

# THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS

TREASURES OF BYZANTINE ART

SECOND EDITION



ANDREAS STYLIANOU

AND

JUDITH A. STYLIANOU

# THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS

Treasures of Byzantine Art

Second Edition

By

Andreas Stylianou

and

Judith A. Stylianou

In a large number of rural churches in Cyprus wall-paintings have survived which are not only of great value in themselves but also provide a most precious *documentation of the development of Byzantine art*. Every period and style from the sixth to the eighteenth century is represented. Many are precisely dated. No other area of comparable size can offer so comprehensive a series.

Andreas and Judith Stylianou are internationally recognised as great experts on this subject. They have devoted a lifetime of research to it, not only in Cyprus but throughout the area of surviving Byzantine culture. Both of them have written monographs and essays on Byzantine art and presented papers to international congresses. Andreas Stylianou was responsible for the introduction to the volume *Cyprus, Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, published in the UNESCO World Art Series in 1963. *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* is the culmination of their long and careful studies which have finally restored the work of Cypriot painters to its proper place among the cultural achievements of the world.

It is the authors' aim, while providing the fullest scholarly documentation of the whole range of Byzantine mural painting in Cyprus, to give lovers of art in general an insight into the special merits of that school of art.

A full bibliography of their publications is included in this book. Their most recent production is a monumental work on *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus, the result of pioneering research in European libraries*.

The present work has been sponsored by the A.G. Leventis Foundation, an organisation with the purpose of assisting, among other things, the publication of works of scholarly value related to the cultural heritage of Cyprus.

Over 300 illustrations

ISBN 9963 - 560 - 30 - X

THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS

TREASURES OF BYZANTINE ART  
SECOND EDITION

ANDREAS STYLIANOU  
AND  
JUDITH A. STYLIANOU

# THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS

TREASURES OF BYZANTINE ART

SECOND EDITION



Frontispiece. Christ Pantocrator, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera.

# THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS

TREASURES OF BYZANTINE ART

SECOND EDITION

BY  
ANDREAS STYLIANOU  
AND  
JUDITH A. STYLIANOU

A. G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION  
NICOSIA, CYPRUS

First published 1985

Revised Edition 1997

By the A. G. Leventis Foundation  
Nicosia, Cyprus

© Andreas and Judith A. Stylianou  
All rights reserved

Printed in Cyprus by J. G. Cassoulides & Son Ltd

ISBN 9963 - 560 - 30 - X

FRONTISPIECE, Christ Pantocrator, 1192, Church of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera	
ATHENS ACADEMY AWARD 1985	10
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (first ed.)	11
SUPPLEMENTARY PREFACE TO THIS EDITION	13
INTRODUCTION:	
A. HISTORY	15
B. BYZANTINE ART AND CYPRUS (figs. 1-11)	19
THE MONUMENTS:	
A. CHURCHES WITH MOSAICS:	
I. LYTHRANKOMI:	
1. The Church of Panagia Kanakaria (figs. 12-15)	43
II. KITI:	
2. The Church of Panagia Angeloktistos (figs. 16-17)	49
III. LIVADIA:	
3. The Church of Panagia Kyra	52
B. THE PAINTED CHURCHES:	
IV. KAKOPETRIA:	
4. The Church of St. Nicholas of the Roof (figs. 18-30)	53
5. The Church of Panagia Theotokos (figs. 31-34)	76
6. The Church of St. George Perachoritis (figs. 35-36)	81
V. GALATA:	
7. The Church of St. Sozomenus (figs. 37-39)	84
8. The Church of the Archangel or Panagia Theotokos (figs. 40-44)	90
9. The Church of Panagia Podithou (figs. 45-49)	98
10. The Church of Agia Paraskevi	106
VI. KALIANA:	
11. The Church of Sts. Joachim and Anna (figs. 50-51)	107
VII. VIZAKIA:	
12. The Church of the Archangel Michael (figs. 52-55)	110
VIII. NIKITARI:	
13. The Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou (figs. 56-71)	114
IX. KOURDALI:	
14. The Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God (figs. 72-77)	141
X. AGIA IRENE:	
15. The Church of the Holy Cross (figs. 78-82)	151
XI. LAGOUDERA:	
16. The Church of Panagia tou Arakou (Frontispiece and figs. 83-102)	157
XII. PLATANISTASA:	
17. The Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati (figs. 103-126)	186
XIII. KYPEROUNDA:	
18. The Church of the Holy Cross (figs. 127-128)	219



XV. KOUKIA	233
19. The Church of the Holy Cross (figs. 128a-132)	233
20. The Church of Panagia Katholiki (fig. 133)	233
XVI. KHAINE	235
21. The Church of the Holy Cross	235
22. The Church of St. Mavra (fig. 134)	236
XVII. MONAGRI:	
23. The Church of St. George	238
24. The Church of the Archangel Michael	238
25. The Church of Panagia Amasgou (figs. 135-138)	238
XVIII. LOUVARAS:	
26. The Church of St. Mamas (figs. 139-147)	246
XIX. PALAEOCHORIO:	
27. The Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour (figs. 148-171)	256
28. The Church of Panagia Chrysopantassa	287
XX. ASKAS:	
29. The Church of St. John Prodromos	289
30. The Church of St. Christina (fig. 172)	290
XXI. KALOPANAYIOTIS:	
31. The Monastery of St. John Lampadistis (figs. 173-190)	292
32. The Church of St. Andronicus (fig. 191)	321
XXII. MOUTOULLAS:	
33. The Church of Panagia tou Moutoulla (figs. 192-195)	323
XXIII. PEDOULAS:	
34. The Church of the Archangel Michael (figs. 196-205)	331
XXIV. PALAEOMYLOS:	
35. The Church of the Holy Cross	344
XXV. KAMINARIA:	
36. The Church of the Virgin Mary (figs. 206-207)	345
37. The Church of St. Basil	348
XXVI. PAPHOS:	
38. The Catacomb of Agia Solomoni (fig. 208)	349
39. The Monastery of St. Neophytus (figs. 209-225)	351
XXVII. YEROSKIPOS:	
40. The Church of St. Paraskevi (figs. 226-235)	382
XXVIII. KOUKLIA:	
41. The Church of Panagia Katholiki (fig. 236)	395
42. "Palaea Enkleistra" (figs. 237-242)	397
XXIX. GALATARIA:	
43. The Church of St. Nicholas (figs. 243-244)	404
XXX. AKHELIA:	
44. The Church of St. Theodosius (fig. 245)	407
XXXI. EMBA:	
45. The Church of Panagia Chryseleousa (figs. 246-248)	409
XXXII. LETIMBOU:	
46. The Church of St. Kirykos (figs. 249-251)	414

XXXIII. KHOFI:	
47. The Church of the Archangel Michael (figs. 252-253)	419
XXXIV. PERACHORIO (of Nisou):	
48. The Church of the Holy Apostles (figs. 254-255)	422
XXXV. DALI:	
49. The Church of St. Demetrianus (fig. 256)	425
XXXVI. PYRGA:	
50. The Royal Chapel or the Chapel of St. Catherine (figs. 257-258)	428
51. The Church of St. Marina	432
XXXVII. KELLIA:	
52. The Church of St. Anthony (figs. 259-260)	433
XXXVIIA. XYLOPHAGOU:	
52a. The Church of St. George (fig. 260a)	438
XXXVIII. TERSEPHANOU:	
53. The Church of St. George of Arpera (figs. 261-263)	440
XXXIX. LEFKARA:	
54. The Church of the Archangel Michael, Kato Lefkara (figs. 264-267)	447
XI. KYRENIA:	
55. The Rock-cut Chapel of St. Mavra (figs. 268-271)	451
XII. KOUTSOVENDIS:	
56. The Monastery of St. Chrysostom (figs. 272-276)	456
57. The Twin Churches of the Saviour and of Panagia of Aphendrika (figs. 277-280)	463
XIII. KALOGREA:	
58. The Church of Christ Antiphonitis (figs. 281-293)	469
XIII. TRIKOMO:	
59. The Church of Panagia Theotokos (figs. 294-297)	486
XIV. LYSI:	
60. The Church of St. Euphemianus (figs. 298-300)	492
XV. NICOSIA:	
61. The Cathedral Church of St. John the Evangelist (fig. 301)	496
CYPROTE SAINTS	500
GLOSSARY	501
BIBLIOGRAPHY	502
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA	
Additions to Entry XIV, PELENDRI, 19 The Church of the Holy Cross (pp. 223-232)	507
NEW ENTRY TO THIS EDITION	
XVI. POTAMIA	
62. The Cave Hermitage of St. Szymonius	511
SELECTED NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY	515
PROVANCE OF THE COLOUR ILLUSTRATIONS	515
INDEX	517
MAP	

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΤΥΧΗ, ΑΓΑΘΗ,

ΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΗ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ANDREA ΚΑΙ JUDITH STYLIANOU

ΒΡΑΒΕΥΣΑΙ

ΟΤΙ ΤΩ ΕΡΓΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ "THE PAINTED CHURCHES OF CYPRUS,"

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΝΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ

ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΣΥΜΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΙ

ΑΝΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΙ

ΜΗΝΟΣ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΚΑΔΙ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΥ

ΚΑΙ ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΚΟΣΙΟΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΙΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ

Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ

Ο ΓΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In our first small edition of *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, published in 1964, we stated in our preface: "When we first embarked on the study of the painted churches of Cyprus, many years ago, we had to travel to them mostly by donkey. When a clear picture of the wealth of these veritable galleries of Byzantine art began to emerge, we began to communicate the results of these expeditions to the Society of Cypriote Studies (*Kypriakai Spoudai*), and to the International Byzantine Congresses, with rewarding results. We believe that the time has now come to offer the accumulated material to a wider public; to introduce the interested visitor and the student of Byzantine art to the most important Byzantine churches which have retained all, or the best part, of their decoration, and to present this most interesting, yet little known aspect of the medieval civilization of Cyprus, to those who are unable to visit the island"...

Our belief that the time had come to present the painted churches of Cyprus to a wider public has been justified, and we are now able to proceed to a new edition of this pioneering work with great moral satisfaction. The interest in Byzantine art among the public has grown immensely in recent years, and many more men and women of the younger generation attend the international Congresses of Byzantine Studies each time.

In the meantime, a great deal has been done to most of the painted churches of Cyprus, in the way of cleaning and conservation by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, by the Ministry of Works of Greece, and by the Dumbarton Oaks Institute of Byzantine Studies of Harvard University, always in collaboration with the Church authorities and private donors. Their activities are reflected in the bibliography cited at the end of the book. *We stress here, that no restoration in the form of repainting was done by anybody, as is generally believed by many uninitiated persons.* Further bibliography cited proves that the study of the Byzantine churches has risen to an international level. Discussions emanating from these have helped to build up a better picture of the art of Byzantine Cyprus, within the development of Byzantine art in general. We have also continued the study and publication of the painted churches of Cyprus in monographs and reports to the International Byzantine Congresses; but we no longer travel to the churches by donkey.

In this context, this work has grown immensely with extensions and additions, supplemented with a liberal new series of illustrations. The number of churches described and evaluated in the first small edition has now grown from twenty-five to sixty-two. Furthermore, we have now taken into consideration the constructive criticisms and suggestions of all those who did us

the honour to review the first edition and present it to an international public: we have endeavoured to meet their suggestions for improvement where practicable; we have modified our views to meet theirs where we believe them to be right; we beg to differ where we believe them to be wrong; we have endeavoured to make ourselves clearer where we believe that their criticisms arise from misunderstanding; we have revised some of our dates in the light of recent research work, of ours and of others; as for the criticism that we failed to state who translated the work into English and the provenance of photographs used for the illustrations, we beg to state that the work is composed straight into English, and that all photographs are taken by the authors. In this enlarged version, some rare subjects have been included, although the reproduction results may appear poor owing to their condition.

In the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, some of the fourteenth-century paintings have been removed to discover the eleventh-century ones concealed underneath. Other paintings may be removed in the future, either in this church or elsewhere. We have kept up with these developments so far. But if the visitors to a church find an earlier painting in the place of the one described, they must realize what has happened. Similarly, more paintings will continue to be discovered after the publication of this book. Actually, while this edition is being prepared for publication, some important paintings of the early eleventh to the thirteenth centuries are being discovered by the Department of Antiquities, in the church of St. Anthony, Kellia, near Larnaca. We have included a preliminary survey of the church and its paintings, with the kind permission of the authorities.

We hereby extend our thanks to the Director of Antiquities Dr Vasos Karagheorgis, and to the Curator of Ancient Monuments Mr Athanasios Papageorgiou, for permission to publish photographs of items cleaned or discovered by the Department; also to the Dumbarton Oaks authorities for the same reason. The full publications of the churches cleaned and preserved by them are eagerly awaited. We have benefited a great deal from constant discussions with Mr A. Papageorgiou concerning the painted churches of Cyprus; similarly with the ex-officers of the Dumbarton Oaks field staff, Mr Ernest Hawkins and Mr David Winfield. Mr Costakis Hasapopoulos and Mr Andreas Pharmakas, with their teams of workers for the cleaning and conservation of the paintings, working for the Department of Antiquities, were always very helpful during our visits to the churches.

The moral support of His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos and of all the Bishops, as well as the help extended to us by the Abbots, the priests and church committees of the churches included in this book, are here mentioned with thanks.

The churches which now come under the north section of the island, *de facto* administered by the Cypriote Turks after the Turkish invasion in 1974, are described from notes and photographs taken before that date.

Although there has been a great demand for the publication of this book, from many sections of the public here and abroad, the financial side of the

project has been a great problem. Encouraging endeavours by many friends kept the flame of hope alive. Finally, His Excellency the Under-Secretary to the President of the Republic of Cyprus Mr Patroclus Stavrou, and the Director of the Department of Antiquities Dr Vasos Karagheorgis, approached the A.G. Leventis Foundation, who readily agreed to finance its publication. We can hardly stress enough our thanks to the intermediaries for their help, and our gratitude to the A.G. Leventis Foundation for its generosity. The eager support of Mr and Mrs C. Leventis is hereby also mentioned with thanks, as is our appreciation of the encouraging interest of Sir David and Lady Hunt.

With such people of great merit and status backing this work, we are now able to proceed with courage to face the long and arduous task of seeing the book through the press, kindly helped by Mr Patroclus Stavrou, who has been entrusted by the A.G. Leventis Foundation to ensure the best possible reproduction of the book.

Andreas Stylianou  
Judith A. Stylianou

### Supplementary Preface to this Edition

*The Painted Churches of Cyprus, Treasures of Byzantine Art*, published by Trigraph, London, for the A. G. Leventis Foundation in 1985, has been a great success. Like the original small edition of 1964, which prepared the way, it won the love of many people, Cypriotes and visitors alike. It also won the Athens Academy award in 1985. Several objective reviews also appeared in the relevant international literary publications.

Since its publication a considerable amount of cleaning and conservation has been carried out in a number of the churches recorded here and in others. Some paintings have been removed and others discovered.

Soon after the publication of this book, the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO decided on the 3rd of December 1985 to include in the World Heritage list nine Byzantine painted churches in the Troodos mountain range, namely the following entries in this book: IV/4, V/9, VIII/13, XI/16, XII/17, XIV/19, XXI/31, XXII/33 and XXIII/34.

On the 18th of April 1986, a commemorative plaque in respect to the above event was unveiled outside the courtyard of the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou by the Ministry of Communications and Works.

In this context we have brought this book up-to-date with adjustments to the text within its original pagination. A short appendix of "addenda and corrigenda" has been added before the Index to deal more extensively with a new discovery in the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri and to introduce the painted cave-hermitage of St. Sozomenus at Potamia, recently reclaimed from abandonment.

A number of black and white illustrations have been replaced by coloured ones (see at the end of "addenda and corrigenda").

The initiative for the publication of the second edition belongs to the president of the A. G. Leventis Foundation, Ambassador Constantinos Leventis. Professor Vassos Karageorghis, a member of the board of the Foundation in Cyprus, helped to coordinate the printing of the book in Nicosia. A. Papageorgiou introduced us to the cave-hermitage of St. Sozomenus. Professor D. Michaelides and Mr and Mrs C. Severis provided valuable help. The conservators Rolandos Procopiou and Angelos Hadjistephanou must be added here to those mentioned in the earlier preface for their relevant help. Yiannis Hadjisavvas helped with the slides borrowed from the Nicosia Museum. Loukia Hadjigabriel provided valuable suggestions. Masis der Parthogh helped with the printers and the proofs of the new material. The photographer Ch. Iacovou checked the colours of the illustrations before printing. We thank them all.

A. and J. A. Stylianou

# INTRODUCTION

## A. HISTORY

With the Imperial recognition of Christianity through the "Edict of Milan", issued by Constantine the Great and Licinius in 313, a great transformation took place in the Roman Empire. Persecuted Christianity emerged victorious from the catacombs to become a state religion and play a leading part in the history of mankind. Constantine became the sole Emperor of the Roman Empire in 324 (-337), and in 330 he transferred the capital from Rome to Byzantium, an act revealing as much foresight and statesmanship as the previous recognition of Christianity. For, owing to its commanding position, the Greek city state of Byzantium, founded in the eighth century B.C., was destined to become the greatest creative centre of medieval times and to stand as a bulwark at the gates of Europe against diverse enemies, for over a thousand years, after its rebirth as Constantinople in the fourth century.

In the division of the Roman Empire into East and West in 395, Cyprus was naturally included in the Eastern division. It was grouped with several other provinces of south-eastern Asia Minor and Syria-Palestine into the Diocese of the East, under the governorship of the *Comes Orientis*, who had his seat in Antioch and appointed the governors to the several provinces of the Diocese, an arrangement going back to Constantine the Great. With the central administration at Byzantium, in the middle of the Greek and Hellenistic world, Greek Cyprus found its niche and soon followed the stream of the new developments.

*To Koinon Kyprion* — the national association of Greek Cypriotes which was founded in Ptolemaic times — died out because it was no longer necessary; there was no longer any danger to the national entity of the people, because, by the end of the fourth century, the Church of Cyprus was fully established and highly organized with bishops in all the main towns, about fifteen in number. Most of the activities of the *Koinon* which were still necessary had now passed into its hands; the dead kingships of antiquity were replaced by the bishoprics, and the old temples of the pagan Gods by the basilican churches of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints.

In the year 332 and again in 342, the ancient Greek city of Salamis was completely destroyed by earthquakes. The Emperor Constantius II (337-361), relieved the survivors from taxation for four years, rebuilt the town and renamed it Constantia. By the time of the great Archbishop of Cyprus Epiphanius (368-401), Constantia superseded Paphos as the Metropolis of the island.

In the early fifth century, the Patriarch of Antioch tried to bring the Church of Cyprus under his jurisdiction, and, on the ground that Cyprus was

politically dependant on Antioch, claimed the right to consecrate the prelates of the island.

This was naturally resisted by the Cypriotes, and the matter was eventually brought before the Council of the Churches assembled at Ephesus in 431, where they won their case and preserved the independence of their Church. But during the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474-91), the then Patriarch of Antioch, Peter, re-opened the case, this time on the grounds that Cyprus had received the Gospel from Antioch, which was of Apostolic origin, and consequently the Church of Cyprus should be subject to the See whence it derived its foundation. The timely discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas outside Salamis by the then Archbishop of Cyprus, Anthemius, gave proof to similar arguments by the Cypriotes: the Church of Cyprus was established by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas — the latter himself a Cypriote — and was therefore also of Apostolic foundation. Anthemius took his case to the Emperor in person, presenting to him at the same time the copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, which he had found with the relics. Greatly impressed, the Emperor declared the Church of Cyprus Autocephalus (self-governing), and conferred on the Archbishop of Cyprus certain royal privileges, among which was the right to carry an Imperial sceptre and to sign his name in red ink. These privileges have been preserved to this day.

The prosperity of the island during the early Byzantine period and its importance to the Empire are indirectly reflected in the administrative re-arrangements carried out by Justinian (527-565). Cyprus was then declared a separate province, was ordered to pay the same amount of military taxes as the larger surrounding provinces, and was entrusted to a salaried governor directly responsible to the Emperor. He grouped Cyprus with the Crimea, western Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, under the judicial control of the Quaestor of the Danube. But the Cypriotes — along with other islanders — managed to persuade the Emperor to transfer their judicial dependency to the capital. This was a great achievement: Cyprus was now (about 535), ecclesiastically independent, and judicially directly responsible to the capital itself.

Although the island remained predominantly agricultural during this early Byzantine period, several industries also began to flourish, among which was that of the newly introduced silk-worm. Roads were improved and extended, and small hospitals and poorhouses attached to the churches also appeared. But the taxation continued to be as heavy as ever.

The civilization of the island was now being transformed, with the new religion as the guiding force. Aphrodite was replaced by the Virgin Mary, and Apollo by Christ. The masons transferred their skill from the temples to the churches, and the sculptors were soon superseded by the mosaicists and the painters.

But this apparent freedom and prosperity of the island did not last long. By the time of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641), a new and dangerous enemy to the Byzantine Empire appeared in the East, the Muslim Arabs. By 638, Syria-Palestine, and by 642, Egypt, had passed into Arab hands. By 647, a for-

midable Arab fleet of 1,700 vessels under the Emir of Syria, Muawiya, appeared at the gates of Constantia. The town was besieged and destroyed, most of its inhabitants were massacred and its treasures were looted. The rest of the island was attacked and pillaged, many captives were taken, and the remaining inhabitants were compelled to pay an annual tribute of 7,200 gold pieces to the invaders, who fled on hearing of the approach of the Imperial forces. Six years later (653/4), the same story was repeated, on the grounds that the Cypriotes had broken the terms of the treaty. Constantia was destroyed and never again recovered; its survivors settled in the near by Arsinoe, the present Ammochostos (Famagusta). The rest of the island was plundered and the flourishing city of Lapithos on the north coast was conquered and looted after a stiff resistance. The previous terms of the tribute were re-imposed, and a garrison of 12,000 Arabs was left behind. This was withdrawn about 680-3, but the Arab raids continued, and the island became a pitiable buffer-state between Byzantium and the rising Empire of the Arabs.

By the time of Justinian II (685-695), nearly the whole of Asia Minor was in Arab hands and the fate of Cyprus became precarious. The Emperor, unable to defend the island and wanting to deprive the Arabs of its revenue, ordered its evacuation to the shores of southern Propontis, the only part of Asia Minor still in Byzantine hands. John I, then Archbishop of Cyprus, collected his flock and emigrated to the new abode, which was named New Justiniani; a number of emigrants died on the way. The experiment proved a failure and seven years later they were ordered back to their homeland by the Emperor Tiberius III.

Such was the life of the Cypriotes for over three centuries, sometimes under the Byzantines, sometimes in the hands of the Arabs, paying taxes to one or the other, or both at the same time. But after the middle of the eighth century, serious internal troubles arose among the Arabs themselves, and their Empire broke up into different sections. This enabled the Byzantines to regain some lost territory, and by the second half of the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire was again reviving in the hands of the able dynasty of the Macedonians (867-1056), inaugurated by Basil I in 867 (-886). A revival of classical studies gave a new life to literature and art, which was to lead to a second golden age of Byzantium in the following three centuries. The achievements of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-969), against the Arabs, heralded the most brilliant epoch of military history in the Byzantine annals. He has been styled as "the Emperor of the Greeks". After his accession to the throne in 963, he turned his attention to the east. He conquered Tarsus and occupied the whole of Cilicia, while his fleet liberated Cyprus in 965. The way was now open to Syria; by 969, Antioch had fallen into Byzantine hands. The Arabs never returned again to Cyprus.

Looking around after the three-century-old storm had passed, we find the coastal cities of Constantia, Amathus, Curium, Soli, Lapithos, and Karpasia, lying in ruins. Famagusta sprang out of the ashes of Constantia, and Nicosia was emerging to become the future capital of the island, as a result of the movement of the population inland.



Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), established his military headquarters in Cyprus, and the chain of castles erected on the jagged peaks of the Kyrenia range of mountains during this period – St. Hilarion, Buffavento, Kantara – prove that the Byzantines were determined to protect the island at all costs from further attacks and invasions. The governors sent to Cyprus after the liberation were men of high rank, who governed with full sovereign powers as “second lords”. The island was divided into fourteen small districts for easier administration. Excepting for two insurrections by these governors – a common occurrence in the Byzantine world – the island seems to have enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity until the second half of the twelfth century. In about 1155, a French adventurer by the name of Renaud de Chatillon joined forces with Prince Thoros II (1145-68) of Armeno-Cilicia (newly declared independent from the Byzantine Empire), and attacked Cyprus which they ravaged and plundered mercilessly.

In 1184, Isaac Comnenus – a nephew of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus – arrived in the island with forged documents and proclaimed himself an Emperor; he proved a tyrant and the cause of the alienation of the island from the Byzantine Empire. In 1191 he maltreated some shipwrecked Crusaders which gave a pretext to their leader, Richard Coeur de Lion of England, to conquer the island. The latter eventually sold it to the ex-King of Jerusalem Guy de Lusignan, and there followed nearly 400 years of French and Venetian rule (1191-1489-1571). The Latin Church established itself in the island, and thereafter ensued a long struggle for survival by the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Its bishoprics were reduced to four and the remaining prelates were banished to remote villages. Some of its property was confiscated to endow Latin establishments, and the majority of the population were reduced to serfdom and poverty.

Towards the end of the Lusignan rule, a hopeful respite for the Greek population and the Orthodox Church came about. In 1442, John II (1432-1458), took for his second wife the Greek princess Helena Palaeologina, daughter of Theodore II Palaeologus, Despot of Morea and Duke of Sparta. Helena soon took control of her husband and the affairs of the State, and soon set about to repair the status of her Church and improve the lot of her co-nationals. Through her activities the Greek language became the co-official language of administration along with the French. The shackles of Western domination over the island for the past two and a half centuries were loosened and the Greek population began to foster hopes for a re-union with Byzantium, especially after the Queen’s uncle, Constantine Palaeologus, ascended the Imperial throne of Constantinople in 1449. Their hopes, however, were dashed by the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, but at least Cyprus was still in Christian hands, with a Queen of Greek descent at the helm.

Refugees from the mainland flocked to the island and these Helena helped to rehabilitate. For the monk-refugees she built a monastery outside the walls of Nicosia; unfortunately, this was later destroyed by the Venetians. So great was Helena’s power that many Latins feigned to favour Orthodoxy in order to

be in favour with the Queen. Small wonder the Latin chroniclers saw her as a vindictive and treacherous enemy of the Latin faith, although none denied her ability and culture. She died in 1458 and with her went the respite from the Latin oppressions. The vicissitudes of the remaining years of the French rule played the island into the hands of the Venetians through Catherine Cornaro in 1489. It remained in the hands of the powerful seafaring Republic until 1571, when it was conquered by the Turks. The Church of Cyprus then courageously donned the mantle of the *Koinon ton Kyprion* once again to save its flock.

## B. BYZANTINE ART AND CYPRUS

BYZANTINE ART is mainly Church art and it was born after the recognition of Christianity as a State religion of the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great and the transfer of the capital to Byzantium, now Constantinople, in 330, in the middle of the Greek world and the crossroads of trading, military and artistic routes. The Greeks now became the main custodians of the new religion, its dogma and its means of expression under the new spiritual developments. Prior to this development, Church art was really Hellenistic art in style and iconography with little alteration. For when Christianity was born, the eastern Mediterranean world was under classical domination, as a result of the conquests and progressive policies of Alexander the Great and his successors. The Roman world was already Hellenized to a great degree. Seeking a means of expression in literature and art, the new religion could only find Hellenistic models and types which it adopted and adjusted to suit its purposes: the youthful Apollo and Orpheus and the pastoral scenes of Greek mythology were now transformed into the youthful Christ, the Good Shepherd of the Bible, and the Roman basilica into a church. This was the art of an unofficial religion. With the raising of Christianity to a State religion under the personal protection of the Emperors, the representatives of God on earth, things changed. A new means of expression was needed to satisfy the demands of the new religion of the Imperial Court and the masses of people; and Byzantium was in a position to do it. All the ancient arts and crafts were there. Elements from the East were also coming in. A transformation was needed. The Olympian Zeus was transformed into the historical Christ. The craft of the mosaicists was transferred from the floors to the walls, from the decorative carpets so to speak, to the illustration of a universal religion.

The fifth century was an experimental period. The existing prototypes of the past ages had to be transformed into symbols rather than images of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles and the Saints. The Second Commandment of the Old Testament — and this Jewish religious history was part of the Christian religion — explicitly commanded “thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow

down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God..." But the Hellenic mode of representation was anthropomorphic. The lance of Achilles, the arms of Diomedes, the sceptre of Agamemnon, as of other Greek heroes, were preserved and honoured. Imperial Christianity adopted these practices and the optical representation of anything to do with a religion was a deeply rooted human desire which Christianity could not escape. A dematerialization of the prototypes began to evolve to suit the new developments and by the fifth century Byzantine art came into being. An amalgamation of divergent elements — Greek, Hellenistic, Imperial Roman and Eastern — gave the necessary means of expression to Christianity. The three-dimensional Greek models were transformed into two-dimensional abstract formulae of iconic and dematerialized quality impressing the beholders with their spiritual, hieratic power.

In architecture, the same forces were at work. The Greeks, long acquainted with the mysteries of oriental building, adopted its character and developed a spacious domed construction representing the universe, God and its people within one unified ensemble. Justinian's St. Sophia, dedicated in 537, was the climax of religious architecture never surpassed in any land or age. The foundations of Byzantine art that were laid down during the Justinian era of the sixth century were to last for a thousand years.

From the outset, the final products of the evolution from the existing prototypes into Byzantine art were not uniform. Successive recourses to classical models and the varying power of approach by individual artists left their stamp in varying degrees on the new art. Classicizing and abstract linear trends evolved side by side, sometimes converging and meeting half-way in an effort to give expression to a religion away from idolatry, Constantinople always being the propagating centre.

By the time of Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century (610-641), a renewed popularity of the Greek style was breathing a new classicizing life into Byzantine art. The abstract, or, as occasionally called, the transcendental style reached its climax at about the same time, the votive mosaic paintings of St. Demetrius in the homonymous church in Salonica being excellent surviving examples: icons to come into contact with the worshippers, an evolution pregnant with self-defeat, quite the contrary of what it set out to achieve.

The crisis came in the next century and precisely in 726, when the Iconoclastic controversy broke out, a politico-religious reformation dispute concerning the painting of images in the churches which lasted until 843, resulting in a temporary halt of further development, great destruction of earlier works of art, banishment and emigration of the supporters and above all in a great discussion which influenced the iconographic developments when it was ended. The defenders of the images contended that these stood in a transcendental relationship to the persons they depicted, a thesis reminiscent of Plato's defence of the statues over fourteen hundred years earlier, contending that "though lifeless we believe that our reverence is agreeable to the living gods, and brings us favours of them".

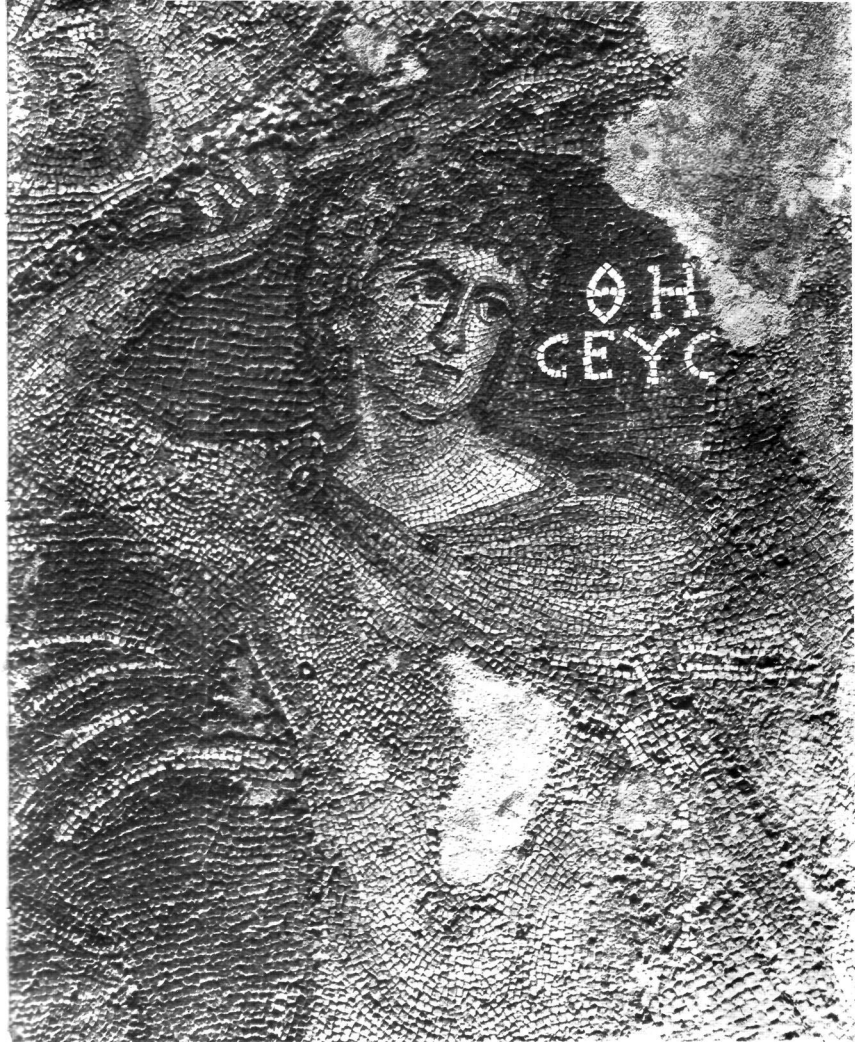


*1. Icarus, the first man to make wine (detail), mosaic floor, ca. 2nd-3rd c. A.D., Kato Paphos (ancient Nea Paphos).*

This is a good junction from which to retrace our steps and see what was happening in Cyprus during this early period. Under the circumstances, Hellenistic Cyprus was fully prepared to receive the new developments. Of the early Christian monuments of the island nothing survives today in its original form. But from the remnants which have been incorporated in later Byzantine reconstructions — Panagia Kanakaria, Panagia Angeloktistos etc. — and through the excavations carried out at Salamis—Constantia (fourth century), Kato Paphos (Nea Paphos, fourth century), Peyia near Paphos (sixth century), Soloi, Yialousa and elsewhere, we can deduce that the earliest churches of Cyprus were timber-roofed, also called “Hellenistic” basilicas. The Eastern type of the multi-domed basilica of the Justinianic era was probably also introduced into the island at an early date, as could be implied from the present churches of St. Barnabas near Salamis and St. Lazarus in Larnaca, with three domes in a line over the nave (St. Barnabas has lost the east one), though these churches have been much altered through successive destructions and reconstructions in later centuries (Soteriou). Another opinion suggests that these churches are a later expedient for re-roofing earlier wood-roofed basilicas, after their destruction by the first Arab invasions of the seventh century, when some of them were also turned into vaulted basilicas, as is now accepted for those of Aphendrika in the Karpasia Peninsula. The unique, for their type, five-domed basilicas of Yeroskipos and Peristerona emanate from these developments. The early Byzantine wall-paintings now discovered in the church of Yeroskipos corroborate their position in this period of the Arab invasions.

The variety of early floor and mural decorations discovered in various secular buildings attest the existence of a continuous tradition in this sphere of art before it was transformed into Church art. Among the recently discovered mosaic floors of the second-third century A.D., at Kato Paphos, with scenes from the classical mythology in juxtaposed styles, there is a vivid representation of Icarus — the man to whom Dionysus taught the art of wine making — which bears striking stylistic and iconographic similarities to later representations of St. Paul (fig. 1).

In a palace excavated in the same city, a unique mosaic composition of Theseus fighting the Minotaur in the circular centre of the Labyrinth has been discovered; Theseus is encouraged by Ariadne and the personification of Crete, depicted on either side of the hero's head, while by his feet reclines the personification of the Labyrinth; the Minotaur is badly damaged; a spiral meander (guilloche), representing Ariadne's thread, leads into this central scene from the outer geometric representation of the Labyrinth. The Mosaic was originally set in the second half of the third century A.D., but the head of Theseus (fig. 2), and the personification of Crete were reset towards the end of the fourth century A.D. While the style of the original figures of Ariadne and the personification of the Labyrinth (fig. 3), betray their classical and Hellenistic derivation, the restored figures of Theseus and Crete betray a proto-Byzantine iconic development as we see it applied to figural representa-



2. Theseus fighting the Minotaur, detail from the composition of the labyrinth, mosaic floor, 3rd c. A.D., the head reset at the end of the 4th c. A.D., Kato Paphos (ancient Nea Paphos).



3. The personification of the labyrinth, detail from the composition of the labyrinth, mosaic floor, 3rd c. A.D., Kato Paphos (ancient Nea Paphos).



4. Young Achilles about to have his first bath, detail from the birth of Achilles, mosaic floor, 5th c. A.D., Kato Paphos (ancient Nea Paphos).



tions in the rotunda church of St. George at Thessaloniki (Staszewski); in other words, we have here a common style serving the secular and religious art of the period. In the figure of the personification of the Labyrinth, we see a prototype for the later personifications of Hades in the Byzantine scenes of the *Anastasis*. The motif of the spiral meander is also used in Byzantine decorations, as in the church of St. Paraskevi at Yeroskipos, where we find it encircling the early Byzantine painted Cross, in the east dome of the church. A fifth-century A.D. mosaic representation of the Birth of Achilles, in the same palace, provides us with iconographic and stylistic elements for the later Byzantine representations of the Birth of Christ and especially of the Birth of the Virgin Mary (fig. 4).

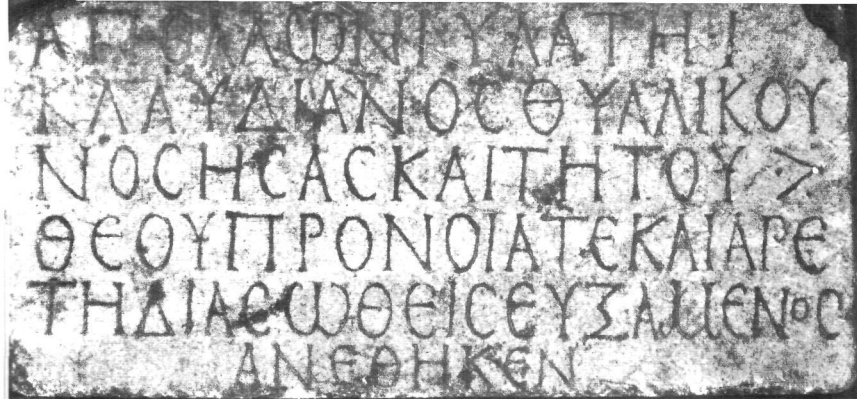
In a section of the Gymnasium at Salamis, some mural paintings and apse mosaics of the early fourth century, the latter comprising Artemis and Apollo kneeling on a rock, and the head of a youth within a garland border, provide us with wall prototypes for this art. In another section of the same Gymnasium, an early wall mosaic of the personification of the river *Eurotas* provides us with the kind of prototype imitated by the Byzantines for the river Jordan in the scenes of the Baptism of Christ.

Moving to the ancient city of Curium, we find a floor mosaic of the second century A.D., portraying Achilles at the court of Lycomedes. Among the fourth-fifth-century A.D. floor mosaics discovered in the bath-house in another part of the same city, there is a fine personification of *Ktisis* (Creation), alluding to the erection of these establishments, executed in the Hellenistic manner, recalling similar representations discovered at Antioch, and furnishing us with yet another prototype for Byzantine art.

Documentary evidence for this transitional period is provided by several inscriptions discovered in the same city. A third-century inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo at Curium and now in the Episkopi Museum, mentioning that "Claudianus, son of Thylicus, on being cured of his sickness, dedicated a statuette to Apollo Hylates in fulfilment of his vow" (fig. 5), provides us with religious customs later adopted by the Christians for their votive paintings.

Returning to the fourth-fifth-century bath-house already mentioned, we find two dedicatory floor inscriptions in verse, one furnishing us with a prototype for Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions in the later Byzantine centuries, and the other reflecting in a remarkable way the spirit of this transitional period. From the first one we learn that the donor Eustolius, although he lived abroad — and possibly had risen to Imperial service — when he saw the miseries of Curium, did not forget the city of his birth; first he presented these baths and then visiting the city in person — as once did Phoebus — built for it this cool shelter from the winds. The second one states that "this house, in place of its ancient armanent of walls and iron and bronze and steel, has now girt itself with the much venerated symbols of Christ".

Returning to the Christian monuments, we find a mosaic floor of excellent workmanship in a basilica of the sixth century excavated near Peyia. This is composed of highly decorative interlaced patterns with lotus borders and a variety of birds, fish and other animals such as stags and lions.



5. A votive inscription to Apollo Helates by Claudianus, cured of his illness by the God, 3rd c. A.D., Episkopi Museum.

For examples of the mural decoration of these early Byzantine churches we have to turn elsewhere in the island. The two mosaic pictures of the Virgin Mary and Child attended by the Archangels, in the apses of the churches of Panagia Kanakaria and Panagia Angeloktistos, now that they are accepted as contemporary creations of the time of Justinian the Great, provide us with excellent examples of the two poles of Byzantine art, at the outset of its evolution. The enthroned Virgin Mary with Christ in her lap, in the Kanakaria church, depicted *en face* and isolated by a mandorla from the also rigid attending Archangels, reflect imperial and oriental influences, resulting in majestic and iconic compositions, imparting respect and claiming devotion. The standing Virgin Mary with Christ in her left arm, in the Angeloktistos church, depicted in naturalistic postures along with the ministering Archangels shown in movement, on the other hand, retain more of the Hellenic qualities of the prototypes, and reflect the more humanistic approach to the new art. These opposing styles and iconographic tendencies were to continue throughout the long history of Byzantine art, sometimes juxtaposed and sometimes converging to meet half-way.

The three Cypriote mosaics — including the fragmentary one of Panagia Kyra — further attest the cultural connections of Cyprus with the capital during this period, along with its new political orientations. The fact that two of them have been attributed to many centuries between the fifth and the twelfth by great Byzantinologists, attests the power of Byzantine art, an art which was meant to be universal, serving a universal religion not bound by time or space. As few pre-iconoclast figure mosaics survive in Constantinople itself, these examples greatly contribute towards our knowledge concerning the character of the monumental art of the capital at this period, and thus indirectly confirm the Constantinopolitan origin of the Ravenna mosaics to which they are related. Furthermore, they suggest that the destructions of the Iconoclasts were not strictly enforced in the island, perhaps owing to the contemporary Arab invasions.



6. Hexagonal silver censer, side showing Christ, between 602 and 610, first Lambousa treasure. (British Museum, by kind permission).

Another important relic of this early Byzantine period are the mural paintings of the fifth-sixth century, in a holy well at Salamis-Constantia, again illustrating the transition from the old era into the new: a chapel was built above a disused water cistern; this was decorated with the head of the historical type of Christ placed above a nilotic composition of symbolic character, depicting fish and ducks swimming in a pool of water interspersed with water plants; inscriptions were added from the Scriptures and a Christian *agiasma* was ready for use. The early connections of Cyprus with the Holy Land and the Near East are here indicated.

In the sphere of metal work, Cyprus yielded two most important treasures of gold and silver objects discovered at Lambousa (site of ancient Lapithos), by local quarry men. The first was discovered at the end of the last century, near the monastery of Acheiropietos of early Byzantine origin, and eventually found its way to the British Museum: (1) A hexagonal censer bearing on its sides the busts of Christ (fig. 6), the Virgin Mary and Sts. Peter (fig. 7), Paul, James and John; it is the only known silver specimen of its kind, securely dated by its imperial "hall-marks" to the reign of Emperor Phocas (602-610), and consequently of importance for the iconography of the depicted figures.



7. Hexagonal silver censer, side showing St. Peter, between 602 and 610, first Lambousa treasure. (British Museum, by kind permission).

(2) A silver basin bearing a medallion of St. Sergius dated between the years 641-651, during the reign of Emperor Constans II. (3) A silver paten bearing a nielloed cross, of the time of Tiberius II (578-582). (4) Twenty-four spoons of the sixth-seventh century, in shape following the Greco-Roman tradition, but eleven of them bearing in their bowls wild animals in relief, closely connected with those of the hunting scenes in the mosaic pavements of New Paphos, of the second-third century A.D., both reflecting earlier Hellenistic models.

The second and more important of the two treasures was discovered in two lots, on the tenth and the twelfth of February 1902, near the acropolis of the city, and, after an adventure touching the boundaries of a detective story, a small part of it was confiscated for the Nicosia Museum, while the rest was smuggled out of the island and eventually found its place in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and other American Museums. A set of nine silver plates of various sizes, bearing scenes from the life of David (Samuel I, ff.), stand out as a unique ensemble of early Byzantine metal workmanship, in style and iconography, securely dated by their imperial control stamps to the time of Heraclius, and more precisely between the years 627-630 (fig. 8). Three of them are in the Nicosia Museum and the rest in the Metropolitan



8. *The David silver dishes, between 627 and 630, second Lambousa treasure. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Nicosia Museum; here arranged in the form of Christ's monogram by Wander, with acknowledgements).*

Museum of New York. The scenes represented in these dishes are variously interpreted: — (1) David Summoned to Samuel (or David Comes to Saul to play the harp — Nicosia Museum). (2) The Anointing of David. (3) David Introduced to Saul (or Summoned to Saul, before the fight with Goliath). (4) David Slaying the Lion. (5) David Slaying the Bear (Nicosia Museum). (6) David Trying on the Armour of Saul (or Solemn Compact of Friendship between David and Jonathan). (7) The Fight between David and Goliath. (8) The Marriage of David and Michal (Nicosia Museum); (9) David and the Soldier (or David Challenged by Goliath).



9. *The fight of David and Goliath, silver dish, between 627 and 630, second Lambousa treasure (the Metropolitan Museum of Art, by kind permission).*

The plate depicting the fight between David and Goliath, in three scenes, is the largest and most beautiful of them all (fig. 9). The top scene shows the two men addressing one another in dispute, with a personification of the valley, in Hellenistic manner, between them. The middle scene shows the two men in actual fight. Goliath, in full armour, attacks David from the right with a spear. David neutralizes the spearing of Goliath with his cloak wrapped round his left arm; his right hand is about to sling the miraculous stone at the giant Philistine. Behind David, two armed soldiers stand in readiness. Behind Goliath, two armed soldiers are shown in retreat. The attitudes of the four

soldiers prepare us for the result of the fight. In the bottom scene, Goliath is on the ground in a dramatic fall. David has detached Goliath's sword and is about to slay him.

The scenes depicted in these dishes were executed in *repoussé*, and their outside was covered with a second sheet of silver to hide the hammered parts. The details were chased from the inside. The classicizing style of the compositions give these dishes a most important place in the so-called "aristocratic" branch of Byzantine art of the pre-iconoclastic period.

Although the scenes depicted in this unique series of early Byzantine silver plates are religious, they are not Church vessels. Their subject matter seems to allude to a specific historical event of the reign of Emperor Heraclius, who in 627 fought the Persian general Rastis in single combat and beheaded him as David did to Goliath. This narrows the gap of the dating of the plates to between that year and 630. Wander's ingenious arrangement of the plates in the form of the monogram of Christ, with the largest of them bearing the combat of David and Goliath placed in the centre, provides us with a further symbolic interpretation also suggesting that they belonged to the Emperor himself. It now remains to establish how the plates found their way to Lapithos-Lambousa in Cyprus. Lapithos was then a flourishing city with highly developed gold and silver works, as well as silk and pottery industries. Its ancient shipyards could probably still provide facilities for ship repairs. It is not illogical to suppose that the Emperor used the island and therefore also Lapithos, as an intermediate stage for his campaigns against the Persians. It is known that the Emperor established a mint in the island and struck copper folles of forty *nummia*, 624/5-627/8, for financing his campaigns.

The rest of the silver objects of the treasure are: — (10) A plate with a cruciform monogram, 602-5 (Nicosia Museum). (11) A plate with a cross, 613-630 (Nicosia Museum). (12) A plate with a cruciform monogram, 610-613. (13) A similar plate (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington). (14) A similar plate but larger (the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore).

The gold objects of the treasure are of equal importance: — (15) A unique medallion of twelve *solidi* turned into an encolpium (pendant) by its owner (Dumbarton Oaks). On its obverse it bears the Virgin Mary and Child enthroned, attended by the Archangels, and an abbreviated Birth of Christ with the Adoration of the Magi. On its reverse it bears the Baptism of Christ with three personifications of the river Jordan and the Sea. It is now generally accepted that it was issued by the Emperor Maurice Tiberius on the occasion of the baptism of his son Theodosius, on Epiphany day, January 584. The issue must have been restricted to a small number, intended for distribution to personages of the Court and to high officials throughout the Empire. (16) A gold marriage belt, composed of medallions and *solidi* of rare issues and of various Emperors. It was a Byzantine custom, at least among the upper classes, for the bridegroom to give a gold belt to the bride. (17) A gold necklace with a cross and pendants in the shape of small pots. (18) A gold necklace with a cross and other ornaments. (19) A small necklace with beads and pearls. (20) A pair of gold bracelets. (21) A pair of gold earrings with sapphires. (22) Three pairs of earrings with pearls (Nicosia). The style and technique of the last six ornaments, reflect those of earlier prototypes of the Hellenistic and Roman times, and were common in the Near East during the sixth-seventh centuries. It is most probable that these Cyprus examples were manufactured in Lapithos-Lambousa itself.

The above two treasures reflect the riches and prosperity of Cyprus in the sixth and seventh centuries, and its close connexions with Constantinople during that period, as the David dishes strongly indicate.

The recent discovery of an un-ionic cupola decoration of the ninth century in the church of St. Paraskevi at Yeroskipos, reflects yet another development

in the long history of evolution of the Byzantine civilization, and closes up the early Byzantine period.

With the triumph of the icons in the ninth century (843), Byzantine art began to revive again and the centuries that followed were to be the golden age of the Byzantine civilization. Under the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties, Constantinople became the great creative centre where all the divergent elements that gathered there from the European and Asiatic provinces of the vast Empire, were assimilated with the Greek and transformed into that fine art which was destined to influence all the world. The revival of Platonic and classical studies in the ninth century, through the learned Patriarch of Constantinople Photius (820-891), and again in the eleventh century, through the philosopher Michael Psellos (1018-1078), roused the dormant trend for the hellenization of Byzantine art. Thus, this neo-classical movement (a reaction to the iconoclastic controversy), was to have far-reaching, if contradictory, results. Culminating in the great Schism, the complete rupture between Rome and Constantinople, it breathed naturalism and humanism into Byzantine art, and prepared the way for the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century.

It was in Constantinople that the perfect cross-in-square domed church was finally developed from Eastern prototypes in the early period of the Macedonian dynasty, the destroyed "New church of the Palace" erected by Basil I, accepted as the prototype. This type became one of the main types of centralized Church architecture during the later centuries. The loose schemes of decoration of the early Byzantine churches now evolved into a unified whole, guided by the stabilized dogma that was expounded by the seven Oecumenical Councils of the Church (at which the Cypriote prelates took an active part), and the theological discussions of the iconoclastic period. The dome of the centralized churches, with the majestic Christ Pantocrator surrounded by His angels and prophets, represented heaven. The walls below, with their compositions from the life of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints, represented the earth. The prelates, the deacons and the hymn writers took their appropriate places in the sanctuary. The Virgin Mary retained the place of honour in the conch of the apse as a symbol of the Incarnation. Nothing was painted in any part of the church without meaning. From then onwards, architecture and decoration went hand in hand. But the two trends in style and iconography continued to co-exist as set pieces of music, variously interpreted by the multitude of artists of the Byzantine Empire and wherever its influence could reach.

There are no schools of painting in Byzantine art as we know them in the West. Broadly speaking, certain scholars divided Byzantine art into two schools: the so-called "neo-classical" or "court" or "aristocratic" school, wherein the Greek elements stand out, and the "monastic" or "hieratic" or "popular" school, wherein the abstract linear qualities take over. In between, a harmonious and balanced union of classical reality and Christian spirituality often produced a style more in keeping with the requirements of the reli-



gion it set out to serve. Furthermore it has been observed that the classicizing style served the court circles and the rest of the aristocracy in the capital or in the districts, while the monastic or popular style served the populace, whether in the big cities or in the villages of the vast Empire.

Other scholars, on the other hand, reject the above differentiations as artificial. Certainly they should not be taken as absolute. As there is less than one per cent of the whole output of Byzantine art surviving today, it is very difficult to arrive at absolute conclusions. But artificial though these terms may be, they are necessary for communication among the art historians, and between them and the wider public.

All scholars agree on the division of Byzantine art into periods defined by the chronological boundaries of the successive Byzantine dynasties of the post-Iconoclastic period: the Macedonians (867-1056), the Comneni (1081-1185) and the Palaeologi (1261-1453). The art of each of these periods is characterized by certain stylistic and iconographic tendencies, with repeated recourses to classical models; but the foundations always remained the same.

The universal character of Byzantine art is more apparent during the mid-Byzantine period. The twelfth-century mural painting of St. Paul, in St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, is an example illustrating the wide orbit of influence of Byzantine art during this period (fig. 62). It is closely reminiscent of St. Paul at the death-bed of the Mother of God in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou.

Mosaic work, mural painting, icon painting, manuscript illumination, ivory sculpture and metal work, the main mediums through which the Byzantines expressed their artistic talents, had reached the peak of their evolution during this mid-Byzantine period, with the Church as the main customer. Rival mediums had their periods of supremacy over each other, reflecting the fluctuations of the Byzantine Empire. While, for example, mosaic work reflected the prosperity of the times and its sponsors, mural painting was the medium of the poorer communities and most of the monastic establishments. The portable works of art and the itinerant painters helped to propagate the civilization throughout the vast territories of the Empire and beyond it into far-away lands.

Returning to Cyprus, we find that its re-incorporation into the Empire in the year 965, coincided with the great revival of Byzantine art of this mid-Byzantine period. The island began to revive again from the destructions of the Arab invasions of the past three centuries, and the surviving works of art of the following two centuries show that Cyprus kept contact with the new developments in the capital and elsewhere, and fully shared the golden age of Byzantine art. The centralized domed type of church was introduced in several forms: the simple cruciform type, the cross-in-square type, the single-aisled type with arched recesses in the side walls and the squinch type of a simple form in which the dome is carried on eight pillars; a single-aisled vaulted basilica with arched recesses in the side walls, and a three-aisled vaulted basilica with a dome over the centre were also used. Some of the

earlier timber-roofed basilicas, which were ruined during the Arab invasions, were now remodelled on the new lines: Acheiropietos at Lambousa (ancient Lapithos), Angeloktistos at Kiti. Earlier vaulted basilicas were also revived as cruciform domed buildings when the occasion arose: St. Anthony, Kellia.

Generally speaking, the Byzantine churches of Cyprus that have survived are characterized by simplicity and small dimensions. They were usually built with stones and in the plains and coastal areas their roofs were coated with *lime mortar*, a feature characteristic of the Greek islands. In the central parts of the Troodos range of mountains, where local undressed stones were used for the main construction, bricks and dressed porous stones were provided for the vaults and the domes, which were roofed with tiles. In these rainy parts, these domed buildings were later supplied with a second steeply pitched wooden roof with flat hooked tiles: St. Nicholas of the Roof, Panagia Arakiotissa, St. Heracleidius-St. John Lampadistis. Some vaulted churches were supplied with this protection at the outset: Panagia Phorbiotissa, Panagia Amasgou. In the twelfth century extensive use of brick was made in the general construction of some churches, through the influence of Constantinople: St. Chrysostom's Monastery, Koutsovendis.

The political and cultural orientation of Cyprus towards the capital during this time is further attested by the erection of several monasteries endowed with Royal funds: Kykkos, Machaeras and others. Unfortunately these Royal foundations lost their original churches with their complete series of wall-paintings, through successive fires; historical evidence suggests that they were timber-roofed. But as we shall see in the description of the surviving churches, master painters from the capital visited the island and taught their art which was to last for a long time. As very little can be seen today in Constantinople itself, *these monuments acquire a special place in the study of Byzantine art.*

The recently discovered fragments of tenth-century wall-paintings in the church of St. Paraskevi at Yeroskipos and of the early eleventh century in the church of St. Anthony at Kellia (Larnaca district), along with the well-known series of the same period in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof near Kakopetria, attest that the Cypriotes were quick to profit from their final liberation from the Arab invasions.

The early Comnenian period is better represented with several series and remains of paintings of the early twelfth century: Asinou, Trikomo, Kakopetria (St. Nicholas of the Roof, second series), Kalia, Monagri (early remains), Koutsovendis; the Entombment of Christ in the cemetery chapel of Panagia Aphenrika, belonging to the near by Monastery of St. Chrysostom, provides us with the emotional qualities of Nerezi half a century earlier, as also does the Dormition of the Mother of God in the church of Asinou.

Moving towards the end of the Comnenian period we have the damaged series of paintings in the church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio of ca. 1160-1180. In the cave hermitage of St. Neophytus near Paphos, we are confronted with several styles between the two "poles" of Byzantine art. Two dated inscriptions and documentary evidence from the writings of St. Neophytus himself, give us a firm ground to work from: 1183, cell and

sanctuary; 1196, nave. Whatever the answers to questions concerning the repainting of the Crucifixion above the door of the cell, or to any discrepancies in the style of both groups, the fact remains that here we have a little museum of Byzantine art of the last quarter of the twelfth century. For the earlier group, Neophytus chose a painter (or painters) working in the most polished style, characterized by a Hellenistic plasticity in the modelling of the pale faces, with little linear definition. There is subtlety and calmness in the folds of the garments of the elongated ascetics and the officiating prelates as befits their rank, but the sculptural mannerisms and undulations, as seen in the frescoes of Panagia tou Arakou (1192), are already here in the *himations* of Christ and Adam in the *Anastasis*, as well as in the garments of the Ascension above the altar. From this, it is evident that this classicizing style of the capital was not alien to the taste of the monastics. The appearance of a painter's signature at such an early date is a welcome innovation. His unusual surname, Apseudes (Truthful), perhaps gives us the clue why he was chosen by the earnest recluse. For the later group of frescoes, however, Neophytus turned to a master working in the other extreme, characterized by an "ascetic" quality in the modelling of the faces and the bodies, in a severe and deeply linear manner, accentuated by white highlights. And yet, in the Crucifixion, this extreme severity has been relaxed, with recourse to a more popular, softer style. In the figure of the enthroned Christ, on the right of the *iconostasis*, we witness a further relaxation towards the more sophisticated style of the capital. This juxtaposition of styles — which constantly appears in all the Byzantine world in all its periods — poses the questions: could a Byzantine master revert at will from one style to another to suit the subjects depicted and the desires of his patrons? Are these discrepancies the results of personal interpretations of several painters working together from different models, or without them?

The classicizing style of the early series of paintings in the cave hermitage of St. Neophytus reaches its climax in the excellently preserved series of wall-paintings in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa near Lagoudera, of 1192. The classical elegance, the ideal faces imbued with a humanistic approach, the sculptural draperies with their rhythmic undulations, the fine architectural backgrounds, the minutely detailed ornaments, the great range and harmony of the colours, the uniformity of execution at all levels, (excepting the apse which was painted by another hand), and the symbolic interplay of architecture and decoration, mark these frescoes as a product directly emanating from Constantinople, prior to its conquest by the Crusaders. Furthermore, these frescoes provide us with the key to the source of the so-called "agitated" or "baroque" style of the capital (on account of the exaggerated folds and convolutions of the draperies), which dominated the art of the Byzantine world and beyond it into the Western world, during the last quarter of the twelfth century. With the paintings of the end of the century, in the churches of Christ Antiphonitis near Kalogrea, Panagia Amasgou near Monagri, the Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara, and Agia Solomoni at Paphos, degeneration is setting in, and the thirteenth century is announced.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and its merciless destruction and looting, followed by the breaking up of the Empire into little states, was a lamentable calamity. In consequence and as a consolation, we talk about the opening up of the gates of Western Europe to the influence of a living art. On the other hand, the dispersal of the artists of the capital into Serbia, Bulgaria and elsewhere, kept the flame burning (Mileševa, Boiana, Peč, Sopocáni), until the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines in 1261, and the reunion of what remained of the Empire (1261-1453). With the revival of the Empire, a revival of the arts was also initiated, and Byzantine art reached new glories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With a pictorial language inspired by a renewed direct approach to classical models and exploiting the achievements of the past centuries, Byzantine art was to reach new heights of interpretation of the Christian religion, sometimes dramatic (the painters Manuel Panselinos, Thessaloniki, Eutybios and Michael Astrapas, Ochrid), sometimes humanistic, idealistic and ethereal (St. Saviour in Chora, Holy Apostles, Thessaloniki, Mystras, etc.), but always within measure and sober boundaries. The Byzantines never used living models for their portraits; they created them. In the sphere of iconography and subject matter, there was a stress now on the childhood of Christ and the Virgin Mary, the Passion, the miracles and the parables of Christ. More than ever before, the walls of the churches were now turned into open illustrated books. The Byzantine masters carried once more the message of their art beyond the borders of the reduced Empire. Their great fame is reflected in what the contemporary Russians have said about the great Theophanes the Greek, who worked in their country during the second half of the fourteenth century: "when he sketched or painted, no one ever saw him looking at model drawings, as some of our painters do ... but paints a fresco with his hands, constantly walking to and fro, talking with visitors and pondering wise and lofty thoughts in his mind".

Cyprus had the same fate as Constantinople, thirteen years earlier (1191), but it was never again recovered by the Byzantines. The banishment of the Orthodox prelates to the rural areas brought them closer to their flock, and the resistance of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus against the intruding Latins is reflected in the fine arts. Thus, while the Gothic buildings introduced by the Latins in the main towns influenced the architecture of the later Greek churches, the Byzantine traditions in church painting lived on throughout the Latin period, in the villages and monasteries of the island. Superficial Western infiltrations in the sphere of secondary iconographic details there are, but in the main their style remained conservative Byzantine, drawing from the monumental art of the previous centuries. This is evident in the series of frescoes of the first half of the thirteenth century in the church of St. Heracleidius at St. John Lampadistis monastery, and in the church of Panagia tou Moutoulla, dated 1280.

The fourteenth century is represented by several series applied as a redecoration to several earlier churches. Those in the churches of St. Demetrianus at

Dali dated 1317, and those in the narthex of the church of Asinou dated 1333, are the only dated examples in this century, giving us a firm ground to work from. Those in the nave of the church of Asinou and in the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri are dated by circumstantial evidence to the third quarter of the century, and those of the second series in the church of St. Heracleidius of the Monastery of St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis to ca 1400. Although the fourteenth-century Constantinopolitan style reached Cyprus through the portable icons, none of the above series of wall-paintings follows the polished style of the period, excepting a number of paintings in the bema of the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, which were probably influenced by the icons. The surviving paintings in the church of St. Euphemianus at Lysi are of a better quality, and some remains of good quality Palaeologue style have been recorded in other churches (Papageorgiou), but on the whole the surviving paintings of the fourteenth century in Cyprus lack the new air of renovation of the period. The island was under a foreign rule and its contact with Constantinople was at second hand; and in the sphere of painting the conquerors had little to offer but much to borrow. In the Royal chapel at Pyrga, erected in 1421, we have the only surviving extensive remains of wall-paintings in a Latin church. Their hybrid quality combines the Byzantine traditions with a Western palate.

With the coming of the daughter of the Despot of Morea, Helena Palaeologina, to Cyprus in 1442, to become the Queen of John II, some artists must have followed in her trail. The paintings in the "Palaea Enkleistra" near Kouklia, reflecting the art of Mystras, should be seen as a product of this revival.

It is regrettable that the monastery of St. George of Mangana, revived by her in Nicosia in 1453 to house the monk refugees from Constantinople, was pulled down by the Venetians in 1567, when the walls of the town were reduced, in view of the impending invasion by the Turks. It is at this time (1453), that we have definite indications that artists from Constantinople were again at work in the island, judging by the dedicatory inscription in the narthex of the monastic church of Sts. Heracleidius-John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis; this time the artists must have been refugees. But the art there is mediocre.

In the meantime, weather conditions, poverty and practical necessities enforced a simple type of church architecture in the central parts of the Troodos range of mountains, from the thirteenth century onwards. In this type of church, four walls support a steep-pitched wooden roof covered with flat hooked tiles. Sometimes an enclosure on all sides for practical uses results in a church within a church (Holy Cross of Agiasmati). In other cases the enclosure is only on one, two or three sides, in most cases added later. We also have specimens in which these churches are divided into a nave and two aisles by wooden or stone-built arcades (of the Dormition at Kourdali, the Pantanassa at Palaeochorio, and St. John Prodromos at Askas), resulting in miniature basilicas covered with one continuous, steeply-pitched wooden roof

with flat tiles. It was believed that this type of church was an influence from Western Europe during the Latin occupation of the island.

Recent discoveries and re-examination of existing material suggest that this type of wood-roofing must have been indigenous to these mountains, dictated by local and practical conditions before the Latin occupation, although the earliest surviving example is the church of Panagia tou Moutoulla, dated 1280. But earlier vaulted churches contemporarily covered with a second protective roofing of this type, corroborate its earlier indigenous existence in these mountains (Asinou, Amasgou).

This type of simple church became very popular for small communities, monastic establishments, cemetery chapels and even family chapels of Western nobles, in this mountainous area; they continued to be erected right down to the eighteenth century. The Byzantine scheme of decoration was easily adapted to these churches, the upper parts of the walls usually reserved for the scenes and the lower parts for the individual Saints.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 marked the beginning of the end of a thousand-year-old civilization which left behind it a great legacy. Byzantine art lived on in the various provinces of the dissolved Empire — Mount Athos, Crete, Cyprus, and parts of Eastern Europe — but it was the last gleam of Byzantine culture; deprived of the guiding light of the Metropolis, it soon died out in the fulness of time, but not before it produced an El Greco.

The influx of refugees into Latin-held Cyprus from the mainland after the fall of Constantinople, brought home to the Cypriotes the dangers of the impending storm. In the face of extreme danger, the people turned to their religion; many churches were built and decorated and many portable icons were painted. The second half of the fifteenth century is represented by the conservative series of paintings in the church of the Archangel Michael at Pedoulas, signed by a local artist from the valley of Marathasa and dated 1474. The great number of complete series of paintings surviving from the end of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, suggest that a great revival of church painting took place in the island during this time. This was the early period of the Venetian occupation of the island. Venice was then the great sea-power of the Eastern Mediterranean and the centre of cultural developments. For the first time Italian Renaissance influence began to affect the local painters on a great scale.

The Palaeologue styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are now belatedly more apparent in the paintings of the island, imbued with Italian influences in varying degrees. In this context, several parallel lines of development evolved in the last decade of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries.

The two cycles of paintings in the churches of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati and of St. Mamas at Louvaras, signed by the well-educated artist Philip Goul and dated 1494 and 1495 respectively, supply us with revealing conclusions. The iconography and style of the two series of paintings are differentiated

enough, so that it would have been difficult to attribute them to the same artist let alone to the same date, had they not been signed. Illuminated manuscripts, transfers or sketch books with material emanating from different sources must have been used, affecting even the style of the two final products. The pronounced Western architectural backgrounds to the compositions, especially in the church of Agiasmata, look grafted and unassimilated, while other iconographic Western elements are more assimilated. A few Western stylistic affinities also stand out, as for example in the figure of St. John Kalyvitis (fig. 120). The rare cycle of miniature paintings of the legend of the Discovery of the Holy Cross in the church of Agiasmata is also imbued with secondary iconographic elements of a Crusader character, but on the whole the art of Philip Goul clings to the Byzantine traditions.

The late fifteenth-century paintings of St. Paraskevi at Yeroskipos cling more to the prototypes of the Palaeologue period, with a few Western iconographic infiltrations adapted and assimilated into the Byzantine blood stream, excepting the Crucifixion, where the Western iconography takes over and stands out. In the contemporary second series of paintings in the church of Christ Antiphonitis near Kalogrea, on the other hand, only the multi-storeyed Renaissance architectural background, grafted to the scene of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, betrays the late date of the paintings.

By ca. 1500, an Italo-Byzantine school of painters was active in the island, judging by the cycle of paintings in the "Latin Chapel" of the monastery of St. John Lampadistis, those in the church of Panagia Podithou near Galata, dated 1502, and those in the church of Panagia Katholiki at Pelendri, not far removed in date. These paintings combine classical Byzantine and Italian Renaissance elements, assimilated in a harmonious form. Only the Crucifixion at Podithou became almost completely Westernized. Completely Westernized also is the Crucifixion in the church of the Dormition at Kourdali, among a series of paintings of the early sixteenth century, also betraying strong Italian influence, but rather unassimilated this time.

The two complete cycles of paintings by the local painter Symeon Axenti in the churches of St. Sozomenus and of the Archangel-Theotokos at Galata, dated 1513 and 1514 respectively, and the outstanding paintings of the church of the Saviour at Palaeochorio, not far removed in date, follow a more conservative development, announcing the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century, placing Cyprus in the vanguard of post-Byzantine developments. There is an interrelation of iconographic models between these paintings and those painted by Philip Goul at the close of the preceding century.

The same stylistic tendencies are also apparent in the paintings of the *Katholikon* of the monastery of St. Neophytus, betraying affinities with the art of Mystras of the preceding centuries.

Another group of paintings of this period display extremely rustic qualities, as in the churches of St. Maura near Kilani, of the late fifteenth century, St. George Perachoritis near Kakopetria, of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, conservative in style and iconography, but touching the boundaries of



10. Silver gilt repoussé cover of the icon of the Virgin Mary of Kykkos, 1576; silver gilt repoussé band with busts of the Apostles and certain prelates along the bottom of the cover, end of the 15th c.; silver gilt cross, superimposed, end of the 18th c., Kykko monastery.

folk art; those in the sixteenth-century chapel of the Archangel Michael at Vizakia enter the sphere of an extremely naive quality, imbued with grafted Venetian iconographic elements.

The middle of the sixteenth century is represented by the few paintings of a good quality — for this late period — in the church of Panagia Amasgou, near Monagri, dated 1564.



The gathering storm broke out in 1570 and the island fell to the Turks. Wall-painting gradually came to an end, and the illustration of the Orthodox faith shifted completely to the portable icons. Isolated examples like the complete series of paintings of the eighteenth century in the church of St. John of the old Archbishopric in Nicosia, or partial decorations of churches like that of St. George of Arpera, near Tersephanou, only help to stress the decline of Byzantine art. This also applies to portable icons.

On the other hand, goldsmiths' work continued to flourish on good standards, encouraged by the demand for holy vessels and repoussé dressings of earlier portable icons, especially of the Virgin Mary. An excellent example is the silver gilt cover of the famous icon of the Virgin Mary of Kykkos monastery, dated 1576 and signed by the goldsmith Toumazos of Nicosia (fig. 10). The narrow band with waist-length figures of Apostles and prelates framed by ogee arches, attached along the bottom of the icon-cover, is of an earlier date and it carries us back to the end of the fifteenth century; the figures represented are Matthew, Philip, Simon (fig. 11), Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, Andrew, Thomas and James. The superimposed processional cross with miniature Passion scenes on both sides, on the other hand, carries us forward to the end of the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, we might observe that this easternmost of the Greek islands, with its receptive climate of Christian Hellenism and its strategic position on the route to the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, adopted and cultivated the metropolitan canons in religious art, in parallel to its active participation in the political, military and religious upheavals of this long and stormy period.



11. Silver gilt repoussé, figures of Sts. Matthew, Philip, and Simon, end of the 15th c., detail from fig. 10.

## A. CHURCHES WITH MOSAICS

## I. LYTHRANKOMI

This village lies 34 miles from Famagusta, in the Karpasia peninsula (two miles from Leonarisso).

**1. The Church of Panagia Kanakaria.** The church stands by the road. It is a building of many periods sanctified by time and tradition (fig. 12). Many are the scholars and writers who have written about this church and its famous mosaic of the Virgin and Child, preserved in the conch of the apse from the early Byzantine period. The latest extensive monograph on the church (Megaw-Hawkins), suggests that the church was originally a timber-roofed, three-aisled column-basilica with apsidal east ends and with a narthex at the west end, erected ca 500. This building was destroyed by the Arabs in the mid-seventh century, but it was reconstructed as a three-aisled wood-roofed pier-basilica at about 700. Sometime in the twelfth century the church suffered damage and was remodelled as a vaulted basilica with three domes in a line, a drumless one over the *bema* and the other two with drums over the nave and the narthex, giving the church its present appearance; this was done in ca 1160. A reconstruction of the south wall of the south aisle and the addition of a domed porch to the south entrance in the thirteenth century, did not alter the main plan of the church. The central dome was reconstructed in ca 1500.

In all these restorations and reconstructions, the central apse of the original church of ca. 500 was diligently preserved, owing to the precious mosaic sheltered therein (fig. 13). It represents the Virgin Mary enthroned *en face*, holding the Child Christ in her lap, a formula which has been styled by some early Byzantinologists as the "Cypriote type". The composition is today sadly fragmentary. The Child Christ is the best preserved part. The lyre-shaped back of the ivory throne draped with fabric, the right-hand part of the cushion and fragments of the jewelled footstool have also survived. Of the attending Archangels, remain the bust of Gabriel on the left (fig. 14) and the hand of Michael on the right.

Between the enthroned figures and the Archangels there are traces of palm trees rising on either side, from a conventional paradisiac landscape against a uniform gold background. But it is clear that the two central figures are isolated from the rest of the composition by a blue *mandorla* outlined in rainbow colours (only small fragments survive), stressing the sublime power of the enclosed figures, an unusual and unbecoming iconographical feature as far as the Virgin Mary is concerned. This would point to an early date involving theological discussions concerning the nature of the Incarnation, which



*12. The church of Panagia Kanakaria, west side, Lythrankomi.*



13. *The Virgin Mary and the Child Christ enthroned, apse mosaic, 6th c., church of Panagia Kanakaria, Lythrankomi.*



14. *The Archangel Gabriel (fragment), attending the Virgin Mary and Child enthroned, apse mosaic, 6th c., Church of Panagia Kanakaria, Lythrankomi.*

resulted in the heresies of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, condemned at the Church Councils of Ephesus in 431 and Chalcedon in 451 respectively. Both heresies were teaching against the Orthodox dogma of the double nature, Divine and Human, of the Incarnate Christ. At the Council of Ephesus the Virgin Mary was declared the Mother of God. In this context the mosaic was originally attributed to the fifth century. The latest opinions, however, place it in the first half of the sixth century. Megaw and Hawkins more precisely suggest the third decade of the century. Other dates have also been suggested in the past, some as late as the ninth century. The early datings are of course the more acceptable. The whole conception of the composition reflects the problems of the theological discussions of the times to be expected only under the immediate influence of Constantinople.

Nothing comparable has survived in the East. The nearest comparable example is the Virgin Mary and Child enthroned in the apse of the basilica of Parenzo (ca 540-50), but there without a mandorla.

Arching across and framing the conch of the apse there is a border of medallions bearing the busts of the twelve Apostles against blue-purple backgrounds. Similar borders of Apostles in medallions occur in sixth-century churches, in the East and in the West: in the soffit of the apse arch in the church of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (ca 550-565); in the archiepiscopal chapel in Ravenna (erected 494-519). Stylistically, however, the Kanakaria Apostles preserve more of a Hellenistic quality.

The central medallion, which probably bore a cross dividing the Apostles in two groups of six, has been lost. Those on the north are headed by Paul (damaged), followed by Andrew, Matthew, Thaddaeus (Jude), Mark and Thomas (fig. 15). Those on the south were headed by Peter (lost), followed by John (lost), Philip (damaged), Luke (damaged), James and Bartholomew. The medallions are linked by formalized acanthus foliage.

The tesserae used for these mosaic paintings are of glass of various colours, of glass capped with gold or silver, of marble and of stone dipped in paint, representing over forty variations of colours.

Remnants of wall-paintings surviving in various parts of the church, dating from the tenth century onwards down to ca. 1500, are of interest only to specialists owing to their poor condition. Of the last date, the Annunciation on the west face of the transverse arch above the entrance to the *bema*, with Italian influence, is the best preserved.

Of the same date of ca 1500 is also the well-preserved bust of the Virgin Mary and Child in her left arm, styled as the Mother of God Kanakaria, in the lunette above the south entrance to the church, sheltered by the domed porch. In the left corner of the painting there is a bearded donor with hands in prayer. Before him is depicted his deceased wife or daughter, in her white shroud and with her hands crossed before her. Burials were found under the floor of the porch by the Department of Antiquities.



15. *St. Thomas, mosaic, 6th c., church of Panagia Kanakaria, Lythrankomi.*

## II. KITI

Seven miles west of Larnaca is the village of Kiti, in which has survived the Biblical name of Cyprus and that of the ancient city of Citium.

**2. The Church of Panagia Angeloktistos (built by the angels).** This church of the Virgin Mary, which stands at the north-west end of the village, is another example reflecting the persistence of the Cypriotes. It is a cruciform domed church of the eleventh century, constructed on the ruins of an early Byzantine basilica. On the south and at the west end, there are extensions in the Frankish style (fig. 16).

In the conch of the apse — a remnant of the early Byzantine basilica destroyed by the Arabs — there is the finest church mosaic surviving in the island, a picture of the Virgin Mary attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (fig. 17). The iconography and style of the composition represent a tradition entirely different from that of Kanakaria. The Virgin now stands with Christ in her left arm, a formula which came to be known as the *Hodegetria*. Although the conception is still iconic, there is movement and naturalism in the postures, which are absent from the Kanakaria mosaic. This is more apparent in the ministering Archangels, who are no longer the rigid attendants of the Kanakaria mosaic, but the graceful winged personifications of the sublime spirits, obviously based on Hellenistic models. The wings are painted in imitation of peacocks' feathers with "eyes", which is unusual and perhaps symbolic; they are clad in *chitons* and *himations*. The size of the cubes is now finer, and there is a greater range of colours; some mother of pearl has also been used, to bring out the relief of the heads and the haloes of the Virgin and Child. The drawing and general execution are more accomplished, and the composition acquires life and rhythm inside a unified gold background.

The mode of rendering of the Virgin Mary recalls the famous mosaic picture of the Empress Theodora and her retinue, in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna of ca. 547. In the presence of the ministering Archangels with orbs and wands in their hands, the appellation of the Virgin Mary as "Agia Maria" (St. Mary), instead of "Mother of God", is out of date, although this anachronism occasionally appears as late as the mid-Byzantine period. On account of these discrepancies, the Kiti mosaic has puzzled the students of Byzantine art, and has been assigned to every century between the fifth and the twelfth. In the light of recent studies, however, the mosaic is now attributed to the sixth century.

A decorative border arching across the front of the apse, is composed of ducks, parrots, and stags, flanking graceful fountains enveloped in acanthus foliage, the whole divided in the centre by a three-dimensional cross inside a





16. *The church of Panagia Angeloktistos, Kiti.*



17. "St. Mary", attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, apse mosaic, 6th c., church of Panagia Angeloktistos, Kiti.

medallion, a unique combination of diverse elements, here imbued with a strong Hellenistic spirit. Most of these symbolic and decorative motifs are found in contemporary decorations, in both the East and the West, including those in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and in St. Sophia in Constantinople.

A recently cleaned wall-painting of St. John the Baptist, on the south central pier of the church, probably dates from the thirteenth century.

In a small chapel attached to the north of the church, there are some fifteenth-century paintings, including one of St. George mounted.

### III. LIVADIA

Livadia means meadows and it became a Turkish village during the Turkish period. It lies in the Karpasia peninsula and is best reached by branching off the main road at Agios Theodoros.

**3. The Church of Panagia Kyra** (Lady), lies outside the village and probably belonged to a Monastery at some period. It is a small cruciform church with a dome over the centre dating from the mid-Byzantine period, incorporating the apse of an early Byzantine building. As in the cases of Panagia Kanakaria and Panagia Angeloktistos, the retention of the early apse was due to a mosaic picture of the Virgin Mary.

The figure of the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse is again fragmentary. The head and the upper left side of the figure have been lost, but from what survives it is evident that we have here the *Orans* type of the Virgin Mary standing on a footstool within a gold background executed in a rising scale pattern. The Virgin's *chiton* is rendered in four values of blue tesserae and the purple *maphorion* in several colour values outlined in places by blue tesserae. Pink and white, very fine marble tesserae were used for the flesh parts, as is evident from the surviving right hand. The mosaic bears similarities to the Kiti one and a date in the sixth century is also suggested. In this context it is evident that Cyprus was in close contact with all the iconographic and stylistic developments at an early date and the survival of these pre-iconoclastic mosaic figures is of interest for the study of Byzantine art in the making.

A few fragments of thirteenth-century paintings have also survived: a head of a prelate below the cornice of the apse; St. Luke writing his Gospel in the north-east pendentive; fragments of two angels in the drum of the dome.

### IV. KAKOPETRIA

As the finest frescoes are in the churches of the Troodos mountains, we shall start our tour from there, making Kakopetria our first centre for the exploration of the surrounding vicinity. This Byzantine village (now protected) is a popular summer resort at a height of 2,200 feet above sea level, on the main road from Nicosia to Troodos (37 miles). Several churches lie in and around the village.

**4. The Church of St. Nicholas of the Roof (Agios Nikolaos tis Steyis).** This church lies about three miles above the village, in an attractive wooded valley and on the banks of the perennial stream Klarios or Karkotis (figs, 18, 18a).



18. *The church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, eastern view, Kakopetria.*



18a. *The church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, north-west view, Kakopetria.*

It belonged to a monastic establishment which came to an end in the second half of the nineteenth century. Today it is the property of the Archbishopric. Little else is known about the monastery, and none of the original monastic buildings have survived. (A group of buildings were recently erected around the church for school camping).

The church is of the cross-in-square type with a dome over the centre. A certain amount of lopsidedness and roughness in the construction of the vaults suggest that the local masons were not fully competent. Judging by the earliest surviving paintings, the church appears to have been erected in the early eleventh century. A domed narthex was added in the early twelfth century. A steep-pitched roof with flat tiles was added to the building at an early date, as a second protection against the snow and rain of these mountains: hence the appellation "St. Nicholas of the Roof".

The church is completely painted, the paintings being of various dates between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries. (The paintings were recently cleaned and preserved by the Department of Antiquities. Some of the later paintings were removed to discover the earlier ones underneath).

**Of the original decoration of the church** the following paintings survive today. *West vault:* the twin subjects of the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus (south), and the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (north). *West lunette:* fragments of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. *Soffits of*

*arches* connecting the western compartments with the nave: the martyrs Florus (fig. 21) and Laurus (south), and Sergius and Bacchus (north). *North-west central pier*, side facing east: the bust of martyr Thaleleus. *North lunette*, on either side of the ventilator: fragments of the Deposition and the Embalment of Christ (below the fourteenth-century painting of the Empty Tomb). *Soffits of arches* connecting the eastern compartments with the *bema*: prelates Ignatius of Antioch and Ignatius (north), and Germanus and Polycarpus (south). *Niche of the diaconikon*: head of Zacharias. The following paintings were recently discovered by the Department of Antiquities, after removing a series of fourteenth-century paintings in the *bema*: the Virgin Mary *Orans*, attended by the Archangels (conch of the apse), the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Spirit (vault), the bust of prelate Demetrianus (south-east pier, north side), and the bust of prelate Philon (north-east pier, south side), a rare representation; and a few other fragments.

As very few such early monumental paintings exist today anywhere, these are most important for the history of Byzantine art in general. The double picture of the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus is an original and expressive combination (fig. 19). The hieratic symmetry of the Transfiguration on the left, depicts the theme just at the right moment. Peter, on the left, is pictured in a kneeling position looking up at the transfigured Christ; John, the youngest of the three witnesses, is dashing away in fear, while the middle-aged James on the right, is raising himself in ecstasy from between the two mountains. These three stages of expression between fainting and rising, are here applied to differentiate the impact of the supernatural phenomenon on the three witnesses representing three different age-groups, an iconographical interpretation going back to the ninth century in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The transfigured Christ is seen hovering in the air inside a *mandorla*, an iconographical device of Persian origin, denoting the presence of supernatural powers, greatly used in several scenes in Byzantine art. Prophets Elijah and Moses hover on either side.

Until the Transfiguration, Christ could cure the sick; after the Transfiguration, He could raise the dead. With a bold white stroke, the artist changed the scene and carried his theme to Bethany: Christ now stands before the cave tomb of Lazarus with a commanding gesture.

Peter, who follows, turns to young John with an expression on his face which seems to say: "have you seen, young man"? John is emerging from between the two mountains, a Byzantine trick for the third dimension. The stylized mountains with the flowery white highlights are an effective part of the composition. In the background on the right, is seen the Golden Gate of Jerusalem.

The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem is composed with equal simplicity and strength (fig. 20). There is an air of majestic triumph in the posture of Christ, as He rides the placid ass towards the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, followed by the same three Disciples (representing the twelve). At the top of the picture the Disciples are engaged in securing the ass.

The robust "military" angels in short tunics, *chlamydes* and heavy gaiters,



19. The Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus, early part of the 11th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.



20. *The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, early part of the 11th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.*





21. St. Florus, early part of the 11th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.

guarding the supplicant Virgin Mary *Orans* in the apse with their spears firmly planted in the ground, reflect the customs of the royal court, but they are here suited for an enthroned Mother of God, rather than for a standing Intercessor.

In the Ascension, Christ is uplifted to the heavens inside an oval aureola carried by four angels, while the twelve Apostles watch in amazement from below, divided into two equal groups by the Virgin Mary.

The Descent of the Holy Spirit is a robust composition, showing the twelve

Apostles seated in solemn postures on a semi-circular bench, around a semi-circular draped table with a top of green marble; neither the early personifications of the tribes, nor the late personification of *Kosmos* are here present. From the Holy Ghost, in a segment of the sky, descend twelve thick, red rays ending in tongues of flame above the heads of the Apostles; these rays are painted on a white background which makes them stand out. The scene is set against the heavily built walls of Jerusalem, with blue and red cloths thrown over them; at the left end stands the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, with sculptured bands of acanthus and ivy decoration; in the first storey there is a row of windows or arrow-slits.

The busts of the martyrs and prelates have an individual quality about them, reflecting the art of the Fayum portraits of Egypt (fig. 21). The faces are shown in relief in the impressionistic technique of the Hellenistic tradition, which had been revived by the Byzantines in the tenth century.

Majestic and yet simple, two dimensional but with an illusory third dimension, symbolical and yet full of reality, naive and yet imbued with human expression, roughly executed and yet with delicate touches, stylized but not standardized, realistic in portraiture and yet far removed from living models, these paintings manage to transcend the visual world, an aim and an achievement of the Byzantines through the amalgamation of divergent elements in the name of the Church: a universal art serving a universal Church.

This series of paintings is related to a group of paintings of the first half of the eleventh century outside the island, namely those in the western compartments of the church and in the crypt of Hosios Lukas in Phocis (ca 1011), and in the churches of Panagia ton Chalkeon in Salonica (1028), St. Sophia in Ochrid (ca 1040), and St. Sophia in Kiev (1043-6). The air of archaic simplicity of our paintings suggests a date in the early part of the century.

In search of a suitable term, the scholars have styled this group of monumental paintings as "monastic", "hieratic", "eastern", and "provincial"! Be that as it may, they are Byzantine, subject to taste and interpretation.

**The next group of paintings** in chronological order are those in the south-west compartment of the nave and some of those in the narthex. They are executed in an early-twelfth-century Comnenian style, characterized by stereotyped expressions and stiff postures, but nevertheless emanating from Constantinople. Those in the south-west compartment comprise the *Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, in the vault; an interesting composition of the Forty Martyrs, on the west wall (fig. 22), a popular subject during this period (see Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, and St. Joachim and Anna, Kaliana); Sts. Alexius and John Kalyvitis, on the south wall, and Sts. Ignatius Theophorus and Gregory of Agrigentum (Sicily), on the pier opposite.*

The paintings of this group surviving in the narthex are parts of the Last Judgement, distributed in the upper parts from the dome downwards. In the two small eastern pendentives are remnants of cushioned thrones, perhaps originally bearing the symbols of the Passion; a censer appears swinging on the right of the throne in the north-eastern pendentive. The cupola itself has lost its paintings and it is difficult to predict what was depicted there, as Christ



22. *The Forty Martyrs, early 12th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.*

the Judge, flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist as intercessors, are depicted in the lunette of the east central recess, above the main entrance to the nave. In the soffit of the arch round the lunette, two angels are rolling up the heavens in the form of a scroll. On the east side of the north vault, six of the Apostles are seated in a stiff row as judges (fig. 23); (The other six were in the corresponding place in the south vault). Opposite the surviving six Apostles, there are fine remains showing the Angel leading the Just to Paradise, and the Angel of Fire casting the sinners into Hell. In the soffit of the arch below these, we have the scales of Justice hanging from a segment of the sky



23. The Apostles Philip, James, Andrew, Mark, and Matthew, part of the Last Judgement, early 12th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.

bearing an angel in the centre; by the scale on the left, stands the Archangel Michael, and by the scale on the right, stands a red winged devil trying to falsify the balance in his favour. (St. Athanasia depicted below, belongs to the group of saints round the lower register of the narthex, now mostly gone or replaced by later paintings). The fine personification of the Sea next to the scales, on the north-west pier, belongs to the same subject: it shows a maiden, naked to the waist, seated on a sea monster and holding a horn-trumpet in the left hand (fig. 24). This is borrowed from Hellenistic art and grafted here to serve its purpose. In the corresponding place on the north-eastern pier, a naked plump figure enveloped by fire is inscribed "the rich Lazarus"; he lifts his hand to point with his finger to his parched mouth. This must be a degeneration of a fuller title, "the rich man and Lazarus", otherwise it would be difficult to imagine how this gross error came to be established and perpetuated in many similar scenes throughout the centuries, i.e. depicting the "beggar Lazarus" as the rich man in Hell, instead of in the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:19-21).

Below Lazarus is depicted a monastic saint, his name destroyed, but styled Damaskinos (no turban).

The Virgin Mary with Christ in her left arm, inscribed *Hodegetria*, and the bust of the martyr above her, on the north-east central pier, the bust of St. Tryphon on the south-east central pier (top), St. Alypius (pillar saint), on the south-east pier, and St. Artemius on the left of the south door, belong to the same group of paintings. The figure of Joasaph (monastic), was discovered on the south reveal of the arch round the north-east recess, after the removal of a similar painting of the fourteenth century.

**Sometime in the twelfth century**, the entrance to the *diaconikon* was built up to receive an over-life-size painting of St. Nicholas of unusually fine quality (until recently hidden behind a sixteenth-century *iconostasis*, removed by the Department of Antiquities to rediscover this fine painting).

His delicately executed features and the fine brush-work of the hair and beard, betray the hand of an artist equally conversant in the art of icon painting as well as of fresco painting (fig. 25, colour). The style, certain of the iconographic features and the folds of the garments are reminiscent of two well-known twelfth-century icons: of St. Gregory Taumaturgus in the State Hermitage at Leningrad, and of St. Nicholas at Mount Sinai; but these are circumstantially dated. On either side of his shoulders are depicted the usual figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary in miniature form, presenting him with a Bible and an *omophorion*, according to the vision of the Saint, satisfying his ambition to become a prelate. At the bottom (on the left), is depicted the standing donor in monastic garments, with a supplicatory inscription above his head. Unfortunately the end of the inscription with the date is missing, which has produced problems of dating. Some scholars have already attributed it to the Constantinopolitan master who painted the Trinity chapel at St. Chrysostom's monastery near Koutsovendis, dated to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth centuries, with stress on the earlier date. Be that as it may concerning the painter, we prefer the twelfth century.



24. The personification of the Sea, part of the Last Judgement, early 12th, c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.



25. St. Nicholas, 12th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.

The painting is here connected with organic changes in this church of St. Nicholas: the original *templon* cast in plaster was then replaced by a wooden one; fragments of the discarded *templon* were used as rubble for the blocking of the entrance to the *diaconikon* to take this painting of St. Nicholas for veneration.

**Three New Testament scenes** in the upper parts of the north arm of the nave and a series of saints in the narthex, constitute an ensemble which can be dated to the late thirteenth or the early fourteenth centuries. In the vault are painted the Crucifixion (west) and the *Anastasis* (east). The Crucifixion shows Christ on a heavy brown-ochre Cross in the middle of the composition. He wears a white loin-cloth, His body and arms are gently curved, but His legs are straight. His head is reclining on His right shoulder. On either side of the top of the Cross are depicted the veiled sun and the moon. The plaque of the Cross above Christ's head is inscribed: "The King of Glory". On the left, the Virgin Mary with two of her friends are looking at Christ with controlled grief and dignified gestures. On the right stands John in symmetry to the Virgin, while the Good Centurion and another soldier complete the balance of the composition. The faces of the attendants are round and there is a characteristic angular shading below the eyes. The *maphorion* of the Virgin Mary and the *himation* of St. John are red with blue highlights, resulting in a purple appearance. Locks of loose hair fall out of the Virgin's *maphorion*, an indication of sorrow out of tune with the conservative composition, but already in use by the "Macedonian" school of the fourteenth century. The Good Centurion and the other soldier wear scale armour and hold Norman-type shields. Their legs are swathed in criss-cross wrappings and they wear half-length scarlet boots, wide at the top. The extreme elongation of the mourners and their courageous postures are characteristics of the school of Constantinople, especially of the previous centuries. The decorative walls of Jerusalem in the background, constructed of ornamental bands of stylized acanthus and foliate decoration, depart from the monumental outlook and are more suited to stage enactments of the theme.

The *Anastasis* (Resurrection) otherwise the Descent of Christ into Hades, is reminiscent of Hercules' descent into Hades according to the Greek Mythology, but in its Byzantine form, it is based on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, where it is stated that two of the men who rose from the dead at the time of the Crucifixion were interviewed by the chief priests. According to them, Hades and Satan, having heard of the coming of Christ to deliver the saints from their hands, started fighting and insulting each other. "The King of Glory" arrived, defeated Satan and shut him up in Hell, while the saints gathered round him singing to His glory. "And the Lord holding the right hand of Adam said unto him: Peace be unto thee... But Adam casting himself at the knees of the Lord, entreated Him with tears..." This is the moment which our picture shows. Christ stands on the gates of Hell enveloped in His "glory" interspersed with stars, and bends down in a humanistic posture to greet Adam. Eve, young Abel, King David and St. John the Baptist are grouped behind Adam. St. John holds a staff ending in a cross inside an



anchor, a unique use of this early Christian symbol of faith in the Cross, here replacing the usual scroll of the Forerunner in Hell. Solomon with a fluted crown and another prophet are standing behind Christ. The hilly background is reminiscent of the Meteora outcrops.

In the lunette of the north wall we have the Empty Tomb, here inscribed "the Stone" (that closed the entrance to the Sepulchre). In spite of the title, the Angel is seated on a white marble slab, inclining his body towards the three women on the left. (The painting is divided in the centre by a round-headed window). He points the surprised women to a box-like empty tomb on the extreme right. His wings are spread in such a way so as to fit the curvature of the architectural setting. His posture is reminiscent of earlier Cappadocian paintings.

The paintings in the north-east and south-east arched recesses of the narthex show stylistic and iconographic affinities to the above New Testament scenes and should belong to the same decoration. On the wall of the north-east recess is painted a large Archangel Michael, and the figure of St. Ambrosius (left); in the soffit, the monastic Sts. Epigon (left) and Pimen (right); below the first, on the reveal of the arch, St. Barlaam, monastic; below the second, St. Joasaph, monastic, now removed and placed on the right of the south door, revealing the early-twelfth-century same saint.

At the foot of the recess are depicted two kneeling donors, a certain John and his wife, with a dedicatory inscription between them, recording their donation of a shop or workshop to the monastery of St. Nicholas of the Roof, during the time or in memory of abbot Germanus (unknown date), and invoking the curse of St. Nicholas and of the 318 holy Fathers of the Church, on anyone who would in any way deprive the monastery of its possession. John is wearing a long blue tunic with tight-fitting sleeves, and a scarlet overcoat with short wide sleeves, buttons at the neck and slashes at the sides of the waist; he has brown hair and short beard and wears a white *coiffe*, a thirteenth-century Western fashion in vogue in the island in the fourteenth century and later. The wife wears a burnt-sienna long gown with a low-cut square neck and long sleeves, and a black cloak-like veil from the head. This type of veil was introduced into the island from Syria at the end of the thirteenth century and was in vogue during the fourteenth century (see the churches of St. Demetrianus at Dali, of Panagia tis Asinou, and of the Holy Cross at Pelen-dri).

On the wall of the south-east recess is depicted a large Archangel Gabriel, in the soffit of the arch round it we have Sts. Cyriacus (left) and John of the Ladder wearing a turban (right), and on the reveals of the same arch, Sts. Terentius (left) and Barnabas (right; fig. 26). St. Barnabas is here portrayed with an oval, rather elongated face and light brown pointed beard. He is dressed in a *chiton* and a *himation*, and he holds a rolled scroll defining him as an Apostle. In all his other representations in the painted churches of Cyprus known to us, he is portrayed with a rather round face and a dark round beard, wearing a *chiton* and an *omophorion*, defining him as the Apostle founder of the Church of Cyprus. The artist in this church must have been following a



26. St. Barnabas (detail), 13th-14th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria

different tradition.

**In the dome, in the south arm and in the bema**, we have another group of paintings constituting another ensemble which can be dated ca the middle of the fourteenth century. They differ in style, iconography and colour, from the above series of the beginning of the century.

In the dome we have Christ Pantocrator surrounded by twelve angels moving around, in postures of homage as in some earlier mid-Byzantine paintings; they are divided into groups of three by seraphims in scarlet medallions. In the drum of the dome, we have the twelve prophets holding unfolded scrolls and depicted in groups of three between the four round-headed windows. Starting from the east, they are Solomon, Isaiah (fig. 27), Moses, Zechariah, Gideon, Jonah, Habakkuk, Daniel, Elisha, Elijah, Jeremiah and David. In the four pendentives are depicted the Evangelists writing their Gospels, John in the north-east, Matthew in the south-east, Luke in the south-west and Mark in the north-west.

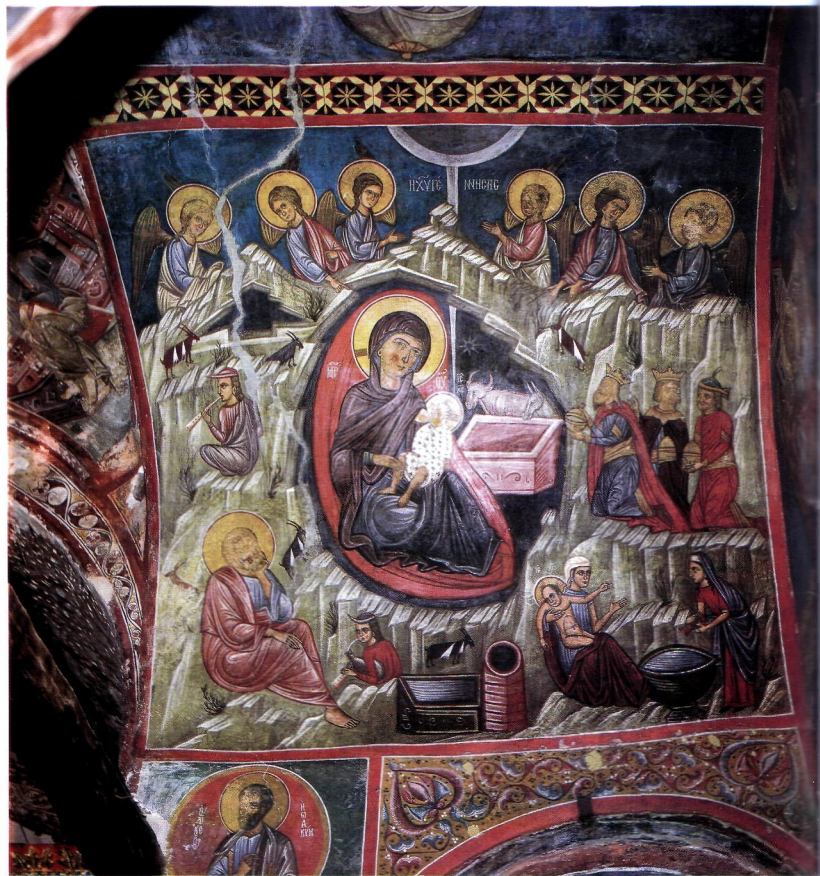
In the south arm of the nave we have three interesting festival scenes: the Annunciation in the lunette of the south wall, and the Birth of Christ and His Presentation in the Temple in the vault, their "monastic" frugality here alleviated by some unusual and sometimes original iconographical details, helped by a deep scarlet colour used for cloth accessories.

In the Annunciation, the Virgin stands on a scarlet cushion on a footstool, before a backless throne; her head is inclined. The architectural background shows a mixture of classical and medieval elements, peculiarly grafted together. The ornate walls of Jerusalem that appear in the Crucifixion of the previous series of paintings are here repeated in a more sophisticated execution; but the two classicizing marble columns forming a sort of portico to the medieval buildings beyond, stand precariously on the ornate walls without any connection. Across the two buildings is thrown a deep scarlet cloth in Byzantine fashion. In the top centre of the painting, God the Father, with a cruciform halo, is depicted in a scarlet medallion fading outwards to pink. He is turned towards the Virgin Mary and from His mouth issues a white ray descending towards her, a white dove seated on it half-way. The scroll in his hand reads: "I shall come to thee to save the world". Does this iconographic detail imply the double procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son as adopted in the West, but contrary to the Orthodox dogma? Have we here an unsuspected, or otherwise, dogmatic infiltration of the Filioque from the West? (See "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia). This supplementary detail is reminiscent of the mosaic painting of the Annunciation by Jacopo Torriti, in the church of Sta Maria Maggiore in Rome, dated 1295. In a twelfth-century painting of the same subject in the church of Agioi Anargyroi in Kastoria in Greece, however, we have God the Father, also inscribed Jesus Christ, in a segment of the sky, but without the ray and the dove.

