

Symbols and Models in the Mediterranean:

Perceiving through Cultures

Edited by

Aneilya Barnes and Mariarosaria Salerno

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Symbols and Models in the Mediterranean: Perceiving through Cultures

Edited by Aneilya Barnes and Mariarosaria Salerno

This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2017 by Aneilya Barnes, Mariarosaria Salerno
and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-9144-4

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-9144-8

CHAPTER NINE

EVOKING A DISTANT PAST? THE CHEVRON MOTIF AS AN EMBLEMATIC RELIC OF CRUSADER ARCHITECTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL CYPRUS

THOMAS KAFFENBERGER*

It has long been recognized that the island of Cyprus played an important role in the complex economic, political, socio-historical, and artistic network of the medieval Levant.¹ Even if the island was taken from the Byzantine Empire and not the Muslims, its conquest by Richard I of England in 1191 proved to be more than a by-product of the second Crusade. In particular, the strategic role of the island, serving as naval node in the eastern Mediterranean, was crucial for the later crusading policy. The purchase of the island by Guy de Lusignan in 1192 (after his loss of the throne of Jerusalem) paved the ground for what would become the longest lasting Latin kingdom in the East until its final conquest by the Ottoman fleet in 1571. Even more, when in 1291 the last crusader stronghold, Acre, was taken back by the Muslims, the city of Famagusta served as a “haven for refugees...and survivors from Syria” and, thus, as a last lifeline of the Christian Levant.² Cyprus became the last Latin kingdom in the eastern Mediterranean and the most easterly outpost of the Christian world.

In spite of this enormous importance as a node in the Levantine network, research on crusader art only recently intensified the efforts to include

* Université de Fribourg, Switzerland.

¹ See the important work of P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* (New York, 1991) and the volume of N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Cyprus and the crusades* (Nicosia, 1995).

² Edbury, *Kingdom*, p. 101.

Cyprus.³ This is especially the case for icons and wall painting, whereas sculpture and architecture remained rather on the margins of this process.⁴ This is not surprising, one might say, given that the evidence of thirteenth-century sculpture and architecture on Cyprus is restricted to a limited number of buildings—most notably, the early stages of the Latin cathedral of St. Sophia in Nicosia—compared to the exuberant evidence of the fourteenth century. The events of 1291 did not only immensely increase the strategic and economic importance of Cyprus, but it also triggered a veritable boom of building activities, in particular in the urban centres.⁵

While the study of crusader architecture traditionally was preoccupied with the question of the specific Western origins and, more recently, the perception of the Levant as a distinct artistic centre, the issue of a possible afterlife of forms developed in the Latin Levant has rarely been raised.⁶ Remarkably, to Camille Enlart, who was the first architectural historian to study the architecture of Cyprus and the crusader states between *ca.* 1895 and 1925, the formal similarities of many buildings and decorative

³ For a comprehensive historiography of crusader art research, see J. Folda, “East meets west. The art and architecture of the crusader states,” in C. Rudolph (ed.), *A companion to medieval art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Malden MA [u.a.], 2006), pp. 488–509.

⁴ For the case of paintings, see A. Weyl Carr, “Iconography and identity: Syrian elements in the art of crusader Cyprus,” *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89 (2009), 127–51. For architecture, see M. Olympios, “Reminiscing about the Crusader Levant: Royal architecture and memory in Lusignan Cyprus,” in I. Baumgärtner, M. Vagnoni, and M. Welton (eds.), *Representations of power at the Mediterranean borders of Europe (12th - 14th centuries)* (MediEVI 6; Firenze, 2014), pp. 139–60, who sets a theoretical framework for the further investigation of the relationship between Cypriot medieval architecture and the crusader mainland.

⁵ Most comprehensively, see C. Enlart, *Gothic art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (London, 1987); M. Olympios, *Gothic church architecture in Lusignan Cyprus, c. 1209-1373: design and patronage* (PhD-thesis, Courtauld Institute; London, 2010); M. Olympios, “Saint George of the Greeks and Its Legacy: A Facet of Urban Greek Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus,” in A. Weyl Carr (ed.), *Famagusta: Art and architecture. Volume 1* (Mediterranean Nexus 1100-1700 2; Turnhout, 2014), pp. 143–202; M. Olympios, “The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta,” in A. Weyl Carr (ed.), *Famagusta: Art and architecture. Volume 1. Mediterranean Nexus 1100-1700 2* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 75–142.

⁶ For Cyprus mainly Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” Olympios, “Urban,” Olympios, “Crusader Levant.”

features were already evident.⁷ Nonetheless, in his volume on Cypriot architecture, he considered the role of crusader architecture for the later development in Cyprus to be minimal. Even if Enlart changed his opinion later on, after finishing his thorough study of the Levantine buildings, the first statement of 1898 remained decisive for future research. In the foreword for the translated edition of Enlart's *opus*, Nicola Coldstream still confirms, that "Enlart was quite right...how strongly it [Lusignan architecture, T.K.] turned to Western Europe for its models. They are not filtered through the Holy Land. After 1192 there is no sign of influence from the mainland in Cyprus."⁸ While it is certainly true, that Cyprus possesses buildings, such as the Latin cathedral of St. Nicholas or St. George of the Latins in Famagusta, deriving from distinctly Western models, the overall picture is more diverse. Over 100 references to Cypriot buildings in Enlart's *Les Monuments des Croisés* bear testimony to his changed assessment, as he states, "La brillante floraison d'art gothique du royaume de Chypre...eut sa préparation dans le royaume de Jérusalem."⁹ Notably, the large churches of St. George of the Greeks and SS. Peter and Paul in Famagusta, both erected in the second half of the fourteenth century, attracted his attention in this context: "La grande et magnifique église Saint-André d'Acre qui datait du XIII^e siècle, fut manifestement le modèle de la cathédrale grecque et de l'église des Saints-Pierre-el-Paul de Famagouste."¹⁰ In fact, as Michalis Olympios has aptly stated recently, the architecture in Famagusta saw a veritable "crusader revival" happen in the course of the fourteenth century.¹¹ In addition to the aforementioned major edifices, many of the smaller (mainly non-Latin) churches were erected in a style strikingly similar to what would have been built several decades earlier in the now lost Levantine kingdoms. There is no doubt that crusader architecture did not entirely perish in 1291 together with the last Latin stronghold, Acre. Its belated impact on Cypriot architecture in the fourteenth century is an issue that deserves further investigation, which could shed further light on the self-perception of the multi-religious society in Cyprus after 1291.¹²

⁷ Enlart, *Gothic*, e.g. pp. 283–4; C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1925-1927).

⁸ Nicola Coldstream in the introduction to Enlart, *Gothic*, p. 6.

⁹ Enlart, *Monuments*, Vol.1, p. 134.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, Vol.1, p. 148–9.

¹¹ Olympios, "Ecclesiastical," esp. pp. 105–20.

¹² For a recent, more comprehensive survey, see D. Pringle, "Gothic architecture in the Holy Land and Cyprus: from Acre to Famagusta," *Levant* 47 (2015), 293–315. I wish to thank Prof. Pringle for sharing the article with me before publication.

