

Obscured by Walls

The Bēma Display of the Cretan Churches from Visibility to Concealment

Athanassios Mailis



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Foreword

The present study completes a circle that has opened approximately 15 years ago in Crete. The core of this book was formatted during a survey that took place within a joint project between the 13th and 28th Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities and FORTH (Foundation for Research and Technology Hellas) in Herakleion in 2004, concerning the documentation of the fresco painted churches in two provinces of Crete (Merabello, Apokorōnas).

The formation of these initial observations concerning the prostration images in the Cretan churches were shaped within the next years as part of my work in the archaeological service, which enabled me to collect the material of this book, since the project was not funded by any exterior source. The lack of financial support – especially as far as the *in situ* survey is concerned – was substituted by the kindness of many colleagues and friends who participated and helped me throughout all these years. Firstly I would like to thank the fellow archaeologists M. Andrianakēs (Emeritus Director of the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Chania), K. Psarakēs (Chania), G. Moschovē (Herakleion), G. Katsalēs (Herakleion), P. Varthalitou (Rethymno), N. Fiolitakē (Rethymno) and the local scholar/teacher M. Chetzogiannakēs (Herakleion) who travelled with me all around Crete, indicating sites and churches and discussing the collected material. The Directors of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Herakleion and Chania Drs. V. Sythiakakē Kritsimallē (Herakleion) and E. Papadopoulou (Chania) were most kind in providing me the access to the monuments included in this study.

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I am most grateful to the scientific committee of the Leibniz ScienceCampus – Byzantium between Orient and Occident – Mainz/Frankfurt, that granted me the Wolfgang Fritz Volbach-Fellowship (summer term 2016). This scholarship in combination with the substantial encouragement of Prof. Dr. F. Daim and Prof. V. Tsamakda and the significant support of Dr. B. Fourlas enabled me to anchor my project concerning: »The (in)visibility of the Bēma as means of religious identity in the Cretan churches from the middle Byzantine to the early Venetian Period« as an associate member within the wider frame of the project »Byzantium between Orient and Occident in Mainz«. I would also like to thank particularly Prof. Dr. Tsamakda, who read patiently, commented and corrected the present study. Additionally I owe a lot deal to the editor of the text, Dr. C. Nickel, as well as to Aim. Papadopoulou and Dr. C. Murray-Seegert.

Finally I owe my gratitude to my family, Nektaria and Nikētas, for their patience and support throughout these years.

Introduction

The background of the research on the templon and the prostration images

The present study aims to shed light on the development of the templon and prostration images in Crete from the Middle Byzantine era to the 15th century; it is part of a broader research field regarding the evolution and stabilization of artistic and cultic forms. For a clearer understanding of the specific methodological approach deployed, the reader is first offered a brief review of the state of research. It must be noted that the following review mainly considers the general studies that refer to the topics of the templon and prostration images, and does not include the numerous publications that refer to regional characteristics, morphological issues, etc.

The templon is considered a »distinctive feature of churches of the Byzantine rite«¹; the backdrop of its configuration was of interest to both historians of worship as well as Byzantine archaeologists. The partition's transformation into an iconostasis has been thematically explored in Greek handbooks on Christian archaeology since the beginning of the 20th century, as in the book by the archpriest K. Kallinikos, *Ο Χριστιανικός ναός καὶ τὰ τελούμενα ἐν αὐτῷ* (1908)². The relevant chapter mainly focuses on the antiquity of the establishment rooted to the Early Christian era and its later evolution based on ecclesiastical sources. In the handbook of Christian Archaeology published in 1941 by the notable byzantinologist G. Sotēriou, the configuration of the templon was treated as a biological species. Sotēriou establishes a tripartite evolutionary scheme on the basis of the small partition of the Early Christian presbyterion, which was transformed into the higher Middle Byzantine templon (restored with closure slabs, pillars and an architrave) to finally culminate in a »wall full of icons« on the wooden iconostasis of the Post-Byzantine era³. The prevailing scientific positivism of his era influenced Sotēriou's methodological approach. His appointment as the Director of the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, his interest in the pedagogical significance of the works of art, as well as the reorganization of the museum he single-handedly accomplished (1923-1930), resulted in

1930 in the transformation of three aisles of the Villa Ilisia into three church interiors representing the Early Christian, the Middle Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine eras⁴. Apart from the architectural configuration, the chronological and aesthetic differentiation of the spaces were achieved by the placement of an analogous barrier that recalled each of the three periods. This arrangement stayed intact for decades, until the most recent reorganization of the museum in the years 2004-2010, thus shaping and establishing a specific reflection of the templon's evolution as part of a specific scientific consciousness.

This scientific positivism is also discerned in Xydis' attempt to restore the Justinian templon of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (1947)⁵. The templon was demolished in 1204, although its description is preserved in the metrical celebratory Ekfrasis by Pavlos Silentiarios, which was recited in 562, during the inauguration of the church after the earthquake of 557. The detailed description and the prominence of the monument exhorted a series of restorations that were carried out in the 19th century, and the beginning of the 20th century whose prevailing trait was a combination of elements sourced by the description of Silentiarios and the Post-Byzantine iconostasis⁶. Xydis sets forth the scientific survey of the restoration of the templon's form based on two main logical pillars: the written sources and the use of parallels from the early Christian monuments of Constantinople, Asia Minor and the Greek territories. For the restoration of the individual parts of the templon, Xydis uses parallels from Justinian monuments as well as from later ones (such as Asia Minor templon architraves from the 9th/10th century). Xydis's findings were used by later researchers who typified his attempt as the first systematic research into the restoration of the Justinian templon. His contribution lies in the fact that he interprets the significance of the particular templon as pivotal for the further evolution of the early Christian forms into medieval ones. This perspective has been widely accepted

1 Walter, *The origins* 251.

2 Kallinikos, *Christianikos naos* 198-114.

3 Sotēriou, *Christianikē Archeologia* 200-205. – On a corresponding consideration of the Bēma's configuration since the early-Christian era to the Middle Byzantine era, see the analysis of Sotēriou's student, D. Pallas on the secondary building of the diakonikon, Mailis, *The annexes* 10-16.

4 On the reorganization of the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens by Sotēriou, see Lazaridou, *Christianikē Syllogē* 20-24. – Olga Gratziou interprets

Sotēriou's approach based on his perceptions as regards the composition of a national identity through the systematic classification of works of art, with the intention to shape an unimpeded continuity of the orthodox Hellenism: Gratziou, *Istoria Mouseiou* 69-73. – On an indirect critical response to Sotēriou's approach mainly arguing about the musealization of the cult object, see Triantafyllopoulos, *Byzantino Mouseio* 124.

5 Xydis, *Chancel Barrier* 1-24.

6 Antoniadēs, *Ekfrasis* 125 fig. 261.

by scholars and is frequently reiterated in articles of general content on the evolution of the installation.

The first studies of the placement and function of the templon's icons appear in the 1960s. The study by Sirarpie der Nersessian »Two Images of the Virgin« in the *Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (1960)⁷, traces the origins of the iconographic scheme that comprises the dialogue between frontal Christ and Virgin in supplication. Constantinopolitan origins are ascribed to the theme. The byzantinologist argues for the transfer of the scheme to the east piers surrounding the templon of Byzantine churches or the lateral walls of single-aisled churches, such as Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo. She concludes that the placement of the iconographic scheme on the east piers played a vital role in the evolution of the iconostasis, in an era when the *diastēla*, that is the gaps among the pillars of the templon, were not decorated with despotic icons.

In A. Grabar's study of the development of the templon on the basis of the monuments of Yugoslavia (1961)⁸, the notable byzantinologist underlines the lack of general studies of the evolution of the iconostasis. Based upon the masonry screens of two churches of the 14th century, Hagios Geōrgios in Staro Nagoričino and Bela Črkva in Karan, Grabar – like Der Nersessian – asserts that the initial Middle Byzantine templon did not exhibit any despotic icons on its *diastēla*, but instead mounted large prostration icons on the east piers. According to Grabar, after the gradual increase of venerating needs the icons were then encompassed in *diastēla*, so that in the 14th century, the initially open installation was transformed into a closed screen, decorated either with portable images or with painted pseudo icons.

The »Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society« of 1964/1965, dedicated to Geōrgios Sotēriou, published an essay by V. Lasareff on the link between painted architraves and the scenographic rendition of the Byzantine templon⁹. The Russian byzantinologist compiles the written sources, material evidence and restorations of a broader group of templa to extract conclusions on the evolution of the installation. Lasareff detects in the pro-iconoclast Hagia Sophia the earliest example of the decoration of a templon's architrave bearing sacred figures. He thus deduces that the templon's architrave had featured the theme of Deēsis since the 9th century, and was later established in the 11th and 12th century, accompanied by the Dōdekaorton. Lasareff summarizes the Middle Byzantine templon as an open installation complemented by the placement of icons on the architrave. Following Grabar, he accepts the transformation of the templon into an iconostasis in the 14th century, while stressing the ascription of a mystical/symbolic element to the templon in the 15th century, under the influence of the liturgical commentaries of Symeōn

of Thessaloniki. Lasareff sees the high Russian iconostasis as an evolved form of the Byzantine templon of modified dimensions. thus shaping a new aesthetic ultimately focussed on the monumentality and disembodiment of figures.

In contrast to Lasareff's analysis, which mainly focussed on the aesthetic evaluation of the Byzantine templon, Christopher Walter stresses the association of the templon's icons with the Liturgy, giving emphasis to the iconographic theme of Deēsis. His first articles were published in 1968 and 1971, and were enhanced by definitive conclusions in 1993¹⁰. In his earlier works, Walter associated the iconographic/symbolic scheme of the Deēsis (Christ, Virgin, Precursor) with the theological belief that accorded the Virgin and the Precursor an intermediary role in the salvation of humanity. The researcher discerns this belief in the Divine Liturgy and detects its aesthetic transfer in the theme of Deēsis featured on the templon's architrave or east piers. By deploying a series of liturgical texts and monuments (mostly from the Greek mainland and Serbia) Walter regards the placement of Deēsis on the templon as part of a gradual process of sacralising the Bēma. The partition conceals the activity occurring in the Sanctuary and captures the attention of the laity piety, who address their pleas for salvation to the icons that decorate it. According to Walter, the recipients of these intermediary prayers are the icons of Deēsis on the architrave, the pair of icons of Christ and Virgin on the east piers or the icons/wall paintings on the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches.

In an article regarding the origins of the iconostasis (1971)¹¹, published almost at the same time, Walter attempts an analogous approach to the evolution of the installation. The view expressed therein recapitulates the already-formulated theories and further contributes two interesting ideas. The first regards the distinction of Deēsis from the iconographic scheme of Virgin Paraklēsis and frontal Christ. The second regards the origins of the icons of extensive Deēsis and the Dōdekaorton of the templon, which in an earlier phase (undefined) constituted prostration icons standing in the church, probably supported by stands.

In 1973, the *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* published the entry »Ikonostas« by M. Chatzēdakēs¹². Chatzēdakēs follows Sotēriou's biological model in delineating the main configuration phases of the templon from the Early Christian to the Middle Byzantine era. His entry was supplemented by the article in the »Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of Byzantine Studies« in Athens (1976, published in 1979), concerning the placement of icons during the 11th and 13th century¹³. The evolutionary scheme of Chatzēdakēs begins with the low chancel slabs of the early Christian period. According to his concept, in the period fol-

7 Der Nersessian, Images 71-86, mainly 80-86.

8 Grabar, Deux Notes 13-22.

9 Lasareff, Epistyle 117-143.

10 Walter, Two notes 311-336. – Walter, Further Notes 161-187. – Walter, A new look 203-228.

11 Walter, The origins 251-267.

12 Chatzidakis, Ikonostas 326-354.

13 Chatzidakis, Templon 333-366.

lowing the iconoclasm and in parallel with the establishment of the cross-in-square architectural type, there is crystallized a form of a high templon with closure slabs, colonettes and a horizontal architrave, usually decorated with aniconic or zoomorphic motifs. The placement of the icons on the architrave dates back to the 11th or 10th century¹⁴, while the scenographic rendition of the templon is complemented by the array of the full-length icons of Christ and Virgin on the east piers/proskynētaria. Chatzēdakēs draws his examples mostly from Sinai and Asia Minor (concerning architraves) and the Greek mainland (concerning the prostration icons of the piers). While taking into account Der Nersessian's notes, he observes that in single-aisled churches the prostration icons of the piers are applied on the lateral walls. In contrast to the previous views, Chatzēdakēs attests – based on written sources – that the practice of applying icons to the diastēla had been in evidence since the 11th century, although it did not enjoy universal use. The researcher concludes that during the Middle Byzantine era no stable iconographic program was in force as regards the icons of the architrave and those on the diastēla, but from the 12th century onwards, the templon was transformed into an iconostasis. This particular evolution was observed by Chatzēdakēs in the wall-painted masonry screens, where pseudo-icons were placed instead of portable despotic icons of the diastēla, thus reflecting the provincial version of the arrangement. In his analysis of the 13th-15th century («Palaiologean Era»), Chatzēdakēs does not detect evolutionary alterations as regards the installation, while observing that there is not any strict order concerning the arrangement of the despotic icons. He concludes that the practice of attaching the icons takes place simultaneously with the transformation of the templon into an iconostasis during the post-Byzantine era, when the partition is established as a solid timber construction with integrated portable icons; Crete is considered to be the centre of production of the wood-carved templa (15th-17th century).

In dissertations written in the 70s that examine the single-aisled churches of the former Yugoslavian Republic and the Greek mainland, the issue of the prostration icons on the east edge of the lateral walls is frequently encountered. In the study by Haderman-Misguich of Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo¹⁵, the researcher employed the previous observations of Der Nersessian regarding the liturgical significance of the juxtaposition of the prostration images/frescoes of the titular saint and Christ on the eastern parts of the lateral church walls. Haderman-Misguich compiled examples of prostration icons in churches in Yugoslavia and Greece and came to the conclusion that the specific wall paintings/icons supplemented the templon and signalled the transition from the main nave to the Bēma. Analogous conclusions and methodological approaches are found in the doctoral dissertation

by S. Kalopissē Vertē (1975), which examines the church of Agia Triada in Kranidi, Argolida (1244)¹⁶. Her analysis regards the facing array of the wall paintings of the Virgin and the titular representation (Agia Triada) on the eastern parts of the lateral walls of the church. The researcher employs the idea of the prostration icons' transfer from the east piers on the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches and provides a detailed and thorough list of prostration icons from the Greek mainland and the Balkans. She also refers to the typology of the prostration representations on the lateral walls and their depiction mode (painted arched proskynētaria), thus underlining their liturgical value.

The first period of the systematic investigation into the configuration of the templon concludes in the end of the 70s/beginning of the 80s. In a brief article published in 1979¹⁷, based on data from a hagiological text, Cyril Mango holds the view that high templa were used in Constantinople during the 7th century and icons were placed on the architraves; in addition, he indirectly endorses the view of Chatzēdakēs on the placement of the despotic icons on the diastēla since the 11th century. In contrast, in 1981¹⁸ Wharton-Epstein argues that the Middle Byzantine templon remained an open space delineated by closure slabs, pillars and an architrave. From a methodological point of view it is noteworthy that the researcher uses examples not only from Constantinople but from the Byzantine provinces as well. Within the framework of this approach, Wharton-Epstein notes that the provincial Middle Byzantine monuments of Cappadocia or southern Italy seemingly used archaic solutions, such as small partitions of the presbyterion (imitating the early Christian chancel slabs), thus underlining for the first time that the evolution of the Byzantine templon did not occur throughout Byzantine territory at the same time but instead varied, according to local cultural and venerating conditions.

In Hans Belting's book «Bild und Kult» (1990)¹⁹, an entire chapter is dedicated to the configuration and function of the Byzantine templon. Belting views the installation as a scenographic element of the Byzantine rite. His methodological approach encompasses the linkage of the templon with the Liturgy. In particular, he interprets the insertion of the icon in the templon based on multiple factors such as: 1) the crystallization of the Liturgy and the need for its artistic/poetic visualization, 2) the institutionalization of a single liturgical/plain calendar and the subsequent veneration of a saint's icon set as a prostration image on the respective celebration date, 3) the wish of aristocrat patrons to have certain icons venerated in their foundations. Belting follows the previous theories on the representation of the Byzantine templon, mainly emphasizing the documentation of the function of prostration icons.

At the end of the 90s, new studies were published as regards the development of the templon. In 1999 J. M. Spieser

14 Chatidakis, Ikonostas 337. – Chatzidakis, Templon 337-339.

15 Hadermann Misguich, Kurbinovo, mainly 214-234.

16 Kalopissi-Verti, Hagia Triada, mostly 43-52.

17 Mango, Artemios 40-43.

18 Epstein, Templon or Iconostasis 1-22.

19 Belting, Bild und Kult 253-278.

published his research on the evolution of the templon, particularly the icons of the Dōdekaortion²⁰. This study coincided with the publication of Sharon Gerstel's doctoral dissertation on the iconographic programs of the Bēma in churches of medieval Macedonia. The first chapter of the book²¹ outlines the main findings of the survey of the arrangement of the templon. Following Walter, Gerstel's view is briefly summarized as the gradual separation of the congregation from the occurrences in the Bēma and the shift of the laity piety's focus to the prostration icons. Gerstel catalogues a series of texts that refer to the sanctification of the Bēma, recalling the official ecclesiastical practice, while at the same time she uses the Macedonian examples to prove that »By the late thirteenth century the practice of obscuring the sanctuary was adequately widespread [...]«²².

Since the 2000s, collective volumes and reports have been published on the evolution of the iconostasis – mostly in Orthodox countries such as Russia and Greece²³. Prominent in the study of the evolution of the templon is the contribution of the collective volume »Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West«, edited by Sharon Gerstel (2006)²⁴. The work comprises artistic/historical and theological/liturgical studies of the templon within the framework of an interdisciplinary approach. It also includes papers on partitions used in the Orthodox East and the Latin West, thus indicating the overall prevalence of barriers in the Christian medieval world. This survey contains studies of Latin screens written by historians of medieval art who pioneered this topic, such as J. Jung²⁵ and M. Hall²⁶.

The above-mentioned volume also includes a study by S. Kalopissē-Vertē concerning the prostration icons found in churches of the Greek mainland and the islands (apart from Crete). The byzantinologist broadens our understanding of this issue, which was one of the focal points of her doctoral dissertation (1975). The study is divided into two parts. In the first, she examines the prostration icons of the templon and analyses their depiction mode (proskynētaria), their location (east piers or lateral wall), their iconography and cognomens. Kalopissē Vertē recasts the view that the painted proskynētaria are placed on the edge of the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches after the Middle Byzantine era. She further deduces that these specific wall paintings were used as despotic and prostration icons at that time. In the second part, the researcher notes the duplication of despotic icons on the eastern wall of the narthex, mostly in monastic institutions. The arrangement is explained on the basis of the use of icons within the framework of commemorative celebrations (such as Litē). Kalopissē Vertē deploys the

liturgical memoranda of Symeōn of Thessaloniki and proves that the prostration icons of the templon and the narthex signalled the ceremonial transitions from the different parts of the church (narthex-nave-Bēma) towards the conceptual axis of supplication, thus reflecting the expectations of the congregation for penitence and salvation.

The article by the volume's editor S. Gerstel, »An Alternate View of the Late Byzantine Sanctuary Screen«²⁷, makes an important contribution to the analysis of the topic. Gerstel notes that the study of masonry screens – although essential to the history of the templon's evolution – is frequently interpreted as a secondary element in that particular area of research. Gerstel sees the emergence of the masonry screens as a phenomenon of the Late Byzantine era, mainly geographically dispersed in southern Greece, the Aegean and Serbia. Based on the catalogue of 60 wall-painted templa dated to the 13th-15th century (including six monuments from Crete), Gerstel conveys the main traits of the figures and the iconographic arrangement of the masonry screens. One of the most pivotal results of the study concerns the decoration of these installations, which often display fresco-painted surfaces on both sides, the one facing towards the congregation and the other towards the celebrating priests in the sanctuary. The researcher, following the concept of her dissertation on the consecutive sacralisation of the templon and the altar, holds that the two-sided wall painting demarcated two separate spatial sections addressing two different recipients (laity/priesthood), and ultimately aiming at their transition from the mortal level to that of a transcendent intermediary. At the end of the article, Gerstel adopts an interpretative approach to the appearance of the installation within the framework of intercultural Latin-Orthodox relations. She refers to the frequent existence of the specific installations in territories under Latin control, the coincidence of the bi-faced painting of the templa and the Italian retables from the 13th century onwards, and finally the parallel installation of the transverse liturgical screens in the main nave of the churches in West.

In 2015 the author of the present study researched the masonry screens in Crete dated from the 14th to the 15th century²⁸. The resulting article listed monuments that were mainly located in the western part of the island. It was primarily intended to explain the existence of a built-in templon within the framework of the broader transformation of the venerating figures in connection with the prevalent cultural circumstances on the island during early Venetian rule. In the article, it was noted that Crete displays a liturgical/venerating dualism, since only a limited number of churches are furnished with masonry templa, while in a large number of churches the prostration icons are placed as wall paintings on

20 Spieser, Douze Fêtes 131-164.

21 Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 5-14.

22 Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 8.

23 Lidov, Ikonostasis (with essays mainly drafted in Russian). – Margaritēs, Templon (mainly with brief introductory texts-briefings in Greek).

24 Gerstel, Thresholds of the Sacred.

25 Jung, Choir Enclosure 185-213.

26 Hall, Tramezzo revisited 215-232.

27 Gerstel, Alternate View 135-161.

28 Mailis, Templa 111-144.

the lateral walls; this leaves unanswered questions regarding the form and existence of a templon. In an era of religious controversies, the appearance of a masonry templon constitutes a salient declaration of the Orthodox faith during the period of Venetian rule. The findings of this article are re-examined in the third chapter of the present study. The author published a complementary article in 2016²⁹. Therein a small group of stone templa is examined, which are typologically different from the built-in wall-painted installations. According to this study, the morphology and monumentality of this specific group suggest the limited adoption and adaption of the western architectural types (*tramezzi*) in the Orthodox venerating practice (*templa*).

In addition to the research into the evolution of the templon and the prostration icons, we must note the articles by Tomeković and Koukiarēs on the placement of the titular saint's fresco in the churches of Greece and Yugoslavia, as well as Drpić's reference to the presentation mode of the venerating icon of Saint Theodores in Serres³⁰. The monograph of M. Kazamia-Tsernou regarding Deēsī also provides useful information on the tracing, emanation and usage of this particular iconographic scheme in Greek territory, including a brief reference on the Cretan monuments³¹. Finally, the article by S. Maderakēs on the Deēsī in Cretan churches³² offers notable observations. The author primarily examines the theological prominence of the representations on the lateral walls and the quarter-sphere of the apsis in Cretan churches. He emphasises the liturgical value of the representation of Deēsī on the lateral walls and notes that the location of the representation at this specific position suggests the potential absence of the templon. Hence, in Maderakēs' study, the presence of prostration icons is for the first time decoupled from the templon itself.

Methodology and structure of the present research

The state of research suggests that the evolution of the templon and the prostration icons usually fits into a biological evolutionary scheme. The monuments pertaining to the scheme are mostly found in Constantinople, the Greek mainland and the southern territories of the former Yugoslavia, while the written sources derive from Constantinople or the typicon of the provincial monasteries. Crete has not been included in the preceding general discussion of the evolution of the templon, except for the brief reference to the island's monuments made in the article by S. Gerstel, regarding masonry screens³³. On the other hand, the density of Crete's

fresco painted churches has led to numerous studies of the island's wall-painted churches; they mainly focus on documentation issues, aesthetic evaluation, iconography or the search for workshops³⁴. These studies are fundamental to the further exploration of individual topics such as the prostration images or the painted templon. Within the context of this broader research, the issue of the existence (or non-existence) of the templon is only sporadically mentioned³⁵, while the placement of the prostration icons is treated as part of a wider study of a group of churches, e.g. the ones related to the workshop of Iōannēs Pagōmenos³⁶.

Nevertheless, the study of the templon and the prostration icons in Crete is of great interest due to the particular political, religious and cultural circumstances that prevailed in the island from the midst of the 13th century onwards, that is after the Venetian conquest. In the fourth chapter of this study, extensive reference is made to the ecclesiastical conditions under Venetian rule, a long period characterized by controversies involving the Orthodox population and the Catholic rulers, but also by religious fluidity and osmosis. In this period, the study of the existence of a templon as a »distinctive feature of churches of the Byzantine rite« is of particular importance, especially when taking into account the fact that the Byzantines define the laity's access to the Bēma as a religious and cultural point of diversification from the Latins (see the extensive discussion on p. 128-129. 137-138).

The present study comprises the elements of a survey derived from the study of ca. 425 wall-painted churches, dated from the 10th to the 15th century. The rather poor condition of the majority of the lateral walls did not allow us to arrive at unequivocal conclusions for all the examined churches. However, the survey shed light on certain elements for a sufficient number of monuments, and so provides significant information on the depiction mode of the Bēma and the placement of the prostration icons. Especially with reference to the single-aisled churches, a particular mode of the prostration icons/wall paintings' insertion in the iconographic program is evident. This scheme encompasses their facing array on the east part of the lateral walls of the church, in front of the Bēma. A corresponding array of the same icons has been identified in the single-aisled churches of Macedonia and the Peloponnese, where the specific icons/wall paintings are interpreted as extended parts of the templon arrangements. Nevertheless, the Cretan churches do not bear vestiges of a previous high templon. The high iconostasis affixed to the lateral walls during the late Byzantine era demolished the previous wall-painted decoration, while at the same time the original prostration icons were usually demolished by the opening of windows; this fact further emphasises the loss of their initial use.

29 Mailis, *Tramezzi* 462-471.

30 Tomeković, *Saint Patron* 25-42. – Koukiarēs, *Eponymos Hagios* 105-123. – Drpić, *Saints Theodores* 654-660.

31 Kazamia Tsernou, *Deēsī*.

32 Maderakēs, *Deēsī* 9-150.

33 Gerstel, *Alternate View* 158-161.

34 Indicatively see: Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings*. – Spatharakis, *Mylopotamos*. – Spatharakis, *Amari*. – Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios*. – Lymberopoulou, *Kavalariana*. – Lymberopoulou, *Cretan Church Decoration*. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki*.

35 Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē technē* 44. – Maderakēs, *Deēsī* 15. 92.

36 Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 68-71.

As we have seen in the research review, in a preliminary article on the masonry templa of Crete, the author proposed the existence of a morphologic and liturgical dualism between the churches equipped with a masonry screen with wall-painted despotic icons and the churches that displayed the prostration icons on the lateral walls. Therein, it was suggested that the placement of the masonry templon did not constitute a mere provincial selection but a conscientious declaration of faith that designated the templon as a cultural testament to the Orthodox doctrine. During the present study this opinion was slightly modified, so that the interpretation of the existence or absence of a templon will not only be based on the parameter of cultural diversity or interchange with western elements, but also evaluated in terms of cultic modernisation and archaism, subsequently adjusted to the ecclesiastical conditions of each passing period.

The first chapter of this study comprises the survey of the templon's existence in the Cretan churches during the Middle Byzantine period (after the renewed conquest of the island by the Byzantines from 961 to the early 13th century). The analysis suggests that, in contrast with the mainland and the remaining islands, Crete offers few complete templon ensembles from the Middle Byzantine period. Most frequently, the evidence for the existence of these installations derives from spolia subsequently placed in the masonry of later churches (usually compiled by Gerola), as well as the most recent excavations and restoration works of the Antiquity Ephorates.

The published material suggests that the existence and form of the templon are configured on the basis of a series of factors related to the capacity/use of the church, the architectural type and its geographical location. The cross-in-square churches near the religious and administrative centre of the island (Gortyna and Chandakas) were equipped with templa that consisted of closure slabs and architraves. In a few edifices, the wall paintings on the east piers serve as prostration icons, thus completing the depiction mode of the Bēma. Hence, in the churches of the central part of the island, the existence of a templon attests to the connection with the contemporary artistic evolution of the Byzantine world, which was the outcome of a conscientious artistic and venerating modernisation. In contrast, in the western part of the island (now the prefectures of Rethymno and Chania), Middle Byzantine sculpture is rather scarce. The building types (cross-in-square with a protruding cross arm, churches in a free cross shape) that were developed in these areas suggest the compilation of conservative and progressive elements, reflected to the potentially archaic depiction mode of the Bēma (low masonry closure slabs) as evidenced by monuments at different locations (Hagios Pavlos, Sfakia, Panagia Lampēnē). At the same time, another category of edifices on the island – the single-aisled cross-in-square domed churches (such as Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia) – place the prostration icons so that they face one another in front of the Bēma, indicating the substitution of the templon by other structural elements that partially conceal the Sanctuary. The abovementioned

hint at the existence of a ritual multiplicity, expressed on the one hand through the implementation of the formal liturgical forms reflecting the contemporary metropolitan developments, and on the other hand through the adherence to »archaic« venerating modes (and solutions) deriving from the local popular cultic tradition.

The second chapter investigates the phenomenon of the juxtaposition of the prostration images' array – mainly in the single-aisled churches of the 13th and the 15th century, also comprising a small number of domed or cruciform superstructures. The first conclusion from this analysis is that in churches of the second category (domed/cross-roofed), the prostration icons are placed before the congregation, thus recalling the Middle Byzantine »common practice« that required the array of the prostration images on the east piers. On the other hand, in the single-aisled edifices of the island, the prostration icons are placed on the eastern part of the lateral walls and follow specific arrangements.

This chapter attempts, for the first time, the systematic classification of these icons/wall paintings based on their iconography and depiction mode. The most widely disseminated iconographic variant comprises the facing array of the Deēsis and the patron saint. The typical placement of Deēsis on the east edge of the south wall began in the 13th century, while the placement of the patron saint on the opposite north wall started in the 13th century and was established in the 14th century. The prominence of these frescoes is highlighted either by their location in the blind arcades before the Bēma or the presence of a painted proskynētaron above the patron saint. The array mode of these icons (Deēsis on the south wall/patron saint on the north) is the precursor to the despotic icons on the post-Byzantine iconostasis (where the patron saint and Virgin are mounted on the north part and Christ with the Precursor are displayed on the south part of the installation). The second variant comprises the facing array of the prostration icons of Christ, Virgin, the titular saint or the church's titular celebration. The depiction mode of these icons corresponds to that of the previous groups (painted frames, blind arcades or plain red frames) while the selection of the themes is frequently linked to local customs or specific workshops (such as the workshop of Iōannēs Pagōmenos in the prefecture of Chania). The dating of these examples shows that this array mode of the prostration icons was already known from the 13th century, thus preceding the masonry screens that emerged at the beginning of the 14th century. At the same time, it could be deduced that the wall-painted despotic icons of the built-in templa duplicated the models of the prostration images on the lateral walls, thus suggesting their evolution from this type of wall painting. The archaeological investigation of the walls in these churches did not reveal any vestiges of a high templon. Thus, the restoration of the depiction mode of the Bēma is rather speculative. The remnants of the low guard-rails (reproducing the early Christian chancel slabs) in few churches of Crete, and the evidence for built-in or movable

guardrails in insular churches of Naxos, Chalkē and Tēlos to the end of the 15th century, attest to the insistence on more ancient venerating types and suggest the possible employment of a similar solution in the Cretan churches of the 13th and the 15th century. Thereby, this restored arrangement may be interpreted within the framework of a cultic archaism that survived due to the preservation of ancestral customs by the local population. The island's parallel arrangements reveal the existence of a liturgical multiplicity until the 15th century, thus indicating that the usage of a high templon is a phenomenon of spatial and temporal variations. As regards the alteration of cultic customs, notable is the casual destruction of the prostration icons on the lateral walls during the post-Byzantine era, since their function was now transferred to the despotic icons of the iconostasis.

The third chapter investigates the establishment of the wall-painted masonry templon in the single-aisled churches of Crete during the 14th and the 15th century. The earliest monument is traced to the village of Hagia Triada, Messara in 1302, and appears as a crude imitation of a more luxurious templon consisting of an architrave, colonettes and closure slabs. The identification of the said arrangement near Gortyna indicates the continuity of the local Middle Byzantine tradition of the marble templa with less luxurious means. On the contrary, the exemplars of western Crete suggest that the masonry screen first appeared as an innovation. On occasion, the built-in templa seemingly did not form part of the initial design of the church, while the wall-painted despotic icons/frescoes of the masonry screens of the first half of the 14th century actually duplicated the earlier model of prostration icons/frescoes on the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches. The transition to the iconostasis is observed from the second half of the 14th century onwards, when painted pseudo icons that imitated portable images now replaced the wall-painted surfaces of the despotic icons. A notable trait of the churches with built-in templa is their concentration in the prefecture of Chania, and particularly the area of Selino (where the majority are preserved) and secondarily in the prefecture of Kisamos (mostly traces). This phenomenon is linked to the density of churches, the material wealth and the strong Orthodox identity of the populations.

From 1204 onwards, the accessibility of the Bēma is rendered as a proper religious and cultural trait of the Orthodox. The Cretan monuments suggest that the construction of a masonry templon in the single-aisled churches of the island's provinces is frequently associated with monastic circles, directly targeting the maintenance of the mystic nature of the Liturgy and the »secular/sacerdotal« distinction. The installation of a solid masonry screen is vested with higher significance if one takes into consideration that, during the

earlier arrangement of Cretan churches, the »despotic« icons were placed as wall paintings on the lateral walls, while the churches carry no visible traces of a high templon in their earliest phase. As seen in the second chapter, this conservative arrangement continued in the 14th and the 15th century, in an era of intense religious controversies. Possibly the archaic custom of the local populace could pose significant questions as regards the dogmatic correctness of these churches especially on the part of the zealot Orthodox, who recognize in the existence of a templon a distinctive difference between the Catholics and the Orthodox. Hence the masonry templon seemingly appears as a cultic modernization, which complements a previous outfashioned arrangement. This innovation is probably sourced from the areas of SE Peloponnese and Kythera, both of which exhibit diachronic cultural relations with West Crete. This assumption is affirmed by the frequency of the masonry screens in neighbouring Manē and Kythera, as well as the ecclesiastical circumstances of the era, since the Venetian authorities allowed until 1429 the ordination of Cretan Orthodox priests, solely outside Crete – in the episcopate of Manē. Therefore, the supremacy of the built-in templa in West Crete materially asserts a religious/cultural route between this part of the island and the remains of the Byzantine territory.

The fourth chapter delineates the final evolutionary phase of the religious and artistic forms in Crete. The analysis is conducted on the basis of two significant documents regarding the existence and the prominence of the templon in Cretan churches. The first, presented in detail for the first time, is the narration of the German knight Konrad Grünemberg, who departed in 1486 from his homeland, Konstanz, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The restless German records his impressions of the pilgrimage in a colourfully detailed travelogue, »Beschreibung der Reise von Konstanz nach Jerusalem«, extant in two illustrated manuscripts³⁷. One of the »Greek« stops on his voyage was Chandakas. There, the knight attended the Divine Office in an urban Orthodox church (of unionist beliefs?) and was impressed by the »exotic« atmosphere of the service. The German noble describes the ritual extensively and enhances his narration with a detailed miniature depiction of the Divine Office, emphasizing the actors, the depiction mode of the Bēma and the liturgical furnishings. Konrad's reaction to the Orthodox ritual graphically reveals a German Catholic's perception of a venerating practice that exceeds his web of cultural references. Nevertheless, because the German noble attends and illustrates an Orthodox rite in a church without a templon, thus enjoying an unimpeded view of the Bēma and the occurrences therein, the combination of narration and iconography provides sublime testimony concerning the depiction mode of the Bēma

37 On the history of the manuscript: 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. A first analysis of the miniature was effected by the writer during the 39th Symposium of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art (31st May 2019). – Mailis, What did the German see? 121-122.

in an urban church of Crete in the 15th century. The chapter researches the religious conditions of this period and the liturgical customs of the Catholic and Orthodox world, with an emphasis on the liturgical multiplicity, the contradictions and the daily osmosis of the two doctrines until the end of the 15th century.

The second document concerns the conflict between the Orthodox and the official Latin leadership of the Franciscans on the occasion of the removal of the Orthodox templon from the church of the Saviour in Ierapetra in 1626, and the attempted solution proposed by the Venetian administrative authority. The incident seals a series of preceding religious

advancements during the 16th century. During this time, the iconostasis was recognized in the consciousness of the Orthodox populace as a fundamental symbol, while the open form of the Bema was now acknowledged as a formal belief of the Catholic Church. The rigorous reaction of the Cretan Orthodox and the formal intervention of the Venetians record an attempted political equilibration of two divergent religious modes after their crystallization. The testimony of the German knight as combined with the material evidence proffered by the Cretan churches constitutes valuable testimony for previous everyday practices, which would otherwise be overlooked.

