

## International Conference

### ***Mendicant Orders in the Eastern Mediterranean: Art, Archaeology and Material Culture (13<sup>th</sup> c-16<sup>th</sup> c.)***

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***\*Abstracts have not been edited. Authors are responsible for the content.***

#### **ABSTRACTS**

**Lauren Arnold**

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#### ***Armenian Carpets in Early Renaissance Paintings: The Mendicant Orders and their Role in Facilitating a Migration of Eastern Christians to Italy (1250-1500)***

This paper will discuss and enlarge upon the concept of the Christian oriental carpet in early Italian Renaissance paintings, first pioneered by Volkmar Gantzhorn in the 1980s. I will be adding to his work by introducing two further concepts: the iconographic role of eastern carpets as markers of holy ground, which can be seen even into our current era; and the presence of relic carpets of Armenian origin in early Renaissance paintings before 1500. The role of the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century Franciscans and Dominicans in facilitating the movement of Armenians and other eastern Christians into early modern Italy is crucial to understanding this hidden art-historical story.

During the waning years of the crusading era (ca. 1250—1300) Dominican and Franciscan mendicants played a significant role in proselytizing among non-Latin Christians in the eastern Mediterranean area. These populations of Christians – including Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians – were also openly supportive of Latin efforts to remove the Holy Land from Mamluk control. When the last crusader city of Acre decisively fell to Sunni Mamluk forces in 1291, the communities sympathetic to the Latins were in deep peril. While many were well-to-do merchants who could choose to leave, a significant number were humble artists, illuminators, goldsmiths, and makers of liturgical objects, whose livelihoods and futures in their native lands were imperiled by the Muslim victory. In an eerie, long-ago mirror of our own time, these Christian artists and their families, and by extension sometimes their whole workshops, became refugees, clamoring to resettle in the west. This move of small populations of eastern Christian artists to Italy was facilitated by the Franciscans and Dominicans who had settled among them in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the Holy Land during the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The first step for these liturgical artists was to escape to crusader-held Cyprus. Small groups then sailed to the Italian port city of Pisa, and from there, with Dominican and Franciscan help, they settled in the many cities clustered along the pilgrimage roads to Rome, but especially in Siena and Florence. These cities, flush with constant flows of western pilgrims going from Canterbury to Rome, were where the eastern newcomers could again ply their artistic skills in a safe environment. [Ironically, these small communities of eastern provincial artists fueled the dramatic 13<sup>th</sup> century revival of art in central Italy, yet they have always been labeled “Byzantine-influenced” by art historians. In fact these same refugees had fled the Byzantines as well, who were enemies of the crusading Latins and anyone who supported them.] Over a short period of time these eastern Christians, with the help and support of the mendicant orders, assimilated almost completely within the Latin form of worship and into Italian city life, and their ethnic backgrounds were forgotten by the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

But one significant aspect of their eastern heritage vividly survives in early Renaissance paintings. This paper will introduce the concept of the relic carpet – a Christian artifact with deep iconographic significance-- that has been overlooked or misunderstood by art historians focused on the hypothetical Muslim origin of all oriental carpets. Several distinctive relic carpets of eastern Christian origin appear in Italian paintings multiple times and over several centuries, and this paper will stress the iconographic importance of these relics to community life in Italy. Each representation of the individual carpet probably records an actual flat-weave rug, thought by its Armenian family in Italy to have been present in the house of Mary, beneath her feet during the Annunciation, thus making it a relic that marked holy ground.

I will suggest that these paintings with relic carpets had deep and consistent relationships to Franciscan and Dominican settings in Tuscany, specifically among assimilating Armenian communities in Siena and Florence. For instance, one carpet exclusive to the Sienese *contado* was likely brought there from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia after 1291, where it had been conserved, possibly for centuries, as a family religious treasure. Helped to resettle in Italy by the Franciscans, the Armenian family’s relic in Siena first appears in a Franciscan-related painting around 1300, and it is identifiable in at least 20 further paintings in the Sienese *contado* over a span of about 160 years. With its simple Tree-of-Life motif, the rug is a central feature in paintings large and small, always under the feet of the Virgin, and virtually all of the paintings have Franciscan iconography or connections. It last appears in Pienza in 1462. A different relic carpet, with Armenian and Dominican connections, was held and conserved in the vicinity of Florence, where it appears in at least 6 paintings from ca. 1250 to its last depiction in 1472, a span of 220 years. Like its Sienese counterpart, this

Armenian relic carpet in Italian paintings then disappears from the pictorial record. This paper will undertake to answer why.

**Michele Bacci**

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### ***The Franciscans as Promoters of New Holy Sites***

Unlike other Mendicant Orders, the Minor Friars stood out for their promotion of site-specific forms of both private and collective piety. This basically stemmed from the distinctive worship that characterised their founder, Saint Francis: given that the latter's body had been concealed and made inaccessible under the pavement of the Lower Church in Assisi, his worshippers could not make use of any relic of him, and were forced to direct their piety either to images or to memorial sites. Moreover, the perception of Francis as *alter Christus* implied, in many respects, the need for a network of holy places that might parallel the *loca sancta* of Jesus in Palestine. The most important of such sites were, apart from the saint's burial site in Assisi, the small *Porziuncola* church – which was attributed a plenary indulgence –, the top of La Verna Mount, where Francis was imprinted with stigmata, and a number of secondary places, all of which came to be regarded as pilgrimage sites, where visitors were able to follow in Francis' steps and, to some extent, to re-enact the holy events of his life in their personal experience.

The holy topography of Francis was already established, when the Custody of the Holy Land was founded and the Friars were bestowed with the ownership of some of the most important Palestinian holy sites, including parts of the Holy Sepulchre and the Nativity church in Bethlehem. It can be questioned to what extent the Franciscan engagement in promoting worship for memorial sites of their founder played a direct or indirect role in the shaping of a new, and larger, topographic network of Christological and Marian shrines in Jerusalem and other parts of the Holy Land. Their presence *in situ* had major consequences in the ways in which the holy sites were experienced by Western pilgrims. Even if some of them manifested their will to visit the *loca sancta* in a more personal, independent way, the majority of visitors conformed to specific patterns of piety, shaped and promoted by the Friars, who acted as guides and provided pilgrims with booklets listing each of the worship-worthy sites and the corresponding prayers. What is most relevant, the Friars did not limit themselves to encouraging worship for the major events of the Gospels that had traditionally been transcribed onto the Palestinian soil, but went so far as to work out a much more systematic sequence of minor sites, often associated with ruins, stones, secondary elements of Jerusalem's and Bethlehem's city-and landscapes, which were integrated into specific circuits (such as that of Mount Sion, the Mount of Olives, the *Via Captivitatis* and the *Via Crucis*), which were meant to be experienced as kinetic,

and at the same time meditational, exercises of piety. Moreover, the Friars were the first to adopt a hierarchical approach to the experience of holy sites by distinguishing those where pilgrims could earn a plenary indulgence, from those enabling visitors to have only seven years and seven carines. The shaping of such new topographies will be explored in this paper with special emphasis on the situation in Bethlehem and its environs.

**Eleni Barmparitsa**

Ephorate of Antiquities of Messenia

***Settlement and Activities of the Mendicant Orders in the Peloponnese  
During the Late Middle Ages***

The medieval Mediterranean was an environment, in which mendicant friars were able to act, attending to the spiritual needs of the populace and taking benefit from the support of the urban classes, especially merchants, with whom they established close relations. Mendicant orders originated from and flourished mainly in urban environments, spreading God's word in the cities, unlike Cistercians or Benedictines.

In the Latin Peloponnese, during the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was mainly the friars, who established convents in most of the major urban centres. In Andravida, Glarentza, Patras, Methoni, Coroni, Nafplion, sparse archaeological evidence (mainly architectural remains) confirm the textual testimony of the mendicants' presence. Both Franciscan and Dominican orders ministered almost exclusively to the Latin population, despite their initial mission to convert Greeks to Roman Catholicism. Their existence depended on the Latin secular authorities, who provided them protection and support; hence, they became deeply involved in the political, economic and cultural life of the principality of Achaea as well as the Venetian centres of the peninsula.

**Joško Belamarić**

Cvito Fisković Centre and University of Split

***Franciscans and Art on the Croatian Coast in the Thirteenth Century***

How is one to explain the fast track the Franciscans took in Dalmatia, from their modest beginnings by some ruinous churches on the outskirts of towns in the 1220s and 1230s and the first monastic refuges mostly outside the city walls, close to some hospital or leper house, to the opulent churches and monasteries at the strategic points of cities only a decade or so later? Franciscan social and religious doctrines made their

way into the Adriatic city unmediated: by direct contact with the saint and his brothers, personal fascination and personal contacts.

We shall find examples of Francis' new manner of preaching and the new language of gesture, for instance, in the second phase of the Radovan Portal of the 1260s or 1270s, at the time the forecourt of Trogir Cathedral was being given shape. The main portal (started in 1240) acquired then to a considerable extent a new iconographic programme - with the direct involvement of Bishop Columbanus, a Franciscan Penitent. This leads to the conclusion that the contribution of the specific models of Franciscan piety need not be looked for only in the inventories of their monasteries. As early as the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century extremely learned Franciscans were to be found occupying the thrones of bishoprics in most Dalmatian cities, men who were important cathedral renovators. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century alone, sixteen Franciscans were bishops in towns along the Croatian littoral. We can see the Franciscan ferment of their undertakings in many works.

It is not surprising then that the building of monumental Gothic Franciscan churches on the Adriatic coast had started in Pula, Zadar and Dubrovnik by the mid-thirteenth century and was brought to a close, probably, in the 1280s, as shown by the Zadar monastery, the proto-coenobium of the Order on the Croatian coastline, begun and completed by Archbishop Periander. In Pula, Zadar and surely in Dubrovnik as well these are monastic churches with compact masses, exceptional clarity of volume, a unified church space that is articulated with almost a symmetrical division into the chancel and the space for the congregation, with deep rectangular apses – a raised central and two lower lateral apses - spanned with cross-ribbed vaulting. The dimensions of these churches speak sufficiently eloquently of the importance they had.

