

The Perception of the Crusader in Late Byzantine and Early Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Painting in Epiros*

[La percepción del cruzado en el Bizancio tardío y en las pinturas eclesiásticas tempranas post-bizantinas en Epiros]

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Resumen: This paper penetrates into the nebulous relations of Epiros with the Latin West after 1204 by examining representations of Crusaders in late Byzantine churches and early post-Byzantine catholica. I shall attempt to unveil the dark and base memories left over by Crusaders (especially of the Fourth Crusade), weave in an alternative way the historical stage that shaped collective memory in peripheral regions, as Epiros and propose a new methodological model for understanding the past at the absence of textual sources.

Abstract: Este artículo indaga en las nebulosas relaciones de Epiro con el Occidente latino después de 1204 mediante del estudio de las representaciones de los cruzados en las iglesias tardo-bizantinas y católicas de época inicial post-bizantina. Trataré de desvelar la oscuridad y los recuerdos dejados por los cruzados (esp. de la Cuarta Cruzada), intercalando como alternativa el escenario histórico que condicionó la memoria colectiva en las zonas adyacentes, como Epiro, proponiendo un nuevo modelo metodológico para entender el pasado ante la falta de fuentes textuales.

Palabras clave: Cruzadas. Pintura tardo-bizantina. Pintura temprana post-bizantina. Epiro. Albania. Soldados guardianes.

Key words: Crusades. Late Byzantine painting. Early post-Byzantine painting. Epirus. Albania. Custody soldiers.



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Having shown the realistic similarities of the soldiers of the custody with Latin knights, it becomes evident that the image as exegesis is not necessarily an objective, or neutral interpretation (otherwise the soldiers would present Roman or the very common Byzantine features), but it could be tailored to suit beliefs of the present. Moreover, while the combination of the scene with the one to its right (the Descent to Limbo) [fig. 10] is very common, the placement of two of the soldiers outside the scene's red frame and closer to the personified Limbo can promote multiple layers of interpretation. Using perceptive and iconological methods of art historical enquiry, it is comprehensible that in the evangelical excerpt [Mt. 28:11-15] the soldiers of the custody are portrayed negatively: having eye-witnessed Christ's Resurrection notwithstanding, they later accepted a bribe by Jewish prelates and elders, who also promised to support them before the local ruler, if they upheld the fiction that Jesus' disciples seemingly stole His body overnight. Matthew even states that this fiction was thenceforth upheld by the Jews to deny Christ's Resurrection. Having denied to profess Christ's Resurrection, the soldiers of the custody were certainly considered as deniers of the divine nature of Christ and, therefore, in collective beliefs must have been condemned to Hell alike other disclaimers of faith. This assumption is reinforced by both hymnographical and hagiographical evidence.

The liturgical hymnographers¹ treat the soldiers of the Sepulchre's custody in distinct ways. In most cases the soldiers are presented as eye-witnesses of Christ's Resurrection, yet in a non-negative way, contrary to the Jews². In one occasion the

¹ I followed the standard Greek version of the *Parakletike*, which was standardized in its current version as early as the 8th century. For the compilation of the *Parakletike*, see J.M. NEALE, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, General Introduction, part I, 2, (London, 1850), pp. 887ff.; C. PARANIKAS, *Anthologia Graeca Carminorum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. LVII-LXX; J. PARGOIRE, *L'Église Byzantine de 527 à 847* (Paris, 1905); H. J. W. TILLYARD, "The Hymns of the Ochoechos", *M.M.B. Transcripta* III (1940), pp. XV-XIV and V (1949), pp. XI-XX; and E. WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1971).

² Sunday Matins, Sound 1, First *kathisma* following the first *stichologia*; Sunday Matins, Sound 1, Fourth *sticheron anatolikon* of the Lauds; Sunday Matins, Sound 2, Second *sticheron* of the Lauds. Sunday Matins, Sound 2, Fourth *sticheron anatolikon* of the Lauds; Sunday Matins, Sound 3, Second *sticheron* of the Lauds; Saturday Vespers, Sound 5; Third *sticheron anatolikon*; The *Apolytikon* of Sound 6; Sunday Matins, Sound 6, Second *kathisma* following the first *stichologia*; Sunday Matins, Sound 6, Second *sticheron anatolikon* of the Lauds; Sunday Matins, Sound 8, Fourth *sticheron* of the Lauds; the *Synaxarion* of Easter Sunday; Matins of the Myrrh-Bearers, Ode VII, Fourth *troparion* of the Myrrh-Bearers in Sound 2; Matins of the Myrrh-Bearers, Ode VII,

soldiers are portrayed as if they had not eye-witnessed the Resurrection³. Yet, in the Matins of Sunday, Sound 5, in the first *kathisma* following the second *stichologia*, Sound 5, the soldiers of the custody are literally called "enemies" of Christ: "Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἀνέκειτο, καὶ σφραγίς ἐν τῷ λίθῳ ἐπέκειτο· ὡς βασιλέα ὑπνοῦντα, στρατιῶται ἐφύλαττον Χριστόν· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ, ἀορασίᾳ πατάξας, ἀνέστη ὁ Κύριος" ("[While] Life laid in the Tomb, and the stone was sealed; soldiers guarded Christ as a sleeping king; and, after blinding his enemies, the Lord rose"). There is no literary context allowing for a different interpretation as to who are Christ's enemies.

This interpretation is in line with patristic evidence which, while not naming the custody soldiers as Christ's enemies, clearly indicated a common belief that they were deniers of the Resurrection⁴. In his XC homily, St. John Chrysostome, after emphasizing in how many ways the soldiers experienced the divine nature of Christ⁵, portrays them not only to be more corrupt than the Jewish people and Pontius Pilate, but also more money-thirsty than Judas: "Do you realize that all of them were corrupted? (Pontius) Pilate? For he was convinced. The soldiers? The Jewish people? Do not wonder how money corrupted the soldiers. If money was so tempting for the disciple (= Judas), how much more would it be for them (the

Fifth *troparion* of the Myrrh-Bearers in Sound 2; Matins of the Myrrh-Bearers, Ode VIII, Fourth *troparion* of the Myrrh-Bearers in Sound 2.

³ Sunday Matins, Sound 5, First *sticheron* of the Lauds.

