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Cover: Venetian glass beads. Photograph by Carla Salvaterra, 2006.

Cultural Interactions in Cyprus 1191-1571: Byzantine and Italian Art

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Με την κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τον σταυροφόρο Ριχάρδο τον Λεοντόκαρδο το 1191 και την εγκατάσταση της δυναστείας των Φράγκων Λουζινιάν και της Λατινικής Εκκλησίας, η Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία για να επιβιώσει, υποχρεώθηκε σε υποταγή στον Πάπα (1260 - Bulla Cypria). Η τέχνη της Κύπρο, απομονωμένη από τον βυζαντινό κορμό, επαναλαμβάνει την τεχνοτροπία της κομνήνειας τέχνης της προηγούμενης περιόδου σε υπερβολικά απλοποιημένη μορφή. Επιρροές τόσο από πρόσφυγες ζωγράφους από τη Συρία και την Παλαιστίνη, όσο και από Δυτικούς, που εισρέουν στη μεγαλόνησο με το στρατό των σταυροφόρων, δίνουν στην τέχνη της Κύπρου ένα ιδιαίτερο ύφος γνωστό ως «maniera Cypria». Τα τοπικά κυπριακά εργαστήρια ετοιμάζουν μαζική παραγωγή εικόνων για τους προσκυνητές των Αγίων Τόπων. Η βυζαντινή τεχνοτροπία μεταφέρεται στα υπόλοιπα μεγάλα κέντρα της μέσης Ανατολής και του Σινά στην Ιταλία από Δυτικούς καλλιτέχνες, οι οποίοι έχουν εργαστεί σε κυπριακά εργαστήρια. Οι επιδράσεις στην τέχνη είναι αμοιβαίες, όπως διαφαίνεται από το δυτικό εικονογραφικό τύπο της Παναγίας Σκέπης που εμφανίζεται στην Κύπρο. Οι δυτικές επιδράσεις κατά τον 14ο αιώνα και μέχρι το 1453 στην τέχνη της Κύπρου είναι ελάχιστες και δύσκολα αφομοιώνονται. Στα μέσα του 15ου αιώνα δύο σημαντικά γεγονότα, η Σύνοδος της Φλωρεντίας του 1439 για την ένωση των Εκκλησιών και η άφιξη προσφύγων από την Πόλη μετά την Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης το 1453 συνέτειναν στην ανανέωση της βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής της Κύπρου, της οποίας αρχίζει η μεταβυζαντινή φάση με την παρείσφρυση σε όλα τα μνημεία δυτικών επιρροών. Πολλοί Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι εργάζονται στην Βενετία και έρχονται σε επαφή με την τέχνη της Αναγέννησης. Στην τέχνη της Κύπρου αρχίζουν να διαφαίνονται δειλά-δειλά οι δύο τεχνοτροπικές τάσεις που θα κυριαρχήσουν κατά τη διάρκεια της Βενετοκρατίας: η αποκαλούμενη Κυπριακή σχολή, η οποία εξελίσσεται παράλληλα με την Κρητική Σχολή λόγω της παρουσίας προσφύγων ζωγράφων από την Κωνσταντινούπολη και στα δύο νησιά, και η εκλεκτική τάση στην τέχνη η λεγόμενη «ιταλοβυζαντινή» τεχνοτροπία. Η καθιερωμένη ορθόδοξη εικονογραφία ανανεώνεται και εμπλουτίζεται με νέα θέματα που προέρχονται από την ιταλική τέχνη. Η γνώση της ιταλικής Αναγέννησης και των επιτευγμάτων της εκ μέρους των καλλιτεχνών, πρέπει να θεωρείται δεδομένη, αφού στα έργα τους παρουσιάζεται μια συνειδητή προσπάθεια για ορθή προοπτική και απόδοση της τρίτης διάστασης και του όγκου των μορφών και των κτηρίων.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historiography of Frankish and Venetian rule in Cyprus (1191-1571) is permeated with the ideological approaches of foreign historians. The British archaeological authorities of the Cypriot colony (1878-1960) and the Anglo-Saxon school promoted the British colonial policy of the political integration of the Cypriots through scientific conclusions presenting the island as a no-man's land. Cyprus was viewed as a neutral country with a multicultural character at the crossroads of the Eastern Mediterranean, lacking cultural contact with its neighbour countries – especially Greece in ancient times and Byzantium in the medieval period[1]. The French School, on the other hand, through the work of historians like Mas Latrie and art historians like Camille Enlart in the 19th century, presented the Frankish and Venetian rule as the glorious period of Cyprus. Their history was obviously not objective since they did not take into consideration the population of the island which was dominated by foreign rulers. Nowadays some historians and art historians, including Demetrios Triantaphyllopoulos, Nikos Gkioles, Charalampos Chotzakoglou, Benediktos Egglezakis and Athanassios Papageorgiou have undertaken the difficult task of revaluating the history of this period taking into consideration the local population.