The paper also discusses the character of the chancels in the monastic churches. Consideration is given to several important artworks.

**Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb**  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

***Facing the Forbidden: Felix Fabri in Medieval Jerusalem***

It is sometimes said that medieval visitors to Jerusalem only saw what they wanted to see. Without question, Jerusalem's monuments and works of art reinforced visitors' preconceived notions of religious experience, no matter their confessional stripe. Yet, even as pilgrims followed their own itineraries, they were obliged to confront works of art that challenged their sense of place and privilege. This talk will probe the Dominican friar Felix Fabri's response to The Dome of the Rock—a

monument to which he devoted considerable attention in his account of his 1482 trip to the Holy Land, which he called *Wanderings*.

The Dome of the Rock, with its commanding location and exquisite mosaics, both troubled and intrigued Fabri. Though he referred to it as 'The Temple of the Lord', he understood it to be a monument "built in the infidel fashion" and a galvanizing symbol for the "Saracens", who wrongly—to Fabri's way of thinking—controlled the city. Still, he took great efforts to look at and describe the building and in so doing, found himself wrestling with the seductive call of beauty and the ethics, even morality, of looking across cultural and religious lines. His lengthy disquisition, unique among medieval visitors' accounts, shows him trying to reconcile his Dominican values and ministerial imperatives with the pleasures and challenges of foreign travel. Our investigations will take us through his mode of argumentation, his predilections as a viewer and his somewhat nuanced view of Islam to show how and why he ultimately comes down on the side of both the prayerful and the curious.

**Maria Bormpoudaki**

Byzantine and Christian Museum

***Evidence of Dominican Presence in the Cretan Countryside:  
A Fresco of Saint Peter of Verona in the Church of Saint George  
in the village of Apostoloi Pediados (Herakleion)***

The establishment of the mendicant order of the Dominicans on the Venetian-occupied island of Crete dates back to the mid-13th century, when the most prominent house of the order was founded in the city of Candia. It included an impressive convent, dedicated to saint Peter the Martyr.

A unique image of the Dominican saint Peter the Martyr survives in the small church of Saint George at Apostoloi in the region of Pediada outside Candia, dated around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., up to 1360. Shown in full length, the Dominican saint is tonsured, dressed in the Dominican habit and holds the martyr's palm. We will examine thoroughly the painting, being analyzed against the historical background of the Venetian colonists dominion and Veneto- Greek interactions around the time of the revolt of Saint Titus. We will associate the dominican saint at Apostoloi with a figure of a saint displayed on the walls of the convent of Saint Peter in the city of Candia. We will discuss whether the depiction of the dominican saint and the figure of the mounted saint George displayed on the opposite wall indicate the identity of the landlord. Evidence from the Venetian archives will help us further associate the landlord at Apostoloi with a Venetian feudatory.

**Jean-Pierre Caillet** (Université Paris-Nanterre) and **Fabienne Joubert** (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

***Byzantine Sources of the Crucifixion in Italy:  
Revisiting the Role of the Mendicants***

The 13th and the beginning of the 14th century in central Italy are marked by a notable enrichment of the iconography of the Crucifixion, a major theme in the spirituality of those times. The subject was already extensively studied : the new western imaging shows strong links with post-iconoclastic Byzantine painting, produced or situated in circles where the mendicant orders were established (or at least visited) during the 13th century - besides Constantinople, the Holy Land, the area of the north-oriental Mediterranean Sea, the Hellenic world and Serbia. In counterpoint, it turns out that these iconographic inflections were first displayed in Italian sanctuaries more or less influenced by mendicant spirituality, where specific directions were given to them.

Arguing with the study of specific eastern sites, specific byzantine patterns and western works of art less often considered, we shall attempt to underline the determining character of the direct vision which Franciscans and Dominicans got acquainted with, in order then to provide their transmission to the Latin West.

**Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras**

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

***From Catalonia to Sinai: A Two-Way Journey.  
Revisiting the Legend of King Abgar in the Saint Francis Altarpiece of Santa Clara  
in Vic (1414-1415)***

Although the Byzantine legend of King Abgar was well known in the West thanks to the Golden Legend of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1260), its depiction in Gothic art is very rare. The inclusion of two scenes of this cycle – the healing of Abgar and the martyrdom of Simon and Judas Thaddeus – into the iconographical programme of the Saint Francis altarpiece at the convent of Santa Clara in Vic (Catalonia) (1414-1415) requires a better explanation. First, it should be connected with the arrival in Catalonia of a series of diplomatic embassies sent by Manuel II Palaiologos and the involvement of the Mendicant Orders in the preparation of a new Crusade. This then coincides with the rise of the cult of the *acheiropietos* images in Catalonia, as well as with the earliest documented record of trade in Byzantine icons from Constantinople and Crete to Catalonian ports. Furthermore, the presence of Catalans in Greece, Cyprus, and Damascus, their increasing interest in the Sinai, and the special protection of the kings of Aragon over the delicate situation of the Franciscan Order in the Holy Land seem to explain this emerging depiction of genuine Byzantine subjects in Catalan Late Gothic painting.

**Daphne Chronaki**

Ephorate of Antiquities of Lassithi, Crete

***Παρατηρήσεις στη χωροθέτηση και στις χαράξεις ναών  
των επαιτικών ταγμάτων στην Κρήτη***

Η παρουσία των επαιτικών ταγμάτων στην Κρήτη ανάγεται στις πρώτες δεκαετίες μετά τη βενετική κατάκτηση (1204-1211), με σκοπό την ενίσχυση και στήριξη της λατινικής εκκλησίας. Μοναστικές εγκαταστάσεις και ναοί ιδρύθηκαν τόσο στα αστικά κέντρα όσο και στην ύπαιθρο. Οι κανόνες για τις κατασκευές των ναών και των λοιπών κτισμάτων των ταγμάτων είχαν θεσπιστεί σε πρώιμο χρόνο από την ίδρυσή τους, σε σύνδεση με τις ιδεολογικές κατευθύνσεις τους. Η τήρηση των κανόνων υπήρξε αρκετά πιστή στις αρχικές φάσεις της οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας. Η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει τη χωροθέτηση ορισμένων εγκαταστάσεων των ταγμάτων μέσα στα αστικά κέντρα της νήσου, δεδομένου ότι εδίδοντο κατευθύνσεις για την επιλογή των θέσεων εγκατάστασης. Επίσης εξετάζεται η χρήση μετρικών χαράξεων και αναλογιών στην κατασκευή, σε παραδείγματα ναών των ταγμάτων στην Κρήτη.

***Observations on the Planning and Proportions of Mendicant Churches in Crete***

Mendicant orders are present in Crete since the first decades of the Venetian occupation of the island (1204-1211), to support and enhance the Latin Church. Abbeys and churches have been founded within the towns as well as in rural areas. Rules about the construction of mendicant churches and abbeys had been enacted soon after the establishment of the orders, coherent to their ideological and religious frame. Adherence to the rules was strict during the first period of building activity. This paper examines the concept of urban planning for some mendicant installations in Crete, especially in the towns, considering the directions about the installation sites. The practice of tracing in the construction and the use of modules and proportions in the projects of mendicant installations in Crete are also examined.

**Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides**

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

***Saint Francis and Private Devotion in Venetian Crete:  
Archival and Visual Evidence***

The cult of Saint Francis was introduced in Crete in the early decades of the Venetian rule on the island. The popular friar from Assisi had an impressive church and monastery dedicated to him in the city of Candia before the middle of the thirteenth century. The extensive complex of buildings was the largest Latin monastery in Crete and constituted the most important hearth for the dissemination of Franciscan ideology in the Christian East.

The importance of the monastery in the capital, Candia, but also the foundation of more establishments of the Franciscan Order in other cities, such as Chania and Rethymno, and elsewhere on the island, had a considerable impact on the dissemination of the cult of Saint Francis, not only among Roman Catholics but also among Greek Orthodox believers on Crete. Saint Francis' reception in Orthodox environments is attested by his known depictions within the iconographic programme of fresco decoration in Orthodox churches.

The present paper focuses on portable works of art produced on Crete and reflecting the saint's cult. These include independent icons, small triptychs, and paintings for private chapels, where not only Saint Francis but also other Franciscan saints feature, sometimes along with subjects from the Byzantine tradition. A further category of religious works of art underlying the veneration of Saint Francis constitute objects of applied arts and material culture dedicated to or destined for his great monastery, as mentioned in relevant inventories and other archival documents drafted on Venetian Crete. The surviving body of works of art pertinent to private devotion for this major personality of medieval monasticism in Veneto-Cretan society is examined, aiming to interpret the choice of subjects represented as well as exploring further the reasons for the spread of Saint Francis' cult in the foremost colony of the *Serenissima*.

**Donal Cooper**

University of Cambridge

### ***The Mendicant Orders as Patrons of Art and Architecture in Venetian Herakleion***

The mendicant churches of Herakleion, the capital of Venetian Crete, were amongst the most significant Latin foundations in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Franciscan church is regularly singled out by travellers as the most impressive in the city and by extension on the whole island. Thanks to the *Notai di Candia* and other documents in the Venetian State Archives and Rome, the documentary record for the mendicant houses in Herakleion is also much richer than for any other centre. Notarial acts pertaining to the Franciscans and Dominicans contain notices of artistic commissions, architectural fabric and altar foundations, which can in turn be read against the surviving monumental and archaeological evidence. The church of Saint Peter Martyr is still standing and newly restored. The church of Saint Francis does not survive but its foundations below the Archaeological Museum have been the subject of recent archaeological excavations.

