

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XIII

THE PROVINCE STRIKES BACK
IMPERIAL DYNAMICS
IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

edited by
Björn Forsén and Giovanni Salmeri

HELSINKI 2008

© Suomen Ateenan-Instituutin säätiö (Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens),
Helsinki 2008

ISSN 1237-2684

ISBN 978-951-98806-8-6

Printed in Finland by Ekenäs Tryckeri.

Cover: James Skene, *The Parthenon from the southeast*, 1838. Watercolour on paper
(Museum of the City of Athens, Vouros – Eutaxias).

Layout: Vesa Vahtikari

Contents

Preface		i
Björn Forsén and Giovanni Salmeri	<i>Ideology and Practice of Empire</i>	1
Vincent Gabrielsen	<i>Provincial Challenges to the Imperial Centre in Achaemenid and Seleucid Asia Minor</i>	15
Cédric Brélaz	<i>Maintaining Order and Exercising Justice in the Roman Provinces of Asia Minor</i>	45
Suraiya Faroghi	<i>Local Elites and Government Intervention in the Province of Anadolu</i>	65
Angelos Chaniotis	<i>What Difference Did Rome Make? The Cretans and the Roman Empire</i>	83
Maria Georgopoulou	<i>Crete between the Byzantine and Venetian Empires</i>	107
Antonis Anastasopoulos	<i>Centre–Periphery Relations: Crete in the Eighteenth Century</i>	123
Giovanni Salmeri	<i>Empire and Collective Mentality: The Transformation of eutaxia from the Fifth Century BC to the Second Century AD</i>	137
John Haldon	<i>Provincial Elites, Central Authorities: Problems in Fiscal and Military Management in the Byzantine State</i>	157
Björn Forsén	<i>Empires and Migrational Trends: The Case of Roman and Ottoman Greece</i>	187
Ilias Arnaoutoglou	<i>‘διά δόξαν ἐκείνων καὶ κλέος τοῦ ἔθνους’ The Philomousos Society of Athens and Antiquities</i>	201
List of Contributors		215

Crete between the Byzantine and Venetian Empires

Maria Georgopoulou

The island of Crete during the Venetian period constitutes an interesting case for the exploration of issues of transference of cultural and political forms from the mother city to a distant colony and the formation of a maritime empire. The Venetians ruled Crete for four and half centuries (1211-1669) during which the island, a crucial possession for strategic, geographic, military, and commercial reasons, saw a distinct if gradual incorporation into the commonwealth of the Venetian Empire. Long before the Venetian Empire extended on the Italian peninsula (*Terraferma*) it had reached distant lands far away from Venice (*Oltremare*). Connected through a network of maritime routes traveled by convoys of commercial galleys¹ and governed by officials who lived in the colonies for short periods of time (two years as a rule for the governor of Crete called *duca di Candia*), the Venetian Empire resembled in some aspects the early modern Empires of the British and French and in some other aspects the Roman Empire.

In this chapter I explore the ways in which certain architectural and urban features of the mother city were replicated in the colony in order to forge political and cultural associations with the mother city. While in many instances of modern colonization there was a violent imposition of the 'national' traditions of the metropolis, which undermined and often obliterated the local heritage of each colony, the Venetian colonies exemplify a different pattern: an exchange of cultural forms that allowed the colonizers to maintain a smooth transition from the former Byzantine to the new Venetian hegemony. Rather than impose totally new configurations in the urban space but also in many other aspects of the colonial administration,² the Venetian colonists reused the existing urban structure of the city where they planted some new edifices associated with the new regime on the island. The central public spaces were renamed to fit the exigencies of Venetian rule but the city continued to work according to the old customs so as not to disrupt the character of the urban space. Gradually, new associations were formed and by the middle of the fifteenth century the urban space was literally and symbolically related to the mother city.

Colony or province

Before moving into my central argument, I will explore the notion of colony in the context of Venetian Crete. According to Webster's dictionary a 'colony' refers to "a body of people settled in a new territory, foreign and often distant, retaining ties with their motherland or mother state". The terms of colony and province had a distinct juridical meaning in the Roman period; given that late medieval Venice saw itself as an heir to the Roman Empire it is important to explore these notions in their medieval reincarnation.

The Roman Empire was constituted during the many centuries it lasted by a varying number of provinces (*provinciae*), i.e. a more or less remote region brought under

¹ Lane 1973, 67-85; Stöckly 1995.

² Maltezou 1995.

