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## Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea

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In 1204 the Frankish knight Geoffroy de Villehardouin arrived unexpectedly at the southwestern corner of the Peloponnesos. As Villehardouin's uncle later noted in his chronicle: "It happened by chance that the wind carried his ship to the port of Methone [Modon], where it was so badly damaged that he was obliged to spend the winter in those parts."<sup>1</sup> Within a decade Villehardouin had conquered the Morea. In 1210 Pope Innocent III referred to him as the prince of Achaia.<sup>2</sup> When, in that year, Villehardouin's wife and son arrived from Champagne, he installed them in his residence in Kalamata and thereby confirmed his intentions to settle permanently in the region. Geoffroy's second son, Guillaume II Villehardouin (1246–78), ruled over most of the Peloponnesos. But in 1261, as a result of his imprisonment following the battle of Pelagonia, Guillaume was forced to cede to Byzantium the southeastern Morea, a triangle of land demarcated by the castles of Maïna, Monemvasia, and Mistra (see Map).<sup>3</sup> The barony of Geraki was turned over to the Byzantine Empire shortly thereafter. Although the Latin principality of the Morea survived the death of Guillaume II, the weak leadership of Italian and Angevin landlords oversaw its decrease in size and power. By 1430 Latin rule in the region had come to an end.

The effect of the Frankish conquest on the Morea has been a fruitful topic for historians and philologists.<sup>4</sup> Art historians and archaeologists have studied Latin influences on Orthodox ecclesiastical architecture, but the impact of Frankish rule on the region's monumental painting has proven difficult to assess.<sup>5</sup> Some evidence of the Latin presence has been found in the details of narrative scenes, from the occasional embossing of haloes

<sup>1</sup> Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (New York, 1963), 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Innocentii III opera omnia*: PL 216:221D.

<sup>3</sup> D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1932), 15–25; A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1969), 125–29.

<sup>4</sup> Among the many studies, see D. Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade," *AHR* 78 (1973): 873–906; P. Topping, "Co-Existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete," 15th *CEB* (Athens, 1976), 3–23, repr. in P. Topping, *Studies in Latin Greece, A.D. 1205–1715* (London, 1977), no. xi; J. Horowitz, "Quand les Champenois parlaient le grec: La Morée franque au XIIIe siècle, un bouillon de culture," in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Goodich, S. Menache, and S. Schein (New York, 1995), 111–50.

<sup>5</sup> For Western influences on Byzantine architecture, see the study by C. Bouras in this volume, with collected bibliography.

to unusual representations of soldiers at the Arrest and Crucifixion of Christ.<sup>6</sup> Such details, for the most part, have left an impression of only minimal Frankish influence on the decoration of Orthodox churches.<sup>7</sup> In this study, I examine certain distinctive elements of monumental decoration in the Morea in order to reassess Latin influence.<sup>8</sup> I begin with works sponsored by the Frankish rulers of the region and then examine Orthodox churches decorated during and immediately following the Latin occupation of the southern Peloponnesos.

## Monumental Decoration of the Frankish Morea

Our books have informed us that the pre-eminence in chivalry and learning once belonged to Greece. Then chivalry passed to Rome, together with that highest learning which now has come to France. God grant that it may be cherished here, and that it may be made so welcome here that the honor which has taken refuge with us may never depart from France: God had awarded it as another's share, but of Greeks and Romans no more is heard, their fame is passed, and their glowing ash is dead.

Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés*<sup>9</sup>

What remains of Crusader-sponsored painting is central to any discussion of Western impact on monumental decoration in the Morea. Two painted programs are known

<sup>6</sup> For embossed haloes in the Morea, see N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μεσοσηνιακὴ Μάνη,” Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ. (1980): 208–9. Comments on the “Latinization” of military costume in narrative scenes are too widespread to cite individually.

<sup>7</sup> In a study of late Byzantine painting at Mistra, D. Mouriki suggests three reasons for the absence of Latin influence on Orthodox monumental painting: “a) Conservative Byzantium would have felt that iconographical and stylistic changes might entail alterations in dogma and doctrinal error; b) Byzantium was rightfully snobbish about its achievements in painting, a province in which it felt itself unsurpassed; and c) the Byzantine understanding of painting remained conservative less out of fear of the danger of heresy and more out of a conviction that a static and hieratic approach was the only one proper to religious painting.” D. Mouriki, “Palaeologan Mistra and the West,” in *Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi, 20–24 July, 1985* (Athens, 1987), 239. See also A. Grabar, “L’asymétrie des relations de Byzance et de l’Occident dans le domaine des arts au moyen âge,” in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna, 1984), 9–24.

<sup>8</sup> This study has benefited from discussions on site with J. C. Anderson, A. Bakourou, E. Jeffreys, and J. Pappageorgiou. I thank, in particular, Aimilia Bakourou, director of the Fifth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, whose comments have helped shape this study, and the anonymous readers for their invaluable suggestions. I also thank C. Jolivet-Lévy for her careful reading of a draft of the paper. This article is based solely on published monuments, although the substance of the argument includes unpublished material. It is not my intention to discuss Orthodox painting in the northern Morea and Attica in this study since the pattern of interaction between Greeks and Latins in that region differed substantially. For painting in the northern Peloponnesos and the region around Athens, and comments on the painted results of cultural exchange, see S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis (1244)* (Munich, 1975), and N. Coumbaraki-Panselinou, “Ἅγιος Πέτρος Καλυβίων Κουβαρῶ Ἀττικῆς,” *Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 14 (1987–88): 173–87.

<sup>9</sup> Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, trans. W. W. Comfort (New York, 1975), 91. Chrétien, who is associated with the court of Marie, countess of Champagne, in Troyes, wrote *Cligés* around the year 1176. The holdings of the Villehardouin family were to the northeast of Troyes and to the west of Brienne. For the family's holdings in France, see J. Longnon, *Recherche sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939), 6–13.

from the northern Peloponnesos, though neither decorates the interior of a church. The first is a reception hall in the archbishop's *hospitium* in Patras, which was described in a traveler's account written by Niccolò de Martoni in 1395. According to Niccolò, the walls of the prelate's residence were decorated with scenes from the destruction of Troy.<sup>10</sup> The fall of Troy was a popular subject in courtly art and literature produced in the medieval West. A full-length account, the *Roman de Troie*, was composed in Old French by the Benedictine monk Benoît de Ste.-Maure in 1160–70.<sup>11</sup> The epic was widely illustrated in manuscripts and other media.<sup>12</sup> The Trojan tale held enormous appeal for the Latin Crusaders as not only a work of romance and chivalry but also an expression of Crusader ideology.<sup>13</sup> According to the Western view, the medieval Greeks were to be held responsible for the defeat of Troy. In 1204 the French knight Pierre of Bracheux justified the conquest of Byzantine territory by asserting that escaped Trojans had settled in France and were the direct ancestors of the Crusaders.<sup>14</sup> The selection of the Trojan tale for the decoration of the archbishop's *hospitium* demonstrates the story's popularity in Frankish Morea, the lands once held by Agamemnon.

The second example of Latin-sponsored painting in the northern Morea survives in the antechamber of a gatehouse at Akronauplion.<sup>15</sup> The gatehouse, which functioned until 1463, was accessible to Latin and Greek residents of the city. Three identifiable coats of arms painted over the antechamber's west portal suggest a date for the program. Wulf Schaefer, who published a preliminary study of the gatehouse decoration, associated the coats of arms with Hugues de Brienne, count of Lecce and bailie of the duchy of Athens from 1291 to 1294, Isabelle of Villehardouin, princess of Achaia, and Florent of Hainault, Isabelle's husband and the Latin ruler of the principality of the Morea from 1289 to 1297.<sup>16</sup> Schaefer's description of the painted insignia matches the coat of arms of Isabelle of Villehardouin and her husband carved on a capital in the cathedral of St.

<sup>10</sup> "Habet unam salam longam paxus XXV, in cujus sale parietibus est picta in circuitu tota ystoria destructionis civitatis Troie." L. Legrand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394–1395)," *ROL* 3 (1895): 661.

<sup>11</sup> *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, 6 vols. (Paris, 1904–12). For a more recent analysis of Benoît de Ste.-Maure's text, see M. Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits*, Romanica Helvetica 114 (Basel-Tübingen, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 32 (London, 1971).

<sup>13</sup> D. Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986): 170–73; idem, "La littérature française dans les états latins des croisades," in *Essor et fortune de la Chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin*, vol. 2 (Modena, 1984), 635–36; E. M. Jeffreys, "Place of Composition as a Factor in the Edition of Early Demotic Texts," in *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, ed. N. Panayotakis (Venice, 1993), 319.

<sup>14</sup> Jacoby, "Knightly Values," 171.

<sup>15</sup> W. Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *JDAI* 76 (1961): 156–214; D. Pallas, "Εὐρώπη καὶ Βυζάντιο," in *Byzantium and Europe* (as in note 7), 9–61; M. Hirschbichler, "The Crusader Paintings in the Gatehouse of Akronauplia, Greece" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1998). A comprehensive study of the gatehouse is being prepared by Aimilia Bakourou and Monika Hirschbichler.

<sup>16</sup> Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen," 198–209. Schaefer suggests that the gatehouse decoration celebrated the treaty of Glarentza, ratified in 1290.

Sophia in Andravida.<sup>17</sup> The late thirteenth-century date of the gatehouse decoration and its Latin patronage are thus secure.

