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Arab Christian refugees in Lusignan Cyprus during the thirteenth century : pictorial impact and evidence

Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez

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SETTLEMENT AND CRUSADE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF THE LATIN EAST

CRUSADES – SUBSIDIA 15

EDITED BY
GIL FISHHOFF, JUDITH BRONSTEIN
AND VARDIT R. SHOTTEN-HALLEL

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Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century sheds new light on formerly less explored aspects of the crusading movement and the Latin East during the thirteenth century.

In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the construction of 'Atlit Castle, a significant section of this volume is dedicated to the castle, which was one of the most impressive built in the Latin East. Scholarly debate has centred on the reasons behind the construction of the castle, its role in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the thirteenth century, and its significance for the Templar order. The studies in this volume shed new light on diverse aspects of the site, including its cemetery and the surveys conducted there. Further chapters examine Cyprus during the thirteenth century, which under the Lusignan dynasty was an important centre of Latin settlement in the East, and a major trade centre. These chapters present new contributions regarding the complex visual culture which developed on the island, the relation between different social groups, and settlement patterns.

Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, this book will be of interest to scholars and students of the medieval period, as well as those interested in the Crusades, archaeology, material culture, and art history.

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Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century

Multidisciplinary Studies of the Latin East

**Edited by Gil Fishhof, Judith Bronstein
and Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel**

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Contents

<i>List of figures and tables</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>List of contributors</i>	xvi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxii

PART 1

The Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century	1
1 On some characteristics of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1191–1291	3
BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR	
2 The statutes of the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in Acre: “Italian” interactions between East and West during the Fifth Crusade	17
BEATRICE SALETTI	
3 “Make camp, lord brothers, on behalf of God”: first archaeological evidence for encampments in the Latin East, excavated in the Springs of Saforie	31
RAFAEL Y. LEWIS, NIMROD GETZOV, AND IANIR MILEVSKI	
4 Ex Mari Lux: the development of naval siege warfare in the crusading Levant	60
PIERRE-VINCENT CLAVERIE	

PART 2

‘Atlit Castle 69

5 The Templars and ‘Atlit 71
HELEN J. NICHOLSON

**6 ‘Atlit Castle surveys: charters versus the archaeological
evidence** 91
VARDIT R. SHOTTEN-HALLEL

7 Medieval ‘Atlit in the historiography of incarceration 113
YVONNE FRIEDMAN

**8 The medieval cemetery of ‘Atlit: historiography and new
archaeological data (2014–2019)** 124
YVES GLEIZE

PART 3

Cyprus under the Lusignans 139

**9 Towards a history of thirteenth-century Gothic
in the Latin East** 141
MICHALIS OLYMPIOS

**10 Limassol from 1191 to 1300: its importance in the context
of crusades, trade, and settlement** 156
NICHOLAS COUREAS

**11 Arab Christian refugees in Lusignan Cyprus during
the thirteenth century: pictorial impact and evidence** 169
GEOFFREY MEYER-FERNANDEZ

**12 The predicaments of Aimery de Lusignan: baronial
factionalism and the consolidation of power in the
Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1197–1205** 183
STEPHEN DONNACHIE

PART 4

Literary and textual traditions 195

13 The charters of the Fifth Crusade revisited 197
THOMAS W. SMITH

- 14 “Por Ce Qu’i Mielz L’Entendent Qui Ne Sunt Letree”:
translating the story of the First Crusade** 209
CAROL SWEETENHAM
- PART 5**
- The Latin East and the West in the thirteenth century** 223
- 15 Biebelried near Würzburg: a thirteenth-century Hospitaller
castle in Franconia and its contexts** 225
KARL BORCHARDT
- 16 Echoes of the Latin East among the Hospitallers of the West:
the priory of Saint Gilles, c.1260–c.1300** 241
DAMIEN CARRAZ
- 17 Thinking about the Holy Land and crusading in the Crowns
of Aragon and Navarre (thirteenth century)** 254
MARIA BONET AND JULIA PAVÓN
- 18 The Babenberg Dukes of Austria – crusaders “par excellence”** 270
MIHA KOSI
- 19 Eberhard of Sayn: the Teutonic Grand Commander
and his contribution to the military order’s position
in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem** 285
SHLOMO LOTAN

Figures and tables

Figures

1.1	Fragment of a stone cross found near Acre's eastern wall	12
3.1	Location map of Ein Zippori (Springs of Saforie) and other chief Frankish sites in the Galilee	32
3.2	Aerial view of the excavations at Ein Zippori during the 2012 season. Looking east, with Field I to the left and Field II to the right of Road 79	33
3.3	Ein Zippori, location map with excavated areas, 2011–2017, and further excavations	34
3.4	Aerial photo of Ein Zippori, 680 ps 8. 5119 2 Jan 1945, 15,000	35
3.5	General view of Ein Zippori looking west. Tell Ein Zippori is at the bottom centre of the photo	36
3.6	Artefact density (10 m) along the excavated area	38
3.7	Types of horseshoes found at the Springs of Saforie	39
3.8	Types of horseshoe nails and shoe nails found at the Springs of Saforie	40
3.9	Distribution of horseshoe nails in the excavated areas according to different types	41
3.10	Density of violin key horseshoe nails in square (location of each nail is marked with a small flag), and a reconstruction of a farrier tending a horse	42
3.11	Finds related to horses and farrier work from the Springs of Saforie	42
3.12	Hooks, buckles, and arrowheads from the Springs of Saforie	43
3.13	Two of the needles found at the Springs of Saforie	44
3.14	Spur found at the Springs of Saforie	44
3.15	Coin of Autonomous Tyre, 115/6 CE, obverse	48
3.16	Coin of Autonomous Tyre, 115/6 CE, reverse	48
3.17	Coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), Aelia Capitolina, obverse	49
3.18	Coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), Aelia Capitolina, reverse	49
3.19	Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, obverse	50
3.20	Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, reverse	50

