

Evidence of Religious Exchange in Cretan Wall Paintings?

An Exceptional Group of Churches with Decorations from the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

The following article aims to shed light on the cultural and religious exchange between the Venetian and Greek populations on the island of Crete during the Venetian occupation from a rather unusual perspective, namely wall paintings in churches. The starting point is a unique iconographic detail within a group of fourteenth-century mural paintings that shows a specific liturgical vestment of the Roman Catholic clergy, the maniple, on the wrists of Greek Orthodox bishops. In order to evaluate the possibility of cultural exchange and its effect on religious consciousness in Western rural Crete, different historical and archaeological sources will be taken into consideration.

After a brief introduction to the historical circumstances of the Venetian occupation and an overview of the historical sources on cultural exchange and Cretan church paintings, the paper presents a group of churches with murals that show Western stylistic and iconographic elements and that can be connected to a specific workshop. Following this observation, written sources on religious exchange as well as archaeological evidence will be discussed. This collection of case studies will illustrate the complexity of the topic.

Historical Circumstances

From ancient times, Crete played an important role in the Mediterranean, for example in the evolution of Bronze Age

culture, but also as an important trading hub in general¹. The island's favourable location can be held responsible for its constant change in domination. After AD 395 it became part of the Byzantine empire, the so called first Byzantine period². From 826 to 961 it was occupied by the Muslims³, until general Nikephoros Phokas regained control during the siege of Chandax⁴. In the following second Byzantine period (961-1204)⁵, the island became a *théma* that was administered by a *dux*⁶. After the Fourth Crusade, Crete was assigned to Boniface of Montferrat (ca. 1150-1207), who sold it in 1204 to the Venetians in hope of gaining their assistance against Balduin I (1172-1205)⁷. Nevertheless, the Genoese were also interested in the island as a trading centre and fought Venice for maritime supremacy⁸. To strengthen their hold over Crete, in 1211 Venice sent seventy-three Venetian colonist families to the island⁹, who are known by their *cognomina* on the *concessio insulae cretensis*¹⁰. They were supposed to occupy their allotted estates and to gain ground for Venice's long-term presence. The centralistic administration with the capital in Candia (today Heraklion) followed Venetian structures¹¹. All possessions and lands were ousted from the Greeks and shared amongst the Venetian state, the Latin church and the colonists¹². The land was divided into six sections¹³, the *sexteria*, which were again parted into around 200 units of land, the *cavallerie*, that were attributed to *milites* and *pedites*¹⁴. Until the fourteenth century, the division into four prefectures¹⁵, the *nomoi*, was established and they almost

1 For the most recent publications providing an overview on Cretan culture and history from the Bronze Age to the Roman Period see: Chaniotis, Kreta; Francis, Roman Crete; Gagarin/Perlman, Laws; Seelentag, Kreta; Unwin, Caria and Crete; Vander Beken, Architecture; Widmann, Crete. – Maltezou, Kreta; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 17-30 provide an overview on the Venetian occupation. – Detorakis, History of Crete continues up to the modern age.

2 Detorakis, History of Crete 109-119.

3 Detorakis, History of Crete 120-131; Vassilios, Raids; Vassilios, Conquest.

4 On Phocas' campaigns in Crete and Cyprus see: Takirtakoglou, Polemoi.

5 Detorakis, History of Crete 132-141.

6 Detorakis, History of Crete 133-134.

7 Detorakis, History of Crete 143-144. Maltezou Kreta 11.

8 Detorakis, History of Crete 144-145. The fight against the Genoese continued after the first Venetian colonists arrived on the island. In 1206 Enrico Pescatore, count of Malta, occupied Crete without opposition by the Venetians and even started building castles. Georgopoulou, Colonies 18. The admiral Alamanno da Costa held out until 1217, when he was captured and imprisoned by the Venetians. Cheyette, Pirates 46.

9 Other documents from 1222 and 1252 prove the arrival of another group of settlers to ensure the military presence further west of Candia around the city of Rethymno and later Chanea. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 35-39.

10 Tafel/Thomas, Urkunden 1, 134-135. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 179-180.

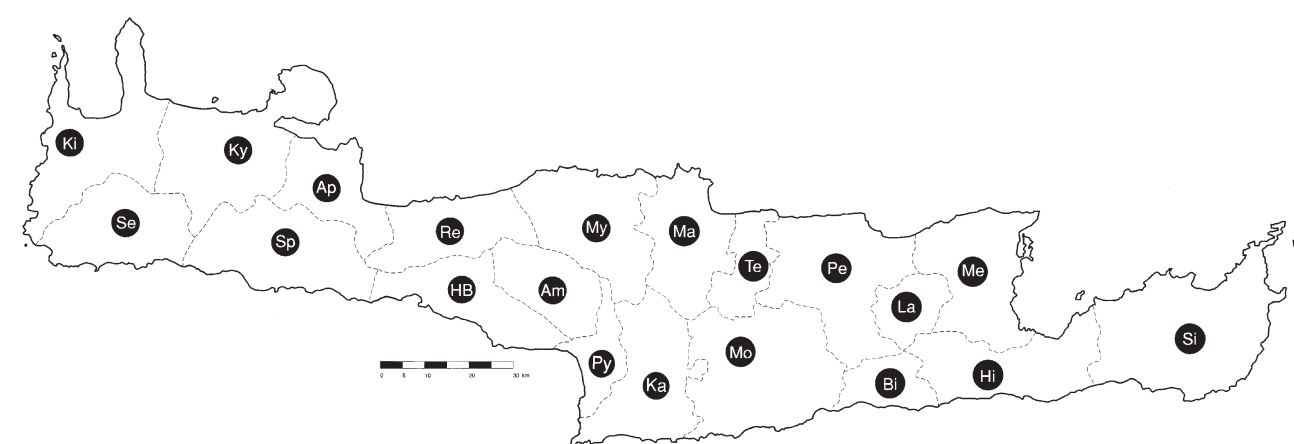
11 The development of the administration was assigned to Giacomo Tiepolo. The leading Duke, two councillors and three advisory councils formed the Signoria of Crete. Naturally only Venetian noblemen could take up a political position. Within the cities of Chanea and Rethymno, rectors were appointed to carry out the local administration. On the process of election and the function of each body see: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 26-28.

12 Gasparis, Land 25-40; around 10 000 Venetian colonists arrived on Crete within the first century of the occupation; at the time, Crete had ca. 150 000 inhabitants. Topping, Co-existence 11.

13 Detorakis, History of Crete 147-149.

14 McKee, Uncommon Dominion 32-34. According to their status, the *milites*, the mounted men-at-arms, 132 in total, each gained one *cavallerie*, while the remaining 68 *cavallerie* were each divided into six parts, the so called *serventarie*, that were given to the *pedites*, the foot soldiers.

15 Detorakis, History 149-150; Gasparis, Land 33.



Nomós Chania:

Ap Apokoronas
Ki Kisamos
Ky Kydonia
Se Selino
Sp Sphakia

Nomós Rethymnon:

Am Amari
HB Hagios Basileios
My Mylopotamos
Re Rethymnon

Nomós Herakleion:

Bi Biannos
Ka Kainurgio
Ma Malebizi
Mo Monophatsi
Pe Pedias
Py Pyrgiotissa
Te Temenos

Nomós Lasithi:

Hi Hierapetra
La Lasithi
Me Merabello
Si Seteia

Fig. 1 The Prefectures and Municipalities of Crete. – (After Bissinger, Wandmalerei map 1).

concur with the modern-day districts of Chania, Rethymno, Heraklion (Candia) and Lassithi (fig. 1)¹⁶. From 1211 to 1669 the occupied island was known as *Regno di Candia*¹⁷.

The Venetian Impact on Cretan Society and Identity

After 1204, the Greeks in Crete had to adjust to their new rulers, a process which rarely occurs without uprisings¹⁸. At the same time, closer contact between Venetians and Greeks was prohibited¹⁹. As definite as this strict segregation of the population may seem, a change in historical events demanded changing terms. Even the earliest resistances such as the one led by the Hagiostephanites family in Lassithi, which ended in 1213²⁰, or the one led by the brothers Melissenoi in 1222²¹ achieved in parts the reinstatement of some privileges to the Greek nobility. The revolt of Alexis Kallergis in Rethymno (1283-1299) with the support of other Greek noblemen²² led

to a higher influence of this Greek aristocratic family. They not only regained land and partial autonomy, but also the right to form marriage alliances with Latin feudatory families to secure their social ascent²³. By the fourteenth century, complaints by Candiote feudatories about the indigenous members of the Great Council²⁴ hint to an unwanted presence of Greek aristocracy within their ranks²⁵. Confrontation and exchange between the Venetian Latin colonists and the Greek inhabitants²⁶ are not only logical reactions within a colony, but also clearly documented. While the exact religious, social, or political²⁷ motivations of each revolt against the occupants may have differed, social status²⁸ and the proximity between Greeks and Latins²⁹ always played a role. As Sally McKee has shown in her analysis of sources from the Venetian archives on Cretan ethnicity, ethnic purity as initially intended by Venice was an illusion³⁰. Nevertheless, some cultural markers such as language and religion were omnipresent and constituted the base for an identification of the Cretan population either as Latin or Greek³¹.

16 The localisation of churches on Crete is often arduous due to the sheer number of monuments and the use of the same name for more than one village. In this article, the first mention of a church will be followed in brackets by the abbreviation of the prefecture and municipality, as listed in fig. 1.

17 Detorakis, History of Crete 147.

18 On the many uprisings that occurred during the Venetian rule see: Detorakis, History of Crete 153-175; Maltezou, Kreta 115-129; Manoussacas, Problemi 488-493.

19 Trading as well as intermarriage between Venetians and Greeks was initially forbidden to secure their hold on the land. Gasparis, Land 36-17. On intermarriages see: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 67-68. 71-74. 101. 168-169. Tomadakis, Politica 795.

20 Borsari, Creta 33-36.

21 Detorakis, History of Crete 154-156; Maltezou, Kreta 117-120.

22 On the final contract of the Pax Alexii Callergi see: Mertzijs, Sintheke; Detorakis, History of Crete 161-163.

23 On the genealogy of the Calergi family see: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 74-83. The earliest document that proves a marriage to the Latin family Corner dates from 1304. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 77. The earliest concession of marriage to a Greek nobleman dates even earlier, to the year 1272. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 71-72.

24 McKee, Uncommon Dominion 39. An earlier letter by the Venetian Signoria to the duke of Candia, from 1302, where Greeks are equalised with bastards that are

permitted neither *feudum* nor a seat within the Great Council, point to the rising social status of the former Greek nobility. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 102-103.

25 At least seven Greek noble families are known to have had seats on the councils. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 70. 103 (here enlisted are the seven Greek family names, that were part of the Great Council between 1357 and 1363). 169 (here McKee only writes about five families).

26 In the following pages, I will use the terms Latin and Greek to distinguish the Cretan population, as they were official categories used at the time. McKee, Uncommon Dominion 168.

27 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 20-21.

28 The Greek aristocracy aimed to gain social status, while the peasants needed to ensure a well-supported hinterland in which they could farm.

29 A closer interaction within the capital of Candia and other larger cities automatically resulted in an encouraged exchange of habits, while farmers rarely had contact with their Latin feudatories. A certain exchange nevertheless is known. On a changing economy under the Venetian rule, the interactions between landowners and farmers, and the question at what point a peasant was allowed to leave his land see: Gasparis, Peasants.

30 For the conclusion of her extensive research on mainly unpublished archival sources, that are not only of governmental and literary nature, but also private notary documents see: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 168-177.

31 On both topics that she defines as ethnic markers see: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 102-132.

With the Venetian rule, the Latin (Roman Catholic) rite reached the largely Greek Orthodox populated island. Latin churches were built within the cities to serve the colonists³². Mendicant orders such as the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans³³ settled on the island close to the larger cities, but also in rural regions³⁴. Even though the Orthodox rite could continue, its actual practice was hindered by many factors. Orthodox bishops were banned from the island, and the Latin Church took over administration³⁵. The *protopapades*, heads of the Orthodox churches, were chosen and hired by the Venetians and needed to support the church union to be selected³⁶. The priests were allowed to celebrate the Orthodox mass but were restricted as it was difficult to reach out to an Orthodox bishop for consecration³⁷. No documents confirming such a demand are preserved, though the treaty of the *pax alexia Callergi* in 1299 includes the permission of installing an Orthodox bishop in Rethymno³⁸. Even though it was not prohibited, being of Orthodox faith was not easy with the restricted numbers of priests³⁹ who were allowed to perform the liturgy. But the persistence on keeping their faith as a part of Cretan identity ensured the survival and practice of the Greek Orthodox rite.

