

THE CHURCH  
OF THE PANAGIA KANAKARIÁ  
AT LYTHRANKOMI IN CYPRUS

ITS MOSAICS AND FRESCOES

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## PART ONE

### The Church and Its Structural History<sup>51</sup>

#### THE EXTERIOR

A forecourt precedes the church, entered not from the road, but from the west through a wide gateway in a crumbling wall. It is closed on the south side by a two-storey building of traditional Cypriot style, of which the western end is now ruinous (fig. 12). Below are stone-built stables and storerooms opening off a covered portico behind an arcade of low, pointed arches; in two cases the arches are carried on large, reused limestone bases, cut down to fit their present positions (fig. 15). Above, and reached by an external staircase, are the main rooms with walls of plastered masonry and a flat mud roof. On the opposite, northern side of the forecourt and on higher ground a few ruinous structures of one storey complete the surviving ancillary buildings. But at many points traces of other, earlier structures can be seen, including some suggestive of a range of rooms along the west side of the forecourt and of a predecessor of the arcade on the south. To the east the church stands alone, surrounded by a modest burial ground, now disused, which can also be entered directly from the road through an opening in its enclosure wall. This has long been a normal approach to the church, for it opens opposite a domed porch outside the south door (fig. 1).<sup>52</sup> The semicircular lunette above this door preserves, thanks to the protection of the porch, a fresco of the Theotokos holding the Christ Child on her left arm and inscribed Μή(τη)ρ | Θ(εο)ῦ || ἡ Κανα|καρηᾶ (fig. 128).<sup>53</sup> The domical vault of the porch is carried on pendentives and semicircular arches supported on four columns with crude cushion capitals (figs. 5 and 6). The two inner shafts stand on stone capitals, which were exposed during Mr. Papageorghiou's investigations in 1966 (fig. 16). The other two are engaged on their outer sides to piers of masonry.<sup>54</sup>

For the rest, the south wall is featureless. Its rather rough coursed masonry gives place to large ashlar blocks at the entrance and at the two extremities.

<sup>51</sup> Observations made by Megaw in the course of conservation work up to 1959 and during subsequent visits with Hawkins are here incorporated; also the results of A. Papageorghiou's later investigations as recorded in 'A.B., 29 (1968), 12-15. The adjoining building has since been restored.

<sup>52</sup> The former low and narrow doorway in the enclosure wall is illustrated in Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 2. The new burial ground lies outside the enclosure, to the north.

<sup>53</sup> See *infra*, p. 158 ff..

<sup>54</sup> The northeast column is of marble and 2.375 m. high (upper diam. 0.32 m.). The others are of limestone and two of them, 2.41 m. and 2.42 m. in height, are probably the complete lower parts of columns constructed in two sections. Their upper diameters are 0.42, 0.43, and 0.44 m. Their total height with the upper sections would have been about 3.60 m., if normally proportioned. Prior to the repairs of 1966 (*CARDA*, 1966, p. 9), the two outer columns, which were leaning critically outward, had been reinforced by encasing masonry, shown in Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 32a, and Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 2.

It rises, uninterrupted by any windows, to a cornice of thin stone slabs, slightly projecting. A straight joint in the upper part of the masonry near the west end indicates that in its present form the south wall of the narthex was completed rather later than the remainder. This wall incorporates a buttress at the west end, one of four added to the west wall. At the east end its masonry is homogeneous with that of the present apse of the diaconicon.

The roof of the south aisle follows the curvature of its masonry barrel vault. Beyond it rises the upper part of the nave wall, where five small clerestory windows have been almost totally blocked by raising the aisle roof to its present high level (fig. 2).<sup>55</sup> Between and immediately above the windows the masonry is a rough assemblage of rather large reused blocks. Somewhat west of the center point rises a low gable of rather neater construction, pierced by a pair of roundheaded windows. This gable terminates a short transverse vault which buttresses, on the south side, the square base of a rather tall dome. This has a plain circular drum constructed in rubble masonry, except where four narrow windows with pointed heads open at the cardinal points; here reused dressed blocks are employed. The modern tiled roofing of the nave follows the curvature of the main barrel vaults converging on the dome, and at the east end rises at the center to cover the domical vault over the bema.<sup>56</sup>

The western aspect of the church is enhanced by a subsidiary dome on the central bay of the narthex (figs. 3 and 4), though by masking the window in the west gable of the nave it further darkens an already ill-lit interior. This dome has a plain cornice and windows in its cylindrical drum at the cardinal points, the east excepted, and four matching niches between them. The west wall is provided with a low central arch of segmental form, above the entrance door, supporting a gable of very low pitch (fig. 7). This is carried on a pair of buttresses, themselves additions to the west wall, and performs the function of a shallow porch. The doorway itself is now covered with a plain stone lintel, which is seen internally to be a clumsy repair. The jambs, which evidently belong to the same repair, are edged with a simple roll molding and are capped by molded brackets. Above the lintel a stone 0.425 m. wide has been inserted conforming with the curvature of the arch. On it is the following inscription, in deeply cut letters filled with pitch, which doubtless relates to the repair of this entrance among other works (fig. 8):

1779 Χρυσάνθου  
 ἱερομονάχου καὶ καθη-  
 γουμένου · δαπάνης · τῆς ἰκοδ(ο)μ(ῆ)ς  
 μαρτήου · 15.

1779 Chrysanthos,  
 monk and abbot,  
 defrayed the cost of this building  
 March 15

<sup>55</sup> The easternmost of these windows has also been blocked by internal additions. The rectangular recess above it is unexplained.

<sup>56</sup> Except over the bema, where some early *strotères* had survived, the roof surfaces were formerly finished with lime concrete. The roof of the apse was tiled in 1954 to protect the mosaic, the rest of the church in 1966 (CARDA, 1966, p. 9).

On a stone of the south jamb of the door, on its west face, have been roughly cut the words Μήτηρ (Θεοῦ ἡ) Κανακ(α)ρ(ι)ᾶ. In this position the stone belongs to the repairs of 1779, but with the inscription it could have featured previously in some other part of the monastery (fig. 9). The west wall leans outward and has been reinforced by two more buttresses at either end.<sup>57</sup> Two stone capitals and a base lie close to the west door (figs. 7, 13, 17, and 18); they are discussed below.

The north elevation differs from the south in that the aisle wall is considerably lower and is pierced by three narrow windows, as well as a narrow door (figs. 10 and 11). There is a change in the masonry at a point about 0.70 m. above the threshold of the door. The lower masonry is rougher and extends to a point in line with the outside face of the west wall of the church proper. Beyond this point, the north wall of the narthex is of different construction and is differently aligned. But the straight joint between them is so placed as to attest a *reprise* in a single phase of construction. At the foot of the narthex section, as in the remainder of the wall, there are a few courses of rougher masonry. These may survive from some predecessor of the present narthex. In the upper part of the nave wall, in addition to the windows in the added gable flanking the dome, there are two more of the lower, earlier series.<sup>58</sup> There were doubtless others before the west part of this wall was reconstructed.<sup>59</sup>

The east end is dominated by the large semicircular apse (fig. 11). This is constructed, to an external radius of 6.50 m., of large slabs of dressed stone set on edge and bedded in gypsum, quite unlike the rougher lime-built masonry of the other walls.<sup>60</sup> There are some irregularities: on the north side the face diverges from the normal radius in an almost straight line (see plan, fig. C) and below the shallow eaves the masonry follows a polygonal rather than a semicircular plan (fig. 23). During the repair of the apse in 1954, it was seen that the semidome is likewise constructed of squared slablike stones set in gypsum in regular and rather deep courses. It was found that the central window had at some time been enlarged. The other two windows had been

<sup>57</sup> An ugly belfry had been built (in 1888, according to Smirnov, "Mozaiki," 71) on the low gable above the door, but to one side. This masked the narthex dome, and was removed during the repairs of 1950. The single bell was transferred to the more modest construction then added above the north-west corner of the narthex (fig. 3), where the existing buttress was enlarged to carry it (CARD, 1950, p. 12 and figs. 14-15).

<sup>58</sup> Previously blocked with masonry, these were reopened during the repairs of 1949 (CARD, 1949, p. 12).

<sup>59</sup> The masonry in this part is comparatively recent, certainly subsequent to the construction of the gable.

<sup>60</sup> Formerly, but not originally, the apse was even larger. For when the original apse wall, only 0.86 m. thick, showed signs of weakness, it was on three successive occasions ringed with an outer sheath of new masonry, bringing the final thickness to 1.85 m. In 1954 two concealed collars of reinforced concrete were inserted in the original apse wall, one just below the cornice and the other just above the windows. This made it possible, by removing the additions, to expose and repair the original masonry and reopen the lateral windows, which had been walled up (CARD, 1954, p. 12). The slab-shaped blocks employed in the original masonry range from 0.42 to 0.56 m. in height, from 0.42 to 0.90 m. in width, and from 0.16 to 0.30 m. in thickness. In a binding course above the window arches these slabs are bedded flat.

walled up and had suffered damage in this process; but enough remained to establish their original form and positions, and that on the north side retained a section of its molded archivolt (fig. 24). The windows were notably wide in proportion to their height, and set unusually low in the apse wall.<sup>61</sup>

The lateral apses do not conform with the main one, nor with each other, save in that all three are semicircular. That of the diaconicon (fig. 1) to the south is indeed constructed of squared blocks of large size, but here the apse wall, in comparison with that of the main apse, is disproportionately thick (0.98 m.), its window disproportionately small, and its construction neater. That it abuts the initial addition to the main apse (see plan, fig. C) indicates its relatively late date. This diaconicon apse is larger than that of the prothesis to the north (fig. 11). Here the masonry, only 0.60 m. thick, appears to be homogeneous with that of the north wall, and it is unlike that of the main apse. The small central window indicates that this apse also is later than the main one.

When the church is viewed from the east, it is apparent that not only do the lateral apses differ from each other, but the aisles which they close are unsymmetrical, the south aisle being considerably higher than the other. In fact, although at first sight the church presents an agreeably homogeneous exterior appearance, closer examination reveals that this is the result not of any uniform design but of the fortunate compatibility of a long series of reconstructions, additions, and repairs. How complex was its structural history is apparent only in the interior; but thanks to the use of the same material in works of different dates and to their execution throughout in conformity with the rudiments of Byzantine style, the final result, externally at least, is surprisingly well integrated.

#### THE INTERIOR<sup>62</sup>

The narthex extends low barrel vaults to north and south from the domed central bay (fig. 26). Built against the west wall of the church, these vaults, for convenience of construction, spring from a series of blind arches of semicircular form, a feature repeated in the west wall in order to increase the abutment it opposes to the outward thrust of the vaults.<sup>63</sup> The effective span was thus reduced by about 1.10 m. In the dome bay, wider wall arches corresponding to the span rise to the height of the lateral vaults, together with which they carry the pendentives supporting the high drum (figs. 26 and 27). This last impinges on the west wall of the church so that the opening on this side is replaced by a deep internal recess, corresponding with the windows on the other sides.

<sup>61</sup> The northern one is 1.35 m. high by 0.76 m. wide. That the windows are nearer to the ground than is usual is not due to any raising of the level outside the apse. For the photograph in fig. 11 was taken after the accumulations in this area were removed in 1966, approximately to the interior floor level (Papageorghiou, in 'A.B., 29 [1968], 14).

<sup>62</sup> Throughout this section, reference should be made to the plan and sections in figures B-E.

<sup>63</sup> The recesses in the west wall, which had been blocked up, were reopened in the repairs of 1950, when the modern wall plaster of the narthex was also removed except at the crown of the vaults. The windows of the dome were reopened at the same time (CARDIA, 1950, p. 12).

There are some scant remains of frescoes on the east wall. Elsewhere, where the original pointing is intact, straight joint-lines have been scribed on it, or painted in red. The plates set in the plaster at the crown of the lateral vaults derive from some renovation of this part of the church (figs. 21 and 22). They include specimens of what has been called "drip-painted" ware. Examples found in the Athenian Agora come from contexts for which an eighteenth-century date is indicated.<sup>64</sup> Although this type of interior decoration appears to have been in vogue in Cyprus at an earlier date, at the Panagia Kanakaria the introduction of the plates may well have been part of the work of Abbot Chrysanthos recorded in the inscription of 1779 above the west door.

There is a narrow window in each of the end walls of the narthex but there are no others except for those in the dome. Three doorways originally communicated with the church but that into the north aisle was suppressed in some repair. The jambs of the corresponding entrance to the south aisle are without rebates for a door. The wide central opening which leads from the domed bay of the narthex into the church proper preserves its original north jamb, a single block with a shallow rebate (fig. 27). The other jamb and the lintel were restored in the recent repairs; whether originally the lunette above the lintel was glazed as at present is open to doubt.

#### THE NAVE

Entering the nave, which is very ill lit, one is struck by the complex articulation of its side walls (figs. 37 and 38). Setting aside for a moment the latest additions, it is seen that these walls, which are constructed with lime mortar, are pierced by very small arches communicating with the aisles, only 1.20–1.25 m. broad and now 2.85–2.95 m. to the crown of the arch (figs. 30 and 37).<sup>65</sup> Against the inner faces of the piers which supported these arches stood a series of engaged pilasters, 0.45 m. wide and projecting 0.18 to 0.20 m. The tops of these pilasters have nowhere survived and in some cases the pilasters themselves have been cut away (fig. 30). But on the south wall one of these pilasters can be seen extending higher than the top of the adjoining clerestory window (fig. E), over 6.0 m. from the present floor. In view of this height, the meager thickness of the clerestory walls (0.60 m.), and the lack of lateral abutment, the pilasters cannot have carried transverse arches across the nave, such as were employed in the vaulted basilicas of the Carpas.<sup>66</sup> Instead, they would have provided additional support for the ends of the main trusses of a wooden roof. Spaced at intervals of 2.10 m. center to center, the pilasters divided the nave into four narrow bays. These were followed at the east end by a wider fifth bay, now closed off from the bema by a modern wooden icon

<sup>64</sup> Alison Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia*, 11 (1942), 12, fig. 23, no. 2, and for the date p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> The original height may have been reduced by subsequent raising of the floor level, though the extent of this is unknown.

