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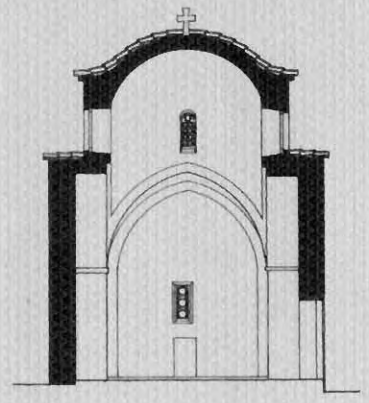

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The distinctive style of Middle Byzantine churches on Cyprus was a byproduct of specific local conditions, in the context of which the link with the local Early Christian tradition appears to have played a far greater role than elsewhere in the Byzantine world.[1] Because this regional style has at times been viewed as

I wish to express my gratitude to the Board of Directors of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation for the invitation to present this topic in its Annual Lecture series. Furthermore, I owe my profound thanks to Dr. Maria Iacovou who was personally instrumental in extending the invitation to me and who worked hard on all details that made my visit to Nicosia a memorable occasion. My interest in Cypriot medieval architecture developed during the summers between 1983 and 1989, spent on the island as a member of the Princeton archeological expedition at Polis tis Chrysochous. During those times I had several opportunities to travel extensively around the island south of the 'Green Line'. My lecture, delivered in Nicosia on April 15, 1997, is presented here in a somewhat modified and expanded form.

1. S. Ćurčić, 'Byzantine architecture on Cyprus: An introduction to the problem of the genesis of a regional style', N. Ševčenko and C. Moss (eds), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, Princeton 1999, pp. 71–80, where the role of earthquakes in the process of evolution of church architecture on the island is examined. T. C.

'provincial', created under particular insular circumstances that separated Cyprus from the presumed fountainhead of creative thinking – the Byzantine capital, Constantinople – the question of *regional input* in this context deserves a more careful scrutiny. The broad issue was initially formulated in unequivocally polarized terms in an otherwise magisterial article by Arthur H. S. Megaw.[2] For the purposes of this paper I propose to paraphrase the question posed by Megaw as: 'Middle Byzantine architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or regional?'. I intend to argue that, indeed, the architecture of medieval Cyprus had developed certain distinctive traits, but that these earned it an inappropriate derogatory label, 'provincial'. While the term 'provincial' may and should have as its primary function the categorization of various phenomena related to the provinces of a larger, centralized state, all too often it carries with it a judgemental meaning of 'inferiority', juxtaposed with the 'superiority' of the center.[3] Cypriot architecture acquired its distinctive qualities *not* on account of innate limitations of its builders, but because of very specific local conditions, overlooked by earlier scholarship. At the same time I hope to demonstrate that the distinctive stylistic qualities of Cypriot churches may once not have been as 'distinctive' as their present state of preservation would suggest and that, indeed,

Papacostas, 'Byzantine Cyprus. The testimony of its churches, 650-1200', Ph.D. Diss. University of Oxford (1999) is the most recent comprehensive study of the monuments. Though excellent in its historical interpretations, Papacostas' work does not broach any of the main issues discussed in this study.

2. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Byzantine architecture and decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or provincial?', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974) 59–88.

3. A. J. Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery*, University Park and London 1988, ch. 3 (Cyprus), offers a modified point of view, to which I subscribe only in part.

Cypriot architecture in some respects may have been stylistically much closer to the architecture of the capital and other provinces than the present appearance of individual buildings may lead us to believe. Ultimately, I wish to underscore the need to differentiate between the concept of *regional*, implying a positive aspect of the creative process, and the concept of *provincial*, implying in a negative mode extreme conservatism, or even total absence of creative thought. To put it simply, I wish to contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the question of the creative monopoly of Constantinople in the Middle Ages. While I recognize the importance of the Byzantine capital, and its major cultural role, I believe that as the preeminent center it both *generated*, as well as *attracted* innovative ideas. Inversely, I believe that the provinces of the Empire both benefited from, but also contributed to the shaping of the cultural scene in the capital.

As I have argued elsewhere, the wholesale destruction of Early Christian basilicas on the island was the result of repeated earthquakes rather than Arab raids, as has generally been believed.[4] Earthquakes have affected Cypriot buildings throughout history.[5]

4. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1).

5. N. N. Ambraseys, *The Seismic History of Cyprus*, London 1965, whose chronological chart of seismic activity on the island (fig. 1 and table 1) reveals a curious gap from ca 400 to ca 1150, explained by the author (p. 13) as reflecting the perception of Cyprus as a 'no-man's land' in the eyes of contemporary Byzantine and Arab writers, who only occasionally refer to it in their texts. Historical studies of seismic activities in Cyprus, and particularly in relationship to archeological evidence, has not advanced at the same pace as elsewhere in the Mediterranean basin. An important recent publication – S. Stiros and R. E. Jones (eds), *Archaeoseismology*, Athens 1996 – for ex-

Time and again recent archeological excavations have uncovered evidence of cataclysmic destruction caused by major earthquakes – the examples from Kourion and Paphos serving as particularly graphic reminders. Our own century has added to the long list of earthquake casualties, which generally remain poorly documented and inadequately studied. The church of Hagios Georgios at Sotira may be invoked as a partial exception. Photographically recorded in 1913 in its ruined state – the result of an earthquake – this church has undergone a complete reconstruction following modern, archeologically exacting methods, that have restored its medieval form (figs. 1 and 2).[6] The Middle Ages knew no such principles or methods of reconstruction. Likewise, the structural behavior of buildings was not adequately understood until little more than a century ago. On the basis of surviving evidence it would appear that early medieval Cypriot builders believed in increasing the building mass as the optimum way of countering the effects of earthquakes. Thus, vaulting permanently displaced wooden trussed roofs, thick walls replaced relatively thin ones, while the general height of buildings was reduced. Repeatedly rebuilt, many of the early Cypriot basilicas were substantially modified losing in the process their original light appearance in favor of increasingly bulky forms. The eventual product of such processes were build-

ample, mentions Cyprus only once, in the Introduction, while one of the papers in the volume correctly pleads the case for wider collaborative efforts (E. Guidoboni, 'Archaeology and historical seismology: The need for collaboration in the Mediterranean area', pp. 7–13).

6. G. A. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnimeia tis Kyprou*, 1, Athens 1935, pl. 27a. Sotiriou's publication, essentially an illustrated catalogue of buildings without a text, is nonetheless an invaluable source of documentary photographs and drawings of a large number of buildings, many of which are not available in any other publications.

ings characterized by greatly increased wall mass and squat proportions, resulting from the repeated piling of additional masonry against the previous wall thickness. We can observe this very clearly in the churches of the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti, and the Panagia Chryseleousa at Emba (figs. 3 and 4).[7]

This process – *the notion of a process* being of particular importance for our understanding of the problem – in some instances went through many successive building phases over long periods of time, reflecting the recurring need for reinforcing the same building. The well-documented structural history of the church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi indicates that the building was built as a columnar basilica, that it subsequently became a piered basilica, followed by three additional phases of structural reinforcements resulting in the successive thickening of piers and walls.[8] The church, shown here from the northeast following its modern restoration (fig. 5), displays several features of relevance in our discussion. Its main apse, constructed of massive, evidently reused ashlars, is the only visible surviving portion of the original basilica. Despite the drastic transformation of the original character of the building through the introduction of vaulting, domes, etc., the general elongated proportions of the original basilica are still discernible. In this case the spatial identity of the elongated original basilican nave was preserved, as was that of the side aisles which have retained their spatial

7. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 75–6.

8. A. H. S. Megaw / E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (DOS 14), Washington, D.C., 1977, esp. pp. 24–36; and my own reservations as formulated in a review of the book published in *Speculum* 55 (1980) 812–16, esp. pp. 812–14. See also Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 74.

independence from the nave. In fact, a closer examination of the plan suggests that the aisles are far more segregated from the nave than they were in the original basilica. Several other comparable examples lead us to believe that aisles in churches evolving from original basilicas became functionally independent chapels, flanking the main nave. In the case of the Princeton-excavated church at Polis, the original late fifth-century columnar basilica was successively transformed into a single-aisled domed church flanked by elongated lateral chapels built on the same foundations as the original basilica.[9] In the fourth, penultimate phase of the building's history, the southern chapel, fully segregated from the nave save for a small door, was used for burials, possibly of local high-ranking clergy (fig. 7).[10]

Middle Byzantine church architecture that evolved in Cyprus in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has unduly suffered from overly zealous critical assessments and has been relegated to the fringes of scholarship seldom touched by Byzantine architectural historians.[11] The label 'provincial' has

9. S. Ćurčić, 'An Early Byzantine basilica at Polis, Cyprus', *Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress: Abstracts of Short Papers*, Washington, D.C., 1986, 87–88; also W. A. P. Childs, 'First preliminary report on the excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University', *RDAC* (1988), pt. 2, 121–30, esp. 127–29.

10. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 74–5.