In this lecture I will present unpublished archival material for the Dominican and Franciscan churches and the communities of friars that were attached to them, shedding new light on the juxtaposition of Latin and Orthodox elements within their interiors. In particular, I will focus on the renewal of the Franciscan church in the early sixteenth century following the severe earthquake that struck Crete in 1508. Following

the disastrous collapse of the apsidal vault the Candian Franciscans initiated a series of artistic commissions to renew their church, combining some elements of the earlier interior with up-to-date interventions imported from Venice. It is likely that the largest painting to survive from Venetian Crete, the *Sacra Conversazione* now in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice attributed to a follower of Giovanni Bellini, was part of this renovation programme. This painting's story – shipped from Venice to Crete in the early Cinquecento and then back to *La Serenissima* after the fall of Candia in 1669 – offers a fascinating microcosm of the mendicant story on *la grande isola*.

### **Şebnem Dönbekci**

Koç University

#### ***Revisiting the Vita Cycle of Saint Francis in Constantinople: Power and Ideology in the Medieval Mediterranean***

The excavations carried by Cecil L. Striker and Doğan Kuban in the nineteen sixties and seventies revealed that the Kalenderhane Mosque was part of the monastic complex of the Virgin *Kyriotissa*. The *vita* cycle of Saint Francis and some other finds suggest that the church was used as a Catholic Church during the Latin occupation. The mysterious cycle of Saint Francis has attracted scholarly attention since its discovery. Scholarship mainly focuses on four aspects of the cycle: establishing its historical setting, patronage and dating; identifying the scenes in the cycle and their links to contemporary and later mural and panel paintings and cycles of Saint Francis; stylistic associations of the cycle with other works of art and, in particular, with a group of thirteenth-century Crusader manuscripts; and, lastly, the choice of Byzantine *vita* format for the fresco cycle.

The ensemble of various Eastern and Western components in the program is a less discussed and researched aspect of the cycle. It is commonly considered to reflect the mid-thirteenth century climate of the ongoing negotiations for the union of the Greek Orthodox Church and Latin Catholic Church. The quite unusual importance attributed to Greek Church Fathers, depicted twice the size of the central figure of Francis and in a prominent location framing the cycle, is generally interpreted as a reference to the identification of the common origins of the Latin Church and Greek Church and the parallels between Franciscan spirituality and Byzantine monasticism.

However, in this paper, I will argue that the joint presence of Western and Eastern elements and some overlooked particularities of its iconographic program may also lead to a different reading. This new interpretation of the Saint Francis cycle goes far beyond the attempt of the mendicant order to legitimize the sainthood of their recently canonized founder and requires reconsideration of its context against the

backdrop of the ongoing negotiations of power and ideology in the post-Crusades Mediterranean.

**Ioannis Eliades**

Director, Byzantine Museum and Art Galleries, Archbishop Makarios III Foundation

***Sub Tutela Matris. A Unique Iconography of the Carmelites on Cyprus***

A Cypriot icon of a crowned Virgin of Mercy of the Carmelite Order with the sixteen miracles-scenes of the Mercy of Virgin preserves an iconography of the lost today cycle of the miracles of the Merciful Virgin of the Carmelite Brothers. The recent restoration of the icon has removed the later overpaintings from the faces of the Virgin and Child and has revealed the original garments of the Carmelite Order which were used before 1287. The certain ante quem datation of this icon makes it an important universal artwork which reveals the contacts between East and West during the 13th century. This discovery sets the question whether the striped garments of the Carmelite Monks were vertically striped as in the Cypriot icon (before 1287) or horizontally as in the Siena Pala del Carmine (1327-1329), painted by Pietro Lorenzetti, ca. 40 years after the new habit of the Carmelites was introduced. The Cypriot icon has been executed by Cypriot master in Byzantine art of the Comnenian and post-Comnenian styles in order to illustrate a Western iconographical subject such as the Virgin of Mercy and the cycle of miracles of the Virgin towards the Carmelite Order. To this painter are attributed a series of icons and a cycle of frescoes with the same characteristics.

**Periandros Epitropakis**

Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports

***Το χρονικό της ανασκαφής της μονής του Αγίου Φραγκίσκου Ηρακλείου  
μέσα από τον τύπο της εποχής***

Η εξαγγελία των μέσων της δεκαετίας του '80 για ανέγερση ενός νέου Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ηρακλείου σε χώρο κατάλληλο και άνετο έξω από την πόλη, υλοποιήθηκε στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 2010 ως ανακαίνιση και επέκταση του υφιστάμενου κτηρίου. Εντός του οικοπέδου, η ύπαρξη εκτεταμένων αρχιτεκτονικών καταλοίπων της βενετσιάνικης Μονής του Αγίου Φραγκίσκου και της βυζαντινής οχύρωσης της πόλης σε όλο το μήκος της νότιας αυλής του Μουσείου είχε πιστοποιηθεί ανασκαφικά από το 1983. Το 1997, ανατέθηκε στο αρχιτεκτονικό γραφείο του Αλέξανδρου Τομπάζη η μελέτη αναβάθμισης του υφιστάμενου κελύφους και επέκτασης των χώρων του. Τον Ιανουάριο του 2003, μετά την ολοκλήρωση περιμετρικών πασσαλοπήξεων αντιστήριξης των παρειών για τις εκσκαφές του νέου κτηρίου Β', η τότε 13<sup>η</sup> Ε.Β.Α., μπόρεσε να διενεργήσει ανασκαφικούς καθαρισμούς σε σχεδόν ορατά υπολείμματα τοιχοποιιών. Ένα σημαντικό κομμάτι για την ιστορία της πόλης άρχισε τότε να αποκαλύπτεται. Έτσι, στο πλαίσιο του Γ' Κοινοτικού

Πλαισίου Στήριξης (2000-2006) - Επιχειρησιακό Πρόγραμμα «Πολιτισμός», από τον Απρίλιο του 2003 έως το Μάρτιο του 2004, εκτελέσθηκε «αρχαιολογική έρευνα στο χώρο επέκτασης Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ηρακλείου» ως υποέργο στο έργο της «Επισκευής, Επέκτασης και Εκσυγχρονισμού» του. Η 13<sup>η</sup> Ε.Β.Α. διερεύνησε ανασκαφικά ολόκληρο το ελεύθερο ανατολικό τμήμα του οικοπέδου, όπου αποκαλύφθηκαν εντυπωσιακά κατάλοιπα της άλλοτε Μονής και, τα οποία οδήγησαν σε δραστική τροποποίηση της μελέτης επέκτασης με κατάργηση του κτηρίου Β'. Από την ίδια Εφορεία διερευνήθηκε και το βορειοανατολικό τμήμα του οικοπέδου για την αποκάλυψη της συνέχειας του βυζαντινού τείχους, η οποία τροποποίησε σημειακά μόνο το κτήριο Γ'. Ταυτόχρονα, εκσκαφές στο βόρειο τμήμα του οικοπέδου για την κατασκευή του κτηρίου Γ' επέβλεψε η τότε ΚΓ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α. Στη θέση αυτή δεν ανευρέθηκαν αρχαιότητες λόγω της ύπαρξης κήπων όπως σημειώνουν οι παλαιοί χάρτες της πόλης και τα βαθύτερα στρώματα είχαν διαταραχθεί από τη δημιουργία των ειδικών υπόγειων χώρων «εξασφάλισης των αρχαιοτήτων» του 1939 και των ανεξάρτητων αποθηκών του 1951.

Όπως απέδειξε η ανασκαφή, το άλλοτε σπουδαιότερο και πλουσιότερο από τα λατινικά μοναστήρια της Κρήτης, η Μονή του Αγίου Φραγκίσκου του Τάγματος των Francescani Minori Osservanti Zoccolanti, εκτεινόταν στη θέση που σήμερα καταλαμβάνουν η παλαιά πτέρυγα του σύγχρονου Μουσείου (κτήριο Α') και οι δύο αύλειοι χώροι του ανατολικά και νότια. Το μεγάλοπρεπο καθολικό με το πυργόσχημο κωδωνοστάσιο ξεπερνούσε σε ύψος όλα τα κτήρια του Χάνδακα και μέσα από το πέλαγος ξεχώριζε από μακριά καθώς ήταν χτισμένο στο υψηλότερο σημείο του παραλιακού μετώπου της πόλης. Η ανασκαφή απέδειξε ότι αυτό το λοφώδες έξαρμα 26,0 μέτρων πάνω από τη θάλασσα, ήταν από τα Νεολιθικά κιόλας χρόνια ο ομφαλός ενός πρωταρχικού οικιστικού πυρήνα, που έμελλε να γίνει η μητρόπολη του νησιού με 9.000 χρόνια ιστορίας. Η ίδρυση της Μονής φαίνεται να ανάγεται στην περίοδο από την εγκατάσταση του πρώτου Δούκα της Κρήτης (1210) έως τα μέσα του 13<sup>ου</sup> αι. Προστατευμένη στη νοτιοανατολική γωνία της παλαιάς οχύρωσης, επόπτευε το ανοιχτό πέλαγος και κατόπτευε τον λιμένα βόρεια και ανατολικά ολόκληρη την αμμώδη παράκτια ζώνη Πόρου-Τρυπητής μέχρι τις εκβολές του ποταμού Κατσαμπά ή Κέρατου. Μέσα από δημοσιεύματα της εποχής, συμπληρωμένα με στοιχεία των ανασκαφικών ημερολογίων και φωτογραφίες του αρχείου της ανασκαφής του φωτοαρχείου της Υπηρεσίας ανασυνθέτουμε την απήχηση σε τοπικό και εθνικό επίπεδο μιας ιστορικής αρχαιολογικής ανακάλυψης κάτω από ένα Μουσείο!

