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THE "HOLY SEPULCHER"
OF ST. JOHN LAMPADISTES IN CYPRUS

The island of Cyprus has been deeply affected by its proximity to the Holy Land[1]. Converted by apostles[2], visited by the Virgin Mary[3], honoring Lazarus as its first bishop, it furnished Constantinople with precious relics of the friends of Christ[4], and in the wake of the empress Helena's mythic journey to the island sustained one of the earliest cults of the relics of the True Cross outside of Constantinople[5]. The family of the Prophet, too, inscribed

[2] On the history of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus see especially *Hackett J.* History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1910.

[3] On the legend that the Mother of God visited Cyprus to bring Lazarus his omophorion and epimanikia, see *Paschalis Kitromelides.* Κυπριακή λογιοσύνη 1571–1878. Προσωπογραφική θεώρηση // Πήγες και μελετές της κυπριακής ιστορίας 43 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2002), 95–96(version by Akakios Monachos); *Kyriazes N. G.* Ἡ κατὰ παράδοσιν ἐπίσκεψις τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν Λάρνακι τῆς Κύπρου // Κυπριακὰ Χρόνικα 1 (1923), p. 29–32.

[4] These included especially the Gospel by of Matthew copied by the apostle Barnabas' own hand and buried with his body by the Evangelist Mark, given to the emperor Zeno after figuring as a witness in the synod conferring autocephaly on the Church of Cyprus, and the body of Lazarus the friend of Christ, brought to Constantinople by Leo VI. On the Gospel see Hackett, History, 24–26; on Lazarus see most recently *Wortley J.* Relics of the `Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople // Byzance et les reliques du Christ / Ed. Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin, Paris: Centre de recherché d'histoire et civilization de Byzance, 2004, p. 143–57, esp. 155–157.

[5] The relics are described by *Makhairas L.* Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle" / Trans. and ed. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1932, 1: 6–10 & 7–8. Portions of the footrest of the True Cross and portions of the crosses of the two thieves, usually named after the good thief as the "Cross of Olympas," are believed to have been brought to Cyprus by the empress Helena and installed in churches on Staurovouni, on its peak and at its foot at Tochni. The Abbot Daniel, who visited Staurovouni on his way to

itself upon its shores in a cult site honoring one of its great women[6], and a steady seepage of desert saints reached Cyprus from Islamic-held lands along the Jordan. Thus steeped with Holy Land sanctity, Cyprus had already long known itself as a "holy island" when Leontios Makhairas, writing in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, gave it that epithet in his great chronicle, Cyprus' earliest surviving history[7]. Makhairas served the Latin kings of Cyprus, the Lusignans[8]. The Lusignans, who ruled Cyprus from 1191–1474, exemplify another way in which Cyprus was bound into the affairs of the Holy Land, for they were career Crusaders and heirs to the crown of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Lusignan rule drew Cyprus into intimate interchange with the mainland. This interchange escalated sharply during the final third of the thirteenth century when, newly confirmed in the crown of Jerusalem, the Lusignans confronted the Mamluk campaign to reconquer the Holy Land. The Kingdom of Cyprus defended and then became the refuge for mainland Christians of every stripe, as refugees ranging from local Syrian artisans to Latin lords and century-old monastic communities with all their relics and movable goods poured onto the island[9].

Art historians have long pondered the intricate interchange of artistic styles that links Cyprus and the mainland in this period[10]. By contrast, they have paid conspicuously little attention to the impact upon Cyprus of the great Holy Land pilgrimage sites. The degree to which the Holy Land sites assumed a distinctive visual character in the eyes of Cypriot patrons, and the

Jerusalem in 1106, is the earliest traveler to record the relics: *Wilkinson J.* Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988, p. 125–126. His visit strongly suggests that they were prominent already before the Crusades, but little is known of their cult until they were promoted under the Lusignans. *See Mango C., Hawkins Ernest J. W.* The Hermitage of St. Neophytus and Its Wall Paintings // *DOP* 20 (1966): 124, n 12; *Carr A. W.* The Holy Icons: A Lusignan Asset? // France and the Holy Land . Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades / Ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 314–315.

[6] *Gunnis R.* Historic Cyprus. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1936, p. 119–120; see most recently *Papanastasiou N.* Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus: An Elusive Landscape of Sacredness in a Liminal Context, paper delivered at the College Art Association meetings, Boston, MA, 23 February 2006.

[7] *Makhairas*, Recital, p. 28–30.

[8] On the Lusignans see especially *Edbury Peter W.* The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[9] On this influx see especially *Richard J.* Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle // *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), p. 157–173; *Boase T. S. R.* The Arts in Cyprus, A: Ecclesiastical Art // A History of the Crusades / Gen. ed. Kenneth M Setton, *Volume IV: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974, p. 165–195.

[10] For a summary of literature see *Carr A. W.* Art // Cyprus 1191–1373. Culture and Society / Ed. Aggel Nicolaou-Konnare and Christopher Schabel, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 385–28, esp. 289–310.

way in which such a character might have been evoked, have entered our analysis only with Natalia Teteriatnikov's contribution to the last hierotopy volume, in which she paralleled St. Neophytos' Enkleistra with the Crusader church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem[11]. In doing so, she raised for the first time the question of Cypriot responses to the new holy city of pilgrimage sites that had taken shape in Jerusalem during the first century of Crusader rule. The question she posed is addressed again here, in this case through a pair of panel painted icons. Both show St. John Lampadistes (Fig. 3, 4); both are preserved in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis; and together draw attention to the role of pilgrimage, and of the great pilgrimage sites, in the art of Crusader Cyprus.

The monastery of St. John Lampadistes lies mid-way up Cyprus' Marathasa valley (Fig. 1)[12]. Carved by the Setrachos River as it plunges northward to the coast from the high Troodos, Marathasa is dotted with medieval churches, suggesting that it enjoyed a degree of prosperity in the Middle Ages. The oldest and most imposing of these churches is St. Herkleidios, katholikon of St. John Lampadistes. Engulfed today by the vast wooden roof that covers the whole monastery, St. Herakleidios is a domed cross-in-square church customarily dated to the eleventh century[13]. It is Marathasa's only domed medieval church. It must already have been in service as a monastery in the early years of the twelfth century, when two kneeling monks were portrayed on the inner wall of its apse[14], but it is not clear what its dedication at that time was, or when the monastery received its current dedication to St. John Lampadistes; its earliest documentary sources belong to the eighteenth century. St. John, venerated as a native son among Cyprus' saints, is believed to have come from Marathasa and to have been buried in St. Herakleidios. His tomb was located in an ample parekklesion added at an indeterminate date to the northeast side of the church (Fig. 2). Modified before the

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[11] *Teteriatnikov N.* The Relic of the True Cross and Jerusalem *Loca Sancta*: The Case of the Making of Sacred Spaces in St. Neophytos' Encleistra, Paphos // *Hierotopy in Byzantine and Medieval Russian Creation of Sacred Spaces* / Ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2006), p. 409–433.