<sup>66</sup> E.g., those partly preserved in the ruined Asomatos church at Aphentrika (Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 12; Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," 48–56, fig. 1).

screen (fig. 31). The larger arches in the lateral walls of this wider bay still exist, partly obscured on both sides by later masonry. They are 1.58 to 1.65 m. wide and 3.0 m. high. Between the pilasters and well above the arches several of the original clerestory windows are visible; where not completely masked by later masonry they had all been blocked up. Wherever possible they have been reopened during the recent repairs (figs. 29, 30, and 28, below the beam). The sill of the north window of the wider fifth bay where seen in the interior (fig. 31) is now lower than those to the west (fig. B). But on the exterior, where the masonry is intact, there is no appreciable difference.<sup>67</sup> On the walls above the arches, on the piers, and on the arches themselves are some remains of fresco decoration.

These lateral walls of the nave belong, as we shall see, not to the original church, but to what may be called the first restoration. They are far from parallel, but converge toward the west, as indicated on the plan (fig. C). The width at the icon screen is 5.40 m. compared with 5.15 m. at the most westerly point that can be measured.<sup>68</sup>

The existing west wall of the nave with its wide entrance door (fig. 29) seems to correspond, at least in its lower parts, with the lateral arcades and clerestory of the first restoration. But the gable in its present form is almost certainly contemporary with the gables later added to the north and south walls. In the west gable is a cruciform window (fig. 29). It is set rather high, but even so it has been almost entirely masked by the construction of the narthex dome outside it. At the east end, the nave of the first restoration was divided from the bema by a massive "triumphal arch." Its springings are visible on the west face high above the modern icon screen (fig. 36). The central part of the arch has fallen but the springings are supported by masonry resting on the much smaller existing "triumphal arch" (figs. 36 and 113).

When in due course the timber roof of the first restoration fell, it was not again restored. Instead, in what we call the second restoration, alternate piers were reinforced on the inside by heavier pilasters, three on each side of the nave. The two eastern pairs are 0.70 to 0.75 m. wide and project 0.75 to 0.80 m. from the wall face, concealing the slender pilasters which form part of the original piers. Those in the angles formed by the arcades and the west wall were linked to the next of the added pilasters by semicircular arches against the lateral walls of the nave (fig. 29). These arches spring from points 3.65 m. above the floor and now rise in their subsided state to 5.25 m. above the present floor.<sup>69</sup> Over the space between these arches, a barrel vault was constructed to cover the two westernmost bays of the earlier scheme. In this way the span at the west wall was reduced to 3.60 m. This vault of the second

<sup>67</sup> On the south side where the tops of all five clerestory windows are visible externally, they are substantially of the same size and at the same level.

<sup>68</sup> The wider span at the east end was determined by the width of the bema, which of necessity conformed with the opening of the wide central apse of the original building.

<sup>69</sup> In the case of the north arch the amount of subsidence from the original regular semicircle is serious, not less than 0.20 m. For this reason this arch has been underpinned with an inner one, resting on additions to the masonry on either side (fig. B).

restoration, backed by the repaired masonry of the earlier nave walls, is essentially what survives today.<sup>70</sup>

At the same time, at the other end of the nave, two smaller lateral arches were turned between the easternmost of the added pilasters and the abutments of the "triumphal arch" (fig. 31). These arches of small span spring from points 4.25 to 4.30 m. above the present floor, considerably above the springings of the wider western arches. But the short barrel vault covering the space between them, corresponding to the wider fifth bay of the original scheme, rises to the same height as the western vault, now some 7.70 m. above the floor.

The approximately square area between these two sections of barrel vault (3.62 and 3.78 m. by 3.70 and 3.80 m.), occupying the third and fourth bays of the earlier scheme, must have been covered by a dome from the time of this second restoration. The lateral arches of this section rise to a height corresponding with that of the vaults to east and west and with them form the normal genesis for pendentives, drum, and dome. The bottom of the southwest pendentive and the springing of the dome arches below it are visible in figure 28, top right. This is not to say that the existing dome was the first in this position. The present dome shows no signs of settlement or other distortion which would justify the elaborate system of secondary arches and tie-beams with which it is supported. The lateral arches and the ends of the vaults which match them have all been underpinned with inner arches of much crisper masonry resting on additions to the main pilasters (figs. 28-30). Wooden beams resting on sharply projecting moldings at the springing level and at points about 2.00 m. below provided two timber collars linking the four points where the weight of the dome is concentrated. It seems most probable that after collapse of the first dome the substructure which had supported it was strengthened in this way before the existing dome was erected on it. These were the principal structural changes in what we call the third restoration.

The scheme adopted for the nave in the second restoration is that normal in the "domed-hall" churches, popular in Cyprus in the twelfth century and later, in which the lateral arches of the dome constitute short sections of barrel vaulting engaged to the side walls and closed externally by gable ends.<sup>71</sup> It corresponds to the central section of a domed church of the normal "inscribed-cross" type, a standard form for larger churches in Cyprus after the Byzantine recovery in the tenth century.<sup>72</sup> In the Panagia Kanakaria, where aisles existed, the adoption in the second restoration of the full apparatus of the "inscribed-cross" type was evidently inhibited by the survival to a good height of the walls of the earlier nave. Nevertheless, the aisles evidently did require reconstruction at the same time.

<sup>70</sup> Enlart's suggestion that these secondary pilasters were part of an initial articulation of large bays (*L'art gothique*, 402, fig. 268) was made when the interior was plastered. It must be rejected now that the masonry has been exposed.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the parecclesion of the Holy Trinity in the monastery of St. Chrysostom (Soteriou, Μνημεία, fig. 33, where, however, the lateral recesses of the west bay are not shown); for the date of its construction by the *dux* Eumathius Philocales, see C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, in *DOP*, 18 (1964), 335 ff.; for a corrected plan and section, see Megaw, "Metropolitan or Provincial?", 84, fig. 1.

<sup>72</sup> A good example in the Carpas is the now ruinous church of St. Philo on the site of Carpasia (Soteriou, Μνημεία, fig. 6 and pl. 10).

## THE AISLES

Indeed, it is questionable whether any part of the barrel-vaulted aisles as we see them today survives from the first restoration. If the nave had a timber roof in this restoration, and this, we have seen, is most probable, it is virtually certain that the aisles also were similarly reroofed at that stage. In the case of the north aisle, the lower part of the outer wall, where it is of larger and rougher masonry, may survive from the first restoration. On its inner face there is no trace of the pilasters which would probably have been provided to carry transverse arches if the aisle had been vaulted at that stage (fig. 32).<sup>73</sup> On the other side of the aisle, the piers of the nave arcade are masked by the masonry added to support the present aisle vaults (fig. 33), but at no point does this masonry appear to have been adjusted to preexisting pilasters. This added masonry, the upper part of the north wall, and the barrel vault they carry are homogeneous. They doubtless replaced the timber roof of the first restoration, when that over the nave was replaced by the existing barrel vaults and the first dome. In this second restoration the width of the north aisle was so reduced (minimum 2.17 m.) that in the aisle proper two transverse arches carried on corbels were considered adequate support for the vault (fig. 32). Only the third arch at the entrance to the prothesis was carried on pilasters, but this was not for structural reasons but rather to define the change of function at this point, where, for the same reason, there is a change of one step in the floor level (fig. 33). The three small windows in the north wall are slightly narrower at the top than at the bottom, and like the small door they correspond approximately to the articulation of the nave arcades. In the west wall of the aisle there is an arched recess above a blocked doorway (fig. 32). The doorway was narrow, not much over 0.80 m. wide, which is the width of the entrance door on the north wall of the aisle, and like that door it seems to have been covered by a lintel. This suggests that the west wall belongs, like the rest of the north aisle we see today, to the second restoration. The recess must have been designed as a window, but it is too low to clear the roof of the narthex and too high to open beneath its vaulting. This is not the only indication that, although the narthex and the north aisle in their present form both belong to the second restoration, the aisle was completed first. No traces of fresco decoration survive in the north aisle; but on the south side, as in the narthex, some scribed joint-lines are visible on the added masonry where it retains its original pointing, also some zigzag scribing.

<sup>73</sup> Even in the smaller Asomatos basilica at Aphantrika the vaulted aisles have such pilasters: Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," figs. 2 and 3. Here the aisle width is *ca.* 2.30 m. compared with a minimum 2.61 m. in the Panagia Kanakaria (measuring from the piers of the first restoration). Only in the yet smaller Sykha church with an aisle span of under 2.00 m. are the pilasters suppressed and the transverse arches carried on corbels (*ibid.*, figs. 11 and 12).

If the lower part of the present north wall of the Panagia Kanakaria survives from, or corresponds in position with, that of the first restoration, and if that wall was of the same thickness as the west wall, the aisle would have been some 0.25 m. wider, as shown in the restored plan, figure G. Across this wider span the thinner wall could only have carried a timber roof. It will be noted on the plan in figure G that in this position the wall of the first restoration would have been constructed immediately outside the position of the original north wall (as restored in that plan), the optimum position for constructing it on a new foundation.

The south aisle, including the south wall, was probably rebuilt at the same time with a similar barrel vault, but much of it subsequently required reconstruction for the third time. For below the springing of the present vault on the north side can be seen the vault springing of the second restoration and, at an appropriate level below it, the corbels which carried its two transverse arches (fig. 35). The tops of these earlier corbels are 2.60 m. above the floor, as are those in the north aisle, and they are set in masonry added against the nave arcade of the first restoration, precisely as in the north aisle. The crown of the present south aisle vault is a meter higher than that of the north aisle, even when allowance is made for the difference in floor level.<sup>74</sup> The present transverse arches of the south aisle are pointed, unlike those of the north aisle. The vault itself is parabolic rather than pointed and the semidome of the apse has the same compromised form in elevation (fig. 34), in order to merge with its semicircular plan. The well-cut large blocks of which the apse is built contrast with the inferior masonry of the prothesis apse. The south wall, unlike the outer wall of the north aisle, is entirely without windows and it is much thicker.<sup>75</sup> The only opening is the door, which is not only larger and more elaborate than the north entrance door but, unlike the latter, it is quite unrelated in its position to the openings of the nave arcades. On the other hand, its masonry is integrated with that of the porch outside it. As we see it today, the south aisle is largely a reconstruction in more massive masonry of the lower vaulted aisle of the second restoration. Only at one point in the south wall is the inferior masonry of the second restoration incorporated in it. This is at the west end near the floor, where it is partly concealed by a plain buff-colored plaster. This recurs at the corresponding point in the north aisle, where, as elsewhere, it is found on masonry of the second restoration. From the decoration of the south aisle in this earlier phase a fresco of an archangel survives much effaced on the north wall (fig. 90; see *infra*, p. 150). Opposite it, on the later south wall, are the remains of two superimposed panels representing St. George (fig. 99), on the later of which is a graffito dated 1598 (fig. 127; see *infra*, pp. 152f., 158).

The west wall of the south aisle is unlike that of the north aisle. The door into the narthex is arched and wider, and there is no window recess above it (fig. 35). The door arch was turned on centering supported on the tops of the jambs, as were those of the arcades of the first restoration, to which, like that of the west door of the nave, it probably belongs.<sup>76</sup>

The two aisles extend on either side of the bema, unbroken in construction up to the east wall. In the north aisle, however, we have already noted a

<sup>74</sup> The floor of the north aisle is 0.15 m. above the level in the nave and south aisle.

Throughout the church the floor is paved with local *marmara*, well squared in the nave and some other areas and clearly recent, elsewhere a random "crazy paving." At no point does it throw light on the history of the building.

<sup>75</sup> Thickness of the south wall 1.10 m., of the north wall 0.74 m.

<sup>76</sup> Assuming that the door was in the middle of the wall, this gives a fixed point for the south wall of this restoration. If at the east end the south aisle were given the same width as that indicated for the north aisle, this second south wall would have been constructed immediately outside the first, as restored in figure G, as in the case of the north wall.

transverse arch on pilasters corresponding with the west limit of the bema to mark the entrance to the prothesis. But in the reconstructed vault of the south aisle it is only a transverse arch on corbels that marks off the diaconicon to the south of the bema (fig. 34). As in the prothesis, the floor of the diaconicon is raised one step above the rest of the aisle and the small passage in its north wall, on the transverse axis of the bema, makes it clear that from the time of the first restoration the area to the south functioned as part of the sanctuary. A corresponding passage may be inferred leading to the prothesis, but on this north side the previous arrangements were obliterated when the functions of the prothesis were transferred to the niches improvised in the northeast corner of the bema.<sup>77</sup>

If it is correct, as argued above, to dissociate even the north aisle (the earlier of the two, as we see them today) from the first restoration, it follows that neither of the lateral apses can belong to that stage. The present apses are constructed on the axes of the existing aisles, their conches concentric with the existing vaults. Those of the first restoration would have been centered a little closer to the bema walls of that phase, when the latter had not yet been concealed and the spans reduced. It follows, *a fortiori*, that no part of the original east wall is to be seen in the parabemata; indeed, there is no visible evidence that lateral apses existed in the first state of the church. Basilicas with only one apse are known in Cyprus, but only a few, and none of them in the Carpas.<sup>78</sup> There, the basilica excavated in the Ayia Trias quarter of Yialousa<sup>79</sup> is, as we shall see, close to ours in size, in its stone colonnades, and probably in date; so close that it would be surprising if the original Kanakaria basilica did not share with it the feature of lateral apses also.<sup>80</sup> These would have been repeated in the first restoration, though no part of the lateral apses of that phase either is visible today.