Innovation and Archaisms. Templa and Prostration Images in the Cretan Churches from the late 10th to the early 13th Century

Introductory note

This chapter studies the evolution of the templon and its associated prostration images (*proskynēseis*) in the Cretan churches within the time span of the Byzantine re-conquest of the island from the Arabs (961) until the establishment of Venetian dominion (early 13th century), which more or less coincides with the so called Middle Byzantine era. This phase is generally characterized by liturgical crystallization³⁸ and the predominance of the cross-in-square church in the Byzantine Empire³⁹. According to most of the literature, these developments go hand in hand with the advance of »the distinctive feature of the Byzantine rite«-the templon; a high barrier with chancel slabs, colonettes and a beam bearing an oblong painted epistyle. The intercolumniation was usually covered with veils or icons. The iconography of the templon included the symmetric juxtaposition of prostration images of Christ, the Virgin or the Patron Saint on the piers that flank the sanctuary or occasionally on the adjoining lateral walls⁴⁰. It is evident that all the above-mentioned developments are the outcome of a long process, mainly achieved in Constantinople and secondarily in provinces as Asia Minor and the Greek mainland. Crete does not seem to participate in this »mainstream« evolution. From 826-961 the island remained under Arab rule, an enigmatic era that needs to be further studied⁴¹. During this period it seems that there is an on-going ecclesiastical activity, expressed mainly through the re-organization and transfer of bishoprics towards the island's interior⁴². After the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete, Nikephoros Phōkas invited ecclesiastical representatives from all parts of the empire to take up an intensified mission in the

island. Osios Nikōn o Metanoieite and Osios Iōannēs o Xenos responded to the call of the future emperor. According to his vita, Nikōn was born in the Polemonian Pontus⁴³. Immediately after the Byzantine recapture, he moved to Crete and preached in the regions near the metropolis of Gortys. His goal was probably to stimulate/restore the Christian morality of the local populace in compliance with the then-current standards, and to mitigate the potential influence of the Muslim religion⁴⁴. Despite the opposing information from his vita, Nikōn seems to have preached solely in central Crete⁴⁵ before moving to Sparta and gaining fame throughout the Greek mainland. On the other hand, a local missionary – Iōannēs o Xenos from Siva – was mainly known for his extraordinary building activity in the western part of Crete during the first half of the 11th century, and thus was the initiator of Middle Byzantine architecture in this part of the island. Although during his lifetime Xenos gained remarkable popularity, even in Constantinople, his later reputation was confined within the boundaries of western Crete.

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

38 Schultz, *Byzantinē Leitourgia* 127-194.

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

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

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

42 Tsougarakēs, *Byzantine Crete* 231.

43 Lambrou, *Vita* 129-228.

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

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

Eastern and central Crete

The cathedrals

The establishment of Bishoprics in the period after the Byzantine re-conquest of the island has been thoroughly researched by Gerola/Tsougarakis⁴⁶. The *Notitiae* of the 10th-12th century mention that central and eastern Crete are divided into the following Episcopal dioceses: Gortys (Γορτύνης), Knossos (Κνωσσός) – possibly identical with Chandax (Χάνδακος), Arcadia (Αρκαδίας), Chersonēsos (Χερσόνησος), Ierapetra (Ιεράπετρας) and Sēteia (Σητείας). The identification of the actual location of these Bishoprics in the Middle Byzantine era may be a difficult task, since the seats of the initial early Christian Bishoprics are often transferred to other smaller sites, which today still bear the name *Episkopē* (bishopric)⁴⁷, and for this reason the identification of a church as a cathedral remains relatively speculative.

Tracing the remains of a chancel screen in these cathedrals is equally complicated since many monuments from this period have been seriously modified or even demolished over the centuries. So, we lack evidence of templon from the three-aisled basilica of Ano Episkopē and the modified bath/church of Katō Episkopē, which alternatively served as possible cathedrals of the Bishopric of Sēteia in the Middle Byzantine era until the transfer of the Seat to the city of Sēteia, during the Venetian conquest⁴⁸. A similar absence of Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture is observed in the extremely modified/refashioned Middle Byzantine church of Hagios Myrōn in the homonymous settlement (ancient Raikos), that supposedly served as the cathedral of the Knossos bishopric in the Middle Byzantine period⁴⁹. On the other hand, sufficient architectural elements are available from templa from three churches that provably served as cathedrals of the bishoprics of Ierapetra, Gortys and Arcadia.

All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes, Ierapetra

The Middle Byzantine cathedral church of the diocese of Ierapetra⁵⁰ lies in the settlement of Episkopē near the modern city of Ierapetra and is known as the All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes⁵¹. The original church was demolished

in 1890⁵² or at the beginning of the 20th century⁵³ so that the present church could be built in its place. The name and the relevant documentation suggest that the church must have been a large edifice of the cross-in-square type, with a central dome and smaller lateral domes or calottes. In the early 20th century the archaeologist G. Gerola photographed a large quantity of architectural sculpture extending from the early Christian period to the Renaissance⁵⁴, which implies the importance of the church.

Chancel barrier fragments

Gerola's photograph (fig. 1) displays an assemblage of architectural sculpture. Among the fragments one can distinguish: a) a small templon pier with a vertical incision for the adjustment of a chancel-slab. On the splayed front, continuous tendrils forming medallions encircle slightly carved palmettes, b) a fragment of a chancel slab. On the splayed front, interlacing triple lines encircle quatrefoil crosses⁵⁵, c) two fragments of epistyle. On the splayed front, there is a continuous strip of lyre-shaped acanthus motifs⁵⁶.

The next picture (fig. 2) displays a series of architectural fragments from the early Christian period (capital of Ionic order), Middle Byzantine era (slabs with interlacing circles) and Venetian sculpture (plaque with carved skull/vanitas theme). Among them is found a fragment of a barrier lintel decorated with the theme of carved arcades. On the splayed front, binate columns, standing on pedestals, support two continuous arcades of profiled arches. The segmental arches are supported by broad impost capitals, and include a single palmette⁵⁷.

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

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

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

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

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

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

51 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 224.

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

53 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 224.

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

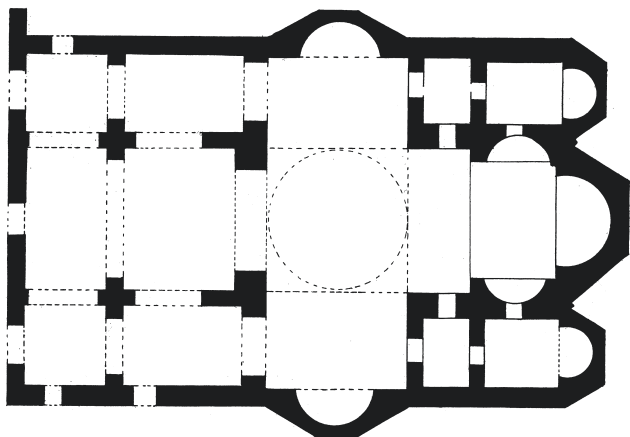


Fig. 4 Ground plan of Hagios Titos. – (After Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 32 fig. 10).



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

respectively. This specific decoration appreciably assimilates the design of a chancel slab found in Kōs (Monē Alsous/Koimēsē Theotokou) and forms part of a variety of chancel slabs widespread in the Helladic area and the Aegean in the 11th century⁵⁸.

Fragments of architectural sculpture

Figure 1 displays: 1) part of a jamb, bearing the double cable pattern found in the neighbouring church of Hagios Georgios⁵⁹ and on the front of the chancel slabs in Fodele. It can be dated back to the 11th century on the basis of parallel artefacts⁶⁰; 2) a piece of an oblong architectural sculpture (part of a canopy?) with a long waving leave, which was a very popular motif for the 11th/12th century decorative sculpture in Greece and elsewhere⁶¹.

The surviving fragments of architectural sculpture from the All-Holy Virgin of the Seven Domes imply that the church was furnished with a chancel barrier comprising an epistyle, chancel slabs and piers complying to the Middle Byzantine liturgical standards⁶². Its construction can be possibly dated to the 11th century, as suggested by the co-existing fragments and the parallels.

Hagios Titos, Gortys

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

tian monuments of the island, though not yet holistically studied. The church was probably the cathedral of the insular Metropolis after the Byzantine re-occupation of the island (961) and before the transfer of the Metropolitan Seat to Chandax⁶³. The monument is usually described as a domed basilica (**fig. 4**) although recently attempts have been made to reconstruct it as a cross-in-square church⁶⁴. The date of its construction remains a matter of dispute, estimated to the 6th-10th century; most scholars favour a 7th century date⁶⁵. The architectural sculpture of the monuments is shared between the Historical Museum of Herakleion, the depots of the Italian Archaeological School, and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Herakleion⁶⁶. Orlandos briefly discusses a group of chancel screen sculptures, dated to the Middle Byzantine period (including, among others, chancel slabs and lintels)⁶⁷. Judging by the technique and the morphological parallels of the remaining chancel slab (**fig. 5**), decorated with a cross in a central medallion, surrounded by winding vines of ivy, Marsili suggests that the templon was constructed in the 7th/8th century, probably within the framework of the renovation project⁶⁸. Additionally, Mamaloukos and Sythiakakē propose that the chancel was constructed synchronously with the church in 793-816⁶⁹. Notwithstanding the dispute concerning the actual date of the templon construction, the presence of the installation before the eastern tripartite part of the basilica suggests: a) the completeness of the liturgical

58 Mēlitsē, Kōs 428 fig. 2.

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

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

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

62 Chatzidakis, *Ikonoostas* 332.

63 Tsougarakēs, *Byzantinē Krētē* 234-235.

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

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

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

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

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

69 Mamaloukos, *Agios Titos* 12.

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



furnishing, b) the possible existence of a fully developed liturgical rite including the semi-circular procession of the Great Entrance from the Prothesis room (northern pastophorium) to the Bēma⁷⁰ and c) a tendency towards the mystical approach to the celebration of the Communion, which alludes to the official Middle Byzantine perception of the rite⁷¹.

Transfiguration of Christ, Partëra / Mikrē Episkopē Monofatsiou

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

The church was the cathedral of the diocese of Arcadia in the Middle Byzantine period⁷². After the Venetian conquest in the 13th century, the edifice served as the minster of the Catholic bishopric until 1606 when the seat was abandoned and integrated into the Bishopric of Mylopotamos⁷³.

The initial edifice was constructed as a cross-in-square church, possibly in the 12th century⁷⁴. After its conversion into a Catholic cathedral in the 13th century, its vaults were con-

structed with ashlar and it was decorated (probably in the 14th century) with Byzantine-style frescoes⁷⁵. The third phase, probably dated to the 15th century, comprised expanded modifications, such as the adjustment of the western exonarthex and the construction of the circular and rectangular windows of the northern wall (fig. 6)⁷⁶. Probably during the 14th or the 15th century, the single-aisled church was annexed to the southern part of the cathedral. Initially the chapel was dated to 1444, as indicated by the donor inscription⁷⁷, yet recent scholarly research indicated that the inscription actually came from another church in Partëra consecrated to Hagios Nikolaos, which is now dedicated to Panagia⁷⁸. The builders of the Middle Byzantine edifice used early Christian capitals over the western pillars. In contrast, the templon was constructed simultaneously with the church. Its remains are still found scattered between the main church and the lateral chapel. A rectangular fragment of the chancel barrier lintel (0.65 m × 0.24 m × 0.12 m high) was used at the bottom of the 15th century rectangular window of the northern wall (fig. 7)⁷⁹.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

76 Theocharopoulou, Symvolē 234.

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

78 Personal communication, V. Tsamakda.

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



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

On the splayed front are depicted five continuous arcades of profiled arches with binate columns standing on pedestals. The segmental arches are supported by broad impost capitals, and include palmettes and schematic trees. On the underside there are interlacing circles and rosettes. The decoration of the fragment stylistically alludes to an 11th/12th century group of lintels from Asia Minor and Greece⁸⁰, although the technique of the patterns affirms a 12th century date.

The few fragments of the remaining architectural sculpture do not allow the reconstruction of the chancel barrier. It seems that the installation was demolished and reused as a window base after the conversion of the Middle Byzantine cathedral into a Catholic one. So it would not be far-fetched to reconstruct the interior of the Catholic cathedral as an open structure with an unhindered view towards the sanctuary. However, the construction of the single-aisled chapel in the 14th or 15th century included a built templon screen, now no longer extant although Gerola recorded it in the early 20th century⁸¹. Eventually, the final form of the church complex must have included the Latin cathedral with an open sanctuary and the Orthodox single-aisled church with a masonry screen⁸². This arrangement is attested by a 1599 document, which mentions two different altars, one for the Catholics and the other for the Orthodox: *La chiesa episcopale di Arcadia ha due soli altari, uno alla romana e l'altro alla greca, et e intitulata S. Salvatore*⁸³. Therefore, the existence of the templon was meaningful for the religious character of the church itself. The installation was constructed so as

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

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

All Holy Virgin, Fodele

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

The church was probably built in the 11th century, and represents an elegant version of the local Cretan architecture influenced by Constantinople⁸⁴. The fresco decoration of the church includes four layers and spans the 11th to the 14th century. The excavation and restoration works effected in the church contribute to the partial reconstruction of the chancel barrier and its accompanying prostration images, although the actual date and arrangements remain incomplete⁸⁵. The initial researcher of the church (Lassithiotakēs) had found an intact rectangular chancel slab (0.90 m x

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

81 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 91.

82 Gratziou, Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē 243.

83 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 86.

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

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

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



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

The central panel is encircled on its three sides by a double cable motif. The decoration scheme alludes to a group of architectural sculpture dated to the 10th-11th century⁸⁶ and coincides with the date proposed for the construction of the church. We do not know if the templon comprised a lintel, since neither fragments nor beam sockets were present.

The western facades of the eastern piers were adorned with two different depictions of the Virgin (fig. 10). The N. pier fragmentarily preserves the image of the standing Panagia Odēgētria⁸⁷. The frontal Virgin wears a blue chiton and a red maphorion, while holding Christ with her left hand. The infant is also depicted at a frontal pose; He gazes at the viewer instead of His mother, thus recalling the similar stance of Christ from the mosaic prostration image of Porta Panagia, Trikala⁸⁸. Both images bear an official hieratical stance. On the S. pier there are depicted the standing images of Virgin and Child in the iconographical type of Mother of Tenderness⁸⁹. The standing Virgin wears a blue chiton and a red maphorion, and holds the infant with her right hand while leaning her head towards Christ. The standing infant is depicted in a playful manner, hugging His mother and pressing His cheek to hers as a typical child would. The image reveals the

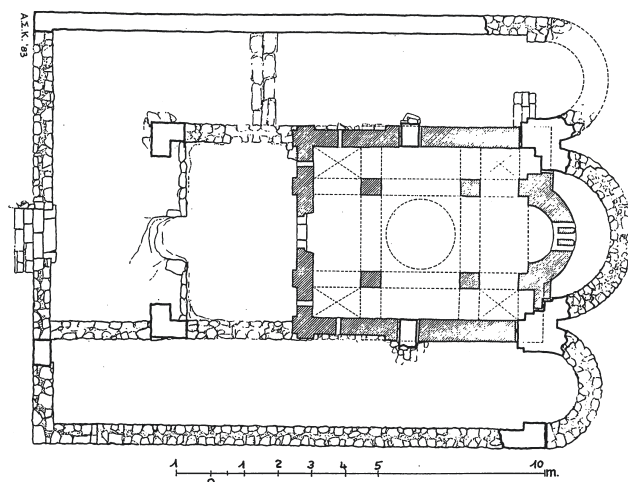


Fig. 9 Ground plan of the church of All Holy Virgin, Fodele. – (Edited after Curuni-Donati, *Creta Bizantina* figs 4-5).

maternal side of Panagia, who is represented as a caring and affectionate mother caressing her son⁹⁰. The Fodele fresco displays some distinctive characteristics, such as the position of Christ at the right side of His mother (a variation already present in the famous icon of Vladimir (ca. 1100)⁹¹ as well as His standing pose, already found in the 11th century Sinai Icon with five icons of the Mother of God⁹², and in a series

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

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

⁸⁸ Mouriki, *Hodegetria* fig. 27.

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

⁹⁰ Kalavrezou, *Maternal Side* 44-45.

⁹¹ Belting, *Bild und Kult* fig. 175.

⁹² Weyl Carr, *Icons* fig. 1.



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



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



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

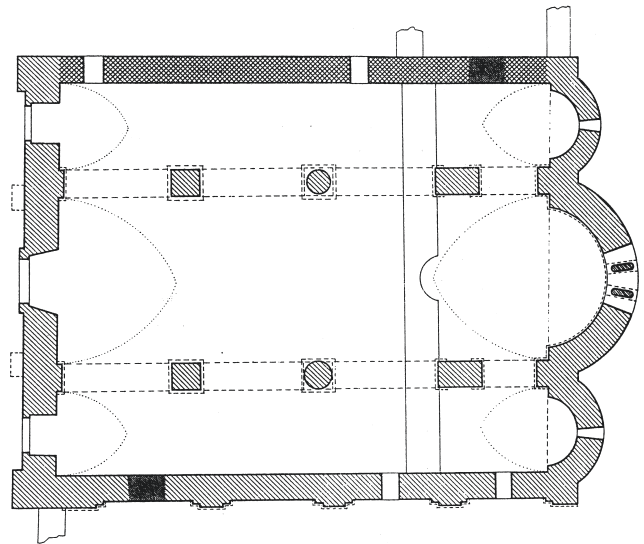


Fig. 13 Ground plan of Hagios Panteleēmōn, Bizarjanō, Pediada. – (Edited after Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 140 fig. 38).

of 12th and 13th century lead seals and icons⁹³. Both images are dated to the 13th century and they are connected to the donor inscription of the SE. pier, which according to Borboudakis refers to the names of Theodoros Plemenos and his wife Eudocia⁹⁴. This duplication of the Panagia image on the eastern piers is extremely rare and almost identically reoccurs in Hagia Sophia in Ohri (12th/13th century); on the northern pier is the image of mother of tenderness; on the

southern one, the frontal Virgin and child⁹⁵. Obviously, the two arrangements aim to display the double nature of Panagia, both as Theotokos (mother of God) and as a simple mother who caresses her son⁹⁶, thus exalting her intercessory role for the salvation of the congregation⁹⁷. Additionally, the duplication of Virgin's images suggests that, even in the 13th century the standardization of the templon images had not yet occurred.

93 Chatzidakis, *Eleousa* 497.

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

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

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

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



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



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

Chancel slab outside the church of Hagios Georgios, Fodele

A marble chancel slab lies in the courtyard of Hagios Geōrgios church in the Fodele settlement (fig. 12). According to Lassithiotakēs, the inhabitants transferred the slab from the church of Panagia to its current place⁹⁸. The slab (0.62 m × 0.63 m) was inserted within an external stone frame (0.92 m × 0.94 m). On the front there is depicted a lion with profiled head and an elevated right leg. The lions' mane consists of two winding lines, while its spiral tail is raised in the field between the head and the body. Remnants of palmettes decorate the foreground. The chancel slab belongs to a wider group of wild animal representations of the Middle Byzantine period⁹⁹. The rendering of the mane and the floral decoration allude to 10th-11th century chancel slabs from Athens¹⁰⁰, while the body's stance is reminiscent of the 11th century architectural sculpture from Mani and Sophia¹⁰¹. The movement of the tail is unusual, although it shares some similarities with the coun-

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

The church of Hagios Panteleēmōn in Bizarjanō, Pediada

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

98 Lassithotakēs, Naos Eisodiōn 86.

99 Bouras/Boura, Naodomia 562.

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

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

102 Milanova, Production 163-183 fig. 2, 12.

103 Orlandos, Prostomiaion 188-191, esp. fig. 3.



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



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

fied to a three-aisled basilica in a later phase¹⁰⁴. Although the church does not possess any remains from the templon barrier, it fragmentarily preserves a pair of prostration images on the western facades of the eastern piers flanking the Bēma; the north pier represents a frontal figure standing on a footstool, garnished with a blue chiton and a purple himation (**fig. 14**).

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 71.

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



used for the fitting of the church's pointed arches during the Venetian period. The Bizarjanō arrangement is similar to the display of prostration images in the church of Hagios Pan-teleēmōn, Nerezi (1164)¹⁰⁶, where Panagia replaces Christ. It seems that the two churches – which shared the same consecration – had a common function as far as the prostration images are concerned. At the church in Nerezi, the »dialogue« between the two images takes place between the Virgin and the titular saint of the Church¹⁰⁷, while at the Cretan church the patron saint transcendently acts as a medium between the congregation and Christ Himself¹⁰⁸. The frescoes were initially dated to the 13th century, although Spatharakis argued for a late 12th century date¹⁰⁹. Additionally, the positioning of the titular saint as prostration image in one of the two eastern piers is usually met in the second half of the 12th century onwards¹¹⁰. Therefore a date in the late 12th century onwards could be plausible for both images.

Transfiguration of the Saviour in Gergeri, Kainourjjo

Gerola photographed three marble epistyles immured in the 19th century double church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Gergeri, Kainourjjo, which still remain almost intact. Two of them were placed over the gateway of the northern wall (fig. 16)¹¹¹ while the third was positioned over the window of the western façade¹¹². The first one (fig. 17) is used as a lintel above the north door and bears the following inscription along its upper edge: ANEK[E]NHΣΘΗ ΤΑ ΔΙΑΣΤΥΛΑ

ΤΟΥ ΒΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΗΝΙ ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟ ΙΒ´ (the intercolumniation of the Bēma was remodelled on the 12th of October)¹¹³. On the splayed front, a continuous frieze of roundels (including five-leaved palmettes) is outlined and linked with plain strips and eggs. On the left side there is a whorl. On the underside are plain horizontal bands. The second part of an epistyle is inserted above the first one (fig. 17). On the splayed front are depicted intersecting rhombuses and triangles in the centre, flanked by two roundels (palmettes with five and six leaves). On either side, the roundels are connected by eggs to a rosette with eight leaves (left) and a boss decorated with a carved cross (right). Both parts belong to the same ensemble, as is indicated by identical chisel work and the common patterns such as the ionic eggs and the roundels containing identical palmettes with five leaves. Sodini has already connected the decorative pattern of the palmettes to an 11th century templon barrier in Xanthos, Asia Minor¹¹⁴. Additionally, the netlike pattern of the intersecting rhombuses and triangles bears a close resemblance to the counterpart decoration of an epistyle reused at the ossuary of Asfendios cemetery in Kōs, which is also dated to the 11th century¹¹⁵.

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

106 For the church: Sinkević, Nerezi.

107 Belting, Bild und Kult 260.

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

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

110 Siomkos, Saint Etienne 218.

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

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

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

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

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



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

right are intersecting circles ending in a flat unadorned surface, suggesting that it was once probably sealed into a wall or a pier. The epistyle bears extensive use of the chisel, and is decorated with an eight-leaved rosette that is identical to the one from the second epistyle over the northern door. This specific decorative pattern also suggests a late 10th/11th century¹¹⁶ and implies that all fragments belong to the same ensemble. It is hard to define the origin of the lintels. A 1268 document refers to the existence of a monastery (Middle Byzantine?)¹¹⁷, although its location remains unknown. According to the locals, the lintels were probably transferred from a church in neighbouring Gortys.

Panagia in Apomarma, Kainourjio

The church of Panagia (late 12th/early 13th century) is located in the settlement of Apomarma, a few kilometres to the south of Gergeri village in the Kainourjio region¹¹⁸. During his visit to the church, Gerola photographed a small capital and a piece of an epistyle(?) made of marble, which are not now preserved in situ (fig. 19)¹¹⁹.

The two pieces are briefly documented by Andrianakēs in a short article about the church¹²⁰. The capital bears the popular Middle Byzantine pattern of the cross within acanthus leaves¹²¹. Although there is no reference regarding its dimensions, it looks small, and its size thus hints to its possible adjustment on a templon barrier. On its front side the lintel fragment is decorated with a series of crosses with oval shaped arms; its top side displays the wide-spread pattern of

reverse lyre-shaped leaves. Of greatest interest is the presence of a small fragment of a marble chancel pier(?; fig. 20). The pier is covered in low relief with scales—an early Christian pattern that derived from the 12th century¹²², and a lateral winding vine with dense leaves recalling (in a rather crude manner) analogue examples¹²³ of the 12th century, simultaneously reflecting the patterns that surround the cross of the capital of the same church photographed by Gerola. It seems that the lost fragments, as well as the immured item, belonged to a 12th century templon barrier whose origin remains unknown¹²⁴.

Panagia of Panagia, Kainourjio

A few kilometres west of the Apomarma settlement lies the small village of Panagia¹²⁵. Gerola photographed two Middle Byzantine chancel slabs that were integrated in the later iconostasis¹²⁶. On the front of the northern one (left), a square frame includes rosettes in medallions at its internal corners and a central rhombus pattern including a six-rayed Christogram in a circle. On the front of the southern slab (right) are four circles with internal decoration, connected to each other by binding knots.

Monastery of Paljani, Temenos

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

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

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

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

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

120 Andrianakēs, *Apomarma* 99-124.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ancient monasteries of the island. The monastery is first mentioned as Palla or Palea in a document of 668¹²⁷. During the Middle Byzantine period, the monastery was defined as imperial, and it possessed an extended estate¹²⁸. The monastic complex today consists of separate buildings around a central courtyard. In its midst is the large katholikon that is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin. The construction chronicle of the monastery remains obscure¹²⁹. Andrianakēs proposed a 14th century date for the construction of the three-aisled domed basilica, which was thoroughly modified in the 19th/20th century. The early Christian spolia (such as the window supporters and the capitals of the church) and the Middle Byzantine sculpture found in the edifices of the monastery indicate anterior construction phases.

The church has been recently restored by the Ephorate of Antiquities, Herakleion (2011-2015) and new conclusions have been extracted as regards its architecture and the sculptures, which will be published in future¹³⁰; therefore, we will provide only a brief description of Gerola's published material. The Italian archaeologist had photographed as great quantity of sculptures, either immured in the buildings of the monastery or scattered in the courtyard. The photographs show – among other things – that among them was a large group of early Christian and Middle Byzantine impost capitals¹³¹. Next to this assemblage lies another group of sculptures, such as a templon epistyle decorated with a frieze of alternating palmettes and leaves, used as a lintel over the west doorway of the church¹³², a cornice decorated with medallions encircling cross and palmette, used as a door lintel¹³³ and an architrave with palmettes used as a lintel over the doorway of one of the cells¹³⁴. Sythiakakē reports that she has found four marble Templon lintels from the sanctuary and the chamber of Prothesis dating to the 11th/12th century. Furthermore she claims that the initial form of the church should be reconstructed as a cross-in-square edifice, probably connected to imperial finance¹³⁵.

Western Crete

The cathedrals

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



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

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

Almost all Middle Byzantine bishoprics have been renamed and transferred. Tsougarakēs – following Gerola – suggests that the Bishopric of Kalamōnos replaced the early Christian Episcopate of Lampēs and he identifies it with the settlement of Megalē Episkopē or Episkopē¹³⁶. The anterior Bishopric of Eleutherna was renamed »Mylopotamos/Aulo-potamos« and relocated to the Episkopē village of Mylopotamos region. Finally, the Bishopric of Syvritos was renamed »Ariou« and located in the Viran Episkopē settlement¹³⁷. Additionally, in the Chania district the Kissamos Bishopric retained its name, but was transferred inland, specifically to the settlement of Episkopē. Similarly, the early Christian diocese of Kydonia was relocated towards the interior of

127 Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* II, 184.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

135 Sythiakakē, *Glypta* 43.

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

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



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

the district, in the settlement of Agia¹³⁸. The evidence concerning the existence of templon barriers in the cathedrals of the region is scarce but not entirely lacking. No surviving templon fragments are available from the churches of Hagios Iōannēs Mylopotamos or Hagios Nikolaos in Megalē Episkopē, which probably served as the cathedrals of Mylopotamos and Kalamōnos Bishopricks respectively¹³⁹. Additionally, we have some pieces of evidence for the existence of templon barriers from the cathedrals of Viran Episkopē/Rethymno, Episkopē in Kissamos/Chania and Agia/Chania.

The basilica in Viran Episkopē

The settlement of Viran Episkopē is identified with Arion – the Seat of the eponymous diocese in the Middle Byzantine period¹⁴⁰. Near the church of Hagia Eirēnē Kalokyriēs excavated a three-aisled Christian basilica, altered in the Middle Byzantine period and used as the cathedral of the bishopric¹⁴¹. The excavator published and photographed a series of architectural sculpture of the early Christian and the Byzantine period. Among the items are two fragments of Middle Byzantine epistyles¹⁴². The first one is decorated on its splayed front with a continuous frieze of roundels (geometrical patterns, and a swirl) outlined and linked with plain strips (0.30 m × 0.30 m × 0.07 m).

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

to a Templon lintel from Skopelos (1080), while the Maltese cross is also found in the 11th century decoration of epistyles from the church of Koimēsēs in Theologos Antimacheias, Kōs¹⁴³. Kalokyriēs also published the photograph of a chancel slab fragment¹⁴⁴, which is decorated with roundels outlined and linked with double plain strips, encircling a geometrical pattern with rhombus, swirl and a fragmentary fluted palmette. The slab also bears resemblance to the 11th century chancel slabs from Manē and Athens, especially as regards the geometrical patterns (swirls, fluted palmettes)¹⁴⁵. Consequently, one can deduce that during the 11th century the Middle Byzantine cathedral was furnished with a templon barrier comprising slabs and an epistyle. However, we do not have any accurate evidence concerning either the length of the installation or the existence of flanking prostration images.

The basilica in Agia, Chania

The basilica of Panagia lies in the middle of a fertile plan in the western part of the modern settlement of Agia, to the south of Chania. The original early Christian transept basilica was modified at the end of the 10th century (after the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete; **fig. 22**), in order to be used as the cathedral of the Kydonia diocese, which was transferred to the region's interior and renamed the Bishopric of Agia¹⁴⁶. The remodelling of the anterior church included the adjustment of two lateral apses at the eastern part of the aisles, and the construction of two piers (with early Christian spolia and tiles) between the eastern pillars and the apse¹⁴⁷. Adjacent to these piers, is found the built stylobate of the templon (width: 7.42 m), constructed from rectangular sandstone blocks. The

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

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

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

141 Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* 230-239.

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

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

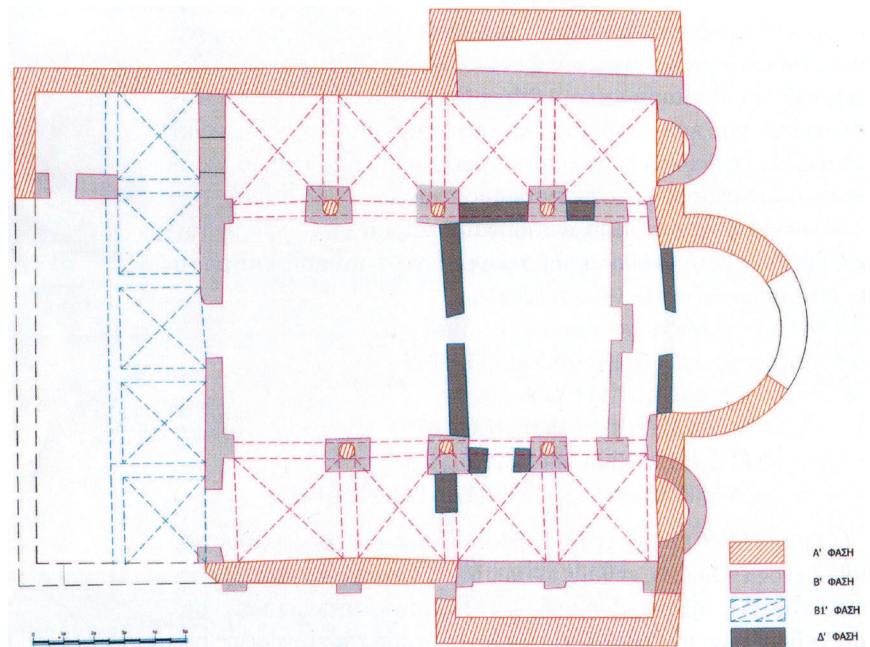
144 Kalokyriēs, *Veran Episkopē* tab. 184 γ.

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

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

147 Andrianakēs, *Agia* 90 fig. 11.

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



central one bears an oblong carving, thus suggesting its use as the threshold (Ōraia Pylē) of the sanctuary. The foundation defines the Middle Byzantine sanctuary while including the passages to the lateral antechambers of Prothesis and Diaconicon. However, the form of the Middle Byzantine barrier is unknown, since the stylobate bears few and irregular traces of the embedded piers and there are insufficient remains of Middle Byzantine sculpture¹⁴⁸. The existence of the stylobate forms part of the Middle Byzantine modification project, and as in the case of Hagios Titos in Gortys, implies the existence of a tripartite eastern sanctuary with developed functions of Prothesis and Diaconicon at the lateral chambers of the Bēma, although their partition remains unknown, since they have not been excavated.

The church of Archangel Michaēl, Episkopē Kissamos

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

The church had an initial tripartite arrangement with a baptistery situated at the south pastophorion, implying an oriental influence¹⁵⁰. During the Middle Byzantine period the church probably acquired a templon barrier, judging by the

sockets for an epistyle found approximately at a height of 1.80 m and the fragments of architectural sculpture (a fragmented slab and a cornice) now kept at the depots of the local department of archaeological service. The arrangement is completed with the 12th century depiction of the prostration images of the titular saint Archangel Michaēl (south; fig. 24), paired with a now fragmentary Archangel Gabriēl (north) at the east piers of the sanctuary¹⁵¹.

Churches connected with Iōannēs Xenos' building activity

Iōannes Xenos' »Testament« stresses the impressive building activity of the local saint, which took place mainly in western Crete (Rethymnon and Chania regions) during the late 10th/first half of the 11th century¹⁵². According to the text, Xenos was born in the village of Siva, near the ancient city of Phais-tos in the southern part of Herakleion district (= Γονέων γὰρ γέγονα πλουσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγόμενου Σίβα)¹⁵³, probably in 970¹⁵⁴. Xenos constructed his first foundation, the rocky church of Hagios Eytichios and Eytichianos, Raxos, high in the Asterousia mountains, not far from his hometown in eastern Crete (= ἤλθον ἄχρι τοῦ ὄρους τῶν λιθινῶν τοῦ λεγόμενου

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

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

150 Mailis, Baptisteries 306. 308.

151 Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 380.

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

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

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

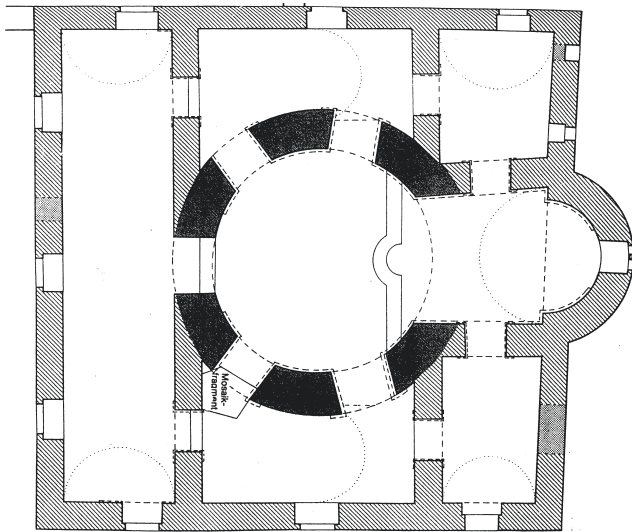


Fig. 23 Ground plan of Archangel Michael, Kissamos. – (Edited after Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 196 fig. 55).



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

Free cross with dome churches

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

All Holy Virgin the Antifonētria, Myriokephala / Rethymnon

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

The katholikon consists of the original domed free-cross church and the later exonarthex with its 14th/15th century murals¹⁵⁸. Xenos founded the initial church in the early 11th century (1005 or 1020) according to an inscription (cf. following

¹⁵⁵ Tomadakēs, Xenos 57, 23-24 and 58, 38.

¹⁵⁶ Tomadakēs, Xenos 58, 41 and 58, 49-51.

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

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

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

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

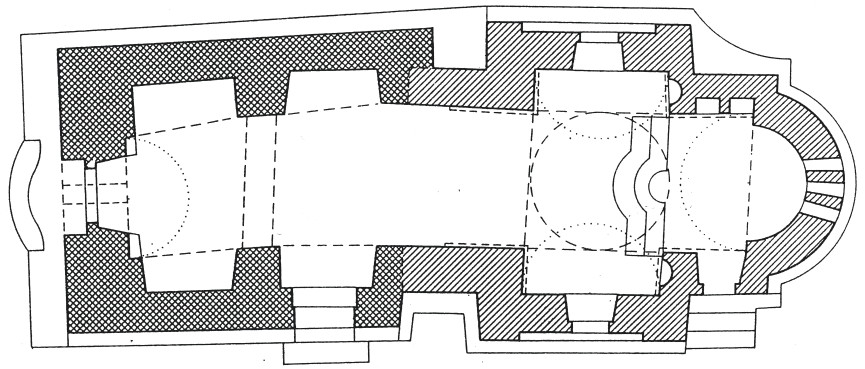


Fig. 26 The church of Antifonētria with posterior narthex. – (Photo A. Mailis).



analysis). Following his departure from the monastery, Xenos returned to his foundation twice: first, after a short journey around the region of Rethymno, and again, after his important trip to Constantinople during the reign of Patriarch Alexios (1025-1043), as described in his testament¹⁵⁹. Therefore, it seems that the free-cross plan of the church was adopted by Xenos before his journey to the capital and his subsequent contact with the Constantinopolitan monuments¹⁶⁰.