In the Birth of Christ, the Virgin Mary is seated on a deep scarlet mattress, which lights up the dark cave and the dull-ochre conventional hilly landscape (fig. 28). Christ sits on His mother's lap and feeds at her left breast, a realistic touch of a popular approach. We meet this iconographical detail in the



27. Prophets Solomon and Isaiah, middle 14th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.



28. *The Birth of Christ*, middle 14th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria. The kneeling Magi present us with an unusual historical detail: the third, beardless Magus bears Mongolian features and headgear. See A. and J. Stylianou, «Differentiated Magi in the Painted Churches of Cyprus», *Armos, Thessaloniki*, vol. 3, 1991.

Byzantine world and in Italy from the 13th century, but its prototypes lie in the East. In the Coptic Museum of Old Cairo are kept a fresco of the fourth century from Karanis, depicting Isis feeding Harpocrates at her breast, and one of the sixth-seventh century depicting the Virgin Mary with Christ suckling, from the monastery of St. Jeremiah, Sakkara. In an apocryphal MS work in the Sa'rdic dialect of Coptic Egypt kept in the British Museum and dated 990, we meet an illumination by the deacon Philotheos, showing the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ on her left knee feeding at her breast. Returning to our painting, we note that the hilly landscape is interspersed with black and red goats with white markings, and in the foreground there is a small water-tank beside a well, both in inverted perspective. Next to them, on the left, a young shepherd plays a bag-pipe, a rare detail, while further up another one plays an ordinary reed-pipe, both of them wearing unusual caps, reminiscent of the ancient Greek travellers' hat, known as the *petasos*. In the scene of the washing of Christ, the assistant of the midwife is pouring water into the basin from an earthen jug of a local type, still made in these mountains (Phini).

In the Presentation in the Temple, the altar is draped in a deep scarlet cloth under a double-tiered ciborium. The fantastic buildings in the background show some Western influence, especially the arcaded upper gallery with pointed arches.

Below the Annunciation are depicted St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Sabas and St. Sozomenus; (a late door, now a niche, cuts through the first three; an *iconostasis* with a seventeenth-century icon of St. Nicholas, originally hiding the twelfth-century fresco of St. Nicholas on the blocked entrance to the *diaconikon*, is now placed here to hide an eighteenth-century painting of the Archangel in the niche).

The bust of St. Joachim in a scarlet medallion and the bust of St. Anna wearing a scarlet maphorion, opposite each other on the upper parts of the piers of this south arm of the church, open up the cycle just described. Below St. Anna (south-west pier, east side), is depicted St. Demetrius in armour.

Moving into the *bema* to describe the remaining paintings of this fourteenth-century group of paintings, first we note that the paintings of the Ascension of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse, were removed to discover the eleventh-century paintings underneath, and are now kept in the Archbishopric, Nicosia.

In the central zone of the apse there is a series of eight prelates in medallions, namely Spyridon, Heracleidius, Lazarus, Auxibius, Hypatius, Tychon, Zenon and Nicholas. Below them, there are eight more prelates converging in groups of four towards the centre, in officiating postures. They are Trifyllius, Gregory, Epiphanius, John Chrysostom, Sylvester, Basil, John the Almoner and James the Lord's brother. They hold fan-shaped scrolls with identical quotations from the prayers of sanctification of the bread (left group) and of the wine (right group), which implies that the paten and the chalice would have been painted on an altar between them, now gone.

In the niche of *prothesis* is depicted "the Sacrifice", showing the Child Christ in a paten and in a quatrefoil chalice, holding a scroll with the relevant

quotations from the Last Supper instituting the Holy Sacraments. A red *aer* is arching over them. (See also Agia Solomoni at Paphos, Soterios at Palaeochorio, and the Dormition at Kourdali).

On the two sides of the south pier inside the *bema*, we have the paintings of St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Symeon Stylites, and on the north one we have the deacon Laurentius and St. Alypius Stylites. The bust of prelate Demetrianus, now on the south wall of the *diaconikon*, was removed from above St. Symeon Stylites to reveal the eleventh-century painting of the same saint.

In contrast to the pale faces of the previous series in the north arm and in the narthex already described, these are painted in red ochre with rouge at the cheeks, resulting in a glowing appearance. There is a monotony in the colours of the garments and a lack of differentiation in the postures and expressions of the figures, especially in the scenes of the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Ascension, both now removed to Nicosia.

**A group of life-size Saints** in some of the lower parts of the nave and the narthex, now that they have been cleaned, betray a fourteenth-century style. They should come in the second half of the century. There are traces of two layers of paintings under some of these paintings. The beardless ones are characterized by fleshy round faces with slight rouge at the cheeks, a revived manner of the second half of the twelfth century.

The over-life-size Sts. Theodore and George on the north-west pier supporting the dome (side facing south), and St. John the Baptist with St. John the Almoner on the south-west pier (side facing north), stand out impressively, especially the two military saints in their colourful uniforms (fig. 29). These are identically dressed, but differentiated in colour. St. Theodore (the General) with double-pointed beard, wears a short scarlet *chiton* with chain-mail over it, a deep red cloak buckled at the chest with a round jewelled brooch, white checked hose decorated with red and green fleurs-de-lis inside the diamond-shaped divisions, and brown boots. He has just unsheathed his sword. St. George's *chiton* is blue, his cloak and boots are scarlet and he holds a spear in his right hand and a sheathed sword in his left. Neither of them has a shield.

St. John the Baptist and St. John the Almoner are an unusual combination. The latter was born in Cyprus about the middle of the sixth century and he later became bishop of Alexandria (609-615). His father was a governor of the island. We note that St. John the Almoner is depicted among the officiating prelates in the apse and St. John the Baptist on the south wall, both in the two earlier series of paintings already described. Their new positions, as well as those of the two military saints, are out of tune with the earlier Byzantine traditions of symbolic interplay of architecture and decoration. Priorities change as time goes on.

The rest of the subjects of this group of paintings are: *north-west pier supporting the dome*, St. Dionysius, prelate (east), and St. Stephen the first martyr (west); *south-west pier supporting the dome* (western side), St. Theodore "Stoudiou"; *small south-west pier attached to the west wall*, St. John Lampadistis (fig. 30), a late Cypriote saint, here nicknamed as *Maratheftis*, i.e. inhabitant of the Marathasa valley, a significant definition as the tradition about the whereabouts of his native village of Lampasa is not clear from the relevant traditions (see, Monastery of St. John Lampadistis); *small north-west pier at-*



29. Sts. Theodore and George, second half of the 14th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof Kakopetria.





30. St. John Lampadistis "Maratheftis" (detail), second half of the 14th c., church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria.

tached to the west wall, St. Hilarion; on either side of the west door, St. Onoufrius and St. Ephrem Syrus; north wall of the north arm, four monastics, Epigon, ...?..., Theodosius the Cenobiarch and Euthymius, the first three damaged by a late door.

Narthex east central recess, St. Paul (head gone, left of door), St. Peter holding keys (head gone, right of door), St. Epiphanius and St. Basil (on the reveals of the arch round the recess, both repeating earlier paintings in the apse); pier south of the entrance into the nave, Christ the Almoner, with a profusion of gold linear highlights on His chiton and himation; in style and iconography He is nearest to the same subject on the south-east pier in the nave of the church of Asinou.

The positioning of most of the saints of this group does not conform to the established traditions, but in certain cases they betray a readaptation of ideas. The positioning of Christ on the pier in the narthex incorporates this later addition of the twelfth century into the main body of the church, as the original

purpose of a narthex would no longer be functioning.

Whereas the two preceding groups we have examined betray traces of one layer of paintings underneath, this group betrays two layers of paintings underneath in certain parts, which support a later date than the last group, of the mid-fourteenth century.

**The only dated paintings** of the church are those of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the east piers supporting the dome, in a line with the *iconostasis*. By the feet of St. Peter, there is a miniature portrait of the monk Philotheos, the donor of the two paintings; his supplication is recorded above his head with the date 1633. Their position is completely out of tune, for these places are traditionally reserved for Christ and the Virgin Mary. Peter and Paul should be opposite on the western piers.

Below the left foot of St. Peter there is the following interesting note written in ink inside a circle: "1735. Having ascended from Trikoukia (monastery) to Troodos and having written about the snow there, the water of the eagles (eagles' baths), the famous cotton stone (asbestos mines), St. Mamas the tonsured (a church near the asbestos mines now removed), the Pashas' meadow and others, I, the most humble among the monks, Basil Moscovorrossos a tourist from Kiev, then came on pilgrimage to this venerable monastery on the 30th of July".

Basil was an extraordinary Russian traveller of the eighteenth century, who came to Cyprus on several occasions and has left us with a wealth of information concerning the island. He was born in Kiev in 1701, where his father was a merchant. At the age of fifteen he studied for a while in the Academy of his birthplace and later (1723), in the Jesuit Academy of Lwow in Poland, where he adopted the name Barsky to hide his Orthodox religion, for no non-Catholics were allowed there. His disguise was soon discovered and he was expelled. He set off for Bari (1724), to worship the relics of St. Nicholas, and thus started his famous travels. The rest of his life was spent in continuous travel with the sole ambition of visiting, sketching and describing all the Christian Near East and eventually passing his knowledge to his fellow-countrymen. For 24 years he travelled through Italy, Greece and most of the lands round about, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, living mostly on charity, suffering stoically from disease and great privations, but always with great faith in God, Whom he set out to serve in his own way. While he was in Antioch in 1734, he was ordained as a monk by the Patriarch Silvester, who was a Cypriote.

He knew Latin, but learnt Greek during his travels, taking the opportunity wherever he was, in the Greek poor-house of the Orthodox church in Venice, or in the Greek Grammar School in Patmos. The character of this extraordinary man of the eighteenth century, his thirst for learning and his desire to transmit his knowledge to others, is reflected in a letter to his father from Patmos in 1740: "...My travels are of much more value to me than thousands in gold and silver... I ask the advice of my brother John... about copper engraving, as this will be needed for some of my works..." Basil, however, never lived to see the ambition of his life fulfilled, for he died soon after his return home in 1747. His works were published in four volumes between the years 1885-7. Barsky was in Cyprus for nearly three months in 1727 and for almost two years in 1734-6. At the beginning of his latter visit, he was appointed by the Archbishop of Cyprus, Philotheos, as a teacher of Latin at the school attached to the Archbishopric, but as plague broke out soon afterwards, the school was closed and Barsky set off as a wandering tourist, sketching, inquiring and writing all the way. Thus he arrived at St. Nicholas of the Roof on the 30th of July, 1735.

The present *iconostasis* is an early seventeenth-century work of good workmanship. The contemporary icons were recently removed to the Archbishopric in Nicosia for protection.

The very large icon of "St. Nicholas of the Roof" (203×158 cm.), originally kept in this church, is now with the collection of icons in the Archbishopric. It is painted on vellum, and in the borders, on either side of the Saint, are depicted miniature scenes from his life. At the feet of the Saint are portrayed the donors kneeling in prayer, a knight in full armour with his wife and daughter; the knight's horse is also painted in the group. Above the horse are depicted a shield bearing a black cross on a silver ground, and the family coat of arms: *argent; an eagle displayed, gules, crowned or*. This is also blazoned on the horse trappings and on the surcoat of the donor. It is evident that we have here a Western knight, but as the eagle was used by several families in medieval times, it is difficult to identify him. The titles are in Greek, but the supplicatory inscription with the date has been lost. The figure of St. Nicholas is clearly Byzantine with minor Western infiltrations, as in the decoration in relief of the halo and other ornaments, and in the stylization of the features. The mode of rendering of the donors in an upright kneeling posture, instead of in the proskynesis Byzantine formula, is also a Western iconographic characteristic. We have here a Western crusader donating an icon to an Orthodox church, sometime during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

**5. The Church of Panagia Theotokos.** This little chapel stands by the main road in a disused cemetery at the entrance to the village (old road). It is a single-aisled building, constructed of sun-baked bricks on a stone foundation, covered with a steep-pitched roof of flat tiles. It retains about half of its mural paintings.

Above the entrance are painted the donors with the following inscription: "Supplication of the servant of God Leontius, lay-reader and chief clerk, and of his wife Lucrecia, founder and heir of the holy monastery of the most holy Mother of God, Amen. In the year 1520 of Christ" (fig. 31). Young Leontius is portrayed with reddish hair parted in the centre. He wears a short red tunic, a short black cloak thrown over his shoulders, and black boots to below the knees. His wife wears a long blue gown with black detachable sleeves, a long white veil and a white apron, both made of silk and tied together at the waist. The neck of her gown has a deep V-cut allowing her white embroidered shirt to show. The V-cut is laced together with a white cord tied in the centre; she has deep green eyes. Behind her and painted over her gown, kneels her little daughter Maria. She wears a scarlet gown with green detachable sleeves, a white girdle tied in front, a white cap embroidered in red, and a necklace of old coins. It is evident that we have here a mixed family, a Greek Cypriote married to a Venetian lady.

An old man in black tunic and mantle kneeling in front of Leontius, is probably the donor of the church decoration.

The church paintings are contemporary and are a good example of the conservative branch of the post-Byzantine style as it developed in the island. In the top tier of the north wall we have the *Via Crucis*, the Lamentation over the body of Christ, the Virgin Mary with the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb, the *Anastasis*, the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Dormition of the Virgin. In the last one, the Apostles are pictured arriving in clouds in two groups. In the background, Christ holds His mother's soul as a swaddled baby, while in the foreground the angel of the Lord has cut off the hands of Jephonias, the Jew who according to the apocryphal story tried to overturn her bier. The composition is reminiscent of the same subject in several churches of the post-Byzantine period outside the island, and especially of the so-called Cretan school, which points to the universality of Byzantine art even at this late period.

The composition of the three Marys with the Virgin Mary at the Empty Tomb is especially effective. The leader of the women holds an incense burner, while the Virgin Mary, who follows, turns to embrace one of her friends, expressing her surprise at the unexpected sight of the angel seated on the removed lid of the sarcophagus. The wings of the angel which are spread upwards frame the rocky mountains in the background, while his white raiment lights up the composition.

In the lower tier of the same wall are painted Sts. John the Almoner, Nicholas, Reghinus, Theodore, Demetrius, George and the Archangel Michael. On the reveals of the door are St. Mary the Egyptian and St.



31. The donors with the dedicatory inscription, 1520, church of Panagia Theotokos, Kakopetria.



32. *The Entertainment of the Angels, alias the Hospitality of Abraham, 1520, church of Panagia Theotokos, Kakopetria.*

Zosimus, a favourite subject in the painted churches of Cyprus from the twelfth century onwards (see the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou).

The paintings in the *bema* are: the Sacrifice of Isaac on the north wall; the Entertainment of the Angels by Abraham (symbolical representation of the Holy Trinity), on the south wall (fig. 32); the Ascension in the pediment; King David, prophet Ezekiel and St. Stephen the first Martyr (fig. 33), on the left side of the apse (top to bottom); King Solomon, prophet Isaiah and St. Tychon, on the right of the apse; the Virgin Mary of the Blachernitissa type, attended by the Archangels Michael (fig. 34) and Gabriel, in the conch of the apse; the Communion of the Apostles, in the middle zone of the apse; and the officiating fathers of the Church at the bottom, namely Epiphanius of Cyprus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory and Spyridon; they converge towards the centre of the apse with inscribed scrolls in their hands.

The low wooden screen with painted pillars and panels separating the sanctuary from the nave, is contemporary with the church, but it copies earlier prototypes before the wood-carved and gilded type of *iconostasis* was introduced in the fourteenth century. The two icons at the top of the screen, bearing the twelve Apostles and the two Archangels, were painted in 1638.



33. St. Stephen (detail), 1520, church of Panagia Theotokos, Kakopetria.

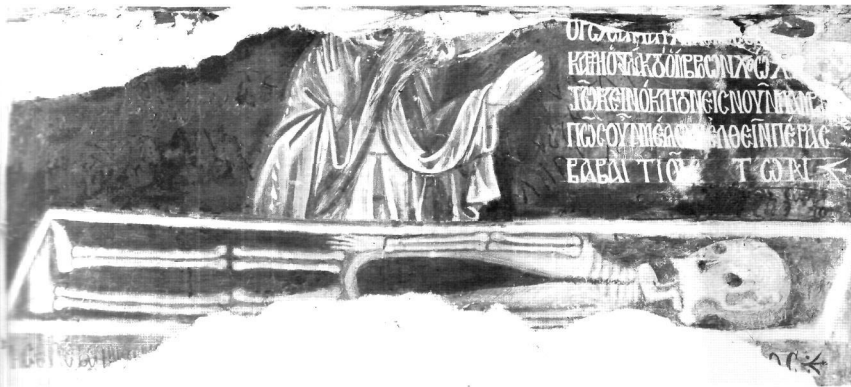


34. The Archangel Michael attending the Virgin Mary in the apse, 1520, church of Panagia Theotokos, Kakopetria.

**6. The Church of St. George Perachoritis.** This small chapel lies to the east of the village, now hidden from view by the modern thoroughfare to Troodos. It is of the steep-pitched-roof type of the mountains and it retains most of its wall-paintings of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They are a popular version of the post-Byzantine style, imbued with an extreme rustic quality within the boundaries of folk art. The iconography follows the established traditions, but the sequence of the festival scenes is irregular. Owing to the small dimensions of the church, only one row of paintings was applied to the side walls. Some of them have been damaged during some reroofing by the villagers, when the west wall was also rebuilt.

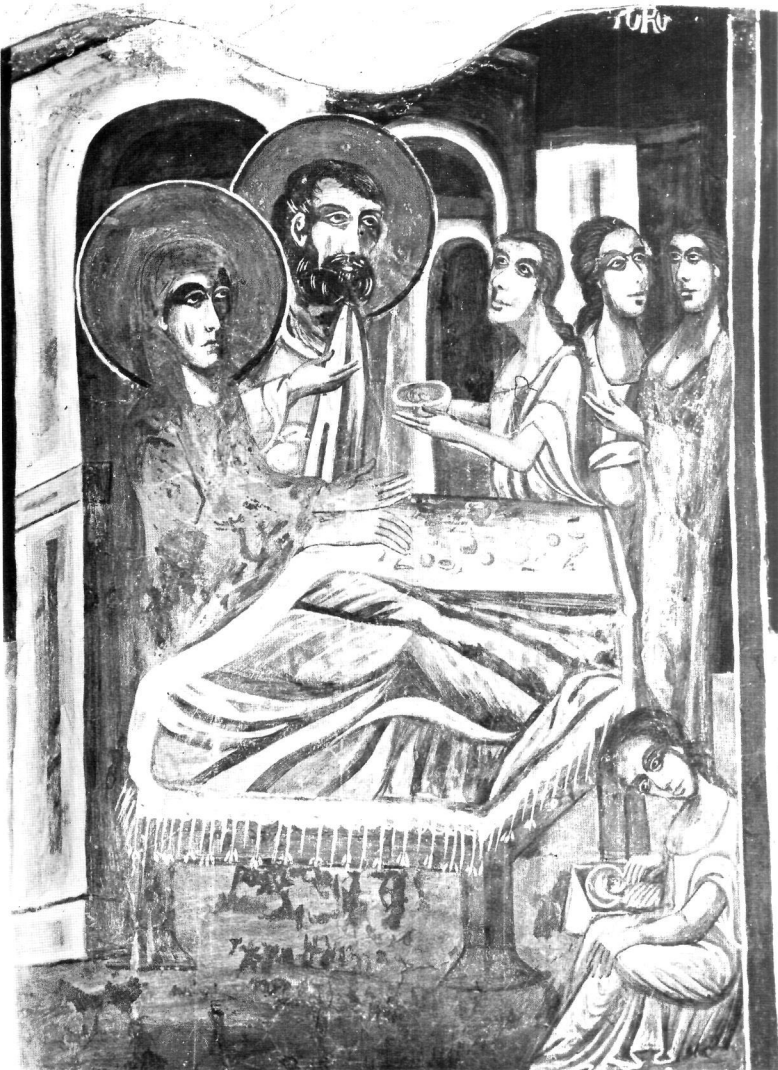
*South wall:* The Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, inside the *bema*; St. John the Baptist, St. Anna's Prayer, Joachim's Prayer, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Birth of the Virgin Mary, St. Thecla, St. Mary of Egypt and another female saint (the last two on the reveals of the small window); St. Sisoes lamenting over the grave of Alexander the Great (above the window); four saints whose heads have perished, the first one holding a scroll inscribed "I have seen the snares of the devil spread out on earth and I said", which identifies him as St. Anthony.

*North wall:* St...?, St. Theodore the General and St. Theodore Tyron, St...?, Sts. Paraskevi and Anastasia the poison curer (the last two on the reveals of the small window); the *Anastasis* (Descent into Hades), the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, the Raising of Lazarus, the Transfiguration, the Baptism, the Birth of Christ and the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria (the last two inside the *bema*).



35. Sisoes lamenting over the grave of Alexander the Great, 16th c., church of St. George Perachoritis,





36. *The Birth of the Virgin Mary, rustic style, 16th c., church of St. George Perachoritis, Kakopetria.*

*Eastern wall and apse:* the Ascension, in the pediment; the Holy Handkerchief, over the tip of the apse; King David, the Archangel Gabriel of the Annunciation, the “Deposition” (Utter Humiliation), and remnants of Jonah in the Whale (the last one below the niche of *prothesis*), all on the left side of the apse; King Solomon, the Virgin Mary of the Annunciation and St. Spyridon, all on the right side of the apse; the bust of the Mother of God, Orans, in the small conch of the apse; and the officiating prelates Gregory the Theologian, Chrysostom, Basil and Nicholas, with the altar table bearing the Holy Vessels depicted between them, in the lower part of the apse.

The painting depicting Sisoës lamenting over the grave of Alexander the Great (fig. 35), is accompanied by the usual inscription: “I behold thee grave, I lose courage at your sight and I shed heart-felt tears. Shuddering, I consider the common obligation that I shall have to pass, alas, through it”.

Taking the Birth of the Virgin Mary as a second illustration (fig. 36), we can see the rustic character of the style with rough features and clumsy proportions. Anna is propped up in bed with a loaded side-table next to her. Joachim seems to be arguing with one of the three female attendants holding a bowl of food. Nearby, a maid plays with the new-born child lying in a cot, a genre scene characteristic of the period. The open, large bosoms of the female attendants are an occasional characteristic attribute of these persons, in late and post-Byzantine art.

In and around the village of Galata just below Kakopetria, there are four painted churches.

**7. The Church of St. Sozomenus**, in the middle of the old village, is of the steep-pitched-roof type with a later enclosure to which the roof was extended. It retains its complete series of wall-paintings in the post-Byzantine style.

An inscription over the west door records the erection of the church by the combined contributions of thirteen villagers, and its decoration by the donation of a certain John, a lawyer from the neighbouring village of Tembria: "The most venerable church of our Holy father Sozomenus, was painted through the donation and at the expense of lord Ioannis (John), lay-reader and lawyer of Tembria; Papa-Theodoros (priest Theodore) and confessor, Ioannis (John) Maximos, Argiros son of Kalogiros, Georgis (Yeorgios-George) son of Kalognomos, Kyriacos (Cyriacus) son of Irene, Jeanis (Ioannis-John) son of Millomenos, Yiotis (short for Panayiotis) son of Millomenos, Costis (short for Constantinos-Constantine) son of Millomenos, Jacos (Iacovos-James) son of Kalogiros, Papa-Ioannis (priest John) son of Simounis, Demetris son of Costas (Constantine), Yeorgios son of Kyriacos and his brother Paraskevgas, the (last) two one share, they are 13 founders and pray for them through the Lord, amen. It was completed on the 3rd of the month of September, 1513 of Christ. Hand of Symeon Axenti. Church is the earthly heavens in which the Heavenly God dwelleth and liveth and walketh, representing the Crucifixion and Burial and Resurrection of Christ".

Apart from its historical value, this inscription is an important document with an interesting collection of names, which reflect customs still extant in the island. They show also the development of the Cypriote dialect in the later middle ages, through the influence of the French language. For instance, Yeorgios (George) is corrupted to Georgis from the French Georges, Ioannis (John) into Jeanis from Jean and Iacovos (James) into Jacos from Jacques. Kalognomos means good-natured and Millomenos a greasy dirty man, etc.

The liturgical interpretation of a church at the end of the dedicatory inscription comes from the writings of Patriarch Germanus (c. 634-c. 733), a remarkable quotation for this late period in a remote village of Cyprus.

The letter and spirit of the literary quotation is then carried into pictorial form, following the scheme of decoration adapted for this simple type of church building.

The New Testament cycle unfolds itself round the upper parts of the walls, starting from the south near the *iconostasis* with the Annunciation. As the theme develops, there is a stress on the Passion of our Lord, culminating in the Crucifixion in the west pediment. The Ascension of Christ is placed in the

east pediment. The Byzantine *Anastasis* on the north wall is supplemented with the Resurrection of Christ emerging out of a grave guarded by sleeping soldiers, on the west wall. This dramatic formula is a late comer from the West. In Byzantine art the subject appears in marginal illuminations of psalters, depicting Christ calmly walking away from the open entrance of a cave-tomb.

Taking the Transfiguration of Christ on the south wall as another example, we note that the artist used the triple aura round the transfigured Christ, denoting the Divine light of the Godhead emanating simultaneously from the three persons of the Trinity, an influence of the Hesychastic movement of the monks of Mount Athos in the fourteenth century. In the church of the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, which we shall presently describe, the same artist used the simple oval aura of earlier iconography. This and other divergencies in detail in the two churches, show that Symeon Axenti had several models at his disposal from which he worked.

At the west end of the north wall, there is a mounted St. George spearing the dragon through the mouth. The dragon is painted green with red wings, and its tail is entwined in a dramatic knot round one of the rear legs of the spirited horse. The princess has already tied the dragon with a rope round the neck and pulls it towards a castle standing on a rock; the usual legend talks about her belt being used as a rope, while the Cypriote version mentions a chain from the saint's saddle-bag. From the battlements of the castle, the King extends the keys to the warrior saint, while the Queen watches the scene to the tune of the near by trumpeters. Above are painted five miniature scenes from the saint's martyrdom. A supplicatory inscription mentions the name of George son of Maximos and his family as the donors of this painting, signed "hand of Symeon". The mounted St. George has been a favourite subject in the Cypriote churches since the mid-Byzantine period, when several legends were developed about him, each village formulating its own appropriation.

Following the scenes of St. George, there is a cycle concerning the life of the Virgin Mary, including the Drinking of the Water of the Conviction by the Virgin Mary (fifth), and Joseph Receiving the Virgin Mary from the Temple (seventh).

For those who are not familiar with the subject, we shall explain these scenes here. Joseph Receiving the Virgin Mary: According to the apocryphal accounts, Mary remained in the Temple until she was twelve or fourteen years old. As it was against custom to keep her there any longer, a council of the priests was summoned to decide what to do with her. Unable to decide, they entrusted the high priest Zacharias to pray to the Lord for guidance. Zacharias was then divinely instructed through an angel, to summon all the widowers and unmarried men of the house of David to the Temple, each one bringing his rod to be laid before the altar of the Lord. The one whose rod would bud or show a sign, would be the chosen one to receive Mary. In our picture we see the high priest restoring to Joseph his rod and confiding Mary to him, for his rod had blossomed and a dove came and alighted on it. (We note here that the prohibition of grown up women to enter into the sanctuary behind the *iconostasis* of the Orthodox churches, derives from this Jewish tradition).

The Virgin Mary Drinking the Water of the Conviction, although depicted before, should come after Joseph received her. We see the Virgin Mary standing on a platform and drinking out of a white jug, while groups of priests stand on either side watching her. According to the apocryphal accounts, when the Virgin Mary was found with child after the Annunciation and Joseph denied having anything to do with it, the high priests were disturbed, summoned them for interrogation, and gave them "to drink of

the water of the conviction of the Lord... to manifest their sins". Joseph who drank first, was sent into the wilderness and "returned whole". The experiment was repeated with Mary, and here we see her drinking the "water of the conviction" prior to her departure into the wilderness, whence she also returned safe and therefore innocent.

The cycle of the Virgin's life is concluded with her Dormition, including her Assumption above the usual composition. The sky is filled with the Apostles arriving in little clouds, each one conducted by an angel, an imaginative and poetical representation.

The lower parts of the walls are reserved for a host of individual saints. St. Mamas riding his lion, on the south wall, stands out (see Palaeochorio, the church of the Saviour). Especially successful are also the figures of four female martyrs at the west end of the same wall: Paraskevi, Kyriaki, Barbara and Catherine. The personifications of the days of the Holy Week, depicted on medallions down the front of St. Kyriaki appear to be a Cypriote development, reflecting the much earlier custom of Hellenistic personifications of towns, rivers, etc. (see the church of the Archangel, Pedoulas).

Of outstanding quality, for this late period, are also the soldier-saints on the north wall, especially the youthful figures of Sts. Nestor (fig. 37), Demetrius, and George. The warm, rosy colour used for their faces enhances their noble features. The white linear highlights used for some of the older saints, soften their features and bring out their individual character.

The outside of the north wall is also painted. Of special interest are the seven Councils of the Church and the Triumph of Orthodoxy at the west end. They are the only examples surviving in Cyprus, offering interesting elements for the study of the subject. In the main they follow the established conventional formula: the Emperor presides seated in the centre upon a throne with a *suppedaneum*, flanked by the prelates who took part in the discussions, while in the foreground are depicted the condemned heretics crouching away with their heads turned to look at the judges. The prelates of the patriarchal sees lead the assembly with their names inscribed on their haloes. The distinctive tiara of the Pope of Rome is an original feature, as are the full number of crouching heretics. In the First Council of Nicaea St. Spyridon of Cyprus stands out in the group on the right, wearing his traditional basket cap and holding in his right hand the burning tile with which he proved the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity (see the Church of the Archangel, below).

We record the full scheme of decoration of the church:

*Nave: south wall, upper zone:* the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry, the Transfiguration, the Last Supper, the Washing of the feet, the Betrayal, Christ Before Annas and Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate; *lower zone:* St. John the Theologian, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Anthony, the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus (on the reveals of the door), the Holy Handkerchief (over the door, fig. 38), the Archangel Michael, St. Mamas riding a lion, Sts. Constantine and Helena holding the Holy Cross between them, St. Luke, St. John Lampadistis, St. Paraskevi, St. Kyriaki, St. Barbara, St. Catherine.

*West pediment:* Christ Emmanuel, in the tip of the pediment; the two Archangels Michael and Gabriel, below the above; the Via Crucis, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, in the bottom zone of the pediment. *West wall, upper zone:* the Denial of Peter, Christ Before Annas and Caiaphas "having rent their garments", the Mocking, the Scourging, the Burial, the Resurrection (Western formula with Christ emerging out of a sarcophagus), "Touch Me not". *Lower zone of the west wall:* St. Vechianus, St. Ionas



37. St. Nestor, 1513, church of St. Sozomenus, Galata.



38. *The Holy Handkerchief, 1513, church of St. Sozomenus, Galata.*

(Jonah), Sts. Symeon Stylites and Symeon the Archimandrite (on the reveal of the door), the dedicatory inscription (over the door), St. Cyriacus the Anchorite, St. Heraclideius (fig. 39).

*North wall, upper zone:* the *Anastasis* (Descent into Hades); five scenes from the martyrdom of St. George, namely Before the King, In Prison, Scourged, Tortured on the wheel and Beheaded; the Prayer of Joachim, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, the Virgin Mary Drinking the Water of the Conviction, the Meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth, Joseph Receiving the Virgin Mary from the Temple. *Lower zone of the same wall:* St. George mounted, St. Mercurius, St. Theodore Stratelatis (the General), St. Nestor, St. Demetrius, St. George, Sts Andronicus and Athanasia (on the reveals of the door), the Holy Tile (over the door), the Dormition with the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (covering the whole height of the wall).

*Bema: north wall:* the Descent of the Holy Spirit (top), St. Romanus Melodus, i.e the hymn writer (centre), and a cupboard with painted crosses and letters (bottom); *south wall:* St. Tychicus and St. Stephen the first Martyr (top); a cupboard with painted crosses and letters (below St. Stephen); *east pediment:* the Ascension (above); the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Entertainment of the Angels by Abraham (on either side of the conch of the apse); *wall left of apse:* St. Athanasius Pentaschenitis (above), and the "Depositor" (Utter Humiliation) in the niche of *prothesis*; *wall right of apse:* St. Onoufrius; *apse:* the Virgin Mary *Orans* (bust) attended by the Archangels and inscribed with the unusual appellation "Panhyperphotos" (radiating extreme light), in the conch; the prelates Epiphanius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory the Theologian and Spyridon (bottom zone).

*North wall, outside:* the Last Judgement; St. Sozomenus (in the niche above the main entrance); a mask with acanthus decoration round it (above the niche); the seven Oecumenical Councils of the Church and the Triumph of Orthodoxy (the restoration of the icons after the Iconoclastic controversy), in two zones.

The paintings inside the church are at present mostly darkened with smoke, but when they are cleaned they should turn out to be some of our best preserved sixteenth-century work in Cyprus comparing with the so-called Cretan school in style and iconography, and confirming the continued universality of Byzantine art even at this late period. They bear iconographical and stylistic affinities with the paintings in the church of the Transfiguration at Palaeochorio. There, the paintings hark back to models of the Palaeologue revival of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, with an advanced technique of icon painting applied to the faces of some of the individual saints: the diffused light superimposed with delicate linear highlights, a development characteristic of the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century.



39. St. Heracleidus (detail), 1513, church of St. Sozomenus, Galata.



**8. The Church of the Archangel Michael or Panagia Theotokos.** This timber-roofed chapel near the monastic church of Panagia Podithou, just below the village of Galata, is known today as the Archangel, but it is dedicated to the Virgin Mary by inscription. It is completely painted in the post-Byzantine style of the early sixteenth century.

Above the north door there is a painting of the Deesis, showing Christ enthroned flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist (fig. 40). This type of the enthroned Christ has been styled as Cretan (Xyngopoulos, *Schediasma*). At the bottom of this painting there is a group of donors, a coat of arms and the following inscription: "The most venerable church of the most Holy Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary, was erected through the donation and at the expense of Monsieur Stephanos (*Stefano*) Zacharia and of his wife Loiza (*Luigia, Louise*), and pray for them, amen. And it was painted at the expense of Monsieur Polos (*Paolo*) Zacharia and of his wife Madelena (*Madeleine*), and of their children; pray for them through the Lord. Their painting was finished on the 17th of January, 1514 of Christ. Hand of Symeon Axenti".

The signature of Symeon Axenti appears also with the paintings in the church of St. Sozomenus in Galata itself, dated 3rd September 1513. The scheme of decoration is here basically the same, but much reduced owing to the small dimensions of the church. There are also some variations in the iconography of some of the compositions, which suggests that Symeon Axenti and his assistants had several prototypes from which they worked. It has been observed (Xyngopoulos, *Schediasma*), that the folds of Axentis' garments are shaded and highlighted in a manner reminiscent of the so-called Cretan School, whereas the faces are treated in a more conservative manner of an earlier rustic technique of monastic tradition: plain flesh tones leaving shaded outlines, the features outlined in pronounced dark colour. Actually, there is little linear definition, the shaded outlines emanating from the *proplasmos*. In the larger figures of the individual saints, however, we note that he also employs the linear highlights to enhance the features.

There is an interrelation between these paintings and those in the church of the Transfiguration at Palaeochorio, where we see reflections of the earlier Palaeologue revival, but with the icon technique of facial treatment applied to a number of figures, reminiscent of the so-called Cretan school, through their common parentage.

It is evident that we have here a family chapel of the early sixteenth century, belonging to the Venetian family of Zacharia, established in the island since the fourteenth century. Stephanos (*Stefano*) Zacharia was probably the father of Polos (*Paolo*) Zacharia, here portrayed with his French wife and children as the donors of the decoration of the church. We note the hellenization of their names.

Polos kneels on the left, offering a model of the chapel to Christ. He is dressed in a black tunic and wears a black skullcap. His son, who kneels in front of him, is dressed in a long white tunic and wears a white bonnet. The female members of the family are kneeling on the opposite side. Madelena is



40. The donors with the dedicatory inscription, 1514, church of the Archangel Michael or Panagia Theotokos, Galata.

richly dressed. She wears a dark blue bodice with very wide detachable sleeves, slashed at the shoulders and edged in white fur. The bodice is cut square and low at the neck, to show a white silk shirt. Her long scarlet-red skirt, which broadens out towards the feet, is held in place by two red bands passing over the shoulders. These bands are embroidered in gold and the skirt is hemmed in gold with green and red embroidery. A white silk apron starts from under her breasts and falls to the ground, while a veil of similar material covers her head and falls down her back, in symmetry with the apron. Her long plaited hair shows through her thin veil at the back, and on her head she wears a gold fillet strung with pearls. Pearls also appear on the white trimmings of her cuffs. A black cord round the chin holds the veil in place. From her hands, which are raised in prayer, hangs a black rosary.

The eldest daughter, who is kneeling behind her mother, is also richly dressed. Her bodice has a row of pearls or decorative buttons at the low-cut neck, which is trimmed in white. Her wide sleeves are embroidered in gold and ornamented with pearls. A large white collar appears over her shoulders. Her skirt is orange, hemmed in green. She wears an apron similar to her mother's. Her hair is parted in the centre and it is gathered in a golden handkerchief embroidered in red. In her hands she holds an open book inscribed in Greek.

Two more daughters kneel before the mother. The youngest but one is in front, and wears a scarlet gown with large sleeves. She has a white bonnet and an apron. The youngest daughter who kneels between her and the mother, is similarly dressed but has no apron.

The two groups are divided by the family coat of arms: *Azure, a palm-tree argent; impaling argent, three bends sinister azure, over all a lion rampant gules.*

The lion rampant suggests that Madelena was of the Royal house of the Lusignans, further supported by her apparel. The iconography of the church paintings with their Greek inscriptions, and the book of the Akathist hymn in the hands of the eldest daughter, suggest that Polos Zacharia and his children were following the Greek Orthodox rite, although the rosary in the hands of his wife Madelena suggests that she was not forgetting her Catholic origin. We have then here, in the remote hills of Latin-held Cyprus, a hellenized Western mixed family, a trend which appears to have troubled the Pope as early as 1448. This trend was more widespread in the sister island of Crete, which was under the Venetians for a longer period. The contemporary dedicatory inscription in the church of St. Sozomenus in the village of Galata, already described, and the portraits of the donors with the dedicatory inscription in this church, reflect the social structure in the island at the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the Venetian rule.

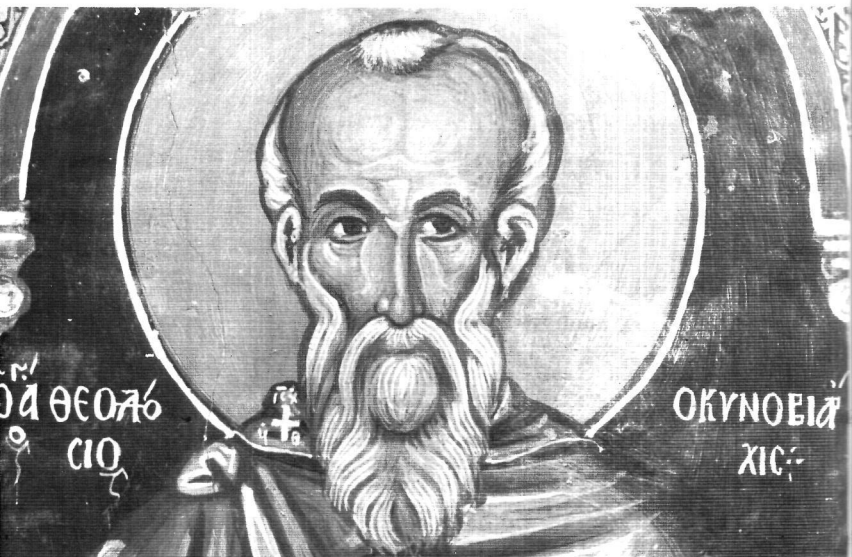
The fine portraits of these donors, with the minutely detailed ornaments of their garments, show that Symeon Axenti was a capable master-painter, who could also work from nature with fine results. This of course was not always the case with Byzantine painters, who worked under set rules and regulations, handed down to them from time immemorial, allowing little latitude for innovation.



41. St. Spyridon (detail), 1514, church of the Archangel or Panagia Theotokos, Galata.

The church paintings also show good workmanship for this late period, especially the individual saints. They follow the same developments that produced the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century. The Virgin Mary *Orans* attended by the Archangels, and the officiating prelates Epiphanius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory and Spyridon, in the apse, stand out.

St. Epiphanius, the celebrated Archbishop of Constantia (368-403), appears to have been greatly esteemed not only in Cyprus, but also in the rest of the Byzantine world. Among some sixth century inscriptions in a holy well at Constantia, he is styled as "Epiphanius the Great, our defender". During the middle Byzantine period his portrait appears with the main fathers of the Church, in several churches in and outside the island, as for example in the



42. St. Theodosius the Cenobiarch (detail), 1514, church of the Archangel Michael or Panagia Theotokos, Galata.

famous church of St. Pantaleon at Nerezi (1164) in Macedonia (Jugoslavia), where he is styled as “Epiphanius of Cyprus”.

St. Spyridon (fig. 41), the well known Cypriote Bishop of Tremithus and celebrated patron Saint of the island of Corfu, is always portrayed wearing his traditional basket cap and usually holding the burning tile with which he miraculously proved the consubstantial and inseparable character of the Holy Trinity, at the First Oecumenical Council of the Church, which assembled at Nicaea in 325 to condemn the Arian heresy. Tradition relates that in support of his arguments in defence of the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity, he took a tile and crushed it in his hand, when water trickled downwards, fire went upwards and the earth remained in his hand: as the three ingredients unite to make the tile, so do the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost unite in God. The Saint has also been very popular in the rest of the Byzantine world and in the countries where the influence of the Byzantine rite and civilization was felt. One of his oldest paintings is to be found among the tenth-century paintings of one of the chapels in Göreme, Cappadocia.



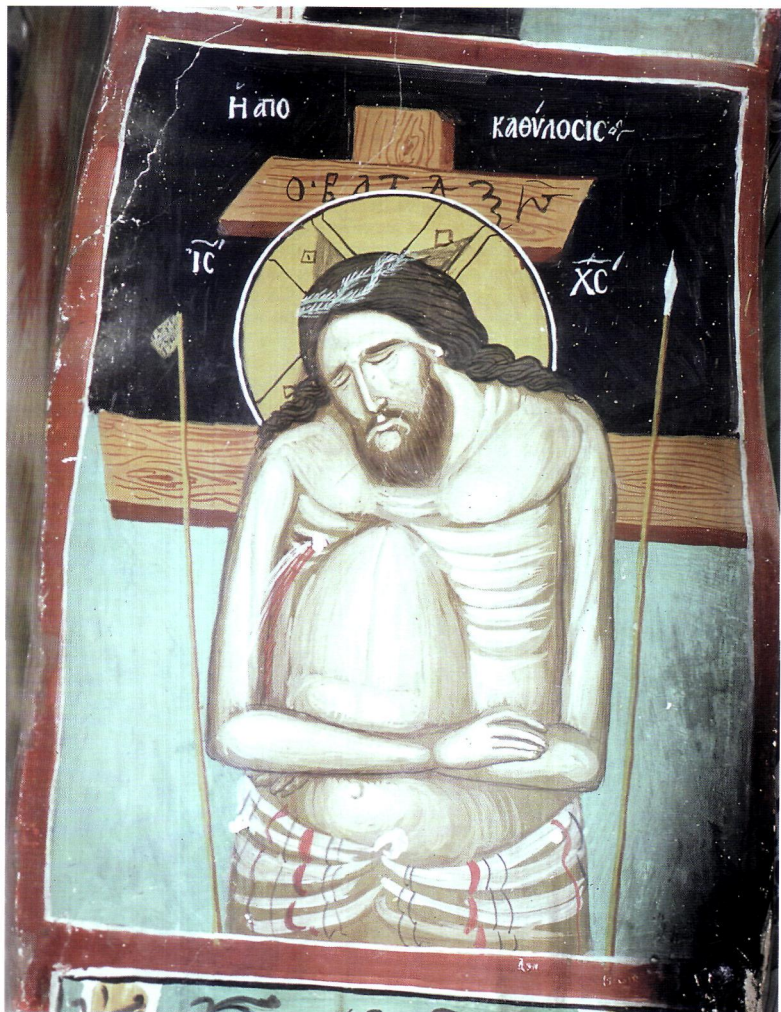
43. Christ Before Pilate and the Denial of Peter, 1514, church of the Archangel or Panagia Theotokos, Galata.

The New Testament cycle unfolds itself in several compositions on the upper parts of the walls, starting with the Annunciation on the south by the *iconostasis*. In the Birth of Christ which follows, the bald-headed shepherd talking to Joseph in the foreground is delightfully dressed in a thick sheepskin and flat shoes. The rest of the paintings on the same wall are the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Transfiguration and the Last Supper. The following saints are depicted below: John the Baptist, Nicholas, Luke, the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus (on the reveals of the door), Anthony, Sabas, Theodosius the Cenobiarch (fig. 42), Sozomenus, Barbara, Catherine and Irene; over the south door is depicted the Holy Handkerchief, following the type and iconography of the Palaeologue or even earlier period.

In the west pediment there are the following paintings: Christ Emmanuel, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, the *Via Crucis*, the Crucifixion and the Deposition. The top zone of the west wall is covered by the Washing of the Feet, the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, Christ before Annas and Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate and the Denial of Peter (fig. 43). The full-length figures below represent: Athanasia, Andronicus, Paraskevi and Marina; over the west door is painted the Holy Tile.

The compositions continue on the north wall with the Mocking, the Scourging, the Mourning, the Resurrection (Christ coming out of His tomb, in Western fashion), "Touch Me not", the *Anastasis*, the Prayer of Joachim, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Deesis with the donors already described, and the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple; below this is painted the Dormition of the Virgin. The saints painted on the lower tier of this wall are: George mounted, Demetrius, Constantine and Helena with the Holy Cross between them, and the Archangel Michael.

Besides the paintings in the apse already mentioned, we have the following paintings in the *bema*: the Sacrifice of Isaac on the north wall; Abraham Entertaining the Angels on the south wall; the Ascension in the eastern pediment; the Descent of the Holy Spirit around the outside of the semi-dome of the apse; the dead Christ (half-length) with the sponge and the spear on either side, inscribed "the Deposition" but also known as the Utter Humiliation (fig. 44), appropriately depicted above the niche of *prothesis*; and St. Stephen the First Martyr, on the right of the apse.



44. "The Deposition" (Utter Humiliation), 1514, church of the Archangel or Panagia Theotokos, Galata.



**9. The Church of Panagia Podithou.** About a hundred yards from the above chapel of the Archangel, there is another, larger church known as the Virgin Mary of Podithou (fig. 45). It is also of the steep-pitched-roof type with an outer enclosure to which the roof extends. The ventilators recently opened in the roof are alien to this type of architecture in the island and will be removed in the future. The church belonged to a monastery. When the Russian traveller Basil Barsky visited the church in 1735, the monastery was still active, but with only two monks living in great poverty, as he states.

The church has paintings in the *bema* and in the western pediments, inside and outside. It was never completely painted. They belong to the Italo-Byzantine school of painting, which appeared in the island towards the end of the fifteenth century, after its occupation by the Venetians in 1489. The school combines classical-Byzantine and Italian Renaissance elements.

According to the dedicatory inscription at the bottom of the outside western pediment, "This divine and most venerable church of the most Holy Mother of God Eleousa, was erected in the year 1502, through the expense



45. The church of Panagia Podithou, 1502, Galata. (The ventilators in the roof are modern additions to this type of architecture in the island, and they will be removed as soon as electricity is installed in the church).

and great desire of lord monsieur Demètre De Coron and his wife Helen and founders of this holy monastery, and those who read these pray for them and bless them through the Lord, amen". The paintings are contemporary with the church.

Demetre De Coron appears in history as a captain of the barony of Pendayia in his youth, mentioned as having taken part in the troubles between Queen Charlotte and her illegitimate brother James in 1461. He is here portrayed as an old man with his wife, offering a model of the church to the enthroned Virgin and Child; below is depicted his coat of arms *Azure 3 mulets argent, 2 and 1*. We have here another hellenized Latin family, following the Orthodox rite and using the Greek language, or a Greek from Koroni in Peloponnesus, who rose to high rank.

On the right of the model of the church is painted another donor dressed as a monk. Two more donors, a man and a woman, are also painted near by (heads destroyed).

The large composition covering the whole of the pediment above the donors, is prescribed by the post-Byzantine *Interpretation of the Art of Painting*, known as the *Painters' Guide*, by the monk Dionysius of Fourna, as "From Above the Prophets have Heralded Thee". In the centre is depicted the Mother of God enthroned, with the young Christ in her lap; around them are depicted ten prophets uttering prophecies concerning the Virgin Mary and the Incarnation; the prophecies are inscribed on their scrolls and are illustrated near by; in the tip of the pediment is pictured the "Ancient of Days" with long grey hair and beard, blessing with both hands.

Above the west main entrance to the church is depicted the *Anastasis* (Descent of Christ into Hades), an unusual place for this theme of the Resurrection, especially as the church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. On either side of the same entrance are painted the figures of the Virgin Mary (left) and of Christ (right).

The Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap, so-called "Cypriote type", attended by the two Archangels in white chitons and embroidered himations, in the conch of the apse, show the successful blending of the Byzantine and Western elements. This, and the Communion of the Apostles below, are among the best paintings of this school in the island. In the Communion – the Liturgical interpretation of the Last Supper – there is movement and differentiation in the posture of the Apostles with sober expressions, reminiscent of the classicizing style of the middle Byzantine period; the stoutness of the figures with their earthly beauty, on the other hand, are Western elements (figs. 46, 47, 48). The Apostles on the left are: Judas, moving away from the Communion, Andrew, Philip, turning his head to look at the deserting Judas, Luke, Matthew, and Peter, bending forward with his hands crossed on his breast, to receive the blessing of Christ. Judas is portrayed with a slight beard according to the Western tradition, for in Byzantine art he is usually shown as a youth. Christ emerges from under a canopy over the altar table, and has His left hand in a tray bearing morsels of sanctified bread. Two ministering angels stand under the canopy. Christ appears again



46. "Take, eat, this is my body", part of the Communion of the Apostles (the Liturgical interpretation of the Last Supper), 1502, Italo-Byzantine style, church of Panagia Podithou, Galata.



47. "Drink ye all of it", part of the Communion of the Apostles (the Liturgical interpretation of the Last Supper), 1502, Italo-Byzantine style, church of Panagia Podithou, Galata.



48. Peter partaking of the Communion of the Apostles, detail of fig. 46.

on the right, with a chalice in His hand, to administer the wine to the rest of the Apostles: Paul comes first and he is followed by John, James, Mark, Thomas and Simon. Be it noted that Paul took his place as one of the twelve Apostles in Byzantine art, even in scenes where he could not have been present.

In the pediment above the apse are depicted two scenes concerning Moses, on either side of a small ventilator. On the left, Moses lifts his hands to receive the tablets of the Ten Commandments from the hands of God, significantly emerging from the window. On the right is depicted Moses and the Burning Bush. He kneels down to loose his sandal, while his head is turned upwards to face the Burning Bush in which is reflected the bust of the Virgin Mary

Blachernitissa. The scenes are taking place in a hilly landscape with bushes and trees. The positioning of the two subjects is unusual (the usual theme depicted in the east pediments of this type of church is the Ascension). The position, however, is appropriate for the two subjects, as a symbolical interpretation of Mount Sinai. It is significant that a near by village is called *Sina Oros* (Mount Sinai). In this context, the traditional appellation of *Podithou*, concerning the Virgin Mary and this church, could be a popular derivation from the command of God to Moses to take off his sandals, prior to the Vision of the Burning Bush.

In the tip of the east pediment is painted the Holy Handkerchief. On either side of the conch of the apse we have the Annunciation, and lower down Kings David and Solomon.

On the south and north walls of the *bema*, we have the story of Joachim and Anna in six compositions: Joachim and Anna Presenting their gifts to the Temple, Joachim and Anna Returning from the Temple after their gifts were rejected, the Prayer of Joachim, the Prayer of Anna, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, and the Birth of the Virgin Mary. Their story is told in the apocryphal gospel of St. James: Joachim was a very rich man, but had no children. For this reason, the high priest rejected his presents to the Temple. Joachim looked up the records and found that all the righteous men of the twelve tribes of Israel had "raised up seed in Israel". He was grieved and retreated into the wilderness, where he fasted for forty days praying to the Lord for a child. His wife Anna lamented her widowhood and her childlessness. Their prayers were answered, Joachim returned with his flocks and they met and embraced at the entrance to their house. The Virgin Mary was born in due course.

The crowded Crucifixion in the west pediment is a dynamic composition reminiscent of Western representations in style and iconography. The inscription with the Greek initials for "Jesus Christ King of the Jews", is not on the usual plaque across the top of the Cross, but on a curling scroll attached to a pole, planted at the top of the upright beam which has been cut short. Above the scroll are depicted the veiled sun and the moon in the tip of the pediment; from either side of the scroll, two angels are flying headlong downwards with arms extended in desperate postures. The two thieves have been added on either side of Christ. There is calmness on the gentle, bearded face of the good thief, as there is on that of Christ. The bad thief, however, is shown young with a round face and rough features denoting pain, reminiscent of Dürer's work. He is tied to a trunk of a tree, and a plump youth is breaking his legs with a stick. A mounted soldier on a bay horse (left), has just speared the right side of Christ, while an angel raises a cup to collect the stream of blood and water flowing therefrom. Mounted soldiers and civilians mingle together in the background on either side. There is a great differentiation in facial features derived from living models, which is alien to Byzantine art. There is a variety of colourful head-gear, some jauntily worn at various angles. Among the group in the background on the left, there is a soldier on a grey horse, wearing a helmet in profile at an angle over his eyes. Similarly, among those on the

right there is another mounted soldier wearing a red “fireman’s” helmet, tilted forward over his eyes; he has a forked beard and raises his arm to point at Christ (fig. 49). Near by, a youth wearing a turban appears to be in conversation with him, lifting his thumb towards Christ. Further back, a head in profile with long nose, sparse moustache and beard, and wearing a fluffy “tiara”, looks oriental and sinister. Several other heads with the same kind of head-gear, differentiated in colour (ochre, red, green), appear near by. Various types of spears and a banner with the crescent appear over the heads of the spectators in the background. In the foreground on the left, the Virgin Mary is fainting in the arms of her friends, her face turned away from her Son, her hair falling loose from under her *maphorion* on to her breast; she wears a deep red *chiton* and a lighter red *maphorion*, an un-Byzantine combination. At the foot of the Cross, Mary Magdalene is pictured kneeling with uncovered head, her rich golden hair falling loose over her back, another un-Byzantine feature. On the right, near the Cross, St. John is walking away as he turns his head to look at Christ in fear. The Good Centurion stands erect next to him (his head appears in fig. 49). In the bottom right-hand corner there is a brawl between three persons, perhaps after casting the dice for Christ’s garments: a figure with a helmet violently clutches the figure opposite to him by the neck; the latter wears a conical head-gear of an oriental type, and they both have sparse moustaches and beards; a soldier, with a shield in one hand, raises his fist to hit the first. Near by, to the left, there are two figures with gentle features looking at each other with worried expressions; they may be Disciples. In the left-hand side corner of the composition, there is an old monk with a powerful beard, supporting himself on his stick as he kneels and gazes passionately towards Christ on the Cross; he appears to be a suppliant donor.

The Byzantine symbolical and dignified approach to the theme, has here given way to a Western narrative overcrowding and dramatic reality. The inner meaning of the theme has been lost. It appears that an engraving of a Renaissance composition has here been used with certain modifications.

The colours of these paintings are badly flaking off, a weakness which hardly ever appears with true Byzantine monumental frescoes. This points to a technical defect, either in the preparation of the lime-plaster of the walls, or in the application of the colours.

The wood-carved and gilded *iconostasis* is contemporary with the church, re-gilded in 1783. At the top of each of the two corner posts is carved a crowned double-headed eagle, painted black and bearing a red band on its breast. In the centre of the uppermost epistyle, is carved a *winged lion passant, in the dexter paw a sword*.

Most of the contemporary icons, also of the Italo-Byzantine style, have been removed for cleaning and preservation.



49. A group of figures attending the Crucifixion (detail), 1502, Italo-Byzantine style, church of Panagia Podithou, Galata.

**10. The Church of Agia Paraskevi**, on the old road between Kakopetria and Galata, was originally a cemetery chapel. It is of the same simple type with the steep-pitched roof of these mountains, but with a strange small compartment in the north-east corner.

It has some paintings in the *bema*: the Virgin Mary *Orans* attended by the Archangels in the conch of the apse; the prelates Epiphanius (upper part destroyed), Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory the Theologian and Spyridon, in the bottom zone of the apse; the remnants of the Ascension in the top of the pediment above the apse; the Descent of the Holy Spirit round the conch, below the above; the remnants of a saint on the left of the apse, and St. Stephen the first martyr on the right of the apse.

In the dividing border between the Virgin Mary and the prelates, there are the remnants of an inscription to the glory of the Mother of God ending with the signature of Simeon Axenti and the date 1514, the same artist who painted the churches of St. Sozomenus and the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, in the same village. The poor quality of the paintings suggests that Symeon Axenti used one of his pupils to do the limited work in this church. The sleeves of the *sakkos* of St. Chrysostom have been forgotten!

The Virgin Mary appears to have been repainted in the seventeenth century. This is suggested by the added inscription, "Supplication of the servant of God John the priest, his wife and children", and by the doll-like features of the Virgin Mary, due to the repainting.



This old village lies about two miles to the north of Galata, hidden away in the green foothills of the Troodos range of mountains.

**11. The Church of Sts. Joachim and Anna.** In its present form, this village church follows the simple mountain architecture, with the wooden steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, a predominating feature of the churches in these mountains.

The structure of the north wall of the church, however, suggests an original building of the vaulted type with arched recesses in the side walls, similar to the well known painted church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, a type that could also bear a dome over its centre. This original church must have collapsed sometime in the fourteenth century, excepting the north wall and possibly the apse. The villagers retained the remnants and reconstructed the church in the mountain style of the period. During the early part of the present century, the church underwent extensions to the south and the west, when two windows were also opened in the north wall, damaging some of the few remaining wall-paintings.

A wall-painting of the Forty Martyrs in the north-west arched recess (fig. 50) is reminiscent of the same subject in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, where it is also depicted in the same position (dated 1105/6). In composition and iconography, it is a variant between the said painting and another contemporary one in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof above Kakopetria. In this context, the original church must have been erected at the beginning of the twelfth century. Some remnants of the Birth of the Virgin Mary of the early twelfth century have recently been discovered by the Department of Antiquities, in the north-east recess inside the *bema*.

The rest of the surviving mural paintings in the north central recess belong to the time of the reconstruction of the church, although most of them appear to have been repainted later. Especially fine are the remains of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple on the wall of the recess, and the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, in the west reveal of the arch round it.

An interesting additional decoration of the church are the eighteen panels in the central beam of the ceiling, bearing painted coats of arms of the Lusignan period of the fourteenth century (fig. 51). The paint has peeled off in many cases, but we can discern the following coats of arms:

*Sable, a lion rampant argent.*

*Gules, a lion rampant queue fourchée argent.*

*Argent, a créquire gules, label of five points sable.*

*Sable, a créquire or.*

*Gules, two fishes haurient addorsed or.*

*Argent, a lion rampant sable.*



50. The Forty Martyrs, early 12th c., church of Sts. Joachim and Anna, Kaliana.

*Argent, three eagles displayed, 2 and 1 gules.*

The idea was probably borrowed by the local artists from the Western rulers of the period (see, the Royal chapel of St. Catherine, Pyrga), and were used here and elsewhere as decorative motifs, or in honour of the rulers who may have contributed towards the re-erection of the church.

The wood-carved and gilded *iconostasis* is a good example of seventeenth-century workmanship. A fifteenth-century icon of the Crucifixion in a rustic style, bears on the reverse a seventeenth-century painting of the Mother of God, inscribed “Kalionitissa” (of Kaliana); around its border are painted eighteen miniature scenes, thirteen of them composing a narrative cycle of the apocryphal story of Sts. Joachim and Anna and the Birth of the Virgin Mary (see, the church of Panagia Podithou, Galata), and five of them depicting scenes concerning the infancy of Christ.

The wood-carved and gilded *proskynetarion* (icon-stand at the west end of the church), is worth noticing. It is dated 1872, and it combines various styles and influences, interpreted in a local style.



51. Lusignan coats of arms on the apex beam of the ceiling. 14th c., church of Sts. Joachim and Anna, Kaliana. (From a painting by A. S.).

## VII. VIZAKIA

This small village is best reached by branching off to the south, a few miles after Astromeritis on the main Nicosia-Troodos road.

**12. The Church of the Archangel Michael.** This is a small church of the steep-pitched-roof type with flat tiles, common to the village churches of the Troodos range of mountains. It has a small narthex at the west end, open on the south.

The south and west wall of the nave retain one of the most interesting series of paintings of the sixteenth century in the island. They are of an extremely rustic character, imbued with Venetian iconographical elements. It is popular art par excellence: simple, two-dimensional, distorted, naive, and, through all these qualities, highly expressive. Modern emulators of the naive style would be impressed.

We note for example the extraordinary character of the deformed and yet highly expressive ox and ass adoring young Christ in the Birth composition. Look at the shepherd talking to Joseph in the same painting (fig. 52); he could come straight out of the play "A Night in Venice".

In the Last Supper, six of the Apostles clumsily hold forks in their hands, a very rare luxury in Byzantine painting.

In the Betrayal, something has gone wrong with the garments of Judas, but the cluster of dwarfish soldiers with their Venetian swords and the array of spears in the background, look extremely formidable and arresting (fig. 53).

In the Crucifixion the expressive distortion is at its height (fig. 54). Furthermore, the local artist here "grafted" a Venetian noble youth with his sheathed sword at his side, as the soldier who speared Christ's right side (fig. 55); he hardly holds the spear.

In his composition of the Deposition he combines several elements from the history of the theme, including the awkward posture of Christ's head in the hands of His mother, as we meet it in certain fourteenth-century paintings in the Macedonian region.

The same elements are applied to his individual saints. St. Mamas riding his formidable lion stands out.

His technique is as simple and expressive as his iconography. The outlines of the facial features are in red and black; the *proplasmos* is ochre over which are applied thick white, rosy, or silvery flesh-tones, leaving the ochre to show through as shading.

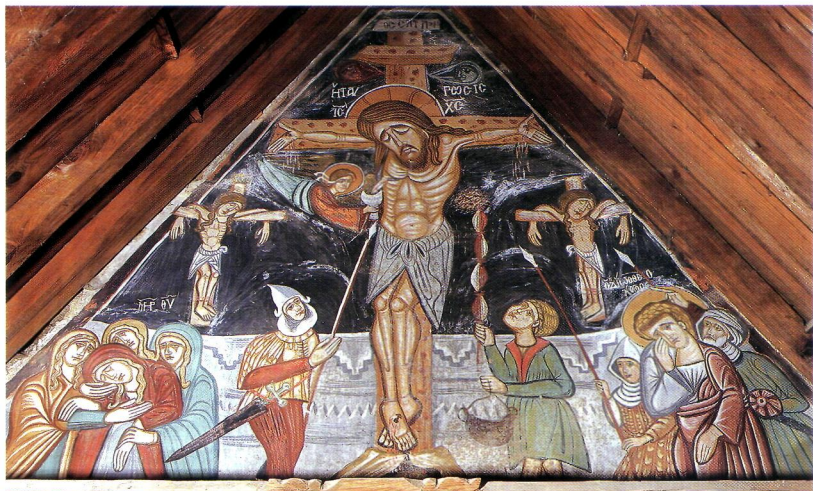
The full list of the surviving paintings: *south wall, top zone*: the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus; *lower zone*: Peter and Paul (left of door), St. George mounted, killing the dragon (right of door), St. Mamas riding his lion, and a standing soldier Saint (half damaged). *West wall, pediment*: the Crucifixion; *second zone*: the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Betrayal, the Deposition; *bottom zone*: Sts. Constantine and Helena.



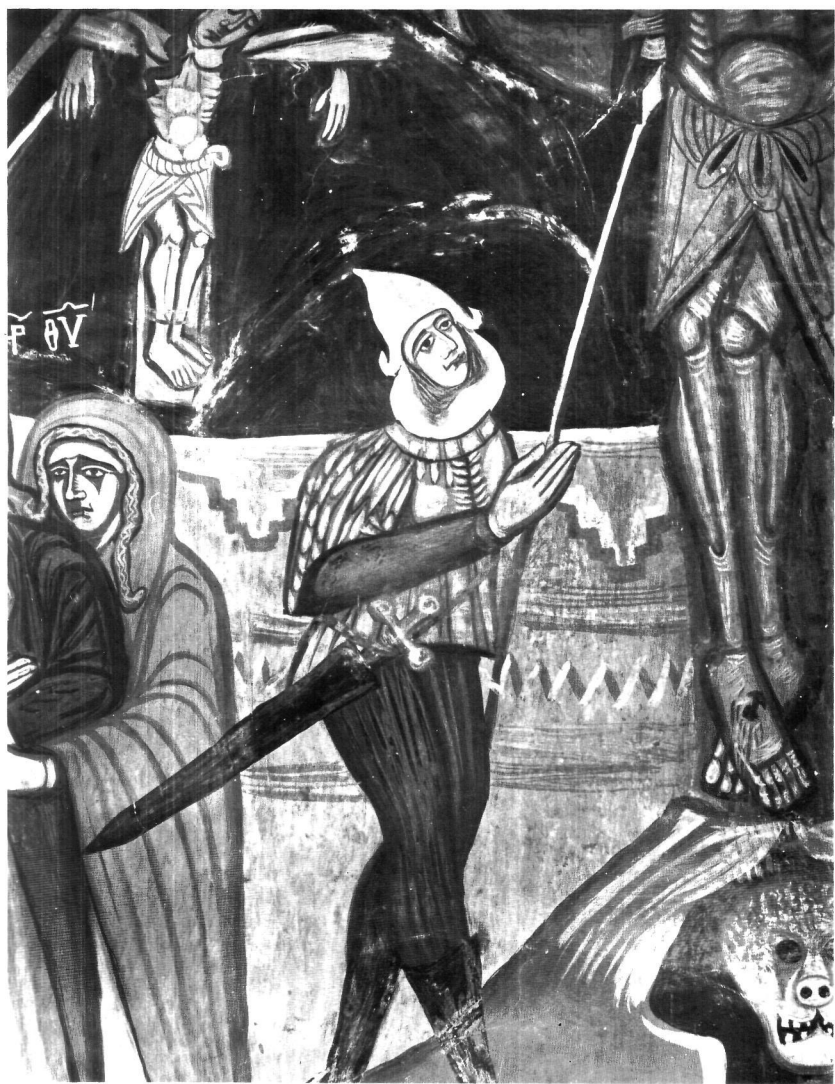
52. Shepherd talking to Joseph, detail from the Birth of Christ, naive style, 16th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Vizakia.



53. *The Betrayal*, naive style, 16th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Vizakia.



54. *The Crucifixion*, naive style, 16th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Vizakia.



55. *The spearing of Christ, detail from the Crucifixion, naive style, 16th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Vizakia.*

This village is best reached via Vizakia, by branching off to the south, a few miles after Astromeritis, on the main Nicosia-Troodos road.

**13. The Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, or Panagia tis Asinou.** This famous church lies about three miles to the south of the village, in the pine-clad foot-hills of the Troodos range of mountains (fig. 56). The popular appellation Asinou is the corrupted form of Asine, the name of an ancient city founded by a group of emigrants from the homonymous city of Argolis in Greece, in the eleventh century B.C., which flourished here until medieval times when it was only a village. Some Venetian maps mark it in the corrupted form of Asimi.

The church belonged to the disused monastery "of the Phorbia", which flourished here at least until the seventeenth century. The appellations "Phorbiotissa" and "of the Phorbia", derive from the wild plant *ephorbium* (milkwort), self-growing in the island in about thirty species. Others believe the name to derive from *phorbe*, pasture. Appellations of the Mother of God deriving from plants are very common in Cyprus.

The church dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, and is a rectangular vaulted building with arched recesses in the side walls and transverse arches supporting the vault. The original piers with the transverse arches were strengthened with additions at a later date. The apse of the church was also reinforced with additions at a later date. A narthex, with a drumless dome and apsidal north and south ends, was added at the west end at about the end of the twelfth century. The whole structure is covered with a second steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, which appears in the model of the church in the donor composition, and therefore is original.

The interior of the church is completely painted in the Byzantine manner, the paintings being of various dates from the early twelfth century onwards. (These were cleaned and preserved between 1965 and 1967 by the Dumbarton Oaks Centre for Byzantine studies of Harvard University, in co-operation with the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. E. Hawkins and D. Winfield directed the operations).

We know very little about the history of the monastery and the church, excepting what we can glean from the dedicatory inscriptions of the church. Over the south entrance of the nave, we have the interesting painting of the donor with an accompanying inscription recording the erection of the church (fig. 57): "Having been blessed in life with many things of which thou, oh! Virgin, wast seen to be the provider, I, Nicephorus *Magistros*, a pitiful suppliant, erected this church with longing, in return for which I pray that I may find thee my patron in the terrible day of Judgement".

Nicephorus *Magistros* is seen presenting a model of the church to Christ with the Virgin Mary as intercessor. This model of the church, without the





56. The church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

later narthex, shows the building covered with a second timber steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, suggesting that this kind of roofing was indigenous in these mountains before the Latin occupation of the island in 1191. The title of *Magistros* borne by the founder denotes that he was a judge or a taxation officer. Christ is enthroned on the left side, surrounded by a host of angels. The whole composition is reminiscent of the etiquette of the Byzantine court. The rich apparel of Nicephorus gives us an idea of what a high court official of those days should wear: a long tunic of rich material adorned with an embroidered hem and precious stones; a beautiful cloak of the rich material known as the *scaramangion* from which were usually made the garments of Emperors and the court officials in general; pointed footwear of soft leather. He has a beard. A deceased woman, depicted behind him, is dressed in the



57. The donor Nicephorus **Magistros** presenting a model of the church to Christ through the Virgin Mary, 1105/6, repainted in the third quarter of the 14th c., church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

same manner, but her tunic reaches down to the ground, and she wears a diadem richly adorned with precious stones. According to the accompanying inscription, her name was Yephyra and she died on the fifteenth of December, 1099. Her connection with the founder is not mentioned. We must mention that this painting was faithfully repainted during the redecoration of the central bay of the nave (see below).

The above dedicatory inscription does not mention the date of the erection of the church. Another inscription, below the painting of Sts. Constantine and Helena in the south-west recess, records that "The church of the Holy Mother of God was painted through the donation and great desire of Nicephorus *Magistros* the Strong, when Alexius Comnenus was Emperor, in the year 6614, indiction 14". This date from Adam corresponds to the year 1105/6 A.D.. The church, therefore, must have been erected between the years 1099 and 1105/6.

From this second inscription we learn that the founder was also nicknamed "the Strong", an appellation most probably given to him by the people for his power and severeness as a judge, or taxation officer. Neither of the inscriptions mention a monastery, or the appellations "of the Phorbia" and "Phorbiotissa". These are mentioned in later inscriptions. We presume that the church was originally erected by Nicephorus as a family chapel on his estate at Asinou. From information from other sources, we gather that Nicephorus retired to his estate soon after the erection of the church, turned it into a Monastic establishment and died there as monk Nicholaos in 1115.

**Of the original decoration of the church of 1105/6**, about two thirds survive today: those in the west bay of the nave, most of those in the *bema*, and a few others.

The Communion of the Apostles in the centre of the apse, is one of the most interesting compositions of this early series of paintings. The group on the right, in which Christ administers the wine to six of the Apostles, is the best preserved (fig. 58). Young John approaches the golden chalice in the hands of Christ first. This is interesting, for in most representations of the theme his place is taken by Paul, and John is moved into the background. We mention that Paul takes his place anachronistically as one of the Twelve, in most of the Gospel scenes. Christ's expression, as He stares at the departing Judas, on the extreme right, is very eloquent. The elegant figures of the Apostles, with their differentiated postures and rhythmic grouping, reminiscent of friezes in low relief, reflect the style of the capital at this time.

A fragmentary supplicatory inscription, in the dividing border above the Communion, ends with the name of the founder Nicephorus *Magistros* the Strong.

In contrast to the Communion, the six Fathers of the Church, depicted below, are shown in rigid frontality with closed books in their hands, and not converging in officiating postures towards the centre of the apse, as in later representations of the theme. They are: Dionysius the Areopagite, so called from a wrong identification with his namesake who was converted by St.



58. "Drink ye all of it", part of the Communion of the Apostles, the Liturgical interpretation of the Last Supper; the prelates Chrysostom, Nicholas, Ignatius Theophorus (detail); 1105/6, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

Paul's speech on the Areopagus (Mars' hill), near the Acropolis in Athens (Acts XVII, 34); Gregory, Basil, Chrysostom, Nicholas and Ignatius Theophorus (Bearer of God). They wear plain *phelonia*, excepting St. Chrysostom, who wears a *polystavrion phelonion* (covered with crosses), and holds a liturgical cross in his right hand. Between them, in the centre, are depicted Sts. Barnabas and Epiphanius in a panel imitating a portable icon, a place of honour for these celebrated Cypriote prelates, the first one claimed to be the founder of the Church of Cyprus.

The recently uncovered Annunciation from under later additions, on either side of the apse, is also interesting. The angel wears sandals and holds a red wand of authority, ending in a fleur-de-lis of precious stones. In this context, the iris flower is not a sign of the later Latin period, just because it was used in Western heraldry. The Virgin Mary is shown enthroned on the right, with a spindle and scarlet wool in her hands; a small tray with red wool lies by her side. According to tradition, she was preparing a veil for the Temple.

In the lunette of the north-east recess (inside the *bema*), is painted the Birth of the Virgin Mary. There is an atmosphere of homely love, satisfaction and peace, as St. Joachim looks from an upper window on to the scene below, where his wife Anna is seated in bed with two maids approaching with food, while his daughter is having her first bath near by. The iconography derives from similar scenes in pagan art, an excellent example in Cyprus being the 5th-century mosaic pavement composition of the Birth of Achilles in the "palace" under excavation at Kato Paphos (Nea Paphos, see Introduction).

Four busts of prelates on medallions are painted in the soffit of the arch round the same recess (names destroyed); the last one on the right can be identified as St. Spyridon from his basket cap. On the left reveal of the same arch is depicted St. Tychicus, while in the spandrels formed on either side above the arch, we have a prelate, a cross and St. Lazarus on medallions. Below the Birth of the Virgin Mary are painted St. Romanus Melodus (hymn-writer), and other damaged saints.

The same scheme is followed in the corresponding south-east recess. In the lunette is painted the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, accompanied by her parents and the seven daughters of the Hebrews carrying lighted candles. In the soffit of the arch round the recess, there are four busts of prelates on medallions, and on the right reveal, St. James the Lord's brother. Above the arch, a cross, St. Tychon, and another prelate, appear on medallions. Below the Presentation stand St. Gregory of Nyssa and a deacon.

In the niche of *prothesis* there is a bust of St. John the Almoner in prelate's vestments, an unusual subject for this part of the church where the Holy Sacraments are prepared; but the representations of the *Thesia* had not yet been developed (see Agia Solomoni, Paphos). In the niche of the *diaconikon* is painted St. Tryfillius, also in prelate's vestments.

Beside the above niches, on either side of the apse, is painted the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, the former on the left and the latter on the right, unusual but appropriate positions for this earliest surviving representation of the theme in Cyprus, where it later became very popular, but depicted in other parts of the churches. There is a wild look in the face of St. Mary with pronounced chin and nose, and unkempt hair falling on to her nape (fig. 59). Her features betray the remnants of beauty after long fasting and isolation. The monk Zosimus faces St. Mary from the opposite side, with the chalice and Communion spoon in his hands, ready to administer the Holy Sacraments to her.

The life of St. Mary of Egypt was the subject of elaborate legends in the East and in the West. After a loose life in Alexandria, Mary was converted at



59. *St. Mary of Egypt (detail), 1105/6, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.*

the Holy Sepulchre on the feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and retired to the desert beyond the Jordan, where she lived in complete isolation for forty-seven years. She was then accidentally discovered by the monk Zosimus, who gave her his mantle to cover her nudity, and she recounted her story to him. At her request, he met her next year at the bank of the river Jordan and gave her Communion; a year later he found her dead at the same spot and buried her with the help of a lion.

The fragmentary Ascension, in the vault over the Sanctuary, also belongs to this early series of paintings. (The paintings in the conch of the apse and in the spandrels on either side are of a later date, and we shall speak of them later).

Moving to the west bay of the nave for the rest of the early series of paintings, we face the Dormition of the Virgin Mary above the west door. This is one of the finest representations of the theme of the mid-Byzantine period. The theme appears in Byzantine art after the ninth century and is based on the apocryphal accounts. In literature and art, this is one of the most poetical creations of the Byzantines. Above the rigid body of the Virgin Mary lying in bed, stands the erect figure of Christ holding the soul of His mother in His hands as a swaddled babe. At the head of the bier, Peter swings a censer and wipes a tear with his fingers. St. Paul weeps by the feet (fig. 61), while St. John bends over the body in grief, lifting the end of his *himation* to his eyes. The rest of the Apostles, with controlled gestures and expressions, are grouped at either end. The sorrowful women friends of the Virgin Mary look down from the upper galleries of the buildings. We note that the women are separated from the men, and also that the face of Christ betrays no worldly emotion, in contrast to the rest of the mourners. Two prelates are also included among the attendants on the right. In later representations of the theme, the Apostles are usually depicted arriving in clouds from the uttermost parts of the world through the power of the Holy Ghost, in order to be present at the death-bed of the mother of their Master, according to the apocryphal accounts. Those who were dead were enabled to rise temporarily for the great occasion.

In the lunette above the Dormition are painted the Triumphant Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the Last Supper. In the latter, the feast is taking place around a semi-circular table. Christ and St. Peter are occupying the seats of honour at either end, according to the customs of the Hellenistic banquets at similar tables, on which the composition is based. In front of Christ there are a whole loaf of bread, a drinking cup, a silver fork and a small knife. In front of Peter there are a piece of bread, a cup, and a small knife. Before each of the rest of the Apostles there is only a piece of bread. In the middle of the table stands a bowl with a large fish, the early Christian symbol of Christ. Christ extends His right hand in blessing with a severe expression on his face. At the same time Judas extends his hand across the table; his face is depicted in profile, as usual in Byzantine art, to stress his weak character and harsh features. The picture is conceived at the moment when Christ announces that one of them is about to betray Him; hence the agitation in the postures and

expressions of the Apostles.

The Descent of the Holy Spirit covering the centre of the west vault is fragmentary, but the Raising of Lazarus and the Washing of the Feet, on either side, are better preserved.

In the Raising of Lazarus (south), we note the determination in Christ's posture, as he commands Lazarus to come forth. The rich death-mantle of Lazarus reflects the influence of the customs of the upper classes of Byzantium on Byzantine art.

The north-west recess is filled with the interesting painting of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (fig. 60). A group of men with pained expressions and wounds on their bodies, are huddled in a frozen pond, with baths of hot water on its banks to tempt them. They wear their under-pants which are differentiated in length. In the foreground, a young martyr has fainted and he is supported by two others. They were soldiers who were thus martyred at Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, in early Christian times. Above their heads, there are thirty-eight crowns descending from heaven. In the centre of the arch above them is represented Christ on a medallion with a crown in each of His extended hands. According to the pious story, one of them gave up on the last day and went into the hot bath, here represented in the right-hand side of the soffit of the arch. His place was taken by the heathen soldier who was converted and is here represented in the left-hand side of the soffit of the arch. We mention that the Forty Martyrs were the patron Saints of the upper classes of the imperial forces. They represent the spirit of comradeship in the face of danger.

In the lunette of the south-west recess are painted Sts. Constantine and Helena dressed in imperial garments and holding the Holy Cross between them. This is a symbolical interpretation of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, through which Christianity was firmly established (see, the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, Platanistasa).

Below the above are depicted three monastic saints: Theodosius, Arsenius, and Ephrem Syrus. In the soffit of the arch round the recess, are busts of martyrs on medallions: Sergius and Bacchus on the left, and Florus and Laurus on the right, with a jewelled cross-monogram in the centre. Below Bacchus is the figure of St. Thecla. The dedicatory inscription concerning the painting of the church in 1105/6 — on the border line between Constantine and Helena and the saints just mentioned — has already been discussed.

On either side of the west door are painted the leading monastics, Andronicus, Hilarion, Cyriacus, Anthony, Euthymius, and Sabas.

There is now evidence that the Evangelists belonging to this original decoration were in the spandrels on either side of the central recess. Remains of two of them have been revealed in the west ones, when some later masonry was removed.

The only other paintings surviving from this first decoration are the four busts of martyrs in the soffits of the ventilators above the north and south entrances, which were blocked up at some period and were recently re-opened. They are Sts. Arethas and Artemius in the north one, and Sts. Cyrus and John in the south one.





60. The Forty Martyrs, 1105/6, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.



61. St. Paul, detail from the Dormition of the Mother of God, 1105/6, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

In conclusion we might say that this series of paintings, with their linear flat relief, reflect the more sophisticated style of Byzantine art of the Comnenian period. They are reminiscent of the miniature paintings in the MS Gospels executed for Alexius I Comnenus and John II Comnenus (now cod. Urb. Gr. 2, Vat. Lib.). Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) — whose name is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription — established his headquarters in Cyprus to face the political and military situations in the Near East, as they developed after the invasions of the Seljuks and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. We mention that the historic monastery of the Virgin Mary of



62. *St. Paul at Malta, 12th c., St. Anselm's chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England.*

Kykkos was founded under his auspices, when many artists and craftsmen must have come to the island to work. To these artists from Constantinople we must attribute this early series of paintings of the church of Asinou. These painters must have also worked elsewhere in Cyprus. The paintings of the church of the Virgin Mary at Trikomo are today attributed to the same artist who worked in Asinou. The contemporary paintings in the monastic church of the Holy Trinity of the monastery of St. Chrysostom, and the remnants of

the paintings in the cemetery chapel below it, are of the same quality. With this early Comnenian style, a point of departure of a line of development for the whole of the twelfth century is initiated, based on a revaluation of classical models into Byzantine formulae, with a wide orbit of influence extending beyond the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire.

Taking the figure of St. Paul at the death-bed of the Virgin Mary of Asinou as an example (fig. 61), and comparing it with the miniatures of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christ, MS 2, middle twelfth century), the mosaic figure of St. Paul blinded, Cappella Palatina, Palermo, and the mural painting of St. Paul and the viper at Malta (fig. 62), in St. Anselm's chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England (after the middle of the twelfth century), it has been observed (Demus), that Byzantine Metropolitan models of the Asinou kind were used in the West to enrich their as yet limited repertory of stylistic and iconographic means.

**The conch of the apse in the Sanctuary** suffered damage at some period and, having been repaired and strengthened with additions, it was repainted with the fine figure of the Mother of God Pantanassa, Orans (appears in fig. 65), which probably follows the iconography of the original painting of the early twelfth century. Its style and the joyful face of the Virgin suggest a date in the fourteenth century.

The Sacrifice of Isaac, in the spandrels on either side of the conch of the apse, was also painted at the same time.

**The central section of the nave** is covered with a series of paintings, which at first glance show a different style from what we have seen so far. This part of the church appears to have suffered damage at an early date, when it was strengthened with additional piers and transverse arches. The piers show two layers of paintings. The present series of paintings of this central bay present us with dating problems.

They fall within the fourteenth-fifteenth century revival, but in a rustic interpretation which makes a precise dating difficult. They have been variously dated to ca. 1350 (Buckler with others), to 1333 (with the dated series in the narthex, by Winfield) and to the second half of the fifteenth century (Stylianou). Two recently discovered rough graffiti on the east reveals of the north and south doors of the church, dated 1446 and 1450, suggest that the present paintings of this central bay should be dated before the first date.

Furthermore, it has now been established that the same painter worked in the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri. The paintings in that church are also undated, but through circumstantial evidence we are now able to date them in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, after 1353 (see Pelendri). In this context Buckler's dating appears to be nearest the truth.

Although these paintings bear some similarities to the series in the narthex dated 1333 (see below), there are enough fundamental differences and especially repetitions to support a later date in the 1350s. For comparison purposes we juxtapose the paintings of Isaiah from the two series (figs. 63, 64).

As the original Annunciation, on either side of the apse, was mostly covered by later additions (now removed), a new Annunciation was painted

on the west side of the additional transverse arch supporting the vault (fig. 65). The Ancient of Days, also inscribed Jesus Christ, is painted in the centre to provide a link. From His blessing hand emanates the Holy Spirit descending towards the Virgin Mary in the form of a dove. Should we see this as an unsuspected Western dogmatic infiltration of the *Filioque*? (See St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria). The Archangel Gabriel now wears jewelled boots and his wand ends in a stylized decorative motif. The Virgin Mary is not spinning the scarlet wool, but simply holds the spindle in her left hand. Under the arches of a flat-roofed building, on her left in the background, are depicted two large flower pots. The rest of the architectural background is more elaborate, bearing interesting lattice work of various forms, suggesting an influence of contemporary architecture.

In the soffit of the same arch, Kings David and Solomon sing to the Incarnation. On the west transverse arch facing the Annunciation, Moses before the Burning Bush and Ezekiel before his vision of the Virgin Mary as the closed Gate, support the theme with their own prophesies. In the centre is painted the Holy Handkerchief, and in the soffit of the arch are depicted the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah with tense features (fig. 63), uttering their own prophesies concerning the theme.

And then the Incarnation takes place and the life of Christ on earth begins. Eight scenes of the main Feasts of the Church cover the vault.

*The Birth of Christ* (starting from the south), follows the usual prescription with minor variations (fig. 66), excepting Joseph who is depicted crouching away in the bottom left-hand corner, an unbecoming posture pointing to degeneration and contrary to his usual posture showing him seated in deep thought.

The Presentation of Christ in the Temple follows the symmetrical type (fig. 66). The Virgin Mary approaches the Devout Symeon with Christ in her arms in a loving posture, followed by Joseph holding two doves in his hands as an offering to the Temple. Behind Symeon, on the right, prophetess Anna utters through her scroll: "This Child has made heaven and earth secure"

The Baptism of Christ shows Him in the conservative posture of earlier periods, moving towards the Baptist with his legs crossed to avoid an awkward posture of nakedness (fig. 66). But the devilish winged personification of the river Jordan in scarlet pants, is far removed from the earlier personifications in imitation of the Hellenistic river gods.

In the Transfiguration, the three witnessing Apostles are shown in the dramatic postures of the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods (fig. 66).

The Betrayal (north), shows Judas embracing Christ surrounded by soldiers, whose coats of mail and profile faces with pronounced noses and chins make them rigid, harsh and impressive. Judas is depicted in profile to stress his harsh features and bad character, as in the paintings of the early twelfth century, already described. No Jews are included in the scene. In the bottom left-hand corner, Peter has fallen on to Malchus and is severing his ear with a knife.



63. Prophet Isaiah, ca. in the third quarter of the 14th c., nave, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.



64. Prophet Isaiah, 1333, narthex, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.



65. *The Annunciation; Sts. Anna and Joachim, third quarter of the 14th c.; the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse, 14th c.; church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.*

In the *Via Crucis*, Simon of Cyrene leads the way erect under the Cross (fig. 67). A sturdy soldier pulls Christ with a rope tied round his hands. The successful projection in profile of the soldier's shield is reminiscent of earlier prototypes based on classical models. Christ wears a beautifully ornamented garment "without seam, woven from the top throughout". A group of soldiers depicted in profile follow. The absence of civilians is again noticeable.

The Crucifixion combines the conservative posture of Christ without any distortion and the dramatic posture of the Virgin Mary fainting in the arms of her two friends. This appears in Byzantine art as early as the twelfth century. John turns his back to the spectacle in pain, a late development in Byzantine art.

In the Entombment, the postures and expressions of sorrow of the attendants are reserved.

The cycle continues in the lunette of the north arched recess. The three Marys at the Empty Tomb, testifying to the Resurrection of Christ, shows them in a successful posture of surprise at the sight of the angel seated on a rock overlooking the sarcophagus with the grave-clothes.





66. The Birth, the Presentation, the Baptism, and the Transfiguration of Christ, third quarter of the 14th c., church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.



67. The *Via Crucis*, third quarter of the 14th c., church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

The *Anastasis* (Resurrection), otherwise the Descent of Christ into Hades, shows Christ standing on the gates of Hell with scattered locks and hinges, bending down to deliver Adam. Behind Adam stand Eve and their second son Abel, paradoxically inscribed as Cain (!), his elder brother who killed him. Such unforgivable errors do occur during the late and post-Byzantine periods, but it is surprising that the sponsors never checked them. The castle-like tombs from which the saints are rising are unusual.

The soffit of the arch round the recess is covered with eight busts of martyrs on medallions: Stephen, Vincent, Victor, Menas, Eustratius, Auxentius, Eugenius, Mardarius; between them, in the centre of the arch, is painted the monogram X on a +.

On the left of the north door is painted St. Nicholas, and on the right, St. Theodore Stratelatis (the General) and St. Theodore Tyron; the long tunics of these two soldier-saints betray the influence of Crusader art. The Byzantine military soldiers usually wear short Greek tunics.

The lunette of the south arched recess is filled with the donor-composition already discussed, which was repainted during the redecoration under discussion. The arch is again covered with eight busts of martyrs on medallions: Hermolaus, Panteleimon (Pantaleon), Damian, Cosmas, Thaleleus, Gourias, Samonas, Avivus; between them is depicted the monogram X on a +.

On the left of the south door is painted the Mother of God seated on a royal throne, holding the exalted Child Christ before her, attended by the two Archangels. On the right of the same door we have the standing St. George.

Standing in the middle of the church and looking towards the sanctuary, we face the Deesis, i.e. St. John the Baptist together with the Virgin Mary on the north-east pier (fig. 68), interceding for mankind through Christ the Almoner, depicted on the opposite side on the south-east pier. Above the Virgin Mary is painted her mother Anna, and above Christ, her father Joachim, an appropriate position between the Annunciation (above) and the Deesis (fig.65). The south side of the north-east pier has the figure of St. Helena in imperial garments, holding a globe and a cross in her hands; the position is unusual.



68. St. John Prodromos, the Virgin Mary (detail), third quarter of the 14th c., church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

Sts. Peter and Paul take their traditional positions opposite each other on the west piers (earlier paintings of the same subjects are showing through damaged patches). Their tense features are a survival of earlier mannerisms of the twelfth century. Above Peter (south), is painted the martyr Memnon, and above Paul (north) the martyr Tryphon, both on medallions. On the east side of St. Peter's pier are painted St. Eustathius in *chiton and chlamys* (below), and the young martyr St. Kirykos (above). The latter's mother St. Ioulitta, is painted in the corresponding place on the opposite pier of St. Paul.

Rather rustic in execution and strong in colouring, conservative in iconography with minor Western infiltrations and points of degeneration, these paintings fall within the Palaeologue period, the style here interpreted in a popular spirit.

**Entering the narthex** at the west end of the church, we face the Last Judgement in the upper zones of the building, and a host of saints and donors in the lower parts. Excepting three paintings in the south apse about which we shall speak later, the rest appear to belong to the year 6841 from Adam, i.e. 1332/3 A.D., according to an inscription on the lintel over the door leading from the narthex into the nave (the date appears in fig. 69).

In the shallow niche above the inscription is painted the bust of the Mother of God of the Blachernitissa type, but bearing the unusual appellation *Phorbiotissa*, mentioned here for the first time. On the left of this painting, we have a donor, the priest-monk Barnabas. On the opposite side are depicted two hounds tied to a stake and two moufflon in the hilly background, a very unusual representation the meaning of which is puzzling (fig. 69). Hunting the moufflon was the great sport of the upper classes during the Byzantine and Lusignan periods. We mention that the foundation of the monastery of the Mother of God of Kykkos in the early twelfth century, is connected with the hunting of the moufflon by the Duke-Governor of the island Manuel Butumites. The representation of dogs in an Orthodox church, however, is irregular and it must be seen as a Western influence. In the soffit of the arch round this lunette are depicted the prophets Isaiah (fig. 64) and Zechariah, and below them two monks in supplication.

The Last Judgement starts with Christ the Judge in the drumless cupola, surrounded by His angels on medallions, with the Virgin Mary between them on the east. The twelve Apostles take their places in groups of three on the four triangular pendentives supporting the dome, ready to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. In the north narrow arch supporting the dome we have the Choirs of the Saints, divided into groups of prophets, prelates, holy men and martyrs. In the south arch are depicted the sinners in Hell divided into their own groups. In the east side of the soffit are mentioned "the faithless monk and the corruptress of children; the usurer and falsifier of the balances, the faithless nun; the thief, the gossiper; the changer of landmarks, the dishonest miller"; they depict naked figures of men and women hanging over fires and tortured by snakes. In the west side of the soffit are groups of sinners huddled together in different parts of Hell, inscribed as "the worm that dieth not, the gnashing of the teeth, tartarus, and the outer darkness". The theme is reminis-



69. Two dogs tied to a stake and two moufflon in the background; on the left, the date 6841 from Adam (1332-3 A.D.), narthex, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.

cent of the *Kolazomenoi* of Greek mythology.

In the narrow arch of the west lunette over the door, two angels roll up the Heavens in the form of a scroll, and another one trumpets the Last Judgment; on the right are depicted the scales of Justice hanging from the heavens and attended by the Archangel Michael; two devils are trying to falsify the scales in their favour. In the lunette itself are depicted the Preparation of the

Throne with Adam and Eve kneeling on the left, groups of the Just in clouds, and the river of fire pouring into hell on the right, where the personification of Hell is seated on a monster.

The Last Judgement then extends into the semi-dome of the north apse with the personifications of the Land and the Sea, the former riding on a lion and the latter on a sea monster. Below them, St. Peter with key in hand leads the Just to Paradise. Inside Paradise are already depicted the Good Thief and the Mother of God between Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, holding the souls of the Just in their laps.

The multi-scene composition has here been carefully split up and successfully adapted to a domed construction, a task which started in Cyprus as early as the twelfth century (see, St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria). There is a symmetrical arrangement of the scenes, emanating from the dome and following its transition to the various parts of the narthex below, from heavens to earth. The only discordance to the symmetry is the positioning of the Preparation of the Throne, the river of fire pouring into Hell and the other relevant scenes, in the west lunette instead of in the south apse which is to the left of Christ the Judge in the dome. The depiction of the Preparation of the Throne over the west entrance appears to be traditional. We meet it in this position in many churches of western Crete.

The Last Judgement was already introduced in early Byzantine times —going back to the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustis, composed in Alexandria between 536-547— but, in its present narrative form, it is a development of the ninth century, mainly based on the apocalypse of Paul, an apocryphal work of the late fourth century. Although the Church never accepted these works officially, they were nevertheless imposed on it in pictorial form by the monks and the populace. We mention that St. Epiphanius of Cyprus calls the apocalypse of Paul “a forged book full of unspeakable matter”, and St. Augustine says it is “full of fables”. The sins for which the condemned are classified in hell, were common bad habits which the clergy tried to cure through the symbolic language of art. Sometimes the punishable sins were supplemented by the artists and the sponsors to meet local requirements; thus here we meet “the dishonest miller” (flour mills worked by water abounded in the next valley of Solea), and in Crete we meet “the thief of animals”, in the church of Panagia Kera, Kritsa, 14th century, where he is shown with a goat over his shoulders.

The lowest zone of the narthex is covered with a host of saints and portraits of donors. Starting from the south-west corner (outside the south apse), and working right round the narthex until the first painting inside the south apse, we meet the following figures: the worshipping monks Kallinikos (above) and Basil (below); St. Irene the daughter of St. Spyridon, a local saint rarely painted: St. Demetrius; St. Anna with a portrait of the donor Anna wearing fine local garments, a long white gown with embroidered cuffs and neck, a wimple of local striped material, and a long black cloak-like veil tied across her bosom with a red cord; Sts. Timothy and Maura, husband and wife; St. Paraskevi; St. Eudokia; the worshipping monk Vavilas; St. Marina; Sts. Cosmas and Damian, doctor saints attending patients without fees (anargyri), holding a surgical instrument and a box with medicines; the Archangel Michael and the worshipping monk Leontius; the worshipping monk Laurentius; St. Sozomenus; St. John of Damascus; the Mother of God (left of door), Christ the Almoner and St. John the Baptist (right of door), composing the *Deesis*, on either side of the entrance from the narthex into the nave, a subject which is repeated in a different order and with iconographic variations on either side of the *iconostasis*



70. *St. George mounted (detail), 12th-13th c., narthex, church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, near Nikitari.*

before the Sanctuary, already noted; St. George Machairomenos (knifed), a local saint rarely depicted; the worshipping donor George; and St. Mamas riding on a lion (inside the south apse; about this last saint, see the church of St. Mamas, Louvaras).

Although we are here well into the fourteenth century, these paintings show little signs of the Palaeologue style, but they cling mostly to the style of the late Comnenian period, as it became localized after the occupation of the island by the Crusaders.

**There remain now to be seen** three outstanding paintings in the south apse of the narthex: St. George mounted at the bottom, St. Anastasia on the right, and the Mother of God with donors in the conch.

**St. George presents us with dating problems.** The painting has variably been dated in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The original door through the apse was closed to find space for his painting (fig. 70). The Saint is depicted galloping his white horse in a conventional hilly landscape. He rides from right to left, a reversed posture resulting in a left-handed saint holding his spear with his left hand and his shield with his right. His scarlet cloak waves behind him against a deep blue background. His face is turned to the spectator in an iconic manner. Imitation enamel work, appearing at his elbow and at the end of his short tunic, suggests that the artist was copying a portable icon. Traces of gold leaf worked into his chain mail also point in the same direction and to a rich donor. An accompanying inscription tells us

about the donor and the nature of his donation.

“A tamer of horses, Nicephorus the pious, moved by warm, heart-felt desire, with like feeling painted the icon of the very greatest of martyrs, George, with reverence in this monastery of the Phorbia, longing to find as helpers at the Judgement, that most brilliant, crowned martyr and the prayers of those dwelling here; prayer of Nicephorus son of Kallias”.

The occupation of Nicephorus as a tamer of horses, suggests that horses were bred extensively in the island. The horses of Cyprus were famous in the Middle Ages. We mention the “Cyprian bay” which Richard Coeur de Lion of England acquired in Cyprus as spoil from the defeated Isaac Comnenus, which he proudly used in his campaigns, as mentioned by the chroniclers.

From the inscription we also learn that the monastery was known as “ton Phorbion” (of the Phorbia), about the meaning of which we have already spoken.

The most interesting part of this painting, however, is the shield of St. George, which is blazoned with the emblem of the cross inside a crescent, the field interspersed with stars. What additional message did the artist want to convey to us with this rare iconographic motif on the shield of a soldier-saint? In this form and context, the emblem embodies 2000 years of evolution. It combines the emblem of the crescent of classical Byzantium with the emblem of the cross of Christian Byzantium-Constantinople, as it had developed by the time of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, when it appears on some Byzantine *folles*, a coinage circulating among the common people at the time when the Western Crusading spirit was being born. The Western Crusaders, with their shields emblazoned with their family coats of arms or the arms of the Orders they served, were soon to demolish the Byzantine Empire while on their way to Jerusalem. The Byzantine painters reacted in their own way. In many churches, in Greece and in Crete, we find the classical Greek emblem of the crescent and star on the shield of St. George, in reaction to the invaders. In Asinou in Cyprus, the painter used the Greco-Christian emblem to react against the intruders. St. George is defined here as a Byzantine Crusader, in opposition to the Crusader conquerors of the island and their heraldic devices, including the red cross on the shield of their St. George.

In this context, a date in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries could now be accepted for this controversial figure of St. George, especially now that a similar emblem has been found on the shield of St. Demetrius of ca. the end of the twelfth century, in the church of St. Anthony at Kellia.

**St. Anastasia the Poison Curer**, on the right of St. George, was painted by the same artist who painted the Mother of God in the conch of the main apse of the church, in the fourteenth century. She holds a cross in her right hand and a white bottle of medicine in her left (fig. 71). Her posture and the expression of her face radiate calmness, self-confidence and trust, the expected attributes of a doctor. The donor Anastasia Saramalina, depicted beside her on a smaller scale according to Byzantine customs, wears the garments of a lady of the upper classes of the period. Her unusual silk head-dress is of a Western type.





**The Mother of God enthroned** with the Child Christ, with three kneeling donors worshipping on either side, in the conch of the apse, present us with an interesting combination of Byzantine and Crusader elements. The bodies of the figures are out of proportion to the legs, betraying a weakness in the adaptation of the composition in the curved surface of the apse. The mannerisms of the Virgin Mary and the flying end of her *maphorion* betray Western Crusader influence.

