

SS. Mary and Dominic (Ayia Paraskevi)

The unique, unaltered 13th century Dominican priory church in Negropont

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The identification of the priory

The 13th century Latin basilica that still dominates the southern half of the mediaeval walled city of Negropont,¹ (Chalkis in Euboea), now dedicated to Agia Paraskevi, has served since the middle 19th century as the seat of the Metropolitan of Chalkis (Figures 1 and 2.). Its earlier associations were long in doubt, but two recently recognized figures, St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, carved in high relief at the springings of the triumphal arch, conclusively identify it as the priory church of the Dominican house of Negropont, one of the two first houses founded, after much delay, in the Province of Greece.² These figures had already been cleaned of an overcoat of plaster by the middle 1960s, but they are somewhat difficult to see from the floor of the church, and it was not until the campaigns of restoration and conservation under Dr. Nikolaos Delinikolaos in the first years of this century that they were recognized.³ In the absence of this evidence, various guesses were made about the origin of the building, most of them based on little more than loose historical associations.

1 Modern Chalkis, Χαλκίδα, on the island of Euboea (not the same location as ancient Chalkis).

2 Fr. Benedictus Maria Reichert. *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* Part. 1. Ab Anno 1220 usque ad Annum 1303. (in *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica* Rome and Leipzig. Hereafter, *MOPH.*) 3: 48. Anno 1249: Concedimus ... ·ii· [domos] in Grecia. As will be shown below, one of these houses has to be Negropont and the other Thebes.

3 Delinikolaos, Nikolaos D. and Vasiliki Vemi, “Αγία Παρασκευή Χαλκίδας. Ένα βενετικό πρόγραμμα ανοικοδόμησης του 13^ο αιώνα.” in Chryssa Maltezou and Christina E. Papakosta eds., *Venezia-Eubea, Da Egripos a Negroponte*, 2006, 229-266, at pages 248—49. The two saints can just be made out in a photograph in Beata Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Mediaeval Greece*. Chicago, 1979, plate 105, p. 133, but not with any detail.

In 1841, Alexandre Buchon, in his characteristic search for anything that could illustrate a specifically Frankish tradition in Greece, called it of “Frankish origin,” although Euboea was under direct Frankish control for only a year before being turned over to the Veronese dalle Carceri.⁴ He cites a reference to an Ayia Panagia (Nostre-Dame) in Negropont in 1205, but recognizes that this must be a different church from Ayia Paraskevi, given his conviction that the latter could not have been built by 1205.⁵ In 1884, George Lambakis, Director of the Greek Museum of Christian Antiquities pronounced Ayia Paraskevi to be a wood-roofed basilica of the 13th century, and expressed his surprise and delight that it had survived from the Crusader period in such good condition.⁶ He included a sharply-worded criticism of the author of the 1883 Baedeker (H. G. Lolling), for failing to understand that “this building is purely a work of the Crusaders, and believing that it was built at the end of the Byzantine period, although there is not a trace of Byzantine architecture here.”⁷ Lambakis also decided that the church must be the seat of the Latin bishop, which was for his time not an impossible guess, although it turns out to be quite wrong. Lolling's insistence on the existence of an earlier Byzantine church may have been influenced by Josef Strzygowski's research for his rather unfortunate article which used the presence of late Roman or early Byzantine capitals—spoils from another site, and perhaps even from another city—to create a phantom early-Byzantine basilica. The pressure of this nationally popular attribution seems to have forced Lambakis to step back from his entirely reasonable dating of the

4 Alexandre Buchon, *Voyage dans l'Eubée, les Iles Ioniennes et les Cyclades en 1841*. (Jean Longnon, ed., 1911). Paris, p. 24, “... d'origine franque. Elle est de structure gothique et contemporaine des premiers temps de la conquête franque.” ‘Franque’ means French, to Buchon, and does not (as it should not) include the Lombards and Venetians. The Lombard crusaders were in open conflict with the Frankish Emperor of Constantinople in 1207—09.

5 Buchon. *Voyage dans l'Eubée*, 25—26, citing Henri de Valenciennes. *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*. (Jean Longnon ed., 1948). Paris. §683, p. 116, “une eglise de Nostre Dame.”

6 Lambakis, George. “Ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι Βασιλικὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς,” in *Ἐβδομάς* I, B , *Φύλλον*, Athens, 23 September 1844, 267—68

7 Lambakis, “Ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι Βασιλικὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς,” 268, “... δὲν ἐνόησεν ὅτι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τοῦτο εἶναι καθαρῶς ἔργον τῶν Σταυροφόρων, ἀλλὰ νομίζει ὅτι ὠκοδομήθη εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς τῆς Βυζαντιακῆς περιόδου, ἐνῶ οὔδε ἵχνος ὑπάρχει τῆς Βυζαντιακῆς ταύτης ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς περιόδου.” H. G. Lolling, *Baedekers Griechenland*, 1883, p. 189, “Hag. Paraskevè, einst die Hauptkirche der Venezianer, soll zu ende der byzantinischen Zeit erbaut worden sein.” Lolling felt a strong dislike for Chalkis, spent very little time there, and took rather careless notes, as seen in the unpublished page proofs for the immense Baedeker he originally planned: Lolling. *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland: 1876 und 1877*. Berlin, (ed., 1989 by B. Heinrich), 323-24.

building to the 13th century.⁸ Strzygowski's article set the tone of almost all later studies, including my own, until recently.⁹

Very little of what was written about Ayia Paraskevi in the 20th century advanced our understanding of the building since most of it depended on Strzygowski's 5th/6th-century basilica or some slightly later relative, and none of it considered even the possibility of a Dominican association. Ramsay Traquair, in an article written many years after his research, drew up a floor plan that was a great step forward from the Strzygowski plan, but not an elevation. He judged the church to be founded on the remains of an earlier Byzantine basilica, but what he saw above that he described as simple Italian Gothic.¹⁰

Paulos Lazarides provided important details during his years as ephor at Chalkis, particularly concerning the structure of the *capella major*, and was probably responsible for cleaning the plaster encasement off the sculptures of the triumphal arch, although I cannot find that he ever said he had done so.¹¹ Otherwise, a regrettable amount of effort was expended in arguments about non-existent Byzantine predecessors.

The church was at various times, claimed to be the cathedral of the Greeks, or of the Latins, or both, or the patriarchal church set aside for the exiled Latin patriarch of Constantinople.¹² These identifications

8 George Lambakis [Lampakis], 1902. *Mémoire sur les antiquités Chrétiennes de la Grèce*. Paris, 1902, 13.

9 Josef Strzygowski, "Παλαιὰ βυζαντιακὴ βασιλικὴ τῆς ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς ἐν Χαλκίδι," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑτερείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 2 (1889), pp. 711—728.

10 Ramsay Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* Third Series, 31, (1923—24) 42—48, fig. 13 ("Italian Gothic," p. 47). The plan in Strzygowski, "Παλαιὰ βυζαντιακὴ βασιλικὴ," 715—61, was made by an architect in Vienna from dimensions paced off by Strzygowski, and the elevation from a photograph of the interior (which left the unfortunate impression that the roofline of the basilica was level from east to west), p. 716, n. 1.

11 Paulos Lazarides, "Μεσαιωνικὰ Εὐβοίας," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 19: Χρονικά, (1964), 214. Delinikolaos, "Ἁγία Παρασκευή," 244, " . . . αφού ένας ἀκόμη πενταφυλλος ρόδακας στο κλειδί του μεγάλου τόξου του ἱεροῦ ἦταν τότε ἀκόμη ἐπιχρισμένος [. . . since a five-petalled rosette at the summit of the arch of the *capella major* was still plastered over]." It was Lazarides's removal of damp wall-plaster along the south wall that revealed a sequence of doorways there.

12 Johannes Koder, *Negroponte: Untersuchungen und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*. Vienna, 1973, 92. As David Jacoby, "La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205--1390): un aspect de sa politique coloniale." *Bizansio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII—XV secolo)*. (Colloquio Internazionale Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p.) Venice 2002, 151—87, points out, (p. 183) the Latin Patriarch never had a church in Negropont, and was probably never resident there. That does not preclude the district being given his name, but it does help to explain how the Giudecca of the 1350s was carved out of the

were based on little more than the sheer size of the building which is indeed remarkable. Together with the surrounding plateia, it occupies a full one percent of the area of the old walled city, and with the necessary cloister, college, library, refectory and living quarters, it must have covered at least two percent. It is extremely unlikely that Negropont had room for any other religious complex even near this size. The Franciscan priory (S. Francesco *arente alla fontana*, see Figure 3.) which Nicolas di Martone found to be of comparable size, was outside the city walls.¹³

Several names have been suggested for the dedicatee of the church, again on the simple grounds that they seemed important enough to justify a building of this size. Among them were the *Panagia Peribleptos*, a name known from earlier references, and S. Marco, assumed to be the dominant church under the Venetians. This latter identification was particularly misleading, since it seriously distorted the whole plan of 14th/15th century Negropont. Precise arguments against placing the church of St. Mark in the center of Negropont require more space than can be taken up here. Although Jacoby believes that what the Venetians regained at Negropont in 1198 was nothing more than trading and customs concessions involving no buildings within the walled city,¹⁴ so restrictive an arrangement would fall well below normal standards.¹⁵ It is more likely that they had the use of, but no title to, the minimum of a *fondaco*, a hostelry, and perhaps a bakery, together with a church still subject to the bishop of Chalkis but open for their use (the Greek and Roman halves of the church, though already suspicious of one another, were still part of a single ecumenical institution). From 1204 to 1209, the Venetians

Patriarcado. From 1302 to 1305 the Latin Patriarchate was officially, though rarely—if ever—actually, resident in Candia, and in 1315 the office was joined to that of Bishop of Negropont, so that no separate church was necessary. In the 1460s the joint title of bishop of Negrepon and Patriarch of Constantinople was held by Bessarion, who seems never to have had occasion to visit the place.

