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Εντοιχισμένα αγγεία σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης:  
Πρώτες παρατηρήσεις απο την καταγραφή του  
υλικού στην περιοχή του Νομού Ρεθύμνου

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### Βιβλιογραφική αναφορά:

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IMMURED VESSELS IN CHURCHES ON CRETE:  
PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON MATERIAL FROM  
THE PREFECTURE OF RETHYMNON\*

Στη μελέτη παρουσιάζονται οι προκαταρκτικές παρατηρήσεις που προήλθαν από τη μελέτη των εντοιχισμένων αγγείων σε ναούς του Νομού Ρεθύμνου (Κρήτη). Γίνεται αναφορά στις περιοχές του Νομού στις οποίες η πρακτική εντοιχισμού ήταν περισσότερο διαδεδομένη, στις βασικές μορφές διάταξης των αγγείων στους εξωτερικούς τοίχους των ναών και στις ποικίλες κατηγορίες εφυαλωμένων αγγείων που έχουν εντοιχιστεί σε αυτούς.

The article presents the preliminary observations deriving from the study of immured vessels in churches of the Prefecture of Rethymnon (Crete). Mention is made of the areas where this practice finds its largest diffusion, of the main forms of distribution of the vessels on the façades of churches, of the different categories of glazed wares used as bacini.

In the territories of what is now Greece, the exterior walls of an important number of churches from the mid- and late Byzantine periods are decorated with immured

vessels,<sup>1</sup> the so-called *bacini*, and their study has already attracted the interest of a number of scholars.<sup>2</sup> In Italy, too, numerous studies are devoted to the study of *bacini*.<sup>3</sup>

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Βενετική περίοδος, Κρήτη, εντοιχισμένα αγγεία/*bacini*, Νομός Ρεθύμνου.

Keywords

Venetian period, Crete, immured vessels/*bacini*, Prefecture of Rethymnon.

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<sup>1</sup> For a first cataloguing of these monuments: K. Tsouris, *Ὁ κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος τῶν ὑστεροβυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς βορειοδυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος*, PhD, Kavala 1988, 113-116, pl. 3; id., "Glazed Bowls in the Late Byzantine Churches of North Western Greece," *Archeologia Medievale* 23 (1996), 620-621.

<sup>2</sup> G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris 1916, 283, fig. 106, 118; A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris 1928, 37; G. A. Sotiriou, *Χριστιανικὴ καὶ βυζαντινὴ ἀρχαιολογία*, vol. 1, *Χριστιανικὰ κοιμητήρια, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ*, Athens 1942, 411; Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινὰ σταυροθόλια μὲ νευρώσεις*, Athens 1965, 73, note 318; G. Nikolakopoulos, *Ἐντοιχισμένα κεραμεικὰ στῆς ὄψεις τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας ἐκκλησιῶν μας*, vol. I. *Εἰσα-*

*γωγή*, vol. II. *Τὰ κεραμεικὰ τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων*, Athens 1978; id., *Ἐντοιχισμένα κεραμεικὰ στῆς ὄψεις τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας ἐκκλησιῶν μας*, vol. IV. *Τὰ κεραμεικὰ τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς Παναγίας Φανερωμένης τῆς Σαλαμῖνος*, Athens 1980; G. M. Velenis, *Ἐρμηνεύειά του ἐξωτερικοῦ διακόσμου στη Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ*, PhD, Thessalonike 1984, 194, 195, note 1, 267, 270; Tsouris, *Ὁ κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, op.cit., 95-116, 182, pl. 3; Ch. Bouras, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς, Δεύτερος τόμος, Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ στό Βυζάντιο, τὸ Ἰσλάμ καὶ τὴν Δυτικὴν Εὐρώπη κατὰ τὸν Μεσαίωνα*, Athens 1994, 230; Tsouris, "Glazed Bowls," op.cit., 603-624; N. B. Drandakis, "Σημειώσεις κυρίως γιὰ τὴν τοιχοδομία καὶ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ βυζαντινῶν ναῶν τῆς Μέσα Μάνης," *ΛακΣπουδ* 15 (2000), 281-315.

<sup>3</sup> There are numerous related studies. Illustrative examples would include: G. Berti - L. Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa*, Roma 1981; G. Berti - E. Tongiorgi, "Per lo studio dei bacini delle chiese di Pisa: Rassegna di recenti contributi alla storia della ceramica," *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa. Contributo per una migliore comprensione delle loro caratteristiche del loro signi-*

These studies have brought to light a lot of information on the history of the monuments in question and the areas in which they are located. They have also added to our knowledge of Mediaeval glazed pottery, thus proving the importance of research of this kind.

Turning to the churches on Crete, although a few researchers, first among them G. Gerola,<sup>4</sup> had already by the early 20th century noted the existence of immured vessels in a number of the island's churches, a systematic and thorough survey had yet to be made. An initial, more systematic cataloguing<sup>5</sup> of those Cretan churches whose decoration includes immured vessels reveals that the practice was especially widespread on the island during the period of Venetian rule. This led to the collaboration of the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation with the 28th and the 13th Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities on the task of recording the relevant data.<sup>6</sup>

The research programme initially focused on the Prefecture of Rethymnon. References in the current scholarship to churches with this form of decoration were combined with an examination of the photographic archive of the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities and with systematic on-site research carried out by the author in collaboration with colleagues from the Ephorate. As a result, 74

churches (Table 1) were ultimately located with vessels immured in their external wall-faces; there were only fifteen known examples prior to the programme. The identification of an additional 59 churches with immured vessels was also partially the result of restoration work being conducted by the 28th Ephorate. Thus, the removal of plaster from church walls often revealed the existence of immured vessels or empty niches designed for such vessels, which had not previously been visible. Examples of vessels discovered in this way include those found in the katholikon at Chalepa monastery and the neighbouring church of St. Marina, the katholikon of the Asomaton monastery, the church of St. Nicholas in Apostoloi, and the church of St. Nicholas in Labiotes. In other cases, such as the church of Sts Apostles in Petrohori, the vessels themselves had been entirely covered in plaster prior to the restoration work.

