

I. SPATHARAKIS – A.A.T. VAN DEN BRINK – A. VERWEIJ / LEIDEN

## A CYCLE OF ST. MAMAS IN A CRETAN CHURCH

With four plates

The purpose of this paper is mainly to introduce a cycle of the Life of St. Mamas, which is unique for Byzantium, and the paintings of the church in which it is found. The church is dedicated to St. Mamas and is situated a few kilometres to the West of the village of Paleochora in the Province of Selino, Crete.<sup>1</sup> It is a single nave chapel, measuring approximately 6 × 4 m. It is divided into two bays by means of a transverse arch. The church has been recently restored, but only the northern part is original. Several wall paintings have been preserved here. A small part of the original stone iconostasis has survived, decorated with a geometrical pattern. The wall paintings date to 1355–1356 A.D., according to a dedicatory inscription; it is written on the westernmost part of the northern wall, above a geometrical decoration. It mentions the sponsors of the church, the priest Georgios Saklos (?) and his wife and children, Photinos Abramis and his wife and children, Georgios Abramis and his wife, and the year 6864.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Our thanks are due to Drs. Gale S. Bartholf, The Hague, for her correction of the English in this article, and Peter Vöge, Leiden, for the photographic material from the church.

The church is mentioned in: G. GEROLA, *Elenco topografico delle chiese affrescate di Creta. Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 94 (1934–35) 139–216, translated into Greek by K. LASSITHIOTAKIS: Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος των τοιχογραφημένων εκκλησιών της Κρήτης. Μετάφραση, πρόλογος, σημειώσεις Κ.Ε. Λαοσιθιωτάκη. Ηρακλείον 1961, no. 115. K.E. LASSITHIOTAKIS, *Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης, Δ': Επαρχία Σελίνου. Kretika Chronika* 22 (1970) 133–210 and 347–388, esp. 175–176, drawing 59 (the ground plan), figs. 214–218 (general view, the death of St. Mamas, Aaron and Melchizedek, the Virgin and Apostles from the Ascension of Christ, the dedicatory inscription). I. SPATHARAKIS, *Dated Wall Paintings of Crete. Leiden* 2001, 99–100 no. 34, fig. 89 (the Virgin and Apostles from the Ascension of Christ, in colour). For the several churches dedicated to St. Mamas in Crete, see Th.E. DETORAKIS, *Η λαϊκή λατρεία του Αγίου Μάμα στην Κρήτη. Ύδωρ εκ πέτρας* 5–6 (1982–1983) 107–134, esp. 110–113; here also the written sources on the Life of the saint (pp. 108–111).

<sup>2</sup> G. GEROLA, *Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta, Vols. I–IV. Venezia, 1905–1932, IV, 440 no. 12, with a reproduction. The inscription was better preserved when Gerola*

The following scenes and figures are preserved in the church: The left part of the head and of the bust of Christ Pantokrator can be seen in the half dome of the apse. Below it, a part of the halo of one of the presumably four co-officiating bishops depicted in the half cylinder of the apse is visible. The upper part of the triumphal arch is decorated with the Mandylion; the greater part of it has survived, however, in a mediocre state of preservation. The Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, clad in imperial garments with the *loros*, is depicted below it. The deacon St. Stephen is painted frontally below him. The figure of Gabriel is better preserved than that of St. Stephen. The northern wall of the sanctuary is painted with the figure of a frontally standing bishop, which cannot be identified because of its poor state of preservation. A small prothesis niche is hewn into this wall, to the right of the bishop. It preserves its original geometrical decoration, which extends outside it and covers a surface as large as the figure of the bishop does. In the lower part of the barrel vault of the sanctuary, the northern part of the Ascension of Christ is preserved<sup>3</sup> (Figs. 1–2). This scene initially covered the entire barrel vault of the sanctuary. The part which is still visible is the best preserved painting in the church and shows the Virgin standing among six Apostles and an angel. The Virgin in profile appears in the early iconography of the Ascension scene, while the later iconography of the subject reveals a frontally standing Virgin. The example in our church, however, is not unique, but can be sporadically seen in other Ascension scenes. The angel is depicted standing in front of the Virgin with his body turned to the right and his head to the left, in the direction of the Virgin. He raises his right hand upwards, indicating the ascending Christ. All six Apostles turn their heads upwards, in the direction of Christ. The remnants of only one of the angels holding the mandorla of the ascending Christ can be seen above the figures described.

