

**THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE
(TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508**

Ferhan KIRLIDÖKME MOLLAOĞLU*

ABSTRACT

The *Destruction of Crete (Tis Kritis o chalasmos)* is a poem of 282 verses. Its subject is the major earthquake of 29 May 1508, and it seems that the poem was written in the same year. Half of it is an account of the disaster in Candia, together with people's reactions to it, and a description of a storm on 5 June. In the second part the author ascribes the disaster to the sinfulness of people and he exhorts them to ask God for forgiveness and to pray for the victims. The name *Crete* in the poem mostly refers to its capital city rather than the entire island. *The Destruction of Crete* is one of the most important historical sources of this earthquake, as Manolis Sklavos was an eyewitness of the disaster. Another significant source of information about the 1508 earthquake in Crete is the letter of Girolamo Donato, the Venetian Duke of Crete, dated July 15, 1508.

Keywords: Manolis Sklavos, Crete, Modern Greek Literature, Poem, Earthquake.

* Assist. Prof. Dr., Trakya University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Balkan Languages and Literatures, Modern Greek Language and Literature, Edirne, ORCID: orcid.org/0000-0002-0838-2272, E-mail: ferhankirlidokme@trakya.edu.tr



**GİRİT'İN YIKILIŞI (TİS KRİTİS O CHALASMOS):
1508 YILINDA GİRİT'TE MEYDANA GELEN DEPREM
HAKKINDA BİR ŞİİR**

ÖZ

Girit'in Yıkılışı (Tis Kritis o chalasmos) 282 dizeden oluşan bir şiidir. Konusu 29 Mayıs 1508 Girit'te meydana gelen büyük depremdir ve depremin gerçekleştiği yıl kaleme alındığı değerlendirilir. Şiir iki bölümden oluşur. İlk bölümde Kandiye'de yaşanan felaket, kent halkının tepkileri ve 5 Haziran'da görülen fırtına anlatılır. Şiirin ikinci bölümünde ise depremin nedenlerine değinilir. Sklavos, depremin insanların günahları nedeniyle meydana gelen ilahî bir ceza olduğunu vurgular ve bu yüzden onları dua ve tövbe etmeye davet eder. Şiirde yer alan "Girit" adıyla, Sklavos'un adanın geneline değil, sadece Kandiye şehrine atıfta bulunduğu düşünülmektedir. *Girit'in Yıkılışı*, Manolis Sklavos'un felaketin görgü tanığı olması nedeniyle bu deprem hakkında bilgi aktaran en önemli tarihi kaynaklarından biridir. Girit'teki 1508 depremi hakkında bilgi veren bir diğer önemli kaynak ise adanın Venedikli Dükü Girolamo Donato'nun 15 Temmuz 1508 tarihli mektubudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Manolis Sklavos, Girit, Çağdaş Yunan Edebiyatı, Şiir, Deprem.

Introduction

Candia -present day Irakleio- was the capital of the *Regno di Candia* (*Kingdom or Realm of Crete*) during the period of Venetian rule (1211-1645/1669).¹ Immediately after its conquest the city's urban space was designed to resemble that of Venice. The *Piazza dei Signori* (the central square of the city) functioning as Candia's center of civil and ecclesiastical authority was organised according to the archetype of the *Piazza di San Marco*. It was the place where the palaces of the *Duca di Candia* and other high officials, a *loggia* (the nobles' meeting place) and the church of St. Marco were located. Adjacent to the square was the large government granary, while the harbour housed a naval arsenal. An isolation hospital was also sited at an appropriate distance.² The Catholic canon Pietro Casola, who

¹ During different periods of time Irakleio was known by several names in Greek: *Kastro*, *Megalo Kastro* and *Chandaks*, while in Italian the city was called *Candia*. I am using Candia as the poem refers to a historical moment when the city was ruled by Venetians.

² Chryssa Maltezou, "The Historical and Social Context", *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, (ed.) David Holton, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, p. 35-36; Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies, Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001, p. 82-84 and p. 91-94.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

passed through Candia during his journey to the Holy Land in 1494 described it as “a large and well-built city”.³ In the early 16th century Candia had a rich economic life, with its harbour integrated at eastern Mediterranean trade route and cosmopolitan centre that had developed its own urban culture.⁴

On the night of May 29 to 30, 1508, a serious earthquake hit Crete. Candia was seriously affected like the cities of Sitia and Ierapetra, in the east central part of the island.⁵ A number of people lost their lives⁶ and others were injured. The earthquake also caused significant material damage. According to the testimony of the French pilgrim Jacques Le Saige in 1518 the destruction caused by the earthquake in the city was still visible.⁷

The magnitude of the earthquake⁸ was so great that it left a considerable impact in the minds of its witnesses: Manolis Sklavos, a poet from Crete and resident of Candia, composed a poem entitled *The Destruction of Crete (Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός)*⁹ and Girolamo Donato, the Venetian Duke of Crete at that time, wrote a private letter to his friend Pietro Contarini where he described the widespread destruction and the panic that gripped the city (July 15, 1508).¹⁰ This paper focuses on Manolis Sklavos’ poem and

³ Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, Τόμος Α2: 333 μ.Χ.-1500, Εκδόσεις Στάχυ, Αθήνα 2003, p. 341.

⁴ For social and cultural life in Candia see: Stylianos Alexiou, “Το Κάστρο της Κρήτης και η ζωή του στον 16^ο και 17^ο αιώνα”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 19, 1965, p. 146-178 and Stefanos Kaklamanis, “Η χαρτογράφηση του τόπου και των συνειδήσεως στην Κρήτη κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας”, *Candia / Creta / Κρήτη, Ο Χώρος και ο Χρόνος 16^{ος}-18^{ος} αιώνες*, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2005, p. 11-69.