The woman donor (left) wears a scarlet gown with a low-cut V-shaped neck, a fashion introduced into the island from the West about the middle of the fourteenth century and widely adopted towards the end of it. She also wears a black cloak-like veil falling from the back of the head down to the feet, a type of garment introduced into the island by the refugees from Syria, after the fall of Acre in 1291. On the opposite side, the male donor is dressed in short scarlet tunic and hose, which appears to be a Western apparel. The son is similarly dressed.

**Some late paintings** in the church itself remain to be noted. These are St. Symeon Stylites and St. Onoufrius, on the east face of the north-west added pier, and St. Nicephorus, next to Onoufrius on the reveal of the arch round the recess. Their style suggests a sixteenth-seventeenth-century date.

**Jesus Christ Emmanuel inside a chalice**, now inserted in a small niche in the south recess in the *bema*, was originally on the added buttressing pier by the *prothesis* (buttress now removed). The painting is almost a sketch. Christ is squinting. On either side of the chalice are written several names of prelates, priests, monks and secular people for commemoration by the priest during the Holy Service. For our purpose, the most important of the inscribed names are those of Archbishop Christodoulos (ca. 1609-1631), and Bishop Macarios of Solea (ca. 1618), which suggest a date in the first half of the seventeenth century for this painting.

## IX. KOURDALI

If we continue the drive from the church of Asinou southwards into the wooded hills, we arrive at the hamlet of Kourdali, which grew up around a disused monastery. The hamlet is best reached via Kakopetria-Spilia.

**14. The Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary.** It lies on the road through the village on the other side of a winter torrent, spanned by a Venetian-type bridge near the church (fig. 72). It is a three-aisled basilica with a steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, the aisles divided from the nave by wooden



72. *The church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourdali.*

arcades. The original painted arcades were removed during a restoration in 1921, excepting the portions inside the *bema*, but they were restored to their original form by the Antiquities Department in 1969.

The church retains a considerable number of paintings of the early sixteenth century, mostly on the west wall and in the *bema*. They are of an Italo-Byzantine style and iconography, but with the two component factors rather unassimilated. They are of a different school than those in the churches of Panagia Podithou near Galata, and in the "Latin chapel" attached to the monastic church of St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis.

At the bottom of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, on the right of the west door, are depicted two kneeling couples holding a model of the church between them (their heads are damaged). An inscription with the couple on the left, records the "supplication of the servant of God, deacon Kourdalis and of his wife and children, the founders of this monastery". It is thus evident that the church originally belonged to a monastery, that the hamlet grew up round it afterwards and acquired the name of the founder of the monastery. The couple kneeling on the right are named "priest Leon and his wife".

While the large Crucifixion in the west pediment is completely Italian in style and iconography, the rest of the paintings have retained some Byzantine character, although the facial features are usually un-Byzantine with pointed noses.

In the Crucifixion, the tall Cross of Christ towers above the walls of Jerusalem, with square towers in the background. There is some distortion in the posture of Christ. The two thieves, tied to their crosses at a lower level than Christ, are both bearded, the bad thief looking away from Christ. The spectators are symmetrically arranged on either side, leaving the Cross of Christ to show at its full length. Mounted soldiers, with spears in their hands, ride on bay and white horses in the background, while foot-soldiers are grouped in the foreground, on both sides. Among the mounted soldiers on the right, we discern the haloed Good Centurion riding a white horse (in Byzantine art he is always standing).

One of the mounted soldiers on the left spears the right side of Christ, while a group of angels rush to the wound, directing the crowned personification of the Church, who is seen extending a cup to collect the blood and water issuing therefrom. On the opposite side, another group of angels usher away the personification of the Synagogue. In the foreground of the left-hand corner, the Virgin Mary collapses in the arms of her friends, but her face is still turned towards her Son. The iconography of this group — as compared with that in the Crucifixion in the church of Panagia Podithou — has now departed completely from the Byzantine rules. The Virgin Mary now wears a gown with a low-cut neck leaving the top of her bosom bare, a completely un-Byzantine feature. The same happens with her three friends. John stands near by, looking towards the women in a helpless condition, a posture far removed from his dignified posture of grief in the monumental art of the mid-Byzantine period, but nevertheless appearing from the fourteenth century onwards. In the foreground of the right-hand corner, a young man seated on the ground and

surrounded by seated and kneeling soldiers, displays three dice on his lap.

The rest of the surviving New Testament cycle, in two tiers on the west wall of the nave, starts with the Deposition of Christ. While Christ is lowered from the Cross by Joseph of Arimathaea standing on a ladder, the Virgin Mary lifts His right hand to her lips, while two of her friends look on, their heads still uncovered. On the right, kneeling Nicodemus extracts the nails from the feet of Christ. The Cross is no longer the tall Western type of the Crucifixion in the pediment. John stands near by with his right hand to his cheek. The walls are depicted in the background. Excepting the uncovered heads and the loose hair of the women, we are back to a Byzantine formula.

The same can be said about the Lamentation that follows. With the Cross and the ladder in the background between stylized Byzantine mountains, Christ lies on a sheet spread on a slab. The Virgin Mary mourns by the head, pulling at her hair with both hands, a dramatic feature appearing as early as the thirteenth century, as in the *trapeza* of the monastery of St. John in Patmos.

In the Resurrection that follows, Christ is seen stepping out of His tomb, a marble sarcophagus with groups of sleeping soldiers at either end, a Western formula adopted by the post-Byzantine artists. The earliest dated example in Cyprus is that depicted in the church of St. Sozomenus in Galata of 1513. As in that church, it is here also juxtaposed with the Byzantine *Anastasis*. The artist here adopted the formula showing Christ simultaneously delivering Adam and Eve from either side, although His head is turned to look at Adam, on the left. David who stands next to Adam turns his head to look at Solomon, but his eyes are theatrically turned towards the spectator. The personifications of Hades and Satan are depicted in the dark entrance of Hades, below the dislodged gates on which Christ stands. St. John the Baptist stands in the background with other people, on the same side as Adam, while another group of prophets and people are on the side of Eve, on the right.

In the painting of Doubting Thomas which follows, Christ is standing on the steps of a covered porch of a house with an open door at His back, an architectural frame of Western character. The scene takes place under the porch which is un-Byzantine. Christ pulls the right hand of recoiling Thomas, in a most dramatic and angry attitude.

In the painting of the Empty Tomb, the bare heads, the loose hair and the low-cut necks of the gowns of the women, and the examination of the grave-clothes by one of them, are all Western iconographic infiltrations. The features of the figures, especially of the women, with the upturned noses with a narrow ridge, also savour of Western prototypes. They can here be seen in many other figures, especially in the compositions.

The series then reverts to a miracle: "Take up thy bed and walk" (John V, 2-15). A bare-footed man, in short tunic, strides away with a bundle of clothes over his back, his head turned to look at his Benefactor, although his eyes are theatrically directed towards the spectator (fig. 73). Christ gestures him away dramatically with His hands. The group of Disciples stand behind Christ. Between the stylized Byzantine hills in the background, appears a rectangular



73. *The Healing of the Paralytic, early 16th c., church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourdali.*

pool of water with an arcaded cover with Gothic vaulting, “the pool of Bethesda having five porches”. The pool and the ex-paralytic are derived from Western iconography.

The next painting is that of Christ and the woman of Samaria at the well, showing Christ seated on a rock by a well, talking to the Samaritan who stands opposite with a bucket and rope in her hands. Two supplementary scenes are crowded in the same composition in Byzantine fashion: between the mountains in the background, on the left, we see the Disciples returning, and in the background on the right, we see the woman of Samaria talking to the people about Christ, before the gate of the town.

The next painting depicts Christ with a book in his hands, addressing a group of people seated on a bench, before a flat-roofed porch. Christ is accompanied by His Disciples. We can give this painting the title “Judge not”, the quotation inscribed in the book in Christ’s hands (John, VII, 24).



74. *The Healing of the Blind man, early 16th c., church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourdali.*

The last Gospel scene on this west wall is the Healing of the Blind man (fig. 74, John IX, 1-41). It shows the same arrangement and setting as the Healing of the Paralytic. The blind youth kneels before Christ with his arms crossed before him; he wears a coif and a black walking stick is held against his body by his folded left arm, his whole iconography being of a Western character. The pool of Siloam is depicted in the same way as the pool of Bethesda. A congested supplementary scene on the right, shows the cured youth talking to the Pharisees under a covered porch. (The last four paintings also appear in the church of St. Mamas at Louvaras, with minor iconographical variations).

On the left of the west entrance is depicted St. Mamas, standing with a cross in his right hand and a lamb in his left arm. Next to him stands St. Luke with an open Gospel, an unusual coupling pointing to degeneration as far as the positioning of the paintings is concerned. St. Luke looks out of place.

On the right of the west door is painted the Dormition of the Virgin Mary with the donors, already mentioned. The Dormition follows the Byzantine formula with minor iconographical differentiations. Peter, Paul and John retain their traditional places, but Paul is depicted in profile. Additionally, a prelate bends over from next to him with an incense burner. The soul of the Virgin Mary is not the oriental rigid swaddled babe, but here sits on the left arm of Christ.

On the west wall of the south aisle, we have a prophet and the Ascension (above), and remnants of the composition "From above the Prophets have heralded Thee" (below), the last one depicting the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap, surrounded by the Prophets declaring their visions concerning the Incarnation, a usual subject during this period (fig. 75).



75. King Solomon, detail from the composition "From above the Prophets have heralded Thee", early 16th c., church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourdali.



On the west wall of the north aisle, we have the Descent of the Holy Spirit and prophet Joel (above), and the remnants of the Tree of Jesse (below).

On the north wall by the *iconostasis* survives most of the painting of St. George mounted in a degenerated iconography, mixing various legends: he holds a sword in his right hand, he has the colourful pillion rider extending a glass to him with his left hand, the princess is kneeling before his horse, the King and the Queen and three trumpeters look from the top of a castle in the background, on the right, and the tethered, vulture-looking head of a green dragon survives below the front legs of the horse. In the foreground, on the right, kneels the donor "John the headpriest". Five miniature scenes from the martyrdom of St. George frame the painting on the right. Top to bottom: in the prison, on the wheel, in the fire, in a boiling copper pot, his beheading.

The arches between the *bema* and the *parabemata* were filled up to take paintings on both sides. The workmanship and style improve markedly with the paintings in these parts, especially with the individual saints, where we find some good portraits in this Italo-Byzantine style. Entering into the *bema* we face the Virgin Mary *Orans*, attended by the Archangels, in the conch of the apse, all with haloes in relief. In the bottom zone of the apse are painted six officiating prelates, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, and Spyridon holding the burning tile (fig. 76), converging in groups of three towards the altar table with the chalice and the paten depicted between them in the centre.

The Annunciation is placed in the pediment above the apse, and Kings David and Solomon are painted on either side of the conch. Above the niche of *prothesis* is painted "the Sacrifice" (no title), depicting the Child Christ in the chalice and in the paten, with a scroll in each case bearing the appropriate quotation from the Last Supper; Christ in the paten is half covered with a red cloth bearing a black cross. From a red *aer* arching over the holy vessels, appears a haloed young face in profile. (See *Agia Solomoni*, Paphos, St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, and the Saviour, Palaeochorio, for illustration). In the niche of *prothesis* is painted Christ of the Utter Humiliation. On the right of the apse is painted St. Athanasius Pentaschenitis. The south wall of the *bema* is covered with the prophet Isaiah, the Entertainment of the Angels, St. John Lampadistis, St. Stephen, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and St. Romanus Melodus.

Entering into the south *parabema*, we face the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap attended by the Archangels, on the east wall. Next to them stands a hymn writer. On the south wall there are three prelates, and on the north, Moses (above), Barnabas and Onoufrius (below). The last two stand next to each other presenting us with an odd combination out of tune with the Byzantine hierarchical order.

St. Barnabas (fig. 77), is dressed in a *chiton* and an *omophorion*, which define him as an apostle and a prelate, the founder of the Church of Cyprus, but his broad features with the dark hair and beard conflict with his thirteenth-fourteenth-century painting in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof near Kakopetria. In the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati near



76. St. Spyridon, early sixteenth c., church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourdali.



77. St. Barnabas, early 16th c., church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Kourдали.

Platanistasa, where he is among the officiating prelates in the apse, the features are nearer to this painting.

The wood-carved and gilded *iconostasis* is a fine example of early sixteenth-century work, with a contemporary series of icons in a balanced Italo-Byzantine style. The large icons for worship in the bottom row are St. Sozomenus, the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her left arm, St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her right arm, Christ enthroned (later, possibly Russian), St. John the Baptist, Christ holding an open book (later, possibly Russian), and St. Mamas riding his lion (late). The small icons of the twelve feasts of the Church, in the second row, are flanked by the icons of Sts. Joachim and Anna, in special frames at either end. In the uppermost row we have a fine series of seven icons composing the Deesis: Christ flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, with Peter and an Archangel on the left and Paul and an Archangel on the right.

## X. AGIA IRENE

Above Kourdali is the village of Spilia, which can best be approached from the main Nicosia-Troodos road, if we branch off to the east at the 40th milestone (three miles). Another three miles to the north-east of Spilia (off the forest road to Lagoudera), is the hamlet of Agia Irene (near Kannavia). The small church of the village, with a cypress tree used as a belfry, is very attractive, but has little of interest inside.

**15. The Church of the Holy Cross.** This small chapel of the steep-pitched-roof type of these mountains, stands on a small hill above the village (fig. 78). It retains interesting remains of wall-paintings of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

On the south wall, by the *iconostasis*, is painted the Assembly of the Archangels, depicting the Archangel Michael and Gabriel holding between them a rectangular plaque bearing the bust of Christ Emmanuel.



78. *The church of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene.*

Over the south door is painted the Birth of Christ, in a narrow space between the lintel and the ceiling, resulting in squat figures of a rustic quality. Next to it there is a fragment of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the figure of St. Anthony, below it.

The *bema* retains most of its paintings. On the south wall is painted the Sacrifice of Isaac. In the pediment we have the unusual subject of the Holy Trinity. It shows God the Father, with long wavy hair and beard, seated *en face* on a cushioned throne and supporting Crucified Christ before Him; above Christ's head is depicted the Holy Ghost. This is a late infiltration into Byzantine art from the West. On either side of the conch of the apse is depicted the Annunciation, bearing interesting iconographical details: an early Byzantine basilica as an architectural background to the Archangel; a pot with white flowers before the Virgin Mary, probably an influence of the Western lily pot, so common in the Italian representations of the theme from the fourteenth century onwards.

On the wall on the left of the apse is painted St. Stephen. Below him and above the niche of *prothesis*, we have an interesting painting combining the Byzantine "Utter Humiliation" and the Western *pieta*; it depicts the dead Christ being lifted out of a sarcophagus by an angel.

In the conch of the apse we have the Deesis: Christ is seated on a cushioned throne, blessing with His right hand and balancing an open book on His thigh with His left hand. The unusual inscription of the book reads: "I am Christ of the scriptures, I exist as the written Judge of the future day". He is inscribed as *Pantocrator* and is flanked by the youthful figure of His mother (fig. 79), and St. John the Baptist. This is the only preserved example in Cyprus, depicting the subject in the place of honour in the semi-dome of the apse. This positioning is, however, quite common in the cave chapels and churches of the tenth-eleventh centuries in Cappadocia, and in many churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Crete, especially cemetery chapels, where it would have a symbolic interpretation connected with the Last Judgment, here alluded to by the quotation in Christ's book.

In the central zone of the apse we have the officiating prelates Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, and a fourth one whose name is obliterated, all depicted half length. Below them is painted the Communion of the Apostles, an exchanged position with the prelates. The Communion presents us with interesting iconographic and stylistic elements. Starting from the left, we see Judas, his head in profile with thick lips and rough features, evoking an expression suggesting the coming betrayal (fig. 80). In his left hand he holds a white money-bag, again an influence from the Western representations of the Last Supper (the Communion of the Apostles is not represented in the West), where Judas is often shown grasping the money-bag. The next three Apostles face the Communion erect. The fifth one is St. Andrew, who is raised above the others and turns his head to look at the departing Judas. St. Peter who leads this group is mostly damaged, and Christ is completely destroyed. The right-hand group are led by St. Paul (fig. 81). They are erect, elegant, differentiated in age but not in posture. They show no hands excepting St. Matthew —



79. *The Virgin Mary, detail of the Deesis in the conch of the apse, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene.*



80. Judas clutching the money bag, detail from the *Communion of the Apostles*, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene.





81. *Six of the Apostles*, detail from the *Communion*, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene.

last but one – who shows his left forearm and hand, badly drawn; here we witness a realistic touch without precedent: St. Matthew's sandal has come off (fig. 82). We note that only those in the foreground show their feet. In contrast to their bodies, their heads are executed with great care. Their faces are painted in light ochre tinted with pink, and show soft and gentle features enhanced by delicate white highlights in an almost icon technique, radiating their emotion at the great moment of taking their Communion from the hands of their Master. In their style we can detect reflections of the Palaeologue period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the icon technique of the so-called Cretan School of the sixteenth century. Besides the usual quotations from the Gospels recording the words of Christ to His Apostles at the Last Supper, we have additional parallel quotations from the Old Testament: "She hath mingled her wine, she hath also furnished her table.. Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled" (Proverbs, IX: 2 and 5). One feels that this unusual quotation and the loose sandal of St. Matthew are trying to divert our attention from the technical weaknesses of the artist.



82. *The loose sandal of St. Matthew, detail from the Communion of the Apostles, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene.*

Next to the Communion (on the right), is painted St. Spyridon wearing his basket cap. Another prelate is painted on the right of the apse, and St. Athanasius on the south wall.

Here we have an interesting series of frugal and rustic paintings of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, composed of various iconographical and stylistic elements – Byzantine, Western, local – varying in date from the early Byzantine period down to the sixteenth century, reflecting on the past and announcing the beginning of the end in the not distant future.

## XI. LAGOUDERA

The quickest way to reach this village is by the main Nicosia-Troodos road, branching off to the east at the 40th milestone (above Kakopetria), and then via the village of Spilia (3 miles) and the forest road to Lagoudera (7 miles); or via Kyperounda and Khandria. We can also reach Lagoudera from Nicosia, by branching off to the south just before Peristerona, and then via Orounda, Alithinou, Livadia, Polystipos (21 miles), or by the slightly shorter route via Orounda, Agia Marina and Xiliatos.

**16. The Church of Panagia tou Arakou**, by popular appellation, or “*tou Arakos*” or “*Arakiotissa*”, by the dedicatory inscriptions, lies at a short distance to the west of Lagoudera, on the road to the next village of Sarandi, to the west (fig. 83). The name derives from *arakas* (pea), like so many other appellations of the Virgin Mary in Cyprus deriving from plants and vegetables. The popular (faulty) explanation that the name derives from *hierax* (hawk), which miraculously pointed out the place where the icon of the Virgin Mary



83. The church of Panagia tou Arakou and its monastic buildings, near Lagoudera.

was hidden, is reminiscent of the Greek legend concerning the discovery of the tomb and relics of Theseus by Kimon, in the island of Skyros, after an eagle directed him to the spot.

The church is a single-aisled vaulted building, with three arched recesses in each of the side walls and a dome over the centre, a very popular type in Cyprus during the mid-Byzantine period. It dates from before 1191. The whole structure is covered with a later, second protective steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, which extends to a later enclosure of lattice wood-work. The church was extended at the west end at some late period (figs. 99-102).

The interior of the church retains the most complete series of paintings of the mid-Byzantine period in the island. They represent the metropolitan, classicizing school in its full bloom in style, iconography and technique, and they stand on the border-line as the climax of Byzantine art of the Comnenian period.

(The cleaning and consolidation of these outstanding frescoes were carried out by David Winfield and his assistants, for Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University), in co-operation with the Department of Antiquities, after long and patient work, 1968-1973; no repainting was done).

The decoration of the church is recorded over the north door on the panel depicting the Holy Tile (fig. 84); "The most venerable church of the most Holy Mother of God of Arakos, was painted by the contribution (donation), and the great desire of Lord Leon, the son of Authentis, in the month of December, indiction 11, of the year 6701". This date from Adam corresponds to the year 1192 A.D.



84. The Holy Tile and the dedicatory inscription recording the decoration of the church of Panagia tou "Arakos" in 1192, near Lagoudera.

A second inscription in dodecasyllabic verses on either side of the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa on the south wall (fig. 85), explains further the nature of Leon's donation: "Oh! most pure Mother of God, he, who with great desire and warmth has helped to portray in perishable colours thine undefiled icon, Leon, the poor and worthless suppliant, surnamed *tou Autentos* from his father, together with his wife and fellow servant... request faithfully and with countless tears that they, with their fellow servants their children, thy suppliants, may pass the remainder of their life in happiness, and that they may, in the end, be favoured among the saved, for thou alone, oh! Virgin hast the glory...".

The noble benefactor and his family are not portrayed. It is evident that he was the son of a notable inhabitant, or local governor of the island, because *Authentis* was the name given by the Byzantines to those who belonged to the upper classes, and especially to the governors of the districts of the Byzantine Empire.

Christ Pantocrator, the ruler of the World, looks down from the dome, the symbolical heaven, with detached serenity (frontispiece). He is no longer the fearful God at whose sight we should tremble. He no longer stares at the beholder in Oriental fashion, but looks into space with His eyes shifted to one side, a trick of Hellenistic origin. "He looks away from our sins, allowing time for repentance", we were told by an illiterate villager, while we were studying the church: a message of a thousand years of evolution, well received and voiced by a believer in a few words. The so-called letter of Lentullus voices this evolution in a lot more words, in a literary description of such a Pantocrator: "*He is a man in stature middling tall and comely, having a reverend countenance, which they that look upon may love and fear; having hair of the hue of an unripe hazel-nut and smooth almost down to His ears, but from the ears in curling locks somewhat darker and more shining waving over His shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm with a face without wrinkle or any blemish, which a moderate colour makes beautiful; with the nose and mouth no fault at all can be found; having a full beard of the colour of His hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin; having an expression simple and mature, the eyes grey, glancing and clear; in rebuke terrible, in admonition kind and lovable, cheerful yet keeping gravity; sometimes He hath wept, but never laughed; in stature of body tall and straight, with hands and arms fair to look upon; in talk grave, reserved and modest, so that He was rightly called by the prophet fairer than the children of men*". Universal elements amalgamated through centuries of evolution in literature and art, enable such diverse ideals to emanate from one and the same face. The credit for the synthesis belongs to Byzantium.

A host of angels on medallions with the Preparation of the Throne between them ready for the Last judgement, surround the figure of the Pantocrator. Further down a choir of twelve prophets, standing between the round-headed windows of the drum of the dome, foretell Christ's coming to earth (fig. 86). They seem to dance with joy as each one proclaims his respective prophesy





86. *The Preparation of the Throne, angels; prophets David, Isaiah and Jeremiah, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

leading to the Incarnation. Their lively postures and the swirling convolutions of their garments, remind us of classical orators.

The message of the prophets is then taken up by the Annunciation in the two eastern pendentives and transmitted down to earth. There is a statuesque elegance in the posture of the Archangel Gabriel (fig. 87), as he alights over a multistoried Byzantine building to deliver the message to the Virgin Mary, the



87. *The Archangel Gabriel and Christ Emmanuel, part of the Annunciation, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

future Mother of God. His wings are spread backwards to denote his descent from above. His *chiton* and *himation* are swirling in animated convolutions, as they are caught in the wind of his descent. In the background are seen the walls of Jerusalem with a cornice of acanthus decoration. In the opposite pendentive, the Virgin Mary sits calmly on a cushioned seat, with a spindle and scarlet thread in her left hand, while her right hand is raised to her breast in submission to the divine will. Her hieratic frontality is checked by the turning of her head towards the messenger. From a small segment of the sky, three rays descend towards her, while between them, Christ Emmanuel provides the link appropriately depicted over the keystone of the vault. One either side of the Virgin are depicted elaborate Byzantine architectural backgrounds, with red cloths casually thrown over them in Byzantine fashion. In contrast to the agitated folds of the Archangel's garments, the Virgin's *chiton* and *maphorion* show simple, straight and natural folds reflecting her calmness and modesty.

In the west pendentives, the four Evangelists take over the task of expounding their revolutionary theme. And then the word of the Gospels is carried into pictorial form in a few well chosen subjects, in the vaults and on the walls of the church below.

The Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple is given great prominence in the lunette of the north arched recess (fig. 88). We have here the usual Byzantine representation of the theme, based on the apocryphal Protevangelium of St. James. Joachim and Anna with the young Virgin, followed by the seven daughters of the Hebrews holding lighted candles, have





88. *The Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple (detail), 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

arrived at the Temple where the high Priest Zacharias is ready to receive them. Especially impressive are the elegant maidens with their silver ear-rings and colourful classicizing garments, bearing beautifully embroidered and jewelled borders, executed with great care and in great detail by the unknown Byzantine artist. At the top of the Byzantine building on the right, young Mary is shown seated precariously on the roof, ready to receive food from the hand of an angel, according to the apocryphal story.

The Birth of Christ, in the south side of the western vault, presents us with one of the most satisfying compositions of the theme. The Virgin Mary reclines on a white mattress at the entrance to the cave, in the side of a soft hill. There is a sweet expression of calm motherly satisfaction on her face, as she looks towards her new-born Son (fig. 89). The ox and the ass adoring the Child have been eliminated, but a white ass has been added in front of Joseph, who is seated in a meditative pose like a philosopher, in the foreground on the left. The Magi arrive on foot from the left, guided by an angel who points them to the star in the sky above the manger; here, two more angels look towards the Virgin. In the top right-hand corner, an angel announces the good tidings to the shepherds, one of them seated with a reed-pipe in his hands (not playing), and two others, differentiated in age, standing in conversation below; the Hellenistic elegance of the younger one, as he points to the announcing angel is striking. Even the midwife and her assistant washing the Child in a beautiful font bear the aristocratic elegance of the Byzantine court. The six stylized and lifeless sheep nearby remind us of the “standing still of Creation”, as seen by Joseph in a vision on his way to find a midwife, according to the apocryphal account: “and behold there were sheep being driven, and they went not forward, but stood still”.

The next painting in Gospel sequence, is a unique version of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. On the wall of the central north recess (right of the original entrance), is depicted the devout Symeon holding the Child Christ reclining in his arms (fig. 90); his cheek lovingly touches the head of Christ and his expression is sorrowful; the folds of his garments are straight, simple and loose, reflecting his mood. Young Christ clutches the garments of the old man at the chest to steady Himself, creating a radiation of wrinkles and stressing the humanistic approach of the theme. A silver ear-ring with jewels hangs from His left ear, the true significance of which is not yet very clear. As far as we know this is the earliest surviving example, especially in a Gospel scene. It has recently been recorded in a painting of the Virgin and Child of the second half of the thirteenth century, in a chapel at Velmei near Ohrid (Miljković-Peppek). It also appears in two fresco-icons in the last two stanzas of the *Akathistos* of the fourteenth c., at Markov Monastir near Skopje. Apparently, the Byzantine mothers used to give a silver ear-ring to their only sons, a custom exercised in Cyprus until recently.

The further iconography of the Presentation in the Temple departs completely from the established rules. Instead of the usual representation of prophetess Anna standing behind Symeon and declaring “this Child has made heaven and earth secure”, we have St. John the Baptist uttering “behold the



89. *The Birth of Christ, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*



90. St. Symeon holding the Child Christ, attended by St. John Prodromos, connected with a differentiated Presentation in the Temple, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.

Lamb of God". The human side of Christ is thus further stressed.

The Virgin Mary ready to receive Christ back is here missing, and the impression is that the subject has been abbreviated. Recent research work suggests that we must connect the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa in the opposite recess, in the south wall (fig. 85), with the Presentation in the Temple. Here, the over-life-size figure of the Virgin Mary — with the dedicatory inscription in verse already quoted — is standing in front of a backless throne, with a sausage-like cushion. There are no animated folds or convolutions to her brownish ochre *chiton* and purple-madder *maphorion*. Young Christ reclines in her arms in a human posture, still with his silver ear-ring. Her posture is sorrowful, and the sad thoughts which pass through her mind, as she inclines her head to look at her Child, are not difficult to imagine, if we look at the two angels presenting the symbols of the Passion from either side, calling to mind the words of the devout Symeon at the time of the Presentation: "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also". This is the climax of a revolution in the sphere of Byzantine art, reflecting its humanistic tendencies during

this period, and announcing later developments with a dramatic approach. The Virgin Mary is depicted here as an ordinary mother among the congregation in the nave, whose Son is destined to be sacrificed for the redemption of mankind. We have here the earliest representation of the “Virgin Mary of the Passion”, a subject which became very popular in the later centuries.

Did the artist here develop a new theme of his own accord, or at the request of the donor Lord Leon? Was he following the latest developments from the capital? While this church was finally being completely painted in 1192, Cyprus was passing into the hands of the Western Crusaders, through its conquest by Richard Coeur de Lion of England in 1191. Constantinople had the same fate a few years later. Lord Leon the son of *Aphthentis* and his family must have retired to the mountains after the destructions and the change of hands of the island. His passionate supplication to the Virgin Mary of the Passion reflects his plight. Indications that in the place of the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa with his supplicatory inscription there was an earlier enthroned Virgin and Child, reflect the change of mood (see below).

We then have the Baptism of Christ, in the north-west low recess, presenting Christ naked without a loin-cloth, in a flat, blue river, moving to the left with his legs crossed to avoid an awkward posture of nakedness. His right hand is raised in blessing. A cross is planted in the river to the left, and a candlestick with a burning candle to the right. St. John bends to touch Christ's head with his right hand, while three angels lean across from the opposite bank, ready to wipe Christ with the ends of their *himations*. The dynamic convolutions of the draperies are here relaxed. The naked body of Christ is immaterialized in the usual Byzantine manner of depicting the human flesh. The bending figures on either side fit well into the frame of the arched recess, which also produces an illusory third dimension for the composition.

The Crucifixion and the supplementary Passion compositions must have been on the west wall, which was removed when the church was extended to the west at some later period. The next surviving composition in sequence is the *Anastasis*, in the north side of the west vault (opposite the Birth). It shows Christ standing firmly on the gates of Hell moving to the right and pulling Adam after Him. This presents one incident of the apocryphal story: “And the Lord stretched forth His hand... and He took the right hand of Adam and went out of Hell and all the saints followed Him”. One end of Christ's *himation* waves behind Him in swirling folds to denote His descent. There is a sentimental look on His face as He turns towards Adam. Behind Adam stands Eve. David and Solomon stand in their marble tomb on the right. St. John the Forerunner stands behind them with the usual scroll foretelling Christ's coming to Hades. Soft, ochre hills rise on either side in the background. Excepting minor details, the painting is strikingly reminiscent of a twelfth-century composition, in a Byzantine MS Gospel in the British Library (Harley 1810). In the cell of the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus near Paphos, we have a similar composition dated 1183.

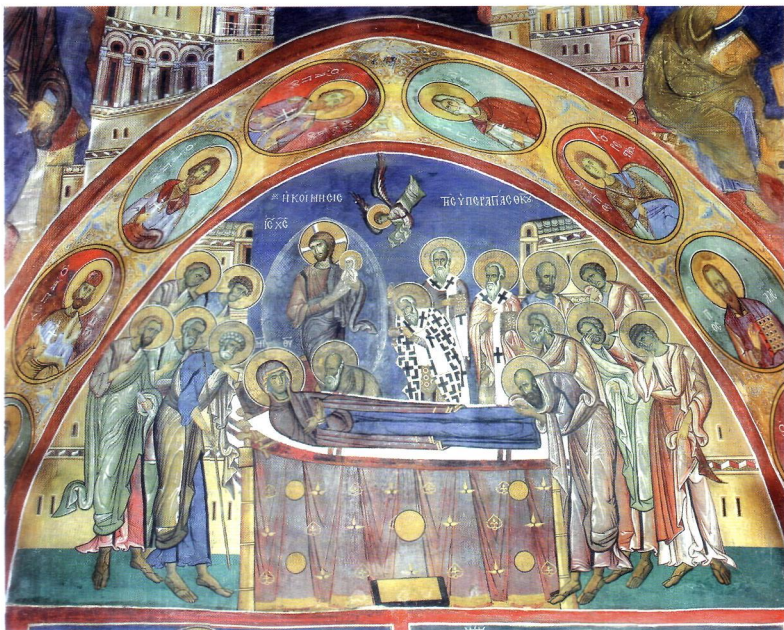
Christ's sojourn on earth having ended, He then Ascends to Heaven



91. The Ascension of Christ (detail), 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.

whence he came from. The painting covers the whole of the eastern vault. The twelve Apostles are divided into two equal groups. One is accompanied by the Virgin Mary and the other by an angel. The lively postures of the Apostles as they stand gazing up, in contrast to the calm expression of the Virgin and of the elegant angel with the beautifully ornamented hem of his *chiton*, and the symmetry of the composition, make this painting a real masterpiece. The majestic posture of the ascending Christ, in the middle of the vault, and the folds of his garments with their plastic treatment, call to mind the sculpture of classical Greece (fig. 91). His circular aura with its five Platonic, concentric circles fading from deep blue to light grey, carries us into the symbolism of the ancient mysteries. The agitated garments of the attending Apostles with the exaggerated folds, appear as though they are caught up in a whirlwind produced by the vacuum created by Christ's sudden departure.

In the lunette of the south central recess, "The Dormition of the most Holy Mother of God" concludes the theme (figs. 92, 93). Vertically to the Virgin's



92. *The Dormition of the Mother of God, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*



93. *The Mother of God and St. John, detail from the Dormition, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

rigid body, Christ stands erect inside a mandorla to denote His supernatural presence, holding His mother's soul as a babe in His left arm. The Apostles mourn in two groups at either end with St. John in his traditional place bending over the chest of the Virgin (fig. 93). Peter stands by the head holding a staff ending in a cross, instead of the usual censer. Paul bends over the feet. The three attending prelates appear calm; the nearest one to the bed is differentiated with a *polystavrion phelonion* and the lifting of a censer. Now there is a humanistic approach even in the posture of Christ, as He turns to look at His departed mother, although He is enveloped by a mandorla. He is no longer the aloof Christ of the same subject in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, of the beginning of the twelfth century. Comparing the two series of paintings at either end of the century, we find that the Constantinopolitan style of the Comnenian period has advanced a long way, in style, iconography and technique.

The Incarnation cycle ends and the theme is taken up by the disciples, the martyrs, the ascetics and the hermits, the hymn-writers and the prelates of the Church, all taking their places in appropriate positions. On the north-east pier, the Virgin Mary is pictured in a statuesque elegance, with her arms crossed at the breast, a long scroll with her supplication hanging from her right hand, and with her head humbly inclined, interceding for mankind through her Son, depicted on the opposite south-east pier and appropriately styled as Antiphonitis (Respondent). Sts. Peter and Paul take their traditional places on the west piers with some leading ascetics, standing like pillars of Christianity. The martyrs of the Church are depicted in the soffits of the



arches round the recesses, in the centre of the west vault and elsewhere. We single out Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the soffit of the arch round the north-west recess, the physicians twin brothers who offered their services free and hence they are known as the *anargyri*, "silverless" (fig. 94). Their idealistic features stress their reputation. On either side of a window in the south-west small recess, we have one of the finest representations of the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, a very popular subject in Cyprus in all periods.

Next to the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa, on the wall of the south central recess, stands a colossal Archangel Michael with a beautifully decorated *loros*. He stands on a cushion embroidered with lilies and ornamented with diamonds. In his left hand he holds an orb bearing a cross.

Entering into the *bema* we single out some individual figures for comments and observations. St. Onoufrius, the ascetic who lived in the wilderness and refused to wear any clothes when his old ones had worn off his body, is here naked, displaying a hairy body, long hair and very long beard, hiding his loins behind a stylized pine-tree. His hands are out in prayer, as he looks at the hand of Christ emerging from a segment of the sky to present him with a loaf of bread. The calm expression of his idealized face is far removed from the austere features of the "monastic" school.

Sts. Symeon Stylites the Thaumaturge (miracle worker, fig. 95), and Symeon Stylites the Archimandrite, look eccentric and original as they appear inside their cages at the top of the slender marble pillars with acanthus capitals. Although their faces show the signs of hardship they are far removed from the linear hard faces of ascetic saints emanating from the hands of painters working in the "monastic" style. Stylites was the name applied to these solitary ascetics, who lived on the top of a *stylos* (pillar). They flourished in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece, from the fifth to the tenth centuries. Their pillars varied in height, and their food was supplied to them by their disciples and admirers.

Looking at the strong features of St. Joseph the hymn-writer, reflecting his adventurous life, we find that the artist used a different technique to bring out his character: deep lines lit up with diffused white highlights, with shadings in green. Born in Sicily in about 810, Joseph left his native country in 830 when it was invaded by the Arabs, and went to Salonica where he entered the monastic life. He subsequently went to Constantinople, but he soon had to leave again during the Iconoclastic persecution in 841. On his way to Rome he was captured by pirates and was a slave in Crete for several years. He escaped, and in about 850 he founded a monastery in Constantinople. But he was exiled twice: for his defence of the icons and later with Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople.

St. Lazarus in prelate's vestments (south-east recess), is one of the most dynamic paintings of the twelfth century. His natural posture, his large bald head, his solemn idealized face shaded in slight green, his sunken cheeks and pronounced jaw, his natural eyes that look into space, his tightly-shut normal lips and beautiful long nose, mark him as one of the greatest portraits created



94. Sts. Cosmas and Damian (detail), 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.



95. *St. Symeon Stylites, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

by the Byzantines. After his raising from the dead, Lazarus is supposed to have come to Cyprus where he became the first Bishop of Citium (present Larnaca). According to a local tradition, he never laughed during his second life, on account of what he saw down in Hades. His tomb was discovered here in 890 and his relics were removed by the Emperor Leo to Constantinople, whence they were subsequently carried off by the French to Marseilles.

The Holy Handkerchief, in its traditional place in the tip above the apse, over the altar, shows the head of Christ in a remarkable rendering and expression (fig. 96). Comparing it with Christ Pantocrator and the other figures of Christ in the same church, we find that His beard has now acquired a pronounced two-pointed forked shape. This differentiation, which also appears in other representations of the theme elsewhere, is interesting, for the prototype is traditionally supposed to have been a portrait of Christ, connected with the correspondence between Him and King Abgar V of Edessa (4 B.C.-50 A.D.) The King wrote to Christ begging Him to visit and heal him of



96. *The Holy Handkerchief, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.*

his illness. His messenger Ananias either painted the portrait of Christ on a silk cloth, or Christ sent His portrait miraculously imprinted on it. The Holy Tile resulted from a second miracle, when Ananias hid the Holy Handkerchief among a pile of tiles near the castle of Hierapolis, where he had stopped to rest on his way back to Edessa.

The place of honour in the conch of the apse is given to the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ seated *en face* in her lap, attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael holding scarlet wands. In contrast to the painting of the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa, the mother of Christ the man as depicted in the nave to be among the congregation, she is here shown as the mother of Christ the God, ministered to by the two captains of the sublime Spirits (fig. 97).

Seven busts of Cypriote prelates are depicted in a zone of medallions in the centre of the apse. In the bottom zone of the apse eight life-size officiating prelates converge in groups of four towards the centre, with inscribed scrolls in their hands. They are Tychon, Nicholas, Meletius of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Athanasius and John the Almoner, the first and last being also Cypriotes. Meletius and Chrysostom (fig. 98), wear the *polystavrion phelonion*, and the rest the plain *phelonion*. There is no altar-table or the *Melismos* represented between them. Instead, we have two more Cypriote prelates painted on a smaller scale between the three round-headed windows, in the centre of the apse: Epiphanius (?) and Barnabas. The latter wears a *chiton* and *omophorion* defining him as an Apostle-prelate, the founder of the Church of Cyprus. He has an *omega*-shaped dark beard, which conflicts with his thirteenth-fourteenth-century painting in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, where he is shown with a pointed beard of a rather fair colour. In the late fifteenth-century paintings of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati and in the early sixteenth-century paintings at Kourdali, he is shown with a rounded dark beard and rather rounded face. Returning back to the church of Panagia Arakiotissa, we find two more Cypriote prelates depicted in medallions, in the bottom centre of the apse: Spyridon and ...?

These paintings in the apse present us with interesting problems, especially the series of prelates. Now that they have been cleaned from the deposits of black soot from candles and incense of several centuries, their style comes into conflict with the paintings of the rest of the church. Thicker brushes were used here and the faces are more heavily outlined.

The green *proplasmos* is allowed to show through as shading from under the ochre flesh tones, along the noses, below the eyes and at the outlines of the outer cheeks. Lighter ochre thick highlights result in deep furrows of the faces, resulting in strong-natured characters, further emphasized by the dark pupils of the eyes with no differentiation of the iris.

They contrast with most of the rest of the paintings, where more delicate brushes were used and the faces were modelled in a gentle multiple gradation, resulting in a wheat colour shaded in green with slight rouge at the cheeks for the younger saints. For the older saints the facial age-lines are soft and calligraphic, although the bold style of the prelates in the apse is also apparent in the features of St. Joseph the poet.



97. The enthroned Virgin Mary and Child attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.



98. St. Chrysostom, 1192, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.

In other cases we find gentle white highlights lighting an old face in deep thoughts, as in the case of St. Symeon in the Presentation of Christ. One steady factor of difference, between the paintings in the apse and those in the rest of the church, is the eyes, the iris and pupils of which are differentiated in tone, thus giving them a sentimental and even a humanistic approach.

Comparing further the paintings in the apse with those of the rest of the church, we find that the inscriptions, especially those on the scrolls of the prelates, betray another hand. These discrepancies should not be a serious problem. The juxtaposition of styles and even iconography in contemporary series of paintings, quite often executed by the same artist working from different models to suit his theme, is a common phenomenon in Byzantine art throughout all its different periods, be it in MS illumination, mosaic work, or wall-painting.

In our case we have to admit a different hand for the apse paintings, but they should be contemporary with the rest of the church. There are relative paintings of ca. 1190 and 1199 outside the island: Patmos, Nereditsa (see below). In a guide-book to the church, David Winfield, who cleaned the paintings, suggests a mid-twelfth-century date for the apse paintings. We have nothing similar in the island of that date to compare them with. The paintings in the church of the Apostles at Perachorio, which have been circumstantially dated to 1160-80, are far removed from this dynamic style; there, the prelates in the apse are depicted *en face* with books in their hands, as in the church of Asinou of the beginning of the century.

From underneath the decorative frieze of geometric design along the bottom of the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa with the supplicatory inscription, a fragment of a painting, showing the footstool of a throne and the feet of an Archangel with scarlet boots, was recently removed by the restorers and is now exhibited at the west end of the church. This would imply that there was here in this place of honour an earlier painting of the Virgin Mary enthroned and guarded by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael. Furthermore, below the figure of Christ Antiphonitis on the south-east pier next to the figure of the Arakiotissa, a fragment of a sandalled foot has also been revealed, suggesting an earlier Christ in this position. But the colour, style and technique of these fragments are completely at variance with the paintings in the apse, and should belong to a limited decoration of the church before 1192.

The dedicatory inscription and the supplicatory one with the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa do not mention anything about the erection of the church, nor do they mention a monastery. They only talk about the painting of the church. The year 1192 given for the decoration of the church is a very crucial year for the history of Cyprus. Let us take a quick glance at the events of the period immediately before. Cyprus was under the usurper Isaac Comnenus since 1184. The Third Crusade was started in 1190 under King Richard Coeur de Lion of England. Isaac had little love for the Latins and gave orders that none of the Crusaders should be allowed to touch the island. Some of Richard's Crusading ships arrived for shelter at Limassol in April 1191 and two of them were wrecked off the port. Isaac maltreated the survivors. On the 6th of May Richard himself arrived and proceeded to conquer the island with the help of other Crusader knights, including Guy de Lusignan who had just lost his Kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. By the end of May, Isaac and his family were captured and Richard established a temporary Latin rule over the island, in order to use it as a reprovisioning centre for his Crusade. He left for Palestine accompanied by Guy de Lusignan on the 5th of June 1191. The Cypriotes revolted and Richard sold the island to the Knights Templars. A contemplated revolt against them on the 5th of April



1192, was crushed by the new owners who massacred the Cypriotes indiscriminately in the towns and in the country. People escaped to the mountains and the towns were emptied. The island was then resold to Guy de Lusignan in May 1192, who proceeded to establish a more firm Latin rule over the island, by granting fiefs to dispossessed knights from the mainland. The Byzantine landed gentry were dispossessed, perhaps with some exceptions to those who offered no opposition.

Returning to our church, we wonder whether the Byzantine noble would be painting his church while the terrible events were happening down below, between May 1191 and May 1192; probably not. The dedicatory inscription gives us the month of December 1192, as the date of the completion of the decoration. There is no mention of a renovation of the church or re-decoration. In this context, we have to fit the time for the decoration of the church into the last six months of 1192.

In conclusion we can suggest that there was here an estate church of the family of *Aphthentis*, erected and partly decorated some time before 1191. After the conquest of the island by the Latins, Leon the son of *Aphthentis* retreated to the family estate in the remote hills of the island and proceeded to decorate his church under the influence of the new psychological conditions, reflected in the passionate supplicatory inscription accompanying the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa with the young Christ reclining in her arms like a human babe, presented with the symbols of the Passion: the previous Mother of God in the south recess was replaced by "the Virgin Mary of the Passion" (fig. 85), reflecting the sociological upheavals in the island, at the close of the twelfth century. A new painting of the Mother of God took her traditional place in the conch of the apse.

How soon afterwards the church became monastic we do not know. The present monastic buildings to the south of the church are late. When the Russian monk Barsky, a dedicated traveller and author, visited the church in 1735, he left us with a sketch of the church and the monastic buildings which look much as they are today. He also left us with his signature on the painting of St. Stephen in the sanctuary: "Basil monk Moscovorrossos". (See St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria). In his work he mentions that there were only three monks then living in the monastery, and that they did not keep the necessary monastic rules. He also mentions that women were not allowed to visit the monastery.

In the course of cleaning these wall-paintings, David Winfield made interesting observations concerning the technique and application of the colours, which will appear in his final publication of the church in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. Here we might summarize that the painting was done on damp plaster (fresco). The seams of the plastering are usually under the red bands framing the scenes. If a painting was not completed before the plaster dried up, then a fresh section was inserted. This is conspicuous in many of the heads of the large compositions, as for example in the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, where the seams round the beautiful heads of the daughters of the Hebrews stand out (fig. 88). The heads apparently were the last to be painted. As far as the application of the colours is concerned, it appears that a multiple gradation of tones was by now developed into a sophisticated technique, as against the simplicity of limited tones applied in the paintings of Asinou at the beginning of the century. Hence the result of depth of feeling, expression and lasting beauty. We must stress here that the paintings have not been retouched or repainted during their cleaning as some uninitiated people suspect. Damaged patches have been filled in and toned down, and they can be clearly seen.

Looking at the paintings of this church as a whole, we find that there is no doubt that colour plays an important part in bringing out the message of each figure or composition. Christ Pantocrator in the dome is painted against a purple-madder background. He wears a light purple *chiton* with black folds and a few blue linear highlights at the chest, and a sky-blue *himation*, defining Him as the ruler of the world; the gold halo with its white cross shaded in blue radiates His glory. Christ Antiphonitis on the south-east pier, on the other hand, wears a purple *chiton* with scarlet highlights which give an overall scarlet appearance. His *himation* is ochre with black folds and white highlights. Christ Emmanuel of the Annunciation wears a gold *chiton* and a blue *himation* and has rosy cheeks, the attributes of a healthy child. He is painted in an almost scarlet medallion.

The Virgin Mary usually wears a blue *chiton* and a purplish *maphorion*. But the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa in the south recess wears a brownish-ochre *chiton*, and Christ in her arms is also dressed in the same dull colour.

The folds of the garments were also appropriately used. Sober and calm draperies with classical flowing lines were applied to most of the individual saints at eye level. Exaggerated, sculptural mannerisms with wind-blown convolutions and agitations of varying degrees, were applied to the choir of the prophets in the dome, and to the figures of the compositions where it was necessary to stress movement or inner feeling: Archangels Gabriel of the Annunciation and Michael attending the Virgin Mary and Christ in the conch of the apse, Christ and the Apostles in the Ascension, certain mourning figures in the Dormition, Christ and Adam in the *Anastasis*, angels and shepherds in the Birth of Christ, etc.

This classicizing so-called "agitated" or "baroque" style, characterized by swirling draperies and wind-blown undulations of varying degrees, producing an effect of complicated relief, appears to have been in vogue during the last 30 years of the twelfth century. We meet it in the churches of Agioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, Greece, St. George Kurbinovo, Jugoslavia (1191), St. George, Staraya Ladoga, USSR (1167), the Saviour, Nereditsa USSR (1199), the Cathedral church of Monreale, Sicily, with its "colonial" Byzantine mosaics, and beyond it into Western Europe. The dynamic faces with the black eyes of the prelates in the apse can be found in the church of the Saviour, Nereditsa (1199), in the *parecclesion* of the Virgin Mary of the monastery of St. John, Patmos (ca 1190), and elsewhere.

Meletius of Antioch and Chrysostom of Constantinople have been singled out from the officiating prelates in the *bema* to be given the *polystavrion phelonion*. The same honour is also applied to the prelate swinging a censer in the Dormition of the Mother of God. All the other prelates depicted in this church wear the plain *phelonion*. We are here in a transitional period. In the church of the Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara of the end of the twelfth century, all the officiating prelates wear the *polystavrion*.

A recent paper on the elaborate architectural backgrounds of some of the compositions (Megaw), analyses them artistically and aesthetically, notes that they are probably the most elaborate specimens surviving from the middle Byzantine period, notices similarities to contemporary architecture in Cyprus and elsewhere, although they are in the main conventionalized drawings of buildings ultimately based on MS illumination, and arrives at the conclusion of a metropolitan origin, which corroborates our thesis concerning the provenance of the paintings as a whole.

Such was the developed scheme of Byzantine church decoration. Architecture and decoration went hand in hand. Leading Byzantine masters could adapt with skill the developed scheme of monumental painting to the various types of church architecture in the vast empire.

In the absence of any contemporary paintings in Constantinople itself, we can say that we are here as close as we can ever hope to be to the "court" style of the capital, prior to its fall to the Crusaders in 1204, marking the beginning of an evolution leading to the art of the Palaeologue period.

The advanced style of these paintings has led some Western writers to observe Italian influence in them and to date them to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries! Sir George Hill went as far as to say that here we have Giotto's influence! These are erroneous observations from the reverse, and indirect corroborations that the Renaissance had already started in Constantinople as early as the late twelfth century. Any resemblances to the art of Giotto emanate from the fact that he was versed in Byzantine art, and he freely used its iconography and style. "This Giotto changed the art of painting from the Greek to the Latin (manner), and brought it to the modern (style)", says Cennino Cennini.

We repeat here the range of colour tones as they appeared in the first edition of this book, recorded with the help of a colour-chart and under natural lighting conditions, or with the help of candle light, before the frescoes were cleaned. These colours may now appear stronger or slightly different in tone especially under electric light conditions. The list is in the order of precedence.

Ochre, roman ochre, brown ochre, raw-umber, raw-sienna.

Purple-madder, indian-red (lighter than purple-madder), red, deep red, brown-madder, mars-orange, rose-madder, scarlet; the latter is mainly used for boots, cushions, precious stones, backgrounds of medallions, and occasionally for garments and highlights.

Oxide-of-chromium, new-olive-green, green, sea-green.

Sky-blue, blue, light blue, ash-grey.

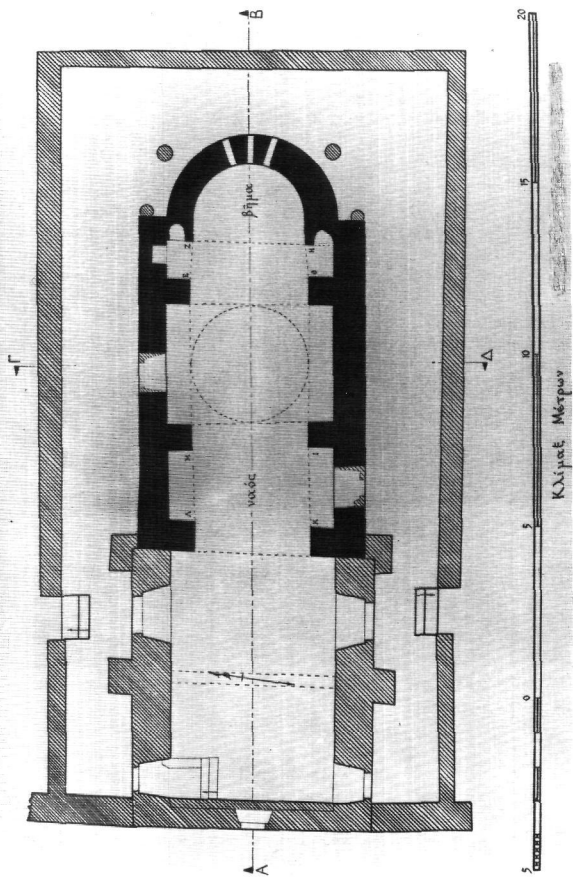
Brown, permanent-brown, light-brown.

Gold, mainly used for haloes, embroidered trimmings, *loroi*, *oraria*, etc.

Black, mainly used for the outlines, folds, crosses, decorations, and for toning the main colours.

White, mainly used for highlights, prelates' vestments, swaddling clothes, shepherd's *chiton*, midwife's head-dress (Birth), crosses, lettering, and for toning the main colours.

The wheat-coloured faces are usually shaded with a slight green tinge. The hair is painted on an ochre background. The backgrounds of the paintings are dark blue (black with blue), with some exceptions.



99. The ground plan of the church of Panagia tou Arakou, before 1191 with later additions, near Lagoudera.

and the foregrounds are green.

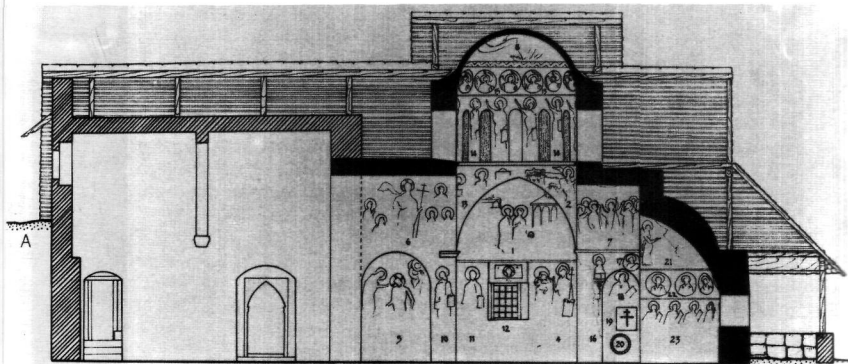
Here is the complete scheme of decoration of the church, with reference numbers to the accompanying plans:

*Section A-B* (fig. 100):

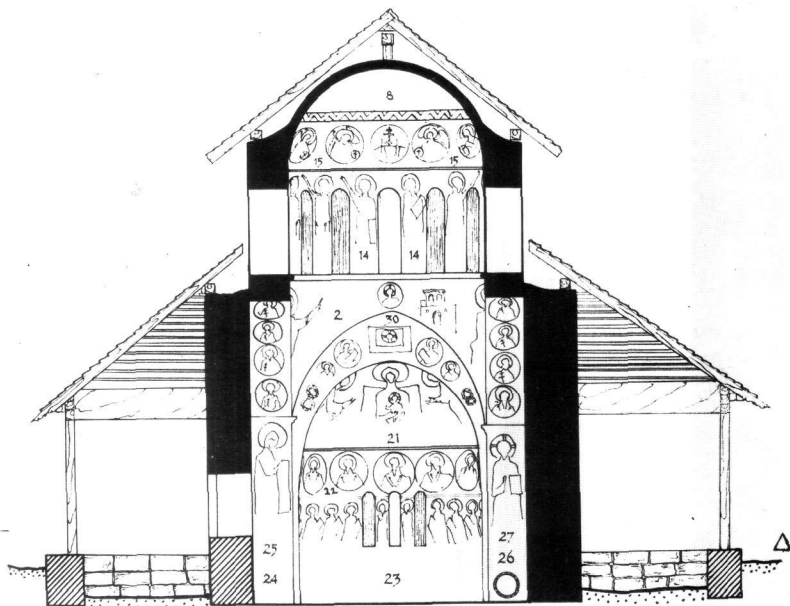
8. Pantocrator.
15. Busts of Angels in medallions.
14. Prophets between the windows of the drum: for names see section *B-A*.
13. The Evangelists Matthew and Mark.
2. The Archangel of the Annunciation.
6. The *Anastasis*. (In the centre of the vault between the *Anastasis* and the Birth of Christ (*B-A*, 3), there are four busts of martyrs in medallions: Menas, Victor, ..?, Tryphon).
1. The Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple.
7. Part of the Ascension: six Apostles with the angel.
5. The Baptism of Christ.
10. St. Paul.
11. St. Nicholas.
12. The Holy Tile with the dedicatory inscription.
4. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple.
16. St. Symeon Stylites Thaumaturge.
17. St. Joseph the hymn-writer.
18. St. Hypatius (a prelate).
21. The Virgin Mary enthroned (see section *F-D*).
22. Busts of prelates in medallions (see section *F-D*).
23. Life-size prelates (see section *F-D*).

*Section F-D* (fig. 101):

8. Pantocrator.
15. Busts of angels in medallions and the Preparation of the Throne.
14. Prophets (see section *B-A*).
2. The Annunciation: Gabriel on the left, Christ Emmanuel in the centre and the Virgin Mary on the right.
30. Sts. Stachius (deacon), John of Damascus, the Holy Handkerchief, Sts. Cosmas the hymn-writer Nicanor (deacon).



100. Longitudinal section looking north, showing the position of the paintings, church of Panagia ton Arakou, near Lagoudera.



101. Cross-section looking east, showing the position of the paintings, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.

21. The Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ on her lap, attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael.
22. Seven busts of Cypriote prelates in medallions: Zenon, Nicon, Philagrius, Auxibius, Heracleidius, Makedonius, Trifyllius.
23. Eight officiating prelates: Tychon, Nicholas, Meletius of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Athanasius, John the Almoner; on a smaller scale between the three round-headed windows: Epiphanius, Barnabas (Cypriotes); below the windows: busts of Spyridon and ..?.. (Cypriotes).
25. Busts of martyrs in medallions: Akindinus, Yourias, Samonas and Avivus.
24. The Virgin Mary as Intercessor.
27. Four busts of martyrs in medallions: Akepsimas, Mardarius, Aithalas, Eustathius.
26. Christ Antiphonitis.

Section B-A (fig. 102):

8. Pantocrator.
15. Busts of angels in medallions.
14. Prophets between the twelve round-headed windows of the drum of the dome. We shall give all the names of the prophets here, starting from the east and working right round: David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Daniel, Gideon, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Jonah, Moses.

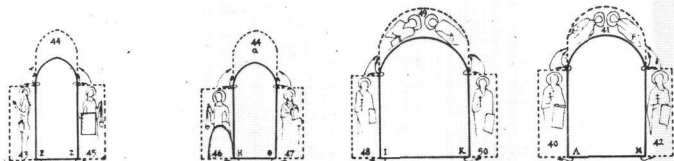
2. The Virgin Mary of the Annunciation.
36. The Evangelists Luke and John.
7. Part of the Ascension: six Apostles with the Virgin.
9. The Dormition of the Virgin Mary.
3. The Birth of Christ.
21. The Virgin Mary enthroned, etc. (see section *F-Δ*).
22. Busts of prelates in medallions (see section *F-Δ*).
23. Officiating prelates (see section *F-Δ*).
32. St. Theophanes the hymn-writer.
31. St. Kyprianus (a prelate).
33. St. Symeon Stylites the Archimandrite.
34. Virgin Mary Arakiotissa (more-than-life-size).
35. The Archangel Michael, over-life-size.
37. St. Peter.
39. St. Christopher in a medallion.
38. The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, on either side of the window.

*Section Δ-Γ* (fig. 102):

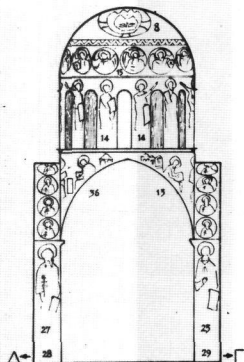
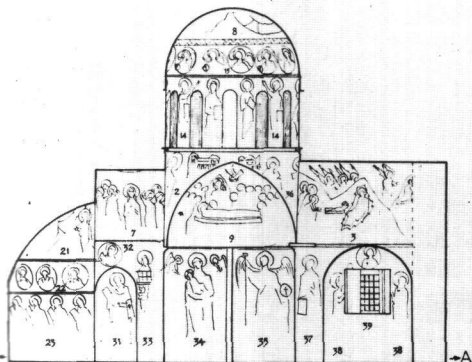
8. Pantocrator.
15. Busts of angels in medallions.
14. Prophets.
36. The Evangelists Luke and John.
13. The Evangelists Matthew and Mark.
27. Busts of martyrs in medallions: Eugenius, Orestes, Auxentius and Joseph.
28. St. Anthony.
29. Busts of martyrs in medallions: Anembodistus, Elpidophorus, Authonius and Pegasus.
25. St. Sabas.
- "Unfolding" of the north-east recess, *E-Z* (fig. 102):
44. A cross in a scarlet medallion.
43. St. Onoufrius.
45. St. Stephen.
- "Unfolding" of the south-east recess, *H-Θ* (fig. 102):
- 44a. A cross in a scarlet medallion.
46. St. Romanus the Melodus (hymn-writer).
47. St. Lazarus.
- "Unfolding" of the south-west recess, *I-K* (fig. 102):
49. Sts. Hermolaus and Panteleon.
48. St. Chariton.
50. St. Hilarion.
- "Unfolding" of the north-west recess, *A-M* (fig. 102):
41. Sts. Cosmas and Damian.
40. St. Andronicus.
42. St. Cyriacus the Anchorite.

In the extension of the church there are some remains of fourteenth-century paintings on the east wall. The best preserved is a painting of St. Cosmas the poet in monastic garments and turban, in the south-east corner. Next to him (left), survives the half figure of St. John Damascene. Above them survives the figure of Christ seated on a hill with a tree in the foreground, of an unidentified scene. Other fragments of paintings survive in the north-east corner.

Moving to the outside of the north wall, we find a fourteenth-century bust of the Virgin Mary *Orans*, in the arched niche above the original north entrance. An inscription around it talks about the Incarnation and the deliverance of the world from the original curse, and ends with a supplication and the signature of deacon Leontius, the painter of this painting (exclusively). The two squat Archangels swinging censers on either side of the niche, and the bust of God the Father in a medallion above it, are late additions, as are the rest of the poor paintings extending on either side. On the left we have Sts. Demetrius, Theodore the General, and Menas, all riding, and on the right St. Barnabas, a prophet, the Transfiguration, a prelate, and St. Heracleidius.



ΑΝΑΤΥΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΦΑΛΩΝ ΑΨΙΔΩΝ



G. R. H. W. ετοιμάσε και εφόρει

102. "Unfolding" of the arches, longitudinal section looking south, and cross-section looking west, showing the position of the paintings, church of Panagia tou Arakou, near Lagoudera.

## XII. PLATANISTASA

Further to the east of Lagoudera is the village of Platanistasa, via Polystipos, Livadia, Alithinou, or Polystipos, Alona. From Nicosia: main road to Troodos, branch off into the hills just before Peristerona; Nicosia-Peristerona, 17 miles; Peristerona-Platanistasa, 17 miles.

**17. The Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati (Stavros tou Agiasmati).** It lies in a remote fold of the hills to the north-west of the village. It used to be an hour's uphill walk to the church from a point about two miles below the village until 1965, when a motorable road was constructed. (The keeper with the key should be sought for at the village).

The church is of the rectangular mountain type with the steep-pitched roof with flat tiles extending to an outer, contemporary enclosure, resulting in a church within a church (figs. 103, 124-126). There is one arched recess in each of the side walls. It retains the finest and most complete cycle of wall-paintings of the end of the fifteenth century in Cyprus.

An inscription over the north door records the erection of the church (fig. 104): "This divine and most venerable church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, was erected from the foundations through the donation and great desire, labour and expense of the most pious chief priest lord Peter, son of Peratis and his wife. And those who behold this, pray for them through the Lord, amen".



104. The dedicatory inscription concerning the erection of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.

An inscription over the south door records the decoration of the church (fig. 105): "The painting of the venerable monastery of the Holy Cross, was completed through the expense and desire of the most pious chief priest lord Peter, son of Peratis, and his priestess (wife) Pepani, on Tuesday the 7th of the month of October, in the year [1494] of Christ, and those who read this, pray through the Lord that they may find mercy in the day of Judgement, amen. The gift is God's and the hand that of Philip the painter, whose surname (or nickname), is *tou Goul*".



105. Dedicatory inscription concerning the decoration of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati in 1494, near Platanistasa.





103. *The church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanisasa.*

The year for the decoration of the church is today completely missing from the inscription. Up to now this date was accepted to be 1466, on the grounds that the church of St. Mamas at Louvaras, which was painted by the same artist, was believed to have been painted in 1465, through a previous misreading of the relevant part of its dedicatory inscription. We have now correctly set the date for the decoration of St. Mamas in the year 1495. Consequently the date for the decoration of this church should be shifted nearer to 1495. A further re-examination of the relevant part of the dedicatory inscription in Agiasmati concerning the decoration of the church, conforms with this later date. Precisely, the dating part originally read as “on the 7th of the month of October, indiction 3, in the year [?] of Christ”, is now read as “on Tuesday the 7th of October in the year [?] of Christ”. The nearest years to 1495 when the 7th of October fell on a Tuesday are 1488, 1494 and 1505.

We have to choose one of these dates for the decoration of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati. We prefer 1494, a date conforming with the Western iconographic and minor stylistic infiltrations into the art of Philip Goul.

The painter’s surname, or nickname “*tou Goul*”, probably derives from the vulgar French *gules* which means red, as it is used in heraldry, or from the Arabic *gul*, which means red rose. Whether he belonged to the late medieval

noble family of Goul, or whether he acquired the appellation through some connection with them, it is difficult to tell. The phraseology of the inscription could imply that it was only a nickname. If the former is the case, then he must have been the son or brother of a certain Peter Goul, who was a leading personality in the island from before 1468 to 1510, as mentioned by contemporary chroniclers. The family name is mentioned among the White Genoese who came from Syria. Be that as it may, Philip must have been Greek-speaking, of the Orthodox faith and well-educated, judging by his sophisticated repertory of church decoration.

The appellation “Agiasmati” derives from *Agiasma-atos* (sanctified water, spring or well near a church). In this case it is probably connected with Agiasmati in western Asia Minor, a place which is mentioned in connection with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It would appear that Greek refugees came from there to Cyprus and later founded a monastery in the remote hills of Cyprus, in commemoration of their previous abode. We note that only the date for the decoration of the church is recorded in the dedicatory inscriptions. That there are two dedicatory inscriptions, one for the erection of the church and one for the decoration with the date, would imply that the church was erected earlier, although not necessarily.

The donors, Peter Peratis and his wife, are portrayed on the outside of the south wall, presenting a model of the church to Christ. They are ushered by the Virgin Mary, a composition reminiscent of the Nicephorus panel at Asinou. But the donors here are kneeling (in an awkward manner), and Christ is seated on a three-dimensional throne without decoration, or any guarding angels. Peter is wearing his service vestments. On the chest part of his *phelonion* there are three embroidered medallions bearing the Virgin Mary, Christ and St. John the Baptist, representing the Deesis. His wife wears a dark red gown, a blue-black wimple and a cloak-like veil hanging from the head and falling over her back to the feet (for this type of garment, see the church of St. Demetrianus, Dali). The model of the church is pictured from the south-west; the central part of the outer south wall is shown with lattice work.

The walls of the nave have been divided into two zones; the upper one is mainly reserved for the festival and narrative paintings, and the lower one for the individual saints. The New Testament cycle unfolds itself in thirty compositions; it starts on the south wall near the *iconostasis* with the Birth of the Virgin Mary, preceded by the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, and ends with the Dormition, opposite on the north wall, followed by the Evangelists John and Mark.

The Annunciation is placed in the eastern pediment and the Crucifixion in the western one. The compositions have multiplied and become smaller, resulting in a rustic quality, markedly improved with the individual saints, where we have some outstanding results for this late period. There is eclecticism in the iconography, imbued with innovations within the boundaries of the set rules. Their biggest contribution are the Western architectural backgrounds to the compositions and a series of miniature scenes concerning the Discovery of the Holy Cross, a rare subject in Byzantine monumental art,



106. *The Birth of the Virgin Mary*, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata near Platanistasa.

but very common in the West during the Crusading and post-Crusading periods. We shall select some subjects as examples for comment and observations.

Taking the Birth of the Virgin Mary as a first example, we find a compact composition before a composite architectural background (fig.106). The bed

of St. Anna is framed by a classicizing portico with marble pillars with capitals, over which is thrown a cloth in the manner favoured by the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period. The house on the right is more simple in character, with small balconies balustraded with ordinary pieces of wood in a rustic fashion. We meet such balconies in earlier paintings of the Palaeologue period. A tree rises from the courtyard in the background. While the new-born Mary is about to have her first bath, a young male attendant is arranging the bedding in the cot on the left, a late Byzantine-iconographical addition. Of the two female attendants, the first carries an open bowl with food and the second one holds a glass bottle of the Greco-Roman type, a remnant of earlier borrowings from secular art.

In the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, the artist has departed from the traditional composition, and has grouped the candle-bearing virgins on the right. They are no longer the classical maidens in the same subject in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera of the late twelfth century, but a group of village girls, here arbitrarily increased to eight with the addition of a reluctant little girl being pulled by one of the older ones, giving a rustic touch to the composition. The Temple in the background has become an Italianate building of a fantastic form, but nevertheless depicted in correct perspective. The Holy of Holies, in the middle of the top storey, has been thrown into section to show the Virgin Mary supplied with food by an angel. We note the masked corbels of the ribbed vaulting.

Examining the Birth of Christ we find that the artist has crowded with skill all the familiar scenes of the Byzantine composition and even more (fig. 107). The Magi arriving on horseback are depicted negotiating the hill in single file; the last one is passing by a realistic milking scene, in the bottom right-hand corner. The ragged mountain seems to join up with the sky, as it is caught up in the light of the triple ray descending therefrom.

The domed canopies with the marble piers, in the background of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, hark back to much earlier Byzantine models. Prophetess Anna comes between the Virgin Mary and Joseph who approach from the left. The Child Christ, still in His mother's hands, wears a sleeveless garment, and recoils back to her at the sight of old Symeon who stoops down to receive Him.

In the Baptism we see Christ *en face* without a loin-cloth, but with the genitals eliminated, an early version which becomes common to monumental paintings and portable icons during the late-Byzantine period. The personification of the river Jordan emptying an urn, borrows the character of the Greek river Gods.

Moving to the Triumphal Entry, we find Christ riding a placid ass, momentarily stopped to smell the garment spread out by a child, causing the following Apostles also to stop. Christ's head is turned to face the people of Jerusalem, who pour out of the Golden Gate to meet Him. One of the women holds a swaddled babe in her arms.

The Last Supper is no longer the Byzantine composition of the mid-Byzantine period, but a feast taking place at a round table inside an arched



107. *The Birth of Christ, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.*

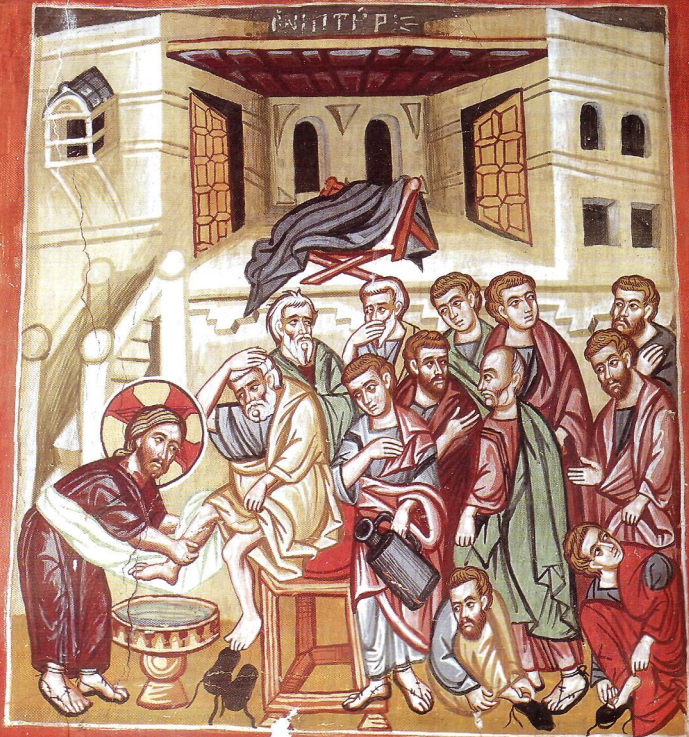
portico (fig. 108). Some of the Apostles are shown with their backs to the spectator. Christ is seated at the top with Peter and Matthew on either side. Young John (second on the left), bends forward towards Christ. Judas (third on the right), bends forward to dip his hand in the bowl simultaneously with Christ. All the Apostles have their initials by their heads. Clockwise from Christ they are: Matthew, Andrew, Judas, James, Thaddaeus, Philip,



108. *The Last Supper, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.*

Thomas, James son of Alpheus, Bartholomew with brown beard (usually without), Simon, John, and Peter. The cusped arch with its flowery key-stone overlapping Christ's halo, suggests a stage background of wood-work.

The Washing of the Feet is staged before an architectural background of Western character, depicted in a three-dimensional perspective (fig. 109). A balustraded staircase (on the left), leads to a portico with a flat roof, at the entrance of which there is a deck-chair on which Christ has discarded His *himation* to allow Himself freedom to work. The projecting window in the left up-



109. *The Washing of the Feet*, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.

per storey is worth noticing. Christ is bending down to wipe the right leg of Peter who sits on a stool; his left leg hangs down and his sandals are on the ground. The rest of the Apostles are standing, excepting two in the foreground, who are crouching to take off their sandals. One of the young Apostles holds a jug.

The Betrayal of Christ is vivid and dramatic in colour and composition (fig. 110). Judas approaches from the left (spectator), to embrace Christ. It is the Jews who lay their hands on Christ, while the few soldiers are kept in the background. In the right-hand bottom corner, Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus. But the most remarkable detail of the painting is the haloed youth wearing only a loin-cloth, just emerging into the scene with his right hand behind his back. He looks at the spectator with an expression of stress on his face. It is the first time we meet this figure in a Byzantine representation of the theme. Obviously, he is none other than the Evangelist John Mark himself, who apparently was an eye-witness of the Betrayal, and has so simply recorded the incident of his presence as an anonymous half-naked youth: "And they all forsook him and fled. And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth (sheet in Greek), cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth and fled from them naked" (Mark 14:50-2). His anonymity was perhaps dictated by his accusation that all forsook Christ and fled. In any case, the passage is accepted as the "artist's signature" for the Gospel by the scholars, and his inclusion here in the Betrayal suggests that Philip Goul was well coached in theological matters, or his repertory was a sophisticated one. It has been observed that in some Byzantine representations of the Betrayal we have a fleeing disciple alluding to this passage in Mark, but we have not been able to trace any example with the naked youth. It appears that the figure was borrowed from a Western prototype. Philip's poor rendering of the right arm makes it look maimed.

In the Denial of Peter (fig. 111), the crowing cock, out of all proportion to the composition, stands on the roof of an arched recess, containing a well with a pulley hanging from its soffit. In the inner courtyard, where Christ faces the High Priests (one of the rending his garments), there is a lantern on a pole.

In the Mocking (fig. 111a), the artist assembled an unusual band of youngsters playing various instruments. Four of them mingled with the crowd, are blowing horns. A trio on the right hand side are playing a small drum, the cymbals and a tambourine, the last one kneeling in the foreground with his back to the spectator. Some of them wear a white coif which makes them look like females.

In the Crucifixion, in the western pediment, the artist prefers a composition with few attendants and with gestures of grief under control. The Virgin Mary stands erect on the left, with her hand to her face, attended by her friends; St. John, with his hand to his cheek, stands on the right with the Good Centurion. There is a more dramatic approach with the angels at the top; two of them are descending in headlong postures from the top; of the two below the transverse arm of the Cross, the one on the left hides his eyes with his hands, while the





110. *The Betrayal*, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.



111. *The Denial of Peter, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*

one on the right rends his garments.

The Byzantine *Anastasis* has been given the important position in the niche over the outside of the west entrance to the nave, possibly in connection with the dedication of the church to the Holy Cross.

In the scene of Doubting Thomas we have another fantastic architectural background in three dimensions. The arcaded portico framing the symmetrical composition is in the spirit of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period – see, for example, the background to the same scene by Manuel Panselinos, Protaton, Mount Athos, fourteenth century – but in our church the piers of the arcade have been cut, their stumps left hanging in mid-air to allow the depth of the building to show. A spiral staircase protrudes above an iron gate on the right.



111a. *The Mocking*, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.



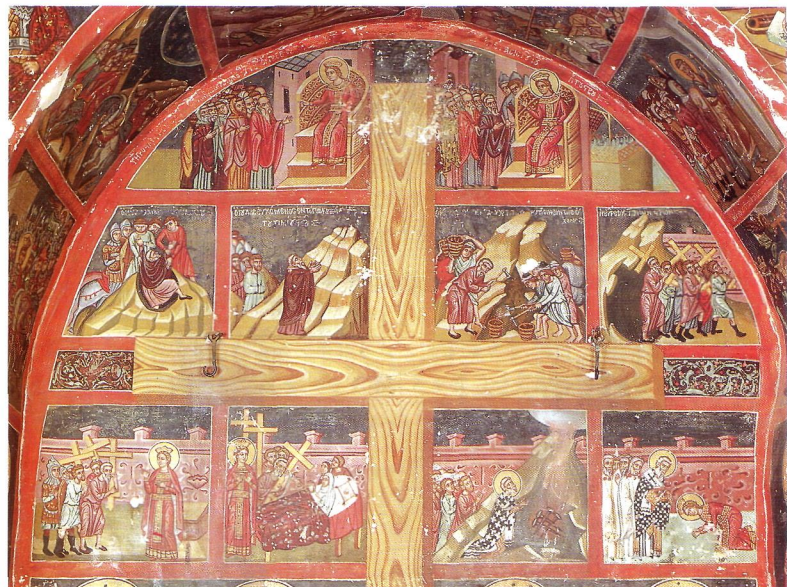
111b. *The Lamentation, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*

In the Dormition of the Mother of God (fig. 112), the house in the background, on the right, with its balustraded open verandah, could be anywhere in the mountain villages of Cyprus. The piece of architecture on the left falls within the oddities of the late-Byzantine period. In the foreground, the angel has cut off the hands of Jephonias, the Jew who tried to upturn the bier of the Virgin Mary.

On the wall of the north recess, there are ten miniature compositions depicting scenes from the Discovery of the Holy Cross by St. Helena and Judas-Cyriacus, arranged in the angles of the painted cross (fig. 113). In the soffit of the arch round the recess, are arranged six more scenes, two historical and three typological ones, as an introduction to the legend, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as the epilogue. This is a very rare cycle in the monumental art of the Byzantine world, and reflects the psychological conditions of the period, after the demolition of the Byzantine Empire. Happy memories brought back to the defeated people the glories of the Byzantine Empire, through the victory-producing cross of Constantine the Great. The Cross had been victorious in the past, why not now? Cyprus was now under the Venetians, but the founders of the Monastery emanated from refugees fleeing the destructions of the conquering Turks, on the mainland.



112. *The Dormition of the Mother of God, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*



113. *The Discovery of the Holy Cross in ten miniature compositions, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*

The theme starts with the historical scene of the Vision of Constantine before his battle against Maxentius at the Milvian bridge near Rome in 312 (fig. 114). Two groups of horsemen are depicted facing each other and looking up towards a segment of the sky, where four stars are arranged in the shape of a cross, with an inscription in Greek announcing “By This Conquer”. The left-hand group is led by Constantine, in scarlet tunic, cloak and crown. The conception of the unusual scene is essentially Byzantine, with certain Western influence in the features of some of the horsemen, especially the young one riding away from the spectator, in the left-hand group.

The artist then carries the theme into the Old Testament with three scenes drawn from Exodus, here used as symbolical parallels of historical subjects introducing the history of the Cross; they are based on the interpretation of the early Christian historians, as opposed to the Western typological parallels, which are drawn from the apocryphal accounts.



114. *The Vision of Constantine the Great, "By this Conquer", 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Aglasmati, near Platanistasa.*

The first of these symbolical parallels is the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush; his rod turned into a snake (Ex. III, 2-4 and IV, 2-3). Moses is shown in a recoiling posture at the sight of a hissing snake; above the snake is the Burning Bush, without the usual bust of the Virgin Mary. The Ancient of Days addresses Moses from a segment of the sky: "Cast thy rod onto the ground"...

The second symbolical scene is the Crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. XIV). Moses is standing between his people — already through the open passage of the Red Sea — and the pursuing Egyptians; he turns back to smite Pharaoh on the head with his wand, at the touch of which "the horse and his rider" collapse into the sea. The composition is set against the curly waves of the

Red Sea — actually painted red — standing up like a wall against its rocky banks: “and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left” (Ex. XIV, 22).

The third symbolical scene is taken from Exodus XV, 1, and 20-1, and it bears the title “Sing ye to the Lord for He hath Triumphed Gloriously”. Moses leads the way with his wand in hand, followed by his people. He points to a strong ray of light descending from a segment of the sky down to the ground. Immediately behind him, Miriam the prophetess beats a round timbrel. Among the people in the back, prophet Aaron uplifts his hands towards the sky, in thanksgiving for their safe passage.

While Moses' Vision of the Burning Bush should be seen as a prelude to the Incarnation and the Crucifixion, the last two scenes from Exodus should be interpreted as symbolical representations of the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine the Great at the Milvian bridge, an interpretation based on the Church historian Eusebius, who writes: “as for example, in the days of Moses himself ... Pharaoh's chariots and the host hath he cast into the sea ... in the same way also Maxentius and the armed soldiers ... went into the depths like a stone”.

Moses is usually depicted as a youth without a beard in Byzantine art, but here he is shown as a middle-aged man with a beard, a case of Western infiltration from the Franco-Byzantine art of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second historical scene depicts the Triumphal Entry of Constantine into Rome at the head of his victorious army (fig. 115). He has now donned his armour and is riding with full face to the spectator, in the manner of a soldier-saint in Byzantine art. The theme is again based on the text of Eusebius. Although the composition is essentially Byzantine in conception, the cavalry is reminiscent of miniature paintings of a similar character, in the thirteenth-century MS Bible from the scriptorium of Acre, now in the *Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, Paris.

We then go into legend mingled with historical facts. St. Helena went to Jerusalem in 326, where she founded the churches of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and that of the Nativity at Bethlehem. From here legend takes over (fig. 113): In her desire to discover the Holy Cross, she assembled all the Jews before her and demanded to know the whereabouts of the place where the Cross of Christ was buried. They deny any knowledge and she threatens them with fire and starvation. In the end they betray a certain Judas who is supposed to know, having heard from his forefathers (scene one). She then interrogates Judas, who denies any knowledge (scene two), and is cast into a dry well for three days; under the pressure of starvation he decides to tell his story and is then released (scene three). Judas then prays on Golgotha (scene four), and after a divine revelation to him of the exact spot where the Cross was buried, the earliest archaeological excavations of a Christian site were organized by St. Helena (scene five). Three Crosses were discovered (of Christ and the two thieves), and they were triumphantly carried to Helena (scenes six and seven). The three Crosses were then tested on a dying woman to decide which was that of Christ (scene eight). Judas becomes a Christian





115. *The Triumphal Entry of Constantine the Great into Rome, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*

and is ordained Bishop of Jerusalem under the name Cyriacus. Through a further prayer, he then discovers the Holy Nails (scene nine), and presents them to Helena, who falls down on her knees to receive them (scene ten).

A great revolution then begins. Helena leaves part of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem and takes the rest and the Holy Nails to Constantinople. On the way she leaves part of the Holy Cross in Cyprus to stop a drought and drops Holy Nails into the sea to calm the storms. The splinters of the Holy Cross conquer the world and the legends multiply and appropriations formulate. In Rome the legend is connected with Pope St. Sylvester, and in England Helena becomes the daughter of King Cole of the nursery rhymes. In the seventh century, Emperor Heraclius starts a Crusade to deliver the Holy Cross from the hands of the Persians, and in ca. 630 he restores it to the rightful owners in Jerusalem.

We now turn to the soffit of the arch round the recess, to find the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the epilogue of the theme (fig. 116). Two symmetrical groups of people are depicted looking up towards the sky, where two flying angels are seen uplifting the Holy Cross into the “Heavens”. The left-hand group is headed by Emperor Heraclius and the opposite group by Patriarch Zacharias of Jerusalem: a symbolical interpretation of a historical event. The artist started his theme with historical events and ended it in the same way. He chose to portray the epilogue of the theme with an *apotheosis* based on a historical event, and not on the traditional exposition of the Holy Cross to the public after its discovery, which is the event celebrated and usually portrayed by the Eastern Churches. We have here a Franco-Byzantine Exaltation combining Western and Eastern elements in an assimilated form. The Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Heraclius is preferred by the Western Church. But this unique composition is far removed from Western conceptions of the theme. It is essentially Byzantine in its main part, with its two-dimensional composition of the rigid figures against the walls of Jerusalem; the *apotheosis* part at the top, however, is based on Western representations.

Crusader iconographic infiltrations are also present in the miniature legendary scenes in the angles of the Cross. In the release of Judas from the well, for instance, the soldier on horseback, with his oval shield blazoned with a scarlet cross, is essentially a Crusader. The same type of shield with a cross is held by Constantine in his battle against Maxentius, a scene included in the narrative cycle of the theme in the painted glass windows of the church of Ashton-under-Lyne, England, of ca. 1500. Under the influence of the Crusades (tenth century onwards), the churches of Europe were filled with extensive cycles of historical and legendary events connected with the Discovery and Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Concerning our series of paintings, we note the unique arrangement of the scenes in the angles of a cross, and the extension of the theme with symbolical subjects from Exodus, suggesting a development under learned guidance. Instead of Constantine and Helena supporting the Holy Cross from either side – the symbolic interpretation of the Discovery of the Holy Cross – we have here a narrative cycle arranged round it, in the manner of depicting the legen-

ΗΥΨΟΘΙΣΤΟΤΩΝΑΙΧΚΑΙΩΟΠΔΙΟΥΣΤΥ



116. *The Exaltation (Apotheosis) of the Holy Cross, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.*

dary stories of saints in miniature form around their portraits, as for example St. Nicholas, St. George and others, reminiscent of representations of classical heroes with their feats.

Our cycle is probably based on some illuminated manuscript, possibly of the legend itself, either developed in the island, or introduced from abroad at an earlier date, from the Holy Land. In either case, the Crusader influence is a corroborative factor.

The style and quality of the paintings improve markedly with the life-size saints in the lower zone of the walls, with Western influence only apparent in the iconography and features of certain figures.

Looking at the figure of St. John the Baptist on the south wall by the *iconostasis* (fig. 117), we observe the outstanding quality of the face with a sentimental humanistic expression, as he pleads for mankind, along with the

Virgin Mary, depicted in the corresponding place on the north wall. In the south recess is painted a colossal and colourful Archangel Michael, a conspicuous figure in many churches from the twelfth century onwards. In the spandrels, above the same recess, is depicted the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, both in running and dramatic postures, in contrast to earlier representations of the theme. (See Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou). Sts. Peter and Paul take their appropriate positions opposite one another, on the north and south walls. Groups of monastic saints are positioned in the west half of the side walls, with a soldier-saint at each end: Theodore Stratelatis and Demetrius.

Looking at the west wall, our attention is drawn by the youthful St. Mamas on the left of the door, depicted astride his anthropomorphic lion, with a shepherd's crook in his right hand and a lamb in his left arm (fig. 118). On the right of the door we have St. George riding his white horse across a river, including the enigmatic pillion rider with the coffee-pot and napkin in his hands (fig. 119), a common iconographic detail in Cyprus from the mid-Byzantine period, also found in the painted churches of Crete of the fifteenth century and later, as for example in the church of St. Anna, Kandanos, Anisaraki. (See the twin church of the Saviour-Panagia Aphenrika, Koutsovendis).

In the absence of piers, the two Stylites are placed on the reveals of the south door, while Sts. John Kalyvitis and Alexius the man of God, take their positions on the reveals of the north door. St. John Kalyvitis has here acquired the characteristics of a beardless, Western monastic saint (fig. 120), in contrast to his early twelfth-century painting in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, near Kakopetria. A certain passage in the Saint's life probably suggested to Philip Goul the adoption of a Western model to bring out an attribute. The features of St. Alexius are a mixture of those of Christ and St. John the Baptist.

From the monastics on the north wall, we single out St. Stephen the Younger, who gave his life for the defence of the icons during the Iconoclastic Controversy; he is here shown holding a diptych icon bearing the figures of the Virgin Mary and Christ. Comparing him with the same saint in the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus of the end of the twelfth century, we find that he has kept his traditional portrait and attributes, through almost three centuries of evolution.

The robust figure of St. John the Evangelist in the island of Patmos, presents us with the unusual detail of a stylized wavy sea, surrounding his cave in the rocky background (fig. 121).

The Mother of God, of the Blachernitissa type, in the conch of the apse, is one of the finest paintings of the church (fig. 122). Her garments show an unnatural multiplication of diagonal, stylized folds and highlights. Iconographically it is a replica of the same subject in the conch of the apse of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas, dated 1474. Stylistically, on the other hand, the liberal diffused light of the face has here been restricted. In the church of the Saviour at Palaeochorio, the technique for bringing out the facial characteristics of the Mother of God in the apse is further advanced. There, we have





118. St. Mamas, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.



119. St. George, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.



120. St. John Kalyvitis; a repellent cross; 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.





121. The Evangelists John and Mark, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.

a radiation of linear delicate highlights, in the icon technique of the so-called Cretan school.

In the Communion of the Apostles in the central zone of the apse, the artist departs from the usual iconography of the central part of the composition. Christ is here shown enthroned *en face* before a table laid with a bowl, two loaves of bread, two knives, a jug with a handle and a glass placed upside-down (fig. 123). Christ extends a loaf to the group on the left, which is headed by St. Peter, and the cup to the group on the right, which is headed by St. Paul. Iconographically, we have here a mixture of the Last Supper and its Liturgical interpretation. The emotion of the moment is better reflected in the “impressionistic” folds of the garments with the diffused highlights, rather than in the soft faces of the partakers, whose names are fully written above their heads, to make sure that there is no mistaken identity: James, Bartholomew, Simon, Andrew, John the Theologian, Peter, Christ, Paul,



122. The Virgin Mary attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.



123. *The Communion of the Apostles (detail), 1494, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.*

Luke, Matthew, Mark, Thomas, and Philip; we note that Judas is not depicted.

In the lowest zone of the apse, eight officiating prelates converge in groups of four towards a painted altar in the centre, bearing the paten with the figure of the Child Christ lying on it under an *asteriscus*, the more conventional representation of the *Thisia*, usually loosely described as the *Melismos*; there is no chalice. Especially successful is the figure of St. Barnabas, the founder of the Church of Cyprus, having darkish hair and rounded beard, and wearing a prelate's *omophorion* over an Apostle's *chiton*, an unusual but befitting combination, appearing as early as 1192 in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera. St. Barnabas has been greatly esteemed by the Cypriotes since the late fifth century, when his relics helped to establish the independence of the Church of Cyprus. His name is mentioned in a fifth-century inscription discovered in a Byzantine house, excavated in his native city of Salamis-Constantia. A fifth-sixth century inscription in a holy well in the same city, declares him as "Barnabas the Apostle our support". This portraiture of St. Barnabas is prevalent in the churches of Cyprus, excepting in a thirteenth-fourteenth-century painting in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof near Kakopetria, where a different tradition is followed.

Below we shall set the complete list of the paintings of the church. Here we might make a few observations. The repertory of Philip Goul appears to have been very rich and sophisticated. He follows the late Palaeologue tradition im-

bued with a Crusader dressing of architectural backgrounds, sometimes giving the impression of the stage, especially in the scenes of the Passion. We might mention here that Cyprus had its own Passion play as early as the thirteenth century, the only surviving example from the Byzantine world. The soldiers in the scenes of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and in the Passion cycle have a Crusader appearance. The series of individual saints, in the lower zone of the walls of the nave have gilt haloes in relief (modelled in gesso with foliate decoration and nailed over the painted ones, now mostly peeling off), a decorative feature usually associated with the West, although by no means certain. As we have noted above, certain other figures have acquired a Western character.

There is a wide eclecticism in his compositions, suggesting that he had several series of sketch-books, drawings or even transfers, from which he derived or composed his subjects. This is more evident, if we compare the paintings in this church with those in the church of St. Mamas at Louvaras, which also bear his signature and the date 1495. His iconography, colours, technique, and even style, are varied. We take for a first example the Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem. In the church of St. Mamas, Christ rides the animated foal, trotting along with its head in the air, a triumphant posture more suited to the occasion, rather than the placid ass. Christ turns to look at His Apostles, who are also caught moving in the same tempo. In the Last Supper, the feast is taking place in the open and the portico with the cusped arch is in the background. Christ is now seated on the left, on a higher level, and there is a re-arrangement of the Apostles. In the Washing of the Feet, again there is a different approach. The scene is enacted in the portico with the cusped arch. This means that his architectural backgrounds were interchangeable; he was grafting his scenes to the backgrounds borrowed or developed from different sources; Christ is erect, the Apostles are seated on a bench, there is no jug-bearing Apostle, no sandals on the ground, etc. Looking at the Betrayal, we find a complete differentiation. Judas approaches from the right, and it is the soldiers who take hold of Christ, while the civilians are kept in the background; young Mark is not present. The Denial of Peter is essentially the same in the two churches, with only minor alterations and re-arrangements. But in the Lamentation we are again confronted with a completely different approach. Etc.

We have the same radical differentiations in the individual saints. Compare, for example, the figures of St. John the Baptist from the same position in the two churches: a pleading intercessor with head inclined, in Agiasmati; an erect, blessing Forerunner, holding a cross inside an anchor (faith in the Cross), in St. Mamas. Taking the figures of St. Demetrius as another example, we find that the approach is reversed: a spirited youth ready for the battle, in Agiasmati; a compassionate youth resting on his spear, in St. Mamas.

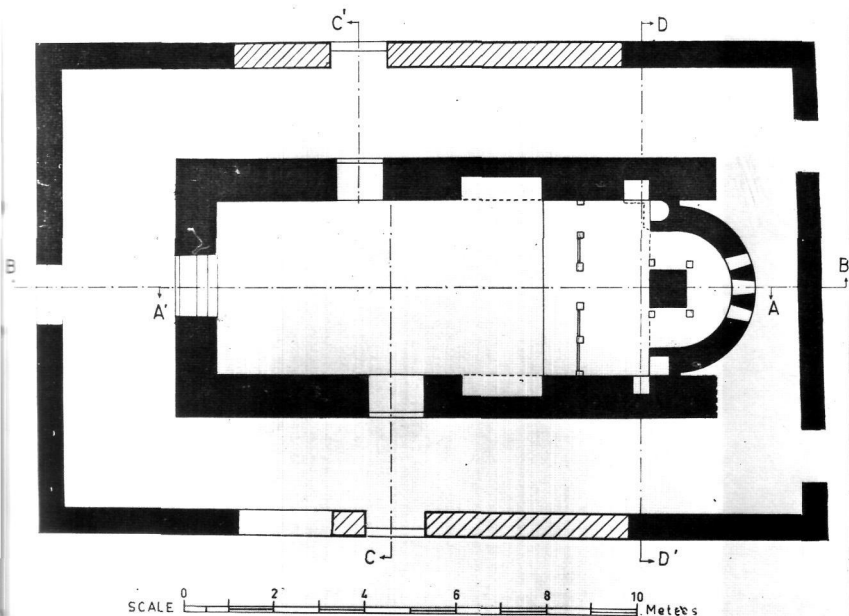
The fundamental differences extend to the colour scheme in the two churches. The warm red-ochre used for the faces in this church is absent in the church of St. Mamas, where most of the colours are of a cold character.

In view of the above, these two series of paintings signed by the same artist within a year, are very instructive. In spite of the resemblances, it would have

been difficult to visualize them as contemporary and to attribute them to the same artist, without the accompanying signature and dates. This might give us the answer to similar problems in earlier juxtaposed series of paintings in varying styles, iconography, and techniques, but without the reassuring signature of the artist.

Here is a complete list of the paintings with their position on the walls:—

*Nave, south wall, top zone:* (1) Elizabeth and Zacharias. (2) The Evangelists Matthew and Luke writing their Gospels. (3) The Birth of the Virgin Mary. (4) The Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the



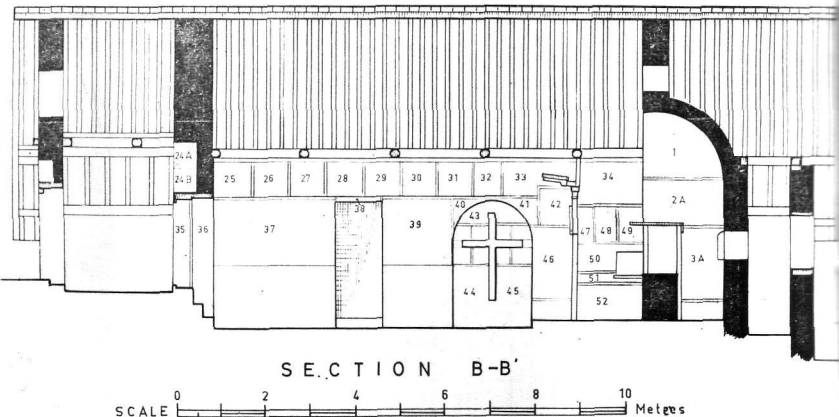
124. Ground plan, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa.

Temple. (5) The Birth of Christ. (6) The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. (7) The Baptism of Christ. (8) The Raising of Lazarus. (9) The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. (10) The Transfiguration. *Lower zone:* (11) St. John the Baptist. (12) The Archangel Michael (wall of the recess). (13) The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus (in the spandrels above the arched recess, Zosimus left and Mary right). (14) Sts. Artemius, Tryphon, Nicetas and Menas (in medallions in the soffit of the arch round the recess). (15) The Miracle of Chonae, and Joshua V. 14, two miniature compositions depicted below the above, on either side. (16) Sts. Cosmas and Damian (on the reveals of the arch below the above). (16a) Dedicatory inscription recording the decoration of the church (over the door). (17) St.

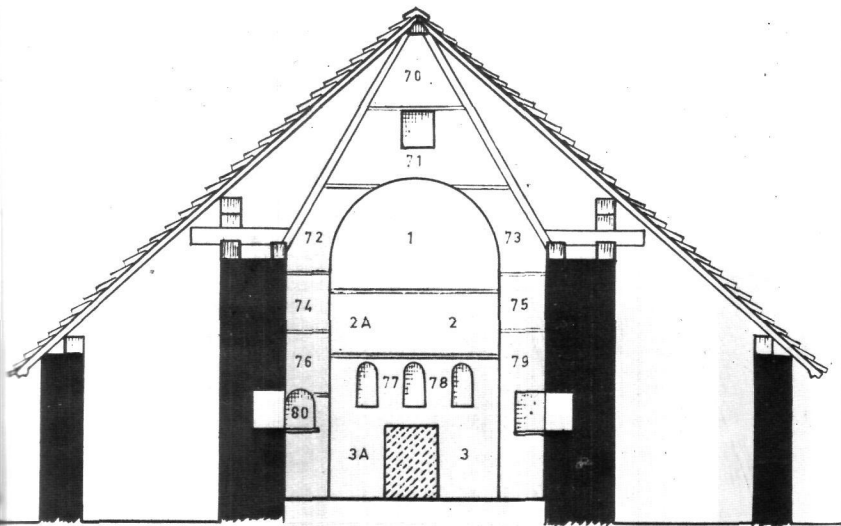
Symeon Stylites (east reveal of the south door), and (17a) St. Symeon “of the wonderful mountain”, also a stylite (west reveal of the south door). (18) St. Paul. (19) Sts. Anthony, Theodosius the Cenobiarh, Arsenius, Sabas, Cyriacus, Onoufrios, ...?... (monastics), and St. Demetrius drawing his sword (all in a line without a division between them).

*Nave, west wall, pediment:* (20) Bust of God the Father with grey hair and beard, His body radiating gold rays against a scarlet background, a dove shown in descent from His chest towards (21) the Crucifixion below, resulting in a Western type of the Holy Trinity. (22) Prophet Micah and (22a) Moses with brown hair and slight beard, a Western iconography, on either side of the Crucifixion, with relevant quotations on their scrolls. (23) The *Via Crucis* and (24) The Deposition, on either side of the bottom of the Crucifixion (below the above prophets, with whom they fill the triangles formed on either side of the central panel of the Crucifixion). *Main west wall, top zone:* (25) The Last Supper. (26) The Washing of the Feet. (27) The Agony in the Garden. (28) The Betrayal. (29) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas. *Bottom zone:* (30) St. Mamas (left of west door). (31) St. Sozomenus and (31a–35 in fig. 125) St. Andronicus (on the reveals of the west door); next to each one, a painted repellent cross with letters (one of them number 36 in fig. 125). (32) St. George on horseback (right of west door).