13 Léon Legrand, “Relation du Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas di Martoni, Notaire Italien (1394--1395)” *Revue de L'Orient Latin* III (1895), 654. He described a church of Saint Mary as “maior ecclesia ipsius civitatis,” although he did not specify that it was Dominican. The likelihood, given the strong association of the Dominican order with the cult of the Virgin Mary, is that it was generally known as the Church of St. Mary, although there are documents that refer to it as the church of St. Dominic.

14 Jacoby, “La consolidation,” 153, “on n’y trouvait ni colons vénitiens, ni institutions ecclésiastiques vénitiennes.” *Ibid.*, 155, “L’accord de 1211 permit à Venise de s’implanter dans la ville de Négropon.”

15 Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

contented themselves with a continuation of this arrangement but, as part of the complex negotiations surrounding the settlement of the Lombard revolt, they turned this same small region of the town into a *burgesia* in which they claimed a considerable degree of autonomy, transferred the church from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chalkis to that of the Monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, and renamed it S. Marco (Figure 3.).¹⁶ It need not have been a large or imposing building. Its importance lay more in its new legal status than in its size and, although it seems to have been embellished from time to time, there is no evidence that it was ever one of the larger buildings in the city or that it occupied a central location. It remained the center of the original *burgesia* (which was probably known as Campo S. Marco) and the two definitions of the boundary between Venetian and Veronese Negropont (1262 and 1304) imply that the *burgesia* was somewhere north of the Euripus channel and close to the waterfront.¹⁷ During the 20th century, the clear reference to the Dominican house of Negropont as a major landmark not far from the center of town in 1262 was usually passed over without remark.¹⁸

Delinikolaos showed that the original masonry of Ayia Paraskevi dates to the 13th century and reaffirmed the judgement originally made by Lambakis in 1884.¹⁹ Moreover, a dendrochronology sample

16 Tafel, G. L. Fr. – G M. Thomas. *Urkunden zur Älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (1856—57 Hereafter, Tafel-Thomas) Part 2: 89—96, dated 1209. In Ravano dalle Carceri's version of the treaty, p. 94: "Habebit quoque gens uestra ecclesiam et fondicum in Negripo et in omnibus ipsius insule civitatibus, in quibus et ubi uolueritis, quod quidem in vos retenuistis." Jacoby, "La Consolidation.." 155, "Ravano [dalle Carceri] promettait à Venise une église et un fondaco en toute propriété (*quod quidem in vos retenuistis*) donc exempts de sa propre jurisdiction, tant a Négrepont que dans toutes les ville où elle le souhaiterait."

17 In Tafel-Thomas, Part 2: 175—77, dated 1216, Venetian holdings were extended along the length of the "new wall," in a 60-foot (*pes*, a little more than an English foot) wide strip from the wall down to the sea. Sea access from the original Campo S. Marco would be a part of this strip. A sea gate, "La Castagnola," which appears on a map published by Camocio (see below, note 25) is probably included in the "new wall."

18 Tafel-Thomas, Part 3: 46-51, where the "domus fratrum praedicatorum" is named on p. 48. It is likely to have been named also in the earlier (1256) version of the treaty, which is reported in a shortened text.

19 Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 238 "διαπιστώνουμε, . . . ότι ο Λαμπάκης είχε δίκιο όταν δήλωσε πως θεωρεί την Αγία Παρασκευή «βασilikήν ξυλόστεγον του ιγ' αιώνας» [we are convinced . . . that Lambakis was right when he indicated that he considered Agia Paraskevi as a wood-roofed basilica of the 13th century]" See also p. 240, "Επομένως δεν αληθεύει ότι το δυτικότερο μισό των τοξοστοιχιών αποτελεί ό,τι απέμεινε από τη μεσοβυζαντινή βασιλική [In consequence, there is no truth in the idea that the western half of the arcades consists of what remains of a middle Byzantine basilica]." In Plates 2 and 3 the yellow and pink tints on the elevations of the wall indicate two phases of 13th century construction identified by Delinikolaos. For the full range of the color scheme, see p. 265. Lambakis "Ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι Βασιλική τῆς Αγίας Παρασκευῆς," 268.

shows the date 1223 for one piece of timber from the roof, which is consistent with a date of about 1250 for the building of the roof.²⁰ My own review of earlier archaeological reports, and of primary sources such as the records of the annual Chapters General of the Dominican order, led to complementary findings which we both presented at a conference in Chalkis in November 2004.²¹

Identification of present-day Ayia Paraskevi with the priory church of the Dominican house of Negropont rests on abundant documentary and archaeological evidence. Documents include the initial authorization by the Chapters General of the order in 1249,²² the treaty of 1262,²³ and the description of a Venetian defense wall built from north to south through the center of the walled city.²⁴ Both of the latter documents are sufficiently detailed to provide a good indication that the priory was near the present site of Ayia Paraskevi. In addition to these, a map published by Camocio, and available in several reproductions, shows that San Domenego, one of only three major divisions of the city, on the same level of importance as the Episcopate (Vescovado), to the north, and the Patriarchate (Patriarcado), to the south, is located where Ayia Paraskevi now stands.²⁵ The principal archaeological evidence arises out of the thorough analysis of the structure by Delinikolaos, and his conclusion that

20 Peter Kuniholm, Carol B. Griggs, and Maryanne W. Newton, "Evidence for Timber Trade in the Mediterranean," in Belke, et al. eds. *Byzantina Mediterranea* (2006) 365—385. pp. 378-379, with Fig. 3, p. 371. See also, <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/2004News/ADP2004.html> and Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," : Plate 6. On the end of one of the corbels is one of the earliest representations of the Venetian emblem of a rampant lion. Maria Pia Pedani, "Il leone di San Marco o San Marco in forma di leone?" *Archivio Veneto*, serie V, vol. CLXVI : 185—190. p. 186, and n.8.

21 Pierre MacKay, "St. Mary of the Dominicans: The Monastery of the Fratres Praedicatores in Negropont." in Chryssa Maltezos and Papakosta eds., *Venezia-Eubea*, 125-156.

22 See note 2, above.

23 See note 18, above.

24 R. Cessi, *Deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*. Bologna, 1931—50, I. pp. 58—59. = LIBER PARTIUM MAIORIS CONSILII / NUNCUPATUS / MAGNUS ET CAPRICORNUS / ab Anno 1299 usque ad 1308 / Signatus No VIII / Fideliter extractus a Doct<or>e Francisco Carbone ... Venetiis Anno Domini MDCLxxvii . Reference (in pencil) ff. 11v--12r made to f. 153(v) [actual 153v—154v] (penciled whole number 231v--232v, at foot of folio. In margin on previous folio, the number 59---probably left by Cessi.) Die iv Ianuarij [1304] 1303 m. V. "et fiat una tertia porta in via, per quam itur ad Fratres Praedicatores[and let there be a third gate in the road leading to the F. P.]." This puts the Dominican priory on the Venetian side of the wall, whose line is probably preserved by the modern Odos Varitasi and Odos Vaki, with an extension down through the modern-day military compound. Other details from the same document show that the location of the priory was south of the center of the city. Cf. Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 261, n. 120.

25 See Jacoby, David. "La Consolidation," 185—87, and map p. 564. See also, Maltezos. and Papakosta, *Venezia-Eubea*, front cover, and p. 321; also cf., Fig. 1.

nothing on the site predates the 13th century.

For a closer dating, we may consider the particular circumstances of the Province of Greece and the authorization for the two houses of Negropont and Thebes in 1249. The Province of Greece was created as an administrative headquarters in 1228,²⁶ but it remained, so to speak, unpopulated until 1249.

Apparently it took 21 years to gather together the necessary number of friars (a minimum of 12 for each house) and to insure that they all had some competence in Greek and were otherwise suited to service in an isolated region. The major house at Bologna had the responsibility of communicating essential information to the Province of Greece, and that probably indicates that the small cadre of the province lived in or near Bologna. Even after the two-tier division of older and newer provinces was ended in 1241,²⁷ the Province of Greece was the only one with no regularly established houses and, once the 24 or more friars had been found for the formation of the two new houses, it is reasonable to expect that they would be eager to put the province on a regular footing as soon as possible. We have evidence that Thebes was probably functioning by 1253,²⁸ and the house in Negropont, as already mentioned, was a significant landmark by 1262 and probably by 1256.²⁹ I believe that building would have started as soon as possible after the authorization was given, in 1250. The dating of the roof timbers (Alpine larch, from north of Venice) allows such a schedule. Timber showing a latest date of 1223 could have been felled around 1240, and have a good 9 or 10 years for seasoning, even allowing for the special requirements of larch.³⁰ Karl Appuhn, whose work, *A Forest on the Sea*, (Baltimore, 2009), is a study

26 *MOPH* 3: 3. Cap. Gen. Annis 1228—33: “... ·viii· prefatis provinciis per beatam Dominicum institutis; ·iiii· fuerunt superaddite scilicet Polonia, Dacia, Grecia et Terra sancta.”