#### THE BEMA<sup>81</sup>

The bema itself is now covered by an irregular dome without clearly defined drum or windows. Wider from north to south than on the east-west axis, it

<sup>77</sup> When this was done, the passage was blocked and a new one was crudely cut on the splay a little to the west, through the masonry of the first reconstruction. The masonry of the second reconstruction (through which the passage would have extended, as on the south side), after insertion of a very flat half-arch to support its upper courses, was entirely cut away at ground level to permit formation of the new prothesis niches (fig. B).

<sup>78</sup> Kourion (Megaw, "Early Byz. Monuments," 346, fig. 25; though here there are rectangular pastophoria); Marathovouno (A. Papageorghiou, 'Η βασιλική τοῦ Μαραθοβούνου, *RDAC*, 1963, p. 85, fig. 1); Ktima (*BCH*, 88 [1964], 374).

<sup>79</sup> For a summary report on the initial excavations by A. I. Dikigoropoulos, see *ArchRep*, 1957, p. 50. On subsequent campaigns by A. Papageorghiou, see reports in *BCH*, 88 (1964), 372-74; 90 (1966), 386; 91 (1967), 363; in *ILN*, March 1975, 79f.; and in 'A.B., 25 (1964), 155f.; 27 (1966), 159f.; 28 (1967), 78-83, with a plan, p. 79, fig. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Although the original basilica may have had lateral apses, they have not been indicated in figure G in the absence of any tangible evidence. The probable position of the apse closing the north aisle, if there was one, is indicated by broken lines in figure H.

<sup>81</sup> The bema, like the east end of the nave, retains considerable remains of fresco decoration and where this is lost the masonry remains concealed by whitewashed plaster. In consequence, the structural history of this part of the church is less easy to disentangle.

is supported on somewhat crude pendentives, which bring the plan at the springing of the dome to a rectangle with rounded corners (fig. C). The pendentives rise from four arches, of which that to the east is more sharply pointed than the others and underpins the front of the conch of the original apse. This eastern arch springs from two substantial secondary pilasters, one on either side, which reduced the span of the entrance to the apse from 4.78 m. to 3.10 m. Above the arch which they support, the masonry was carried up to the crown of the conch, concealing the front part of the mosaic.<sup>82</sup> Much of the rest of it is masked by the arch when seen from the nave (fig. 38).

The arch on the west side, now of irregular parabolic form, is of similar span (2.95 m.) and height and, in addition to supporting the dome, likewise serves a secondary purpose, that of supporting the remains of the "triumphal arch" of the first restoration. The western edges of the two lateral sections of this earlier arch are visible from the nave, above a fresco of the Annunciation (fig. 36). This arch appears to have been rebuilt at least once. Its original springings, about 0.50 m. below those carrying the surviving sections of the arch, are 5.25 m. above the present floor of the nave (fig. 31). Even from these lower springings the arch would have risen to a height of 7.75 m. above the nave floor, well above that of the conch containing the mosaic, the crown of which would originally have been less than 7 m. above the same point. Consequently, it is virtually certain that the superstructure of the bema in the first restoration would have cleared the conch, and the present obstruction of the mosaic would have been avoided at that stage.<sup>83</sup> To the north and south the bema was bounded in the first restoration by solid walls, the thickness of which (0.90 m.) can be seen in the passage leading to the diaconicon; it exceeds that of the nave walls (0.72 m.). The width of the "triumphal arch" was almost certainly the same.<sup>84</sup>

These massive features on north, south, and west presuppose, in the first restoration, some taller and possibly heavier superstructure for the bema than the timber roof indicated for the nave. The space it covered was even more elongated (5.00 by 3.05) than that covered by the present dome. Nothing has survived to indicate how this space was covered. By far the simplest method would have been to raise the walls enclosing it to support a tiled timber roof with a transverse ridge, high enough for its western eaves to clear the ridge of the nave roof (fig. F, a). In the circumstances of the first restoration it is probable that this simplest solution would have been preferred. On the other hand, if the existing roof of the bema can be accepted as some guide to what it replaced, a pair of lateral arches could have reduced the elongation of the space to be roofed to proportions which would admit of a domical covering

<sup>82</sup> In 1950 the masonry above the arch was cut away to expose the hidden sections of the mosaic (fig. 39).

<sup>83</sup> In its present state, what appears to be the crown of the "triumphal arch" is quite flat. The probability is that this part had collapsed prior to the construction of the underpinning arch in the second restoration, after which the gap was filled by the masonry of the present flat section (fig. 36).

<sup>84</sup> The width of the visible western edge (0.35 m.) and the width of the later arch underpinning its invisible eastern part (0.57 m.) together add up to 0.92 m.

in the first restoration also.<sup>85</sup> Whatever form it took, the superstructure of the bema at this stage would have been high enough to leave the view of the mosaic from the nave entirely unobstructed and to allow windows to be opened in its lateral walls, and even above the apse.

What we see today (figs. B and D) derives from a later reconstruction, which substantially reduced both the height and the width of the bema. The excessive width was first reduced by adding 0.60 m. of masonry inside the existing side walls, while lateral arches were then added at the same height as those newly constructed to east and west, in order to reduce the base of the dome almost to a square. The occasion when these changes were made was probably the same which saw the replacement of the timber roof over the nave by a vaulted system carrying a dome, what we have called the second restoration. However, the pointed form of the arch at the entrance to the apse and the irregularity of that under the "triumphal arch"—the others are more or less semicircular—suggests that there were some further but minor changes in this part of the church, perhaps in preparation for the execution of the surviving fresco decoration in the third restoration.

#### THE MAIN APSE

The windows open rather low in the apse wall, the height of the sill of the intact north window being just over 1.60 m. above the floor. This does not seem to be due to any raising of the interior floor level, for a test made below the bema floor in 1966 revealed no earlier floor at a lower level.<sup>86</sup> A simple plaster cornice marks the beginning of the conch, though its curvature actually starts from a point 0.22 m. above the cornice. We have already noted that both wall and conch were constructed of stone slabs set in gypsum mortar. The manner in which the exterior contour of the apse on the north side diverges from the semicircle to end in a straight face (fig. H) is curious, but not unparalleled.<sup>87</sup>

After the supporting arch had been constructed under the front of the conch in the second restoration—perhaps immediately after—the pilasters which support it were considered inadequate for their second function. This was to contain the eastward thrust of the north and south arches of the bema dome, which spring from the west face of the same pilasters. They were reinforced in two ways, which made further encroachments into the area of the apse. At the base of each, the triangular space lying between the pilaster

<sup>85</sup> Such lateral arches would have sprung necessarily from the spandrels on the east side of the "triumphal arch" to those on the original east wall flanking the conch and would have been segmental in form. It is possible that the solid walling 0.60 m. thick later constructed against the north and south walls of the bema (see *infra*) served to fill in such putative lateral arches of the first restoration. In that case the final dimensions of the bema superstructure at that stage would have been 3.05 by 3.80 m. If the elongation of the rectangle was reduced in this way it could, alternatively, have been covered with a pyramidal timber roof.

<sup>86</sup> Papageorghiou in 'A.B., 29 (1968), 15. Indeed, the floor in the apse may formerly have been at a higher level, for Smirnov recorded features there which have since been removed (see *infra*).

<sup>87</sup> Such is the outline of the apse of the fifth-century Martyrium at Seleucia: *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III (Princeton, 1941), plan x.

and the wall of the apse was filled with masonry to a height of 1.15 m. from the floor, forming a "shelf" on either side (fig. B). Above these "shelves" segmental arches were thrown to points close to the window jambs, and on these arches raking buttresses were constructed up to the height of the apse cornice. It is clear that at this stage the lateral windows of the apse had not been blocked. It was doubtless at this stage that the apse wall was thickened externally for the first time, and that the windows were reformed as twin openings of the characteristic Middle Byzantine form. The mullion of the south window, which is shown on Smirnov's plan, no longer exists; but the plastered springing of the inner end of one of the pair of small arches which it supported has survived.

During the work carried out by the writers in 1961, a probe was made behind the pilaster which carries the north end of the arch underpinning the front of the conch. The purpose was, by examining the point of contact between the north wall of the bema and the north side of the apse, to confirm that the apse is indeed of earlier date than what we have called "the first restoration." The results are shown in the accompanying plan (fig. H). An open straight joint was found to separate the masonry of the north wall from that of the east wall close beside the original opening into the apse. The north wall of the bema is indeed secondary, since it was seen to abut the plastered face of the east wall. Pursuing this plastered face, it was seen to turn westward, at a point 0.20 m. in from the face of the secondary masonry, round an unfluted limestone column shaft, half of which is immured in the east wall.<sup>88</sup> Its diameter could not be measured, but assuming that the bema wall, which is 0.90 m. thick, embraces the column equally on both sides, the diameter would have been some 0.50 m. at this point, about 1.30 m. above the estimated level of its base. This accords reasonably well with the lower diameter of the two capitals outside the west door (0.49 and 0.50 m.). Consequently, these and the other similar capitals almost certainly formed part of one or another of the colonnades of the initial wood-roofed, three-aisled basilica from which the apse and its mosaic have survived, and in which the immured column served as the eastern respond of the north colonnade.<sup>89</sup> The five surviving bases, which are discussed below, doubtless also belong to these colonnades.

On figure C are indicated the various outer shells of masonry added to strengthen the apse wall, which were all removed in 1954 after consolidation of the original structure. The photograph in figure 23 was taken during removal of the added masonry. The first addition was constructed on a footing of the original apse wall projecting only 0.20 m. from the face above (figure 25, at the bottom) and it tapered to nothing about a meter below the top; we have seen reason to assign it to the second restoration. The next addition, the most substantial, masked the lateral windows and is clearly later than the second

<sup>88</sup> In that part where it has always been concealed by the masonry of the east wall, the column retains a stucco dressing, indicating that it was a *spolium*.

<sup>89</sup> The three limestone shafts reused in the porch seem too small to belong to these colonnades; for their dimensions, see note 54 *supra*.

restoration, in which the lavish reinforcement of the pilasters within the apse avoided those windows. It was 0.64 m. thick and constructed with a lime mortar containing much red earth. This suggests a late date, possibly as late as the works of 1778. The lateral openings now became internal niches, flanking a single central window. Since this is the state in which the apse is shown in Smirnov's plan, the last addition 0.33 m. thick and built with modern lime mortar must, like the walling up of the lateral "niches," have formed part of the works of 1920.

#### THE PLAN OF THE ORIGINAL BASILICA (fig. G)

The question arises: does any part of the present west wall survive from the original basilica? To judge from the proportions of comparable basilicas, this seems improbable. Since the position of one of the eastern responds is known, the span, measured between the center-lines of the colonnades, can be estimated at 5.90 m. The existing west wall is not parallel to the chord of the apse, but the mean distance between the east and the west walls is almost exactly 15.00 m. As the following table shows, this distance would make the initial intercolumniations, which could hardly have been less than six in number, rather small in proportion to the size of the church. The four basilicas listed, all of them in the Carpas and with similar stone colonnades in their original state, show that nave span and length were not in a fixed proportion. As the span increased the proportion tended to become more elongated (only the Yialousa basilica is exceptionally short in proportion to its span), and as the length of the church increased so did the width of the intercolumniations.

	<i>Span</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Intercolumniations</i>
Panagia, Syka	4.80 m.	12.30 m.	1:2.56	5 of 2.46 m.
Asomatos, Aphentrika	5.50	15.00	1:2.73	6 of 2.50*
Panagia Kanakaria	5.90	(16.00) (15.00)	(1:2.71) (1:2.54)	(6 of 2.66) (6 of 2.50)
Ayia Trias Yialousa	6.90	17.30	1:2.51	6 of 2.88
Panagia, Aphentrika	7.80	22.20	1:2.85	8 of 2.77

\* By elongating the responds the intercolumniations were actually reduced to 2.40 m. In all cases the measurements are taken from published plans and are only approximate.

In order to conform, the length of our nave would have had to be about a meter longer than at present, giving a similar elongation to that of the rather

smaller Asomatos basilica, but with wider intercolumniations; while both elongation and intercolumniations would have been less than in the larger Panagia Aphantriki. The existing west wall is consequently unlikely to preserve any part of the corresponding west wall of the original basilica. At no point does its masonry conform with the slab construction of the apse, which is used in the Aphantriki churches also, and not only in the apses.<sup>90</sup>

Excavation in the forecourt could doubtless establish whether the original basilica had the usual narthex and atrium. Since they have been found nearby in the only slightly larger basilica near Yialousa,<sup>91</sup> they are to be expected at Kanakaria also. In that case the three stone shafts reused in the porch, which are too small for the nave colonnades, might well come from the atrium peristyle.<sup>92</sup> When the level outside the north wall of the existing church was reduced in 1966, a wall running parallel to it at a distance of about 3.00 m. from it was found to continue to a point beyond the western limit of the present building.<sup>93</sup> If this survives from some annex of the original basilica it attests the existence of, at least, a narthex.<sup>94</sup> Lateral annexes, which probably served as catechumena, are a common feature of early basilicas in Cyprus.<sup>95</sup>

A distinctive feature of the apses of some of these early basilicas is the connection of the central and lateral apses by narrow passages passing through the solid masonry between them. These are found both in the great basilica attributed to St. Epiphanius at Salamis-Constantia<sup>96</sup> and in the first state of those on humbler scale at Aphantriki,<sup>97</sup> also, in quite a different part of the Island, in the recently excavated basilica at Soli.<sup>98</sup> Had such passages existed in conjunction with lateral apses in the Panagia Kanakaria, some trace of the openings into them would have shown on the apse wall (at the back of the niches reserved on either side in the raking buttresses), even though this remains plastered. Their presence would also have been apparent on the

<sup>90</sup> Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," 53, fig. 10. The present west wall of the Lythrankomi church belongs rather to the first restoration, for it is perpendicular to the somewhat oblique axis of the nave of that phase. If our position for the first west wall is correct, the second was built on new foundations just inside it, a most reasonable procedure.

<sup>91</sup> For a plan, see Megaw, "Metropolitan or Provincial?," 70, fig. D.

