

Topography and Power in a small Venetian settlement of Chania. The case of “Garipa”

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This study is a small contribution to the Festschrift devoted to Professor Achim Arbeiter, my Doktorvater, whose scientific vigor, kindness and constant support have been essential for my own academic development. So, with utter gratitude I wish:

ΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΕΤΗ ΔΑΣΚΑΛΕ

The paper presents the results from the archaeological research of the settlement Garipa in Chania, focusing mainly on the presence of a rustic villa and its connection within the settlement. The village lays ca. 4,5 kms to the south of Chania, belonging to a wider complex of settlements that is called Perivolia (Fig. 1). The area is located east of the river Kladissos and is characterized by the strong presence of water and fertile lands. During the early period of the Venetian occupation, the whole region was conceded to 22 Venetian landlords, after a mutual bargain between them and the State, which presuppose both private and public exploitation of the natural resources¹. During 1551-54, at the highest plateau of Garipa (called “*Butzunaria*”) there was constructed –by the rector of Chania, Leonardo Loredan– the main water tank of the aqueduct that supplied water to the city of Chania. The project arose after an agreement between the State and the *nobili Veneti* Viaro, who owned the land at the time². The cistern was accompanied by an impressive fountain decorated with a semi-arch, next to a villa, which is currently preserved in ruins. The complex has been built on an artificial plateau at the top of the hill, with limited access from an uphill road that still passes through the small settlement of Garipa (Fig. 2). The road today is surrounded by ‘Ottoman houses’ with walled courtyards (Fig. 3). Yet a closer look indicates that these buildings incorporate –either intact or modified– structural elements of the Venetian period such as doors, lintels or buttresses. Therefore, the road leading to the plateau was essentially a narrow passage surrounded mainly by man-

1 Gasparis 2008, 34.

2 Gerola 1932, 28 f., fig. 32. The class system of Crete during the Venetian occupation was divided into four separate categories: ‘*Nobili Veneti*’ or ‘*Feudati*’ belonged to the highest social rank. They were Catholic colonists and their descendants, who owned estates of land on the island. Their nobility was hereditary and sustainable, although it always remained dependent upon the central Venetian government. ‘*Nobili Cretensi*’ were second class aristocrats of local radiance. ‘*Nobilitas Cretensis*’ was granted by the State to nobles, who belonged to the anterior Byzantine aristocracy as an exchange for their occasional military, political or financial aids to Venice. ‘*Cittadini*’ or ‘*Burgenses*’ were the non-nobles citizens of the urban centers. They were mainly public servants, traders, notaries, artists, artisans and solicitors. The simple folk of the cities or the province, ‘*Plebe*’, ‘*Populari*’, ‘*Populani*’, ‘*Villani*’ or ‘*Contadini*’ belonged to the lowest social rank. For the social stratification of the society in Crete: Maltezou 1988, 114 f.

sions with a tower-like appearance. The research of the masonry of the modern settlement houses indicates the existence of Venetian walls enclosed within the later ones of the Ottoman and modern era, such as pilasters with ‘bugnato’ technique³. The comparison between the material evidence of the dwellings and the geomorphology of the site, allows us to detect the Venetian residential core of Garipa settlement, which was trapezium-shaped (Fig. 2)⁴. This core was consisted of 30 houses situated at the slope of the hill and constructed around a central core (road), thus forming a *casale* (village) or *casaleto* (hamlet), which developed in dependence with the rustic villa of the landlord on the top of the higher plateau⁵. This *casale* is formed as a closed protected settlement, the boundaries of which are determined by its external fortified dwellings, which with their dense construction organize a single front with one entrance⁶. Both the spatial connection of the settlement and the villa, as well as the differences in the construction of the facades and the masonry, indicate the social distinction between the inhabitants of the village (dependent / free land workers) and the local landlord, as well as the possible differentiation between the inhabitants of the settlement themselves.

