

From Byzantine Monasticism to Venetian Piety The Double Church of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios at Perivolia (Chania)*

The paper researches the conversion of a monastic Orthodox chapel to a private Catholic oratory at the settlement of Gharipa/Perivolia nearby Chania in Western Crete. The study focuses; a) on the initial iconographic program of the church, which is dated in the first half of the 15th century and it is connected to analogue decoration programs found at the churches of important Orthodox monasteries of the island; b) on the unique 16th century Renaissance frescoes that include painted Latin inscriptions concerning private devotion. The highly intellectual and artistic level of the later decoration implies its connection to a dignified personality demonstrating his Catholic faith as status symbol in the 16th century Crete.

The neighborhood of Gharipas belongs to the large settlement of Perivolia which is located approximately 4.5 km to the south of Chania, in western Crete. This vicinity was famous for its natural water springs, which were used by the Venetians for the water supply of Canea (Chania). According to the official documents, the starting point of the aqueduct was constructed by the Rector Leonardo Loredan at the private estates of the noble family of Viaro at Gharipas between 1551 and 1554¹. The Italian scholar G. Gerola had transcribed the painted inscription of the neighboring Hagios Georgios church along with the documentation of

the remaining aqueduct², yet the status of the settlement as the main water source for Chania had overshadowed the existence of three fresco painted churches within its confines. A brief reference has been made only to the double church of Hagios Georgios³, while the other two (Hagios Antonios and Hagios Panteleimonas) remain unknown until today.

Object of this study is the double church of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios (fig. 1), which lies at the top of a small hill near the so called Buzunarja springs. Restoration works have taken place there from 1998-2003 under the supervision of M. Andrianakēs, then Head of the 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Chania. During the first campaign, a part of the fresco decoration of the church was revealed, while the accomplishment of its revelation and conservation has been achieved at the recent 2015/16 campaign, under the author's supervision.

The complex consists of two single aisled churches: the southern one is today dedicated to Hagios Demetrios (dimensions: 8.79 m × 3.15 m) and the northern one to Hagios Panteleimonas (8.72 m × 2.35 m) (fig. 2). The complex is classified under a popular church type of rural Crete which is known as »double aisled« or »double« church⁴. Both churches have been altered by radical posterior modifications. The most distinctive (and authentic) architectural el-

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1 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV 28.

2 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV 29 fig. 13 (for the aqueduct). 420 no. 5 (for the inscription).

3 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 252.

4 The term »double aisled church« is the most popular in the Greek speaking literature on the subject, e.g. Borboudakēs, *Technē* 58 and elsewhere. – K. Gallas had proposed the more descriptive: Additive Raumkapelle including the subgenre of Zwei-Raumkapelle. Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 50-51. – Recently O. Gkratziou suggested the occasional replacement of term »double aisled« with the term »double church«. The scholar considers that the term »aisle« describes an auxiliary space significantly diminished in size compared with the central spatial unit (nave). Therefore she classifies two different groups of churches: the first one registered as »double aisled churches« (Gkratziou, *Krētē* 132-144) and the second one as »double churches« thus complexes with equivalent chapels (Gkratziou, *Krētē* 147). From a purely technical point of view, the complex of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios could be described better as »double church« than »double aisled church«. Furthermore Gkratziou coined the most disputed opinion that double churches are autonomous and equivalent entities possibly serving the functional needs of two different dogmas the Orthodox and the Catholic ones. Gkratziou, *Krētē* 128-179 (with detailed reference and commentary on the terminology). This scientific thesis was received with mixed reviews ranging from positive to negative. For a positive one: Kalopissi-Verti, *Review* 317-321. It is noteworthy that Kalopissi-Verti interprets Gkratziou's concept of double churches not as a peaceful existence between the two rites but as the result of ecclesiastical rivalry between the two dogmas. In V. Tsamakda's review there is expressed a strong skepticism towards Gkratziou's concept by stating among others that there is only one recorded example of a double church serving



Fig. 1 Perivolia (Chania), The double church of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios from West. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

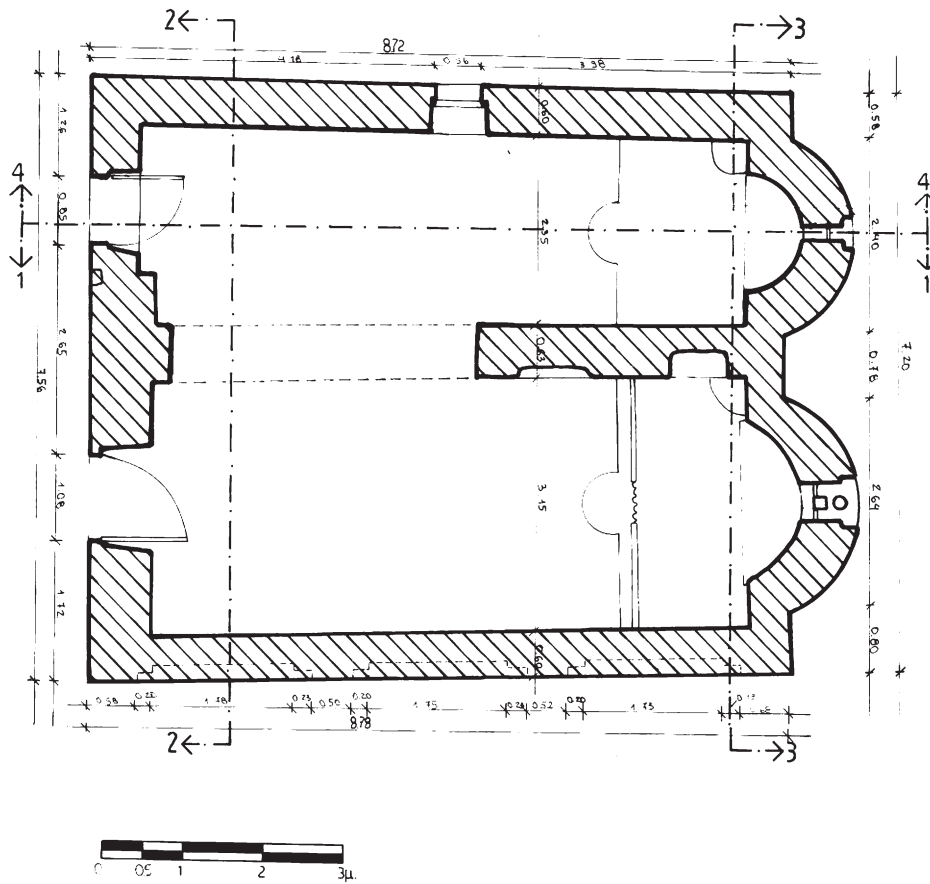


Fig. 2 Perivolia (Chania), Ground plan of the double church of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios. – (Drawing G. Perivola, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

Orthodox and Catholic rites (Sōtēras Ierapetra). Additionally Tsamakda writes: »Diese Annahme kann nicht bewiesen werden und ist auch schwer nachvollziehbar angesichts der zahlreichen Quellen, die den Eindruck von unüberbrückbaren religiösen Differenzen zwischen den beiden Konfessionen auf Kreta und einer

konfrontativen Situation hinterlassen«. Consequently the reviewer traces methodological inconsistencies in Gkratziou's deduction. Tsamakda, Review 199-208, esp. 202-205. For a current critical stance: Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē, Balsamero 322-323.



Fig. 3 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Demetrios, South and West wall. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

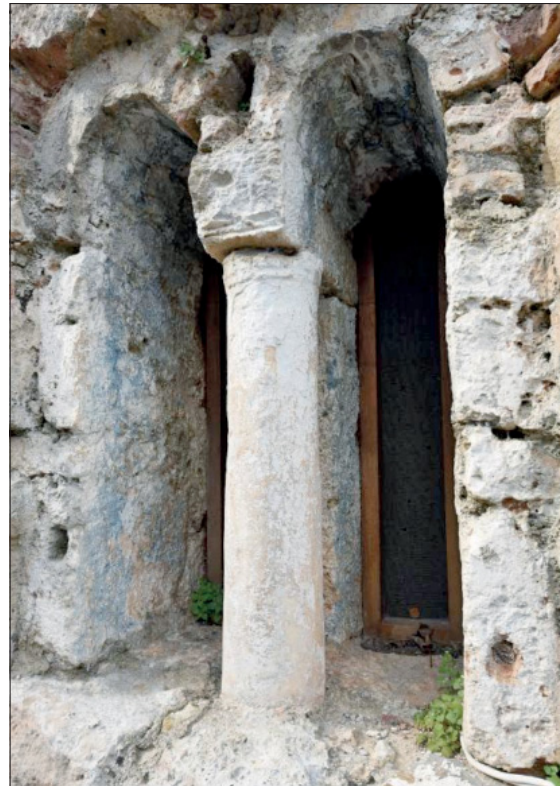


Fig. 4 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Demetrios, The double arched window. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

elements are still visible at the southern one (Hagios Demetrios). Its southern wall is shaped as a triple blind arcade constructed with small ashlar without intermediating tiles (**fig. 3**), while the double arched window of the apse is constructed with *spolia* such as an early Christian pillar (**fig. 4**). Both features allude to the middle Byzantine tradition of the island⁵, yet their crude technique implies a later dating, possibly in the 13th century, when a widespread decline of the anterior style is observed on the island⁶. The masonry of Hagios Panteleimonas church is extensively reconstructed, hindering the actual date of the building. Its external northern wall was rebuilt possibly in the 19th century, while the western façade of the church has been subject to a series of modifications. The *oculus* is lined up with the original apse window, while the present door is slightly off centered towards north (**fig. 2**). This arrangement indicates that the *oculus* followed the initial planning of the church, while the entrance was added as an afterthought on the initial blind wall. A similar façade is to be seen at a diminished number

of Cretan double churches⁷. Additionally, an interior intermediate arch lies between the two churches, thus allowing the free movement in the complex. On the contrary a solid wall separates the two bemas, in a typical style for this kind of churches⁸.