<sup>92</sup> They seem too large for gallery colonnades. Galleries are not otherwise attested, though there is evidence for them in the Ayia Trias basilica (Dikigoropoulos' report in *ArchRep*, 1957, p. 50; Papageorghiou's report in *BCH*, 88 [1964], 372-74).

<sup>93</sup> Papageorghiou, in 'A.B., 29 (1968), 14, shown in our figure G.

The relationship of this wall to the first basilica is confirmed by its alignment, almost exactly perpendicular to the original east wall. In the restoration of the first basilica in figure G, its axis has been made parallel to this wall, and its aisles and narthex have been made proportionate to those of the Ayia Trias basilica.

<sup>94</sup> The rougher masonry at the base of the north wall of the existing narthex, which we have remarked is possibly earlier than the remainder, can have nothing to do with the first narthex. Its oblique alignment, perpendicular to the existing west wall (see fig. G), clearly originated in the first restoration.

<sup>95</sup> On both sides: basilica at Kourion (Megaw, "Early Byz. Monuments," 346, fig. 25); on one side: basilica at Ayia Trias (see note 91 *supra*).

<sup>96</sup> Megaw, *ArchRep*, 1956, p. 30, fig. 2, and 1957, p. 49, fig. 3; *idem*, "Metropolitan or Provincial?," 63, fig. A.

<sup>97</sup> Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," 49, fig. 2, and 51, fig. 7.

<sup>98</sup> Plan in *BCH*, 94 (1970), 227, fig. 142. Similar passages have also been exposed in the remains of a large basilica incorporated in the monastery church of Panagia Archeiropoietou at Lambousa: Papageorghiou, in 'A.B., 25 (1964), 213.

exterior; for there they require a straight face of wall between the central apse and each of the lateral ones, well eastward of the point where their circumferences would meet, a feature lacking in the Lythrankomi church. The lateral passages are lacking also in the Ayia Trias basilica, where the side apses are well preserved. Some change in ritual may have made the passages of the early basilicas unnecessary, but if so this was prior to the developments which led to the adoption, probably in the sixth century, of the semicircular synthronon.<sup>99</sup> The lack of any trace of the passages in the Panagia Kanakaria is consequently no proof that initially it had only one apse. However, in the absence of any positive indications for them, no lateral apses are shown on the plan in figure G; but the probable position of the apse (if any) closing the north aisle of the original basilica is shown in broken line on figure H.

#### THE DATE OF THE ORIGINAL BASILICA

Although so little is preserved, there are a few features which taken together suggest a construction date not later than the close of the fifth century. The use of stone for the colonnades is in itself an indication of relatively early date. At Salamis-Constantia the great basilica commonly attributed to St. Epiphanius has stone bases, drums, and capitals, and it is only for the early sixth century that the Campanopetra basilica provides evidence of colonnade construction in imported marble.<sup>100</sup> In the sixth century marble colonnades were normal, at least in coastal areas, if we may judge by the three basilicas on Cape Drepanum.<sup>101</sup> Of the other basilicas in the Carpas with stone colonnades, that excavated at Ayia Trias near Yialousa is the most comparable as it is only slightly larger than ours. Its mosaic floor when first discovered was observed by Dikigoropoulos to include a motif not found in Antioch after the second half of the fifth century.<sup>102</sup> The two basilicas at Aphentrika are not later, since they have the apparently early feature of passages linking the three apses,<sup>103</sup> found in St. Epiphanius' basilica also,<sup>104</sup> but which is lacking at Ayia Trias. It is also lacking in the Syka basilica, where the semicircular

<sup>99</sup> E.g., Peyia, Basilica I, sixth century (Megaw, "Early Byz. Monuments," 349, fig. 26); Campanopetra basilica at Salamis-Constantia (*BCH*, 94 [1970], 262, fig. 119). In this last case the synthronon is probably secondary, like that in St. Epiphanius' basilica (Megaw, "Archaeology in Cyprus, 1954," *JHS*, 75 [1955], Suppl., 33). In the case of the Syka basilica, another example with lateral apses but no passages, it has not been established whether or not the synthronon is contemporary with the initial construction.

<sup>100</sup> Datable approximately by the fine "Theodosian" capitals (J. Pouilloux, "Fouilles à Salamine de Chypre, 1964-68," *RDAC*, 1969, p. 47 ff., fig. 3).

<sup>101</sup> For Basilica I with typical sixth-century marble acanthus capitals and floor mosaics, see Megaw, "Early Byz. Monuments," 348, and pls. xxxix-xl; for Basilica II with rudimentary Ionic impost capitals, *ArchRep*, 1955, p. 45; for Basilica III with impost capitals, *JHS*, 74 (1954), 175.

<sup>102</sup> An example in Bath D is illustrated by Levi, *Antioch Pavements*, I, 427, fig. 161. Cf. *ArchRep*, 1957, p. 50. Papageorghiou, who completed the excavation of the Ayia Trias basilica, reports that the ambo and the posts and panels of the sanctuary screen were of stone. He also favors a construction date in the fifth century: 'A.B., 27 (1966), 159-60.

<sup>103</sup> Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," figs. 2 and 7. A stone post from the presbytery screen (Papageorghiou, in 'A.B., 26 [1965], 94) indicates a construction date for the Asomatos Church before marble furniture became prevalent.

<sup>104</sup> See note 96 *supra*, and for the same feature at Soli and Lambousa, note 98 *supra*.

synthronon may thus be part of the original plan.<sup>105</sup> This and the presence of ambon fragments and other furniture of marble<sup>106</sup> indicates that Syka alone of these stone-colonnade basilicas may be as late as the sixth century.

The original Lythrankomi basilica, on the other hand, does not belong to the time of the semicircular synthronon, for there are no indications that it ever had one. Instead, the lost features which Smirnov planned, and which are shown dotted in figure C and reconstructed in figures F and G, indicate that here the layout of the bema and apse was of the earlier type. It is true that Smirnov himself considered that the broad flight of three straight steps, which led up in the apse to the throne on the higher level, was a secondary arrangement replacing a semicircular synthronon.<sup>107</sup> But such steps are a usual adjunct of the earlier disposition of the clergy in the bema, on two lateral benches facing each other on either side of the altar table. Broad flights of steps were found, for example, in the fifth-century basilicas A and B at Nikopolis, where, since they had to reach a much higher level, they started from the chord of the apse.<sup>108</sup> Elsewhere, where the difference in level was less, the steps rose from a rectangular recess cut into the platform which filled the apse.<sup>109</sup> The Lythrankomi apse approximated the second of these arrangements for, according to Smirnov's plan, the steps were withdrawn well to the east of the chord, so that only a small area was floored at the higher level. That these steps were ancient and in all probability contemporary with the original construction is suggested by the survival in the Acheiropoietos church at Lambousa of a comparable though shallower, rectangular recess in the raised floor of the apse of the original fifth-century basilica.<sup>110</sup> At Lythrankomi, the retention of this early arrangement would fit a construction date in the late fifth century, but hardly in the sixth century, when the semicircular synthronon prevailed. The masonry throne that still existed eighty years ago in the

<sup>105</sup> Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," fig. 12.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 13.

<sup>107</sup> Smirnov, "Mozaiki," 71.

<sup>108</sup> Basilica A, Soteriou, in 'Αρχ.Έφ. (1929), 206, fig. 37; Basilica B, *ibid.*, 202, fig. 33, and Orlandos, Βασιλική, 494, fig. 454. In both these cases the apse floor must have been raised some two meters above the floor level at the altar-table in order to pass over a passage leading round the wall of the apse from the north to the south side of the bema.

In the episcopal basilica at Stobi, the lateral clergy benches have survived because the presence of the *confessio*-crypt below the wooden floor of the apse (see R. Egger, in *ÖJh*, 24 [1929], 63) precluded their replacement by a semicircular synthronon. Here also we may presume that a broad flight of steps, but of wood and cutting into the ceiling of the crypt, rose behind the altar to the higher level in the apse indicated by the ambulatory colonnade in the crypt.

<sup>109</sup> E.g., the two fifth-century basilicas at Nea Anchialos in Thessaly. These lack the semicircular passage of the Nikopolis examples and like Kanakaria had only three steps, though in a Π-shaped arrangement: Basilica A, Soteriou, in 'Αρχ.Έφ. (1929), 21, fig. 17 and pl. B'; Basilica B, *ibid.*, 112, fig. 155, and 121, figs. 165 and 166. In its first state the apse of the Bargala basilica was similar, but with the steps along the east side of the recess only, as recorded by Smirnov at Lythrankomi: Blaga Aleksova and C. Mango, "Bargala: A Preliminary Report," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 270 and fig. 24.

On the bishop's throne as the sole feature in such apses, see Orlandos, Βασιλική, 496.

<sup>110</sup> Soteriou, Μνημεία, fig. 15. In this case the floor is raised only one step above the bema, and if this was the original arrangement it was probably dictated by the presence of the lateral passages into the parabemata (not shown on Soteriou's plan).

The arrangements within the main apse of the Ayia Trias basilica were obliterated when the apse wall was robbed to the foundations (Papageorghiou, in 'Α.Β., 29 [1968], 9).

Panagia Kanakaria can also have been, like the steps, a survival from the original arrangement, since evidence for a throne in the same position in fifth-century apses is not lacking.<sup>111</sup>

Of the original layout in the bema to the west of the apse there is no evidence. The marble column reused in the south porch seems disproportionately large for a ciborium,<sup>112</sup> and it can hardly be cited against a construction date before the sixth century, when marble furniture became normal even in remote locations. In any case, a ciborium with marble columns could have been introduced as part of the embellishment, perhaps a generation after the construction of the church, when the mosaic was set (see *infra*, p. 30).

Only one section of molding remains in position: that over the north window of the apses (fig. J, 1). Nothing comparable with this coarse profile has been published from Cyprus, and those in Syrian churches are more sophisticated. There, such moldings often extend to the sill or run from window to window at the level of the arch springs.<sup>113</sup> But late fifth-century examples can be cited in which the molding is limited to the arches of individual windows, as at Lythrankomi.<sup>114</sup>

The bases, of which five have survived, are of tall proportion: 0.735 m. square at the base and 0.50 to 0.55 m. high (figs. 13-15). Their exiguous profile gives a diameter of 0.67 m. at the top (fig. J, 11). Since the column used as the northeast respond is a *spolium* it is possible that bases and columns alike were taken from some earlier building. But it is to be noted that a significant detail of the base profile, the canted fillets above and below the cavetto, can be matched in Christian monuments of the fifth century.<sup>115</sup> The flat seating on the top of the base, measurable in only one case, is 0.63 m., which would take a column matching that used for the respond (est. diam. 0.50 m.) if it had the usual apophyge at the bottom.

The two capitals reused as bases in the porch (fig. 16) are similar to one of those outside the west door (fig. 18) and there is a fourth of the same type, but very worn, outside the west gate (fig. 19). The only other surviving, that to the south of the west door, is of the same form but its acanthus leaves are treated rather more naturalistically (fig. 17), perhaps the work of a more conservative craftsman. These capitals vary little in height (0.535 to 0.55 m.) and the lower diameters (0.49 to 0.50 m.) would fit the top of shafts similar

<sup>111</sup> E.g., in Basilica A at Nea Anchialos (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. Έφ. [1929], 26). Neither there, where Basilica C is larger, nor at Kanakaria is this feature proof of "cathedral" status.

<sup>112</sup> For dimensions, see *supra*, note 54.

<sup>113</sup> E.g., Bizzos' church at Ruwêha: *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, 1904-5 and 1909*, II, B, pt. 3 (Leyden, 1909), pls. xv and xviii.

<sup>114</sup> St. Phocas at Basufân (491-92), a window in the south wall: *ibid.*, pt. 6 (Leyden, 1920), 286, fig. 306.

<sup>115</sup> On bases at Thala in Tunisia (Orlandos, Βασιλική, 270, fig. 218, 3 and 5, from Gauckler); on a door architrave of the baths at Meriamlik which are probably contemporary with the adjoining late fifth-century domed church (E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos*, *MAMA*, II [Manchester, 1930], 87, fig. 85, and for the date, 86); on mullions of the transept basilica *extra muros* at Korykos (*ibid.*, 121, fig. 123). This last was originally dated in the late sixth century (*ibid.*, 126) but it is certainly pre-Justinianic (cf. R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* [Berlin-Leipzig, 1936], 89); Krautheimer includes it with the fifth-century monuments (Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 85).

A fifth base of similar profile was exposed in the forecourt of the Panagia Kanakaria during the investigations of 1966.

to the northeast respond (0.50 m. near the bottom), allowing for normal diminution. There is thus no reason to doubt that the capitals belong to the basilica from which the apse and the respond have survived, and the variation in detail suggests that they were locally carved for that building. They provide useful evidence for the date at which it was constructed, particularly as they follow the normal form of acanthus capital with four leaves in each of two rows. The development of this style of capital, which has been studied by Kautzsch,<sup>116</sup> is complicated by contemporary use of both marble and stone and of both conservative and experimental designs; also, in the provinces, by the time lag between imported examples and their local derivatives. The locally carved limestone capitals of the churches at Meriamlik in Cilicia probably offer the fairest comparison in the circumstances. A mullion capital from the apse of the basilica of St. Thecla has a geometricized leaf treatment with a broad central rib rather similar to that of the four Lythrankomi capitals, as in figure 18.<sup>117</sup> The reconstruction to which this Meriamlik capital belongs was dated by Guyer in the decade 460-70.<sup>118</sup> But our capitals, to judge by the flatter form and sharper outlines of the leaves, evidently belong to a somewhat later stage in the process of desiccation. The upper part of the Meriamlik capital is not preserved, but the full apparatus of inner and outer helices, which the Lythrankomi capitals retain, is also found on one face of a stone mullion capital of the later North Church at Meriamlik.<sup>119</sup> This has the further interest that the leaves on its other face copy the heavily drilled *acanthus spinosa* of the "Theodosian" type of capital. Ample models of this treatment on marble capitals were available at Meriamlik in the nearby domed church,<sup>120</sup> which must have been erected about 480 if it is indeed the Emperor Zeno's thank offering for his victory over the usurper Basiliscus in 476, as Guyer supposed.<sup>121</sup> A comparison of moldings established that the North Church is the later of the two, and a date for it around 500 has been proposed.<sup>122</sup> In the light of these Cilician examples it should not be wide of the mark to assign the Lythrankomi capitals to the closing years of the fifth century. The more naturalistic treatment of the fifth capital (fig. 17) cannot impose an earlier dating on its companions.