The Cretan Churches as Sources for Social and Religious Identity

This observation finds further confirmation in the extensive number of churches and chapels⁴⁰ that were decorated with

a typical Byzantine pictorial program during the Venetian occupation⁴¹. The decorated and well-preserved churches are around 750 in number⁴². Often categorised as provincial⁴³, the sheer amount of pictorial evidence that can often be dated with the help of donor inscriptions⁴⁴ provides not only an insight into the artistic evolution of paintings, but also archaeological evidence on the social structure of the rural society of Crete⁴⁵. Two attitudes towards the Venetians can be found within the donor inscriptions⁴⁶. Eleven donor inscriptions refer to the following Byzantine emperors⁴⁷: Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1228)⁴⁸, John V Palaiologos (1341-1391) together with his son Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376-1379)⁴⁹, Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)⁵⁰ and John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448)⁵¹. The use of the Byzantine emperors' names conveys a strong sense of connection to the former rulers⁵² and could be understood as resistance to the Venetians⁵³. The opposite position can be read in the donor inscription in the church of the Archangel Michael in Kavalariana (Ch, Se, 1327/1328), which was decorated by the painter Ioannes Pagomenos⁵⁴:

»[...] during the present century in the year 6863 [= AD 1327/28], when Crete is ruled by the great Venetians, our masters, this present church of the great archangel Michael of the heavenly hosts was made with the expenses and contributions [...]«⁵⁵

- 32 On establishing and construction of the Latin churches see: Bolanakis, Kirche. Thiriet, Églises. On the preserved buildings see: Gerola, Monumenti II, 17-167; III, 145-156 (Latin monasteries). Georgopoulou, Architecture (on the architecture and sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus with further literature). Kitsiki Panagopoulos, Churches.
- 33 On the Latin religious Orders in Greece with a large focus on Crete see: Tsougarakis, Orders.
- 34 Such as the Franciscans, who built convents also in Chanea, Rethymno, near Knossos and Villanova. Tsougarakis, Orders 104, map 3.
- 35 On Cretan church history see: Bissinger, Kreta 918-920; Bolanakis, Kirche; Detorakis, History of Crete 176-183; Manoussakas, Kirchengeschichte; Thiriet, Églises; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 25-30.
- 36 The position of the *protopapas* always depended on the Venetian administration. The *protopapas* were moreover not accepted as Orthodox by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Detorakis, History 177-178; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 25-26. On the function of the *protopapas* in late Byzantine rural regions and Constantinople see: Kraus, Kleriker 105-106. 433-434.
- 37 Since no Orthodox bishop was available on Crete, priests who needed consecration were only allowed to travel to an appointed Orthodox bishop within other Latin occupied regions. It is also known that the Patriarchate of Constantinople secretly sent out *exarchoi*, who consecrated priest on the island. Bolanakis, Kirche 60-63. 80-85.
- 38 Detorakis, History of Crete 161-162.
- 39 Even though we know nothing about the number of Orthodox priests in the 13th and 14th c., a 16th c. census of population by Petros Kastrophylakas reports 265 priests within the nomos Chania. Sources from the period show that some of those priests were accused of being not religious and choosing the priesthood only to gain a better social status. On the unedited account of Petros Kastrophylakas, the number of priests, their motivations and misbehaviour see: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 29-30.
- 40 On the typology and the dating of the Cretan sacral architecture see: Gallas, Sakralarchitektur; Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta 32-78.
- 41 Even though the wall paintings of Crete have been recorded in parts, much research still needs to be done and published. For a general overview of the Cretan wall paintings see: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta 79-137 (with a following catalogue of selected monuments). Andrianakis/Giapitsoglou, Mnemeia. On the stylistic development of the Cretan wall paintings from the Macedonian period to the end of the 15th c. see: Bissinger, Wandmalerei; Kalokyris, Crete. For

- the Nomos Chania see the work of Lassithiotakis. Lassithiotakis, Apokoronas; Lassithiotakis, Kissamos; Lassithiotakis, Kydonia; Lassithiotakis, Selino; Lassithiotakis, Sfakia. For the Nomos Rethymnon see Spatharakis. Spatharakis/Van Es-senberg, Amari; Spatharakis, Agios Basileios; Spatharakis, Rethymnon; Spatharakis, Mylopotamos. Essays on single monuments – very often discussed by Greek scholars and therefore published in Greek journals – are numerous and cannot be enlisted here. For monographs on specific monuments and workshops, see i. e.: Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana; Ranoutsaki, Brontisi; Ranoutsaki, Potamies; Schmidt, Veneris; Sucrow, Pagomenos; Tsamakda, Kakodiki.
- 42 Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 219. Bissinger estimated the number of decorated churches to be around 1000. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 12.
- 43 Mouriki, Trends 80.
- 44 Spatharakis, Dated.
- 45 Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 228-233.
- 46 Crete features at least 450 donor inscriptions. Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 228.
- 47 For the following list of inscriptions and further literature on each inscription see: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 261, notes 105-108.
- 48 The four churches referring to this emperor are: St John in Hagios Basileios (He, Pe, 1291), St Pavlos in Hagios Ioannes (He, Py, 1303/4), Archangel Michael in Doraki (He, Mo, 1321), St George in Plemeniana (Ch, Se, 1409/1410). In the last church the dating does not concur with Andronikos II. reign.
- 49 The two churches referring to their dates are: St John in Koudoumas (He, Mo, 1360), Panagia in Papagiannades (La, Si, 1363/4).
- 50 The only church referring to this emperor is: Panagia in Skouloufia (Re, Re, 1407).
- 51 The four churches referring to this emperor are: St George in Exo Mouliana (La, Si, 1426/7), St George in Emparos (He, Pe, 1436/7), St Constantine in Aydou (He, Pe, 1445/6) and another inscription that is kept in the Historical Museum in Herakleion.
- 52 During the 13th c. two attempts of recapturing Crete were made by the Byzantine empire. Detorakis, History of Crete 155-157.
- 53 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana 195-198. For further emphasis on being understood as Orthodox within the inscriptions see: Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 232.
- 54 Even though the inscription in Kavalariana does not include the painter's signature, the wall paintings can be ascribed to Pagomenos due to iconographic and stylistic criteria. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 114-116.
- 55 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana 170-171. 194-195 fig. 28; for the German translation see: Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 232 fig. 22; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 260.



Fig. 2 The donor portraits of the church of the Archangel Michael in Kavalariana (Ch, Se, 1327/8). – (Photo archive Dr. Stavros Maderakis).

This praise for the Venetians is complemented by the detailed depiction of the dress of the donor figures in the niche of the southern wall. The men are clad in tunics that are made from different coloured fabric pieces known as *mi-parti*, a typical Western European fashion (fig. 2)⁵⁶. In showing a pro-Venetian attitude, this inscription is unique among the Cretan donor inscriptions. We should not overrate its significance. Its existence nevertheless proves that both attitudes existed and were expressed in writing within the sponsored churches.

Western Elements in Cretan Wall Paintings

As the written sources have shown, relations between Cretans and Venetians underwent different phases showing both strong conflict and certain practices of accommodation. A certain exchange of practices took place, not only within the cities, but also within rural areas. Changes within the decoration of Cretan churches and chapels may be part of this process. Their appearance is usually understood as traditionally Byzantine in program⁵⁷, iconography and style⁵⁸. Elements that differ from this tradition are usually⁵⁹ labelled as Western elements or Western influences⁶⁰. Those *Western elements* are numerous, often very subtle and difficult to

⁵⁶ Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana 213-216.

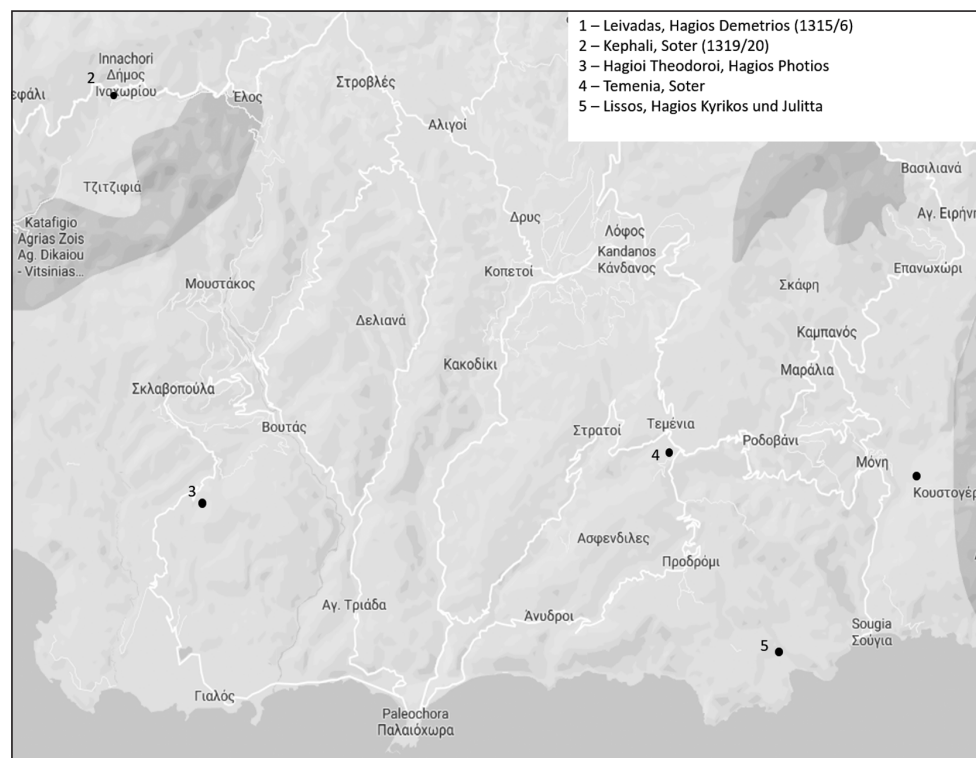
⁵⁷ On the Byzantine pictorial program that was established after iconoclasm during the middle Byzantine period and continued with some alterations during the Late Byzantine period see: Demus, *Decoration*; Giordani, *Bildprogramm*; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Programme décoratif*. Another fact concerning the installations of the pictorial program is the architecture itself. The ideal program was intended for the cross-in-square church. The most common type of church on Crete on the other hand is that of the single naved church. Even though an overall work on the Cretan pictorial program, which might identify regional differences, still needs to be conducted, some overviews have been made. Bissinger, *Kreta 1006-1024*; Kalokyris, *Crete 145-148*. On the peculiarities within the Byzantine pictorial program, see: Lassithiotakis, *Sfakia 128-142*; Tsamakda, *Kakodiki 251-252*.

⁵⁸ All the stylistic transformations of the Byzantine centres can be found also on Crete. While the eastern part of the island used stylistic tendencies only with a minor delay, the western part remained true to a more conservative tradition. For a summary on the Cretan stylistic trends in context with the Byzantine art see: Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen 219-228*.

⁵⁹ Spatharakis sometimes uses the term »*un-Byzantine*« as a more neutral characterisation of abnormality. Spatharakis, *Dated 18*. 58.

⁶⁰ Given the islands historical background, it seems obvious that elements within the wall paintings which cannot be traced back to Byzantine tradition are likely to have derived from the Venetian art. Unfortunately, some scholars take this fact for granted and miss comparing the Cretan paintings with »western« monuments. This neglect of offering suitable comparisons proves that a systematic study on the western elements within Cretan wall paintings is still missing.

Fig. 3 Map of western Crete. Highlighted are the five relevant churches. – (<https://maps.google.de/> [30.10.2019], with alterations).



trace back to their origins⁶¹. Within this huge field of study, a group of five churches with murals dating to the beginning of the fourteenth century stands out because, according to Stavros Maderakis' analysis, they are at least partly the work of the same painter who had a Western artistic background⁶². All are situated in the nomos Chania in the western part of the island⁶³ (fig. 3): Soter in Kephali (Ch, Ki, 1319/1320)⁶⁴, St Photios in Hagioi Theodoroi (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.)⁶⁵, Soter in Temenia (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.)⁶⁶, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316)⁶⁷ and Sts Cyricus and Julitta in Lissos (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.)⁶⁸.

Within this group of churches, the identification of an individual painter⁶⁹ is actually difficult, as – contrary to Mad-

erakis' assertion – the decorations in all these churches were executed by two to three individuals⁷⁰. Only the donor inscription in Leivadas includes the names of two painters: the monk Niphon and Ioannes Pagomenos⁷¹. Based on the untypical iconography and style of the wall paintings, as well as the bad preservation of the inscription, an involvement of Ioannes Pagomenos⁷² – the most active painter in western Crete during the first half of the fourteenth century – was put into question⁷³. Indeed, evidence of Pagomenos' hand is only noticeable in some cases within the paintings. In Kephali, at least two unnamed painters – one in the eastern, the other in the western part of the church – worked simultaneously⁷⁴. In Hagioi Theodoroi Michael Veneris decorated the eastern part,

61 For articles on this topic, see: Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Exchange; Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies; Ritzerfeld, Markuslöwe; Vasilaki, Kathemerini Zoi; Vasilaki, Kreta; Vasilaki-Mavarakakis, Western influences.

62 Maderakis, Temenia 98-99. The author determined that at least two out of five churches were in parts decorated by the same painter. The closest connection can be found between Leivadas and Temenia. In Kephali, Hagioi Theodoroi and Lissos similar tendencies can be found which might tie them to the previous painter in a workshop context. A thorough analysis of hands will be part of the authors PhD.

63 All following churches are not fully published. Some are presented shortly in catalogues or articles, that will be cited in the following notes. It is the authors aim to present and explain their artistic connection, their origin and the extent of their western elements in her ongoing PhD thesis.