The 13th century church of Hagios Demetrios is deprived of murals. The sole pictorial decoration of the complex survives at the eastern part of the northern church of Hagios Panteleimonas (**fig. 5**). Its iconographical program consisted of five zones on the lateral walls and in the apse (**figs 6a-b**). The two lower ones comprised processions of concelebrant bishops, heading towards the apse. The subordinate procession of the southern wall includes four bishops who hold liturgical vessels such as portable church tabernacles and *chalices* (**figs 6a. 7**). The head of this procession is a bishop, who is placed at the pier right to the apse, demonstrating a scroll with the abbreviated first verses of the *Trisagion Hymn prayer*: Ο/ΘC/OA/Π/OC (= 'Ο Θεός ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύομενος / O Holy God, who resteth in the saints)⁹ (**fig. 8**). A similar procession

5 External blind arcades built with interlacing ashlar and bricks are a typical feature for a series of middle Byzantine churches of Crete which were influenced by the architecture of Constantinople such as: Hagios Ioannes in Roukani/Herakleion, Hagios Myron Maleviziou/Herakleion, Hagios Panteleimonas/Herakleion, Hagia Barbara Latziana/Kissamos, Hagios Demetrios/Hagios Demetrios Rethymno, Zoodochos Pēgē Alikianos/Chania. For the monuments and the stylistic origins: Andrianakēs, *Mnēmeiakē Architektonikē* 341-347. – The use of early Christian *spolia* as supporters for the apse windows at the middle Byzantine monuments of the island is also frequent, cf. the examples of the Panagia church at Phodele/Herakleion and the Panagia Zerviotissa at Stylos/Apokoronas: Theocharopoulou, *Symbolē* 166.

6 Personal remark of M. Andrianakēs. – For the general decline of the middle Byzantine techniques from the middle of the 12th century onwards: Andrianakēs, *Mpizarianō* 192.

7 Cf. the double church of Panagia, Vlachiana, which preserves only one entrance on the western wall of the southern church until today: Gkratziou, *Krētē* 172-173 figs 181-182.

8 Gkratziou, *Krētē* 131.

9 Babić/Walter, *Liturgical Rolls* 271 no. 6. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 43, 5.



Fig. 5 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, The apse from West. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

would have been placed at the counterpart lower zone on the northern wall, where only one bishop remains *in situ*. This procession did not reach the eastern end of the wall – as it is implied by the absence of frescoes – because a built *Prothesis* table probably occupied the space (fig. 9). This installation was removed during a posterior phase, thus implying that a liturgical change took place.

The second lower zone on the northern wall preserves two bishops (fig. 6b). The western one is identified by his iconographic features as St John Chrysostom. He holds a scroll bearing the abbreviated beginning of the *Prothesis* prayer deriving from the text of his Liturgy: Ο/Θ/Ο/Θ/

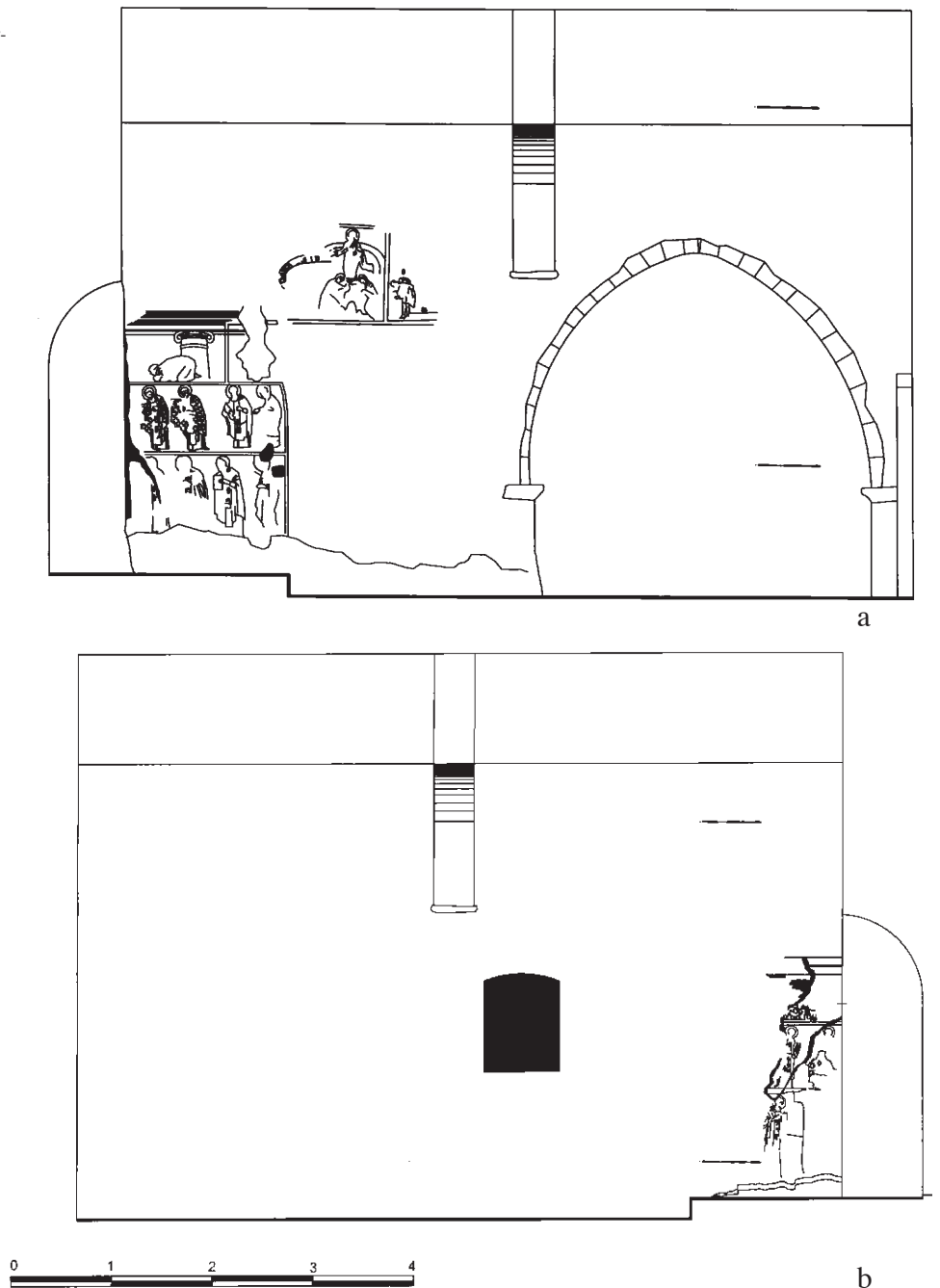
ΗΜΩΝ (= Ὁ Θεός ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον / The God, our God, who the Bread of heaven)¹⁰ (fig. 10). The preceding bishop on the lateral wall can be identified as Jacob the half-brother of Christ, while the procession is led by Symeon the God receiver (fig. 11), who is depicted on the northern pier next to the apse. The counterpart procession on the southern wall comprises four bishops (figs 6a. 12). The last one carries a *chalice*, the third one holds a scroll with the abbreviated opening of the first *Antiphon prayer*: ΚΕ/Ο/Θ/ΗΜΩΝ (= Κύριε ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνεύκαστον / O Lord our God, whose dominion is indescribable)¹¹, the second one (possibly Saint Basil) bears a scroll with the abbreviated intro of the *Little Entrance*: ΔΕΚ/ΠΟΤΑ/ΚΕ (= Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ὁ καταστήσας / O Master, Lord our God, who hast appointed)¹². The first bishop holds a scroll with the commencement of the second *Antiphon prayer*: ΚΕ/Ο/Θ/ΗΜΩΝ/Σ (= Κύριε ὁ θεός ἡμῶν σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου / O Lord our God, save thy people)¹³. The leading celebrant of the procession is depicted on the right pier of the apse, he is identified as Saint Spyridon due to his distinctive headdress holding a scroll with the abbreviated opening verses of the third *Antiphon prayer*: Ο/ΤΑΚ/ΚΗΝ (= ὁ τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας καὶ συμφώνους ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος προσευχῆς = O Thou who hast bestowed upon us these common and concordant prayers) (fig. 8)¹⁴.

