

# eventum

A Journal of Medieval Arts & Rituals

## The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage



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Maria Parani and Michalis Olympios (Co-Editors)

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OURANIA PERDIKI

University of Cyprus

# Revisiting the Pilgrimage Site of St John Lampadistis:

## Art and Ritual Space\*

### Abstract

This article investigates the intriguing pilgrim cult of a Cypriot saint, John Lampadistis, during the Middle Ages. It considers first the development of the saint's cult, and his shrine in the Marathasa valley as a place of pilgrimage. The complex architectural space and the physical presence of the tomb, relics, and *vita*-icons of St John Lampadistis were the focal point of the pilgrims' unique religious experiences. Subsequently, the article attempts to reconstruct the routes taken by pilgrims and to determine who might have promoted the pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Finally, the spread of the saint's cult around the island of Cyprus is examined.

### Keywords

John Lampadistis; pilgrimage site; medieval art and architecture; Cyprus

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Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπαδιστῆς εἰς τὴν Μαραθάσα,  
ὅπου διώχνει τὰ δαιμόνια

"And in Marathasa, there is the great John Lampadistis  
who drives away demons."

(Leontios Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36)

### Introduction

From the late Bronze Age (c. 1700–1125/1100 BCE) to the present day, Cyprus has had a long history of sacred spaces (cf. Papantoniou, *Religions*; idem, "Cypriot Ritual"). Christianity spread through the island following the first mission of the Apostles Paul, Barnabas, and Mark – the last being of Cypriot descent – in 45 CE (*Acts of the Apostles* 13: 4–12). The island was one of the first places outside the Holy Land to encounter the new religion, long before it came



to Athens, Rome, or Alexandria. The Edict of Milan, issued in 313 CE by the emperors Constantine I and Licinius, gave official recognition to Christianity; however, it was only in the fourth and fifth centuries that Christianity began to prevail in Cyprus, with the erection of numerous Christian basilicas and the ordination of several prominent bishops (Deligiannakis, “Last Pagans”; idem, “From Aphrodite(s)”). The fact that it had a well-organized and autocephalous local church, together with its geographical location close to the Holy Land near the eastern end of the Mediterranean, were two important reasons for the development of a large number of pilgrimage sites on the island. Over the centuries the fame of its saints and holy places has attracted many pilgrims, who travelled to the island by sea. Cyprus was also a principal stopover for pilgrims heading to or returning from the Holy Land (see Perdiki, “Through the Eyes”).

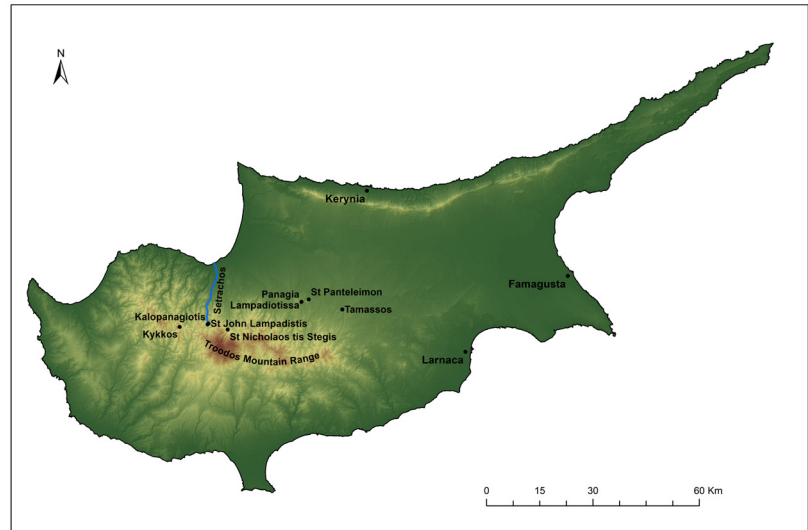
The outlines of the political and religious history of medieval Cyprus are well known (see Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel). The island was part of the Byzantine Empire until 1191, when it was conquered during the Third Crusade and ruled for three centuries (1196–1489) as an independent kingdom by the Lusignans, a French Catholic family of career crusaders, followed by a century under Venetian control (1489–1570). The Lusignans imposed a Western feudal system on the island. The Latin Church of Cyprus was established on 13 December 1196, with four episcopal sees. From 1269, the king of Cyprus was also proclaimed king of Jerusalem. The *Bulla Cypria* (1260) issued by Pope Alexander IV defined relations between the two religious communities of the island. It marked the subordination of the Orthodox bishops of Cyprus to the Latin Church and imposed an oath of fidelity to the Latin Archbishop of Cyprus and the pope.<sup>1</sup> The fall of Acre in 1291 ushered in a new era for Cyprus, as many refugees from Syria and Palestine flowed to the island, which became a melting pot of cultures and religions (see Jacoby).

1. Although the *Bulla Cypria* (1260) subordinated the Greek Orthodox Church and declared the Orthodox population to be Greek-rite Catholics, as early as 1250, mixed marriages took place, and the Latin-rite laity had begun attending Mass in Greek churches. Moreover, it is striking that the Lusignans did not curtail the Greek Orthodox monasteries in their realm, and there were more Greek establishments on Cyprus at the end of their reign than at their arrival; cf. Schabel 182–83, 200–01.

The subject of this article is the intriguing medieval pilgrim cult of a Cypriot saint, John Lampadistis. Firstly, it considers the development of the saint’s cult, and his shrine in the Marathasa valley (Fig. 1) as a place of pilgrimage. Secondly, the article attempts to reconstruct the routes taken by pilgrims and to determine who might have promoted the pilgrimage to the saint’s shrine. Finally, the spread of the saint’s cult around the island of Cyprus is examined.

Fig. 1: Map of Cyprus:  
©Chrystalla Loizou.

## The Saint



2. The *vita* (1640) was written by a priest named Savvas from the village of Agios Theodoros Agros. This work was copied by Monk Kyrillos of Stavrovouni Monastery in 1903 (ms. Stavrovouniou 4). Generally, three versions of his *vita* are preserved, dating to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kakkouras 52ff.).

The earliest surviving *vita* of St John Lampadistis was copied from a now lost manuscript dating from 1640.<sup>2</sup> As Georgios Kakkouras assumed, the initial *vita* and the commemorative services (*akolouthiai*) of the saint must have been composed soon after his death, and definitely before the thirteenth century (Kakkouras 89–90). However, the earliest surviving written testimony is a recently discovered festal canon preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Sin. gr. 669, in which the anonymous compiler must have had in mind the main points of the saint's *vita* as well as miracles probably recorded in the local oral tradition (Ioakeim).