This brief study intends to address the issue of the relationship between Cypriot and crusader architecture through an investigation of a specific decorative motif present in the West, the Levant, and in Cyprus: the chevron arch. Olympios has recently suggested three criteria to “better circumscribe and define the character of the interaction or formal loan,” namely distinctiveness of form, anticipated impact/visibility, and intentionality of the citation.¹³ The chevron in all its variations, even if—or, perhaps, especially because—it was used rather infrequently in the crusader architecture as well as in late medieval Cyprus, is certainly remarkable for its distinctiveness. Furthermore, its presence on central Latin (Bellapais Abbey) and Orthodox (St. Epiphanius and St. George of the Greeks, Famagusta) monuments testifies to the significant aesthetic value that was attributed to this motif: in those cases, a high anticipated visibility is undisputable. The most complex issue to be addressed is the presumed intentionality; in the absence of written sources on the patrons and builders of the edifices, we are often thrown back to educated guesswork so that the ideas presented below should be seen as first suggestions.

The Chevron Motif: Variations and Origins

The *Chevron Guide*, part of the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland*, states, “Chevron ornament is most commonly found decorating the orders of an arch. The difficulties experienced in describing it both adequately and systematically arise from the number of different forms it can take.”¹⁴ Thus, before coming to the dissemination of chevron arches in Cyprus, it seems necessary to briefly discuss character and origins of the motif.

It is generally accepted that the “chevron is probably the single most characteristic moulding...in Norman architecture...,” as Eric Fernie stated in 2000.¹⁵ After a long period of scholarly neglect, Rachel Moss has recently

This issue is further addressed in “Hagios Georgios in Famagusta und der orthodoxe Kirchenbau unter fränkischer, genuesischer und venezianischer Herrschaft auf Zypern (14.-16.Jh.)” *Tradition and Identity. The Architecture of Greek Churches in Cyprus (14th to 16th Centuries)* by Thomas Kaffenberger, PhD diss., Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz/King’s College, London (2016).

¹³ Olympios, “Urban,” p. 143.

¹⁴ The *Chevron Guide* is accessible online: <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/the-chevron-guide/> [23.04.2015].

¹⁵ E. C. Fernie, *The architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 276. He only refers to England, but the statement also applies to the Norman architecture in France.

shown the immense creativity of different chevron arch types in her book *Romanesque Chevron Ornament*, the first comprehensive study of all chevron arches in the architecture of England, Northern France, and Ireland.¹⁶ While there were previous attempts to categorize the types of chevron arches—most notably by Alan Borg in 1967¹⁷—Moss introduced a new system of classification, which allows for a precise description of the multiple variations of the motif.¹⁸ She underlines the importance of considering the relationship of the chevron to the underlying voussoir, as well as the moulding profile of the chevron itself. Starting from there, she develops seven groups of chevron mouldings, the most common of which is the “lateral centrifugal” type, lateral meaning a chevron decoration parallel to the decorated face of the voussoir. The distinction between centrifugal and centripetal decoration depends on the carving on each single voussoir: usually, there is one chevron carved on each voussoir, including the keystone. If the chevron of this arch apex points outward, it has a centrifugal pattern, and, if it points inward, it has a centripetal pattern. The third group, “frontal” chevrons, is also known as a saw-tooth pattern. Here, the chevrons are placed in a right angle to the face of the voussoir. The other four groups, “saltire,” “directional,” “projecting edge chevron,” and “hyphenated” are of minor interest in the context of this article, as none of these less usual, rather complex chevron mouldings appear in Cyprus. However, as will be discussed below, it is necessary to add a further group, the “angled chevron,” which describes a chevron ornament that is not placed parallel or at a right angle to the face or soffit of an arch.¹⁹

Theories on the origin of the chevron motif are as manifold as the different variations it receives in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In fact, mitred stone strips and zig-zag patterns are not a Norman invention. They can be found on Anglo-Saxon architecture and timberworks, in late antique manuscripts, on Roman mosaics, and in Arab and Carolingian architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries.²⁰ Regardless,

¹⁶ R. Moss, *Romanesque chevron ornament: The language of British, Norman and Irish sculpture in the twelfth century* (BAR International series 1908; Oxford, 2009)—including a comprehensive Appendix of moulding profiles.

¹⁷ A. Borg, “The Development of Chevron Ornament,” *The journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967), 122–40. Furthermore, see an unpublished *Glossary of the Chevron Ornament* by Deirdre Wolleston, which has been included in Moss’s study and presumably formed the basis for the aforementioned *Chevron Guide*.

¹⁸ Moss, *Chevron*, pp. 13–4.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3 describes this phenomenon but subsumes it under her groups, while the *Chevron Guide* still lists it as a separate group.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 6–11.

none of these examples is suitably close to explain the success of the motif in Norman England and France. Probably, the closest “predecessor” is the moulded chevron along the base of the dome of the eighth-century Jordanian palace of Qusayr’Amra, which triggered thoughts to see the Arab world as a point of origin. However, the mode of transmission would be more than unclear: not a single example is known from Moorish Spain and, as Moss has convincingly argued, a reverse influence during the First Crusade is more than unlikely: a lacuna of almost 300 years and the relative rarity of the motif in the crusader Levant rather speak in favour of a different way of transmission. Also, Camille Enlart, who devoted a short chapter of his *Les Monuments des Croisés* to the chevron motif, makes sure to underline that, albeit there are Arab buildings with such decorative patterns, it would rather originate from the Norman buildings in the north of France, namely the two abbey churches St. Étienne and La Trinité in Caen.²¹ While the churches of Caen are not named among the presumed initial buildings in more recent studies, it is still open where exactly the motif was first applied. Even if buildings, such as Cerisy-la-Forêt (around 1100) or Canterbury (crypt chapel, 1096), are one or two decades earlier, it presumably was Durham cathedral (south transept, ca. 1110–1120) that eventually fostered the dissemination throughout the Norman territory.²²

Nonetheless, the success of the chevron motif in England was only temporary, ending again around 1240. At the same time, the use outside of the Norman core territory remained the exception and was mostly restricted to local building groups or single buildings—e.g. in Hungary around the monastery of Ják (ca. 1240), in Norway around the cathedrals of Stavanger and Trondheim (twelfth century), or the cathedral of Worms in Germany (western choir before 1181).²³

The Chevron in the Latin Levant

The crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem roughly—and with interruptions caused by Muslim re-conquests—existed between 1099 and the thirteenth century. In 1244, Jerusalem was lost to the Khwarezmians (later replaced by the Mamluks); in 1291, Acre, the last stronghold, also fell into Mamluk hands. This period of two and a half centuries more or less coincided with

²¹ Enlart, *Monuments*, Vol.1, p. 108.

²² On this question, see Moss, *Chevron*, p. 4 and Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 276–7.