The subjects selected for the gatehouse fully reflect its Western patronage.<sup>18</sup> On the upper, arched surface of the west portal, the artist painted a medallion containing the Agnus Dei carrying the Crusader banner, a red cross on a white ground.<sup>19</sup> Two full-length holy men, St. Anthony the Great and St. James, decorate the south wall, and both are identified with Latin inscriptions (Fig. 1). St. Anthony, dressed as a monk, carries an open scroll in his left hand. With his short, divided beard and covered head, he was presumably recognizable to both Latin and Greek viewers. The image of St. James, however, must have perplexed the Orthodox inhabitants of the city. His undistinguished facial features could belong to a number of Byzantine male saints, but his costume is unique. The painter depicted James according to Western fashion, wearing a brimmed hat decorated with a cockle shell, the badge awarded pilgrims upon successful completion of the arduous journey to Santiago de Compostela, the saint's shrine in distant Spain.<sup>20</sup> In his right hand James carries a long staff, the characteristic walking stick of the medieval pilgrim, and in his left, the pouch or scrip often associated with the saint and visitors to his shrine.<sup>21</sup> Similar pouches are carried by a Western couple represented on a column in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a program that has been associated with Crusader patronage (Fig. 2).<sup>22</sup> The two pilgrims kneel at the feet of St. James; their black purses are decorated with a white shell to show that they had traveled to Spain before undertaking the journey to the Holy Land. Although the *Life* of Meletios the Younger mentions the saint's journey from Rome to "the Gauls of James," Compostela appears to have been a rare destination for Byzantine pilgrims.<sup>23</sup> The selection and depiction of St. James in the Nauplion gatehouse reflects Latin patronage, and especially the patronage of the local rulers of the Morea. The saint's importance to the region's Crusader lords was demonstrated by the use of the church of St. James in Andravida as the burial site for the Villehardouin family.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the *Assizes of Romania*, the region's

<sup>17</sup> A. Bon, "Pierres inscrites ou armoriées de la Morée franque," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Ετ. 4 (1964): 90. For Isabelle's coat of arms, see also her private seal in G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), 185, pl. xxi, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Several figures in the gatehouse, including St. Christopher carrying the Christ child, have not yet been published.

<sup>19</sup> Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen," fig. 9.

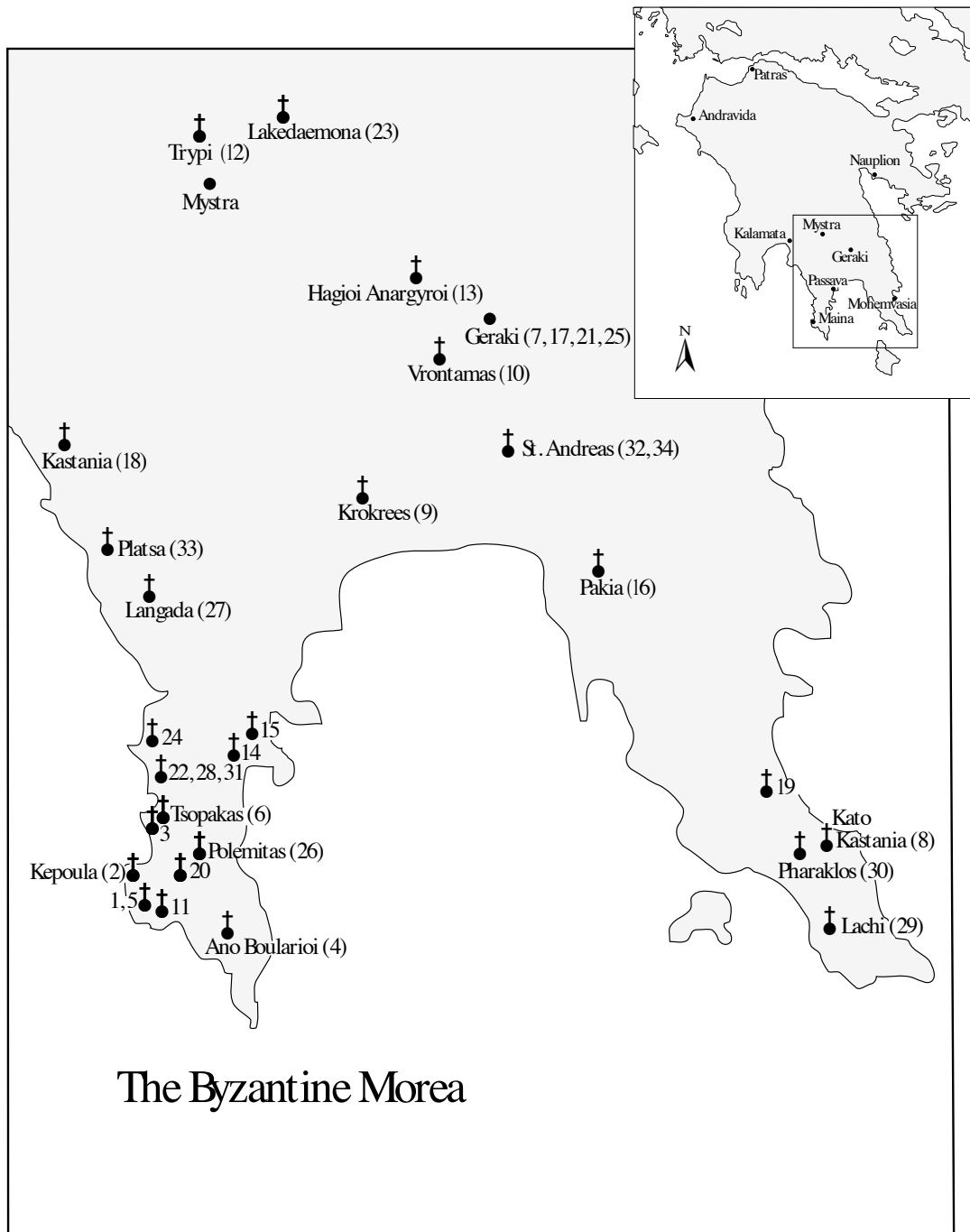
<sup>20</sup> For the cockle shell, see C. Hohler, "The Badge of St. James," in *The Scallop: Studies of a Shell and Its Influences on Humankind*, ed. I. H. Cox (London, 1957), 49–70. For examples of shells as badges, see *Santiago de Compostela: 1000 jaar Europese Bedevaart* (Ghent, 1985), 291–97.

<sup>21</sup> On the representation of St. James in the West, see E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1978), 293–99.

<sup>22</sup> G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), 40–43, pl. XIII; J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (New York, 1995), 456, pl. 10.17c, d.

<sup>23</sup> See D. Abrahamse, "Byzantine Views of the West in the Early Crusade Period: The Evidence of Hagiography," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Gross and C. Verzár Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 193.

<sup>24</sup> According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, "He [Guillaume de Villehardouin] commanded and ordered that after he had died, and not before a full year had passed, his bones alone were to be placed in a coffin in the church of St. Jacob [James] of Morea in Andravida, in this church which he had built and which he had given to the Temple, in the tomb he had built and in which lay his father; his brother to lie to the right of him, he to



Churches with portraits of equestrian saints, 13th–15th century. The numbers correspond to those in the list of churches in the appendix of published sources. See pages 281–85.



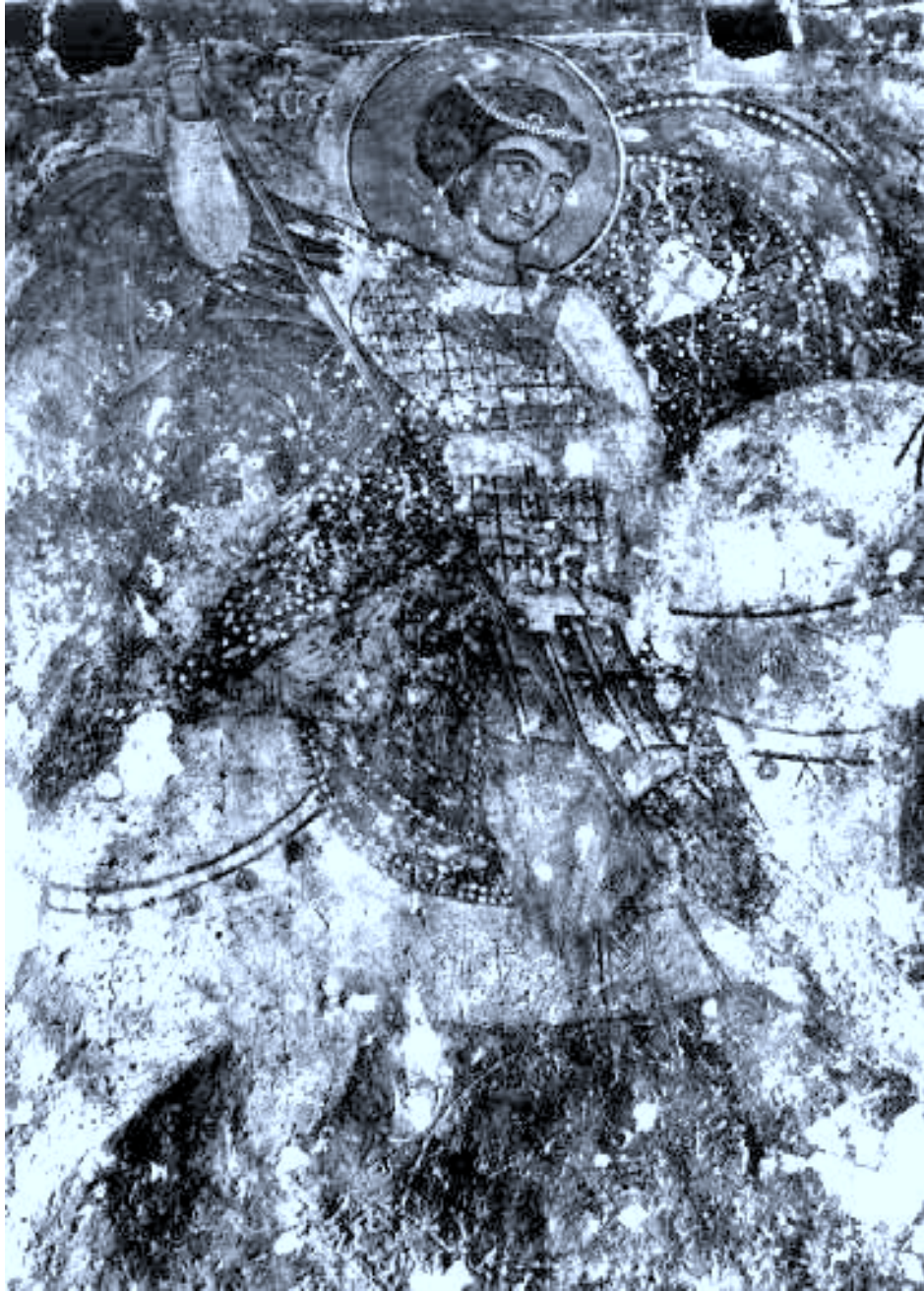
1 Nauplion gatehouse, Sts. Anthony and James (photo: after W. Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *JDAI* 76 [1961]: fig. 12a)