11. Considered at least in earlier scholarship on Byzantine architecture, the Cypriot material, somewhat surprisingly, has been practically ignored in many important recent general works, e.g. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth ^{4}1986, p. 401, who devotes one half of a paragraph to the Cypriot material, which he considers 'the architecture of a provincial island which more and more isolates itself against Constantinople and the core of the Byzantine Empire'. Similarly, C. Mango, *Byzantine*

stuck to these monuments with such tenacity that at times they appear to have been even physically neglected, as in the case of the fine church at Chortini (figs. 6 and 13).[12] The only saving grace for a large number of comparable churches appears to have been the fact that they housed fine frescoes in their interiors whose preservation warranted immediate attention and, of course, not without reason. Some of these fresco cycles – that of the Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera perhaps the best known among them – rank among the masterpieces of Middle Byzantine art.[13] The origins of some of the outstanding artists who worked in Cyprus at the time have been sought, and several of them are thought to have come from elsewhere, possibly Constantinople itself. Herein lies the first of my problems with the concept of 'provincialism'. If Cyprus was such a 'backwater' place, beyond the reach of Constantinopolitan architectural influence, why did not the same factor play a role in the fresco decoration of the same churches? If economic conditions were not congenial to the importation of good builders, how come they were congenial to the importation of fine painters? Those who have attempted to answer this question, in my opinion, have not done so convin-

Architecture, New York 1985, fleetingly mentions Cyprus in two paragraphs (pp. 124 and 141). It would appear that recent non-western authors have a somewhat more charitable attitude toward Cypriot medieval architecture; e.g. N. Gkioles, *Byzantini naodomia (600–1204)*, Athens 1987, pp. 174–5, or V. Korać and M. Šuput, *Arhitektura vizantijskog sveta*, Belgrade 1998, pp. 201–4.

12. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 76–7.

13. A solid overview of histories and fresco cycles in the majority of Cypriot medieval churches, including Lagoudera, is given by A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London 1985, 157–85 (Lagoudera).

cingly.[14] The nature of the problem is different than what has been thought, and it requires a careful re-examination of issues *in toto*.

Though the subject of Middle Byzantine architecture in Cyprus is not unknown, it is very far from having been studied adequately as the attention of most scholars has been focused almost exclusively on the monumental painting of the period instead.[15] It would be highly presumptuous on my part to suggest that I can rectify the problem in this article. A broader thinking process must be set into motion, and to that end I will make some general observations and offer a few suggestions. To begin with, it should be noted that a shift to smaller-scale buildings, which affected Byzantine architectural practice elsewhere, also occurred in Cyprus. Thus, churches as the twelfth-century Hagioi Apostoloi at Perachorio and the already-mentioned church at Chortini became the new norm (figs. 8a and 8b). It is equally important to note that buildings based on such small and simple plans proliferated. To the two just-mentioned examples we may also add the well-known churches of Lagoudera and Asinou (figs. 8c and 8d). In their original form all of them share a basic rectangular plan with a central square bay, intended to support a dome (with the exception of Asinou), and defined by four massive wall piers separating the domed bay from the bema, and the western bay of the naos. This elementary church type

14. A. J. Wharton, *op. cit.* (n. 3), ch. 3 (Cyprus).

15. In addition to the coverage afforded the material by Soteriou (*op. cit.*, n. 6), an outline of the main themes and a listing of major buildings is provided by A. Papageorghiou, 'L'architecture de la période byzantine à Chypre', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32 (1985) 325–35, though without a single illustration.

became quite common in Cyprus and throughout the Byzantine world in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[16]

Though predominant, single-aisled domed churches were not the only type built in Cyprus during the Middle Byzantine period. The cruciform plan of the Panagia Chryseleousa at Chlorakas, a suburb of Paphos, illustrates the expansion of the basic rectangular plan by symmetrically projecting wings along the north and south flanks, resulting in the characteristic shape (fig. 9a). This plan type, though relatively rare in Cyprus, as it is elsewhere in the Byzantine sphere, recurs at the Panagia Kyra at Komi Kebir, at the very opposite end of the island (fig. 9b).[17]

Another manner of elaborating the basic rectangular plan is illustrated by the already-mentioned church of Chortini (fig. 8b). Here we find that the rectangular building core was enlarged by the addition of at least one, and possibly two, elongated lateral chapels. The ruins of the one on the north side are sufficiently preserved. What we see here is related to the type of planning which, in principle at least, must have been related to the prevalent process of remodelling and adaptation of Early Christian basilicas.[18]

A type commonly thought to represent the paradigm of Middle Byzantine church architecture is the so-called *cross-in-square*. This type, almost as a rule somewhat modified, also appears in

16. V. Korać, 'Les églises à nef unique avec une coupole dans l'architecture byzantine des XIe et XIIe siècles', *Zograf* 8 (1977) 10–14; also M. Čanak-Medić, 'Une variante des églises cruciformes à nef unique dans l'architecture médiévale Serbe', *XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II, 4. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/4 (1982) 501–7.

17. Sotiriou, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 35, who also illustrates a comparable church of Hagios Theodosios in Achelia, near Paphos.

18. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 77.

Cyprus as illustrated by the late tenth-century church of Hagios Philon, near Rizokarpasso (fig. 10a), the eleventh-century core of the katholikon of the Monastery of Hagios Ioannis Lampadistis at Kalopanagiotis (fig. 12b), and the twelfth-century Hagios Georgios at Sotira (fig. 10b). The modification of the 'ideal' cross-in-square plan in these examples involves a slight elongation of the plan, and the substitution of massive masonry piers for columns. Similiar modifications of the same plan type may be found in many other areas of the Byzantine Empire and, therefore, are not an exclusively Cypriot phenomenon.[19]

Finally, one of the most exclusive types in Middle Byzantine church architecture is the so-called *octagon-domed* church, characterized by a large dome resting on eight instead of four piers. Related to the older church architecture of Armenia, the type is believed to have reached Byzantium from there. Though no examples of this type are preserved in Constantinople itself, the Byzantine capital is believed to have been the center from where it spread to the provinces. Several major examples of the type are preserved in Greece, including the mid eleventh-century katholikon of Nea Moni on the island of Chios.[20] It is remarkable that as many as three churches of this relatively rare church type have been preserved in Cyprus. All three are located north of the 'Green Line'. The katholikon of the Antiphonites Monastery is the best preserved of the three, while the late tenth-century church in the fortress of Hagios Hilarion may be the oldest surviving Byzantine example, older than any preserved in Greece

19. On this see also S. Ćurčić, 'The architecture', in E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St Mary of the Admiral in Palermo*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 27, Washington, D.C., 1990, pp. 62–4.

20. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture*, Athens 1982.

(figs. 11a and 11b). The finest of the three churches of this group in Cyprus was the erstwhile katholikon of the Chrysostomos Monastery (fig. 12a). Slightly younger than its counterpart at Nea Moni on Chios, the katholikon of the Chrysostomos Monastery has been viewed as somewhat of an aberration among Cypriot 'provincial' buildings. Though destroyed in the nineteenth century, its plan is fully known. It reveals a church more regular than the other two Cypriot octagon-domed examples, its proportions more consistent with the best specimens of the type on the Greek mainland. This particular group of Cypriot churches is also characterized by the extensive use of brick in their construction. This has led scholars to conclude that in these buildings we should recognize the unmistakable evidence of Constantinopolitan influence.[21]

Before leaving the Chrysostomos Monastery, we must make yet another observation concerning the plan of its katholikon. In addition to the main, octagon-domed church, we find that it was flanked by another church to the north, and a chapel to the south. The north church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is roughly contemporary with the main church, and is now the only preserved portion of the medieval complex, along with its exquisite late eleventh-century frescoes.[22] The plan of this church belongs to the simple, rectangular church type which, as we have already

21. Megaw, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 83.

22. C. Mango, 'The Monastery of St Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and its wall painting', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990) 63–94. The 'curious, molded cross' on the north facade of the north church (*ibid.*, 70), along with the pointed form of the main arches, may be taken as collective evidence of Armenian input in this complex. Mango suggests that the cross may be part of a later 'Lusignan/Venetian' repair of the north church. The basic plan of the now destroyed katholikon, along with its all-stone masonry,

seen, was especially popular in Cyprus. Of particular interest here is the grouping of multiple churches into a larger, organic conglomeration. This trend, though rare, comes into being in Middle Byzantine monastic architecture. The great monastic complexes in Constantinople, as that of the celebrated twelfth-century Pantokrator Monastery and its presumed late thirteenth-century emulation, the monastery of Constantine Lips, illustrate this phenomenon. It is from Constantinople, in fact, that the phenomenon may have been disseminated into other parts of the Byzantine world, including Russia and Serbia, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where we find it in the complex of the Spas Monastery at Yaroslavl, and the patriarchal monastery at Peć, respectively.[23] In Cyprus the compound plan appears once more in the curious constellation of churches in the monastery of Hagios Ioannis Lampadistis at Kalopanagiotis (fig. 12b).[24]

The foregoing analysis of Middle Byzantine church planning in Cyprus demonstrates that it was characterized by a consider-

however, further underscore the possibility of Armenian input in the construction of the monastery.

