

Angeliki Lymberopoulou

Fourteenth-century regional Cretan church decoration : the case of the painter Pagomenos and his clientele

Series Byzantina 8, 159-175

2010

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

*Fourteenth-century Regional Cretan Church Decoration: the Case of the Painter Pagomenos and his Clientele**

Angeliki Lymberopoulou
The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK

This paper has arisen from certain important questions regarding the way the production of art on Crete during the period of its Venetian domination (1211–1669) has been studied. For example, research on the fourteenth-century frescoes in provincial churches, on which I would like to focus, involves attributions based on stylistic analysis. Broader practical circumstances of the creation of these fresco decorations have not been studied in detail and, therefore, a number of questions have been answered only very partially or not at all. Why, for instance, were decorated churches built in greater numbers in certain regions than in others? While stylistic attributions have given rise to tentative reconstructions of entire artistic schools, what can be assumed realistically about the size and composition of the workforce involved in the creation of the frescoes? And what was the relation between the social status of the patrons who commissioned fresco decorations and the style in which they were executed? While not claiming to have precise answers to all these questions, I would like to present a few case studies which will, I hope, be an incentive for further research in this direction.

The period of Venetian domination on Crete was a direct outcome of the Fourth Crusade.¹ The Venetians obtained the island in the aftermath of the first fall and sack of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204 – although they had to fight off their naval rivals, the Genoese, and managed to establish their rule on the island only from 1211 onwards. The era

* I am grateful to Dr Rembrandt Duits, for his time and for his instrumental and invaluable help - both academically and practically - in producing and delivering this paper. For discussions on certain aspects of this paper and for their helpful comments and advice I would like to thank Mr Dimitris Bikouvarakis, Dr Paul Hetherington, Dr Charalambos Gasparis, Dr Stavros Maderakis and Dr Diana Newall. I would also like to thank Ms Sue Dobson and Mr Peter Heatherington for producing maps (on figs. 1, 2 and 3, which accompany my text and Mrs Theano Boraki and Mrs Areti Karveli for their practical help during my research in the library of Chania. Needless to say that all of the paper's potential shortfalls and mistakes are entirely my responsibility.

¹ For a concise summary on the history of Venetian-dominated Crete: MALTEZOU 1988; MALTEZOU 1991.

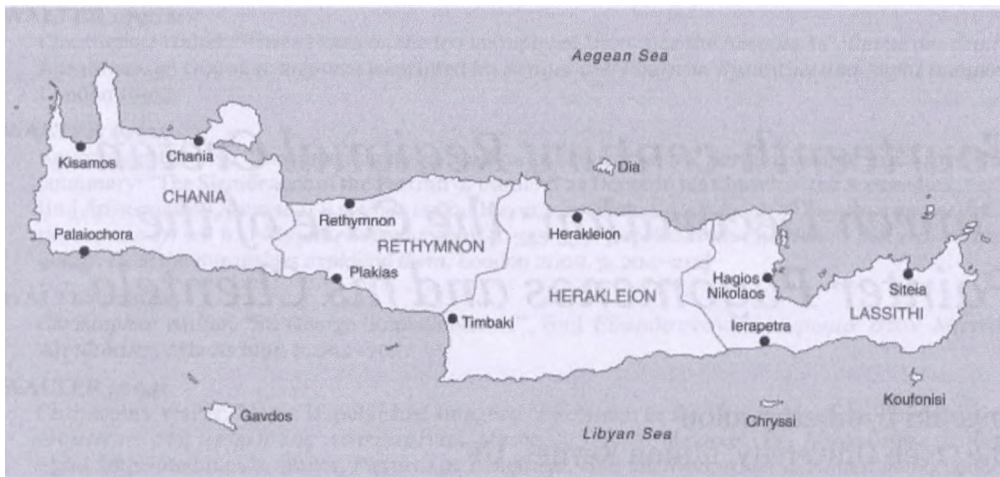


Fig. 1. The island of Crete showing the four prefectures

of Venetian domination is one of the longest periods of governmental stability on Crete and one of its most prolific culturally.

Although various revolts continued to cause headaches for the colonial rulers, cultural interaction gradually developed between the native Greek-Orthodox population, traditionally oriented toward Constantinople as a cultural and religious centre, and the Catholic Venetians, whose religion derived of course from Rome, but whose first interest was undoubtedly Venice. The goal of making money bridged the gap in business transactions. The rise of mixed marriages, which, in the long term, resulted in children of a mixed background, eager to promote a 'Cretan' rather than an either 'Greek Orthodox' or a 'Venetian Catholic' identity was yet another step. While religion remained a very sensitive subject with the Pope and Catholic orders established on the island, Orthodoxy managed to persevere – as attested by the Byzantine character in the majority of the frescoes in churches that survive on the island.²

According to the catalogue compiled by Gerola and Lassithiotakis in 1961, there are eight-hundred-and-forty-five painted churches, scattered across the provinces of present-day Crete.³ The division of the island in four prefectures (fig. 1) with a total of twenty provinces has changed very little since the fourteenth century when the Venetians divided the island in the same four administrative districts (*territorii*), which then

² For a summary of these issues and relevant bibliography: LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 198–204.

³ GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961. This book is based on the research contacted by Giuseppe Gerola and his monumental, four-volume publication: GEROLA 1905–1917 and GEROLA 1932. The number of Cretan decorated churches exceeds eight-hundred-and-forty-five, since additional edifices, probably inaccessible at the time, have been located since. For four of these churches, see LASSITHIOTAKIS 1971, 122 and note 550.