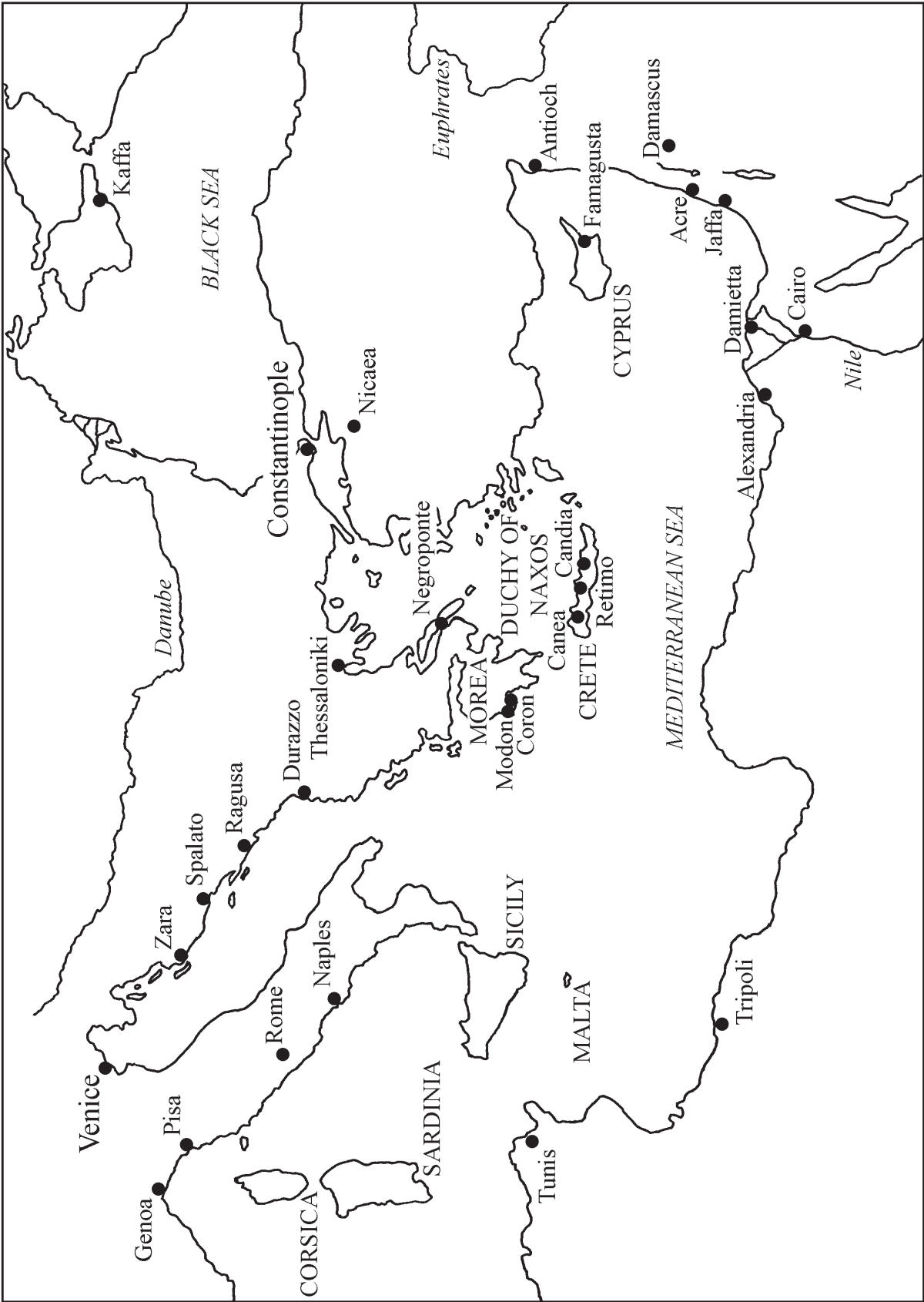


Fig. 1. The Venetian colonies in the Mediterranean context.

the control of the Roman government, while the word colony (*colonia*),³ which would have had a great fortune between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, was used to indicate a specific type of settlement far from the city, founded by public act. In the Republican period it consisted of Roman citizens who went there voluntarily retaining their citizenship and rights, and had a regular organization by the parent state and laws that regulated it. Old Roman colonies were often garrisons planted in conquered towns, and the colonists had a portion of the conquered territory assigned to them. Whether founded to control hostile populations on enemy territory, to send off unwanted persons, to increase the population or to provide land for veterans as Sigonius states in the sixteenth century, a *colonia* was a part of the Roman state, and was itself a *res publica*.⁴ The old inhabitants retained part of their land and lived together with the new settlers, who alone composed the proper colony. The conquered people must at first have been quite a distinct class from, and inferior to, the colonists.⁵ Their condition is not easy to define. They were not Roman citizens, nor yet were they *socii*; it appears also to be clearly proved by numerous instances that the condition of the conquered people among whom a colony was established, was not originally always the same; something depended on the resistance of the people, and the temper of the Romans, at the time of the conquest or surrender.

Here it is not possible to follow the lines along which the term and notion of colony, used by the Romans in the case of single cities having a special status in Italy or in the provinces, came to be used to indicate regions and countries belonging to the British and French in the early modern period, but we need to offer a brief discussion of Crete as a colony of the Venetians since it has been most often considered as such.⁶ Fairly recently Sally McKee has presented Venetian Crete as “the premier example of pre-modern colonization”, and has stressed the successful bureaucratic apparatus through salaried agents that kept the distant territory in check stating parallels in medieval Genoa, Aragon, Castile and England.⁷

The official document that dispatched colonists to Crete in 1211, the *Concessio insulae Cretensis*, does not use the term colony and the settlers are simply described as *milites* and *pedites*, terms that refer to their obligations in the settlement of Crete.⁸ Lorenzo de Monacis, who had served as Venetian chancellor on Crete (1388-1428), in his chronicle of Venice refers to the island as “*colonia Venetorum*”,⁹ whereas in the sixteenth century the island is referred to as *regno di Candia* from the name of the capital city of the island, which was the seat of the Venetian governor. The chronicler Antonio Calergi presents Roman colonization as the best way to “maintain the loyalty of the people and the subjugated cities”.¹⁰ In fact, he introduces the Venetian colonization of Crete as a

³ Salmon 1969; Laffi 2003.

⁴ Sigonius 1560.

⁵ The definition of *coloniae* by Gellius (16.13) – “[...] ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt”; “populi Romani [...] quasi effigies parvae simulacraque” – stresses this. It can be noted that, when speaking of Roman settlements in the north of Italy, Strabo remarks (5.1.10) that the ancient names of the places were retained, and that though the people in his time were all Roman, they were called by the names of the previous occupiers of the land.