The iconographic program on the lateral walls is completed with the insertion of the »Celestial Liturgy« in the apse (fig. 13). The theme is divided into two panels, through the interference of a central window. The southern one depicts three angels dressed as deacons with *Sticharia* and *Oraria* carrying Christ's Body, which is represented according to the »sepulchral type« with a cloth tied around His waist¹⁵. The *Oraria* of the angels/deacons bear the introductory verse of the *Epinikios Hymn*: ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ (= Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης Σου / Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts: heaven [& earth] are full of Thy glory)¹⁶, thus reinforcing the symbolic connection between the transfer of the Body (Epitaphios) and the procession of the Eucharistic Gifts during the *Great Entrance*¹⁷. The specific composition underlines the symbolism of Christ's Body as Eucharistic offering by directing the procession towards the Holy altar of the northern panel. This one depicts the living Christ dressed in patriarchal garments (Sakkos), celebrating the Eucharist as an Archpriest¹⁸ – escorted by two

10 Babić/Walter, Liturgical Rolls 271 no. 1. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 17, 3.
 11 Babić/Walter, Liturgical Rolls 271 no. 2. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 27, 1.
 12 Babić/Walter, Liturgical Rolls 271 no. 5. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 37, 6.
 13 Babić/Walter, Liturgical Rolls 271 no. 3. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 32, 9.
 14 Babić/Walter, Liturgical Rolls 271 no. 4. – Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 36, 1.
 15 Schulz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 168.
 16 Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 106, 2.
 17 The composition of Epitaphios is related until today to the Passion ritual of the Greek Orthodox churches and it is attached to a certain group of chants, sang on Holy Saturday: Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 293. 388. 411 (with collection of the sources). – Epitaphios or Christ Amnos (the sacrificial lamb) was introduced already in the 12th century as main decoration theme on the Aër, the veil that covered the Holy Gifts, since the Amnos figure (The Body of Christ)

refers directly to the Holy Bread. – Aër was used in the Presanctification of the Gifts, their *Great Entrance* and at their deposition on the altar. The initial 12th century meaning of the depiction of Dead Christ on the Aër was in accordance with the mystical burial symbolism of the *Great Entrance*. From the 14th century onwards the theme was inserted in the burial procession of the Holy Saturday. Almost simultaneously the symbolic connection between the iconography of Epitaphios and the *Great Entrance* increased, thus implying a retro influence from the Passion ritual. For the evolution of the scheme: Belting, *Image* 3. 12-15. – Schulz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 171. – Dufrenne, *Les Programmes* 53-54.
 18 The description of Christ as Archpriest derives from the Paulinean epistle to the Hebrews (4, 15): »οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπαθεῖσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν, πεπειραμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοίτητα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας«. Wessel, *Himmlische Liturgie* 122.

Fig. 6 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, **a** South wall, **b** North wall. – (Drawing G. Perivola, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



angels/deacons. The first one carries the *paten* and *chalice* with a *Kalymma*, while the second one stands by the altar. It seems that the composition focuses specifically on the time-point of the recitation of the *Epinikios Hymn*, at the actual moment of the Liturgy when the deacon removes the *Asterisk* from the *paten*, just before the second prayer of *Anaphora*¹⁹. This symbolic relationship between the composition and the real-time ceremony is reinforced by the inscription of the

Epinikios at the angels/deacons' garments of Epitaphios as well as by the realistic depiction of the altar with the *paten*, *asterisk*, *chalice* and *lance*.

The two scenes (Epitaphios/*Great Entrance*), are a commonplace for the 14th/15th century iconography²⁰. Both describe and comment on the *Great Entrance* and the Eucharistic Prayer as symbolic action (Epitaphios) as well as »real« enactment (Procession of Gifts), combining »Eucharistic sym-

19 Ὁ λαός: Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος. Τοῦ ἱερέως λέγοντος ταύτην τὴν ἐκφώνησιν, ὁ διάκονος αἶρει τὸν ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ἄμνου [...]. Translation: The people: Holy, Holy, Holy. And when the priest makes this recitation, the deacon removes the *Asterisk* from the Holy Lamb. Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 106, 1-4.

20 Cf. the Epitaphios/*Great Entrance* scenes in the composition of the Celestial Liturgy at the Prothesis chamber of Peribleptos, Mystras (3rd quarter of the

14th c.): Chatzidakēs, Mystras 82-83 fig. 48. – Schulz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 171-172. – The counterpart of the Hagios Panteleimonas composition is traced at the post-byzantine Celestial Liturgy on the lateral walls of the bema at Pantanassa, Mystras that probably imitates the original 1430 decoration: Dufrenne, *Les Programmes* pl. 22 schéma XIV, fig. 38. – Chatzidakēs, Mystras 101.



Fig. 7 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, The lower zone of the South wall, including four concelebrant bishops. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



Fig. 8 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Concelebrant bishop (lower panel), St Spyridon (upper panel). – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



Fig. 9 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, The area of the initial prothesis table (right side). – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

Fig. 10 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, St John Chrysostom and concelebrating bishop. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



bolism with Passion realism»²¹. The depiction of the *Great Entrance* with the participation of angelic hosts flourishes throughout the late Byzantine period in Serbia, the Greek mainland and Crete as well²². The iconographic theme of angels-deacons participating in the *Great Entrance* displays a kind of synchronization between the terrestrial and celestial celebration, since the *Cherubikon Hymn* sung at the *Great Entrance* makes a direct allusion to the angelic hosts: «Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες καὶ τῇ Ζωοποιῶ Τριάδι τὸν Τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν»²³. The creation and the popularity of the specific symbolic scene in the late Byzantine period is interpreted as an outcome of the Palamite controversy on the «ways in which the human intellect may attain the knowledge of God» and it is related to the heyday of liturgical commentaries written by orthodox zealots and mystics such as Nicolas Kabasilas († after 1388) and Symeon of Thessalonike († 1429)²⁴, thus it is connected with the conservative orthodox circles.

The pairing of the compositions of Epitaph and *Great Entrance* at Hagios Panteleimonas church is to be found at the vaults over the bema of Hagios Antonios at the Vrontisi Monastery (1420-1430)²⁵. The two monuments share common



Fig. 11 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Symeon the God receiver. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

21 Belting, Image 3.

22 The composition is found at a large number of 14th century Serbian churches like the King's church in Studeniča (1316), the Koimesis Church of Gračanica (ca. 1320), Hagios Georgios in Staro Nagoričino (1316/17) and Hodgetria, Peč (ca. 1330). Walter, Art and Ritual 218-220. – Ranoutsaki, Brontisi 80-89. Variations of the specific iconographic theme is also found at Crete: at the vaults of the Vrontisi Monastery (1420-1430), the apse of Hagios Phanourios chapel at Valsamonero (1426-1431), at the lower part of the bema at Panagia Gouverniotissa (1330-1340), the Prothesis chamber of Panagia at Valsamonero, in Hagia Triada Rethymno (early 15th c.). Spatharakis, Great Entrance 293-335 figs 1-4.

23 «We who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice Holy Hymn to the life-giving Trinity, let us aside all worldly care». Doig, Liturgy 76.

24 For the subject: Walter, Art and Ritual 220. – Ranoutsaki, Brontisi 80.

25 The church was dated approximately at 1320. Recently it was re-dated by Ch. Ranoutsaki in 1420-1430. Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Byzantinisches Kreta 119-120. – Bissinger, Kreta 128-129. – Ranoutsaki, Brontisi. – For an analysis concerning the Great Entrance at Vrontisi: Spatharakis, Great Entrance 293-296.



Fig. 12 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, The second lower zone of the South wall, including four concelebrant bishops. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



Fig. 13 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Celestial Liturgy. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

iconographic characteristics such as the inscription ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC at the *Oraria* of the deacons or the common stance of the archangel carrying the Holy vessels. Yet there are also

differences such as the absence of the Great Aēr underneath Christ's Body at the composition of Hagios Panteleimonas or the representation of angels carrying the *chalices* as priests

Fig. 14 Perivolía (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Prostrating monk. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



at the composition of Vrontisi²⁶. The positioning of the double composition of Celestial Liturgy in the apse of Hagios Panteleimonas could be found elsewhere in Crete. The closest counterparts are traced in the apse of Hagios Phanourios' chapel, Valsamonero (erected at 1426 and painted by Konstantinos Eirenikos in 1431), where there is depicted the scene of *Great Entrance* with Christ as a High Priest escorted by the angels-deacons²⁷ and in the apse of Panagia Gouverniotissa in Potamies (1330-1340), where there are preserved two angels deacons carrying the *chalice*²⁸. Moreover, the Hagios Panteleimonas composition combines in exceptional manner elements from the iconographic theme of *Melismos*, such as the participation of the concelebrant Bishops within the Celestial Liturgy, the realistic representation of the sacred vessels on the altar²⁹ and the presence of Hagios Spyridon in proximity to the scene³⁰. The sole compositional schemes that verge Hagios Panteleimonas composition are the scene of the *Great Entrance* in the central apse of the Marko Monastery, Skopje (1376-1381), where Bishops and Angels bring together offerings and liturgical vessels towards the Christ-Archpriest standing in the middle³¹ and the Panagia Gouverniotissa arrangement, in which the concelebrant bishops are painted at the lateral parts of the sanctuary, just like in our church³².