3. See below.

Valuable information about John Lampadistis' life is also given in two *vita*-icons dating from the thirteenth century, one of which has overpainting from the sixteenth century (Figs. 2–3; Mitsani; Carr, "Holy Sepulcher"; Papamastorakis 55–58; Hadjichristodoulou, "Άγιος Ιωάννης"). Moreover, an iconographic cycle seems to have been developed on the walls of the saint's chapel in the thirteenth century – today only three scenes are preserved. Besides his chapel dated to the twelfth century, these *vita*-icons and the frescoes constitute the earliest evidence of his cult.<sup>3</sup> Leontios Makhairas, the Cypriot chronicler, writing between 1426 and 1432, informs us: "The great John Lampadistis in Marathasa, who drives away demons; and he was a deacon in the district of Marathasa" (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36). The information which Makhairas gives



4. See the relevant discussion below.

about the saint's ecclesiastical position is not mentioned in the written *vitae*, which normally give his status as that of a *notarius*.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 2: *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th and 16th century, 100x65.5 cm. Kalopanagiotis, Chapel of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



Fig. 3: *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th century, 115x75 cm. Kalopanagiotis, Ecclesiastical Museum of the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



St John Lampadistis is one of the most beloved local saints in Cyprus. He was a pious man who was born and lived in a village called 'Lampadou' – a medieval settlement, now abandoned – at the end of the eleventh century, during the reign of emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81; cf. Kakkouras 121–39, 148–57). At an early age, his parents decided that it was time for him to get married. The future in-laws served him poisoned fish, causing him to lose his eyesight, and the marriage never took place. He lived as a blind man for some years, until the day he saw his death approaching

and summoned his servant to bring him a bunch of grapes from his father's new crop. The servant brought a succulent bunch of grapes to John. When his father saw him, he was furious, and John handed the bunch back to the servant and told him to return it to where he had taken it from. The servant obeyed, and the bunch of grapes rejoined the vine at the exact spot from which it was cut. By the time the servant returned, John had already died. Soon after his death, his father, the priest Kyriakos, following certain divine signs attributed to his son, initiated the translation of his relics from their initial resting place in the Church of St Herakleidios at Kalopanagiotis (eleventh century), and buried them in ground outside the church on its northern side. Here Kyriakos erected a chapel dedicated to his son over the tomb. Thus, the cult of John Lampadistis began soon after his death in the twelfth century.

5. Regarding the discussion of the origin of his name cf. Kakkouras 121–47.

6. For St Herakleidios, see below.

7. For the church see: Papageorgiou, “Λαμπαδιώτισσα”.

The saint's name, ‘Lampadistis’ (Λαμπαδιστής), was probably given in token of his place of origin,<sup>5</sup> the village of Lampadou or Lampados, as recorded in his *vita*. It is worth mentioning that a toponym ‘Lampadistos’ can be found in the *Acta Barnabae* (BHG 225 – fifth century) and in the *vita* of St Herakleidios (BHG 743 – fifth century; Kakkouras 122–24; Efthymiadis, *Η βυζαντινή αγιολογία* 33, 52–53). In both cases, the site is linked with St Herakleidios, first Bishop of Tamassos.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify the geographical location of this toponym; the site might be in the wider Tamassos area, and more specifically near the present-day village of Mitsero in Nicosia district (Kakkouras 126–28). The record of properties held by the Archdiocese of Cyprus, dating from 1783, notes among other things that properties belonging to the Monastery of St Panteleimon in Achera were located in the Lampadou area (Peristianis 439). Moreover, the existence of a church (today in ruins) dedicated to Panagia Lampadiotissa (end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century) in the area around Achera supports the hypothesis that a homonymous settlement existed there.<sup>7</sup> However, based on his *vita* and the work of medieval and pre-modern historians, the saint seems to have been born and lived in the area of the Marathasa valley, not far from the Church of St Herakleidios (Kakkouras 129–31, 137). It is also significant that the mural portraying John Lampadistis (thirteenth century) preserved in the Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* in Kakopetria bears the epithet ‘Maratheftis’ (ο Μαραθεύτης), indicating his origin (Fig. 4; Stylianos and Stylianos, *Painted Churches* 72, 74).



Fig. 4: St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kakopetria, Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis*, naos, east face of the south-west pier attached to the west wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Archbishop of Cyprus.



On the other hand, the name Lampadistis means ‘brilliant, enlightened, or shining’, and thus the name may have reflected the saint’s personality. The historian Étienne de Lusignan noted in 1573: “John Lampadistis, whose name means the enlightened, brilliant and luminous, was born in a village of Marathasa” (*Description*, 58v).<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that according to his *vita* his tomb emitted light soon after his interment.<sup>9</sup>

8. See also Kakkouras 141–47.

9. See below.

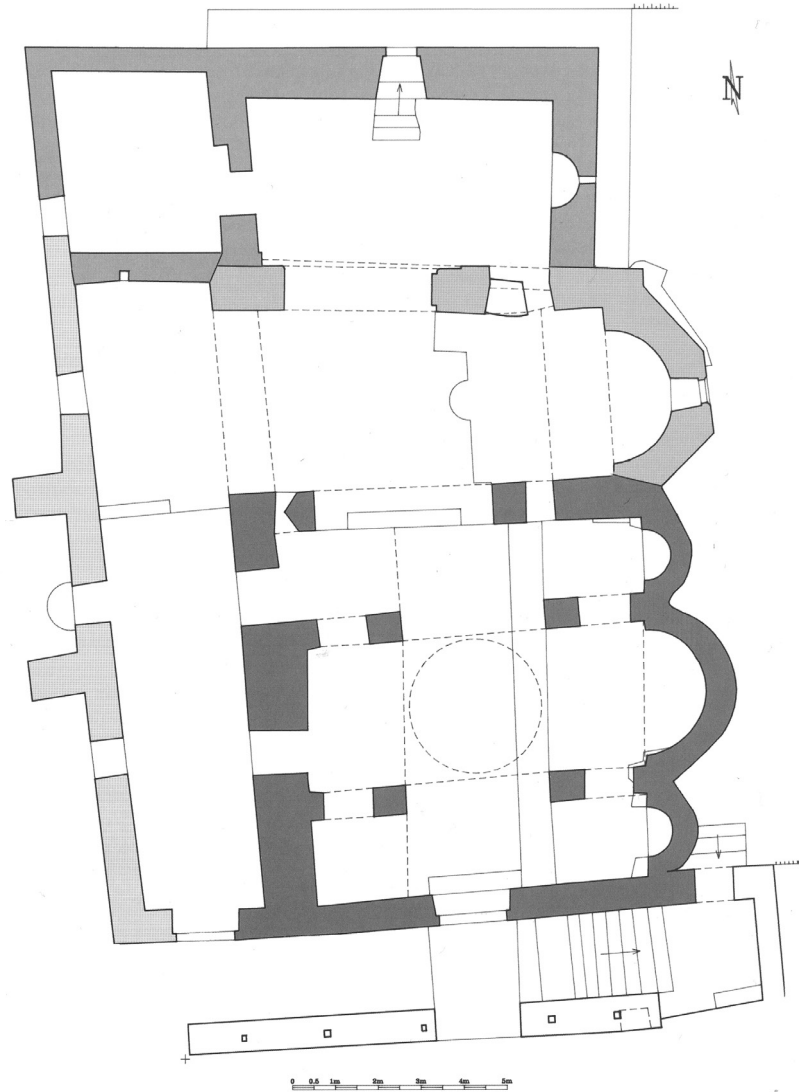
## The Shrine

The Monastery of St John Lampadistis is situated in the central area of the Troodos Mountain range, in the Marathasa valley, which is dotted with a number of medieval churches. The monastic complex stands on the eastern slope of a deep ravine formed by the river Setrachos, opposite the village of Kalopanagiotis (Fig. 5). The



Fig. 5: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, exterior view of the monastic complex towards the East. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki.

Fig. 6: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, plan of the monastic complex. Plan: Bakirtzis and Filotheou 129, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus and the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.



The history of the buildings evolved around the expansion of the Church of St Herakleidios, the *katholikon* (main monastery church) dating from the eleventh century. The dedication of the church to St Herakleidios, first Bishop of Tamassos and a key figure in the establishment of Christianity in Cyprus, is associated with the tradition that he was baptized by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas

10. Regarding the monastery, see Bakirtzis and Filotheou 126–43; Papageorgiou, “Λαμπαδιστή” 357–63; idem, *Η μονή*; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 292–320.