⁵ Gerassimos A. Papadopoulos, *A Seismic History of Crete, The Hellenic Arc and Trench*, Ocelotos Publications, Athens 2011, p. 138.

⁶ Papadopoulos, *ibid.* p. 141 and Nicolas Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, p. 417.

⁷ Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, Τόμος Α2: 1500-1700, Εκδόσεις Στάχυ, Αθήνα 2003, p. 363.

⁸ 6.5 in Richter scale with maximum intensity in Irakleion IX-X=destructive-very destructive. Papadopoulos, *op.cit.* p. 140 and p. 396.

⁹ Manolis Sklavos, *Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός (Η συμφορά της Κρήτης)*, (επιμ.) Τασούλα Μ. Μαρκομιχελάκη, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 7), Θεσσαλονίκη 2014. For earlier publications see Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰ The Greek translation of the Duke’s letter by Ioannis Kakridis is in: Maksimos I. Maravelakis, “Συμβολή εις την γνώσιν του ιστορικού των σεισμών της Ελλάδας και των γειτονικών αυτής χωρών: εκ των ενθυμήσεων”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Σχολής των Φυσικών και Μαθηματικών Επιστημών Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Volume 5, 1939, p. 131-137. The

briefly on Girolamo Donato's letter, both of which are eyewitness accounts of the earthquake.¹¹

1. *The Destruction of Crete (Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός)*

The poem was written a few months after the earthquake¹² and its only copy is preserved in *Codex Vindobensis Theologicus Graecus 244*, in 245^v-252^v. It is not autograph and it was copied by *Scribe (E)*. The watermarks at “j” and “k” in the quires may be dated c. 1522-1525. The condition of the quires suggests that it has been read or copied many times.¹³ The original title of the poems is in the two lines after the colophon: “Glory to God whom we praise in the Holy Trinity. / End (of the poem) *The Destruction of Crete*, and end again.”¹⁴

The Destruction of Crete (Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός) is a lament for Candia¹⁵ as the name Crete in the poem mostly refers to its capital city rather than the entire island.¹⁶ The poem is divided into two parts.¹⁷ The first part describes the disaster that occurred in the city, including the people's reactions and a subsequent storm while the second is an exhortation to the people to live according to God's will. The poem concludes with a colophon where the poet pens his full name and the number of verses he wrote:

Greek text has been revised and republished by Tasoula Markomihelaki in Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 104-113. For a partial English translation of the letter see Ambraseys, *op.cit.*, p. 417. In this paper I use both Greek translations.

¹¹ For other sources see Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 14-15 and p. 113-127.

¹² Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 19-21.

¹³ Peter Vejleskov, “Codex Vindobensis Theologicus Graecus 244”, *Copyists, Collectors and Editors, Manuscripts and Editions of Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek Literature*, (eds.) David Holton, Tina Lendari, Ulrich Moening and Peter Vejleskov, Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, Ηράκλειο 2009, p. 193-194. The poem was unpublished until 1874. Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 283-284: “Δόξα Θεῷ τῷ ἐν Τριάδι ὑμνουμένῳ. / Τέλος Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός, καὶ πάλι τέλος”. See also Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵ Laments as a genre have a long tradition in Greek literature. For Sklavos poem as a lament see: Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition, Second Edition*, (rev.) Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, USA 2002, p. 90, Hans Georg Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Δημόδοις Λογοτεχνίας*, μετάφραση Νίκη Eideneier, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2007, p. 264 and Tasoula M. Markomihelaki, *Εδώ, εις το Κάστρο της Κρήτης... Ένας λογοτεχνικός χάρτης του βενετσιάνικου Χάνδακα*, University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη 2015, p. 234-237.

¹⁶ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 52-53 and Markomihelaki, *Εδώ, εις το Κάστρο της Κρήτης...* p. 32.

¹⁷ Arnold van Gemert, “Literary Antecedents”, *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, (ed.) David Holton, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, p. 70.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

“It reaches a hundred and fifty, full of bitter couplets,
the speech about Crete; sad couplets.
I, Manolis Sklavos, with care and great effort
I composed these couplets as a lament for the people.
So far, one and a half hundred is completed
these couplets that I prepared by God’s enlightenment.”¹⁸

2. Sklavos’ appeal to divine person for inspiration

The poem begins with an invocation to God, in the way that one would begin a prayer. Sklavos expresses the desire for all people to recognise and accept their inevitable fate, which is death.¹⁹ He acknowledges that God created everything, including mankind, from water and earth²⁰ and appeals for inspiration:

“So send me the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit,
to narrate the disaster that befell Crete,
that we have never seen in our yeas.”²¹

Ancient Greek poets, such as Homeros and Hesiodos, sought inspiration from the Muses. In later centuries, Byzantine hymnographers continued this tradition by invoking holy figures of the Christian faith to gain

¹⁸ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 277-282: “Πενήντα σόνουν κι εκατό δίστιχα πρικαμένα, / της Κρήτης η αθιβολή, τα παραπονεμένα. / Μανόλης Σκλάβος με σπουδή και με μέγαν κόπον / τούτα τα δίστιχα άβγαλα δια θρήνον των ανθρώπων. / Ως επεδά τελειώνονται μισό και κιντινάρι / τα βέρσα τούτα πόκαμα με του θεού την χάριν. Sklavos underlines twice that he wrote 150 couplets or 300 verses while the only surviving copy of the poem contains 282 verses and +2 lines after the colophon. For more information on the extant of the poem see: Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 18-19.