²³ Moss, *Chevron*, p.5. See also M. K. Meade, W. Szambien, and S. Talenti (eds.), *L’architecture normande en Europe: Identités et échanges du XIe siècle à nos jours* (Marseille, 2002).

the use of the chevron motif in Western Europe. Thus, it would hardly be surprising if the responsible builders and stone-masons, who were certainly familiar with the current Norman architecture of England and France, had employed the motif when erecting churches in the Levant. However, when Enlart records only seven occurrences of the motif among all the investigated structures, he seems to have only missed out on a mere handful of mainly modest examples.²⁴ Seeing the sheer numbers, the role of the chevron moulding appears to have been marginal—unlike the aesthetically similar arch type with gadrooned (ribbed) voussoirs, for which examples are plentiful (most notably the crusader period façade of the Holy Sepulchre).²⁵

The oldest examples seem to be the southern apse window of the old Latin cathedral in Beirut (before 1150) with a simple, squash lateral chevron ornament and the hood mould of St. Anne in Jerusalem (*ca.* 1130-40), which is covered with a rather delicate and very unusual saltire, or back-to-back chevron pattern.²⁶ Similarly small in scale was a directional chevron pattern that adorned a single roll of the complex portal moulding of Nablus's An-Nasr Mosque (formerly a Latin church), which was destroyed in an earthquake of 1927.²⁷ The second occurrence in Nablus, on the outer order of the main entrance to the Al-Khadra Mosque, presents, albeit heavily weathered, a much clearer example of lateral centrifugal chevrons. The building, of an unusual rectangular floor plan, was likely erected before 1187, possibly by Franks, serving a secular purpose or as a synagogue.²⁸ The most prominent late twelfth- (and perhaps early thirteenth) century chevron arches can be found in Byblos/Giblet and, unsurprisingly, in Jerusalem.

The cathedral of St. John in Giblet is a remarkably well-preserved building with a triple nave and a single bayed annexe building to the north, which is commonly referred to as a baptistery. This annexe is formed as an open, domed porch and was added to the slightly older church either after an earthquake of 1170 or after Arab raids in 1188/1190.²⁹ The eastern and

²⁴ Enlart, *Monuments*, Vol.1, pp. 108–9.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol.1, pp. 97–9.

²⁶ Beirut: D. Pringle, *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A corpus* (Cambridge [England], New York, 1993-2009), Vol.1, p. 112–5; St. Anne, Jerusalem: Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, Vol.3, pp. 142–56.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, Vol.2, pp. 100–3—The images that show the portal before its destruction leave some doubt as to whether the chevron was carved or painted on the moulding roll.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, Vol. 2, pp. 111–5—According to press reports, the building has sadly been bulldozed in 2002.

²⁹ Enlart, *Monuments*, Vol.2, pp. 118–22.

western arches are adorned with different chevron patterns: a lateral centripetal row of chevrons, all decorated with small rosettes, on the eastern arch and a frontal chevron on the western arch. The latter is remarkable for the use of a single roll with fillets, which follows a slight zig-zag pattern, to frame the frontal chevrons: this idea of a combination of frontal and lateral chevrons will be of some relevance in later examples.

In Jerusalem, several prominent examples appear in a Muslim architectural context: the main porch of the Al-Aqsa Mosque; the fountains of Sabil Birkat al-Sultan, Sabil Bab al-Atm, and Sabil Bab al-Silsila (next to the Chain Gate), and a window in the house of Bayram Jawish.³⁰ While the arches of the Sabil Birkat al-Sultan and Sabil Bab al-Atm show a frontal chevron with a moulding composed of two hollows and two rolls, all separated with fillets, the Sabil Bab al-Silsila modifies this standard pattern. The profile receives a symmetrical layout with a central roll flanked by two hollows and two slimmer rolls, all separated with fillets. As both faces of the voussoir received centrifugal chevrons, the impression is that of an angled chevron with a pronounced corner of the archivolt. The window in the house of Bayram Jawish is very similar in its design but adds a curious hood mould with volutes at the lateral ends. The main arch of the western porch of Al-Aqsa is also adorned with a comparable, even if less elegant and slightly squatter, moulding. All examples present a methodological problem concerning the date of creation: the fountains were built in 1536 and 1537, respectively, the house probably in 1551/52, while for the Al-Aqsa porch, surely erected in the twelfth century, a renovation date of 1217-18 (thus, under Ayyubid rule) is attested.³¹ Already, Enlart assumed that these arches were created in the Arab period (i.e. Ayyubid or Mamluk), and Denys Pringle supports this by referring to older crusader style decoration carved on the back side of the apparently reused Al-Aqsa arch voussoirs. The sixteenth-century examples leave even more possibilities of interpretation: while the arches might, indeed, be a creation of the period, as supposed by Natsheh, it is more probable that they were reused as spolia. The great value attributed to the sculptural elements of crusader architecture by the conquering forces is underlined by examples, such as the Gothic portal from Acre, which was brought to Cairo and later used as an entrance to the

³⁰ Al-Aqsa: Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, Vol.3, p. 417–35; fountains/house: Y. S. Natsheh, *Sixteenth century Ottoman public buildings in Jerusalem: A study based on the standing monuments and evidence of the Jerusalem sijill* (PhD-thesis, University of London; London, 1997), pp. 126–31, 135–9, 142–7, 177–84.

³¹ Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, Vol.3, p. 427.

mausoleum of Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad.³² However, whether the arches were created under the Latins in the twelfth century, under Ayyubid rule in the early thirteenth century, or under the Latins before 1244, is hard to determine. The same statement can be made for a window from the complex of St. Mary Latin, perhaps the richest specimen in the city, unfortunately only known from a nineteenth-century photograph. The biforic window shows rich frontal chevrons and is enclosed by an outer arch with back-to-back lateral chevrons (the same adorn a small oculus in the tympanum) and a saltire pattern on the outer thick roll, which continues around an adjoining portal. Even if Pringle opts for a creation in the Ayyubid or Mamluk period, the variation and choice of patterns places this window closer to its Norman predecessors than any other example in the city—thus, speaking for an early date of creation, maybe together with the church in the first half of the twelfth century.³³

Finally, the presumably latest and most splendid example should be mentioned: the thirteenth-century portal of the now lost cathedral of Tripoli, which was reused in the Great Mosque of 1294, erected after the conquest of the city in 1289. Both orders of the arch are decorated with elegant lateral chevrons, the second order applying the hollow-roll-hollow profile already known from Jerusalem and the inner order of an inverted roll-hollow-roll profile. This portal, too, was occasionally considered to be of Mamluk origin, but Hayat Salam-Liebich has pointed out the ornamental decoration on the inner face of the arch, a band of quatrefoil rosettes, which would fit within a Latin context with far more ease.³⁴

Many of the questions raised above will have to be left open in this article—we neither know the exact way of transmission of the motif nor which building might have served as harbinger of the chevron to crusader architecture. The evidence might seem scarce, but the amount of lost or hardly recognizable major buildings is immense, so the image of crusader architecture and decoration has to remain fragmentary. There is some doubt as to whether the most homogenous group of chevron arches in Jerusalem should be considered of Latin origin. However, with regard to

³² *Ibidem*, Vol.4, p. 24.

³³ Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, Vol.3, pp. 249–51—The window was, however, located in the monastic buildings and probably already out of its original context, so any connection with the church is conjectural. The same applies to a portal placed in the cloister, which shows an odd interlaced decoration based on chevrons.

