

# Innovation and Archaisms. Templa and Prostration Images in the Cretan Churches from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 13<sup>th</sup> Century

## Introductory note

This chapter studies the evolution of the templon and its associated prostration images (*proskynēseis*) in the Cretan churches within the time span of the Byzantine re-conquest of the island from the Arabs (961) until the establishment of Venetian dominion (early 13<sup>th</sup> century), which more or less coincides with the so called Middle Byzantine era. This phase is generally characterized by liturgical crystallization<sup>38</sup> and the predominance of the cross-in-square church in the Byzantine Empire<sup>39</sup>. According to most of the literature, these developments go hand in hand with the advance of »the distinctive feature of the Byzantine rite«-the templon; a high barrier with chancel slabs, colonettes and a beam bearing an oblong painted epistyle. The intercolumniation was usually covered with veils or icons. The iconography of the templon included the symmetric juxtaposition of prostration images of Christ, the Virgin or the Patron Saint on the piers that flank the sanctuary or occasionally on the adjoining lateral walls<sup>40</sup>. It is evident that all the above-mentioned developments are the outcome of a long process, mainly achieved in Constantinople and secondarily in provinces as Asia Minor and the Greek mainland. Crete does not seem to participate in this »mainstream« evolution. From 826-961 the island remained under Arab rule, an enigmatic era that needs to be further studied<sup>41</sup>. During this period it seems that there is an on-going ecclesiastical activity, expressed mainly through the re-organization and transfer of bishoprics towards the island's interior<sup>42</sup>. After the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete, Nikephoros Phōkas invited ecclesiastical representatives from all parts of the empire to take up an intensified mission in the

island. Osios Nikōn o Metanoēite and Osios Iōannēs o Xenos responded to the call of the future emperor. According to his vita, Nikōn was born in the Polemonian Pontus<sup>43</sup>. Immediately after the Byzantine recapture, he moved to Crete and preached in the regions near the mētropolis of Gortys. His goal was probably to stimulate/restore the Christian morality of the local populace in compliance with the then-current standards, and to mitigate the potential influence of the Muslim religion<sup>44</sup>. Despite the opposing information from his vita, Nikōn seems to have preached solely in central Crete<sup>45</sup> before moving to Sparta and gaining fame throughout the Greek mainland. On the other hand, a local missionary – Iōannēs o Xenos from Siva – was mainly known for his extraordinary building activity in the western part of Crete during the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and thus was the initiator of Middle Byzantine architecture in this part of the island. Although during his lifetime Xenos gained remarkable popularity, even in Constantinople, his later reputation was confined within the boundaries of western Crete.

While reading the following chapter, it would be useful to recall the previous comparison between the different dimensions of religious activity on the island. Central Crete seems to be in direct dialogue with the contemporary metropolitan tendencies. In contrast, the developments in western Crete seem to lag behind. Therefore, our analysis is classified into two different regions: eastern and central Crete (the area which now comprises the modern prefectures of Herakleion and Lassithi) and western Crete (the modern prefectures of Rethymnon and Chania).

38 Schultz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 127-194.

39 Krautheimer, *Architecture* 409-434. – Bouras, *Istoria* 208-241. – Pallas, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 86-108.

40 Selective literature concerning the origin and form of the Middle Byzantine installation: Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 332. – Chatzidakis, *Templon* 337-339. – Walter, *The origins* 258. – Walter, *A new look* 204-223 (for the prostration images). – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 266-279 (For the function of the Templon images). – Lasareff, *Epistyles* 122-134 (for the epistyle icons). – Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* 215-224 (focusing on the prostration images). – Gerstel, *Sacred Mysteries* 5-15 (focusing on the necessity of a templon barrier, according to the textual evidence). – For a critique concerning the general appliance of the proposed model: Epstein, *Templon or Iconostasis* 1-27.

41 Tomadakēs, *Aravokratia* 1-38. – Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 239.

42 Tsougarakēs, *Byzantine Crete* 231.

43 Lambrou, *Vita* 129-228.

44 This effort is implied by the following passage from his *Vita* Ἐτι δε, λείψανα φερούσης τῆς μιαρὰς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κακοπιστίας ἐπειδὴ οἱ ταύτη οἰκήτορες τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ μακρᾷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν συναύλιοι οἱμοὶ συνεπαχθέντες τῶν ἐκείνων ἦθελαι καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς μουσαροῖς καὶ βεβήλοις ἐπέιθοντο. – Lambrou, *Vita* 151. – Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 239.

45 The vita mentions that the saint constructed churches all over Crete, although only one church is mentioned in the same text – Hagia Photinē near Messara. – Lambrou, *Vita* 152, 16-19.



## Eastern and central Crete

### The cathedrals

The establishment of Bishoprics in the period after the Byzantine re-conquest of the island has been thoroughly researched by Gerola/Tsougarakis<sup>46</sup>. The *Notitiae* of the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century mention that central and eastern Crete are divided into the following Episcopal dioceses: Gortys (Γορτύνης), Knossos (Κνωσσός) – possibly identical with Chandax (Χάνδακος), Arcadia (Αρκαδίας), Chersonēsos (Χερσόνησος), Ierapetra (Ιεράπετρας) and Sēteia (Σητείας). The identification of the actual location of these Bishoprics in the Middle Byzantine era may be a difficult task, since the seats of the initial early Christian Bishoprics are often transferred to other smaller sites, which today still bear the name *Episkopē* (bishopric)<sup>47</sup>, and for this reason the identification of a church as a cathedral remains relatively speculative.

Tracing the remains of a chancel screen in these cathedrals is equally complicated since many monuments from this period have been seriously modified or even demolished over the centuries. So, we lack evidence of templon from the three-aisled basilica of Ano Episkopē and the modified bath/church of Katō Episkopē, which alternatively served as possible cathedrals of the Bishopric of Sēteia in the Middle Byzantine era until the transfer of the Seat to the city of Sēteia, during the Venetian conquest<sup>48</sup>. A similar absence of Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture is observed in the extremely modified/refashioned Middle Byzantine church of Hagios Myrōn in the homonymous settlement (ancient Raukos), that supposedly served as the cathedral of the Knossos bishopric in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, sufficient architectural elements are available from templa from three churches that provably served as cathedrals of the bishoprics of Ierapetra, Gortys and Arcadia.

### All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes, Ierapetra

The Middle Byzantine cathedral church of the diocese of Ierapetra<sup>50</sup> lies in the settlement of Episkopē near the modern city of Ierapetra and is known as the All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes<sup>51</sup>. The original church was demolished

in 1890<sup>52</sup> or at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>53</sup> so that the present church could be built in its place. The name and the relevant documentation suggest that the church must have been a large edifice of the cross-in-square type, with a central dome and smaller lateral domes or calottes. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the archaeologist G. Gerola photographed a large quantity of architectural sculpture extending from the early Christian period to the Renaissance<sup>54</sup>, which implies the importance of the church.

### Chancel barrier fragments

Gerola's photograph (fig. 1) displays an assemblage of architectural sculpture. Among the fragments one can distinguish: a) a small templon pier with a vertical incision for the adjustment of a chancel-slab. On the splayed front, continuous tendrils forming medallions encircle slightly carved palmettes, b) a fragment of a chancel slab. On the splayed front, interlacing triple lines encircle quatrefoil crosses<sup>55</sup>, c) two fragments of epistyle. On the splayed front, there is a continuous strip of lyre-shaped acanthus motifs<sup>56</sup>.

The next picture (fig. 2) displays a series of architectural fragments from the early Christian period (capital of Ionic order), Middle Byzantine era (slabs with interlacing circles) and Venetian sculpture (plaque with carved skull/vanitas theme). Among them is found a fragment of a barrier lintel decorated with the theme of carved arcades. On the splayed front, binate columns, standing on pedestals, support two continuous arcades of profiled arches. The segmental arches are supported by broad impost capitals, and include a single palmette<sup>57</sup>.

Gerola's picture (fig. 3) depicts the most distinctive architectural fragment of the chancel screen of the church, a richly decorated chancel slab. The front bears a Latin Cross with wavy outlined arms standing on a stepped pedestal decorated with a crude christogram. Springing, winding vines rise from the lateral sides of the pedestal, embracing palmettes and pinecones on the upper and lower arms of the cross

46 For the initial research concerning the Byzantine Episcopal Sees of the island cf. the pioneering work of Gerola: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 60-64. – For the research on the bishoprics until the 10<sup>th</sup> c. see: Konidarēs, *Episkopai Krētēs* 462-478. – For the Middle Byzantine bishoprics: Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 229-237 tab. 5, 387. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 116-117. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 320-324.

47 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 62. – Tsougarakis, *Byzantinē Krētē* 116.

48 For the transfer of the bishoprics: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 63-64. – Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 232. – For the three-aisled basilica of Ano Episkopē: Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 323. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 248. – For the modified bath of Katō Episkopē, known today as the Holy Apostles church see: Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 322-323.

49 For the initial interpretation: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 63. – For the acceptance of this thesis: Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 98-102. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 92-93. – On the contrary, Tsougarakis believes that Herakleion was the actual seat of the Knossos bishopric and not Hagios Myrōn, Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 234.

50 The diocese of Ierapydna was already known from the early Christian period as it is testified by Hierocles' *Synecdemus*. It continued to exist throughout the Middle Byzantine and the Venetian period until the Seat of the Bishopric was transferred to Sēteia (1571). – Mylopotamitakē, *Episkopē Ierapetras* 441.

51 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 224.

52 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 443.

53 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 224.

54 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 90-94 figs 51-53.

55 Cf. a similar decoration from chancel slab no. 180 at the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (11<sup>th</sup> c.): Sklavou-Mavroeidē, *Glypta* 149.

56 Cf. a similar decoration from the epistyle of the Kyrrestos' *hōrologion* at the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (11<sup>th</sup> c.): Sklavou-Mavroeidē, *Glypta* 149.

57 The patterns bear a resemblance to the decoration of a lintel reused in the floor repair of the church of Virgin in Ephesus. – Buchwald, *Chancel Barrier* 257, 6.1. fig. 10.

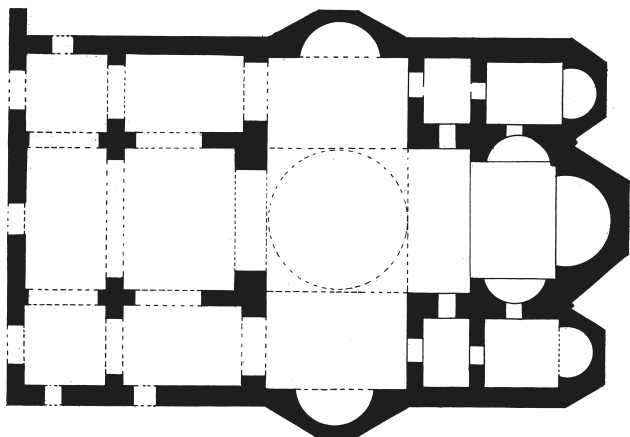
**Fig. 1** Assemblage of sculptures from the church of All Holy Virgin of the seven Domes. – (After Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 90 fig. 51).



**Fig. 2** Assemblage of sculptures from the church of All Holy Virgin of the seven Domes. – (After Da Venezia a Creta, caption: Episkopi-Frammenti della distrutta cattedrale di Sta Maria).



**Fig. 3** Chancel slab from the church of All Holy Virgin of the seven Domes. – (After Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 92 fig. 53).



**Fig. 4** Ground plan of Hagios Titos. – (After Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 32 fig. 10).



**Fig. 5** Chancel Slab from Hagios Titos (Baldinni, Basilica Tito, 663, Fig. 27).

respectively. This specific decoration appreciably assimilates the design of a chancel slab found in Kōs (Monē Alsous/Koimēsē Theotokou) and forms part of a variety of chancel slabs widespread in the Helladic area and the Aegean in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>58</sup>.

### Fragments of architectural sculpture

**Figure 1** displays: 1) part of a jamb, bearing the double cable pattern found in the neighbouring church of Hagios Georgios<sup>59</sup> and on the front of the chancel slabs in Fodele. It can be dated back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of parallel artefacts<sup>60</sup>; 2) a piece of an oblong architectural sculpture (part of a canopy?) with a long waving leave, which was a very popular motif for the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century decorative sculpture in Greece and elsewhere<sup>61</sup>.

The surviving fragments of architectural sculpture from the All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes imply that the church was furnished with a chancel barrier comprising an epistyle, chancel slabs and piers complying to the Middle Byzantine liturgical standards<sup>62</sup>. Its construction can be possibly dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, as suggested by the co-existing fragments and the parallels.

### Hagios Titos, Gortys

The church of Hagios Titos (or Panagia Kera according to the local oral tradition) is one of the most important Chris-

tian monuments of the island, though not yet holistically studied. The church was probably the cathedral of the insular Metropolis after the Byzantine re-occupation of the island (961) and before the transfer of the Metropolitan Seat to Chandax<sup>63</sup>. The monument is usually described as a domed basilica (**fig. 4**) although recently attempts have been made to reconstruct it as a cross-in-square church<sup>64</sup>. The date of its construction remains a matter of dispute, estimated to the 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century; most scholars favour a 7<sup>th</sup> century date<sup>65</sup>. The architectural sculpture of the monuments is shared between the Historical Museum of Herakleion, the depots of the Italian Archaeological School, and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Herakleion<sup>66</sup>. Orlandos briefly discusses a group of chancel screen sculptures, dated to the Middle Byzantine period (including, among others, chancel slabs and lintels)<sup>67</sup>. Judging by the technique and the morphological parallels of the remaining chancel slab (**fig. 5**), decorated with a cross in a central medallion, surrounded by winding vines of ivy, Marsili suggests that the templon was constructed in the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century, probably within the framework of the renovation project<sup>68</sup>. Additionally, Mamaloukos and Sythiakakē propose that the chancel was constructed synchronously with the church in 793-816<sup>69</sup>. Notwithstanding the dispute concerning the actual date of the templon construction, the presence of the installation before the eastern tripartite part of the basilica suggests: a) the completeness of the liturgical

58 Mēlitsē, Kōs 428 fig. 2.

59 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* figs 418. 444.

60 Cf. similar decoration from door frames from the arch of Sençikler, Phrygia. – Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines* pl. VIIa and at a door jamb of Byzantine and Christian Museum Athens (both 11<sup>th</sup> c.): Sklavou-Mavroeidē, *Glypta* no. 188. 141.

61 Cf. analogous decoration from the ciborium of Hagios Dēmētrios, Thessalonikē (12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> c.): Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines* pl. LXXXIa-c. – The decoration of the chancel slab from Monē Alsous/Koimēsē Theotokou, Kōs: Mēlitsē, Kōs 428 fig. 2. – The decoration of an epistyle from the museum of Smyrnē (11<sup>th</sup> c.): Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines* pl. XIIIb. – From the sarcophagi of Hagia Sophia Kiev (11<sup>th</sup> c.): Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines* pl. LXXIX.

62 Chatzidakis, *Ikonoostas* 332.

63 Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 234-235.

64 Mamaloukos, *Agios Titos* 11-24 (with detailed anterior literature).

65 For the architecture of the monument: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 31-38. – Fyfe, *St. Titus* 60-67. – Orlandos, *Agios Titos* 302-328. – Pallas, *Skripou* 75. – Christern, *Titos* 37-43. – Krautheimer, *Architecture* 268. 310. – Vocotopoulos, *Agios Nikōn* 282. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 365-369. – Gkioles, *Byzantinē Naodomia* 28-29. – Bouras, *Istoria* 156. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 121.

66 The sculpture of the monument is being studied by our colleague V. Sythiakakē-Kritsimallē, therefore our reference will be brief. – For references concerning the architectural sculpture: Marsili, *Nota Preliminare* 662-666. – Sythiakakē-Kritsimallē, *Glypta Titou* 346-347.

67 Orlandos, *Agios Titos* 313-319 (fig. 12-15).

68 Marsili, *Nota Preliminare* 663 fig. 27.

69 Mamaloukos, *Agios Titos* 12.



**Fig. 6** The restored church of the Transfiguration of Christ, Partëra. – (Photo A. Mailis).



furnishing, b) the possible existence of a fully developed liturgical rite including the semi-circular procession of the Great Entrance from the Prothesis room (northern pastophorium) to the Bēma<sup>70</sup> and c) a tendency towards the mystical approach to the celebration of the Communion, which alludes to the official Middle Byzantine perception of the rite<sup>71</sup>.