64 Bissinger, Wandmalerei 73-74 no. 22 fig. 33 (eastern yoke). 106 no. 69 fig. 70 (western yoke); Gallas/Wessel/Borbourdakakis, Kreta 199-200 fig. 116; Gerola, Monumenti IV, 418-418 no. 15; Lassithiotakis, Kissamos 212-217 figs 62-72 pls 17-17b; Papadaki-Oekland, Kephali; Spatharakis, Dated 56-58; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 256; Tsougarakis/Angelomati-Tsougaraki, Epigrafes II, 147-152.

65 Maderakis, Hagios Photios; Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies 492. 494-495. 508-513 figs 268-274; Papadaki-Oekland, Hagioi Theodoroi; Schmidt, Westliche Einflüsse; Spatharakis, Dated 58.

66 Bissinger, Kreta 1077-1079; Gallas/Wessel/Borbourdakakis, Kreta 225-227 figs 173-174 (with a dating to the 16th c. that has been declined quite forcefully); Lassithiotakis, Selino 365-368 pl. 87 figs 342-249; Maderakis, Temenia;

Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies 492-493. 495-504. 513-516 figs 257-263a; Spatharakis, Dated 58; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 256.

67 Gerola, Monumenti IV, 471 no. 55; Lassithiotakis, Selino 377-379 no. 119 figs 369-372 pls 92, 92a-b; Maderakis, Leivadas; Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies 492. 493-494. 504-508. 514-516 figs 263b-267; Spatharakis, Dated 16-18 figs 10-14 (with a much too early dating to 1292/3). On the reading of the washed-out donor inscription: Ioannidou, Diorthoseis 330-333 figs 1-2; Tsougarakis, Leivadas.

68 Lassithiotakis, Selino 283-385 pl. 96; Tsougarakis/Angelomati-Tsougaraki, Epigrafes III, 309 no. 197.

69 In 22 % of the Cretan donor inscriptions, the painters' names are documented. There are only a few studies on Cretan painters and their workshops, such as those of Theodor Daniel and Michael Veneris, Ioannes Pagomenos and Manuel and Ioannes Phokas. Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 219 with further references in n. 3 and 4.

70 Moreover, only some of them share a common western stylistic tendency, while others executed their paintings in Byzantine style. Such a strong stylistic difference can be found in Kephali and Hagioi Theodoroi.

71 Ioannidou, Diorthoseis 330-333.

72 Even though his style undertook a slight change, he is known for his stern looking figures and overall linear tendency that correlates with Byzantine tendencies.

73 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 43 n. 97.

74 Spatharakis, Dated 58. Gallas/Wessel/Borbourdakakis, Kreta 200.



Fig. 4 Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, Hagia Marina in Ravdoucha (Ch, Ki, 1300-1329). – (Photo archive Dr. Stavros Maderakis).

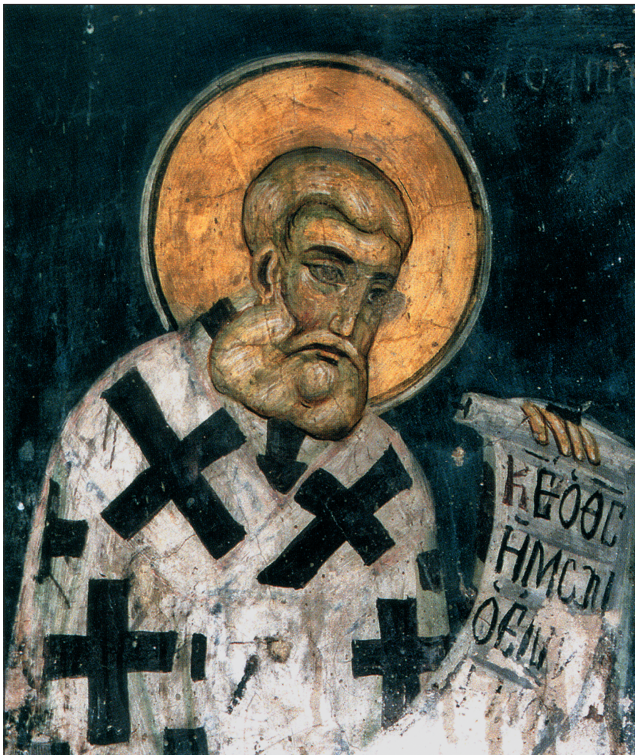


Fig. 5 St Athanasius, St Georgios in Agias Trias (He, Py, 1302). – (After Spatharakis, Dated fig. 17).

while the western part is the work of an unknown painter⁷⁵. Temenia was decorated by at least three painters⁷⁶: one decorated the nave⁷⁷, a second anonymous painter created the scenes showing the passion of Christ. Ioannes Pagomenos, finally, worked with both and is only stylistically noticeable in smaller details. In Lissos, the eastern part and the vault were the works of an unknown painter, while the saints in the lowest zone can be stylistically ascribed to Ioannes Pagomenos.

To fully understand Maderakis' statement that the painter⁷⁸ must have had a Western artistic background, the church decoration firstly needs to be put into context with Cretan contemporary wall paintings. Due to the inscription in Leivadas the painter's name, *Niphon*, is known⁷⁹. He can also be stylistically identified from parts of the decoration in Temenia. For the remaining wall paintings in Temenia, Kephali, Lissos, and Hagioi Theodoroi, which share a very close but not identical similarity in execution, the most plausible assumption is that they are the work of fellow painters who collaborated with Niphon, in a kind of workshop. Those unknown individuals with the same Western artistic background will be referred to as *Western painters*.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, two stylistic tendencies⁸⁰ are found in Byzantine wall paintings on Crete: the linear style and the volume style⁸¹. The use of one or the other was due to the painter's artistic education and preference⁸². The linear style, as can be seen in St Marina in Ravdoucha (Ch, Ki, 1300-1320)⁸³ (fig. 4) defines figures and objects by thick contouring lines. The interior structure such as the facial features or the drapery and the highlighting are also created with lines. This creates a well organised and precise appearance but stays two dimensional and flat⁸⁴. The Palaiologan volume style on the other hand aims for depth

75 On the identification of Veneris see: Schmidt, *Westliche Einflüsse*.

76 The stylistic differences already have been noted but never specified. Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Kreta* 226.

77 Maderakis already compared the similar arrangement of the apostles within the communion of apostles in Temenia and within the ascension from Leivadas. Maderakis, *Temenia* 105.

78 Maderakis never distinguished more than one individual within the decoration of the churches and was not aware of the painter's names in the donor in Leivadas.

79 In the case of the wall paintings of Leivadas, the major decoration that cannot relate to Ioannes Pagomenos, can be understood as the work and hand of Niphon.

80 On the stylistic evolution of Cretan wall paintings see: Bissinger, *Wandmalerei*; Bissinger, *Kreta* 1024-1174; Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Kreta* 79-134; Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 219-228 (with an emphasis on Cretan wall paintings' significance for the metropolitan art).

81 Within the so called Palaiologan style, the linear style and the volume style are only two tendencies. Other tendencies appear expressionistic, impressionistic or luminous. Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 223-224 (with further literature references on the Palaiologan style).

82 Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 223.

83 Ravdoucha is decorated by the Veneris workshop that characteristically worked in the linear style. Maderakis, *Veneris*; Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 225.

84 In the 14th c., this style appears conservative and traditional compared to the Byzantine tendencies, as it had been in use since the previous century. Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 224. Sucrow explains the choice of style with a political and cultural isolation of the western part of the island, preventing the adaption of newer stylistic tendencies. Sucrow, *Pagomenos* 117. Bissinger on the other hand assumes that the use of a traditional style was chosen intentionally to preserve the Byzantine tradition and identity against the Venetians. Bissinger, *Wandmalerei* 64.

Fig. 6 St Photios, St Photios in Hagioi Theodoroi (Ch, Se, begin. 14th c.). – (Photo A. Steinert).



and plasticity⁸⁵. It can be found on Crete from the beginning of the fourteenth century and reached its height during the middle of that century. The paintings from St George in Hagias Trias (He, Py, 1302)⁸⁶ are the earliest example on Crete (fig. 5). The painter here created a more vivid and naturalistic expression with finer modelling of skin tone and drapery. The green and red shadowing on the skin is also very characteristic for that style.

The five previously mentioned churches share an unusualness of style (figs 6-9). They display a certain animated movement of figures, as can be seen in the bent down heads of St Nestor in Lissos (fig. 7) and St Georgios in Temenia (fig. 8), a lightness in appearance through slender proportions, use of finely nuanced shading and an overall warm colour scale. The facial features are rounded. The almond, sometimes circular eyes combined with the upwards bent mouth give the figures an open and friendly look that differs from the stern and dignified expression of the usual Byzantine types (figs 4-5).

Nevertheless, some tendencies, such as the green shadowing along the hairline of St Nestor in Lissos (fig. 7), find an analogy in the Palaiologan volume style (fig. 5). Another quite unusual feature is a strange combination of realism and linearism at the same time. While the face of St Photios in Hagioi Theodoroi is formed carefully with light contouring lines and the skin is delicately modelled by nuances of beige, the red cloak billowing behind his back with its flat and linear worked waves of fabric almost appears almost stiff (fig. 6). The same scheme can be seen in the modelling of skin and beard and the arrangement of the dress on the figure of Christ within the scene of the ascension in Leivadas (fig. 9). It appears that Niphon and the unknown painters also shared some common ground with linear tendencies. By combining their own personal preferences such as the warm colour scheme and the round, friendly-looking faces with stylistic tendencies of the traditional linear and Palaiologan volume style, they created something new and unusual⁸⁷.

85 Tsamakda, *Stifterwesen* 220. 223.

86 Spatharakis, *Dated* 22-23 fig. 17.

87 A striking stylistic similarity, i.e. within the Venetian art, cannot be found, as they showed strong Byzantine tendencies, but also – such as in Giotto – fol-

lowed a very naturalistic style that is far more elaborate than the Cretan examples. On the artistic exchange in Venice see: Maguire/Nelson, *San Marco*.



Fig. 7 St Nestorius, Sts Cyricus and Julitta in Lissos (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 9 Detail of the Ascension, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 8 Detail of St Georgios, Soter in Temenia (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.). – (Photo A. Steinert).

Nevertheless, the paintings contain some stylistic features that are foreign to any known Byzantine style, some of which can even be traced back to a Western origin. The composition of some faces within the scenes of the cycle of Saint Demetrios in Leivadas (**fig. 10**) is non-Byzantine. Within the unique first scene of a small Demetrios cycle⁸⁸, the prefects face is modelled in the same ochre colour as the collar of his dress and his hat⁸⁹. This results in a strange unreal and amalgamated look of grisaille painting⁹⁰. While a slightly darker ochre tone is used for the facial features and the outlines of hair, beard, collar and hat, white lines are used as highlights, but without being able to achieve any realistic look. Especially the monochrome tone of the face and hair resemble stained

88 On the rare cycles of Demetrios in Byzantine art see: Walter, Warrior 84-90.

89 Maderakis identifies the scene with the help of the now illegible inscription as the episode of Leontius, prefect of Illyricum crossing the river Danube with parts of the Saints cloak as relic. Maderakis, Leivadas 83. The episode with the prefect Leontius is mentioned in the *passio altera* of Saint Demetrios (BHG 498). For a German translation of this episode see: Bauer, Patron 34.

90 On the appearance of the grisaille painting in the Tre- and Quattrocento with various examples, i.e. Giotto, Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti see: Blumenröder, Grisailen.



Fig. 10 Detail of the Demetrios-Cycle, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 12 Detail of the Crucifixion, St Photios in Hagioi Theodoroi (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.). – (Photo archive Dr. Stavros Maderakis).



Fig. 11 Healing of men and animals by Cosmas and Damian, formerly part of the Marktkirche in Goslar (Germany), 1270/1275. – (After Cat. Magdeburg 2009 II, 129, III.36a).

glass⁹¹, where black stain was used to outline and structure the figures' heads on a single piece of glass while other, different coloured pieces of glass were used to shape the rest of the figure and scene. An example can be seen in the glass panel depicting the healing of men and animals by Cosmas and Damian, dating around 1270/1275, formerly part of the Marktkirche in Goslar, Germany (fig. 11)⁹².

Another unusual feature are the blonde hair strands of the Theotokos and other women within the scene of the crucifixion in Hagioi Theodoroi (fig. 12). Usually, the women's

91 Maderakis, Leivadas 86.

92 Cat. Magdeburg 2009 II, 128-131 III.36 (E. Kozina). Generally, on medieval stained glass see: Becksmann, Glasmalerei; Burger, Fenestrae; Grodecki, Glasmalerei; Lillich, Armour. The Corpus Vitrearum International also offers on their homepage a list of publications from the countries, that participate in the project: www.corpusvitrearum.org.



Fig. 13 Crucifixion, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316). – (Photo A. Steinert).

hair is not visible⁹³, except for the depiction of some grieving women within the scene of the *threnos*, where the visible loose hair is of dark brown colour⁹⁴. The blond hair colour, as Papadaki-Oekland has already observed, seems to have derived from Western pieces of art⁹⁵. In Byzantium, women with blonde hair were not entirely unknown. One of the donor portraits, dating between 1122 and 1134, in the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul shows John II Komnenos (1118-1143) and his wife Eirene. The empress is depicted with curled golden-blond hair that ends in two compact strands of hair slightly below the shoulders⁹⁶. Being the daughter to Ladislaus of Hungary and Adelaide of Swabia, the blonde hair visualises her foreign heritage⁹⁷. A second example is the miniature of Mary of Antioch, depicted next to her husband Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) in the Vat. Gr. 1176 f. r., dating to 1166. Like empress Eirene, she appears with unusual white skin texture and blonde hair⁹⁸; she was also of Western origin⁹⁹. In these two instances the depiction's intention was to visualise the



Fig. 14 Detail of the feet, Crucifixion, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316). – (Photo A. Steinert).

foreign heritage of the emperor's wives, who had both arrived at the Byzantine court through political marriages. Blonde hair therefore was also used in Byzantine art and could relate to Western individuals¹⁰⁰.