[12] On the monastery of St. John and its church of St. Herakleidios, see *Stylianou A., Stylianou J. A.* The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art, 2nd ed. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1997, p. 292–320; and *Lazarou P. Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστής. Βίος — Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονή του — Παρακλητικὸς Κανών* (Nicosia: Hiera Metropolis Morphou, 2003); *Myriantheas K. Μελέται Κώστα Μυριανθέα, 1969–1990.* Nicosia, 1991; *Young S. H.* Byzantine Painting in Cyprus during the Early Lusignan Period / Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1983, p. 144–245; *Gunnis*, Historic Cyprus, p. 245–48; *Kyriazes N. G. Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμβαδιστὴς, τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ 1721 // Κυπριακὰ Χρόνικα* 12 (1936), p. 243–268.

[13] *Papacostas T.* Byzantine Cyprus. The Testimony of Its Churches, 650–1200. 3 vols / Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1999, 2: 37–38, no. 54.

[14] *Stylianou and Stylianou*, Painted Churches, pl. 176.

sixteenth century by the addition of the famous northern "Latin" chapel, the parekklesion was modified again in the mid-seventeenth century to allow it to communicate with the sanctuary[15]. The tomb was demolished at this time. Since then, the skull of St. John has been housed in a pyramidal, parcel gilt reliquary of 1641,[16] and offered for veneration in a reliquary niche on the northeast wall. The niche is densely ringed by graffiti, including the familiar signature of the Russian pilgrim-monk Basil Barsky, who wrote: "1735. ἀκολούθως ἦλθον ἐνταῦθα χάριν προσκυνήσεως ἐγὼ ἐν μοναχοῖς ἐλά-χιστος Βασίλειος Μοσχοβορῶσος Κιεβορολίτης"[17]. Adjoining the niche on the southern face of the wall is a proskynetarion displaying a large icon of the saint clothed in a silver gilt revetment of 1776[18]. The revetment was made to cover one of the two icons that form the focus of this article. The icon has only recently has been removed; rather than in the museum that ad-joins the monastery, however, it is still kept in the consecrated space of the parekklesion.

Both icons discussed here are *vita* icons, showing the large, frontal fig-ure of St. John Lampadistes surrounded on four sides by fourteen scenes from his life. The panels are themselves far older than the revetment. Closely akin in style and imagery, they belong together to much the same period in the late years of the thirteenth century. They differ in size: the larger, which is marginally the earlier of the two, measures 99.5×65.5 cm (Fig. 3); the other is 75×48.5 cm (Fig. 4)[19]. They differ, as well, in condition: the larger icon, to which the silver cover was formerly affixed, is more extensively abraded and to some extent over-painted. Its dominant figure was re-painted — apparently in the sixteenth century — with a smooth, classicizing face and a brocaded golden tunic that conceals the original dark red garment that is still perceptible at its edges. The silver revetment, the abrasion, and over-painting all indicate that this icon must have served for some centuries

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[15] *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, 24–25, fig. 28–29.

[16] Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου. 2000 χρόνια τέχνης καὶ ἁγιότητος, exhibition cata-logue, Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus, Nicosia, 2000 (Nicosia: Holy Metropolis of Morphou, 2000), fig. 16 on page 217. Among the oldest surviving reliquaries on the is-land, this is the earliest of Cyprus' seven skull reliquaries and the first instance in which an archbishop of Cyprus — in this case the donor Nikephoros (1638–1674) — is represented with the imperial scepter that is among the privileges accorded with Cyprus' autocephaly: *Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulos*. Λειψανοθήκες αγίων στην Κύπρο // Δʹ συνάντηση βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου, 20–22 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002 (Thessalonike, 2003), 235–36.

[17] *Lazarou*, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστὴς, 52.

[18] Well reproduced in color in Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 197.

[19] Both are published in color in Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 250–251, no. 4, and 252–253, no. 5 (entries by Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou).

as the monastery's main proskynetarion icon. The smaller icon presumably replicates or reflects it. As the smaller icon is itself little later than the larger one, it suggests that the larger one may well have been the proskynetarion icon in use already around 1300 when the smaller replica was made. The two would, then, have had somewhat different original functions, and this difference may help to account for slight differences in the themes selected in each case for the sequence of scenes in the *vita* cycle.

The icons constitute the earliest evidence we have of St. John or his cult. His history is at best gossamer[20]. He is cited by Leontios Makhairas, but his earliest surviving *vita* is copied from a now-lost manuscript of 1640[21]. It places his life in the tenth century, and presents his chapel as the origin of the church and ensuing monastery at Kalopanagiotis. In fact, however, the chapel postdates the church; how greatly it predates the icons is as yet uncertain, but the fidelity with which the icons adhere to the narrative of 1640 makes it clear, as Chariton Stavrovounites argues, that the *vita* was known already in the early Lusignan period[22]. As the icons tell it, the story begins with St. John's birth as the last child of a priest and his wife. He is raised to read the books of the church, as depicted in the second of the vignettes in the top frame, where he can be seen in the large icon to be reading the opening words of the Psalter. He is then betrothed in the third scene to a girl in another village. Her parents, however, are induced by the devil — in what looks like a friendly family supper in the upper right-hand side of the frame — to serve John a poisoned fish, and it blinds him. He returns home, his bereft father retrieving him with a walking stick in the large icon, but riding on a horse or mule in the smaller one. Lodged with his parents, John settles into a life of patient asceticism, and we see him in the larger icon distributing food from his lap to two blind beggars who also walk with a stick. The smaller icon omits this scene, skipping ahead to the next episode depicted on the large icon. Here, after twelve years of humble ascesis, John one day points out to his servant a golden eagle that flies around him, and predicts his own death

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[20] A good summary of the sources for his *vita* is given by *Stavrovounites Fr. C*. Οἱ ἅγιοι τῆς μητροπολιτικῆς περιφερείας Μόρφου // Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 227, n. 48.

[21] *Makharias*, Recital, 36–37 & 36 says, "Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστὴς εἰς τὴν Μαραθάσαν, ὅπου δώχνει τὰ δαιμόνια, ὁ ὁποῖος ἤτον δίακος εἰς τὴν ἀνορίαν τῆς Μαραθάσας — And the great John Lampadistes in Marathasa, who drives away devils; and he was a deacon in the district of Marathasa". The *Vita* is in Stavrovouni, ms. 4, of 1903. Its text is published, both in the original and in modern Greek, by Fr. Chariton Stavrovounites in *Lazarou*, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστὴς, 15–29. This is the text used in this article. The akolouthia published in Venice in 1667 by Gerasimos Christophorou is translated in Cob ham C. D. Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908, p. 226–27. He is celebrated on 4 October.

[22] *Lazarou*, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστὴς, 11.

before the next midday. The last scene on the right-hand frame in the small icon — and the first on the left-hand frame in the large icon — shows John bidding his servant to fetch a fine cluster of grapes from his father's vineyard. This incenses his father, who had not yet blessed the grapes, and in both icons — at the top on the left in the small icon and in the second scene on the left in the large one — the angry father scolds his son. John responds with a miracle: he sends his servant to replace the cluster, which adheres to the vine as though never cut; when the servant returns, he finds John dead, as he had predicted. The miracle receives two scenes on the larger icon: John sends the servant, and then lies with crossed hands under the consternated gaze of both father and servant. On the smaller icon the episodes are conflated in one compartment, freeing the next compartment for an image not paralleled on the larger icon: John's entombment in a substantial stone sarcophagus. This sets the stage for the episode next narrated on both icons — on the larger icon in the left corner of the bottom frame; in the smaller icon in the final episode of the left-hand frame. Here a pair of lunatics insist over the protests of John's father upon breaking open the tomb, at which a mysterious light has been seen to glow. The inclusion of the scene of John's entombment, with its big sarcophagus, allows the smaller icon to display the tomb with emphatic identifiability here, complete with a gabled lid. Once retrieved, John's relics prove thaumaturgic, curing the lunatics and others who follow. The miraculous relics are displayed in both icons in the ensuing compartment. In the larger icon this is at the center of the lower frame and much abraded, perhaps reflecting the wear of veneration. Persuaded by the relics' efficacity, John's father follows the request of his son in a dream, and builds a church to house them. The church is depicted in the final episode of the large icon, assuming a conspicuously domed form that readily evokes the church of St. Herakleidios. The building occupies the next to the last panel of the smaller icon, but here attention is focused on a figure hurrying in front of it. The same figure recurs in the final scene, bearing a square panel in his hands: he must be the painter summoned by the father to paint John's icon. The painter was uncertain how to portray John, whom he had never seen, but a mysterious figure flashed intermittently before him in the church, and concluding that this must be the saint, he seized his tools and produced the required likeness.

