



Università  
Ca' Foscari  
Venezia

Master's Degree

in

**History of Art  
and Conservation of Artistic Heritage**

Final Thesis

**Reassessing Religious Identities  
in the Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete:**

Foundations of Two-aisled Churches and the Kallergis Family

**Supervisor**

Prof. Dr. Antonio Rigo

**Assistant supervisor**

Prof. Dr. Stefano Riccioni

**Graduand**

Guoda Gediminskaite  
865314

**Academic Year**

2018 / 2019

## Contents

Introduction .....	3
<b>CHAPTER I PRELIMINARIES: CURRENT DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS .....</b>	<b>8</b>
Western Two-aisled Church .....	10
Byzantine Two-aisled Church and ‘Pseudo Double’ Church .....	15
Functional Approach and Beyond.....	19
<b>CHAPTER II SHAPING CHURCHES: ARCHITECTURE.....</b>	<b>25</b>
Space and Morphology.....	25
Architectural Context .....	30
<b>CHAPTER III FOUNDING CHURCHES: PATRON, TIME, SPACE.....</b>	<b>37</b>
Historical Time and Place.....	37
Ideological Space .....	41
<b>CHAPTER IV EMPOWERING CHURCHES: PATRON AND MEMORY.....</b>	<b>48</b>
Image and Contexts.....	48
Image, Word, Contents.....	56
Conclusion.....	65
Bibliography .....	68
List of Illustrations .....	76
Appendix: Inventory .....	77
Abstract .....	87

## Introduction

The plural society of Latins and Greeks, solidified on Crete during the Venetian rule from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries, became an established issue of scholarly inquiry by now. The prolonged coexistence of two communities more often is being acknowledged as the fundamental factor which over centuries shaped the history of the colony – be that social, economic, political, cultural or religious life. To borrow McKee's words, it was an uncommon dominion<sup>1</sup>, in which the ruling and the ruled succeeded in creating the complex patterns of interrelations, and still in some sense both preserved their separatedness.

The discourse on the religious life on the Venetian Crete becomes a case in point. In general, it seems that scholars managed to decipher the relations between Latins and Greeks by defining them as the union in separation.<sup>2</sup> Even if the incomers did try to impose the superiority of the Latin rite over the Greek one, apparently, in most cases the politics had little to do with the everyday religious life. Thus, on the one hand, officially Crete was a Roman Catholic territory placed under the jurisdiction of a Latin archbishop. Here the bishop seats were taken by the Catholic ecclesiastics. By profiting acquired jurisdictional authority, the Latin Church emphasized proselytizing the locals and the Church Union concluded at the Council of Ferrara-Florence would be the case ever since. On the other hand, the Christian community of the island proved to retain its bi-confessional dimension in its fullest sense. During the long lasting cohabitation it was the confession which determined one's identity. Therefore, while insular cities were the place for the adherents of the Latin rite, distant rural areas continued to be inhabited by Greeks freely professing their faith there.

And yet, while majority of scholars jointly agreed on the matter, some brought themselves to wonder whether these considerations were close and critical enough. For a while historians kept mentioning the written sources which briefly referred to more complex the in-between dimensions of the religion life of the bi-confessional Christian

---

<sup>1</sup> McKEE 2000.

<sup>2</sup> On the Church history during the Venetian dominion see: FEDALTO 1973; MALTEZOU 1991 and others.

community during the post-union times on Crete. For instance, it was noticed how two communities used the same church buildings housing several altars or Greek priests celebrated masses for Latins.<sup>3</sup> Recently these cases were explored in studies of the churches with two aisles arguing that the monuments functioned as bi-confessional spaces.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the latter joined the today's discourse in a significant way, as for the first time shallow written evidence has been complemented by the study of material culture in order to re-approach the issue. Moreover, along with new research testimonies, the chronological scope of the discussion has been widened. The early archaeological evidence of churches brought back to the fourteenth century. Thus it induced to re-observe the religious communities and their interconnections on confessional level during the times which preceded the union.

However, as much as conceptually exciting the issue of the interrelations would sound, it must be admitted that from the methodological perspective such study becomes especially difficult to ground. Basically, it faces the burden of gaps in written sources as well as the peculiar character of physical ones which did survive. Here the 'fragmentation' of testimonies deprives of complex then reality and eventually is very successful in 'masking' and even 'simulating' it. Indeed, while primary written sources hardly 'speak', bipartite religious buildings still stand as objects without context, thus, leaving their physical evidence completely bare. As monuments themselves today has become void of any ideological meanings, in either case at this point it is always more of today's rhetoric than tangible historical reality that prompts the interpretations. And here, I suppose, the monumental art might excite one's imagination in a way to 'misdefine' ideologies or even to discover ones there where practically is none.

On the second thought, methodological issues mark limits and the latter unravel possibilities. The equation, which in the studies evened the physical shape of church buildings to the religious life, eventually could be solved, if the missed in-between human agent is added into it. I mean, while architecture alone is ideological-free, an eventual context of monument is not whatsoever. So, in other words, today's studies and testimonies would encourage to pass from studying pure objects and to start noticing humans in the story of these objects in order to shed more light on the issue.

It is from this perspective that I focus on the earliest two-aisled churches of Crete, namely, Panagia of Kastri Mylopotamou and Panagia of Meronas Amariou. As it will be explicated further, the foundation and the construction of these monuments could

---

<sup>3</sup> MALTEZOU 1991, p. 34; GEORGOPOULOU 2001, pp. 187-190; MONDELOU 2004; MERSCH 2015.

<sup>4</sup> GRATZIOU 2009, 2010.

be associated with the patronage of the then influential Cretan-Greek family of the Kallergis. The figure of patron becomes relevant, because it helps to proceed from two basic assumptions. The first states that the foundation and construction of church have been prompted by certain cultural and religious convictions of patron. The second assumes that collective identities and ideologies within the patron's environment counted for a great deal in formation of personal attitudes.

My investigation engages with the material evidence of churches and the textual sources related to the Kallergis. These testimonies enable exploring the history of the bipartite monuments, taking as its focus the social, cultural and ideological realm of the patrons. Respectively, the time-space framework of the study encloses within the fourteenth century environment of the Kallergis directly linked with the two-aisled church foundations. And yet, the purview of my inquiry is broader. By putting emphasis on the case study so to inhabit the bipartite monuments with the figures of the Greek lords, at the same time I aim at offering a fresh look into the interplay between the material culture and the religious identities in the fourteenth-century Venetian Crete. In order to do so, I set four main tasks as follows:

1. I emphasize the thorough and critical analysis of typological and functional studies on churches with two aisles, which helps to ground the perspective of my own research;

2. I undertake with the case study of two-aisled churches of the Kallergis from interrogating the architecture of the monuments and inscribing it into the proper architectural context;

3. I call upon written sources in an attempt at pinning down the architectural evidence into the socio-historical environment of the Kallergis;

4. I aim at unfolding the relation between the churches and the patrons in ideological terms while reassessing physical testimonies like paintings and inscriptions in the monuments.

Beside introduction and conclusions, the paper is divided in four chapters coherent with the aforementioned tasks. In the end the compulsory parts as bibliography, list of illustration and abstract are given. These are supplemented with the section of appendix including the inventory of churches with two aisles constructed in the East.

Given the emphasis on the patron's figure, this research becomes the prosopographical study, which at certain points of the inquiry is being complemented

by art historians' tool kit. Respectively, the archaeological testimonies of the churches prompt the typological and formal approaches, while wall-paintings and inscriptions in the monuments emphasize turning to the iconographical-iconological and the epiconografical study.

### **Current and New Sources**

Upon fixing the purview of my inquiry, I ought to explain the current sources from which I part, as well as the new ones on which I base and develop this research. So far scholars, who approached the two-aisled churches of the Kallergis in Kastri and Meronas, undertook with the analysis within the framework of physical evidence, namely, the architecture and the wall-paintings of monuments. Respectively, these testimonies induced the parameters of studies concerning mostly with the material aspects of the churches. To mention the most important ones, the earliest publication of Gerola included first-hand field reports supplemented by ground plans and photography of the churches.<sup>5</sup> In follow-up, the archaeological evidence was considered in the publications of Andrianakis and Bourboudakis. The former was concerned with the architectural plans, whereas the latter occupied more with the Gothic sculpture of the rural architecture on the island.<sup>6</sup> More pure focus on the architecture of the monuments was re-fixed only recently by Gratziou.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of the field research, the scholar supplied detailed inventorial-type description for each of the churches. Also it should be noticed Gratziou's tentative to treat the testimonies as sources of the then social and religious reality, which led the scholar to propose the thesis about the bi-confessional usage of the monuments.

About the same time when the studies on the archaeological evidence developed, Bourboudakis published the paper on the iconography of the wall-paintings in Panagia of Meronas.<sup>8</sup> Scholar put emphasis on the significance of the testimonies for the dissemination of the Byzantine pictorial tradition in the Venetian Crete. The contribution did not pass unnoticed. In consequence, the papers of Spatharakis, Bourboudaki and Patedakis, who were concerned mostly with the iconography and the epigraphy of the church, followed.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> GEROLA 1908.

<sup>6</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2007; BOURBOUDAKIS 2007.

<sup>7</sup> GRATZIOU 2010.

<sup>8</sup> BOURBOUDAKIS 1989.

<sup>9</sup> SPATHARAKIS-ESSENBERG 2012; BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014; PATEDAKIS 2016.

While joining the discussion, I tend to contribute to it, first and foremost, by extending the base of the primary physical and textual sources. I provide this paper with the descriptions of archaeological evidence prepared during the field research *in situ*. The data of these reports is also supplemented by detailed architectural measurements of the building of Meronas, which during this research were identified being preserved in the archive of Ephorate at Rethymno on Crete. The physical evidence of the churches is complemented by the written testimonies concerning with the history of the Kallergis. The latter could be broadly divided in the group of governmental and literary sources, on the one hand, and in that of notarial sources, on the other. The consistent part of the testimonies is published, whereas the unpublished ones were consulted in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana and Biblioteca di Museo Correr.

The analysis of the aforementioned sources is being complemented by the historiography which in its broadest sense could be divided in three main discourses. The focus of the architecture insists on the consultation of the architectural studies on the Medieval Crete monuments, as well as of other buildings with two aisles built in the West and in the East. In order to expand the socio-historic settings of the foundations, I turn to historiography dedicated mainly to political and social lives of the Kallergis family. Meanwhile, tending to unfold the religious dimensions of the foundations, I consult the studies concerning with the Cretan intellectual and religious life. As one could suppose, here I approach the discourse relative to the relation between Greeks and Latins, as well as the studies on the contacts with Constantinople which then re-emerged in religious domain of Crete.

## CHAPTER I

### PRELIMINARIES: CURRENT DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Started purely from the first-hand field reports, interest into churches with two aisles proves to lose its marginal position in today's scholarship. To mention just the most recent publications, for instance, Piva's papers concerning with Italian religious buildings<sup>10</sup> or Gratziou's work presenting Cretan testimonies<sup>11</sup> – these are no longer fragmented notes but actual architectural studies. The church plan with two aisles there is being extensively considered as proper typological design in the history of medieval and byzantine architecture.

Yet, while affirming growing interest into churches, it is important to notice rather narrow limits of analysis. Apparently, the more precise archeologically study developed, the more restricted its object in time and space became. Therefore, although primary research has shown even little initiative in considering architectural data in fairly broad chronological and geographical prospective, the matter appeared to be short-lived.<sup>12</sup> Partly in relation to considerably increasing archaeological evidence, scholars enclosed monuments within examination on micro level. Thus, studies either included cases of individual church buildings or, in the best-case scenario, concentrated on restricted group of monuments.

Naturally, such shift of the historiography could have resulted in no other way but to divide the academic discipline in the 'Western' and 'Byzantine' studies. Although these labels do not quite work for the history of the colonial territories in the Eastern Mediterranean, they are used here as terms that refer to churches found in the West or in the East respectively. Accordingly, the scholars continued examining western two-aisled religious buildings and hardly ever did search for the common reference points in the work of fellow byzantinists, and *vice versa*.

The bi-partition of the historiography denoted the complete isolation, or to be more precise, the 'decontextualization' of architecture. On the one hand, the analysis would

---

<sup>10</sup> PIVA 2001, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> GRATZIOU 2010.

<sup>12</sup> ENLART 1902; PIACENTINI 1941.



seem to engage with more articulated discussion which, on the other hand, included very brief contextual description. From this point of view, the studies of byzantine churches ‘take’ the lead here by all means. To begin with, the scholars who study the churches with two naves built in the Eastern Mediterranean until today continue neglecting the great part of the archaeological data of western origin. Moreover, the byzantine churches with two aisles have never been considered together in a complex study.

Along with the problem of the architectural ‘decontextualization’, another issue in parallel occurred. Here first the lexical categories of the academic language must be noted. Generally speaking, from the beginning of modern scholarship into churches with two aisles, the choice of terminology seemed to have depended rather on historiographical tradition than on well-thought-out definition. Thus, once used, the term was adopted by the others subsequently to create a proper ‘glossary’ for studies. Actually, it could be learned how the primary fragmental notes about the buildings already in the first half of the twentieth century implanted the adjunct of ‘double-aisled’ church. The term proved to receive recognition within studies of the western bi-partial buildings, though others more recent and occasional replacements of ‘double church’ or ‘dual church’ appeared.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime, the studies of byzantine monuments intervened the discussion rather late and scholars used the term of ‘double-aisled church’ which was frequently substituted by ‘double church’ (sometimes even ‘double basilica’).<sup>14</sup> The usage of two different terms for byzantine churches most probably was implanted by yet unarticulated ambition to define the complex architectural reality of two-aisled buildings in the Eastern Mediterranean. Being aware of the matter, Gratziou recently argued that the terms of ‘double-aisled church’ and ‘double church’ should be associated with two different subtypes of byzantine churches with two naves.<sup>15</sup> The scholar’s suggestion is fairly sophisticated, yet it reveals a sort of inconsistency. It is important to notice that starting from the first half of the twentieth century the term of ‘double basilica’ was employed by art historians to denote proper complexes of religious buildings constructed from the Late Antiquity onwards.<sup>16</sup> As a result, the term of ‘double church’ coined by Gratziou has nothing in common with the ‘original’ one being used from the early twentieth century. Thus, theoretically speaking, today a byzantine church with two naves, defined as ‘double

---

<sup>13</sup> On a bibliography considering with the Western churches see: GAROFANO 2000, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> The first to use term of two-aisled church in the Greek speaking literature was Orlandos: ORLANDOS 1961. Meanwhile, it seems that among the first to adopt the term of double church was Moutsopoulos: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

<sup>15</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, p. 127.

<sup>16</sup> PIVA 1990.

church', enters the same typological category as numerous religious complexes built from the Late Antiquity on. Interestingly, at this point it could be noticed that the first publications concerning with the byzantine churches with two naves coincided with the growth of interests into the so-called double basilicas. So, the term could have been easily taken by scholars who studied byzantine binated buildings as loanword from contemporary studies on double basilicas.

What at first glance could seem a purely lexical error, in fact becomes a decisive methodological inconsistency. Here the misused terms interconnect with the 'misdefined' church type. To fully understand the impact of such typological 'misdefinition' it is essential to point out that many of byzantine churches with two naves until today are still known only from the first-hand field reports. Evidently, in historiography which uses 'verbal tradition' but which still is in search of its proper terminology, the complex architectural reality remains far beyond of today's comprehension. Moreover, in this way another more complex problem of the functionality of the churches becomes apparent. I suggest, not to define architecture meant missed opportunity to find architectural analogues, thus to 'map' churches in a right time and space of proper artistic, cultural and religious tradition.

In this way I am anticipating my twofold task of this chapter. On the one hand, I articulate the current discourse concerning with typology and functionality of buildings, which, on the other, eventually takes me to ground new perspectives for studying churches.

### **Western Two-aisled Church**

In recent studies some suppositions concerning with the development of the design of church with two aisles were introduced.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the practice of binary religious space could be already dated to the time of the Early Christianity right after the Edict of Milan (313) when so-called 'double cathedrals' were being found in both the Christian West and East. These Episcopal complexes featured two autonomous naves, standing in parallel side by side and being separated by a common wall. Each of the two spaces was equipped with an independent apse and an entrance. Shortly, the type of such religious buildings started being used as model for non-episcopal double basilicas, so as for double sanctuaries or double rural churches. In every case, the typological design included a wall

---

<sup>17</sup> PIVA 2015, p. 65.

which clearly separated liturgical space of the two buildings visually joined into one edifice.<sup>18</sup>

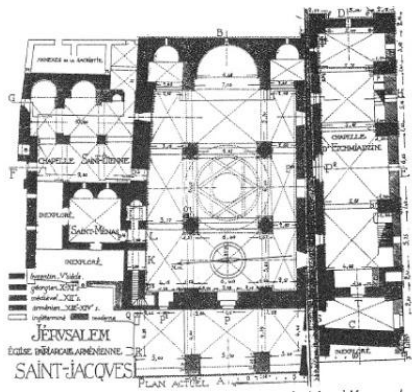


Fig.1 Sts. Zaharias and Menas and St. James, Jerusalem. From: MARGALIT1995, p. 377, Fig. 5.

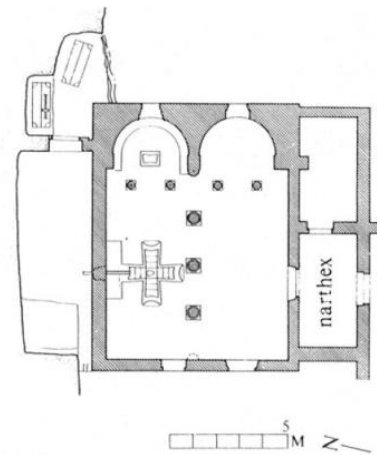


Fig. 2. Alahan Monastery, Turkey . From: PIVA 2015, p.65, Fig. 23.

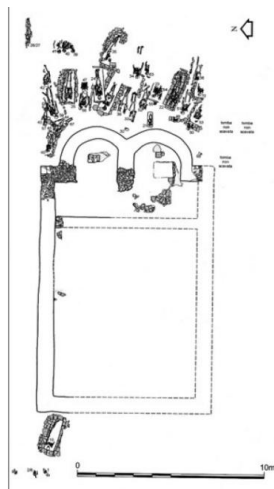


Fig. 3 San Lorenzo, Quingentole, Mantova, Italy. From: PIVA 2015, p.66, Fig. 25.

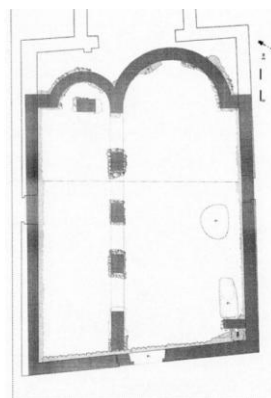


Fig. 4 San Pietro, Rosa, Vicenza, Italy. From: PIVA 2015, p. 71, Fig. 34.

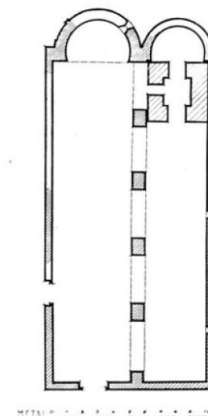


Fig. 5 Santa Maria d'Arelio, Borgo d'Ale, Vercelli. From: PIVA 2015, p. 57, Fig. 14.

The elimination of the wall between the two churches, so that finally create a bi-partial liturgical space without any enclosure, occurred in the East. The archaeological evidence in Palestine testifies to numerous single-aisled chapels with two separated apses being

<sup>18</sup> PIVA 2015, p. 65.

built from the fifth century onwards (Fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> Among these testimonies also a chapel with two aisles and two apses appears in today's Turkey (Fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> Recently these early annexed religious buildings were recognized as prototypes for the two typological designs, namely, two-apsed churches and two-aisled churches, which subsequently would be developed in the Middle Ages (Fig. 3-5). In fact, the significant outspread of both types in the West as well as in the East has been acknowledged almost by every scholar confronting this issue.

Generally speaking, the conjunct analysis of two-apsed church and two-aisled church nowadays has become habitual among medievalists. The development of designs usually is being placed within the same chronological and geographical frameworks. Subsequently, even the hypothesis of two types serving as models for each another occurred. According to one position, the presence of two-apsed churches led to further development of a type of buildings with two naves.<sup>21</sup> Following another point of view, it was two-aisled churches which later were simplified to the design of two-apsed church.<sup>22</sup> Unsurprisingly, the shared conclusion states that the architecture of churches was so varied in form and so widely extended that one can define neither the main typological features nor chronological and geographical limits of their prevalence. Evidently, from the methodological point of view such 'habit' of analysing bi-partial religious buildings together is only partially correct. It seems that in the studies the archaeological evidence overlaps and, thus, eventually fuller comprehension of a proper architectural tradition in time and space fades. I believe, at this point some stress must be laid on.

Defining the design of medieval church with two aisles is a challenging task, indeed. The forms of monuments differ significantly passing from the one archaeological evidence to another. Two naves could be equal in length, width and height, or, contrariwise, one aisle may be diminished in relation to another. Each nave usually terminates with its own apse, but also other solutions, such as a two-aisled church with one common apse, are encountered. There are some cases then the apse of church is positioned in axis of one nave, while the second nave, often the smaller one, does not have the apse. At this point, I believe, it would be opportune to distinguish separate subtypes of churches, which is not the task of this research, though.

In spite of numerous differences, the examples of medieval two-aisled churches do show a proper architectural consistency. The first common feature is the idea to divide the

---

<sup>19</sup> MARGALIT 1995.

<sup>20</sup> GOUGH 1963.

<sup>21</sup> PIVA 2015, pp. 65-78.