¹⁹ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 1-2: “Supreme one, great king, with countless miracles, / would that man had in mind the natural and common fate! / Ύψιστε, μέγα βασιλεύ, άμετρε των θαυμάτων, / το φυσικόν και το κοινόν άνθρωπος να θυμάτων!”.

²⁰ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 3-5: “My Creator and maker of all things, / that is heaven and earth, sea and waves, / as thy hand hath formed me of water and earth / Πλάστη μου και δημιουργέ των πάντων των πραγμάτων, / του ουρανού γαρ και της γης, θαλάσσου και κυμάτων, / σαν η η χέρα σου μ’ έπλασεν εξ ύδωρ και χωμάτου”. In these verses there is a reference to Genesis 2: 6-7. See Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 37.

²¹ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 6-8: “και μετά μένα νόηση πέψε Αγίου Πνευμάτου, / να δηγηθώ τη συμφορά της Κρήτης την μεγάλη, / τους χρόνους πόβρισκόμεθα ποτέ δεν είδαμ’ άλλη”.

enlightenment like Sklavos.²² It is worth mentioning here the case of another Cretan poet, Marinos Falieros, who rejects the Muses of the ancient Greek poets and replaces them with the Holy Trinity:

“All good teaching and the beginning of good things
is given by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.
So I don’t mention the Muses of the Greeks
to this Holy Trinity I address my prayer
for enlightenment in mind and pen.”²³

3. The date and time of the earthquake

Sklavos records the exact date, day and time of the earthquake: it was “in the year 1508 on the twenty-ninth to thirtieth of May, Monday evening, two hours after sunset”²⁴ that “God sent the earthquake” which “brought fear to the people.”²⁵ Donato provides the same information: “On the 29th of May, around two hours after the sunset, Crete was shaken by a very strong and terrible earthquake.”²⁶ Papadopoulos estimates that the current time was around 23:00 hours.²⁷

4. The cause of the earthquake

In the verses 17-18 of the poem we read: “[God] shook the earth very hard in order to change the behaviour / and the many sins that people were committing”.²⁸ Sklavos believes that the earthquake was a divine retribution

²² Nikolaos Tomadakes, “Βυζαντινών επικλήσεις εις Μούσας και αγίους”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών*, Volume 8, 1957-1958, p. 162-166.

²³ Marinos Falieros, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί του πατρός προς τον υιόν*, (επιμ.) Arnold van Gemert and Win Bakker, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 6), Θεσσαλονίκη 2014, νν. 1-5 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

²⁴ Sklavos, *ibid.*, νν. 8-12: “έπει εκ της σαρκώσεως του Χριστού του ευεργέτη / χίλια πεντακόσια τρέχοντας οκτώ έτι / Μηνός Μαΐου εικοσιεννέα και τρέχοντας οι τράντα, / μέρα Δευτέρα τον αργά ... / Εις ώρες δύο της νυκτός, ...” Then he provides details about the celestial cycles at that time, mentioning the solar and lunar cycles. Besides he that it was on the first day of the new moon. Sklavos, *ibid.*, νν. 13-15.

²⁵ Sklavos, *ibid.*, v. 16: “όντεν ο Θεός με τον σεισμόν μάς έστειλεν τον τρόμον”.

²⁶ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 131 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

²⁷ Papadopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

²⁸ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, νν. 17-18: “Με κλόνον έσεισε την γην, ν’αλλάξουσιν οι τρόποι / και τα πολλά ανομήματα τά κάμνουν οι άνθρωποι”.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

caused by sins of the inhabitants of Candia. Sklavos' interpretation for the earthquake²⁹ is a common *topos* in many chronicles, narratives, and descriptions of natural disasters, diseases³⁰ or fall of cities.³¹

In the vv. 143-168 of the poem Sklavos emphasises the need to give up immoral acts such as *sodomy* and *blasphemy*. He also mentions that *usury* must be avoided. The author relates these actions citing the destruction of Sodom as an example. He suggests that if people do not repent, God will destroy them and their bodies will be cut off by a "Turkish sword",³² making them captives due to their sins. Sklavos concludes by urging people to seek forgiveness and salvation through repentance, quoting the teachings of Christ on peace and kindness towards one another.³³

Donato writes: "It is true that these great phenomena of nature cannot occur without natural causes."³⁴ However, we must believe that they are signs of divine judgment".³⁵ While in the opening lines of his letter, he states that his intention is to share his own and people's experience about the earthquake and to emphasise the importance of living according to God's will and fearing God.³⁶

²⁹ For earthquakes in late Byzantine period see Florentia Evaggelatos-Notara, "Σεισμοί στο Βυζάντιο από τον 13^ο μέχρι και τον 15^ο αιώνα, Ιστορική εξέταση", *Περιοδικό «Παρουσία»-Παράρτημα Αρ. 24*, Αθήνα 1993, and especially p. 112-130 for the interpretation of the earthquakes by the Byzantines.

³⁰ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 147-148 describes sins as the cause of diseases. Also for Manolis Limenitis sins are the cause of the plague in Rhodes in 1498. For Limenitis the poem see: Emmanouel/Manolis Limenitis, *Το Θανατικόν της Ρόδου*, (επιμ.) Günter Steffen Henreich, *Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 8)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2015.

³¹ Timely closer to Sklavos poem is the *Laments for Athens* where its anonymous poet attributes the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1456 to the sins of its people. See: Gonda van Steen, "Sin and the City, A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Lament for the Fall of Athens to the 'Persians'", *Re-imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, (Ed.) Dimitris Tziouvas, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 229-251.