3.21	Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, obverse	51
3.22	Coin of Baldwin III (1143–1163 CE), Jerusalem, reverse	51
6.1	‘Atlit Castle. View to north-west	95
6.2	<i>Destroit</i> , aerial photograph (2017)	96
6.3	Defence system of ‘Atlit Castle	100
6.4	Quarry exploited for the construction of the castle	101
6.5	Eastern wall of great northern tower. View to north	103
7.1	Matthew Paris’s depiction of the freed captives leaving the prison: with dangling, broken shackles	115
7.2	Acre, Hospitaller Compound, wall with cavities for attaching shackles	118
7.3	Plan of ‘Atlit Castle	120
8.1	Localisation of the cemetery (<i>‘Atlit cemetery archaeological mission</i>)	125
8.2	Plan and profile of the cemetery with the location of excavation areas and profile (<i>‘Atlit cemetery archaeological mission</i>)	126
8.3	Burial S1SP29. In the north, one stone and a long bone lie on a bench remain. They may be originally on the wood cover	130
8.4	Trauma marks on the primary skeleton of the burial S1SP08	133
9.1	Nicosia, Selimiye Mosque (former Latin Cathedral of Saint Sophia), chevet, general view of ambulatory exterior	144
9.2	Nicosia, Saint Sophia, west front, general view	146
9.3	Jerusalem, Cenacle, interior, general view towards the east	148
9.4	Jerusalem, Cenacle, window of south wall, detail of colonette base and plinth	149
11.1	Lagoudera, Church of the <i>Panagia Arakiotissa</i> , detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1192/Moutoullas, Church of the <i>Panagia</i> , detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1280	170
11.2	Kyperounta, museum of the Holy Cross, detail of the icon of Saint Marina with scenes of her life, second half of the thirteenth century/Sinai, monastery of Saint Catherine, icon of Saint Sergius with a female supplicant, 1260s	171
11.3	Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female supplicant, end of the thirteenth century	172
11.4	Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, detail of the icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female supplicant, end of the thirteenth century/Qara, monastery of <i>Mar Yakub</i> , detail of the apostle Mark, before 1266	173
11.5	Famagusta, Church of Saint George <i>Exorinos</i> , Saints Nuhra, Paraskeve, and an unidentified monastic saint, c.1300/details of the mural	176
15.1	Plan of the village of Biebelried from the year 1756/7, with various farms and houses	227

x *Figures and tables*

15.2	Biebelried, schematic ground plan following Krahe. Scale in metres. The keep in the centre is hypothetical	228
15.3	Biebelried, castle, western wall from the thirteenth century, bossed ashlar with arrow slits	228
15.4	Biebelried, castle, south-eastern corner, walls from the thirteenth century with bossed ashlar and from later periods	229
15.5	Wölchingen, church of the thirteenth century	230
15.6	The Houses of Boxberg and Krautheim	231
16.1	<i>Consilium</i> written for the Council of Lyon, c.1274; Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 5168	243
16.2	Account book of the treasurer of the priory of Saint Gilles, 1253–1258; Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, fols. 19v–20r	247
17.1	[1196], April 23. Geoffroy de Donjon, Master of the <i>Hospital</i> , ask for Sancho's support in the face of possible attacks by the armies of Saphadin, Saladin's brother	258
17.2	James I is invited by Pope Gregory X to the council for discussing the theme of the Holy Land	260
17.3	Crusade of Theobald I, king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie (1239–1240)	263
18.1	Relations between principal German participants on the Second Crusade 1147–1149 (crusaders underlined)	272
18.2	Relations of the Dukes of Austria to the courts of Byzantium, Jerusalem, and the Ibelins	273
18.3	Relations of the Dukes of Austria to the Margraves of Montferrat	275
19.1	Map of the Teutonic order settlement in Galilee (1240–1256)	287

Tables

1.1	Latin, Orthodox, and Eastern Ecclesiastical Buildings in Jerusalem and Acre	9
1.2	Venetian and Genoese Investments in the Levant Trade, 1126–1275	11
16.1	The <i>responsiones</i> of the Commandery of Manosque 1284–1290	248
18.1	Participation of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria in the Crusades	279

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Abbreviations

<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>Autour</i>	<i>Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996).</i>
<i>Cart Hosp</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1906).</i>
<i>Cart St Sép</i>	<i>Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 15 (Paris, 1984).</i>
<i>Cart Tem</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple, ed. Guigues A.M.J.A. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913).</i>
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis.
<i>Crusades</i> , ed. Setton	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , general ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Madison, 1969–89).
<i>Crusade Sources</i>	<i>The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton</i> , ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
<i>Horns</i>	<i>The Horns of Hattin</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992).

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Cinquième Croisade
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- Kreuzfahrerstaaten*
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- Hierosolymitanorum*), Altfranzösische Texte erstellt von Jean Richard, vol. 1 (Hannover, 2010).
- MGH
MO, 1 *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994).
- MO, 2* *The Military Orders, 2, Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998).
- MO, 3* *The Military Orders, 3, History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008).
- MO, 4* *The Military Orders, 4, On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judy Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008).
- MO, 5* *The Military Orders, 5, Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012).
- MO, 6* *The Military Orders, 6, Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Mike Carr and Jochen Schenk (London, 2017).
- Montjoie* *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997).
- Oliver Scholasticus,
“Briefe” *Oliver Scholasticus, “Briefe” in Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
- Oliver Scholasticus, “Historia
Damiatina” *Oliver Scholasticus, “Historia Damiatina,” in Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
- OMCTH *Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica*
- Outremer* *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*

	<i>Presented to Joshua Prawer, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982).</i>
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
QSGDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Oc</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i> (Innsbruck, 1894).
RRH Add	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Additamentum</i> (Innsbruck, 1904).
RRR	<i>Revised Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i>
RS	Rolls Series
WT	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986).

11 Arab Christian refugees in Lusignan Cyprus during the thirteenth century

Pictorial impact and evidence*

Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez

When Guy de Lusignan became Lord of Cyprus in May 1192,¹ Byzantine painting was flourishing on the island. The famous wall paintings at the Church of the *Panagia Arakiotissa* in Lagoudera were completed eight months later, in December of that year. Commissioned by the “lord” (αυθέντης) Leon, the fresco cycle is one of the best examples of late Comnenian monumental painting to be preserved from the Byzantine world.² In Cyprus, the masterpieces produced before and at the moment of the Latin establishment were used as models for local painters who worked during the thirteenth century.³ Only a few noteworthy changes occurred in the insular pictorial production during the first three quarters of that century. Patrons continued to commission wall paintings in the Comnenian style and iconography. The monumental programme of the Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara is characteristic of that continuity.⁴ Executed around the 1220s, it reflects features of Cyprus’s earlier twelfth-century Byzantine tradition. The name of the main donor – the priest Michail tou Pilea – appears in a prayer placed on the central register of the apse. This place had already been chosen a century earlier (1105–1106) by Nikephoros Ischyrios, the patron of the *Panagia Phorbiotissa* church at Asinou.⁵ Also, the *Mandyllion* depicted over the south door at Kato Lefkara finds its roots in local tradition. The iconography, the style and the location of this composition seem to imitate the Holy tile that was painted at Lagoudera around 30 years previously.⁶ The Church of the *Panagia Amasgou* at Monagri, adorned in part in the early twelfth century, was embellished by a new cycle, probably around 1220. Like those of Kato Lefkara, the paintings of Monagri post-date the crusader conquest by a generation and show the continuity of the Comnenian style.⁷

