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Το ζήτημα του ρόλου του δωρητή και του ζωγράφου. Μία «πρώτη» προσέγγιση

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ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

The Question of the Role of the Donor and of the Painter. A Rudimentary Approach

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The question of the artist's dependence on the patron in producing his work, the manner, that is, in which the latter intervenes in the process of artistic creation and the degree of the painter's independence from the donor; also, the degree of recognition enjoyed by the artist, are always issues of particular interest in the study and understanding of the society of each period and of the cultural role of the various social groups. However, we have very little information on the mediaeval Byzantine society¹ and, as regards the above questions, only some elements — indications rather — can for the time being be found. A general aphorism is the following well-known passage from the Seventh Ecumenical Council of AD 787, which states that: "the painter's domain is limited to his art, whereas the disposition manifestly pertains to the holy fathers who built [the churches]"². Yet the painter's role in artistic creation and, by extension, his place in Byzantine society, have been very little understood³. Thus, the examination of certain monuments permitting the formulation of observations from this angle, constitutes an attempt to pose some relevant questions and to seek certain indications.

Two groups of almost contemporary wall-paintings in Cyprus — that of the Enkleistra with the bema of the Holy Cross, in the hermitage of Saint Neophytos, near Paphos⁴ and that of the church of the Panagia tou Ara-

1987), Athens 1989, p. 285-331. Panayota Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, Οι δωρητές στις ελληνικές αφιερωματικές επιγραφές του ανατολικού κράτους στην όψιμη αρχαιότητα, Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν. Κ. Μουτσόπουλο, I, Thessalonica 1990, p. 227-267. Gordana Babić, Peintures murales byzantines et de tradition byzantine (1081-1453). Possibilités et limites des analyses sociologiques, The XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Major Papers, Moscow 1991, p. 348ff. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece, TIB 5, Vienna 1992.

2. C. Magnó, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1972, p. 172.

3. R. Cormack, Painting after Iconoclasm, in: A. Bryer - J. Herrin (ed.), Iconoclasm, Birmingham 1977, p. 147ff., esp. 160-163. N. Oikonomidès, L'artiste amateur à Byzance, in: X. Barral I Altet (ed.), Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge, I. Les hommes, Paris 1986, p. 45-51. Tania Velmans, Aspects du conditionnement de l'artiste byzantin: Les commanditaires, les modèles, les doctrines, *ibid.*, II. Commande et travail, Paris 1987, p. 79-93. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, Painters in Late Byzantine Society. The Evidence of Church Inscriptions, CahArch 42 (1994), in press. On the Early Christian Period there is more information: Catherine Balmelle - J. P. Darmon, L'artisan-mosaïste dans l'antiquité tardive, Réflexions à partir de signatures, in: Barral I Altet (ed.), *op.cit.*, I, 1986, p. 235-249, esp. 247-248. Panayota Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, Μνείες καλλιτεχνών και τεχνιτών σε κείμενα της παλααιοχριστιανικής περιόδου, in: Αφιέρωμα στον Εμμανουήλ Κριαρά, Thessalonica 1988, p. 293-311. Ead., Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με τους τύπους υπογραφής καλλιτεχνών και τεχνιτών στην παλααιοχριστιανική εποχή, συγκριτικά με την ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή αρχαιότητα, in: Αμητός. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μ. Ανδρόνικο, Thessalonica 1987, p. 89ff., esp. 97-98.

4. A. C. Indianos - G. H. Thomson, Wall-Paintings at St. Neophytos Monastery, ΚυπρΣπουδ 3 (1939), p. 178ff. Andreas and Judith Stylianos, Some Problems Concerning the "Enkleistra" of St. Neophytos and its Wall-Paintings, ΚυπρΣπουδ 26 (1962), p. 131-135. *Eid.*, The Painted Churches of Cyprus, London 1985, p. 351-364, pls 211, 213, 215-217. A. H. S. Megaw, Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus, Actes XIIe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Ohrid 1961), III, Beograd 1964, p. 258-261, figs 12-13. C. Magnó - E. J. W. Hawkins, The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall-Paintings, DOP 20 (1966), p. 162-185, pls 60-73, 77-109. D. C. Winfield, Reports on Work at Monagri, Lagoudera and Hagios Neophytos, Cyprus, 1969/1970, DOP 25 (1971), p. 264, pls 21-23, fig. 13. *Id.*, Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University) Work at Hagios Neophytos, Monagri, Perachorio and Lagoudera, 1971, 1972 and 1973 - A Final Report, RDAC 1978, p. 279-281, fig. 1, pls LXIV.3-LXV.1-3.

1. A. Cutler, Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage, XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/2, Vienna 1981, JÖB 31/2 (1981), p. 759-787. R. Cormack, Aristocratic Patronage of the Arts in 11th- and 12th-Century Byzantium, in: M. Angold (ed.), The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries, BAR International Series 221, Oxford 1984, p. 158-172. Maria Panayotidi, The Character of the Monumental Painting in the Tenth Century. The Question of Patronage, in: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his Age, Second International Byzantine Conference (Delphi

ka at Lagoudera⁵ — present an interest from this point of view, in spite of the different form of the two monuments. In the first case, that is, we are speaking of the adornment of the cell and of the bema of a hermitage, which has been almost cut out of the rock, while in the second case we have the murals of a single-aisled cruciform domed church. These two groups have not only been definitely dated, but have also preserved for us information on the identity of their patrons and even, to a certain extent, on aspects of their personalities. In the first of these groups, the name of the painter has also survived⁶, and it is quite likely that the same artist was responsible for the greater part of the decoration of the second monument, as well⁷.

The inscription which has been preserved in the Enkleistra of the monastery of Saint Neophytos, along the upper rim of a small niche over which is depicted a monumental representation of the Deesis, with Saint Neophytos on his knees in an attitude of worship, gives the name of the painter, Theodore Apseudes, and the date as 6691 (= AD 1183), in the first Indiction⁸. In the church of the Panagia tou Araka, over the entrance in the north wall, the patron's inscription in three verses has been preserved, accompanying the representation of the Hagion Keramion (Holy Tile). The donor of the mural decoration of the monument, Leon Authentēs, is recorded, as is the date, 6701 (= AD 1192), the month, December, and the 11th Indiction⁹.

Another inscription in the bottom left corner of the representation of the Baptism constitutes a monk's invocation¹⁰. In view of the fact that the examination of the letters, in comparison with those which were used in the inscriptions in the church, appears to show that the above-mentioned text is contemporary with the murals, and in view of the fact, too, that this is actually a personal invocation — that of a monk who is not the patron but who, however, is able to record his invocation in a private church — it seems very likely that the inscription refers to the artist, although his capacity and his name have not survived.

In the first monument, the patron¹¹, a local monk, Saint Neophytos, is an important and unusual personality for the society of the time. As we know from the "Typikon" of the monastery which he founded in AD 1170, Saint Neophytos was born in AD 1134 of a rural family, in Lefkara, Cyprus, and died just after AD 1214, year in which the revised version of the above-mentioned text was copied. In his youth, Saint Neophytos travelled to the Holy Land, seeking a place in which to live as a hermit. Despite being totally illiterate up to the age of 18 and only having learnt to read and write after that age, at the monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos, at



Fig. 1. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. Saint Neophytos between the archangels, detail: Saint Neophytos.