The correct sequence between the verses on the concelebrants' scrolls and the actual points in time of the Liturgy

itself (with the exception of the interval of the *Little Entrance* between the prayers of the 2nd and 3rd Antiphon), the poetic simile between the transfer of the Body/Epitaphios and the »realistic« procession of the Gifts/*Great Entrance* both by the angels-deacons as well as the detailed inventory-like depiction of the sacred vessels at the frescoes of Hagios Panteleimonas suggest theological sophistication, implying that these themes were primarily addressed to the clerics than to the congregation – a fact of crucial importance for an Orthodox church which lies in a land under Venetian occupation³³. The iconographical program suggests origin from an Orthodox monastic milieu and it is related with the donor of the church.

The representations of the third superimposed zone confirm the previous suggestion. On the southern wall there is depicted a prostrating monk without halo (figs 6a, 14). The monk wears a monastic purple head cloth and garments, covering his hands in a gesture of respect and awe. At the equivalent position on the northern wall there is depicted a similarly prostrating bishop. Both figures address their prostrations to the Deësis in the semi-dome of the apse (fig. 15), evidently praying for the salvation of the mortal monk, who can be identified as the donor of the church³⁴. The iconographical scheme of the kneeling monk/donor before Christ is already common ever since the middle-Byzantine era³⁵, while the concept of a communal intervention on behalf of

26 Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 294.

27 K. Gallas characterizes it as »einziges Beispiel auf Kreta an dieser Stelle«. For the decoration: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 320. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 231 no. 207. – The convent of Balsamonero still lacks a complete publication. For references, see: Borboudakis, *Techne* 122-125. – Spatharakis, *The Great Entrance* 300-302. – Bissinger, *Kreta* no. 90. 150. 207. – Ritterfeld, *Balsamonero* 387-407. – Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē, *Balsamonero* 291-327.

28 Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 299 fig. 7.

29 For the topic cf.: Kōnstantinidē, *Melismos* 65-73.

30 For the presence of the Cypriot saint among the concelebrant Bishops of *Melismos* cf.: Kōnstantinidē, *Melismos* 136. – For the reference of Spyridon's name in the prayer of Proskomidē cf.: Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 199.

31 Schulz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 170. – Walter, *Art and Ritual* 220. – Grozdanov, *Marko Fresques* 83-93. – Ranoutsaki, *Brontisi* 88.

32 Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 299.

33 Kōnstantinidē, *Melismos* 73. 158.

34 For the intercessory meaning of Deësis, already from the 9th century cf.: Walter, *Two notes* 334-336. – Papadaki-Oekland, *Paratērēseis Deēseōs* 31-57. – Generally for the theme of Deësis in the apses of the Cretan churches and its liturgical function cf.: Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 15-110.

35 Cf. the Deësis at the cell of Hagios Neophytos in Cyprus (1183), where Neophytos is depicted kneeling in the forefront of the composition: Mango/Hawkins, *Hermitage* fig. 94.



Fig. 15 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Deësis in the semi-dome of the apse. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

the donor's soul salvation is already manifested in a grandiose manner at the northwestern chapel of the Afendiko-Hodegetria church in Mystras (ca. 1322) that was used as the burial place for the abbot Pachomios. There, choirs of prophets, apostles, patriarchs, martyrs and saints as well as Virgin and Prodomos participate in an expanded procession towards Christ, intermediating for the rest of the deceased abbot's soul, according to the funerary inscription³⁶. Yet, the iconographical scheme of Hagios Panteleimonas church displays an even clearer message, aiming to the exaltation of the mortal's personality, who is depicted inside the bema – in a rather unusual mode.

The triumphal arch of the church was decorated with an equally innovative iconographic program, characterized by the squash of multiple scenes (fig. 5). Unfortunately most of them are severely damaged due to posterior notches for the preparation of the superimposed plaster. The representations of the lower zone possibly belong to the Mother of God circle (fig. 16a). The central panel is indecipherable; it depicts (on the right) a seated haloed woman holding an infant in front of her torso and (on the left) an approaching figure holding a portable vessel. It may illustrate the rare scene of Anne breastfeeding the Virgin³⁷ or an original composition of Virgin Mary and Christ. The right panel depicts the Presentation of Virgin in the Temple according to the typical Byzantine manner

(fig. 16b). Mary is accompanied by her parents and a group of virgins, while at the upper side there is depicted another incident from her life in the temple, in which Mary receives food from an angel³⁸. The left panel illustrates the Annunciation rather unusually in a single rectangle (fig. 16c)³⁹. As far as the iconographic details are concerned, the representation follows the variation with the seated Virgin and the standing Archangel⁴⁰. On the background there are depicted the typical edifices for the scene⁴¹.

The lateral panels of the upper zone of the triumphal arch are extensively damaged and they cannot be recognized (fig. 17a). The remnants of a ciborium at the upper right panel in relation to the sequence of the other apse scenes suggest that this panel probably depicted an episode from the Mother of God circle⁴². The central one is hardly decipherable (fig. 17b). Two pairs of prostrating angels appear on both sides of a mandorla, which surrounds a frontal figure (Christ?). Both scene and position are rare and they are possibly related to the celestial worship of God Christ. Once again, the closest parallel is to be found at the murals of the triumphal arch of Hagios Phanourios' chapel at Valsamonero (1426-1431), where two groups of juxtaposed angels adore a three-headed angel, who represents the Holy Trinity surrounded by a mandorla and flanked by the four apocalyptic signs of the Evangelists (fig. 18a-b)⁴³. It is evident that

36 Chatzidakēs, Mystras 65-66.

37 For a similar scene cf. the composition of seated Anna breastfeeding the Virgin in the church of Eisodheia, Chumeri Monofatsi/Crete (middle of the 15th c.): Theocharopoulou, *Toichographies Eisodhiōn* 139 (with previous literature). For the rarity of the theme in the Cretan churches cf.: Kalokyris, *Wall paintings* 124.

38 For the scene and its textual background: Underwood, *Kariye Djami II* 90-91. – For the popularity of the theme in the Cretan churches: Kalokyris, *Wall paintings* 125. – For a brief history of the theme with anterior literature: Theocharopoulou, *Toichographies Eisodhiōn* 142-143.

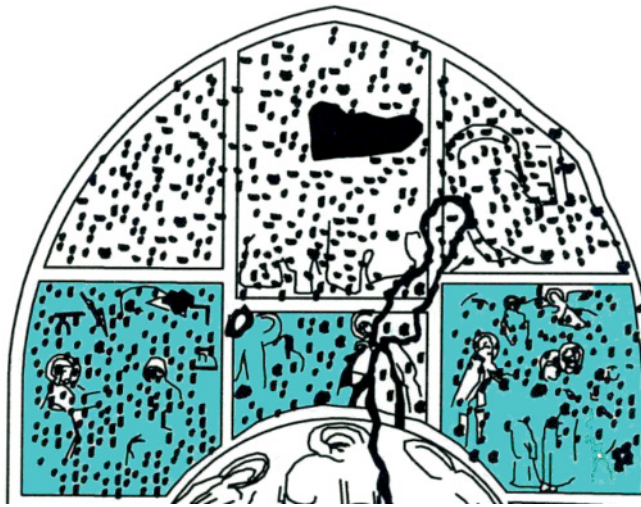
39 For the symbolic connotations of the representation of the scene usually in two separate panels, cf.: Theocharopoulou, *Hagios Ioannēs Prodomos* 69 (with previous literature).

40 Kalokyris, *Wall paintings* 52.

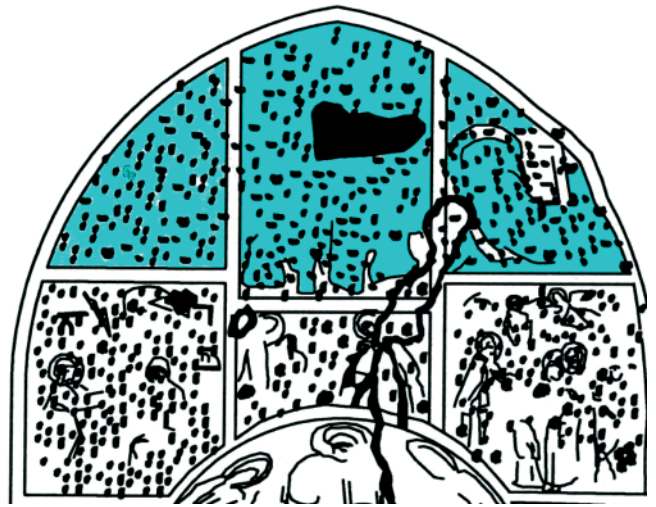
41 Theocharopoulou, *Hagios Ioannēs Prodomos* 70.

42 Possibly »Zacharias praying before the rods« or »The Virgin entrusted to Joseph«. Underwood, *Kariye Djami II* 90-91.

43 For Latin influences on the composition see: Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 210-211. – During her verbal communication at the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Ch. Ranoutsakē supported that the specific representation is influenced by the Western art. Ranoutsakē, *Monē Balsamonerou* 327-328 (this opinion is not included in the published abstract). – For the connection between the Byzantine representation of the three-headed Trinity and the Western illustrations cf.: Lovino, *Un Miniature* 391-392 (with other examples from the Hellenic region and previous literature).