2 Bethlehem, church of the Nativity, male pilgrim (photo: after J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* [New York, 1995], pl. 10.17c)





3 Nauplion gatehouse, St. George (photo: after Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen," fig. 10a)



4 Mount Sinai, monastery of St. Catherine, St. Sergios (reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)





5 Mount Sinai, monastery of St. Catherine, Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



6 Seal of Florent de Hainault (photo: after G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* [Paris, 1943], pl. IX.2)



7 Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi, Sts. George and Demetrios





8 Ano Boularioi, Mani, Hagios Strategos, St. George



9 Geraki, St. John Chrysostom, St. George





10 Mani, St. Nicholas Polemitas, Sts. George and Kyriake  
(photo: after N. Drandakes, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα  
Μάνης [Athens, 1995], 146)



11 Mani, St. Nicholas Polemitas, St. George, detail



12 Vrontamas, Palaiomonastero, frieze of equestrian saints



13 Vrontamas, Palaiomonastero, St. George





14 Lakedaemona, monastery of the Forty Martyrs, St. Demetrios  
(photo: after N. Drandakes, "Τὸ Παλιομονάστηρο τῶν Ἁγίων Σαράντα στὴ  
Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὸ ἀσκηταριό του," Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἔτ. 16 [1992]: fig. 19)



15 Geraki, St. John Chrysostom, Women at the Tomb, detail of soldiers





16 Geraki, church of St. George, St. George

law code, makes specific mention of James. According to the code, pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem, and Santiago de Compostela constituted three reasons for which a lord could not deny his vassal permission to leave the principality.<sup>25</sup> The representation of St. James in the Nauplion gatehouse served to remind Western viewers of their devotion to this saint and the obligations of pilgrimage. The saint's representation on the walls of the gatehouse, the passageway of the wayfarer, was singularly appropriate.

The north wall of the gatehouse is decorated with a monumental image of an equestrian St. George, a figure whom the Crusaders considered patron and protector (Fig. 3).<sup>26</sup> The saint's fame derived from the widespread belief that he was one of three warrior saints who had rescued the Crusaders at the battle of Antioch on 28 June 1098. There were more local reasons, however, to favor the representation of St. George in the gatehouse. George's military skill was not lost on the Crusaders of the Peloponnesos. According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, the saint took the part of the Franks at the battle of Prinitza in 1263: "Some of those who took part in that battle saw and testified that they saw a knight mounted on a white charger, carrying a naked sword and always leading the way wherever the Franks were. And they saw and affirmed that it was St. George and that he guided the Franks and gave them courage to fight."<sup>27</sup> The passage echoes the description of the earlier battle of Antioch included in the *Gesta Francorum*, where witnesses identify the saints as "a host of men on white horses."<sup>28</sup> The location of George's tomb at Lydda in the Holy Land has also been cited as a reason for the frequency of his portrayal in the Crusader East.<sup>29</sup> The Frankish territories also boasted a close connection with the saint. The head of St. George was the principal relic of Livadia, a town located between Thebes and Delphi. When Gautier I, the son of Hugues de Brienne (whose coat of arms appears in the gatehouse), prepared for the battle of Kephissos in March 1311, he made out a will that left 100 hyperpera to the church of St. George of Livadia.<sup>30</sup>

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be on the left, and his father in between. He instructed and endowed four chaplains, whom all the Romans call *hiereis*, to continue without cease unto eons of eons to chant and celebrate masses everlastingly for their souls; he ordered as a commandment and excommunicable offense, and it was put into writing, that never should they have interference from any man of the world." *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of the Morea*, trans. H. Lurier (New York, 1964), 290. To my knowledge, no architectural remains of this church have been found. For early reports concerning the location of the church, see J. A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée* (Paris, 1843), 510; S. Lambros, "Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν Ἀνδραβίδι," *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 17 (1923): 101–3; Bon, *La Morée franque*, 319–20. For the cover slab from the grave of Agnes, the third wife of Guillaume II de Villehardouin, originally located in this church, see A. Bon, "Dalle funéraire d'une princesse de Morée (XIIIe siècle)," *Mon Piot* 49 (1957): 129–39.

<sup>25</sup> P. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania: The Law Code of Frankish Greece* (London, 1949), 63. I thank D. Jacoby for this reference.

<sup>26</sup> For representations of the equestrian St. George within a Crusader context in the West, see P. Deschamps, "Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des Croisades dans les peintures murales du XIIIe et du XIIIe siècle," *OCP* 13 (1947): 454–74.

<sup>27</sup> *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 211; J. Longnon, *Livre de la conquête de la principauté de l'Amorée* (Paris, 1911), 338E. For the location of Prinitza, see Bon, *La Morée franque*, 354–56.

<sup>28</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, trans. and ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), 69.

<sup>29</sup> R. Cormack and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'Maniera greca' or 'lingua franca'?" *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984): 133. On the shrine at Lydda, see *Gesta Francorum*, 87; M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), 169–70.

<sup>30</sup> K. M. Setton, "Saint George's Head," *Speculum* 48 (1973): 4. Gautier's will also stipulated donations to several other churches and monastic orders.



It is impossible to determine whether this donation and the saint's representation in the gatehouse satisfied a pious impulse or arose from links between Hugues's family and the saint. Nonetheless, the equestrian portrait of St. George, like that of St. James, reflects well-established Latin devotional practices.

The portrait of St. George in the Nauplion gatehouse shares a number of traits with representations of military saints from the Crusader East. The white badge with a red cross on his shield is reminiscent of the banners and saddle decoration on two representations of St. Sergios from Mount Sinai that have been dated to the late thirteenth century (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>31</sup> The coat of arms that marks the cantle of his saddle further demonstrates his Latin affiliation; moreover, his right leg is thrust forward in the position favored by Latin horsemen in the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup> The personal seal of Florent of Hainault, whose coat of arms decorates the gatehouse, illustrates the characteristic pose of the Latin knight; Florent is represented on a galloping horse with his right leg thrust forward in its stirrup, a triangular shield in his left hand, and a drawn sword in his right (Fig. 6).<sup>33</sup> Many scholars have commented on the popularity of equestrian saints in lands held by the Crusaders.<sup>34</sup> This mounted warrior, inscribed in Latin and marked with emblems of his Western sponsor, might thus be grouped with other images of the period that have been linked to Crusader patronage. Yet the style of the representation indicates that the painter who created the Nauplion St. George was not foreign born, but a local artist who was trained in the region.<sup>35</sup> Although the image shares certain characteristics with the Sinai panels, the portrait-type, pose of the body, and rendering of the military costume all find closer parallels in contemporaneous decoration of Orthodox churches in the Morea (see Figs. 8, 10). This image of St. George stands at the center of the problem of lasting Crusader influence on the Byzantine art of the Morea, for it raises—far more sharply than the story of Troy or representations of St. James of Compostela—the question of how images expressed cultural identity.

<sup>31</sup> Demetrios Pallas, recognizing stylistic affinities to known Crusader works, compared the St. George at Nauplion to the Sinai icon of St. Sergios. See Pallas, "Εὐρώπη καὶ Βυζάντιο," 56–60. The icon, which has been identified as a Crusader work on the basis of both style and subject matter, has been associated with painters working in Cyprus, Sinai, and Syria. See G. and M. Soteriou, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1956), fig. 187; vol. 2 (Athens, 1958), 171; K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP* 20 (1966): 71–72, repr. in idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton, 1982), 345–46; D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon* (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens), n.s., 1–2 (Athens, 1985–86): 66–71, 76–77; L. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *BMGS* 15 (1991): 96–145. Closer to home, "Crusader banners" are carried by the equestrian saints Theodore Teron and George in the church of the Virgin in Attica. For this composition, most likely dated to the 14th century, see N. Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta* (Thessaloniki, 1976), pl. 78.

<sup>32</sup> B. S. Bachrach, "Caballus et Caballarius in Medieval Warfare," in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. H. Chickering and T. Seiler (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1988), 194–96.

<sup>33</sup> Schlumberger et al., *Sigillographie*, 185, pl. ix, 2.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., A. Cutler, "Misapprehensions and Misgivings: Byzantine Art and the West in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Mediaevalia* 7 (1984): 51.

<sup>35</sup> A discomfort with the formation of Latin characters may be cited as further proof that the painter was Greek; the letters are uneven in size and shape and are disproportionately large for the figures.

## Monumental Decoration in the Byzantine Morea

The day on which he [Manuel Komnenos] set out on his dangerous march, a certain man, an interpreter, and a Roman by race, whose surname was Mavropoulos, came to him and related that he dreamed he entered a church named after [Saint] Kyros, and as he was making a propitiatory offering he heard a voice coming from the icon of the Mother of God saying, “The emperor is now in the utmost danger,” and “Who will go forth in my name to assist him?” The voice of one unseen answered, “Let [Saint] George go.” “He is sluggish,” came the reply. “Let [Saint] Theodore set forth,” then suggested the voice, but he was also rejected, and finally came the painful response that no one could avert the impending evil. So much for these matters.

