

This is an extract from:

*The Crusades from the Perspective  
of Byzantium and the Muslim World*

*edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh*

published by

*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection  
Washington, D.C.*

© 2001 Dumbarton Oaks

Trustees for Harvard University

Washington, D.C.

Printed in the United States of America

[www.doaks.org/etexts.html](http://www.doaks.org/etexts.html)

# The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture

---

Charalambos Bouras

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture in both the capital and the provinces was mature and self-contained, meeting to the full the church building's liturgical needs and dogmatic symbolism, as well as realizing possibilities in the development of other art forms such as sculpture and monumental painting. Even though many important churches were built at this time, this mature and self-contained architecture helped to create a conservative climate and at the same time gave rise to certain reservations about the production of new types and the conception of the church's interior space. This trend began at the beginning of the eleventh century and became especially prevalent toward the end of the Komnenian period.

In contrast, architecture in the West during the same period was progressing in leaps and bounds in matters of type, architectural form, decoration, and, chiefly, construction methods. Throughout Western Europe, much larger churches were being built, while a series of technological innovations beginning in France realized the transformation from Romanesque to Gothic to create formal systems that sooner or later predominated throughout Latin Christendom. And at the time when the two cultures of Byzantium and Latin Europe came into immediate contact, particularly after the Fourth Crusade, Gothic architecture in the West was creating its most beautiful and important works. The thirteenth century witnessed the zenith of its dynamism and majesty, especially in France during the reign of Louis IX (1226–70). How did the Byzantines regard this hugely impressive cultural development, the agents of which were the invading Crusaders themselves? How did they respond to this challenge?

The written sources are silent when it comes to architecture. Answers to these questions, therefore, can only come from the monuments themselves, in particular those of the thirteenth century when the Crusaders dominated much of Byzantine territory. This essay discusses two distinct groups of localized ecclesiastical monuments: on the one hand, the Gothic-style churches built by the Latins in Byzantine lands and intended for the Latin rite and, on the other, the Greek churches intended for the Orthodox rite and built during the same period. The latter will be examined to find traces of Frankish influence. The arrangement of the sanctuary area and more particularly its division from the congregation (a tall templon screen in Orthodox structures and a low balustrade in Catholic ones) permit us to make a clear distinction between these two groups.

In Constantinople and its immediate sphere of influence, Thrace and Macedonia, archi-

tectural activity before the recapture of the capital in 1261 was almost nil. In contrast, the Laskarid empire in Asia Minor saw many noteworthy buildings being erected where Byzantine forms and methods continued to be used unabated.<sup>1</sup> In the capital itself, subjected to poverty and insecurity, the Latin emperors did nothing more than renovate two or three chapels of already existing churches.<sup>2</sup> The absence, therefore, of Frankish influence in the architecture of the Empire of Nicaea and of Constantinople after the restoration of Byzantine rule during the last quarter of the thirteenth century is self-evident.

The situation was quite different in Greece and the islands, where the Latins not only attempted but also succeeded in establishing themselves on a permanent basis, organizing the administration and economy on Western models and establishing monasteries by calling upon the monastic orders of the Latin church.<sup>3</sup> In the Peloponnesos in particular, where the principality of the Morea had been established, we find not only the most important monuments of Gothic architecture, but also the most characteristic examples of Western influence on embellished Byzantine church buildings.

Thanks to studies made by R. Traquair, C. Enlart, A. Bon, A. Boetticher, A. Orlandos, N. Moutsopoulos, B. Kitsikis, and others,<sup>4</sup> we know a fair amount about the Gothic monuments of the Morea erected by Latin monastic orders during the period under examination. The most important can be summarily listed as follows: Hagia Sophia<sup>5</sup> and Hagios Iakovos<sup>6</sup> at Andravida, the churches of the Panagia<sup>7</sup> and Hagios Niko-

<sup>1</sup> H. Buchwald, "Laskarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979): 261–96.

<sup>2</sup> On the chapel of St. Francis in Kalenderhane Camii, see C. Striker and D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul, Second Preliminary Report," *DOP* 22 (1968): 185–93. The stained glass windows of the Pantokrator church and the Chora monastery of Constantinople, once considered as works of the 12th century (A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 [1963]: 333–71), are now considered to belong to Frankish renovations (J. Lefond, "Découverte de vitraux historiés du Moyen Age à Constantinople," *Cah.Arch* 18 [1968]: 231–38). See also C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 243, 245. For Thessaloniki, see A. Xyngopoulos, "Οἱ Φράγκοι στήν Θεσσαλονίκη," *Μακεδονικόν Ἡμερολόγιον* (1965): 37–40.

<sup>3</sup> Already in 1210 the Cistercians of Hautecombe, an abbey near Lac Bourget in Savoie, were officially invited to the Peloponnesos by the Latin bishop of Patras, according to a letter of Pope Innocent III (anno XIII, ep. 168, Nov. 1210, PL 216:341–42).

<sup>4</sup> R. Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," *RIBA Journal* 31.2 (1923): 33–50, and 31.3 (1923): 73–86. C. Enlart, "Quelques monuments d'architecture gothique en Grèce," *RArtChr* 8 (1897): 309–14; A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe* (Paris, 1969); A. Boetticher, *Die frankischen Bauten in Morea*, Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung (Munich, 1885); A. C. Orlandos, "Η φραγκική ἐκκλησία τῆς Στυμφαλίας," in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier* (Athens, 1955), 1–18. N. Moutsopoulos, "Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες στήν Ἑλλάδα," *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 37 (1960): 13–33; idem, "Η Παναγία καί ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος τῆς Ἴσοβας," *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 33 (1956): 95–101; idem, "Le monastère franc de Notre-Dame d'Isova," *BCH* 80 (1956): 80 ff. B. Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago–London, 1979); C. Bouras, "Ἐπανεξέταση τοῦ λεγομένου Ἀγιολεῦ κοινά στήν Μεθώνη," in *Φύλλα Ἐπη, Volume in Honor of G. Mylonas*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1989), 302–22.

<sup>5</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 319–20, 537–53; Traquair, "Frankish Architecture," 17–20; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες*, 19–22; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 65–77; C. D. Shepherd, "Excavations at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Andravida, Greece," *Gesta* 25 (1986): 139–44; N. K. Cooper, "The Frankish Church of Hagia Sophia at Andravida, Greece," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), 29–45.

<sup>6</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 319 n. 4; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 352, 354, 537–44; Traquair, "Frankish Architecture," 2–7; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες*, 15–17; idem, "Le monastère franc de Notre-Dame," 80 ff; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 42–52.

laos<sup>8</sup> at Isova, the katholikon of the Zarakas monastery at Stymphalia,<sup>9</sup> the church of the Virgin De Verge near Methone,<sup>10</sup> perhaps that of Hagios Ioannis ho Theologos at Methone,<sup>11</sup> and the chapel of Hagios Nikolaos at Aipeia.<sup>12</sup> The Crusaders were also responsible for the erection of a number of strong fortresses, perhaps a part of the palace at Mistra, and certain other new settlements.<sup>13</sup>

The monuments of the second group, the thirteenth-century Byzantine churches of the Peloponnesos, are many in number, usually smaller, and often included in monastic complexes. Ten of them display evident Frankish influence.

1. The katholikon of the Blachernae monastery in Elis,<sup>14</sup> a relatively large three-aisled basilica whose construction began during the twelfth century but was not finished until the early Frankish period (Figs. 1, 2). Its western part, the upper story of the tripartite narthex in particular, has pointed arch windows, slender engaged columns running along the corners of the structure, rain spouts, and other Gothic formal elements. The western arcade was evidently rebuilt during the eighteenth century. Recent studies<sup>15</sup> indicate that the half barrel vaults over the side aisles of the church do not belong to the twelfth- or thirteenth-century phase but are of a much later date. The church is well preserved.

2. Hagios Georgios in the cemetery at Androusa.<sup>16</sup> This single-aisled cross barrel-vaulted church preserves Gothic style doorways with pointed arches and jamb molds, cornices, and string courses, but is built with typical mid-Byzantine masonry.

3. The Dormition of the Theotokos outside Anilio<sup>17</sup> (formerly Glatsa) near Olympia. This was a small three-aisled, timber-roofed Byzantine basilica whose Gothic elements

<sup>8</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 544–47; Traquair, “Frankish Architecture,” 7–10; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες*, 17–19; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 52–56.

<sup>9</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 553–59; Orlandos, “Ἡ φραγκική ἐκκλησία”; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 27–42; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες*, 20–24.

<sup>10</sup> Bouras, “Ἐπανεξέταση;”

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 318 nn. 94–98; A. Blouet, *Expedition scientifique de Morée*, vol. 1. (Paris, 1831), 12, pl. 14a,b.

<sup>12</sup> G. Dimitrokallis, *Ἄγνωστοί βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας* (Athens, 1990), 215–32, esp. 231.