³⁴ H. Salam-Liebich, *The architecture of the Mamluk city of Tripoli* (Cambridge, Mass, 1983), pp. 25–6. For a further discussion of the precise date, see Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” p. 102, fn. 51.

the presence of other spoliated arches in the city, the reuse of—particularly decorative—Latin chevron arches would hardly be surprising.³⁵ The buildings in Giblet and Tripolis attest for the wide dissemination of the motif in the Levant, while the almost total loss of Latin architectural decoration in Acre frustratingly impedes any more general study of this city.³⁶

Introduction of the Chevron Motif in Cyprus: Bellapais and Famagusta

There is no known occurrence of the chevron motif as sculptural decoration in Cyprus in the thirteenth century, the only period during which Cyprus and parts of the Holy Land were under Latin rule contemporaneously.³⁷ This might not seem surprising, considering the above mentioned minor impact of crusader architecture on the Cypriot buildings of that period. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the coincidence of preservation might have swiped away certain examples during the boom of building activities in the fourteenth century.³⁸ Remarkably, the absence of the motif in sculpture and architecture is met by a row of examples of painted chevron bands, such as the one framing Christ Pantocrator in the dome of the Panagia tou Arakou in Lagoudera (1192) and those along the dome arches and windows in St. Heracleidus in Kalopanagiotis (thirteenth century).³⁹

The three oldest examples of sculptural chevron arches that are still in existence can be found in Famagusta and Bellapais. Due to their chronological proximity, a comparative analysis of the objects can deliver valuable insight. The largest and, unfortunately, worst preserved example

³⁵ The precise relation between chevron arches in Arab and Christian architecture of the Late Middle Ages remains a *desideratum* for future research.

³⁶ Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, Vol.4, pp. 36–116.

³⁷ Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” pp. 102–3.

³⁸ For instance, it is known from sources that there was first a Latin cathedral in Famagusta, which had been taken down for the erection of the current building from ca. 1300 onwards. See Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” p.78.

³⁹ Lagoudera: A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, *The painted churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine art*, Rev. ed. (Cyprus, 1997), pp. 157–85, D. Winfield and J. Winfield, “The Church of the Panaghia tou Arakos at Lagoudera, Cyprus: The paintings and its painterly significance,” *Dumbarton Oaks studies*, 37 (2003); Kalopanagiotis: Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches* 295–8 (first half of thirteenth century), A. Weyl Carr, “The ‘Holy Sepulcher’ of St. John Lampadistes in Cyprus,” in A. M. Lidov (ed.), *Novye Ierusalimy. Ierotopija i ikonografija sakralnych prostranstv* (Moskwa, 2009), pp. 475–99 (late thirteenth century).

adorns the southern portal of the church of St. Epiphanius in Famagusta, perhaps the old Greek metropolis before the erection of the adjacent, immense cathedral of St. George (Fig. 1).⁴⁰ The portal features simple, stepped jambs on which an inner order with a straight moulding profile rests. This profile, featuring a central roll-and-fillet flanked by deep hollows and smaller lateral rolls, represents a slightly varied standard type of moulding, which was also constitutive for the majority of Cypriot chevron arches. The state of decay hardly allows for an exact analysis of the chevron arch itself, which functions as hood mould and rests on squat, pillow-like corbels. Nevertheless, one can assume that it originally followed the same standard profile type, enriched with fillets between the rolls and hollows. Each voussoir is decorated with one chevron—with the exception of the keystone, which is split in half. The existence of a slim, plain outer hood mould, which rests on separate, tiny corbels, is remarkable, as this feature is unusual even in the creative artistic environment of fourteenth-century Famagusta.

A very similar concept can be found at an arch of the Syriac church of St. George Exorinos, also in Famagusta (Fig. 2).⁴¹ The arch, only half of which is preserved, formed part of a wall, which continued at a right angle from the southern aisle of the church, itself part of a secondary building campaign. The original context is unclear, but we may assume that the portal gave access to a court or closed precinct to the west of the building. In spite of the fragmentary state of the arch, the preservation of the remaining voussoirs is almost pristine. This arch illustrates well how the portal in St. Epiphanius might have originally looked: the voussoirs are also decorated with lateral centrifugal chevrons of the standard profile type

⁴⁰ “St. Epiphanius” is not secured as the dedication but used here in favour of the less likely “St. Symeon” first proposed by Theophilus Mogabgab in the 1930s. See T. C. Papacostas, “Byzantine Famagusta: An Oxymoron?” in A. Weyl Carr (ed.), *Famagusta: Art and architecture*. Volume 1. Mediterranean Nexus 1100-1700 2 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 25–62, on the issue of original function and dedication of the church. On the building chronology of the complex, see T. Kaffenberger, “Harmonizing the Sources: An Insight into the Appearance of the Hagios Georgios Complex at Various Stages of its Building History,” in N. Coureas, T. Kiss, and M. J. K. Walsh (eds.), *Crusader to Venetian Famagusta: “The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm”* (Budapest, 2014), with a comprehensive bibliography in fns. 4–8, and Olympios, “Urban.”

⁴¹ Mainly Enlart, *Gothic*, p. 280–6; M. Bacci, “Syrian, Palaiologan, and Gothic Murals in the Nestorian Church of Famagusta,” *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaologikes Hetaireias* 27 (2006), 207–20; P. Plagnieux and T. Soulard, “Famagouste. L’architecture religieuse,” in J.-B. De Vaivre (ed.), *L’art gothique en Chypre* (Paris, 2006), pp. 121–296, here pp. 266–70.

with fillets. Here, we can more clearly observe a common feature of many Cypriot chevron arches: both face and soffit of the arch are decorated with synchronous chevrons. As described for the Chain-Gate fountain in Jerusalem, this positioning of the chevrons, which we could call “merged angled,” produces a very dynamic visual effect. Also, this chevron arch rests on rather crude rounded corbels—the original inner order is lost. The outer hood mould, unlike the rather plain one of St. Epiphanius, shows another motif deriving from the Norman/crusader architecture, a dogtooth frieze.

The third early example comes from a distinctly different, non-urban context: the lavishly decorated portal of the refectory in Bellapais Abbey near Keryneia (Fig. 3).⁴² The portal has been aptly described by Olympios as “a consciously retrospective pastiche of outdated design elements,” combining twelfth-century crusader forms with others from an early thirteenth-century Cypriot context.⁴³ Unlike in the previous two examples, the chevron ornament adorns the inner order of the arch, while the hood mould is of the so-called “Syrian” type: it ends in small volutes and is decorated with a (rather crude) dogtooth frieze framed by two rolls. At first glimpse, the chevron is quite similar to those in Famagusta, but this similarity is mainly restricted to the moulding profile (albeit, the central roll lacks the characteristic fillet). Its structural composition differs while retaining certain elements of the double-faced lateral chevron type; the alignment of the main roll does not oscillate sideways, but from front-to-back, thus, forming a more classic angled chevron. Furthermore, each voussoir carries two chevrons, which point inwards and, consequently, give the arch a centripetal alignment. However, the chevron on the apex, divided by the joint between two voussoirs, points outward and, thus, indicates a systematic problem that can be encountered in several instances on the island (and, admittedly, already in the Levant): the original idea of a single chevron forming a unit with a single voussoir has been given up in favour of a perception of chevrons as an ornamental band.

