

EΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ

*Studi miscellanei per il 75°
di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*

a cura di
Vincenzo Ruggieri e Luca Pieralli



Rubbettino

Dimitris Tsougarakis - Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis

Monasteries of south-eastern Crete during the Venetian period

Cretan monasteries have always attracted the attention of historians and other scholars for various reasons, a fact which is reflected in the considerable bibliography that exists on the subject. Research on the monasteries of Crete has also been conducted in recent years at the Research Centre for Medieval and Modern Hellenism of the Academy of Athens, where an historical database concerning the monasteries of Crete is being constructed¹. The present paper is in part a result of this research in progress which, we hope, will permit a wider synthesis in the near future².

The region of Ierapetra (Girapetra, Gerapetra, Hierapetra), in south-eastern Crete (see map) has been chosen as the focus for the present study. In the period of the Venetian domination of Crete it was a rural region, a character which it has still preserved to a great extent, with hardly any urban centres: being on the site of ancient Hierapytna, the medieval town of Gerapetra on the southern coast, the southernmost town of Greece, was very small indeed. The fact is reflected in the way it was referred to at that time. More often than not it was called "Megalo Khorio" or "Great Village", or "Kastro of Gerapetra", as it mainly existed within the small fortress built beside the sea, which is still to be seen today at the western part of the present town.

¹ D. TSOUGARAKIS, Το έρευνητικό πρόγραμμα "Τά Μοναστήρια τής Ελλάδας. 1. Τά Μοναστήρια τής Κρήτης", *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Έλληνικά* 5 (1996) 387-402.

² We would like to thank Prof. Chryssa Maltezou, Director of the Hellenic Institute of Venice, for her hospitality during our research at the State Archive of Venice; Katerina Chatzaki for her generous help with the notary M. Missinis; and Katerina Papakosta for her help in the location of some material at the State Archive of Venice (henceforward: ASV).

The province of Ierapetra lies at the south end of a strip approximately 14 km long, which forms the most narrow part of the island of Crete. Within the Venetian *territorio* of Seteia, the province (*turma* or *castello*) of Gerapetra is bordered from the East by the harsh Mt Thrypte, while to the West by Mt Dikte and by the rivers Istron (northwest) and Kryopotamos (southwest). The settlements were mostly situated inland and on higher ground, with only few situated at a distance less than 4-5 km away from the sea, for obvious reasons of security. The census of 1583³ describes 21 *casali* or villages within the *castello* of Gerapetra. The *territorio* of Seteia, i.e. the easternmost part of Crete, was generally the poorest part of the island, with olive oil and grain being the most important produce. Pirate raids, mainly by Turkish and Muslim corsairs from the states of Barbary, became increasingly dangerous and caused the partial depopulation of the area, particularly after the raid of Hayreddin Pasha, the so-called Barbarossa, in 1538, which resulted in the capture and abduction of a very large number of people from that province. After that the region never recovered demographically, villages declined and eventually were deserted as the raids continued in the later part of the 16th and in the first half of 17th century, and for the most part of the period of Ottoman domination of Crete⁴. An echo of these raids is seen in the frequent references to relatives who had been abducted by corsairs⁵.

In this small and poor area we find a considerable number of monasteries, starting in the early 15th (and even the late 14th) century, with their numbers increasing towards the end of the Venetian era, i.e. in the 16th and 17th centuries. The fact that a large number of small monasteries was founded particularly in the 17th century, towards the end of the *Venetokratia*, has not passed unnoticed in the past⁶, though little research has been done to date the known cases, examine the individual circumstances and explain the phenomenon.

³ Known as the census of *Castrofilaca* (*Cod. Marc. Ital. VII*, coll. 8880, *Cod. Marc. Ital. VI* 156, coll. 6005 of the Marcian Library in Venice, ASV, Archivio Gradenigo, B. 328). For the manuscripts see CHRYSSA MALTEZOU, Νέο άγνωστο χειρόγραφο τής "Περιγραφής τής Κρήτης" τού Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα (1583) και τό πρόβλημα τής κριτικής εκδόσεώς τής, *Acts of the 3rd International Cretological Congress (Rethymnon, 18-23 September 1971)*, II, Athens 1974, 176-183.

⁴ For the pirate raids against eastern Crete see ALEXANDRA KRANTONELLI, *Ιστορία της πειρατείας στους μέσους χρόνους της Τουρκοκρατίας 1538-1669*, Athens 1991, *passim*. See also CHRYSSA MALTEZOU, *Η Κρήτη στη διάρκεια τής περιόδου τής Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)*, in *Κρήτη Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. by N.M. PANAGIOTAKES, II, Crete 1988, 105-161: 135.

⁵ For such a case see *infra*, n. 84.

⁶ See eg., EVA TEA, *Saggio sulla storia religiosa di Candia dal 1590 al 1630*, Venezia 1913, offprint p. 49-50.

In the case of Ierapetra, however, we can follow the fortunes of some monasteries through time and take a closer look both at the monasteries themselves and at the mechanisms which helped their increase. We can establish the existence of about thirty-seven Greek-Orthodox monasteries, which were active at some point in time during the Venetian period in the province (see Table 1), and of only one Roman Catholic monastery of the Franciscan Order in the town of Gerapetra itself. Our main source on the subject is the acts of the local notaries⁷. It is strange that the census of churches and monasteries carried out in 1637 on the whole of Crete makes almost no mention of monasteries in the area of Gerapetra, with one or two exceptions only⁸.

Geographically, these monasteries fall into two basic categories: a) those to the NW of Ierapetra town, near the villages of Anatoli and Kalogeri, and secondary centres elsewhere, and b) those to the NE of Ierapetra, near the village of Kavoussi, with secondary centres near Ierapetra itself, at the villages of Vagionia and Kapistri⁹ (see Map). By far the most important are the former, and among these there are three which stand out: Panagia (Virgin Mary) at Vaionia, often called Panagia Vagenitissa, and Christ Saviour and St Apostles, known from their location as Pano- and Kato Karkassa respectively. Those three monasteries, with the addition of three more, St Anthony at Kavoussi, Panagia Vryomeni and Christ at Assari, are the only ones whose first written mention goes back to the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. All the other monasteries are first encountered in the 16th and 17th centuries, although the lack of written evidence does not exclude the very real possibility of their foundation dating much earlier than their first mention in the sources. Seventeen out of the thirty-seven known monasteries, according to the notarial acts, belonged mostly to the fief-holders of the nearby villages or rarely, to owners who held them as *gonika*¹⁰. It is noteworthy that

⁷ For the surviving notaries of Ierapetra see G.K. MAVROMATIS, ed., *Ιωάννης Ολόκαλος, νοτάριος Ίεράπετρας, Κατάστιχο (1496-1543)*, Venice 1994 [*Oriens Graecolatinus* 1], 33-42. For this paper we have used the protocols of the notaries Ioannis Olokalos, Constantinos Melissinos, Menegin Missinis, Andreas Galanos, Marcos Kallergis, Constantinos Zamofilis and Giacomo Roussopsiris.

⁸ ASV, Procuratori in Jure, b. 457. For this census in western Crete see MARIA CHAIRETI, 'Η απογραφή τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν μονῶν τῆς περιοχῆς Χανίων τοῦ ἔτους, 1637, *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 36 (1968) 335-388; *eadem*, Αἱ ὀρθόδοξοι μοναὶ τῆς Κυδωνίας κατὰ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ ἔτους 1637, *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 39-40 (1972-73) 563-578.

⁹ The village of Kapistri has been renamed and is today called Stavros.

¹⁰ *Goniko* was land the owner of which could bequeathe to his descendants, but it was

fourteen of these monasteries were (or eventually came) in the hands of the Muazzo family of landowners, or stood on land owned by them. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that the Muazzi were the principal fief-holders in the province of Ierapetra.

It seems that all these monasteries were in the category of *jus patronato privato*. No monastery belonging to a *confraternitas* is included among them. As for the single Latin monastery in Ierapetra itself, of which we have very limited information, this belonged to the Franciscan Order and was established there rather late in the period.

As the bibliography about the Venetian regulations concerning the function and the obligations of the Greek Orthodox monasteries is particularly poor, and the subject, as far as we know, has not been specifically researched so far, the information provided by the series of notarial documents can give us a first insight regarding the usual way of a monastery changing hands, the establishment of a new abbot or abbess, the introduction of monks or nuns, their obligations concerning their establishment and its owner, the manner in which the monastic community decided to become a *koinobion* etc¹¹.

1. The oldest monasteries (14th and 15th centuries)

a. St Apostles Kato Karkassa, Christ Savior Pano Karkassa, Panagia at Vaionia

Three monasteries in the vicinity of the village of Anatoli (St Apostles at Kato Karkassa, Christ Saviour at Pano Karkassa, Panagia at Vaionia, Pl. 1-3), the monastery of Panagia Vryomeni near the village of Meseleri, the monastery of St Anthony at Kavoussi and the monastery of Christ (or St George) at the locality known as Assari are the oldest monasteries that we know of in this area. All six seem to have been founded contemporaneously in the last decade of the 14th century or the very first years of the 15th, but the documentation available for each one differs.

The first written mentions about St Apostles at Kato Karkassa are round the year 1400. Traces of a dedicatory inscription and some graffiti

burdened by the a duty-towards the fief-holder, usually one-third of the produce (ven. *terzaria, radego*).

