

The Masonry Templa of Crete (14th-15th Century) – A Provincial Solution or a Confession of Faith?

Introductory note

In the previous chapter we examined the category of Cretan churches that displayed prostration images on their lateral walls. The present chapter researches the Bēma arrangement during the Late Byzantine period by presenting a group of churches equipped with masonry templa. In this part of our study we will define the emergence and the further development of the wall-painted masonry templon in the Cretan churches from the time of its advent in the early 14th until the 15th century. The study comprises material evidence, mainly from the on-site archaeological survey, and aims to explore the mechanism of the appearance of the masonry templa as part of the broader transformation of prostration images in concert with the particular cultural conditions of the island during the early Venetian occupation⁴⁶⁶.

As already noted⁴⁶⁷ the study of the masonry screens – although essential for understanding the evolution of the templon – is often considered secondary in the relevant research⁴⁶⁸. Sharon Gerstel, in an article on the masonry templa, construes their presence as a typical phenomenon of the Late Byzantine era, observed primarily in southern Greece, the Aegean and Serbia. She compiles a catalogue of 60 masonry wall-painted templa dated between the 13th-15th century⁴⁶⁹, of which only six are Cretan monuments. This number is rather low in relation to the total number of the wall-painted churches of the island, without doubt it will rise when new surveys take into account the churches that preserve masonry templa as well as those that were once furnished with ones⁴⁷⁰.

The early monuments (beginning of the 14th century)

According to Gerstel's catalogue, the earliest masonry templon is found in the church of Archangel Michaēl in Polemita, Manē (1278)⁴⁷¹. A few decades later, similar constructions appear in Crete. The first chronologically attested example (1302) is detected in the cemetery church of Hagios Georgios, situated within the now-abandoned village of Hagia Triada, in the Mesara plain, in the southern part of the Herakleion prefecture⁴⁷². The donor inscription states that the construction and the wall-painting of the church took place following a collective donation by laity and nuns⁴⁷³. Gerola photographed the templon of the church⁴⁷⁴ (fig. 174); nowadays only only a few parts are preserved in situ.

The photograph depicts an installation consisting of an architrave, four stone piers and low masonry small walls. On the front façade of the architrave there was a series of wall-painted medallions bearing busts of saints. On the two parts of the architrave two coalescent oblong corbels were attached. Two marble piers (probably spolia), corniced with clumsily carved impost, flanked the Beautiful Gate. The lateral smaller pilaster and the overlying impost display a vertical carving. The low walls were overlaid with an aniconic decoration, imitating marble slabs.

This templon offers significant information about the configuration of the installation. The medallions with the busts of saints allude to an »archaic« iconographic arrangement on architraves of templa – in a simplified mode – known since the pro-iconoclast era⁴⁷⁵. The vertical incision of the

466 A first version of this chapter was published as an article in *DeltChrA* in 2015: Mailis, *Templa* 111-144. Although the core of the study remains the same, I have enriched the material with new findings and slightly revised the initial conclusions.

467 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 136.

468 On masonry templa, see: Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 341. – Epstein, *Templon or Iconostasis* 24. – Kalopissi-Verti 120-123. – Walter, *A new look* 213. – On the masonry templa in the province of Selino: Maderakis, *Deēsē* 23. – Mailis, *Templa* 111-144.

469 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 158-161.

470 On endeavoring to record churches with masonry templa in Crete: Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 93-98. – Maderakis, *Deēsē* 33. – Gerstel, *Alternate View* 158-161. – Mailis, *Templa* 111-144.

471 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 158 cat. no. 1.

472 On the church: Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 147.

473 [...] θη ἐκ βάθρων καὶ οἰκονογραφηθῆ ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου διὰ κόπου καὶ ἐξόδων Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Σκυνοπλόκου καὶ Ἐπραξί(ας) μοναχῆς καὶ Καταφυγῆς μοναχῆς καὶ τὸ τέκνο [...]. Μηνὶ γενναρίου ἰνδικτιώνος ΙΕ΄τους ςωι' [...]. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 536-537.

474 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 349 fig. 387.

475 The presence of medallions with depictions of sacred persons on the templon architrave is testified by Pavlos Silentiarios on Justinian's Hagia Sophia. Indicatively see: Xydis, *Chancel Barrier* 7-11. – Engraved busts of saints on a marble architrave are traced in Hagios Polyefktos of Constantinople. Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 330. – Nees, *Decorated chancel barriers* 17 fig. 2-3. – This particular arrangement revives in the 9th c. and is supplemented by the theme of Deesis. At the same time, the iconography of the architrave is enhanced with scenes of the Twelve Feasts with the theme of Deēsē From the 11th c. onwards. Lasareff 131. – On the survival of the practice of engraved medals on marble architraves in churches of the 13th c. in Arta and Theba: Walter, *A new look* 212.



Fig. 174 The masonry screen of Hagios Geōrgios, Hagia Triada. – (After Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 349 fig. 387).

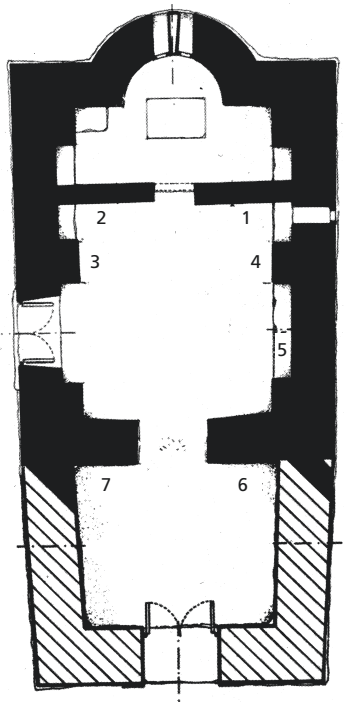


Fig. 175 Ground Plan of Saviour Meskla: **1** Christ; **2** Virgin; **3** Frontal Christ; **4** Hermit Saint; **5** Transfiguration; **6** Christ; **7** Virgin. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 114 fig. 2).

lateral pier indicates the placement of a portable icon on the *diastēla*. This suggestion is further reinforced by the existence of overlying corbels, which were deployed for the placement of vigil lights before the despotic icons, thence repeating the

lighting arrangement already known from the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Bačkovo (1081)⁴⁷⁶.

The above details indicate that the masonry templon of Hagios Geōrgios duplicates the model of a Middle Byzantine marble templon with slabs, columns, an architrave and portable icons fashioned out of less sumptuous materials⁴⁷⁷. This connection is highlighted by the location of the church in the village of Hagia Triada, which is near the religious centre of the island (Gortyna). As noted in the first chapter, the broader region of Gortyna is marked by the highest concentration of Middle Byzantine marble templa on the island (Hagios Titos in Gortyna, Transfiguration of Savior in Gergerē, Virgin Apomarma, Virgin in Panagia). Hence, the masonry screen of Hagios Geōrgios recalls the previous local custom while manifesting itself as a variant of the previous type, although adapted to the financial and social circumstances of the 14th century.

In contrast with the above-mentioned arrangement, the emergence and enshrinement of masonry templa in western Crete hints at a more perplexing procedure, since as we have seen on p. 53-99, in this part of the island archaic arrangements prevail, such as low chancel slabs made of masonry and prostration images/wall paintings on the lateral walls of the churches. The earliest signs of masonry templa in this region are detected at the beginning of the 14th century, in the church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour in

476 ...ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος ἐν τοῖς καγκέλλοις ἐμπροσθεν μὲν τῆς σωτηρίου Σταυρώσεως κανδήλαν μίαν, ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ κανδήλαν μίαν καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου κανδήλαν μίαν. – On the reference: Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas*, col. 341. – On a later version of the *typikon*: Gautier, *Typikon Pakourianos* 73.

477 With regard to the general arrangement of the Middle Byzantine templon see: Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* col. 332. – Epstein, *Templon or Iconostasis* 1-27. – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 266-279.

Fig. 176 SE. blind arcade at Meskla. The traces of the templon are traced in the middle. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Meskla⁴⁷⁸. The monument (9.40m × 4.90m) is a variant of the single-aisled church with two pairs of blind arcades, linked with a coalescent pilaster⁴⁷⁹ (fig. 175).

The initial construction of the edifice and the first layer of the wall painting goes back to the 13th century⁴⁸⁰. According to the donor inscription, the church was restored and wall-painted anew on the 15th of May 1303, the patron being the monk Leontios Chosakis, and painters Theodoros Daniel and his nephew Michaël Veneris⁴⁸¹, while the west narthex was added to the initial edifice and painted in the first half of the 14th century, as implied by the construction technique and by an engraving with the date 1349 on its north wall, thus offering a *terminus ante quem* for its annexation⁴⁸². Hence the completion of the iconographic program is the result of successive modifications.

The masonry templon of the church is now demolished. Part of it was potentially inlaid above the north door of the gate during a later enlargement of the transom⁴⁸³, while traces of its installation are found in the centre of the drums on the eastern blind arcades that bear a plain surface (1.85m high, 0.45m wide), discontinuing the fresco decoration (fig. 176).

On the eastern part of the drums are portrayed full-length, frontal hierarchs (Hagios Polykarpos on the northeast blind arcade and Hagios Vlasios on the southeast arcade), while on the west part stylites are depicted. The themes as currently



Fig. 177 The Prostration image of Transfiguration at Meskla. – (Photo A. Mailis).

478 The church was restored and recently conserved by the 28th Ephorate of Antiquities. – On the church: Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 126-169. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 241. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 91-92. – Spatharakis, *Dated wall paintings* 24-29. – Mailis, *Meskla* 165-175.

479 The church can be classified as type A2 of Lassithiotakēs, *Typoi* 181 fig. 3.

480 Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 169. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 359.

481 † Ἀνακρίνιστι καὶ ἀνιστορίθι ὁ θῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ κυρίου ἱμὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος τοῦ Μεσηκλυώτη διὰ συνεργίας καὶ κόπου καὶ πόθου καὶ ἐξώδου πολλοῦ Λεοντήρου Μοναχοῦ καὶ ταπινοῦ τοῦ Χωσάκου. Ἱστορίστι δὲ δὴ

χρηρὸς Θεοδώρου Δανιὴλ τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου καὶ τοῦ ἀνηψιοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βενέρι. Καὶ ἡ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐστε διὰ τὸν Κύριον ἀμήν. Ὁ Θεὸς συχορέσῃ τον 'ς τους ζωια'. Ἐτελυόθι δε μινὴ μαίωι ἡς τερς δε ΙΓ'. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 426.

482 Gallas, Wessel and Borboudakis erroneously mention 1471 as the year of the construction of the narthex: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 241. – For the correction: Mailis, *Meskla* 166.

483 This particular part of the structure retains its wall-painted frontal facade, where a left hand extended in blessing is depicted.



Fig. 178 S. wall of the templon at Hagios Geörgios, Benoudiana. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 179 Christ of S. pilaster, Benoudiana. – (Photo A. Mailis).

rendered on the blind arcades are irrelevant in terms of content, since the frontal bishops appertain to the iconographic circle of the Sanctuary⁴⁸⁴, while the stylites form part of the hagiological circle of the nave. Therefore, the interstice between the two representations suggests the initial presence of an installation – dividing two different parts of the church – that can be identified as the masonry templon. The construction was contemporary to the fresco dated to 1303, and was built on the centre of the blind arcade atop the anterior bench of the 13th century church, thus indicating that it was not included in the original design. It is noted that, following the demolition of the masonry templon (in an unknown chronological phase), the memory of the completion point of the Bēma was preserved, since the later wooden iconostasis was attached to the corresponding position of the previous masonry, as implied by the beam holes. The iconographic program of the masonry templon of 1303 may be restored based on similar ones preserved in situ in churches of west Crete, such as Hagios Geörgios in Benoudiana, Archangel Michaël in Sarakēna and elsewhere, and it probably included

the portrayals of the enthroned Christ on the north part and the enthroned Virgin on the south part.

Notable is the presence of the enthroned Virgin and Christ in the form of prostration images on the east walls of the later narthex (**fig. 175**). This particular iconographic arrangement, which duplicates the templon images, is prevalent in a large number of monastic churches of the Late Byzantine era, from Macedonia to Cyprus, and is liturgically linked to the sequence of Litē⁴⁸⁵ as well as with two troparia chanted in the narthex during the 6th hour of the monastic ritual⁴⁸⁶. The above elements, in conjunction with the reference to the monk Leontios as patron of the church and the presence of monastic saints and stylites, could indicate the influence or even the connection to a monastic milieu.

The iconographic program of the church was supplemented by the frescoes of the nave.

The prostration image (the Transfiguration of the Saviour; **fig. 177**) was placed on the SW blind arcade⁴⁸⁷ as an inset icon – so as to be visible and approachable by the faithful who enter the church from the north door. On the south

484 As regards the symbolic and liturgical prevalence of the bishops' frescoes on the lateral walls of the Bema and the eastern façade of the masonry templon in the churches of the Late Byzantine era, see Gerstel, *Alternate View* 136.

485 Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 123-131.

486 Pallas, *Passion u. Bestattung* 120-121.

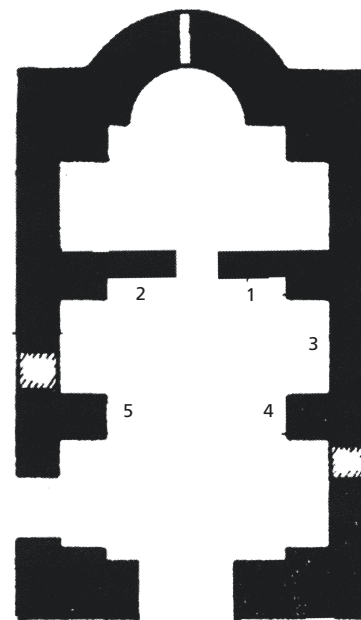
487 The local cultic tradition maintains until today the practice of lighting candles in front of the representation during the celebration of the church (6 August). For an analogous deployment of the fresco as a venerating image, see the representation of Eleousa in the Monastery of Chōra in Constantinople: Weitzmann, *Constantinople* 21 fig. 69.

pilaster between the two blind arcades – that is, on a visible spot between Christ of the templon and the main prostration image of the templon – a monastic saint is depicted, suggesting the personal preference of the monk Leontios; in the counterpart position on the north pilaster a frontal Christ is portrayed.

The arrangement of the cardinal prostration images of the main nave (1303) and the narthex (before 1349; **fig. 175**) evokes the tripartite symbolic division of the place (narthex/earthly realm, nave/celestial realm, Bema/heavenly realm), as expressed a century later by Symeon of Thessalonikē (1416-1429)⁴⁸⁸. Thus, the wall paintings of the church in Meskla delimited parts of the nave with distinctive usages. The prostration images of the narthex signalled the transition from the narthex to the main nave; the images/wall paintings of the nave served for prostration on the part of the faithful, while the wall paintings of the masonry templon were used for the proliturgical ceremonial supplication of the priests⁴⁸⁹ and the supplication of the faithful during the Liturgy⁴⁹⁰. However, the arrangement of the prostration images reveals a profoundly transitional intention. In 1303, the masonry templon was added to the blind arcades of the 13th century church. Its placement in the centre of the arcades and the division of the painted surfaces hints at a dilemma regarding the size of the sanctuary – alluding to a similar arrangement found at church 12, Paleochōra Kythēra⁴⁹¹. At the same time, the placement of the prostration image of the Transfiguration at a distance from the templon indicates that the iconographic arrangement of the installation is not yet crystallized. Thus, this period is severely fragmented as regards the liturgical furnishings.

The »innovation« of the masonry templon is demonstrated in the single-aisled church of Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana of Kantanos. The wall-painting of the church dates back to the last quarter of the 13th/early 14th century and is attributed to Theodoros-Daniēl⁴⁹², who also participated in the work of Meskla's wall-painting. The single-aisled church is 8 m long with two symmetric blind arcades. Remains of the south part of the masonry templon are still visible (1.05 m long and 1.85 m high; **fig. 178**), while on the north part only traces of the foundation survive. The south part is attached to the east part of the southeast blind arcade, obscuring part of the wall-painted saint-hermit. The structure of the templon is unevenly thick, evidently thinner on the upper part, due to its later adjustment onto the arcade. On its front side (towards the congregation) was portrayed the enthroned Christ, covering the entire painted surface of the wall. It is assumed that

Fig. 180 Ground plan of Hagios Nikolaos, Monē: **1** Christ; **2** Virgin; **3** Nikolaos; **4** Christ; **5** Virgin. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 119 fig. 7)



the demolished northern part carried a representation of the Virgin. The rear side of the templon is seemingly unadorned. Based on the iconographic parallels of the enthroned Christ on existing templa, such as the one of the Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna, the placement of the screen can be traced back to the first half of the 14th century.