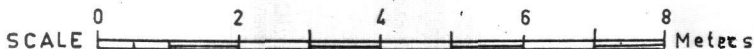
*Nave, north wall:* (fig. 125; the running numbers on the plans do not correspond to our running numbers here; we give the corresponding numbers where applicable. *Top zone:* (33–25) The Denial of Peter. (34=26) Christ Before Pilate. (35=27) The Mocking. (36=28) The Lamentation (fig. 111b). (37=29) Doubting Thomas. (38=30) The Ascension. (39=31) The Descent of the Holy Spirit. (40=32) The Dormition of the Virgin Mary. (41=33) The Evangelists John and Mark; the head of Prochorus survives below the feet of Mark. (42=42) Sts. Joachim and Anna. *Lower zone:* (43=37) Sts. Theodore Stratelatis and five monastics: ...?.., Stephen the Younger, John of the Ladder, ...?.., Euthymius (all in a line without a division between them). (43a=38) Dedicatory inscription recording the erection of the church. (44) St. John Kalyvitis and (44a) St. Alexius the man of God, on the reveals of the north door; next to them are painted repellent crosses with letters. (45=39) Sts. Nicholas, Andrew and Peter, all in a line without a division between them. (45a, 45b=40, 41) Small figures of unidentified martyrs in the spandrels on either side of the arched recess. (46=43) The Discovery of the Holy Cross in ten miniature compositions, arranged between the angles of a painted cross, on the wall of the arched recess. (47=44, 45) St. Theodore Tyron, an unidentified soldier-saint, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, on a small scale below the above. *Reveals and soffits of the arch round the recess:* (48) St. Panteleimon (Panteleon). (49) The



125. Longitudinal section looking north, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.



## SECTION D-D'



126. Cross-section looking east, church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa.

Triumphal Entry of Constantine the Great into Rome after the defeat of Maxentius, inscribed "St. Constantine having made a cross, he takes it and ascends to Rome" (a rare historical subject). (50) The Vision of Constantine "In This Conquer!" (a rare historical subject). (51) Moses and the Burning Bush, his rod turned into a snake. (52) The Crossing of the Red Sea. (53) "Sing ye to the Lord for He hath Triumphed Gloriously". (54) The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. (55) St. John Lampadistis. *Right of the arched recess*, by the *iconostasis*. (56) The Virgin Mary interceding for mankind: with St. John the Baptist on the south wall (our number 11), and with Christ in the apex of the east pediment (our number 61), they form the *Deesis*.

*Bema: north wall, top zone:* (57) Sts. Cosmas Melodus (Maiuma), John of Damascus and Cosmas Pisides, a prelate. *Middle zone:* (58) St. James the Lord's brother. (59) The Vision of Peter of Alexandria, depicting the prelate with the young Christ standing before him, and Arius prostrate at their feet. (60) The Sacrifice of Isaac. *Bottom zone:* (60a) St. Andrew of Crete (damaged). *Bema east wall* (fig. 126): *pediment:* (61-70) Bust of Christ dressed as a prelate, wearing a *sakkos* and an *omophorion*, blessing with both hands, inscribed "the King of Glory", with a red cross on his halo (tip of pediment). (62=71) The Annunciation, on either side of a small ventilator (below the above). (63=72) King David (left of the conch of the apse). (64=73) King Solomon (right of the conch of the apse). *Wall, left of apse, top to bottom:* (65=74) Daniel. (66=76) St. Stephen. (67=80) Utter Humiliation (the "Pieta", in the niche of *prothesis*). (67a) Next to the *prothesis*, a small-scale deacon carrying his head on a cloth. *Wall, right of apse, top to bottom:* (68=75) Isaiah. (69=79) St. Laurentius. *Apse:* (70=1) The Virgin Mary attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (conch). (71=2A-2) The Communion of the Apostles (central zone). (71a=77, 78) Two angels dressed as deacons, holding *rhipidia*, depicted between the three windows of the apse (below the above). (72=3A-3) Officiating prelates Trifyllius, Barnabas,

Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Spyridon and Heracleidius, with an altar table between them, bearing the paten with young Christ; we note that five of the eight prelates depicted are Cypriotes.

*Bema, south wall, top zone:* (73) Sts. Eleftherius, Romanus Melodus and Theophanes Melodus. *Bottom zone:* (74) Prelates Tychon, John the Almoner and Mnason, all Cypriotes (three-quarter length).

*South wall, outside:* (75) "From Above the Prophets have heralded Thee", depicting the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in the drum of the arched niche above the door, surrounded by Prophets in the arch and on the wall outside the niche; they hold scrolls with their relevant prophecies illustrated nearby.

(76) The Donors (left of the above composition).

*West wall, outside: arched niche above the door:* (77) The *Anastasis* (drum). (78=24B in fig. 125), Christ sending His Disciples to preach the Gospel. (79=24A in fig. 125), "Touch Me not". (80) The Holy Women at the Empty Tomb. (81) Peter and John at the Empty Tomb; (the last four are depicted in the arch round the niche). *Pediment:* (82) The Last Judgement. *Wall:* (83) Sts. Barbara, Paraskevi, Marina, and the Virgin Mary (left of door). (84) Christ. (85) Sts. Contantine and Helena (right of door). This bottom zone of individual saints appears to have been badly repainted at some late period.

The application of the scheme of decoration to the rectangular church shows that Philip Goul was fully conversant with the Byzantine traditions and recent developments.

The present wood-carved and gilt *iconostasis* is a seventeenth-century work (ca. 1673), covering the original painted *templon* leaving only its cornice free showing eleven busts of early prelates (including Popes) on red medallions, wearing a hooded vestment covered with crosses.

The three tie-beams across the nave, bear paintings on their carved central parts. The first one (starting from the east, by the *iconostasis*), bears the Holy Handkerchief on its western side, the second one the Holy Tile on its eastern side and St. James the Persian on its western side, and the third one St. Mercurius on its eastern side and St. Nestor on its western side.

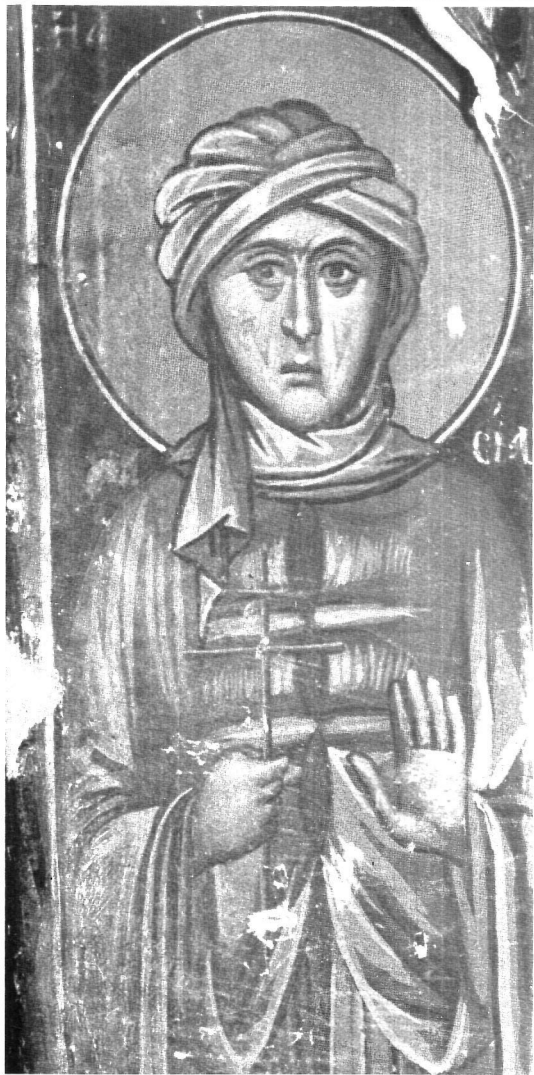


This mountain village, on the south side of the Troodos range of mountains, is best approached from Nicosia via Kakopetria and from Limassol via Ypsonas, Trimiklini, Saitas, Kato Amiantos and the Karvounas cross-roads.

**18. The Church of the Holy Cross.** This small chapel, of the steep-pitched-roof type with arched recesses in the side walls, dates from the early sixteenth century. It retains a series of paintings in and around the north and south arched recesses. An inscription over a kneeling donor, in the north arched recess, records the decoration of the chapel: "This arcade was painted through the expense and great desire of lord Akakios the monk, pray for him, amen. September 19, 1521". In this context, the chapel was never completely painted.

The painter must have consulted the paintings in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati for most of his themes. On the wall of the north arched recess there is the same series of miniature paintings of the legend of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, arranged between the angles of a painted cross, with minor alterations, variations and abbreviations. The introductory historical and typological scenes have been eliminated, and in their place, in the soffit of the arch round the recess, we have a series of busts of martyrs in medallions, on the lines of earlier Byzantine schemes of decoration. On the reveals of the arch are painted Sts. Andronicus and Athanasia (fig. 127).

The Franco-Byzantine Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as depicted in Agiasmati, has been replaced by the Byzantine liturgical conception of the theme, the *Hypsosis* of the Holy Cross, here painted on the wall on the left of the recess: a prelate in Byzantine vestments, standing on a pulpit with two flights of steps leading up to it from either side, elevates a golden cross adorned with jewels (fig. 128). He is assisted by a deacon. The composition is a post-Byzantine reduction of the liturgical scene in the *Menologion* of Basil II. The conception of the scene is based on the liturgical performance of the *Hypsosis* in the middle of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, in commemoration of the first exhibition of the Holy Cross to the public, by bishop Macarius standing on "a high place" in Jerusalem, after its discovery by St. Helena. This example from Cyprus appears to be the earliest surviving representation of the theme in monumental painting we have yet discovered, and the nearest to the original prototypes in MS illuminations of the main Byzantine period. The prototype of the Byzantine *ambo* (pulpit), here depicted, was that of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, now lost. Such early Byzantine *amboes* with a staircase on either side, have survived in other early Byzantine churches, as for example in the church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in Kalambaka, Greece. In later representations of the theme, in monumental art as well as in the portable icons, the composition becomes



127. *St. Athanasia, 1521, church of the Holy Cross, Kyperounda.*



128. *The Hyposis of the Holy Cross, 1521, church of the Holy Cross, Kyperounda.*

more elaborate with supplementary scenes and loses its simplicity.

Below the narrative cycle of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, the artist depicted St. John Lampadistis, the donor already mentioned and Sts. Cosmas and Damian.

On the wall of the south arched recess, there is a painting of the Archangel Michael which he again copied from that in Agiasmati, as faithfully as he could. In the soffit of the arch, he depicted busts of martyrs on medallions, and on the reveals, two Stylites.

On either side of the north recess, he depicted Peter and the Virgin Mary, and on either side of the south recess, St. John the Baptist and St. Paul, following the same scheme as in Agiasmati. St. Paul is actually a replica of the same saint in that church, but for St. Peter he must have used a model from some other church, for he is here more elegant and shown in motion. The same applies to St. John, for although the posture and the inscription on the scroll are the same as in Agiasmati, his hair is more wild and the face not so soft; he does not wear the *miloti*. The painter must have combined several models.

The spandrels, above the two arched recesses, are filled with the Evangelists writing their gospels, Luke and Mark on the north and John and Matthew on the south. For these and their backgrounds, the painter mixed his models from other churches. To the left of St. Luke is the *Hypsosis* already described, and on the right of St. Matthew is the Annunciation.

We return to the main road from Nicosia to Troodos; at the cross-roads of Karvounas (the pass above Kakopetria), we take the road to Limassol. About two miles below the village of Kato Amiantos, we branch off to the south-east, to reach the village of Pelendri.

**19. The Church of the Holy Cross.** The church was originally a single-aisled dome building with arched recesses in the side walls of the 12th century, like the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera. In the fourteenth century, it was extended to the north with the addition of a vaulted aisle connected to the main church with Franco-Byzantine arches, opened through the arched recesses of the original building. A similar aisle was added to the south at a later date, probably in the sixteenth century.

A damaged inscription, painted over the inside of the west door, gives us a little information: "The most venerable church of the Holy, life-giving Cross, was renovated and painted through the donation, expense and great desire of the most devout (plural)...". The end of the dedicatory inscription with the date is missing. All we learn is that several pious people contributed for the renovation and decoration of the church. Looking at the church today, we presume that the renovation and painting referred to in the inscription, apply to the original domed church of the thirteenth century and the added north aisle, which retain most of their decoration.

Originally we divided the paintings into two groups, ascribing those in the dome and in the *bema* to the second half of the fourteenth century and those in the western part of the *naos* and in the north aisle, to the second half of the fifteenth century. Although the cleaning of the paintings has not yet been completed by the Department of Antiquities, we now suggest that they should all be considered contemporary. They fall within the Palaeologue revival of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries in a rustic interpretation. We have here the same phenomenon of juxtaposed contemporary styles emanating from different models and traditions, used by the same master painter and his assistants, as in earlier times. Furthermore, it is now established through the style and iconography, that the painter who decorated the central bay of the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, worked in this church as well. But there still remains the problem of precisely dating these paintings. Some graffiti scratched by visitors on the reveals of the doors of the church of Asinou furnish us with the year 1446 as a *terminus ad quem*. We shall now see if we can establish an approximate date through the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri for these two series of paintings.

In the added north aisle, above the apex of the arch connecting it with the nave of the domed church, there is a painted Lusignan coat of arms (one quarter of it from the top is missing): *argent, on ten bars azure (three missing) a lion rampant gules, over all a bend compony, alternatetively charged*

with the lion rampant on bars and the Cross of Jerusalem (colours flaked off). Supporters two partridges proper, beaked and membered gules (standing away from the shield). The shield implies a Prince as its owner. We know that John de Lusignan, prince of Antioch, brother of King Peter I and Regent to King Peter II, was Lord of the *Casale* of Pelendri as early as the 11th of March 1353. He was assassinated in 1374/5. If the coat of arms was painted here in his honour by the inhabitants of Pelendri who renovated and extended the church, these dates give us a *terminus a quo* in 1353 and a *terminus ad quem* in 1374/5. The fief of Pelendri continued to be held by his son and grandson as late as the year 1451/2, when it was taken away from them and donated to Queen Helena Palaeologue by her husband, King John II. But as there are no indications that the coat of arms here depicted belonged to one of his descendants, we shall have to accept for the time being the year 1374/5 as the *terminus ad quem*. In this context, a date in the third quarter of the fourteenth century (after 1353), is suggested for these paintings.

Let us now see the paintings of the church. Christ Pantocrator in the cupola is rather damaged. In the narrow zone around Him, we have the Preparation of the Throne with worshipping angels and the symbols of the four Evangelists depicted in a complex: the angel for Matthew, the lion for Mark, the bull for Luke and the eagle for John. A fine array of sixteen prophets are painted in the spaces between the four windows, in the drum of the dome: Isaiah; Solomon; Zechariah inscribed "the Sickle", young with a large sickle emanating from his left wrist (fig. 128a; Zechariah 5:1, Greek version); Samuel with long, straight hair and beard, wearing a round crown and holding a horn; Elisha; Moses with a beard, his cloak decorated in imitation Hebrew; Joel; Aaron; Daniel; Elijah; Zacharias (the father of John the Forerunner); Jonah; Habakkuk; Jeremiah, a dynamic figure with long, wavy hair and beard; David; John the Forerunner.

Two Evangelists survive in the northern pendentives.

The Ascension of Christ and the remnants of the Deposition below it, in the north side of the east vault, show the style of this group of paintings at its best (fig. 129). It reflects the more polished style of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period. Iconographically, the Ascension is no longer the monumental composition we meet in the mid-Byzantine domes and vaults, but the standardized fourteenth-century formula, common to both the portable icons and the wall-paintings from now onwards. In the opposite half of the same vault, we have the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and the Entombment below it. In the latter, the swaddled body of Christ is lowered into a sarcophagus, although Mary Magdalene is depicted with arms uplifted, a gesture which usually dominates the representations of the Lamentation. In the lunette above the conch of the apse, the scenes of the Empty Tomb, Touch Me not and Christ sending His disciples to preach the Gospel to all nations, are also fine pieces of work, although their position does not conform with tradition.

On the other hand, the Mother of God, *Orans* (in three-quarter length), with the attending Archangels in the conch of the apse, are rather squat and



128a. Prophet Zechariah inscribed "the Sickle", third quarter of the 14th c., church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.



129. *The Ascension of Christ, third quarter of the 14th c., church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*



rustic in character, as are the eight officiating prelates below them: Trifyllius, Spyridon, Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Nicholas and ...?...

In the western vault and lunette of the nave, prominence is given to an extensive narrative cycle concerning the life of the Virgin Mary, drawn from the apocryphal Gospels, which we shall later describe. This resulted in the banishment of some of the New Testament paintings to secondary parts of the church, or to out-of-the-way places, like the post-Crucifixion scenes depicted in the *bema*. This group of paintings appears to be rustic in style and character, imbued with a popular spirit betraying the hand of the same painter who executed the paintings in the central bay of the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou. This is further supported by the lettering of the inscriptions which is of the same hand-writing, and by the architectural backgrounds with the various types of lattice work and balustrades of eastern Mediterranean architecture.

The Crucifixion on the west wall is of interest, but, in its present state, it is difficult to discern its details. Of the rest of the New Testament compositions we can identify the following scenes (they have not yet been cleaned). In the lunette of the south-west arched recess, there are fragments of the Betrayal. In the lunette of the north arched recess (above the arch connecting the nave with the added north aisle), we have the *Anastasis*, Christ before Pilate, the Mocking, the *Via Crucis* and Christ before Annas. In the spandrels over the north-west arched recess, there are remnants of Christ with the woman of Samaria with jewelled ear-rings, and the Washing of the Feet. In the spandrels over the south-west recess are the remnants of the Last Supper and the better preserved scene of the Miracle of the Paralytic. These scenes strongly betray the hand of the painter who worked in the central bay of the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, especially the features of Christ and those of the soldiers in the Passion scenes.

The apocryphal story of the life of the Virgin Mary, in the western vault and lunette, is based on the Protevangelium of St. James, which was silently accepted by the Church at an early date. The Birth of the Virgin Mary and her Presentation in the Temple, two of the main Feasts of the Church, derive exclusively from this work. Its influence was more extensive on Church art, providing a wealth of information for a narrative cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary, which is lacking in the canonical Gospels.

The theme is here expounded in fourteen compositions. There are three zones on each side of the vault:—

(1) The cycle starts on the south side with Joachim and Anna Presenting their gifts to the Temple (damaged). (2) Then we have three scenes in one composition: (a) Joachim and Anna Returning from the Temple with their gifts rejected (each one holding a pair of doves); (b) the Prayer of Anna, kneeling in a hilly place with her house in the background; an angel brings the answer to her prayer; (c) the Prayer of Joachim, seated within a garland of bushes, symbolizing his self-exile in the wilderness, inscribed "Joachim the just in the forest of Ilis"; an angel brings him the good tidings, in answer to his prayer. (3) The Meeting of Joachim and Anna (rather damaged). (4) The next

painting is inscribed, “St. Anna gave birth to the Mother of God”, showing Anna reclining on her bed, covered with a beautifully decorated bed-spread, while three maidens approach with food. (5) There follows a delightful composition inscribed, “Joachim and Anna present the little girl in order to be blessed by the high priests”, at a banquet specially given by them (fig. 130); Joachim lifts the “little girl” towards them, over the round table loaded with food and drink.

(6) The cycle then continues on the north side of the vault, with “The Entering of the Holy Mother of God in the Temple” (Presentation), where the High Priest Zacharias receives the young Mary with a blessing, before an altar table under a canopy; in the top right corner, young Mary emerges onto a balcony with a balustrade of lattice-work, to receive food from the hands of an angel. (7) The next scene represents “the Prayer of the High Priests”. The High Priest Zacharias is shown kneeling before a line of rods of the widowers and the unmarried men of the house of David. A white dove sits on one of the rods. The Virgin Mary is still on her balcony receiving her food. On the left, behind Zacharias, Joseph (initial above his head), is kneeling in prayer at the head of the priests. (8) “The Giving of the Mother of God to Joseph the carpenter”. The Virgin Mary has now descended from her retreat and she is entrusted to Joseph along with his rod, on which the dove is still alighted. We note that Joseph is now haloed. The priests are attending. (9) The next scene is inscribed “Joseph talks to the Mother of God”. They are shown face to face in argument at his home, before his departure to pursue his trade. (10) We are then presented with a double Annunciation according to the apocryphal story (fig. 131). (a) The first one bears the title, “the Archangel Gabriel tells the Virgin the Mystery”, and it is taking place by a well; she holds a pitcher with rope in her hands. The Archangel is very similar in style and iconography, including the top of his wand and the lettering and composition of his name, to the Archangel of the Annunciation in the central bay of the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, suggesting further that we have the same painter. (b) The second one bears the title, “the Angel explains the Mystery”, and it is taking place before her house. The love for lattice-work and half-open doors is very noticeable here as in all other scenes with architectural backgrounds, which again points to the same artist of Asinou. (11) “The Embracing (Meeting) of the Mother of God with Elizabeth” which follows, shows the two chosen women with the Babes painted on their bellies, a rare detail in Byzantine monumental painting. Christ is pictured erect while St. John is shown bowing towards Him in homage (fig. 132). This rustic detail is found in earlier Byzantine MSS (example, Chludov psalter), and in many portable and MS works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the West.

The last two scenes in the west lunette take the theme further. (12) One of them shows Joseph about to chastise the Virgin with a white stick, after he found her six months gone with child (he was away for that length of time); the Virgin sits (left), with her hands up in protestation; an angel addresses Joseph from behind, and this makes him turn his head towards him to hear the explanation concerning the condition of his wife. (13) The Priests were



130. *The Blessing of little Mary by the High Priests, third quarter of the 14th c., church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*



131. *Double Annunciation, at the well and at the house, third quarter of the 14th c., church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*



132. *The Meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth, third quarter of the 14th c., church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*

also disturbed by the news, and in this scene we see Zacharias “making the Mother of God drink the Water of the Conviction” to prove her innocence; (for a review of the apocryphal story, see Galata, the church of St. Sozomenus and the church of Panagia Podithou).

(14) The cycle closes with the Death of the Mother of God, in the lunette of the north-west recess (fragmentary).

The lower parts of the nave are as usual covered with individual saints. In the arch round the north-west recess, we find St. Onoufrius, St. Cosmas Melodus, St. John of Damascus and St. Anthony; on the wall of the same recess, is depicted St. Symeon Stylites. In the arch round the south-west

recess, are painted David and Solomon, and St. Paraskevi. As in the Gospel scenes, the positioning of some of these saints is also irregular. Sts. Peter and Paul, however, take their traditional places on the west central piers, opposite one another. But next to St. Paul (northern pier), we find St. George Slain by the sword, a local saint; (in the church of Asinou he is painted in the narthex). In style and technique, they follow the prelates in the *bema*, with robust schematic features in warm ochre. We meet the same features in some of the saints in the central bay of the nave and in the narthex of the church of Asinou, a style harking back to the twelfth century.

Among these saints we meet several portraits of donors and deceased persons with supplicatory inscriptions. In the north-west recess there is a portrait of a man in prayer: "The servant of God Basil, the son of the most noble archon (ruler, master), lord Olimites son of Madellos, fell asleep, and those who read pray for him, amen". Basil is dressed in a light-blue tunic with tight sleeves and nine scarlet buttons at the cuffs. His upper garment is also blue, with wide sleeves to below the elbows; it is slit down the sides below the hips. His brown hair is kept in place with a white *coiffe*, tied under the chin, a fashion introduced into the island by the Western rulers of the period. In this context, Basil appears to have been the son of a noble ruler, whose name and surname sound foreign (French transcribed into Greek).

In the central north arched recess, we have the portrait of a deceased woman with the inscription: "The servant of God Nengomia the priestess (wife) of Basil the priest and lawyer of this place, fell asleep, and those who read pray for her, amen". She wears a blue gown with tight-fitting sleeves and a low-cut neck; her neck, however, is covered by a wimple of locally woven, striped material. Over all, she wears a deep red cloak-like veil (head to foot), with clasps at the shoulders, with which she could fasten it at the chest when wanted. Her name also betrays Western influence.

Similar garments are also worn by the couple depicted on either side of St. John the Baptist, in the small niche over the west entrance. These are badly damaged, but we can detect that the woman (left) wears a red cloak-like veil, and the man a *coiffe*.

A couple with their child (the latter fragmentary), depicted as donors on the south-east pier of the nave (near the *iconostasis*), on the other hand, wear more sophisticated costumes of a later date, and the painting must be a later addition.

With the paintings in the north aisle the style again improves. We are back to the refined branch of the so-called Macedonian school. We have already talked about the Lusignan coat of arms over the apex of the arch in this added aisle, which has been styled by some as the *chapelle seigneuriale* of prince John de Lusignan, the owner of the fief of Pelendri, as we have already noted. Two unidentified saints are depicted on either side of the coat of arms. On the south wall, to the right of the said coat of arms, there is a fine composition of Doubting Thomas with two donors, a man and his wife standing in prayer, on either side. The folds of the garments, especially of Christ, are executed in a linear manner, but the faces display a gentle gradation resulting in idealized

expressions especially in the kneeling donors. Unfortunately all inscriptions accompanying the painting have been lost. The man's garments are similar to those of Basil and those of the woman are similar to Nengomia's, excepting that she has no wimple, thus allowing her bare neck to show to the top of her bosom in a modern fashion. (Nengomia was the wife of a priest and she had to cover her neck). Her cloak-like veil is scarlet-vermilion in colour. This type of heavy veil seems to have been in fashion in Cyprus since the early fourteenth century, the earliest surviving example being in the church of St. Demetrianus at Dali (fig. 256), where a woman donor is wearing an indian-red one, dated by a dedicatory inscription to the year 1317 (see there for further information). In this context, there is no evidence to support the suggestion put forward by Enlart, that the figures standing as donors in the painting of Doubting Thomas are Prince John de Lusignan and his wife. One would expect them to wear garments more befitting their rank. More likely they are one of the leading families of the local society of Pelendri, who put up the chapel in honour of their overlord.

Further to the right of the painting of Doubting Thomas are depicted the four Evangelists. Below the last one, in the extreme corner by the west wall, there is a fine portrait of an old man standing in prayer with the inscription, "The servant of God Leon Skouleas, fell asleep". He is dressed in a similar manner to Basil and the male donor in the painting of Doubting Thomas, including the white *coiffe*. His tunic is red and his upper garment dark blue, slit at the sides. He is painted against a red background; he may be an addition of a slightly later date.

The portraying of donors and supplicants in churches was started early. The Byzantine Emperors themselves gave an authentic appearance to the practice by depicting themselves in the churches they had founded. The established precedent was followed by their subordinates and the people they governed, until it became a popular custom in the later Byzantine centuries. Commemorative portraiture of deceased persons which entered Christian art in early Christian times, also continued to be exercised during the main and later Byzantine periods. The earliest example in Cyprus is the portrait of Yephyra in the donor-composition of Asinou: died 1099, portrayed 1106 and renovated in the fourteenth century. By this time, the custom appears to have been in full swing if we can judge by the number depicted in this church.

On the west wall of this north aisle, there is a fine composition of the Tree of Jesse.

The prelates on the east wall of this north aisle (north *parabema*), and the *pieta* in the niche of *prothesis*, belong to the sixteenth century.

The south aisle appears to be an extension of the sixteenth century. Originally it had an apse which must have collapsed at some later period and was reconstructed without an apse. A sixteenth-century painting of mounted St. George, with scenes of his life round him, was recently discovered on the west wall.

On the reverse of a modern icon of the Virgin Mary, there is a fine painting of Christ before the Cross. The Cross stands in the centre with the walls of Jerusalem in the background. Christ, in thoughtful posture, stands on the left with His hands tied, led by a soldier who points to the Cross. Behind Christ appear the heads of several soldiers with moustaches and conical pointed helmets. On the right stand the Good Centurion, St. John and the Virgin Mary. St. John turns to address the Virgin Mary with his right hand. A crouching blacksmith is hammering at the nails. The icon has been dated by Papageorgiou to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

\* Now that the Tree of Jesse on the west wall of the north aisle has been cleaned it proved to be of an Italo-Byzantine character, probably painted by the same artist who painted the Last Judgement in the nearby wood-roofed church of Panagia Katholiki.

**20. The Church of Panagia Katholiki.** The church stands in the middle of the old village. It is of the steep-pitched-roof type of the mountains divided into a nave and two aisles by wooden arcades, as in the church of the Dormition at Kourdali. It dates from the very early sixteenth century, and, as its name implies, it was the main church of the village (or part of the village), at that time.

It retains an interesting composition of the Last Judgement on the west wall. The paintings are in the Italo-Byzantine style of the period, related to the frescoes in the church of Panagia Podithou near Galata, dated by an inscription to the year 1502, and to those in the "Latin chapel" in the monastic church of St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis, which are also contemporary.

The icons of the church are also executed in the same style, but they are mostly repainted, especially the backgrounds and the inscriptions. They comprise the Great Deesis and the Feasts of the Church.

An icon of St. Mamas riding his lion and holding a shepherd's crook in his left hand and a lamb in his right arm, is more Italian than Byzantine in conception. The lion is more naturalistic and turns its head to look at its rider. St. Mamas' features are those of an idealized youth. His eyes are directed towards the spectator in a sideways glance. We illustrate it here as a comparison with the Byzantine representations (fig. 133).



133. St. Mamas, icon, early 16th c., church of Panagia Katholiki, Pelendri.



On the Nicosia - Kakopetria - Kato Amiantos - Saittas - Trimiklini - Ypsonas - Limassol road, we branch off to the west below Saittas to get the road to Perapedi; before Perapedi we turn south to get to Kouka.

**21. The Church of the Holy Cross.** This is a twelfth-century cruciform domed church, with arched recesses in the arms of the cross. The dome of the church must have collapsed at some later period and was replaced with a cross-vault. The church was also extended to the west and a compartment added in the north-east corner. Today it retains remnants of fifteenth-century wall-paintings, with some segments of its twelfth-century decoration showing in certain parts. They need cleaning.

On the west side of the vault of the south arm, we have the scenes of the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet and the Agony in the Garden, all in the top zone and without the usual division between them. In the second zone (below the above), we have Christ before Annas and Caiaphas, the High Priest rending his garments and remnants of another scene, again without division between them. The colours are flaking off.

On the east side of the same vault survive parts of the Last Judgement: at the top, the enthroned Christ with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist interceding on either side, and the twelve Apostles with closed books in their hands seated on benches, six on either side; the Choirs of the Prelates and the Martyrs one above the other, in the second zone on the left; the Scales of Justice with attending angels and black devils; the river of fire emanating from below the feet of Christ and descending to the right (left of Christ), with the Angel of Fire standing in it; the rich man (Luke 16:19-21), also in the river of fire, erroneously inscribed as the "rich Lazarus".

In the recess on the west wall of the same south arm of the church, there are remnants of St. George. In the soffit of the arch round the recess we have the figure of St. Procopius (left), and remnants of another soldier saint (right).

In the north recess of the west arm, there is an Archangel Michael. Remnants of an earlier painting of the same Archangel of the twelfth century show in the right-hand corner, with a lilac-blue background.

In the west recess of the north arm survive sections of the Dormition of the Mother of God. The upper parts of four prelates (two on either side), and three figures from the left-hand group of the Apostles stand out. The latter show the style at its best: fine features with delicate brush work, light ochre flesh tones with light green shading, small pupils to the eyes. In the soffit of the arch are the figures of Sts. Bacchus (left) and Sergius (right), with another martyr on a smaller scale depicted between them.

The *iconostasis* and its icons date from 1856. A sixteenth-seventeenth century icon of the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her right arm, but inscribed Hodegetria, bears a medallion of the same subject on her chest, and scenes of the twenty-four stanzas of the *Akathistos* hymn around the border.

An old wooden cross with a relic in its centre, is now covered with a smaller silver cross of *repoussé* work depicting the four Evangelists at the four ends, and floral decoration with a gate in the centre. The work is rather rough and it is difficult to ascertain its date.

We branch off to the west below Saittas, on the main road from Kakopetria to Limassol via Kato Amiantos, to reach the wine-producing villages of Perapedi and Kilani, on the south side of the Troodos range of mountains.

**22. The Church of St. Mavra**, lies in an attractive spot between the two villages, about twenty miles from Kakopetria.

When the Russian traveller Barsky visited the place in 1735, there was here a small monastic establishment. The church is erected over a spring which comes out on the east side. It is a single-aisled vaulted building of small dimensions, with arched-recesses in the side walls and a drumless dome over the centre, a type of church which was in vogue in the twelfth century; it was extended at the west end at a later period.

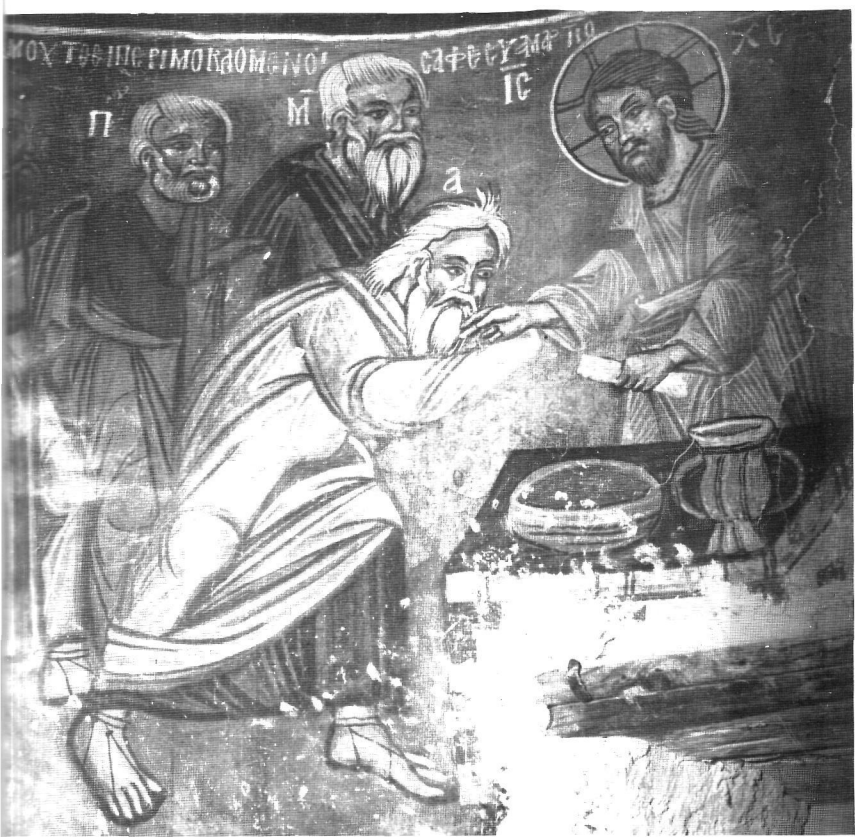
The church retains most of its paintings in a crude style of the late fifteenth century. Some of them are in a bad condition, but enough have survived to warrant a visit. They present us with some unusual iconographical details. For example, in the Communion of the Apostles in the central zone of the small apse, St. Andrew takes precedence over Peter and approaches first to receive the bread from the hands of Christ (fig. 134). St. John leads the group on the right to receive the wine, but St. Paul, who sometimes takes this place, is here completely ignored. The Apostles have their initials by their heads: Bartholomew, Philip, James, Peter, Matthew, Andrew, Christ twice, John, Luke, Mark, Thomas, Simon, and Judas, the last one with his complete name written by his head; he is not turning away as in most other representations.

Another departure from the established traditions is the depiction of the Annunciation in the south-west pendentive, instead of in the two east ones.

A further point of interest, is the representation of St. Augustine, a white-haired and bearded man in prelate's garments, in the *bema*; this father of Western theology, is seldom portrayed in an Orthodox church. (In the Palatine chapel in Palermo, he is depicted as a younger man with brown hair and four-pointed beard).

The scheme of decoration has been arranged as follows: *Dome*: Christ Pantocrator. *Pendentives*: Matthew (N.E.), Luke and John (S.E.), Annunciation (S.W.), and Mark (N.W.). *South central recess*: the Dormition (lunette), the central part damaged owing to the reopening of the ventilator, originally closed to take the composition; Sts. Timothy and Mavra, with scenes from the latter's martyrdom (wall); two saints (soffit of arch). *North central recess*: the Vision of Prophet Ezekiel, and that of another prophet (in the lunette); a saint (soffit). *South-west pier*: Paul (side facing north); John the Baptist (side facing east). *North-west pier*: Peter (side facing south). *North-east pier*: Virgin Mary (side facing west, only the head survives).

*West vault, south side*: the Birth of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple, the Transfiguration, the Washing of the Feet, the *Anastasis*; *north side*: the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper, the Triumphal Entry, the Betrayal. *South-west small recess*: remnants of two Archangels, with signs of earlier paintings underneath.



134. St. Andrew partaking of the Communion of the Apostles (detail), late 15th c., church of St. Mavra, Kifani.

*Bema: conch of the apse:* the Mother of God enthroned with the Child Christ on her lap, attended by the Archangels; *middle zone of apse:* the Communion of the Apostles; *lowest zone of apse:* the officiating prelates, Spyridon, Chrysostom, Basil and Epiphanius (a modern window in the centre has probably removed the *Melismos*). *East vault:* the Ascension (N) and the Descent of the Holy Spirit (S). *North-east recess:* remnants of the Sacrifice of Isaac (in the lunette with a modern door cutting through); St. Barnabas (W. side of the soffit); St. Stephen (E. side of the soffit). *North-east pier, side facing south:* St. Augustine. *South-east recess:* the Entertainment of the Angels, Abraham and Sarah not included (lunette); deacons Laurentius and Romanus (soffit). *South-east pier:* St. Theodosius.

An old icon of Sts. Timothy and Mavra probably dates from the sixteenth century. Another one is dated 1730, and is signed by "Ioannikios the monk".

## XVII. MONAGRI

The village lies on the south side of the Troodos range of mountains, 17 miles from Limassol via Ypsonas (one mile to the west of the main road to Troodos); 21 miles from Kakopetria.

**23. The Church of St. George**, in the middle of the village, is a vaulted building with wall-paintings of the late fifteenth century, including an interesting Last Judgement.

**24. The Monastic Church of the Archangel Michael**, outside the village, was erected in 1740 on the burnt ruins of a much older building, by Bishop Makarios of Kition (1737-1776), with money borrowed from a Turk at twelve per cent interest. The church retains eighteenth-century wall-paintings (1740-1775). The *iconostasis* and most of the icons belong to a renovation in 1775.

**25. The Church of Panagia Amasgou**, lies about a mile to the south-west of the village, on the west bank of the winter river Kourris (fig. 135; the key is kept by the priest of the village). The church belonged to a disused monastery, the monastic buildings of which are today in ruins. It was recently restored by the Department of Antiquities (1960), and its wall-paintings were subsequently cleaned and preserved by the experts of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Centre for Byzantine studies (1969-1972).

In its present form, the church is a single-aisled vaulted building with arched recesses in the side walls, and a semicircular protruding apse with a triple round-headed window. (A hoard of 824 Lusignan Cypriote coins and ten other ones were discovered in a bronze bowl built up in this window, when it was reopened during the restorations, and are now preserved in the Nicosia Museum). The church is constructed of rubble masonry of local limestone. Judging by circumstantial evidence emanating from the church itself, it was probably erected in the early twelfth century, either as a vaulted building, or with a steep-pitched wooden roof with flat tiles, in which case we have further evidence that this type of church architecture in these mountains was indigenous to the island prior to the Latin period. The earliest surviving dated example of a wood-roofed church with flat tiles is that of Panagia tou Moutoulla, of 1280.

The church appears to have suffered several structural repairs and additions at different times. The present slightly pointed barrel-vault bears paintings of the late twelfth century, with no indication of earlier layers underneath, and therefore it was probably re-erected at about this time, either after the collapse of the original vault, or the removal of the wooden roof, when it also took its present interior form with the arched recesses. The present steep-pitched second roof with flat tiles also originates from the time of this reconstruction. The two slightly pointed transverse ribs of finely dressed limestone, must have been added at a subsequent date to strengthen the vault, for they cut into the twelfth-century wall-paintings. The present west and north-west doors were remodelled after the end of the sixteenth century.

Two more partial redecorations of the church are evident from the existing



135. *The church of Panagia Amasgou, near Monagri.*

paintings. In this context we have remains of paintings of four periods.

**First period.** In the lunette of the apse window, the bust of St. Spyridon was discovered, showing him with his traditional basket cap, rather tight-fitting in this case.

On the right of the apse, the full standing figure of deacon St. Athanasius Pentaschenitis was discovered from under later masonry (fig. 136). In the niche next to him, the prelate St. Athanasius was also discovered, with the lower part of another prelate standing next to him.

These early paintings are of good workmanship in the early Comnenian style, with affinities to the early series of paintings in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, of 1105/6.



136. St. Athanasius Pentaschenitis, early 12th c., church of Panagia Amasgou, near Monagri.

**Second period.** In the vault and the western lunette, several fragments of the Festival cycle have survived. They belong to a redecoration of the end of the twelfth century. Others date them to the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Susan Boyd).

Above the south central recess we have a fine fragment of the Birth of Christ (fig. 137). It shows Joseph seated in a thoughtful posture (left) and the bathing of young Christ (right). The latter shows the young “midwife”—inscribed as such as in earlier Cappadocian works—seated on the ground with her left leg crossed under her right one, as in the same scene in the



137. The bathing of the Child Christ, fragment from the Birth of Christ, end of the 12th c., church of Panagia Amasgou, near Monagri.

church of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera, but lacking her elegance and impressive attire with a head-dress. She is shown lifting Christ by the legs as though He is a light doll, over a beautifully ornamented font. Her assistant pours water into the font from a jug. There are conventional plants with red flowers about the hilly landscape.

Next to the Nativity we have the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, one of the best preserved compositions of the series. The Virgin Mary, in blue *chiton* and purple *maphorion*, followed by Joseph, in blue *chiton* and red *himation*, holding two turtle doves in his hands, approach from the left. Facing them, stands the Devout Symeon, in red and olive-green garments and a scarlet Jewish cap, holding Christ in his arms. Behind him, prophetess Anna (partly hidden under the later transverse rib), announces through her scroll: "This Child has made Heaven and earth secure". The figures are over-elongated and compactly depicted to save space. The excessive elongation follows the laws of perspective to avoid a foreshortened appearance to the spectators, owing to the curved surface on which they are painted.

We then have the remnants of the Baptism of Christ: a shoal of colourful fish converging towards the legs of Christ standing in the river Jordan.

In the lunette of the west wall, there are some fragments of an interesting Dormition of the Mother of God. Half of the death-bed has survived with the Virgin Mary lying with her head on the left (head destroyed). The drapery of the bed is very finely ornamented in diamond shapes; there is a foot-stool. By the chest of the Virgin Mary, there is a remnant of an angel holding an orb; there is also a censer, presumably held by a prelate. The mourning Apostles appear to have all been grouped on the right, which is not the usual symmetrical arrangement. In the foreground, John and Paul face one another in bending postures and gestures of grief, a departure from their traditional positions (see Asinou). Among the rest of the Apostles, in the background, survives part of another prelate. They are depicted against an architectural background, above which there are three flying angels. (Compare with the twelfth-century scene of the same subject, in the church of Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria, Greece).

Moving to the north side of the church, we find the Evangelist Mark writing his Gospel, in the left spandrel of the north-west recess. This suggests that the four Evangelists were depicted in four of the spandrels in the nave, following the scheme of decoration as was adapted to the domeless churches. (Part of the name of St. John the Evangelist has survived in the north-east spandrel in the nave, and a fragment of the architectural background of a third one, in the south-west spandrel).

In the vault, over the north-west recess, there are the remnants of the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, with the children spreading their garments.

Further along the vault, over the north central recess, there are the remains of the Crucifixion and the *Anastasis*.

In the east part of the vault, over the sanctuary, we have the remains of the Ascension (north), and the Descent of the Holy Spirit (south), a traditional



place for these two subjects. The Descent of the Holy Spirit is the best preserved scene of this series. The Apostles are seated on a semi-circular bench, with Sts. Paul and Peter at the head of the two groups. On the side of St. Paul (left) we see John and Mark holding their Gospels, Simon, Bartholomew and a young one at the end. On the side of St. Peter (right) we have Matthew and Luke holding their Gospels, Andrew and part of the halo of James. Their initials are inscribed next to their heads, but they can also be recognized by their features, where these are not damaged. Twelve flames descend to their heads from heaven. In the foreground is portrayed a crowned figure holding a sceptre, flanked by two other figures raising their naked arms and looking upwards: the personifications of the "races and the tongues". From the fourteenth century onwards we usually find the crowned figure alone, inscribed *Kosmos* (the world), holding twelve rolled scrolls in a cloth, signifying the preaching of the Gospels to all nations.

Of the individual saints of this series of paintings, we have four busts of hymn writers depicted on medallions, in the archivolt of the north, central recess: Sts. Joseph, ..?..., Cosmas, John Damascene. Remnants of six Cypriote bishops survive in the sanctuary, on the side of the *prothesis*: the heads of Sts. Epaphras, Philagrius and Zenon, high up on the north wall, below the Ascension; fragments of an unidentified one with St. Nicon, in the archivolt of the north-east recess, and of St. Ariston in the lunette.

These paintings are a provincial interpretation of the school of the capital of the last quarter of the twelfth century, with affinities to the paintings in the cell of St. Neophytus at Paphos (1183) and in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera (1192) but without the exaggerated mannerisms in the folds of the draperies. In this respect they are more akin to the paintings in the churches of St. George at Staraya Ladoga (1167) and the Saviour at Nereditsa (1199), in the U.S.S.R.

**Third period.** The paintings of this partial redecoration are more difficult to define, owing to their poor condition. Susan Boyd has suggested a date in the first half of the fourteenth century.

In the lunette of the north-west recess we recognize the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, on either side of the round-headed window. In the archivolt there are two saints, one of them monastic.

In the archivolt of the arch round the south-west recess, are depicted the Apostles James and Philip (left) and Thomas (right). In the lunette there are remnants of two prophets. The mingling of Apostles with prophets and their positioning in the west part of the nave, is contrary to the established rules of Byzantine monumental decoration and points to degeneration. We meet the same deviation in other series of paintings of this period.

On the south of the west door survives the figure of St. Barbara.

**Fourth period.** We are now on more firm ground concerning the date of this group of partial redecoration. In the lunette of the central south recess, there is the composition of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, characterized by its style, colours and iconography, as a sixteenth-century painting. In fact, an inscription below it gives the date 1564. We note that the

walls of Jerusalem are depicted in the background and that they are painted green; the Cross on Golgotha is erected under a canopy and the belfry of a church is seen on the right inside Jerusalem, anachronistic iconographic points also worth noticing.

St. John the Baptist inserted into the right-hand lower corner of the above scene, the doctor Sts. Cosmas and Damian, prelate Hermolaus and another doctor saint, the Archangel Michael and a monastic saint, all depicted in the arch round the recess, point to a loose scheme of redecoration.

We have the same unusual mingling in the lower register of the opposite central north recess: Sts. Theodosius the Cenobiarch, Sabas, Nicholas and a female saint (Anna?). St. Peter retains his position on the pier. (This last group of paintings shows signs of later repainting).

The remnants of St. George killing the dragon in the north-west recess and the standing figure of St. Mamas on the reveal of the arch, belong to the same series; also St. Panteleimon in the eastern reveal of the south-west recess.

The rest of the paintings of this late period are in the *bema* and their positioning keeps to tradition. In the conch of the apse is painted the Virgin Mary, *Orans*, Blachernitissa type, attended by the Archangels wearing very ornate *loroi* and boots. The central zone of the apse is occupied by the Communion of the Apostles, depicted against the walls of Jerusalem, painted in a tile-red colour this time. The lowest zone is filled with the officiating prelates, Athanasius, ...?... of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory and the Cypriote Spyridon with his usual basket cap (fig. 138).

The prelates Hypatius and Akakius now inserted into the south wall of the *bema*, were removed from the late masonry on the right of the apse, which was removed to discover the early paintings mentioned at the beginning.

The present *iconostasis* is of the sixteenth century. A double-faced icon of the Virgin Mary and the Crucifixion bears the inscription "supplication of the servant of God Phlouris, the lay-reader, deceased, amen; 1569 of Christ". The row of small icons at the top represent the Deesis: Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and two Apostles.

071

СПΙΡΗΝ



138. St. Spyridon, 1564, church of Panagia Amasgou, near Monagri.

This mountain village lies in the south side of the Troodos range of mountains, 18 miles north of Limassol, via Ayia Phyla, branching off to the right before Kalokhorio of Limassol.

**26. The Church of St. Mamas.** This small chapel of the steep-pitched-roof type in the middle of the village, was erected in 1455 and decorated in 1495, as we learn from the dedicatory inscription recorded below. It retains most of its paintings. A small narthex was added later at the west end.

The long dedicatory inscription over the west door records the erection and decoration of the church (fig. 139): "This divine and most venerable church of the glorious great Martyr St. Mamas, was erected through the donation and great desire of the ever memorable (deceased) servant of God Constantine the chief priest, in the year 6963 from the creation of the world (=1455 A.D.). And it was painted at the expense and great desire of John, son of Kromides, a councillor of the same village and of the lord George, son of Pelekanos, a councillor of the same village, and of their wives Irene and Helen, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1495. And those who see and read, pray for them through the Lord that they may find mercy in the day of Judgement, amen. And he who painted these is Philip Goul".

Up to now the date of the decoration of the church was accepted to be the year 1465, owing to a previous misreading.



139. The dedicatory inscription recording the date of the erection of the church in 1455, and of its decoration in 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.

This shifting of the date of the decoration of the church to the end of the century and therefore within the Venetian rule of the island, conforms better with the pronounced Italianate architectural backgrounds in certain of the compositions, which are more pronounced in the paintings of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata, near Platanistasa, which were executed by the same artist. There, even the style and iconography of some of the paintings were also affected (see above).

The two couples who paid for the decoration of the church are shown kneeling on either side of the inscription. The two men are identically dressed in dark tunics. Their wives are also identically dressed. They wear long gowns with tight-fitting sleeves and with a deep V-cut at the chest, held in place with a cord; a white shirt shows at the chest; there is a leather girdle at the waist, the long end of which hangs down the front. They also wear a wimple and a veil, both made of heavy silk.

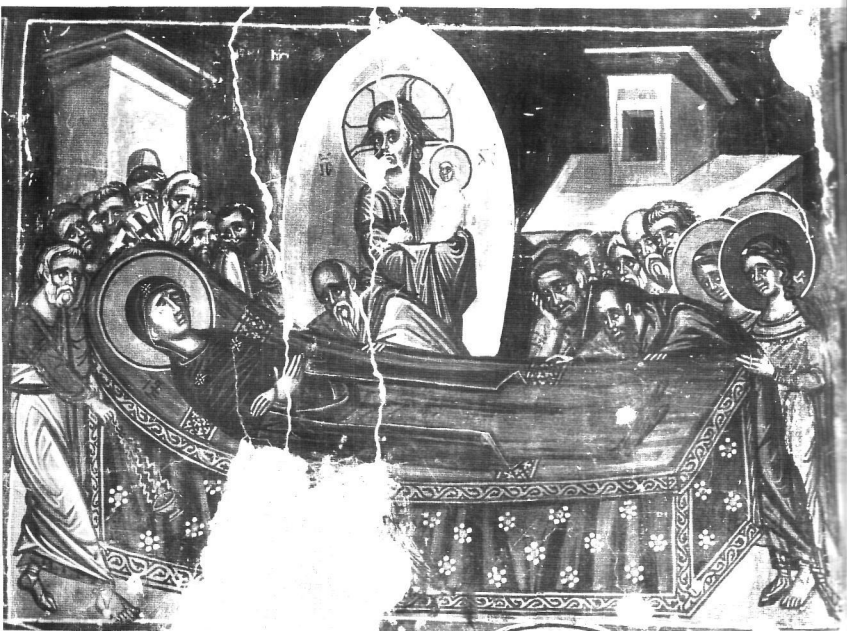
Owing to the small size of the church, its walls were divided into three zones (excepting the east half of the north wall), the top upper ones mostly reserved for compositions and the lowest one for individual saints (fig. 140).



140. *The Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Betrayal, Christ before Anna and Caiaphas with the Denial of Peter, the Casting of the devils out of the two cave-men, the donors with the dedicatory inscription, the Lamentation, Sts. Pistus, Elpis, Agapi (Faith, Hope and Love), Sts. Marina and Paraskevi, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

With this compact arrangement, Philip was able to accommodate a cycle of twenty-seven scenes, but further reduced in size, resulting in a rustic quality. Some secondary Passion and post-Passion scenes were eliminated and some miracles and other scenes were added in the scheme, which are absent in that of Agiasmatai. We also have here some rarely depicted saints.

In describing the church of Agiasmatai we compared several scenes from the two churches to show that Philip Goul had several series of sketch-books and drawings from which he composed his subjects as the occasion arose, resulting in diversified compositions. Taking the Dormition of the Mother of God as a further example (fig. 141), we find the same diversification, which would have made it difficult to attribute the two paintings to the same artist, had it not been for the same signature in the two churches. First of all, at the foot of the death-bed we have the addition of three standing angels, with red, gold and green haloes, while the angel cutting the hands of Jephonias which is depicted in Agiasmatai has here been eliminated. The Virgin's head in this



141. *The Dormition of the Mother of God, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

church is on the left, which is more correct. St. John bends over the chest of the Virgin as usual, but he is not there in Agiasmata. The architectural backgrounds of the two compositions are also completely different. In this church they are box-like simple buildings, while in Agiasmata they are differentiated in type and origin, the building on the right having an open balustraded verandah accommodating the women friends of the Virgin Mary, a feature that could have been drawn from any house in the mountain villages of Cyprus; the building on the left (still in Agiasmata) is more decorative than functional, but within the tradition of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period.

The same diversification is also apparent in the individual saints depicted in the two churches, as for example St. John the Baptist (fig. 147), and St. Demetrius. There are, however, certain scenes and saints in which the variation is not so pronounced and is confined to minor iconographical points, as for example in the scenes of the Anastasis, the Ascension and the figures of Sts. Mamas, Andronicus and a few others.

The above observations should be a warning to those who place too much emphasis on iconographical resemblances to determine the dating of undated series of wall-paintings, or to dispute the dates of others.

We shall select some uncommon scenes for presentation. In the Healing of the Paralytic at the pool of Bethesda (fig. 142), Christ gestures with His right hand "take up thy bed and walk", as a bare-footed man in short tunic walks away with his bed on his back, his head turned to look at his benefactor. Christ is followed by His Apostles. Between the hills in the background appears a round pool under an arched and vaulted cover of Gothic style.

The next scene shows Christ preaching to the Jews, reading out of a book: "Judge not" (fig. 143, John, VII:24).

Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the well, shows Christ seated by a well talking to the woman of Samaria, who stands on the other side with a pitcher in her hands. She wears a deep red cloak-like veil forming a loop at the head, which gives her an exotic appearance. In the background, the Disciples are returning (left) and the woman of Samaria is seen talking to the people of Samaria about Christ, before the gate of the city (right).

The Healing of the Blind man at the pool of Siloam (fig. 144), is enacted before the same background as in the Healing of the Paralytic. The blind youth kneels before Christ with his hands crossed at his chest, holding his walking stick and wearing a white coif; his iconography is Western. A supplementary scene on the right, shows the youth talking to the Pharisees after his cure.

All the above four scenes are also depicted in the church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary at Kourdali of the early sixteenth century, in the same iconography with minor changes, but in an Italianized style.

The Cure of Peter's mother-in-law shows the woman seated on a red couch; Christ is standing before her holding her left hand. The worried expression on Peter's face as he looks at Christ is very eloquent.



142. *The Healing of the Paralytic, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

The rare subject of the Casting of the devils out of the two cave-men is simple, but expressive (fig. 145). Christ stands on the left, followed by His Disciples with Peter on his left. On the right, two half-naked youths with unkempt hair, turn to look at Christ as they walk away cured, with a happy expression on their faces. Above them, at the top of the hill in the background, are depicted several dark devils with their hair standing on end with their hands outstretched in protestation. On the right, a herd of swine is dashing downhill into the lake of Galilee below (Matthew, VIII, 28-32).

Of the individual saints we single out the rare representation of the sisters Pistis, Elpis, Agapi (Faith, Hope and Love), in the south-west corner of the nave (fig. 140). Remote reflections of classical antiquity, these Christian Graces were personified in early Christian times and suffered martyrdom (under Hadrian 117-138), for the ideals they represent, under the guidance of their mother Sophia (Wisdom), who is here represented next to them on the





143. "Judge not", 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.

south wall. In life, they are described as very beautiful; here, their portraits are rather severe.

Another unusual painting is that of the monastic St. Kournoutos, on the north wall (fifth from the left). Although there is such a saint in the Orthodox calendar (he came from Palestine and died in Cyprus), to the people of Cyprus he appears to be the equivalent of the "Unknown God".

St. John the Baptist, on the south wall by the *iconostasis*, is one of the most successful portraits executed by Philip, in style and technique (fig. 147). The face is lit up with multiple white highlights in delicate strokes, in an icon technique. In his left hand he holds a staff ending in a cross inside an anchor, an early Christian symbol of faith in the Cross. We have met him with the same symbol once before, in a thirteenth-fourteenth-century painting of the *Anastasis*, in St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria. He contrasts sharply with the Intersessor type that Philip depicted in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati.

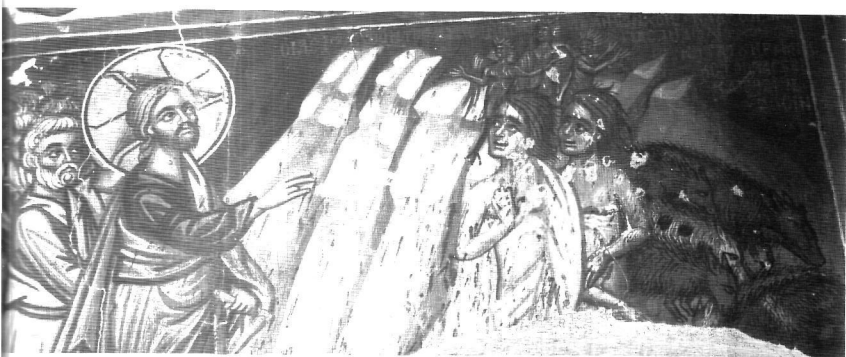
St. Mamas, the patron saint of the church, is depicted riding his lion under a rainbow, in the place of honour on the north wall by the *iconostasis*; the painting is rather damaged. The same saint appears on the west wall of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, with only minor iconographic variation (see there for illustration and at Palaeochorio). St. Mamas was one of



144. *The Healing of the Blind man, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

the most favourite saints of the Cypriotes from the fourteenth century onwards, when he appears riding on a lion. Before that he is portrayed standing, as elsewhere in the Byzantine world, although the formula with the lion appears to have been developed in early Byzantine times. A unique sixth-century lead *eulogia* (blessed pendant), probably from Caesarea in Cappadocia and now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, gives us the origin of the iconography. The only specimens from the rest of the Byzantine world to have been recorded are in Georgia: a) a unique silver gilt tondo (disc, 20 cm.) from Gelati, bearing a fine relief of the saint riding a lion, holding a cross in his right hand but no lamb; b) a miniature illumination in the twelfth-thirteenth century Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nanzianzinus (A-109, Academy of Sciences, Georgia).

Iconographically the theme is reminiscent of the great Goddess Ma seated on a lion, as she was worshipped in Asia Minor, especially in Cappadocia, during Roman times. St. Mamas was an early martyr from Caesarea in Cappadocia, whose fame had spread widely throughout Christendom during



145. *The Casting of the devils out of the two cave-men, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

the Middle Ages. Several legends had developed about him: he was a youth familiar with all sorts of wild animals including lions, which obeyed him and put themselves at his service; he milked the wild beasts and made cheese for the poor; he was a poor shepherd, an orphan brought up by a prelate who lived with wild beasts; or he was a youth of noble birth. He became the patron saint of the shepherds and with Sts. George and Demetrius, the patrons of the soldiers who guarded the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire, known as the *Akrites*.

As early as the fifth century we find a suburb of Constantinople named after him, while in the sixth century a monastery was built in his honour in the capital itself. His relics spread with his fame and in the early twelfth century some of his relics were taken by the French to Langres, where a Cathedral was erected in his name.

Sometime in the late Byzantine period, the Cypriotes claimed that his relics landed miraculously at Morphou, where a fine church was erected in his name. The dormant old formula of St. Mamas riding a lion was revived. The old legends were appropriated and new ones formulated. Mamas comes into conflict with the tax-collectors, refuses to pay his taxes and is summoned before the Governor. On the way he is encouraged by Sts. George and Demetrius; somewhere a lion emerges out of a ravine chasing a lamb. Mamas orders the lion to quit its prey, takes the lamb into his arms and rides the lion straight to the Governor. At the sight of the extraordinary youth, the Governor accepts the lamb as a present and remits his taxes for life. St. Mamas could now claim to be the patron saint of the tax-payers.

The style and iconography of the paintings of this church are on the whole more reserved, with the Western elements not so pronounced, as compared with those of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati.

Below we set out the complete series of paintings, marking their position on the walls.

*Nave, south wall, top zone:* (1) The Birth of Christ. (2) The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. (3) The Baptism of Christ (upper part destroyed). (4) The Transfiguration (upper part destroyed). (5) The Raising of Lazarus (upper part destroyed). (6) The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. *Middle zone:* (7) The Empty Tomb (fig. 146; see Palaeochorio, the church of the Transfiguration). (8) The Healing of the paralytic, "take up thy bed and walk" (John V, 2-15). (9) "Judge not" (John, VII, 24). (10) Christ and the woman of Samaria at the well. (11) The Healing of the blind man (John IX, 1-41). (12) The Cure of Peter's mother-in-law from fever (Mark, I, 30-31). *Bottom zone:* (13) St. John the Baptist, St. Luke, St. Peter, St. Paul, with no division between them. (13a) Crosses on the reveals of the door. (14) St. Theodore Stratelatis (the General), St. Artemius, St. Demetrius, St. Sophia with no division between them.

*West wall* (fig. 140): *pediment* (not included in the illustration): (15) The Crucifixion. *Top zone of wall:* (16) The Last Supper. (17) The Washing of the Feet. (18) The Betrayal. (19) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas with the Denial of Peter. *Middle zone:* (20) Christ Casting the devils from the two cave-men into the swine (Matthew, VIII, 28-32). (21) The dedicatory inscription with the donors. (22) The



146. *The Empty Tomb, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

Lamentation. *Bottom zone:* (23) Sts. Pistis, Elpis, Agapi (Faith, Hope and Love), on the left of the west door. (24) Sts. Marina and Paraskevi, right of the west door.

*North wall, top zone:* (25) Pilate Washing his hands, damaged. (26) The Mocking of Christ, upper part damaged. (27) *The Via Crucis*, upper part damaged. (28) The Archangel Michael, occupying the whole height of the wall. (29) The Descent of the Holy Spirit. *Middle zone up to the Archangel:* (30) *The Anastasis*. (31) The Ascension of Christ. (32) The Dormition of the Mother of God. *Bottom zone:* (33) Sts. Athanasia and Andronicus, St. Nisteftis, St. Therapon, St. Kournoutos. (34) St. Mamas (after the Archangel).

*Bema north wall, top zone:* (35) Two prelates, upper parts destroyed. *Bottom zone:* (36) The Sacrifice of Isaac. *South wall, top zone:* (37) Two prelates, upper parts destroyed. *Middle zone:* (38) The Entertainement of the Angels. *Bottom Zone:* (39) The deacons Euplos and Athanasius Pentashenitis, on either side of a niche; (damaged figure in the niche). *East wall, pediment:* (40) The Ancient of Days (in the tip). (41) The Annunciation. *Wall left of apse, top to bottom:* (42) King David (in the spandrel). (43) St. Stephen. (44) The Utter Humiliation (in the niche of *prothesis*). *Wall right of apse, top to bottom:* (45) King Solomon (in the spandrel). (46) St. Laurentius. *Apse:* (47) The Virgin Mary *Orans*, Blachernitissa type, attended by the Archangels, in the conch, badly damaged in the upper part. (48) Six officiating prelates in the bottom: Tychon, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Spyridon.

*West wall, outside (now inside the later narthex):* (49) St. Irene and St. Anna "the mother of the Mother of God", on the left of the west entrance into the *naos*. (50) The Deesis, on the right of the same entrance; St. John was destroyed when the narthex was added.



*147. St. John the Baptist, 1495, church of St. Mamas, Louvaras.*

This picturesque old village lies 28 miles south of Nicosia via Deftera, in the Troodos range of mountains. It is divided by a stream into two sections.

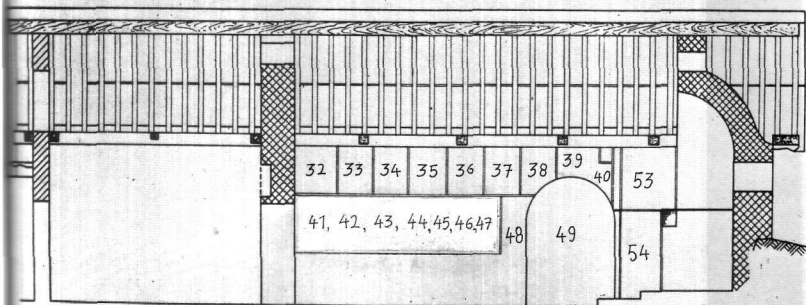
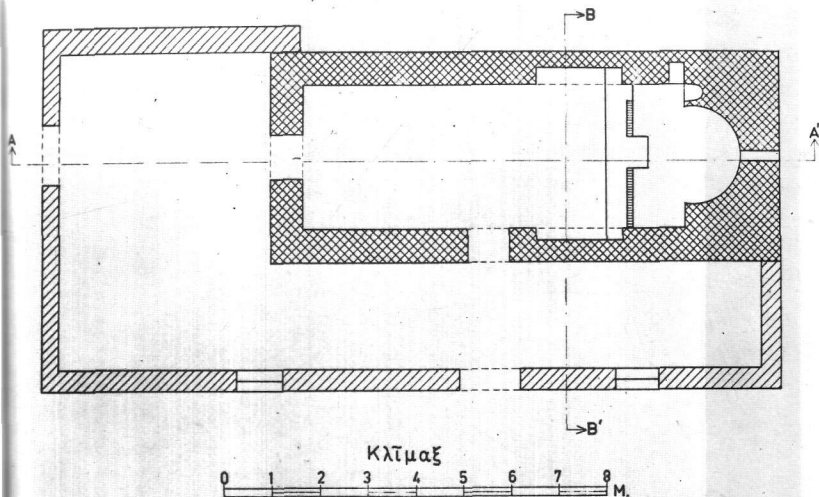
**27. The Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour (tou Soteris)**, is a small chapel on the hill overlooking the eastern section of the village. It is an early sixteenth-century building of the simple steep-pitched-roof type of these mountains, with an early seventeenth-century enclosure on the south-west (fig. 148). There is an arched recess in each of the side walls, as in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati and other contemporary ones of the same type.

The interior of the chapel is completely painted with one of the most accomplished series of wall-paintings of the post-Byzantine period in Cyprus, harking back to models of the Palaeologue revival of the preceding centuries, but using up-to-date techniques for facial evaluation and differentiation. It is unfortunate that the dedicatory inscription recording the erection and decoration of the church is fragmentary and has lost the last line with the date. Therefore, we shall have to date them by circumstantial evidence.

In spite of certain iconographic and stylistic affinities with the paintings in the churches of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati (1494), and of St. Mamas at Louvaras (1495), both painted by Philip Goul, the paintings of this chapel should be considered as slightly later, owing to the advanced techniques employed for the facial treatment. In this context, here we are within the boundaries of the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century. This is further supported by the stylistic as well as iconographic affinities with the paintings in the churches of St. Sozomenus and of the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, at Galata, executed by Symeon Axenti in 1513 and 1514, which furnish us with a firm ground to work from. Whether they should be dated before or after these dates it is a matter of conjecture. A date in the second decade of the sixteenth century, should not be very far from the truth. As we go on to describe the paintings in this church, we shall find out that the Western iconographic and stylistic influences in the paintings of Philip Goul in the churches of Agiasmati and Louvaras, are more restricted here.

The side walls have been divided into two zones, and the west one into three zones plus the pediment. The New Testament cycle unfolds itself in the upper zones, while the bottom one is reserved for the individual saints. The style is at its best in the individual saints, owing to the size of the figures depicted. Owing to the great reduction of the scenes, the figures in them often acquire a squat and rustic quality, which is usual inside and outside the island during this period.

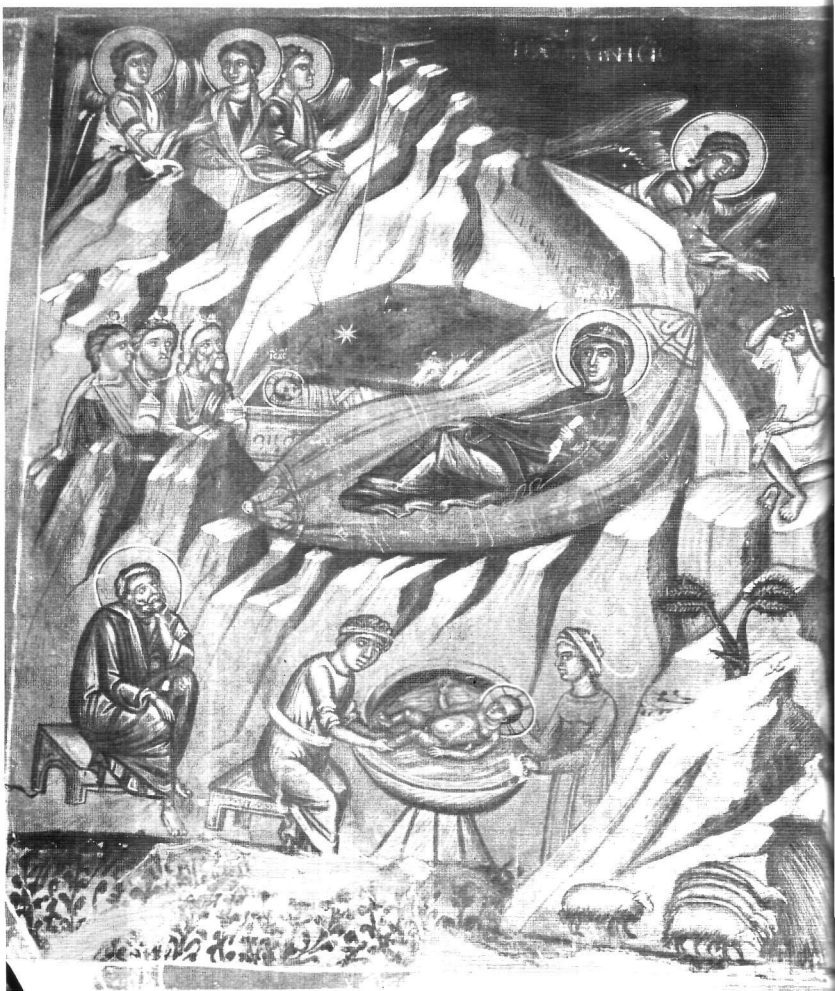
In a general book of this kind we cannot discuss all the paintings. We shall select some interesting scenes and figures as usual, for comment and evalua-



148. Ground plan and longitudinal section looking north, church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaechochio. (After Papageorgiou with acknowledgements; we added the numbers).

tion.

The New Testament cycle opens with the Annunciation in the east pediment, it culminates with the Crucifixion in the west pediment, and ends with the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the north wall, before the recess.



149. *The Birth of Christ*, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.





150. *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.



151. The Baptism of Christ, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.

Taking the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem as a first example (fig. 152), and comparing it with the same subject in the churches painted by Philip Goul and Symeon Axenti, as mentioned above, we find that the artist of this church used the same model as used by Symeon Axenti in the church of



152. *The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaechoorio.*

the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, at Galata. The posture of Christ riding the placid ass, the grouping, the postures and the characteristics of the Apostles, as well as those of the group of Hierosolimites pouring out of the Golden Gate of Jerusalem to receive Him, are identical with minor differentiations. The same can be said for the two compositions of the Raising of Lazarus in the two churches.

The grouping and arrangement of the Last Supper, with the reclining figure in the foreground, hark back to the so-called Macedonian school of the early Palaeologue period. The same can be said for the reclining figure in the foreground of the Agony in the Garden, which is reminiscent of a similar figure in the same scenes in the Protaton and Vatopedi churches on Mount Athos, and in the later church of the Transfiguration in Meteora, painted in 1483.

The iconography of the Betrayal is almost identical with the same subject in the church of St. Mamas painted by Philip Goul, as well as with that in the church of the Archangel painted by Symeon Axenti. Strikingly akin is the scene of the Empty Tomb, to the same subject in the church of St. Mamas (figs. 146, 156). The Lamentation, on the other hand, is almost identical with the same subject in the church of Agiasmati, excepting the uplifted arms of the protesting Magdalene in the latter (figs. 111b, 154).

The Crucifixion is a semi-narrative one. It includes the two thieves, the good one on the left (right of Christ), shown with brown hair and short round beard, and the bad one on the right (left of Christ), shown with white hair and two-pointed beard. Although the depiction of the two thieves goes back to early Byzantine times, their characteristics here savour of Western influence. The Virgin Mary, on the left, is pulling at her left cheek and she is supported by her two friends. Nearer the Cross, a youth in short tunic, and with gartered feet and legs, is piercing Christ's right side with a spear; his hair is tied with a ribbon and he also looks of a Western character. On the right of the Cross stands St. John with his right hand to his cheek, followed by the Good Centurion, with gartered legs and feet leaving his toes to show, holding a round shield rimmed in acanthus decoration and blazoned with a radiating sun. An elderly Jew in profile follows. The head of a soldier with a helmet appears between them. Over the Cross, two angels cover their eyes. Appearing from behind the walls of Jerusalem, a crowned female figure is collecting the blood issuing from the wound of Christ, urged by an angel. On the right, another female figure is moving away urged by an angel. These personifications of the Church and the Synagogue appear early in Byzantine art.

For the Resurrection he uses the Western scene (fig. 155), showing Christ stepping out of a sarcophagus, with three sleeping soldiers in the foreground, a scene almost identical with those depicted by Symeon Axenti in the churches of Galata, mentioned above. Symeon Axenti, however, also depicted the Byzantine *Anastasis*, which is here absent, perhaps a sign that these should be slightly later. In the church of the Dormition at Kourdali, the two scenes are again juxtaposed, although in the Western Resurrection the soldiers are multiplied, and Christ stands precariously on the rim of the sarcophagus.



153. *The Transfiguration of Christ, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaiochorio.*



154. *The Lamentation*, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.



155. *The Resurrection of Christ, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorto.*



157. Sts. George and Demetrius (reminiscent of the **Dioscourai** of ancient Greece), second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.





158. Repellent cross, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.

In the Descent of the Holy Spirit we note that the architectural background clings to tradition, as in most of the rest of the scenes, but the artist is not completely immune from the influence of the Italianate architectural backgrounds, as interpreted by Philip Goul in the church of Agiasmati, as we shall presently see.

The Communion of the Apostles, in the central zone of the apse, is one of the finest compositions in this church (figs. 169, 170). Christ is depicted twice standing on either side behind a draped table, attended by angels dressed as deacons and holding *rhipidia*. Christ, with His clipped beard and moustache, has lost His strong Byzantine character. He administers the bread to all the Twelve on the left, headed by Peter. Judas, who comes last, ejects the morsel of bread from his mouth into his hands, as he turns and walks away. His head is depicted in profile. On the right, Christ administers the wine out of a handleless jug to eleven of the Apostles, headed by young John; Judas is now missing. The Apostles are more compactly depicted on this side. This is one of the two surviving examples in which we meet all the disciples depicted twice in Cyprus; the second example is in the church of St. Nicholas near Galataria (*infra*). The usual arrangement is six on either side. Outside the island, we meet the Twelve depicted in both sections of the subject, in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki, with a fine series of paintings in the Palaeologue style of the second decade of the fourteenth century. While the draperies of the Apostles also hark back to fourteenth-century paintings of the so-called Macedonian school, the facial characteristics take on sixteenth-century elements, the delicate diffused light of the faces superimposed with linear bunches of highlights on the outer side, bringing out the emotion engendered by the scene. The unfunctional architectural background, on the other hand, is a Western infiltration as interpreted by the Cypriote painters. We have already met the peculiar cusped arch in the Last Supper in Agiasmati, and in the same scene and that of the Washing of the Feet in St. Mamas at Louvaras.

In the fine composition of the Hospitality of Abraham, otherwise the Entertainment of the Angels, on the north wall in the *bema* (fig. 165), we again meet an Italianate architectural background, with balustraded extensive verandahs in the upper storey, and the vaulted-type of roof we have met in some of the paintings in Agiasmati. The young heifer feeding from its mother gives a rustic touch to the composition and is based on the Old Testament account. It is a common detail of varying forms in the portable icons of the period, in most of the countries of the Byzantine world and beyond where its influence was felt, as far as Russia.

Of special interest is the painting of the *Thisia* (the Sacrifice), depicted above the niche of *prothesis*; showing the Child Christ in both the paten and in the chalice, attended by two angels holding an *aer* arching over the holy vessels; a face in profile looking down on to the Sacraments from the *aer* remains a puzzle (fig. 167). This iconography of the subject appears to be peculiar to Cyprus, the earliest surviving example, of the end of the twelfth century, being in the catacomb church of Agia Solomoni at Paphos. In the

rest of the Byzantine world the Child Christ is usually only depicted in one of the holy vessels. In the church of Agios Constantinos, in the hamlet of Parakalouri in Crete, there is a fine fourteenth-century representation depicting the Child Christ inside a late Byzantine cup on a high base, next to an empty chalice.

Taking the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse as a first example of the individual figures (fig. 168), and comparing her with the same subject in the churches of the Archangel at Pedoulas (1474) and of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata (1494), we find a change of approach (figs. 122, 205). The complicated linear folds of the garments of the Virgin Mary in the last two churches, have here given way to a simplified plastically-treated pattern, with the extensive lights of the *chiton* completely diffused, a simplification characteristic of the so-called Cretan school of the period. Even the medallion of Christ has been removed from the chest of the Virgin Mary, changing the Blachernitissa into a simplified *Orans*. The face of the Virgin Mary has also been treated in a new manner (fig. 168a). Over the liberal diffused light, a delicate multi-linear radiation of white highlights has been superimposed, resulting in an expression of joyfulness, a great differentiation from the Virgin in the two churches under comparison. We see the same technique applied to the faces of the deacons, as for example to that of St. John Lampadistis (fig. 166), although here the radiating lights are not so refined. This portable-icon-technique of breaking up the light into a multi-linear pattern, was in fact imitated in mosaic works and wall-paintings much earlier, if we can judge by the face of Christ in the famous Deesis composition in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the date of which is so widely disputed, by the face of Christ Pantocrator in the church of Parigoritissa at Arta in Greece, and by the face of the portrait of the Despot of Mystras, Theodore II Palaeologus, depicted as monk Theodoritus (+1443), in the church of the Brontochion at Mystras.

In his array of soldier-saints, monastics, Apostles, and prelates, the facial treatment with white highlights is varied according to the age and character of the subject. They are real portraits, with plastically-treated faces, placing Cyprus in the leadership of post-Byzantine developments in advance of the so-called Cretan school (figs. 159,160,162,163).

His robust soldier-saints armed to the teeth, look like overloaded Christmas trees, a tendency of the so-called Macedonian school. But the display of an arrow by St. Nestor is a weak point for a soldier-saint (fig. 162).

The style of his portraits of saints reaches its height in the officiating prelates in the bottom zone of the apse. Looking at the figure of St. Averkius (fig. 171, a rare representation), we find a masterpiece harking back to fourteenth-century works. It compares with St. Spyridon and the other prelates in the church of the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, near Galata (fig. 41), although we can say that the portrait of St. Averkius is more accomplished.

Before we go on to list the whole repertory of the painter in this church, we must single out the soldier Sts. George and Demetrius riding side by side, on

the wall of the south recess (fig. 157). St. George lays a brotherly hand on the shoulder of St. Demetrius, as they are shown ready to rush to the help of those in need, like the Dioscouri of ancient Greece. This is the only instance we meet the two saints riding together in Cyprus. The subject, however, is quite common in the fourteenth-fifteenth-century churches of Crete, as for example in the church of the Virgin Mary at Platania, and in the church of the Virgin Mary in Anisaraki, Kandanos, where St. Theodore joins them in the brotherly ride.

The young martyr St. Mamas riding his lion, a theme adopted by the Cypriotes since the fourteenth century, takes his place on the right of the west door, as in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, but his iconography varies in detail (fig. 161). (About St. Mamas, see the church of St. Mamas, Louvaras).

The unknown artist compiled his scheme drawing his iconography, style and technique from various sources, developing as he went along:—



159. St. Anthony (detail), second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour Palaeochorio.



160. Ss. Theodosios Cenobiarch, Arsenius, Hilarion, Onouphrios, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.

*Nave: south wall, top zone:* (1) The Death of St. Mary of Egypt (in the left spandrel over the recess), showing St. Zosimus standing on the left (head gone), St. Mary lying dead on the ground before him with her arms crossed on her chest, and a lion on the right digging with his claws. According to the relevant story, St. Zosimus found her thus on his third visit to her on the banks of the river Jordan and buried her with the help of a lion, the only representation of the scene so far known in Cyprus. (2) The three Youths in the furnace (right spandrel over the recess). (3) The Birth of Christ (fig. 149). The Virgin Mary lies on a sausage-like mattress with her head on the right, in the entrance of a cave. Christ in the manger lies with His head on the opposite side. The three Magi appear from the left, their lower parts hidden by an outcrop of mountains. In the top left there are three flying angels. In the top right, an angel announces the tidings to a young shepherd, seated on the ground with his legs crossed, wearing a short tunic and a wide-brimmed straw hat. He has a reed pipe in his left hand. In the foreground, Joseph is seated on a stool on the left, while in the centre, the midwife, seated on a stool, is giving Christ His first bath, helped by her assistant who stands on the right, pouring water into the basin from a minute jug. Christ is lying in the basin. On the right, a group of sheep are grazing at the foot of the hill. (4) The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (fig. 150), is based on the same model as used by Symeon Axenti in the church of the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos, at Galata. The Virgin Mary stands on the left, followed by Joseph holding a cage with two doves. On the right, Symeon is about to hand the Child Christ back to His mother. Behind him stands the Prophetess Anna holding the usual scroll. Between the two groups, there is an altar table with a book on it; its canopy appears grafted and unconnected with the table. There are conventional Byzantine buildings on either side in the background, with a rolled-up cloth hanging between them. There is elegance in the figures and their features and garments are gently lit up, excepting the *maphorion* of the Virgin. The treatment of the folds of the garments of Joseph and Symeon is reminiscent of the figures in the right-hand group of the *Anastasis* in the church of St. Saviour in Chora (Kahriye Camii). (5) The Baptism of Christ (fig. 151). (6) The Raising of Lazarus,

akin to the same subject in the Archangel at Galata. (7) The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (fig. 152). (8) The Transfiguration (fig. 153). *Bottom zone*: (9) Sts. George and Demetrius, riding side by side (fig. 157, wall of the recess). (10) St. Spyridon (left reveal of the arch of the recess). (11) Prelate Tychon (right reveal of the arch of the recess). (12) St. Paul (right of the recess), with a multi-pointed curly beard, a type common to portable icons and wall-paintings during this period, has lost his strong character of the mid-Byzantine period. (12a) Repellent crosses on the reveals of the south door (fig. 158). (13) St. Anthony (fig. 159). (14) St. Athanasius the Athonite, (15) St. Sabas, (16) St. Theodosius the Cenobiarch, (17) St. Arsenius, (18) St. Hilarion and (19) St. Onoufrius, without a division between them (fig. 160).

*West wall: top zone*: (20) The Last Supper. (21) The Washing of the Feet. (22) The Agony in the Garden. (23) The Betrayal. *Middle zone*: (24) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas. (25) Christ before Pilate (Pilate Washing his hands). (26) The Denial of Peter. (27) The Mocking of Christ. *Pediment*: (28) The Crucifixion. *Bottom zone*: (29) St. Paraskevi holding a small icon of Christ of Utter Humiliation (see Kalopanayiotis, the Monastery of St. John Lampadistis), and (30) St. Marina, with no division between them (left of the west door). (31) St. Mamas (right of door, fig. 161).

*North wall (fig. 148): top zone*: (32) *The Via Crucis*. (33) The Lamentation (fig. 154). (34) The Resurrection (fig. 155). (35) The Empty Tomb (fig. 156). (36) The Ascension. (37) The Descent of the Holy Spirit. (38) The Miracle of Chonae (left spandrel of the recess). (39) Daniel in the Lions' den (over the centre of the recess) with Daniel in two short tunics (one shorter than the other), cloak, gartered legs, boots leaving the instep and toes free, turning to the right to face approaching angel and figure. The tamed lions at his feet are naturalistic. (40) The Vision of St. Pachomius (right spandrel over the recess). Old Pachomius stands on the right, in short tunic, shallow black shoes, holding a rough stick, facing a winged female figure holding a scroll, on the left. *Bottom zone*: (41) St. Mercurius, soldier-saint standing facing slightly right, robust, with a spear in his right hand and a sheathed sword in his left resting them both on the ground. From his left arm hangs a Norman shield. (42) St. Nestor (fig. 162), soldier-saint, standing facing right, head a little inclined, displaying an arrow held between finger tips at either end, a bow hanging from his left arm, a quiver with arrows appearing at his right side and a sword at his left. (43) St. Eustathius (Eustace, fig. 162), robust, spear upwards planted in the ground with right hand, round shield in left hand, bow appearing at left shoulder, and quiver with arrows at his right side. (44) St. Theodore the General, robust, full face to the spectator, curly hair and three-pointed curly beard, unsheathed sword upwards in his right hand, left hand steadying a round shield on the ground, spear upwards from behind his left side. They all wear plate armour over short tunics, hose and gaiters. (45) St. Andrew (fig. 163). (46) St. Luke, (47) St. Nicholas. There is no division between the last seven saints. (48) St. Peter. (49) The Archangel Michael on the wall of the recess (lower part damaged). (50) St. Symeon Stylites (on the left reveal of the arch of the recess). (50a) Dedicatory inscription (on the right reveal of the arch of the recess). (51) St. Cosmas and (52) St. Damian (in the archivolt of the arch of the recess).

*Bema: north wall*: (53) The Sacrifice of Isaac, at the top (fig. 164) and (54) St. Laurentius, a deacon, below. *South wall*: (55) The Entertainment of the Angels, at the top (fig. 165). (56) St. John Lampadistis (fig. 166), (57) St. Athanasius Pentaschenitis, below. *East wall, pediment*: (58) The Annunciation. *Left of apse, top to bottom*: (59) King David, (60) Prophet Isaiah, (61) The Sacrifice (*Thstia*, fig. 167). *Niche of prothesis*: (62) Utter Humiliation. *Right of apse, top to bottom*: (63) King Solomon (64) prophet Jeremiah and (65) St. Stephen. *Apsse, conch*: (66) The Virgin Mary, inscribed as the Mistress of the Archangels (figs. 168, 168a). *Middle zone*: (67) The Communion of the Apostles (figs. 169-170). *Bottom zone*: Officiating prelates (68) Antipas, (69) Epiphanius, (70) Chrysostom, (71) Basil, (72) Gregory and (73) Averkius (fig. 171). (73a) Painted Holy table between them, with the paten and the chalice, the latter in the form of a double-handled jug (fig. 167a).

*West wall outside: niche above door*: (1) Christ as a prelate, crowned, wearing a *sakkos* and an *omophorion*, and blessing with both hands. *Left of door*: (2) St. John the Theologian and (3) the Virgin Mary enthroned. *Right of door*: (4) Christ Enthroned and (5) St. John Prodromos. The recorded date 1612 over the door, refers to these last five paintings on the outside of the west wall.

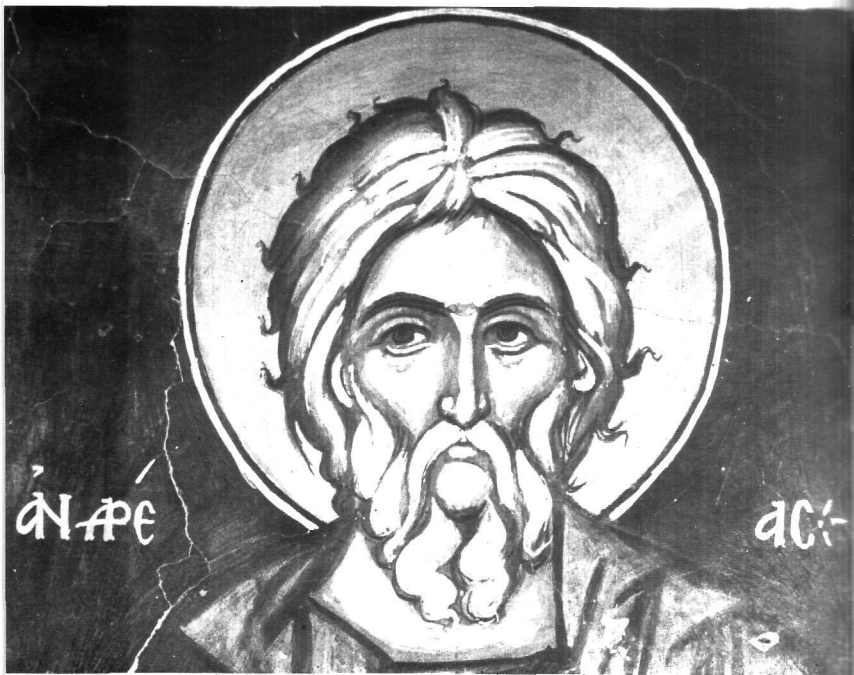


161. St. Mamas, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaechochio.

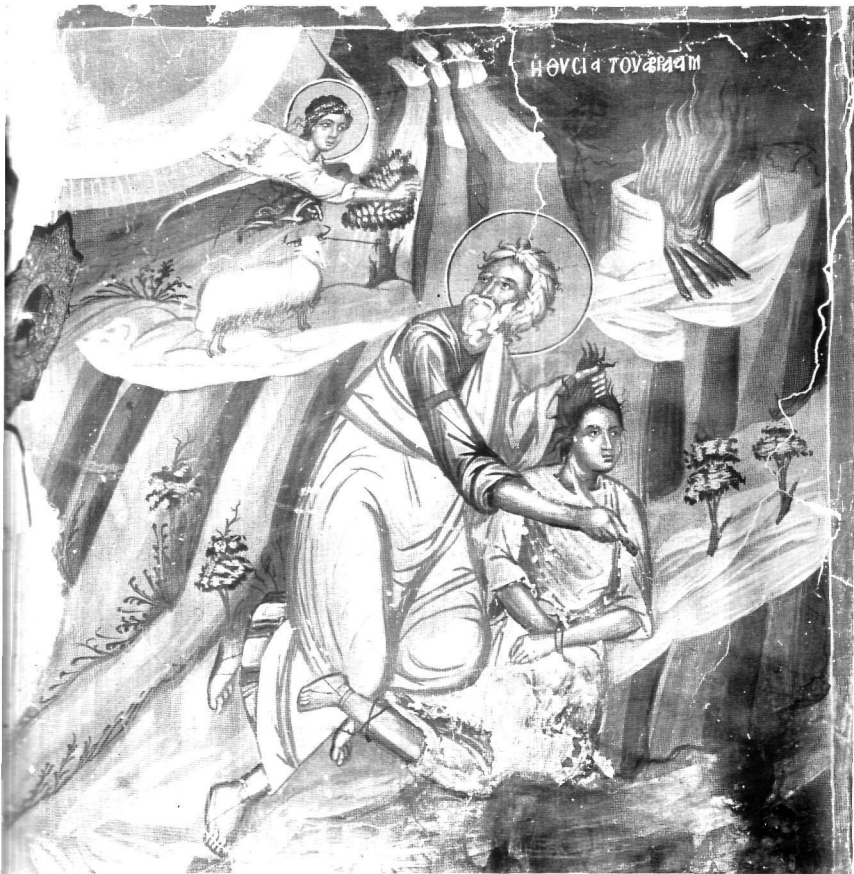


162. Sts. Nestor and Eustathius, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.





163. *St. Andrew (detail), second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.*



164. *The Sacrifice of Isaac, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.*



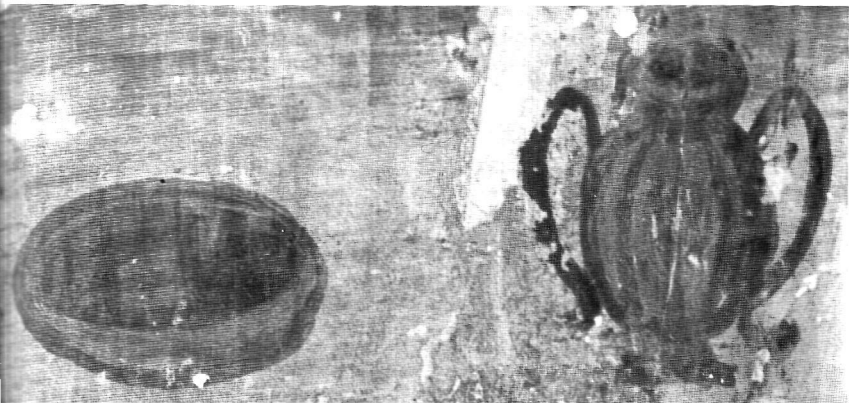
165. *The Entertainment of the Angels, otherwise the Hospitality of Abraham, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaechochio.*



166. St. John Lampadistis, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.



167. *The Sacrifice*, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaiochorio.



*167a. The paten and the chalice, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.*



168a. *The Virgin Mary, detail of the preceding illustration.*



169. *The Communion of the Apostles, "Take, eat, this is my body", second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaeochorio.*





170. *The Communion of the Apostles, "Drink ye all of it", second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration, Palaeochorio.*



171. St. Averkius, second decade of the 16th c., church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Palaechochio.

**28. The Church of Panagia Chrysopantanassa.** The main church of the upper village of Palaiochorio stands by the main road and is a timber-roofed miniature basilica, divided into a nave and two aisles by built arcades.

The church retains four cycles of wall-paintings depicted on both sides of the arcades, but they are covered with dust and smoke, plus a film of late varnish, which make them difficult to study before they are cleaned. Besides the Christological cycle, there is a cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary, on the south side of the south arcade (south aisle), another one of the life and miracles of St. Nicholas, on the north side of the north arcade (north aisle), and a cycle of eight scenes concerning the Discovery and *Hypsosis* of the Holy Cross, on the south side of the north arcade (nave). Their style and iconography suggest a date in the sixteenth century, with Venetian influence.

The cycle of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, which follows after the scene of the *Via Crucis*, is far removed from the two cycles in the churches of the Holy Cross of Agiasmata and of the Holy Cross at Kyperounda, already described. In this context, we shall try and give a short description of this new cycle.

The cycle starts with the double composition depicting the Interrogation of the Jews by St. Helena and the Casting of Judas into the well. In the first scene Helena is seated on the left under a canopy; she is dressed in her usual Byzantine garments, but her cloak is painted bright scarlet, which dominates the composition. In the second scene, two men are in the act of casting Judas, head downwards, into the well, an unusual though harsh rendering. The entrance to the well has the shape of a large *pithos* (local *pithari*, wine jar).

Another double composition, depicted below the above, carries the theme further, unfolding from right to left. On the right, we have the release of Judas from the well in a very rustic conception and execution: the well is shown in "section" and Judas hangs in mid-air with his hands tied behind his back; the rope goes over a piece of wood lying across the entrance to the well and is pulled by a man in a kneeling position. In the second scene, on the left, we have a further interrogation of Judas by St. Helena concerning the whereabouts of the Holy Cross. Judas stands before Helena in a reluctant posture, guarded by soldiers with pointed helmets and round shields. Helena is seated. Several Jews stand in the back before an architectural background with arches, the depths of which are painted scarlet. Their conception appears to be influenced by architectural backgrounds in Western Renaissance paintings.

Next to the first double scene we have the Excavations for the Discovery of the Holy Cross. Helena stands on the left and dominates the scene with her elegant posture and scarlet cloak. On the right, four men dig for the Cross; they are depicted on a smaller scale.

The next two scenes, in one composition, depict the Presentation of the discovered crosses to Helena, and the Testing of the crosses. In the first, Helena stands on the left. Before her are standing three crosses, each supported by a man. In the second scene we see a dead woman lying flat in bed, a grey colour predominating throughout. The Testing is done by Macarius, who lays one of

the crosses on her from over the end of the bed, watched by Helena whose scarlet cloak contrasts with the grey appearance of the death-bed. The miracle has not yet taken place.

The last scene of the cycle is the *Hypsosis* of the Holy Cross, which introduces further developments after the two examples from the churches of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati and of the Holy Cross at Kyperounda. A full size Cross is erected on an *ambo* with a double staircase. On the left of the Cross stands Bishop Macarius facing right. On either side, on the stairs of the *ambo*, stands a deacon holding a lighted candle. There is an attempt to depict the Cross in three dimensions; it is supported by its transverse bar by two groups of three angels from either side, depicted in kneeling postures in Western rendering. There are two groups of spectators at either end of the *ambo*: men on the left, women on the right; the women are headed by Helena and the men by four hooded monks with powerful beards. In the background, on the left, there is a rectangular building with arched doors, and on the right a domed one.

The church retains some interesting portable icons as well as an interesting silver-gilt bowl, bearing the Virgin Mary *Orans* in the centre, surrounded by the two Archangels and the symbols of the four Evangelists, executed in *repoussé*.

This is another picturesque mountain village, high up on the north side of the Troodos range of mountains, further up from Pal(a)eochorio.

**29. The Church of St. John Prodromos.** This is the village church still in use and it lies to the south-east. It is a three-aisled small basilica with arcades carried on columns, dividing the side aisles from the nave. The whole is covered by a steep-pitched wooden roof, with flat hooked tiles, an indigenous form of roofing in these mountains since the main Byzantine period. The church dates from the sixteenth century, but it was extended at the west end in 1763.

An inscription on a wooden panel preserved in the church, talks about the starting of the painting of the church in ca. 1560. The rich repertory of the painter shows that the painting of churches was still flourishing before the conquest of the island by the Turks in 1570-1.

The church retains paintings in the apse and on both sides of the arcades. They need cleaning before they can be evaluated.

In the conch of the apse we have the Virgin Mary of the Blachernitissa type, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, swinging censers. In the middle zone we have the Communion of the Apostles, the giving of the bread on the left, including the departing Judas, and the giving of the wine on the right, with St. John partaking first; Paul is eliminated. In the bottom zone of the apse are depicted the officiating prelates Spyridon, Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, Athanasius and Epiphanius. Between them is painted the altar table with a *rhipidion* on either side.

The greater part of both sides of the south arcade are covered with scenes from the life of St. John Prodromos, the only cycle of the theme we have met in the painted churches of Cyprus.

Taking the north side of the south arcade, and working from left to right, we have the following paintings: two scenes of the Entertainment of the Angels by Abraham, namely the *Philoxenia* on the left, and the Washing of their feet on the right (in the *bema*); the Vision of Zacharias; the Birth of St. John Prodromos with the scene of his Naming, below it; Elizabeth with young John; John Prodromos in the desert; the Preaching of John Prodromos; the Pharisees and Sadducees visiting John Prodromos; "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand"; John Prodromos before Herod; the Beheading of John Prodromos; the Burial of John Prodromos; at the west end there is a section of the Last Judgement; above the central column (below the preaching of Prodromos), is painted the Baptism of Christ; below the Entertainment of the Angels in the *bema*, we have Sts. John Lampadistis and Stephen the first Martyr.

Moving to the south side of the south arcade we find the following surviving scenes: after another section of the Last Judgement, we have the Temptation of Christ; Christ Ministered to by the Angels; John Prodromos visited by the soldiers; John Prodromos Baptizing; Jesus comes to Prodromos; "I have need to be Baptized of thee"; and another scene hidden by the *iconostasis*; below the scenes of Prodromos Baptizing and his Meeting with Christ, we have Daniel in the lions' den. In the soffits of the arches are

painted individual saints.

Facing the north arcade (south side), we see another section of the Last Judgement at the west end, and then we have the Lamentation; the Entombment; the *Anastasis*; the Resurrection (Western type); "Touch Me not"; "Hail Mary"; Peter and John Before the Empty Tomb; a damaged scene: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations"; Doubting Thomas; the Last Supper and a damaged scene at the east end; below the Entombment and the *Anastasis* is depicted the Cure of the paralytic; below the scenes of Hail Mary and Peter and John at the Empty Tomb is depicted the scene of Christ with the woman of Samaria; below Doubting Thomas we have the Cure of the blind man.

On the north side of the north arcade, after a Prophet and a damaged scene, starting from the east, we find the Miraculous draught of fish; two unidentified scenes with the Parable of the rich man and Lazarus below them; the Cure of Peter's mother-in-law(?) a damaged scene; the Ascension; the Pentecost; the Parable of the Virgins with their lamps (below the preceding two); the Cure of the woman with the issue of blood; the Raising of Jairus' daughter; the Cure of the ten lepers; Zacchaeus in the sycamore-tree; and the scene of the Cure of the two possessed men (below the last two); a damaged scene and another section of the Last Judgement follow at the west end. In the soffits of the arches we have another series of individual saints including women.