Fig. 2. The island of Crete showing the nineteen Venetian *castellanie*

counted a total of nineteen provinces (*castellanie*) between them (figs. 2, 3).⁴ The majority of the churches are situated in the countryside of the island, as very few have survived in the cities owing to, primarily, centuries of urban re-development. Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, the remote and mountainous province of Selino (fig. 3) in the south-western part of Crete, in the prefecture of Chania, is the first in church density, counting one-hundred-and-thirty churches⁵. With 408,768 km² surface area the province occupies 4.90% of the island's surface, while it contains 15.38%⁶ of the total of the island's decorated churches from the Venetian period; there is one such church for every 3.14 km².⁷ No other Cretan province can match these statistics. Moreover, out of the fifteen painters whose names have been preserved in inscriptions in churches from this era, seven are represented with work in Selino – almost fifty per cent.⁸ The same inscriptions mention an impressive number of donors in the area, either individual families or the

⁴ MALTEZOU 1988, 110–15 (mentions seventeen *castellanie*); MALTEZOU 1991, 20.

⁵ GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 30–46 (nos. 79–206) and 110 (nos. 825–26). For the churches in Selino see also LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970 and LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970a.

⁶ 15.31% if we add the four churches noted by LASSITHIOTAKIS 1971, 122 and note 550; these four buildings bring the total number of Cretan churches to eight-hundred-and-forty-nine.

⁷ This surface area presently includes the island of Gavdos, which has no churches on its soil. Without the latter island the province of Selino covers 376.254 km², which will make the ratio for church density even more impressive – one church for every 2.89 km². For Gavdos see GASPARI 2004.

⁸ GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 113–16 (nos. 1, 2, 9, 12, 13); no. 7 worked in Chania. In this number I have added the names of Ioakeim, the painter who worked in the church of the Panagia at Skafidia, in the village of Prodromi (GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 36 [no. 130]) and that of Ioannis, whose signature is found in the church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana (GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 38 [no. 146]). The latter painter has been, wrongly in my opinion, identified with Ioannis Pagomenos, see below, note 31. See also LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970, 134–35; LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 129–30 and notes 4–6 and 129–84 respectively.



Fig. 3. The island of Crete showing the twenty modern provinces (provinces highlighted: Selino, Sfakia, Malevizi, Temenos)

collective inhabitants of villages.⁹ It seems that Selino carries a certain prestige in terms of late-Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture and its patronage, but oddly, few attempts have been made to explain why this is so.

The only explanation that has been put forward, by Lassithiotakis in 1970,¹⁰ is the wild, mountainous landscape of the province, which is thought to have forced its inhabitants to form numerous, relatively small settlements separated from each other by mountain ranges and gorges. Unable to travel to neighbouring villages to attend church services, each community erected its own small church to fulfil their religious needs. There may be some validity in this argument, but a problem is that it applies equally to other rugged areas on Crete, such as in the neighbouring region of Sfakia (fig. 3), which houses just 26 churches.¹¹ While the province occupies 5.60% of the island's total surface, it contains only 3.07%¹² of the frescoed edifices, in other words there is one church for every 17.98 km².

Another possible explanation worth exploring for Selino containing many communities and many churches is that the province must have been relatively prosperous. Building a church, and especially hiring a painter who often had to come from afar, surely cost money. Unfortunately, due to the lack of evidence little work has been done on the socio-economic history of Selino so far,¹³ which means that I have to restrict myself here to some educated guesses as to where this money came from.

⁹ LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970, 133, 134.

¹⁰ LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970, 135.

¹¹ GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 46–50 (nos. 207–32). See also LASSITHIOTAKIS 1971, 95–122.

¹² Or 3.06% – see above note 6.

¹³ GASPARIS 2008 is the latest publication with valuable information regarding primarily land ownership in the prefecture of Chania during the fourteenth century.

The Venetians appear to have treated Crete as an agricultural area and a source of certain raw materials. The three basic products of Cretan agriculture the Venetians consumed and traded were wheat, wine and cheese.¹⁴ The mountains of Selino certainly did not allow for wheat production, while the most famous Cretan wines were exported from the provinces of Malevizi and Temenos (fig. 3), in the prefecture of Candia.¹⁵ Cheese was produced in various areas, and the shipping of cheese from Canea – the capital of the prefecture of which Selino formed part, today known as Chania – to the principal city of the island, modern-day Herakleion, is documented.¹⁶ The cheese was destined not only for export, but also for the supply of passing ships, since cheese was one of the main dietary components of seamen.¹⁷ The presence of cattle,¹⁸ especially sheep, in the mountainous parts of the islands, such as Selino and Sfakia attested even to the present day, make these good candidates for cheese production.

A crucial raw material the Venetians must have harvested on Crete was wood for building, ship-building,¹⁹ and various other uses (including panel painting). The main forests were situated in the mountains of the southern provinces of the island, especially the White Mountains (Λευκά Όρη), which form the natural border between Selino and Sfakia.²⁰ The economic advantages of cheese production and wood harvests were of course shared in equal measure by Selino and other elevated southern regions, but it is important to point out that Selino, in the far west, was among the first sections of the relatively inaccessible south-western coast the Venetians brought under control. They built a fortress on the coast of Selino, at Palaiochora, as early as 1282,²¹ while the fortress of neighbouring Sfakia was erected only a century later, in 1374.²²

When the Venetians attempted to pacify the noble leader of the most important native rebellion against their colonial rule, the Alexios Kallergis uprising of 1283, they offered him a pick of territories.²³ In the rather long list of the 1299 treaty it is mentioned that Kallergis was given a choice between Kisamos, where his family had a long standing presence, and Selino, which no surviving evidence connects with this house, with the obligation to pass his preference on to one of his fellow rebels.²⁴ The fact that Selino was on

¹⁴ VAN SPITAEEL 1981, 24.