On the south pilaster between the arcades of the south wall there is a full-length painting of the frontal Christ (**fig. 179**), as conveyed by the Christogram inside a medallion on the figure's left. The corresponding north pilaster probably carried a representation of the Virgin, no longer extant. Thus, the duplication of the depiction of Christ in the church of Hagios Geōrgios (on the pilaster and the templon), can be interpreted on the basis of the later addition of the masonry templon into the church, suggesting that the specific construction – as in the church of Meskla – did not form part of the original design of the church of the 13th century.

The integration of the masonry templon as part of the initial design of the church is noticeable for the first time in a third example: Hagios Nikolaos in Monē, in east Selino⁴⁹³. Its wall-painted decoration is attributed to the Veneris' workshop as well. The edifice is single-aisled with three pairs of blind arcades (**fig. 180**)⁴⁹⁴, while the narthex was added to it at a later phase. Both nave and narthex are painted with frescoes. Maderakis claims that the wall painting of the main nave dates back to the last quarter of the 13th century⁴⁹⁵, while Bissinger counters that it is from the 1300-1310⁴⁹⁶.

488 τούτο τοῦ θείου Ναοῦ διδάσκει το σχῆμα καὶ τὸν πρόναον μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ διδάσκει, ὁ Ναός δὲ τὸν Οὐρανόν, τὰ ἐπουράνια δὲ τὸ ἀγιώτατον βῆμα. Symeon Thessalonikēs, *Apanta* 257.

489 Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 1.

490 Walter, *A new look* 212.

491 Ince/Koukoulis/Smyth, *Paliochora* 104.

492 For the presence of the artist's work, notably in the prefecture of Chania: Maderakis, *Veneris* 155-159. – For his work cf. the forthcoming monograph of J. Schmidt on the topic.

493 On the church: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 227-229. – Maderakis, *Veneris* 163. 165. 172. 174. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 92.

494 According to the classification of Lassithiotakis, the church is classified as type A3: Lassithiotakēs, *Typoi* 181 fig. 6.

495 Maderakis, *Veneris* 172. 174.

496 Bissinger, *Kreta* 92.



Fig. 181 Prostration image of Hagios Nikolaos and Christ at S. pilaster, Monē. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Pagōmenos painted the narthex in 1315 – as is testified by the inscription – while its construction resulted from a collective donation by monks⁴⁹⁷. The church has extensive wall-painted decoration. The south blind arcade, to the west of the sanctuary, bore the wall-painted, oversized bust of Hagios Nikolaos, which is the main prostration image of the church (**fig. 181**), thus reflecting the usual array of placing the over-scaled image of the patron saint under one of the two east blind arcades⁴⁹⁸. On the north part of the pilasters between the second and the third blind arcade the Virgin is depicted, while on the south pilaster is shown a frontal Christ (**figs 181-182**).

The signs of the templon's placement are noticeable on the facades of the east pilasters that divide the sanctuary from the nave. Currently, the specific surfaces retain three ornamental panels located in a Γ shape, including an unadorned rectangular surface of 1.70 m (height) and 0.45 m (width). The symmetry of these surfaces, the absence of an iconographic decoration and their dimensions lead to the assumption that a masonry templon was located in this specific spot.

Assuming the accuracy of the above hypothesis, the iconographic arrangement of the prostration images of the church could be illustrated as follows (**fig. 180**): On the eastern pilasters there was attached a masonry templon adorned with the

representations of the Virgin (on the north part) and Christ (on the south part), while on the southern arcade, adjacent to the templon, was placed the prostration image of the patron saint. Finally, on the west pilasters were repeated the frontal figures of the Virgin and Christ. The restored correlation of the wall paintings on the masonry templon and the prostration representations of the nave display an improved version of the arrangement of the Savior in Meskla. Nevertheless, the arrangement in the church of Selinon is more sophisticated than the one in Meskla. The templon is not constructed in the centre of eastern arcades, but was shifted to the east pilasters, thus leaving space for the sanctuary; the titular icon of the church is now located on the arcade next to the Bema, alluding to a despotic icon of the templon. Finally, on the west pilasters are the images of Christ and the Virgin in connection with the arrangement of Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana. As opposed to the two previous churches (Benoudiana, Meskla), the iconographic arrangement of the templon and prostration images of Hagios Nikolaos display a crystallized liturgical and cultic arrangement, thus suggesting a later evolutionary phase. Therefore, it would be plausible to trace the fresco of the nave back to the early 14th century.

Another monument that is ascribed to the younger member of the Venerēs family, Michaēl, seems to have been

497 (Ἀνιστ)ωρίθι ὁ (ἅγ)ιος κὲ πάνσεπτος (ναός) τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) πατρός ὁμών ἀρχιε(πισκόπου κὲ θαυματουργοῦ) Νικολάου... (δι)α (συ)νεργίας Γρηγορίου (μον)αχοῦ τοῦ Γαδανολέο μοναχοῦ, Θεο(μνή)στου (:) μοναχοῦ, τοῦ Στάθι μοναχοῦ, τοῦ Νικο(λάου)... θίης (ἐπιτρο)πέβοντος τοῦ ἀφέντου τοῦ Καλλιέργι..., δι(ᾧ) χιρός καμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτολοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παγωμένου ἐν μινί μα' ... ἔτους ςΩΚΙ, ἰνδικτι-ῶνος ΙΑ'. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 470.

498 Cf. the images of Theologos in Hagios Ioānnēs, Kopetoi (cat. no. I, 17), Dexiokratousa Virgin in Panagia in Prodromi (cat. no. I, 20), Theologos in Hagios Ioānnēs, Margarites (cat. no. I, 33). A similar arrangement is found in the

church of Hagios Nikolaos in Mouri, Kissamos (end of the 13th c./beginning of the 14th c.), where the titular image/wall painting is placed in the middle of the church: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 198. – The use of images in an oversized scale as wall painting on the lateral walls of the church has also been noticed in Serbian monuments of the Late Byzantine era: Walter, A new look 213. – A similar function of the fresco of Hagios Nikolaos, as the titular image, is also seen in the church of Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzi in Kastoria (end of the 12th c.), where the titular saint is depicted in full-length between Christ and the Virgin: Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 89-90 fig. 23.

equipped with a masonry screen. The church (Hagios Geōrgios of Trochalou) is located in »Kountoura«, south of two previous churches. The church is classified as a single-aisled edifice with two pairs of blind arcades. Part of it has collapsed. The masonry templon was located in the east side of the eastern arcades⁴⁹⁹. During the time of Lassithiotakēs' research, only the north side of the templon was preserved (width: 0.90 m, height: 1.65 m). The front side displayed an oversized Virgin, while the rear facade bore a painting of Hagia Paraskevē in supplication. The church was built following a donation to which all the families of the village contributed, while the masonry templon can be considered, according to the inscription on its base, as a monk's contribution Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωανηκίου τοῦ Μοναχοῦ⁵⁰⁰. The date of the church is unclear; Maderakēs proposed a late 13th century date, but newer research attributes its painting to the first half of the 14th century, as work of Michaël Venerēs⁵⁰¹. Graffiti on the south side of the church, which refers the date 1362, offers a terminus ante quem for the construction of the edifice⁵⁰².

The earlier exemplars of churches with masonry templa lead us to the conclusion that at least four out of five monuments are connected with monks (Hagios Geōrgios in Hagia Triada Messara, Transfiguration of Savior in Meskla, Hagios Nikolaos of the Monē, [the templon at] Hagios Geōrgios Trochalou). At the same time, their differences are apparent in terms of the scenographic rendition of the screen. In Hagios Geōrgios, Messara there is depicted the sequence of the previous Middle Byzantine tradition of the marble templa, while the monuments of west Crete exhibit a more experimental character that is gradually configured.

The first half of the 14th century

One of the most renowned examples of churches with masonry templa in Crete is that of Hagios Onoufrios in Genna, Amari of the Prefecture of Rethymnon (1329/1330)⁵⁰³. The plain, single-aisled vaulted church (7.80 m × 4.30 m) is located in the cemetery of the village and is known for its high-quality fresco decoration⁵⁰⁴. The masonry templon (dimensions: 2.60 m long, 2.10 m wide, 0.34 m high, 0.34 m thick; **fig. 183**) consists of two walls of uneven length (0.85 m on the north part, 1.14 m on the south part). The door (0.65 m long) carries a sharp-pointed gate and is slightly off-centred to the north⁵⁰⁵. The rear façade of the templon (facing the



Fig. 182 The traces of templon (right) and Virgin at the N. pilaster (left), Monē. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Sanctuary) is unadorned, while the masonry is rather crude, bearing clay plaques on the upper part. The front façade of the templon's north part (facing the congregation) depicted two standing and frontal monastic saints (Antōnios and Onoufrios), while on the south part were depicted the frontal Christ and Virgin (standing on a stool). The templon formed part of the initial design of the edifice, though the uneven lengths of its walls indicate a certain transience. As conveyed by the donor inscription⁵⁰⁶, the church is dedicated to a hermit saint and was funded by a member of the local aristocracy, Michaël Varouhas, allegedly belonging to one family of the »twelve young rulers (archontopoula)« that, according to tradition, moved from Constantinople to Crete following an order of Alexios Komnenos⁵⁰⁷.

Evidence for the appearance of a masonry templon is also detected in another church of Selinon, Archangel Michaël in Kavalariana, Kantanos⁵⁰⁸. The church (8.85 m × 5 m),

499 Lassithiotakis, Ekklesies Selino 174. – Gerstel, Alternate View 160 no. 37.

500 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 442.

501 The information is contained in the forthcoming monograph of J. Schmidt concerning Theodoros Daniël and Michaël Venerēs' workshop. Personal communication, Prof. V. Tsamakda.

502 Tsougarakēs, Corpus no. 60, 123.

503 On the church, see Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 279. – Gerstel, Alternate View 160. – Albani, Onoufrios 300. – Albani, Genna 69-79.

504 Albani, Onoufrios 300.

505 Gallas, Sakralarchitektur 96.

506 [...] εν ἔτους ΩΛΗ (ινδικτιώνος ΑΙ') ἐν μηνί ἰου.ου Κ[...] καὶ τοὺς δούλους Θεοῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βαροῦχα ἅμα σὺν βίο καὶ τέκν (οἱς) [...] ἀπὸ ἁμα σὺν βίο καὶ τέκν. Ἀμήν, Ἀμήν, Ἀμήν. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 495.

507 Spatharakis, Rethymnon 84. – Albani, Onoufrios 300.

508 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana. – On previous publications: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti 453-454. – Lassithiotakis, Typoi 181. – Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 187-188. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantisches Kreta 219-220. – Bissinger, Kreta 98.



Fig. 183 The masonry screen of Hagios Onoufrios, Genna. – (Photo A. Mailis).

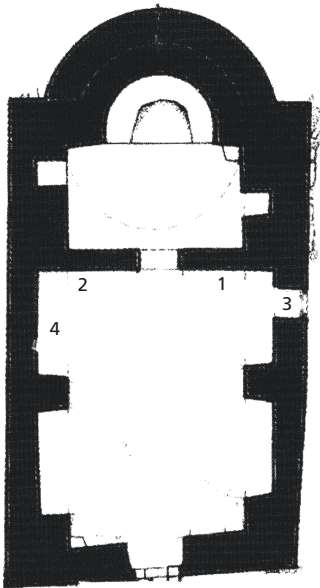


Fig. 184 Ground plan of Archangel Michael, Sarakēna: **1** Christ; **2** Virgin; **3** Prodromos; **4** Michael. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 123 fig. 11).



Fig. 185 The masonry screen of Archangel Michael, Sarakēna. – (Photo A. Mailis).

which was painted by Pagōmenos⁵⁰⁹, belongs to the type of the single-aisled vaulted nave with three pairs of blind arcades, and according to the donor inscription, dates back to 1327/1328⁵¹⁰. Gerola recorded the original masonry templon, but the locals replaced it with a modern one in the 20th century⁵¹¹. As indicated by the contemporary installation, it was located to the east of the eastern arcades. The bottom part of the south side of the initial templon (1 m wide, 0.45 m

thick) was found inside the church, and is now preserved in the conservation storage rooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Chania. On the front is displayed the hem of a chiton that possibly appertains to a full-length representation of Hagios Antōnios⁵¹², while the back carries a leaf-bearing tendril and a cross(?). On the northeast arcade of the church – adjacent to the templon – is the painting of the patron saint of the church, Archangel Michael⁵¹³.

509 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 114-116. – Ioannidou, *Diorthoseis* 343.

510 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 495. – Lassithiotakis, *Typoi* 181.

511 Lymberopoulou, *Kavalariana* 16.

512 Gerola-Lassithiotakēs, *Topographikos Katalogos* 38 (146), in the iconostasis, the busts of Archangel Michael and Hagios Antōnios.

513 According to Lymberopoulou, the dedication of the church to Archangel Michael suggests the sepulchral character of the monument, Lymberopoulou, *Kavalariana* 104.

The presence of a masonry templon in the church in Kavalariana is of manifold interest. In contrast to the churches of Hagios Nikolaos in Monē and the Transfiguration of Savior in Meskla, which were constructed following an Orthodox monastic donation, the construction of the Kavalariana church was probably funded by a certain group of the local population that eagerly accepted Venetian authority and expressly stated this point of view in the donor inscription *μεγάλον κὲ αφέντων ἡμῶν βενετικόν*⁵¹⁴. Therefore, the presence of an Orthodox, cultic installation, such as the masonry templon, signals the persistence of the religious ethos of the locals, although accompanied by an acceptance of the political dominance of the Venetian conquerors.

Another church of Selinon painted by the Pagōmenos workshop, that of Archangel Michaël, built on the southwest outskirts of the village of Sarakēna, manifests a more complete perception of the iconographic program of the masonry templon and the devotional images. The single-aisled church (8 m × 4 m) is supplied with two pairs of blind arcades (fig. 184)⁵¹⁵.

This church preserves a masonry templon with a maximum height of 1.9 m⁵¹⁶. On the side that faces the congregation (fig. 185) there is (on the south part) a full-sized enthroned Vrefokratousa and (on the north part) a full-length enthroned Christ, while in the corresponding positions on the back (facing the priests) are depicted Hagios Antōnios and Hagios Iōannēs Kalyvitēs. The iconographic program of the front side of the church is extended to the nearest eastern blind arcades. On the eastern respond of the south arcade Iōannēs Prodromos is portrayed in supplication to the enthroned Christ⁵¹⁷. The drum of the northern blind arcade hosts the devotional image of the titular saint, Archangel Michaël (fig. 186); at a counterpart position to the Prodromos there is depicted the (female) donor of the church in supplication to the Archangel.

The array mode of the representations indicates two separate levels of Deēsis. On the first one, the Deēsis of Prodromos towards Christ is projected. This particular iconographic scheme directly alludes to the soteriological content of the Liturgy, since the reading of the diptychs of the departed by the deacon is followed by a supplication of the priest to Iōannēs Prodromos and the saints⁵¹⁸. Thus, the Deēsis of Prodromos to Christ alludes to the collective salvation of the congregation. A second level of interpretation is found in



Fig. 186 Prostration image of Archangel Michaël and donor, Sarakēna. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the representation of the Deēsis of the donor to the psychopomp Archangel Michaël, displaying the personal soteriological character of the program and highlighting the funerary character of the chapel⁵¹⁹.

The iconographic program of the church of Archangel Michaël in Sarakēna is on the verge between modernisation and archaism. The placement of the supplicating Prodromos next to the representation of Christ on the templon has been regarded as an incomplete Deēsis – a typical attribute of Pagomenos (along with Hagia Paraskevē, Anisarakī/Hagios Iōannēs, Chasi/Panagia Kakodiki)⁵²⁰. One could add that the specific representation is the direct predecessor of the despotic icons of Christ and Prodromos as arranged on the south side of the post-Byzantine iconostasis⁵²¹. Similar – but

514 [...] τρέχοντος τοῦ παρόντος ἐόντος ζῶντος, ἀφετεβόντων ἐ(ν) τῇ Κρήτῃ τον μεγάλον κὲ αφέντων ἡμῶν βενετικόν ἐγεγώνη δὲ ἡ παρούσα ἐκκλησία του μεγάλου ταξιδιάρ(ρ)χου Μιχαήλ τον ἄνον δυνάμεον δι' ἐξόδου κὲ συδρομῆς Θεωτόκη του Κότζη κὲ Μανουὺλ του Μελησουργού κὲ Νικήτα του Σιδέρου κὲ Δημητρίου κατά τον τέκνο αὐτοῦ. Ἐύχεστε δι' ἐμοῦ ἁμαρτολοῦ Ἰωάννου τάχα κὲ ζουγράφου. Ἀμήν. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 453-454. – On the interpretation concerning the social class of the donors on the basis of the πατρώνυμο and their depiction: Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana 211.