---

photographed it than it is now; he could not, however, determine whether the last cipher of the date represented an A or a Δ; he transcribed it as an A, but calculated it as a Δ. Gerola also mentioned that the Abramo belonged to a Venetian family who settled in 1211 A.D. on the island.

<sup>3</sup> The Ascension of Christ is mentioned in Mark, 16:19, Luke, 24:50–52, and especially Acts, 1:9–12; also in the Gospel of Nicodemus (*Acta Pilati*), Pars I. B, chapter XIV.1. On the iconography of the Ascension see: A.A. SCHMID, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (LCI), 8 vols., ed. by E. KIRSCHBAUM. Rom, Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1968–76, Vol. 2, 268–276, with bibliography. A. GRABAR, *Christian Iconography, a Study of its Origins*. Princeton 1968, *passim* (see index on p. 163). K. WESSEL, in *RbK* II, 1224–1256, s.v. Himmelfahrt, with bibliography. G. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols. Gütersloh 1966–1991, III, 140–164.

The Baptism and the Transfiguration of Christ are represented in the barrel vault of the western bay, but only the lower part of these scenes is preserved. Three scenes from the life of St. Mamas are painted below them, reading from West to East; more about these scenes will be said below. The northern wall of this bay is decorated with the Virgin holding the Child; she is depicted sitting on a large, wooden throne and flanked by two angels clad in imperial garment with the *loros*; they bend slightly in the direction of the Virgin. St. Kyriaki is portrayed frontally standing to the West of the previous scenes. The inscription above a geometrical decoration follows, as already stated. Remnants of the lower part of two standing saints are visible on the western wall. All paintings in the western bay are partially damaged.

The intrados of the arch of the church is decorated with a partially preserved standing figure of Aaron. He is clad in richly ornamented priestly garments and holds his flowering rod in the right hand (Numbers, 17: 1–13); a censer hangs from his left hand, in which he also holds a vessel and a horn.<sup>4</sup> The vessel has the form of the ark of Noah, as seen in depictions of this figure, while the horn is an attribute of Samuel (he anointed David with it). It is, therefore, exceptional that Aaron is represented here with two additional attributes of other prophets. Remnants of the lower part of the figure of another prophet are visible above Aaron.

A vertical band is painted to the East of the arch, within the sanctuary. A Prophet, inscribed Melchizedek, is portrayed here standing (Fig. 3). He is clad in a different attire from that of Aaron and has no headgear; one would expect the Prophet Elijah in these iconographic features rather than Melchizedek. The lower part of another standing Prophet is preserved

---

<sup>4</sup> Aaron may also be represented holding the *stamnos*, e.g., in the church of St. John the Evangelist in Selli, Rethymnon, dated 1411 A.D.: I. SPATHARAKIS, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete. Rethymnon Province*. London 1999, 235–262, esp. 255–256, pl. 30b, in colour, with bibliography. IDEM, *Dated Wall Paintings of Crete*, op. cit., 164 no. 54, fig. 144, in colour, with bibliography. He is also described in the *Hermeneia*, 76, as holding the *stamnos* and the flowering rod: DENYS DE FOURNA, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, accompagné de ses sources principales inédites et publié avec préface, ... par A. PAPADOPOULOU-KÉRAMEUS*. St. Pétersbourg 1909; an English edition by P. HETHERINGTON, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournas. An English Translation, with Commentary of cod. gr. 708 in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Leningrad*. London 1974, 28. Another example of Aaron holding the flowering rod and the *stamnos* can be seen in Sopočani, ca. 1265 A.D.; a colour reproduction in V.J. DJURIĆ, *Sopočani*. Belgrade 1991, pl. 53. On Aaron in general see: H. DIENST, in *LCI*, 1, 2–4, with bibliography. We know of no other depictions showing Aaron holding the Ark of Noah or a horn.

above Melchizedek. This vertical band decorated with prophets imitates an arch; it is an exceptional, but not unique feature in the iconographic programme of a church. An example of this kind can be seen in Crete as early as 1321 A.D. in the church of St. George, situated outside the village of Lytto (*olim* Xydias) in Peditas Province.<sup>5</sup>

The style of the paintings can be better seen in the Ascension scene and the figure of Melchizedek (Figs. 1–3) than in the scenes from the Life of St. Mamas. It is a provincial style, executed by an artist who occasionally produces good work, as this can be seen in the garments of the Apostle on the right in the Ascension scene. The dedicatory inscription increases the value of these paintings, because they can be used as a guide for dating other wall paintings, found not only in Crete, but also outside the island.