The arrangement of scenes in the two icons, with the horizontal compositions concentrated along the top and bottom frames, and the upright scenes of standing figures stacked in the vertical frames, implies a conversancy with the format of the *vita* icon, and the *vita* icon did enjoy a particular prominence in Cyprus, where no fewer than eleven examples survive from the first two Lusignan centuries[23]. *Vita* icons seem first to have emerged in Byzan-

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[23] *Carr*, Art, p. 303–304.

tium in the years around 1200[24]. They are most numerous at this point in the icon collection at Mount Sinai, where six still survive from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries[25]. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko has linked their emergence with the conditions of the Crusader east, where the convergence of Christians of many languages encouraged the visual presentation of the stories of favored saints. Their success on Cyprus would tend to confirm this link. Their format might seem to suggest a pilgrimage function, marking and explicating the cult site of a saint. In fact, however, images calling attention to a saint's pilgrimage site are extremely rare in the Byzantine *vita* icons, which focus their attention upon the actions of the living saint, instead. It is the western counterparts to the *vita* panels that draw attention to the site of the saint's interred body and thus of his or her pilgrim veneration. This is clearest in the panels of St. Francis of Assisi, in which a majority of the scenes show miracles at Francis' tomb, and so focus attention upon its sanctity as a site of actual and meditative pilgrimage[26]. It is in keeping with this Latin bias that the famous Cypriot *vita* icon of St. Nicholas tes Steges, which portrays a Latin knightly patron, includes among its marginal scenes not only St. Nicholas' burial, but an event that took place at his tomb. That the tomb is depicted as Nicholas' tomb in Bari, Italy, and not the one in Myra, only underscores the bond with Latin sensibilities here[27]. Byzantine *vita* icons do not include such scenes, and so are far harder to regard as pilgrimage adjuncts, for all their chronological and geographical bonds with the Crusader world and its pilgrimage fervor.

The icons of St. John Lampadistes, however, depart from this rule. They do emphasize the saint's tomb. In the larger icon the entire bottom frame is occupied with scenes at the tomb, which form a kind of chapter in their own right at the lowest and most accessible portion of the panel, where, as noted, they seem to have attracted especially strong wear from the icon's viewers. With their domed image of the church linking them to the similarly domed St. Herkleidios, they affirm the site of the tomb and present it as a place of miracles. The scenes at the tomb are even more numerous in the smaller icon. Both the omission of the scene of John distributing his food here and the compression of his miracle — the two episodes most emphatically displaying John's philanthropy in life — allow the addition of two scenes that

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[24] *Ševčenko N. P.* The *Vita* Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer // *DOP* 53 (1999), p. 149–165.

[25] Ibid., p. 156.

[26] *Ševčenko*, The *Vita* Icon, p. 154–155. For the Franciscan examples see *Krüger K.* Der Frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien. Gestalt- und Funktionswandel des Tafelbildes im 13. Und 14. Jahrhundert. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1992, especially the Assisi and Pescia panels, fig. 1–7 (Pescia panel), 10–16 (Pisa panel), 17–25 (Pistoia panel), 88 (panel in the treasury in Assisi).

[27] *Ševčenko*, The *Vita* Icon, 162, figs. 26–27.

elaborate upon his capacity to effect benefices through his tomb, instead. Five of the total fourteen episodes are devoted to the tomb. In particular, the story of the icon painter is added[28]. This story is told in the *vita* of 1640, where it closes the narrative; its inclusion in the panel shows that it was current already in the thirteenth century. Its absence from the larger icon suggests that it emerged in the interval between the two panels, presumably to enhance the icon that pilgrims encountered at the tomb site itself. We have suggested that this was, precisely, the larger of our two panels. In this case the smaller panel would depict the miraculous character of the larger one, validating its own authority and illustrating the special charisma of its original. Together, the two panels address the site of pilgrimage and the image through which the site's charisma was disseminated. Emphasizing the pilgrimage site, these icons of the local Cypriot St. John Lampadistes are more nearly akin to the western panels of St. Francis than they are to other Byzantine *vita* icons.

This distinctive focus upon pilgrimage in the icons of St. John Lampadistes draws attention to the actual site of his tomb and its character as a place; at the same time, it raises questions about the relation of Greek and Latin in the sponsorship and configuration of the site. These questions are illuminated by the surviving portions of an ambitious program of adornment in St. Herakleidios that must also have been installed in the later thirteenth century, most probably in the 1270s. It includes both the majestic painted templon that closes the bema of the church[29], and portions of a major mural cycle. The murals that still remain, or remain visible beneath later fresco layers, include those in the dome, showing a long-standing Cypriot composition of the Pantokrator surrounded by kneeling angels converging on the Hetoimasia (Fig. 5); those in the south arm with a scene of Christ's Ascension (Fig. 5); and those in the vault, piers, and western wall of the western arm (Fig. 6). Here, above a huge figure of the Archangel Michael guarding what was the original, asymmetrically placed main entrance to the naos, a scene of the Crucifixion takes the central place in a triptych completed by the images in the vault embracing it: the Raising of Lazarus above the Sacrifice of Isaac to the south; the Entry into Jerusalem to the north. Below these scenes, the piers feature standing figures, either singly or in pairs. The eastern face of each pier is occupied by a couple: the Mother of God and the Baptist on the south; the married saints Andronikos and Athanasia on the north. St. Herak-

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[28] For a full-page color detail see Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 129.

[29] *Stylianou and Stylianou*, Painted Churches, fig. 182; *iidem*, Η βυζαντινή τέχνη κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας (1191–1570) // Ιστορία της Κύπρου, Τόμος Ε'· Μεσαιωνικόν βασιλείον, Ενετοκρατίας, Μέρος Β' / Ed. T. Papadopoullos, 2 vols. Nicosia: Cultural Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III, 1699, 1: 1362–1364; 2: 148–156.

leidios adjoins Andronikos and Athanasia on the south face of this pier; around the corner from him, facing west, is the first known instance of the distinctively Cypriot image of St. Paraskeve holding an image of the Man of Sorrows. Another sainted day of the week, St. Kyriake, probably flanked by St. Marina, faces Herakleidios from the south pier, and on its western face, balancing Paraskeve, is the Mother of God with the Christ Child. Along with their many Cypriot favorites — Paraskeve, Kyriake, Marina, Herakleidios, and Andronikos and Athanasia — the piers are notable for their high percentage of women: Paraskeve, Kyriake, Athanasia, Marina, and two figures of the Mother of God.