Given the size of the area in question, 74 is quite a large number of churches, especially when compared with the number of churches with immured vessels currently known in mainland Greece. While exploring the origins of this form of decoration, the scholars noted its parallel presence in the territories of what is now Greece and on the Italian peninsula.<sup>7</sup> On Crete, the practice has only been associated, to date, with the period of Venetian rule

*ficato quale documento di storia*, Pisa 1983, 37 79; G. Berti, "Bacini ceramici e strutture architettoniche medievali. Considerazioni basate su una ricerca in Toscana," *Atti del I Colloquio Hispano-italiano di archeologia medievale* (Granada, Aprile 1990), Granada 1992, 133 172; G. Berti S. Gelichi, "La ceramica bizantina nelle architetture dell'Italia Medievale," *La ceramica nel mondo Bizantino tra X e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia* (ed. S. Gelichi), Firenze 1993, 173 174; *Atti. XXVI Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, "I Bacini murati medievali. Problemi e stato della ricerca" (Albisola, 28 30 maggio 1993), Firenze 1996.

<sup>4</sup> G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'Isola di Creta*, vol. 2, Venezia 1908, 254 255, note 1; G. Gerola, *Βενετικά Μνημεία της Κρήτης (Εκκλησίες)* (transl. S. G. Spanakis), Crete 1993, 254 255, note 479. Other researchers who mention the existence of *bacini* include: K. E. Lassithiotakis, "Κυριαρχούντες τύποι χριστιανικών ναών από τὸ 12ο αἰώνα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν σὴν δυτικῇ Κρήτῃ," *Πρακτικά τοῦ Α' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, τχ. Δεύτερον, Πρακτικά τοῦ Β' Τμήματος (Βυζαντινῆς - Μεσαιωνικῆς περιόδου)*, Κρητ.Χρον. 15 16, II (1961 1962), 176; G. B. Antourakis, *Τοιχογραφημένοι βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ τῆς Κρήτης, τχ. Α', Ἐπαρχίαι Σφακίων - Ἀποκορώνου - Ρεθύμνης*, Athens 1978, 29, 72, 135; G. Berti, "II. Problematice relative allo studio dei *Bacini*," in S. Gelichi G. Berti S. Nepoti, "Relazione introduttiva sui *Bacini*," *Atti. XXVI Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, op.cit. (n. 3), 16 20, figs 12 16; M. Borboudakis, "Θυρώματα και παράθυρα σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης (τέλος 14ου μέσα 15ου αιώνα)," *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοική στη*

*Λατινική Ανατολή* (ed. O. Gratziou), Herakleion 2007, 63, fig. 4, 65, fig. 8, 66, 68, fig. 10, 73, 74, fig. 20, 76, 78, fig. 28, 79 81, 83.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Yangaki, "Εντοιχιζόμενα πινάκια σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης: μία ερευνητική πρόταση," *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1, Πρακτικά της 1ης συνάντησης* (Ρέθυμνο, 28 30 Νοεμβρίου 2008) (eds M. Andrianakis I. Tzachili), Rethymnon 2010, 827 840.

<sup>6</sup> The data relating to Crete forms part of a major research programme entitled "Immured vessels in churches of Greece: en electronic corpus," which seeks to record the *bacini* in Greece, and which was initiated by the author at the Institute of Historical Research with the collaboration of the respective Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities. For now, the programme is focused on areas of Attica, the Peloponnese and Crete. Regarding the Prefectures of Rethymnon and Chania, I would like to thank Michalis Andrianakis, now honorary director of the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for his willingness to participate in the specific research programme, for granting permission to study the specific practice in respect of churches in both Prefectures, and for his unreserved support throughout the programme. I would also like to thank my colleagues from the 28th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities: Natassa Fiolitaki, Athina Fraidaki, Kostas Giapitsoglou, Nikoletta Pyrrou and Petroula Varthalitou for their collaboration and help during the course of the programme.

<sup>7</sup> Millet, op.cit. (n. 2), 183, fig. 106, fig. 108; Bouras, *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια*, op.cit. (n. 2), 73, note 318.

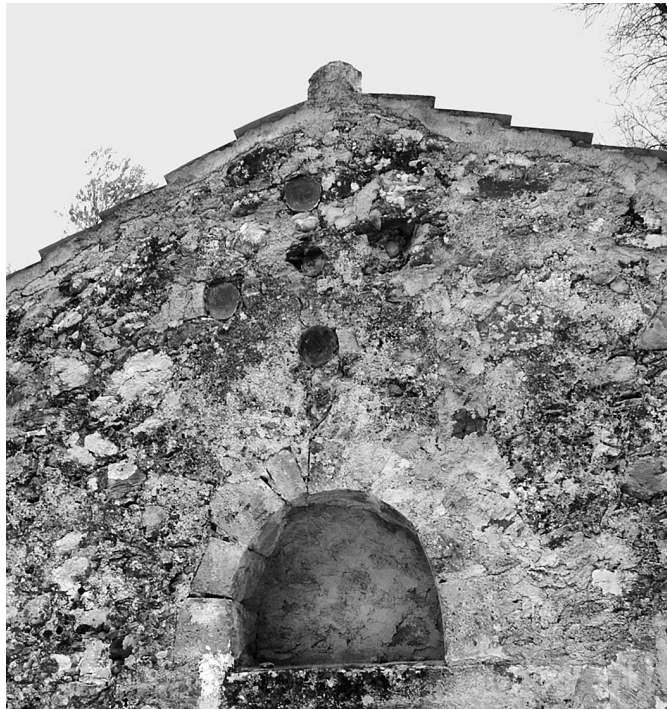


Fig. 1. Nefs-Amari, church of Sts Theodoroi. Immured vessels in cross formation.

and afterwards. One could thus posit that the large number of churches with immured vessels on Crete can be explained by the powerful Italian presence on the island. However, given that the study of vessels immured in churches of the island is still in progress and given the especially large number of churches on Crete, this hypothesis must be made with reservations. The practice makes its first appearance in the area in the 13th century, and is mainly found in churches dating from the 14th and 15th century.