PRELIMINARY ITALIAN CONTACT WITH CYPRUS

Cyprus was one of the most important ports of the Byzantine Empire, and became even more significant for the control of the Eastern Mediterranean after the conquest of Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks following the fall of Manzikert in 1071. Italians had established very close ties with Byzantium and the East (Levante) since the 11th century. The emerging onshore towns in Italy, such as Venice, Pisa, Amalfi and Genoa, had already established districts in the heart of Constantinople for the residence of their traders and their ships were freely circulating in the ports of the Empire[2]. With a Golden Bull (a Byzantine imperial document bearing the Emperor's golden seal [bulla]) accorded to the Venetians in 1082 by Alexius I Comnenus, they had the right to trade throughout the Empire[3]. Their right to approach Cyprus, though, was granted only in 1126 with another Golden Bull issued by Ioannis II Comnenus and the accordance of trade rights was extended to cover Cyprus, with the Golden Bull of Manuel I Comnenus in 1148[4]. Byzantine officials administered the island in the 12th century, and thanks to this, high quality Byzantine art of the Comnenian era was channelled to the island. Monasteries and churches like Trikomo (1105/6), St. Neophytos (1183) and Arakas (1192) were erected and painted by Constantinopolitan painters who were attracted though grants from high-ranking Byzantine officials[5].

THE 13TH CENTURY

After the conquest of Cyprus by the Crusader Richard the Lionheart in 1191, and the establishment of the Frankish dynasty of the Lusignans and of the Roman Catholic

Fig. 1
Cultural interaction in Byzantine and Italian art in Cypriot painting.

Church, the local Orthodox Church, fearing for its survival, was forced to be subject to the Pope in 1260 with the *Bulla Cypria*[6]. For the local population, the domination of the Franks and the severing of political ties with Byzantium meant subjugation to the feudal system of the West. Concurrently, in the ecclesiastical sector, the Catholic Church sequestered the property of the Orthodox, limited the number of Orthodox episcopal sees, and replaced the Orthodox archbishop with a Catholic one.

Cypriot painting, totally cut off from Byzantium due to the simultaneous conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, repeated the style of Comnenean art of the previous era, but in an exaggerated, oversimplified manner[7]. It was exposed to the influences of refugee painters from Syria and Palestine and also Latin painters, who swarmed to the island with the crusader army, especially after the fall of the crusader states in Syria and Palestine (fall of Acre 1291), thus developing an individual style known as 'maniera Cypria'[8]. This built upon the cosmopolitan environment of the 13th century in the secondary points of the composition from the iconography of either the East, as in the icon of St. Jacob the Persian[9] from the Church of St. Kassianos in Nicosia, today at the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia (hereafter BMAMF), or the West, as in, for example, the icon of the Descent of Christ into Hades from the Lambadistis Monastery (BMAMF)[10].

An important innovation with regard to iconography was the style of relief decorations developed in the West for the decoration of wooden sculptures. This was applied initially by western artists in order to replace the expensive metallic overlays. This was a borrowing that, after being shaped in the Cypriot environment, spread initially in

Southern Italy and then to the rest of Western Europe[11]. Subjects that could be seen in Cyprus could also be seen in similar works in Italy. Examples include: the twirling floral plaits of the halos, for example the icon of the Apostle Paul from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF) and the Enthroned Mother of God holding the Christ Child (1347) by Bernardo di Daddo at the Orsanmichele chapel in Florence; and the grid bearing cross patterns which usually decorate Cypriot icons, for example, the icon of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa, (BMAMF), the icon of St. Dominic with scenes from his life from the Church of St. Peter in Naples (late 13th century), and the relief icon of the Mother of God Enthroned (early 13th century) at the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena[12].

The frescos in the Church of Our Lady of Moutoulas (1280) are a prime example of the reverberation of crusader art in the Mediterranean, manifesting western iconographic elements such as the chain-mail armour of St. Christopher or the western-style shoes worn by the Hebrews in the scene of the Entry to Jerusalem (*Vaioforos*)[13]. *Platytera* (Virgin Orans), as portrayed in one-quarter of the arch of this temple, with a round face, eyebrows joining, and visible neck-muscles, can be related to similar frescos in the crypt of San Vito at Gravina[14], Puglia (southern Italy), the so-called crusader icons of Sinai[15], and can also be seen in 13th-century Cypriot icons, such as the icon of St. Marina from the Church of the same name at Kalopanagiotis (BMAMF)[16].

The Frankish kingdom of Cyprus, with its rich Byzantine legacy and the security provided as a result of being surrounded by sea (as opposed to other crusader states which

Fig. 2
Crucifixion from the church of St Luke in Nicosia (left) and the church of St Domenico Maggiore in Naples (right).

were under constant threat from the Arabs), quite naturally became a refuge for the clergy, as well as an important cultural centre where local Cypriot workshops mass-produced icons for the pilgrims to the Holy Land[17].

The large icons of St. Nicolas of the Roof with scenes from the saint's life from the Church of the same name at Kakopetria and of the Virgin Mary Enthroned with scenes from the Church of St. Kassianos (both at BMAMF) bear witness to the existence of workshops in Cyprus that catered for both the Orthodox and the Catholics[18]. The icons exhibit the same technique and style and show few differentiations with respect to the iconography and the inscriptions (in the first they are in Greek, while in the second they are in Latin). It emerged that one of the principal channels through which the Byzantine style had spread to the West was the western artists who worked in Cypriot workshops, carrying the new style from Cyprus and the other major centres in the Middle East and Sinai, to Italy. This is demonstrated by the example of the crypt of San Vito in Gravina of Puglia.