These murals constitute the earliest monumental cycle from Crusader Cyprus, marking the resumption of major mural painting after a half-century hiatus. They have attracted rather little attention, however, for they are not simply fragmentary but have seemed genuinely incoherent, both stylistically and iconographically[30]. The sanctoral cycle emphasizing women, the Ascension in the south arm, the Sacrifice of Isaac the west rather than the bema are all odd; the styles are inconsistent; and the very sources of the scenes' iconography seem uncomfortably diverse. Thus the iconography of the dome cycle, as noted, adheres to Cyprus' strong, Middle Byzantine custom[31]. By contrast, the scenes of the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem have an almost popular inflection, as seen in the genre detail of the heavy gloves worn by the youths cutting branches from the palm tree in the Entry (Fig. 9), and the exuberantly striped and colored clothing worn by the crowd in both the Entry and the Raising of Lazarus[32]. The round-jawed faces look very like those in the local Christian art of the Syro-Palestinian mainland (Fig. 10), a kinship that is underscored by the brightly striped clothing, seen often in the local mural painting of thirteenth-century Lebanon and Syria[33].

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[30] See *Young*, Byzantine Painting (as in note 11 above), 144–245; *Gkioles N.* Οἱ λειτουργικὲς πηγὲς τῆς Ἀναλήψης στὸ ναὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἡρακλειδίου τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννη τοῦ Λαμπαδιστῆ // Πρακτικὰ τοῦ δευτέρου διεθνοῦς κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982), Τόμος Β': Μεσαιωνικὸ τμῆμα / Ed. Theodore Papadopoullos and Athanasios Papageorgiou. Nicosia: Society for Cypriot Studies, 1986, p. 513–521; *Velmans T.* Quelques programmes iconographiques de coupoles chypriotes du XIIe au XVe siècles // Cahiers archéologiques 32 (1984), p. 138–140.

[31] See *Carr A. W. and Morrocco L.* A Thirteenth-Century Masterpiece Recovered: The Murals of Lysi, Cyprus. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, p. 47–54; *Velmans*, Quelques programmes, p. 137–162.

[32] The Entry is well reproduced in color in both *Stylianou and Stylianou*, Painted Churches, fig. 177, and *Megaw A. H. S.*, Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes. Greenwich, Conn.: Graphic Arts Society Press, 1963, fig. 19–21.

[33] Thus one might compare the faces in the crowd in the Entry into Jerusalem here with the turbaned souls at Mar Musa al-Habashi reproduced in *Dodd E. C.* The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi. A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of

Yet a third source seems to stand behind the scene of the Crucifixion. This draws upon an imagery familiar from art of the Latin Crusaders. First found in around 1250 in the Perugia Missal, a Latin Missal belonging to the Acre School of Crusader illumination (Fig. 7)[34], it is later modified — as seen in a particularly fine icon of the Crusader group at Sinai — by the addition of the motif of Mary fainting backward into the arms of her women in a posture recalling childbirth[35]. Presenting Mary's pain at the Crucifixion as the pain of maternity that was spared her at the birth of Christ, this motif is found for the first dated time in 1265 in the Siena Cathedral pulpit of Nicola Pisano, and seems to have made its way eastward from there, as Anne Derbes has shown[36]. A version particularly akin to that in Kalopanagiotis, with Mary falling in a sweeping sickle-shaped curve, is seen in the Armenian Queen Keran Gospels of 1272 (Fig. 8)[37]. Their kinship is valuable in helping to date the version at Kalopanatiotis, too, in the 1270s. Though Kalopanagiotis and the Queen Keran Gospel both avoid presenting the corpus in the Latin form with three nails, as it appears in the Frankish works from Acre and Sinai, the Crusader genesis of the composition is clear. It underscores the diversity of the program's iconographic sources.

The presence of such an overtly Crusader image here in a Greek mountain monastery far from the centers of Cyprus' ruling and immigrant populations is striking. Its presence is underscored at Kalopanagiotis by an interesting motif: the shield of Longinus displays the silver lion rampant on red of the Lusignan arms (Fig. 6). It is often read as an anti-Latin gesture, but this is unlikely for two reasons. First, Longinus is not a villain in the Greek tradition; it is only the Latin tradition vilifies him, and the Lusignans would scarcely have vilified themselves[38]. Second, the same lion adorns the monas-

Medieval Studies, 2001, color pl. XX, XXI, or compare the youthful faces of Isaac, the angel behind him, or the kneeling youth in the Entry with those of Moses (Ibid., pl. 83), or with those of the Cherub or St. Thomas at Mar Tadros, Bahdeidat: *Eadem*, Medieval Painting in the Lebanon. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004, color pl. LXXIX, LXXX. The striped fabrics are seen well in the angel in Mar Musa: *Dodd*, Frescoes of Mar Musa, pl. 58.

[34] Byzantium Faith and Power, 1261–1557 / Ed. Helen C. Evans // Exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 23 March — 4 July 2004. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 466–467, no. 276 (entry by Rebecca Corrie); *Buchthal H*. Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. London: Warburg Institute, 1957, 48–51, pl. 57a.

[35] Byzantium Faith and Power, 367–368, no. 224 (entry by Helen C. Evans).

[36] *Derbes A*. Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento // *Gesta* 28 (1989): 191–194.

[37] *Nersessian S. D*. Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, 2 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Studies 31 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 1: 94–95, 2: fig. 375 (Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate 2563, fol. 362v).

[38] *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* / Ed. Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968–1978), 7: 410–11, s.v. "Longinus von Cäsarea." In the eastern synaxarion he became a bishop and a martyr saint.

tery's late thirteenth-century templon[39]. Its presence there has been extremely variously interpreted, but it clearly draws attention to something seen already in the two *vita* icons of St. John: the mingling not only of Byzantine and east Christian, but of Greek and Latin usages here.

The scene of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac throws valuable light upon this conjunction. It lies just below the Raising of Lazarus to one side of the Crucifixion. In style it looks Syro-Palestinian. But iconographically this scene, too, has been assigned a Latin pedigree: long ago Athanasios Papageorgiou pointed out that its closest parallel lies in a Crusader manuscript of the *Histoire universelle* signed by one Bernart d'Acre — that is, Bernart of Acre (Fig. 12)[40]. Bernart's book was on Cyprus by 1286. But as a secular, French text, in an elaborately illustrated codex, it scarcely suggests circulation among Orthodox, Greek-speaking monks. Yet it is in this book that one sees not only the sequence of figures, but the angel bearing a staff with a cross, permitting Abraham–in turning to the angel's message of mercy — to turn from Isaac to view the cross: the angel's cross, and beyond it the Crucifixion on the western wall. Its message, of the son's loving sacrifice dispelling the father's violent law, meshes powerfully with the Crucifixion. The integration of Abraham into the Crucifixion drama here in the western bay is likely to have been prompted by the fact that Orthodox pilgrims to the Holy Land venerated Golgotha as the site of both Abraham's and Christ's sacrifice. Both Abbot Daniel and John Phocas emphasize this conjunction, and both scenes were shown in the eleventh-century mosaics of the Calvary Chapel it-

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[39] See note 27 above for images. *Myriantheas*, Μελέται Κώστα Μυριανθέα (as in note 12 above), 21–22 and 293, who identified a ruin above the monastery as a palace of the Latin archbishop of Cyprus, proposes that the Latins appropriated the north chapel of St. Herakleidios, and says that the iconostasis with the Lusignan lions must originally have been in that chapel. The Latin rite, however, did not use iconostases. Stylianou A., Stylianou J. A. Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicant and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus // Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft 9 (1960): 109, believed that the monastery itself became Latin, a view that is felt still in both *Emmanuel M.* Monumental Painting in Cyprus during the Last Phase of the Lusignan Dynasty, 1374–1489 // Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki / Ed. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Christopher Moss. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 241–262, esp. 246–251, and *Constantinides E.* Monumental Painting in Cyprus during the Venetian Period, 1489–1570 // ibid., 263–300, esp. 283. The Latin Church appropriated only two Greek monasteries on Cyprus, so far as we know, so it is unlikely that St. Herakleidios was taken over by the Latins. Another explanation must be found for the presence of the Latin heraldry there.