¹¹ Cf. EVA TEA, *op. cit.*, 50, n. 3. A. XIROUCHAKIS, *Ai Σύνοδοι τοῦ Γερόλαμο Λάντο (1467-1486)*, Athens 1933, *passim*. See also for much later regulations (1753) regarding all categories of churches and the convents of monks and nuns in the Ionian Islands, *Le legge municipali delle Isole Ionie dall' anno 1386, fino alla caduta della Repubblica Veneta, Raccolte, disposte in ordine cronologico e pubblicate dal D.R.G. POJAGO*, v. II, 154-170.

in the church show that the wall-paintings must have finished between 1391/2 and 1422/3¹². At that time the 14th/15th century Cretan monk and scholar Neilos Damilas¹³ was a monk, or more probably abbot, of St Apostles at Kato Karkassa, as we can infer from an anti-Latin treatise of Neilos sent to Maximos Chryssoberges in 1400, in which Neilos is described as living in this monastery¹⁴. Given that the possible date of 1391/2 at the earliest, of the dedicatory inscription mentioned above in all probability refers to the decoration of the church¹⁵ and not to its construction, the latter might have preceded the decoration by several years, but whether it was earlier than the last quarter of the 14th century, one cannot say. The other Karkassa monastery, that of Christ the Saviour, must also be of similar date: its dedicatory inscription does not preserve the year¹⁶, but the earliest graffito in this church is of 1436¹⁷. The names of the founders have been partially preserved: the priest Gerasimos Fou[...] might have been Gerasimos Foules, a surname quite common at the nearby village Anatoli. A woman called Maria and possibly some other persons are also mentioned.

When Damilas was living in St Apostles, both this and Christ the Saviour must have been monasteries for monks, as he founded that of Panagia Vaionia as a convent for nuns with very strict rules regarding the admission of men, even for short visits. At some unknown time after his death, however, St Apostles became a convent for nuns, too: towards the last quarter of the 15th century another Cretan monk and scholar, Nathanael Bertos, remembers the "... abbess of the monastery of St Apostles and the rest of the *first* nuns..."¹⁸. Referring probably to the first

¹² D. TSOUGARAKIS and E. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, 'Ανέκδοτα χαράγματα και ἐπιγραφές ἀπο μονές και ναούς τῆς Κρήτης, in 'Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη ed. by S. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΙΣ, Α. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, G. ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ, Irakleio 2000, 717 no. 404 (inscription) and no. 405 (graffito).

¹³ See for this person M. ΝΙΚΟΛΙΔΑΚΙΣ, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλάς*, Irakleio 1981.

¹⁴ "... κύρ Νεῖλου... τοῦ... Νταμυλά τοῦ Κρητός τοῦ... ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Καρκασίων." Ἐτεῖ ἀπό χριστοῦ ἠ' [=1400]: ARSENIOS (bishop of Novgorod), *Nila Damily, ieromonakha Kritskago otvēt' grekolatinjaninu monakhu Maksimu na ego pis'mo v zaščitu latinskikh novostej v verē. Grečeskij tekst i russkij perovod*, Novgorod 1895.

¹⁵ The frescoes at St Apostles are of excellent quality and betray Constantinopolitan influence: see M. ΒΟΡΒΟΥΔΑΚΙΣ, 'Ἡ τέχνη κατὰ τῆ Βενετοκρατία, in *Κρήτη. Ἱστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. by Ν.Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΑΚΕΣ, II, Crete 1988, 246.

¹⁶ G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti nell' Isola di Creta*, IV, Venezia 1932, 580.

¹⁷ D. TSOUGARAKIS and E. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, in 'Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη, 717 no. 414.

¹⁸ M. ΝΙΚΟΛΙΔΑΚΙΣ, 'Ο Κρητικός Ιερομόναχος Ναθαναήλ Μπέρτος, *Kretologia* 14-15 (1982) 131-153: 136 "καί ἡ καθηγουμένη τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων και αἱ ἕτεροι πρῶται

decades of the 15th century Bertos remembers "...those first fathers and monks... kyris Neilos Damilas... with him [or after him?] kyris Philotheos, my own teacher..."¹⁹, from which one may infer that Philotheos became the successor of Damilas as head of the Karkassa monasteries. Nothing else is known for these monasteries until the first quarter of the 16th century. Then, in the 1520s, a series of notarial acts of the notary Ioannis Olokalos²⁰ give new information about the Karkassa monasteries. In 1524 abbot of St Apostles was the monk Anthimos Dono who, probably accompanied by the monk Malachias Maniotis, was to embark for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Before his departure, Anthimos made his testament in which he left another monk, Paisios Trivisias, as acting abbot. The testament also contains a catalogue of forty-five books of St Apostles, as well as a list of six liturgical books of the monastery of Panagia Vaionia²¹. Among the former books, one -"an old Psalter"- was "from the hand of kyr Neilos" (i.e. Damilas), three more were by the hand of Anthimos himself (of which one was copied together with his late son Xenos), while some four or five others were by the hand of other named monks²², probably all recent or present monks of this or other neighbouring monasteries. This shows that still in the 16th century, there must have been a small *scriptorium* in the area, if not in the monastery itself²³.

By 1527 Anthimos had returned from his pilgrimage, because we see that the feudal landowner of the monasteries, Giacomo Barocci, through his representative appointed him head of the monastery of Christ Saviour Pano Karkassa as well, in order to revive and rebuild it and "to admit

μοναχαί..." The phrase that follows "Νῦν δὲ ἐρημώθησαν τὰ μοναστήρια ἅπαντα..." does not seem to be meant literally, as immediately afterwards Bertos writes "Ἐκεῖ φιλῖαι ἀρχόντων, ἐκεῖ μοναχῶν...", which shows that he actually meant a spiritual desertion. The view of NIKOLIDAKIS, *ibid.*, 136 n. 29, on the basis of this passage, that St Apostles may have been a convent or even a mixed monastery at the time of Neilos Damilas does not seem credible.

¹⁹ M. NIKOLIDAKIS, *op. cit.*, 134: Οἱμοι καὶ ποῦ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκεῖνοι πατέρες καὶ μοναχοί, ποῦ... ὁ κύρις Νεῖλος ὁ Νταμιλάς, ποῦ ὁ μετ' ἐκείνου [ἐκείνον?] κύρις Φιλόθεος, ὁ ἐμὸς διδάσκαλος (...)

²⁰ G. K. ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΣ ed., *Ἰωάννης Ὀλόκαλος, νοτάριος Ἱεράπετρας. Κατάστιχο (1496-1543)*, Venice 1994 [Oriens Graecolatinus 1] (henceforward: OLOKALOS).

²¹ OLOKALOS, 68-70, no. 31 and 71, no. 32.

²² Xenos, Kypriotis *didaskalos*, Joakim Gavras, Phanourios Mangafouris *didaskalos*.

²³ Compared to the books listed in the Testament of Neilos Damilas in 1417 (see *infra* n. 33), probably four of the six manuscripts he had written himself survived, despite the fact that the 1524 list mentions explicitly only one; in all, of the 42 volumes listed in 1417, 22 can be relatively safely identified as surviving in 1524, and 23 were new additions. In 1417 there were only two non-ecclesiastical books, namely a *Dictionary* and a *Chronography* of Manasses which also contained "Cato and Boethios"; these did not survive in 1524, but instead two different non-ecclesiastical books existed, one described as "old iambics" and another called "Prosody".

or expel nuns and to do whatever is for the good of the monastery". If no nuns were willing to settle there, then the monastery was to remain in the hands of Anthimos for the rest of his life. Lastly, Barocci also gave to Anthimos the monastery of St John Prodromos "commonly called Koutou" to hold according to the manner of St Apostles Kato Karkassa²⁴. No previous information about the Karkassa monasteries mentioned the feudal landowner of the area, nor did the *Typikon* of Neilos Damilas refer to any kind of permission by a landowner for the foundation of Panagia Vaionia²⁵. In the first quarter of the 16th century, however, a member of the Barocci family was the fief-holder there. It is also obvious that Christ Saviour was uninhabited or deserted and that it was going to be (as very probably also used to be) a convent for nuns.

The next year, 1528, Anthimos Dono as the abbot, his former *commesario* Paisios Trivisias, and six other monks came to an agreement to consider everything they had in terms of landed property as property of St Apostles and to share all their belongings in order to establish a coenobitic monastery (*koinobion*)²⁶. Anthimos was still abbot in 1529, when he and Paisios accepted a donation of an orchard to the monastery²⁷, and probably even in 1539²⁸, but in November 1541, when we have our next piece of information, a monk named Akakios seems to refer to himself in his testament as abbot or acting abbot of St Apostles. According to his will, after his death the ecclesiastical matters of the monastery should be managed by his brother Nicodemos, "until the arrival of a head"²⁹. By that time however, it seems that the original community in St Apostles had broken up, probably after the death of Anthimos. Already by 1536, Philotheos Davrados, one of the original members of the *koinobion*, is

²⁴ OLOKALOS, 91, no. 61. The monastery of St John Prodromos "Koutou" is mentioned here for the first and only time and at present cannot be identified with any known monastery or church.

²⁵ The *Typikon* only mentions the *αἰθέρια* or authorities, who should not (and could not) be prevented from entering the monastery.

²⁶ OLOKALOS, 98-99, no. 72 and 105-6 no. 80. As usual in these cases the act contains complex rules regulating the donation of property and the possibility or not to retreat from the *koinobion* with any or part of the previously donated property. Paisios Trivisias, who seems to have been second in command, was probably the *oikonomos*, but among the monks who founded the *koinobion* was not Malachias Maniotis, Anthimos' probable co-traveller to Jerusalem in 1524. Malachias was still with Anthimos at St Apostles in 1527 (OLOKALOS, 92, no. 63) but in 1535 he lived in another monastery, St George Kalafati (OLOKALOS, 157, no. 152).

²⁷ OLOKALOS, 104, no. 79.

²⁸ OLOKALOS, 155, no. 150.