23. For Yaroslavl see: O. M. Ioannisiân, 'Kompleks drevneishih postroek Spasskogo monastirîa v Iaroslavle', O. E. Etingof (ed.), *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rus, Vizantiîa, Balkan, XIII vek*, S. Petersburg 1997, pp. 199–228. For Peć see: M. Čanak-Medić, *Arhitektura prve polovine XIII veka*, 2. Spomenici srpske arhitekture srednjeg veka. Korpus sakralnih gradjevina, Beograd 1995, pp. 15–85. Also S. Ćurčić, 'Architecture in the Byzantine sphere of influence around the middle of the fourteenth century', V. J. Djurić (ed.), *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka* (Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIV[e] siècle), Belgrade 1989, pp. 55–68, esp. pp. 57–8, where the issue of the Constantinopolitan influence in connection with church clusters is proposed.

24. Stylianou, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 292–322.

able variety of plan types, that it had its associations, albeit limited, with Constantinople and that, in general, it displayed features not too dissimilar with other regions of the Empire. What, then, made Cypriot architecture seem so 'provincial' in the eyes of previous scholars who addressed this issue? Here we return again to the exterior appearance of buildings, their form, esthetic qualities; in other words, to those aspects which fall under the rubric of 'architectural style'.

The overwhelming majority of Middle Byzantine Cypriot churches were built of local stone in relatively crude building techniques. Today many of these churches display their roughly built walls, witness the examples of the two twelfth-century churches, at Chortini and Perachorio (figs. 13 and 14). Compared to the examples of twelfth-century Byzantine architecture elsewhere, such as Hagia Triada at Merbaka in the Peloponnesos (fig. 15), one is struck by the apparent crudeness of Cypriot workmanship, and by the absence of architectural details that constitute the vocabulary of an architectural style.[25] The contrast is indeed startling, and the initial impression appears undeniable – we seem to be looking at two vastly different building traditions distinguished by the totally different capabilities and aesthetic sensibilities of their builders. Here we must pause. Is what we see today actually what one would have seen in the twelfth century? This important point must be elucidated further.

Several Middle Byzantine and later Cypriot churches are today perceived in a way different from what we have just noted, their

25. A. Struck, 'Vier byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis', *Athenische Mitteilungen* 34 (1909) 189–236, despite its early date has not yet been superseded in its treatment of Merbaka and a group of related buildings in the region of Argolis.

wall surfaces smoothly covered by continuous layers of monochrome plaster, as the tenth-century church at Yeroskipos illustrates (fig. 16).[26] The esthetic impression created here again is different. Instead of being confronted with textured stone wall surfaces, we are struck by the boldness of general forms which possess almost sculptural properties. Our critical eye in this case is drawn to the uneven surfaces, and conclusions about inapt or hasty craftsmanship again easily arise. This uneveness, as we have already seen, in many instances was due to later rebuilding and patchwork, and not to the intentions of the original design. Likewise, we must ask ourselves whether the plaster we are looking at is actually ever original. The answer, almost routinely, can be given as 'no'.

Here we must take another detour, bearing in mind that crude stone construction was not an exclusive domain of Cypriot church builders. Many Middle Byzantine buildings, particularly those of the ninth and tenth centuries, utilized similar techniques – witness the churches of the Panagia at Skripou, dated by inscriptions to 873–4, and the tenth-century St John the Baptist at Mesemvria (Nessebar in Bulgaria) on the Black Sea.[27] Likewise, some of the monuments in this category are covered with monochrome plaster, as is the case with the katholikon of the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos. Here, as in the Cypriot examples we saw, the plaster most certainly is not original, though there are strong indications that facades of this and several other Athonite churches may have been covered with painted plaster from the earliest times on.

26. Ćurčić, *art. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 76–7.

27. For Skripou, see n. 29 below. For Nessebar, see A. Rashenov, *Mesemvriiski tsŭrkvi* (Églises de Mésemvria), Sofia 1932, pp. 89–98, still the basic work.

As of late, students of Byzantine architecture are increasingly becoming aware of the fact that Middle Byzantine churches were covered with plaster and painted far more frequently than had been suspected before.[28] A recent study of the church of the Panagia at Skripou, for example, suggests that the upper part of the building, above the continuous brick string course, was covered with plaster.[29] The projecting profile of the brick string course, visible in the photograph (fig. 17), is a strong indicator that the plastering of the upper part of the building was the original intention. Owing to the severe damage suffered by the building, most notably in a major earthquake at the beginning of this century, and its subsequent extensive restoration, none of that plaster has survived. Puritan esthetic attitude prevalent at the time of the building reconstruction probably would have precluded even such a possibility.

Imagining coats of plaster on buildings where they no longer survive does require leaps of imagination. Our ability to fantasize need not be unduly stretched, however. The twelfth-century church of St George at Kurbinovo, FYROM, provides us with some extremely important clues.[30] The small church, renowned for its

28. M. A. Orlova, *Naruzhenie rospisi srednevekovih pamiâtnikov arkhitekturi. Vizantiiâ, Balkan, Drevniaiâ Rus*, Moscow 1990, is the first comprehensive study that considers the problem of painted facades in Byzantine, Balkan, and Old Russian churches. This approach, however, takes into consideration only figurative painted decoration, in contrast to painted emulation of construction features that concerns us here.

29. A. Papalexandrou, 'The Church of the Virgin at Skripou: Architecture, sculpture and inscriptions in ninth-century Byzantium', Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1998, p. 103.

30. A. Nikolovski, 'Konzervatorski raboti na crkvata Sv. Gorgi vo Kurbinovo', *Kulturno nasledstvo* I (1959) 37–44.

frescoes dated precisely to 1191, is an exact contemporary of the Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera. Its architecture, not unlike contemporary Cypriot churches, would not attract a second glance were it not for the frescoes inside (fig. 18). Crudely built of local fieldstone, with a simple wooden shed roof, the building resembles a barn as much as a church. A superficial initial observation in this case requires a second look. Here, too, restoration work has uncovered, below the later layers, patches of the original painted plaster decoration. Upon this coat were carefully incised outlines of decorative brick and stone work, additionally painted to create an illusion of an architectural opus, consistent with contemporary taste (fig. 19). Thus, thanks to the application of standard architectural details by brush, instead of being executed in masonry, the unassuming church of St George originally acquired an appearance comparable to the finer Byzantine churches of the day.

The church of St Nicholas at Manastir, near Bitola, FYROM, provides important additional insights. This small three-aisled, piered basilica was built in 1266 and painted in 1271 according to a preserved inscription.[31] Its frescoes have remarkably conservative stylistic characteristics, revealing greater affinities with frescoes painted a century earlier than with contemporary frescoes in other churches of the Byzantine world. During conservation work carried out on the building between 1965 and 1970, remains of painted *cloisonné* technique were discovered at the eastern end of its south exterior wall. This decoration has been dated to 1266, the time of the construction of the building, and is said to have been superseded in part by figurative compositions painted in the western part of the same wall probably toward the end of the

31. D. Koco and P. Miljković-Pepek, *Manastir*, Skopje 1958; a comprehensive monograph on the building, its history and fresco decoration.

thirteenth century.[32] Thus, it would appear that, as at Kurbinovo, the Church at Manastir was painted externally with an imitation of the construction opus. Here, this painted 'opus' would have covered up a finer actual construction technique than that encountered at Kurbinovo.

The cases of Kurbinovo and Manastir are invaluable, but we can turn to other evidence which provides us with some even more startling revelations. The church of the Virgin Eleousa in the village of Veljusa in the southeastern area of FYROM, dated 1080, is quite well preserved. Its fine frescoes are matched, in this case, by an equally fine architecture, whose characteristics have correctly been linked with the building tradition of Constantinople.[33] Various architectural details, such as the articulation of the dome drums, reveal adherence to the Constantinopolitan style of the Comnenian era at its best. The walls of the building were constructed in *recessed brick* technique, itself a hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Careful restoration of the monument carried out two decades ago revealed that despite fine workmanship and some exquisite details executed in brick, *all* of it was covered with plaster and painted over with precisely the same motifs that were being covered up (fig. 20).[34] The esthetic effect of the painted facades, therefore, must be assumed to have been identical to what had been executed in masonry in the first place. Why such an exercise may have been deemed necessary is not clear.

32. Miljković-Pepek, 'Novootkrieni arhitekturni i slikarski spomenici vo Makedonija od XI do XIV vek', *Kulturno nasledstvo* 5 (1973) 5–16, esp. 12–14.

33. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa. Manastir sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo selo Veljusa kraj Strumica*, Skopje 1981.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 98–101.

Nor should one overlook the case of the early eleventh-century katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery in Boeotia, where traces of painted decoration, including pseudo-Kufic decorative elements, have been noted on its west facade.[35] The preserved painted portions here are a fortuitous survival, discovered behind the walls and vaults of the twelfth-century exonarthex torn down at the end of the nineteenth century (fig. 21). The pseudo-Kufic motifs correspond to those that appear executed in brick on the east facade of the tenth-century church of the Panagia in the same monastery.[36]

The lingering nagging question is whether these particular cases were exceptions, or whether actually they may reflect a rule of which so little evidence has been preserved. Judging by some later Byzantine buildings, the latter may have been the case. Thus, it is entirely possible that the painting of facades with the emulation of building techniques may have been employed in Byzantine architecture regardless of what the actual wall construction looked like. This hypothesis obviously requires a great deal of further testing, but I believe that the evidence already in hand indicates that we may be on the right course.