As a former Byzantine island, Cyprus remained mostly populated by Greeks after the Frankish settlement of 1192.⁸ The Latins, exclusively represented by Italians before the Franks’ arrival,⁹ became more numerous and varied. Political power was in the hands of the Frankish settlers.¹⁰ Before the Lusignans arrived on the island, eastern Christians were already present. The Armenians were probably the largest minority group, followed by the Maronites, and the Christian Syrians of various rites. However, eastern Christians from various social strata became increasingly numerous in Cyprus after the takeover by Guy de Lusignan.¹¹ The first wave of immigrants must be placed in the period immediately following the Franks’ arrival. With the coming of the Lusignans, the Maronites and Syrians (Orthodox, Jacobite, and Nestorian) became the largest ethnic groups after the Greeks and the Latins.¹²

Artists and craftspeople were certainly part of those newcomers. A French version of Guillaume de Tyr's *Historia* copied at Acre around 1280,¹³ whose author used Ernoul's chronicle – a Frank from Syria who obtained properties in Cyprus and a contemporary of the island's conquest¹⁴ – mentions Arabic-speaking “masons” and “scribes” who went to Cyprus during Guy de Lusignan's rule, motivated by economic reasons.¹⁵ The population movement continued and incoming refugees must have been particularly numerous in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the loss of Christian-held cities in Syria and Palestine to the Muslims. The last and more important population movement is the one that occurred after the fall of Acre in 1291.¹⁶ The non-Latin inhabitants from the crusader ports of Syria crowded into Famagusta. These people, mostly Arabic-speaking Christians, may well have outnumbered the city's Greek population.¹⁷ At the same time, Cypriot painting started to change. Although it was still rooted in the Comnenian artistic production, the local production gained a more predominant eastern flavour through the massive influx of settlers from the Holy Land during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This impact appears, first of all, in the style. It is easily discernible by comparing, for instance, the midwife bathing the new-born Jesus painted in the Nativity scene in Lagoudera (1192),¹⁸ with the same figure depicted in Moutoullas' church (1280)¹⁹ (Figure 11.1).

The position and the iconography of the two midwives are similar. However, the style of the midwife represented at Moutoullas is completely different from the one at Lagoudera. The dominant stylistic features at Moutoullas are a decorative linearity, a two-dimensional rendering of body and draperies, a standardised manner

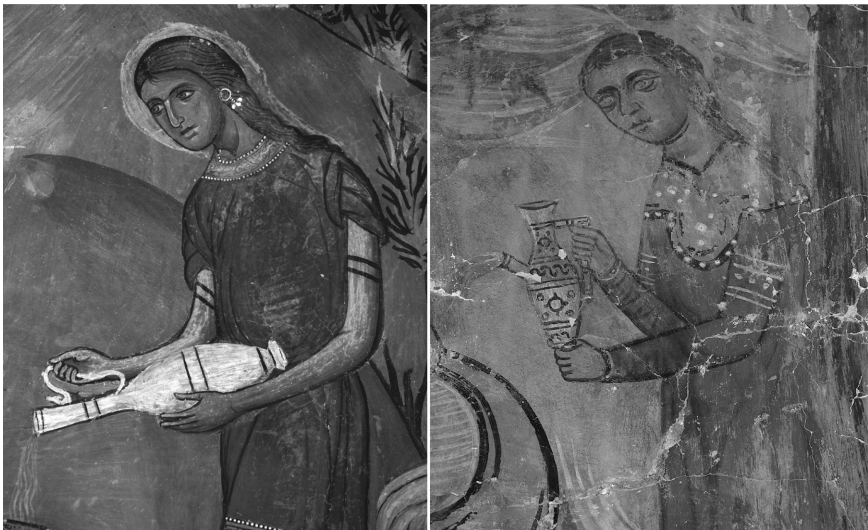


Figure 11.1 Lagoudera, Church of the *Panagia Arakiotissa*, detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1192/Moutoullas, Church of the *Panagia*, detail of the Nativity of Christ, 1280

Source: Author.

of rendering the eyes resulting in a staring gaze, and rather flat facial modelling in subdued tones. The style of the midwife of Moutoullas, or that of the archangel Gabriel depicted in the same cycle,²⁰ are particularly close to the Salome depicted in the Lebanese Church of *Saydet al-Haqle* in Bsarma (c.1260).²¹ The development of simplified, schematic, and linear stylistic trends has also been observed in other Latin-held Byzantine provinces, such as the Peloponnese and Attica.²² Nevertheless, the modification of style in Cyprus must have been a result of the eastern Christians' arrival on the island. They brought a style developed in the Levant: the so-called "*maniera syriaca*."²³ This style was most certainly promoted by the Latin refugees fleeing from the Muslims' advance. In the Holy Land, Franks often hired eastern Christian artists. Several paintings from various media demonstrate this: the mosaics of Bethlehem basilica which retain the bilingual (Latin and Syriac) signature of one of its executors, the Arab Christian deacon Basilius (c.1167–1169);²⁴ the frescoes of the *Crac des Chevaliers* and Margat fortresses (late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries);²⁵ and the Sinai icon showing Saint Sergius and a female supplicant (1260s)²⁶ (Figure 11.2, right).

