



Fig. 26. The vita icon of St Marina from the church of Ayia Marina, Kyperounda, Cyprus, Kyperounda, Holy Cross Museum.

Bottom row [l-r]:

10th scene. The plunging of Marina into a cauldron full of water and the appearance of the dove (Usener p. 38.36-40 and p. 39.3-6).

11th scene. The baptism of Marina and the appearance of the dove (Usener p. 39.6-10).

12th scene. The beheading of Marina (Usener p. 45.35-40).

8-9. In the church of St John Lampadistis in Cyprus, which houses the tomb of the eponymous saint,⁶³ there are two 'crusader' vita icons of the saint dating to the thirteenth century (figs 27, 28). On each of them the life-cycle contains fourteen episodes,⁶⁴ arranged according to the sequence of events found in the saint's synaxarion.

Although the two icons are more or less contemporary, they were not painted by the same artist, nor are we dealing with one work which served as a model for the other, but they consist two distinct artistic conceptions. The difference between the two vita icons lies mainly in the last scenes, in which each painter chose to depict different, if interconnected, episodes relating to the discovery and translation of the saint's relics to the church of St John Lampadistis. One cycle ends with a depiction of this church, founded by the saint's parents (fig. 27), whereas the other ends with the artist, who is painting a picture of the saint in that very church, just as he appears in the central panel of the icon (fig. 29). It represents the 'signature' of the artist, who is shown going towards the saint's church in the preceding scene.

In contrast to the cycles of the saints already described, the life-cycle of St John Lampadistis on both icons lays special emphasis on events after the saint's death: the finding of his holy relics, their translation, and the founding of the church dedicated to his memory. Both cycles lay great emphasis on the holy place in which the saint's relics reside, one depicting the church in the last scene while the other also ends with the church, showing the artist entering and painting the devotional image of the saint.

To date no early manuscript containing a Life of St John Lampadistis has been found. The episodes contained in both life-cycles correspond to a large extent to the extremely brief synaxarion of the saint which has been incorporated in the manuscript *akolouthia* dating to 1721.⁶⁵ The scenes are read in the following order: top row, right-hand side, left-hand side, bottom row.

The cycle on the first icon contains the following scenes (fig. 27).⁶⁶

Top row [l-r]:

1st scene. Birth of John Lampadistis.

2nd scene. John Lampadistis being taught in school.

3rd scene. The wedding of John Lampadistis.

Right-hand side [top to bottom]:

4th scene. John Lampadistis eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.

5th scene. John Lampadistis is led to his parents' home by his father.

6th scene. John Lampadistis gives alms to the poor.

7th scene. The gold-winged eagle appears to John Lampadistis.

Left-hand side [top to bottom]:

8th scene. The saint asks his servant for a bunch of grapes.

9th scene. The saint is reproved by his father because he ate unblessed grapes.

10th scene. The saint sends the servant to put the bunch of grapes on the vine.

11th scene. The *koimesis* of John Lampadistis.

Bottom row [l-r]:

12th scene. The discovery of John Lampadistis' relics.

13th scene. The translation of the relics of St John Lampadistis.

14th scene. The church of St John Lampadistis.

The cycle on the second icon (fig. 28)⁶⁷ contains the following episodes:

Top row [l-r]:

1st scene. Birth of John Lampadistis.

2nd scene. John Lampadistis led by his father to school.

3rd scene. Wedding of John Lampadistis.

Right-hand side [top to bottom]:

4th scene. John Lampadistis eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.

5th scene. John Lampadistis returns to his parents' home.

6th scene. The gold-winged eagle appears to John Lampadistis.

7th scene. John Lampadistis asks his servant for a bunch of grapes.

Left-hand side [top to bottom]:

8th scene. John Lampadistis is struck by his father for



Fig. 27. The vita icon of St John Lampadistis. Cyprus, Kalopanayiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis.



Fig. 28. The vita icon of St John Lampadistis, Cyprus, Kalopanayiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis.



Fig. 29. The artist painting the icon of St John Lampadistis. The last scene in the cycle on the vita icon of St John Lampadistis. Cyprus, Kalopanayiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis.

eating unblessed grapes.