27 *MOPH* 3: 11. Cap. Gen. Anno 1239. Approved and confirmed in 1240 and 1241.

28 Tommaso Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia*. Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano 1999, 85, n. 188.

29 See note 18, above.

30 See note 20, above. Beams of this sort would not be cut too close to the bark, so that a beam showing an outer tree-ring from 1223 will have been felled a good many years after that date. In a message from Dr. M. Emanuela Brusegan Flavel, in Venice, she tells me that, “In a guided tour of the roof of the palazzo ducale, they said the timber was soaked in salt water for 2 years before using it.” Following this it might need soaking in fresh water, and several years of drying. In present-day Ibiza, resinous wood such as larch is still soaked in salt water, but there is no mention of a fresh-water stage. Many lists of requisitions in the Venetian archives show that the usual practice in the Venetian controlled parts of Greece was to import sawn timber and fastenings directly from Venice. There seem to have been no sawyers or metalworkers in places like Negropont capable of filling the needs of projects as large as the priory. See also, Diana Wright, “The

of Venetian practices with wood has assured me in correspondence that timber was unlikely to be stockpiled, but would be moved off the drying lot as soon as it was ready, so that it is quite possible that the beams for the priory church and for most of the other conventual buildings arrived in Negropont ready for use shortly after 1250.

A similar argument for early dating may be made concerning the extraordinary relief figure of Peter Martyr at the south springing of the triumphal arch. Much of the iconography of this arch is complicated and rather puzzling in a Dominican context,³¹ but it bears little on the subject of this paper. General models for both content and style will most likely be found in northern Italian Gothic, especially from the regions close to Verona rather than from any French examples.³² The image of Peter Martyr, which absolutely confirms the Dominican identity of the church must be later than his canonization in 1253. It may, however, be not much later, and its archaizing style makes it look more than a century earlier. At the Paris meeting of the Chapters General in 1254, in the year when the reforming master of the order, Humbert de Romans, was elected with his program of a return to humility and simplicity, the friars were also instructed to establish the cult of St Peter, and to enhance the celebration of St. Dominic and St. Peter with pictorial representations.³³ The house of Negropont

Wooden Walls of the Stato Mar." *Studi Veneziani*. N. S. XL. (2000) 160—77, especially the list on pp. 170—71.

31 Parts look remarkably like the sort of thing the reformer Humbert de Romans would have condemned as “curiositates.” But see Benoît Montagnes, “L’attitude des prêcheurs à l’égard des œuvres d’art.” in Édouard Privat, ed., *La naissance et l’essor du gothique méridional au XIII^e siècle*. Cahiers de Fanjeaux 9. Toulouse, 1974, 87—100. Montagnes p. 96—97 cites Humbert himself as acceptive of appropriate forms of decoration: “*décor [vestimentorum] est laudabilis*” and “*Ex pulchritudine forinseca instruitur multipliciter qualis esse debeat in virtutibus et moribus*.” The elaborate *arca* of St. Dominic in Bologna was planned very soon after the end of Humbert’s time as Master General.

32 Delinikolaos, “*Ἁγία Παρασκευή*,” 243, suggests Parisian sculptors, but French influence is unlikely to be significant in mediaeval Negropont, which knew French rule only for one year. Lombard Euboea and Frankish Central Greece and Achaia were rarely close, and sometimes, as in 1256, in a state of outright hostility. The differences were so clear that they were noted in a summary of the Dominican houses of Greece at the beginning of the 14th century (J. Quetif, and J. Echard. *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*. 1719 1: xii.) The summary is transcribed in Koder, *Negroponte*, 140, where the houses of Clarenza [Andravida] and Thebes are characterized as French (*Gallicorum*), while Negropont and Candia are Lombard (*Lombardorum*).

33 *MOPH* 3: 70. Cap. Gen. Anno 1254: “*Priores et alii fratres. Curam habeant diligentem. Quod nomen beati Dominici et beati Petri martiris, in kalendariis et in litanis scribantur, et picture fiant in ecclesiis* [The priors and all the brothers shall diligently take care that the names of S. Dominic and S. Peter be written into the calendars and the litanies, and that images shall be set up in the churches].” Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*. Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, Vermont. 2008. Pp. 79—95, describes the intensity of the Dominican and papal effort to promote this cult. The canonization of Peter Martyr remains the swiftest papal canonization ever achieved and, in the immediately following

may well have elected to distinguish itself by modifying the plans for the church to include one of the earliest surviving Peter Martyr figures ever carved.

The images in Ayia Paraskevi are aesthetically a world away from the contemporary Gothic work of Nicola Pisano on the arca of St. Dominic in Bologna and seem to look back 160 years to the work of Willigelmo of Modena, and to Willigelmo's successor, Nicholaus of Cremona, Ferrara and Verona.³⁴

The sculptor is technically skilled, but understands or cares little about the effect of a viewing angle from the floor of the church. The images are blocky and foreshortened even when photographed from scaffolding. Both figures are carved with strong, simple lines in which the shape of the Dominican habit is unmistakable.³⁵ The head and hands are noticeably out of scale, and the drapery hangs with a wooden heaviness. They can scarcely be seen from the floor in the east half of the church and, as will be shown below, they were never intended to be seen from the west half.³⁶ The representation of St. Dominic is conventional, but the head of St. Peter Martyr is quite extraordinary. The fatal wound is shown not through the top of the skull—a transverse cut from ear to ear is the commonest representation, although a cut through the forehead from front to back is sometimes shown—but across the eyes (Figure 9). A mounting slot, now much chipped and damaged, is evident across the eye-sockets, and two dowel holes over the temples supported an armature in which the blade of the knife

years, e.g., Cap. Gen. 1255, p. 76—77, the priors of Bologna (for Dominic) and Milan (for Peter) are given the special duty of collecting and accounts of miracles not yet properly recorded.

34 Jovanka Maksimovic, "La sculpture romane du xive siècle en Espagne, Italie et Yougoslavie." *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte. España entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico*. Granada 1973. (1976) Vol. 1: 407—10, discusses the persistence of Romanesque style in the countries around the Mediterranean. See p. 408, "figures fortes et charnues." It will be important, in this context, to see whether the figures of the saints seem to be done by the same sculptor as the rest of the triumphal arch.

35 Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," p. 248, n. 77.

36 Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," 46. Although he made special mention of the quality of the carvings in the south chapel "They are probably the finest Gothic carvings in Greece and are still very perfect." he did not mention carvings on the triumphal arch at all. It is not clear from his photograph of the east end of the nave whether they were visible at that time. They may still have been encased in plaster, as they appear to have been through the 19th century (Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 244, ". . . αφού ένας ακόμη πενταφυλλος ρόδακας στο κλειδί του μεγάλου τόξου του ιερού ήταν τότε ακόμη επιχρισμένος [. . . since a five-petalled rosette at the summit of the arch of the *capella major* was still plastered over]. The plaster had been removed by the mid 1960s. when the research was done for Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries*, (p. 133, Plate 105), but, to anyone looking up from the floor, St. Peter Martyr is recognizable only if one knows that he is there. The figure of St. Peter can also be recognized in Archimandrite Hieronymus Liapes, *Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Εύβοίας*. Athens 1971, Plate 49a.

was held in place against the martyr's face.³⁷ Depictions of the martyrdom seem to have begun with explicit and intentionally gruesome details of blood flowing from the wound—later ages found it so distressing that they tended to paint over the knife with sky tones in an attempt to hide it—but I know of no other representation of St. Peter as blinded by a blow directly to the face. The St. Peter in Negropont is quite possibly the earliest preserved sculptural image of the martyr, but neither this nor the later depictions of his wound match the evidence from the relic (the complete skull) conserved in the church of St. Eustorgius in Milan.³⁸ A pruning hook would be a prudent choice of weapon. It is one of the only large, lethal sword-like tools that a countryman could carry openly without awakening suspicion.

St. Dominic appears in many contexts—trptychs, paintings of the nativity or the crucifixion, etc.—that have no necessary direct association with the Order of Preachers, and there were periods when Peter Martyr as well was raised to a high level of popularity among the laity and some of the secular clergy but, when the two saints are found side by side in so significant a location as the entrance to the Capella maior of a church, it is as good a proof as an explicit inscription might have been that the church was wholly Dominican and, if it was Dominican, it cannot, in the 13th century, have been shared with any other ecclesiastical organization, especially not with a regular parish of the diocese where it happened to be located.³⁹ This restriction is discussed further in the second half of this study.

37 For the conspiracy against Peter, and his assassination, there is now a carefully researched account in Prudlo 2008, 56—65.

38 Forensic examination of this relic indicate that a pointed weapon, with a cross-section of about 1.5 cm by 8 cm was brutally driven into the skull from behind. This might have been the tip of a pruning hook, but not the long blade, as it is usually shown. See, for example, <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/23.21.2>, where the weapon is obviously not a sword of any known style. http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/U9Pt_KpiN3Tcj7bgElwYQA is a later, Spanish painting showing a short-bladed cleaver. The long axis of the wound runs from front to back, along the sagittal suture between the parietal bones of the skull. Santagostino, Ferdinando. *S. Pietro da Verona, martire Domenicano*. Milan: Industria Grafica L. Reali, 1952. For the forensic analysis, see pp. 107-114. The damage to the skull is so terrible that it raises a question of whether Peter could possibly have written his last profession of faith on the ground as the story claims, but for a possible explanation of this, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 65.