Three 13th-century icons showing the Mother of God holding the Christ Child in Italy (in the Cathedral of Monopoli, in the monastery of St. Nile in Grottaferrata and in the Metropolitan Church of Andria) are considered to be of Cypriot origin[19] (Fig. 3). Cypriot iconographic style strongly influenced the painting of Southern Italy during the 13th century[20]. In the catalogue of icons of probable Cypriot origin or, at least, Cypriot standards, we might add the Madonna della Fonte in Trani, the Madonna at Santa Maria de Latinis in Palermo, the Madonna Sotto gli Organi at Pisa, the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child of Santa Maria a Piazza in Aversa, the Madonna of San Michele in Borgo in Pisa, the Crucifixion at St. Dominico Maggiore in Napoles (Fig. 2) and others[21]. The similarity and relation of Cypriot icons to icons produced in Tuscany or Southern Italy creates problems with respect to the origin congruence of many unsigned works including the icons of the Virgin Mary Enthroned belonging to the

Fig. 3
13th-century Italian icons of the Mother of God holding the Christ Child (in the Metropolitan Church of Andria, the Cathedral of Monopoli and the monastery of St. Nile in Grottaferrata) are considered to be of Cypriot origin. On the left side the Cypriot icon from the church of Our Lady Asinou.

Kahn and Mellon Collection, which were recently attributed to a Cypriot workshop[22]. The iconographic type of the Mother of God Kykkotissa is of exclusively Cypriot origin, a type that spread to Italy during this period, as is witnessed by a series of icons at Velletri, Viterbo, Piazza Armerina in Sicily and elsewhere[23]. The influences in art seem to be mutual, as is exhibited in the fresco of the Madonna del Manto, dated 1332/3, in the narthex of the Church of Our Lady Asinou which seems to share a common iconographic standard with the Mother of God of the Franciscans by Duccio[24] (Fig. 4).

The 14th century

During the 14th century, contact with Constantinople increased and the influence of Paleologean art becomes apparent in Cypriot painting. This can be seen in the icons from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa: the Christ with Angels and benefactors, dated 1356, the Saint Peter, and the Archangel Michael, dated 14th century (all of them now at BMAMF), which are characterised by a harmonious combination of vibrant colours, the shaping of the faces with gradually diminishing tones, the effort to render the volumes and the soft shaping of the folds and creases in the clothing[25]. Towards the end of the 14th century and during the 15th century, the colouring gradually became more vibrant, mainly due to the use of white. The use of linear make-up became standard, as can be seen in the icon of the Archangel from the Church of Our Lady Faneromeni in Nicosia (BMAMF)[26]. Western influences in the frescos during the 14th century and up until 1453 were minimal and very difficult to assimilate in Cypriot art[27]. The frescos of the Lusignan Royal Chapel at Pyrga, dated 1421, aside from the French inscriptions, retained the Paleologan style[28]. Heaver influences seem to be exhibited by portable icons. This can be seen in the case of the Virgin Mary Holding the Christ Child Enthroned from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF) which is dated to the 15th century and follows the respective iconographic type of the circle of Cimabue in Galleria Sabauda in Turin with a throne similar to that of the Mother of God Enthroned of Cimabue at S. Maria dei Servi in Bologna[29] (Fig. 5). Christ's posture as He stands in His Mother's arms can be seen in the fresco of the Mother of God Enthroned Holding the Christ Child between Saints John Prodromos and Theologian by Vanni di Pistoia and Nuccaro at the Opera del Duomo in Pisa[30].

The 15th century

In the middle of the 15th century two significant events – the Ferrara-Florence Synod of 1439 for the Unification of the Churches and the arrival of refugees from Constantinople, following its Fall in 1453 – contributed to the renewal of Byzantine painting in Cyprus, whose post-Byzantine phase commenced with the infiltration of all monuments by western styles[31]. The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 dealt Hellenism a severe blow. The focus and rallying point in so many ways, not only for the Greeks but also for the Orthodox Christian communities of the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, was lost, even at a symbolic level. In 1489,

Fig. 4
Madonna del Manto, dated 1332/3, in the narthex of the Church of Our Lady Asinou which seems to share a common iconographic standard with the Mother of God of the Franciscans by Duccio.

when the last Lusignan Queen, the Venetian Caterina Cornaro, abdicated in favour of the Serenissima Republic, Cyprus passed under Venetian rule. This period saw a greater mobility between the dominant nobles and the locals, resulting in the creation of a composite, mixed milieu, with plebeians (*plebe*, *popolari*), burgers-citizens (*cittadini*), and local and foreign nobles (*nobiltà*). The superior civilisation of Venice, which had insinuated itself much earlier in the Renaissance, provoked osmosis. Syncretism in art resulted in the 'Cypriot Renaissance' of the Venetian period (1489-1571). Many Cypriot painters worked in Venice and were exposed to Renaissance art. Slowly and timidly, the two stylistic movements that would dominate Cyprus during Venetian Rule begin to emerge. These were the so-called Cypriot School, which evolved parallel to the Cretan School due to the presence of refugees from Constantinople in both islands, and the selective tendency in art – the so-called 'Italian-Byzantine' style[32]. They refer to capable painters, who could easily combine both styles: the Byzantine (*alla greca*) and the Italian or 'Italian-Byzantine' (*all'italiana*). The two movements were differentiated with respect to the degree that they had assimilated western influences[33].