The uphill road leads –through the settlement– to the ruins of the Viara villa, which has been founded at an altitude of 116 meters above sea level, on an artificial terrace supervising the plain that stretches to the north, having visual access to the bay of Chania. The construction of the mansion is an important technical achievement. The artificial terrace measures approximately 624 square meters (Figs. 4–5). Its northern slope is held by a massive wall (12 meters high), which has been reconstructed in different periods. Its southern side is the horizontal wall of the mansion (6 meters high), which simultaneously functions as buttress. The reverse side of the mansion is physically protected by the overlying rock. The construction of the complex on a terrace refers to parallel villas in Italy of the 15th–16th century such as the Villa Medici in Fiesole, Tuscany (1450) (Fig. 6)⁷. Simultaneously the protective presence of a rock at the reverse side of the residential complex is

3 The ashlar technique is a masonry used in architecture since ancient times and revived, with different methods and forms, up to the contemporary era. Bugnato is characterized by blocks of stone superimposed in staggered rows previously worked so that the horizontal and vertical joints are grooved and set back from the facade plane of the masonry. For the technique: Belli 1996, 9–23.

4 For the Cretan settlement patterns and the methodological aspects concerning their development: Skoutelis 2020, 123–165.

5 For the terminology and the typological aspects of the Venetian settlements: Gasparis 2020, 26 f.

6 For the arrangement of the fortifications, entrances, and towers at a 14th c. settlement cf. the case study of the “*Kastrochori*” at Vitsilia (1387) : Gasparis 2009, 178–188.

7 For the Villa in Fiesole (with previous literature): Frommel 2017, 18 f., Figs. 3–4.

frequently met elsewhere in Crete; at the east of the Monastery of Tzagarolon (17th c.)⁸ or at the south of the Tower-Mansion of the Maroulas settlement in Rethymno⁹.

Based on Venetian records Gerola attributed the ownership of the mansion to the Viaro family¹⁰. This attribution is confirmed by an unpublished description of the painter and engraver Marco Boschini, who had visited the site as part of his travel at Crete in the 17th century¹¹. The building is preserved today at the level of the ground plan (Fig. 7). Important morphological elements remaining in the site are:

- 1) the beginning of a flight of stairs, and
- 2) four massive piers on the façade of the building.

The design of the villa is developed on two levels: the first one is the main mansion built on the central plateau, the second one is an elongated rectangular space constructed on the higher and narrower southern terrace. The excavation of the remaining ground floor of the villa did not reveal many portable finds, because the edifice was destroyed, its building material was repeatedly looted and a great part of it was reused as a tavern in the first half of the 20th century. However, new elements emerged regarding the construction and design of the building. A characteristic feature of the façade would have been the three arched entrances that were initially constructed on the strong piers of the ground floor. The latter are consisted of an inner core (mainly mortar and rubble masonry) and a revetment of small ashlars. The three entrances led to a tripartite chamber (Fig. 8). At its southern side, a rectangular room was revealed. The room was equipped with a paved elevated floor made of river pebbles, which originally covered the width of the room (11.80 m × 2.80 m.) and was probably divided into eight rectangular partitions. Between the cobblestone and the south wall there is a gap of 70 cm wide that was supplied by a pipeline, while north of it the stable ground. The use of the room remains an object of investigation. The worn paving stone with the partitions and the presence of a gap in its rear part (indicative of a removed installation), refer to parallel stables for guarding horses, which usually include a cobbled platform and feeders at the back¹². This conjecture is reinforced by the status of the possible owner of the villa Marcantonio Viaro as the leader of the feudal cavalry of Chania¹³.

On either side of the core there are two equal-sized rooms, which probably functioned as the storage –auxiliary rooms of the ground floor– as in most Cretan urban and rustic

8 Andrianakis 1994, Figs. 4, 34.

9 For the settlement: Giapitsoglou 2012.

10 Gerola, 1917, 263; Curunni – Donati 1988, 291.

11 Information kindly provided by the architect P. Trimandili, whom I warmly thank for our lengthy discussions on the topic.

12 For similar installations at Italian villas: Frommel 2017, 24.

13 Manousakas 1963, 280–282.

habitations¹⁴. The utter destruction of the upper floor allows only mere speculations concerning its form and function. The staircase led to the balcony of the upper floor. Based on the structural elements and the architectural parallels, the design of the floor would be like that of the ground floor¹⁵. As in the urban mansions, one hall (*piano nobile*) would have occupied the central area¹⁶, while two symmetrical spaces would rise above the corresponding rooms on the ground floor. The use of these lateral spaces is a matter of speculation. Most likely, both rooms were used as bedrooms, while less likely one room served as a sleeping place and the other as a kitchen, in proportion to other rustic villas such as the one in Katochori, Chania (Fig. 9a)¹⁷. The reconstruction of the possible functions of the upper floor is partially complemented by the unpublished description of Boschini, who mentions that the central hall of the first floor was equipped with a large marble table. From this room one could go out into a garden with a vine at the back of the building. The infrastructure of this garden can be identified with the rectangular space located 6 meters higher than the ground floor (Fig. 10). Strong walls create a parallelepipedon between the rock and the villa. The walls formed empty spaces filled with soil, forming on the one hand the upper level of the gardens, on the other hand a strong dam in order to protect the mansion from rockfalls.