In this regard, a glance at some of the Serbian medieval churches, which in the last thirty to forty years have undergone close scrutiny, is particularly instructive. Albeit later in date, they demonstrate the perpetuation of the Byzantine practice,

35. L. Philippidou-Boura, 'Ho exonarthikas tou Katholikou tou Hosiou Louka Fokidos', *Deltion tis Christianikis Archaiologikis Heterias*, 4th ser., 6 (1972) 13–27 passim.

36. Whether we should assume that painted elements on the katholikon emulated the brick ones on the church of the Panagia, or that they emulated *painted* facades of the Panagia, the evidence of which is not preserved, cannot be definitively answered at this point. The case of the church at Veljusa certainly supports the latter possibility.

often employed under different circumstances. The late thirteenth-century church of Sv. Ahilije (H. Achileos) at Arilje is the oldest of several churches in Serbia on which traces of medieval exterior painting has been preserved. Recent restoration work on the church has revealed that its dome drum and the cubical base below it were decorated with a painted emulation of the Byzantine *cloisonné* building technique known as *opus spicatum* and with arches made of radially laid bricks (fig. 23).[37] A somewhat surprising aspect of Arilje is that its architecture, stylistically speaking, is more akin to the Romanesque than to the Byzantine architectural tradition. It would have been its painted 'building technique' cladding, in fact, that would have given it its 'Byzantine' character. A curiously opposite effect was achieved at the church of St Nicholas at Banja Monastery built in the 1330s. Here the architecture of the church reveals Byzantine characteristics, but its exterior was clad with an emulated polychromatic ashlar construction in the spirit of Romanesque-Gothic architecture also present in Serbia at the time (fig. 22).[38]

At the patriarchal complex at Peć, briefly mentioned earlier, a cluster of four contiguous churches evolved over a period spanning more than a century, from ca 1220 to ca 1330.[39] The central and oldest church in the complex, dedicated to the Holy Apostles, was begun under the auspices of the first Serbian archbishop, St Sava, and was built entirely of crude fieldstone. This building technique, which recalls the Cypriot practice, was very much at

37. M. Čanak-Medić, 'Slikani ukras na crkvi sv. Ahilija u Arilju', ('Les façades peintes de Saint-Achille à Arilje'), *Zograf* 9 (1978) 5–11.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

39. Čanak-Medić, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 15–85; also the excellent monograph: V. J. Djurić / S. Ćirković / V. Korać, *Pećka Patrijaršija*, Belgrade 1990.

home in the central Balkans, where the Byzantine custom of mixing stone and brick came fully into vogue only after 1300. Even the forms of dome drums indicate a process of transformation from the archaizing cylindrical drum of the thirteenth-century Holy Apostles to the polygonal, highly articulated forms on the fourteenth-century church of the Virgin, where the use of brick is in evidence. In both cases, the building opus was clearly plastered over. A detailed examination of the surviving remnants of medieval plaster enabled the late Professor Vojislav Djurić to detect elements of painted decoration on all parts of the great complex. His published reconstruction drawing gives an idea of what the group must have actually looked like in the late 1330s (fig. 24).[40] While Djurić insisted that all of the painting was the product of a single phase from the 1330s, the recent detailed study of the complex by M. Čanak-Medić indicates that it must have superseded decorative painting of the plastered exterior of the Holy Apostles' church in its original thirteenth-century state. In any case, it is clear that both the crudely-built first church as well as its more sophisticated later neighbors were all covered by a unifying coat of plaster with externally painted decoration, possibly by the mid fourteenth century.

Regardless what dating is accepted for the decoration of the

40. V. J. Djurić, 'Nastanak graditeljskog stila Moravske škole. Fasade, sistem dekoracija, plastika' ('L'École de la Morava, origines du décor'), *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 1 (1965) 35–64. Djurić's conclusions were strongly challenged by Dj. Bošković, 'O slikanoj dekoraciji na fasadama Pećke patrijaršije', *Starinar*, n.s. 18 (1968) 91–100, who believes that the painted decoration at Peć must be dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Čanak-Medić, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 81-2, supports Djurić's proposed dating, but also reports on the existence of an older layer of painted exterior plaster on the thirteenth-century church of the Holy Apostles.

complex at Peć, there are no doubts about its intimate link with a group of externally highly ornate churches dating from the second half of the fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century, collectively referred to as the 'Morava School'.[41] Built in differing manners, all monuments of this group were apparently stylistically unified by virtue of their highly ornate painted facades. The church of the Nativity of the Virgin at Naupara, tentatively dated between 1376 and 1382, is one of the oldest members of this group.[42] Constructed apparently for a local strongman, on his estate, the church was built of rough stone but embellished with rich sculptural decoration and elaborately painted facades. The church was badly damaged in its subsequent history, and was left without its dome and roofs, until the nineteenth-century restoration returned to it an improvised version of its original architectural form. During a study of the church undertaken by a joint team from the Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments of Serbia and Princeton University, which began its work in the late 1980s, traces of the original painted facades were detected, and were subsequently cleaned and published.[43] The church of

41. D. Pavlović, 'Prilog proučavanju slikanih dekoracija fasada srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava sa područja Zapadne Morave', *Raška baština* 1 (1975), 199–202; also, most recently V. Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, Kruševac 1996, pp. 96–141, passim.

42. A monographic study of the church with complete architectural and photo documentation – S. Popović and S. Ćurčić, *Naupara* – is currently in press. It will appear as vol. 1 of a projected 'Corpus of Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Serbia, 1355–1459', published by the Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments of Serbia in Belgrade, in collaboration with Princeton University.

43. V. Ristić, 'Novootkrivene freske u crkvi Sv. Bogorodice manastira Naupare', *Saopštenja* 26 (1994) 131–49, esp. 146–7.

Ljubostinja Monastery, built possibly before 1389, is one of the finest monuments of this group. Here, below the yellow plaster applied during a nineteenth-century restoration, substantial remnants of the original painted facades covering the relatively crude, all-stone wall construction have been uncovered, on the basis of which the decorative system of a field within a blind arcade on the north lateral apse has been fully restored (figs. 25 and 26).[44]

Remnants of frescoes on the south portico facade of the church of Prophitis Elias in Thessaloniki and on the roughly contemporary exonarthex of the Katholikon of Hilandar (Chilandari) Monastery on Mt Athos (fig. 27) serve as reminders that the practice was widespread throughout the Byzantine world.[45] The appearance of facade painting on a number of Ottoman monuments, such as the late fifteenth-century Faik Pasha Mosque in Arta, suggests that the practice was taken over and used by the Ottomans as well.[46]

The foregoing lessons cause us to return and take another look at our Cypriot monuments. Should we really think of churches such as those at Kiti and Emba as actually having been left completely bare, or as having been smoothed over from the apex of the dome to the floor with monochrome plaster, like glazing on a giant cake, as we saw at Yeroskipos? Bearing in mind that the esthetic of pure whitewashing of buildings, now typical on some

44. S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja. Crkva Uspenja Bogorodičinog*, Belgrade 1985, pp. 40–43, with older literature on the subject.

45. For Profitis Elias see: T. Papazotos, 'The identification of the Church of "Profitis Elias" in Thessaloniki', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991) 121–7; for the Exonarthex of the Hilandar Katholikon see: S. Nenadović, 'Arhitektura Hilandara. Crkve i paraklisi' (L'Architecture des églises du monastère Chilandar), *Hilandarski zbornik* 3 (1974), esp. 128–30.

46. Personal observations of the monument in August 1995.

Greek islands and which has made places like Mykonos famous, is a relatively recent invention, we must ponder over what the medieval builders and their patrons *actually* had in mind.

Fortunately, remnants of painted facade decoration with traces of simulated building techniques, scarce as they are, *have* survived on several churches in Cyprus. The best known among the surviving examples is the church of the Panagia Phorviotissa at Asinou, while traces have also been noted in Hagios Nikolaos tis Stegis and Hagios Hilarion, in the castle by the same name.[47] The church at Asinou, built in 1106, is conservative in several respects. Its basic single-aisled plan, despite a square bay in the middle, was never intended to have a dome.[48] Its walls, though built of large stones, were bonded with mud mortar of poor quality.[49] Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the exterior of the building was plastered over and painted with the emulation of a finer building technique. Remnants of this decoration are still preserved in several places on the exterior, especially on the south facade (fig. 28).[50] Owing to the fact that the coat of plaster in question is also preserved behind the walls of the narthex, which was added probably in the twelfth century, it is certain that the painting of the main church facades is

47. Initially unknown to me, the three examples mentioned here were kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Athanasios Papageorghiou, to whom I am profoundly grateful.

48. Megaw, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 85 and n. 119.

49. D. C. W[infield], *Asinou. A Guide*, Nicosia 1969, p. 7. The author, as a member of a team involved in the preservation of the church from 1965 to 1967, provides many useful technical points of information about the architecture of the church not found in other publications.