The Cypriot School

Filippos Goul and Symeon A(f)ksentis were classic representatives of the Cypriot School[34]. Cypriot painting, while adhering to the Paleologean style, innovated by importing single iconographic elements of 14th-century Italian art, especially apparent in the secondary elements of the icon. A characteristic manifestation can be found at the Church of Antifonitis in Kalogrea, where the elliptical depiction of the opalescent glory of Christ in the scene of the Last Judgment and also the depiction of Satan in hell,

are elements which are almost identical to Giotto's corresponding fresco at the Chapel of Scrovegni in Padua[35] (Fig. 6). Architectural structures usually appear gothic with a similar conception of space as that shown in western works, for example in the case of the icon of the Birth of the Mother of God from Klonari, where the depth of the scene is composed with respect to three sides and a tendency for transverse perspective[36], or the frescos of the Denial of Peter at the Church of Our Lady at Galata, or the Birth of the Mother of God at the Church of Antifonitis in Kalogrea[37]. An innovation of Cypriot painting was the resonant attempt of the artists to apply western perspectives (the creation of 'box-shaped' space) in order to depict in three-dimensions the indoor spaces of buildings, as in the narthex of Lambadistis[38] (Fig. 7).

ITALO-BYZANTINE PAINTING

The other movement, the 'Italian-Byzantine style", was characterised by a more detailed design and a perfect iconographical system. It is distinguished by its liveliness and freedom provided by the use of new conjectural types. A great number of frescos were created in this style by different workshops which can be distinguished by the quality of the art produced, but also with respect to the import of overtly western elements.

Under Venetian rule, the worship of the Mother of God intensified with the depiction of three verses of the Akathistos Hymn. This was a hymn of 24 verses (oikoi) sung, all standing, on the Saturday of the fifth week in Lent, in honour of the Virgin Mary[39]. Two of the depictions were in the Italian-Byzantine style (the Latin Chapel of the Lambadistis Monastery and the Church of the Holy Cross at Parekklisia, where Oikoi 6 and 10 have been identified), and the other (at St. Neophytos Monastery) was by the Cypriot 'School' with intense western elements, such as the depiction of the Mother of God on her knees with her hands crossed at the scene of the Annunciation[40]. The composition of the Root of Jesse, as well as the iconographic theme of Above the Prophets, can be placed in the context of this effusion of the Marian cycle, which reached its peak with the depiction of the Crowning of the Mother of God at the Church of Our Lady Chrysopantanassa in Paleochori[41]. The subject was overtly western, which we must assume is probably connected to the Latin commissioner of the fresco.

The traditional Orthodox iconography was renewed and enhanced with new subjects that originated in Italian art[42]. Those who painted these works certainly had knowledge of the Italian Renaissance and of its artistic achievements, since these frescos echo a conscious attempt by the artists correctly to depict perspective and the third dimension, both with respect to the volume of the figures and of the buildings. The composition of space and the use of perspective is connected to the so-called 'first Renaissance' of Masaccio and Beato Angelico, as in the icon of the Communion of the Apostles from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF)[43] and the fresco of the 18th Oikos of the Akathistos Hymn at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of St. John Lambadistis (Fig. 7). Among the novel subjects imported during this period was the depiction of St. Anna with the Mother of God holding the Christ Child[44]. This can be seen, for example, in the

Fig. 5
Virgin Mary Enthroned, from the church of Our Lady Chrisaliniotissa, Nicosia (middle), Madonna at Novoli (left), Madonna in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (right).

Fig. 6
Last Judgement fresco in the Church of Antifonitis in Kalogrea (before the destruction) left, corresponds to Giotto's fresco at the Chapel of Scrovegni in Padua (right).

Culture, Rhetoric and Religion

fresco from the Church of St. George Exorinos in Ammochostos, the depictions of the Virtues (Justice, Love, Faith, Charity, and others) both at Chrysopantanassa at Paleochori and the Church of Our Lady at Choulou[45]. Italian prototypes were also followed at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of Lambadistis at Kalopanagiotis, dated around 1500, for the scene of the Hospitality of Abram, and the Birth of Christ in the 8th Oikos[46]. This can also be seen in a later engraving from 1555, which reproduced a common, older prototype, unidentified until today. Similar engravings were also utilised by the painter of the church of St. John the Baptist at Askas village for the scene of the Apotome of the Skull of the Saint[47]. Other imported subjects besides the western Man of Sorrows, which shows Christ standing dead in front of His sarcophagus[48], included the depictions of the so-called western-type Resurrection with Christ Rising from the grave holding a banner, labarum[49] or the Pietà[50], as in the icon from Pera Chorio of Cyprus (BMAMF)[51].