In an attempt to interpret the three scenes of the Life of St. Mamas, one feels obliged to review the main literary sources of the *Vita* of this saint.<sup>6</sup>

The homily of St. Gregory of Nazianzus *In novam Dominicam* was written for the consecration of a church of St. Mamas; the saint is mentioned in only a few lines: ... *the celebrated Mamas, shepherd and martyr, used to milk the hinds, who jostled one other to feed the holy man with milk.*<sup>7</sup> Nor does the homily of St. Basil *In sanctum martyrem Mamantem* reveal any details from the life of this saint.<sup>8</sup>

The *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* mentions, that the Emperor Aurelian (270–275) threw St. Mamas into the sea after several tortures. He was saved by an angel and led to a mountain of Caesarea, on which he lived among wild animals; he was fed by their milk and taught them the Gospel. He was much punished by Alexander, the ruler of Cappadocia; he was finally stabbed by a trident through his bowels and holding them he went out of the city of Caesarea, where he died.<sup>9</sup>

The Menologium of Basil II states, that, during the reign of Aurelian, St. Mamas refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods. He was brought by an

<sup>5</sup> SPATHARAKIS, Dated Wall Paintings of Crete, op. cit., 60–62 no. 20, with bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> For the literary sources of the Life of St. Mamas, see A. MARAVA-CHATZENIKOLAOU, Ο Άγιος Μάμας (*Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes* 57). Athens 1953, 5–23. F. HALKIN, *BHG* 1017z–1022. Idem, Auctuarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae. Bruxelles 1969, 1019–1022. B. CIGNITTI, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VIII, ed. F. CARAFFA et al. Rome 1961, 592–612, esp. 593. G. KASTER in *LCI* 7, 483–485, esp. 483, s.v. Mam(m)as (Mamantos, Mammetos, Mammès) von Cäsarea.

<sup>7</sup> *PG* 36, 608–622, esp. 620.

<sup>8</sup> *PG* 31, 589–600.

<sup>9</sup> H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Bruxelles 1902, 5–7 (September 2).

angel on a mountain, where he was fed by milking the hinds. His fame was renowned and therefore he was put in the fire by the governor of Cappadocia, but he came out unharmed. He was forced to fight against wild animals, but again suffered no injury. He was finally struck by a lance and, holding his bowels, he went out of the city and died. He was buried in Caesarea.<sup>10</sup>

The early, concise history of the Life of St. Mamas soon developed into a legend. The motif of charming the animals, borrowed from the myth of Orpheus, was further elaborated, while other themes were added to his martyrdom, like those one reads, e.g., in the *Synaxaria* of St. George. The relevant text in the *Menologium* by Symeon Metaphrastes, which usually gives more information about a saint than other literary sources, is unfortunately lost.<sup>11</sup> There are several manuscripts with the Life of St. Mamas, a number of which is based on Metaphrastes. One of the latter, an eleventh-century manuscript, was firstly published by Ioannou.<sup>12</sup>

The first scene in our church shows St. Mamas in profile, standing against an architectonic setting (Fig. 4). He is dressed in an unusual short white garment, widening from the top downwards and finishing in ample folds; a light blue *sticharion* can be seen underneath. He raises his hand in prayer and faces upwards, in the direction of the blessing hand of God; the latter appears in the upper right corner of the picture. The *vita* of St. Mamas certainly mentions the saint praying to God and hearing his voice several times. The most important prayer is that on a mountain:<sup>13</sup> He received a staff from heaven, after having fasted for forty days; he heard a voice, which told him to strike the earth, from which an evangelium came out. The text compares St. Mamas to Moses striking the Red Sea and receiving the Law. The details mentioned in the text cannot be seen in the scene of our church; the architectonic background does not suggest a mountainous landscape and no staff or evangelium are depicted. The inscription accompanying the scene cannot be read.

The second scene is even more problematic than the first one (Fig. 5). It is most unfortunate that no sufficient letters can be read in the partially preserved inscription in order to reconstruct it. St. Mamas is depicted on the left in three quarters view, while addressing a withdrawing

<sup>10</sup> *PG* 117, 24–25.