Fig. 2. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. Deesis, detail: Saint Neophytos.



Koutsoveni, where he initially sought refuge, he left, at his death, 16 volumes of his writings, all of them on religious subjects, many of which are still unpublished. From these texts, it is apparent that he was aware of the theological issues of his time and indeed, that he took positions in the relevant discussions¹². It is interesting to observe, as regards his personality, that at the monastery which he founded, he is depicted three times, in the Enkleistra and in the bema, on murals painted by Theodore Apseudes, as well as in the naos, which was decorated somewhat later, in AD 1196¹³.

5. A. Stylianos, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγούδερά, Κύπρος, Actes IXe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Thessalonica 1953), I, Athens 1955, p. 459-467, pls 142-157. Megaw, *op.cit.*, p. 257-258, figs 4, 10-11, 14-15. Id., Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes, JÖB 21 (1972) (Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag), p. 195-201, figs 1-8. D. C. Winfield, The Church of the Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera: First Preliminary Report, 1968. With an Appendix by C. Mango, DOP 23-24 (1969-1970), p. 377-380, pls 1-7. Id., Reports, *op.cit.*, p. 262-264, pls 10-12, 14-16. Id., Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University) Work at Lagoudera and Monargi, 1970, RDAC 1971, p. 147-148, pls XXXV.1-XXXVI. Id., Final Report, *op.cit.*, p. 284-287, pls LXVIII.1-4-LXIX.1-2. Stylianos, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.*, p. 157-185, figs 84-102.

6. Andreas and Judith Stylianos, Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions. Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus, JÖBG 9 (1960), p. 99-102. A. Nicolaïdès, Les Ktitors dans la peinture au XII siècle à Chypre: une remise au point, in: Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge, Université de Haute Bretagne, Rennes 1983, p. 683-686.

7. *Infra*, note 10.

8. + ιστοριθ... λειστρα δια χειρο[ς] εμου θεοδώρου του Αψευδους / [ἐ]τ[ε]ι. ἀχ[ρ]ᾶ (ινδικτιώνος) α', "The Enkleistra... was painted by the hand of Theodore Apseudes in the year 6691, indiction I", Mango - Hawkins, *op.cit.*, p. 183. Cf. also, Indianos - Thomson, *op.cit.*, p. 187; Stylianos, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 99; eid., Some Problems, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 132.

9. + ανιστορησθη) ο πάνσεπτος ναός της υπ(ε)ρ(α)γίας) Θε(εοτό)κου του Ἀρακος / δια συνδρομ(ῆς) και πολλ(οῦ) ποθ(ου) κυροῦ Λέων(το)ς του Αυθε[ν]τ(ου) μηνι Δεκα[μ]βρίο/ ινδικτιώνος) ια' τω . ς. ψα' ετους, "+ The most venerable church of the most Holy Mother of God of Arakos was painted through the donation and the great desire of lord Leon the son of Authentes in the month of December, indiction XI of the year 6701". A. Stylianos, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 463-464. Stylianos, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 8. T. Paramastorakis, Η σημασία των προφητών στον τροῦλο της Παναγίας του Ἀρακος και οι αντίστοιχες περιπτώσεις της Παναγίας Μυριοκεφάλων και της Παναγίας της Veljusa, AD 40 (1985), Meletai, p. 71, n. 1. A. Tsorapanakis, Ἡ Παναγία τοῦ Ἀρακος ἢ τοῦ Ἀρακα ἢ ἡ Ἀρακιώτισσα, ΚυπρΣπουδ 40 (1986), p. 116-117.

10. μνησ[θητι] / δουλου σ[ου] ο / [μ]οναχου και / ο / , "Remember Thy slave... a monk and... o...". D. C. Winfield, Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera. A Guide, Nicosia s.a., p. 16-17. Annabel Jane Wharton, Art of Empire. Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery, London 1988, p. 87.

11. It is possible that the financial means for this decoration were provided by the Bishop of Paphos Basil Kinnamos who probably

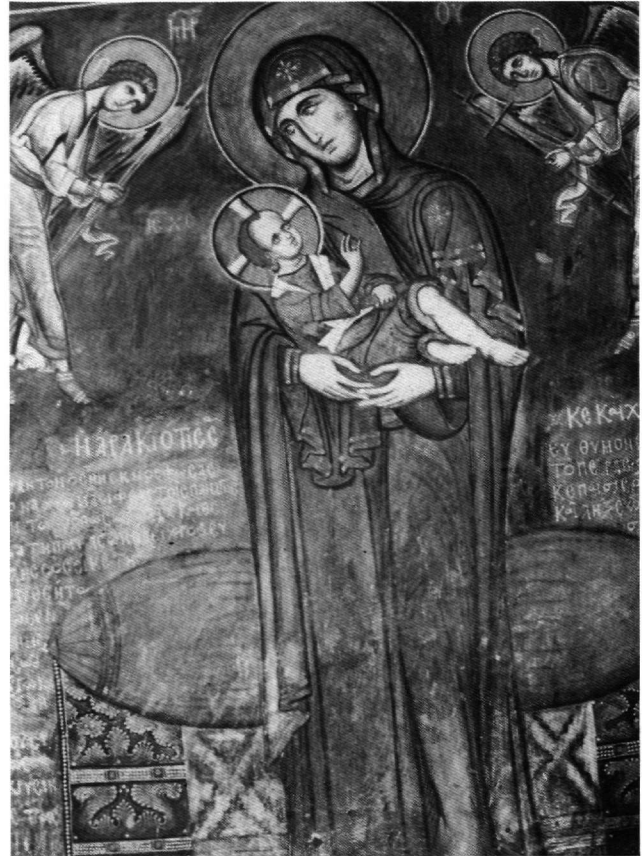


Fig. 3. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. The Virgin "Arakiotissa".

invited the artist from Constantinople, Mango - Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 124. Ann Wharton Epstein, Formulas for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and their Founders, ChH 50 (1981), p. 397, esp. n. 59. Ead., Art of Empire, *op.cit.*, p. 88. R. Cormack, Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons, London 1985, p. 215ff. Catia Galatariotou, The Making of a Saint. The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse, Cambridge-New York, Melbourne 1991, p. 17-18. The monastery possessed landed property. J. Darrouzès, Manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, REB 8 (1950), p. 177. I. Tsiknoroulos, Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφυτος καὶ ἡ ἱερά αὐτοῦ Μονή, Ktoma 1955. Id., Τό συγγραφικόν ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, Κυπρ Σπουδ 22 (1958), p. 75-113, esp. 86ff. Id., Κυπριακά Τυπικά, Nicosia 1969, p. 1ff. *passim*, 71-104, 117-143. Mango - Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 122-132. Cormack, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 215ff., esp. 222-224. Galatariotou, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 226ff., esp. 236, Appendix. On the theological issues of this period V. Katsaros, Ἰωάννης Κασταμονίτης. Συμβολή στή μελέτη τοῦ βίου, τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς του, Thessalonica 1988, p. 265ff. Chara Konstantinidi, Ο Μελισμός (diss.), Athens 1991, 54.

13. Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 159, 165-166, 181-182, 201, figs 36, 48, 68, 93-96. Wharton-Epstein, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 398-399. Galatariotou, *op.cit.*, p. 130-136. On the date of the wall-paintings of the naos in the year 1196, cf. Stylianos, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 354-355.

On the murals of the bema, Saint Neophytos has been portrayed on the eastern side of the ceiling, in counterposition with the representation of the Ascension. This is a full-figure, frontal representation: Saint Neophytos, his arms crossed in front of his chest (Fig. 1), stands between the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Above his head, a distich inscription in dodecasyllabic verse has survived, expressing the holy man's supplication that he be received among the angelic hosts, by virtue of his monastic status¹⁴. In the mural of the Enkleistra, the monk is depicted kneeling, grasping the right foot of Christ with both hands (Fig. 2), in a monumental representation of the Deesis which we have mentioned above. Beside him an open inscribed scroll can be seen, containing a hexastich invocatory inscription in dodecasyllabic verse, recording his prayer for his eternal salvation through the mediation of the Holy Virgin and of Saint John the Baptist¹⁵.

Another two inscriptions which have survived in the Enkleistra are only fragmentary, but they allow us to see that they are directly related to the venerable founder of the church. The one on the eastern part of the ceiling, directly above the wall, gives us some biographical information on the founder¹⁶. The other inscription, on the face of the wall, above the tomb of the holy man, constitutes an epitaph written in the first person¹⁷.

From the above, the personal intervention of the patron, also reflecting elements of his personality, is obvious both in the representations as well as in the content of the decoration: his supplication is clearly formulated, together with his certainty of future salvation¹⁸. In the church of the Panagia tou Araka at Lagoudera, the sponsor of the painted decoration is a local nobleman, Leon Authentēs who, in AD 1192, as we can see from the dedicatory inscription mentioned above — which is to say after the Latin conquest — took refuge on his land, on the slopes of Mount Troodos. According to another inscription in dodecasyllabic verse which has been preserved on the south wall of the church, on either side of the monumental representation of the Virgin "Arakiotissa" (an early type of the Virgin of the Passion) (Fig. 3)¹⁹, Leon, a local archon, quite probably the son of a notable Byzantine dignitary, prays, together with his wife and fellow-servant, for happiness during the remainder of their life, for themselves and their children, and for their final salvation²⁰.

As has been observed from the iconographical analysis of the church's dome, the concepts which are expressed are the Incarnation, with the special significance it has for human salvation, and the Ecumenical Power of the Pantocrator. It has been considered that this semantic content of the representations of the dome, in conjunc-

tion with the inscription mentioned above, express a personal and — for a man of mediaeval times — relatively anthropocentric view of the world; this is perhaps due to the high cultural level — based on a classical education — of the donor himself²¹. It therefore becomes apparent that the iconographical content in both monuments is inspired by the patrons' personal desires and bears a relation to their individual personalities.

It has been observed, moreover, that, although the relevant reference has not been recorded — or, at any rate, preserved — the painter of the church of the Panagia tou Araka is Theodore Apsēdes and that, in fact, the murals which he painted at Lagoudera represent a more mature phase, naturally enough, of the distinctly manneristic period of his art²². If the above-mentioned surviving inscription at the church of Panagia tou Araka does indeed refer to him, it would seem that at the end of his life this painter became a monk, which was not an unusual occurrence in mediaeval times²³.

Indeed, if we exclude the depictions of the Virgin between the archangels (Fig. 4) and the Hierarchs in the apse of the Araka church²⁴, which are rendered in a rela-

14. Τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο δυὰς ἡγιασμε[νῆ] / εἰς ἔργον ελθε[ῖν] ἱκετεύω
συν πόθ[ω], "I ardently implore to be enrolled among the angels by
virtue of my habit". Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 166. Cf.
also, I. Tsiκνοπούλου, 'Ἡ ποιητικὴ παραγωγή τοῦ ἐκκληϊοῦ
'Αγίου Νεοφύτου, ΚυπρΣπουδ 16 (1952), p. 43; id., 'Ὁ ἅγιος Νεό-
φυτος, *op.cit.*, p. 115; id., Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον, *op.cit.*, p. 185;
Galatariotou, *op.cit.*, p. 140-141.

15. Μ(ητ)ρικαῖς Χ(ριστ)ῆ λιταῖς καὶ / βαπτιστοῦ σου· θρόνω σου /
σεπτῶ σεφθῶς παρισταμέν(ων) / θεῖω σου ποδὶ ἱκετικῶς / κειμένω·
ἴλωος ἔσω / νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας..., "By the prayers of Thy Moth-
er and Thy Baptist who stand reverently by Thy Holy throne, be Thou
merciful, ο Christ, now and for evermore, to him that lies a suppliant
at Thy divine foot". Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 181. Cf.
also, Tsiκνοπούλου, 'Ἡ ποιητικὴ παραγωγή, *op.cit.*, p. 43; id.,
'Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφυτος, *op.cit.*, p. 119; id., Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον,
op.cit., p. 185. Cormack, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 233. On the eschato-
logical meaning, C. Walter, Two Notes on the Deesis, REB 26
(1968), p. 311-336. However this is a later inscription, as it partially
covers the obviously longer initial inscription of which only very few
letters are visible. It is difficult, though, on the basis of the comparison
of the letters, to attribute this inscription to a certain phase of the
decoration of the Enkleistra. Anyway it is very probable, according to
the lettering, that it was written in a period when the holy man was
still alive, Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

16. --εόφουε--- εκτεν τῷ Κουτζου-
[βένδη]θεῖας μόνῆς· εἰς τὸ φρού-
[ριου-----] ἡσυχίας ἀπο-
-----ς ὡς δὲ κε-
-----ς Θε(εο)ῦ
-----καὶ ἀνά-
-----ετε

Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 174. Cf. also, Indianos-



Fig. 4. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. Apse, detail: the archangel Michael.

Thomson, *op.cit.*, p. 188; Tsiknoroulos, Τό συγγραφικόν ἔργον, *op.cit.*, p. 185; Galatariotou, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 144. This inscription refers to the monastery at Koutsovendi (St John Chrysostomos), where saint Neophytos started his monastic life, and to a castle, probably the castle of Paphos, where he was later arrested, in his attempt to find a passage to the mount Latmos.

17. ----λ]θοστροτον ταφον
----με συνκείμε λιθω
-----ατικα βουλήσει
-----νες λάας ούτως

Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.*, p. 183. Cf. also a restoration in iambic verses, Tsiknoroulos, Ἡ ποιητικὴ παραγωγή, *op.cit.*, p. 43; id., Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφυτος, *op.cit.*, p. 121; id., Τό συγγραφικόν ἔργον, *op.cit.*, p. 185.

18. Galatariotou, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 129-130, 147.

19. G. Sotiriou, Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἀρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου (Πρόδρομος τῆς Ἀναγίας τοῦ Πάθους), ΑΕ (Εἰς μνήμην Γ. Οἰκονόμου)

Α', 1953-1954, p. 87-91. On the interpretation of the sociological content of this representation as it relates to the calamities that befell the population of Cyprus, after the latin occupation. A. Stylianoῦ, Sociological Reflexions in the Painted Churches of Cyprus, XVI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/5, Vienna 1981, JÖB 32/5 (1981), p. 523-526.