Niketas Choniates<sup>36</sup>

From the Middle Byzantine period, warrior saints such as George and Theodore formed a vital component of the Orthodox church program. In the late twelfth-century Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, for example, military saints stand along the walls of the naos at the level of the faithful (Fig. 7). Placed in this location, they served as popular devotional figures and as personal and communal guardians. The tradition of representing military saints standing in a frontal pose continued through the Late Byzantine period in areas with close artistic ties to Constantinople, for example, in Macedonia, which was recaptured from the Latins at an early date.<sup>37</sup> The same is true for the Late Byzantine ecclesiastical decoration at Mistra, which demonstrates a number of stylistic and iconographic links to painting in the distant capital.<sup>38</sup> The monumental portrayal of military saints on foot and in frontal pose mirrors their representation on ivory and steatite icons and on imperial coins and seals, particularly ones of the Komnenian period.<sup>39</sup> Only rarely do seals present an image of a military saint on horseback; the overwhelming majority stand in frontal pose, with spear and shield in hand.<sup>40</sup> The Byzantine manner of rendering

<sup>36</sup> *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), 107–8.

<sup>37</sup> With one exception, surviving Constantinopolitan churches of the late Byzantine period maintain frontal portraits of military saints. Only the late 13th-century program of St. Euphemia contains a votive image of George and Demetrios on horseback. See R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966), 188, pl. 38a, b. Among the numerous churches of Byzantine Macedonia, St. Demetrios in Thessalonica contains a representation of the equestrian saints George and Demetrios on the east wall of the south aisle. The painting, adjacent to the entrance of St. Euthymios, must date to the 13th or the early 14th century. G. and M. Soteriou, *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1952), 1:219; 2:93a. An early image of an equestrian St. George is also found in the north aisle of Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria. This image, however, is part of a narrative scene.

<sup>38</sup> Personal observation.

<sup>39</sup> For military imagery and inscriptions on ivory icons, see N. Oikonomides, “The Concept of ‘Holy War’ and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivories,” in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis*, S.J., ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C., 1995), 62–86. For steatite icons, see I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna, 1985), 63–65. Kalavrezou dates two icons of military saints on horseback to the 13th century. The remaining saints in her catalogue are represented in a frontal, standing position.

<sup>40</sup> Only two seals in the Zacos and Veglery catalogue present military saints on horseback. The first, an unidentified saint, dates to the late 7th/early 8th century; the second, on a seal belonging to Sebastokrator Alexios Komnenos, represents St. George on the obverse and is dated to the late 12th century (G. Zacos and A. Veg-

military figures on seals forms a stark contrast with Western sigillographic preferences. From 1100 to 1250, equestrian seals representing mounted warriors were the overwhelming choice of feudal lords and simple knights (Fig. 6).<sup>41</sup> The seals are the visual manifestations of a knightly ideal that was intimately associated with equestrian activity.

Like those in regions closer to Constantinople, village churches of the southern Morea that were painted before the Fourth Crusade present portraits of military saints exclusively in a frontal, standing position following the established Byzantine format.<sup>42</sup> But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, military saints in village churches of the Morea mount their horses and begin to gallop across the interior walls—a phenomenon that has been noted in border regions of the empire at an earlier period and, contemporaneously, in areas under Crusader control such as Cyprus and the Holy Land.<sup>43</sup> Although church decoration under Crusader rule in the Morea follows patterns established in the Middle Byzantine period, the change in the format and the enormously increased scale of the equestrian saint give the image disproportionate importance vis-à-vis the remaining program. Superimposed layers of fresco decoration in Hagios Strategos at Ano Boularioi in the Mani help pinpoint the moment at which military saints mounted their horses in the Mani. In the northwest compartment of the naos, the figure of an equestrian St. George, painted on a layer dated 1274/75 by an inscription, covers a late twelfth-century portrait of a standing military saint, most likely also St. George (Fig. 8).<sup>44</sup> Supporting evidence for the time of the transition is found in St. Mamas in Karavas, dated 1232, which contains an image of an equestrian saint (Theodore?).<sup>45</sup> The church was painted in the period of Frankish rule over the Mani, which ended with the transfer of the nearby castle of Maïna to Byzantium in 1262.<sup>46</sup> The evidence is unequivocal: in Orthodox churches of the region along the borders of the Frankish Morea, the shift from standing to equestrian military saints took place during the period of Latin overlordship.

Nikolaos Drandakes has estimated that more than fifty churches in the Mani were

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lery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1:3 [Basel, 1972], no. 274). Two other seals with representations of the equestrian saints George and Demetrios were recently auctioned from the Zacos collection. See *Spink Auction 127. Byzantine Seals from the Collection of George Zacos, Part I* (London, Wednesday 7 Oct. 1998), nos. 79, 88.

<sup>41</sup> B. Bedos Rezak, "Medieval Seals and the Structure of Chivalric Society," in *The Study of Chivalry* (as in note 32 above), 313–72; eadem, "The Social Implications of the Art of Chivalry: The Sigillographic Evidence," in *The Medieval Court in Europe*, ed. E. Haymes (Munich, 1986), 142–75.

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., the church of the Episcopi near Stavri, St. Peter near Gardenitsa, and Hagios Strategos in Ano Boularioi, all in the Mani (Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 151–212, 259–306, 392–458), and the Evangelistria church in Geraki (N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι. Οἱ ἐκκλησίες τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ* [Thessaloniki, 1981], 85–136).

<sup>43</sup> Among other studies of churches in these regions, see J. Leroy, "Découvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie," *AArchSyr* 25 (1975): 95–113; J. Folda, "Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle," *DOP* 36 (1982): 194–95; D. Mouriki, "The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus," in *Byzanz und der Westen* (as above, note 7), 192–95; Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios," 104–10; E. Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria," *Arte medievale* 6 (1992): 84–91, 112–18.

<sup>44</sup> Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 404.

<sup>45</sup> C. Konstantinide, "Ο Ἅγιος Μάμας Καραβᾶ Μέσσα Μάνης," *Λακ.Σπ.* 10 (1990): 140–65. The equestrian saint is not illustrated.

<sup>46</sup> For this castle, see Bon, *La Morée franque*, 502–7.

decorated in the second half of the thirteenth century following the return of the region to imperial control.<sup>47</sup> The village churches of the Mani and other areas of the Byzantine-controlled Morea form the basis of the following discussion. In village churches of the Byzantine Morea, the equestrian saint, whose horse easily occupies the space of three standing figures within the painted program, often dominates the lower register of the interior decoration. The newly invested importance of the equestrian saint is seen in the church of St. John Chrysostom in Geraki. In this small, single-aisled church of roughly 1300, the portrait of St. George on horseback is placed directly opposite the entrance to the building (Fig. 9).<sup>48</sup> Although he is mounted to do battle with the serpent coiled below the hooves of his horse, the upper part of his torso and his face are turned to confront the viewer directly. The first impression of the church interior is thus formed by an encounter with the votive portrait of the holy rider. In other churches, repeated equestrian figures dominate the lower registers of the decorative program. St. Theodore (Trisakia) at Tsopaka, dated on the basis of style to the late thirteenth century, has a long nave articulated by four recessed arches paired on the north and south walls.<sup>49</sup> At least two of the arches were decorated with equestrian saints who sit astride horses facing the sanctuary.<sup>50</sup> In other churches, such as St. Eustratios in Pharaklos, equestrian saints are paired in recessed arches on opposite sides of the nave.<sup>51</sup> From the mid-thirteenth through the fourteenth century, more than thirty churches in the southern Morea were decorated with one, and often more, military figures on horseback (see the Appendix).

Two explanations can be offered for the introduction and proliferation of equestrian saints in village churches of the Byzantine Morea. First, the equestrian saint appeared in the decorative program as an indigenous response to regional danger. Second, the representation of military saints at this moment in Peloponnesian history demonstrates the appreciation of Frankish chivalric customs and reveals a certain degree of cultural emulation and symbiosis. I begin with the first of the two explanations.

Although the painted evidence indicates that equestrian saints appear in monumental decoration in the southern Morea only from the thirteenth century, mounted warriors have a long history in Byzantine art.<sup>52</sup> In their protective capacity, equestrian saints are occasionally painted on the exterior of Orthodox churches, as is the case at St. George, Kurbinovo (1191).<sup>53</sup> Before the Fourth Crusade, mounted saints had already entered the interior decoration of churches located on the borders of the empire. Painted churches

<sup>47</sup> This estimate includes both new church programs and additional painted layers. N. Drandakes, "Παρατηρήσεις στις τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα που σώζονται στη Μάνη," *17th CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 684.

<sup>48</sup> Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, 7, 40.

<sup>49</sup> Drandakes, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, 49, 51, fig. 18.

<sup>50</sup> Theodore is located on the south wall in the second recessed arch from the east. A second equestrian saint is located on the north wall in the first recessed arch from the west.

<sup>51</sup> N. Drandakes et al., "Έρευνα στην 'Επίδαυρο Λιμηρά," *Πρακτ. Αρχ. Έτ.* (1982): 436, pl. 244a.

<sup>52</sup> For early Byzantine magical amulets decorated with mounted warriors, see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (London, 1950), 208–28, 302–8. The discussion of these early amulets is beyond the scope of this paper. Their use as apotropaia may foreshadow the protective function of later equestrian saints.