Compared to the style, iconographic elements can be traced back more easily. This paper will focus on three specific *Western elements*. None of the five churches show scenes that were adapted from Western art¹⁰¹, but all of them feature sec-

93 A parallel to the loose hair of the women within the scene of the crucifixion can also be found on Crete. In the church of the Archangel Michael in Ano Archanes (He, Te, 1315/6), strands of hair appear from under the headkerchief, but are here painted in brown colour. On the church in Ano Archanes see: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta 168 fig. 104; Spatharakis, Dated 44-47.

94 For some Cretan examples see: Spatharakis, Rethymnon pl. 3a; Spatharakis, Mylopotamos fig. 73, 295.

95 Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies 510 n. 45. Another depiction of the mother Mary can be found on the choir screen in the Marienkirche, Halberstadt in Germany, dating around 1215-1220, which is decorated with painted stucco figures. Mary's hair is not only painted in a yellow-blond tone, but also neatly braided. Durlant, Romanische Kunst fig. 65.

96 Parani, Reality 318-319 fig. 20. For a coloured picture see: Bakirtzis, Mosaics 38 fig. 18.

97 Lawler, Encyclopedia 160.

98 Parani, Reality fig. 22.

99 Her father was Raymond of Poitiers, who became Prince of Antioch in 1136 through his marriage to Constance of Hauteville, Princess of Antioch. Lilie,

Byzantium 103-104. On the circumstances of their marriage and the historical sources see: Lilie, Byzantium 184-187. Nicol, Dictionary 78-79.

100 Only two other instances of women with blonde hair are known to me. The famous portrait of Anna Radene in the church of the Hagioi Anangyroi in Kastoria (ca. 1180). Parani, Reality fig. 84. This very symmetrical style is generally understood as false dyed hair, maybe made from wool, that women in this area wore as part of their hairdress. Emmanuel, Hairstyle 118 fig. 8. The second case is the depiction of a blonde saint Helena next to her son in the church of saint Georg in Kurbinovo (1191). Parani, Reality fig. 43.

101 In terms of changes to the pictorial programme, consider the following two examples. Firstly, the thronum gratiae, that is depicted in the Panagia in Roustika (Re, Re, 1390/1) as symbol of the Holy Trinity instead of the Byzantine scene of the Philoxenia or the Mandylion in the upper zone of the triumphal arch. On the church see: Spatharakis, Rethymnon 179-224 pl. 19b figs 242, 337 (western comparisons); Tsamakda, Stifterwesen 228 fig. 14. Another distinct example is the rare depiction of St Francis within Byzantine decorated churches. Vassilaki-Mavrakakis, Western influences 304 fig. 6. Ranoutsaki, Franziskus. Tsamakda notes that the saint, that only appears in wall paintings four times, does not appear to have developed a widespread cult. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 264.



Fig. 15 Detail of the Bronze Baptistry from Thienen (Belgium), 1149. – (Photo CC-BY, www.rdklabor.de/w/index.php?curid=12230 [15.10.2019]).

ondary changes in small details. The first example is the depiction of Christ on the cross with three nails (ger. *Dreinagelkruzifixus*). It appears in Leivadas (fig. 13)¹⁰² and shows one nail piercing each hand, while a third nail is hammered through the parallelly positioned feet (fig. 14). Crucifixion scenes on Crete generally follow the Byzantine tradition, in which Christ is held by four nails¹⁰³. Even though supposedly developed in the eleventh century¹⁰⁴, the type using only three nails¹⁰⁵ can be found first on a bronze baptistry in Thienen (Belgium) dated to 1149 (fig. 15)¹⁰⁶. The type continued during the twelfth century and became established during the thirteenth¹⁰⁷. Italian procession crosses e.g. depict both types¹⁰⁸ until the *Dreinagelkruzifixus* becomes the preferred version during the fourteenth century, as can be seen in Duccios Maestà from 1308-1311¹⁰⁹ (fig. 16). One can only speculate on how the *Dreinagelkruzifixus* arrived on Crete. The possibilities are: Italian painters coming to Crete¹¹⁰, direct instructions to the local painter¹¹¹, Greek painters who had Western training¹¹², or movable artistic models as inspiration¹¹³.

The second iconographic element concerns the dress. Maderakis¹¹⁴ used the term *Florentine hat* for an unusual

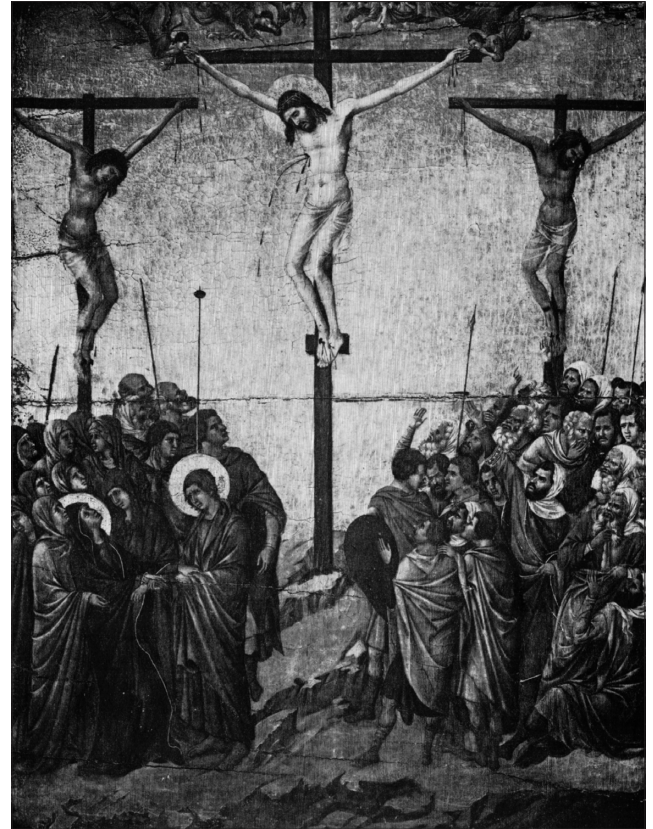


Fig. 16 Detail from Duccio's Maesta, backside, Siena, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, 1308-1311. – (After Schiller, *Ikonographie 2*, fig. 511).

triangular formed hat with pointed front that some figures wear. It is depicted in Temenia on the head of a man who seems to annoy a nimbed figure that might be Christ (fig. 17). In Leivadas, one of the shepherds in the nativity of Christ (fig. 18), the prefect Leontios in the Demetrios-cycle (fig. 10) and Pontius Pilate wear that headpiece¹¹⁵. On Crete, this type of hat can also be found outside the group of churches in the Panagia in Roustika (Re, Re, 1391)¹¹⁶, also on the head of a shepherd of the nativity, within the depiction of the Akathistos Hymn. A white Florentine hat appears on the

102 In the scenes in Hagios Photios and Lissos the feet of Christ are destroyed. In Kephali, the scene was painted by a different painter working in the traditional linear style and depicting four nails, while the scene in Temenia either is lost, or wasn't part of the pictorial program.

103 On the iconography of the Crucifixion on Crete see: Kalokyris, Crete 74-79; Spatharakis, Rethymnon 297-299; Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 286-287; Spatharakis/Van Essenbergh, Amari 248-250; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 183-184.

104 Thode, Franz 468 n. 696 (with incorrect citation in form and context of Otto and Weerth), instead: Otto/Weerth, *Crucifixus* 217. 230. The authors do not name any 11th c. depiction, but name the eldest depictions that date to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th c.

105 The type using three instead of four nails is apparently such a distinctive western iconographic element that some authors fail to refer to general comparison or literature, i.e. Altripp, *Einfluß* 792.

106 Wirth, *Dreinagelkruzifixus*.

107 Schiller assumes a change in devotion that stresses Christ's act of dying. The Waldensians, i.e., believed the crucifixion to be executed with three nails, and contemporary Latin literature explicitly mentions three nails. Schiller, *Ikonographie 2*, 158, i.e. figs 410. 422. 448. 451-454. 466-467. 478-494.

108 See i.e. the crosses of Ciambue, dating 1280-1285 and that of Giotto from 1320. Schiller, *Ikonographie 2* figs 502-503.

109 Schiller, *Ikonographie 3* no. 511.

110 For a recent essay on the presence of Venetian artists on Crete in the 14th and 15th c. see: Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Exchange*.

111 The depiction of individual donor portraits can be understood as direct instruction to the painter. On the correlation of donors and painters on Crete see: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 248-251.

112 In 1331 the Constantinopolitan painter Theodoros Mouzeles joined the workshop of the Venetian painter Marinus Granella. Mouzeles seems to have worked there as an apprentice, receiving no salary. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Exchange* 32.

113 Such as, i.e., miniatures in books, as they were brought to Crete with the monastic orders. Some receipts and inventories not only prove the presence of a large number of books within one monastery, but state that they kept books in Latin and Greek language. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 120-121.

114 Maderakis identifies the hat as Florentine or west-italian, without giving any concrete comparison. Maderakis, *Leivadas* 87; Maderakis, *Temenia* 111 names comparisons without giving the full title of his reference to the publication of Pirani.

115 Maderakis, *Leivadas* figs 10. 11. 19 (Leontios and Pilate).

116 Spatharakis, Rethymnon 179-224 pl. 22b. This church shows also the *thronum gratiae*, another western element in its pictorial program.



Fig. 17 Detail of a torturer and Christ(?), Soter in Temenia (Ch, Se, begin 14th c.). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 18 Detail of one of the shepherds in the Nativity of Christ, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/6). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 19 Detail of the fresco »Effetti del Buon Governo in campagna«, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, 1337-1340, Ambrogio Lorenzetti. – (After Poeschke, Wandmalerei fig. 185).

male donor in St Photini in Hagios Basileios (He, Bi, 15th c.)¹¹⁷. It is uncertain whether those hats can be tied to a specific regional fashion, in this case Florentine. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, this type of headgear is repre-

sented in Italy, i. e. in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 1337-1340) within the scene »the effects of a good government«, worn by a group of hunters (fig. 19)¹¹⁸. Earlier parallels such as the frescoes from San Francesco in

117 For the church inscription, see: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 577-578 Nr. 9; Gerola/Lassithiotakis, Katalogos 101 Nr. 740 (which dates the youngest of two layers of wall painting). This donor portrait has, as far as I know, only been collected as part of a master thesis by A. Dingler. Dingler, Stifterdarstellungen.

118 Poeschke, Wandmalerei 296.



Fig. 20 Detail from *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, Frederick II, ed. by Manfred, MS. Pal. Lat. 1071, fol. 88r, Roma, Bibliotheca Vaticana, second half of the 13th c. – (After Willemsen, Kunst pl. XLVIII [detail]).



Fig. 21 Basileios the Great, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/1316). – (Photo A. Steinert).

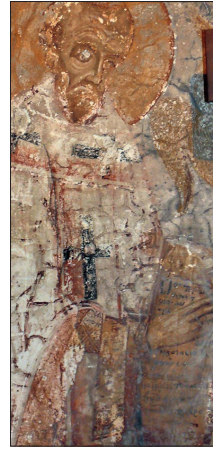


Fig. 22 John Chrysostom, Soter in Kephali (Ch, Ki, 1319/1320). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 23 Gero presents his Codex to Saint Paul (detail), Gero-Codex, Scriptorium Reichenau Abbey, ca. 969, fol. 6v. – (<http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-1948/0013> [15.10.2019]).

Assisi by Giotto (1295-1300)¹¹⁹ or the falconry manuscript of Frederick II (MS. Pal. Lat. 1071), dating to the second half of the thirteenth century¹²⁰, precede the example from Siena (fig. 20). In this manuscript, every falconer wears either a coif or additionally the hat with pointed front. Except for the drinking traveller from Assisi, a certain association with hunting dress, especially falconry, seems probable¹²¹. Even though there are no direct records on the matter, hunting must have been a sport for the aristocracy during Venetian rule on Crete. Speculating further, the appearance of hunters¹²² in Western fashion might have caused the adoption of this type of hat within the wall paintings¹²³.

The two iconographic elements discussed above are secondary ones. They do not change the meaning of the scenes or contradict the Orthodox doctrine in any way. Especially the incorporation of modern Western clothing leads to the assumption that the painter was aware of the current fashion¹²⁴.

