: _____, 1977.
- KOURNIAKOS, P. 'Die Kreuzzugslegation Kardinal Bessarions in Venedig (1463-1464)'. PhD diss., *Universität zu Köln*, 2010.
- KÜLZER, Andreas. *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam. Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*. Frankfurt a.M. (Studien und Texte zur Bizantinistik, herausgegeben von Peter Schreiner, 2), 1994.
- LEBECQ, S. 'Aelfric et Alpert. Existe-t-il un discours clérical sur les marchands dans l'Europe du Nord à l'aube du XI^e siècle?'. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 26/1-2 (1984/Jan.-June): 85-93.

- LE GOFF, Jacques. *Le Moyen Age et l'argent. Essay d'anthropologie historique*. Paris: Perrin, 2010 [Italian translation *Lo sterco del diavolo. Il denaro nel Medioevo*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 2010].
- ΛΙΤΣΑ, Φ. Κ. *Κορώνη. Η προσωπογραφία μίας πολιτείας*. Αθήνα: _____, 1983.
- LOPEZ, Robert Severino. 'Il principio della guerra veneto-turca nel 1463'. *Archivio Veneto*, ser. V, 15 (1934): 45-131.
- LUCE, Stephen B. 'Modon: a Venetian Station in Medieval Greece', in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Kennard Rand, produced upon the completion of his fortieth year of teaching*, ed. by L. Webber Jones. New York: _____, 1938: 195-208.
- MAJOR, Alain. 'Etrangers et minorités ethniques en Méssénie vénitienne (XIIIe-XVe)'. *Studi Veneziani* N.S. 22 (1991): 361-381.
- ΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΣ, Βασίλης Δ. *Η ιστορία της Κορώνης*. Αθήνα: _____, 1976. Rev. ed. by Β. Ρούβαλη. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Β. Γιαννίκος, 2000.
- METZ, R. *Regiomontanus. 'Wegbereiter' of the new conception of the world*. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner/Vieweg, 1996.
- MÖSCHTER, Angela. 'Norme giuridiche e vita quotidiana: costruzioni di "interstizi" tra ebrei e cristiani nel tardo medioevo a Treviso'. In *Interstizi. Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna*, [Atti del Convegno del Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani e Dipartimento di Studi storici dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia (Venezia, 5-7 settembre 2007)] a cura di Israel, U., R. Jütte, e R. C. Mueller. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura (Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani. Ricerche, 5), 2010: 155-189.
- ΜΟΜΦΕΡΡΑΤΟΥ, Αντωνίου Ι. *Μεθώνη και Κορώνη επί Ενετοκρατίας, υπό κοινωνικήν, πολιτικήν και δημοσιονομικήν ἐπόψιν*. Αθήνα, 1914
- Morea: The Land and Its People in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade*, Acts of the Dumbarton Oaks 2009 Spring Symposium, forthcoming.
- MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, R. and Maria Francesca TIEPOLO, 'Cronologia veneziana dal 1300 al 1600'. In *Storia della Civiltà Veneziana*, a cura di Vittore BRANCA, 3 vols., edita sotto gli auspici della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Firenze 1979 (second edition of the series of *11 Conferenze sulla Civiltà Veneziana* held in the *Fondazione Giorgio Cini* between 1954 and 1964, published in Florence in single volumes), II. *Autunno del Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 335-383.
- MUELLER, Reinold C. 'The Jewish Moneylenders of Late Trecento Venice: A Revisitation'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995): 202-217.
- NANETTI, Andrea. 'Houses of Mendicant Orders in the Venetian Messenia: the documentary evidence until 1500'. In *Monasticism in the Peloponnese 4th-15th c.* Athens: Institute of Byzantine Researches of the National Hellenic Research Foundation (International Symposium, 14), 2004: 335-347.
- NANETTI, Andrea. 'Βενετία και Πελοπόννησος', in *Η Πελοπόννησος. Χαρτογραφία και Ιστορία, 16ος - 18ος αιώνας*, ed. by _____. Αθήνα: Αρχείο Χαρτογραφίας του Ελληνικού Χάρου - Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2006: 25-49, 142-145.