Olympios considers the Bellapais chevron arch to be the earliest example on the island, roughly datable to the 1340s/1350s, when the large refectory was erected under the auspices of Hugh IV.⁴⁴ The entirely diachronic assemblage of outdated elements, of which the portal is composed, in fact, leaves little doubt about the intentionality of the design. It is easy to follow Olympios’s suggestion to place the decorative concept in the context of Hugh IV’s general policy of retaining and strengthening

⁴² Most recently Olympios, *Lusignan Cyprus*.

⁴³ Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” pp. 101–5, Olympios, “Urban,” p. 158.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*

his claim to the crown of the (territory-less) Kingdom of Jerusalem. To an informed observer, the portal would insinuate this claim, as well as the close ties of the monastery, supposedly founded by Guy de Lusignan, with the former kingdom.⁴⁵

But how do the two examples from Famagusta, which form part of an Orthodox and a Syrian church respectively, relate to this prime example of a display of royal policy? Olympios is certainly right in placing the generally increased occurrence of outdated crusader architecture in Famagusta within the reign of Hugh the IV (1324–1359). However, while there is no doubt that the abbey of Bellapais ranks among the most prestigious medieval buildings of the island and would have had an impact on other building projects, the chosen chevron types in Famagusta are too different to suggest an immediate relation or dependence. Thus, a re-evaluation of the 1350s/60s date proposed by Olympios seems necessary and, in fact, draws up a different picture. When the large cathedral of St. George of the Greeks was started in around 1350, the complex of St. Epiphanius must have been complete, as shown by the evidence of a small court connecting the two churches, which made changes to the western doorways of the older church necessary.⁴⁶ These doorways belong to a second phase of expansion that succeeded the first fourteenth-century enlargement, during which the southern doorway with the chevrons was created. Consequently, two considerable phases of expansion of the old church happened before 1350, the *terminus ante quem* for the whole of the structure of St. Epiphanius. While a quick sequence of expansions is not unthinkable, one would rather expect at least a decade between the large scale expansion projects. Also, the mid-fourteenth century date for the aisles of St. George Exorinos is far from certain. The original church was most likely erected for a Syrian refugee community, as was shown by Michele Bacci, who studied the paintings (some of which carry Syriac inscriptions) and suggested a late thirteenth-century date. The proposed link to the fall of crusader Tripoli in 1289 could also open up a new possibility for the interpretation of the chevron arches: indeed, the chevron type and profile of the arches in Famagusta closely resembles the second order of the cathedral portal preserved in Tripoli. According to Bacci, the addition of the aisles could “have taken place not much later, probably in the early fourteenth century, when the Syrian quarter had become one of the most densely-crowded in town,”⁴⁷ thus, at a time when the thirteenth-century crusader buildings and their decoration were still part of the

⁴⁵ Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” p. 105.

⁴⁶ Here and below Kaffenberger, *Harmonizing*, pp. 177–9.

⁴⁷ Bacci, *Murals*, p. 210.

collective memory. A minor difference between the otherwise very similar arches of St. George Exorinos and St. Epiphanius is of further relevance. The hood mould of the St. Epiphanius portal rests on unusual pillow-like corbels, which can be found occasionally in a crusader context—most prominently (in an ornamentally decorated variation) in the cloister of Belmont Abbey near Tripoli.⁴⁸ On the basis of this admittedly sparse evidence, it is, indeed, enticing to place both portals in the first decades of the fourteenth century.

If we accept this date, the *lacuna* between the thirteenth-century crusader architecture and its fourteenth-century rediscovery could be, at least partly, filled. In the decades after the arrival of refugees from the lost territories belonging to various Christian communities, new churches would have been erected (and subsequently enlarged) in a style familiar to the patrons and masons alike. Furthermore, it is likely that the features of the churches were supposed to speak not only to the congregation but also to members of other congregations—in some way functioning as conveyor of the community's status in the multipolar network of urban Famagusta.⁴⁹ As we are not informed about the patrons responsible for the enlargement of St. Epiphanius Church, the interpretation of the distinctly crusader-like appearance has to be of a tentative nature. Most likely, the building functioned as the main Orthodox church in the city, if not already as episcopal see. With the reorganisation of the social texture of the city, the inter-denominational relations were re-evaluated as well; the Orthodox Church repeatedly, most notably in 1310, attempted to extend its administrative jurisdiction to the Syrian communities by referencing the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260.⁵⁰ This advance, albeit unsuccessful, presents two possible explanations for the emblematic use of crusader motifs. Firstly, they might have been intended as visual reminders of the (perceivably) rightful claim of the Orthodox to function as authority over the newly arriving Christians from the Levant. Secondly, they could indicate that patrons of Levantine origin (Melkites or Jacobites?), regardless of the formal status, played a central role in the expansion of the church; perhaps, they were attracted by the prestige of the site as the most ancient and

⁴⁸ See Enlart, *Monuments*, Fig. 208.

⁴⁹ On this thought, see also M. Georgopoulou, "The Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Gesta* 43 (2004), 115–28, esp. p. 123.

⁵⁰ Olympios, "Urban," pp. 169–70; N. Coureas, "Non-Chalcedonian Christians on Latin Cyprus," in M. Ballard, B. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, pp. 349–60.

venerable church in the city or aiming at a fast assimilation within the Orthodox community.

In any case, the visual impact of the prominently displayed portal of St. Epiphanius cannot be underestimated. The value attributed to it is shown by the large protecting arch that was erected to shelter it after the unsuitable nature of the stone material became apparent. Furthermore, when the new Greek cathedral of St. George, a building of previously unmatched dimensions, was erected from *ca.* 1350 onwards, the chevron pattern was chosen to adorn the northern portal. Although the portal is lost today, several remaining voussoirs help us to identify its original shape. Each voussoir was decorated with a single centrifugal chevron. The whole decoration visibly goes back to the older southern portal of the complex, even if the profile is more compact, enlivened with a dogtooth occupying the hollows, and the chevrons are placed frontal rather than at an angle. The choice of the motif for the northern portal (instead of, for example, the central western entrance) is remarkable. This entrance, facing the Latin cathedral and the city centre, was placed exactly opposite from a large archway that connected the new and the old church. One could hypothesize that the chevron was, perhaps, used as a way of advertising the importance of the old church, now dwarfed by its successor.⁵¹ Furthermore, the placement of chevron portals on opposing facades of the heterogeneous complex might have served as a tie, giving the entire complex a uniform value.

Chevrons as Part of Eclectic Ensembles: Famagusta in the Fifteenth Century

In spite of its use in these prominent early to mid-fourteenth century building endeavours, the chevron remained rather exceptional in the Cypriot architecture. In Famagusta, only two more buildings show chevrons: the unidentified church south of the Carmelite Monastery, commonly known as the Tanners' Mosque, and the so-called Loggia Bembo, the large rectangular building adjoining the Latin cathedral of St. Nicholas to the southwest.

The Tanners' Mosque is a small and very unusual building that features numerous references to crusader architecture.⁵² The main portal is

⁵¹ The issue of a visualized *memoria* in St. George of the Greeks will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming PhD thesis.