'MADONNERI'

The portrayal of the Mother of God Holding the Christ Child was one of the most popular subjects both in the East and West. Icons of the Mother of God were exported from Cyprus at the end of the 13th century by the Crusaders and during Venetian rule icons with depictions of the Virgin Mary as the western Madonna were also exported. The icons of the Madonneri, Madre della Consolazione, Madre Misericordia and Mater Lactans were very popular in Cyprus and were intended mainly for the Latin Churches on the island and for private individuals[52]. They are works of art that exhibit an intense presence of western iconographic elements and can be seen throughout the
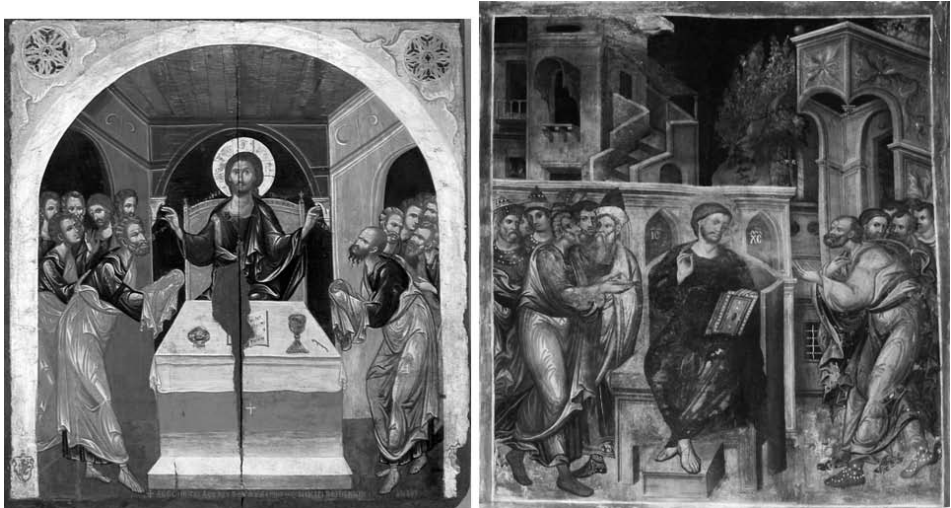

Fig. 7
The composition of space and the use of perspective from the Italian Renaissance: Icon of the Communion of the Apostles from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (left) and the fresco of the 18th stance of Akathistos Hymm at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of Lambadistis (right).

Greek-Orthodox region. The large number of such works in Cyprus cannot preclude the existence of a Madonneri workshop on the island which produced and traded icons and was one of the workshops founded in territories under the Venetian rule.

The looting and slaughter that followed the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans in 1571 forced many Cypriot artists to seek refuge in Venice[53]. These included artists such as Ioannis Cypriot[54], who painted the cupola and other parts of the Church of St. George of the Greeks in Venice, a painter called Peter[55] who, according to a document held in the Venetian archives, was captured by the Turks with his family, and another painter, Domenico the Cypriot, a member of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice[56].

Unfortunately, after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the established relations of Cypriot iconography, which had persisted for many centuries, finally decayed during the 17th century. However, the lessons of the Italian-Byzantine painting developed under Venetian rule continued to influence post-Byzantine iconography in Cyprus, from Paul the Hierographer[57] in the 17th century until the School of St. Heraklidios in the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century, the arrival of the great Cretan painter Ioannis Kornaros, imported the baroque and rococo, both completely alien to Byzantine painting[58].

Notes

[1] D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Ένα βιβλίο για τη χριστιανική τέχνη της Κύπρου και σκέψεις για τη σημερινή κατάστα-ση της έρευνας της (Νικ. Γκιολές, Η χριστιανική τέχνη στην Κύπρο, Λευκωσία 2003)*, "Νέα Εστία", vol. 158, no. 1783, 2005, pp. 778-86, esp. pp. 780-81; M. Given, *Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity*, "Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology", vol. 11, no 1, 1998, pp. 3-29.

[2] For the relations between Byzantium and the main Italian seafaring towns before the Fall of Constantinople, between 1081 and 1204, see C.M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West 1180-1204*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968, pp. 1-13, 209-22; M. Balard, *Amalfi et Byzance (Xe-XIIe siècles)*, Recherches sur le XI siècle [Travaux et Memoires, 6], Paris 1976, pp. 85-95. R-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzanischen Reich und den italienischen Komunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)*, Amsterdam 1984; M.F. Hendy, *Byzantium, 1081-1204: An economic reappraisal*, in *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, II, Variorum reprints, Northampton 1989, pp. 31-52; D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in diplomatic and cultural relations*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 41-83.

[3] I. Zepos - P. Zepos (eds.), *Jus Graecoromanum*, I, Athens 1931, pp. 292-298; G. Ostrogorsky, *Ιστορία του βυζαντινού Κράτους*, I, Athens 1997², p. 234; A. Tuilier, *La date exacte du chrysobulle d' Alexis 1er Comnène en faveur des Vénitiens et son contexte historique*, "Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici", N. S. 4 (XIV), 1967, pp. 27-48.