11. St Herakleidios was ordained first Bishop of Tamassos by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas during his visit to Cyprus around 49 CE. His basilica – the *martyrion* in Tamassos (the present-day village of Politiko) – can be roughly dated to the second half of the fourth to the early fifth century; it contained his tomb. For St Herakleidios: Efthymiadis, *Η βυζαντινή αγιολογία* 29–57; Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98.

in the Setrachos River near the monastery.<sup>11</sup> Not far from the monastery, on its northern side, there are natural springs with healing properties; it may be that an *Asklepieion* existed there during the Hellenistic and Roman period (Myriantheas 60). The Church of St Herakleidios is a domed cross-in-square-plan building. It is not known if it served as the *katholikon* of a monastery soon after its foundation. Although there is no historical evidence for a monastery at the site until the seventeenth century, the presence of a monastic community from at least the twelfth century is probably indicated; the depiction in the apse of two kneeling monks, in a wall painting in the apse of the bema, dating to the twelfth century, may be evidence for this hypothesis (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 22–23). In any case, even if we accept that a monastic community was active during the early twelfth century, it is not clear whether the monastery was dedicated to St John Lampadistis at that time. The earliest written source for the dedication of the monastery is from a much later date, in the seventeenth century. This is the text of the saint's *akolouthia*, which was published in Venice in 1667 (Kakkouras 71–75).

12. According to Athanasios Papageorgiou, the building collapsed at the end of the fourteenth century (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20).

13. For Barsky, see below.

14. For the chapel of the Holy Trinity, see Procopius 142–60.

15. The adjective 'Latin' given to the chapel is probably due to the Italo-Byzantine style of its decor and architecture; there is no evidence for its use by Latins of the Catholic rite (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 21–22. See also Eliades; Frigerio-Zeniou 99–203.

There is evidence for the cult of John Lampadistis from the twelfth century, linked to the addition of a single-aisle chapel dedicated to him on the north side of the Church of St Herakleidios (Fig. 7; cf. Carr, "Holy Sepulcher" 475–88). At some point the chapel collapsed apart from its north-east pier, which stands over the saint's tomb, and a narrow arch springing from it to the east preserving traces of thirteenth-century wall paintings.<sup>12</sup> Most probably, the chapel was rebuilt at the beginning of the eighteenth century; this must have been before 1735, when Vasili Grigorovich-Barsky visited the monastery and signed his name on the wall (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20).<sup>13</sup> According to Athanasios Papageorgiou (*Η μονή* 20), the original chapel probably had a dome over the central area, like other chapels of the same period (e.g., the chapel of the Holy Trinity at the Monastery of St John Chrysostom at Koutsoventis).<sup>14</sup> In the middle of the fifteenth century, a common narthex was added to the west side of both churches (Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 20). During the second half of the fifteenth century a vaulted chapel dedicated to the Akathist Hymn, the so-called 'Latin' chapel, was attached to the north of the chapel of John Lampadistis.<sup>15</sup> At a later time, the three churches were united. To the *katholikon* and chapel a second shared roof was added, while the chapel of the Akathist Hymn had a separate, higher roof. The roofs were covered with hook-shaped tiles.



Fig. 7: Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, interior view of the chapel of St John Lampadistis towards the East. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced with the permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



The painted decoration of the building complex attests to the continuity of its use. Thus, the *katholikon* preserves traces of paintings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries; the chapel has fragments dating to the thirteenth century; the narthex was decorated by a Constantinopolitan painter in the first half of the fifteenth century, while the Akathist Hymn chapel contains Italo-Byzantine paintings executed in the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

16. See n. 10 and n. 15.

## The Two *Vita*-Icons

As already noted, two *vita*-icons dating from the thirteenth century, one with overpainting from the sixteenth century, are preserved at the shrine (Figs. 2–3). Although the episodes depicted in the two *vita*-icons are very close to the narrative of 1640, it has been assumed that a *vita* of the saint, whether written or as an oral record, was possibly already known soon after his death. The two *vita*-icons as well as the mural painting preserved above his tomb, all dating to the thirteenth century, constitute the earliest surviving evidence for the saint's cult.<sup>17</sup> Their presence in the thirteenth century attests to the prosperity and popularity of the pilgrimage site. Generally, the icons function as markers, identifying the sacred person and place (cf. Carr, "Icons").

17. For the narrative of 1640, see Kakkouras 91–96. For the wall paintings, see below.

Both icons have a large frontal depiction of the young John Lampadistis at the centre, holding a cross and censer. The portrait is surrounded by fourteen small-scale scenes from his life. The episodes can be read beginning from the upper left-hand corner, right along the upper horizontal frame, continuing down the right-hand vertical side, and then from the top of the left-hand vertical side down, then along the lower horizontal frame, ending at the bottom right corner. The surviving scenes are as follows:

18. At Hadjichristodoulou, “Άγιος Ιωάννης” 252, where the icon was first published, due to a typographical error the given dimensions are wrong.

<b>Icon A (thirteenth century with sixteenth-century overpainting)</b> <b>100 × 65.5 cm (Fig. 2)</b>	<b>Icon B (thirteenth century)</b> <b>115 × 75 cm<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 3)</b>
<b>1</b> The birth of John Lampadistis.	The birth of John Lampadistis.
<b>2</b> John at school reading the opening words of the Psalter.	John at school.
<b>3</b> The wedding of John.	The wedding of John.
<b>4</b> John eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.	John eats the poisoned fish and goes blind.
<b>5</b> John is led to his parents' home by his father.	John returns to his parents' home.
<b>6</b> John gives alms to the poor.	The gold-winged eagle appears to John.
<b>7</b> The gold-winged eagle appears to John.	John asks his servant for a bunch of grapes and the servant cuts the cluster.
<b>8</b> John asks his servant for a bunch of grapes.	John is struck by his father for eating unblessed grapes.
<b>9</b> John is reproved by his father because he ate unblessed grapes.	John sends the servant to replace the bunch, and the saint's death.

10	John sends the servant to put the bunch of grapes on the vine.	Burial of John.
11	John's death.	A man (probably a lunatic) opens the tomb, supervised by John's father.
12	A man (probably a lunatic) opens the tomb, supervised by John's father.	John's relics prove thaumaturgic, curing lunatics and others.
13	John's relics prove thaumaturgic, curing lunatics and others. <sup>19</sup>	John's father summons a painter to paint the saint's icon in the chapel dedicated to him.
14	Persuaded by the relics' efficacy, John's father follows the request of his son in a dream and builds a church dedicated to him.	The painter creates John's icon in the chapel.

19. The scene is very abraded.

20. The painter who overpainted the figure of John Lampadistis is the same artist who in 1539 overpainted the central figure of the Virgin with Child on the *vita*-icon of the Virgin Kallionitissa (the original painting can be dated to the thirteenth century) preserved at the Church of St Anna at Kalliana. The small-scale episodes around the central figure also remain untouched. Both dominant figures (Virgin and John Lampadistis) dated to the sixteenth century are characterized by smooth and classicizing faces. I would like to thank Dr Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou for this information. Regarding the icon of the Virgin Kallionitissa, see Gerasimou and Papaioakeim.