<sup>53</sup> L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle* (Brussels, 1975), 275–82, pls. 146–50.

in Cappadocia, the Byzantine border par excellence, feature a number of equestrian saints, as do churches in Georgia and Egypt.<sup>54</sup> The sudden appearance of these saints in the southern Morea may reflect the new border status of this region in the thirteenth century.<sup>55</sup> Frankish incursions between 1248 and 1262 threatened the Orthodox population; a foreboding inscription in St. John the Baptist in Megale Kastania may allude to military activity in the Mani in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>56</sup> The construction of churches named for sainted warriors and the inclusion of equestrian saints in churches close to the Latin-held Morea demonstrate a desire to protect rural communities through the invocation of powerful military guardians. Approximately twenty churches in the southern Morea contain Greek inscriptions that securely provide their date and dedication during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Roughly half of these churches were dedicated to military saints or protective figures like George, Demetrios, Theodore, and the Archangel Michael.<sup>57</sup> As with other categories of holy men and women, military saints were invoked by individuals for personal or familial protection.<sup>58</sup> Evidence for this practice is found in church decoration. A supplicatory inscription adjacent to the equestrian St. Theodore Stratelates in the early fifteenth-century church of Aï-Sideros near Pyrgos in the Mani names the servant of God, Theodore.<sup>59</sup> The unique pairing of St. Kyriake and the equestrian St. George in the fourteenth-century church

<sup>54</sup> For images of military saints in Cappadocian churches, see M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (Recklinghausen, 1967), 2:28, 29, 30, 32, 246–47; 3:436, 510, 516. On the representation of military saints in the region, see also A. W. Epstein, “Rock-Cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches,” *CahArch* 24 (1975): 115–26; G. P. Schiemenz, “Felskapellen im Göreme-Tal, Kapadokien: Die Yılanlı-Gruppe und Saklı kilise,” *IstMitt* 30 (1980): 291–319; C. Jolivet-Lévy, “Hagiographie cappadocienne: A propos de quelques images nouvelles de Saint Hiéron et de Saint Eustathe,” in *Εὐφρόσυνον. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* (Athens, 1991), 205–18. For icons representing equestrian saints that have been attributed to painters from Coptic Egypt and Georgia, see K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1976), 71–73, 78–79; pls. xcvi, civ; V. N. Lazarev, “Novyj pamjatnik stankovoj živopisi XII v. i obraz Georgija-voina v vizantijskom i drevnerusskom iskusstve,” *VizVrem* 5 (1952): 205–6.

<sup>55</sup> The border between the Byzantine and Frankish Morea was still fluctuating in the early 14th century. The southwest chamber of the Hodegetria church in Mistra is decorated with paintings of four chrysobulls that enumerate the privileges and holdings of the monastery. One of these texts, dated September 1332, provides the monastery with two towns (Zourtza and Mountra) that had been occupied by Latins. See G. Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra,” *BCH* 23 (1899): 115–18; Zakythinios, *Despotat grec*, 1:82.

<sup>56</sup> See P. Drosogianne, “Σχόλια στὶς τοιχογραφίες τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου στὴ Μεγάλη Καστάνια τῆς Μάνης” (Ph.D. diss., University of Athens, 1982), 302–14, pl. vi; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 65–66.

<sup>57</sup> These churches include St. George, Karinia, Mesa Mani (1285), St. George, Oitylon (1331/32), St. George, Longanikos (1374/75), St. Demetrios, Krokees (1286), Sts. Theodoroi, Kaphiona, Mesa Mani (1263–71), Sts. Theodoroi, Mistra (before 1296), St. Michael, Polemitas, Mesa Mani (1278), St. Michael, Charouda, Mani (1371/72), Taxiarches, Goritsa Laina (mid-13th century). For the inscriptions, see Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 66–67, 71–75, 80–81, 106, 107; A. Philippidis-Braat, “Inscriptions du Péloponnèse,” *TM* 9 (1985): 314–17, 318–19, 328–30, 338–40. A number of churches dedicated to military saints could be added to this list solely on the basis of iconography.

<sup>58</sup> S. E. J. Gerstel, “Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium,” *DOP* 52 (1998): 89–111.

<sup>59</sup> + Δέησι(ς) τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ . . . (ἔ)τ(ου)ς . . . . (1423) (N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” *Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* [1979]: 176). Supplicatory inscriptions are also found adjacent to the military saint in the church of St. George in Kambinari (undated) and in St. George, Geraki (Philippides-Braat, “Inscriptions,” 345–46).

of St. Nicholas Polemitas may also have satisfied the devotional requirements of the church's patron and his family (Fig. 10).<sup>60</sup> These examples demonstrate the personal relationship between the medieval supplicant and the protective saint, whose equestrian portrait newly augmented the church program from the thirteenth century. As votive images, the equestrian saints are placed within recessed arches in a number of churches (Figs. 8, 9). The majority, holding spears in their right hands and shields over their left shoulders, are engaged in conflict with a large serpent or dragon, a symbol of evil referred to in legends that recount the saints' holy miracles.<sup>61</sup> The representation of military saints on horseback within churches of the southern Morea thus conforms to a well-established tradition of securing the borders through the assistance of the holy cavalry. The fear generated by the Latin conquest of the region may have thus spurred the introduction of equestrian saints into thirteenth-century decorative programs.

### Art and Cultural Identity

The alternative argument for the popularity of equestrian saints rests on a reciprocal interchange between cultures. The Capetian court served as a model for the construction of a feudal society on Greek soil, and the knights of the Morea showed their allegiance to this court through the retention of chivalric behavior in their new land.<sup>62</sup> With ancestral roots in the vicinity of courtly Troyes, Guillaume II Villehardouin tried his own hand at verse composition.<sup>63</sup> Such courtly pretensions were admired by visitors to the region. In the early fourteenth century, following a century of settlement in the Peloponnesos, the Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner commented: "it is said that the most noble chivalry of the world is that of the Morea, and they speak as beautiful French as in Paris."<sup>64</sup>

The Orthodox inhabitants of the Morea had ample opportunity to observe the Latins. The Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* indicates that the Franks had a firsthand knowledge of southern Peloponnesian topography. During the winter of 1248–49, for example, when Guillaume de Villehardouin lodged in Lakedaemonia, "he went riding with his retinue and strolled among the villages in the neighborhood of Monemvasia, and to Helos and Passava and to the lands in that direction; with joy he went around and passed his time."<sup>65</sup> Yearly trade fairs, such as the one held at Vervaina in the north of the Morea, also provided ample opportunities for the Orthodox population of the region to come into contact with Latins, whose language and mannerisms reflected their country

<sup>60</sup> Drandakes, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 147.

<sup>61</sup> H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909); J. B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder des heiligen Georgs in der griechischen und lateinischen Überlieferung* (Leipzig, 1911).

<sup>62</sup> Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies," 883–84.

<sup>63</sup> J. Longnon, "Le prince de Morée chansonnier," *Romania* 65 (1939): 95–100.

<sup>64</sup> *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Lady Goodenough, vol. 2 (London, 1921), 627.

<sup>65</sup> *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 158. Helos, near the mouth of the Eurotas River, is located on the Gulf of Lakonia. Passava, at the northeastern corner of the Mani, may have been in the hands of the Greeks by 1263. See Bon, *La Morée franque*, 508–9; M. Breuillot, "Τὸ κάστρο τοῦ Πασσαβᾶ στὸν Μορέα," *Λακ.Σπ.* 11 (1992): 299–338.

of origin.<sup>66</sup> The Orthodox population in the region seems to have been receptive to the Latin chivalric ethos, which emphasized *courtoisie* and romance.

Neither romance nor certain aspects of chivalry were new to Byzantium, though they were not articulated as behavioral guidelines that defined a specific segment of society. In the twelfth century, Byzantium had seen the development of the Akritan epic-romance, whose two-blooded protagonist patrolled the borders of the empire on horseback. The impact of the Akritan legend has been noted artistically in ceramic wares produced in Corinth, in the northern Morea, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, and in other locations.<sup>67</sup> Fragments of pottery found at Mistra, in the Byzantine Morea, display incised images of soldiers and warriors, evidence of the spread of military imagery that derived from myth and everyday experience.<sup>68</sup> Nonreligious imagery also entered church decoration in the region. The icon screen of St. Demetrios, Mistra, is decorated with the carved figure of a centaur, and a similar figure is roughly sketched in brown paint on the east side of the masonry templon screen in St. John the Baptist, Megachora.<sup>69</sup> These representations reveal a sustained or renewed interest in vernacular literature and legend. While Orthodox residents of the Morea were wary of Latin military exploits, they may have reacted favorably to certain aspects of Frankish culture that resonated within their own background.

An impact of Western culture in the Morea has been documented through linguistic evidence. Studies by J. Schmitt and H. and R. Kahane have demonstrated the frequency of Gallicisms in the *Chronicle of the Morea*.<sup>70</sup> The evidence of cultural exchange, not surprisingly, is found in loanwords that concern feudal regulations and chivalric custom. In the Morea, medieval Greek added such Gallo-Romance terms as *κουρτεσία*, *ντάμα*, and *λίζιος*. The impact of a burgeoning cultural symbiosis can also be traced in the development of the Byzantine romance. Byzantine vernacular literature contemporary with many of the churches that contain portraits of equestrian saints features knights, castles, chivalry, and *amor*—concepts at home in the Morea. In the late fourteenth-century Byzantine romance *Livistros and Rodamni*, for example, the protagonist is described as “a noble Latin from abroad, a capable and good-looking young man. . . . He was mounted on a horse, in his hand was a hawk and behind him a dog followed on a leash.”<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth Jeffreys has suggested that several romances of this period reveal an awareness of Frankish customs and contain regional clues that hint at the Morea as the

<sup>66</sup> W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), 189.