50. Old photographs indicate that far more of this painted decoration was in place in the early part of this century; *cf.* Sotiriou, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pl. 31.

original.[51] The decorative technique involved scoring the plaster with lines outlining large squarish ashlar blocks (fig. 29). The scored lines were painted in red, creating the effect of *cloisonné* masonry technique, probably not unlike that used at Manastir and Arilje. Furthermore, we also find red zigzag lines for additional decorative effects (fig. 30). The decorative use of such zigzag lines is also found on other Middle Byzantine churches, where they appear in other media, for example scored into brick surfaces, as on the east facade of the Panagia Vrioni at Arta.[52]

The Panagia Phorviotissa at Asinou displays another idiosyncratic feature – a steep roof associated with several churches on the higher slopes of the Troodos Mountain range. In addition to Asinou, we may refer to Panagia tou Arakou, at Lagoudera, and Hagios Nikolaos tis Stegis, at Kakopetria, as the best known examples (figs. 31 and 32). Both churches, in fact, have regular domes elevated on drums hidden below their enormous roofs. The universally accepted opinion is that these churches, built in areas of heavy snowfalls resembling Alpine conditions, required such enormous, overhanging roofs as a way of protecting their domes and vaults from the accumulation of snow. Should we consider that explanation entirely satisfactory, or could another factor have played a role in this matter? Elsewhere in the Byzantine sphere of influence, in areas where similarly severe climatic conditions can prevail, as in Georgia and Russia, church domes are never hidden below huge roofs. Given our observations about the external painting of church facades, it is possible that Cypriot builders were driven by concerns for their preservation. This could also explain why these roofs have pronounced overhangs that would

51. Personal observations made in April 1997.

52. Based on personal observations.

have provided protection for the painted surfaces from rain and sun, and not only from snow. A number of much later Moldavian monastic churches – as those of Voronets of 1488 (exterior painted ca 1547) and Sucevitsa of 1602–4 – supply us with graphic insights into how similar roofs were intended to function.[53] In the future archeologists, architects, and restorers working on the Cypriot monuments will need to be even more sensitive to many such unexplored issues and will need to approach the buildings themselves armed with the right questions, testing continuously the validity of various entrenched notions.

In the concluding remarks of this paper I will raise another important point which thus far, to my knowledge, has been ignored in general studies of Cypriot medieval architecture. Perched atop many Middle Byzantine Cypriot churches we find spindly belfries, such as those at Yeroskipos and Emba (figs. 33 and 34). Their generally incongruous appearance betrays their late date – most of them having been added in the nineteenth century during the waning moments of Ottoman control or following the establishment of British rule. Why should these belfries have suddenly proliferated just at this time? Is this yet another example of western influence in this part of the world? Having dealt with a related problem in the Balkan context, I have noted that bells and belfries were singled out by the Ottoman authorities as particularly offensive aspects of Christian houses of worship and were targeted for systematic destruction.[54]

53. C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York 1985, pls XXIII and XXIV, figs 292 (Voronets) and 295 (Sucevitsa).

54. S. Ćurčić, 'Byzantine legacy in ecclesiastical architecture of the Balkans after 1453', in L. Clucas (ed.), *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, Boulder 1988, pp. 59–81, esp. pp. 68–72.

Following the liberation of parts of Serbia in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a virtual rash of belfry construction occurred. As most of these were built in the then popular Baroque style, brought by builders from the Habsburg territories, a sweeping assumption has been made in scholarly writings that belfries – as an architectural concept – were a result of western influence coming into these areas after the Ottoman retreat. Another historiographical *misconception* – a byproduct of the Ottoman systematic eradication of belfries – was an erroneous though highly influential conclusion drawn by the renowned French scholar, Gabriel Millet, who on the basis of a few surviving monuments proclaimed that belfries were first introduced into the Byzantine world by the westerners only following the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[55] Recent years have produced much new archeological evidence that was unknown to Millet, therefore making the revision of his ideas a necessity.[56] In my opinion, Ottoman destruction of bells and belfries as a general policy that must have been enforced over long periods of time must have been deeply resented by the subjugated Christian populations. The mushrooming of belfries in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – in the Balkans most certainly, and possibly also in Cyprus – may reflect a backlash against Ottoman policies and related cultural prejudices. A corollary of this phenomenon in the Balkans was the retaliatory Christian practice of destroying minarets on mosques in the wake of the collapse of the Ottoman empire. The zeal with

55. G. Millet, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris 1916, p. 135.

56. S. Ćurčić, 'Belfry and minaret. Destruction and historiography as instruments of historical revisionism' (a paper being prepared for publication).

which this was carried out has practically eradicated the characteristic silhouette of minarets from the skyline of most larger Balkan cities once under Ottoman control. Both of these phenomena – the dismantling of minarets on the one hand and the ardent construction of belfries on the other – as two faces of the same coin – were retaliations against despised policies enforced by the Ottomans over several centuries. For a historian of medieval architecture of Cyprus the issue is of particular relevance for he must ask the question 'Did belfries once exist on Cypriot Middle Byzantine churches, and if so, what did they look like, where were they located, etc.?'. This question, to my knowledge, has never been posed. One of the reasons is that the earlier students of Byzantine architecture, whose writings also shaped the historiography of Cypriot medieval architecture, themselves subscribed to the notion that belfries *did not exist* in the Byzantine sphere except on an exceptional basis, and even then as a reflection of western influence. The history of Byzantine belfries is yet to be written. The task is formidable for the evidence has been greatly distorted by historical circumstances. Here again, modern architects, archeologists, and restorers will have to be far more sensitive and rigorous in their future work if the picture we hope to recapture should have historical value and meaning. As a warning against cavalier attitudes toward the past let me invoke once more a monument that rightly attracted worldwide attention a few years ago because of the abuses it suffered at the hands of its present owners – the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi. The point which I want to make concerns the restoration activities carried out before the partition of the island in 1974. The two photographs of the church show its state before and after the restoration (figs. 35 and 36). First, attention must be drawn to the awkwardly placed belfry, an 1888 addition

to the building.[57] Unhappy with its appearance, or for some other unknown reason, those in charge of the restoration in the 1960s dismantled this belfry and replaced it with a more modest one at the northwest corner of the building, atop a wall buttress. Nothing can be read about this intervention in the relevant literature.[58] As neither belfry can be historically documented, we are left with a seemingly irrelevant enigma. Seen, however, in the light of the problem which I have tried to articulate, the issue is hardly irrelevant.

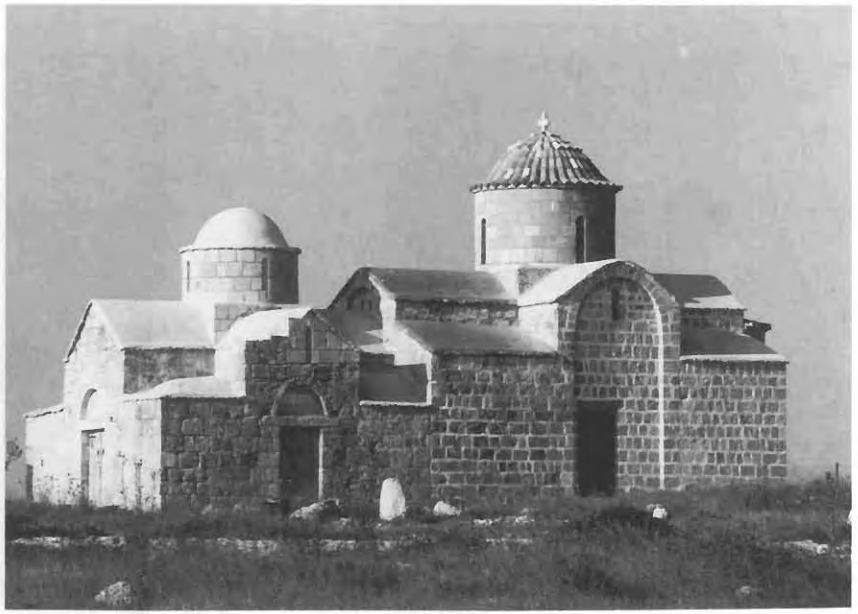
Middle Byzantine church architecture of Cyprus, as we have seen, shares many characteristics with contemporary developments in other parts of the Byzantine world – its small scale, its typological variety, its painted facades. The latter point, as has been demonstrated, is particularly relevant. Because of the loss of the original painted facades that – we must assume – existed in far greater numbers, Cypriot Middle Byzantine architecture has not only lost some of its esthetic appeal, but has in fact lost its stylistic identity. Recapturing that quality is not only a challenge for our imagination, but also a scholarly responsibility. At the same time, while striving to restore the sense of relationship between Cypriot and 'mainstream' developments in Byzantine architecture, it is important not to lose sight of the many idiosyncratic features which clearly distinguish the Cypriot material. It is these aspects of Cypriot medieval architecture which mark it as a

57. Sotiriou, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pl. 32. For the date of the first belfry, see Megaw/Hawkins, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 36.