#### **Transfiguration of Christ, Partëra / Mikrē Episkopē Monofatsiou**

The church of the Transfiguration is located in the uninhabited settlement of Mikrē Episkopē (Small Bishopric) near the modern village of Partëra (fig. 6).

The church was the cathedral of the diocese of Arcadia in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>72</sup>. After the Venetian conquest in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the edifice served as the minster of the Catholic bishopric until 1606 when the seat was abandoned and integrated into the Bishopric of Mylopotamos<sup>73</sup>.

The initial edifice was constructed as a cross-in-square church, possibly in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>74</sup>. After its conversion into a Catholic cathedral in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, its vaults were con-

structed with ashlar and it was decorated (probably in the 14<sup>th</sup> century) with Byzantine-style frescoes<sup>75</sup>. The third phase, probably dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, comprised expanded modifications, such as the adjustment of the western exonarthex and the construction of the circular and rectangular windows of the northern wall (fig. 6)<sup>76</sup>. Probably during the 14<sup>th</sup> or the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the single-aisled church was annexed to the southern part of the cathedral. Initially the chapel was dated to 1444, as indicated by the donor inscription<sup>77</sup>, yet recent scholarly research indicated that the inscription actually came from another church in Partëra consecrated to Hagios Nikolaos, which is now dedicated to Panagia<sup>78</sup>. The builders of the Middle Byzantine edifice used early Christian capitals over the western pillars. In contrast, the templon was constructed simultaneously with the church. Its remains are still found scattered between the main church and the lateral chapel. A rectangular fragment of the chancel barrier lintel (0.65 m × 0.24 m × 0.12 m high) was used at the bottom of the 15<sup>th</sup> century rectangular window of the northern wall (fig. 7)<sup>79</sup>.

70 For the Great Entrance in general: Taft, Great Entrance. – For the formation of the eastern tripartite sanctuary of Hagios Titos, Gortys and its intermediary role in the transition from the early Christian to the Middle Byzantine church architecture. – Pallas, L'édifice cultuel 151. – Mailis, The annexes 13.

71 For the mystical character of the Middle Byzantine Liturgy from a theological point of view: Schulz, Byzantinē Leitourgia 96-126. – For the gradual acquisition of the mystical character of the Liturgy from the early Christian to the medieval period: Pallas, Theia Leitourgia 2-41. – For a brief analysis of the seclusion of the Bēma and the raising of the chancel barrier: Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 5-14.

72 Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 96. – Andrianakēs, Christian Monuments 171.

73 For the history of the catholic bishopric: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 86. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 388. – Gratziou, Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē 243.

74 For the church: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 86-91. – Borboudakēs, Mesaionika 1970, 522. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 388-390. –

Gallas, Sakralarchitektur 318-319. – Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 16-25. 94-97. 284. – Gratziou, Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē 241-243. – Andrianakēs, Christian Monuments 174. – Kappas, Efarmogē 163.

75 Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 234. – For the date of the frescoes: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 388.

76 Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 234.

77 The donor inscription states: Νικολάου ἀρχ(ιεπισκόπου) διὰ ὄνομα πολλοῦ καὶ μόχθου Κ[...] ἱερομονάχου ἐν ἔτει ΣΤΠΝΙ. 10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1444. – Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 573.

78 Personal communication, V. Tsamakda.

79 The fragment was documented and photographed by Gerola. He refers to it as »soglia di marmo lavorato ad ornate«. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 89. – For the photograph: Da Venezia a Creta 1157 (where the epistyle is mistakenly related to the monastery of Palianē).



**Fig. 7** Fragment of chancel barrier lintel immured at the window of the Transfiguration of Christ, Partëra. – (Photo A. Mailis).

On the splayed front are depicted five continuous arcades of profiled arches with binate columns standing on pedestals. The segmental arches are supported by broad impost capitals, and include palmettes and schematic trees. On the underside there are interlacing circles and rosettes. The decoration of the fragment stylistically alludes to an 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century group of lintels from Asia Minor and Greece<sup>80</sup>, although the technique of the patterns affirms a 12<sup>th</sup> century date.

The few fragments of the remaining architectural sculpture do not allow the reconstruction of the chancel barrier. It seems that the installation was demolished and reused as a window base after the conversion of the Middle Byzantine cathedral into a Catholic one. So it would not be far-fetched to reconstruct the interior of the Catholic cathedral as an open structure with an unhindered view towards the sanctuary. However, the construction of the single-aisled chapel in the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century included a built templon screen, now no longer extant although Gerola recorded it in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. Eventually, the final form of the church complex must have included the Latin cathedral with an open sanctuary and the Orthodox single-aisled church with a masonry screen<sup>82</sup>. This arrangement is attested by a 1599 document, which mentions two different altars, one for the Catholics and the other for the Orthodox: *La chiesa episcopale di Arcadia ha due soli altari, uno alla romana e l'altro alla greca, et e intitulata S. Salvatore*<sup>83</sup>. Therefore, the existence of the templon was meaningful for the religious character of the church itself. The installation was constructed so as

to serve the cultic needs of the official Orthodox ritual in the Middle Byzantine period and was removed when rendered ineffectual, thus signalling the conversion of the Orthodox cathedral to a Catholic one. Yet it is noteworthy that the adjustment of the later chapel included the construction of a built screen, which implied the importance of the partition for the Orthodox congregation.

### Churches with other functions (monastic, parish, private foundations)

#### All Holy Virgin, Fodele

The cross-in-square church of All Holy Virgin lies at the site known as »Lubinies«, outside the Fodele settlement (**fig. 8**). The edifice was built within the nave of an early Christian basilica; therefore, the lateral apses of Prothesis and Diaconicon have been constructed as rectangular (**fig. 9**).

The church was probably built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and represents an elegant version of the local Cretan architecture influenced by Constantinople<sup>84</sup>. The fresco decoration of the church includes four layers and spans the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The excavation and restoration works effected in the church contribute to the partial reconstruction of the chancel barrier and its accompanying prostration images, although the actual date and arrangements remain incomplete<sup>85</sup>. The initial researcher of the church (Lassithiotakēs) had found an intact rectangular chancel slab (0.90 m x

80 The style of the lintel must be dated between Style A (9<sup>th</sup> c.) and Style B (13<sup>th</sup> c.) of the architectural sculpture found on the depots of Sardis: Buchwald, Chancel Barrier no. 16 figs 23-24. 262. – See also the two lintels from the Smyrna museum (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.) published by Orlandos: Orlandos, Smyrni 146-147. – Grabar, Sculptures Byzantines pl. XIIIa, no. 28A chancel barrier cornice from the sculpture of Hagia Sophia Monemvasia (12<sup>th</sup> c.). – Bouras/Boura, Naodomia 541 fig. 543b. – A lintel from the church of Panagia in Katō Liosia (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.): Sklavou-Mavroeidē, Glypta no. 158, 119.

81 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 91.

82 Gratziou, Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē 243.

83 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 86.

84 For the church: Lassithiotakēs, Naos Eisodiōn 76-86. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 351-352. – Gallas, Sakralarchitektur 305-310 figs 77-78. – Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 45-49. – Andrianakēs, Mnemeiakē Architektonikē 341. – Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 85-86.

85 For the reports on the restoration works: Borboudakēs, Mesaionika 1972, 500. – Borboudakēs, Mesaionika Kretes 1973, 493-494.



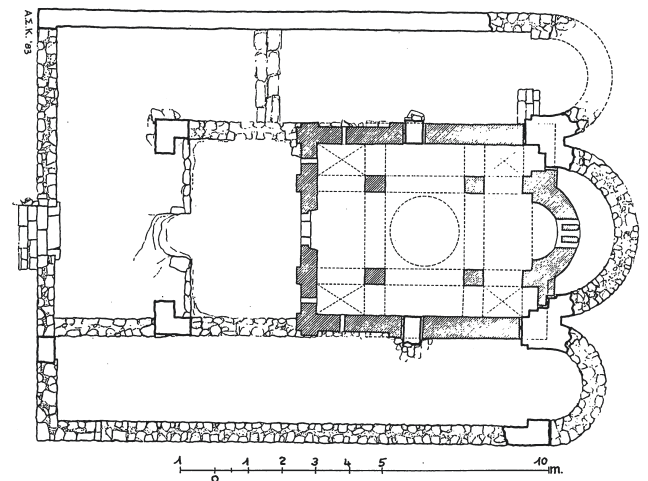
**Fig. 8** The church of All Holy Virgin, Fodele. – (Photo A. Mailis).



0.75 m × 0.07 m), which is now restored next to the N. pier of the Bēma (fig. 10). On the front side there is a decorated boss with four diagonal ivy leaves within a square (fig. 11).

The central panel is encircled on its three sides by a double cable motif. The decoration scheme alludes to a group of architectural sculpture dated to the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>86</sup> and coincides with the date proposed for the construction of the church. We do not know if the templon comprised a lintel, since neither fragments nor beam sockets were present.

The western facades of the eastern piers were adorned with two different depictions of the Virgin (fig. 10). The N. pier fragmentarily preserves the image of the standing Panagia Odēgētria<sup>87</sup>. The frontal Virgin wears a blue chiton and a red maphorion, while holding Christ with her left hand. The infant is also depicted at a frontal pose; He gazes at the viewer instead of His mother, thus recalling the similar stance of Christ from the mosaic prostration image of Porta Panagia, Trikala<sup>88</sup>. Both images bear an official hieratical stance. On the S. pier there are depicted the standing images of Virgin and Child in the iconographical type of Mother of Tenderness<sup>89</sup>. The standing Virgin wears a blue chiton and a red maphorion, and holds the infant with her right hand while leaning her head towards Christ. The standing infant is depicted in a playful manner, hugging His mother and pressing His cheek to hers as a typical child would. The image reveals the



**Fig. 9** Ground plan of the church of All Holy Virgin, Fodele. – (Edited after Curuni-Donati, *Creta Bizantina* figs 4-5).

maternal side of Panagia, who is represented as a caring and affectionate mother caressing her son<sup>90</sup>. The Fodele fresco displays some distinctive characteristics, such as the position of Christ at the right side of His mother (a variation already present in the famous icon of Vladimir (ca. 1100)<sup>91</sup> as well as His standing pose, already found in the 11<sup>th</sup> century Sinai Icon with five icons of the Mother of God<sup>92</sup>, and in a series

<sup>86</sup> Theocharopoulou notes decoration affinities with a chancel slab from the convent of Hosios Loukas: Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 49. – For the cable motif cf. the other Cretan example from the All Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes Hierapetra (11<sup>th</sup> c.). – For similarities concerning the general arrangement of the patterns cf. chancel slab from the church of Megalē Panagia, Athens (10<sup>th</sup> c.): Sklavou-Mavroeidē, *Glypta* no. 122, 88.

<sup>87</sup> For the image with anterior bibliography: Weyl Carr, *Icons* 80-81.

<sup>88</sup> Mouriki, *Hodegetria* fig. 27.

<sup>89</sup> For the type and its variants: Chatzidakis, *Eleousa* 495-498. – Baltoyianni, *Portable Icons* 149.

<sup>90</sup> Kalavrezou, *Maternal Side* 44-45.

<sup>91</sup> Belting, *Bild und Kult* fig. 175.

<sup>92</sup> Weyl Carr, *Icons* fig. 1.





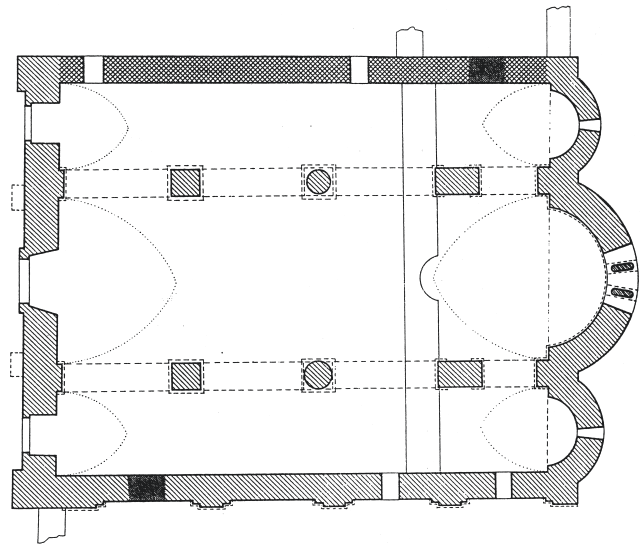
**Fig. 10** The restored chancel slab and the prostration images of Virgin at the church of All Holy Virgin, Fodele. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 11** The chancel slab at Panagia Fodele. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 12** The chancel slab at Hagios Geōrgios Fodele. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 13** Ground plan of Hagios Panteleēmōn, Bizarjanō, Pediada. – (Edited after Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 140 fig. 38).

of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century lead seals and icons<sup>93</sup>. Both images are dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and they are connected to the donor inscription of the SE. pier, which according to Borboudakis refers to the names of Theodoros Plemenos and his wife Eudocia<sup>94</sup>. This duplication of the Panagia image on the eastern piers is extremely rare and almost identically reoccurs in Hagia Sophia in Ohri (12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century); on the northern pier is the image of mother of tenderness; on the

southern one, the frontal Virgin and child<sup>95</sup>. Obviously, the two arrangements aim to display the double nature of Panagia, both as Theotokos (mother of God) and as a simple mother who caresses her son<sup>96</sup>, thus exalting her intercessory role for the salvation of the congregation<sup>97</sup>. Additionally, the duplication of Virgin's images suggests that, even in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the standardization of the templon images had not yet occurred.

93 Chatzidakis, *Eleousa* 497.

94 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 353. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat.* no. 27, 76. – Koukiarēs, *Eponymos Hagios* 118. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 68.

95 Miljkovic-Peppek, *St. Sophie* 388-391. – Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* 217. – Chatzidakis, *Templon* 337.

96 Miljkovic-Peppek, *St. Sophie* 391.

97 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 120.





Fig. 14 Prostration image of Christ. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 15 Prostration image of Hagios Panteleēmōn. – (Photo A. Mailis).

### Chancel slab outside the church of Hagios Georgios, Fodele

A marble chancel slab lies in the courtyard of Hagios Geōrgios church in the Fodele settlement (fig. 12). According to Lassithiotakēs, the inhabitants transferred the slab from the church of Panagia to its current place<sup>98</sup>. The slab (0.62 m × 0.63 m) was inserted within an external stone frame (0.92 m × 0.94 m). On the front there is depicted a lion with profiled head and an elevated right leg. The lions' mane consists of two winding lines, while its spiral tail is raised in the field between the head and the body. Remnants of palmettes decorate the foreground. The chancel slab belongs to a wider group of wild animal representations of the Middle Byzantine period<sup>99</sup>. The rendering of the mane and the floral decoration allude to 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century chancel slabs from Athens<sup>100</sup>, while the body's stance is reminiscent of the 11<sup>th</sup> century architectural sculpture from Mani and Sophia<sup>101</sup>. The movement of the tail is unusual, although it shares some similarities with the coun-

terpart representations of lions from Stara Zagora in Bulgaria (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>102</sup>. It is noteworthy that the depiction of wild animals is rarely met in the Middle Byzantine sculpture of Crete. Orlandos published one relief of a hybrid gryphon/lion with a similar stance, which once covered a drain spout in the Byzantine city of Chandakas (now in the courtyard of Herakleion Archaeological museum)<sup>103</sup>. The parallels suggest that the chancel slab dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, thus implying its possible connection with the church of Panagia.

### The church of Hagios Panteleēmōn in Bizarjanō, Pediada

The church of Hagios Panteleēmōn, Bizarjanō (Pēgē) stands today in isolated terrain in the countryside of Kastelli, Pediada/Herakleion (fig. 13). The edifice was probably constructed as a cross-in-square church in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and was modi-

<sup>98</sup> Lassithotakēs, Naos Eisodiōn 86.

<sup>99</sup> Bouras/Boura, Naodomia 562.

<sup>100</sup> Sklavou-Mavroeidē, Glypta no. 150. 155/109. 115.

<sup>101</sup> See the hybrid form of Griffin/Lion from the church of Hagios Nikolaos Ohias, Mani: Moutsopoulos, Kastori figs 338. 339/363. – Chancel slab from Sophia. Grabar, Sculpture Byzantines pl. XLIVa.

<sup>102</sup> Milanova, Production 163-183 fig. 2, 12.

<sup>103</sup> Orlandos, Prostomiaion 188-191, esp. fig. 3.