<sup>13</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 601 ff: castles of Glarenza; 602 ff: Chlemoutsi; 608 ff: Karytaina; 629 ff: Kalavryta, Acova, Hagios Basilios, Androussa, Mistras, Geraki, and others. A. C. Orlandos, “Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρά;” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἑλλ. 3 (1937): 13–21. The so-called Building A was possibly built by the Crusaders before the delivery of the Mistra castle to the Greeks. J. Alchermes, “Medieval Towns of Santomeri and the Countryside of Frankish Morea,” in *Architectural Studies in Memory of R. Krauthheimer*, ed. C. Striker (Mainz, 1996), 13–16; J. M. Downs, “The Medieval Settlement at the Hexamilion Fortress at Isthmia,” *BSCAstr* 22 (1996): 42.

<sup>14</sup> A. C. Orlandos, “Αἱ Βλαχέρναι τῆς Ἡλείας;” *Ἀρχ.Ἐφ.* (1923): 5–34; Bon, *La Morée franque*, 561 ff; Traquair, *Frankish Architecture*, 20–24; G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 7, 20, 31, 33–35, 53, 125; A. H. S. Megaw, “The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches,” *BSA* 32 (1931–32): 113, 114, 116, 117, 119, 124, 129; A. Bon, “Monuments de l'art byzantin et de l'art occidental dans le Péloponnèse au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1966), 3:86 ff; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 254.

<sup>15</sup> F. Drossogianni, “Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Πελοποννήσου;” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 25.2 (1970): 206–7; J. P. Michaud, “Chronique des fouilles en 1971,” *BCH* 96 (1972): 673.

<sup>16</sup> C. Bouras, “Ὁ Ἅγιος Γεώργιος τῆς Ἀνδρούσης;” in *Χαριστήριον* (as in note 14), 2:270–85; Bon, *La Morée franque*, 582–84, pl. 97; Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 151.

<sup>17</sup> C. Bouras, “Ἡ φραγκοβυζαντινὴ ἐκκλησία τῆς Θεοτόκου στό Ἀνήλιο (τέως Γκλάτσα) τῆς Ἡλείας;” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Ἐτ. 12 (1984): 239–64.

(Fig. 3) are confined to the doorways and the double-colonnade icon frames inside the church. Today the church is a ruin.

4. The church of the Rachiotissa at Phlious,<sup>18</sup> partly ruined and disfigured today, also included Gothic engaged columns and column capitals on its doorways (Fig. 4). Typologically, it belongs to a very common type of mid-Byzantine domed inscribed cross church.

5. The katholikon of the Palaiomonastero of the Phaneromene<sup>19</sup> near Corinth has exactly the same peculiar doorway elements as the Rachiotissa and belongs to the same type of church (Fig. 5).

6. The single-aisled cross barrel-vaulted church of Hagios Georgios at Aipeia<sup>20</sup> in Messenia is dominated by a double-pointed arch window with Gothic style jamb molds.

7. The Dormition of the Theotokos at Merbaka in the Argolid.<sup>21</sup> This is one of the best known and most beautiful churches of Greece, consisting of an inscribed cross with a dome in an excellent state of preservation. In general, it copies the neighboring church of Hagia Moni in Nauplion (1149) but contains a wealth of Gothic details, such as engaged columns in the trilobed sanctuary window (Fig. A), jamb molds on the arches of the porches that once existed in front of the entrances, column capitals with crockets in the dome (Fig. 6), and other elements. A characteristic feature of the church is the absence of white marble and the use of carved poros stone for all the sculptured architectural elements. The date of the church is much disputed,<sup>22</sup> but recent excavations<sup>23</sup> and research into the many glazed bowls that decorate the facades<sup>24</sup> indicate that it belongs

<sup>18</sup> C. Bouras, "Φλιούς, Παναγία ή Ραχιώτισσα," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.* 'Ετ. 16 (1991–92): 39–46; D. Pallas, "Ανάγλυφος στήλη του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου," *Αρχ.* 'Εφ. (1953–54), 3:296 n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> A. C. Orlandos, *Βυζαντινοί ναοί της Ανατολικής Κορινθίας*, *Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* 'Ελλ. 1 (1935): 88–90, figs. 36–38; Bon, "Monuments de l'art byzantin," 89, pl. xxvi.

<sup>20</sup> I. Staboltzis, "Παρατηρήσεις επί τριών χριστιανικών ναών της Μεσσηνίας," in *Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1976–78), 270–81.

<sup>21</sup> A. Struck, "Vier byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis," *AM* 34 (1909): 201–10, pl. 10; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin* (Paris, 1951), 92–93, 145–46, 149–51; A. H. S. Megaw, "Chronology," 95, 101, 108, 111, 114, 117–18, 124–25, 127; G. Hadji-Minaglou, *L'église de la Dormition de la Vierge à Merbaka (Hagia Triada)* (Paris, 1992). See also the book review of the latter by U. Peschlow in *BZ* 89 (1996): 470–71.

<sup>22</sup> A. Struck suggested a date of about 1140 for the Merbaka church. A. H. S. Megaw ("Chronology," 129) later dated the church to the last quarter of the 12th century. Recently, G. Hadji-Minaglou suggested a date between 1130 and 1135. G. Velenis (*Έρμηνεία του έξωτερικού διακόσμου στην Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική* [Thessaloniki, 1984], 182 n. 2 and 268 n. 1) dated the church of Merbaka before the katholikon of Hagia Moni of Areia, securely dated by an inscription to 1149. A date before 1204 was also accepted by D. Pallas ("Ανάγλυφος στήλη," 296–99; idem, "Ευρώπη και Βυζάντιο," in *Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Conference* [Athens, 1987], 24–30) and others.

<sup>23</sup> By the local Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities (J. Varalis and A. Oikonomou). The results of the excavation are not yet published. See also B. Konti, "Αργολικά σημειώματα," in *Μνήμη Δ. Α. Ζακυθνοῦ*, ed. G. Moschonas (Athens, 1994), 249–68.

<sup>24</sup> Of the 53 originally attached glazed bowls, only 22 can now be studied. A. H. S. Megaw proved that the bowls were set into the masonry of the church while it was built and that most of them were protomajolica bowls ("Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.* 'Ετ. 4 [1964–65]: 147–48, 153–58). He did not clearly express his opinion on the problem. The date of these bowls in the late 13th century is proved by G. Nikolakopoulos, *Έντοιχισμένα κεραμικά ΙΙΙ, Τά κεραμικά της Παναγίας του Μέρμπακα* (Athens, 1979), 37; C. Tsouris, *Ο κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος των ύστεροβυζαντινών μνημείων της Βορειοδυτι-*

