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TAKING PLACE: THE SHRINE OF THE VIRGIN VEILED BY GOD IN KALOPANAGIOTIS, CYPRUS

This article honors Athanasios Papageorgiou,
valued mentor and friend

The eleventh-century typikon of the Constantinopolitan Evergetis Monastery, in a passage appropriated by many subsequent monastic documents, asks that when a new hegumen is installed in office, the key to the monastery be placed before the icon of Christ or the Mother of God, so that the new leader may receive custody of the institution directly from its divine patron[1]. Such a prescription shows that an icon was understood to affect the space in front of it: to engage the image was to engage its space. This mutuality lies at the heart of hierotopy. As Alexei Lidov said in opening the conference to which this volume is devoted[2], hierotopy studies not specific things that talk about the holy, but studies rather the orchestration of acts and artifacts that

[1] *Evergetis: Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis* / Trans. Robert Jordan // Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Volume 2 / Ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero. Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000, 491 n 29: "...the keys should be placed before Christ or the Mother of God, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands..." This was followed in the typika of the Kosmosoteira, Phoberos, and Makhairas monasteries (Ibid., 504 n 32).

[2] Introduction to conference, 29 June 2004, at the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. This article is based on the paper entitled "The Panagia Theoskepaste and the Eleousa of Kykkos: The Space of a Sacred Relationship," on 1 July 2004. I thank Alexei Lidov very warmly for the opportunity to participate in the conference and this ensuing publication; I extend my gratitude, too, to the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute where much of the research was done, and to Southern Methodist University, which has supported my work so generously.

allows the holy to take place[3]. The ways in which things become engaged with the spaces in which the holy can take place are extremely varied. Thus, hierotopy's subjects often will themselves be artifacts — instances in which the orchestration of elements is the product of deliberate choreography[4]. But at least as often, it will surely need to engage less artifactual interactions, watching the path of an artifact through force fields that — though exposing a place as the site of profound convergences of memory — are nonetheless the product of far less intentionally directed forces. This paper is an effort to present a place and an object that have been conjoined in such an indelible but only marginally intentional way. As the research it presents is the product less of historical than of ethnographic and on-site observation, I write it in the first person.

The site in question is on the island of Cyprus[5]. It lies above the village of Kalopanagiotis in the Marathasa Valley, high on the north slopes of the Troodos mountains, about a kilometer beyond the eleventh- or early twelfth-century monastery of St. John Lampadistes[6]. It is a tiny gabled chapel of ambiguous age, set beside a small spring and engulfed in the shade of two huge live oak trees that completely hide it from view (fig. 1). The trees are often aflutter with votive cloths, though a recent sign asks visitors not to leave them. A far older electric sign by the road, now rickety and disused, was still emblazoned with the name of the shrine when I first came there in the summer of 1990. The name was "Panagia Theoskepaste" — that is, the

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[3] The term is drawn from *Smith J. Z.* To Take Place. Toward Theory in Ritual. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

[4] See for example *Lidov A.* The Flying *Hodegetria*. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space // The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance / Ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf. Rome, 2004, p. 273–304.

[5] The major sources on the shrine of the Panagia Theoskepaste are *Papageorgiou A.* Θεοσκέπαστης, Παναγία, Καλοπαναγιώτης // Μεγάλη Κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαιδεία, 16 vols. Nicosia: Philokypros, 1987, 6: 20; *Myriantheas K.* Μελέται Κώστα Μυριανθέα 1969–1990. Nicosia: n. p., 1991, p. 299–300, 331–334; *Gunnis R.* Historic Cyprus. Nicosia, 1936, p. 248; *Kyriazes N. G.* Ναός ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ // *Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά* 12, part 4. October–December 1936, p. 242–243; *Idem*, Παραδόσεις περὶ Τρουλλινοῦ καὶ Μαράθου // *Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά* 11, part 2. April–June 1935, p. 133–143.

[6] On Kalopanagiotis see especially *Papageorgiou A.* Καλοπαναγιώτης // *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 16 vols. Nicosia: Philokypros, 1987, 6, p. 215–216; *Myriantheas*, *Μελέται*, p. 281–316 and passim; *Kyriazes N. G.* Μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ· Ναὸς ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ καὶ Μονὴ αὐτοῦ // Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά 12, part 4. October–December 1936, p. 240–268. On Kalopanagiotis in the medieval period see *de Mas Latrie L.* L'Île de Chypre: Sa Situation présente et ses souvenirs du moyen-âge. Paris, 1879, p. 355, who regards Kalopanagiotis as the central settlement in the Marathasa Valley in this period. On the monastery of St. John Lampadistes see *Stylianou A.* and *Stylianou J. A.* The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art, 2nd edition. Nicosia, 1997, p. 292–320.

shrine of the Virgin veiled by God[7]. I have returned almost every summer since. The shrine is beautifully maintained (fig. 2). A cup resting ready by the spring reinforces the invitation of the trees' deep, refreshing shade. Young women come there in the evening to visit, and to tend the lamps, straighten the furniture, and secure the gifts left by visitors. The flow of gifts is steady but largely unseen: though I have spent many hours there, I have never encountered other visitors; just their tell-tale secretions of offerings. The signs outside, the attentions of the young women, and the offerings of cloth, coin, or oil make it clear that the place is a site of rituals — that people keep coming there, as I do myself.

