VENICE’S MEDITERRANEAN COLONIES:
ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

This book examines the architecture and urbanism in the Venetian colonies of the Eastern Mediterranean and how their built environments express the close cultural ties with both Venice and Byzantium. Using the island of Crete and its capital city, Candia (modern Herakleion), as a case study, Maria Georgopoulou exposes the dynamic relationship that existed between colonizer and colony. She studies the administrative, ecclesiastical, and military monuments set up by the Venetian colonists, which served as bold statements of control over the local Greek population and the Jewish communities, who were ethnically, religiously, and linguistically distinct from them. Georgopoulou demonstrates how the Venetian colonists manipulated Crete’s past history in order to support and legitimate colonial rule, particularly through the appropriation of older Byzantine traditions in civic and religious ceremonies. At the same time, Crete and the other Mediterranean colonies – and the material goods that they exported to Venice – offered the city the cultural prestige it needed in order to foster a new “imperial image” of the Venetian Republic after the Fourth Crusade of 1204.

Maria Georgopoulou is Associate Professor of Art History at Yale University. A scholar of Byzantine art and architecture and a Getty Postdoctoral Fellow, she has contributed to The Art Bulletin, The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, and Medieval Encounters.
VENICE'S
MEDITERRANEAN
COLONIES

Architecture
and Urbanism

MARIA GEORGOPOULOU
Yale University
## CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations*  
*Preface*  

**Introduction: Venice’s Empire**  
**Part I: Constructing an Empire**  
1. The City as Locus of Colonial Rule  
2. Signs of Power  
3. Venice, the Heir of Byzantium  

**Part II: Mapping the Colonial Territory**  
4. Patron Saints, Relics, and Martyria  
5. The Blessings of the Friars  
6. The Greeks and the City  
7. Segregation within the Walls: The Judaica  

**Part III: Symbols of Colonial Control**  
8. Ritualizing Colonial Practices  
9. Colonialism and the Metropole  

**Conclusion: Crete and Venice**  

**Appendix**  
**Notes**  
**Selected Bibliography**  
**Index**
ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Orders of Venetian windows, John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* page 3
2 Venice, basilica of San Marco, western façade 4
3 Map of the Eastern Mediterranean 7
4 M. Boschini, “Pianta della città di Canea,” *Il Regno tutto di Candia* 23
5 M. Boschini, “Fortezza di Rettimo,” *Il Regno tutto di Candia* 24
6 Rethymnon, Porta Guora 25
7 View of Candia, etching of Edward Reuwich, in B. Breydenbach, *Tiansmarina Peregrianatio ad Terram Sanctam* 26
8 Jacques Peeters, *Corphu*, in *Description des principales villes* . . . 27
9 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Creta – Candia*, in Liber insularum Archipelagi 31
10 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, “View of Candia,” in *Descripțio insulae Candiae* 32
11 Domenico Rossi da Este, Città vecchia di Candia, August 17, 1573 33
12 George Clontzas, view of Candia during the time of the plague, Istoria ab origine mundi 34
13 Marco Boschini, “Città di Candia,” *Il Regno tutto di Candia* 35
14 Zorzi Corner, Città di Candia (1625) 36
15 Venice, Santa Maria del Giglio, façade 37
16 Werdmüller, Pianta della città di Candia, 1666–68 38
17 Map of Candia, after Werdmüller 39
18 Vincenzo Coronelli, Pianta della real fortezza e città di Candia, in *Città, Fortezze, Isole e Porti principali d’Europa* 40
19 Map of Byzantine Chandax, after Nikolaos Platon 45
20 Plan of the Voltone area, 1577 46
21 Map of Candia in the thirteenth century 47
22 Herakleion, the high walls in the area of the harbor 50
ILLUSTRATIONS