The *iconostasis* is contemporary with the church, including the surviving icons of the Great Deesis, namely of Christ, the Virgin Mary, John Prodromos, Peter, Paul, Andrew and John.

**30. The Church of St. Christina.** About two miles to the west of the village of Askas, towards the next village of Phterikoudi, there is a small chapel which is called St. Paraskevi by the villagers, but is actually dedicated to St. Christina. It is of the mountain type with the timber roof and flat tiles, dated by an inscription to the year 1518. The chapel was extended at the west end in 1901, when the original west wall was removed.

The original chapel retains its decoration. Owing to the small size of the chapel, there is only one zone of paintings of individual saints, on the south and north walls. The paintings on the south wall in the nave start with the Archangel Michael, on the left of the original entrance, now a window; (a new entrance was left in the western addition on the same wall). Over the original door, there is the Holy Handkerchief, and below it in a separate painted panel, we have the dedicatory inscription (fig. 172): "This most divine church of the great martyr St. Christina, was erected from the foundations and painted at the expense and through the great desire of Constantine Mardaki and of his wife Mandelena (*Madeleine*), in the year 7026" (1518). On the reveals of the present window (original door), there are painted repellent crosses with letters on either side. After the window, we have the half-length figures of Sts. Peter and Paul and then the figures of St. Nicholas and St. Anthony.

Moving to the north wall, we meet St. Mamas riding his lion, and next to him the mounted St. George with the enigmatic figure seated behind him, holding a water jug and a cloth in his hands, a very popular iconography in Cyprus. Next to St. George, we have the figure of St. Christina, the patron Saint of the chapel, with two donors kneeling on either side, a man on the left and a woman on the right, presumably Constantine Mardaki and his foreign wife mentioned in the inscription. Their portraits are rather damaged, but Constantine has a brown beard and wears what appears to be a black tunic. His wife is more richly dressed, and in a similar fashion to her contemporary namesake donor in the chapel of the Archangel-Panagia Theotokos below Galata, painted by Symeon Axenti in 1514. The main difference is that she has a girdle instead of a white apron.

Entering into the *bema*, we find the Sacrifice of Isaac on the north wall, and



172. The Holy Handkerchief and the dedicatory inscription, 1518, church of St. Christina, Askas.

two prelates (heads gone), on the south wall. In the east pediment, above the apse, we have the Annunciation. On the wall left of the apse, are painted King David and St. Stephen, one below the other; on the bottom of the *sticharion* of St. Stephen, is written the name Sisinius, in red and in different writing from the rest of the inscriptions of the church. In the niche of *prothesis* there is a painted cross with the spear and sponge on either side. On the right of the apse we have King Solomon and St. Laurentius (deacon), one below the other. In the conch of the apse the Virgin Mary *Orans* takes her place, attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael. Below her, there are six prelates converging in groups of three towards the centre, in officiating postures and with inscribed scrolls in their hands: Spyridon, John Eleimon (the Almoner), Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Athanasius.

Although there is a weakness in the rendering of the pupils of the eyes, as in the church of the Archangel in Pedoulas, the technique and style of the unknown artist are nearer to the contemporary, so-called Cretan school.

## XXI. KALOPANAYIOTIS

This is the first village in the Marathasa valley (to the west of the Solea valley), on the north side of the Troodos range of mountains. The village (fig. 173), lies at a height of 2,350 feet above sea level and it is famous for its sulphur waters: distance from Nicosia, 45 miles.

**31. The Monastery of St. John Lampadistis** (fig. 174), lies on the east side of the stream Setrachos, running along the east side of the village, and it is one of the most interesting Byzantine monuments of the island. It is situated not far from the sulphur springs. The monastery is today disused.

The church of the monastery is a combination of several buildings of various dates: a cross-in-square church of the eleventh century on the south, dedicated to St. Heracleidius; a rebuilt, barrel-vaulted church in the middle, dedicated to St. John Lampadistis, a local saint whose name the monastery bears; a common narthex attached along the west end of the two churches in



173. The village of Kalopanayiotis.





*174. The Monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.*

about the middle of the fifteenth century, originally barrel-vaulted but now timber-roofed; a tall vaulted building on the north, attached at the end of the fifteenth century, perhaps as a Latin chapel. The whole structure is covered by a colossal, second protective roof with flat tiles.

The monastic buildings on the south (fig. 175), have recently been restored by the Department of Antiquities, in collaboration with the Kyrenia See (before the Turkish invasion of 1974). Of interest are the olive-press and wine-press in the ground floor of the east wing, and the treasury hide-out in the ground floor of the west wing.

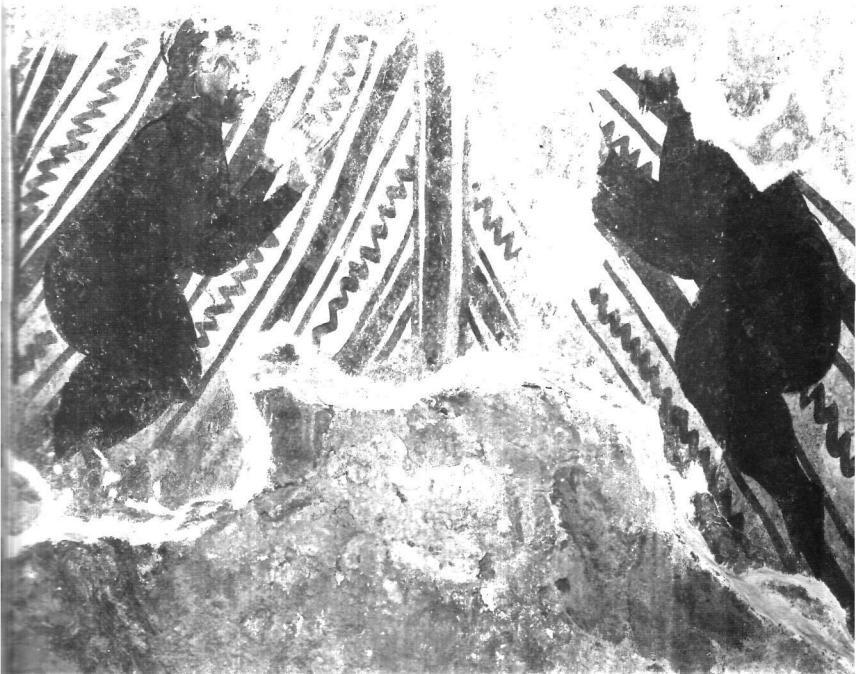
**The Church of St. Heracleidius.** St. Heracleidius to whom the church is dedicated, was ordained as the first Bishop of Tamasus by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas in 45 A.D. He later became the Archbishop of the island.



175. Courtyard of the Monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

During recent work in the church by the Antiquities Department, some remnants of two early decoration schemes have been discovered in the lower zone of the apse. The top layer is painted with zig-zag and straight lines in imitation of marble panelling, and bears in its centre two monks in *proskynesis* postures. They wear red gowns and their proportions are faulty (fig. 176); they should date from the twelfth century. The earlier layer, which shows in different places under the above painting, should date from the eleventh century; this corroborates our original suggestion concerning the erection of the church.

The church today retains two later series of paintings. The earliest series comprises the paintings in the dome, the south vault and the western arm of the nave; we date them in the first half of the thirteenth century. There is



176. Monk donors, 12th c., church of St. Heracleidius, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

recourse to an earlier Comnenian style, interpreted in a «popular» spirit, characterized by rigidity, heavy outlines, waxy flesh, and lack of differentiation. There is a strong Oriental flavour in the characters of some of the figures. The colours are vivid (where they have not faded), scarlet and yellow-ochre predominating. The cheeks and lips of the figures are emphasized with scarlet-red. Some of the backgrounds of the paintings are also painted scarlet, a thirteenth century feature also common in the West during this period.

The best preserved painting of the series is that of the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, in the western vault (fig. 177). In spite of the rigid immobility of the attendants, the whole picture is of a high aesthetic quality, enhanced by the vividness of the colours and the idyllic composition of the palm-tree, which is loaded with dates and children like an illustration of a fairy tale. The children on the palm-tree wear black leather gloves, an unusual but realistic feature.

The fine scene of the Raising of Lazarus, opposite the Triumphal Entry, is not so well preserved. The very elongated figure of Lazarus, swaddled up like a mummy, is shown erect in the entrance of his tomb, based on the traditional burial place shown to the visitors to Bethany (compare with the same subject in the church of Asinou). Christ advances from the left, followed by Peter, John and James, while Martha and Mary are prostrate by His feet.

In the Crucifixion, in the lunette of the west wall, the Virgin Mary falls into the arms of one of the three women who accompany her. On the other side, St. John has his right hand to his cheek. The Good Centurion standing next to him, holds an oval shield blazoned with the lion rampant, the emblem of the Royal family of the Lusignans, the then rulers of the island. This Crusader iconographical influence appears to be in common with other Byzantine paintings outside the island. We mention the fourteenth-century church of St. John, Anoyia in Crete, as an example where the Good Centurion in the Crucifixion holds a Norman shield blazoned with a black eagle.

The Sacrifice of Isaac is depicted below the Raising of Lazarus, an unusual place contrary to custom, for it is usually placed somewhere near the niche of *prothesis* in the *bema*, as the symbolical interpretation of the Sacrifice of Christ.

The only other composition of the series is the Ascension, covering the whole of the vault of the south arm. Christ is seated on a backless throne with scarlet and green cushions, within a pointed-oval aureole, an early Byzantine formula also favoured by Romanesque art; the aureole is supported by four angels. In the segment of the sky over Christ, there is the Preparation of the Throne. The «empty throne» goes back to pre-Hellenic times, when worshippers used to prepare empty thrones on which their gods might take their seats.

In the dome we have Christ Pantocrator surrounded by a zone of eight angels in worshipping postures down on one knee, converging in two groups from opposite directions towards the Preparation of the Throne in the east; at the west, they are divided by a cherub. Christ is wearing a purple-madder *himation* instead of the usual blue. An inscription in the border around Christ defines Him as the Ruler of the World. Between the four windows of



177. The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, 13th c., church of St. Heracleidius, Monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

the drum, we have a choir of twelve prophets: David, Solomon, Jeremiah, Elijah, Aaron, Habakkuk, Elisha, Zacharias, Daniel, Ezekiel, Jonah, Isaiah. In the pendentives we have the robust figures of the Evangelists.

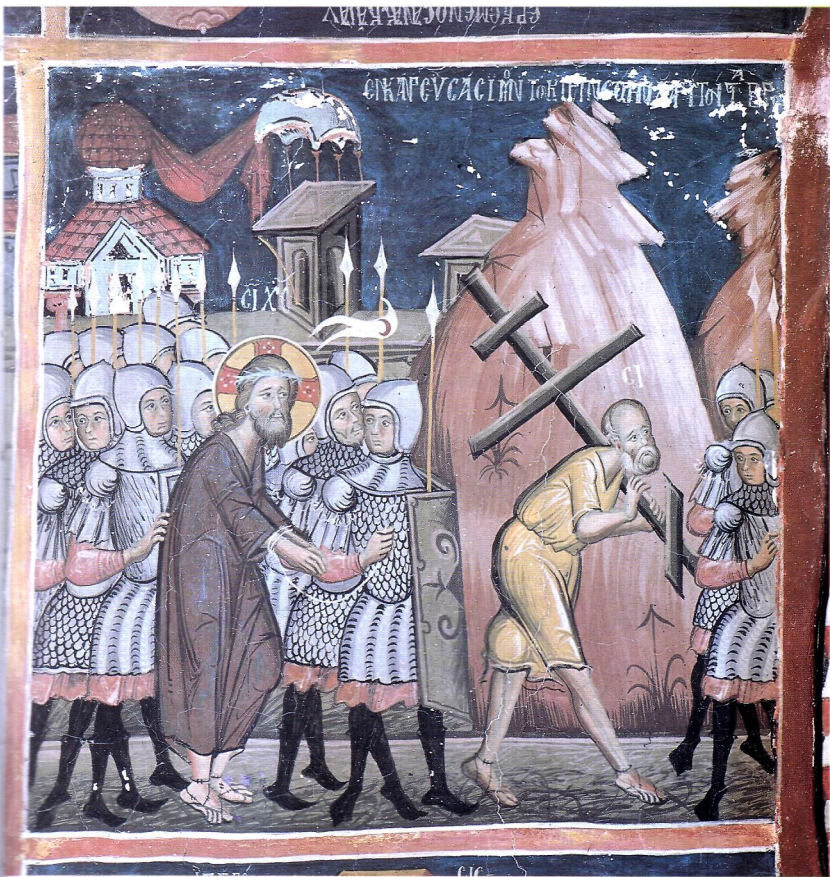
The rest of the paintings of this series are as follows. On the west sides of the east piers we have the life-size figures of the Virgin Mary and Christ and a prophet above each one of them. On the side facing east of the south-west pier, there is an unusual Deesis showing Christ in a scarlet medallion, above the interceding figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. A bust of a prophet is depicted above it. On the north side of the same pier is painted St. Kyriaki, a fine figure dressed in royal apparel, with the personifications of the days of the Holy Week depicted in medallions down her front, an early surviving example of this possibly Cypriote iconography (see Archangel, Pedoulas); and a woman martyr in red *maphorion* (name gone). On the west side of the same pier, we have the bust of the Virgin Mary with Christ in her left arm, in imitation of portable icons. Moving to the north-west pier, we find Sts. Andronicus and Athanasia on the east side, the Holy Handkerchief above them showing Christ's head with a double-pointed forked beard, and a prophet above it. On the west side of the same pier stands St. Paraskevi holding a medallion bearing Christ of the Utter Humiliation, a personification of Good Friday, through misunderstanding of earlier representations of the Virgin Mary holding a similar medallion depicting her Son after the Deposition, exhibited on Good Friday (Megali Paraskevi) for veneration. The subject is quite common in the later churches of Cyprus. On the south side of the same pier are painted St. Heracleidius and St. Symeon Stylites, an odd combination. Such unusual combinations usually happened during partial redecoration of churches.

The colossal Archangel Michael, on the right of the west door, also belongs to this series of paintings.

**The second of the two series of paintings** in the church of St. Heracleidius, constitutes an interesting ensemble of late Byzantine paintings of an individual character in some respects, with no parallel in the island. We have not been able to trace a parallel in monumental painting outside the island either. A New Testament cycle of over thirty scenes unfolds itself in a quick tempo in the remaining vaults of the church. The subjects have multiplied and the vaults are now covered with eight compositions instead of the earlier two.

*Eastern vault over the altar:*— (1) The Annunciation. (2) The Birth of Christ. (3) The Adoration of the Magi. (4) The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. (5) Christ Dispatching His Disciples to fetch the colt. (6) The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. (7) Mary, the sister of Lazarus, meets Christ on His way to Bethany. (8) The Raising of Lazarus.

*Northern vault:*— (9) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas (according to John). (10) Christ before Pilate (first time). (11) The Mocking. (12) The *Via Crucis* (fig. 178). (13) The Crucifixion. (14) The Entombment (fig. 179). (15) The *Anastasis*. (16) The three Marys at the Empty Tomb. *Lunette of the north wall:*— The Death of the Mother of God (remnants; in the eighteenth



178. The *Via Crucis*, ca. 1400, church of St. Heracleidius, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

century, an arch was cut through the wall of the northern arm, to join this church with that of St. John Lampadistis).

*South-west compartment of the nave: lunette of the west wall:*— (18) Christ before Annas and Caiaphas, almost similar to and with the same title as the above entry number (9), but meant to be before Caiaphas according to Matthew. *Vault:*— (19) The Last Supper. (20) The Washing of the Feet. (21) The Agony in the Garden. (22) The Betrayal. (23) The Denial. (24) Pilate Washing his hands, according to Matthew, see also number (10). (25) The High Priest rending his garments.

*North-west compartment, lunette of the west wall:*— (26) the Transfiguration; *vault:*— (27) the Syrophenician woman invoking Christ's help for her daughter, who was "grievously vexed with the devil"; (28) Zacchaeus in the sycamore-tree; (29 and 30) two almost identical compositions depicting the Appearances of Christ to His Disciples after the Resurrection; (31) Doubting Thomas.

Here we have a narrative cycle with some double scenes, drawn from different Gospels but corroborating each other, and some rare ones like the Syrophenician woman, and Zacchaeus in the sycamore-tree. It is a dramatic cycle with stress on the Passion of our Lord.

In the composition of the Entombment (fig. 179), Christ is swaddled in



179. The Entombment, ca. 1400, church of St. Heracleidius, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.



mummy fashion as in the early Christian representations, a very conservative element, but negative for the purpose of dating the paintings. The panoply and overall characteristics of the soldiers in the Passion scenes on the other hand, are of a Crusader character of ca 1370 (see fig. 178). They are clad in a combination of chain-mail and plate armour with shoulder protections, they wear slightly pointed steel helmets and hold Western types of large shields; under their mail they wear short, red tunics. Their black hose and black boots with pointed toes, however, hark back to specimens of the mid-Byzantine period, as for example in the eleventh-century *Menologion*, codex 14 of the Monastery of Esphigmenou of Mount Athos; there, their hose are of different colours but this should not worry us here. These soldiers hold upright spears, one of them usually bearing a white pennon with a red crescent, a Roman symbol. We have here a lancer regiment.

The colours are vivid and differentiated, the modelling of the heads with broad foreheads and thick hair reflecting the Palaeologue style. The green shadowing of the faces and the rouge cheeks are also in the Byzantine tradition, as are the rocky outcrops and the scarlet curtains hanging from rods across the illusory buildings in the background, or thrown over the bulbous dome of the rotunda of the *Anastasis*. This bulbous dome on a high drum is an arresting element seldom so persistently found in monumental paintings, and shows an attempt at real topography possibly based on manuscript illumination, a suggestion further supported by the small beady eyes of the figures.

Concerning the Oriental bulbous dome, we meet it in the mosaics of the two-storied arcade of the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and we find it in Byzantine manuscript illuminations as early as the eleventh century, as for example in many scenes of the above mentioned *Menologion*. We meet it on the ciborium of the altar in the scene of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, in Queen Melisende's illuminated psalter of a hybrid Franco-Byzantine style, executed in the scriptorium of Jerusalem in ca 1131-43. In monumental painting, we meet it in a Triumphal Ride in the church of Ravanica, Jugoslavia, of 1376-7, and in an Oecumenical Council of 1500-2, in the monastic church of the Virgin Mary of Ferapontov monastery in Russia; we also find it in many portable icons thereafter in the same country. The bulbous dome was of course adopted for the multi-domed churches in Russia, common there from the fifteenth century onwards. The bulbous dome also appears in some secular works, as for example in the book of Hours of René of Anjou (ca 1436), and in the Description of the Holy Land by Burchard of Mount Sion, made for Philip of Burgundy in 1455. In this context, this conspicuous iconographical detail of the paintings under study is also rather negative in helping us to determine a precise date for them.

There is a rustic quality in some of the compositions, as for example in the Denial of Peter, where the figure of Peter is squat as he sits on the ground to warm his feet by the open fire, itself a rustic detail; the crowing cock in the same scene is as big as the small tower on which it stands and out of proportion to the weeping Peter. The titles of the paintings tend to be colloquial,

suggesting an artist more illiterate than usual.

The remnants of the Tree of Jesse, on the wall of the south arm, belong to the same series of paintings. (A large door with a window over it was opened here in 1731, destroying most of the painting). Prophet Balaam riding his talking ass faced by the angel of the Lord barring his way with his sword, provides us with a lively scene (fig. 180). His inscribed scroll connects the scene with the genealogy of Christ: "There shall come a star out of Jacob"... (Numbers 22, 24:17).

The individual saints of this series of paintings present us with a host of little-known prelates, including Popes seldom depicted. Some of the main prelates are repeated in different parts of the church. Some prelates are also placed in the western parts of the nave along with monastic saints, a departure from the established rules. There are also repetitions of saints already depicted in the earlier series of paintings. Below, we set the list of the individual saints:—

In the conch of the apse we have the Virgin Mary *Orans*, Blachernitissa type, attended by the two Archangels Michael and Gabriel. In the lower zone of the apse survive the upper parts of six officiating prelates converging in groups of three towards the centre, where they are attended by two angels (damaged), holding *rhypidia*. Rays of light descend from a segment of the sky above them. The names of the prelates have been obliterated, but they can be identified as Nicholas, Epiphanius of Cyprus, with a cloth cap, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, and ...?... (Below them are the remnants of the two earlier layers of paintings mentioned at the beginning).

In the spandrels over the small arch leading from the *bema* into the north *parabema*, are depicted the prelates Tychicus and Cyril (half length); on the left pier there is a deacon, and in the soffit of the arch are the busts of the prelates Criskis and Silianus (30th of July, seldom depicted); below them are two more prelates.

In the north *parabema* we have the bust of the Virgin Mary *Orans*, in the conch of the small apse, and below her are depicted the prelates Chrysostom and Basil (damaged). In the low vault are painted eight half-length prelates, four on each side:— James, ...?..., Nicanor, ...?... (north), and Silas, Timon, Ananias, Cleopas (south); on the pier below, another prelate. A small modern door through the north wall of this compartment into the *bema* of the church of St. John, cuts through a composition of the Deesis (only the heads survive).

In the right-hand spandrel over the small arch leading from the *bema* into the south *parabema*, we face Pope Cricus, and on the pier below him we have another prelate. In the soffit of the arch are depicted the prelates Philologus and Olympas (rarely depicted); below the latter, there is another prelate on the pier.

In the south *parabema* itself, is repeated the bust of the Virgin Mary in the conch of the small apse. In the low vault are depicted another group of obscure prelates:— Herodion, Patrovas, Hermas, ...?..., (north), and ...?..., Linus, Hermes, Phlegon (south, fig. 181). In the lower zone of the south wall there are remnants of three more prelates. Another prelate is shown on the south-east pier.



180. Prophet Balaam riding his talking ass, part of the Tree of Jesse, ca. 1400, church of St. Heracleidius, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.



181. Prelates, ca. 1400, church of St. Heracleidus, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

Moving to the south-west compartment of the nave, we again meet the prelates Gregory, Chrysostom and Basil, out of place on the west wall, next to three monastics on the south wall. Looking to the north, we face prophet Malachias in the left spandrel, and St. Anastasia the poison-curer on the right pier. In the soffit of the small arch leading into the western arm of the nave, are depicted Solomon and David. St. Paraskevi, holding a small icon of Christ of the “Utter Humiliation”, repeats the same subject of the thirteenth century, depicted on the west side of the north-west pier.

In the north-west compartment we find a prelate on the west wall (right of a modern door). Looking south, we face prophets Ezekiel and Joel in the upper parts of the piers on either side of the small arch, with St. Heracleidus and St. Mamas standing below them. Looking north, we face prophet Jonas on the left of the small arch leading into St. John’s church.

In the past, we dated these wall-paintings in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the light of further research, we now believe that they should be earlier. In the context of all we have noted above, we suggest a date ca. 1400 for this series of paintings in the church of St. Heracleidus.

**The low painted screen** separating the sanctuary from the main church, is of the type used before the elaborately wood-carved type of *iconostasis* was introduced in the late 15th century. It is powdered with badges and coats of arms of the Lusignan and other families of the Latin rulers, but it also includes the eagle, single-headed, double-headed and cross-headed (fig. 182). They are mingled with animals, birds and other quaint devices, which suggest that the coats of arms and badges were here borrowed for decorative purposes. (The two panels at the top are not in situ).

On the left of the Royal door there is an icon of the Archangel Michael, with three angels in miniature form down the margins on either side. On the right of the Royal door is the icon of St. Heracleidus in



182. Painted panel with heraldic devices, 14th c., *templeon* of the church of St. Heracleidius, monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

vestments, with a kneeling donor and the inscription along its bottom: "Supplication of the servant of God, George the priest and of his wife and children, amen; November 24th, 1543 from Christ". Several other icons, originally kept here, are now in the small room at the west end of the north chapel: the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her left arm, probably of the same date; St. John the Baptist, late sixteenth century; St. Marina; St. Epiphanius 1659.

**The Church of St. John Lampadistis**, in the middle of the complex, was rebuilt at the beginning of the eighteenth century, excepting the north-east pier which stands over the Saint's tomb, and a narrow arch springing from it to the east, retaining fragments of two layers of paintings, suggesting a twelfth-century date for the original church. The skull of the Saint is preserved in a silver casket in a niche above the tomb. This sacred relic possesses great healing powers for those who believe, and when sick people are too ill to come to the church, a priest takes it to their homes.

Round the niche housing the skull of the Saint, there are several notes in ink left by various pilgrims of the eighteenth century. One of them is by the Russian traveller Barsky, who visited the monastery in 1735: "And then, I, the most humble among the monks, Basil Moscovorrossos, a citizen of Kiev, came here on pilgrimage". In the description of the monastery in his

“Travels” (see St. Nicholas of the Roof), Barsky says that there were ten monks residing here at that time. Concerning St. John Lampadistis, he says that “he is among the latest, like the saints in Russia ... Some, however, say and testify that such a saint existed since ancient times ... Let the investigator find better information in the religious books”...

We do not blame the acute Barsky for his statement. The information about St. John's life from various sources is vague and conflicting. But with the help of archaeological evidence we may conclude: the Saint lived in the eleventh century, during the reign of Emperor Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078-1081), in the village of Lampas somewhere in the Troodos range of mountains; he was engaged to be married, but renounced matrimony for monasticism and was blinded through the enchantments carried out by the parents of the girl he had deserted; he died at the age of twenty-two and was buried at the monastery of St. Heracleidius; his body remained there unknown, until an epileptic was cured by touching his grave accidentally. A church was built in his honour in the twelfth century, and St. John Lampadistis superseded his predecessor; his name day is celebrated on the fourth of October. A fourteenth century wall-painting of the Saint, in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof near Kakopetria, styles him as *Maratheftis* (native of Marathasa).

The main icon of St. John Lampadistis, on the north wall, is covered with gilt work of the eighteenth century. An icon of the Saint, with scenes from his life painted in miniature along the borders, probably dates from 1543. He is depicted as a young deacon holding a cross in his right hand and a censer in his left. The miniatures are badly damaged, but the first one at the top seems to depict the birth of the Saint, and the last one at the bottom, the blind Saint in front of a domed church.

**The Narthex.** By the fifteenth century, it appears that the great numbers of pilgrims seeking the healing powers of St. John Lampadistis necessitated the erection of a vaulted narthex along the west end of the twin churches. The vault of the narthex later collapsed and it was reroofed in timber. Until recently, sick people used to bring their bedding and lodge in this porch, invoking the healing powers of the Saint.

In accordance with its purpose, this narthex was painted with an appropriate series of paintings: the miracles of Christ, His supernatural appearances after the Resurrection, the Last Judgement, etc..

The surviving paintings are on the north, east and south walls. Over the south entrance we have the remnants of a most important inscription; damaged though it is, it tells us that the painter came from Constantinople. This is the only direct information we have concerning the metropolitan origin of a Byzantine painter in Cyprus. The painter must have come to the island as a refugee after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and he must have painted this narthex soon afterwards. No other paintings of his have been discovered so far.

We have here an important series of paintings, giving us a glimpse of at least one branch of the art of Constantinople at the time of the dissolution of the Empire, for his style is rather of a “popular” character, and not the polished one we would expect to emanate from the capital. This would imply that all “popular” art need not be provincial. Alternatively, the term “provincial” is precarious.

A painting with four donors and a supplicatory inscription is inserted in the composition of the Last Judgement, at the southern end of the east wall: “Supplication of the servant of God, Michael, the lay-reader and domesticus of this Catholic church, and of his wife and children, the weekly priests of His

Catholic church, and those who read, pray for them through the Lord, Amen". The two sons are kneeling in front, and although they are tonsured in the Latin manner, they wear the vestments of an Orthodox priest. The father, Michael the lay-reader and domesticus (leader of a choir), who comes next, wears a white bonnet (the French *coiffe*) and is dressed in a long upper garment with short sleeves to the elbows, allowing the tight-fitting sleeves of his tunic to show, with red square buttons at the cuffs; a brown cloak is thrown over his shoulders. His wife wears a long, brown gown with a slightly low-cut neck, but her neck is covered by her white wimple, appearing at the forehead with red woven bands. Over all she wears a brown cloak-like veil (see the churches at Dali, Nikitari, Pelendri).

In this context, it is evident that this Greek church was one of the few that came under Latin domination, following the ecclesiastical developments that resulted from the Council of Florence in 1439. The other side of the coin is reflected in the church of the Archangel at Galata, where we have a Latin family using the Greek Language, the Greek Orthodox rite and Greek iconography for their family chapel. This trend, which appears to have troubled the Pope as early as 1448, is also apparent in the Latin chapel attached to this church, where we have an Italo-Byzantine series of paintings with Greek inscriptions, of the end of the fifteenth century, combining classical-Byzantine and Italian Renaissance elements (see below).

The east wall of the narthex has been divided into three zones, excepting the southern end which is covered with the Last Judgement. An arch was opened at the northern end in the eighteenth century, to join the narthex with the church of St. John Lampadistis, thus destroying some of the paintings.

The surviving paintings start with Christ and the woman of Samaria in the upper zone (John 4, 3-31). Christ is seated on a stone on the left, in argument with the woman of Samaria standing on the other side of a well, holding a pitcher and a rope in her hands. She also appears in the background, on the right, talking to a group of people before the vaulted gate of the walled town of Samaria with battlements and square towers. She is portrayed young and beautiful, exotically dressed in a long red tunic and a knee-length one of bluish material over it, both with gold hems, sleeveless, and with a U-shaped cut at the neck. Over all, she wears a scarlet cloak clasped at the neck. She also wears a turban-like, bluish head-dress.

The next painting depicts the Healing of the Paralytic at the pool of Bethesda (John 5, 1-15). Christ stands on the left, followed by His Disciples headed by Peter. He gestures to the paralytic "rise, take up thy bed and walk". The cured young man with a slight beard is already striding away towards the right, with a bedstead over his back, his body facing towards the spectator, his head turned to look at Christ. Behind him, there is an oblong water-tank in the foreground of an arcade of five arches carried on red marble piers, extending to the whole width of the panel. (The pool is not under the arcade). The conception is purely Byzantine, as compared with the same subject in the churches of Kourdali and Louvaras, where the paralytic and the pool have taken on an Italianate character.

We then have the Healing of the man “which had the dropsy” (fig. 183; Luke 14:2-4). Christ stands on the left with His Disciples. He touches the swollen belly of a deformed youth standing before Him with only a loin-cloth, leaning backwards into the hands of a man at the head of a group of Jews on the right.

The next composition is the Healing of the Blind man (John 9:1-7). Christ is now accompanied by His Disciples headed by Peter. With the index finger



183. The Healing of the man “which had the dropsy”, after 1453, narthex of the twin churches of Sts. Heracleidius and John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.



of His right hand, He touches the right eye of a blind man standing before Him and leaning forward, supporting himself on his walking stick; he has a slight beard, is bare-footed and wears a green tunic. On the right, the young man washes his eyes at the pool of Siloam, here depicted as a small water-tank in two tiers, the water running out of two lions' masks into the lower tank. We meet the same type of water-tank with the lion's mask in the mosaic composition of the Prayer of St. Anna, in the church of the Saviour in Chora, Constantinople.

The middle zone starts with the scene showing Mary Magdalene informing Peter and John about the Empty Tomb (right), and the two Disciples at the Holy Sepulchre seeing for themselves (John 20:1-10). There follows another composition with two scenes, showing Mary Magdalene at the Empty Sepulchre (left), and her encounter with Christ, "Touch Me not" (John 20:11-18). The painting of the scene of Doubting Thomas follows.

We then see a fine painting of the Miraculous draught of fishes (fig. 184), the third appearance of Christ to His Disciples after the Resurrection (John



184. The Miraculous draught of fishes, after 1453, narthex of the twin churches of Sts. Heracleidius and John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

21:1-14). Seven Disciples are in a small boat in the sea of Tiberias. They wear their under-garments with short sleeves. Some of them are pulling at a net full of fish. Peter pulls at an oar. Their number conforms with the Gospel. Peter is also depicted in the water, wearing only a loin-cloth, swimming towards Christ, who stands on the shore blessing. A loaf of bread and a fish on the fire (damaged), are shown by His feet.

The next painting is difficult to define; it shows Christ talking to Peter, followed by the rest of the Disciples (John 21:15-18?).

The surviving paintings on the north wall of the narthex show the Miracle of turning the water into wine at Cana (top); "Peace be unto You", the three Marys at the Empty Tomb and "Christ has Risen" (middle).

All the above scenes are accompanied by long quotations from the Gospels, relevant to the subjects depicted. They are correctly written in good hand-writing and they are undoubtedly copied from manuscript Gospels. In this way they defeat the purpose of the paintings, but the custom was already in vogue in the fourteenth century. There is no other example surviving in Cyprus, but we mention the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki, where long quotations from the Gospels accompany the paintings which are dated ca 1310-20.

Over the door in the south wall, the artist depicted the Three Youths in the furnace. The square furnace is open at the top and the three Youths are standing in it up to the knees facing the spectator. They are named Azarias, Ananias and Misail, and they are dressed in rich tunics and *chlamydes*. A protecting angel hovers above them with hands outstretched. The furnace has three arched gates through which we see a blazing fire; pieces of wood stick out of them. On the right, King Nabuchodonosor (chest upwards destroyed by a late window), is seated on a throne located at the top of four steps. From there, he watches the spectacle and directs two youths who are stoking the fire with iron pokers.

Next to this scene are the remnants of Daniel in the lions' den. Only the legs of Daniel and a lion survive.

We return to the south end of the east wall to examine the large composition of the Last Judgement. The multi-scene composition depicts the usual scenes, but the accompanying inscriptions are quite instructive. At the top, Christ is enthroned *en face* inside a radiating *aureola*, with his hands outstretched to show the nail marks. He is inscribed "the King of Glory". His mother and St. John the Baptist stand on either side in interceding postures, followed by the Apostles seated in a row in groups of six at either end, attended by a host of angels in the background. They are seated as judges of the twelve tribes of Israel, holding open books on their knees inscribed with their initials, suggesting a conference. The left-hand group is headed by Peter, followed by Luke, Mark, Andrew, Bartholomew and Thomas. The right-hand group is headed by Paul, followed by John (elderly), Matthew, James, Simon and Philip. The open books on their knees are reminiscent of the same subject in the parecclesion of the church of the Saviour in Chora (Kahriye Camii), in Constantinople.

Below Christ is depicted the Preparation of the Throne. On the draped throne is the book of Judgement and above it sits the Holy Ghost at the foot of an erect Cross bearing the wreath of thorns and flanked by the lance and sponge on a reed. On the footstool of the throne are depicted four iron nails with large heads. Adam and Eve kneel on either side of the throne. From the footstool of the throne hang the "Scales of Justice". To the left, stand two angels with some naked figures before them; a shadow near by is inscribed "soul under judgement". To the left of the Preparation of the Throne (right of Christ), are depicted the Choirs of the Saints in three tiers: The Choir of the Martyrs, the Choir of the Seventy Apostles and the Choir of the Prophets; the Choir of the Holy Men and the Choir of the Archbishops; the Choir of the Holy Women and the Choir of the Women Martyrs.

Below the Choirs, we have Paradise in two tiers: the Virgin Mary enthroned between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; Isaac, Abraham, Jacob, the Penitent thief, and "all the Saints entering Paradise" (this part mostly gone).

To the right of the Preparation of the Throne (left of Christ), is depicted the River of Fire issuing from the throne of Christ, enveloping the sinners as it pours down, with "the Angel of Fire" standing in their midst. Besides the usual quotations from the Gospels, other inscriptions near by describe the sinners as "the half-priests, the fighters against the Holy Spirit and the faithless, the truthless, the Jews and Pharisees, the bad Kings and the Tyrants". Below these, some black shadows are inscribed as "the souls of the sinners entering Hell". A young figure in Hell is named as "the rich Lazarus", an error going back to earlier times and perpetuated throughout the centuries. And yet the artist here also inserted the quotation from the Gospel, defining the nude figure pointing to his mouth with his right hand as "the rich man": "Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue" (Luke 16:24. See Kakopetria, the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof). Fragments of the Last Judgement survive on the lower zone of the south wall, where we discern the inscriptions, "the dragon", and "Judas the traitor".

It now remains to mention the individual saints in the lowest zone of the east wall: St. Niketas, St. Christopher crossing the river with young Christ on his shoulder (Western legend), Sts. Constantine and Helena with the Cross between them, St. Mercurius, St. Artemius, St. Alexius the man of God, and St. John Salos (the last two on the reveals of the door leading into the church of St. Heracleidius).

In the niche above this door is painted St. Heracleidius, the patron of the old church. Above the niche we have the Holy Handkerchief, bearing a fine head of Christ with a double-pointed, forked beard and loose hair falling on either side.

Besides the figure of Christ in the miracle scenes, where he has retained some of the elegance of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period, the rest of the figures tend to be rather plump, with round faces lit up sparingly with white highlights.

The unique epistyle of an *iconostasis*, with twenty-three miniature Gospel scenes and two prophets, depicted in two rows of arched recesses in this wooden panel, now preserved on the west wall of this narthex, comes from the near-by church of the Virgin Mary Theoskepastos. It should date from the fourteenth-fifteenth century.

**The Latin Chapel.** There is no written record that this addition was a Latin chapel. It preserves the most complete series of wall-paintings of the Italo-Byzantine school, which was active in the island at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, in parallel with other developments. The restricted Italian influence noted in the churches of Platanistasa, Kourdali, Yeroskipos, and elsewhere, is here carried to perfection. In those churches, the component factors are mostly unassimilated; the local artists were experimenting, compiling their themes by grafting together elements from different sources. Here, the artist betrays a direct training in the West. His style and iconography are polished, and the architectural and landscape backgrounds are comparable with the masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance.

The main theme of his paintings is the *Akathistos*, the famous hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary, sung in the Greek Church, in parts during the evening services on the first four Fridays of Lent, and wholly on the fifth. It consists of 24 *oikoi* (stanzas), each beginning with one of the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet. The highly poetical hymn is based on the apocryphal narratives of the Nativity. Its authorship is disputed, but it is widely believed that it was composed by the Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, and it was sung standing (hence the appellation *Akathistos*) as a thanksgiving for the deliverance of the city from the Slavs and Avars in 626.

The hymn unfolds itself in pictorial form, in the lower parts of the vault and on the side walls, starting from the south side of the vault and working round; there are two zones on the south and three on the north. Although the two component factors are well assimilated, Italian influence varies according to the subject. We shall select some good examples of the best preserved scenes, for comment and evaluation.

The first two stanzas, "An angel Chieftain was sent from heaven ...", and "The Holy One spake daringly unto Gabriel ...", follow the long established Byzantine formula of the Annunciation, with the Italian influence apparent in the architectural backgrounds; and yet a cloth is casually thrown over from one building on to the other in Byzantine fashion.

Stanzas five and six at the beginning of the north side of the vault, "Then the Maid of the God-bearing womb hastened unto Elizabeth ...", and "Having within himself a storm of doubtful thoughts, the prudent Joseph was disturbed ...", show the same combination of elements. The first depicts the Meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth before a perfectly drawn Italianate architectural background, with two figures watching from each of the two balconies on either side. The haloed figure on the left-hand side balcony must be Joseph. The haloed figure on the opposite side is the High Priest. The second scene

depicts the Chastizing of the Virgin Mary by Joseph after he found her with child, again depicted before an Italianate architectural background with a further addition of some ruins in the distance. From the top window of the right-hand building hangs a white embroidered towel, a realistic touch of Italian character. But the artist has not forgotten his Byzantine traditions and he has thrown a cloth across the two buildings.

The next scene, however, “The shepherds heard the Angels extolling the Christ coming into flesh ...”, follows closely the established classical-Byzantine formula of the Birth of Christ, with slight iconographical Westernizations, as in the kneeling figure of the midwife washing the Child with her back to the spectator, an alien posture in Byzantine art.

The eighth stanza, “The Magi perceiving the divinely guiding star, followed its shining ...” (fig. 186), is a real Italo-Byzantine masterpiece. While the landscape remains essentially Hellenistic-Byzantine, the rendering of the horsemen escapes from the established Byzantine formula, and acquires an Italian three-dimensional conception of drawing, reminiscent of Florentine and other Italian paintings of the second half of the fifteenth century. The three Magi wear Eastern-type head-gear, but they are clad in ordinary *chitons* and *himations*. The Indian-looking leader has turned his head right round to converse with his followers, while his body is facing the opposite direction. Only a Byzantine artist could be capable of such a “trick”. The fine angel riding towards the Magi on a white horse pointing to the guiding star, is a masterpiece of Western drawing and style, but as far as the theme itself is concerned we find it in fourteenth-fifteenth century paintings in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece: Serbian psalter of Munich, fourteenth-century Akathistos; Marckov Monastir near Skopje, fourteenth-century Akathistos; Bobochévo, Bulgaria, fourteenth-century Nativity; Old Katholicon, Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteora, Nativity 1483; etc. A perfect balance is achieved with the addition of two brigand-looking travellers, casually walking in the opposite direction to the Magi. They wear Phrygian caps and short tunics and cloaks.

Taking the tenth stanza as another example, “The Magi being made heralds God-inspired, went back to Babylon ...” (second scene, second zone, south wall), we find that it translates the verse admirably into pictorial form in letter and spirit, and matches the eighth stanza in conception and drawing. The three Magi are riding with their backs to the spectator towards Babylon, here rendered as a medieval, walled township.

The eleventh stanza, “Having shed in Egypt the beams of thy truth ...”, on the other hand, is more Byzantine in conception and feeling. This flight into Egypt seems to have been based on much earlier representations of Christ’s Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem of the “classical” school. The Virgin Mary rides side-saddle on a white ass, carrying Christ on her lap secured with a sling looped round her neck in Eastern fashion. The posture and gesture of Joseph who leads the way is strikingly reminiscent of Peter who leads the way in the mosaic composition of the Triumphal Entry in the church at Daphni, Greece; the palm-tree is also present. The idols are falling off from the battle-



185. Imitation cross-ribbing, busts of the Apostles Luke, John, Simon (north side, above) and Matthew, Mark and James, ca. 1500, "Latin chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

ments of a walled city in the background.

The Sacrifice of Isaac is inserted next to the above scene, out of context to the theme.

Stanza thirteen, "Thus did He show himself ..." (north wall, second zone), shows two symmetrical groups of prelates in worshipping postures, looking up at Christ in the familiar Byzantine segment of the sky. The dawn effect of the sky suggests Christ as the rising sun, a successful rendering of a difficult subject, achieved by the combination of Byzantine and Italian elements.

The next stanza, "Seeing this Pilgrim Babe let us be pilgrims in this world by fixing our heart in heaven ...", is interpreted in the same way. In the segment of the sky now we have the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ before her; the hilly background has been replaced by an Italianate architectural one.

The rest of the verses present no special iconographic developments. The highly poetical hymn presented great difficulties, especially the verses that had no traditional parallels from which to borrow. The Virgin or Christ are now among the singing worshippers; the conception of the pictures is Byzantine, the feeling and treatment are Italian; the same types of architectural buildings continue to fill the backgrounds, sometimes with the cloth thrown over them, uniting opposite units in Byzantine fashion.

In the last verse, "O All-praised mother ..." (north wall, third zone), we may have a dogmatic touch (fig. 187). The Virgin Mary extends her right hand towards the two Popes in the foreground of the left-hand side group of



186. "The Magi perceiving the divinely guiding star followed its shining" (eighth stanza of the *Akathistos*), ca. 1500, "Latin chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.



187. "O all-praised mother" (24th stanza of the *Akathistos*), ca. 1500, "Latin chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

prelates and introduces them to Christ in her lap. If this is not a coincidence, this may be an indirect record that the chapel was Latin.

Besides the *Akathistos*, the chapel contains several other paintings. The Virgin Mary and Child enthroned in the conch of the high apse, reflect a steady balance of the two component factors.

In the spandrels on either side of the apse are depicted two Old Testament compositions familiar since early Christian times: on the left, Moses receives the Tablets (fig. 188), and on the right, he is depicted loosening his sandal before the Vision of the Burning Bush (fig. 189). They are Byzantine in conception, set against a three-dimensional landscape with softly-painted castles in the background (revealed after the cleaning of the painting). These, and the Egyptian figures resting in the fields or walking along the pathways, give a Renaissance touch to the Byzantine theme in the foreground.



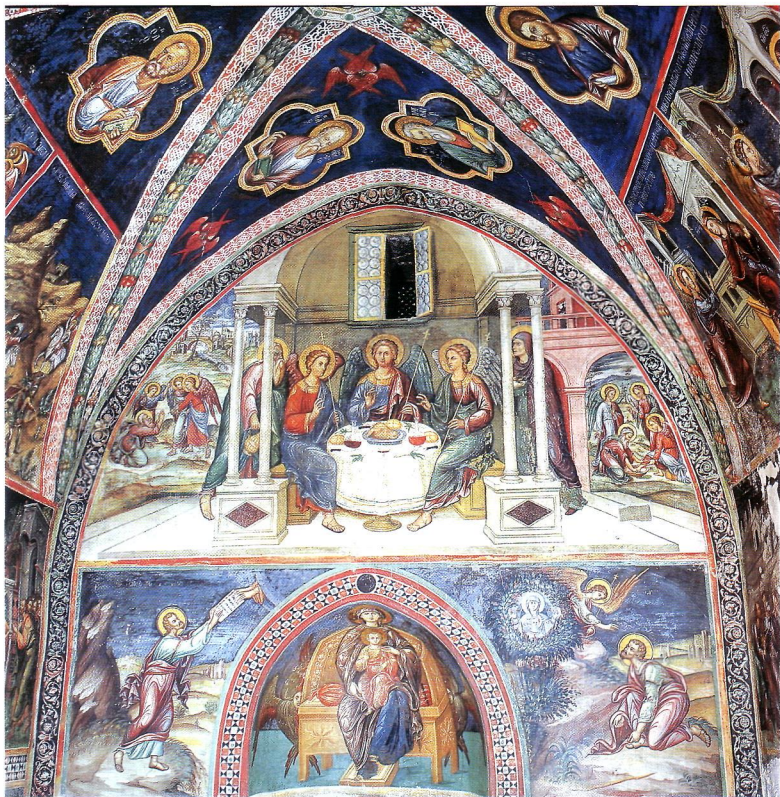


188. Moses receiving the Ten Commandments, ca. 1500, "Latin chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.



189. Moses and the Vision of the Burning Bush, ca. 1500, "Latin chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

In the lunette above the apse, we have a fine pictorial representation of Abraham's Hospitality, otherwise the Entertainment of the Angels, the typological Old Testament Trinity. The iconography is basically Byzantine, but the framing and drawing are Italian, especially of the two supplementary scenes on either side of the central part. On the left, Abraham receives the three strangers kneeling at their feet, but he raises his body to address them with his right hand, a departure from the usual *proskynesis* posture of the Byzantines. The three-dimensional landscape with its running river, spanned by a Florentine bridge, and the atmospheric sky, make the picture comparable to the best contemporary Italian masterpieces. In the supplementary scene on the right, Abraham washes the feet of the strangers, in an equally well rendered landscape of soft hills and delicate trees (fig. 190). The Entertainment of the Angels in the centre, shows the three strangers seated at a round table with rich victuals, including wine, in Byzantine manner. The scene is framed by an arched portico carried on marble pillars. Sarah and Abraham approach in attendance from either side.



190. *The Entertainment of the Angels, Moses receiving the Ten Commandments, Moses and the Burning Bush*, ca. 1500, "Latin Chapel", monastery of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis.

The west wall is covered with the Tree of Jesse. In the vault we have the busts of the twelve Apostles framed in quatrefoils and divided into groups by a highly decorative imitation ribbing with octagonal imitation keystones, so reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance and, through it, of early Byzantine mosaic decoration. In the south side are depicted Matthew, Mark, James, Peter, Bartholomew and Thomas. In the north side are portrayed Andrew, Paul, Philip, Luke, John and Simon. The humanistic treatment and the expression of their faces, make them more Italian than Byzantine (fig. 185).

On the narrow rib in the centre of the vault, are painted a series of twelve busts of saints in medallions. Some have lost their names, but we can discern Abraham, Jacob, Cosmas (on the south), and Isaac, Job and Damian (on the north). Their style and iconography appear to be Western.

Finally, the Holy Handkerchief and the Holy Tile are depicted below the corbels of the arch. Christ is shown with short round beard.

In conclusion we might say that the Greek artist must have been to Italy, where he was influenced by various Renaissance elements, ranging in date from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries. For example, some of his borders are similar to those of Giotto's work in the Arena chapel in Padua. On the other hand, the treatment of the faces, especially those of the Apostles in the vault, have a Peruginistic refinement, as also the landscape in the Entertainment of the Angels and the Moses scenes. Stylistic and historical elements point to the very end of the fifteenth century as the date of this series of Italo-Byzantine paintings. A small series of a similar combination in the church of Panagia Podithou near Galata, dated by an inscription to the year 1502, supports this conclusion.

The fine wood-carved shutters of the door leading into the cellar (originally a vestry?), must belong to the same date.

**32. The Church of St. Andronicus.** This small chapel lies on the west side of the stream at the east edge of the village of Kalopanayiotis. It is of the mountain type with a steep-pitched roof with flat tiles, and retains a considerable number of paintings of the sixteenth century.

The only composition is a dramatic Crucifixion in the west pediment (partly damaged). On the left, the Virgin Mary faints in Eastern fashion between her two friends, forming a very unusual cluster (fig. 191). The Virgin's left arm is thrown over the shoulders of her friend on the right, where it hangs loosely. Both her friends then stretch their arms across her belly, and one clasps the other by the wrist to prevent her from collapsing onto the ground. Some of their hair falls loosely on to their chests. On the left of this group survives the red pear-shaped and studded shield of the soldier whose spear is thrust into the side of Christ. On the opposite side, John moves away with his head turned to have a last look. Next to him stands the Good Centurion (body and face damaged), holding a deep-red, Norman type of shield, painted with a green cross with yellow, green and white studs all round it. He wears a scarlet short tunic and chain mail, and pronouncedly pointed steel helmet. Helmet and shield point to Crusader influence, but the green cross instead of the usual red one specially suggests of Flemish prototype. Next to him are the remnants of other soldiers with similar helmets. Two angels, one on either side of the Cross, cover their eyes with the end of their garment.

On the west wall are painted St. Eustathius (Eustace), St. Anthony and St. Sabas.

Two zones of saints survive on the north wall, the upper ones depicted half length. Those in the upper zone are: St. Vechianus, a Cypriote monastic; Sts. Peter and Paul without a division between them, turned towards each other in the manner of portable icons; the curls of Peter's hair are very stylized and pronounced; in his left hand he holds a rolled scroll and two white keys; Paul's beard is divided into four wavy points; he holds a book in his left arm, steadying it with his right hand; St. Eutychius (above the door), and then St. Nicholas.

In the lower zone are depicted St. Demetrius and St. George, both mounted (left of the door), and Sts. Barbara and Paraskevi (right of the door). St. Barbara is attired in royal garments and holds a palm branch. St. Paraskevi holds a small icon of the Utter Humiliation, defining her as the personification of Good Friday. Their position is wrong, for according to the established rules they should be at the west end.

In the conch of the apse we have the Virgin Mary *Orans*, attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael.



191. *The Virgin Mary collapsing in the arms of her friends, detail of the Crucifixion, 16th c., church of St. Andronicus, Kalopanayiotis.*

About a mile further up the valley from Kalopanayiotis is the picturesque village of Moutoullas, which has recently become known through its bottled water.

**33. The Church of Panagia tou Moutoulla**, in the upper part of the village, is the earliest dated example with a steeply-pitched wooden roof with flat tiles, erected in 1280. Until recently it was accepted that this type of roofing was the result of climatic conditions and Western influence, introduced into the island by the Crusader conquerors. Recent discoveries and further research work, however, have suggested that this type of wooden roofing with hooked flat tiles must have been indigenous to these mountains from earlier times. The model of the church of Panagia of Asinou, erected between 1099 and 1105/6, as depicted in the hands of the donor, shows a second protective roof with flat tiles. The late-twelfth century church of Panagia Amasgou also shows signs that a second protective roof of this type was applied to the vaulted church from the very beginning. Furthermore, there is circumstantial historical evidence that the church of the Virgin Mary of Kykko, originally erected at the end of the eleventh century, was probably of the steep-pitched-roof type, as it was twice burnt down by accidental fire owing to its "wooden construction". In this context, the churches with wooden, steeply-pitched roofs with hooked, flat tiles, represent a characteristic feature of church architecture in the higher parts of the Troodos range of mountains, dictated by practical reasons: abundance of wood, absence of lime, climatic conditions, difficult means of communication. When conditions became easier and vaulted churches were erected in these mountains, the steeply pitched roof with flat tiles was applied to them as a second protection. Small churches and chapels, however, continued to be roofed with the traditional steeply inclined wooden roof.

Returning to the church of Panagia tou Moutoulla, we find that a narrow enclosure was added to its north-west at a later date. The steeply pitched roof was extended to this enclosure. This type of addition is common to many churches of this type, and it was usually added to one, two, or three sides, for space and further protection from the rain.

The church retains the only dated series of wall-paintings of the thirteenth century in Cyprus. Their style, iconography, colours and technique are of great interest.

An inscription on the north wall inside the *bema* records the foundation of the church: "The divine and most venerable church of our Holy Lady the Mother of God, was erected by the donation and the great desire of John [son of Moutoullas] and of his wife Irene, on the fourth of July in the year 6788" (1280 A.D.).

John Moutoulla and his wife are portrayed below this inscription with a short supplication written above their heads: “Supplication of the servant of God John son of Moutoullas, the founder, and of his wife Irene” (fig. 192).

After the recent cleaning and consolidation of the paintings, it appears that the surname of the founder in the first inscription was at first given as Yerakiotis and then changed to Moutoullas. As the second inscription gives his surname as Moutoullas, the appellation Yerakiotis would simply imply that he came from the neighbouring village of Yerakes. There is circumstantial historical evidence that the church was known for some time as Panagia



192. The donors and the supplicatory inscription, 1280, church of Panagia tou Moutoullas, Moutoullas.



tou Yerakioti. When the village grew up and took the name of Moutoullas, an attempt was apparently made to change the name of Yerakiotis to Moutoullas in the first inscription.

John has a trimmed moustache, and wears a pale olive-green tunic to below his knees with a slightly shorter cobalt-green coat over it, and black boots. Irene wears an interesting head-dress that covers her head, ears and neck, like a wimple. Her long gown that reaches down to the feet is pale olive-green in colour, with straight folds in red and yellow-ochre. Over it, she wears a cobalt-green cloak, clasped low on the bosom with a large golden buckle. Their garments hang on them loosely, with no plasticity or any indication of anatomy beneath. Their faces are painted in the austere manner of the religious paintings, with little differentiation of the features. The painter's inability to draw from nature is further reflected in the very elementary model of the church held between them.

Owing to the small size of the chapel, the Festival cycle, in the upper zone of the walls of the nave, has been reduced to the minimum. The lower zone is covered with a series of saints. Two piers attached to the north and south walls before the *bema*, in a line with the *templon*, are without any architectural functioning, and they were probably erected to provide the traditional positions for the life-size figures of the Virgin Mary in an interceding posture (north), and Christ *en face* (south), as they appear in many of the vaulted churches.

The paintings bear severe damages, but enough has survived to help us appreciate the scheme of the decoration. The *bema* has retained its paintings. In the small conch of the low apse, the Virgin Mary Blachernitissa has been depicted from waist upwards, with the Child Christ in a scarlet medallion on her chest, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel swinging censers.

Below the Virgin Mary, the prelates Nicholas, Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius and Auxibius, are depicted with Liturgical scrolls in their hands, converging in two groups towards the centre; the last two are Cypriotes. Chrysostom, Basil and Epiphanius wear the *polystavrion phelonion*, while the rest wear the plain one.

The Annunciation has been placed in the spandrels on either side of the conch of the apse with the Preparation of the Throne in the centre (only the Book and the title survive). In front of the Virgin Mary, there is a fountain in the shape of two interlaced snake-like beasts, with water issuing from their open mouths into a water tank (fig. 193).

The Birth of Christ is painted on the south wall. The Virgin Mary reclines in an almost upright position, on a scarlet mattress, in the highly stylized jagged entrance to a cave, while the new-born Christ, swaddled in green, is lying on a deep red mattress in a built manger by her side. The ox and the ass look at the Child in adoration. The Magi approach from the left, guided by an angel pointing to the star. They are differentiated in age (elderly, middle aged, young), and they all have large, red precious stones in square form, precariously seated on their heads. They wear rich cloaks clasped at the chest. In the foreground (left), a worried Joseph sits on a wooden donkey-saddle, the



193. *The Virgin Mary at the spring, fragment of the Annunciation, 1280, church of Panagia tou Moutoullas, Moutoullas.*

very kind still in use in these mountains. This rustic iconographical detail appears in other churches outside the island, as for example in the almost contemporary Omorphi Eklesia in Egina, and in the church of the Holy Trinity of the early fourteenth century in Temenos, Archanes in Crete. But the detail is also known from earlier Byzantine MSS, as for example in the scene of the Nativity in a Gospel Lectionary of 1059, Codex 587 (m) of the Monastery of Dionysiou of Mount Athos. Returning to our painting we find that the midwife giving Christ His first bath (on the right), is seated on a sophisticated bucket stool. We note that Christ is seated in the basin, while the midwife has her bare arms round Him. The attendant pours water from a jug with a spout. Above this scene an angel announces the good tidings to a shepherd. The dark cave with its yellow ochre jagged entrance, set against a scarlet-red background, produces an appropriate effect.

The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the only other composition surviving on the south wall, is a fifteenth-century painting of good quality.

In the Raising of Lazarus on the west wall, Christ stands before the cave-tomb of Lazarus in a commanding posture (fig. 194). Lazarus stands in the entrance, swaddled up. The rest of the attendants are few. A youth, his head in profile, raises the end of his garment to his nose, while he holds one end of



194. *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1280, church of *Panagia tou Moutoulla*, Moutoullas.

Lazarus' swaddling clothes. Mary and Martha are prostrate at the feet of Christ. Of the few Disciples who accompany Christ, only part of a figure survives.

In the Triumphal Entry which comes next, Christ is shown riding the placid ass followed by Peter and John. Two men and one woman are shown ready to receive Him at the gates of a simplified Jerusalem. A young child lays its red garment on the ground for Christ to pass over. A conventional palm-tree, with a wind-blown contorted trunk, rises in the background.

The Crucifixion, the last scene on the west wall, shows Christ on the Cross in the centre, with the Virgin Mary and another woman on the left, and John with the Good Centurion on the right. John holds a book in his left hand, which is unbecoming, and clutches his cheek with his right. The Good Centurion wears chain-mail with a red cloak over it, and holds a shield blazoned with a black wing, a Crusader iconographical influence, common to a lot of paintings of this subject during this period. The postures are reserved. The Virgin's friend holds her by the wrist. Generally speaking, the heavy Cross and the postures of Christ and the attending figures approach those of the Crucifixion in the Soğanlı Karabaş Kilise in Cappadocia.

The *Anastasis*, on the north wall, is composed with equal frugality. Christ (head gone) stands on the broken gates of Hell with scattered hinges, locks and keys. He moves to the right pulling Adam with Him by the wrist. In His hand he holds His Cross (now mostly gone). Behind Adam stands Eve. There is no grave. David and Solomon, with books in their left arms, stand on the right inside their grave, with St. John Prodromos standing behind them in a second plane, holding the usual scroll.

We then jump to the Dormition of the Mother of God, over the north door. It is badly damaged, but it shows the usual arrangement.

The individual saints in the lower zone of the walls, are nearly all damaged from waist downwards. *South wall*: (1) The Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ seated on her knee (left side damaged). (2) St. Christopher mounted; while his chestnut horse gallops to the left, the saint himself is pictured in iconic frontality; he wears chain-mail and a deep red cloak clasped at the breast, one end waving behind him; in his right hand he holds a sword; a near by inscription reads: "Supplication of the servant of God, Christopher the Councillor, and of his wife Mary". (3) St. Theodore, with trimmed moustache and double-pointed beard, holding a sword in his right hand. (4) St. Paul. (5) St. Cosmas (damaged).

*West wall*: (6) St. Andronicus (mostly destroyed), and (7) St. Athanasia, husband and wife; Athanasia wears monastic garments, Eastern head-dress, and has rather masculine features. (8) St. Mavra. (9) St. Barbara, with jewelled garments, crown and ear-rings, in a purely Byzantine tradition interpreted in a thirteenth-century style; compare, for example, with the twelfth century figure of the same saint in the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitzzi in Kastoria, Greece. (10) St. Marina. (11) St. Anastasia.

*North wall*: (12) St. Stylianos. (13) The Archangel Michael. (14) St. Peter. (15) St. George, inscribed "the Cappadocian", wearing chain-mail and a

scarlet cloak waving behind him; the centre part of the painting has gone, but at the bottom there is an anthropomorphous dragon of a very unusual character (fig. 195): from the waist upwards it is in the form of a naked female figure with rough features, and a simple crown; her hands are raised to hold the end of the spear of St. George, about to be thrust into her mouth; from waist downwards it is in the form of a coiled, scaled snake; this unusual interpretation of the dragon raises questions of underlying implications. (16) St. John the Baptist.

There is a marked frugality in the style and iconography of these frescoes, reminiscent of earlier Cappadocian works, interpreted in a thirteenth-century manner. The linear frugality of the paintings also inspired the stereotyped portraits of the donors already described. It is evident that the painter's powers outside copying were limited. The figures of his compositions are usually squat, their faces round and the eyes staring and unnatural. There are hard outlines and no plasticity, and the draperies usually hang loosely with straight and diagonal folds and little indication of anatomy. But the impressionistic vividness of the colours alleviates the iconic rigidity of the style, and makes these wall-paintings stand out. Excepting the figures of the Virgin Mary and



195. Anthropomorphous dragon being killed by St. George, 1280, church of Panagia tou Moutoullas, Moutoullas.

Christ on the piers, the Virgin Mary enthroned on the south wall, and the Virgin Mary in the apse, which have been given transparent-blue backgrounds, the rest of the paintings have been given red (scarlet-alizarin) backgrounds, a thirteenth-century characteristic, which makes them stand out in contrast to the cobalt-green foregrounds.

The painting was applied onto a thin layer of plaster, itself over a coating of mud mixed with straw.

The Last Judgement, on the outside of the north wall, is a fifteenth-century painting, presenting us with some interesting details: Christ is depicted in a triple aura; the Apostles have their initials written in their haloes; a naked figure among those in the river of fire is correctly named "the rich man" (see St. Nicholas of the roof, Kakopetria); above the river of fire is depicted "the murderer" tied to a table (or bed) and attacked by the devils; next to a group of sinners, forked by the Angel of Fire, is painted "the person who sleeps on Sunday", shown asleep on a bed protected by a conical tent of striped material, its top tied to a rod; he is covered by a quilt and he is being attacked by a devil.

The remnants of Christ and St. George mounted with his turbaned pillion rider, on the outside of the west wall, are by a different hand.

About four miles further up the valley from Moutoullas is the township of Pedoulas, a popular summer resort at a height of 3,600 feet above sea level.

**34. The Church of the Archangel Michael.** This painted chapel of the steep-pitched-roof type, in the lower part of the town, dates from 1474. It has a later enclosure on the south-west.

A dedicatory inscription over the north door records the erection and decoration of the church: "The most venerable and divine church of the Archangel was erected from the foundations and was built at the expense and the great labour of the most honourable priest lord Basil, son of Chamades... and it was painted in A.D. 1474; 6983 from Adam". Above this, are portrayed the donors with a further supplicatory inscription in verse: "Thou, oh! Saviour, Who makes Thine angels spirits who minister unto Thee like a flame of fire, through the intercessions of Thy Michael, the Taxiarchos (Captain), enlighten the souls of those approaching Thee, the priest Basil the founder with his wife and two daughters, and grant to them forgiveness of sins".

The portraits of the donors afford us dated examples of good costumes then in vogue in the island (fig. 196). Basil, who kneels in front offering a model of the church to the Archangel, is dressed in his church vestments. His wife, who stands behind him, is wearing a long gown, purple-madder in colour, with long sleeves which have four black buttons at the cuffs. Over it, she wears a long cloak-like veil of blue velvet, which is clasped at the bosom. She wears black shoes.

The elder daughter, who stands behind her mother, is richly appalled. She wears a long blue gown with a high waist. The bodice of her gown is open down the front in a deep V-cut to the waist, laced by a scarlet cord which is passed in zig-zag manner through round holes edged in gold. Through the V-cut she shows a white shirt (stomacher?) embroidered in black, with a narrow band of red embroidery round the neck. Her tight-fitting sleeves are scarlet-*vermilion*, and as they are not of the same colour as her gown, they are probably detachable. She has a row of pearls round the edge of the cuffs, and seven golden buttons down the side. From her waist downwards to below the knees, hangs one end of her scarlet-*vermilion* girdle, richly embroidered in gold. Over all she wears a cloak-like linen veil, with scarlet, red and brown bands of woven embroidery at the end, in local fashion. It is tied round the head with a white cord, the ends of which fall down her back. She wears scarlet shoes. Her sister is similarly dressed, with variations in colour and embroidery.

The local painter of the chapel recorded this request below the tie beam across the west wall: "All ye who resort to this church remember (in your



ΟΠΟΙΩΝΤΟΥΣΑΓΕΛΟΥΣΣΟΥΝΑΤΑΣΕΡΚΤΟΥΣΛΗΤΥΡΓΕΝΤΑΣΟΙ  
 ΠΥΡΟΣΟΣΦΛΟΓΙΑΣΣΥΜΙΧΛΗΝΙΤΑΞΙΠΡΟΕΒΙΣΣΕΦΩΤΙΟΝΑΧΙΣ  
 ΤΩΝΟΙΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΚΤΩΡΟΣΣΙΕΡΕΟΣΣΥΝΕΥΖΩΤΕ  
 ΚΑΛΗΣΙΩΥΑΤΡΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΔΩΡΗΣΑΙΤΟΣΑΝΑΤΙΟΝΓΥΝΩΜΗΝ

ΟΡ· ΜΕΝΑΣ

† ΑΝΤΕΡΟΝΕΚΒΑΡΕΝΚΑΙΝΟΙΚΩΣΟΜΗΝ ΟΠΙΝΣΕΤΙΟΣΚΑΘΕΙΟΣΝΑΟΣΤΑΡΧΑ  
 ΤΕΛΩΜΙΧΛΗΝΙΑΣΣΑΥΚΑΙΠΟΡΑΧΚΟΠΣΕΤΗΜΩΤΑΖΙΕΡΟΣΚΥΡΑΣΛΑΧΧΑΝΙΑΣ  
 ΣΤΩΒΛΑΦΟΝΑΕΕΝΤΗΣΟΑΔΙΑΖΠ

196. The donors and the dedicatory inscriptions, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.

prayers) and me the humble painter Menas from Myrianthousa" (Marathasa valley).

The walls of the nave have been divided into two zones, the upper one for the New Testament cycle and the lower one for the individual saints. The Crucifixion has been placed in the west pediment and the Ascension in the east one. The cycle opens up with the Birth of the Virgin Mary on the south wall of the nave and ends up with her Dormition on the north wall.

In the Birth of the Virgin Mary, St. Anna sits up in bed attended by three maids bringing her victuals. The nearest one wears a turban and holds a small glass bottle of a Greco-Roman type. The second one holds an enormous slen-





197. *The Annunciation, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.*

der vase with two handles, out of proportion to herself and to the rest of the composition, and difficult to imagine what it would carry for such an occasion. We meet the same type of vessels in the same scene in St. Saviour in Chora (Kariye Camii), Constantinople, in the church of St. Demetrius, monastery of Pec, Yugoslavia, fourteenth century, and elsewhere. They betray unassimilated transplantations from secular art. In other cases, the vessels in the hands of the attendants have been changed to more practical ones for the occasion. The third attendant in our scene, by the feet of the bed, holds a bowl. Joachim stands on the right, by the head of the bed, under a portico with marble pillars. The building in the background on the left, has a roundheaded large window with vertical and horizontal iron (?) bars, forming square openings.

In the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, the daughters of the Hebrews have been reduced to three, presumably for lack of space.

In the Annunciation the Archangel delivers his message through a scroll, and the enthroned Virgin gives her answer through an open book resting on a wood-carved reader's desk by her throne, a departure from Byzantine iconography (fig. 197).

The Birth of Christ (fig. 198), is the most rustic of all the New Testament cycle, a usual phenomenon since the twelfth century (see the church of the Holy Apostles, Perachorio). The Virgin Mary, reclining on her mattress in the entrance to the cave, turns to look at the Magi offering their gifts kneeling on the left, with a delighted expression on her face, unusual in Byzantine painting (if it is not accidental). In the foreground, Joseph is seated on the left, the bathing scene is in the centre, and on the right a young shepherd with an Eastern conical cap offers a piece of grass to a goat which looks more like a horned bear.



198. *The Birth of Christ*, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.

In the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, we note that Joseph and the High priest have been given green haloes.

In the Baptism (fig. 199, west wall), Christ has been depicted naked, walking to the left with His legs crossed and His shoulders slightly drooping, against a flat two-dimensional river, which looks more like a cloth with woven bands and embroidered fishes. St. John has a green halo and so has one of the angels. The highly schematic rocky banks of the river and the garments of the attendants contrast sharply with the well-drawn naked body of Christ.

The Triumphal Ride is badly damaged by rain water.

The Betrayal is dominated by the posture of Christ in the centre of the composition. He ignores the approaching Judas and turns to look at Peter cutting the ear of Malchus in the bottom left corner, painted on a smaller scale



199. *The Baptism of Christ, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.*

as though the incident is taking place far from the scene and was brought here for us to see. There are no civilians among the soldiers who take hold of Christ. Their colourful panoply with what looks like padded jerkins, with daggers and swords hanging from their belts, points to Crusader influence. Their red hose and pointed black boots, on the other hand, emanate from earlier Byzantine manuscript illuminations (see Kalopanayiotis). Some of these soldiers have well-tended (false-looking) moustaches reminiscent of the stage. All these striking details detract our attention from their standardized expressions.

The Crucifixion in the pediment of the west wall is badly defaced by rain water, but in the two bottom corners we have the figures of prophet Isaiah on the left and Jeremiah on the right; they both have green haloes and are depicted in medallions. They hold inscribed scrolls alluding to the Sacrifice of Christ.

The Lamentation (north wall), is also an Entombment, as the rigid body of Christ with only a loin-cloth is floating above a marble sarcophagus ornamented with foliate and mask decoration. The Virgin Mary stands on the inner side by the head of Christ, her plaited hair falling out of her *maphorion* on to her chest. She pulls one of the plaits with her right hand, while her two friends calm her down by holding her wrists from either side. John kisses the left hand of Christ and Joseph of Arimathea holds the feet. Nicodemus stands by the ladder which is against the Cross in the background, alluding to the Deposition.

In the *Anastasis* the squat figure of Christ stands rigidly *en face* delivering Adam and Eve simultaneously from either side. Christ is dressed in white garments which is not usual for this scene; the folds of the *chiton* are ochre and those of the *himation* are green. The highly schematic rocky outcrops on either side, as in the other scenes already described, tend to be meaningless. This "misunderstanding" of the rocky backgrounds of the Palaeologue period does not confine itself to Cyprus. We meet it outside the island, as for example in the contemporary paintings of the monastic church of the Metamorphosis in Meteora, Greece (1483).

In the Dormition of the Mother of God we witness the same rigidity and standardized expressions, in spite of the emotion engendered by the scene (fig. 200). Peter swings his censer by the head of the bed as usual, but Paul also swings a censer by the feet, with his left hand (!). John's head appears near the feet and not by the chest which is his usual position. On either side of the mandorla of Christ there is a prelate. There are no angels. Two candle-sticks appear on each side of the bed. In the architectural background we are again faced with the windows with the iron bars.

The style of the paintings improves with the individual figures. Starting from the south wall again and working right round we meet the following saints: St. George mounted bearing the appellation Diasoritis, crossing the sea with the small figure riding behind him; repellent crosses with letters on the reveals of the south door; St. Paul; a prelate (name gone); St. Mamas standing, holding a lamb in his left arm and a shepherd's crook in his right



200. *The Dormition of the Mother of God, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.*

hand (upper part of head damaged); St. Paraskevi (head gone); a monastic saint (head damaged); St. Onoufrius.

Moving to the west wall, we find Sts. Andronicus and Athanasia, on the left of the west door; repellent crosses with letters, on the reveals of the door; Sts. Constantine and Helena supporting the Holy Cross between them (fig. 201), on the right of the door, a successful portraiture, especially of the Augusta with her jewelled ear-rings, crown and silk veil falling onto her shoulders; the transparent diffused light of her face with slight *psimmithies* (linear highlights) at the eyes, produce a humanistic expression.



201. Sts. Constantine and Helena, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.

Especially successful is the portrait of St. Barbara at the beginning of the north wall (west end), with her plaited hair falling on to her chest, her small crown, and her silk veil covering her head and chest, a departure from her traditional iconography (see Moutoullas). Next to her is St. Kyriaki, with the personifications of the days of the Holy Week on medallions inscribed down her front (fig. 202); Saturday is depicted as a youth and the rest as young females, following the gender of the name; they appear to be a Cypriote development, so far unknown outside the island. Sts. Theodore Stratelatis, Demetrius and Peter follow. On the reveals of the north door we have repellent crosses with letters, and on the right of the door there is a colossal Archangel Michael (the whole height of the wall); there is a profusion of light on his face, but the eyes, the nose, the mouth and the chin are lit up with small clusters of *psimmithies*, in the technique of the portable icons.

Entering into the *bema* we find the Sacrifice of Isaac on the north wall. On the south wall we have St. Athanasius (face damaged), and a damaged prelate.

In the east pediment there are the remnants of the Ascension (central part damaged). In the spandrels on either side of the conch of the apse, kings David and Solomon hold long scrolls concerning the Virgin Mary and the Incarnation (figs. 203, 204); Solomon is actually in the act of writing his. In the conch of the apse stands the Virgin Mary *Orans* with the bust of Christ depicted on her chest in a medallion, defining her as the Blachernitissa type (fig. 205). She is attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel swinging censers. Her garments are treated in a complicated linear manner, especially the front of her *maphorion*. Christ's garments are also treated in the same manner. The faces are lit up with liberally applied diffused light. A replica of this Virgin Mary including the Archangels was repeated by another local artist twenty-two years later, in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa. There, the diffused light of the faces is restrained.

Below the Virgin Mary we have the officiating prelates, Nicholas, Euphaniuus, Chrysostom (damaged), Basil (damaged), Gregory and Spyridon. On the walls on either side of the apse are the deacons Stephen and Prochorus. In the niche of *prothesis* there is only a cross.

In the small niche over the south entrance into the church, there is a bust of the Archangel Michael. On either side of the same entrance, we have the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her left arm, and Christ inscribed the *Zoodotis* (Life giving).

Looking at the paintings as a whole, we find that the red colours predominate. There is an extensive use of lattice work in the architectural backgrounds. The Western influence is confined to the soldiers in the Betrayal of Christ, although the reader's desk in the Annunciation could also be considered a Western idea; we meet it, for example, in the Annunciation scene in the basilica of St. Saba in Rome, dated 1463.

The local painter from Myriantoussa was basically a wall painter, in spite of his icon mannerisms noted above. His paintings, viewed from a certain distance, have a charm of their own, especially the individual saints. His style



202. St. Kyriaki, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.





203. Prophet David, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.

and iconography have been described as a survival of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period, interpreted in a provincial manner (Xyngopoulos, *Schediasma*). They stand on the borderline before the Venetians took over the island from the Lusignans (1489), after which the style and iconography of the Cypriote paintings branch off in two main directions: a) towards Italianization in varying degrees; b) clinging to tradition and developing in parallel lines with the so-called Cretan School, which proves the universality of Byzantine art once more, even at this late period.

The painted *templon* is one of the best preserved specimens surviving in the island. In the centre of its cornice there is a Royal Lusignan coat of arms: *Quarterly 1, barry of six azure and argent a lion counter-rampant gules crowned or; 2, argent, a cross potent vertically throughout between four crosslets or; 3, or, a lion counter-rampant gules crowned or; 4, azure, on three pales argent a lion counter-rampant gules crowned or.*

During the Lusignan period, the valley of Marathasa was divided into two fiefs between the Crown and a Count; hence the above coat of arms in honour of the Royal owners of the district. On the same board there is also the Imperial Byzantine double-headed eagle of the Palaeologue dynasty. A Palaeologue Princess was the Queen of Cyprus in the middle of the century (see Introduction).



204. The Virgin Mary Orans, Blachernitissa, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.



205. Prophet Solomon, 1474, church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas.

This mountain village lies a few miles to the south of Prodromos, the highest village of the Troodos range of mountains.

**35. The Church of the Holy Cross**, also known as St. Paraskevi, is a sixteenth-century village church, originally a single-aisled building with a steeply pitched roof with flat tiles, later extended to the south and the west. It retains paintings on the north and the east walls including the apse.

The surviving paintings are in a good state of preservation, but they are covered with deposits of dust and soot and they are difficult to evaluate, especially the scenes. The surviving scenes in the upper zone of the north wall start with the Imposition of Christ on the Cross, inscribed *Golgothas*, a very rare scene in the monumental paintings of Cyprus (the only example known to us). A group of four soldiers wearing short tunics, pointed boots and extremely pointed helmets — the latter similar to those worn by the soldiers in the Crucifixion in St. Andronicus' church, Kalopanayiotis — are in the act of nailing Christ to the Cross. One of them kneels by the foot of the Cross and is nailing Christ's feet. Another one is standing on a ladder on the right, and is about to nail Christ's left hand, while a third one holds the ladder and hands him a nail. A fourth one, on the left, holds Christ's right arm which falls loosely. The scene is painted against the grey walls of Jerusalem. Outside the island, the scene appears in the Protaton as well as in the Lavra on Mount Athos, and in the Peribleptos at Mystras. Its iconography varies. In this context, our painting here stands alone.

The Lamentation which follows, includes the protesting Mary Magdalene with her arms uplifted in despair. We then have the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb, the *Anastasis*, the Ascension, the Dormition of the Mother of God, and the Sacrifice of Isaac, the latter two inside the *bema* (originally, the Dormition was in the nave).

In the lower zone on the same wall we have the standing figures of Sts. Barbara, Marina, Panteleimon, Eustathius (Eustace), Demetrius, George and an Archangel. On the reveals of the window are painted Sts. Macarius and Zosimus.

At the top of the east pediment is painted the Annunciation, and below it the four Evangelists, a conservative attempt at adapting the positioning of these to this simple type of church, from the earlier domed churches.

On the left of the apse is depicted the deacon St. Stephen holding a censer and a chalice covered with the *othonion*. In the niche of *prothesis*, below St. Stephen, is painted the bust of Christ of the Utter Humiliation. On the right of the apse is painted St. Nicholas.

In the conch of the apse the Virgin Mary *Orans* takes her place between two cherubs and the Archangels Gabriel and Michael swinging censers. In the bottom zone of the apse there are four officiating prelates, Spyridon, Chrysostom, Basil and Gregory.

The wooden ceiling of the church is painted with foliate decoration. In the centre of the central beam, however, is painted the bust of Christ, another attempt to emulate the decoration of the domed churches.

This mountain village, six miles south-west of Prodomos in the Troodos range of mountains, retains its unspoiled rural life with some handicrafts, like the weaving of thick sacks and saddle-bags by men, and the making of pottery by women.

**36. The Church of the Virgin Mary**, a cemetery chapel overlooking the village, is of the mountain type with the steep-pitched roof and flat tiles. It retains some interesting paintings of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Owing to the minute dimensions of the chapel (about 6×3 m.), there is only one zone of paintings of individual saints. The only composition is a Crucifixion in the western pediment.

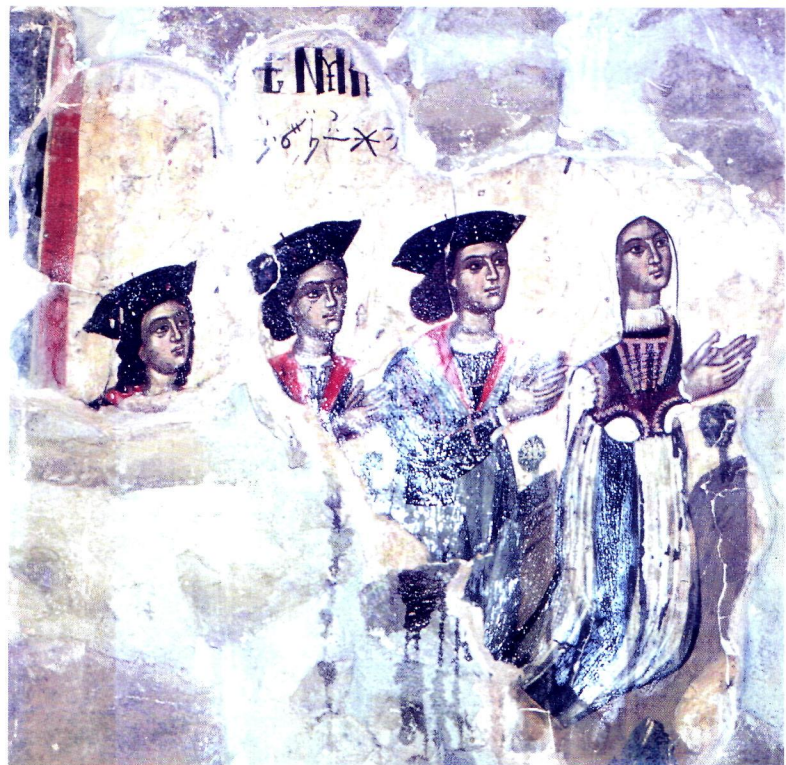
At the eastern end of the north wall, there are the remnants of a group of donors, a woman with her three sons kneeling in prayer (fig. 206). Their garments constitute an interesting ensemble of European fashions introduced into the island at that time. The mother is wearing a red bodice cut out almost square at the chest and laced together with a black cord. From under the lacing appears her "stomacher" with gold bands, and at the neck she shows her "chemisette". She wears a dark blue skirt with a blue girdle. Her detachable sleeves are slashed at the back seam and looped together at intervals, allowing the white puffs, formed by the shirt coming through from underneath, to show. She also wears the silk veil and apron of the period.

The three youths who kneel behind her are fragmentary, but enough has survived to show us that they are dressed in fifteenth-sixteenth-century French garments like their mother, with detachable, slashed sleeves, scarlet lapels, pouches hanging from their belts, and deep blue felt hats with turned-up brims. Their long hair is in the fashion of that period.

It appears that these donors were painted against a landscape, for there are some tops of stylized trees showing in between them. This is an unusual feature for Byzantine portraiture.

Below the few remaining Greek letters of the accompanying inscription, there are half a dozen peculiar symbols which are puzzling and have defied deciphering.

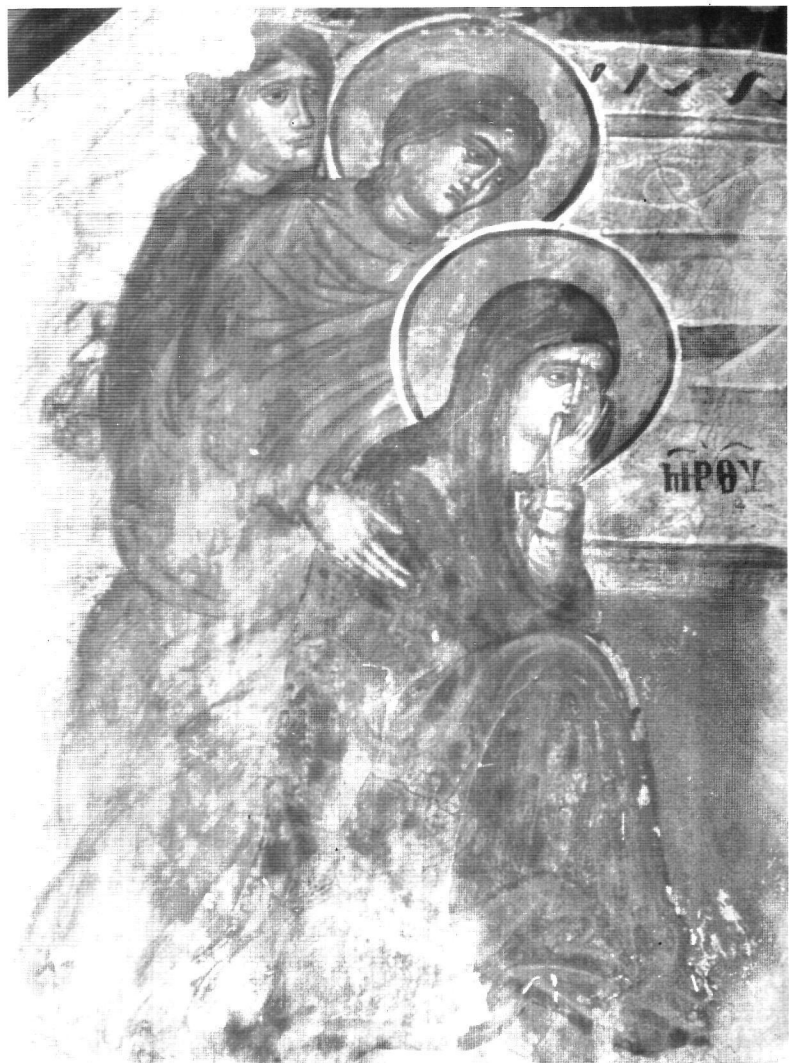
The Crucifixion shows Christ on the Cross against the walls of Jerusalem. A marked point of interest is the group of attendants on the left (fig. 207): the Virgin Mary is shown squatting on the ground with her hands to her face weeping. Two women with uncovered heads stand behind her. The nearest to her with fair hair, possibly Magdalene, supports her back. This ensemble is foreign to Byzantine painting and looks grafted from some Western painting. The Crucifixion by Antonello da Messina in Antwerp has been suggested as the prototype for the scene (Papageorgiou, "*Wood-roofed Churches in Cyprus*"). The grafting of scenes from Western paintings into Byzantine paintings is not uncommon during this period. We mention the Massacre of



206. *The donors, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Virgin Mary, Kaminaria.*

the Innocents by Theophanes of Crete in the Katholicon of Lavra, Mount Athos, 1535, where the artist borrowed and successfully grafted into the scene executioners and other figures from a copper engraving by Marcantonio Raimonti, based on a drawing by Raphael (Hadjidakis, "*Cretan Chronicles*", I, 1947).

Starting on the south wall by the *iconostasis*, we have the remnants of St. Peter, another saint (head gone), the head of a woman martyr, and St. Cosmas at the end, with his twin brother St. Damian next to him on the west wall, holding his medicine box and scalpel. On the right of the western door is painted St. Mamas riding his lion, with a colourful cloth girdled round his waist.



207. *The Virgin Mary and her friends, detail from the Crucifixion, first quarter of the 16th c., church of the Virgin Mary, Kaminaria.*

On the north wall we have St. Demetrius and St. George, riding their horses in separate panels. St. George has the delightful, minute pillion rider, supporting him with his right arm round him; the little figure is in profile and wears a green tunic, a turban with colour bands, and holds a coffee-pot in his right hand with a napkin over his arm, and a cup in his left hand, based on a legend dear to the Cypriotes, for this formula of the Saint is quite common in the island from the mid-Byzantine period onwards (see, Koutsovendis, Panagia Aphenrika). We then have the bust of the Archangel Michael, and then the donors.

The paintings in the *bema* are better preserved. In the tiny apse (about six feet high), we have the bust of the Virgin Mary attended by the usual two Archangels, here depicted half-length. The Virgin bears a green medallion with Christ on her breast, defining her as the Blachernitissa (from the church in Blachernae in Constantinople where it originated), very popular in Cyprus from the twelfth century onwards. However, here she bears the rare title *Cardiovastazousa*, a revealing appellation which in the Cypriote popular interpretation would imply the symbolic representation of the conception of the Word of God, an interpretation which took the Byzantinologists a long time and many more words to define.

The officiating prelates, in the bottom part of the apse, have also been depicted half-length. They converge in groups of three towards the centre, where is depicted the chalice with the scarlet *othonion* over it. They are Demetrianus (Cypriote), Spyridon (Cypriote), Gregory the Theologian, Nicholas, Athanasius, and Epiphanius (Cypriote). We note that the leading prelates John Chrysostom and Basil have been eliminated in favour of the Cypriote prelates. Two more prelates are painted on either side of the apse: the Cypriote born St. John the Almoner (left), and St. Eleftherius (right). In the niche of *prothesis* we have the Utter Humiliation, showing the bust of Christ against the Cross. On the north wall is the Sacrifice of Isaac, and on the south, the remnants of the deacons John Lampadistis (Cypriote), and Stephen.

Excepting the garments of the donors and the Westernizing iconography of the Virgin Mary with her friends in the Crucifixion, the rest of the paintings cling to tradition in style and iconography.

It is possible that originally this was a private chapel of a leading family, and was turned into a cemetery chapel in later times.

**37. The Church of St. Basil** lies about two miles to the north of the village of Kaminaria. It is a sixteenth-century church with a steeply pitched roof with flat tiles and a later narthex. It retains a series of paintings of a rustic character, but these are badly damaged and smoked. Until they are cleaned we cannot say very much else about them.



The modern town of Paphos (until recently the upper part was known as Ktima and the lower part as Kato Paphos), is the descendant of the ancient Greek city of Nea Paphos by the sea, the capital of the island during the Roman period. It was here that Paul and Barnabas converted the Roman Governor Sergius Paulus to Christianity in 45 A. D. (Acts XIII, 6-12), presumably somewhere near the excavated «palace» with the floor mosaics of the Labyrinth and the birth of Achilles, and the so-called house of Dionysus with its floor mosaics from Greek Mythology (see Introduction B). Ktima and the village of Kato Paphos are today fast developing into a conglomeration of hotels, flats and houses for the tourists.

**38. The Catacomb of Agia Solomoni**, on the main road to Kato Paphos, consists of several underground chambers of the Hellenistic period, one of which was turned into a chapel in early Christian times; there is also a holy well. The whole complex is covered by a huge “sacred tree”, loaded with rags and hair from the believers seeking a cure from their diseases, an international custom going back to pre-Christian times. Agia Solomoni (the mother of the seven Maccabees), is a pre-Christian martyr canonized by the Church at an early date and greatly venerated by the early Christians.

The chapel retains interesting remnants of paintings in the apse, of the end of the twelfth century. The Mother of God with the Child, in the conch of the apse, can hardly be identified today.

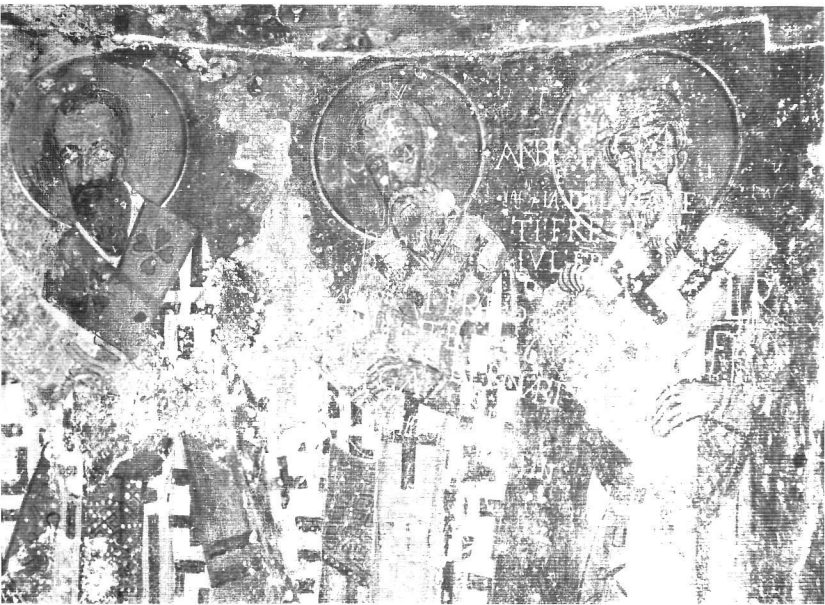
Better preserved are the six officiating prelates depicted below. They converge in groups of three towards the centre, where we have the earliest surviving, fully developed representation of the *Thista* (Sacrifice), in the island and elsewhere. It depicts the Child Christ in the paten and in the chalice, resting on a holy table draped in red. Two flying angels unfold an *aer* arching over the Sacraments; an enigmatic face looks down from the *aer* on to the Sacraments. Additionally, two angels dressed as deacons (damaged), extend *rhipidia* from either side. The double representation of the Child Christ, in both the paten and the chalice, has not yet been recorded outside the island, where it is usually depicted either in the paten or in the chalice. The whole iconography in the above formula appears to be peculiar to Cyprus, and several later examples survive in the churches of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, the Saviour, Palaeochorio, and the Dormition, Kourdali, where the subject is depicted in or by the niche of *prothesis*, without the extra angel-deacons holding *rhipidia*. In this context, Cyprus seems to be in the lead concerning the iconographic developments of the subject, which were sparked off by the heresy of Soterichos Panteugenos, concerning the nature of the Sacrifice of Christ. The heresy was condemned by a Synod assembled in Constantinople in 1156, in which the Archbishop of Cyprus John II also took part.

The best preserved of the officiating prelates are those on the right: Basil,

Gregory, Spyridon, all wearing the *polystavrion phelonion* (fig. 208). Of those on the left, the best preserved is St. Chrysostom, nearest to the Sacraments, wearing a *sakkos* decorated with two bands of crosses inside interlocked roundels down the sides.

On either side of the apse are depicted two deacons. In the niche of *prothesis* we have a painted cross.

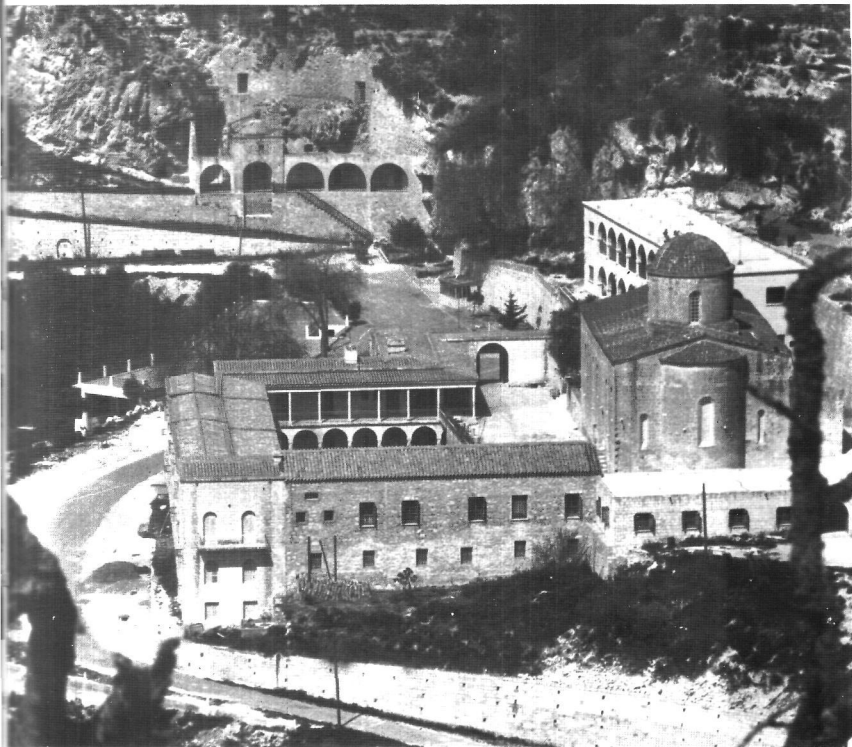
There are remnants of later paintings in other parts of the church.



208. Officiating prelates, end of the 12th c., catacomb of *Agia Solomoni*, Kato Paphos (ancient *Nea Paphos*).

**39. The Monastery of St. Neophytus.** This monastery, which is still active, is one of the most interesting monuments of the island, the history of which is adequately known through the autobiography of its founder. It is in a secluded position at the head of an attractive valley, about six miles north-west of Paphos (figs. 209, 210).

The original cave-hermitage, which the Saint named his "Enkleistra" (seclusion), with the adjoining cave-chapel of the Holy Cross, are the most interesting parts of the monastery. There is also a domed church of the early sixteenth century, surrounded by extensive monastic buildings, mostly of a later date.



209. The monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.



210. The "Enkleistra" of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

According to the account of St. Neophytus himself, he was born at Lefkara (Larnaca district), in the year 1134. At the age of eighteen he was betrothed by his parents to a girl of his village. But he renounced matrimony for monasticism and ran away from home to the monastery of St. Chrysostom in the Kyrenia mountains. There he worked as a novice for five years, cultivating the vineyards of the monastery during the day, and teaching himself how to read and write during the evening. At the end of the five years, he was promoted to assistant sacristan, but two years later the restless young man went off to Jerusalem on pilgrimage and in search of a solitary retreat. His search being unsuccessful, and in obedience to a vision, he returned six months later to his monastery in Cyprus. He soon left again, resolved this time to sail for Mount Latmos in Asia Minor, in search of his heart's desire. But as he was about to embark on a sailing ship at Paphos, he was arrested as a fugitive and imprisoned in the "*phourion*", possibly the recently excavated castle, known as Saranda Colones. He was soon released through the intervention of some friends, but minus his two coins which he had saved for his passage. A penniless man of twenty-five years of age, but still resolved to fulfil his ambition, Neophytus turned to the hills above Paphos, and on the 24th of June, 1159, he came to the present secluded spot with a birds' cave in the low cliffs, which answered his desire. He set to work in September, and a year later his "*Enkleistra*" was ready: he had enlarged the cave into a double chamber; in the inner chamber he prepared a stone bench which served as his bed and seat for working on the stone table in front of it, while in the north-east corner he dug his grave; in the outer chamber he set up an altar and dedicated his retreat to the Holy Cross. Later he added a third cave as a proper chapel of the Holy Cross (1183).

But the fame of the saintly recluse soon spread, and in 1170 the bishop of Paphos, Basil Kinnamos, persuaded him to be ordained and accept a disciple. Thus the monastery started. Neophytus later wrote his "*Typike Diatheke*" (Ritual Ordinance), the constitution containing the rules for the monastic community he had founded. But the desired peace for which he had striven was soon disturbed by the influx of worshippers. This forced the recluse to excavate a new retreat ("the new *Enkleistra*, new Zion"), in the cliff above the chapel with a small chamber in between ("*hagiasterion*"), whence he listened to the holy services through a hole in the roof, and descended only on Sundays to preach and instruct his disciples. This must have been finished by the end of 1196, for he records that on Friday the 24th of January 1197, he was miraculously saved from a falling rock, while he was cutting a pathway to the south of his new retreat.

Besides the "*Ritual Ordinance*" and many other religious works, St. Neophytus has left us with a caustic account of the capture of Cyprus by Richard Coeur de Lion in 1191, from the hands of the usurper Emperor Isaac Comnenus, which speaks for the character of the man; he condemns with equal severity both the usurper Emperor and the English conqueror.

**The three consecutive caves**, the nave, the sanctuary, and the cell, which run roughly from south to north, are completely painted. A passage in the

“Ritual Ordinance” informs us that “in the twenty-fourth year” of his establishment in these caves, “the Enkleistra (cell and sanctuary), was completely painted, and the precipice near it, having been excavated, was consecrated as a church to the Holy Cross (the nave)”. Twenty-four years after 1159, when Neophytus first came to these caves, bring us to the year 1183. An inscription in the shallow cavity below the portrait of St. Neophytus depicted as a prostrate donor at the feet of Christ on the north wall of his cell, corroborates this date: “The Enkleistra... was painted by the hand of me, Theodore Apsudes, in the year 6691...” (1183 A.D.). The nave (chapel of the Holy Cross), which was finished in 1183, was painted thirteen years later. This was probably recorded in chapter six of the “Ritual Ordinance”, which is missing. But an early sixteenth-century inscription, in the south-west corner, gives us the date of its decoration: “The most venerable church of the life-giving Cross, was hewn out, built and painted by the contribution and great toil of our holy and divinely inspired father Neophytus, in the year 6704 from Adam (1196 A.D.); and in the year 7011 (1503 A.D.), this part of the paintings and a lot of other ornamental and necessary things were renewed in this most venerable church, by the contribution and at the expense and great desire of the lowly and humble monk, the master Neophytus. Pray for him; amen”. In other words, a certain monk Neophytus paid for the renewal of certain parts on the original decoration of the caves in 1503. In the first part of the inscription, the new donor is summarizing earlier information concerning the construction and decoration of this chapel, recording the year 1196 as its final completion when it was painted. He was deriving his information, either from the “Ritual Ordinance”, or from an earlier dedicatory inscription in this chapel, which was lost with the “part of the paintings” which he renewed.

Some scholars believe the beginning of the inscription to be at fault as far as the date of the decoration is concerned, and suggest a date ca. 1200. Be that as it may, four years make no difference in the sphere of Byzantine art, and we prefer to believe the sixteenth-century inscription. There is nothing against the date 1196, especially now that the 24th of January 1197 (instead of 1199), is accepted as the date when Neophytus escaped death from a falling rock, while he was cutting a pathway to the south of his “New Enkleistra and Hagiasterion”, excavated above the chapel. This would bring the completion of his new retreat with the hole in the roof of the chapel below, and the decoration of the latter within the year 1196.