***The Chronicle of the Excavation of Saint Francis Monastery in Heraklion  
through Contemporary Press***

The announcement, in the middle of the 1980s, about the construction of a new Archaeological Museum in Heraklion at a suitable and sizeable site outside the city

materialized, in the middle of the 2010s, in the form of the renovation and extension of the existing building. In the southern court of the Museum, the existence of extensive architectural remains of the Venetian Monastery of Saint Francis and of the Byzantine fortification of the city had been confirmed by excavations since 1983. However, in 1997, the project for the upgrade and the extension of the existing building shell was assigned to the architectural office of Alexandros Tombazis. In order to start the digging and construction works for the new building B, perimetric support of the sidewalls by means of piles took place in January 2003. Then, the 13<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities managed to carry out archaeological excavation cleaning works of almost visible remains of masonry and a significant part of the city's history began to unravel. Thus, from April 2003 to March 2004, an 'archaeological search at the site of the extension of the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion' was carried out as a subproject of the project 'Repair, Extension and Modernization' in the context of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Community Support Framework (2000-2006) (Operational Program "Culture"). The 13<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities excavated the entire eastern section of the plot which was free from buildings. Impressive architectural remains of the Monastery were revealed at this area and led to significant amendments to the project of extension by cancellation of building B. The same Ephorate investigated also the north-eastern section of the plot in order to reveal the continuation of the Byzantine wall, which caused a small side modification to the building C. At the same time, mechanical excavation works for the construction of building C at the northern section of the plot, were overseen by the then 23<sup>rd</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. No antiquities were found at that site due to the existence of gardens, as the old maps of the city demonstrate. The deeper layers had been disrupted by the building of special underground spaces intended to 'safeguard the antiquities' in 1939 and of the independent storehouses built in 1951.

As the excavation verified, the Monastery of Saint Francis of the Order of *Francescani Minori Osservanti Zoccolanti*, which was once the richest and most significant of the Latin monasteries of Crete, was originally built at the location where today is found the old wing of the modern Museum (building A) and the two courtyards, east and south. The magnificent *katholikon*, with the tower-shaped belfry, surpassed in height all the buildings of Chandax and was visible from far out in the open sea, for it was built on the highest spot of the city seafront. The excavation verified that that hilly projection of 26 meters above the sea level had been, already since the Neolithic period, the navel of a primary residential settlement, which was destined to become the island's metropolis, with a history of 9.000 years. The foundation of the Monastery seems to go back to the period of the settlement of the first Duke of Crete (1210) until the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Protected in the southeastern corner of the old byzantine fortification, the monastery supervised the open sea and surveyed the harbor to the north and all the sandy coastal zone between Poros-Trypiti and the

mouth of the river Katsampas or Keratos to the east. Through the publications of that era, supplemented by information from the excavation diaries and photographs from the photo archive of the Archaeological Service, we will attempt to reconstruct the story of a fascinating archaeological discovery underneath a unique Museum!

**Helen C. Evans**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

### ***The Franciscans among the Armenians***

In 1217 Saint Francis established the province of Syria for his Order; in 1219 he went to the Near East. By that date, the Armenians in their Kingdom of Cilicia on the Mediterranean coast were linked closely to the Crusader states through marriage, diplomatic and trade alliances. Franciscans in Acre included Armenian among the languages they taught for missionary efforts. In 1247 a Franciscan missionary, Laurent d'Orta, was sent to work with the Armenians. In 1251 the Armenians patriarchate signed papers of Union with Rome through the good offices of the Franciscans. The Armenian king Het'um I (1215-1270) provided aid for Franciscan William of Rubruck's (c.1220-c.1293) travel to the Mongol court at Karakorum. By 1289 there was an Armenian convent in the Cilician capital at Sis. In 1294 King Het'um II (1266-1307) identified himself as a Franciscan. Ranking Armenian clergy in Cilicia signed themselves as Franciscans by the early fourteenth century. This paper will explore evidence of Franciscan influence on the style and symbolism of Cilician Armenian art, influences that remained long after their Franciscan source was forgotten.

**Jaroslav Folda**

University of North Carolina

### ***Artistic Commissions related to the Mendicant Orders in the Thirteenth Century Crusader Levant***

The three most important Mendicant Orders in the Crusader Levant during the 13<sup>th</sup> century were the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Carmelites. All three orders commissioned important paintings that demonstrated unique contributions of creativity and originality in the artistic developments of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the Levant, but few works have been identified so far.

The Franciscans in Constantinople contributed the first extant fresco program devoted to the life and miracles of St. Francis. The Dominican house in Acre was apparently the source of one of the earliest Bibles with collections of translations of the biblical books in Old French and a lavish program of illuminations of outstanding quality, all done for a royal patron. The Carmelites in Nicosia commissioned a major

altarpiece/icon in honor of the Virgin Mary “Misericordia” with a unique set of narrative scenes dealing with the Miracles of the Virgin. Other icons also appear to have links with the mendicant orders in the Crusader Levant. I propose to update our understanding of these works, and to ask some additional questions: first, what other works also very likely were done as commissions for the mendicant orders in the Crusader Levant, based on what survives? Second, what can we say about the impact these works, commissioned by the Mendicant orders in the Crusader Levant, may have had on new works being commissioned and executed in the West for their convents, churches and lay confraternities?

**Vicky Foskolou**

University of Crete

***Reflections of mendicant religiosity in the monumental painting of the Latin Southern Greek Mainland and the Islands (13th- 15th c.)***

In the study of the art and material culture of the Latin states in the southern Greek mainland and the islands the view prevailed, until very recently, that the presence of Westerners only marginally influenced the artistic activity of these regions. Especially in the case of monumental painting contact with the art of the West was identified only in minor details, usually iconographical themes of a pragmatic nature that did not affect the “Orthodox” character of Byzantine iconography and style. Any iconographical element that was “different”, “novel” or “foreign” in the pictorial production of these areas was considered as the result of the contact with Western art, without any specific historical analysis or comprehension of its sources.

The aim of the paper is to re-examine some of these iconographic innovations under the light of mendicant teachings and religiosity. Echoes of the special affection of Franciscans to Mary Magdalene for example have already been traced in her depiction with the attributes of her sinful life in the Passion scenes of many provincial monuments in the area. Apart from iconographic subjects that possibly reflect mendicant ideology and preaching, the inclusion of highly venerated saints of the orders, such as St. Francis himself, among the saintly figures of the orthodox monuments in these areas, raise the question of the connotations that these subjects could have had and demand a historical interpretation that goes beyond the obvious explanation of Western domination and the presents of friars in the Crusader states of southern Greece.

**Κωνσταντίνος Γιαπιτσόγλου**  
Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Ρεθύμνου

***Το Καθολικό της Μονής της Αγίας Μαρίας της Μαγδαληνής  
των Δομηνικανών στο Ρέθυμνο***

Το έτος 2015, κατά τη διάρκεια εργασιών στο εσωτερικό ενός κτηρίου στην οδό Σουλίου στην Παλιά Πόλη του Ρεθύμνου, αποκαλύφθηκε ένας άγνωστος ναός της Βενετοκρατίας, ο οποίος είχε υποστεί εκτεταμένες μετασκευές στην Οθωμανική περίοδο. Η αποκάλυψη αυτή ανεβάζει στους εννιά τον αριθμό των σωζόμενων ναών μέσα στην πόλη του Ρεθύμνου, από τους περίπου 40 που αναφέρονται από τις πηγές της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας.

Ήδη, πριν από την αποκάλυψη του ναού, είχε προταθεί από ερευνητές ο τοπογραφικός εντοπισμός του ναού της Αγίας Μαρίας Μαγδαληνής των Δομηνικανών στο συγκεκριμένο τμήμα της πόλης, στη νότια πλευρά της δημόσιας πλατείας της βενετικής περιόδου, κοντά στη Loggia. Η παρουσία του τάγματος αυτού στην πόλη του Ρεθύμνου, επιβεβαιώνεται πολύ οψιμότερα σε σχέση με την εγκατάστασή τους στα υπόλοιπα αστικά κέντρα του νησιού. Η πρώτη μνεία, για έναν μικρό σταθμό-ξενώνα του τάγματος στο Ρέθυμνο ανάγεται στο έτος 1573, ενώ για τον ναό της εγκατάστασης, αφιερωμένο στην Αγία Μαρία Μαγδαληνή, μόλις το 1600.

Τα πρόσφατα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα, σε συνδυασμό με την έρευνα στα νοταριακά έγγραφα των συμβολαιογράφων της περιόδου και τα σχεδιαγράμματα του 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα, επιβεβαιώνουν την υπόθεση εργασίας ότι ο συγκεκριμένος ναός, ο οποίος φέρει δύο κύριες φάσεις, του 15<sup>ου</sup> και του ύστερου 16<sup>ου</sup>/πρώιμου 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα, μπορεί να ταυτιστεί με τον ναό των Δομηνικανών. Η μελλοντική έρευνα στα όμορα οικοπέδα και κτήρια θα ολοκληρώσει την εικόνα της μοναστηριακής αυτής εγκατάστασης, με την αποκάλυψη και των υπολοίπων κτισμάτων της.

***The katholikon of the monastery of Saint Mary Madgalene  
of the Dominicans in Rehtymnon***

In 2015, restoration works in the interior of a building on Souliou Street in the Old Town of Rethymnon revealed an unknown church of the Venetian period, which had undergone extensive alterations during the Ottoman era. This discovery raises the number of standing churches in the town of Rethymno to a total of nine, out of 40 mentioned in the sources and documents of the Venetian rule of the island.

Already before the discovery of this building, researchers had proposed that the church of Saint Mary Magdalene of the Dominicans should be located in this part of town, to the southern side of the Venetian public square, close to the Loggia. The

presence of the Dominican Order in Rethymnon is attested much later than their establishment in the other urban centres of the island. A small station/guest-house of the Order in Rethymnon is mentioned for the first time in 1573, while a reference to the church itself, dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene, is encountered only in 1600.