The Syrians from the crusader states of the Holy Land once established in Cyprus, maintained a favoured status and close ties with the Franks.²⁷ Regarding the artistic production, Annemarie Weyl Carr has shown that the "Frankish patrons [of the island] had adopted eastern Christian forms."²⁸ A recently referenced icon²⁹ nicely demonstrates this promotion of the "*maniera syriaca*" by the insular Latin community (Figure 11.3). Currently housed at the Museum of the Foundation of

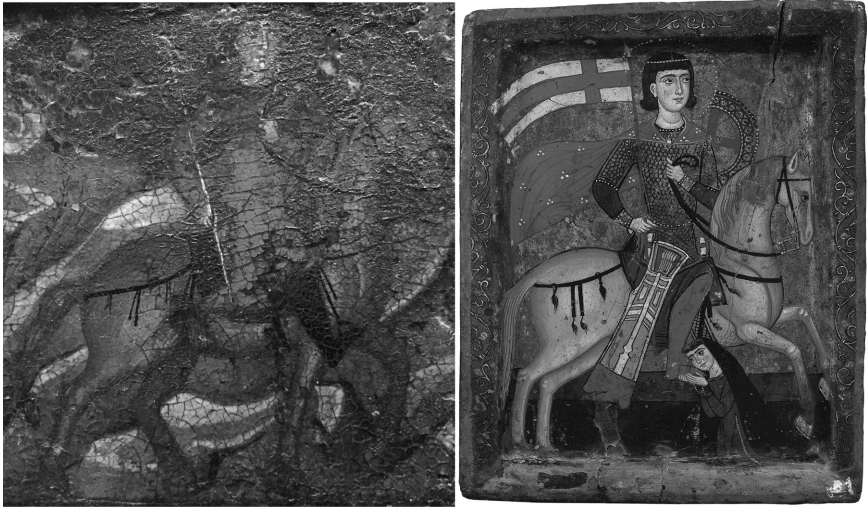


Figure 11.2 Kyperounta, museum of the Holy Cross, detail of the icon of Saint Marina with scenes of her life, second half of the thirteenth century/Sinai, monastery of Saint Catherine, icon of Saint Sergius with a female supplicant, 1260s

Source: Left author/Right by permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.



Figure 11.3 Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female supplicant, end of the thirteenth century

Source: Courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation.

Archbishop Makarios III in Nicosia, the panel comes from the Holy Archbishop of Cyprus's collection without any knowledge of its original context of exhibition. However, details displayed on the painting provide some insights into its commission. The icon represents the Nativity of Christ. An anonymous female supplicant appears in the lower left portion of the scene (Figure 11.3, right).

She wears a long scarlet dress with tightly fitted, wrist-length sleeves: the so-called *cotte*. This coloured garment, which appears in this form in France from the thirteenth century onwards, seems to have been in fashion among Latin women in Cyprus at the end of that century.³⁰ The woman's kneeling position and her upright posture with hands clasped in prayer is typical in western Christian iconography.³¹ Nonetheless, the evidence of her religious affiliation is seen in the *paternoster* beads that she carries. "They were prayer mnemonics, used by monks and laypeople of the Roman-rite who did not know enough Latin to recite a full complement of psalms and prayers and were thus encouraged (or required) to repeat the Lord's Prayer instead."³² The female patron commissioned her icon, not from a Cypriot painter, but apparently from an eastern Christian who came from the mainland. The style of the painting clearly belongs to the "*maniera syriaca*" trend. The face of Jesus who is placed in his bath recalls the one of Saint Theodore depicted in *Mar Tadros* Lebanese Church of Bahdeidat (c.1250–1270).³³ The old shepherd's figure closely resembles the apostle Mark, painted in the Syrian monastery of *Mar Yakub* at Qara (before 1266)³⁴ (Figure 11.4).



Figure 11.4 Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, detail of the icon of the Nativity of Christ with a female suppliant, end of the thirteenth century/Qara, monastery of *Mar Yakub*, detail of the apostle Mark, before 1266

Source: Left courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation/Right Mat Immerzeel/Paul van Moorsel Centre, VU Amsterdam.

The manner in which the donor is integrated into the sacred scene is a practice shared by paintings from various media executed in the County of Tripoli and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia between the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. For example, in the Dormition fresco at the Maronite Church of Maad, a priest is depicted praying to the right of the Jew Jephonias (c.1250–1270).³⁵ In the Nativity miniature of the priest Andreas's Gospels, the Cilician illuminator Sargis Pidsak has represented an Armenian princess pouring the water into Jesus's bath and another one praying behind her (1336).³⁶ Queen Mariun's Gospels – another manuscript painted by the same artist – show a similar pouring princess included in the scene of the Nativity; the same girl is spreading a garment under the feet of the donkey in the miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem; and the queen herself is praying at the foot of the cross in the depiction of the Deposition (1346).³⁷ As in these eastern paintings, the donor of the Cypriot icon is depicted at the same scale as the sacred figures. In addition, the crowns worn by the Magi resemble the iconographic type figured in works of crusader and Cilician art. Similar three-pointed-edge crowns adorned with *fleur-de-lys* motives appear in several miniatures of the *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César* produced in Acre for a Frankish audience (c.1285),³⁸ in the frontispiece of the Armenian

translation of the *Assises* of Antioch showing King Lewon IV (1331);³⁹ and in the miniature of the aforementioned Cilician Gospels executed for the priest Andreas (1336). The reason why the Latin patron sent for an eastern Christian could probably be explained by the fact that the Syrian population of Cyprus was closely associated with the Frankish settlers during the thirteenth century. Moreover, the very theme of the icon – that is the Nativity – may have prompted the Frankish lady to call upon a painter from the Holy Land. A confraternity of “Saint George and Bethlehem” based in Acre before its fall in 1291 is attested by textual sources. Its members were Melkites placed under the protection of the military saint and the shrine of the Nativity. We do not know if this corporation was specifically attached to the pilgrimage to Lydda and Bethlehem or to the maintenance of these two *loci sancti*.⁴⁰ However, one may wonder if that confraternity, whose members lived in the former capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from where many refugees left for Cyprus, included painters specialised in depicting subjects related to Saint George and the Nativity of Christ. Once installed on the island, such artists could have been hired by Frankish patrons also coming from Acre.

In addition to the style, iconography, and content are two areas through which eastern Christians introduced new ideas into Cypriot pictorial production. We are indebted to several scholars who have already collected painted evidence showing the movement of artistic conventions into Cyprus from the mainland. Weyl Carr has pointed out that the inclusion of the *manus Dei*, issuing from a segment of heaven in the upper right corner of Saint George on horseback’s depiction at the Church of Moutoullas, (1280) is paralleled only in monuments of Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.⁴¹ She has also underlined that the white horse painted in the Cypriot Church of Sotera has the same *beta*-shape bit as the horses depicted on two icons from Sinai that have been attributed to a Syrian painter from the County of Tripoli (1260s)⁴² (Figure 11.2, right). The motive also appears on the unpublished fresco of Saint George at the homonymous Church of Choulou (Paphos district).⁴³ It was already employed by the Arab painter-monk Sarkis ibn Gali ibn Barran who depicted Saint Bacchus in the Syrian monastery of *Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi* near Nebek (1208–1209).⁴⁴ Weyl Carr has demonstrated that the triumphal arch of the *Panagia Phorbiotissa* at Asinou (last quarter of the thirteenth century) – with its representation of John of Damascus associated with the Sacrifice of Isaac – reflects a trend rooted in Syrian and Coptic monumental tradition.⁴⁵ It seems that some decorative patterns were also introduced into Cypriot production from the mainland. Thus, the cycle of Moutoullas displays sacred figures placed underneath an arcade decorated with an interlacing pattern which is widespread in the ornamental repertoire of the Lebanese and Syrian churches during the thirteenth century.⁴⁶ In the Cypriot monument, Saint George is represented riding a horse and killing a dragon with his spear. The dragon’s appearance is particularly interesting. It is a hybrid creature depicted as a snake from the waist down and as a crowned human being for the upper part of its body and head. After Doula Mouriki, who has suggested that this iconography reveals a connection with the Georgian tradition,⁴⁷ Nina Iamanidzé has recently argued that the Moutoullas fresco would have been of “Georgian influence.”⁴⁸ It is true that Georgian representations of holy