Why do people come? Initially this was perfectly clear to me. It was because the chapel housed a particularly beautiful icon of the Panagia, one of the finest preserved on Cyprus[8]. It occupied its own throne at the far end of

[7] Theoskepaste is not a frequent epithet for images of the Virgin, though it does have precedent on Cyprus itself. Also known as the "Panagia Theoskepaste" is the thirteenth-century icon from the church of the Virgin Theoskepaste in Paphos, now in the Byzantine Museum in Paphos. It is the earliest icon on Cyprus with the heavy red veil seen again in the icon at Kalopanagiotis and later made so famous by the Kykkotissa. See: Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art. Exhibition at the Benaki Museum / Ed. M. Vassilaki. Athens, 20 October 2000 — 20 January 2001. Milan, 2000, p. 350–353, no. 36, entry by Athanasios Papageorgiou with earlier bibliography, especially: *Idem*, Η αμφιπρόσωπη εικόνα της Παναγίας Θεοσκέπαστης στην Πάφο // Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στο Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, 2 vols. / Ed. Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou. Athens, 1991, 2: p. 484–489 and *Hadermann-Misguich L.* La Vierge Kykkotissa et l'eventuelle origine latine de son voile // Ibid., 1: p. 197–204. This icon, too, has a rich legendary tradition linked with the Virgin's veiling protection: see *Jeffrey G., F.S.A.* A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 404; *Philippos L.*' Η Θεοσκέπαστη // Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά 1 (1923), p. 13–14. The epithet is known outside of Cyprus, as well, however. *Baltoyianni C.* Εικόνες τῆς Νάξου // Δεύτερο συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς τέχνης. Athens, 1982, p. 62–63 publishes two thirteenth-century icons by this name on Naxos; *Timotheos of Jerusalem*. Αἱ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας // Νέα Σίων 48 (1953): 175 adds an icon by this name in the Kastron on Andros, so named because the roof timbers of the church were found miraculously; and *Schlumberger G.* Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin. Paris, 1884, p. 292 publishes a magnificent seal of the Virgin Theoskepaste, perhaps associated with the cave church of the Theoskepaste in Trebizond, cited by *Timothoes*, Αἱ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας, 177, and *Kalokyris K.* Thèmes d'iconographie de la Mère de Dieu // Επιστημονικὴ ἐπετηρίς. Θεολογικῆς σχόλης 16 (1971), p. 183.

[8] On the icon see: *Weyl Carr A.* Reflections on the Life of an Icon: The Eleousa of Kykkos // Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου 6 (2004), p. 103–62; Ιερά Μετροπόλις Μόρφου. 2000 χρόνια τέχνης και αγιότητος. Nicosia, 2000, p. 284–285, no. 20 (entry by Stylianos K. Perdikes); *Papageorgiou A.* Η Αυτοκέφαλος Εκκλησία της Κύπρου. Κατάλογος της εκθέσης. The Autocephalos Church of Cyprus. A Catalogue of the Exhibition // Byzantine Museum of the Cultural Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III, Nicosia, 1995. Nicosia: Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1995, p. 143. The icon measures 113×82.5 cm, and retains its supporting pole. It was restored in 2000 by Kostas Gerasimos and Kyriakos Papaioakeim, and is now in the so-called Latin Chapel of the church of St. Herakleidios in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes.

the iconostasis (fig. 3, 4). The chapel's roof is asymmetrical, extending on one side to cover a low south aisle that was at some time added to the nave. Itself symmetrically gabled, the nave is divided from the aisle by stubby piers supporting a long, low arcade. The iconostasis continues beneath the arcade, and the icon's throne stands at right angles to it under the steeply sloping roof of the aisle. Long concealed behind the residues of dust and devotion, the icon was cleaned and consolidated by the Department of Antiquities in the 1980s, and once exposed, quite filled the small space with its beauty. A photograph published before the cleaning showed it veiled by curtains that left only its lower central section exposed[9]; this may account for the severely abraded condition of this portion of its surface. Otherwise its condition was good, and continued to be so despite the fact that it was as prone as the trees to acquire accretions: embroidered cloths, wax body parts, and flowers hung from its frame, coins stuck to its surface, bills tucked into the corners of the frame.

The icon displays the Virgin and Child in the type of the Kykkotissa (fig. 5), that is, the miracle-working icon of the Mother of God of Kykkos Monastery[10]. The Kykkotissa is the most potent thaumaturgic icon on Cyprus. First recorded in 1365[11], it has been veiled from view for centuries but continues to be a site of exceptional interventions and is known from countless replicas: it displays Mary holding a twisting Child who kicks his bare legs as he grasps her heavy red veil in one hand and a scroll in the other. Research on the Kykkotissa is what brings me to Cyprus. Already in the sixteenth century the Kykkotissa was the most frequently painted variant of the Virgin on Cyprus after the Hodegetria, but icons of this type, following their prototype at Kykkos, are most often veiled by curtains or stitched covers. This was not simply

[9] *Myriantheas*, *Μελέται*, pl. 58.

[10] The bibliography on this icon is by now extensive. The best succinct presentation is *Soteriou G. A.* Ἡ Κυκκιώτισσα. Νέα Εστία (Christmas issue, 1939), p. 3–6. See also *Carr*, Reflections on the Life of an Icon, p. 103–162; many articles in: Η Ιερά Μονή Κύκκου στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή αρχαιολογική και τέχνη / Ed. M. N. Christodoulou and Stylianos K. Perdikes. Nicosia: Museum of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, 2001; *Gratziou O.* Μεταμορφώσεις μίας εικόνας. Συμειώσεις στις όψιμες παραλλαγές της Παναγίας του Κύκκου // Δελτίον της χριστιανικής αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, ser. 4, 17 (1993–1994), p. 317–329 with English summary on 330; and *Ephraim the Athenian*. A Narrative of the Founding of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos and the History of the Miraculous Icon of the Mother of God / Ed. and trans. Andreas Jakovljević, with Modern Greek trans. by N. Christodoulou. Nicosia: Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery, 1996.

[11] The icon is said by legend to have been brought to Cyprus at the time of Kykkos's founding during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), but its presence is securely attested only with reference to a fire at Kykkos in 1365. The story is well told by *Hackett J.* A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. London: Methuen and Co., 1901, p. 331–335; see also *Ephraim the Athenian*, A Narrative, p. 50–51.

the most beautiful; it was the most visible icon of the Kykkotissa's type that I had ever seen. I was sure it was a Kykkotissa — a replica of the great icon at Kykkos — and thus the origin of the chapel's prominence.