⁴ It is interesting to relate that in modern Greek there is still in use an expression relating the custody soldiers with the silenced knowledge of the Resurrection and, in wider context, any silenced knowledge; cf. "ἔχουσι γνώσιν οἱ φύλακες" (the guards know); compare also with the Fourth *Sticheron Anatolikon* of the Sound 5 Sunday Matins' Lauds in Sound 2:

"Ὁρθρος Κυριακῆς. Δ' Στιχηρὸν Ανατολικόν. Ἦχος β'.

Ἵντως παράνομοι, σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον, μείζονος ἡμᾶς θαύματος ἠξιῶσατε. Ἐχοῦσι τὴν γνώσιν οἱ φύλακες. Σήμερον προήλθε τοῦ μνήματος, καὶ ἔλεγον· εἶπατε, ὅτι ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων, ἦλθον οἱ μαθηταί, καὶ ἐκλεψαν αὐτόν. Καὶ τίς κλέπτει νεκρὸν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ γυμνόν; Αὐτὸς ἀνέστη αὐτεξουσίως ὡς Θεός, καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὰ ἐντάφια αὐτοῦ. Δεῦτε ἴδετε Ἰουδαῖοι, πῶς οὐ διέδόρηξε τὰς σφραγίδας, ὁ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἀτελεῦτητον ζωὴν δωροῦμενος, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος."

⁵ Chrysostome maintains that the earthquake during the Crucifixion took place only for the sake of soldiers: JOHN CHRYSOSTOME, "Homily XC", in *Ἔργα, Ἑλληνες Πατέρες της Εκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki, 1979), XII, p. 392, verses 11-17.

soldiers)?”⁶. To various degrees the custody soldiers were also negatively treated by other 4th century Church Fathers, like St. Cyril of Jerusalem⁷, St. Amphilochios of Ikonion⁸, Eusebios of Emesa⁹ and Apollinarios of Laodikeia¹⁰. Last, but not

⁶ “Οράς πάντας διεφθαρμένους; τὸν Πιλάτον; αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπέισθη· τοὺς στρατιώτας; τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἰουδαϊκόν; Ἀλλὰ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ χρήματα στρατιωτῶν περιεγένετο. Εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τῷ μαθητῇ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο τὴν ἰσχύν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον παρὰ τούτοις”, JOHN CHRYSOSTOME, ‘Homily XC’, in *Ἔργα*, Ἑλληνες Πατέρες της Εκκλησίας, XII, p. 398, verses 11-15.

⁷ Κατήχησις Φωτιζομένων ΙΔ', ἰδ.
Ἐσφράγισαν μὲν οὖν ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι διὰ Πιλάτου τὸν τάφον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐθέασαντο τὸν ἀναστάντα· καὶ γινώσκων Ἡσαΐας ἀρχιερέων μὲν τὸ εὐτελές, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τὸ στερόδον τῆς πίστεως, λέγει· «γυναῖκες ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θέας, δεῦτε· οὐ γὰρ λαός ἐστιν ἔχων σύνεσιν»· ἀρχιερεῖς ἀσυνετοῦσι, καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτοπτοῦσι. Καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων πάντα τὰ γενόμενα εἶπον αὐτοῖς· «εἶπατε, ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ἐλθόντες ἐκλεψαν αὐτόν, ἡμῶν κοιμημένων»· καλῶς ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν προεῖπεν Ἡσαΐας· «ἀλλὰ λέγετε ἡμῖν καὶ ἀναγγέλλετε ἡμῖν ἕτερον πλάνησιν». Ἐγήγεργται ὁ ἀναστάς, καὶ διὰ δόσιν ἀργυρίου πείθουσι τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' οὐ πείθουσι τοὺς νῦν βασιλεῖς. Οἱ τότε μὲν στρατιώται ἀργυρίῳ προδεδώκασιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν βασιλεῖς δι' εὐσέβειαν ἀργυρένδυτον καὶ χρυσοκόλλητον τὴν ἀγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην..... «Κἂν ἀκουσθῆ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἡμεῖς πείσομεν αὐτόν»· καὶ εἰ ἐκείνους πείθετε, τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐ πείθετε· διατὶ γὰρ, ὡσπερ τοῦ Πέτρου ἐξεληθόντος ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες κατεδικάζοντο, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τηροῦντες οὐ κατεδικάσθησαν; Ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπήλθεν ἡ καταδίκη παρὰ Ἡρώδου· ἀπολογήσασθαι γὰρ οὐχ εὕρισκον ἐξ ἀγνοίας, οὗτοι δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἰδόντες, καὶ ταύτην κρύπτοντες διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων διεσώζοντο· ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐπέισθησαν Ἰουδαίων τότε, ὁ κόσμος δὲ ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ κρύψαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατεκρύφθησαν, καὶ οἱ καταδεξάμενοι ταύτην ἀνεφάνησαν δυνάμει τοῦ Σωτήρος... [Meretakis E. [ed.] (1994), *Κυρίλλου τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα: Κατήχησις Φωτιζομένων (ΠΓ-ΙΗ) Μυσταγωγικαί*, v. 2, Thessaloniki, p. 90, 92].

⁸ Λόγος Ε' τῷ Ἁγίῳ Σαββάτῳ ὑπὸ Ἀμφιλοχίου Ἰκονίου.
Οὐδὲν τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἀπωνάμενοι ἐγκλείουσι τάφῳ ὃν οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων χωρεῖ καὶ σήμαντρα ἐπιτιθέασιν ἡμῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν φυλάττοντες καὶ δεδιότες τὴν ἀνάστασιν στρατιώτας φύλακας ἐφιστῶσι τῷ μνήματι. Τίς εἶδε νεκρὸν φυλαττόμενον; Μᾶλλον δὲ τίς εἶδε νεκρὸν πολεμούμενον; Τίς ἤκουσεν τελευτὴν ἀμφιβαλλομένην καὶ δέος ἐμποιοῦσαν τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις;
Περάμενον [ᾧ Ἰουδαίῃ] τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ ὄψη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μανίας τὸν ἔλεγχον. παῦσαι τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ζωῆς προσχῶσαι φιλονεικῶν· παῦσαι τοῖς ἀρχουσι ἐνοχλῶν καὶ περὶ φρουρᾶς διαλεγόμενος· παῦσαι τὸ ψεῦδος ὠνούμενος καὶ τοὺς πολίτας κινῶν. Μὴ κάμης ἀνόνητα, μὴ εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἀναλώσης τὰ σά, μὴ κατὰ Θεοῦ

least, St. John of Damascus, to whom we should probably attribute the authorship of the first *kathisma* in Sound 5 following the second *stichologia* of Sunday's Matins in Sound 5, enjoins the faithful to “hate Christ's enemies”, as “whoever does not confess Christ as Lord and Son of God is an anti-Christ”¹¹.