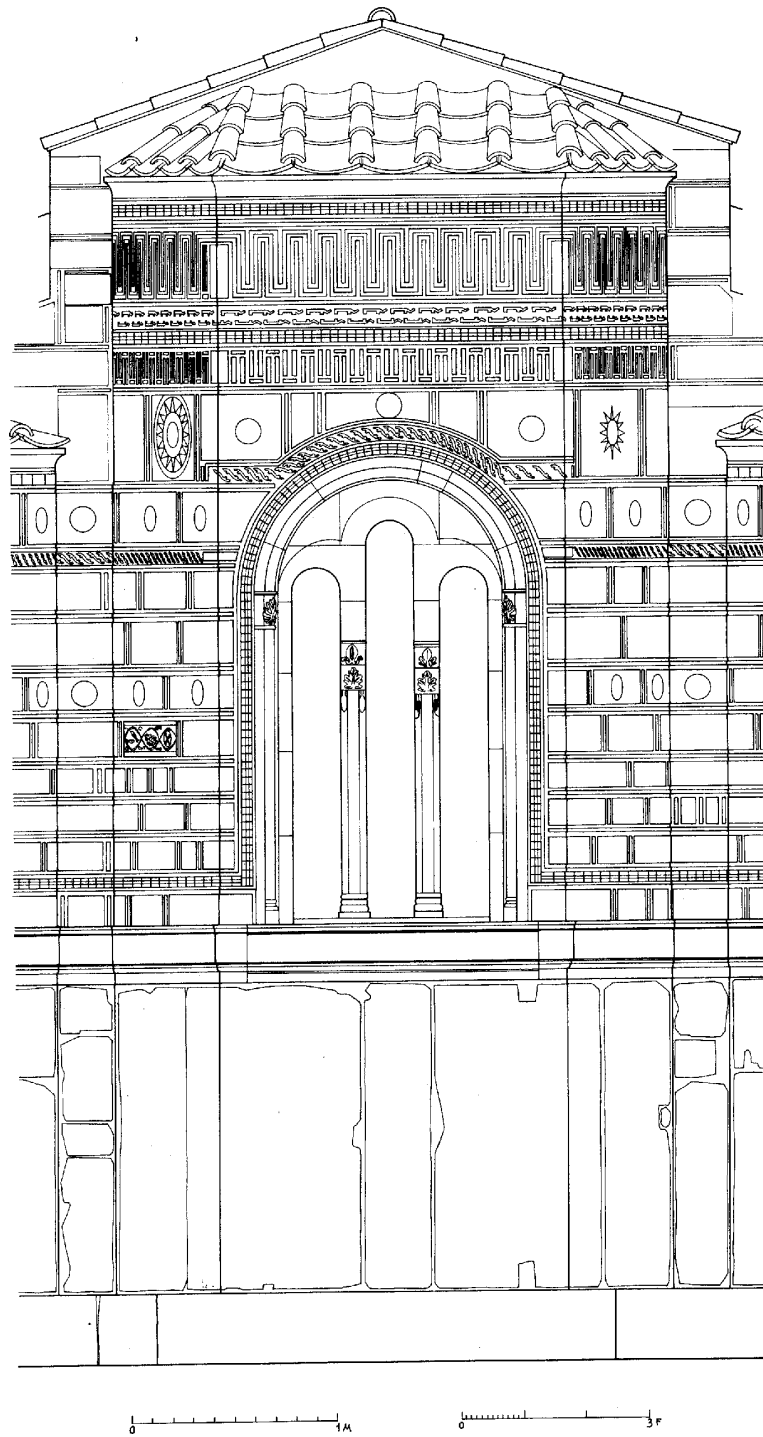


Fig. A Merbaka, Argolid, church of the Dormition, exterior of the bema apse

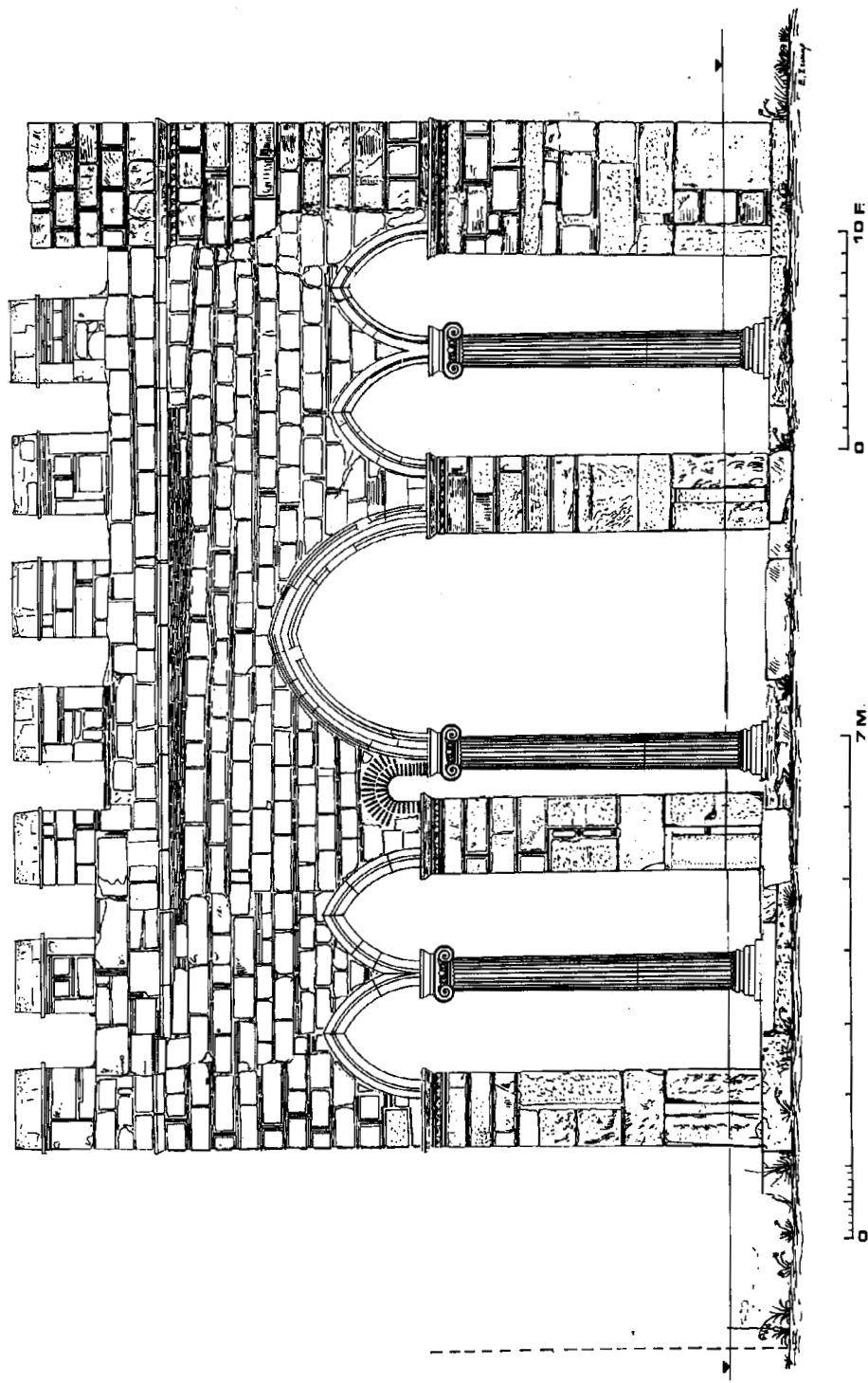


Fig. B Daphni, Attica, monastery, west facade of the exonarthex after the repair by Cistercian monks  
(based on a drawing of the actual state of the facade in 1955 by E. Stikas)