20. + Αχραντον ὁ σπην εκμορφώσας / εἰκόνα χρώμασι φθαρτοῖς Πάναγνε / Θεομ[ή]τω[ρ] πόθω συν πολλῶ καὶ θερ/μωτάτη πιστει Λέων πενιχρὸς ευ/τελής σὸς οἰκέτης / ὁ του αυθέντος / πατρώθεν / κεκλημε/νος συν ὁ/μοζύγω και / συν δούλη / / αιτούσι / πιστῶς.. / δάκρυσιν / αμέτρους // ευθυμον ευρεῖν βιου λοιπου / τὸ περας συν ὁμοδούλοις / κέ παισὶ σοῖς οἰκέταις / καὶ λήξεως τύχουσι τῶν / σεσωσμένων / μονη γαρ εχεις / το δοξασθαι / Παρθενη / ει και των / θελειν δυ/σωπηθεισα / παντως / τούτοις / παρασχειν / ...[σω]τ[η]ριαν], "+ He who with great desire and warmth has portrayed in perishable colours Thine undefiled icon, o most pure Mother of God, Leon Thy poor and worthless suppliant, surnamed 'Authentes' from his father's name, along with his wife and fellow-servant, request faithfully, with countless tears, that the remainder of their life be happy, together with their fellow-servants and children, Thy supplicants, and that they may, at the end, be granted salvation, for Thou alone, o Virgin, art blessed and having taken pity, art able mercifully to give [remission of sins] to those..."

Tsopanakis, *op.cit.* (note 9), p. 119-124. Cf. also Sotiriou, *op.cit.*, p. 88; Stylianoῦ, Donors, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 101-102; J. P. Sordini, Notes sur quelques inscriptions de Chypre, TM 4 (1970), p. 486; T. Papamastorakis, Η σημασία των προφητῶν, *op.cit.* (note 9), p. 89.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 89. Tsopanakis, *op.cit.*, p. 121. An eschatological interpretation has been supported by Tania Velmans, Quelques programmes iconographiques de coupoles chypriotes du XIIIe au XVe siècle, CahArch 32 (1984), p. 137-139.

22. On stylistic similarity, Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 206. Regarding the identity of the painter, A. Papageorghiou, Εἰκῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἄρακος, Κυπρ Σπουδ 32 (1968), p. 45-55, esp. 55; id., Δύο βυζαντινές εἰκόνας τοῦ 12ου αἰώνα, RDAC 1976, p. 268-270; see also id., Η ἀμφιπρόσωπη εἰκόνα της εκκλησίας της Παναγίας Θεοσκέπαστης στην Πάφο, Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, 2, Athens 1992, p. 488-489; Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, La peinture monumentale du XIIIe siècle à Chypre, CorsiRav 32 (1985), p. 243, fig. 6. On the influence that Theodore Apeudes exercised, Annemarie Weyl Carr - L. J. Morrocco, A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, The Thirteenth Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus, Austin 1991, p. 69-70, 77, 80, n. 8.

23. Wharton, Art of Empire, *op.cit.* (note 10), p. 88.

24. They could be attributed to a different hand and dated just before the frescoes of 1192, ca 1190. As is normal, the decoration started from the east part of the building, Stylianoῦ, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.* (note 4) p. 175-178. Cf. with the wall-paintings of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, 1170-1180, A. H. S. Megaw - E. J. W. Hawkins, The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and its Frescoes, DOP 16 (1962), p. 279-348, *ibid.*, (1160-1180 AC), p. 348; Winfield, Final Report, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 286; Stylianoῦ, *op.cit.*, p. 422-423, most probably 1170-1180 AC; Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.*, p. 239-241. Cf. also with the frescoes of the church of the Archangel at Kato Lefkara, dated to the end of the 12th century, Stylianoῦ *op.cit.*, p. 447-450; A. Papageorghiou, Η εκκλησία του Αρχαγγέλου, Κάτω Λεύκαρα, RDAC 1990, p. 189-230, esp. 230; see also Wharton, Art of Empire, *op.cit.*, p. 83-84; Winfield, Final Report, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 286; id. Panagia tou Arakos, *op.cit.* (note 10), p. 23-24, proposed the middle of the 12th century.

tively simplified manner in relation to the meticulous and elaborate execution of the modelling of the flesh and the drapery of the other representations (Figs 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14), the two groups — that is the murals of the Enkleistra and of the Bema of the hermitage (Figs 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13) of Saint Neophytos, which are works of Theodore Apseudes, and the greatest part of the wall-paintings of the church of the Panagia tou Araka, can very probably be attributed to the same artist.

It is not only the elegant, elongated figures with their refined features, the elaborate modelling which, however, does not allow the volumes in the rendering of the flesh to be broken up with intensity, nor the refined ornamentality and the “lyric” line which are so similar in the two groups — these, besides, are elements characteristic of a certain tendency inspired by an aristocratic-decorative mood and dating to the last two decades of the 12th century²⁵. It is, rather, the resemblance in the technical execution²⁶ of the above-mentioned murals and certain details which speak in favour of this view. The rendering of the hair, for example, its outline drawn with a dark brown line, allowing the shape of the brow and temples to be clearly defined, is very similar in the two groups (Figs 9, 10). The eyes, too, in most cases, present a particular resemblance in these monuments, as the iris is painted with a light brown colour which is strongly underlined, especially on the lower rim, now with dark brown and now with dark blue tones, while, at the same time, the pupil is marked by a very fine dot, characteristics which give the gaze a luminous expression, unknown in other murals (Figs 1, 6-8, 12-14). The same close resemblance is also seen in the manner with which the brows have been drawn as, in several male figures in both these monuments, the bare brown underpainting forms an acute angle at the top, just above the bridge of the nose (Figs 1, 6, 11-14). This angle tends to form a “hypsilon” in this place. Noteworthy also is the resemblance of the lettering in general, which only in the rendering of the omega — which becomes angular in the church of Panagia tou Araka — shows any substantial difference.

Since these two groups of murals in Cyprus have been executed, in the main, by the same painter, and seeing that the different social origin and education of the patrons is obvious, a comparative examination of the two, in conjunction with the evidence from the inscriptions and the writings by Saint Neophytos, might possibly contribute to the formulation of certain ideas, with regard to the questions mentioned above. However, the confined limits of an article, in this volume dedicated to the memory of Doula Mouriki — an unforgettable personality who has so greatly contributed to our knowl-



Fig. 5. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. The Virgin Paraklesis. edge of Byzantine painting, in general, and to that of Cyprus, in particular — do not permit a complete and full study of both monuments. The examination of certain common representations in these two monuments may, nevertheless, constitute an experimental starting-point for relevant explorations. An interesting representation, which has survived with