The styles of the two early series of paintings afford us a good opportunity to study and compare the two main trends in Byzantine art. Those in the cell and in the sanctuary executed by Theodore in 1183, follow the classicizing “court” style of the period, while those of 1196 in the nave hark back to a severe “monastic” style. The two versions of the *Anastasis* are good examples for comparison. One of them is in the cavity above the tomb of the Saint, and is characterized by the calm expressions of the idealized faces, lively movements, knowledge of anatomy and plasticity of form, with the exaggerated wind-blown undulations of the ends of the garments, a characteristic peculiarity of this Metropolitan school of the last thirty years of the twelfth

century (fig. 211). The other is on the eastern wall of the nave, and is characterized by severity of expression, the linear construction of the bodies, and the hieratic forcefulness of the features (fig. 212); the art of Byzantium via Cappadocian monastic interpretation.

The same can be said of the individual saints. Compare for example, the row of ascetics on the west wall of the Sanctuary (fig. 213), with those on the west wall of the nave (fig. 214). The difference of the two styles is at once apparent.

**Cell and Sanctuary.** As Neophytus was so persistent in dedicating his "Enkleistra" and its chapel to the Holy Cross, it was inevitable that there would be a stress on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection in the two series of paintings.

It is not without symbolic meaning that he caused the Crucifixion and the *Anastasis* to be painted in the niche over his tomb when the "Enkleistra" was painted in 1183. The small Crucifixion shows Christ on the Cross with a pronounced curvature of the body, the Virgin standing on the left and St. John on the right, both in reserved and dignified postures. The Virgin courageously looks up towards her Son with her hands out. John inclines his head and holds his cheek with his right hand, his little finger moving towards his eye, while with his left he clutches one end of his red *himation* to stress his grief; his *himation* is wrapped round him and leaves little of his chest exposed.

The *Anastasis* is one of the finest compositions of the theme of the twelfth century (fig. 211). It shows Christ on the gates of Hell moving to the right and pulling Adam by the left wrist. Eve stands behind Adam. On the right, David and Solomon, in purple and scarlet cloaks, stand in their graves. David looks at Christ, but Solomon turns to look at St. John the Baptist who unrolls his scroll: "Behold Him of Whom I told you". One end of Christ's *himation* waves over His shoulders in stressed undulations, denoting His descent. These stylized wind-blown undulations also appear on Adam's *himation*, denoting his ascent as he is whisked out of Hell.

A second Crucifixion above the door leading into the sanctuary presents us with a problem. It shows Christ on the Cross with St. John and the Good Centurion on the right (fig. 215). The mourners on the left are badly damaged. But where the paint has flaked off, we see traces of another composition underneath. It is obvious that, for some reason, the composition was remodelled over a slightly earlier painting. Still in the same style, it shows St. John in the same mourning posture as in the Crucifixion above the tomb, with his little finger near the eye as though wiping a tear, but with the emotion further stressed by a characteristic frown on the face. In contrast to the rest of the paintings in the cell and sanctuary, his face is lit up by scarlet linear highlights, which enhance still further the emotion engendered by the scene. His *himation* is now a light purple with white highlights, and falls over the shoulder to form a characteristic loop at the waist, allowing his oxide-of-chromium *chiton* to show at the chest. The composition is now painted against the walls of Jerusalem in the background, with slits at intervals.

On the north wall (left of the tomb), St. Neophytus is pictured as a sup-



211. The *Anastasis*, 1183, "classicizing" style, tomb niche of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.





212. The *Anastasis*, 1196, "monastic style", nave of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.



213. St. Theodore the Sanctified, 1183, "classicizing style", sanctuary of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.



214. St. Anthony, 1196, "monastic style", nave of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.



215. St. John and the Good Centurion, detail from the Crucifixion, 1183, "classicizing style", cell of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

pliant prostrate at the feet of the enthroned Christ in the large composition of the Deesis (fig. 216). This *proskynesis* posture of a suppliant belongs to the middle Byzantine period, and is reminiscent of the ninth-century mosaic picture in the narthex of St. Sophia, Constantinople, depicting the Emperor Leo VI, prostrate at the feet of the enthroned Christ-Holy-Wisdom. A more appropriate comparison is perhaps the Deesis with two donors prostrate on either side, in the apse of Qaranleq Kilise, in Cappadocia.

The above painting also presents us with the same problem of overpainting, which is also apparent in some of the remaining paintings in the lower zone of this cell (now mostly damaged). It is now apparent that either Theodore had to recompose some of his subjects to satisfy the wishes of the difficult recluse, or he had to correct the paintings of a previous painter, who, for some unknown reason, was obliged to leave the work unfinished. The statement in the "Ritual Ordinance" that "the Enkleistra was completely painted in 1183", and the euphemistic surname of the painter — Apseudes meaning trustworthy — perhaps give us the clue in support of the second theory.

In the ceiling are painted busts of prophets on medallions, the best preserved being that of the youthful Daniel.

Retreating from the cell into the sanctuary, we find that the paintings here are better preserved. Our attention is at once drawn to an arresting painting in the ceiling of the cave, depicting the hopes of the recluse in an original manner. He is here shown standing between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel who hold him by the shoulders (fig. 217). There is a Hellenistic quality in the modelling of the faces. The tall figure of Neophytus is clad in his monastic habit, and above his head is recorded the motive of the unique composition: "I fervently pray that I may be indeed enrolled among the angels by virtue of my habit".

The Annunciation, on either side of the door connecting the sanctuary with the cell, presents the theme in reverse, with the Virgin Mary seated on the left and the Archangel standing on the right. Above the door stands the figure of Christ Emmanuel. The elegance and subtlety of the Archangel Gabriel, with the wind-blown undulations of his garments as he alights to deliver his message, render him one of the finest figures of this new approach in Byzantine art, which reached its climax in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa near Lagoudera.

In the very uneven part of the ceiling above the altar, Theodore adapted with some difficulty the composition of the Ascension, against a landscape of soft hills with stylized trees. There is rhythm and differentiation in the arrangement of the Apostles, as they look up in amazement, or turn to converse with one another in the usual contorted postures, here accentuated by the unevenness of the rock. They are divided into two groups by the Virgin Mary and an Archangel. The Virgin turns to look up at Christ with her hands out, a posture reminiscent of earlier compositions. In contrast, the Archangel stands *en face* on a purple footstool.

Above the altar, where the conch of an apse would be in a normal church, is depicted the Virgin Mary *Orans*, and, owing to lack of space, the officiating



216. The Deesis with St. Neophytus prostrate as donor, 1183, "classicizing style", cell of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.



217. St. Neophytus between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, a unique painting of 1183, "classicizing style", sanctuary of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

Fathers of the Church are placed at the same level: St. Chrysostom on the left, and Sts. Gregory, Epiphanius and Nicholas on the right.

The row of ascetics on the curved west wall are executed in a conservative manner as befits their rank, but their features are gentle, even enhanced with delicate linear highlights. They are Ephrem Syrus, Cyriacus the Anchorite, Gerasimus, Theodore the Sanctified (fig. 213), Pachomius, Hilarion and Euthymius.

Lilac-blue backgrounds and green foregrounds are used for these paintings.

The large bust of Christ Pantocrator in the western lower part of the ceiling, with the small busts of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist on either side, forming the Deesis, belong to the re-decoration of 1503.

**The nave.** Starting from the south and working right round the upper parts of the irregular walls of the nave, we have the following Passion scenes: – (A'), The Last Supper. (B'), The Washing of the Feet. Γ', The Agony in the Garden. Δ', The Betrayal. Ε', Pilate Washing his hands. ΣΤ', The *Via Crucis*. [Ζ'], The Crucifixion. Η', The Deposition. [Θ'], The Entombment (small fragment). Ι', *The Anastasis*. [ΙΑ'], "All Hail" (Matthew 28:9). The first two scenes belong to the re-decoration of 1503; they can be picked out by their style and the Venetian architectural backgrounds. The rest belong to the original decoration of 1196.

One very unusual point about these paintings is the numbering of the scenes in Greek numerals inscribed on their borders. Thus the Agony in the Garden is number Γ'; this implies that the preceding two scenes of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet of 1503, must repeat the same subjects of the original decoration numbered Α' and Β', which was ignored (not understood) by the painter of the early sixteenth century. Some scenes have lost their numerals, but it appears that we have a group of eleven Passion scenes from Maundy Thursday onwards, probably based on an illuminated manuscript and surely depicted in accordance with the wishes of the founder, who was so devoted to the Holy Cross. Supplementary to these scenes, the recluse must have arranged for the following special decoration. In a cruciform sinking in a recess below the Crucifixion, he accommodated a wooden cross bearing in its centre the particle of the True Cross which he obtained in 1165, after a persistent search. On either side of the upper part of the vertical bar (now turned into a ventilator), are depicted the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in officiating postures, with a bishop on either side depicted *en face*, the one on the left being St. Gregory the Theologian. Further to the right of the recess and below the Deposition, are depicted Sts. Constantine and Helena in imperial garments supporting a cross between them, the Byzantine symbolical representation of the Discovery of the Holy Cross (see the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati). Further to the right, Neophytus himself is portrayed as a suppliant below the *Anastasis*.

A few words about the Passion scenes. The iconography of the present painting of the Last Supper of 1503 is probably based on the enactment of the scene on an exedra in the courtyard of the church of the *Anastasis* in Jerusalem on Maundy Thursday, in spite of the Venetian palace depicted as



an architectural background. The repast is taking place on a rounded exedra-table. Christ is seated on a throne on the left, precariously placed at a level with the top of the exedra-table, His feet resting on it, while two of the Apostles are seated on the exedra-table itself (right foreground). The rest of the Apostles on the inner side are seated properly as at an ordinary table.

The Washing of the Feet of the same date, shows the same elements. Against a three-dimensional Venetian building, the two-dimensional scene is viewed from above. The Apostles are in two groups, one above the other. Peter is at the head of the upper group, and his bare right leg hangs over the basin. Christ stands on the left girded with the *lention* and addressing Peter with his right hand.

With the Agony in the Garden we return to the original paintings of 1196. Christ is standing on the left, and He is framed by a stylized hillock with a stylized tree and flowering bushes. He addresses the Apostles who are rigidly seated in two rows, all haloed and only two in the foreground having their eyes closed, an unbecoming formula for the theme, in contrast to the usual compositions which show them spread out in recumbent and slumbering postures.

The Betrayal, although in a hieratic form, appears to be lively. It takes place in a gorge between two stylized mountains framing the two groups of soldiers converging towards Christ in the centre, embraced by Judas approaching from the right. A rope is already round Christ's shoulders. In the left-hand corner, Peter is chasing Malchus and is about to sever his ear with a knife, as he turns his head to face Christ commanding him to stop. The rigid soldiers, most of them in profile, are armed with knives, pole-axes and spears, and wear conical helmets with neck protections in chain mail.

In the next scene, Christ stands before Pilate sitting on a *difros* (similar to a modern folding stool), and turns to wash his hands over a white pan held by a servant, who pours water over them from a white jug. The group of soldiers and Jews behind Christ are dominated by a soldier in the foreground in chain mail, pointed helmet with neck-guard, red *chlamys*, blue short *chiton*, decorated hose and white boots, and holding a sheathed sword in his left hand.

*The Via Crucis*, leading to the Crucifixion in the north-east angle of the cave, with no division between them, is perhaps the most evocative composition of the series. Christ, clad in a purple tunic, His hands tied with a rope, is shown slightly stooping as He is pulled along by a soldier, while another one pushes Him from behind. A group of Jews follows. Simon, in pale blue, short *chiton*, leads the way under the weight of the Cross. There is a dramatic feeling as he is about to turn the bend (corner of the cave), to mount Calvary... Christ is now on the Cross with a loose curve of the body. The Virgin Mary looks up at her Son with a composed gesture. Her two companions appear more upset. On the opposite side, St. John supports his right cheek, but in his left hand he now holds a gospel. The Good Centurion points at Christ. To the right, there is a detached group of spectators: a soldier with a vessel (vinegar) and some Jews with turbans. One of these is depicted in strict profile with a

hooked nose and without a beard, his eye drawn *en face* (!), resulting in a sinister character. This is not an accidental figure. The same type of face but with a dark beard, appears in the scene of the Betrayal in Karanlık Kilise in Cappadocia. The extreme hieratic forcefulness of these paintings has been relaxed in the Crucifixion, for a more normal Comnenian style. There is still little plasticity within the firm outlines, but there is elegance and softer expressions. Above the Cross, two mourning angels are depicted on either side of a small ventilator, while below the arms of Christ are depicted the crowned personifications of the New and the Old Testaments (others refer to them as of the Church and the Synagogue), both urged by angels, the first one to collect the blood and water from the wound of Christ, and the second to depart.

In a triangular space of the ceiling, surging upwards and facing the Crucifixion, are inserted the figures of the prophets Moses, David, Isaiah and Jeremiah, holding inscribed scrolls relevant to the theme.

In the Descent from the Cross, Joseph of Arimathea is about to envelop Christ with a sheet as he is embracing Him down from the Cross. Christ's right hand is already freed and is in the hands of His mother on the left. A figure, stripped to the waist and standing on a small ladder on the right, is about to unnailed the left hand of Christ. John is prostrate at the foot of the Cross with his cheek against the foot of Christ.

As there is little left of the Entombment and as we have already talked about the *Anastasis* earlier on (fig. 212), we now go to the scene of "All Hail". We are here faced with a highly stylized two-dimensional composition. A dominating Christ stands *en face* with staring eyes, addressing with both hands the two Marys squatting on either side by His feet. On either side of Christ are candle-like stylized trees, and a garden unfolds itself like a tapestry at His back.

It is unfortunate that of the Ascension in the ceiling only a group of six Apostles are preserved. It is the most unusual Ascension ever painted, caused by an unusual recluse. It depicted the ascending Christ disappearing through the hole in the ceiling, into the listening room of the earnest recluse. What has also survived from it is a unique scene of a bird's nest at the foot of a tree, with one of the parents feeding the young ones, while its mate walks away. According to the autobiography of St. Neophytus himself, originally there was a birds' cave here, before he adopted it for his retreat.

The Hospitality of Abraham on the south wall belongs to the redecoration of 1503.

There remains to be mentioned the individual saints on the lower parts of the walls, all belonging to the original decoration of 1196. In the row of ascetics on the west wall, the severity of the style is at its extreme. Strictly frontal with deep lines on their faces accentuated by white highlights, with powerful beards and staring eyes, they are awe-inspiring. Their names are: Anthony (fig. 214), Arsenius, Euthymius, Amoun the Nitriote, Andronicus, Daniel the Sketiote, Theodosius the Cenobiarch, John of the Ladder, Onoufrius, Macarius, Paisius, and Stephen the Younger.

The figure of St. Stephen the Younger (fig. 218), with softer features than



218. St. Stephen the Younger displaying an icon of the "Glycophilousa", 1196, nave of the "Enkleistra", monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

his companions, is of great interest. He was martyred (764) for his defence of the icons during the Iconoclastic controversy. He is here holding an icon of the Virgin Mary of the Glycophilousa type, a sweet representation of the Virgin of "Tenderness", showing the Child Christ in an affectionate embrace with His mother, a popular version of the famous Byzantine icon of our Lady of Vladimir. This is an innovation, for this icon-lover is usually shown holding an icon of Christ, or of Christ and the Virgin Mary. His scroll reads: "If a man does not reverence our Lord Jesus Christ and His Immaculate mother depicted on an icon, let him be anathema". As very few icons of the twelfth century have come down to us, this fresco-copy of an icon stands out as an important, indirect example of icon painting in Cyprus during the Comnenian period.

In the figure of the enthroned Christ on the north wall (right of the *iconostasis*), the severity of the style is relaxed; it is far removed from the linearisms of its companion paintings, further suggesting that some Byzantine artists could revert from one style to the other, to suit the subjects depicted. Alternatively, in this case, Christ probably belongs to the decoration by Theodore Apeudes of 1183.

We have already observed the hieratic quality of these frescoes. They have been styled by others as "Comnenian provincial" or "linear". Whatever appellation we give them, they are imbued with a monastic spirit, reminiscent of Cappadocian interpretation in style and iconography. We could sum up with the words of the acute Russian monk Basil Barsky who visited the monastery in 1735: "There is also a very small church... covered with strange paintings, extraordinary, fearful and evoking the emotion of every pious pilgrim".

The few fragmentary paintings in the present vaulted porch, before the entrance to the cave-chapel, should date from the early sixteenth century, with those of the *Katholikon* (see below). On either side of the semi-circular window above the door, we have the Annunciation with the Archangel Gabriel on the left and the Virgin Mary on the right. Before the Virgin Mary there is a flower pot with a plant, and behind her sits a young maiden spinning wool or flax from a distaff onto a spindle. We meet this genre scene in earlier paintings, as for example in the Birth of the Virgin Mary in the Protaton on Mount Athos, by the famous Manuel Panselinos of the early fourteenth century.

On either side of the door are painted Sts. Peter and Paul. Next to St. Paul we have St. Sabas the Sanctified. There are also fragments of prelates near by on either side, all out of place and context.

To sum up:—

1159 (June): St. Neophytus discovered the cave.

1159 (September): he started adapting it for his retreat.

1160 (September): his "Enkleistra" (cell and sanctuary), was finished and dedicated to the Holy Cross.

1170: he was ordained and accepted a companion.

1183: the "Enkleistra" was painted by Theodore Apeudes, one of the earliest Byzantine masters known by name, most probably from Con-

stantinople; a third cave was finished on the south, and was incorporated as a chapel of the Holy Cross.

1196: St. Neophytus retreated to a higher "Enkleistra", a cave immediately above the chapel of the Holy Cross; a hole was opened through the ceiling of the chapel, for listening to the holy services. The chapel of the Holy Cross was painted in a severe "monastic" style.

1197, Friday the 24th of January: St. Neophytus was miraculously saved from a falling rock while he was cutting a pathway to the south of his retreat.

1214: from certain information it appears that St. Neophytus was still alive in May of this year.

After 1214: St. Neophytus is said to have died on a 12th of April of an unrecorded year. In this context, he must have died soon after 1214, at just over 80 years of age.

1503: certain paintings in the chapel and in the sanctuary were renewed after the originals had fallen away.

Early sixteenth century: the narthex (porch) of the cave-chapel was painted; their style is similar to those in the *Katholikon*, the domed church of the monastery, which we shall presently examine.

1756, September 28th: the tomb of the Saint was opened and his relics were discovered.

**The present Katholikon, the main Church of the Monastery**, is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and is a well-constructed domed basilica with a nave and two aisles, divided by arcades with semi-circular arches on built pillars with Corinthian capitals of heavy acanthus; it was extended at the west end at a later time. It retains considerable remains of paintings. There are no records concerning their date, and thus we are again faced with dating problems which we have to solve by circumstantial evidence. We shall consider this problem after we have described the paintings.

The surviving paintings suggest that the main decoration of the church was inspired by its dedication. In the east part of the vault of the south aisle survive three compositions suggesting a lost series of paintings depicting the life of the Virgin Mary, mostly drawn from the apocryphal Gospels. (See the church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri, and the church of Panagia Podithou, Galata.).

The first scene represents Joachim and Anna Presenting their Gifts to the Temple. Joachim holds a lamb and Anna a covered pot. The High Priest Zacharias stands on the left before a ciborium with a conical top of an early type, but Joachim and Anna on the right stand before a three-storeyed building, squarely built with correct perspective, each floor being smaller as they go up. There is an arcaded iron railing along the walk between the first and second storey. A cloth is thrown across from the ciborium to the top of the building in Byzantine fashion. There is a low wall in the background. We find the same iron railing along the roof of a building in the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple, in the church of St. Sozomenus at Galata dated 1513.

In the next scene Joachim and Anna Return with their Rejected Gifts.

The third surviving scene depicts Joachim's Prayer in the wilderness. His figure is the best preserved part of the scene and exhibits fine conception and technique of execution (fig. 219). His face and garments are caught in a subdued light, as he sits on the ground gazing up from a meditating posture to face the angel descending with the good tidings in answer to his prayer for a child. The modelling of the face recalls the style of the Gospel cycle in Peribleptos at Mystras, but the modelling of the garments, with limited highlights along the folds, reflects later developments moving towards the so-called Cretan style.

Moving to the north aisle, we find an interesting cycle of the *Akathistos* hymn unfolding itself in a continuous frieze, in a narrative manner without any division between the scenes depicted, said to be one of the main characteristics of the so-called Macedonian school of the Palaeologue period. The continuous architectural backgrounds also point to the same origin. The cycle starts in the south side of the vault inside the *bema*, and turns back in the north. (For an introduction to the theme, see St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis).

A.B.Γ. The first three stanzas, "An angel chieftain was sent from Heaven...", "The Holy one seeing herself in chastity said greatly daring unto Gabriel...", and "The Virgin yearning to know... made clamour to the servitor", are three almost identical representations of the Annunciation, with minor differentiations in the postures and gestures of the two standing figures. In all three scenes, the Archangel Gabriel approaches from the left with his right hand blessing. In his left hand he holds a wand, in the last two scenes resting over his shoulder. The Virgin's hands are differently placed in each scene. There is a continuous wall in the background with a sort of guard-room at intervals, in the Palaeologue style of architectural backgrounds. In the second scene there is a lion's mask on the wall, a feature present in the mosaics of Kariye Camii in Constantinople, and continuously being used by the Cretan school right through the sixteenth century; but as it appears in the twelfth-century Annunciation at Perachorio, its dating value is negative. In the third scene, the Virgin stands under a red canopy, similar in shape to a Bishop's throne in the post-Byzantine Orthodox churches; in the monumental paintings of Cyprus, we meet this canopy in stanza Σ ("being minded..."), in the chapel attached to the church of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis, of the end of the fifteenth century; also in the Interrogation of the Jews by St. Helena, in the cycle of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, in the church of the Holy Cross, Kyperounda, dated by an inscription to the year 1521. The *loros* of the Archangel (in all three scenes), with the characteristic diamond-shaped and oval decorations, is a common feature of the Cretan school of icons and wall-paintings on Mount Athos. A ray with a dove descends towards the Virgin in the last of the three scenes, and there is a pot with a plant before her, as in the Annunciation in the porch of the cave-chapel already mentioned.

Δ. The stanza "Then the power from on high overshadowed unto begetting the Maid untouched...", had no parallel on which to draw its composition, and a new formula was created by the late Byzantine painters. In our case, the Virgin Mary is seated on a cushionless seat in the shelter of a grey, squarely built architectural recess, in the Palaeologue style. Two maidens in sleeveless gowns, standing one on either side, are holding an ochre curtain with red folds across the back of the Virgin Mary, while a ray descends from Heaven towards her.

E. "Then the Maid of the God-bearing womb hastened unto Elizabeth...", which comes next, shows the usual Meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth, here depicted before an orangy-ochre wall.

Z. "Looking on thee, O Unwedded One, and dreading hidden wedlock... the chaste Joseph was riven in mind with a storm of doubts...", shows Joseph chastising the Virgin Mary. He stands on the left leaning on a stick. The Virgin Mary stands on the right before a cushioned seat, lifting her hands in protestation. The cushion is dark green with gold quatrefoil decoration forming a pattern of lozenges in between. In the background there is a wall with square keeps at either end, the one on the left depicted in true perspective and the one on the right in inverted perspective.

H. "The shepherds heard the Angels extolling the Christ coming in the flesh..." is an abbreviated and specially rearranged Nativity. The Virgin is seated on a mattress facing left, in the entrance to a cave in



219. *St. Joachim's Prayer, fragment, early 16th c., Katholikon, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.*

a grey-ochre hill. Christ is lying in the manger beside her. A young figure, in short tunic and pointed boots, bends towards the Virgin in homage from the left. His conception and posture are alien to Byzantine art. A second youth points to the sky as he turns to converse with an elderly shepherd leaning on a stick. In the top left-hand corner, three angels painted in transparent tones of grey, emerge from behind a red mountain peak, one of them bending in homage towards the cave and the others looking upwards towards the sky, whence three rays descend, the central one down to the cave. Joseph sits in the foreground, on the right. We note that the bathing of the Child is not included.

Θ. "The Magi, having seen the God-heralding star... sought by its aid the mighty King...", depicts the Magi riding upwards inside a gorge in an ochre hill with an orange peak. They are crowned and differentiated in age and their horses are differentiated in colour. The leader has brown hair and beard and rides on a pinkish horse; he turns to look at the others as he points to the sky. The second one has white hair and beard, and rides an ochre (!) horse. The third one is young and rides a grey horse. In the sky, between two peaks of the mountains, a grey angel, his body radiating, points the way. This radiating angel-star appears to be a post-Byzantine development, with influence from the West as far as the radiations are concerned (Kalokyris). It especially appears on several icons of the Veneto-Cretan school of the sixteenth century, as for example in an icon of the Nativity in the Hellenic Institute of Venice.

Ι. "The children of the Chaldees seeing in the Virgin hands, Him whose hands made men...", shows the crowned Magi standing before the enthroned Virgin with the Child on her lap (no cushion on the seat), before an arched entrance into a solid building. The old one is now in the lead. They hold their gifts in closed caskets. Now that they are on the ground, they look short and robust with very pronounced muscular legs. They wear short *chitons*, cloaks, and boots. In the sky is depicted an eight-pointed star inside a circle, with three rays descending from it, the central and longest one towards the enthroned Virgin and Child.

Κ. "The Magi being made heralds God-inspired went to Babylon..." (fig. 220), depicts them riding away up a gorge, towards a walled, grey city in the background. The oldest one now leads the way; they have exchanged horses.

Λ. "Having shed in Egypt the beams of thy Truth..." (fig. 220), shows the Flight into Egypt, the Virgin Mary riding side-saddle with Christ on her lap on an animated ass, followed by Joseph striding along with a bag over his shoulder. The Virgin Mary turns a sentimental face towards Joseph (fig. 221). They are approaching a walled city (damaged).

Μ. "Unto Simeon about to leave this deceitful world wast thou brought as a Babe...", presents the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, but only fragments of it survive today.

Ν.Ξ. The next two stanzas, "Thus did he show himself..." and "Seeing this Pilgrim Babe...", have gone with the west lunette of the aisle when the church was extended.

The cycle then continues in the northern side of the vault. The remaining stanzas had no parallels in other Byzantine cycles on which they could be based, and so new compositions had to be created by the late Byzantine painters, when the theme began to be illustrated and extensively applied in monastic and other churches in the Byzantine Commonwealth.

Ο. Thus, the stanza "Wholly present in the things below yet not wholly absent from the things above was the infinite Word...", depicts Christ *en face* flanked by groups of people, and again half-length in a segment of the sky flanked by seraphims.

Π. "All angel-kind marvelled at thy great work of flesh-taking...", depicts young Christ enthroned *en face* (no cushion), surrounded by a host of angels.

Ρ. "Men the most eloquent (orators) we see become as dumb fishes before thee...", shows the Virgin Mary enthroned *en face* with Christ on her lap blessing with both His hands, flanked by groups of people in long robes and cylindrical headgear (grey on the left, white on the right), the leaders holding un-inscribed scrolls unfolded upwards and curling at the end. One of those in the background on the right wears a red hat. These figures are emulating Byzantine cantors (see below). In the background there is a wall with keeps at either end, the left one barrel-vaulted.

Σ. "Being minded to save the world...", shows Christ leading a procession of angels towards a group of kneeling people in the entrance of a cave in a hilly landscape. He turns to look at the angels while His right hand points to the people in the cave.

Τ. "Unto all maidens and unto all who fly to thee thou art a wall...", is again literally translated into pictorial form by depicting the Virgin Mary with Christ in her left arm, standing before a solidly built wall of a building with a conical projection in its flat roof. She is followed by a group of maidens, as she turns slightly to face a group of men led by prelates standing on the right.

Υ. "No hymn that seeks to weave into one thy many mercies is worthy of thee..." (fig. 222), is one of the best-preserved and most well-composed stanzas of the series showing good workmanship. It shows Christ enthroned (no cushion) with a footstool of marble, turned to the right to face a group of people looking in adoration towards Him, headed by two prelates in the foreground with plain *phelonía* and





220. *The Magi returning to Babylon, and the Flight into Egypt (stanzas K and A of the Akathistos), early 16th c., Katholikon, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.*



211. *The Virgin Mary, detail from the Flight into Egypt (see preceding illustration).*

*omophoria* with crosses. Christ wears a red *chiton* and a blue *himation* with linear gold highlights. His face and those of the adorers are plastically treated with white on ochre ground. Christ is enveloped by a double grey aura, the outer circle containing a group of angels painted in transparent grey with darker outlines and folds, their refined features enhanced with few delicate linear highlights. In the noble face of Christ we see the same pronounced quality as in the idealistic faces of the well-known group of Martyrs in the church of the Aphenitico at Mystras of the fourteenth century, or any other contemporary paintings of the same quality, but with the facial diffused light further pronounced, in the technique of the Cretan school of the sixteenth century. The whole scene is framed by a recess in inverted perspective

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΔΙΔΥΧΗΤΑΤΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΚΤΙΝΕΣΘΑΙΣΠΩΑ ΞΠΛΗΘΗΤΤΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΔΙΚΤΗΡΜΩΝΣ.



222. "No hymn that seeks to weave into one thy many mercies is worthy of thee" (stanza Y of the *Akathistos*), early 16th c., *Katholikon*, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

of a late Byzantine character.

Φ. The scene depicting "We see then the Blessed Virgin as a lamp of living light shining upon those in darkness...", is a simple composition similar in conception to stanza Σ, interpreting the theme in a *literatim* manner. The Virgin stands before a slender ochre hill, holding Christ against her body as though she is enthroned. She turns her head to look at a group of people in a dark cave in the face of a

hill. Their faces are lit up.

X. "When he who payeth all men's debts was minded the ancient debts to pay... tearing up the bond (manuscript), he heard from all, Alleluia", shows Christ standing *en face* before an apsidal grey recess with a red semi-dome and a pointed pediment, such as we find in the background of Pilate Washing his hands in the church of the Protaton on Mount Athos, executed by the famous Panselinos in the early fourteenth century. Christ literally stretches an unscribed scroll between His two extended hands, the scroll snapping in the centre. Groups of people are depicted prostrate at His feet on either side. What else could be done with such a poetical theme?

Ψ. "All we who psalm thy Son give praise to thee as to the living temple, O God's Forth-bringer...", shows the Virgin Mary enthroned *en face* with Christ on her lap, flanked by two groups of dignitaries (fig. 223). The left-hand group is headed by a figure dressed as a deacon and holding a censer and an *artophorion*, but also wearing a cylindrical white headgear. Next to him stands a prelate in a plain *phelotion* and an *omophorion* with crosses; more heads in the background. Those on the right are dressed in long gowns and wear cylindrical, white headgear, excepting one in the foreground on the right, who wears an orange hat with a conical top; he is specially dressed in red with embroidered neck and arm bands, and is gesticulating with both hands; so is the younger one next to him (nearer to the Virgin), who turns his head to look at him. These gesticulations suggest time-keeping to their singing. It is obvious that we have a group of Byzantine cantors, a church choir. Indeed, similar figures in other late-Byzantine frescoes and icons have been identified as Byzantine cantors. This ingenious interpretation was originally introduced by Gabriel Millet, who identified a group of church-singers in a fourteenth-century fresco of the Nativity cycle at Ravanitsa. A. Xyngopoulos added a similar example from a



223. "All we who psalm thy Son", and "O Mother whom all must hymn" (stanzas Ψ and Ω of the *Akathistos*), early 16th c., *Katholikon*, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

representation of the Dormition of St. John Chrysostom. N. Zias elaborated on the theme with further examples in fifteenth and sixteenth century icons of the Dormition of St. Nicholas (*Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 1969, 2). We have pointed out further examples in a group of wall-paintings and icons of the *Hypsoisis* of the Holy Cross, one of them by Theophanes of Crete in Laura, Mount Athos, 1535, where there are both the cylindrical and the conical hats (see *By This Conquer*). The cylindrical head-gear also appears in some of the scenes of the *Akathistos* in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessaloniki, of the second decade of the fourteenth century, and in the Refectory of Laura, of 1512.

Ω. "O Mother whom all must hymn, O thou who brought forth the Word most holy beyond the holiest, take our present offering, keep all from every hurt, and deliver from all wrath to come those who cry to thee, Alleluia", the last stanza (fig. 223), shows the Virgin Mary enthroned *en face* with Christ on her lap, blessing with both His hands the two groups of people on either side, in contrast to the same subject in St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis, where the Virgin turns to the group of Popes and introduces them to her Son. The crowned Emperor, leading the group on the right, may be Constantine. The scene is again framed by a recess or open portico, with a curtain in the background and a light vault arching over it, in a Palaeologue manner of interpretation in painting.

The sky in all these scenes is black and the foreground is alternately deep red and deep green, excepting when the mountains extend to the foreground. Christ never has a cushion on His seats and all prelates are dressed in plain *phelonia* without crosses.

Iconographically, this cycle of the *Akathistos* is nearest to the cycle of the same theme depicted in the Refectory of Lavra on Mount Athos of 1512, with minor variations of course in the postures and number of the attendants, as well as in the architectural backgrounds, as far as we can judge from what has been published from this monument and from elsewhere.

The church also retains its paintings in the apse and a few figures in other parts. The Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse is depicted enthroned with the Child Christ in her left arm turned sideways towards her, a departure from the so-called "Cypriote" type of the enthroned Virgin with the Child *en face* on her lap. The attending Archangels wear sandals instead of the Byzantine boots. (Christ and the upper part of the Virgin are damaged). The throne is of a late type, with a lion's head at the top of each leg, and a balustraded opening across its front, common features in sixteenth-century paintings in the churches of Mount Athos. A similar type of throne (without the lion's heads), appears in the painting of the Deesis with the donors, in the church of the Archangel, Galata, dated 1514 (fig. 40).

In the Communion of the Apostles in the central zone of the apse, the style and technique are more uniform. There is plasticity, movement and differentiation. On the left, Christ administers the bread to the six Apostles headed by Peter, and on the right, He administers the wine to the other six headed by Paul. Judas is not represented. Each time Christ is standing under a domed ciborium, with a draped table in the foreground, on a baroque central leg. Each group is attended by an angel holding a *rhypidion* decorated with an *hexapterigon*. In the background there is a wall with decorative motifs and with a building at either end.

In the bottom zone of the apse, John Chrysostom, Gregory, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria (fig. 224), and John the Almoner, converge in groups of three towards the centre, in officiating postures and with inscribed scrolls in their hands. Their *phelonia* are covered with crosses. An altar table painted between them has been cut in two by a modern niche. Imitation marble pillars are painted at either end, with drawn curtains tied round them.

The paintings in the apse and especially the well-preserved Communion and the prelates below, show more careful execution than the rest of the



224. St. Cyril of Alexandria, early 16th c., *Katholikon*, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos.

paintings. Also the style and technique of facial treatment are different. On a greyish-ochre *proplasmos* the features are built up with white diffused light tones, enhanced by a few linear highlights at the pronounced parts. In some cases the white diffused light is mixed with slight pink. In both cases the result is a greyish cold and unnatural appearance.

The same applies to most of the individual saints surviving in different parts of the church. In the *bema*, north wall of the north aisle, are the prelates Eleftherius and Hypatius in plain *phelonia* and with bibles in their left hands. In the eastern lunette of the same aisle are the remains of the Holy Trinity, depicting Christ with the Ancient of Days and the Holy Ghost above them, in a triple aura.

In the niche of *prothesis* is depicted St. Stephen, and on the pier next to him (right), the Deposition-Utter Humiliation (damaged), with an angel flying downwards towards it with the end of his *himation* to his eyes.

In the soffit of the arch leading into the *diaconikon* we have the prelates Ignatius and Timotheus in plain *phelonia*. In the niche of the *diaconikon*, a sorrowful angel dressed as a deacon displays before him a red cloth bearing the dead Christ, a sort of *pieta*. Outside the niche, on the right, an inscription alludes to the mystical Sacrifice of the Lamb, the *Melismos* and the Communion, and warns man not to become unworthy of partaking. Above it is depicted Pope Silvester. On the pier is painted the deacon Laurentius.

In the soffit of the arch before the *iconostasis* (south aisle), there are two figures: Alexius the man of God (east), and St. John Kalyvitis (west). (The floral decoration above these saints appears in the vault of the Latin chapel attached to St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis, with a series of Italo-Byzantine paintings of the end of the fifteenth century). In the spandrels over the pillar (left), we have St. Cosmas with his medicine box.

In a spandrel in the north aisle we have the figure of St. Samonas framed by a cusped arch; there is a red foreground. Next to him, in the soffit of the arch, survives the bust of St. Elpidophorus, dressed in a martyr's garments.

There is a figure of St. Paraskevi on the pier at the west end of the south aisle.

The vault paintings of the life of the Virgin Mary and of the *Akathistos* have suffered from dampness and the colours have been deformed by salt deposits and are flaking. Consequently we cannot fully appreciate their style and technique of execution. But we can detect an apparent carelessness and a tendency to simplification emanating from quick work, excusable by the height of the vault and therefore the distant viewing of the paintings, and perhaps by the funds paid. The simplicity of the architectural backgrounds, the plain thrones most of them without the usual cushions, the uninscribed scrolls and other such details, do not distract the viewer from the theme unfolding itself like a modern film. The paintings hark back to fourteenth and fifteenth-century paintings in Mystras and elsewhere in many points, but there are also stylistic and iconographic elements announcing the sixteenth century. The latter are more advanced in the more carefully executed paintings of the apse and the individual saints in other parts of the church.

Owing to these discrepancies, the vault paintings were previously dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, and those of the apse and the lower parts of the church to the end of the same century. In the light of recent research, we now believe that the two series are contemporary, in spite of the differences in style and technique of execution. Juxtaposed styles and techniques of execution have been proved to be contemporary, either executed by different masters working together, or painted by the same master using different models or series of transfers, in common use during this period. Thus, an *Akathistos* cycle could derive from one source, and an apse cycle from another. But usually there are tell-tale elements pointing to the same date of execution. The homogeneous style of handwriting in the inscriptions is usually a good point for detection. In our case the inscriptions appear to show a comparatively uniform style. The phenomenon of contemporary juxtaposed styles has been noted in many churches and even manuscripts from the mid-Byzantine period onwards. In Cyprus we have met them in the church of Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera, in the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, and elsewhere. Outside the island, we mention the churches of Peribleptos and Pantanassa at Mystras, where two distinct juxtaposed styles and techniques of facial execution have been noted and attributed to two painters working at the same time. In the earliest recorded wall-paintings by Theophanes of Crete in the monastic church of Agios Nicholas Anapaphsas in Meteora, executed in 1527, two styles and techniques have also been recorded, one following the icon technique of diffused light and linear highlights, and the other the plastic treatment of flesh tones. (Xyngopoulos, *Schediasma*).

In this context, we now believe that all the paintings in this church are of the same period, and could be dated to the early sixteenth century. Their connections with Mystras on the one hand and with the Cretan school of the sixteenth century on the other, show a logical development, in view of the fact that the fourteenth-fifteenth century paintings of the former have been seen as the prototypes of the latter.

It has been suggested (Mango and Hawkins), that the monk Neophytus, the donor mentioned in the dedicatory inscription of 1503 in the cave chapel of the Holy Cross of the "Enkleistra", was probably also responsible for the erection and presumably for the decoration of the *Katholikon*, in ca. 1500. This is supported by an obit mentioning a monk Neophytus as the "new Ktitor" who died in 1512. Be that as it may, even if we accept the said monk Neophytus as the founder of the *Katholikon*, this does not conflict with an early sixteenth-century date for its erection and decoration, and also for the decoration of the porch of the cave-chapel by the same painters. We note that the renewed paintings of the cave-chapel mentioned in the inscription of 1503, are by another painter. It is relevant to point out that Soteriou included the paintings of the *Katholikon* in the sixteenth-century group, in his album on the Byzantine Monuments of Cyprus.

Here we have a conservative school of painters working in the Byzantine traditions with minor iconographical Western infiltrations, mainly of a decorative character, in contrast to the contemporary school of Italo-



Byzantine paintings, combining classical-Byzantine and Italian Renaissance elements in an assimilated form, as in the cycle of the *Akathistos* in the north chapel of the church of St. John Lampadistis, and in the wall-paintings of the church of Panagia Podithou, near Galata.

The fine series of icons representing the Great Deesis in the uppermost zone of the *iconostasis* (fig. 225) – Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, the twelve Apostles (one lost), and the Archangels Michael and Gabriel – is now dated by A. Papageorgiou to the year 1544 and attributed to the hand of Joseph Houris, on account of an inscription on the reverse of the icon of Christ. He also suggests that the twenty-one smaller icons in the middle zone, depicting the *Dodecaorton* (twelve main feasts of the Church), supplemented with further scenes from the Christological cycle and the Virgin's childhood, may also be by the same hand. They hark back to the Palaeologue style and iconography, but are related to the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century, here imbued with certain iconographic and stylistic mannerisms of Italian character in an assimilated form.



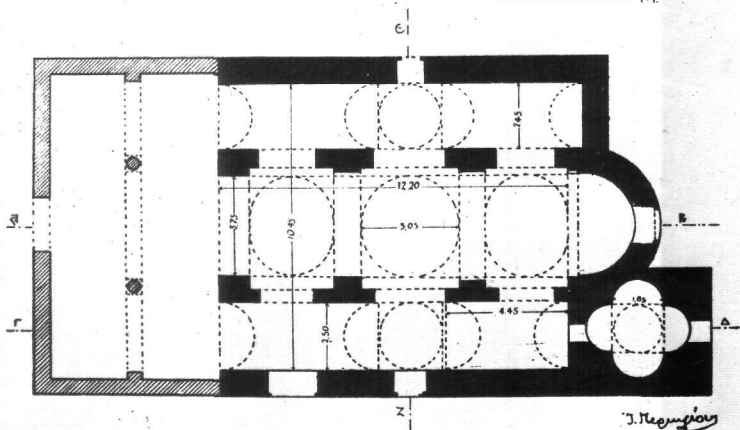
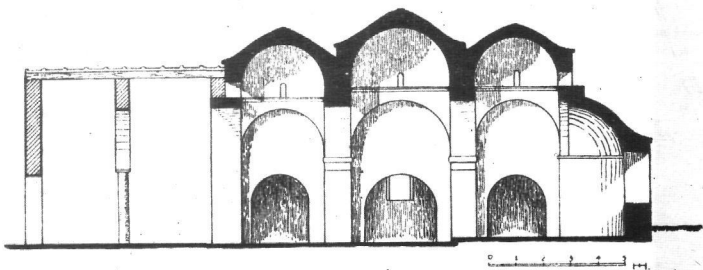
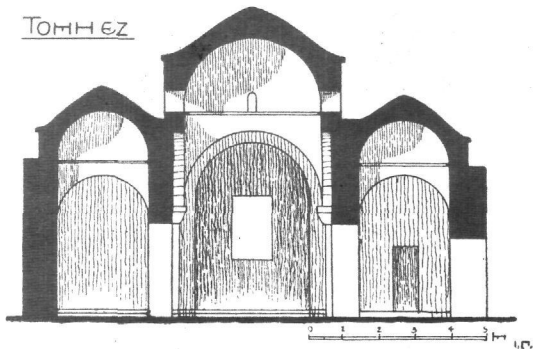
225. The upper part of the *iconostasis* of the *Katholikon*, monastery of St. Neophytus, near Paphos. The icons shown are dated to the year 1544.

From Paphos we turn to the east, along the road which in ancient times was followed by thousands of pilgrims who landed at the port of New Paphos and journeyed to the sacred shrine of Aphrodite at Old Paphos (present Koukliä). Two miles east of Paphos we come to the village of Yeroskipos, which, as the name implies, stands on the site of the holy garden (*hieros kepos*) of Aphrodite.

**40. The Church of St. Paraskevi** stands just off the road-side in the middle of the village, and it is one of the most attractive and interesting Byzantine churches of the island (fig. 226). It is a vaulted basilica with a nave and two aisles surmounted by five domes, three in a line over the nave and two intersecting the side aisles forming a cross, a unique development in Byzantine architecture (figs. 227, 228). It appears to be a local development from the three-domed basilicas of the Justinian era introduced into the island at an



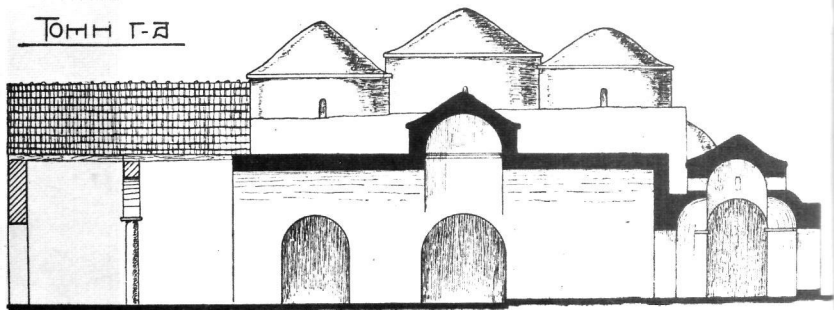
226. The church of St. Paraskevi, early Byzantine, Yeroskipos. (Drawing by Miss P. Gurney).



J. Neugebauer

227. Ground plan and sections, church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos. (After Soteriou, with acknowledgements).

ΤΟΜΗ Γ-Δ



228. Section Γ-Δ, church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos. (After Soteriou, with acknowledgements).

early date, judging by the churches of St. Barnabas near Salamis and of St. Lazarus in Larnaca (Soteriou). A square chapel with a cupola and apsidal sides formed inside the thick walls, attached to the south-east corner of the church, suggests an early *martyrion* or a relic mausoleum.

During the cleaning and consolidation of the surviving wall-paintings of the church by the Department of Antiquities between the years 1974 and 1977, some important discoveries were made, throwing some light on the early date of the church. A monochrome brown cross of an early type was discovered on the south wall of the north aisle, painted straight on the stone wall before any plastering or decoration was undertaken. This would imply the original consecration of the church. In the nave of the church, remnants of two earlier series of paintings have been discovered under the present fifteenth-century paintings. These can be assigned to the tenth and twelfth centuries.

The most important discovery, however, was made in the east cupola over the altar. The central part of the decoration of this dome is destroyed, but from what survives it is evident that we have here an un-ionic decoration composed of a large cross surrounded by stylized floral and geometric decoration. The end sections of the east, west and north arms of the cross have survived, bearing quatrefoil decoration, unframed or in medallions. The angles of the cross are filled with diaper decoration, the whole composition being encircled by two zones filled with decorative motifs, the inner one with a spiral meander (guilloch) of a Roman character, and the outer and wider one with interlaced geometric designs, which point to Moslem influences of the seventh-eighth centuries. The predominating colours are ochre, red and green, of a mat value. The absence of the motif of precious stones on the cross stresses the great simplicity. The character of the decoration and its position over the altar, imply an un-ionic scheme of decoration at least applied to the *bema* and perhaps to the nave of the church. In this context, this is an impor-

tant Iconoclastic decoration applied before 843, providing us with a *terminus ad quem* for the erection of the church.

Some fifteenth-century damaged paintings were removed from the soffit of the south arch, below the central dome, to reveal the earlier paintings surviving underneath. On the left there is an unidentified, rather effaced, half-length figure with curly hair and on the right a better preserved, half-length white-bearded figure, also unidentified. A tenth-century date can be suggested for these paintings. On the reveals of the arch there are two full-size unidentified prelates, rather effaced.

In the lunette of the north recess, below the central dome, the central part of a Dormition of the Mother of God has been revealed, beneath the damaged part of a fifteenth-century Crucifixion. The remnants comprise the bier with the Virgin Mary, some Apostles by the feet, and the episode of Jefonias with his cut hands clinging to the bier, the face of the Mother of God being the best preserved (fig. 229). It shows good workmanship and can be attributed to the end of the twelfth century.

The rest of the paintings we see today in the nave belong to a redecoration of the late fifteenth century. These were badly smoked and oxidized through dampness, resulting in the flaking of the pigments. The restorers of the Department of Antiquities did admirable work in the cleaning and preservation of these paintings, revealing some fine workmanship of this late period, where they were not already completely ruined by decay.

In the central dome we have the bust of the Virgin Mary *Orans*, with the bust of Christ against her chest, but not in a medallion. In a zone below, we had twelve prophets with scrolls and objects in their hands illustrating their prophecies alluding to the Virgin Mary and the Incarnation. Six of them survive in the east half of the zone and three in the west one. We may have here the composition prescribed by the *Painters' Guide*: "From Above the Prophets have heralded Thee". This is a departure from the iconography of the central dome of Byzantine churches. The four Evangelists writing their Gospels, however, have retained their places in the pendentives of this central dome.

Judging by the remnants of a cruciform halo in the cupola of the west dome of the nave and the fragments of angels, cherubims and seraphims in the zone below, we can say that the Pantocrator was removed to this secondary place. In the pendentives of this dome some unusual subjects have been depicted. In the south-east one, a standing figure with a black stick could be that of Moses. The south-west pendentive has lost its decoration. In the north-west one we have the remnants of the Sacrifice of Isaac. In the north-east one we have the best-preserved painting of these pendentives, St. Paul dictating to a scribe, a very rare subject in monumental painting and the only specimen so far discovered in the island (fig. 230). St. Paul, the most powerful human personality in the history of the Church, is closely connected with Paphos, and the depiction of this subject in an important church of the district is not surprising. The subject is found in earlier manuscripts and in later portable icons.



229. Section of the Crucifixion, late 15th c.; fragment of the Dormition of the Mother of God (right, centre), end of the 12th c.; church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.



230. St. Paul dictating to the scribe, end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.

The Gospel cycle was adapted to the lunettes and the spaces between them, below the central and west domes of the nave. The sequence is from left to right, starting from the south lunette under the central dome and ending in the north one under the same dome. There are two zones in each lunette, excepting the last one with the Crucifixion.

The Birth of the Virgin Mary and her Presentation in the Temple are depicted out of place in the lower zone of the south lunette, under the west dome. In the first one, St. Anna is seated on a bed on the left (fig. 231). The bed is laid with a local sheet with woven bands. A green sheet wraps the lower part of her body. Her body faces right but her head is turned to listen to an attendant, who approaches from behind with her right hand out in argument. By the foot of the bed, the new-born child lies in a cot covered up to her neck. An atten-



231. *The Birth of the Virgin Mary, end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.*



dant sits near by, holding a distaff with red wool in her right hand and a spindle in her left hand. On a side-table are laid two loaves of bread, a dish with fish, a glass bottle with red wine, a glass and a pointed knife. In the second plane, we have two more female attendants approaching St. Anna, the first one holding a small glass bottle of a Greco-Roman type and the second one holding a covered pot (compare with the same subject in the church of the Archangel, Pedoulas). On the right, there is a covered portico under which stands St. Joachim. In the opposite corner there is an open portico. A cloth is thrown over the space between the two porticoes, in the Palaeologue style.

Moving to the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple we find an impressionistic interpretation of the usual cloths thrown over buildings, here depicted as though caught in a storm, causing the roof of the building to which it is tied to bend forward (fig. 232); the red, scarlet and yellow colours of the cloth add to its impressionistic appearance. The bent roof appears in many paintings of the Palaeologue period, but without the explanatory storm-blown cloth.



232. *The Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple (detail), end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.*

We retrace our steps to the south lunette under the central dome to find the sequence of the scenes. The Annunciation has gone. The Birth of Christ is at once rustic in character, in contrast to the rest of the scenes, a differentiation we have met in several churches from the twelfth century onwards. There seems to have been a tendency in this respect in Cyprus concerning the Nativity of Christ, a subject nearest to the heart of the people. The conception of the painting in this church is similar to the one in the church of the Archangel in Pedoulas, with minor variations in postures and other details. The posture of the Virgin Mary as she reclines on her mattress, turned outwards to face Joseph seated in the bottom left corner, is almost identical. We meet this same posture in the mosaic composition of the same subject in St. Saviour in Chora, Constantinople, in the church of the Peribleptos at Mystras of 1350, and elsewhere, including portable icons; it goes back to earlier manuscript illuminations.

The Presentation of Christ in the Temple has gone.

In the Baptism of Christ, besides the personification of the Jordan, we have a striking personification of the Sea depicted in an unusual manner, probably adapted from some secular theme (fig. 233). It portrays a female figure, naked from the waist upwards with a rich bosom, reclining in a shell-boat drawn by



233. Personifications of the river Jordan and of the Sea, detail from the Baptism of Christ, end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.

two harnessed sea-monsters, probably meant to be dolphins. She holds an oar in her right hand: "The sea saw it and fled: Jordan was driven back" (Psalms, 114, 3).

The next surviving scenes are the Raising of Lazarus and the Triumphal Ride in the upper zone of the south lunette, under the west dome (above the scenes of the Birth and the Presentation of the Virgin, already described). In the Raising of Lazarus we note that Christ is not blessing, but extends His hand with palm upwards in a gesture commanding him to rise (fig. 234). The swaddled Lazarus is standing in a sarcophagus before the arched entrance to the cave tomb. In the second plane above this, we have a group of people appearing between two mountains, a Byzantine fashion for a third dimension. They are differentiated and well-preserved, and afford us an opportunity to appreciate the style and technique of execution. The execution is delicate resulting in refined features. The *proplasmos* of the faces is dark ochre with flesh tones and highlights applied in gradual tones, leaving the shaded parts to appear from below. The hair and beards of the elderly faces are painted in white strokes over a grey ground, itself applied over the dark ochre *proplasmos*, the result being very effective. The hair of the younger figures is painted in gold strokes straight on to the ochre ground. Scarlet lips survive in some faces. The technique is reminiscent of some of the paintings in Pantanassa at Mystras (1428), and in the church of St. Constantine, Avdou Pediados, Crete (1455), a technique leading to the Cretan school of the sixteenth century.

The Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem presents the subject in its late Byzantine form. We note that Christ is riding an animated ass. In the group of people welcoming Christ, there is only one woman and she is seated in the foreground clutching a dangling child against her body, giving a rustic touch to the scene. Inside the walled city of Jerusalem, the domed rotunda of the *Anastasis* stands out. In the niche over the entrance to the city there is a bust of a figure. The child with its back to the spectator, precariously dangling from the palm-tree, is a late development in Byzantine art. We meet it in the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati and also outside Cyprus.

In the north lunette below the west dome we have five scenes, two in the upper zone and three in the bottom one. The Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet in the upper zone have exchanged positions in the sequence and they are weak in composition.

A strange point of interest is the depiction of only eleven Disciples in both scenes, in spite of the fact that Judas is present in both cases. In the Washing of the Feet, we note that there is an oblong water tank as well as a basin with water.

Christ before Annas and Caiaphas in the bottom zone is mostly gone. In the Betrayal which follows, we see Judas embracing Christ from the left (fig. 235). A soldier on the right clutches Christ by the arm and raises a sword ready to strike in a dramatic posture. Another young soldier behind Judas dramatically unsheathes a sword. Although such executioners appear earlier in Byzantine art in scenes of beheading (see the beheading of St. John the



234. *The Raising of Lazarus, end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.*



235. *The Betrayal, end of the 15th c., church of St. Paraskevi, Yeroskipos.*

Baptist, Cod. 587m, Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos), in their present iconography and style they emanate from the West, introduced into late Byzantine and post-Byzantine paintings, as we have already alluded to elsewhere (see Kaminaria, the church of the Virgin Mary). Back to our scene, we find another soldier in the background raising a lantern, a young figure on the right raising a multiple torch, and in the background on the left, a soldier and a Jew holding candle-like torches.

The third scene in the bottom zone following the Betrayal, represents Pilate Washing his hands. Pilate is shown young, sitting in a bucket-throne on the left. His hands are stretched backwards to receive the water poured by a female appearing from an arched doorway behind him; there is no basin. Christ stands with His back to Pilate, but He turns His head to face him. The same soldier who arrested Christ now holds Him by the right arm and the left shoulder. A group of soldiers and Jews are grouped behind him.

The *Via Crucis* which follows outside the lunette, on the north face of the arch between the west and central domes, shows Simon leading the way under the weight of the heavy Cross, followed by the same soldier now holding the rope with which Christ's hands are tied together. Christ is dressed only in a *chiton* and His arms are bare. There are two hills in the background.

The cycle, as it survives today, ends with the Crucifixion covering the whole north lunette under the central dome (fig. 229). The right half of the scene has gone, leaving part of the Dormition of the twelfth century showing, as we have already noted. The Crucifixion is a narrative scene with the two thieves depicted on either side of Christ. The flying angels are in dramatic postures, one of them collecting the blood issuing from the pierced side of Christ while he turns his head away. The left half of the scene, which survives in good condition, shows a two-dimensional composition in Byzantine manner, although there are some Western iconographical figures adapted to the theme. The Crucifixion was one of the themes which was greatly affected by Western art during this period, probably through circulating copper-engravings. In the foreground, the Virgin Mary faints in the arms of two of her friends, while St. John clutches her by her garments to stop her from falling. A multitude of other women follow from the left. In the second plane we have a group of soldiers and Jews on horseback riding away between a fold of the hills, a Western scene weakly adapted to the composition. The first soldier on the left wears a strange helmet with a raised bulbous projection (probably emulating a crest) and with a beaver. The next figure with well-trimmed hair to the top of his neck, a cloth cap and a collar, is a Venetian character. Next we have a young figure with bare head, and behind him appears a head completely covered with a helmet, visor and beaver of a type in use ca. 1480. These are helpful clues towards dating these paintings. The hill in the background is cracked all over, and the domed "Temple" at the top of the hill is rent down the centre.

From the left-hand spandrel below the Crucifixion, Moses looks up with a long undulating scroll in his left hand.

The standing figure of St. George, with a sword in his right hand and a round shield in his left, survives on the wall below the Birth of the Virgin Mary, in the south-west recess of the nave. In the soffit of the arch through this recess, we have the figures of the prelates Spyridon and Elephtherius. This last series of paintings should date from the late fifteenth century as we have already remarked. They hark back to Palaeologue iconography and style with Western iconographical infiltrations in some cases, interpreted in the Byzantine manner of this late period.

The present *iconostasis* and the icons are modern, excepting the fifteenth-century double-face icon of the Virgin Mary Yeroskipiotissa with the Child Christ in her left arm and the Crucifixion on its verso.

The marble pillars and Corinthian capitals, now erected on the south wall enclosing the yard of the church, must have been brought here from another early Christian basilica. There are no indications that an earlier church was on this spot.

In conclusion we could say that this is an important Byzantine church in architecture and decoration, covering a period of over a thousand years.

About eight miles to the east of Yeroskipos we come to the village of Kouklia, on a hill to the north of the main road. In and around the village are the ruins of the ancient city of Old Paphos and of the island's most famous temple of Aphrodite the Cyprian, born from the foam of the sea. Under the Lusignans it was the centre of a Royal Domain known as "La Covocle" with a sugar factory. The remnants of the original manor-house, to the south of the excavated temple, have recently been repaired and reconstructed, and turned into a museum.

That there was a flourishing village here during the Byzantine period is evident from the twelfth-century church of the Virgin Mary.

**41. The Church of Panagia Katholiki**, the main church of the original Byzantine village, lies to the east of the Temple of Aphrodite. It is of the simple cruciform type (free cross), with a dome over the junction of the arms of the cross. Some inscribed stones from the ruins of the temple were inserted in the walls of the church. The church should date from the twelfth century, but its west arm was reconstructed and extended at a later date. Of the original decoration of the church nothing survives today.

The surviving paintings of a later date are not many, but we include them here for some interesting and unusual details. In their present blackened and damaged state they are difficult to evaluate. The prelate St. Therapon, in the niche right of the *iconostasis*, shows good workmanship of a fourteenth-century character.

Christ Pantocrator in the dome is surrounded by a narrow frieze of angels and lower down by a second narrow frieze of prophets under a decorative Gothic arcade. The inscription around the Pantocrator is unusual. It records an officiating prelate's prayer during mass, invoking the Lord's protection of His Church likened to a vineyard: "Oh Lord, Oh Lord, look down from heaven and see and visit and organize this vineyard, which your right hand has planted".

The unusual masks with running water through their mouths painted on the west wall, represent the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and they are part of the Garden of Eden of the composition of the Last Judgement, now mostly lost (fig. 236).

On the north wall there is a very rustic Birth of the Virgin Mary, emulating the Birth of Christ as far as the figure of St. Anna is concerned—showing her reclining on a mattress like the Virgin Mary—and depicting a mountain village house in the background, with a wooden balustraded verandah. On the same wall there are the remnants of a mounted St. George with his pillion rider.



236. The rivers Tigris and Euphrates as part of the Garden of Eden, remnant of the Last Judgement, 15th c., church of Panagia Katholiki, Kouklia.



42. "Palaea Enkleistra". About two and a half miles to the north-east of Kouklia, on the road to the next village of Archimandrita, there is a painted cave-chapel in the face of the southern high cliffs of a dry river-bed. It is in a very secluded spot in a deep gorge, and access to it is at present very difficult. Two other near-by caves, now half destroyed, show signs of habitation. Here we have a hermitage of the late Byzantine period, emulating the famous hermitage of St. Neophytus, known as the Enkleistra. Hence the name of this cave-chapel applied to it by the people, believing that St. Neophytus first established himself here, before he moved to the caves above Paphos. This is a usual appropriation by the people concerning saints and their history.

The entrance to the cave-chapel is at the north-east end. In the east wall by the entrance, there is a well-constructed arcosolium, presumably the tomb of the founder. The chapel measures about 15×15 feet at its longest and widest points, narrowing down to 7 feet at the west end. The height starts at about 7 feet at the entrance and tapers down to 4 feet at the west end.

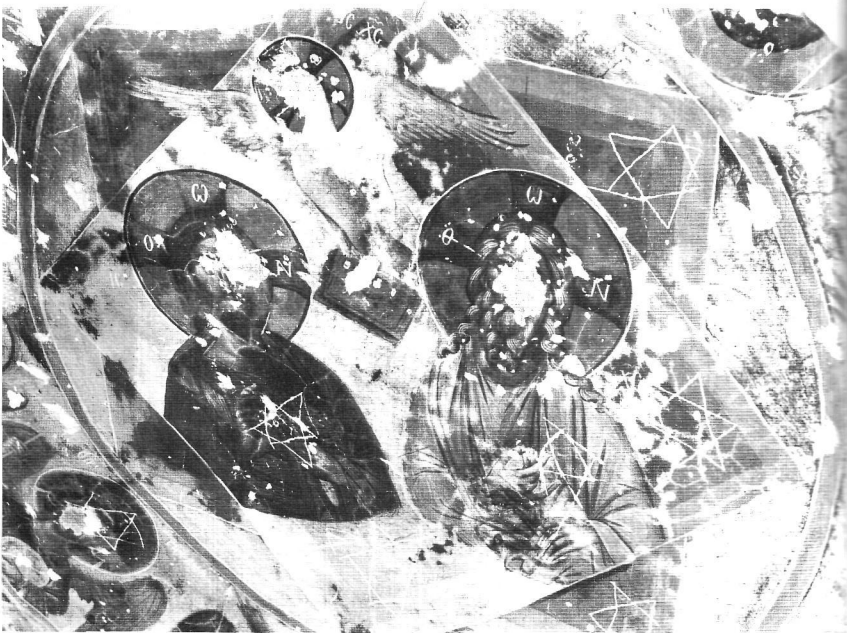
The chapel retains a considerable number of its paintings of the fifteenth century, which must also be the date of the establishment of the hermitage. The colours of the paintings have a soft pastel appearance and they look fresh and clean, which means that the hermitage must have come to an end with the death of its founder and the chapel was not used or frequented afterwards for candle-lighting. Unfortunately, however, the paintings suffered extreme mutilation in the faces by later conquerors of the island, whose religion is against representational art.

The scheme of decoration is rather unusual. The entrance is guarded by the hairy, naked figure of St. Onoufrius (?), with a grey beard down to his loins (left of entrance, outside).

Inside the chapel, the centre of the flat ceiling is covered by the Holy Trinity in a triple aura or medallion: God the Father with Christ on His right (left spectator), and the Holy Ghost alighted on the Book between them (figs. 237, 238). This is a Western type of the Holy Trinity which entered late Byzantine art. But each one is here inscribed as Jesus Christ (including the Holy Ghost), and each one bears the cruciform halo, the arms of the cross bearing the words Ο ΩΝ, "the Eternal". This betrays a Western dogmatic touch expressing the *Filioque* ("And the Son"), the Double Procession of the Holy Ghost, added by the Latin Church to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, after the words "the Holy Ghost Who proceedeth from the Father". In our case, this would imply a date after the Council of Florence in 1439, when the acceptance of the doctrine was imposed on the Greeks as a condition of the short-lived union of the two Churches. Whether this Holy Trinity was consciously or unsuspectingly adopted here we cannot tell.

An array of the Heavenly Powers, Archangels, Angels, Seraphim, Cherubim and Wheels, are depicted as guardians in a zone around the Holy Trinity (figs. 239-241). This iconographic arrangement is usually prescribed for the Pantocrator. (See the church of the Chryseleousa, Emba).

In a third outer zone we have the Evangelists writing their Gospels in differentiated postures: John with Prochorus, and Matthew in the north-east,



237. *The Holy Trinity, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.*

Mark and Luke, using the same bench, in the south-west. Matthew is the best preserved (fig. 242).

In the same zone, on the south, is conspicuously depicted the bust of St. Anastasia the poison-curer, with hands uplifted exhibiting the instruments of her craft: a cross and a bottle of ointments. The help of this female doctor Saint must have often been invoked in such secluded spots in the wilderness.

Only a few of the paintings on the walls of the cave survive. On the north wall we have the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus. Then there is a mounted St. George killing a green dragon, and next to him are painted the Three Youths in the Furnace, solaced by a hovering angel.

On either side of the tomb niche are the life-size figures of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, and over the point of the arcosolium there is a bust of St. Hermolaus in prelate's vestments.



238. Christ, part of the Holy Trinity, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.



239. An *Hexapterigon* Seraphim, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.

The delicacy of execution, the softness of the colours, the simplicity of the folds of the garments and the application of the highlights, are strikingly reminiscent of some of the paintings, especially of the individual saints, in the church of the Pantanassa at Mystras of 1428. There are also analogies in the foliate ornament. But the Western Holy Trinity with the dogmatic touch of the *Filioque*, suggests a date for these paintings after 1439. This brings us nearer to the year 1442, when Helena Palaeologina, daughter of the Despot of Morea, came to Cyprus to become the Queen of the Latin ruler John II (see Introduction B.) The analogies with the art of Mystras are thus understandable, and suggest a date soon after the year 1442 for the paintings of this cave-chapel.



240. *Polyommata* Cherubim, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.



241. *Wheels*, inscribed as **Polyommata Seraphim**, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.



242. The Evangelist Matthew writing his Gospel, after 1442, cave-chapel of the "Palaea Enkleistra", near Kouklia.

## XXIX. GALATARIA

This mountain village in the district of Paphos is best reached by branching off to the north from the main Paphos-Limassol road via Timi, Anarita, Nata, Amargeti and Pendalia.

**43. The Church of St. Nicholas** lies about two miles to the east of the village in an idyllic vine-clad valley. It is strangely perched on the side of a rocky outcrop, as though it was erected there after some divine revelation (fig. 243). It is a single-aisled small building (about 28×12 feet), with a pointed



243. *The church of St. Nicholas, Galataria.*



vault supported by a transverse arch carried on pilasters. The floor is the original rock without any tiling. The roof is covered with local tiles.

The church retains considerable paintings in the east half, but they are covered with salt deposits and are difficult to evaluate. A dedicatory inscription in the cornice of the apse, recording the decoration of the church, is today mostly destroyed. Gunnis, who must have found the inscription in a better condition, mentions the date 1550 which is doubtful. The style and iconography suggest a date in the second decade of the sixteenth century. The paintings are similar to those in the church of the Saviour at Palaeochorio.

In the conch of the apse is the Virgin Mary *Orans*, attended by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael. In the central zone we have the Communion of the Apostles, all of them depicted twice, on the left receiving the bread and on the right receiving the wine; Judas is the last one in both instances and he is turning away from the scene. Christ is attended by two angels holding *rhypidia* in both instances. The architectural background is almost identical with that of the same subject in the church of the Saviour at Palaeochorio. In fact, the whole scene is very reminiscent of that example, excepting details and differentiations in the postures, and the presence of Judas in both sections in this church.

In the bottom zone of the apse there are six officiating prelates in *polystavria phelonia*, converging in groups of three towards the centre: Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Spyridon.

In the niche of *prothesis* is painted the half-length figure of the dead Christ against the Cross, inscribed as the Deposition. On the north side of the vault in the *bema*, there are the paintings of the Three Youths in the Furnace and the Sacrifice of Isaac, one below the other; at the bottom we have a deacon. On the right of the apse there is the deacon St. Athanasius. In the south side of the vault in the *bema*, there are the following paintings, top to bottom: — the Annunciation, the Entertainment of the Angels (*Philoxenia*), and St. Stephen. There are some unidentified scenes in the east pediment.

In the nave, Peter and Paul take their positions on the pilasters. On the north wall, next to Peter, is depicted St. Andrew styled as the *Protoklitos* (first called, fig. 244), and next to him St. Nicholas styled as the *Thaumaturge*. On the south wall, next to the *iconostasis*, there is a large Archangel Michael.

On the west wall (right of door) there are remnants of St. Mamas riding his lion.



244. St. Andrew (detail), second decade of the 16th c., church of St. Nicholas, Galataria.

This hamlet lies on the main road about half-way between Paphos and Kouklia. During the French period it was a centre of an important sugar industry. The name derives from the French *L'Échelle* (the port).

**44. The Church of St. Theodosius** lies about a mile to the south of the village. It is of the simple cruciform domed type (free cross). It retains some fragmentary wall-paintings in a bad state of preservation, but we include them here for their iconographical and stylistic interest. In their present state they are difficult to evaluate, but we can provisionally say that there are two layers of paintings possibly of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

On the south wall of the west arm we have an interesting votive painting of Sts. Peter and Paul inside a double-arched frame. Each one has a portrait of a deceased figure by his side on a smaller scale. They are beardless and have their hands crossed on their chest (fig. 245). They wear long gowns with buttons down the front to the waist. Below the waist there are two black cords, one on either side, in the form of a loop. Through the loop on their left hangs a towel of locally woven material, obviously a funerary accessory.

An inscription over the head of the right hand side figure tells us that "the servant of God George fell asleep...". The other figure lost his inscription. The quotation on Peter's scroll points to the funerary character of the composition: "Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul" (Peter I, 2/11).

The figures are robust with heavy outlines and Paul shows deep facial lines. The folds of the garments are linear with little plasticity. There is a dark blue background and a green foreground. A thirteenth-century date is suggested. There are remnants of a later layer of painting over Peter's halo and right shoulder.

On the north wall of the west arm, we have the remnants of St. Anastasia the poison-curer, and of Sts. Anronicus and Athanasia, probably of the sixteenth-century redecoration. Next to them are the remnants of a mounted soldier-saint wearing a red cloak and riding a brown horse; he holds a shield blazoned with a face. He should belong to the thirteenth-century group.

The rest of the surviving remnants of paintings are in the north arm. On the west wall survives the central part of a figure wearing a *chlamys* and holding a cup with an instrument inside it, suggesting one of the doctor saints. Next to him there is a mounted soldier-saint on a brown horse, both with robust features, placing this painting in the thirteenth-century group. Above this, there are remnants of an unidentified scene with heads facing each other and a figure holding a boat with an oar. The top part of another robust mounted soldier-saint, which filled the north wall of the same arm, has a turbaned pillion rider holding a cup, identifying the saint depicted as St. George. There are remnants of a castle on the right. This painting has been hatched to take a later painting, now fallen away or never executed. Moving to the east wall we find the remnants of a Virgin Mary, possibly of the early group, and then the prelates Nicholas, Gregory the Theologian and Theodosius the Cenobiarch, the last three probably of the second period.



245. Commemorative figure of a deceased person between Sts. Peter and Paul, 13th c., church of St. Theodosius, Akhelia.

Back in Paphos, we turn to the north-north-west to get to the Byzantine village of Emba (about three miles).

**45. The Church of Panagia Chryseleousa**, in the middle of the village, is at once arresting and imposing with its simplicity and robust features, an edifice built to last for ever (fig. 246). It is a twelfth-century building originally of the simple cruciform type (free cross), with a dome over the junction of the cross, later turned into an inscribed cruciform type with the addition of lateral com-



246. *The church of Panagia Chryseleousa, Emba.*

partments in the angles of the cross, excepting the south-east corner, where the terrain did not allow the addition of a *diaconikon*; a cruciform domed narthex was also added at a later time.

There are visible signs that considerable remains of the original decoration of the church and the narthex are hiding under late plastering. When this is removed we might be presented with interesting results, helping us to date the building more precisely. (See note at the end of page 413).

A new scheme of decoration appears to have been applied to the main church at the end of the fifteenth century. The best preserved part of this decoration survives in the dome, although these paintings also suffered losses during the earthquake of 1953.

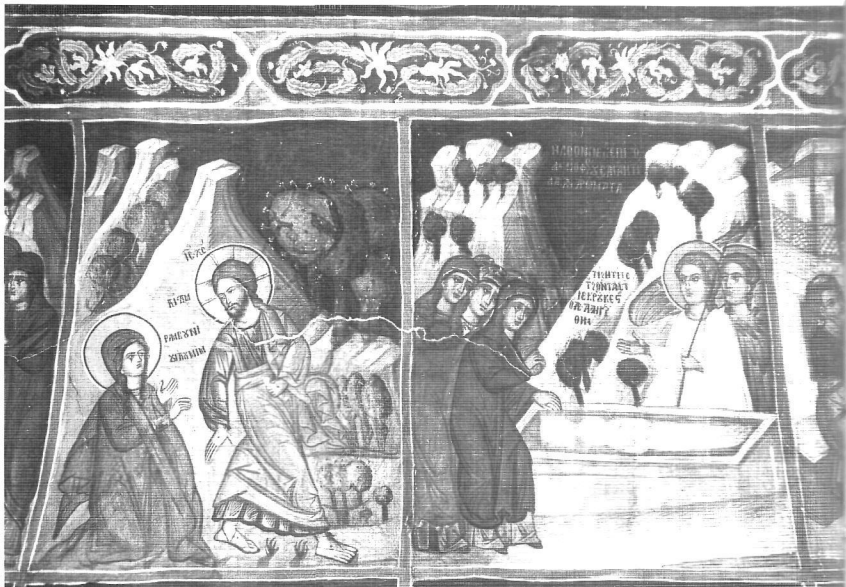
In the centre of the dome there is the bust of Christ Pantocrator inside an iridescent circle. He is surrounded by the Heavenly Powers of Archangels, Angels, Seraphim, Cherubim, Wheels, and "Eptamorpha", based on Ezekiel's vision, and prescribed by the *Painters' Guide* (fig. 247; see also "Palaea Enkleistra" near Kouklia). The Virgin Mary *Orans* finds a place between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, leading this array of the Heavenly Powers. In the lower zone, we have a fine series of prophets between the four windows in the drum.

The paintings in the church below the dome are in a bad state of preservation; most of them were crudely overpainted in recent years. The best preserved are those in the main western vault, and are now gradually being freed from the crude overpainting by the Department of Antiquities, in collaboration with the village authorities, with rewarding results.

The paintings of the north side of the vault have already been cleaned, revealing an interesting, though scholastic, ensemble of Gospel scenes concerning the Resurrection of Christ, and His post-Resurrection appearances to the disciples, which appears to have been the tendency of the period. There are twelve scenes in two tiers. *Top tier*: 1) "Go ye teach all nations" (Mat. 28:16-19), showing Christ addressing the eleven Apostles headed by Peter. 2) "Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome" at the empty sepulchre, addressed by the angel "Be not affrighted" (Mark 16:1-6). 3) "Touch Me not" (John 20: 14-17), showing Mary Magdalene kneeling before Christ, who is stepping quickly away to avoid being touched (fig. 248). 4) "Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women" at the empty sepulchre, addressed by two angels: "Why seek ye the living among the dead"? (Fig. 248; Luke 24: 1-10). 5) Christ at the house of Cleopas in Emmaus (Luke 24:29-31), showing Him seated *en face* on a semicircular bench before a small round table in inverted perspective, colourfully draped and laid with two loaves of bread; Christ extends His hands with pieces of bread to Luke and Cleopas seated on either side. The scene takes place in the courtyard of a house in two storeys, with covered verandahs in the lateral wings of the second storey protected with lattice work, the whole depicted in an attempted third dimension; a cloth is thrown over between the two verandahs, as in earlier Byzantine paintings. 6) Christ appearing to the disciples (Luke 24:36, John 20:19). *Second tier*. 7) John and Peter at the



247. Paintings in the dome of the church of Panagia Chryseleousa, end of the 15th c., Emba.



248. "Touch Me not"; "Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James" at the empty sepulchre, end of the 15th c., church of Panagia Chryseleousa, Emba.

empty sepulchre (John 20:3). 8) Mary Magdalene standing by the sepulchre weeping, addressed by the two angels (John 20:11-13). 9) Doubting Thomas (John 20:26-29). 10) The Miraculous Draught of Fishes (John 21:6-14): on a lake between jagged mountains, there is a boat with six disciples drawing a net full of fishes while they look in amazement towards Christ standing on the shore addressing them; "Peter... girt his fisher's coat unto him (for he was naked), and did cast himself into the water". Thus we see him in the water swimming upright with his hand up towards Christ. 11) Christ addressing Peter and John (John 21:15). 12) "All hail", showing "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary" kneeling on either side of Christ standing *en face* at a higher level (Mat. 28:9).

Excepting the scenes 5, 6 and 9, which have architectural backgrounds, the rest are depicted before a hilly background in the usual Byzantine stylized form of jagged peaks, here depicted in an orange-ochre colour and interspersed with stylized flowering bushes and trees, an innovation by the local artist, giving a naive character to the compositions. The sepulchre in the relevant



scenes is shown as a marble sarcophagus in inverted perspective in Byzantine fashion, so that the grave-clothes can be seen by the spectator.

*In a third tier*, below the above scenes, there is a row of half-length saints: Athanasia, Andronicus, a monastic saint (?), Theodosius the Cenobiarch, Ephrem Syrus, Sabas, Anthony, Cosmas the hymn writer, Joseph the hymn writer, Theodore of Studios, Symeon Stylites (only the head survives).

The south side of the same vault is covered with the Last Judgement. Of this, only the left-hand group of the enthroned Apostles, headed by Peter and attended by a multitude of angels, have been cleaned so far. The Choirs of the Saints, the Preparation of the Throne, Christ the Judge flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, the other six Apostles headed by Paul, and the composition of Hell, are awaiting their turn to be freed from the crude over-painting.

These paintings of the western vault of the church are rather rustic and appear to be by a different hand from those in the dome, which are of a better quality, harking back to earlier models.

At the bottom of the east wall of the north arm of the church (in a line with the *iconostasis*), there is a Venetian type of shield, *argent, a key sable, surmounted by a cross sable*. On the shield there was an inscription, now mostly gone. The puzzling word ΜΑΦΤΑ survives in the top right-hand corner.

The present wood-carved, gilt *iconostasis* dates from 1747, according to a newly found inscription. This includes the upper two series of icons of the main Feasts and the Great *Deesis*. The main large icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist were painted by the local artist Titos in 1536. A small icon of St. Symeon Stylites dates from the end of the sixteenth century.

Two panels bearing the twelve Apostles (preserved in glass cases), are executed in a Veneto-Byzantine style, and they probably date from the second half of the sixteenth century. They were probably brought here from a destroyed church. The icons bear coats of arms. The one in which the six Apostles are headed by Peter, bears the coat of arms: *Or, 3 bendlets gules, over all a lion rampant or; bordure or*. The one in which the six Apostles are headed by Paul, bears two coats of arms: a) *Vert, a lion rampant or; bordure or*. b) *Vert, a lion rampant or; bordure or, charged with crosses sable*.

\* On the north-west pier supporting the dome, side facing east, a twelfth-thirteenth century mounted St. George galloping on a white horse across the sea with the youth pillion rider was recently discovered. The saint wears chain mail and is being crowned by an angel. The youth is bare-headed, wears black leggings and boots and holds a geometric jug. The style is rather crude and linear. The position of the painting is unusual and suggests a votive figure. (See XLI, 57, Page 467).

This medieval village lies about ten miles to the north-east of Paphos, via Tsada.

**46. The Church of St. Kirykos**, is a Byzantine edifice with its roots in the twelfth century of which only the high apse survives. In its present cross-in-square form with a "double dome" (drumless inside with four small windows and a drum outside), it is of various dates down to the end of the fifteenth century, with minor later interventions. It suffered severe damage in the earthquake of 1953, but it was soon restored. Recently, the surviving paintings of ca. 1500 were cleaned and consolidated by the Department of Antiquities with the financial assistance of the A. G. Leventis Foundation. Soundings in the apse suggested two more decorations: a twelfth-century head and part of an inscription of uncertain date were revealed.

We shall single out a few interesting scenes and then record the rest of the subjects.

From the cycle concerning the life of the Virgin Mary, in the west side of the south vault, we mention the scene depicting Joachim seated on a bench on the left, searching the scriptures from an open book on a lectern, inscribed in what is meant to be Hebrew. Anna watches from the opposite side.

From the same cycle we single out the Meeting of Joachim and Anna (fig. 249); it is taking place before an imposing three-dimensional building, with three equally high, vaulted galleries running parallel in depth, in the second storey. (A similar building appears in the Washing of the Feet, church of the Archangel, Galata, 1514). Joachim and Anna are embracing in a loving posture, their happy faces shown in profile, about to kiss mouth to mouth in a passionate manner, which is alien to Byzantine art where they usually touch their cheeks.

The Blessing of the Virgin Mary by the High Priests is interesting from the number and kind of utensils and victuals on the oval table: — glass-bottles for wine and water, pottery cups, knives, radishes, banana-like objects, grass-like salads, etc. There are only three priests seated at the table and Joachim lifts the Virgin Mary approaching from the left, followed by Anna.

There is an unusual number of scenes concerning the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection. We single out the very rare scene of Christ's appearance "in another form" (Mark 16: 12), in the south side of the east vault (fig. 250). It shows Christ depicted against strong white radiations in the form of an eight-pointed star. He is slightly turned to the right, with His right hand lifted in blessing in such a manner as to show the nail mark. This is a completely different interpretation of the scene as portrayed by the famous Manuel Panselinos in the church of the Protaton on Mount Athos, in the early fourteenth century.



249. *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna, end of the 15th c., church of St. Kyrikos, Letimbou.*



250. Christ "in another form", end of the 15th c., church of St. Kyrikos, Letimbou.

The Pentecost (Whit Sunday) in the same vault, is of interest because it combines the late-Byzantine personification of *Kosmos* holding a cloth with the twelve scrolls (here rolled on wooden spools ending in knobs, in contrast

to the usual cocoon shape), with a group of people depicted below, representing “the people, the tribes and the tongues”, as in earlier representations; (a fine example of the latter exists in the church of Agioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, Greece, twelfth century). Only fragments of these figures survive in our church and they appear to be of Western character. On the left we see a typical round-faced Western monk with white cloak, the hood fallen on to his back. Next to him, in the foreground, we can discern two heads in profile facing each other; one of them points to his tongue. On the right there are two more heads in profile, both wearing colourful wide-brimmed hats, one of them looking upwards and having a row of buttons down the front of his garment, and the other facing downwards with a forefinger pointing to his lips. A similar group of colourful personages, with a variety of Eastern and Western head-gear, appear in the same subject in the old *Katholikon* of the monastery of the Transfiguration on Meteora, Greece, dated 1483, but without *Kosmos*.

Besides the minor Western infiltrations, these paintings are also imbued with a certain amount of rusticity. The angels in the various scenes are the best and finest figures of the artist (fig. 251).

The south vault is divided into eighteen panels, nine on each side. On the east side we have the New Testament scenes of the Birth of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Ride, the Transfiguration, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, and a damaged scene. On the west side there is a cycle concerning the life of the Virgin Mary comprising Joachim and Anna Presenting their Gifts (?), Joachim and Anna Returning with their Rejected Gifts, Joachim and Anna Searching the Scriptures concerning their childlessness, the Prayer of Anna (?), the Prayer of Joachim, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, ...? ..., the Birth of the Virgin Mary, and the Blessing of the Virgin Mary by the High Priests.

On the north wall there are fragments of scenes from the Passion.

On the east vault, north side, we have the Ascension (the whole height, fragments), the head of the Virgin Mary showing on the right; four post-Resurrection Appearances of Christ follow, fairly well preserved under accumulated dirt, the last one named “Christ Appearing to the Myrrh-bearing Women” (Myrophoroi). On the south side of the same vault, we have five more post-Resurrection scenes, namely St. John at the Empty Tomb (?), Christ’s Appearance on the way to Emmaus (Luke 24: 13-28), Christ at a table with Cleopas and Luke in the house of the former (Luke 24: 29-35), Christ’s Appearance “in another form” (Mark 16:12), and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, covering the whole height of this side of the vault.

In the conch of the apse there is the Virgin Mary Blachernitissa, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel of fine quality (fig. 251); unusually, between the Virgin and the Archangels are depicted the two prominent hymn-writers, Sts. Cosmas and John Damascene. In the middle zone of the apse we have the Communion of the Apostles, the left-hand group entirely gone, the right-hand group partly surviving. In the bottom zone of the apse there are twelve officiating prelates, converging in groups of six towards the centre, where there is a draped holy table on which are placed the paten with the *asteriscus* over it, the holy Bible and the chalice. All of them hold inscribed scrolls with Liturgical prayers. The prelates nearest to the altar bless the Sacraments. The left-hand group are Spyridon with his basket cap and inscribed “of Tremithus”, Nicholas, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Chrysostom and Gregory. The right-hand group cannot be named until they are cleaned.

In the four pendentives are depicted the four Evangelists writing their Gospels in an original manner, each one assisted by an angel; there are architectural backgrounds in the Palaeologue manner; their symbols are also depicted.

On the west vault survive scenes from the Last Judgement. In the top zone north and south, are depicted the twelve Apostles seated on *synthrona* with cushions, curtains at their back and footstools; in the background are painted groups of angels with gold and green haloes. In the lower zones we have the Choirs of the Saints with gold, green and red haloes.



251. *The Archangel Gabriel (detail), attending the Virgin Mary in the apse, end of the 15th c., church of St. Kyrikos, Letimbou.*

This small village lies about eighteen miles to the north of the town of Paphos (one mile to the south of the main road on the way to Polis).

**47. The Church of the Archangel Michael** lies just outside the village and was probably an estate chapel. It is a single-aisled vaulted building with a transverse rib, and a curious extension bearing a higher vault at the west end (fig. 252). The original chapel retains a considerable number of paintings of



252. *The church of the Archangel Michael, Kholi.*

the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, in a localized Palaeologue style. Most of the paintings have suffered damage in recent years from dampness and neglect, but enough have survived to warrant a visit.

On the northern side of the vault there is a narrative cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary drawn from the apocryphal Gospels, a favourite subject of Byzantine art during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

On the south side of the vault we have a New Testament cycle. The Crucifixion at the west end is one of the few well-preserved paintings of the church and shows the style at its best (fig. 253). The composition keeps to the "classical" formula with the few attendants set against the walls of Jerusalem:



253. *The Virgin Mary and her friends, detail from the Crucifixion, 15th-16th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Kholi.*



the Virgin Mary and her friends on the left and St. John with the Good Centurion on the right. Their postures and expressions are very successful, reflecting the emotion engendered by the scene, in a dignified and reserved manner. Christ's body is rather rigid although his head is gently inclined on to his shoulder. The downward inclination of his nailed hands, and the curling scroll at the top of the Cross bearing the title (instead of the transverse bar), are Western iconographic infiltrations of Italian character, as are also the arms of the Good Centurion crossed at his chest, an un-Byzantine posture for this figure who is invariably shown pointing at Christ with his right hand.

The overall expressions and characteristics of the faces are reminiscent of the so-called Cretan school of the sixteenth century on Mount Athos, but this should be seen as the result of common parentage.

List of the surviving paintings:—

*North side of the vault; top zone, east to west:* (1) Joachim and Anna Presenting their Gifts to the Temple; (2) Joachim and Anna Returning from the Temple with their Rejected Gifts; (3) Joachim and Anna Searching the Scriptures concerning their childlessness; (4) destroyed; (5) destroyed; (6) The Meeting of Joachim and Anna; *bottom zone, east to west:* (7) The Birth of the Virgin Mary; (8) the Blessing of the Virgin Mary by the High Priests at a Banquet; (9) Anna Putting Mary to Bed watched by Joachim (after the Blessing); (10) destroyed; (11) the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple; (12) Joseph Receives the Virgin Mary from the Temple.

*South side of the vault; top zone, east to west:* (13) the Annunciation; (14) the Birth of Christ; (15) the Presentation of Christ in the Temple; (16) the Baptism of Christ; (17) the Raising of Lazarus (mostly lost); (18) the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem; *bottom zone, east to west:* (19) the Transfiguration; (20) the Last Supper; (21) the Washing of the Feet; (22) the Agony in the Garden; (23) Christ Before Pilate; (24) the Crucifixion.

*Nave, south wall:* (25) the Communion of the Apostles, in an unusual position owing to lack of space in the apse; (26) Prophet Malachias (on the corbel of the transverse rib); *north wall:* (27) fragments of scenes from Hell (overflow from the Last Judgement on the removed west wall), representing Tartarus, the Worm that dieth not, the Sensual people, and the Unquenchable fire; (28) the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus; (29) a defaced head of a soldier-saint; (30) the Archangel Michael (head and lower half of his body).

*Bema; north wall:* (31) head of a saint (damaged); (32) St. Barnabas (only the head); *spandrel and wall left of apse:* (33) remnants of a prophet (spandrel); (34) the paten with morsels of bread and the *asteriscus*, attended by an angel (above the niche of *prothesis*); (35) the Utter Humiliation (in the niche of *prothesis*); *apse:* (36) six officiating prelates in the bottom zone, converging in groups of three towards the centre, where there is painted a chalice with Christ Emmanuel inside it; they are Spyridon, Gregory, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Nicholas, wearing *polystavria phelonia*, excepting Chrysostom who wears a *sakkos*; *spandrel and wall right of apse:* (37) a prophet (head gone, spandrel); (38) St. John Lampadistis; *south wall:* (39) St. Trifyllius, life-size prelate (centre part damages); (40) a prelate (head destroyed).

## XXXIV. PERACHORIO (of Nisou).

This village lies eleven miles from Nicosia, just off to the west of the main road to Limassol.

**48. The Church of the Holy Apostles** is situated on a small mound to the south-west of the village (fig. 254). It is a small single-aisled building of the twelfth century, with a drumless dome supported by four piers attached to the side walls forming arched recesses; there are also lateral smaller arched recesses; vaults and arches are semi-circular. This compact type of domed church was very popular in Cyprus from the twelfth century onwards.

The church retains part of its original decoration, bearing all the characteristics of the classicizing style of the Comnenian period in an advanced form. The surviving wall-paintings are rather fragmentary, but enough have survived to warrant a visit. In the semi-dome of the apse is painted the Virgin Mary of the Blachernitissa type, flanked by Peter and Paul, the patron saints of the church, instead of the usual Archangels. The Communion of the Apostles below shows great freedom of drawing, plastic treatment of the bodies and harmony of colour. The same can be said about the Ascension in the vault before the apse and most of the rest of the paintings. The Fathers of the Church in the bottom zone of the apse below the Communion are depicted in plain *phelonia* and frontal postures holding books in their hands: Lazarus, Gregory the Theologian, Chrysostom, Basil, Nicholas and Athanasius. The inclusion of St. Lazarus with the Fathers of the Church in the main apse is unusual. Two more Cypriote prelates are depicted in medallions below the triple window of the apse: Barnabas (badly damaged) and Epiphanius.

In the dome of the church we have Christ Pantocrator surrounded by a choir of angels converging from either side in postures of homage (fig. 255). In the east pendentives is depicted the Annunciation; in front of the Virgin there is a red wall from which issues a fountain through a lion's mask of ancient type.

The Nativity in the south lunette below the dome is fairly well preserved. Compared with the rest of the paintings, it is rather crude in workmanship and rustic in style, qualities which we often meet in this popular scene in Cyprus, even when the rest of the paintings are of a polished character (Pedoulas, Yeroskipos). Especially successful is the old shepherd in profile, wearing an ochre tunic and a bluish skin-cloak with a pointed hood over his head, shown in conversation with a younger shepherd. From a broken branch of a tree near by, hang their bags, giving a realistic rustic touch to the painting.

The Presentation of Christ below the Nativity is a fifteenth-century painting, but the remnants of the Baptism on the right belong to the original decoration.



254. *The church of the Holy Apostles, 12th c., Perachorio.*

In the north arched recess below the dome we have a fragment of the Dormition of the Mother of God above the door, and remnants of the *Anastasis* in the lunette above.

There are also fragments and remnants of individual saints in different parts of the church.

On stylistic grounds these wall-paintings have been dated between the years 1160 and 1180 (Megaw-Hawkins). This is important, for very few paintings of this crucial period have survived anywhere. They represent a landmark in the development of the style of the Comnenian period, leading to the more advanced classicizing paintings in the cell of St. Neophytus at Paphos (1183), and the outstanding series in the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera (1192). In this context, we can say that Cyprus was in direct contact with the artistic developments in Constantinople in the twelfth century, whence masters of outstanding merit were often summoned to decorate its churches.



255. Angel, ca. 1160-1180, dome, church of the Holy Apostles, Perachorio.

Eleven miles from Nicosia on the main road to Limassol, we branch off to the east near the village of Perachorio of Nisou, to reach this modern descendant of ancient Idalion.

**49. The Church of St. Demetrianus** by the village, is a single-aisled domed building with arched recesses in the side walls, a type of compact church so familiar to us from other examples. It is constructed with well-dressed sandstone, its vaults and arches being pointed.

For a change, the donors and the dedicatory inscriptions are well preserved, while the rest of the paintings are in a poor condition. Over the west door there is the following painted inscription: "The most venerable church of our father among the saints, Demetrianus Andridiotis, was renovated and painted through the donation and great desire of Michael son of Katzouroubis and of his wife and children, amen; in the year 6825, indiction ..." (1317).

Above this inscription we have a painting of the Holy Tile, and above this are painted the portraits of Michael and his wife offering a model of the church to Christ, Who appears in a segment of the sky in the top right corner (fig. 256). Two more supplicatory inscriptions accompanying this panel with the donors, one in prose and the other in verse in Byzantine manner, explain further the nature of the donation. The one on the left reads: "Supplication of the servant of God Michael son of Katzouroubis the founder and of his wife and his children, amen". The one in the bottom, in dodecasyllabic verse reads: "Accept oh! my God, the pitiful prayer of me, Thy unworthy servant, Michael, suffering from heart-burn, quench it, oh! my God with Thy dew and snatch me from the flaming fire and save me from eternal condemnation".

We have here important dated inscriptions giving us a fixed date for the style of the paintings and for the interesting garments they are wearing. Michael, who holds the model of the church, wears a long green tunic with tightly fitting buttoned cuffs; the sleeve then widens out giving the impression of another garment; the hem of the garment is highlighted in white. He wears black pointed boots. On his head he wears a red skull-cap over a white handkerchief-bonnet, the earliest dated example of this French *coiffe* of the thirteenth century in the island.

His wife wears a long green gown to the ground with a high neck, the hem highlighted in white. A long, indian-red cloak-like veil with ochre lining falls from the head over her back, also covering her sides. On the right shoulder there is a large golden clasp from which emanates an ochre cord, making a loop at the chest and going over to a similar clasp on the left shoulder (not showing). This is the earliest dated example of this type of garment which was in great vogue in Cyprus during this period, as we can judge from the many

examples we have encountered in the churches of the island (Asinou, Pelen-dri). The material for these cloak-like veils appears to have been velvet of various colours, but towards the end of the fifteenth century they are also made from locally woven linen materials and embroidered in various colours (Archangel, Pedoulas). In the sixteenth century they are replaced by silk-veils (Theotokos, Kakopetria; Podithou and Archangel, Galata). The fact that the earliest dated example of the cloak-like veil is red and that out of the several examples we have met only a few are black, discounts the popular tale — circulated in the Middle Ages and quoted by modern writers — that black was adopted by the whole of Cyprus in mourning for the fall of Acre in 1291. It is possible that the fashion of the cloak-like veil was conceived from Syrian prototypes introduced into the island with the refugees from that city, but their heaviness and the buckles on the shoulders suggest a combination of Greek and Syrian elements.

Although one of the supplicatory inscriptions styles Michael Katzouroubis as the founder, the dedicatory inscription talks only of a renovation and decoration of the church, in which case the church itself is of an earlier date.

Unfortunately the surviving paintings in the church are in a bad state of preservation and some look repainted, which makes it difficult to evaluate their style. We shall list some of the fragments of scenes we can identify and some of the saints. In the west lunette above the donors there is a fragment of the Crucifixion. On the left of the holy tile already mentioned, there is a bust of a female saint in red *maphorion* holding a cross, framed by an octagonal medallion.

On the south side of the west vault there are remnants of soldiers' legs, and of Christ of an unidentified scene. On the north side of the same vault there are remnants of the *Anastasis*. In the north-west recess below the above, we have the Archangel Michael, and on the pier next to him on the right, we have St. Kyriaki with some figures of the days of Holy Week surviving down her front. In the north central recess that follows, there are the remnants of a large St. George holding a polygonal shield, depicted under a cusped arch. Next to him are the remnants of a winged St. John the Baptist. On the north-east pier in a line with the *iconostasis*, survives the upper part of the Virgin Mary.

Over the south door there is the Holy Handkerchief, and below it there is a fragmentary inscription of abbreviated words. In the south-west recess there is an over-life-size soldier-saint (only the upper half survives), in leather and plate armour and red cloak, standing *en face* and holding an upright spear resting on the ground. The figure has brown hair and beard and is inscribed as St. Demetr(i)anus, a local Saint to whom the church is dedicated.

In the south-east recess in the *bema*, we have the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt by St. Zosimus, and in the soffits there are two ascetics, an unidentified one on the left and St. Euphemianus on the right: below the last one there is a stylite saint.



256. Michael Katzouroubis and his wife, 1317, donors of the renovation of the church of St. Demetrianus, Dali.

This small medieval village lies 20 miles from Nicosia (one mile off the main road to Limassol), and is of historical interest.

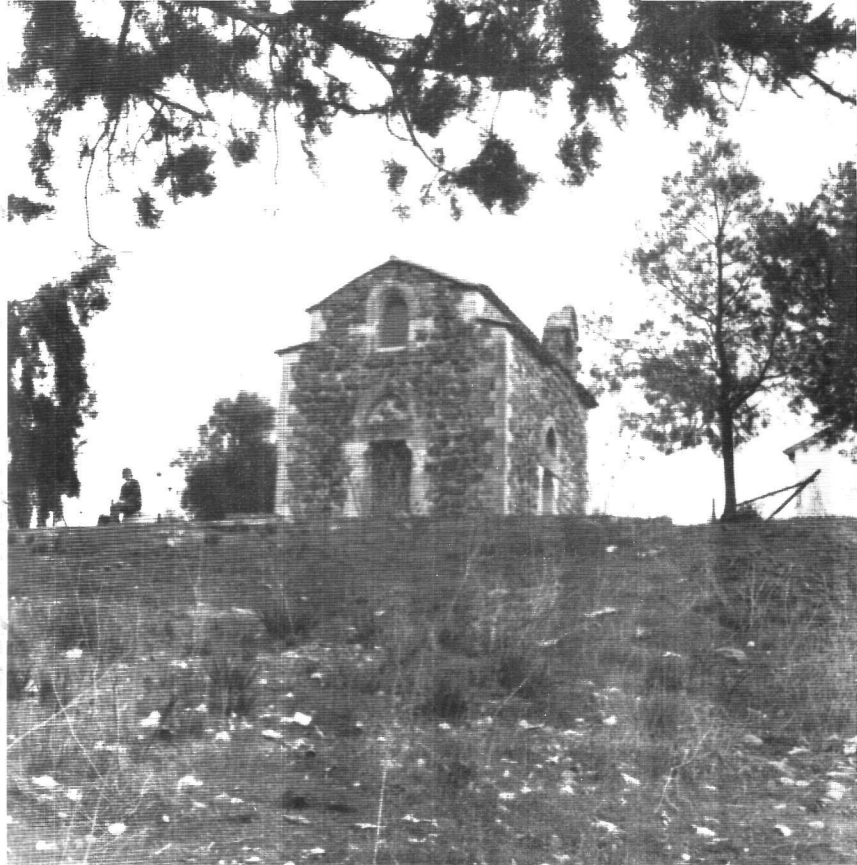
**50. The Royal Chapel or the Chapel of St. Catherine.** These are modern appellations of a small Latin chapel at the entrance to the village (fig. 257). The chapel probably belonged to a Latin monastery or Royal manor. It is a modest single-aisled building of small dimensions (about 20×12 feet), with a ribbed Gothic vault. A central rib divides the vault into two bays, while two others are placed at the east and west ends. There is no apse.

According to a lost inscription beneath the west window, the chapel was erected in 1421 "*en l'onor de Dieu et de la Passion de nostre Seigneur*" (Enlart). Its Franco-Byzantine wall-paintings, although in a fragmentary state, are of interest owing to their hybrid style and iconography.