<sup>22</sup> DIMITROKALLIS 1976.

aisled space in two parallel parts. Piva has suggested fairly plausible conclusion, according to which the concept of the bi-partition of the nave became fundamental for this church design.<sup>23</sup> Certain religious building may not feature the division of apse – which becomes eventually the structure of two apses – but it always does include two naves. Moreover, the notion of naval separation often is strengthened by two entrances which provide an independent access to each part. At this point the typological distinction between two-aisled religious building and two-apsed church becomes clearer than ever. Indeed, the second design follows the division of sanctuary and it never separates the aisle. Here two entrances also do appear seldom.

However, in spite of the decisive separation of nave, the planning of two-aisled church always provides the direct communication of these two parts. They are usually integrated through the supports of columns or arcades. Moreover, such integrity of inner space is always preserved on exterior by common roof-covering, so that finally to form the unity of architectural body.

Upon the typological definition, the chronological and geographical framework of church design requires some specifics as well. Looked more closely, archaeological evidence enables following a proper sequence of the typological development in time and space. With the beginning in the East, contrariwise to the church type with two apses, the diffusion of the plan with two aisles has been abundantly postponed. Indeed, it is only around the tenth or even the eleventh century when the archaeological testimonies start indicating the churches with two aisles being built. Iconographical material of the two-aisled churches today's Spain, Germany, France has been published.<sup>24</sup> Yet, these are only sporadic testimonies in comparison to numerous examples known in Italy. Here the church design seems to have belonged to common *repertorium* of masonry practices mainly between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.<sup>25</sup>

The question of causes that brought to the appearance of the western, or even more precisely, Romanesque two-aisled church still remains open. On the one hand, the occurrence of this type perfectly coincided with the prosperity of the plan with two apses. So, the habit to put monuments in the same historical shelf does not seem so unreasonable. On the other hand, it must be noted that the pre-existence of a type with double apse did not ensured the evolution of architectural practice toward the creation of a church with two aisles. Evidence from Croatia, Cyprus, Armenia testifies to numerous

---

<sup>23</sup> PIVA 2015, p. 65.

<sup>24</sup> PIACENTINI 1941.

<sup>25</sup> PIVA 2015; GAROFANO 2000.

churches with two apses, while there are none of two-aisled buildings.<sup>26</sup> This just proves the supposition that the diffusion of two-aisled churches was much more independent and more restricted in comparison to the prevalence of two-apsed design.

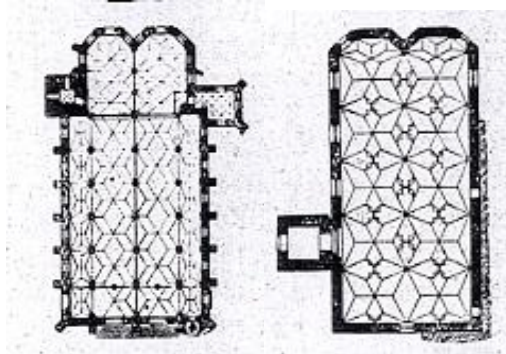


Fig. 6 Mendicant churches in Schwaz and Berchtesgaden, Germany. From: PIACENTINI 1941, p. 128.

Indeed, the idea seems even more convincing when the further diffusion of monuments is followed. Subsequently, between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the planning in two aisles appeared among the iconographical models of the Gothic religious buildings build by the mendicant orders (Fig. 6). It is possible to find the examples of this type fairly everywhere the mendicant friars had settled.<sup>27</sup> Although the passage towards these two-aisled Gothic churches might not have followed the precedent in architectural practice of Romanesque two-aisled churches<sup>28</sup>, the known examples seem to identify the same rather restricted typological prevalence. In this case the church design happened to be adjusted within enclosed religious environment.

Therefore – and thus I would dare arguing against the common opinion expressed in the historiography – it is reasonable to suggest the precise development of church design with two aisles in the medieval West. In spite of morphological differences, monuments witnessed the idea of religious space with a nave separated in two parts and yet organically united in one architectural body. Available archaeological evidence implies a proper chronological and geographical framework, within which this concept was maintained. With the early precedent in the East, the type was realized in the West from the tenth century onwards mainly in Italian lands. Subsequently the type was revitalized by the mendicant orders. And exactly this pattern of Western two-aisled church was the

<sup>26</sup> MATEJČIĆ 1997; DIMITROKALLIS 1976.

<sup>27</sup> SCHENLUHN 2003.

<sup>28</sup> PIVA 2015, p. 76.

one to find its further development within the byzantine architecture of churches with two *naos*.

### **Byzantine Two-aisled Church and ‘Pseudo Double’ Church**

The shortage of comprehensive studies on byzantine church planning with two *naos* shifts the emphasis of this section on general typology of monuments. I begin with a brief note concerning with the geography of archaeological evidence and its inventory which is provided in the appendix of this paper. Available *corpus* of testimonies includes churches whose planning in general terms corresponds to the aforementioned definition of two-aisled church: a naval part of building is divided in two parallel segments which, though, abundantly are connected to one another. At once therefore it should be noticed that monuments with two aisles from Cappadocia or Mesopotamia are not included in the research.<sup>29</sup> In these cases a clear segregation of two inner spaces is encountered and this feature would refer to typological proximity of buildings to early double basilicas rather than to western two-aisled churches.

In the meantime, as it may be expected, abundant architectural evidence relevant for this research is known on Crete. Alike, monuments are found in the Cyclades, namely, on Naxos, Andros, Sifnos, Kimolos, Tinos, Kythnos, Paros. There are two-aisled churches remained in the Peloponnese, mainly in the region of Laconia. Meanwhile, the islands such as Aegina and Rhodes represent the areas in which the type was known, still not widely used. All of churches usually are dated to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Yet, the further examination of the evidence may suggest more defined ‘logic’ of dating.

Upon gathering archaeological evidence, the identification of two main typological groups of the monuments is essential. Here it is noted the distinction already made by Gratziou in regard to the religious buildings of Crete.<sup>30</sup> According to the historian, the first group of insular churches features two parallel *naos*, one of which is considerably reduced in width as well as in height (Fig. 7). The bi-partition of the inner space is ensured by a row of arcades in the middle. Visually it divides the space into two parts. Still the structure guaranties their communication. Both of the *naos* terminate in oriented *bemas*. Usually two entrances ensure the independent access to each of naval part. The

---

<sup>29</sup> On these churches and a bibliography: TETERIATNIKOV 1984, 1996; MICHALJEVIĆ 2014.

<sup>30</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 127-183.

*naos* are vaulted and they are covered by the common roof on the outside. Thus, the unity of architectural body prevails.

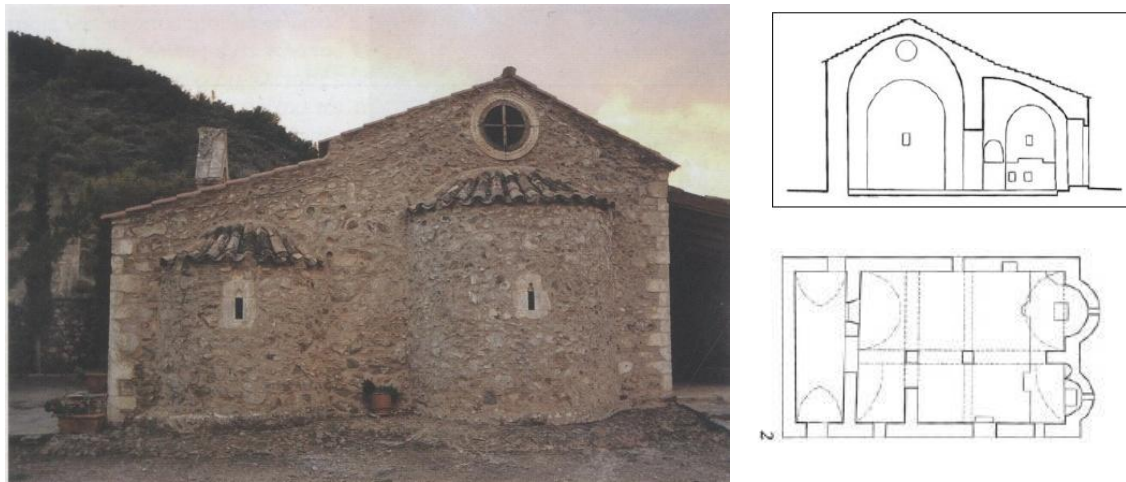


Fig. 7 Hagios Fanourios, Valsamonero, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 138, Fig. 148.

The second group of churches follows the same bi-partial arrangement of inner space (Fig. 8). Only here two *naos* appear as independent chapels, usually not identical in size. As churches of the first group, the buildings feature arches across, two *bema* and two entrances. The vaulted-roof is presented on the inside, while on exterior each of two chapels is being covered by its own roof. Therefore, architectural body visually doubles and it refers more likely to the structure of a double church.



Fig. 8 Panagia, Sarcho of Malevizi, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 150, Fig. 155.

By studying archaeological evidence of the church design with two aisles in the Cyclades and in the Peloponnese, it seems that the two typological patterns were known there as well. Not examining the morphological differences, in fact, it is possible to distinguish churches whose structure features the planning specifics common to the first



group (Fig. 9). Likewise, the presence of monuments whose architectural logic corresponds to the second group is acknowledged (Fig. 10).

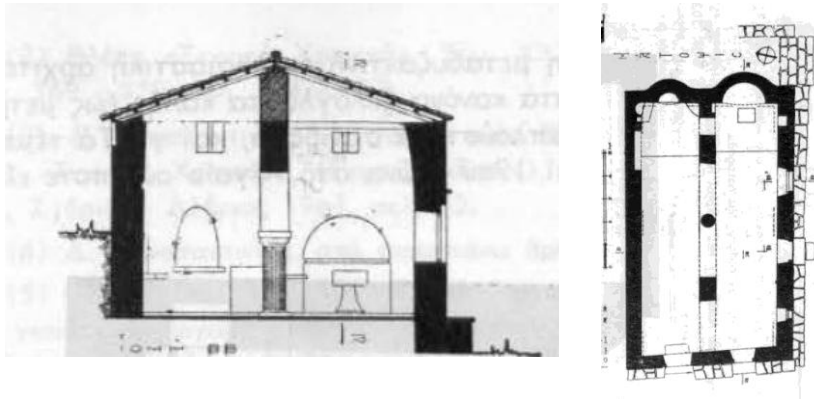


Fig. 9 Christos, Chora, Kytnos, Cyclades. From: VASILIAKIS 1962b, p.43. Fig. 17.

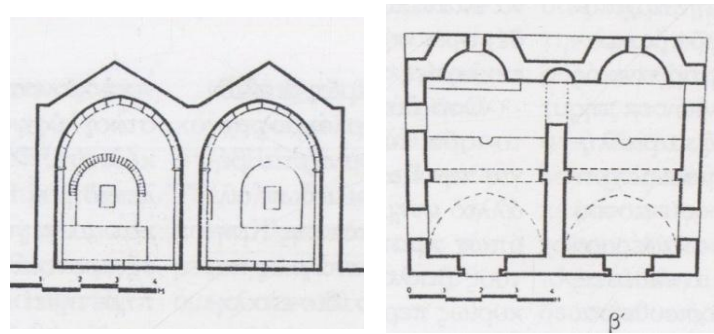


Fig. 10 Hagios Georgios and Hagios Dimitrios, Kastro, Paleochora. From: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962, p. 129, Fig. 46-47.

Henceforth, from a purely typological point of view, the *corpus* of architectural evidence enables to recognize two subtypes of the church design with two naves in the Eastern Mediterranean. On the one hand, there is the first subtype which represents the planning ‘borrowed’ from the architecture of western two-aisled religious buildings. Meanwhile, on the other hand, there is the second subtype which tends to paraphrase the known architectural forms of two-aisled church, so to finally construct a ‘proper’ Byzantine model of a church with two *naos*. It might be suggested, that the later follows the structure of ‘traditional’ two-aisled church in interior, meanwhile, it imitates the construction of a double church on exterior.

At this point, the terminology ought to be taken in the consideration. Gratziou has already suggested denoting these two subtypes as ‘two-aisled church’ and ‘double church’ respectively. Considering that the first subtype of Byzantine churches with two aisles typologically corresponds to the design of two-aisled western church, the first definition seems acceptable. As to the second term, there is certain incoherence with it. I

think that the term of ‘pseudo double church’ serve as better definition for objects of the second subtype of monuments. This term denotes more aptly the imitativiness of the structure of double church rather than its application in practice.

Interestingly, these two groups would invite approaching certain pattern of typological development, or to be more precise, a proper paradigm of architectural progression. In regard to the Cretan churches, Gratziou has already shown that the two-aisled churches dated to the fourteenth century were the earliest ones. Later these religious buildings led to appearance and diffusion of the second subtype of churches dating from the fifteenth centuries onwards. Thus, the first two-aisled church in the Eastern Mediterranean must have become the prototype, which, once adjusted, stimulated the ‘local’ type of pseudo double church. Actually, this transformation becomes quite obvious at a closer look of church plans. Indeed, there are examples of church design which already features two individual chapels on interior, while still retain united form of the two-aisled church on exterior. As relevant data, the proportions of testimonies should be noted too. The *corpus* of evidence shows lesser presence of churches of the first subtype, whereas the greater prevalence of the buildings of the second subtype is acknowledged. This only does sustain the scholarly projection of typological development tending more toward the design of pseudo double church.

Finally, emphasis should be laid on the cultural boundary occurring between two subtypes: two-aisled church represents western tradition, whereas pseudo double church expresses byzantine one. On the one hand, transmission of artistic knowledge between the West and the East should not surprise at all. As far as the design of church with two aisles is concerned, Piacentini <sup>31</sup>, Vasiliadis <sup>32</sup> and once again Gratziou have already posed the hypothesis according to which the appearance of the first two-aisled churches in the Eastern Mediterranean should be seen in the aftermath of the arrival of the mendicant orders. In fact, the original two-aisled planning of the Frankish church at Andravida nowadays is acknowledged by many scholars.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, knowing prototypes does not yet explain reasons which stimulated the typological changes in church design in the East. At this point the question about functionality of churches must be posed.

---

<sup>31</sup> PIACENTINI 1941.

<sup>32</sup> VASILADIS 1962b.

<sup>33</sup> COOPER 1996; PANAGOPOULOS 1979.

## Functional Approach and Beyond

While verging on the new subchapter, it is necessary to acknowledge the change in genre and subject of primary sources. If the church planning has been the most relevant aspect for the typological study before, these specifics become only secondary henceforth in examining the usage of spaces. It is true that the bipartite nave and divided apse implies its particular function. Still this architectural structure does not provide precise information about it. Thus, architectural morphology along with archaeological evidences of liturgical equipment, on the one side, and written sources, on the another side, are the principal testimonies for studying the functionality of churches.

Admittedly, studies of the western two-aisled churches may be seen as the fortunate ones. Growing initiatives of field excavations gradually brought to the possession archaeological evidence from the sites of churches. Accordingly, scholars put emphasis on examining data, while contemporaneously revealing written sources. Here what at the early stage appeared as the plurality of different interpretations, finally has led to proper approach towards the matter. Indeed, the community of medievalists seems to have found adequate explanation of bi-partial western religious spaces. In the recent studies it has become appropriate interpreting every single church apart, as each case might refer to its proper function.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the scholars seem to have validated the plural-functionality of bi-partial religious space. Thus, the purely constructional reasons, likewise the liturgical usage or even the theological connotation appear as equally possible among the causes which passing from the one case to the another could have brought to subdivision of apse and nave in a western church.<sup>35</sup>

In the meantime, studies dedicated to byzantine churches with two naves have faced hardly similar historical testimonies. To begin with, in most cases byzantine religious buildings have not artistically expressive architecture. Irregularities in plan, thick masonry walls, non-complex construction technique, few wall openings and ornamental sculptural designs – such buildings appear as rather humble constructions. Therefore, Georgopoulou has aptly defined Cretan monuments as ‘vernacular architecture’.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, churches, being in the hands of empirical local builders, created a proper ‘localized’ architectural language – some common decorative and structural features, but never a homogeneous artistic ‘whole’. If it was not enough, such humble architecture becomes even harder to study due to its considerable changes. Because of later

---

<sup>34</sup> PIVA 2015, pp. 73-74.

<sup>35</sup> On discussion concerning with functions see: GAROFANO 2000.

<sup>36</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2013.

adjustments to changing liturgical needs, not only liturgical equipment was replaced, but inner architectural morphology along with wall-paintings acquired different forms and meanings too. At this point it should be mentioned that the archaeological evidence yields little clarity even when written testimonies are being considered, since the latter are also hardly known. So, generally speaking, the churches today appear as ‘illegible’ testimonies which are void of any historical meanings. I suppose, plain and humble structures fall out of mainstream scholarly interest, and, thus, are accepted as being ‘somewhat different’ from what one might even be able to define today.

Therefore, certain scholarly loss in the face of church architecture does not come as a surprise. Studies enclosed the buildings into purely formal terms, thus, the knowledge of the testimonies never went beyond the most general considerations about their simple forms and construction. Indeed, most of byzantine churches with two aisles still remain at early stage of examination. A solid outcome of the published first-hand field reports provided only general descriptions and photographical documentation of the monuments. In the best-case scenario the church plan was included. Only recent studies started showing interest in shaping relatively more detailed ‘profile’ of these ambiguous spaces. Thus, beginning with rather approximate plans made by Gerola<sup>37</sup>, occasionally more précised plans of some churches with two naves appeared.<sup>38</sup> The designs included possible traces of two original altars, niches of bema or steps of iconostasis. In addition, a number of scholars noticed archaeological evidence of inner arrangement, such as double altars. Gratziou in her interpretation has laid a great emphasis on this matter, while acknowledging the presence of two altars in two-aisled churches on Crete. Recent contributions on Gothic features in sculptural decoration of Cretan churches must be mention as a step ahead in the field as well.<sup>39</sup>

In those few cases when scholars did search for more critical perspectives, they always followed the functional approach. Hence, studies chose to solve the issue simply by ‘generalizing’ it. The first to take this lead was Gerola in his study dedicated to medieval Cretan churches.<sup>40</sup> He simplified the perception of two-aisled plan by explaining the structure as a way of ensuring sufficient space for the Greek-Orthodox liturgy. At the time of the first publications in regard to binary churches built on the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and Aegina, many Greek scholars shared similar position.

---

<sup>37</sup> GEROLA 1908.

<sup>38</sup> On recent studies including detailed church planning see: DELLAS 2000; SITHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI 2016; MAILIS 2018.

<sup>39</sup> GRATZIOU 2010.

<sup>40</sup> GEROLA 1908.

Soon the topic was pursued by many researches occupied with Cretan religious architecture. Thus, the two-aisled churches kept on being defined as buildings which were designed for the Greek needs. Occasionally, these were précised as necessity to dedicate the churches to two titular saints, hence each apse with the altar being consecrated for individual saint patron.<sup>41</sup>

However, about the same time as Gerola introduced his study, another perspective emerged. In his work on medieval religious architecture Enlart happened to make a short two-line note about ‘double churches’ in the East serving the needs of two different rites.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that the explanation appeared almost unconsciously. Still, soon afterward it was adopted and explicated by Piacentini, who associated byzantine two-aisled churches with the functional needs of the two, Latin and Greek, religious communities.<sup>43</sup> Although it seems that the paper was unknown for Greek scholars, Piacentini significantly anticipated indoctrinating the architecture. He became the first to formulate the supposition of a double aisled church as bi-confessional Latin-Greek space that existed in the Eastern Mediterranean. Later Orlandos, Vasiliadis, Moutsopoulos proposed similar thesis in regard to the binary churches of the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and Aegina.<sup>44</sup>

At its early stage the supposition was ground on two arguments. The first one concerned with the appearance of churches during the period of Latin dominion. Meanwhile, the second one referred to the existence of two altars interpreted in relation to secondary written sources. These reported some churches equipped with two altars, one for the Greek and one for the Latin rite.<sup>45</sup> However, such testimonies have never been directly connected with two-aisled religious buildings.

The deduction seemed to not have been put any further for a certain period of time. Actually, a decisive shift towards articulating the thesis has been made by Gratziou only recently. The scholar was the first to bring this particular usage and Cretan churches together. In this sense, from then on the concept of bi-confessional function was associated with prevailed and remained Cretan monuments, no longer only with sporadically known double aisled churches of the Peloponnese and the Cyclades.

While grounding the hypothesis, Gratziou précised the conditions of cultural and religious environment in which the churches were built. She argued that the emergence of

---

<sup>41</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2014.

<sup>42</sup> ENLART 1902, p. 221.

<sup>43</sup> PIACENTINI 1941.

<sup>44</sup> ORLANDOS 1961; VASILIADIS 1962b; MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

<sup>45</sup> SAROU 1949.

religious plan with two naves should be explained in relation to the Union of the Church. According to the scholar, the first two-aisled churches were found in the union-friendly milieu. Later, after the Council of Ferrara and Florence, the emphasis on implementing the Union on Crete must have prompted the diffusion of double churches ('pseudo double churches'). Basically, Gratziou's interpretation has been grounded on careful examination of archaeological evidence. The scholar saw the origins of the function of two-aisled churches within the spaces of three-aisled basilicas. According to her, these were symbolically charged buildings destined to promulgate new religious identity.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the 'Latin structure' of rural three-aisled churches equipped with several altars supposed to create a new type of internal spaces which were dedicated to the then important practice of preaching and, more significantly, the shared religious practices of Greeks and Latins. Non-dogmatic exterior architecture of the basilicas would only meet these particular usages destined for both religious communities. Respectively, the latter practice would have been transferred also to two-aisled churches and afterwards to pseudo double churches, whose inner space would resemble to that of three-aisled basilicas, thus, just proving functional proximity. Yet, among all advantages of scholarly deduction, the strongest argument was the retraced case of more recent pseudo double church of San Salvatore in Ierapetra, whose bi-confessional usage in the seventeenth century was testified by a letter of Francesco Morosini.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the thesis for the first time relied on the precise and direct, even considerably later written source.