[4] M. Angold, *Η Βυζαντινή Αυτοχρατορία από το 1025 έως το 1204. Μια πολιτική Ιστορία*, Athens 1997², pp. 80-83, 89.

[5] N. Gkioles, *Η Χριστιανική Τέχνη στην Κύπρο* [The Christian Art in Cyprus], Nicosia 2003, pp. 89-99.

[6] Regarding the state of the Orthodox Church during this period and its relations with Constantinople see M. J. Angold, *The unity of the Byzantine world after 1204*, in *Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 14-19 Απριλίου 1969)*, II, Nicosia 1972, pp. 1-11. N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 297-306.

[7] M. Panagiotidi, *Τεχνοτροπικές σχέσεις Κύπρου και Πελοποννήσου* [Stylistic relationships between Cyprus and Peloponnesus], in *Πρακτικά Β΄ Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 20-25 Απριλίου 1982)*, II, Nicosia 1986, p. 562.

[8] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, Cambridge 1954, pp. 387-423; Mouriki, *Icon Painting* cit., p. 408.

[9] S. Sophocleous, *Ο Ανώνυμος ζωγράφος του εικονοστασίου των αρχών του 16ου αιώνα στην Παναγία Καθολική Πελενδρίου και ο περίγυρός του [The anonymous painter of the Iconostasis of Virgin Mary Katholiki dated in the beginning of the 16th century and its cycle]*, in Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996), II, Nicosia 2001, pp. 134-35 dates it very early, in the 10th century.

[10] For more on 13th-century Cyprus and its artistic production see A. Weyl Carr -L.J. Morocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, the Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus*, Austin 1991, pp. 83-113; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 12.

[11] Frinta M., *Raised Gilded Adornment of the Cypriot Icons and the Occurance of the technique in the West*, "Gesta", XX/2, 1981, p. 336.

[12] Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., pp. 60-61; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 42, fig. 26; D. Talbot Rice, *Talbot Rice D., Cypriot Icons with plastic relief backgrounds,* "Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik", 21, 1972, p. 274, fig. 8; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., pp. 60-61; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες*, p. 42, fig 26; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., pp. 337-43.

[13] Mouriki, *Moutoullas* cit., pp. 206-213; A. - J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Nicosia² 1997, pp. 323-330; Ch. Chotzakoglou, *Από την αυγή των πρώτων χριστιανικών βασιλικών στην Οθωμανική ημισέληνο*, "Κύπρος", Athens 2006 (forthcoming publication).

[14] Papageorgiou, *τοιχογραφίαι 13ου αιώνος* cit., p. 206; Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., pp. 269-284; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., p. 336; Kalopissi-Verti, *φωτοστέφανοι* cit., pp. 555-560; Frinta, *Relief Decoration* cit., p. 588; N. Gkioles, *Οι ψηφιδωτές εικόνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου [Mosaic icons of the Ecumenical Patriarchy]*, "ΔΧΑΕ", XVII, 1993-94, pp. 61 ff.

[15] Weitzmann's view (K. Weitzmann, *Icon painting in the Crusader Kingdom*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 20, 1966, pp. 69ff) was recently doubted by R. Cormack, *Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another look at a painting of St George*, "Βυζαντινές εικόνες, Τέχνη, Τεχνική και τεχνολογία", (Μ. Βασιλάκη επιμ.), Herakleion 2002, pp. 163-168, esp. pp. 165-167, since this particular icon uses oil and light-coloured models, employed by North Europeans in contrast with the traditional Byzantine techniques.

[16] Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., pp. 272-273, fig. 5; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 11; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 55, fig 34; A. - J. Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας (1191-1570) [The Byzantine Art in the period of Frankocracy 91191-1570)]*, "Ιστορία της Κύπρου", V, II, 1996, p. 1289; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis - M. Iacovou, *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus, Nicosia 1998*, pp. 112-113, no. 51.

[17] Papageorgiou, *τοιχογραφίαι 13ου αιώνος* cit., pp. 390-93.

[18] Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 15.

[19] V. Pace, *Presenze e influenze cipriote nella pittura duecentesca italiana*, in Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina, 1985, XXXII, pp. 260-71; V. Pace, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης [Between East and West]*, in Μήτηρ Θεού. Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη, Athens 2000, pp. 425-32.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 426, 430; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., p. 337.

[22] According to A. Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 49, 1995, p. 348: 'it is in fact not with Venice, but with Tuscany that the richest links with Cyprus occurred in the two centuries before 1453'; also p. 352 note 71.

[23] E. Constantinides, *Monumental Painting in Cyprus during the Venetian period, 1489-1570*, in N. Patterson Ševčenko - C. Moss (eds.)*, Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki,* Princeton, 1999, pp. 263-284; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., pp. 353-56. For the Kykkotissa type see A. Papageorgiou, *Μια ανέκδοτη διήγηση για τις εικόνες που ζωγράφισε κατά την παράδοση, ο Απόστολος Λουκάς και την Ίδρυση της Μονής Κύκκου [An unpublished story about the icons that were painted by Apostle Luke, after the tradition, and the foundation of the Monastery of Kykkos],* "Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς μονής Κύκκου", VI, 2004, pp. 48-51; Pace, *influenze cipriote* cit., p. 272; A. Weyl Carr,

Στοχασμοί για τη ζωή μιας εικόνας: Η Ελεούσα του Κύκκου [Reflections about the life of an icon: Mother of God Eleousa of Kykkos], "Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς μονής Κύκκου", VI, 2004, pp. 137-38.