58. Megaw/Hawkins, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 11–36, where the structural history, including all of the various restoration undertakings, is chronicled.

distinctive *regional* development, itself a function of local factors ranging from climate to earthquakes. Continuing modifications through history, by forces of nature and man alike, have left us with buildings so greatly altered that they would be practically unrecognizable to their medieval creators if they were able to see them today. Yet, it is on the very basis of the *present appearance* of buildings that the historiography of Cypriot medieval architecture was written, introducing the unfortunate notion of 'provincial' with all of its insular, if not outright derogatory implications. The bold critical judgements of the early writers, all too uncritically, came to be broadly accepted. In challenging the word 'provincial', as I have done in this paper, I am less concerned about semantics than I am about the state of mind which it appears to foster. Future students of Cypriot medieval architecture, as we have seen, have before them tasks and challenges that have not been confronted thus far. One of the larger ones will be to free Cypriot Middle Byzantine architecture of its 'provincial' status, and to place it alongside other regional developments within the broader framework of the history of Byzantine architecture.

1. *Sotira. Hagios Georgios, from southeast, as in 1913.*



2. *Sotira. Hagios Georgios, from southwest, after restoration.*

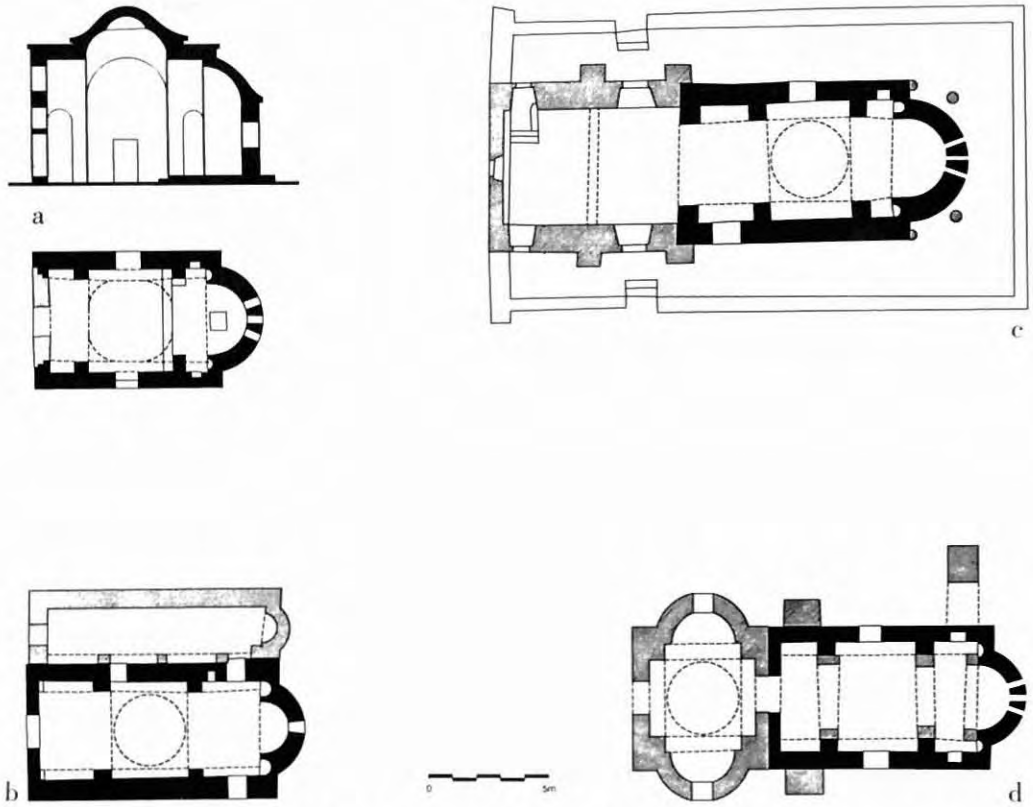
3. *Kiti. Panagia Angeloktistos, from northeast.*

4. *Emba. Panagia Chryseleousa, from southeast.*

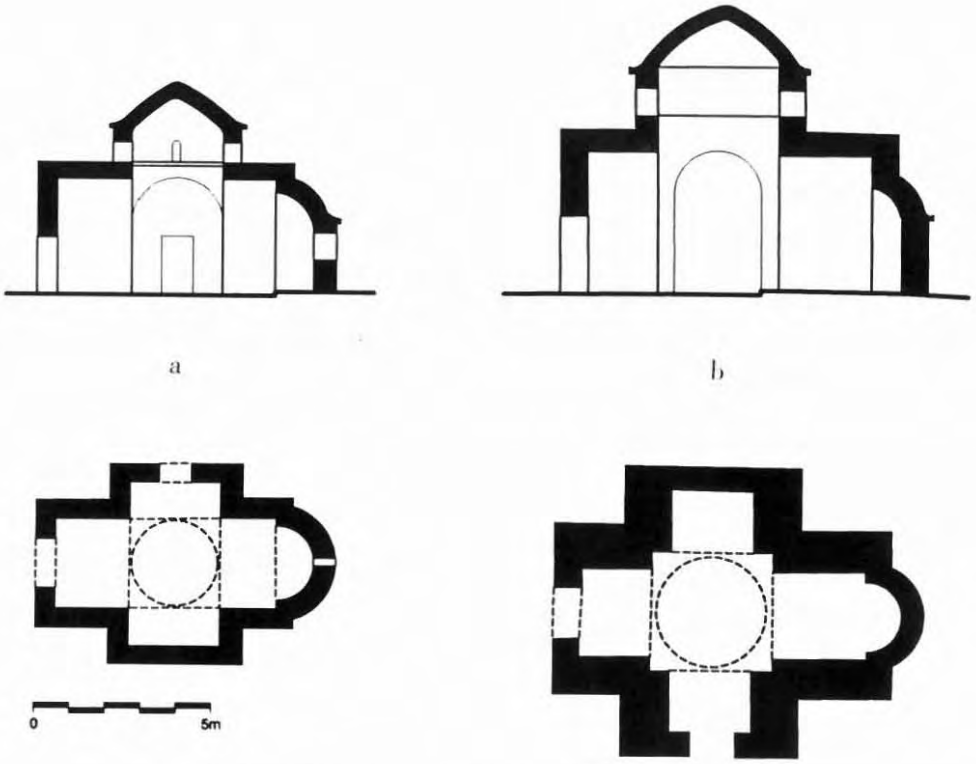
5. *Lythrankomi. Panagia Kanakaria, from northeast.*

6. *Chortini. Church, from northwest.*

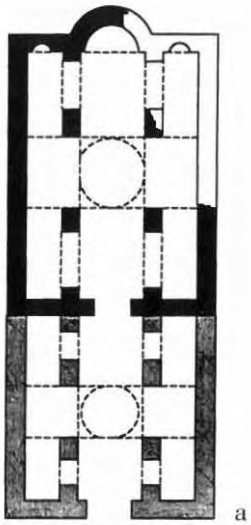
7. *Polis. Basilica, south aisle as a later chapel with tombs.*



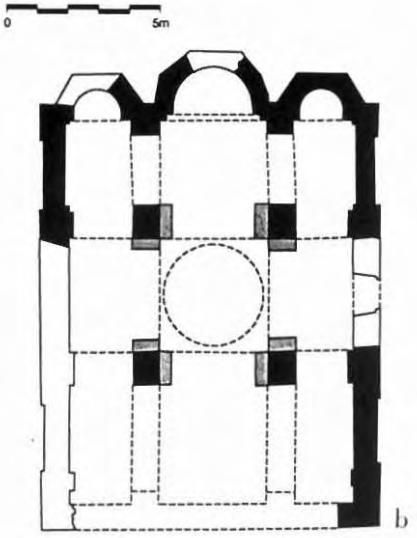
8a. *Perachorio. Hagioi Apostoloi; plan and section.*
8b. *Chortini. Church; plan.*
8c. *Lagoudera. Panagia tou Arakou; plan.*
8d. *Asinou. Panagia Phorviotissa; plan.*