horsemen killing dragons are attested since the early Christian period, and that images of Saint George slaying a sovereign (sometimes identified with Diocletian) are widespread in Georgia from the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴⁹ In addition, a Georgian monastic community founded at Gialia (Paphos district) during the tenth century was worshipping the military saint since the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The *Panagia Chrysogialiotissa* was restored at the beginning of the thirteenth century, apparently with Queen Tamar's patronage. Between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the monastery received a mural representation of a holy horseman – certainly George – holding his lance down, most certainly in order to strike down an enemy.⁵⁰ But the seductive hypothesis of a “Georgian influence” on the paintings of Moutoullas has its limitations. To my knowledge, no image of a holy horseman striking a half-man, half-snake creature with his spear is documented in medieval Georgia. By contrast, however, one can find the same iconographic feature in the Levantine regions of Egypt, Lebanon, and Cappadocia. Examples include the representation of Saint Theodore in a manuscript from Fayoum (early tenth century),⁵¹ the same subject painted in *Mar Tadros* Lebanese Church of Bahdeidat (c.1250–1270),⁵² and the fragmentary fresco depicting Saint George in the homonymous church at Ortaköy (thirteenth century).⁵³ Finally, the epithet of George at Moutoullas, who refers to him as “*Ο ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΕ*” (“the Cappadocian”), suggests that the iconographic model used by the painter has its origins in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. D. Mouriki was probably correct when writing that the Cypriot fresco is dependent on “Eastern iconographic models.”⁵⁴

As these scholars have done, I would like to add further pictorial evidence supporting the movement of artistic conventions into Cyprus from the mainland. Some impact of painting by eastern Christians can be seen in the Cypriot *vita* icon of Saint Marina that comes from the homonymous church at Kyperounta. Commissioned by a Greek monk named Markos whose prayer is written on the lower right-hand side of the central composition, the painting shows the saint's portrait surrounded by 12 episodes of her martyrdom.⁵⁵ The first scene of the narration, placed on the top left-hand corner of the frame, depicts the meeting between Marina and the governor Olybrios on horseback. Both the figures of the ruler and his horse recall the Saint Sergius's effigy painted on the aforementioned Sinaitic icon that has been attributed to a Syrian Christian painter from the County of Tripoli (1260s)⁵⁶ (Figure 11.2). Another painted panel from Saint Catherine's monastery shares several iconographic elements that appear in Cypriot pictorial production carried out during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Painted around 1300, it has been attributed to an Armenian painter from Cilicia. It represents the Nativity at the bottom of the composition and the Crucifixion above.⁵⁷ Both the starry backgrounds and the rampant lion displayed on Longinus's shield with a red background appear in the fresco cycle of Saint Herakleidios Church in the monastery of Saint John Lampadistes at Kalopanayiotis (c.1265–1280).⁵⁸ Similar schematic sketching and the monochrome manner of representing horned animals in the Nativity composition are adopted for the same scene at the *Panagia* of Moutoullas (1280).⁵⁹ In addition, the seated cross-legged posture adopted by the

shepherd playing music in the Nativity scene of the Sinaitic icon is encountered in the Church of *Panagia Phorbiotissa* at Asinou (last quarter of the thirteenth century). One of the two youths accompanied by the grazing donkey, and associated with the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac, adopts this position. As previously mentioned, the triumphal arch's programme of this Cypriot church has been linked to eastern Christian tradition.⁶⁰ To my knowledge, this is the first appearance of that specific iconography in the island's pictorial production. The seated cross-legged posture was shared by several cultures of the Mediterranean East. One can find it in many artworks of various media and contexts from Egypt to Cilicia in the thirteenth century. Some notable examples include: a screen showing two musicians on the Coptic wooden screen removed from the Church of *Sitt Barbara* in Old Cairo (eleventh century);⁶¹ two miniatures of the *Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César* copied in Acre for Franks (c.1285);⁶² the representation of the Judgment of Caiaphas from a Syriac Gospel Lectionary (c.1216–1220);⁶³ a basin made in Syria by the coppersmith Dawud ibn Salama al-Mawsili (1252–1253);⁶⁴ and the miniature of the Feeding of the Five Thousand attributed to the Cilician Armenian painter T'oros Roslin and his assistants in a manuscript commissioned by the Prince Vasak (c.1268).⁶⁵ It should be noted that, like the two latter examples, the mural of Asinou represents a character seated in cross-legged posture associated with another one who is on his knees.

In Lusignan Cyprus, the first known paintings carried out by eastern artists for an oriental Christian sanctuary are preserved in Famagusta, the former island's main port that accommodated a multitude of Arabic-speaking Christians at the end of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ They were made for the Syriac-rite – probably Maronite – church known as Saint George *Exorinos*.⁶⁷ The best-preserved frescoed panel of the oldest murals is placed on the western wall, to the left of the door (Figure 11.5). Executed around 1300, it represents three standing saints: Paraskeve flanked by Nuhra and an unidentified monk. The composition has stylistic features which point to connections with the Syro-Lebanese mainland. Again, we encounter the tendency for simplification, schematisation, and linearity that has been previously mentioned. Furthermore, Saint Nuhra is a martyr worshipped exclusively in the