Free-cross churches were very popular in the region of central and eastern Cappadocia from the early Christian period¹⁶¹. Orlandos observed that the type was also admired in the islands (Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes)¹⁶², while modern research located a few monuments of this type in the southern Balkans and the Greek mainland, as well¹⁶³. Orlandos had

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

The original church has two layers of murals. The later one (second half of the 12th century) is found on the barrel vaults, the walls of the western arm and the concelebrating bishops of the apse¹⁶⁵. The earlier layer – unanimously dated to the early 11th century¹⁶⁶ – comprises the frontal bishops of the apse, the representation of Christ atop the dome, the figures of the standing Virgin, Angels and Prophets at the drum, and the half figures of frontal Saints decorating the niches of the eastern walls that flank the Bēma (fig. 27).

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

160 Andrianakēs, Xenos 260.

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

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

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

164 Orlandos, *Rodos* 89.

165 Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 150.

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



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

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

Borboudakēs identified the latter figure as Nikolaos¹⁶⁸, but Spatharakis correctly recognized the facial characteristics of St. John Chrysostom (sparse curly hair, a tiny tuft atop his head and protruding cheek-bones)¹⁶⁹ as is evident by its comparison with Chrysostom's contemporary portraits such as the one in the south-east conch of Hosios Loukas¹⁷⁰. Below the bust of Chrysostom is a slab-like decorative panel bearing a rectangular frame painted with three lines and including four triangles pointed inwards towards the centre, filled with pairs of winding vines-imitating volutes. The decoration possibly imitated patterns of architectural sculptures such as the one found on the 12th century epistyle of Taxiarchēs Messara in Andros¹⁷¹. Next to the panel is a pier-like frame including a barely legible inscription. Antourakis read ΜΗΥΙΕ', ιν. Γκε (25th indiction), while Borboudakēs recognized the name Iōannēs and indiction Γ, thus connecting it to the founder

Iōannēs Xenos and dating it to 1005 or 1020, before Xenos' journey to Constantinople¹⁷².

Since the Bēma of the church was modified in subsequent periods (**fig. 27**), the two flanking niches are the sole evidence for the display of the Middle Byzantine sanctuary. The niches at the eastern walls of the lateral arms suggest a standard arrangement of the free-cross churches from the 9th century onwards¹⁷³. Agios Basileios in Gefyra Artas (second half of the 9th century)¹⁷⁴, Saint George in Gorni Kozjak, Bargala (9th century)¹⁷⁵, Transfiguration of the Saviour, Metamorphosis Messēnias (late 10th-early 11th century)¹⁷⁶, Agia Paraskeui Drakou, Arta (11th century)¹⁷⁷, Viniča in Bulgaria¹⁷⁸, as well as the post-Byzantine churches in Naxos¹⁷⁹ and Paros¹⁸⁰, all share identical niches; this implies a connection between the architectural type and this specific arrangement. Vocotopoulos disconnects the niches from any liturgical use and interprets them as elements of the interior decoration¹⁸¹.

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

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

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

169 Spatharakis, *Rethymno* 149.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

176 Kavvadia-Tsourēs, *Messēnia* 282.

177 Vocotopoulos, *Hagia Paraskeuē* 52.

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

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

180 Orlandos, *Paros* 152-154.

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



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



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

to the prostration icons of the templon. Besides, during the 11th century the iconographic arrangement of the prostration icons of the templon had not yet been crystallized, as the written evidence from Bačkovó (1081) suggests¹⁸². Consequently this raises a question concerning the actual arrangement of the Middle Byzantine templon enclosure. A possible answer might be found within the text of Xenos' testament, according to which the saint brought with him from Constantinople holy vessels, books and holy icons in order to decorate the monastery of Myriokefala καὶ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως μεθ' ὧν προσεκτήσαμην ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρήστων ἐκέισε ἱερά σκεύη, βιβλία, ἀγίας εἰκόνας κατεκόσμησα τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὄρατε¹⁸³. Borboudakēs claims that Xenos probably carried epistyle icons in order to complete the Myriokefala templon

according to the liturgical standards then current in the capital¹⁸⁴. Gratziou also agrees that Xenos brought portable icons in order to furnish the church and the cells of the monastery, and she correctly interprets this action as an effort to establish the cult of images in the public and the private sphere, in a region (rural Crete) where archaic artistic and cultic trends still survived¹⁸⁵; however, she does not define the actual function of the images.

It is noteworthy that the epithet »Antifonētria« probably refers to an image of the Virgin. Yet the term does not describe any of her known icons. On the contrary, Antifonētēs (Responder) designates a famous ancient icon of Christ, housed in its chapel in Chalkoprateia¹⁸⁶. The epithet usually describes an image of Christ, either in the private

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

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

183 Tomadakēs, Xenos 60, 112-114.

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

185 Gratziou, Eikones 44-45.

186 Weyl Carr, Icons 78-79.

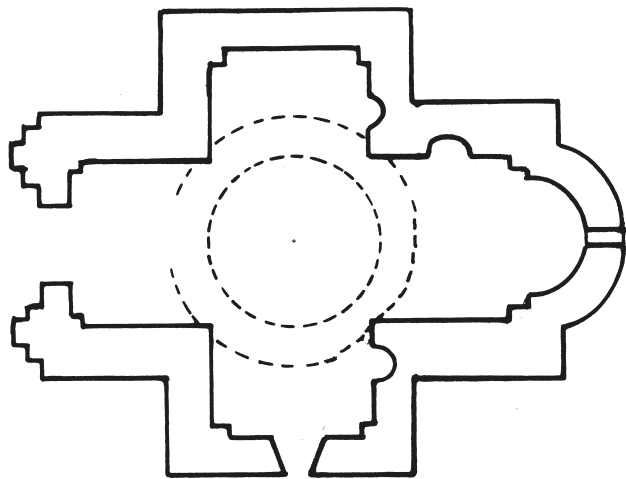


Fig. 30 Ground plan of Hagios Pavlos, Sphakia. – (After Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Sfakia* 102 fig. 102).

sphere, like the individual one used by the empress Zoē (according to Psellos)¹⁸⁷ or in liturgical art, like the prostration image/fresco of Christ, who responds to the petition of His mother, depicted as Paraklēsis on the pairing fresco, flanking the sanctuary of the Arakos church (1192)¹⁸⁸. Subsequently, a possible question that arises is whether the image of Antiphonētria was actually an individual cultic image placed on a banner (σίγνον) like the ones used in Constantinople¹⁸⁹, or an actual prostration image placed in front of the templon. The subsequent alterations of the sanctuary do not convey any definite answer. Additionally, a fundamental question regarding the actual form of the initial barrier still remains. Perhaps the solution might be found in another church that was founded by Xenos in the isolated region of Sphakia.

Hagios Pavlos in Hagios Iōannēs, Sphakia

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

ney to Rome (= καὶ ἀπελθόντος μου εἰς ἔρημον τόπον Ὅπισω Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ προσέμενα ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς καὶ οἰκήσα εὐκτήριον τὸν Ἅγιον Παῦλον)¹⁹⁰. Like Antiphonētria, the church is built as a free cross with dome, and belongs to Variation 1 of Orlandos' typology (fig. 30)¹⁹¹ (equal vertical and lateral cross arms). Its masonry consists of rubble, pebbles, volcanic and sandstone ashlar. Early Christian marble impostes have been used for the decoration of the western façade. Additionally, the west door-frame is crowned with a reused marble lintel that is sheltered by a Π-shaped sandstone cornice¹⁹². As in his previous church, Xenos adorned the eastern piers of the Bēma with sandstone cornices (fig. 31), which implies the common use of architecture and decoration patterns for both churches. Hagios Pavlos is equipped with the standardized niches at the eastern walls of the transverse arms of the cross. They were decorated with frescoes that no longer survive. Below them, there are painted rectangular panels containing black and red wavy lines that imitate marble incrustation. In front of the Bēma there are two low walls (1.16 m height) of unequal dimensions (fig. 31). The north wall (0.88 m × 0.48 m) consists of pebbles, mortar, a volcanic stone and four sandstone ashlar similar to those of the western façade and eastern cornices. The south wall (0.50 m × 0.48 m) is constructed with pebbles, mortar and volcanic stones and is roughly joined to the original masonry. Evidently these walls – imitating early Christian slabs – constitute the original chancel barrier of the Middle Byzantine church, which was remade into an iconostasis through the addition of a wooden epistyle, probably in the 19th-20th century, judging from the crude beam and the style of the portable icons.

The presence of low barriers is not uncommon »archaism«. They are also manifested in another church of Crete (Panagia Lampēnē) and other parts of Greece; Low templon barriers are found on the eastern piers of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria (fig. 32), where they belong to the original liturgical furnishings of the 850/900 church. Chatzidakis interprets the arrangement as an archaism – paired with the co-existing synthronon in the apse of the church – consequently linking both installations to the celebration of a bishopric ritual¹⁹³. Marinou has reconstructed the original templon of Mystras cathedral of Hagios Dēmētrios (1262) with low marble slabs – also linking the arrangement to the bishopric ceremony¹⁹⁴. As

187 Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, Ἰησοῦν δι-
αμορφώσας ἀκριβέστερον, καὶ λαμπροτέρᾳ ὕλῃ ποικίλασα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἔμπνουν
εἰργάσατο τὸ εἰκόνησιν· ἐπεσημαίνετο γὰρ τοῖς χρώμασι τὰ αἰτούμενα, καὶ ἐδήλου
τὰ μέλλοντα ἡχροῖά· πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκείνη ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἐσομένων κατεμαντεύετο· εἴτε
γοῦν τι θυμῆρες προσεγεγόνει αὐτῇ, εἴτε δυσχερές τι προσεπειπώκει, εὐθὺς ἀφί-
κνεῖτο πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα, τὰ μὲν ἀνομολογουμένη, τὰ δὲ ἐξίλουμένη. Ἐγὼ γοῦν
ἐθεασάμην αὐτὴν πολλάκις ἐπὶ δυσχερεστέρων καιρῶν, νῦν μὲν τὴν θείαν ἀγκαλι-
ζομένην εἰκόνα καὶ καταθεωροῦσαν ταύτην, καὶ ὡς ἐμψύχῳ διαλεγομένην καὶ τὰ
κάλλιστα τῶν ὀνομάτων συνείρουσαν, νῦν δὲ ἐπ' ἐδάφους κειμένην καὶ δάκρυσι μὲν
τὴν γῆν παινέουσαν, τυπαιοτὶ δὲ τὰ στέρνα διασπαράττουσαν. Reinsch, Michael
Psellos 384 (6,66).

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

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

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

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

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

192 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 334.

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

194 Marinou, *Mystras* 128-129.

Wharton-Epstein observed, a number of churches in Cappadocia and Italy have only low barriers »with no evidence of ever being closed more«¹⁹⁵. Consequently, this archaism can be interpreted not only in accordance with a specific ritual act but also as a visible sign of persistence to an anterior cultic/religious ethos¹⁹⁶. Bearing in mind the arrangement of Hagios Pavlos, it would not be far-fetched to support that the initial templon in Antifonētria could have shared the same arrangement, thus reconstructing it as an installation with low built walls in an imitation of slabs, matching Xenos' conservatism.

Cross-in-square churches

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

The cross-in-square church of the »Life giving source« (Virgin), Alikianos (Koufos) near Chania (figs 33-34), was allegedly founded by Xenos after his return from Constantinople (= Τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολήν καὶ ἑμαυτὸν εἰδήσας καὶ καταβλεψάμενος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν μέ ἀνάπαυσιν μίαν ὥραν ἄνεσιν, ἐξῆλθον τῆς μονῆς καὶ οὕτως κατέλαβον τὸν τόπον τοῦ λεγόμενου Κουφοῦ καὶ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου ἀνέγειρα ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου)¹⁹⁷. Although the actual date of the existing church remains a matter of dispute¹⁹⁸, Andrianakēs successfully characterizes the architecture of the edifice as a fusion of progressive/metropolitan elements with local »archaism and constructional inexpediency«. The church displays Constantinopolitan characteristics (external blind arcades and niches, groin vaults) – commonplace for the Cretan Middle Byzantine architecture¹⁹⁹. Simultaneously the ground plan reveals an awkwardly constructed, cross-in-square church with protruding transverse, reminiscent of the domed free-cross churches. This observation led Andrianakēs to maintain that it was after his pilgrimage in Constantinople and due to the impressions made by the metropolitan monuments that Xenos decided to construct a cross-in-square edifice; its construction, however, was assigned to inexperienced local craftsmen²⁰⁰.

Additionally, the church preserves two layers of frescoes. The first one is located in the NE. bay and is dated to the 11th century, while the second layer covers the whole church, and is dated to the 14th century²⁰¹. The church was continu-



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

ously restored from 1303 onwards. More recent renovations included an arbitrary reworking by the locals in 1908, Orlandos' extended restoration in 1950 (including the construction of the upper structure)²⁰², as well as the latest reconstruction of the dome by the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities²⁰³. The current presentation of the Bēma derives from Orlandos' restoration, since in 1950 the latter removed the built templon that had been photographed by Gerola in the early 20th century²⁰⁴ (figs 35-36).

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

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

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

197 Tomadakēs, *Xenos* 60, 127-131.

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

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

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

200 Andrianakis, *Xenos* 261.

201 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 358.

202 Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 173.

203 Andrianakēs, *Ergo* 41.

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



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

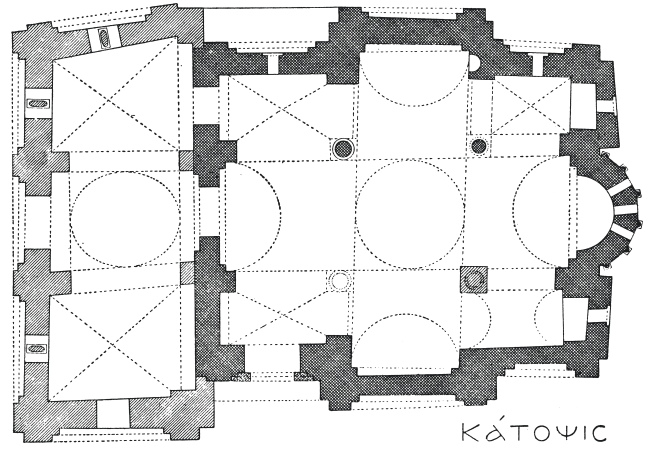


Fig. 33 Ground plan of church of Life-giving fountain Alikianos. – (After Orlandos, Byzantina Mnēmeia 176 fig. 30).



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



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

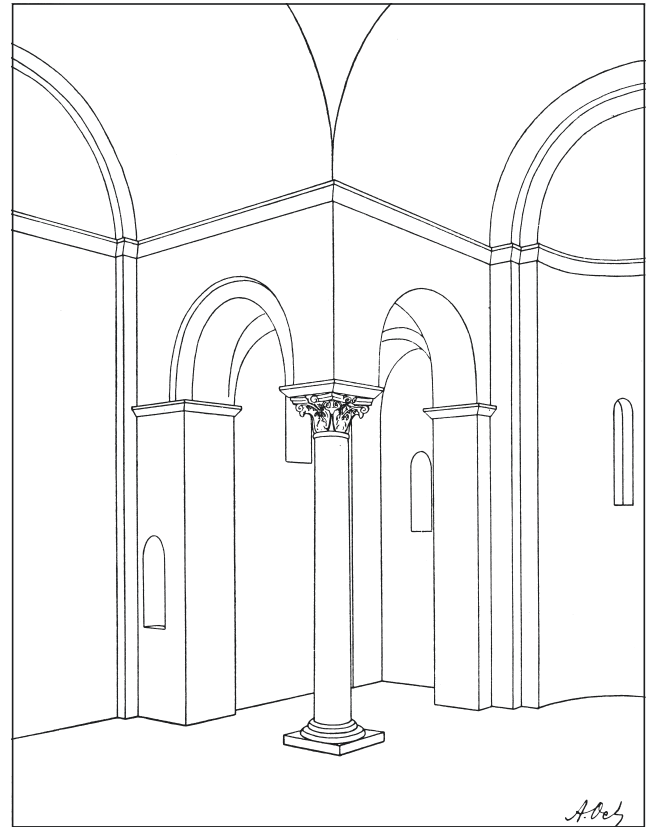


Fig. 36 Orlandos' reconstruction of the NE part of the original screen. – (After Orlandos, *Byzantina Mnēmeia* 180).



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



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



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

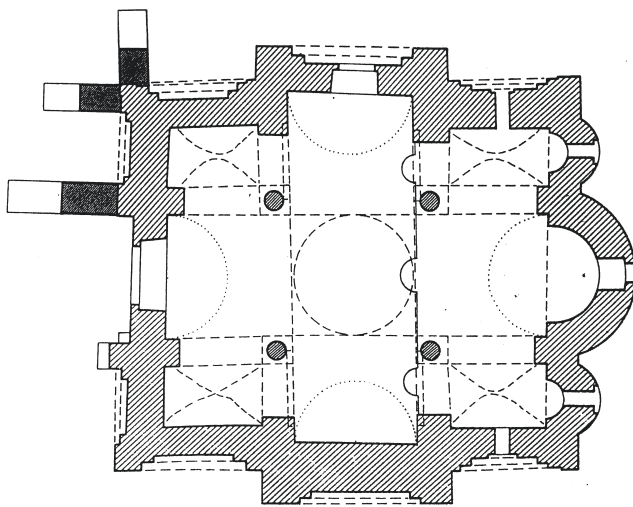


Fig. 39 Ground plan of the excavation at Hagios Dēmētrios. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 324 fig. 99).

Above her are depicted the 14th century busts of Hagios Polykarpos and Hagios Nikolaos²⁰⁵. The south pier – which had no niches – was part of a wall that is now demolished as shown by the remnants and Orlandos' testimony concerning the existence of a now lost fresco of the Virgin and Child on this surface²⁰⁶. The wall was probably destroyed during the construction of the subsequently-built templon. Consequently, the arrangement of the templon included at least three phases. The first one (Middle Byzantine) cannot be accurately reconstructed. It included the protruded NE. pier

and its niche, as well as two free-standing pillars. The overall form of the barrier is unknown due to the lack of surviving evidence²⁰⁷, yet the existence of the niche also links this arrangement with Iōannes Xenos' conservatism. The second phase (after the earthquake of 1303) included the painting of Hagia Paraskevē in the niche and the construction of a south-eastern wall (joining the immured column and the south pier) painted with a prostration image of the Virgin. The portrayal of the female Hagia Paraskevē, who was associated with Holy Friday and subsequently with lamentation/intercession on behalf of the deceased²⁰⁸, might be linked to the funerary function of the church, which stood amidst an extended cemetery containing burials from the Middle Byzantine period until the Ottoman period²⁰⁹. Therefore, the depiction of the saint in the lateral niche could also play a secondary role in vigils and commemorations. The third phase (after the 14th century) included the construction of a built templon with three entrances (leading to the Bēma and the auxiliary chambers) as well as frames for the position of portable images (fig. 35), thus suggesting a possible 16th century date, when icon painting prevailed over fresco decoration.

Hagios Dēmētrios in Hagios Dēmētrios, Rethymno

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

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

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

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

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

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

209 Bourbou, *Nekrotafeio* 759-780.

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

ifice that – according to Xenos’ testament – was constructed by the Saint near the village of Pēgē before his journey to Constantinople (= ὁστις ἦν τόπος καλός καὶ εὐχρηστος καὶ πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Πηγῆς [...] ἀνήγειρα ναὸν τὸν λεγόμενον ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Ὁψαροπιάστην [...])²¹¹. Andrianakēs proposed a date in the second quarter of the 11th century²¹², while Kappas dated it even later – during the 12th century²¹³. During the recent excavation and restoration works there remnants of the templon stylobate were found, consisting of marble *spolia* of unequal dimensions. The Bēma foundation comprised two pieces (north: 0.54m × 0.11m; south: 0.59m × 0.12m; **fig. 40**) and the Prothesis chamber one (0.33m × 0.29m). All fragments bear small holes (ca. 0.10m) for the embedding of supporters²¹⁴. As in the previous three churches, this one is also equipped with conches (0.17m × 0.10m) at the eastern walls of the transverse arms of the cross. The north one has no frescoes, while the south one is decorated with a half figure of Hagios Tryfon. The dates proposed for the fresco vary from the 11th century to the early 14th century, while the fragmentary decoration of the church does not convey an accurate date²¹⁵.

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

Churches with other functions

Panagia Lampēnē, Region of Hagios Basileios, Rethymno

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

The construction of the church is dated to the early or late 12th century²¹⁶. The dedication of the church to Panagia

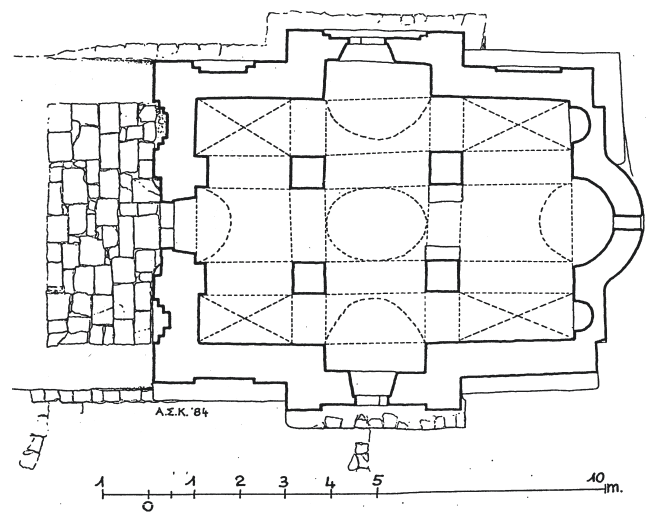


Fig. 41 Ground plan of Panagia Lampēnē. – (After Curuni-Donati, Creta Bizantina fig. 3).

Lampēnē is justified by the inscription Η ΛΑΜΠΗΝΗ found next to the depiction of the Virgin orans in the apse, probably in imitation of a celebrated icon²¹⁷. Some scholars believe that the church was used as the Middle Byzantine cathedral of the pre-existing Bishopric of Lampē²¹⁸, but in that period the diocese was transferred to Megalē Episkopē and renamed Bishopric of Kalamōn²¹⁹. Andrianakēs recognizes four fresco layers from the 12th to the 15th century, while Spatharakis favours the existence of two; the anterior from the 12th century and the later from 1301, based on the memorial inscription next to the portrait of the renovator(?), the monk Iōannēs Kapsodasēs²²⁰.

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

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

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

212 Andrianakis, Xenos 258.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

222 Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 112-127.



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



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

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

It is very probable that the fresco depicting the feast day of the church was used by the laity as a veneration image²²³, suitable for kissing, censuring and candle lighting²²⁴. Gratziou traces the presence of analogous feast images of the Dormition on the north wall, next to the alleged templon of the neighbouring single-aisled churches of Panagia of the 14th century (Panagia in Diblochōri, Panagia in Drymiskos), which implied the existence of a local cultic tradition. Yet it seems that this was a widespread arrangement for the 14th/15th century churches²²⁵. The 12th century date of the initial Dormition scene may shed some light on the Middle Byzantine arrangement of the feast day icon, since the fresco is not positioned next to the templon, but on a lateral wall at a distinctive bay of the church. This arrangement possibly reflects – in a provincial manner – an official Constantinopolitan arrangement, which presupposed the placement of the cultic image on a stand/banner (σίγρον) inside the church, but at a distance from the templon, as described in the typicon of the Pantocrator monastery. The architectural type of the Lampēnē church, as well as the evident Constantinopolitan influences on its dome²²⁶ favour the possible imitation of a sophisticated model.

223 For the interpretation: Gratziou, Lampēnē 252.

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

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

226 Theocharopoulou, Paratērēseis 258.

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



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



Hagia Varvara, Latziana Kissamos, Chania

The cross-in-square church of Hagia Varvara lies in a remote location, northwest of the settlement of Bulgarō in Kissamos province²²⁷. The church is considered to be one of the finest examples of the island's Middle Byzantine architecture; it is decorated with frescoes from the 11th century, linked to monuments like Hagia Sophia, Kiev or Nea Monē Chios²²⁸. The church preserves a number of spolia (bases,

shafts and ionic capitals), mainly used as supporters of the dome. During the reconstruction works, there was found a chancel slab made of Proconesian marble and dated to the 6th century²²⁹. The church does not preserve any sockets for the fixing of a templon barrier or stylobate (**fig. 45**), since the floor was repaved with stone slabs in a later phase, during the 15th century. The iconographic programme of the church

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

228 Andrianakēs, *Nea Stoicheia* 17.

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



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

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

The saint wears aristocratic garments. At her feet lies the prostration image of a man wearing a kavvadiion (donor?)²³⁰. The composition is set apart by two painted supports imitating marble pillars. These pillars are crowned with capitals that supported an arched frame, which is no longer preserved. The specific framing of the fresco (through two pillars and an arch) relates to arrangements used for venerated portable images, like the enclosing that surrounds the central panel of the image of the Virgin of Kykkotisa, kept in the Sinai monastery (1050-1100)²³¹ or the one that frames the stone icon of S. Maria Mater Domini in Venice (ca. 1200), which imitates an original from Constantinople²³². Evidently the painted framing of Hagia Varvara, just like its counterparts from St. George in Kurbinovo (1191) or Holy Anargyroi in Kastoria (ca. 1180), simulated the actual sculptural scaffoldings of the prostration images that decorate the pilasters of the Middle Byzantine templon screens, such as the fresco of Hagios Panteleēmōn in Nerezi, Skopje (1164) or Zoodochos Pēgē in Samari Messēnia (12th century)²³³.

In Latziana, the prostration image of the titular saint is not placed on the eastern piers, but on the south lateral wall. Based on the Macedonian examples, Siomkos maintained that the insertion of the titular saint as a prostration image begins from the end of the 12th century onwards²³⁴. This arrangement is encountered at single-aisled churches of the 12th century like St. George in Kurbinovo, where the patron saint is painted on the north wall, and Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzēs where the titular saint is found on the south wall next to the templon²³⁵. The Latziana example antedates the previous ones so it might be the earliest example of this type, from the 11th century. It is also noteworthy that the framed fresco of the titular saint (Hagia Varvara) in the Middle Byzantine church of Latziana is the predecessor of similar depictions of titular saints in the 14th and 15th century Cretan churches. These images are usually framed with two pillars and gothic-like pointed arches. They are typically positioned at the eastern end of the lateral walls, next to the sanctuary and were used as prostration icons²³⁶ (e.g. the image of Hagios Nikolaos in Hagios Nikolaos, Maza [1325-1326], Iōannēs Theologos in Hagios Iōannēs Theologos, Kalamos Selino [first half of the 14th century], Hagia Photeinē in Hagia Photeinē, Preveli [15th century] and elsewhere). For a detailed study of the topic, see pp. 63-67. 87-88.

²³⁰ Andrianakēs, Nea Stoiicheia 17.

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

²³² Belting, Bild und Kult 214.

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

²³⁴ Siomkos, Saint Etienne 218.

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

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

Completing the analysis of the Middle Byzantine churches in western Crete, one must observe that elaborate cross-in-square churches like Hagios Geōrgios Kalamas in Mylopotamos/Rethymnon²³⁷, Hagios Panteleēmōnas in Nopija/Kissamos²³⁸ and Panagia Zerviōtissa in Stylos, Apokōrōnas²³⁹ do not display evidence for the existence of a templon, probably due to later modifications. Equally, the cross-in-square church of Archangelos Michaēl in Aradaina offers strong evidence for the absence of any templon barrier. The date of the monument remains a matter of dispute; Theocharopoulou suggested an 11th century date, but a few scholars emphatically supported its 14th century construction on the basis of the fresco decoration²⁴⁰. Therefore, the study of that church will be presented on p. 83-86.

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

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

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

The church of Agios Eutychios in Chromonastērion, Rethymno belongs to the rare variation of the single-aisled cross-in-square church with eight pilasters²⁴¹. The 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities has recently restored the church²⁴². Its 11th century fresco decoration is still preserved in the apsis (fig. 47), while the rest of the church was redecorated ca. 1400. The excavator observed four indentations for the embedding of a templon beam on the east pilasters (2.50m above the floor), yet no sculptures are found²⁴³. Consequently, the date of the templon cannot be defined. Additionally, two niches – positioned on the eastern walls of



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

the lateral chambers of the Bēma – flank the main apse. Their upper parts are decorated with paintings that imitate the alternating layers of brick and stone that usually corniced Middle Byzantine windows. The niches of Hagios Eutychios are usually related to the apsidioles found in Xenos' churches²⁴⁴, yet their function is different. The latter ones are found on the eastern walls of the transverse walls in front of the Bēma, therefore they are linked to the barrier of the sanctuary. Additionally, their decoration hints at a cultic function related to certain saints. In contrast, the niches of Hagios Eutychios are positioned inside the tripartite sanctuary; they are probably connected with the functions of the Prothesis and Diaconicon chambers. Consequently, Hagios Eutychios implies an effort of adjustment to the Middle Byzantine arrangements, although the reconstruction of its barrier remains speculative.

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

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

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

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

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

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

243 Giapitzoglou, *Anaskafika Dedomena* 33.

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



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

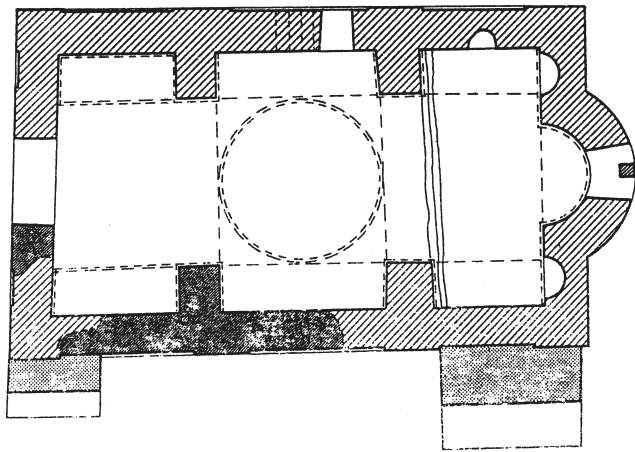


Fig. 48 Ground plan of Panagia Limiōtissa. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 238 fig. 70).

Equally hypothetical is the actual display of the templon and prostration images at the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Buruni, near Hagios Nikolaos. The church is known for its aniconic decoration, dated either to the 8th century or to the 9th/10th century²⁴⁵. The fragmentary decoration and especially the extended restoration that took place in the late 60s/early 70s do not permit the observation of any installation rem-

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

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

This assumption is reinforced by the presence of the aniconic decoration on the internal (lateral) fronts of the pilasters, as well as the presence of the painted bishops, which alludes to similar depictions on the east (reverse) fronts of masonry screens in Cretan churches of the 14th century²⁴⁷. If the eastern pilasters functioned as a barrier, the congregation would have had an unhindered view towards the altar, but no visual contact with the Prothesis niche, which was sheltered by the north pilaster.

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

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

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

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

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



after the Venetian conquest of 1211²⁴⁸. Its fresco decoration displays numerous political and cultic implications. As in the church of Limniōtissa, the eastern pilasters of the dome separate the sanctuary from the nave. Their fronts (facing the laity) are decorated with two saints (**fig. 52**). At the S. pilaster is found the frontal titular saint (Hagios Nikolaos), portrayed in full ceremonial regalia (chitōn, sticharion, epitrachēlion, felonion). On the N. pilaster is the frontal portrait of a sanctified monk born in Kydōnia, Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios. The internal fronts of the pilasters bear depictions of Christ and the Virgin. Christ's portrayal is fragmentarily preserved on the S. pilaster, next to the titular saint (**fig. 53**).

The frontal Christ raises His right hand in a gesture of benevolence and is accompanied by the inscription ΟΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΙΤΗΣ. On the opposite face of the N. pilaster is depicted in frontal pose the standing Virgin carrying the Infant in front of her, inscribed as ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ (**fig. 54**). A painted vertical strip decorated with cross-shaped patterns frames the right part of the panel. The reverse sides of the pilasters are decorated with ornamental patterns (reversed triangles on the S. one and wavy lines on the N. one). Borboudakēs has rightly observed that the combination of the four depictions, their positions, and their frontal poses allude to the prostration images of the templon. Additionally, he remarks that the absence of any beam holes implies that the pilasters were actually used as templon barriers²⁴⁹. This assumption is reinforced by the decoration of the reverse side of the pilasters,

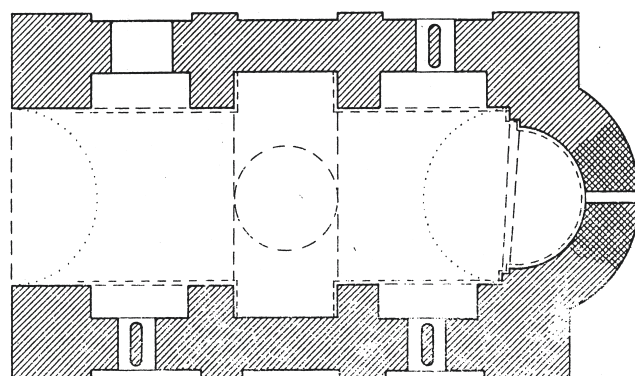


Fig. 50 Ground plan of Hagios Nikolaos Kyriakosellia, excluding the posterior narthex. – (After Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 229 fig. 66).

which alludes to counterparts of the templa such as the one in Hagios Neophytos near Pafos, Cyprus²⁵⁰. It is noteworthy that the iconographic program of Kyriakosellia projects the images of the two Nikolaos in front of the laity, as primary recipients of their prayers²⁵¹. This arrangement differs from the usual display of the prostration images of the templon, which in the form of a visual dialogue often narrate Mary's (or alternatively the titular saint's) petition to Christ²⁵². In Kyriakosellia, the concept of petitioning the titular saint prevails, since Hagios Nikolaos enjoyed a vast popularity among the Cretan populace, being considered one of the most beneficent saints of eastern Christianity²⁵³. On the other hand, the presence of Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios († 868) is peculiar.

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

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

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

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

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

253 Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 79.



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



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



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

The saint was born in Kydōnia (Chania) during the period of the Arabian rule. He left Crete in order to pursue a monastic career in Constantinople, as an iconophile and then follower of the conservative Patriarch Ignatios²⁵⁴. The presence of this specific saint in a church during the early period of Venetian rule possibly indicates some echoes of local patriotism. One can imagine that on Stoudios' feast day, the lecturer of the church would read passages from his vita that would make reference to life during Arab rule. These allusions would have had an emotional impact on the Cretan populace, especially during the early period of Venetian rule, when the expectations of freedom would still be alive and kicking. Borboudakēs argued that the metropolitan-influenced fresco decoration of the church was linked to the liberation campaign of the Emperor of Nicaea, Iōannes Vatatzēs (1222-1254), whose troops were stationed at the neighbouring fortress of Kyriakosellia²⁵⁵. This interpretation, however, requires further documentation.

The cultic perspective of the decoration is evident in the facing depictions on the lateral surfaces of the pilasters. Christ is accompanied by the epithet ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΗΤΗC (responder; fig. 53) and the Virgin is characterized as ΕΛΕΟΥCΑ (merciful; fig. 54), thus alluding to the famous icons of Constantinople²⁵⁶. Their position directly in front of the sanctuary relates to the same depictions that decorated the eastern piers of the church of Dormition in Nikaia, probably dated after 1065²⁵⁷, but also to the Cypriot Prostration images²⁵⁸, like the one in Panagia of Arakos in Cyprus. These images are placed on the western side of the templon, presented individually in a dialogue that takes place in front of (and in favour of) of the laity²⁵⁹. For a full understanding, the image of the Arakos Eleousa has been depicted according to the iconographic type of Paraklēsis, inclined towards her son and addressing her petition to Him²⁶⁰. In contrast, the Kyriakosellia image, though bearing the same epithet, is painted frontally while holding her Son on her lap, thus alluding to the so-called Kyriōtissa image²⁶¹. The frontal portraiture of the Virgin was selected due to its orientation towards Christ, who stands on the opposite pilaster. The dialogue between the two images does not take place in front of the laity as in the Arakos

church, but in the vertical axis in front of the sanctuary, because the images are positioned on the lateral surfaces of the piers. Through this spatial arrangement of the images, the petition of the congregation is primarily addressed to Nikolas of Myra and Stoudios²⁶². The images of Christ and the Virgin are closer to the area of the priesthood, thus implying their close connection to certain parts of the ceremony, such as the pre-liturgical genuflection and the kissing of these images by the priests before their entrance to the sanctuary²⁶³ or the commemoration of the Virgin as mediator during the Anaphora²⁶⁴. Thus, the pair of prostration images – which were partially visible from the laity – is used in a sacramental manner attached primarily to the Liturgy itself and less to the demands of the congregation, which could venerate them before or after the Mass²⁶⁵.