Although the two icons are roughly contemporaneous, they were not painted by the same artist. Icon A is most probably the original, *proskynetarion* icon. Today, Icon A is more abraded than Icon B, and the former was at some point cropped at the top, right side, and bottom, perhaps to fix it on to the iconostasis or the *proskynetarion*. In the sixteenth century, the central figure of the saint in Icon A was replaced; from the earlier painting, only part of the saint's hair at the level of the neck and the decorative relief motifs on his garments (collar and armbands) have been preserved (Hadjichristodoulou, "Άγιος Ιωάννης").<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the original saint's dark red robe, which is still perceptible on the left side of the garment, has been replaced by a brocaded golden tunic. The reason for the overpainting is still unknown; it is not known whether the central figure was damaged or if there was a purpose to the replacement. Note that the narrative scenes of the icon were not affected by the overpainting. Nevertheless, the unusual position of the saint's hands in front of his chest suggests that originally the saint was depicted with his palms open in front of his chest, as in his depiction (thirteenth century) in the Church of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* at Kakopetria (Fig. 4). It is suggested that the fresco at Kakopetria had the *vita*-

icon as a prototype (Hadjichristodoulou, “Άγιος Ιωάννης”). Icon A was until recently covered with a gold-plated revetment dating from 1776 (Perdikis). As already mentioned, Icon A served as a *proskynetarion* icon for a period, as indicated by the revetment, abrasion and overpainting. However, the original function of Icon B is still unknown. The differing use of the two *vita*-icons is also shown by the iconographic differences in the themes selected in each icon for the sequence of scenes in the *vita* cycle (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 479). Therefore, the later icon (Icon B) does not seem to be a copy of the original one (Icon A), as different episodes are depicted in each icon and even the same scenes do not share the same iconography; generally, the episodes in Icon B are more developed and include a greater number of figures.

The format of these *vita*-icons, which included a considerable number of posthumous episodes, suggest a pilgrimage function, recording and explicating the events which took place at their location and around the saint’s tomb (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 481).<sup>21</sup> Thus, the episodes from the saint’s life were intended to shed light on his identity through the events which led to his sanctification.<sup>22</sup> The difference between the two icons lies mainly in the last scenes, in which each icon celebrated different posthumous episodes associated with the saint. Accordingly, Icon B adds two more episodes relating to the tomb compared with Icon A. Therefore, of the fourteen narrative scenes, six in Icon B and four in Icon A are devoted to posthumous events. It is notable that the scene showing the artist producing the saint’s portrait was also added to Icon B. As Annemarie Weyl Carr notes, “the smaller panel [Icon B] would depict the miraculous character of the larger one [Icon A], validating its own authority and illustrating the special charisma of its original. Together, the two panels address the site of pilgrimage and the image through which the site’s charisma was disseminated” (“Holy Sepulcher” 482). The scene in Icon B depicting the miraculous creation of John’s icon would show the creation of the model image of St John: that is, Icon A, the *proskynetarion* icon. When an icon is replicated in another icon, then its special sacred identity is visible. Furthermore, the presence of episodes from the saint’s afterlife was necessary to celebrate and develop the cult of a very new saint whose *vita* was still being composed or was little known. The two panels served as a medium for making the new saint known to a wider public.

21. For *vita*-icons, see Chatterjee; Papamastorakis; Ševčenko, “*Vita* Icon”.

22. Regarding the recognition of the sanctity of a holy person, see Talbot, esp. 218–20.



Fig. 8: Detail of the episode of the artist painting the saint's image, *Vita*-icon of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Ecclesiastical Museum of the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. Photograph: ©Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.

According to Carr (“Holy Sepulcher” 481), the scene of John’s entombment seen at the centre of the lower frame in Icon B is much abraded, perhaps reflecting wear and tear from being an object of veneration for pilgrims. Furthermore, the depiction of a domed building in the last episode of both icons which can be identified with the domed Church of St Herakleidios or even with the Lampadistis chapel – if we accept the hypothesis that the chapel was possibly a domed cross-in-square-plan building – suggests that this was the site of the saint’s tomb; a *locus sanctus* is depicted (Fig. 8). In any case, both icons lay great emphasis on the holy place where the saint’s relics reside; Icon A depicts the church in the last episode, while Icon B has a representation, rare in Byzantine art, of an artist painting the saint’s image in front of his church (cf. Vollero-Levy and Gasanova; Kalopissi-Verti). According to this *vita*, the saint’s father commissioned a painter to create the saint’s icon. As the painter had never seen the saint, St John Lampadistis appeared to the painter dressed as a *notarius* (Kakkouras 242).

## The Mural Paintings of the Chapel

Above the saint’s tomb, three paintings survive in fragments, at the intrados of the east blind arch in the chapel’s north wall; a portrait of the saint and two posthumous episodes are preserved (Perdiki, *L’iconographie* 396–98). Apart from these, the other episodes of the saint’s cycle seem to have been lost, as the chapel was destroyed.

The scene of the translation of the saint’s relics is preserved in the western part of the intrados (Fig. 9). A barefoot man wearing a long grey tunic is holding the saint’s sarcophagus and walking to the left, where a boy with straight shoulder-length hair, wearing a long-sleeved white tunic and black boots, is holding a shovel and looking at the sarcophagus. A building is seen in the background which can probably be identified with the monastic edifice.



Fig. 9: Translation of the relics of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, western part of the intrados east blind arch in the north wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



In the following composition, which occupied the east part of the intrados, the saint's father, the priest Kyriakos, is shown in the middle and facing to the left. He has long grey hair and a beard. He wears a grey *sticharion* and a pointed cap. His hands are raised to chest height, holding something. A building with two domes – one on the left and one on the right – is seen in the background. The scene can be identified with the episode of the construction of the saint's chapel (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10: Construction of the chapel of St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, east part of the intrados east blind arch in the north wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



The third painting, a portrait of John Lampadistis, is on the west face of the pillar, below the previous scene. Only the upper part of the composition survives (Fig. 11). A young man with a halo is depicted, without a beard and with short brown hair and a tonsure. The figure is facing to the right. Traces of his white(?) tunic are visible. The figure is accompanied by the inscription Ο / Α/ΓΙ/Ο/ [Σ] [ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο] ΛΑ/[ΜΠΑΔΙΣΤΗΣ].<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Traces of the upper part of the letters of the saint's epithet are preserved.



Fig. 11: St John Lampadistis, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, west face of the north-east pillar. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



24. Previous scholars dated the chapel's frescoes to the twelfth century (Bakirtzis and Filotheou 131; Papageorgiou, *Η μονή* 36–37).

The above-mentioned mural paintings can be dated to the thirteenth century and linked with the contemporaneous mural decoration of the *katholikon*.<sup>24</sup> Despite their relatively poor state of preservation and their fragmentary condition, the chapel's paintings are stylistically closer to those in the *katholikon*. Indeed, the architectural elements depicted in the two episodes of the chapel paintings can be compared to those seen in the scenes of the Raising of Lazarus (vault embracing the Crucifixion to the south,

Fig. 12), the Entry to Jerusalem (vault embracing the Crucifixion to the north, Fig. 13), and the Crucifixion (west wall above the entrance to the narthex, Fig. 14) of the *katholikon*. Furthermore, the figures' physiognomic features are comparable in both churches (e.g. the figure of the priest Kyriakos in the chapel is close to the men of Jerusalem who are waiting to meet Christ before the city gates in the Entry to Jerusalem; the shape of the face and the use of scarlet red to emphasize cheeks and lips in the figure of the young boy with the shovel are almost identical to the style of the youths with round-jawed faces in the Entry to Jerusalem). Moreover, the form of letters preserved in John's portrait and in the scenes in the *katholikon* are rather similar. In both cases, the paintings are reminiscent of Comnenian style and characterized by rigidity and linearity. The colours are vivid, with scarlet and yellow ochre predominating. It is also interesting to note that in some scenes the figures have an oriental flavour in their characteristics (e.g. the young boys and the men in the Entry to Jerusalem; cf. Carr, "Holy Sepulcher" 483–84).

Fig. 12: The Raising of Lazarus, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, south face of the western vault. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.