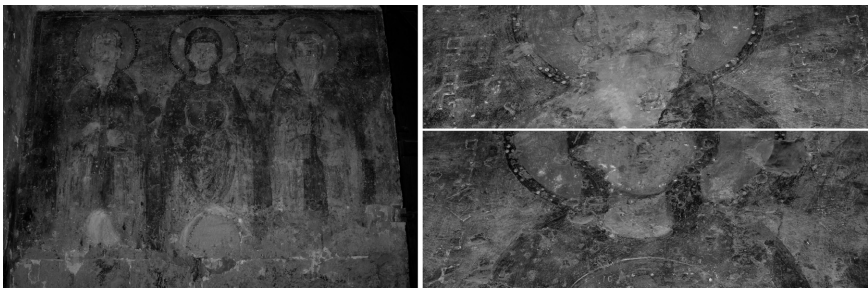


Figure 11.5 Famagusta, Church of Saint George *Exorinos*, Saints Nuhra, Paraskeve, and an unidentified monastic saint, c.1300/details of the mural

Source: Author.

predominantly Maronite districts of Jubail and Batroun, in present-day Lebanon. However, the most significant elements are the inscriptions which identify the sacred figures. They are written in *estrangelo* script, a type of writing employed in the thirteenth century by almost all the Arabic Christian communities which practised the Syriac-rite. The artist who carried out the mural painting has been identified by Michele Bacci as a “refugee from the Syrian coast.”⁶⁸ So, as soon as they had settled in Famagusta, some eastern Christians built their own church and embellished it with the work of their own painters, using eastern artistic trends and Syriac inscriptions in their compositions. The Cypriot coastal city has one more former shrine that can be related to another oriental rite: The Nestorian. Several textual sources dating back to the Genoese period (fifteenth century) claim that a Syrian Christian merchant (sometimes referred to as Nestorian) living in Famagusta, erected on his own, a church dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul out of part of the profit he had made during a trading venture to Syria at the time of King Peter I’s rule (1359–1369). It has been identified with the large monument (presently known by its Turkish name, *Sinan Paşa Camii*) situated at the southwest of the Lusignan palace. During restorations carried out inside the edifice in the 1930s, a Syriac monumental inscription was discovered on the plastered interior. It mentions an unspecified act of patronage completed in 1351–1352. If the monument is the one referenced in the medieval textual sources, this would mean that the Syrian merchant erected his church on the site of an earlier eastern-rite shrine. This could very well be the oriental-rite church mentioned in Famagusta at least from 1301.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, its original mural paintings have almost entirely disappeared.⁷⁰ It is therefore unclear if this former church ever received a monumental cycle executed by an eastern Christian artist.

Cypriot painting has always shared common features with the artistic production of the Middle East due to the island’s geographical position. However, during the second half of the thirteenth century, the establishment of refugees from the Holy Land played a key role in developing the eastern flavour of the insular pictorial production. This change can be seen in the preserved mural paintings and icons not only from urban centres and their suburbs but also from isolated mountainous regions of the Lusignan Kingdom. Evidence from rural areas has not yet been fully surveyed and work remains to be done. Thus, the Arabic inscriptions on the reverse side of two icons (end of the thirteenth century) housed at the monastery of Saint John Lampadistes at Kalopanayiotis, situated in the heart of Troodos, remain to be studied and published.⁷¹ As shown simultaneously by the painted panel housed at the Byzantine Museum of Nicosia, the Moutoullas cycle, the icon of Kyperounta, and the frescoes preserved in Saint George *Exorinos*, the stylistic change towards the “*maniera syriaca*” was promoted by the same intensity by all the Cypriot patrons, irrespective of their ethnic origins, religious affiliation, or social position. The capacity to adapt, the mobility, as well as the privileged status of the eastern Christians can possibly explain both why they have been especially attractive to Latins and Greeks and why they had such a strong impact on the island’s painting production. Once established in Cyprus, eastern Christians occupied prominent posts in the royal administration and played a key role

in trade, an area in which they excelled and which ultimately made them rich. The wealth of some Syrians is attested by various textual sources, which attribute the building of churches to them.⁷² They commissioned tombstones⁷³ and hired artists from their own communities for the decoration of their sanctuaries. A specific preserved icon mostly illustrates the magnitude of pictorial commissions made by eastern Christians established in the Lusignan Kingdom after the loss of the Holy Land by the crusaders. Housed at the *Phaneromeni* church in Nicosia, it depicts Saint George on horseback, flanked by episodes of his martyrdom. This painted panel was obviously commissioned by an eastern Christian – probably a Melkite – who appears as a supplicant wearing a turban and a belt in the lower left part of the central composition.⁷⁴ With its impressive size (2.15 * 1.9 m), this painting compares very favourably with the two known panels commissioned in Cyprus around 1300 by the Latin elite, both lay and cleric.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the *Phaneromeni* icon should be dated between the beginning and the third quarter of the fourteenth century, when the eastern Christian merchants of Cyprus were the richest people in the kingdom. Consequently, this panel exceeds our survey's chronological limits and is particularly deserving of a proper study.⁷⁶

Notes

- * I would like to thank Ioanna Rapti for her very valuable remarks and Nick Marriner for his English editing. My gratitude is also extended to the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation for its courtesy. I am indebted to the A.G. Leventis Foundation for its grant.
- 1 Peter William Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 1–12. For an overview of Cypriot painting production before the conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart in 1191, see Andréas Nicolaïdès, “La peinture monumentale byzantine en Chypre du X^e au XIII^e siècle,” in *Chypre entre Byzance et l’Occident, IV^e-XVII^e siècle, Paris, Musée du Louvre (28 octobre 2012–28 janvier 2013)*, eds. Jannic Durand and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris, 2012), 112–23; Ioannis A. Eliades, “Les icônes de la période byzantine moyenne en Chypre (965–1191),” in *Ibidem*, 126–32; Élisabeth Yota, “Manuscrits grecs chypriotes: culture écrite, images et marques de possesseurs,” in *Ibidem*, 138–42.
 - 2 Andréas Nicolaïdès, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: études iconographiques des fresques de 1192,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 1–137; David and June Winfield, *The Church of the Panaghia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, Cyprus: The Paintings and their Painterly Significance* (Washington, DC, 2003).
 - 3 Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Art,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 285–328, at 289–310; Maria Parani, “Le royaume des Lusignan (1192–1489): la tradition byzantine,” in *Chypre entre Byzance et l’Occident, IV^e-XVII^e siècle, Paris, Musée du Louvre (28 octobre 2012–28 janvier 2013)*, eds. Jannic Durand and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris, 2012), 293–301, at 299.
 - 4 Athanasios Papageorgiou, “Η εκκλησία του Αρχαγγέλου στα Κάτω Λεύκαρα,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1990): 189–230.
 - 5 Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, “The Metrical Inscriptions in the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), 69–90, at 77–79, figures 3.6–3.7.