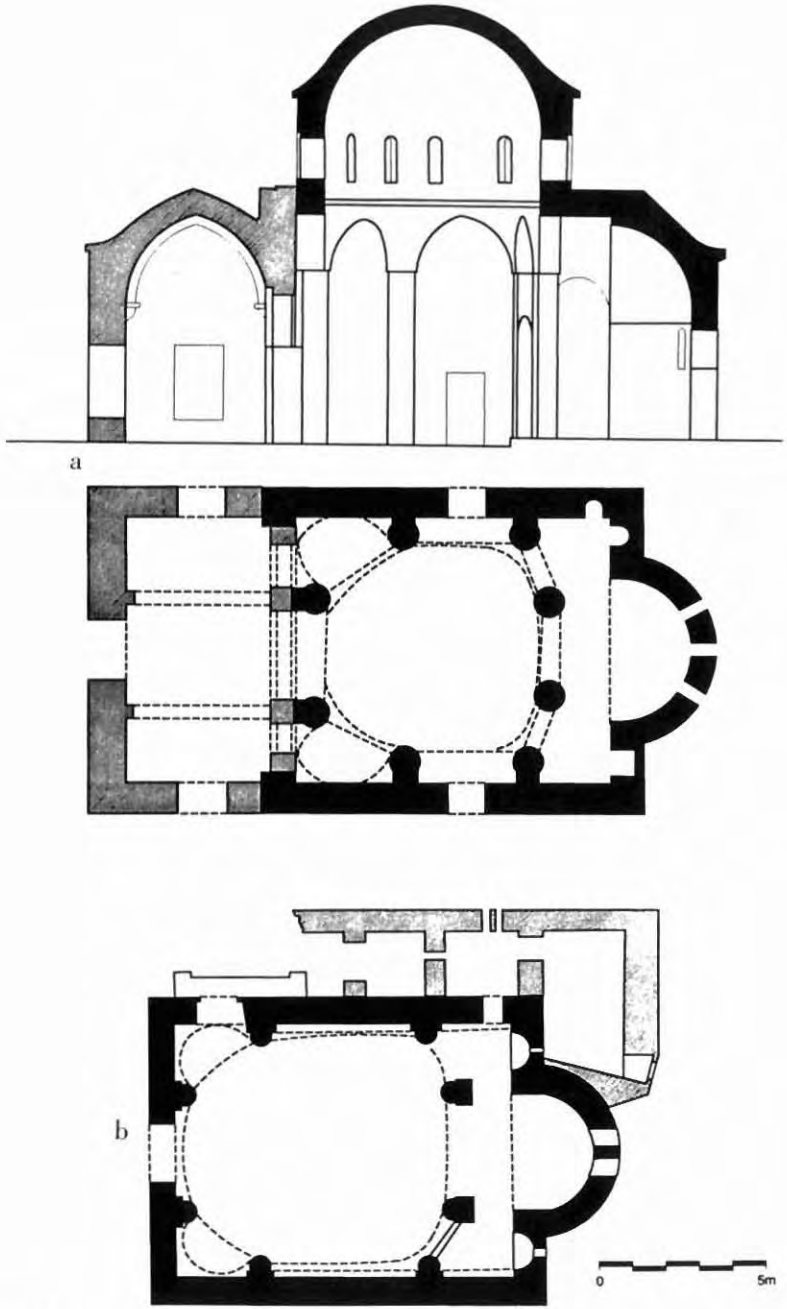
9a. *Chlorakas. Panagia Chryseleousa; plan and section.*
9b. *Komi Kebir. Panagia Kyra; plan and section.*



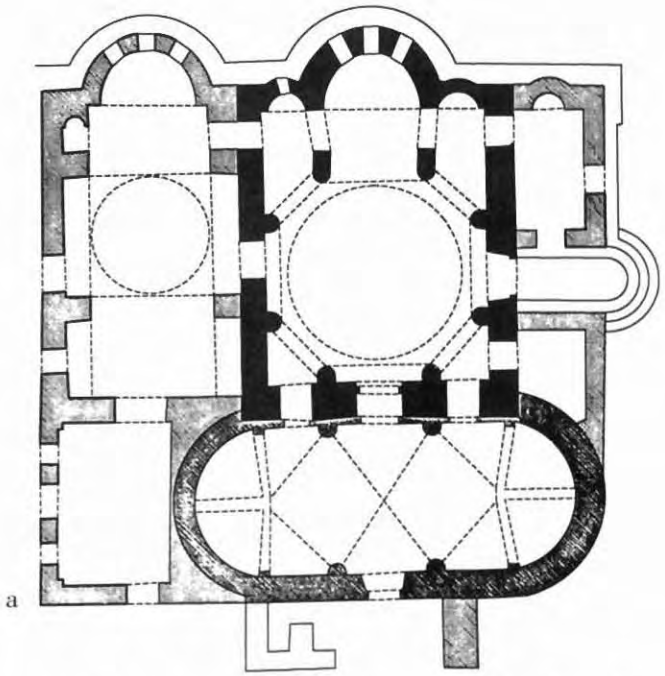
10a. *Rizokarpasso. Hagios Philon; plan.*



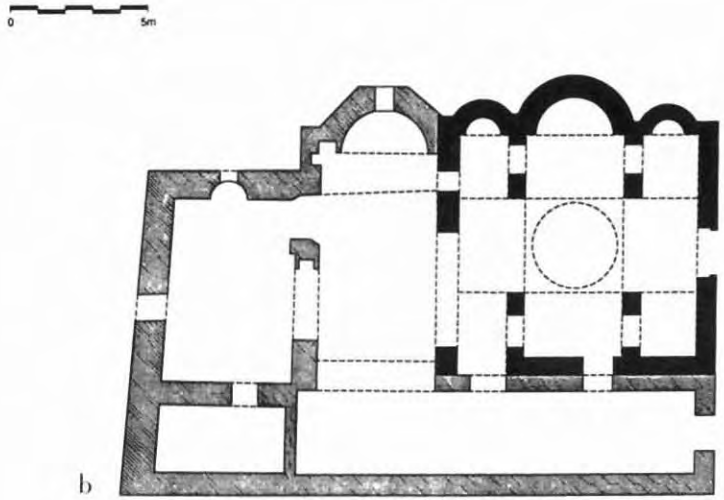
10b. *Sotira. Hagios Georgios; plan.*



11a. *Antiphonites Monastery, katholikon; longitudinal section and plan.*
11b. *Hagios Hilarion church; plan.*



12a. *Chrysostomos Monastery. Complex of churches; plan.*



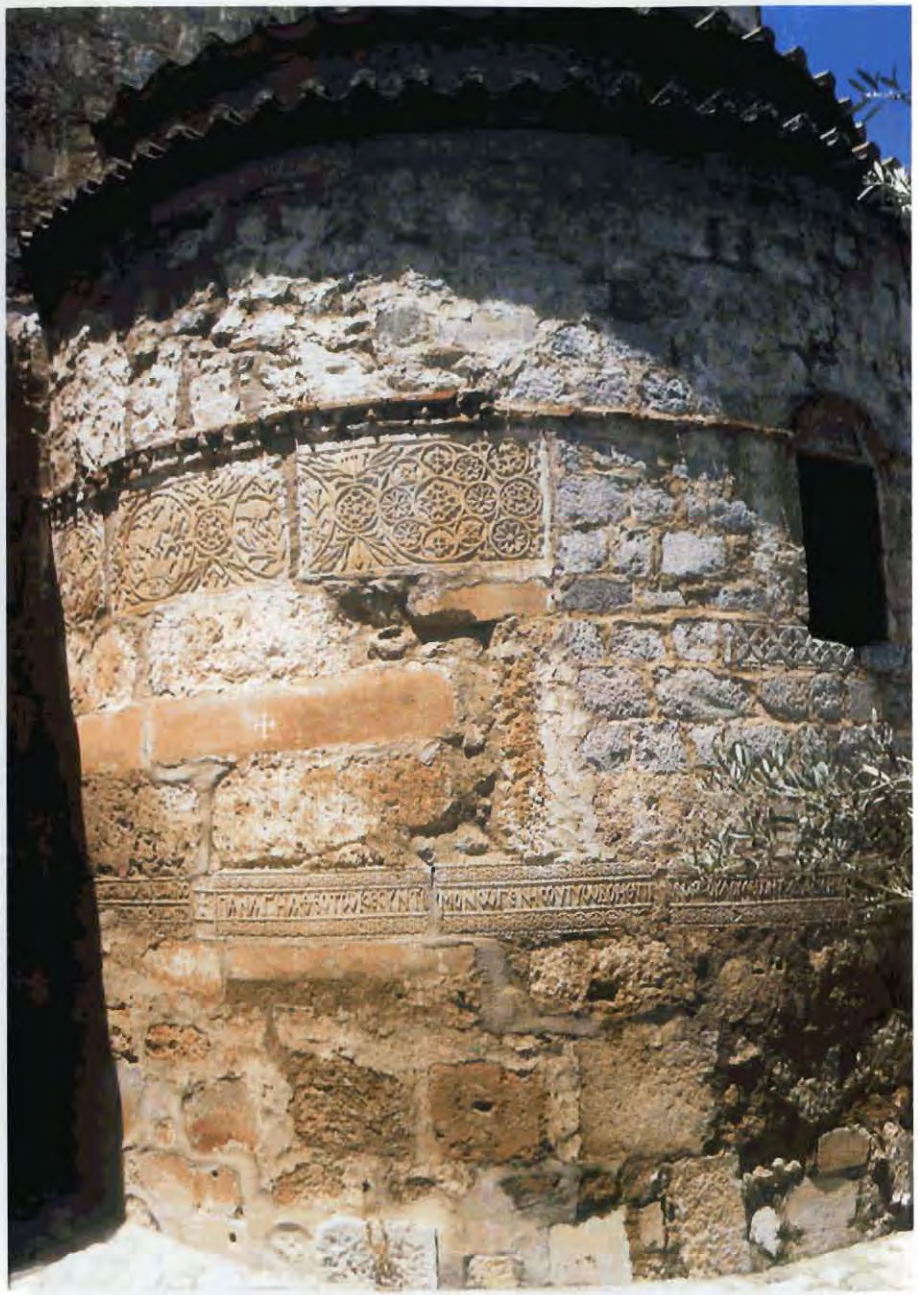
12b. *Kalopanagiotis. Hagios Ioannis Lampadistis; plan.*