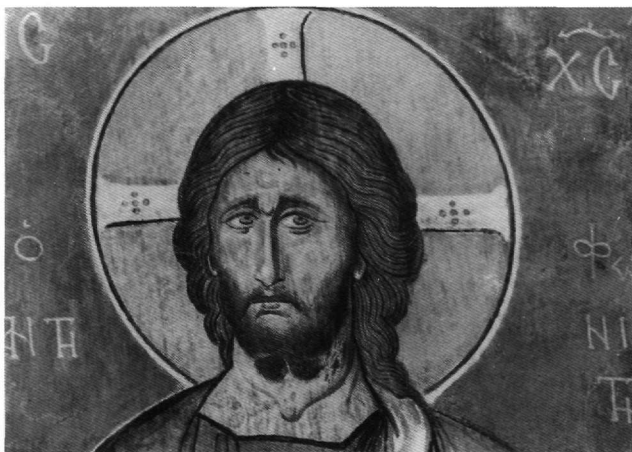
variations in the two groups and which must be the work in both cases of Theodore Apeudes, is that of a type of the Virgin, whose mediatory role towards Christ is rendered very explicitly. In this representation, the Virgin addresses herself to her son and holds an open scroll, inscribed with a text in verse in the form of questions, and answers from him²⁷. In the small niche which is above the tomb of Saint Neophytos in the Enkleistra, the Virgin is portrayed enthroned and holding the Christ Child, between two bishops, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great. In the inscribed scroll which she is holding, the text which usually accompanies the representation of the Virgin Paraklesis has been paraphrased: *πάρεσχε / λύσιν ὕψ / μου τῶ κει/μένω + / [δί]δωμ[ι] / [καμ]φθείς / [σαῖς λιταῖς]*²⁸, “Grant, o my Son, remission to him that lies here... + I grant it, moved as I am by thy prayers”. In the inscribed scrolls of the Hierarchs attending the Virgin, the texts refer to the two basic representations of the Divine Economy, regarding human salvation depicted, in the area of the tomb; they complement the composition: Chrysostom’s scroll refers to the Crucifixion, and Basil’s roll to the Anastasis²⁹. The entire programme is clearly adapted to the sepulchral area which it adorns, and the inscription on the Virgin’s scroll has an entirely personal character, expressing, as it does, the patron’s special requests, in a space which was destined by him to remain forever closed³⁰. In this case, it is quite probable that Neophytos



Fig. 6. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. Christ Antiphonetes, detail.

Fig. 7. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. The Annunciation, detail: head of the Virgin.

Fig. 8. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. Deesis, detail: head of Christ.



25. Maria Panayotidi, The Wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at Fera (Vira) and Stylistic Trends in 12th Century Painting, First International Symposium for Thracian Studies “Byzantine Thrace”, Image and Character, Komotini 1987, ByzF XIV 1 (1989), p. 466, 469-470.

26. Winfield, Reports, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 262-264, esp. 264. Id., Final Report, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 280-281, 285. Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.*, p. 244-245.

27. Virgin Paraklesis (Virgin of Petition), A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης,

St-Petersburg 1909, p. 280. E. Cougny (ed.), Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina III, Paris 1927, p. 423 no 125. On this iconographic type, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, DOP 14 (1960), p. 81-85.

28. Indianos-Thomson, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 190.

29. Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 184.

30. I. P. Tsiknoropoulos (ed.), Νεοφύτου Πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου Τυπικῆ σὺν Θεῷ διαθήκη, Larnaca 1952, p. 36-37. Id., Κυπριακά τυπικά, *op.cit.* (note 12), p. 102-103.



Fig. 9. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. The Ascension, detail.

himself determined the iconographical vocabulary and dictated the text on the scroll of the Virgin and Child, according to the custom current at the time regarding the typical representation of the Panagia Paraklesis, although he adapted it to his own visions³¹.

On the contrary, in the church of the Panagia tou Araka, the established type of representation is portrayed, in a typical position, on the western face of the north-eastern pier. The interceding Virgin is depicted in three-quarters view (Fig. 5), turned towards the Christ Antiphonetes, on the corresponding southeastern pier (Fig. 6), and she holds in her covered right hand an open inscribed scroll. The conventional dialogue with her Son written there is rendered, in the usual manner, by the alternation of colours in the lettering of the verses of questions and responses: + Τη Μη(τε)ρ / ετης. την / βροτῶν / σοτηρίαν / παρῶργι / σάν με, συ/μπάθησον / ύέ μου. αλλ ου / κ επιστρέ/φουσιν. καϊ / σώσον χά / ριν. έξουσην / λυτρον ευχα/ριστό σι Λόγε, "What is

your request, Mother? - The salvation of mortals - They have angered me - Forgive them, my Son - But they do not repent - And grant them Your grace - They will be redeemed - Thank you, o Word"³². On either side of the Virgin the inscription has survived with the epithet, established for this type of Virgin in Cyprus Eleousa ("of Mercy")³³. It has been observed that the composition was complemented by the figure of Saint John the Baptist, on whose open scroll is inscribed the well-known Messianic verse which often accompanies his representation: Ἴδε δ / ἀμνός / του Θε(ο)ῦ / δ αίρων / την άμαρ/τιαν του κοσ/μου (Ιωάννης, α' 29), "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world" (John I, 29). Thus, a monumental Deesis is composed, as is usual in this period³⁴.

In this way, a personal tone is given to the content of the iconographical programme, since the desire of the individual who drew it up or possibly ordered it, is clearly revealed. His request is for salvation, and Christ re-



Fig. 10. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. The Ascension, detail.

sponds to this. The fact, however, that this established type of representation is found either alone or in more complex depictions in other monuments of the same period, shows that at this time the theme was a favourite one, more generally, but was also usual, particularly in Cyprus. It seems quite probable, in fact, that it was one

31. Stella Papadaki-Oekland, Οί τοιχογραφίες της 'Αγίας 'Αννας στό 'Αμάρι, ΔΧΑΕ Δ', Ζ' (1973-1974), p. 40ff., esp. 43, 47. Cormack, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 235-236. Galatariotou, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 141.

32. A. Stylianos, Αί τοιχογραφίαι, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 463, pls 143.1, 154.1. Stylianos, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 159, fig. 85. Der Nersessian, *op.cit.*, p. 81, fig. 10. Hélène Grigoriadou, Affinités iconographiques de décors peints en Chypre et en Grèce au XIIe siècle, Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 1969, Β' (1972), p. 37-38. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-

Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle, Bruxelles 1975, p. 229-230, fig. 119. On the function of the image, A. Kazhdan - H. Maguire, Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources of Art, DOP 45 (1991), p. 15-16, figs 25-26.

33. T. P. Themelis, Αί επωνυμίες της Παναγίας εν Κύπρω, Νέα Σιών 21 (1926), p. 659-661. Doula Mouriki, The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus, in: Irmgard Hutter (ed.), Byzanz und der Westen, Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters, Vienna 1984, p. 189-190. On a reasonable explanation, C. Walter, Further Notes on the Deesis, REB 28 (1970), p. 162-168.

34. Papadaki-Oekland, *op.cit.*, p. 34-51. Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.*, p. 230-234, esp. 233. Ead., La peinture monumentale, *op.cit.* (note 22), p. 224-255, fig. 7. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, L'évolution du programme décoratif des églises de 1071 à 1261, Actes XVe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Athènes 1976), I. Art et Archéologie, 1979, p. 309. On the conjunction of St. John with the Huparante, A. Stylianos, Αί τοιχογραφίαι, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 461. Stylianos, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 164-166. A characteristic feature of the layout of the programme is the conjunction of the representations in a sophisticated manner, Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.*, p. 257. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op.cit.*, p. 315. H. Maguire, The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art, DOP 34-35 (1980-81), p. 269, figs 10-11.