It is possible that the icon was the source of the shrine's importance. Though the present church is post-medieval[12], it may have roots running back to the Middle Ages: ruins to its north have been identified as possible hermits' cells of medieval date[13], and an iconostasis beam of very fine quality that was found in the chapel belongs to a late fourteenth-century date not far distant from that of the icon of the Virgin[14]. Moreover, the legend quoted to explain the shrine's name speaks of what may well be the fifteenth century, for it says that the trees protected from death the families of Latin Catholic knights slain defending Cyprus from Muslim invasion[15]. Their blood dyed the fruits of the local fig trees red. Cyprus was ruled by Latin Catholic Crusaders from 1191 to 1474, and while some versions of the story identify the Muslims as Ottomans[16], the identification of the warriors as Catholics rather links it to the Crusader era and its brave, bloody wars with the Mamluks in the early fifteenth century. Thus shrine and icon both can be plausibly linked to the Middle Ages. Moreover, the icon can plausibly be linked to the shrine. Its name, as noted, is Theoskepaste, veiled by God. The Virgin's heavy crimson veil, a feature seen also in the Kykkotissa and the subject of extensive speculation[17], might well be read as an iconographic sign of Mary's protection. Certainly Byzantine tradition assigned a protective role to the relic of the Virgin's veil in Constantinople. It might have been this very feature that made an icon of the Kykkotissa's type take root in a shrine protected by its veiling live oak trees. In fact, the icon placed on proskynetarion during many of my visits was the icon honoring the feast of Mary's protective veil, the so-called Skepe — the root of Theo*skep*aste (fig. 6). Certainly I came to the shrine of the Virgin Veiled by God because I was sure it displayed an early instance in which a replica of the Kykkotissa, graced by the miraculous reputation of the great original, had itself attracted cult and became a special icon in its own right.

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[12] *Papageorgiou*, Θεοσκέπαστης, suggests that it was built in the seventeenth or eighteenth century as a single-nave church to which the south aisle has since been added.

[13] *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 299.

[14] Now in the icon museum at the monastery of St. John Lampadistes, the beam is fully reproduced in: *Papageorgiou A.* The Icons of Cyprus. Nicosia: Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1991, pl. 55 a–l and in: Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 140. *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 332 reproduces a photograph showing it in the chapel of the Panagia Theoskepaste.

[15] Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, p. 248.

[16] See *Timotheos*, Αἱ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας, p. 176–177.

[17] On the veil see most recently *Carr*, Reflections on the Life of an Icon, p. 131, n 20. Its earliest occurrence on Cyprus is on the icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste cited in note 7 above.

But slowly it became clear to me that I had jumped to a very great many conclusions. The Kykkotissa is not attested before 1365, very nearly the same period as this painting. If this was a Kykkotissa, it was an exceptionally early example. Certainly it is not labeled Kykkotissa. More importantly, the legend of the shrine does not refer to the Virgin. The legend refers to the trees. It is not at all clear when the Virgin Mary became linked to the shrine and its trees. It is equally unclear when this icon became associated with the shrine. The early twentieth-century ethnologists who recorded the shrine for the first time do not mention the icon[18]. While this may simply be because the panel was too obscured by its cover and candle soot to be noticeable, it means that we cannot document the icon's presence there before the middle of the twentieth century[19]. We really have no idea when the shrine became the *Panagia* Theoskepaste.

This turns attention to what is known of the site. The church of St. Herakleidios in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes was surely in use before the early twelfth century, the likely date of a mural painting of two kneeling monks on its apse wall, and probably goes back to the eleventh[20]. We know that the village of Kalopanagiotis, too, did exist in the Crusader period, and the heraldic crest of the Latin kings, the Lusignans, appears in both the iconostasis and the mural paintings at St. Herakleidios[21]. The Lusignan lions have rankled in local imagination, lending the Lusignans a role in local lore that far outstrips what history can substantiate[22], and attracting the curiosity of Europeans in search of the exotic fringes of their own history. This awareness of the lions makes it awkwardly possible that the legend of the Latin knights reflects not a bit of history preserved like a fly in amber, but is really a later embellishment of the trees' reputation to accommodate the reminders of Latin presence in the area. The centrality of Mary is problematic, too. The legends deal with trees. We hear nothing of the importance of Mary.

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[18] See: *Jeffrey*, A Description, p. 287; *Kyriazes*, Ναὸς ἁγίου ᾽Ιωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ (as in note 5 above), p. 242–243; *Gunnis*, Historic Cyprus, p. 248.

[19] *Myriantheas*, *Μελέται*, 300 and pl. 57 discusses and reproduces the icon in his studies of 1969; *Timotheos*, Αι ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας, p. 176, published in 1953, also speaks of the icon but says rather enigmatically that "the old icon has perished entirely and been replaced by a new one".

[20] See: *Stylianou* and *Stylianou*, Painted Churches of Cyprus (as in note 6 above), p. 292–295 and fig.176.

[21] Ibid., fig. 182.

[22] See for example *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 293, saying that the Latin archbishop of Cyprus had his summer palace in Kalopanagiotis, and that the templon in St. Herakleidios — given its Lusignan heraldry — cannot have been crafted for Orthodox use and must originally have been painted for a Latin Chapel occupying the area now occupied by the fifteenth-century parekklesion known as the Latin Chapel.

The Catholic rulers of Cyprus were followed by the Ottoman Turks, who conquered Cyprus in 1570/71 and ruled it until the island was taken over as a protectorate by the British in 1878. Elements of the Ottoman period are echoed in two further components of the shrine's legends. First, we hear a number of stories of the trees. In these cases, however, the trees are not the protecting shadow of the Mother of God. They are vindictive organisms that protect themselves. People who try to cut their branches drop their axes and never find them. Though visible from above, the axes vanish when their seekers climb down from the branches. No matter how carefully they search, the axes never become visible again. A schoolmaster determined to harvest firewood is later bereft when his son falls from the branches. A man who comes with a knife is blinded when it flies from his hands[23]. The names for the tools that appear in these stories are drawn from Cypriot dialect of the Ottoman era[24].