Recent archaeological finds, combined with archival research in notarial documents of the period and topographical sketches of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., confirm the working hypothesis that this church, which has two main building phases, one of the 15<sup>th</sup> and another of the late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> c., can be identified with the church of the Dominicans. Future work in the neighbouring plots and buildings will complete our knowledge of this monastery by revealing the rest of the edifices belonging to it.

**Olga Gratiou**

University of Crete

### ***The Friars and their Impact on Crete: Material and Visual Evidence***

One of the most important consequences of the Venetian rule of Crete was the establishment there of the Latin friars, especially the Dominicans and the Franciscans. They arrived in Crete soon after the Venetian conquest, which coincided with their own origins and initial expansion. For four centuries they developed their multifaceted mission influencing the religious life of the whole Christian population of the island.

Archaeological evidence of their presence is slight, but the few remains that have survived attest the impact of their activities in town and countryside. Those churches that have been preserved have suffered a great deal of damage from the uses to which they were subsequently put. Nevertheless the information in the documentary sources on the large number of tombs in them is confirmed by archaeological findings. This paper will discuss to what extent the mendicant practice of attracting parishioner burials to their churches contributed to the spread of tombs inside other churches, whether in emulation thereof or out of a spirit of competition. The proselytizing activity of the mendicants will also be examined and above all the impact of their preaching on the local population. The Orthodox reaction, also mainly expressed in terms of preaching, is documented for the most part in the written sources. Nevertheless the effect preaching had on both religious communities can be traced in some newly invented iconographic subjects, which seem to be inspired by arguments rehearsed in the religious rhetoric. The painted examples to be considered provide a starting point for discussing not only the ideological background of their creation but also the roots of the difficulties we experience nowadays in interpreting them and identifying the audience for which they were created.

**Emily Guerry**

University of Kent

***A path prepared for them by the Lord: Saint Louis, Dominican diplomacy, and the Odyssey of Jacques and André of Longjumeau***

In the autumn of 1238, the saint-king Louis IX of France (r. 1226–1270) sent two Dominicans to collect the Crown of Thorns from Constantinople and transport it safely back to Paris. However, this was no simple act of relic translation; it was a high-pressured diplomatic transaction that involved a great deal of money. In a time of crisis, the Latin Emperor Baldwin II (r. 1228–1273) and his baronial advisors had pledged the Crown as debt collateral to secure various loans. Baldwin II asked Louis IX to intercede on his behalf: If the king could pay his mortgage, then he would become relic's guardian but if the deadline for repayment passed, then the relic would be delivered to the chief creditor Nicholas Quirino, a wealthy Venetian nobleman. The king agreed and immediately sent Jacques (*Jacobus*) and André (*Andreas*), two friars of the preaching order, on this urgent mission. In a matter of weeks, they needed to travel to Constantinople, pay the imperial debt, and secure the relic. Despite poor weather, a diversion to Venice, looming threats of attacks from enemies, and the demand for even more money, they eventually succeeded in paying the full amount on time and returned to France. When they reached Troyes with the Crown, the king ventured to Villeneuve-l'Archevêque to intercept and inspect the relic. From thence, the friars accompanied the royal cortège through the province of Sens to Paris, pausing in various places to give alms to the local communities that lined the tributary of the Seine. On two occasions, Louis IX led a civic procession of the Crown of Thorns. In each instance, the king removed his royal crown, wore only a linen tunic, and walked barefoot while carrying the reliquary on his shoulders. He paraded the relic through the city streets and crowds of people in this humble manner on 11 August (in Sens) and 19 August (in Paris) of 1239 before depositing the Crown of Thorns in his royal palace on the *Île de la Cité*. This ritualistic performance of humility seemed to confirm that Christ himself had chosen him to be the worthy guardian of his Crown. When Louis IX first appeared in public with the Crown of Thorns, the king of France effectively resembled a friar.

**Lucy-Anne Hunt**

Manchester Metropolitan University

***Centres and Peripheries: A Perspective on Mendicants and Christian Art in the Crusader States and Muslim Egypt***

This paper approaches the issue of the artistic activity of mendicants in the medieval eastern Mediterranean from the standpoint of centre and periphery. The emphasis is on monuments and works of art in Egypt in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries triangulated with those in Greater Syria and the Holy Land. An immediate “central” question springs out: how is art associated with mendicants in the eastern Mediterranean shaped by the experience of contact with art and culture of the west on the one hand and the Byzantine/Melkite and indigenous churches, and attitudes to Islam, on the other?

Western written and visual mendicant sources, and the concomitant modern scholarly literature concerned with Egypt, focus on St. Francis’ meeting with the Sultan and the fascination with Egypt’s sacred geography. Do perceptions shift when this episode and artistic involvement is viewed in the light of local art and architecture in the medieval Mediterranean?

Selected examples of art in Egypt, some associated with the churches of Old Cairo, are viewed in the light of parallels in Greater Syria, Sinai, Constantinople, and the Holy Land. This points to far-reaching Mendicant interaction and collaboration. The work is viewed in terms of mission and conversion in the contexts of pilgrimage, fraternity, theological discourse and liturgical arrangements, as well as political, mercantile, and scholarly interchange.

Missionary activity as a whole can be contextualised in terms of Holy Land crusade, interfaith and intercommunal relations. A further justification and motivating force of Mendicant involvement in the east was the opportunity it provided for the western church - and the papacy in particular – to access apostolic and monastic origins, iconography, and history through the Holy Sites, especially those associated with the Augustinians. These activities, with theological debate, arguably reflected back into papal, and scholarly attitudes and artistic programmes in the west, including the concerns of the “central” centre, Rome. A significant issue that emerges, then, is that of papal interest in the eastern churches and the negotiation of east-west church union and its implications.

**Krisztina Ilko**  
University of Cambridge

### ***Augustinian Friars in the East***

Other than for the two oldest mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the artistic patronage of the Augustinian friars (Hermits of St Augustine, OSA) in the east has been largely neglected by scholarship. This paper will aim to shed some light upon the ecclesiastical structure and patronage of the Augustinians during the late middle ages, between the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century. The activity of the Hermit friars in the east is confined to the “Provincia Terrae Sanctae”, which is heavily focused on modern Greece.

My research is built on archival sources, given the poor survival of artefacts. Even the most important Augustinian convent, San Salvatore – which was also one of the largest and most impressive churches of Candia – was demolished in 1970, and now its building is known only from black-and-white photographs. Written sources, however, attest to the presence of several altarpieces, wooden stalls decorated with images, and even a miracle-working icon. With the help of *notarile* material, visitations, and other descriptions I aim to refine our knowledge about the former internal decoration of San Salvatore and the other Augustinian churches. How did they relate to other local churches, and how they gained support from the populace? Beside these questions this presentation will also examine whether any characteristics can be defined concerning Augustinian artistic patronage.

Furthermore, I will also examine how the interest of the Augustinians in the Provincia Terrae Sanctae was developed and what impact this had on the order back home. What sites did they visit as pilgrims in the east? And what was the impact of these experiences on their homeland churches and communities? Despite limited interest in this problem by previous scholarship, I will argue that the Hermit friars were not only committed to maintaining their eastern convents, but also incorporated references to the Holy Land in their European churches.

**Thomas Kaffenberger**  
Université de Fribourg

### ***Saint Clare or Saint Dominic? New Observations on the ‘Hagia Fotou’ Ruins in Famagusta***

Situated in the north-eastern quarter of Famagusta, the ruins of the ‘Hagia Fotou’ complex still await a thorough investigation. Since the first publication of the site by Camille Enlart in 1899, the buildings have been identified as the remains of a mendicant monastery. While Enlart considered it to be a Clarisse convent, more

recent scholarship has included the possibility of identifying it as monastery of the Dominicans. The proposed paper will discuss the arguments for both identifications.

In addition to the historical and textual indications, a reconsideration of the site itself will be presented. Even if no archaeological investigation of the ruin has been undertaken, the (entirely inadequate, undocumented) clearing of the debris and soil has uncovered further built structures and fragments of portals as well as vault ribs. Through a comparison of this new evidence with buildings in Cyprus and elsewhere, an attempt will be made to create an idea of the original shape of the monastery complex. Furthermore, suggestions for a dating of the original building will be made.

While this does not ultimately resolve the question of identification, it will add further arguments to the discussion and help to document the status quo of a rapidly decaying mendicant site in one of the most important Eastern Mediterranean port cities of the Middle Ages.

**Sophia Kalopissi-Verti**  
University of Athens

***Byzantium 'Challenged' after 1204:  
Reactions, Responses and their Reflections in Iconography***

In the aftermath of 1204, Byzantium confronts the missionary activities of the mendicant orders in the East and faces the doctrines and liturgical rites of the Church of Rome, certainly not for the first time in its long history, but this time in its own conquered lands. Greek bishops are replaced by Latin ones; religious houses of the mendicant orders are founded in the former Byzantine territories. What are Byzantium's reactions and responses to this new situation and can these be traced in art? In our paper we will try to answer these questions by investigating the iconographical evidence.

Apparently the Byzantines, in confronting the papal policy and the missionary activity of Western religious orders, “responded” by returning to the roots of tradition and by highlighting the earliest beginnings of the founding of the apostolic Church, the spread of Christianity and the foundation of local churches throughout the *oikoumene* thanks to the evangelical teachings of the apostles. The prominence of scenes of apostolic teaching and the performance of baptisms in Hagia Sophia at Trebizond (c. mid 13th c.), the depiction of the 12 disciples of Christ in the Metropolitan church of Mistras (c. 1290) and of the 70 apostles in the Hodegetria church (Aphentiko, c. 1310-1322) and later in Pantanassa (after 1428) in Mistras, the inclusion of isolated figures of apostles in the painted decoration of churches of the periphery, as well as the development of local cults in their honor (for ex. St. Philemon in Rhodes), demonstrate a pronounced

emphasis on the teaching role of the apostles since the 13th century. Moreover, the depiction of the Mission of the Apostles in certain 13th-century churches can be examined and interpreted from the same perspective. In addition, through the placement of the Pentecost preferably in the sanctuary, the connection of apostolic activity with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the Orthodox liturgical rite, which differed from that of the Latin Church, are stressed.