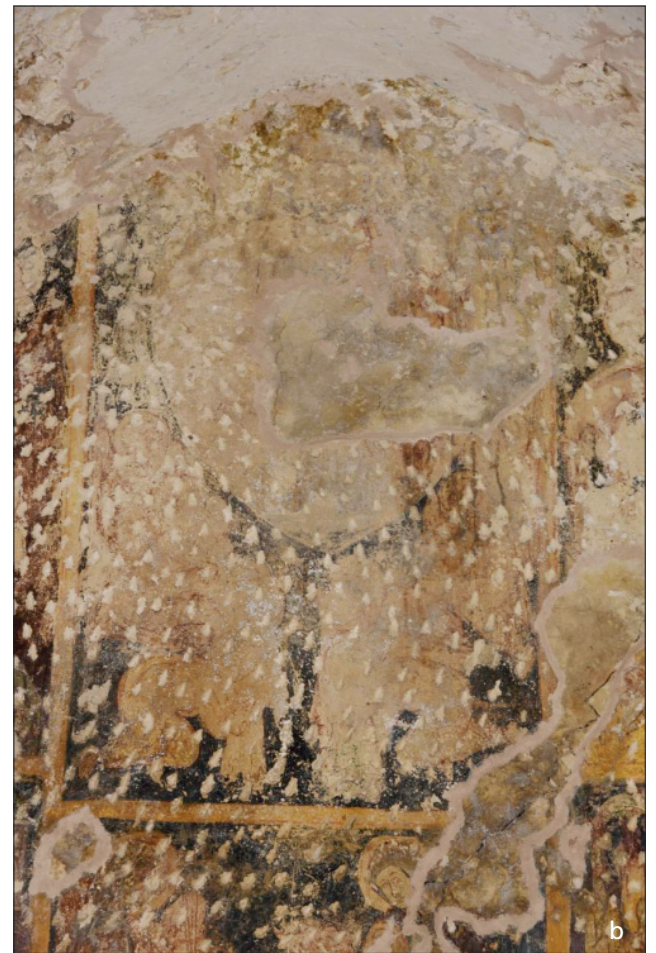
a



a



b



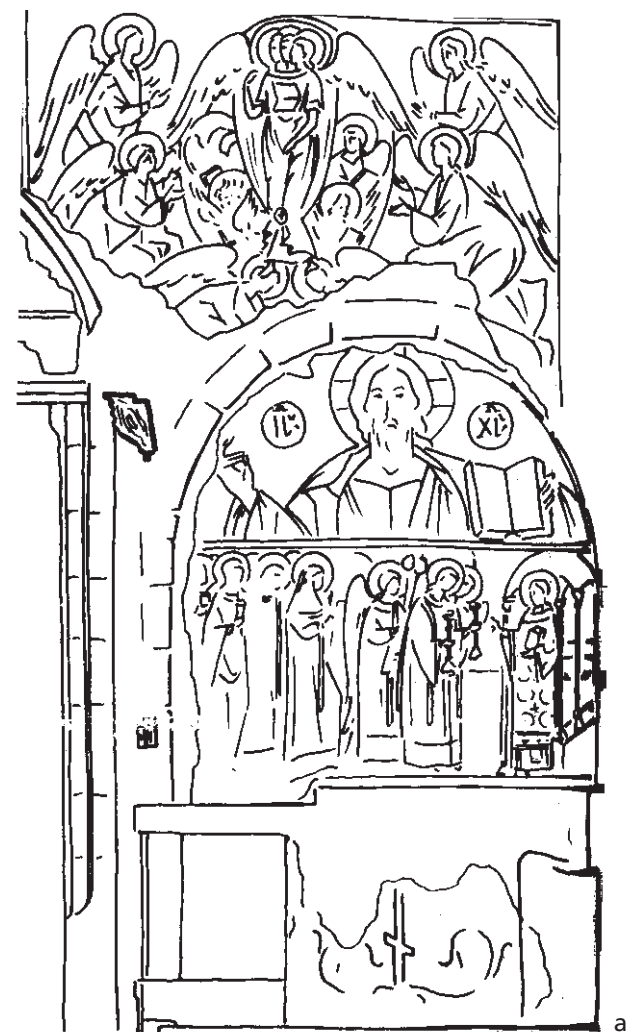
b



c

Fig. 16 Perivolía (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, **a** Triumphal arch of the apse/lower zone, **b** Presentation of the Virgin (right panel), **c** Annunciation (left panel). – (a drawing G. Perivola, Ephoreia Archaeotëtôn Chaniôn, b-c photo D. Tomazinakës, Ephoreia Archaeotëtôn Chaniôn).

Fig. 17 Perivolía (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, **a** Triumphal arch of the apse/upper zone, **b** The central panel of the upper zone. – (a drawing G. Perivola, Ephoreia Archaeotëtôn Chaniôn, b photo D. Tomazinakës, Ephoreia Archaeotëtôn Chaniôn).



both representations share common characteristics (groups of adoring angels / a central haloed stature) presenting a scene of Theophany quite extraordinary for the typical iconographical programs of the Cretan churches. On the contrary, the rest of the fresco decoration at the upper zones on the lateral walls of the Hagios Panteleimonas follows the usual Cretan patterns, including scenes from the Christ cycle (Healing of the paralytic, Christ greeting the two Marias⁴⁴ on the southern one and Christ before the Cross⁴⁵ on the northern one). These scenes complete the surviving authentic frescoes of the church, since the rest of the initial decoration is either removed or covered with posterior murals.

Despite the damaged condition of the fresco decoration, one could make some sketchy observations concerning its style. The paintings were executed by a small workshop guided by a single master, yet their artistic quality is unequal. A specific group of paintings is to be found at the lower parts of the lateral walls and the apse; it comprises the depictions of the concelebrant bishops and isolated saints (figs 7. 10-12. 19b) and it is characterized by their miniscule size, the disproportional stances and the strong linear contour of the statures and faces that sometimes gives them a caricature like impression. The second group is located at the scenes that decorate the triumphal arch. This specific group is painted with a rich color palette and an imaginative architectural backdrop (figs 16b-c). The figures of this group display a certain degree of elegance (fig. 19a) sometimes expressed with an exaggeration of slenderness (cf. the central figures of the Presentation of the Virgin, fig. 16b), which echoes in a

Fig. 18 Valsamonero, Hagios Phanourios: **a** The apse, **b** Adoration of the Three-headed Trinity. – (a drawing after Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantisches Kreta* fig. 281, b photo E. Kanaké, Ephoreia Archaioetôn Herakleion).

44 The scene is depicted according to the symmetrical type; the two kneeling Marias are juxtaposed at either side of the frontal Christ, who raises his hands to the lower part of his torso. Christ's stance is similar to the counterpart found at the Panagia church in Choumeri/Monofatsi (middle of the 15th c.). The touching of the resurrected Christ's feet in our church displays a strong pious character reminiscent of the same scene in Hagios Phanourios, Valsamonero (1426-1431). – For the typology: Millet, *Recherches* 42. 540-550. – For Choumeri:

Theocharopoulou, *Toichographies Eisodiön* 155 fig. 24. – For Valsamonero: Kalokyris, *Wall paintings* 83 fig. BW 45.
45 From the scene survives the lower part of the cross, the ladder and striving Christ's feet and torso. The scene is unusually directed from right to left. – For the type of the ascending Christ cf.: Millet, *Recherches* 387-395. – For the rarity of the scene in the Cretan churches: Kalokyris, *Wall paintings* 102.

Fig. 19 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas: **a** Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, **b** Concelebrant bishop, **c** Angel/deacon from the Celestial Liturgy. – (Photos D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



provincial manner the increased mannerism of the Constantinopolitan painting of the second half of the 14th century. This impression is further reinforced by the delineation of small eyes and elongated faces that alludes to similar facial characteristics from the mosaic diptych of the twelve Feasts (1350-1400), kept in Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence⁴⁶. The common element of both groups from Hagios Panteleimonas is the linear contour and the intensive contrast between the dark and white surfaces around the eyes – accomplished with a brush-stroke for the depiction of the pupils. This technique

could sometimes give a feeling of spirituality and others a mask-like impression in order to express the sorrowfulness of the scene, like the faces of the angels that carry the Body (fig. 19c). It is noteworthy to remark that there are not any parallels to be found in the Chania district. One could observe a formal resemblance to the facial characteristics from a group of saints from the Panagia, Valsamonero such as the portrayal of Hagios Antonios (ca. 1428)⁴⁷ (figs 20a-b), yet a thorough analysis presupposes the complete publication of the Valsamonero iconographic program.

46 Weitzmann, Constantinople 22. 74-75.

47 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Byzantinisches Kreta 319 fig. 279.



Fig. 20 a Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Hagios Spyridon (detail), b Valsamonero Monastery, Aisle of Prodomos, Hagios Antonios. – (a photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn, b photo after Gallas/ Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* fig. 279).