More savage is the legend of Marathas and Troullinos. Marathas and Troullinos are the supposed names of two lost villages[25]. In this legend, Marathas had a church under miraculous trees — trees that hid tools and even people from view; in particular, they hid Christians from Turks. In a spirit of competition, Troullinos built the shrine under the live oak trees. It was called not Panagia Theoskepaste but the Panagia Molyvdoskepaste — covered with lead, — and it is supposed to have been so constructed that one could not see the door from the outside. Legends of Marathas and Troullinos tell of a terrible vendetta that wiped out the populations of both villages. One of the legends associates the obliteration of the villages with the Ottoman invasion of 1570/71, saying that Turkish attention was drawn to the villages by the extravagant church and palaces of the Venetians in Marathas. It gives a striking picture of a village with mixed Greek and Latin population in which the two communities had vied with each other to build the most eye-catching edifices, only to catch the eye of rapacious in-

[23] *Kyriazes*, Ναὸς ἁγίου ᾽Ιωάννου Λαμπαδιστοῦ, p. 242 n 3.

[24] Thus in *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 331, the lost axes are not ἀξίνες, but τσεκούρι.

[25] For an historical assessment of the legend of Marathas and Troullinos see: *Gilles Grivaud*. Villages désertés *à* Chypre (fin XII^{e} — fin XIX^{e} siècle). Nicosia: Zavallis, 1998, p. 202, 204, 211–214. Marathasa, Grivaud says, is mentioned often in the Latin sources, though the name is applied more to the region of the Setrachos River valley as a whole than to any village as such; the name Maratho appears in 1521 and again in 1747 but not thereafter. Troullinos has a firmer basis in documentary evidence; a settlement of fair size first cited in 1435, it is believed to have been ravaged by Turkish soldiers either at the time of the Ottoman invasion, in the eighteenth century, or in the Ottoman reprisals following 1821. Grivaud, 217 and 301–314, associates its disappearance with the extensive depopulation of the region and not with any specific violent event. *Kyriazes*, Παρα–δόσεις (as in note 5 above), p. 135, speculates only that the event may have happened in the seventeenth century.

vaders[26]. Other versions are vague about the origins of the vendetta[27]; most, however, state clearly that Turks in the mixed village of Marathas conspired to provoke it[28]. Claiming to have an official document, the Turks summoned all males in the two villages to a site some distance away to hear the document read. In fact, they engulfed and butchered the men in a massacre so horrific that the rivers ran red with blood. Still today, the legend goes, the figs in that place are red because they were dyed with the blood. Hearing the fray, the women and children fled to the Molyvdoskepaste, sure that they would be protected there by the hidden door. And indeed, the infuriated posse of aggressors swarmed around the building but could find no entrance. They were about to leave, but at that point, an unfortunate baby inside the shrine began to cry, and the Turks, presuming an ambush, lit it on fire. The men of the two villages were all massacred; the women and children were burned to death in the church, and nothing survived of the two communities except the shrine itself, the Molyvdoskepaste. In the legend of Marathas and Troullinos, the shrine is associated with Mary, not the trees. But it is not linked with her benign protection (*Theo*skepaste); Molyvdoskepaste must refer to the overhanging roof.

In 1878 the British took over Cyprus from Turkey, and governed it for a century, until 1960. The British period has added further elements to the history of the shrine. The most notable of these is an otherwise undistinguished icon on the iconostasis (fig. 7). It was given in the year 1918 by a local archon; it shows the Mother of God, and it is prominently labelled in large, classical Greek letters as "Theoskepastos". Here, we meet the name that we are familiar with: not Molyvdoskepaste, but Theoskepaste. The Virgin has assumed the protective name that so readily seems to mate with the protective role of the trees. The iconographic type of the Mother of God, however, is totally unlike that of the icon that so dominates the shrine today. Far from being a replica of a great medieval protective image, it is unrelated. Ethnologists of the early twentieth century also call the shrine Theoskepaste. But curiously, they do not record our icon any more than the icon dedicated in 1918 had reflected it. Though the emphasis in the shrine is now on the Theoskepaste, the *icon* eludes our view.

Looking back, then, we find an extremely varied set of stories. Little remains to tell us of the Crusader era, except two provocative facts: that

[26] See the account by Achilleos Amilios cited by *Kyriazes*, Παραδόσεις, p. 135 n. 4, and reprinted in the unpaginated documentary section at the end of *Myriantheas*, Μελέται.

[27] *Kyriazes*, Παραδόσεις, p. 136–137; *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, p. 327, presents the destruction of Marathas as a Turkish reprisal for the uprising of Victor Zempetos (1607–1617), following the destruction of Marathas with a further action in which the male citizens of Troullinos were rounded up and massacred.

[28] As narrated in *Kyriazes*, Παραδόσεις, p. 137–138.

the icon does seem to be of legitimately medieval date, and that at some point, a legend that speaks of medieval knights emerged. It is an interesting legend, in that it participates in key aspects of the later legend of Marathas and Troullinos, but in reverse: here, the families are effectively protected by the shrine's overshadowing trees, and the figs are dyed red with the blood of heroes. In its generosity the legend is radically different from either the brusque and unromantic stories of the vindictive trees, or the fierce story of Marathas and Troullinos. The stories of the trees seem basic to the site — trees play a huge role in Cypriot folklore. And yet: how old are the trees? The shrine in the legend of Troullinos was not protected by its trees; in this legend the shrine is protected by its heavy roof, that hid the entrance door. The trees that now stand by the shrine may actually be as many as two hundred years old, but they are surely no older than this: fed by springs as these are, the trees on Cyprus can grow to grandiose proportions in a century. They may not have been notable yet in the Ottoman centuries. In the story of Marathas and Troullinos, it is Marathas that has miracle-working trees, not Troullinos. Might it be that earlier legends of Kalopanagiotis in general slowly gathered around this shrine as its trees matured? Might the story of the knights, in particular, have come in the British era to nestle in the now-magnificent trees? Notably, of the ethnologists recording the legends of the shrine in the 1930s, it is the British Rupert Gunnis to whom the legend of the knights was told[29]. Cypriot scholars seem not to have encountered it — or at least, not to have heard it as Gunnis did. Kykkos, in turn, does not figure in the legends, at all, and even the beautiful icon is strangely fugitive. It becomes clear that we are dealing not with *an* icon, or even *a* legend or *an* event. We are dealing with a *site,* that had gathered many events and objects.