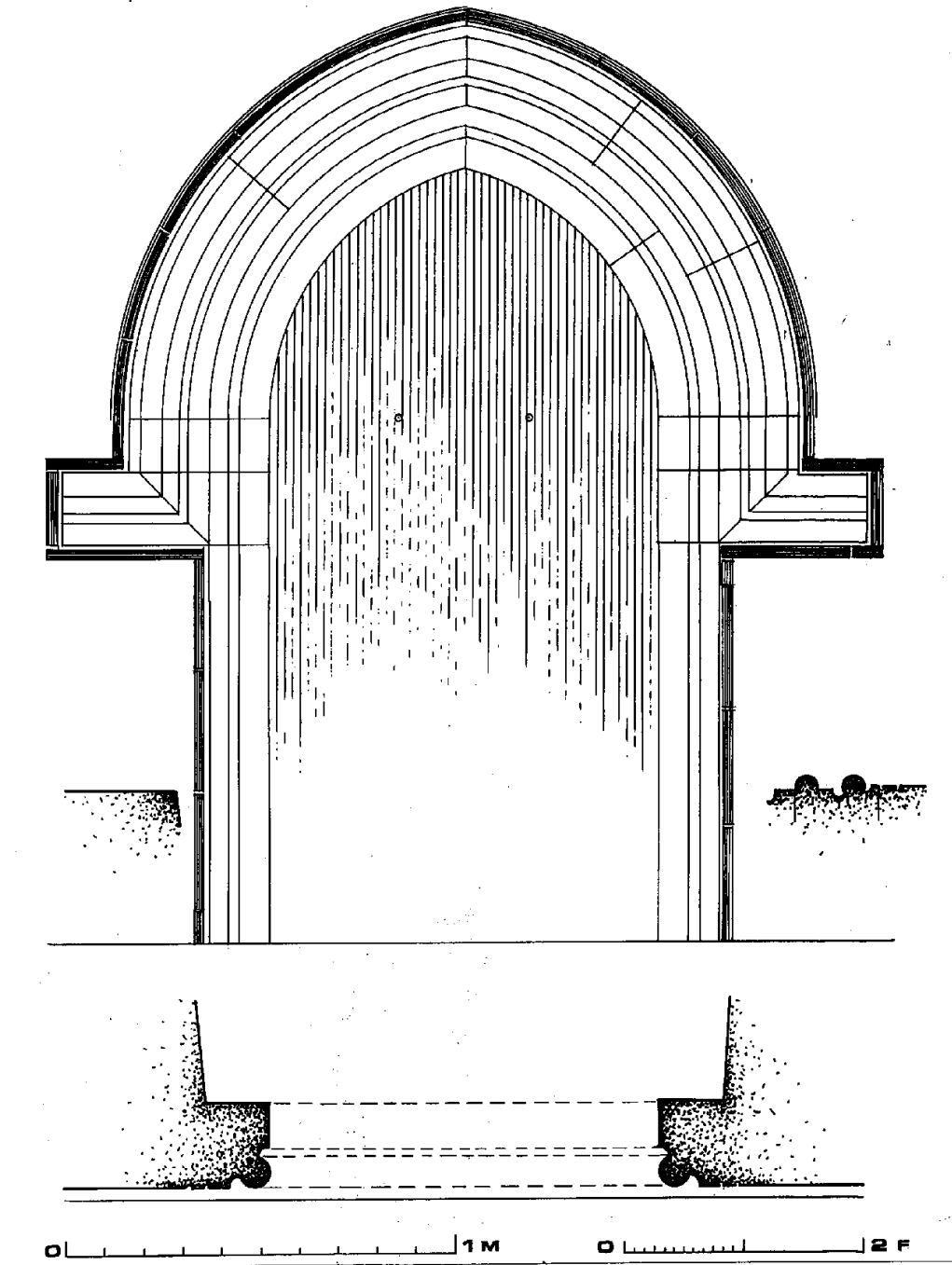


Fig. C Sykamino, Attica, church of the Panagia Eleousa, south door





1 Elis, Peloponnesos, Blachernae monastery, katholikon, southwest angle of the exonarthex



2 Elis, Peloponnesos, Blachernae monastery, katholikon, northwest angle of the exonarthex



3 Anilio (formerly Glatsa), Peloponnesos, church of the Dormition, shrine on the south side of the bema



4 Phlious, Peloponnesos, church of the Virgin Rachiotissa, capital of door jamb



5 Near Corinth, Palaiomonastero of the Phaneromene, katholikon, capital of door jamb





6 Merbaka, Argolid, church of the Dormition, detail, upper part of the dome

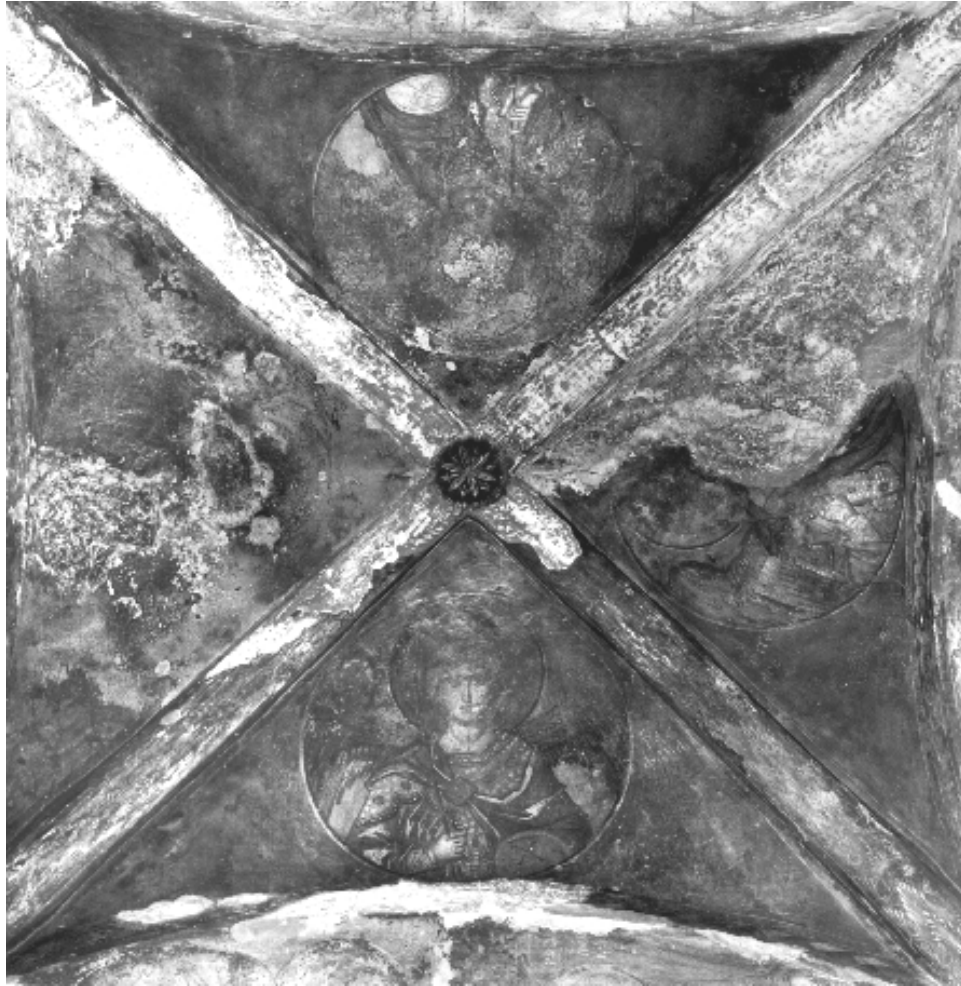


7 Geraki, church of Hagios Georgios, shrine on the north side of the ikonostasis



8 Geraki, church of Hagia Paraskevi, detail of an arcosolium





9 Galatsi, near Athens, Omorphe Ekklesia, ribbed cross vault of the side chapel





10 Avlonari, Euboea, the cross barrel-vaulted church of Hagios Demetrios



11 Arta, church of the Panagia Paregoritissa, interior



12 Ammochostos, Cyprus, Hagios Georgios of the Greeks, interior looking east



13 Geraki, church of Zoodochos Pege, entrance





14 Sykamino, Attica, church of Hagioi Saranta, templon colonnette

to the late thirteenth century. There is, however, no evidence to associate the church with the learned Latin bishop of Corinth William of Moerbeke (1278–84),<sup>25</sup> to whom other, no longer extant buildings may be attributed.<sup>26</sup>

8. The bell tower of the church of Zoodochos Pege in Karytaina<sup>27</sup> has zigzag string courses and engaged corner columns of a typical Gothic type.

9. Hagios Georgios in the castle at Geraki<sup>28</sup> preserves an icon frame (Fig. 7) containing sculptural elements executed in the high-relief Western style of the period.

10. Hagia Paraskevi in the castle at Geraki<sup>29</sup> is covered with a pointed barrel-vaulted roof and has Gothic formal elements at the entrance to the sanctuary (Fig. 8).

In the area held by the former Duchy of Athens, similar monuments of both groups can be found. The Cistercian monks who took over the monastery of Daphni remodeled the open stoa attached to the facade of the Byzantine katholikon<sup>30</sup> (Fig. B) and may have built the square enclosed cloister to its south.<sup>31</sup> The de la Roche family transformed the Propylaea of the Athens Acropolis into a fortified palace with the addition of many purely Gothic formal elements<sup>32</sup> and constructed other buildings that have now disappeared leaving only spolia behind.<sup>33</sup> The third phase of the church of Hagios Ioannis Magoutis in Athens<sup>34</sup> (demolished, but known to us today thanks to the drawings of A. Couchaud) probably belongs to the same group of purely Western architectural monuments. The structure had three aisles and a square sanctuary covered with a groin vault.

---

κῆς Ἑλλάδος (Kavala, 1988), 102, 113–14; and G. Sanders, “Peloponnesian Churches,” in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Deroche and J.-M. Spieser (Paris, 1989), 189–94.

<sup>25</sup> The connection of the Dormition church with the archbishop was first suggested by A. Struck (“Vier byzantinische Kirchen,” 234–35). A. Bon accepted the idea and considered the church as a building of the 13th century (“Monuments de l’art byzantin,” 93). For the archbishop of Corinth William of Moerbeke (1278–84), see G. Verbeke, *DHGE* 22 (1988), 963–66.

<sup>26</sup> According to G. Sanders, the Latin cathedral of Corinth of which nothing remains. We may note a few architectural members (spolia), of purely Gothic style, which were recently found in Corinth and belonged to an unidentified building. C. Williams, E. Barnes, and L. M. Snyder, “Frankish Corinth: 1996,” *Hesp* 66 (1997): 32, pl. 9.

<sup>27</sup> N. Moutsopoulos, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων τῆς Γορτυνίας (Athens, 1956), 56–59, fig. 32; Bon, *La Morée franque*, 588–89, pl. 73b.

<sup>28</sup> A. J. B. Wace, “Laconia. Frankish Sculptures at Parori and Geraki,” *BSA* 11 (1904–5): 144, fig. 4; R. Traquair, “Laconia. The Mediaeval Fortresses,” *BSA* 12 (1905–6): 265–66, pl. iv; A. Van de Put, “Note on the Armorial Insignia in the Church of St. George, Geraki,” *BSA* 13 (1906–7): 282–83; N. Moutsopoulos and G. Dimitrokallis, Ἡ ἐλληνική ἡμισέληνος (Athens, 1988), 30–31, figs. 21–23.

<sup>29</sup> Wace, “Laconia,” 142; Traquair, “Laconia,” 267.

<sup>30</sup> G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), 25–42, pl. vi.2; E. Stikas, “Στερέωσις καὶ ἀποκατάστασις τοῦ ἐξωνάρθηκος τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς μονῆς Δαφνίου,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Ἐτ. 3 (1962–63): 1–3, pls. 1, 4; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικὲς ἐκκλησίαις*, 30–31, figs. 41–42; G. Lampakis, *Χριστιανικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία τῆς Μονῆς Δαφνίου* (Athens, 1889), 96.

<sup>31</sup> As a type, the present square court and surrounding porticoes can be considered a Frankish concept, but as architectural forms and constructions they belong to the Turkish period. See also A. C. Orlandos, “Νεώτερα εὐρήματα εἰς τὴν μονὴν Δαφνίου,” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἑλλ. 8 (1955–56): 67–71, figs. 3–4.

<sup>32</sup> T. Tanoulas, *Τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀκρόπολης κατὰ τὸν Μεσαίωνα* (Athens, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> T. Tanoulas, “Φραγκικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τεχνολογία στὴν Ἀκρόπολη,” lecture at the Gennadeion Library, Athens, 8 Feb. 1997.

<sup>34</sup> A. Χυγοπούλου, “Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Τουρκικὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,” *Εὐρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 2 (1929): 85–87, figs. 1–3.

The Hypapante church was once considered of the same group,<sup>35</sup> but it would seem to be of a much earlier date.<sup>36</sup>

Byzantine churches with Western architectural elements in the same geographical area include the following.

1. The chapel of the Omorpe Ekklesia in Galatsi near Athens,<sup>37</sup> a single-aisled structure covered by three purely Gothic groin vaults (Fig. 9). These have pronounced jamb moldings, but the arches of their facades are semicircular. The exterior formal elements are genuinely mid-Byzantine.

2. The church of the Panagia Eleousa, Sykamino in Attica.<sup>38</sup> A single-aisled domed church, much altered today, which preserves a Gothic pointed doorway on its south side (Fig. C).