³² "Turkish sword / τούρκικο σπαθί" in v. 145 is a common expression in the laments but here is also a direct reference to the Turkish threat and the fall of the Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks since the earthquake occurred on 29 May, 75 years after its fall. The fall of the Byzantine capital had a great impact on the collective memory of all the people living in that era. See Aphrodite Papayianni, "He Polis healo: The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 in Post-Byzantine Popular Literature", *Al-Masdaq*, Volume 22, Number 1, 2010, p. 27-44.

³³ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 143-168.

³⁴ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 134 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

³⁵ Maravelakis, *ibid.*, p. 134 and Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁶ Maravelakis, *ibid.*, p. 131 and Sklavos, *ibid.*, p.105.

Sklavos rejects the natural causes of the earthquake expresses surprise and disagreement at the belief that the earth is shaken by wind and weather changes, linking it to the views of Aristotle. He considers this belief to be blasphemous, as he believes that God is the one who causes the earth to tremble. The author refers to Psalms and quotes Ioannes Damascenos to support his argument that God is the ultimate ruler of the earth and its movements. He shares the example of how God willed to sink Crete but changed his mind to prevent its destruction. Sklavos' heart is shaken by the threat of an earthquake, but he says that he found solace in the belief that God has shaken the earth and restored its stability, relieving the fear of an earthquake in the future.³⁷

5. The first reactions of the people

Sklavos gives a brief but vivid picture of the moment of the earthquake. He recalls the first desperate reaction of the inhabitants of the city at that particular moment of the earthquake. He says that the people were yelling: "Lord have mercy".³⁸ Then he describes how buildings, including stately homes, dwellers of judges, houses of poor people, and church steeples, are thrown down, affecting both the rich and the poor. Villages, fortresses, and solid towers also crumble, resulting in the deaths of honourable and respected individuals.³⁹ The poet acknowledges the difficulty of reckoning the loss of human life, expressing uncertainty about the number of poor people who perished.⁴⁰

Girolamo Donato describes the conditions in a similar way. The account is more detailed and refers to his actions during the earthquake. Before the earthquake, in Donato's words, the air and sea were calm, with clear sky and a pale sun covered in dust. However, as the earthquake approached, there were ominous sounds of roaring and rumbling.⁴¹ The houses started shaking violently, akin to ships in turbulent seas. The intensity

³⁷ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 207-230.

³⁸ Sklavos, *ibid.*, v. 20: "και από φόβο ο λαός το «Κύριε ελέησον» κράζει".

³⁹ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 21-24: "Και ρίκει σπίτια αρχοντικά, παλάτια των κριτάδων, / εκκλησιών καμπαναριά και άλλα πτωχών τινάδων. Χωριά, καστέλια εχάλασαν, πύργοι μεστοί εράγισαν, / πόσα κορμιά τιμητικά που κακοθανάτισαν!".

⁴⁰ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 25-26: "Φτωχολογιά που χάθηκε ψήφον ουδέν ηξέρω, / πόσοι να καταλύθησαν και να σας τ' αναφέρω".

⁴¹ Sklavos, *ibid.*, v. 19: "[God] sends an earthquake with a rumble and the world goes dark / Πέμπει σεισμόν με την βοή, ο κόσμος σκοτεινιάζει".

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

of the shaking caused the houses to not only lean but also appear to jump. Following the shaking, there was a tremendous crash, so loud and devastating that it seemed impossible to comprehend. Dust became thick in the air, making it difficult to breathe. People did not initially identify the event as an earthquake, instead believing it to be the *end of days* as predicted by God.⁴²

At that moment the Duke was in his bedroom in Ducal Palace,⁴³ just before going to sleep, when he suddenly felt the ground shaking violently. The beams in the room were also shaking, and pieces of plaster started falling from the walls. He quickly got up, put on his clothes, and his wife and other family members joined him. In a nearby bedroom, a large part of the wall collapsed. Donato, picked up his youngest child, John Francis, and the whole family rushed outside to the courtyard. They were amazed as they witnessed the earthquake, which eventually stopped after a short duration, about the time it takes to say the “Pater Noster” prayer.⁴⁴

They quickly left and headed to the central courtyard of the Palace, where they found that the auditorium had already collapsed from the north side. The stairs were covered with debris and broken materials. Due to the possibility of collapse of the high buildings surrounding the Palace, the Duke and his family did not feel safe there. They eventually found shelter in a wooden shack in the market place, close to the Palace. Donato writes that he stayed awake throughout the night, observing the chaotic scenes unfolding before him: people of all ages and genders were rushing out of the city through the gate in the square, creating a chaotic scene as if they were being pursued by an enemy.⁴⁵

⁴² Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 132 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 106. Sklavos also underlines this belief. See: Sklavos, *ibid.*, v. 38: “We’ve made up our minds that [God] is going to sink us / *επήραμεν απόφαση πως θε να μας βουλήσει*” in vv. 41-42: *έτσι ο λαός εφώναζε πως μας καταποντίζει / και μ’αγανάκτησην πολλό ο Θεός μαςε βυθίζει* / And so the people cried out, [saying that God] is oppressing us / and with great wrath God is sinking us” and in v 122: “And all the people were saying: “the Second Coming” [has reached] / και όλος ο κόσμος έλεγεν: “Η Παρουσία Δευτέρα”.