¹⁵ THIRIET 1959, 320, note 2.

¹⁶ JACOBY 1999, 56.

¹⁷ JACOBY 1999, 55.

¹⁸ GASPARIS 2008, 114.

¹⁹ Both the capital Candia and Canea had arsenals for shipbuilding: GEORGOPOULOU 2001, 65–67 and notes 87–97 (on 290–91). Crete was exporting local timber: DUNN 1996, 484.

²⁰ For Selino see GASPARIS 2008, 114. Sfakia had certainly excellent wood production: THIRIET 1959, 322 and note 2; VAN SPITAEEL 1981, 43.

²¹ XANTHOUDIDIS 1939, 55; LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 3; GASPARIS 2008, 72–74.

²² ANDRIANAKIS 1998, esp. 12–13.

²³ For references see LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 7.

²⁴ MERTZIOS 1949, 267. See also GASPARIS 2008, 166 (table 7).

offer among other fertile territories, such as Kisamos,²⁵ forms another indication that the province was of economic significance and value. It is unlikely Kallergis and those who supported his rebellion primarily for the benefits they might be able to reap, would have been satisfied with a worthless stretch of mountainside.²⁶ While we do not know with certainty the outcome of Kallergis's decision, it is possible that the reformed rebel chose Selino. One of the inscriptions in the Selino area, dated 1315, mentions a Kallergis as the local administrator /governor/superintendent (fig. 4).²⁷

The notion that Selino would have been part of a trade network with the urban centres of Crete is also important as a plausible explanation for how the inhabitants of such a remote region could have

been aware of the existence and engaged the services of painters from these urban centres for the decoration of their churches. It is possible that it was via such a network that Ioannis Pagomenos, one of the most prolific fourteenth-century Cretan painters, was brought to Selino, where 50% of his signed oeuvre survives.

Pagomenos's artistic production has been the focus of a number of scholarly publications,²⁸ which reflects his importance to our understanding of Cretan monumental fresco decoration. Six churches have been signed by the artist, three of which are in Selino (fig. 5): Hagios Georgios, Komitades Sfakion, dated 1313–14; Hagios Nikolaos, Moni

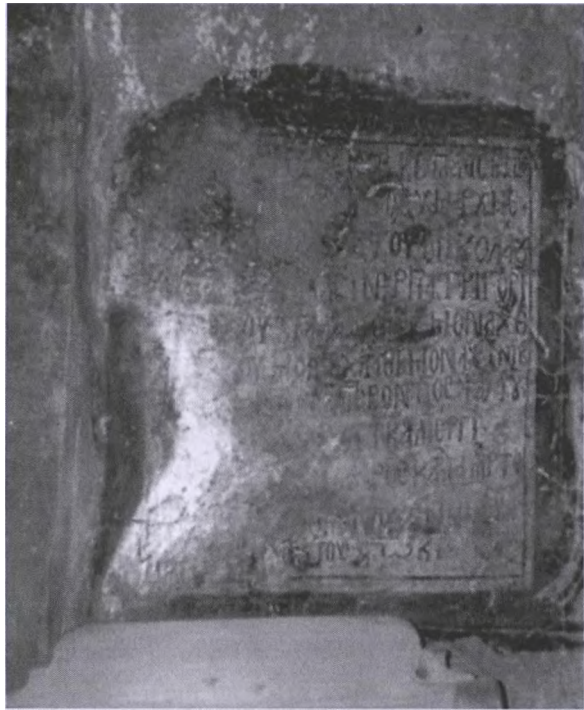


Fig. 4. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of Hagios Nikolaos in Moni, Sougia, Selino, Crete, narthex, west wall, inscription, 1315 (Photo: Author)

²⁵ THIRIET 1959, 310.

²⁶ JACOBY 1999, 56 and note 64 offers evidence that Kallergis had a business interest in cheese production. If Selino, as argued above, was among the cheese-producing Cretan areas then, perhaps, the Venetian authorities took it into consideration when making their treaty suggestions to the Cretan noble.

²⁷ For the inscription: GEROLA 1932, 470, no. 53; SUCROW 1994, 20–22. See also SPATHARAKIS 2001, 42.

²⁸ For a brief entry on this very interesting and important Cretan painter see LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 10–14 with relevant references. See also GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961, 113–14 (No. 2); MARAGKOU-DAKI 2006, 172. In her *Habilitation* TSAMAKDA 2008 examines, among other things, issues of attribution and the Pagomenos workshop.

Selinou, Sougia, dated 1315;²⁹ Koimesis of the Virgin, Alikampos Apokoronou, dated 1315–16; Hagios Georgios Anydroi Selinou, dated 1323; Hagios Nikolaos, Maza Apokoronou, dated 1325–26; and the church of the Virgin, Beilitika, Kakodiki Selinou, dated 1331–32.³⁰ Based on stylistic comparisons, a much larger number of churches in the vicinity of the signed monuments have been attributed to Pagomenos, or to his supposed workshop, or to his school – those artists who were influenced by the painter and continued to follow his artistic choices.³¹

Because all of his known and attributed work is situated in this part of the island, it has been suggested Pagomenos may have been a local talent.³² There is a number of objections to this idea, however. Firstly, the dates of his signed churches confirm his presence in the region only for a number of separate years between 1313–14 and 1331–32.³³ Secondly, the surname Pagomenos does not survive in the south-west of Crete, but it does abundantly in the prefecture of Herakleion, which Mario Cattapan has proposed as Pagomenos's place of origin.³⁴ Thirdly, we have neither evidence nor indications to support the assumption that Selino or any of the other mountainous provinces of Chania

²⁹ This is the church that mentions the administrator/ governor /superintendent Kallergis in its inscription; see above, note 27 and fig. 4.