3. The church of the Hagioi Apostoloi, Oropos, also in Attica,<sup>39</sup> a single-aisled basilica with a tripartite sanctuary. Two arcosolia preserve arches of a purely Gothic style with pronounced jamb molds.

4. The church of Hagios Georgios, Oropos,<sup>40</sup> a three-aisled timber-roofed basilica with a large pointed arch in the colonnades. The church is now a ruin.

5. An unknown church in Athens from which the white marble Gothic-style sculptured arches carved in the round, now exhibited at the Byzantine Museum, originated.<sup>41</sup> Their Greek inscriptions may indicate that these were intended for a church of the Orthodox rite.

In Chalkis the Venetians made a third(?) and large-scale intervention in the basilica of Hagia Paraskevi,<sup>42</sup> completely renovating the sanctuary on the Western model. At the same time, a host of individual towers and fortresses were built in mainland Greece and in Euboea.<sup>43</sup> Of the many Orthodox churches of the thirteenth century on the island,

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 63, fig. 48; C. Enlart, "Quelques monuments d'architecture gothique en Grèce," *RArtChr* (1897): 311 ff; Moutsopoulos, *Φραγκικές ἐκκλησίες*, 30, fig. 40. The last remains of the ruined church (a three-aisled basilica) were removed during the late 1950s, when the whole area was incorporated into the Athenian Agora region and excavated by the American School of Classical Studies.

<sup>36</sup> A. Xyngopoulos, "Φραγκοβυζαντινά γλυπτά ἐν Ἀθήναις," *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* (1931): 69 nn. 1–2.

<sup>37</sup> A. C. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ὀμορφή Ἐκκλησία* (Athens, 1921); C. Bouras, *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια μέ νευρώσεις* (Athens, 1965), 62, 64, 68–69, fig. 17.

<sup>38</sup> A. C. Orlandos, "Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα Ὀρωποῦ καί Συκαμίνου," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.*, ser. 1, 4 (1927): 42–44, fig. 4β, 16, 17; I. N. Koumanoudis, "Περὶ τινος ἰδιομόρφου τυμπάνου ὀκταπλευροῦ τρούλλου τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνος," *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 224 (1963): 1–15.

<sup>39</sup> Orlandos, "Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα," 31, fig. 4α, 15 no 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 31–34, figs. 5–8. The date suggested by Orlandos was correctly disputed by M. Chatzidakis, "Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στὸν Ὀρωπό," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 1 (1959): 87–107; see esp. 107 (early decades of the 13th century).

<sup>41</sup> Xyngopoulos, "Φραγκοβυζαντινά γλυπτά," 69–102; G. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée byzantin d'Athènes* (Athens, 1932), 48–49; A. Liveri, *Die byzantinischen Steinreliefs der 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts im griechischen Raum* (Athens, 1996), 177–84, figs. 70–75; J. Maksimović, "La sculpture byzantine du XIIIe siècle," in *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle (Symposium de Sopotani)*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967), 32–33, figs. 19–20.

<sup>42</sup> Traquair, "Frankish Architecture," 10–16, figs. 13–21; J. Koder, *Negroponte*, Veröff. TIB 1 (Vienna, 1973), 92 ff.

<sup>43</sup> A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937): 136–208; P. Lock, "The Frankish Towers of Central Greece," *BSA* 81 (1986): 101–24; idem, "The Mediaeval Towers of Greece," *Mediterranean*

only Hagios Demetrios at Chania of Avlonari shows signs of Western influence.<sup>44</sup> This is a three-aisled basilica with pointed arches both in the longitudinal rows of piers and in the windows of the south facade (Fig. 10).

In the despotate of Epiros, which was completely Greek, we have monuments only of the second group, namely, Byzantine churches with Frankish elements. The first two of these are, indeed, foundations of the Komnene–Doukas dynasty itself and thus are of special importance.

1. The Panagia Paregoritissa (1294–96)<sup>45</sup> represents a very ambitious design as regards both size and mosaic and fresco decoration. Typologically, it remains unique: a square below and a domed cross-in-square at the level of the vaults. Its vivid originality can be discerned not only in the support system used for the dome—pronouncedly dynamic in the interior—but also in the ornamental trefoil arches and representational reliefs of a purely Gothic style<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 11).

2. The Pantanassa at Philippias,<sup>47</sup> erected by the despot Michael II, now a ruin, has been excavated over the last twenty years. It was a large domed inscribed-cross church with two side chapels and pairs of colonnettes at the entrances that once formed Gothic-style porches. It has been argued that both the porches and the column capitals therein are of a later date.<sup>48</sup>

3. Hagia Theodora in Arta<sup>49</sup> had a colonnaded outer pi-shaped stoa covered with Gothic-style pointed ribbed groin vaults. Only the south part of the stoa exists today.<sup>50</sup>

4. On the narthex of the Porta–Panagia, yet another pointed Gothic arch was added

*Historical Review* 4 (1989): 129–45. I. Papadimitriou, “Φραγκικά κάστρα καὶ ὄχρωμάτα ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ,” *BNJ* 7 (1928–29): 462–64; Koder, *Negroponte*, 95–99, 105 ff, figs. 27–48.

<sup>44</sup> Koder, *Negroponte*, 137, 163, figs. 63–64; C. Bouras, “A Chance Classical Revival in Byzantine Greece,” in *Byzantine East—Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. C. Moss and K. Kieffer (Princeton, 1995), 585–90; C. Farantos, “Βυζαντινές καὶ μεταβυζαντινές ἐκκλησίες στὶς περιοχές τῶν χωριῶν Ἀλιβέρι . . . τῆς Ν. Εὐβοίας,” *Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 23 (1980): 368–70.

<sup>45</sup> A. C. Orlandos, *Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα τῆς Ἄρτης* (Athens, 1963); L. Theis, *Die Architektur der Kirche der Panagia Paregoritissa in Arta/Epirus* (Amsterdam, 1990); eadem, “Die Architektur der Kirche der Panagia Paregoritissa,” *Πρακτικά Διεθνoῦς Συμποσίου γιὰ τὸ Δεσποτᾶτο τῆς Ἠπείρου*, ed. E. Chrysos (Arta, 1992), 475–93.

<sup>46</sup> Orlandos, *Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα*, 66–93; L. Safran, “Exploring Artistic Links between Epiros and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting,” *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου γιὰ τὸ Δεσποτᾶτο* (as in note 45), 456 ff.

<sup>47</sup> P. Vokotopoulos, “Ἀνασκαφὴ Παντανάσσης Φιλιππιάδος,” *Αρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 5 (1972): 87–97, and 10 (1977): 149–64, figs. 1–3, 17.

<sup>48</sup> This purely Gothic arrangement concerns two entrances of the south and one of the north from the Pi-shaped ambulatory to the main church. P. Vokotopoulos’ suggestion that such ambulatories are in general later than 1250 (*Δελτ.Χρυστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 1 [1980–81], 372) rather than the archaeological evidence led G. Velenis to the opinion that the ambulatory of the Pantanassa (and consequently the Gothic entrances) are later additions. See G. Velenis, “Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus,” in *Studenica et l’art byzantin autour de l’année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade, 1988), 281 n. 17.

<sup>49</sup> A. C. Orlandos, “Ἡ Ἁγία Θεοδώρα τῆς Ἄρτης,” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἑλλ. 2 (1936): 88–104, esp. 103–4, fig. 3; Bouras, *Βυζαντινὰ σταυροθόλια*, 63, fig. 15H, pl. 20.

<sup>50</sup> The ambulatory was demolished long before the study of the monument by A. C. Orlandos. The form of the Gothic ribs can be seen in an old photograph in the collection of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris.



over the entrance at a later date, if the redating of the narthex to the twelfth century is valid.<sup>51</sup>

It should also be noted that both the sculptural ornamentation<sup>52</sup> and the ceramic decorative plaques<sup>53</sup> in Artan monuments of the thirteenth century are evidently products of Western influence. The latest research, however, has concluded that this is less due to Crusader activity than to the relations between the despotate and Apulia.<sup>54</sup>

The churches built by the Venetians in the towns of Crete were as a rule large three-aisled, timber-roofed basilicas:<sup>55</sup> Hagios Markos in Herakleion, the church of the Panagia in Canea, those of St. Francis in Herakleion, Hagios Ioannis Prodromos in Canea, the Savior, Hagios Petros Martyr, and the Panagia in Herakleion, and finally St. Francis and Hagios Nikolaos in Canea. These churches were built without particular artistic pretensions and with Gothic elements confined to the interior colonnades and the openings on the façades. Correspondingly, the Orthodox churches in Crete during the thirteenth century are humble structures, usually single-aisled vaulted buildings, small basilicas, or cross barrel-vaulted churches of the simplest variety. Pronounced Western influence appears at times only on the façades: occasional pointed arch openings or decorative sculptural relief, usually much simplified in a popular idiom.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the architecture of these monuments has been insufficiently studied, and their dating is still problematic. It would appear evident that many do not belong to the thirteenth century but to the following three centuries. Three small monuments dated by their wall paintings to the thirteenth century (Hagios Georgios in Kouneni, Hagios Ioannis in Gerakari, and Hagios Georgios of Sklavopoula in Selinos) are single-aisled vaulted chambers built in a popular style without evident Western influence.<sup>57</sup> Noteworthy exceptions, however, can be found in the church of Hagios Ioannis in Episkopi at Mylopotamos<sup>58</sup> with its multilobed arching in the conch of the sanctuary, and in the Timios Stavros church at Monochori, where a Gothic ribbed groin vault covers the entire chapel.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>51</sup> A. C. Orlandos, "Η Πόρτα Παναγιά της Θεσσαλίας," *Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ. Έλλ.* 1 (1935): 5–40, esp. 23–24, fig. 11. On the redating of the narthex, see C. Bouras, "Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.Έτ.* 9 (1977–79): 27. The redating is recently disputed by S. Mamaloukos, who attempted new measurements and observations of the narthex of the church.