39 See nn. 47 and 50, below. The Negropont priory was built at precisely the time when relations between the secular clergy and the Dominicans were most tense.

The eight columns of the west half of the church, six inside and two outside the repaired west wall of 1854, prove what they proved in Strzygowski's day: that the mediaeval world was adept at using spoils from earlier centuries. They may suggest other conclusions, but they do not, in their present position, supply evidence for them. Their bases, assuming that bases remain, are buried under 0.70 meters of flooring in multiple levels, all of which appear to be later than the middle 13th century.⁴⁰ The present floor is at a level with the street outside, a level which must reflect conditions in 1854, so that it is at least a possibility that this floor was laid at that date. There seems not to be any documentation for a reflooring in the 1850s, but neither is there documentation for the installation of the suspended false ceiling in the Capella Maior that was discovered by Lazarides in 1963.⁴¹ A rise in ground level of 0.70 meters over the six centuries between 1250 and 1850 is surprising only in that it is so limited. Some evidence for it is visible on the north side of the church where the door into the east half, a little to the west of the bell-tower, appears to go down to a sill well below present ground level. The four doors along the south wall, which seem unnaturally low when viewed from inside the church would have a more reasonable height with a sill a meter below the present floor.

Unless and until exploratory excavations are made close to several of the main supports of the nave, both in the east and the west halves of the church, any statement about a floor plan preceding the 13th century remains speculative, and nothing more. Strzygowsky's Late Roman basilica has only slightly more warrant than the Doric temple of Zeus that has also been suggested as a forerunner of Agia Paraskevi.⁴² *Panagia peribleptos* while it certainly refers to a church somewhere in Byzantine Egripos, remains a name searching for a location. It might have been the reason for a designation of the Dominican priory church as a church of St. Mary but there is no evidence for that at present. The

40 Pavlos Lazarides, "Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεσαιωνικὰ Εὐβοίας," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 20: Χρονικά, (1965), 292–93.

41 Lazarides, "Μεσαιωνικὰ Εὐβοίας," 214.

42 Efi Sapouna Sakellaraki, *Chalkis, History – Topography and Museum*. Athens (Ministry of Culture) 1955. p. 40, Column 1, "The basilika of Ayia Paraskevi occupied the site of the temple of Olympian Zeus ..."

Dominican order is known for its intense support of the cult of the Virgin Mary (and is even credited with the invention of the rosary in that context). To name a new church for St. Mary would be natural for them.

The Dominican plan of the church.

Identification of the Dominican House of Negropont, provides a single fixed point of reference inside the walls of the mediaeval town and this will in some way make up for the wholesale razing of historical remains that took place in the decades around 1900. In addition the building serves as a rare, perhaps even unique, example of surviving Dominican architecture at an early stage of its development.

The original churches of the order were, by Dominic's choice, small and mean. They were meant to provide the least extent of sanctified space that would allow brothers and novices to say and hear mass as a community. Dominic and his first associates were given the use of buildings at Toulouse, but he thought them too grand and, in 1216, he succeeded in finding a small church with adjacent land where the brothers could build their own living quarters to suit his austere tastes.⁴³ The adjectives favored by the order for all buildings associated with themselves were: *parvae*, *humiles*, *viles*.⁴⁴

During his lifetime, Dominic was deeply concerned with protecting the order from any taint of luxury or unnecessary display. He saw no need for large churches, especially after he and his associates

43 The following, extremely condensed, history of the early order in its relation to the surrounding community draws from the historical summary in Gilles Meersseman, O.P., "L'Architecture Dominicaine au XIIIe Siècle: Législation et Pratique." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. Vol XVI (1946), 137—90 (Hereafter, Meersseman.) Meersseman's article may be the best available and best documented short summary of Dominican dealings with their close neighbors, although there is one slight difficulty in that he refers to documents in M.-H. Laurent, ed., *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica*; v. 15 fasc. 1. *Historia diplomatia S. Dominici*, 1933, which has been completely superceded by v. 25, Vladimír J. Koudelka, and R. J. Loenertz, eds., *Monumenta diplomatia S. Dominici*, 196. The earlier volume is somewhat difficult to find so I give the reference to *MOPH 25*, with an advisory mention of the reference in Meersseman's note. *MOPH 25*, #173, 68—69 (15, 80—81).

44 E.g., Meersseman, p. 144, n. 19, quoting M.-H. Laurent, ed., *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica*, 16 fasc. 2. (1933) *Acta canonizationis S. Dominici* p. 157,(testimony for the canonisation of St. Dominic, in 1233).

acquired the authority that came from being explicitly recruited by the papacy,⁴⁵ In 1219, Dominic was provided with a letter from the papacy addressed to all bishops, abbots and other prelates, instructing them to provide facilities for the Dominicans to preach.⁴⁶

Despite, or even because of, this explicit papal support, the Order of Preachers began early to pay a price for its own success. There were already hints of jealousy by 1218, when the friars in Paris were given the church of St. James, which was turned over to them under extremely restrictive terms, not alleviated until late 1219 when Pope Honorius III insisted that they have full rights there.⁴⁷ By 1240, the situation was far worse. Many bishops became hostile to the order, partly on account of the competition for resources that they perceived from all mendicants. Until this time, the central building of a Dominican house was required to be a church that could accommodate the brothers for the celebration of mass. Its size might be larger or smaller, depending on the number of friars and novices, but it had still to conform with the celebrated provision, “*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri* [Let our brothers have meager and humble houses].”⁴⁸ The popularity of the order had already made expansion necessary in some locations, as suggested by an apologetic explanation from Bologna, “*Crescente denique fratrum numero apud Bononiam, necesse erat domos et ecclesiam dilatari* [With the growth of the number of brothers at Bologna, it was necessary to enlarge the residences and the church].”⁴⁹ In the face of growing hostility from the secular clergy, however, there was a new requirement.⁵⁰ If the Preachers were to gather an audience, they would have to provide the location

45 Marian Michèle Mulchahey, “First the bow is bent in study—”: *Dominican education before 1350*. 1998, 7—9.

46 Meersseman, 140, “Puis donc que les Frères Prêcheurs avait pour mission d’aller prêcher ailleurs, Dominique n’attachait aucune importance à ce que les églises conventuelles de son ordre fussent spacieuses.”

47 William Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 Vols. New York, 1966, 1: 63—64, “Though the church of St. Jacques was suited for divine worship, the friars could not use it. The canons of Notre Dame cathedral, who enjoyed parochial rights over St. Benedict’s parish, within whose limits the Dominican church lay, refused to permit public worship. Preaching, hearing of confessions, and public services in the church were forbidden.” *MOPH* 25: #107, 112; #110, 115—16; #161, 162—63 (15: 119—21, 140—41.)

48 H. Deniflé. *Archiv für Literature- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1885. I: 225.

49 Meersseman, 146

50 Meersseman, 159, n. 60, cites occasions when the secular clergy absolutely refused to allow Dominican preaching in their parish churches, and remarks that it was impossible for the papacy to address each such occurrence individually. See also, Richard Sundt, “The Jacobin Church of Toulouse and the Origin of Its Double-Nave Plan,” *The Art Bulletin*,

themselves. In a letter of 1243 we find the description of a desired site for a Dominican house, which must encompass, in addition to the church, “*Locum . . . cui ad capiendos homines in praedicationibus sufficiens spatium habeat, et ad quem hominibus civitatis aditus ad fratres pateat accedendi non attendens sive sit intra civitatem sive sit extra, dummodo ista duo conveniant in eodem* [A place with sufficient space to accommodate the people during preaching, and where access to the friars will be open to the people of the town, no matter whether the site be inside or out of the town, provided that the two are to be together in the same convent].”⁵¹ Although not as authoritative as an entry in the records of the Chapters General, this phrase gives a good indication of the basic requirements of the new arrangement. The new space is contrasted precisely with the conventual space of the older style of Dominican house. In general the house was to remain a true convent, excluding the presence of the laity, but it was to include one area deliberately left open, *locum . . . ad quem hominibus civitatis aditus ad fratres pateat accedendi*: a part of the convent *dummodo ista duo conveniant in eodem*, although isolated from the rest. It was not to be situated apart from the convent and, indeed, we never find it so separated. The friars’ church (*ecclesia fratrum, ecclesia superior*), was to remain conventual and closed to the laity, a place of retreat from their larger mission into the secular world.⁵² The preaching area was a separate space, sometimes grafted onto the western end of the *ecclesia superior*, sometimes completely detached. This second space (*ecclesia fidelium, ecclesia inferior*) was in truth a “preaching barn” separated if necessary by a wall (*intermedium*) from the friars’ church, and deliberately shut off

Vol. 71, No. 2. (1989) 185-207, especially, 194, nn. 30—32.

51 Meersseman 1946, 159, citing J. C. Dierexens. 1773. *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens*. Antwerp. P. 253.