[40] *Papageorgiou Athanasios*. Ἰδιάζουσα βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ 13ου αἰώνος ἐν Κύπρῳ // Πρακτικὰ τοῦ πρώτου διεθνοῦς κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969), Τόμος Β': Μεσαιωνικὸ τμῆμα / Ed. T. Papadopoullos (Nicosia: Society for Cypriot Studies, 1972), 204. For the manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 10175, fol. 45r, see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 69–70, fig. 90b.

self on Golgotha[41]. This conjunction is revealing: the Sacrifice of Isaac is here because it belonged not to the *scene* of the Crucifixion, but to its *site.*

Unlike Greek pilgrims, Latin pilgrim did not place the Sacrifice of Isaac at Golgotha, but at Bethel[42]. In this respect, it is curious that the image adopted at Kalopanagiotis should have a Latin source, not a Greek one. But it is worth probing the image in the *Histoire universelle,* for it, too, does not conform to Latin usage. The Latin Abraham characteristically raises a sword over his son, who bends to the father. The knife, by contrast, goes back deep into Greek tradition[43]. The image in the Latin manuscript, then, seems to draw not on Latin but on Greek usage. As the manuscript was made in the Holy Land, the source it uses must have been available there, and given its distinctive link to the sacrifice of the Cross, it may well have been an image associated with a pilgrimage site, even Golgotha itself. This may have been why the Crusader painter adopted it. It bound his image to the Holy Land. The same Holy Land source, and not the manuscript itself, may in turn have served in Kalopanagiotis. This painter, too, must have adopted it because it belonged to the Holy Land.

It is, I believe, the emphasis on *site* that binds Kalopanagiotis' radically diverse cycle together. What binds the images of the Crucifixion and the Sacrifice of Isaac together is not their Latinness, but their bond with the Holy Land, as images linked to the holy sites. The potent site of Golgotha itself is what explains the use of the two images together in this program. To either side of them, in turn, are images that have been presented — in essence — as popular, but which I think bear far more specific interpretation as locally east Christian. The exuberant visibility of the Pharisees' traditional headscarves turns them from iconographic convention into local costume. This transformation is emphatically underscored by the inclusion of turbans on the men behind them (Fig. 9). Turbans were worn by a range of faiths in the Holy Land, but they defined their wearers as local. The painters of the great Acre-School Arsenal Bible had used turbans to set their Biblical scenes in the Holy Land, and the painter at Kalopanagiotis seems to have done the same[44]. The association is underscored, as we have seen, by the vividly striped cloths that striate the

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[41] *Wilkinson*, Jerusalem Pilgrimage (as in note 5 above), 129 (Abbot Daniel) and 322–23 (John Phocas).

[42] Ibid., 196 ("Work on Geography").

[43] The iconography of Abraham's sacrifice, east and west has been recently and fully examined by *Patton Pamela.* Cain's Blade and the Question of Midrashic Influence in Medieval Spanish Art // Church, State, Vellum, and Stone. Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams / Ed. Therese Martin and Julie Harris, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 413–441.

[44] *Weiss Daniel H.* Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 188, pl. VII.

scenes. It seems clear that these scenes are designed to make the viewer feel not simply present, but present in the Holy Land. Among the most vivid of all Holy Land rituals was the Palm Sunday procession from the shrine of Lazarus to the Golden Gate, reenacting the Entry into Jerusalem[45]. The images invite the viewer to enter the story of the Passion by joining in that very throng of participants. The same invitation had been extended at the level of the piers. The person entering St. Herakleidios through its original western door stands looking directly at the figure of St. Paraskeve. From her the gaze moves to Herakleidios, and from him to St. Kyriake. Paraskeve is Good Friday. Kyriake, in turn, is both Sunday in general, and most specifically Easter Sunday. Thus the visitor enters the church through Good Friday and moves to Easter. High above in the vault, the very site of the Easter events unfolds. The program makes St. Herakleidios into a kind of new Jerusalem, a recreation of the great Holy Land pilgrimage destination. Behind this recreation must lie the building's own pilgrimage functions, for it, too, is a kind of Holy Sepulcher, a new Jerusalem of Cypriot pilgrimage, with its own light-giving tomb of St. John Lampadistes.

The *vita* of St. John relates that when his relics demanded a new building, they asked his father to model it on "the great church of St. Anastasia"[46]. That a poison victim should point especially to St. Anastasia is altogether reasonable: Anastasia, after all, was the poison-curer. Cyprus itself, however, had no great church of St. Anastasia. The *vita* may have been referring to her church in Constantinople; more even than in her cult site, however, Anastasia's reputation as a healer was rooted above all in her name, based on the word Anastasis, or Resurrection[47]. One wonders if there does not lurk behind the invocation of the "great church of Anastasia" the echo of the great church of the Anastasis, the tomb of Christ, the pilgrimage site *par excellence*. St. John's own *vita* is structured as a kind of resurrection. His blinding is lamented by his parents in terms akin to Mary's laments over Christ; he lives in his blindness as in a kind of death; and then rises from his tomb as light and healing. Like the Anastasis itself, his father's new church is shown as a big domed edifice. This is exactly what must have impressed thirteenth-century visitors about St. Herakleidios itself. It is altogether exceptional among the churches of the high Troodos in its large scale and domed, central form. It could be a kind of Anastasis.

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[45] *Lindner M.* Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem // The Horns of Hattin / Ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992, 81–98.

[46] *Lazarou*, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστὴς (as in note 12 above), 19–20.

[47] *Mango C.* Constantinople as Theotokoupolis // Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art / Ed. Maria Vassilaki, exhibition catalogue, Benaki Museum, Athens, 20 October 2000–20 January 2001. Milan: Skira, 2000, 19.

Its paintings single St. Herakleidios out as a site of significant and precocious prosperity. Its vigorous promotion as a pilgrimage site would help to explain this prosperity. What is so interesting is the form that such a pilgrimage site seems to have taken. It suggests two conclusions. First, it suggests that Jerusalem and its rich repertoire of newly adorned sacred sites should be taken into account in understanding the way sites on Cyprus were given visual form. Second, it suggests that the coherent force of the Holy Land pilgrimage sites could outweigh the diverse claims of ethnic origin in the elements that composed their image. Before they are Latin or Greek, Syrian or Armenian, the images here belonged to and bespoke Jerusalem. Cyprus' bond with the Holy Land was deep, long-lived, and many-faceted. It was definitive for Cyprus' Orthodox, whose island was "holy" by virtue of this bond; it was no less meaningful for the immigrant population — the Latin rulers who wore the crown of Jerusalem; the eastern Christians born in Syria and Palestine.