- 6 Nicolaïdès, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,” 133, pl. 2, figure 2; Winfield and Winfield, *The Church of the Panaghia tou Arakos*, 38, 191–92, Text Figure 3 (n° 72), pl. 3, figure 7, 188.
- 7 Susan Boyd, “The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and Its Wall-paintings,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 276–328, at 291–323.
- 8 On the demographic superiority of the Greeks both before and after 1191, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, eds. Idem and Chris Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 13–62, at 14–17.
- 9 On the Italian presence both before and after 1191, see Tassos Papacostas, “Secular Landholdings and Venetians in 12th century Cyprus,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 92/2 (1999): 479–501; Catherine Otten-Froux, “Les « Italiens » à Chypre (fin XII^e–fin XV^e siècles),” in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)*, Actes du colloque tenu à l’Université de Rouen (11–13 mars 2004), eds. Sabine Fourrier and Gilles Grivaud (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2006), 279–99. On the Venetians settled in Paphos, Limassol and Nicosia at the end of the Byzantine period, see David Michael Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia, 2009), 544–46.
- 10 On the Franks, see Peter W. Edbury, “Franks,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 63–101.
- 11 Gilles Grivaud, “Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époque médiévale et moderne),” in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale: formations identitaires, perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains*, eds. Yannis Ioannou et al. (Paris, 2000), 43–69, at 44–45, 48, 50–51, 53, 62.
- 12 Laurent Fenoy, *Chypre île refuge (1192–1473): migrations et intégration dans le Levant latin*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, 2011), 1:103–34.
- 13 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 828.
- 14 On Ernoul, see Gilles Grivaud, *Entrelacs chiprois: essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans le royaume de Chypre, 1191–1570* (Nicosia, 2009), 57, 99–100.
- 15 *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan (Paris, 1982), 139. Source cited by Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 16–17.
- 16 Fenoy, *Chypre île refuge*, 1: 78–102, 127–34, 163–76.
- 17 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 102 (with earlier references on n. 4).
- 18 Nicolaïdès, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,” 76–77, fig. 63.
- 19 Doula Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus,” in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des Europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. Irmgard Hutter (Vienna, 1984), 171–214, at 185, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 13.
- 20 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 175, pl. LXXII–LXXIII, fig. 2, 4.
- 21 Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 154, pl. XCIV, 395, 397–98, pl. 25.3, 25.5.
- 22 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, “Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212–1388): Latin and Greek Patronage,” in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, eds. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden, 2015), 369–417, at 369–406, 414–17.
- 23 Nada Hérou, “Une école byzantine de peinture active aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles au Liban: étude stylistique,” in *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy*, eds. Sulamith Brodbeck et al. (Paris, 2016), 207–24 (with earlier bibliography on n. 4).
- 24 Lucy-Anne Hunt, “Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of ‘Crusader’ Art,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 69–85, at 74–76, 85, fig. 2; Michele Bacci, *The Mystic Cave: A History of the Nativity Church of Bethlehem* (Roma, 2017), 146–51, fig. 37.
- 25 Mat Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon* (Leuven, 2009), 75–76, 218–19, 287, pl. 46–48, 126. The style of these paintings has been considered to be a “reminiscence” of the one of the Arab painter-monk Sarkis ibn Gali ibn Barran who executed the mural cycle in the Syrian monastery Church of *Deir Mar*

- Musa al-Habashi* near Nebek (1208–1209): Ibidem, 76. On Sarkis's programme, see Ibidem, 64–67, 197, 199–202, 208–11, pl. 21, 23–26, 33–37.
- 26 *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (23 March–4 July 2004), ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004), 374, n° 229 (entry by Jaroslav Folda). The icon has been attributed to a Syrian eastern Christian painter from the County of Tripoli: Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 127–28 (with earlier references on n. 14), 131, 273, pl. 110; Rebecca W. Corrie, “Sinai, Acre, Tripoli, and the ‘Backwash from the Levant’: Where Did the Icon Painters Work?,” in *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at Saint Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai, Symposium organised by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the University of California, Los Angeles, Getty Museum (26–27 January 2007)*, eds. Sharon E.J. Gerstel and Robert S. Nelson (Turnhout, 2010), 415–48, at 417–18 (with earlier bibliography on n. 5–7).
- 27 Jean Richard, “Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle,” in *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs: Les perspectives orientales du monde latin médiéval*, ed. Idem (London, 1983), art. VII, 157–73, at 166–72.
- 28 Weyl Carr, “Art,” 300–1.
- 29 Maniera Cypria, *The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century Between Two Worlds*, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (19 January–31 July 2017) (Nicosia, 2017), 91, fig. 33.
- 30 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, “The Murals of the Narthex: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), 115–208, at 125.
- 31 Kalopissi-Verti, “The Murals of the Narthex,” 124–25 (with earlier references on n. 46).
- 32 Linda Safran, *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia PA, 2014), 167.
- 33 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 101–5, 232, 234, pl. 65, 67.
- 34 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 69–71, 215, pl. 43.
- 35 Michele Bacci, “Images « votives » et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge tardif,” in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg, Fribourg (13–15 mars 2008), eds. Jean-Michel Spieser and Élisabeth Yota (Paris, 2012), 293–305, at 301–2, fig. 8.
- 36 Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 5786, fol. 17r: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1993), 1:142–50, 152, 2:fig. 597.
- 37 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 1973, fols. 8v, 114r and 258v: Ibidem, 1:142, 144–47, 150, 152, 160, 2:figs. 598–99, 650.
- 38 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fols. 56v, 58r, 71r, 75v, 81v, 105v, 123r, 179v, 214v: Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), XIX–XXI, 79–87, 99, 150–51, pl. 86c, 95c, 96c, 103, 105c, 111, 114c, 119c, 126c.
- 39 Venice, *San Lazzaro*, Mekhitarists’s Library, MS 107, fols. 2v: Ioanna Rapti, “Featuring the King: Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia,” in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Alexander Beihammer et al. (Leiden, 2013), 291–335, at 306, 329, fig. 11.4.
- 40 Jean Richard, “La confrérie des Mosserins d’Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII^e siècle,” in *Orient et Occident au Moyen Âge: contacts et relations (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Idem (London, 1976), art. XI, 451–60.
- 41 Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Iconography and Identity: Syrian Elements in the Art of Crusader Cyprus,” in *Religious Origins of Nations? The Christian Communities of the Middle East*, ed. Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden, 2010), 127–51, at 137, fig. 5 (see n. 24 for examples).
- 42 Idem, “Art,” 301. On the attribution of the icons to an eastern Christian artist from the County of Tripoli, see note 26.