The *site* bespeaks tensions within Cyprus itself. Nature's capriciousness comes out in the vindictive trees, that reclaim by their tricks the depredation that humans inflict on them. Humans, in turn, are divisive. Be it Christian and Muslim, Latin and Greek, Greek and Turkish, groups in opposition appear and reappear. They crystallize and recrystallize around the site of the shrine. Sometimes their relationships are unexpectedly benign, as in the case of the Latin knights who gave their lives to defend the dominantly Orthodox Cyprus from Muslim invaders: what Muslim invaders they were barely matters, for Cyprus has stood at the difficult hinge between Christian and Muslim for centuries, and has been plucked from Islam recurrently by Western European interventions — Byzantine, Crusader, Venetian, British. At other times relationships are harshly violent, as in the story of the two competing villages, Marathas and Troullinos. One watches as a kind of inescapable

[29] *Gunnis*, Historic Cyprus (as in note 5 above), p. 248.

magnetism pulls the terms, Greek and Turk, into the story of the two villages' mutually annihilating vendetta, thus enshrining another confrontation of cultures in the site. The *Trees,* in turn may have defined site as notable. Trees are often ways of signaling places of note. It may have been around them that the layered stories of the region gathered and interlaced.

The *Virgin Mary,* finally, may have been grafted onto the stories of the trees. This may have happened because there was a great icon there. But it was in no sense demonstrably in association with the presence of *our* icon. Certainly there is no basis at all for assuming that the icon drew attention as a Kykkotissa. Even the theme of protection that seemed so aptly signalled by the Virgin's red veil and the icon of the Skepe on the proskynetarion need have no bearing on either icon or shrine, at least in origin, for the feast of the Skepe — though old in Orthodoxy — was adopted by the Greek Orthodox Church only in the nineteenth century[30]. If its protective theme is associated with the icon, such association can be no more than a century old. This may be the case. By 1918, as we saw, local attention to the shrine had become generalized and sweetened, and the Virgin had acquired the benign, protective nickname, Theoskepaste. This name was written in the studied, enlightened, ancient Greek letters of the British period. They imply the British period's chronological and national definitions of history. These were definitions that heroized the Crusades, and that hungered for Crusader reminiscences on the island.

Once given its own name, the site gained attention. We can see that in its accretions: a new, late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century iconostasis, the throne for the icon, the electric sign bespeaking celebrations of Mary, and the mild but very persistent veneration of the trees by means of the votive rags. By the late British period we find ethnologists at the site, recording its accretions, both material and legendary, and analyzing their history, linguistic quirks, and meanings. Eventually, of course, I came, eager to understand the radiant Virgin whose name meant Veiled by God.

Then in the last decade, since 1994, Cyprus has seen a series of Marian events. They began with the visit of the great Athonite icon, the Axion Esti[31], in the twentieth anniversary year of the Turkish invasion of 1974[32].

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[30] Ἀκολουθία τῆς Ἁγίας Σκέπης τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνας ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου μετὰ παρακλητικοῦ κανόνος καὶ χαιρετισμός. Mount Athos: Megiste Laura, 1988, p. 8.

[31] On the Axion Esti see most recently Kriton Chrysochoïdes, Giannes Tavlakes, Giota Oikonomake-Papadopoulou, Τό Ἄξιον Ἐστίν, Παναγία η Καρυώτισσα. Ἡ ἐφέστια εἰκόνα τοῦ Πρωτάτου. Ἱστόρια – Λατρεία – Τέχνη. Mount Athos: Holy Community of Mount Athos, 1999. On the Kykkotissa and the Axion Esti see: *Tsigaridas E.* Η φορητή εικόνα "Ἄξιον Ἐστι" του ναού του Πρωτάτου Αγίου Ὄρους και η Παναγία Κυκκιώτισσα // Η Ιερά Μονή Κύκκου στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή αρχαιολογική και τέχνη / Ed. Menelaos N. Christodoulou and Stylianos K. Perdikes. Nicosia: Museum of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, 2001, p. 181–190.

Heavily charged with a message of Hellenism and welcomed with all honors due a visiting chief of state, the Axion Esti arrived in the week before Ochi Day, the day to which the Greek Church has moved the celebration of the Skepe in honor of Greece' heroic stand in World War II on 28 October1940[33]. It was greeted by tens of thousands with an intensity surely heightened by the fact that it is the iconographic twin of the Kykkotissa. Yet more dramatic was an epidemic of weeping that swept the island's rich population of Marian icons in February and March of 1997[34]. The great Kykkotissa did not weep. But the first and most visible weeper was the icon next to it on the iconostasis at Kykkos, and Kykkos and the Kykkotissa became the focus of the event. Pilgrims and money poured into Kykkos, and attention to its famous icon surged. As they never had before, replicas of the Kykkotissa blossomed in jewelers' windows and souvenir stands. And when I made my own annual pilgrimage to the shrine under the trees in July, 1997, there was a brand new icon of the Kykkotissa on its proskynetarion (fig. 8), and both the proskynetarion and the Theoskepaste's throne were well padded with pound notes. The young girls who came to tend the lamps in the evening pointed out to me that the icon was like the Kykkotissa. A concern for the abrasions of attention led the Department of Antiquities to install a sign asking that people not tie cloths to the trees. And in the year 2000, the icon itself was removed for restoration and safekeeping, presumably for inclusion in the new icon museum being built at the monastery of St. John Lampadistes by the Bishop of Morphou. It had been published for the first time already in 1995, and now the icon was quickly swept into the eddy of scholarly discourse that rippled around the Mother of God at the turn of the millennium, taking its place in the eager press of curiosity about the origin and early history of Cyprus's own great Marian palladion, the Kykkotissa[35].