Other iconographic subjects, either already known or new, such as the Synaxis of the Archangels with its symbolic allusions to the defense of the Orthodox dogma, the Holy Trinity, either in its traditional form as the Hospitality of Abraham or in new experimental forms sometimes related to western models, as well as the establishment of the Melismos in the apse in its several variants emphasizing the Orthodox liturgical rite can be interpreted, in my view, as a sort of response or reaction to the doctrines of the Latin Church that spread in the East through the missionary activity of the mendicant orders after 1204.

In conclusion, this paper aims to examine in context certain iconographic subject matters in Late Byzantine art -partly old, partly new- which underline or allude to the Orthodox doctrine and liturgical rite and seem to constitute the reactions and responses of a self-conscious Byzantium to the challenges of the West.

**Eleni Kanaki, Daphne Chronaki and Chara Bilmezi**  
Ephorates of Antiquities of Herakleion and Lassithi

### ***The Church of Saint Peter of the Dominicans in Herakleion***

The Convent of the Dominican Order was founded during the 13th century A.D., soon after the Venetian establishment in the island (1210 A.D.) of Crete. The specific placement of the Dominican convent at this part of the city, close to the port, by the sea walls and the Jewish quarter of Candia, was meant to echo the Franciscan monastery which was located on the opposite side of the city. Recent excavations in the vicinity have brought to light, on lower ground, buildings from the periods of Byzantine and Arab rule.

The conventual buildings, including two cloisters, a dormitory and a refectory, were situated at the north side of the church, according to the Order practice, covering a wide area. They are depicted at Venetian maps and mentioned in travelers accounts. Today, only the abbey church survives and continues to outstand in the modern city. The church, built in the second half of the 13th century A.D., is one of the earlier ones erected by the Dominican Order in Italy, France, Greece and the Mediterranean generally. It was dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr of the Order, a fervent Dominican preacher beatified a year after his death, in 1252 A.D.

The original plan of the church was a basilica with a short transept aisle. After its collapse by an earthquake (1303/6 A.D.) it was rebuilt as a single aisled basilica with two chapels at the NE and SE. Four private chapels were set up at the southern site of the church during the 14<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most areas of the aisle and the chapels were decorated with wall paintings. Parts of them survive at the SE chapel (Crucifixion) and at the third south chapel (Annunciation, Nativity, the Virgin with child, St. Francis, St. Catherine, St. Helen and Constantine). The church was richly furnished. Many Dukes of Crete and Venetian nobles of the island, as well as members of three fraternities were buried inside the church as well as in the courtyard.

After the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1669 A.D., the church was converted into a mosque, dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim, the father of Sultan Mehmet IV, who ruled during the fall of the city. In the early 20th century the church was used as a cinema and a carpenter's workshop. A large building known as "Kastella" covered the SE area of the convent.

Restoration studies and proposals had been going on since the 1970's. In the next phase of intervention, beginning in the 1990's and funded by European programmes, the initial work involved the revealing of structures and floors, direct repair and consolidation of the masonry. In the following years, the study team of the 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities proceeded, as and when funds were available, to work on the final architectural study, featuring separate proposals for restoration of the southern, western and eastern walls. Specifically, in respect of the apertures in the walls, detailed construction plans were drawn up and approved. The reconstruction of the southern wall proceeded with stone masonry. It was also accepted that while the church of St. Peter had already undergone so many morphological modifications in the past, it nevertheless remained a significant historical landmark for the city of Herakleion. It was more important that it would be restored and re-roofed, rather than remain a derelict ruin. The final restoration project was approved in 2006 and the restoration works took place in 2007-2008. The restoration of the church and the configuration of the surrounding area were funded by the European Union and the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports.

This paper presents briefly the monument history, the restoration works and the new evidence, concerning the burials and the findings from the recent research.

**Nina Kudiš**

University of Rijeka

***Venetian Seicento Painters in Franciscan and Dominican Churches of Dalmatia:  
Some Important Examples***

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Franciscans and Dominicans of Dalmatia, along with their donors, traditionally leaned towards ordering from Venetian painters of a conventional, not to say conservative disposition. For example, in 1583, seven years after the death of Titian (Pieve di Cadore, 1488 ca - Venice, 1576), Francesco da Santacroce (Venice, 1516 – 1584) furnished the Franciscan church in the town of Hvar with two polyptychs and an altarpiece that repeated the compositions and forms, as well as the typology of the early works by Giovanni Bellini (Venice, 1424/1428 - 1516). During the first quarter of *Seicento*, the vast majority of the altarpieces in the Franciscan and Dominican churches and convents, as well as in the cathedrals and parish churches of Dalmatia were executed by Palma il Giovane (Venice 1548/1550 – 1628) and *pittori di sette maniere*. There were few, rather curious exceptions like the altarpiece on the main altar in the Franciscan church above Orebić, painted by Pace Pace (documented in Venice from 1594 to 1617).

Matteo Ponzzone's (Venice, 1583 – after 1663) stay in Split during the fourth decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century strongly reflected on the donors' choices and preferences in Dalmatia of the period. Although he executed several paintings for the Dominican convents, his series of altarpieces for the Franciscan church in Šibenik as well as his *Last Supper* for their convent in Hvar require special attention. Ponzzone's rather neglected work, together with some recent proposals and overviews call for reconsideration of some specific attributions as well as its general outline.

The last decades of *Seicento* confirmed the dominance of the Venetian masters as the most desirable authors for the Franciscan and Dominican churches in Dalmatia. Even though the most important names like Pietro Liberi (Padua, 1614 – Venice, 1687) or Antonio Zanchi (Este, 1631 – Venice, 1722) are missing, the choice of the authors for the main altars of two important churches in Zadar and Split is quite interesting. These are Giuseppe Diamantini (Fossombrone, 1621 – 1705) and Francesco Pittoni (?, 1654 ca – after 1724). The Franciscans in Dubrovnik equally appreciated works by Venetian masters like Johann Carl Loth (Munich, 1632 – Venice, 1698) and Roman masters like Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Genoa, 1639 – Rome, 1709), or their workshops.

**Margit Mersch**  
Ruhr-Universität Bochum

**The Development of Local and Trans-Regional Mendicant Architecture:  
A Comparative Glance on Franciscan Churches on Cyprus and Crete (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.)**

Only very few churches of the first decades of mendicant history are surviving. Among the oldest extant or reconstructable buildings are numbered some Franciscan and Dominican churches of the Latin East, e.g. the Franciscan church of Beaulieu in Nicosia. It exemplifies the development of a trans-regional mendicant building type in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Later on in the same century and at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, mendicant architecture diversified and adapted more distinctly to local conditions.

In Cyprus, all surviving 14<sup>th</sup>-century mendicant churches follow a special building type that made its first appearance in the 1290s at St Frances in Famagusta: a single aisled hall ending in a polygonal (fivesided) apse and covered by rib vaults resting on corbels. It has been interpreted convincingly as a royal architectural project and it seems to have been the starting point of a unique ecclesiastical architecture that owed more to local Lusignan ideas of 'crusader gothic' than to (presumed) orders' ideas of mendicant architecture.

This seems all the more obvious if considering 14<sup>th</sup>-century Franciscan churches in Crete which, for the most part, resemble very much contemporary mendicant churches in central and northern Italy, thus discarding any local uniqueness in Cretan mendicant architecture. In urban centers of both regions the characteristic type of the so called *chiesa fienile* or *Dreikapellensaal*, a nave covered by a flat or open wooden roof combined with a rib vaulted tripartite choir, and its adapted variants were prevailing – conveying the impression of a specifically Italian mendicant architecture implemented in Venetian Crete.

It stands to reason to compare some aspects of Franciscan architecture in Cyprus and Crete on the background of differing social functions of the friars in these two different political systems of Latin rule in Greek lands. However, despite the structural difference between Cypriot and Cretan mendicant architecture, there is a range of features suggesting direct as well as more indirect connections between single mendicant churches and specific regional mendicant building types throughout Europe. This paper will present some examples and discuss the question of the respective influence of donors, friars, and masons on the choice of specific building types and features.

**Amy Neff**

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

***Sinai in the Franciscan Visual Imagination***

Early images of the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* often depict a cave piercing the steep slopes of Mount La Verna, where Francis had retreated for a forty-day fast of prayer and contemplation in September, 1224. I propose that this cave is a powerful signifier in the construction of Francis's identity as a holy man. While the natural topography of Mount La Verna is indeed marked with crevices and caves, for the early Franciscans this topography could also evoke an eremitic tradition of solitude, prayer, and divine revelation. In particular, for those who fashioned the legend of Francis, the cave evoked associations with Mounts Sinai and Horeb, fashioning Francis as a new Moses and Elijah, prophets whose revelations of God took place in caves on sacred mountains. My paper will explore the theological sources, visual manifestations, and devotional implications of this interpretation.

**Michalis Olympios**

University of Cyprus

***Eloquent Marginalia:***

***Figural Sculpture at the Dominican Church in Negroponte (Chalkis, Euboea)***

In the arid desert of monumental sculpture from mendicant houses in Latin Greece, the Dominican convent of Lombard and Venetian Negroponte (i.e., modern-day Chalkis, Euboea, under Latin rule in 1205-1470) emerges almost as a lush oasis. Founded around the mid-thirteenth century at a central location in the town's southern part, it possessed an imposing three-aisled basilican church (the present Ayia Paraskevi), which, despite a number of radical nineteenth-century alterations, remains among the best preserved mendicant ecclesiastical buildings anywhere in the Latin East. It represents one of the extremely rare instances in this region in which the interior arrangement of such an edifice – including its internal spatial partitions, some of its liturgical furnishings and a small, albeit significant, part of its pictorial and sculptural programme – may be reconstructed with a fair degree of accuracy.