²⁹ OLOKALOS, 213, no. 222.

found living in a monastery which appears now for the first time, St Paraskeve at Psathi, in a location near the village of Kalamafka, where he was still in 1543 after he had made his testament³⁰. In April 1541, Paisios Trivisias and another monk, together with a nun, had moved to the monastery of Christ the Saviour at Pano Karkassa where they had established themselves as a *koinobion*, in much the same manner as in the case of St Apostles³¹, while another member of the original *koinobion*, the monk Arsenios Magarikos, made his testament, also in April 1541, as a monk in Panagia Vaionia. His testament reveals that before he came to Panagia Vaionia he had probably moved to Christ the Saviour, as he had possessions there which he bequeathed to the same monastery after his death³².

For Panagia at Vaionia, commonly called Panagia Vagenitissa, we have the *Testament*³³, of the year 1417, and the *Typikon*³⁴ of its founder, the monk and scholar Neilos Damilas³⁵, as well as a note in an Oxford manuscript mentioning that Damilas started the construction of this monastery on 9 May 1399³⁶. From the time of its foundation and for the next 150 years the monastery of Panagia Vaionia is regularly present mainly in the testaments of the inhabitants of the area who usually ask to be buried there, a fact showing that the monastery was greatly venerated and continued to have monks³⁷. By 1585 all the area of the village of Anatoli and the neighbouring monasteries had become feudal property of the Muazzo family, and more precisely of Cesare Muazzo son of Piero. At that time, Cesare was the most important fief-holder in the region and he owned extensive lands from Anatoli to Kavoussi. Towards the end of the century Cesare was succeeded by his son Francesco, who died around

³⁰ OLOKALOS, 170, no. 170; 224, no. 239; 232, no. 246.

³¹ OLOKALOS, 207-8, no. 215. The nun, Eirinodora Trivisiadopoula, was the sister of Philotheos Trivisias, one of the founders of the *koinobion* in St Apostles, who seems to have died between 12 and 24 April 1541, because on the former date he is mentioned as alive (OLOKALOS, 206, no. 213).

³² OLOKALOS, 205-6, no. 213.

³³ S. LAMBROS, *Das Testament des Neilos Damilas*, BZ 4 (1895) 585-587.

³⁴ S. PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baëonia en Crète (1400)*, *Izvestia Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopel* 15 (1911) 92-111; K. MANAFIS, *Μοναστηριακά Τυπικά-Διαθήκαι*, Athens 1970, 168-171.

³⁵ See n. 13 *supra*.

³⁶ Barocc. 69, f. 280. Cf. *Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues, I. Greek Manuscripts*, by H.O. Coxe, Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853, Oxford 1969, 111.

³⁷ OLOKALOS, 126, no. 109 (1531), 153, no. 148 (1535), 155, no. 150 (1535), 179, no. 178 (1538), 192, no. 196 (1540), 201, no. 208 (1541), 204, no. 212 (1541), 205, no. 213 (1541), 207, no. 214 (1541), 225, no. 239 (1543).

1630-33 leaving three sons. In August 1585 Panagia Vaionia had a monk named Giannis Malathras as its abbot³⁸, though ten years later (1595) Athanasios Maistanos was mentioned as responsible for the monastery³⁹. At the same time the two monasteries at Pano and Kato Karkassa were without any monks (though we cannot say for how long), because in February of the same year, 1595, Francesco Muazzo granted the two monasteries to father Benedictos called Tourkos, together with three other monasteries, namely St George at Drygies⁴⁰, St Demetrius at Kalogeri, and St Paraskeve (apparently at Psathi, near Kalamafka)⁴¹ with all their land, for which Benedictos should pay the normal dues that all monasteries paid to the feudal owner. St George and St Paraskeve would come to Benedictos after the death of the monk who then lived in each one. Benedictos should stay at Kato Karkassa and should see that the monasteries had priests and that services were regularly performed, otherwise if the monasteries were not properly governed, they would return to the feudal owner⁴². Two years later Panagia Vaionia, with the monastery of St Demetrius at Khavgas (which is the same as St Demetrius at Kalogeri, mentioned above)⁴³ were granted by Francesco Muazzo to a new abbot, Neophytos Mastoropoulos, who was to receive the income from their property for his own and the monks' sustenance. After Neophytos' death the monasteries would be governed by his nephew, Manasses⁴⁴. Three years later we have the major turning point in the fortunes of the two monasteries of Karkassa and of Panagia Vaionia: in October 1600, Francesco Muazzo in an act of piety for the spiritual salvation of his fami-

³⁸ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 176 (not. Constantino Melissino), lib. 1, f. 49r-v (henceforward: MELISSINOS)

³⁹ MELISSINOS, lib. 1, f. 96v-97r.

⁴⁰ This monastery first appeared in 1536, when its monk Nikodemos Samios left Paisios Trivisias as executor of his testament, asking to be buried in this monastery. Here we have its last mention.

⁴¹ This is the last mention of this monastery, whose church, however, survives today: it is a small whitewashed chapel, at the side of a rock which forms its south wall. The only reminder of its Venetian past is the sculptured lintel of its entrance and the survival of the name.

⁴² MELISSINOS, *ibid.* The wording of the document and the name of the abbot leave a possibility that Benedictos (=Benedict) was a Catholic.

⁴³ This is the last mention of this monastery, which first appeared in 1536 (OLOKALOS, 106, no. 81: monk Makarios Malathras) and again in 1531 (OLOKALOS, 128, no. 113). Its church survives today near Kalogeri albeit with recent interventions which have changed its original character: cf. N. PSILAKIS, *Μοναστήρια και Ερημητήρια της Κρήτης*, Irakleio 1993, 524.

⁴⁴ MELISSINOS, lib. 1, f. 111v-112r. M. NIKOLIDAKIS, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλάς*, 159-161.

ly and his ancestors granted these monasteries "for ever and in eternity and free from every obligation" to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, on the throne of which then sat the Cretan prelate Meletios Pegas (1590-1601). The monasteries were given to the representative of the Patriarch, the priest Gerasimos Pouladas, who was to be aided in the management of the monastic property by the monk and priest Metrofanis Frygas. Pouladas was to send to the Patriarch half of the income of the monasteries and the other half was to be spent for the sustenance of their monks⁴⁵. After Muazzo's death, probably a little before 1633, his widow and three sons seem to have tried to regain control of the monasteries and attempted to assert the right to appoint an abbot. Luzzeta, Muazzo's widow, sent a letter to this end to the Patriarch in 1632. This prompted an immediate reaction from the then Patriarch of Alexandria, Gerasimos Spartaliotis (1621-1636), who sent separate letters to Muazzo's widow and to her sons in 1633 categorically denying this right as being uncanonical⁴⁶. From Spartaliotis' letters, however, which are the only ones that survive, we can infer that the reason behind the Muazzi move was financial, as the patriarchal representative who managed the economic affairs of the monasteries did not buy produce from, or rather did not hire, land of the Muazzi. The Patriarch defended his representative's actions arguing blandly that the manager's duty was to pursue "profit" from his labours and so he should invest where he thought it was best for the interests of the monastery.

From then on the monasteries remained undisputedly in the hands of the throne of Alexandria, and continued being so during the period of Ottoman occupation of Crete. But the exclusive interest of the Patriarchate in the financial exploitation of the monasteries brought their decline in other respects, a decline which was accentuated by the harsh conditions of the Ottoman rule.

b) Panagia Vryomeni, Christ at Assari and St Anthony at Kavoussi

Although these are among the oldest monasteries in the area, our present information about them is minimal. In fact, we are not sure whether they started as monasteries or as simple churches which were converted into monasteries later. Panagia (Virgin Mary) Vryomeni (or *tu Vryomenou*), near the village of Meseleri, used to preserve a dedicatory inscrip-

⁴⁵ MELISSINOS, lib. 1, f. 124v-125r; cf. M. NIKOLIDAKIS, *Νεῖλος Δαμιλᾶς*, 162-3; N. PSILAKIS, *op. cit.*, 528.

⁴⁶ K. PARASYRAS, *Τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ ποτὲ κτήματα τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας*, *Epeteris Etaireias Kretikon Spoudon* 2 (1939) 81-99: 85-88.

tion dated in all probability in the year 1401-2⁴⁷. As the date of the inscription refers to the completion of the wall-paintings, the actual foundation of the church could have been some years earlier⁴⁸. The founder, Myron Kalodrosios, was a monk and his sister was a nun, a fact which may support the view that what they founded was a monastery for themselves and not a simple church. This church was enlarged some time later and the whole monastery was completed with cells and other buildings surrounding the church, as well as with a high external wall which gave it an impressive fortified character (see Pl. 4)⁴⁹. Besides a lintel with a carved date 1577 and a partially surviving inscription on another stone with no date, but probably of the 16th or 17th century⁵⁰, which we know so far, our present state of research has revealed some more information regarding the monastery: In November 1548 a widow from the neighbouring village Makrilia dedicated an olive-press which she owned in the village to the monastery and its abbot, named Molybeas⁵¹. In 1570, the monastery was mentioned again in a testament⁵²; two more references to it follow in 1602 and 1603, when its abbot was a monk called Kalyvas. At the former date an inhabitant of Kavoussi left to the abbot a piece of land that he owned in the village of Kapistri, so that Kalyvas could pay a debt of 780 yperpyra to "lord Tarkas", while in 1603 the same abbot sold to an inhabitant of the village of Kritza one quarter of a water mill that the monastery owned in a place called Istrona, within the fief of Nicolas Mudazzo, a mill which the abbot had bought in 1597⁵³. Some years later, in 1615, the abbot of Panagia, Jeremia Tzamanis called Violis, sold a vineyard which had been dedicated to the monastery by a monk in 1602 and at that time remained uncultivated⁵⁴. It is probably this same monastery which has been included in the census of 1637 as "...Monastero della nos-

⁴⁷ Published by G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti*, IV, 580.

⁴⁸ The word ἀνεκαινίσθη in the inscription may simply mean "constructed" and not renovated, in the sense that this was not an older church that was repaired but a new building.