Nevertheless, one piece of clothing appearing in the iconography seems not only unusual, but also very confusing. In the representations of the communion, the co-officiating bishops and the *melismos* are typically placed within the semi-circle of the apse¹²⁵, representing the ritual breaking of the consecrated bread before the communion. The group of bishops¹²⁶, usually the three holy hierarchs Basil, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, wear the usual Byzantine liturgical dress: the *sticharion*, the *epitrachileion*, the *epigonation*, the *phelonion* or *polystavrion-phelonion* (if decorated completely with Greek crosses), the *epimanikia* and the *omophorion*¹²⁷. However, in the churches of Leivadas and Kephali, the bishops Basil the Great (fig. 21) and John Chrysostom (fig. 22), wear not only their usual vestments but also a small fabric scarf on their wrists. This element is unknown in Byzantine liturgical clothing. Even though Maderakis lacked the terminology for this element, he did find comparisons in Western, Romanic art¹²⁸. The *maniple* is indeed only known

119 Within the Francis-cycle, a man drinking from the water wears a similar but slightly smaller hat, than those from Crete or Siena. Poeschke, Wandmalerei 67 fig. 18.

120 On the manuscript see: Georges, Falkenbuch; Willemsen, Kunst. The scanned manuscript is also digitally available: DOI: 10.11588/diglit.9733.

121 Hunting with a falcon was well established in Byzantium. According to some Arabic manuscripts on this topic, a Byzantine emperor is said to have invented falconry. Georges, Falkenbuch 17 n. 10.

122 For earlier depictions of the hunt and relating themes cf. the illustrated Greek *Cynegetica* in Venice, Marc. Gr. Z 139 from the middle of the 11th c. see: Spatharakis, *Cynegetica*.

123 On the hunt in Byzantium see: Karpozilos/Nesbitt/Cutler, *Hunting*.

124 A very unusual heavy and red coloured dress is worn by Pilatus within three scenes of the passion of Christ in Temenia that Maderakis identifies as the

same clothes the prefect Leontius wears in Leivadas. Maderakis again refers to the dress as Florentine contemporary fashion with no reference to Italian comparisons. Maderakis, Temenia 121 figs 9-10. 12-14; Maderakis, Leivadas figs 10-11. 19 (on p. 87 he admits that he couldn't find exact comparisons to the dress in Italian monuments). A proper parallel therefore is not yet known.

125 On the Cretan iconography of that scene see: Spatharakis, Rethymon 322-326; Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 307-309. 309-311; Spatharakis/Van Essenberg, Amari 262-263. 263-264; Tsamakda, Kakodiki 56-58 fig. 7.

126 Usually four bishops, two on each side, flank the *melismos*. There are some cases in which six or only two bishops are depicted.

127 On the Byzantine liturgical vestments see: Braun, *Gewandung* 92-100. 115-117. 234-239. 302-306. 487-495. 550-554. 601-608. 664-674. 707-710. 753-754.

128 Maderakis, Leivadas 76-77 n. 15-23.

and used in the Latin church¹²⁹. Developed from the roman *mappa*¹³⁰, the term *manipulus* is first documented within a deed of donation from 790 by Adelgastar, son of the king Silo of Asturias, to the monastery in Obona¹³¹. It was used by bishops, priests and deacons, as well as lay brothers¹³². The oldest maniple surviving today comes from the tomb of St Cuthbert, dating to the beginning of the tenth century¹³³. Depictions from the tenth century onwards (fig. 23) prove the maniple's use by deacons as well as priests and bishops¹³⁴. The scarves exhibited different decorations such as fringes, crosses and embroidery¹³⁵. The maniple was presented by the bishop to the ordinand as part of the consecration as subdeacon and put on the left arm¹³⁶.

The appearance of this genuine Latin liturgical vestment in combination with the knowledge that the paintings are the work of an individual connected to a Western artistic background raises several questions. Can the painter be identified as Latin or was it possible that the churches in Leivadas and Kephali allowed priests to perform the Latin rite? Could this iconographic singularity¹³⁷ prove religious exchange between the Orthodox and the Latin population?

Religious Contact Between the Latins and the Greeks – Historical Sources

Private documents shed much light on the situation between Greeks and Latins and their religious practices. Sally McKee has evaluated 653 wills indicating their contractor's practise of worship by donations to either church. Of these, 16 % are bequests exclusively to the Greek church and clerics, 43 % benefit the Latin church and clergy only. The remaining wills document some donations to both churches, depending on individual motives¹³⁸. Two of the latter cases shall be presented here.

The Latin feudatory Niccolò Bellino Dandolo owned a fief in Candia and with it a church dedicated to St Mary close to the cathedral St Tito. He supplied that church in 1328 with

a Latin priest, who gained not only a rich selection of liturgical dress and equipment but was also assured of a yearly payment of twelve hyperpera for the following three years¹³⁹. His act clearly shows the support and dedication of a Latin feudatory to the church he worshipped. A few years later in 1355, when Niccolo had already passed away, his sons Giovanni and Vidal Dandolo made a contract with the Greek monk Nempho to rebuild an old monastery, dedicated to St Mary of Fraschea, which their father had rented. Nempho's task was to revive the complex by rebuilding the church and its surroundings. It was also his responsibility to find monks to live there and maintain the monastery and its land in memory of Niccolò Dandolo. In case of Nempho's death, these monks were to continue the community¹⁴⁰. Even though it is not specified in which rite this monastery was to be administered, hiring a Greek monk makes it very likely that Nempho would have done so in his Orthodox rite. Moreover, on the basis of their surviving marriage contract from 1327, McKee maintains that Niccolò Dandolo's wife Francesca, daughter of Angelos Teocari, may have come from a Greek aristocratic family, which might explain¹⁴¹. Even though Giovanni's and Vidal Dandolo's contract with Nempho¹⁴², the document shows that entertaining relations to both churches was possible, especially when a recent intermarriage formed a family.

Another, slightly later testimony from 1386, a document prepared by the notary N. Tonisto for the *papas* Ioannes Mussuro from Candia, served a different purpose. Mussuro agreed to move with his family to the village of Gurnes, around 15 km outside Candia, for the following three years, on behalf of the Latin feudatory Giorgio della Porta. Della Porta was required to provide Mussuro with two houses, grain and wine, and had to ensure that each villager in Gurnes, according of their wealth, would hand Mussuro a certain amount of grain. In return, Mussuro would serve the unnamed church and its devotees according to the custom and rite of the Greeks¹⁴³. Though this document does not contain a donation from della Porta to the Greek church, it nevertheless proves that this Latin feudatory actively ensured that the ecclesiastical

129 For a very extensive study on the maniple with photos of real maniple as well as artistic representations see: Braun, *Gewandung* 515-561. On the epimankion, that could only be worn by a bishop, as Orthodox counterpart of the catholic maniple see: 550-554.

130 Alternate terms are mappula, sudarium, mantile, fano, amnulae and sestace. Braun, *Gewandung* 517-519.

131 Braun, *Gewandung* 519.

132 Braun, *Gewandung* 522-523.

133 Braun, *Gewandung* 532 n. 1. From St Cuthbert's grave, three parts of the liturgical dress, the stole, the maniple, and a second so-called »small maniple« have survived and are thoroughly analysed by Plenderleith, Hohler and Freyhan. The stole and the maniple are moreover decorated with figures of saints. Battiscombe, Cuthbert 375-432 pls XXIV. XXV. XXXII-XXXIV.

134 Pope Clemens of Rome is shown with a white (decorated?) maniple covering his left hand during mass in the fresco in San Clemente, Rome, dating to the 11th c. Coletti, *Malerei* fig. 9. For further examples within dedicatory portraits within illuminated manuscripts see: Prochno, *Dedikationsbild* 6. 11. 14. 19. 24. 25. 26. 28. 37. 58. 60. 67. 72. 81. 82. 86. 92. 98.

135 Braun, *Paramente* 131-132.

136 Braun, *Gewandung* 550.

137 Even though it seems unfortunate to speak of singularity, when the maniple can be found on Crete in two church decorations, to my knowledge there is no other case of the depiction of the maniple within the genuinely Byzantine scene of the co-officiating bishops and the melismos.

138 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 107-108. McKee, *Wills*.

139 The notary G. Similiante also mentions that Dandolo just recently lives in Candia. For the newly edited testament see: McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 110 n. 48.

140 Written down by the notary G. Gerado on March the 10th. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 110 n. 49 (fully edited testament). On the 11th of May this contract was cancelled for unknown reasons.

141 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 110 n. 51. What Giovanni and Vidal drove to think their father would benefit from the favor of a Greek monastery will stay unknown. On the fulfillment of Niccolò Dandolo's will by his two sons see: Gasparis, *Land* 338-341.

142 It may be possible that the financial means after fulfilling Niccolò's will were too low. A prohibition of some sort from the Venetian administration might also be a potential explanation.

143 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 110-111 n. 52 (fully edited document).

144 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 111.

needs of the peasants living on his fiefs were satisfied. This desire to ensure the welfare of the residents on one's property was not singular¹⁴⁴. Smaller donations from Latins to the Greek church were common but cannot be understood as a personal change of spiritual inclination. However, Greek male¹⁴⁵ nobility seemed more likely to adhere to the Latin rite, to be able to participate in the social field of Candiote feudatories¹⁴⁶. The importance of being of Latin descent was also illustrated by the actions of the Venetian authorities. In the first half of the fourteenth century, court documents show that a peasant or slave could gain freedom by proving Latin paternity¹⁴⁷. Being and appearing Latin, therefore, offered opportunities for social advancement.

The banishment of the friar Marco Sclavo by the Council of Ten¹⁴⁸ in 1414 shows that the intermingling of rites was understood as a possible threat to identity¹⁴⁹. Sclavo employed two priests in San Francesco in Candia¹⁵⁰, one Latin and one Greek, to celebrate mass according to each rite. Even though he had the pope's permission to hire a Greek priest, the Venetian council heavily pleaded to withdraw this permission to prevent the confusion of religion and to ensure a stricter segregation between the two ethnicities within the city.

The sources discussed deal only with the situation in the capital city and its close surroundings, whilst the rural areas, especially western Crete, where our group of churches is situated, lack that type of documentation. The western dioceses were not established until the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁵¹. The wall paintings, on the other hand, date to around the first third of the fourteenth century, slightly before that time, and indicate a traditional use of churches by the Orthodox community. Latin priests, who only rarely journeyed to remote villages¹⁵², were not likely to be found there, since this region was on the far end of the island, around 200 km from Candia. Taking all these indications into account, it appears that western Crete was mainly left to its own means until the middle of the fourteenth century. However, we must also consider a previously mentioned piece of evidence. The only donor inscription with pro-Venetian content is in Selino,

in the Nomos of Chania. Dating to 1327/8, the pictorial program of the church of the Archangel Michael in Kavalariana¹⁵³ was created before the dioceses were established and therefore illustrates that interaction between Greeks and the Latins could take place far away from the capital city, even though the motives for which the Orthodox community praised their Venetian lords remain unknown¹⁵⁴.

Archaeological Sources and Liturgical Installations

Though the historical sources discussed above point to a certain tolerance and forms of agreement between Greeks and Latins, and sometimes even to a desire to assure the peasant's spiritual well-being, they cannot provide any definite proof about interactions or real exchanges at a religious level, especially since we have no documents for the rural regions. Our first concrete evidence of the simultaneous use of one church by both rites¹⁵⁵, which includes a description of the modification of the bema due to the changing rites, derives from Francesco Morosini and dates to 1627¹⁵⁶. He states that in the church in Kato Episkopi (La, Si) there are two altars: the one used in Latin mass in the front and a second Greek equivalent in the background. A triptych on top of the Latin altar was opened during Catholic mass so that the saints were visible. Two doors flanked this altar and were used as entrance and exit during Greek mass, which took place, hidden from view, on the second altar behind the Latin one. Moreover, the middle panel of the triptych could be removed, functioning in combination with the doors as a substitute for an iconostasis.

Due to this source, Gerola considered other Cretan churches as being used simultaneously, since they are equipped with two altars: the cathedral in Arcadi, San Salvatore in Hierapetra and the unknown church of Kato Episkopi¹⁵⁷. The latter is identified by Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel to be the small building of the domed Hagioi

145 No document of a Greek feudatory shows an exclusive donation to the Orthodox church, whilst the wives of feudatories, who held no official position within the administration, could deal more openly with their fondness for either rite. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 111-112.

146 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 112 n. 58. The only exception to that rule was the Calergi family, who managed to gain much more freedom due to the treaty with Venice. Moreover, they did not live in Candia but in Rethymnon, leaving them without the permanent pressure of adapting, that the Greek feudatories in the capital city had to deal with.

147 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 124.

148 On the Venetian administration that was set up on Crete in the very beginning of the occupation, see: Detorakis, *History of Crete* 132-136; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 26-28.

149 On the description of the following document see: Mersch, *Churches* 478.

150 Sadly, the once massive building is destroyed today and only known sporadically through the work of Gerola. Gerola, *Monumenti II*, 112-117 (with several photographs and drawings).

151 Bolanakis, *Kirche* 42.

152 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* 106.

153 The male donors also wear the Western *mi-parti* dress, implying an adaption of Western fashion. Lymperopoulou, *Kavalariana* 213-217.

154 It is most likely that the donors served the Venetian feudatories, and chose to depict their portraits with the *mi-parti* dress. The choice of dress, nevertheless, does not prove the donors' religious orientation, especially as the pictorial program in Kavalariana follows the Byzantine tradition. In the 14th c., Venetians built a castle in Palaiochora, situated around 20 km from Kavalariana, that might have served as a scene where the rural Greeks came in contact with Venetians even in the remote western part of the island. Lymberopoulou, *Kavalariana* 220.