⁶ The most influential book on the Venetian colonization of Byzantine lands after the Fourth Crusade is Thiriet 1959.

⁷ McKee 2000, 5, 9-18.

⁸ Tafel and Thomas 1856-57, II, 129-136.

⁹ Lorenzo de Monacis 1758, 153 (book 9). The same term appears in Cornaro 1755, II, 226.

¹⁰ Calergi, 699-702.

continuation of antique Roman practices, which he describes in this way: “I Romani... subito che Cittade alcuna era nella loro potesta venuta illetto quel numero de’ suoi, che pareva loro bassevole, ne gli mandavano ad habitare. Et questi erano chiamati colonie” (the Romans...as soon as a city came under their jurisdiction, they elected a number of their own people that seemed sufficient, and they sent them to inhabit [the city]. And these were called colonies). Accordingly, the island of Crete will be presented as a colony and not as a province in the following pages.

The historical context

Following the Fourth Crusade of 1204 Venice established its control over a large network of Mediterranean cities and islands which had formerly belonged to the Byzantine Empire: Zara, Ragusa/Dubrovnik, Durazzo on the Dalmatian and Albanian coast, Modon and Coron in the Peloponnese, Crete, and Euboea in the Aegean to name only a few (Fig. 1).¹¹ Venetian emporia (commercial bases) were set in the Levant from Constantinople to Alexandria. The term that the Venetians used to designate their maritime empire, the *Oltremare*, stresses the distance between Venice and its colonies along the coast of the Adriatic, the Ionian, and the Aegean Seas. On the other hand, in its political, administrative, and architectural organization Venetian Candia resembled to some extent the mother city as a Venetian Senator claimed in 1455 (*considerando quod civitas Candide est alia civitas Venetiarum apud Levantem*) in order to urge the authorities of Venetian Crete to take measures for the cleanliness of the city.¹²

I have already argued¹³ that the colonies of Venice played a vital role in the very formation of the identity of the city. Whereas until recently the study of the relations between Venetian and Byzantine culture was confined to Venice and Constantinople and neglected the rest of the Venetian and Byzantine commonwealth,¹⁴ the continual exchange and transfer of cultural forms from the metropolis to the colonies and vice versa should alert us to the fact that the colonies should not be seen as passive receivers of culture but rather as active participants in the formation of a culture of empire. Indeed, the dominion of Venice cast its net widely: it incorporated customs, practices, and forms peculiar to the colonies directly into the heart of the metropolis. Thus, the inquiry into the architectural styles in Venice and its colonies proves a slippery ground as it drifts between the familiar and the foreign: was Venice’s Byzantine façade a result of the colonial experience? Was there in the minds of the people a clear, meaningful distinction between ‘Byzantine’ (i.e. Eastern, Christian Orthodox, Greek) and ‘Gothic’ (i.e. Western, Latin Catholic, Venetian) forms? Finally, how were the colonies constructed in the rhetoric of the Venetian regime and in the minds of the colonists living in the *Oltremare*?

¹¹ On the Fourth Crusade and the fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire see R. de Clari, ed. Lauer 1924; Carile 1965; Nicol 1988, 149-50.

¹² This phrase was used in a discussion on Crete at the Venetian Senate in 1455, see Thiriet 1958-61, III, 205-206, no. 2994.

¹³ Georgopoulou 2001.

¹⁴ See for example the preface to Nicol 1988, viii, where we read that a book on diplomatic and cultural relations cannot make extensive use of documents concerning trade and commercial interests. Nicol writes: “The book might have been entitled *Constantinople and Venice*. But this would have obscured the fact that Constantinople was the hub of the wheel of a wider world which the Venetians half admired and half despised, and which in the end they sought to appropriate, to exploit it for their own profit and honour”.



Fig. 2. Candia/Herakleion, *platea* (Liontaria).

Thinking about all this in a post-colonial frame of mind, it is not difficult to construct models concerning the architecture of empire and the overwhelming power that urbanistic and architectural associations with the metropolis had on the fabric of the colony. Indeed, numerous examples of urbanistic and architectural choices on the part of the Venetian authorities confirm schemes that have been observed in modern imperial configurations.¹⁵

It is fortuitous that a recent work on Cnossos, the only Roman colony on Crete, established in the 20s BC, offers us a model that allows us to appreciate the process of colonization by the Venetians in the thirteenth century. Rebecca Sweetman presents the formation of the Roman colony as a gradual process, one that retains parts of the local culture and eventually makes the colony a part of the Roman Empire in a globalization scheme whose ultimate effects cannot be seen until almost 100 years after the foundation.¹⁶ This view questions static notions of colonization and offers a paradigm that proposes a model of “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding”.¹⁷ It also allows for issues of agency to be dealt with and puts the question of intentionality-unintentionality into discussion as well as that of diversity of reactions across an empire.¹⁸ All this fits well with what happened during the time of Venetian presence on Crete.

Crete was contested by the Genoese and the Venetians who, in 1211, managed to take control of the island. One of the first acts of Venice was to send settlers to the region around Chandax, a city that they renamed Candia, modern Herakleion. More settlers came from Venice in the course of the thirteenth century to colonize other parts of the is-

¹⁵ Among the evergrowing literature on the topic, see indicatively Celik 1997; Crinson 1996; Metcalf 1989; Mitchell 1988; Prochaska 1990; Wright 1991.