[24] This type is connected to the type of Vlachernitissa, see K.D. Kalokyris, *Η Θεοτόκος εις την εικονογραφίαν της Ανατολής και της Δύσεως* [Virgin Mary in the Iconography of the East and the West], Thessalonike 1972, pp. 71-73; D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες για τη μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Ενετοκρατούμενη και Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα και Κύπρος* [studies for the Post-byzantine Painting. Venetian-dominated and Turkish-dominated Greece and Cyprus], Athens 2002, p. 266, note 50, which includes more recent bibliography; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., pp. 114-140; A. Weyl Carr, *Art, Identity, and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus,* "Modern Greek Studies Yearbook", 14/15, 1998/1999, pp. 66-67, fig 11; C. Hadjichristodoulou - D. Myrianthefs, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας της Ασίνου*, Nicosia 2002, pp. 30-31; C. Jannella, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Florence 1991, p. 16, figs. 13-14; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., p. 348.

[25] A. Weyl Carr, *A palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus, in Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996),* II, Nicosia 2001, pp. 599-619; Talbot Rice, *Icons* cit., pp. 241-242, pl. XXXIV; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 70, no. 24; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 67, fig 44; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 68, no. 23; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 67, fig 46.

[26] A. Papageorgiou, *Icônes de Chypre,* Genève 1969, p. 108, fig. 58; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 93, fig 57.

[27] J. Christophoraki, *Η τέχνη στην Κύπρο την εποχή του Λ. Μαχαιρά και του Γ. Βουστρωνίου* [Art in Cyprus in the times of l. Machairas and G. Boustronios], in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος. Δύο χρονικά της μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου,* Nicosia 1997, p. 94.

[28] M. Emmanuel, *Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Last Phase of the Lusignan Dynasty 1374-1489,* in Patterson Ševčenko N. - Moss C. (eds.)*, Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki,* Princeton 1999, pp. 243-44; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., pp. 347-48.

[29] Papageorgiou, *Icônes* cit., 113, fig. 39; Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., p. 274, fig. 7; Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., pp. 1330-31; Weyl Carr, *Funerary Icon* cit., pp. 604 ff.

[30] E. Carli, *La pittura a Pisa. Dalle origini alla "Bella Maniera"*, Pisa 1994, p. 24, fig. 61.

[31] M. Garidis, *La peinture Chypriote de la fin du XVe – debut du XVIe siècle et sa place dans les tendances generales de la Peinture Orthodoxe après la chute de Constantinople,* in *Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 14-19 Απριλίου 1969),* Nicosia 1972, p. 28; Emmanuel, *Lusignan* cit., pp. 244-51.

[32] Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 107; Triantaphyllopoulos, *τέχνη* cit., p. 623, 1623; Christophoraki, *τέχνη* cit., pp. 95-96.

[33] Triantaphyllopoulos, *τέχνη* cit., pp. 622-23.

[34] Constantinides, *Venetian* cit., pp. 266-74.

[35] Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., p. 480, fig. 290; D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία και Κύπρος. Σχέσεις τους στην τέχνη* [Venice and Cyprus. Artistic relationships]*,* "Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου «Κύπρος-Βενετία, κοινές ιστορικές τύχες» (Αθήνα 1-3 Μαρτίου 2001)"*,* Venice 2002, pp. 323-24.

[36] Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία και Κύπρος* cit, p. 323, pl. 3.

[37] Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., p. 95, fig. 43, p. 485, fig. 293; Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., pp. 1341, fig. 101.

[38] D.D. Triantaphyllopulos, *Die nachbyzantinische Wandmalerei auf Kerkyra und der anderen ionischen Inseln (15.-18. Jahrhundert),* I, München 1985, p. 80, note 32. For the creation of 'box-shaped' space (Kastenraum) see Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 334; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., pp. 306-12.

[39] We do not observe during Frankish rule any depictions of the Akathistos Hymn in Cyprus, possibly due to its connection to the Quietism Movement, see Triantaphyllopoulos, *οράματα*, p. 406, note 87, including relevant bibliography.

[40] S. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Notes sur trois Églises de la fin du 16e – début du 17e siècle à Chypre*, "Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί", vols. 64-65, 2003, p. 353 and note 7; Christophoraki, *τέχνη* cit., p. 94.

[41] Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., p. 1342; for the western tradition of this subject see G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 4/2: Maria*, Güterloch 1980, pp. 114 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 263-265; E. Constantinides, *Observations on the Iconography and Style of the Mural Painting in the Church of the Panagia Chrysopantanassa, Palaichori, Cyprus*, in *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996),* II, Nicosia 2001, p. 185, fig. 17.

[42] According to Sophocleous, *Ανώνυμος* cit., pp. 457-62, the standards of the 'Italian-Byzantine' artist of Pelendri originate from the Italian painting of the 14th century and more specifically from Tuscany.