In an attempt at confronting this two-sided discussion, I have to admit that at the first glance it is more convenient and even easier to accept the first position. In fact, the idea of a Greek-Orthodox church with two *naos* perfectly corresponds to architectural 'logic' of byzantine religious architecture of the time. If speaking in the words of Mathews, the phenomenon of 'miniaturization' of church design was by all means universal in Byzantium.<sup>48</sup> Through time scale of religious buildings has shrunk due to various changes of the liturgy. Consequently, many collateral spaces appeared within the church planning. The latter performed eventual various functions, for instance, they served for celebration of the Eucharist, for funeral or baptismal services, or even for the 'private' liturgy.<sup>49</sup> However, these options remain only as the most suggestive ones in the case of

---

<sup>46</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 224-227.

<sup>47</sup> The letter in question was studied by Aspasia Papadaki: PAPANAKI 2009. Also see STOURATI 2000.

<sup>48</sup> MATHEWS 1982, p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> MATHEWS 1982; ČURČIĆ 1977, pp. 94-110; TETERIATNIKOV 1996, pp. 70-78.

the byzantine churches with two naves, since no testimony supports or denies either of these functions.

At this point, it must be admitted that the thesis of the bipartite church as bi-confessional space seems to have its own advantages as long as it becomes more articulated. The deduction, elaborated by Gratziou, bases the precise grounds for at least considering the possibility of a byzantine church with two *naos* serving as common liturgical space. I mean, put in this way archaeological evidence does make the existence of such church model possible.

However, certain points of the scholar's deduction do pose questions. While the idea has never been accepted one-sidedly and the reviews went from positive to the most negative ones, the basic gap was exposed by the lack of primary testimonies. As shown before, extensive archaeological evidence aside, there is only one and very late written source which testifies to this particular usage. From a methodological point of view, the testimony seems anything but sufficient for grounding the thesis, indeed, especially if taking to account a great number of churches. However, contrariwise, as the main shortcoming of the interpretation I would see not the scarcity of the evidence but the tendency to over-use that evidence in order to construct an umbrella-theory and put every single object under it. I suppose, the case of the church of Ierapetra, indeed, may witness the bi-confessional usage of the pseudo double church as its eventual possible function. Still, apparently the latter was rather exceptional than typical. Considering general religious environment of Venetian Crete, it must be admitted that brief notices do reflect the religious reality, but most likely they capture exceptional rather than dominant practices. And the letter of Morosini is a case in point. With this writing he intends to report the complaint of both Greeks and Latins who have not agreed with the construction of the church dedicated for common usage.

To conclude, I argue that, while in either way establishing generalized paradigms, scholars overlook the possibility of the plurality of patterns. The diversity of testimonies, indeed, would suggest that the appearance and the development of this church type in the East involved rather complex process which could not be adequately defined in common terms. As it was already noticed, existence of micro-factors, which shaped the development of bipartite monuments, has already been acknowledged in medieval studies.

At this point, the tightly-knit case-based study of individual monuments might be regarded as fertile undertaking. Careful exploration on the micro level could be the task in order to re-appraise the churches as individual historical documents, which eventually

would help assessing broader paradigms. Here the ‘duet’ of the very early two-aisled churches on Crete may serve as the beginning. Namely, Panagia of Kastri Mylopotamou and Panagia of Meronas Amariou might be set together as relevant ones, since their foundations are thought to have been connected with the patronage of the Kallergis family.<sup>50</sup> Thereby, the monuments imply a tangible context, within which the churches may be pinned down and start to be closely examined.

---

<sup>50</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, p. 132-144; ANDRIANAKIS 2014, p. 52.



## CHAPTER II

### SHAPING CHURCHES: ARCHITECTURE

#### Space and Morphology

In a research with barely known written sources, one could start the study by looking closely into material evidence, which in this case becomes careful exploration of church architecture itself. From constructional and structural point of view, the architecture of early two-aisled churches of Crete encourages examination. Panagia of Kastri Mylopotamou probably has preserved its original structure the best (Fig. 11). The building features a rectangular nave part divided in two parallel *naos*. The latter ones are separated by row of four pillars which create five irregular bays. Each of *naos* is provided with a separated *bema*. Here the southern apse has a semi-circular foundation which extends to a three-sided form in the upper register. Meanwhile, the northern one is of simpler semi-circular form. The size of *naos* is equal in length, but it is disproportionate as to width and height. Accordingly, the external parameter of the nave part is 14.52 m in length and 7.10 m in width. The internal parameter of the southern *naos* is approximately 12.92 x 3.58/3.60 metres respectively, while the northern one occupies only 12.92 x 1.90 metres.<sup>51</sup> Alike with width, the southern *naos* is also higher, though precise measurements for this moment remain unknown. The southern *naos* is covered by a pointed barrel-vault, while the northern one – by a half pointed barrel-vault. Because of difference in height, the vault of the southern *naos* begins in upper register in respect to the height of the northern vault. The southern *naos* has gable roof, while the northern part – partially sloping one. The construction rests on the pointed barrel vaults featuring four rectangular pillars. As far as the composition of two *bemas* is concerned, these spaces are smaller in height and in width in respect to the *naos*. Both of the *bemas* are barrel-vaulted and they have their own set-back roofs.

---

<sup>51</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 132-133.

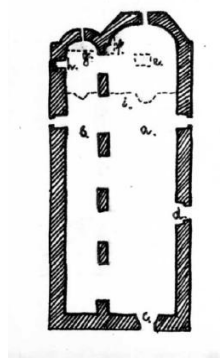


Fig. 11 Panagia, Kastri Mylopotamou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.

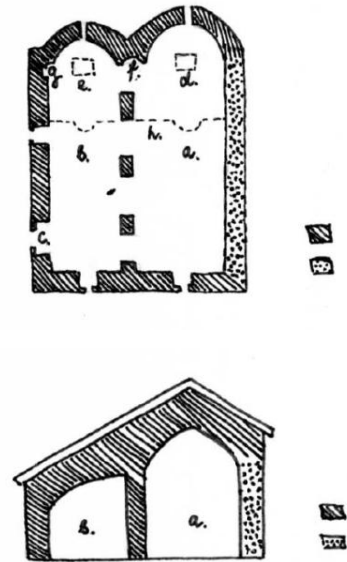


Fig. 12 Panagia, Meronas Amariou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.

The church of Panagia of Meronas Amariou submitted more evident structural changes when the third southern aisle was added in the fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup> As a result, the building did not preserve its bipartite structure and today it is a three-aisled basilica. Yet, close observation retraces its original structure. Apparently, the church space resembled that of Kastri monument (Fig. 12). It has a rectangular nave part divided in two parallel

<sup>52</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 136-137.

*naos*. The latter were separated by an arcade supported by three pillars thus forming four bays. Both of the *naos* featured two semi-circular *bemas* which in upper register assumed three-sided form. The external perimeter of two-aisled church is 9.5 x 6.75 m. Accordingly, the internal measurements of the southern *naos* is 7.25 x 3 m, while of the northern one – 7.25 x 2 m. The height of the vaults in the southern *naos* is 4.75 m and 3.25 m in the northern part. The southern *naos* is spanned by a pointed barrel-vault, meanwhile the northern one is covered by a half pointed barrel-vault. Because of difference in height, the vault of southern *naos* begins in upper register. The pointed barrel vaults rest on four rectangular pillars. As far as the composition of two *bemas* is concerned, they both are almost equal and reduced in height and in width in respect to the nave parts. The spaces are barrel-vaulted and they have their own set-back roofs.

The architectural morphology of the churches does deserve a note as well. At this point, though, it should be acknowledged that surviving testimonies are not so ‘study-friendly’ like the church structures are. As a rule, the façades of the monuments are always less resistant to modifications and restorations, thus, they usually present more stratification. This is partially the case for early two-aisled churches of Crete. Here the façades present recent interventions, which most of the time are even hard to name due to absence of exhaustive information of repairs. According to Gratziou, among noticeable changes of the church of Kastri, the addition of more recent buttress on the northern side should be mentioned.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, the upper construction featuring the campanile in the main western façade does not belong to the original constructional phase. Due to restorations the exterior of the monument today results being painted in white. Likewise, the façades of the church in Meronas do, where the most of the decorative features should be recognized as more recent ones.<sup>54</sup>

However, it must be said that the original morphology of the churches featured the feature of the humble thick walls. The latter were built of rubble interspersed with course of bricks and rough-hewn stones which were added to fill large joints. Thick masonry walls presented flat façades and few Gothic elements like pointed window and door openings. More complex original morphology could be observed in *bemas* parts of the churches (Fig. 13). The northern *bema* of the Kastri monument is decorated with double arches, which in upper register featured conches, double light pointed window and three crests in relief of the Kalergis family.<sup>55</sup> Carved cornice completes the composition. The

---

<sup>53</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp.132-133.

<sup>54</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, p. 136.

<sup>55</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2007.

apses of Panagia at Meronas in some way echo these elements. Here the pseudo arches appear, as well as the double light window does.<sup>56</sup> The crests in relief of the Kallergis are displayed on the western façade of the church, likewise on the inside of the monument.

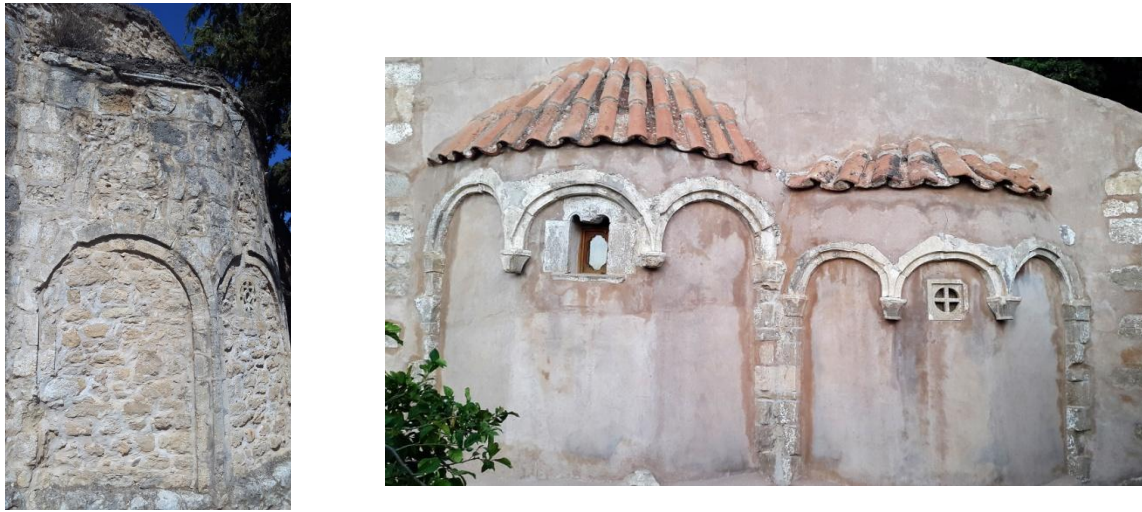


Fig. 13 Panagia, Kastri and Panagia, Meronas. After Guoda Gediminskaite

To sum up, certain logic of the church architecture reveals itself. Both buildings included simple and clear articulation of volumes which externally were defined by the facture of masonry walls with few curved elements. The most characteristic quality of the church architecture becomes their space. Here two parallel parts, each featuring an aisle and an apse, were always set according the same hierarchy (Fig. 14). As a rule, the southern aisle-apse part is bigger than the northern one, so to suppose the idea of the first one becoming the main nave of the church, while the second one extending as a collateral aisle. Such hierarchy of the two parts visually was ensured with the disproportion of the high of the aisles: the southern aisle was equally long and not significantly wider but it was always insistently higher than the northern aisle. In general terms, thus, the church architecture repeated the structure definable as *pseudo basilical* space, or more precisely, *two-aisled pseudo basilicas*, whose distinctive characteristic was the presence of a central higher nave surrounded by a collateral aisle always reduced in height. However, such spatial logic did differ in dimensions of these two-aisled churches. At this point it should be noticed that the monument in Kastri was unusually extended in length. The disproportion is even more obvious in the width of two aisles, here the northern part appearing very narrow in respect to the southern nave.

<sup>56</sup> BOURBOUDAKIS 2007.



Fig. 14 Comparison of the ground floors and the profiles of the churches at Kastri and Meronas.  
After Guoda Gediminskaite.

### Architectural Context

Upon the description of architecture, its architectural context should be taken in consideration. So far studies emphasized contextualizing constructional and decorative Gothic elements of the churches. To begin with, these more characteristic features of generally plain architecture helped scholars fix reference points while inserting monuments within proper chronological framework. The architectural elements like pointed barrel vaults or window and door openings made reference to the rural architectural practices exercised on Crete through the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, ‘deciphering’ Gothic elements helped scholars unfold more complex masonry schemes. These features were interpreted as architectural style which was retaken from urban architecture of mendicant orders then prevailed in Cretan cities.<sup>58</sup> The rich landlords, as the Kallergis were, must have promoted the spread of urban material culture to their domains. A complex process of transmission of artistic practices included

<sup>57</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2014, p. 289; GRATZIOU 2010, p. 132-133.

<sup>58</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 55-91.

the commercial availability of semi-finished building material, as well as the kind of apprenticeship of stone-carvers which underwent in urban workshops. Thus, once introduced, the solutions were soon incorporated into the architectural *repertoire* of local workshop which could employ it freely on different monuments. Empirical builders without intervention of professional architects would have migrated among sites, thereby using locally available material and human resources and contributing to technical and stylistic connections among buildings.<sup>59</sup>

To speak frankly, seeing the monuments from such perspective is already rather plausible way to approach objects, since it yields much about the history of humble masonry structures and their plain architectural façades. Yet, in this way the development of the design itself is reflected in the most suggestive way, as the architectural ‘shell’ remains aside of its sculptural and constructional elements. At this point, it would seem opportune also to aim at unfolding the schemes of typological development of monuments.

The architecture of Panagia of Kastri is the one to be looked more closely at. Apparently, it became the very first of the two-aisled churches on Crete which, moreover, testifies to the unconventional architectural proportions. Gratziou has already noticed the disproportion of the building. Because its irregularity the scholar even hypothesized that the monument was built as a three-aisled basilica first.<sup>60</sup> The hypothesis did not prove to be confirmed by any archaeological evidence, yet the link between the spatial quality of two-aisled Kastri church and that of three-aisled basilica becomes auspicious in this case.

Significantly, the construction works in Kastri coincided with the architectural practices which promoted the appearance of certain three-aisled basilicas in rural areas on Crete. According to Andrianakis, the reconstruction of Hagios Georgios of Kamariotis Mylopotamou must have been carried out around the same time the church of Kastri was built.<sup>61</sup> It is likely that then also the church of Hagia Deka Amariou was rebuilt.<sup>62</sup> Both of the aforementioned reconstructions must have been directly connected with the patronage of the Kallergis, since the monuments displayed landlords’ reliefs and they were built in their lands. Therefore, I propose, the irregular and impressive in size ‘basilical-like’ proportions of Panagia of Kastri could be easily explained by its dependency on the architectural practices which in that time involved the construction of huge three-aisled basilicas. The constructional and spatial resemblance, as well as the extreme geographical

---

<sup>59</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2013.

<sup>60</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 132-133.

<sup>61</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2014.

<sup>62</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, p. 198.

proximity of the churches of Kastri and of Kamariotis would just prove this point in its fullest sense (Fig. 15).

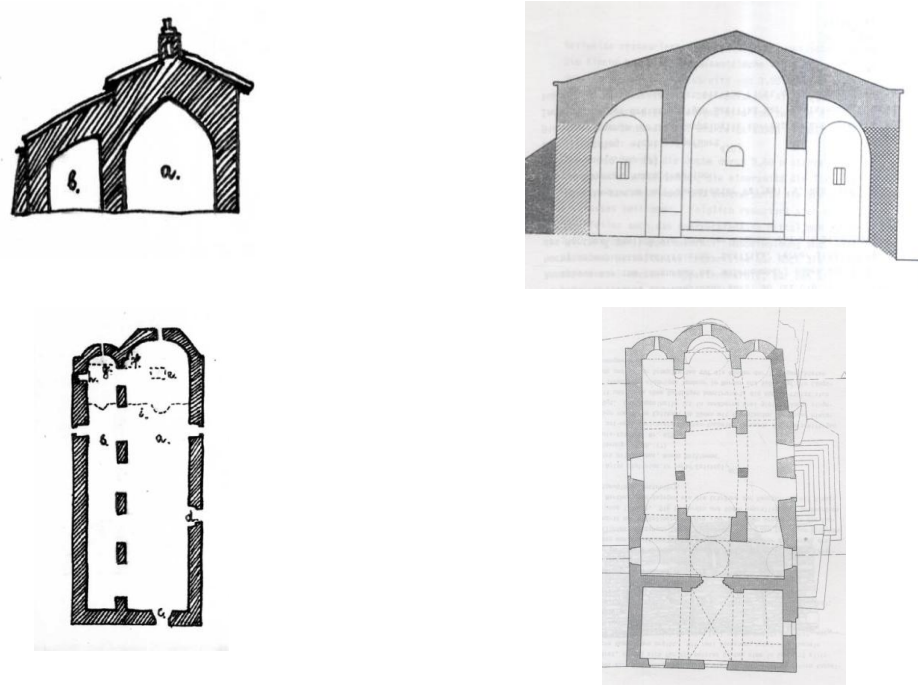


Fig. 15 Ground floors and profiles of the churches at Kastri and Kamariotis. After Guoda Gediminskaite and GALLAS 1982, p. 242, Fig. 73.

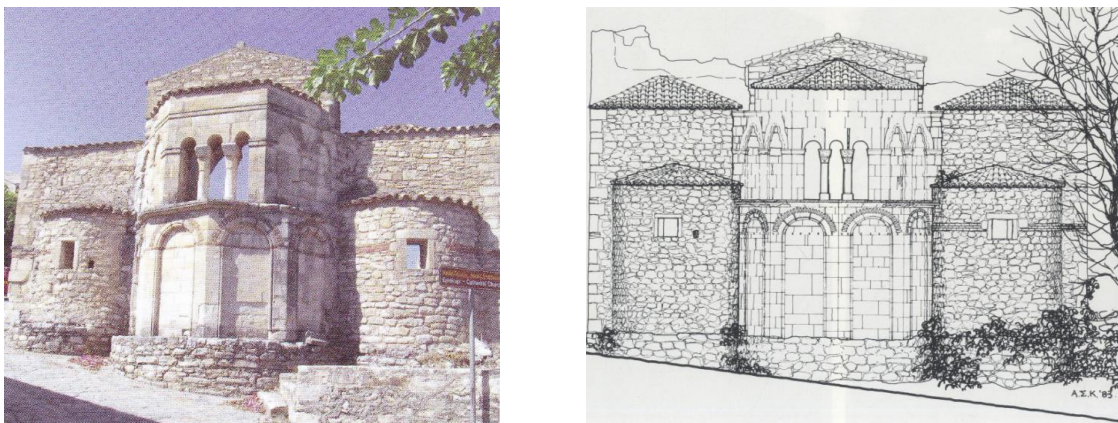


Fig. 16 Hagios Giovanni, Episkopi Mylopotamou. From: CURUNI 1987, Fig 6.

Interestingly, the same holds true for certain sculptural features of Kastri monument which testify to architectural elements of huge churches built in the area about the time. Andrianakis saw the apsidal composition of the church in Kastri in relation to similar



features of Hagios Giovanni of Episkopi Mylopotamou (Fig. 16).<sup>63</sup> According to the scholar, the latter monument must have been reconstructed in the early fourteenth century along with other church constructions of the Kallergis family in Mylopotamos.

Thus, I suggest, the architecture in Kastri aptly yields accumulated different kind of knowledge derived from the local masonry experience exercised nearby in the fiefs of the Kallergis during the first half of the fourteenth century. It would seem that spatial uniformity, as well as commonly shared constructional and sculptural patterns insisted on visual connection between the very first two-aisled church and monumental in size buildings then constructed in Mylopotamos.

In the meantime, the building of Meronas presents a sort of typological progression. Better-handled in dimension space would suggest more advanced constructional phase. Supposedly, at this stage the church of Kastri itself became the architectural prototype for Meronas monument. In a sense, once realized, the planning of two-aisled building must have been incorporated into rural architectural practices promoted by patrons and transmitted along to the following foundation. Sculptural features of Meronas church which echo the composition of Kastri monument would only support the presumption.

I must admit, such pattern of development and dissemination of model of early two-aisled churches on Crete seems believable, yet barely complete. In this 'equation' the typological prototype still remains as missing factor. It has already been noticed that most likely the idea of bipartite space was introduced in the Eastern Mediterranean by the arrival of mendicant orders. Available iconography of two-aisled churches built by the Friars in the West testifies to examples provided with various types of structures, among which also basilical spaces appeared.<sup>64</sup> Already mentioned case of the mendicant church built at Andravida in Greece reveals similar construction of two-aisled basilica.<sup>65</sup> As far as the architecture built by the Friars on Crete is concerned, unfortunately, not much of archaeological evidence has left. However, among the ground plans published by Gerola, the Franciscan monastery church of St. John the Baptist in Candia appears with two aisles. Supposedly, it must have featured the basilical space.<sup>66</sup> Other three-aisled churches built by mendicant orders on Crete would only prove the structure being incorporated exclusively into their building practices.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2007, 2014.

<sup>64</sup> SCHENLUHN 2003, pp. 135-138.

<sup>65</sup> COOPER 1996.