A very similar melding of traditions has been brought out here in the pilgrimage form of St. John's *vita* panels. That a comparable ecumenicity may have shaped his cult, too, is intimated by his robe. His cross and censer present him as a deacon, and Leontios Makhairas describes him as a deacon[48]. But his robe is not the customary white of Orthodox deacons. The red garment was in fact displaced in the sixteenth century, as seen in the overpainting of the proskynetarion icon, and the white sticharion of Orthodox canon characterizes all the other sixteenth-century images of St. John Lampadistes[49]. The original red robe had apparently become unacceptable. This must have been because the red deacon's robe signified other creeds. Anne Derbes has emphasized the red of Latin deacons' robes in her interpretation of the red robe of Giotto's Mary[50]; red is worn also by the figure of the deacon-saint Stephen who stands in the deacon's familiar place beside the apse in the mid-thirteenth-century

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[48] See note 21 above.

[49] See *Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου*, 81 for the image in the church of the Panagia Chrysokourdaliotissa in Kourdali and *Stylianou and Stylianou*, Painted Churches, fig. 166 for the image in the Metamorphosis church in Palaichori. John retains his red robe, however, in the church of St. Sozomenos, Galata: see *Myriantheas*, Μελέται, fig. 31 and color plate. The dark red robe of the thirteenth-century panels is seen in the fourteenth-century image at St. Nicholas τῆς Στέγης in Kakopetria. The remaining images of St. John are from the end of the fifteenth century and later: *Stylianou and Stylianou*, Painted Churches, include St. Sozomenos, Galata, the Panagia in Kourdali, the Agiasmati in Platanistasa, the Holy Cross in Kyperounda, the Metamorphos church in Palaichori, St. John Prodromos in Askas, the Panagia church in Kaminaria, and the Archangel church in Kholi. Characteristically, John is in the bema together with St. Stephen, in an identical white vestment.

[50] *Derbes A. and Sandona M*. Reading the Arena Chapel // The Cambridge Companion to Giotto / Ed. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 213.

Syrian Orthodox church of Mar Tadros, Badheidat, in Lebanon[51]. Stephen's place in Bahdeidat is very like John Lampadistes' customary place beside the bema in sixteenth-century paintings on Cyprus. Here John characteristically stands with Stephen, and both wear orthodox white. In his thirteenth-century image on the unmodified, smaller *vita* icon, by contrast, he looks remarkably like Bahdeidat's St. Stephen in his red robe. Notably, however, St. John's red robe did not create the kind of visual barrier for thirteenth-century viewers that it did for later ones. Far from dividing them, it may even have functioned to unite devotees of varied creeds in their veneration of John and his holy sepulcher high in the Troodos. Similarly, the seemingly so Latin emphasis on pilgrimage destination in St. John's *vita* icons may best be seen less as Latin than as belonging to the Holy Land mélange of practices[52]. Much the same mode of viewing, I believe, should be applied to the mingled sources of the images in the mural paintings. They suggest that a new imagery of Jerusalem was forged in the compression chamber of Holy Land pilgrimage. What can we more earnestly ask of a New Jerusalem than just such a confluence of traditions?

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«СВЯТОЙ ГРОБ» В МОНАСТЫРЕ СВ. ИОАННА ЛАМПАДИСТА НА КИПРЕ

Эта публикация посвящена исследованию двух памятников станковой живописи конца XIII в. на Кипре. С давних пор связанный со Святой Землей географической близостью, Кипр в XIII в. пережил новый этап сближения при короле-крестоносце Лузиньяне, принявшем корону Иерусалима. Однако влиянию, которое оказали паломничества в Святую Землю на святыни Кипра, уделялось мало внимания. Два памятника, о которых пойдет речь, высвечивают роль паломничеств в Святую Землю в развитии искусства православного Кипра в эпоху крестовых походов.

Обе иконы — это образы кипрского святого Иоанна Лампадиста, они находятся в монастыре св. Иоанна Лампадиста в Калопанагиотисе. Эти иконы являются самыми ранними изображениями св. Иоанна. Его

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[51] *Nordiguian Lévon and Voisin Jean-Claude.* Châteaux et églises du moyen age au Liban. Beirut: Editions Terre du Liban, 1999, 254, 265 image on the left.

[52] See the similar association made with the pilgrimage function of *vita* icons in the Latin tradition by *Tsantēlas G.* Η λατρεία του Αγίου Προκοπίου ϱην περίοδο των Σαυροφοϱίων και η βιογϱαφική εικόνα του στο Πατϱιαϱχείο Ιεϱοσολύμων // *Δελτίον τῆς χϱιστιανικῆς ἀϱχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιϱείας* 4, 27 (2006): 245–58, English summary 258.

гробница сохранялась вплоть до XVIII в. в часовне, неопределенно дати-рованной, но явно пристроенной в средние века к монастырскому като-ликону, крестово-купольному храму XI в., посвященному св. Ираклиду. Оба памятника представляют собой житийные иконы, размер одной — 99,5×65,5 см, а другой — 75×48,5 см. Они безусловно принадлежат к волне левантинских житийных икон, которую Нэнси Шевченко ассоции-ровала с территорией деятельности крестоносцев. Однако они отличают-ся от византийских житийных икон, поскольку сосредоточены не просто на эпизодах жизни св. Иоанна, но на истории его гробницы. В опреде-ленном смысле их можно сопоставить с ранними образами св. Фран-циска, предназначенных не для того, чтобы рассказывать его житие, но чтобы побуждать паломническое почитание гробницы святого в Ассизи: как и в иконах св. Иоанна, акцент делался именно на гробнице. История обнаружения гробницы яснее показана на меньшей по размеру иконе. Ее живописный слой более сохранный, чем на второй иконе, которая на протяжении десятилетий, если не столетий, стояла на проскинетарии пе-ред гробницей; кроме того, на меньшей иконе отличаются от большой финальные сцены. В данном случае повествование завершается чудес-ным явлением св. Иоанна перед гробницей живописцу, который призван был написать образ святого. Икона, которую пишет живописец, вероят-но, и есть та, что больше размером, которая находилась у могилы св. Иоанна. Таким образом, меньшая икона рассказывает и о чудотвор-ном характере самой гробницы, и о чудесных обстоятельствах создания стоящего перед нею житийного образа. Это позволяет сделать вывод, что оба памятника были предназначены для организации паломничеств и превращения могилы святого в «святой гроб» на почве Кипра.