This conclusion may be checked to some extent by comparison with the fine marble capitals from Basilica A at Philippi, provided that allowance is made for the time lag between practices in a major city close to Constantinople and a remote provincial settlement. They were not available to Kautzsch but, applying his principles, Lemerle dated them precisely "around 500,"<sup>123</sup> which

<sup>116</sup> Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 5-115. He does not cite any capital exactly the same as ours.

<sup>117</sup> Herzfeld and Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos*, 12f. and figs. 11-13.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 32; for Weigand's contrary view, see note 121 *infra*.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, figs. 67-69.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, fig. 59.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 74. E. Weigand regarded the rebuilding of the basilica of St. Thecla as Zeno's work and dated the domed church in the period 460-70 (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 54 [1933], Heft 52, col. 2471 ff.).

<sup>122</sup> Herzfeld and Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos*, 77.

<sup>123</sup> P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris, 1945), pl. XI and p. 406.

fitted the other finds and has been generally accepted.<sup>124</sup> Here the stylization of the acanthus is more developed than on our capitals and the inner helices are suppressed. But such differences do not exclude contemporaneity in capitals so dissimilarly situated. Thus the capitals and the architectural characteristics of the church alike suggest a construction date in the last years of the fifth century.

Apart from confirming the columnar character of the original basilica, the probe on the north side of the apse revealed an unexpected feature: a pilaster 0.46 m. wide and of 0.10 m. projection southward in the line of the east wall (fig. H). This doubtless once carried an arch of similar width across the front of the conch. Such pilasters and arches are common features of early basilicas in North Syria.<sup>125</sup> The original, very thin gypsum plaster on the apse wall extended onto this pilaster. Subsequently, however, the pilaster was concealed altogether by filling the angle beside it with plaster to form an even curve, which gave the apse a semielliptical form. It is this secondary plaster which extends to the respond formed by the immured column; it consequently relates to the basilica in its original form. The reason for concealing the pilaster very probably arose from a similar and simultaneous suppression of the arch it carried, which the setting of the mosaic would have occasioned: for, otherwise, the arch would have cast disfiguring shadows onto the mosaic round the front of the conch and would have excluded the program actually adopted, for this has a border with Apostle medallions much wider than the concealed arch.<sup>126</sup> It follows that an interval elapsed between the building of the basilica and the setting of the mosaic, though it need not have been a long one. If the original construction is datable to the closing years of the fifth century, the terminus a quo provided for the mosaic by examination of the structure it adorns must be placed somewhat later.

#### THE FIRST RESTORATION (fig. F)

Almost without exception, the chronology of the subsequent restorations of the church can be fixed only on the evidence of style. The original wood-roofed basilica with colonnades is unlikely to have survived the Arab incursions of the mid-seventh century, which the archaeological evidence from other sites and the historical sources alike indicate were extremely destructive. In any case the first restoration, which gave the building the character indicated in figure F, a-d, is unlikely to have antedated them, for, prior to the first raids, imported marble columns and capitals would almost certainly have been used, as in many buildings of the sixth and early seventh centuries in Cyprus. The recourse to pier-arcades of squared stone set in lime mortar is a reflection, on

<sup>124</sup> E.g., Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 97.

<sup>125</sup> In early fifth-century examples, such as the Kasr-il-Benat convent church (*Syria: Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped.* [*supra*, note 113], II, B, pt. 5 [Leyden, 1912], 218, ill. 222), as well as later, such as Kal'at Sim'an (*ibid.*, pt. 6 [Leyden, 1920], pl. xxiv).

Our discovery of the initial wall face beside the pilaster established that the internal radius of the apse was 2.60 m. and was struck from the same point (0.16 m. west of the chord) as the external curvature.

<sup>126</sup> The evidence of later replastering of the apse wall is also noteworthy. The next layer after that which concealed the pilaster continued onto the masonry of the first restoration, and more followed before construction of the arch underpinning the front of the conch in the second.

the one hand, of the rise of Arab sea power which curtailed, if it did not actually end, the traffic in Proconnesian marble, and, on the other, of local impoverishment which precluded renewal of columns and capitals in stone.<sup>127</sup>

The excavation in 1956-58 of an annex of the basilica of St. Epiphanius at Salamis-Constantia provided some confirmation that in Cyprus this use of lime-built piers instead of columns may be characteristic of the early phase of the period following the first Arab raids. After the destruction of the great basilica, this annex between it and its baptistery was rebuilt as a church, in the form of a three-aisled basilica with small square piers and a timber roof, for piers and walls were alike too weak to carry a vaulted superstructure. Later, it was rebuilt a second time with a series of three domes over the nave and barrel vaults over the aisles.<sup>128</sup> The first reconstruction with pier-arcades could be as early as the years around 700, as the excavator suggested.<sup>129</sup> In the case of the vaulted basilicas in the Carpas, where the pier-arcades were of well dressed masonry set in lime mortar, the most likely time for their erection would be immediately after the destruction of their wood-roofed predecessors, perhaps in the devastating initial Arab incursion when the eastern part of the Island suffered most.<sup>130</sup> At that juncture maintenance or reestablishment

<sup>127</sup> Basilicas with pier-arcades are known at an earlier date; but in Cyprus, if we can judge by that excavated at Marathovouno, they are distinct in that the squared piers are built of rough masonry set in and plastered with gypsum, to which base and other moldings were added in the same material (Papageorghiou, in *RDAC*, 1963, pp. 88 and 100, where this basilica is dated to the fifth or sixth century. Exceptionally, the responds on the east wall were in the form of engaged half-columns). Limited resources may have precluded the use of columns, whether of stone or marble, where gypsum was readily available.

At some time, the basilica which preceded the domed church of the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti was similar. A gypsum-built respond attached to the east wall, which carries remains of an acanthus capital carved in plaster, and the bases of the two easternmost piers of the nave arcades were exposed in 1959 (*BCH*, 84 [1960], 296ff. and fig. 75). Subsequent examination has satisfied us that the apse was originally undecorated, and that it had been discolored by fire before the addition of the plaster of which the acanthus capital forms part. The setting of the mosaic followed, but doubtless was executed during the same restoration, to which the gypsum-built pier-arcades may also have belonged (cf. Megaw, "Metropolitan or Provincial?", 74 and note 72).

<sup>128</sup> Excavated by A. I. Dikigoropoulos; see *ArchRep*, 1957, p. 49 and fig. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Dikigoropoulos suggested that the building of the pier-basilica might have been connected with the return in 698 of those Cypriots whom Justinian II had attempted to settle on the Hellespont. On conditions in Cyprus after its demilitarized neutrality had been agreed in the treaty of 688, see R. J. H. Jenkins, "Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A. D. 688-965," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II (St. Louis, 1953), 1007-14.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Megaw, "Vaulted Basilicas," 54-56. The tenth-century dating there preferred was subsequently abandoned; see *EUA*, III (1958), col. 187, s.v. "Afendrika." After the first Arab expedition of 648/49 was withdrawn on the reported approach of the imperial fleet, the island had a brief respite until 653/54, when the second expedition caused further devastation and established a garrison on the island. It is uncertain whether this survived the crisis following the murder of the Caliph Uthman in 655/56, when Muawiya had to concentrate his forces for his struggle with Ali. Dikigoropoulos argues that it was probably withdrawn then and that Cyprus enjoyed a few more years of peace under Byzantium (*RDAC*, 1940-48, p. 98). At this juncture the Empire, despite the naval disaster of 655, was able to exact humiliating terms from Muawiya in 659. On the other hand, Papageorghiou believes that the Arab garrison which was withdrawn under the Caliph Yazid (680-83) had been continuously maintained since 653/54 ("Les premières incursions arabes à Chypre et leurs conséquences," *Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον Σπυριδάκιον* [Nicosia, 1964], 152-58; cf. N. Oikonomaki, *Ἡ ἐν Κύπρῳ Ἀραβικὴ κερὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀραβικὰς πηγὰς*, in ΠΠΔΚΣ, Β', 194).

The initial reconstructions could, then, have been undertaken between 649 and 653 and, whether or not favorable conditions for rebuilding again obtained for a few years after 656, the political if not the economic circumstances of Cyprus around 685 and after 698 would have permitted further church reconstruction.

of effective Byzantine control would still have been expected and the withdrawal from such coastal settlements as that at Aphentrika, which was general later, might not yet have been contemplated.

Apart from its timber-roofed nave and aisles, the Panagia Kanakaria, in this second phase of its history, was in another respect closer to the wood-roofed pier-basilica at Salamis-Constantia than to the vaulted basilicas: both have lateral walls in the bema, pierced by small archways indicating a fully developed tripartite sanctuary. The wider arches of the bay immediately west of the bema (fig. F, a) shows that already at this stage some form of barrier below the "triumphal arch" extended across the aisles also, as does the present icon screen. In the reconstruction of the Aphentrika and Syka basilicas the pier-arcades continue to the east wall, as the colonnades which they replaced had done. This was the normal arrangement of fifth-, sixth-, and early seventh-century column-basilicas in Cyprus, as elsewhere; and it was followed in those pier-basilicas which are contemporary with them.<sup>131</sup> It is arguable that those of the later pier-basilica reconstructions which have continuous arcades antedated those with tripartite sanctuaries, in which case the vaulted basilicas at Aphentrika and Syka might have been erected as early as the brief respite after the withdrawal of the first Arab expedition of 648/49. The years around 700 suggested for the basilica with bema walls at Salamis-Constantia would be suitable also for the first restoration of the Panagia Kanakaria, which shows a similar development.

Monuments outside Cyprus do not provide any very satisfactory terminus a quo for the prevalence of the walled bema. Although this was a usual feature of domed churches from the later sixth century, its adoption in three-aisled basilicas was erratic. In Syria that at Qalb-Louzeh, if it is to be dated *ca.* 500, offers an early example in conjunction with pier-arcades of the large-arch type.<sup>132</sup> But in the approximately contemporary basilica of St. Sergius at R'safah-Sergiopolis the arcades continue to the apse,<sup>133</sup> likewise in the basilica dated 602 at Shêkh Slemân with pier-arcades of narrow bays, as at Lythrankomi, which are rare in Syria.<sup>134</sup> In Asia Minor, the west church at Alahan, which is of Justinianic if not earlier date, had a walled sanctuary separated by a transverse arch from the colonnaded nave.<sup>135</sup> In the area of Constantinople, the wood-roofed basilica at Nessebar (Mesembria), a seaport where the appearance of pier-arcades would suggest a relatively late date, they nevertheless continue to the east wall.<sup>136</sup> So also in the vaulted basilicas

<sup>131</sup> E.g., that at Marathovouno; see *supra*, note 127.

<sup>132</sup> J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), 76, fig. 38 and pl. xxxiv; Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 113, fig. 45.

<sup>133</sup> Lassus, *op. cit.*, 32, fig. 17; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 114, fig. 114.

<sup>134</sup> *Syria: Princeton Univ. Arch. Exped.*, II, B, pt. 6 (Leyden, 1920), 338, ill. 386.

<sup>135</sup> For an up-to-date plan, see M. Gough, in *AnatSt*, 18 (1968), 161, fig. 1. Reviewing the various dates from the fourth century onward which have been proposed for the Alahan complex, Gough preferred a mid-fifth-century date for the west church, assuming that it would have been completed before the hospice contributed by the Tarasis who died in 462 (*ibid.*, 17 [1967], 45-47).

<sup>136</sup> For the plan, see A. Rašenov, *Eglises de Mesembria* (Sofia, 1932), fig. 3; for the date, *BCH*, 84 (1960), 244ff., where discoveries indicating a sixth to seventh-century date are reported.

of St. George in Astypalaea,<sup>137</sup> at Belovo in Bulgaria,<sup>138</sup> and at Tolmeita in Cyrenaica,<sup>139</sup> all of which, unlike the examples at Aphentrika and Syka in Cyprus, seem to have been constructed *ab initio* in this form and some of them not later than the sixth century. Only in Yugoslavia does it seem possible to distinguish among modest wood-roofed pier-basilicas a development from continuous arcades associated with the early type of clergy benches<sup>140</sup> to examples with the walled bema,<sup>141</sup> a development parallel to the appearance in major column-basilicas datable within the sixth century, such as the cathedral of Caričin Grad,<sup>142</sup> of the fully tripartite sanctuary of some domed churches. It can at least be said that there is nothing anachronous in assigning the first restoration of the Panagia Kanakaria with its walled bema to the years around 700, even though basilicas rebuilt at a later date with continuous pier-arcades are known.<sup>143</sup>

We have to deduce from the greater thickness of the bema walls that the present windowless dome replaced some form of high superstructure erected in the first restoration.<sup>144</sup> This second state of the Kanakaria church, combining a high transverse roof over the bema (if not a dome or a pyramidal roof) with wood-roofed nave and aisles (fig. F), brings it into relation with other basilicas incorporating a higher roof or dome over the sanctuary. The original Apostoleion, known only from the description of Eusebius,<sup>145</sup> may be regarded as their archetype. Several of the surviving examples are datable before the mid-seventh century.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, the introduction of a transverse roof

<sup>137</sup> P. E. Lazarides, in Πεπραγμένα του Θ. Διεθ. Βουλ. Συνεδρίου: 'Ελληνικά, Παραρτ. 7 Α' (Athens, 1955), 237, fig. 2.