- 43 *In situ* personal observation of the author. I warmly thank Professor Kalopissi-Verti who encouraged me to visit this church and discover its unpublished frescoes.
- 44 Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, 56–59, 64–67, 209, pl. 35.
- 45 Weyl Carr, “Iconography and Identity,” 138, 140–50, figs. 8–10; Idem, “The Murals of the Bema and the Naos: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdēs (Washington, DC, 2012), 213–23, figs. 6.4–6.8.
- 46 Bas Snelders and Immerzeel, “From Cyprus to Syria and Back Again: Artistic Interaction in the Medieval Levant,” *Eastern Christian Art* 9 (2012–2013): 79–106, at 83, 100–1, pl. 3, 20–21.
- 47 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 193–94, pl. LXXXIII, figs. 20–21.
- 48 Nina Iamanidzé, *Saints cavaliers. Culte et images en Géorgie aux IV^e-XI^e siècles* (Wiesbaden, 2016), 141 n. 396.
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- 50 Pavlos Flourentzos, *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities For the Year 2006* (Nicosia, 2008), 94–95; Michele Bacci, “Georgia and the Outside World: An Introduction,” in *Cultural Interactions in Medieval Georgia*, eds. Idem, Thomas Kaffenberger and Manuela Studer-Karlen (Wiesbaden, 2018), 7–25, at 21–22, fig. 2, pl. I.1. For the architecture and a ground plan of the monastery, see Charles Anthony Stewart, “The Development of Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus,” in *Cyprus and the Balance of Empires: Art and Archaeology from Justinian I to the Coeur de Lion*, eds. Idem et al. (Boston, 2014), 107–34, at 120–21, fig. 8.13a (with earlier bibliography on 132 n. 59).
- 51 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 613: Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Paris, 1974), 188, n° XXX, pl. 107, 2.
- 52 Isabelle Doumet-Skaf et al., “Conservation of 13th Century Mural Paintings in the Church of Saint Theodore, Behdaïdat,” *Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Libanaises* 13 (2009): 274–320, at 278–79, 314–16, figs. 65, 67–68.
- 53 Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale: images et spiritualité* (Paris, 2001), 346.
- 54 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 193–94.
- 55 Titos Papamastorakis, “Pictorial Lives. Narrative in thirteenth-century Vita Icons,” *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 7 (2007): 33–65, at 53–55, fig. 26 (with earlier bibliography on 63 n. 58).
- 56 See notes 26, 42.
- 57 *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 370, n° 226 (entry by Idem) with earlier bibliography.
- 58 Athanasios Papageorgiou, *The Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis in Kalopanayiotis* (Nicosia, 2008), 24, 26, 28, figs. 13–15, 17.
- 59 Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings,” 183–85, pl. LXXVIII, fig. 13.
- 60 See note 45.
- 61 Old Cairo, Coptic Museum: Adeline Jeudy, “Masterpieces of Medieval Coptic Woodwork in their Byzantine and Islamic Contexts: A Typological and Iconographical Study,” in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2007), 120–32, at 125–29, fig. 9.
- 62 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fols. 1v, 181r: Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 150–51, pl. 83, 120c.
- 63 London, British Library, MS Add. 7170, fol. 145r: Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d’Europe et d’Orient: contribution à l’étude de l’iconographie des églises de langue syriaque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 1:302, 307, 310–13, 2:pl. 89, 4.
- 64 Paris, *Musée du Louvre: Les arts de l’Islam au Musée du Louvre*, ed. Sophia Makariou (Paris, 2012), 178, 180–81, fig. 119.
- 65 Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, MS 32.18, fol. 87: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:55–58, 112, 2:fig. 264.

66 See note 17.

67 For the church's successive phases of painting, see Michele Bacci, "Identity Markers in the Art of Fourteenth-century Famagusta," in *The Harbour of All this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael J.K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas S.H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), 145–58, at 147–58, figs. 1–12; Idem, "Patterns of Church Decoration in Famagusta (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Famagusta, Volume I: Art and Architecture*, ed. Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), 203–76, at 235–38, 248, 273–76, figs. 46, 48–52, 54 with earlier references.

68 Bacci, "Identity Markers," 151.

69 Michalis Olympios, *Building the Sacred in a Crusader Kingdom: Gothic Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus, c.1209–c.1373* (Turnhout, 2018), 314–15, 331 n. 693–97 with earlier references.

70 There is only one preserved small fragmentary fresco depicting haloed figures dated to the fourteenth century: Bacci, "Patterns of Church Decoration," 231, 270, fig. 40.

71 The inscriptions have been recently mentioned in Charalampos G. Chotzakoglou, "Reconsidering the 13th Century Painting in Cyprus," in *Maniera Cypria, The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century Between Two worlds, Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation (19 January–31 July 2017)*, ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2017), 21–43, at 41 n. 161.

72 This is the case of the chronicle of Leontios Machairas (1430s); the Domenico Malipiero's one (covering the years 1457–1499); and the treatise of Francesco Attar (c.1520): Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 314, 331 n. 694–95.

73 Let us mention, for example, the fourteenth-century tombstone of Johan Zaït, burgher of Famagusta, which came from the Augustinian Church of Nicosia. It is now housed at the Limassol Medieval Museum: *Lacrimae Cypriae: les larmes de Chypre ou recueil des inscriptions lapidaires pour la plupart funéraires de la période franque et vénitienne de l'île de Chypre*, ed. Brunehilde Imhaus, 2 vols. (Nicosia, 2004), 1:151, 533, pl. 129, F. 281.

74 Michalis Olympios, "Stripped from the Altar, Recycled, Forgotten: The Altarpiece in Lusignan Cyprus," *Gesta* 53/1 (2014): 47–72, at 59–60, fig. 4 (with earlier references on n. 50); Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez, "Se vêtir à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): l'apport de la peinture," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 49 (2019), 203–26, at 211–13, figure 7.

75 These are the icons from the Church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria commissioned by a Frankish knight and the altarpiece depicting the Virgin of Mercy and ordered by Carmelite friars, both housed at the Museum of the Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III in Nicosia: Olympios, "Stripped from the Altar, Recycled, Forgotten," 48–50, 55, 58–60, 71, figs. 1–2 (with earlier references on n. 2).

76 A study of this panel is part of my doctoral dissertation: *Commanditaires et peintres à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): images d'un royaume multiculturel* (Aix-Marseille Université, 2019).