The scheme has been adapted to suit the circumstances, and in this way it deviates fundamentally in certain cases from the established Byzantine rules of church decoration. The Christological cycle is concentrated in the east half, and a cycle concerning the life of the Virgin Mary, drawing lavishly from the relevant Byzantine theme, is concentrated in the west half. Thus the Annunciation has been placed in the west lunette and the Crucifixion with the Passion scenes beneath the three windows in the east wall, which is the reverse of the established Byzantine schemes. This was probably dictated by the dedication of the chapel.

The Crucifixion, although fragmentary, is of great interest (fig. 258). The top part of the Crucified Christ has gone. On the left of the Cross we see the Virgin Mary fainting in the arms of her friends, a scene favoured by the popular section of Byzantine art and also by the art of the West. On the right of the Cross stand St. John and the Good Centurion (heads gone). The walls of Jerusalem in the background are painted in green (oxide of chromium). On either side of the foot of the Cross kneel two crowned figures, identified as King Janus de Lusignan (reigned 1398-1432), and his second wife Charlotte of Bourbon (married 1411, died 1422). They are both identically dressed in deep red (purple?) tunics and cloaks thrown over their shoulders. They are depicted young with similar features, so that it is difficult to identify the King from the Queen. As the figure on the right has fairer hair parted in the centre and showing on the forehead, she is presumably the Queen. If their identification is correct, these portraits look rather conventional, as the King is described by the chroniclers as tall and fat, physically strong, good-looking with a slight blond beard. There are no traces of a beard in the painting, although this may be the result of decay of the painting. Rows of pearls appear at the cuffs of their tunics and down the edges of the cloaks, which are





257. The "Royal chapel", 1421, Pyrga.

turned slightly back to show white lining with green embroidery decoration in the form of triangles. This portraiture of King Janus and his Queen praying at the foot of the Crucifixion, reflects the psychological conditions of the waning Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus at this late period. Indeed in 1426, the King probably thus knelt in prayer in this chapel, when he encamped with his troops at Pyrga on his way to face the invading Mamelukes of Egypt at Khirokitia, where he was defeated and taken captive to Egypt.

On the right of the Crucifixion there are remnants of the Deposition. Below



258. *The Crucifixion (remnant), with King Janus and Queen Charlotte as donors; the Entombment (below); 1421, the "Royal chapel", Pyrga.*

the Crucifixion there are remnants of the Entombment (fig. 258). Christ is stretched on a marble slab, the Virgin Mary mourns by the head and young John bends from the inner side of the bier to kiss the hand of his Master, as in the Byzantine prototypes. Joseph of Arimathea, on the other hand, who is usually depicted holding the feet of Christ, has here been replaced by a Latin prelate in vestments and mitre, a substitution contrary to the Byzantine customs, but often practised in the West. Who this worshipping prelate was we do not know, but we might mention here that Hugh de Lusignan, the brother of King Janus, was elected Latin archbishop of Nicosia in 1412 and officially appointed in 1426.

To the right of the Entombment there are remnants of two more scenes:

The Marys at the Empty Tomb and a fragment of a scene showing an angel, the empty Sepulchre and sleeping soldiers, possibly part of the Resurrection.

Of the rest of the Christological cycle in the eastern half of the vault, we discern the fragments of the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet (all on the north), and of the Transfiguration, the Ascension and the Pentecost (on the south).

The Last Supper is the best preserved. It follows the classical arrangement of the scene depicting Christ and Peter in the places of honour at the two ends of the semi-circular table, following the Hellenistic custom of hierarchy at banquets. Christ (right) and Peter (left) are the only figures bearing haloes, following the iconography of the eleventh-twelfth centuries rather than of this period. John, who sits next to Christ, bends his head towards Him to denote the bosom friendship between them, a detail favoured by late Byzantine art and also by the West at this period. Christ extends his right hand across the table, blessing in the Orthodox manner, while from the opposite side Judas bends across the table to dip his fingers into the bowl of fish in the middle of the table, denoting the moment of Christ's announcement of the impending Betrayal.

The scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary in the western half of the church are also fragmentary today. In the lunette of the west wall survives the figure of the Virgin Mary of the Annunciation, on the right of the window. Before her is depicted the unusual detail of a black bird facing towards the Archangel on the left of the window, now mostly obliterated.

In the west half of the vault we discern remnants of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Blessing of the Virgin Mary by the Jewish prelates seated at a banquet, the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple (all on the south side), and two fragments of a large composition of the Dormition of the Mother of God (on the north). In the right-hand surviving fragment of the Dormition we see St. Paul bending down in mourning by the feet of the Virgin Mary: Near by there is also the remnant of a worshipping bishop in a kneeling posture, with the ribbons of his mitre falling on to his back.

The lower parts of the church are covered with individual saints with haloes in relief, but they are mostly covered with salt deposits and they are difficult to discern. (The cleaning of the paintings by the Department of Antiquities is now under way). On the right of the west door there is a painting of the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her left arm. Over the same door there are fragments of three female saints, the one on the left being the best preserved. On the south wall of the east half of the church, we discern four male saints, two of them wearing the mitre of a Catholic bishop, the only Western saints that can be noted so far, although we cannot identify them. The best preserved individual figure is St. Damian, at the east end of the north wall. His face is in a good state of preservation and shows the style of the paintings at its best.

The polygonal ribs of the vaulting are decorated with a series of the Royal Lusignan coats of arms blazoning the Cross of Jerusalem and the lion ram-

pant, or counter-rampant, on bars. In this Royal chapel they look natural enough. But the idea passed into some of the late Byzantine churches of the island, where we see the coats of arms and badges of the Royal family and of the nobles used as decorative motifs, as in the ceiling of the church of Sts. Joachim and Anna at Kaliana, on the *iconostasis* of the church of St. Heracleidius of the monastery of St. John Lampadistis at Kalopanayiotis and on the *iconostasis* of the church of the Archangel Michael at Pedoulas. It is possible that in certain cases these were introduced into the Orthodox churches in honour of the holders of the fiefs owning the villages concerned, but the colours of the coats of arms are often wrong.

In conclusion we might observe that this was a Latin chapel sponsored by a Royal Lusignan family and decorated by a Greek Cypriote painter coached in the Byzantine manner of church decoration, his art here imbued with certain Western elements insufficiently blended: titles and other inscriptions in French; a Latin prelate in the place of Joseph of Arimathea in the Entombment; some Western saints with mitres; the Lusignan coats of arms, and perhaps some Western stylistic affinities in the features of the figures, especially in the scenes of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet. We have also observed stylistic affinities with the fragments of the Crucifixion and the Deposition in the Cathedral church of Kotor in Jugoslavia (14th c.).

We also note that the Virgin Mary in the Crucifixion and on the right of the west door is dressed in a blue *chiton* and a red (purple) *maphorion* according to the Byzantine custom, but in the Lamentation the colours of her garments change to green and blue. The French inscriptions are in an acoustical form, a corruption further betraying the hand of a Greek painter.

**51. The Church of St. Marina.** This church of the village of Pyrga is a single aisled domed building with arched recesses in the side walls, and a later extension at the west end. It retains a considerable amount of paintings, but it is difficult to evaluate them and date them precisely before they are cleaned. The vaults and arches of the church are in the Franco-Byzantine manner. Church and paintings should date from the fourteenth-fifteenth century.

In the dome, Christ Pantocrator has mostly gone, but there are considerable remains of the frieze of the worshipping angels (south section), and of the Preparation of the Throne with St. John and the Virgin Mary on either side (east section). The sixteen prophets depicted in couples in the spaces between the eight round-headed windows, are also well-preserved.

On the north wall by the *iconostasis* survives the fine head of St. Marina with a raised halo.

In the drum of the south central arched recess we have St. Nicholas, and in the soffits of the arch two female martyrs. On the east reveal of the arch is painted St. Polycarpus and on the west one a female saint.

In the drum of the south-west recess are St. Theodore Tyron and St. Theodore the General, standing on either side of an unidentified saint holding a rolled scroll. In the soffit of the arch there are two female martyrs.

In the drum of the north-west recess survive the head of mounted St. Demetrius and the neck of his red horse. In the soffit of the arch are two prelates, and on the reveals below them two monastic saints.

In the drum of the north central recess survives the head of St. George above a later door. In the soffit there are scenes from his martyrdom and on the reveals stand St. Mamas (west), and a monastic saint (east).

Excepting the paintings in the dome, the scheme of decoration has deviated from the established Byzantine rules, as usually happens at this late period.

## XXXVII. KELLIA

This village lies about 5 miles north-east of Larnaca. As the name implies, it must have grown up around some monastic cells. On the Venetian maps it is marked as Chelachio. The village was burnt down by the Mamelukes in 1425.

**52. The Church of St. Anthony** lies on a small hillock overlooking the village, and is another example of church architecture with a thousand years of history behind it (fig. 259). It has recently been restored by the Department of Antiquities. Nothing is known about the church from historical sources.



259. *The church of St. Anthony, Kellia.*

The present indications point to an original three-aisled vaulted basilica of the ninth century. The existence of an earlier building is possible, but this will have to be decided in the future, by excavations and further investigations.

In its present form, the church is a building of many reconstructions, repairs and additions. The ninth-century church must have suffered extensive damage at some subsequent period, and was reconstructed as a cross-in-square domed building in the late tenth or early eleventh centuries. The foundations of the three apses of the basilica now show on the outside, for the reconstructed church was slightly contracted; the central apse was polygonal and the lateral ones round. A stone inscribed in Phoenician (possibly from ancient Citium), which was used as a lintel for the west door, is now in the Larnaca Museum.

The domed church also suffered damage in subsequent years, as is evident from the many partial reconstructions and internal buttressing of various periods. The present central apse and the high transept vault, in the place of the original dome, appear to be reconstructions of the fifteenth century, possibly after the destruction of the village in 1425.

After the internal buttressing structures of later periods were removed, the built piers, the east, the south and the west vaults of the arms of the cross, as well as part of the northern one, are now shown in their eleventh-century form. The *diaconikon* and the south-west compartment are also of the same period, characterized by their barrel-vaulting; the *diaconikon* has lost its apse.

Most of the north arm, the north-west compartment, and the *prothesis* compartment are rebuildings of various subsequent periods, characterized by their pointed vaults. The south wall of the south arm is also a reconstruction. The narthex as well as the arcaded porch on the south, are the latest additions to the church. The lintel of the south door of the narthex bears a coat of arms, *a sun displayed*.

The removal of the internal buttressing structures revealed a series of very interesting paintings in two or three superimposed layers, dating from at least the early eleventh down to the thirteenth centuries. The conservation of these paintings, now in progress, is producing many problems. The top layers are being removed, and after treatment they will be inserted in empty parts of the walls, creating an impressive little museum of Byzantine painting in the island, of the mid-Byzantine period.

In this context, this is a preliminary limited evaluation, pending the completion of the work and the report of the Department of Antiquities.

Although there are remnants of a Festival cycle in the vaults, the lower parts of the church were covered by ex-voto paintings, an early Byzantine custom, but not usual for the mid-Byzantine period, when a unified scheme of decoration had already been developed. In spite of this, the recovered paintings follow the latest developments in style and iconography, excepting their positioning.

*On the south-west pier*, built against the west wall, there are two superimposed paintings of the Sacrifice of Isaac, a very unusual position for this subject, usually depicted by the *prothesis* in the *bema*. Most of the second layer has fallen away, leaving the original painting to appear in several fragments, up to a height of about six feet, starting from the floor. The upper part of Abraham (fig. 260), the head of the flying angel and the upper part of the ram are the best preserved. The head of Isaac is also partly preserved. The subject unfolds itself from left to right; red and ochre colours predominate. The painting bears stylistic affinities with the early paintings in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof above Kakopetria, and they should date at least from the early eleventh century.

The superimposed second painting of the same subject started from about three feet from the floor, and went up to a height of about nine feet. The sub-



260. Abraham, detail from the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, early 11th c., church of St. Anthony, Kellia.

ject unfolds itself from right to left this time, the upper part of Abraham being the best preserved; the warm-ochre face shaded in green betrays an early twelfth-century style.

An over all third layer of painting of uncertain date, now mostly gone, betrays itself by the surviving fragments of a prelate on the left of the two *Sacrifices of Isaac*.

The investigation of the *south-west central pier supporting the dome* (now a vault), produced several paintings of good quality and great interest: *The side facing east* had three layers of paintings. The top layer showed an over-life-size figure of St. Demetrius, standing *en face* in a guarding posture, holding a spear with his right hand and steadying a large shield with his left, both weapons resting on the ground. He wears a dark blue short tunic embroidered with partridges back-to-back inside roundels. His coat of mail bears signs of the gold leaf with which it was originally covered, like that of St. George mounted in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou. He has a red cloak.

His green shield, spotted in white, bears the emblem of a cross over a crescent with a star near by, the Graeco-Christian symbols of Byzantium-Constantinople (see St. George mounted, Asinou). The style suggests a late twelfth-century date. This painting was removed, and a painting of an enthroned Virgin Mary and Child of the early twelfth century was discovered. This painting was also removed, and a painting of Sts. Andronicus and Athanasia of the early eleventh century was discovered; their position on the main face of a central pier testifies that the church was monastic, at least since the early eleventh century. *The side facing north* had two layers of paintings. The top layer showed another Virgin Mary and Child enthroned; the lyre-shaped back of the throne is decorated with geometric devices including scarlet quatrefoils. The style betrays a late twelfth-century date, reminiscent of the paintings in the church of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera, and of those in the church of St. John Patmos, circumstantially dated to the early thirteenth century. This painting has also been removed, revealing a damaged painting of the same subject, of the early twelfth century, with black geometric decoration on the lyre-shaped back of the throne. *The side facing west* (opposite the Sacrifice of Isaac), retains its early twelfth-century painting of yet another enthroned Virgin Mary holding the Child Christ in her lap; the lyre-shaped back of the throne bears black geometric decoration including quatrefoils. (There is no other painting underneath). Its style is nearest to the early paintings in the church of the Virgin Mary Phorbiotissa, Asinou, dated 1105/6.

Several other paintings, mostly on the piers, are waiting to be cleaned or discovered. We shall point out what we have been able to observe. *On the north-west pier attached to the west wall*, we have two physicians, probably the twin brothers Sts. Cosmas and Damian, betraying an early eleventh-century date.

*On the north-west central pier supporting the dome* (now a vault), *side facing east*, we have St. George mounted, above, and two female saints, below, on the middle layer of plastering (early twelfth c.), with an earlier painting underneath, and fragments of painting over them, of the end of the twelfth century. *On the side facing west*, a fragment of white marble built into the pier (appearing where the plastering has fallen off), bears an early Byzantine anchor-type cross, painted in red-ochre; a stone below bears a similar incised cross, the incision painted in red-ochre. High up on the *southern side of the same pier*, there is another mounted St. George, on a first layer of plastering.

Moving to the *north-east pier supporting the dome*, *side facing west*, we face another mounted St. George, high up on the pier (damaged), and an over-life-size Archangel Michael below. The latter was in good condition when discovered underneath the removed buttressing structure, but it deteriorated after it was exposed. It betrays a thirteenth-century style, with a red-scarlet colour predominating. When it was removed for treatment no other painting was discovered underneath, but a fragment of old marble built into the pier bears an early dedicatory red cross (arms widening outwards), with an inscription mentioning "... the supplication of the servant of God George". *The*



*side facing south*, of the same pier, retains three layers of paintings depicting prelates.

Moving to the *south-east pier supporting the dome, side facing north*, we find a late twelfth-century painting of a local soldier-saint, name gone, styled “the junior from Ormidia”. There is another painting of another saint underneath, wearing an ornate *chlamys*. *High up on the west side* of the same pier, the remnants of an early Crucifixion were discovered, in an archaic style and iconography of an Eastern character (heavily outlined features, large black eyes), not present in any of the paintings yet discovered in this church. The painting is badly damaged, but from the surviving inscriptions it is obvious that Christ is depicted alive (face damaged), and is addressing His mother (left) and His beloved Apostle John (right), entrusting them into each other’s care. *In the vault, immediately above the Crucifixion, there is a fine fragment of the Betrayal showing Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, of the early eleventh century. The Crucifixion dates from the ninth century.*

This village lies about 15 miles east of Larnaca on the way to Agia Napa. Kitchener mapped a stone-built windmill by the south of the village, which has since disappeared.

**52a. The Church of St. George** is a single-aisled vaulted building of the fifteenth century. The slightly pointed vault is divided into three bays by the three supporting ribs. The fourth bay at the west end is a later addition.

The church is completely painted but the paintings are today mostly blackened with smoke from a fire. These are gradually being cleaned by the Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the Church authorities.

The Annunciation in the eastern lunette with an Italianate architectural background and a flower-pot between the Archangel and the Virgin Mary, and the Birth of Christ at the eastern end of the south side of the vault (inside the *bema*), which have been cleaned, betray a series of paintings of the end of the fifteenth century. The Birth of Christ is composed of the usual conglomeration of supplementary scenes around the central theme. Worth noticing is the young shepherd with his black hat and enormous flute in the bottom right-hand corner.

But the most outstanding discovery so far in this church is the coat of arms in the important place over the apex of the apse (fig. 260a). It is of the Italian type in shape, but it is blazoned *per pale gules and argent, a double-headed eagle displayed with wings inverted sable, crowned or, in each talon a roundel*. This is presumably the coat of arms of the noble donor or benefactor of the church, and possibly the Lord of the fief to which the village belonged. The double-headed eagle suggests that here we have a person of Greek descent of the late Palaeologue period, probably connected with Queen Helena Palaeologina (see Introduction). That noble Cypriotes of Palaeologue descent survived into the Venetian period is attested by the chronicler Calepio, who mentions that Captain "Demetri Paleologo" died fighting during the Turkish conquest of the island in 1570-1. He was the Lord of Elia near Karavas in the Kyrenia district, where there is a family tombstone bearing a coat of arms blazoned with a double-headed eagle.

A cycle of six scenes concerning the life of the Virgin Mary in the north-east bay of the vault, the Christological cycle in the south-east, south central and north-west bays of the vault wait to be cleaned. In the north central bay of the vault is depicted the Tree of Jesse, the imposing figure of reclining Jesse being the best preserved. Various saints also survive on the walls below the vault. In the conch of the apse there are fragments of Christ Pantocrator suggesting a cemetery around the church no longer in use.

A panel from the old *iconostasis* kept in the church bears an inscription concerning a renovation in 1770, when the church was apparently monastic.

The colourful figure of St. George on the south wall by the *iconostasis* is dated 1772. The mounted patron Saint of the church is framed with scenes from his martyrdom, and his iconography combines the two legends of the Princess and the pillion rider in a rustic manner.

The paintings in the south-west bay of the vault, which have been cleaned, namely the *Via Crucis*, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection (Western type), and Doubting Thomas, as well as the saints below and on the rib before them, were executed in 1805 and fall within the realm of folk art. The colossal Archangel Michael on the north wall by the *iconostasis* should belong to the same hand.



260a. Coat of arms, end of the 15th c., church of St. George, Xylophagou.

At a short distance to the north-west of Kiti near Larnaca, is the medieval village of Tersephanou. About a mile and a half to the north-west of this village survives the church of St. George of Arpera, the only remaining building of a medieval village which apparently was still flourishing here in the eighteenth century. The village of Arpera is marked on some of the Venetian maps of the sixteenth century.

**53. The Church of St. George of Arpera.** The present church is a mid-eighteenth-century building erected in 1745 and partly decorated with wall-paintings in 1747, with contemporary and later dedicatory inscriptions of historical and literary interest. They shed some light on contemporary life and supply us with information concerning certain people in the public eye during this late Turkish period. It has been included in this book as an example of late survival of Byzantine traditions in church architecture and decoration.

The church is a single-aisled vaulted building, erected with dressed stones, on the site of an earlier church (fig. 261). It is vaulted in the Franco-Byzantine manner reinforced with three transverse ribs. It has five buttresses on the exterior of the north and south walls. The apse is quadrangular on the outside. Besides the three main entrances, there is also a smaller door at the west end of the north wall, leading into a small compartment cut off from the rest of the church with wooden panels and lattice work. A ladder from here leads to the women's gallery supported on horizontal wooden beams over the west end of the church. The high parapet of the gallery is composed of wooden panels at the bottom and lattice work at the top, through which the women could watch the Holy Service unseen from below. This reflects the sociological conditions and customs of the period under Turkish rule.

The interior of the church retains its few wall-paintings in a moderate state of preservation; it was never completely painted.

Over the north door are depicted the donors, the most interesting painting of the church, with two dedicatory inscriptions in verse recording the erection and decoration of the church in great detail (fig. 262). We record them below in a free translation.

1) "Oh! St. George, the brave martyr of Christ, the guardian and power of the Christians, shield, guard and keep your donor Christophakis the Interpreter, your wretched servant, unshaken, steadfast (and) supported, along with his relatives and the children of the house, as a favour for your venerable church, which he erected for you, on his own, from the foundations and indeed he decorated it at his own expense — may it be received as an accepted offer — for he has found you a tireless intercessor and saviour from banishment, and now intercede so that he may obtain the Kingdom of Heaven".

2) "I have received very many favours from you the martyr of Christ, not only in a dream, but especially in prompt deeds, and because I always found



261. The church of St. George of Arpera, 1745, near Tersephanou.

you a firm (supporter) in my country, but (also) a keenest saviour beyond measure in foreign lands, for which favour I erected this church to you from the foundations — which, oh! athlete, may you receive as an accepted offer — interceding always for me, your wretched (humble) servant, the Interpreter Christophakis Constantinou, for my parents and indeed most certainly for my children, to live well now and for long after. Hand of Philaretos”.

Christophakis Constantinou the Interpreter (*Dragoman*), is here seen leading his family group with hands out towards the model of the church,



262. The Dragoman Christophakis and his family; St. Tryphon (bottom left corner); 1747, church of St. George of Arpera, near Tersephanou.

which is collected by St. George himself. In between the buttresses of the model is recorded the date 1745, when the church was erected. It is unfortunate that the faces of most of this romantic family are damaged.

Christophakis is dressed in the garments of a leading member of the society of the time, bearing strong Turkish influence: a long robe clasped at the neck, with a grey fur collar and similar trimmings down the opening in the front, at the cuffs and the side pockets; a black fur cap, which was the dragomans' head-gear of the Turkish period, called by contemporary travellers "qalpaq, or tall cap of marten or other skin".

Behind Christophakis stands a colourfully dressed lady, wearing a red dress cut down the front to the waist in a U-shape to show her white shirt. Over all she wears a long robe (*sayia*), with wide turned-up embroidered cuffs. It is made of green material with stamped red flowery decoration, and is trimmed with ermine all the way down the opening in the front, in patches at the shoulders, the sides (slits for the hands), and at the hem. On her head she wears a red flat-shaped cap over which is thrown a green scarf. A scarf round her neck is now effaced. In her clasped hands she holds a red handkerchief.

An elderly woman standing immediately behind her, shows a long robe clasped at the neck and trimmed with ermine down the opening in the front and at the cuffs. On her head she wears a red kerchief under a scarf which covers the back of the head and the neck.

Immediately behind her appears a female child wearing a red fez with a tur-

ban. Her short coat with sleeves to the elbows has a white collar and trimmings of ermine down the opening in the front, and is clasped at the neck. The under-garment is made of red-striped white material.

In the front row there are two youths dressed in the fashion of their father. After them stands a grown-up woman of about the same age and similarly dressed as the lady behind Christophakis, with variations in colour.

Immediately behind her kneels a young girl in a long dress of local red-striped material, over which she wears a short white coat with sleeves to the elbows, open down the front and clasped at the neck. She wears a red cap with a narrow scarf tied round it, the ends of which fall on to her shoulders.

Another sister, the last of the colourful group, kneels behind her. She wears the same type of under-garment of red-striped material as the young girl before her. As her ermine-trimmed red robe (*sayia*) is open down the front and is not clasped at the neck, it allows the U-shaped cut at the chest of the under-garment to show, revealing a white shirt underneath as with the two grown-up sisters. On her head she wears a turban-like cap.

As there is persistently no wife mentioned in the two dedicatory inscriptions and in a supplicatory one we shall presently see, the elderly woman in the family group is probably his mother or an elderly sister. This leaves us with five females and two boys. Whether some of the females are also sisters —the inscriptions mention relatives, children and parents —we cannot tell.

A third supplicatory inscription on the scroll of an angel, next to the *prothesis* in the *bema*, does not solve the problem of the number of Christophakis' children: "When you uplift your hands towards God, oh! priest, remember (commemorate) the founder along with the children: Christophaki Constantinou, Nicholaou, Antzoulou, Marious, Venierous, Anezous, Venierous, Lavenias, Georgiou, Demetriou, Christoudia, Pieraki, Pierou, Eugenias, Andrianous, Marious, Orsoulous; deceased: Constantinou, Nicholaou, Constantinou, Georgiou, Tzikini, Orsoulous, Lavenias, Theclas, Pardasera. Remember, oh! Lord: Philaretou and Laurentiou, the painters".

All the names are in the genitive case as the priest would commemorate them and we transcribe them here as such. Among the living children there are seven males and nine females; among the deceased there are six males and three females. The great number of children and the repetition of some of the names would imply that some of them would be grandchildren and perhaps nephews and nieces. There is a conspicuous absence of a wife again. Some of the names mentioned are of Western character. Either this was the fashion of the aristocracy of the times, or the family of Christophakis was connected with people of Western extraction.

We now turn to the religious paintings of the church. On the left of the north entrance are painted St. Symeon Stylites and Tryphon (see fig. 262). Further on the north wall and next to the window is painted St. Peter. Immediately after him we have a large painting of St. George spearing the dragon; the princess kneels before him in the background, where we also see a castle from which the king is about to drop the keys to him watched by the queen and other spectators; but he also has the enigmatic pillion rider with the

turban and the coffee-pot, mixing the two legends together (see also elsewhere through the index). The whole scene is framed by a rainbow. Below the waving cloak of the saint we have the signature of the painter with the date: "Hand of Philaretos, 1747".

On the south wall, opposite St. Peter, we have St. Paul and next to him is painted a colossal Archangel Michael.

In the *bema*, besides the angel with the supplicatory inscription already mentioned, we have "the Deposition" in the niche of *prothesis*, showing Christ waist upwards, in a marble sarcophagus, with the symbols of the Passion and a worshipping angel on either side. Two other angels are flying towards him, one from either side. Above his head is depicted God the Father in the clouds with the Holy Ghost in a circle before Him. This formula is a combination of the Byzantine Utter Humiliation and the Western Trinity compositions.

Above the niche of *prothesis* is painted the Sacrifice of Isaac and on the right St. Stephen.

The painted *iconostasis* is contemporary with the erection of the church, but the icons are not all of the same date. We do not usually go into details about the *iconostasia* of the painted churches here described, excepting when these are of special interest as in this case. An inscription in verse on the *thorakion* (wooden panel below the icon of St John the Baptist), is very informative and of historical interest. We translate it in verse:

- 1) "Although this church was erected as seen
- 2) By Christophakis the late interpreter in this country
- 3) Who then ended his life assassinated by the unbelievers
- 4) For which reason it remained imperfectly decorated for a long time
- 5) And already, through the grace of God the ruler of all
- 6) It has been somewhat put in order with all the holy panoply
- 7) – I say, of the (icons) of the Apostles (and) the Feasts of the *iconostasis*, as well as of all the holy vestments –
- 8) By the holder of the rudder of the district of Kition
- 9) Archsacrificer, among the humble, Mgnor Meletios Myriantheus
- 10) Who is presenting this small present from his heart to the great martyr St. George.
- 11) – The also great miracle-worker and holy bearer of trophies –
- 12) For the great martyr's intercession and protection
- 13) To achieve ransom for everything in [this life] and salvation of the soul in the next
- 14) Those who chance to come here, pray [for him] to achieve both ransoms
- 15) And these were finished in the year one thousand seven hundred
- 16) [And eighty]-five from Christ
- 17) Which is already withering in the month of October".

This indicates that the icons of the Apostles and of the Feasts of the Church in the top two rows belong to the completion of the decoration by Bishop Meletios of Kition in 1785. This leaves us with the main icons in the lowest row of the *iconostasis* which must be contemporary with the erection of the church by Christophakis in 1745. This is corroborated by the most rare icon of Sts George and Christopher the *Kynocephalos* (with a dog's head) dated and signed: "1745 from Christ, hand of Joannikios the monk-priest".

The iconography of St. Christopher with a dog's head and the young Christ on his shoulder, combines the Eastern and Western versions of the legend concerning the saint (fig. 263).

In conclusion we summarize as follows. The church of St. George of Arpera was erected in 1745 and partly decorated in 1747 by Christophakis Constantinou, the Interpreter at the *Saray*, an occupation better known as *Dragoman*. This was a very important post, borrowed by the Turks from the Byzantines and developed out of the need for communication with their subjects, whose language they did not know. The *Dragomans* of Cyprus were always Greeks and were chosen by the bishops or the notables, but their election had to be confirmed by the Sultan. Their function was to link the rulers with their subjects, mainly in matters of censuses and taxation and they had the right of direct access to the Sultan. But if their position was an important one, it was also a very precarious one, owing to the character of their work. They inevitably came into conflict with the local rulers, but sometimes also with the people.





263. Sts. George and Christopher *Kynokephalos*, icon 1745, church of St. George of Arpera, near Tersephanou.

The exact date of the election of Christophakis to this high position is not known. Some time before the erection of this church in 1745, he must have been threatened with exile, for the dedicatory inscription mentions it as one of the reasons for this undertaking: a thanksgiving to St. George who saved him from banishment.

The inscription on the panel of the *iconostasis* recording the renovation of the church by the Bishop Meletios of Kition (1776-1797) in 1785, informs us that the church was abandoned after the murder of its founder. We know from other sources that Christophakis was murdered while he was on his way to church on Easter morning of the year 1750, at the instigation of the renowned Haji Baki Agha, whom Christophakis had removed from his position as magistrate of Larnaca, for his persistent robbing and persecution of honest people. This ex-woodcutter, one-eyed, completely illiterate Turk from the village of Klavdia near Larnaca, was soon to become the greatest scourge that Cyprus ever witnessed during the Turkish occupation. Through a low affair, bribery and corruption, murder, poisoning and other machinations, he managed to rise to high positions and achieve the Governorship of Cyprus (1777-1783), having fallen and risen several times in the meantime. Bishop Meletios of Kition took an active part in the removal of the tyrant in 1783. But Baki Agha was a persistent vagabond. He managed to be appointed Governor of Cyprus again in 1785, but before he could leave Constantinople to take up his post, he was banished to Jaffa instead, owing to the outcry of the islanders, Greeks and Turks alike. There he died of cholera and the island sighed with relief, including Bishop Meletios of Kition, who could now record with relative safety in the inscription recording the completion of the decoration of the church of St. George of Arpera, left unfinished by the founder Christophakis: "who then ended his life assassinated by the unbelievers".

This twin Byzantine township divided into Pano (upper) and Kato (lower) Lefkara is best reached by branching off to the north-west from near the Skarinou half-way restaurants and petrol stations, on the main Nicosia-Limassol road. It was the banishment place of the "Greek Bishop of Amathus and of the Greeks of Lemesos" in 1222, when the Latins reduced the Orthodox bishoprics from twelve to four and banished their prelates to remote villages. It was an important olive-oil producing centre. It also was and still is an important lace producing centre. There are several churches in the twin township.

**54. The Church of the Archangel Michael, in Kato Lefkara,** is of interest to us in this survey of the painted churches (fig. 264). It is of the single-aisled domed type with arched recesses in the side walls, with a later extension at the west end. The vaults and the arches are slightly pointed.

The church retains a few of its original paintings, the best preserved being in the apse. Here we have the Communion of the Apostles in the central zone, and the officiating prelates below (figs. 265, 266). In the nave there are four



264. *The church of the Archangel Michael, Kato Lefkara.*



265. *The Communion of the Apostles; prelates Chrysostom, John the Almoner and Epiphanius; end of the 12th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Kato Lefkara.*

scenes in the lunette of the south central recess, the Birth of Christ at the top and the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism and the Raising of Lazarus in the second zone below; of these only the Baptism is in good condition, the others are fragmentary. Above the south door, through the same recess, there is the Holy Handkerchief with a later inscription below it (fig. 267). To the right of the door there are the remnants of an Archangel. In the drum of the dome there are some fine remnants of prophets (central parts), showing a nice combination of deep blue, green and red colours for their garments.

The overall characteristics of these paintings place them within the family of the late twelfth-century paintings in Cyprus. There is a simplification of style, iconography and technique. The black outlines of the features stand out and the gradations of the flesh-tones are not accomplished. There is green shading to the faces.

The six officiating prelates in the bottom of the apse, ..?.. Gregory the Theologian, Basil, Chrysostom, John the Almoner and Epiphanius, converge in groups of three towards the centre of the apse, where is depicted the *dis-*



266. Angel-deacons with *rhipidia* under the Altar canopy, detail from the *Communion of the Apostles*, end of the 12th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Kato Lefkara.

*carion* below the small ventilator. We note the ascetic type of St. Chrysostom, and that St. Epiphanius does not wear his usual cap. We also note that they are all wearing the *polystavrion phelonion*, a development pointing towards the end of the twelfth century. In the apse of Asinou (1105/6) only St. Chrysostom is singled out for this preferential treatment. In the apse of the church of the Virgin Mary Arakiotissa at Lagoudera (1192), Sts. Chrysostom and Meletius of Antioch are given the *polystavrion* in contrast to the rest of the officiating prelates who wear the plain *phelonion*. In this context, the prelates in this church are the earliest surviving instance in Cyprus, where they are all wearing the *phelonion* covered with crosses.

Looking at the *Communion of the Apostles* in the central zone of the apse,



267. The Holy Handkerchief, end of the 12th c., church of the Archangel Michael, Kato Lefkara.

we note that only the *Metalepsis* on the right survives in good condition. In the centre survives the upper part of the marble *ciborium* of the altar carried on pillars with Corinthian capitals. Under the domed *ciborium*, the upper parts of two attending angels with *rhipidia* survive, one turned to the left and the other to the right, although their eyes are directed towards the beholder. On the right stands Christ, apparently on a step hidden by a gate or marble *thorakion*, bending forward to administer the wine to the approaching young John. At a little distance follow the Disciples Mark, Thomas, Simon, James and Bartholomew; of these only Thomas is without a beard; Bartholomew has a slight beard. Their initials are written by their haloes. Of the administering of the bread on the left, only part of Christ and Peter survive. In the border above the latter, there is the supplicatory inscription: "Supplication of the servant of God, the priest Pileas, amen".

The backgrounds of these early paintings are in deep blue.

In the west vault there is a fifteenth-century *Anastasis*. In the north central recess there is a very late Archangel, and in the north-west one a very late St. George mounted, with his pillion rider.

**55. The Rock-cut Chapel of St. Mavra.** At a short distance to the east of the medieval castle of Kyrenia are the remains of ancient quarries. These were used as a meeting place by the early Christians, as is evident from the crosses and other early Christian symbols carved over niches and in the face of the rocks. Martyrdoms must have occurred here as elsewhere and the martyrs were buried in existing or new rock-cut tombs. These later became the altars and the chapels of the triumphant Church. The half-ruined chapel of St. Mavra in these quarries bears all the signs of such a development (figs. 268, 269).

Three different types of plastering point to continuous use since Roman times. The top-most layer bears interesting remnants of wall-paintings. Their condition is poor, but they are important, for they are among the earliest surviving church paintings in the island.

In the irregular shallow cupola over the tomb-altar survives the blessing right hand of Christ. The palm and fingers are heavily outlined. The fingers are extremely long, according to the descriptions of Christ's features which were formulating in the ninth century, from earlier theological discussions on the subject. Immediately below the hand of Christ are the remnants of the head of the Archangel Gabriel in an ochre medallion. His halo is outlined in red on the ochre background. The hair is painted in black and ochre on a red ground. Part of his wing surviving on the left is red outlined in black. A better preserved bust of an angel survives higher up on the left in a blue medallion. He displays a wide ochre *loros* and holds a blue orb in his left hand. Originally more angels formed a circle around Christ. We have here the earliest Christ Pantocrator surviving in the island.

In the vaulted ceiling over the nave we have the Ascension of Christ (fig. 270). Christ is seated on a rainbow inside an oval aureola interspersed with stars and outlined in white on the blue background (sky). Four flying angels in appropriate postures uplift the aureola. Ochre highlights on red are the predominating colours of the outer garment of Christ and the bottom two angels. The folds are straight and diagonal and there is little plasticity. Of the attending spectators of the scene only five heads or busts and part of a halo survive today (fig. 271). The head on the extreme left is that of the angel explaining to the Apostles the sudden disappearance of their Master from their

\*Our work on the painted churches in the districts of Kyrenia and Famagusta, which we shall now proceed to examine, is based on notes and photographs taken before the Turkish invasion of the island in July 1974. The ensuing unfortunate division of the island (we hope temporary), has prevented us from further research work in these monuments.



268. *The cave-chapel of St. Mavra, looking outwards (south-west), towards St. Hilarion in the distance; east of Kyrenia.*

midst. His words are inscribed above their heads. The fine head next to the angel, with short grey hair and beard, the latter with slight ochre added, is that of Peter. He has deep red lips.

Between the shallow cupola with the remnants of Christ Pantocrator and the vault with the Ascension, there is a dividing rib, its face painted with circular black decoration on an ochre background.

The scheme of decoration and the iconography of the surviving paintings point to a date after the ninth century. The colour scheme is limited but strong, and its application simple. The style is reminiscent of certain wall-paintings of the tenth century in the cave churches of Cappadocia, in Asia Minor.





269. *The cave-chapel of St. Mavra, interior looking east, east of Kyrenia.*



270. Christ uplifted to heaven by four angles, detail from the Ascension, late 10th c., cave chapel of St. Mavra, east of Kerynia.



271. *The Apostles watching the Ascension of Christ (remnant), late 10th. c., cave-chapel of St. Mavra, east of Kyrenia.*

This village lies on the southern slopes of the Kyrenia range, sixteen and a half miles from Kyrenia and ten miles from Nicosia, via Mia Milia.

**56. The Monastery of St. John Chrysostom (Agios Chrysostomos).** This monastery lies about a mile above the village in a commanding position, and it belongs to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (fig. 272). Barsky, the Russian monk and traveller who left us with a monumental itinerary of twenty-four years, visited the monastery in 1735, and mentions the twin churches of the Holy Trinity and of St. Chrysostom. He was greatly impressed with the splendour of the painted church of St. Chrysostom and mentions for the first time how the monastery passed into the hands of Jerusalem: it was sacked and confiscated by the Turks, but it was later ransomed by a noble Cypriote who donated it to the Holy Sepulchre.

**The main Church of St. Chrysostom**, which was of the inscribed octagonal type with a spacious dome carried on eight pillars — like the church of Christ Antiphonitis near Kalogrea — was mostly pulled down and rebuilt in 1891. It was originally founded in 1090 by a certain Abbot George. Little of its splendour remains today. The *bema* retains some of its original floor set with coloured marbles in a geometric pattern (*opus sectile*). The inlaid wooden door of the west entrance to the church is among the finest pieces of Byzantine woodwork surviving in the island. Some interesting icons are also preserved. Of the earlier ones, a striking Archangel with ruddy cheeks and glowing appearance stands out. It has been assigned to ca 1200 (Papageorgiou). Of the later icons, that of the Virgin Mary and Child enthroned with two kneeling donors being introduced by St. John the Almoner, is a remarkable Italo-Byzantine painting of the sixteenth century; the woman donor displays a very low-cut neck to her gown, and her son has long hair and wears a hat.

**The single-aisled domed Church of the Holy Trinity**, attached to the north of the main church, was already in a ruinous condition when Barsky visited the monastery in 1735. But it was recently rescued from the ruins by the painstaking Abbot Onoufrius (+), in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities. The Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Institute later stepped in with expert assistance to clean the remnants of its wall-paintings with rewarding results. Their findings have not yet been published, but a preliminary report records an interesting inscription in verse, discovered at the foot of the south-east pier: "Loving Thee greatly, O Thou Who art worshipped in three persons — principle without beginning, nature primordial, might invincible, alone transcending all substance — the Duke of Cyprus Eumathius Philocales, the very first among the *nobilissimi*, built unto Thee this church from the very foundations to expiate the wicked actions that he has erred in committing".

Eumathius Philocales was a very successful military commander during the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), and held the governorship of Cyprus twice during that period: from ca. 1092 —ca. 1102 and from ca. 1110— before 1118. According to the contemporary historian Anna Comnena, he was a man of noble birth with outstanding qualities, prudent, and



272. *The monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.*

faithful to God, to his master and to his friends. The then Archbishop of Cyprus Nicholaos Mouzalon (resigned ca. 1111), on the other hand, indirectly brands him as “the lord of darkness and them that live in darkness”, apparently for his financial exactions and interference in the affairs of the Church.

The foundation of churches and monasteries appears to have been a common desire of the Byzantine military and civil leaders, especially during the Comnenian period. The church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou is another example in the island. In fact the early paintings of the church of Asinou which are dated 1105/6, are closely akin in style to the paintings in this church of the Holy Trinity. For a parallel example, erected by a high military official outside the island, we mention the monastery of Bachkovo in Bulgaria, founded by the great Domesticus of the Byzantine army, Gregory Pagurianus, in 1083, in fulfilment of his long-standing desire to build “a temple to the Lord with a monastery and a sepulchre for his sinful body”.

Returning to our church, we find an extensive use of brick in the construction of the church suggesting influence from Constantinople. The quality of the surviving wall-paintings suggests that the artist entrusted with its decoration also came from the capital.

No scenes have survived intact, but from the existing remnants and from the surviving rich repertory of monastic saints, we can deduce that the Byzantine scheme was adapted to suit the wishes of the monks and the sponsor; it was a supplementary scheme to that of the main church of St. Chrysostom

now lost.

In the north central recess are a few remnants of the Crucifixion, and in the south central one a fragment of the *Anastasis*, showing Solomon, David and St. John the Baptist in a line on the left. St. John turns his head to look at the two Kings with his right hand raised in a spirited gesture pointing at Christ: "Behold Him Whom I have foretold". The scroll in his left hand is rolled. The artist did not need an inscription to carry the message, as usually happens in other representations of the theme. Of the rest of the scene only the head and the right thigh of Christ survive.

In the west spandrel of the north central recess Moses utters an appropriate prophesy of the Crucifixion through his inscribed scroll. Below him on the pier is depicted the life-size monastic St. Athanasius. In the east spandrel of the same recess we have the Archangel Gabriel of the Annunciation. Five medallions of martyrs survive in the soffit of the arch round the recess.

Moving to the south central recess with the *Anastasis*, we find prophet Ezekiel in the west spandrel uttering a quotation through his scroll appropriate to the theme. The Virgin of the Annunciation in the east spandrel has not survived. In the soffit of the arch round the recess there are fragments of medallions.

A fragment of the Dormition in the west vault shows St. Paul weeping by the feet of the Mother of God, while five other Apostles are grouped behind him in postures of mourning reminiscent of the Dormition at Asinou.

In the north-west recess we have the monastics Sts. Gregory of Agrigentum and Gregory Thaumaturge, on either side of a window; on the reveals of the window we have two more of the same Order and name: Gregory the Archbishop "ton Homeriton" (fig. 273; 24th October), and Gregory ...?... In the lunette above the window are painted Sts. Arcadius, Xenophon and John (father and sons) all of them monastics. Two more life-size ones (unidentified) are on the reveals of the arch round the recess. In the soffit of the arch there are five medallions bearing busts of martyrs.

Turning to the south-west recess, we meet four unidentified life-size monastics on the wall, and three waist-length ones in the lunette above them, the latter being Sts. Paul the Simple, Onoufrius, and Theodosius of Skopelos (reef). The soffit of the arch bears the busts of the following martyrs: in the centre, St. George in a red *chlamys* on a scarlet medallion; on the left, St. Demetrius in a green *chlamys* on a green medallion; and on the right St. Procopius in a purple *chlamys* on a green medallion (fig. 274). Below the last two we have a damaged medallion, and St. Eusignius in a blue *chlamys*.

Of the paintings in the *bema* only two officiating prelates survive: Sts. Basil and Gregory on either side of the apse (figs. 275, 276). They wear the plain *phelonia*, but they converge towards the centre of the apse in officiating postures, in contrast to their contemporary prelates at Asinou, of 1105/6, where they are shown *en face*. Perhaps this is an indication that these paintings were executed during the second tenure of office of the donor Philocales as governor of the island after 1110. (Some prefer the period of his earlier tenure).



273. St. Gregory, Archbishop "ton Homeriton", between 1110-1118, church of the Holy Trinity, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.



274. St. Procopius, between 1110-1118, church of the Holy Trinity, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.





275. St. Basil, between 1110-1118, church of the Holy Trinity, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.



276. *St. Gregory, between 1110-1118, church of the Holy Trinity, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.*

The style of these paintings is elegant, the eyes expressive and clear and usually looking to one side. The faces of the young saints are shown in high relief, recalling the technique of the Fayum portraits of Egypt at some remove. The faces of the older saints show deep lines and they are sparingly lit up with lighter flesh-tones gently diffused. The colours are differentiated and the folds of the garments are gentle without complicated mannerisms, although they tend to become schematic and highly stylized, especially below the knees of the whole-size figures (fig. 276). These geometric folds of the lower parts of the garments are a characteristic mannerism of the artist.

Colours: olive-green and other shades, ochre, brown, wine-red and other shades; the skies are blue and the foregrounds green. The execution is careful and refined throughout.

**57. The twin Churches of the Saviour and of Panagia of Aphenrika** lie at a short distance to the south of the monastery of St. Chrysostom, and they were its cemetery chapels; they are in a ruinous condition. (Modern authors usually refer to them both as Panagia Aphenrika, without differentiation).

**The southern and smaller one of the two** is known as the church of the Saviour. It appears to have been of the same domed type as the church of the Holy Trinity of the monastery, with which it should be contemporary (ca. 1110-1118), but is on a smaller scale with only one arched recess in each of the side walls. It is constructed of undressed local limestone, baked bricks, and sandstone dressed in the shape of bricks; there is a small narthex at the west end. The iconography and position of the few surviving wall-paintings are in accordance with its use as cemetery chapel. Among some remnants of the Crucifixion, the Deposition and the *Anastasis*, on the wall of the north arched recess, we have a complete scene of the Entombment of Christ, one of the finest paintings of the twelfth century surviving in Cyprus (figs. 277, 278). It recalls the famous so-called Lamentation — also sometimes described as the Pietá — in the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi in Yugoslav Macedonia, dated 1164, which has been described as a landmark in the history of European painting. The Cypriote example, however, bears the title of “the Entombment”, further corroborated by the accompanying inscription in the border above: “... and now Joseph ... carries Thee for burial”. The carved entrance to the Sepulchre, in the face of the hillock on the right, also points to the same scene. In the Nerezi painting this entrance to the sepulchre is on the left. The title is in accordance with the canonical Gospels, and the iconography shows that the later Lamentations derived their iconography from such compositions of the Entombment.

The posture of Christ on the white sheet laid on the ground, and the postures and emotional expressions of the Virgin Mary, St. John and Joseph of Arimathea, are almost identical in the two paintings and on these grounds the Cypriote Entombment has been deemed contemporary with the Nerezi “Lamentation”. We do not know whether the latter was inscribed as such.



277. *The Entombment of Christ, between 1110-1118, ruined cemetery chapel of the Saviour, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.*

There are, however, some fundamental differences which suggest an earlier date for the Cypriote painting.

On the left of the central scene, the Cypriote painting depicts the two friends of the Virgin Mary in standing postures and with mourning expressions on their faces. The ends of their *chitons* display the same schematic area enveloped by curving “incised” type of folds, apparently denoting the legs from the knees downwards, a mannerism we have met in some of the figures in the church of the Holy Trinity of the nearby monastery of St. Chrysostom, of the early twelfth century. This stylized form of drapery-folds, of double lines enveloping wide areas of the body and giving the impression of low relief, is more apparent in the garments of the rest of the attendants, which are strikingly akin to the draperies of the early series of paintings in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, where the advanced emotional features are already present in the Dormition of the Mother of God.

The draperies of the Nerezi painting, on the other hand, are more advanced and they announce the dynamic style of the late Comnenian period. The studied anatomy of the naked Christ at Nerezi is also strikingly in advance of the Cypriote painting, as is also the right hand of the Virgin Mary, lovingly



278. *The Entombment of Christ, detail of the preceding illustration.*

embracing the neck of her Son; in the Cypriote painting the Virgin's hand holds Christ's head by the halo as though it is a material object; at Nerezi the hand goes through the halo.

The fine bust of St. Symeon Stylites surviving near by in the *bema* (fig. 279), is a further proof of an early twelfth-century date for the Entombment. The style and fine brush-work are akin to the monastic saints in the church of the Holy Trinity of St. Chrysostom's monastery. The style of the lettering also corroborates.

It is apparent that at the beginning of the twelfth century there was an active group of painters in the island working in the style of the capital: Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo, Agios Chrysostomos monastery and the Saviour chapel near Koutsovendis, St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, Sts. Joachim and Anna, Kaliana, Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, etc. It is unfortunate that no complete scheme of decoration of this period has survived. But the emotional characteristics of the attendants of the Dormition at Asinou and of the Entombment under study, show that the humanistic approach to themes engendering emotion was already under



279. *St. Symeon Stylites, between 1110-1118, ruined cemetery chapel of the Saviour, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.*

development at an earlier date than hitherto believed.

**The northern one of the twin churches** is known as that of Panagia of Aphendrika, and is also of the same type as the church of the Holy Trinity of the monastery, with three arched recesses in each of the side walls; it is of about a century later than its twin chapel on the south. Its ruins retain fragments of paintings of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but they are in bad condition.

Their main contribution to our knowledge is a mounted St. George in the south-west recess (fig. 280). It depicts St. George riding from right to left, wearing chain mail and holding an upright spear in his left hand. His left arm is embracing a pillion rider, a youthful figure on a small scale, holding a cup in his right hand and a coffee-pot type of jug in his left hand with a cloth striped in red hanging from his arm. He has embroidered leggings and dark boots. A contemporary rustic representation of this colourful pillion rider of St. George, so popular here in Cyprus, has recently been discovered in the church of the Virgin Mary Chryseleousa at Emba (above).

An *ex post facto* explanation of this romantic iconography of St. George with his pillion rider appears in two versions in the "Treasure of Damaskinos" (Venice 1528); the youth riding behind St. George either was the son of a widow from Mytilene, captive and servant of the Saracen Emir of Crete (824-960), or George the son of Leon and Theophano of Paphlagonia, captive and servant of the Governor of Bulgaria (during the time of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-969), whom St. George whisked off in a lightning intervention on his Memorial day and instantly deposited near his people with the implements of his services to his captives still in his hands. (We might be allowed to point out here a little known comprehensive study on the subject by Marie Golescu "Saint Georges Delivre L' Adolescent Emme né en Captivité par les Infideles", *Bulletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Isotovice*, An, 30 (1937), Bucuresti, Romania.



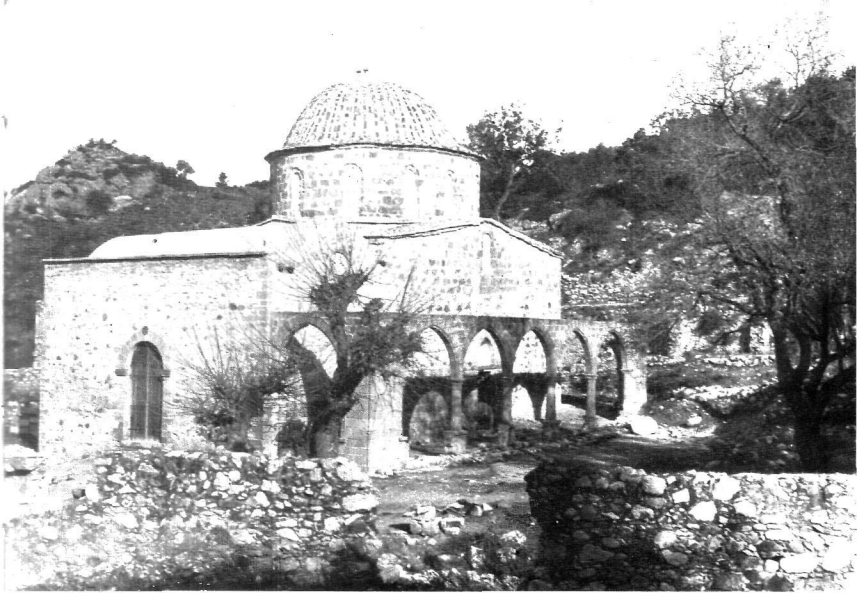
280. St. George mounted with his pillion rider, 12th-13th c., ruined cemetery chapel of Panagia Aphendrika, monastery of St. Chrysostom, above Koutsovendis.



This is the last village at the east end of the Kyrenia district.

**58. The Church of Christ Antiphonitis.** This church belongs to a disused monastery and now comes under the jurisdiction of the village of Kalogrea. It can also be reached via Agios Ambrosios, a picturesque village about twenty miles east of Kyrenia, in the northern foothills of the jagged range of mountains. It lies about three miles east of the village in a secluded position surrounded by pine forests (fig. 281).

The church is a spacious single-aisled building with a large dome covering the whole of the nave and carried on eight round, stone-built pillars, in a circle



281. *The church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*

forming an irregular octagon; two of them in a line with the *iconostasis* before the *bema* are detached, two are attached to each of the side walls, and the other two were attached to the original west wall. It is the only church of its type which has survived intact (there is a ruined one in the castle of St. Hilarion above Kyrenia), and it probably dates from the end of the twelfth century. The vaulted narthex at the west end is an extension of the Frankish period, as is also the arcade of a ruined loggia on the south.

The church retains considerable remains of paintings of two periods, but the shape of the building did not lend itself easily to the Byzantine scheme of decoration, especially to the compositions.

**The paintings in the bema** and in the south-west corner of the nave from the squinch downwards belong to the end of the twelfth century. They appear to be a variant interpretation of the late Comnenian style of the capital, as it appears in the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera (1192), but without the agitated mannerisms of some of the drapery (judging from what has survived). The eyes of the individual saints are turned to one side in the Hellenistic-Byzantine manner, but the faces are heavily lit up with red, which makes them rather hard, in spite of the green shading. Even the black pupils of the eyes are given a reddish eyeball. A rich sky-blue is used for the backgrounds and for some of the garments, which is in keeping with the date suggested. The hair and beards of the individual saints are rather stylized and in this respect they share the same quality with some of the individual saints in the church of St. George near Kurbinovo in Yugoslav Macedonia, dated 1191. The haloes are rather large and they are painted in "old-gold".

The Birth of Christ in the spandrel between the north-east pillars is half preserved, including the bathing of Christ. The Presentation in the Temple in the spandrel between the south-eastern pillars is not so well preserved.

The Baptism of Christ at the top of the south-west pillar attached to the south wall, is one of the best preserved compositions, successfully applied to the curving surface (fig. 282). The elegant Christ is shown naked crossing the blue river towards the left, where St. John the Baptist is bending over the bank to touch His head with his right hand. Christ is blessing the personification of the river Jordan; in front of Him there is a lighted candle in a candlestick. St. John is dressed in a green skin, girded with a belt. Below his feet lies "the axe unto the root of the trees" (Mat. 3:10). The angels have not survived.

The figures of St. Paul and St. Endoxus, the latter in prelate's garments (fig. 282), depicted on the same pillar below the Baptism, are of the same period. The position of St. Paul is traditional, but that of the prelate is out of context. On the wall, to the right of the pillar, we have the figure of St. Anthony with a blue hood, and next to him the remnants of three more monastics.

In the large south-west squinch supporting the dome are the remnants of a Transfiguration. The lower half of Christ survives, depicting Him in blue garments in an oval glory. Of the rest of the attendants, only that of Peter survives in good condition (left).

On the northern detached pillar in a line with the *iconostasis* (side facing west), we have a large Archangel Michael holding an unfolded scroll, an in



282. *The Baptism of Christ; St. Endoxus; end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*

the same position on the southern detached pillar a matching Archangel Gabriel. Below him there is a monochrome geometric design with floral decoration and two partridges back-to-back.

Most of the paintings in the *bema* are well preserved. In the vault before the apse we have remains of the Ascension. Christ in the centre has gone, but the groups of the Apostles with the Virgin Mary and the angel are fairly well preserved.

The upper part of the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse, of the Blacher-nitissa type, is damaged, but the two Archangels are well preserved and show the style at its best. Their youthful faces, shaded in green with rouge on the cheeks stand out in relief. They are shown striding and bending forward towards the Virgin Mary, with red wands in their inner hands and with their outer ones extended towards her. They are dressed in the garments of the ushers to the Byzantine court, differentiated in colour. Gabriel (fig. 283), wears a scarlet tunic and Michael a green one, both with wide hems embroidered in foliate decoration framed with precious stones. Their *loroi* are decorated in floral decoration in roundels; where these go over the arm they show green and red lining respectively. They wear scarlet-red boots. Their dark wings, with white and red feathers in the inner sides, provide a radiating frame which makes them stand out.

The prelates in the lower zone of the apse are rather damaged, but we can detect Gregory and Chrysostom on the left, and Basil, Cyril and Athanasius on the right.

The rest of the individual saints in the arches and on the pillars in the *bema* comprise several prelates in plain *phelonia*, deacons, martyrs, monks and stylites; the latter appear rather impressive looking down from their railed seclusions on the top of the painted pillars with acanthus capitals, further enhanced by the round pillars on which they are appropriately painted. In the soffit of the arch leading into the *prothesis* of the *bema* we have the busts of the prelates Photius (fig. 284), and Polychronius (fig. 285). On the north-east pillar attached to the wall we see prelate Trifillius, and above him St. Damian in a medallion. His companion St. Cosmas is painted near by. High up on the east side of the northern detached pillar we have a life-size prelate wearing a new-blue *sticharion*, a brown madder *phelonion* and a green *omophorion*. Below him is painted St. Demetrianus, also in a prelate's vestments (fig. 286, he was an early Bishop of Chytri, present Kythrea). On either side of him are two pillar saints, Symeon Thaumaturge (south), and Theodosius (north), both with blue hoods.

In the ceiling over the *prothesis* are painted the prelates Arcadius and Nikon, and below them two deacons (damaged).

In the soffit of the arch leading into the *diaconikon* are painted the busts of St. Endoxus in monastic garments (fig. 287), and of another saint now defaced. On the south-east pillar attached to the wall, there is a bust of a martyr in medallion, and near by another one now defaced. On the southern detached pillar we have the prelates Amphilochius and Nicholas (east, fig. 288, one above the other), and on either side Sts. Daniel Stylites in blue hood



283. *The Archangel Gabriel attending the Virgin Mary in the conch of the apse, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*

(south), and Symeon Stylites, in red cloak and blue hood (north, fig. 289), matching the figures on the corresponding north-east detached pillar already mentioned. In the ceiling over the *diaconikon* are two prelates. In the niche of the *diaconikon* is painted a heavily-jewelled cross with the usual letters on either side.



284. *St. Photius, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*



285. St. Polychronius, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.



286. *St. Demetrianus, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*

**The remaining paintings** in the nave belong to the second group. At first sight they look fourteenth-century paintings but on closer examination they betray elements placing them in the last decade of the fifteenth century. They comprise among others an elaborate Last Judgement on the north wall and the Tree of Jesse on the south wall.

The Last Judgement covers part of the two pillars attached to the north wall and the recess formed between them (fig. 290). In the soffit of the arch round the lunette there are four angels. In the lunette, Christ is enthroned in an oval iridescent aureole with golden rays emanating from His body. His feet rest on a rainbow, and on His left knee rests the Book of Judgement. The symbols of the Passion are depicted over the aureole with groups of angels on either side. At the four corners of the aureole are the four symbols of the Evangelists: the angel, the eagle, the lion, and the ox. The Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist are depicted on either side of the aureole in interceding postures, followed by angels. Below this group, on the left (right of Christ), are painted the Choirs of the Saints divided into three groups: the martyrs, the





287. St. Endoxus, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.



288. St. Nicholas, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphontis, near Kalogrea.



289. *St. Symeon Stylites, end of the 12th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*



290. *The Last Judgement, last decade of the 15th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.*

prophets, and the prelates, with the holy men and women attached at the end of the last two groups. In the centre, below Christ's feet, is the Preparation of the Throne with the Gospel and the holy Ghost (the symbols of the Passion which are usually shown here, have been placed over the aureole of Christ). On either side of the Throne are depicted naked children with wings named "the infants" (those massacred by Herod), here replacing the usual kneeling figures of Adam and Eve.

From below Christ's feet issues the river of fire which descends to the right (left of Christ), and encircles the personification of Hell, a strange beast with wings and horns in the act of strangling a figure, while from his mouth protrude the two legs of a figure which he has just swallowed; two ox-like heads issue from his sides with human parts in their mouths; between his legs and in a boiling bowl at his feet, there is a multitude of naked figures for his strange meal. On either side of this bowl are several figures waiting their turn to be stripped and devoured; among them, especially mentioned by inscriptions, are Annas and Caiaphas with a grimace on their faces. Two angels are prodding at the devils trying to escape from Hell. The seated Apostle-judges are depicted on the pillars on either side. Below the group of the left-hand pillar are painted four sinners suffering in Hell, inscribed, "the falsifier of the balances, the changer of landmarks, the dishonest miller, the glutton".

In the last zone, divided by a border, is depicted Paradise; St. Peter, with keys in hand, is about to unlock its gates and lead the Just into it. There is a happy expression on the faces of this group, which is appropriate and conforms with the date suggested. The penitent thief, Abraham, and the Virgin Mary enthroned attended by the two Archangels, have already taken their places inside the Garden of Eden, with a palm-tree and other stylized trees in the background. On the pillar on the right, there is a guarding angel with a spear and a scroll in his hands, flanked by seraphim. (About the Last Judgement, see also Nikitari, the church of Asinou).

The Tree of Jesse in the corresponding place on the south wall, depicts Jesse reclining on the ground, with a conventional tree springing from his body and enveloping in its foliage a multitude of figures showing the genealogical descent of Christ (fig. 291). Immediately above Jesse we see King David, and on the left King Solomon. At the top of the Tree is shown the bust of the Virgin Mary with Christ, flanked by her parents Joachim and Anna. Several prophets hold scrolls alluding to the Incarnation. In the bottom left corner, prophet Balaam rides his ass, faced by an angel with drawn sword (Numbers 22).

On the pillar on the right is painted St. Romanus Melodus (hymn writer), a young figure with slight beard, dressed as a deacon and holding a book open towards the spectator (fig. 292). His position connects him with the subject just described.

The paintings in the dome are unfortunately badly damaged, but enough have survived to show that the Pantocrator, inside an iridescent medallion, is surrounded by a host of angels converging from either side towards the Preparation of the Throne, with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist as intercessors; in a second zone are painted the twelve Apostles seated on separate thrones, marking the cupola as the symbolical heavens and surely alluding to the Last Judgement. It is the first time we meet the twelve Apostles in the dome of a painted church in Cyprus. The spacious dome lent itself to the extension of the iconography of the dome. Lower down we meet the prophets in their usual place, two between each of the twelve windows of the drum.



291. Bottom section of the Tree of Jesse, last decade of the 15th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.

At the north-west end of the church there is a series of paintings belonging to the same group, expounding the life of the Virgin Mary drawn from the apocryphal Gospels, a favourite subject during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Most of the scenes are rather damaged and others await cleaning. The Birth of the Virgin Mary on the west half of the north-west pillar attached to the north wall (bearing the six Apostles of the Last Judgement on its east



292. St. Romanus Melodus (detail), last decade of the 15th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.

side), is the best preserved composition of the series (awaiting cleaning), with interesting conographical elements (fig. 293). The scene takes place in the open in Byzantine fashion. It appears that the circular surface presented difficulties for the painting of the two-dimensional scene. St. Anna looks precariously perched on her wooden bed, and so does the child in her upright box by the foot of the bed, attended by an elegant maid with a white cap. On the other side of the bed, two female attendants approach with bowls of food in their hands. In contrast to the two-dimensional scene we have a three-dimensional palace-house in the background. Indeed, this Renaissance many-storeyed palace, with an open verandah in the centre of the uppermost storey, is fairly well-adapted to the curved surface of the pillar, conflicting with the scene in the foreground, where the new-born Mary appears as though she is being exhibited to the spectator like an icon. In the arcaded verandah, in the second storey of the left wing, we see St. Joachim against a round pillar, his hands resting on the parapet, talking to another haloed figure standing before him. In the next storey up, we see Joachim again in conversation with a figure in profile just appearing. We have here a three-dimensional Renaissance architectural background grafted on to a two-dimensional Byzantine scene. This unassimilated combination of Byzantine and Italian elements points to a date in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Our list of the rest of the paintings of this series is incomplete, as we have no access to the church at the present moment, and we are working from notes and photographs taken before 1974. We mention the scenes of Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Ten Commandments, and Moses before the Burning Bush; also the parable of the Seven Wise and the Seven Foolish Virgins, and Sisoës Lamenting over the grave of Alexander the Great, accompanied with the usual inscription (see St. George Parachoritis, Galata).

Of the individual saints we can mention St. Peter on the lower part of the north-west attached pillar, matching St. Paul of the early series on the corresponding pillar on the south wall. Next to Peter is depicted St. Barnabas, wearing a *chiton*, a *himation* and an *omophorion*, an irregular but established iconographic combination for this Apostle, the founder of the Church of Cyprus. He has a round face, dark hair and round beard, which also conform with the established main iconography of St. Barnabas. The only differing portrait of the Saint we have met, is in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, near Kakopetria.

On the right of the north door we have the figure of St. Spyridon, another leading Cypriote prelate. His position in the nave is out of place. On the left of the south door we have the half-damaged painting of St. Mamas riding his lion, a favourite subject in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Cyprus. On the right of the same door is painted St. Paraskevi. There are some other individual saints at the west end.

In contrast to the early series, the flesh tones of these paintings are worked out in white over an ochre ground, the latter allowed to show through as shading, which is compatible with the date suggested.





293. *The Birth of the Virgin Mary*, last decade of the 15th c., church of Christ Antiphonitis, near Kalogrea.

### XLIII. TRIKOMO

This large village lies at the entrance to the Karpasia peninsula in the district of Famagusta. The idyllic domed chapel of St. James in the main square is probably a fifteenth-century building, but save for some decorative plates in its vaulting, it retains little else of interest.

**59. The Church of Panagia Theotokos.** This Byzantine building is still the main church of the village. It was erected in the early twelfth century as a single-aisled, domed church with arched recesses set in the side walls, a very popular type of church architecture in Cyprus from the twelfth century onwards. A vaulted aisle was added on the north side in the fifteenth century, and an extension at the west end at a later date. In the modern belfry at the north-east corner, is inserted a carved marble *thorakton*, from the original *templon* of the church.

The church retains a considerable number of its original wall-paintings of the early twelfth century. (They were cleaned in 1966 by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the Archaeological Service of Greece and the Archbishopric). They stand out as another example of early Comnenian decoration in the island, closely connected in style to the dated examples surviving in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, dated 1105/6.

Their most important contribution to our knowledge about church decoration of the early twelfth century in Cyprus, is Christ Pantocrator in the cupola, surrounded by an extensive choir of worshipping angels (fig. 294). Christ's bust with the calligraphic treatment of the facial characteristics radiates remarkable spiritual power (in spite of losses), in relative comparison with the mosaic Pantocrator in the church at Daphni in Greece of ca. 1100. He is the all powerful God "in rebuke terrible", as differentiated in the so-called letter of Lentullus. The inscription in the border around the medallions leaves no doubt about it; after the introduction of the figure as the Overseer of all, Who looks down and searches the souls and the hearts of every one, the inscription warns us: "mortals, be fearful of the Judge".

The choir of worshipping angels with bent knees and hands out under the ends of their *himations*, headed by the two Archangels wearing the *loros* of the ushers to the Byzantine court, converge in two groups towards the east, where is depicted the Preparation of the Throne. "And let all the angels of God worship him" (Hebrews 1:6), reads the accompanying inscription over their heads. On the cushioned Throne are erected the symbols of the Passion with the Holy Ghost alighted at the foot of the Cross, all enveloped by a circular aura; the Book of the Last Judgement is laid on the purple cloth over a cushion, and the counsels for the defence have taken their place: the Virgin Mary on the left and St. John the Baptist on the right. The scene is set for the Last Judgement.



294. *Christ Pantocrator, early 12th c., church of Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo.*

Another contribution to our knowledge is the cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary drawn from the apocryphal Gospels. It is obvious that the subject was always popular and that the lack of examples from the mid-Byzantine period is mainly due to destruction. In the soffit of the arch round the south recess, we have the Prayer of Joachim in the wilderness (east), and the Meeting of Joachim and Anna (west). In the former, Joachim is standing (in most examples he is seated), inside "his tent", here rendered in an original manner: two cypress-trees, one on either side, curve around him, their tops tied over his

head. He faces to the left with his hands out; an angel flies towards him with the good tidings. In the second scene he is embracing his wife, their cheeks touching, while a maid peeps from behind a curtained window of their house (fig. 295).

In the course of the restoration of the church, three more compositions of the cycle were discovered in the arch of the north recess: Joachim and Anna Presenting their Gifts to the Temple, the Prayer of Anna and the Birth of the Virgin Mary. Other scenes must have perished. Below the prayer of Anna (east), is the Archangel of the Annunciation.

Returning to the south recess, we see the Virgin Mary of the Annunciation (fig. 296), seated on a cushioned seat and spinning the scarlet wool, depicted below the Prayer of Joachim. We meet the subject in the same position in the relatively contemporary church of the Holy Trinity, at St. John Chrysostom's monastery near Koutsovendis; there, only the angel has survived.

Below the Meeting of Joachim and Anna there is a fragment of the Birth of Christ, showing a delightful group of three shepherds, differentiated in age, attire and postures, and the heads of Salome and the Midwife (inscribed as such), from the bathing scene of Christ (fig. 297). The rest of the painting must have been on the wall of the recess.

In the eastern vault over the altar there is a fine Ascension, in a fairly good state of preservation: in the centre of the vault Christ is uplifted to heaven in a round aureola by four angels, while the Apostles are watching in amazement in groups of six on either side, each group attended by an Archangel.

Now that the Virgin Mary *Orans*, Blachernitissa type, in the conch of the apse, has been cleaned and restored to its early twelfth-century style, she is one of the earliest surviving examples in monumental painting, and further stresses the close connections of Cyprus with the capital during the Comnenian period. The type became very popular in Cyprus during the later centuries. The accompanying inscription on either side of the Virgin Mary, "Hail! who hast the Light forth-brought and not knowing how", appears to be the painter's version of two of the verses from the third stanza of the *Akathistos* hymn: "Hail! who unspeakably hast the Light forth-brought. - Hail! who the How to none hast taught". It gives the sophisticated literary source behind the representation, just as the appellation of the Virgin Mary in the apse of the church of the Virgin Mary at Kaminaria reflects the same meaning in a popular manner.

A fragment of a supplicatory inscription along the bottom of the conch of the apse, reading "... pure Virgin, Mother of the Lord, behold the desire of my miserable soul and become my intercessor at the time of the Judgement, so that I may be spared...", is similar in style and contents to the also fragmentary inscription in the apse of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, supporting the suggestion that the same Constantinopolitan master worked in both churches.

Christ inside a pointed-oval aureola in the vault of the north aisle is a Franco-Byzantine painting of the fifteenth century, originally part of an Ascension.



295. *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna, early 12th c., church of Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo.*



296. *The Virgin Mary, detail from the Annunciation, early 12th c., church of Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo.*



297. The shepherds, the midwife with her attendant, fragment of the Birth of Christ, early 12th c., church of Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo.

This village lies about half way on the main road from Nicosia to Famagusta.

**60. The church of St. Euphemianus** lies a mile to the south of the village beside a cluster of eucalyptus trees (fig. 298). This idyllic chapel is a single-aisled vaulted building with a dome over the centre and arched recesses in the side walls. Vaults and arches are slightly pointed. It is built of local white limestone.

The chapel retains remains of its wall-paintings of the fourteenth century. In the conch of the apse survives the fine painting of the Mother of God of the Blachernitissa type, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (fig. 299). The Virgin wears a sky-blue *chiton* and a red *maphorion* with tassels ending in fleurs-de-lis. The red cushion on which she is standing is also decorated with the same motif. The attending Archangels hold a wand in one hand and extend the other towards the Virgin. The fine faces of the figures are painted in relief, enhanced with white linear highlights and heavy shading around the eyes. The ends of their *himations* end in forward undulations reminiscent of the so-called "baroque" or "agitated" style of the late twelfth century. The sky-blue background and the green foreground give depth to the composition.



298. Church of St. Euphemianus, 14th c., Lysi.



In the lower zone of the apse there are remnants of six officiating prelates, three on either side of the round-headed ventilator.

In the border-line between the Mother of God and the prelates, we have a dedicatory inscription, the beginning and end of which are missing: "... the most Holy church of (our) Holy father Themonianus, through the contribution and great desire of the monk-priest and abbot of the venerable monastery of (our) father among the saints, Andronicus...". Obviously we have here a *metochion* (dependency) of a monastery dedicated to St. Andronicus (and Athanasia?), now vanished, the Abbot of which paid for the erection and/or the decoration of this chapel some time in the fourteenth century, judging by the style of the surviving paintings. The corrupted vernacular name of St. Themonianus for St. Euphemianus is interesting.

The second best surviving painting of the church is Christ Pantocrator in the dome, surrounded by a frieze of angels in small dimension to fit into the narrow space available (fig. 300). The eyes of Christ are not very successful; they look at the beholder without focusing. His beard is finely executed with great care, giving the impression of having just been brushed. His purple *chiton* (now buff?) and blue *himation* are lavishly treated with gold highlights, which make the painting stand out on the deep blue background. The surrounding angels converge towards the east, where is depicted the Preparation of the Throne inside an oval aureola, guarded by angels and attended by the Mother of God and St. John the Baptist, one on either side as intercessors, alluding to the Last Judgement.

The lower zone of prophets between the four round-headed windows of the drum is not so well preserved.

We discerned fragments of the following subjects in the rest of the church: the Annunciation and the Fiftieth Day (Descent of the Holy Spirit), in the eastern vault over the altar; the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Baptism of Christ, above the entrance in the south arched recess.

(The above is written from notes and photographs taken before the Turkish invasion in 1974).

\* Note. The paintings of the church were removed in sections by irresponsible Turks between 1974 and 1983 and taken to Europe for sale. They finally ended with the Menil Foundation Inc. of Texas, in agreement with the Church and the Government of the island, allowing them custody of the murals for fifteen years, as from the beginning of 1986. A book was subsequently published. Our illustrations, including the dedicatory inscription (fig. 299) which was destroyed by the culprits to mislead the prospective buyers, were the only ones published at the time.



299. The Virgin Mary **Orans**, Blachernitissa, attended by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 14th c., church of St. Euphemitianus, Lysi.



300. Christ Pantocrator, 14th c., church of St. Euphemiaus, Lysi.

No painted church has survived in Nicosia from the main Byzantine period. Actually all the main towns have lost their Byzantine paintings.

**61. The Cathedral Church of St. John the Evangelist** of the seventeenth century, is the only church in the capital which has retained its complete series of paintings of the eighteenth century. Although still within the Byzantine traditions, they show natural degeneration in iconography, style and technique. We have included it in this survey of the painted churches of Cyprus, as an important survival of the old traditions during this late Turkish period.

The old Archbishopric occupies the site of the Benedictine abbey of St. John the Evangelist of Bibi, which stood here in medieval times, until it passed into Orthodox hands, when the Benedictine Order departed from the island after the Mameluke raid of 1426. It remained as a Greek monastery until the eighteenth century, when it was changed into the residence of the Orthodox Archbishop by Archbishop Sylvester who renovated the building in 1720, incorporating the remnants of the old abbey into the ground floor. This is today used as the premises of a Folk Museum founded and run by the Society of Cypriote Studies. The upper floor is also used by the same Society for its library and meetings.

The modest church reflects the means of the Orthodox Church during the Turkish period. It is a barrel-vaulted building of small dimensions with five transverse arches supporting the vault, and external buttresses in the style of the period. It stands between the old archbishopric on the north, and the modern spacious palace recently erected to the south by the late Archbishop Macarios III.

Over the west entrance to the church is inserted a sculptured marble panel from some destroyed Latin building, bearing three late Lusignan coats of arms. A carved inscription commemorating the foundation of the church was added to this re-used panel: "The foundation stone of this most holy church of St. John the Theologian, was laid by the hands of his Beatitude Archbishop of Cyprus Monseigneur Nicephorus, on Wednesday the last day of April of the year 1662". It was then a monastic church and it was not painted until after it became the cathedral church of the Archbishopric in 1720. Another coat of arms is inserted lower down over the door.

A third Latin sculptured panel was saved for posterity by being inserted higher up on the same wall. It is divided into five compartments with trefoil arches and coats of arms in the spandrels, in Gothic style. The three central ones bear the Crucified Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John, while the two end ones bear two kneeling donors, a knight in full armour (right), and his wife in a long gown and heavy cloak-like veil (left). We have met this

cloak-like veil with many female donors in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century paintings in several churches (see Dali, Asinou, Pelendri).

We owe the present wall-paintings of the church to Archbishop Philotheus, the successor of Sylvester. Two donor portraits of Philotheus are depicted in the church. On the left of the north door he is depicted as a supplicant before St. John the Evangelist, who introduces him to Christ appearing from a segment of the sky in the top right-hand corner of the painting. His supplication to Christ through St. John and St. John's intercession for him to Christ are today effaced, but they have been previously recorded. They are in verse and there is a sentimental touch about them. We could paraphrase them as follows. Archbishop Philotheus invokes the help of St. John: "John, Evangelist of Christ, accept the decorum of your venerable church, which I loved as the dwelling house of the Lord, for which pray for the remission of my sins, as you are the disciple and friend of Jesus, the Saviour and Son of God the Ruler"; and St. John transmits to Christ: "Granting a favour to me your friend, grant, my Christ, remission of sins to friend Philotheus the Pastor of Cyprus, who adorned this church". Earlier Byzantine customs are here reflected.

The second portrait of Archbishop Philotheus is by the side of prelate Sylvester, first in the row of the officiating prelates in the bottom zone of the apse (fig. 301). He holds a scroll with a further supplication for saving his soul, ending: "... by the divine grace (of God), Philotheus of Cyprus, 1736".

Archbishop Philotheus (1734-1759), was one of the most learned prelates of the island, famous for his good character and inclination to learning and improving the lot of his flock through education and personal example. Many have praised him for his virtues. Here we shall quote a little-known passage from the travels of the famous Russian traveller and writer Barsky Plaka Albov, otherwise Moskovorossos. Barsky landed in Larnaca in September 1734 and walked to Nicosia to call on the newly elected Archbishop Philotheus. "I came to him and saw his sympathetic countenance and was received with honour. We had a long conversation ... and having heard that I knew Latin ... he tried to persuade me ... to remain with him and teach Latin grammar to his scholars ... Taking into consideration his good character, his love for me and the approaching winter ... I yielded to his kind proposals ... I learned to appreciate in him a virtuous man of good character and wisdom, having literary tastes and very much inclined towards teaching. He organized a school for Greek and kept me for Latin trying to adorn his flock with every virtue by all means".

Returning to the decoration of the church, it appears that the year 1736 was the beginning of the painting and not the end as is usual with other dedicatory inscriptions in Byzantine churches. This is borne out by the church accounts of the period, which mention several sums of money being paid by the elected committees of the church to the painters and decorators whose names are not mentioned. As late as 1756, expenses are mentioned towards painters and gilders of the *iconostasis* and the painting of icons. This is also borne out by the style of the wall-paintings, which degenerate towards the west part of the church. This also means that the painting of the church started from the *bema* and ended at the west end.

The scheme of decoration is admirably summarized in another inscription in verse which could be paraphrased as follows: "Since the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears, behold this history of the hierarchy of the Heavens,



301. St. Sylvester and the donor Archbishop Philotheus, 1736, Cathedral church of St. John the Evangelist, Nicosia.

the Birth (of Christ), the Festival (cycle), the Passion of our Lord, the Resurrection and the Last Judgement and in addition the origin of the prerogatives of (the Church) of Cyprus, as well as the praise of God by all beings, the Tree of Jesse as well as the miracles of Christ and finally the seven Councils of the Church, for these have not just been recorded here (for the sake of decoration) but in order to correct yourself by beholding them”.

Later Archbishops continued to supplement the decoration of the church with new icons and the gilding of older ones.

“The origin of the prerogatives of the Church of Cyprus”, mentioned in the above inscription, is painted on the south wall by the Archbishop’s throne. It is the first time in the history of Byzantine art in Cyprus, that this representation of the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas at his tomb near Salamis has been painted. The discovery sealed the independence of the Church of Cyprus and caused the granting of the well-known Royal privileges to the Archbishop of the island by Emperor Zeno (488 A.D.; see Introduction). The theme is here portrayed in four scenes in one panel, but, with no earlier prototypes to follow, the composition is rather poor from the artistic point of view. Its inclusion here reflects the struggle for survival during the Turkish period.

In the large Crucifixion we note the combination of Byzantine and Western elements mingled with local touches in the characters of the mounted and other soldiers, reflecting the period of Turkish rule. On the left, the Virgin Mary faints into the hands of six women, while St. John weeps near by. In the right-hand lower corner four soldiers are casting the dice for Christ’s garments.

In the large composition of the Last Judgement we point out the gruesome figure of the “Ruler of Darkness”, in the bottom right-hand corner, with Judas in his lap and beautiful Salome between his legs, the latter dressed in the costume of the period with a red cap over which uncomfortably sits a crown.

The church retains an interesting icon of St. John the Evangelist framed by twelve miniature scenes from his life and miracles. It is dated 1672 and signed by the well known Cretan painter Theodore Poulakis (ca 1622-1692). After Crete he worked in Venice between the years 1646-1654 and 1670-1674/5, and then settled in Corfu. The icon of St. John was sent from Venice “to the holy monastery called Bibi, in Lefkousia of the famous Cyprus”, by a donor called Vrachimis, as the accompanying inscription tells us.

Archbishop Chrysanthos (1767-1810), employed John Cornaros, of the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, to paint icons for the church. Cornaros worked in Cyprus between the years 1791 and 1806. Four icons in this church bear his signature: Christ dated 1795, the Virgin Mary dated 1796, St. John Prodromos and St. Nicholas both dated 1797.

## CYPRIOTE SAINTS

Cyprus has been known as the island of Saints. Over 300 of them have been recorded and many more have been forgotten and their names lost in the course of time. Most of them were born in the island, others came from abroad and died here, and others left the island and died abroad. Here we shall mention those we usually find painted in the churches of Cyprus.

1. Athanasius Pentaschenitis, deacon.
2. Auxibius, Bishop of Soli.
3. Barnabas, Apostle, founder of the Church of Cyprus.
4. George Macheromenos.
5. Demetrianus, Bishop of Chytri.
6. Irene, the daughter of St. Spyridon.
7. Epiphanius the Great, Bishop of Constantia.
8. Zenon, Bishop of Curium.
9. Zenon, Bishop of Kyrenia.
10. Heracleidius, Bishop of Tamasus.
11. Therapon, Bishop.
12. Hilarion the Great, ended his life near the village of Episkopi, Paphos.
13. John the Almoner, Born in Amathus, Cyprus, became Patriarch of Alexandria.
14. John Lampadistis, deacon.
15. Kournoutas or Kournoutos, from Palestine, *hosios*, died near Achera, Nicosia district.
16. Lazarus, Christ's friend, Bishop of Kition.
17. Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis.
18. Makedonius, Bishop of Tamasus.
19. Mavra, female martyr.
20. Mnason, Bishop of Tamasus.
21. Neophytus, Enkleistos, Paphos.
22. Reginus, Archbishop.
23. Spyridon, Bishop of Tremithus.
24. Sozomenus, from Palestine, *hosios*, hermit near Potamia.
25. Timotheus, husband of St. Mavra.
26. Trifillius, Bishop of Ledra.
27. Tychicus, Bishop of Neapolis.
28. Tychon, Bishop of Amanthus.

For further information and bibliography, see Μακαριωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου, κ.κ. Μακαρίου Γ', *Κύπρος ἡ ἁγία Νῆσος*, Ἀθήναι 1968.



## GLOSSARY

- Aer:** a veil of silk for covering the chalice and paten.
- Anastasis:** Resurrection; the pictorial representation of Christ's Descent into Hades. The Harrowing of Hell in the West.
- Agia:** Saint (female).
- Agios:** Saint (male).
- Asteriscus:** a utensil of two metal strips arched and crossed, placed over the blessed bread during the Liturgy to prevent contact with the veil that covers it.
- Basilica:** the early form of a church building divided into a nave and several aisles by colonnades, modelled on the Roman *basilica forensis*, which served as a law court and commercial exchange. The Christian basilica was later modified into different vaulted and domed types.
- Bema:** sanctuary
- Blachernitissa:** an appellation applied to the Virgin Mary *Orans*, with the Child Christ inscribed on her chest in a medallion.
- Chiton:** tunic; ancient Greek garment, either short without sleeves (Doric), or long with sleeves (Ionic). In Byzantine art the former is worn by secondary figures and soldier-saints, and the latter by Christ, the Apostles and the Saints.
- Chlamys:** a kind of a cloak worn by the youths of ancient Greece; it was also worn by the horsemen of the northern districts.
- Diaconikon:** the compartment on the right of the bema in charge of the deacons; the sacristy.
- Deesis:** supplication; in Byzantine art, the composition depicting Christ enthroned, flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist as Intercessors.
- Eleousa:** merciful; an appellation given to the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her right arm.
- Hieratic:** priestly; a term applied to early styles in Egyptian and Greek art and to the monastic branch of Byzantine art.
- Himation:** upper garment wrapped round the body, leaving part of the breast free; worn by Christ, the Apostles and some of the Saints.
- Hodegetria:** conductress; an appellation given to the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her left arm.
- Icon (Eikon):** religious picture for veneration; (usually applied to portable panels).
- Iconography:** the pictorial interpretation of a subject.
- Iconostasis:** the screen which bears the icons, separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church. (Women are not allowed to enter behind the iconostasis).
- Indiction:** a cycle of fifteen years, used by the Romans and generalized by Constantine the Great in 312 A.D. as a convenient measure of time by the Land Registry for tax purposes. The beginning of an indiction year is the first of September.
- Katholikon:** The main church of a monastery.
- Loros:** long, imperial scarf of cloth of gold, embroidered and jewelled, with a hole for the head, the ends hanging almost down the whole of the front and much longer down the back, the back end drawn across the front of the body and hung over the left arm.
- Mandorla:** (Italian=almond), term used in Byzantine art for the large halo usually enveloping Christ in certain scenes, denoting the presence of supernatural powers; it derives from Persian art.
- Narthex:** an outer chamber of the nave, originally for the candidates for Baptism and the penitents, and later for women, now abolished.
- Omophorion:** a long embroidered scarf, about ten inches wide, worn by the prelates round the shoulders and falling loose towards the ground; it corresponds to the *pallium* of the Latin Church.
- Panagia:** all Holy; an appellation of the Virgin Mary.
- Pantocrator:** Christ, the Ruler of the world.
- Parabema-ta:** the compartment-s on either side of the bema.
- Phelonion:** the Eastern form of the chasuble; when worn, it looks like the cope of the West.
- Prothesis:** the compartment on the left of the bema where the preparation of the Eucharistic gifts takes place.
- Rhipidion:** a circular fan with a handle, used for driving away flies which might settle on the sacred Elements.
- Sakkos:** an Eastern Church liturgical vestment originally confined to Archbishops and Metropolitans; it probably dates from the 11th century; similar in form to the dalmatic in the West.
- Sticharion:** liturgical tunic; alb in the West.
- Templon:** low screen of marble or wood separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church, used before the development of the *iconostasis* in the late fifteenth century.
- Theotokos:** Mother of God.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Abbreviations

AB: Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, Λευκωσία (Nicosia).

CahArch: Cahiers Archéologiques, Paris.

CIEB: Congrès International des Études Byzantines.

ΔΧΑΕ: Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Ἀθήναι.

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers.

DOS: Dumbarton Oaks Studies.

JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1969 —).

JÖBG: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951-1968).

ΚΣ: Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί, Λευκωσία.

ΚρΧρ: Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ἡράκλειον.

ΠΠΑΚΣ: Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 1969), Λευκωσία, 1972.

RDAC: Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

### A. General

Ainalov, D. V., *The Hellenic Origins of Byzantine Art*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1961 (edition edited by Cyril Mango).

Banck, A., *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1966.

Beckwith, J., *The Art of Constantinople*, London 1961. — *Early Medieval Art*, London, 1964. — *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London, 1970.

Bettini, S., *Mosaici di San Marco*, Milano 1968.

Bihalji-Merin and others, *Byzantine Frescoes and Icons in Yugoslavia*, London, 1960.

Boase, T. S. R., *The Crusaders*, London, 1971.

Bryer, A. and Herrin, J., *Iconoclasm, Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham 1975*, Birmingham, 1977.

Buchthal, H., *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957.

Byron, R. and Talbot Rice D., *The Birth of Western Painting*, London, 1930.

*Byzantine Art, A European Art*, Ninth Exhibition held under the Auspices of the Council of Europe, Office of the Minister to the Prime Minister of the Greek Government, Department of Antiquities and Restoration, Athens, 1964.

Christopoulos G. A., and Bastias J. C., *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, Athens vol. I, 1974, vol. II, 1975.

Dalton, O. M., *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911. — *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925.

Διμασκηνοῦ τοῦ Ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως, *Θησαυρός*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971.  
Δημητροκάλλη Γ., «Οἱ Σταυροειδεῖς Ἐγγεγραμμένοι Ναοὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ κάτω Ἰταλίας», *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, τόμ. ΛΕΤ', Ἀθήναι, 1968.

Demus, O., *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1947.— *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949. — *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York, 1970.

Diehl, Ch., *La Peinture Byzantine*, Paris, 1933.

Diez, E., Demus, O., *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece, Hosios Lucas and Daphni*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931.

Der Nersessian, S., *L'illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen Age. Londres, Add. 19352*, Paris, 1970.

Δρανδάκη, Ν. Β., «Ὁ εἰς Ἀρτόν Ρεθύμνης Ναΐσκος τοῦ ἁγ. Γεωργίου», *ΚρΧρ*, ΙΑ' 1957. — «Ἐξ Εἰκόνες τοῦ Θεοδώρου Πουλᾶκη», *Θησαυρίσματα*, 13, Βενετία, 1976. — «Ἡ Ρεθυμνία Εἰκὼν Παναγίας Πάθους», *ΚρΧρ*, Ε', 1951.

Dujčev, I., Djourova, A. D., *Slavonic Manuscripts from the British Museum and Library*, London, British Library, 1977-8 (Exhibition catalogue).

Djuric, V. J., «La Peinture Murale Byzantine XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles», *Rapports, XV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Athènes, 1976.

Franzoi, U., *Armoury of the Doges Palace in Venice*, Venice, 1966.

Grabar, A., *Byzantine Painting*, Geneva, 1953. — *Byzantium, Byzantine Art in the Middle Ages*, London, 1966. — *Byzantium, From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, London, 1966. — *Christian Iconography*, New York, 1968.

Χατζηδάκη, Μ., «Ἡ Κρητικὴ Ζωγραφικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἰταλικὴ Χαλκογραφία», *ΚρΧρ*, Α', 1, 1947. — «Ὁ

- Ζωγράφος Θεοφάνης Στρελίτζας Τούπικλην Μπάθας», *Νέα Έστία*, τεύχος Χριστουγέννων, 'Αθήναι, 1963. — «Τοιχογραφίες στη Μονή τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνας στό Σινᾶ», *ΔΧΑΕ*, ΣΤ', 1972. — «Περὶ τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά Νεώτερα», *Ἑλληνικά*, 25, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1972. — «Precisions sur le Fondateur de Saint Luc», *CahArch*, XXII, 1972. — «Classicisme et Tendances au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> CIEB* (Bucarest 1971), Bucarest, 1974. — «Ψηφιδωτὴ εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ στὴ Λαύρα», *ΔΧΑΕ*, Ζ', 'Αθήναι, 1974. — *Mystras*, Athens, 1981.
- Κατζηνικολάου-Μαραβᾶ, Α., Ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας, 'Αθήναι, 1953. — «Εὐλόγια τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμα», *ΔΧΑΕ*, Β' (1960), 'Αθήναι, 1961.
- Hetherington, P., *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna*, London, 1974.
- Houston, M. G., *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*, London 1965.
- James, M. R., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1945.
- Καλοκῆρη, Κ., Ἄθως, 'Αθήναι, 1963. — *Τὸ Ἄστρον τῆς Βηθλεὲμ εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Τέχνην*, *The star of Bethlehem in Byzantine Art*, Thessaloniki, 1969. — *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν καὶ Βυζαντινὴν Ἀρχαιολογίαν*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1970. — *Βυζαντιναὶ Ἐκκλησῖαι τῆς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1973. — *The Byzantine Wall-paintings of Crete*, New York, 1973. — Ἡ Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν εἰκονογραφίαν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς Δύσεως, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1972.
- Karger, M., *Nougorod, Architectural Monuments 11-17th centuries*, Leningrad, 1975.
- Kiornakov, D., *Clement (St. Bogorodica Peribleptos)* Skopje, 1961.
- Kitzinger, E., *Byzantine Art in the Making*, London, 1977.
- Lafontaine-Dosogne, J., *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire Byzantin et en Occident*, Bruxelles, 1964.
- Lazarev, V., *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*, London, 1966.
- Mann, Sir James, revised by Dufty, A. R., *An Outline of Arms and Armoury in England*, London, 1970.
- Matt, L. von, *The Councils*, London, 1961.
- McNabb, Fr. V., *The Akathistos Hymn*, Oxford, 1947.
- Mango, C., Hawkins, J. W. E., «The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul, the Church Fathers in the north Tympanum», *DOP*, 26, 1972.
- Mouriki, Doula, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas Platsa in the Mani*, Athens 1975. — The Formative Role of Byzantine Art on the Artistic style of the Cultural Neighbors of Byzantium. Reflections of Constantinopolitan style in Georgian Monumental Painting", *Rapports, XVI<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Wien, 1981.
- Miljković-Pepok, P., «Une Eglise du village Velmei de la region d'Ohrid, Inconnue dans la literature Scientifique», offprint (undated), from the «Collective studies of the Archaeological Museum», Skopje.
- Obolensky, D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453*, London, 1971.
- Ὁρλάνδου, Α. Κ., *Ἡ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ Βυζαντιναὶ Τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου*, 'Αθήναι, 1970. — *Ἡ Παρηγορητισσα τῆς Ἄρτης*, 'Αθήναι, 1963.
- Παπαδοπούλου-Κεραμέως, Α., *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης*, Περτρούπολις, 1909.
- Πατριεῦλλη, Χ., καὶ ἄλλων, *Μονὴ Σταυρονικήτα*, 'Αθήναι, 1974.
- Πελεκανίδη, Στ., *Καστοριά, I*, Βυζαντιναὶ Τοιχογραφίαι, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953. — *Καλλιέργεια Ὁλης Θετταλίας Ἀριστος Ζωγράφος* 'Αθήναι, 1973.
- Petrović, S., «Painting in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from the middle of the XVth until the end of the XVIIth centuries», *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, Sofia, 1970. — *Wall-painting on the Territory of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557-1614)*, Novi Sad, 1965.
- Procopiou, A., *The Macedonian Question in Byzantine Painting*, Athens, 1962.
- Restle, M., *Byzantine Wall-painting in Asia Minor*, vols. I-III, Recklinghausen, Germany, 1967.
- Runciman, Sir Stephen, *Byzantine Style and Civilization*, Great Britain, 1975.
- Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, London, 1971.
- Schug-Wille, Ch., *Art of the Byzantine World*, New York, 1969.
- Στίκα, Γ. Ε., *Τὸ Οἰκοδομικὸν Χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος*, 'Αθήναι, 1970. — *Ὁ Κτίτωρ τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά*, 'Αθήναι, 1974-5.
- Σωτηρίου, Γ. Α., *Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ Τέχνῃ*, 'Αθήναι, 1914. — *Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*, Α', 'Αθήναι, 1942. — *Οἱ Εἰκονογραφικοὶ Κύκλοι τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Ναοῦ*, 'Αθήναι, 1955. — «Ἡ Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Εἰκονογραφία, Α', Ἡ Εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ», *Θεολογία*, ΚΣΤ', Α', 'Αθήναι, 1955, Β', «Ἡ Εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου», ἐν. ἄ. ΚΖ', Α', 1956.
- Σωτηρίου, Γ. Α. καὶ Μ., *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, 'Αθήναι, 1956.
- Talbot Rice, D., *The Art of Byzantium*, London, 1959. — *Art of the Byzantine Era*, London, 1963. — *Byzantine Painting, the Last Phase*, London, 1968. — *The Appreciation of Byzantine Art*, London, 1972.

- Thierry, N. et M., "Ayvali Kilise ou pigeonnier de Gülli Dere église inédite de Cappadoce", *CahArch*, XV, 1965. — *Nouvelles Eglises de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1963.
- Tristram, E. W., *English Medieval Wall Paintings*, Oxford, 1944.
- Underwood, P. A., First to Fourth "Preliminary Reports on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul, by the Byzantine Institute", *DOP*, 10-13 (1952-1958).
- Walter, Ch., *L'Iconographie des Conciles dans la Tradition Byzantine*, Paris, 1970.
- Weitzmann, K., *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1951. — "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai", *The Art Bulletin*, XLV, 3, America, 1963. — "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom", *DOP*, 20, 1966. — *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago, 1971. — *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Icons*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976.
- Wellesz, E., *The Vienna Genesis*, London 1960.
- Winfield, D. C., "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall-painting Methods", *DOP*, 22, 1968.
- Ξυγγοπούλου, Α., *Ἡ ψηφιδωτῆ Διακόσμηση τοῦ Ναοῦ τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953. — *Μανουὴλ Πανσέληνος*, Ἀθήναι, 1956. — *Σχεδιάσμα Ἱστορίας τῆς Θρησκευτικῆς Ζωγραφικῆς μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωσιν*, Ἀθήναι, 1957. — *Οἱ Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου Ὁρφانوῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*, Ἀθήναι, 1964. — *Αἱ Τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Καθολικοῦ Μονῆς Προδρόμου παρά τὰς Σέρρας*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1979.
- Yamshchikov, S., *Pscov, Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 12th-17th centuries*, Leningrad, 1978.
- Yeseyeva, L. M., Kochetkov, I. A. and Sergejev, V. N., *Early Tver Painting*, Moskow, 1974.

### B. On Cyprus

(A few outdated works have been eliminated; they can be found mentioned in the works cited).

- Alastos, D., *Cyprus in History*, London, 1955.
- Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, Nicosia.
- Bardswell, Monica, "The Byzantine Painting in a water cistern, Salamis, Cyprus", *The Antiquities Journal*, XIX, 1939.
- Bakalova, Elka, "Cyriot Saints in Medieval Bulgarian Painting", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β'.
- Beckwith, J., "Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", Review in *Apollo Magazine*, Nov. 1967.
- Boyd, Susan, "The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and its wall-paintings", *DOP*, 28, 1974.
- Buckler, W. H., "Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 53, 1933.
- Buckler, W. H. and G. G., "Dated Wall-paintings in Cyprus", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, VII (1939-44), New York.
- Daszewski, W. A., *Nea Paphos II, La Mosaïque de Thésée*, Warszawa, 1977.
- Delvoye, Ch., "La place de Chypre dans l'architecture Paléochrétienne de la Méditerranée", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β'. — "A et J. Stylianou, Παναγία Φορβιώτισσα Ἀσίνου—Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou, Nicosie 1973", a Review in *Byzantion*, XLVI (1976) 1977. — "Chypre. Mosaïques et Fresques Byzantines, Préface de A. H. S. Megaw. Introduction d'Andreas Stylianou. Publié par la New York Graphic Society en accord avec l'UNESCO, 1963". Review in *Byzantion*, XXXIV, Bruxelles, 1964. — "Andreas Stylianou et Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", Review in *Byzantion*, XXXIV, 1964. — *L'Art Paléochrétien de Chypre*, *Rapports XV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Athènes, 1976.
- Caridis, M., "La peinture Cyprïote de la fin du XV-début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et sa place dans les tendances générales de la peinture Orthodoxe après la chute de Constantinople", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β'.
- Gibraltar, Bishop of, Seymer, V., Buckler, W. H. and Mrs., "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its frescoes", *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII, 1934.
- Grabar, A., "Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", a review in *CahArch*, XV, 1965.
- Grigoriadou, Hélène, "Affinités iconographiques de décors peints en Chypre et en Grèce au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β'.
- Grunsven-Eygenraam, Mariette van, "Heraclius and the David Plates", *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, XLVIII, Amsterdam, 1973.
- Gunnis, R., *Historic Cyprus*, London, 1936.
- Hackett, J. A. *History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901 (also translated into Greek and augmented by Papaioannou, Ch. I., vols. I, Athens, 1923, II and III, Piraeus 1927 and 1932).