<sup>138</sup> A. Grabar and W. Emerson, "The Basilica of Belovo," *BByzI*, 1 (1946), 45, fig. 2; Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 194 ("late sixth century") and pl. 107A.

<sup>139</sup> The "Fortress Church" reexamined by C. H. Kraeling, in *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (Chicago, 1962), 97ff., where he proposed a mid-fifth-century date. Krautheimer's dating in the sixth century is preferable (*Byz. Architecture*, 194 and pl. 107B).

<sup>140</sup> E.g., the southwest church at Caričin Grad (D. Mano-Zisi, in *Starinar*, 9-10 [1958-59], 295ff., fig. 1; R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and South Serbia* [London, 1963], fig. 144) and that at Suvadol (F. Mesesnel, in *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès intern. des Etudes byzantines*, II = *BIABulg*, 10 [1936], 186, fig. 124; Hoddinott, *op. cit.*, fig. 128).

<sup>141</sup> At Kalaja near Radinovac (Hoddinott, *op. cit.*, fig. 103) and at Prokuplje, where alone the bema walls are pierced by entries into the pastophoria (*ibid.*, fig. 105); compare the basilica at Hissar Bania near Philippoupolis, Trontchef's plan of which is reproduced by Orlandos, *Βασιλική*, 185, fig. 149, from *Annuaire du Musée et de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Plovdiv*, 1935-36, p. 107, fig. 80.

<sup>142</sup> Hoddinott, *op. cit.*, fig. 131; Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, fig. 76(A). Cf. the late sixth-century remodeling of the Pirdop basilica in Bulgaria where a dome is postulated (*ibid.*, 181; Hoddinott, *op. cit.*, 206, fig. 132).

Comparable also is the rock-cut pier-basilica at Midye in Thrace, where the separation of bema and pastophoria from nave and aisles is well defined. Nicole Thierry favors a date for this monument in the sixth century (*CahArch*, 20 [1970], 75).

<sup>143</sup> E.g., the reconstruction dated 812 of the basilica at Alakilise in Lycia cited by Smirnov ("Mozaiki," 70, note 1). See M. Harrison, in *AnatSt*, 13 (1963), 125, fig. 3 and 126ff., with earlier bibliography.

<sup>144</sup> Nothing seems to have been done at this stage to reinforce the front of the conch, which would have carried the east wall of the superstructure (see fig. G). Later, some resulting subsidence led to the construction of the existing arch to support the crown of the conch, which is now some 0.30 m. below its original position.

<sup>145</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv.58ff. (*PG*, 20, col. 1209f.). For a recent discussion, see Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 46 and 320 note 4.

<sup>146</sup> Early examples are the basilicas in the two monasteries at Sohag, where domes have replaced the original timber roofs over the "crossings" (*ibid.*, 89, with bibliography, 327 note 33), and the Iliissus basilica in Athens (G. Soteriou, in *Αρχ.Εφ.* [1919], 3, fig. 3; restored plan in Orlandos, *Βασιλική*,

of the type we have inferred over the bema in the first restoration of our church around 700 would not be surprising.

#### THE SECOND RESTORATION

The introduction of a dome and vaults over the nave and the reconstruction of the aisles with barrel vaults could best be associated with the general adoption of domed-type churches in Cyprus. The normal inscribed-cross type with a single dome may well have been rare in Cyprus before the reestablishment of Byzantine rule in 965. No surviving example is demonstrably earlier than the eleventh century and the majority appear to be of the twelfth century, to which the second restoration of the Lythrankomi church could reasonably be assigned.

The widespread damage to the church which necessitated such extensive rebuilding can hardly have spared the bema. After the subsidence of the apse conch and of the "triumphal arch" and the collapse of whatever structure had roofed the space between them, the bema would have been reroofed at the same time as the rest, in all probability in the form which we see today. We have seen that the construction of the existing narthex is to be connected with the same phase of the building's history. We have also assigned to this phase the first additional leaf of masonry sheathing the exterior of the main apse, which doubtless received the polygonal outline of its topmost courses at this time. This second restoration can hardly be later than the twelfth century in view of its purely Byzantine character and the indications that part of the building again required attention in the thirteenth (see *infra*). The earliest fresco fragments which cover or are otherwise related to the walls of this restoration include the figure of St. Barbara in the north arcade (figs. 91 and 96) and an archangel on the north wall of the south aisle (fig. 90). These doubtless belong to a general redecoration of the restored building. Their style is considered below and is consistent with a twelfth-century date for the restoration of which they formed part.

Two distinctive architectural features of the second restoration also point to the twelfth century. The cruciform window in the west gable (fig. 29) recalls the cruciform recess surrounded by a molding (and perhaps originally conceived as a window) in the north gable of the Holy Trinity chapel in the monastery of St. Chrysostom, which is now known to be an addition of the *dux* Emathius Philocales, probably in the second decade of the twelfth century.<sup>147</sup> Secondly, the curious profile of the bema dome with a sharper curvature at the crown (figs. B, D) is repeated in another windowless dome in Cyprus, that of the church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, for which the style of its frescoes suggests a construction date in the third quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>148</sup>

185, fig. 148). In the latter also, the precise form of the superstructure carried by the four massive piers is unknown (cf. Krautheimer, *Byz. Architecture*, 92). Closer to our period but still before the mid-seventh century is the cathedral of Sofia, though here the nave and aisles were covered by groin vaults (*ibid.*, 184, fig. 72, plate 93, and bibliography, 340 note 29).

<sup>147</sup> CARDA, 1958, fig. 16; on the date, see Mango and Hawkins, in *DOP*, 18, pp. 335-38.

<sup>148</sup> Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio," 282, fig. a, and, for the date, 348.

The dangerous dislocation of the nave walls and the collapse of the "triumphal arch" prior to the second restoration, when the whole superstructure of the bema must also have fallen, are strongly indicative of an earthquake. There are two recorded in the mid-twelfth century: the first in 1157, which was particularly severe over the greater part of Syria and the Orient,<sup>149</sup> and one in Cyprus a few years later which, according to St. Neophytos, destroyed fourteen churches in the district of Paphos alone.<sup>150</sup> Damage caused by one or other of these may well have been the occasion of the second restoration of the Panagia Kanakaria.

The next major undertaking was another reconstruction of the south aisle, embracing the diaconicon apse and almost the entire south wall, including that of the narthex. The combination of the pointed arches supporting the new vault with higher proportions and more massive construction suggests the influence of Frankish practice; but the Comnenian style of the earliest fresco fragments on the new south wall, which survive from the first of two superimposed panels of St. George (figs. 97-100), would hardly admit of a date after the thirteenth century (see *infra*, p. 152f.).

At the west end of the south aisle a fragment of the south wall of the second restoration was retained, but this was concealed externally by the masonry of the reconstruction, which increased the wall thickness to 1.10 m. (see plan, fig. C). The earlier south wall of the narthex was evidently retained *in toto* though it is concealed both inside and out by added masonry, which brings the thickness here to 1.41 m. The buttresses against the west wall of the narthex were added at the same time.

The first St. George painted in the reconstructed south aisle is not matched by any of the other surviving fresco fragments, but it is earlier in style than those in the dome bay of the nave on the north side, which attest a partial redecoration before the third major restoration. These fragments from a Last Judgment (figs. 101, 104, and 105) and the rather crude soffit designs connected with them (figs. 102 and 103) are tentatively assigned to the fourteenth century (see *infra*, p. 153ff.). The relationships of the first St. George panel, as well as the architectural indications, permit us to assign the reconstruction of the south aisle to the thirteenth century.

#### THE THIRD AND LATER RESTORATIONS

The last major restoration of the church included the reconstruction of the dome on new supporting arches and a general redecoration, from which

<sup>149</sup> Hill, *History*, I, 311 note 1, quoting Yusuf ibn Toghribirdi, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux*, III, (Paris, 1884), 508f.

<sup>150</sup> This occurred at the beginning of the Saint's sojourn in his hermitage near Paphos, to which he retired on June 24, 1159: 'Ανάμνησις περι σεισμῶν, § 10 (ed. Delehaye, *AnalBoll*, 26 [1907], 211). Not long after, Neophytos was visited by a monk from Antioch who told him of the earthquake (probably that of 1157) which had thrown down the great church there, killing the patriarch and many of his congregation: *ibid.*, § 11 (ed. Delehaye, 211f.). On the simultaneous impact of earthquakes in Syria and Cyprus, see E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypem* (Munich, 1903), 141.

The state of the mosaic in the twelfth century may be gauged to some extent by the very much better preservation of those parts which were concealed by the arch constructed across the front of the conch in the second restoration. The greater part of the main composition may then also have been largely intact, especially in the lower areas which are now entirely blank.

have survived all the existing frescoes in the bema and the majority of those elsewhere. This redecoration extended onto the new arches under the dome (fig. 132) and the style of the painting to some extent fixes the date of the structural work. This last series of frescoes includes the Theotokos Kanakaria in the south porch and the later of the superimposed panels of St. George in the south aisle. The graffito on this panel with the date 1598 (fig. 127) provides a terminus ad quem for the whole operation. The proportions of the dome and the style of the frescoes suggest that this phase coincided with the widespread restoration and rebuilding of Orthodox churches throughout the Island in the early years of the Venetian occupation.<sup>151</sup> It is probable that much of this activity around 1500 was occasioned by the serious earthquake of 1491, when part of the cathedral of St. Sophia and many other buildings in Nicosia were thrown down and damage was caused in all parts of the Island.<sup>152</sup>

The dome, damaged again by 1750,<sup>153</sup> was doubtless repaired by Abbot Chrysanthos in 1779. Apart from general maintenance such as replastering the interior wherever the frescoes had fallen (the ceramic plates in figs. 21 and 22 were almost certainly inserted during his repairs), he must have undertaken some structural work at the west end to justify inserting his inscription there. This would have included the reconstruction in their present form of the main entrance and its lintel, above which the inscription is set (fig. 8). At the other end of the church, the second external addition to the thickness of the wall of the main apse, which was of rather poor construction, may well have been built as late as Chrysanthos' time.

The date 1859 on the cross surmounting the dome over the nave does not relate, so far as we know, to any major repair work elsewhere. But the cross itself is of interest for the inscriptions on its west face. In addition to the year at the base and the normal abbreviation in capitals for Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ at the center, the name of the mason who carved it is recorded in both Arabic and Greek. Upper arm (Arabic script): *Jurjūs*; north arm (Arabic script): *al-masīhī*, "The Christian"; lower arm (monogramatically in Greek capitals): Γεώργιος (fig. 133). Evidently he was a Maronite.

The belfry of 1888 was almost certainly an isolated addition.

The repairs of 1920 reported by Gunnis<sup>154</sup> were concerned with the main apse, where a crack in the semidome was reported in June 1914 to let in daylight at the feet of the Virgin.<sup>155</sup> They evidently included removal of the bishop's throne and the wide steps shown on Smirnov's plan leading up to it; also further strengthening of the apse wall by filling up the internal recesses, which were all that remained of the lateral windows, and by making the third and final external addition to its thickness.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>151</sup> A notable example is the catholicon of the monastery of St. Neophytos, datable about 1500: Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," 203.

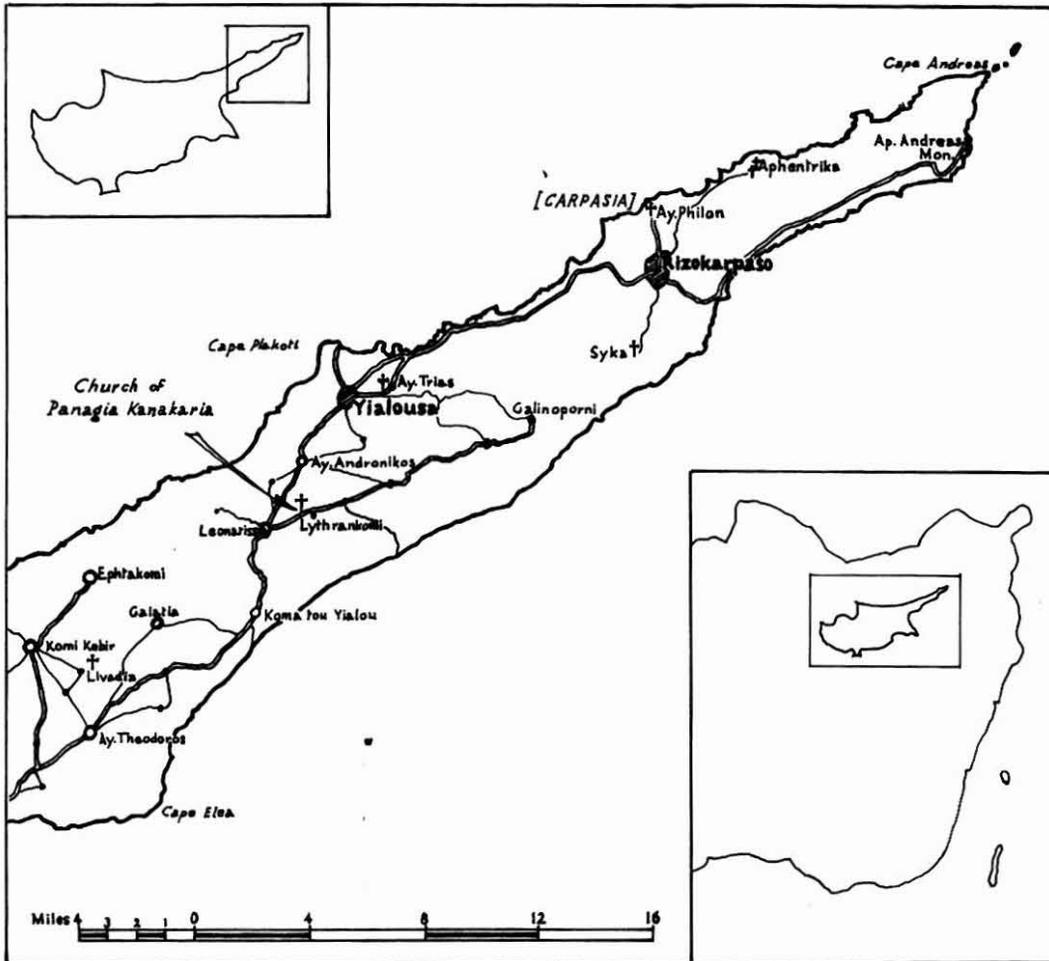
<sup>152</sup> Oberhammer, *Die Insel Cypern*, 143; Hill, *History*, III, 819.