Восприятие св. Ираклида как центра паломничеств, как кипрский «Святой Гроб», подтверждается росписями, исполненными скорее все-го в 1270-х гг. в западном рукаве церкви. Они мало изучены, потому что казались неясными иконографически и странными по стилю. В данном исследовании эти росписи проанализированы как связная ком-позиция из образов, вызывающих ассоциации с местом Страстей Хри-стовых и Воскресения в контексте искусства эпохи крестовых походов. Распятие представлено здесь так, как было принято на известных нам иконах крестоносцев; в сценах Входа Господня в Иерусалим и Воскре-сения Лазаря фигуры исполнены в местных одеждах, включая тюрба-ны, что напоминает воскресное шествие с вайями в Иерусалиме. По-нятно и включение в композицию сцены Жертвоприношения Исаака, поскольку православные паломники были убеждены, что местом этого библейского эпизода была Голгофа, — но изображение соответствует иконографии рукописей крестоносцев, хотя и основано на византий-ских образцах, которые, вероятно, отражают паломнические образы в

Иерусалиме. В нижней части пилястр даны женские фигуры, персонификации Великой Пятницы (св. Параскева) и Пасхального Воскресенья (св. Кириаке). В целом вся композиция призвана напоминать о величайшей святыне христианского мира — Гробе Господнем. И в темплоне церкви св. Ираклида, и на щите сотника Лонгина в сцене Распятия представлен геральдический лев Лузиньянов. В сочетании с образным рядом, известным по памятникам, созданным под покровительством крестоносцев, это дает основания предполагать как присутствие крестоносцев, так и наличие смешанных типов изображений, появлявшихся на территориях, захваченных крестовыми походами. Эти образы были приняты не как «крестоносные», но как принадлежащие святым местам, так св. Неофит воспроизвел построенную крестоносцами церковь над Гробом Господним в своем «Новом Сионе», возведенном неподалеку от Пафоса[53]. Аналогичным образом, красный цвет дьяконского облачения св. Иоанна является исключением из правил: он больше известен в латинской и сирийской практике, чем в греческой, где дьяконы носят белые одежды; красный цвет выражает экуменическую приемлемость Иоанна для христиан разных конфессий.

Ориентируясь одновременно и на визуальные стратегии, виденные в Святой Земле, заполненной латинскими паломниками и крестоносцами, и на глубоко укоренившееся у киприотов чувство святости собственной земли, монастырь создал новую, местную Святую Гробницу. Это подтверждало святость Кипра, подчеркивая процветание страны в условиях притока паломников и оживления, вызванного крестовыми походами.

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[53] См.: *Тетерятникова Н. Б.* Реликвия Честного Креста и Иерусалимская *Loca Sancta*: создание сакральных пространств в энклистре св. Неофита в Пафосе на Кипре // Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси. М., 2006, с. 409–433.

1. A view to the monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

A = Chapel of St. John Lampadistes
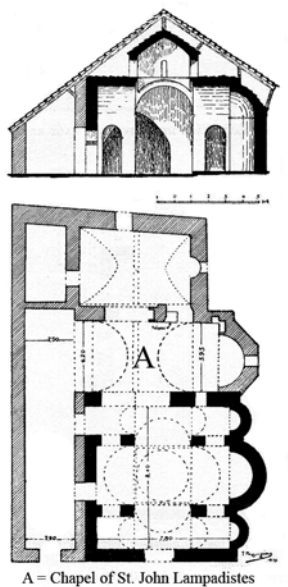
2. Plan of the monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus
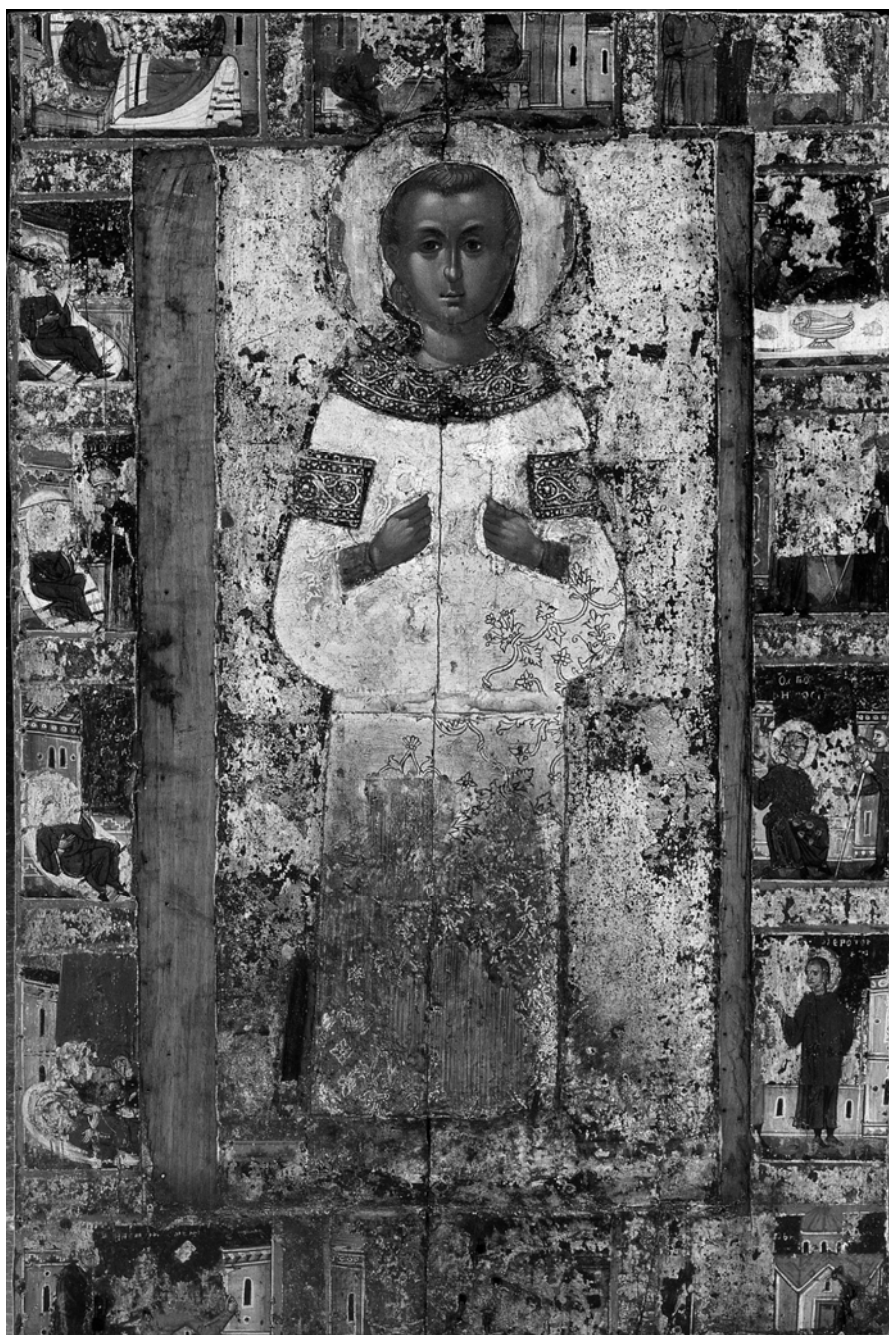
3. Larger Icon of St. John Lampadistes. 16th century repainting. The monastery
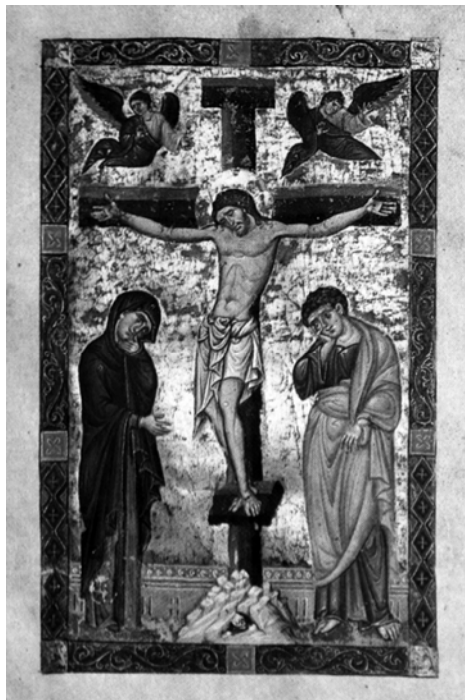   of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