Fig. 13: The Entry to Jerusalem, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, north face of the western vault. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



Fig. 14: The Crucifixion, 13th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, *katholikon*, west wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



It should be stressed that it is difficult to find the iconographic prototypes for the painted episodes in the chapel. The scene with the saint's translation is not depicted in the two *vita*-icons. Furthermore, the composition with Kyriakos may correspond to the last scene in Icon A. Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation, especially in the *vita*-icons' episodes, makes it difficult to draw conclusions. Generally, the paintings in the *katholikon* have been dated by Andreas and Judith Stylianou to the first half of the thirteenth century (*Painted Churches*, 295–96), and by Annemarie Weyl Carr to the 1270s (“Holy Sepulcher” 484), while Athanasios Papageorgiou has proposed the thirteenth century (*Η μovή* 27). As already noted, it is difficult to provide precise dates; nevertheless, based mainly on the stylistic analysis, we can date the mural paintings on both churches to the second half of the thirteenth century, and the two *vita*-icons perhaps followed the mural paintings in the chapel, as they are more or less contemporaneous.

In any case, it is important to underline the speed with which the cult of a new local saint developed during the thirteenth century. The development of a mural painting programme in the adjacent Church of St Herakleidios (in the dome, the south vault, and the western arm of the nave) in the thirteenth century may also reflect this flourishing of the pilgrimage.<sup>25</sup> Based on iconography and style, these paintings are close enough to those preserved on the Syro-Palestinian mainland, which flourished in environments shaped by the *mélange* of cultures created by the Crusades.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the iconographic programme from this period was designed to give the viewer the sense of being present in the Holy Land, as Carr suggests (“Holy Sepulcher” 482–88). Indeed, the location of the scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac just below the Raising of Lazarus to one side of the Crucifixion underlines the link with the Holy Land and the Holy Sites (Golgotha). The two scenes in the western bay can be linked to the fact that Orthodox pilgrims to the Holy Land venerated Golgotha as the site of both Abraham's and Christ's sacrifices (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 482–88). In addition, the men wearing turbans in the depiction of the Entry into Jerusalem confirm this association with the Holy Land, as turbans were worn there by people of many faiths (cf. Fernandez-Meyer, “Se vêtir” 213). Furthermore, a person entering St Herakleidios' church through its original western door looks directly at the depiction of St Paraskevi, then of St Herakleidios, and finally at St Kyriaki. St Paraskevi is

25. Regarding the iconographic programme of St Herakleidios, see Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 482–87; Papageorgiou, *Η μovή* 22–36; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 292–320.

26. For example, the swooning Virgin, the Crucifix with the prominent abdomen, the round shield with the rampant lion of Longinus, the red background at the scene of Crucifixion; the starry backgrounds of the prophets in the dome; the round faces of the figures in the scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Ascension; and the linearity of the figures are close to the local art of the Syro-Palestinian mainland. In addition, the scene of the Crucifixion repeats the distinctive gestures and style seen in Crusader works, like the Latin Perugia Missal (1250) produced in Acre, in the Armenia Queen Gospels (1272), and in icons at Sinai. Cf. Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 483ff.; eadem, “Art” 299–303. The scene of the Crucifixion and the fainting Virgin in particular have been discussed in relation to the Latin presence in Cyprus by Paschali, “Swooning Virgin”; see also eadem, *Painting Identities* 55–56.

the personification of the day of Good Friday, and St Kyriaki is both Sunday and Easter Sunday, so the visitor moves from Good Friday to Easter, and, just above, in the vault, the Easter events are depicted (Raising of Lazarus, Entry to Jerusalem, Crucifixion). The depictions in the Church of St Herakleidos are intended to suggest a Holy Land pilgrimage site: behind this must lie the building of a new local *locus sanctus*: the tomb of John Lampadistis. The question that arises is whether the medieval pilgrim entering the church could understand these connections. Probably not.

The episodes preserved both in the mural paintings and in the frame of the two *vita*-icons would have served as a guide for visitors and pilgrims (Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 481ff.). They not only narrate the life of the saint but highlight the events after his death, especially the discovery of his relics, their translation, and the construction of a chapel dedicated to him. Through the power of the image, the message delivered to the public is made much clearer. The aim of illustrated episodes was to inform the faithful about who the saint was, and what miracles he had performed, thus helping to create a pilgrimage site. Undoubtedly, the artistic activity in the church during the thirteenth century was associated with the visual promotion of the cult.

## The Pilgrimage Spaces

Relative to the pilgrimage spaces, two questions arise: how was the pilgrimage cult served, and how did the great mass of pilgrims circulate in the complex? The addition of the Akathist Hymn chapel and the large common narthex along the western side of the Church of St Herakleidos and the St John Lampadistis chapel must be seen as responses among other things to the need to provide extra space for the pilgrims. These two spaces, which are discussed below, may have served multiple roles linked with the cult of the saint.

As noted, the narthex was added during the fifteenth century; this was associated with the presumed monastic function of the church.<sup>27</sup> Generally, this space was multifunctional and was frequently the location for various rituals, as well as private meditation and prayer.<sup>28</sup> The iconographic programme of the narthex was intended to stimulate transformative experiences in the viewers before they

27. For the narthex at Kalopanagiotis, see Triantaphyllopoulos; Gkioles.

28. For the function of the narthex see, for example, Gerov.



entered the *naos* (cf. Schroeder 107–08). The composition of the Last Judgement dates to the end of the fifteenth century – it occupies the east and lower south walls of the narthex’s southern entrance bay and must be related to the circulation of the worshippers in the shrine (Fig. 15; Carr, “Hell” 368–75). It is significant that the Last Judgement is visible to the people and pilgrims coming to the main church and the adjoining chapel. The location of the paintings on the narthex walls invited the faithful to follow a specific route when visiting the church. Thus, the placing of the Last Judgement here makes sense mainly if the narthex was usually entered by the south door. If the composition is understood from the perspective of people coming in and out of the south door of the narthex, it works perfectly, drawing them in as they arrive, marching alongside the blessed going to Paradise, and warning them with a depiction of the devil and sinners as they leave. When we imagine the narthex in this way, its function becomes more apparent, considering the presence of *katholikon* and chapel. Having the narthex as a place where the public could come and go would also suit its role as a part of the pilgrimage.

Fig. 15: Last Judgment, end of the 15th century. Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, narthex, east and south walls. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.



On the other hand, it is possible that, thanks to the increased number of pilgrims visiting the saint’s tomb, access to the site through the narthex became difficult at some point, and a new access point



29. Regarding the architectural reconstructions, see Papageorgiou, *H μovή* 20–22. Frigerio-Zeniou 100.

30. At the monastic complex of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia (11th century), the pilgrims most probably followed a specific route in order not to disturb the monks. The architecture of the monastic complex responded to the sacred presence and to the necessities of pilgrimage (Bouras 16–19, 25–28). See also Marinis and Ousterhout 169.

31. It is interesting to cite again the case of St Luke at Hosios Loukas in Boeotia, where the saint's relics were removed from his tomb in 1011 and placed in a *proskynetarion*. The position of the *proskynetarion*, in a vertical relationship to the tomb, which was located below it, is accessible to pilgrims coming from the exonarthex and *lita* of the Panagia church and from the *katholikon*, as well as through a passageway in the east wall of the complex (Marinis and Ousterhout 169; Mylonas 57–60).