<sup>11</sup> It was fortunately translated into Latin and published in *PG* 115, 566–574.

<sup>12</sup> Marc. gr. 586, ff. 35–45. Th. IOANNOU, Μνημεία Ἀγιολογικά. Venice 1884, 338–351. N. ΚΛΗΡΙΔΗΣ, Προλεγόμενα και κείμενον της Ακολουθίας του αγίου ενδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος του Θαυματουργού. *Κυπριακαί Σπονδαί* 15 (1951) 91–145, esp. 125–137.

<sup>13</sup> IOANNOU, op. cit. 345.

group of men. He is differently dressed than in the previous scene, now in Byzantine garments. The group consists of men in various ages and various costumes. No less than three instants of the following story may be represented in this picture, which means that none of them is certain. The Governor of Cappadocia, Alexander, sent soldiers on horseback to arrest St. Mamas and bring him to the city.<sup>14</sup> Mamas, without being recognised by the soldiers, offered them a meal, naturally consisting of cheese and bread. When the animals came to be milked, the soldiers, frightened, sought refuge by the saint. He comforted them, made himself known and promised them to come by himself to the city, after which the soldiers left. The scene in our church may represent the departure of the soldiers, but neither the architectonic background, nor the costume of the men match the story. The continuation of the story reveals that St. Mamas left the mountain and, riding on a lion, went to the soldiers, who waited to bring him to Alexander. Our scene may also visualise this instant, with the soldiers leading St. Mamas to Alexander. The latter inflicted upon the saint several tortures and threw him in the prison. The saint liberated from the prison forty Christians by praying. Our scene may represent the liberation of the prisoners. In this case, the previous scene may also be interpreted as his prayer in the prison, instead of the prayer after which he received the staff and the evangelium from God, attributes which are missing from the picture, as already noted.

The third scene can fortunately be identified with certainty, although the inscription is totally effaced (Fig. 6). The passion of St. Mamas ends with a soldier piercing his bowels with a trident;<sup>15</sup> a woman rushed to receive a drop of his blood in a vessel;<sup>16</sup> the saint carried his bowels out of the city, where he reached a cave and died. The scene in our church shows St. Mamas in front of a hill. He raises his hand in the direction of a group of men. The first figure of the group, a woman, outstretches a vessel towards the wound of St. Mamas, from which even his bowels are shown hanging. The building on the left certainly suggests the city of Caesarea, in which St. Mamas was tortured and received the fatal blow.

Only these three scenes from the Life of St. Mamas are now visible in the church, as already noted. One may, however, propose that more scenes

<sup>14</sup> IOANNOU, *op. cit.* 345–346.

<sup>15</sup> IOANNOU, *op. cit.* 350.

<sup>16</sup> The woman recalls the personification of Ecclesia collecting blood from the wound of Christ, which occasionally appears in the scene of the Crucifixion. It is certainly not accidental that the personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue are depicted in a scene of St. Mamas in the manuscript Donysiou 61, as we shall see below.

were depicted opposite them, in the part of the church which is now destroyed, showing a few more of the several martyrdoms which the saint suffered.

St. Mamas was naturally as a protector of shepherds often depicted in Byzantine churches and other objects of art.<sup>17</sup> He is portrayed as a young person,<sup>18</sup> usually holding a goat, and occasionally riding a lion. We shall not discuss the hundreds of isolated portraits of this kind, but only scenes showing St. Mamas. They mostly appear in manuscripts containing the liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus; they decorate the homily *In novam Dominicam*, mentioned above.<sup>19</sup>

St. Mamas is occasionally depicted in this homily on a hill as a shepherd, surrounded by animals. An example of this kind can be seen in a headpiece of the Sinait. gr. 339, fol. 42vo, dating from the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>20</sup> In Par. gr. 550, fol. 30ro, also from the middle of the twelfth century, St. Mamas is depicted in a headpiece while standing and praying below the bust of Christ; two stags and a hind are shown in front of him.<sup>21</sup> In the Mount Athos MS. Dionysiou 61, fol. 17ro, datable to the second half of the eleventh century, the saint is depicted standing in the middle of the scene, and once more to the left milking a hind; the initial drawing of the hind was not executed in colour by the painter, but replaced by the continuation of the wall in the background<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 8). An interesting detail has been added to this scene: on the roofs of the two buildings flanking the saint, the personification of Ecclesia holding a vessel in her covered hands is introduced to the scene by an angel, and that of Synagogue is led away by another angel. The issue of the blood of St. Mamas is, thus, here compared to that of the Crucified, from which Ecclesia is fed, as occasionally seen on Crucifixion scenes flanking Christ together with the personification of Synagogue. A similar comparison was made above in discussing the scene