I suggest that in the visual memory and religious beliefs of the artist, patron and/or the viewers of the Custody at the Sepulchre / Rejoice scene in question, both Latin knights and the soldiers of the Sepulchre's custody, shared a common condemnation to Hell [fig. 10]. Pursuing iconological methods of inquiry, this suggestion is reinforced by the approaching of the soldiers with the Limbo/Hades represented in the next scene by their depiction outside the pictorial frame of their scene¹². Indeed, in the adjacent subject of the Descent to Limbo, Christ tramples down Death¹³, or captivates Limbo¹⁴. In provincial, popular fashion, Death, Limbo

φαντάζου τὴν νίκην, μὴ δῶς μισθὸν στρατιώταις ἕτερα ἀνθ' ἑτέρων εἰπεῖν, μὴ παρακοιμίσῃς τὸν ὄχλον τῷ μνήματι, μὴ θαρρόησῃς τοῖς ὄπλοις. Ὅπλοις ἀνάστασις οὐ κωλύεται, οὐ ἐμποδίζεται ταῖς σφραγίσιν, οὐκ εἴργεται στρατιώταις, οὐ κλέπτεται χρήμασιν. Κ. ΡΑΡΑΧΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἀμφιλόχιος Ἰκονίου - Ἀστέριος Ἀμασειᾶς* (Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, 1992), LXXI, p. 91 (134-136).

⁹ Κ. BONIS, *Περὶ τὴν Ἀρειανικὴν Ἐριν: Ἀστέριος σοφιστῆς. Αἰτίος Ἀντιοχείας. Ἐνόμιος Κυζίκου. Εὐδόξιος Κιπλόεως. Λούκιος Ἀλεξανδρείας. Ἐνόμιος Βεροῖης. Ἀκάκιος Καισαρείας. Εὐσέβιος Ἐμέσης. Νεμέσιος Ἐμέσης* (Athens, 1968), p. 209.

¹⁰ The link between Judas and the soldiers is also evident in the commentaries of Apollinarios of Laodikeia: “Καὶ Ἰούδας μὲν ἀργυρίῳ προδίδωσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιλαθόμενος ὧν εἶδεν σημείων, οἱ δὲ στρατιώται ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ λαβόντες», ἃ μὲν ἰδόντες «προαπήγγειλαν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι» τεράστια ἐσιώπησαν, εἰρήκασιν δὲ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα” (“Judas betrayed Jesus for money putting aside all of the miracles that he witnessed, while the soldiers ‘after accepting a considerable bribe’, having ‘announced the archpriests’ what they saw, they silenced in a profound way and spread rumours of what had not happened”). See K. G. ΡΑΡΑΧΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – G. P. ΚΟΥΝΑΒΙ (ed.), *Ἀπολινάριος Λαοδικείας*, first part, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, 72 (Athens, 1994), p. 306 (section 149).

¹¹ Μισήσωμεν οὖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶς ὅστις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Χριστὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κύριον, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν (I. SAKALIS, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Σάββατον*’, in *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Ἀπαντα τὰ ἔργα*, v. 9 (Thessaloniki, 1991), p. 150 (section 37, verses 1-2)).

¹² Since the coupling of Marys at the Tomb with the Descent to Limbo is quite common in Byzantine paintings, this argument is raised precisely because the soldiers transcend the pictorial frame of their scene approaching the adjacent scene.

¹³ Check, for example, the *Apolitykion* of Easter: ‘Christ is risen from the dead; by death trampling down Death and to those in the tombs giving life’.

or Hades (Devil), is personified [fig. 18] in the form of an unkempt, old, dark and chained man. The Latin knights/custody soldiers of the bordering subject not only are represented at the same height with Death/Hell, but also transcend the red line dividing the two scenes further approaching Death/Hell [fig. 10]. In no other place has the artist repeated this transgression, while in spite of his provincial training, his drawing abilities leave to me no doubt that the proximity of the soldiers with Hades and the transcending of the dividing line by the former to further approach the latter are utterly intentional to intensify the link between the Latin knights and Hell.

This been shown, two more questions remain unanswered. First, since the different panoply pieces of our soldiers belong to different periods of time, where did the local artist or the patron draw his models? I suggest that the panoply parts of the scene's knights (dating in different periods) could be seen locally. Being a place of great strategic importance, Epiros had repeatedly been used as springboard of Latin expeditions against the East, as during the Byzantine-Norman wars (1081-1185)¹⁵, the First (Raymond of Toulouse and Hugh of Vermandois, 1096-1099)¹⁶ and the Fourth Crusades (Boniface of Montferrat, 1202-1204)¹⁷ [fig. 17]. Yet, as

¹⁴ I can roughly cite a *Theotokion* following Sunday's Lauds 'You are most blessed, Virgin Mother of God, for through Him who took flesh from you Hell has been taken captive, Adam recalled, the curse slain, Eve set free, death put to death, and we given life. Therefore in praise we cry: Blessed are you, Christ our God, who have been thus well-pleased. Glory to you' (EPHREM ARCHIMANDRITE, 'Matins for Sundays and Feasts', in <<http://web.ukonline.co.uk/ephrem/mat-sun.htm>> accessed in 11 March, 2006).

¹⁵ For a brief account of the Byzantine-Norman wars, see N. ZIANGOS, *Φεουδαρχική Ηπειρος και Δεσποτάτο της Ελλάδας. Συμβολή στο Νέο Ελληνισμό* (Athens, 1974), pp. 33-36; E. HALLAM (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades: Eye-Witness Accounts of the Wars Between Christianity and Islam* (London, 1989), pp. 52-55 (where extracts from William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*).

¹⁶ Durrës and Vlora, two major bridgeheads of the East were used by the First Crusade armies as a transit station to proceed to the Byzantine capital with a special permission granted by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus. From western primary sources, see FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, accessible in English in E. HALLAM (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 64-66. From Byzantine sources, see ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 10:7, in A. C. KREY, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton, 1921), pp. 78-79 (digitally reproduced in *Medieval Sourcebook*, Anna Comnena. The Alexiad. On the Crusades, <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/comnena-cde.html>>, accessed in 07 March, 2006).