<sup>66</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2001, pp. 143-145.

<sup>67</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2001, pp. 143-145.

The premise of two-aisled church of mendicant orders serving as typological model for the churches of the Kallergis does convince, indeed. Gratziou has already argued that then rural three-aisled basilicas of Crete might have resulted as architectural model imported from urban architectural landscapes created by mendicants.<sup>68</sup> So, I propose, similar type of two-aisled basilica easily could have followed along it. Thus, in accord with patron's will, local masons must have borrowed the idea of bipartite space from cities, then 'filtrated' and incorporated it into rural masonry practices. In this sense, designing and laying out a new type building employed indigenous and already familiar experience so finally to create a sort of *rural two-aisled basilica*.



Fig. 17 Hagios Michail Archaggelos, Axos Mylopotamou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.

In an attempt at establishing the thesis of a rural two-aisled basilica created in the fiefs of the Kallergis, other known two-aisled monuments, first and foremost, on Crete must be mentioned. For instance, the church of Hagios Michail Archaggelos in Axos Mylopotamou by all means became the exact fourteenth-century replica of the monuments of Kastri and Meronas (Fig. 17).<sup>69</sup> It is hard to imagine the construction in Axos aside, if the typological and structural resemblance of the churches is considered. Moreover, the geographical proximity of the monuments of Kastri and Axos does speak for itself.

Likewise, other Cretan two-aisled churches, built subsequently in the first half of the fifteenth century, testify to typological continuity of the structure of early two-aisled

<sup>68</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 215-227.

<sup>69</sup> On this church see GEROLA 1908; GALLAS 1983; GRATZIOU 2010.

buildings of the Kallergis.<sup>70</sup> The first followed the model was the monastery church of Hagios Fanourios in Valsamonero<sup>71</sup>, whose architecture presents some pattern changes, though (Fig. 18). Higher aisle is the northern one, while the southern nave is reduced. Accordingly to Gratziou, two-aisled basilica of Valsamonero was followed by the foundation of monastery church of Hagios Charalompouros in Paliama nearby.<sup>72</sup> Probably two-aisled basilica in this territory was also the church of Panagia in Panagia which today is reconstructed in three-aisled basilica.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, these two churches still remain almost unstudied and hardly accessible to field research.

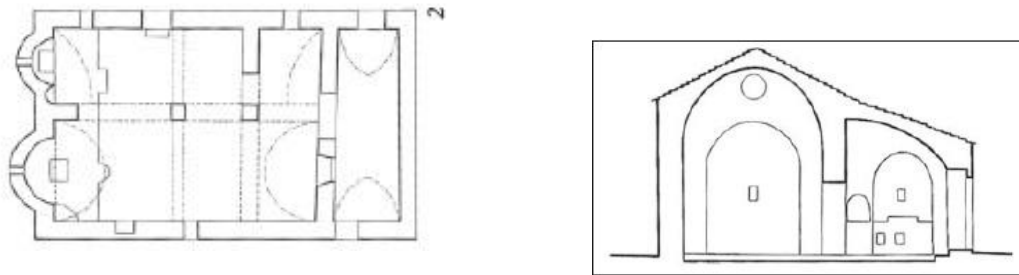


Fig. 18 Hagios Fanourios, Valsamonero, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 138, Fig. 148.

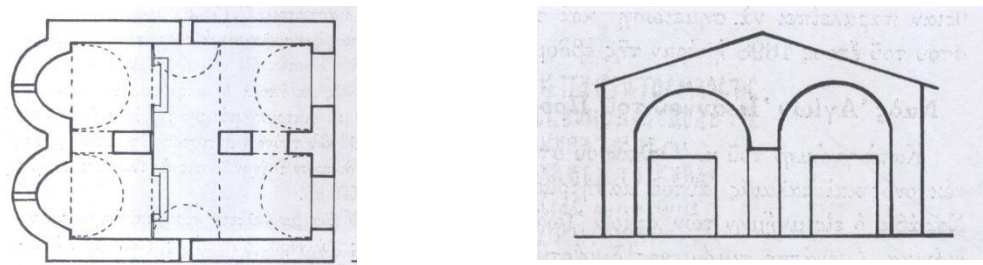


Fig. 19 Hagios Ioannis and Hagios Nikolaos, Maverinika, Peloponnesse. From: KOUGEA 1966, p. 248, Fig. 2.

Basilical space of two-aisled churches so well-observed on Crete does not find its analogue going outside of the island, though. Available byzantine non-Cretan examples follow the different structure of hall church which featured two parallel and equal in height aisles (Fig. 19). I have to admit, the conclusion is suggestive mainly due to non

<sup>70</sup> GRATZIOU 2010, pp. 137-141.

<sup>71</sup> GEROLA 1908; GALLAS 1983; GRATZIOU 2010; GRATZIOU 2011; SITHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI 2016.

<sup>72</sup> GRATZIOU 2010.

<sup>73</sup> GEROLA 1908; GRATZIOU 2010.

exhaustive possessed data about byzantine churches with two aisles. Yet, in the broadest sense of the terms it could be denoted that, while generally the paradigm of two-aisled church in the East included hall spaces, the buildings on Crete were provided with rarer basilical structure.

Thus, by all means articulated local quality of two-aisled basilicas of the Kallergis invites going beyond the discourse of masonry practices, so to start a completely new one. If until this moment in the research I focused on the architecture which helped fix basic points in typological development of the buildings, henceforth it seems the most opportune to insist on the study of the Kallergis environment, in which the churches were founded and in which they performed their functions.

## CHAPTER III

### FOUNDING CHURCHES: PATRON, TIME, SPACE

#### Historical Time and Place

The beginning of the Kallergis dominion in the fiefs of Kastri and Meronas goes back to the time of the treaty of 1299.<sup>74</sup> Then, after the period of the prolonged rebellion, Alexios Kallergis (hereafter known as Alexios I)<sup>75</sup>, the son of Georgios, the grandson of Varda, made a pact with the Venetians. The alliance assured Alexios I with numerous privileges, among which the rights to the great fiefs were included. These must have embraced the territories of Kastri and Meronas: Kastri belonged to the *tourma* of Mylopotamos, while Meronas made part of the *tourma* of Apano Sirvitiou.<sup>76</sup> Upon receiving the domains, Alexios I probably chose Kastri as his principal estate<sup>77</sup> and, supposedly, it remained lord's resident through the rest of his life until the death around 1320 and 1322.<sup>78</sup>

Later the control of Alexios's estate in Kastri must have passed on his son Andreas Kallergis.<sup>79</sup> As resident of Kastri he will be mentioned in the notarial transactions of 1329 and 1330.<sup>80</sup> In the year of 1330/1 Agnes, the daughter of Alexios I, wrote the will, here among her funds leaving donations to the church of Kastri.<sup>81</sup> From another archival record it is known that around 1333 Iacobos Cornarios, the husband of Agnes, confirmed to Kostas Vergitis, protopapas of Mylopotamos, Agnes's donation to

---

<sup>74</sup> MERTZIOS 1949.

<sup>75</sup> GERLAND 1909, p. 68-69; MERTZIOS 1949; PLP 1981, n. 10365; BORSARI 1963, pp. 55-66; VLACHAKI 1985; McKEE 1992, pp. 127-128; MALTEZOU 1995; McKEE 2000, pp. 76-77; GASPARIS 2006, pp. 25-27.

<sup>76</sup> Supposedly, the territories had been already in possession of the Venier family, when the treaty gave the fiefs to the Kallergis. At least this is testified by documents, according to which the lands of the Latin lords were promised to the Kallergis in 1299, while the Venier in turn were compensated for the villages that the state took from them McKEE 1998, pp. 541-542, n. 417.

<sup>77</sup> On Kastri as the resident of Alexios I see: VLACHAKI 1985, p. 62; GASPARIS 2006, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> The exact years of the death of Alexios I is unknown. For Vlachaki, the lord must have passed between the years of 1320 and 1321, as the notarial record of 1320 still mentions him being alive, whereas the document of 1321 refers to already deceased *archont*: VLACHAKI 1985, pp. 57-58. However, while describing his journey in Crete in 1322 at some point Symon Simeonis will refer to the lord being still alive. This would suggest postponing the year of the death of Alexios I to 1322: MALTEZOU 1995, p. 124-125.

<sup>79</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 80-81.

<sup>80</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Notai di Candia, Bellamon Andrea, busta 9, f. 217v and 274v.

<sup>81</sup> McKEE 1998, pp. 541-543.

Panagia of Kastri.<sup>82</sup> Thus, the records allow supposing the dominion of the family in Kastri at least until 1333. However, about that time the control of the lands must have fall out of lords' hands. As it will be seen below, from more recent documents it is learned how the fiefs were at the disposal of the Venier family for a certain period of time until 1341. Perhaps the loss of the residence could be explained by the fact that the line of Andreas was a short-lived one.<sup>83</sup> He had one daughter and no son, thus, there was no heir who could keep the lands at family's disposal after father's death.

In the meantime, far more persistent attitude towards preserving the fiefs of Alexios I will be showed by lord's eldest son Georgius Kallergis (hereafter Georgius II)<sup>84</sup> and his line. Apparently, Georgius II was entrusted with the lands of Meronas while Alexios I was still alive. The notarial document of 1320 reports the lord living there.<sup>85</sup> The note from 1355 also identifies Meronas as former property of Georgius II.<sup>86</sup> After lord's death, which probably occurred between 1338 and 1341<sup>87</sup>, the domain of Meronas passed on Alexios II Kallergis, the eldest son of Georgius II, the grandson of Alexios I.<sup>88</sup> Three notarial transactions of 1338 and 1339 mention Alexios II as habitant of Meronas.<sup>89</sup> For sure Alexios II still resided there in 1341, the year when he signed the purchase contract and bought the lands of Kastri from the Venier family.<sup>90</sup> Hereafter the lands of Kastri became the new estates of Alexios II. According to the marriage contract of his son Mathaios of 1347, Alexios II lived in Kastri by that time.<sup>91</sup> The same residential lord's place is confirmed by notarial note of 1348.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Laurenti de Monacis, who will write in the second half of the century, will record Kastri as the place where Alexios II together with his family lived.<sup>93</sup> I propose, the lord's choice to move from Meronas and to settle down in Kastri could be explained in relation to the revolt of Leo Kallergis of 1341-1347, during which rebels managed to take control of the territories of Apano and Kato Sirvitiou, including the lands of Meronas.<sup>94</sup> As Alexios II took the side of the Venetians, the nobleman must have look for safer haven to stay, which eventually became Kastri.

---

<sup>82</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Notai di Candia, Similiante Giovanni (1325-1333), busta 244, f. 134v.

<sup>83</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 80.

<sup>84</sup> PLP 1981, nr. 10366; McKEE 2000, p. 78.

<sup>85</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Notai di Candia, Bellamon Andrea, busta 9, f. 40r.

<sup>86</sup> Museo Correr, Venezia, PDC 676/II, f. 4.

<sup>87</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 129.

<sup>88</sup> GERLAND 1909, p. 59; PLP 5, n. 10364; McKEE 1992, p. 129; McKEE 2000, p. 78; GASPARIS 2014, pp. 427-428.

<sup>89</sup> FRANCISCUS DE CRUCE pp. 60-61, n. 54; pp. 184-185, n. 245; pp. 262-263, n. 373.

<sup>90</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 184-187.

<sup>91</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 211.

<sup>92</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Notai di Candia, Gerardo Giovanni, busta 100, f. 244v

<sup>93</sup> LAURENTI DE MONACIS, p. 169 and 191.

<sup>94</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 165.

Alexios II died sometime before 1352.<sup>95</sup> After his death the estate of Kastri must have passed on his son Iohannes Kallergis<sup>96</sup>, as in 1359 he will be identified as holder of the lands.<sup>97</sup> However, the estate remained in his hands not for a long. During the revolt of Saint Titus of 1363-1366 and the revolt of the Kallergis of 1367-1368, Kastri became one of the main strongholds of rebels.<sup>98</sup> According to some testimonies, among those who fought there were Iohannes, Georgios and Alexios Kallergis.<sup>99</sup> They most likely belonged to another family's branch of Kisamos. After this unrest time, Kastri was expropriated by the Venetians and it was gradually abandoned.<sup>100</sup>

In the meantime, the former estate of Alexios II in Meronas must have been trusted to his other sons Georgios III and Mathaios Kallergis, as the notarial note of 1355 testifies the both being holders of the land.<sup>101</sup> However, given the time of prolonged resistance in the territories (first in 1341-1347 and later in 1363-1368) the lords were not in a hurry to settle down there. It will be only later, most likely after the revolts, when Mathaios, the eldest son of Alexios II<sup>102</sup>, will choose Meronas as his estate. The exact time of this settlement is unclear, though. The document of 1359 still referred to Mylopotamos as his living place<sup>103</sup>, likewise the nobleman's testament of 1388 did.<sup>104</sup> Yet, a juridical report of 1375 testified how Mathaios owned a villain in Meronas and had an illegitimate son there, thus, relating the nobleman closely to the fief.<sup>105</sup> Later in 1415 the Florentine priest-monk Cristophoro Buondelmonti, while describing his journey to Crete, will write about a visit to Meronas and his meeting with the lord Mathaios Kallergis, who lived there and who likely was the same son of Alexios II.<sup>106</sup>

Upon this point of the research, it would be necessary to pin down the foundation and the construction of the two-aisled churches within the historical framework of the Kallergis dominion in Kastri and Meronas. The presumption that appearing of the churches was of the concern of the Greek lords could be grounded on both physical and textual sources. As far as Panagia of Kastri is concerned, beside the coat of the arms of the family displayed on the church apse, the physical context of the building becomes an

---

<sup>95</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 78.

<sup>96</sup> McKEE 1992, p. 130; McKEE 2000; GASPARIS 2006, p. 26.

<sup>97</sup> GERLAND 1899, pp. 68-69.

<sup>98</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 143; PAPAOGLOU 2006, pp. 20-21.

<sup>99</sup> PAPAOGLOU 2006.

<sup>100</sup> BUONDELMONTI 1981, p. 181 and 287-288.

<sup>101</sup> Museo Correr, Venezia, PDC 676/II, f. 4.

<sup>102</sup> GERLAND 1909, p. 73; McKEE 1992, p. 132; McKEE 2000, p. 78; GASPARIS 2014, p. 26; PATEDAKIS 2016.

<sup>103</sup> GERLAND 1899, pp. 69-70

<sup>104</sup> Museo Correr, Venezia, PDC 677/III, fol. 6.

<sup>105</sup> SANTSCHI 1976, p. 200.

<sup>106</sup> BUONDELMONTI 1981, pp. 185-189; McKEE 2000, pp. 74-75.

important testimony. I propose, the top of the hill and the ruins of the former castle around the monument could easily point to the Greek lords' residence, whose existence is abundantly testified by the aforementioned archival documents.<sup>107</sup> As it has been already showed, the architectural and sculptural characteristics of the church, likewise, the traces of the wall-paintings bring back to the early fourteenth century. Hence the physical evidence would refer to the patronage of Alexios I himself.<sup>108</sup> Even if in the most hypothetical way, the written evidence helps to approach the same position. Supposedly, it was the ruling of the nobleman between 1299 and 1320-1322 when the estate underwent its establishment and prosperity, thus meaning the most opportune time for the church foundation. The will of Agnes Kallergis of 1330/1 and later notarial note of 1333 referring to Panagia of Kastri already performing its function, would allow hypothetically suggesting *terminus ante quem*. Meanwhile, after the death of Alexios I, the residence was abandoned and only later, upon the lifetime of Alexios II and later his son Iohannes, it is possible to see tangible family's presence. However, that period was marked by the unrest and prolonged fights between the Cretans and the Venetians, so it became less favourable for the church construction.

In the meantime, Panagia of Meronas has not preserved its original physical context either traces of family's residence. However, its relation to the Kallergis environment becomes evident due to the reliefs of the coat of arms and the well-preserved wall-paintings with inscriptions in the church.<sup>109</sup> Historians succeeded in reaching the agreement that most likely the realization of the decoration must have covered the period between 1367-8 and 1391.<sup>110</sup> Hence, it followed the unrest time of the revolt of the Kallergis of 1367-8, whereas the year of 1391 stands for *ante quem* as it was the date when Panagia in Roustika was painted after the model of the wall-paintings in Meronas. Unfolded period also allowed relating the patronage of the decorations with the person of Mathaios Kallergis, whose presents in Meronas about that time is testified by textual evidence.<sup>111</sup>

As far as the foundation and the construction of Meronas church is concerned, the archaeological evidence does not yield precise dating and, therefore, one must look closely to the written sources. Considering the presence of Georgius II and his son Alexios II in Meronas during the first decades of the fourteenth century, hence from 1320

---

<sup>107</sup> The same opinion was expressed by Vlachaki: VLACHAKI 1985, p. 62.

<sup>108</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2014, p. 289.

<sup>109</sup> On thorough analysis of the wall-paintings and inscriptions see the chapter IV.

<sup>110</sup> BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, p. 113.

<sup>111</sup> BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, pp. 114-115; PATEDAKIS 2016.



until 1341, there is the possibility that one of the lords could have patronized the construction of the church. Another scenario would include Mathaios Kallergis himself funding both, the construction and the decoration, of the church during the second half of the fourteenth century – hence, after 1367 and before 1391. Inspired by the set example of Kastri residence of his grand grandfather Alexios I and later of his father Alexios II, the nobleman might have realized the bipartite monument in Meronas. At this point I have to admit that this possibility seems more convincing, given direct physical and textual evidence which links the lord with the monument. The historical context would suggest so too, since the prosperity of the estate is testified during the lifetime of Mathaios, thus, implying more favourable settings for the church construction.

In either case, even if intending only supposable patrons, the dependence of the foundations on the patronage of the very closely related noblemen becomes very exciting here. Family's environment connected to the churches would be so discreet and secluded, indeed, that it is even possible to follow proper ways, in which the building model was been created and transmitted. Hence, the residence in Kastri involved the construction of the very first two-aisled church, which most likely was patronized by Alexios I. Then the same set of the residence with two-aisled church reappeared in Meronas. The latter was of concern of Alexios I heirs, most likely, of his grand grandson Mathaios, who must have been acquainted with the foundation of Kastri.

The historical background of the foundations prompts going beyond the discourse. While doing it, first, I shall explicate the portrait of the family who constructed the churches. Then, within drawn conclusions, I fix presumptions on the milieu in which the monuments were built.

## **Ideological Space**

Speaking in the broadest sense of the terms, coming of Latins to Crete put indigenous Greek noblemen in no easy position. If through period started from the eleventh century the so-called *archontes* enjoyed their absolute rule granted by the emperor himself<sup>112</sup>, then ever since the Venetians arrived their status were about to go backwards from being the ruling to becoming the ruled ones.<sup>113</sup> New settlers pursued the policy of displacing

---

<sup>112</sup> The tradition of the twelve *archontes* recounts the arrival of twelve noble Byzantine families from Constantinople who were sent to the island with the imperial sanction of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) in order to govern it and to consolidate imperial authority there. However, the credibility of the historical truth behind the tradition is the discussed problem. See GERLAND 1909; BORSARI 1963; MALTEZOU 1991 and other.

<sup>113</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 68-78.

every single local element from sharing any degree of power. The urban and rural residences of Greeks would be given to the Venetian feudal lords. There would be incentives of acquiring lands in order to prevent from *archontes* purchasing new territories. Public office and economic affairs would be the domains where indigenous noblemen would be not welcome.

At this point the Greek lords chose either to leave Crete or to fight their rights back through a series of uprisings which followed during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>114</sup> Local lords, who actually rebelled with support of peasantry and clerks, succeeded in obtaining recognition of their landholdings and securing their integration in the economic and politic system. Significantly, studies showed this resistance as stage through which the pillars for preserving the Greek identity and the religion were grounded.<sup>115</sup>

Ant still, it could be said that the then achieved position of *archontes* was two-folded. On the one side, lords managed to establish the strongholds in rural areas where their dominion prevailed and where the local Greek element flourished. Later the existence of this indigenous element within ‘Latinized’ domains would only become more apparent due to their prolonged cohabitation. On the other side, even upon the changing of politics in favor of *archontes*, factually the Greek lords had to put up with a conformist position. The reason for this laid in the fact that on the Venetian Crete one’s reliability was always defined in terms of the faith. Thus, as McKee aptly noticed, if indigenous men and women below the feudatory level relaxed their vigilance over the boundaries of their ethnic groups, then higher standard of behaviour prevailed within the feudatory group.<sup>116</sup> Insofar, in order to protect their status, lords must have adhered to the politically determined marker of the rulers, which was their Catholic faith. So, in case a Greek lord sought full incorporation into the ruling group, the adherence to the Latin rite was indispensable.<sup>117</sup>

With this in mind, the political and religious consciousness of the *archont* Alexios I Kallergis made an exception during the whole Venetian dominion on Crete. The earliest notice about the Greek lord comes from the year of 1258, when he was mentioned as

---

<sup>114</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, pp. 153-175; BORSARI 1963, pp. 27-66.

<sup>115</sup> TOMADAKIS 1973, p. 797.

<sup>116</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 100-115.