Consequently, the four frescoes on the eastern pilasters of Kyriakosellia served as prostration images. The absence of Prodomos and the presence of Hagios Nikolaos Stoudios in Kyriakosellia imply that, until the early 13th century, the standardized arrangement of the Templon images had not crystallized²⁶⁶. At this point it is noteworthy that another church with an open Bēma arrangement, Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria, displays a similar iconographical arrangement of the 13th century prostration images on the eastern piers: the Virgin and Christ (accompanied by the epithets: Eleēmōn and Eusplachnos; fig. 55) are depicted on the corresponding faces of the internal sides of the piers, just as in Kyriakosellia. On the western surfaces of the piers (facing the congregation) are depicted the titular saint (Stephanos) and Hagios Nikolaos (who according to Siomkos forms part of a variation of the Deēs concept)²⁶⁷. Based on this similarity, it may not be farfetched to assume the existence of a low templon partition (possibly fashioned out of wood or other perishable material), just like the counterpart stone slabs of Kastoria, retaining an archaic arrangement. Eventually it seems that churches like Kyriakosellia and Limiōtissa displayed an unhindered view of the sanctuary and a partial covering of the prothesis niche, thus protecting the mystical character of the preparation of the Gifts.

254 Dettorakēs, *Oi Agioi* 219-233.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

264 Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 116.

265 Walter, *A new look* 208.

266 Chatzidakis, *Templon* 347.

267 Siomkos, *Saint Etienne* 214-229.



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

Conclusions

In commenting on the Middle Byzantine sculpture in Crete, Andrianakēs remarks that the surviving samples are scarce in comparison to the Middle Byzantine sculpture of the Greek mainland and the early Christian period in Crete²⁶⁸. This conclusion is partially true. It might be valid for the monuments of western Crete, yet it must be reconsidered for the central part of the island. The divergence of the artistic production must be linked to the degree and nature of contact between the island and the contemporary ecclesiastical, ritual and architectural developments. It is significant that, after the

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

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

A common element of the Middle Byzantine churches of Crete is the extensive presence of early Christian spolia, used as mullions, capitals etc. (All Holy Virgin of the Seven domes/Ierapetra, Transfiguration of Christ/Partēra, All Holy Virgin/Fodele, Hagios Pavlos/Sphakia). Fragments of Middle Byzantine marble templa are mainly located in the cathedrals of the island from the 11th century onwards. Tracing the tempon barriers is not an easy task since most Cretan churches do not preserve the templa arrangements seen elsewhere in Greece²⁶⁹, such as stylobates (located only in Agia) or beam sockets (observed only in Episkopē Kissamos, Hagios Dēmētrios/Rethymnon, and Hagios Eutychios/Chromonas-tēri). The reason for their absence relates to the constant use of these churches, and in some instances to the probable conversion from Orthodox to Catholic that caused the removal of the original liturgical furnishings, as observed in the cathedral of Mikrē Episkopē/Monofatsiou.

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

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

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

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

The Middle Byzantine churches of Crete do not preserve decorated tempon beams, such as the ones in Boiōtia, Asia Minor or Sinai²⁷⁰. Prostration images are found as frescoes on the western face of the east piers; Hagios Panteleēmōn displays the images of the titular saint and Christ. All Holy Virgin in Fodele contains the rare duplication of Panagia (13th century), and the Episkopē/Kissamos the depiction of the incorporeal ones (Archangels Michaēl and Gabriēl). Xenos' foundations are equipped with the distinguishing eastern niches that display busts of saints serving a cultic purpose and which possibly served as the proskynēseis images of tempon. Furthermore, two churches in west Crete (Latziana, Lampēnē) exhibit the fresco of the titular saint (Hagia Varvara) or the feast day (Dormition) on the lateral walls. Similarly, the proskynēseis images of Christos Antifonētēs and Panagia Eleousa are painted on the opposing lateral parts of the eastern pilasters in the Kyriakoselia church. The latter spatial arrangement is, in fact, the Middle Byzantine predecessor of the expanded Late Byzantine practice, which presupposed the positioning of the prostration images on the lateral walls of the Cretan churches. It is noteworthy that in the Kyriakoselia church the eastern pilasters are painted

with prostration images, implying either the function of the piers themselves as tempon barriers or the existence of a low wooden partition. Such arrangements would have hindered the view of the prothesis niche, thus maintaining the secrecy of the proskomidē prayer while permitting the sight of the altar, echoing early Christian practices as the churches of Hagios Pavlos and Lampēnē did. This open display could possibly imply the survival of an anterior (early Christian) ethos, such as the loud oration of the Eucharistic Anaphora and the congregation's response²⁷¹. As we shall see in the next chapter, the facing array of the prostration images at the eastern part of the nave, in front of the sanctuary as in Kyriakosellia, is the most usual arrangement for the single-aisled churches of Crete that were built after the Venetian conquest (1211) up until the 15th century. This arrangement includes two main iconographic variants that are further classified on the basis of their disposition inside the church; they shall be analysed on p. 53-99.

Research into the Middle Byzantine monuments conveys the multiplicity of their architectural and liturgical forms. It seems that the cathedrals, as well as other churches of central Crete, followed official liturgical regulations. The churches of west Crete display archaisms that suggest the cultic persistence and adherence of the rural populace to traditional liturgical customs. This »spagatto« between innovation and conservatism is reflected in a document of the 12th century, which records a question addressed by a local priest to the Archbishop of Crete, Ēlias (ca. 1120), concerning the proper manner of celebrating the proskomidē ritual²⁷². The intellectually curious priest examined the liturgical commentaries available in his private(?) library, but without success. He then asked his colleagues, but they gave him conflicting answers regarding the apportionment and method of mixing the zeon (ζεον) with the wine. The perplexed priest then turned to the archbishop, who replied in a firm manner, instructing him to simply follow the official directive.

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

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

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

272 Laurent, *Le rituel* 116-142.

Frescoes as Prostration Images on the Lateral Walls of Cretan Churches of the 13th-15th Century

Introductory note

The present chapter comprises the study of a group of wall paintings displayed mainly on the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches of Crete, built between the 13th and 15th century, namely after the Venetian conquest (1211), and outlines the foremost conclusions there from. For the first time, these wall paintings have now been systematically studied, chronologically arranged and typologically classified.

The data set is composed of information derived from the total survey of 425 of the island's churches, located primarily in the prefectures of Chania, Rethymnon and Herakleion, and secondarily in the prefecture of Lasithi. Its appendix contains a list of approximately 80 characteristic examples of recorded churches adorned with prostration images on their lateral walls, registered according to their dates (Appendix, Chronological Index). While this list is not a complete inventory, it serves to exhibit the density and the frequency of the arrangement. The number of the listed monuments outnumbers by far the number of churches with masonry screens. The disproportionality of the list in comparison to the total number of investigated churches is due to the poor condition of the lateral walls, which are often reconstructed, limed, or defaced due to rigid retrofitting. In order to produce solid conclusions, the attached list contains distinctive examples. Nevertheless, the chapter also includes references to excluded monuments that preserve indications of the specific arrangement.

In the previous chapter, we analysed the array of prostration images in the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia (cat. no. II, 1)²⁷³. One of its most outstanding features is the display of Christ Antiphonētēs (Responder) and the Virgin Eleousa (Merciful) positioned so as to face one another to the inner sides of the east pilasters in front of the sanctuary. As displayed in the previous analysis, these images achieve the customary dialogue with the prostration images of the templon, transferred to the side surfaces of the pilasters. This arrangement implies that the church did not have a high

templon, although the presence of a rudimentary low screen cannot be excluded.

The arrangement of the prostration images in the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia forms part of an erudite milieu, highly influenced by metropolitan painting. On the other hand, the arrangement of the facing prostration images alludes to similar solutions adopted in other single-aisled churches outside of Crete, as in Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo (Cf. Introduction). This particular layout denotes a connection between the display mode of the prostration images and the architectural type.

Observing the single-aisled churches of the island, one can trace a certain regularity in the array of the facing wall paintings. This observation enabled us to proceed with the typological classification of this group of wall paintings by extracting two main variants: the first includes the juxtaposition of the representation of Deēsis and the image of the patron saint or feast of the church, while the second involves the similar display of the wall paintings/images of Christ and the Virgin or the patron saint/feast. Their ordinary placement at the partition dividing the sanctuary from the main nave and their repetitive presence suggest that their inclusion in the iconographic program of the churches served a certain liturgical purpose²⁷⁴; this will be examined below (for the topic, cf. Introduction).

First variant (Deēsis and patron saint)

The earliest examples (13th century/early 14th century)

The iconographic scheme of the Deēsis-wherein the figures of Virgin and Iōannēs Prodromos are represented as flanking the central figure of Christ, in supplication for the salvation of the faithful and hence composing the so called Τρίμορφο

273 The number in brackets refers to the Chronological Index. No. I refers to the first variant (Deēsis), no. II refers to the second one (Christ, Virgin or Patron saint).

274 For the function of the Virgin fresco in Kariye Camii as a veneration icon see: Weitzmann, Constantinople 21. – Kalopissi-Verti has collected a large number

of wall paintings on the lateral walls of Greek and Serbian churches, which are interpreted as prostration images: Kalopissi-Verti, Hagia Triada 50-52. – For the artistic and temporal distinction between frescoes and icons: Lymberopoulou, Frescoes vs Icons 352.

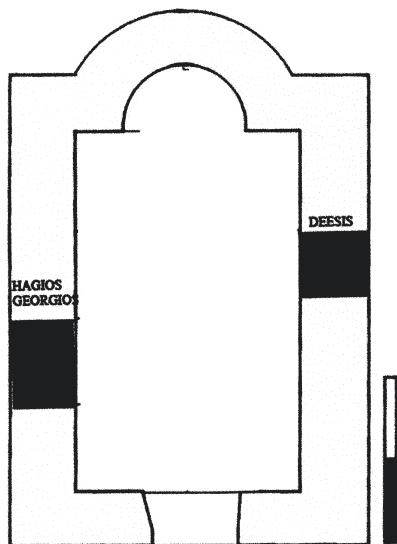


Fig. 57 Ground plan of Hagios Geōrgios, Lampēnē. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 130).



Fig. 58 Deësis, Hagios Geōrgios. – (Photo A. Mailis).

(Three-figure) has been found since the 11th century in the monumental painting on the semi-domes of small domeless churches and the tympanums of the exterior gates²⁷⁵. The



Fig. 56 Deësis, All Holy Virgin Fodele. – (Photo A. Mailis)

said representation also occurs on the architraves of templa since the 10th century²⁷⁶.

This theme is a symbolic portrayal of the Deësis/intercession of the Virgin and Iōannēs Prodromos with Christ for the salvation of humanity. The selection of the above persons as intermediaries is directly related to the theological view according to which the Virgin and Prodromos were the first witnesses of the human and divine nature of Christ²⁷⁷. Hence, during the Divine Liturgy, as well as in many services (in the supplicatory troparia of Vigil, in the Theotokio of the third ōdē of the monastic matins in the order for the Lesser Sanctification, in the service of Great Hours on the Eve of Pentēcost), the priest conjures these two persons as the main intermediaries for the salvation of the congregation²⁷⁸. Therefore, apart from its eschatological character, this subject is also directly related to the Liturgy. For this reason, the representation is placed on surfaces relevant to the sanctuary, such as on the semi-dome of the conch, the architrave of the templon and the east parts of the lateral walls outside the sanctuary²⁷⁹. The placement of the representation on the architrave of the

275 von Bogyay, *Deësis* 1, 1183-1184.

276 von Bogyay, *Deësis* 2, 494-498. – Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 338. – Chatzidakis, *Templon* 339. – Lasareff, *Epistyle* 117-143.

277 Walter, *The origins* 265.

278 For this subject: Walter, *Two notes* 329-335. – Walter, *A new look* 21. – Mailis, *Templa* 123. – For a detailed reference to the liturgical textbooks: Kazamia Tsernou, *Deëse* 42-52.

279 Kazamia Tsernou suggests that the Deësis applied to the semi-dome of the conch precedes the masonry templon. Thus, she interprets its placement on the templon as the reduplication of the theme depicted on the semi-dome, so that the program of the sanctuary becomes more approachable for the congregation. Kazamia Tsernou, *Deëse* 268 no. 48.

templon, as its main theme signals (from the Middle Byzantine period onwards), according to Walter, a combination of liturgical order and private prayer, since apart from the priest's recitations, the worshippers can address their own prayers to the representation, in a petition for the intercession of Virgin and Iōannēs Prodromos to Christ, both during the Liturgy and other ecclesiastical services²⁸⁰.

Crete lacks painted architraves from the Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine period, hence information on the theme of Deësis is scarce. From the numerous monuments of the island, we deduce that the representation was ubiquitously used as part of the iconographic program of the churches²⁸¹. The site survey revealed at least 53 churches that espouse this theme in their iconographic program. These churches are included in the attached list, arranged chronologically. In the said churches, dated from the 11th to the 15th century (mostly built from the 13th century onwards), Deësis seems to be frequently placed on the lateral walls of the single-aisled churches, with the exception of a few appearances in certain domed or centralized architectural types.

The earliest representation of Deësis is found on the western part of the four-columned cross-in-square Church of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Εισόδεια της Θεοτόκου) in Fodele, province of Malevizion, near Hērakleion (beginning of the 11th century; cat. no. I, 1). The representation (fig. 56) is related to the first layer of wall paintings, which is concurrent with the church that dates back to the beginning of the 11th century²⁸². Christ is depicted enthroned and frontal, flanked by the standing Virgin and an unidentified saint who extends arms in a gesture of supplication. The fresco is rather poorly preserved. Its placement at the eye level of the laity, on the inner narthex of the church, demonstrates its devotional deployment during the entry of the worshippers in the church, possibly before the beginning of the Liturgy. Hence, the representation could be linked to the reverence of the congregation, although its connection with possible commemorative practices connected with mortuary activity cannot be excluded (although there is no reference to burials within the edifice).

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the prostration images of the church include double images of the patron saint (the Virgin) in two different iconographic types, set upon the eastern piers flanking the templon. These prostration images are dated to the 13th century, thus postdating the representation of Deësis.

The second, chronologically-earlier example of Deësis is found in the church of Hagios Geōrgios, Lampēnē in the province of Hagios Basileios, Rethymnon (cat. no. I, 2; figs 57-58).

The church is located beyond the boundaries of the village. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the cross-in-square church of the Virgin, where low masonry walls are used as a rudimentary screen, is located in the centre of Lampēnē. The church of Hagios Geōrgios and its wall paintings date back to the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century²⁸³. The theme of the Deësis (fig. 58) has been transferred to the eastern part of the south wall before the sanctuary. The separation of the two spaces is denoted by a painted vertical strip, placed on the left side of the representation. In the centre of Deësis is the enthroned and frontal Christ, blessing with the right hand while holding a closed Gospel with the left. On His right and left side are portrayed, in compliance with the conventions of the sacerdotal perspective, the smaller prostrating figures of the Virgin and Prodromos. The placement of Deësis in this particular part of the church hints at a precursory arrangement that will be enshrined during the 14th century. However, the following must be emphasised: 1) the mounted patron saint of the church is depicted in the centre of the north wall and not at the counterpart position next to the sanctuary, as in the case of the single-aisled Middle Byzantine church of Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo (1191)²⁸⁴; 2) The delimitation of the sanctuary is awkward, since the vertical painted bands that bound the area are spaced unevenly. The band on the north wall is placed 0.30m farther to the east than the band on the south wall. The above suggests that these bands were not used to point out the installation of a vertical wooden screen, but simply to visually differentiate the sanctuary from the rest of the nave, thus horizontal to the axis of the church.

This particular arrangement of the Deësis and the icon of the patron saint in the church of Hagios Geōrgios is the earliest example of a broader group of single-aisled churches in neighbouring provinces of the prefectures of Rethymnon and Chania, which date back to the second half of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th century (cat. no. I, 2-14). One of the relatively early churches of this group is Panagia in Karydi, Apokōronas (1290; cat. no. I, 4). The church bears certain imperfections in the placement of the representations like those of the church in Lampenē, where Deësis is applied to the central part of the south wall and not next to the sanc-

280 Walter, *Further notes* 180. – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270.

281 For an initial collection of data: Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 9-150. – In her comprehensive study on the theme of Deësis Kazamia-Tsernou assumes that the presence of the theme in the churches of Crete is more frequent than in other Greek districts: Kazamia Tsernou, *Deēsē* 249-253. 325-328 (some Cretan monuments are compiled therein). In the present study we will focus only on the liturgical aspect of the representation and shall not deal with the iconographic scheme of Deësis within the broader iconographical theme of the Second Coming, which is usually represented on the west wall of the church.

282 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 351. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 5, 47-49. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 85-86. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 68.

283 Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 16, 67. – Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 129-136.

284 Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* 218. – For a reference to the location of the representation of the patron saint inside the church: Koukiarēs, *Eponymos Hagios*: 105-123.

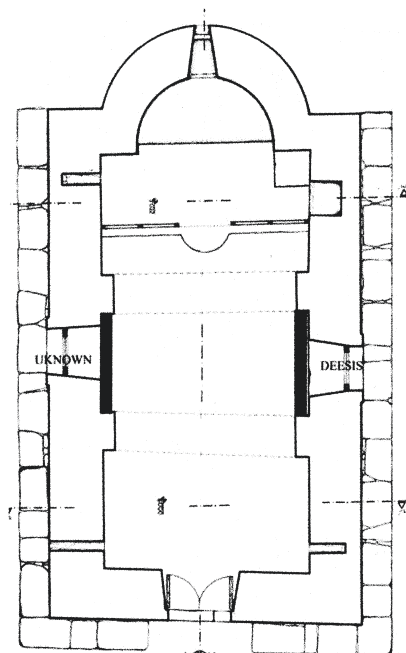


Fig. 59 Ground plan of Panagia in Karydi. – (Drawing Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, Chania).



Fig. 60 Deesis, Panagia in Karydi. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 61 Deesis, Panagia of two Rocks, Fres. – (Photo A. Mailis).

tuary, while the counterpart composition of the north wall is no longer extant (figs 59-60)²⁸⁵.

Another church of the province of Apokorōnas (at the border of Rethymnon prefecture), the so-called Panagia of Two Rocks in Fres, dated in the same period (late 13th/early 14th century; cat. no. I, 5)²⁸⁶ offers a remarkable testimony to the evolution of the devotional images/wall paintings of the templon. At the border between the sanctuary and the main nave, on the south wall, is placed the representation of Deesis (fig. 61).

Therein, Christ is depicted enthroned and in a frontal pose, blessing with the right hand and holding open the Gospel with the left one. Christ is flanked by Prodomos and the Virgin. The latter is in supplication with her right hand in front of her chest, while with the left hand holding an open scroll inscribed with the plea: ΤΟΙΣ ΒΡΟΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΠΑΡ [...].

The said inscription plays a part in an extensive dialogue – an inscripational intercession – between Theotokos and her Son, pursuant to which Christ asks: Τί μήτερ αἰτεῖς; The Virgin Mary answers: Τήν Βροτῶν Σωτηρίαν. Christ replies: Παρωργισάν με. The Virgin responds: Συμπάθησον υἱέ μου. Christ claims: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιστρέφουσιν, and the Virgin replies: Σῶσον Χάριν²⁸⁷. The notion of the intercession of Virgin with her Son on behalf of humanity's salvation is transposed into the Byzantine iconography as a dialogue between the supplicating Virgin and the frontal Christ. This pattern is also identified in a series of portable icons (Spoleto, 12th century)

285 Andrianakis, Karydi 1256-1257. – Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Apokorōnas 468. – Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 365-366.

286 Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 38, 83. – Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 367. – For a reference to the representation of Deesis: Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 209. –

The painting of the church is attributed to Theodoros Daniēl. Cf. the forthcoming monograph of J. Schmidt (personal communication, V. Tsamakda).

287 Papadopoulou-Kerameōs, Dionysios ek Fournā 280.

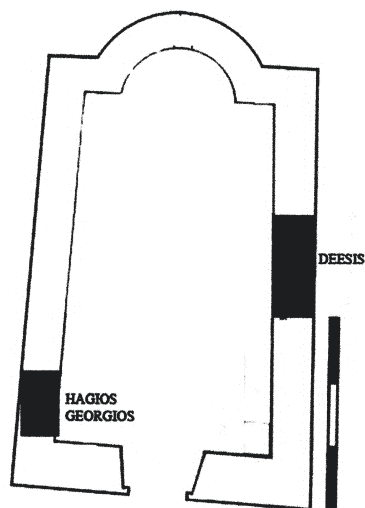


Fig. 62 Ground plan of Hagios Geōrgios Mournē. – (After Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 148).

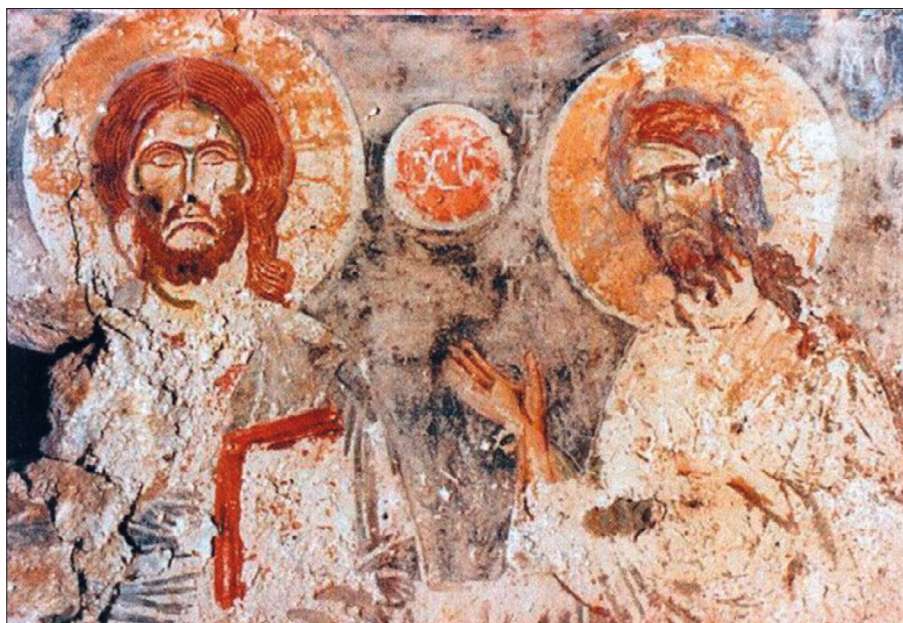


Fig. 63 Deësis, Hagios Geōrgios. – (After Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* fig. 365).

and prostration images/wall paintings on pilasters that frame templa, as in the church of Panagia in Arakōs, Lagoudera, Cyprus (1192). In the latter, the north pilaster of the sanctuary depicts the Virgin (in the iconographic type of *Paraklēsis*) turning to the right while raising an open scroll with the respective plea towards the standing and frontal Christ, who is depicted on the south pilaster of the templon²⁸⁸. Thus the Virgin is in a mediatory dialogue with her Son, interrelated with the salvation of humanity²⁸⁹. The representation is an independent iconographic scheme known as the *Τρίμορφο* (Three-figure) of Deësis²⁹⁰, most likely derived from a pair of Constantinopolitan icons; it was adapted by the Middle Byzantine monumental painting through its transposition to the prostration images of the templon, as in the church of Arakos²⁹¹. This dialogue seems to appear as a supplementary arrangement of the templon images.

However, in single-aisled churches like Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo, the specific iconographic scheme is found at the east edge of the south wall, in front of the sanctuary. There, the Virgin is turned to the left, addressing the petition stated in her inscription to a standing frontal Christ, who is rendered oversized as a devotional icon inlaid in a wall-painted proskynetarion²⁹². Thus, the scheme of the prostration images found on the pair of east piers of the domed churches is transferred to the surface of the lateral wall of the single-aisled edifice²⁹³. In the Cretan church, the devel-

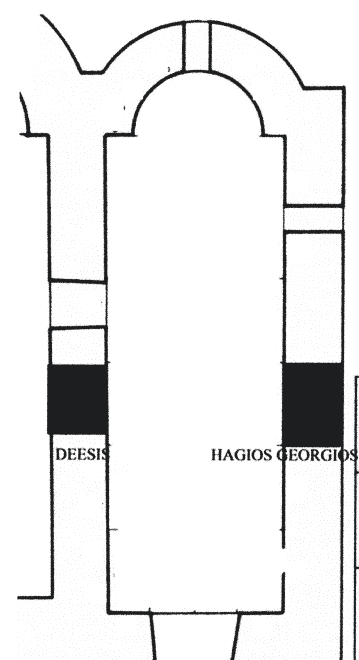


Fig. 64 Ground plan of Hagios Geōrgios, Heliana. – (After Spatharakis, *Mylopotamos* 148).

opment is more far-reaching than in Kurbinovo, since the dialogue is now encompassed in the three-figure of Deësis, thus foreshadowing the iconographic type that will survive until the Post-Byzantine period²⁹⁴. Along with the transfer of the theme to the south wall, its function is also relocated from

288 For the iconographic type: Der Nersessian, *Icons* 82. – Weyl Carr, *Icons* 48. – For the theological origin of the theme: Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 113-119.

289 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270.

290 Walter, *The origins* 263-265. – To the contrary, Maria Kazamia Tsernou interprets the scheme as a compact Deësis: Kazamia Tsernou, *Deēsē* 205-212, as above. 206.

291 Der Nersessian, *Icons* 85. – For the devotional images/wall paintings on the pilasters of the sanctuary: Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 118-119.

292 Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* 233. – Der Nersessian, *Icons* 82. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 113.

293 Kalopissi-Verti, *Hagia Triada* 44.

294 In Dionysios ek Fournā the dialogue now forms part of the *Τρίμορφο* (Three-figure) of Deësis: Papadopoulou-Kerameōs, *Dionysios ek Fournā* 279-280.

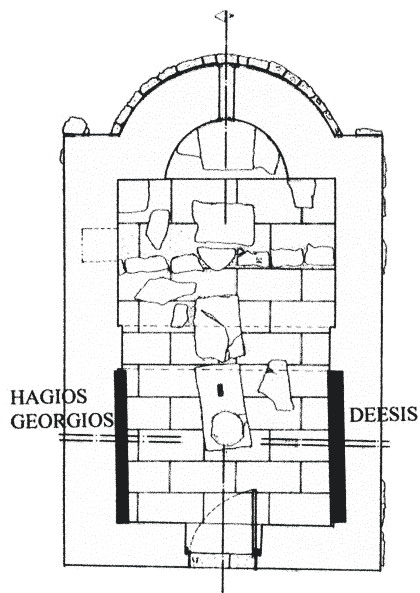


Fig. 65 Ground plan of Hagios Geōrgios in Pemonia. – (Drawing Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, Chania).



Fig. 66 Deësis, Hagios Geōrgios in Pemonia. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 67 Hagios Geōrgios in Hagios Geōrgios, Pemonia. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the templon to the lateral wall of the single-aisled church, now serving as a prostration icon²⁹⁵. Thus, the »Panagia of the Two Rocks« hints at the mechanism of encompassment and adjustment of the devotional images of the templon to

the side walls of the single-aisled churches of Crete from the 13th century onwards²⁹⁶.

From the end of the 13th century, the placement of Deësis on the east side of the lateral wall – at the border be-

295 For the use of wall-paintings on the lateral walls as despotic and devotional images: Haderman-Misguich, Kurbinovo 218. – Gerstel, Sacred mysteries 91. – Kalopissi-Verti, Proskynetaria 122-123.

296 It is noted that in Crete the iconographic type of the Virgin with her inscribed petition is embedded in the representations of Deësis that are applied to the semi-dome of the conch. See: Hagia Anna in Neus, Amari (1225), in

tween the sanctuary and the nave – seems to have been enshrined. This arrangement is primarily observed in single-aisled churches of the neighbouring provinces of the prefectures of Rethymnon and Chania. However, the position of the patron saint in these churches is not uniform. The placement varies more often in churches dedicated to military saints, such as Hagios Geōrgios in Lampēnē, Hagios Geōrgios Mourne in Hagios Basileios, Rethymnon (cat. no. I, 8; **figs 62-63**)²⁹⁷, Hagios Geōrgios in Heliana, Mylopotamos, Rethymnon (1319; cat. no. I, 10; **fig. 64**)²⁹⁸ or Hagios Geōrgios in Pemonia, Apokorōnas (ca. 1340; cat. no. I, 19; **figs 65-67**)²⁹⁹ but also in Hagia Marina Mourne in Hagios Basileios (ca. 1320; cat. no. I, 11; **fig. 68**)³⁰⁰ and in Hagios Mamas at the site known »Lofos« near Kantano, Selino (beginning of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 14)³⁰¹. In the churches of Lampēnē, Mourne and Kantanos, Deēsis typically occurs on the east edge of the lateral walls, while the devotional icon/wall painting of the »Dragon Slaying« Geōrgios or other patron saints (Marina, Mamas) is given a position opposite the Deēsis, although with a small shift westwards, probably signalling adherence to the tradition of the 13th century³⁰². In the churches of Mylopotamos and Apokorōnas, the two representations of Deēsis and the Dragon Slaying Hagios Geōrgios have been transferred to the central and the west part of the lateral walls³⁰³. These instances indicate that the placement of the Deēsis and the representation of the patron saint comply with iconographic and devotional patterns that are locally differentiated.

In churches dedicated to the Virgin, the icon of Panagia is depicted facing the Deēsis on the north wall of the church next to the sanctuary. The plain single-aisled Church of the Virgin Mary Faneromenē in Hagios Iōannēs, Mylopotamos, painted by Theodoros Daniēl according to the dedicatory inscription (late 13th/early 14th century; cat. no. I, 6), offers

one of the earliest examples of this iconographic arrangement in Crete (**fig. 69**)³⁰⁴. The east side of the north wall is adorned with a vertical mural cornice that includes a pattern of scrolling vines with blossoms. To its left is the representation of the enthroned Virgin holding the Infant Christ amidst angels (**fig. 70**).

The frontal Virgin rests her feet on a footstool and is seated on a throne fashioned with a tall rectangular seat-back, holding the frontal Christ, who blesses with His right hand. The abbreviations MP ΘΥ are inscribed inside red medallions. On either side archangels are portrayed, attired in lavish dark blue apparel embellished with the *lōros* of the imperial guard, inclining their heads towards the Virgin. The theme has been frequently deployed since the Early Byzantine period, both in the painting of portable icons as well as in monumental painting³⁰⁵; it is also encountered in other churches of the greater district³⁰⁶. The representation exalts the role of the Holy Mother of God, depicting her as an empress³⁰⁷, while its placement next to the sanctuary of the church dedicated to the Virgin implies that is the mural veneration icon of the church³⁰⁸.

Opposite the representation of the Virgin on the east edge of the south wall is the wall-painted Deēsis (**fig. 71**), depicting Christ enthroned, His feet on a footstool, offering blessings with His right hand and holding an open Gospel in His left. The Gospel bears the inscription: (Ε)ΓΩ ΗΜΙ / ΤΟ ΦΩΣ / ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣ / ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΚΟΛΟΥ / ΘΟΝ ΕΜΟΙ / ΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕ / ΡΙΠΑΘΗ / CΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ C / ΚΟΤΙΑ (John 8:12). Next to His head are two medallions with the abbreviation IC XC. On His right side, Iōannēs Prodromos is depicted with the inscription: Α[ΓΙΟC] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] ο [ΠΡΟΔΡ] ΟΜΟC, and the Virgin in the posture of Deēsis³⁰⁹. The presence of the throne and the footstool stress the imperial capacity of Christ, presenting Him as the Emperor of Glory. This particular theme is directly related to

the church of Christ in Plemeniana (end of 12th c.), inscribed on the scroll: Δέξαι Δέξιν τῆς σῆς μητρός οἰκτιρῶν, τὴν βροτῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ σώσον Χάριν. Εὐχαριστῶ σοὶ Λόγε and in Hagios Geōrgios in Vatheiakō, Rethymnon (end of the 12th-beginning of the 13th c.), in the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Potamies (end of the 14th c.), where preserved »...δέξιν...μητρός τῶν βροτῶν Σωτηρίαν. – For a collection of examples: Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 209-210. – Finally the presence of a respective dialogical relation between the Virgin Mary and Christ, on the western exterior façade of the cave church of Hagios Iōannēs in Koudouma (1360): Bougrat, Koudoumas 147-174.

297 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 287. – Bissinger, Kreta 93 cat. no. 48. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 146-155 (iconographic program 148, Deēsis fig. 365).

298 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 303. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 123, 155-156. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 53-56. – Spatharakis, Mylopōtamōs 135-148.

299 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Apokoronas 470-471. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 114, 149.

300 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 288. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 77, 109. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 159-165.

301 Maderakēs, Deēsē 82. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 197.

302 Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 130. 149 (Hagios Geōrgios fig. 369).

303 Spatharakis, Mylopōtamōs 137 (figs. 212 [Hagios Geōrgios] and 479 [Deēsis]). 161. – For Apokoronas: Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Apokoronas 471.

304 For the church: Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 4, 83. – Spatharakis, Mylopōtamōs 20-44 (iconographic program, p. 22 fig. 24-27). – Giapitzoglou, Panagia Mylopōtamōs (Virgin Mary fig. 77, Deēsē fig. 78).

305 For the portable icons see the image of the enthroned Virgin holding the Infant with two saints and two archangels from Sinai (6th c. or 7th c.): Weitz-

mann, Sinai 18-25 pl. 4b3. – Kitzinger, Byzantinē Technē 167-168. – The icon of the enthroned Virgin amidst archangels (Madonna della Clemenza) from St. Maria in Trastevere (705-707): Belting, Bild und Kult 143-144. – For the subsequent survival of the theme, see Theotokos Káθισμα amidst archangels from the church of Archangel in Gournā, Veroia (11th c.) and the standing, frontal Virgin Mary amidst archangels from the Byzantine Museum (12th c. and 15th c.): Papazotos, Veroia 9 fig. 1. – For the Early Byzantine wall-paintings see the mosaic representation of the enthroned Virgin Mary holding the Infant amidst four archangels on the east edge of the north wall of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (before the middle of the 6th c.): Kitzinger, Byzantinē Technē 90 fig. 4. – The standing and frontal Virgin Mary amidst archangels and underlying donors in Dyrachio, Albania (7th c.): Gkioles, Palaiochristianikē Technē 77. – The enthroned Virgin Mary amidst nodding archangels, on the north aisle of Hagios Dēmētrios in Thessaloniki (7th c.) is known through the watercolour paintings of W. S. George: Cormack, The Mosaic Decoration 48. 306 In the Church of the Virgin Mary in Thronos, Amari (second quarter of the 14th c.) and Virgin Mary in Saitoures, Rethymnon (ca. 1300): Spatharakis, Amari 212 fig. 570. – Spatharakis, Rethymno 231.

307 For the symbolic importance of the theme of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, see Belting, Bild und Kult 143. 148-150. – Cormack, Hagia Sophia 91-105 esp. 93. – For the depiction of the patron saint of the church, enthroned next to the templon: Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 113-114.

308 For the subject of the representation of the patron saint as a separate subject at the specific location of Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 116. – Maderakēs, Deēsē 81.

309 Giapitzoglou, Panagia Mylopōtamōs 71.

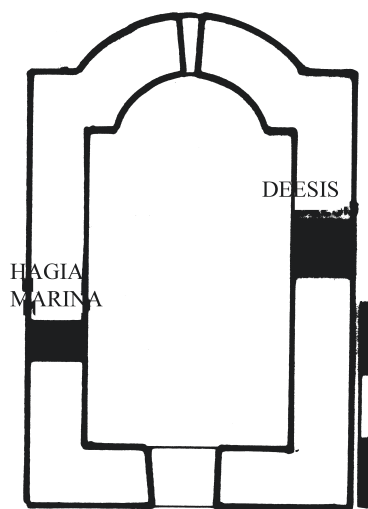


Fig. 68 Ground plan of Hagia Marina Mourne. – (After Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 160)

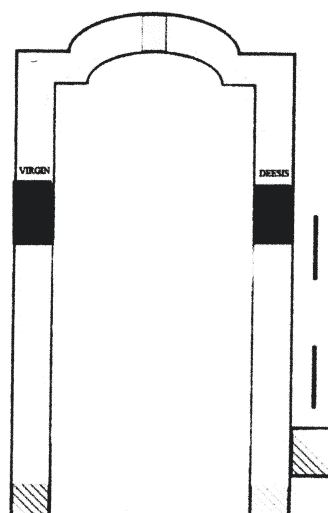


Fig. 69 Ground plan of Faneromenē. – (After Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 22).



Fig. 71 Deësis, Faneromenē. – (After Giapitzoglou, Panagia Mylopotamos fig. 78).



Fig. 70 Mary amidst angels, Faneromenē. – (After Giapitzoglou, Panagia Mylopotamos fig. 77).