¹⁷ As Villehardouin relates, by April 1203 most of the Fourth Crusade army had embarked at Corfou, a few miles opposite the region of Sarandë. For Villehardouin's account (GEOFFREY OF

Angeliki Laiou relates, "The "Crusades" were a frequent phenomenon of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We are accustomed to taking into account of the major crusades, ..., but crusading expeditions ... took place often, and certainly the Christians and Muslims of the area were aware of the fact"¹⁸. It can be maintained that the artist or the patron had seen knights with their own eyes. Perhaps the painter might even have kept sketches of them or some knights had lost their lives in the battles of the region and their panoplies were taken as booty and used as models for the artist.

Second, why must western knights have locally a negative reputation? While the Normans were considered by the Byzantine elites as little more than barbarians¹⁹, their reputation was further blackened in Epiros after they seized and burnt Kanina, Vlorë and Jericho in 1081²⁰ and Corfu in 1084²¹. Moreover, the First Crusaders under Bohemund (1096) en route from the Epirotic coasts to the east, while endeavouring to refrain from pillage and disorder²², caused no little disturbance, as accounted by St. Theophylaktos of Ochrid²³. While the First Crusaders advanced to the Middle East, they were hideously defamed, even though their alleged acts of cannibalism were more often rumoured than practised²⁴. Having said that the Crusader expeditions were far more often than we customarily take into account, it is worth mentioning that the 1120s were punctuated by crusading expeditions undertaken by Pisans and Genoese by sea, while "in 1122 a Venetian Crusader fleet on its way to Palestine attacked Corfu in retaliation for the attempt of John II Komnenos to reduce Venice's commercial privileges; it pillaged

VILLEHARDOUIN, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, edited by E. FARAL (Paris, 1938), see E. HALLAM (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 213.

¹⁸ A. LAIOU, "Byzantine Trade with Christians and Muslims and the Crusades", in A. E. LAIOU - R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), p. 160.

¹⁹ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, Book 10:347 cited in E. HALLAM (ed.), *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 69,72.

²⁰ W. MILLER, "Valona", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 37 (1917), p. 185.

²¹ S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades. 1. The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 74.

²² S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades. 1*, pp. 155-156.

²³ P.G. 126, p. 324; this was only accessible to me in an Albanian translation, cf. K. BOZHORI, *Dokumente të Periudhës Bizantine për Historinë e Shqipërisë. Shek. VII-XV*, extract Nr. XV (Tiranë, 1978).

²⁴ A. MAALOUF, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, trans. By J. Rothschild (London, 1984), pp. 39ff.; M. BILLINGS, *The Cross and the Crescent* (New York, 1987), p. 55.

Byzantine lands on the way to and from Palestine and extracted the confirmation and expansion of Venetian commercial privileges in the Byzantine Empire²⁵. As for the Fourth Crusade, William Miller states that Boniface of Montferrat manned his army with the rag-tag and bobtail of Western Europe, who fought for him to receive feuds and titles²⁶. Even though there are no written accounts that I know of recording the impressions left by the Crusaders to the local populations, it is highly likely that the local inhabitants of Sarandë region felt no different than other Orthodox people, whose impressions were described at the beginning of the paper. It may also be alleged that, since Epiros was among the principal target territories of immigrants from Constantinople²⁷, the immigrants must have also shaped or influenced popular dark and base memories about the Crusaders, especially those of the Fourth Crusade. Last but not least, the region in question was for most parts of the second half of the 13th century a western dominion, either in the form of a dowry given by the Despot of Epiros, as in the case of the marriage of King Manfred of Hohenstaufen with Helen Angelina (1259)²⁸, or in the form of occupation by force of arms, as in the case of the expedition of Charles I Anjou who took hold of Corfu and the mainland fortresses in 1266 and kept them until his death in January 1285²⁹. As implied by the representation of the soldiers of the Custody in the church of St. George at Dhivër, their presence in the region must have been distasteful to the locals.

Similar conclusions can be drawn in the case of the subject of Judas' Betrayal in the church of the Nativity of the Virgin on Maligrad. The church was re-built and re-decorated under the patronage of Caesar Novak in 1368/9³⁰. In the scene of

²⁵ A. LAIOU, "Byzantine Trade with Christians and Muslims and the Crusades", in A. E. LAIOU – R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, p. 160; cf. J. RILEY-SMITH, "The Venetian Crusade of 1122-1124", in G. AIRALDI – B. KEDAR (eds.), *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, Jerusalem, 24-28 May 1984, «Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi» 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 337-350.

²⁶ W. MILLER, *Ιστορία της Φραγκοκρατίας στην Ελλάδα, 1204-1566* (Athens, 1960), p. 70, cited in N. ZIANGOS, *Φεουδαρχική Ηπειρος και Δεσποτάτο της Ελλάδας*, p. 74 and note 8.

²⁷ N. ZIANGOS, *Φεουδαρχική Ηπειρος και Δεσποτάτο της Ελλάδας*, pp. 49-50, 69-71.

²⁸ S. RUNCIMAN, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World In the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 51.

²⁹ S. RUNCIMAN, *The Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 136, 146 (1271), 253-254 (1285).

³⁰ For the church of Maligrad, see Th. POPA, *Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri*, edited by Nestor NEPRAVISHTA - Kostandin GJAKUMIS (Tirana, 1998), Inscriptions Nr. 287-288 (pp. 149-151), 289 (p. 151), 299 (p. 155), 301 (p. 156); Th. POPA, *Piktorët mesjetarë shqiptarë* (Tiranë, 1961), p. 27

Judas's Betrayal, two soldiers flank Jesus, both of whom wear kettle helmets with basinets, alternatively called *chapel de fer*, rather usual as from the beginning of the 14th century³¹. While both soldiers extend threateningly their swords towards Jesus, the one at the right covers his back with a triangular shield curved to the body, of the type called the 'heater', which follows the curve of the body. This shield-type became common after 1270s, similar in form to the one shown in the brass of Sir Robert de Bures, ca. 1331, in the Church of All Saints, Acton, Suffolk³². It is needless, I believe, to argue why these soldiers would be very negatively perceived by the public.