<sup>67</sup> C. Morgan, “Several Vases from a Byzantine Dump at Corinth,” *AJA* 39 (1935): 76–78; C. Morgan, *Corinth: The Byzantine Pottery*, Corinth 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), no. 1685, pl. LI; A. Frantz, “Digenis Akritas: A Byzantine Epic and Its Illustrations,” *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 87–91; J. Notopoulos, “Akritan Iconography on Byzantine Pottery,” *Hesp* 33 (1964): 108–33; E. Ioannidake-Dostoglou, “Παραστάσεις πολεμιστών και κυνηγών στα βυζαντινά αγγεία,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 36 (1981): 127–38.

<sup>68</sup> These sherds, in the museum housed at St. Demetrios, Mistra, are unpublished.

<sup>69</sup> G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pls. 44.2, 45.3; Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά,” 419. The sculpted centaur has been dated to the 12th century.

<sup>70</sup> J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of the Morea* (Groningen, 1967), 599–622; H. and R. Kahane, “The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence,” *DOP* 36 (1982): 127–54.

<sup>71</sup> *Three Medieval Greek Romances*, trans. G. Betts (New York, 1995), 95.



place of their initial composition. These works include the *War of Troy*, the Greek rendering of Ste.-Maure's text, in which the hero Ajax is called Αἶας τῆς Μῶνης, a topographical reference not found in the French edition.<sup>72</sup> It is only natural to assume that, like the linguistic, the artistic vocabulary could be expanded through contact with Latins in the region.

An isolated cave church near Geraki contains an unusual image that betrays such expansion. The Old Monastery at Vrontamas presents a painted frieze of six military riders (Fig. 12).<sup>73</sup> The frieze, located within the cave on the masonry facade of the church (which also serves as the east wall of the exonarthex), has been dated by N. Drandakes to 1201. The chronology of the frescoes, however, is problematical, and I believe that the paintings of the narthex interior and the facade should be dated later in the thirteenth century.<sup>74</sup> The six saints on the frieze, which include Menas, Eustathios, George, and Niketas, are divided into two groups that face each other in mock tournament.<sup>75</sup> The equestrian confrontation recalls the Western chivalric practice, known to have had its Byzantine admirers. Niketas Choniates describes how the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos jousted with Latin knights in Antioch in 1159: "He carried his lance upright and wore a mantle fastened elegantly over his right shoulder which left the arm free on the side of the brooch. He was borne by a war-horse with a magnificent mane and trappings of gold which raised its neck and reared up on its hind legs as though eager to run a race, rivaling its rider in splendor."<sup>76</sup> The description of the emperor matches the representations of the Byzantine saints mounted on horses that prance above the arched opening to the church. The saints' mantles flow behind their right shoulders, and their spears are held diagonally over their chests or extended in anticipation of the encounter. The representation of a frieze of mounted warriors, like the Nauplion St. George, seems to cross borders. Although jousting was popular among certain Komnenian emperors, it is doubtful that their activities in distant lands directly influenced the tournament scene

<sup>72</sup> E. M. Jeffreys, "Place of Composition," 320. See the discussion on sources in M. Papathomopoulos and E. Jeffreys, *Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος* (Athens, 1996), xli–lxvii.

<sup>73</sup> N. Drandakes, "Το Παλιομοναστήριο του Βρονταμά," *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 43 (1988): 184–85, pls. 66, 97.

<sup>74</sup> Although Drandakes dates the narthex decoration to 1201, the date provided by an inscription on its west wall, I believe that the paintings should be dated later on the basis of their style. It may be possible that the inscription, painted on an added wall that supports the vaulted ceiling of the narthex, copies an earlier text painted on a primary wall associated with the first phase of the church's construction and decoration. Such repainted inscriptions are known in the region. See, for example, inscriptions in the churches of Sts. Theodoroi, Kaphiona and St. Zachariah, Lagia, both in the Mani (N. Drandakes, "Les peintures murales des Saints-Théodores à Kaphiona [Magne du Péloponnèse]," *CahArch* 32 [1984]: 163–65; N. Drandakes et al., "Ἐρευνα στὴν Μάνη," *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* [1978]: 142 n. 2).

<sup>75</sup> Drandakes, "Το Παλιομοναστήριο," 184–85. Adjacent to St. Eustathios, Drandakes observed a small deer, a reference to the vision of the saint. For a second depiction of St. Eustathios in the Morea (St. John the Baptist, Megachora, Epidauros Limera, dated 1282), see Drandakes et al., "Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά," 420. The vision of Eustathios is also represented in St. Kyriake in Keratea in Attica and the church of St. Thekla in Hagia Thekla, Euboia. For collected references to representations of this saint (primarily in Cappadocia), see A. Coumoussi, "Une représentation rare de la vision de saint Eustache dans une église grecque du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *CahArch* 33 (1985): 51–60.

<sup>76</sup> *O City of Byzantium*, 62.

at the isolated Vrontamas cave. Closer to the Morea, Frankish knights engaged in jousting.<sup>77</sup> The French version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* describes the region around Lakedaemona (Sparta) as “une bonne marche pour gens et pour chevaux.”<sup>78</sup>

The Vrontamas frieze is unusual. In general, churches contain only one or two representations of equestrian saints, and they are represented in the lower register of the painted program.<sup>79</sup> We may see the influence of the Crusaders in their pose, their military equipment, and the use of heraldic devices on shields. Let us begin with the pose. In paintings of the Byzantine Morea, the majority of equestrian saints confront serpents, a portrait-type that continues the long-standing representation of holy riders in art of the Christian East. In the Morea, however, the sainted horsemen generally extend their legs forward in their stirrups, according to the Latin fashion (Figs. 9, 10, 13, 15). A number of the equestrian saints are rendered without serpents, in a pose that has been termed “parade format.” This pose is common on personal seals in the West and in icon and monumental painting in the Crusader East (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>80</sup> According to this format, the saint holds a lance-flag aloft or rests his spear on his shoulder with the tip upright; his horse marches with its foreleg raised, as if in military procession. The titular saints in two thirteenth-century churches in the Mani, St. Niketas in Karavas and St. George in Kastania, carry lance-flags, though decorated with a pattern of diamonds forming a cross and rays in place of the red cross on white ground.<sup>81</sup> Painters in the Byzantine Morea commonly represented equestrian saints with their spears held aloft. In the thirteenth-century narthex decoration of Vrontamas, portraits of Niketas and George, with spears uplifted, occupy the east wall (Fig. 13). The saints, who confront each other, were painted by two artists who employed different styles for the faces, although the horses and military costumes may have been painted by a single hand. Niketas is rendered in Byzantine fashion; his face is modeled, and skin tones are layered on an ochre base. The style of the second saint, George, is flatter and resembles the linear treatment of the equestrian St. Sergios on the two Crusader icons at Mount Sinai dated to the late thirteenth century (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>82</sup> The faces possess a limner quality; they are flattened and highlighted by thick lines. The eyes of the saints are articulated in a similar fashion; eyebrows arch from the bridge of the nose to the extended crease of the outer corner of the lid. The hollow of the neck on all the figures is emphasized by a shaded “V.” Like the Sinai figures, the Vrontamas George rides on a white horse; his spear is held across

<sup>77</sup> A contest that was held on the Isthmus of Corinth in 1305 was attended by more than one thousand knights.

<sup>78</sup> Longnon, *Livre de la conquête*, sec. 386.

<sup>79</sup> Three equestrian saints are represented on the north wall of St. Demetrios in Krokees, dated 1286. See N. Drandakes, “Από τῆς τοιχογραφίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Κροκεῶν (1286),” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 12 (1984): 203–7.

<sup>80</sup> For examples of the lance-flag or *gonfanon* on Western seals, see Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Seals,” 332. According to the author, such flags implied military leadership in the feudal army. For the cross banner in monumental painting in the East, see Hunt, “A Woman’s Prayer to St. Sergios,” fig. 5; Dodd, “The Monastery,” fig. 28.

<sup>81</sup> N. Gkioles, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικητῆρα στὸν Καρβά Μῆσα Μάνης,” *Λακ.Σπ.* 7 (1983): 172; N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μεσσηνιακὴ Μάνη,” *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* (1980): 198.

<sup>82</sup> Drandakes, “Το Παλιομονάστηρο,” 176–77, pl. 86b. Drandakes compares the representation of St. George to the Sinai icon of Sergios and Bacchos. The portrait of St. Niketas is not illustrated in his article.

his chest in his right hand; a scabbard is attached to his saddle in place of a quiver; his weight is supported by triangular stirrups; and prick-spurs encircle his ankle. The saint wears the short mail hauberk and the long surcoat of the cavalryman.<sup>83</sup> These common elements suggest that the Vrontamas painter was aware of certain features that have been identified with military imagery in the Crusader East. Once the parade format was adopted in the Morea, it was repeated in a number of smaller churches, some of which may have been decorated by a common workshop. Close to Vrontamas, in St. Nicholas near Geraki (1280–1300), a portrait of St. Demetrios decorates the recessed arch on the north wall.<sup>84</sup> Although the image is damaged, the main lines of the representation are clear: Demetrios carries his spear in his right hand, and his roan horse rears on its hind legs in anticipation of imminent confrontation. Another example of a military saint in parade format is found in the nearby monastery of the Forty Martyrs near Sparta (Fig. 14).<sup>85</sup> The wall paintings of the cave church are dated by one inscription to 1304/5; a second inscription provides the name of the painter (*historiographos*) as Constantine Manasses. In this church, St. Demetrios sits astride a white horse with his spear held across his chest. The saddle has a raised cantle and pommel, features found on the Sinai portraits of Sergios and the images of St. George at Nauplion and St. John Chrysostom, Geraki. In Demetrios' portrait, the saint wears a lamellar hauberk and a long surcoat over ornately patterned leggings. The painter has added an unusual element to the composition—a scarf tied around the horse's head and knotted below its neck.<sup>86</sup> The depiction of equestrian saints in parade format is a departure from the serpent-spearing riders of earlier periods. The courtly display of intricate weaponry and equestrian prowess falls closer to representations that have been termed Crusader.