⁴³ The Ducal Palace was on the west side of the *Piazza dei Signori* functioning as the residence and the administrative seat of the Realm of Crete. It was a large complex, which occupied the whole block, with buildings around a central courtyard. It was first mentioned in a document of 1269. Stylianos Alexiou, “Το Δουκικόν ανάκτορον του Χάνδακος”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 14, 1960, pp. 102-108.

⁴⁴ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 132 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

⁴⁵ Maravelakis, *ibid.*, p. 132 and Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 107.

In the morning, Donato went back to the Palace courtyard to rest and sleep after the tiring and dusty night. But three hours after the sunrise,⁴⁶ an aftershock occurred, causing fear and terror to intensify among everyone. The Duke's wife and family pleaded with him to leave the city as no place seemed safe due to the density of the houses. Many others, including nobles and citizens, also tried to convince him to leave. Ultimately, in order to ensure the safety of his family who refused to leave without him, Donato decided to leave the city and settle his family near the town in the enclosure of St. Demetrios. After settling his family, he returned to the market place and made his bed in a wooden shack where he has been sleeping with the night watchmen ever since.⁴⁷

The vv. 27-32 of the poem are a vivid eyewitness account of human loss: Sklavos describes seeing mothers crushed with their children, men of high social status dying in horrible ways, and noblewomen and girls in despair.⁴⁸ Donato's notes on these moments are very similar:

"They informed us that some people were crushed by the rubble and others were pulled out half-dead. They particularly mentioned that many women and children were buried. There was a constant and sorrowful chorus of heartbroken voices. Whenever a corpse was recovered from the debris, they buried it with tears, without any other procession."⁴⁹

Sklavos states that darkness and chaos increased fear, causing people to mourn and flee without seeking their belongings.⁵⁰ The poet highlights the collective grief and lamentation, as people of all social backgrounds weep, "pull their beards and hair",⁵¹ and exclaim their sorrow.⁵²

⁴⁶ About 9 a.m. May 30. Papadopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

⁴⁷ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 133-134 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

⁴⁸ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 27-32: "Είδα μανάδες και παιδιά να βρουν πλακωμένα, / αντρόγυνα πολύτιμα καθοθαντισμένα, / άρχοντες πολύτιμους, παιδιά κανακεμένα, / αρχόντισσες να δέρνονται, κοράσια αναπλεγμένα / και μια να λέγει: "Αφέντη μου, και πού'σαι εδώ, πατέρα;" / και άλλη να λέει: "Μανίτσα μου, κερά μου και μητέρα!"

⁴⁹ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p. 133 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p.107.

⁵⁰ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 33-34: "Και από τον τόσο σκοτασμόν επήραν φόβον μέγαν / δεν εγύρευαν πράγματα, μόν' οδυρόμν, κι εφεύγαν". See also Donato's letter above on the fear and flight of the people.

⁵¹ An expression of grief.

⁵² Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 35-36: "άρχοντες, πλούσιοι και πτωχοί, όλοι μαζί εκλαίγαν / κι εσύρναν γένια και μαλλιά και "οϊμέ" ελέγαν".

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

6. The destruction of churches and *Ruga Magistra*

In the subsequent lines of the poem Sklavos describes the devastating impact of the earthquake on churches. He writes that not a single church was left standing without damage, leading people to believe that God was punishing them.⁵³ Two particular churches, St. Francis⁵⁴ and St. Demetrios,⁵⁵ were underlined as being destroyed.⁵⁶ The earthquake also caused tombs to crack open and coffins to be exposed, resulting in a horrifying scene where the remains of the dead were thrown out in fear.⁵⁷

The destruction extended to the *Ruga Magistra*,⁵⁸ the main street of the city which was completely destroyed, resulting in the deaths of many people, regardless of their social status. The poet compares the destruction to lightning striking and burning the road, eliciting a sense of mourning and sadness for the losses suffered.⁵⁹

7. The damages and human losses at the Jewish quarter

In vv. 59-64, Sklavos accounts in detail the damages at the Jewish quarter and feels deep grief for Jewish victims of the earthquake.

“The Jewish quarter, which had a lot of commercial traffic, was also destroyed.

With all kinds of goods and many silks
in truth, many were killed there too,
so that the pain burned our city and the Jews.
What a man would see such great mourning

⁵³ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 37-42.

⁵⁴ The Franciscan monastery of St. Francis in Candia was situated at the southeast corner of Candia, on the highest hill in the city, thus being immediately visible to anyone approaching from sea or land. The large church was already standing in 1242 and was possibly constructed on a lot that was given to the Franciscans by the state.

⁵⁵ Donato settle his family in the enclosure of this church. For more details see: Joke Aalberts, “Μανόλης Σκλάβος και ο σεισμός του 1508”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 28-29, 1988-89, p. 343-347.

⁵⁶ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 43-50.

⁵⁷ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 51-52.

⁵⁸ *Ruga Magistra* was called the main street crossing the city from north to south, connecting the port to the southern city gate. Along of the *Ruga Maistra* towards the port were situated the two or three stormansions of the noblemen, the wealthy citizens and the dignitaries.