¹⁶ Sweetman 2007.

¹⁷ Waters 1995, 3 (in Sweetman 2007, 65).

¹⁸ Sweetman 2007, 66.



Fig. 3. Plan of the *platea* and the old city of Candia, Christoforo Buondelmonti, *Descriptio insulae Candiae*, c. 1419 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 29.42, c.17 [1429]). By permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Italy.

land. They were given agricultural estates and were expected to keep a house in the cities, which were the seat of government and became the sole places with a numerous Latin population. Of their original residences and governmental palaces little remains, but many of the churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are still standing and give us valuable information on building practices at the beginning of Venetian rule. Until the sixteenth century there was no standing army and the

defense of the island relied on these settlers/colonists who were referred to as knights (*milites*) and sergeants (*pedites*) according to the extent of their landholdings.

After a rough first century dotted with numerous revolts on the part of the Greek landowners, Venetians and Greeks found a *modus vivendi* and the island became actively involved in the culture of the Venetian Empire while allowed to keep many of its Byzantine traditions and individual traits, including its Orthodox faith albeit curtailed from the central Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical hierarchy. I have already argued that the deep knowledge that the Venetians had of Byzantium and its culture was partly due to the long cohabitation of Venetians and Greeks on Crete, where many Byzantine traditions were appropriated and from where some Cretan/Byzantine customs were transferred to Venice.¹⁹

The Piazza San Marco

My aim in this section is to explore the potential of cultural symbols to foster new power relationships when reused in different political situations by looking at the symbolic architectural trappings used in the establishment of the colony of Crete. Special attention will be paid to the space in front of the church of St. Mark, called *platea* and later piazza San Marco, as it was recreated in Candia/Herakleion (Figs. 2, 3, 6), the capital city of Crete. This highly charged space was key to creating an effective monumental language of empire on overseas territories; similar foci of imperial power existed, however, in almost all Venetian colonies. Its formal characteristics, linguistic designations, and the civic rituals held therein will be studied in order to explore the degree to which the

¹⁹ This process widened the Republic's cultural horizon and offered her novel ideas on how to deal with situations at home especially in three areas: the cult of the patron saint of Crete/Venice, the rituals centering on icons of the Virgin, and the establishment of a segregated Jewish quarter, see Georgopoulou 2001.



Fig. 4. Gentile Bellini, *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria*, 1509 (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera).

architectural profile of the metropolis left distinct traces in this constructed image of the colonial/imperial space.

In and of itself such a resemblance is not unique. What is peculiar in the case of the Venetian Empire is the *flexibility* that the colonists had in 'reproducing' a space by incorporating certain of its main features. This similarity could be as vague as the mere presence of a Venetian consul and church (often dedicated to St. Mark), as fictitious as an imaginary view of Alexandria painted by Gentile Bellini in 1509 (Fig. 4), or as deep and complex as an actual imitation of the central public spaces in Venice (Fig. 5). What will become apparent by the end of this section is that the Venetian colonists



Fig. 5. Venice, Piazza San Marco, view.

did not necessarily reproduce architectural forms but rather topographical arrangements and names of monuments. Thus, the replication of urban features of the mother city in the colonies had to do with semantics and symbolic representations rather than with the reproduction of buildings.

Until 1204 Venetian emporia in the Levant shared a number of features: a Latin church to promote the official religion of the Venetian settlers and serve their liturgical needs – obviously different from the rite of the locals, a palace/administrative building, a warehouse (*fondaco*), and a communal oven. A public loggia (*loza* or *lobia*) was often included in the colonial privileges secured by Venetians in the East. The establishment of Venice's Empire formalized the arrangement of these structures. Foremost among Venetian sites recreated in the colonies was the church of St. Mark and the open space in front of it – the Piazza San Marco – which replicated Venice's main square if not in form at least in name, organization, and usage. To set the stage, I first look at the Piazza San Marco in Venice, then move to an investigation of the same space in Candia and to an analysis of the individual monuments that defined the space.

Saint Mark had a close, almost personal association with the doge that was brilliantly expressed in the ducal chapel in Venice: in the metropolis the basilica of San Marco was connected to the ducal palace and the ceremonial of the church centered on the appearances of the doge and his retinue.²⁰ By the beginning of the thirteenth century the ducal chapel of San Marco had become a symbol of the magnificence of the Republic. The Piazza San Marco was a landmark of Venice as it was unique in size, regularity, and monumentality among Italian cities. The Venetian piazza was more regular and at least ¼ larger than other piazzas in Italy (Bologna, Florence, Siena, Vicenza).²¹ Even before the sixteenth century when Jacopo Sansovino regularized the boundaries of the piazza, the church of San Marco, the Gothic Palazzo Ducale, and numerous private houses belonging to the Procurators of San Marco were not heterogeneous but boasted the dual heritage of the city: a Latin Christian religious affiliation vis-à-vis a strong cultural kinship with Orthodox Byzantium. Obviously the Venetians were trying to emulate Constantinople, the most glorious of medieval cities in the Mediterranean at this period, with its great esplanades surrounded by porticoes: the *Augustaion*, the forum of Constantine, and that of Theodosius were surrounded by porticoes (*emboloi*) which were in use until the fifteenth century. The use of the Piazza San Marco was also almost imperial with its display of spoils and its ritual activities.