³⁰ For brief entry for all these churches and a translation of their inscriptions see LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 129–33, 171–79 with relevant references. See also LASSITHIOTAKIS 1969, 480–86 (no. 52 – Maza), 486–90 (no. 54 – Alikampos); LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970, 176 (no. 75 – Anydroi); LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970a, 373–77 (no. 118 – Moni); LASSITHIOTAKIS 1971, 111–14 (no. 134 – Komitades).

³¹ The church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana, Kandanos, Selino dated 1327–28 (fig. 5) is considered a signed work by Pagomenos, on the basis that the painter who has signed this fresco decoration shares his first name, Ioannis, with Pagomenos. Based on stylistic comparisons and palaeographic evidence, I have rejected this attribution-turned-fact: LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 181–84 and *passim*. KALOKYRIS 1958, put forward the hypothesis that the church of the Virgin at Skafidia, Prodromi, Selino, dated 1347 (fig. 5), was also painted by Pagomenos, despite the fact that the inscription indicates Ioakeim as its painter. Kalokyris assumed that the work was executed after Pagomenos had become a monk and that he signed this work with his adopted name. This hypothesis has also been rejected by a number of scholars – see LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 130 and footnote 6. I have been informed by Dr Stavros Maderakis, whom I would like to sincerely thank for his help, support and advice, that in the church of Hagios Georgios at Kakos Potamos, Prodromi, Selino (fig. 5) the inscription mentions the names of Ioannis and Nikolaos Pagomenos. The presence of Ioannis Pagomenos's name in the inscription of the latter church is also accepted by MARAGKOU-DAKI 2006, 172. The decoration of the church is dated to either 1337–38 or 1339–40. Personally, I have never visited this church and Dr Maderakis was extremely kind in lending me visual material in order to decipher its inscription; however, I have been unable to read the names of the two painters the second of whom, Nikolaos, Maderakis believes to be Ioannis's son. Around the year 1333 the uprising of Vardas Kallergis has spread in the Selino area, which may have, perhaps, branded it as unsafe: XANTHOUDIDIS 1939, 74–75. If we accept Maderakis's reading of the inscription, this uprising may offer an explanation for the gap between the decoration of the church at Kakodiki and the latter one at Kakos Potamos. For a more recent discussion on issues of attribution and Pagomenos's workshop see TSAMAKDA 2008.

³² KALOKYRIS 1958, 350. Based on a verbal communication with Dr Maderakis, he seems to agree with this hypothesis.

³³ The potential addition of the church of Hagios Georgios at Kakos Potamos in the painter's oeuvre (see above note 31), only extends Pagomenos's recorded activity in the area without affecting this statement.

³⁴ CATTAPAN 1968, 37 (no. 6); CATTAPAN 1972, 203 (no. 5). Unfortunately, Cattapan did not reveal the whereabouts in the Venetian archives of the documents on which he based his assumption and it has, therefore, been impossible so far to verify this claim. See also LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, 11.



Fig. 5. The western part of Crete showing the prefectures of Chania and Rethymno (Drawing: Author; LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, Map 1)

maintained a local and successful artistic training centre. Whether or not Pagomenos was born in Selino, it is most likely that he received his training in the cultural and artistic hub of Herakleion – even more so since the closest major city, Chania, was underdeveloped and under-populated at the beginning of the fourteenth century.³⁵

At the same time, it is indisputable that Pagomenos's talent was in demand by provincial clients in the prefecture of Chania. It would therefore be logical to presume that the painter had a residential address within the prefecture, where he stayed between commissions. Assuming that Pagomenos moved from commission to commission without a fixed point of reference would be difficult to support for at least three reasons:

- it is unlikely that his workshop was active over the winter period, when in the mountains of Selino and Sfakia, the famous sunny and warm Cretan weather gives way to unfavourable conditions and snow makes transport difficult if not impossible;

- he had to come back to a base where he could replenish his supplies. This point favours Chania as a potential home where painting materials could be imported easily from Herakleion or even from abroad;³⁶

³⁵ GASPARIS 2008, 79.

³⁶ Existing documentation confirms the transport of goods between the ports of Herakleion and Chania: GASPARIS 1991.

– the potential existence of a family.³⁷ If our painter was married, it is unlikely that his wife would have accompanied him to all his various commissions.

The location of Pagomenos's signed churches makes it clear that he had to travel relatively long distances from Chania to his destinations (fig 5). To reach the places where he was invited to work he would have had either to sail around the island to the nearest port and then walk to his destination, or walk or travel by donkey or mule all the way following established paths.³⁸ Either choice involved a long and perilous trip. For example, the first recorded church painted by the artist, Hagios Georgios at Komitades Sfakion (fig. 5), following the present day national road, is 69.5 km from the centre of Chania. The route via the unhardened paths of the fourteenth-century can hardly have been shorter. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Florentine traveler Cristoforo Buondelmonti, travelling probably on a mule,³⁹ went around Crete at an average speed of 14 km per day, as can be reconstructed on the basis of the diary he kept.⁴⁰ (A modern comparison is offered by the trek through the Samaria gorge, a journey of 16 km across rough terrain which takes about six hours to complete, as I have personally established during the seven times I made the walk). Such a speed meant it would have taken Pagomenos four to five days to reach his destination.