⁴⁹ Major works of preservation and repair have been carried out in recent years and the buildings are now in excellent condition.

⁵⁰ Published by S. XANTHOUIDES, *Χριστιανικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης*, *Athena* 15 (1903) 75.

⁵¹ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 166 (not. Menegin Missini), f. 176 (henceforward: MISSINIS).

⁵² MISSINIS, lib. 6. f. 54.

⁵³ ASV, b. 289 (not. Constantino Zamofili), lib. 1, f. 82-v, (1602), and 128 (1603) respectively (henceforward: ZAMOFILIS).

⁵⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 130 (not. Andrea Galano), f. 7 (henceforward: GALANOS).

tra Dona... pertinentia del casal Meseleri..." with ten monks living there. It was held by two members of the Seviro family "per raggione et jus del heredità" from the noble Antonio Muazzo. The monastery's certain revenue was derived from olive oil, but it also had other produce such as wine, grain and pulses⁵⁵. The monastery was mentioned once again in 1641, in a *relazione* of the Latin bishop of Gerapetra⁵⁶.

Christ at Assari is a small church with wall-paintings and a number of graffiti, the earliest of which goes back to 1400⁵⁷. This means that the frescoes -and consequently the church- must by necessity be of the 14th century. Christ is considered a monastery only because it appeared in the 19th century as a *metokhi* of the monastery of Faneromeni and Gerola considered it as connected with the latter and Panagia Vryomeni. Our research has not yielded, as yet, any more information regarding its Venetian phase.

Finally, St Anthony at Kavoussi is only mentioned in notarial acts as a monastery as late as 1619. The church, however, has wall-paintings which date it to much earlier and, in fact, it contains a graffito with the date 2 March 1390⁵⁸, which definitely puts it into the 14th century. In 1619 the fief-holder of the region Andreas Muazzo son of Francesco, granted the monastery to the monk Nikodemos Roussopsiris to keep it as abbot for the rest of his life, to manage its income, to build cells, and to accept monks and priests. Nikodemos promised to spend 200 yperpyra of his own and to dedicate a vineyard he had to the monastery⁵⁹. The wording of the document shows that the monastery was unoccupied or in disrepair at the time when it was offered by Muazzo to Roussopsiris, unless - and this is a small possibility- these phrases were notarial formulae.

⁵⁵ ASV, Consultori in Jure, b. 482, Seteia, f. 15v.

⁵⁶ M. PETTA, La chiesa latina di Creta negli ultimi anni del dominio veneto. Documenti dell' Archivio della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grotta ferrata* n.s. 22 (1968) 3-56 : 6.

⁵⁷ A.S. CURUNI, *Documenti di graffiti e di epigrafi veneto-cretesi conservati nell' Archivio Gerola dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte*, Venezia 1990, 310, nos. 248 (1400), 249 (1400), 250 (1473) and 251. The church is now called St George and not Christ.

⁵⁸ D. TSOUGARAKIS and E. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, 'Ανέκδοτα χαράγματα και επιγραφές από μονές και ναούς της Κρήτης. Μέρος Β, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Έλληνικά* 7 (2003) [forthcoming]. There are three more dated graffiti in the church, of 1404 and 1480.

⁵⁹ GALANOS, f. 30 and 31v.

2. Monasteries of the 16th century

This is the largest group, consisting of about twenty-five monasteries which can be divided into different categories. With few exceptions, most of the monasteries that can be located today are to be found in the area NW of Ierapetra, i.e. the area of Anatoli and the neighbouring villages. Furthermore, there are those which are known from a single mention in the sources, and others which appear in a series of instances and for a longer time span.

a) Better-known monasteries⁶⁰

One of the monasteries which is encountered for the best part of the 16th century and still into the 17th is Panagia at Gourni. In 1545 the monastery belonged to more than one landowners, i.e. Vincenzo Muazzo, Piero Dandolo, and Vittoro Maideatis. Vincenzo Muazzo, with the consent of the rest had the nun Eugenia Dandopoula settled there "as mistress and abbess" for her life. Eugenia should hold the convent free of financial burdens and could accept any nun she wanted, but after her death the landlords could settle there others as they liked⁶¹. A few years later, in 1551, Marco Muazzo, the new owner, appointed Ioannikios Louras as abbot, though Eugenia was still living there, because it was stipulated that Ioannikios should take into account Eugenia's opinion⁶². Apparently Eugenia was not able to have nuns settle there and the monastery was given over to an abbot. Towards the end of the century the monastery seems to have been greatly venerated, as we see two instances of testators who bequeathed various sums to the monastery. In 1594, a Marco Charkiopoulos left an unspecified amount of money, which nevertheless must have been significant, as one of his relatives agreed with the monk Gerasimos Mangafouris that she should receive 180 yperpyra, a sum that she was entitled as an heiress according to the testament of Charkiopoulos⁶³. Two years later, Georgis Vigontzas on his death left his property to his son, but stipulated that in case of his son's death the property would be inherited by the monastery. Accordingly, the same monk Gerasimos agreed with Vigontzas' widow that in the latter case she should be entitled to the

⁶⁰ The monasteries of St George at Drygies, St Demetrios at Kalogeri (or Khavgas) and St Paraskeve at Psathi, near Kalamafka, all of which appear in the 16th century, have already been mentioned in the discussion of the Karkassa monasteries above.

⁶¹ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 67.

⁶² MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 250v.

⁶³ ASV, Notai di Candia, b. 44 (not. Marco Kallergi), f. 2 (henceforward: KALLERGIS).

amount of her dowry, valued at 700 yperpyra⁶⁴, a fact showing that the property of Vigontzas that could come to the monastery was quite significant. At the turn of the century, more than one monks of the Mangafouris family must have been living in the monastery because an act of 1604 speaks of "the most reverent fathers Mangafouri" in the plural. According to this act, a church of St Paraskeve which had been build by the late Nicolas Margounios "at the metokhi of Sarakinoudena"⁶⁵ was dedicated, with whatever possessions it might acquire in the future, by his son Georgis to the monastery of Panagia at Gourni, on condition that, if Georgis' son became a priest, he could have the church for his life⁶⁶. The church of Panagia at Gourni survives today a little to the north of the village Kapistri (Stavros): It is a two nave church, quite spacious and it is full of wall-paintings of fairly good quality. This may date the church much earlier, probably to the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. It is interesting to note that the local tradition, unaware of course of the unpublished documents that we have used, speaks of a monastery at Panagia which was destroyed by the Ottomans⁶⁷. If this is correct, then Panagia at Gourni must have survived as a monastery until an unknown date within the Ottoman period.

The monastery of St John the Theologian at the village of Giannitsi⁶⁸, for which three notarial acts show that it had been active during the better part of the 16th century and almost certainly in the previous and following century, is an interesting case mainly because of the nature of its owners. The first act is a testament of the *protopapas*⁶⁹ Ioannis Lamnonitis drawn in December 1568⁷⁰. Ioannis was the son of the late priest Constantine and his grandfather, also named Ioannis Lamnonitis, had been a *protopapas*, too. It was apparently this older *protopapas* who had founded the monastery of St John, which his grandson now bequeathed to his children.

⁶⁴ KALLERGIS, f. 17.

⁶⁵ This *metochi* is mentioned twice as a village by the notary ZAMOFILIS, in 1601 (f. 46) and 1603 (f. 111r). Its location is unknown but it must have been in the vicinity of Kapistri.

⁶⁶ KALLERGIS, f. 108.

⁶⁷ N. PSILAKIS, *op.cit.*, 542.

⁶⁸ This is a village 5 km from the present town of Ierapetra which was renamed Vagion after the War.

⁶⁹ For the office of the *protopapas*, who was appointed by the Venetian government as the official head of the Orthodox priests in each area, see: M.I. MANOUSSAKAS, Βενετικά έγγραφα αναφερόμενα εις την εκκλησιαστικην ιστοριαν της Κρήτης του 14ου-16ου αιωνος (Πρωτοπαπάδες και πρωτοψάλτες Χάνδακος), *Deltion tes Istorikes kai Ethnologikes Etaireias* 15 (1961) 149-233.

⁷⁰ MISSINIS, lib. 6, f. 2v.

Ioannis Lamnonitis the younger had two bastard sons to whom he left "his monastery" for ever in order to keep it in perfect condition as his grandfather and himself had done. Further stipulations of the testament show that the monastery of St John had two more chapels, one dedicated to St Anthony and the other to Christ. Thirty-one years later, in 1599, one of these sons, Constantis Lamnonitis, conceded the monastery of St John "with its two chapels", with all the buildings that his parents had built as well as a near-by plot planted with trees and vines to the monk Kallistos Diminitis. Lamnonitis made this concession "for his soul" and the recipient had only to pay the landlord's tax every year to Francesco Muazzo, and to celebrate the festivals of the churches⁷¹. Exactly four months later, Constantis Lamnonitis sold to the same monk Kallistos Diminitis a property "neighbouring to the previous plot", which he had inherited from his ancestors 70 years before, and which had "always" been watered by the same water of the monastery⁷². The price of the property was independently estimated to 4522 and 1/2 yperpyra (540 ducats) and the buyer offered to pay 477 and 1/2 yperpyra more, so as to round the sum to 5000 yperpyra, a quite considerable amount, which the monk paid in cash, in 185 gold *zecchins*⁷³. One wonders whether this price did not secretly include a price for the monastery of St John, which Diminitis had received free four months earlier "for the soul" of its owner.

Finally, another monastery which appears active for almost one hundred years, from 1535 to 1618, was St George Kalafati. When it first appears in 1535, a former monk of St Apostles at Kato Karkassa, Malachias Maniotis, who was living at St George⁷⁴, bought a house in the village of Kalamafka. In 1542, another former monk of the Kato Karkassa monastery, Philotheos Davrados, was living there⁷⁵ when he made a purchase of an orchard near the monastery of St Paraskeve at Psathi⁷⁶. The same monk in his testament which he made the following year from the

⁷¹ KALLERGIS, f. 55v-r.