<sup>17</sup> On the iconography of St. Mamas, see MARAVA-CHATZENIKOLAOU, *op. cit.*, 86 ff. See also: L. RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*. Paris 1956–1959, III/2, 866–868. G. KASTER in LCI 7, 483–485. No Byzantine cycles are mentioned in these or any other publications.

<sup>18</sup> St. Mamas is as an exception depicted as an elderly man in one of the miniatures decorating the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in the manuscript Ambros. E. 49–50, Inf., written in the ninth century: A. GRABAR, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne*. Paris 1943, I, 2–4, pl. XLIII.3.

<sup>19</sup> G. GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Studies in Manuscript Illumination 6)*. Princeton N.J. 1969.

<sup>20</sup> GALAVARIS, *op. cit.*, 102, fig. 380.

<sup>21</sup> GALAVARIS, *op. cit.*, 101, fig. 409.

<sup>22</sup> GALAVARIS, *op. cit.*, 102, fig. 358; S.M. PELEKANIDIS et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos, I: Illuminated Manuscripts*, I. Athens 1974, 416, fig. 107.



of the death of St. Mamas in our church, in which a female figure receives the blood of the saint in a vessel. In a manuscript in the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Taphou 14, fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>, datable to the middle of the eleventh century, St. Mamas is represented milking a hind in front of a cave (Fig. 7). A soldier approaches him with raised sword. The scene may be an allusion to the soldiers seeking St. Mamas in the story mentioned above.<sup>23</sup>

In the *Menologium* of Basil II, Vat. gr. 1613,<sup>24</sup> dating to ca. 1000 A.D., the painter Blachernites depicted the execution of St. Mamas. The saint is frontally represented in the middle of the miniature, holding his bowels. A soldier on the left pierces St. Mamas with a lance. An elongated city is depicted on the right. The frontal stance of St. Mamas gives an hieratic rather than a narrative impression to the picture.

Although not all the miniatures mentioned here may be characterised as narrative, it is logical to propose the existence of lost illuminated manuscripts of the Life of St. Mamas. The archetype of the paintings in the church of St. Mamas outside the village of Paleochora may have been one of these manuscripts.

The veneration of St. Mamas soon spread from the East to the West, especially in Italy and France. Among the several literary Latin sources, a manuscript with the Passion of the saint, the *Passio Sancti Mammetis*, based on a lost Greek original, dates from the tenth century.<sup>25</sup> The lost Greek text of Metaphrastes also survived in a Latin translation, as already noted.<sup>26</sup> The saint is often represented in the West holding his bowels, e.g., in a statue in the Cathedral of Langres, an important centre of the worship of St. Mamas; the statue was executed by Evrard d'Orléans in ca. 1340 A.D.<sup>27</sup> The largest preserved mediaeval cycle of the Life of St. Mamas, among the few that have survived in the West, can be seen in the sizeable (3.70 × 1.80 m) stained-glass window in the Cathedral of Auxerre, dating from the thirteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Our observations at this Cathedral revealed

<sup>23</sup> GALAVARIS, op. cit., 100, fig. 104.

<sup>24</sup> Il Menologio di Basilio II (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti* 8). Torino 1907, p. 5, pl. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, Cod. F. III.16, published by H. DELEHAYE, *Passio Sancti Mammetis*. *AnBoll* 58 (1940) 126–141, esp. 128–141.

<sup>26</sup> *PG* 115, 566–574.

<sup>27</sup> Briefly mentioned by RÉAU, III/2, 867; CIGNITTI in *BiblSS VIII*, 609–610; KASTER in *LCI VII*, 484; É. VAUTHIER, *Saint Mammès, patron de la Cathédrale et du Diocèse de Langres, Histoire – Culte – Légende – Iconographie*. Langres 1994, 91, fig. 60.