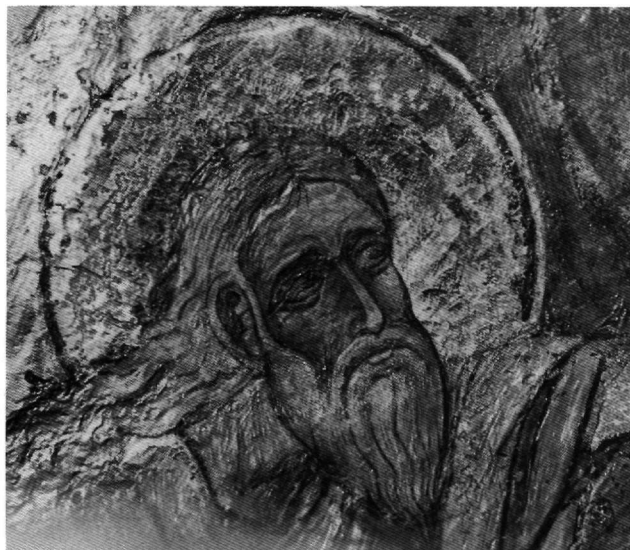


Fig. 11. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. *The Anastasis*, detail: head of Adam.



Fig. 12. Lagoudera. *Panagia tou Araka. The Anastasis*, detail: head of Adam.

of the models which the painter was familiar with or one of the sketches he had³⁵ and proposed to the sponsor. On his own initiative or, possibly, according to the patron's wishes, the painter added the favourite epithet in Cyprus of the Virgin, "Eleousa".

The representation of the Annunciation which has survived in both monuments, follows the usual disposition³⁶ but is combined with the depiction of Christ-Emmanuel, who has been placed in both cases between the two basic figures, the Angel and the Virgin. In the church of Saint Neophytos, however, where the representation has been placed in the bema³⁷ above the entrance to the cell, the Virgin (Fig. 7) is depicted seated on the left with her head turned in the opposite direction towards the Angel, approaching with a lively movement. Between them is the full-figure Christ-Emmanuel in a rectangular frame. He is depicted frontally and standing on a cushion of royal purple.

It is interesting to observe that in this case the painter, Theodore Apeudes, has adapted the scene to the surfaces at his disposal. He continued, however, to follow the current convention of leaving a space between the two figures, as befits the natural and spiritual distance between Mary and Gabriel³⁸. The placing, also, of the Virgin to the left, at that time, shows the intent of the artist to adapt the representation to the space available to it, so that Mary is turned towards the Altar, which is the direction the archangel is coming from³⁹.

In the church of the Panagia tou Araka at Lagoudera, the Annunciation has been placed on the eastern pendentives. The archangel, to the left, in a rush of motion,

is approaching the Virgin, on the right, who is seated with her head turned towards him. Both figures are depicted in front of multistoreyed edifices⁴⁰. Between them, on the eastern section of the dome, is depicted Christ-Emmanuel, within a purple medallion. In this monument, too, the placing of the representation in the pendentives shows a flexibility in adaptation to space. It would seem, in fact, that the painter, on his own initiative — although it cannot be excluded that the wishes of the patron played a part — is following a local custom, since this has also been adopted in another well-known monument in Cyprus, that of the church of the Holy Apostles at Perahorio (1170-1180 AC)⁴¹.

The conjunction, however, of the Annunciation with the depiction of Christ-Emmanuel, which emphasizes the fact of the Incarnation of the Logos⁴², constitutes an interesting example characterizing both monuments. It is worth noting that while, from the 12th century on, this scene often co-exists with various subjects in which the representations' epiphanic character is stressed⁴³, the figure of Christ-Emmanuel is familiar from the front of the apse of the church of the Holy Sepulchre⁴⁴. The above combination, which shows a good knowledge and easy use of the semantic content of the iconographical "vocabulary", may reflect the personal wish of Saint Neophytos, since he would have known of this representation from his visit to the Holy Land. In fact, the painter seems to have also used the same composition in the church of the Panagia tou Araka, as he was familiar with it from the decoration of the bema of the hermitage of Saint Neophytos, where he first painted it. He succes-

fully adapted the ensemble moreover, in both cases, to the available space. It is actually worthy of notice that this combination is found in both Cypriot monuments, and is unknown elsewhere, although it successfully renders the semantic message of the composition, according to the demands of the time.

In the representation of the Anastasis (Descent into Hell) which has also survived in both monuments, the painter seems to have used the same models (Figs 11, 12), which he adapted to entirely different spaces⁴⁵.

35. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op.cit.* (note 27). M. Chatzidakis, 'Εκ τῶν Ἑλπίου τοῦ Ρωμαίου, ΕΕΒΣ 14 (1938), p. 408-414. D. A. J. Ross, A Late Twelfth Century Artist's Pattern Sheet, *JWarb* 25 (1962), p. 122ff. K. Snipes, A Preliminary Study of the Yale Menologium Pattern Sheets, *The Yale University Library Gazette* 42 (1968), p. 140-153. W. Cahn - J. Marrow, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale, A Selection, *Yale University Library Gazette* 52 (1978), p. 273-274. H. Buchthal, The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century, Vienna 1979, p. 13-15. Concerning the post-Byzantine period, Laskarina Boura, Ἀνθίβωλα τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη καὶ δύο εἰκόνες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου μέ ὑπογραφή τοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ Τζάνε, "Ἐκτο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης. Περιλήψεις ἀνακοινώσεων, Athens 1986, p. 43-44.

36. G. Millet, Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos, Paris 1960², p. 67-92.

37. Originally it must have also included the naos.

38. O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium, London 1953², p. 23.

39. Millet, *op.cit.*, p. 69, on a place near the Altar. E. Kitzinger, The Mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo. An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects, *ArtB* 31 (1949), p. 277.

40. As an example of the painter's manneristic development, according to the stylistic trends of his period, Megaw, Background Architecture, *op.cit.* (note 5).

41. On the Holy Apostles, see *supra*, note 24. Cf. also, Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, *op.cit.* (note 32), p. 97-98, n. 224; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op.cit.* (note 34), p. 312-313.

42. Isaias, 7, 14. A. Grabar, L'Iconoclisme byzantin. Le dossier archéologique, Paris 1984², p. 266. Jane Timken-Matthews, The Pantocrator: Title and Image, New York University Ph. D., 1976, p. 60-62.