515 Lassithiotakis classifies this particular form as type A2: Lassithiotakis, Typoi 161.

516 On the church: Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 142. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 206-208. – Bissinger, Kreta 101. – Psarakēs, Sarakēna 767-778. Psarakēs dates the wall painting back to 1325 and considers that it is related to the circle of Iōannēs Pagomenos. – Tsamakda and Ioannidou consider it to be the work of Pagōmenos workshop: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 119-120. 271. Ioannidou, Diorthoseis 343.

517 On the significance of Prodromos in Deēsis, see: Walter, Two Notes 329. 335. – Walter, Further Notes 125. 182-183.

518 Τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προφήτου.. καὶ πάντων σοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκειναι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. Trempelas, Ai treis Leitourgiai 118-119. – In the troparion of Vigil to Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos is also favoured the concept of the soteriological intervention of Prodromos for the congregation: Βαπτιστὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἵνα ρύσθωμεν τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν, σὺ γὰρ ἐδόθη χάρις πρεσβεύει ἡμῶν. Walter, Further notes 182.

519 In the interior and the perimeter of the church 18 tombs have been found. Psarakēs, Sarakēna 776 fig. 1.

520 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 104.

521 In an image of Georgios Klontzas (1562-1608) in Sarajevo, is found a wall-painted church with an iconostasis that includes a despotic image of Christ as the Great Archpriest, and next to him a supplicating, winged Prodromos. Vokotopoulos, Eikona 383-398 part. figs 1-2. 4.



Fig. 187 N. wall of Hagios Geōrgios, Tsourouniana. – (Photo K. Psarakēs).



Fig. 188 Prostration image of Prodomos, Hagios Iōannēs, Kritsa. – (Photo A. Mailis).

not identical – arrangements are also encountered in other three churches in Crete, which were equipped with (no longer extant) masonry screens. In Hagios Geōrgios at Tsourouniana (1330-1339)⁵²², Prodomos is frontally pictured on the south wall, addressing Christ in a gesture of speech (**fig. 187**); the latter would have been portrayed on the now defaced templon. Accordingly, in the churches of Prodomos in Hagios Basileios Herakleion (1291)⁵²³ and Hagios Iōannēs Prodomos in Kritsa (1359-1360), the representation of Prodomos on the south wall would have flanked the wall painting of Christ on the south side of the initial templon (**figs 188-189**)⁵²⁴. Similar arrangements are also manifested in neighbouring Kythēra, where in the churches with masonry templa (Hagios Iōannēs in Kousi, Mitata [end of the 14th century], Hagios Myron in Fyrē Ammos/Kalamos [14th century]), the fresco of Christ is flanked by the depiction of Prodomos on the south wall⁵²⁵. Finally, the example closest to the arrangement of Archangel Michaēl is to be found on the masonry templon of the single-aisled church of Hagios Christoforos in Mystras (second half of the 14th century), that on its south side depicts both the enthroned Christ and a supplicating Prodomos, while on its north side an enthroned Virgin is portrayed⁵²⁶. The church of Mystras presents a more formal array, since on its north part there is a secondary door for the procession of the Little and Great Entrance.

The Cretan church insistently preserves Pagōmenos' particularities, as proven by the placement of the donor next

522 For the reading and dating of the inscription: Lassithiotakis, *Ekklesies Kissamos* 187. – Tsougarakēs, *Corpus* 153 Nr. 211.

523 Spatharakis, *Date Byzantine Wall Paintings* 14-16. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 103.

524 For the church: Bissinger, *Kreta* 177. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 435. – For the templon: Katiforē, *Kritsa* 595-606, esp. 598 (with anterior literature).

525 Chatzidakis-Bitha, *Kythēra* 189-191. 235-238.

526 Sinos, *The chapels* 235-236 fig. 53.

Fig. 189 Foundation of masonry screen Hagios Iōannēs, Kritsa. – (Photo G. Moschovē).



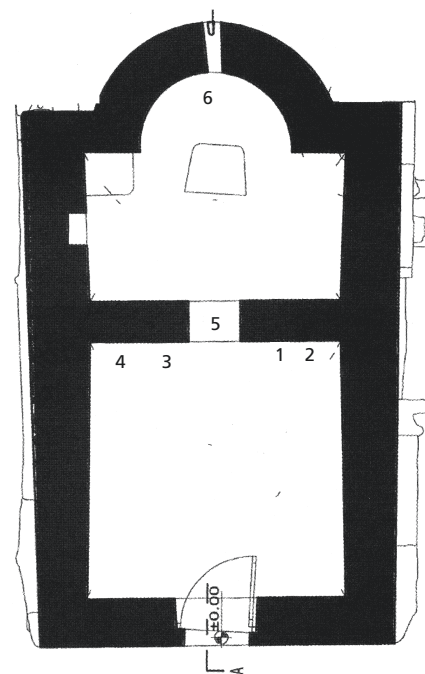
to the image of the titular saint of the church (Archangel Michaël). The donor appears in a rectangular frame with an ochre font, exactly like the placement of the deceased Stamatēnē, next to the fresco of Virgin in the church of Panagia Kakodiki (cat. no. I, 18).

In conclusion, the iconographic program of Archangel Michaël in Sarakēna seemingly approaches the arrangement of the post-Byzantine iconostasis, though the presence of the private soteriological element denotes the improvisational character of the church's painting.

In contrast, the decoration of the church of Hagios Iōannēs, near the modern settlement of Krousta (province of Mirabello, Prefecture of Lasithi), suggests a more sophisticated background (fig. 190).

The church's layout was accomplished – according to the donor inscription – in 1347-1348 δ ἐξόδου καὶ κόπου τοῦ εὐγενεστά (του) ἄρχομντος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλόντζια καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Μαρίας⁵²⁷. The plain single-aisled nave (fig. 190) is characterized by the high quality of its frescoes⁵²⁸. Its masonry templon has the form of an overlaid wall – with a small window – rising to the vault and fully dividing the sanctuary from the church. Morphologically, the templon in Krousta evokes the equivalent constructions of the Middle Byzantine cave churches in Cappadocia, Turkey⁵²⁹ and Matera, Southern Italy⁵³⁰, although in a simplified form. The templon's height – reaching the roof of the church – is analogous to the templon-like western wall of the cave church of Hagia Sofia in Kythēra (last quarter of the 13th century)⁵³¹.

Fig. 190 Ground plan of Hagios Iōannēs, Kroustas: 1 Christ; 2 Virgin; 3 Theologos; 4 Kerykos; 5 Nativity; 6 Deesis. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 126 fig. 14).



The wall-painted decoration covers both sides of the templon. In the upper zone of the front side (facing the congregation) is depicted the Nativity (fig. 191) and in the lower zone the figures of Hagios Kērykos (frontal), the titular saint and Iōannēs Theologos appear; on the south side the figures of the frontal Christ and the Virgin in supplication are depicted (second layer of the 19th century). On the upper zone

527 Gerola/Lassithiotakēs, *Topographikos Katalogos* 571. – Papadaki/Oekland, *Kera* 105. – Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 439-440. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings* 95.

528 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 151-152. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 151-152.

529 The templon can be classified as the type Gg F (Ganz geschlossene Schranke mit Fenster) according to the classification of Asutay-Fleissig. The diversifica-

tion of the Cretan installation derives from the lack of lateral windows and the presence of a small, lighted gate. Asutay-Fleissig, *Templonanlage* 126.

530 Hagios Loukas alla Selva and Hagia Varvara. Municipality of Matera, Selva 154-155.

531 Chatzidakis-Bitha, *Kythēra* 292-297 fig. 4-5. On the left side of the wall is depicted the representation of Deesis.



Fig. 191 The upper part of the masonry screen at Kroustas. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 192 The east part of the masonry of Kroustas. – (Photo A. Mailis).

of the back of the templon David and Solomon are depicted, flanked by hierarchs. The edges of the lower zone carry two frontal hierarchs (Ermolaos, Spyridon) who flank the figures of Antōnios and Prophet Ēlias (**fig. 192**).

The iconographic theme of the Nativity that extends across the upper zone of the front side of the templon in Krousta is located on the vault in the majority of other Cretan churches. The representation alludes to the theme of the Incarnation of Christ, that from the Liturgical Commentary of Germanos († 733) is symbolically related to the Prothesis rite⁵³². The decoration of the lower zone may be included in the familiar scheme of the array of the titular saint, Christ and Virgin in supplication. The pose of Hagios Iōannēs the Evangelist, holding an open Gospel, is also encountered in other churches dedicated to him (Hagios Iōannēs in Stylos, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Kopetoi). During the 19th century, the wall paintings of Christ and the Virgin were replaced by a second layer (seen partially at **fig. 191**). The stance of these two personages recalls the corresponding arrangement from Kera in neighbouring Kritsa, and appertains to the same scheme of entreaty. On the rear part of the templon diverse elements appear. The depiction of the Prophets on the surface of the templon possibly reflects the spatial transfer of analogue representations usually found in the corresponding position on the vault of churches. On the other hand, the intense presence of the hierarchs on the back of the templon expands the iconographic circle of the hierarchs on the lateral sides of the sanctuary. Hence, the Bēma is transformed into a closed room symbolically surrounded by the figures of the hierarchs⁵³³. The iconographic adornment of the sanctuary ends with the Deēsis of the semi-dome of the apse (**fig. 193**), portraying Christ flanked by the Virgin and Prodomos.

The placement of the particular theme in the quarter-sphere of the apse reoccurs in other churches of Crete, often in two variants (Prodomos or titular saint)⁵³⁴. In the church of Kroustas, the congregation does not have direct

532 Ἡ κόγχη ἐστὶν κατὰ τὸ ἐν Βηθλεέμ σπήλαιον, ὅπου ἐγενήθη ὁ Χριστός καὶ κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐτάφη. According to Schultz, the mystic connection between the cave of the Birth and the niche of the Prothesis is diffused from the 11th c. onwards. Schultz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 121.

533 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 157.

534 On the examples: Maderakis, *Deēsē* 16-30.

Fig. 193 Deësis at the semi-dome screen, Kroustas. – (Photo A. Mailis).



eye contact with the theme, indicating the soteriological and liturgical content of the specific representation. Kroustas seemingly exhibits two versions with two different recipients. The faithful address their personal prayers to the Deësis-intermediation of the templon, while the priests' entreaty is addressed to the non-visible Deësis of the quarter-sphere of the apse; the latter act as intermediaries for the salvation of the congregation through their supplications to Prodomos and the Virgin. Thus, the templon symbolically and literally divides the earthly from the divine. The church is characterised by a sophisticated theological process indicating the distinction between the secular and the hieratic.

The configuration of the masonry templon as well as the iconographic program of the church of Hagios Iōannēs in Kroustas present clear analogies to Panagia Kera in Chrōmonastiri, Rethymnōn (**fig. 194**)⁵³⁵.

The original church was constructed in the 11th century, in the type of the tri-conch-domed edifice. The wall-painted adornment of the apse (Deësis) dates from the same phase. At the end of the 14th century, the church saw an important functional/architectonic transformation that included the construction of a solid wall (with a door and a small window) between the east piers that divided the sanctuary from the nave. The decoration of this wall/templon consists of the representation of the Nativity on the upper part of the drum and a full-length enthroned Christ to the right side of the Beautiful Gate.

The above suggests the similarity of the functional arrangement and the iconographic adornment of the churches in Krousta and Chrōmonastiri. Both churches share the full isolation of the sanctuary and the focus on the iconographic theme of Nativity, with clear references to the ceremony of the Prothesis. Whoever built these churches probably attempted to create the atmosphere of a cave church, thus highlighting the mystic character of the Liturgy.



Fig. 194 Masonry screen of Panagia Chrōmonastērion. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Second half of the 14th century / beginning of the 15th century

As indicated by the published monuments, the masonry templon is most frequently encountered in the province of Selino. In particular, in the second half of the 14th century at least six

⁵³⁵ On the architecture of the church: Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 271-274. – On the iconographic program of the church, see Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs,

Byzantinisches Kreta 266-268. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 36-37. 210. – Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 101-111.



Fig. 195 The lower part of the masonry screen and new iconostasis at Hagios Mamas, Palaiochōra. – (Photo A. Mailis).

churches are equipped with this installation. One of the earliest examples of the group is Hagios Mamas in Palaiochōra, which according to the donor inscription dates back to 1355-1356⁵³⁶. It is a small church (7.5m × 3.5m) located to the west of the settlement⁵³⁷. Only fragments of the templon's north part survive (width: 1.30m; **fig. 195**).

Preserved from its decoration are triangular partitions composed of undulating bands, which converge at the centre in an imitation of marble revetment. The figures pictured on the screen cannot easily be identified.

A similar installation is found in the single-aisled church of Hagia Aikaterinē in the village of Kantanos (**fig. 196**).

The church still preserves the lower part of a masonry templon, with added cement (dimensions of the north part: 0.97m long, 1.50m high; south part: 1.20m long, 1.50m high). The decoration of the lower part consists of a rectangular panel, red-banded, which comprises two smaller rectangular panels. Inside these frames are inserted triangles and rhomboids composed of undulating bands. It probably dates back to the second half of the 14th century.

A well-known example of a Cretan church with a masonry templon is Hagia Anna in Anisaraki (**fig. 197**)⁵³⁸.

The church (6.5m × 4.5m) is a single-aisled edifice with a supporting transverse arch braced by pilasters, with two symmetrical blind arcades (type A2 according to the classification

of Lassithiotakis)⁵³⁹. Its painting is attributed by Xanthaki to two painters of Pagōmenos' school with unequal experience; Tsamakda ascribes the painting of a part of the church to two members of Pagōmenos' circle, and proposes different time periods for the completion of the fresco painting⁵⁴⁰.

The masonry templon is almost 3m wide and 1.80m high, and is noted for its meticulous construction. Frescoes of Hagia Anna (on the north part) and Christ (on the south part) appear in shallow niches as despotic icons. Hagia Anna, attired in a maphorion, holds the infant Virgin, thus replicating the iconographic type of the Virgin Hodēgētria⁵⁴¹. Christ is portrayed frontally, blessing with His right hand. Their figures are wreathed with seraphim. At each side of the almost sharp-pointed Beautiful Gate there are painted piers that embed a twisting tendril on the north and a triangular geometrical motif on the south. These »piers« are corniced with frontal archangels, which are represented as the equivalent of imposts. The partitions under the pictured figures constitute a painted imitation of marble revetment. The rear side of the templon displays certain undefined hierarchs. The decoration of the front side of the masonry templon of Hagia Anna, seemingly imitates – in terms of painting – the scenographic arrangement of a marble templon with slabs on the bottom parts, colonnades with architrave and despotic images on the mullions⁵⁴². Its painting is attributed to

536 According to the donor inscription, as transcribed by Gerola, the church has been constructed following a donation by a local priest's family: Μνίστητι Κύριε τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ κτητόρων Γεωργίου ἱερέως τοῦ Σακλοῦ καὶ τῆς συβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Φωτινοῦ τοῦ Ἀβράμι καὶ τῆς συβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀβράμι καὶ τῆς συβίου αὐτοῦ. Ἔτος ςΩΞΑ. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 440.

537 Lassithiotakis, *Ekklesies Selino* 175 fig. 59. – Gerstel, *Alternate View* 160 no. 40.

538 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 451-452. – Lassithiotakis, *Lassithiotakis, Ekklesies Selino* 190-191. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta*

221. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat.* no. 227, 244. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings* 207-209. – Gerstel, *Alternate View* 161. – Xanthakē, *Hagia Anna* 71-86.

539 Lassithiotakis, *Typoi* 181.

540 Xanthaki, *Hagia, Anna* 85. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 126-127.

541 Xanthakē, *Hagia Anna* 71.

542 One of the most distinctive examples of this type is traced to the templon of Hagios Geōrgios in Staro Nagoričino, which displays the wall paintings of Hagios Geōrgios and the Virgin. Belting, *Bild und Kult* fig. 137.