<sup>52</sup> Liveri, *Die byzantinischen Steinreliefs*; Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links."

<sup>53</sup> A. C. Orlandos, "Ο Άγιος Βασίλειος της Άρτης," *Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ. Έλλ.* 2 (1936): 122–26, figs. 7–8; Tsouris, *Ο κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 76–95, pls. 66–71.

<sup>54</sup> Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links."

<sup>55</sup> G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1908), 17 ff, Le chiese latine. Pages corresponding to the above nine monuments: 17, 102–5, 112–17, 117–20, 119–21, 122–27, 217–19, 130–34, 135–40. See also S. Curuni and L. Donati, *Creta veneziana* (Venice, 1988), 111, 210, 242, 252; Kitsiki-Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 64–127 *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> M. Borbudakis, K. Gallas, and K. Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich, 1983), 57–60. For other examples of Cretan monuments that adopted debased Gothic forms, see Curuni and Donati, *Creta*, 35, 254–55, 322, 328, 333, 335, 343, 384, 390, 395, 398, 400, 412, 414, 423.

<sup>57</sup> Borbudakis, Gallas, and Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 200, fig. 149; 282, fig. 57; 239 and 211, fig. 58; and 162–63, respectively.

<sup>58</sup> Gerola, *Monumenti*, 79–83; Curuni and Donati, *Creta*, 322; Borbudakis, Gallas, and Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 300–302.

<sup>59</sup> Borbudakis, Gallas, and Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 333, fig. 295.

Cyprus is an exception. In the hands of the Crusaders from 1191, it witnessed an outstanding flourishing of Gothic architecture with a series of large and impressive monuments, unique in the East,<sup>60</sup> which clearly originate in northern France in their first and major phase (1209–80).<sup>61</sup> During the thirteenth century, the architectural activity of the island's Orthodox inhabitants was very limited. Later, perhaps beginning with the church of Hagios Georgios of the Greeks in Ammochostos<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 12)—an Orthodox church built in a purely Gothic style around 1370—Gothic formal elements began to be used by the indigenous architectural tradition to such a degree that it becomes difficult in certain instances to distinguish one group of churches from another. Despite this, C. Enlart maintains that “in Cypriot medieval architecture we do not find the lively and fruitful fusion of elements that true syncretism could produce.”<sup>63</sup> The pitched timber roofs that cover Greek churches in Cyprus—whether vaulted or not—have been studied, but their origins have been variously attributed.<sup>64</sup>

Finally, we have the monuments on the island of Rhodes. Both those of the Knights of St. John,<sup>65</sup> as well as those of the Orthodox inhabitants who accepted the use of piecemeal Gothic elements<sup>66</sup> (Hagios Demetrios<sup>67</sup> and the Panagia church<sup>68</sup> in Lindos, the church of the Dormition at Salakos,<sup>69</sup> and the Hurmali Medresse<sup>70</sup> in the town of Rhodes), are much later, all dating to after the island's capture in 1309.

It is now necessary to analyze the relatively small number of Byzantine monuments influenced by Gothic architecture at its height, discussed above, if we are to understand this phenomenon. Traces of Gothic influence on the typology and function of Byzantine churches remain unconfirmed or simply hypothetical. Greek monuments continued to use the church types known from the earlier period, whether basilicas or domed, almost always with narthex and tripartite sanctuary area. Four elements of thirteenth-century churches have been suggested as betraying Western typological influences.

(1) A new type of cross barrel-vaulted church—both of a single and three-aisled vari-

<sup>60</sup> On the Gothic monuments of Cyprus, the book by Camille Enlart, published in 1899, is still invaluable. An English translation under the title *Gothic Art and Renaissance in Cyprus* was published in London in 1987.

<sup>61</sup> Mainly during the reign of the Louis IX. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 53 n. 9.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 255; A. W. Carr, “Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art,” *DOP* 49 (1995): 340 n. 6, figs. 2, 16–18.

<sup>63</sup> Enlart, *Gothic Art*, preface, 2.

<sup>64</sup> A. Papageorgiou, *Οἱ ξυλόστεγοι ναοὶ τῆς Κύπρου. Ἀναμνηστικός τόμος 50ετηρίδος περιοδικοῦ Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας* (Nicosia, 1975), 3–198, esp. 196–98; C. Feraios, *Ξυλόστεγος φραγκοβυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Κύπρου* (Nicosia, n.d.), esp. 233.

<sup>65</sup> Also invaluable is the old publication by A. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes* (Paris, 1921–23). The architectural activity of the Hospitallers of Rhodes is principally limited to secular buildings and fortifications.

<sup>66</sup> A. C. Orlandos, “Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ρόδου,” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἐλλ. 6 (1948): 107–8.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, fig. 51.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 98, fig. 86.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 100–104, figs. 90–91; A. Alpagu-Novello and G. Dimitrokallis, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη στὴν Ἑλλάδα* (Athens, 1995), 175–76.

<sup>70</sup> Orlandos, “Βυζαντινὰ,” 99–106, figs. 89, 93.

ety—appears in Greece during the thirteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The transverse barrel-vault with a pitched roof, which generally takes the place of the dome,<sup>72</sup> has been interpreted by some scholars<sup>73</sup> not only as a technical simplification of the standard mid-Byzantine domed cross-in-square church, but also as having been influenced by the transept typical of the Romanesque or Gothic cathedral. Indeed, certain large buildings dating to the immediately preceding period and mostly in Apulia<sup>74</sup> and Sicily contain the characteristic raised single transverse aisle, and in Gothic cathedrals also the transverse aisle is the formal element that dominates the long sides of the building. Support for this view involves three factors: (a) that the cross barrel-vault type appears and survives in the Peloponnesos, Euboea, Arta, and Crete during the thirteenth century, while it is completely absent from Asia Minor as well as from Constantinople and its immediate sphere of influence; (b) that many of the churches that contain formal elements of Western influence do indeed belong to the cross barrel-vault type;<sup>75</sup> and (c) that at least one important monument of the same type<sup>76</sup> is clearly attested as having been erected by a Western master craftsman.

But the problem has not been definitively solved. It has long been observed that the single-aisled variation of the type already existed in tenth-century Greece in the arrangement of the nartheces of domed cross-in-square churches<sup>77</sup> and also that the attempt to do away with interior columns in inscribed-cross churches had led to transitional arrangements that prefigured the cross barrel-vault type even before the Frankish period.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> On the type of cross barrel-vaulted churches generally, see A. C. Orlandos, “Οἱ σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἑλλ. 1 (1935): 41–52; H. M. Küpper, *Der Bautypus der griechischen Drachtranseptkirche* (Amsterdam, 1990); M. Doris, *Πρόταση γιὰ τὴν τυπολογία τῶν σταυρεπιστέγων ναῶν* (Athens, 1991).

<sup>72</sup> The origin of the type according to Orlandos’ theory is connected with the form of *troullokamara*. However, this uncommon architectural form is usually the product of later alterations and repairs. Orlandos, “Οἱ σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοὶ,” 50–52; idem, “Eine unbeachtete Kuppelform,” *BZ* 30 (1930): 577–82.

<sup>73</sup> Bouras, “Ο Ἅγιος Γεώργιος τῆς Ἀνδροῦσης,” 285 n. 36; H. Hallensleben, review of R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, in *BZ* 66 (1973): 129; Küpper, *Der Bautypus*, 90–91, 147, 151–55. On the same problem of the origin of the type, see also Borbudakis, Gallas, and Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 62–66, 476; Koder, *Negroponte*, 160–61.

<sup>74</sup> With typical examples St. Nicholas of Bari (F. Schettini, *La basilica di San Nicola di Bari* [Bari, 1967]) and the Trani cathedral.

<sup>75</sup> E.g., the churches of St. George of Androusa, St. George of Aipeia, and St. Demetrius of Avlonari on Euboea.

<sup>76</sup> The church of the Savior, near Galaxeidi, a foundation of the despot of Epiros Michael II, of the mid-13th century, was built by Nicolo Carouli, who was “περίφημος τζινιέρης . . . ποῦ ἐστάθηκε στή δούλεψη τῆς Φραγκίας”; see P. Vokotopoulos, “Παρατηρήσεις στὸν ναὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κοντὰ στό Γαλαξειδί,” *Δελτ.-Χριστ. Ἀρχ.* Ἑτ. 17 (1993–94): 199–210, and Euthymios hieromonachos, *Χρονικό τοῦ Γαλαξειδίου* (Athens, 1985), 28. The name of the arch builder is Italian, but the architectural forms of the church are purely Byzantine.