<sup>28</sup> Briefly mentioned by RÉAU III/2, 867; CIGNITTI in *BiblSS VIII*, 609; KASTER in *LCI VII*, 485. The scenes are listed by VAUTHIER, op. cit., 123, figs. 36, 84. The window was partially restored and /or reconstructed in 1874. Scenes 7–12 and 16–19 are in their original state of preservation: VAUTHIER, 123.



the following order of sequence of the no less than nineteen scenes, running from left to right and from bottom to top: 1. The birth of St. Mamas; 2. St. Mamas and another pupil are instructed by a teacher; 3. St. Mamas interrogated by the Governor of Cappadocia, Democritus; 4. St. Mamas interrogated by the Emperor Aurelian; 5. St. Mamas, tied up to a pillar, is beaten by two soldiers; 6. St. Mamas, fastened on a grill, is tortured by two soldiers holding burning torches; 7. St. Mamas is saved by an angel chasing away the soldiers; 8. St. Mamas has a chapel built in the mountains; 9. Two soldiers on horse-back encounter St. Mamas in the forest; 10. St. Mamas, seated in front of his chapel in the forest, preaches to wild animals; 11. While St. Mamas is preaching to the animals, the two soldiers run away frightened; 12. God in the shape of Christ appears to St. Mamas; 13. St. Mamas interrogated by the new Governor of Cappadocia, Alexander; 14. St. Mamas, stretched in a frame, is lashed by two soldiers; 15. St. Mamas in the arena with a lion and a bear that do him no harm; 16. St. Mamas with Alexander, who orders him to worship a statue; 17. Alexander ordering two soldiers to throw St. Mamas into a furnace; 18. St. Mamas in prayer under a vault; 19. St. Mamas and Alexander in the palace. The absence of the death of St. Mamas is striking. The remainder of the story follows the (Latin) text of Metaphrastes, except for a minor detail, i.e., the order of sequence of the scenes 15 and 17. It is logical to suggest, that the archetype of the artist was an illuminated manuscript. Two examples, but of a later date, follow.

In the *Breviary of Langres* of the Bishop of Langres Jean d'Amboise I (1481–1487), now in Chaumont, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 33, two illuminated folios are devoted to St. Mamas. One shows the deposition of the relics of the saint in the Cathedral of Langres,<sup>29</sup> and the other, five scenes from his life: 1. St. Mamas milking a hind in front of a chapel; 2. The flagellation of St. Mamas; 3. The martyrdom with torches; 4. The martyrdom in the fiery furnace, and 5. St. Mamas with a lion outside a city, holding his bowels.

Of great interest is a miniature showing the death of St. Mamas, painted in a Missal in the Library Marcel-Arland in Langres from the middle of the fifteenth century. The saint holds his bowels, while a woman receives his blood in a vessel.<sup>30</sup> This is the second example of the theme

<sup>29</sup> V. LEROQUAIS, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Paris 1934, pl. CV (the Flagellation). Briefly mentioned by REAU III/2, 868; CIGNITI in *BiblSS VIII*, 611; KASTER in *LCI* 7, 485; VAUTHIER, 95, 97, figs. 12, 62–63.

<sup>30</sup> The Missal was donated to the Cathedral of Langres by a chaplain of Philippe le Bon, Jean Travailot (1440–1484): *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques*

which we first encountered in the church of St. Mamas outside Paleochora (Fig. 6).

We may conclude by briefly stating, that the paintings in the Cretan church contribute to a better knowledge of the scarce cycles of the Life of St. Mamas in general, and especially in Byzantine art. They include the only Byzantine cycle of this saint,<sup>31</sup> while other art media show only isolated scenes from the Life of St. Mamas.

---

publiques de France, Départements, Vol. XXI. Paris 1893, 68–70, no 2 (J. GAUTHIER). VAUTHIER, 101, fig. 68.

<sup>31</sup> It is most unfortunate, that from the fifteen scenes of the life of St. Mamas, which are painted around the saint riding a lion on a fourteenth-century icon in the Museum of the Monastery of Kykkos, Cyprus, only the one showing St. Mamas tied up to a pillar and tortured by two men holding burning torches is well preserved: S.K. PERDIKIS, in *Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου. 2000 χρόνια Τέχνης και Αγιότητας*, Nicosia, 2000, 274 no. 15, fig. 137 in colour.