⁵² Enlart, *Gothic*, pp.299–302; A. Langdale and M. J. K. Walsh, “A Short Report on Three newly Accessible Churches in the Syrian Quarter of Famagusta,” *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 13 (2007), 105–23, here 108–10.

composed of several oddly inharmonious ornamental elements, including stepped jambs with quarter-circle rolls in each step that carry squashed capital friezes, the archivolt that consists of two orders, (which do not correspond to the jambs below), the inner order formed by an irregular row of frontal chevrons and the outer order formed by two bands of flowers and foliage, all covered by a rather simple hood mould, again with small, crude flowers on the springer and apex (Fig. 4). It is quite likely that this assemblage is an inventive, albeit moderately skilful, reference to the northern portal of St. George of the Greeks, which also possessed column-imitations in the stepped jambs and foliage framing the chevron arch. The profile of the chevron is unique; it seems that the row of dogtooth moulding occupying the hollow in the example of St. George was transformed into a mitred fillet for this building. The idiosyncrasy of the portal decoration is a typical sign for a building from the first half to the mid-fifteenth century. The erection of the church is usually attributed to the Jacobite community, an idea fostered by the overall style of the building. However, considering the gradual loss of importance and assimilation of the Jacobite community after the Genoese occupation of Famagusta in 1374, this attribution should be treated with some care.

An even bolder pasticcio of forms and elements is presented by the “Loggia Bembo.” The stepped doorway, one of the largest in late medieval Cyprus, features not less than four orders (Fig. 5). The elements of decoration rank from antique spolia and imitations of Byzantine capitals to diverse Gothic and Renaissance features. An angled centripetal chevron appears on the first order of the arch, rather flat in its execution, and of a roll and fillets profile without the usual hollows. The presence of Bembo blazons on the capitals speak in favour of at least an important renovation phase under the Venetian captain, Daniele Bembo, placing the portal in the years 1485–1488.⁵³ The purpose of the building, however, is unknown. Camille Enlart’s suggestion that it might have been the cathedral school was recently rejected by Vincenzo Lucchese, who instead thinks of the use as a public gathering hall. Be this as it may, in this case, the chevron apparently serves as a distinctive element in an ensemble, which aims at

⁵³ V. Lucchese, “Famagusta from a Latin perspective: Venetian heraldic shields and other fragmentary remains,” in N. Coureas, P. W. Edbury, and M. J. K. Walsh (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in architecture, art and history* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 167–86, here 170–5; J.-B. De Vaivre, “Le Décor Héraldique,” in J.-B. De Vaivre (ed.), *L’art gothique en Chypre* (Paris, 2006), pp. 425–72, here p.450 adversely identifies the coats of arms as those of Jérôme Raggazoni, Latin archbishop from 1561 on.

the representation of an abstract “grand past” through the visualisation of past artistic epochs.

Chevrons in Nicosia: Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century

When Olympios states that “the historicist elements of Bellapais apparently left the architectural scene of the capital untouched,” this also refers to the apparent absence of chevron arches on the preserved fourteenth-century buildings of the capital.⁵⁴ However, on the site of the largely destroyed Yeni Camii, one can find several voussoirs of a chevron arch among the scattered debris. It seems that the chevron was of the angled type similar to that of Bellapais but enriched with dogtooth moulding in the hollows and framing the arch. It is not certain if this chevron arch was indeed part of the church, the remains of which indicate a building otherwise clearly placed within the capital’s late fourteenth-century architectural developments. Nevertheless, the addition of dogtooth moulding to the profile would, indeed, match the last quarter of the fourteenth century quite well. The general formal similarity to the Bellapais refectory arch could indicate an—admittedly rather punctual—impact of the royal abbey’s stylistic pasticcio also in the capital.

The variety of developments connected with the original idea of chevrons is illustrated by a garden portal, today lost, that was documented by Camille Enlart. The lateral, centripetal chevrons, formed by triangular plaques with small stars/roses, closely remind viewers of the eastern arch of the Giblet baptistery and also attest for the presence of at least small doses of crusader architecture in Nicosia in the fourteenth century.

From the fifteenth century on, chevron arches seem to have become more common in the city. Before its destruction in 1904, a portal in the court of the Serail (possibly the former royal palace of King Janus) was adorned with a chevron motif on the first order of the arch.⁵⁵ The second order and the capital zone showed what seems like a vividly, but crudely, carved foliage. A twisted cable motif was used for the framing roll, and the arch was formed of voussoirs of different colours, two elements which evoke Venetian examples of the fifteenth century. Considering this and the idiosyncrasy of the portal decoration, paired with a certain *horror vacuii*,

⁵⁴ Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” pp. 105–6.

⁵⁵ For the royal residences in Nicosia see Enlart, *Gothic*, pp.390–9; G. Grivaud, “Frankish & Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570: Secular Monuments and Topography,” in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Historic Nicosia*, pp. 137–51, here pp.139–43; J.-B. De Vaivre (ed.), *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre: Photographies de la mission de Camille Enlart en 1896* (Paris, 2012), pp.61–3.

we can easily attribute the portal to the second half the fifteenth century. The unique western portal of the innermost southern aisle of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa is probably from the same period (Fig. 6). Here, the frontal chevron motif occupies the whole arch and consists of a sequence of creatively, but less skilfully, carved ornamental bands (roll, fishbone pattern, roll-and-fillet, dogtooth, roses). Finally, an arch preserved in the nineteenth-century building of the “Old Archbishopric” (today Folk Art Museum) should, for its style, also be dated to the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ The unusual profile of the (double-sided) angled chevron, which does not include proper hollows, is vaguely reminiscent of the Tanners’ Mosque in Famagusta. This could indicate a slightly earlier date in the mid-fifteenth century.

Surprisingly, the sixteenth-century examples in Nicosia seem to draw upon more systematic, older models. The portals of the Kasteliotissa precinct, on a house on Adamantiou Korai street and of the northern aisle of the Archangel Michael Church in Lakatamia, all show precisely carved angled chevrons of the Bellapais type and make use of the most common roll and hollow profile (Fig. 7).⁵⁷ The varying design of hood moulds and jambs, as well as the presence of a cone-and-sphere motif in two of the examples, indicates the very modular use of decorative elements in the late medieval architecture of the island.

In Nicosia, we also encounter one of the very few uses of the chevron motif outside of a portal context, namely in the vaults of the sixteenth-century phase of the Orthodox cathedral. While the diagonal ribs carry usual, albeit slightly disproportional profiles, the transversal arches are formed by a single zig-zagging roll. The only similar example is the now entirely destroyed sixteenth-century church of Mari near Larnaca, where apparently the diagonal ribs of the vault were designed in the same way.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Olympios, “Ecclesiastical,” p. 106, fn. 60.

⁵⁷ The Kasteliotissa portal was part of a house built in 1787, but an old photograph from *ca.* 1900 indicates that this was already a secondary use (De Vaivre, *Monuments*, p. 70). The house on Adamantiou Korai Street is not dated, albeit a plaque with the date 1738 could betray an eighteenth-century origin. Whether the portal is, indeed, from the sixteenth century or posterior, has to remain open. Another fragment of an angled chevron arch, found in the debris of the southern aisle of the Panagia Hodegetria, indicates that the group of similar portals might originally have been even larger.

⁵⁸ R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), p. 340.