Indicative of the date of the church are few secondary iconographical patterns; the grisaille decoration on the background buildings of the Annunciation scene alludes to similar designs from the church of Pantanassa, Mystras (15th c.) or Hagios Georgios in Emparos, Crete (1436/37)⁴⁸. Other details such as the crosses in circle painted at Christ's ceremonial regalia remind those of the bishops' garments at the church of Hagios Athanasios in Voukolies, Chania (second layer dated in the 15th c.)⁴⁹. Also noteworthy is the – already mentioned – resemblance between the stances of the angel/deacon at the *Great Entrance* of our church (fig. 21a) and the angel/deacon of Vrontisi (1420-1430), which seems to characterize a diminished group of similar depictions in Crete such as the ones on the sanctuary wall of Hagios Ioannes Theologos Limnes, Lassithi (middle 14th c./early 15th c.)⁵⁰ (fig. 21b) and Hagia Trias in Rethymno (early 15th c.)⁵¹. All figures share the same irregular gestures since they raise the *paten* with one hand to-

wards their head and simultaneously display the *chalice* with the opposite one⁵². Moreover, the closest similarity regarding the selection of themes and their position in the church is shared with Hagios Phanourios' chapel, Valsamonero (1431). Consequently, the murals of Hagios Panteleimonas seem to date from the first half of the 15th century.

Architectural and artistic evidence from our complex of churches permits some concluding remarks concerning its construction phases. Judging from the external arrangements of the Hagios Demetrios (blind arcades, double arched windows), this church is dated in the 13th century. The northern edifice – Hagios Panteleimonas – is painted in the first half of the 15th century, yet its actual date of construction remains unspecified due to masonry alterations⁵³. The iconographical program demonstrates the highly intellectual/theological background of its initiator, who was an Orthodox monk. Additionally the unique iconographical subjects of the church and their relation to the corresponding compositions at the Hagios Phanourios' chapel in Valsamonero Monastery⁵⁴ and to some degree with Vrontisi Monastery⁵⁵ imply a common spiritual directive, possibly linked to a metropolitan centre

48 Chatzidakēs, Mystras 106 fig. 66 (detail). – Aspra-Vardavakē/Emmanuēl, Pantanassa 124 fig. 49. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 133 fig. 131 (detail).

49 Gkioles/Pallēs, Atlas 239 no. 339.

50 Gerola/Lassithiōtakēs, *Topographikos Katalogos* no. 559. – For the 15th century date: Chatzidakēs, *Toichographies* 63-64. – For the mid-14th century date: Bissinger, *Kreta* 154 no. 119-120.

51 Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 295. 303-304 and fig. 2. 17-18.

52 The raising of the *paten* over the deacon's head is testified in a series of euchologia from the 15th to the 17th century: »Εἶτα τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον ἐπιτίθησι τῆ τοῦ διακόνου κεφαλῇ«. Trempelas, *Treis Leitourgiai* 80-81.

53 O. Gkratzioi has remarked that the »bauboom« of the double churches begins in the middle of the 15th century, often including the posterior adjustment of the new church to the initial one: Gkratzioi, *Krētē* 128.

54 Hagios Phanourios' chapel is founded by the abbot of Valsamonero, Jonas Palamas in 1426 (painted in 1431) and it was used for the promotion of Hagios Phanourios' cult on the island: Vassilakes-Mavrakakes, *Saint Phanourios* 226.

55 According to Ch. Ranoutsaki the older church of the convent (Hagios Antōnios) was erected in 1420-1430: Ranoutsaki, *Brontisi* 10.

Fig. 21 **a** Perivolía (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Angel/deacon from the Celestial Liturgy, **b** Limnes (Lassithi), Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Angel/deacon. – (a photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaotētōn Chaniōn, b photo A. Mailis).



like Constantinople⁵⁶, although Hagios Panteleimonas must be considered more as the outcome of a regional processing. Additionally the emphasis given on iconographical subjects displaying the possibility of divine manifestation through artistic/terrestrial means such as the depiction of the Celestial Liturgy and foremost the rare scene of Celestial worship at both churches (Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Phanourios' chapel) reflects a mystic character. Yet at this point or research it would be too tentative to connect aspects of the specific iconography to the spiritual movement of Hesychasmus, whose presence on the island is still under research⁵⁷.

The discovery of the posterior murals in Hagios Panteleimonas, which remained unnoticed during the 1998/2003 campaign, was equally impressive. After removing the modern roughcast, a second layer of murals was found painted over the 15th century frescoes. These fragmentarily preserved frescoes depict a colonnade of Ionic order comprising an

architrave, an Ionic capital and the upper part of a plain shaft (figs 14. 22a). Pigments on the southern and northern walls suggest that the painted colonnade covered their whole surface (fig. 22b). Additionally, atop the middle of the southern colonnade there were found traces of a faint Latin inscription enclosed within a spiral streamer. Both the elaborate technique of the three-dimensional murals and the relative accurate depiction of the Ionic colonnade reveal a skillful artist acquainted with geometrical principles and architectural design. The neutral backdrop painted with pale ochre reinforces the trompe-l'œil effect of the composition, thus transforming the lateral walls into two open colonnades. In this way the beholder feels like being either in the nave of a basilica or under a portico (fig. 23). The focal point of this illusionistic decoration is the apse of the edifice. Two rectangular panels with Latin inscriptions in majuscule lettering were found on both piers of the apse (in 1998 and 2016). The

56 E. Borboudakēs suggests a strong spiritual and artistic connection between the Valsamonero Monastery and Mystras/Constantinople: Borboudakēs, *Technē* 249-255. – M. Bissinger observes more influences from the art of Constantinople (Fethiye Djami) and less from Mystras (Peribleptos) at the murals of the northern aisle of the Valsamonero complex: Bissinger, *Kreta* 123. 182 no. 90. – Eventually Ch. Ranoutsaki stresses that the complexity as well as the artistic quality of the iconographic themes of Vrontisi suggest the presence of a Constantinopolitan artist: Ranoutsaki, *Brontisi* 230. – K. Gallas considers that the decoration is influenced by the monumental art of Mystras. – On the contrary M. Bissinger suggests a direct influence from Constantinople. Both dated the church in the 14th century: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 119-120. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 128-129.

57 In a recent abstract by A. Semoglou, the connection between the promotion of Hagios Phanourios' cult in Valsamonero and Hesychastic tendencies is con-

sidered as a possible case study: Semoglou, *Krētē kai Hēsychasmos* 335. Yet one must observe that the complexity as well as the fragmentarily research of Valsamonero decoration has contributed to different interpretations concerning the actual character of the iconographical program. For example I. Spatharakis commenting on the depiction of the Holy Trinity in Hagios Phanourios and its western influences had not excluded the possibility »that the monks of the monastery, although Greeks, had been converted to Catholicism«. Spatharakis, *Great Entrance* 311. – U. Ritzerfeld interprets aspects of the iconographic program of the narthex as a unionistic propaganda: Ritzerfeld, *Balsamonero* 390-391. – O. Gkratziou also supported that the katholicon of Valsamonero displayed elements which allude to the simultaneous practice of both dogmas: Gkratziou, *Krētē* 138. 142. – On the contrary V. Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē favors a purely Orthodox influence at the decoration and architecture of the church, deriving from Constantinople itself: Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē, *Balsamonero* 320-327.



Fig. 22 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, **a** The two fresco layers of the southern wall, **b** Reconstruction of the painted colonnade of Ionic order. – (a photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn, b drawing G. Perivola, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

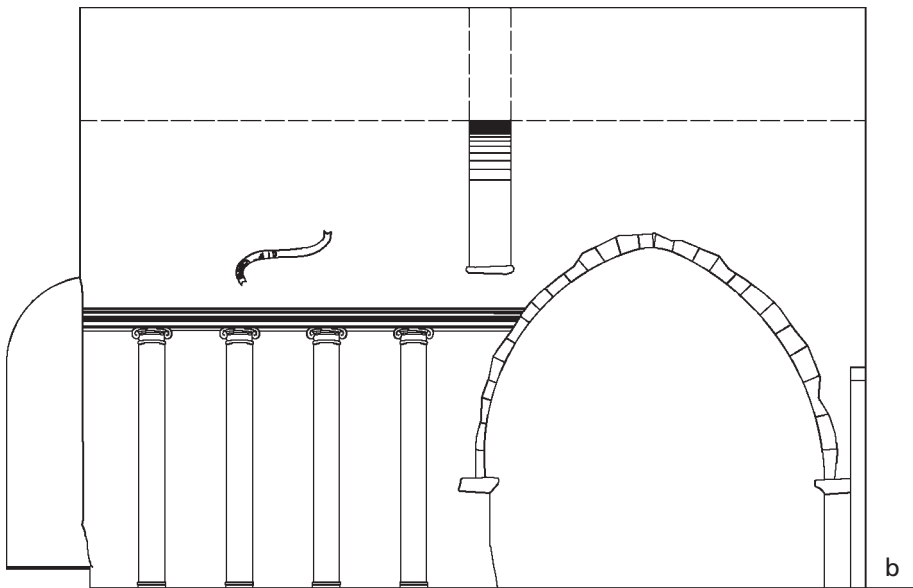
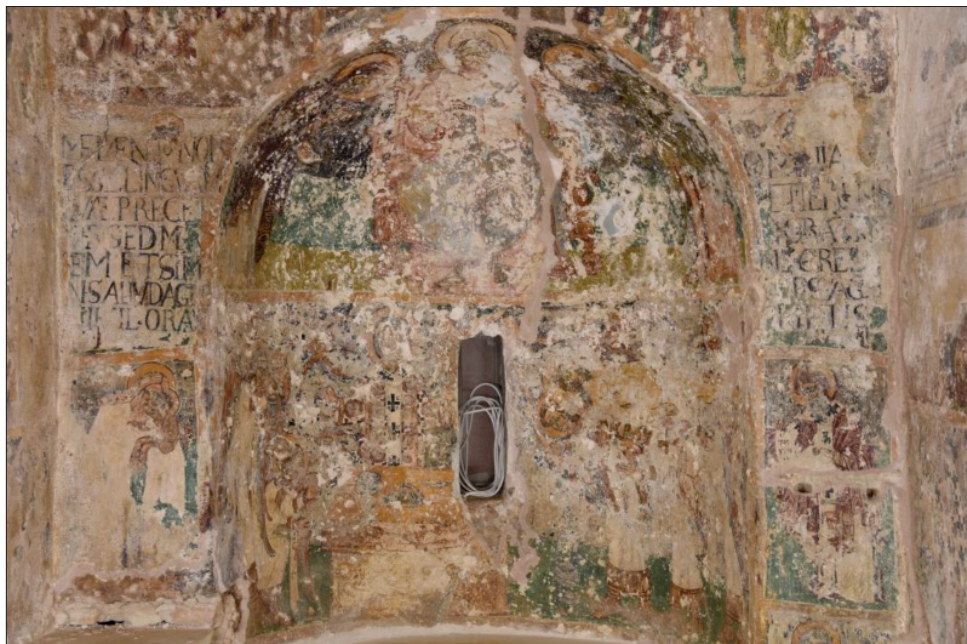