Fig. 196 The lower part of the masonry screen at Hagia Aikaterinē, Kantanos. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 197 The masonry screen of Hagia Anna, Anisarakī. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Nikolaos, son of Pagōmenos, and it is dated in the 14th century⁵⁴³.

An individual element of the church is the repetition of the figures of Hagia Anna (who is breastfeeding) and Christ, on the south and north pilaster of the church (figs 198-199)⁵⁴⁴.

Their painting is attributed to a second artist who, according to Tsamakda, also painted the churches of Panagia Skoudiana and Myrtidiotissa Tzevremiana; they are dated to 1352, thus explaining the duplication of the images⁵⁴⁵. Yet, this arrangement alludes to a similar array in Hagios Geōrgios

in Benoudiana (outside Kantanos), Meskla and Hagios Nikolaos in Monē, thus invoking the local tradition that imposes the coupling of the templon images and their recurring presence on the visible parts of the pilasters that link the blind arcades of the main nave. This replication is not unfamiliar, since it is also seen in Hagios Geōrgios, Staro Nagoričino⁵⁴⁶. This practice could be attributed either to different phases of the decoration (Benoudiana, Anisarakī) or related to a potential functional diversification of the templon images – directly linked to the Liturgy – and the images on the pilas-

543 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 126.

544 Xanthakē, Hagia Anna 78-79.

545 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 127. – For the repetition of the information: Ioannidou, Diorthoseis, 343 no. 48.

546 Todič, Staro Nagoričino 230.



Fig. 198 Templon image of Christ and frontal Christ at the S. pilaster, Anisarakī. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 199 Templon image of Hagia Anna and frontal Hagia Anna at N. pilaster, Anisarakī. – (Photo A. Mailis).

ters – destined for popular piety⁵⁴⁷. Recently, Gerola's initial chronological identification to 1457 was corrected by the transcription of Xanthakī to 1352 (later changed to 1357)⁵⁴⁸. This church was constructed following a collective donation with the participation of a local priest⁵⁴⁹. Three more churches of Selinon supplement the image of the masonry templon in West Crete. Two of them are located in neighbouring places, in a deserted area of the hilly Selino region. The first is the church of Hagios Nikētas, located 3 km SW of the village of

Chasi, on a mountainous road between the village and the hamlet Kountoura. The church (6.70 m × 4.15 m) is classified as a single-aisled nave with a transverse arch⁵⁵⁰.

The church has a masonry templon painted on both sides (height: 1.80 m, total width: 2.72 m; **fig. 200**). The front part of the south wall presents a frontal Christ, gesturing in blessing. On either side of Christ's head are medallions with the abbreviations IX XC. On the back of the same side of the templon, the bust of a frontal Hagios Vlasios is portrayed.

547 Walter, *A new look* 209-213.

548 Xanthakē, Hagia Anna 83-85. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 126.

549 Άνακαινίσθη ἐκ βάθρου καὶ ἀνιστογραφῆθη ὁ θεὸς καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀννης διὰ συνδρομῆς Γεωργίου τοῦ Πέτρο καὶ ταῆς συμβίου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰωάννου Ἱερέως ἅμα καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κωντολέο-Εἰρήνη τῆς

Τζαγκαρίνας-Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Βούλακα καὶ τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰς ς' ΠΕΕ', ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστου εἰς ταῖς Η', Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 451-452. – On the transcription of Xanthakē: Xanthakē, Hagia Anna 84-85.

550 Psarakēs, Chasi 141-166.

Fig. 200 The masonry screen of Hagios Nikētas, Chasi. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 201 The masonry screen of Hagios Iōannēs Korakoriza. – (Photo A. Mailis).



On the north side of the templon is a Virgin Hodēgētria. On either side of her head are medallions with the abbreviations MP ΘY. Two additional medallions with the abbreviations IC and XC are above the infant's head. On the rear side of the templon is the bust of a frontal Hagios Eleftherios (1.30m × 0.99m). The lower part has partitions with an aniconic decoration. The latter is not preserved on the west side, but is still present on the east (podea). The intrados of the Beautiful Gate of the templon is adorned with a floral ornament (twisting tendrils). The iconographic program is supplemented by the wall painting of Hagios Nikētas on the

east side of the south wall (and adjacent to the wall painting of Christ).

The stylistic traits of the figures and the decoration of the templon allude to similar figures from the masonry templon of Hagia Anna in Anisaraki (mostly in the rendition of the hair and the neck of Christ), while the dark contour (proplasmos) and the light fleshy tones (sarkōmata) allude to the painting of portable icons and thus date them to the late 14th/early 15th century.

The second church of the region is dedicated to Hagios Iōannēs Theologos⁵⁵¹. The church stands in the isolated spot

⁵⁵¹ The church remains unpublished. Reference to the masonry templon is made by Maderakis, who dates it to 1340-1360 without any further arguments: Maderakis, Deēsē 33.



Fig. 202 Masonry screen at Achladiakais Selino. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

»Korakoriza«, almost 3 km south of the previous church. It is a small single-aisled edifice (5.20 m × 3.10 m) with a transverse arch on pilasters. Its masonry templon (2.90 m total width, 1.75 m maximum subsisting height; **fig. 201**) is one of the most extraordinary exemplars of this type for its stridently provincial and improvisational character.

The installation has a sharp-pointed little gate in its centre. Its two sections are not symmetrical. The north part is covered by an oversized wall painting of the Virgin Hodēgētria (dimensions of the fresco 1.40 m × 1.40 m)⁵⁵². This part of the templon part is wider than the south part, which bears the image of an enthroned Christ (0.80 m wide). The back of the masonry templon is not decorated, while on the intrados of the Beautiful Gate the adornment is aniconic, similar to the pattern adorning the east sides of the lateral walls. The painting of the church is particularly linear and schematic, with an intense presence of light green colour. Certain stylistic elements (such as the rendition of Christ's eyes) could allude to Hagios Nikētas, Chasi, yet a graffito bearing the date 1397 on the templon Virgin indicates a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the installation⁵⁵³.

A notable trait is that the masonry templon was added later than the initial wall painting, since its south side is based on a supplicating saint within a medallion, while the north part is attached to the fresco of a bishop. The arrangement of the decoration suggests that the church was already painted before the installation of the masonry templon. The limit between the Bēma and the nave was initially marked by the

geometric decoration to the east of the pilasters. After the completion of the wall-painted decoration, it was decided to place a masonry templon, which suggests that during the specific period the requirements for the visibility of the Sanctuary were not clearly defined.

Finally, one of the latest exemplars of the masonry templon is located in Hagios Zōsimas in Achladiakais, Selino (**fig. 202**)⁵⁵⁴. The single-aisled church was equipped with a transverse arch on the pilasters and two pairs of blind arcades (6.80 m × 4.50 m). The masonry templon (2.50 m wide) had a sharp-pointed Beautiful Gate. The front side of the templon is divided into two partitions. On the lower part of the partition a geometric design is painted (triangles composed of undulated lines). The Virgin Hodēgētria is pictured on the north side, while at her left is an archangel and to her right a band with a jewel serving as a pier. At a corresponding position is found the depiction of Deēsīs. In terms of style, the figures of the Virgin and Archangel, rendered with slender traits, dark contour (proplasmōs) and light fleshy strokes (sarkōmata) directly invoke the early images of the Cretan School of the 15th century⁵⁵⁵. The arrangement of the templon – as in Hagia Anna, Anisaraki – suggests the attempt to imitate a marble templon with closure slabs, an architrave and despotic images on the mullions.

In comparison with the quantity of masonry templa in eastern Crete of the 14th century, the central part of the island displays only two specimens in addition to the early example of Hagios Geōrgios in Hagia Triada. The first one is located in the church of Panagia Kalyvianē in Messara (14th century). The solid installation preserves a full-length image of Christ on its southern part⁵⁵⁶. The second example has been traced to the church of Hagios Theodoros in the village of Hagios Kyrillos in east Messara (**fig. 203**)⁵⁵⁷.

The templon was decorated on both surfaces. The northern part of the front side (facing the congregation) preserves the full-length images of an unknown saint and the patron saint of the church (Hagios Theodoros), the southern part does not maintain any images. The reverse side of the templon is decorated with figures of unrecognizable saints. The 14th century frescoes of the church are preserved in a damaged state, thus their exact date remains a matter of speculation.

Apart from the monuments that preserve their masonry templa, the archaeological site survey in Crete, mostly through the restorative work of the recent years, provides us with new evidence regarding analogous installations that

552 The depiction mode of the despotic icon of the Virgin alludes to the oversized wall paintings of Hagios Nikolaos in Monē and Mouri. A corresponding oversized depiction of the Virgin is found in Panagia Skafidiani of Prōdrōmi, Selino (1347): Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 235.

553 The graffito says: 1397/ ego pre/ zi ang (ello ziorzi. Tsougarakēs, *Corpus* no. 34, 105. – Maderakēs dates the frescoes of church between 1340-1360; Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 33. – For the graffito see also: Ioannidou, *Hagios Ioannis Theologos* no. 22.

554 Lassithiotakis, *Ekklesies Selino* 182. – Gerstel, *Alternate View* 161 no. 60.

555 On Hodēgētria, see as parallel the depiction of the Virgin in a 15th c. icon of the Ascension (Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens): Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Ascension* 555-556.

556 Maderakēs proposes an early 14th c. date for the monument. Andrianakis does not offer a precise date. Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 33. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 123.

557 Gerola/Lassithiotakēs, *Topographikos Katalogos* 91.

Fig. 203 Masonry screen at Hagios Theodoros at Hagios Kyrillos, Messara. – (Photo A. Mailis).



are no longer extant, suggesting that the total number of churches with masonry templa exceeds that stated in the bibliography for the topic⁵⁵⁸.

Conclusions

The presence of masonry templa in Crete is part of the Late Byzantine tendency to install analogue screens in its southern Greek territory. In the Peloponnese, where templa are preserved from the 13th to the 15th century, these screens are embedded in churches of a broad architectural variety: more often single-aisled (16)⁵⁵⁹, cross-domed (2)⁵⁶⁰, cross-in-square (4)⁵⁶¹ and in free-cross shaped churches (1)⁵⁶². It is noteworthy that the majority of these masonry screens are traced to churches located in the regions of Lakōnia (Geraki, Epidauros Limēra [near Monevasia], Mystras). In the neighbouring Kythēra, an island historically related to both Lakōnia and Crete⁵⁶³, which was ecclesiastically de-

pendent on the Mētopolis in Monemvasia during the late Byzantine period, 23 masonry templa appear in a total of 37 wall-painted churches⁵⁶⁴; 12 of them date back to the Late Byzantine era, while 25 were constructed or wall-painted during the post-Byzantine era. The installations are seen in 2 cross-in-square⁵⁶⁵, 2 domed churches⁵⁶⁶ and 19 single-aisled churches⁵⁶⁷.

In Crete, the masonry screens are mainly located in the western part of the island – that which is nearest to Kythēra and Lakōnia. The installation is solely apparent in single-aisled vaulted churches and is the second most popular Bēma arrangement after the churches with prostration images at the lateral walls. Churches with masonry templa are usually located on the outskirts of villages (Transfiguration in Meskla, Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana, Hagios Onoufrios in the cemetery of Genna, and Hagios Iōannēs in the cemetery of Kritsa), on remote, deserted sites (Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna, Hagios Iōannēs in Kroustas, Hagios Nikētas in Chasi, Hagios Iōannēs in Korakoriza, Hagios Geōrgios in Trochalou) and

558 Traces of a masonry tempon have been found in the church of Hagios Iōannēs, Deliana (midst of the 14th c.; Private contact with Mr. Andrianakis). Church of Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Elos: Psarakēs, Elos: 597. – In the church of »Chalaropanagia« in Kalathaines, Kissamōs: Mailis, Templa 136. – In a recent catalogue included in an unpublished M.A. thesis the existence of more – non-remniscent – templa is recorded, either reported in the previous bibliography or detected by their traces. Though the catalogue can be characterized rather as an assemblage of monuments, that does not take into account the differences between the morphology of the masonry wall-painted templa and the stone templa, it might supplement our knowledge as regards the existence of the tempon. More particularly, traces of tempon are found in Hagios Iōannēs Chrysostomos, Chasi, Selino (first half of the 14th c.): Iōannidou, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos no. 20; in Hagios Geōrgios of Lakkos, Azali, Sēteia (1363): Iōannidou, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos no. 23 (from a reference of Foustēris); in Virgin of Tzagalariana, Kantanos, Selino: Iōannidou, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos no. 32 (from a reference of Lassithiotakis); to Michaēl Archangel of Kamares, Trochalou, Selino: Iōannidou, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos no. 35 (from a reference of Gerola); in Hagios Geōrgios, Mazero, Hagios Mamas, Selino: Iōannidou, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos no. 36 (from a reference of Gerola).

559 Gerstel, Alternate View cat. no. 1. 4. 8. 11. 15-16. 18-19. 25. 27. 39. 43-44. 46. 49. 51.

560 Gerstel, Alternate View cat. no. 2. 23.

561 Gerstel, Alternate View cat. no. 14. 31. 58-59.

562 Gerstel, Alternate View cat. no. 50.

563 For the relations between Kythēra and Crete as early as the prehistoric period: Broodbank-Kyriatzi, First Minoans 241-274. – Sakellarakēs, Hagios Geōrgios. Maltezou, Kythēra 305-310.

564 Chatzidakis-Bitha, Kythēra, cat. no. 2 (post-Byzantine tempon). 34 (post-Byzantine tempon).

565 Chatzidakis/Bitha, Kythēra, cat. no. 12 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 22 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings).

567 Chatzidakis/Bitha, Kythēra cat. no. 1 (post-Byzantine tempon). 3-4. 6. 7 (post-Byzantine tempon). 10. 15. 16 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 17 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 18 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 19 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 23 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 24 (post-Byzantine tempon). 27 (tempon with post-Byzantine wall paintings). 28-29. 31. 33 (post-Byzantine tempon). 35.

less often near the main residential areas (Hagia Aikaterinē, Archangel Michaēl in Kantanos). Thus, we may assume that the masonry templon represents a regional tendency in the church architecture of the island.

A majority of these masonry screens are preserved in the mountainous province of Selino, an area renowned for its geographical isolation. This phenomenon is probably linked to the conservative character of the province, which was probably unable to keep up with the functional innovations of the neighbouring areas (Kissamōs, Kidōnia), where in the 19th century there appeared a strong tendency to replace the previous installations with wooden carved iconostases. Nevertheless, the quantity of masonry templa in Selino is connected with the high density of wall-painted churches of the region (one church for every 17.98 km²); a phenomenon that needs to be interpreted in accordance with many factors. Lassithiotakēs explained it by saying that the inhabitants of the isolated settlements in this mountainous region erected their own churches, avoiding tiresome journeys to neighbouring parishes to attend church services⁵⁶⁸. Lymberopoulou favoured the economic prosperity of the region as another significant feature of this »bau boom«⁵⁶⁹. Additionally, one must bear in mind the increased Orthodox consciousness of the locals in comparison to other Cretan regions. This observation is supported by Foscarini's later mention (1577), who considered the inhabitants of the Chania region – in general – to be the most fanatic supporters of the Orthodox faith, due to the relocation of Peloponnesian refugees, probably after the fall of the Despotaton of Mystras in 1460⁵⁷⁰.

The iconographic traits of the masonry templa demonstrate an internal process throughout their configuration. In particular, the wall painting of the group of templa dated back to the first half of the 14th century (Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana, Hagios Onoufrios in Genna, Archangel Michaēl in Kavalariana, Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna, Hagios Iōannēs in Kroustas) includes the full-length representation of Christ and the Virgin covering the entire surface of the front wall of the templon. This arrangement coexists with and directly alludes to the practice – wide-spread in Crete – of painting the prostration images of the church on the eastern pilasters, the eastern blind arcades or most commonly on the eastern side of the lateral walls – at the border between the sanctuary from the nave (see detailed analysis on p. 53-99). The iconographic resemblances between the representation of the enthroned Virgin on the south side of the templon in Sarakēna and the east part of the south wall in Alikampos expressly demonstrate the derivation of the masonry templon's decoration from the above-mentioned category of prostration images (fig. 152). From the majority of the group of templa dated from the second half of the 14th century onwards

(Hagia Anna in Anisaraki, Hagios Nikitas in Chasi, Hagios Zosimas in Achladiakais, Hagios Mamas in Palaiochōra and Hagia Aikaterinē in Kantanos), it is conveyed that the wall-painted surfaces of the despotic images are usually rendered in the style of portable icons. The above process denotes the transition from an almost »improvisational« type of templon to the iconostasis. Finally, the structural traits of the Cretan masonry templa include their construction to an average height of 1.80-1.90 m, permitting the congregation to view a quarter of the apse. In all these instances the transition is achieved through a narrow gate – without a bema door – that allows the passage of one person while concealing what occurs inside the sanctuary from the congregation.