23 Francesco Basilicata, cavalry quarters restoration project, 1625 51
24 Herakleion, Chandakos street, relieving arches under city walls 52
25 Herakleion, Chandakos street, relieving arch 53
26 Herakleion, sea gate before demolition 56
27 Herakleion, gate of the arsenals before demolition 57
28 View of Canea in the sixteenth century, Pianta delle fortificazioni con la città, il porto di S. Lazzaro 58
29 Chania, remains of the city walls 58
30 Chania, western gate of the castello 59
31 Chania, eastern gate of the castello 60
32 Chania, gate of Rethymnon, now destroyed 61
33 Negroponte. Pianta delle fortificazioni, con il porto e lo schieramento delle forze turche 62
34 View of the city of Negroponte/Chalkis, sixteenth century 62
35 Gerolamo Albrizzi, Modone. Pianta della città e delle fortificazioni, 1686 63
36 View of the city of Modon/Methoni, sixteenth century 63
37 Città e fortezza di Coron 64
38 Chania, remains of the city walls 65
39 M. Boschini, “Città di Settia,” in Il Regno tutto di Candia 66
40 Herakleion, schematic plan of the arsenals in 1451 68
41 Herakleion, view of arsenals of the midfifteenth century 69
42 Herakleion, pier of the arsenals 70
43 Herakleion, vault of the arsenali nuovissimi 71
44 Chania, arsenals seen from the north 72
45 Herakleion, nuga magistra looking south 77
46 Venice, Ca’ Loredan or Ca’ Farsetti 80
47 Istanbul, Tekfur Sarayi 80
48 Jacques Peeters, Canea in Candia, in Description des principales villes . . . 81
49 Retimo, Prospetto della città e della fortezza, first half of the seventeenth century 81
50 Herakleion, piazza San Marco (Liontaria) 82
51 “Pianta della sala d’arme del palazzo del capitano con loggia e zona circonvicina e modifiche ai locali attigui”: plan of the loggia and the armeria 83
52 Herakleion, loggia of the sixteenth century 83
53 Zorzi Corner, Città di Canea, 1625, detail 86
54 Rethymnon, loggia 87
55 Rethymnon, Rimondi fountain today 87
ILLUSTRATIONS