The ground-plan of the building is based on the symmetrical juxtaposition of rooms on either side of the central space, forming an extensive rectangular plan that differs from the rural mansions of Chania, which are usually designed as cubic structures, often displaying a common design (Figs. 9a–b)¹⁸. The harmonious features of the villa's ground-plan refer in a simplified way to the corresponding Italian examples of the 15th and 16th c., from the regions of Tuscany and Veneto. Morphological features such as the central façade with its roofed portico, its stone-riveted piers and the three overlying arches are one of the most frequent arrangements of the Italian Renaissance villas, especially the Palladian ones¹⁹. The existence of a superimposed floor is indisputable, but its morphology

14 For the use of storage rooms at the ground floor of urban mansions: Demakopoulos 2001, 124. For the similar use of these rooms at the rustic villas: Bourbakis 2018, 94. Generally for the rural villas of Crete: Katopi 2021, 193–205; Maglio 2013, 83–86. For analogue functions at the Frankish Palace of Clermont and at the Palace of the Great Magistros of Rhodes. Athanasoulis 2013, 130; Kollias 1998, 72.

15 For a thorough collection and comparison of designs and function of the upper floors at Venetian villas of Crete: Bourbakis 2018, 88–94.

16 Demakopoulos 2001, 112.

17 Bourbakis 2018, 93–94.

18 For a typological comparison of the Venetian rustic villas in the region of Chania (Katochori, Villa Trevisan, Rodopou) based on ground-plans and aerial photographs: Bourbakis 2018, 93. Katopi considers that apart from the villas of Retonda / Kalathenes, Trevisan and Rodopou none of the remaining rustic villas displays a unified plan. Yet, this opinion must be re-examined thoroughly. Katopi 2021, 197.

19 For example, cf. the façades of the Palladian Villas at Villa Muzani alla Pisa and Villa Saraceno (Finale, Agugliaro). Pane 1961, 138. 245.

remains unknown. The location of an external staircase indicates the existence of a balcony that would extend to the end of the main entrance. This element differentiates the villa from the Italian monuments where the main entrance is usually corniced with a triangular gable.

The complex is completed with an eastern terrace on which stood the monumental fountain built within a rock roof, coated with rubble masonry in the 20th century (Fig. 11). After the partial unsealing, an elaborate pier with ‘bugnato’ technique and a quadrant arch were revealed. The constructional and morphological features of the installation are reminiscent of the impressive grottoes of the 16th c. gardens of Italy. This relationship is confirmed by the archaeological evidence (water pipes leading to the garden villa) and Boschini’s description, who mentions the existence of impressive water jets in the Viaro mansion, referring directly to the *giochi d’acqua* (water games) that were popular in the architecture of Italian gardens²⁰. The settlement of Garipa and the revelation of the villa / fountain complex of the hill offer a new element for the exploration of life in Venetian-occupied Crete.

As we have already remarked, the existence of the protected settlement of Garipa that encloses the (temporary) mansion of the landlord fits into the general shape of the Venetian settlements of Crete²¹. On the other hand, the existence of the Renaissance villa with harmonic proportions and accompanying gardens indicates for Crete a more advanced stage of habitation in relation to the 14th–15th c. tower / mansions of the landlords, which functioned as observatories, storage rooms and fortified residences²². As Frommel has suggested for the Italian Medici Villas²³, the 16th c. mansion at Boutsounaria expresses “*a new way of life and perception*”, forming a country retreat which is oriented towards *otium*. The complex at Boutsounaria introduces us to a period of recreation, as vividly described by Juanes Papadopoulos about Candia and its surroundings in the 17th c. at a time when *nobili Veneti* and their spouses were enjoying their escapes from the city to their holiday resorts²⁴. Consequently, the edifice remains the sole material testimony for the function of these villas as hunting lodges, suitable for festive feasts²⁵.