The masonry templa are usually construed as provincial (and less expensive) variants of the preceding Middle Byzantine marble templon⁵⁷¹. Recently, Gerstel interpreted the emergence of masonry screens as a possible outcome of the intercultural relations between the Latins and the Orthodox. Her core arguments relate to the frequent existence of the said constructions in the Latin-occupied areas of the southern Peloponnese and the islands of the Aegean, the coincidence of the double-sided wall-painting of the templa and Italian retables from the 13th century onwards, and finally the parallel installation of rood screens/tramezzi/lettner in the central aisles of the churches in the West⁵⁷².

The argument for the simultaneous emergence of bi-lateral templa and the double-sided retables does not seem verified in Crete in general. Out of the 14 templa that are preserved almost intact in situ, only five of them maintain a double-sided decoration. Thus, they were constructed to display the prostration images primarily to the congregation. On the other hand, a limited number of templa in three Cretan churches (Transfiguration of the Saviour in Voutoufou [fig. 204], Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Margarites [fig. 205], Hagios Nikolaos Chostos Argyroupoli [fig. 206]) present morphological traits that indicate a selective imitation of the Latin tramezzi and its subsequent adjustment to the needs of the Orthodox Liturgy⁵⁷³.

In contrast to the typical masonry screens, these exceptional templa are not built in rubble masonry and they do not possess prostration images. They are constructed with ashlar, thus creating the impression of an carved monolithic construction. They are further perforated by three large openings that create the illusion of a tripartite sanctuary, indicating the influence of the tramezzi facades. The massive character of these monuments probably implies the intention to duplicate an urban model, which could be the tramezzo of a Latin cathedral or a monastic church. However, such templa remain scarce in relation to the total number of the wall-painted masonry templa of provincial churches.

568 Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklēsiēs Selino* 135.

569 Lymberopoulou, *Cretan Church Decoration* 160-162.

570 Tomadakis, Papades 52. – For the indication: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 30.

571 Chatzidakis, *Ikonoostas* 344.

572 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 156. – For the retro influence of the Byzantine templon on the western tramezzi: Kalokyriēs, *Diafragma* 70-82.

573 For an analysis of the subject: Mailis, *Tramezzi* 462-471.

Fig. 204 Stone screen of Transfiguration of Saviour, Voutoufou. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 205 Stone screen of Hagios Iōannēs, Margarithes Mylopotamos. – (Photo A. Mailis).



In terms of functionality, the concept that the Orthodox templa interact with the Latin tramezzi can't be completely confirmed since the two screens are used in different ways. Tramezzi functioned as barriers between the congregation and the choir in the cathedrals and monastic churches of the West. In their more common form they comprised a stone built screen perforated by small open gates, while before the congregation was placed the Altar of the Laity (Laienaltar)⁵⁷⁴.

On the other hand the service of the Divine Liturgy, at least in the papal rite of the Italian churches of the 14th century, permitted the congregation to view the celebrant and the host, both before and after the consecration⁵⁷⁵. Thus, the form and function of the tramezzo differs from the counterpart of the masonry templon, since the former differentiates the clergy from the laity, while the latter aims to safeguard the mystic character of the Liturgy⁵⁷⁶.

574 Kalokyriēs, Diafragma 21-27.

575 Cooper, Choir Enclosure 38.

576 Τα διάστυλα δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν δεικνύει τῶν αἰσθητῶν πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ὡς στερέωμα ἐστὶ διαφράττον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλικῶν τὰ νοούμενα καὶ διὰ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ στύλοι τῆς αὐτοῦ εἰσιν Ἐκκλησίας. Symeonis, Sacro Templo col. 345.



Fig. 206 Stone screen of Hagios Nikolaos Höstos, Argypopolis. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Free access to the Bēma was, according to the Byzantines, one of the most common dogmatic errors of the Latins. In a series of polemic texts dated from the 10th to the 13th century there are frequent accusations regarding the insufficient respect paid by the Latins (Catholics) to the Altar and the Bēma⁵⁷⁷. In particular, in *Opusculum Contra Francos* (post 1054)⁵⁷⁸, in *De Haerisibus* (Cod. Brux. II, 4836)⁵⁷⁹ and in the libel of Meletios the Confessor (1276-1280)⁵⁸⁰, the same complaint recurs: the Bēma was freely accessible by both men and women, even during the Divine Liturgy. According to these authors, the reason for this deviation is the failure of the Latins to recognise the difference between the »holy« and the »profane«. Corresponding categories recur – enhanced with new graphic details – in the memorandum against the Latins issued by Konstantinos Stilviēs (after 1204)⁵⁸¹. These

accusations possibly refer not only to the potential absence of partitions (tramezzi) between the choir and the laity in the Latin churches, but also to the laity's access to the Capella Maggiore⁵⁸². Thus, the accusation does not concern the non-appearance of the installation (partition), but rather its improper deployment; Kolbaba remarked however that the practice of separating the laity from the Bēma was incompletely implemented in the Byzantine world as well (cf. p. 138)⁵⁸³.

In a later phase (1397), when the two dogmas had become further interrelated, the so called ιεροκατήγορος (clergy accuser) anti-unionist monk Joseph Bryennios, who had lived in Crete for 16 years, accused the unionist Maximos Crysobergēs of disrespecting the Bēma, demonstrating that the accusation had been shifted from the Latins to the Greek unionists in the 14th century⁵⁸⁴. Bryennios' testimony in the

577 Kolbaba, Lists 58-61. 195.

578 Ἐν τῷ θυσιαστήριῳ αὐτῶν πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσάσι καὶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν ὅποιας ἂν εἴη φύσεως ἢ ἡλικίας ἢ τάξεως ὡς καὶ γυναῖκα ὅτε θέλωσι, τῷ συνθρόνῳ καθίζεσθαι τῶν ἀρχιερέων τοσούτον οἶδασι διαστέλλειν ἀνά μέσον ἁγίων καὶ βεβήλων. Hergenroether, Monumenta graeca 65 part. 71. – Kolbaba, Errors 195.

579 Πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστήριῳ εἰσίοι καὶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν ὅποιας ἂν εἴη φύσεως ἢ ἡλικίας ἢ τάξεως ὡς καὶ γυναῖκα ὅτε θέλωσι ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καθέζεται. Davreux, Codex Bruxellensis gr. II 4836, 104, 25. – Kolbaba, Errors 195.

580 Ἀνεῖται πᾶσι βᾶσιμος τῶν θυσίων ὁ τόπος/μὴ διαστέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ θεία τῶν βεβήλων [...] τὸ βῆμα τὸ πανάγιον προτρέπων εἰσεῖναι. Kolbaba, Meletios Homologetes 147. – Kolbaba, Errors 195.

581 Ἐν τῷ θυσιαστήριῳ πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσέρχεται καὶ κατ' αὐτόν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τούτων ἱερουργίας, ὅποιας ἂν εἴη φύσεως καὶ ἡλικίας καὶ τάξεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαστήρια καθίζουσιν ἐνδον τοῦ θυσιαστήριου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱερωμένων ἐκεῖ συνεδρεῖουσιν λαῖκοί, εἰ τυχὸν καὶ ἵπποκέντρα φοροῦντες ἐν πτέρναις καὶ ράβδους ἔχοντες ἐν χερσὶ καὶ κραυγάζουσι καὶ ἀντικραυγάζουσι καὶ ὅσα σύνθετες ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τολμάται βήματι. Darrouzès, Constantin Stilbès 75. – Kolbaba, Errors 195.

582 Donal Cooper, in his analysis of a series of notarial documents, notably from the late 14th c. onwards, locates the sealing of notarial deeds »in coro«, that is behind the tramezzo and inside the choir of the churches that formed part of the western monastic orders. At times, the sealing included even the

presence of women. According to him: *These sources suggest the lay access beyond the tramezzo screen was already extensive in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and did not result from a later process of »privatizing« church space during the Renaissance.* Cooper, Access all areas? 101-103.

583 Kolbaba, Errors 60-61.

584 Ἄπας γὰρ νόμος καὶ θεσμός ἱερός ὁ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην εἰσηγούμενος ἡπράκτεσε παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τελείως ἀθέμιτος καὶ πλήρης ἀκολασίας ὁ βίος ὑμῖν [...] καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τοὺς ἀνάξιους ἀπείργειν δαπέδου τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τοὺς θείους νόμους οἱ δὲ καὶ πορνείας καὶ μοιχείας ἐγκαλινδούμενοι προφανῶς τῷ θεῷ αὐθημερόν προσάσι θυσιαστήριῳ. Bryennios, Paraleipomena 154-155. – Tomadakis, Papades 51. – The passage probably does not refer to the prohibition of the entrance to the Bēma by the laity as it is mentioned in the relative ecclesiastic laws but it probably refers to the unworthy (ἀνάξιους) priests who are elected by the people (καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ) yet do not possess the proper ethical standards in order to be considered worthy to celebrate the Mass. The passage is probably a libel against the Uniate priesthood. – For the laws concerning the prohibition of entrance to the laity: Rallēs-Potlēs, Syntagma 466-467. – For the use of the terms »unworthy«/ »worthy« as characterization of the priests celebrating Liturgy: Gerstel, Alternate View 155. The terms ἀνάξιος and ἀρχεῖον δούλον derive from the inaudible Trisagion and Cheiroubikon prayers of the priest and they refer to the celebrant himself. – For the passages: Trempelas, Ai treis Leitourgiai 44. 75. – For the general anticlerical stance of Bryennios during his stay in Crete: Tomadakis, Bryennios.

aftermath of his 1405 mission to another Latin occupied area (Cyprus), where he served as a *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, is even more eloquent. In a letter addressed to Iōannēs Syrianos, Bryennios expresses his ambivalence regarding his own participation in a public co-celebration of the Liturgy, which involved the unhindered participation of a mixed crowd of laity and clergy⁵⁸⁵. His texts emit his agonised concern for the maintenance of cultic purity in Latin-occupied areas that were undergoing a strident cultural and religious osmosis⁵⁸⁶. His views express those of the Orthodox anti-union movement, thus disapproving of the cultic attitudes in these areas.

The analysis of the monuments suggests that the construction of a masonry templon in the single-aisled churches in the island's provinces was directly intended to preserve the mystic character of the Liturgy and to differentiate the profane from the hieratic. It is not arbitrary that the monuments with the earliest masonry templa relate to Orthodox monastic circles. The installation of the masonry templon in this particular group of churches during the 14th/15th century becomes even more significant when one considers that, in many single-aisled churches, the prostration images are placed as wall paintings on the lateral walls, which do not display visible traces of an initial deployment of a high templon. These churches preserve an »archaic« liturgical order that allowed the full or partial view of the altar. This particular arrangement, when applied to the low masonry walls of the 11th century church of Hagios Pavlos in Sphakia, could have been considered as a sheer regional »anachronism« by contemporary official Middle Byzantine ecclesiastical circles. But the survival of this custom in the 14th century – in an era

of instability and controversies – could either pose questions regarding the dogmatic rectitude of the said churches (mostly from the perspective of Orthodox zealots) or it could simply be regarded as an old-fashioned arrangement that needed renovation. Hence, the masonry templon – the Byzantine religious installation par excellence – launches a liturgical update that corrects a surviving archaic custom.

The predominance of the installation's deployment in western Crete seems to reinforce Foscari's later statement (1577) concerning the persistence of Orthodoxy among the inhabitants of the Chania region due to its connection with the Peloponnese. The material evidence from the region points to a connection with Kythēra and Lakōnia, regions with a high density of masonry templa. Apart from the apparent geographical proximity one should interpret this connection in accordance with the individual ecclesiastical conditions of the island: the Venetian legislation forbade the appointment of Orthodox priests on the island. So Cretan candidates were forced to leave the island, travelling either to regions of the remaining Byzantine Empire or to areas under Venetian occupation, usually in the nearby Peloponnese⁵⁸⁷. Following this prohibition, Cretan priests were initially appointed in the Bishopric of Mainēs (Manē) in south Lakōnia until 1429, the year when the Venetians decided to change the appointment destination in favour of the Bishopric of Methōnē, thus prohibiting a possible Byzantine influence in the island⁵⁸⁸. Seen through this prism, the frequency of masonry screens in the Chania region is the visible interpretation of the religious and cultural link between western Crete and the remains of the Byzantine Empire in the nearby south Peloponnese.

585 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν γενήσεται εἰ συλλειτουργήσωμεν αὐτοῖς φανερῶς [...] Ἀπελθὼν τοίνυν ὁψὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκεῖ εὗρον ἅπαντας κοσμικοὺς, μοναχοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπισκόπους παρεσκευασμένους εἰς τὸ συλλειτουργήσαι ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς μηδένα ἕως τοῦτο κωλυόμενος, Tomadakēs, Bryennios 134. – In general on Bryennios: Ioannidēs, Bryennios. – On a corresponding judgment regarding the clarity of the veneration in Cyprus, this time from the western point of view, see the reference of the German Dominican monk Felix Faber (1480), who indignantly describes the celebration of the Liturgy with leavened and unleavened bread by the same (unionist?) priest. Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 122, remark 100.

586 For an analogue stance on behalf of the Catholic purists, see the reference of the German Dominican Felix Faber, who during his 1480 visit to Cyprus remarked critically that the same Greek priest celebrated the Liturgy both ways (Orthodox and Catholic) during the Sunday services. – On the issue: Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 122 no. 100. – Mersch, *Shared Spaces* 470.

587 For the ordination of the Orthodox priests: Tomadakēs, Papades 39-72. – Thiriet, *Situation religieuse* 211. – Tsirpanlēs, *Klērodotēma* 33. – Bolanakēs, *Ekklesiastikē Paideia* 60.

588 Thiriet, *Situation religieuse* 211.

The Transition towards a Synthesis – The Testimony of a German Pilgrim and its Significance Regarding the History of the Templon in Crete

Introductory note

This chapter delineates the final evolutionary phase of the Sanctuary display in Crete. The analysis is conducted on the basis of two significant documents regarding the existence and the prominence of the installation in Cretan churches. The first is a fragment from the travelogue of a German knight, Konrad Grünemberg, »Beschreibung der Reise von Konstanz nach Jerusalem« (1486). Grünemberg's eye-witness account includes the verbal description and graphic illustration of an Orthodox Divine Office held in an urban church of Chandakas, which he attended during his stay there. The German noble attends an orthodox rite in a church without a templon, thus experiencing (and illustrating) an unimpeded view of the Bēma and the occurrences therein. Therefore, Grünemberg's combination of narrative and image provides a sublime testimony to the depiction mode of the Bēma in an urban church in Crete in the 15th century.

The second document is related to the conflict between the Orthodox and the official Latin leadership of the Franciscans concerning the removal of the Orthodox templon from the church of the Savior in Ierapetra in 1626, and records the attempted solution proposed by the Venetian administrative authority. By this time the iconostasis was recognized in the consciousness of the Orthodox populace as a fundamental religious symbol, thus signalling the final evolutionary phase of the Bēma arrangement in Crete.

The backdrop of a representation and a text

Gerola's second book on the Venetian monuments of Crete contains a copy of an illustration (figs 207-208), which the caption describes as the »Interior of an orthodox church in Chandakas. From a manuscript of the XV century« (INTERNO

DI CHIESA GRECA A CANDIA RAPPRESENTATO IN UN MANUSCRITTO DEL SEC. XV.)⁵⁸⁹.

The particular image seemingly captures a candid scene from the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, and constitutes a momentous attestation to the Bēma's form in the urban churches in Crete towards the end of the 15th century. Gerola emphasises that the illustration comes from a manuscript that presents the account of Konrad Grünemberg's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, kept in the ducal library of Gotha. He further stresses that Dr. R. Ehwald notified him of the manuscript, but names no other published source; it seems therefore that the illustration was reproduced via a photograph of the original⁵⁹⁰. Its publication by Gerola, together with the copy of the same scene in Goldfriedrich and Fränzel's translated edition of the manuscript (1912; fig. 209) are the only published reproductions of the illustration from Gotha's manuscript⁵⁹¹.