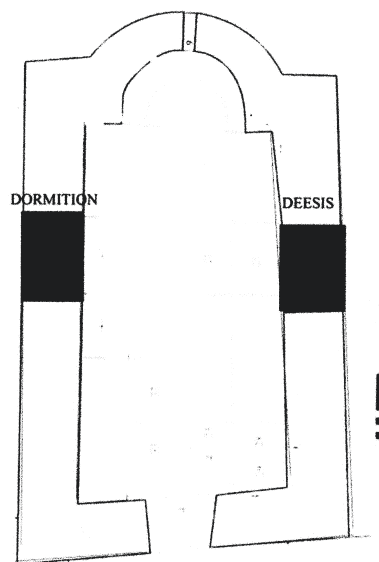
the Cherubic Hymn during the Great Entrance, as well as to the prayer of the Priest, when the hymn is chanted³¹⁰. Thus, the placement of Deësis next to the sanctuary suggests the elevated liturgical purpose of the representation. The enthroned Virgin and Christ face each other on the east edges

of the lateral walls, thus echoing the spatial relationship between Christ Antifōnētēs and the Virgin Eleousa (Merciful) in the church of Kyriakosellia (see previous chapter). This arrangement is reminiscent of the corresponding archaic placement of the two frontal figures of the enthroned Christ

³¹⁰ For the connection of the Great Entrance to the imperial capacity of Christ and the parallel encompassment of the icons of the Liturgy see: Doig, *Liturgy* 75-76. – Pallas, *Theia Leitourgia* 27-31. – For the connection of the enthroned

Christ of Deësis with the Liturgy, see the analysis of Ch. Baltogianni for the Deësis of the Angel in the Monastery of Vianno (15th c.): Baltogianni, *Icons* 65-67 no. 10 fig. 20.

Fig. 72 Ground plan of Virgin in Drymiskos. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, *Hagios Basileios* 56).



and Theotokos in the Basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Both the location and the way of depicting the two representations hint at their deployment. The wall-painting of the Virgin Mary on the north wall constitutes the separate icon of the patron saint, while the enthroned Christ of the Deësis is directly related to the Great Entrance and the Divine Liturgy.

A variant of the said iconographic arrangement is found in the plain single-aisled Church of the Virgin in Drymiskos, in Hagios Basileios, Rethymnon (cat. no. I, 9; **fig. 72**) which was built approximately during the same period; it was painted by Michaël Veneris³¹¹ and dates back to 1317-1318, according to the donor inscription³¹². The east edge of the north wall bears a few fragments of the representation of Deësis (**fig. 74**), while on the respective part of the south wall the representation of the Dormition is depicted (**fig. 73**)³¹³.

As we have also seen in the previous representation of the enthroned Virgin holding the Infant, the Dormition is located in close proximity to the sanctuary, separated by a painted vertical band with a pattern of scrolling vines. The placement of the image, as well as its dimensions and the way it is depicted (facing the Deësis) indicates that this was the prostration icon of the church³¹⁴. This particular arrangement signals a more elaborated phase than the Middle-Byzantine arrangement of Panagia in Lampēnē, where the oversized devotional icon/wall painting of the Dormition is placed on the northwest wall (see p. 42). In the church of Drymiskos,



Fig. 73 Dormition, Drymiskos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the wall-painting of the Dormition has now found its position next to the sanctuary, thus stressing its identity as the feast icon of the church. To supplement the scenographic performance of the prostration images/wall paintings of the church, one could imagine the placement of candelabra in front of them, as indicated by similar arrangements cited in written sources³¹⁵.

The above arrangement applies to the single-aisled churches. It is noteworthy that in other churches of a more complex architectural type (either domed or centralized edifices), there emerge alternative ways of depicting the prostration images. One of the most notable instances is found in the nave of Kera in Kritsa (at first a single-aisled domed church, subsequently transformed into a three-aisled domed church with the addition of side chapels during the 14th century; cat. no. I, 7)³¹⁶. On the face of the southeast pilaster of the sanctuary (as arranged after the westward expansion of

311 Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 44, 92. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 51-53. – Spatharakis, *Hagios Basileios* 54-70.

312 Ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βαράθρου ὁ Θῆος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς οὗτος τῆς ἡπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Λατινῆς διὰ συνεργίας καὶ κόπου καὶ πόθου πολλοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Μελησηνοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβίου καὶ τοῦ τέκνον αὐτοῦ, ἀμὴν ἀνηστορήθη δε διὰ χειρὸς μιχάλη τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου τοῦ Βενέρι, ἔτος ςκως. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 491 no. 5.

313 For the description and the iconography of the scene: Spatharakis, *Hagios Basileios* 66-67 (P. Varthalitou).

314 Gratziou, *Lampenē* 252.

315 See the relevant instruction in the testament of Neilos for the Monastery of Iōannēs Prodomos on Mount Athos (1330-1331). There the existence of a

permanent lamp (candle) in front of the devotional icon of the Dormition is mentioned: »[10.] Except in[circumstances of] pressing need, lamps should be kept continually burning before the three sacred images set out for veneration: that of the Virgin; that of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner; and that of the Dormition of the holy Mother of God«. Reinert, *Testament of Neilos* 1393.

316 Kalokyres, *Kera* 211-270. – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika Kretes* 1970, 479-499. – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika Kretes* 1973, 597-607 tab. 563-580. – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika* 935-945 tab. 700-717. – Papadaki-Oekland, *Kera* 87-112 tab. 57-77. – Chatzidakēs, *Toichographies* 59-91 tab. B'·E'. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 73, 107. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 428.



Fig. 75 Virgin and Christ, Kera Kritsa. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 74 Remnants of Deësis, Drymiskos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the arch)³¹⁷ the dialogue between the Virgin and Christ is depicted (**fig. 75**)³¹⁸.

The representation is interpreted as a variation of a two figured Deësis (Δίμορφο) – due to the absence of Prodromos³¹⁹. In fact, the Kritsa arrangement condenses, on a single wall-painted surface, the known dialogue of the devotional images applied to the pair of images on the east pilasters of the church. Hence, the specific representation can be interpreted as the prostration image of a rudimentary templon.

In contrast to the church in Kera, where the concept of congregating the themes on a single wall-painted surface prevails, the cross-shaped Church of the Virgin Mary Gouverniōtissa, in Pediada, Herakleion (1320-1330; cat. no. 1, 16)³²⁰ displays a fully developed iconographic arrangement of the theme of Deësis and the depiction of the patron saint³²¹. The themes are painted on the west facade of the north and south arms of the cross, in front of the congregation. The south arm fragmentally sustains the theme of Deësis (**fig. 76**) which comprises Christ seated on a throne with a curved back.

The Virgin is depicted on His left side, while Prodromos (no longer extant) was depicted on His right side. On the respective north side is preserved the devotional icon of the enthroned Virgin in the midst of Archangels (**fig. 77**). The latter representation displays a composition equivalent to that of the Deësis. The Virgin is depicted as a central figure, seated on a throne with a curved back – in analogy to Christ. On

317 Papadaki-Oekland, Kera 92-93.

318 The representation is placed in the second tier of wall paintings of the central aisle and dates back to the second half of the 13th/beginning of the 14th c.: Papadaki-Oekland, Kera 111. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 428. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 108 (1310-1320). – Papadaki asserts that the face of Christ was over-painted during the 14th c.: Papadaki-Oekland, Kera 94.

319 Maderakēs, Deēsē 29. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 163.

320 Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 197 fig. 270. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 225. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 59, 100.

321 For the arrangement: Chatzidakis, *Rapports* 140-142. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 140.



Fig. 76 Deësis, Gouverniotissa. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 77 Virgin amidst angels, Gouverniotissa. – (Photo A. Mailis).

either side, the archangels are depicted, attired in the apparel of the imperial guard and inclining their lowered heads toward the central person, similar to the Virgin and Prodomos in the counterpart Deësis. The depiction of the wall paintings suggests that they were used as despotic images, supposedly completing a non-extant templon³²². The double depiction of the Virgin (as part of Deësis and as a separate and equivalent representation) stresses that the depiction of the patron saint is different from the Deësis³²³.

The variations of the arrangement

Variation I: the patron saint beneath a painted arch

As early as the 12th century³²⁴, the usual arrangement concerning the depiction of the eponymous saint and Deësis in single-aisled churches includes the facing placement of the two themes on the eastern edges of the lateral walls, alluding directly to the iconographic arrangement of the despotic im-

ages of the templon³²⁵. As seen before, the arrangement has been attested in the single-aisled Cretan churches since the 13th century, although it is established in the second quarter of the 14th century, mainly in churches accredited to the school of Iōannēs Pagōmenos³²⁶, such as the church of Hagia Paraskevē in Anisaraki, Kantanos (cat. no. 1, 15; fig. 78).

The church was built probably between 1330-1340, and its wall-paintings are attributed to Pagōmenos or his circle³²⁷. On the south wall of the church, Deësis is depicted next to the sanctuary (fig. 79), comprising only the enthroned Christ and the supplicating Prodomos, while the Virgin is omitted³²⁸. The incomplete Deësis (Δίμορφο) is considered as a typical attribute of Pagōmenos and is also traced in three other churches he painted³²⁹. Symmetrically juxtaposed on the east edge of the north wall – next to the sanctuary – is depicted the patron saint of the church (Paraskevē) in a standing, frontal stance. The saint holds a cross with her right hand and raises her left hand in front of her chest³³⁰. The importance of the saint's depiction is empha-

322 Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 140.

323 Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 116.

324 See Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo (1191): Haderman-Misguich, Kurbinovo 214-219 (with other examples).

325 Kalopissi-Verti, Proskynetaria 120. 122 no. 69.

326 For the activity of the painter and his crew: Kalokyres, Pagōmenos 390-398. – Sucrow, Pagōmenos. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 104-132.

327 For the church: Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 197 fig. 270. – For the rendition of the painting in the church of Pagōmenos: Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 225. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 59, 100. – Tsamakda,

Kakodiki 124. – According to Sucrow, the church painting seems to follow the wall painting of the church of Hagios Nikolaos, and is attributed to the followers of Pagōmenos: Sucrow, Pagōmenos 135.

328 For a reference to the subject: Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 140.

329 The churches of the Virgin in Kakodiki, Hagios Nikolaos, Chasi and Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 48-49. 52. 104. – For the function of Deësis on the masonry templon of Archangel Michaēl: Mailis, Templa 123.

330 For the iconographic type of Hagia Paraskevē and the importance of the iconographic program of Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 86-87.



Fig. 79 Deësis, Hagia Paraskevē. – (Photo A. Mailis)



Fig. 80 Patron Saint, Hagia Paraskevē. – (Photo A. Mailis).

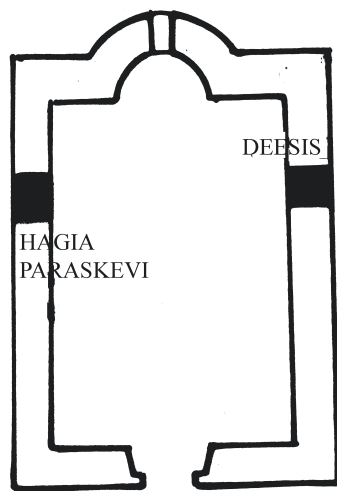


Fig. 78 Ground plan of Hagia Paraskevē Anisaraki. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 197 fig. 270)

sised by the fact that the saint is nimbed by a painted arch supported by columns, while on either side of her head are located red medallions with the abbreviations of her name (fig. 80).

As seen in the previous chapter, beginning with the representation of Hagia Varvara in Latziana (see p. 44), the placement of protruding or painted proskynētaria above the devotional images constitutes a typical arrangement from the Middle Byzantine period onwards³³¹. Iōannēs Pagōmenos usually painted arched proskynētaria framing the figures of patron saints on the lateral walls (e.g. Hagios Nikolaos in Maza, Apōkōrona³³² [1325-1326], Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Kalamos, Selino [1320-1330])³³³, although this was not an exclusive feature of this particular painter.

Hagia Paraskevē is one of the earliest monuments of a wider group of churches, where the patron saint is enclosed in a painted proskynetarion next to the sanctuary, while Deësis is placed at an opposite position, creating a full iconographic program of despotic images on the lateral walls. The arrangement of Hagia Paraskevē in Kityros, Selino (1372/1373;

331 In the Middle Byzantine example of Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo, the eponymous saint is nimbed with a three-lobed arch. Haderman-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* 218. – For examples of painted proskynētaria on the lateral walls of single-aisled churches in the islands and the Taxiarches (Archangels) in Desfina, Fokida (1332) see Kalopisi Verti, *Proskynētaria* 116-118. – In general, for the subject of placing carved or painted frames around the icon of the patron saint of the church: Koukiarēs, *Eponymos Hagios* 116. – Bogdanović, *Canopy*. – Drpić, *Saints Theodores* 654-660.

332 For the church and its wall paintings: see Sucrow, *Pagōmenos* 24-26. 35-36 (with anterior literature). – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 106-107. – For the remark: Mailis, *Templa* 138.

333 According to Maderakis, the church painting is attributed to Pagōmenos. – For the attribution to Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 126. – Ioannidou recognizes the names of the painters Iōannēs and Nikolaos in the donor inscription of the church, identifying the painting as Pagōmenos' work: Ioannidou, *Diorthoseis* 340.

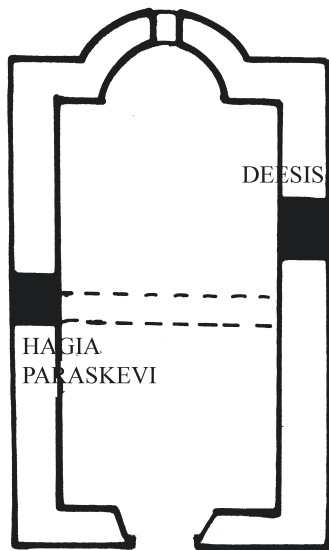


Fig. 81 Ground plan of Hagia Paraskevē, Kityros. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 167 fig. 52)



Fig. 82 Patron Saint, Hagia Paraskevē, Kityros. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).



Fig. 83 Deēsis, Hagia Paraskevē, Kityros. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

cat. no. I, 32; **fig. 81**)³³⁴ displays features that fit into the same iconographic tradition, where the painted proskynetarion garnished with a secondary folkloric motif (birds) frames the central icon of the patron saint, which is placed on the east edge of the north wall (**fig. 82**). At an equivalent position on the south wall is a wall-painting of Deēsis (**fig. 83**). Accordingly, in the church of Hagios Panteleēmōn Zymbragou,

Kissamos (end of 14th century/beginning of 15th century; cat. no. I, 48; **fig. 84**) the identity of the patron saint is revealed by means of the typical iconographic elements (full head of short curly hair, compartmented medicine box) and an inscription inside a red medallion, also framed by a painted proskynetarion to the north side – attached to the sanctuary (**fig. 85**).

334 For the church with a reference to the inscription: Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 166. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 209. – Kalokyres,

Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete figs BW 15. 29. 42. 47. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 146, 178. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 116-119.

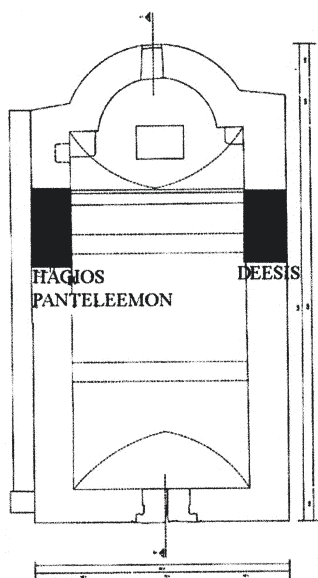


Fig. 84 Ground plan of Hagios Panteleemon Zymbragou. – (Redrawn after Psarakēs, Zymbragou 260 fig. 1).



Fig. 86 Deesis Hagios Panteleemon Zymbragou. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 85 Patron Saint. – (Photo A. Mailis).

The three-figured Deesis is placed in the corresponding position. The enthroned Christ is titled ΦΩΤΟΔΟΤΙC and holds an open Gospel in his left hand that bears the inscription: ΕΓΩ ΕΙ/ΜΙ [Η ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙC //ΤΑ ΚΛΗΜΑ/ΤΑ [ΚΑΙ] Ο Π(ΑΤ)ΗΡΜ(ΟΥ)/ Ο ΓΕΟΡΓ (ος) (John 15:1-5; **fig. 86**)³³⁵.

One can find similar arrangements in two churches from Mylopotamos. The first one, St. Stephen in Kastri (1391; cat. no. I, 37), displays the patron saint (Stephen) as a standing figure under a trefoil arch on the south wall. In the corresponding position on the north wall, there is depicted a badly damaged Deesis³³⁶. At the second church, Hagios Ioānnēs Prodomos, Mylopotamos (ca. 1400; cat. no. I, 46)³³⁷, the Deesis is positioned toward the east edge of the north wall, while the wall painting of the patron saint is on the south wall (**fig. 87**).

The representation of Deesis (**fig. 88**) assimilates a portable icon and includes the central figure of Christ enthroned, His feet resting on a footstool. He holds a book inscribed with the words ΜΗ ΚΛΕΨΕΙC ΜΗ ΠΟΡΝΕΥCΕΙC («Do not steal, Do not commit adultery» Mark 10:19 De^a). On either side are depicted the Virgin and Prodomos in supplication. The image is distinguished by a detailed representation of Christ's throne, garnished with ancillary graphic details such as the scene of a horseback duel, birds, and so forth³³⁸.

335 For the Deesis: Maderakēs, Deēsē 70. 73. – For the publication of the church: Psarakēs, Zymbragou 272.

336 Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 143. – Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 194.

337 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 124. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 142, 168-169. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings. – Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 150-166 (iconographic program, p. 152: John the Baptist fig. 220, Deesis figs 229. 232).

338 Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 165 figs 231-232.

Fig. 88 Deësis, Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Mylopotamos. – (After Spatharakis, Mylopotamos fig. 229).



Also worthy of note is the decoration on the back of the throne – that is frequently attested in the representations of Deësis shown on portable icons of the Cretan School from the 15th century onwards³³⁹. The icon of the eponymous saint, Iōannēs, swathed in a *melotē* and a *chitōnion*, raises his left hand in a gesture of speaking while holding with his left hand a scroll with an illegible inscription³⁴⁰, thus referring to an analogous stance from a portable icon³⁴¹. The painted proskynetaron comprises a trefoil arch, supported by Corinthian capitals on white columns. This scheme recalls the Middle-Byzantine proskynētaria of Hagios Panteleēmōn (sculpture) or Hagios Geōrgios in Kurbinovo as well as the trefoil arches that frame the central theme of the saint from a vita icon³⁴².

Finally, there is the eminent display of the corresponding representations in the Church of Hagia Photeinē in Prevelē, Rethymnon (beginning of the 15th century; cat. no. I, 51; **fig. 89**)³⁴³, where the Deësis (**fig. 90**) has been placed on the north wall – separated from the sanctuary with a plain red band, while the icon of Hagia Photeinē is been placed at a corresponding location on the south wall (**fig. 91**).

The icon is corniced by a painted two-column proskynetaron with a trefoil pointed arch in gothic style, which recalls similar figures painted by Giotto, such as Santa Clara in the Bardi Chapel in Florence (1325-1328)³⁴⁴.

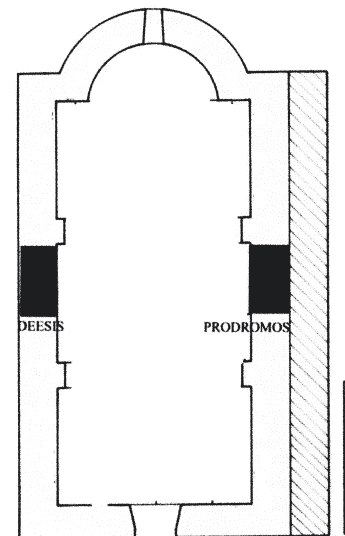


Fig. 87 Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Mylopotamos. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 152).

339 Baltoyianni, Icons 66.

340 Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 162 fig. 220.

341 Icon of Prodromos with scenes of his life, Sinai (13th c.): Belting, Bild und Kult 285 fig. 160. – For the connection between portable icons and wall-paintings of the patron saint: Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 115.

342 See icon of Hagios Nikolaos, Museum of Nicosia, 13th c.: Sophokleous, Icons 89. 153 fig. 26. – On the issue of vita icons: Belting, Bild und Kult 279-291. – Chatterjee, Living icon.

343 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 283. – Kalokyres, Byzantine Wall Paintings figs BW 17. 65. 96. 104, C 29. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 188, 209. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 180-189.

344 It is noteworthy that Giotto uses figures that are framed by painted proskynetaron at the corners and the edges of the lateral wall of the chapel: Radke, Giotto 91-92.

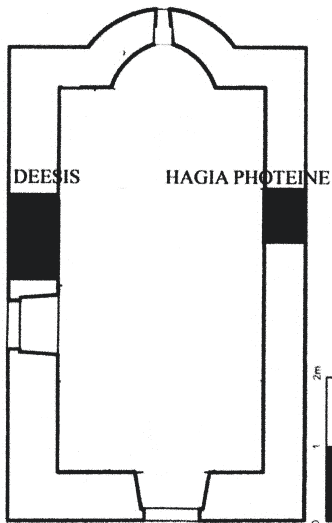


Fig. 89 Ground plan of Hagia Photeinē, Prevelē. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 182).



Fig. 90 Deësis, Hagia Photeinē. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Variation II: Deësis and patron saints beneath lateral blind arcades

The churches with the previous arrangement belong to the category of the plain single-aisled edifices. In the churches



Fig. 91 Patron Saint, Hagia Photeinē. – (Photo A. Mailis).

furnished with blind arcades on the lateral walls, the representation of Deësis and the depiction of the eponymous saint were framed within the east arcades next to the sanctuary³⁴⁵. The placement of a significant fresco inside the drum of the blind arcades was a common habit in Orthodox as well as Catholic churches³⁴⁶. The surface of the drum is appropriate for the location of the patron saint.

The first monument with an analogous arrangement is the single-aisled church of Panagia in Kadros, Kakodiki (cat. no. I, 20). The edifice was furnished with two pairs of blind arcades and its painted decoration is also attributed to the atelier of Iōannis Pagōmenos, ca. 1330/1340³⁴⁷. In this church, as well

³⁴⁵ Regarding the discussion on the origin of churches with blind arcades: Lassithiotakēs, *Typoi* 184 ff. – Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 40–48. – Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 102–104. – For the observation concerning similar arrangements of prostration images in the Hellenic area: Kalopissi-Verti, *Hagia Triada* 44.

³⁴⁶ Regarding the use of these blind arcades for the inlay of devotional wall-paintings: Lassithiotakēs, *Typoi* 178. – Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 102. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 118. – For the respective way of arranging im-

portant wall paintings under the blind arcades in Latin churches: Schmidt, *Lunette-shaped* 395–425. – On the topic, in general: Mailis, *Tramezzi* 465–466. Kalokyres, *Pagomenos* 356. – Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 353. – Kalokyres, *Byzantine Wall paintings* figs BW 12. BW 21. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 215. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat.* no. 78, 110. – Sucrow, *Pagomenos* 136–138. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 125 (dating 1330/1340). – Ioannidou, *Diorthoseis* 338–339.

as in the other churches of this group, the prostration images are placed beneath the eastern blind arcades, at the limits of the Bēma. The northeast blind arcade depicts a painted, enthroned Panagia Odēgētria in the variant encountered in two additional churches of Pagōmenos: Panagia, Alikampos (1315/1316) and Hagios Nikolaos, Maza (1325/1326). In the Kadros wall-painting, the Virgin rests her right hand on the Infant's left leg. The latter holds a scroll with His left hand and blesses with his right. The Virgin is seated on a timber-carved throne with a curved back, as in Panagia, Kakodiki (**fig. 103**); the lower part of her throne is decorated with the rectangular wooden dividers also seen in Alikampos, Maza and Kakodiki. On either side of the Virgin's head are the typical medallions with the abbreviations MP ΘΥ. The pivotal figure is flanked by an archangel at each side, clad in imperial attire, as in the Panagia of Prines³⁴⁸. As seen in the analysis of Panagia Fanerōmenē in Hagios Iōannis of Mylopotamos (1290/1300, cat. no. I, 6) the particular iconographic synthesis deriving from the Early Byzantine period had experienced a noteworthy proliferation on the lateral walls of churches dedicated to the Virgin since the end of the 13th century, as in Panagia Fanerōmenē, Panagia in Saitoures, Rethymnon (ca. 1300), but also in Panagia Gouverniōtissa in the prefecture of Herakleion (1320/1330, cat. no. I, 16). The representation of the Virgin with the two archangels constitutes a balanced iconographic synthesis that supplements the three-figure of Deēsis placed opposite to it. Therefore, the depiction of the Virgin is recast twice, once as part of the Deēsis and also as the honoured figure of the church. In the church at Kadros, the opposite blind arcade probably displayed an enthroned Christ of Deēsis, of whom only the lower part is extant. The representation on the southern wall was demolished due to the opening of a window in a later phase, while the iconostasis – also added at a later time – obscured part of the wall paintings on the blind arcades.

The arrangement is also applied in Panagia in Prodrōmi (1347; cat. no. I, 21)³⁴⁹, where an oversized Dexiokratousa Virgin is portrayed on the north arcade, next to the sanctuary (**figs 92-93**)³⁵⁰.

On the corresponding south arcade is an irregular Deēsis (**fig. 94**), where the figure of the Virgin has been replaced by Hagios Panteleēmōn³⁵¹. The iconographic program of the devotional images was enhanced by the placement of the

Dormition of the Virgin in the northwest arcade, next to the icon of the Virgin. The arrangement of the images allows us to recognise their devotional deployment. The wall painting of the Dormition – as in Panagia in Lampēnē – was used as the icon depicting the feast to which the church was dedicated. The wall paintings of the Virgin and the Deēsis were probably used as despotic images. It must be mentioned that these wall paintings are not separated from the Sanctuary by any painted partitions, and the surface of the wall painting is unbroken. For this reason, the post-Byzantine iconostasis was placed approximately in the middle of the blind arcades, dividing the preceding wall-painted surfaces. An arrangement similar to Panagia in Prodrōmi is observed in the church of Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Kopetoi (ca. 1330) painted by Pagōmenos (cat. no. I, 17), where an oversized figure of the patron saint is depicted on the northeast arcade (**fig. 95**), while the matching southeast arcade should have been decorated with a Deēsis (no longer preserved)³⁵². In this church the posterior templon was normally adjusted to the east edge of the arcade.

A variation of this arrangement has been identified in the Church of the Dormition of Theotokos in Palaia Roumata, Kisamos (1359-1360; cat. no. I, 24; **fig. 96**). The church bears three pairs of blind arcades on the lateral walls (**fig. 97**)³⁵³.

The representation of Deēsis (**fig. 98**) is located in the central blind arcade of the south wall – directly interrelated to the sanctuary. The representation is distinguished by its monumental style, which resembles a large-scale devotional icon. The frontal Christ is seated on a lavish wooden throne, His feet on a footstool; he offers a blessing with the right hand and with the left holds an open Gospel displaying a majuscule script from John's Gospel (8:12): ΕΓΩ ΕΙ/ΜΗ ΤΩ/ ΦΩΣ/ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣ/ΜΟΥ Ο Α/ΚΟΥΛΟΥΘ/. At His right side, the Virgin is depicted with her hands extended in a gesture of supplication while at His left side stands Iōannēs Prodrōmos. The latter wears the typical *mēlotē* and olive-green chitōn; he extends his right hand in a gesture of Deēsis and in his left hand holds a scroll with the majuscule script: ΟΡ(Α)C ΩΠΟ(Υ) ΠΙ/ΑΧ-ΟΥΧΗΝ/ Ο ΘΕΟΥ ΛΟΓΕ/Η ΠΤΕ/CMATΩΝ, which is an abbreviation of the usual inscription: Οράς οἱ πάσχουσιν, ὦ Θεοῦ Λόγε, οἱ πταισμάτων ἔλεγχαι τῶν βδελυκτέων. On the arcade of the north wall, instead of the patron icon of the church, is a mounted warrior saint (Hagios Georgios)³⁵⁴. Exceptionally,

348 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 69.

349 According to the donor inscription, the wall painting of the church was executed by the painter Ioakeim. However, Kalokeyrēs ascribes it to Iōannēs Pagōmenos. Most researchers ascribe the painting of the church to the school of Pagōmenos. – For the inscription: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 447 no. 21. – Kalokeyrēs, Pagōmenos 351. – Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 179. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 234. – Sucrow, Pagōmenos 139-241. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 92-94. – On the attribution to Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 118-119.

350 The oversized rendition of the patron saint is encountered in other churches of Crete, as in Hagios Nikolaos in the Mouri, Kisamos. A remarkable analogy appears with the arrangement of the devotional images of the oversized Hagios Nikolaos and the Deēsis (traces) in the cruciform roofed church of Hagios Nikolaos in Mouri, Kisamos (1280), where the wall paintings are placed in the niches of the lateral walls instead of the blind arcades. – For the church:

Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Kissamos 208. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 197-199. – Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 114 no. 56. – Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 406. – Gruber, Mouri. – Apart from Crete, it is traced to churches of Lakonia, as in Epidavros of Limēra, and to Serbian monuments of the Late Byzantine period as well: Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 114-115. – Walter, A new look 213. – Mailis, Tempia 119.

351 For the participation of other persons in Deēsis see Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 230-231.

352 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 351. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 231, 246. – On the attribution to Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 121.

353 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Kissamos 209. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 134, 163-164. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 108-111. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 135.

354 Kazamia Tsernou, Deēsē 135.



Fig. 93 Virgin, Prodromi. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 94 Deësis, Prodromi. – (Photo A. Mailis).

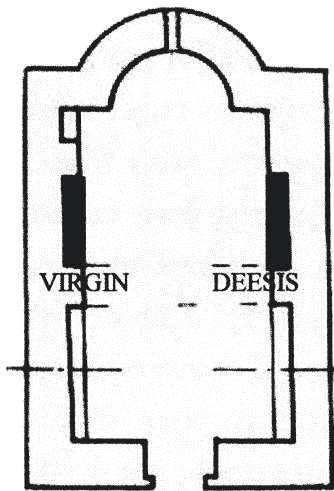


Fig. 92 Ground plan of Panagia, Prodromi. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 180 fig. 62).

the prostration image of the patron saint has been placed in the west blind arcade of the south wall (fig. 99).

The Virgin is depicted enthroned, as is Christ in Deësis, holding the Infant with her right hand (Dexiokratousa). The throne is carved in wood and has a curved back – echoing the equivalent depiction mode in the churches of Panagia Fanerōmenē in Hagios Iōannēs, Mylopotamos (1290-1300) and Panagia Gouverniōtissa (1320-1330). However, in the specific church of Palaia Roumata, the proponents of the iconographic program decided to place the devotional icon on the same wall as the Deësis and not facing it.



Fig. 95 Patron Saint, Hagios Iōannēs Theologos, Kakodiki. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

Fig. 97 South wall, Palaia Roumata. – (Photo A. Mailis).



A further noteworthy example is found in the Church of Hagios Iōannēs the Evangelist in Margarites, Mylopotamos (1383; cat. no. I, 34). The Deēsīs and the icon of the Evangelist are located in the east blind arcades as an extension of the stone templon (figs 100-101)³⁵⁵.

On the southeastern arcade is painted the oversized patron saint, Iōannēs, with his head turned towards the Sanctuary and holding an open Gospel with the starting passage of John's Gospel (1:1): ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΚΕ ΘΕΟΝ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΟΝ. On the southeastern blind arcade is painted an unconventional Deēsīs³⁵⁶, encompassing a frontal Christ in the centre, who holds a closed Gospel. On His right stands the Virgin, leaning towards Her Son, and on His left is depicted a standing and frontal orthodox priest wearing a red cap and priestly white garments with crosses. Above the priest is the inscription: ΕΚΙΜΙΘΗ Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟΥ) ΠΑΠΑΣ/ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ/Ο ΚΛΑΔΟΣ/ΕΤ(ΕΙ) ΣΤΩΣΑ' ΜΙ(ΝΙ) ΦΡΕΥ/ΒΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ/ΗC ΤΕC ΚΒ' ³⁵⁷, which refers to the death of the alleged patron of the church, Priest Geōrgios Klados, in 1383. The frontal stance and the depiction of the donor at the same level as the Virgin constitute a peculiarity related to the eschatological importance of the theme³⁵⁸ while targeting the direct portrayal of the patron's personality by accentuating a self-confidence that emanates from the family's prestige

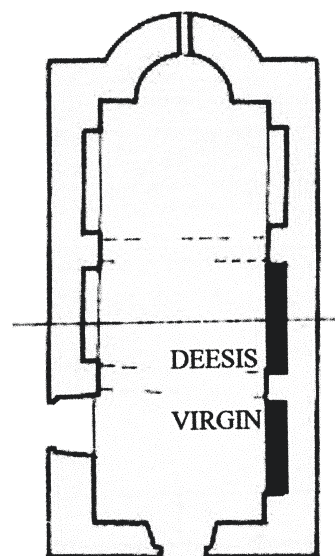


Fig. 96 Ground plan of Dormition, Palaia Roumata. – (Redrawn after Las-sithotakēs, *Ekklesies Kissamos* 210 fig. 16).

(Klados) or his clerical office³⁵⁹. Due to the unusual nature of the representation, its interpretation as a devotional/prostration icon cannot be given.

355 For the church: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 334 no. 30. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 123-124. 263. – Maderakis, *Byzantinē Zografikē* 300. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 190-191. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 124-7. – Spatharakis, *Mylopōtamōs* 215-228. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall paintings* 124-126. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 232-233. – For the templon: Mailis, *Tremezzi* 464-466 (with anterior literature).

356 For the Deēsīs: Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 95. – Kazamia Tsernou, *Deēsīs* 176. 228-229. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 71. 225. – Mailis, *Tremezzi* 466.

357 Spatharakis, *Mylopotamos* 222.

358 Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 71 (with other examples in Crete).

359 Kazamia Tsernou, *Deēsīs* 229. – The exaltation of the donor's personality in the church of Mylopotamos is conceptually related, according to Mailis, to corresponding representations from the egleistra (place of seclusion) of Neophytos in Cyprus (1183), where the deceased monk is depicted on bended knee in front of the Deēsīs, and from the NW chapel in Afendiko, Mystras (ca. 1322), where a company of Prophets, Apostles, Patriarchs, Martyrs and Saints take part in an extensive procession towards Christ to pray for the soul of the patronal monk Pachomios: Mailis, *Tremezzi* 466.



Fig. 98 Deësis, Palaia Roumata. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 99 Panagia Dexiokratousa, Palaia Roumata. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 100 Patron Saint, Hagios Margarites, Mylopotamos.



Fig. 101 Deësis, Margarites Mylopotamos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Variation III: plain depictions of Deësis and patron saint without frames

In addition to the above groups of monuments, there is a broad category of single-aisled churches that follow a simpler way of creating a facing placement of Deësis and the patron, that is, without ornamental cornices. The Church of Panagia in Kakodiki, Selino (cat. no. I, 18; **fig. 102**) is one of the most interesting examples of this group.

The plain single-aisled church was renovated by the community, headed by the prōtopapas Nikēphoros and the priest Iōannēs, and was wall-painted by the artist Iōannēs Pagōmenos in 1331/1332, according to the donor inscription³⁶⁰.

The east edges of the lateral walls of the church were adorned with frescoes of the patron saint (Theotokos; **fig. 103**) and an unconventional Deësis (**fig. 104**) – signalling the sanctuary of the church.

On the north wall is the wall painting of the enthroned Virgin seated on a lyre-backed throne; she holds the Infant, who is pivotally placed in front of her chest and conferring blessings with His right hand. On either side of the Virgin's head are red medallions with the abbreviations MP ΘΥ and beneath the alias Η ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ³⁶¹. The enthroned Virgin is flanked by two smaller suppliant figures. On the Virgin's left – in a wall painting continued from the sanctuary – exits a priest clad in a white sticharion, a white phelonion and an epitrachēlion. This figure swings a thurible with his right hand, prays with the left hand and holds a Gospel in the crook of his left arm, partially covered by his surplice. Above the priest is the inscription Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Νικηφόρου ἡερέως τοῦ προτοπαπά, which demonstrates his identification with the leading donor of the church, as stated in the inscription. On the Virgin's right stands a female figure with the inscription: Μνήστητι Κύριε την ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης Σταματῆνης, thus identified as the wife of the prōtopapas Nikēphoros³⁶².

The respective location on the south wall bears an unconventional Deësis, partially demolished in a later phase. The representation consists of the enthroned Christ, who blesses with His right hand while holding open the Gospel with the inscription ΕΓΩ ΗΜΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ Ο ΑΚ(ΟΛΟΥ) ΘΩΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΟΥ (ΠΕ) ΡΕΙΠΑ [τῇσει ἐν τῇ σκοτίαι]« (John 8:12).

On His right is depicted a suppliant Iōannēs Prodomos, whose head is not extant. In the foreground, between Prodomos and Christ, is embedded the smaller-scale figure of a suppliant priest. The priest wears ceremonial garments, while his stance relates to the respective stance of the prōtopapas Nikēphoros. The overlying inscription says: Δέσις τοῦ Δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰερέως τοῦ νομικοῦ, so the depicted priest is the second leading donor, as stated in the inscription³⁶³.