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[32] Ὁ Φιλελεύθερος. 22 October 1994, no. 12647, page 1 columns 4–6 quoting President Clerides's welcoming remarks the "Ο Μαρτυρικός ελληνισμός της πατρίδας μας"; Ibid., 23 October 1994, no. 12648, page 1, columns 2–5; page 13, columns 1–8. The *Cyprus Weekly*, 21–27 October 1994, no. 776, page 1, columns 5–6, page 9, columns 1–4 gave extensive coverage to the icon's arrival, calling attention just below its cover story to the sightings of the image of the Virgin Mary that were occurring at the same time in Conyers, Georgia. *Cyprus Weekly*, 28 October — 3 November 1994, page 1, columns 4–5 covered the icon again on October 28 itself, when a crowd of 15,000 gathered.

[33] Ἀκολουθία τῆς Ἁγίας Σκέπης, 8.

[34] The mounting intensity of the event, which drew 50,000 pilgrims up the steep roads to Kykkos on Sunday, 10 February alone, can be traced in successive articles in Ὁ Φιλελευ–θερος: 2 February 1997, page 16, column 1; 4 February 1997, page 1, column 1; 6 February 1997, page 3, column 7; 7 February 1997, page 1, column 6–8; 10 February 1997, page 1, column 6–8.

[35] *Papageorgiou*, Η Αυτοκέφαλος Εκκλησία, 143; Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, no. 20; *Carr*, Reflections on the Life of an Icon, p. 103–62 (all as in note 8 above).

The icon clearly has become a Kykkotissa. At an earlier moment, it had become the Theoskepaste. And before that it may have had a different name. Or maybe it was another icon that was there before — possibly a Panagia Molyvdoskepaste, that shared in the dreadful fate of the other women and children of Troullinos, or that brooded over the people who brooded over their fate — or the likelihood of their fate, or the likelihood of a similar fate. And that in turn may have stepped into the place of a yet earlier myth that was linked to the trees. The trees themselves may be rooted in a more ancient legend bound to the very soil they grow in.

To say that the beautiful icon of the Theoskepaste tells us nothing about the Kykkotissa goes too far, for I watched it become a Kykkotissa under my very eyes. But the process reversed my assumptions. I had assumed that the beautiful icon would have carried the Kykkotissa's charisma with it from the beginning, as an automatic result of its iconographic type, and that this association would in turn have endowed the site it occupied with its significance. In fact, the process was just the opposite: the image was colonized by its twin at Kykkos at the very end of its own charismatic life, as it left its shrine and became a great work of art. Significance did not come *in* the icon. Significance came to it, endowed upon it by its site.

With this we come back to the site. Why was it *this* place that became so invested with legend? The beautiful icon was not a reason for this investment — it was a result. And how about the legends? Did they create the power of the site? Or did they, too, respond to it? Again, why here? Why in this place?

They show us not a fact but a process, as both tensions and actions gather around particular points in the topography of local lives. They gather most probably the way floating seaweed will gather around a post or a rock that stands in the path of the water, randomly and without intent. But they produce shapes that lend form and cadence to our lives, directing our footsteps, drawing our little protective gestures, focusing our prayers — even, in time, providing us meanings and goals for them. We come, and in adding our footsteps to those of the unseen others who have come and gone, we wear a path — we share a ritual. Why here? We say that we are moved in such sites by memories. But memories, as we have seen, are volatile. They roost in things, slowly remaking and being remade by them. The reality lies in not in the persistence of the past, but in the presistent present of ritual gathering.

What of the ritual capability of a place like this? The last time I saw the shrine before composing this paper was on a July afternoon; under the trees, a class of youngsters with a battery-operated tape recorder was learning traditional dances. Their ring of brightly-clad figures contrasted so sharply with the site's poignant myths. Was it a closure, ending the site's mythic awe? Or

was it opening the way for a new chapter to form around the trees and the stubborn little chapel still drawing the dance of life even without its luminous icon?

* * *

POSTSCRIPT: Eight months have passed since I read this paper in Moscow; in the interim I have returned to Kalopanagiotis and the chapel of the Panagia Theoskepaste. The beautiful icon is no longer in the shrine. But it is also not a museum object: it stands in the northern parekklesion of the church of St. Herakleidios, protected but available for the respect of pilgrims and art-lovers alike (fig. 9). The shrine, in turn, is newly reinstalled (fig. 10). The old, composite iconostasis has given way to a tidy new one, and brand new icons of the Kykkotissa's type now occupy not only the place of the Virgin Theoskepastos of 1918, but the throne itself. Three jasmine blossoms tucked into the corner of the throne showed that its new occupant had begun to take its place in the life of the site. In its quiet way, the dance continues. The process that we have watched here can hardly be called an artifact, except in the words of this article. Yet its power to shape the things in which the holy can take place is clear.