⁷² This would date the monastery back at least to 1530, but as a matter of fact the monastery must have been much older: if Ioannis Lamnonitis the younger was about 50 years old when he made his testament in 1568, then his father must have been born around 1490. The latter's father could have founded the monastery between 1480-1490, when he would be at his prime.

⁷³ KALLERGIS, ff. 65v-67r.

⁷⁴ See n. 26 supra.

⁷⁵ Apparently for a short time, because before and after this date he was at St Paraskeve: see n. 30 supra.

⁷⁶ OLOKALOS, 215, no. 225.

monastery of St Paraskeve bequeathed half a mill and some olive trees to St George at Kalafati as well as some more olive trees to St George at Kalamafka "where the nuns are"⁷⁷. This leads us to conclude that St George at Kalafati and St George at the village of Kalamafka were the same monastery. In fact, there still exists a church of St George near Kalamafka about which the local tradition says that it used to be a monastery⁷⁸. The tradition is once more corroborated by the fact that the locality of the church is called Kastellana or *Kalafathiana*, a place-name deriving from "Kalafati". The fact that the church has wall-paintings⁷⁹ may point to an earlier date of foundation, probably in the 15th century. The monastery was last mentioned in 1618 when a monk called Vlachos lived there⁸⁰.

b) *Other monasteries*

This group includes cases of monasteries which either are known from a unique mention or our information about them covers a brief period of time.

The earliest known case, mentioned in a notarial act of 1511, is the monastery of St George at the village of Potami⁸¹, a village a little to the west of Ierapetra, which has now disappeared and the church is unknown.

St John Prodomos commonly called "Koutou", which appears once in 1527 has been already mentioned⁸².

There are two mentions of a monastery of St Paraskeve at Kaminaki, one in 1526 and the other in 1538. In the former case a testator from Anatoli bequeathed some of his belongings to this monastery⁸³; in the latter case a woman, probably from Anatoli as well, left 50 yperpyra for her parents "who were abducted by pirates" in case they returned, otherwise after a year the money would go to the monastery of St Paraskeve⁸⁴. The

⁷⁷ OLOKALOS, 225, no. 293.

⁷⁸ N. PSILAKIS, op.cit., 540.

⁷⁹ G. GEROLA-K. LASSITHIOTAKIS, *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος τῶν τοιχωγραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, Irakleio 1961, 101, no. 746.

⁸⁰ MELISSINOS, lib. 2, f. 30v.

⁸¹ OLOKALOS, 51, no. 6.

⁸² See n. 24 supra.

⁸³ OLOKALOS, 85, no. 52.

⁸⁴ OLOKALOS, 180, no. 178. It was in 1538, during the third Veneto-turkish war, that the pirate Hayreddin Barbarossa attacked Crete and caused immense destruction and took many prisoners. In 1522 Ierapetra had been attacked by pirates again, with many of its inhabitants abducted into slavery. The parents of the testator must have been taken by pirates in such an incident, probably the same year 1538. See in general G.S. PLOUMIDIS, *Οἱ βενετοκρατούμενες ἑλληνικὲς χῶρες μεταξύ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τοῦ τρίτου βενετοτουρκικοῦ πολέ-*

location of this monastery is today unknown, but judging by the fact that the testators lived in Anatoli, the monastery must have existed in the vicinity of this village.

One more monastery is encountered twice, that of St Phanourios. In 1529 this monastery belonged to the fief-holder Francesco Zen, who dedicated a neighbouring field to the monastery to be at the disposal of the abbot, the monk Gerasimos Kalyvas, who seems to have had recently settled at the monastery⁸⁵. Gerasimos had to offer ten bee-hives, which seem to have prospered, as some twenty years later, in 1551, a priest accepted the considerable amount of 50 yperpyra on behalf of the monastery in order to deliver honey and wax to the buyer the following year⁸⁶. Both notarial acts are connected with the village of Prina, to the NW of Ierapetra. There is only one, renovated, church of St. Phanourios in the vicinity today, near the 19th-century village of Kato Khorio, which preserves an unidentified coat-of-arms on the lintel of its entrance.

A monastery of Panagia, at a location called Kato Drygies, is also mentioned twice, in 1537 and 1538. We do not know if this place used to be a village, but today it is a simple place-name near Anatoli, a little to the NW of Ierapetra. In 1537, the notary Ioannis Olokalos in his testament bequeathed some ecclesiastical books to this monastery and it is possible that one of his daughters, who was a nun, lived there⁸⁷. The next year, 1538, a woman left in her testament one ducat to be spent at the time of the "inauguration" of the church⁸⁸. The church survives today and on the lintel of the entrance the date 1521 is inscribed⁸⁹; so the church certainly antedates this date.

A third monastery that we have not been able to identify as yet is St Michael which appears for the first and only time in a testament of September 1540⁹⁰. If a mention of a location called "at the Archangel" near the village of Kapistri⁹¹ is connected to this monastery, then it must have existed somewhere in the vicinity of this village.

μον (1503-1537), Ioannina 1974; I.G. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἡ Κρήνη κατά τὸν τέταρτο βενετο-τουρκικὸ πόλεμο (1570-1571)*, Athens 1978.

⁸⁵ OLOKALOS, 112, no. 89.

⁸⁶ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 262v.

⁸⁷ OLOKALOS, 173, no. 173.

⁸⁸ OLOKALOS, 182, no. 181.

⁸⁹ D. TSOUGARAKIS and E. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, in *Ἐνθόμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, 717, no. 421.

⁹⁰ MISSINIS, lib. 1, f. 41v.

⁹¹ MISSINIS, lib. 1, f. 69 (28 November 1541).

One more unidentified monastery is St Anthony at Metea, an unknown location. It appears twice in 1542 and 1544 in identical acts: In 1542 its owners, the brothers George and Nicolo Stavrakis who had inherited the monastery from their father, granted it to a monk so that he settled there with the obligation to build a wall and plant trees and manage and increase it. The monk had few obligations towards them, and the owners would be paying the feudal dues themselves. Two years later, the same owners made the same grant to a different monk with identical terms, which leads us to assume either that the former monk died or that he left, annulling the agreement⁹². The fact that the Stavrakis brothers had inherited the monastery from their father shows it existed at least thirty years before its first mention, i.e. from around the beginning of the 16th century, if not earlier.

Another monastery of St Anthony appears in 1545 but as no location is specified, no identification is possible. The monastery was owned by *kyr* Constantine Vigontzas, and his representative, the monk Gerasimos, granted it "on behalf of Vigontzas and on behalf of himself" to *mastro* Manolis Gerakaris to take care of it "until his return". In the event of his death, Gerasimos left the monastery to Gerakaris to manage and to have every power to accept monks and do whatever he thought best⁹³. The case is interesting because the grantee was a layman, which is unusual.

Equally unidentifiable is a monastery of St John appearing in an act of 1545, as no topographic details are given⁹⁴. This St John could be any of the already known monasteries with this name. Also unknown are two more monasteries which appear only once each: In 1545 a widow bequeathed in her testament an amount of money to the monastery of "Christ the Orphan", otherwise unknown⁹⁵; and in the following year 1546 there was a donation of an orchard to the monastery of "Panagia [Virgin Mary] Odigitria... in the place called Stylos", also unknown⁹⁶.

On the other hand we are not certain that the reference to the monastery of St George at the village of Episkopi in an act of 1546⁹⁷ refers

⁹² MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 3v and 32.

⁹³ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 54.

⁹⁴ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 143v.

⁹⁵ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 57v.

⁹⁶ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 114v. In 1604 there was a mention of a church with this name near the village Kato Khorio, but it is unknown whether this was the same as the monastery: ZAMOFILIS, lib. 1, f. 214.

⁹⁷ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 94v.

to an actual monastery: there is a Byzantine church of St George in this village, and the reference is probably to this church rather than to a monastery.

St Anthony at Veritzi or Averitzi is another as yet unidentifiable case, as its location is unknown. It appears three times, in 1547, 1548 and 1549. In 1547 the monk Gerasimos Lamnonitis and his sister agreed to bequeath a plot of land to this monastery⁹⁸. In 1548, one George Theofylaktos of Ierapetra dedicated almost all his belongings to it in order to join the rest of the monks in a *koinobion* there and agreed "with the rest of the monks that they would all work and raise the said monastery and eat the same bread, that is it should be a *koinobion*..."⁹⁹ It is noteworthy that Theofylaktos would be joining the *koinobion* as a layman. In October of the next year, 1549, Theofylaktos made his testament in which he left some beehives and an animal to the monastery¹⁰⁰.

Also in 1548 there is mention of still one monastery called St George, but without any other qualification any identification with other homonymous monasteries is impossible. The widow of a Kostas Skordilis left the priest Michalis Sourias as her only heir on condition that he would built for her a cell at the monastery and undertake her full sustenance for the rest of her life¹⁰¹.

In 1550, we have the sole mention of the monastery of St Constantine at Apano Khorio, a village a little to the NE of Ierapetra. The village belonged to Giacomo Muazzo, who granted the monastery to the priest Manuel Vagianos. The priest would only pay the annual rent of 5 yperpyra and Muazzo would help him with the expenses. The landlord also rented to Manuel a vineyard and a field, and the priest could also "hold" other fields besides these. After the death of Manuel the monastery could be inherited by his son, if he happened to be a priest as well¹⁰². And indeed, fifty-three years later, in 1603, a priest Michelis Vagianos son of the late priest Manuel bequeathed this monastery to his two sons, the priest Manuel and John, who was to become a priest too¹⁰³. A renovated church of St Constantine exists at Apano Khorio today, apparently a replacement of the old one.