Fig. 23 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, Hypothetic reconstruction of the 16th century mural decoration. – (Drawing G. Perivola / A. Mailis, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).

Fig. 24 Perivolia (Chania), Hagios Panteleimonas, The posterior Latin inscriptions painted on the piers of the apse. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



inscriptions were painted over the Byzantine murals (fig. 24), thus indicating that the 15th century layer was covered with new murals and probably mortar.

The inscription on the southern pier says: || OMNIA [QV] Æ | PETIERITIS | IN ORATIO | NE CRED [E] | NTES ACCI | PIETIS || (= *Omnia quae petieritis in oratione credentes accipietis*) and it is an extract from the Vulgata version of the Gospel according to St Matthew (21, 22)⁵⁸ translated as »And all things, whatever you shall ask in prayer, believing, you shall receive«. The inscription on the northern one says: || MEMENTO NON|ESSE. LINGV|AM|QVÆ PRECET|VR SED MEN|TEM ET SI ME|NS ALIVD AGIT |NIHIL ORAS || (= *Memento non esse linguam quae precetur, sed mentem, et si mens aliud agit, nihil oras*) and it can be translated as »Remember that it is not the tongue that prays but the mind and if the mind thinks of other things then your prayer means nothing«. This quotation is an abbreviated collage of two verses from the chapter *Praeparatio animi ad orandum* of the work *Excitationes animi in Deo* – a popular pocket Handbook of private piety, composed in 1535 by the Catholic Humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540)⁵⁹.

Consequently the two inscriptions on the apse piers refer to the correct practice of personal devoutness implying that the church of Hagios Panteleimonas functioned as an oratory during a posterior phase. Selecting Vives' quotations probably is not a mere coincidence. The Spanish humanist,

a devotee of Erasmus, who shared with him »love of the classics, pacifism, the call to a simple and inner form of spirituality, and entertained little sympathy for the blind faith of the multitude and the formalism of ecclesiastical rules«⁶⁰ pursued a career as an itinerant teacher attaching himself to elite households⁶¹, living as a bon vivant who combined his own piousness with the love for the Roman literature and the renaissance aesthetics.

This intellectual milieu is actually reflected on the murals of our church, echoing – in a provincial manner – Benozzo Gozzoli's three-dimensional depictions of loggias for the Pisa Campo Santo (1478)⁶², Baldassare Peruzzi's scenographic achievements at the Sala delle Prospettive in Villa Farnesina, Rome (ca. 1519)⁶³ (fig. 25a) or even Veronese's illusionistic scenes like the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian at the church of San Sebastiano in Venice (1555-1570)⁶⁴. It is noteworthy that the murals of Villa Farnesina and the Cretan decoration share the same perspective principle, which is planned to function correctly when the observer stands towards the opposite side of the building. Additionally Veronese's depiction of architectural background from compositions like the last act of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian from the homonymous church (1558) displays the same grisaille technique, which is observed at the painted colonnade from Hagios Panteleimonas⁶⁵.

58 Edition employed: Novum Testamentum Hammondi 160.

59 The actual verses are: *Memineris non esse linguam quae precetur sed mentem/Quid si mens aliud agit quaeque verba lingua pronunciet, nihil oras*. Edition employed: Vives, Opera 206, 8-9. – For Juan Luis Vives cf.: Fantazzi, Companion Vives. – For the circulation and the popularity of the book among both Catholics and Protestants: Curtis, Social Thought 58-59.

60 Curtis, Social Thought 58.

61 For Erasmus' parallel career and promotion tactics: Brotton, Renaissance Bazaar 81-87.

62 Ackerman, Sources 305.

63 Frommel, Baldassare Peruzzi 88. – According to F. Hartt / D. Wilkins, Peruzzi's work in the Sala delle Prospettive »revived the perspective schemes of Melozzo

and Mantegna, possibly directly influenced by their illusionistic works which were still intact at the time« such as the representation of »Sixtus IV della Rovere, his nephews and Platina his librarian« from the Vatican Library (1476/77) or the »Baptism of Hermogenes« from the Ovatori chapel, Eremitani Church in Padua (1454-1457, destroyed 1944): Hartt/Wilkins, Renaissance Art 538. – A. Weese recognizes direct influences from Melozzo's illusionistic work in the sacristy of St Mark, Sanctuary of the Holy House of Loreto (1477-1480): Weese, Villa Farnesina 57.

64 Lauber, Technè 890-891 (with reference at the technique and aesthetics of Veronese's work). – For Veronese's interest in the connection between architecture and painting as well as his relation with Sebastiano Serlio's work: Folters, Veronese Architettura 183-191.

65 Folters, Veronese Architettura fig. 148.



In search of the architectural blueprint for the Hagios Panteleimonas' illusionistic decoration one may suggest the use of plans from the renaissance villas with an arcaded ground-floor loggia hall and two closed lateral blocks, which probably influenced Peruzzi's work⁶⁶, or even ecclesiastical models such as the Ionic order of the atrium of Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi in Florence (late 15th c.) designed by Giuliano da Sangallo⁶⁷ (fig. 25b). The Ionic capitals of the atrium share the same morphological extension of the volutes with the painted ones at Hagios Panteleimonas⁶⁸. This individual type may be possibly circulated through Sebastiano Serlio's work⁶⁹, which was well-liked for the ecclesiastical and secular architecture of Crete in the 16th and 17th century⁷⁰.

Regardless the actual origin of the decoration, one should keep in mind that the antique-like illusionistic painting found in the Cretan church had already risen into popularity in Italy during the second decade of the 16th century⁷¹ and was still vivid in the mid-16th century Venice, as it implied by Veronese's work⁷². The quotations from Vives' Handbook painted at Hagios Panteleimonas suggest that the new murals covered the anterior Byzantine ones after 1535, so the commission was probably made by a Catholic patron, who



Fig. 25 a Frescos, Sala delle Prospettive, Villa Farnesina, Rome. – b Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, Firenze church facade in Florence, Italy. – (a Foto Web Gallery of Art, b Foto F. Bini [Sailko], Wikimedia Commons, lizenziert unter CC BY 3.0).

66 This type of villa was popular in the region of Veneto. Frommel, Baldassare Peruzzi 88. – Ackerman, Sources 305.

67 Sandro/Severi, Chiostro 182-185.

68 Dëmakopoulos, Ta spitia 181 Tab. 129.

69 S. Serlio refers to the specific type as a Roman example: Serlio, Libro IV fol. 161.

70 Dëmakopoulos, Sebastiano Serlio 233-245.

71 Frommel, Baldassare Peruzzi 89.

72 Lauber, Technë 890-891.

Fig. 26 Charipas (Chania), Buzunarja springs, Remnants of the Villa Viaro. – (Photo D. Tomazinakēs, Ephoreia Archaeotētōn Chaniōn).



was acquainted with the religious and cultural trends of his era. Consequently this individual must be identified with a Venetian noble related to the region of Gharipa. The question remaining concerns the patron's identity.

The answer is found approximately 200m to the south of the church, at the opposite plateau, where the ruins of a 16th century mansion are still visible (fig. 26). This edifice is attributed by Gerola to the kin of the *nobili veneti* Viaro (Villa Viaro), already mentioned in relation to the water supply of Chania⁷³. The most prominent family member was Marcantonio Viaro (1542-1605), the leader of the feudal cavalry of Chania but also a patron and protector of men of letters, as deduced from the dedications addressed to him by humanists and scholars such as Maximus Margunius, Daniel Furlanos and Georgios Chortatzis⁷⁴. The latter one dedicates his pastoral drama Panoria (ca. 1595-1600) to the »most illustrious and noblest monsieur« Marcantonio Viaro of Chania⁷⁵. Viaro is described by his contemporaries as the ultimate renaissance seignior skillful at administration and simultaneously

educated, noble and generous – a real *maecenas*⁷⁶. Therefore Marcantonio appears to be the ideal candidate for the assignment of the Renaissance murals in the church of Hagios Panteleimonas. Yet, the possible mid-16th century date for the decoration (when Marcantonio was about 10 years old) suggests that his father Francesco would be more suitable for the commission of the project. In any case it is pretty certain that from the middle of the 16th century onwards the northern church of Hagios Panteleimonas was converted into the oratory of the Catholic family of Viaro, while the southern one (Hagios Demetrios) continued to serve the cultic needs of the Orthodox congregation, retaining its liturgical furnishings⁷⁷.