The topography of the area is completed with the complex of the churches of Agios Panteleimonas and Agios Dimitrios approximately 200 ms east of the villa (Figs. 2, 12). The connection between them is made through paths, for which we assume two possible routes: the first through a narrow uphill road or the second through a more comfortable,

20 Attlee 2006, 30.

21 Gasparis 2020, 28–44; Gratziou 2003, 435–446.

22 Gratziou 2003, 437, 445. For the function of the Lombard or Venetian towers of Euboea: Lock 1996, 107–127.

23 Frommel 2017, 17 f.

24 Papadopoulos 2013, 97–99.

25 Papadopoulos 2013, 59.

but longer route. In a previous publication²⁶ that focused on the frescoes of the monument, we have concluded that in the northern church (Agios Panteleimonas) there was a change of confession from Orthodox to Catholic, while the southern one retained its Orthodox character (Fig. 13)²⁷. Summarizing our previous conclusions, the mural decoration in the eastern part of Agios Panteleimon consists of two layers (Fig. 14). The earliest (first half of the 15th c.) is characterized by theological knowledge with emphasis on liturgical themes and is related to Orthodox monastic circles. The original decoration was covered with a second layer consisting of illusionistic Renaissance painting; thus, the interior of the church acquired the impression of a porch or an aisle of a basilica, through the depiction of three-dimensional colonnades on the side walls. The decoration ended in the triumphal arch, where two Latin inscriptions were found (Fig. 15). The southern one reads: “*Omnia quae petieritis in oratione credentes accipietis*” (“All that you ask in prayer, having faith, you will receive”) and is a variation of a passage from the Latin translation of the Gospel of Matthew, specifically, Mt. 21,22. The second one reads: “*Memento non esse linguam quae precetur, sed mentem, et si mens aliud agit, nihil oras*” (“Remember that it is not the language that prays but the mind, and if the mind is thinking otherwise, your prayer is nothing”). The latter is an extract from the popular handbook of private piety *Excitationes animi in Deo* (1535) by the Catholic humanist Juan Luis Vives. The time of publication of the book provides us with a secure *terminus post quem* for the creation of the new mural decoration, probably in the middle or second half of the 16th century. As we have already noted in the previous publication, the coexistence of private piety and renaissance aesthetic choices in the same church refers to the milieu of a scholarly Venetian nobleman who can be identified with either Francesco Viaro or his son Marcantonio, the possible owners of the neighboring villa at Boutsounaria. The identification of the owner of the church with Marcantonio Viaro (1542–1605) seems more alluring. This personality was one of the richest landlords of Chania, cautious to maintain close social relations with senior Venetian officials, so that he was entrusted with the co-command of the feudal cavalry of Chania with Zaccaria Zangarol. Simultaneously, he appears as a patron of letters and arts, as it is implied from the letters addressed to him by important scholars of his time, such as Georgios Chortatsis, who even dedicates his work “*Panoria*” to the Venetian landlord²⁸. The conclusions that emerged from the analysis of the form of the Boutsounaria complex suggest that Marcantonio can be identified with the owner of the villa either by inheriting it from his father or by building it. This hypothesis is reinforced by the division of the Viaro family’s property. As highlighted by the dowry agreements of the civil registry books, three of the five daughters of the family inherit the most distant properties of the family in Kissamos and Apokoronas²⁹. At the same time, the younger brother Vinzenzo was usually represented by the older Marcantonio, who seems to be the main

26 Mailis 2018, 183–205.

27 For the discussion concerning double churches in Crete and their dogmatic differentiation: Gratziou 2010, 127–174.

28 Manousakas 1966, 266–268.

administrator of the paternal estate along with his mother Regina Zangarol. Consequently, it seems reasonable that Marcantonio managed the privileged mansion in the suburban Garipa.