In the Prefecture of Rethymnon, churches with immured vessels are most densely concentrated in the area of the actual municipality of Amari (Table 1). A study of the practice of immuring vessels based on this numerically large sample of churches allows for observations to be made with greater certainty, and confirms the initial data presented in the recent past.<sup>8</sup> Thus, this form of decoration is mainly found in barrel-vaulted single-cell churches

in the area, less frequently in two-aisled churches,<sup>9</sup> and rarely in churches of other architectural types. In the majority of cases (Fig. 1), a group of five (or, more rarely, four) open vessels are found to be arranged in the form of a cross in the western wall above the entrance and usually above the light-holes, if there are any, at the gable. The position of the vessels is inextricably linked with the location of the entrance; thus, when the entrance is found in the southern rather than the western wall, the vessels are also located in the south-facing wall. The second most common position for immured vessels is in a church's eastern gable, above the apse. In this case, too, the vessels are positioned to form a cross. In roughly 10% of the cases studied, vessels are found similarly arranged on both the eastern and western wall-faces. No vessels have been found immured in a church's northern facades. We can therefore conclude that the vessels were immured in those sides of the church where they would be visible to the con-

<sup>8</sup> Yangaki, "Εντοιχισμένα πινάκια," *op.cit.*, 827-840.

<sup>9</sup> On Crete's barrel vaulted single and two aisled or double churches, see the recent and thorough treatment by O. Gratziou (O. Gratziou,

*Η Κρήτη στην Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική Εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής*, Herakleion 2010, 93-125), which contains the earlier bibliography.

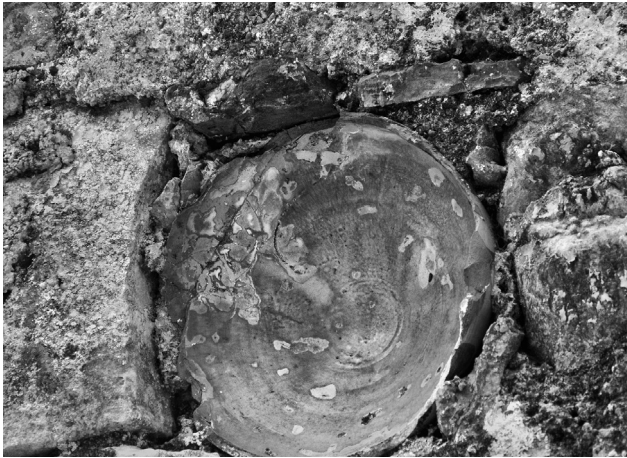


Fig. 2. Nefs-Amari, church of Sts Theodoroi. Detail showing the way the vessel is immured in the wall.

gregation and other visitors, which is to say primarily in the western wall, where most churches have their entrance; sometimes on the southern wall-face to heighten the decorative effect of the façade, usually when the entrance is situated on this side; or on the eastern aspect for decorative reasons, but perhaps also to accentuate the sanctity of this part of the church. Occasionally, the vessels are arranged in a line along the length of the wall, or framing the support arch of the lintel or the lunette. In the majority of cases, the four or five vessels arranged in the shape of the cross are the only ones in the church, and in most churches, there are no more than five vessels. Those rare churches with more than five immured vessels include the katholikon of the Chalepa monastery, the church of St.

George in Vistagi (Pistagi) and the church of St. George in Opsigias.

Turning to the manner in which the vessels are immured, it would seem, based on the close examination of vessels that have been cleaned and have had newer layers of plaster removed, that the vessels were embedded in specially prepared mortar and rested on stones positioned at the requisite angle. In some cases (Fig. 2), the stones have been carved to match the profile of the vessel which is to rest upon them. The vessels' rims are visible; meaning neither have they been embedded into reinforced mortar applied on top of the masonry, nor has the surrounding masonry been carved in such a way that the rim slots into it. As a rule, therefore, it would not appear that especial care was taken with framing these vessels, as was the case, for example, in churches in mainland Greece or in Italy.<sup>10</sup> The careful framing of the two vessels (neither of which has survived) in the church of St. Marina in Chalepa is also exceptional in this respect, since they are set in brick circles, which serve to draw attention to them. Frames of this type are found in churches in mainland Greece and in Italy.<sup>11</sup>

The study of the numerous vessels, which have survived in whole or as fragments, has provided data on the fine, glazed wares found on Crete. Most common of all are small and medium-sized bowls with straight rims. There are also large plates. The vessels imported onto the island include some attributed to Byzantine production centres, and others to workshops in the Iberian peninsula, Italy, Syria and Cyprus. Rare examples of Zeuxippus Ware<sup>12</sup> – category II – number among the earliest types of ceramics found to date, along with more numerous examples (Fig. 3) of Late Sgraffito Ware, bearing simple, incised decor-

<sup>10</sup> For the rest of Greece, we refer, by way of illustration, to the range of framing modes found in churches in North western Greece (Tsouris, *Ο κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, op.cit. (n. 1), 110-111) and the Peloponnese (Velenis, *Εμπνεύα*, op.cit. (n. 2), 194-195 and note 1 on p. 195). For churches in Italy, see, for instance: Berti, "Bacini ceramici e strutture architettoniche," op.cit. (n. 3), 159, fig. 26, 162, fig. 33; O. Mazzucato, "Situazione dei "Bacini" nel Lazio 1993," *Atti. XXVI Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, op.cit. (n. 3), 162-164, 174-175, figs 2d o; G. Berti F. Gabbriellini R. Parenti, "Bacini e architettura. Tecniche di inserimento e complesso decorative," *Atti. XXVI Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, op.cit. (n. 3), 246-250, 259, fig. 9, 264, fig. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Mainland Greece: Velenis, *Εμπνεύα*, op.cit. (n. 2), 110-111; Tsouris, "Glazed Bowls," op.cit. (n. 1), 618; Italy: Mazzucato, op.cit., 174, figs 2d e f, 175, figs 2g h l m n.