9th scene. The re-attachment of the grapes and the death of John Lampadistis.

10th scene. Burial of John Lampadistis.

11th scene. Discovery of the tomb of John Lampadistis. Bottom row [l-r]:

12th scene. The translation of the relics of John Lampadistis.

13th scene. The painter goes to the church of St John Lampadistis.

14th scene. The artist paints the devotional image of St John Lampadistis in the church dedicated to him (fig. 29).

From studying the icons described above, the following conclusions can be drawn.

Several of the vita icons examined are connected either with the burial place of the saint,⁷⁰ as in the case of St John Lampadistis and St Prokopios,⁷¹ or with the holy relics of

the figure depicted, as in the case of St Catherine⁷² and the Apostle Philip, or with *loca sancta*, as in the case of the Prophet Moses whose body, according to tradition, was never found.

The life-cycles in the vita icons of St Catherine, St Panteleimon, St George, the Prophet Moses, St Prokopios, the Apostle Philip and St Marina are all based on specific texts. These cycles give visual substance to these texts, highlighting the most important points in the text or, in simple terms, choosing key episodes in the career of each particular saint. As visual narratives they respect the basic requirements of story-telling. The selection and arrangement of the images represent a series of episodes which facilitate an understanding of the relationship between cause and effect over time and describe the transition from an initial to a final state. The time-line is the main axis in the narrative process. But narrative time is translated in the icon into artistic space, as the scenes are assembled on a single surface. Taken as a whole the images serve as a story unfolding, but at the same time each of them is an event of paradigmatic importance.

First of all each of the episodes in the story depicted is connected through the storyline with the previous events and with the subsequent ones. The first image provides the basic reason for what is to follow in the visual narrative. This explains the fact that, apart from the cycles of John Lampadistis and Moses, none of the cycles examined puts the birth of the saint first. Generally speaking a scene is chosen for the starting point which reveals the qualities of the saint or some important event in her/his life. This also constitutes the starting point for the sequence of events which will follow in subsequent scenes, none of which could be explained without the first scene. The life-cycle of St Catherine opens with the scene which depicts her, already a Christian, praying in her living quarters. St George's cycle opens with the scene in which, as a Christian, he distributes his wealth. The Panteleimon cycle begins with the scene in which, as the pagan Pantoleon, the saint meets the Christian Hermolaos who introduces him to the Christian faith. The life-cycle of the Apostle Philip opens with the scene depicting his conversion by Jesus. The Prokopios cycle starts with the scene depicting his acquaintance, as Ne-nanias, with Diocletian and his acceptance of his duties as Duke of Alexandria. This is followed by the vision of the cross and the successful outcome of the battle against the



Fig. 30. Codex Sinait. Gr. 364 f. 3r. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery.



Fig. 31. Icon of the *Crucifixion*, Moscow, Museum of Cremlin.

Saracens which is the result of this vision. The Marina cycle opens with the scene depicting the meeting with Olybrios, followed by her imprisonment in the palace and her torments. The Moses cycle begins with the scene depicting his birth which entails his discovery in the Nile by Pharaoh's daughter.

Another important observation is that there are two different ways in which the life-cycle is arranged around the central figure of the saint. The first of these can be seen in the icons of Sts Catherine, George, Prokopios, Marina and John Lampadistis. Here the cycle begins at the left-hand end of the top row, continues down the right-hand side then down the left and finishes at the far end of the bottom row. The second format is found in the vita icons of Moses, Panteleimon and Philip, on which the cycle begins once again at the left-hand end of the top row, but the scenes on the vertical sides are read in pairs from left to right and top to bottom; the cycle ends on the right-hand corner of the bottom row.

As visual narratives the vita icons are directly dependent on texts and they follow the storyline of the narrative. It is natural therefore that the life-cycles, when arranged around the central figure which they are 'commenting on', should follow the way in which inscriptions, verses or commentary are written around a central image or a central text, as a series of extant examples of miniatures and icons make clear.⁷⁷ I will confine myself to just three representative examples of which the first two are related to the first style of reading and the other relates to the second.