**Fig. 16** The gateway of the northern door at the church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Gergeri. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 17** Two fragments of epistyles over the north door. – (Photo A. Mailis).

fied to a three-aisled basilica in a later phase<sup>104</sup>. Although the church does not possess any remains from the templon barrier, it fragmentarily preserves a pair of prostration images on the western facades of the eastern piers flanking the Bēma; the north pier represents a frontal figure standing on a footstool, garnished with a blue chiton and a purple himation (**fig. 14**).

His right hand is placed on His chest while in His left hand He holds an open Gospel with the verses from John's Gospel (John 15:17-18): ΤΑΥΤΑ/ΕΝΤΕ/ΛΟΜΕ/ΙΜΙΝ/ [ΙΝΑΑ]/ΓΑΠΑ/ΤΑΙ ΑΛΙ/ΛΟΥΣ/ΟΙ ΟΚΟ/CMOC (ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν,

ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους/Εἰ ὁ κόσμος). Conclusively the image can be identified with that of Christ. On the S. pier there is depicted a frontal figure wearing a white chiton with an adorned golden border and a purple himation. His right hand is placed on his chest while he holds a casket (containing medicines) with the left, which implies his identity as healer. Convincingly the figure can be connected to the titular saint of the church (Panteleēmōn)<sup>105</sup> (**fig. 15**).

It is noteworthy that both figures were »beheaded« during the reconstruction of the church, since the piers were

<sup>104</sup> Gallas and Gratziou supported the initial construction of the church as a cross-in-square edifice: Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 140-147. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 402-405. – Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 187-189. – Initially Andrianakēs claimed that the church was originally built as a three aisled basilica, but in a recent oral lecture he confuted his previ-

ous opinion, also arguing positively for its reconstruction as a cross-in-square church: Andrianakēs, *Nea Stoicheia* 318-319. – Andrianakēs, *Bizarjano* 192-193 (the opinion is not referred in the published abstract).

<sup>105</sup> Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 71.

**Fig. 18** The third epistyle over the window of the western wall. – (Photo A. Mailis).



used for the fitting of the church's pointed arches during the Venetian period. The Bizarjanō arrangement is similar to the display of prostration images in the church of Hagios Pan-teleēmōn, Nerezi (1164)<sup>106</sup>, where Panagia replaces Christ. It seems that the two churches – which shared the same consecration – had a common function as far as the prostration images are concerned. At the church in Nerezi, the »dialogue« between the two images takes place between the Virgin and the titular saint of the Church<sup>107</sup>, while at the Cretan church the patron saint transcendently acts as a medium between the congregation and Christ Himself<sup>108</sup>. The frescoes were initially dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although Spatharakis argued for a late 12<sup>th</sup> century date<sup>109</sup>. Additionally, the positioning of the titular saint as prostration image in one of the two eastern piers is usually met in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>110</sup>. Therefore a date in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards could be plausible for both images.

### Transfiguration of the Saviour in Gergeri, Kainourjjo

Gerola photographed three marble epistyles immured in the 19<sup>th</sup> century double church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Gergeri, Kainourjjo, which still remain almost intact. Two of them were placed over the gateway of the northern wall (fig. 16)<sup>111</sup> while the third was positioned over the window of the western façade<sup>112</sup>. The first one (fig. 17) is used as a lintel above the north door and bears the following inscription along its upper edge: ANEK[E]NHΣΘΗ ΤΑ ΔΙΑΣΤΥΛΑ

ΤΟΥ ΒΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΗΝΙ ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟ ΙΒ´ (the intercolumniation of the Bēma was remodelled on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October)<sup>113</sup>. On the splayed front, a continuous frieze of roundels (including five-leaved palmettes) is outlined and linked with plain strips and eggs. On the left side there is a whorl. On the underside are plain horizontal bands. The second part of an epistyle is inserted above the first one (fig. 17). On the splayed front are depicted intersecting rhombuses and triangles in the centre, flanked by two roundels (palmettes with five and six leaves). On either side, the roundels are connected by eggs to a rosette with eight leaves (left) and a boss decorated with a carved cross (right). Both parts belong to the same ensemble, as is indicated by identical chisel work and the common patterns such as the ionic eggs and the roundels containing identical palmettes with five leaves. Sodini has already connected the decorative pattern of the palmettes to an 11<sup>th</sup> century templon barrier in Xanthos, Asia Minor<sup>114</sup>. Additionally, the netlike pattern of the intersecting rhombuses and triangles bears a close resemblance to the counterpart decoration of an epistyle reused at the ossuary of Asfendios cemetery in Kōs, which is also dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>115</sup>.

The third epistyle (fig. 18) over the window is now partially destroyed in comparison to its condition when photographed by Gerola. On the front there is a rosette with 8 leaves. It is flanked on the left by a continuous frieze of two continuous arcades of profiled arches supported by single and binate columns, standing on pedestals, enclosing palmettes. On the

106 For the church: Sinkević, Nerezi.

107 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 260.

108 For the cultic function of the prostration images flanking the templon barrier: Walter, *A new look* 205-209.

109 Skawran dates the images to the early 13<sup>th</sup> c. Skawran, *Fresco painting* 182. – Gallas and Borboudakēs date the frescoes in the late 13<sup>th</sup> c.: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 406-407. – Bissinger traces two subsequent layers in the early and middle 13<sup>th</sup> c.: Bissinger, *Kreta* 65. 72. – Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 4.

110 Siomkos, *Saint Etienne* 218.

111 For the published photograph: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, fig. 318, 258.

112 For the published photograph: *Da Venezia a Creta* 729-730.

113 Bandy, who published the inscription, erroneously dated it in the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c.: Bandy, *Inscriptions* 78-79 no. 48. – For the current transcription and redaction: Pallis, *Inscriptions* 800-801 no. 62.

114 Sodini, *Iconostase* 119-148, esp. 143.

115 Mēlitsē, *Kōs* 436-437 fig. 5 (with anterior literature).





**Fig. 19** The now lost fragments from Apomarma. – (After Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 259 fig. 320).

right are intersecting circles ending in a flat unadorned surface, suggesting that it was once probably sealed into a wall or a pier. The epistyle bears extensive use of the chisel, and is decorated with an eight-leaved rosette that is identical to the one from the second epistyle over the northern door. This specific decorative pattern also suggests a late 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>116</sup> and implies that all fragments belong to the same ensemble. It is hard to define the origin of the lintels. A 1268 document refers to the existence of a monastery (Middle Byzantine?)<sup>117</sup>, although its location remains unknown. According to the locals, the lintels were probably transferred from a church in neighbouring Gortys.

#### **Panagia in Apomarma, Kainourjio**

The church of Panagia (late 12<sup>th</sup>/early 13<sup>th</sup> century) is located in the settlement of Apomarma, a few kilometres to the south of Gergeri village in the Kainourjio region<sup>118</sup>. During his visit to the church, Gerola photographed a small capital and a piece of an epistyle(?) made of marble, which are not now preserved in situ (fig. 19)<sup>119</sup>.

The two pieces are briefly documented by Andrianakēs in a short article about the church<sup>120</sup>. The capital bears the popular Middle Byzantine pattern of the cross within acanthus leaves<sup>121</sup>. Although there is no reference regarding its dimensions, it looks small, and its size thus hints to its possible adjustment on a templon barrier. On its front side the lintel fragment is decorated with a series of crosses with oval shaped arms; its top side displays the wide-spread pattern of

reverse lyre-shaped leaves. Of greatest interest is the presence of a small fragment of a marble chancel pier(?; fig. 20). The pier is covered in low relief with scales—an early Christian pattern that derived from the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>122</sup>, and a lateral winding vine with dense leaves recalling (in a rather crude manner) analogue examples<sup>123</sup> of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, simultaneously reflecting the patterns that surround the cross of the capital of the same church photographed by Gerola. It seems that the lost fragments, as well as the immured item, belonged to a 12<sup>th</sup> century templon barrier whose origin remains unknown<sup>124</sup>.

#### **Panagia of Panagia, Kainourjio**

A few kilometres west of the Apomarma settlement lies the small village of Panagia<sup>125</sup>. Gerola photographed two Middle Byzantine chancel slabs that were integrated in the later iconostasis<sup>126</sup>. On the front of the northern one (left), a square frame includes rosettes in medallions at its internal corners and a central rhombus pattern including a six-rayed Christogram in a circle. On the front of the southern slab (right) are four circles with internal decoration, connected to each other by binding knots.

#### **Monastery of Paljani, Temenos**

We complete our analysis of the templa of central and eastern Crete with the presentation of the monastery in Paljani. The complex lies around 1 km east of the settlement of Venerato in the Temenos region, and is one of the most

116 See analogue patterns from the lintel of the Manisa museum in Asia Minor (last quarter of 10<sup>th</sup> c.) and Bakay (11<sup>th</sup> c.): Buchwald, *Chancel Barrier* 259-260 fig. 11. – Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines* no. 19 pl. XI.

117 Tsirpanlēs, *Katasticho* no. 7, 143. – Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* 234

118 The first reference to the settlement appears in a 1271 document issued by the notary Scardon: Tsougarakēs, *Paratērēsēs* 591-619, esp. 603.

119 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, fig. 320, 259. The caption reads: Apomarma (Nuovo)-Marmi Bizantini.

120 Andrianakēs, *Apomarma* 99-124.

121 Bouras/Boura, *Naodomia* 553-554.

122 For the use of the pattern in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.: Bouras/Boura, *Naodomia* 553-554.

123 Cf. the jamb from the collection of sculptures in the Byzantine Museum of Chalkis: Bouras/Boura, *Naodomia* fig. 1528, 146.

124 Andrianakēs considers that the fragments belonged to the church, yet this is highly speculative due to the absence of any installation remains in the church: Andrianakēs, *Apomarma* 101.

125 The settlement is mentioned for the first time in the *Catastichum* of the Sextert of Santa Croce at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. - early 14<sup>th</sup> c.: Fantakēs, *Vyzantinoi Oikismoi* 179.

126 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, fig. 319, 258. – The chancel slabs will be published by our colleague V. Sythiakakē-Kritsimallē, therefore we are going to provide only a brief description.

ancient monasteries of the island. The monastery is first mentioned as Palla or Palea in a document of 668<sup>127</sup>. During the Middle Byzantine period, the monastery was defined as imperial, and it possessed an extended estate<sup>128</sup>. The monastic complex today consists of separate buildings around a central courtyard. In its midst is the large katholikon that is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin. The construction chronicle of the monastery remains obscure<sup>129</sup>. Andrianakēs proposed a 14<sup>th</sup> century date for the construction of the three-aisled domed basilica, which was thoroughly modified in the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century. The early Christian spolia (such as the window supporters and the capitals of the church) and the Middle Byzantine sculpture found in the edifices of the monastery indicate anterior construction phases.

The church has been recently restored by the Ephorate of Antiquities, Herakleion (2011-2015) and new conclusions have been extracted as regards its architecture and the sculptures, which will be published in future<sup>130</sup>; therefore, we will provide only a brief description of Gerola's published material. The Italian archaeologist had photographed as great quantity of sculptures, either immured in the buildings of the monastery or scattered in the courtyard. The photographs show – among other things – that among them was a large group of early Christian and Middle Byzantine impost capitals<sup>131</sup>. Next to this assemblage lies another group of sculptures, such as a templon epistyle decorated with a frieze of alternating palmettes and leaves, used as a lintel over the west doorway of the church<sup>132</sup>, a cornice decorated with medallions encircling cross and palmette, used as a door lintel<sup>133</sup> and an architrave with palmettes used as a lintel over the doorway of one of the cells<sup>134</sup>. Sythiakakē reports that she has found four marble Templon lintels from the sanctuary and the chamber of Prothesis dating to the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore she claims that the initial form of the church should be reconstructed as a cross-in-square edifice, probably connected to imperial finance<sup>135</sup>.

## Western Crete

### The cathedrals

The *Notitiae* of the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century mention that western Crete (Rethymnon and Chania) is divided into the following Episcopal Sees: Kalamōnos (Καλαμώνος), Mylopotamos



Fig. 20 Architectural fragments immured in the apsis window of Panagia Apomarmara. – (Photo A. Mailis).

(Μυλοπόταμος), Ariou (Αρίου) in Rethymno and Kissamos (Κίσσαμος), Kydonias/Agias (Κυδωνίας/Αγιάς) in Chania.

Almost all Middle Byzantine bishoprics have been renamed and transferred. Tsougarakēs – following Gerola – suggests that the Bishopric of Kalamōnos replaced the early Christian Episcopate of Lampēs and he identifies it with the settlement of Megalē Episkopē or Episkopē<sup>136</sup>. The anterior Bishopric of Eleutherna was renamed »Mylopotamos/Aulo-potamos« and relocated to the Episkopē village of Mylopotamos region. Finally, the Bishopric of Syvritos was renamed »Ariou« and located in the Viran Episkopē settlement<sup>137</sup>. Additionally, in the Chania district the Kissamos Bishopric retained its name, but was transferred inland, specifically to the settlement of Episkopē. Similarly, the early Christian diocese of Kydonia was relocated towards the interior of

127 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 184.

128 Tsougarakēs, *Paratērēsēs* 613. – Tsirpanlēs, *Katasticho* 144. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 96.

129 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 360-361. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 96.

130 For preliminary reports: Moschovi, *Nea Stoiceia* 33. – Sythiakakē, *Glypta* 43.

131 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, figs 123-124. 126. – *Da Venezia a Creta* 1524-1527. 1561 (early Christian capitals and Middle Byzantine impost capitals).

132 Caption: Paljani, Porta della chiesa del convento. – *Da Venezia a Creta* 1523.

133 Caption: Paljani, Frammento marmore ornamentale usato come architrave di finestra. – *Da Venezia a Creta* 1556.

134 Caption: Paljani, Frammento scultoreo sopra una porta delle celle del convento. – *Da Venezia a Creta* 1558.

135 Sythiakakē, *Glypta* 43.

136 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 63. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403.

137 Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403. – On the contrary Kalokyriēs suggested that the Viran Episkopē succeeded the anterior Eleutherna bishopric. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403. – Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* 230-239.





**Fig. 21** Epistyle from the basilica at Viran Episkopē. – (After Kalokyriēs, Veran Episkopē tab. 187γ.).

the district, in the settlement of Agia<sup>138</sup>. The evidence concerning the existence of templon barriers in the cathedrals of the region is scarce but not entirely lacking. No surviving templon fragments are available from the churches of Hagios Iōannēs Mylopotamos or Hagios Nikolaos in Megalē Episkopē, which probably served as the cathedrals of Mylopotamos and Kalamōnos Bishopricks respectively<sup>139</sup>. Additionally, we have some pieces of evidence for the existence of templon barriers from the cathedrals of Viran Episkopē/Rethymno, Episkopē in Kissamos/Chania and Agia/Chania.

### The basilica in Viran Episkopē

The settlement of Viran Episkopē is identified with Arion – the Seat of the eponymous diocese in the Middle Byzantine period<sup>140</sup>. Near the church of Hagia Eirēnē Kalokyriēs excavated a three-aisled Christian basilica, altered in the Middle Byzantine period and used as the cathedral of the bishopric<sup>141</sup>. The excavator published and photographed a series of architectural sculpture of the early Christian and the Byzantine period. Among the items are two fragments of Middle Byzantine epistyles<sup>142</sup>. The first one is decorated on its splayed front with a continuous frieze of roundels (geometrical patterns, and a swirl) outlined and linked with plain strips (0.30 m × 0.30 m × 0.07 m).

The second one (**fig. 21**) is decorated on its splayed front with a continuous frieze of two arcades of profiled arches supported by single and binate tall columns, standing on pedestals, including palmettes. At the right side there is a Maltese cross. On the underside there are dentils and a frieze of bead and reel. The second one bears stylistic resemblance

to a Templon lintel from Skopelos (1080), while the Maltese cross is also found in the 11<sup>th</sup> century decoration of epistyles from the church of Koimēsēs in Theologos Antimacheias, Kōs<sup>143</sup>. Kalokyriēs also published the photograph of a chancel slab fragment<sup>144</sup>, which is decorated with roundels outlined and linked with double plain strips, encircling a geometrical pattern with rhombus, swirl and a fragmentary fluted palmette. The slab also bears resemblance to the 11<sup>th</sup> century chancel slabs from Manē and Athens, especially as regards the geometrical patterns (swirls, fluted palmettes)<sup>145</sup>. Consequently, one can deduce that during the 11<sup>th</sup> century the Middle Byzantine cathedral was furnished with a templon barrier comprising slabs and an epistyle. However, we do not have any accurate evidence concerning either the length of the installation or the existence of flanking prostration images.