⁹⁸ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 119v-120.

⁹⁹ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 155v.

¹⁰⁰ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 199v.

¹⁰¹ MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 152.

¹⁰² MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 234.

¹⁰³ ZAMOFILIS, lib. 1, f. 123v.

A monastery of St Anne at Langada, in the region of the village Kapistri, is mentioned for the first time in 1571. The (feudal?) owner of the monastery was Marco Muazzo who instructed a priest to collect a donation left to the monastery from a deceased priest of Kapistri¹⁰⁴. The monastery is mentioned only once again in an act of 1604¹⁰⁵, but a metochi Langada or Langadia is also mentioned in 1601¹⁰⁶. The ruins of a church called St Anne at Langada (or Langadia) survive today to the north of Kapistri. It has been reported that remains of wall-paintings used to be visible at the church¹⁰⁷, a fact indicating that the church was much older than 1571, and may even go back to the 15th century.

The monastery of Panagia Paplinou appears once in 1581, when Cesare Muazzo donated a field to the monk Metrophanis who lived there, in order to have it "in eternity", exempted from paying any tax for the field. The only condition for the donation was that the monk who would be residing in the monastery ought to take care of the fields "as if they were his own" (i.e. diligently) without any financial burden¹⁰⁸. The church of Panagia Paplinou survives today about 10 km to the E of Ierapetra. It is a two nave church with no surviving frescoes. According to the tradition, it survived as a convent through the Ottoman occupation and was destroyed in 1822 during the War of Independence when the Turks raped and killed the nuns¹⁰⁹.

Finally, a monastery called St John Theologian at Mavrodis at the village Graia appears once in 1597. The feudal owner of the monastery was one Georgis Pavlis who sold a house and a field to a priest. The act leaves it unclear whether the priest was in any way connected to the monastery, but he must have been, otherwise the mention of the monastery would be irrelevant¹¹⁰. The church is unknown today, as is the village Graia. A little to the W. of Ierapetra exists today a coastal settlement called Gra Lygia (Gra=Graia [Old]), but no old church of St John seems to survive there, not to mention the fact that it would be almost out of the question, for reasons of security, to have a monastery very near the coast.

¹⁰⁴ MISSINIS, lib. 6, f. 84.

¹⁰⁵ ZAMOFILIS, lib. 1, f. 212v-213.

¹⁰⁶ ZAMOFILIS, lib. 1, f. 46v.

¹⁰⁷ G. GEROLA-K. LASSITHIOTAKIS, Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος, 102, no. 755.

¹⁰⁸ MELISSINOS, lib. 1, f. 21.

¹⁰⁹ E. ANGELAKIS, *Σητειακά*, Athens 1939, 72-3.

¹¹⁰ MELISSINOS, lib. 1, f. 110v-111.

¹¹¹ KALERGIS, 71v-72.

3. Monasteries of the last years of Venetian rule

There is a number of monasteries which appear during the last years of the *Venetokratia*, i.e. the 17th century. This does not mean that they were necessarily recent foundations, but only that they happen to be mentioned in the available sources of this particular period. The earliest of these in the 17th century was in October 1601, when a woman living in the village of Giannitsi donated all her possessions to a monk "of Agioi Pantes"¹¹¹. If this was a monastery, then it should be probably located in the vicinity of the village. In the same area, near the village of Apano Khorio, there is mention of another monastery in April 1604. The priest Michelis Vagianos bequeathed to his son John, who was to become a priest, the monastery of the Holy Cross in a place called Kefalovryssi¹¹². The place name survives until today near Apano Khorio, and a church of the Holy Cross exists there, probably a renovation of the old church. Three monasteries appear in the area of the village Kavoussi, to the NE of Ierapetra; they belonged to the same fief-holder, Andrea Muazzo son of Francesco, and are mentioned around the 1620s. The first of these, St Paraskeve, is mentioned twice, in 1619 and 1625, under the same circumstances. In 1619 the monastery is described as dilapidated and is granted for life to the monk Niketas Roussopsiris in order to revive it and cultivate its land "which was held by the previous monks or nuns". The usual stipulations are repeated, i.e. that Niketas has the power to settle priests and monks, and that he will contribute 200 yperpyra of his own, which will remain to the monastery after his death. This death seems to have occurred quite soon, because in 1625 the monastery is again granted by Muazzo to a different person, Marcos Skordylis, with the same conditions, with the obligation on behalf of Skordylis to repair the church, and the remark that Skordylis may use the 200 yperpyra which were dedicated to the monastery by the previous monk¹¹³.

The case of St Marina at Kavoussi is similar to St Paraskeve. The monastery is first mentioned in 1621, when Andrea Muazzo, owner of the one half, granted it to the monk Gerasimos Kalyvas called Dineris, but it is obvious that it was much older, as there is mention of a previous

¹¹² ZAMOFILIS, lib. 1, f. 123v. See also above.

¹¹³ GALANOS, 31, 78 respectively. The church of St Paraskeve survives today on a hill to the south of Kavoussi. It displays no wall-paintings and the only visible reminder of its past is a vaulted Venetian tomb a little to the west of its entrance.

monk living there who had been assassinated¹¹⁴. The conditions of the grant are almost the same as before, except that in this case there is an inventory of the goods of the monastery which include, among others, three cells, 25 bee-hives, one cow, one bull, one donkey and some fields. The monk would contribute 500 yperpyra from his own property, which, as usual, would remain with the monastery after his death. As before and as in most similar cases, the feudal charge was minimal. Five years later Kalyvas had died, and in February 1626 Andrea Muazzo granted the monastery to another priest, Manolis Dacanale, to hold for life, and after his death it might pass to one of his sons, if he happened to become a monk. The inventory of the monastery now shows that the deceased Kalyvas had dedicated to the monastery "one orchard...two cows, 15 bee-hives and other household goods". The monastery was again free from feudal burdens but the priest had to contribute to it 500 yperpyra from his own, which he promised to do by dedicating to it an olive grove that he had¹¹⁵. Seven months later, in September 1626, by mutual agreement Muazzo and the priest Dacanale annulled the previous act, the monastery returned to Muazzo and the priest was set free from his obligations¹¹⁶. With a second notarial act of the same day, Muazzo granted the monastery to the monk Gennadios Patsidiotis, with almost the same conditions as before, this being the last time we hear of St Marina¹¹⁷.

The third monastery that appears in the 17th century near Kavoussi is Panagia at Tholoi, which is mentioned in a single act of 1622¹¹⁸. In this act, the landlord Andrea Muazzo granted the monastery to the priest Sifis Frangos from Kavoussi. The conditions of the grant are generally the

¹¹⁴ GALANOS, f. 46v. There is a mention of a monastery of St Marina in 1550 (MISSINIS, lib. 5, f. 226) but without specifying the location; however, given that there does not seem to exist any other St Marina in the area, there is a good chance that this was the older mention of this monastery.

¹¹⁵ GALANOS, f. 64.

¹¹⁶ GALANOS, f. 68.

¹¹⁷ GALANOS, *ibid.* The church of St Marina today exists between the villages of Kavoussi and Monastiraki. It has suffered various interventions and alterations but it still retains a tiny part of its wall-paintings, to remind us of its past. The existence of the frescoes shows that the founding of the church cannot be later than the early 16th century, at the latest, although we first hear of the monastery in written sources about one century later.

¹¹⁸ GALANOS, f. 54r-v. A notarial act drawn at Kavoussi in 1569 (MISSINIS, l. 6, f. 16v) mentions a monastery of Panagia without further details. Given that we do not hear of another Panagia in the vicinity, there is a good chance that this is the oldest mention of Panagia at Tholoi.

same as in the previous cases, except that Frangos undertakes the obligation not only to contribute 500 yperpyra, but also in the next four years to enlarge the church of the monastery by a certain length, to build a stable and a second floor over the cell, and to work the fields and the vines "according to the model [*sic*] that he would be given by his lordship"¹¹⁹. The monastery is not heard of again, but north of Kavoussi at a place still called Tholos¹²⁰ there is a small church of Panagia, perhaps of later date, which may have replaced the old Venetian church.

There are three more monasteries mentioned in the area before the Ottoman occupation of Crete: the first is that of Christ the Saviour at Psathi¹²¹, in which the well-known Cretan scholar Agapios Landos resided in 1628. The monastery, which is near the village of Agios Ioannis to the E of Ierapetra, must have survived for some time during the Ottoman occupation, because it was a *metochi* of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1773, but at that time it was deserted and its olive-press ruined. The last time we encounter it is in 1797 in a catalogue of the possessions of the Patriarchate of Alexandria¹²². The other two monasteries were in the village of Makrilia, which is near the already mentioned monastery of Panagia Vryomeni. Just at the eve of the Ottoman invasion of Crete, in 1641, we hear of two monasteries there: one was a monastery of St George, and the other of St Anthony. Both are mentioned in a *relazione* of the Latin bishop of Gerapetra, Giorgio Minotto, written in that year, and both are said to be dependent from the Latin bishopric, though they were "monasteri greci"¹²³. St George in Makrilia is not known from other sources, but St Anthony is previously known from a notarial act of 1599, when a monk of the monastery bought an olive-press in this village¹²⁴. Today, at the outskirts of Makrilia there is an old church of St Anthony, recently re-dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul, which, according to the local tradition, used to be a monastery: this oral tradition is proven correct

¹¹⁹ "...κατά το μοντέλον οπου η αθεντία του θέλει δώσει".

¹²⁰ The name "tholos" (vault) refers to the remains of a vaulted Roman building still extant in the vicinity.

¹²¹ It is possible, but by no means certain, that a "monastery in Psathi" mentioned in an act of 1548 (MISSINIS, f. 149) refers to this monastery, which then would be much older.