32. Regarding the reliquary, see Myriantheas 38–39.

33. An example is the case of St Mary the Younger, whose relic was translated to a different tomb inside the same church; see Marinis and Ousterhout 170–71.

through the chapel of the Akathist Hymn was needed (cf. Eliades 175). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that at the eastern end of the Akathist Hymn chapel's south wall the two spaces are linked by a small opening into the sanctuary of John Lampadistis, where the tomb is believed to have been located.<sup>29</sup> The pilgrims would enter through the west or north door of the Akathist Hymn chapel, visit the saint's tomb, and then leave the site through the shared narthex. Initially, the pilgrims would enter through the west door of the Akathist Hymn chapel, and when this door was not in use, because of the erection of the small auxiliary room, the window at the north wall was transformed into an entrance (Eliades 175). Therefore, a visit to the tomb could only take place through the Akathist Hymn chapel and its north door, as this opening communicates directly with the outside world, without it being necessary to go through the other churches and the courtyard of the complex. Furthermore, the absence of a semicircular apse to the east would strengthen the hypothesis that the Akathist Hymn chapel was added to facilitate access to the chapel, in a manner that would not disrupt rites taking place in the *katholikon*. It might also have facilitated access by female pilgrims, again without disturbing the monks, if indeed the complex functioned as a monastery at that time (cf. Marinis and Ousterhout 160ff.).<sup>30</sup> However, the presence of the tomb of St John inside the bema of his chapel raises questions about the veneration of the tomb and what happened in the case of female pilgrims, given that women were not allowed into the sanctuaries of Orthodox churches. In the absence of written and/or archaeological evidence and given that the building had collapsed and been rebuilt, one can only make conjectures. It is therefore possible that the saint's relics were moved from his tomb and placed just to the north of the sanctuary, right outside the bema.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps a reliquary or a pseudo-sarcophagus was kept outside the bema and offered for public veneration, as is the case today: since 1641 a piece of Lampadistis' skull has been housed in a pyramidal gilt reliquary dedicated by Archbishop Nikephoros, which is offered for veneration in an arched niche in the southeast wall of the chapel (Fig. 16).<sup>32</sup> In general, primary burials inside churches were often liable to be relocated.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, as Stella Frigerio-Zeniou has pointed out, the iconography of the Akathist Hymn chapel can be compared with that of a narthex, and it is in any case difficult to determine its exact



Fig. 16: Reliquary of St John Lampadistis, 1641 Kalopanagiotis, Monastery of St John Lampadistis, chapel of St John Lampadistis, arched niche in the southeast wall. Photograph: ©Ourania Perdiki, reproduced by permission of the Holy Bishopric of Morphou, Cyprus.

34. See Irakleous and Bakirtzis 400. Kakkouras 258. Stylianos and Stylianos, *Painted Churches* 306; *idem*, “Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη” 1322.

35. Regarding incubation practices, see Efthymiadis, “L’incubation”; see also Ehrenheim; Graf.

36. It is interesting to note here that in the shrine of St Artemios in Constantinople the practice of incubation is well attested. Specifically, the supplicants stayed fenced off during the night by metal barriers, which denied them access to the rest of the church (Marinis 104–05).

37. I would like to thank Dr Marina Toumbouri for this information. See also Damianou 72–73.

38. The miracles chosen for illustration are the healing of the paralytic at Bethesda, of the man with dropsy, of the blind man in the pool of Siloam, the marriage at Cana, and the draught of fishes. They are preserved on part of the east and north walls. Cf. Triantaphyllopoulos 385; Gkioles 185–86; Papageorgiou, *Η μόνή* 37–42. For the iconography of the Miracle Cycle and for healing miracles generally, see Rossi; Ševčenko, “Healing Miracles”.

use (202–03). It should be stressed that the iconographic themes chosen to illustrate the Akathist Hymn chapel are not repeated in the iconography of the shared narthex of the complex. Thus, it is very possible that the Akathist Hymn chapel served as a sort of narthex or auxiliary room to meet the needs of the pilgrims (as noted above).

Furthermore, the narthex and the Akathist Hymn chapel may have provided a space where pilgrims could spend the night within the church, as part of healing rituals.<sup>34</sup> These practices could have included all-night vigils (*agrypniai*) and incubations (*enkoimesis*); during the latter the saint performed miracles for patient–devotees, who received messages or healing through the medium of dreams while they slept in a shrine.<sup>35</sup> It should be noted that none of the accounts of the saint mention incubation practices in the complex,<sup>36</sup> but still today people from Kalopanagiotis and the neighbouring villages bring mattresses into the church in order to spend the night of the saint’s feast (4 October) there, hoping to receive protection and healing.<sup>37</sup> Most probably, this practice had its origins in the Middle Ages.

As his *vita* informs us, soon after his death two men suffering from madness were cured after touching his tomb (Kakkouras 230–31), and as the saint was well known for healing mental illnesses, there was probably an independent space to perform exorcism rituals and read prayers for the afflicted. Thus, a hall to the west of the Akathist Hymn chapel, with an independent entrance from the west and outside the complex but also accessible from the chapel by a small door, may have served as a location for the various ritual practices which took place at the shrine. In this context, in addition to the Last Judgement, the common narthex was decorated with fifteenth-century frescoes of the miracles of Christ, emphasizing their therapeutic character, which may have been associated with the healing and miracles performed by the saint.<sup>38</sup> Here, the depicted miracles emphasize miraculous healing through water. In general, the narthex was used, among other things (funeral processions, memorials services, burials), for rites associated with water (e.g., baptisms), and perhaps this could also explain the choice of the represented miracles. One should note the proximity to the complex of the river Setrachos, where St Herakleidios had been baptized; the two painted healing miracles involving water have

a strong redemptive content associated with the cleansing of sin. In any case, the iconography in the narthex is intended to provide psychosomatic assistance to the patients by means of pictures which stimulate faith in the miraculous healing powers of the saint.

Based on the above, the Lampadistis chapel was the most important part of the complex, since it contained the tomb of the miracle-working saint. Unsurprisingly, the saint's fame began to surpass even that of St Herakleidos, a well-known bishop of the Apostolic Age. Thus, the different reconstructions in the complex reflect efforts to facilitate access to the miraculous relics and integrate the remains of the original structure.

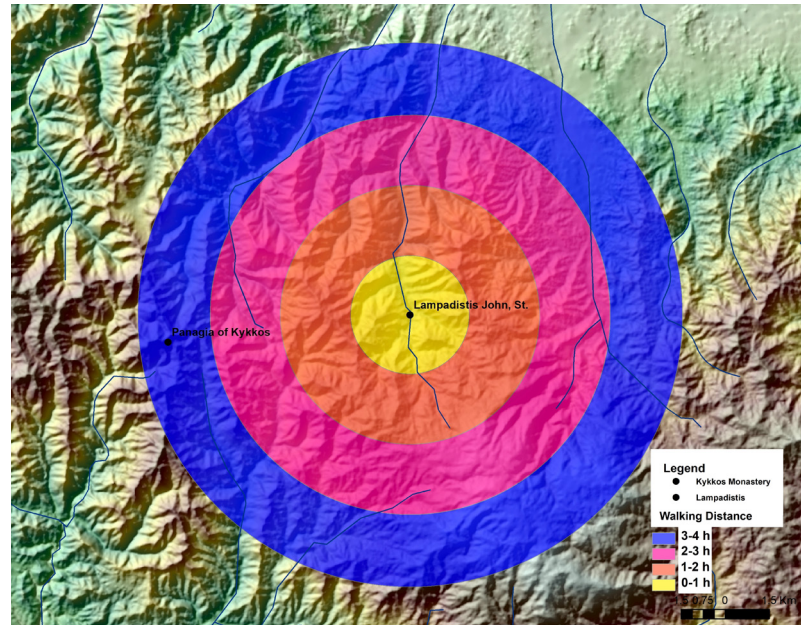
Unfortunately, we do not know the therapeutic, miraculous properties of the saint's relics. The only surviving evidence comes from the saint's *vita* and refers to the two miracles performed above the saint's tomb and before the translation of his relics; the first refers to the great light that emanated from his tomb over several nights soon after his burial, and the other concerns the cure of two mad people, which has already been mentioned (Kakkouras 139–47, 230–31). Except for these miracles and the information given by Makhairas for the fifteenth century, there is no evidence of individual healing miracles being performed and/or depicted in the saint's chapel.