52 Richard A. Sundt, “*Mediocrates domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the thirteenth Century.” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 46, No. 4. (Dec.), (1987) 394—407. Sundt “The Jacobin Church,” 193—94, offers a compelling criticism of 20th-century interpretations of Dominican architecture such as the suggestion of Richard Krautheimer that Dominicans cared little for the sacred associations of their churches, “The double-nave scheme, he [Krautheimer] wrote, was suitable for ‘profaner Architektur’ but was otherwise unacceptable for churches. . . . However, in the case of mendicant churches, Krautheimer argued that this mattered little because their primary function was to serve as preaching halls rather than places of worship. . . . In his estimation at least, this resulted in an ecclesiastical architecture devoid of the sacred aura one experiences in structures built principally of exclusivbely for worship, such as cathedral, parish, or monastic churches. By contrast, Gino Fogolari, *Chiese Veneziane: I Frari e i SS. Giovanni e Paolo*. Milan, 1931, (pages unnumbered) observes, opposite Plate 32, that the removal of the *intermedium* from the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (he uses the term ‘*coro*’ by analogy with the somewhat anomalous arrangement in the Frari, where the *intermedium* incorporates the west wall of the choir) meant the loss of its original conventual character.

from any visual association with the *ecclesia superior*, as was required by the Chapter General of 1249.⁵³ In some plans, before the addition of chapels, there is no place identified for an altar in the *ecclesia inferior*, and this would suggest that there was never any expectation of celebrating mass there. It is also important to note that in many instances, and certainly in the Negropont priory, the images in the *ecclesia superior*, even those of the Dominican saints, were meant to inspire the friars themselves, not the laity, since they were located where the laity would have no chance to see them.⁵⁴

One of the most distinctive features of Ayia Paraskevi is the pronounced difference in style and organization between the east and the west parts of the nave. This has usually been explained as the result of an alteration made to an older building⁵⁵ but since recent archaeological and structural examination of the site has revealed no evidence earlier than the 13th century,⁵⁶ it is more useful to start

53 Item. Intermedia que sunt in ecclesiis nostris inter seculares et fratres. sic disponantur per priores. quod fratres egredientes et ingredienti de choro non possint videri a secularibus. vel videri eosdem. Poterunt tamen aliquae fenestre ibidem aptari; ut tempore elevationis corporis possint aperiri.

MOPH, 3: 47, Cap. Gen. 1249, lines 10—14.

Item. The partitions in our churches between the lay people and the brothers should be arranged by the priors so that the brothers may not be seen by the lay people as they enter or leave the choir nor may they see the lay people. Some windows may be fitted into these here and there, so that they may be opened during the elevation of the host.

I cannot find an earlier formal statement of the need for this *intermedium*. By 1249 it seems simply to be assumed. Meersseman, 154, indicates, in the case of two already existing churches, how this assumption might come about. The windows in the intermedium are described as permissible; they do not seem to be required.

54 The redesign of S Nicolò (and S. Dominic) in Bologna suggests some of the compromises necessary to accommodate the admonitions on superfluous decoration and the desire to honor the saints of the order. When the new *ecclesia superior* was planned, it was necessary to unearth the body of St. Dominic from the floor at the east end of the previous church where it must have lain with only the most restrained identification. Meersseman, pp. 154—155, citing *MOPH* 16 fasc. 2. *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum, auctore Iordano de Saxonia*, p. 84, “et corpus Dei famuli sub divo permansit [the body of the servant of God remained under the sky].” The elaborate arca was planned, but to put it in the *ecclesia fratrum* would have violated the prohibition of elaborate tomb monuments in this space. See *MOPH* 3:32 Cap Gen. 1245: “*Non fiant in ecclesiis nostris cum sculpturis prominentibus sepulture. Et que facte sunt auferantur* [There shall be no funeral monuments with prominent sculpture in our churches, and those that are there shall be removed].”

The arca was therefore placed in the *ecclesia fidelium*, where it served the additional purpose of aweing lay congregations. There were probably simpler images of S. Dominic and S. Peter Martyr in the friar’s church.

55 E. g., Strzygowski, “Παλαιά βυζαντιακή βασιλική,” 721, Traquair “Frankish Architecture in Greece,” 43, and almost all references from the remainder of the 20th century. Clara Bertolini Cestari et al. 2007. “The Timber roof of Hagia Paraskevi Basilica in Chalkida, Greece:” *From Material to Structure – Mechanical Behaviour and Failure in the Timber Structures*. ICOMOS IWC - XVI International Symposium – Florence, Venice and Vicenza 11th -16th. November 2007. np. (page 4) = www.icomos.org/iwc/16/bertolini.pdf; Nigel McGilchrist, *BLUE GUIDE: Greece and the Aegean Islands*, pp. 608—609.

56 Delinikolaos, “Αγία Παρασκευή,” , 238. The use of an earlier floor plan remains a possibility, but there is, as yet, no real evidence for it.

with the hypothesis that the present floor plan is that of the original foundation (except for the loss of one bay of the nave after the earthquake of 1853). Like all, or nearly all, Dominican churches after 1240, this one serves two distinct purposes, and presents a basic duplex plan rather than a divided unity. There were many reasons for the isolation of the *ecclesia superior*, but one of the most important was a concession to parish churches. It assured the parishes that if the laity wished to enjoy the normal sacraments of the church as anything other than a distant audience, they would have to resort to their own parish church. The Dominicans were here promising not to poach on the parochial preserve.⁵⁷

The order handled the challenge of a duplex architecture in several different and adaptive ways. In Toulouse, where the order had effectively begun, they split the church down the center of the nave and ran the *ecclesia inferior* alongside, but still separate from, the *ecclesia superior*.⁵⁸ In Bologna, they took down the apsidal end of their church of St. Nicholas, briefly exposing St. Dominic's tomb to the elements, and then built an entirely new *ecclesia superior*, doubling the length of the nave, but retaining a wall where the old apse of S. Nicholas had been.⁵⁹ In Florence, the adaptations are complex and somewhat bewildering, since they resulted in a 90-degree reorientation of the church.⁶⁰ More

57 After 1250, there were frequent admonitions in this vein, instructing the friars to make sure that the laity upheld their obligations to their own parish churches and to the bishop. For example:

Admoniciones. Caveant fratres ubique. Ne prelati vel clericis. Dent materiam turbacionis vel scandali. Sed potius eos habeant in reverencia et honore. Et inducant populum sicut commode poterunt ad devocionem erga eos. Et ut iura sua reddant eis fideliter. Nec contendant cum eis de potestate quam habemus in confessionibus audiendis et predicacionis vel huiusmodi.

MOPH, Cap. Gen. 1252, Bologna, p. 63.

Admonitions. The brothers shall take care in all places that they provide no occasion for conflict or scandal to the secular clergy, but rather hold them in reverence and honor. And that they induce the populace in whatever way is appropriate toward devotion to them, and keeping their promises to them in good faith. The brothers shall not contend with them [the secular clergy] concerning whatever authority we may have regarding the hearing of confession, or preaching, or anything of that sort.

Other similar admonitions warned the friars not to schedule a preaching at the same time as the bishop unless by specific understanding, and to urge all who intended to make bequests to the order to remember their parish churches too.

58 Sundt "The Jacobin church," 197-206 and Sundt, "Mediocris domos," 397—98, with Fig. 1.

59 Meersseman 1946, 153—58, gives a succinct account of the pressures which led the order to develop "duplex" churches throughout the Dominican world.

60 Meersseman, 160—62. Hall, Marcia. 1974. "The *ponte* in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37, 157—73. Description of the *tramezzo* in 1556, pp. 159—63.

extreme plans, exemplified by the Blackfriars priory in Norwich, England, made no attempt to unite the two *ecclesiae* but built separate units joined only by a narrow passage.⁶¹

The plan of Norwich Blackfriars, although the priory was about as far away from Ayia Paraskevi as is possible in Europe, emphasizes the same partition of the church into distinct functional areas, whose character was retained when it was rebuilt after a disastrous fire in 1413.⁶²

In plan the friars' buildings were functional, reflecting a specific desire to preach. For this reason, large open naves [*ecclesia inferior*] were favored, with the arcade as narrow and unobtrusive as possible. The chancel [*ecclesia superior*] was reserved for the use of the friars themselves, but [in the specific instance of Norwich Blackfriars] was unaisled, and *hidden from view* of the nave.

Pevsner-Wilson 1997, 297 (italics mine)

An 18th-century drawing shows that the windows of the *ecclesia superior* were much larger than those in the *ecclesia inferior*—clerestory windows shown in this drawing were not part of the original building. There is a doorway at the west end of the *ecclesia inferior* leading out to a preaching yard, a feature that may appear also at Negropont and Candia, in two of the six Dominican houses in Greece.⁶³

New Dominican houses were encouraged to start out with existing structures if they could and, in many instances, the properties given to the order were old, half-ruined basilicas—St. Eustorgius in Milan is a good example. The friars, as they slowly restored the building, chose a point somewhere along the nave where they could emulate the model of St. Dominic and St. Nicholas in Bologna. In these

61 Pevsner, Nikolaus and Bill Wilson 1997. *Norfolk 1*. (Originally *Northeast Norfolk and Norwich*. 1962), 267—69.

62 Like Ayia Paraskevi, Norwich Blackfriars has particular importance because of its preservation. "[I]t is the only English friars' church which has come down to our day so complete." Pevsner-Wilson 1997, 295.