The manuscript is ascribed to the knight Konrad Grünemberg (1442-1494), who was the offspring of a noble family from Konstanz in what is now southern Germany. The author is also known for another work, »Österreichische Wapenchronik« which comprises descriptions and illustrations of Austrian blazons from the 9th century to 1484. Equally popular is the memoir of his travel to the Holy Land, where the miniature originated. Grünemberg departed from Venice, embarking on a galleon in April 1486, and returned to his homeland in December. His travelogue chronologically arrays the stops on his voyage: Istria, Corfu, Methōnē, Chandakas, Rhodes, Cyprus and Palestine⁵⁹². Grünemberg's persistence in the exhaustive description of minor incidents of daily life in conjunction with his inquisitive and studious nature differentiate his text from the typical travelogues of the era, since the German author records numerous graphic details of the local customs at his destinations. The text is written in spätmittel-

589 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 329 fig. 380. – Gerola, Venetika Mnēmeia 329 fig. 380.

590 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti I, 44, IIIb.

591 Goldfriedrich/Fränzel, Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt 48. – For an account of the manuscript's editions, see: <http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/>

projekt-Gotha-pdfs/Chart_A_541.pdf (13.12.2019). The text of the manuscript was recently published: Denke, Grünembergs Pilgerreise.

592 Denke, Grünembergs Pilgerreise 55.



Fig. 207 Frontispiece of the 2nd vol. of Gerola's *Monumenti Veneti* publication.

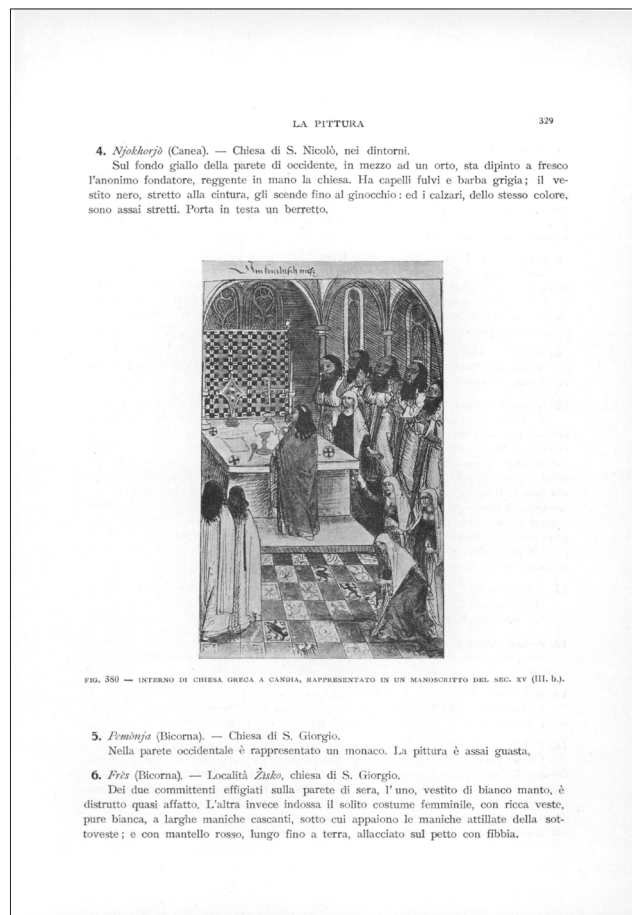


Fig. 208 Page 329 of Gerola's publication.

hochdeutsch, and is accompanied by illustrations of the incidents that the knight witnessed. The travelogue is delivered in two manuscripts: the earliest and briefest one is preserved in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, while the second is kept in the research library of Gotha/Erfurt (A541). The first text was probably the knight's personal manuscript, and the second, more extensive text was destined to serve as a gift, since it was further enhanced with additional descriptions and illustrations⁵⁹³. For this reason, the Karlsruhe text contains only one illustration of Chandakas' panoramic view⁵⁹⁴, while the Gotha manuscript was embellished with the miniature of the scene of the Divine Liturgy.

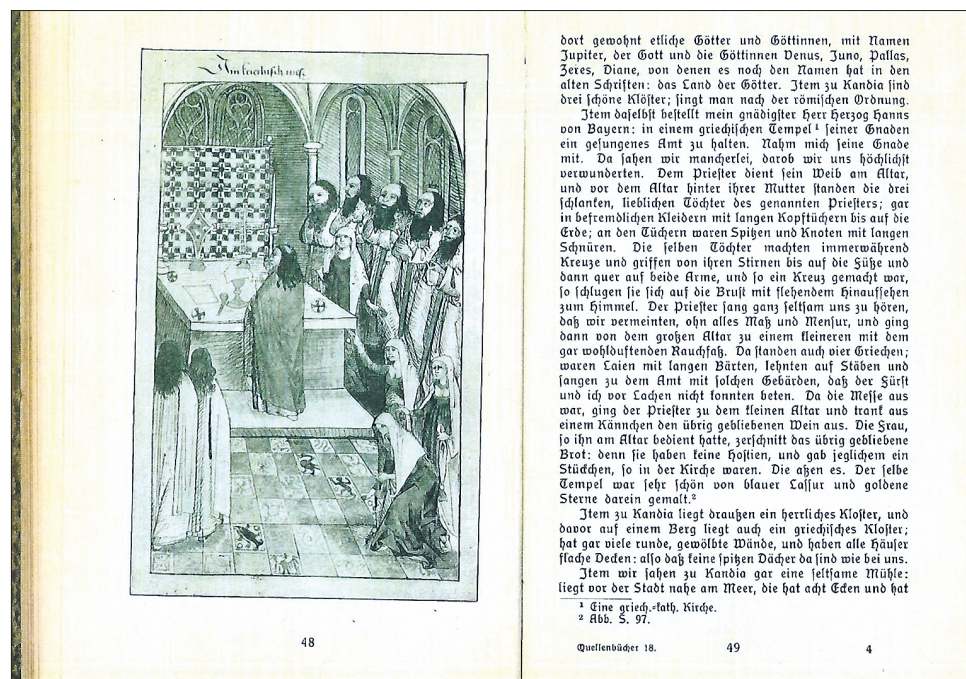
The miniature is enclosed in a rectangular frame (fig. 210). At the upper left side of the frame is written the title: »Ain kriechisch meß« (*eine griechische Messe*) – An Orthodox Divine Liturgy. The scene is rendered as if someone were standing at the nave of the church and recording the occurrences at the Bēma and around it. In the foreground the floor of the church is depicted as an ensemble of black and white and squares, in the form of *zatrikion*. The white squares are

decorated with imaginary beings gleaned from the authors' decorative repertoire, such as eagles, blazons' lions, storks, fish and human figures. The floor of the church ends at the oblong altar. The shrine is rendered three-dimensionally, with its right side being attached to a lateral wall extending to the back, thus recalling an apse. At the upper part of the apse is a bifora window with semicircular lobes and elaborate railings of glass panes that end – at their upper part – in oval *occuli*, thus evoking windows of gothic style. The lower part of the apse's window is covered by a rectangular frame decorated with crosses, as in altarpieces. Before it is the altar: at its east edge it bears an ornamented blessing cross attached to a base amidst candleholders. The front part of the shrine carries a chalice covered with an aēr and next to it is placed a cochlear and a rectangular sheet. On three corners of the Altar are depicted three medallions bearing crosses (imaginary rendering of patens with asterisk?). In front of the altar, facing the sanctuary, is a priest in prayer who stands on a slightly raised podium. The figure has a beard, long hair falling to his shoulders and a tonsure atop his head; he is

593 Denke, Grünembergs Pilgerreise 53. 58.

594 The Karlsruhe manuscript is published on line: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/3853545> (04.03.2018).

Fig. 209 Black and white reproduction of Konrad Grünemberg's illustration of the text from the 1912 edition of Goldfriedrich/Fränzel, Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt 48-49.



vested in liturgical apparel (sticharion, phelonion). The priest is assisted by two deacons who are depicted in front of the altar and to the left, also with their backs turned towards the congregation. They, too, have long hair and each is vested in a sticharion with orarion that, exceptionally, is draped over the right arm⁵⁹⁵. The most paradoxical element of the scene is a female presence next to the altar. At a distance from the central figure, before the shrine and at the same level as the deacons, three female figures are depicted at the right side of the icon. They wear loose headdresses that end in fringy knots and are dressed in secular garments with low necklines. The women are rendered in three different positions. The closest to the congregation is portrayed in genuflection; the one in the middle extends her right hand while holding the edge of her head-dress in left, whilst the third elevates her right hand to heaven. At the upper right part of the image, behind a fourth woman who stands next to the altar, are five bearded men with long hair, vested in chitons and leaning on sticks. The group stands beneath the arched opening of a secondary room that is seemingly roofed with a cross vault and lit by single-apsed windows on the eastern and southern walls, thus indicating that – in fact – it served as the parabēma. Hence it constitutes a representation of a celebration officiated before the altar and probably on one of the two parabēmata.

The uniqueness of the representation is based on the fact that it depicts a real scene of the Divine Liturgy as celebrated

in an Orthodox church of Chandakas, attended by Grünemberg himself, although the illustration is probably influenced by elements from the noble's cultural surroundings as well as by his (mis)understanding of Orthodox architecture and culture⁵⁹⁶. The rite profoundly impressed the German noble, who described it vividly and with considerable detail in the narrative quoted below⁵⁹⁷:

[...] Item daselbst bestellt mein gnädigster herr Herzog Hans von Bayern: in einem griechischen Tempel seiner Gnaden ein gesungenes Amt zu halten. Nahm mich seine Gnade mit. Da sahen wir mancherlei, darob wir uns höchlichst verwunderten. Dem Priester dient sein Weib am Altar, und vor dem Altar hinter ihrer Mutter standen die drei schlanken lieblichen Töchter des gennanten Priesters; gar in brefemlichen Kleidern mit langen Kopftüchern bis auf die Erde; an den Tüchern waren Spiken und Knoten mit langen Schnüren. Die selben Töchter machten immerwährend Kreuze und griffen von ihren Stirnen bis auf die Füße und dann quer auf beide Arme und so ein Kreuz gemacht war, so schlugen sie sich auf die Brust mit flehendem hinaussehen zum himmel. Der Priester sang ganz seltsam uns zu hören, daß wir vermeinten, ohn alles Maß und Mensur, und ging dann von den großen Altar zu einem kleineren mit dem wohlduftenden Rauchfaß. Da standen auch vier Griechen; waren Laien mit langen Bärten, lehnten auf Stäben und sangen zu dem Amt mit solchen Gebärden daß der Fürst und ich von Lachen nicht

⁵⁹⁵ On the mode of using the deacon's orarion see Pallas, Orarion 158-161.

⁵⁹⁶ For example, the depiction of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic patterns reminds us Grünemberg's preoccupation with blazons, as seen in his Österreichische Wappenchronik. Additionally, the design of the gothic bifora window corniced with semicircular lobes alludes to similar designs from the 15th c. German Gothic, such as the Rathaus Turm in Cologne (1407-10) or Saint George's chapel in Neustadt in Vienna. – For the Gothic examples: De la Riestra, Gotik

226-227. The Prothesis sub chamber (according to the description) is mistakenly depicted on the right side and not on the left side of the Sanctuary, while the orarion of the deacons is shown over the right arm instead of the left one.

⁵⁹⁷ For the modern German translation of the text: Goldfriedrich/Fränzel, Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt 49. The English translation was based on the 1912 German rendering.

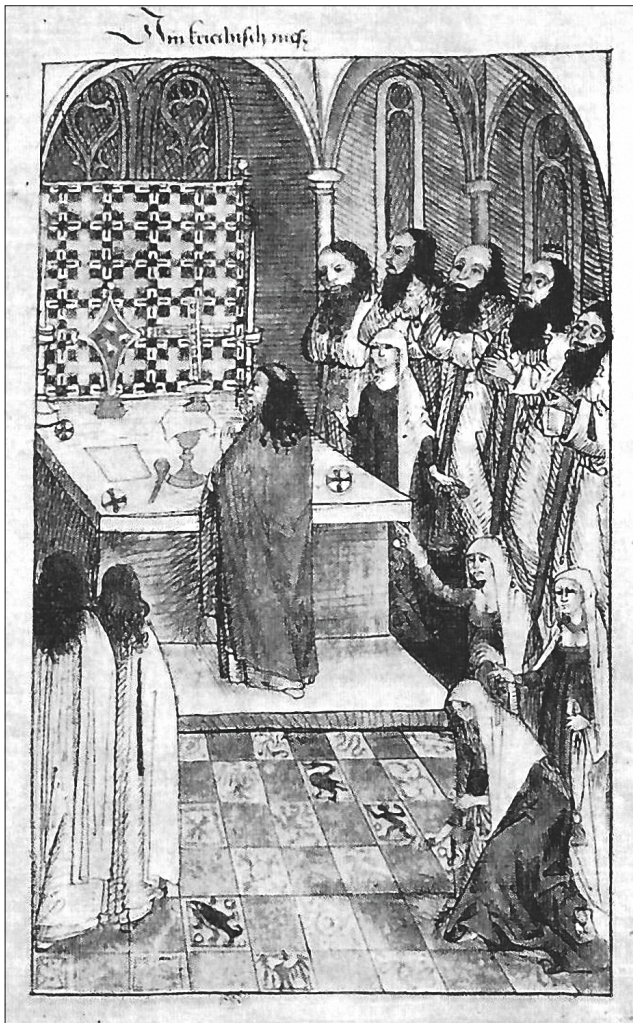


Fig. 210 Ein kriechisch Meß, ca. 1490, Gotha/Erfurt, A541, 30r. – (Reproduced by Goldfriedrich/Fränzel, Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt 48).

konnten beten. Daß die Messe aus war, ging der Priester zu dem kleinen Altar und trank aus einem Kännchen den übrig gebliebenen Wein aus. Die Frau so ihn am Altar bedient hatte, zerschnitt das übrig gebliebene Brot: denn sie haben keine hostien und gab jeglichen ein Stückchen so in der Kirche waren. Die aßen es. Der selbe Tempel war sehr schön von blauer lassur und golden Sterne darein gemalt.

[...] While still being at the same place (Chandakas) His Grace, the merciful Duke Hans of Bavaria proclaimed (to us) that he had to attend a Liturgy with hymns celebrated inside a Greek church and thus I accompanied His Grace. There we witnessed various things that impressed us the most. The priest standing before the altar was assisted by his spouse. Before the altar and behind their mother stood the three

slender and endearing daughters of the said priest. They were vested in peculiar garments with long head-dresses that reached the floor. The edges of the head-dresses were ornamented with tasseled knots. These daughters consistently made the sign of the cross starting from the forehead to their feet and then crosswise to both arms in the shape of a cross, and then hitting their chest turning their eyes to heaven. The priest's chant sounded so peculiar, that we could think of anything else but not the Liturgy and his words, and afterwards the priest went from the big altar to a smaller one holding a fragrant thurible. There also stood four Greeks. They were bearded laymen leaning on sticks who chanted during the Liturgy, and made such gestures that made the Duke and myself laugh so hard that we could not pray. When the Liturgy ended, the priest went to the small altar and drank out of a small container the rest of the wine. His spouse who assisted him at the altar cut the remaining bread because they do not have hosts – and she gave a small slice to everyone in the church. They ate it there. The church was beautifully decorated with blue glaze and golden stars.

The historical context

It is certain that the testimony of Konrad Grünemberg concerns the celebration of an Orthodox Liturgy in a church of Chandakas. We know neither the name of the church's patron nor its precise position while the title of the image (Ain kriechisch meß) leaves unanswered the question regarding the ritual of the church. Could the specific liturgy have been celebrated in a Uniate church of Chandakas? For a proper answer we need recourse to the dominant ecclesiastical condition of Crete during the 15th century.