### The basilica in Agia, Chania

The basilica of Panagia lies in the middle of a fertile plan in the western part of the modern settlement of Agia, to the south of Chania. The original early Christian transept basilica was modified at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (after the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete; **fig. 22**), in order to be used as the cathedral of the Kydonia diocese, which was transferred to the region's interior and renamed the Bishopric of Agia<sup>146</sup>. The remodelling of the anterior church included the adjustment of two lateral apses at the eastern part of the aisles, and the construction of two piers (with early Christian spolia and tiles) between the eastern pillars and the apse<sup>147</sup>. Adjacent to these piers, is found the built stylobate of the templon (width: 7.42 m), constructed from rectangular sandstone blocks. The

138 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 62-63. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403.

139 The church of Hagios Iōannēs was initially built as a basilica. After 1304 it was modified to a cross-in-square edifice. – Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 79-83. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 297-303. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 321. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 288-289. – The church of Hagios Nikolaos in Megalē Episkopē partially survives today: Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 321.

140 Kalokyriēs, *Episkopē Lampēs* 305-316, esp. 309 no. 31. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403.

141 Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* 230-239.

142 Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* tab. 183 β/γ.

143 Buchwald, *Chancel Barrier* no. 24, 270. – Melitsē, *Kōs* fig. 6, 440.

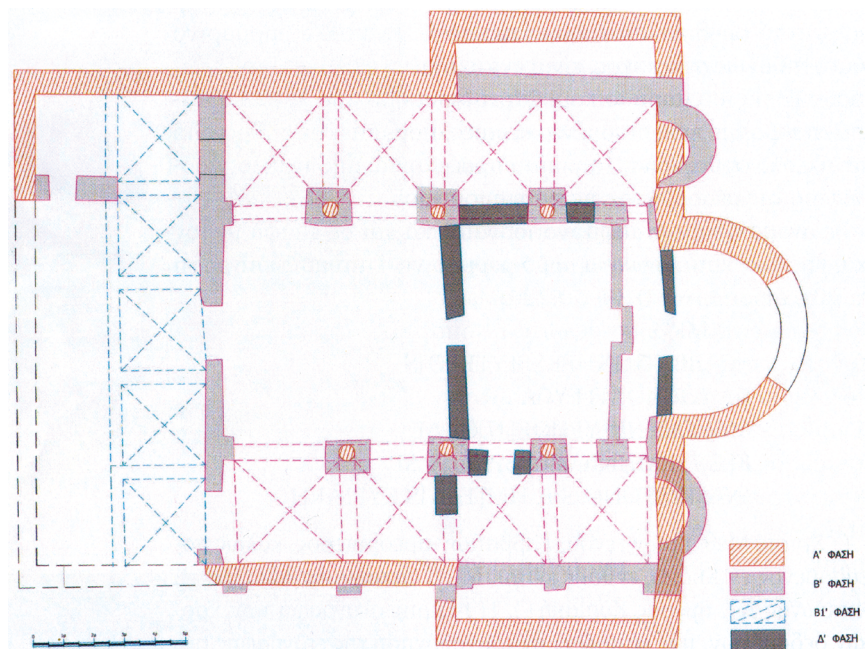
144 Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* tab. 184 γ.

145 See the slabs from Manē: Agios Philippos, Kouniotiki Poula, Agios Iōannēs Gardenitsa and Agios Iōannēs Kounos. – Drandakēs, *Glypta* figs 45. 59. 79/80. 30. 39. 53. – Chancel slab from Monē Petrakē: Sklavou-Mavroeidē, *Glypta* no. 180, 134.

146 For the transfer: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 79-83. – Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 403. – For the monument: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 297-303. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 321. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 356. – Andrianakēs, *Agia* 78-112.

147 Andrianakēs, *Agia* 90 fig. 11.

**Fig. 22** Ground plan of Basilica at Agia, Chania. – (After Andrianakēs, Agia 90 fig. 11).



central one bears an oblong carving, thus suggesting its use as the threshold (Ōraia Pylē) of the sanctuary. The foundation defines the Middle Byzantine sanctuary while including the passages to the lateral antechambers of Prothesis and Diaconicon. However, the form of the Middle Byzantine barrier is unknown, since the stylobate bears few and irregular traces of the embedded piers and there are insufficient remains of Middle Byzantine sculpture<sup>148</sup>. The existence of the stylobate forms part of the Middle Byzantine modification project, and as in the case of Hagios Titos in Gortys, implies the existence of a tripartite eastern sanctuary with developed functions of Prothesis and Diaconicon at the lateral chambers of the Bēma, although their partition remains unknown, since they have not been excavated.

### The church of Archangel Michaēl, Episkopē Kissamos

The unusual round-domed church of Archangel Michaēl in the hinterland of Kissamos, which was constructed in the 6<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c. Additionally there is found a fragment of a marble templon pier with four leaved crosses. – For the imposts: Tsigonaki, Sculpture 106 pl. 280a-c. – For the pier: Andrianakēs, Agia 88-89.

The church had an initial tripartite arrangement with a baptistery situated at the south pastophorion, implying an oriental influence<sup>150</sup>. During the Middle Byzantine period the church probably acquired a templon barrier, judging by the

sockets for an epistyle found approximately at a height of 1.80 m and the fragments of architectural sculpture (a fragmented slab and a cornice) now kept at the depots of the local department of archaeological service. The arrangement is completed with the 12<sup>th</sup> century depiction of the prostration images of the titular saint Archangel Michaēl (south; fig. 24), paired with a now fragmentary Archangel Gabriēl (north) at the east piers of the sanctuary<sup>151</sup>.

### Churches connected with Iōannēs Xenos' building activity

Iōannes Xenos' »Testament« stresses the impressive building activity of the local saint, which took place mainly in western Crete (Rethymnon and Chania regions) during the late 10<sup>th</sup>/first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>152</sup>. According to the text, Xenos was born in the village of Siva, near the ancient city of Phais-tos in the southern part of Herakleion district (= Γονέων γὰρ γέγονα πλουσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγόμενου Σίβα)<sup>153</sup>, probably in 970<sup>154</sup>. Xenos constructed his first foundation, the rocky church of Hagios Eytichios and Eytichianos, Raxos, high in the Asterousia mountains, not far from his hometown in eastern Crete (= ἤλθον ἄχρι τοῦ ὄρους τῶν λιθινῶν τοῦ λεγόμενου

148 There is a large number of antique and early Christian sculptures in the basilica, including ionic bases and capitals, a window frame and two imposts dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c. Additionally there is found a fragment of a marble templon pier with four leaved crosses. – For the imposts: Tsigonaki, Sculpture 106 pl. 280a-c. – For the pier: Andrianakēs, Agia 88-89.

149 The monument is the subject of Andrianakis' dissertation, therefore our reference is brief. – For the church: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 69/71. – Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies 202-208. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 205-206. – Andrianakēs, Nea Stoicheia 20-21. – Mailis, Baptisteries 306-308 (with anterior bibliography). – Andrianakēs, Mnemeiakē Architektonikē 320. – Andrianakis, Christian monuments 378-379.

150 Mailis, Baptisteries 306. 308.

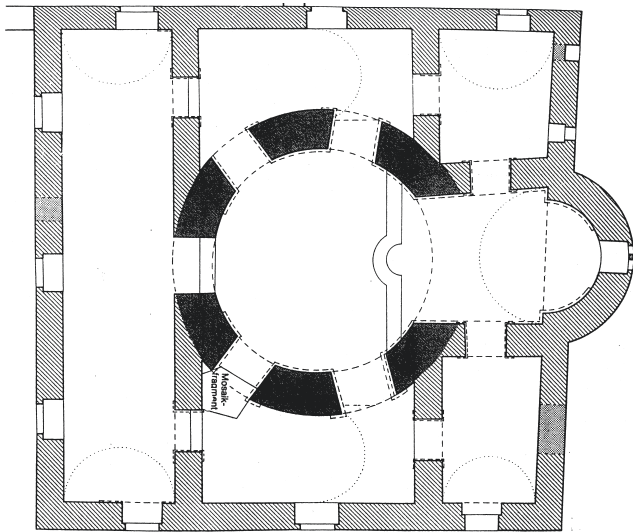
151 Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 380.

152 The earliest manuscript of the testament is kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Cod. Canon 19, fols. 278<sup>v</sup>-283<sup>r</sup> and it dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> c. The text was published by Delehay and Tomadakis. The latter also published a 19<sup>th</sup> c. Vita of the saint. – Delehay, Deux typica 188-191. – Tomadakis, Xenos 47-72. – Spatharakis, Rethymnon 141 no. 1. – For Xenos' life and activities: Antourakēs, Myriokephala 34-37. – Andrianakis, Xenos 258.

153 All references from Tomadakis' edition: Tomadakis, Xenos 57, 15-16.

154 The information derives from the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Vita: Tomadakis, Xenos 67, 8.





**Fig. 23** Ground plan of Archangel Michael, Kissamos. – (Edited after Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 196 fig. 55).



**Fig. 24** Fresco of the titular saint (Archangel Michael) on the south pier. – (Photo A. Mailis).

### Free cross with dome churches

του Ράξου [...] καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνήγειρα θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ναόν τῶν ἁγίων Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ)<sup>155</sup>. After that, he headed to the west and, guided by a voice, he established the most prominent of his foundations – the Monastery of All Holy Virgin the Antifonētria, Myriokephala in the interior of the Rethymno region (= ἀπηλθον μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὄρους Μυριοκεφάλου ἐπάνω τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγόμενου Τούρμα τοῦ Καλαμώνος [...] εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ δικελεύουσι φωνῆς τοιαύτη ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἀνέγειραι μέλλεις οἶκον τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνήτριας)<sup>156</sup>.

### All Holy Virgin the Antifonētria, Myriokephala / Rethymnon

The monastery lies within the boundaries of the modern settlement of Myriokephala and it comprises the circumferential 19<sup>th</sup> century cells and the main church of the Virgin (katholikon; figs 25-26)<sup>157</sup>.

The katholikon consists of the original domed free-cross church and the later exonarthex with its 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century murals<sup>158</sup>. Xenos founded the initial church in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century (1005 or 1020) according to an inscription (cf. following

<sup>155</sup> Tomadakēs, Xenos 57, 23-24 and 58, 38.

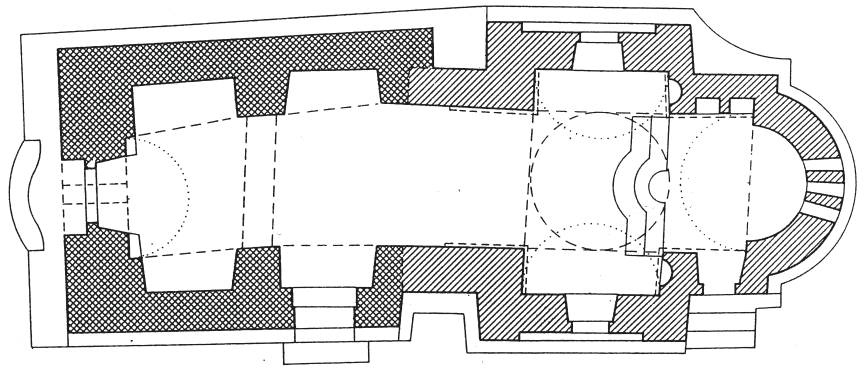
<sup>156</sup> Tomadakēs, Xenos 58, 41 and 58, 49-51.

<sup>157</sup> For the architecture and the fresco decoration of the church: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 218. – Borboudakēs, *Apokatastasē* 528. – Borboudakēs, *Myriokephala* 1973, 604. – Borboudakēs, *Myriokephala* 1973-1974, 939-940. – Antourakēs, *Myriokephala* 76-105. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs,

*Byzantinisches Kreta* 258-261. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat. no. 1, 9*. 270-271. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantine Technē* 26-28. – Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 141-150. – Andrianakēs, Xenos 257-260. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 264.

<sup>158</sup> Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 264. – Spatharakis dates the frescoes to 1500: Spatharakis, *Rethymnon Province* 141.

**Fig. 25** Ground plan of Antifonētria, excluding latter narthex. – (Edited after Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 256 fig. 77).



**Fig. 26** The church of Antifonētria with posterior narthex. – (Photo A. Mailis).



analysis). Following his departure from the monastery, Xenos returned to his foundation twice: first, after a short journey around the region of Rethymno, and again, after his important trip to Constantinople during the reign of Patriarch Alexios (1025-1043), as described in his testament<sup>159</sup>. Therefore, it seems that the free-cross plan of the church was adopted by Xenos before his journey to the capital and his subsequent contact with the Constantinopolitan monuments<sup>160</sup>.

Free-cross churches were very popular in the region of central and eastern Cappadocia from the early Christian period<sup>161</sup>. Orlandos observed that the type was also admired in the islands (Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes)<sup>162</sup>, while modern research located a few monuments of this type in the southern Balkans and the Greek mainland, as well<sup>163</sup>. Orlandos had

also created a typological classification of the specific type, including four variations. Typologically the church of Antifonētria belongs to the fourth variant, featuring short lateral arms (from N. to S.) and extended vertical ones (directed from E to W.)<sup>164</sup>.

The original church has two layers of murals. The later one (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century) is found on the barrel vaults, the walls of the western arm and the concelebrating bishops of the apse<sup>165</sup>. The earlier layer – unanimously dated to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>166</sup> – comprises the frontal bishops of the apse, the representation of Christ atop the dome, the figures of the standing Virgin, Angels and Prophets at the drum, and the half figures of frontal Saints decorating the niches of the eastern walls that flank the Bēma (fig. 27).

159 Antourakēs, Myriokephala 58-61. – Borboudakēs suggests the date of 1025 for this journey: Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 26.

160 Andrianakēs, Xenos 260.

161 G. Millet considered the architectural type as an original creation of the eastern architecture. Krautheimer, however, who had stressed the popularity of the form in Asia Minor, considered that the type was adopted from the Roman cruciform mausolea, but from 400 A.D. – Millet, *Ecole* 92. – Krautheimer, *Architecture* 206-207. – For the early Christian examples from Asia Minor: Ramsay-Bell, *Churches* 290. – Orlandos, *Thasos* 47 fig. 39, 1-2.

162 Orlandos, *Rodos* 86. – Gallas has traced 15 churches of the specific type in Crete. Most of them dated to the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.: Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 253-264.

163 For further examples: Vocotopoulos 107-109. – Kawadja-Tsourēs, *Messēnia* 260-291.

164 Orlandos, *Rodos* 89.

165 Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 150.

166 Skawran, *Fresco Painting* 187. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 26-27. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 1, 29. – Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 150.





**Fig. 27** The eastern part of the church. – (Photo A. Mailis).

These two niches (0.79 m height/0.30 m depth) are erected approximately 1.21 m above the elevated present floor. The northern niche is decorated with a bust of a young, beardless saint with dark brown curly hair, identified either with St. George or St. Demetrius (**fig. 28**)<sup>167</sup>, while the southern niche contains the bust of a bald, elderly saint (**fig. 29**).

Borboudakēs identified the latter figure as Nikolaos<sup>168</sup>, but Spatharakis correctly recognized the facial characteristics of St. John Chrysostom (sparse curly hair, a tiny tuft atop his head and protruding cheek-bones)<sup>169</sup> as is evident by its comparison with Chrysostom's contemporary portraits such as the one in the south-east conch of Hosios Loukas<sup>170</sup>. Below the bust of Chrysostom is a slab-like decorative panel bearing a rectangular frame painted with three lines and including four triangles pointed inwards towards the centre, filled with pairs of winding vines-imitating volutes. The decoration possibly imitated patterns of architectural sculptures such as the one found on the 12<sup>th</sup> century epistyle of Taxiarchēs Messara in Andros<sup>171</sup>. Next to the panel is a pier-like frame including a barely legible inscription. Antourakis read ΜΗΥΙΕ΄, ιν. Γκε (25<sup>th</sup> indiction), while Borboudakēs recognized the name Iōannēs and indiction Γ, thus connecting it to the founder

Iōannēs Xenos and dating it to 1005 or 1020, before Xenos' journey to Constantinople<sup>172</sup>.