63 Pevsner-Wilson 1997, 268—69. The plan of Norfolk Blackfriars indicates the preaching yard, without explanation of the term, as an irregular enclosure reached from inside the *ecclesia inferior* through a door at the southwest corner. There is no evidence of such an enclosure in Negropont or Candia, but special entrances at the west end of either church are suggestive.

churches, where the long nave had originally been a single architectural space, the division (*intermedium*, *tramezzo*) between *ecclesia superior* and *ecclesia inferior* would not necessarily have been integrated into the walls and floor, but might well have been a massive wooden barrier. As Marcia Hall has noted, we may have little published evidence for such a barrier because we have never looked for it. Hall cites a 19th-century study of S. Francesco at Bologna, which may have found evidence of an *intermedium* stretching from one outer wall to the other across the nave, but she suspects that it was misinterpreted owing to the prevailing sense that no such thing was possible.⁶⁴ The text from the Chapter General of 1249, however, establishes that the *intermedium* was a necessary feature.⁶⁵ If no trace of it can be found in the surviving masonry, then we should start with the assumption that it did exist, but might have been made entirely of wood.⁶⁶ In many ways such a structure would resemble a rood-screen but it would be more substantial, and would more absolutely emphasize the division of the church into two independent spaces.

By 1300, the Dominican order had abandoned restrictions on the height and ornamentation of their churches as unenforceable, but the division between *ecclesia superior* and *ecclesia inferior* remained the rule. Even mountainous structures such as SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, were originally built with an *intermedium*. The exclusion of the laity began, however, to seem elitist, and even before 1500 the *intermedium* may have been deprecated. After the council of Trent there was a growing sense that it ought to be removed altogether, and this was done so effectively that it became lost even to memory.

64 Hall, "The *ponte* in S. Maria Novella," 166 n. 27, (with Plate 34a), citing A. Rubbiano, A. 1886. *La chiesa di S. Francesco*, Bologna, 1886, and I. B. Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese di Bologna*, i, Bologna 1932, 219.

65 Hall, "The *ponte* in S. Maria Novella," 167, "A preponderance of the screens discussed here are in Mendicant churches. This is, no doubt, partially accidental and partially *due to the fact that all Mendicant churches had them.*" (Italics mine.)

66 It is not easy to gain acceptance for this idea. Despite the abundant evidence offered by Marcia Hall, (note 60, above, and also the summary final paragraph, *ibid.*, 173), and Richard Sundt (note 50, above), aesthetic judgements ultimately based on Richard Krautheimer, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland*. Cologne, 1925, arguing for a structure with an uninterrupted view along the nave from the west door to the altar, still seem to dominate the literature. For a recent example, see Karl Fugelso, "Multiculturalism in Italian Gothic Architecture." in James P. Helfers, ed. 2005. *Multicultural Europe and Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 91—112, especially p. 101, where Santa Maria Novella itself is brought into an aesthetic based on the characteristics of *Hallenkirchen*. *Ibid.*, p. 99 n. 23, "On the association of the hall-church design with the mendicants, see Richard Krautheimer, "Lombardische Hallenkirchen im XII Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 21 (1928), 178—79...."

The floor plan of Ayia Paraskevi is a condensation of the history suggested above. (Figure 3.) At the east end of the nave the *ecclesia superior* runs from the triumphal arch (above the *templon* of the present Greek Orthodox church) to a pair of rectangular pillars midway along the nave. The *intermedium* will have crossed both the nave and the aisles at this point, using the pillars to strengthen and stabilize it. The friars' church, east of the *intermedium*, was a bright, open structure divided into only two bays. A pair of tall columns with high gothic arches supported the rafters and allowed the light from three large gothic lancet windows (Figure 4.) along the north wall to reach across to the south aisle.⁶⁷ The *capella major* has a fourth gothic window in its north wall, now partly blocked by the north chapel and bell-tower, and that is a suggestive indication that the north chapel was a relatively late addition to the church.⁶⁸ In the north wall of the *ecclesia superior*, there is a tall gothic door, now filled in, which was revealed by an unpublished excavation that preceded Delinikolaos's work on the church.⁶⁹ This will have been the private entrance for the friars, *quod fratres egredientes et ingredienti de choro non possint videri a secularibus*.⁷⁰ (Figure 5.)

67 Cf. Hall, "The *ponte* in S. Maria Novella, 163, "Our ideas have been so thoroughly reformed by the post-Vasarian concept of the space of these churches that we fail to recognize that the mediaeval designers regarded it as two churches: one for the friars and one for the laymen. Architectural differences between the two churches occur frequently. In S. Croce, for example, there is a change in the fenestration behind the tramezzo where the windows are doubled. We usually attribute such differences to an arbitrary change in the design, but it is more probable that there was a very pragmatic reason for it here, namely the need for more light in the friars' choir for reading." From the 15th century, we have a quite pronounced example of such differentiation in S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan. Here, the *ecclesia inferior* (1466—90) appears to be still influenced by the 13th century limitations on height and appearance, but the *ecclesia superior* (1492—97) breaks all such rules in a strikingly innovative design often attributed to Bramante.

68 As of 2004, all the really large original windows appeared to be on the north side, partly owing to the presence of the cloister on the south. Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 241, noted that he could find no really early structures associated with the south wall, since it was extensively rebuilt in the later Frankish period. In 2009, on a return to Chalkis, I noted that gothic windows in the south wall had been restored, coming down to a level above the probable height of a cloister. There were originally two windows in the *capella major*. "Ένα πολύ υψηλότερο οξυκόρυφο παράθυρο ανοιγόταν στο μέσον της ανατολικής πλευράς του πρεσβυτερίου και ένα όμοιό του στο μέσον της βόρειας (πίν. 2), από τα οποία διατηρούνται σήμερα η ποδιά του πρώτου και ο ένας σταθμός του άλλου. [A much taller ogive window was opened in the centre of the east wall of the *capella major*, and another in the center of the north wall (Plate 2). Of these, the footing of the first is preserved, and one side frame-upright of the other]" Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 244. The trace of this latter window can be seen in Plate 2, bottom image near the right hand edge of the elevation, running along the break between pink (13th century) and blue (19th century) tinted areas of masonry.

69 There seem also to be traces of a similar door from the north into the *ecclesia inferior*. Delinikolaos, "Αγία Παρασκευή," 241.

70 See note 53, above

The *capella major* and the associated south chapel (now, the διακονικὸν) were probably built as a unit. The fabric of the south chapel ceiling and parts of the outer wall is solid and more carefully shaped than other parts of the building, and several sculptural elements are common to both the triumphal arch and the south chapel. The *capella major* is now covered by a dropped ceiling suspended from short beams at the top of the outer wall. This is a 19th-century modification, and there is evidence that before it was set in place, a viewer looking up from under the triumphal arch would have seen all the way up to the rafters.⁷¹ We must await Delinikolaos's detailed analysis of this part of the building, but it can hardly be dated later than the third quarter of the 13th century, if we judge by the style of the ornamentation. The north chapel (now, the πρόθεσις) is much more crudely built, with a cap dome made of loosely fitting stones in mortar, under which a plaster imitation of a ribbed groin vault was applied. The ribs end in brackets which somewhat resemble those in the more finely built south chapel.⁷²

The *ecclesia inferior* (*ecclesia fidelium*), west of the high *intermedium*, must always have been a dark space by comparison with the well-lit *ecclesia superior*. The aisles were separated from the nave by arcades of four arches resting on columns a good deal shorter than those in the friars' church. The outer walls show a jumble of fragments from different windowing arrangements, all of them ungenerous. A curious line of low arched openings above the main arcades may have been introduced to allow a more light into the area but they may also have been intended to create a more unified acoustic space. High, unbroken walls would probably have isolated the laity in the aisles from speech aimed at the nave.

71 Lazarides, “Μεσαιωνικὰ Εὐβοίας,” 214. This false dome would have no function for either the Dominicans or the Muslims.

72 In my first study of this building (MacKay, “St. Mary of the Dominicans,” see n. 21, above), I believed that the north chapel was nearly contemporaneous with the original construction of the church. This chapel, and the footing of the bell-tower above it, however, impinge so closely on a gothic window revealed in the north wall of the *capella major*, that it seems more likely that both the chapel and the bell-tower are a later addition. It is likely that this entire northeast corner of the church was funded by a gift or bequest from Pietro Lippamano, the founder of the Venetian senatorial family, Lippomano, who is celebrated in the unique burial monument in this chapel. Ibid., 153 n. 53, along with <http://angiolello.net/Lippomano.html>, which corrects the date.

Unfortunately, this suggestion cannot be tested in the way that visual sight lines can. That would require the reconstruction of the *intermedium* to define the acoustic space. Improved acoustics may have been an unplanned result of the Dominican insistence on wooden roof structures, and the same result could be found in the use of wood for the *intermedium*. The arches are not aligned with the main arcades and, although they have since been used to allow light into a gallery, there is no reason to believe that the original priory church included a gallery, since a gallery would have made it necessary to raise the *intermedium* even higher than normal to prevent visual contact between the two *ecclesiae*.⁷³ Visitors to the site before 1853 speak of a large rose window in the west façade, but this was destroyed by the earthquake. The present window is a 19th-century substitute.