Was Pagomenos travelling alone or was he accompanied by assistants? And if he was accompanied by assistants, how big was the size of his workshop-on-the-move? I think the possibility of our painter travelling alone is highly unlikely. Long-distance trips entailed many dangers in the fourteenth century. Companionship was probably always advisable in case of accidents, illnesses and other incidents that could have befallen less fortunate travellers. More importantly, in the present context, the churches Pagomenos was commissioned to paint are situated in small villages, which have very few households and inhabitants. Apart from, perhaps, employing somebody locally to help with the grinding of the colours and other small jobs, it seems unlikely that Pagomenos would have relied on finding somebody locally to assist with the execution of the frescoes. Within the thinly populated, small village communities of the Chania prefecture, it seems unlikely that our painter would have been spoiled for choice for finding a qualified assistant.

At the same time, and reflecting the size of the communities these churches were accommodating, the edifices themselves are of modest dimensions. Evidence concerning the

³⁷ It has been suggested that during his late years Pagomenos was working with his son, Nikolaos, see above, note 31.

³⁸ VAN SPITAEL, 1981, 52, mentions that in the 1970s she was able to follow such paths on the island during her attempt to reconstruct Buondelmonti's itinerary. On transport land routes on Crete see also GASPARIS 1995; GASPARIS 1997, 110–12.

³⁹ This is what VAN SPITAEL, 1981, 45 assumes. GASPARIS 1997, 124–25 mentions that horses and mules were expensive on the island and their purchase remained the privilege of the upper classes. Given his affluent background and patron, Buondelmonti must have been able to afford if not a horse, certainly a mule: WEISS 1964; WEISS 1972, 198–200.

⁴⁰ VAN SPITAEL 1981, 46–52.

size of the workforce involved in church decoration is exceedingly rare, not only from Venetian Crete but also from other, better-documented areas such as Renaissance Italy. A telling example, however, can be found in the detailed notebooks of the fifteenth-century Florentine painter Neri di Bicci (1419–1491). In 1452–53, Neri di Bicci was engaged in fresco decoration at two different sites in Florence – Santa Trinità and Santa Maria del Carmine.⁴¹ In Santa Trinità, he was commissioned to decorate the chapel of the Spini family, where two walls and the segment of the wall above the entrance arch had to be covered in fresco. The total surface area of these walls amounts to ca. 150 m².⁴² Neri used only a single assistant to complete the job.⁴³ By comparison, the frescoed interior of the church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana in Selino (fig. 5), the dimensions of which are representative for the churches in the area, has a total surface area of ca. 100m², two-thirds the size of the chapel Neri had to paint.⁴⁴ It is therefore improbable that Pagomenos would have needed to employ more than one skilled assistant for the work on his churches.

From what we know about medieval and Renaissance workshops, they seem to have been small family businesses. From fourteenth-century Crete, too, there is evidence of family members working together on church commissions, such as Theodore-Daniel and

⁴¹ THOMAS 1995, 89.

⁴² I am indebted to Dr Rembrandt Duits for calculating the surfaces of the Spini chapel, which follows, as well as that of the church of the Archangel Michael, Kavalariana, Kandanos, Selino (see *below*, note 44). The dimensions of the Spini chapel in Santa Trinità are as follows: width: 4.87 m; depth 5.12 m; height (from the floor to the highest point of the vault): 11.10m; height of entrance arch (facing the southern aisle of the church): ca. 7.50 m (judged by the height of the columns of the nave: 7.27 m – the entrance arch is slightly higher than the column). The chapel has two walls and two open arches, the one facing out to the southern aisle of the church, the other to the southern arm of the transept. Judging by the decorations of the other chapels in the church, Neri di Bicci must have painted the two walls, the vault, and the segment of the wall of the southern aisle of the church above the arch giving entrance to the chapel; only the fresco of the *Annunciation* on the wall of the aisle survives today. The total area of painted surface in the chapel can be estimated roughly as follows: back wall 54.1 m² [4.87 m x 11.10 m (the wall has a pointed arch at the top; the latter is flanked, however, by the spandrels of the vault, which are also painted)]; side wall 56.8 m² [5.12 m x 11.10 m]; vault 24.9 m² [4.87 m x 5.12 m]; segment of wall of the southern aisle above the entrance arch of the chapel: 17.5 m² [(11.10 m–7.5 m) x 4.87 m]; total 153 m². These calculations are based on the plan preceding the title page provided in SAALMAN 1966. The chapel is the fifth on the left-hand side; its identification is based on the plan preceding the title page in TARANI 1897 (No. 16 on this plan is the *Cappella dell'Assunta*, identified as the Spini chapel on 53-55, XXIII). See also SANTI 1987, 139–42.

⁴³ THOMAS, 1995, 89.

⁴⁴ The internal dimensions of the church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana, Kandanos, Selino are as follows: width: 2.70 m; length: 8.05 m (nave: 6.00 m; sanctuary: 2.05 m); height of wall below vault: 2.20 m; height of vault (from ground): 3.55 m. The painted area can be calculated roughly as follows: vault 34.12 m² [(1.35 m x π) x 8.05 m]; two long walls 35.42 m² [2.20 m x 8.05 m x 2]; two short walls 19.17 m² [2.70 m x 3.55 m]; total 88.71 m². Given the fact that the two long walls each have three blind arches and there are also two transverse arches in the nave and an apse in the sanctuary, the total painted area is most likely around 100 m². These calculations are based on LYMBEROPOULOU 2006, Plans 1–2.