43. D. I. Pallas, Ἡ Θεοτόκος Ζωοδόχος Πηγὴ. Εἰκονογραφικὴ ἀνάλυση καὶ ἱστορία τοῦ θέματος, *ΑΔ* 26 (1971), Meletai, p. 208-211, esp. 210, n. 37. N. Drandakis, Πόκος ἢ νεφέλη; *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ* 26 (1977-1978), p. 261. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op.cit.* (note 34), p. 313, n. 73. Theodora Iliopoulou-Rogan, Quelques fresques caractéristiques des églises byzantines du Magne, *Actes XVe Congrès International d'études byzantines* (Athènes 1976), *Art et Archéologie*, IIA, 1981, p. 208-216. E. Kitzinger, The Descent of the Dove. Observations on the Mosaic of the Annunciation in the Capella Palatina in Palermo, in: Irmgard Hutter (ed.), *op.cit.* (note 33), p. 114-115. Anastasia Koumoussi, Les peintures murales de la Transfigura-



Fig. 13. Hermitage of Saint Neophytos. The Crucifixion, detail: head of Saint John.

Fig. 14. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Araka. Saint Peter, detail.



tion de Pyrgi et de Sainte-Thècle en Eubée (Rapports avec l'art occidental), Athens 1987, p. 76-77. Melita Emmanuel, Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου στην Αγόριανη της Λακωνίας, *ΔΧΑΕ Δ'*, IΔ' (1987-1988), p. 133-134.

44. H. Vincent - F. M. Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, II, Paris 1914, I, p. 261. Wharton-Epstein, Formulas, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 398. Ead., Art of Empire, *op.cit.* (note 10), p. 89. It is worthy of notice that the icon of the Virgin at Saint Neophytos' iconostasis is decorated with a zig-zag pattern that is preserved in the transept mosaics in the Basilica of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, Weyl Carr - Morrocco, *op.cit.* (note 22), p. 108.

45. Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.* (note 32), p. 165. A. Papageorgiou, Δύο υστεροκομνηνικές εικόνες, *RDAC* 1988, 2, p. 242.

However, the rich landscape, rendered with curved lines and ochra shadings in the church of the Panagia tou Araka, reveals the manneristic development of the artist's work. The same applies to the scene of the Ascension, which has also survived in both monuments. On the ceiling of the bema of the hermitage of Saint Neophytos, against a blue field, the Virgin prays, turned in a three-quarters view towards Christ, while the angel is depicted in the centre, in frontal view. On the right and left, the groups of Apostles are placed separately in a rounded ochre-coloured landscape (Fig. 9), suggesting the earthly globe⁴⁶. In the barrel-vault of the bema of the church of the Panagia tou Araka, the scene has been disposed in two groups, with the frontal figures, that of the Virgin in the southern section and that of the Angel in the northern section, occupying the centre (Fig. 10). In this depiction, it is interesting to see the manner in which colour has been used. The green ground on which the figures stand constitutes the background in the entire western section of the scene while, in the eastern section — which is near the Altar — the field is blue, in an extreme expression of the painter's chromatic mannerism. It may thus reflect the same theoretical dimension, as in the representation of the previous monument, suggesting the realisation of the Event between earth and heaven.

As regards the choice of the saints depicted in the two churches, the absence of any female figure, apart from that of Saint Mary of Egypt, in the church of the Panagia tou Araka, is worth noting⁴⁷. In the case of the Enkleistra and of the bema of Saint Neophytos, this omission is in accord with the personality and the views of the patron, since it is known that he had not only banned women from visiting the monastery but had also banned all female animals⁴⁸. As regards Lagoudera, however, the fact that the western wall of the church — where the depiction of female figures is usual in churches without a narthex⁴⁹ — has been destroyed, weakens the above observation. However, if there was omission⁵⁰, it seems very likely that it was due to the painter's own initiative. He may have been a monk himself at the time when he was executing the murals of the Araka church. It seems certain that it was not the patron's wish; his personality, as we have seen, would not be concordant with such prejudices.

A similar indication is the stress laid on the depictions of monks in the same monument⁵¹. Only they, together with Peter and Paul, are portrayed full-figured and with open, inscribed scrolls, in prominent positions, on the western pilasters and the western bays of the naos. In view of the fact that this choice does not seem to agree with the character and education of the patron, it must

be attributed to the artist who, at a younger age, had painted the Enkleistra and the bema of Saint Neophytos and who, may have become a monk himself by this time.

According to the above, then, certain interesting ideas may perhaps be formulated, based on a number of common representations in these two groups of murals of the late 12th century, whose patrons were men of different social background and education. As a matter of fact they represent different social groups, the one being a member of the monastic community and the other belonging to the laity. To begin with, it is important to note that both the above patrons employed the same excellent artist, who expressed himself stylistically in exactly the same way in both works. This fact, which constitutes evidence that stylistic similarity in works of art does not necessarily indicate identical social class of the patronage or vice versa⁵² suggests corresponding economic possibilities of the two donors⁵³.

In addition, as is apparent in both monuments, the intervention of the patron was determinative in the arrangement in general terms, of the content of the iconographical programme. However, it becomes evident that the initiatives of Saint Neophytos are more substantial — although he may not be the sponsor — than the contribution of the archon, Leon Authentos, both in the choice of the particular figures and in the formulation of the iconographical vocabulary, according to the semantic content of certain representations. Nonetheless, the role of the painter in this domain does not seem insignificant, since he also intervenes in the choice of certain representations.

Thus, at the Enkleistra and the bema of the hermitage of Saint Neophytos, the whole content of the decoration, as well as the accompanying inscriptions, which must be attributed to the patron, are animated by his hope of future salvation and his establishment in paradise. On the contrary, in the church of the Panagia tou Araka, as the surviving inscriptions also reveal, the donor prays not only for future salvation but also for earthly happiness during the remainder of his life, together with that of his wife and his children.

In order, however, to formulate his own personal prayer which receives the favourable response of the Christ, Saint Neophytos chooses the representation of the Virgin and Child, holding an open scroll, where an unusual prayer is addressed to the Christ-Child, who responds favourably. In the case of the church of the Panagia tou Araka, however, on the same particular theme, Leon seems to have accepted the iconographical type which was usual at the time, and which must have been proposed by the painter, since it would have been included

in the subject matter of the models that he brought with him. The conjunction, also, of the Christ-Emmanuel with the representation of the Annunciation, which was suggested by Saint Neophytos for the decoration of the bema at his monastery, inspired the painter who executed it on his own initiative in the church of the Panagia tou Araka as well, influenced as he was by his work on the murals of the bema in the hermitage of Saint Neophytos.

The emphasis, furthermore, on figures of monks in the programme of the church of the Panagia tou Araka, constitutes yet another indication of the further theoretical contribution of the painter in the artistic process. The differentiation of the landscape in the depiction of the Ascension, in the bema of the church of Saint Neophytos, also seems to be due to a personal intervention of the painter, reflected also in the church of Lagoudera. According to the above, therefore, and considering that the theoretical contribution of the painter had been clearly traced, along with the patron's intervention, and that there existed, therefore, a dialectical relationship between them, it is particularly interesting to note that the artist left his name on the Enkleistra of Saint Neophytos and perhaps also in the church of the Panagia tou Araka at Lagoudera. It becomes obvious, thus, that Theodore Apsoudes was fully aware of his contribution, which he dared express discreetly with the means available to him at the time; and this, during a period of reshufflings, such as was the 12th century, during which a class consciousness began to make its appearance among professional groups⁵⁴. From this point of view it is worth noting that a change concerning the artist's position in society can also be traced, during the late mediaeval period in Western Europe⁵⁵. In Byzantium, somewhat earlier than Theodore Apsoudes, in AD 1169, the mosaicist Ephraim also left his name in the Basilica at Bethlehem⁵⁶. We also have the name of the famous