⁵⁹ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 53-58.

and would he not be greatly grieved, even if these people are from different races?"⁶⁰

The Jewish quarter (*Judaica*) in Candia occupied the northwestern part of the city, a neighborhood vulnerable to attacks from sea and land and located near the tanneries, which were a source of undesirable odor and waste. Strong evidence suggests that a Jewish quarter existed already in Byzantine Chandaks and that the Venetians did not change it considerably until the end of the thirteenth century. It was almost completely surrounded by city walls. In 1496 the *Council of Forty* in Venice decreed against the property rights of the Jews even inside the quarter. One of the immediate effects of the enclosed nature of the space was the density of the population therein. Not only were the rents in the *Judaica* almost as high as those for the houses in the *Ruga Magistra*, but the houses rose higher and higher to comprise three or four stories.⁶¹

8. The misfortune of the archonts

Sklavos focuses solely on the Cretan noble families and highlights the misfortune suffered by two of them. The surroundings are described as silent and desolate, with all doors locked. The archonts, who had abandoned their mansions, were gathered outside the city walls in the dry stones and dirt.⁶²

In the form of dialogues they archonts express sadness and sympathy towards each other: one archont mourns the loss of his beloved son, while another reveals the injury inflicted upon a noblewoman and her husband. Another archon reveals the devastating loss of his entire family, while another shares the story of his child being crushed by stones.⁶³

⁶⁰ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 59-64: “Η Οβριακή εχαλάστηκε, με την μεγάλη πράξη, / με πάσα είδη πραγματειάς και το πολύ μετάξι / μά την αλήθεια, εγίνηκε κι εκεί μεγάλος φόνος, / οπόκαψε την χώραν μας και των εβραίων ο πόνος. / Τίς άνθρωπος να’χεν ιδεί τον θρηνηισμόν τον τόσον, / καλά και αν είναι άλλης φυλής, να μην θλειβεί καμπόσον;”.

⁶¹ Joshua Starr, “Jewish Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Volume 12, 1942, p. 59-114 and Georgopoulou, *op.cit.*, p.192-198.

⁶² Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 65-68.

⁶³ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 69-80.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

Sklavos further emphasises the profound sadness caused by the destruction of the Grioni⁶⁴ family's house, which resulted in the loss of nine lives, including a mother and her three daughters. The narrator promises to always remember and retell this tragic tale. Then he mentions Lord Macarella⁶⁵ and his wife who were dragged out of the rubble in disfigured and unrecognisable shape and says that all the people mourned for this couple.⁶⁶

9. The Duke and the other Venetian officials⁶⁷

During that time, Girolamo Donato served as the duke. He was highly regarded as a teacher and orator. He was also known for his compassionate actions, as he rushed to the prisons and released both debtors and wrongdoers. The military commander at the time was Marcello, and the two first counselors were Soranzo and Querini. The chief secretary was Enea Carpenio, who despite his humble background, possessed many virtues and had the privilege of knowing the government's secrets. The earthquake struck while he was in bed with his wife, causing them to fall to the ground. Tragically, Carpenio perished and went to "Hades", while his wife survived the incident.⁶⁸

10. Litanies after the earthquake

According to Sklavos, litanies were conducted at least for a week as a way to seek forgiveness and avoid divine retribution. People of all ages participated in a procession, holding candles and singing prayers to the Virgin Mary and her Son. The priests chanted prayers while holding icons and crosses, asking for mercy and pleading for protection from God's anger. Throughout the week, hymns were sung with tears and repentance to the Holy Trinity.⁶⁹ Girolamo Donato referring to a moment just a few hours after the

⁶⁴ For a mention on Grioni see: Argyri Demirtzaki, *Shrines in a Fluid Space, The Shaping of New Holy Sites in the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese and Crete under Venetian Rule (14th-16th Centuries)*, Brill, Leiden 2022, p. 171.

⁶⁵ For Lord Macarella see: Aalberts, *op.cit.*, p. 350.

⁶⁶ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 81-86 and and vv. 103-105.

⁶⁷ For the administrative organisation of Crete see: Aspasia Papadaki, "Αξιιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη κατά το 16^ο και 17^ο αιώνα", *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Vol. 26, 1986, p. 99-136.

⁶⁸ There is no reference to both incidents in Donato's letter.

⁶⁹ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 107-116: "Λοιπόν με παρακάλεσην όλοι στην Θεοτόκον / κι εις τον μονογενήν Υιόν, τον άσπορόν της τόκον, / εδράμαμεν με λιτανεία, όλοι, μικροί μεγάλοι, ' άντρες, γυναίκες και παιδιά, το "Κύριε ελεήσον" ελάλει, / συμπάθησην γυρεύοντας όλοι με

earthquake writes that the priests bringing icons and saints were leading processions with lit candles. He also says that he witnessed a large number of men and women, of various ages and social levels, praying loudly and sobbing, pleading for mercy from God.⁷⁰ May 29 was also the day of St. Theodosia.⁷¹

11. A storm as a divine sign

On June 5, eight days after the devastating earthquake, thunderstorms began and the sky darkened, making it appear as though the Judgment Day had arrived.⁷² The people were filled with fear as hail and lightning struck the outskirts and villages. With no support or hope, Sklavos writes that they were left to face the angry sea, which roared throughout the night like a wild beast. The falling stars indicated that the sea was boiling and it was believed that fire from heaven would consume and bury them in “Hades”.⁷³

However, amidst this chaos in Sklavos’ interpretation, a miracle happened: God sent a rainbow as a sign of his love and the people found solace in this.⁷⁴ For forty days, all the people slept in darkness, fearing that God would send down fire.⁷⁵ These extraordinary signs have been witnessed by the people, with the stars falling, darkened days, and religious symbols seemingly changing their appearances.⁷⁶

τες λαμπάδες, / με τις εικόνες και σταυρούς ψάλλοντας οι παπάδες: / “Ω Κύριε, μη τω θυμώ μάς’λεγξεις τω δικώ σου, / ουδέ με την πολλή σου οργή παιδεύσεις το λαό σου.” / Κι εδώσαμεν δοξολογιά όλην την εβδομάδα / με κλαήματα, με επιστροφή στην Αγία Τριάδα”.