- Hadermann-Misguishm Lydie, "Fresques de Chypre et de Macedoine dans la seconde moitié du XII siècle". *ΙΙΙΙΑΚΣ*, Β'.
- Hatfield Young, Susan, "The Iconography and date of the Wall Paintings at Ayia Solomoni, Paphos, Cyprus, Byzantion, XLVIII, 1978.
- Hill, Sir George, *A. History of Cyprus*, vols. I, Cambridge, 1940. II and III, 1948, and IV, 1952.
- Hawkins, E. J. W., "Andreas Stylianou, Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", a review in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXIX, 1966.
- Indianos, A. C., Thomson, G. H., "Wall-paintings of St. Neophytos Monastery", ΚΣ, Γ', 1940.
- Jeffery, G., "Byzantine Churches in Cyprus", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, XXVIII (1915-6).
- Κιριμίτζης, Π., «Περὶ τὴν Ἱστορίαν τοῦ Καθεδρικοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου», *Κυπριακὰ Γράμματα*, Δ' Λευκωσία, 1939.
- Kent, J. P. C., Painter, K. S., editors, *Wealth of the Roman World AD 300-700*, British Museum 1977 (Exhibition catalogue).
- Μακαρίου, Γ', Μακαριωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου, *Κύπρος ἡ ἁγία Νῆσος*, Ἀθήναι, 1968.
- Mango, C., Hawkins, E. J. W., "Report on the Field work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-3", *DOP*, 18 (including "St. Chrysostom, Koutsovendis, Cyprus". — "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings", *DOP*, 20, 1966.
- Megaw, A. H. S., "Early Byzantine Monuments in Cyprus in the light of recent Discoveries", *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (München 1958), München 1960. — *Cyprus: Mosaics and Frescoes*, "Preface", UNESCO, New York Graphic Society, 1963. — "Twelfth-century Frescoes in Cyprus", *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> CIEB* (Ochride 1961), vol. III, Beograd, 1964. — "Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes", *JÖB*, 21, Wien 1972. — "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration of Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?", *DOP*, 28, 1974. — "Interior decoration in Early Christian Cyprus", *Rapports, XV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Athènes, 1976.
- Megaw, A. H. S., Hawkins, E. J. W., "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and its Frescoes, *DOP*, 16, 1963. — "A fragmentary Mosaic of the Orant Virgin in Cyprus", *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, (Bucarest 1971), vol. III, Bucarest, 1976. — *The Church of Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrakomi in Cyprus, its Mosaics and Frescoes*, *DOS*, 14, 1977.
- Musicescu, M. A., "Andreas Stylianou, Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", a review in *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* III (i-2) 1965.
- Παπαγεωργίου, Α., «Ἡ Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία καὶ Τέχνη ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὸ 1963», *AB*, 1964. — Ὡς ἀνωτέρω «κατὰ τὸ 1964», *AB* 1965. — Ὡς ἀνωτέρω «κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1965-6» *AB*, 1967. — *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus*, Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, 1965. — «Εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ Ναῷ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀρακοῦ», *ΚΣ*, 32, 1968. — *Icons of Cyprus*, Geneva, 1969. — «Ἰδιόζουσαι Βυζαντιναὶ Τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ XIII αἰῶνος ἐν Κύπρῳ», *ΙΙΙΑΚΣ*, Β'. — «Κύπριοι Ζωγράφοι τοῦ 15ου καὶ 16ου αἰῶνα», *RDAC*, 1974. — «Κύπριοι Ζωγράφοι Φορητῶν Εἰκόνων τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα», *RDAC*, 1975. — «Οἱ Ξυλόστεγοι Ναοὶ τῆς Κύπρου», *AB*, 1975. — "Recently Discovered Wall-paintings in 10th-11th century churches of Cyprus", *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> CIEB* (Bucarest 1971), III, Bucarest 1976. — "The Early Christian Architecture of Cyprus", *Rapports, XV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Athens, 1976.
- Πασχαλίδου, Ἀγγελικὴ, «Τύποι καὶ Συνθέσεις ἀπὸ Κυπριακῆς Τοιχογραφίας τοῦ 15ου καὶ 16ου αἰῶνα», *ΚΣ*, 12, 1949.
- Rouse, E. C., "Andreas Stylianou, Judith A. Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus", review in *The Archaeological Journal*, CXXII (1965), 1966.
- Sacropoulo, Marina, "La Fresque Chrétienne la plus Ancienne de Chypre", *CahArch*, XIII, 1962. — *Asinou en 1106, et sa contribution à l'Iconographie*, Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 2, Bruxelles, 1966. — *La Theotokos a la Mandorle de Lythrakomi*, Paris, 1975.
- Seltam, A., "The Monagri Hoard", *DOP*, 28, 1974.
- Σπυριδάκι, Κ., «Συμπληρωματικὰ εἰς τὸν Ζωγράφον Ἰωάννην Κορνάρου τὸν Κρητᾶ», *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, 1971, Γ' Ἀθήναι 1975.
- Stylianou, A., «Αἱ Τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος», *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Θεσσαλονίκης 1953*, Ἀθήναι, 1954. — *Αἱ περιηγήσεις τοῦ Ρώσου Μοναχοῦ Βασιλείου Γρηγόροβιτς Βάρσκυ-Πλάκα-Ἄλποβ, ἄλλως Βασιλείου Μοσκοβορρόσου Κιεβοπολίτου, ἐν Κύπρῳ*, *ΚΣ*, 11, 1957. — "An Italo-Byzantine series of Wall-paintings in the Church of St. John Lampadistis, Kalopanayiotis, Cyprus", *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses München 1958*, München, 1960. — *Cyprus: Mosaics and Frescoes*, "Introduction", UNESCO, New York Graphic Society, 1963. — "Some Wall-paintings of the second half of the 15th century in Cyprus", *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, (Ochride,

- 1961), Vol. III Beograd, 1964. — «Μία Τοιχογραφία τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ ΙΑ΄ αἰῶνος εἰς τόν Ναόν τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης (Κακοπετριά, Κύπρος)», *ΔΧΑΕ*, Δ΄ (1964-5), 1966. — "Demus, Otto, Byzantine Art and the West, New York Univ. Press 1970", a review in *ΚΣ*, ΔΔ΄ 1970. — "The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt and her Death in the Painted Churches of Cyprus", *Acted du XIVe CIEB*, (Bucarest 1971), Bucarest, 1976. — "A Cross inside a Creascent on the shield of St. George, Church of Asinou, Cyprus", *Actes du XVe CIEB*, (Athènes 1976). *ΚΣ*, 46, 1982.
- Stylianou, A., Editor of, *Καραβάς*-Karavas, Nicosia 1969. (The history of ancient Lapithos-Lambousa, and modern Karavas, with contributions by several authors).
- Stylianou, A. and Stylianou Judith, «Ο Ναός τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης παρά τήν Κακοπετριά», Ἐργαστήριον Μουσείου Βυζαντινῆς Τέχνης», *ΚΣ*, 10, 1948. — «Παναγία Φορβιώτισσα, *ΚΣ*, 1F΄, 1952. — «Ο Ναός τῆς Παναγίας Θεοτόκου παρά τήν Κακοπετριά», *ΚΣ*, 16, 1953. — «Ἡ Μονή Ποδύθου παρά τήν Γαλάταν», *ΚΣ*, 18, 1955. — «Τό Μετόχιον τοῦ Σίντη τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κόκκου», *ΚΣ*, 19, 1956. — "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Suppliants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus", *JÖBG*, IX, 1960. — "Some Problems Concerning the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos and its Wall-paintings", *ΚΣ.*, 26, 1962. — *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, England and Nicosia, 1964. — "The Painted Chapel of the Holy Cross, Agia Irene, Troodos range of Mountains", *ΚΣ*, 29, 1965. — "Two Donor-portraits and two Dedicatory Inscriptions concerning Bishop Macarios of Kition (1737-1776)" *ΚΣ*, 31, 1967. — *Οἱ Θεσαυροί τῆς Λαμπούσης — The Treasures of Lambousa* (reprinted from *Karavas*), Nicosia, 1969. — *Ἐν τούτῳ Νίκα — By this Conquer — In Hoc Vincas*, Publications of *ΚΣ*, No. 4, 1971. — "The Historic Church of St. George of Arpera", *ΚΣ*, 36, 1972. — *Ἀσίνου - Asinou*, Nicosia 1973. — "The Painted Church of the Archangel Michael, Kholi, Paphos", *ΚΣ*, 38-39, 1975. — "The Church of Panagia Skouriotissa", *ΚΣ*, 40, 1976. — "A Re-examination of the Dates concerning the Painted Churches of St. Mamas, Louvaras, and the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, Platanistasa, Cyprus", *JÖB*, 25, 1976. — "St. Hilarion the Great in Paphos, Cyprus", *ΚΣ*, 41, 1977.
- Σωτηρίου, Γ. Α., *Τά Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, Ἀθήναι, 1935. — «Ο Ναός καί ὁ Τάφος τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα παρά τήν Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου», *ΚΣ*, 1, 1937. — «Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἀρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου», *Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, Ἀθήναι, 1953-4.
- Σωτηρίου, Μαρία, «Βυζαντινά Τοιχογραφία Μοναστικῆς Τέχνης τῆς Κύπρου», *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β΄.
- Talbot Rice, D., Gunnis R., Talbot Rice, Tamara, *The Icons of Cyprus*, London, 1937.
- Taylor, Joan du Plat, "A Water Cistern with Byzantine Paintings, Salamis, Cyprus". *The Antiquaries Journal*, XIII, 1933.
- Τωμαδάκης, Ν., «Ἰωάννης Κορνάρος Κρής ζωγράφος (1745-1796)», *ΚρΧρ*, Β΄, 1948.
- Walter, Chr., "The series of frescoes of Councils on the north wall of Saint Sozomenus, Galata", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β΄.
- Wander, St. H., "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 8, 1973. — "The Cyprus Plates and the Chronicle of Fredegar", *DOP*, 29, 1975.
- Weitzmann, K., "Prolegomena to a study of the Cyprus Plates", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 1971. — "A group of early twelfth-century Sinai Icons attributed to Cyprus", *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, Edinburgh, 1975.
- Winfield, D. C., *Asinou* (a guide), *Antiquities Department* of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicosia, 1969. — "The Church of Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera: First Preliminary Report, 1968", *DOP*, 23 and 24. Appendix by Cyril Mango. — "Reports on work at Monagri, Lagoudera and Hagios Neophytos, Cyprus, 1969-70", *DOP*, 25, 1971. — "Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University), work at Lagoudera and Monagri, 1970", *RDAC*, 1971. — "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou, Byzantine Painters at Work", *ΠΠΔΚΣ*, Β΄. — *Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera, a Guide*, Nicosia, undated.
- Winfield D. C., Hawkins, E. J. W., "The Church of our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus. A Report on the seasons of 1965 and 1966", *DOP*, 21, 1968.

## XIV. PELENDRI

**19. The Church of the Holy Cross (pp. 223-232): Additions.**

Since this book was published, extensive cleaning and conservation of the wall-paintings of this church have been carried out by the Department of Antiquities with the financial support of the A.G. Leventis Foundation.

Signs of an earlier layer of paintings in the apse of the church (p. 226-7) led the restorers to the removal of the fourteenth-century paintings of the Virgin Mary with the attending Archangels in the conch and the eight officiating prelates below them with rewarding results. In their place a *Deesis* was discovered in the conch and six officiating prelates below, the latter with a chalice on an altar-table between them. Furthermore, a dedicatory inscription was discovered over the small ventilator in the centre of the apse giving valuable information:

“The greatly honoured church of the Holy and worshipful Cross was renewed (restored) and painted through the donation and the desire of the priest George and of the rest of the local priests; and [of the people?] of the village of Peletrion (sic). And it was painted by the hand of me the sinful and humble [his name ending in] -ou the monk. Pray for them through the Lord, may God forgive their sins, amen. In the year 6686 [from Adam].” This year from Adam corresponds to 1178 A.D.

The literary style of the inscription and its construction with more than usual spelling mistakes, reflect the simplicity of the artist, an aged man, judging by his unsteady hand and the several omissions of letters which were squeezed in between the lines as corrections (fig. 302).

As the apse and small sections of the walls on either side appear to be the only surviving parts of the pre-1178 church, we are led to the conclusion that the thirteenth-century main church bearing the fourteenth-century paintings (as they are now accepted) must belong to a second reconstruction after another disaster.

The *Deesis* discovered in the conch of the apse is badly damaged, presumably as a result of the collapse of the previous building as well as from the knocks of the fourteenth-century artist to provide grips for the plastering. The large bust of Christ is flanked by the squat figures of the Virgin Mary (fig. 303) and St. John the Baptist, the latter being the best preserved of the whole composition. The popular “monastic” style of the composition reflects that of the dedicatory inscription.

There is a red background-sky which shifts back the date of appearance of this colour in this position in the monumental art of Cyprus by fourteen years, comparing it with that of Christ Pantocrator in the dome of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera (1192). In the thirteenth century it spreads into other subjects here and abroad including the West. The Crusading wars made it difficult for the artists to obtain the expensive blue colours from the East. We believe that the red colour in Cyprus was derived from the roots of the plant

*alizarin* which was cultivated here and exported to other countries. In the district of Paphos, roots of the surviving plants (in Monastic lands and elsewhere), are still being used by some people to dye their Easter eggs.

The subject of the *Deesis* discovered in this church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri is the earliest surviving specimen in the island. Remnants of the subject existed in the church of Panagia Apsinthiotissa of 1100, in the Kyrenia range of mountains. The sixteenth-century *Deesis* in the apse of the church of the Holy Cross at Agia Irene remains the only fully preserved painting of the theme in Cyprus (see entry X/15).

The theme is common in the apses of the cave-chapels and churches of the tenth-eleventh centuries in Cappadocia with which our newly discovered specimen is related. It also appears to be common in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century churches in Crete, especially the cemetery chapels. The subject could not be absent from the churches of the Metropolis. Its representation in the *Parekklesion* of St. Mary Pammakaristos has been described as of funerary function. The epithet of Christ as "Hyperagathos" (most benevolent) is found in the prayers of the Funeral Service.<sup>1</sup>

In the above context, the several votive figures of deceased persons in our church of the Holy Cross match the conception of the iconography of the original church of the twelfth century which the decorators of the fourteenth century did not understand and restored the Virgin Mary to her traditional place in the apse between the archangels Michael and Gabriel.

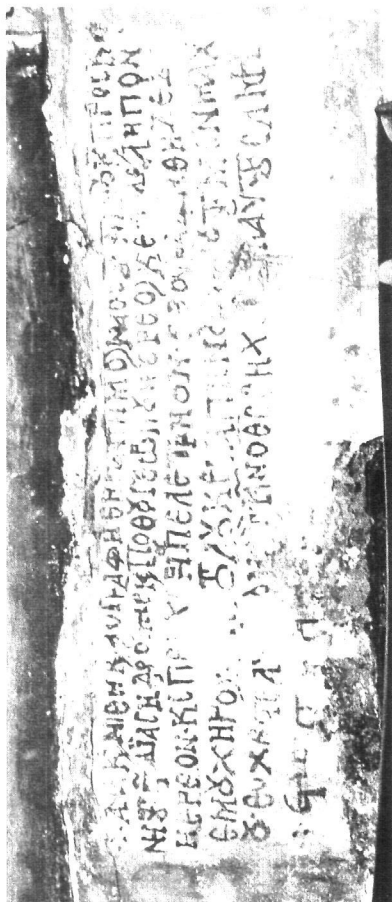
The officiating prelates below the *Deesis* are in a better state of preservation and show the "monastic" style of this discovery at its best. They are Cyril of Alexandria, Nicholas, Basil (fig. 304), Chrysostom, Epiphanius and Spyridon (?) converging in groups of three towards the centre where there is a large square Chalice-cup on a high base, its contents not being clear from what has survived. (See XXVI/38, p. 349).

A figure of St. Stephen, the first martyr, discovered on the left of the apse (spectator), is also of this early date. The figure of St. Panteleon discovered on the right of the apse appears to be a thirteenth-century painting. This much about the new discoveries at the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri.

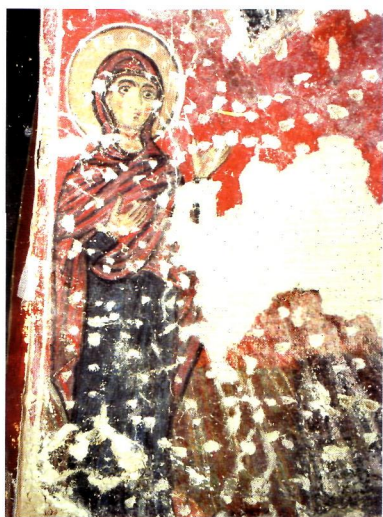
We note that the fourteenth-century paintings removed from the apse have been installed in a specially built apse in the south aisle.

1. Cyril Mango, Doula Mouriki, Hans Belting. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fetiye Camii) at Istanbul*, DOS, XV, Washington, 1978, Mouriki, p. 70.





302. Dedicatory inscription recording the restoration and decoration of the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, in 1178.



303. *Virgin Mary, Deesis, wall-painting, 1178, church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*



304. *Prelates Cyril of Alexandria, Nicholas and Basil, wall-painting 1178, church of the Holy Cross, Pelendri.*

Although several churches with considerable remains of wall-paintings have recently been cleaned and conserved by the Department of Antiquities, here we shall only add the cave-hermitage of St. Sozomenus at Potamia, for its character and historical value within the limits of this book.<sup>1</sup>

The Medieval village of Potamia lies about ten kms to the south-east of Nicosia and is well known in history for its royal castle erected by the Lusignan King Peter II (1369-1382). It was destroyed by the Saracens in 1426.

**62. The Cave-Hermitage of St. Sozomenus** is not far from the village, to the north-west. That this early Byzantine hermitage was revived as a chapel in the fourteenth century not far from the royal castle, reflects some aspects of the social structure of the period.

Our Medieval Chronicler Leontios Makhairas was the first to mention the hermit "Agios Sozomenos at Potamia" as one of three hundred refugees who came to the island "when the Saracens seized the Land of Promise and the poor Christians who had escaped departed and went wherever they found a place of refuge... And a company who were three hundred persons came to the famous land of Cyprus... and dug into the earth and lived there, and offered their prayers to God. And they died in the said island, and many of them were made manifest... by reason of the admirable miracles. And of these saints I have seen and heard of many burial places"...<sup>2</sup>

Our eighteenth-century Historian Kyprianos adds that the cave-hermitage of "Agios Sozomenos" is still shown at Potamia<sup>3</sup>, inspite of the fact that a new village bearing the name of the Saint appears to have been developed in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries between Potamia and the cave-hermitage. The Venetian map of Matheo Pagano, 1538, and those who copy him mark Potamia but not St. Sozomenus. On the other hand the Venetian map of Giacomo Franco, ca. 1570, marks them both: "S. Sosomeno" and "Potamia".<sup>4</sup>

The cave-hermitage was dug into the eastern face of a low plateau (fig. 305). Archeological indications prove that the cave was used as a chapel with wall-paintings at least as early as the tenth century. The beginning of the English occupation found the hermitage in the hands of a Turkish shepherd who used it as a sheepfold. In 1912, the Greeks of the village of St. Sozomenus claimed the cave-chapel back after a long appeal through the courts. They built a wall with a door across the gaping entrance to the cave and re-established it to its original use as a chapel.<sup>5</sup> During the recent intercommunal fighting the village of St. Sozomenus was destroyed and abandoned.

The Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the Archbishopric finally stepped in and preserved what little remains of the decoration of this historic hermitage.

A considerable number of wall-paintings survive in the northern section of the cave over and around a very large tomb and a holy well at a lower level of

that of the main floor. A thick layer of lime-deposits and soot from various sources including shepherds' fires had to be removed to reach the paintings with rewarding results, although most of the figures bear malicious destruction of the faces, including the gouging of the eyes. Apparently, the thick lime-deposits saved some of the eyes!

Regretfully no dedicatory inscription has been found. In some places two and three superimposed layers of plaster with painting have been noticed. A group of four ascetics and part of the halo of a fifth one were released from under later representations of the same (or similar) subjects in bad condition on the north wall above the tomb and are now in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishopric in Nicosia with a label indicating a tenth century date (provided by the ex-Director of the Department of Antiquities, Mr. A. Papageorgiou). Three names are readable: "Sozomenos, Galaktion and Aristion" (second, third and fifth). The suggested date indicates that "Sozomenos" was already accepted as a monastic Saint in the tenth century, which discards the later stories that the three hundred refugees who came to Cyprus to live an ascetic life were German mercenaries of the Crusading period leading to the unfounded title "Saints-Allemands".<sup>6</sup>

A special Memorial Holy Service for the Saint was published over half a century ago from an eighteenth-century MS (1780) found in the possession of an old priest of the village. The section containing the life of the Saint was missing.<sup>7</sup>

The same group of ascetics appear in a robust fourteenth century style and in a better state of preservation on the small ceiling over the tomb: "Therapon" (also one of the 300), "Aristion" (one of the 72 Disciples of Christ), "Galaktion" (there are two of them in the *Synaxaria*), "Sozomenos" (fig. 305B) and "Iason" (Jason, also local). In spite of centuries of maltreatment by nature and human actions they look impressive evoking attention. Their secluded position helped their survival. Additionally, the figure of St. Paul of Thebes (ancient capital of upper Egypt - present Luxor) presents us with the more idealistic version of the Palaeologue style (fig. 305C). The lime-deposits saved his face. He is on the west wall before the cut into the tomb. He displays a long beard and is dressed in a chiton woven from palm-leaves. He was one of the earliest anchorites to have retired into a *cara* and this is the first time we meet him in the painted churches of Cyprus we have recorded so far.

Remnants of a rustic cycle of paintings depicting the life and miracles of "Agios Sozomenos" - on the north-west section of the curved ceiling - stress the revival of this cave-chapel in the fourteenth century. The popular character of these scenes is reflected in the construction of the Greek inscriptions. We shall translate them as near as possible: "Agios Sozomenos curing the people suffering from fever", the same "curing the sick", "curing the sick woman lying by his feet", he "straightens the hunchback bent as far as the ground". In all these he is shown as a grown up man. But there is one scene in which he is shown as a grown up man with white hair and beard and a halo. There is also a scene in which he is shown as a young man in a strange white apparel with extremely wide sleeves and a turban leaving only his face to show (fig. 305A). He has no halo. He is standing before the enthroned Bishop of Kition with whom he is having a discussion, as the remnants of the accompanying



305. View of the early Byzantine cave-hermitage of St. Sozomenus, Potamia. In the sky representations of three fourteenth - century wall-paintings from the interior of the cave: Monk Sozomenus talking to the Bishop of Kition (A), St. Sozomenus (B), and St. Paul of Thebes (C). Painting by A. Stylianos.

inscription imply. The latter is attended by a young deacon. Strangely they are both haloed. In the background, on the right, there is a domed basilica inside a walled city.

This unusual scene implies that the cave-hermitage of St. Sozomenus was within the boundaries of the Bishopric of Kition which was abolished by the Latins in 1222 when they reduced the fourteen Greek Orthodox Bishoprics to four to make room for their own! The unusual apparel of the young saint reflects the tradition of the Christian refugees who came to Cyprus under the pressure of the Saracens, as recorded by Makhairas.

Remnants of three superimposed layers of painting of different dates survive at the east end of the wall overlapping the tomb. The topmost bears a section of the burial scene of the Saint, of a fourteenth century date.

Next to the above there is a niche for the *Prothesis* with a painting of Christ Emmanuel. Turning round we have an altar table cut out of the rock. This south-eastern section was arranged as a *bema*. Above the altar-table, against the east wall, we have four three-quarter length prelates in officiating movement converging in pairs, Chrysostom and Basil in *Polystavria phelonia* leading the way, followed by our Spyridon of Tremithus and Trifyllius of Ledra in plain *phelonia*. Above them, the Virgin Mary Orans (bust) takes her traditional place attended by the two archangels Michael and Gabriel swinging censers. (The faces of all this section are destroyed).

We have here a fourteenth-century revival with juxtaposed differentiated styles, contemporary variations emanating from different models, as we have met them in the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, with which they are contemporary (see entry XIV/19). The rustic character, the inscriptions and the architectural background relate to the cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary in that church and the robust figures of the five ascetics above the tomb remind us of the prophets in its dome.

The retreat of St. Hilarion the Great to a cave near Paphos in Cyprus in the fourth century must have made the island popular for cave-hermitages.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Bibliography to the new entry: Potamia, St. Sozomenus.**

1. For some of the other new discoveries, see V. Karageorghis, *The A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus*, Athens 1990. - Consult also the Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities.

2. R.M. Dawkins, Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, Oxford, 1932, par. 31-32.

3. Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός, *Ἱστορία χρονολογικὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου*, Ἐνετίησιν, ἐν Ἐπιτ. 1788, Ἐπανέκδοσις Λευκωσία 1935, σελ. 525.

4. A. Stylianou and J. A. Stylianou, *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus*, Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 1980, p.22, B5, No. 9 and p. 118-119, XIV, Nos 23a and 25, respectively.

5. Ἀ. Παπαγεωργίου, Σωζόμενου ἁγίου Ἀσκητήριου, Ἅγιος Σωζόμενος Ποταμίης, *Μεγάλη Κυπριακὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, τόμ. 13ος, Λευκωσία 1990.

6. Dawkins, *ibidem*, Vol. II, par. 31/1.

7. Ν. Κληρίδης "Ὁ ἅγ. Σωζόμενος, Προλεγόμενα καὶ κείμενον τῆς Ἀκολουθίας". *Κ.Σ.* τόμ. Β', σελ. 105-120.

8. A. Stylianou and J. A. Stylianou, "St. Hilarion the Great in Paphos, Cyprus", *ΚΣ.* 41, 1977.

## Selected new Bibliography

- Gabelic, S., "Representations of St. Mamas in wallpainting of Cyprus", *Zograph*, 15, Blegrade 1984. - "St. Kyriaki in Wallpainting of Cyprus" *Arcaeologia Cypria*, I. 1985. - "The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae, An Unusual example from Cyprus", *Zograph*, Belgrade 1989.
- Hatfield, Y.S. *Byzantine Painting in Cyprus During the early Lusignan Period*, Fascimile, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 1985.
- Mouriki, D., "The Wall-paintings of the church of Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus", *Österreichischen Akademie Der Missenschaften*, Wien 1984.
- Stylianou A. and J. "Prophet Zechariah 'The Sickie' R.D.A. 1984. — "Differentiated Magi in the Painted Churches of Cyprus", *Αρχαίος, Τιμητικός Τόμος. Στόν καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο, Άριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Γ'*. 1991. — "The Militarization of the Betrayal and its examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus", *Ευρόσυνον αφιέρωμα στόν Μανώλη Χατζηδάκη*, Άθήνα 1992. 'Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη τής Κύπρου κατά τήν εποχή τής Λατινοκρατίας 1192-1570", *Ίστορία τής Κύπρου, έκδιδόμενη υπό τήν Διεθνήσιν Θεόδωρου Παπαδόπουλου, τόμ. Δ'*, Μεσαιωνικών Βασιλείων, Ένετοκρατία, Μέρος Β' (ύπό Έκδοσιν) Ίδρυμα Μακαρίου Γ' Λευκωσία.
- "Velmans, T., «Quelques Programmes Iconographiques de Coupoles Chypríotes du XIIe au XVe siècle» *CahArch*, Picard 1984.
- Weyl, C., Annemarie ana Morroco, L., *A Byzantine Materpiece Recorded, The Thirteenth-century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus*, Austin 1991.

## Provenance of the Colour Illustrations

Out of the three hundred and eight (308) illustrations, one hundred and sixty- one (161) are now in colour including the twenty-five (25) from the first edition. In this context we have one hundred and thirty-six (136) new colour illustrations replacing the same black and white subjects of the first edition.

The colour transparencies for figs. 18a-21, 23, 24, 26, 30, 58-60, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70, 83, 84, 87, 89-92, 94-98, 129-132, 177, 179, 183, 184, 190, 196, 198, 205 were provided by the A.G. Leventis Foundation Nicosia (photo Xenophon). The transparencies for 51, 180, 196, 211-216, 218, 222-225, 236, 245, 250, 280, 303-305 were provided by the same Foundation (Photo Iacovou, Paphos), as also for figs. 53, 54, 117, 120 (Antonis Pharmakas Nicosia).

The transparencies for figs. 106, 109, 111-119, 121-123, 197, 198, 200, 205 were provided by the Cyprus Museum (photo Xenophon).

Papacharalambos Kourris of Pedoulas provided the colour slides for figs. 181, 192-195, 199, 203 and 204. A. Papageorgiou provided a colour photo for fig. 262.

The remaining sixty-eight (68) colour illustrations were provided by the authors.

Fig. 87 was photographed by George Simonis who also readjusted the colours of several illustrations to comply as near as possible to the originals, for which we add our thanks here.

- Aaron, 202, 224, 298.  
 Abel, 65, 132.  
 Abgar V, King of Edessa, 174.  
 Abraham, 62, 96, 136, 237, 289, 311, 318, 320, 434, 481; — Hospitality of, 366; see also Entertainment.  
 Acheiropietos, church or monastery of, 28, 35.  
 Achilles, 20, 26, 119, 349.  
 Acre, 140, 202, 426.  
 Acropolis, 118.  
 Adam, 36, 65, 117, 132, 134, 136, 143, 167, 180, 311, 328, 336, 355, 480; — date from, 117, 134, 158, 331, 354, 425.  
 Adoration of the Magi, 32, 298; see also Magi.  
 Agamemnon, 20.  
 Agapi, St., 250, 254.  
 Agia Irene, 151.  
 Agia Marina, 157.  
 Agia Napa, 438.  
 Agia Phyla, 246.  
 Agiasma, 28, 188.  
 Agiasmati, 188; see also Holy Cross of.  
 Agioi Anargyroi, church of, 68, 180, 417.  
 Agios Ambrosios, 469.  
 Agios Constantinos, 270.  
 Agios Theodoros, 52.  
 Agony in the Garden, 96, 216, 235, 262, 273, 300, 364, 365, 421.  
 Aithalas, St., 183.  
 Akakios, donor, 219.  
 Akakius, St., 244.  
*Akathistos*, hymn to the V. M., 164, 235, 312-316, 370-377, 379-380, 381, 488.  
 Akepsimas, St., 183.  
 Akhelia, 407.  
 Akindinus, St., 183.  
*Akrites*, 253.  
 Alexander the Great, 19, 81, 83, 484.  
 Alexandria, 72, 119, 136, 244.  
 Alexius I Comnenus, Emperor, 18, 117, 124, 456.  
 Alexius, St., 59, 206, 216, 311, 379.  
 «All Hail», 364, 366, 412.  
 Allipius, St., see Alypius.  
 Alona, 186.  
 Alypius, St., 62, 72.  
 Amargeti, 404.  
 Amasgou, see Panagia.  
 Amathus, 17, 447.  
 Ambrosios, St., 66.  
 Ammochostos, 17; see also Famagusta.  
 Amoun Nitriote, St., 366.  
 Amphilocheus, St., 472.  
 Ananias, 175.  
 Ananias, St., 302.  
 Anastasia, donor, see Saramalina.  
 Anastasia, St., 81, 137, 138, 304, 328, 398, 407.  
 Anastasis, 26, 36, 65, 76, 81, 85, 88, 96, 99, 132, 143, 167, 180, 182, 196, 218, 227, 236, 242, 249, 251, 254, 262, 272, 290, 298, 301, 328, 336, 344, 354, 355, 364, 366, 391, 423, 426, 450, 458, 463; — church of, 364; see also Resurrection; and Descent of Christ into Hades.  
 Ancient of Days, 99, 127, 201, 254, 379; see also God.  
 Andrew, Apostle, St., 42, 47, 99, 152, 191, 211, 216, 236, 243, 273, 290, 310, 320, 405.  
 Andrew of Crete, St., 217.  
 Andronicus, St., 88, 96, 122, 184, 216, 219, 249, 254, 298, 328, 337, 366, 407, 413, 436; — church of, 321, 344; — monastery of, 493.  
 Anembodistus, St., 184.  
 Angel of Fire, 61, 311, 330.  
 Angeloktistos, see Panagia.  
 Anna, St., 71, 83, 119, 133, 136, 190, 228, 244, 254, 332, 388, 389, 395, 414, 484; — church of, 206; — Prayer of, 81, 103, 227, 309, 417, 488; — putting Mary to bed, 421; see also Joachim and Anna.  
 Anna Comnena, 456.  
 Anna, donor, 136.  
 Anna, prophetess, 127, 164, 190, 242, 272.  
 Annunciation, 47, 68, 71, 83-86, 95, 103, 110, 119, 126, 127, 133, 147, 152, 161, 179, 182, 184, 188, 217, 222, 228, 236, 254, 257, 273, 291, 298, 312, 325, 334, 339, 344, 361, 368, 370, 390, 405, 421, 422, 428, 431, 438, 458, 488, 493.  
 Anselm, St., chapel of, 34, 126.  
 Anthemius, Archbishop, 16.  
 Anthony, St., 71, 81, 86, 95, 122, 152, 184, 216, 230, 273, 290, 321, 366, 413, 470; — church of, 12, 35, 138, 433.  
 Antioch, 15, 16, 17, 26, 75, 224.  
 Antipas, St., 273.  
 Antiphonitis, see Christ.  
 Antonello da Messina, 345.  
 Aphendrika, churches of, 22.  
 Aphentico, church of, 374.  
 Aphrodite, 16, 382, 395.  
 Apollo, 16, 19, 26.  
 Apostles, 19, 42, 47, 58, 59, 61, 76, 79, 99, 110, 117, 121, 134, 155, 169, 170, 180, 190, 191, 194, 214, 235, 242, 244, 249, 262, 269, 320, 330, 361, 365, 366, 381, 385, 410, 413, 444, 481, 488; — church of, 178; see also Communion of; Disciples; Holy Apostles; and under individual names.  
 Apseudes, Theodore, 36, 354, 361, 368.  
 Arabs, 17, 43, 49, 171.  
 Arakiotissa, see Panagia.  
 Arcadius, St., 458, 472.  
 Archangel Gabriel, 66, 83, 127, 152, 161, 162, 182; 228, 312, 361, 368, 370, 458, 472, 488; see also next entry.



- Archangels Gabriel and Michael (or vice versa), 27, 32, 43, 49, 55, 58, 79, 86, 88, 93, 96, 99, 106, 133, 147, 150, 175, 178, 180, 183, 184, 217, 224, 236, 237, 244, 254, 288, 289, 291, 302, 311, 321, 325, 339, 344, 348, 361, 364, 377, 381, 405, 410, 417, 451, 472, 481, 486, 492; see also next entry and under Assembly.
- Archangel Michael, 62, 66, 71, 76, 86, 96, 135, 136, 171, 184, 206, 215, 222, 235, 244, 254, 273, 290, 298, 304, 328, 339, 348, 405, 421, 426, 432, 436, 438, 444, 470; — church of, 36, 39, 41, 86, 110, 180, 206, 238, 270, 291, 298, 331, 389, 390, 419, 426, 447; see also next entry.
- Archangel Michael — Panagia Theotokos, church of, 40, 85, 90, 98, 99, 106, 256, 262, 270, 272, 273, 290, 307, 377, 414, 426.
- Archbishopric, 54, 71, 75, 486, 496.
- Arena chapel, 320.
- Areopagus, 118.
- Arethas, St., 122.
- Argolis, 114.
- Ariadne, 22.
- Aristion, St., 512.
- Ariston, St., 243.
- Arius, 217.
- Armenia, 122.
- Arpera, St. George of, 440.
- Arsenius, St., 122, 216, 273, 366.
- Arsinoe, 17.
- Arta, 270.
- Artemis, 26.
- Artemius, St., 62, 122, 215, 253, 311.
- Ascension, 36, 55, 58, 71, 72, 79, 83, 84, 88, 96, 103, 106, 121, 146, 167, 180, 182, 184, 216, 224, 237, 242, 243, 249, 254, 273, 290, 296, 332, 339, 344, 361, 366, 417, 422, 431, 451, 472, 488; — church of, 202.
- Ashton-under-Lyne, 204.
- Asia Minor, 15, 16, 17, 188, 252, 353, 452, 467.
- Asine, 114; see also Asinou.
- Asinou, 114, 117; — church of, 74, 125, 126, 138, 141, 178, 179, 188, 231, 232, 242, 296, 426, 449, 458, 465, 481, 497; see also Panagia Asinou; and Panagia Phorbiotissa.
- Askas, 38, 289, 290.
- Assembly of the Archangels, 151.
- Assumption, 86, 88.
- Astrapas, Eutychios and Michael, painters, 37.
- Athanasia, St., 62, 88, 96, 219, 254, 298, 328, 337, 407, 413, 436, 493.
- Athanasius, St., 79, 88, 93, 106, 156, 175, 183, 239, 244, 289, 291, 339, 348, 377, 422, 472.
- Athanasius the Athonite, St., 273, 458.
- Athanasius Pentaschenitis, St., 88, 147, 239, 254, 273, 405, 500.
- Athens, 118, 252.
- Augustine, St., 136, 236, 237.
- Authentis, Leon, 158, 159, 167, 179.
- Authonius, St., 184.
- Auxentius, St., 132, 184.
- Auxibius, St., 71, 183, 325, 500.
- Avars, 312.
- Averkius, St., 270, 273.
- Avivus, St., 133, 183.
- Axenti, Symeon, 40, 84, 85, 90, 92, 106, 256, 261, 262, 272, 290.
- Babylon, 313, 372.
- Bachkovo, monastery of, 457.
- Bacchus, St., 55, 122, 216, 235.
- Balaam, prophet, 302, 481.
- Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 32.
- Baptism of Christ, 26, 32, 81, 86, 110, 127, 167, 182, 190, 215, 236, 242, 253, 272, 289, 335, 390, 417, 421, 422, 448, 470, 493.
- Barbara, St., 86, 95, 218, 243, 321, 328, 339, 344.
- Barlaam, St., 66, 147.
- Barnabas, St., 16, 66, 118, 175, 183, 184, 213, 217, 237, 294, 349, 421, 422, 484, 500; — church of, 22, 384; — relics of, 16, 499.
- Barnabas, monk, donor, 134.
- Barsky, Basil, 75, 98, 179, 236, 305, 306, 368, 456, 497.
- Bartholomew, St., 42, 47, 192, 211, 236, 243, 310, 320, 450.
- Basil, St., 42, 71, 74, 79, 83, 88, 93, 106, 118, 147, 152, 175, 183, 218, 227, 237, 244, 254, 273, 289, 291, 302, 304, 325, 339, 344, 348, 349, 377, 405, 421, 422, 448, 458, 472, 508, 514; — church of, 348.
- Basil I, Emperor, 17, 33.
- Basil II, Emperor, 219.
- Basil, Kinnamos, Bishop, 353.
- Basil, monk, 136.
- Basil, priest, Lawyer, 231; — Nengomia, 231.
- Bethany, 296, 298.
- Betraval, 86, 96, 110, 127, 194, 214, 216, 227, 236, 253, 262, 273, 300, 335, 339, 364, 365, 366, 391, 393, 431, 437.
- Bibi, monastery of, 499; see John Evangelist.
- Birth of Christ, 26, 32, 68, 81, 86, 95, 110, 127, 152, 164, 180, 184, 190, 215, 236, 241, 242, 253, 272, 298, 313, 325, 334, 390, 395, 417, 421, 438, 448, 470, 488, 499; see also Nativity.
- Birth of the Virgin Mary, 26, 40, 81, 83, 103, 107, 109, 119, 188, 189, 215, 227, 228, 332, 368, 388, 395, 417, 431, 482, 488.
- Blessing of the Virgin Mary, 228, 414, 417, 421, 431.
- Boiana, 37.
- Boyd, Susan, 241, 243.
- British Library, 167.
- British Museum, 28, 71.
- Brontochion, 270.
- Buckler, 126.
- Buffavento, castle, 18.
- Bulgaria, 37, 313, 457, 467.
- Burchard of Mount Sion, 301.
- Burial, 84, 86; see also Entombment.
- Burning Bush, 102, 103, 127, 201, 202, 217, 316, 484.
- Butumites, Manuel, 134.
- Byzantine cantors, 372, 376-7.
- Byzantines, 17, 18, 37, 444.
- Byzantium, 15, 17, 18, 19, 138, 159, 436; see also Constantinople.
- Caesarea, 252.
- Cain, 132.
- Cairo, 71.
- Calepio, 438.
- Calvary, 365.
- Cambridge, 126.
- Cana, miracle, 310.
- Canterbury Cathedral, 34, 126.

- Cappadocia, 94, 152, 252, 328, 361, 366, 452.  
 Cappella Palatina, 126.  
 Catherine, St., 86, 95; — church of, 47; — Royal chapel of, 109, 428.  
 Catherine Cornaro, 19.  
 Cennini, Cennino, 180.  
 Chalcedon, 47.  
 Chamades, Basil, donor, 331.  
 Chariton, St., 184.  
 Charlotte of Bourbon, 428.  
 Charlotte, Queen, 99.  
 Chatillon, Renaud de, 18.  
 Chelachio, 433; see Kellia.  
 Choirs of the Saints, 134, 235, 311, 413, 417, 476.  
 Christ, 159; *passim* and under titles of New Testament Scenes; — Almoner, 74, 133, 136; — Antiphonitis, 170, 178, 179, 183, church of, 36, 40, 426, 456, 469; — Child, 43, 71, 110, 127, 133, 140, 147, 164, 190, 213, 218, 237, 242, 269, 270, 272, 349, 444. — Emmanuel, 86, 96, 140, 151, 162, 179, 182, 361, 421; — Good Shepherd, 19; — Holy Wisdom, 361; — see Jesus; — Judge, 60, 152; — King of Glory, 65, 217, 310; — Lamb of God, 166, 379; — Lord, 65, 84, 85, 103, 119, 167, 186, 246, 302, 307, 395, 457, 497, passion of, 499; — Miracles of, 499, and under Healing; — Pantocrator, 33, 68, 152, 159, 174, 179, 182, 183, 184, 224, 236, 270, 296, 364, 385, 395, 397, 410, 422, 432, 438, 451, 481, 486, 493; — portrait of, 175; — prelate, 217, 273; — Son, 68, 94, 104, 164, 167; — Symbols of, 26; see also Saviour.  
 Christ Addressing Peter and John, 412.  
 Christ's Appearances after Resurrection, 300, 410, 414, 417; — «in another form», 414; — with Cleopas and Luke, 417.  
 Christ Before Annas and Caiaphas, 86, 96, 216, 227, 235, 253, 273, 298, 300, 391; — Before Caiaphas, 300.  
 Christ Before the Cross, 232.  
 Christ Before Pilate, 86, 96, 216, 227, 273, 298, 421; see also Pilate Washing his hands.  
 Christ Casting the devils, 250, 253.  
 Christ Dispatching His Disciples to fetch the colt, 298; — to Preach the Gospel, 218, 224, 290, 410.  
 Christ with the Woman of Samaria, 144, 227, 249, 253, 290, 307.  
 Christina, St., church of, 290.  
 Christodoulos, Archbishop, 140.  
 Christophakis the Interpreter, 440-2, 444; see also Constantinou.  
 Christopher, St., 184, 311; — Kynokephalos, 444; — mounted, 328.  
 Christopher, donor, 328.  
 Chrysanthos, Archbishop, 499.  
 Chrysostom, St. John, 42, 71, 79, 83, 88, 93, 106, 118, 147, 152, 175, 180, 183, 218, 227, 237, 244, 254, 273, 289, 291, 302, 304, 325, 339, 344, 348, 350, 364, 377, 405, 417, 421, 422, 448-9, 472, 508, 514; — church of, 35, 456, 457; — Dormition of, 377; — monastery of, 62, 125, 353, 456, 463, 465, 488.  
 Church, 59, 136, 227, 349, 385; — Councils of, 33, 47, 86, 88, 94, 301, 499; — Cyprus, 16, 19, 66, 118, 147, 175, 213, 484, 496; — Feasts of, 150, 227, 233, 241, 444; — Greek, 312; — Latin 18; — Orthodox, 18, 37; — personification of, 142, 262, 366; — prerogatives of, 16, 499; — Three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers of the, 66.  
 Cilicia, 17.  
 Citium, 49, 174, 434; see also Kiti.  
 Communion, 379.  
 Communion of the Apostles, 79, 99, 117, 152, 155, 156, 211, 217, 236, 237, 244, 269, 273, 289, 377, 405, 417, 421, 422, 447, 449.  
 Comneni, 34.  
 Constans II, Emperor, 29.  
 Constantia, 15, 17, 93.  
 Constantine and Helena, Sts., 86, 96, 110, 117, 122, 204, 218, 311, 337, 364; see also separately.  
 Constantine, chief priest, donor, 246.  
 Constantine the Great, 15, 19, 198, 202, 204, 377; — Triumphal Entry into Rome, 202, 217; — Vision of, 200, 217. — St., church of, 391.  
 Constantinople, 15, 18, 19, 20, 27, 32, 33, 35-39, 47, 51, 59, 65, 125, 138, 167, 171, 180, 188, 204, 219, 253, 306, 312, 333, 348, 349, 361, 369, 370, 390, 423, 436, 446, 457; — see also Byzantium.  
 Constantinou, Christophakis the Interpreter, 440-6; — list of 25 members of his family, 443.  
 Constantius II, Emperor, 15.  
 Corfu, 94, 499.  
 Cornaros, John, 499.  
 Coron, Demetri de, 99; — his coat of arms, 99.  
 Cosmas, St., 133, 136, 171, 184, 215, 222, 244, 273, 320, 328, 346, 379, 398, 436, 472.  
 Cosmas and Damian, Sts., see separately.  
 Cosmas Indicopleustis, 136.  
 Cosmas Melodus, St., 182, 184, 217, 230, 243, 413.  
 Cosmas, Pisides, St., 217.  
 Creation, personification of, see *Ktisis*; — standing still, 164.  
 Crete, 39, 92, 136, 138, 152, 171, 206, 270, 271, 296, 326, 391, 499; — personification of, 22.  
 Cricus, Pope, St., 302.  
 Criskis, St., 302.  
 Cross, 103, 104, 119, 130, 138, 142, 143, 167, 184, 194, 244, 291, 311, 321, 348, 350, 384, 473; — anchor-type, 436; — inside an anchor, 65-66, 251; — inside or over a crescent, 138, 436; — repellent, 216, 253, 273, 290, 336, 337, 339; see also Holy Cross.  
 Crossing of the Red Sea, 201, 217.  
 Crusade (s), 204; Third, 178.  
 Crusaders, 36, 37, 138, 167, 178, 180.  
 Crucifixion, 36, 40, 65, 68, 84, 96, 103, 109, 110, 130, 142, 143, 167, 188, 194, 202, 216, 227, 242, 244, 253, 257, 262, 273, 296, 298, 321, 328, 332, 336, 344, 345, 348, 355, 364, 366, 385, 388, 394, 420, 421, 426, 428, 429, 432, 437, 438, 458, 463, 496, 499.  
 Curium, 17, 26.  
 Cyriacus, Anchorite, St., 66, 88, 122, 184, 216, 364.  
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., 147, 302, 377, 405, 417, 472, 508.  
 Cyrus, St., 122.  
 Dali, 307, 425, 497.  
 Damascus, mosque in, 301.  
 Damaskinos, St., 62.  
 Damaskinos, monk, author, 467.  
 Damian, St., 133, 171, 184, 215, 222, 244, 273, 320, 346, 398, 431, 436, 472.  
 Daniel, prophet, 68, 183, 217, 224, 361; — in the Lions' den, 273, 289, 310.

- Daniel the Scetote, St., 366; — Stylites, 472.  
 Daphni, church of, 313, 486.  
 David, King, 29, 30, 31, 32, 65, 68, 79, 83, 85, 103, 127, 143, 147, 167, 183, 217, 224, 228, 231, 254, 273, 291, 304, 328, 339, 355, 366, 458, 481: — scenes from his life, 29-32.  
 Death of the Virgin Mary or the Mother of God, 126, 230, 298; — see also Dormition.  
 Deesis, 90, 96, 133, 136, 150, 152, 188, 217, 233, 244, 254, 270, 290, 298, 302, 361, 364, 377, 381.  
 Demetrianus, St., 55, 72, 348, 426, 472, 500; — church of, 38, 66, 188, 232, 425; see Dali.  
 Demetrius, St., 20, 71, 76, 86, 88, 96, 136, 138, 184, 206, 216, 249, 253, 270, 271, 273, 321, 339, 344, 348, 432, 435, 458; — church of, 333.  
 Demus, O., 126.  
 Denial of Peter, 86, 96, 194, 214, 216, 253, 273, 300, 301.  
 Department of Antiquities, 47, 54, 55, 62, 107, 114, 142, 158, 223, 238, 294, 295, 384, 385, 410, 431, 433, 434, 456, 486.  
 Deposition, 55, 83, 86, 88, 96, 110, 143, 216, 224, 298, 336, 364, 366, 379, 405, 429, 432, 444, 463.  
 Descent of Christ into Hades, 65, 132; see also *Anastasis*.  
 Descent of the Holy Spirit, 55, 58, 71, 72, 76, 81, 88, 96, 106, 122, 147, 216, 224, 237, 242, 243, 254, 257, 268, 273, 417, 493; see also Pentecost.  
 Diomedes, 20.  
 Dionysiou Monastery, Codex 587 (m), 326, 393.  
 Dionysius Areopagite, St., 72, 117.  
 Dionysius of Fourni, 99.  
 Dionysus, God of wine, 22, 349.  
*Dioscouri*, 271.  
 Disciples, 55, 104, 143, 144, 250, 308, 309, 310, 391.  
 Dormition of the Virgin Mary or the Mother of God, 35, 40, 54, 76, 86, 88, 96, 121, 142, 146, 169, 180, 184, 188, 198, 216, 235, 236, 242, 248, 254, 328, 332, 336, 344, 385, 394, 423, 431, 458, 464, 465; — church of, 38, 72, 141, 219, 233, 249, 262, 349; see also Death of.  
 Doubting Thomas, 143, 196, 216, 231, 300, 309, 412, 438.  
 Dumbarton Oaks, 11, 32, 114, 158, 179, 238, 456.  
 Dürer, 103.  
 Edessa, 174, 175.  
 Egina, church of, 326.  
 Egypt, 16, 59, 71, 75, 171, 313, 372, 429: — Egyptians, 201.  
 Eleftherius, St., 218, 348, 379, 394.  
 El Greco, 39.  
 Elijah, 55, 68, 183, 224, 298.  
 Elisha, 68, 183, 224, 298.  
 Elizabeth, 88, 289.  
 Elizabeth and Zacharias, 215.  
 Elpidophorus, St., 184, 379.  
 Elpis, St., 250, 254.  
 Emba, 409.  
 Embalment of Christ, 55.  
 Emmanuel, see Christ.  
 Emmaus, 410, 417.  
 Empty Tomb, 55, 66, 76, 130, 143, 218, 224, 253, 262, 273, 290, 298, 309, 310, 344, 410, 414, 431.  
 Endoxus, St., 470, 472.  
 England, 126, 138, 178, 204.  
 Enkleistra, see St. Neophytus.  
 Erlart, 232, 428.  
 Entertainment of the Angels, 79, 88, 96, 147, 237, 254, 269, 273, 289, 318, 320, 405; — see also Abraham.  
 Entombment of Christ, 35, 130, 224, 290, 298, 300, 336, 430, 432, 463, 465; — see also Burial.  
 Epaphras, St., 243.  
 Ephesus, Church Council of, 16, 47.  
 Ephrem Syrus, St., 74, 122, 364, 413.  
 Epigon, St., 66, 74.  
 Epiphanius, Archbishop, St., 15, 71, 74, 79, 88, 93, 94, 106, 118, 136, 147, 175, 183, 218, 227, 237, 254, 273, 289, 302, 305, 325, 339, 348, 364, 405, 417, 421, 422, 448-9, 500, 508.  
 Episkopi Museum, 26.  
 Eosphigenou Monastery, codex 14, 301.  
 Eudokia, St., 136.  
 Eugenius, St., 132, 184.  
 Euphemiatus, St., 426. — church of, 38, 492-3.  
 Euphrates, 395.  
 Euplos, St., 254.  
 Europe, 15, 37, 39.  
 Eurotas, personification of, 26.  
 Eusebius, 202.  
 Eusignius, St., 458.  
 Eustathius, St., 132, 134, 183, 273, 321, 344.  
 Eustolius, 26.  
 Euthymius, St., 74, 122, 216, 364, 366.  
 Eutychius, St., 321.  
 Evangelists, 122, 162, 224, 232, 235, 298, 344, 385, 417; — symbols of, 224, 288, 417, 476; see also under their names.  
 Eve, 65, 132, 136, 143, 167, 311, 328, 336, 355, 480.  
 Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 121, 198, 204, 217, 219; see also *Hypostasis*.  
 Exodus, scenes from, 200-202, 204, 217.  
 Ezekiel, 79, 127, 183, 304, 410, 458; — Vision of, 236.  
 Faith, Hope and Love, Sts., see Pistis etc.  
 Farnagusta, 17, 43, 451, 492.  
 Filioque, 68, 127.  
 Flight into Egypt, 372.  
 Florence, Council of, 307, 397.  
 Florus, St., 55, 122.  
 Forty Martyrs, 59, 107, 122.  
 «From Above the Prophets have Heralded Thee», 99, 146, 218, 385.  
 Gabriel, see Archangel.  
 Galaktion, St., 512.  
 Galata, 40, 84, 90, 92, 106, 107, 142, 143, 230, 233, 256, 262, 270, 272, 290, 320, 369, 381, 426.  
 Galataria, 269, 404.  
 Garden of Eden, 395, 481.  
 Gelati, tondo from, 252.  
 George, St., 51, 72, 76, 85, 88, 96, 110, 133, 137, 138, 147, 205, 206, 216, 232, 244, 253, 270, 271, 273, 290, 321, 328-30, 336, 344, 348, 394, 395, 398, 407, 426, 432, 435, 436, 438, 440, 442, 443, 444, 450, 458, 467; — church of, 26, 40, 42, 81, 180, 238, 243, 438, 440, 470, 484; — monastery of, 38; — scenes from his martyrdom, 88, 147, 232, 235, 438; — shield of, 138; see George, pillion rider.  
 George, Abbot, 456.  
 George, various donors, 137, 304, 407, 436, 507  
 George Machairomenos, St., 137, 231, 500.

- George, pillion rider of St. George, 467.  
 Georgia, 252.  
 Gerasimus, St., 364.  
 Germanus, St., 55.  
 Germanus, Abbot, 66.  
 Germanus, Patriarch, 84.  
 Gideon, 68, 183.  
 Giotto, 180, 320.  
 God, 20, 75, 76, 84, 94, 103, 106, 118, 142, 159, 175, 186, 231, 376, 486, 497, 499; — the Father, 68, 94, 152, 184, 216, 397, 444; — Unknown, 251.  
 Gods, Greek river, 190.  
 Golgotha, 202, 244, 344.  
 Goliath, 30-32.  
 Good Centurion, 65, 104, 142, 194, 232, 262, 296, 321, 328, 355, 365, 421, 428; — shield of, 65, 296, 328.  
 Good Friday, personification of, 298, 321.  
 Göreme, chapel of, 94.  
 Gospels, 155, 162, 227, 243, 300, 310, 463; — apocryphal, 369, 420, 482, 487.  
 Goul, Peter, 188; — Philip, painter, 39, 40, 186, 187, 188, 194, 206, 213, 218, 246, 248, 251, 256, 261, 262, 269.  
 Gourias, St., 133.  
 Greece, 68, 75, 114, 138, 169, 171, 180, 219, 242, 270, 271, 313, 328, 336; — Archaeological Service of, 486.  
 Greeks, 19, 20, 397, 444, 446.  
 Gregory (monastic), St., 153.  
 Gregory of Agrigentum, St., 59, 458.  
 Gregory, «ton Homeriton», St., 458.  
 Gregory of Nissa, St., 72, 119.  
 Gregory Pagurianus, 457.  
 Gregory Thaumaturgus, St., 62, 458.  
 Gregory the Theologian, St., 42, 71, 79, 83, 88, 93, 106, 118, 147, 152, 175, 183, 218, 227, 244, 252, 254, 273, 289, 291, 302, 304, 325, 339, 344, 348, 350, 364, 377, 405, 407, 417, 421, 422, 448, 458, 472.  
 Gunnis, 405.  
 Habakkuk, 68, 183, 224, 298.  
 Hades, 167, 174; — personification of, 26, 143.  
 Hadjidakis, 346.  
 Hadrian, 250.  
 «Hail Mary», 290.  
 Haji Baki Agha, 446.  
 Harpocrates, 71.  
 Harrowing of Hell, see *Anastasis*.  
 Harvard University, 11, 114, 158.  
 Hawkins, E., 43, 47, 114, 380, 423.  
 Healing of the Blind man, 145, 249, 253, 290, 308; — of the Lepers, 290; — of the Man with the dropsy, 308; — of the Paralytic, 143, 145, 227, 249, 253, 290, 307; — of Peter's mother-in-law, 249, 253, 290; — of the Possessed men, 290; — of the Woman with the issue of blood, 290.  
 Heavenly Powers, representations of, 397, 410, 497.  
 Hebrews, daughters of, 119, 162, 164, 179, 333.  
 Helena, St., 133, 198, 202, 204, 219, 287, 288; — see Constantine and; also Holy Cross.  
 Helen, donor, 99.  
 Helena Palaeologina, Queen, 18, 38, 224, 400, 438.  
 Hell, 62, 65, 66, 132, 311, 413, 421; — gates of, 167, 328, 355; — personification of, 136, 481; — Sinners in, 134-5, 311, 481.  
 Heracladius, St., 71, 88, 183, 184, 218, 298, 304, 311, 500; — church of, 35, 37, 38, 292, 294, 298, 432; — monastery of, 306.  
 Heraclius, Emperor, 16, 20, 29, 32, 204.  
 Hercules, 65.  
 Hermas, St., 302.  
 Hermes, St., 302.  
 Hermolaus, St., 133, 184, 244, 398.  
 Herod, 289, 480.  
 Herodion, St., 302.  
 Hierapolis, 175.  
 Hilar Priest rending his garments, 235, 300.  
 Hilarion, St., 74, 122, 184, 273, 364, 500, 514; — castle of, 18, 470.  
 Hill, Sir, George, 180.  
 Holy Apostles, church of, 35, 37, 55, 334, 422; — see Apostles.  
 Holy Cross, 86, 96, 122, 196, 202, 204, 364; — cave-chapel of, 351, 353, 354, 355, 366, 380; — church of, 38, 66, 126, 151, 219, 223, 235, 287, 288, 344, 369, 370, 380, 507; — Discovery of, 40, 122, 188, 198, 204, 214, 216, 219, 222, 287, 364, 370; — legendary scenes of, 202-204, 216, 219, 287-8; — monastery of, 186; see also Cross; Exaltation.  
 Holy Cross of Agiasmati, church of, 38, 39, 40, 122, 147, 175, 186, 187, 214, 219, 222, 247, 248, 249, 251, 253, 256, 262, 269, 270, 271, 287, 288, 339, 364, 391.  
 Holy Ghost, 59, 68, 94, 121, 127, 152, 311, 379, 397, 444, 480, 486.  
 Holy Handkerchief, 83, 86, 95, 103, 127, 174, 175, 182, 290, 298, 311, 320, 426, 448.  
 Holy Land, 205, 301.  
 Holy Nails, 204.  
 Holy Sacraments, 72, 119.  
 Holy Sepulchre, 121, 456.  
 Holy table, painting of, 273, 289, 377, 417.  
 Holy Tile, 88, 96, 158, 175, 182, 320, 425.  
 Holy Trinity, 79, 85, 86, 94, 152, 216, 379, 397, 400, 444; — church of, 62, 125, 326, 456-7, 464, 465, 467, 488; see Entertainment of the Angels.  
 Holy Week, personifications of, 86, 298, 339, 426.  
 Hosios Lukas, church of, 59.  
 Houris, Joseph, painter, 381.  
 Hypatius, St., 71, 182, 244, 379.  
*Hypsosis*, 219, 222, 287, 288, 377; see Exaltation.  
 Iason, St., 512.  
 Icarus, 22.  
 Iconoclastic Controversy, 20, 171, 206, 368; — decoration, 384.  
 Ignatius, St. 55.  
 Ignatius of Antioch, St., 55, 379.  
 Ignatius Theophorus, St., 59, 118.  
 Imposition of Christ on the Cross, 344.  
 Incarnation, 43, 99, 127, 146, 161, 184, 202, 339, 385, 417, 481.  
 Ioannikios, monk, painter, 237.  
 Ioulitta, St., 134.  
 Irene, St., 95, 254.  
 Irene, daughter of St. Spyridon, St., 136, 500.  
 Isaac, 136.  
 Isaac Comnenus, Emperor of Cyprus, 18, 138, 178, 311, 353.  
 Isaiah, 68, 79, 126, 127, 134, 147, 183, 217, 224, 273, 298, 336, 366.  
 Isis, 71.  
 Israel, 103, 134.  
 Italy, 71, 75, 320.

- Jacob, 136, 302, 311, 320.  
 James, St., 28, 42, 47, 71, 102, 119, 191, 211, 217, 236, 243, 296, 310, 320, 450; — chapel of, 486; — Gospel of, 103, 162, 227.  
 James, son of Alphaeus, St., 192.  
 James, Lord's brother, St., 302.  
 James the Persian, St., 218.  
 Jephonias, 76, 198, 248, 385.  
 Jeremiah, 68, 127, 183, 224, 273, 336, 366; — monastery of, 71.  
 Jerusalem, 51, 55, 59, 65, 68, 138, 190, 202, 204, 232, 243, 244, 262, 344, 345, 353, 355, 364, 391, 420, 428; — Latin Kingdom of, 18, 124, 178, 202; — Patriarchate of, 456; — scriptorium of, 301.  
 Jesus, 68, 497; — Christ, 127, 397; — King of the Jews, 103; see also Christ.  
 Jews, 194, 202, 287, 311, 365, 393, 394.  
 Joachim, St., 71, 83, 103, 119, 133, 150, 333, 389, 484; — Prayer of, 81, 88, 96, 103, 227, 370, 417, 487; see also Joachim and Anna.  
 Joachim and Anna, Sts. (see also separately), 150, 162, 216, 481; — church of, 59, 107, 432, 465; — Meeting of, 81, 88, 96, 103, 227, 414, 417, 421, 487; — narrative cycle of scenes, 103, 109, 228; — Presenting their Gifts, 103, 227, 369, 417, 421, 488; — Returning from the Temple, 103, 227, 370, 417, 421; — Searching the Scriptures, 414, 417, 421.  
 Joanna, 410.  
 Joannikios, painter, 444.  
 Joasaph, 62, 66.  
 Joel, 147, 224, 304.  
 John, St., 122.  
 John the Almoner, St., 71, 72, 76, 119, 175, 183, 218, 291, 348, 377, 448, 456, 500.  
 John I, Archbishop, 17.  
 John II, Archbishop, 349.  
 John the Baptist, St., 51, 61, 65, 66, 71, 72, 81, 90, 95, 127, 133, 136, 143, 150, 152, 164, 167, 188, 205, 206, 214, 215, 217, 222, 224, 228, 231, 235, 236, 244, 249, 251, 253, 298, 305, 310, 329, 355, 364, 381, 393, 413, 432, 458, 470, 476, 481, 486, 493; — winged, 426; see also John Prodromos.  
 John, Barsky's brother, 75.  
 John Chrysostom, see Chrysostom.  
 John II, Comnenus, 124.  
 John Damascene (of Damascus), 136, 182, 184, 217, 230, 243, 417.  
 John, donor, 66.  
 John the Evangelist, St., 28, 47, 55, 65, 68, 86, 102, 104, 117, 121, 130, 142, 146, 150, 184, 188, 191, 192, 194, 206, 211, 216, 218, 222, 224, 232, 236, 242, 243, 249, 262, 269, 273, 289, 290, 296, 309, 310, 320, 321, 328, 336, 355, 365, 366, 394, 397, 410, 412, 421, 428, 430, 431, 437, 450, 463, 496, 497, 499; — Bibi, 496; — at the Empty Tomb, 417; — Cathedral of, 496; — church of, 42, 296, 436; — life and miracles of, 499; — monastery of, 143, 180.  
 John Kalyvitis, St., 40, 59, 206, 216, 379.  
 John II, King of Cyprus, 38, 224, 400.  
 John of the Ladder, St., 66, 216, 366, 458.  
 John Lampadistis, St., 72, 86, 142, 147, 217, 222, 233, 270, 273, 289, 306, 348, 421, 432, 500; — church of, 35, 300, 305, 307, 370, 377, 379, 381; — monastery of, 37, 38, 40, 72, 273, 292; — skull of, 305.  
 John, Lawyer, 84.  
 John, priest, 106.  
 John Prodromos, St., 273, 290, 328, 499; — church of, 38, 289; — cycle of scenes from his life, 289; — see also John the Baptist.  
 John Salos, St., 311.  
 Jonah, 68, 87, 183, 224, 304; — in the whale, 83.  
 Jonathan, 30.  
 Jordan, 121, 242, 272, 391; — personification of, 26, 32, 127, 190, 390, 470.  
 Joseph, St., 95, 110, 127, 164, 190, 241, 242, 272, 312, 313, 325, 334-5, 372, 390; — Chastising the Virgin Mary, 228, 313, 370; — Drinks Water of the Conviction, 86; — in Prayer, 228; — Receiving the Virgin Mary, 85, 88, 228, 421.  
 Joseph of Arimathea, 143, 336, 366, 430, 432, 463.  
 Joseph, hymn-writer, St., 171, 175, 182, 243, 413.  
 Joseph, martyr, 184.  
 Joshua, scene based on V. 14, 215.  
 Judas, 99, 110, 121, 127, 152, 191, 194, 213, 236, 269, 289, 311, 335, 365, 377, 431, 499.  
 Judas-Cyriacus, 198, 202, 204, 287, 391, 405.  
 Jude, see Thaddeus.  
 «Judge not», 144, 249, 253.  
 Jugoslavia, 180, 301, 432.  
 Justinian, Emperor, 16, 20, 27.  
 Justinian II, Emperor, 17.  
 Kakopetria, 35, 40, 53, 84, 106, 107, 127, 136, 141, 147, 157, 179, 206, 213, 219, 235, 236, 238, 251, 311, 330, 349, 426, 434, 484.  
 Kalambaka, 219.  
 Kaliana, 35, 59, 107, 432.  
 Kalias, Nicephorus, 138.  
 Kallinikos, 136.  
 Kalogrea, 36, 40, 456, 469.  
 Kalopanayiotis, 38, 142, 233, 273, 292, 321, 323, 336, 370, 377, 379, 432.  
 Kaminaria, 345, 348, 393, 488.  
 Kanakaria, see Mother of God; Panagia.  
 Kantara, castle, 18.  
 Karavas, 438.  
 Karpasia, 17; — peninsula, 22, 43, 52, 486.  
 Kastoria, 68, 180, 242, 328, 417.  
 Kato Lefkara, 36, 180, 447; see Lefkara.  
 Katzouroubis, Michael, donor, 425, 426.  
 Kellia, 12, 35, 138, 433.  
 Kiev, 59, 75, 305.  
 Kilani, 40, 236.  
 Kitchener, 438.  
 Kiti, 35, 47, 49, 52, 440; see also Citium.  
 Koinon ton Kypriou, 15, 19.  
 Kosmos, 59, 243, 416, 417.  
 Kouka, 235.  
 Kouklia, 38, 68, 382, 395, 397, 407, 410.  
 Kourdali, 38, 40, 72, 141, 151, 175, 233, 249, 262, 307, 312, 349.  
 Kourdalis, donor, 142.  
 Kournoutos, St., 251, 254, 500.  
 Koutsovendis, 35, 62, 348, 456, 488.  
 Kromides, John, donor, 246; — Irene, 246.  
 Ktisis, personification of, 26.  
 Kurbinovo, 180, 470.  
 Kykkos monastery, 35, 42, 124, 134.  
 Kyperounda, 157, 219, 287, 370.  
 Kyprianus, St., 184.  
 Kyrenia, 294, 451, 456, 469, 470.

- Kyriaki, St., 86, 298, 339, 426.  
 Kyrkos, St., 134; — church of, 414.  
 Kythrea, 426, 472.
- Labyrinth, mosaic of, 349; — personification of, 22, 26.  
 Lagoudera, 36, 151, 157, 186, 190, 213, 223, 361, 380, 423, 436, 449, 470.  
 Lambousa, 28, 32, 35.  
 Lamentation, 76, 143, 214, 216, 224, 254, 262, 273, 290, 336, 344, 364, 366, 432, 463.  
 Lampadistis, see John.  
 Lampas, 72, 306.  
 Land, personification of, 136.  
 Laphothos, 17, 28, 32, 35.  
 Larnaca, 12, 22, 35, 49, 174, 384, 433, 438, 446, 497; — museum of, 434.  
 Last Judgement, 59, 88, 114, 134, 136, 138, 152, 159, 186, 218, 233, 235, 238, 246, 289, 290, 306, 307, 310, 311, 330, 395, 413, 417, 421, 476, 481, 486, 488, 493, 499.  
 Last Supper, 72, 86, 95, 99, 110, 121, 147, 152, 155, 190, 211, 214, 216, 227, 235, 236, 253, 262, 269, 273, 290, 300, 364, 391, 417, 421, 431, 432.  
 Latins, 18, 37, 178.  
 Laurentios, painter, 443.  
 Laurentius, St., 72, 217, 237, 254, 273, 291, 379.  
 Laurentius, monk, 136.  
 Laurus, St., 55, 119, 122.  
 Lavra, 344, 346, 377.  
 Lazarus, St., 71, 171, 174, 184, 422, 500; — church of, 22, 384; — see Raising of.  
 Lazarus, the rich man and, 62, 235, 290, 311.  
 Lefkara, 353, 447; see also Kato Lefkara.  
 Lefkousia, 499; see also Nicosia.  
 Leningrad, Hermitage museum, 62.  
 Lentullus, 159, 486.  
 Leo VI, Emperor, 174, 361.  
 Leon, priest, donor, 142.  
 Leontius, St., 500.  
 Leontius, donor, and his wife Lucrecia, 76.  
 Leontius, monk, 136.  
 Leontius, painter, 184.  
 Letimbou, 414.  
 Licinius, Emperor, 15.  
 Linus, St., 302.  
 Livadia, 52, 157, 186.  
 Louvaras, 39, 137, 145, 187, 214, 246, 269, 307.  
 Luke, Evangelist, St., 47, 52, 68, 86, 95, 99, 145, 184, 188, 213, 215, 222, 224, 236, 243, 253, 273, 310, 320, 398, 410, 417.  
 Lusignan, Guy de, 178, 179; — Hugh de, 430; — James de, 99; — Janus de, 428, 429; — John de, 224, 231, 232.  
 Lusignans, coats of arms of, 107, 296, 304, 341, 431-2, 496.  
 Lysi, 38, 492.  
 Lythrankomi, 43.
- Ma, 252.  
 Macarios, Bishop of Solea, 140.  
 Macarius, St., 344, 366.  
 Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, 219, 287, 288.  
 Macedonians, 17, 34.  
 Machaeras monastery, 35.  
 Magdalene, 262, 345, 412; see also Mary.  
 Magi, 164, 190, 272, 313, 325, 334, 372; see Adoration.
- Makedonius, St., 183, 500.  
 Makhairas, Leontios, chronicler, 511.  
 Malachias, 304, 421.  
 Malchus, 127, 194, 335, 365, 437.  
 Mamas, St., 86, 110, 137, 145, 150, 206, 216, 233, 244, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 271, 273, 290, 304, 336, 346, 405, 432, 484; — Cathedral of, 253; — church of, 39, 75, 145, 187, 214, 246, 256, 262, 269, 271.  
 Mamelukes, 429, 433.  
 Mango, 380.  
 Manuel Comnenus, Emperor, 18.  
 Marathasa, 39, 72, 292, 332, 341; see Myrianthousa.  
 Mardaki, Constantine and his wife Mandelena, donors, 290.  
 Mardarius, St., 132, 183.  
 Maria, Agia, 49; see Virgin Mary.  
 Maria, donor, 76.  
 Maria Maggiore, Sta., 68.  
 Marina, St., 96, 136, 218, 254, 273, 305, 328, 344, 432; — church of, 432.  
 Mark, Evangelist, St., 47, 68, 102, 182, 184, 188, 194, 213, 214, 216, 222, 224, 236, 242, 243, 310, 320, 398, 450.  
 Markov Monastir, 164, 313.  
 Martha, sister of Lazarus, 296, 328.  
 Mary of Egypt, communion of, 76, 81, 86, 95, 107, 119, 171, 184, 206, 215, 243, 398, 421, 426; — Death of, 272.  
 Mary, sister of Lazarus, 296, 298, 328.  
 Mary Magdalene, St., 224, 309, 344, 410, 412; see also Magdalene.  
 Mary, mother of James, 410.  
 Massacre of the Innocents, 346.  
 Matthew, Evangelist, St., 42, 68, 99, 152, 155, 182, 184, 188, 191, 213, 215, 222, 224, 236, 243, 310, 320, 397; — Gospel of, 16.  
 Maunday Thursday, 364.  
 Maurice Tiberius, Emperor, 32.  
 Mavra, St., 40, 136, 236, 237, 328, 500; — church of, 236, 451.  
 Maxentius, 200, 202, 204, 217.  
 Megaw, 43, 47, 180, 423.  
 Meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth, 88, 228, 312, 370.  
 Meletius of Antioch, St., 175, 180, 183, 449.  
 Meletios Myriantheus, Bishop of Kition, 444, 446.  
 Melisende, Queen, psalter, of, 301.  
 Melismos, 175, 213, 237, 379.  
 Memnon, St., 134.  
 Menas, St., 132, 182, 184, 215.  
 Mercurius, St., 88, 273, 311.  
 Metamorphosis, church of, 336; see Transfiguration.  
 Meteora, 66, 313, 336, 380, 417.  
 Micah, 216.  
 Michal, 30.  
 Michael, see Archangel.  
 Michael, domesticus, 306, 307.  
 Mileševa, 37.  
 Miljković-Pepeck, 164.  
 Millet, Gabriel, 376.  
 Miracle of Chonae, 215, 273.  
 Miraculous draught of fish, 290, 309, 412.  
 Miriam, 202.  
 Mnason, St., 218, 500.  
 Mocking of Christ, 86, 96, 194, 216, 227, 254, 273, 298.

- Monagri, 35, 36, 41, 238.  
 Monreale, 180.  
 Morphou, 253.  
 Moscovorrossos, see Barsky.  
 Moses, 55, 68, 127, 147, 183, 216, 224, 366, 385, 394, 458; — Receiving the Ten Commandments, 102, 316, 484; see also Burning Bush, Crossing of the Red Sea, «Sing ye to the Lord».  
 Mother of God, 34, 47, 49, 58, 76, 83, 90, 99, 106, 114, 133, 136, 137, 138, 140, 158, 162, 179, 237, 323, 349, 493; — appellations of, 114; — Blachernitissa, 134, 206, 492; — Eleousa, church of, 98; — Kalionitissa, 109; — Kanakaria, 47; — Pantanassa, 126; — Phorbiotissa, 134; see also Virgin Mary.  
 Mount Athos, 39, 85, 196, 262, 301, 326, 344, 346, 368, 370, 376, 377, 393, 414, 421.  
 Mount Latmos, 353.  
 Mount of Olives, 202.  
 Mount Sinai, 47, 103.  
 Mourning, 96; see Lamentation.  
 Moutoullas, village, 323-5, 331, 339; — John and Irene, 323-5.  
 Myrianthousa, painter from, 332, 339; see also Marathasa.  
 Mystras, 37, 38, 40, 270, 344, 370, 374, 379, 380, 390, 391, 400.  
 Nabuchodonosor, King, 310.  
 Nativity, 313, 326, 370, 372, 376, 422; — apocryphal narratives of, 312; — church of, 202; see also Birth of Christ.  
 Nengomia, portrait of, 231.  
 Neophytus, St., 35, 36, 353, 354, 355, 361, 364, 366, 368, 369, 397, 500; — cave-chapel of, see Holy Cross; — cell of, 243, 423; — Enkleistra of, 167, 206, 351, 353-5, 361, 368, 369; — Hermitage of, 35, 36, 397; — Katholikon, 40, 368, 369; — Monastery of, 351; — Tomb of, 369.  
 Neophytus, monk, donor, 354, 380.  
 Nereditsa, 178, 180, 243.  
 Nerezi, 35, 463.  
 Nestor, St., 86, 88, 270, 273.  
 New Justiniani, 17.  
 New Testament, personification of, 366.  
 New York, Metropolitan Museum, 29.  
 Nicaea, Council of, 86, 94.  
 Nicanor, St., 182, 302.  
 Nicephorus, Archbishop, 496.  
 Nicephorus III, Botaniates, 306.  
 Nicephorus Magistros, donor, 114, 115, 117, 188.  
 Nicephorus Phocas, 17, 467.  
 Nicetas, St., 215.  
 Nicholas, St., 62, 65, 66, 71, 76, 83, 86, 95, 118, 132, 175, 182, 183, 205, 216, 227, 244, 273, 290, 302, 321, 325, 339, 344, 348, 364, 405, 407, 417, 421, 422, 432, 472, 499, 508; — church of, 269, 310, 328, 377, 380, 404; — Dormition of, 377; — scenes from his life, 75, 287; — relics of, 75; see next entry.  
 Nicholas of the Roof, St., 75; — church of, 35, 53, 54, 65, 75, 107, 127, 136, 147, 175, 179, 206, 213, 251, 306, 311, 330, 349, 434, 465, 484; — monastery of, 66.  
 Nicholas, Abbot, see Nicephorus Magistros.  
 Nikolaos Mouzalon, Archbishop, 457.  
 Nicodemus, 143, 336; — Gospel of, 65.  
 Nicon, St., 183, 243, 472.  
 Nicosia, 17, 18, 38, 42, 71, 72, 75, 496, 497; — Archbishopric of, 42; — Museum of, 29, 30, 32, 238.  
 Niketas, St., 311.  
 Nikitari, 114, 307, 481.  
 Nisteftis, St., 254.  
 Ohrid, 37, 59, 164.  
 Old Testament, personification of, 366.  
 Olimides Modellos, Basil, portrait of, 231, 232.  
 Onoufrius, St., 74, 88, 140, 147, 171, 184, 216, 230, 273, 337, 366, 397, 458.  
 Onoufrius, Abbot, 456.  
 Orestes, St., 184.  
 Ormidia, saint from, 437.  
 Orpheus, 19.  
 Orthodoxy, Triumph of, 86.  
 Pachomius, St., 364; — Vision of, 273.  
 Paisius, St., 366.  
 «Palaea Enkleistra», 38, 68, 397, 410.  
 Palaeochorio, 38, 40, 72, 86, 90, 147, 206, 251, 253, 256, 287, 349, 405.  
 Palaeologi, 34; — coat of arms, 341, 431, 438.  
 Palaeomylos, 344.  
 Paleologo, Demetri, coat of arms, 438.  
 Palestine, 75, 178, 251.  
 Panagia Amasgou, church of, 35, 36, 39, 41, 238, 465.  
 Panagia Angeloktistos, church of, 22, 27, 35, 49, 52.  
 Panagia Aphenrika, chapel of, 35, 348, 463, 467.  
 Panagia Apsinthiotissa, church of, 508.  
 Panagia Arakiotissa (Arakos, Arakou), church of, 35, 36, 157, 158, 190, 213, 223, 242, 243, 361, 380, 423, 436, 470; see also Virgin Mary.  
 Panagia Asinou, church of, 35, 38, 39, 66, 114, 323; see also Panagia Phorbiotissa.  
 Panagia Chalkaeon, church of, 59.  
 Panagia Chryseleousa, church of, 397, 409.  
 Panagia Chrysopantanassa, church of, 287.  
 Panagia Kanakaria, church of, 22, 27, 43, 47, 52; see Kanakaria.  
 Panagia Katholiki, church of, 40, 232, 395.  
 Panagia Kera, church of, 136.  
 Panagia Kyra, church of, 27, 52.  
 Panagia Mavriotissa, church of, 242.  
 Panagia Moutoulla, church of, 37, 39, 238, 323.  
 Panagia Pantanassa, church of, 38, 380, 391, 400.  
 Panagia Phorbiotissa, church of, 34, 35, 59, 79, 107, 114, 170, 206, 223, 227, 228, 239, 435, 436, 457, 464, 465, 486, 488; see Panagia Asinou.  
 Panagia Podithou, church of, 40, 90, 98, 103, 142, 230, 233, 320, 369, 381, 426.  
 Panagia Theotokos, church of, 76, 90, 426, 465, 486.  
 Panagia tou Yerakioti, 324.  
 Panselinos, Manuel, 37, 196, 368, 376, 414.  
 Pantaleon (Panteleimon), St., 133, 184, 216, 244, 344; — church of, 94, 463.  
 Panteleon, St., 508.  
 Panteugenos, Soterichos, 349.  
 Pantocrator, see Christ.  
 Papageorgiou, 38, 345, 381, 413.  
 Paphos, Kato, Nea, 15, 22, 29, 35, 36, 72, 119, 147, 243, 269, 349, 351, 353, 382, 385, 397, 407, 419, 423; — Old, 382, 395; see Kouklia.  
 Parable of the Virgins, 290, 484.

- Paradise, 61, 136, 311, 481.  
 Paraskevi, St., 81, 86, 96, 136, 218, 231, 254, 273, 298, 304, 321, 337, 379, 484; — church of, 26, 32, 35, 40, 106, 290, 344, 382.  
 Parenzo, basilica of, 47.  
 Paris, *Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, 202.  
 Passion play, 114.  
 Passion, symbols of, 59, 166, 179, 476, 480, 486.  
 Patmos, 75, 143, 178, 180, 206.  
 Patrovas, St., 302.  
 Paul, Apostle, St., 16, 22, 28, 34, 42, 47, 74, 75, 86, 102, 110, 117, 118, 121, 126, 134, 146, 150, 152, 170, 182, 206, 211, 216, 222, 231, 236, 242, 243, 253, 273, 289, 290, 294, 310, 320, 321, 328, 336, 349, 368, 377, 385, 405, 407, 413, 422, 431, 444, 458, 470; — and the viper at Malta, 126; — Apocalypse of, 136.  
 Paul of Thebes, St., 512.  
 Paul the Simple, St., 458.  
 «Peace be unto You», 310.  
 Pedoulas, 39, 86, 270, 291, 331, 289, 390, 422, 426, 432.  
 Pegasus, St., 184.  
 Pelicanos, George and Helen, donors, 246.  
 Pelendri, 38, 40, 66, 126, 223, 224, 231, 232, 307, 369, 380, 426, 497, 507, 514.  
 Peletrion, 507.  
 Pendayia, 99.  
 Pentecost, 290, 416, 431; see also Descent of the Holy Spirit.  
 Perachorio, 35, 178, 334, 370, 422, 425.  
 Peratis, priest Peter and Pepani, donors, 186, 188.  
 Peribleptos, church of, 344, 370, 380, 390.  
 Peristerona, church of, 22.  
 Peter, St., 28, 42, 47, 55, 74, 75, 86, 99, 110, 121, 127, 134, 136, 146, 150, 152, 170, 184, 191, 192, 194, 206, 211, 216, 218, 222, 231, 236, 243, 244, 249, 250, 253, 269, 273, 290, 296, 307, 308, 309, 310, 313, 320, 321, 328, 335, 336, 339, 346, 365, 368, 377, 405, 407, 410, 412, 413, 422, 431, 437, 443, 450, 452, 470, 481, 484; — and John at the Empty Tomb, 218, 290, 410.  
 Peter of Alexandria, St., Vision of, 81, 217.  
 Peter I, King, 224.  
 Peter II, King, 224, 511.  
 Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, 16.  
 Peyia, 22, 26.  
 Pharaoh, 201, 202.  
 Philagrius, St., 183, 243.  
 Philip, St., 42, 47, 99, 191, 213, 236, 243, 310, 320.  
 Philip of Burgundy, 301.  
 Philip, painter, see Goul.  
 Philocales, Eumathius, 456, 458.  
 Philologus and Olympas, Sts., 302.  
 Philon, St., 55.  
 Philotheos, Archbishop, 75, 497.  
 Philotheos, deacon, 71.  
 Philotheos, monk, 75.  
 Phlegon, St., 302.  
 Phlouris, donor, 244.  
 Phocas, Emperor, 28.  
 Photius, St., 472.  
 Photius, Patriarch, 33, 171.  
 Pilate Washing his hands, 254, 300, 364, 365, 376, 393; see also Christ Before Pilate.  
 Pileas, priest donor, 450.  
 Pimen, St., 66.  
 Pistis, Elpis, Agapi, Sts., 250, 254.  
 Platanistasa, 150, 186, 247, 312, 339.  
 Plato, 20.  
 Polycarpus, St., 55, 432.  
 Polychronius, St., 472.  
 Popes, 218, 302, 314, 377.  
 Potamia, 511.  
 Poulakis, Theodore, painter, 499.  
 Preparation of the Throne, 136, 159, 182, 224, 296, 311, 325, 413, 432, 480, 481, 486, 493.  
 Presentation of Christ, 68, 71, 81, 86, 95, 107, 110, 127, 152, 164, 178, 182, 190, 215, 236, 242, 253, 272, 298, 301, 326, 335, 372, 390, 417, 421, 422, 448, 470, 493.  
 Prochorus, St., 216, 339, 397.  
 Procopius, St., 235, 458.  
 Propontis, 17.  
 Protaton, church of, 262, 344, 368, 376, 414.  
 Psellos, Michael, 33.  
 Pyrga, 38, 109, 428, 429, 432.  
 Raimonti, Marcantonio, 346.  
 Raising of Jairus' daughter, 290.  
 Raising of Lazarus, 54, 55, 81, 86, 95, 110, 122, 174, 215, 236, 253, 262, 272, 296, 298, 326, 391, 417, 421, 431, 448.  
 Raphael, 346.  
 Ravanica, church of, 301, 376.  
 Ravenna, 27, 47, 49.  
 Rastiz, Persian General, 32.  
 Reghinus, St., 76, 500.  
 René of Anjou, book of Hours of, 301.  
 Resurrection, 84, 85, 86, 96, 99, 130, 143, 262, 273, 290, 309, 355, 410-12, 414, 431, 438, 499; see also *Anastasis*.  
 Richard, Coeur de Lion, 18, 138, 167, 178, 353.  
 Romanus Melodus, St., 88, 119, 147, 184, 218, 237, 481.  
 Rome, 15, 33, 68, 86, 171, 200, 204, 339.  
 Russia, 269, 301, 306.  
 Russians, 37.  
 Sabas, St., 71, 95, 122, 184, 216, 244, 273, 321, 368, 413; — basilica of, 339.  
 Sacrifice, 71, 147, 269, 273, 296, 336, 349, 379; see also *Thisia*.  
 Sacrifice of Isaac, 79, 88, 96, 126, 147, 152, 217, 237, 254, 273, 290, 296, 314, 339, 344, 348, 385, 405, 434-5, 444.  
 Salamis, 15, 16, 22, 26, 499; — Constantia, 22, 28, 213.  
 Salome, Birth of Christ, 164, 488.  
 Salome, daughter of Herodias, 499.  
 Salome, friend of the V. M., 410.  
 Salonica, 20, 59, 171; — see also Thessaloniki.  
 Samonas, St., 133, 183, 379.  
 Samuel, 29, 30, 224.  
 Sarah, 237, 318.  
 Saramalina, Anastasia, donor, 138.  
 Saranda Colones, 353.  
 Satan, personification of, 143.  
 Saviour, 331, 497; — church of, 40, 72, 86, 147, 180, 206, 243, 349, 405, 463, 465; see also Transfiguration.  
 Saviour in Chora, 37, 272, 309, 310, 333, 390.  
 Scourging, 86, 96.  
 Sea, personification of, 32, 62, 136, 390.



- Serbia, 37, 313.  
 Sergius, St., 29, 55, 122, 216, 235.  
 Sergius, Patriarch, 312.  
 Sergius, Paulus, 348.  
 Sicily, 59, 171, 180.  
 Silas, St., 302.  
 Silianus, St., 302.  
 Silvester, Patriarch, 75.  
 Silvester, Pope, St., 379.  
 Simon, St., 42, 102, 130, 192, 211, 236, 243, 310, 320, 365, 394, 450.  
 Sisinius, 291.  
 Sisoës, St., lamenting over the grave of Alexander the Great, 81, 83, 484.  
 Skouleas, Leon, portrait of, 232.  
 Slavs, 312.  
 Soloi, 17, 22.  
 Solomoni, Agia, 36, 72, 119, 147, 269, 349.  
 Solomon, King, 66, 68, 79, 83, 103, 127, 143, 147, 167, 183, 217, 224, 231, 254, 273, 291, 304, 328, 339, 355, 458, 481.  
 Sophia, St., 250, 253; — church of, 50, 51, 59, 219, 270, 361.  
 Sopoćani, 37.  
 Soteriou, 22, 380, 384.  
 Sozomenus, St., 71, 88, 95, 106, 136, 150, 216, 500; — church of, 40, 84, 90, 92, 143, 230, 256, 369; — Dedicatory inscription recording the names of 13 villagers, 84; — cave-hermitage of, 511.  
 Spyridon, St., 71, 79, 83, 86, 88, 93, 94, 106, 119, 147, 156, 175, 183, 218, 227, 237, 239, 244, 254, 270, 273, 289, 291, 339, 344, 348, 350, 394, 405, 417, 421, 484, 500, 508, 514.  
 Stachius, St., 182.  
 Staraya Ladoga, 180, 243.  
 Staszewski, 26.  
 Stephen, St., 72, 79, 88, 96, 106, 132, 147, 152, 179, 184, 217, 237, 254, 273, 289, 291, 339, 344, 348, 379, 405, 444, 508.  
 Stephen the Younger, St., 206, 216, 366.  
 Stylianos, St., 328.  
 Sylvester, St., 71, 204.  
 Sylvester, Archbishop, 496, 497.  
 Symeon, devout, 127, 164, 166, 178, 190, 242, 272, 372.  
 Symeon Stylites the Archimandrite, St., 88, 171, 184.  
 Symeon Stylites the Thaumaturge, St., 72, 88, 140, 171, 182, 216, 230, 273, 298, 413, 443, 465, 472, 473.  
 Symeon «of the wonderful mountain», St., 216.  
 Synagogue, personification of, 142, 262, 366.  
 Syria, 17, 66, 75, 140, 171, 188.  
 Syrophenician woman invoking Christ, 300.
- Temptation, 289.  
 Terentius, St., 66.  
 Tersephanou, 42, 440.  
 Thaddæus, Apostle, 47, 191.  
 Thaleus, St., 55, 133.  
 Thecla, St., 81, 122.  
 Theodora, Empress, 49.  
 Theodore II, Palaeologus, 18, 270.  
 Theodore the Sanctified, St., 364.  
 Theodore of Studios, St., 72, 413.  
 Theodore Stratelatis, St., 72, 76, 88, 132, 184, 206, 216, 253, 273, 328, 339, 432.  
 Theodore Tyron, St., 81, 132, 216, 432.
- Theodosius, St., 122, 237, 407, 413.  
 Theodosius the Cenobiarch, St., 74, 95, 216, 244, 273, 366.  
 Theodosius of Skopelos, St., 458.  
 Theodosius Stylites, St., 472.  
 Theophanes, hymn-writer, 184, 218.  
 Theophanes of Crete, 346, 377, 380.  
 Theophanes the Greek, 37.  
 Therapon, St., 254, 395, 500, 512.  
 Theseus, 22, 158.  
 Thessaloniki, 26, 37, 269, 310, 377, 467; see also Salonica.  
 Thisia, 119, 213, 269, 273, 349.  
 Thomas, St., 42, 47, 102, 213, 236, 243, 310, 320, 450.  
 Three Youths in the Furnace, 272, 310, 398, 405.  
 Tiberius III, Emperor, 17.  
 Tigris, 395.  
 Timon, St., 302.  
 Timothy, St., 136, 236, 500; — and Mavra, icon of, 237; see also Mavra.  
 Titos, painter, 413.  
 «Touch me not», 86, 96, 224, 290, 309, 410.  
 Toumazos, goldsmith, 42.  
 Transfiguration, 54, 55, 81, 85, 86, 95, 127, 184, 215, 236, 253, 273, 300, 417, 421, 431, 470; — church of, 88, 90, 253, 256, 262; — monastery of, 313, 417; see also Saviour.  
 Tree of Jesse, 147, 232, 302, 320, 438, 481, 499.  
 Trifyllius, St., 71, 119, 183, 217, 227, 421, 472, 500, 514.  
 Trikomo, 35, 125, 486.  
 Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, 54, 55, 81, 86, 95, 121, 190, 214, 215, 236, 242, 253, 261, 273, 296, 298, 301, 313, 328, 355, 391, 417, 421, 431.  
 Triumph of Orthodoxy, 88.  
 Tryphon, St., 62, 134, 182, 215, 443.  
 Turks, 18, 19, 38, 39, 41, 198, 306, 444, 446, 456.  
 Tychicus, St., 88, 119, 302, 500.  
 Tychon, St., 71, 79, 119, 175, 183, 218, 254, 273, 500.
- Utter Humiliation, 83, 88, 96, 147, 152, 217, 254, 273, 298, 304, 321, 344, 348, 379, 421, 444.
- Vatopedi, church of, 262.  
 Vavilas, monk, 136.  
 Vebhianus, St., 18, 86, 321.  
 Venetians, 19, 38, 92, 98, 198, 341.  
 Venice, 39, 75, 110, 467, 499.  
 Via Crucis, 76, 86, 96, 130, 216, 227, 254, 273, 287, 298, 364, 365, 394, 438.  
 Victor, St., 132, 182.  
 Vincent, St., 132.  
 Virgin Mary, *passim*; — church of, 125, 271, 301, 345, 393, 395, 488; — and Child, 27, 32, 43, 47, 49, 62, 71, 99, 140, 164, 166, 167, 180, 183, 206, 218, 237, 298, 305, 314, 316, 328, 339, 368, 372, 375-377, 385, 394, 431, 436, 456, 481; — appellations of, 157; — Arakiotissa, 159, 166, 167, 171, 175, 178, 179, 180, 184, church of, 449, — Blachernitissa, 79, 103, 244, 254, 270, 289, 302, 325, 339, 348, 417, 422, 472, 488; — Cardiovastazousa, 348; — Glycophilousa, 368; — Hodegetria, 49, 62, 235; — of Kykko, church of 323, — Mi-

- stress of the Angels, 273; — Orans, 52, 55, 58, 88, 83, 93, 106, 126, 147, 244, 254, 270, 288, 291, 302, 321, 339, 344, 361, 385, 405, 410, 488; — Panhyperphotos, 88; — of the Passion, 167, 179; — Theoskepastos, church of, 312; — Yeroskipiotissa, 394; see also Maria; Mother of God; Panagia; Dormition; — «Drinking the water of the Conviction», 86, 88, 230; — Meeting with Elizabeth; and other scenes from her life, 85, 86, 227-230, 287, 369, 381, 414, 417, 420, 421, 428, 438, 482, 487; see also *Akathistos*.
- Vizakia, 110.
- Wander, 32.
- Washing of the Feet, 86, 96, 110, 122, 192, 214, 216, 227, 235, 236, 253, 269, 273, 300, 364, 365, 391, 414, 417, 421, 431, 432.
- Winfield, D., 114, 126, 158, 178, 179.
- Xenophon, St., 458.
- Xylophagou, 438.
- Xyngopoulos, 90, 341, 376, 380.
- Yephyra, 117, 232.
- Yerakes, 324.
- Yerakiotis, 324-5.
- Yeroskipos, 22, 26, 32, 35, 40, 312, 382, 395, 422.
- Yourias, St., 183.
- Yugoslavia, monastery of Peć, 333; see Jugoslavia.
- Zacchaeus, 290, 300.
- Zacharia, family portrait and coat of arms of, 90-92.
- Zacharias, father of St. John the Baptist, 224, 289.
- Zacharias, high priest, 55, 85, 164, 228, 230, 369.
- Zacharias, Patriarch, 204.
- Zechariah, 68, 134, 224, 298.
- Zechariah, 68, 134, 224.
- Zeno, Emperor, 16, 499.
- Zenon, St., 71, 183, 243, 500.
- Zias, N., 377.
- Zosimus, St., 79, 95, 107, 119, 121, 171, 184, 206, 215, 243, 272, 344, 398, 421, 426.



ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ  
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

# ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΧΝΩΝ

ΑΠΟΝΕΜΕΤΑΙ ΣΤΟΥΣ

## ΑΝΔΡΕΑ & ΙΟΥΔΗΘ ΣΤΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

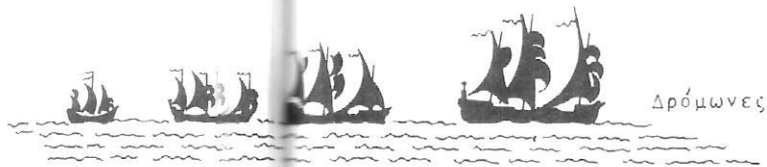
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ 22.1.1998

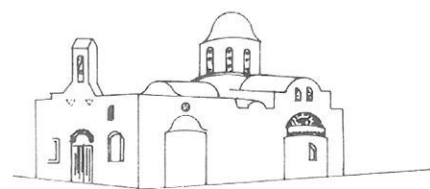
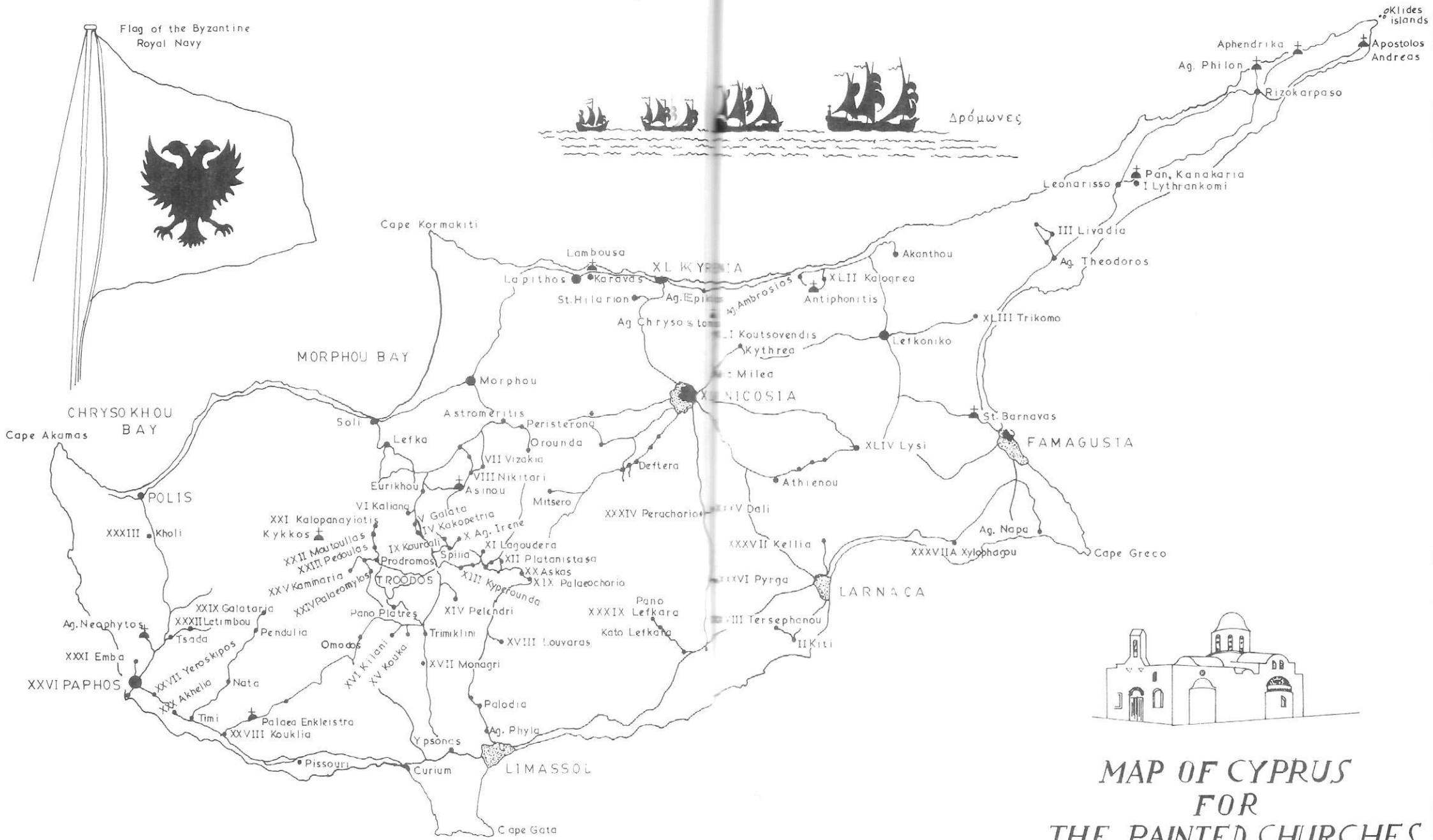
*The Excellence in Arts and Letters Award to Andreas and Judith Stylianou, by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Presented by His Excellency the President of the Republic, Mr Glafcos Clerides, Nicosia, 22.1.1998.*



Flag of the Byzantine Royal Navy



Δρόμνες



MAP OF CYPRUS  
FOR  
THE PAINTED CHURCHES  
OF CYPRUS



A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION

Nicosia Cyprus