56 George Clontzas, view of the ducal palace in Candia, in Istoria ab origine mundi 88
57 Rethymnon, remains of the clock tower 89
58 Rethymnon, clock tower 89
59 Provveditori alle Fortezze, B. 43, dis. 160: Candia. Castello di Candia, seventeenth century 92
60 Herakleion, Castello da Mar, view 93
61 Herakleion, view to harbor with Castello da Mar 93
62 Herakleion, residence of the camerarii 94
63 Herakleion, Castello da Mar, sculpture above southern entrance 95
64 Herakleion, view of the shops in the area of the ducal palace 96
65 Herakleion, arcade shops at the area of the ducal palace 97
66 Herakleion, remains of ducal palace 97
67 George Clontzas, Corpus Domini procession in Candia, in Istoria ab origine mundi 98
68 Drawing of the ducal palace based on Buondelmonti’s view, after Stylianos Alexiou 99
69 Chalkis, “House of bailo” 101
70 Chalkis, lion above the entrance to the “house of bailo” 101
71 Herakleion, armeria 110
72 Herakleion, view of Hagios Titos 110
73 Chalkis, church of Hagia Paraskeve, exterior view from west 111
74 Chalkis, church of Hagia Paraskeve, view to choir 111
75 Chalkis, church of Hagia Paraskeve, arches 114
76 Chalkis, church of Hagia Paraskeve, capital 115
77 Chalkis, church of Hagia Paraskeve, capital 115
78 Jacques Peeters, Canea, in Description des principales villes . . . 120
79 Chania, Latin cathedral, ground plan after Gerola 121
80 Chania, remains of the Latin cathedral in the upper town 122
81 Plan and elevation of the church of St. Mark in Herakleion after the restorers S. Alexiou and K. Lassithiotakis 125
82 Herakleion, church of St. Mark, interior, view east 126
83 Herakleion, church of St. Mark, interior, column 127
84 Herakleion, church of St. Mark, exterior, the loggia 128
85 Herakleion, church of St. Mark, remains of the bell tower 129
86 T. A. B. Spratt, “The Town of Candia,” Travels and Researches in Crete 135
87 Drawing of the remains of the monastery of St. Francis following the earthquake of 1856, after Alexandrides 135
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Herakleion, Historical Museum, fragments of the sculptural decoration of St. Francis</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Peter the Martyr, exterior view from southeast</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Peter the Martyr, ground plan after Gerola</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Peter the Martyr, south wall of the nave</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Peter the Martyr, vault of the choir</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Chevalier d'Harcourt, La ville de Candie attaquée pour la troisième fois de l’armée Ottomane . . ., 1669</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Herakleion, Franciscan monastery of St. John the Baptist, ground plan after Gerola</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of the Savior, exterior view from northeast</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of the Savior, exterior view, north wall</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of the Savior, ground plan after Gerola</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of the Savior, interior view in Gerola’s time</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Mary of the Crusaders, ground plan after Gerola</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Mary of the Crusaders, interior, looking west</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Mary of the Crusaders, north wall</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Mary of the Crusaders, south wall</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Map of Candia in the fifteenth century</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Chania, church of St. Francis, exterior view from the east</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Chania, church of St. Francis, exterior view from the south</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Chania, church of St. Francis, ground plan after Gerola</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Chania, church of St. Francis, nave looking west, transverse arches in the barrel vault</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Chania, church of St. Francis, ribbed vault in the choir, north chapel</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Chania, possible location of the nunnery of the Clares</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Zorzi Corner, Città di Canea, 1625</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Rethymnon, church of St. Francis, exterior view from the south</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Rethymnon, church of St. Francis, sculpture of lion</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Rethymnon, Augustinian church of St. Mary, interior</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of the Madonnina, colonnettes of the sanctuary</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Catherine of Sinai</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Herakleion, remains of the church of St. Mary of the Angels</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Herakleion, church of St. Anastasia</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Map of Candia in 1303</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Map of Candia in 1323</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Chania, St. Catherine’s, Greek church, interior</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Herakleion, St. George Dorianan, now Armenian church of St. John, entrance</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Herakleion, plan of the Lower Synagogue, 1942, after Stergios Spanakis</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Herakleion, remains of houses in the Judaica</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Chania, synagogue, east façade</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Chania, synagogue, remains of the interior</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Chania, synagogue, decorative details</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Venice, church of Santa Maria della Salute, icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Venice, church of Santa Maria della Salute, icon of the Virgin Mesopanditissa covered with silver revetment and jewels</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Lead seal with a portrait of St. Titus on the obverse</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Venice, basilica of San Marco, mosaic over the door of S. Alipio</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Venice, basilica of San Marco, icon of the Virgin Nikopoios</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Engraving of the church of Santa Maria della Salute in the time of the procession</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Scolari, view of the ghetto of Venice, detail, Pianta di Venezia, c. 1700</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Venice, view of the ghetto</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Herakleion, portal of the Palazzo Ittar</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Victor, standard of Francesco Morosini, made in Candia in 1667–69</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The seeds of this project were planted during my graduate studies at the Sorbonne by my adviser, Léon Pressouyre, who, in his unique insight, predicted my fascination with the artistic and cultural relationships among different ethnic groups on Venetian Crete and the Mediterranean at large. The project materialized into a doctoral thesis at UCLA, where its focus was redefined several times thanks to the constructive advice of Irene Bierman, Barisa Krekić, Carlo Pedretti, Speros Vryonis, Jr., and above all my adviser and mentor, Ioli Kalavrezou. I am truly indebted to all of them for their unwavering trust and support.

I am grateful to the Getty Foundation for granting me a Getty Post-Doctoral Fellowship that enabled me to complete a first draft of the manuscript and to my department for giving me leave during that year; to the YCIAS Faculty Research and Griswold Travel Grants of Yale University for awarding me funds for summer travel; and to the Hilles Publication Fund of Yale University for providing support for the index and the illustrations in this volume. Beverly Lett, Tony Oddo, and Sue Roberts of the Yale library have often gone beyond the call of duty to assist me with endless bibliographical issues. I thank them warmly. The stimulating environment of the Department of the History of Art at Yale has contributed a lot to the completion of this book. My colleagues have shared with me their expertise and wisdom to help me sharpen my thoughts and navigate through the world of publishing. I am thankful to them, especially to Walter Cahn, who followed the progress of this book closely. I am also grateful to my students at Yale, whose insightful inquiries played a major role in the crystallization of my thoughts.