<sup>77</sup> G. Dimitrokallis, “Ἡ καταγωγή τῶν σταυρεπιστέγων ναῶν,” in *Χαριστήριον* (as in note 14), 2:187–211; Küpper, *Der Bautypus*. Three of the oldest examples of nartheces of this type are those of the Prophet Elias of Staropazaro in Athens, of the Panaxiotissa in Gavrolimni, and of the Metamorphosis at Koropi, in Attica.

<sup>78</sup> A. H. S. Megaw correlated a very rare type of 12th-century church with transverse barrel vault surmounted by a small dome (considered a simplified version of the inscribed-cross domed type) with the very common one-aisled cross barrel-vaulted church. A. H. S. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani,” *BSA* 33 (1932–33): 160–61; C. Bouras, “Στηρίζεις συνεπτυγμένων τρούλλων σέ μονοκλίτους ναοὺς,” *Εὐφρόσυνον. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1992), 413 nn. 31–33.

The difficulty faced in the construction of the support system for a dome is clearly the most important factor in the development of the new type of cross barrel-vault churches in an age when donors, as we shall see, requested smaller and less expensive churches.

(2) The tendency toward an elongated ground plan. This was asserted by A. Bon<sup>79</sup> and Cyril Mango<sup>80</sup> but is not in fact confirmed by the material evidence. On the contrary, certain Frankish monuments of the Peloponnesos (Hagios Nikolaos at Isova and the chapel of Hagios Nikolaos of Aipeia) have almost square ground plans, even though they belong to the basilica type.

(3) Bon<sup>81</sup> and Mango<sup>82</sup> also attribute the erection of bell towers to Western influence. There are indications, however, that even by the twelfth century these had purely Byzantine origins in churches in the northern regions immediately under Constantinople's influence, such as Kuršumlja,<sup>83</sup> Bjelo-Polje,<sup>84</sup> and the Omorphoekklisia (Galista) near Kastoria.<sup>85</sup> Other examples are to be found in Greece.<sup>86</sup> Slobodan Ćurčić, basing himself on certain later examples, argues for a Byzantine origin of the bell tower in these regions.<sup>87</sup>

(4) According to G. Millet, the timber-roofed, three-aisled basilica begins to be used once again in Greece in the thirteenth century, thanks to Frankish influence.<sup>88</sup> Certain early mid-Byzantine monuments, however, such as the basilicas at Zourtsa,<sup>89</sup> of Episkopi at Mastron,<sup>90</sup> at Metzaina,<sup>91</sup> and of the Blachernae at Arta<sup>92</sup> indicate, to the contrary, that this type continued to be used in Greece from Early Christian times.

In terms of architectural form and decoration, however, Western influence is evident. But in virtually all the Byzantine ecclesiastical monuments noted above, these elements appear as isolated formal elements and are not widespread throughout the building. We have, in other words, one or two pointed openings (doorways or windows), slender columns occasionally engaged to the corners, pointed arcsofia, colonnettes in doorways fashioning portals (Fig. 13), and, in the interior, icon frames with Gothic column capitals. It may be said that these isolated Gothic details (Fig. 14) were meant to provide a

<sup>79</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 587.

<sup>80</sup> Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 254.

<sup>81</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, 588.

<sup>82</sup> Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 254.

<sup>83</sup> B. Vulović, "Die Heilige Nikola Kirche bei Kursumlija," *Zbornik Arhitektonskog Fakulteta* 3 (1956–57): 3–22.

<sup>84</sup> M. Ćanak-Medić and D. Bosković, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. 3 (Belgrade, 1986), 47–72.

<sup>85</sup> E. Stikas, "Une église des Paléologues aux environs de Castoria," *BZ* 51 (1958): 102 n. 6. The 12th-century frescoes on the upper floor of the belfry prove that it was built long before the actual church; *ibid.*, 105, 108.

<sup>86</sup> C. Bouras, "Επιανεξέταση του καθολικού της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής, Δερβενοσάλεσι," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Αρχ.-Έτ.* 17 (1993–94): 31 nn. 25–27.

<sup>87</sup> S. Ćurčić, "Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453," in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas (New York, 1988), 69 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Millet, *L'école grecque*, 21 ff.

<sup>89</sup> C. Bouras, "Zourtsa, une basilique byzantine au Peloponnèse," *CahArch* 21 (1971): 137–49.

<sup>90</sup> P. Vokotopoulos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Στερεάν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἠπειρόν*, 2d ed. (Athens, 1992), 11–20.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 35–41.

<sup>92</sup> As it was originally in the first building phase; *ibid.*, 25–28.

certain variety to the church, which otherwise generally preserved the traditional middle Byzantine form.

Indeed, the random and eclectic addition of Frankish architectural forms represents nothing more than the intensification of a tendency toward variety. Byzantine texts often refer to variety as a positive factor in structural aesthetics. The inclusion of dissonant formal elements in architecture betrayed the spirit of picturesque irregularity that generally characterized all of Byzantine architecture.

On occasion, we can also discern the transformation of Gothic formal elements. For example, in the windows of the church of the Blachernae in Elis, the dentil courses of purely Byzantine technique are accompanied by a slender Gothic molding and a projecting hood carved with a large, well-cut dog-tooth. At Hagios Georgios in Aipeia, the double Gothic window has a marble Byzantine colonnette and a large ceramic bowl in place of the standard quatrefoil or trefoil Gothic rosette.

Much debate has taken place over whether Western architectural forms appeared in Greece prior to the Crusaders' invasion of 1205.<sup>93</sup> This discussion was based, however, on the mistaken dating of the church of the Dormition at Merbaka in the Argolid, mentioned earlier. The whole question is thus no longer of relevance. Furthermore, those Western elements known in Byzantine churches belong to the mature Gothic and not to the Romanesque style of the twelfth century. Two questions should be broached here.

(1) Slightly pointed arches of a simple nature without moldings and accompanying Gothic characteristics have been identified in Byzantine churches securely dated before the appearance of the Crusaders. Examples can be found in the south doorway of the katholikon of Hagia Moni near Nauplion (1149)<sup>94</sup> and in the chapel of the Virgin and refectory of the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos.<sup>95</sup> This type of arch is easily scribed with two center points during construction and can be found in the East in both Byzantine<sup>96</sup> and Islamic architecture.<sup>97</sup>

(2) The fine workmanship used in the cutting of stone masonry blocks that characterizes Romanesque and especially Gothic architecture is also encountered in many twelfth-century Byzantine churches in Greece.<sup>98</sup> Here, also, associations were made between Frankish and Byzantine techniques. It is very likely, however, that what we have here is a parallel phenomenon of technological progress, unrelated at least till 1205.

The most significant achievements of Gothic architecture, however, do not concern conventional matters of form. They involve the vertical extension of the interior space, accentuated dynamism of exterior facades and interior spaces, and the resolution into

<sup>93</sup> Pallas, "Ανάγλυφος στήλη," 296 ff; idem, "Ευρώπη καὶ Βυζάντιο," 25 ff; Bouras, Βυζαντινά σταυροθήλια, 65–73; Bon, "Monuments de l'art byzantin," 93 ff.

<sup>94</sup> The entrance is now walled in. There is no indication of the entrance and the pointed arch on the drawings of A. Struck in *AM* 34 (1909), pl. xi.

<sup>95</sup> A. C. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τῆς μονῆς Θεολόγου Πάτμου* (Athens, 1970), 78 ff, fig. 60.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–81 nn. 1–8.

<sup>97</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 55, 85–86, 101–4, 116, 131, 143, 157, 195.

<sup>98</sup> Bouras, Βυζαντινά σταυροθήλια, 65–73; idem, "Βυζαντινές 'Αναγεννήσεις' καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τοῦ 11ου καὶ 12ου αἰῶνος," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 5 (1969): 268–71.

colonnettes of the main supports to correspond to the ribbing that dynamically forms the vaulting. To all these factors, essential to the Gothic style, the Byzantine response was totally negative.

The only instance where one could hypothesize a certain analogous addition can be found in the church of the Paregoritissa in Arta, which, as we saw, contains Gothic formal elements.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, this church of the despotate of Epiros possesses a very lively interior dynamism and represents a unicum of Byzantine architecture due to the almost acrobatic support system used for the dome and the complete priority of the vertical axis. If, however, we look closely at this system, we see that it has nothing in common with Gothic techniques. The marble columns, which via arches support the very tall dome, stand on corbels arranged by height on two levels.<sup>100</sup> These columns are, moreover, Early Christian spolia; they have nothing in common with the complex Gothic-style vaulting supports. The small pointed trefoil arches are clearly decorative and have no relation to the ribbed arches of Gothic architectural works.<sup>101</sup> Even if we accept that the addition of this intense dynamism is related to contemporary European architectural trends, the techniques and methods used here are improvisational, original, and foreign to the Western tradition.