Perhaps the most significant element of this *ecclesia inferior* is the evidence of a wide ogival arch in the north wall, at the NW corner of the church. (Figure 6.) Only the east part of this has survived but it can be continued so that the west footing comes close to the original west end of the building. This feature is echoed in another Dominican priory in the Province of Greece. The church of St. Peter Martyr in Candia (Heraklion), Crete, had, before the recent drastic rebuilding, two broad low arches near the west end of the south wall. (Figure 8.) These openings lead to a preaching area, where overflow crowds could assemble in times of good weather. Such areas are not unknown in association with priories in other parts of Europe (the preaching yard at Norwich has been mentioned above), but this sort of broad access is particularly suited to the Mediterranean, where the problem of cold weather is reduced. Neither in Candia nor in Negropont was the arch shaped to accommodate a hinged door. It may have been intended only as a relieving arch, to take the weight off the depressed arch over a wide doorway below, whose left hand side can be seen in Figure 6 and in Delinikolaos, Plate 3.⁷⁴

73 Recent (21st century) discussions of Ayia Paraskevi no longer claim that the 13th century church had a gallery.

74 Delinikolaos, “Αγία Παρασκευή,” 241, “Ακόμη δυτικότερα, υπήρχε μεγάλο τοξωτό άνοιγμα που οδηγούσε σε πρόσκτισμα προσκολλημένο στο βόρειο κλίτος, αλλά κατά την όγμιμη φραγκοκρατία τοιχίστηκε και κατασκευάστηκε μικρότερη θύρα με πεπλατυσμένο ανώφλι, μάλλον μετά την καταρρέυση του πρόσκτισματος. [Still further to the west there was a large ogival opening which led to a structure attached to the north aisle. During the later Frankish period, however, it was walled in and replaced with a smaller door with a flattened lintel. This was probably done after a

In Greece, the *ecclesia fidelium* was probably a venue not only for the purposes of the friars, but for their patrons and secular neighbors. There were very few large buildings in mediaeval Greece where a parliament or similar gathering could be held, and we know of occasions like the trial of Geoffroy de Briel of Carytena, which was held in the Dominican priory church of Clarence (Glarentza), actually located in Andreville (Andravida), probably because there was no other space that could hold all the Frankish peers.⁷⁵ The availability of a large hall is likely to be one of the reasons for the location of the Venetian loggia of Negropont in the immediate vicinity of the Dominican priory, very close to the original west door of the Church.⁷⁶

No physical evidence of the associated buildings necessary for a Dominican house has yet been discovered near the church, but there is documentary evidence for a library of considerable value which was part of the educational complex of the convent. Soon after the Negropont house was founded, Buonaccorso of Bologna, O. P., began his long scholarly career there, writing polemical texts in Greek in opposition to what the Dominicans claimed were Greek doctrinal errors.⁷⁷ After his death, Andrea Doto, O. P., visited Negropont, where he remarked on the unexpected quality of the library, and spent

collapse of the attached structure.]” Unfortunately, the attached structure was discovered too late to be drawn onto the elevation in Plates 2 and 3. The remains of the arch can be seen on Plate 2, top, at the left end of the elevation, and on Plate 3, top, (exterior view) at the right end. The attached structure may have filled the same function as the door to the “Preaching yard” in Norfolk Blackfriars.

75 Sundt 1989, 196—97, argues that even use for academic lectures, let alone fundamentally secular use of this sort, was not common in the west, but the west had considerably more alternatives than were available to the Frankish authorities in Greece. The single large mediaeval ruin at Andravida is in every visible respect a Dominican church, and is usually taken to be the church of S. Sophia, given to the Dominicans in celebration of a Frankish victory in 1263 against the Byzantines. For the gift, see Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de nos Fechos*, the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, Geneva, 1885, §346, p. 77. This was within a few years of the authorization for a Dominican house in Achaia in 1256. It appears that the Dominican house was originally attributed to, and kept the name of, Clarenza, just a few miles away from Andravida, even though the offer of S Sophia led to a move.

76 This building, popularly known as the “Σπίτι του Βαϊλού [House of the Bailo],” is discussed in Delinikolaos, “Αγία Παρασκευή,” 254—57. The ceiling timbers, although largely ruined, so closely match the rafters in Ayia Paraskevi, that it seems likely that both buildings were part of the same program. If the building is from the 13th century, we know that it was not the house of the *bailo*, since we have it recorded in resolutions of the Venetian Senate that the *bailo* had no proper residence until well into the 14th century.

77 Th. Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. 1970—80 1:247—49. A. Maierù, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s. v. Bonaccorso, 460--62.

some part of 1320 translating one of Buonaccorso's works into Latin for presentation to the pope when he returned to Rome.⁷⁸

Conclusion

It is difficult to find examples of the earliest stages of Dominican architecture anywhere. Fires, wars and revolutions destroyed many and the remainder were continually subject to pious revisions and rebuildings which usually stripped away all trace of earlier structures. Ayia Paraskevi, on the periphery of the mediaeval Dominican world, has fortunately been saved from any of these fates, and presents us with a unified example of the integration of two functions into a duplex structure where the isolation of the friars' conventual church was fully respected, even when it and the larger "preaching barn" shared the same roof.

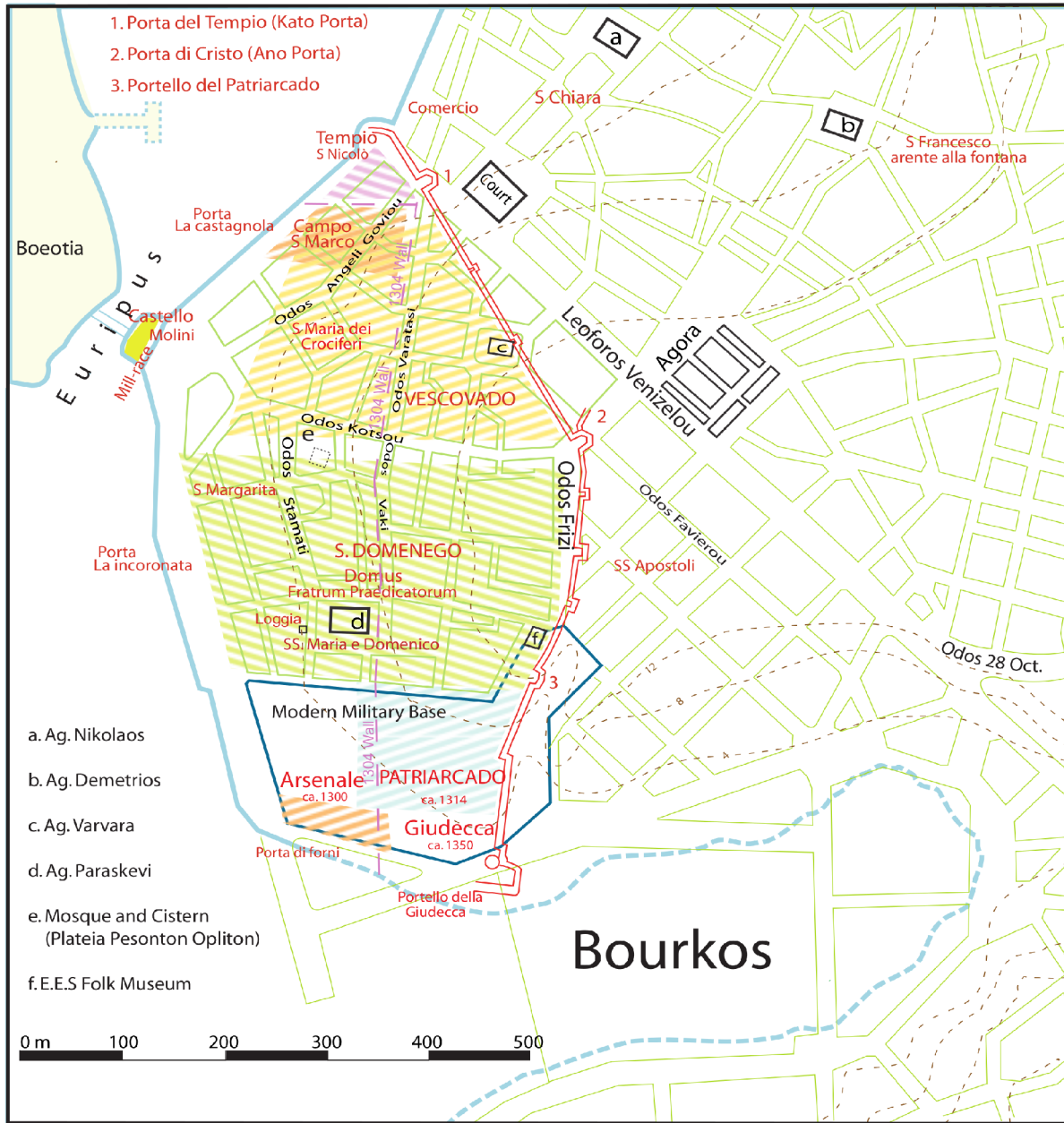
78 J. Quéatif and J. Echard. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1729. 1:156-159.



Figure 1. View of Ayia Paraskevi from Kara Baba hill. (Photo, P. A. MacKay, 2002)



Figure 2. North side of Ayia Paraskevi. (Photo, Diana G. Wright, 2009)



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Mediaeval Negropont

Figure 3. Map of the walled city of Negropont.