<sup>117</sup> While studying the 1348 will of Ioannes or the 1348 will of Nicolaos Plachina, McKee argued that the documents support the proposition that only Greek noblemen who followed the Latin rites could acquire a seat in feudatories’ councils. Yet, the scholar emphasized how formal the Greek feudatories’ devotion to the Latin church was. See McKEE 2000, pp. 108-112.

possessor of a certain fief.<sup>118</sup> In 1264 he appeared among a group of Cretan *archontes* concluding a treaty with Venice.<sup>119</sup> Later the lord participated in the Chortatzis revolt of 1272-1279, when he helped to Venetians, thus condemning the rebellion to the failure.<sup>120</sup> Between 1283 and 1299 the nobleman led the most powerful rebel aiming at strengthening his economical and political powers. As it was already mentioned, the events ended by Alexios I and the Venetians coming to terms on 28 August 1299. Signed by the Duke of Crete Michael Vitale himself and ratified immediately by the Republic of Venice, the alliance was a diplomatic way towards assuring the peaceful coexistence of two, local and official, powers. The Venetians were forced to accept powerful Kallergis as equal of their own, whereas the Greek nobleman was obliged to recognize the sovereignty of Venice in order to affirm his own hegemony.<sup>121</sup>

After legalizing his power, Alexios I pursued strengthening his own dominion in the remote fiefs of Mylopotamos, here Kastri becoming the main lord's estate. His ruling, supported by Greek peasantry and clerk, gradually proved to become the local stronghold powerful as official Venetian structures. For instance, the influence which was hold by the *archont* on his fellow islanders could be learned in 1303, when Alexios I dissuaded the Cretans from staging a new revolt against the Venetians.<sup>122</sup> The dualism of local and official powers could be supposed from the correspondence between Alexios I and the Duke of Crete Nicolo Sanudo in 1310.<sup>123</sup> Then the Greek lord sent the letter to the Duke in order to assure his liability to suppress any instability if there would emerge any. In the meantime, Sanudo answered claiming that there is no need of interference of the *archont*, thus emphasizing capability to govern the island on his own. However, already a year later in 1311 the same Sanudo would send a confidential letter to Kallergis informing him of suspicious activities of rebels and asking the *archont* to gather information.<sup>124</sup>

It is also interesting observe some notes in written sources. In his letter of 1306 Clemente V would write: “cum Alexio Calergi Greco, tunc in illis etiam partibus dominante”.<sup>125</sup> Later in 1310 the scribe and scholar Michael Louloudes, a refugee from Ephesos in Asia Minor, will refer to the period as the reign of the emperor Andronikos and the ruler of Crete, Alexios Kallergis: “ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας μεγάλου βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ

---

<sup>118</sup> BORSARI 1963, p. 56.

<sup>119</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 157; McKEE 2000, p. 77.

<sup>120</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 158.

<sup>121</sup> MALTEZOU 1995, p. 270-271.

<sup>122</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 162.

<sup>123</sup> BRUNETTI 1948-49, pp. 56-60.

<sup>124</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 162.

<sup>125</sup> BORSARI 1963, p. 64.

Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ τοῦ αὐθέντου τῆς Κρήτης κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Καλέρη”.<sup>126</sup> In 1322 Symon Simeonis will repeat the same idea: “in quo dominator quidam grecus nomine Alexius, qui inter omnes mundi dominos, terram singulari munitione possidet”.<sup>127</sup>

In other words, the concept of hegemony suited the person of Alexios I the best. As Ksanoudidis wrote, to great personal talent such as valour, martial astuteness, fine judgment, intelligence and eloquence Alexios I added egoism, vain gloriousness and a thirst of power.<sup>128</sup> Thus, through the second half of the thirteenth century right until the treaty of 1299 and onwards, pursuing an essential opportunist line and siding with the Venetians, the lord would manage to achieve considerable honours and privileges. On the one side, Kallergis ended up in being in the union with the Venetians, but, on the other, he interacted with them only when and where needed, thus becoming perfectly independent and absolute ruler of his estates.

Obviously, in front of Kallergis power, the balance between two faiths changed. It could be said that the religious dimension became inseparable from the hegemonic politics of Alexios I. Already at that time of making alliance with the Venetians the lord established the clear segregation of the Catholicism and the Greek-Orthodoxy. The treaty of 1299 ensured Kallergis with the control over the dioceses belonged to his fiefs with the right to host a Greek bishop there.<sup>129</sup> By acquiring control over the bishopric possession, Kallergis prevented any interference of the Latin Church. Moreover, he must have intended to create the autonomous ‘religious state’ which would be a safe haven protecting the Orthodox community from the proselytism so attempted by the Venetians. Later again his firm beliefs will be repeated from his deathbed. According to the Venetian chronicle of Antonio Trivan<sup>130</sup>, the nobleman was buried in a separate chapel of the monastery of St. Catherine on Crete, a dependency of the famous Sinai monastery.<sup>131</sup> He entrusted his descendants with lands on condition that they would retain faithful to the Greek faith. In this sense, for Alexios I the religion must have appeared as another way to profess independence, power and authority in the front of the Latin Venetians. It was not only about preserving and fostering his rite, indeed: to consolidate and to manifest the Greek faith along as equal to the Latin one became as much important.

---

<sup>126</sup> TURYN 1972, p. 108; TURYN 1973-1974; PLP 1983, nr. 15164.

<sup>127</sup> MALTEZOU 1988, p. 124-125.

<sup>128</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, p. 159.

<sup>129</sup> MALTEZOU 1988, pp. 122-125; GASPARIS 2006, pp. 18-19.

<sup>130</sup> Antonio Trivan, *Racconto di varie cose successe nel Regno di Candia*, Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, It. VII 525 (7497), f. 15v.

<sup>131</sup> On the Sinai Monastery and a bibliography see: MALTEZOU 1991, p. 22; GEORGOPOULOU 2001, p. 176.

It is necessary to await the lifetime of Mathaios, the grand grandson of Alexios I, in order to get lord's picture even a little as clear as the one of Alexios I. Actually, though being not so extended, Mathaios' portraits appears relevant, as it allows observing the evolution which went on in lords' consciousness through the fourteenth century. Generally, it could be said that Mathaios became the most 'archetypal' of the Kallergis who at the time persisted maintaining close politic contacts with the Venetians. Lord's sharp philo-Venetian attitude could be aptly supposed in relation to the fact that in the 1380' the *archont* together with his brother Georgios acquired the prominent seats on the Great Council of Venice, thus entering the prestige ruling Latin class.<sup>132</sup> Probably, more honourable right, the privilege of Venetian nobility, would be granted only to Georgios Kallergis, son of Alexios I, in 1381, thus, bestowing this instance on a Greek in unparalleled way during the whole period of the Venetian rule.<sup>133</sup> Another significant biographical circumstance is the bi-confessional Mathaios' environment. The latter became the result of the practice of the mixed Greek-Latin intermarriages exercised by the family ever since the treaty. Alexios II, the father of Mathaios, most likely married the Venetian noblewoman<sup>134</sup>, thus making Mathaios of mixed Latin-Greek origin. From the sources it is learned how later Mathaios himself would marry twice and the both times his wives were the Latin noblewomen – first, Cecilia Gradenigo, daughter of Marco Gradenigo of Venice, second, certain daughter of the Corner family.<sup>135</sup>

And yet, even under changed political and social circumstances, the picture of Mathaios drawn by Buondelmonti in 1415 would be very similar to the one of Alexios I 'met' a century ago. At some point while describing a visit to Crete, the traveller will write about Mathaios as powerful and imposing Greek lord who in his estate of Meronas was still held in such reverence by the local population that, whatever was commanded by him, they would fulfill it with body and soul.<sup>136</sup> So, even if strengthening his incorporation in political and social Venetian system, in ideological terms Mathaios clearly knew to differ himself from Latins and to identify himself as Greek *archont* ruled his family's estates.

I suppose, the Kallergis gesture of, first, adopting new church type for Kastri residence and, second, re-using that model to Meronas residential church possibly could become another one reference to the ideological continuity flourished within family's

---

<sup>132</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 78, 130.

<sup>133</sup> MALTEZOU 1991, p. 24.

<sup>134</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 78.

<sup>135</sup> McKEE 2000, p. 78.

<sup>136</sup> McKEE 2000, pp. 74-75.

environment. To explain the matter, some general schemes of patronage on the Venetian Crete must be observed. To sum, it could be said that the Venetian dominion set up particular relation between patron and rural church. Since majority of fiefs belonged to the Latin noblemen, often it was a Latin feudal lord who paid for the construction of church destined to serve for the Orthodox-Greek community.<sup>137</sup> Nobleman made the foundation out of concern for the welfare of the peasants who worked his lands. Churches also must have provided their priests with tangible benefits. Respectively, church architecture adopted simple and plain forms destined to serve essential worship needs. So, basically it was purely pragmatic relation between lord and his foundation. And, thus, only in the broadest sense of the terms church could possible concern nobleman personally, as the donation offered the spiritual rewards to the patron.

In such context, foundations made by the Kallergis family in their estates through the fourteenth century onwards yield more complex patterns of patronage.<sup>138</sup> In most cases the evidence, establishing the link between the family and the buildings, consists of the reliefs of the coat of arms displayed on monuments.<sup>139</sup> Sculptural elements did not carry any inscription or particular monograms which eventually could identify patron with precision. Yet, the act of placing the coat of arms of the family has been recognized by scholars as gesture which more likely expressed the will of the Kallergis to denote their ownership of made church foundations.<sup>140</sup> Therefore, today the reliefs can be acknowledged as relevant evidence which allows placing monuments within the influence of the family.

Thus, 'signed' by patrons churches prompted their historical studies which were concerned with material aspects and artistic processes evidenced in foundations. Respectively, physical evidence kept being brought together so eventually to establish a sort of visual patterns which were commonly shared passing from one case to another. As it was noticed, the extensive discussion on constructions and sculptural elements of buildings unfolded processes, according to which the Kallergis chose to enrich rural and plain architecture with more complex visual language derived from the urban Gothic architecture of mendicant orders.<sup>141</sup> Likewise, it was acknowledged the development of high quality wall-paintings prompted under the patronage of the family.<sup>142</sup> Here the

---

<sup>137</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2013, pp. 464-466.

<sup>138</sup> On share number of the churches which dotted the large estates of the Kallergis in Mylopotamou see: BOURBOUDAKIS 1988, 1989, 2007; GEORGOPOULOU 2013, p. 184.

<sup>139</sup> KALLERGIS 1995.

<sup>140</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2013, pp. 170-172.

<sup>141</sup> ANDRIANAKIS 2007; BOURBOUDAKIS 2007; GRATZIOU 2010; GEORGOPOULOU 2013.

<sup>142</sup> BOURBOUDAKIS 1989.

promotion of the certain decorative features most likely was predetermined by aesthetical sense and gesture of empowering foundations *symbolically*, though in *ideologically* neutral way. Hence, noblemen ensured the elements which added prestige and pride to the foundations so to display their political power and wealth.<sup>143</sup>

At this point, unfolded settings of two-aisled foundations of the Kallergis expend known patterns of patronage by all means. Here besides the fact that both of the monuments were constructed in the places the lords actually resided, the will of the patrons to create and maintain the particular church design becomes auspicious. In this sense, the fidelity to the pattern while funding the residential churches would only emphasize the tight-fit relation which must have linked the founders with the monuments not only on socio-economic grounds but on the ideological ones too. I suppose, as the beliefs of the Kallergis prevailed through generations, so along them the model of two-aisled church would be put into practice and passed on for a reason.

In this way the settings of the churches only emphasize expanding unfolded pattern and defining the foundations in other contexts. Significantly, the decoration of Panagia of Meronas allows at least tenting to do so.

---

<sup>143</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2013.

## CHAPTER IV

### EMPOWERING CHURCHES: PATRON AND MEMORY

#### **Image and Contexts**

Upon the restoration works in Panagia of Meronas, the wall-paintings were uncovered in the two aisles and sanctuaries of church (Fig 20-21).<sup>144</sup> Thus, the Deesis scene re-appeared on the semi-dome of apse in the southern aisle. From here paintings radiated to the barrel vaults of aisle, incorporating the scenes from the Life of Christ and those from the Infancy of the Virgin. The western wall of aisle bore the theme of the Tree of Jesse. It, today being mainly damaged, once presented a tree which rose from Jesse and incorporated the figures of ancestors of Christ, prophets, the Old Testament events. In the meantime, the semi-dome of apse in the northern aisle was covered by the Virgin with the Child, iconographically known as the Platytera. Upper parts of walls and barrel vaults were dominated by the 24 stanzas of the Akathistos Hymn praising the Virgin. The cycle was complemented by supplementary scenes: row of military saints on upper parts of barrel vaults, scenes of martyrdom of St. Georges mainly on upper part of the southern wall, the Koimesis one the western wall. The main theme of the iconographic program, thus, was that on the Incarnation of Christ through Mary and the salvation of humankind.<sup>145</sup> From a point of view of thematic contents, the greatest importance was attached to the painting of the Tree of Jesse with biblical prefigurations and to the Akathistos Hymn, as it will be explained later.

---

<sup>144</sup> On the restoration of the wall-paintings of Panagia see: TROULLINOS 2014.

<sup>145</sup> On more exhaustive description of the wall-paintings see: SPATHARAKIS-ESSENBERG 2012, pp. 119-175.





Fig. 20 General views of the wall-paintings in the southern and in the northern aisle, Meronas, Panagia, After Guoda Gediminskaite



Although preserved only in part, the uncovered decoration of Panagia proved to be studied thoroughly by art historians ever since its restoration.<sup>146</sup> Scholars not waited too long to affirm the prevalence of the Palaiologean style and iconography of paintings. Particular attention was brought to the high quality, as well as to the rare and uncommon iconographic contents of scenes. It was acknowledged that the latter ones circulated in the artistic trends of Constantinople and other provincial centres at the time. Eventually, this led scholars to propose that the iconography in Meronas would point to a work of pioneering artist who knew the art of major artistic centres.<sup>147</sup>

As for this chapter, thorough iconographic examination does not enter its framework. All the more so, space limitations would prevent such analysis. At this point my intention is to discuss the basic themes of the iconographic program in an attempt at identifying eventual ideological convictions of the patron, as well as possible function of the church. In a view of such task, a hint is given by the Mariological themes and their dependency on the then current artistic practices of Constantinople – the fact, which has been aptly noticed in scholarship. For Bourboudaki, several less common scenes from the cycle of the Infancy of the Virgin clearly referred to the iconographical tradition of the decoration of the Chora Monastery of Constantinople.<sup>148</sup> In the same both monuments Spatharakis noticed the resemblance between biblical prefigurations of the Virgin.<sup>149</sup> While studying the cycle of the Akathistos Hymn, the historian claimed that the illustrations of Meronas must have followed the pictorial tradition developed and circulated in the capital.<sup>150</sup> Although somehow kept being underestimated by the scholars, the aforementioned inspirations from the artistic practices of Constantinople and especially that of the Chora Monastery become of special interests, as it points to the discourse of Mariolatry and its iconographic trends in Byzantium during its last centuries.

Speaking generally, the argument embraces a vast field of study and any analysis could cast its net really wide. The Byzantine world witnessed a steady increase of the Marian cult ever since the time of the Council of Ephesus of 431, in the course of which the Virgin was accorded with the title of Theotokos. In consequence, through following centuries Mariolatry would disseminate so to finally reach its culmination in the last

---

<sup>146</sup> BOURBOUDAKIS 1989; SPATHARAKIS-ESSENBERG 2012, pp. 119-175; BOURBOUDAKI 2013-14; BOURBOUDAKIS 2015.

<sup>147</sup> BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, p. 114.

<sup>148</sup> BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, p. 114.

<sup>149</sup> SPATHARAKIS 2012, pp. 163-164.

<sup>150</sup> SPATHARAKIS 2005, pp. 162-163.

centuries of the empire.<sup>151</sup> As Akyürek explained, the then cult of Mary was adopted to meet the collective and personal needs of people through their life and afterlife.<sup>152</sup> On the one side, the Virgin was a supreme defender and the guarantee for the survival. On the other, Mary was an intercessor between God and man, as it was believed that she could influence Christ because of her maternal authority over the son.<sup>153</sup>

In such context it does not come as any surprise that the fourteenth century saw a very rich scriptural and pictorial production related to the theme of the Virgin. The vast Marian literature followed<sup>154</sup>, so as the abundant Mariological iconography developed and disseminated from Constantinople beyond. Together with enlarged iconographic programs of already existed cycle of the Infancy of the Virgin from the Protevangelium of James, other new themes were inspired by ecclesiastical literature, homilies and hymns composed in honor of the Virgin.<sup>155</sup> In the broadest sense of the terms, it could be said that the proliferation of the Marian cult implied the formulation of liturgical and dogmatic arguments in visual vocabulary. Since many scenes were inspired by ecclesiastical texts sung during the feasts of the Virgin, they would become the iconographic counterparts for these celebrations. Here often representations would have one common point, which was the implicit reference to the Ephesian dogma of the Theotokos of the Incarnated Christ. Hence, the scenes meant to refer to the role of the Virgin as an earthly or material instrument of the Incarnation and thus to talk about human salvation.

To give examples of mainstream iconographic themes developed then, first and foremost, the Tree of Jesse must be recalled.<sup>156</sup> Its early iconography could be found already in the eleventh century, still in its complexity the theme would be elaborated only through the course of the thirteenth century. Then the representation was defined by several different sources. It was originally inspired by Isaias combined with Matthew's genealogy and also with *typoi*, better known as prefigurations. The latter were passages found in exegetical literature, hymnography, biblical catenae and developed as tools that

---

<sup>151</sup> For instance, it could be remembered how Michael VIII entered Constantinople in 1261 with the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria leading the triumphal procession. Later the icon of the Virgin Blachernitissa would be venerated as protector of the city by the same Michael VIII and by other emperors. The figure of the Virgin appeared on his coins as well as on the ones of his son Andronikos II. In 1297 this emperor promulgated the decree, whereby the feast of the *Koimesis* was to be celebrated throughout the month of August in the principal churches of Constantinople.

<sup>152</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, pp. 3-4.

<sup>153</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, pp. 3-4.

<sup>154</sup> The Marian literature of Nicephorus Callistus, Gregory Palamas, Theophanes of Nicea, Nicolas Cabasilas, Isidore Galbas appeared. See AKYÜREK 2002, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> On the Marian iconography and its development see: LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1975.

<sup>156</sup> TAYLOR 1980-1981.

established Old Testament prototypes for the events of the New Testament.<sup>157</sup> Those homiletic texts favourable for oral delivery during Christological and Mariological feasts became inspirations for pictorial typological scenes, like the ones in the iconography of the Tree of Jesse. Basing on the aforementioned sources, the archetype of the Tree of Jesse would represent a tree rising from Jesse and growing up, within its branches including a rich array of figures and scenes, as ancestors of Christ, prophets, prophetic scenes. The composition, thus, became a complex visual formulation of the doctrine of the Incarnation. It meant to embody the concept of the human nature of Christ and the origin of its nature from the Virgin Mary.<sup>158</sup>

However, loose iconographic schemes implied various alterations of theme occurred through the time. Particularly, this holds true for the pictorial tradition of the Tree of Jesse disseminated in the East. There the subject underwent proper iconographical redefinitions, first and foremost, in relation to Mariolatry and formulation of new pictorial programs.<sup>159</sup> It could be said, that the theme saw the proliferation of the Marian typology which then was about to prevail in Byzantine pictorial counterparts. In a sense, by sacrificing prophetic scenes for the subject of the Virgin, adopted Old Testaments events drew attention to Mary and her role in the Incarnation. Often these scenes would be linked with biblical passages recited during the liturgical celebrations in honor of Theotokos. Thus, the Eastern Tree of Jesse became valued as a prophetic type of Mary and of her major role in the story of the Incarnation.<sup>160</sup> Not random the theme was placed in the narthexes of churches where commemorative services for the dead were held. In these contexts the representation celebrated the Virgin as a primary intercessor and her capacity to reconcile God and man.<sup>161</sup>

Interestingly, similar may hold true for another Marian iconography created then, the cycle of the Akathistos Hymn.<sup>162</sup> The Akathistos was originally late fourth or early fifth century *kontakion* composed of a *prooimion* to the Virgin and of twenty four *oikoi* which include alternatively long and short stanzas or strophes. The hymn was mainly divided into two, historical and theological, parts. The first 12 stanzas contained the story of the Incarnation, while the second part praised the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus, practically the hymn meant to proclaim the dogma of the Theotokos and her role in the

---

<sup>157</sup> LINARDOU 2011, pp. 133-134; NERSESSIAN 1975.

<sup>158</sup> TAYLOR 1980-1981, p. 143.

<sup>159</sup> TAYLOR 1980-1981, pp. 165-174; NERSESSIAN 1975, pp. 311-318.

<sup>160</sup> TAYLOR 1980-1981, p. 165.

<sup>161</sup> TAYLOR 1980-1981, p. 167.

<sup>162</sup> On the Akathistos Hymn see: PELTOMAA 2001, 2015. On the cycles of the Akathistos Hymn see: KONSTANTINIDES 1992, pp. 134-177; SPATHARAKIS 2005.

Incarnation of God. At the same time it was a liturgical prayer to Mary who had as purpose the redemption of mankind.<sup>163</sup>

As for the liturgy of the Akathistos, for quite some time most of scholars agreed that it was composed for the feast of the Annunciation. Yet recently Peltomaa argued that it was dedicated for the celebration of the Nativity.<sup>164</sup> Ever since the siege of Constantinople by Avars and Slavs in 626 the Akathistos was adopted as a special hymn of thanksgiving to the Virgin which later proved to become an annual celebration.<sup>165</sup> By the tenth century the feast of the Akathistos has been established. Subsequently, sources of the twelfth century give information about how the Akathistos celebration was incorporated within the framework of venerable services in honor of the Virgin which mixed with a memorial service for the dead.<sup>166</sup> On Friday nights in holy monasteries a special commemoration of the dead, including visits to the tombs, was held. This service was blended with the Friday evening office sung in honor of the Virgin, at which Akathistos Hymn was sung.<sup>167</sup> The intensification of the liturgy also would be testified during the fifteenth century, when the hymn would be celebrated by monks in the holy monasteries every Friday night.<sup>168</sup>

The reasons which lead to visual formulation of the Akathistos in the late thirteenth century and its dissemination onwards remain hardly clear in modern scholarship. In some cases it was proposed that the spiritual revival of the so-called “Hesychasm” or “Palamism”<sup>169</sup> could have prompted the appearance of iconography, still

---

<sup>163</sup> PELTOMAA 2015, p. 133.