Dedicating a chapel to the patron saint of the Republic was a long established method to mark the presence of Venetians on foreign soil. Such chapels were established in Acre, Tyre, Constantinople, Palermo and Beirut in the twelfth century. The Genoese and Pisans did it as well. Obviously in theory the basilicas of the Venetians were related to the original church of St. Mark in Alexandria, but in fact the basilica in Venice was a replica of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and not of the inconspicuous martyr-

²⁰ The importance accorded by the Venetian Republic to Saint Mark and the saint's critical role in the construction of the "myth" of Venice has been the object of numerous studies. For an extensive bibliography, see Sinding-Larsen 1974; Muir 1981.

²¹ It covers an area of 12,100 square meters whereas the others are barely 9,500 square meters. More new buildings were built in Venice (seven or ten) whereas in Bologna, Parma there were six and usually three or four (Brescia, Padova, Verona, Vicenza). See Schultz 1992-93. The central square of most Italian cities was surrounded by heterogeneous edifices belonging to many different owners and did not command a large expansive space, e.g. Siena's piazza del Campo or the two piazzas delle Erbe and della Frutta in Padova.

ium of St. Mark in Alexandria. In the newly established colonies after the Fourth Crusade we hear of a church of St. Mark on the island of Euboea in 1209, in Candia in 1239, in other cities in Crete a bit later, and the cathedral of Curzola in Dalmatia even later in the thirteenth century.²²

There are no traces of the cult of Saint

Mark in Traù, Spalato, Sebenico, Ragusa, or Zara, but a trace can be found in the small peninsula in the bay of Spalato, the borgo of Venezia Piccola with a small church of St. Mark.²³ In Durazzo, Corinth, Thebes, Abydos, Almyros, and Rodostos the Venetians had churches dedicated to different saints.²⁴ Most of these churches were administered by priors who in addition to their spiritual and religious activities also administered the possessions of the church, often supervised the weights and measures that were kept within the church, and acted as notaries or agents of Venetians abroad especially in the case of death.²⁵ Clearly the church of St. Mark and its keeper played a highly political role in the colonies.

Despite the similarities in name, very little in the outlook of the spaces opening in front of the churches of St. Mark in Venice's maritime Empire could have recalled their counterpart in the mother city. So how did the transfer of symbols work? As in the political organization of Crete, which was the first full-fledged colony of the Venetians, in urbanistic terms the capital city of Candia closely followed patterns of the mother city.



Fig. 6. Candia/Herakleion, church of St. Mark (Hagios Markos), portico.

²² The cathedral of Curzola, one of the most splendid religious monuments of Dalmatia, was dedicated to Saint Mark, the patron of the city and the island. The church, a three-aisled basilica, constructed in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries was built on the ruins of an earlier church. Its stupendous portal displays colonnettes and the bust of a woman dating on stylistic grounds to the late thirteenth century, possibly the wife of Diocletian who according to the legend had laid the foundations of the earlier church. The sculptor of the portal was Bonino da Milano, see Semi 1996, 600.

²³ Semi 1996, 602-603.

²⁴ In some instances the Venetian churches were dedicated to other popular saints such as St. George or St. Nicholas (in Durazzo, Corinth, Thebes, Abydos, Almyros, and Rodostos) – presumably when a preexisting house of prayer was reused. In Durazzo the Venetians owned the church of St. Andrew which must have been the parish church (probably in 1082). In Corinth, Thebes, and Abydos the Venetians owned the church of St. Nicholas in mid-twelfth century. In Almyros the Venetian colony was served by the church of St. George which had been given to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, a major landowner in the Venetian colonies. In Rodostos there was also a church dedicated to St. George and a church near the *fondaco* dedicated to the Virgin. In Adrianople there was a Latin monastery dedicated to the Virgin, see Ferluga 1992, 700 and 704.

²⁵ Ferluga 1992, 704-705.



Fig. 7. Zorzi Corner, *Città di Candia*, 1625 (Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. It. VI, 75 [8303]).

The Venetians attempted to reproduce the successful scheme of the connection between the doge and Saint Mark on Crete, where the office of the *duca* of Candia emulated that of the Venetian doge and the colonial government of Crete attempted to reenact – in a provincial way – the situation in Venice. At the time of the first Venetian settlement in 1211, Saint Mark's feast day was introduced as one of the four most important feasts of the liturgical calendar of Crete.²⁶ As we see in the 1625 map by Zorzi Corner (Fig. 7), by the seventeenth century the church of St. Mark was singled out as the most significant monument for the colonial government, held by the personification of the city. The church is clearly shown with its prominent bell tower, on which the flag of the Venetian Republic is waving.²⁷ Civic ceremonies celebrating important events in the life of the colony included the parade of sacred relics and miracle-working Byzantine icons.²⁸ All this centered on the *platea* in front of the church of St. Mark.

This church demarcated a significant part of the urban space. It stood close to the land gate on the main square, which was named after it. Across from the church lay the ducal palace duplicating practices in Venice. The actual church of St. Mark in Candia (Fig. 6) was completed between 1239 and 1244, when a bell-tower was constructed to the south of the church following the model of the Piazza San Marco in Venice. Using marble from Ierapetra the Venetian colonists were granted papal permission to lay the

²⁶ Tafel and Thomas 1856-57, II, 132-133.

²⁷ Map: Zorzi Corner, *Il regno di Candia* (10th of November 1625), Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Ms. Ital. VI, 75 (8303). Although this is the first personification of the city that has survived, the artist must have been inspired by an earlier image where the Venetian character of the city is symbolized by the ducal basilica.