Since the Bēma of the church was modified in subsequent periods (**fig. 27**), the two flanking niches are the sole evidence for the display of the Middle Byzantine sanctuary. The niches at the eastern walls of the lateral arms suggest a standard arrangement of the free-cross churches from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>173</sup>. Agios Basileios in Gefyra Artas (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>174</sup>, Saint George in Gorni Kozjak, Bargala (9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>175</sup>, Transfiguration of the Saviour, Metamorphosis Messēnias (late 10<sup>th</sup>-early 11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>176</sup>, Agia Paraskeui Drakou, Arta (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>177</sup>, Viniča in Bulgaria<sup>178</sup>, as well as the post-Byzantine churches in Naxos<sup>179</sup> and Paros<sup>180</sup>, all share identical niches; this implies a connection between the architectural type and this specific arrangement. Vocotopoulos disconnects the niches from any liturgical use and interprets them as elements of the interior decoration<sup>181</sup>.

The portrayal of the two saints within the niches at Myriokefala offers new evidence about their function. Their position near the Bēma, as well as the surviving templon-like mural decoration underneath Chrysostom's bust, indicate that they possibly served as cultic images, supplementary

167 Antourakēs, Myriokephala 87. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 260.

168 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 260. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Texnē* 26.

169 Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 149.

170 Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* 51 fig. 44.

171 Bouras, *Architectural sculptures* pl. 22 fig. 4.

172 Antourakēs, Myriokephala 97. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Texnē* 28. – Borboudakēs' opinion was accepted by both Bissinger and Andrianakis: Bissinger, *Kreta* 270. – Andrianakēs, Xenos 257-260.

173 For a summary of the monuments: Vocotopoulos, *Architektonikē* 109-110. For the connection of the arrangements with the churches of Xenos: Varalis, *Iero Bēma* 81.

174 The north niche is painted with Late Byzantine busts of bishops. Next to the south niche there is the standing frontal figure of the venerated saint, Basile-

ius (16<sup>th</sup> c.). – For the church: Orlandos, *Hagios Basileios* 148-150. – Vocotopoulos, *Architektonikē* 45-59. – Papadopoulou, Arta 33-37.

175 Aleksova-Mango, *Bargala* 265-281.

176 Kavvadia-Tsourēs, *Messēnia* 282.

177 Vocotopoulos, *Hagia Paraskeuē* 52.

178 Bojadžev claimed that the absence of auxiliary chambers resulted from the transfer of Prothesis and Diaconicon functions to the niches of the eastern transverse wall Bojadžev, *Viniča* 252.

179 See the church in Saggri Naxos: Dēmētrókallēs, *Naxos* 185 fig. 4.

180 Orlandos, *Paros* 152-154.

181 Vocotopoulos, *Architektonikē* 109. – Kavvadia-Tsouris, *Messēnia* 282. – The sole exception is located in some post-Byzantine churches of Paros, where these niches are accompanied by smaller prothesis conchs, thus indicating the existence of separate minuscule liturgies. – Orlandos, *Paros* 154. – Vocotopoulos, *Hagia Paraskeuē* 52.





Fig. 28 Northern niche: Hagios Georgios? – (Photo A. Mails).



Fig. 29 Southern niche: Chrysostomos? – (Photo A. Mails).

to the prostration icons of the templon. Besides, during the 11<sup>th</sup> century the iconographic arrangement of the prostration icons of the templon had not yet been crystallized, as the written evidence from Bačkov (1081) suggests<sup>182</sup>. Consequently this raises a question concerning the actual arrangement of the Middle Byzantine templon enclosure. A possible answer might be found within the text of Xenos' testament, according to which the saint brought with him from Constantinople holy vessels, books and holy icons in order to decorate the monastery of Myriokefala καὶ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως μεθ' ὧν προσεκτήσαμην ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρήστων ἐκέισε ἱερά σκεύη, βιβλία, ἀγίας εἰκόνας κατεκόσμησα τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὄρατε<sup>183</sup>. Borboudakēs claims that Xenos probably carried epistyle icons in order to complete the Myriokefala templon

according to the liturgical standards then current in the capital<sup>184</sup>. Gratziou also agrees that Xenos brought portable icons in order to furnish the church and the cells of the monastery, and she correctly interprets this action as an effort to establish the cult of images in the public and the private sphere, in a region (rural Crete) where archaic artistic and cultic trends still survived<sup>185</sup>; however, she does not define the actual function of the images.

It is noteworthy that the epithet »Antifonētria« probably refers to an image of the Virgin. Yet the term does not describe any of her known icons. On the contrary, Antifonētēs (Responder) designates a famous ancient icon of Christ, housed in its chapel in Chalkoprateia<sup>186</sup>. The epithet usually describes an image of Christ, either in the private

182 The text refers to the images of the Crucifixion and St. George among the Prostration Icons. – Chatzidakis, *Templon* 340. – Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 332. – The text says: »[...] ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγίου βήματος ἐν τοῖς καγκέλλοις ἐμπροσθεν μὲν τῆς σωτηρίου Σταυρώσεως κανδήλαν μίαν, ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ κανδήλαν μίαν καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου κανδήλαν μίαν. Gautier, *Typikon Pakourianos* 73. 887-891 [p. 73] (= [...] and one lamp in the great sanctuary and before the holy sanctuary on the screen, one lamp before the crucifix of the Savior and one lamp before

the holy icon of the forerunner John the Baptist and one lamp before the icon of St. George [...]). Translation: R. Jordan.

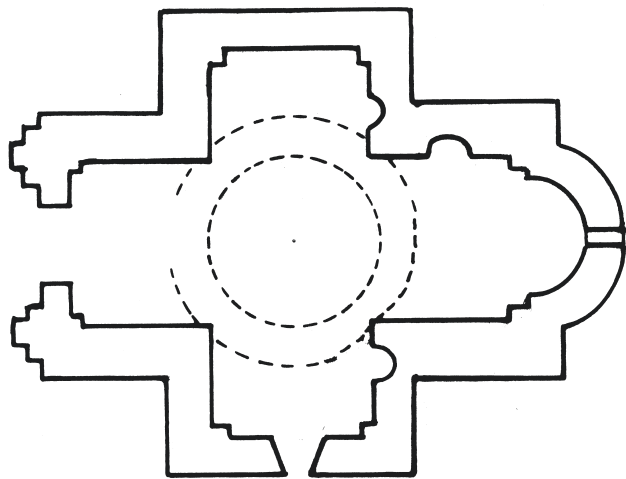
183 Tomadakēs, Xenos 60, 112-114.

184 Borboudakēs, *Byzantine Texnē* 26. – For the arrangement and expansion of the epistyles before and after iconoclasm: Lasareff, *Epistyles* 117-143. – Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 337.

185 Gratziou, *Eikones* 44-45.

186 Weyl Carr, *Icons* 78-79.





**Fig. 30** Ground plan of Hagios Pavlos, Sphakia. – (After Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Sfakia* 102 fig. 102).

sphere, like the individual one used by the empress Zoē (according to Psellos)<sup>187</sup> or in liturgical art, like the prostration image/fresco of Christ, who responds to the petition of His mother, depicted as Paraklēsis on the pairing fresco, flanking the sanctuary of the Arakos church (1192)<sup>188</sup>. Subsequently, a possible question that arises is whether the image of Antiphonētria was actually an individual cultic image placed on a banner (σίγνον) like the ones used in Constantinople<sup>189</sup>, or an actual prostration image placed in front of the templon. The subsequent alterations of the sanctuary do not convey any definite answer. Additionally, a fundamental question regarding the actual form of the initial barrier still remains. Perhaps the solution might be found in another church that was founded by Xenos in the isolated region of Sphakia.

### Hagios Pavlos in Hagios Iōannēs, Sphakia

After his arrival from Constantinople and the subsequent visit to his initial foundation, Iōannēs Xenos departed for Koufos in the region of Chania, where he founded the church of All Holy Virgin. Longing for isolation, the saint departed once again for the isolated location of Opisō Aigialon, where he constructed the church of Hagios Pavlos near the alleged site of the Apostle Paul's short-term lodging during his jour-

ney to Rome (= καὶ ἀπελθόντος μου εἰς ἔρημον τόπον Ὅπισω Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ προσέμενα ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς καὶ οἰκήσα εὐκτήριον τὸν Ἅγιον Παῦλον)<sup>190</sup>. Like Antiphonētria, the church is built as a free cross with dome, and belongs to Variation 1 of Orlandos' typology (fig. 30)<sup>191</sup> (equal vertical and lateral cross arms). Its masonry consists of rubble, pebbles, volcanic and sandstone ashlar. Early Christian marble impostes have been used for the decoration of the western façade. Additionally, the west door-frame is crowned with a reused marble lintel that is sheltered by a Π-shaped sandstone cornice<sup>192</sup>. As in his previous church, Xenos adorned the eastern piers of the Bēma with sandstone cornices (fig. 31), which implies the common use of architecture and decoration patterns for both churches. Hagios Pavlos is equipped with the standardized niches at the eastern walls of the transverse arms of the cross. They were decorated with frescoes that no longer survive. Below them, there are painted rectangular panels containing black and red wavy lines that imitate marble incrustation. In front of the Bēma there are two low walls (1.16 m height) of unequal dimensions (fig. 31). The north wall (0.88 m × 0.48 m) consists of pebbles, mortar, a volcanic stone and four sandstone ashlar similar to those of the western façade and eastern cornices. The south wall (0.50 m × 0.48 m) is constructed with pebbles, mortar and volcanic stones and is roughly joined to the original masonry. Evidently these walls – imitating early Christian slabs – constitute the original chancel barrier of the Middle Byzantine church, which was remade into an iconostasis through the addition of a wooden epistyle, probably in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, judging from the crude beam and the style of the portable icons.

The presence of low barriers is not uncommon »archaism«. They are also manifested in another church of Crete (Panagia Lampēnē) and other parts of Greece; Low templon barriers are found on the eastern piers of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria (fig. 32), where they belong to the original liturgical furnishings of the 850/900 church. Chatzidakis interprets the arrangement as an archaism – paired with the co-existing synthronon in the apse of the church – consequently linking both installations to the celebration of a bishopric ritual<sup>193</sup>. Marinou has reconstructed the original templon of Mystras cathedral of Hagios Dēmētrios (1262) with low marble slabs – also linking the arrangement to the bishopric ceremony<sup>194</sup>. As

187 Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης, ἣν οὕτως εἵποιμι, Ἰησοῦν διαμορφώσας ἀκριβέστερον, καὶ λαμπροτέρῃ ὕλῃ ποικίλασα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἔμπνουν εἰργάσατο τὸ εἰκόνημα· ἐπεσημαίνετο γὰρ τοῖς χρώμασι τὰ αἰτούμενα, καὶ ἐδήλου τὰ μέλλοντα ἡχροιά· πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκείνη ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἐσομένων κατεμαντεύετο· εἴτε γοῦν τι θυμῆρες προσεγεγόνει αὐτῇ, εἴτε δυσχερές τι προσεπειπώκει, εὐθὺς ἀφικνεῖτο πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα, τὰ μὲν ἀνθομολογουμένη, τὰ δὲ ἐξίλουμένη. Ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐθεασάμην αὐτὴν πολλὰκις ἐπὶ δυσχερεστέρων καιρῶν, νῦν μὲν τὴν θείαν ἀγκαλιζομένην εἰκόνα καὶ καταθεωροῦσαν ταύτην, καὶ ὡς ἐμψύχῳ διαλεγομένην καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὀνομάτων συνείρουσαν, νῦν δὲ ἐπ' ἐδάφους κειμένην καὶ δάκρυσι μὲν τὴν γῆν παινῶσαν, τυπαιοτὶ δὲ τὰ στέρνα διασπαράττουσαν. Reinsch, Michael Psellos 384 (6,66).

188 Kazhdan-Maguire, *Hagiographical Texts* 15. – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 259.

189 Cf. the description from the Typicon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople: ἐν δὲ τῷ σίγνῳ τῆς ἁγίας εἰκόνης τῆς Ἐλεούσης κανδήλας τρεῖς [...] εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ τέμπλου κανδήλαι ἐπτά

[...] Κηρίον ἀκοίμητον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ σίγνου ἀναφθῆσεται ἓν, εἰς τὰς δύο προσκυνήσεις. Gautier, *Typikon Pantocrator* 73, 887-891 (= three lamps before the banner of the holy icon of the *Eleousa* [...]) seven lamps before the middle of the [...]. A candle will be lit to burn continuously in front of the banner, one before each of the two icons for veneration (Trans. R. Jordan). The term σίγνα (deriving from the Latin word *signum*) is usually interpreted as banner, standard or ensign: Lampe 1232.

190 Tomadakis, Xenos 60, 134-135. – Andrianakēs, Xenos 261.

191 Orlandos, Rodos 85. – Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 211. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 256-257. – Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 254-255. – Andrianakēs, Xenos 201. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 334-335.

192 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 334.

193 Chatzidakis, *Hagios Stephanos* 14 fig. 3.

194 Marinou, *Mystras* 128-129.

Wharton-Epstein observed, a number of churches in Cappadocia and Italy have only low barriers »with no evidence of ever being closed more«<sup>195</sup>. Consequently, this archaism can be interpreted not only in accordance with a specific ritual act but also as a visible sign of persistence to an anterior cultic/religious ethos<sup>196</sup>. Bearing in mind the arrangement of Hagios Pavlos, it would not be far-fetched to support that the initial templon in Antifonētria could have shared the same arrangement, thus reconstructing it as an installation with low built walls in an imitation of slabs, matching Xenos' conservatism.

### Cross-in-square churches

#### Church of »Life-giving fountain« in Alikianos (Koufos), near Chania

The cross-in-square church of the »Life giving source« (Virgin), Alikianos (Koufos) near Chania (figs 33-34), was allegedly founded by Xenos after his return from Constantinople (= Τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολήν καὶ ἑμαυτὸν εἰδήσας καὶ καταβλεψάμενος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν μέ ἀνάπαυσιν μίαν ὥραν ἄνεσιν, ἐξῆλθον τῆς μονῆς καὶ οὕτως κατέλαβον τὸν τόπον τοῦ λεγόμενου Κουφοῦ καὶ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου ἀνέγειρα ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου)<sup>197</sup>. Although the actual date of the existing church remains a matter of dispute<sup>198</sup>, Andrianakēs successfully characterizes the architecture of the edifice as a fusion of progressive/metropolitan elements with local »archaism and constructional inexpediency«. The church displays Constantinopolitan characteristics (external blind arcades and niches, groin vaults) – commonplace for the Cretan Middle Byzantine architecture<sup>199</sup>. Simultaneously the ground plan reveals an awkwardly constructed, cross-in-square church with protruding transverse, reminiscent of the domed free-cross churches. This observation led Andrianakēs to maintain that it was after his pilgrimage in Constantinople and due to the impressions made by the metropolitan monuments that Xenos decided to construct a cross-in-square edifice; its construction, however, was assigned to inexperienced local craftsmen<sup>200</sup>.

Additionally, the church preserves two layers of frescoes. The first one is located in the NE. bay and is dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, while the second layer covers the whole church, and is dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>201</sup>. The church was continu-



Fig. 31 The low masonry slabs of Hagios Pavlos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

ously restored from 1303 onwards. More recent renovations included an arbitrary reworking by the locals in 1908, Orlandos' extended restoration in 1950 (including the construction of the upper structure)<sup>202</sup>, as well as the latest reconstruction of the dome by the 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities<sup>203</sup>. The current presentation of the Bēma derives from Orlandos' restoration, since in 1950 the latter removed the built templon that had been photographed by Gerola in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>204</sup> (figs 35-36).

Consequently, the sanctuary of the church today includes two eastern supporters (a pillar and an immured column; fig. 37), as well as two projecting piers at the eastern ends of the lateral walls. The north one contains a niche with the 14<sup>th</sup> century representation of the half figure of the orant Hagia Paraskevē (fig. 38).

195 Wharton, *Templon or Iconostasis* 17-18. – Asutay-Fleissig, *Templonanlage* 120-121.

196 For the atavistic persistence on the anterior forms of cultic customs as constant features of religious behavior see Pallas, *Orthodoxia* 74-75. As an example, Pallas often quoted Chrysostomus' observations concerning the maintenance of pagan cultic customs on behalf of the Christian population in Antiocheia: Πόσους δὲ καὶ νῦν ὄρωμεν ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ προλήψεως κατεχομένους ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ εὐλογον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴν ἐγκάλουντο Ἕλληνας ὄντες, πατέρες δὲ καὶ πάππους καὶ ἐπὶ πάππους προβαλλομένους (...) Πάντα γὰρ τίς εὐκολώτερον ἀμείψαιεν ἢ τὰ περὶ θρησκείας τοῦ. Chrysostomus, *Εἰς Ἀ' Κορ. Λόγ.*, MPG 61. 64.