[43] P. De Vecchi - E. Cerchiari, *Arte nel Tempo*, vol. 2/1, Milan 1996, pp. 63-74; S. Frascione, *Beato Angelico*, Rome 1980; I. Eliades, *Η 'Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων' σε μια κυπριακή εικόνα και η εικονογραφική εξέλιξή της*, "Θησαυρίσματα", 2005, 35, pp. 145-73.

[44] See G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4/2: Maria, Güterloch 1980, pp. 157 ff.

[45] C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus,* edited and traslated by Hunt D., London 1987, p. 284; see Triantaphyllopulos, *Wandmalerei* cit., pp. 104-105; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., p. 133; G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4/1: *Die Kirche*, Güterloh 1982², pp. 117 ff.; O'Reiley 1988.

[46] Stylianou, *Painted Churches* cit., pp. 312-320, Chr. Hadjichristodoulou, *Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Ιωάννη Λαμπαδιστή*, Larnaka 2000, p. 6; Constantinides, *Venetian* cit., pp. 280-84, believes that it is the same artist who painted Podithou in 1502 and dates the Latin Chapel to the first decade of 1500. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Art Italo-byzantin* cit., pp. 201-02 suggested that we date this monument and that of Podithou between 1555 and 1571, a view that was not accepted by other scholars: Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 321 note 25 and p. 329 note 53; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Art Italo-byzantin* cit., pl. 190-194; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Fresques* cit., pp. 441-45, pl. 3-4; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Fresques* cit., pp. 441-45, pl. 1-2.

[47] Frigerio-Zeniou, *Observations* cit., pp. 199-215, pl. 9-10.

[48] Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 324.

[49] Symeon Aksentis portrays St. Sozomenos in Galata, the western Resurrection and the Byzantine Descent to Hades in side by side, as if in temporal sequence. See Triantaphyllopulos, *Wandmalerei* cit., pp. 237 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 50, 134, 154, 171, 201ff., 261 ff.

[50] For the subject of Pietà in post-Byzantine painting see Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 79 ff., 121, 171; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., pp. 325 ff.

[51] Papageorgiou, *Αυτοκέφαλος* cit., p. 147; Papanikola-Bakirtzis - Iacovou, *Medieval Cyprus* cit., pp. 210-11, no. 143.

[52] For the artistic production of Madonneri see. Chatzidakis, *ecole cretoise* cit., pp. 169-211; Chatzidakis, *Madonneri* cit., pp. 673 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 118 ff., 131; the type of Madre della Misericordia – Mother of God the Merciful (coinciding with the Mother of God - Skepi) and the type of Madre della Consolazione are equivalent to the type of the Mother of God Paramythia. See Chatzidakis, *ecole cretoise* cit., pp. 169-211; Chatzidaki, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 99 ff.; Mpaltoyianni, *Μήτηρ Θεού* cit., pp. 273-77.

[53] For the exodus of Cypriots from the island after its Fall to the Turks and the activities of Cypriot painters abroad see K.P. Kyrris, *Cypriot Scholars in Venice in the XVI and XVII centuries with some notes on the Cypriot Community in Venice and other Cypriot Scholars who lived in Rome and the rest of Italy in the same period*, "Ο Ελληνισμός εις το Εξωτερικόν", Berlin 1968, pp. 192 ff; C. Maltezou, *Ο Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός του εξωτερικού και η πνευματική του δράση κατά την περίοδο της Ενετοκρατίας (1489-1571)*, "Ιστορία της Κύπρου", V, II, (Th. Papadopoullos ed.), Nicosia1996, pp. 1225 ff.; C. Maltezou, *Από την Κύπρο στη Βενετία: Κύπριοι στη Γαληνοτάτη μετά την Τουρκική κατάκτηση του νησιού*, Nicosia 2003; P.M. Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη 1571-1878*, Nicosia 2002, pp. 48 ff.; K. Tsiknakes, *Κύπριοι πρόσφυγες στην Κρήτη στα τέλη του 16ου αιώνα*, "Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Κύπρος-Βενετία, κοινές ιστορικές τύχες (Αθήνα 1-3 Μαρτίου 2001)", (C. Maltezou ed.), Venice 2002, pp. 175 ff.

[54] Paliouras, *εικονογράφησις* cit., 64 ff.; Papageorgiou, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 181-182; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 207; Chatzidakis - Drakopoulou, *ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 127 ff.; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 356 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., p. 228; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., pp. 334-335.

[55] Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., 354 ff.

[56] K. Mertzios, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης και ο μικρός Ελληνομνήμων*, Athens 1939, p. 246; Papageorgiou, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 181; Chatzidakis, *ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 278; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 358; Mprouskari, *εκκλησία* cit., pp. 76 ff.

[57] I. Eliades, *Το ζωγραφικό εργαστήριο του Παύλου Ιερογράφου (17ος αιώνας). Οι δεσποτικές του εικόνες*, Nicosia 2006 (forthcoming).

[58] About this painter see Chatzidakis - Drakopoulou, *ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 110-113; Aspra-Vardavaki, *Κορνάρου* cit., pp. 313 ff., note. 2 where there is a bibliography.

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