The research of the successive fresco decorations of Hagios Panteleimonas contributes to new conclusions concerning the issue of the »double« or »double aisled« churches in Crete. Its 15th century decoration program, as well as the depiction of the donor/monk displays the evident Orthodox character of the north chapel, thus implying that both churches of the complex (Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios)

73 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti III 263. – Curuni/Donati, Creta Veneziana 291. – For the family cf. Manousakas, Markantonios Biaros 261-264.

74 Manousakas, Markantonios Biaros 280-282.

75 Πρὸς τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον καὶ εὐγενέστατον κύριον / Μαρκαντόνιο Βιάρο εἰς τὰ Χανιά [...] Πανώρια θυγατέρα μου, στὴν Ἰδα γεννημένη [...] καὶ πῆγαίαιε σπουδακτικὴ εἰς μιὰ χώρα τιμημένη / τῆς Κρήτης ὁμορφότερη τοῦ κόσμου ζηλεμένη / Κυδωνία τὴν κράζουσι κ' οἱ χώρες τὴν τιμοῦσι [...] Κ' ἐκεῖ σὰν ἔμπης ρώτηξε ὁποῖος κ' ἄσ' ἀπαντήρη / τ' ἀφέντη μας τοῦ βγενικοῦ τὸ σπῆτι νὰ σοῦ δεῖξη / τ' ἀφέντη Μαρκαντώνιο Βιάρο τοῦ τιμημένου [...]. Μηδὲ ντραπήρις νὰ διηγηθῆς πῶς λέσι τ' ὄνομά σου / κ' εἰσε ποῖὸν τόπον ἦτονε πρῶτας ἡ κατοικία σου / καὶ πῶς ἐπήγες δούλη του, πεμπάμενη ἀπὸ μένα / σσι χάρες λίγη ἀντίμεψη ἀπ' ἔχω γνωρισμένα / ἀπού το σπλάχνος τὸ πολὺ κ' ἀμετρὴ καλοσύνη / τῆς ἀφεντιάς του τὰ ἄξια, εἰς τὴν φoρὰν ἐκεῖνη / ἀπού' τον εἰς τὸ Ρέθυμνος [...]. Manousakas, Markantonios Biaros 269-270 1, 9-10. 15-17. 29-35. – G. Chortatzis addresses Panoria (the play) as his shepherdess daughter brought up on Mount Ida. She is now to go to Chania to enter the service of Marcantonio Raimondi, to repay the kindness to which he showed to Chortatzis when in Rethymno. For the English summary cf. Bancroft-Marcus, The pastoral mode 84.

76 Manousakas, Markantonios Biaros 266.

77 A similar 16th century example is traced at the complex of Hagios Nestoras and Hagios Demetrios nearby the Venetian Villa in Katochori near Chania (Fragomonastēro). The two churches were constructed in close – yet no direct – contact to each other almost simultaneously in the 2nd half of the 16th century. The northern one (Nestoras) was equipped with a Latin altar and it was deprived of the secondary Prothesis table, therefore functioning as a Catholic church. The southern one (Demetrios) contained a rectangular Prothesis niche, probably serving the Orthodox cultic needs. The prevailing interpretation of the complex as part of a Franciscan monastery must be re-examined in light of new evidence. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 609-610. – Curuni/Donati, Creta Bizantina 73-76. – Gkratziou, Krētē 165-166. – Maragoudakē/Bourbakēs, Syntērēsē kai Apokatastasē 187-194. – Eventually, from the aspect of private cultic activities in Venetian Crete, it is worth mentioning that the Viaro family also kept an oratory within their urban abode in Chania, as it is testified in a 1620 report signed by the Latin Bishop of Chania Giorgio Perpignano. Manucci, Contributi Documentarii 107-108.

served the needs of the Orthodox dogma. On the other hand the finding of murals and Latin spiritual inscriptions demonstrate clearly that the church was modified to a Latin chapel. This conversion was commissioned by a Venetian noble, in a time period (mid-16th c.) that is generally characterized for the decline of the Catholic populace of the island and its subsequent change to Orthodoxy⁷⁸. Consequently the specific action (conversion) and its originator (a prominent Catholic aristocrat) convey that the dogma switch of the former Orthodox church of Hagios Panteleimonas was not necessarily related to the needs of a Latin devout populace, but to the desire of an upper class individual; thus giving some credit to the theory which connects the economic and social inequalities to the construction of double equivalent churches for separate dogmas⁷⁹. In other words, in the specific example, the rich patron did not need to have a large Catholic congregation in order to use a Latin oratory as large as the Orthodox chapel. Furthermore the covering of the Byzantine decoration with Latin inscriptions and renaissance murals in Hagios Panteleimonas implies that this church – unlike a group of monuments from the Eastern Mediterranean – was not used as a ritual space shared by both Latins and Christians but strictly as a private Catholic church, thus stressing the social difference between the Catholic seigneur and the Greek

congregation through the projection of the Latin dogma as status statement⁸⁰.

Eventually the discovery of the 16th century murals on the lateral walls of Hagios Panteleimonas is significant *per se*, since for the first time we are able to locate and actually see how a renaissance fresco decoration in a Cretan church would have looked like. The covering of the Byzantine frescoes along with the simultaneous removal of liturgical furnishings like the initial *Prothesis* table signals the conversion of the Orthodox chapel to a Catholic one. Furthermore the two succeeding decorations imply something more than the doctrine switch; they convey two different perceptions concerning worship. The 15th century Orthodox iconographic program expresses the monk/donor's pursuit of soul salvation, through penitence and participation in communal Eucharist (πάσαν τὴν βιοτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν). The 16th century decoration expresses the Venetian seignior's quest for the correct worship practice equally undistracted from the earthly cares, through private prayer in an antique-fashioned backdrop. Eventually, the successive decorations of this small Cretan church display eloquently the transition from the cultic collectivity of the Orthodox middle-ages to the individualism of the Catholic piety in the renaissance era.

Liturgical Vocabulary

Sources: Cabasilas, Divine Liturgy 4-12. – Belting, Image 12.

Anaphora: Anaphora or Canon of the Mass is the most solemn part of the Liturgy during which the Holy Gifts are consecrated as the Body and Blood of Christ.

Antiphon prayer: The three Antiphons are sung before the *Little Entrance* and are responded by the choir/congregation to a psalm. During the singing, the priest reads secretly the Antiphon prayer.

Asterisk: The metal cross that covers the *paten*. The ends of its arms are bent downwards so that the covering veil is held up from touching the Eucharistic Bread.

Chalice: The standing cup used to hold the mixture of Eucharistic Bread and Wine during the Orthodox Liturgy.

Epinikios Hymn: It is the equivalent of the Western Sanctus. In the Orthodox Liturgy it is offered as a response by the choir during the *Anaphora*.

Great Entrance: It is the semicircular ceremonial procession which brings the sacred vessels containing the prepared Bread and Wine from *Prothesis* to the altar.

Kalymma: A cruciform cloth that covers the *paten* and the *chalice*.

Lance: It is used during the *Prothesis* rite, when the priest cuts the Host out of the loaf of leavened bread.

Little Entrance: It is the ritual carrying of the Book of the Gospels. The procession follows a semicircular route from *Prothesis* to the altar.

Melismos: It is the iconographical theme in the apse, which depicts the sacrificial lamb in the guise of a naked child on the *paten* and *chalice*.

Orarion/Oraria: It is a narrow decorated wrap that is the distinguishing vestment of the deacon.

Paten: It is the small plate which is used to hold the Eucharistic Bread to be consecrated.

Prothesis: It is the part of the Liturgy when the preparation of the Bread and Wine takes place. The rite is performed by the priest on a table or in a niche installed in the homonymous chamber.

Sticharion/Sticharia: Liturgical vestment of the Eastern Orthodox Church worn by priests and deacons.

Trisagion Hymn prayer: Trisagion Hymn is sung after the *Little Entrance*. The Trisagion Hymn prayer is recited secretly by the priest, during the Hymn.

78 According to the report of the Papal nuncio Alberto Bolognetti (1578-1581); from a total populace of 200,000 Cretans, only 2,000 practiced the Catholic dogma. Maltezou, Venetokratia 152. – Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē, Balsamonero 323.

79 Gkratziou, Krētē 164.

80 For the use of the term shared spaces cf. Mersch, Shared Spaces 498-524. – For the presence of »Italo-Byzantine« art in churches used by Orthodox clergy

cf. the analysis of the 16th century murals of the so called »Latin chapel« at Kalopanagiōtis chapel: Frigerio-Zeniou, Italo-byzantin 102-203. – For the concept of cultural antithesis than symbiōsis between Orthodox and Catholics: Gkratziou, Krētē 182-183.

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