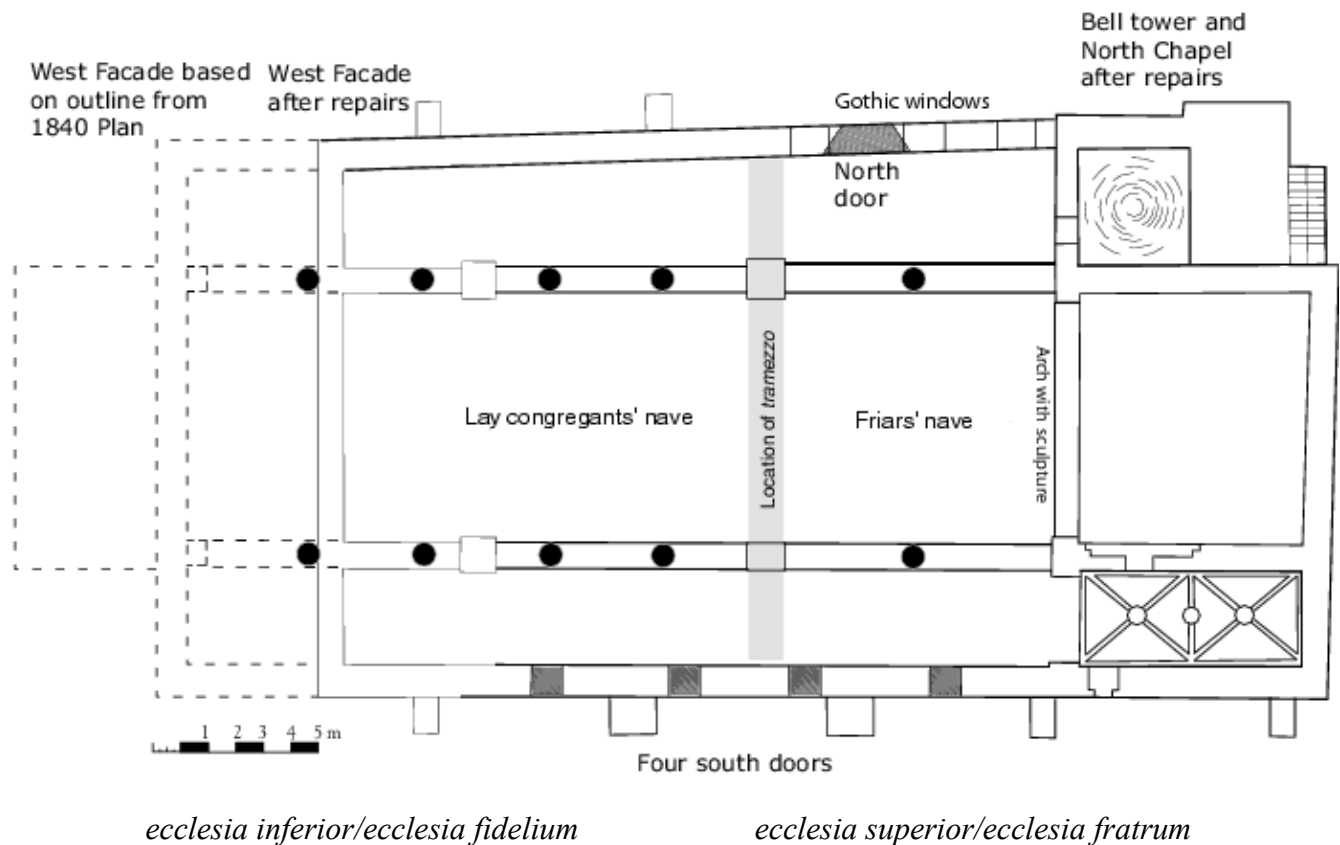


Figure 4. Sketch plan of Ayia Paraskevi, based on plan by Ramsay Traquair, with additions from city plan of 1840. (The square posts in the *ecclesia inferior* are a late addition to support a gallery.)
 The 1840 plan is in Sp. Kokkinis and G. P. Gkikas, “Τὸ πρῶτο πολεοδομικὸ διάγραμμα τοῦ «Κάστρου» τῆς Χαλκίδας καὶ κατάλογος τῶν κτισμάτων.” *Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 18 (1974) 277—91, with a full-sized replica inside the back cover. A modified copy of this map can be found in Delinikolaos 2006, Plate 1.

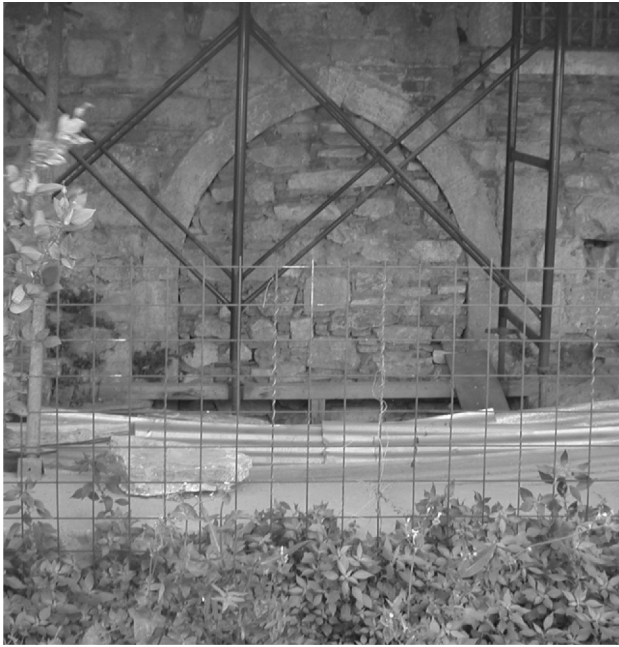


Figure 5. North door to *ecclesia fratrum*.
Photo, Pierre A. MacKay, 2002.

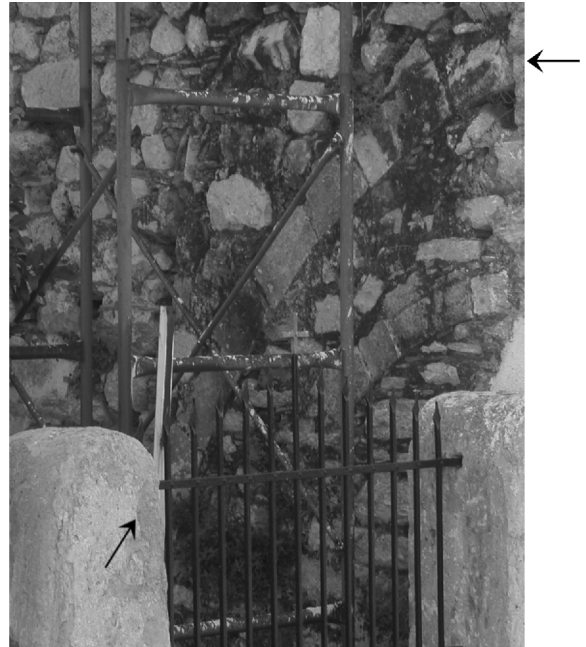


Figure 6. Great arch into preaching yard
Photo, Pierre A. MacKay, 2002.



Figure 7. Gothic windows along north side of
ecclesia fratrum. (Door is between these two, but
below frame of picture. Photo, Diana G. Wright, 2009)

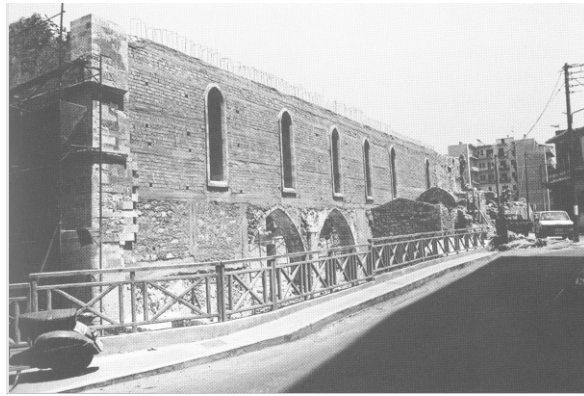
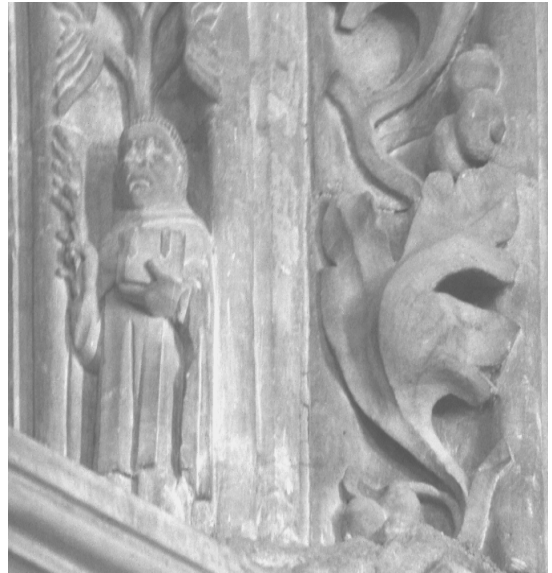


Figure 8. St Peter Martyr, Candia (Heraklion, Crete).
South wall with broad arches near west end.



Left, Delinikolaos “*Ἁγία Παρασκευή*,”
Plate 7, upper right.



Right, photographed from floor,
Photo, Diana G. Wright, 2009.