Although relatively frugal in its surface ornament, in accordance with the order's legislation on architectural decoration, the friars' church appears to have been frescoed throughout, as attested to by the fragmentary survivals having come to light in both the nave and the east end since the 1970s. Furthermore, a set of foliate corbels was installed in the lateral chapels of the east end and the *cappella maggiore* sported a triumphal arch, the archivolt of which were carved with a series of diminutive figures sprouting amidst jets of luxurious foliage. The aim of the present paper will be to discuss the sculptural ornament of the *cappella maggiore* and the south lateral

chapel, which seem to have shared common authorship and may be assigned a date in the second half of the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds.

Given that the sculpture in question has attracted but minimal scholarly attention, it will be necessary to begin by situating it within the ambit of French Gothic sculptural production, to which it evidently belongs, and against the background of Franco-Italian artistic exchange in the thirteenth century, which appears to have provided the most apposite context for its creation. More importantly, the distinctive imagery of the *cappella maggiore* arch will be examined in comparison to analogous decorative schemes, of mendicant or other provenance. It will be shown that this overtly Dominican programme – which includes the figures of St Dominic and St Peter Martyr, as per the General Chapter decree of 1254 – shares more than a passing resemblance to the structure and character of contemporary northern European illuminated manuscript marginalia. Its resolute emphasis on the representation of members of various social classes, ranging from royalty and the high clergy to burgesses, and even to underprivileged communities, such as the Jews, may reflect the intended audience for the friars' apostolic mission, a theme paralleled by the depiction of the *Preaching of the Apostles* in the late fourteenth-century paintings in the north chapel of the east end. Thus, in its excellent state of preservation and its remarkable eloquence, the figural sculpture of the Dominican church of Negroponte may well help nuance our understanding of the friars' own perception of their role in the religious affairs pertaining to the social landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Prodromos Papanikolaou**

King's College, London

***Artistic Traces of Franciscan Piety in Hospitaller Rhodes:  
The Marble Icons of Virgin and St. John the Evangelist***

Among the least explored artworks surviving from the Hospitaller period is that of marble icons a large number of which is still immured above the gates or in several parts of the Rhodes' medieval walls. However, other marble pieces that were discovered during the Italian occupation underwent restoration and were placed in various places with the same decorative mode. The set of two marble icons which will concern us here was for more than 80 years unacknowledged, as they were placed atop of a bookcase in the main readers' room in the library of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese. Both of them -set in a plastered background and framed in pointed arched wooden panels- reveal nothing of their past, let alone their recent history, as no piece of information regarding their provenance survives.

The first one depicts the Virgin standing, wiping her tears with a handkerchief by bringing it to her cheek, and the second one Saint John, the beloved disciple in the

same standing posture, expressing with his hands his uttermost sorrow. Their similarities in dimensions, fabric, workmanship and state of preservations suggest that both of them came from the same compositional synthesis which no doubt included the Christ on the cross. The survival of paint on their halos and garments, although it cannot be ascertained whether contemporary or not, certainly hints to their artistic complementation. Their carving on the other hand is even more conspicuous as several different techniques have been employed. Low relief carving for the outline of the figures, champlévé technique for heads and hands, incised technique for other minor but not unimportant details which help enliven the faces through light and shade; all of the above betray a talented artist experienced in the medium of sculpture.

On matters of iconography the gestures of both the Virgin and John might look familiar from the wider context of the Late Byzantine art but they do not conform to that. The details of the handkerchief and the peculiar hand gestures of John point to their relation to the iconographic theme of *Christus patiens*. The latter, as it has been suggested was a creation which the Franciscan Order used to convey its ideology from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A series of works of art that were commissioned by the Order and painted by its most prominent artist Giunta Pisano crystallized among other things the features with which the Virgin and John were to be depicted. In terms of style the artist uses the eclectic idiom. A few artistic *comparanda* of the marble icons of Rhodes indicate a relevant time frame. One of them the *Mater della Misericordia* is dated by inscription to 1473, another one of Saint Paul still *in situ* in the homonym tower dated to 1477.

Furthermore, to this relation with the Franciscan Order and more specifically to the Observants who were present in Rhodes after the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century point also the scant historical sources. The overview of these marble figures as an icon of the Crucifixion will help decode its possible function, indicate its unknown patron, and last but not least highlight an important, albeit latent, artwork of the Hospitaller period.

**Silvia Pedone** (La Sapienza) and **Nicholas Melvani** (Koç University)

### ***Constantinople and the Dominicans:***

#### ***History, Topography, and Monuments on both Shores of the Golden Horn***

Research into the archives of the Dominican convent of Saints Peter and Paul in Galata, Istanbul, has revealed the continuous interest of the Dominicans to explore the Order's presence in Constantinople and Pera since the first arrivals in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Personalities such as Ceslao Pera, OP, and Benedetto Palazzo, OP, were among the

first scholars who explored and studied the Arap Camii, the original church of the Dominican convent of the Genoese settlement of Pera. This monument has occupied a central place in Byzantine studies concerning the context of the interaction between East and West in the Latin Orient. Recent research into the monument carried out in the 1980s and especially after the damages caused by the 1999 earthquake have furnished new data about the art and architecture of the Arap Camii. The present paper aims to re-examine this evidence and place it within the context of mendicant activity of the time. In addition, we will focus on the urban framework of Pera in order to reconstruct the transformation of the district over the centuries. Apart from the well documented establishment of Pera, there is textual evidence for the settlement of Dominicans in the historic peninsula after their expulsion from the Genoese colony of Caffa in Crimea. The texts speak about two Dominican churches in the northwestern part of the city, those of Santa Maria di Costantinopoli and of Saint Nicholas. Early 20th-century scholarship identified these two churches with two monuments in the area, the Odalar Camii and the Kefeli Mescidi, both of which are Byzantine buildings converted into mosques. We will revisit these identifications within the context of Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman topography.

**Rafał Quirini-Popławski**

Jagiellonian University, Kraków

### ***Mendicant Art and Architecture in the Black Sea: Caffa and Pera***

Since 1263 many Dominican and Franciscan monasteries have been established around the Black Sea. Representatives of both orders, ethnically diverse, were also active outside the monastery walls – they held the dignity of bishops, took care of the hospitals and parishes or were chaplains of the Genoese consuls. A special missionary zeal characterized Dominican monasteries, often belonging to *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantum*. Along with the missionary schools, theological and lingual studies were active in Caffa and Pera, targeted specifically to study the Oriental rites and languages. It is worth noting that Caffa was, moreover, one of the main centers of the Dominican, Armenian Congregation of Brothers Uniate, while the Dominican monastery in Pera was an important literary center and place of philosophy studies and theological debate with Greeks, involved in the preparation of the Council of Florence. On the other hand, some Franciscan monasteries had Tatar benefactors.

About the forms, decoration and furnishings of the Mendicant churches in the area we learn from a few references in medieval sources, descriptions from the 16th to the 18th century and preserved monuments themselves, concentrated in two major Genoese colonies – Caffa and – especially – Pera. They provide evidence of the vivid intercultural exchange (mostly „Latin-Armenian" in the Crimea and "Latin-Greek" in Pera), in which Mendicant centers could play a significant role.

Most of the remnants of the Crimean outposts are disputable (Santa Maria de Coronato by Caffa, details of the church of SS. Peter and Paul in this city, and churches in Soldaia and Cembalo), but they all share orientalizing decoration in the so-called Seljuk style familiar to other local buildings. At the same time in Pera we have undoubtedly to do with the most interesting Latin religious structures created in the medieval Black Sea region – the Dominican church of St. Paul and no more preserved Franciscan complex. Their architecture, extensively decorated portals, architectural bas-reliefs and tombstones clearly indicate the heterogeneity of forms. Especially interesting from this point of view, however, it is a monumental painted decoration of these churches. It includes frescoes and mosaics discovered in stages (starting in 1999) in the Dominican church (dating back to the 1st half of the 14th century), mosaics and stained-glass windows in the Franciscan ones (known thanks to the descriptions). We can also have some idea on their furnishings (including preserved elements) – icons and works of goldsmiths – Byzantine in character but functioning within the Latin context.

**Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić**

University of Split

***Anti-Ottoman Narratives on the Altarpieces of Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Carmel in the Dominican and Franciscan Churches of Dalmatia***

The cults of Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Carmel belong to the most widespread Marian devotions in Dalmatia. The victory of the allied armada over the Turkish fleet in the Battle of Lepanto is considered to be the beginning of the decline of Turkish power in the "occupied" Europe, and it coincides with the rise of the Catholic Church.

In the paper we will follow its echo in the various sacral compositions depicting Christian rulers - participants of anti-Turkish alliance, led by Pope Pius V in Dalmatian painting. Portraits of allies were then painted on altarpieces of Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Carmel. The last examples of paintings depicting allies of the mentioned Holy League were painted after the War of Candia, when Mary was celebrated again as the protector of Christian countries.