The four-line epigram which acts as a kind of commentary on the miniature on f. 3r of Codex Sinait. Gr. 364 (fig. 30)⁷⁸ showing the figures of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos and the Empresses Zoe and Theodora reads as follows:

Top row:

(1st line) ὡς τῆς τριάδος σῶτηρ εἰς παντοκράτωρ
right-hand side:

(2nd line) τῶν γῆς ἀνάκτων τὴν φαεινὴν τριάδα



Fig. 32. Codex GKS 6 f. 32r. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek.

left-hand side:

(3rd line) *σκεποις κρατιστον θεοποτη Μονομαχον*
bottom row:

(4th line) *ομαιμωνων ζευγος τε πορφυρας κλαδον.*

The four lines from an epigram by Theodore Prodromos on the frame of a fifteenth-century Byzantine icon of the Crucifixion (fig. 31)⁷⁰ are arranged as follows:

Top row:

(1st line) *Εἶρχδης, ἐπαίχδης, ἐρραπίσδης, Χριστέ μου,*

(2nd line) *Ὁ σταυρός ἦρθη· δεύρο γοῦν, Σῶτερ, πάθε,*

Left-hand side:

(3rd line) *κεντου, προσηλου τῷ ξύλω, κολην πινε·*

Right-hand side:

(4th line) *και θνησκε του θανόντος ανθρώπου χάριν.*

In the famous codex GKS 6 from Copenhagen dated to the second half of the tenth century the commentary around the text of Job on f. 32r (fig. 32)⁷¹ creates a rectangular frame and is read in the following order: across the top row, down the right and then left sides, across the bottom row.

The nine vita icons which I have been discussing all date to the thirteenth century and, as has been shown, their cycles rely on specific texts. Yet the episodes depicted are not based on the Lives compiled in the mid-tenth century by Niketas David the Paphlagonian⁷⁷ or in the second half of that century by Symeon Metaphrastes.⁷⁸ Bearing in mind that from the eleventh century onwards the Metaphrastian Menologion was the basic reference point for the Lives of the saints, one would expect the vita icons of the thirteenth century to source their material for the pictorial cycles from there. Nevertheless the hagiographical texts on which these cycles on the vita icons presented above rely are generally speaking pre-Metaphrastian and have been less widely copied than the Lives compiled by the Paphlagonian, and a great deal less than those put together by Symeon Metaphrastes.

How can one explain the strange fact that the thirteenth-century vita icons do not follow versions of Lives which had become well-known through 'canonical' texts, but followed older versions of the Lives? I would assert that the thirteenth-century vita icons are not original creations of the period, but copy older vita icons whose cycles are based on pre-Metaphrastian Lives. This conclusion is based on the observation that in some cases, such as the vita icons of Moses and of St Panteleimon, the inscriptions accompanying the scenes do not always correspond to the content of the image. This probably means that the painters of these icons had older models in front of them which they copied, without always being able to identify the scenes correctly, either because there were no inscriptions on their models or because some of them had worn away. In trying to fill in these inscriptions as best they could, they misinterpreted some things.

That vita icons existed before the thirteenth century is also demonstrated by the earliest example we know of to date, the icon of St Marina which comes from the eponymous church in Filousa in Cyprus (fig. 33).⁷⁹ The life-cycle is arranged around three sides of the icon and must have contained nine scenes altogether: three on the top row, and three on each of the two sides. Nowadays only the three scenes on the left remain. On the basis of their stylistic characteristics, the icon can be dated to the second half of the eleventh century.

Given all this evidence the first appearance of vita icons



Fig. 33. The vita icon of St Marina from the church of Ayia Marina in Filousa, Cyprus. Cyprus, Paphos, Byzantine Museum of Paphos Cathedral.

should be dated to the tenth century at the latest. Actually the format of these icons is known since the Roman era.⁸⁰

The vita icons' dependence on specific texts and the way in which they are read corresponds to the point made by E. Gombrich, who considered that while the image alone cannot tell the viewer a story they have never heard before, it is extraordinarily well suited to reminding them of stories they have heard.⁸¹