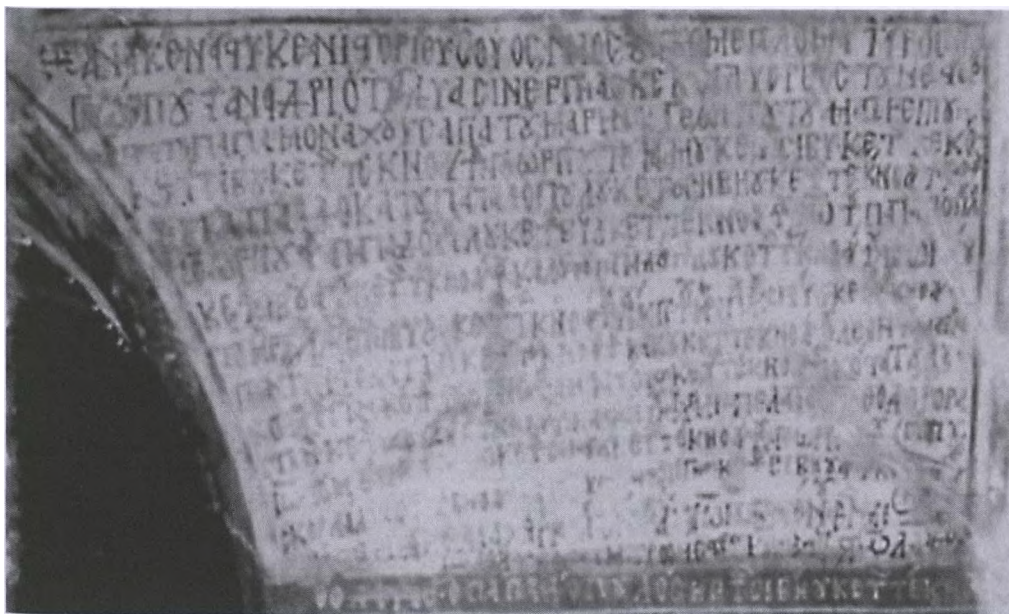


Fig. 6. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of Hagios Georgios in Anydroi, Selino, Crete, nave, south wall, inscription, 1323 (Photo: Author)

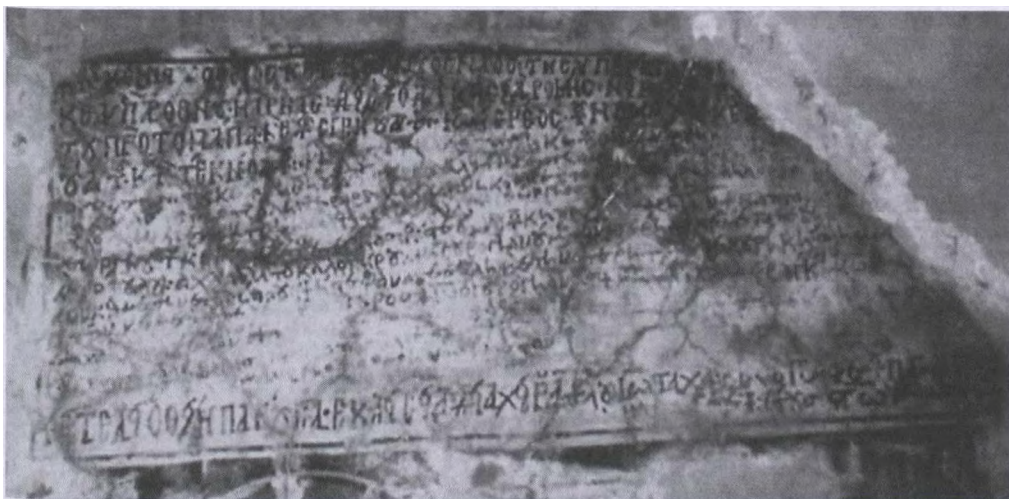


Fig. 7. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of the Virgin in Beilitika, Kakodiki, Selino, Crete, nave, west wall, inscription, 1331-32 (Photo: Author)

Michael Venieris⁴⁵ and Manuel and Ioannis Phokas.⁴⁶ It is not unthinkable, therefore, that Pagomenos's assistant was in fact a brother, a son, a nephew or a cousin.⁴⁷

Pagomenos and his assistant, while travelling, also had to transport their professional materials, such as pigments and the special and rather heavy plaster – different from ordinary plaster – that was used for painting in fresco. These materials would undoubtedly not have been available locally.⁴⁸ The loads must have been carried probably by donkeys, since both horses and mules were expensive and also difficult to obtain on the island.⁴⁹ It is important to realise that the slow modes of travel and transport in Venetian Crete would have severely restricted Pagomenos's action radius. These restrictions in their turn impose constraints on the number of church decorations that can realistically be attributed to the artist. Similarly, the educated guess about the size of Pagomenos's workforce I made above limits the number of churches that can be attributed to assistants or a 'workshop'. Pagomenos's style may have influenced that of other painters, but it is questionable whether one can speak about a school in the sense that he trained all his followers personally.

The six church inscriptions, which include Pagomenos's name, all mention multiple donors. These were collective donations, which involved a larger (Komitades, Anydroi, Maza, Kakodiki) or a smaller (Moni, Alikampos) part of the community rather than being the gift of a wealthy individual.⁵⁰ It seems that there was no particular plan for these inscriptions, no apparent order, alphabetical or other. Names are listed in a random sequence, individuals are mentioned next to families, priests next to widows. At Anydroi (figs. 5–6), two names have been added after the completion of the inscription, while at Kakodiki (figs. 5, 7) a space was left in the middle of the inscription so that it could be filled in later. Although it is clear that in certain cases, for example at Maza (fig. 5), the finances of certain individuals were better than those of the rest of the community, there is no indication that any of these people belonged to the 'upper' class (i.e. local nobility). No titles accompany any of the names mentioned in the inscriptions.⁵¹ Pagomenos's patrons are exponents of a new development in art sponsorship – art had ceased to be the privilege of rulers and the upper class.