It is common knowledge that insofar as religious policy was concerned, the Venetian administrative authorities implemented a diplomatic policy between the Latin Church and the Orthodox clergy, with the purpose of fulfilling the political interests of the central administration⁵⁹⁸. For this reason, the Venetian authority limited the power of the Latin Church and excluded the archbishopric from the election of sacerdotal supervisors of the Orthodox clergy in the urban centres⁵⁹⁹. On the other hand, the Venetian administration comprehended the numerical majority of the Orthodox and the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople on the consciousness of the populace, many of whom, by identifying themselves as Orthodox, recognised themselves as members of a people with a common culture, sharing the same confession⁶⁰⁰. For this reason, the Venetians prohibited the ordination of Ortho-

598 Thiriet, Églises 484. – McKee, Uncommon Dominion 104-105.

599 In a letter to the Pope (19 April 1262) the Archbishop of Crete mentions that the Venetian administrative authorities intervened in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction that affected both the Latins and the Orthodox. Tspiranlēs, Nea Stoicheia 86-106. – On the Venetian policy towards the Latin archbishopric: Thiriet, Églises 484. – Tspiranlēs, Klērodotēma 28.

600 On the identification of the »national« morale with the orthodox faith. Maltezou, Venetokratia 129-135. – On the reverse identification of the catholic faith as a prerequisite for the integration into the Venetian aristocracy: McKee, Uncommon Dominion 112. 115. – On the definition of the patriotism in the 15th c.: Kiousopoulou, Patrida 154-156.

dox priests on the island, forcing the candidates to travel to other territories of the remaining Byzantine Empire or areas under Venetian rule, mostly to the neighbouring Peloponnese⁶⁰¹. With the aim of affirming that the Venetians had full control of the procedure, they conducted a preliminary interview to determine the beliefs of the potential priest, which would then serve as the basis for the issuance of a reference letter to the bishop⁶⁰². The destination of the candidates altered according to the political demands of Venice and the overall military status. Initially, the Cretan priests were ordained by the Bishop of Mainēs (Manē), who was under the direct influence of the Despotato of Mystras⁶⁰³. To avoid Byzantine influence, in 1429 the Venetians prohibited the movement of the potential priests to Manē and instead allowed ordinations to be effected by the Bishop of Methōnē and Korōnē; after the loss of these regions in 1500, the destination was altered to the Archbishopric of Monemvasia⁶⁰⁴. Within the framework of this regulatory policy, the Venetian authorities adopted the Byzantine institution of the *prōtopapas*, who was appointed as the supervisor of the Orthodox priests, and financed by the Venetian state⁶⁰⁵. The *prōtopapades* of Chandakas, such as Iōannēs Plousiadēnos or Andreas Damos, were outstanding Uniates, albeit the primary condition for their appointment was their affable attitude and obedience to the administrative authority⁶⁰⁶. In general, though, the *prōtopapades* acknowledged the unification of the churches and accepted papal primacy according to the clause of the council of Ferrara-Florence⁶⁰⁷. It was indicative of the fluidity of these religious conditions in Crete that while the institution of the *prōtopapas* was initially despised by the orthodox priests, nevertheless in 1602 the Cretan priests fought for its establishment⁶⁰⁸.

Apart from the *prōtopapades* we must also mention the group of 12 (or 16) Uniate priests who benefited from the financial bequest of Vēssariōn. According to information provided by the members of this group, this interim position of theirs was treated with a general social and dogmatic disdain.

The Uniate priests accepted the clause of filioque, submitted to the papal primacy and retained the right to use enzymes (leavened bread) as per the clause of the council⁶⁰⁹. Moreover, they seemingly preserved unaltered the celebration mode of the liturgical act, as well as the apparel⁶¹⁰. Thus, they faced the ridicule of Latin priests and the laity, who reproached them and scoffed at their cultic habits⁶¹¹. In addition, the anti-unionist Orthodox seem to have isolated them both socially and ecclesiastically⁶¹², by depriving them of their flocks and thus leading them to poverty. Driven by that, Vēssariōn decided to improve the Uniate's financial position and social status⁶¹³.

The bequest of Vēssariōn was instituted in September 1462 and was preserved both by his successor to the patriarchal throne, Gerolamo Lando, and later by the Venetian authorities. It ameliorated the financial and social prestige of the Uniate and favoured the ordination of new priests at the end of the 15th century. Though the Uniate priests defined themselves as destitute social outcasts, in fact they celebrated in 9 out of 20 Orthodox churches within the boundaries of Chandakas and became acquainted with the middle and upper classes of the Latin and Orthodox population⁶¹⁴. Hence, they were priests who mostly officiated inside an urban entourage.

Finally, a distinct group consisted of 120 Orthodox priests of the present-day prefecture of Heraklion who, following the recommendation of Pope Clement IV and the acceptance of Venetian rule (31 June 1268) until the termination of the Venetian occupancy, yielded to the Latin archbishopric without being clear, however, whether they were Uniate or not⁶¹⁵.

The above information, in conjunction with Grünemberg's description, can be used to identify the doctrine espoused by the priest he depicted. The presence of a Catholic individual such as Grünemberg in an Orthodox church is frequent in Frankish and Venetian areas where cultural interaction was usual and does not prove the priest's Uniate identity⁶¹⁶. Nevertheless, the information in the text regarding the request directed to Duke Hans of Bavaria, inviting him to attend

601 On the ordainment of priests, see: Tomadakēs, Papades 39-72. – Thiriet, Situation religieuse 211. – Tsiapanlēs, Klērodotēma 33. – Bolanākēs, Ekklesiastikē Paideia 60.

602 Manousakas, Cheirotomia Iereōn 317-331. – Chairētē, Nea Stoiceia 334-335. – Tsiapanlēs, Klērodotēma 33.

603 Thiriet, Situation religieuse 211.

604 On the permitted destinations during the 16th and 17th c., see: Manousakas, Cheirotomia Iereōn 317-322. – Tomadakēs, Papades 46.

605 The *prōtopapades* of the urban centers are selected by the Duke of Crete, while the provincial *prōtopapades* are selected by the Latin church: Hofmann, Kircheneinheit Kreta 92. – Thiriet, Situation religieuse 211. – Maltezou, Venetokratia 131. – Tsiapanlēs, Nea Stoiceia 62. – Despotakēs, Enōtikoi Ellēnes 62-67.

606 Despotakēs, Enōtikoi Ellēnes 64-72.

607 Tomadakēs, Thrēskeutikē Politikē 29. – Bolanākēs, Ekklesiastikē Paideia 47.

608 Despotakēs, Enōtikoi Ellēnes 67.

609 [...] καὶ οὗτω πάντες ὁμολογῶσιν ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αἰδίως ἐστὶ [...] Ἐτι ὀρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὸν ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀρχιερέα εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ πρωτεῖον κατέχειν καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεφαλὴν καὶ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν πατέρα καὶ διδάσκαλον ὑπάρχειν [...]. Ἐτι ἐν ἁγίῳ ἢ ἐν ζύμῳ ἄρτον σπίνῳ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα τελείσθαι ἀληθῶς τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς ἐν θατέρῳ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ὀφείλουν τελεῖν ἕκαστον δηλονότι κατὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας εἴτε δυτικῆς εἴτε ἀνατολικῆς συνήθειαν. Res Florentinae Gestae 462, 15-6; 463, 3-7; 464, 1-7.

610 Bolanākēs, Ekklesiastikē Paideia 49.

611 Tsiapanlēs, Klērodotēma 99. – Despotakēs, Enōtikoi Ellēnes 120. 128.

612 According to the letter of Michaēl Apostolēs to Vēssariōn, the residents of Chandakas flayed him while yelling ἰδοὺ τὸ ἄγος, ἰδοὺ τὸ κάθαρμα. Tsiapanlēs, Klērodotēma 128. – Maltezou, Venetokratia 132.

613 Tsiapanlēs, Klērodotēma 99. It is noteworthy that Vēssariōn imposed to the Latin archbishop of Crete the obligation to respect the cultic ritual of the Uniate priests, given that they accepted and respected the clause of the council of Ferrara-Florence.

614 Despotakēs, Enōtikoi Ellēnes 133-134. 144. 147. 168 (with an analysis of the sources).

615 Tomadakēs calls these priests »Uniates«, while Tsiapanlēs considers them Orthodox: Tomadakēs, Papades 43. 66. – Tomadakēs, Thrēskeutikē Politikē 28. – Tsiapanlēs, Nea Stoiceia 71-72.

616 On the presence of mixed congregations in the orthodox churches of Crete with a focus to the financial aspect of the phenomenon: Gratzou, Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē 124-125. – On the phenomenon of mixed congregations in churches of Cyprus and Crete: Mersch, Shared Spaces 498-524. The frequent presence of Latins in the orthodox churches of Crete is testified by the presence of Latin graffiti inside the churches – a phenomenon that reached its apogee in the 15th c., with 500 Latin graffiti witnessed in various churches of the island. Tsougarakēs, Corpus tab. 1.

the Liturgy, suggests that the milieu of the said church was friendly towards the upper levels of the Catholic aristocracy. It is most probable that the church is one of the 20 Orthodox churches in Chandakas, while the celebrant could be of Uniate belief, although one who complies with the typical hairstyle and liturgical apparel of the Orthodox (long beards and tonsure atop the head/sticharion, phelonion); also similar is the appearance (long hair and beards) of the chanting laymen⁶¹⁷. The impression they made on the German noble, and his overall derisive attitude towards the Orthodox Liturgy seems to agree with the general attitude of Catholics towards the rituals of Unionists. It would be of particular interest to define more accurately the identity of the priest. The idea of identifying him as the de facto *prōtopapas* of Chandakas, Andreas Damoro (1481-1490) has to be dismissed since the latter had four sons instead of the three daughters portrayed. Presumably the unknown priest belonged to the Uniate group that was under the auspices of Vēssariōn or was one of the 120 priests who submitted to the Latin archbishopric.

Description of the ritual structure and its significance

Grünemberg describes and illustrates a rite that he names *Ein kriechisch meß*, after the German rendering of the term *Ritus Grecorum*, the significance of which will be discussed below. At the beginning of the text and in the miniature (figs 209-210), the priest is portrayed standing before the altar, assisted by his spouse who stands next to the altar. The three daughters of the priest assume positions in front of the altar. Thereafter, the author refers to the procession of the priest, who moves from the large altar to a smaller one (*kleinen Altar*) holding a thurible. With the latter specification, Grünemberg is in fact referring to the prothesis table; since the Catholic Liturgy is deprived of an analogous installation for the preparation of the Gifts, the German uses the word 'altar': he has Catholic churches in mind, where multiple altars are available for the celebration of manifold rites on the same day⁶¹⁸. The description of these movements probably refers to the incensing of the prothesis table at the beginning of the

Great Entrance⁶¹⁹. The miniature depicts a later part of the Liturgy, when the priest stands in front of the Altar during the Anaphora. The text ends with the priest consuming the Sacramental wine and adds an extraordinary detail: the distribution of the antidōron by the priest's spouse, who cut the bread.

Grünemberg notices and delineates all the ritual occurrences that take place inside the Sanctuary, and defines the Liturgy as a »Kriechisch meß«. The term is encountered as »Ritus Grecorum« in ecclesiastical, administrative and notarial sources; its exact significance cannot be clearly defined, since it is an attribute of the rituals followed by both the Uniate and the orthodox⁶²⁰. The rite described undoubtedly follows the Orthodox ritual, since it includes the rite of Prothesis, the Great Entrance and the leavened bread. On the other hand, the unimpeded access of the laity to the Bēma, the presence of women next to the altar and the absence of a templon – despite what was expected inside an Orthodox church⁶²¹ – are rather peculiar. As already noted in the previous chapter, the unimpeded access of the laity to the Bēma was, to the Byzantines, one of the predominant doctrinal errors of the Latins, who were accused of inadequate respect for the altar. The accusation, though, is not based solely upon the possible absence of a barrier – to our knowledge the monastic and episcopal churches of the Catholics were supplied with screens that segregated the choir enclosure, the so called »tramezzi« or »Lettner«⁶²² – but probably to the de facto abolition of the partition in the western churches and the free access to the main chapel (see analysis on p. 126-127).

Certain Latin churches were seemingly devoid of a partition; this indicated the multiplicity of the liturgical forms. The miniatures that accompany the work of Guillaume Caoursin on the siege of Rhodes (1480) show the interiors of urban Catholic churches during the Liturgy (Hagios Iōannēs, Kolakio, Agora; fig. 211)⁶²³.

In the manuscript's miniatures, the Catholic priests are depicted in prayer before the altars, with their backs turned to the faithful who pray on bended knee; the latter are either in direct contact with the Bēma (Church of Agora) or have an unimpeded view of it (Hagios Iōannēs, Kolakio). The similarities to the miniature from Grünemberg's almost contemporaneous manuscript are numerous, especially in regards to

617 On the long hair and the papalethra as part of the typical hairstyle of the orthodox priests, see Koukoules, *Kommōseis* 11-12. – On the long beard of the orthodox priests as a means of cultural and doctrinal diversification from the Latin colleagues, see: Kolbaba, *Lists* 56-57.

618 Hope, *Medieval Rites* 239-240.

619 Usually the incense is effectuated by the deacon, in more ancient liturgical orders though it is effectuated by the priest. – For the passage from 12th/13th c. rubric H of the Greek National Library: Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ εἰσόδῳ αἶρει ὁ διάκονος τὸ θυμιατὸν καὶ εὐλογήσαντος τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιάει ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης καὶ μόνον. Καὶ ἀπέρχονται ἀμφω εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πρόθεσιν καὶ θυμιάει τὰ ἅγια σταυροειδῶς λέγων: Ἐπαρόν Δέσποτα [...], *Trempelas, Ai treis Leitourgiai* 9.

620 Hofmann interprets the term »Griechischer Ritus« as an administrative term used by the Venetians in order to characterize the Greek Orthodox. Hofmann, *Kircheninheit Kreta* 93. – Tsamakda also notes that many Venetian sources mention the term negatively, thus referring to the Greek Orthodox: Tsamakda, *Gratziou Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 208. – Goldfriedrich/Fränzel explain the term »Griechische Kirche« as Griechisch-Katholisch: Goldfriedrich/Fränzel,

Grünembergs *Pilgerfahrt* 49 no. 1. – Tomadakēs uses the term »rito Greco« in a reference to uniates: Tomadakēs, *Papades* 47. – Gratziou also uses the term in a similar reference: Gratziou *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 182. 294. – Despotakēs, who has dealt frequently with the specific term through analysis of the sources, considers that it is generally used to characterize the Uniate Liturgy, but at times it is used degradingly so as to define the Orthodox Divine Liturgy (*perfidus ac schismaticus ritus grecorum*): Despotakēs, *Enōtikoi Ellēnes* 172-177.

621 On the existence of the templon as an obligatory furnishing of the Orthodox church: Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 103.

622 On the Italian tramezzi see Hall, *S. Maria Novelae* 157-173. – Hall, *Santa Croce* 325-341. – For a re-appraisal of her own work: Hall, *Tremezzo Revisited* 215-232. – On the tramezzi of Central Europe: Jung, *Unifying Role* 622-625. – Jung, *Choir enclosure* 185-213. – Jung, *Gothic Screen*. – On the connection of the tramezzi and a group of Cretan templa: Mailis, *Tremezzi* 462-471.

623 Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae Urbis Descriptio* f. 33v; f. 120v. – Re-publication of miniatures in: Kollias, *Ippotes* 23. 27.

the depiction mode of the Bēma and the presence of the laity nearby. Nevertheless, the differences in the ornamentation of the altar and the hairstyle/apparel of the priests (Catholic priests with short hair and tonsure, Orthodox priests with beards and long hair) suggest their submission to different doctrines⁶²⁴.

The emerging question is whether the arrangement of the Bēma in the Orthodox church of Chandakas – as depicted in the miniature – was directly impacted by the Catholic rite and derived from a potential Uniate identity. In the 15th century, the residents of Chandakas were accustomed to a flexible rite that was adjusted to the relevant circumstances within the framework of a socio-religious adaptiveness⁶²⁵. In 1414 the unionist Franciscan Marcus Sclavos, following the papal instruction, encouraged the celebration of an Orthodox liturgy inside the church of Hagios Fragiskos in Chandakas with the participation of numerous natives (*maxima congregatio gentium*) while also sparking the concerns of the Venetian authorities regarding the disturbance of the religious balance⁶²⁶. As already seen in the previous chapter, in 1404 during his mission in Cyprus, Iōsēph Vryennios expressed his ambivalence about his own participation in a public Divine Office together with the unhindered presence of a mixed crowd of laity and priesthood, who were prepared to »concelebrate« the Office. So, a possible Uniate identity of the church in Konrad's miniature might be used in order to interpret the absence of a templon and the »open« access to the Bēma. On the other hand, the decree of the Council of Ferrara-Flourance says nothing about changes to the architectural layout of the churches, and further leaves to the priests' discretion the decisions on more significant issues, such as the utilization of enzymes or azymes (leavened or unleavened bread) during the Liturgy. At the same time, the Uniate Patriarch of Constantinople, Mētrophanēs, in a letter he sent to the Cretan Orthodox faithful (14 July 1440), reassures them that the celebration of their liturgy will not be modified at all⁶²⁷. Hence the answer to this inquiry is probably not so simple.