155 In the beginning of the 15th c. Marco Sclavo was accused of having priests of both rites to celebrate mass in San Francesco in Candia. If mass was celebrated within the same room of the church, or if they took place in separate spaces is unknown. Cf. previous page.

156 For the following description of the Italian source see: Gerola, *Monumenti III*, 14; Mersch, *Churches* 479.

157 Gerola, *Monumenti III*, 14.

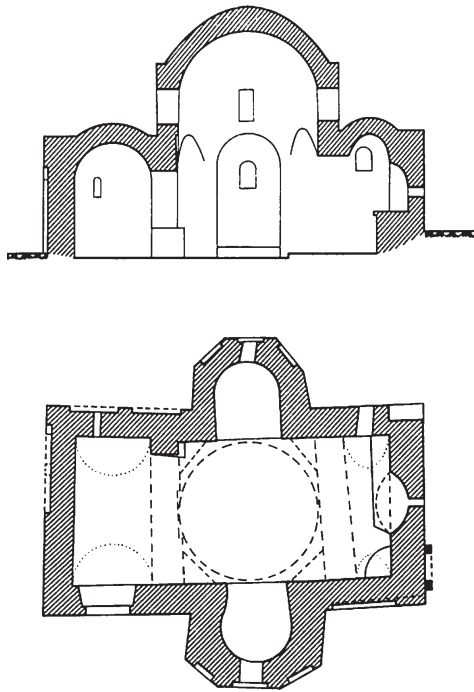


Fig. 24 Front elevation and ground plan of Sts Apostoloi in Kato Episkopi (Le, Si, 11th c.). – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 267, pl. 80).

Apostoli in Kato Episkopi (La, Si, 11th c.)¹⁵⁸. The ground plan (fig. 24) shows a small apse that cannot be seen from the outside. Two pedestals, one in front of the apse extending to the northern wall and a second in the form of a quadrant in the south-eastern corner, are interpreted as two separate altars. However, the elongated extension from the apse actually appears as a stone slab that is immured, while the installation in the south-eastern corner appears to be a drainage for holy water. Borboudakis, Gallas and Wessel identify two other churches with the same double altar installations, the church of St Georgios and Charalambos in Episkopi (La, Hi, 12th/13th c.)¹⁵⁹ and the church of St Georgios in Males (La, Hi, 12th/13th c. with frescoes from the middle of the 14th c.)¹⁶⁰.

The arrangement of pedestals, here understood in their function as altars, is quite different from the situation that Francesco Morosini described, as they are clearly not arranged behind each other. Mersch suggests that the northern altar functioned as a table of the prothesis, which in Byzantine churches was the northern-side chamber within the bema¹⁶¹. She interprets the two installations not as two altars serving the Greek and Latin rites but as proof of an increased significance and complexity of the Orthodox prothesis rites during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries¹⁶². Moreover, the installation of the northern pedestal, as in the case of the previously mentioned church of St Georgios in Males (fig. 25), that overlaps the left figure of the co-officiating bishop can only be understood as secondary, dating sometime after the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁶³. In conclusion, no church can be identified as being in use for the Greek and Latin rite through its liturgical installations.

Archaeological Evidence and Architecture

Olga Gratziou, studying Cretan architecture¹⁶⁴, followed a different path when trying to identify churches that were used for a simultaneous celebration of the Greek and Latin rites. She proposes that all double church buildings were especially built for that purpose¹⁶⁵. A second room with apse was added to an already existing church, creating two separated bema and altars¹⁶⁶. A source from the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century helps verify Gratziou's hypothesis. A Franciscan friar added an adjoining chapel to San Salvatore in Hierapetra (La, Hi) so that mass could be celebrated by Greeks and Latins; this happened after ongoing disputes over the simultaneous use of the formerly single-naved building¹⁶⁷. However, Mersch has already noted that assuming without any concrete proof that every double church building is an indicator of the parallel use by Greek and Latin clerics is too generic¹⁶⁸.

In his chapter on single-naved churches, which could be subjoined to up to four naves, Gallas clearly distinguishes between monuments that were planned from the begin-

158 Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 266-271; Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, *Kreta* 458-460 figs 433-435. No frescoes have survived in the Hagioi Apostoli, that might give further information of the periods of use. Being the seat of the Orthodox bishop until the Venetian rule, Episkopi was later also seat of the Latin bishop. Apparently, he preferred the church of Apano (upper) Episkopi to the one in Kato (lower) Episkopi.

159 Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 274-280 pl. 83; Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, *Kreta* 443-447 figs 417-419. The unusual architecture displays two conches, to the east and west, while the previous entrance must have been situated in the northern or southern wall. The first altar is directly connected to almost the centre of the eastern apse, while a second is linked to the northern part of the apse. The authors ascribe the opening in the western conche to the Venetians. As it is slightly displaced to the south, the altar on the northern side of the eastern conche seems to mirror this displacement and can be identified as the Latin altar. Gratziou, *Krete* 253.

160 Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 124-126 pl. 35; Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, *Kreta* 440-442 figs 414-416. Gallas notices the unusual height of the roof, that could be archived through a partial rebuilding of the collapsed church. It combines Byzantine and Venetian concepts of space into something that in

his mind visualises the coexistence of both architectural forms. The two altars in this case are placed north and south into the corners of the sidewall and the apse.

161 Mersch, *Churches* 479.

162 Mersch, *Churches* 480. Dating this change, she refers to the alteration within the bema of the church of the monastery Vrontissi, where a prothesis block was installed in front of the southern aisle, dating to the 14th c., while the northern aisle of the church, which was added in the 16th c. incorporated the same prothesis block.

163 Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, *Kreta* 440.

164 Gratziou, *Krete*.

165 The question of the meaning of double churches is irrelevant within the discussion of my five churches from western Crete, as all of them belong to the single naved type. Architecture as well as the wall paintings are important indicators of exchange on an artistic level, therefore the case of the double church will be discussed at this point shortly.

166 Gratziou, *Krete* 127-183.

167 Gratziou, *Krete* 168-170.

168 Mersch, *Churches* 481 n. 81.



Fig. 25 View on the liturgical installation in the north-eastern bema, St Georgios in Hagios Georgios (La, Hi, 12th-13th c. with frescoes from the middle of the 14th c.). – (After Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta 441 fig. 416).



Fig. 26 Secondary added altar, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/6). – (Photo A. Steinert).

ning as having more than one nave, and churches that were enlarged in a later period¹⁶⁹. In an inscription in the double church of Hagia Trias in Hagia Trias (Re, Re, around 1372/3)¹⁷⁰, the donors Andreas Arkoleos and his family state that they were responsible for the decoration of [...] O HMICOC NAOOC [...] ¹⁷¹, meaning half of the church. Therefore, the building intended as a double church was finished before the painted decoration began in the northern nave, while the southern part was never decorated¹⁷². Moreover, the assumption that an enlargement of churches was due to a shortage of space, as Borboudakis offered, is negated by Gratziou without further discussion¹⁷³. Valsamonero (He, Ka, 14th/15th c., 1428-31), a Venetian monastery, was enlarged not only through an additional nave but also through two narthices, each dedicated to a different patron. In this case, the oldest part is dedicated to the Panagia, the southern nave to St Ioannes and the narthices and an apse behind the western wall of the nave of St Ioannes to St Phanourios¹⁷⁴. The expansion of the building and the dedication to an additional saint can only indicate the necessity for room and a more elaborate

cult. Without concrete evidence, the double church type per se cannot be identified as a church used for both rites, which would imply religious harmonisation.

Liturgical Installations in Kephali and Leivadas

To cover all the sources that are available to my study, I will investigate the liturgical installations of the two churches¹⁷⁵ that depict the maniple. In Leivadas, today's massive built-in altar (fig. 26) covers the legs of the patriarchs and must have been added in a second moment. The visible, almost square stone slab within the concrete might be the remainder of the altar. The segmented pedestals on both sides of the apse, overlapping the frescoes, were also added later (fig. 27). They cover the modern-looking floor tiles, which leads to the conclusion that those installations were added or at least renovated in the twentieth century. We therefore know nothing of the original installations in Leivadas. Today,

169 Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 50-90. One of the earliest examples of a triple naved building can be found in Pírgos (He, Mo) and was dedicated to St Helen (today destroyed), St Georgios and St Konstantinos. Wall paintings date the northern nave before 1314, whilst the southern nave is dated to 1314/5. Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 56-58 pl. 16. On the church see: Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, Kreta 374-377; Spatharakis, Dated 36-39 (with further literature).

170 Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 9-42.

171 For the inscription see: Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 9.

172 On the church decoration of Hagias Trias as work of the anonymous workshop that worked on the church of the archangel Michael in Kakodiki

see: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 233-234. The author also proves with the inscription that the southern nave of Hagias Trias cannot be a secondary addition, as Gratziou assumed.

173 For a detailed discussion on the meaning of the double churches see: Tsamakda, Gratziou 199-208.

174 Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel, Kreta 313-321 figs 95. 110-111. 175-281.

175 For the ground view of the St Demetrios in Leivadas see: Lassithiotakis, *Selino* 377 pl. 92. For the ground view of the Soter in Kephali see: Lassithiotakis, *Kissamos* 213 pl. 17. No installations have been delineated.



Fig. 27 Secondary added pedestal in the south-eastern corner of the bema, St Demetrios in Leivadas (Ch, Se, 1315/6). – (Photo A. Steinert).



Fig. 29 Prothesis-niche in the northern wall of the bema, Soter in Kephali (Ch, Ki, 1319/1320). – (Photo A. Steinert).

the altar in Kephali covers the frescoes in part and must have been built in a second moment, too (fig. 28). It doesn't cover the bishops, but instead seems to imitate the width of the painted altar, on which the paten with the *melismos* stands. The high prothesis niche within the northern wall,



Fig. 28 Altar, Soter in Kephali (Ch, Ki, 1319/1320). – (Photo A. Steinert).

on the other hand, is original, as can be seen from the composition of St Romanos and the red frame lines around the niche (fig. 29). The rounded pedestal was more likely added later. No niche or pedestal can be found south of the apse. These observations, showing mainly secondary installations, do not offer any valuable information that could connect the churches explicitly to the Latin rite. Several liturgical installations appear within Cretan churches, but there is apparently no rule on how altars needed to be built and what served as a substitute for *prothesis* and *diakonikon* in Orthodox churches. A more in-depth study of those Cretan installations and their variety within the context of established architectural types, as well as their development through time, is still missing; it would surely offer new insights into the question of liturgical celebration.

Conclusion

Considering the initial hypothesis of this paper – whether religious exchange can be deduced from the visual evidence of Cretan wall paintings – the result is ambiguous. To investigate the religious identity of the Latin Catholic and the Greek Orthodox population and their possible approach to each other, additional sources were taken into consideration.

The concept of religious identity is complex. While closer contact within the capital city of Candia was inevitable, it would appear to be less likely in the countryside. There are exceptions to this generalisation, as we have seen with the pro-Venetian donor inscription in Kavalariana. Sources complaining about celebrations of different rites within the same church date to the sixteenth century and need to be handled carefully when looking at monuments that date around 200 years earlier. There is, moreover, no definite proof of a church being used for the Greek and Latin rites in the countryside.

Church architecture was considered in order to further investigate the question of religious identities and exchange. The hypothesis of double churches as monuments where the Greek and Latin rites could simultaneously be performed was dismissed. Thirdly, the assumption that double altars within one church served both rites, was dismissed. Their function as altars seems implausible and they can rather be understood as necessary liturgical installations.

Finally, the wall paintings permit no definite proof of religious exchange, either. Within the five churches discussed above, which separate themselves from other Cretan churches by an unusual appearance of decoration, two, Kephali and Leivadas, show a Latin maniple as part of the liturgical dress of the Orthodox holy hierarchs. Its representation is unique, not only on the island but within the whole of Byzantine art, and poses the question of whether it might be understood as a sign of intermingling rites. The pictorial program within the previously mentioned churches is Orthodox. Moreover, the inscriptions, both dedicatory and inscriptions accompanying the scenes, are Greek and, therefore, address a Greek community. So how can we explain the appearance of the maniple? Two parties need to be considered when examining wall paintings: donors and painters. While the donors' influence was limited to the pictorial program, the expression of the paintings can closely be connected to the individual painter. In this case, the painter Niphon in Leivadas and the anonymous one working in Kephali used a Western iconographic element. While these elements appeared all over Crete by the end of the thirteenth century and could also be used by painters who worked in Byzantine style, the stylistic unusualness of the painters in Leivadas and Kephali hints at their Western

artistic background. The maniple here appears as a secondary iconographic element within the genuinely Byzantine scene of the liturgy of the holy hierarchs and proves merely the painter's knowledge of this vestment. A few inconsistencies remain. Why did the painter depict the maniple on the wrists of the right arm, while the proper use required wearing it on the left arm? And why did the sponsor and the community not bother about this unusual piece of clothing?

Given the evidence, it would be careless to argue for the presence of religious exchange or the mutual adaptation of religions in the Cretan countryside based on the wall paintings. In our case, the appearance of the Latin maniple goes hand in hand with a group of painters who distinguished their work using a stylistic and iconographic language that silhouetted, in contrast to the known Byzantine tradition. Whether they were Italian painters adapting to the conditions of fourteenth-century Crete or Greek painters influenced by the arriving Venetians cannot be determined with certainty. Maybe it was an attempt to establish a new tendency in painting that never caught on within the Cretan artistic tradition. Nevertheless, they still stand out today as a group of five churches in western Crete with an exceptional visual impression and history.