Details of military costume and equipment also suggest that Byzantine artists in the Morea looked to Crusader fashion. When discussing the two Sinai icons, K. Weitzmann drew attention to the quiver “of decidedly Oriental form and ornament.”<sup>87</sup> He associated the quiver with the Near East and posited a Persian model. In St. Nicholas, Polemitas, St. George wears an object that is similar in shape and occupies the same position as the Sinai quivers (Fig. 10).<sup>88</sup> On closer inspection, the “quiver” is revealed to be a scabbard, although its shape is unusually blunt for the long sword of the equestrian saint (Fig. 11).

<sup>83</sup> For the military costume, see D. C. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350* (New York, 1988); A. Hoffmeyer, “Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid,” *Gladius* 5 (1966): 8–160.

<sup>84</sup> A. Gkiauou (Bakourou), “Ο ναός του Ἁγίου Νικολάου κοντά στο Γεράκι,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 32 (1977): 105–6, pl. 39. Bakourou relates the portrait to the Vrontamas saints.

<sup>85</sup> N. Drandakes, “Τό Παλιομονάστηρο τῶν Ἁγίων Σαράντα στη Λακεδαίμονα καί τό ἀσκηταριό του,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 16 (1992): 125, fig. 19. In his analysis of the portrait, Drandakes observes that the work is reminiscent of a portable icon. Yet another saint in parade format is found in the church of St. Niketas in Karavas in the Mani, dated 1270–90. See Gkioles, “Ο ναός του Ἁγ. Νικήτα,” 172–73, pl. 3a.

<sup>86</sup> For a similar detail, a red scarf on a white horse, see the church of the Virgin at Rustika, Crete, dated 1381–82 (M. Bissinger, *Kreta: Byzantinische Wandmalerei* [Munich, 1995], fig. 150). In this church, it is George's horse who wears the ornamental scarf. In the church of St. Paraskeve, in St. Andreas (Epidauros Limerá), dated to the second quarter of the 15th century, Demetrios' horse has a scarf around the neck. See N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στήν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά,” *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* (1983): pl. 170b.

<sup>87</sup> Weitzmann, “Icon Painting,” 71.

<sup>88</sup> Another church containing an equestrian saint with a quiver will be published by A. Bakourou.

George does carry a case that contains both bow and arrows, but it is an added detail on the left side of the saddle. It appears that the artist, in copying a work similar to the Sinai icons, must have misunderstood the shape and function of the quiver. Like the rendering of saints in parade format, the inclusion of a quiver suggests the infiltration of artistic details from beyond the Morea.

The last detail that remains for discussion is the use of heraldic symbols to express the political and religious allegiance of the saint. Such markings must have become increasingly necessary as Latins and Greeks pressed claims on the same corps of saints. At Nauplion, the portrait of St. George was painted by a local, Orthodox artist, who identified the saint as a Latin by painting a specific badge on his shield, a red cross on a white ground (Fig. 3). A number of Orthodox saints in the Morea carry shields marked by insignia, perhaps in imitation of the Latin custom. In the West, the knights' seals regularly incorporated such heraldic devices to establish identity.<sup>89</sup> As Florent of Hainault's shield demonstrates, the Latin rulers of the Morea followed this practice (Fig. 6). The typical badge of the Orthodox saint in this region is formed of a crescent moon and star. The motif appears in several churches in Geraki and in two churches in nearby Epidaurus Limera.<sup>90</sup> The earliest church in the Morea to include a saint holding a shield marked by the crescent and star may be St. John Chrysostom, which has been dated on the basis of style to ca. 1300, some forty years following the return of Geraki to Byzantium (Fig. 9). The north wall of the church presents a unique juxtaposition of two shields in superimposed scenes that are opposite the entrance. In the vault above the portrait of St. George, the scene of the Women at the Tomb forms part of the narrative cycle.<sup>91</sup> In the lower right corner of the scene is a group of sleeping soldiers (Fig. 15). The shield of one of the soldiers is decorated with a small castle, a well-known symbol in the region. The reverse sides of contemporaneous Frankish coins minted in the Morea feature the *castle tournois*, a schematic rendering of a Latin castle consisting of a central turret flanked by two smaller towers.<sup>92</sup> Through the use of this motif, the Roman soldiers are associated with Latins; the coat of arms that marks the shield is identified with the Frankish *denier tournois*, the local replacement of the debased Byzantine currency. The shield of the equestrian St. George is also marked with a badge, though comprised of a crescent and star. Two sets of scholars have attempted to trace the origins of this motif on the shields of Orthodox military saints, and a convincing argument has been made for its association

<sup>89</sup> Bedos Rezak, "Medieval Seals," 340–48.

<sup>90</sup> In Geraki: St. John Chrysostom (ca. 1300); St. George (14th century); St. Athanasios (14th century); Taxiarchs (15th century?). The later churches of Geraki are being redated by J. Papageorgiou. For images of saints in Geraki whose shields are marked by the crescent and star, see N. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, *Le croissant grec* (Athens, 1988), figs. 5–8, 24. For the chapel of the Taxiarchs, traditionally dated to the 13th century, see R. Traquair, "Laconia: The Fortresses," *BSA* 12 (1905–6): 266; M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," *CorsiRav* (1975): 347; M. Soteriou, "Η πρώιμος παλαιολόγειος αναγέννησις εις τὰς χώρας καὶ τὰς νήσους τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὸν 13ον αἰῶνα," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 4 (1964–65): 264–65. In Epidaurus Limera: St. Eustratios, Pharaklos (ca. 1400); St. George Babylas, Lachi (mid-14th century). See Drandakes et al., "Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά," 436, 447.

<sup>91</sup> Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, 12. Based on the symbols decorating their helmets and their facial features, Moutsopoulos has identified the warriors as Mongols. See N. K. Moutsopoulos, "Στυνικό ιδεόγραμμα σε τοιχογραφία του Γερακίου," *Byzantiaka* 18 (1998): 15–31.

<sup>92</sup> D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1983), 70–77, pls. 30–33.

with coins minted in Constantinople, especially an anonymous bronze follis of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).<sup>93</sup> This coin, decorated with a cross on crescent, has been found in large numbers in excavations at Corinth and Athens.<sup>94</sup> The use of the motif for the painted shield of military saints in churches of the Morea may evoke the memory of the last powerful Byzantine dynasty to reign before Villehardouin came ashore at Methone. The Geraki painter juxtaposed motifs borrowed from Byzantine and Frankish coinage in order to identify Orthodox and Latin warriors. In a period in which numismatic imagery carried powerful associations, it is significant that coin motifs were used as signifiers of political allegiance. In the church of St. George in the *kastro* of Geraki, painted after St. John Chrysostom, the painter also combined the mark of the Latins with that of the Greeks, but here on the shield of a single figure, the standing St. George (Fig. 16). At the top of the shield is the crescent and star, identical to that found in the church of St. John Chrysostom. At the bottom of the shield is the checkered coat of arms of the Frankish lords of Geraki, a sign that was carved above the entrance to the church and also decorates the apex of the stone *proskynetarion* in the north aisle of the church. What did it mean for the artist to combine these two symbols on a single shield? Andreas and Judith Stylianou suggest that the combination reflects the “forced and uneasy co-existence of the new conquerors and the conquered.”<sup>95</sup> But the composition was painted decades after Geraki had been ceded to Byzantium. The combination of Orthodox and Latin emblems on the shield of St. George may simply acknowledge the absorption of the church’s Latin identity into the newly painted Orthodox program. The incorporation of coats of arms and other insignia into Orthodox painting reveals an awareness of heraldic devices, and may signal their acceptance and adoption by Byzantine artists and patrons in emulation of their Latin neighbors. The insignia established an identity for the equestrian saints and marked political boundaries.

Related in style to the representations that have been discussed in the Morea, the equestrian St. George in the Nauplion gatehouse was painted for a Latin patron. The hybrid image demonstrates that both Latins and Greeks could employ the same artistic vocabulary to assert their ethnicity and to proclaim their religious and cultural heritage. The equestrian saint, whether as a single portrait or as part of a frieze of galloping horsemen, seems to have been an image that was capable of crossing cultural barriers. Only a mark on the shield or a costume detail might differentiate St. George of the Latins from St. George of the Orthodox.

Monumental painting in the Morea, as in all lands held by the Crusaders, engages in several polemical dialogues to which we should be attentive. In the practical representa-

<sup>93</sup> A. and J. Stylianou, “A Cross inside a Crescent on the Shield of St. George, Wall-Painting in the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou, Cyprus,” *Κυπρ.Σπ.* 26 (1982): 133–40; Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Le croissant grec*.

<sup>94</sup> The coin is typed as Class J of the anonymous folles of the period. See A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 3.2 (Washington, D.C., 1973), pl. LVIII/J.3. For the Athenian Agora, see M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1954), 111, 114–15. For Corinth, most recently, see C. K. Williams, II and O. Zervos, “Frankish Corinth: 1995,” *Hesp* 65 (1996): 48. In the 1995 season alone, three Class J folles of Alexios I were recovered (Corinth inv. nos. 95–12, 14, 41). For the typology of this coin, see A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (New York, 1928).