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NOTES

1. D. Mouriki, Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century, in: K. Manafis (ed.), *Sinai: Treasuries of the Monastery of Saint Catherine* (Athens 1990) 115-16; H. C. Evans – W. D. Wixom (eds), *The Glory of Byzantium* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1997) 379 no. 249 (N. Patterson-Ševčenko); N. Patterson-Ševčenko, The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer, *DOP* 53 (1999) 150-51.
2. G. Sotiriou – M. Sotiriou, *Ikônes du Mont Sinai* (Athens 1956-1958) 148-49; Mouriki (*op. cit.*) 115-16; Patterson-Ševčenko (*op. cit.*) 151.
3. See Patterson-Ševčenko (n. 1) 150-51, who considers that the vita icons in the East "had no obvious connection to any particular sanctuary or to the saint's relics".
4. On narrativity in medieval art see the following articles: H. Kessler, Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul, in: H. Kessler – M. Simpson (eds), *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Studies in the History of Art 16, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (= Symposium Series IV, Washington D.C. 1985) 75-91*; H. Belting, The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: Historia and Allegory, *ibid.* 151-68; W. Tronzo, The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy, *ibid.* 93-112; H. Kessler, Reading Ancient and Medieval Art, *Word and Image* 5.1 (1989) 1; see also M. Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative, Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago 1990) esp. 1-12.
5. See the important book by W. Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca 1986); also P. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1-3 (Chicago 1984-1988).
6. On the group of vita icons from the thirteenth century, see the article by Patterson-Ševčenko (n. 1) 150-51. The list of icons which Patterson-Ševčenko has assembled does not include the vita icons of St George from Sinai or St Prokopios from Jerusalem, St Marina from Kyperounda or of the Apostle Philip and the first icon of St John Lampadistis from the eponymous churches in Cyprus, all of which are examined in this article. The St George icon was excluded because it was thought to be a work of the fifteenth century and the others had not then been cleaned and published.
7. The icon measures 75.3 x 51.4 cm. On the icon and its dating to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, see Sotiriou (n. 2) 147-49; K. Weitzmann, Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai, *DChAE* 12 (1984-1985) 95; Mouriki (n. 1) 115 fig. 46; H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2004) 341-43 no. 201 (N. Patterson-Ševčenko) which gives the earlier bibliography.
8. Sotiriou (n. 2) 148; *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*op. cit.*).
9. Sotiriou (n. 2) 149; Mouriki (n. 1) 115.
10. Sotiriou (n. 2) 149.
11. See J. Viteau, *Passions des saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie Barbara et Anyssia* (Paris 1897) 45.
12. *Ibid.* 41-65; according to *ibid.* 2, Symeon Metaphrastes repeats this Life with minor variations; the Life which Metaphrastes compiled is published in: *PG* 116 col. 275-302.
13. A. Drandaki, Through Pilgrims' Eyes: Mt Sinai in Pilgrim Narratives of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 501-03.
14. The icon measures 142 x 90 cm. The icon has been comprehensively studied in D. Mouriki, A Moses Cycle on a Sinai Icon of the Early Thirteenth Century, in: C. Moss – K. Kiefer (eds), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton 1995) 531-46 figs 1-16, which gives a detailed description of the cycle and dates the icon to the early thirteenth century.
15. Mouriki (n. 14) 535-36.
16. Mouriki (n. 14) 535, 539.
17. According to Mouriki (n. 14) 538-39.
18. Weitzmann (n. 7) 101.
19. The icon measures 102 x 72 cm: *ibid.* 101-02. The inscriptions were published by Mouriki (n. 1) 76. On the icon and the life-cycles of St Panteleimon in Byzantine wall painting, see S. Koukiaris, Εικόνα του αγίου Παντελεήμονος με σκηνές του βίου του στη μονή Σινά, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 233-43.
20. Mouriki (n. 1) 116 n. 77; *The Glory of Byzantium* (n. 1) 379 no. 249 (N. Patterson-Ševčenko).
21. Mouriki (n. 1) 116 n. 77; *The Glory of Byzantium* (n. 1) 379 no. 249 (N. Patterson-Ševčenko).
22. Mouriki (n. 1) 116.
23. See B. Latysev, *Hagiographica graeca inedita, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, series 12.2 (1914) IV, 40-53.
24. See L. Sternbach, Ioannes Geometrae carmen de S. Panteleemone, *Dissertationes classis philologicae Academiae litterarum Cracoviensis* 16 (1892) 218-303; Sternbach used the 11th-12th-century Paris Cod. Gr. 690 (BHG 1415) for his edition; on Geometres' encomium see K. Demoen, John Geometres' Iambic Life of Saint Panteleemon. Text, Genre and Metaphrastic Style, in: *Philomathestatos, Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts presented to J. Noret* (Leuven 2004) 165-84, esp. 166-67.
25. The icon measures 44 x 33.5 cm; on this icon see Sotiriou (n. 2) 154-5; also T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art* (Ann Arbor 1982) 81-82.
26. Sotiriou (n. 2); D. Mouriki, Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIIIe siècle au Sinai, in: A. Guillo (ed.), *Modes de vie et modes de pensée à Byzance, Études Balkaniques* 2 (1995) 115.

27. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (München 1911) 41-58.
28. Edition AASS Aprilis III, IX-XV; the epistolary prologue is published by Krumbacher (n. 27) 181-82; see S. Paschalides, *Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγών. Το πρόσωπο και το έργο του* (Thessaloniki 1999) 187-91.
29. PG 115 col. 141-62.
30. Krumbacher (n. 27) 59-83.
31. B. Latysev, Μαρτύριον του αγίου και ενδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου συγγραφέν (ως φέρεται) παρά Θεοδώρου του Δαφνοπάτου, *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* 59 (1911) 1-36.
32. The icon measures 75 x 60 cm; M. Garidis, Icônes du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle dans l'aire du Patriarcat de Jérusalem, in: *Ευφροσύνη, Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris 1998) 229-31 fig. 2; G. Tsantilis, Η λατρεία του αγίου Προκοπίου την περίοδο των Σταυροφοριών και η βιογραφική εικόνα του στο Πατριαρχείο Ιεροσολύμων, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 245-57 figs 2-6, in which the icon is dated to the period 1280-1290 and classified as one of the crusader icons produced in Acre.
33. *Ibid.* 256.
34. F. Halkin, *Inédits Byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels 1963) 95-130.
35. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτικής Σιακνολογίας* 5 (Saint Petersburg 1888, reprint Brussels 1963) 1-27.
36. See A. Stylianou, *Αι περιηγήσεις του ρώσου μοναχού Βασίλειου Βάρσκι* (Nicosia 1957) 79-80.
37. The icon measures 150 x 108 cm; see the book published by the conservators who restored the icon: K. Gerasimou – K. Papaioakim, *Ο άγιος Φίλιππος. Η μεγάλη εικόνα του αγίου εις το Άρσος (13ου αιώνα)* (Larnaka 1997) 17-42.
38. Acta Philippi, in: R. Lipsius – M. Bonnet (eds), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II.2 (Leipzig 1903, reprint Darmstadt 1959); Fr. Bovon – B. Bouvier – Fr. Amsler (eds), *Acta Philippi* (Turnhout 1999) XXXVI.
39. See Acta Philippi (n. 38) 91; Bovon – Bouvier – Amsler (n. 38) XXXVI.
40. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥΣ, ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΗ ΜΟΙ, ΙΧΧΙ* [Saint Philip, Follow me, Jesus Christos].
41. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ* [The Saint raising the dead man].
42. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΣΩΖΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΛΙΟΝ* [The Saint saving the ship].
43. Inscription: *[Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΒΑΠΤΙΖΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΥΣ]* [The Saint baptizing the sailors].
44. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΕΠΡΟΘΙΣΤΙΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΟΡΦΗΝ* [The Saint healing the face of the woman with leprosy].
45. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΥΤΟΝ ΧΕΙΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ* [The Saint healing the paralysed hand of the slave].
46. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΜΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ* [The Saint healing the demoniacs].
47. Inscription: *ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ ΔΙΟΚΟΜΕΝΟΙ* [The Saints pursued by the Jews].
48. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΑΝΝΑΝ* [The Saint speaking with Anna].
49. Inscription: *ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΥΛΑΚΗ* [The Saints in prison].
50. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΠΕΜΠΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΝΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΙΝΩΖΟΝΤΑ* [The Saint sending Anna to Hell alive].
51. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ* [The Saint raising the dead man].
52. Inscription: *ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΗΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΗ* [The Saints entering Hierapolis]; the serpent worship practised by the citizens of Hierapolis is indicated by the two vipers at the entrance to the town.
53. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑΧΥΟΥΣ* [The Saint healing the eyes of Stachys]; the healing of Stachys by the apostle and his sister in the cycle on the Arsos icon (14th scene) quite correctly follows the arrival of the apostles in Hierapolis where they stayed with the blind Stachys, whom Philip cured; the healing of the blind man, Stachys, is the subject of the Fourteenth Act of the Apostle Philip, which is preserved in Xenophon cod. 32, ff. 83-88, see Bovon – Bouvier – Amsler (n. 38) 319-29.
54. Inscription: *ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΥΛΑΚΗ* [The Saints in prison].
55. Inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥΣ...* [Saint Philip...].
56. Inscription: *[Ο ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΚΡΑΥΓΟΥ ΑΝΑΡΤΩΜΕΝΟΣ]* [Saint Bartholomew hung on the cross].
57. Inscription: *Η ΚΙΔΕΥΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ* [The saint's funeral].
58. The icon measures 55.5 x 42 cm; see S. Sophocleous, *Icônes de Chypre, Diocèse de Limassol 12e-16e siècle* (Nicosia 2006) 195 no. 98 fig. 98.
59. The Life has come down to us in the 16th-17th-century Ms. Grigoriou 7 (Λ 554), 432-44 and is unpublished; see Paschalides (n. 28) 210-12; I thank my colleague S. Paschalides for bringing this manuscript version of the unpublished text to my attention.
60. V. Latysev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini, Saeculi X* (Saint Petersburg 1912, reprinted Leipzig 1970) 2, 178-84.
61. H. Usener, *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori. Festschrift zur fünften Säcularfeier der Carl-Ruprechts-Universität zu Heidelberg* (Bonn 1886) 15-47; on the St Marina cycles in wall painting see: J. Albani, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του ναού της Αγίας Μαρίας στον Μουρνέ της Κρήτης. Ένας άγνωστος*