¹²² TH. DETORAKIS, Συμβολή στα βιογραφικά του Ἀγάπιου Λάνδου (Δύο ανέκδοτα νοταριακά έγγραφα) ΡΟΔΩΝΙΑ, Τιμή στον Μ.Ι. Μανούσακα, I, Rethymno 1994, 123-130. K. PARASYRAS, Τα ἐν Κρήτη ποτέ κτήματα, 94-96.

¹²³ See n. 56 supra. In this *relazione* Minotto mentions that various Orthodox churches of Ierapetra offered periodically wax and olive-oil to the Latin cathedral of the town.

¹²⁴ ASV, Notai di Candia b. 241, not. G. Roussopirris, f. 129v.

once more. Furthermore the tradition maintains that St Anthony became a *metochi* of Sinai and remained so until the beginning of the 20th century, which means that St Anthony survived the Ottoman occupation¹²⁵. In the same village there must have existed one more monastery because an Ottoman document of probably 1689 refers to the tower of the monastery of St John at Makrilia¹²⁶. Given that no monasteries could have been built after the Ottoman occupation, this St John was certainly a monastery of the Venetian period. A church of St. John still exists today near the village, but no tower is now visible¹²⁷. Finally, a few years after the Ottoman occupation a last monastery of definitely Venetian origin is mentioned: In 1685 in the village of Malles, NW of Ierapetra, the monastery of Panagia at Armos had been occupied by the bishop of Seteia who kept it after agreeing to pay a sum of money to the legal heiress, a niece of the late owner. The heiress stated that she had no claim "on the annexes of the monastery, its fields, olive trees, vineyards, orchards, sheep, bee-hives, oxen and in general all the possessions and furniture of this monastery"¹²⁸. The list of possessions describes an active monastery the property of which must have been acquired over many years during the Venetian period, though no other information is at present available. The monastery was eventually abandoned some time in the Ottoman period, but its possessions remained and became a *metokhi* of the monastery of Panagia Faneromeni. The renovated church of Panagia at Armos survives today near Malles.

Finally there should be mention of a Franciscan monastery in the town of Ierapetra, which was founded by a Catholic Greek, Paolo Muazzo. This small institution used to celebrate mass at the church of St Salvatore, which had a main aisle for the Orthodox service and a secondary aisle for the Latin. A public disorder resulted during a litany in 1626 or 1627, when the Greeks discovered that the much venerated Orthodox icons had been removed from their proper place and put at a side, in an "inferior" place in the church. The authorities ordered the separation of the two creeds. The Proveditor General Francesco Morosini, however,

¹²⁵ N. PSILAKIS, *op.cit.*, 540. The church of St Anthony was re-dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul ca. 1970.

¹²⁶ N. STAVRINIDIS, *Μεταφράσεις Τουρκικῶν Ἱστορικῶν Ἐγγράφων*, II, Irakleio 1986, 340, no. 987.

¹²⁷ N. PSILAKIS, *op.cit.*, 540.

¹²⁸ N. STAVRINIDIS, *op. cit.*, II, 240-1, no. 844; cf. N. PSILAKIS, *op.cit.*, 531-35 for its later history.

thought best to leave things as they were and to simply arrange the altar in order to serve both Greeks and Latins¹²⁹.

There are two more monasteries in the area which are the main functioning monasteries in the province today: Panagia Faneromeni and Moni Exakoustis. But despite the fact that according to the local tradition these are very old institutions, there survives nothing today in these monasteries, either in the form of documents or archaeological remains, which is older than the 19th century. For this reason they were not included in the present study.

4. Conclusions

a. Foundation and possession

As we have information about the actual foundation of just one of those monasteries, and even this is not fully documented, it is not clear whether a permission by the fief-holder was needed - at least none is mentioned. It might be possible that in the case of the monastery of Panagia (Virgin Mary) at Vaionia the foundation was not originally on feudal land, though later it certainly belonged to the local fief-holders. In any case the founder Neilos Damilas refers to the monastery as "his", and no fief-holder is mentioned in the surviving *Typikon*, nor any obligations towards such a person.

On one occasion, that of the monastery of St John the Theologian at Giannitsi, we have a monastery founded by a *protopapas* who bequeathed it to his descendants (who also refer to the monastery as "theirs"), until the last of them gave it to someone outside the family. At a certain point this monastery of St John the Theologian came to be on the land of a noble landowner; the family of the founder obviously held it as a *goniko*, and had to pay the required dues. If the monastery was founded in the landowner's land in the first place, there is no mention of how, or if, a permission had been obtained for its foundation. The same uncertainty applies to other monasteries, which did not belong to big landowners.

Even when it is quite clear that a monastery actually belonged to one of the Veneto-Cretan nobles, the priest or abbot who at a given time is in legal possession of the monastery, which is usually conceded to him for

¹²⁹ Fr. Morosini, *Relazione di Candia 1629*, ed. S. SPANAKIS, *Μνημεία τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἱστορίας*, II, Irakleio 1950, 115-6; EVA TEA, *Saggio sulla storia religiosa di Candia*, 64; G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti*, II, 155.

his lifetime with or without any burdens, refers to the establishment as his own.

It is clear that it was the right of the fief-holder or whoever owned the monastery to appoint an abbot¹³⁰, who had certain rights and duties explicitly laid down in a notarial document. He was entitled to the general management of the monastery, to decide on the admission of monks or nuns, to conduct unhindered the rightful management of the financial affairs and of the revenues, and in particular the management of the landed property. In general, the abbot should behave and manage the monastery "according to the custom of the monks" and the owner reserved the right to expel him in case of breach of the agreement. One of the main stipulations laid down by the fief-holder or the owner was that the new abbot should repair the church, or any cells, outhouses or walls that required attention, and that he should govern well and "increase" the monastery. The new abbot usually promised to dedicate land or cash to the monastery, perhaps as a sort of *embatikio*, or as a "dowry", and that whatever the monastery acquired during the period of his tenure, including his own dedications, would remain as the monastery's property after his death or his voluntary departure, while his heirs had no right to any of it. In certain cases the same person is given more than one monasteries to manage as abbot, the most characteristic case being that of Benedict Tourkos who was given five.

In most cases, it is not immediately clear what, if any, economic gain the landowner might have had from such arrangements. The fief-holders seem anxious to settle an abbot and monks at their monasteries, either because a monastery was deserted and they wished to revive it, or because the previous abbot died or left. The financial obligations -at least those that were written down- of the monastery and the monks towards the landlord were usually minimal, and often they were completely waved. Other, probably non-economic, factors should also be taken into account, and above all religious piety. This is certainly present in the donation of land to various monasteries, free from any obligation, or of whole monasteries to ecclesiastical institutions, the most prominent case being the Muazzo donation of three monasteries to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. One obvious advantage was, of course, that the monastic community would keep the land of the monastery always cultivated -in fact this was always an explicit and clear stipulation in the notarial acts. Since, howev-

¹³⁰ A. XIROUCHAKIS, *op. cit.*, 38.

er, the landlords did seem anxious to have the monasteries inhabited and their land cultivated, it is fair to assume that the exemption of duties did not apply to any land that the monks might hire and cultivate, but that it was expected that the monastery would hire further landed property from the landlord and would pay the appropriate duties. This at least the correspondence between the Muazzi and the Patriarch of Alexandria seems to imply: the Muazzi reaction was prompted by the fact that the Patriarch's representative did not hire land from them. The same is also implied by the act of 1550 concerning St Constantine at Apano Chorio. In any case, it is known that the Latin Church recommended, if not imposed, the obligation to the clergy not to neglect the restoration and general maintenance of the churches and consequently one quarter of the revenue of the churches should be spent for that purpose¹³¹.

Nevertheless, the number of monks residing in these monasteries was more often than not rather small, and so were their possessions, which, obviously, could not usually support more than three or four of them.

b. Relation between monasteries

The most common relation between two monasteries is the one being the *metokhi* or dependency of the other. In fact the most prominent or rich monasteries used to have a considerable number of such dependencies, or to acquire and transform into dependencies smaller and financially weaker monasteries. In the case of the monasteries of Ierapetra, however, this very common practice seems to be rather rare: most of the monasteries in the area, including those which seem to have been small, appear to be independent or to have no other monasteries as *metokhia*. The exceptions are few and not typical: In 1604 a church of St Paraskeve and its (present or future) belongings were donated to the monastery of Panagia at Gourni, which means that this church and its land, if any, became a *metokhi* of Panagia. The other non-typical case is the connection that existed among the three monasteries, namely St Apostles at Kato Karkassa, Christ the Saviour at Pano Karkassa and Panagia at Vaionia. The two former, in close proximity to one another, had always had a close relationship and were sometimes treated as if they were one institution, while the third was founded by Neilos Damilas at a time when he was living in St Apostles. In the two centuries of their life before they were donated to the Patriarchate of Alexandria there is no mention that any of the three had become a *metokhi* of the other, yet their ties were very strong.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

c. Sources, Dating, Survival

The written sources we have at our disposal can in certain cases be complemented by the survival today of the monastery itself. Actually, what usually survives today is the church of the monastery and very rarely the ruins of cells or other buildings. Even so, the survival of the church displays a surprising degree of continuity, as almost always it has retained the dedication to the same saint. In those cases where the church survives today or survived until recently, the monument itself can provide additional information to that provided by existing written sources. In the area of Ierapetra in only one case, that of Panagia Vryomeni, does a foundation inscription partially survive, but without the full date, which could be 1401-1402 at the earliest¹³². A second possible case is St Apostles Kato Karkassa, where traces of a foundation inscription exist with a date of maybe 1391/2 or later¹³³. But besides the formal inscriptions we can be aided by other testimonies. As a case in point we could consider the monastery of St Anthony at Kavoussi. The surviving church is the usual small, single-aisle basilica, with a barrel-vaulted ceiling and a tiled saddle roof. Inside, it conserves the original wall-paintings, even in a dilapidated condition. What is interesting, nevertheless, is this: our existing written sources mention this monastery in 1619; nothing else is known before this date. The frescoes, however, show that the church is much earlier, certainly by more than one century¹³⁴, and quite probably more. This is confirmed by a number of graffiti existing on its walls, the earliest of which dates to 1380 or 1390¹³⁵, which shows that the church was there at least during the last years of the 14th century. But has it been a monastery since that time? One cannot tell. If it were, then by 1619 it may have been in disuse or deserted, because the notarial act of this date mentions that the new abbot ought to, among other things, "build cells".