<sup>12</sup> This particular category of pottery is already well documented and continues to attract the attention of researchers. A selection of the core studies would include: A. H. S. Megaw, "Zeuxippus Ware," *BSA* 63 (1968), 67-87; id., "Zeuxippus Ware Again," *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine* (eds V. Déroche J. M. Spieser), *BCH Suppl.* 18, 1989, 259-266; G. Berti S. Gelichi, "La ceramica bizantina nelle architetture dell'Italia medievale," *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia. Atti del Seminario Certosa di Pontignano* (Siena, 11-13 marzo 1991) (ed. S. Gelichi), Firenze 1993, 173-174, fig. 34, 179, no. 263, 181, no. 271, fig. 38, 1, 182, no. 288, 183, fig. 39, 185, no. 98, fig. 43, 186, fig. 45; Y. Waksman V. François, "Vers une redéfinition typologique et analytique des céramiques byzantines du type Zeuxippus Ware," *BCH* 128-129 (2004-2005), 629-724.



Fig. 3. Voliones, Afentis Christos. Immured Late Sgraffito Ware plate.

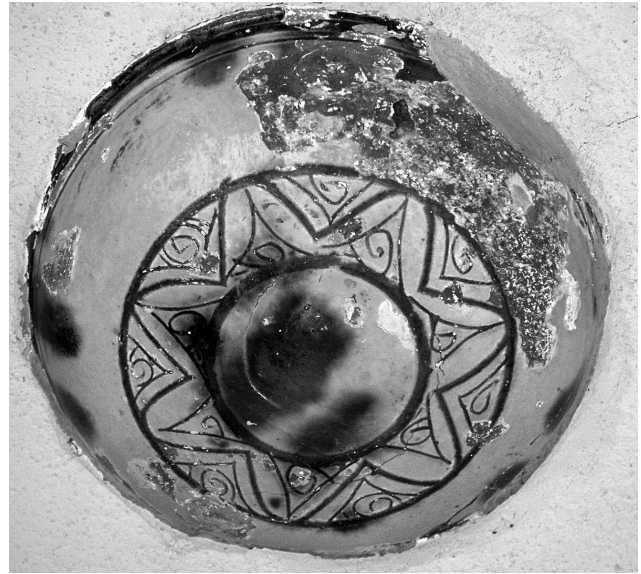


Fig. 4. Agia Trapeza (Kalandare). Immured sgraffito bowl attributed to Thessalonike workshops.

ation covered with dark orange or green glaze, considered to be related to the Zeuxippus Ware Family.<sup>13</sup> The late-Byzantine ceramics workshops are represented by a few examples of incised vessels (Fig. 4) which could be attributed to the production of workshops in Thessalonike.<sup>14</sup>

Monochrome-blue and lustreware pottery (Fig. 5) of the production centres of the Valencia region, in the Iberian peninsula, dating from the late 14th and the 15th centuries,<sup>15</sup> together with Syrian pottery painted in black, blue and turquoise (Fig. 6), dating from mainly after the

<sup>13</sup> For the use of the term Late Sgraffito Ware, see: G. D. R. Sanders, "Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-1991. Preliminary Report. Part I (c) Medieval Pottery," *BSA* 88 (1993), 257, and J. Vroom, *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C. A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*, Leiden 2003, 164; *Διδακτική Συλλογή Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Κεραμικής* (ed. S. Kalopissi-Verti), Athens 2003, 89. Late Sgraffito Ware comprises mostly pottery bearing characteristics similar to those of the so called sub categories Ib and Ic of Zeuxippus Ware, which recent research does not connect to the prototype production of Zeuxippus Ware (see, in detail: Waksman François, *op.cit.*, 629-724).

<sup>14</sup> On glazed pottery attributed to workshops in Thessalonike, see: Ch. Bakirtzis-D. Papanikola Bakirtzis, "De la céramique byzantine en glaçure à Thessalonique," *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 (1981), 434-436, figs 19-21; D. Papanikola Bakirtzis, "Εργαστήριο εφραλωμένης κεραμικής στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρώτες παρατηρήσεις," *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκανίδη, Μακεδονικά*, παράρτ. 5, Thessalonike 1983, 377-387; ead., "The Palaeologan Glazed Pottery of Thessaloniki," *L'art de Thessalonique et des Pays Balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV siècle, Recueil des rapports du IVe colloque serbo-grec* (Belgrade 1985) (ed. R. Samardžić), Beograd 1987, 193-204; ead., "Κεραμικά Θεσσαλονίκης," *Βυζαντινά εφραλωμένα*

*κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγγράκτων* (ed. D. Papanikola Bakirtzis), Athens 1999, 188-189; ead., "Εργαστήρια εφραλωμένης κεραμικής στο βυζαντινό κόσμο," *7ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 11-16 Οκτωβρίου 1999), *Πρακτικά* (ed. Ch. Bakirtzis), Athens 2003, 53, 56-57.