## The Pilgrim's Paths

It is difficult to reconstruct the cultural networks that brought waves of pilgrims through the Lampadistis pilgrimage site and the Marathasa valley. As they left no reports about the monastery, we know nothing about the medieval pilgrims who might have visited the site. The only reference that has been preserved is from the noted traveller Vasili Grigorovish-Barsky, in 1736 (43–45). Barsky left a valuable description of the site in his written account, giving details about the architectural complex and the *katholikon* church, and mentioning that ten monks were in residence. Barsky was travelling through Kalopanagiotis on his way to the Kykkos Monastery when he lost his way, so he may not have been following an established path. According to Barsky's description,

I again walked through giant and tortuous mountains and forests and arrived at another monastery, great and famous, which lies four hours walk from the previous monastery [i.e. St John Lampadistis]. I, however, once again lost the path and paused along the way and barely managed to arrive there before evening. (Fig. 17; Grigorovich-Barsky 46)

Fig. 17: Walking distance around St John Lampadistis Monastery, Kalopanagiotis. Map: ©Niki Kyriakou.



What do we know about the paths that might have brought pilgrims to Lampadistis' shrine? In my opinion, the silence of the written sources does not necessarily mean that the pilgrimage was a local one, serving only the village and surrounding area. The different constructions and reconstructions at the complex, the development of a remarkable iconographic programme, as well as the spread of the saint's cult throughout Cyprus (mainly from the fifteenth century onwards, as the surviving mural portraits show): all these elements suggest something more than a small, local pilgrimage.

Very little is known about the likely paths of travel through the Troodos in the Middle Ages, but as Tassos Papacostas has argued, paths used during the Ottoman period were almost certainly the same as those used during the Middle Ages (Papacostas; Bekker-Nielsen). Thus, information about travel in the Troodos furnished by records of pilgrimage to the Kykkos Monastery in the Ottoman centuries give us an insight into earlier centuries. Based on the available evidence, it is possible to reconstruct the pre-modern



pilgrimage paths followed mainly by pilgrims from Asia Minor (Karamanlides) who visited the Kykkos Monastery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Irakleous and Bakirtzis 385–89). As the Kykkos Monastery was an indispensable part of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land during these centuries, the possible itineraries followed by pilgrims may have included the valley of Marathasa and the Monastery of St John Lampadistis. There can be no doubt that the growing number of pilgrims visiting Lampadistis during the nineteenth century is also reflected in the expansion of the monastery complex for accommodation purposes (Papageorgiou, *H μovή* 15–17). Indeed, the numerous inscriptions and graffiti around the saint's reliquary niche are evidence of the arrival of pilgrims from the monastery (Fig. 16; Irakleous and Bakirtzis 389–92). Pilgrims arriving from the northern (Kyrenia) and eastern (Larnaca and Famagusta) Cypriot ports chiefly followed itineraries through the villages of the Marathasa and Solea valleys in order to reach the Kykkos Monastery (cf. Irakleous and Bakirtzis 386–87). These mountainous routes were described as difficult and dangerous, but the path to the Lampadistis shrine was not particularly arduous; as it followed a river, it must have been relatively easy. It should also be emphasized that not every pilgrim group followed the same routes, as these depended on practical, social, economic, religious, and seasonal factors. Roads and paths are resistant to change and have generally remained unaltered from antiquity to the present day.

## Who Promoted the Pilgrimage?

It is worth considering who hosted, managed, and promoted the pilgrimage during the medieval period, though it has proved difficult to determine with any certainty who managed this *hierotopos*.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, as demonstrated above, there was an attempt to consolidate and promote the cult of St John Lampadistis. This effort was probably in response to the changed sociocultural context and addressed perhaps a different, no longer homogeneous, local population (including Christians of various denominations). In my view, this promotion of a new local saint was possibly linked with the Latin court and reflected the interaction of the local population with the Latins (cf. Carr,

39. Plastering evidence indicates that the iconostasis structure was in position when the thirteenth-century scheme was painted and is probably contemporary with it (Woolley, Nadolny, and Shekede).

40. The templon of St Herakleidios has been discussed by Fernandez-Meyer, *Commanditaires*.

41. Stylianou and Stylianou, “Donors” 109.

42. The Monastery of Makhairas became a place of retreat and recreation for the royal court (Tsiknopoulos 72–73; Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §624).

43. For hunting in Lusignan Cyprus, see Coureas, “Hunting”; Minasidis.

44. The word ‘Gerakiotis’ derives from the Greek word ‘geraki’ (γεράκι), which means ‘falcon’. Additionally, the name ‘Moutoullas’ comes from the Latin word *muta*, meaning ‘moulting of birds’, especially ‘mew for falcons’, and the name ‘Moutoullas’ may refer to a keeper and trainer of falcons.

“Orthodox Monasteries”). As already mentioned, the motif of a rampant silver lion on a red field that adorned the shield of Longinus in the Crucifixion scene (thirteenth century) and on the wooden painted iconostasis (late thirteenth century) of the *katholikon* was the heraldic crest of the Lusignans.<sup>39</sup> The Lusignan lion is accompanied by the crest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the arms of the Montfort, Dampierre, and Ibelin houses and the double-headed eagle, the political symbol of the Byzantines.<sup>40</sup> The presence of these motifs in an Orthodox setting has intrigued scholars, as it is difficult to interpret. It is thus suggested that the Latins may have controlled the monastery during this period.<sup>41</sup> This hypothesis is difficult to confirm, as to our knowledge the Latins did not appropriate Greek Orthodox institutions, with the exception of the Stavrovouni Monastery (Coureas, *Latin Church* 225; Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries”). However, it has been observed that the monasteries elected the king as their trustee, as happened with the Makhairas Monastery around the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Seen in this way, it is possible that the Monastery of St John Lampadistis received court patronage because of the presence of the tomb of the local saint in the adjoining chapel (Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries” 117–20; eadem, “Art” 302). Moreover, the Marathasa valley, and probably the area near the Setrachos valley where the monastery was located, was a favoured area for hunting and frequented by the court (Carr, “Orthodox Monasteries” 117–18).<sup>43</sup> Medieval sources record that the Lusignans had royal residences in the Cypriot countryside, some of which were used as hunting lodges; the sources also give details about their hunting activities (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §61, §261, §597, §618). It should be noted that at the nearby village of Moutoullas, the founder of the Church of the Virgin (1280), Ioannis Moutoullas, was probably involved with falcons; he is included in the dedicatory inscriptions with the surnames ‘Gerakiotis’ and ‘Moutoullas’, which are associated with falconry (Perdikis and Myriantefs 49–51).<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the structure of the Lampadistis’ *vita*-icons with an emphasis on posthumous episodes reflects an Occidental influence. In general, *vita*-icons of new saints promoting worship at their tombs was a common practice in a Franciscan context (e.g. the *vita*-icon of St Francis of Assisi preserved in the Church of San Francesco, Pescia, Italy and painted in 1235; Ševčenko, “*Vita* Icon” 154–56; Andronikou 182ff.). Returning to the possibility of court patronage at the monastery at Kalopanagiotis, or of the court playing some

role in the promotion of the pilgrimage, no evidence exists, and only a hypothesis can be made. Nevertheless, the rich iconographic programme (thirteenth century) developed in the Church of St Herakleidios is one of the earliest of those preserved in the region. The artistic evidence points to a prosperous Greek rural population that provided patrons and supported the church and therefore the pilgrimage cult.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, there is no historical evidence for the existence of a monastery at the site until the seventeenth century. However, it would be interesting to know whether a parish church could have supported a pilgrimage; in any case, whether it belonged to a monastery or to a parish church, it was clearly a strong foundation. In my opinion, it was more usual for active and dynamic monastic communities to oversee the relics of a saint.