- NANETTI, Andrea. *Atlante della Messenia Veneziana/Ατλας της Ενετικής Μεσσηνίας/Atlas of Venetian Messenia*. Imola, Italy: Meduproject Editions and Editrice La Mandragora, 2010 (*Onde di Storia-Waves of History-Κύματα της Ιστορίας*, 1).
- NANETTI, Andrea. 'Modone e Corone nello Stato Veneto (1207-1500 e 1685-1715). Indagine esemplare di esegesi delle fonti sulla Grecia veneziana'. *Studi Veneziani* 61-62 (2011): ____ - ____.
- NARDELLO, M. 'Il prestito ad usura a Vicenza e la vicenda degli Ebrei nei secoli XIV e XV'. *Odeo Olimpico* 13-14 (1977-1978): 69-128.
- PARMEGGIANI, Antonella. 'The people of Corone in the acts of the notary Pasquale Longo (1289-1293)'. *Μεσσηνιακά Χρονικά* 3 (2003-2007): 107-116.
- Perani, Mauro. 'I manoscritti ebraici copiati in Sicilia o da siciliani dopo l'espulsione specchio del background culturale di Flavio Mitridate'. In *Flavio Mitridate mediatore fra culture nel contesto dell'ebraismo siciliano del XV secolo*, Atti del II Congresso internazionale (Caltabellotta, Agrigento, 30 giugno - 1 luglio 2008), a cura di Mauro Perani e Giacomo Corazzol. Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2012: ____ - ____.
- ROMANIN, S. *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 vols. Venezia, 1853-61, 1912-1921².
- SEGRE, Renata. 'Medici ebrei e neofiti a Venezia tra Due e Trecento'. In *Interstizi*, 407-423.
- SHARF, Andrew. *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*. London-New York: Shoken Books, 1971.
- SHATZMILLER, J. *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1994.

- SOULIS, George C. 'Notes on Venetian Modon', *Πελοποννησιακά* 3-4 (1958-1959): 267-275 with plates 7-8.
- STARR, Joshua. *Romania. The Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade*. Paris, 1949.
- STOURAITI, Anastasia. 'Colonial Mapping and Local Knowledge in the Venetian Empire, 1684-1715'. *European University Institute Working Papers Max Weber Programme* 2008/15: 1-14 (<http://cadmus.eui.eu/>).
- STOW, K. 'Papal Mendicants or Mendicant Popes: Continuity and Change in Papal Policies Toward the Jews at the End of the Fifteenth Century'. In *The Friars*, 255-271 (reprinted in IDEM, *Popes, Church, and Jews in the Middle Ages*. Ashgate: Variorum, 2007: VI).
- STOW, K. *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- The Friars and the Jews in the Middle Age and the Renaissance*, ed. by MCMICHAEL, S. and L. SIMON. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- THIRIET, Freddy. *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Paris: De Boccard, 1959, 1975².
- TOAFF, Ariel. *Pasque di sangue: ebrei d'Europa e omicidi rituali*. Bologna: Il mulino, 2008² (first edition 2007).
- TOAFF, Ariel. 'Jews, Franciscans, and the First 'Monti di Pietà' in Italy (1462–1500)'. In *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by MCMICHAEL S. J. and S. E. MYERS. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2004: 239-254.
- TODESCHINI, Giacomo. *La ricchezza degli Ebrei. Merci e denaro nella riflessione ebraica e nella definizione cristiana dell'usura alla fine del Medioevo*. Spoleto: CISAM (Biblioteca di studi medievali, XV), 1989.
- TRAVAINI, L. 'Un sistema di conto poco conosciuto: la «mano da quattro»'. *Revue numismatique*, 6^e série, 153 (1998): 327-334.
- ΤΣΕΛΙΚΑΣ, Α. 'Μεθώνη και Κορώνη στην ιστορία της Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας (15^ο αι.)'. In *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Μεσσηνιακών Σπουδών*. Αθήναι, 1984: 76-80 (reprint in IDEM, *Θέματα ελληνικής παλαιογραφίας*. Αθήνα: Ινστιτούτο Αρέθας, 2004: 183-192).
- VERNET, F. 'Le pape Martin V et les Juifs'. *Revue des questions historiques* 51 (1892): 384 ff.
- WINSTEDT, E. O. 'The Gypsies of Modon and the 'Wine of Romeney''. *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society* 3 (1909-1910): 57-69.