But there is the opposite case as well. Our written documentation gives several details, as well as the exact date of the foundation of the monastery of Panagia at Vaionia by Neilos Damilas. When an existing

¹³² G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti*, IV, 581.

¹³³ See *supra*, p. 000. This date, however, is by no means certain.

¹³⁴ Since the decoration of churches with wall-paintings practically stopped in the 16th and 17th centuries: see M. BORBOUDAKIS, 'Η τέχνη κατά τη Βενετοκρατία, in *Κρήτη. Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, ed. by N.M. PANAGIOTAKES, II, Crete 1988, 231-288: 285; cf. G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti*, II, 300-302.

¹³⁵ D. TSOUGARAKIS and E. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, 'Ανέκδοτα χειρόγραφα και επιγραφές από μονές και ναούς της Κρήτης. Μέρος Β, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Έλληνικά* 7 (2003) [forthcoming]

church was identified as that of the old monastery¹³⁶, the monument itself had nothing at all to add to what we already knew: no frescoes survive and the actual church is a very small affair.

Generally speaking, if the extremely adverse historical conditions are taken into account (particularly during the Ottoman domination of Crete), the survival rate of the churches of Venetian-period monasteries to the present day is quite high, as it reaches more than 55 per cent (see Table). The survival of wall-paintings in some of these churches gives a good chronological indication, if not of the foundation, at least of their decoration, although the absence of specific studies for most of these churches presents historians with a handicap.

¹³⁶ The identification was done by M. NIKOLIDAKIS, 'Η οικόδομη και ἡ ἀναγνώριση τῆς ἀγνώστης μέχρι σήμερα μονῆς τῆς Βαϊωνέας στὴν περιοχή τῆς Ἱεράπετρας Κρήτης, *Acts of the 4th International Cretological Congress, II*, Athens 1981, 298-307.

Table 1 - Monasteries of Ierapetra in the Venetian Period

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Name	Locality	Village or other Location	First mention	Last mention in Venetian	Mentions in 18th cent. &	Feudal owner(s)	Other owner	Surviving church	Surviving frescoes	
1.	St Anthony		Kavoussi	1380	1619		A. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
2.	Ss Apostoli	Kato Karkassa	Anatoli	1391/2	1633	1773, 1797	G. Barozzi, F. Muazzo	Patr. of Alexandria	Yes	
3.	Panagia	Valonia	Kalogeri	1399	1603 [1636]	1773, 1797	F. Muazzo	N. Damilas, Patr. of Alexandria	Yes	
4.	Christ	Pano Karkassa	Anatoli	1400	1636	1773, 1797	G. Barozzi, F. Muazzo	Patr. of Alexandria	Yes	
5.	Christ (or St George)	Assari	nr Kapsistri (Stavros)	1400	1470				Yes	
6.	Panagia Vryomeni		Makrilia / Messeleroi	1401	1641				Yes	
7.	St George		Podami	1511						
8.	Panagia		Kato Dryghes	1521	1538			Yes		
9.	Panagia	Gourni	Kapsistri (Stavros)	1525	1634		V. Muazzo, M. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
10.	St Paraskeve	Kaminaki	Anatoli (?)	1526	1538					
11.	St John Koutou		?	1527						
12.	St Phanourios		Prino	1529	1551		F. Zen			
13.	St Demetrios	Khavgas	Kalogeri	1529	1597		F. Muazzo	Yes		
14.	St John		Glammisi	1530	1600		[on Muazzo land]	Lammonitis family		
15.	St George Kalafati		Kalamafka	1535	1618		F. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
16.	St George		Dryghis	1536	1595		F. Muazzo	Yes		
17.	St Paraskeve		Kalamafka	1536	1595		F. Muazzo	Yes		
18.	St Michael		Kapsistri ?	1541						
19.	St Anthony		Meisa	?	1542		C. Vigontzas			
20.	St Anthony		?	1545	1544					
21.	Christ the Orphan		?	1545						
22.	Panagia Odygithria		Steloa	?	1546					
23.	St Anthony	(A)Veritzi	?	1547						
24.	St George		?	1548						
25.	St Constantine		Apano Khorio	1530			G. Muazzo			
26.	St Anne	Langada	Kapsistri (Stavros)	1571		1822?	C. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
27.	Panagia Paphinou		Ag. Ioannis	1581			G. Pavlis	Yes		
28.	St John	Mavrodia	Graia (?)	1597						
29.	Agioi Pantes	?	Glammisi	1601						
30.	Hely Cross	Kefalovrissi	Apano Khorio	1603			A. Muazzo	M. Vagianos	Yes (rebuilt?)	
31.	St Paraskeve		Kavoussi	1619	1625		A. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
32.	St Maria		Kavoussi	[1507], 1621	1626		A. Muazzo	Yes	Yes	
33.	Panagia	Tholes	Kavoussi	[1549], 1622			A. Muazzo	Yes	[Yes]	
34.	Christ at Psathi		Ag. Ioannis	[1548], 1628		1773, 1797	A. Muazzo		[?]	
35.	Panagia	Armos	Males	[before 1669]		1685				
36.	St Anthony		Makrilia	1641				Yes		
37.	St George		Makrilia	1641				Yes		
38.	St John		Makrilia	[before 1669]		1688		Yes		

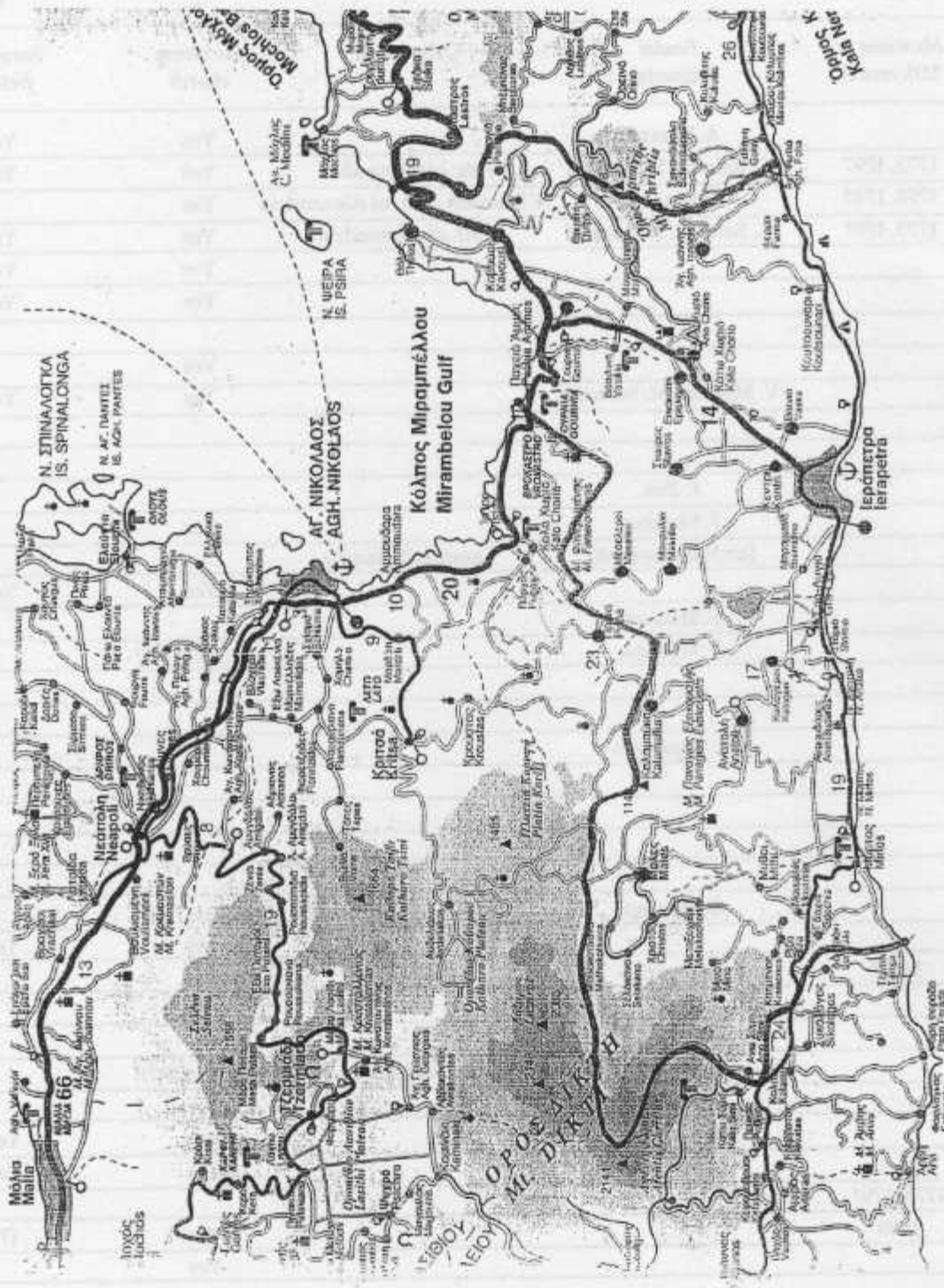


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