²⁸ Papadaki 2005.

foundations for this first new Latin church on the island.²⁹ It was placed directly under the jurisdiction of Rome and, like the church of San Marco in Venice, it was not subject to the local archbishop,³⁰ but was administered by a state official (called *primicerius*).³¹ This was the only church of St. Mark in the Eastern Mediterranean that duplicated the situation in Venice.³²

This church defined a primary space within the city: the *platea* or piazza, which had probably been the primary market place of the city of Chandax since Byzantine times and was located in front of the land gate of the city. As the prime business sector of the city, the *platea* became an emblem of the new role that Crete played in the international Mediterranean trade after the arrival of the Venetians and justified their presence in Candia from a pragmatic point of view. By the fourteenth century numerous artisans and vendors of foodstuffs were based there, doing business either in their own workshops and boutiques, or selling their merchandise on public benches rented to them by the state. All important public official monuments (the church of St. Mark, the Latin cathedral, the ducal palace, the loggia, the palace of the general, the public warehouse, the land gate) were placed around the piazza, sanctioning the commercial and economic transactions taking place therein. Representing the government and the official faith of the Venetians, these religious and administrative buildings, in conjunction with the major stately rituals which culminated in this area, stood as a visual symbol of Venetian supremacy in every level of colonial life.

Public usage of the area further emphasized its central position in the life of the city as it did in the other colonies of the Venetian Empire. The utilitarian monuments that were closely related to the civic landscape and to the well being of the citizens, such as the loggia, the tower of the clock, the public warehouse, and the public fountain, were all structures which meant to accommodate and serve the members of the élite and the higher middle class (merchants and professionals). As the foremost symbols of the commune, these public edifices promoted the official functions of the Venetian state. In Candia one of the primary monuments linked with Venice was the *lobium* (loggia), a place used for public announcements, meetings, and gambling. Originally located on the waterfront, in 1325 it was moved to a more salubrious and prestigious location across from the church of St. Mark on the piazza. The public auctions of state property were only allowed here after Sunday Mass. During these occasions the piazza became a theatrical stage for the higher Venetian officials: the duke and his counselors, supervised the event from the loggia of the church of St. Mark. Their personal involvement in the distribution of state lands offers a concrete example of state authority, one that can be paralleled with the nearby pillory (*berlina*) intended to punish crime publicly.

²⁹ The letter of pope Gregory IX (Tafel and Thomas 1856-57, II, 349-51) reads: “[...] vos (milites Cretenses) quandam Ecclesiam in fundo proprio ad honorem Dei et beati Marci Evangeliste in ciuitate, que dicitur Candida, sita in insula Cretensi, construere intendatis, et fundum ipsum Romane Ecclesie duxeritis offerendum [...]”.

³⁰ Fedalto 1972, 163 argues that the Venetian feudal lords of Crete addressed their letter to the pope, because either the archbishop’s post in Candia was vacant, or the archbishop was not present in Crete at the time. A third possibility that Fedalto has pointed out is that the people did not want to be subjected to the archbishop, so they left the control of the church to the Apostolic Seat.

³¹ The basilica of San Marco in Venice was also administered by a *primicerius* in association with the Procuratia of St. Mark’s. The *primicerius* was responsible for the spiritual care of the basilica, while the procurators managed the sanctuary and the treasury. See Cornaro 1758, 198; Perocco 1984, 65.

³² Pozza 1996, 615.



Fig. 8. View of St. Titus, detail from G. Clontzas, *Istoria ab origine mundi* (Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Graec. VII, 22 [1466], f. 150r).

The church, which immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Candia was converted into the mosque of the Defterdar Pasa, is still standing and is now used as a gallery and lecture hall. Its simple Gothic form is still seen in the gilded crochet capitals which crown the nave arcades and the columns of the portico, which is referred in the medieval sources as a *loggia*.³³ The city herald stood here to make public announcements. The bells regulated the offices, the closing of

the city gates, and the beginning and end of the work day.³⁴ A clock that was set on the west wall of the *campanile* in 1463 served the needs of the market and the population, following the example of Venice.³⁵

Yet, the church of St. Mark in Candia was not the most important Latin church of the city: that role was reserved for the Latin cathedral, a converted Byzantine church which was completely rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century, dedicated to the local patron saint of Crete, St. Titus (Fig. 8). Being the seat of the Orthodox metropolitan in the Byzantine period, the site of the cathedral of the city had acquired a primary importance in Byzantine Chandax and was certainly recognized as the most sacred spot of the city by both Venetians and Greeks in the early thirteenth century. The cathedral was located on the main artery of the city, the *ruga magistra*, about 50 meters to the north of the *platea*. Originally, it was preceded by a large open space that opened to the street. The cathedral was thus the first large Latin church that one saw when walking on the main street from the harbor. It was only in the seventeenth century that the construction of the new loggia and the *armeria* obstructed the view to the church. All sources maintain that by 1211 the relics of St. Titus, the patron saint of Crete, were located in the Byzantine metropolitan church of Chandax.³⁶

³³ Unfortunately, we possess no documentary information on the construction of the portico of St. Mark's in Candia, a feature which was constructed *de novo* by the restorers in the 1950s. The sources inform us that the church of San Marco in Venice was adorned with a *loggia* as late as 1283. Clearly, for the Venetians the term *loggia* designated something other than a narthex, since the church of San Marco in Venice had a narthex from early on. In Venice the portico was erected in an area that previously had been occupied by three arches (*archivolti*) and a well at the beginning of the market; according to the prescriptions of the *Maggior Consiglio* it should measure approximately 10.50 meters. See Cessi 1931-50, III, 29 and 35.