Chevrons outside of the Urban Centres: Sixteenth Century

In addition to the vault ribs in Mari, chevrons can only be found on few other rural buildings, most of which are formally and stylistically isolated. No examples seem to be datable before the early sixteenth century, even if the dating evidence is scarce. A single voussoir, used as finial of the façade in the eighteenth-century church of Geri, is all that remains of the portal of its predecessor. Of what is visible, it seems to indicate an elaborate archivolt with an angled or lateral chevron. Uniquely, a row of centripetal fleur-de-lis adorned the arch soffit—a motif that is known from various places in the late medieval Mediterranean, such as early sixteenth-century Calabria (e.g. the southern portal of San Michele Archangelo in Celico, dated to 1514 through an inscription carved into the portal) and Rhodes.⁵⁹ Similarly unique is the western portal of the Prophet Elijah Monastery in Agia Marina Skyllouras. While the Maronite monastery was founded in the eighteenth century, the church seems to be older, probably from the sixteenth century. The portal features an extremely odd lintel decorated with three protruding blazons, a hood mould with a cross-shaped finial, and, framing the recessed tympanum, a lateral centripetal chevron arch of the type known from Giblet and the fourteenth-century portal in Nicosia.⁶⁰

The sixteenth-century portals of St. John in Argaki and St. Luke in Klepini fit better within the more common groups of chevron portals on the island.⁶¹ The one in Argaki shows angled chevrons of the Bellapais type, which might well have been the immediate model. The arch in Argaki also seems to “sink” into the wall, resulting in 2/3 chevrons as springers. The portal in Klepini, on the other hand, is decorated with an abstract derivative of the “Syrian” hood mould with volutes, but the chevrons belong to the merged angled type known from fourteenth-

⁵⁹ The Church of Celico has mainly been studied with reference to its prominent baroque building phase. Its more ancient remains have been vaguely addressed as rests of fifteenth-century architecture in tourist guides, at times dismissing the date of 1514 as a later addition. However, as the study of Di Dario Guida shows, there are multiple examples of surprisingly retrospective, “Gothic” church portals in Calabria around 1500. (M. P. Di Dario Guida, “Alla ricerca dell’arte perduta: Il Medioevo in Italia meridionale,” *Cultura del presente* n. 3 (2006), esp. p. 92–95).

⁶⁰ As the building is currently inaccessible, this description is based on the historic images preserved in the Photographic Archive of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

⁶¹ Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, pp. 174; 274.

century Famagusta. The isolated example of a chevron arch, which decorates a former wall niche in the southern façade of the Neophytos Enkleistra near Paphos, shows rather flat angled chevrons with a modified profile. Here, lateral hollows are added and, thus, the plasticity of the moulding increased.

Only two, or probably three, rural portals are closely associated both geographically and by their shape, which are the southern doorway of St. Marina in Potamiou (Fig. 8) that can be dated to 1551 by an inscription on the lintel, the western portal of the Anargyroi church in Foini (Fig. 9), and the lost portal of the village church in Dora.⁶² We may assume that St. Marina in Potamiou, a building of surprising ambition and sophistication, introduced the motif to the region of the southern Troodos foothills. It is unclear if the chevron-like decoration of the building corners of St. Savvas tis Koronas in Prastio originally belonged to a portal of the fifteenth-century church that was replaced by the current eighteenth-century building. In any case, the motif is so different from the portal in Potamiou that, despite the rather short distance between the churches, no connection can be presumed. The chevron in Potamia decorates the arch of the recessed tympanum. Each voussoir carries one lateral centripetal chevron, but the lack of a single keystone creates an overall centrifugal appearance. The profile of the chevron belongs to the most common type and is executed on the soffit of the arch, too. In Foini, the profile of the otherwise very similar arch is deprived of the inner hollow and roll, which gives the arch a “flattened” appearance. Nothing remains of the arch in Dora, which was demolished in the second half of the twentieth century. However, Rupert Gunnis reports in 1939, “The south door has an inscription recording the building of the church in 1598. Above this is a tympanum with zigzag moulding.”⁶³ The distance of only 10 km between the villages and the very similar circumstances leave little doubt that Dora copied Potamiou to some extent.

Conclusive remarks

The review of the approximately twenty-five preserved or documented chevron arches in Cyprus delivers an exciting, albeit patchy, image (see Tab. 1). There is no doubt that the chevron was introduced as a sculptural decoration in the first half of the fourteenth century. The question of whether the Latin abbey of Bellapais or the Orthodox church of St.

⁶²*Ibidem*, pp. 401; 384–5; 219–20.

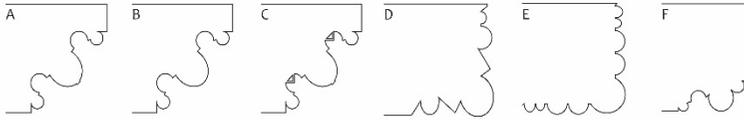
⁶³*Ibidem*, p. 220. Unfortunately it is impossible to verify the odd post-1571 date, which might have been misread by Gunnis.

Epiphanius brought the chevron to Cyprus returned an interesting result: it seems that the urban examples in Famagusta are, by a few decades, earlier. Apparently, there were two loosely related, but initially separate, traditions for crusader architecture on the island. The first seems to be connected with the wave of refugees from the shattered crusader states after the late thirteenth century, which profoundly changed the social and artistic paradigms of, especially, Famagusta. The second has to be seen in the context of Henry IV's *de jure* status as king of Jerusalem, which might have triggered the inclusion of a "visualized tradition" through elements of crusader architecture during the expansion of Bellapais Abbey.

A majority of the further examples indicate that, by the sixteenth century, the chevron motif had lost the symbolic connection with the crusader territories and became a rarely used, but defining, element of a local artistic environment. This process was continued far into the Ottoman period with oddly morphed chevron arches appearing mainly on monastic buildings, such as the Panagia ton Katharon in Larnaca tis Lapithou (1707), the Kykko Monastery (1767), and the Chrysorrogiatissa Monastery (*ca.* 1790). The very prominent display of these examples indicates that the value and status of the motif had not changed fundamentally over the five centuries of its presence on the island. What had changed, however, was the connotation. Now this direct reference to the medieval architecture of the urban centres, Nicosia and Famagusta, was more likely aiming at commemorating the island's own glorious past.

IMAGES REFERENCED

Tab. 1: Table of chevron arches on buildings of the late medieval period in Cyprus by the author



Profile Types (generalized, systematic sketches, not to scale)

Town and building	Occurrence of chevron Arch	Type of chevron pattern	Date	Accessibility/ origin/ current state
Agia Marina Skyllouras (Nicosia), Prophet Elijah Monastery	Western (main) portal of the church, archivolt	Lateral centripetal chevron, composed of triangular plaques	15 th or 16 th c. (?)	The church is inaccessible since 1974 and unpublished.
Argaki (Nicosia), Saint John	Western (main) portal, archivolt (first order)	Angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c. (?)	Today part of a larger 18 th c. building.
Bellapais (Keryneia), Abbey	Refectory portal, main archivolt	Angled chevron, Profile B	c.1340-1350	
Dora (Limassol), Saint Marina	Southern portal, archivolt (?)	Unknown	1598 (?)	The now lost portal with a chevron moulding is only referred to by Gunnis 1936.
Famagusta, Loggia Bembo	Northern portal, archivolt (first order)	Angled chevron, Profile E	1485-88 (?)	
Famagusta, Saint Epiphianos	Southern portal, hood mould / archivolt	Merged angled chevron, Profile A or B	c. 1310–1330	
Famagusta, Saint George Exorinos	Southern lateral archway, hood mould /archivolt	Merged angled chevron, Profile A	c. 1310–1330	
Famagusta, Saint George of the Greeks	Northern portal, archivolt?	Frontal chevron, Profile C	c. 1350–1360	Destroyed in 1735. Only two voussoirs are preserved on site today, around 10 are visible on a photograph taken in 1936.