Bibliography

Sources

McKee, Wills: Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312-1420. 1-3. Ed. S. McKee (Washington, D.C. 1998).

Passio altera S. Demetrii (BHG 498): De S. Demetrio Martyre Thessalonicae in Macedonia. In: PG 116, 1185-1201.

Tafel/Thomas, Urkunden: Eds G. L. Tafel / G. M. Thomas, Fontes rerum Austriacarum. 2: Diplomataria et acta 12-14: Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom 9. bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts (Wien 1856-1857).

References

Altripp, Einfluß: M. Altripp, Der westliche Einfluß in Byzanz am Beispiel neutestamentlicher Ikonographie. In: A. Speer / P. Steinkrüger (eds), Knotenpunkt Byzanz. Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen. *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 36 (Berlin 2012) 784-798.

Andrianakis/Giapitsoglou, Mnemeia: M. G. Andrianakis / K. D. Giapitsoglou, Χριστιανικά Μνημεία της Κρήτης (Herakleion 2012).

Bakirtzis, Mosaics: C. Bakirtzis (ed.), Mosaics of Thessaloniki. 4th-14th century (Athens 2012).

Battiscombe, Cuthbert: C. F. Battiscombe (ed.), The Relics of Saint Cuthbert (Oxford 1965).

Bauer, Patron: F. A. Bauer, Eine Stadt und ihr Patron. Thessaloniki und der Heilige Demetrios (Regensburg 2013).

Becksmann, Glasmalerei: R. Becksmann (ed.), Glasmalerei im Kontext. Bildprogramme und Raumfunktionen. Akten des XXII. Internationalen Colloquiums des Corpus Vitrearum. Nürnberg, 29. August – 1. September 2004.

Bissinger, Kreta: RbK IV (1990) 811-1174 s.v. Kreta (M. Bissinger).

Wandmalerei: M. Bissinger, Kreta. Byzantinische Wandmalerei (München 1995).

Blumenröder, Grisailen: S. Blumenröder, Andrea Mantega – Die Grisailen. Malerei, Geschichte und antike Kunst im Paragone des Quattrocento (Berlin 2008).

Bolanakis, Kirche: I. Bolanakis, Εκκλησία και εκκλησιαστική παιδεία στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη (Retimno 2002).

Borsari, Creta: S. Borsari, Il dominio Veneziano a Creta el XIII secolo (Napoli 1963).

Braun, Gewandung: J. Braun, Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung. Verwendung und Symbolik (Freiburg i. Br. 1907, repr. Darmstadt 1964).

Paramente: J. Braun, Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit (Freiburg im Breisgau 1924).

- Burger, Fenestrae: M. Burger, Fenestrae non historiatae. Ornamentale Glasmalerei der Hochgotik in den Regionen am Rhein (1250-1350) (Berlin 2018).
- Cat. Magdeburg 2009 II: M. Puhle (ed.), Aufbruch in die Gotik. Der Magdeburger Dom und die späte Stauferzeit 2 [exhibitor cat.] (Mainz 2009).
- Chaniotis, Kreta: A. Chaniotis, Das antike Kreta (München 2014).
- Cheyette, Pirates: F. L. Cheyette, The Sovereign and the Pirates, 1332. *Speculum* 45/1, 1970, 40-68.
- Coletti, Malerei: L. Coletti, Die frühe italienische Malerei I. Das 12. und 13. Jahrhundert – Giotto (Wien 1941).
- Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Exchange: M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Aspects of Artistic Exchange on Crete. Questions Concerning the Presence of Venetian Painters on the Island in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. In: A. Lymberopoulou (ed.), Cross-Cultural Interaction Between Byzantium and the West, 1204-1669. Whose Mediterranean is it Anyway? (London et al. 2018) 30-58.
- Demus, Decoration: O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration (London 1948).
- Detorakis, History of Crete: T. E. Detorakis, History of Crete (Heraklion 1994).
- Dingler, Stifterdarstellungen: A. Dingler, Stifterdarstellungen in der Wandmalerei Kretas zur Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft [unpubl. master thesis Univ. Mainz 2017].
- Durlant, Romanische Kunst: M. Durlant, Romanische Kunst (Freiburg 1983).
- Emmanuel, Hairstyle: M. Emmanuel, Hairstyles and Headdress of Empresses, Princesses and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium. *DeltChA* 17, 1993/1994, 113-120.
- Francis, Roman Crete: J. E. Francis, Roman Crete. New Perspectives (Oxford 2016).
- Gagarin/Perlman, Laws: M. Gagarin / P. J. Perlman (eds), The Laws of Ancient Crete, c. 650-400 BCE (Oxford 2016).
- Gallas, Sakralarchitektur: K. Gallas, Mittel- und Spätbyzantinische Sakralarchitektur der Insel Kreta. Versuch einer Typologie der kretischen Kirchen des 10. bis 17. Jahrhunderts (München 1983).
- Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta: K. Gallas / K. Wessel / M. Borboudakis, Byzantinisches Kreta (München 1983).
- Gasparis, Land: Ch. Gasparis, Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη 13^{ος}-14^{ος} α. (Athēna 1997).
- Gasparis, Peasants: Ch. Gasparis, Between village and city. Peasants in the new Economic Context of Medieval Crete (13th-15th c.). In: F. Daim / J. Drauschke (eds), Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich. BOO 3 (Mainz 2016) 207-218. DOI: 10.11588/propylaeum.306.416.
- Georgopoulou, Architecture: M. Georgopoulou, Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus. In: M. Balard / E. Malamut / J.-M. Spieser (eds), Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges. Actes de trois séances du XX^e Congrès international des Études byzantines, Paris, 19-25 août 2001 (Sorbonne 2005) 225-253.
- Colonies: M. Georgopoulou, Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism (Cambridge 2001).
- Gerola, Monumenti: G. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta I-IV (Venezia 1932).
- Gerola/Lassithiotakis, Enleco: G. Gerola, Enleco topografico delle chiese affrescate di Creta. In: Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 94, 1934/5, 139-216. Greek translation: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Τοπογραφικός Κατάλογος των Τοιχογραφημένων Εκκλησιών της Κρήτης (Ērakleion 1961).
- Georges, Falkenbuch: S. Georges, Das zweite Falkenbuch Kaiser Friedrichs II. Quellen, Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption des Moamin. Mit einer Edition der lateinischen Überlieferung. Wissenskultur und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel 27 (Berlin 2008).
- Giordani, Bildprogramm: E. Giordani, Das mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungssystem als Ausdruck eines hieratischen Bildprogramms. *JÖB* 1, 1951, 103-134.
- Gratziou, Kreta: O. Gratziou, Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής (Ēraklio 2010).
- Grodecki, Glasmalerei: L. Grodecki, Romanische Glasmalerei (Fribourg 1977).
- Ioannidou, Diorthoseis: Th. Ioannidou, Εντοπισμοί, διορθώσεις και νέες αναγνώσεις κτητορικών επιγραφών σε ναούς, που εικονογραφεί το εργαστήριο του κρητικού ζωγράφου Ιω(άννου) Παγωμένου (πρώτο μισό του 14^{ου} αιώνα). *DeltChrA* 4, 39, 2018, 329-346 (with english summary).
- Kalokyris, Crete: K. Kalokyris, The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete (New York 1973).
- Karpozilos/Nesbitt/Cutler, Hunting: ODB II (1991) 958 s.v. hunting (A. Karpozilos / J. W. Nesbitt / A. Cutler).
- Kitsiki Panagopoulos, Churches: B. Kitsiki Panagopoulos, Some Venetian Churches of Crete, *Arte Veneta. Rivista di Storia dell'Arte* 30, 1976, 20-29.
- Kraus, Kleriker: C. R. Kraus, Kleriker im späten Byzanz. Anagnosten, Hypodiakone, Diakone und Priester 1261-1453. Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 9 (Wiesbaden 2007).
- Lafontaine-Dosogne, Programme décoratif: J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, L'évolution du programme décoratif des églises de 1071 à 1261. In: Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes Septembre 1976 (Athènes 1979) 287-329.
- Lassithiotakis, Apokoronas: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Γ'. Επαρχία Αποκορώνου. *Krētika chronika* 21, 1969, 465-493.
- Kissamos: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Α'. Επαρχία Κισάμου. *Krētika chronika* 21, 1969, 177-233.
- Kydonia: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Β'. Επαρχία Κυδωνίας. *Krētika chronika* 21, 1969, 459-465.
- Selino: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Δ'. Επαρχία Σελίνου. *Krētika chronika* 22, 1970, 133-210, 347-388.
- Sfakia: K. E. Lassithiotakis, Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Ε'. Επαρχία Σφακίων. *Krētika chronika* 23, 1971, 95-152.
- Lawler, Encyclopedia: J. Lawler, Encyclopedia of the Byzantine Empire (McFarland 2004).
- Lilie, Byzantium: R. J. Lilie, Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204 (Oxford 1993).

- Lillich, Armour: M. P. Lillich, *The armour of light. Stained glass in western France. 1250-1325* (Berkeley 1994).
- Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana: A. Lymberopoulou, *The Church of the Archangel Michael in Kavalariana. Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian-Dominated Crete* (London 2006).
- Maderakis, Hagios Photios: S. N. Maderakis, Άγιος Φώτιος στους Αγίους Θεοδώρους Σελίνου. In: Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων. 18 Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης (Athēna 1992) 32-33.
- Leivadas: S. N. Maderakis, Βυζαντινά μνημεία του Νομού Χανίων. Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος στο Λειβαδά Σελίνου και οι τοιχογραφίες του. In: Χανιά, Ετησία έκδοση. Δήμου Χανίων, 1987, 69-95.
- Temenia: S. N. Maderakis, Παρατηρήσεις σε τέσσερα εικονογραφικά θέματα της εκκλησίας του Χριστού στα Τεμένια. *Ellōtia* 9, 2000-2001, 95-122.
- Veneris: S. N. Maderakis, Οι κρητικοί αγιογράφοι Θεόδωρος – Δαυνίλ Βενέρης και Μιχαήλ Βενέρης. In: Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου 2 (Athēna 1981) 155-179.
- Maguire/Nelson, San Marco: H. Maguire / R. S. Nelson (eds), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, D.C. 2010).
- Manoussacas, Church History: M. I. Manoussacas, Βενετικά έγγραφα αναφερόμενα εις την εκκλησιαστικήν ιστορίαν της Κρήτης του 14^{ου}-16^{ου} αιώνας. *Deltion tēs Historikēs kai Ethnologikēs Hetaireias tēs Hellados* 15, 1961, 143-233.
- Problemi: M. I. Manoussacas, L'isola di Creta sotto il dominio veneziano. Problemi e ricerche. In: *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, 1. Storia, Diritto, Economia. Atti del 1 Convegno internazionale di storia della Civiltà veneziana (Venezia, 1-5 giugno 1968) a cura di A. Pertusi (Firenze 1973) 473-514.
- Maltezos, Kreta: Ch. Maltezos, Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας. In: N. Panagiōtakēs (ed.), *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός* (Ērakleio 1988) 105-162.
- McKee, Uncommon Dominion: S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia 2000).
- Mersch, Churches: M. Mersch, Churches as »Shared Spaces« in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries). In: G. Christ / S. Burkhardt / F. J. Morche / R. Zaugg (eds), *Union in Separation. Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)* (Rom 2014) 498-524.
- Mertzios, Sintheke: K. D. Mertzios, Η συνθήκη Ενετών-Καλλέργη και οι συνοδεύοντες αυτοί κατάλογοι. *KretChron* 3, 1949, 262-292.
- Mouriki, Trends: D. Mouriki, Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century. In: *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle. Symposium de Gracanica* (Belgrad 1978) 55-83.
- Nicol, Dictionary: D. Nicol, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire* (London 1991).
- Otto/Weerth, Crucifixus: H. Otte / E. Aus'm Weerth, Zur Ikonographie des Crucifixus, *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 44/45, 1868, 195-233.
- Papadaki-Oekland, Ditikotropes Toichografies: S. Papadaki-Oekland, Δυτικότερες τοιχογραφίες του 14^{ου} αιώνα στην Κρήτη. Η άλλη όψη μιας αμφίδρομης σχέσης. In: *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη* 2 (Athēna 1992) 491-516 (with english summary).
- Hagioi Theodoroi: S. Papadaki-Oekland, 1. Άγιοι Θεόδωροι Σελίνου, Ναός Άγιου Φωτίου. *ADelt* 21, 2, 1966, 430-431.
- Kephali: S. Papadaki-Oekland, 3. Κεφάλι Κισάμου, Ναός του Σωτήρος. *ADelt* 21, 2, 1966, 431.
- Parani, Reality: M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)* (Leiden, Boston 2003).
- Poeschke, Wandmalerei: J. Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400* (München 2003).
- Prochno, Dedikationsbild: J. Prochno, *das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei. 1. Teil bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (800-1100)* (Leipzig, Berlin 1929).
- Ranoutsaki, Brontisi: Ch. Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst der späten Palaiologenzeit auf Kreta. Kloster Brontisi im Spannungsfeld zwischen Konstantinopel und Venedig* (Leiden 2011).
- Franziskus: Ch. Ranoutsaki, Απεικονίσεις του Φραγκίσκου της Ασίζης στις εκκλησίες της Κρήτης. In: *Πεπραγμένα 1^{ου} Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress), Chania 1-8 October 2006, B3 (Chania 2011) 111-134.
- Potamies: Ch. Ranoutsaki, *Die Fresken der Soteras-Christos-Kirche bei Potamies. Studie zur byzantinischen Wandmalerei auf Kreta im 14. Jahrhundert* (München 1992).
- Ritzerfeld, Markuslöwe: U. Ritzerfeld, Im Schatten des Markuslöwen? West-östliche Verflechtungsprozesse in der sakralen Malerei des Regno die Candia. In: W. Drews / Ch. Scholl (eds), *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne* (Berlin 2016) 197-236.
- Schiller, Ikonographie 2: G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst 2: Die Passion Christi* (Gütersloh 1968).
- Schmidt, Veneris: J. Schmidt, *Die spätbyzantinischen Wandmalereien des Theodor Daniel und Michael Veneris: Eine Untersuchung zu den Werken und der Vernetzung zweier kretischer Maler*. BOO 20 (Mainz 2020).
- Die spätbyzantinischen Wandmalereien des Theodor Daniel und Michael Veneris. Eine Untersuchung zu den Werken und der Vernetzung von zwei kretischen Malern (forthcoming).
- Westliche Einflüsse: J. Schmidt, Westliche Einflüsse in der spätbyzantinischen Wandmalerei Kretas anhand eines Fallbeispiels. In: F. Daim / D. Heher / C. Rapp (eds), *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge. Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen. 1: Bilder und Dinge*. BOO 9,1 (Mainz 2018). DOI: 10.11588/propylaeum.474.
- Seelentag, Kreta: G. Seelentag, *Das archaische Kreta* (Berlin 2015).
- Schrade, Romane: H. Schrade, *La peinture romane* (Köln 1966).
- Sucrow, Pagomenos: A. Sucrow, *Die Wandmalereien des Ioannes Pagomenos in Kirchen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts auf Kreta* (Bonn 1994).
- Spatharakis, Agios Basileios: I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Agios Basileios Province 4* (Leiden 2015).
- Cynegetica: I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice Codex Marcianus Graecus Z 139* (Leiden 2004).
- Dated: I. Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings of Crete* (Leiden 2001).
- Mylopotamos: I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Mylopotamos Province 2* (Leiden 2010).