Finally, in matters of architectural technology, where the Latins of the thirteenth century were innovators, we once again find that the Byzantines made very little use of these advances. Latin ribbed cross-vaults in their simplest form were known from the eleventh and twelfth centuries<sup>102</sup> but never realized their full potential. And when during the Frankish occupation the pointed ribbed cross-vault was introduced, it was usually of restricted size and was never widely disseminated.<sup>103</sup>

Another kind of vault, the half tunnel-vault, appears in Byzantine churches in Corinthia and the Mani, and was also considered to have its origins in Latin models.<sup>104</sup> Its extremely limited dissemination, however, indicates that it constituted an improvised solution to particular roofing problems encountered in the construction of inscribed cross-domed churches.<sup>105</sup>

It is not difficult to interpret the very limited and eclectic influence of Western architecture on Byzantine architecture in the thirteenth century. The international Gothic

<sup>99</sup> Note the instructive drawings of Orlandos in *Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα τῆς Ἄρτης*, figs. 51–55, 57–58. See also the comments of R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 417–18.

<sup>100</sup> Orlandos, *Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα*, 60–64.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 64, 76, 78.

<sup>102</sup> Bouras, *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια*, *passim*.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, appendix, 62 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Bon, “Monuments de l’art byzantin,” 88–90, fig. xxvb, with reference to previous known examples, 89 n. 7. Additional cases of half-tunnel vaults appear in St. Ioannis at Platsa in the Mani (A. Christophidou, *17th Annual Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society* [Athens, 1997], 86) and in a number of chapels of the Ottoman period (I. Kakouris, “Τό μοναστήρι τοῦ Ταξιάρχη Μιχαήλ τῆς Μουρᾶς Κυνουρίας,” *Πελοποννησιακά* 16 [1985–86]: 320 ff).

<sup>105</sup> St. Mamaloukos, “Παρατηρήσεις στὴν διαμόρφωση τῶν γωνιακῶν διαμερισμάτων τῶν δικιονίων ναῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Et. 14 (1987–88): 200, 203, fig. 8.

style did not predominate in Byzantine lands, despite its conscious introduction by the Crusaders in the form of a few large buildings. Something similar occurs in southern Italy and the area of Rome, where there was a strong and self-contained local tradition accompanied by opposition to foreign trends and styles.<sup>106</sup> While the purely Gothic buildings of the Morea may have been large and impressive, they were too few in number to serve as models, and, apart from those built in areas held by the Venetians, their life-span as functioning churches was very short, perhaps not more than a century from the date of their completion.<sup>107</sup>

A more significant factor, however, in the Byzantines' unwillingness to accept Western architectural models involves the founder-donors, those who had the initiative to fund and erect individual churches. We can approach the subject only through donor inscriptions, which, even though found in very few of the monuments discussed here, provide us with a sufficiently satisfactory picture of the erection and decoration of many Orthodox churches, especially in the thirteenth century. The recent publication by S. Kalopissi-Verti greatly facilitates the study of the question.<sup>108</sup>

The donor inscriptions for the building and decoration of more than seventy churches in the examined area of Greece represent all social strata: from despots and officials of the Epirote state and members of the local Greek aristocracy to ordinary people, bishops, priests, and simple monks.<sup>109</sup> The disproportionately large number of wall-painting groups, but also of small churches in the Greek countryside during the Frankish period,<sup>110</sup> indicates that under a regime of religious tolerance—but also of relative prosperity—donors could include even Greeks of limited financial resources.

The subject of whether Greek archons were incorporated into the Western feudal system in the principality of the Morea has been meticulously studied, but only insofar as the legal ramifications of the question are concerned.<sup>111</sup> The gap that clearly existed between the two religious dogmas was never bridged, either by the archons or the populace at large. Consequently, differences existed in all religious and cultural matters. Analogous observations have been made for Cyprus.<sup>112</sup> Manolis Chatzidakis' observation is revealing: Byzantine painting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is also characterized by the absence of Western influence.<sup>113</sup> Contemporary texts, such as the works of

<sup>106</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City* (Princeton, 1980), 211–12.

<sup>107</sup> From the Cistercian regulation (statute) of the Daphni monastery we are informed that in 1276 all the Latin monasteries in the former Byzantine territory were occupied and destroyed by the Greeks, except that of Daphni; F. Lenormant, "Le monastère de Daphni près d'Athènes sous la domination des princes croisés," *RA* 24.2 (1872): 238.

<sup>108</sup> S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–41.

<sup>110</sup> M. Chatzidakis, "Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική στην Ελλάδα, Ποσοτικές προσεγγίσεις," *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 56 (1981): 375 ff; *idem*, "Les aspects de la peinture monumentale byzantine en Grèce," *Glas 338 de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Classe des sciences historiques*, 3 (1983): 1–10.

<sup>111</sup> D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *TM* 2 (1967): 421–81; J. Ferluga, "L'aristocratie byzantine en Morée au temps de la conquête latine," *ByzF* 4 (1972): 76–87; D. Jacoby, "Un régime de coseigneurie greco-latine en Morée, Les 'casaux de parçon,'" *MélRome* 75 (1963): 111–25.

<sup>112</sup> Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 2.

<sup>113</sup> At least in Greece; see Chatzidakis, *Ποσοτικές προσεγγίσεις*, 389 n. 15.

Michael and Niketas Choniates, along with the *Chronicle of the Morea*,<sup>114</sup> give us an idea of the attitude of distrust and contempt in which the Orthodox Greeks held the Latins.<sup>115</sup>

A second factor involved in the interpretation of the entire phenomenon concerns the builders, technicians, and craftsmen in general. There is no doubt that along with monks from Italy and France, skilled craftsmen were also called in to erect those Gothic monuments in which the Latin rite would be celebrated. Stylistic details in the churches at Zarakas, Isova, Andravida, and Chalkis are proof of this. For the Cypriot monuments, the employment of Western craftsmen is also verified by written documents. Whether they themselves also played a part in the careful application of Gothic forms to Orthodox buildings while working thereupon remains a hypothesis that is proved only in extremely rare cases, such as in the sculpture of the Paregoritissa in Arta and the marble arches in the Byzantine Museum in Athens. Foreign craftsmen seem to have played a decisive role only in other places where local architecture had not previously been developed; such is the case in the churches of the so-called Raška School in Serbia during the twelfth century. Here, however, the situation was completely different.

It seems, nevertheless, that local Greek craftsmen did at times work in Crusader building projects. The funerary plaque (1286) of Agnes, wife of William II, in the church at Andravida was undoubtedly made by Byzantine marble workers,<sup>116</sup> and fourteenth-century inscriptions attest that Greek craftsmen worked on the town walls of Rhodes and on the buildings of the Gattilusi in Ainos and Samothrake.<sup>117</sup> Their specific contribution, however, is not possible to gauge, in either formal or technological terms.

We arrive then at the conclusion that the influence of Frankish on Byzantine architecture in the thirteenth century was insubstantial and is evinced only in certain limited and isolated formal elements in buildings that preserve the general style of the mid-Byzantine period. These are found on mainland Greece and in certain islands; in the capital, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedonia they are completely absent.

The limited nature of this influence is due on the one hand to the fact that there preexisted in Byzantine territory a lively, self-contained, local architecture, and on the other to the great cultural and religious divide between the invading Crusaders and the locals. Majestic Gothic architecture was not well known and found few admirers among the Greeks.

The suspension of the influence of the great cultural center of Constantinople for almost sixty years brought about a general decline in Byzantine architecture, but imme-

<sup>114</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 847 ff; P. Kalonaros, ed., *Χρονικόν τοῦ Μορέως* (Athens, 1940), 35, lines 760–71.

<sup>115</sup> H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 103–14. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 46; A. Alieva, *Frankish Morea: Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991); B. Ferjančić, “Rapports entre les grecs et les latins après 1204,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 171.

<sup>116</sup> A. Bon, “Dalle funéraire d’une princesse de Morée (XIIIe siècle),” *Mon Piot* 49 (1957): 129–39; idem, “Pierres inscrites ou armoriées de la Morée franque,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4 (1964–65): 96, pl. 29; idem, *La Morée franque*, 590–91, pl. 21a,b.

<sup>117</sup> Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes*, 98, inscription no. 57 of the year 1457; F. W. Hasluck, “Monuments of the Gattilusi,” *BSA* 15 (1908–9): 254, 256; A. Konze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hannover, 1860), 55, pl. III.7–8; C. Asdracha and C. Bakirtzis, “Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 35.1 (1980): 271 ff.



diately after the recapture of the city in 1261 a new flourishing began under the Palaiologan dynasty.<sup>118</sup> This architecture is characterized by a trend toward a neatness of line and an increase in the decoration of exterior building surfaces. In the Morea, this new acme manifests itself in the erection of the beautiful churches of Mistra. During the course of the fifteenth century, Gothic formal elements attempting to create a sense of variety appear in the church of the Pantanassa, the refectory of the monastery of the Peribleptos, and in the new wing of the palace built by the Palaiologoi.<sup>119</sup> These are to be interpreted as indications of an eclectic taste that was popular for a short period prior to the end of Byzantium and of Byzantine architecture in general.

National Technical University of Athens

<sup>118</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 415 ff; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 252 ff.

<sup>119</sup> On the three monuments respectively, see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl. 30.5, 35–37; D. Mouriki, “Palaeologian Mistra and the West,” in *Βυζάντιο καὶ Εὐρώπη*, ed. A. Markopoulos (Athens, 1987), 209 ff, esp. figs. 2–5; Orlandos, *Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρά*, 32 ff; St. Sinos, “Organisation und Form des Palastes von Mystras,” *Architectura* 17 (1987): 105–28; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 290–91.