Incorporating the study of Agios Panteleimonas in the overall analysis of the settlement of Garipa we conclude that the correlation of the settlement, the villa and the church create a topography of power that can be interpreted based on the social and economic differentiation between Viaro and its dependent population. The villa of the landowner is placed at the farthest protected point of the settlement, while at a lower point lays the settlement of dependent or free peasants who offer their labor power and protect the country villa with their densely built houses. The element of social differentiation is complemented by the transformation of Agios Panteleimon in a private chapel of the Catholic landlord and the continuation of the use of the neighboring Agios Dimitrios as an Orthodox Church. Taking into account the decline of the Catholic clergy in the Cretan countryside as early as the 15th century³⁰, but also Foscarini's mention (1577) concerning the dynamic Orthodox consciousness of the inhabitants of the Chania district (mainly with the aid of refugees from the Peloponnese)³¹ and Georgio Perpigniano's report (1620) concerning the existence of a private chapel within the urban *pallazo* of Marcantonio Viaro in Chania³², the question arises as to the necessity of converting the confession of St. Panteleimon.

With relative certainty we can deduce that the church did not meet a regular liturgical need. It could be occasionally used as a private place for prayer and meditation, family ceremonies, but also as a place of worship during the stay of the family in the mansion in extraordinary circumstances. At the same time, however, another parameter must be considered. Given that the landlord did not reside permanently in Garipa except in circumstances of harvest, hunting, amusement, etc.³³, the Catholic chapel emphasized the differentiation of his religious identity from the local Orthodox population even when he was

29 Kateruza Viaro gets married to Zorzi Barocci, who accepted as dowry estates at Malathyros and Sassalo. Elizabetta Viaro marries Fransesco Zangarol, who received land at the village Tzitzifes. Andriana Viaro marries Alexander Molin, taking as dowry land at the village Sourpos. For the dowries: Spitha-Pimpli 2000, 50. 55. 112.

30 Thiriet 1966, 211. The same image is confirmed by Papadopoulos for the religious conscience of the Venetian inhabitants of rural regions around Candia in the 17th c.: Papadopoulos 2013, 93.

31 Tomadakis 1952, 52.

32 “*Detto: visito poi la capella posta nel palazzo del q. Clarmo Sig. Marc’ Antonio Viaro sopra nel portico in un cantone in capo, la quale è assai angusta et intitolata la Natività del Signore, ornate di tutti quelli paramenti necessari per la celebrazione della Santa Messa, et ha una lampada nanti. L’ Altare è lungho solamente passo uno, fondato sopra quattro modegioni di pietra; la pala ha l’imagine della Natività di Christo, con S. Gioseffo, la Madomma et altri Santi. Visi celebra la Santa Messa per la necessità d’ una Gentildonna da Cà Viaro d’ età novantanni, et non è donatta.*” (Mannucci 1914, 107 f.).

33 Katopi 2021, 195.

absent. The religious identity is linked to his social status as landlord, as much as to the retain of his political rights in the colony but also to his cultural connection to his Metropolis, on which his economic and social status depends³⁴.

Viaro enjoys the works of Cretan writers –participating in a society with common cultural characteristics– but his sisters marry exclusively members of the Venetian aristocracy of Chania such as Barozzi, Zangarol, Vizzamano and Molin³⁵, strengthening the relations of a local elite, which on the one hand retains land ownership within its circle³⁶ and on the other hand, still claims property privileges from Venice³⁷. Besides, the younger brother Vincenzo, in 1629 exchanged houses with the parish of San Benedetto in Venice, while in 1644 he drew up the specifications of his tomb in the same city³⁸. Therefore, Viaro’s insistence on the catholic confession can be interpreted as a statement of ‘otherness’ aiming to the differentiation of the hegemonic group of *nobili veneti*. Demonstrating his Catholic faith as a cultural characteristic, Viaro declares class distinction both from the Orthodox population and Cretan nobles who should choose either to incorporate hegemonic cultural elements³⁹ such as Catholicism or to follow a neutral unionistic direction⁴⁰.

Consequently, the study of Garipa with its principal points (settlement – villa – double church) seems to offer the material expression of the complexed class relationships that prevailed in the island of Crete during the late years of the Venetian occupation. We believe that the extensive research of analogue examples in the Cretan province could shed more light to this highly intriguing period.

34 Mckee 2000, 239.

35 This result is drawn from the marriage contracts and baptism certificates of the Viaro family members: Spitha-Pimpli 2000, 50, 55, 112; Manousakas 1966, 277, 7 f.

36 Gasparis remarks that Venetian landlords were constantly anxious for the increasing land possession either from Cretans or descendants of mixed marriages (“*bastardi*”). Therefore, the Venetian State tried to exclude the later group from acquiring administrative offices. Gasparis 2008, 46.