⁷⁰ Maravelakis, *op.cit.*, p.132-133 and Sklavos, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

⁷¹ Peter Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, I. Teil, Einleitung und Text*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1975, p. 522, Chr. 68/10.

⁷² Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 117-122. Manolis Sklavos portrays another scene where angels sound the trumpet, signaling the resurrection of the dead. As the earth and heaven make a loud noise, the angels carry the throne of the Lord, who declares that those known to his Father should approach fearlessly and boldly. Then the Lord assures them that they shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 251-260.

⁷³ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 123-130.

⁷⁴ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 131-132.

⁷⁵ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 133-138.

⁷⁶ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 139-142.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

12. Άστοχα ερωτήματα (uninformed questions) and the personification of the city

The verses 169-178 are a conversation between *Candia* and the *poetic persona* of Sklavos, discussing the cause of the disaster that has befallen the city. Sklavos of *his poetic persona* laments the destruction of Candia's tall mansions and wonders who is responsible for stripping her of her beauty and leaving not a single house standing. The *poetic persona* appears to be unaware that an earthquake has occurred and suggests various other causes and asks if the Turks, Mamluks, Hungarians or Vlachs were to blame for the destruction.⁷⁷ These questions are a series of *άστοχα ερωτήματα (uninformed questions)*, a common topos in Modern Greek folk songs.⁷⁸

The city rejects one by one *her* interlocutor's questions and concludes with the "right" answer:

"Crete replies in humble way,
and says: "Don't disgrace me, for you are committing a big sin!
I was not felled down by a sword, or by a Turk's cannon,
neither by the arms of the Hungarians, nor of the Mamluks.
My own children destroyed me with their blasphemy
and destroyed my houses that were their patrimony!"⁷⁹

Sklavos gives the city a voice to express her own interpretation for the cause of the destruction that she has suffered. As Markomihelaki pointed out this is the first appearance of *personified Candia* in the existing texts of Cretan literature⁸⁰. It is interesting that nowhere in her answer the earthquake is mentioned as the cause of the catastrophe: the city goes straight to the poem's dominant idea that the inhabitants' sins are to be blamed for the natural disaster that struck them.

⁷⁷ Sklavos, *ibid.*, vv. 169-178.

⁷⁸ The *άστοχα ερωτήματα (uninformed questions)* are a series of questions that the poet poses and he or his interlocutor in the poem rejects one by one until "right" answer is given.

⁷⁹ Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 179-184.

⁸⁰ Sklavos, *ibid.*, p. 52-53 and Markomihelaki, *Εδώ, εις το Κάστρο της Κρήτης...* p. 32. personification is an interesting and distinctive aspect of the city's literary presence, with deep roots in antiquity. Yorgis Yatromanolakis, "Poleos Erastes: The Greek City as the Beloved." *Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium*, (ed.) Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin, Ashgate, London 2005, p. 267-283.

13. The praise of the city

In verses 185-206 Manolis Sklavos praises his homeland. He describes the downfall of Crete and the sorrow it has brought to the world. Crete, known for its wisdom, has been honored by kingdoms and adorned with a royal crown.⁸¹ The cities of Constantinople and Galata have been beautified by Crete, but now other islands like Rhodes and Chios feel distressed and slandered due to Crete's sudden disaster. The mansions that once honored Crete have fallen, causing shock and disbelief. Crete, once majestic like a lion and serpent, has now become cursed. The poor children of Crete cry as they have lost their homes, wandering in mourning. The entire world pities the great calamity that has befallen Crete, especially the Venetian fleet, and cities everywhere weep for its destruction. Crete's pain has even reached as far as Flanders, as its name was renowned both in the East and West.⁸²

Conclusion

Manolis Sklavos presents a moralising discourse and urges collective repentance to save his homeland. Despite the social divisions present at that time, the poet appeals to the collective emotional experience to promote unity, solidarity, and openness to others. The poem suggests that the earthquake should be confronted communally, as the salvation of Candia is dependent on the collective repentance of all its inhabitants, regardless of their social or religious affiliations. By transforming the distress caused by the earthquake into hope, the poet gives meaning to the event by emphasising the shared pain, the fear of divine retribution, the expressed repentance through tears, and the sense of communal action. This emotional experience serves as a means for the community to cope with the tragedy, affecting both the vulnerable and noble members of society.

The poem refers to the distinction between socio-economic groups and how it is expressed in the aftermath of a disaster. The author, Sklavos, talks about the contrast between the comfortable spaces of the wealthy, such as stately homes, and the fact that these collapsing structures killed or injured the very people they were meant to protect, such as women and children. Sklavos accounts for the personal dramas of certain lords, reporting dialogues

⁸¹ A reference to its Byzantine heritage and to Venice.

⁸² Sklavos, *op.cit.*, vv. 185-206 and Markomihelaki, *Εδώ, εις το Κάστρο της Κρήτης...* p. 44-50.

**THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508**

between archonts who express their dismay at the loss of loved ones or the destruction of their families. The poet also mentions specific archonts who were affected by the disaster. In contrast, the many victims of the catastrophe remain anonymous, their identities lost in the tragedy. The author acknowledges the sheer scale of the catastrophe, stating that the number of poor people who perished is unknown.

The analysis of fear and divine wrath in the poem highlights its moral dimension, aligning it with prayers and masses held during natural disasters. This use of disasters for moral purposes is not unique to Sklavos but reflects a common discourse among preachers and laments. The discourse emphasises the importance of repentance to gain divine favor. Sklavos himself invokes the fear of the Last Judgment when describing a storm that occurs eight days after the destruction, further intensifying the population's fear. Throughout history, earthquakes, wars, famines, and epidemics have been viewed as signs of the impending Last Judgment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AALBERTS, Joke, “Μανόλης Σκλάβος και ο σεισμός του 1508”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 28-29, 1988-89 pp. 338-357.