While in late Byzantine paintings at Mistra there is a deliberate absence of Latin influences³³, the 'Latinization' of military costumes in narrative scenes is also observed in other former 'Latin'-dominated regions. In the context of medieval Morea, Gerstel mentions vaguely that "some evidence has been found in the details of narrative scenes, from the occasional embossing of haloes to unusual representations of soldiers at the Arrest and Crucifixion of Christ"³⁴. Even though Gerstel identifies a Frankish coat of arms that marks the shield of one of the custody soldiers in the scene of the Marys at the Tomb of the church of St. John

and fig. 17 in p. 19; Dh. DHAMO, "Kisha e Shën Merisë në Maligrad", *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës: seria e shkencave shoqërore* 2 (1963), pp. 154-198; IDEM, "Piktura murale e kishës së Shën-Merisë në Maligrad", *Akta të Konferencës së Parë të Studimeve Albanologjike* (1965), pp. 562-566; IDEM, *La peinture murale du Moyen Age en Albanie* (Tiranë: 8 Nëntori Ed., 1974), pp. 4, 5-6, 13a-b and fig. on pp. 28-33; IDEM, "Vepra dhe tipare të pikturës në Shqipëri në shek. V-XV (Valeurs et caractéristiques de la peinture en Albanie aux V-XVe siècles)", *Studime Historike* 1 (1984), pp. 141-158, French synopsis in pp. 158-160.

³¹ D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Knight* (London, 1988), p. 73 and figure on the same page depicting a knight wearing a kettle hat, detail from a 14th century illuminated address from the town of Prato to Robert of Anjou.

³² D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, p. 83 and fig on p. 84.

³³ D. MOURIKI, "Palaeologan Mistra and the West", in *Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi, 20-24 July, 1985* (Athens, 1987), p. 239. I did not manage to consult A. GRABAR, "L'asymétrie des relations de Byzance et l'Occident dans le domaine des arts au moyen âge", in I. HUTTER (ed.), *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 9-24; cf. S. E. J. GERSTEL, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea", in A. E. LAIOU – R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, p. 264 and note 7.

³⁴ S. E. J. GERSTEL, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea", in A. E. LAIOU – R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, pp. 264-265 and note 6 on p. 264.

Chrysostome, Geraki, ca. 1300, thereby associating Roman soldiers with Latins³⁵, yet, she didn't associate it with the thesis I have hereby attempted to uphold. Lymberopoulou has identified a number of similar cases in 14th century Crete; the representation of soldiers in western armour in scenes like the Marys at the Tomb, the Betrayal, the Carrying of the Cross, or the martyrdom of saints was considered by her as 'hostile' and anti-western comments³⁶.

Several post-Byzantine churches and catholica in Epiros provide substantial evidence that such 'hostile', anti-western visual statements consciously persist up to the first half of the 17th century, after which the phenomenon gradually fades out in mechanical repetition of earlier post-Byzantine models.

The most impressive cases, however, can be viewed in the early post-Byzantine mural paintings of the *Lite* of Philanthropenon Monastery's catholicon on the Isle of Ioannina (painted in 1560), subject already discussed by the late Miltos Garidis³⁷. There, a great number of torturers, represented in different scenes of

³⁵ S. E. J. GERSTEL, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea", in A. E. LAIOU – R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, pp. 278-279 and fig. 15.

³⁶ Such 'Latinized' soldiers appear in at least the following churches: 1) Archangel Michael at Kavalariana Selinou, 1327/28, scenes of the Betrayal, Carrying of the Cross and Marys at the Tomb; 2) Hagios Nikolaos at Maza Apokoronou, 1325/26, scene of the Marys at the Tomb; 3) and Hagios Georgios at Anydroi Selinou, 1323, scene of Saint George before of the Governor. For these scenes, see A. LYMBEROPOULOU, *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian-Dominated Crete*, doctoral thesis submitted at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham (Birmingham, 2002), *passim*. I am indebted to the author for bringing these monuments into my attention. I did not manage to consider M. VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, "Western Influences on the Fourteenth Century Art of Crete", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32:5 (1982) [XVI. *Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress (Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981)*, 2, 5], pp. 301-311; and S. PAPANAKI – S. OEKLAND S., 'Δυτικότερες τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αιώνα στην Κρήτη. Η άλλη όψη μιας αμφίδρομης σχέσης', in Kypraiou (ed.), *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη* (Athens, 1992), II, pp. 491-516.

³⁷ M. GARIDIS, "Στεγές Επαφές – Εικονογραφικές και Τεχνοτροπικές – με Ευρύτερα Σύγχρονα Ρεύματα της Ευρωπαϊκής Γενικότερα Ζωγραφικής. Μάρτυρες από το Διάκοσμο του Εσωτερικού Νάρθηκα (Λιτής) της Μονής Φιλανθρωπηνών, 1560", in M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια Νήσου Ιωαννίνων. Πρακτικά Συμποσίου «700 χρόνια 1292-1992»* (Ioannina, 1999), pp. 65-75.

martyrdoms, bear the form of western knights³⁸. Exceptionally interesting is the martyrdom of St. Vincent, represented on the southern wall of the *Lite*; the saint's executioner is engaged into chivalric dancing figure before he effects the fatal attack against the saint [fig. 20]³⁹. In the martyrdom of St. Babylas and his disciples, a figure, identified by Garidis as a Spanish merchant, stands before the ruler⁴⁰. Very similar to an equestrian harness of Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine of the Rhine, dating 1530s and other German armours dating from the first quarter of the 16th century is the mounted knight who tortures St. Amphiloichios, Bishop of Ikonion, by dragging him behind his galloping horse [fig. 21]⁴¹. Similar models have, undoubtedly, been utilized to represent the executioners of St. Stephen the Younger, the Confessor [fig. 22]⁴². Patronized by the renowned family of Philanthropenoi, who migrated from Constantinople due to the City's growing pro-Latin support, the Monastery of St. Nikolaos of Philanthropenon virtually provides the most palpable examples of anti-western pictorial statements.

Similar, yet far less impressive examples can also be found in other 16th century monuments of the region. The scene of the Betrayal of Jesus in the church of St.

³⁸ Among the several examples that can be mentioned here I choose only: 1) The martyrdom of St. Tarachos (M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων* [Ioannina, 1993], p. 95, fig. 144), whose torturer's helmet is comparable to 14th century examples (e.g. the representation of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell from the Luttrell Psalter, ca. 1340, D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, p. 67; cf. the open at the front and lowering at the sides Italian sallet ca. 1480, D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, p. 121, figure above, or the Knights Tilting, from the Ordinance of Chivalry, 15th century English illuminated manuscript by St. John Astley, D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, p. 159). 2) The martyrdom of St. Epicharis (M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, p. 113, fig. 170, 172), whose torturer's overcoat and helmet is comparable to 16th century western harnesses [e.g. the equestrian harness of Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine of the Rhine, ca. 1530s, D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, p. 175]. 3) The beheading of St. John the Baptist (M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, p. 174, fig. 291), whose executioner's helmet and overcoat are comparable to 14th century examples.