Following the analysis of the templon and the prostration icons in Crete during the Middle Byzantine period, as elucidated in the first chapter, we came to the conclusion that the emergence and the inauguration of the setting from 961 onwards was distinguished by the duality of the co-existing tendencies: modernisation and archaism. Material evidence suggests that in central Crete (especially in the Messara region) and eastern Crete, the high templa emerged almost concurrently with the cross-in-square domes since the Middle Byzantine era, thus denoting a synchronisation with metropolitan tendencies. On the other hand, as regards the dissemination of high templa in the more provincial regions



Fig. 211 P. D' Aubusson at the market of Medieval Rhodes. At the bottom center there is depicted a Latin church with three altars, Caoursin, f. 33v. – (After Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes* 27).

of western Crete, the available indications are scarce. At the same time, the survival of archaic practices, such as the lower, built-in closure slabs, is sporadically witnessed. Finally, in the previous chapter we came to the conclusion that during the Late Byzantine period some churches of the island were furnished with high built-in wall-painted templa, dispersed from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century, with a massive concentration in the provinces of Selino and Kissamos (Chania prefecture), thus suggesting the establishment of a liturgical modernization which presumably is to be understood on the basis of the arrangement's dissemination from Peloponnese.

As seen in the second chapter, dozens of the island's single-aisled churches from the 13th to 15th century bear no traces of a high templon. In these churches the prostration icons are placed on the eastern edge of the lateral walls at

624 On the differences as regards the hairstyle of the orthodox and catholic priests as a mode of dogmatic diversification, see Kolbaba, *Lists* 56-58.

625 Despotakēs, *Enōtikoi Ellēnes* 176. – For common religious activities between Orthodox and Catholics in Crete under Venetian rule: Papadakē, *Thrēskeutikes kai kosmikes teletes*.

626 Thiriet, *Le zèle unionist* 496-504.

627 Hofmann, *Kircheneinheit Kreta* 95.

the border to the Bēma. The compiled examples suggest that the arrangement presents two basic types with variants: the first includes the placement of the Deēsis with the representation of the patron saint on the opposite wall (since the beginning of the 14th century and up to the 15th century) while the second contains the facing representations of Christ and the Virgin in variants (patron saint/Christ, patron saint/Virgin). The depiction mode of the wall paintings recurs in the iconographic scheme of the prostration icons of the templon, although adapted to the axis of the edifice, in an archaic layout⁶²⁸. The content and their positioning with the Bēma denote their direct relation to the ritual of the Eucharist and their utilization as prostration icons. The medium of segregating the Bēma in these churches remains unknown. The presence of a rudimentary wooden templon, with the horizontal part (architrave) attached – without being fixed, however – onto the walls cannot be rejected. The absence of a templon in these churches – as we have already observed in the Chandakas church – potentially constitutes an alternative, though as we have seen, more probable is the presence of low wooden or stone partitions, which would be fixed to the church floor without being attached to the lateral walls, pursuant a previous archaic layout. During the restoration of these churches, the partitions were removed without leaving any visible installation traces on the walls.

As already emphasised, the survival of low closure slabs is an archaism traced in Greek territory and Crete, initially during the Middle Byzantine era. Built-in closure slabs also appear in the basilica of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria (850/890, in the nave of Hagios Pavlos, Sfakia (11th century; **fig. 31**) and in Panagia, Lampēnē in the southern part of Rethymnon (12th century; **fig. 42**). The arrangement of the low guard-rails seems to survive at least until the 13th century, as in the initial phase of the Bēma at the cathedral of Hagios Dimitrios in Mystras. The arrangement is in use throughout the Late Byzantine period until the 15th century in Aegean islands like Naxos and especially in the Dodekannēsa (Chalkē, Tēlos; **fig. 199**), thus revealing the persistence of an archaic cultic habit.

Highly important regarding the survival of archaisms as traits of collective worship based on the verbal tradition is the testimony of Theodoros Valsamōn (12th century) who, when referring to the prohibition on the laity entering the Bēma (based on the sacerdotal rules), admitted that he was not able to impede their access to the altar of Panagia Odēgētria

in Chalkē. The latter invoked the legitimacy of their entrance based on the ancient custom: Σημείωσαι τὸν παρόντα κανόνα, καὶ κώλυε δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς εἰσερχόμενους ὅπωςδὴποτε εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὰ σπουδάσας κωλύσαι τὴν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης μου καὶ Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγήτριας εἰσελεύσιν τῶν λαϊκῶν, οὐκ ἴσχυσα λεγόντων ἀρχαῖον εἶναι τοῦτο ἔθος καὶ μὴ ὀφείλιν κωλυθῆναι⁶²⁹.

On this basis, we can again pose the question regarding the miniature from the manuscript. Does the absence of a templon denote the acceptance of Catholic devotional customs or does it signify the perseverance of an ancient devotional practice? Whatever the case, on the basis of Grünemberg's depiction and narrative, it can be assumed that until the 15th century, certain churches of Crete were not furnished with the screen that segregated the Bēma from the nave. This phenomenon may be interpreted based on manifold factors, including religious conservatism and the devotion to ancient/customary types. A matching archaism is also detected in the part of the text that records the breaking of the leavened bread (antidōron) by the spouse of the priest, who acts as a deaconess. This particular function is also traced in the Armenian liturgy, furthermore known for its archaic elements, among which is the absence of the iconostasis separating the Bēma/clergy from the main nave/laity⁶³⁰. This reference is not meant to imply any influence by the Armenian Church⁶³¹, but to suggest that archaisms can survive as similar phenomena in different regions of the Byzantine territory/sphere, usually with a notable endurance.

Epilogue

This study does not extend to the apparition and prevalence of the high, carved wooden iconostasis, nevertheless the following must be noted: Grünemberg's testimony regarding the absence of the templon in a church in Chandakas in 1486 is of particular significance, considering that in Crete – from the beginning of the 15th century onwards – there appeared despotic icons rendered on high wooden carved(?) iconostasis of monasteries, such as the icon of the Deēsis of the Aggelos from Monē Viannou (beginning of the 15th century)⁶³², all the icons from the Monē of Odēgētria that are attributed to or bear the signature of Aggelos (first and second quarter of the 15th century; these include Hagios Fanourios, Apostles Peter and Paul, Christ the Vine, Theo-

628 On a similar arrangement in the churches of Cyprus, see Pallas, *Theia Leitourgia* 33.

629 Rallēs-Potlēs, *Syntagma* 466-467. – On the comment: Kolbaba, *Lists* 61-62. – On the persistence of ancient types of religious practices as an atavist trait of the religious behaviour, especially in the popular worship: Pallas, *Orthodoxia* 74-75.

630 On the reference to the practice: Pallas, *Orthodoxia* 122. – On the symbolism and the segregation of the individual parts in the Armenian churches: Thompson, *Armenian architecture* 110-111.

631 Millet was the first to postulate the impact of Asia Minor on Cretan architecture. Lassithiotakēs following Millet considered that the blind arcades of

the single-aisled churches in Crete originated from Armenian architecture via the soldiers of Nikephoros Fōkas. This theory exerted a limited influence: Millet, *Ecole* 295. – Lassithiotakēs, *Typoi* 186-188. – On the history of theories and the origins and typological traits of the single-aisled churches of Crete: Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 107-108.

632 Recently Baltoyiannē revised the interpretation of the icon as a despotic icon and now postulates that it was originally placed behind the altar. – On the icon: Borboudakēs, *Icons cat.* no. 157, 512-513. – Baltoyianni, *Icons cat.* no. 10, 65-67. – Borboudakēs, *Deēsē* 138-139.

tokos Zōodochos Pēgē)⁶³³, and all the despotic images of the second half of the 15th century that are attributed to Ritzos and placed today in the Monē of Gonia in Kolympari (Christ High Priest, Panagia Eleousa, Hagios Nikolaos)⁶³⁴. This means that the high wooden-carved templa were present in the island until later in the 15th century, although not completely dominant and coexisting with other solutions, thus indicating the simultaneous presence of various practices.

According to M. Chatzēdakēs, Crete has been the craft centre for carved wooden high iconostaseis since the 15th century, the earliest example of which is that from Monē Valsamonerou⁶³⁵. The specimens of extant wooden carved templa in the island from the 15th and the 16th century are scarce⁶³⁶, though templa made by Cretan craftsmen are found in the Aegean and Ionian islands and in Sinai⁶³⁷. The agreement between the Cretan carpenter Iōannēs Skordiles and the Abbot of the Monē Dafniou, Akakios Ampelikos, which was drafted on the 4th of April 1549, lists a large number of churches in Chandakas and Rethymnon that were furnished with wooden carved templa⁶³⁸. The said text includes extensive terminology concerning the parts of the templon, which suggests the establishment of a typology regarding the high iconostasis and thus proves the dominance of the settings. The predominance of high wooden carved templa and their despotic icons in the 16th century coincides with the simultaneous decline of wall paintings in the Cretan churches, since the manufacturing of the latter is inversely proportional with the portable icons⁶³⁹. This change indicates a radical innovation in the interior of churches, where the high wooden carved iconostasis with its portable icons now becomes dominant.

This particular transformation inside the Orthodox churches of the 16th century coincides with a notable change in the interior of the Catholic ones. During the Counter-Reformation, the Council of Trent (1550-1565) chose to reduce the distance between the laity and the clergy, so that the congregation would participate more actively in the Liturgy⁶⁴⁰. According to Marcia Hall, this approach entailed stopping the construction of partitions at the choir enclosure (Tramezzi, Lettner) and their gradual removal⁶⁴¹. These removals were

most frequent in Italy, while in countries with no close connection to Rome, such as England and Germany, the partitions remained intact⁶⁴²; on the other hand, in the overseas domains of Venice, such as Crete, the partitions could be quietly preserved, as in the cathedral of Chania, where the *tramezzo* of the church is descriptively recorded in the report of 1620 as issued by Bishop Giorgio Perpignano, without expressly naming the preserved setting, which no longer corresponded to the requirements of the council⁶⁴³. Thus, the open form of the choir enclosure encountered nowadays in many Catholic churches is not the result of a persistence of an Early Christian habit, as previously proposed⁶⁴⁴, but derives to a large extent from the aesthetics of the Counter Reformation.

It is thus conveyed that, since the middle of the 16th century onwards, the presence of a high iconostasis inextricably appertained to the religious consciousness of the Orthodox population of Crete (fig. 212), while the absence of a high partition reflected the official position of the Catholic Church. Bearing this consideration in mind, we are now able to interpret an incident that occurred in 1626-1627 inside a church of mixed use by Orthodox and Catholics: the Church of the Saviour in Ierapetra. There the Greek Franciscan monk Paul Mudazzo – a friend to the Orthodox priests – did not hesitate to officiate at the Orthodox altar, evidently behind the iconostasis. During the visit of the provincial leader of the order (ministro), the latter observed what Mudazzo was doing and, after scolding him, he ordered the removal of the templon and the icons of the Orthodox; he supervised the completion of the task himself. When the Orthodox congregation and clergy noticed that the icons had been removed and the church had been adapted to the Latin standards, they became infuriated and protested intensely against the maltreatment of their church. Due to this incident, the relations between the two religious communities of Ierapetra suffered such a blow that the Proveditore Morosini designed the conversion of the church's Bēma so as to satisfy both communities. As set forth, he put the Catholic altar in the foreground and placed three icons on it; behind it he raised a partition with two lateral gates intended to facilitate the procession of the Little and the Great Entrance. During the

633 On the icon of Hagios Fanourios: Vasilakē, Fanourios cat. no. 18, 138-139. – For the rest of the icons: Borboudakēs, Icons cat. no. 25. 29. 34 (with previous literature). It is noted that the dimensions of the icon of Christ the Vine severely differ in relation to other icons, thus it is rather difficult to integrate them in the same ensemble.

634 Borboudakēs, Icons 516-519 cat. no. 162-163, 516-166. – Andrianakis, Monē Odēgētrias 81-86.

635 Chatzidakis, Ikonostas 350. – The dating of the templon to the initial phase of the church is not precisely defined, though recently Sythiakakē agreed to the dating of the fixture to the 15th c. based on technical criteria. Sythiakakē-Kritsimalē, Valsamonero 322.

636 See the wooden carved Bēma doors of the Monē Arkadiou with the Annunciation/Peter and Pavlos dated to the second half of the 15th/beginning of the 16th c., and the Bēma doors of the Monē Gouvernetou (16th c.). Borboudakēs, Icons cat. no. 125, 482-483; 136, 492.

637 On the compilation of the examples: Chatzidakis, Ikonostas 350.

638 The text cites the following churches: Megalos Geōrgios of Mouglinos in Chandakas, the Odēgētria, the Angels at the entrance door of Chandakas,

Kyra of Faros, Hagios Ēlias, Kyra Vlachioraina, Christ Kefalas in Rethymnon and Theotokos Peribleptos. Dettorakēs, Monē Dafniou 283-287.

639 M. Borboudakes mentions only three monuments with wall-painted remains of a given date, though the number of the monuments must be augmented based on the findings of more recent research. For example, we mention: Panagia of Hagia Paraskevē in Amari (1516), Hagios Geōrgios of Drakiana in Kydōnia (1545), Hagios Geōrgios of Voila in Sēteia (1518). Borboudakēs, Byzantinē technē 285.

640 Hall, S. Maria Novellae 158.

641 Hall, Tramezzo Revisited 220. – Indicative is the visit of papal representatives to Venice in 1581 in order to verify the implementation of the council's decisions. The representatives recorded the Venetian choir enclosures and decide upon their harmonisation with the council's requirement. Modesti, Barco 38-65.

642 Hall, S. Maria Novellae 158.

643 Mannucci, Contributi documentarii 102. – On the comment: Mailis, Tramezzi 471.

644 Pallas, Theia Leitourgia 36.

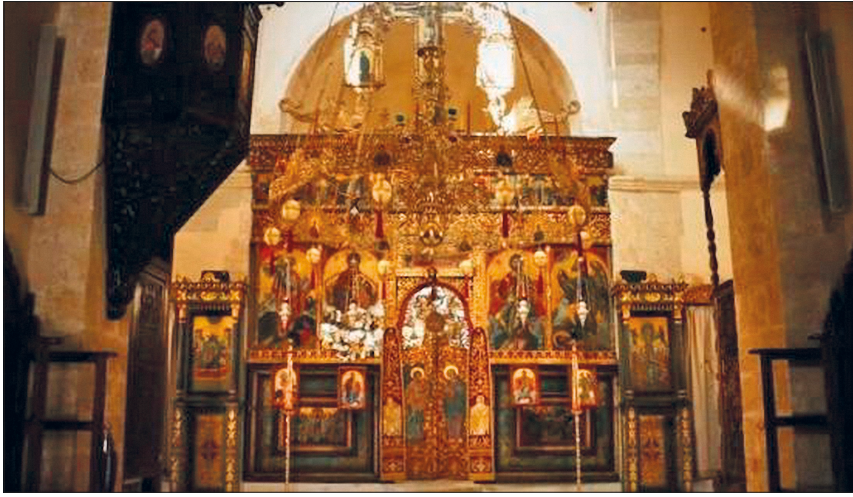


Fig. 212 Iconostasis at the Convent of Virgin (Kyra tōn Aggelōn), Gōnia, Kolympari, 17th c. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Catholic Liturgy the three icons remained in their place like a *pala d'altare*, while during the Orthodox Liturgy the central icon was removed, so as to safeguard the impression of the Orthodox Beautiful Gate⁶⁴⁵.

This incident documents the crystallization of a long evolutionary process, through which the venerating setting has now become a standard element of the religious awareness

and cultural diversification of both doctrines. What the German Konrad Grünemberg saw and recorded in 1486 is the valuable testimony to an anterior everyday custom, thus elucidating an obscure intermediate phase of the long journey we attempted to track in the present study, from the Middle Byzantine era until the appearance of the post-Byzantine iconostasis.

645 On the incident and the publication of the design: Papadakē, *Sōtēr Ierapetra* 229-243 fig. 1.