<sup>164</sup> PELTOMAA 2015, p. 134.

<sup>165</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, p. 11.

<sup>166</sup> ŠEVČENKO 1991, p. 51-53.

<sup>167</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, p. 10

<sup>168</sup> ŠEVČENKO 1991, p. 56.

<sup>169</sup> In the broadest sense of the terms, Hesychasm, as a tradition, went back to the origins of Christian monasticism. It was a specifically form of spirituality which taught that God reveals himself to man in an immediate communion when man refers to him constantly in pure ‘monological’ prayer, ‘the prayer of the heart’, consisting in the permanent presence of the name of God in the heart of man. Its revival in the late-Byzantine period was seen in accord to Gregory of Sinai who restored the method of ‘pure prayer’ among monks. On doctrinal level, the Hesychasts brought about the monastic rigorisms by reaffirming the traditional Byzantine conviction that God could be known directly. They showed hostility toward everything that appeared new, hence, the most often deriving from the Roman Church. Through the period of the Paleologhi first the Hesychast monks provoked violent opposition and acute distress toward forcibly imposed Union of the Church in 1274. Again the Hesychasts prevailed during the controversy between Barlaam and Palamas, which became encounter between the new spirit of humanism, on the one side, and the orthodox Christian doctrine, on the other. On Hesychasm see MEYENDORFF 1975, DUNAEV 2004.

it is still very little known on the matter.<sup>170</sup> In other cases scholars tended to approach the history of the cycle in relation to intensified liturgy of the hymn mentioned below.<sup>171</sup>

With this in mind, the decoration of the parecclesion of the Chora Monastery becomes the case to consider: the Marian iconography here allows expending made affirmations and, moreover, as it was mentioned earlier, it testifies to iconographical proximity to the paintings in Meronas.<sup>172</sup> To sum up, the Chora Monastery was reconstructed and decorated between 1315 and 1321 by *ktetor* Theodore Metochites. Then two church narthexes were covered with the Christological and Mariological cycles, whereas about the same time the parecclesion, built as Metochites' own burial place, was painted over with scenes in frescoes. Among the latter in the western bay the Marian program appeared.<sup>173</sup> According to Akyürek, the burial space of Metochites would be covered with scenes directly relating them to the commemorative rites, first and foremost, to the Akathistos Hymn. The iconography in the parecclesion would prove such practice.<sup>174</sup> Here on the western bay the cupola of the dome bore the portrait of the Virgin with the Child. Walls were covered by the Old Testament scenes prefigured the Virgin, namely, the Dedication of Solomon's Temple with four episodes, Isaiaha's prophecy and the Archangel's smiting the Assyrians before Jerusalem, Aaron and his sons before altar and Jacob's Ladder. Four pendentives of dome embraced four hymnographers, whereas the lower parts of the bay had row of saint martyrs.

Akyürek unfolded close communication between some scenes of the Old Testament prefigured the Virgin and the proper stanzas of the Akathistos Hymn. Accordingly, the contents of prefigurations could be matched with the passages lauded in the Akathistos. Also, the scroll of hymnographer Joseph the Poet, depicted near biblical prefigurations, would make reference, as it bears an inscription from his Ode 4 for the Akathistos Hymn. The rest of iconography in the parecclesion accompanied to the idea. The Virgin with the Child on the dome would introduce the theme of the Incarnated Christ through Theotokos and salvation of humankind, whereas saint martyrs below would make guardians for the deceased patron.

In other words, observed cases of Marian iconography would point to their implicit meanings which, first and foremost, were implemented within the framework of

---

<sup>170</sup> On the matter see: KONSTANTINIDES 1992. Interestingly, in other context Meyendorf placed a stress on the adherence of the iconography of the Chora to the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and related this liturgy with the environment of Hesychasm. MEYENDORFF 1975, pp. 102-103.

<sup>171</sup> ŠEVČENKO 1991, p. 56.

<sup>172</sup> On the decoration of the Chora Monastery see extensive studies: UNDERWOOD 1967-1975.

<sup>173</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, pp. 10-14.

<sup>174</sup> AKYÜREK 2002, pp. 12-14.

private commemoration practices related to the cult of the Virgin. I will allow myself anticipating that precisely this point of view becomes relevant while reassessing the decoration of Panagia in Meronas.

### **Image, Word, Contents**

Generally, it is not difficult to find the ways through which religious ideas could have flow from Constantinople to Meronas. The period, during which between the years of 1367/8 and 1391 the wall-paintings in Panagia appeared, was marked by efforts to cultivate relations between Crete and the capital.<sup>175</sup> The ecumenical patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos despatched the Metropolitan of Athens Anthimos the Confessor to the island c. 1366. Here his anti-Venetian activities lasted four years before Anthimos died imprisoned in 1370-71.<sup>176</sup> Later around 1380 Patriarch Neilos sent the well-known Constantinopolitan scholar and preacher Joseph Bryennios. Here he remained for twenty years during which with the preaching, writings and teachings Bryennios injected new life into Orthodoxy.<sup>177</sup>

I propose, in a view of such relations with Constantinople, the contents of paintings in Meronas refers to renewed contacts. The separate themes, as the iconographic program of the decoration in general, testify to its adherence to the Marian cult and liturgy disseminated then from the capital. The Tree of Jesse with prefigurations of the Virgin, as well as the cycle of the Akathistos Hymn aptly point to the iconographic solution related to Mariolatry, indeed. At this point the question would be if the Marian iconography in Meronas could have acquired particular meanings and functions evidenced in the aforementioned cases.

What becomes rather striking is that in Panagia the iconography of the northern aisle, where the Akathistos prevailed, was thematically very close to the aforementioned Marian program of the Metochites' burial chapel of the Chora Monastery. The scenes, which in parecclesion radiated from the cupola down, in Panagia would be organized in horizontal order adapting program to aisled space of nave. They started from the half-dome of apse with the Virgin with the Child. Then the Akathistos occupied the barrel vaults, here at some points being interrupted by martyrs, the Deesis, the martyrdom of St. George and the Koimesis. Thus, the Virgin with the Child introduced the theme of the

---

<sup>175</sup> DETORAKIS 1994, pp. 176-183; BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, pp. 113-114.

<sup>176</sup> On Anthimos see: DETORAKIS 1994, p. 179; *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 2, Athina 1963, p. 771.

<sup>177</sup> More on Bryennios and a bibliography see: BAZINI 2004.



Incarnated Child through Theotokos and thus exalted their redemptive mission for one's salvation. Practically the same idea would be repeated by the Akathistos and other scenes like the Deesis. In the meantime, the saint martyrs would guard the dead, whereas the Koimesis and Martyrdom scenes would refer to the death. Thus, as the decoration in the Chora parecclesion, so the iconography in Panagia would point to the function of space as an eventual funeral chapel and the Akathistos as a hymn celebrated for the commemoration of the patron.

However, no matter how exciting the thesis would sound, I would not be in a hurry to speculate with it too much. First, contrariwise to the parecclesion of the Chora, in Panagia there is no clear evidence of tombs which would support the funeral function of church. Second, if lauding of the Akathistos through the commemoration liturgy in the monastic environment of the Chora is testified by testimonies, it is not the case for the residential church of the Kallergis in Meronas.

Maybe within the framework of commemoration, along with the wall-paintings, the epigraphy in Panagia could serve as evidence shedding more light on the matter. Recently scholars indicated the presence of two inscriptions in the main southern nave in Panagia of Meronas. The first epigraphy took place on the upper western part of the southern wall. Following the reconstruction works of the fifteenth century, the wall was damaged and only part of the inscription did survive. However, scholars agreed that it was the dedicatory epigraphy of the patron of the wall-paintings Mathaios Kallergis.<sup>178</sup> The second inscription was displayed on the pillar separated the main nave from the collateral northern one (Fig. 22). Luckily the testimony preserved much better and today it helps to develop observations.

The inscription interferes with scenes of the lower part of the northern wall which displays four Evangelists. Here the epigraphy takes the place between the figures of St. Matthews upon the left and St. Marcus upon the right. Next to the figure of St. Matthews the coat of arms of the Kallergis is depicted. Its graphical space consists of the middle part of the southern side of the north-west pillar separating the main nave from the collateral aisle. The graphical space faces the main aisle and it is positioned approximately at the eye level of a viewer. The space of writing covers most of middle part of pillar, without displaying any frames to the inscription. Here the text is inscribed straight on the painted surface. It is composed in five regular lines of neat, uniform, unconnected letters. The letters maintain their graphic integrity and are easily legible. The

---

<sup>178</sup> BOURBOUDAKI 2013-2014, p. 117, PATEDAKIS 2016, p. 336.

*modulus* of the first line is reduced in relation to the rest of the inscription which displays the letters of equal height. The first line of the epigraphy is deliberately separated from the other ones by leaving the larger space in between.

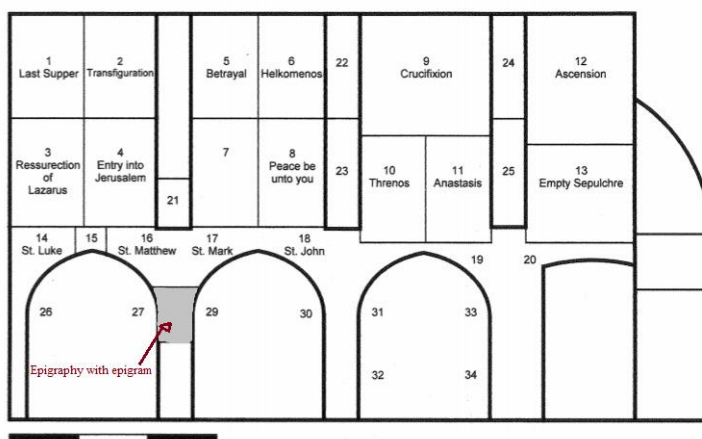


Fig. 22 Epigraphy with epigram on the North wall of the main nave of Panagia of Meronas. Images by Guoda Gediminskaite; scheme from SPATHARAKIS-ESSENBERN 2012, p. 122.

Patedakis in his study succeeded in identifying the testimony with the epigram written by the Byzantine poet of the XII century, Theodoros Prodromos.<sup>179</sup> Poetic inscription of an iambic trimeter consists of a heading and four verses. The heading of the epigram *Eiς τὸ “Βίβλος γενέσεως”* indicates its subject matter which echoes the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew: 1.1). It tells of the genealogy of Jesus, giving the emphasis on his

<sup>179</sup> PATEDAKIS 2016.

origin from the ancestor Abraham and David.<sup>180</sup> The text of the epigram, given by Patedakis,<sup>181</sup> is as follows:

Εἰς τὸ “Βίβλος γενέσεως”  
Ὅρᾳς τελώνην καὶ βλέπεις οἷα γράφει;  
Ἄβραάμ υἱὸν τὸν Λόγον δείκνυσί σοι  
καὶ παῖδα Δαβὶδ τὸν Θεὸν Δαβὶδ λέγει  
ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σαρκικῇ παρουσίᾳ

As Patedakis suggests, the meaning of poetic verses interplays with monumental cycle.<sup>182</sup> Accordingly, here the epigram with the citation from the Gospel of Matthews, which was inscribed next to the figure of the Evangelist Matthews and the coat of arms of the Kallergis, alludes to the person of the patron Mathaios himself. In this way, by emphasizing the story of the genealogy of Jesus from Abraham and David, the verses would really mean to manifest the ancient and glorified story of the patron descended from the noble Greek *archontes*. Other close scenes in the nave, like the Tree of Jesse depicting ancestors of Christ, would only accompany that accord. In the meantime, the figure of the Evangelist Marcus on the right of the epigraphy would make reference to the saint of Venetians, thus, underlining Greek lord's omnipotence over the both, Cretan Greeks and Venetian Latins.

To sum, the poetic verses became incorporated in the iconographical program, so to punctuate the painted cycle and to grant to it the hegemonic connotations linked with the patron. As much as these verbal messages and visual strategies would excite one's imagination, I must admit that the interpretation does not stop here. I mean, one thing is to unfold the meanings of the epigraphy in terms of the present-day and academic concerns, by unravelling its textual dimensions or iconographical schemes. Completely another is to try to recreate the messages in a way in which the inscriptions were seen, read, heard and understood by those who visited the church and who often were unable even to read the epigraphy.

Actually, as far as the epigraphy in Panagia is concerned, its functionality in a proper context becomes an issue, once noticed that the verse inscription itself was un-

---

<sup>180</sup> Interestingly, the scholar saw the meaning of the epigram in relation to the miniature of the manuscript consisting of the Gospel of Matthew, dated to the end of XII - beginning XIII, preserved in Mytilene. On the matter and thorough textual analysis of the epigram see: PATEDAKIS 2016, pp. 340-353.

<sup>181</sup> PATEDAKIS 2016, p. 338 and 340.

<sup>182</sup> PATEDAKIS 2016, pp. 254-258.

functional, or even more precisely, not ‘self-conscious’ on its both, visual and verbal levels. To look closer, it is obvious that the epigraphy was left visually ‘bare’, without giving any graphic emphasis, extra-linguistic cues or precise visual connection with the monumental scenes. Indeed, from this point of view the testimony in its context seems somewhat adjusted badly and even inscribed not at very early stage of wall-paintings. Here should be noted that in most cases epigrams in monumental spaces were inscribed within figurative compositions, like mosaics and frescoes, or within architectural and sculptural context, as freeze and tombs. It is not necessary to look round too far for examples: the aforementioned another dedicatory epigraphy in the same church is tightly incorporated in the lower register of the paintings on the southern wall.

Un-monumental treatment and isolation of the epigraphy with epigram in Panagia, first, prompted the inscription literally falling out of its monumental context, so eventually to get lost in the wealth of rich wall-paintings. Second and more importantly, it must have burdened the perception of the verbal message of the epigraphy. To explain the matter better, I may recall the concept, which some scholars called ‘non-literate legibility’ of the Byzantine verse inscriptions.<sup>183</sup> Letterforms, graphic structure, material fabric, placement and spatial arrangement, interplay with its monumental context – all this visual presentation did actually count for the epigrammatic genre, as it provided a basic frame of reference in order to access inscribed texts for both, an illiterate and a literate readership.

In a sense, if verse inscriptions visually were pregnant with semantic power, then the epigraphy of Meronas obviously lacked for it. Indeed, even if a literate beholder had been curious enough to read the epigraphy, probably he would have been incapable of fully understanding its complex connotations due to the awkward visual ‘loneliness’ of the epigraphy. At this point the testimony would allude to its functioning which was linked with more collective practice than rather to only one’s own personal experience. I mean, there must have been the interplay between the text and its physical context which must have prompted inscribing the epigraphy at the first place, and later gave the emphasis in order to activate the verses and fathom their message.

Significantly, recent approaches have turned to the examination of surrounding contexts of epigrams and underlined the performative dimension of inscribed texts. An interesting way to think of them may be in terms of notion, introduced by John Miles Foley of ‘voiced texts’, that is, poems originally written but intended from the outset for oral delivery.<sup>184</sup> So, the poetic form of epigram would be indicator of the actual reading

---

<sup>183</sup> DRPIĆ 2016, p. 52.

<sup>184</sup> PAPALEXANDROU 2007, p. 165.

practice and, thus, it would allude to its vocal recitation and performed speech aloud. Here the voicing of inscribed metrical lines did more than activate their message; it brought the written word to life and endowed it with a powerful aural presence.<sup>185</sup>

Such orality of the verses became especially significant in ritual context, in which written and spoken words served for the cause of commemoration. As Papalexandrou showed, oral processes, speaking and hearing, were an essential means to perpetuate memory.<sup>186</sup> The Byzantines were heavily invested in oral and written communication and the dialogic interaction they fostered as powerful tools for keeping oblivion at bay. One of the most evocative examples of the relationship between memory, written and spoken words in rituals is found in the practice of recitations of liturgical *diptychs*. These were the lists of names of the living and the dead written on tablets and submitted in advance to the deacons of the church for proclamation during the Eucharistic service. Here simply having the written word was never enough – texts had to be spoken and heard so to be activated and effective.<sup>187</sup>

Thus, as *diptychs*, so engraved epigrams in churches acted as cues for oral enunciation and they would be recited at certain occasions during the course of the liturgy.<sup>188</sup> First and foremost, the solemn performance of epigrams appears to have taken place in conjunction with the private commemoration rites.<sup>189</sup> Here epitaphs, displayed on the tombs or near them, became settings for the individual intercessions for the dead, as death anniversaries or private devotions, celebrated right away at the gravesides. Significantly, Papalexandrou saw echoes of the orality not only in the epitaphs at tombs directly related to the commemoration rites, but also in more paraliturgical epigraphy like dedicatory epigrams evocated patrons in churches.<sup>190</sup> These verse inscriptions must have served as memorial texts to be recited and re-recited in order to commemorate and pray for the benefactor. Thus, they became instruments for the perpetual evocation of his commemorative image.

To turn to the epigram of Theodoros Prodromos in Panagia of Meronas, the orality of the inscription obviously cannot be proven, as eventual ‘surrounding voices’ of those who built and visited the church are completely gone. However, it is not difficult to imagine a scenario of commemoration wherein the orally enunciated text operated in tandem with the inscription. The fact that the epigraphy in Panagia was meant to be read

---

<sup>185</sup> DRPIĆ 2016, p. 8.

<sup>186</sup> PAPALEXANDROU 2010, p. 113.

<sup>187</sup> PAPALEXANDROU 2010, p. 114.

<sup>188</sup> DRPIĆ 2016, pp. 55-58.

<sup>189</sup> BROOKS 2002, pp. 182-243.

<sup>190</sup> PAPALEXANDROU 2007, pp. 171-173.

could be suggested by some certain features within its visual presentation and the text. Placed in well-observed and easily accessible place, it could have been scrutinized by every passer-by during the liturgical services. The graphical and spatial arrangement of the epigraphy also gave emphasis on its readability: The script features clear neat letters; each of the epigram's verses runs the width of the pillar, thus, maintaining the origin structure of the poem favourable for the oral delivery. I propose, visual accent on the heading of the epigram by separating it from the rest of the inscription could become also a clue to its collective reading aloud. As Rhoby noticed, the beginning of the epigram managed to confront the reader with the central message of the text and it helped to those who were not able to read and comprehend the rest of inscription.<sup>191</sup> According to Papalexandrou, oral enunciation could be suggested also from the direct address to the viewer/listener,<sup>192</sup> which in the case of the epigraphy of Meronas is expressed with the verbal forms of *Ὁρᾶς* and *βλέπεις* inscribed in the first verse.

Interestingly, the thesis about commemoration possibly could be explicated, if the aforementioned will of Agnes, referring to another two-aisled church in Kastri, is considered.<sup>193</sup> In the document Alexios's I daughter made various funds, of which tangible part was destined to priests or to churches. Here the request to be remembered prevailed. Mainly, the noblewoman singled out ecclesiastics, so the latter would inscribe her in commemoration books or would mention her in the orations. Yet, at the certain points Agnes made an exception and, instead of persons, she specified three places where the services to remember her must be held. Thus, among the Saint Catherine of Sinai and Episkopi Mylopotamou appeared Panagia of Kastri. The noblewoman provided 10 yperpera to Panagia in order to assure that a certain presbyter of the church would remember her in *oratio*.

Given Agnes's will, complemented with no other liturgical textual source or physical evidence like tombs, is no easy to decipher the commemorative practice related to the church of Kastri. I propose, it is likely that the expression of *oratio* could stand for a certain regular commemorative ritual. Possible orations could be said aside of the general acclamations of *diptychs*. This could be intended from other Cretan wills. Here the common practice included the request to be inscribed in liturgical books. Actually, Agnes herself among others singled out the same will in her testament. The expression of *oratio*, instead, appears unusual and it would imply the rite differed from the one of the

---

<sup>191</sup> RHOBY 2012, pp. 737-738.

<sup>192</sup> PAPALEXANDROU 2007, p. 165.

<sup>193</sup> MCKEE 1998, pp. 541-543.

acclamations. Quite interestingly, Brooks in her study noticed the practice of the secular orations commemorating the dead which were given at the gravesides and which included extra-liturgical prose or verse composition like epigrams.<sup>194</sup> To mention the most famous, it is known oration composed and performed by Theodore Metochites. At specific points the text makes clear that Metochites read his *monodia* aloud before Theodora's tomb in the Church of Saint John Prodromos, the south church of the Lips Monastery in Constantinople.<sup>195</sup>

In either way, even if referring suggestively to the commemorative practices, Agnes's will becomes relevant in a view of the drawn relationship between the church and the commemoration. Linking her memory not with the precise person of the priest but with the church itself, Agnes loaded the monument with proper ritual experience directly related to the family. I suppose, Panagia of Meronas not only could retake the similar concept of the church and family's memory but possible even emphasized it.

To sum up the discourse on the decoration of Panagia, I propose, it is not possible to affirm or to negate the functioning of the church as a mausoleum of the patron. However, in either case the commemorative dimension of the foundation becomes undeniable. First, Mathaios dedicated the iconographic program to theme of Theotokos which then was closely related with the current Marian cult and which expressed the perception of the Virgin as an intercessor praying for one's salvation. Second, the lord incorporated within the iconography the inscription which must have linked the meanings of decoration with the lord, his great power and noble history. The iconographic program of Panagia, thus, became the implicit prayer to Mary for Mathaios' redemption, on the one side, and the honorific praise of the lord, on the other. In this way, it would possible to speak of a certain dual – spiritual and secular – patron's immortality created within the church he founded. So, I guess, the imposition of Mathaios' gesture in Panagia of Meronas was not so far behind of that of Metochites immortalizing himself in the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.