³⁹ M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, pp. 96-97, fig. 145-146. For similar figures, see the executioner of St. Marcianus, M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, p. 103, fig. 161.

⁴⁰ M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, pp. 78-79, fig. 112, 116.

⁴¹ M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, pp. 105, 107, fig. 160, 162 in comparison with D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 142 (up), 143 (up), and 175.

⁴² M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, pp. 114-115, fig. 174, 176 in comparison with D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 142 (up), 143 (up), and 175.

Athanasios at Goranxhi, Dropull (Gjirokastër region) [fig. 23] dates in 1524 and imitates panoplies of the 12th and 13th centuries⁴³. In the catholicon of Ntiliou Monastery, on the Isle of Ioannina (1542/3), the scenes of Christ's Derision, the Route to Golgotha, the Carrying of the Cross, the Ascent to the Cross and the Marys at the Tomb contain soldiers depicted in a western 14th and 15th century fashion⁴⁴; yet, western influences in the armoury of several military saints indicates trends that may shadow the strength of the hereby presented thesis⁴⁵. However, the persistence of such examples point to the contrary. Cases indicating the 'Latinization' of soldiers can also be found in the third 16th century monastery on the Isle of Ioannina, the Eleousa Monastery (third quarter of the 16th century), in the representations of Christ's Derision, Pilate and His Suite, the Carrying of and Ascent to the Cross⁴⁶. From other 16th century monuments in the regions of Epiros we can cite the church of the Transfiguration at Veltsista (1568)⁴⁷, that of St. Nikolaos at Krapsi (1563)⁴⁸, the narthex of Barlaam Monastery, Meteora (1566)⁴⁹, the church of St. Demetrios at Veltsista (1558-1568)⁵⁰, the narthex of Dryano

⁴³ The church in question is unpublished. For the comparison, see D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.

⁴⁴ T. Liva-Xanthaki, "Το Καθολικό της Μονής Ντιλίου και οι Τοιχογραφίες του", in M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, figs. 385, 387 and 293 on pp. 231, 232 and 238 respectively; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84ff.]

⁴⁵ T. Liva-Xanthaki, "Το Καθολικό της Μονής Ντιλίου και οι Τοιχογραφίες του", in M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, figs. 391 and 408 on pp. 235 and 244.

⁴⁶ B. Papadopoulou, "Η Μονή Ελεούσας", in M. GARIDIS – A. PALIOURAS (eds.), *Μοναστήρια της Νήσου Ιωαννίνων*, figs. 455-459 on pp. 277-279; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84ff.

⁴⁷ See the scenes of the Massacre of the Innocent, the Betrayal, Christ's Judgement by Annas, Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate, the Derision and the Carrying of the Cross, the Ascent to the Cross and the Crucifixion, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate and the Marys at the Tomb (see A. STAVROPOULOU-MAKRI, *Les Peintures Murales de l'Église de la Transfiguration à Veltsista (1568) en Épire et l'atelier des peintres Kondaris* (Ioannina, 1989), figs. 14b, 19b, 20, 21a-b, 22-24, 26 and 28-29 (details), 31a and 33b; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.].

⁴⁸ Martyrdom of St. Demetrios (A. STAVROPOULOU-MAKRI, *Les Peintures Murales*, pp. 137-153, fig. 54a; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.).

⁴⁹ Martyrdoms of saints. (A. STAVROPOULOU-MAKRI, *Les Peintures Murales*, pp. 157-167, figs. 56a, 57; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.).

⁵⁰ The Judgement by Annas and Caiaphas (A. STAVROPOULOU-MAKRI, *Les Peintures Murales*, pp. 153-157, figs. 60 and 61a; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.).

Monastery's catholicon (last quarter of the 16th century) [fig. 24]⁵¹ and the church of St. Nikolaos at Dhuvjan, Dropull (end of the 16th century)⁵².

The 17th century also offers some good examples, while the phenomenon clearly fades out in unsophisticated imitations towards the 18th century. One can cite the Martyrdom of St. Theodore Stratelates in the church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Zervat, Dropull (1603)⁵³, the Massacre of the Innocents in the catholicon of Ravenia Monastery, Dropull (second quarter of the 17th century)⁵⁴ and the Carrying of the Cross in the naos of the catholicon of the Transfiguration Monastery at Mingul, Gjirokastër (1666) [fig. 25]⁵⁵. From distant memories of the phenomenon in the 18th century we could cite the martyrdoms of saints in the third zones of frescoes, western wall of the church of St. George at Libofshë, Fier (1782)⁵⁶, which seemingly reproduce 17th century models.

In his authoritative 'Memory and Proof of Age in England (1272-1327)', John Bedell⁵⁷ states that "history, when it is not invention, is memory written down. Although the enormous attention paid to memory by philosophers, psychologists and neurologists has led to little certainty, we do know that memory is a complex process, not a recording device, and that it involves many parts of the brain and

⁵¹ Martyrdoms of Sts. Demetrios and George; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff. The frescoes of the this monument date in the last quarter of the 16th century, with substantial overpainting from the 17th and the 19th century (G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο* [Ioannina, 1994], pp. 79-81 and figs. 160-162; G. GIAKOUMIS, *Μνημεία Ορθόδοξιας στην Αλβανία* [Athens, 1994], pp. 28-33 and figs. 29-43).

⁵² See the soldier next to Longinus in the scene of the Crucifixion [see G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο*, p. 150, fig. 300; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.].

⁵³ G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο*, pp. 53-55 and 56 and fig. 105 on p. 56; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.].

⁵⁴ G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο*, p. 144, fig. 287; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff. For the monastery, see G. GIAKOUMIS, *Η Ιερά Μονή Ραβενίων Δρόπολης* (Athens, 1995), where citations to the relevant literature.

⁵⁵ For the monastery, see G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο*, pp. 114-117; cf. D. EDGE – J. M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 84 ff.

⁵⁶ G. GIAKOUMIS – K. GIAKOUMIS, *Ορθόδοξα Μνημεία στη Βόρειο Ήπειρο*, pp. 72-75, figs. 144-154, and particularly fig. 148 on p. 73.