197 Tomadakēs, *Xenos* 60, 127-131.

198 Some scholars argued that Xenos' initial church was fundamentally remodeled after the 1303 earthquake: Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 170-205. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 240-241. – Gallas, *Sakralar-*

*chitektur* 320-323. – Andrianakēs stated that the standing church is Xenos' original creation with later modifications: Andrianakēs, *Nea stoicheia* 14-15. – Andrianakis, *Xenos* 260-261. – Andrianakis, *Christian monuments* 257-258. – For the partial approval of this opinion: Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 26-32. – Borboudakēs, *Mnēmeiakē Tehnē* 20-21. – Recently Kappas coined a 12<sup>th</sup> c. date: Kappas, *Efarmogē* 135.

199 Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 26-32. – Andrianakēs, *Mnēmeiakē Architektonikē* 341-347.

200 Andrianakis, *Xenos* 261.

201 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 358.

202 Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 173.

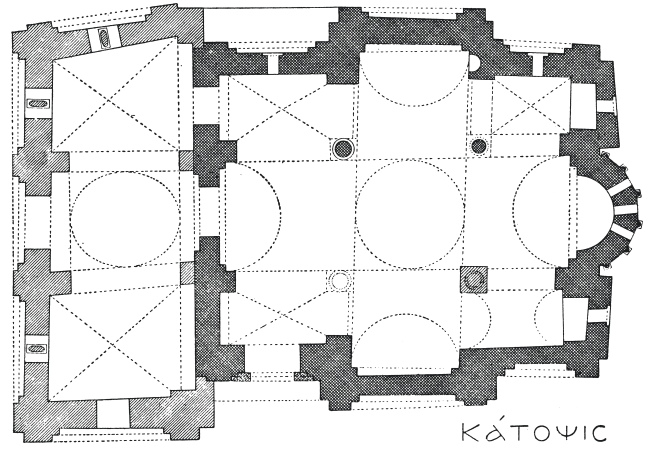
203 Andrianakēs, *Ergo* 41.

204 Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* fig 33 (reconstruction of the sanctuary).





**Fig. 32** The low masonry slabs of Hagios Stephanos Kastoria – (After Siomkos, Sainte Etienne fig. 3).



**Fig. 33** Ground plan of church of Life-giving fountain Alikianos. – (After Orlandos, Byzantina Mnēmeia 176 fig. 30).

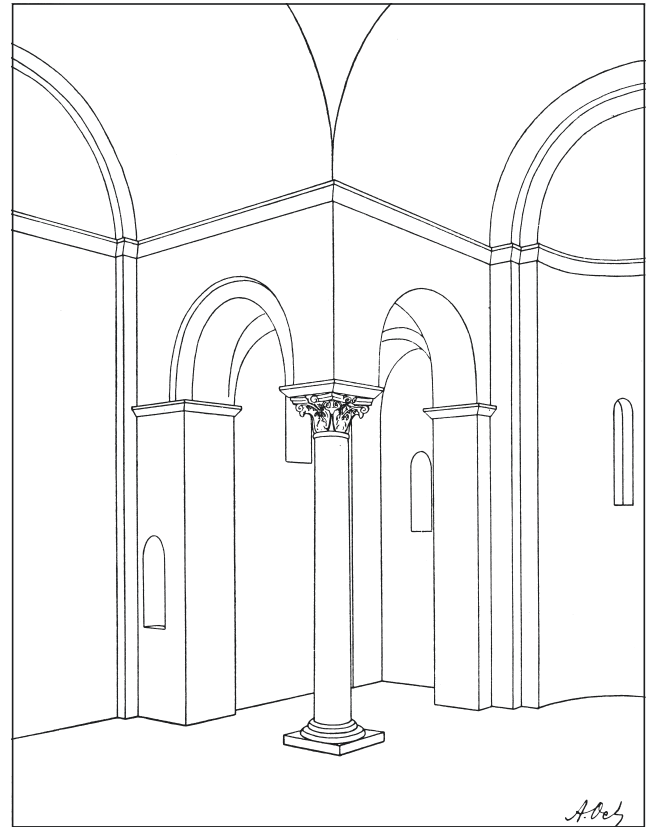


**Fig. 34** The church of Life-giving fountain Alikianos. – (Photo A. Mailis).





**Fig. 35** The masonry screen photographed by Gerola. – (After Da Venezia a Creta, 1161).



**Fig. 36** Orlandos' reconstruction of the NE part of the original screen. – (After Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 180).



**Fig. 37** The sanctuary after Orlandos' restoration. – (Photo A. Mailis).

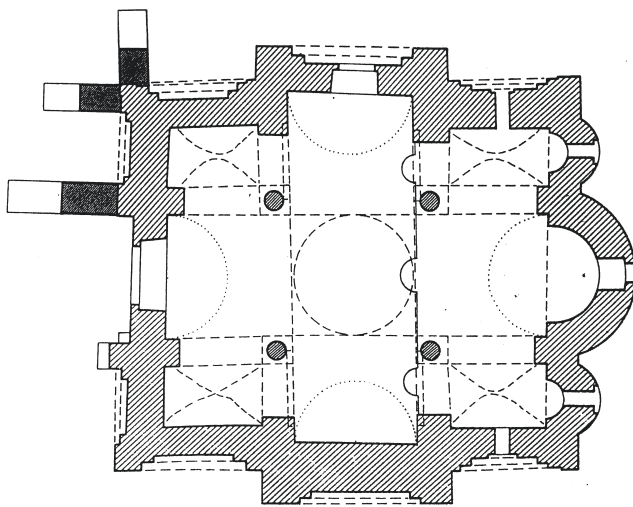


**Fig. 38** Hagia Paraskeuē. – (Photo A. Mailis).





**Fig. 40** Remnants of the templon foundation, during the excavation. – (Photo N. Pyrrou).



**Fig. 39** Ground plan of the excavation at Hagios Dēmētrios. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 324 fig. 99).

Above her are depicted the 14<sup>th</sup> century busts of Hagios Polykarpos and Hagios Nikolaos<sup>205</sup>. The south pier – which had no niches – was part of a wall that is now demolished as shown by the remnants and Orlandos' testimony concerning the existence of a now lost fresco of the Virgin and Child on this surface<sup>206</sup>. The wall was probably destroyed during the construction of the subsequently-built templon. Consequently, the arrangement of the templon included at least three phases. The first one (Middle Byzantine) cannot be accurately reconstructed. It included the protruded NE. pier

and its niche, as well as two free-standing pillars. The overall form of the barrier is unknown due to the lack of surviving evidence<sup>207</sup>, yet the existence of the niche also links this arrangement with Iōannes Xenos' conservatism. The second phase (after the earthquake of 1303) included the painting of Hagia Paraskevē in the niche and the construction of a south-eastern wall (joining the immured column and the south pier) painted with a prostration image of the Virgin. The portrayal of the female Hagia Paraskevē, who was associated with Holy Friday and subsequently with lamentation/intercession on behalf of the deceased<sup>208</sup>, might be linked to the funerary function of the church, which stood amidst an extended cemetery containing burials from the Middle Byzantine period until the Ottoman period<sup>209</sup>. Therefore, the depiction of the saint in the lateral niche could also play a secondary role in vigils and commemorations. The third phase (after the 14<sup>th</sup> century) included the construction of a built templon with three entrances (leading to the Bēma and the auxiliary chambers) as well as frames for the position of portable images (fig. 35), thus suggesting a possible 16<sup>th</sup> century date, when icon painting prevailed over fresco decoration.

### Hagios Dēmētrios in Hagios Dēmētrios, Rethymno

The church of Hagios Dēmētrios stands in the middle of the eponymous settlement, ca. 10km from Rethymnon. The edifice is a cross-in-square church with a striking resemblance to the church of »Life-giving fountain« in Alikianos (fig. 39)<sup>210</sup>.

Therefore some scholars identify the church with Hagios Geōrgios O psaropiastis (Saint George the Fisherman), an ed-

205 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 240.

206 Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 180 fig. 33.

207 Orlandos proposed a templon composed of stone slabs: Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 186.

208 Gerstel, *Female Piety* 100. The *Apolytikion* of Hagia Paraskevē stresses her double identity as healer and intercessor for the souls: Παράσκειυ ἁθλοφόρε· ὁθεν προχέεις ἰάματα, καὶ πρεσβεύεις ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. [www.saint.gr/2161/saint.aspx](http://www.saint.gr/2161/saint.aspx) (Orthodoxos Synaxaristēs).

209 Bourbou, *Nekrotafeio* 759-780.

210 For the church: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 293. – Andrianakis, Xenos 258-259. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 339. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 273. – Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 16-25. – Kappas, *Efarmogē* 135. – Vasilaki-Pyrrou, *Anaskafikē Ereuna* 353-364 (with anterior literature).

ifice that – according to Xenos’ testament – was constructed by the Saint near the village of Pēgē before his journey to Constantinople (= ὁστίς ἦν τόπος καλός καὶ εὐχρηστός καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Πηγῆς [...] ἀνήγειρα ναὸν τὸν λεγόμενον ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Ὁψαροπιάστην [...])<sup>211</sup>. Andrianakēs proposed a date in the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>212</sup>, while Kappas dated it even later – during the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>213</sup>. During the recent excavation and restoration works there remnants of the templon stylobate were found, consisting of marble *spolia* of unequal dimensions. The Bēma foundation comprised two pieces (north: 0.54m × 0.11m; south: 0.59m × 0.12m; **fig. 40**) and the Prothesis chamber one (0.33m × 0.29m). All fragments bear small holes (ca. 0.10m) for the embedding of supporters<sup>214</sup>. As in the previous three churches, this one is also equipped with conches (0.17m × 0.10m) at the eastern walls of the transverse arms of the cross. The north one has no frescoes, while the south one is decorated with a half figure of Hagios Tryfon. The dates proposed for the fresco vary from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, while the fragmentary decoration of the church does not convey an accurate date<sup>215</sup>.

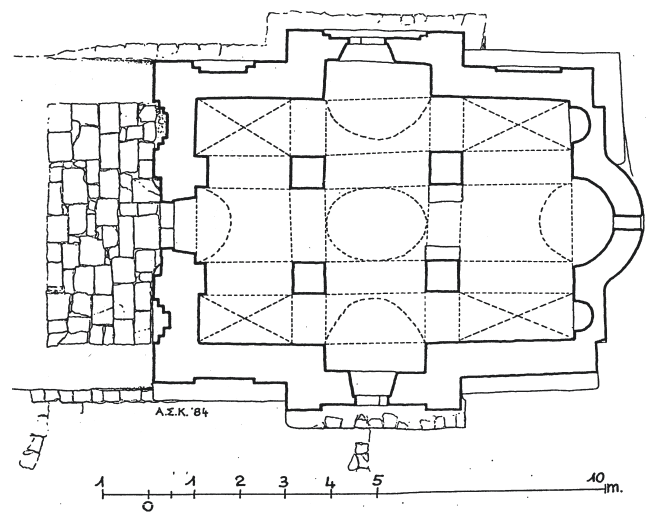
Despite the current findings, the actual form of the Middle Byzantine templon cannot be sufficiently reconstructed. The diminished dimensions of the stylobate holes (10cm) imply the adjustment of thin supporters that would better fit a timber post-Byzantine Iconostas than a marble or stone Middle Byzantine barrier. Additionally, the eastern niches (**fig. 39**) confirm the existence of a local tradition that must be traced back to the arrangements of the domed free-cross churches, like Antifonētria, combining progressive elements with archaic ones.

## Churches with other functions

### Panagia Lampēnē, Region of Hagios Basileios, Rethymno

The church of Panagia Lampēnē lies in the middle of the eponymous settlement, in the region of Hagios Basileios, Rethymno. The church is a cross-in-square edifice with protruding cross arms, like Alikianos and Hagios Dēmētrios (**fig. 41**).

The construction of the church is dated to the early or late 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>216</sup>. The dedication of the church to Panagia



**Fig. 41** Ground plan of Panagia Lampēnē. – (After Curuni-Donati, Creta Bizantina fig. 3).

Lampēnē is justified by the inscription Η ΛΑΜΠΗΝΗ found next to the depiction of the Virgin orans in the apse, probably in imitation of a celebrated icon<sup>217</sup>. Some scholars believe that the church was used as the Middle Byzantine cathedral of the pre-existing Bishopric of Lampē<sup>218</sup>, but in that period the diocese was transferred to Megalē Episkopē and renamed Bishopric of Kalamōn<sup>219</sup>. Andrianakēs recognizes four fresco layers from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while Spatharakis favours the existence of two; the anterior from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the later from 1301, based on the memorial inscription next to the portrait of the renovator(?), the monk Iōannēs Kapsodasēs<sup>220</sup>.

Two low walls (0.35/0.40m × 0.75m × 1.45m height) are attached to the east piers of the church (**fig. 42**)<sup>221</sup>. Both piers and walls were decorated with the 1301 frescoes, now fragmentarily preserved. At the NE pier (E. side and low wall: Visitation and St. Eyphrosynus above, N. side: standing monk, W. side: undefined saint, S. side (over the parapet): vestiges of St. Zosimas and Mary of Egypt. At the SE pier (E. side: military saint, S. side: beardless Saint and military Saint above, N. and W. sides: undefined saints)<sup>222</sup>.

The Visitation harmoniously covers the entire surface of the reverse side of the north small wall (**fig. 43**), thus indicating that the built partition pre-existed or at least coincided with the 1301 renovation. Additionally, the absence of beam

211 Tomadakēs, Xenos 59, 73-75. – For the identification: Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 23-24.

212 Andrianakis, Xenos 258.

213 Kappas, Efarmogē 135. – For a complete chronicle of the theories: Vasilaki-Pyrrou, Anaskafikē Ereuna 353.

214 Vasilaki-Pyrrou, Anaskafikē Ereuna 354 fig. 1.

215 Vasilaki-Pyrrou, Anaskafikē Ereuna 359 (with anterior literature).

216 Initially the church was dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> c. by Kalokyres and Gallas/Borboudakis/Wessel. Andrianakēs discovered a late 12<sup>th</sup> c. fresco layer that placed the church in the Middle Byzantine period. Kappas attests to this date, while Theocharopoulou is in favour of an earlier one in the late 11<sup>th</sup>/early 12<sup>th</sup> c.: Kalokyres, Episkopē Lampēs 305-316. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 284-285. – Andrianakēs, Nea Stoicheia 22-23. – Andrianakis,

Christian Monuments 319-321. – Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 69-73. 226-228. – Kappas, Efarmogē 151-153.

217 Gratziou, Lampēnē 245-244. – Gratziou, Eikones 49-51.

218 Andrianakēs, Nea Stoicheia 23. – Kappas, Efarmogē 151.

219 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 63. – Tsougarakēs, Byzantinē Krētē 403. – Gratziou, Lampēnē 245-247. Gratziou suggests that the name Lampēnē is not connected with the Bishopric, but with the continuing veneration of the well-known icon.

220 Spatharakis reads: ΕΚΟΙΜΙΘΙΟ/ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ [Θ(Ε)ΟΥ] ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ... ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ /ΚΑΨΩΔΑΚΙ/ ΚΑΙ/ ΟΥΤΟC ΕΞΕΔΗΜΗ/ C ΕΝ μνημ. CΕΠΤΕ (ΜΒΡΙΩ)/ ΒΕΤΟΥC/ΙΝΙΕ'. Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 127-128.

221 Curuni-Donati, Creta Bizantina, Isometric plan at 106.

222 Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 112-127.





**Fig. 42** The built walls of the eastern piers. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 43** The Visitation on the reverse side of the north pier and wall. – (Photo A. Mailis).

sockets on the lateral parts of the piers implies that there was not a high templon. Consequently, the sanctuary barrier consists of low built dividers, just like Hagios Pavlos in Sphakia. The position of the prostration images is unknown. Yet it is noteworthy that both the 12<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century layers of the large fresco of Dormition that covers the north wall of the NW. bay are placed in the lower zone – within sight of the laity (figs 41. 44).