4. Smaller Icon of St. John Lampadistes. 13th century. The monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

5. Pantokrator surrounded by kneeling angels converging on the Hetoimasia.
Late 13th century murals in the dome. The monastery of St. John Lam-
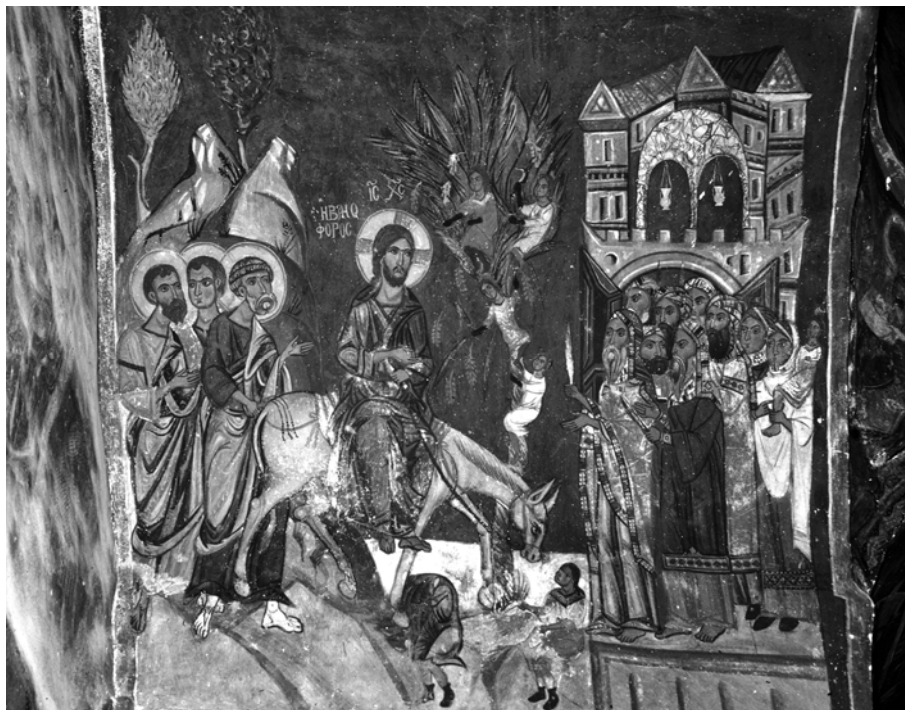padistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

6. The Crucifixion and the Archangel. Late 13th century murals. The monastery
   of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

7. The Crucifixion. The Perugia Missal. The Acre School of Crusader illumina-
   tion. A. 1250
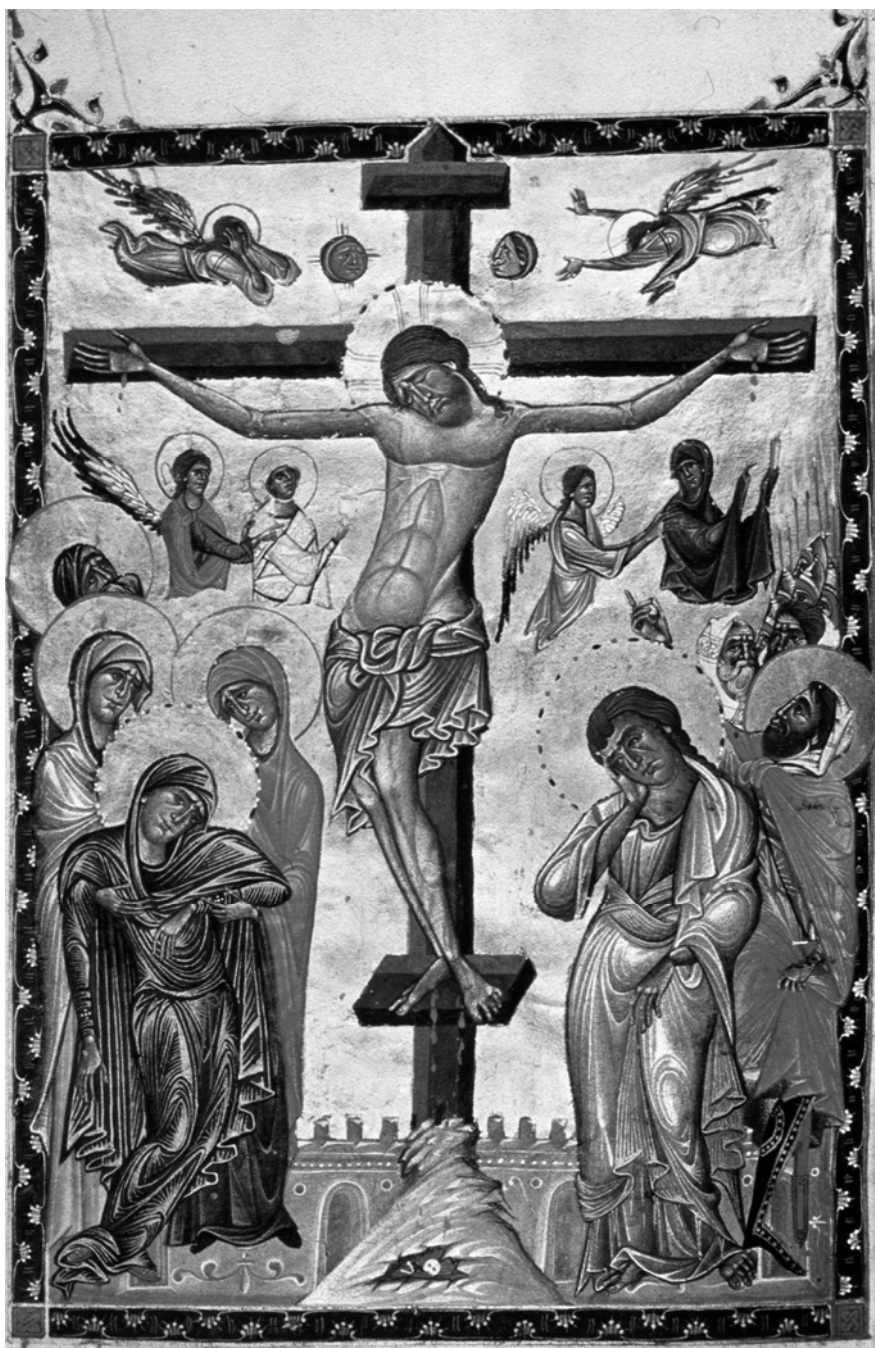
8. The Crucifixion The Armenian Queen Keran Gospels of 1272

9. The Entry into Jerusalem. Late 13th century. The monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus

10. Murals of Mar Musa. The local Christian art of the Syro-Palestinian mainland

11. A miniature with Job. Arsenal Bible. The Acre School of Crusader illumination. 13th century

12. The Sacrifice of Isaac. A miniature from the Crusader manuscript of the *Histoire universelle* signed by Bernart of Acre. 13th century