<sup>95</sup> Stylianou, “A Cross inside a Crescent,” 138.

tion of the holiest figures of Orthodoxy and narrative scenes painted as guides to moral behavior and ecclesiastical rite, the paintings depend on the ideological underpinnings of the Byzantine Empire. The representation of equestrian saints was linked to a long tradition of depicting mounted warriors for apotropaic and protective purposes. The recognition of the saints linked the faithful to a heritage of church and empire. But a new manner of representation gave coherence to a sense of national identity that had been challenged by the Latin occupation and may even betray a grudging admiration for Latin overlords that is often absent in historical sources. The depiction of equestrian saints affirmed boundaries based on political and religious grounds, but also signaled that the Byzantines could look beyond the boundaries. The rhetorical appeal of these paintings to the medieval viewer was thus complex: they served to unite the faithful and, paradoxically, to link them to the artistic and cultural production of their foreign overlords. Through a common mode of representation, Latins and Greeks, whether patrons or painters, were able to exchange artistic styles and compositional formulae. Whether these styles and formulae were borrowed directly from Western models, such as seals and coins that circulated in the region, or whether they were filtered through Crusader art of the East, such as icons, remains an open question. Artistic symbiosis, best viewed in the image of the equestrian saint, places the Morea in the midst of a number of Mediterranean locations where indigenous populations were confronted by Crusader overlords and where hybrid art forms arose from the interaction of two, and perhaps more, cultures.

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## Appendix

### Equestrian Saints in Byzantine Churches of the Morea according to Published Sources

See the map in the plate section for locations.

- 1 St. Mamas, Karavas Kounou, Mani, 1232  
North wall: St. Theodore?  
(N. Drandakes, N. Gkioles, and C. Konstantinide, “Έρευνα στὴ Λακωνικὴ Μάνη,” *Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* [1981]: 255; C. Konstantinide, “Ὁ Ἅγιος Μάμας στὸν Καραβᾶ Κούνου Μέσα Μάνης,” *Λακ.Σπ.* 10 [1990]: 153)
- 2 Sts. Kosmas, Damianos, and Theodota, Kerpoula, Mani, 1265  
North wall: St. Niketas  
(N. Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Μέσα Μάνης* [Athens, 1995], 336, fig. 35)
- 3 Sts. Theodoroi, Kaphiona, Mani, 1263/64  
North wall: St. Theodore Stratelates  
(N. Drandakes, “Les peintures murales des Saints-Théodores à Kaphiona [Magne du Péloponnèse],” *CahArch* 32 [1984]: 170–71; Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 92, figs. 21, 25)
- 4 Hagios Strategos, Ano Boularioi, Mani, 1274/75 (second layer)  
Northwest compartment: St. George  
Narthex, north wall: St. George  
(Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 458, 466, figs. 19, 78)
- 5 St. Niketas, Karavas Kounou, Mani, 1270–90  
North wall: St. Niketas  
North wall: St. Demetrios  
(Drandakes, Gkioles, and Konstantinide, “Έρευνα στὴ Λακωνικὴ Μάνη,” 258; N. Gkioles, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικήτα στὸν Καραβᾶ Μέσα Μάνης,” *Λακ.Σπ.* 7 [1983]: 172–73, pl. 3a)



- 6 St. Theodore, Tsopaka, Mani, 1275–1300  
South wall: St. Theodore  
North wall: Unidentified saint (George?)  
(N. Drandakes, “Ο Άγιος Θεόδωρος στὸν Τσόπακα τῆς Μάνης,”  
*Πελοποννησιακά* 16 [1985–86]: 252–53, fig. 15; Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 49–51, fig. 18)
  
- 7 St. Nicholas near Geraki, Lakonia, 1280–1300  
North wall: St. Demetrios  
(A. Gkiaoure [Bakourou], “Ο ναός τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου κοντὰ στὸ Γεράκι,”  
*Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 32 [1977]: 105–6, pl. 39)
  
- 8 St. John the Baptist, Kato Kastania, Epidaurous Limera, 1282  
West wall: St. Eustathios  
(N. Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρὰ,” *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.*  
[1982]: 420)
  
- 9 St. Demetrios Krokees, 1286  
North wall (east to west): Sts. Demetrios, George, Theodore  
(N. Drandakes, “Ἀπὸ τίς τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Κροκεῶν  
(1286),” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 12 [1984]: 203–7)
  
- 10 Palaiomonastero, Vrontamas, Lakonia, thirteenth century  
Narthex exterior: Frieze of six equestrian saints (left to right: Sts. Theodore [?],  
Theodore [?], Niketas, George, Eustathios Plakidas, Menas)  
Narthex, east wall: St. George, St. Niketas  
(N. Drandakes, “Τὸ Παλιομονάστηρο τοῦ Βρονταμά,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 43 [1988]:  
176–77, 184–85, pls. 66, 86b, 97)
  
- 11 St. George, Keria, Mani, thirteenth century  
St. George  
(N. Drandakes, “Ἐρευναι εἰς τὴν Μάνην,” *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* [1974]: 128)
  
- 12 Hermitage of St. Nikon, Trypi, Lakonia, second half of thirteenth century  
South wall: St. Demetrios  
(K. Diamanti, “Τὸ ἀσκηταριὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νίκωνα στὴν Τρύπη,” *Λακ.Σπ.* 9  
[1988]: 351–52, fig. 3)
  
- 13 St. John the Baptist, Zoupena (Hagioi Anargyroi), Lakonia, late thirteenth  
century  
St. George (?) on white horse  
(N. Drandakes, “Ο σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Ἁι-Γιαννάκη στὴ Ζούπενα,”  
*Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 13 [1985–86]: 89, fig. 21)

- 14 Holy Asomatoi, North Church, Phlomochori, Mani, late thirteenth century  
North wall: Two confronted equestrian saints  
(N. Drandakes, E. Dore, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,”  
Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ. [1978]: 145)
  
- 15 St. Nicholas in Skaltsotianika, Mani, late thirteenth century  
North wall: St. George “τροπαι[ο]φόρος”  
South wall: St. Niketas  
(Drandakes, Dore, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” 149)
  
- 16 St. Nicholas, Pakia, Lakonia, late thirteenth century  
North wall: St. George  
West wall: Two equestrian saints  
(S. Koukaiars, “Δύο βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ στὰ Πάκια Λακωνίας,” Λακ. Σπ. 10  
[1990]: 181, 194)
  
- 17 St. Nicholas, Geraki, Lakonia, late thirteenth century  
North wall: St. Demetrios, St. George  
(N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, Γεράκι. Οἱ ἐκκλησίες τοῦ  
οἰκισμοῦ [Thessaloniki, 1981], 56)
  
- 18 St. George, Kastania, Mani, late thirteenth century  
North wall: St. George  
(N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μεσσηνιακὴ  
Μάνη,” Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ. [1980]: 198)
  
- 19 St. Marina, Agios Phokas (Voutama), Epidaurus Limera, ca. 1300  
North wall: St. George  
(Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρὰ,” 405)
  
- 20 St. Nicholas near Kitta, Mani, ca. 1300  
South wall: Unidentified saint  
(N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,”  
Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ. [1979]: 186)
  
- 21 St. John Chrysostom, Geraki, Lakonia, ca. 1300  
North wall: St. George  
(Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, Γεράκι, 40–42, figs. 5, 65, 66)
  
- 22 St. Paraskeve (Sts. Theodoroi), Pyrgos Dirou, Mani, ca. 1300  
North wall: Multiple representations of Theodores  
(Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” 168, pls. 121, 122)

- 23 Forty Martyrs, Lakedaemona, 1304/5  
Cave wall: St. Demetrios  
(N. Drandakes, “Τό Παλιομονάστηρο τῶν Ἁγίων Σαράντα στή Λακεδαίμονα καί τό ἀσκηταριό του,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 16 [1991–92]: 125, fig. 19)
- 24 Taxiarches or Ai-Loukas “στοῦ Καλοῦ,” Mani, 1300–1320  
South wall: St. George  
North wall: St. Theodore  
(Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στή Μάνη,” 160–61, pl. 116b)
- 25 St. George, Geraki, Lakonia, fourteenth century  
North wall: St. George  
Unpublished
- 26 St. Nicholas, Polemitas, Mani, fourteenth century  
North wall: St. George  
(Drandakes, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, 147)
- 27 St. Sophia, Langada, Mani, early fourteenth century  
North wall: St. Demetrios  
South wall: St. George  
(C. Konstantinide, “Ὁ ναός τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας στή Λαγκάδα τῆς Ἐξω Μάνης,” *Λακ.Σπ.* 6 [1982]: 118)
- 28 St. Theodore or St. Nikon, Pyrgos Dirou, Mani, early fourteenth century  
West wall: St. Demetrios  
(Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στή Μάνη,” 174)
- 29 St. George Babylos, Lachi, Epidauros Limera, mid-fourteenth century  
Narthex, north wall: St. George “(Ο) (ΚΑΠΠΑ)ΔΟΚ(ΗΣ)”  
(Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στήν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά,” 447)
- 30 St. Eustratios, Pharaklos, Epidauros Limera, ca. 1400  
South blind arch: St. Demetrios  
North blind arch: St. George  
(Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στήν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά,” 436, pls. 244a)
- 31 Ai-Sideros, Pyrgos Dirou, Mani, early fifteenth century  
North wall: St. George “ΔΗΑΣΟΡΙΤΗΣ”  
South wall: Theodore Stratelates  
(Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στή Μάνη,” 175–76)

- 32 Ai-Strates, St. Andreas, Epidauros Limera, ca. 1430  
East wall: St. George  
(S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Eine unbekannte spätbyzantinische Kirche in Lakonien: H. Strates bei der Siedlung Hagios Andreas," in *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Restle [Munich, 1988], 159, fig. 7)
- 33 St. Nicholas, Platsa, Mani, fifteenth century  
North aisle, north wall: St. George  
(D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* [Athens, 1975], 35)
- 34 St. Paraskeve, St. Andreas, Epidauros Limera, ca. 1430  
West blind arch: St. Demetrios  
(S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Ein monument im Despotat von Morea: Die Kirche der Hagia Paraskeve bei der Siedlung Hagios Andreas," *Studies in the Mediterranean World Past and Present* 11 [1988]: 177–205; Drandakes et al., "Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρᾶ," 215, pls. 170b)