Finally, to conclude, the aforementioned implications emphasize re-approaching the pattern of two-aisled church foundations. I propose, besides the fact that the both monuments happened to appear exclusively in the estates where the noblemen lived, unfolded highly ideological meanings would pin down the monuments and their usage

---

<sup>194</sup> BROOKS 2002, pp. 207-210.

<sup>195</sup> BROOKS 2002, p. 204.

exclusively within the framework of the personal ideologies and needs of the family. The churches could easily become the places where the Kallergis prayed in private chapels and eventually even saw themselves to be buried in. Archaeological evidence would not oppose to the possibility. Here the main nave must have become space for collective celebrations, while collateral aisle acquired more discreet usage of family. As far as the inner architectural morphology concerns, it would seem that both parts were furnished to accommodate the Greek-Orthodox services. The apses in each of the church have their immobile altar parts and niches or tables in the northern side – eventual places for the *prothesis* rite. In the apses the steps possibly served as chancel barriers survived. Also, it is worth to mention that the wall-paintings in the both sanctuaries acquired typical iconography for places where the Eucharistic celebrations according to the Greek-Orthodox customs were celebrated.

To look for examples, almost exclusively the existence of proper spaces was directed linked with burial practices and more private celebrations for the dead.<sup>196</sup> These rites could be performed directly at the gravesides or in subsidiary spaces constructed for funeral purpose. The chapels or naves usually featured *bema* parts, where the services of private devotions to honour the dead, as well as liturgical celebrations would be performed. Recent studies proved that private funeral spaces were not so extraneous in Byzantium, indeed, and it is possible to find a sheer number of different examples. Also studies turned the attention to existence of closed spaces, dedicated to the private usage, including chapels of patrons.<sup>197</sup>

As far as the relative practice on Crete is concerned, textual sources refer to the Latin noblemen holding their own burial places in mendicant churches, while known evidence does not reveal much about similar cases in the Greek-Orthodox environment.<sup>198</sup> And yet, supposedly the practice must have been exercised by the Greek lords too. Significantly, the closest proof of a point would be the same Alexios I Kallergis, who held his private grave chapel in the monastery of St. Catherine. Also more recent sources refer to Cretan Greeks erecting and having their own chapels destined for private liturgy.<sup>199</sup>

---

<sup>196</sup> TETERIATNIKOV 1984, pp. 151-154.

<sup>197</sup> TETERIATNIKOV 1996; ČURČIĆ 1977; BABIĆ 1969.

<sup>198</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2000

<sup>199</sup> GEORGOPOULOU 2000.



## Conclusion

In the research parted from the preliminaries of current discourse on churches with two aisles, I fixed a sort of bipolarity in the development of religious buildings. By suggesting the architectural classification, I put forward the typological coherence of monuments, on the one side. While reflecting variety of testimonies and their interpretations, I meant to emphasize the functional inconsistency of churches, on the other. In a sense, widely diffused type and its subtypes must have acquired different purposes according to the settings in which monument emerged. Thus, prompted by this presumption, I passed on the study of micro-history of two-aisled churches founded by the Kallergis in the fourteenth-century Venetian Crete. The main tasks, proposed at the beginning of the research, respectively allowed developing observations.

First, while studying the archaeological evidence of the churches, I emphasized their particular quality of spaces. In consequence, I proposed that such architectural characteristics could have been prompted by the Cretan urban and rural masonry practices mixing together. Hence, most likely the two-aisled churches, built by mendicant orders in cities, must have offered the model which was transmitted to the rural family's fiefs in hands of local masons.

Second, through textual sources I unfolded the socio-historical settings of foundations. I argued that most likely the church in Kastri would be founded in the family's estate during the lifetime of Alexios I Kallergis between the years of 1299 and 1320-22. Meanwhile, the church in Meronas appeared in other family's estate during the dominion of Alexios' grand grandson Mathaios Kallergis covering the period between 1367/8 and 1391. The historical settings implied articulating a particular pattern of patronage, according to which the two-aisled monuments became a model of residential church of the Kallergis transmitted within very secluded environment of closely related family's members.

Last, the iconographic study of wall-paintings together with the epigraphic analysis of inscription of Panagia in Meronas helped unpinning ideological dimensions of foundation. The contents of wall-painting allowed suggesting that the iconography was adherent to the Mariological cult and its pictorial trends circulated from Constantinople.

The latter emphasized the perception of the Virgin as Theotokos of the Incarnated Christ who interacts as an intercessor on behalf of human. In the meantime, the epigraphy unfolded inserted hegemonic connotations exclaimed the power and noble history of the lord. Together the testimonies allowed supposing Mathaios' gesture of creating his spiritual and secular immortality within the church he constructs. Respectively, this let approaching the model of two-aisled church of the Kallergis exclusively within the frameworks of patrons' ideologies and needs, like the intention to have a private chapel or even a funeral place.

Upon such conclusions, I must admit, I negate current ideological purview but at the same time I build up another one equally ideological. I mean, I leave no place for Gratziou's thesis of bi-confessional usage of monuments, as I tend to emphasize unambiguously 'mono-confessional' patrons' environment where two-aisled churches were founded and performed their functions. Even if in highly hypothetical way the bi-confessional function would easily fit church spaces, the thesis starts falling apart at once, when along the architecture other testimonies regarding patron's figure or the decoration of monuments, are being unpinned. At this point, the iconography and the epigraphy of Panagia in Meronas speak out loud. Conceptually, through the evidence it is possible to draw the dual picture of the lord who constructed and eventually prayed in the church – Mathaios the Christian and Mathaios the Lord. Mathaios the Christian brings the iconography from Constantinople loaded with liturgical and dogmatic arguments and aims it to lament Mary in order to ensure his perpetual spiritual life above. In the meantime, Mathaios the Lord engraves the epigram with hegemonic connotations and craves for his secular immortality among later generations.

So, this emphasizes seeing two-aisled church foundation as historical monuments which in front of powerful Latin Venetians supposed to become the shelter for imposing Greek lords and their convictions. Through material forms and liturgical practices during noblemen' lives, as so the hereafter, the churches must have expressed and preserved the memory of the family, which tightly tied together the concepts of religion and hegemony. The semantic heaviness which was brought by the two-aisled church foundations of the Kallergis would be so great, indeed, that afterwards it would pass over the environment of the family. The church of the Hagios Fanourios in Valsamonero probably becomes the most opportune example to take. Constructed in the first half of the fifteenth century, the monument aptly repeated the model of Panagia of Meronas: it was two-aisled church covered with the Palaiologean paintings, including the cycle of the Akathistos Hymn.

After all, in a certain way the testimonies of the history today become ourselves as well. I can still recall how during the last summer upon my arrival in Meronas, I was welcomed in Panagia by the priest. His first thing told me was the proud and ancient history of the Kallergis which is preserved within the church and its decoration. So, maybe we would not know how the lords succeeded in ensuring their spiritual life above, but, at least as far as their eternal secular life here concerns, I guess, the *archontes* proved to do their best.

## **Bibliography**

### **Archives**

Archivio di Stato, Venezia

Notai di Candia, Bellamon Andrea, busta 9.

Notai di Candia, Gerardo Giovanni, busta 100.

Notai di Candia, Similiante Giovanni, busta 244.

Museo Correr, Venezia

PDC 676/II.

PDC 677/III.

### **Manuscript Source**

ANTONIO TRIVAN, *Racconto di varie cose successe nel Regno di Candia*, Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, It. VII 525 (7497).

### **Published Primary Sources**

BUONDELMONTI C. 1981, *Descriptio insule Crete et Liber insularum, cap. 11: Creta*, Heraklion.

FRANCISCUS DE CRUCE 1999, *Franciscus de Cruce notarios ston Chandaka 1338-1339*, ed. Gasparis, Venezia.

GERLAND E. 1899, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia*, Strassburg.

LAURENTI DE MONACIS 1758, *Chronicon de rebus Venetis*, recensuit F. Corneliu, Venetiis.

McKEE S. 1998, *Wills From Late Medieval Venetian Crete 1312-1420*, 1-2, Washington.

SANTSCHI E. 1976, *Regestes des arrêts civils et des memoriaux (1363-1399) des archives du duc de Crete*, Venezia.

### **Secondary Sources**

AKYÜREK E. 2002, "The Marian Iconography of the West Bay in the Parecclesion of Kariye", in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 15, pp. 1-15.

ANDRIANAKIS M. 2007, "Η αρχιτεκτονική γλυπτική στην Κρήτη", in *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική*, ed. by O. Gratiou, Athina, pp. 14-33.

ANDRIANAKIS M. 2014, *Christian Monuments of Crete*, Heraklion.

BABIĆ G. 1969, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*, Paris.

- BAZINI E. 2004 “Une première édition des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les Traités adressés aux Crétois“, in *Revue des études byzantines*, 62, pp. 83-132.
- BORSARI S. 1963, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo*, Napoli.
- BOURBOUDAKIS M. 1988, “Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη ως την πρόιμη Βενετοκρατία”, in *Κρήτη. Περιήγηση στη φύση και τον πολιτισμό*, 2, ed. by N. Panagiotakis, Heraklion, pp. 11-103.
- BOURBOUDAKIS M. 1989, “Οι τοιχογραφίες της Παναγίας του Μέρωνα και μια συγκεκριμένη τάση της κρητικής ζωγραφικής”, in *Πεπραγμένα Θ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Άγιος Νικόλαος 1981*, Heraklion, pp. 396-412.
- BOURBOUDAKIS M. 2007, “Θυρώματα και παράθυρα σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης. (τέλος 14ου μέσα 15ου αιώνα),” in *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική Ανατολή*, Heraklion, pp. 60-89.
- BOURBOUDAKI M. 2013-2014, “The Church of the Virgin of Meronas and the Kallergis Family”, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 55, pp. 105-118.
- BOURBOUDAKIS M. 2015, “Η τοιχογραφική διακόσμηση του ναού της Παναγίας στο χωριό Μέρωνας Αμαρίου. Νέα στοιχεία”, in *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλος*, ed. by V. Katsaros, A. Tourta, Athina, pp. 417-427.
- BROOKS S. 2002, *Commemoration of the Dead: Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration*, PhD, New York University.
- BRUNETTI M. 1948-1949, “Riflessi cretesi della congiura Queerini-Tiepolo”, in *Atti dell’Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 107/2, pp. 51-65.
- COOPER N. K. 1996, “The Frankish Church of Hagia Sophia at Andravida, Greece”, in *The Archeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. by G. D.R. Sanders, Oxford, pp. 29-47.
- CURUNI A. S., DONATI L. 1987, *Creta bizantina. Rilievi e note critiche su ventisei edifici di culto in relazione all’opera di Giuseppe Gerola*, Roma.
- CURUNI A. S., DONATI L. 1988, *Creta veneziana. L’Istituto Veneto e la Missione Cretese di Giuseppe Gerola. Collezione fotografica 1900-1902*, Venezia.
- ČURČIĆ SI. 1977, “Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches”, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 36, pp. 94-110.
- DELLAS G. 2000, “Νέα στοιχεία για ένα μοναστήρι στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου”, in *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 21, pp. 43-54.
- DETORAKIS T. 1994, *History of Crete*, Heraklion.
- DIMITROKALLIS G. 1968, “The Byzantine Churches of Naxos”, in *American Journal of Archeology*, 72/3, pp. 283-286.
- DIMITROKALLIS G. 1976, *Οι δίκωγοι χριστιανικοί ναοί*, Athina.
- DRANDAKIS N. 1958, “Η Ιστορική Μονή της Κλεισούρας ή Παληομοναστήρο Βρονδαμά Λακωνίας”, in *Αφιέρωμα*, 1.
- DRANDAKIS N. 1975, “Έρευναι εις την Μάνην”, in *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, pp. 184-196.
- DRANDAKIS N. 1976, “Έρευναι εις την Μεσσηνιακήν Μάνην”, in *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, pp. 230-234.
- DRPIĆ I. 2016, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, Cambridge.

- DUNAEV A. 2004, “Nicephorus Gregoras”, in *Исихазм: Аннотированная Библиография*, Moscow, pp. 369-376.
- ENLART C. 1902, *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'a la Renaissance. Architecture religieuse*, 1/1, Paris 1902.
- ETZEUGLOS R. 1977, “Επιμελητεία Μυστρά”, in *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί*, 3 (1977).
- FEDALTO G. 1973, “La chiesa Latina a Creta. 1204-1669”, in *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, 1, Verona, pp. 377-414.
- FIOLITAKI A. 2007, “Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της κρήνης της Μονής Βροντησιού”, in *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική*, ed. by O. Gratziou, Athina, pp. 164-179.
- GALLAS K. 1983, *Mittel-und spätbyzantinische Sakralarchitektur der Insel Kreta. Versuch einer Typologie der kretischen Kirchen des 10. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, München.
- GALLAS K., WESSEL K., BOURBOUDAKIS M. 1983, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, München.
- GASPARIS CH. 2006, “Ο Μυλοπόταμος στα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια (13ος-15ος αι.)”, in *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, τ. VI: Βενετοκρατία – Τουρκοκρατία*, Rethymno, pp. 11 - 35.
- GASPARIS CH. 2014, “Η τούρμα Απάνω Συβρίτου στα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια», in *Η Επαρχία Αμαρίου από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα*, ed. by S. M. Manouras, Athina, pp. 411-429.
- GEORGOPOULOU M. 2001, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, New York.
- GEORGOPOULOU M. 2013, “Vernacular Architecture in Venetian Crete”, in *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca 1000-1500*, ed. by H. Grossman, Leiden, pp. 149-182.
- GAROFANO G. 2000, *Edifici ecclesiastici duali in Italia settentrionale dall'età carolingia al romanico*, Tesi di dottorato di ricerca, Università Ca'Foscari, Venezia.
- GAROFANO G. 2002, “Le chiese duali di eta carolingia fra Istria e Italia Settentrionale”, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 8, pp. 159-166.
- GERLAND E. 1909, *Cenni storici sulla nobilita di Candia*, Venezia.
- GEROLA G. 1908, *Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 1-2, Venezia.
- GOUGH M. 1963, “Excavations at Alahan Monastery”, in *Anatolian Studies*, 13, pp. 105-115.
- GRATZIOU O. 2009, “Evidenziare la diversità: chiese doppie nella Creta veneziana”, in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII)*, ed. by Ch. Maltezu, A. Tzavara, D. Vlassi, Venezia, pp. 757-763.
- GRATZIOU O. 2010, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη Μεσαιωνική Εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής*, Heraklion.
- GRATZIOU O. 2011, “Όσοι πιστοί προσέλθετε. Προσκυνήματα για αμφότερα τα δόγματα σε μοναστήρια της Κρήτης κατά τη βενετική περίοδο”, in *Μοναστήρια, οικονομία και πολιτική. Από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, ed. by E. Kolovos, Heraklion, pp. 117-139.

- KALLERGIS S. 1995, “Οικόσημα και τοπωνύμια των Καλλεργών στην Κρήτη”, in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ’ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου – Ρέθυμνο 1991*, 2/1, pp. 307-311.
- KONSTANTINIDES E. 1992, *The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, Athina.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1954a, “Το εν νήσω Άνδρω ναύδριον της Αγ. Θέκλης”, *Θεολογία*, 25, pp. 630-636.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1954b, “Η ιδιότυπος μορφή του ναού του Αγίου Ιωάννου της Μονής Παναχράντου εν Άνδρω”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 363-364 (Σεπτ.- Οκτ.), pp. 241-245.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1961a, “Η γένεσις μιας “δίδυμης” εκκλησίας. Η Αγία Θέκλα - Άγιος Χριστόφορος της Άνδρου”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 205-208 (Σεπτ.- Δεκ.), pp. 40-44.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1961b, “Ο δίκλιτος ναΐσκος της Αγίας Παρασκευής - Αγ. Παντελεήμονος: Παρατηρήσεις επάνω σ’ένα εξωκκλήσι της Βοιωτίας”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 71 (Οκτ.), pp. 28-35.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1962a, “Ο δίκλιτος ναός του Αγ. Ιωάννου στο χωριό Μένητες Άνδρου”, in *Θεολογία* 33, pp. 126-143.
- KONSTANTINIDIS D. 1962b, “Μέγας Ταξιάρχης στο Κάστρο Χώρας Άνδρου”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 2 (Απρ.), pp. 81-90.
- KOUGEA S. V. 1966, “Τρεις Κρητορικά Επιγραφαί εκ Ζαρνάτας”, in *Χαριστήριον εις Α. Κ. Ορλάνδον*, 3, pp. 243-252.
- KOUMANOUDIS I. 1960, *Η λαϊκή εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική της νήσου Θήρας*, Athina.
- LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1975, “Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin”, in *Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, 4, pp. 163-194.
- LAZARIDIS P. 1973, “Ανασκαφή εις Ακροναυπλιάν”, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 29, pp. 230-235.
- LINARDOU 2011, “Depicting the Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in the Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts”, in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. Brubaker and Cunningham, Farnham, pp. 133-149.
- MAILIS A. 2018, “From Byzantine Monasticism to Venetian Piety. The Double Church of Hagios Panteleimonas and Hagios Demetrios at Perivolia (Chania)”, in *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen 1: Bilder und Dinge*, Mainz, pp. 183-213.
- MALTEZOU CH. 1991, “The Historical and Social Context”, in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. D. Helton, Cambridge 1991, pp. 17-47.
- MALTEZOU CH. 1995, “Byzantine “Consuetudines” in Venetian Crete”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49, pp. 269-280.
- MALTEZOU A. 1988, “Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)” in *Κρήτη. Περιήγηση στη φύση και τον πολιτισμό*, 2, ed. by N. Panagiotakis, Heraklion, pp. 107-161.

- MARGALIT S. 1990, "The Bi-apsidal Churches in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus", in *Liber Annuss*, 40, pp. 321-334.
- MARGALIT S. 1995, "The Binated Churches and the Hybrid Binated Church Complexes in Palestine", in *Liber Annuss*, 45, pp. 357-400.
- MATHEWS T.F. 1982, "Private Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture", in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 30, pp. 125-138.
- MATEJČIĆ I. 1997, *Dvije crkve*, Rijeca-Rovinj.
- MEYENDORFF 1975, "Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries", in *Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, 4, pp. 95-106.
- McKEE S. 1992, *Uncommon Dominion. The Latins and Greeks of Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete*, PhD Thesis, University of Toronto.
- McKEE S. 2000, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, Philadelphia.
- MERSCH M. 2015, "Churches as "Shared Spaces" in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)", in *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100-1800)*, ed. by G. Christ, Roma, pp. 461-487.
- MERTZIOS 1999, "Η συνθήκη Ενετών - Καλλέργη και οι συνοδεύοντες αυτήν κατάλογοι", in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 3, pp. 262-292.
- MICHALJEVIĆ M. 2014, "Üçayak: A Forgotten Byzantine Church", in *De Gruyter*, 107/2, pp. 725-754.
- MONDELOU M. 2004, "Όψεις της καθολικής εκκλησίας στη Σητεία και την Ιεράπετρα μέσα από την έκθεση του επισκόπου Pietro Pisani (1630)", in *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα 1-6 Οκτωβρίου 2001*, 2/1, Heraklion, pp. 297-309.
- MOUSOPOULOS N. K. 1962, *Η Παληαχώρα της Αιγίνης. Ιστορική και μορφολογική εξέταση των μνημείων*, Athina.
- MOUSOPOULOS K., DIMITROKALLIS G. 1981, *Γεράκι. Οι εκκλησίες του οικισμού*, Thessaloniki.
- NERSESSIAN S. 1975, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion", in *Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, 4, pp. 305-349.
- ORLANDOS A. K. 1925, "Αι καμαροσκέπαστοι βασιλικάι των Αθηνών", in *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, 2, pp. 288-305.
- ORLANDOS A. K. 1927, "Ανατολίζουσαι βασιλικάι Λακωνίας", in *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, 4, pp. 342-351.
- ORLANDOS A. K. 1937, "Έργασιαί αναστηλώσεις Βυζαντινών Μνημείων", in *Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, 3, pp. 195-197.
- ORLANDOS A. K. 1961, "Οι μεταβυζαντινοί ναοί της Πάρου", in *Αρχείον των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, 9, pp. 113-223.
- PALIOURAS TH. 1985, "Το Μοναστήρι του Προδρόμου στο Μπαλί", *Πεπραγμένα του Ε' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 2, Heraklion, pp. 304-321.