The existence of the medieval settlement of Marathasa in the area of the Lampadistis complex is an interesting possibility, which does not exclude either the presence of a monastic community there or a parish church. The village of Marathasa is referred to by Louis de Mas Latrie in his catalogue of villages of Cyprus (Mas Latrie 505). Moreover, the medieval chronicler Makhairas and the historian Étienne de Lusignan identify the village where Lampadistis lived as Marathasa (Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36; Lusignan, *Description* 58v). However, in the map of Leonidas Attar, dated to 1542, the names of the villages Troullino and Marathos are shown in this area (Romanelli and Grivaud 92, 141). Marathos can possibly be identified with the village of Marathasa (Papageorgiou, *Η μωνή* 10). The name Maratho appears in sources in 1521 and again in 1747 but not thereafter (Grivaud 211–17, 301–14).

Moreover, the votive inscription in the Last Judgement mural in the narthex informs us that among the donors were the ‘weekly’ priests of ‘this village church’ (ἐβδομαδαρίον τῆς αὐτοῦ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας), showing that the building must have been a village church at least towards the end of the fifteenth century (Papageorgiou, *Η μωνή* 9; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 306–07). Furthermore, the term *evdomadarios* refers to the fact that a priest served in the parish church on a weekly basis. Nevertheless, the presence of the Last Judgement in the narthex was, after all, an

essential part of monastic *askesis* and spirituality. It is notable that while Étienne de Lusignan (1580) mentions John Lampadistis among the Cypriot saints, he does not mention the Monastery of St John Lampadistis among the monastic foundations existing during the sixteenth century. However, he reports that there were eighteen small monasteries in the Troodos area (Lusignan, *Description* 84v). Is it therefore possible that the shrine of St John Lampadistis was a small monastic settlement during the sixteenth century?

## Spread of the Cult through the Island

Taking the surviving portraits of John Lampadistis as a reference, I will here attempt to trace the spread of the saint's cult around the island of Cyprus.<sup>45</sup> The cult of John Lampadistis seems to have spread at least into the wider area by the second half of the thirteenth century, as shown by a portrait of the saint in the neighbouring Monastery of St Nicholas *tis Stegis* at Kakopetria (Fig. 4; Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98). St John Lampadistis is depicted as a tonsured young man wearing a red garment, with his palms at the level of his chest and turning towards the spectator.

The growing influence of the cult of John Lampadistis is also reflected in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Makhairas, where the saint is referred to as 'Great' (Μέγας; Makhairas, ed. and trans. Dawkins §36). Following the Makhairas description, and as his iconography testifies, the saint is depicted as a deacon with a white tunic and an orarion mainly from the sixteenth century onwards, when he is usually depicted in the sanctuary, often next to St Stephen the Protomartyr, who was similarly a deacon.<sup>46</sup>

It is also worth mentioning two depictions of the saint shown opposite the figure of St Panteleimon, at the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati at Platanistasa (1494) and at the Church of the Holy Cross at Kyperounda (1521), where he appears with Cosmas and Damian (Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 382–83). John's healing, miracle-working quality is emphasized: he cures mental illnesses, while Panteleimon and Cosmas and Damian heal bodily diseases. In addition, the saint at Agiasmati wears a red garment without an orarion, swinging a censer and holding a closed book while at Kyperounda John is depicted as a deacon wearing a white tunic and an orarion and holding a censer and an incense-box.

45. This subject is examined in detail at Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 380–98.

46. Portraits of the saint are preserved at the churches of the Transfiguration at Palechori (16th century), Panagia at Kaminaria (16th century), St John the Baptist at Askas (1560–70), the Dormition of the Virgin at Kourdali (16th century), Archangel Michael at Choli (16th century), St Marina at Psematismenos (16th century), St Nicholas at Klonari (16th century). Perdiki, *L'iconographie* 382–83. However, it is noted that John Lampadistis is depicted on the west wall of the Church of the Panagia tou Potamou in Kazafani (16th century), *ibid.* 351 and fig. 21.



47. It is interesting to note here that in a *vita*-icon of John Lampadistis dated to the sixteenth century and preserved at the Patriarchate in Constantinople he is shown with a red tunic and an orarion, holding a cross and a censer (Hadjichristodoulou, “Φορητή”).

48. The icon was lost after the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 (Hadjichristodoulou, *Ο ναός* 45). Recently, the icon was found in the museum of the Church of St Andrew the Cretan near St Petersburg in Russia.

49. My thanks are due to Dr Theodora Konstantellou and Prof. Maria Parani for their helpful suggestions about the costume of the saint.

50. Notably, the deacon St Stephan at Mar Tadros (13th century) at Lebanon wears red and an orarion. In our example, John does not have an orarion; cf. Dodd 64.

51. The colour red is suggestive of power, according to Byzantine historiographic sources; see Panou.

Consequently, in his first portraits, John Lampadistis is presented with a red tunic (in some cases still shown in the sixteenth century), and he either holds a censer and a cross or has his palms open towards the spectator.<sup>47</sup> However, the saint is holding a book and a cross, though still wearing a red robe without an orarion, in his portrait at Agiasmata and in the sixteenth-century icon from Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou.<sup>48</sup> What is interesting here is the change in the colour of John’s clothing, together with his attribute.<sup>49</sup> Taking into consideration the text of his *vita*, John appeared to the painter as a notary. However, we do not know what the garments and attributes of notaries were. In any case, if the painter of the *vita*-icon (Icon B) wanted to portray the saint as a notary, he would have depicted him holding an inkwell or a quill (the essential tools of a notary) and not with a censer. Anna Derbes has noted that deacons were dressed in red according to Latin examples, while Carr has proposed that John’s red robe may reflect a *mélange* of practices belonging to the Holy Land (Derbes and Sandona 213; Carr, “Holy Sepulcher” 489).<sup>50</sup> But how easy was it for medieval people, especially the Greek Orthodox, to identify a holy person as a deacon without their distinguishing vestment, i.e. the orarion? Nevertheless, the preference for red fabric probably indicates expensive clothes, worn by people of a certain social standing (Kalamara 152–57).<sup>51</sup> It is also possible that the luxury of John’s garment, indicated by the colour and the embroidery, may reflect the wish to glorify this new local saint. The red colour was used to make the new saint stand out and to attract the attention of the pilgrims (cf. Konstantellou 48–49).

## Conclusion

In the sanctification of a local person and the resulting dissemination and consolidation of their cult, three main elements play a decisive role: the exudation of a miraculous holy oil from the saint’s tomb or relics (μυροβλυσία); miraculous properties attributed to the saint’s relics, and depictions of the saint. In the case of John Lampadistis, we can trace the process of his sanctification and the subsequent consolidation of his cult above all through his artistic depictions. He lived a virtuous life, died at an early age, and miracles were attributed to him posthumously. Immediately after his death, a chapel was erected above his tomb, which became an important pilgrimage site that attracted many pilgrims.

The erection of the saint's chapel above the tomb in the twelfth century, its decoration in the thirteenth century, the two contemporary *vita*-icons asserting his holiness, the opulent sixteenth-century repainting of the larger of the two icons, the eighteenth-century reconstruction of the chapel, the installation of the relic of the head of the saint in the 1670s, the gilded revetment of the *proskynetarion* icon in 1776, and the centuries-long accretion of votive inscriptions at the site make clear the long duration of the saint's veneration.

The complex architectural space and the physical presence of the tomb, relics, and *vita*-icons of John Lampadistis were the focal point of the pilgrims' unique religious experiences. The saint performed miracles, healing the sick and expelling demons. The pilgrims were inspired to partake in the rituals of the cult and its healing practices and to spend a considerable amount of time within the complex for the salvation of their souls.

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