<sup>15</sup> On these two categories of pottery from the Iberian peninsula: B. Martínez Caviro, *La loza dorada*, Madrid 1982, 101-103, 111-169; J. Martí, "An Overview of Medieval Pottery Production in Spain between the Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries," *Medieval Ceramics* 18 (1994), 5, fig. 1; M. Paz Soler, "Cerámica Valenciana," *Summa Artis, Historia General del Arte*, vol. XLII, *Cerámica Española* (ed. T. Sánchez Pacheco et al.), Madrid 1997, 137-166; A. Ray, *Spanish Pottery 1248-1898. With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 2000, 41-102; J. Rose Albrecht, "Valence," *Le calife le prince et le potier, les faïences à reflets métalliques* (Lyon, musée des Beaux Arts 22 mars-22 mai 2002) (ed. J. Rose Albrecht), Paris 2002, 76. For a first reference to pottery from the Iberian peninsula in Crete, see: A. G. Yangaki, "Ave Maria Gra[tia] Plena: A Spanish Lustreware plate from the church of Panagia Eleousa, Crete," *Θησαυροίσματα* 38 (2008), 213-224. For an overview on Late Mediaeval pottery from the Iberian peninsula in Greece: ead., "A First Overview on Late Medieval Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula in Greece," *Viator* 44.1 (2013), 287-326.



Fig. 5. Katholikon of the monastery at Chalepa. Immured lustreware bowl.



Fig. 6. Prinos, church of Zoodochos Pigi. Immured large plate from Syria, painted in black and blue.

1st half of the 14th and from the 15th century,<sup>16</sup> and incised pottery from Cyprus, dated to the 13th-14th centuries,<sup>17</sup> are represented by a limited number of richly decorated vessels. However, the bulk of the ceramics imported into Crete – much of which was incised – were from centres in Italy. The “San Bartolo” type, which is attri-

buted to workshops in Venice and dates from the latter half of the 13th and the 14th centuries,<sup>18</sup> accounts for some of the earliest Italian ceramics found in the area. The examples of Italian “graffita arcaica”<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 7) and the Italian incised polychrome pottery of the Renaissance (“graffita rinascimentale canonica”)<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 8), which

<sup>16</sup> A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey*, London 1957, 15 20, 29 30; J. Soustiel, *La céramique islamique. Le guide du connaisseur*, Fribourg 1985, 223 224; E. J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection*, London 1976, 292; G. Fehérvári, *Pottery of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum*, Kuwait 1998, 50; G. Fehérvári, *Ceramics of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum*, London, New York 2000, 246, 251; O. Watson, *Ceramics from Islamic Lands*, London 2004, 54 58.

<sup>17</sup> For the main centres of pottery production on Cyprus during the Medieval period, and the most characteristic categories of Cypriot glazed pottery, see: D. Papanikola Bakirtzis, *Μεσαιωνική Εφναλωμένη Κεραμική της Κύπρου. Τα Εργαστήρια Πάφου και Λαπήθου*, Thessalonike 1996. For pottery of the 13th century with simple, incised decoration: Papanikola Bakirtzis, *Μεσαιωνική Εφναλωμένη Κεραμική της Κύπρου*, op.cit., 70 81.

<sup>18</sup> S. Gelichi, “Roulette Ware,” *Medieval Ceramics* 8 (1984), 52, fig. 6, 54, fig. 7, fig. 8, 55; id., “La ceramica ingubbiata medievale nell’Italia nord orientale,” *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale* (Siena 8 12 ottobre 1984, Faenza 13 ottobre 1984), Firenze 1986, 367 369, 370, 371, 387 388; id., “La ceramica bizantina in Italia e la ceramica italiana nel Mediterraneo orientale tra XII e XIII secolo: stato degli studi e proposte di ricerca,” *La ceramica nel mondo Bizantino tra XI e XV secolo*, op.cit. (n. 3), 25; F. Saccardo, “Contesti medievali nella laguna e prime produzioni graffite veneziane,” *ibid.*, 214 232.

<sup>19</sup> This widespread category of pottery was produced in various parts of the Italian peninsula and is divided into two major sub categories: “graffita arcaica padana” and “graffita arcaica tirrenica” (D. Whitehouse, “Medieval Pottery in Italy: the Present State of Research,” *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale, Xe-XVe siècles* (Valbonne 11 14 Septembre 1978), Paris 1980, 75 77; H. Blake, “The Medieval Incised Slipped Pottery of North West Italy,” *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, op.cit., 316 348; S. Gelichi, “La ceramica graffita in Emilia Romagna,” *San Giovanni in Persiceto e la ceramica graffita in Emilia-Romagna nel ’500* (ed. S. Gelichi), Firenze 1986, 24 27; id., “La ceramica ingubbiata medievale,” op.cit., 388 403; M. Munarini, “Caratteri generali. Il Veneto centrale e Concordia Sagittaria,” *La ceramica nel Veneto, La Terraferma dal XIII al XVIII secolo* (eds G. Ericani P. Marini), Verona 1990, 32 41; C. Varaldo, “La graffita arcaica tirrenica,” *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée. Actes du VIe congrès de l’AIECM2* (Aix en Provence, 13 18 novembre 1995) (ed. G. Dé mians d’Archimbaud), Aix en Provence 1997, 439 451.

<sup>20</sup> Gelichi, “La ceramica graffita in Emilia Romagna,” op.cit., 28 33; M. Munarini, “Graffita Rinascimentale Canonica,” *La ceramica nel Veneto*, op.cit., 78 79; M. Munarini, “La raccolta di ceramiche rinascimentali dei Musei Civici di Padova,” *Ceramiche Rinascimentali dei Musei Civici di Padova* (Padova, Museo Civico di piazza del Santo 11 dicembre 1993 30 aprile 1994) (eds M. Munarini D. Ban zato), Milano 1993, 28 32, 34 35.



Fig. 7. Chordaki, church of Panagia Faneromeni. Immured graffita arcaica bowl.