A large part of the research for this book was conducted in Venice and Crete. I am indebted to the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini in Venice, especially its Directors, Chryssa Maltezou and the late Nikos Panagiotakes, as well as the librarian, Despoina Vlassi, for offering me their...
hospitality, support, and access to their fine library. I am grateful to the Directors and the staff of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia under the direction of Dr. Maria Francesca Tiepolo and Professore Paolo Selmi; the Biblioteca Marciana and its Director, Marino Zorzi; the Museo Civico Correr under the directorship of Giandomenico Romanelli; and the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti and its Director, Professore Bruno Zanettin, for their assistance throughout my stay in Venice and their willingness to provide me with archival and photographic material central to my study. I would also like to thank the Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities in Herakleion, Manolis Borboudakis, and the Director of the Historical Museum of Crete, Alexis Kalokairinos, for their assistance with unpublished photographic and archaeological material from Herakleion. The library staff at the University of Crete in Rethymnon were of great help during the early stages of my research. The Gennadius Library in Athens under the direction of Haris Kalligas has proved an exquisite place to work and a wonderful resource for rare books and photographs.

I am greatly indebted to Madeleine Sorapure, who read the first draft of the manuscript a few years back. Her helpful suggestions and encouraging comments convinced me that it was indeed possible to produce a book. The invaluable advice and constructive comments of the readers of this manuscript for Cambridge University Press, Sharon Gerstel, Sally McKee, and Annemarie Weyl Carr, helped me clarify much of my writing and sharpen the focus of the manuscript. I also thank Benjamin Arbel, who read an earlier version of the manuscript for E. J. Brill, for his useful comments. I did my best to respond to the readers’ suggestions, but of course I claim responsibility for all the remaining errors.

Over the course of the years I have profited greatly from the advice and support of so many colleagues and friends that it would be impossible to thank them all individually. I apologize if I omitted several persons who have stood by my side at various stages of this project; I am hopeful they will understand. For numerous fruitful discussions that helped shape my thoughts I am thankful to Tony Cutler, Esther da Costa Meyer, Charalampos Gasparis, David Jacoby, Angeliki Laiou, Katerina Mylopotamitaki, Rob Nelson, Bob Ousterhout, Roberta Panzanelli, Aspasia Papadaki, Debra Pincus, Jahan Ramazani, Caroline Rody, Sally Scully, Nancy Ševčenko, Liana Starida, Ioanna Steriotou, Panagiotes Vokotopoulos, and Annabel Wharton. The fellows of the Istituto Ellenico in Venice have been immensely generous with their time during my visits to Venice and eager to act as my delegates when I was away from the archives and monuments. For their warmth and selfless assistance I thank Photis Baroutsos, Rena Papadaki, and Giorgos Pileidis. I am mostly grateful to my extended family in Crete, the Petrakis, without
the guidance of whom the mysteries of the island would have remained beyond reach for me.

My editor at Cambridge University Press, Beatrice Rehl, and production editor Holly Johnson, offered me advice and help at critical moments in the life of this project. I thank them for their continuous support. I am grateful to Susan Thornton for her thorough copy-editing and her joyful response to the manuscript. My deepest gratitude goes to my family for their continuing support and encouragement. I would have never been able to travel to Crete and Venice without the conviction that my daughter, Katerina, was happy in the company of her grandparents. I will be eternally grateful to them for cheerfully devoting most of their summers to baby-sitting. Above all I am indebted to my husband, Christos Cabolis, for his love, humor, encouragement, and helpful criticism that brought some mathematical logic into this study. I thank him for never getting tired of this project and, as usual, I will blame him for all the mistakes.