It is very probable that the fresco depicting the feast day of the church was used by the laity as a veneration image<sup>223</sup>, suitable for kissing, censuring and candle lighting<sup>224</sup>. Gratziou traces the presence of analogous feast images of the Dormition on the north wall, next to the alleged templon of the neighbouring single-aisled churches of Panagia of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Panagia in Diblochōri, Panagia in Drymiskos), which implied the existence of a local cultic tradition. Yet it seems that this was a widespread arrangement for the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century churches<sup>225</sup>. The 12<sup>th</sup> century date of the initial Dormition scene may shed some light on the Middle Byzantine arrangement of the feast day icon, since the fresco is not positioned next to the templon, but on a lateral wall at a distinctive bay of the church. This arrangement possibly reflects – in a provincial manner – an official Constantinopolitan arrangement, which presupposed the placement of the cultic image on a stand/banner (σίγρον) inside the church, but at a distance from the templon, as described in the typicon of the Pantocrator monastery. The architectural type of the Lampēnē church, as well as the evident Constantinopolitan influences on its dome<sup>226</sup> favour the possible imitation of a sophisticated model.

223 For the interpretation: Gratziou, Lampēnē 252.

224 For the general use of frescoes as veneration images (with sources) and the function of Feast compositions as prostration images, Koukiarēs, Epōnymos Hagios 105-106. 115-116. 123.

225 Koukiarēs cites a few 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> c. churches of Virgin at the Greek mainland and insular region, which possessed analogue prostration images of the Dormition next to the supposed templon. Koukiarēs, Epōnymos Hagios 115-116.

226 Theocharopoulou, Paratērēseis 258.



**Fig. 44** The Dormition at the north lateral wall. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).



**Fig. 45** View towards the sanctuary of Hagia Varvara, Latziana. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).



### Hagia Varvara, Latziana Kissamos, Chania

The cross-in-square church of Hagia Varvara lies in a remote location, northwest of the settlement of Bulgarō in Kissamos province<sup>227</sup>. The church is considered to be one of the finest examples of the island's Middle Byzantine architecture; it is decorated with frescoes from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, linked to monuments like Hagia Sophia, Kiev or Nea Monē Chios<sup>228</sup>. The church preserves a number of spolia (bases,

shafts and ionic capitals), mainly used as supporters of the dome. During the reconstruction works, there was found a chancel slab made of Proconesian marble and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>229</sup>. The church does not preserve any sockets for the fixing of a templon barrier or stylobate (**fig. 45**), since the floor was repaved with stone slabs in a later phase, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The iconographic programme of the church

227 For the church: Lassithiotakēs, *Stauroeideis* 349-350. – Andrianakēs, *Nea Stoi-cheia* 17-18. – Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 31-35. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 401-402.

228 Andrianakēs, *Nea Stoi-cheia* 17.

229 Personal communication with C. Tsigonaki, who studied the early Christian sculptures.





**Fig. 46** Representation of Hagia Varvara and donor at the lateral wall. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

is fragmentarily preserved. Frontal monks are depicted at the lower part of the southern wall. In the middle of the same wall, just between the diaconicon and the main church, is painted the frontal image of the titular saint of the church, Hagia Varvara (**fig. 46**).

The saint wears aristocratic garments. At her feet lies the prostration image of a man wearing a kavvadiion (donor?)<sup>230</sup>. The composition is set apart by two painted supports imitating marble pillars. These pillars are crowned with capitals that supported an arched frame, which is no longer preserved. The specific framing of the fresco (through two pillars and an arch) relates to arrangements used for venerated portable images, like the enclosing that surrounds the central panel of the image of the Virgin of Kykkotisa, kept in the Sinai monastery (1050-1100)<sup>231</sup> or the one that frames the stone icon of S. Maria Mater Domini in Venice (ca. 1200), which imitates an original from Constantinople<sup>232</sup>. Evidently the painted framing of Hagia Varvara, just like its counterparts from St. George in Kurbinovo (1191) or Holy Anargyroi in Kastoria (ca. 1180), simulated the actual sculptural scaffoldings of the prostration images that decorate the pilasters of the Middle Byzantine templon screens, such as the fresco of Hagios Panteleēmōn in Nerezi, Skopje (1164) or Zoodochos Pēgē in Samari Messēnia (12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>233</sup>.

In Latziana, the prostration image of the titular saint is not placed on the eastern piers, but on the south lateral wall. Based on the Macedonian examples, Siomkos maintained that the insertion of the titular saint as a prostration image begins from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>234</sup>. This arrangement is encountered at single-aisled churches of the 12<sup>th</sup> century like St. George in Kurbinovo, where the patron saint is painted on the north wall, and Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitēs where the titular saint is found on the south wall next to the templon<sup>235</sup>. The Latziana example antedates the previous ones so it might be the earliest example of this type, from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is also noteworthy that the framed fresco of the titular saint (Hagia Varvara) in the Middle Byzantine church of Latziana is the predecessor of similar depictions of titular saints in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Cretan churches. These images are usually framed with two pillars and gothic-like pointed arches. They are typically positioned at the eastern end of the lateral walls, next to the sanctuary and were used as prostration icons<sup>236</sup> (e.g. the image of Hagios Nikolaos in Hagios Nikolaos, Maza [1325-1326], Iōannēs Theologos in Hagios Iōannēs Theologos, Kalamos Selino [first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century], Hagia Photeinē in Hagia Photeinē, Preveli [15<sup>th</sup> century] and elsewhere). For a detailed study of the topic, see pp. 63-67. 87-88.

<sup>230</sup> Andrianakēs, Nea Stoiicheia 17.

<sup>231</sup> Manafēs, Sinai 151 fig. 19. – Weitzmann, Constantinople 17 and image on p. 48.

<sup>232</sup> Belting, Bild und Kult 214.

<sup>233</sup> Chatzidakis-Babić, Balkan Peninsula 131 and image on p. 148. – Bouras/Boura, Naodomia 217-219 fig. 244. – For a detailed analysis of the Proskynētarian frame: Kalopissi-Verti, Proskynetaria 108-118. – For the theories concerning the evolution of the arched frames of the Prostration images from the canopies of venerated images: Belting, Bild und Kult 87-91. 270-278. – For early Christian canopies sheltering images: Pallas, Ciborium 44-58. – For a current review on the topic of canopies inside the church space: Bogdanović, Canopy 177-229.

<sup>234</sup> Siomkos, Saint Etienne 218.

<sup>235</sup> Both Haderman-Misguich and Gerstel interpreted the depictions of the patron saint as extensions of the templon decoration, appropriate for purposes of worship. Additionally Gerstel finds traces of a high barrier on the south wall of Hagios Nikolaos. – Haderman-Misguich, Kurbinovo 218. – Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 11. 91 fig. 23.

<sup>236</sup> For the topic: Mailis, Templa 138. – Kalopissi-Verti cites similar examples mainly from insular regions like Naxos, Samos or Euboea: Kalopissi-Verti, Proskynetaria 117-118.

Completing the analysis of the Middle Byzantine churches in western Crete, one must observe that elaborate cross-in-square churches like Hagios Geōrgios Kalamas in Mylopotamos/Rethymnon<sup>237</sup>, Hagios Panteleēmōnas in Nopija/Kissamos<sup>238</sup> and Panagia Zerviōtissa in Stylos, Apokōrōnas<sup>239</sup> do not display evidence for the existence of a templon, probably due to later modifications. Equally, the cross-in-square church of Archangelos Michaēl in Aradaina offers strong evidence for the absence of any templon barrier. The date of the monument remains a matter of dispute; Theocharopoulou suggested an 11<sup>th</sup> century date, but a few scholars emphatically supported its 14<sup>th</sup> century construction on the basis of the fresco decoration<sup>240</sup>. Therefore, the study of that church will be presented on p. 83-86.

### An individual group: the single-aisled cross-in-square churches

Most churches discussed above (apart from a few archaic types) belong to the cross-in-square type. This type reflects the official tendency of Middle Byzantine architecture and coexists with an individual group: the single-aisled cross-in-square churches that are also present on the island. The following analysis of four churches from the group will produce more evidence concerning the relationship among the architectural surface, the prostration images, and the separation of the sanctuary from the main church. These edifices are:

- 1) the church of Chromonastērion, Rethymno (11<sup>th</sup> century),
- 2) the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Buruni, near Hagios Nikolaos (8<sup>th</sup> century or 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century),
- 3) The church of Panagia Limiōtissa (11<sup>th</sup> century).
- 4) Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia, Apokōrōnas (11<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction and iconographic program between 1230-1236).

The church of Agios Eutychios in Chromonastērion, Rethymno belongs to the rare variation of the single-aisled cross-in-square church with eight pilasters<sup>241</sup>. The 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities has recently restored the church<sup>242</sup>. Its 11<sup>th</sup> century fresco decoration is still preserved in the apsis (fig. 47), while the rest of the church was redecorated ca. 1400. The excavator observed four indentations for the embedding of a templon beam on the east pilasters (2.50m above the floor), yet no sculptures are found<sup>243</sup>. Consequently, the date of the templon cannot be defined. Additionally, two niches – positioned on the eastern walls of



Fig. 47 The eastern part of Hagios Eutychios at Chromonastērion during the excavation. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

the lateral chambers of the Bēma – flank the main apse. Their upper parts are decorated with paintings that imitate the alternating layers of brick and stone that usually corniced Middle Byzantine windows. The niches of Hagios Eutychios are usually related to the apsidioles found in Xenos' churches<sup>244</sup>, yet their function is different. The latter ones are found on the eastern walls of the transverse walls in front of the Bēma, therefore they are linked to the barrier of the sanctuary. Additionally, their decoration hints at a cultic function related to certain saints. In contrast, the niches of Hagios Eutychios are positioned inside the tripartite sanctuary; they are probably connected with the functions of the Prothesis and Diaconicon chambers. Consequently, Hagios Eutychios implies an effort of adjustment to the Middle Byzantine arrangements, although the reconstruction of its barrier remains speculative.

237 For the architecture of the church: Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 89-92. – For the 12<sup>th</sup> c. frescoes of the church: Andrianakēs, *Mylopotamos* 56-59.

238 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 220. – Lassithiotakēs, *Eggegrammenoi* 344. – Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 14-15. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 342.

239 Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 342 (with anterior bibliography).

240 Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 223. – Theocharopoulou, *Paratērēseis* 258. – For the 14<sup>th</sup> c. date: Lassithiotakēs, *Eggegrammenoi* 348-349. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 253-254. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 345 no. 99 and 348 no. 109.

241 For the architecture of the church: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 220. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 232-235. – For the frescoes of the church: Drandakēs, *Agios Eutychios* 215-236. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat. no. 3*, 33-36. – Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 98-100.

242 Giapitzoglou, *Anaskafika Dedomena* 25-42. – For the restoration works: Kouglerē, *Ergasies Apokatastasēs* 43-55.

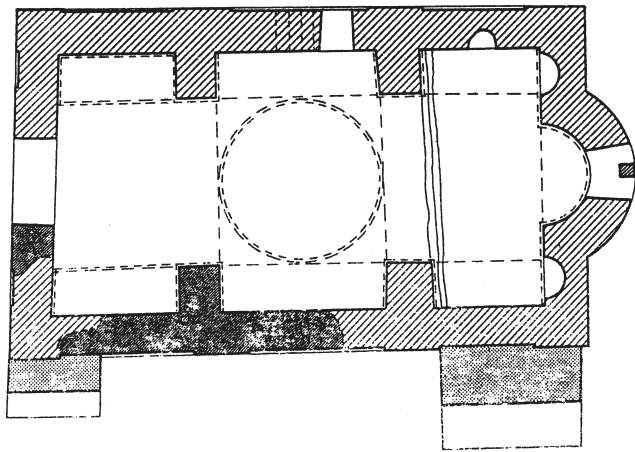
243 Giapitzoglou, *Anaskafika Dedomena* 33.

244 Theocharopoulou, *Symvolē* 25. – Andrianakēs, *Mnemeiakē Architektonikē* 335. – Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 191. – Giapitzoglou, *Anaskafika Dedomena* 38.





**Fig. 49** The arrangement of the sanctuary of Panagia Limiōtissa from W. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 48** Ground plan of Panagia Limiōtissa. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 238 fig. 70).

Equally hypothetical is the actual display of the templon and prostration images at the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Buruni, near Hagios Nikolaos. The church is known for its aniconic decoration, dated either to the 8<sup>th</sup> century or to the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>245</sup>. The fragmentary decoration and especially the extended restoration that took place in the late 60s/early 70s do not permit the observation of any installation rem-

nants. In contrast, an identical edifice in Episkopē Herakleion, the 11<sup>th</sup> century church of Panagia Limiōtissa, offers some proof concerning the subject (fig. 48)<sup>246</sup>.

Frescoes are preserved on the eastern pilasters of the dome. Decorative patterns are found on their lateral fronts. The reverse side of the north pilaster retains the depiction of a standing bishop, dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (second layer). The west parts of the pilasters (facing the congregation) do not display any frescoes, but modern icons serve as prostration images, thus using the pilasters as templon (fig. 49).

This assumption is reinforced by the presence of the aniconic decoration on the internal (lateral) fronts of the pilasters, as well as the presence of the painted bishops, which alludes to similar depictions on the east (reverse) fronts of masonry screens in Cretan churches of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>247</sup>. If the eastern pilasters functioned as a barrier, the congregation would have had an unhindered view towards the altar, but no visual contact with the Prothesis niche, which was sheltered by the north pilaster.

Stronger evidence for the »open« arrangement of the sanctuary is manifested in the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia, Apokōronas. The edifice (figs 50-51) was initially constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and was modified and painted either in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century or the 13<sup>th</sup> century,

245 Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika* 1969, 507-513 tabs. 380-381. – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika Kretes* 1970, 499-507 tabs. ΠΓ-ΠΣΤ. – Papadakē, *Agios Nikolaos* 56. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 156-157. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 422-424. – Moschovi, *Palaiochristianikē* 113-116.

246 Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika* 1973, 597-598. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 393-395. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 37-38. 209-210.

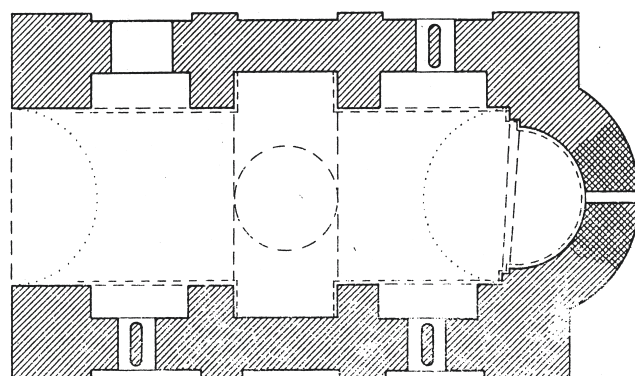
247 See the east side of the masonry screens of Hagios Iōannēs Krousta, Merabello (1347-8) and Hagios Nikētas, Chasi Selinon (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.). Mailis, *Templa* 127-128. 134. – For the decoration of the reverse (east) side of masonry screens and its theological meaning: Gerstel, *Alternate View* 157.

**Fig. 51** View of the exterior of Hagios Nikolaos Kyriakosellia. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).



after the Venetian conquest of 1211<sup>248</sup>. Its fresco decoration displays numerous political and cultic implications. As in the church of Limniōtissa, the eastern pilasters of the dome separate the sanctuary from the nave. Their fronts (facing the laity) are decorated with two saints (**fig. 52**). At the S. pilaster is found the frontal titular saint (Hagios Nikolaos), portrayed in full ceremonial regalia (chitōn, sticharion, epitrachelion, felonion). On the N. pilaster is the frontal portrait of a sanctified monk born in Kydōnia, Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios. The internal fronts of the pilasters bear depictions of Christ and the Virgin. Christ's portrayal is fragmentarily preserved on the S. pilaster, next to the titular saint (**fig. 53**).