⁵⁷ J. BEDELL, "Memory and Proof of Age in England 1272-1327", *Past and Present* 162 (1999), pp. 3-27, p. 4; cf. G. DUBY, "Memories with No Historian", *Yale French Studies* 59 (1980) ('Rethinking History: Time, Myth and Writing'), pp. 7-16 [trans. by J. Wicke and D. Moschenberg].

aspects of the self. We construct our memories, choosing consciously or unconsciously to emphasize some experiences and impressions and disregard others, and, over time, we reshape them, reordering our pasts to meet the changing needs of the present. Our memories are shaped by our interactions with others, especially by conversations we have had about shared experiences. We each have our own histories, which we have made as much by thought as by need.” With this in mind, in this paper, taking into consideration representations of Crusaders in ecclesiastical paintings of late Byzantine and early post-Byzantine churches and catholica, I attempted to interpret expressions of collective base memories of the Crusades in peripheral regions, as Epiros, Crete and, possibly, Morea. Further research in other contemporary monuments of former ‘Latin’-occupied territories could check the theory that such anti-western attitudes reflect general feelings, rather than isolated cases, especially in former western-dominated Orthodox provinces. Last but not least, the paper introduces an empirical methodology in which a historian can unveil collective memories of the past at the absence of textual sources by looking at and interpreting artworks.



Fig. 10. Hermitage of St. George at Dhivër, Sarandë. Naos. Northern wall. Second zone of frescoes. The Descent to Hades. Last quarter of the 13th c.



Fig. 17. An initial from Winchester Bible, c. 1170, a panel from the Silver Shrine of Charlemagne in Aachen Cathedral, c. 1207 and our soldiers. Notice how the lances in our scene are closer to the 1207 example



Fig. 18. Hermitage of St. George at Dživër, Sarandë. Naos. Northern wall. The Descent to Hades. Second zone of frescoes. Detail of the personification of Death, or Satan, trembled down by Christ. Last quarter of the 13th century

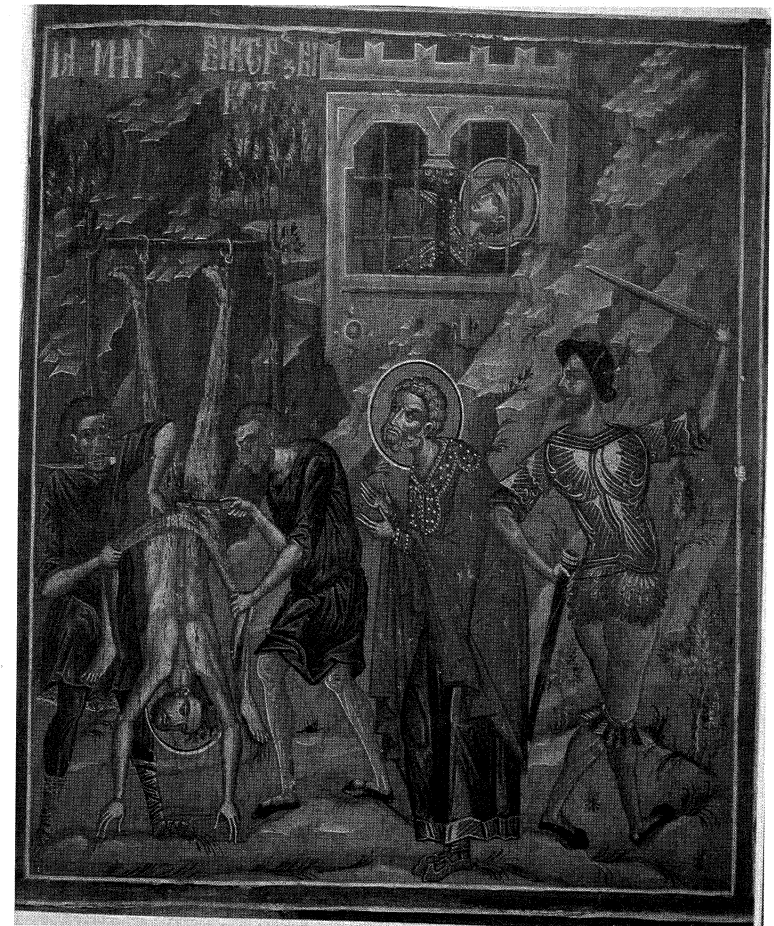


Fig. 20. The martyrdom of St. Vincent. Fresco. Philanthropon Monastery, Nartex, 1560

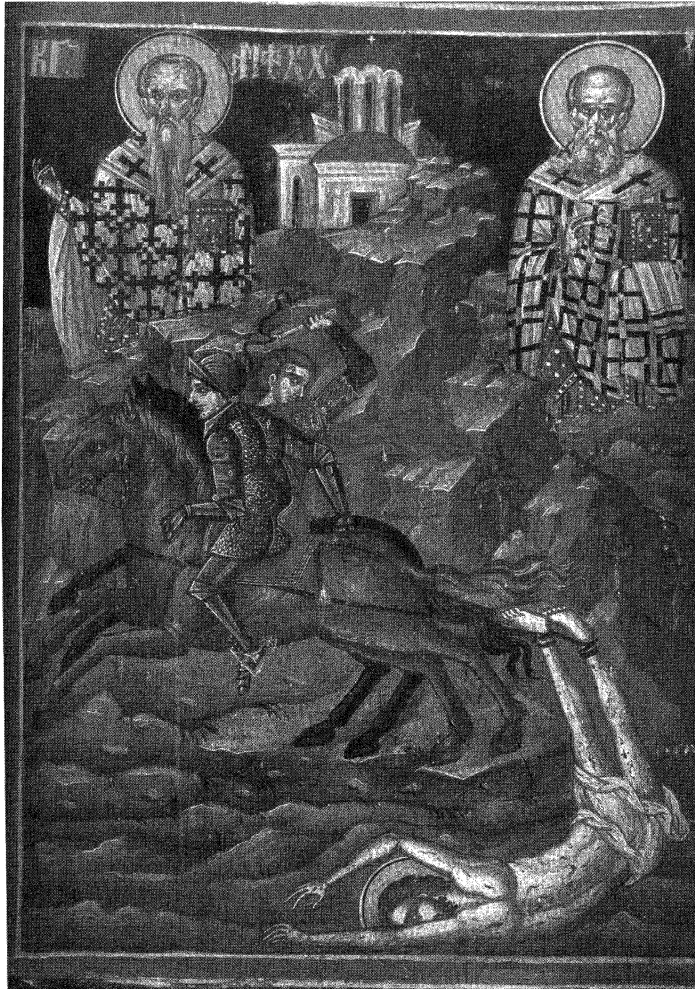


Fig. 21. The martyrdom of St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Ikonion. Fresco. Philanthropon Monastery, Narthex, 1560