Altarpieces in Dalmatia commemorated both the subsequent anti-Turkish alliances and the short periods of peace between the Catholic world and the Turks. Since this is about the paintings of votive character, they offered not only thanksgiving to Mary for the achieved victories and peace, but a prayer addressed to her to "remove" the Turkish threat. Therefore, in Dalmatia the altarpieces of Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Carmel - as depictions of Our Lady of Victory - acquired the status of collective patron "Maria Ausiliatrice" ("Auxilium Christianorum") not only of

confraternities of Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Carmel and religious orders such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans (who promoted their veneration), but of the entire population as well. For all the images depicting allies of Pope Pius V in Dalmatian Dominican and Franciscan churches that commemorate the victory of Lepanto, we can conclude that their iconography indicates anti-Ottoman propaganda characteristic for the period between the end of the Cyprus War and the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**Chryssa Ranoutsaki**

Universität München

***Saint Francis and Saint Catherine:***

***Two Eminent Model Saints of the Mendicant Orders of Medieval Crete***

By appointing their founders, St Francis and St Dominic, to be the spokesmen of their ideas, both the Franciscan and Dominican orders became outstanding missionary movements in the Catholic Church of the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, their affinity to St Catherine of Alexandria, a legendary missionary and scholar of Byzantine stamp, is some indication of the educational goals and the consistent method of teaching of the Dominican friars in particular. Their commitment to these goals was defined in the statutes of the order.

The paper will focus on certain fresco depictions of St Francis and St Catherine in late medieval Cretan churches — frescoes that might have served as examples of the local advocacy of mendicant ideas. The discussion will focus on the visual and symbolic meaning of the saints' portrayals as part of the pictorial and ritual layout of the churches as well as on conceptual similarities to images of both saints of western provenance.

**Ioanna Rapti**

École Pratique des Hautes Études

***Armenian Art and the Mendicant Orders in the East: Encounters and Interactions***

The pioneer study of the Latin missionary networks in the East by Jean Richard has comprehensively mapped the encounters between Armenians and the mendicants, competitive instruments at the service of the Papacy. Recent scholarship has increasingly stressed the impact of the mendicants, especially the Franciscans and the Dominicans, as transmitters of artistic and devotional patterns in many areas of the Mediterranean. Franciscan influence has already provided a satisfactory explanation for a series of inventive and exceptional images in Armenian art suggesting an immediate visual reflection of the establishment of the Friars in the Armenian court

of Cilicia. This paper will attempt to show the variety of the Armenian responses to the spirituality of the mendicants in Cilicia, Anatolia and Black Sea area. Considered within the context in each of these areas, the mendicant-Armenian interaction appears as a multi-faceted phenomenon. The intense circulation of imagery or artefacts from the Levant and the West among Armenians did not generate a mendicant art in the East, neither a tradition, but cross-fertilized with the devotional traditions and generated small-scale individual responses determined by the commissioners, the artists and their cultural environment.

**Rehav Rubin** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and **Milka Levy-Rubin** (National Library of Israel)

***How did the Franciscans Choose to Portray Jerusalem?***

The *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* and its members, the Franciscan friars, served as the guardians of the interests of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land. Its duty was to take care—physically and spiritually—of the holy places and the pilgrims who visited them. In this role, the Franciscans developed pilgrimage routes and venerated sites in Jerusalem and its environs, and throughout the country.

Among the many maps of Jerusalem there are three large and detailed maps drawn and printed by senior members of the Custodia in the 16th and 17th centuries. These maps should be viewed as important testimony regarding the way Jerusalem and its surroundings were perceived by their authors and about the ideas they wished to convey to their readers. The paper will present a comparative analysis of these three maps and their legend: it will examine the accuracy of the historical, demographic, and geographical information about Jerusalem and its inhabitants, as well as promotion of values and ideas within the maps. All this in light of Jerusalem's unique complexities, a city composed of a mosaic of different people, religions, and denominations under Muslim rule.

**Guy D. R. Sanders**

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

***The Archaeology of the Poor at Corinth in the Time of William of Moerbeke OP,  
Translator of Aristotle, Archimedes, Hero and Galen and Bishop of Corinth  
(1278-85)***

My paper will examine the material culture of Ancient Corinth ca. 1280. The architectural remains, broken pottery, faunal remains and other artifacts all appear to have been generated by echelons of the population who lived at several times

subsistence level. This conclusion begs the question what do archaeologists find that relates to the lives of the poorest 80% of the population who lived at or close to subsistence? The answer is that the poor are virtually invisible in the archaeological record and that they used materials like wood and leather, which rarely survive burial forcing us to use methods to examine microscopic evidence. Research we hope to in the spring of 2015 will look at the residues in cooking pots and phytoliths in a latrine pit to determine what ordinary people were eating.

**Zoraida Demori Staničić**

Croatian Conservation Institute

### ***The Franciscan Convent in Hvar: Between Cult and Politics***

The island of Hvar, situated in the middle of the Eastern side of the Adriatic, had a very special importance in transversal naval routes, from prehistoric times to the present day. The historic centre of the island is the town of Hvar, founded in the Late Antiquity. Franciscans founded the convent in 1461 on the promontory outside the town at the bequest of Hvar's bishop Toma Tomasini, the apostolic delegate for Bosnia, and with the permission of Pope Pius II. In those times, Ottoman Turks had invaded Bosnia and Franciscans needed new strategies. Bishop Tomasini, as a Domenican friar, was known as a strong and active opponent of Bosnian heretics.

The first friars used the old small chapel of St Cross. In 1465 a reconstruction began with contributions of Venetian authorities, naval officers and local nobleman. Due to its geographical position, Hvar was considered an important port for the Venetian fleet with a large arsenal for smaller repairs of ships. In spite of historic evidence, local history produced a legend connected to the supernatural evidence of Divine intercession: Venetian military ships under the command of the *Capitano del Golfo* Pietro Soranzo were miraculously saved with all his crew in a storm just outside Hvar through invocation of Virgin Mary. In gratitude Soranzo (Superantius) donated means for the construction of the church together with an icon of Virgin and Child. The icon soon became miraculous and attracted pilgrims from various parts of East and West on their naval routes. Since its beginning, the Franciscan convent in Hvar became a special place under the protection of the State. The renaissance stone relief over the main portal, depicting Virgin with Child flanked by two angels, has the Venetian coat of arms in form of *leone a moleca* just under the figure of the Virgin. Venetian authorities had built a big cistern in the cloister to supply the fleet with fresh water, and friars kept a hospice for sick sailors in the convent. Venetian political authorities of Hvar and their families, local noblemen and members of the Franciscan order had been buried in the church for centuries. The church itself was richly decorated, but in

1571. Algerian pirates sacked and devastated the island and town of Hvar. The church of the Virgin of Mercy was destroyed and soon rebuilt in Renaissance style, with altars and paintings of prominent Venetian artists preserving until today the only chancel still remaining in Dalmatia.

**Nikiphoros Tsougarakis**

Edge Hill University

### ***Re-examining the Franciscan Library of St Francis of Candia***

This paper attempts a re-examination of the well-known inventory of the library holdings of St Francis of Candia, produced in two stages in the fifteenth century. Though the inventory was published by Georg Hofmann in 1942, more recent advances in the study of the history of Franciscan libraries in the West and in the East allow us to re-consider this manuscript within the framework of the Franciscan education system. In this study, I compare the inventory to other surviving Franciscan library catalogues/inventories in an effort to determine what kind of a *studium* the library would have serviced. I also argue that the library's holdings show no evidence of any missionary or proselytising effort on the part of the friars of St Francis, which may have implications for our understanding of the mendicant installation in the Greek lands. The paper closes by posing a number of, as yet unanswered, questions raised by the inventory, concerning the spiritual relations between the friars and the Greek laity and the linguistic skills and education of the Franciscans and the Latin elites in Crete more generally.

**Fanny Vitto**

Israel Antiquities Authority

### ***The Cradle of the Carmelites in the Holy Land before Becoming a Mendicant Order***

The Carmelite Order is today represented in many countries as one of the Mendicant Orders. But before becoming a Mendicant Order, the Carmelites led an eremitical life in Wadi es-Siyah, a narrow gorge in the Carmel Mountain known for its connection with the prophet Elijah who is revered in Carmelite tradition as the founder of the Order. The first evidence for the existence of an eremitical community in Wadi es-Siyah appears at the beginning of the thirteenth century when the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert of Vercelli, granted the hermits a *formula vitae*, a simple set of rules for their communal life. The *formula* was amended a few times by papal bulls, the last amendment dating to 1247. Among other rules was the requirement to celebrate together mass in an oratory and to eat in a common refectory. This resulted in important building activities in Wadi es-Siyah but in 1291, with the fall of Acre and the

final collapse of the Latin Kingdom, the Carmelites had to leave Mount Carmel, to which they were able to return only in the seventeenth century.

Two excavations were conducted in Wadi es-Siyah in the twentieth century, the first in 1958–1961 directed by Father Bellarmino Bagatti OFM, the second in 1987–1992 headed by Dr. Eugenia Nitowski/Sister Damian of the Cross OCD. They revealed the remains of a cloister with a church and a prior's cell dating to the thirteenth century, firmly establishing the origin of the Carmelite Order, the only Latin order founded in the East. The excavations also yielded numerous finds including coins, pottery and glass vessels, human and animal remains, as well as fragments of inscriptions which shed light on the life of the first Carmelites. Unfortunately, beside very brief preliminary reports, the results of the excavations were never published. In recent years, a project has been undertaken by the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Order of the Discalced Carmelites in Haifa to produce a detailed publication of these excavations by a team of specialists. This paper will present the conclusions reached by the various researches contained in this publication which is nearing completion.

**Panayota Volti**

Université Paris Nanterre

***Some Decorative Elements of the Church of the Virgin in Merbaka, Argolis:  
A Visual Exegesis of Dominican History and Spirituality?***

The links of the Merbaka - Aghia Triada church with the Dominican scholar and keen Hellenist Guillaume de Moerbeke, the Latin archbishop of Corinth in the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, are evident in the monument's name itself.

If the dating of the church is not established with absolute certainty, some parts of its decoration could be associated with the presence of Guillaume de Moerbeke in the area. In this paper we propose to explore certain decorative elements of Merbaka in the light of the Dominican spirituality and the history of the Dominican order within the Mediterranean and its margins, at the end of the Middle Ages.