ALEXIOU, Margaret, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Second Edition, (rev.) Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, USA 2002.

ALEXIOU, Stylianos, “Το Κάστρο της Κρήτης και η ζωή του στον 16^ο και 17^ο αιώνα», *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 19, 1965, pp. 146-178.

_____, “Το Δουκικόν ανάκτορον του Χάνδακος”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 14, 1960, pp. 102-108.

AMBROSEYS, Nicolas, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009.

BECK, Hans Georg, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Δημόδους Λογοτεχνίας*, μετάφραση Νίκη Eideneier, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2007.

DEMIRTZAKI, Argyri, *Shrines in a Fluid Space, The Shaping of New Holy Sites in the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese and Crete under Venetian Rule (14th-16th Centuries)*, Brill, Leiden 2022.

EVAGGELATOU-NOTARA, Florentia, “Σεισμοί στο Βυζάντιο από τον 13ο μέχρι και τον 15ο αιώνα, Ιστορική εξέταση”, *Περιοδικό «Παρουσία»-Παράρτημα Αρ. 24*, Αθήνα 1993.

FALIEROS, Marinos, *Λόγοι διδασκατικοί του πατρός προς τον υιόν*, (επιμ.) Arnold van Gemert and Win Bakker, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 6), Θεσσαλονίκη 2014.

GEORGOPOULOU, Maria, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies, Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001.

KAKLAMANIS, Stefanos, “Η χαρτογράφηση του τόπου και των συνειδήσεως στην Κρήτη κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας”, *Candia / Crete / Κρήτη, Ο Χώρος και ο Χρόνος 16^{ος}-18^{ος} αιώνας*, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 2005, pp. 11-69.

LIMENITIS, Emmanouel/Manolis, *Το Θανατικόν της Ρόδου*, (επιμ.) Günter Steffen Henreich, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 8), Θεσσαλονίκη 2015.

MALTEZOU, Chryssa, “The Historical and Social Context”, *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, (ed.) David Holton, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, pp. 17-47.

MARAVELAKIS, Maksimos I., “Συμβολή εις την γνώσιν του ιστορικού των σεισμών της Ελλάδας και των γειτωνικών αυτής χωρών: εκ των ενθυμήσεων”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Σχολής των Φυσικών και Μαθηματικών Επιστημών Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Volume 5, 1939, pp. 67-148.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CRETE (TIS KRITIS O CHALASMOS):
A POEM ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN CRETE IN 1508

MARKOMIHELAKI, Tasoula, “Kastro Says...”: The Personification of Chandakas in Cretan Literature of the Venetian Period”, *“His Words Were Nourishment and His Counsel Food”*: A Festschrift for David W. Holton, (eds.) Efrosini Camatsos, Tassos A. Kaplanis and Jocelyn Pye, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2014, pp. 101-121.

_____, *Εδώ, εις το Κάστρο της Κρήτης... Ένας λογοτεχνικός χάρτης του βενετσιάνικου Χάνδακα*, University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη 2015.

PAPADAKI, Aspasia, “Αξιώματα στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη κατά το 16ο και 17ο αιώνα”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, Volume 26, 1986, pp. 99-136.

PAPADOPOULOS, Gerassimos, *A Seismic History of Crete, The Hellenic Arc and Trench*, Ocelotos Publications, Athens 2011.

PAPAYIANNI, Aphrodite, “*He Polis healo*: The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 in Post-Byzantine Popular Literature”, *Al-Masdaq*, Volume 22, Number 1, 2010, p. 27-44.

SCHREINER, Peter, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, 1. Teil, Einleitung und Text*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1975.

SIMOPOULOS, Kyriakos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, Τόμος Α2: 333 μ.Χ.-1500, Εκδόσεις Στάχυ, Αθήνα 2003.

_____, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, Τόμος Α2: 1500-1700, Εκδόσεις Στάχυ, Αθήνα 2003.

SKLAVOS, Manolis, *Της Κρήτης ο χαλασμός (Η συμφορά της Κρήτης)*, (επιμ.) Τασούλα Μ. Μαρκομιχελάκη, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών [Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη] (Παλαιότερα κείμενα της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, 7), Θεσσαλονίκη 2014.

STARR, Joshua, “Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Volume 12, 1942, pp. 59-14.

TOMADAKES, Nikolaos, “Βυζαντινών επικλήσεις εις Μούσας και αγίους”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών*, Volume 8, 1957-1958, pp. 162-166.

van GEMERT, Arnold, “Literary Antecedents”, *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete*, (ed.) David Holton, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, pp. 49-78.

van STEEN, Gonda “Sin and the City, A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Lament for the Fall of Athens to the ‘Persians’”, *Re-imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, (Ed.) Dimitris Tziouvas, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, pp. 229-251.

VEJLESKOV, Peter, “Codex Vindobensis Theologicus Graecus 244”, *Copyists, Collectors and Editors, Manuscripts and Editions of Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek Literature*, (eds.) David Holton, Tina Lendari, Ulrich Moening and Peter Vejleskov, Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, Ηράκλειο 2009, pp. 179-205.

YATROMANOLAKIS, Yorgis, “Poleos Erastes: The Greek City as the Beloved.” *Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium*, (eds.) Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin, Ashgate, London 2005, pp. 267-283.