The frontal Christ raises His right hand in a gesture of benevolence and is accompanied by the inscription ΟΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΙΤΗΣ. On the opposite face of the N. pilaster is depicted in frontal pose the standing Virgin carrying the Infant in front of her, inscribed as ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ (**fig. 54**). A painted vertical strip decorated with cross-shaped patterns frames the right part of the panel. The reverse sides of the pilasters are decorated with ornamental patterns (reversed triangles on the S. one and wavy lines on the N. one). Borboudakēs has rightly observed that the combination of the four depictions, their positions, and their frontal poses allude to the prostration images of the templon. Additionally, he remarks that the absence of any beam holes implies that the pilasters were actually used as templon barriers<sup>249</sup>. This assumption is reinforced by the decoration of the reverse side of the pilasters,



**Fig. 50** Ground plan of Hagios Nikolaos Kyriakosellia, excluding the posterior narthex. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 229 fig. 66).

which alludes to counterparts of the templa such as the one in Hagios Neophytos near Pafos, Cyprus<sup>250</sup>. It is noteworthy that the iconographic program of Kyriakosellia projects the images of the two Nikolaos in front of the laity, as primary recipients of their prayers<sup>251</sup>. This arrangement differs from the usual display of the prostration images of the templon, which in the form of a visual dialogue often narrate Mary's (or alternatively the titular saint's) petition to Christ<sup>252</sup>. In Kyriakosellia, the concept of petitioning the titular saint prevails, since Hagios Nikolaos enjoyed a vast popularity among the Cretan populace, being considered one of the most beneficent saints of eastern Christianity<sup>253</sup>. On the other hand, the presence of Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios († 868) is peculiar.

248 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 245-249. – Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 228. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 40-45. – Andrianakēs, *Nea stoixheia* 26-27. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 66-67. – Borboudakēs, *Kyriakosellia* 273-316. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 361-363. – For the late 12<sup>th</sup> c. date: Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 4.

249 Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 44. – Borboudakēs, *Kyriakosellia* 289. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 363.

250 Gerstel, *Alternate view* 140 fig. 5.

251 Walter, *A new look* 212. – Gerstel, *Alternate view* 139.

252 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270-271.

253 Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 79.





**Fig. 52** View of the sanctuary. On the N. pier: Hagios Nikolaos Stoudiōn/ On the S. pier: Hagios Nikolaos. – (Photo Archives of 28<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).



**Fig. 53** S. pier; Antifonētēs. – (Photo A. Mailis).



**Fig. 54** N. Pier; Eleousa. – (Photo A. Mailis).



The saint was born in Kydōnia (Chania) during the period of the Arabian rule. He left Crete in order to pursue a monastic career in Constantinople, as an iconophile and then follower of the conservative Patriarch Ignatios<sup>254</sup>. The presence of this specific saint in a church during the early period of Venetian rule possibly indicates some echoes of local patriotism. One can imagine that on Stoudios' feast day, the lecturer of the church would read passages from his vita that would make reference to life during Arab rule. These allusions would have had an emotional impact on the Cretan populace, especially during the early period of Venetian rule, when the expectations of freedom would still be alive and kicking. Borboudakēs argued that the metropolitan-influenced fresco decoration of the church was linked to the liberation campaign of the Emperor of Nicaea, Iōannes Vatatzēs (1222-1254), whose troops were stationed at the neighbouring fortress of Kyriakosellia<sup>255</sup>. This interpretation, however, requires further documentation.

The cultic perspective of the decoration is evident in the facing depictions on the lateral surfaces of the pilasters. Christ is accompanied by the epithet ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΗΤΗC (responder; fig. 53) and the Virgin is characterized as ΕΛΕΟΥCΑ (merciful; fig. 54), thus alluding to the famous icons of Constantinople<sup>256</sup>. Their position directly in front of the sanctuary relates to the same depictions that decorated the eastern piers of the church of Dormition in Nikaia, probably dated after 1065<sup>257</sup>, but also to the Cypriot Prostration images<sup>258</sup>, like the one in Panagia of Arakos in Cyprus. These images are placed on the western side of the templon, presented individually in a dialogue that takes place in front of (and in favour of) of the laity<sup>259</sup>. For a full understanding, the image of the Arakos Eleousa has been depicted according to the iconographic type of Paraklēsis, inclined towards her son and addressing her petition to Him<sup>260</sup>. In contrast, the Kyriakosellia image, though bearing the same epithet, is painted frontally while holding her Son on her lap, thus alluding to the so-called Kyriōtissa image<sup>261</sup>. The frontal portraiture of the Virgin was selected due to its orientation towards Christ, who stands on the opposite pilaster. The dialogue between the two images does not take place in front of the laity as in the Arakos

church, but in the vertical axis in front of the sanctuary, because the images are positioned on the lateral surfaces of the piers. Through this spatial arrangement of the images, the petition of the congregation is primarily addressed to Nikolas of Myra and Stoudios<sup>262</sup>. The images of Christ and the Virgin are closer to the area of the priesthood, thus implying their close connection to certain parts of the ceremony, such as the pre-liturgical genuflection and the kissing of these images by the priests before their entrance to the sanctuary<sup>263</sup> or the commemoration of the Virgin as mediator during the Anaphora<sup>264</sup>. Thus, the pair of prostration images – which were partially visible from the laity – is used in a sacramental manner attached primarily to the Liturgy itself and less to the demands of the congregation, which could venerate them before or after the Mass<sup>265</sup>.

Consequently, the four frescoes on the eastern pilasters of Kyriakosellia served as prostration images. The absence of Prodomos and the presence of Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios in Kyriakosellia imply that, until the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, the standardized arrangement of the Templon images had not crystallized<sup>266</sup>. At this point it is noteworthy that another church with an open Bēma arrangement, Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria, displays a similar iconographical arrangement of the 13<sup>th</sup> century prostration images on the eastern piers: the Virgin and Christ (accompanied by the epithets: Eleēmōn and Eusplachnos; fig. 55) are depicted on the corresponding faces of the internal sides of the piers, just as in Kyriakosellia. On the western surfaces of the piers (facing the congregation) are depicted the titular saint (Stephanos) and Hagios Nikolaos (who according to Siomkos forms part of a variation of the Deēs concept)<sup>267</sup>. Based on this similarity, it may not be farfetched to assume the existence of a low templon partition (possibly fashioned out of wood or other perishable material), just like the counterpart stone slabs of Kastoria, retaining an archaic arrangement. Eventually it seems that churches like Kyriakosellia and Limiōtissa displayed an unhindered view of the sanctuary and a partial covering of the prothesis niche, thus protecting the mystical character of the preparation of the Gifts.

254 Dettorakēs, *Oi Agioi* 219-233.

255 Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 45-46. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 363; Bissinger, *Kreta* 67. – For a detailed analysis concerning the political significance of the fresco style of the church: Borboudakēs, *Kyriakosellia* 310-316.

256 For the analysis of the epithet ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΗΤΗC, cf. p. 18-19. – For the Eleousa: Carr, *Icons* 78-79. – For a brief history of the type: Chatzidakis, *Eleousa* 495-498. – Borboudakēs considered that the presence of the epithets implies the connection of the fresco decoration to Constantinople, aiming to stress its political significance: Borboudakēs, *Kyriakosellia* 291.

257 Schmit, *Koimesis Nikaia* 43-47 figs XXV. XXVII.

258 For a collection of monuments connected with the specific epithets: Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskenetaria* 118-119.

259 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270. – Kartsonis, *The Responding Icon* 71-73.

260 Weyl Carr, *Icons* 78. – For a brief history of the function and origin of the type: Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 113-119. – For an analysis of the Virgin's invocation scheme and the avoidance of its confusion with the Deēs composition: Walter, *The origins* 263-265.

261 For parallels: Image of the Virgin between Prodomos and Nikolaos (10<sup>th</sup> c.); Weitzmann, *Sinai* 85-87 pl. 35 (10<sup>th</sup> c.). – Virgin Stasidi (12<sup>th</sup> c.); Papazōtos,

Veroia 66. 190 fig. 89. – Borboudakēs describes the iconographic type of the Kyriakosellia as Eleousa, thus confusing the epithet and the specific stance. Yet as Kalopissi-Verti has already proved, the term Eleousa refers to the identity of the portrait and is not classified in a specific iconographic type: Borboudakēs, *Kyriakosellia* 290. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskenetaria* 119. – Although the term Kyriōtissa is used to describe the stance of the standing frontal Virgin and Child, Cormack supports that there is no standard iconographic type of the Kyriōtissa image. – For a reference to the Kyriōtissa type: Penna, *Theotokos* 214. – For the type: Cormack, *Hagia Sophia* 118-120.

262 Using textual evidence Walter argues that the templon images were the focus of the laity piety since the people could either prostrate and kiss them or address their prayers to them during the Liturgy. Walter, *A new look* 223.

263 Before entering the bēma the priest kisses the Icon the Christ and says: Τὴν ἀχραντὸν εἰκόναν τοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, Ἀγαθέ. Then the priest kisses the Icon of the Virgin saying: Εὐσπλαχνίας ὑπάρχουσα πηγὴ, συμπαθείας ἀξίωσον ἡμᾶς Θεοτόκε. Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 226. – Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 120.

264 Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 116.

265 Walter, *A new look* 208.

266 Chatzidakis, *Templon* 347.

267 Siomkos, *Saint Etienne* 214-229.





Fig. 55 Kastoria: Christ Eleēmōn. – (After Siomkos, Saint Etienne fig. 107).

## Conclusions

In commenting on the Middle Byzantine sculpture in Crete, Andrianakēs remarks that the surviving samples are scarce in comparison to the Middle Byzantine sculpture of the Greek mainland and the early Christian period in Crete<sup>268</sup>. This conclusion is partially true. It might be valid for the monuments of western Crete, yet it must be reconsidered for the central part of the island. The divergence of the artistic production must be linked to the degree and nature of contact between the island and the contemporary ecclesiastical, ritual and architectural developments. It is significant that, after the

961 re-conquest, the central government's representative attempts to organize a missionary project in the island. The leading figure of this movement is Nikōn Metanoieite who primarily preaches in central Crete, in an area located between the ecclesiastical and the administrative centres of the island, Gortys and Chandax respectively. In western Crete, the local monk Iōannēs Xenos departs from Siva to undertake a similar task, emphasizing the foundation of monasteries and the construction of churches. Xenos seemingly becomes familiar with the current trends through his voyage to Constantinople, which occurs approximately in the middle of his outstanding career as founder (and probable initiator) of architectural forms in the regions of Herakleion and Chania.

In the field of ecclesiastical architecture, cathedrals and churches with other functions in central Crete are usually constructed as cross-in-square churches, thus echoing contemporary tendencies. Their meticulous planning and their elaborate external decoration are the outcome of architectural ideas derived from the capital. Similar arrangements are manifested in the more conservative western Crete, although conservatism prevails there; the cathedrals of Veran Episkopē, Agia or Episkopē Kissamos are actually modified early Christian basilicas. Xenos undoubtedly favours old fashioned plans, such as the domed free-cross churches; even when he decides to build cross-in-square churches, their plans seem to be an awkward evolution of the free-cross church, decorated with flamboyant Constantinopolitan ornament.

A common element of the Middle Byzantine churches of Crete is the extensive presence of early Christian spolia, used as mullions, capitals etc. (All Holy Virgin of the Seven domes/Ierapetra, Transfiguration of Christ/Partēra, All Holy Virgin/Fodele, Hagios Pavlos/Sphakia). Fragments of Middle Byzantine marble templa are mainly located in the cathedrals of the island from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Tracing the tempon barriers is not an easy task since most Cretan churches do not preserve the templa arrangements seen elsewhere in Greece<sup>269</sup>, such as stylobates (located only in Agia) or beam sockets (observed only in Episkopē Kissamos, Hagios Dēmētrios/Rethymnon, and Hagios Eutychios/Chromonas-tēri). The reason for their absence relates to the constant use of these churches, and in some instances to the probable conversion from Orthodox to Catholic that caused the removal of the original liturgical furnishings, as observed in the cathedral of Mikrē Episkopē/Monofatsiou.

Most tempon finds are fragments of chancel barrier lintels (All Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes/Ierapetra, Hagios Titos, Transfiguration of Christ/Partēra, Church of Saviour/Gergerē, Panagia Apomarma, Monastery in Paljani, Viran Episkopē), which were usually decorated with carved arcades. Less often, one can trace chancel slabs (All Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes/Ierapetra, Hagios Titos, All Holy Virgin/Fodele, Viran Episkopē), or – very rarely – remnants

268 Andrianakēs, *Architektonikē Glyptikē* 15 no. 9.

269 For a summary of the characteristics: Pallēs, *Templo* 93-95.

of tempon capitals (Panagia Apomarma). A large density of tempon barriers is noted in the central part of the island, mainly concentrated in settlements near the cultic centre of Gortys (Hagios Titos, Church of Saviour/Gergerē, Panagia Apomarma, Panagia/Panagia). A few installations are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (All Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes/Ierapetra, All Holy Virgin/Fodele, Church of Saviour/Gergerē, Paljani/Temenos, Viran Episkopē) and fewer in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Transfiguration of Christ/Partēra, Panagia Apomarma). The remnants of marble tempon barriers are rarely found in west Crete, since only three cathedrals (Veran Episkopē, Agia, Episkopē/Kissamos) retain fragments or traces of the installation. Additionally, two churches (Hagios Pavlos/Sphakia, Panagia Lampēnē/Hagios Basileios Rethymnon) are equipped with low-built walls, which crudely imitate the early Christian chancel slabs, thus permitting the open view of the sanctuary. The churches attributed to Iōannēs Xenos' building activity display slightly archaic arrangements, such as the presence of east niches flanking the sanctuary, a distinctive feature of the free-cross churches from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The Middle Byzantine churches of Crete do not preserve decorated tempon beams, such as the ones in Boiōtia, Asia Minor or Sinai<sup>270</sup>. Prostration images are found as frescoes on the western face of the east piers; Hagios Panteleēmōn displays the images of the titular saint and Christ. All Holy Virgin in Fodele contains the rare duplication of Panagia (13<sup>th</sup> century), and the Episkopē/Kissamos the depiction of the incorporeal ones (Archangels Michaēl and Gabriēl). Xenos' foundations are equipped with the distinguishing eastern niches that display busts of saints serving a cultic purpose and which possibly served as the proskynēseis images of tempon. Furthermore, two churches in west Crete (Latziana, Lampēnē) exhibit the fresco of the titular saint (Hagia Varvara) or the feast day (Dormition) on the lateral walls. Similarly, the proskynēseis images of Christos Antifonētēs and Panagia Eleousa are painted on the opposing lateral parts of the eastern pilasters in the Kyriakoselia church. The latter spatial arrangement is, in fact, the Middle Byzantine predecessor of the expanded Late Byzantine practice, which presupposed the positioning of the prostration images on the lateral walls of the Cretan churches. It is noteworthy that in the Kyriakoselia church the eastern pilasters are painted

with prostration images, implying either the function of the piers themselves as tempon barriers or the existence of a low wooden partition. Such arrangements would have hindered the view of the prothesis niche, thus maintaining the secrecy of the proskomidē prayer while permitting the sight of the altar, echoing early Christian practices as the churches of Hagios Pavlos and Lampēnē did. This open display could possibly imply the survival of an anterior (early Christian) ethos, such as the loud oration of the Eucharistic Anaphora and the congregation's response<sup>271</sup>. As we shall see in the next chapter, the facing array of the prostration images at the eastern part of the nave, in front of the sanctuary as in Kyriakosellia, is the most usual arrangement for the single-aisled churches of Crete that were built after the Venetian conquest (1211) up until the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This arrangement includes two main iconographic variants that are further classified on the basis of their disposition inside the church; they shall be analysed on p. 53-99.

Research into the Middle Byzantine monuments conveys the multiplicity of their architectural and liturgical forms. It seems that the cathedrals, as well as other churches of central Crete, followed official liturgical regulations. The churches of west Crete display archaisms that suggest the cultic persistence and adherence of the rural populace to traditional liturgical customs. This »spagatto« between innovation and conservatism is reflected in a document of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which records a question addressed by a local priest to the Archbishop of Crete, Ēlias (ca. 1120), concerning the proper manner of celebrating the proskomidē ritual<sup>272</sup>. The intellectually curious priest examined the liturgical commentaries available in his private(?) library, but without success. He then asked his colleagues, but they gave him conflicting answers regarding the apportionment and method of mixing the zeon (ζεον) with the wine. The perplexed priest then turned to the archbishop, who replied in a firm manner, instructing him to simply follow the official directive.

This incident permits us to think that this ambivalence is characteristic of a provincial intellectual who strives to keep up with the current liturgical developments. Yet less scholarly priests were not tormented by such questions, since their ultimate guide to ritual was the blessed tradition inherited from their predecessors.

270 Lasareff, *Epistyles* 126. – Chatzidakis, *Templon* 337-339.

271 For the subject: Trempeles, *Anaphore Eucharistique* 207-220.

272 Laurent, *Le rituel* 116-142.