- Rethymnon: I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Rethymnon Province 1* (London 1999).
- Spatharakis/Van Essenberg, Amari: I. Spatharakis / T. Van Essenberg, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Amari Province 3* (Leiden 2012).
- Steiris/Mitralaxis/Arabatzis, Identity: G. Steiris / S. Mitralaxis / G. Arabatzis (eds), *The Problem of Modern Greek Identity. From the Ecumene to the Nation-State* (Cambridge 2016).
- Sucrow, Pagomenos: A. Sucrow, *Die Wandmalereien des Ioannes Pagomenos in Kirchen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts auf Kreta* (Bonn 1994).
- Takirtakoglou, Polemoi: K. A. Takirtakoglou, *Οι πόλεμοι μεταξύ του Νικηφόρου Φωκά και των Αράβων*. *Byzantina Symmeikta* 25, 2015, 57-114.
- Thiriet, Églises: F. E. Thiriet, *Églises, fidèles et clergés en Crète vénitienne (de la conquête, 1204/1211 au XV^e siècle)*. *Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Krêtologikou Synedriou* 2, 1981, 484-500.
- Thode, Franz: H. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Wien 1934).
- Tomadakis, Politica: N. B. Tomadakis, *La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi ortodossi dal XIII al XV secolo*. In: *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV. Atti del primo convegno internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana 1,2. Civiltà veneziana-Studi* 27, 783-800.
- Topping, Co-existence: P. Topping, *Co-Existence of Greek and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete*. In: *Studies on Latin Greece A.D. 1205-1715* (London 1977).
- Tsamakda, Gratziou: V. Tsamakda, rew. of: O. Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην ήσυχη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* (Herakleio 2010). *BZ* 104/1, 2011, 199-208.
- Kakodiki: V. Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki. Werkstattgruppen, kunst- und kulturhistorische Analyse byzantinischer Wandmalerei des 14. Jhs. auf Kreta*. *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften* 427. *Archäologische Forschungen* 21 (Wien 2012).
- Stifterwesen: V. Tsamakda, *Kunst und Stifterwesen auf dem Land am Beispiel Kretas*. In: F. Daim / J. Drauschke (eds), *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich*. *BOO* 3 (Mainz 2016) 219-236. DOI: 10.11588/propylaeum.306.416.
- Tsougarakis, Leivadas: D. Tsougarakis, *Ο ζωγράφος της εκκλησίας του Αγ. Δημητρίου στο Λειβαδά Σελίνου*. *Ionios Logos* 1, 2007, 295-301.
- Tsougarakis, Orders: N. I. Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in the Medieval Greece. 1204-1500* (Turnhout 2012).
- Tsougarakis/Angelomati-Tsougaraki, Epigrafes II: D. Tsougarakis / E. N. Angelomati-Tsougaraki, *Ανέκδοτα χαράγματα και επιγραφές από ναούς και μονές της Κρήτης Β. Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 7, 2004, 143-207.
- Epigrafes III: D. Tsougarakis / E. N. Angelomati-Tsougaraki, *Τσουγκαράκη, Ανέκδοτα χαράγματα και επιγραφές από ναούς και μονές της Κρήτης Γ. Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 9, 2008, 293-340.
- Unwin, Caria and Crete: N. C. Unwin, *Caria and Crete in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2017).
- Vander Beken, Architecture: N. Vander Beken, *Socializing Architecture. (Monumental) Architecture and Social Interaction in Minoan Society. With a main Focus on the Minoan Palaces in the Neopalatial Period (1700-1450 BC)* (Heidelberg 2015). DOI: 10.11588/heidok.00019761.
- Vasilaki, Kathemerini Zoi: M. Vasilaki, *Καθημερινή ζωή και πραγματικότητα στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη. Η μαρτυρία των τοιχογραφημένων εκκλησιών*. In: Σ. Κακλαμάνης / Α. Μαρκόπουλος / Γ. Μαυρομάτης (eds), *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη (Irakleio 2000)* 57-80.
- Krete: M. Vasilaki, *‘Η Κρήτη υπό βενετική κυριαρχία. Η μαρτυρία των μνημείων του 13^{ου} αιώνα*. In: Π. Α. Βοκοπούλου (ed.), *Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά την τέταρτη Σταυροφορία. Η τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και οι επιπτώσεις της*. *Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Ακαδημία Αθηνών*, 9-12 Μαρτίου 2004 (Athēna 2007) 31-46 (with english summary).
- Vasilaki-Mavrakakis, Western influences: M. Vasilakis-Mavrakakis, *Western Influences in the Fourteenth Century Art of Crete*. *JÖB* 32/5, 1982, 301-311.
- Vassilios, Conquest: Ch. Vassilios, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam* (Athens 1984).
- Raids: Ch. Vassilios, *The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea. Piracy and Conquest*. *Byzantion* 51/1, 1981, 76-111.
- Walter, Warrior: C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Ashgate 2003).
- Widmann, Crete: E. Widmann, *Ain't no Mountain High Enough. Man and Environment in the Uplands of Crete from the Neolithic to the End of the Roman Period* [unpubl. PhD thesis] (Heidelberg 2014). DOI: 10.11588/heidok.00016814 (06.10.2019).
- Willemsen, Kunst: C. A. Willemsen, *Über die Kunst mit Vögeln zu jagen. Kommentar zur lateinischen und deutschen Ausgabe* (Frankfurt am Main 1979).
- Wirth, Dreinagelkruzifixus: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1955) 524-525 s. v. *Dreinagelkruzifixus* (K. A. Wirth).

Evidence of Religious Exchange in Cretan Wall Paintings? An Exceptional Group of Churches with Decorations from the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

This article aims to shed light on the cultural and religious exchange between the Venetian and Greek populations on the island of Crete during the Venetian occupation through an analysis of fourteenth-century wall paintings in churches. Over 700 churches mainly decorated in a conservative Byzantine style as well as references to the Byzantine Emperor within the dedicatory inscriptions hint to a generally strong Orthodox identity of the island's population during this era. However, due to the inevitable contact with Venetian colonists, a slight Western influence within the sacred paintings can be detected. This influence concerns mainly minor details that do not create any contradiction with the Orthodox rite. Within two churches in the Western part of Crete, a Latin liturgical piece of clothing, the *maniple*, is depicted on the wrists of the Orthodox bishops in the image of the liturgy with *melismos* – a topic that is canonically represented within the apse of Greek-Orthodox churches. As there are no other clues within these churches that indicate the usage of the Latin rite, the question arises how likely we may deduce a shared religious space in a very rural location, using a tiny but unique iconographical detail. After a short summary of the work of the so-called Western workshop that was responsible for the depiction of the *maniple*, a selection of historical and archaeological sources such as church architecture and liturgical installations are presented as significant factors for the discussion of religious exchange and approach between the Orthodox Greeks and the Latin Venetians.

Beweise für religiösen Austausch in der kretischen Wandmalerei? Eine außergewöhnliche Gruppe von Kirchen mit Dekorationen vom Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts

Der Aufsatz gibt einen Einblick in den kulturellen und religiösen Austausch zwischen Griechen und Venezianern auf Kreta während der venezianischen Besetzung. Dazu werden Kirchenmalereien aus dem 14. Jahrhundert analysiert. Über 700 im traditionellen byzantinischen Stil dekorierte Kirchen, sowie Erwähnungen der byzantinischen Kaiser in den Stifterinschriften weisen generell auf eine stark orthodoxe Identität der Inselbevölkerung in dieser Zeit hin. Trotzdem kann auch ein leichter westlicher Einfluss in den Fresken nachgewiesen werden, der auf den Kontakt mit den venezianischen Kolonisten zurückzuführen ist. Dieser ist jedoch nur in kleinere Details zu sehen, die in keinem Widerspruch zum orthodoxen Ritus stehen.

In zwei Kirchen im Westen Kretas tragen die orthodoxen Bischöfe in der Darstellung des Abendmahls mit *melismos* – einem Thema, das traditionell in der Apsis griechisch-ortho-

doxer Kirchen dargestellt wird – ein sogenanntes *Manipel* auf dem Handgelenk, ein Kleidungsstück aus der lateinischen Liturgie. Allerdings gibt es keine anderen Hinweise auf den Gebrauch des lateinischen Ritus in diesen Kirchen, und so stellt sich die Frage, ob sich aufgrund eines solchen Details Schlussfolgerungen über die gemeinsame Nutzung von Kirchen durch Griechen und Lateiner in diesen sehr ländlichen Kontexten ziehen lassen.

Der Aufsatz geht zunächst auf die Arbeit der sogenannten westlichen Werkstatt ein, die das Manipel in ihren Fresken darstellte, und präsentiert dann eine Reihe weiterer Quellen, die für die Diskussion eines religiösen Austausches zwischen orthodoxen Griechen und lateinischen Venezianern von Bedeutung sind: Neben Textquellen müssen auch archäologische Quellen wie Kirchenarchitektur und liturgisches Gerät für die Beantwortung dieser Fragen hinzugezogen werden.

Preuves d'échanges religieux dans les peintures murales crétoises? Un groupe exceptionnel d'églises avec des décorations du début du XIV^e siècle

Cet essai donne un aperçu des échanges culturels et religieux entre les Grecs et les Vénitiens en Crète pendant l'occupation vénitienne. Pour ce faire, il analyse des peintures d'églises datant du XIV^e siècle. Plus de 700 églises décorées dans le style byzantin traditionnel, ainsi que des mentions des empereurs byzantins dans les inscriptions des fondateurs, indiquent en général une identité fortement orthodoxe de la population de l'île à cette époque. Néanmoins, une légère influence occidentale peut également être mise en évidence dans les fresques, due au contact avec les colons vénitiens. Celle-ci ne se manifeste toutefois que dans des détails mineurs qui ne sont pas en contradiction avec le rite orthodoxe.

Dans deux églises de l'ouest de la Crète, les évêques orthodoxes, dans la représentation de la Cène avec *melismos* – un thème traditionnellement représenté dans l'abside des églises grecques orthodoxes – portent sur le poignet ce que l'on appelle un manipule, un vêtement issu de la liturgie latine. Cependant, il n'y a pas d'autres indices de l'utilisation du rite latin dans ces églises, et la question se pose donc de savoir si, sur la base d'un tel détail, il est possible de tirer des conclusions sur l'utilisation commune des églises par les Grecs et les Latins dans ces contextes très ruraux.

L'essai aborde tout d'abord le travail de l'atelier dit occidental, qui représentait le manipule dans ses fresques, et présente ensuite une série d'autres sources importantes pour la discussion d'un échange religieux entre Grecs orthodoxes et Vénitiens latins: Outre les sources textuelles, les sources archéologiques telles que l'architecture des églises et les instruments liturgiques doivent être prises en compte pour répondre à ces questions.