- PANAGOPOULOS B. K. 1979, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece*, Chicago.
- PAPADIA-LALA A. 1994, “Συμβολή στην ιστορία της μονής του Σωτήρα Χριστού στο Αρκάδι κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας”, in *Ροδωνιά. Τιμή στον Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα*, 2, Rethymo, pp. 397-414.
- PAPADAKI A. 2009, “Η συνύπαρξη των δύο δογμάτων και η διαμάχη για τον ναό του Σωτήρα στην Ιεράπετρα (1626-1627)”, in *Ψηφίδες. Μελέτες Ιστορίας, Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης στη μνήμη της Στέλλας Παπαδάκη-Οεκλαντ*, ed. by O. Gratziou, Heraklion, pp. 229-243.
- PAPALEXANDROU A. 2007, “Echoes of Orality in the Monumental Inscriptions of Byzantium” in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. L. James, Cambridge, pp. 161-178.
- PAPALEXANDROU A. 2010, “The Memory Culture of Byzantium” in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James, Malden, pp. 108-118.
- PAPAZOGLU G. K. 2006, “Ο Αλέξιος Καλλέργης και μία άγνωστη διήγηση των κριτικών επαναστάσεων του 1365/67, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 36, pp. 18-20.
- PATEDAKIS M. 2016, “Μία επιγραφή με ηγεμονική διάσταση. Επίγραμμα του Θεοδώρου Προδρόμου στο Βίβλος γενέσεως από την Παναγία στον Μέρωνα”, in *Μαργαρίτα μελέτες στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Μπορμπουδάκη*, ed. by M. Patedakis, K. Giapitsoglou, Sitia, pp. 328-360.
- PELTOMAA L. 2001, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden.
- PELTOMAA L. M. 2015, “Cease your lamentations, I shall become an advocate for you. Mary as Intercessor in Romanos’ Hymnography”, in *Presbeia Theothokou: The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium (4th-9th Century)*, pp. 131-137.
- PIACENTINI M. 1941, “Nota sulle chiese a due navate”, in *Palladio*, 5, pp. 126-132.
- PIVA P. 1990, *La cattedrale doppia. Una tipologia architettonica e liturgica del Medioevo*, Bologna.
- PIVA P. 2001, “Le due chiese di San Lorenzo a Quingentole: “quadri” storici, tipologie architettoniche, contesti funzionali”, in *San Lorenzo di Quingentole (MN). Archeologia, storia, antropologia*, ed. by A. Manicardi, Mantova, pp. 115-144.
- PIVA P. 2015, “San Pietro di Vallate, San Pietro a Bormio, e il problema delle chiese a due navate”, in *La Valtellina nei secoli: studi e ricerche archeologiche*, 1, ed. by V. Mariotti, Mantova, pp. 49-80.
- PLATAKIS EL. K. 1975, “Οι Μονές του Αγίου Αντωνίου στους Γαλήνους και του Αγίου Παντελεήμονος στη Φόδελε”, in *Κρητολογία*, 1, pp. 37-90.
- PLATAKIS EL. K. 1976, “Ειδήσεις εκ των πηγών περί της μονής Αγκαράθου”, in *Κρητολογία*, 2, pp. 81-154.
- PLP 1981, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 5, Wien.
- PLP 1983, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 6, Wien.
- PSARAKIS K. 2004, “Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Ιωάννου Προδρόμου στο “Γκιώνα“ Ροδωπού Κισάμου Χανίων”, in *Πεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ελούντα, 2001)*, 2/1, Heraklion, pp. 91-105.

- PSILAKIS N. 1992-1993, *Μοναστήρια και Ερημητήρια της Κρήτης*, Heraklion.
- RHOBY A. 2012, “The Meaning of Inscriptions for the Early and Middle Byzantine Culture. Remarks on the Interaction of Word, Image and Beholder“, in *Scrivere e leggere nell’Alto Medioevo, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo*, 59 : Spoleto, 28 aprile - 4 maggio 2011, 2, Spoleto, pp. 731-753.
- SAROU K. 1949, “Περί μεικτών ναών ορθοδόξων και καθολικών ων Χίω”, in *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, 19, pp. 194-208.
- SCHENLUHN W. 2003, *Architettura degli ordini mendicanti*, Padova.
- SITHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI B. 2016, “Παρατηρήσεις για την ιστορία και την αρχιτεκτονική του καθολικού της Μονής Βαλσαμονέρου”, in *Μαργαρίτα μελέτες στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Μπορμπουδάκη*, ed. by M. Patedakis, K. Giapitsoglou, Sitia, pp. 290-328.
- SOTIRIOS G. 1925, “Η Μονή της Αγίας Λαύρας”, in *Ημερολόγιον της Μεγάλης Ελλάδος* 1925.
- SPATHARAKIS I. 2005, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin*, Leiden.
- SPATHARAKIS I., ESSENBERG V. 2012, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, 3, Leiden.
- STOURATI A. 2000, *La Grecia nelle raccolte della Fondazione Querini Stampalia*, Venezia.
- ŠEVČENKO N. P. 1991, “Icons in the Liturgy”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45, pp. 45-58.
- TAYLOR M. D. 1980-1981, “A Historiated Tree of Jesse”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34/35, pp. 125-179.
- TETERIATNIKOV N. 1984, “Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches”, in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 29/2, pp 141-157.
- TETERIATNIKOV N. 1996, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia*, Roma.
- TOMADAKIS N. 1973, “La politica religiosa di Venezia verso i cretesi ortodossi”, in *Venezia e il Levante dino al secolo XV*, 1/2.
- TROULLINOS M. I. 2014, “Η συντήρηση των τοιχογραφιών της Παναγίας στο Μέρωνο”, in *Η Επαρχία Αμαρίου από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα*, ed. by M. Manouras, Athina, pp. 341-361.
- TURYN A. 1973-1974, “Michael Lulludes (or Luludes). A Scribe of the Palaeologan Era”, in: *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 10/11, pp. 3-15.
- TURYN A. 1974, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, I, Urbana.
- UNDERWOOD P. A. 1967 – 1975, *The Kariye Djami*, London, I-IV.
- VASILIADIS D. V. 1995, “Η αξονική τοξοστοιχία στην Αιγαιοπελαγίτικη εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 369-370 (Ιαν.- Φεβρ), pp.114-117.
- VASILIADIS D. V. 1961, “Μονόκλιτες βασιλικές με δύο κόγχες ιερού”, in *Ζυγός*, 78-79 (Μάιος-Ιούν), pp. 69-73.

- VASILIADIS D. V. 1962a, “Αι επιπεδόστεγοι μεταβυζαντιναί βασιλικαί των Κυκλάδων”, in *Θεολογία*, 33, pp. 102-225; 291-301.
- VASILIADIS D. V. 1962b, “Γύρω από τις δίκλιτες μεταβυζαντινές βασιλικές των Κυκλάδων”, in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, 211-212 (Mart- Amril), pp. 38-45.
- VASILIADIS D. V. 1966, “Το παρεκκλήσιο της Μονής Παναχράντου 'Ανδρου”, in *Χαρστήριον εις Άναστάσιον Κ. Όρλάνδον*, 2, Athina, pp. 49-71.
- VIONIS A. K. 2012, *A Crusader, Ottoman, and Early Modern Aegean Archeology. Built Environment and Domestic Material Culture in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades, Greece*, Leiden.
- VLACHAKI R. I. 1985, “Η διαθήκη της Αγνής, κόρης του Αλεξίου Καλλέργη (1331) και ο ορθόδοξος επίσκοπος Μακάριος”, in *Πεπραγμένα του Ε Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, 1981, 2, Heraklion, pp. 56-63.
- VOKOTOPOULOS P. L. 1967-1968, “Συμβολή εις την μελέτην των μονόχωρων ναών μετά δύο κογχών ιερού”, in *Χαρστήριον εις Άναστάσιον Κ. Όρλάνδον*, 4, Athina, pp. 66-74.
- VOKOTOPOULOS P. L. 1969, “Άγιος Δημήτριος Ήλιδος”, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 24, pp. 203-210.

## List of Illustrations

- Fig.1 Sts. Zahariak and Menas and St. James, Jerusalem. From: MARGALIT1995, p. 377, Fig. 5.
- Fig. 2 Alahan Monastery, Turkey . From: PIVA 2015, p.65, Fig. 23.
- Fig. 3 San Lorenzo, Quingentole, Mantova, Italy. From: PIVA 2015, p.66, Fig. 25.
- Fig. 4 San Pietro, Rosa, Vicenza, Italy. From: PIVA 2015, p. 71, Fig. 34.
- Fig. 5 Santa Maria d’Arelio, Borgo d’Ale, Vercelli. From: PIVA 2015, p. 57, Fig. 14.
- Fig. 6 Mendicant churches in Schwaz and Berchtesgaden, Germany. From: PIACENTINI 1941, p. 128.
- Fig. 7 Hagios Fanourios, Valsamonero, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 138, Fig. 148.
- Fig. 8 Panagia, Sarcho of Malevizi, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 150, Fig. 155.
- Fig. 9 Christos, Chora, Kytinos, Cyclades. From: VASILIADIS 1962b, p.43. Fig. 17.
- Fig. 10 Hagios Georgios and Hagios Dimitrios, Kastro, Paleochora. From: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962, p. 129, Fig. 46-47.
- Fig. 11 Panagia, Kastri Mylopotamou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.
- Fig. 12 Panagia, Meronas Amariou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.
- Fig. 13 Panagia, Kastri and Panagia, Meronas. After Guoda Gediminskaite
- Fig. 14 Comparison of the ground floors and the profiles of the churches at Kastri and Meronas. After Guoda Gediminskaite.
- Fig. 15 Ground floors and profiles of the churches at Kastri and Kamariotis. After Guoda Gediminskaite and GALLAS 1982, p. 242, Fig. 73.
- Fig. 16 Hagios Giovanni, Episkopi Mylopotamou. From: CURUNI 1987, Fig 6.
- Fig. 17 Hagios Michail Archaggelos, Axos Mylopotamou, Crete. After Guoda Gediminskaite.
- Fig. 18 Hagios Fanourios, Valsamonero, Crete. From: GRATZIOU 2010, p. 138, Fig. 148.
- Fig. 19 Hagios Ioannis and Hagios Nikolaos, Maverinika, Peloponnesse. From: KOUGEA 1966, p. 248, Fig. 2.
- Fig 20. General views of the wall-paintings in the south and in the north aisle, Meronas, Panagia, After Guoda Gediminskaite
- Fig. 21 The schemes of the wall-paintings in the south aisle and in the north aisle, Meronas, Panagia. After Guoda Gediminskaite.
- Fig. 22 Epigraphy with epigram on the North wall of the main nave of Panagia of Meronas. Images by Guoda Gediminskaite; scheme from SPATHARAKIS-ESSENBERN 2012, p. 122.

## **Appendix**

### **Inventory**

#### **PELOPONNESE**

1. Hagios Dimitrios, Athina  
Two-aisled vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1925.
2. Hagios Dimitrios and Hagios Georgios, Ilios  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961; VOKOTOPoulos 1969.
3. Church in Akronavplia  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: LAZARIDIS 1973.
4. Hagios Ioannis of Prodromos and Hagios Nikolaos, Maleuvrinika, Zarnata, Mani  
Two-aisled vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: KOUGEA 1966.
5. Hagios Spiridonos and Hagios Vasileios, Prastion, Mani  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: DRANDAKIS 1976.
6. Hagia Lavra of Kalavritos  
Two-aisled church. Only mentioned.  
Bibliography: SOTIRIOS 1925; ORLANDOS 1937.
7. Hagios Georgios, Mina, Mani  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: ETZEUGLOS 1977.
8. Hagia Paraskevi, Mina, Mani  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: ETZEUGLOS 1977.
9. Brodama, Monastery  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: DRANDAKIS 1958.
10. Theotokos, Pepo, Mani  
Two-aisled church. Only mentioned.  
Bibliography: DRANDAKIS 1975.

11. Hagia Paraskevi and Hagios Panteleymon, Psokida  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KONSTANTINIDIS 1961b; DIMITROKALLIS 1976.

12. Hagios Nikolaos, Geraki  
Pseudo double vaulted hall church with one apse.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS-DIMITROKALLIS 1981; ORLANDOS 1937.

13. Hagios Georgios, Kastro, Geraki  
Pseudo double vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1927.

14. Hagios Dimitrios, Kastro, Geraki  
Pseudo double church. Only mentioned.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS-DIMITROKALLIS 1981.

## **AEGINA**

15. Kiriaki, Paliochora  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

16. Hagios Georgios and Hagios Dimitrios, Kastro, Paliochora  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

17. Hagios Charalampos, Paliochora  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

18. Panagia of Giannouli, Paliochora  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: MOUTSOPOULOS 1962.

## **CYCLADES**

### **NAXOS**

19. Kyriaki, Apiranthos  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: DIMITROKALLIS 1968

20. Hagios Georgios, Apiranthos  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: DIMITROKALLIS 1976.

21. Hagios Ioannis, Apano Kastro  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: VIONIS 2012.
22. Hagios Spiridhos and Panagia, Chalkios Naxos  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: DIMITROKALLIS 1976; VIONIS 2012.

## **ANDROS**

23. Hagios Ioannis of Pantokrator  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: KONSTANTINIDIS 1954b
24. Hagios Ioannis, Menites  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: KONSTANTINIDIS D 1962a.
25. Megas Taksiarchis, Kastro  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: KONSTANTINIDIS 1962b.
26. Hagios Ioannis, Aprovatos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.
27. Panagia, Menites  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.
28. Eisodia, Menites  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.
29. Profiti Ilia, Strapougies  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.
30. Hagios Nikolaos, Pitrofo  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.
31. Taksiarchi, Aprovatos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

32. Hagios Charalampous and Hagios Eleutherios, Pitrofos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

## **SIFNOS**

33. Hagios Sotiros, Apolonia  
Pseudo double non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

34. Hagios Sozontos and Hagios Fanourios, Apolonia  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

35. Hagios Anthanasios, Apolonia  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

36. Hagia Aikaterini, Kastro  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

37. Panagia, Aksabela  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

38. Panagia, Gournia, Artemona  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

## **KIMOLOS**

39. Christos, Kastro  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

40. Pantokrator  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

## **TINOS**

41. Hagios Georgios, Chtikado  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.

42. Hagia Triada, Tripotamos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILIADIS 1962b.



43. Hagios Ksenis, Chtikado  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

44. Panagia, Palio Sklavochori  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

45. Hagios Andreos, Apergados  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

46. Hagios Konstantinos, Sbirado  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

47. Stauros, Tripotamo  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

48. Hagios Georgios, Sgalado  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

49. Paraskevi, Chora  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

50. Hagios Ioannis, Karuoi  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

## **KYTHNOS**

51. Christos, Chora  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

52. Hagios Michailos, Taksiarchos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

53. Hagios Nikolaos  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

54. Panteleimona  
Two-aisled non vaulted hall church.  
Bibliography: VASILADIS 1962b.

## **PAROS**

55. Hagia Anna and Koimisis of Theotokos, Marpissa  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

56. Hagia Aikaterini, Leukes  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

57. Evagelistrìa and Hagios Ioannos, Prodròmos, Paroikia  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

58. Hagioi Anargiroi Nkratafiou, Marpissa  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

59. Hagios Nikolaos and Hagios Georgios, Dragoula  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

60. Eisodia of Theotokos, Marpissa  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

61. Pera Panagia, Marmara  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

62. Christos, Leukes  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

63. Hagios Stefanos, Leukes  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

64. Hagios Dimitrios, Leukes  
Two-aisled church.

Bibliography: ORLANDOS 1961.

65. Hagioi Apostoloi, Choria, Kephalos, Paros  
Pseudo double church.

Bibliography: VIONIS 2012.

66. Church, Kastro, Kephalos, Paros  
Pseudo double church.

Bibliography VIONIS 2012.

## **THIRAS**

67. Hagia Eirini, Perisa  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KOUMANOUDIS 1960.

68. Hagios Stefanos, Mesa Vounou  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KOUMANOUDIS 1960.

69. Hagios Georgios, Megalos Chorios  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KOUMANOUDIS 1960.

70. Metoksi, Oia  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KOUMANOUDIS 1960.

71. Hagios Antonio, Kodachorios  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: KOUMANOUDIS 1960.

## **PATMOS**

72. Hagios Anthanasios  
Two-aisled church.  
Bibliography: DIMITROKALLIS 1976.

## **RHODES**

73. Church, Monastery  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: DELLAS 2000.

## **CRETE**

74. Panagia, Kastri, Milopotamos  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; CURUNI 1987; CURUNI A. S., DONATI L. 1988;  
ANDRIANAKIS 2007; GRATZIOU 2010.

75. Michail Archaggelos, Aksos, Milopotamos  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GALLAS 1983, GRATZIOU 2010.

76. Panagia, Meronas, Amarios  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; BOURBOUDAKIS 1986; CURUNI A. S., DONATI L. 1988; ANDRIANAKIS 2007; GRATZIOU 2010; SPATHARAKIS 2012; PATEDAKIS 2016.
77. Hagios Fanourios, Valsamonero  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GALLAS 1983; GRATZIOU 2010; SITHIAKAKI-KRITSIMALLI 2016.
78. Hagios Charalampouros, Paliama  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
79. Panagia, Panagia  
Two-aisled vaulted basilica.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GRATZIOU 2010.
80. Panagia, Sarcho, Malevizi  
Pseudo double church  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GRATZIOU 2010.
81. Pneuma, Kritsa, Lasithia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GRATZIOU 2010.
82. Sotyras Christos, Eleutherna, Milopotamos  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: CURUNI 1987; GRATZIOU 2010.
83. Agios Antonios, Fraro  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GEROLA 1908; GRATZIOU 2010.
84. Hagios Dimitrios and Nestor, Kato Kidonia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: CURUNI 1987; GRATZIOU 2010.
85. Hagios Ioannis, Prodromos, Chania  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: PSARAKIS 2004; GRATZIOU 2010.
86. Agios Padeleimonos, Psodele  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: PLATAKIS 1975; GRATZIOU 2010.

87. Hagios Panteleimonos and Hagios Demetrios, Perivolia, Chania  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: MAILIS 2018.
88. Hagia Anna and Hagios Nikolaos, Dhrapet, Heraklion  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GALLAS-WESSEL-BOURBOUDAKIS 1983.
89. Hagios Jeorios and Hagios Konstadinos, Pirgos  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GALLAS-WESSEL-BOURBOUDAKIS 1983.
90. Hagios Georgios and Hagios Nikolaos, Butsunaria, Perivolia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: CURUNI 1987.
91. Hagios Charalampos and Apostolo, Paliama, Kainourgios  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
92. Hagia Triada, Rethymno  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
93. Paraskevi, Armenos, Rethymno  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
94. Panagia, Roustika, Rethymno  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
95. Hagios Basileos, Kria, Brisi  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
96. Hagios Georgios and Metamorfosi, Melidoni, Mylopotamos  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
97. Boilas, Lasithia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
98. Hagios Georgios and Hagios Ioannis, Boilas, Lasithia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
99. Genesi of Theotokos and Hagia Aikaterini, Etia, Lasithia  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.

100. Attalis, Bali, Mylopotamos  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: PALIOURAS 1985; GRATZIOU 2010.
101. Panagia Kardiotissa, Voros  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
102. Vrontisi  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: FIOLITAKI 2007; GRATZIOU 2010.
103. Arkadi  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: PAPADIA–LALA 1994; GRATZIOU 2010.
104. Christos, Ierapietra  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
105. Hagia Anna, Amari  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.
106. Hagioi Anargiroi, Chania  
Pseudo double church.  
Bibliography: GRATZIOU 2010.

## **Rivalutando le identità religiose a Creta veneziana nel quattordicesimo secolo: le fondazioni delle chiese a due navate e la famiglia Kallergis**

### *Abstract*

La società plurale dei Latini e dei Greci durante il dominio veneziano a Creta ormai è un argomento studiato con particolare attenzione. Comunque, nonostante un crescente interesse, la convivenza delle due comunità pone ancora delle domande piuttosto difficili, che prima di tutto riguardano le dimensioni della vita religiosa. Il discorso sulla storia delle chiese a due navate diventa un tipico esempio. Qui le testimonianze archeologiche dei monumenti binati continuano ad enfatizzare il dibattito sull'uso di questi edifici per il doppio rito, latino e greco rispettivamente.

Siccome i codesti studi pongono le basi per una nuova ricerca, tendo ad entrare nella discussione, posando lo sguardo sulle prime chiese a due navate costruite a Creta. Attraverso l'analisi delle testimonianze fisiche che quelle scritte, la presente tesi diventa uno studio prosopografico dei patroni che appartennero ad un'impotente famiglia greco-cretese Kallergis. Lo scopo dell'elaborato è analizzare la storia delle chiese nell'ambiente della famiglia, così anche rivalutando la realtà e le identità religiose a Creta nel quattordicesimo secolo.

L'elaborato è diviso in quattro capitoli ed in un inventario delle chiese a due navate costruite in Oriente cristiano. Il primo capitolo si occupa dell'analisi di carattere storiografico relativa al metodo di studio tipologico e quello funzionale. Qui da un lato, l'intenzione è quella di articolare il discorso corrente, che, dall'altro, aiuta a precisare la struttura e l'ambito dell'elaborato. Il capitolo si conclude con un'affermazione, secondo cui la tipologia di chiesa a due navate in Oriente acquistò una coerenza visuale, però nel frattempo mancò un'uniformità nella funzione.

Il secondo capitolo si occupa dell'analisi tipologico-formale dei primi edifici religiosi a due navate fondati della famiglia Kallergis. Questa parte analizza e contestualizza le testimonianze archeologiche, che puntano alle caratteristiche peculiari degli spazi dei monumenti. Tale osservazione viene seguita da una supposizione, secondo

cui il processo della costruzione delle chiese abbinò le pratiche murarie urbane con quelle rurali.

Il terzo capitolo dà la precedenza allo studio del contesto storico-sociale delle fondazioni. L'indagine viene portata avanti attraverso l'analisi delle fonti scritte relative alla storia della famiglia Kallergis. Prima il capitolo considera i patroni e il periodo cronologico delle fondazioni. In seguito viene articolato un proprio modello del patronaggio, secondo cui i membri legati dai stretti vincoli di parentela promossero la costruzione delle chiese nelle loro residenze.

Infine, il quarto capitolo tende ad analizzare le dimensioni ideologiche delle fondazioni. Basandosi sulle testimonianze pittoriche e quelle epigrafiche dei monumenti, vengono esposte le intenzioni di creare un'immagine commemorativa dei feudatari. Mentre prendendo in considerazione il rapporto stretto tra la famiglia e le fondazioni, l'elaborato si conclude con una supposizione, secondo cui i monumenti espressero le ideologie sia politiche che quelle religiose dei patroni. A tal punto, viene supposto l'uso delle chiese legato alle esigenze della famiglia, qui le navate collaterali diventando eventualmente le cappelle private oppure anche quelle funerarie.