37 For the complexed relationship between the Venetian aristocrats of Crete and their Metropolis: Raines 2020, 153–175.

38 SIUSA | Ecclesiae Venetae – 1. 4 “*San Benedetto – 1644 26 giugno – Testamento di ser Vincenzo Viaro quondam Francesco per una mansionaria perpetua ...*” Malusa Marilisa, Archivi Storici della Chiesa di Venezia, <<https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=unita&Chiave=318228&RicDimF=2&RicProgetto=ev>> (13.04. 2023).

39 The term “*hegemonic*” should be interpreted within A. Gramsci’s use of the concept. As indicated by Gruppi, Gramsci interprets “*Hegemonia*” as the ability of the ruling classes in unifying diverse social groups in one common ideology. Gruppi 1977, 84.

40 For examples of Cretan nobles who agree to accept Catholicism in favor of social and administrative benefits. Mckee 2000, 108.

Zusammenfassung / Summary

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird die topographische Beziehung zwischen der Villa Viara in „Butzunaria“, ihrer angrenzenden Siedlung „Garipa“ und der Doppelkirche Hagios Panteleimon-Hagios Dimitrios interpretiert. Die Topographie von „Garipa“ entspricht einem gemeinsamen Typus mittelalterlicher kretischer Dörfer, die eine äußere Hülle aus befestigten Wohnbauten aufwiesen und damit nur begrenzten, dafür aber gesicherten Zugang in die Siedlung ermöglichten. Die Hauptstraße, die durch die Siedlung führte, endete auf einem künstlichen Plateau auf dem Hügel. Dieses Gelände wurde für den Bau einer beeindruckenden Villa des 16. Jahrhunderts – heute in Ruinen – verwendet, die der feudalen Familie Viaro gehörte. Die Grundriss des Gebäudes sowie die Existenz eines Brunnens deuten darauf hin, dass der Komplex als ländlicher Rückzugsort für die Freizeit der venezianischen Adligen genutzt wurde. Die Topographie des Ortes wird durch die Anwesenheit der Doppelkirche Hagios Panteleimon-Hagios Dimitrios kompliziert: Die aufeinanderfolgenden Freskenschichten der Nordkirche (Hagios Panteleimon) deuten darauf hin, dass das ehemals orthodoxe Gebäude um Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts unter Marcantonio Viaro in ein katholisches Oratorium umgewandelt wurde, während die Südkirche (Hagios Dimitrios) ihren orthodoxen Charakter behielt. Die Hauptpunkte von Garipa (Siedlung–Villa–Kirche) deuten also darauf hin, dass sowohl die Topographie als auch der Bau und der Umbau der Gebäude als visuelle Zeichen der Machtdemonstration gebraucht wurden, was Fragen zu sozialen und religiösen Identitäten aufwirft.

Schlüsselworte: Venezianische Zeit, Kreta, Topographie, Siedlung, Doppelkirche

This contribution aims to interpret the topographic interrelation between the Villa Viara in “Butzunaria”, its adjoining settlement that is called “Garipa” and the double church of Hagios Panteleimon-Hagios Dimitrios in the same region. The topography of “Garipa” seems to fit into a common pattern of medieval Cretan villages, which displayed an external shell of fortified dwellings that enabled diminished and secured entrances into the settlement. The central road that passed through the hamlet ended to an artificial plateau atop of the hill. This terrain was used for the construction of an impressive 16th c. villa – today in ruins – that was owned by the estate owners of the Nobili Veneti Viaro. The design of the edifice as well as the presence of an impressive fountain implies that the complex was used as a country retreat intended for the leisure of the Venetian nobles. The topography of the site is completed with the presence of the double church of Hagios Panteleimon-Hagios Dimitrios. The successive fresco layers of the north church (Hagios Panteleimon) suggest that the former Orthodox edifice was modified into a Catholic oratory, in the middle of the 16th c., under the patronage of Marcantonio Viaro, while the southern one (Hagios Dimitrios) retained its orthodox character. Consequently the principal points of Garipa (settlement–villa–church) suggest that topography, building construction and re-modification are often used as visual signs of power display and thus invoke questions of social and religious identities.

Keywords: Venetian period, Crete, topography, settlement, double church

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Fig. 3: The road that leads to Villa Viaro, through the settlement of Garipa (Photo: A. Mailis 2021).