Fig. 8. Platanos, church of St. Antonios. Immured “graffita rinascimentale canonica” bowl.

stands out for its rich and especially well executed decoration, are highly typical of the Italian ceramics found on Crete. Painted Italian pottery is limited to examples of “polychrome glazed pottery” (Fig. 9) with a lead glaze (“RMR Ware”).<sup>21</sup> Other common categories of ceramics include monochrome glazed pottery covered with a dark – usually brown, and particularly glossy – glaze,<sup>22</sup> and vessels whose slip-painted decoration comes in the form of simple, broad, thick bands. This form of decoration is a continuation of that found in a category of pottery which

was especially widespread during the mid-Byzantine period,<sup>23</sup> although the later, slip-painted category<sup>24</sup> differs from this earlier category in that its slip is applied to the surface in a deliberately slap-dash way.

Additional processing of the sample in question will clearly contribute to our knowledge of various aspects of *bacini* practice. For instance, limiting ourselves to a superficial account of two of these, researchers have noted that the study of churches with immured vessels in other areas has provided additional data on the dating of at least the sec-

<sup>21</sup> For the characteristics of this production and its diffusion around the Mediterranean, see: D. Whitehouse, “Proto Maiolica,” *Faenza* 66 (1980), 82–83; D. Dufournier A. M. Flambard G. Noyé, “À propos de céramique ‘RMR’: problèmes de définition et de classement, problèmes de répartition,” *La ceramica medievale nel mediterraneo occidentale*, op.cit., 250–277; D. Whitehouse, “Apulia,” *ibid.*, 579; P. Tagliente, “La ceramica invetriata policroma nel basso Salento,” *La ceramica invetriata tardomedievale dell’Italia Centro-Meridionale* (ed. St. Patitucci Uggeri), Firenze 2000, 167–181.

<sup>22</sup> On similarly decorated objects produced in Italian workshops, see: D. Pringle, “La ceramica dell’area Sud del Convento di S. Silvestro a Genova,” *Archeologia Medievale* 4 (1977), 116–117, 120; F. Cozza, *La produzione ceramica veneta dal basso Medioevo al Rinascimento. Classi ceramiche, tipologie degli ornati e aspetti di cultura materiale*, Padova 1989, 19; M. Munarini, “La produzione più antica,” *La ceramica nel Veneto*, op.cit. (n. 19), 19–23; G. Ericani, “Invetriata e graffita arcaica nel Veneto orientale e meridionale,”

*ibid.*, 50–51. On similar objects from Herakleion attributed to Italian production, see N. Poulou Papadimitriou, “Στυγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου. Από την πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή έως την περίοδο της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας (7ος 19ος αι.),” *Ηράκλειο. Η άγνωστη ιστορία της αρχαίας πόλης* (ed. A. Ioannidou Karetsou), Herakleion 2008, 185, figs 44–45.

<sup>23</sup> Ch. H. Morgan, II, *Corinth XI, The Byzantine Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass. 1942, 95–103; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, “Γνωριμία με τη βυζαντινή εφραλωμένη κεραμική,” *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 96 (2005), 28.

<sup>24</sup> On the characteristics of this category, see J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean. 7th to 20th Century. An Introduction and Field Guide*, Utrecht 2005, 153; A. K. Vionis, “The Archaeology of Ottoman Villages in Central Greece. Ceramics, Housing and Everyday Life in Post Medieval Boeotia,” *Studies in Honor of Hayat Erkanal: Cultural Reflections* (ed. B. Avuç), Istanbul 2006, 790.





Fig. 9. Garazo, church of the Dormition of the Virgin. An example of an immured RMR Ware bowl.

tion of wall in which they were immured,<sup>25</sup> if not the monument as a whole.<sup>26</sup> This appears to largely hold true on Crete, too, since churches in the Prefecture of Rethymnon built in different periods are indeed adorned with different categories of ceramics, while similar types of ceramics are encountered in churches built during much the same period. For example, in the Amari region, examples of Late Sgraffito Ware (see above) have been found in the churches of St. Georgios in Opsigias, Afentis Christos in Voliones, and Sts Theodoroi in Amari itself, all of which date from the 13th or 14th century. Furthermore, in the Mylopotamos area, four churches built between the mid-14th and early 15th century are adorned with examples of RMR Ware. As the systematic recording of the data

<sup>25</sup> Berti, "Bacini ceramici e strutture architettoniche," *op.cit.* (n. 3), 137; L. Castelletti, "L'inserimento di ceramiche nell'architettura. Il caso della chiesa di San Romano a Lucca," *Archeologia Medievale* 21 (1994), 193.

<sup>26</sup> S. Gelichi, "Ceramiche venete importate in Emilia Romagna tra XIII e XIV secolo," *Padusa* 24 (1988), 7; Berti, "Bacini ceramici e strutture architettoniche," *op.cit.* (n. 3), 137 and 137 140; ead., "Problematiche," *op.cit.* (n. 4), 12 14. For related opinions regarding the dating of monuments with immured vessels in Greece: A. H. S.

proceeds further, it should be possible to create sub-categories of churches which are decorated with the same types of ceramics, and which can probably be grouped together on the basis of their architecture and their architectural and painted decoration.