βιογραφικός κύκλος της αγίας Μαρίας, *DChAE* 17 (1993-1994) 211-22.

62. Although the scene is quite damaged, Olybrios, seated on a throne on the left, can be made out as can the soldier who is leading Marina towards him.

63. Most of the scene has been lost. On either side parts of the bodies of the two torturers can be made out. Their stance is the same as in other similar martyrdoms.

64. The torturer on the right can be made out, part of the saint's body in the centre and part of the torturer on the left.

65. O. Meinardus, Relics in the Churches and Monasteries of Cyprus, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 19 (1970) 33.

66. *Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου, 2000 χρόνια τέχνης και αγιότητας* (Nicosia 2000) nos 4-5, 250, 252 (Chr. Chatzichristodoulou); it should be noted that the St John Lampadistis cycle was painted on the arch over his tomb: Chr. Chatzichristodoulou. Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του αγίου Ιωάννη του Λαμπαδιστή στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη, *21ο Συμπόσιο της ΧΑΕ, Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων καθώς και ευρετήριο ετών 1991-2000* (Athens 2001) 104-05.

67. K. Myriantheas, *Ο άγιος Ιωάννης ο Λαμπαδιστής. Βίος του οσίου και θεοφόρου πατρός ημών Ιωάννου του Λαμπαδιστού και ιστορία της εν Μαραθίση ιερής μονής του* (Nicosia 1969) 81-161, esp. 142-43; an earlier *akolouthia* for the saint was printed in Venice in 1667 and contains an even briefer synaxarion than that in the 1721 manuscript version, *ibid.* 105-06.

68. The icon measures 99.5 x 65.5 cm; see *Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου* (n. 66) 250 no. 4 (Chr. Chatzichristodoulou).

69. The icon measures 115 x 75 cm; *ibid.* 252 no. 5 (Chr. Chatzichristodoulou).

70. For a similar placing of vita icons near the tombs of saints in the West, see J. Cannon, Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology: Reconsidering the Function and Audience of three Vita Panels of Women Saints c. 1300, in: V. Schmidt (ed.), *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento (= Studies in the History of Art 61, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXXVIII, Washington D.C. 2002)* 291-313.