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ОБРЕТАЯ МЕСТО: СВЯТИЛИЩЕ БОГОМАТЕРИ «БОГОХРАНИМОЙ» В КАЛОПАНАГИОТИСЕ НА КИПРЕ

Типикон XI в. константинопольского монастыря Эвергетис содержит предписание, подтвержденное многими последующими монастырскими документами, о том, что при вступлении в должность нового игумена ключ от монастыря должен быть помещен перед иконой Иисуса Христа или Богоматери, чтобы новый управитель получил власть напрямую от небесного покровителя обители. Это указание свидетельствует о том, что икона воспринималась оказывающей воздействие на пространство перед нею: обращаться к иконе значило обращаться к ее пространству. Такая взаимозависимость лежит в основе иеротопии. По определению Алексея Лидова, иеротопия изучает не отдельные предметы, свидетельствующие о святом, а гармоничное сочетание действий и артефактов, позволяющее святому возникнуть. Способы вовлечения предметов в пространственные ансамбли крайне разнообразны, а иеротопиче-

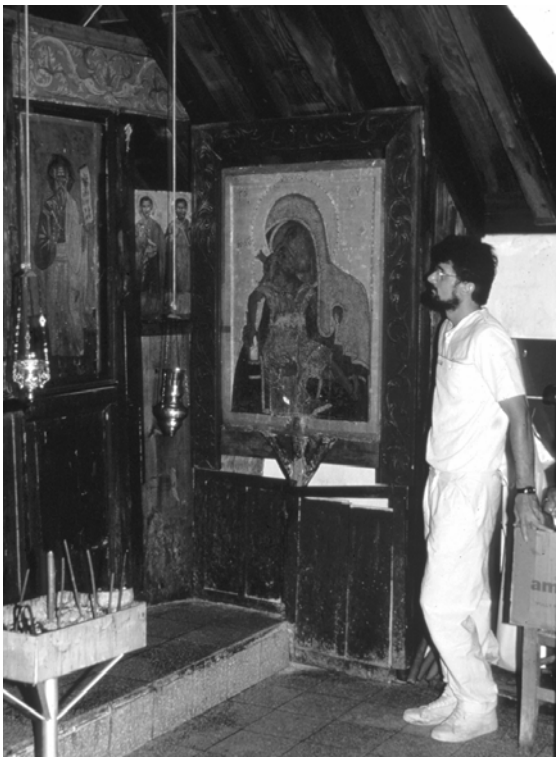
ские проекты часто сами оказываются артефактами, в которых сочетание элементов — результат продуманной хореографии. Нередко необходимо принимать во внимание и не связанные непосредственно с артефактами взаимодействия, прослеживать путь артефакта через своего рода силовые поля, обозначающие в пространстве места сложных совмещений и воспоминаний, связанные с действием не только намеренно направленных сил. Настоящая статья ставит целью показать место и предмет, соединенные оригинальным, но лишь отчасти преднамеренным образом. Она имеет отношение более к этнографии и полевым наблюдениям, чем к истории, и поэтому я веду повествование от первого лица.

Поводом для этой статьи стала изумительная по красоте икона Богоматери в типе «Киккотисса». До 2000 года она находилась в маленькой часовне Панагия Теоскепаста над деревней Калопанагиотис в долине Марафаса на Кипре. В настоящее время она выставлена в так называемой Латинской капелле в церкви Св. Иераклидия в монастыре Св. Иоанна Лампадиста, примыкающей к недавно построенному Музею икон в Калопанагиотисе. Большой по размеру и редкого художественного качества образ — одна из самых ранних кипрских икон, полностью соответствующих тому иконографическому типу, который мы называем «Киккотисса». Когда в 1990 году я впервые увидела ее, она все еще находилась в часовне и служила объектом почитания. Ее жизнь была полной и безупречной; я же прибыла из совершенно другого мира, волнуемая вопросами, казавшимися мне неотложными, а именно: как эта икона была связана со знаменитой иконой того же типа в Киккском монастыре. Я сделала ряд неумных предположений до того, как поняла: чтобы нащупать ответ, нужно исследовать не только икону, ее размер, стиль, датировку, качество, но место и пространство ее «обитания». Так начала зарождаться тема этой статьи: пространство часовни и ее взаимосвязь с сакральной идентичностью иконы, которую она вмещала.

У часовни нет своей истории, впервые она упоминается в записях этнографов 1930-х годов, не связанных с иконой, хотя она, видимо, уже находилась в часовне. Однако само место фигурирует в довольно большом количестве преданий, и ежегодно посещая его с 1990 по 2000 год, я была свидетелем очень интересного процесса его развития в течение десятилетия. Моя статья посвящена истории этого места как священного в той мере, в какой я могу восстановить ее по преданиям и собственным наблюдениям. Исследование предпринято для выяснения особенностей почитания этой иконы, которые я могла наблюдать, и ее связей с культом Богоматери Киккской.

1. Kalopanagiotis. View toward the trees and sign of the Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo author

2. Kalopanagiotis. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo Gerald L. Carr

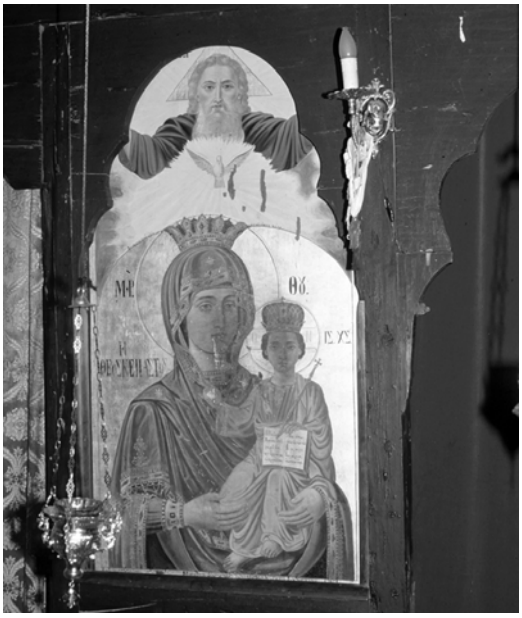


3. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste, south aisle. Photo author