<sup>153</sup> In 1750, A. Drummond saw only a drum: *Travels Through Different Cities* (London, 1754), fig. 7.

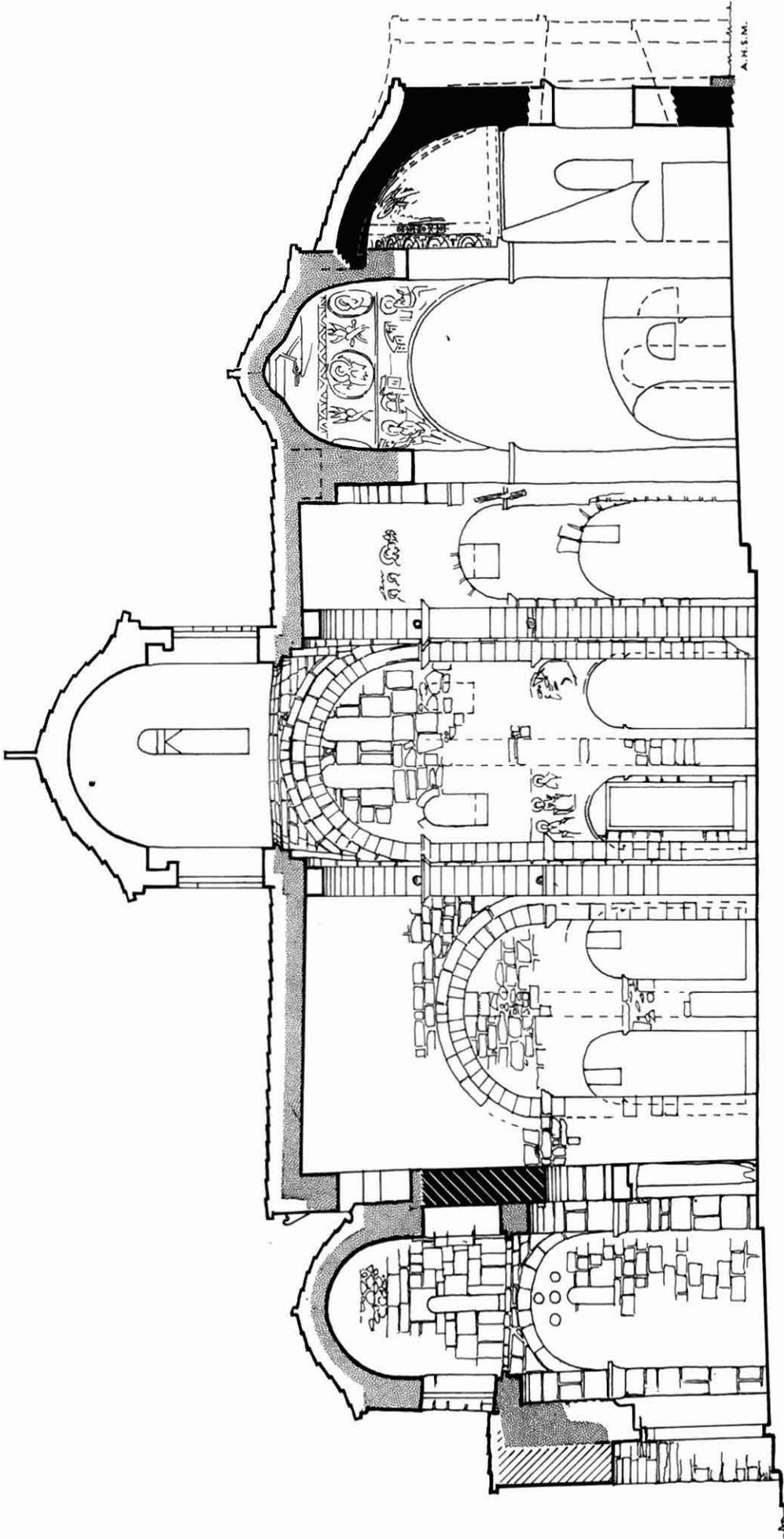
<sup>154</sup> Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 332.

<sup>155</sup> Jeffery, *Monuments*, 262.

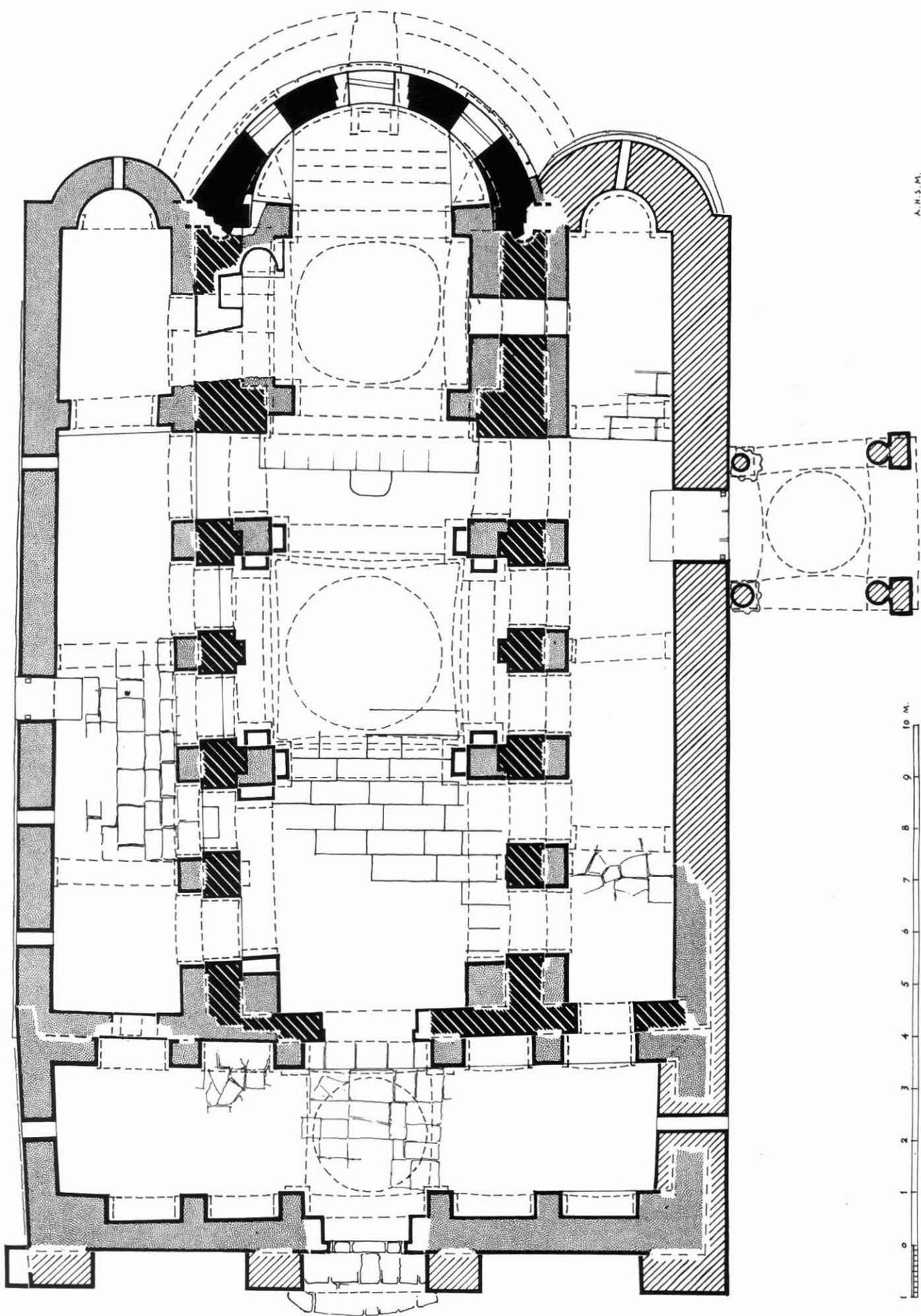
<sup>156</sup> The recesses appear on Smirnov's plan ("Mozaiki," 68) but not on that made in 1931 for Soteriou (Μνημεῖα, fig. 20), where the throne seen by Jeffery in 1914 (*Monuments*, 262) is also missing, and where the apse wall is 0.30 m. thicker than on Smirnov's plan.



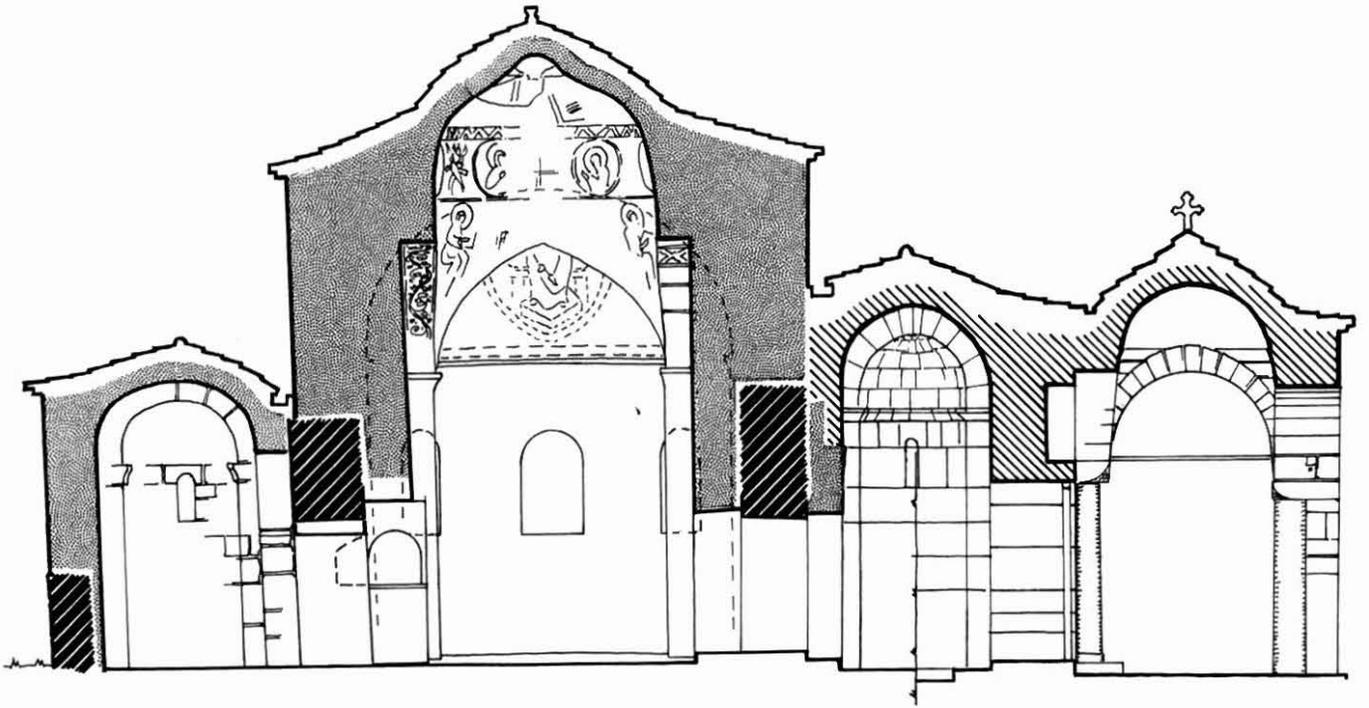
A. Sketch Plan of Carpas Peninsula



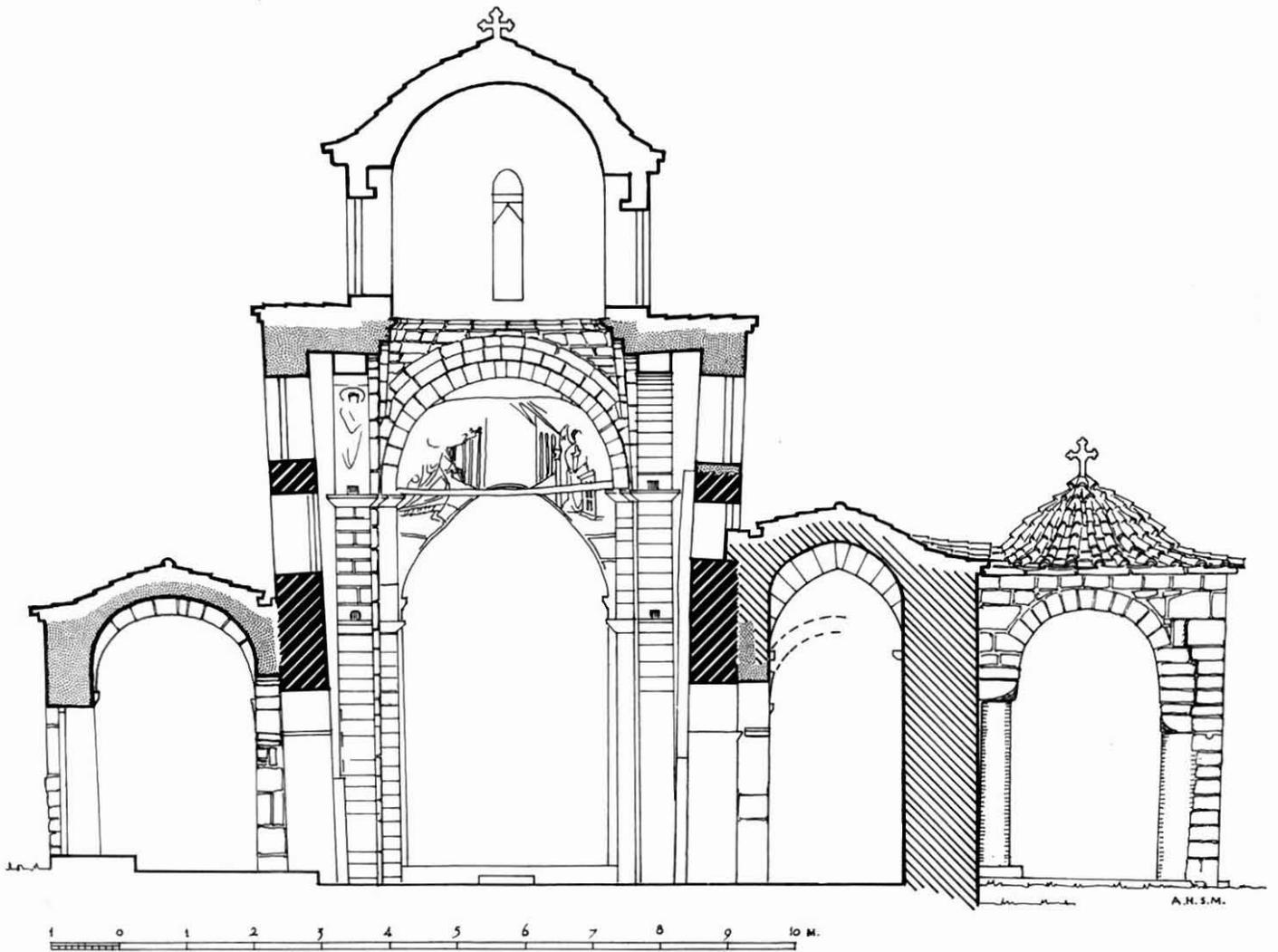
B. Section through Church, looking North. Scale 1/100 (for Conventions, see fig. C)