The fresco cycles Pagomenos created for these new patrons maintained a traditional Byzantine character (figs. 8–10). Western influences in Cretan frescoes are confined, primarily, to secondary details without affecting their, obviously important for the native

⁴⁵ MADERAKIS 1981.

⁴⁶ GOUMA-PETERSON 1983.

⁴⁷ See above note 31, for Pagomenos working alongside with his son Nikolaos.

⁴⁸ I would like to thank Dr Paul Hetherington for discussing this issue with me.

⁴⁹ VAN SPITAEEL 1981, 45; GASPARIS 1997, 113–14, 124–25. See also above, note 39.

⁵⁰ For translations of these inscription see above, notes 27, 30.

⁵¹ The church of Hagios Nikolaos at Moni, Sougia, Selino, dated 1315 (fig. 5) mentions a Kallergis as administrator/governor/superintendent of the area; Kallergis, however, was not one of the donors of this church – see above, notes 27, 29.



Fig. 8. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of Hagios Georgios in Anydroi, Selino, Crete, sanctuary, north wall, Ascension, detail, 1323 (Photo: Author)



Fig. 9. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of Hagios Georgios in Anydroi, Selino, Crete, nave, south wall, scenes from the life of Saint George (from left to right: Saint George wearing the Fiery Shoes, The Flagellation of Saint George, and the Decapitation of Saint George), 1323 (Photo: Author)

patrons, overall Byzantine appearance.⁵² The frescoes are different, in this respect, from the prominent hybrid icon production, which emerged in Venetian Crete during the fifteenth century.⁵³ The icons were manufactured in the main urban centres, primarily Herakleion, where social interaction between the native Greek-Orthodox and the Venetians was much more extensive than in the remote provincial communities where small churches were erected and decorated. Not surprisingly, western artistic elements were incorporated much more emphatically in these icons than they had been in the regional frescoes – especially since the clientele for these icons overstepped the borders of Orthodoxy and embraced the whole of Europe. While the development of art on Venetian-dominated Crete is usually thought to be one of a gradual increase of western influences, it is clear that when the geography of the island and the social status of its art patrons are taken into account, we are forced to adjust the traditional story. This is yet another example of the often neglected broader circumstances of creation that affected the way where, how, and by whom art was commissioned and produced.

e-mail: A.LyMBEROpoulou@open.ac.uk



Fig. 10. Ioannis Pagomenos, Church of the Virgin in Beilitika, Kakodiki, Selino, Crete, nave, west wall, female saints, 1331–32 (Photo: Author)

⁵² For a discussion and relevant references: LYMBEROpoulou 2007a.

⁵³ For a detailed discussion on the hybrid Cretan icon: LYMBEROpoulou 2007; LYMBEROpoulou 2010.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDRIANAKIS 1998:

Michalis Andrianakis, *The Frangokastello at Sfakia*, Athens 1998.

CATTAPAN 1968:

Mario Cattapan, "Nuovi documenti riguardanti pittori cretesi dal 1300 al 1500", [in:] *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. 3, Αθήνα 1968, p. 29–46.

CATTAPAN 1972:

Mario Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500", *Θησαυρίσματα* 9 (1972), p. 202–235.

DUNN 1991:

Archibald Dunn, "The Control and Exploitation of the Arboreal Resources of the Late Byzantine and Frankish Aegean Region", [in:] *L'Uomo e la Foresta secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della "Ventisettesima Settimana di Studi" 8-13 maggio 1995*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze 1996, p. 479–497.

GASPARIS 1991:

Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, "Οι Θαλάσσιες Μεταφορές μεταξύ των Λιμανιών της Κρήτης (1326–1360)", [in:] *Πεπραγμένα του Στ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, Χανιά 1991, p. 67–101.

GASPARIS 1995:

Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, "Επαρχιακοί και αγροτικοί δρόμοι στον Ύστερο Μεσαίωνα (13^{ος}–14^{ος} Αι.)", *Η Περίπτωση της Μακεδονίας και της Κρήτης*, *Θησαυρίσματα* 25 (1995), p. 49–60.

GASPARIS 1997:

Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη 13ος–14ος αι.*, (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Μονογραφίες 4), Αθήνα 1997.

GASPARIS 2004:

Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, "Η Γαύδος και το Βενετικό Ενδιαφέρον το 13^ο Αιώνα", *Θησαυρίσματα* 34 (2004), p. 99–115.

GASPARIS 2008:

Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, *Catastici Feudorum Crete Catasticum Chanee 1314–1396*, (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Πηγές 9), Athens 2008.

GEROLA 1905-1917:

Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta*, 3 vols. [vol. 1 in two parts], Venice 1905–1917.

GEROLA 1932:

Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti dell' isola di Creta*, vol. 4, Venice 1932.

GEROLA/LASSITHIOTAKIS 1961:

Giuseppe Gerola, Constantinos E. Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος των τοιχογραφημένων εκκλησιών της Κρήτης*, [*Elenco topografico delle chiese affrescate di Creta*], ed. K. E. Λασιθιωτάκης, Ηράκλειο 1961.

GEORGOPOULOU 2001:

Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge 2001.

GOUMA-PETERSON 1983:

Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Manuel and John Phokas and Artistic Personality in Late Byzantine Painting", *Gesta* 32/2 (1983), p.159-170.