Famagusta, Unidentified Church (Tanners' Mosque)	Western (main) portal, archivolt (first order)	Frontal chevron, Profile D	Before 1450	
Foini (Limassol), Saints Anargyroi	Western (main) portal, archivolt	Lateral centripetal chevron, Profile F	16 th c.	
Geri (Nicosia), Panagia	Unknown (Portal?)	Angled chevron?, Profile incomplete	Early 16 th c. (?)	Destroyed. Only one voussoir is preserved on site, used as finial of the current church facade.
Klepini (Keryneia), Saint Luke	Northern portal, archivolt	Merged angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c.	
Lakatamia (Nicosia), Archangel Michael	Northern portal, archivolt (first order)	Angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c.	
Mari (Larnaca), Saint Marina	Vault ribs	Single roll, following the arch in a zig-zag pattern	16 th c.	Destroyed, historic photographs show the first courses of the chevron pattern on the south-eastern arch springer.
Nicosia, Folk Art Museum (Old Archbishopric)	Archway between two rooms, archivolt on both faces and the arch soffit	Angled chevrons, Profile D	Mid 15 th c. (?)	
Nicosia, House on Adamantiou Korai Street	Main portal, archivolt	Angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c. (?) or 1738	The plaque with the date 1738 has been renewed recently, the original evidence is unclear.
Nicosia, Kasteliotissa	Main gateway to the precinct, archivolt (first order)	Angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c.	Already in secondary use when the building from 1787, which the portal belonged to before, was erected.

Nicosia, Panagia Chrysaliniotissa	Western side portal, archivolt	Frontal chevron, sequence of pear-shape, floral and dogtooth mouldings	Mid- or late 15 th c. (?)	Probably in secondary use. Original context unknown.
Nicosia, Private Mansion	Doorway to a garden, archivolt	Lateral centripetal chevron, composed of triangular plaques	14 th c. (?)	Whereabouts unknown. Only a picture taken by Camille Enlart before 1900 informs us about this portal.
Nicosia, Panagia Hodegetria / Greek cathedral	Portal (?), Archivolt (?)	Angled chevron, Profile B	16 th c.	Only one voussoir remains among the debris found in the southern aisle of the church.
Nicosia, Panagia Hodegetria / Greek cathedral	Transversal arches of the main nave vault	Single roll, following the arch in a zig-zag pattern	16 th c.	
Nicosia, Serail (Royal Palace?)	Courtyard doorway (?), archivolt (first order)	Angled chevron, Profile B (?)	Mid- or late 15 th c. (?)	Destroyed. Only a picture taken by Camille Enlart before 1900 informs us about this portal.
Nicosia, Yeni Djami (former Latin church)	Southern portal (?), archivolt (?)	Angled chevron, Profile C	Late 14 th c.	Destroyed. Only two voussoirs are preserved on site.
Potamiou (Limassol), Saint Marina	Southern portal, archivolt	Lateral centripetal chevron, Profile B	1551	
Prastio (Paphos), Saint Savvas tis Koronas	Original context unclear (no portal).	Rhombic decoration of the corner, imitating a chevron motif	Late 15 th c. (?)	Today the stones are part of the western façade of the 18 th c. church, but belonged to the 15 th c. predecessor.
Tala (Paphos), Neophytos Monastery, Enkleistra	Exterior wall niche (?)	Angled chevron(?), Profile B (modified)	16 th c. (?)	Five voussoirs and part of a sloped frieze above remain, the right side and the niche itself are lost.



Fig. 9.1 (top image) Famagusta, St. Epiphanius, Southern Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)

Fig. 9.2 (bottom image) Famagusta, St. George Exorinos, Arch at the South Façade (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.3 Bellapais, Refectory Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.4 (top image) Famagusta, “Tanners’ Mosque,” Western Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)

Fig. 9.5 (bottom image) Famagusta, “Loggia Bembo” (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.6 Nicosia, Panagia Chrysaliniotissa, Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.7 Lakatamia, Archangel Michael Church, Northern Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.8 Potamiou, St. Marina, Southern Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)



Fig. 9.9 Foini, SS. Anargyroi, Western Portal (photograph © T. Kaffenberger)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables	x
Editors' Preface	xi
Introduction	1
Aneilya Barnes	
REPRESENTING AND RE-MODELING ORDER IN THE MEDITERRANEAN	
Chapter One.....	18
Political and Religious Models in the Medieval Mediterranean	
Jean-Marie Martin	
Chapter Two	33
A Model of Leadership: Descriptions and Portraits of the Normans	
in Southern Europe	
Mariarosaria Salerno	
Chapter Three	51
Terminology in the Models of Economic Structures in Medieval	
Calabria (11 th -13 th Century)	
Riccardo Berardi	
Chapter Four.....	70
Interpretation and Symbolism in Medieval Thought: The Joachimite's	
Break at the End of the Twelfth Century	
Luca Parisoli	
SYMBOLISM IN MEDITERRANEAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE	
Chapter Five	90
Constructing Maritime Worlds: The Problem of Objects	
Linda Hulin and Damian Robinson	

Chapter Six.....	107
The Eagle as a Divine Symbol in the Ancient Mediterranean Simone Voegtle	
Chapter Seven.....	124
A Lamp from the Belgrade City Museum with a Representation of SS. Constantine and Helen Branka M. Gugolj and Danijela T. Tešić–Radovanović	
Chapter Eight.....	136
Symbols and Figurative Sacred Art as a Representative Overview of the Christian East Attilio Vaccaro	
Chapter Nine.....	160
Evoking a Distant Past? The Chevron Motif as an Emblematic Relic of Crusader Architecture in Late Medieval Cyprus Thomas Kaffenberger	
STUDYING SYMBOLS IN LITERATURE	
Chapter Ten.....	190
Dream Symbols in the Mediterranean World: Woman’s Position in Byzantine Society Vassiliki Kokkori	
Chapter Eleven.....	210
Reality and Symbols in Byzantine Ecphrastic Texts of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries Gioacchino Strano	
Chapter Twelve.....	229
The Cult of the Dragon-slaying Saints in Calabria Massimo Bidotti	
Chapter Thirteen.....	242
Abduction in the Slovenian Ballad of “Fair Vida”: Symbolism and Parallels in the Mediterranean Region Irena Avsenik Nabergoj	

Chapter Fourteen	265
Symbols of the Mediterranean in Ernest Renan's <i>La Vie de Jesus</i> Yousra Sabra	
Notes on Contributors	280