tine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria, Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi, Uppsala 1979, p. 19, 25, 91), at Saint George, Kurbinovo (1191), the female saints are represented in the west wall (Hadermann-Misguich, *op.cit.* (note 32), sch. 3-4). In the church of the Evangelistria at Geraki, Peloponnese (ca 1200), there are representations of female saints in the northwest bay (N. K. Moutsopoulos - G. Dimitrakallis, Γεράκι. Οί εκκλησίες του οικισμού, Thessalonica 1981, p. 91-92), on the date: Doula Mouriki, Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, DOP 34 (1982), p. 113; Panayotidi, *op.cit.* (note 25), p. 470. In the chapel of the Virgin at the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos there are no representations of female saints, A. K. Orlandos, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου, Athens 1970, p. 122ff.; E. Kollias, Βυζαντινὴ τέχνη στὴν Ἑλλάδα: Πάτμος, Athens 1986, p. 12-15, fig. 3; Doula Mouriki, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τῆς μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου στὴν Πάτμο. Τὸ εἰκονογραφικὸ πρόγραμμα, ἡ ἀρχικὴ ἀφιέρωση τοῦ παρεκκλησίου καὶ ὁ χορηγός, ΔΧΑΕ Δ', ΙΔ' (1987-1988), p. 206-237, fig. 2.

50. The missing part is not large, A. Stylianos, *op.cit.* (note 5), fig. 2; Stylianos, The Painted Churches, *op.cit.* (note 4), fig. 99.

51. Cf. the layout of the hermitage and the Bema of the church founded by Saint Neophytos, Mango-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 4), p. 140ff.; Cormack, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 244-245; cf. also the iconographic programme of the chapel of the Panagia at the monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, *supra*, note 49.

52. On the opinion that spiritual conceptions of social classes are reflected in the stylistic trends, V. Djurić, La peinture murale byzantine, XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Actes XVe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Athènes 1976), Art et Archéologie, I, 1979, p. 159ff., esp. 165-166.

53. On the financial conditions of an agreement between donor and painter in the later Cretan society, during the Venetian occupation, Maria Konstantoudaki-Kitromilides, Οἱ Κρητικοὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸ τους. Ἡ ἀντιμετώπιση τῆς τέχνης τους στὴ Βενετοκρατία, ΚρητΧρον 26 (1986), p. 246-261.

54. N. Svoronos, IEE Θ', p. 67-68. It is very interesting that during the late 13th century, the painters Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios not only signed their work but also included the figures of their eponymous saints in the Bema, Cv. Grosdanov, Sv. Michailo i sv. Eutihije u rkvi sv. Bogorodice Perivlepte, Zograf 3 (1969), p. 11-12. During the 13th century, many more signatures of painters are preserved, Kalopissi-Verti, *op.cit.* (note 3). On the place of the painter in the Cretan society, during the 15th and 16th centuries, under the Venetian occupation, Konstantoudaki-Kitromilides, *op.cit.*, p. 252-255.

55. Xénia Muratova, Vir guidem fallax et falsidicus, sed artifex praelectus. Remarques sur l'image sociale et littéraire de l'artiste au moyen âge, in X. Barral I Altet (ed.), *op.cit.* (note 3), I, 1986, p. 53-72, esp. 61-62, 70-72.

56. W. Harvey - W. R. Lethaby - O. M. Dalton - H. A. A. Cruso - A. C. Headlam, The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, London 1910, p. 43-51, esp. 43, fig. 27. H. Vincent - F. M. Abel, Bethléem. Le sanctuaire de la Nativité, Paris 1914, p. 157-159. P. Bellarmino Bagatti, o.f.m., Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betléemme, Jerusalem 1952, p. 58-68, esp. 60. V. Tzaferis, The Wall Mosaics in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, Actes XVe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Athènes 1976), Art et Archéologie, IIB, 1981, p. 891ff., esp. 900. A. Cutler, Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem, JArt 12-13 (1986-1987), p. 179-183. G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Berlin 1988, p. 1ff., esp. 5, fig. 2.

46. The Mount of Olive Trees, Actions I, 12, N. Giolès, Ἡ Ἀνάληψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ βάσει τῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἀ' χιλιετηρίδος, Athens 1981, p. 334-336.

47. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op.cit.* (note 34), p. 317, n. 86.

48. Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη, κεφ. ΙΘ', Tsiknoroulos (ed.), Νεοφύτου... τυπικὴ συν θεῷ διαθήκη, *op.cit.* (note 30), p. 21-22; id., Κυπριακά Τυπικά, *op.cit.* (note 12), p. 89.

49. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op.cit.* (note 34), p. 317. At the Holy Apostles, Perachorio, a female head survives in the west bay, Megaw-Hawkins, *op.cit.* (note 24), p. 290. At Saint Nicholas Kasnitzi, Kastoria (1170-1180) and at Agioi Anargyroi (1180-1190), the female saints are represented in the narthex (Tatiana Malmquist, Byzan-

Eulalios, who, during the years of the rule of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180 AC) renewed the mosaic decoration of the church of the Holy Apostles and, in fact, included his self-portrait in a Biblical scene⁵⁷. It is equally interesting that, in both monuments of Cyprus, the donors have also very clearly left traces of their own personalities⁵⁸. The personal intervention, however, of the monk Neophytos with his lowly religious education⁵⁹, seems to be greater than that of Leon Authentēs, whose anthropocentric — to a degree — view of life, within the framework, naturally, of the mediaeval world, did not give him the prerequisites nor the self-confidence necessary to impose intensely personal initiatives⁶⁰ in the formulation of the iconographical “vocabulary” of the church he founded⁶¹.

57. Mango, *op.cit.* (note 2), p. 229-233.

58. Cf. Cormack, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 229. Oikonomidēs, *op.cit.* (note 3), p. 49-50. An analogous phenomenon is the appearance of

donor portraits, Svetlana Tomeković-Reggiani, Portraits et structures sociales au XIIe siècle. Un aspect du problème: le portrait laïque, Actes XVe Congrès International d'études byzantines (Athènes 1976), *Art et Archéologie*, IIB 1981, p. 823-836.

59. I. P. Tsikopoulos, 'Η θαυμασία προσωπικότης τοῦ Νεοφύτου, πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου, *Byzantion* 37 (1967), p. 311-413 and *passim*. Id., 'Ιδιόζοντα χαρακτηριστικά τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Nicosia 1969), Β', 1972, p. 253-258. Galatariotou, *op.cit.* (note 11), p. 168ff.

60. In another period (14th century) a very important personality with high humanistic culture, Theodore Metochites, dictated not only the layout but also the vocabulary of the iconographic programme of the parecclesion, the funerary chapel he founded, P. A. Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, New York 1966, 1, p. 192ff; 3, pls 335ff.; I. Ševčenko, Theodore Metochites, *The Chora*, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time, in: P. A. Underwood (ed.), *ibid.*, 4, Princeton 1975, p. 17ff.

61. As has been mentioned before the entire layout of the programme is not examined, because this supposes a general examination of the two ensembles.

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