The research programme may also shed light on differences in the practices relating to the immuring of vessels in monastic institutions, on the one hand, and in churches not associated with a monastery, on the other. The data that has emerged from the area in question would indicate that this form of decoration is more common in churches unattached to monasteries. However, in those rare cases where *katholika* were decorated with *bacini*, usually their number was not limited to the usual four or five ceramics, as in churches unattached to monasteries, but the vessels were more numerous and they belonged to high-quality productions. For example, the practice is only encountered in four of the numerous monasteries in the Prefecture of Rethymnon which date from the period of Venetian rule and in two of the four instances – in the church of the Zoodochos Pigi at Prinios and the *katholikon* of Chalepa monastery – extremely fine, imported ceramics were used as *bacini*. A comparison between these monasteries and monasteries in the Herakleion region – where, once again, only very few of the numerous *katholika* were adorned with vessels – allows us to conclude that here, too, the immured vessels were, in each case, both of extremely good quality and more numerous than those immured in churches unattached to monasteries. The large number of vessels immured in *katholika*, the use of ceramics from the Iberian peninsula, Italy and Syria – examples from the first two of which were expensive and have only been found in *katholika* to date – and the fact that the vessels were not usually arranged in a particular pattern raise questions as to whether the choice of a particular type of ceramics was random or prompted by specific considerations, thus probably serving, a symbolic role in addition to a decorative one.

Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931 1932), 90 130; id., "Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches," *ΔΧΑΕ Δ'*, 4 (1964 1965), 145 162; Nikolakopoulos, *Έντοιχισμένα κεραμεικά, I-II*, *op.cit.* (n. 2), 11 12; K. Tsouris, "A Bowl Embedded in the Wall of the Chapel of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery," *BalkSt* 39 (1998), 10 11 (where it is noted that even if immured vessels cannot offer an absolute dating for a church, they offer evidence for its relative dating).

It is thus clear that there are many additional aspects of *bacini* to be studied relating to the history of the area and the architecture of the churches in which they are found, and to the types of ceramics immured. One of the more interesting aspects of *bacini* relates to the study of Mediaeval pottery on the island. As we now know, most of the *bacini* on Crete were imported from various Mediterranean regions, and most commonly from Italy. Since only a limited number of publications have concerned themselves with these categories of pottery found on the island,<sup>27</sup> studying *bacini* could enhance our knowledge of Mediaeval glazed pottery.

Municipality	Number of Churches
Rethymnon	8
Mylopotamos	19
Anogeia	2
Amari	25
St. Vasilios	20

Table 1. Distribution of churches with immured vessels in the Prefecture of Rethymnon.

### Αναστασία Γ. Γιαγκάκη

## ΕΝΤΟΙΧΙΣΜΕΝΑ ΑΓΓΕΙΑ ΣΕ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ: ΠΡΩΤΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΥΛΙΚΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΡΕΘΥΜΝΟΥ

Αροκετοί ναοί της μεσοβυζαντινής και υστεροβυζαντινής περιόδου στον κυρίως ελλαδικό χώρο κοσμούνται

εξωτερικά με εντοιχισμένα αγγεία. Ειδικά σε ό,τι αφορά στο νησί της Κρήτης, στο πλαίσιο ερευνητικού προ-

<sup>27</sup> We mention, for example, the publications of pottery from Chania [M. Hahn, "Παράσταση αμαρτωλής γυναίκας σε κανάτα της Αναγέννησης," *ΚρητΕστ* Δ', 2 (1988), 88 101; ead., "Byzantine and Post byzantine Pottery from the Greek Swedish Excavations at Khania, Crete," *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, op.cit. (n. 12), 232, figs 8, 9, 10, 13; ead., "A Group of 15th/16th Century Jugs from Western Crete," *Recent Danish Reseach in Classical Archaeology: Tradition and Renewal, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology* (eds T. Fischer Hansen P. Guldager J. Lund M. Nielsen A. Rathje), Copenhagen 1991, 311 320; Πηλός & Χρώμα, *Νεώτερη Κεραμική του Ελλαδικού Χώρου*, exhibition catalogue (21 Δεκεμβρίου 2006 έως 17 Φεβρουαρίου 2007) (ed. M. Borboudaki), Athens 2007, 103, cat. no. 62 (A. Apostolaki), 104, cat. no. 63 (A. Apostolaki), 105, cat. no. 64 (A. Apostolaki), 106 107, cat. no. 65 (A. Apostolaki), 108, cat. no. 66 (K. Psarakis), 114, cat. no. 72 (A. Apostolaki), 117, cat. no. 75 (K. Psarakis), 118, cat. no. 76 (K. Psarakis)], from Pyrgi at Eleutherna (N. Poulou Papadimitriou, "Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα: η στέρνα της Αγίας Άννας," *Ελεύθερνα τομέας II*.

3. *Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα* (ed. Th. Kalpaxis), Rethymnon 2008, 25 187; A. G. Yangaki, "Η κεραμική από το βυζαντινό κτήριο στο Πυργί της Ελεύθερνας," *ibid.*, 189 307), from Herakleion (T. Stillwell MacKay, "A Group of Renaissance Pottery from Heraklion, Crete: Notes and Questions," *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (eds P. Lock G. D. R. Sanders), Oxford 1996, 127 137; Poulou Papadimitriou, "Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου," op.cit. (n. 22), 149 201), from the gulf of Dermatas [Πηλός & Χρώμα, op.cit., 115, cat. no. 73 (Ch. Samiou), 116, cat. no. 74 (Ch. Samiou)], from Agia Triada (V. La Rosa, "Il cimitero veneziano di Haghia Triada," *Creta Antica* 2 (2001), 250 251, figs 22 24, 252 253, figs 35, 267, figs 73 74), from Amnisos (E. Stefanaki, "Areal J: Die venezianische Keramik," *Amnisos, nach den Archäologischen, Historischen und Epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (ed. J. Schäfer), Berlin 1992, 274 282), from Malia (V. François, "La céramique à glaçure à Malia: productions médiévales italiennes et productions ottomanes," *BCH* 118 (1994), 376 380, figs 2, 3).

γράμματος, το Ινστιτούτο Ιστορικών Ερευνών σε συνεργασία με την 28η και τη 13η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων άρχισε την καταγραφή και τεκμηρίωση των εντοιχισμένων σε ναούς αγγείων.