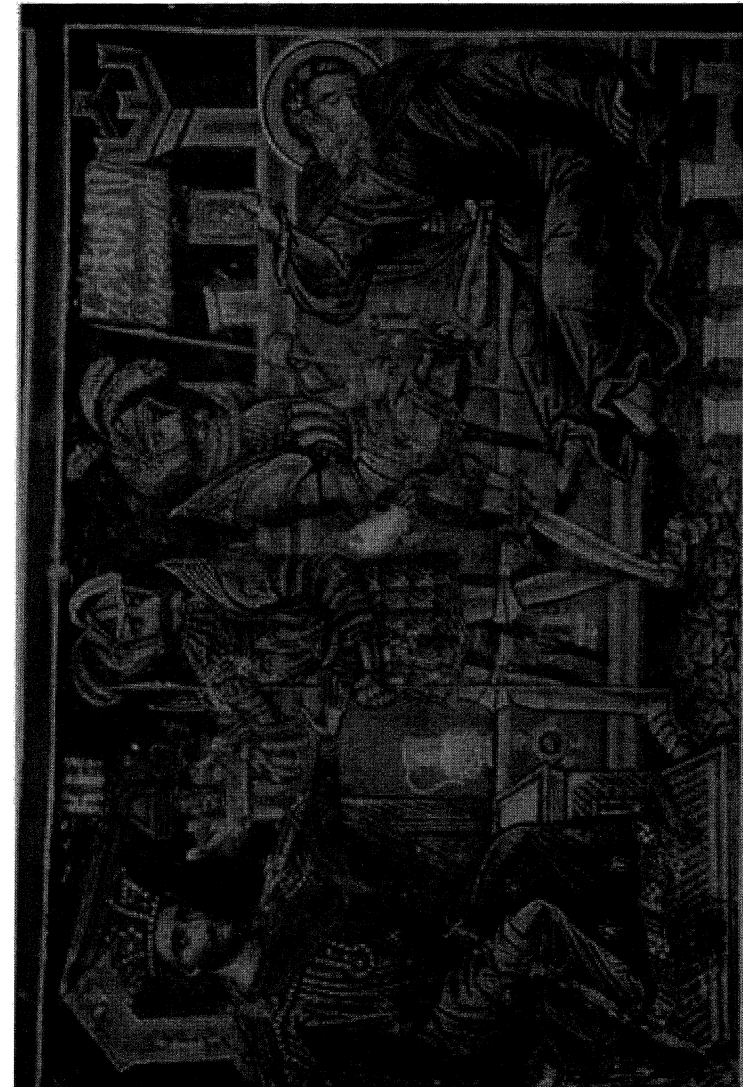


Fig. 22. The martyrdom of St. Stephen the Confessor. Fresco. Philanthropon Monastery, Narthex. 1560



Fig. 23. The Betrayal of Jesus. Fresco. St. Athanasios Church at Goranxi, Dropull (Gjirokastra region), 1524



Fig. 24. The Martyrdoms of Sts. George and Demetrius. Fresco. Dryano Monastery, Narthex, last quarter of the 16th century

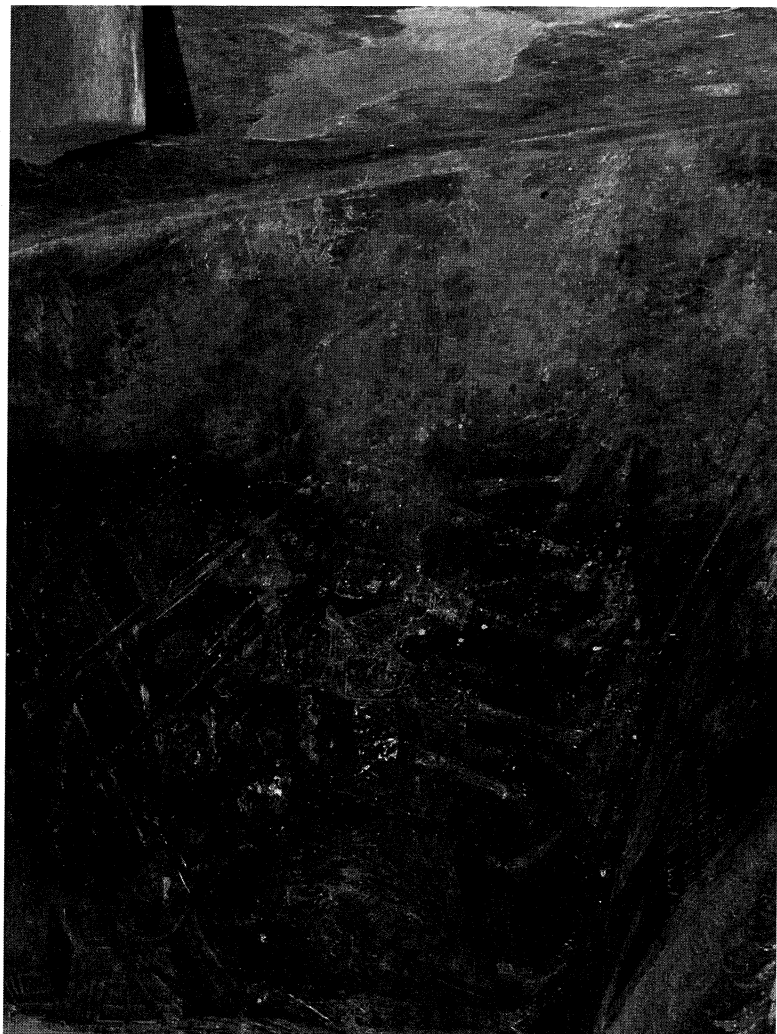


Fig. 25. The Carrying of the Cross. Fresco. Naos of Mingul Monastery, Gjirokastra, 1666



Fig. 26. A scene from the Bayeux Tapestry interpretation of the Battle of Hastings (1066). On the extreme left is Bishop Odo, wearing what may be a hauberk of scale armour and carrying a mace of cudgel form. On the extreme right, William of Normandy raises his helmet by its nasal

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