³⁴ Pozza 1996, 616.

³⁵ The clock was transported from Venice, see Maltezou 1988, 141.

³⁶ *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* XII, 505 and Georgopoulou 2001, 109.

After 1211, the Venetians appropriated the Byzantine church. We have no record of a major modification of the church, but we can surmise that the liturgical layout of its interior was changed to conform with the Western rite, presumably by creating new chapels and multiple altars. The church had a dome but it is not sure whether its form was centrally planned or basilical. The cathedral of St. Titus was one of the most significant landmarks of Venetian Candia as it attracted Christians of the Greek and Latin rite who venerated the holy relics inside the church. It was, thus, the best spot to publicize the patron saint of Venetian Candia. It was also the space that housed a miracle-working icon of the Virgin, so-called Mesopanditissa. An icon with a pedigree relating it to Constantinople and the hand of Saint Luke was hailed as a palladium of the colony because it had brought peace to Crete after a revolt.³⁷ Thus, the cathedral had been incorporated into the foundation myths of the colony.

Let us return to Saint Mark. In contrast to the emphatically Byzantinizing form of the church of San Marco in Venice, its counterpart in Candia was an elongated basilica conforming to the latest artistic style in Western Europe. In both Venice and Candia, the church that contained the relics of the patron of the city was the one built according to the Byzantine style: San Marco in Venice and the cathedral of St. Titus in Candia were presented as martyria. As such they had to look old, and for the Venetians this meant that the churches had to be built according to the style of centuries past, that of Byzantium. Within this frame of mind, the ducal chapel of St. Mark in Candia had no reason to resemble a Byzantine structure. On the contrary, as a symbol of the newcomers it stood in the center of Candia to advertise their alterity and the particular strand in their artistic heritage that was different from that of the local Byzantines. The basilica of St. Mark was there to show the new blood that had arrived in the colony. Unlike the Venetian basilica of San Marco, the church of St. Mark in Candia and other similar churches built in the colonies were totally different in appearance: they were elongated basilicas displaying a Gothic stylistic pedigree, albeit of a simple variety especially in what concerns the vaulting of the nave and the façade.³⁸ As if to boast their religious alterity, these Latin churches, implanted in Eastern Orthodox Christian or Muslim cities, surely stood apart from other local monumental landmarks in these cities. Thus, our church shared the formal characteristics of the churches of other newcomers on the island: the Franciscan and Dominican friars whose churches advertised a strong Gothic character.

Contrary to the situation in Venice where the church of San Marco had almost usurped the rights of the cathedral, the Latin Cathedral of St. Titus in Candia remained the most significant church in the city. Obviously, the tension between the Greek and Latin rites demanded different solutions in the realm of ecclesiastical authority in the colonies. Whereas in Venice the ducal chapel of San Marco commanded the formal religious demeanor of the Republic through its clergy, its ceremonial, and its unique sanctity, the chapels/churches that were dedicated to Saint Mark were far less important in the religious life of the colonies. Despite their titles which resonated the direct sanctioning of Venice, they functioned as small state chapels, their maintenance being left to the discretion of the local government. Whether or not they followed the ceremonial of San Marco in

³⁷ Georgopoulou 2001, 217-223.

³⁸ Although we can be certain about this in the case of the thirteenth century colonies and the churches built in the Holy Land, we have for the moment no way of knowing the appearance of the Venetian churches of Constantinople.

Venice, or they ever functioned as parish churches, the various churches of St. Mark must have come to life primarily during special state ceremonies including the inauguration or funeral of Venetian officers. Their imposing silhouette which emulated Venetian Gothic architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made them monuments of a foreign power that addressed an audience broader than the local inhabitants and the colonists – it visually created an architectural language of Empire. This was equivalent to what was accomplished in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the lions of St. Mark used as billboards on the city walls and the fortifications throughout the Venetian Empire. Consequently, they had minimal impact on the formation of the urban fabric except in a highly symbolic manner.

Similar patterns are discernible in Ragusa, an independent Republic that never fully submitted to the Venetians. The non-Gothic form seems to have been proper for the most famous church of the town: the church of the patron saint Saint Blasius that was not subject to the Venetians – we must imagine that the original building also had a non-Gothic form. On the contrary the Rector's palace (built between 1436 and 1465) displays in the cross-vaulting of its portico and in the imposing biforal ogival windows a full array of Italianate Gothic forms. Obviously, the choice of architectural style went beyond religious allegiance (in the case of Ragusa both locals and colonists followed the Latin rite) to signal the dominant style of Venice.

Since in practice similar binary oppositions are rarely played out so clearly in the built environment, especially in the case of Venice, the overtly Gothic chapel of St. Mark in Candia is a crucial monument for exploring these issues. In the colonies that formerly belonged to the Byzantine Empire, St. Mark's distinct Gothic style dissociated the church from the famous 'Byzantine' basilica in Venice and emphasized it as an imported edifice, foreign to the indigenous, Byzantine tradition. As this is obvious to the art historian today, it would also have been clear to anyone familiar with the exquisite public buildings of Venice. Venetian settlers and itinerant merchants of various nationalities were familiar with Venice. Moreover, many residents of the Levant would have heard of Venice's beauties. So, whatever statement the Venetian churches made in the colonies it would have had greater impact on the international community than on the locals.