In her iconographic analysis of the two representations, Tsamakda observes that the depiction of the enthroned Virgin is used frequently by Iōannēs Pagōmenos, as attested in a series of wall-painted churches (Panagia in Alikampos, Apokorōnas [1315/1316], Hagios Nikolaos in Maza [1325/1326], Panagia in Kadros [second quarter of the 14th century]), established and recurring in diverse variations rendered by his school³⁶⁴. However, Pagōmenos is not the earliest proponent of this particular iconographic subject. As seen in the previous examples (Panagia in Hagios Iōannēs, Mylōpōtamōs [1290-1300], Panagia in Saitoures [1300], Panagia Gouverniōtissa [1320-1330], Virgin on Thronos in Amari [second quarter of the 14th century]), the enthroned Virgin is placed as a prostration image in churches dedicated to her as early as the end of the 13th century. Thus, the painter promotes an anterior representation.

The incomplete Deësis of the south wall (with the sole presence of Christ and Iōannēs) is a peculiarity of the painter and his workshop (see Hagia Paraskevē in Anisaraki, Hagios Iōannēs in Chasi and Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna)³⁶⁵. Nevertheless, as already noticed, the overall arrangement of the church of Panagia in Kakodiki does present a full Trimorfo (three-figure) of Deësis, albeit applied on both, spread across two walls³⁶⁶. It is likely that the separate placement of the Virgin Mary on the north wall forms part of the improvisational preference of Pagōmenos to ascribe a particular prestige to her image as the patron saint of the church instead of duplicating her image as in the case of Panagia Gouverniōtissa.

On the other hand, the connection of the specific representations with the patrons constitutes a combination of the individual soteriological element³⁶⁷ with liturgical references. The donating priests appear in supplication, vested in

360 For the church: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti, II, 308. 330-331; IV, 462-463 no. 41. – Kalokyris, Pagōmenos 351. 354-355. – Lassithotakēs, Ekklesiēs, Selino 189. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 576-577. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 56, 99. – Sucrow, Pagōmenos 28-30. 37. 82-83. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 33 ff. (with anterior literature). – The inscription reads as follows: *Ἀνακενίστου ὁ θεῖος κὲ πάνσεπτος ναός τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θε [οτόκου] / κὲ ἀπαρθένου Μαρίας δει ἐξόδου κὲ σει[ν]δρομῆς Νεικηφόρου [ιερέως] / τοῦ προτοπαπά κὲ τῆς σιβῆου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰερέως τοῦ νομικοῦ κὲ τῆς [συμβι-] / ου αὐτοῦ κὲ τον τέκνο αὐτοῦ Νηκῆτα τοῦ Καλαμάρη κὲ τῆς σιβῆου αὐτοῦ Νηκολάου [...] Ἀμαρεγιππου κὲ τῆς σιβῆου αὐτοῦ Σκορδῆλη τοῦ Μουσσογιάνη, Πάτζος ο Γηράρδου [...] Νηκολάου τοῦ Παρτζῆλη, Γηράρδου ὁ Καλῆνηκος κὲ τον τέκνον αὐτοῦ, Μηχαῖλ ὁ Ράπτις [...] πούλος κὲ υ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ, Νηκόλας ὁ Οχτοκέφαλος. Γεώργιος ο [...] ουκομάρης [...] / Γεωργίου τοῦ Κοπετοῦ κὲ τῆς ἑτερίας στοῦ. Στεφάνου τοῦ Κληπρέου, Μαρῆνου τοῦ Βαππακά [...] κῆ [...] ο πολ' λου, Αχλάδη τοῦ Καλογῆρου, ἡ Σγουρογιάνου μὲ τὴν ἑτερία τῆς κὲ μὲ τα πεδῆα τῆς / κονκεί(?) μὲ τὴν ἑτερία τοῦ, ἡ Στεφανάδες ὅλη με τὴν ἑτερία τὸν, Ἐξελοῦρη κῆ ὅλη με τὴν ἑτερία / τον κὲ μὲ τα πεδῆα τον, ὁ Σγουρός, Ἰωάννης ὁ Σγουρογιάννης, Μηχαῖλ

ὁ Λαφράγκης, Ἰωάννης [...] / Μηχαῖλ ὁ Καλαμάρης, Νηκόλας ὁ Παπαδόπουλος [...] Ἀνδρέας ὁ Σαληβαράς, Ἰωάννης ὁ Ραπτόπουλος, Γεώργιος ὁ [...] πλν [...] μέτην γνηκεαν / [...] Γεώργιος ὁ Θεοφανόμες τον [...] / Ετελειόθει ἡ παρούσα ἐκλεισεία δειὰ χειρὸς (ς) ἡ [μαρτο]λοῦ Ἰωάννη τὰχα κὲ ζουγράφου τοῦ Παγωμένου, ἐπὶ ἔτους ρωμῆ μέρα παρασκ[ε]βῆ. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 37-38.

361 For the description and the iconographic analysis of the type: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68.

362 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68. The researcher mentions a series of parallel representations with the coexistence of the Virgin and dedicators: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 71.

363 For the description and the analysis of the representation: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68.

364 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68-71. For an analysis of the churches, see sub-chapter B.

365 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 104.

366 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 74.

367 In her analysis, Tsamakda stresses the private suppliant element. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68. 70. 72-75.

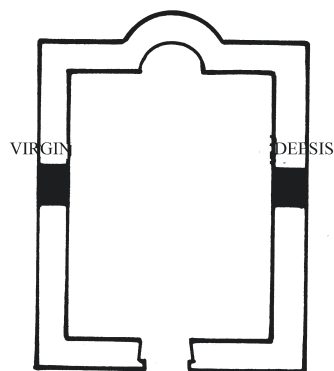


Fig. 102 Ground plan of Panagia, Beilitika/Kakodiki. – (Redrawn after Tsamakda, Kakodiki 304).



Fig. 103 Panagia, Beilitika. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 104 Deësis, Beilitika. – (Photo A. Mailis).

ceremonial apparel, holding censers and gospels. They are depicted as exiting the sanctuary (Nikēphoros) and entering it (Iōannēs), in a symbolic allusion to the semi-circular procession led by the Gospel, known as the Little Entrance³⁶⁸. From the 12th century onwards, the Little Entrance is not accompanied by a censer³⁶⁹, thus the painted thuribles carried by the priests may refer to the veneration of the prostration images

of the church³⁷⁰ but also to a specific segment of the Liturgy (before the Little Entrance), where the Priests incense the despotic images of the templon³⁷¹. The said representations thus constitute the despotic images of the church.

The second element relates to the connection of the depicted priests with the representations. The first one (Nikēphoros) is inscribed as *prōtopapas*, which suggests

368 For a reference to the semi-circular processing of the Little Entrance: French, Introduction 4-7. – For a retrospect on the ceremony: Pallas, Aithrion 279-289. – Mathews, Early Churches 155-173.

369 Trempelas, Ai treis Leitourgiai 37.

370 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 75.

371 See the interpretation of Philotheus: Καὶ θυμιὰ ὁ Διάκονος (κατὰ ἄλλο κώδικα οἱ ἱερεῖς). Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὰ βημόθυρα ἐξέρχεται καὶ θυμιᾷ τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν λαόν. Trempelas, Ai treis Leitourgiai 239.

Fig. 105 Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Episkopi/Pediada. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 106 Deēsis, Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Episkopi/Pediada. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 107 Deēsis and Bēma, Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Episkopi/Pediada. – (Photo A. Mailis).





Fig. 108 Patron Saint, Iōannēs Prodomos, Episkopi/Pediada. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 109 Patron Saint and Bēma. – (Photo A. Mailis).

his allegedly prominent public role³⁷². The second priest (Iōannēs) is depicted in supplication between his namesake Prodomos and Christ, carrying his individual petition for salvation and the request of the congregation as well³⁷³, presenting himself as the intercessor for the salvation of the community³⁷⁴. The entreaty of the depicted priest is literally addressed to the devotional icon of Christ, while it symbolically denotes his critical role in the Liturgy. Hence, the depiction as a whole aims to accentuate his role in the local society.

Finally, the iconographic arrangement of the Church of Panagia in Kakodiki (enthroned Virgin/south wall, enthroned Christ and Prodomos/north wall) is related to the array of wall paintings adorning the masonry templon of Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna, thus implying the connection of the

prostration images on the lateral walls with the despotic images on the masonry templa³⁷⁵. This shows that within the same period we can trace similar iconographic/cultic arrangements on diverse surfaces (side walls/masonry templon), a fact that hints at a multiplicity of solutions. The category of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Kakodiki also includes a broad group of churches in which the icon of the patron saint (lacking a special painted proskynetarion) is placed next to the Sanctuary, fronting the Deēsis. This tendency has mostly crystallized from the second half of the 14th century onwards:

In the plain single-aisled church of Hagios Iōannēs Prodomos in Episkopi, Pediada of the prefecture of Herakleion (ca. 1350; cat. no. I, 22; **fig. 105**)³⁷⁶, a fragmentary Deēsis is preserved on the south wall (**figs 106-107**).

372 The *prōtopapas* was a public servant who was commissioned by the Venetian state as archpriest of the rthodox communities in order to secure a certain religious autonomy: Tomadakis, Papades 42-43. – Thiriet, *Eglises* 486. – Tsamakda considers that the title *prōtopapas* for Nikēphoros retained the function of the Byzantine title, which antedated the Venetian one. The same scholar believes that the Byzantine use of the term was still employed by the Cretans, even during the time of the Venetian domination, and should not be confused with the homonymous Venetian title. Consequently, Tsamakda maintains that the depicted priest was not a *prōtopapas* serving the Venetian administration, since these *prōtopapades* were vested in a red surplice with a *vade mecum* on the chest. In the specific fresco Nikēphoros is depicted as a celebrating priest in his liturgical vestments, thus not wearing his everyday clothing. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 94. – For an analysis on the topic of *prōtopapas* cf. p. 134-135.

373 The priest invokes Prodomos as a mediator for the worshippers during the Liturgy: Τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προφήτου... καὶ πάντων σου τῶν Ἁγίων ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσί- αῖς ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. Trempelas, *Treis Leitourgiai* 118-119. – As well as in the tropario of Vigil: Βαπτιστὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν μνήσθητι ἵνα ρύσῃμεν τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν, σὺ γὰρ ἐδόθη χάρις πρεσβεύει ἡμῶν. Walter, *Further Notes* 182-183. – Mailis, *Templa* 123.

374 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 75. – For the symbolic role of the priests as intercessors: Gerstel, *Alternate View* 157. – Mailis, *Templa* 127-128.

375 On the attribution to Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 119-120. – For the church: Mailis, *Templa* 123-124.

376 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 299. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat.* no. 102, 136. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 106. – Volanakēs-Katsalēs, *Episkopē* 35-43.

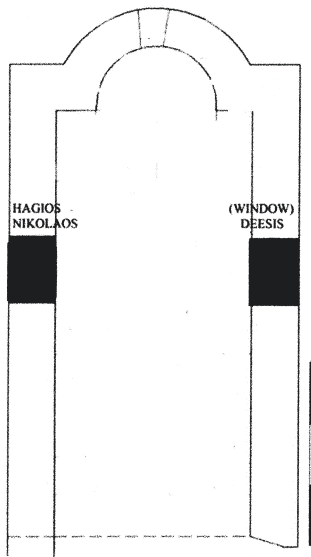


Fig. 110 Ground plan of Hagios Nikolaos, Vatos. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 202).



Fig. 111 North wall with Patron Saint, Vatos. – (Photo Archives of the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).



Fig. 112 South wall with Deesis, Vatos. – (Photo Archives of the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

The figure of the patron saint (Iōannēs Prodromos; **fig. 108**) is depicted anew on the east edge of the south wall. Prodromos is depicted in a frontal stance, vested in olive-green chiton and a *mēlotē* (cloak made of animal skin). He brings his right hand to his chest while holding a plate on which rests his decapitated head. The wall painting shares characteristics with a portable icon³⁷⁷, while its grand dimensions and its placement

next to the sanctuary show that this is the devotional image of the church, dedicated to the Decollation of Saint John Prodromos (29th of August)³⁷⁸. It is noteworthy that the wall painting is separated from the Bēma with a plain red band disrupted by a painted rectangular frame (**fig. 109**). The wall paintings on the border that separates the nave from the Sanctuary display damage due to the attachment of the posterior iconostasis.

377 For icons with analogous themes, where Prodromos is depicted with similar apparel, see the Icon of Prodromos (middle of the 15th c.) in the Historical Museum of Moscow: Borboudakēs, Icons no. 64.

378 Volanakēs-Katsalēs, Episkopē 35.



Fig. 114 Deësis, Amari. – (After Spatharakis, Amari fig. 31).

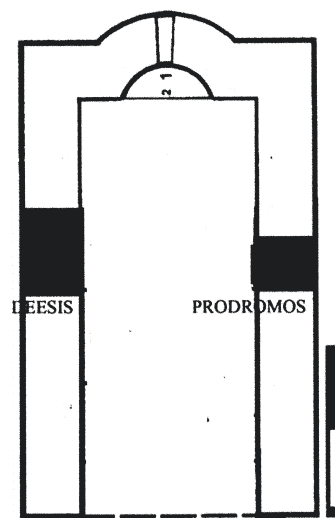


Fig. 113 Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Amari. – (After Spatharakis, Amari 16).

One of the most remarkable examples of the array of the eponymous saint and the representation of Deësis is found in the Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Vatos, of Hagios Basileios, Rethymnon (ca. 1400; cat. no. I, 45; **fig. 110**)³⁷⁹.

Hagios Nikolaos is depicted on the north wall next to the sanctuary in a continuous painting without separating bands (**fig. 111**). He is depicted full length and frontal, bearing the typical iconographic traits attributed to the saint (elderly, bald, round-bearded)³⁸⁰, in a white sticharion, epitrachēlion, phelonion and òmophorion, while holding a closed Gospel in front of his chest with his left hand. On either side of his head are red disks inscribed with the abbreviations of his name and

the busts of Christ and the Virgin that grant him the Gospel and the òmophorion. The wall painting of the patron saint of the church is iconographically similar to the parallel fresco of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza (1325/1326)³⁸¹, and presents the distinctive elements of the depiction of Hagios Nikolaos both in wall paintings and in portable images, suggesting the use of the representation as a devotional icon³⁸². On the equivalent side of the south wall, Iōannēs Prodromos is the only preserved figure of the Deësis (**fig. 112**), which was damaged due to the construction of a later door. A similar configuration appears in one more church from Rethymnon, dated to the end of the 14th century, in Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos in Diskouri (ca. 1400; cat. no. I, 46; **figs 113-114**)³⁸³.

A final, noteworthy example is provided by the unpublished church of Hagios Basileios in Vouves, Kisamos (possibly dated at the end of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 49; **fig. 115**). The patron saint, Hagios Basileios, is depicted on the east side of the north wall, without the interference of any band dividing the subject and the wall-paintings of the sanctuary (**fig. 116**).

The saint displays the typical iconographic traits (μυαῖπῳλιος μακράν ἔχων την γενειάδαν)³⁸⁴ (grey-haired, bearded) and is clad in archieratic surplice (white sticharion, epitrachēlion, phelonion and òmophorion). He holds an open Gospel with his left hand and blesses with his right hand, while on either side of his head are red medallions with the abbreviations of the name (no longer extant). Basileios is depicted frontal and enthroned, thus referring to equivalent prostration images, mostly from the churches of the Virgin, since his depiction as a single figure is relatively rare³⁸⁵. The Deësis is partially

379 Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 200-209 (with anterior literature).

380 Papadopoulou-Kerameōs, Dionysios ek Fourni 154.

381 Sucrow, Pagōmenos 57.

382 For depictions of Hagios Nikolaos with Christ and the Virgin on portable icons see the biographic icon of Sinai with Hagios Nikolaos in a bust form (13th c.). Weitzmann, Constantinople 20. 67. – Image of a full-length Hagios Nikolaos from Veroia: Papazotos, Veroia. – Image of a full-length Hagios Nikolaos from

the Byzantine Museum of Nicosia (13th c.): Sophokleous, Icons 89 figs 26. 153. – Bust of Hagios Nikolaos in the Monastery of Gonia, Chania (second half of the 15th c.): Borboudakēs, Icons no. 164. – For the wall painting of the patron saint on the south wall of Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzes, Kastoria (end of the 12th c.): Tomeković, Saint Patron fig. 1. – Gerstel, Sacred Mysteries 91. 164 fig. 23.

383 Spatharakis, Amari 14-20 fig. 31-2.

384 Papadopoulou-Kerameōs, Dionysios ek Fourni 154.

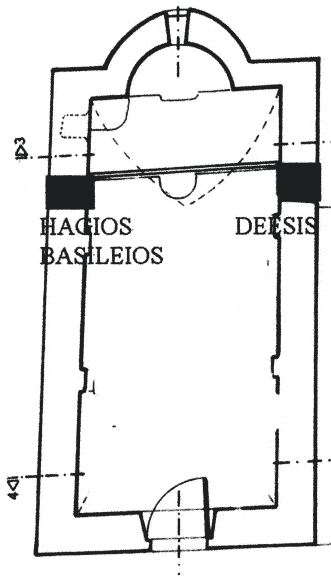


Fig. 115 Ground plan of Hagios Basileios, Vouves. – (Drawing Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).



Fig. 116 Patron Saint, Vouves. – (Photo A. Mailis).

preserved, almost opposite the representation of the saint (fig. 117).

The above examples illustrate that the iconographic arrangement of the facing placement of the icon of the patron saint and the Deësis at the edges of the lateral walls, in front of the sanctuary, has developed and been crystallized from the beginning of the 14th century to the 15th century. An exception is formed by the churches that are dedicated to the Transfiguration, as the Church of the Saviour in Vlêthia in the district of Selino (1358-1359; cat. no. I, 23; fig. 118)³⁸⁶ and in the church of Sotër, Akoumia of Hagios Basileios (1389; cat. no. I, 35)³⁸⁷, where military saints face the Deësis.

Finally, due to the poor preservation of the wall-painted decoration, in numerous churches we can trace Deësis at the eastern end of the lateral walls, while the counterpart

fresco of the opposite wall is often lost. This is the case for the Saint Apostles in Kōpetoi, Selino (1334/1335; cat. no. I, 25) – a work related to Pagōmenos (fig. 119)³⁸⁸ –, Hagios Iōannēs in Sebrona, Selino (middle of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 26), in Zoodochos Pēgē (Life-giving fountain) in Alikianos, Kydonia (second layer of wall-paintings in the middle of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 27; fig. 120)³⁸⁹, in Panagia in Hagios Nikolaos, Lasithi (middle of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 28; fig. 121)³⁹⁰, in Panagia, Kastamonitsa in Pediada, Herakleion (middle of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 29; fig. 122), in Panagia of Spēlia, Kisamos (ca. 1380; cat. no. I, 33; fig. 123)³⁹¹, in Hagios Geōrgios Melissourgaki, Rethymnon (1395-1400; cat. no. I, 38)³⁹², in Hagia Eirēnē Sklavopoula, Selino (end of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 40; fig. 124), in the Church Fathers of Azoghires, Selino (end of the 14th century; cat. no.

385 In Crete the churches that are dedicated to Hagios Basileios are scarce. The church of Hagios Basileios in Hagios Basileios Rethymno does not preserve the patron saint's wall painting. Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 9-12. – Generally in the Cretan wall paintings, the saint is portrayed as included in the theme of the concelebrant Hierarchs: Kalokyris, Byzantine Wall Paintings 134. – The bishop is also displayed on the portable icons as included in the theme of the Three Holy Hierarchs: see the icon of the Holy Hierarchs in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (14th c.): Baltoyanni, Conversation 84-85 fig. 11. – Acheimastu-Potamianou, Ierarches 358-372. – For the single depiction of Saint Basil the Great, see the right holy door of the Monastery of Hagios Iōannēs Theologos in Patmos (second half of the 15th c.): Acheimastou-Potamianou, Holy Icon, Holy Space 210 fig. 51.

386 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 174. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 133, 162. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 106-107. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deësis 135.

387 Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 161, 191. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 16-37.

388 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 209-210. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deësis 135 (with anterior literature). – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 35. 72 (on Deësis with a particular reference to the lyre-backed throne of Christ).

389 Orlandos, Byzantina Mnēmeia 170-205. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 240-241. – Kazamia Tsernou, Deësis 136. – Andrianakēs, Nea Stoicheia 14-15. – Andrianakis, Christian Monuments 257-258.

390 Borboudakēs, Apokatastatē 520-533. – Borboudakēs, Mesaionika 1973, 597-607. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 425.

391 Kalokyres, Byzantine Wall Paintings fig. BW 116. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 167, 195.

392 Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 180, 203. – Spatharakis, Mylopotamos 229-238.



Fig. 117 Deësis, Vouves. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 118 Deësis, Vlethia. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

I, 41), in Hagios Geōrgios in Kavousi (end of the 14th century; cat. no. I, 43; **fig. 125**), in Panagia in Gourni (Kapistri), Ierapetra (ca. 1400; cat. no. I, 44)³⁹³, in the Transfiguration of Saviour in Sklavōpoula (ca. 1400; cat. no. I, 47)³⁹⁴, in Hagia Paraskevē in Chondros, Selino (first half of the 15th century; cat. no. I, 52; **fig. 126**)³⁹⁵ and in the famous Church of Holy Fathers in Apanō Flōria, Selino (1470; cat. no. I, 54; **fig. 127**), painted by Xenos Digenis from the village of Mochlion in the Peloponnesus³⁹⁶.

The depiction of Deësis on the lateral walls is more frequent in Crete than on other islands or the Greek mainland³⁹⁷ indicating that the representation forms a customary part in the iconographic program of churches – especially in the western part of the island. It is noteworthy that in the majority of churches where the Deësis is preserved on the lateral walls, the representation's current condition is rather bad. Many representations of Deësis have been demolished due to the opening of windows for the choir (**figs 60. 104. 112. 126-**

393 Maderakēs, Deëse 71 fig. 36 (the back of the throne bears the characteristic hilts of the portable icons of Deësis).

394 Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 145. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, Byzantinisches Kreta 215. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 191, 210.

395 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II, 445 no. 17. – Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Selino 136 fig. 160-69. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 196, 213.

396 Vasilaki Mavrakaki, Xenos Digenis 550-557. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Fresco Paintings 215-216.

397 For a comparison, see: Kazamia Tsernou, Deësis 321-332.



Fig. 119 Deësis, Kopetoi. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).



Fig. 120 Deësis, Alikianos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Fig. 121 Deësis, Panagia/Hagios Nikolaos. – (Photo A. Mailis).





Fig. 122 Deësis, Kastamonitsa. – (Photo G. Katsalēs).



Fig. 123 Deësis, Spēlia. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 124 Deësis, Sklavopoula. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

Second variant (icons of Christ, Virgin, titular saint)

127). This demolition seems to coincide temporally with the placement of a carved wooden iconostasis. The latter remark suggests that the specific wall paintings lost their initial cultic function, which was then transferred to the despotic images of the iconostasis. Thus, the wall paintings of the Deësis and the patron saint constitute a valuable testimony for the – now lost – cultic customs enacted in the single-aisled churches of the 13th/15th century.

In this second part of the study of the prostration images/wall paintings found on the lateral walls of the Cretan churches, we will examine the arrangement comprising the facing representations of Christ, the Virgin and their variants. The collected material has been classified into four categories, as per the depiction mode of the wall paintings. The first group consists of the representations in the cross-in-square or cross-vaulted churches of the island, the second group comprises the wall paintings of the patron saint inside an inscribed frame,

Fig. 125 Deēsis, Kavousi. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 126 Hagia Paraskevē, Chondros. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Cross-in-square and cross-vaulted churches

the third group includes the prostration images in the soffits of blind arcades, while the fourth group contains the facing arrays of prostration images/wall paintings on plain wall surfaces.

This specific category is manifested in three monuments. The first is the church of Archangel Michaël in Aradaina, Sfakia (cat. no. II, 7; **fig. 128**).



Fig. 127 Deësis, Apanō Flōria. – (Photo Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities Chania).

The original church belongs to the type of the plain four-column cross-in-square church; it was further enhanced with an oblong narthex at a later phase (19th century?). The dating of the edifice is rather problematic, with Theoharopoulou dating it to the 11th century, while Lassithiōtakēs and Andrianakēs assert that it was constructed during the 14th century³⁹⁸. The church's painting undoubtedly dates back to the beginning of the 14th century; Bissinger attributes it to the painter of the Hagios Nikolaos church in the Monē of Selino (atelier of the Venerēs family), ca. 1310-1320³⁹⁹.

The Bēma is configured with two east piers (**fig. 129**); all their surfaces are painted and framed with a rudimentary projection. Due to the continuous painting and the absence of apertures for the fastening of architraves or slabs above the pilasters, Andrianakēs assumed that they served as the templon of the church⁴⁰⁰. The front façade of the SE pier

displays a standing and frontal Christ whose face is eroded. Christ stands on a stool and wears a crimson chitōn and a dark blue himation. The wall-painting is not flanked by a painted proskynētarian, although the posture of Christ and the placement of the depiction allude to the prostration images placed as wall paintings on the fronts of the east piers of the church's Bēma from the 11th century onwards⁴⁰¹. On the NE pier, Hagia Eirēnē replaces the Virgin or the titular saint, as suggested by the relevant inscription (Η ΑΓΙΑ [ΕΙΡ] ΥΝΗ; **fig. 129**). The saint is vested in imperial garments, has an ornamented crown, and is represented as a martyr holding a cross with her right hand while raising the left one⁴⁰². The iconographic program of the piers is supplemented by the iconography of two frontal prelates (Dionysios and Germanos), depicted on the back façades (towards the altar) thus alluding to the corresponding array of the back façade of the masonry templa that sporadically display prelates either frontal or in bust form, as in Hagios Iōannis, Kroustas (1347-1348) and Hagios Nikētās, Chasi (second half of the 14th century)⁴⁰³. The entire surface of the piers' lateral sides is decorated with geometric motifs. At the bottom part of the soffits are painted rectangular frames, divided into square partitions bearing two rhombuses (**fig. 130**).

The themes hint at a corresponding type of ornamentation often seen on the lower parts of Crete's masonry templa, as at Hagia Aikaterinē, Kantanos (second half of the 14th century) and Hagios Mamas, Palaiohōra (1355/1356)⁴⁰⁴.

Moreover, on the upper part of the south façade of the SE pier (towards the diaconicon) is a rectangular frame wherein is painted, against a neutral background, a deer being attacked by two predatory animals (**fig. 131**) – a theme rather frequently encountered in the embossed ornamentation of the templon's architraves in the Middle Byzantine period⁴⁰⁵. The respective north side of the NE pilaster bears a rectangular unprocessed surface devoid of wall paintings. This void indicates the adhesion of a wall continuing as far as the north wall, where a corresponding undecorated surface can be seen (**fig. 132**).

The traces indicate that the Prothesis chamber was probably set apart by a kind of built-in screen with a door that facilitated the procession of the Great Entrance. The iconographic program of the Bēma was supplemented by the wall painting of the titular saint (Archangel Michaēl) on the north wall, as in the single-aisled churches of the island (**fig. 132**). The painted ornament on the east piers and the northern wall of the church suggests that they bore prostration images of Christ and the titular saint. The painted themes on the lateral sides

398 Theoharopoulou, *Symvolē* 222. – Theoharopoulou, *Paratērēseis* 254. – Lassithiōtakēs, *Staurōideis* 348-349. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 331.

399 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 253-254. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat. no. 47*, 93.

400 Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 331.

401 See the pilasters in Panagia in Arakos (1192) or Panagia Moutoula in Cyprus. Also see the SE pilasters in Hagia Sophia, Monemvasia, in Zoodochos Pēgē, Samarina and elsewhere: Chatzidakis, *Ikonostas* 343. – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 258-259.

402 On the iconographic type of the saint and the relevant remarks, see: Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 87-88.

403 Mailis, *Templa* 127. 134. – Generally, on this matter: Gerstel, *Alternate View* 157.

404 Mailis, *Templa* 129.

405 Bouras/Boura, *Naodomia* 560-562. Also see the architrave of the templon with a hunting scene of a dog and a hare from the 13th c., in the Byzantine Museum of Athens: Sklavou-Mauroeidē, *Glypta* 186-187.

Fig. 128 Archangel Michaël Aradaina from N. – (Photo A. Mailis).

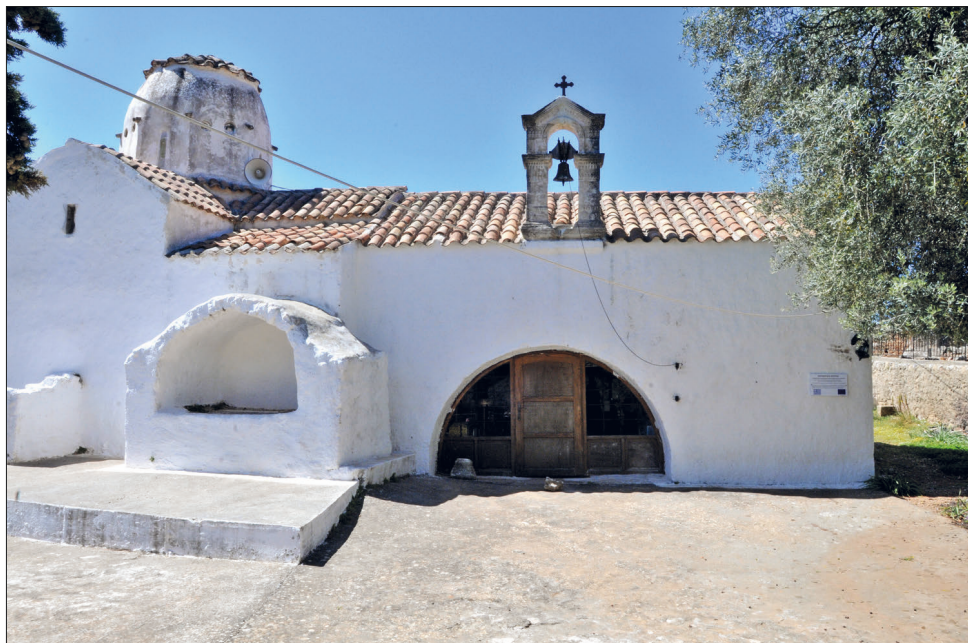


Fig. 129 The eastern piers of the sanctuary at Aradaina. – (Photo A. Mailis).



of the east pilasters imitate the embossed ornamentations of *templa*, while the themes of their back façades correspond to the ornamentation of masonry *templa*. Hence, the east pilasters of the church, together with the reconstructed wall of the prothesis and the prostration image of the patron saint, constituted part of a spatial entity that defined the *Bēma*.

In the cross-vaulted church of Archangel Michaël, Arka-lochōri (cat. no. II, 8), the wall-painted ornamentation is fragmentally extant and dates back to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century⁴⁰⁶. The east piers/walls surrounding the *Bēma* have been restored with cement. The

NE pilaster bears a variegated frame, while beneath it is portrayed the head of the Virgin in a three-quarter pose (fig. 133), turned towards the south pier, which is entirely made of concrete (fig. 134).

With the help of iconographic parallels, we can restore the figure of the Virgin in supplication towards the – now eroded – figure of the frontal Christ that would have been painted on the southern pier. The supplication of the Virgin could presumably be accompanied by a written letter related to the iconographic type of *Paraklēsis*⁴⁰⁷. The closest iconographic parallel can be traced to the figure of Theotokos on

406 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 386. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 79, 110. – Andrianakēs, *Christian Monuments* 331.

407 On an extensive list of churches with prostration images of Virgin in supplication towards Christ, see Der Nersessian, *Images* 82-85. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Hagia Triada* 48-51.



Fig. 131 Wild animals at the upper part of the SE. pier at Aradaina. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Fig. 130 The soffit of the SE. pier at Aradaina. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 132 The N. wall at Aradaina. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 133 NE pier at Archalochōrion. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 134 SE pier at Archalochōrion. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the SE pilaster of Panagia Moutoula in Cyprus, framed with a similar arched proskynētaron⁴⁰⁸. Due to radical restoration, the initial templon of the church is no longer visible. Finally, in the cross-vaulted church of Hagios Geōrgios, Alikianos (14th century; cat. no. II, 16)⁴⁰⁹ the representation of the enthroned Christ is found on the SE wall of the church⁴¹⁰ (fig. 135), while the now-defaced front surface of the SE wall probably carried the corresponding depiction of the Virgin.

Considering the above group of churches, we can deduce that the depiction mode of the prostration images liaises with the architectural type of the relevant church. In cross-in-square and cross-vaulted churches, the icons are placed vertically as regards the axis of the edifice, thus recalling the prostration icons/wall paintings placed on the east pilasters supplementing the configuration of the templon. This salient type of array has been prevalent in Crete since the Middle Byzantine era (Panagia Fodele, Hagios Panteleēmōn Bizarianō), and it is preserved in the single-aisled churches of the 14th and the 15th century that were furnished with a built-in templon.

The titular saint under the painted proskynētaron

As seen in the previous subsection, one of the representation variants comprises the placement of the titular saint under a painted proskynētaron and the facing array of the Deēsīs. Numerous monuments fall into this group (cat. no. I, 15. 29. 35. 46. 49), which dates from 1330-1340 until the 15th century. Study of the relevant theme revealed that this particular iconographic arrangement (titular saint under the painted proskynētaron) first appeared in Crete in the church of Hagia Varvara of Latziana (11th century?), being quite common in prostration icons/wall paintings of the 12th century, both in Hellenic territory and the Balkans. As already seen, this iconographic arrangement is deployed by Iōannēs Pagōmenos in Hagia Paraskevē, Anisaraki (1330-1340; cat. no. I, 15), while also encountered in a variant of the single-aisled church of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza (1325/1326; figs 136-137), which, according to the donor inscription was painted by Pagōmenos in 1325/1326⁴¹¹.

408 Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 125 figs 23-24.

409 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 237-238.

410 An analogous placement of Christ on the SE pilaster of the churches is traced in Perivleptos of Mystras as well as in Karije Camii. Kalopissi-Verti, *Hagia Triada* 48-49.

411 On the church: Kalokyres, *Pagomenos* 351. 354. – Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Apokoronas 480-486*. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 251. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 54, 98. – Sucrow, *Pagomenos* 24-26. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings* 70-72. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 108-109. – On the inscription: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 429 no. 5.



Fig. 135 NE. pier (Christ) at Hagios Geōrgios, Alikianos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

As in the previously examined single-aisled churches, the Bēma of Hagios Nikolaos of Maza (cat. no. II, 14) is divided from the nave by a pair of icons/wall paintings axially arrayed on the east edge of the southern walls⁴¹². On the northern wall of the church is the wall painting of the titular saint (Nikolaos) under a bi-pillar arched proskynētarian (figs 138-139).

In the analysis of Hagios Nikolaos in Vatos, Rethymnon (I, 43) we discerned the standard iconographic features of Saint Nikolaos (bishop's apparel, elderly with a wide forehead and short beard), recurring in Maza. The saint holds a closed gospel with his right hand and blesses with his left hand. On either side of him are busts of Christ and the Virgin, who hand insignia to the saint. As in Hagia Paraskevē, Anisarakī, the high venerating value of the titular saint's icon is exalted by its

placement under the painted proskynētarian. In the church of Maza, the wall painting of an enthroned Odēgētria is placed opposite Hagios Nikolaos on the south wall (fig. 140).

The Virgin is seated on a throne with a lyre-backed seat, after a well-loved ornamental motif of Pagōmenos (Panagia/Kakodiki, Panagia/Kadros, Hagios Geōrgios/Prodromi). On either side of the Virgin's head are found the typical abbreviations MP ΘΥ, inscribed inside medallions. The Virgin is portrayed in a variant of the Odēgētria type, where the mother embraces the Infant with her left hand, while slightly touching His right leg with her right hand. The Infant holds a scroll in the left hand and confers blessings with the right⁴¹³.

The association of the wall paintings of Saint Nikolaos and the Virgin, as well as their placement on the east edge of the lateral walls, signify their inclusion in the depiction mode of the prostration icons of Deēsīs/Titular Saint, which has already been analysed in the previous subsection. In the church of Maza (fig. 141), the figure of Christ is replaced by that of the Virgin.

This array hints at the prostration icons of the templon in Nerezi (Virgin on the SE pilaster, Hagios Panteleēmōn under an arched proskynētarian on the SE pilaster)⁴¹⁴, with the difference that the salvationist dialogue among the icons is now transferred from the east pilasters on the lateral walls.

Prostration images of Christ, the Virgin or the titular saint under the lateral blind arcades

Corresponding to the placement of the titular saint and the facing representation of Deēsīs under blind arcades, an analogous arrangement is noticed with the figures of Christ and the Virgin or the titular saint. The arrangement is found in Hagios Dēmētrios of Leivadas (cat. no. II, 9), which is dated to 1315/1316 and painted, according to the donor inscription, by Pagōmenos and a monk named Nēphōn⁴¹⁵. The blind arcade of the south wall displayed an enthroned Christ Pantokratōr, while the respective blind arcade of the northern wall presented the image of the patron saint Hagios Dēmētrios.

Simple depiction of the prostration icons on wall surfaces

The fourth group comprises the axial array of prostration icons on plain wall surfaces. This is the most numerous category of monuments. The earliest churches of this group are linked to the artistic activity of Theodoros Daniēl and his nephew Michaēl Venerēs. Amongst them is the church

412 Sucrow's observation is limited to the churches painted by Pagomenos: Sucrow, Pagomenos 51. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 48 note 142.