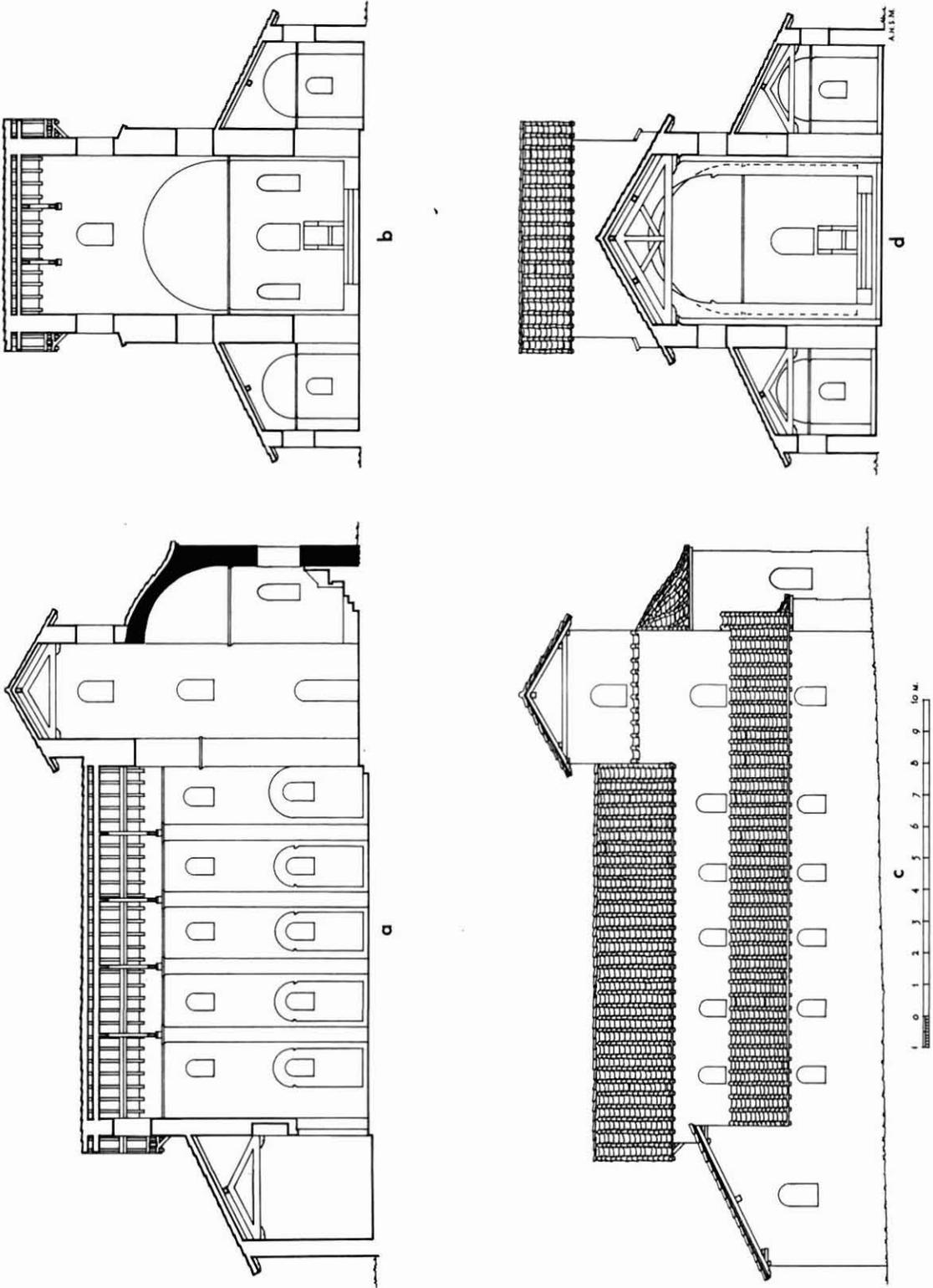
C. Plan of Church. Conventions: black = Original Wood-roofed Column-Basilica (ca. 500); black hatched with white = First Restoration, as Wood-roofed Basilica (ca. 700); stippled = Second Restoration with Dome and Vaults (ca. 1160); white hatched with black = Reconstruction of South Arch (thirteenth century); white = Third Restoration (ca. 1500 and later). Scale 1/100



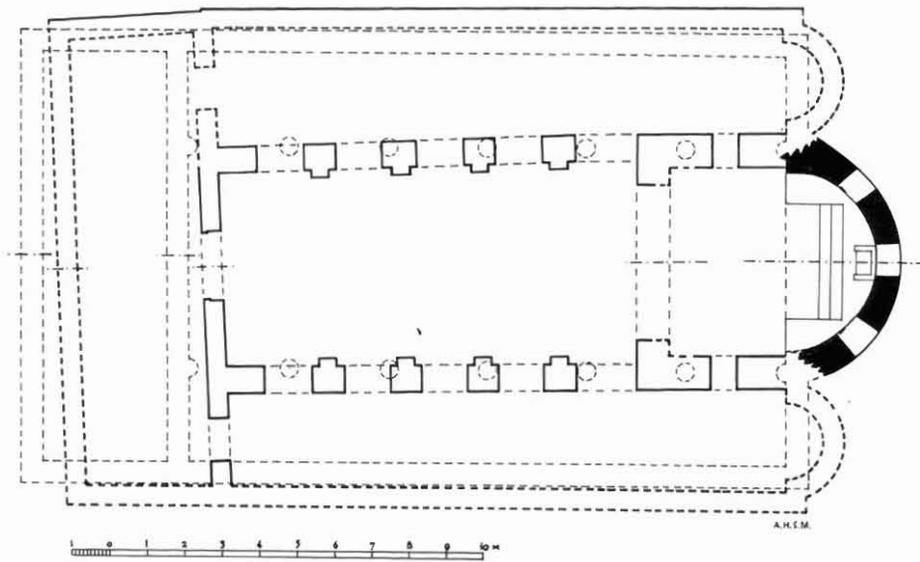
D. Cross Section through Bema, looking East. Scale 1/100 (for Conventions, see fig. C)



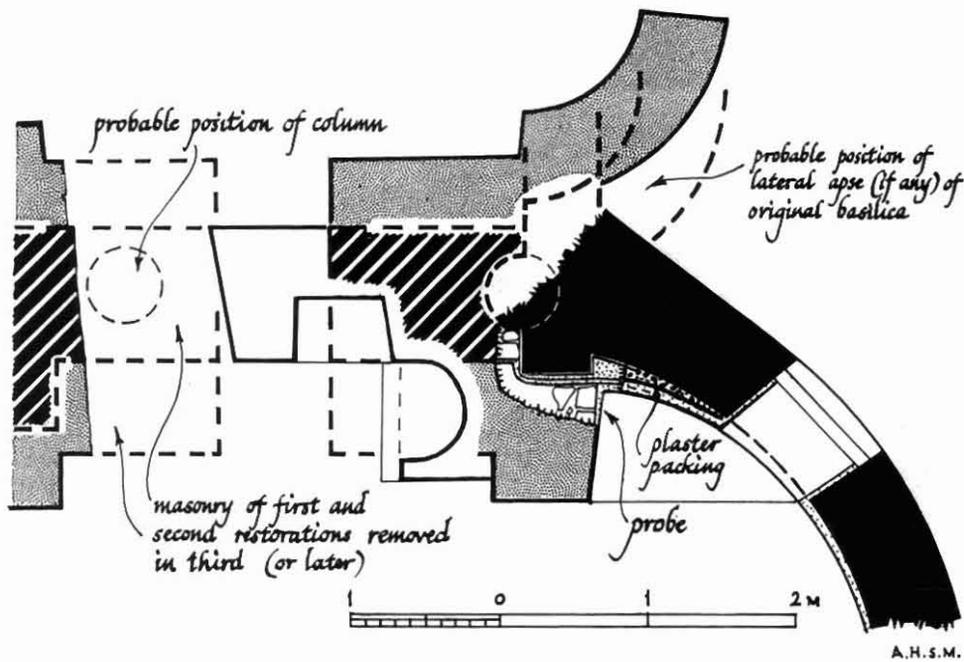
E. Cross Section through Main Dome, looking East. Scale 1/100 (for Conventions, see fig. C)



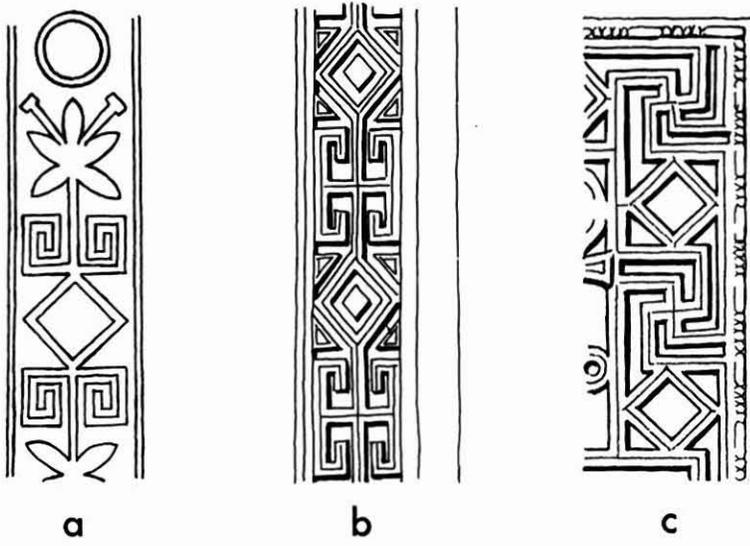
F. Reconstruction of Pier-Basilica of First Restoration: a. Section, looking North. b. Cross Section through Bema, looking East. c. South Elevation. d. Cross Section through Nave, looking East. Scale 1/200



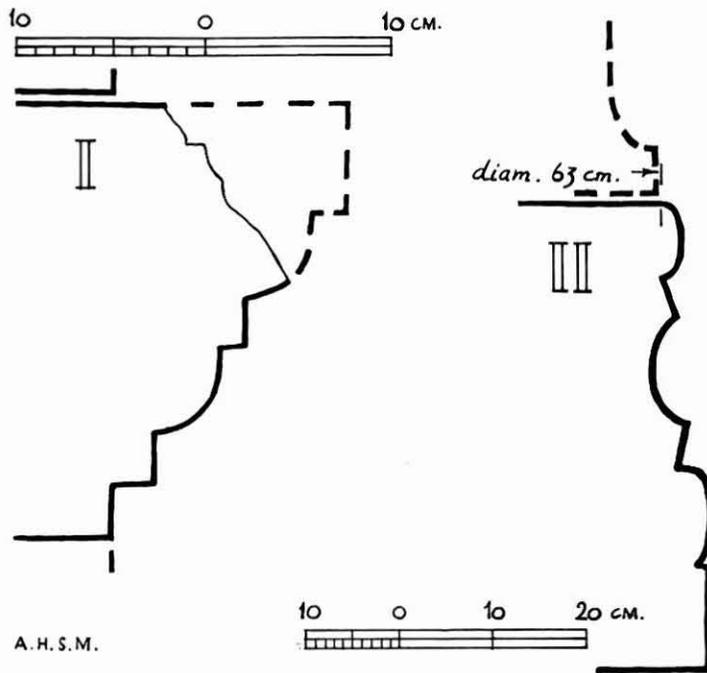
G. Composite Plan of Original Column-Basilica (thick broken line = hypothetical) and Pier-Basilica of First Restoration (thick broken line = hypothetical). Scale 1/200



H. Plan of North Side of Bema, showing Features of Original Basilica (black) found in Probe through Masonry of Second Restoration (stippled) and of First Restoration (hatched). Scale 1/50



I. a. Intermediate Border. b. St. Polyeuktos, Border (restored) of Plaque Fragment. c. St. Apollinare, Border of Pierced Panel. Scale 1/10



J. Moldings of Original Basilica. I. Archivolte of North Window of Apse. Scale 1/4. II. Profile of Base. Scale 1/8