Με βάση την πορεία αυτής της καταγραφής, η οποία αρχικά επικεντρώθηκε στο Νομό Ρεθύμνου, και σε συνεργασία με το προσωπικό της 28ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, εντοπίστηκαν 74 ναοί με εντοιχισμένα αγγεία στις εξωτερικές πλευρές, οι περισσότεροι εκ των οποίων βρίσκονται στην περιοχή του Δήμου Αμαρίου. Ο αριθμός ναών που εντοπίστηκαν είναι αρκετά μεγάλος, σε σχέση με τους ναούς που έχουν εντοπιστεί στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα. Ειδικά σε ό,τι αφορά στην Κρήτη, η πρακτική αυτή μέχρι στιγμής εμφανίζεται από το 13ο αιώνα και μετά και ιδίως σε ναούς που χρονολογούνται στο 14ο και 15ο αιώνα, παρατήρηση που ενισχύει την υπόθεση ότι ο μεγάλος αριθμός ναών με εντοιχισμένα αγγεία στο νησί μπορεί, πιθανότατα, να εξηγηθεί από την ισχυρή ιταλική παρουσία.

Η μελέτη της πρακτικής εντοιχισμού αγγείων σε αυτό το μεγάλο, αριθμητικά, δείγμα ναών επιτρέπει τη μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια διατύπωση παρατηρήσεων αναφορικά με αυτή καθεαυτή την πρακτική και επιβεβαιώνει τα πρώτα σχετικά στοιχεία που έχουν παρουσιαστεί κατά το πρόσφατο παρελθόν. Ειδικότερα, αυτή η μορφή διακόσμησης απαντά κατεξοχήν στους μονόχωρους καμαροσκέπαστους ναούς του Νομού. Λιγότερο συχνά απαντά στις διπλές και στις δίκλιτες εκκλησίες και σπάνια σε ναούς άλλων αρχιτεκτονικών τύπων. Στην πλειονότητα των περιπτώσεων, ομάδα πέντε ή, σπανιότερα, τεσσάρων αγγείων ανοιχτού σχήματος εντοιχίζονται στη δυτική πλευρά, πάνω από τη θύρα εισόδου και το τυφλό ανακουφιστικό τόξο και συνήθως πάνω και από τα όποιες μορφής φωτιστικά παράθυρα, κατά τρόπο που να σχηματίζουν σταυρό. Η θέση τους είναι άρρηκτα δεμένη με την πλευρά στην οποία βρίσκεται η είσοδος στο ναό, καθώς και στις περιπτώσεις εκείνες, στις οποίες αυτή δεν βρίσκεται στη δυτική αλλά στη νότια πλευρά, τα αγγεία εντοπίζονται στην τελευταία. Η δεύτερη πιο κοινή θέση των αγγείων είναι στην

ανατολική πλευρά των ναών, πάνω από την αψίδα τους.

Ως προς τον τρόπο εντοιχισμού των αγγείων, προκύπτει ότι τα αγγεία εντοιχίζονται πάνω στο ειδικά προετοιμασμένο κονίαμα έδρασης του τοίχου και αφού προηγουμένως οι λίθοι, πάνω στους οποίους εδράζονται τα αγγεία, έχουν τοποθετηθεί με την απαιτούμενη κλίση. Σε κάποιες μάλιστα περιπτώσεις οι λίθοι είχαν κατάλληλα σμιλευθεί, ώστε να ακολουθήσουν την καμπύλη του κάθε αγγείου. Κατά κανόνα δεν παρατηρείται ιδιαίτερη μέριμνα για την πλαισίωση των αγγείων.

Βάσει της προαναφερθείσας μελέτης των πολυάριθμων αγγείων που σώζονται ακέραια ή θραυσματικά, προκύπτουν στοιχεία για την εφραλωμένη κεραμική που εντοπίζεται στο νησί της Κρήτης, καθώς εκτός από αγγεία που αποδίδονται σε εγχώριες παραγωγές, εντοπίζονται τόσο ορισμένα που αποδίδονται σε βυζαντινά κέντρα παραγωγής όσο και άλλα που αποδίδονται σε εργαστήρια της Ιβηρικής χερσονήσου, της Ιταλίας, της Συρίας και της Κύπρου.

Η περαιτέρω επεξεργασία των δεδομένων είναι βέβαιο ότι θα συνδράμει στη διερεύνηση επιπρόσθετων πτυχών του θέματος. Ενδεικτικά, η μελέτη των εντοιχισμένων αγγείων σε ναούς της Κρήτης παρέχει ενισχυτικές πληροφορίες είτε για τη χρονολόγηση τουλάχιστον του τμήματος της τοιχοδομίας στο οποίο αυτά έχουν εντοιχιστεί είτε για εκείνη του ίδιου του μνημείου, καθώς ναοί του συγκεκριμένου Νομού που απέχουν μεταξύ τους χρονικά κοσμούνται με διαφορετικές κατηγορίες κεραμικής, ενώ, αντίθετα, παρόμοιοι τύποι κεραμικής απαντούν σε ναούς που δεν απέχουν χρονικά μεγάλο διάστημα μεταξύ τους. Μία ακόμα πτυχή της μελέτης του θέματος αποτελεί και η διερεύνηση της διαφοροποίησης των εντοιχισμένων αγγείων ανάλογα με το εάν αυτά βρίσκονται σε ναούς μοναστηριών ή σε άλλους. Συμπερασματικά, η μελέτη των *bacini* είναι πολύπτυχη. Η συνέχιση της καταγραφής τους στοχεύει να κάνει ευρύτερα γνωστή μία κατηγορία αντικειμένων που μέχρι πρόσφατα έμεναν στο περιθώριο της έρευνας και, κατ'επέκταση, να προσφέρει περαιτέρω στοιχεία στη μελέτη του πολιτισμού της Κρήτης κατά τη βενετοκρατία.