413 On the variant of Odēgētria by Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68. – On a parallel as regards the portable icons, see Odēgētria of the 13th c., in the Byzantine Museum of Athens: Baltoyanni, Conversation 45 fig. 3.

414 Belting, Bild und Kult 260. – Kalopissi-Verti, Proskynetaria 111.

415 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV, 475 no. 55. – Spatharakis, Dated Wall Paintings 12. – The church has been published in a popular-science article by Maderakēs: Maderakēs, Leivadas 69-95. – Ioannidou, Diorthoseis 330-333.

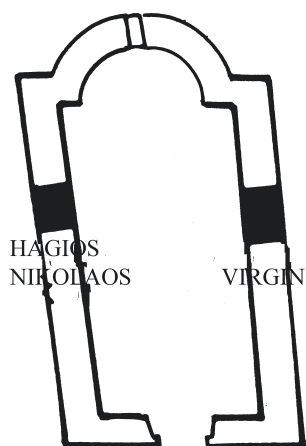


Fig. 136 Ground plan of Hagios Nikolaos Maza. – (Redrawn after Las-sithotakēs, *Ekklesies Apokoronas* 481 fig. 38).



Fig. 137 Exterior of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 138 Patron Saint and Bēma, Hagios Nikolaos Maza. – (Photo A. Mailis).

of Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana, Kantanos (cat. no. II, 3). The church's wall painting dates back to the last quarter of the 13th century/early 14th century and is attributed to Theodoros Daniēl⁴¹⁶, who also participated in the wall-painting of Meskla. The single-aisled church is 8 m long, and furnished with two symmetrical blind arcades. The south pilaster be-

tween the arcades of the south wall fragmentally preserves a full-length frontal Christ (fig. 142), as conveyed by the Christogram placed inside a medallion to the left of the figure. The respective north pilaster probably carried a representation of the Virgin that is no longer preserved, due to the collapse of the wall.

⁴¹⁶ On the painter's work mainly in the prefecture of Chania, see: Maderakēs, *Veneris* 155-170. – On the church: Mailis, *Templa* 116-117.



Fig. 139 Prostration image of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 140 Virgin, Hagios Nikolaos Maza. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Fig. 141 The Bēma of the church of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza. – (Photo A. Mailis).



According to the archaeological findings, the church was further furnished with a masonry templon, of which only the south part (1.05 m long and 1.85 m high) is preserved, while the north part preserves part of the foundation. The installation occupies the east part of the southeast arcade, which conceals part of the wall-painted hermit saint. The masonry of the templon is of uneven thickness, clearly attenuating towards the upper part, since it was fixed upon the arcade at a later phase. The front side (towards the congregation) displayed an enthroned Christ, who covered the entire painted surface of the wall. Correspondingly, we assume the placement of the representation of Virgin on the demolished south part. The back of the templon is seemingly unornamented. The templon is dated to the first half of the 14th century. Hence, the Church of Hagios Geōrgios has two

images of Christ (on the pilaster and templon). The second one was painted when the built templon was later added to the edifice, since the templon was not part of the church's original design

Typical examples of this group are found in two churches that are connected with the activity of the said atelier in the area of Hagios Basileios of southern Rethymnon: Panagia in Diblochōri (cat. no. II, 5) is a simple single-aisled church (6.60 m × 3.5 m; **fig. 143**) located in a now abandoned village⁴¹⁷.

Diblochōri is located near the village of Lampēnē, where we pinpointed and analysed the Middle Byzantine church of Panagia (within the boundaries of the village) and the church of Hagios Geōrgios (beginning of the 13th century, cat. no. I, 2) located in its region. Bissinger dates the wall

417 On the church: Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti* IV, 492 no. 6 (the inscription is related to the painting of the narthex, dated to 1414). – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika* 1972, 659-660. – Bissinger, *Kreta cat.* no. 31, 77; cat. no. 40, 83; cat.

no. 48, 93. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings 170-173*. – Gratziou, *Lampēnē* 251-252. – Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 42-54.

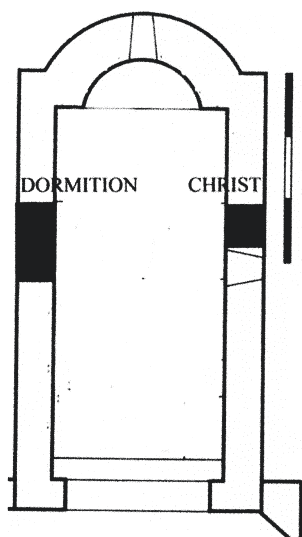


Fig. 143 Ground plan at Diblochōrio. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 76).



Fig. 144 Dormition, Diblochōrio. – (After Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 44 fig. 79).



Fig. 142 Christ at S. pilaster of Hagios Georgios, Benoudiana. – (Photo A. Mailis).

painting of the nave of Panagia in Diblochōri to three diverse phases: the end of the 13th century, the beginning of the

13th century, and from 1320-1330; he attributes the final phase to the painter of the Virgin in Drymiskos, namely Michaël Venerēs⁴¹⁸. On the other hand, in the aforementioned written inscription over the co-celebrating prelates of the Bēma, Spatharakēs recognizes the artistic work of the painter Theodoros Daniel, based on the similarity of the letters in this particular inscription and the pastoral inscription from the church of the Transfiguration, Meskla. He further notices the stylistic resemblances between the churches of Diblochōrio and Drymiskos, thus suggesting a potential collaboration between the two painters⁴¹⁹.

As Gratziou has already noticed, the prostration icons/wall paintings of the church in Diblochōri are placed facing each other, at the east side of the lateral walls. The NE wall carries the icon of the commemorative feast (Dormition; **fig. 144**), while on the SE wall is painted a monumental enthroned Christ⁴²⁰.

An identical configuration is found in the church of Panagia, Kissos, in the same prefecture (*Hagios Basileios*; cat. no. II, 15; **figs 145-147**). The painting of the church is attributed to Michaël Venerēs, dated to 1320-1330⁴²¹. The SE wall also fragmentally preserves a representation of the Dormition, while opposite it can be discerned the aureole of a frontal Christ (no longer extant). The prostration images of the commemorative feast and Christ are set in a facing array, similar to the one of the Dormition and the Deësis in Panagia, Drymiskos (1317/1318; cat. no. I, 9; **figs 72-74**) and Panagia, Diblochōri. Hence, the three churches (Drymiskos, Diblochōri, Kissos) from the same province, all attributed to the same atelier, exhibit their prostration icons in a common display with

418 Bissinger, *Kreta* 93.

419 Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 42. 51-53.

420 Gratziou, *Lampēnē* 252.

421 Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 49, 94. – Maderakis, *Veneris* 177. – Spatharakis, *Rethymnon* 182. – Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 317. – Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 74-80 (with previous literature).

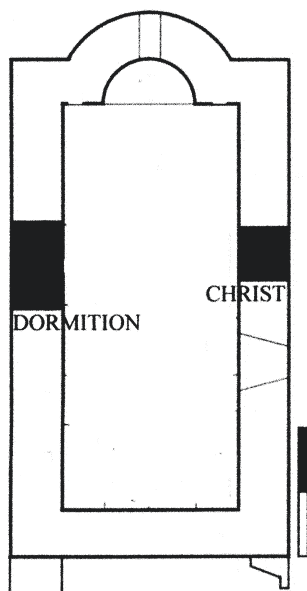


Fig. 145 Ground plan of Panagia Kissos. – (Redrawn after Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 76).

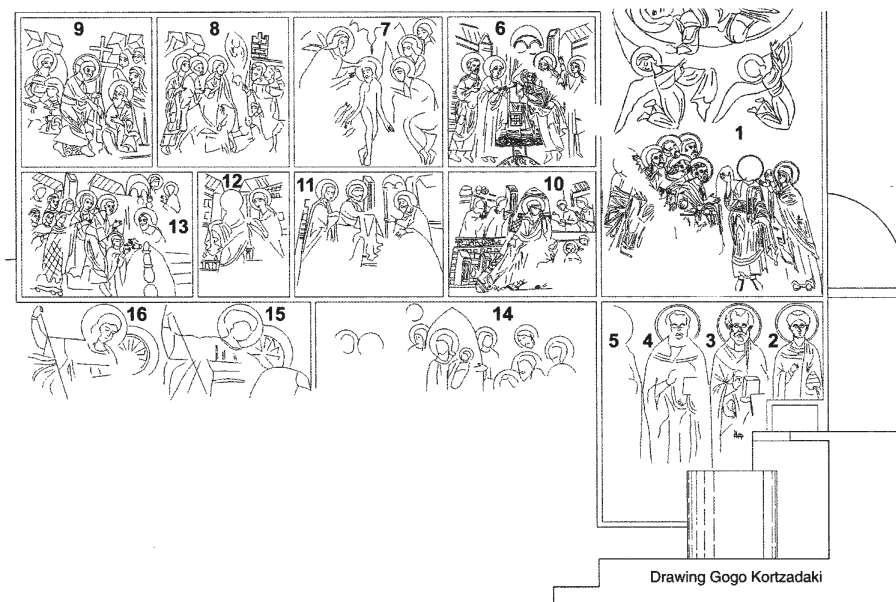


Fig. 146 Panagia Kissos, N. Wall. – (After Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 86).

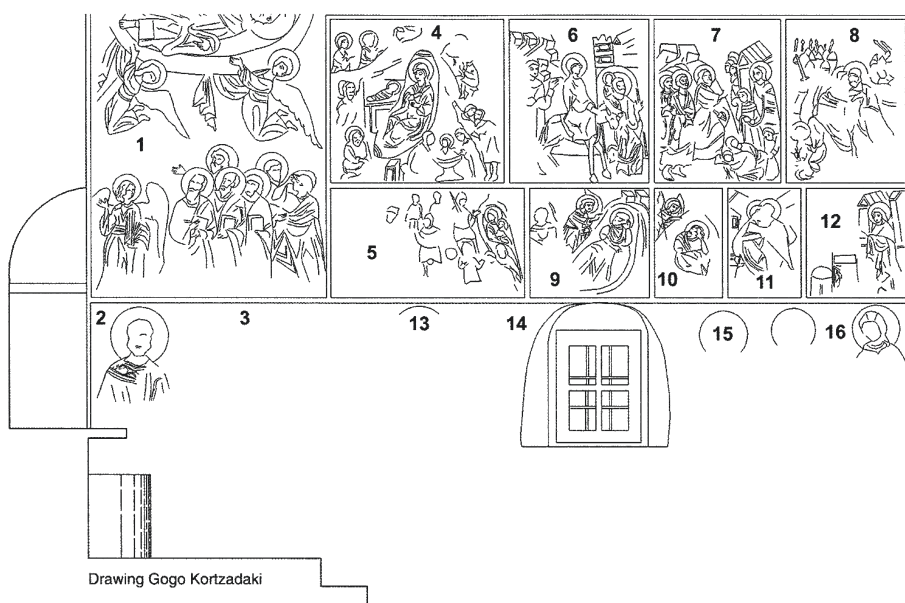


Fig. 147 Panagia Kissos, S. Wall. – (After Spatharakis, Agios Basileios 87).

an emphasis to the presence of the honoured celebration and the alternative placement of Deësis or Christ, thus indicating the existence of a local tradition⁴²².

As studied in the previous subsection with reference to the church of Drymiskos, in these three churches the previous venerating arrangement of the church of Lampēnē seems to have been amended; in the latter church the Dormition wall painting of the 12th century was placed on the NW part of the cross-in-square church, directly accessible by the congregation. In the single-aisled churches of the 14th century,

the festive representation of the Dormition was transferred to a position near the Bēma, serving as the Despotic icon. This arrangement is not limited only to the churches painted by the Venerēs family at the beginning of the 14th century, but also remains in use in Rethymnon at least until the mid-14th century, as in the second layer of the painting of the Virgin in the Thronos of Amari, which bears the Dormition on the NE part and the painting of the enthroned Virgin, holding the infant Christ with her right hand amidst angels/imperial guards⁴²³ on the SE part (cat. no. II, 18).

422 Gratziou cites a series of churches with wall paintings of the Dormition at the same spot in other churches of Rethymnon consecrated to the Virgin, as in Panagia of Meronas, in Saitoures and elsewhere: Gratziou, Lampēnē 252.

423 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 115. 278. – Kalokyres, *Byzantine Wall Paintings* figs BW 27. 38. 59. 79. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 123, 155-156. – Spatharakis, *Agios Basileios* 209-221 (iconographic program p. 210, Dormition fig. 568, Virgin figs 569-570).



Fig. 149 Drawing of the N. wall, Alikampos. – (Drawing Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, Chania).

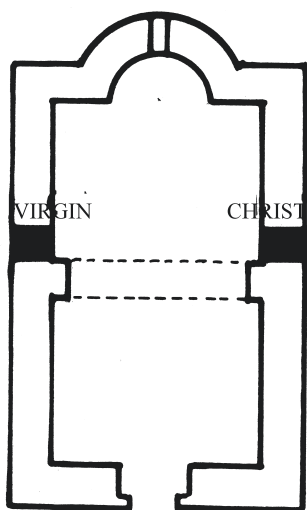


Fig. 148 Ground plan of Panagia Alikampos. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakes, *Ekklesies Apokoronas* 487 fig. 80).

Gratziou holds that the proliferation and use of the Dormition in the churches of Rethymnon may derive from an archetypal model – a portable prostration icon of the Dormition – while stating that the hypothesis cannot be proven, due to lack of evidence. At this point, we must reiterate that the use of the wall painting of the Dormition as an honoured representation of the church is not confined solely to Rethymnon, but is also found on the Greek mainland and the islands⁴²⁴. Moreover, taking into account the previous examples in Crete,

we can now interpret the said phenomenon as a local variant of the placement of facing prostration icons of the titular saint and Deësis/Christ contiguous to the Bēma of the church.

The churches painted by the painter Iōannis Pagōmenos must be included among the churches related to the atelier of the Venerēs family. As seen in Panagia, Kadros, the painter usually deploys the axial array of Christ and Virgin as an inextricable part of the iconographic program of the churches. The earliest specimen of this arrangement is found in the church of Panagia in Alikampos, Apokorōnas (1315/1316; cat. no. II, 10; **figs 148-150**)⁴²⁵. Christ is displayed on the SE part of the wall (enthroned, vested in a crimson chiton and a blue himation, holding an opened gospel with the left hand and conferring blessings with the right; **fig. 151**)⁴²⁶.

In Alikampos' church, the back of the throne has been designed with an elliptical outline, while its upper part carries decorative elements recalling the corresponding pattern of Panagia, Kakodiki (1331, cat. no. I, 18). Opposite the enthroned Pantokratōr is placed an enthroned Panagia Odēgētria (**fig. 152**). The iconographic type follows the common variant of Pagōmenos, with the Virgin touching the right leg of the infant with her right hand. The Virgin is seated on a throne with a curved back with exquisite ornamentation. The lower part of the throne is decorated with vertical and horizontal patterns. Analogies to the throne's design and Christ's posture are found in the representation of the

⁴²⁴ For examples: Koukiarēs, *Epōnymos Agios* 115-116.

⁴²⁵ Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Apokoronas* 486-490. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 250-251. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 52, 97. – Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall paintings* 48-50. – Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 106-108.

⁴²⁶ Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 72.

Fig. 150 Drawing of the S. wall, Alikampos. – (Drawing Archives of the Ephorate of Antiquities, Chania).



enthroned Odēgētria that decorates the north wall of the built-in templon of Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna, attributed to the circle of Pagōmenos⁴²⁷. The typical red medallions and their abbreviations accompany the representations of Christ and the Virgin. The figures are separated from the Bēma by a plain red band, on which was based the later iconostasis.

An identical arrangement is observed in the church of Hagios Geōrgios, Prodomi (cat. no. II, 12), which, according to the donor inscription, was painted by Iōannis Pagōmenos and his son Nikolaos in 1337/1338⁴²⁸. On the SE wall is a frontal Christ holding a closed Gospel (**fig. 153**), seated on a throne with a rectangular back that alludes to the correspondent enthroned Christ on the south wall of the built-in templon of Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna⁴²⁹.

The respective SE part depicts an enthroned and frontal Virgin (**fig. 154**). The figure holds the infant placed axially in her lap in the style of Panagia, Kakodiki. The lyre shape of the throne's back alludes to the throne of Panagia, Kadros (1330-1340) as at Panagia, Kakodiki (1331-1332), although it differs due to more simplified ornamental patterns. The arrangement of two enthroned figures recalls Alikampos, and forms part of the axial array of Pagōmenos' churches. It is noteworthy that in the isolated church of Hagios Geōrgios, the later iconostasis is based on the wall paintings of the Bēma.

Summarizing our observations on the churches that were wall-painted in the first half of the 14th century by Pagōmenos, we deduce that the typical iconographic arrangement com-

prises the placement of the titular saint of the church at the east part of the north wall (Panagia in Alikampos [1315/1316], Hagios Nikolaos in Maza [1325/1326], Hagia Paraskevē in Anisaraki [1330-1340], Panagia in Kakodiki [1331/1332], and Hagios Geōrgios in Prodomi [1337/1338]). Opposite the titular saint is painted an enthroned Christ (Panagia in Alikampos, Panagia in Kadros, Hagios Geōrgios in Prodomi) or Virgin (Hagios Nikolaos, Maza) or the two-figure Deēsis (Hagia Paraskevē in Anisaraki, Panagia in Kakodiki). The latter arrangement, namely the Virgin and the two-figure Deēsis composed of Christ and the Precursor, is transferred unaltered from the lateral walls to the built-in templon of Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna (mid-14th century), thus suggesting the crystallization of the arrangement. As regards the iconographic types of the enthroned Christ and Virgin, Pagōmenos seemingly isolates the enthroned figures of the central personages of Deēsis, while the synthesis of the Virgin and two archangels/guards is encountered in monuments of the 13th century, as Panagia Faneromenē, Mylopotamos. Pagōmenos deploys the specific theme in an identical way as in Panagia, Kadros. As regards the figure of the enthroned Christ, the relation of His depiction as King with the Cherubim Hymn and the Divine Liturgy has already been identified in the previous subsection.

The facing arrays of the prostration icons are not only found in the churches with wall paintings by the Venerēs family or Pagōmenos, but also in a broader ensemble of single-aisled churches of the 14th century.

427 Psarakēs, Sarakēna 767-768. – Mailis, *Templa* 141 fig. 29.

428 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 109-110. – Ioannidou, *Diorthoseis* 338-339.

429 Tsamakda attributes both representations to Nikolaos, the associate of Pagōmenos. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 72.



Fig. 151 Christ, Alikampos. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 152 Patron Saint, Alikampos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

In the church of Panagia in Lampiōtes, Amari (first half of the 14th century; cat. no. II, 13; **fig. 155**)⁴³⁰, the prostration icon of Christ is placed on the east part of the south wall (**fig. 156**). The standing and frontal figure is characterized by its monumental and sacerdotal character and is supplemented by the adjective ΦΩΤΟΔΟΤΙC at either side of the head. The adjective is found anew in the representations of Christ at the apse of Hagios Nikolaos, Maza (1326/1327) and in Hagios Iōannēs of Kopetoi (ca. 1340)⁴³¹. The respective SE part of the church of Amari probably depicted the honoured Virgin (no longer preserved). Respective arrangements are manifested at the church of Hagios Geōrgios in Tsiskos, Fres (1315-1320; cat. no. II, 11; **fig. 157-158**)⁴³² and in Panagia in Nēsi Kissamos (mid-14th century; cat. no. II, 17), where the figure of an enthroned and frontal Christ is preserved on the east part of the south wall (**fig. 159**), indicating the probable presence of the respective image of Virgin.

Opposing representations of Christ and Virgin are preserved in one additional church that is attributed to the school of the painter Iōannis Pagōmenos: Prophet Ēlias of Trahiniakō(n), Selino (ca. 1340; cat. no. II, 19; **fig. 160**)⁴³³.

There, the figures of Christ and the Virgin are painted on the pilasters among blind arcades (**figs. 161-162**), as in the churches of Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana, Hagios Nikolaos in Monē and Hagia Anna in Anisaraki (there, Hagia Anna replaces the Virgin)⁴³⁴. The iconographic program of the prostration icons in the church of Prophet Ēlias is supplemented by the oversized depiction of the patron saint of the church on the blind arcade before the Bēma (**fig. 162**). This particular arrangement partakes of the iconographic tradition of Pagōmenos⁴³⁵ himself, as well as the broader iconographic scheme encountered in several churches of Crete, where the figure of the titular saint is portrayed in colossal dimension on one of the blind arcades located before the Bēma (Hagios

430 Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakēs, *Byzantinisches Kreta* 275. – Bissinger, *Kreta* 157-158. – Spatharakis, *Amari* 157-158.

431 Maderakēs, *Deēsē* 77-79 figs 10a. 16.

432 Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Apokoronas* 471-472. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 97, 131.

433 Lassithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Selino* 198. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 64, 102. – On the attribution to Pagōmenos: Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 125-126.

434 Mailis, *Templa* 118-119. 132.

435 Also see the depiction of Hagios Iōannis in Kopetoi: Tsamakda, *Kakodiki* 48.



Fig. 153 Christ, Prodromi. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 154 Virgin, Prodromi. – (Photo A. Mailis).

Nikolaos of Monē, Panagia in Prodromi, Hagios Nikolaos in Mouri, Hagios Iōannēs in Margarites)⁴³⁶.

A corresponding arrangement to the one in Selino is found in the church of Hagios Kōnstantinos in Kritsa (cat. no. II, 20), in the province of Merabellos, Lasithi. The church dates back to 1354/1355, as per the donor inscription⁴³⁷.

The east part of the northern wall features a standing and frontal Virgin (**fig. 163**) who holds the infant before her chest; the image is placed to the left of the vertical zone that segregates the Bēma from the main nave. On the southern wall, opposite the Virgin, is painted a standing and frontal Christ (**fig. 164**).

The eminent depiction of these two figures in relation to the other frescoes is accentuated by the fact that their aure-

oles are enveloped by punctuate outlines. On the southern wall – to the right of Christ's wall painting – are depicted the patron saints of the church, Kōnstantinos and Eleni. It is notable that the later iconostasis was mounted upon Christ's figure, covering almost a quarter of the wall painting, and therefore signifying the loss of the wall painting's initial venerating use.

The axial array of the icons of Christ and the Virgin continues in the 15th century, as observed in the church of Panagia in Lithines, Sēteia (beginning of the 15th century; cat. no. II, 25)⁴³⁸ and the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Mesa Panteli of Chantras, Sēteia (beginning of the 15th century; cat. no. II, 26; **fig. 165**)⁴³⁹.

Another church of the 15th century also has the same arrangement, which emphatically indicates its liturgical

436 It is already noted that this depiction mode of the patron saint is not limited to Crete, but is also testified in areas of the Greek mainland, mostly in Lakōnia: Koukiarēs, Eponymos Hagios 114-115.

437 On the church: Vasilaki, *Eikonografikoi Kykloi* 60-84. – Borboudakēs, *Mesaionika* 1973-1974, 937. – Chatzidakēs, *Toichografies* 63. – Bissinger, *Kreta* cat. no. 131, 161. – Spatharakis, *Dated Wall Paintings* 97-98.

438 Katiforē, Kritsa 598 no. 6.

439 Fouteris, *Mesa Panteli* 383-409 (iconographic program on p. 396-397).



Fig. 156 Christ. – (After Spatharakis, Amari 113 fig. 333).

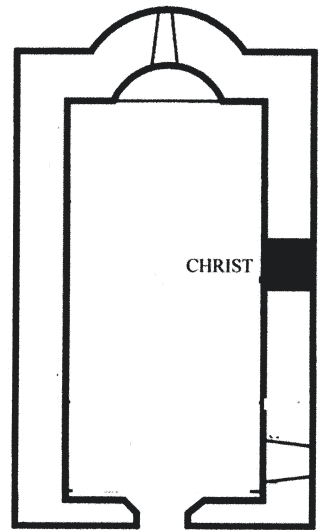


Fig. 155 Ground plan of Panagia Lampiotes. – (After Spatharakis, Amari 113 fig. 333).

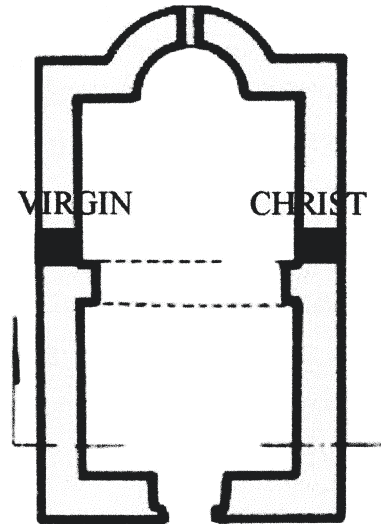


Fig. 157 Ground plan of Hagios Georgios Tsiskos. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakēs, Ekklesies Apokoronas 471 fig. 36).

prominence. The church of Archangel Michaël in Malathēros of Kissamos (first half of the 15th century; cat. no. II, 24; fig. 166) is renowned for the high quality of its frescoes, whose technique is similar to that used in portable icons⁴⁴⁰, while their high artistic quality conforms to the theological sophistication of the iconographic program. On the east part of the south wall an enthroned Christ is represented, wreathed by a bi-pillar, arched proskynētarian (fig. 167). The depiction mode of the wall painting is included in the conventional display of Christ's prostration icons on the templon. What is more, the arched encirclement alludes to the triumphant arch above Christ Pantokrator, indirectly recalling the Cherubim Hymn during the Grand Entrance⁴⁴¹. Opposite the enthroned Pantokrator are placed the Virgin and Prodomos (fig. 168). The two figures are projected in dialectical form inside a common frame that is demarcated by a plain red band. The

Virgin is portrayed as the Mother of Tenderness. The Virgin cradles the infant with her right arm tenderly leaning her head towards the infant, while Christ beams at his mother. The wall painting is reminiscent of the prostration icon on the SE pilaster of Panagia in Fodele, which highlights the maternal aspect of the Mother of God's personality, as analysed in the previous chapter. This tender relationship between mother and child acquires a theological tone with the depiction of Prodomos. Iōannis addresses the infant, making a gesture of speech while holding a scroll open to a passage from the Gospel of John 1:34 Καὶ ἐώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, that is, the passage in which the Precursor acknowledges the Divinity of Christ. The representation may be directly linked to the Supplicatory canon directed towards the Precursor, during which the Priest addresses Iōannis Prodomos five times – in his capacity as the first

440 Lassithiotakēs, Kissamos 225. – Bissinger, Kreta cat. no. 202, 226.

441 Pallas, Theia Leitourgia 29. – Baltoyanni, Icons 65-67.



Fig. 158 Christ, Tsiskos. – (Photo A. Mailis)



Fig. 159 Christ at Nēsi, Kissamos. – (Photo A. Mailis).

martyr of Divinity – so as to pray to Christ with Theotokos – in favour of the congregation⁴⁴². In the church of the Archangel Michaël in Malathēros, the facing array of the figures relates to the supplication through subtle theological implications that emphasize maternity, oblation and Liturgy. Hence the said representation definitely served venerating purposes.

Conclusions

Based on the foregoing analysis, we can extract some basic conclusions regarding the depiction mode and the use of the prostration icons/wall paintings in the Cretan churches during the first three centuries of Venetian rule, from the 13th to the 15th century. The first conclusion regards the connection between the architectural type of the church and the configuration of the Bēma. In churches of more ornate architectural designs (cross-in-square, domed, cross-vaulted), such as Kera in Kritsa (beginning of the 14th century), Archangel Michaël in Aradaina (14th century), Archangel Michaël

in Arkalochōri (beginning of the 14th century), Panagia Gouverniotissa (1320-1330), and Hagios Geōrgios in Alikianos (14th century), the prostration icons are placed in front of the Bēma before the congregation, vertical to the horizontal axis of the edifice. This arrangement is linked to the Middle Byzantine tradition of the island, since analogous placements of the prostration icons are encountered in churches such as the Entrance of Theotokos, Fodele or Hagios Panteleēmōn, Bizarianō. Furthermore, the arrangement follows the expanded liturgical arrangement found in the mainland, thus displaying a connection with the Byzantine artistic and liturgical ethos of the time⁴⁴³.

The above-mentioned architectural types form an exception to the rule of church construction during the Venetian dominion, when the type of plain, single-aisled churches predominated. As Adrianakēs noted, this particular type is initially seen in the timber-roofed churches of the 7th century, and remains present throughout the Middle Byzantine period⁴⁴⁴. But under Venetian rule, when the domed churches receded, this simple, local architectural type constituted the

442 On the theological significance: Walter, *The origins* 265.

443 Borboudakēs and Gratziou consider that the Cretan domed churches constitute the main material evidence of the linkage between the island and the Byzantine architectural heritage. The cross-domed churches appertain to an architectural type that is widespread throughout the Hellenic territory:

Borboudakēs, *Byzantinē Technē* 22. – Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 230. – On the cross-domed, see: Orlandos, *Staurpepistegoi* 41-52. – On the cross-domed churches of Crete: Gallas, *Sakralarchitektur* 148-179.

444 On the collection and the enumeration of the monuments: Andrianakēs, *Mnēmeiakē Architektonikē* 325-328.



Fig. 161 Christ at the S. pilaster. – (Photo A. Mailis).

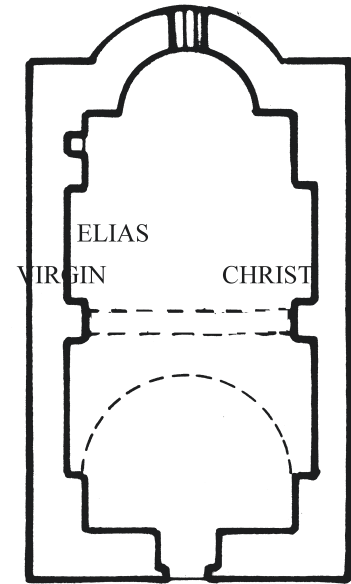


Fig. 160 Ground plan of Trachiniakō. – (Redrawn after Lassithiotakēs, Typoi fig. 7).



Fig. 162 Virgin and Patron Saint, Prophētēs Ēlias, Trachiniakō). – (Photo A. Mailis).

main architectural unit of the island's churches. According to Gratziou, this particular type was preferred for a series of financial, social, political and religious reasons that rendered this »dogmatically neutral« type appropriate for both the Orthodox and the Catholic populace⁴⁴⁵. However, this thesis has been criticized indirectly by Andrianakis and directly by Tsamakda, who underlined the anterior origin of the specific architectural type as early as the Middle Byzantine era⁴⁴⁶.

Notwithstanding the debate concerning the actual reasons leading to the predominance of the single-aisled churches, it seems that this simple and ergonomic architectural type derives from the local tradition but also recalls the common

early Christian past of the two doctrines (the basilica) thus implying a kind of religious adaptability⁴⁴⁷, common in Crete during the Venetian domination. Nonetheless, what must be underlined is the proven archaism and simplicity of a far-reaching architectural type not only in Crete, but also in the Aegean islands.

In this chapter we observed that several single-aisled churches share a systematized mode of displaying a particular type of wall painting on the eastern part of lateral walls, before the Bēma. This group of wall paintings includes the placement in opposition of Deēsīs and the icon of the patron saint/celebration of the church or icons of Christ, the Virgin or

⁴⁴⁵ Gratziou, *Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 118-125.

⁴⁴⁶ Andrianakēs, *Mnēmeiakē Architektonikē* 325-328. – Tsamakda, *Gkratziou Ekklesiastikē Architektonikē* 200-202.

⁴⁴⁷ For the term: Despotakēs, *Enōtikoi Ellēnes* 59-102.



Fig. 163 Virgin, Hagios Konstantinos Kritsa. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 164 Christ, Hagios Konstantinos Kritsa. – (Photo A. Mailis).

the titular saint. The wall paintings are surrounded by painted arched *proskynētarian* frames, placed on the east blind arcades before the *Bēma*, on beams or plain wall surfaces. The depiction mode, their themes, their proximity to the *Bēma* and their normal integration in the iconographic program indicate their use as prostration icons of the *templon* that are now adjusted to the lateral walls of the churches. Hence the dialectical relation between the prostration icons does not occur in front of the congregation before the *Bēma*, but is transferred to the walls⁴⁴⁸. Therefore, these icons are linked to the Liturgy. More particularly, the most ubiquitous iconographic theme of the *Deēsis* constitutes a visual representation of the supplication in the Liturgy, during which – at different moments – the Priest asks the Virgin and the Precursor to intermeditate with Christ, thus standing for the salvation of the congregation⁴⁴⁹. The liturgical value of these icons is exalted by their direct relation to the *Bēma*, since in accordance with the liturgical manuscripts, before entering it the Priests first venerate the despotic icon of Christ, while saying: *Τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου προσκυνοῦμεν, Ἀγαθέ*. Afterwards they venerate the icon of the Virgin adding: *Εὐσπλαχνίας ὑπάρχουσα πηγὴ, συμπαθείας ἀξιῶσον ἡμὰς Θεοτόκε*⁴⁵⁰. A rare visual testimony to the liturgical value of the said icons is of-

448 Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 118-119.

449 Walter, *Further Notes* 180. – Belting, *Bild und Kult* 270. – Mailis, *Templa* 123. 127.

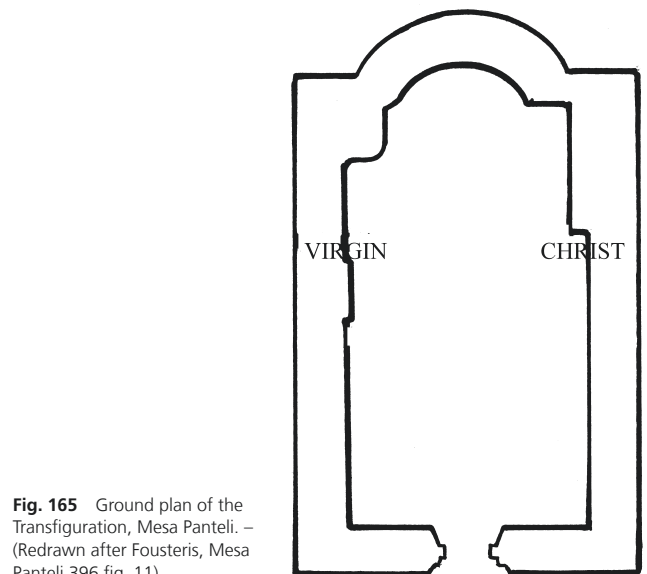


Fig. 165 Ground plan of the Transfiguration, Mesa Panteli. – (Redrawn after Fousteris, *Mesa Panteli* 396 fig. 11).

fered by the facing figures of the enthroned Christ and Virgin in the church of Panagia, Kakodiki (1331-1332). Adjacent to these icons are painted the priests of the church in full sacerdotal apparel, incensing the depicted figures. As shown in the

450 Trepelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 226. – Pallas, *Passion u. Bestattung* 120.



Fig. 167 Christ, Malathēros. – (Photo A. Mailis).

analysis of the church, the scene may allude to the veneration of the prostration icons of the church⁴⁵¹ or project a particular moment of the Liturgy (before the Little Entrance), where the priests incense the despotic icons of the templon⁴⁵².

It is thus conveyed that this specific type of wall painted icons played a venerating role in the provincial churches of the island. It is noteworthy that these icons/wall paintings were widely distributed throughout the island, with more frequent manifestations in the prefectures of Chania, Rethymnon and Lasithi. In the prefecture of Herakleion, the depiction of the patron saint usually survives, but we have lost the facing representation due to the poor condition of the lateral walls and structural modifications; therefore, it can be difficult to identify the initial state of the iconographic program⁴⁵³. These observations lead to the conclusion that this particular type of array enjoys the highest acclaim in the island.

As suggested by the collected material, the earliest example of the facing array of the Virgin and Christ on the east

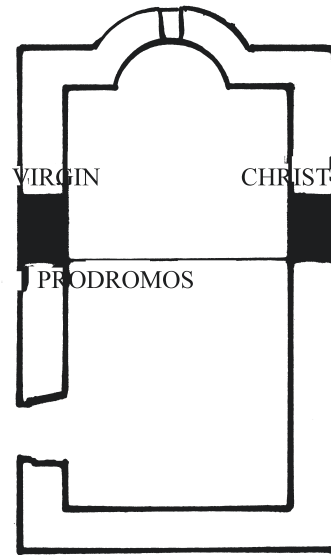


Fig. 166 Ground plan of Archangel Michaël Malathēros. – (Redrawn after Lasithiotakēs, *Ekklesies Kissamos* 226 fig. 22).

part of the church is found in the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Kyriakosellia (beginning of the 13th century). Correspondingly the earlier pairing of Deēsis and the titular saint of the church is seen in the church of Hagios Geōrgios in Lampēnē (end of the 12th century/beginning of the 13th century). Subsequently, various local variants emerged depending on time and place. In churches consecrated to the Virgin (Drymiskos, Diblochōri, Kissos) in the province of Hagios Basileios, Rethymnon (end of the 13th century/beginning of the 14th century), the theme of Deēsis is paired with the facing array of the representation of the honoured celebration (Dormition), following an earlier exemplar. Similarly, in churches dedicated to the Virgin (Panagia Fanerōmeni, Panagia of Kadros, Panagia Gouvernιōtissa, Thronos of Amari), the three-figure of the Deēsis coexisted with the corresponding three-figure synthesis of the enthroned Virgin and the archangels-guards until the mid-15th century. The latter synthesis originated in the pre-iconoclast period and probably represents the presence of an extinct prototype of a particular venerating value.