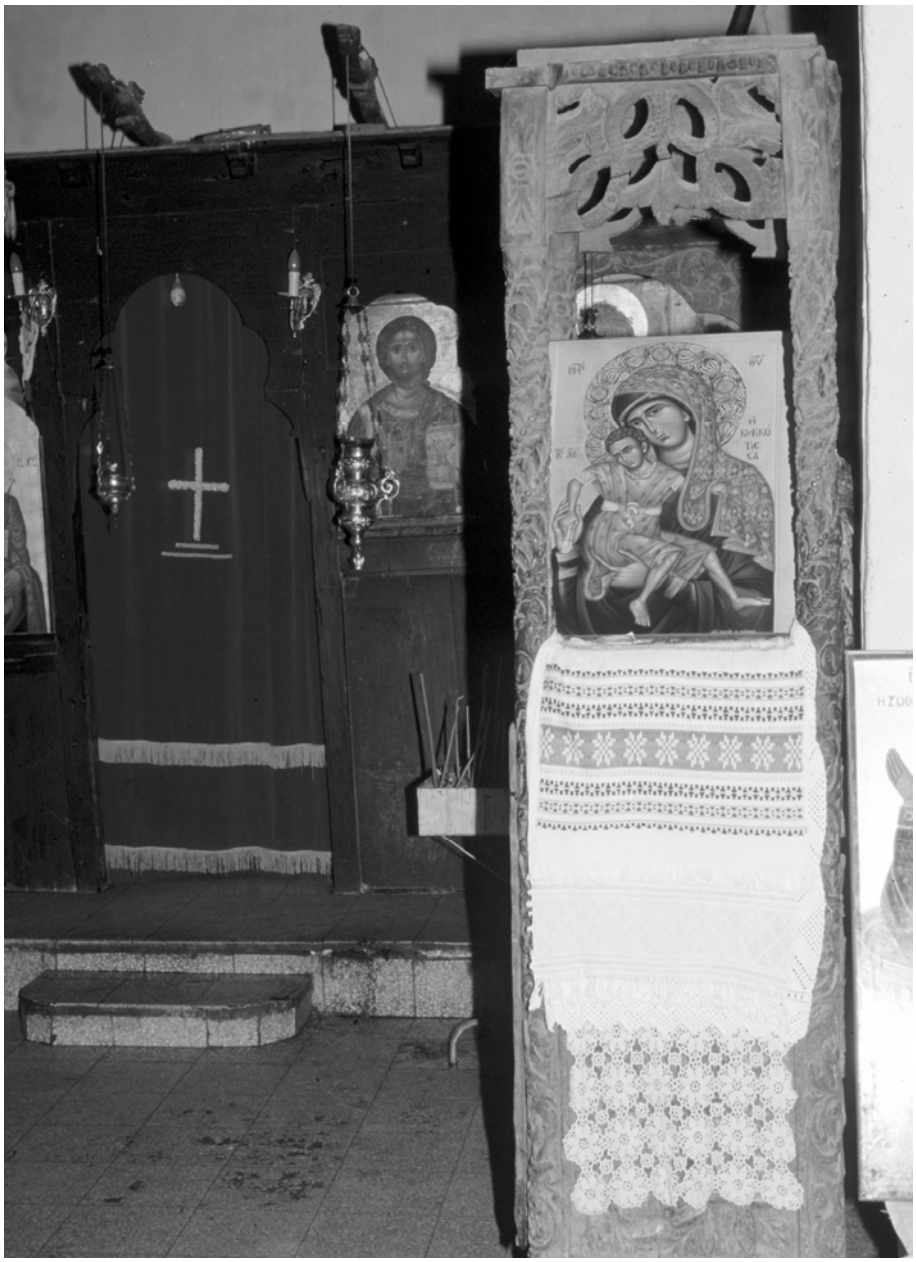
4. Throne of the icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1992. Photo author

5. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1995. Photo author

6. Icon of the Skepe on the proskynetarion in the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 1995. Photo author

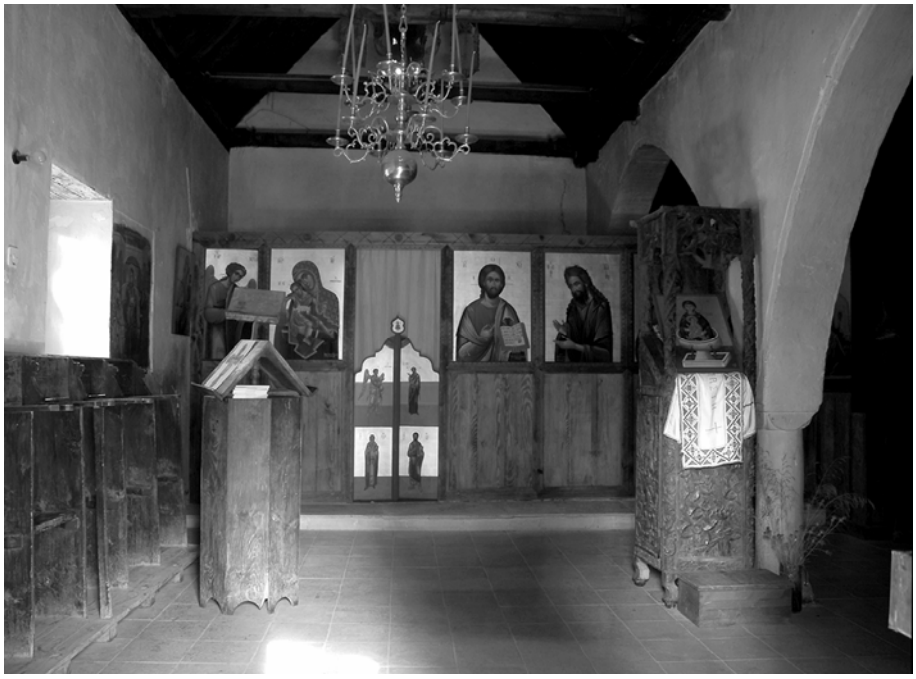


7. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepastos of 1918 on the iconostasis in the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste. Photo author



8. Icon of the Kykkotissa on the proskynetarion of the chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 2002. Photo author

9. Icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste in the "Latin Chapel" of the church of St. Herakleidios in the Monastery of St. John Lampadistes, Kalopanagiotis, in 2004. Photo Gerald L. Carr



10. Kalopanagiotis. Chapel of the Virgin Theoskepaste in 2004. Photo Gerald L. Carr