13. *Chortini. Church, from south.*

14. *Perachorio. Hagioi Apostoloi, from southeast.*

15. *Merbaka. Hagia Triada, from south.*

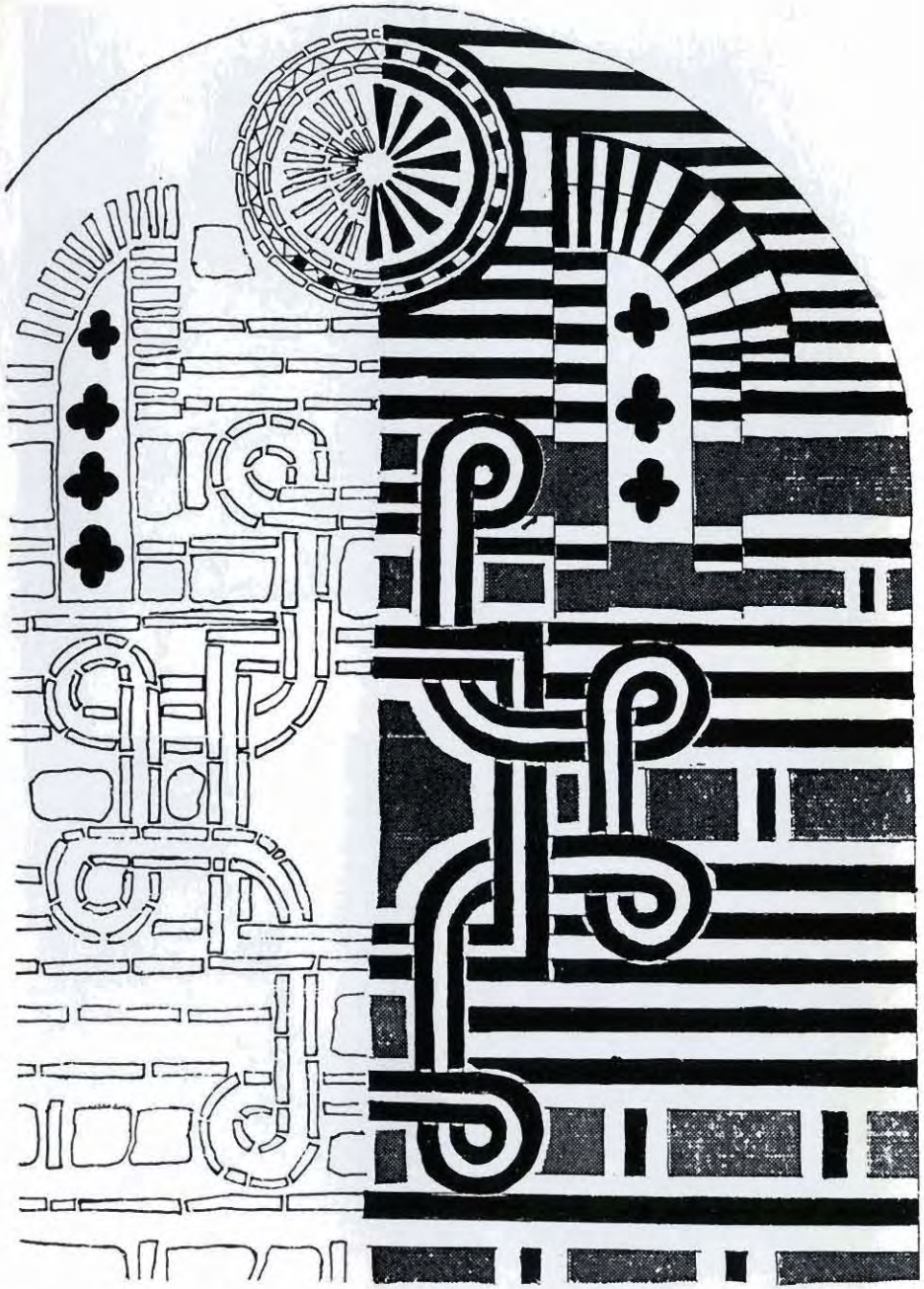
16. *Yeroskipos. Hagia Paraskevi, from northeast.*



17. *Skripou. Panagia, main apse.*

18. *Kurbinovo. St George, from southwest.*

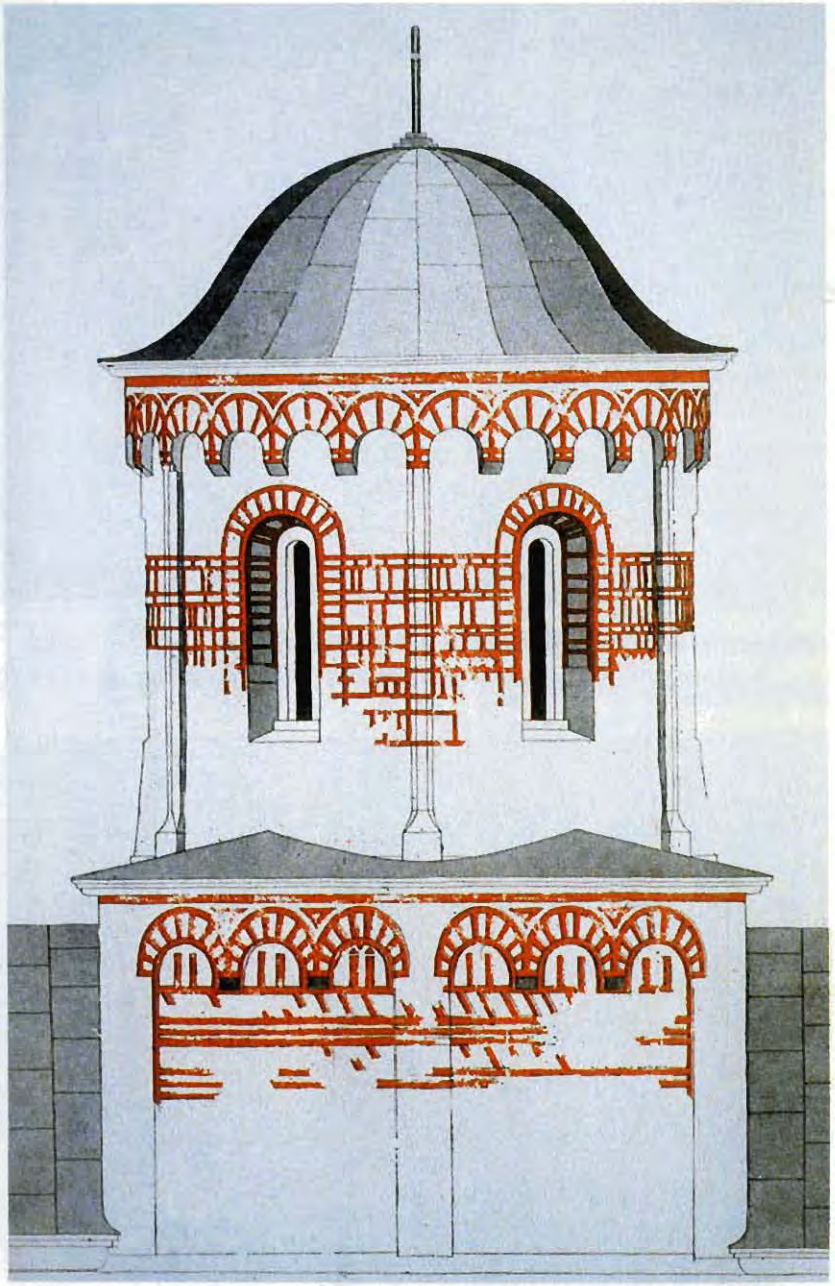
19. *Kurbinovo. St George, detail of west facade.*



20. *Veljusa. Virgin Eleousa, detail of south facade.*

21. *Hosios Loukas Monastery.*
Katholikon, detail of west facade showing painted 'building opus'.

22. *Banja. St. Nicholas; east facade showing painted 'building opus'.*



23. *Arilje. Sv. Ahilije; dome, elevation showing painted 'building opus'.*

24. *Peć. Patriarchal complex of churches; reconstruction, from south.*

25. *Ljubostinja Monastery. Church of the Dormition, east facade.*

26. *Ljubostinja Monastery. Church of the Dormition, north lateral apse showing partially restored 'building opus'.*

27. *Hilandar Monastery. Katholikon, exonarthex; detail of north facade.*

28. *Asinou. Panagia Phorviotissa, from southeast.*

29. *Asinou. Panagia Phorviotissa; apse, detail of painted 'building opus'.*

30. *Asinou. Panagia Phorviotissa; south facade, detail of painted 'building opus'.*

31. *Lagoudera. Panagia tou Arakou, from northeast.*

32. *Kakopetria. Hagios Nikolaos tis Stegis, from southeast.*

33. *Yeroskipos. Agia Paraskevi, from southeast.*

34. *Emba. Panagia Chryseleousa, from east.*

35. *Lythrankomi. Panagia Kanakaria, from northwest, before the 1960s' restoration.*

36. *Lythrankomi. Panagia Kanakaria, from southwest, after the 1960s' restoration.*