In churches attributed to Iōannis Pagōmenos and his atelier, the axial array of the enthroned Christ and Virgin is common and echoes their iconographic origins in the above-mentioned threefold synthesis. The said painter systematises the use of painted arched proskynētaria above the titular saint (Hagios Nikolaos in Maza [1325-1326], Hagia Paraskevē in Anisaraki [1330-1340], known to us from the Middle Byzan-

451 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 75.

452 See the interpretation of kyros Filotheos: *Καὶ θυμῷ ὁ Διάκονος (κατὰ ἄλλο κώδικα ὁ ἱερέας). Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὰ βημόθυρα ἐξέρχεται καὶ θυμῷ τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν λαόν.* Trempelas, *Ai treis Leitourgiai* 239.

453 On the presence of the titular saint in churches of the prefecture of Herakleion, see: Hagia Paraskevē of Galifa (13th c.), where the titular saint is represented on the south wall: Volanakēs-Katsalēs, *Episkopē* 111. – Archangel Michaël of Episkopē (14th c.), where the Asōmatoι are found on two walls: Volanakēs-Katsalēs, *Episkopē* 62-63. – Archangel Michaël of Archanes (1315-

1316), where Michaël is depicted on the south wall: Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 100. – Hagios Iōannis Prodomos in Hagios Basileios (end of the 13th c.-beginning of the 14th c.) where the titular saint is depicted on the south wall: Andrianakis, *Christian Monuments* 103. – Hagios Kōnstantinos and Eleni of Avdou, Padiada (1445), where the titular saints are placed on the south wall Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 197-198. – Hagios Geōrgios, Apanō Symē (1453), where the titular saint is on the south wall: Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* 202-206.

Fig. 168 Virgin and Prodromos, Malathēros. – (Photo A. Mailis).



tine era on the island (Hagia Varvara of Latziana). This specific iconographic motif (arched proskynētaron) was usually paired with Deēsis until the 15th century (Hagia Paraskevē in Kityros [1372/1373], Hagios Panteleēmōn in Zymvragou [end of the 14th century], Hagios Stephanos in Kastri [1391], Hagios Iōannis Prodromos in Mylopotamos [1400], Hagia Fōteini in Preveli [beginning of the 15th century]). A variant of this arrangement is the placement of the titular saint and the Deēsis on the blind arcades before the Bēma. At times, the titular saint is depicted oversized (Panagia in Prodrōmi [1347], Iōannēs Evangelist in Margarites [1383]). In churches with a facing array of the icons of Christ and the Virgin, the icon of the titular saint can be placed next to them (Prophet Ēlias of Trachiniakō(n) [1350], Hagios Kōnstantinos in Kritsa [1354/1355]). In all these churches, especially in the sub-category of the churches with a Deēsis on the south wall and a titular saint on the north wall, the iconographic array of the despotic icons of the post Byzantine templon appears on the lateral walls of these edifices in a precursory form.

The comparative dating of the island's monuments indicates that the array of the prostration icons on the lateral walls is earlier than the masonry templon. The earliest example of this sequence is found in the church of Hagios Georgios, Holy Trinity, traced to the beginning of the 14th century (1302)⁴⁵⁴. The two arrangements continue to coexist in the 14th and the 15th century. The density of Iōannis Pagōmenos'

work allows us to follow the evolution of the spatial arrangement of the prostration images. Thus, the devotional images of the enthroned Christ and Virgin on the lateral walls served as the model for the despotic icons placed on the masonry templon of Archangel Michaēl in Sarakēna (mid-15th century). It is also noteworthy that the synthesis of the Virgin alone (on the north wall) and the two-figure Deēsis (on the south wall) found in Hagia Paraskevē in Anisarakī (1330-1340) and in Panagia in Kakodiki (1331-1332) are affixed as unaltered compositions on the respective surfaces of the built-in templon in Sarakēna (mid-14th century). In turn, the configuration of the built-in templon of Sarakēna reiterates the program of the templon in the single-aisled church of Hagios Christophoros in Mystras (second half of the 14th century). These similarities suggest a parallel process to the iconographic array of the masonry templon, which will be examined in the next chapter.

Therefore, it is deduced that the placement of prostration icons on the lateral walls constitutes the most widespread arrangement in the single-aisled churches of Crete. As already discussed in the Introduction, similar arrangements are to be found in churches of Macedonia and the Greek mainland. The church of the Archangels in Desfina, Fokis (1332)⁴⁵⁵ offers a most interesting example of the Bēma arrangement (fig. 169).

A simple beam fastened to the walls separates the Bēma. The arrangement is completed by two lateral prostration

454 Mailis, *Templa* 112-113.

455 Sotēriou, Desfina 195-196. – Kalopissi-Verti, *Proskynetaria* 116.



Fig. 169 Altar view of Archangels, Desfina Fokis. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 170 Image of Christ, Desfina. – (Photo A. Mailis).



Fig. 171 Marking point of templon beam, next to Christ, Desfina. – (Photo A. Mailis).

images (Christ [fig. 170], Hagios Nikolaos) corniced with painted proskynētaria.

As can be concluded from the separate, rectangular frame that encompasses the end of the beam (fig. 171), its installation was planned in the initial iconographic program of the church, thus it was part of the original project. It is rare to find a similar arrangement in Cretan churches, except in the case of Hagios Nikolaos Maza. The Bēma was usually divided from the nave by plain red strips or a pair of painted vertically inscribed bands, which in one case (Hagios Geōrgios Lampēnē) were arranged asymmetrically on the north and south walls. These churches do not maintain visible remnants or marks indicating the location of an initial high templon, such as the one in Desfina. In the vast majority of the Cretan monuments, the architraves of the post-Byzantine iconostasis were attached in a later phase, thus dividing, obscuring or even demolishing parts of the preceding wall paintings of the 14th/15th century (figs 58. 73. 85-86. 89. 93-94. 103-104. 106. 111. 116. 130. 149-150. 154. 161-162. 164. 168). Yet the same effect has occurred through the addition of masonry screens as early as the 14th century, as in churches like Hagios Geōrgios in Benoudiana or Theologos in Korakoriza. In these edifices, the 14th century templon covered representations of the iconographic program, thus implying that the barrier was not part of the initial project⁴⁵⁶.

456 Mailis, *Templa* 118. 135-136.

Fig. 172 Transfiguration of Saviour, Messaria Tēlos. – (Photo N. Mastrochristos).



The way the Bēma was originally obscured in all these churches remains unknown. The existence of a rudimentary wooden templon with the horizontal section (architrave) barely reaching the walls can't be excluded, despite the technical difficulties as regards its abutment. It is also probable that certain churches did not have a templon⁴⁵⁷. The said practice is known in the Aegean islands, where it is similarly manifested in churches of Halkē in Dodekanēsa⁴⁵⁸. As we will see in the fourth chapter of the present study, the celebration of a liturgy in an Orthodox church lacking a templon was documented in Chandakas in the late 15th century. The most probable choice may also have been small wooden or stone plaques fixed on the ground but not attached to the lateral walls, following an earlier archaic setting. During the restoration of these churches, such plaques will have been removed leaving no visible traces of the installation on the walls.

As detailed in the first chapter, the survival of small slabs is an archaism traced to the Hellenic territory and Crete, initially during the Middle Byzantine period. The archaic arrangement in Hagios Stephanos of Kastoria (850/890) and in the central Bēma of the cathedral of Hagios Dēmētrios, Mystras (13th century) were interpreted in connection with the celebration of the episcopal rite. Corresponding arrangements are found in Crete, in the isolated church of Hagios Pavlos in Sfakia (11th century) and in the cross-in-square church of Panagia Lampēnē (12th century), which served as the main church of the village.

Recent archaeological findings suggest that the placement of low screens in the churches of the Aegean islands continued throughout the Late Byzantine period. Kl. Aslanides traces built-in guardrails in four churches of Naxos, from the 11th/12th century, onwards⁴⁵⁹, while M. Sigala notes that in almost all medieval churches of Halkē the templon was replaced by a low screen (0.50-0.95 m high), consisting of stone plaques or two carved shafts, leaving an opening between them⁴⁶⁰. This practice was employed until the 15th century, as shown by an extraordinary find, the single-aisled church of the Transfiguration of the Savior in Messaria, Tēlos (fig. 172)⁴⁶¹.

The Bēma of the church is divided from the main nave by a mullion affixed to the floor, like a chancel slab, without being attached to the wall (fig. 173).

According to the donor inscription, the wall-painted church relates to the Deēsis of a Cretan priest, Nikolaos Vlastos in 1423/1424. The frescoes of the church's lateral walls are not preserved nowadays, though its arrangement suggests the survival of the archaism in a provincial milieu related to Crete at an advanced chronological point. Furthermore, the Tēlos example provides a hint concerning the present-day arrangement of Cretan churches, since portable barriers such as shafts/mullions could be easily removed without leaving any traces. The combination of low railings and the placement of despotic icons on the lateral walls are probably attested in the Typicon of the Bishop of Amaseia, Neilos, in the monas-

457 This solution has been indicated by Maderakes: Maderakēs, Deēsē 15. 92.

458 Sigala, Chalkē 148. Sigala recasts the view of Gerstel regarding the non-celebration of the regular Liturgy in churches without a templon: Gerstel, Village Church 169.

459 Hagia Kyriakē of Apeiranthos Chapel. Construction during the iconoclastic period, wall painting during the 13th c. The church preserves a built-in templon of the 13th c. – Hagios Iōannis in Afiklēs. South aisle, construction before the iconoclastic period. The middle aisle preserves a peculiar built-in templon. – Taxiarchēs in Monoitsia. Middle aisle. Construction before the iconoclastic

period. Radical restoration in the 13th(?) c. – Aghioi Anargyroi in Sagkri. Construction in the 11th-12th c. or later. An unusual construction with an opening for the Great Entrance. – Aslanidēs, Naxos tabs. 59. 13a. 15y. 107y.

460 Sigala, Chalkē 148.

461 The church is about to be published by N. Mastrochristos in »The Church of the Saviour in Messaria, Tilos and its Votive Inscription (1423/1424)«, in a collective volume dedicated to the emerita professor of the University of Athens, Sophia Kalopissi-Verti.



Fig. 173 Altar view of the Transfiguration, Messaria Telos. – (Photo N. Mastrochristos).

tery of Panagia of Machairas in Cyprus (1210)⁴⁶². Therein is stated that: Μετά τήν τοῦ ὁρθροῦ ἀπόλυσιν καὶ τήν συνήθη τοῦ ἱερέως εὐχήν τρισαγίου παρά πάντων γενομένου, ποιεῖτω τρεῖς βαθείας γονυκλισίας ἔμπροσθεν καὶ πλησίον τοῦ βήματος ὁ εἰς οἰανδήτινα διακονίαν ἐκλελεγμένος. Εἶτα καὶ αὐτά τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερά εἰκονίσματα καὶ σεβάσματα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς θεομήτορος, εὐλαβῶς ἀσπαζέσθω, καὶ αὖ πάλιν μετόνοιν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων κιγκλίδων ποιεῖτω καὶ εἰς τόν καθένα χορόν ὡσαύτως⁴⁶³. The text differentiates the act of veneration and penance before the Bēma, thus denoting a potential spatial shift, while the screen is denoted as »kiglides«, alluding to the low parapet of the presbyterion⁴⁶⁴. The text's information is confirmed by the archaeological findings from the hermitage of Hagios Neophytos in Cyprus, where the despotic icons of Christ and the Virgin (end of the 12th century), were initially mounted on a pole and not placed on the templon⁴⁶⁵. The absence of despotic images from the templon in Cyprus conveys that the presence of low screens was quite frequent in the islands during the medieval era, while the presence of prostration icons on lateral walls supplemented the scenography of the Bēma in the Cretan single-aisled churches.

The prostration icons on the lateral walls of the Cretan churches of the 13th/15th century were deprived of their venerating value in the post-Byzantine period, mainly due to the predominance of a high wooden iconostasis that was set up as a wall composed of portable icons, especially from the 16th century onwards (cf. detailed analysis on p. 138-140). For this reason, these wall paintings were frequently destroyed due to the opening of windows. This explains their relatively scarce presence today in proportion to the wall-painted churches of the island. Hence, on the basis of this chapter's analysis one can deduce the existence of a popular venerating custom of the 13th-15th century, which was diluted in the following centuries due to liturgical advancements that resulted in the homogenization of Orthodox worship, complimented aesthetically by the predominance of the portable images that finally replaced fresco decoration in Cretan churches.

⁴⁶² Tsiknopoulos, *Kyriaka Typika* 41-42.

⁴⁶³ Let the installations of all the officials, that is, the ecclesiarch, the cellarer, the treasurers, the provisioner and the rest be carried out in the following way. After the dismissal of matins and the customary prayer of the priest, a *Trisagion* having been said by all, let him who has been selected for any office whatsoever make three deep genuflections in front of and near the sanctuary.

[p. 42] Then let him reverently kiss the divine and sacred and venerable icons of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Mother of God and, in turn, let him again make a prostration in front of the holy screen and likewise to each choir. English Translation: Bandy, *Rule of Neilos* 1149-1150.

⁴⁶⁴ Orlandos, *Basilikē* 512.

⁴⁶⁵ Papageorgiou, *Exeliki Templou* 124.

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 Michaël 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 impostes, 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 οἰκονογραφῆθη 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).

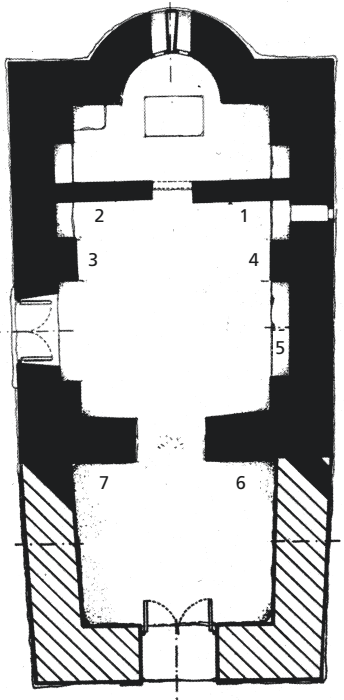


Fig. 175 Ground Plan of Saviour Meskla: **1** Christ; **2** Virgin; **3** Frontal Christ; **4** Hermit Saint; **5** Transfiguration; **6** Christ; **7** Virgin. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 114 fig. 2).

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 σωτήρος 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 εὖστε διὰ τὸν Κύριον ἀμήν. Ὁ Θεὸς συχορέσῃ τὸν ἕως ζωῆα. Ἐτελευθὲν δὲ μινὴ μαίωι ἡς τετὸς δε ΠΓ'. 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.

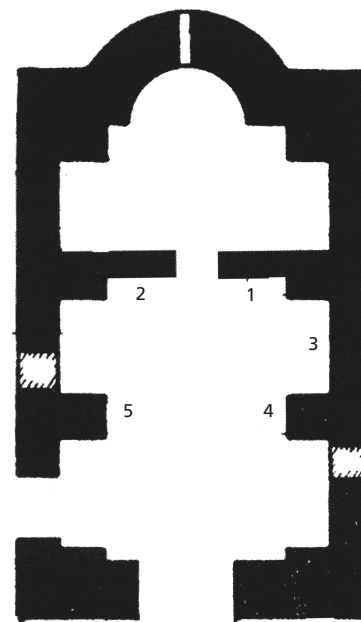
487 The local cultic tradition maintains until today the practice of lighting candles in front of the representation during the celebration of the church (6 August). For an analogous deployment of the fresco as a venerating image, see the representation of Eleousa in the Monastery of Chōra in Constantinople: 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 θεῖου 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 (ι) μοναχοῦ, τοῦ Στάθι μοναχοῦ, τοῦ Νικο(λάου)... θίης (ἐπιτρο)πέβοντος τοῦ ἀφέντου τοῦ Καλλιέργι..., δι(α) 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 (ἰνδικτιῶνος ΑΙ') ἐν μηνί ἰου.ου Κ[...] καὶ τοὺς δούλους Θεοῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βαροῦχα ἅμα σὺν βίο καὶ τέκν (οἱς) [...] ἀπὸ ἁμα σὺν βίο καὶ τέκνο. 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).

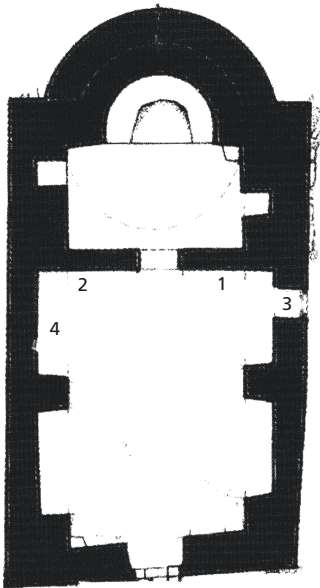


Fig. 184 Ground plan of Archangel Michael, Sarakēna: **1** Christ; **2** Virgin; **3** Prodromos; **4** Michael. – (After Mailis, *Templa* 123 fig. 11).



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, Anisaraki/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 ἀφέντων 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 τὸν 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 σου 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, Krita. – (Photo G. Moschovē).



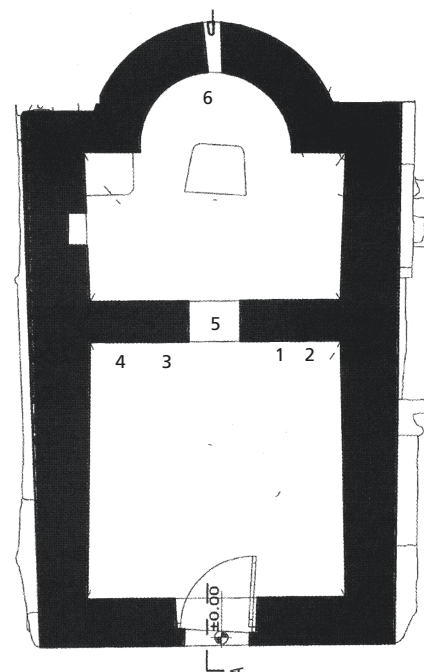
to the image of the titular saint of the church (Archangel Michaël). The donor appears in a rectangular frame with an ochre font, exactly like the placement of the deceased Stamatēnē, next to the fresco of Virgin in the church of Panagia Kakodiki (cat. no. I, 18).

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, Krousta: 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 Prodhromos 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 Ἀβράμῃ καὶ τῆς συβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀβράμῃ 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 ἀνιστογραφήθη ὁ θεὸς καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀννης διὰ συνδρομῆς Γεωργίου τοῦ Πέτρο καὶ ταῆς συμβίου καὶ τῆς συμβλίου 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.): Ioannidou, Hagios Ioannis Theologos no. 20; in Hagios Geōrgios of Lakkos, Azali, Sēteia (1363): Ioannidou, Hagios Ioannis Theologos no. 23 (from a reference of Foustēris); in Virgin of Tzagalariana, Kantanos, Selino: Ioannidou, Hagios Ioannis Theologos no. 32 (from a reference of Lassithiotakis); to Michaēl Archangel of Kamares, Trochalou, Selino: Ioannidou, Hagios Ioannis Theologos no. 35 (from a reference of Gerola); in Hagios Geōrgios, Mazero, Hagios Mamas, Selino: Ioannidou, Hagios Ioannis 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 Michaël 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 Michaël in Kavalariana, Archangel Michaël 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, *Ekklēsies 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 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 καὶ 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 λειτουργίας, 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.

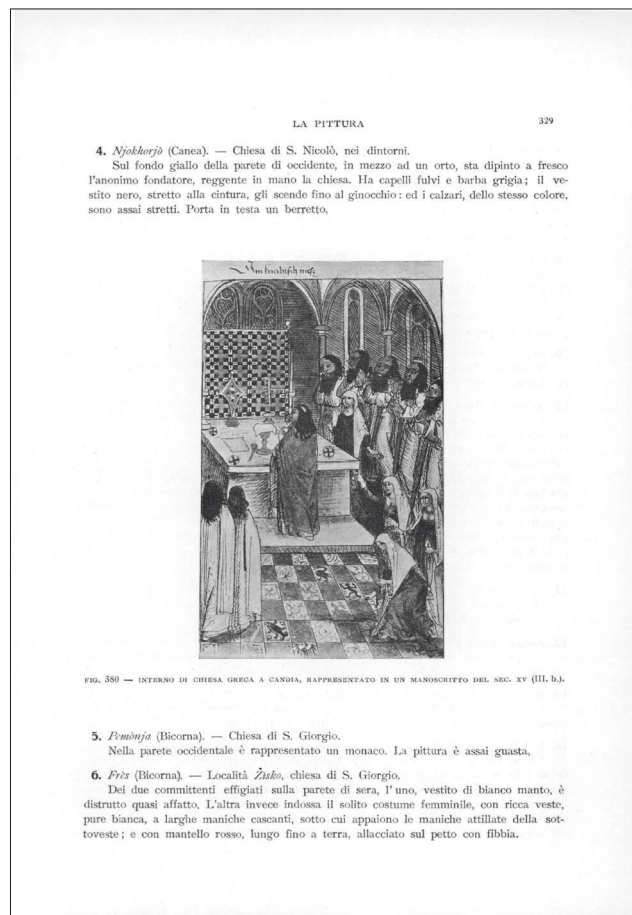


Fig. 208 Page 329 of Gerola's publication.

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.

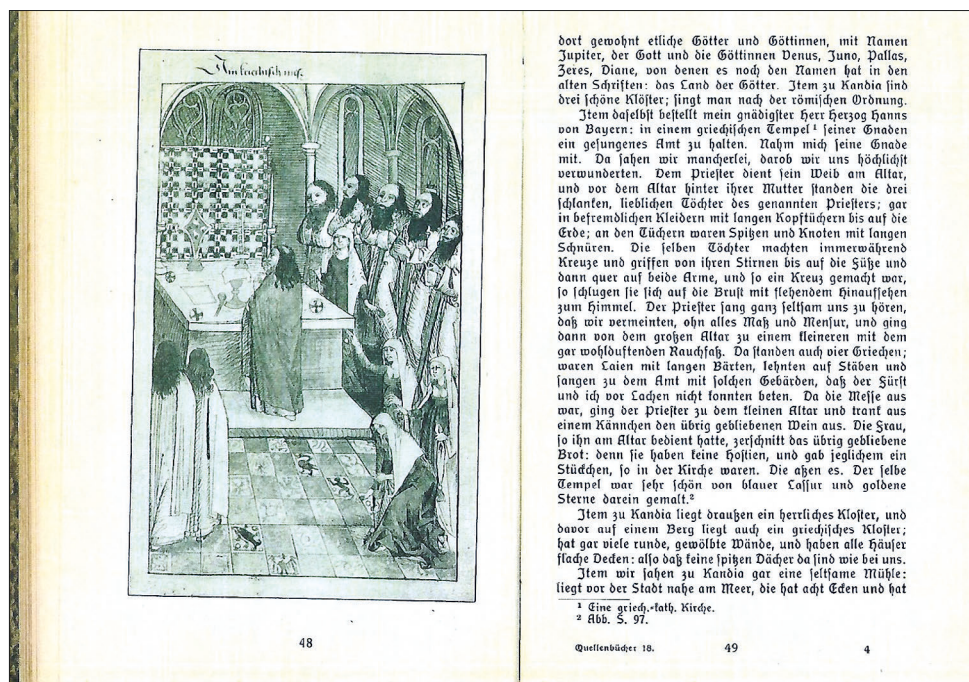
The miniature is enclosed in a rectangular frame (fig. 210). At the upper left side of the frame is written the title: »Ain kriechisch meß« (*eine griechische Messe*) – An Orthodox Divine Liturgy. The scene is rendered as if someone were standing at the nave of the church and recording the occurrences 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 *oculi*, 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 and modern German translation 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 oration 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 oration 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 oration 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.

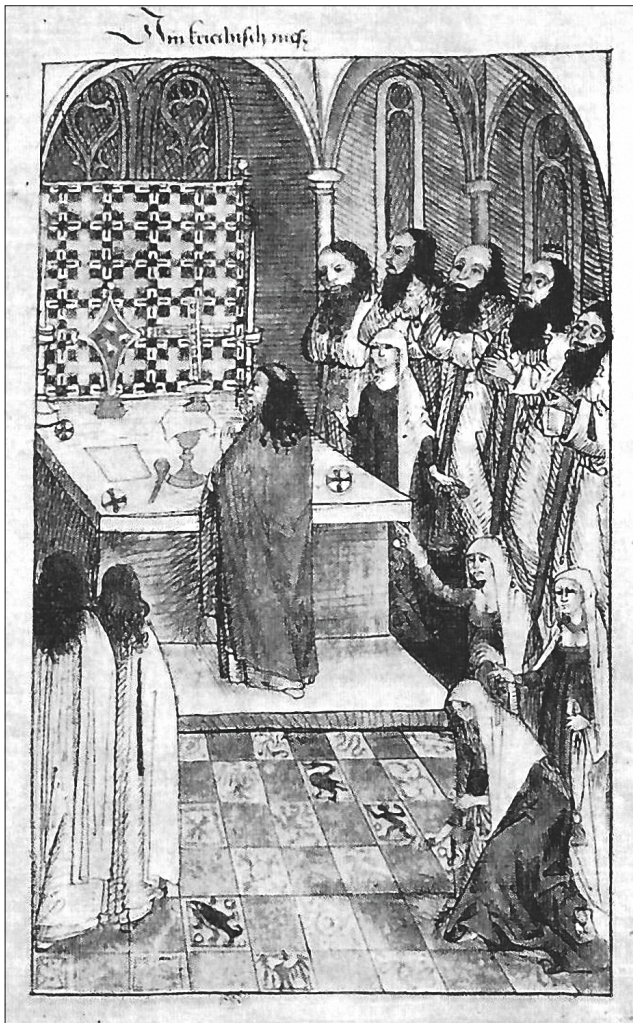


Fig. 210 Ein kriechisch Meß, ca. 1490, Gotha/Erfurt, A541, 30r. – (Reproduced by Goldfriedrich/Fränzel, Grünembergs Pilgerfahrt 48).

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 ἡ ἐνζύμῳ ἄρτῳ σπίνῳ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα τελείσθαι ἀληθῶς τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς ἐν θατέρῳ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ὀφείλιν 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 Vëssariōn 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, *Tramezzo 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, *Tramezzi* 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 Baltoyianē 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. – Baltoyianē, *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 Kolymari (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.

Catalogues

I. Chronological index of churches with Deësis representations

1. Panagia Fodele/Herakleion (Deësis on the SW. wall, 1st layer 11th century).
2. Hagios Georgios, Lampēnē/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Mounted Hagios Geōrgios on the NW. wall, late 12th century or 1st half of the 13th century).
3. Hagios Iōannēs Theologos, Margarites/Retymnon (Deësis on the N. wall, ca. 1270).
4. Panagia Karydi, Apokorōnas/Chania (Deësis on the N. wall, 1290).
5. Panagia of two rocks, Apokorōnas/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, late 13th/early 14th century).
6. Panagia Faneromenē, Mylopotamos/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Virgin on the NE. wall, late 13th/early 14th century).
7. Kera Kritsa, Merabello/Lassithi (Deësis on the SE. pilaster, 2nd layer 1310-1320).
8. Hagios Geōrgios, Mournes/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Mounted Hagios Geōrgios on the NW. wall, 1310-1320).
9. Panagia Drymiskos/Retymhnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Dormition on the NE. wall, 1317-1318).
10. Hagios Geōrgios Heliana/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Mounted Hagios Geōrgios on the NW. wall, 1319).
11. Hagia Marina, Mournes/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagia Marina on the NE. wall, 1320).
12. Sotēr, Spēli/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, early 14th century).
13. Hagios Georgios, Spēli/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, early 14th century).
14. Hagios Mamas, Kantanos/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, early 14th century).
15. Hagia Paraskevē, Anisaraki/Chania (Deësis [Christ and Prodomos] on the SE. wall/Virgin and Hagia Paraskevē on the SE. wall, 1330-1340).
16. Panagia Gouverniōtissa, Pediada/Herakleion (Deësis on the SE. wall/Virgin on the NE. wall, 1330-1340).
17. Theologos, Kakodiki/Chania (Deësis on the SE. arcade/Theologos on the NE. arcade, ca. 1330).
18. Panagia, Kakodiki/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Virgin on the NE. wall, 1331-1332).
19. Hagios Georgios, Pemonia/Chania (Deësis on the SW. wall/Hagios Geōrgios on the NW. wall, ca. 1340).
20. Panagia Kadros Kakodiki/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, 1330-1340).
21. Panagia Prodomi/Chania (Deësis on the SE. arcade/Virgin on the NE. arcade, 1347).
22. Hagios Iōannēs Prodomos, Pediada/Herakleion (Deësis on the SE. wall/Prodomos on the NE. wall, 1330-1350).
23. Sotēr, Vlēthias/Chania (Deësis on the NW. wall, 1358-1359).
24. Dormition, Palaia Roumata/Chania (Deësis on the central arcade of the S. wall. Virgin on the SW. arcade, 1359-1360).
25. Apostoloi, Kōpetoi/Chania (Deësis on the SE. arcade, middle of the 14th century).
26. Hagios Iōannēs, Sebronas/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, middle of the 14th century).
27. Zoodochos Pēgē (Life-giving fountain), Alikianos/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, middle of the 14th century).
28. Panagia, Hagios Nikolaos/Lassithi (Deësis on the S. wall/middle of the 14th century).
29. Panagia Kastamonitsa/Herakleion (Deësis on the SE. wall, middle of the 14th century).
30. Hagia Paraskevē, Kampos/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, middle of the 14th century).
31. Hagios Iōannēs Prodomos, Diskouri/Rethymno (Prodomos on the NE. wall/Deësis on the SE. wall, 1360).
32. Hagia Paraskevē, Kityros/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagia Paraskevē on the NE. wall, 1372/1373).
33. Panagia Spēlia/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, ca. 1380).
34. Hagios Iōannēs Theologos, Margarites/Rethymnon (Theologos on SE. arcade, Deësis with Klados on NE. arcade, 1383).
35. Sotēr, Akoumia/Retymhnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, 1389).
36. Panagia Merona, Retymhnon (Virgin on the NE. pier, Deësis on the N. wall, ca. 1390).
37. Hagios Stephanos, Kastri/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, Hagios Stephanos on the NE. wall, 1391).
38. Hagios Georgios, Melisourgaki/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, 1395-1400).
39. Hagios Paulos, Prodomi/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Peter and Paul on the NE. wall, late 14th century).
40. Hagia Eirenē, Sklavopoula/Chania (Deësis on the SE. arcade, late 14th century).
41. Holy Fathers, Azogyres/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, late 14th century).

42. Sotēr, Mourtziana/Rethymnon (Deësis on the SE. wall, late 14th century).
43. Hagios Georgios, Kavousi/Lassithi (Deësis on the SE. wall, late 14th century).
44. Panagia Gourni/Lassithi (Deësis on the SE. wall, late 14th century).
45. Hagios Nikolaos, Vatos/Rethymno (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagios Nikolaos on the NE. wall, ca. 1400).
46. Hagios Iōannēs Prodromos, Diskouri/Rethymnon (Prodromos on the SE. wall. Deësis on the NE. wall, ca. 1400).
47. Sotēr, Sklavopoula/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, ca. 1400).
48. Hagios Panteleēmōn, Zymbragou/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagios Panteleēmōn on the NE. wall, ca. 1400).
49. Hagios Basileios, Vouves/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagios Basileios on the NE. wall, ca. 1400).
50. Hagios Georgios, Viannos/Herakleion (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagios Geōrgios on the NE. wall, 1401).
51. Hagia Photeinē, Prevelē/Rethymnon (Deësis on the NE. wall/Hagia Photeinē on the SE. wall, early 15th century).
52. Hagia Paraskevē, Chondros/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, ca. 1420).
53. Hagios Isidōros, Kakodiki/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall/Hagios Isidoros on the NE. wall, 1420-1421).
54. Holy Fathers, Apanō Flōria/Chania (Deësis on the SE. wall, 1470).

II. Chronological index of churches with representations of Christ, Virgin or patron saint

1. Hagios Nikolaos Kyriakosellia/Chania (Christ on the S. pilaster, Virgin on the N. pilaster, end of the 12th century or early 13th century).
2. Transfiguration of the Savior, Plemeniana/Chania (Christ on the SW. pilaster, Virgin on the NW. pilaster, 13th century [unpublished]).
3. Hagios Geōrgios Kantanos/Chania (Christ on the NW. pier, possibly now non extinct Virgin on the SW. pier, late 13th century).
4. Hagios Nikolaos Elenes Amari/Rethymno (Christ on the N. wall, ca. 1300).
5. Panagia Diblochōrion, Hagios Basileios/Rethymno (Christ on the SE wall, Dormition on the NE. wall, early 14th century).
6. Hagia Eirēnē, Selino/Chania (Christ on the N. wall, ca. 1300).
7. Archangel Michaēl, Aradaina Sfakia/Chania (Christ on the SE. pier, Hagia Eirēnē on the NE. pier, Archangel Michaēl on the N. wall, ca. 1310-1320).
8. Archangel Michaēl, Arkalochōri/Herakleion (Vigin orans on the NE. wall, end of the 13th century/1330).
9. Hagios Dēmētrios Leivadas/Chania (Christ on the S. blind arcade, Hagios Dēmētrios on the N. blind arcade, 1314-1316).
10. Panagia, Alikampos/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, 1315-1316).
11. Hagios Georgios, Tsiskos Fres/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, 1315-1320).
12. Hagios Georgios, Prodromi/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, 1320-1330).
13. Panagia Lampiōtes, Amari (Christ on the SE. wall, ca. 1320).
14. Hagios Nikolaos, Maza/Chania (Virgin on the SE. wall, Hagios Nikolaos on the NE. wall, 1325-1326).
15. Panagia Kissos/Rethymno (Christ on the SE. wall, Dormition on the NE. wall, 1320-1330).
16. Hagios Georgios, Alikianos/Chania (Christ on the NE. wall, middle of 14th century).
17. Panagia Nisi, Kissamos/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, middle 14th century).
18. Panagia Thronos Amari/Rethymno (Virgin on the SE. wall, Dormition on the NE. wall, second layer ca. 1350).
19. Prophet Hēlias, Trahiniakō/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, ca. 1340).
20. Hagios Kōnstantinos, Kritsa/Lassithi (Christ on the SE. wall, Hagios Kōnstantinos and Elenē on the S. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, 1354-1355).
21. Dormition, Hagia Eirēnē, Selino/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, second half of the 14th century).
22. Panagia Sklavopoula/Chania (Virgin on the NE. wall, ca. 1395).
23. Hagios Spyridōn, Apostoloi Amari/Chania (Christ on the SE. wall, Hagia Anna on the NE. wall, ca. 1400).
24. Archangel Michaēl, Malathēros/Chania (Christ on the SE wall., Virgin and Prodromos on the NE. wall, early 15th century).
25. Panagia Lithines, Sēteia/Lassithi (Christ on the SE. wall, Virgin on the NE. wall, early 15th century).
26. Transfiguration of the Saviour, Mesa Panteli, Sēteia/Lassithi, Christ[?] on the SE. wall Virgin and Prodromos on the NE. wall, early 15th century).

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Sigles Used

ADelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον	EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον των Βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ελλάδος	JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford 1961-1968)
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
CahArch	Cahiers archéologiques	PG	Patrologia graeca
DeltChrA	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας	RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers	REB	Revue des Études byzantines
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies	ZRVI	Зборник радова Византолошког Института – Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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The book researches the Bēma display of the Cretan churches in a time period spanning from the Byzantine re-conquest of the island (11th century) until the middle of the Venetian dominance (15th century). It focuses on the apparition and distribution of the Templon-barrier, the function of a certain group of frescoes as prostration images and the (partial) establishment of fresco-painted masonry screens at the Orthodox churches of the island, just before the prevalence of the »wooden wall of icons« – known as Iconostasis.

This study reveals the artistic and cultic multiplicity of arrangements, consisting of archaism and modernization, until the crystallisation of the Iconostasis as the »distinctive feature of churches of the Byzantine rite«, thus a material proof of cultural identity and religious consciousness of the Orthodox populace in an area (Crete) and a period (Venetian rule) that is characterised by both osmosis and conflict.

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident:

Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz / Frankfurt

Die Reihe Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident wird vom Vorstand des gleichnamigen Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, einer Kooperation des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt und des Leibniz-Instituts für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, herausgegeben.

Die Reihe dient als Publikationsorgan für das Forschungsprogramm des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, das Byzanz, seine Brückenfunktion zwischen Ost und West sowie kulturelle Transfer- und Rezeptionsprozesse von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit in den Blick nimmt. Die Methoden und Untersuchungsgegenstände der verschiedenen Disziplinen, die sich mit Byzanz beschäftigen, werden dabei jenseits traditioneller Fächer-grenzen zusammengeführt, um mit einem historisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Zugang Byzanz und seine materielle und immaterielle Kultur umfassend zu erforschen.