Fig. 4: The northern wall of the artificial terrace (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2000).

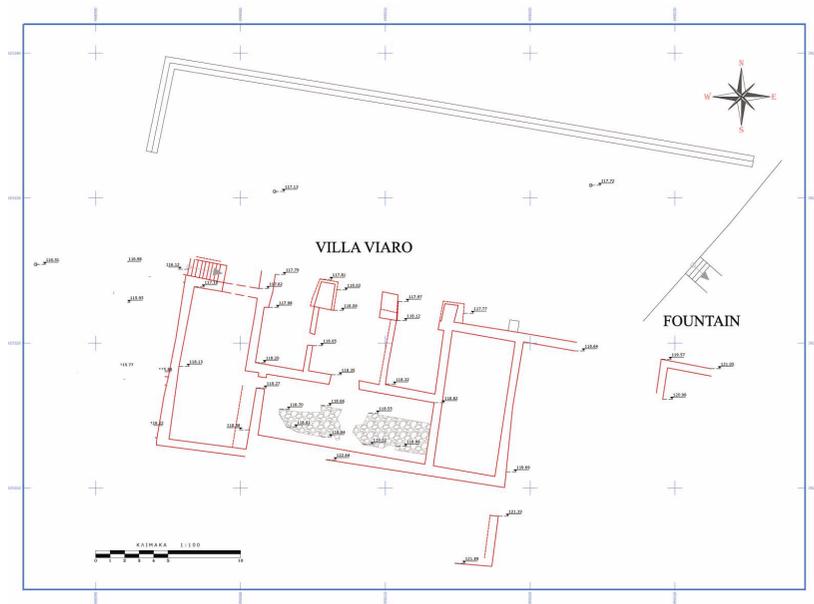


Fig. 5: Topographical map including the ground-plan of Villa Viaro and the neighboring fountain (Plan: Chr. Fragonikolaki – G. Perivola, Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).



Fig. 6: Villa Medici in Fiesole, Tuscany (Foto: I, Sailko, Wikimedia Commons 2013).



Fig. 7: The remnants of the Villa Viaro from North (Photo: A. Mailis 2021).



Fig. 8: The main chamber of Villa Viaro from above (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2021).

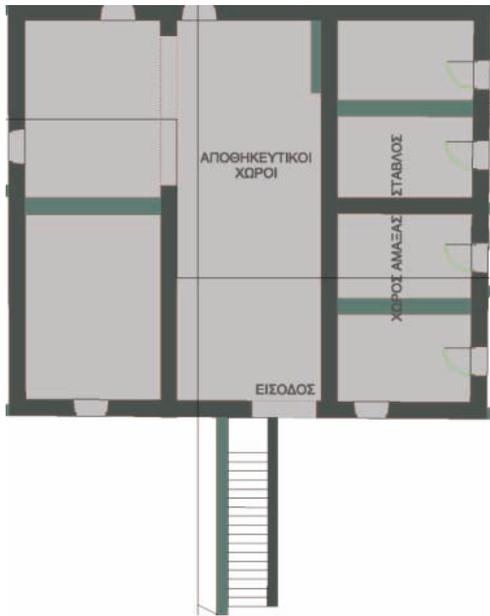


Fig. 9a: Ground-plan of the Villa at Katochori (Plan: K. Bourbakis).

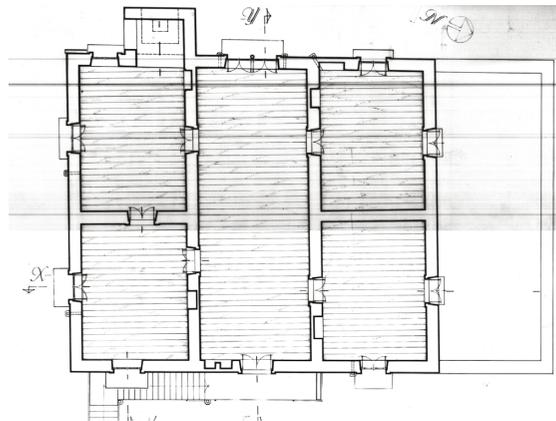


Fig. 9b: Ground-plan of the Villa Trevisan (Plan: Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, Chania).



Fig. 10: The foundations of the garden at the reverse side of Villa Viaro (Photo: A. Mailis 2021).