As a church dedicated to the patron saint of the Republic, the chapel of St. Mark was a primary colonial symbol which linked the colonies with Venice and dissociated them from Constantinople. The churches of St. Mark were built according to the current stylistic trends in Venice (visible mostly in the new churches of the Franciscans and the Dominicans) indicating that, following the Fourth Crusade, the city of Venice had come of age. The Republic was no longer looking to Byzantium for artistic and cultural inspiration; as the head of an empire Venice could dictate its own novel artistic forms. Thus, they could appropriate the past and impose the present at will.

References

- Bibliotheca Sanctorum* = *Enciclopedia dei Santi. Bibliotheca Sanctorum* I-XII, Rome 1961-69.
- Calergi = Antonio Calergi, *Commentari delle cose fatte dentro et fuori del regno e isola di Candia d'Antonio Calergi Gentilhuomo veneziano*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Ital. VI, 155 (5801).
- Carile 1965 = A. Carile, 'Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie', *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125-305.
- Celik 1997 = Z. Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1997.
- Cessi 1931-50 = R. Cessi (ed.), *Deliberazioni del Maggior consiglio di Venezia* I-III, Bologna 1931-50 (repr. 1970-71).
- Cornaro 1755 = F. Cornaro, *Creta sacra, sive De episcopis utriusque ritus Graeci et Latini in insula Cretae / Accedit series praesidum Venetorum inlustrata. Tomus primus(-secundus)*, Venice 1755.
- Cornaro 1758 = F. Cornaro, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello*, Padua 1758.
- Crinson 1996 = M. Crinson, *Empire Building. Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, London and New York 1996.
- Fedalto 1972 = G. Fedalto, 'La Chiesa Latina a Creta dalla caduta di Costantinopoli (1204) alla riconquista bizantina (1261)', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 24 (1972), 145-176.
- Ferluga 1992 = J. Ferluga, 'Veneziani fuori Venezia', in L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Pavan, G. Cracco and G. Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia* I, *Origini – Età ducale*, Rome 1992, 693-722.
- Georgopoulou 2001 = M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge 2001.
- Laffi 2003 = U. Laffi, 'La colonizzazione romana nell'età della repubblica', in *Il fenomeno coloniale dall'antichità a oggi* (Atti dei convegni Lincei 189), Roma 2003, 37-52.
- Lane 1973 = F.C. Lane, *Venice. A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore 1973.
- Lorenzo de Monacis 1758 = *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Cretae cancellarii Chronicon de rebus Venitis ab U.C. ad annum MCCCLIV: Sive ad conjurationem duci Faledro / Accedit eiusdem Laurentii Carmen de Carolo II, rege Hungariae, & Anonymi Scriptoris de causis belli exorti inter Venetos, & Ducem Ferrariensem. Omnia ex MSS. editisque Codicibus eruit, recensuit, Praefationibus illustravit Flaminius Cornelius senator venetus*, Venice 1758.
- Maltezou 1988 = Ch.A. Maltezou, Η Κρήτη στή διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669), in N. Panagiotakes (ed.), *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και πολιτισμός* II, Herakleion 1988, 105-161.
- Maltezou 1995 = Ch.A. Maltezou, 'Byzantine «consuetudines» in Venetian Crete', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 269-280.
- McKee 2000 = S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, Philadelphia 2000.
- Metcalf 1989 = Th.R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, Berkeley 1989.
- Mitchell 1988 = T. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, Cambridge and New York 1988.

- Muir 1981 = E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, N.J. 1981.
- Nicol 1988 = D.M. Nicol, *Venice and Byzantium. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge and New York 1988.
- Papadaki 2005 = A. Papadaki, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio veneziano* (Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 9), Spoleto 2005.
- Perocco 1984 = G. Perocco, 'History of the Treasury of San Marco', in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice, Catalogue of the Exhibition*, Milan 1984, 65-68.
- Pozza 1996 = M. Pozza, 'Le chiese veneziane intitolate a San Marco nell'Oriente Mediterraneo dei secoli XII e XIII', in A. Niero (ed.), *San Marco: aspetti storici e agiografici, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 26-29 aprile 1994*, Venice 1996, 611-626.
- Prochaska 1990 = D. Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*, Cambridge 1990.
- Salmon 1969 = E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, London 1969.
- Schultz 1992-93 = J. Schultz, 'La Piazza Medievale di San Marco', *Annali di Architettura: Rivista del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio* 4-5 (1992-93), 134-156.
- Semi 1996 = F. Semi, 'Il culto di San Marco in Istria e Dalmatia', in A. Niero (ed.), *San Marco: aspetti storici e agiografici, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 26-29 aprile 1994*, Venice 1996, 598-610.
- Sigonius 1560 = C. Sigonius, *De antiquo iure Italiae, libri tres. Ad Senatum Populumq. Romanum. Venetiis, apud Iordanum Zileum, MDLX*.
- Sinding-Larsen 1974 = S. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic*, Rome 1974.
- Stöckly 1995 = D. Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII^e siècle - milieu XV^e siècle)*, Leiden and New York 1995.
- Sweetman 2007 = R.J. Sweetman, 'Roman Knossos: The Nature of a Globalized City', *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007), 61-81.
- Tafel and Thomas 1856-57 = G.L.Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderen Beziehungen auf Byzanz und die Levante* I-III (Fontes rerum Austriacarum 12-14), Vienna 1856-57.
- Thiriet 1958-61 = F. Thiriet (ed.), *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* I-III, Paris 1958-61.
- Thiriet 1959 = F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XII^e-XV^e siècles*, Paris 1959 (repr. 1975).
- Waters 1995 = M. Waters, *Globalization*, London 1995.
- Wright 1991 = G. Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, Chicago 1991.