JACOBY 1999:

David Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade", [in:] *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, eds. E. E. Kittell, T. F. Madden, Urbana and Chicago 1999, p. 49–68.

KALOKYRIS 1958:

Κωνσταντίνος Καλοκύρης, "Ιωάννης Παγωμένος, ο Βυζαντινός ζωγράφος του ΙΔ' αιώνας", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 12 (1958), p. 347–367.

LASSITHIOTAKIS 1969:

Κωνσταντίνος Ε. Λασιθιωτάκης, "Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Α'. Επαρχία Κισάμου", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 21 (1969), p. 177–233.

LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970:

Κωνσταντίνος Ε. Λασιθιωτάκης, "Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Δ'. Επαρχία Σελίνου, αριθ. 57–100", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), p. 133–210.

LASSITHIOTAKIS 1970a:

Κωνσταντίνος Ε. Λασιθιωτάκης, "Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Δ'. Επαρχία Σελίνου, αριθ. 101–126", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), p. 347–388.

LASSITHIOTAKIS 1971:

Κωνσταντίνος Ε. Λασιθιωτάκης, "Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Ε'. Επαρχία Σφακιών. Επιλεγόμενα. Πίνακες", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 23 (1971), p. 95–177.

LYMBEROPOULOU 2006:

Angeliki Lymberopoulou, *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian-dominated Crete*, London 2006.

LYMBEROPOULOU 2007:

Angeliki Lymberopoulou, "Audiences and Markets for Cretan Icons", [in:] *Viewing Renaissance Art*, eds. K. W. Woods, C. M. Richardson and A. Lymberopoulou, New Haven and London 2007, p. 171–206.

LYMBEROPOULOU 2010:

Angeliki Lymberopoulou, "Late and Post-Byzantine Art under Venetian Rule: Frescoes versus Icons, and Crete in the Middle", [in:] *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James, Oxford 2010, p. 351–370.

LYMBEROPOULOU 2007a:

Angeliki Lymberopoulou, "Fish on a Dish and its Table Companions in Fourteenth-Century Wall Paintings on Venetian-dominated Crete", [in:] *Eat, drink, and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies in Honour of Professor A. A. M. Bryer*, eds. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 13), Aldershot 2007, p. 223–232.

MADERAKIS 1981:

Σταύρος Ν. Μαδεράκης, "Οι Κρητικοί αγιογράφοι Θεόδωρος-Δανιήλ Βενέρης και Μιχαήλ Βενέρης", *Πεπραγμένα Δ' Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ηράκλειο, 29 Αυγούστου – 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1976)*, vol. 2, Αθήνα 1981, p. 155–183.

MALTEZOU 1988,:

Χρύσα Α. Μαλτέζου, "Η Κρήτη στη Διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211–1669)", [in:] *Κρήτη: ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, vol. 2, ed. Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, Ηρακλείο 1988, p. 105–161.

MALTEZOU 1991:

Chrysa Maltezu, "The historical and social Context", [in:] *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. D. Holton, Cambridge 1991, p. 17–47.

MARAGKOUDAKI 2006:

Μαρία Μαραγκουδάκη, "Ιωάννης Παγωμένος και Ιωακείμ, δύο διαφορετικοί ζωγράφοι", [in:] *Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος" Ι' Διεθνές Κρητολογικό Συνέδριο Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006, Περιλήψεις (Literary Society "Chrysostomos" 10th International Cretological Congress Khania, 1-8 October 2006)*, Χανιά 2006, p. 172.

MERTZIOS 1949:

Κωνσταντίνος Δ. Μέρτζιος, "Η Συνθήκη Ενετών-Καλλέργη και οι Συνοδεύοντες αυτήν κατάλογοι", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949), p. 262–292.

SAALMAN 1966:

Howard Saalman, *The Church of Santa Trinità in Florence*, New York 1966.

SANTI 1987:

Bruno Santi, "VII. Pittura 'Minore' in S. Trinità: Da Bicci di Lorenzo a Nero di Bicci", [in:] *La Chiesa di Santa Trinità a Firenze*, eds. G. Marchini, E. Micheletti, Firenze 1987, p. 132–142.

SPATHARAKIS, 2001:

Ioannis Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, London 2001.

SUCROW 1994:

Alexandra Sucrow, *Die Wandmalereien des Ioannes Pagomenos in Kirchen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts auf Kreta*, Berlin 1994.

TARANI 1897:

Fedele Tarani, *Cenni Storici e Artistici della Chiesa di S. Trinità e suo Restauro*, Firenze 1897.

THIRIET 1959:

Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-XVe siècles)*, Paris 1959.

THOMAS 1995:

Anabel Thomas, *The Painter's Practice in Renaissance Tuscany*, Cambridge 1995.

TSAMAKDA 2008:

Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki. Kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Analyse byzantinischer Malerei Kretas im 14. Jh.*, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften, München (Habilitation, publication forthcoming)

VAN SPITAEEL 1981:

Marie-Anne Van Spitael ed., *Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Descriptio insulae Crete et Liber insularum, cap. XI: Creta*, Heraklejon 1981.

WEISS 1964:

Robert Weiss, "Un umanista antiquario: Cristoforo Buondelmonti", *Lettere italiane*, 16 (1964), n. 2, p. 105–116.

WEISS 1972:

Robert Weiss, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 15, ed. A. M. Ghisalberti, Roma 1972, p. 198–200.

XANTHOUDIDIS 1939:

Στέφανος Ξανθουδίδης, *Η Ενετοκρατία εν Κρήτη και οι κατά των Ενετών Αγώνες των Κρητών*, (Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie 34), Αθήνα 1939.