Fig. 11: The fountain at the plateau of Butzunaria (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2021).



Fig. 12: The double church of Agios Panteleimonas – Agios Dimitrios (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2017).

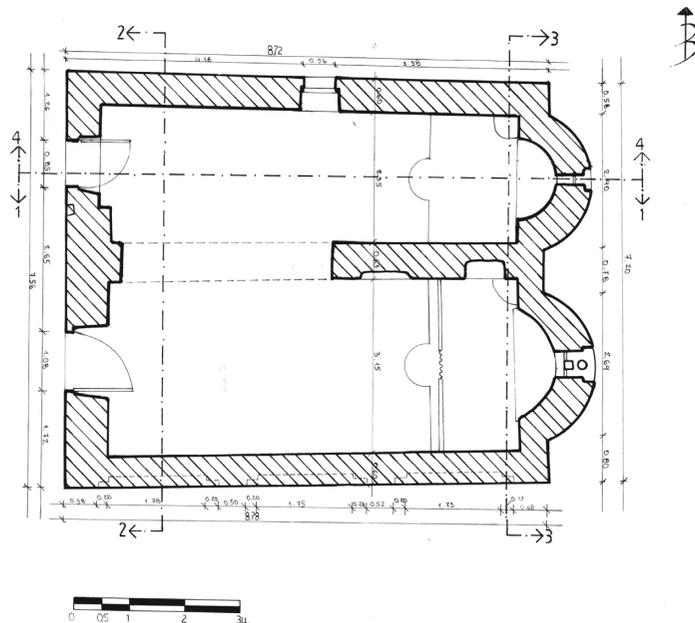


Fig. 13: The double church of Agios Panteleimonas – Agios Dimitrios (Plan: G. Perivola / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).



Fig. 14: The south wall of Agios Panteleimon (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2017).

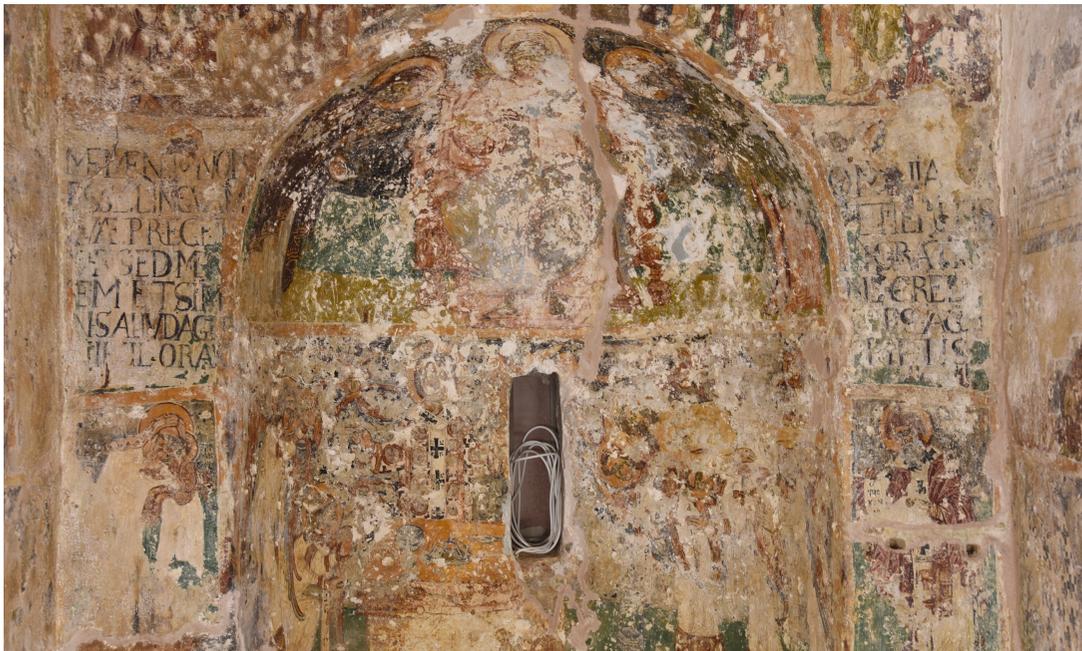


Fig. 15: The apsis of Agios Panteleimon, including the Latin inscriptions (Photo: D. Tomazinakis / Ephorate of Antiquities Chania 2017).