71. See Tsanilas (n. 32) 256-57.

72. See N. Patterson-Ševčenko, St Catherine of Alexandria and Mount Sinai, in: P. Armstrong (ed.), *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter* (London 2005) 129-143; Drandaki (n. 13) 492-93.

73. On the two main ways of reading verses relating to works of art, see E. Follieri, L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi bizantini, *Byzantion* 34.1 (1964) 447-67.

74. J. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976) 100; K. Weitzmann – G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscript 1: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton 1990) 66.

75. H. Belting – G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* (Wiesbaden 1979) fig. 15.

76. On this icon, see Vizantija. Balkani. *Rus, Ikoni XIII-XV vekov* (Moskva 1991) no. 97, though the epigram is incorrectly transcribed; on the epigram, see G. Papagianis, *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Wiesbaden 1997) 2, 239-40; both A. Frolov, Quelques inscriptions sur les oeuvres d'art du moyen age, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 6 (1952) 167 and H. Maguire, *Image and Imagination: The Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response* (Toronto 1996) 23, read the verses on the icon incorrectly.

77. Paschalides (n. 28) 152-54 no. 17 (Philip); 187-91 no. 35 (George); 206-08 no. 47 (Prokopios); 210-12 no. 49 (Marina); 215-16 no. 51 (Panteleimon).

78. C. Hogel, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen 2002) 186 (Philip), 188 (Catherine), 201 (George), 203 (Prokopios), 203 (Panteleimon).

79. The icon measures 107.5 x 72 cm. A. Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (Nicosia 1992) 5 no. 2, dates the icon to the 8th or 9th century; S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus. 7th-20th century* (Nicosia 1994) 75 no. 1a, dates it to the 7th or 8th century.

80. See N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin 1983) 163; see also S. Zwirn, The Intention of Biographical Narration on Mithraic Cult Images, *Word and Image* 5.3 (1989) 1-18.

81. E. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye. Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Cornell 1982) 155-57.

ΤΙΤΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΜΑΣΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ

Ζωγραφισμένες ζωές.

Αφηγήσεις σε βιογραφικές εικόνες του 13ου αιώνα

Στη μελέτη εξετάζονται εννέα από τις δεκαπέντε παλαιότερες βιογραφικές εικόνες που φιλοτεχνήθηκαν κατά τον 13ο αιώνα στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Πρόκειται για τις βιογραφικές εικόνες της αγίας Αικατερίνης, του αγίου Γεωργίου, του προφήτη Μωυσή και του αγίου Παντελεήμονα, οι οποίες φυλάσσονται στη Μονή Σινά, τη βιογραφική εικόνα του αγίου Προκοπίου που φυλάσσεται στο Πατριαρχείο Ιερουσαλύμων, τις βιογραφικές εικόνες του απόστολου Φιλίππου και του αγίου Ιωάννη Λαμπαδιστή, που φυλάσσονται στους ομώνυμους ναούς στην Κύπρο, και τη βιογραφική εικόνα της αγίας Μαρίας που προέρχεται από τον ομώνυμο ναό στην Κυπερούνη της Κύπρου και φυλάσσεται σήμερα στο Μουσείο του Τιμούρ Σταυρού της ίδιας πόλης.

Ως προς τις βιογραφικές εικόνες έχουν διατυπωθεί από την έως τώρα έρευνα οι ακόλουθες απόψεις: α) τα εικονιζόμενα επεισόδια ίσως απηχούν, αλλά δεν ακολουθούν με συνέπεια κάποια γνωστά κείμενα· β) οι σκηνές δεν είναι τοποθετημένες με χρονική ακολουθία· και γ) η δημιουργία και η τοποθέτησή τους δεν σχετίζονται με τους χώρους ταφής ή τα λείψανα των αγίων που εικονίζονται.

Από τη συστηματική παρουσίαση των βιογραφικών κύκλων αυτών των εικόνων προκύπτουν τα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα:

Πολλές από αυτές τις εικόνες συνδέονται, είτε με τον χώρο ταφής του αγίου, είτε με το ιερό λείψανο της μορφής που εικονίζονται, ή με *loci sancti*.

Οι κύκλοι βασίζονται σε συγκεκριμένους Βίους των εικονιζόμενων αγίων, στους οποίους δίνουν οπτική υπόσταση, επιλέγοντας τα επεισόδια-κλειδιά στη σταδιοδρομία κάθε αγίου. Η επιλογή και η διάταξη των σκηνών αποδίδουν μια σειρά επεισοδίων που εξυπηρετούν την κατανόηση της σχέσης αιτίου και αποτελέσματος μέσα στον χρόνο, και περιγράφουν τη μεταβολή από μια αρχική σε μια τελική κατάσταση. Τα εικονίδια λειτουργούν στο σύνολό τους ως ιστορία σε εξέλιξη, αλλά παράλληλα καθένα από αυτά ως γεγονός με παραδειγματική αξία.

Οι βιογραφικές εικόνες ως οπτικά αφηγήματα είναι άμεσα εξαρτημένες από τα κείμενα, και ακολουθούν

την πλοκή της αφήγησής τους. Είναι φυσικό λοιπόν ότι οι βιογραφικοί κύκλοι, όταν οργανώνονται γύρω από την κεντρική μορφή που σχολιάζουν, ακολουθούν τη φορά με την οποία αναγράφονται οι επιγραφές, τα επιγράμματα ή τα σχόλια γύρω από μια κεντρική εικόνα ή ένα κείμενο, όπως κάνουν φανερό μια σειρά από σωζόμενα παραδείγματα μικρογραφιών και εικόνων. Η οργάνωση των βιογραφικών κύκλων γύρω από την κεντρική μορφή του αγίου γίνεται με δύο τρόπους. Ο πρώτος τρόπος αναγνωρίζεται στις εικόνες της αγίας Αικατερίνης, του αγίου Γεωργίου, του αγίου Προκοπίου, της αγίας Μαρίας και του αγίου Ιωάννη Λαμπαδιστή. Σε αυτές, ο κύκλος αρχίζει από τα αριστερά της πάνω οριζόντιας πλευράς, συνεχίζει στη δεξιά κάθετη πλευρά, μετά στην αριστερή κάθετη πλευρά και τελειώνει στην κάτω οριζόντια πλευρά. Ο δεύτερος τρόπος αναγνωρίζεται στις βιογραφικές εικόνες του αγίου Μωυσή, του αγίου Παντελεήμονα και του αγίου Φιλίππου, όπου ο κύκλος αρχίζει από τα αριστερά της πάνω οριζόντιας πλευράς, και η ανάγνωση των σκηνών στις κάθετες πλευρές γίνεται από τα αριστερά προς τα δεξιά και από πάνω προς τα κάτω κατά αντιμέτωπα ζεύγη.

Οι κύκλοι των βιογραφικών εικόνων εξαρτώνται από συγκεκριμένους Βίους. Τα εικονιζόμενα επεισόδια και η σειρά τους δεν στηρίζονται στους Βίους που συνέταξε ο Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγών στα μέσα του 10ου αιώνα ή ο Συμεών Μεταφραστής στο β' μισό του 10ου αιώνα. Έχοντας υπόψη ότι από τον 10ο αιώνα και εξής το Μηνολόγιο του Μεταφραστή αποτέλεσε το βασικό σημείο αναφοράς των Βίων αγίων, θα περίμενε κανείς ότι οι βιογραφικές εικόνες του 13ου αιώνα θα αντλούσαν το υλικό από εκεί. Εντούτοις, τα αγιολογικά κείμενα από τα οποία εξαρτώνται οι κύκλοι των βιογραφικών εικόνων που παρουσιάστηκαν είναι κατά κανόνα προμεταφραστικά. Αυτό οδηγεί στην υπόθεση ότι αυτές οι βιογραφικές εικόνες δεν αποτελούν πρωτότυπη δημιουργία του 13ου αιώνα, αλλά ότι αντιγράφουν παλαιότερες βιογραφικές εικόνες, οι κύκλοι των οποίων βασιζόνταν σε προμεταφραστικούς Βίους.