

**UCLA**

**UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations**

**Title**

An Examination of Middle Byzantine Reconstituted Churches in Cyprus

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3dj5071z>

**Author**

Pawlowski, Mark James

**Publication Date**

2014

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

University of California  
Los Angeles

An Examination of Middle Byzantine Reconstituted Churches in Cyprus

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in  
Art History

By

Mark James Pawlowski

2014



## ABSRTACT OF THE THESIS

An Examination of Middle Byzantine Reconstituted Churches In Cyprus

By

Mark James Pawlowski

Master of Arts in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles 2014

Professor Sharon Gerstel, Chair

In this thesis I will examine the phenomenon of middle byzantine churches being erected over the ruins of Early Christian and Early Byzantine basilicas in Cyprus. These churches were all abandoned or destroyed in the seventh century following the Arab raids of 649/653. The term that I use to describe this phenomenon is reconstitution, as the new churches are erected over earlier remains but take on different forms. Despite the reconquest of the island by the Byzantines in 965 and a subsequent boom in church construction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, only eight churches were constructed over the ruins of an earlier basilica. The churches within this unique subset are compared with one another to determine if they share similar characteristics or a unified purpose. After the middle byzantine examples have been examined, I consider the Late Byzantine site at Alassa to determine if the phenomenon of reconstitution continues into later centuries.

The thesis of Mark James Pawlowski is approved

Hui-Shu Lee

Stella Nair

Sharon Gerstel, Chair

University of California, Los Angeles  
2014

## Table of Contents

Introduction	page 1
Why Churches are Abandoned	page 4
Evolution of Cypriot Architecture	page 9
Evidence	page 11
Analysis of Reconstituted Churches	page 16
Pragmatic Reasons	page 18
Noticeable Similarities	page 22
Significance	page 25
Alassa	page 27
Conclusion	page 33
Table 1	page 35
Images	page 36

The Middle Byzantine period witnessed a resurgence of church construction following the decline of the seventh to ninth centuries.<sup>1</sup> While many of these buildings were *ex novo* constructions, others were built on the ruins of Early Christian and Early Byzantine basilicas following contemporary, centralized architectural designs, such as the cross-in-square. Although this phenomenon is widespread in Byzantium, it has yet to be the subject of an in-depth study. In this paper I will focus on its development on Cyprus, collecting the evidence and discussing potential reasons for the re-use of earlier buildings following centuries of abandonment (Fig. 1). The island of Cyprus serves as an ideal site for this study; its buildings, both standing and excavated, survive in abundance and are well published. After the Middle Byzantine examples are examined, the Late Byzantine site of Saint Mavri at Alassa will be discussed to determine if this phenomenon continued in the later centuries.

Throughout this paper the term “reconstituted church” will be used to refer to later medieval churches built on the ruins of abandoned Early Christian basilicas. The term “reconstitute” suggests the idea of making something anew, not necessarily in its old form while maintaining its previous function. As these churches are all built with a design that differs from the underlying Early Christian basilicas, this term is ideal for understanding the churches that are examined in this paper. This terminology should also make clear that the churches being discussed are different from those that were simply rebuilt immediately after their destruction. That the reconstituted churches were rebuilt according to a new design stands in clear opposition to the building programs of Saint Barnabas, Saint Epiphanius, and Soloi, which were all rebuilt

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New Haven, 1986), 283-84, 331-34; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1985), 89, 108; C. Stewart, *Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (New York, 1962), 48-49.

as standard basilicas shortly after their destruction.<sup>2</sup> The separation between these two types of rebuilding programs is both temporal and architectural.

There may be more instances of reconstitution than are currently recognized throughout the Byzantine Empire. Archaeological investigations have not yet examined this phenomenon. Rather, the remains of later buildings are generally disregarded or dismantled in the search for earlier material. Likewise, when a medieval church is examined archaeologically, there is rarely any excavation of the surrounding area. Complicating the issue further, many of the churches that were built on the ruins of Early Christian basilicas are not accurately dated. One finds broad designations such as “Middle Age”, “Medieval”, or “Late”, with no chronological explanation.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it is critical to differentiate between the different confessions that worshiped within the churches, particularly in a setting like Cyprus where Latins and Greeks resided together for centuries. Venetian or Frankish churches built over the remains of an earlier basilica differ extensively from the Byzantine examples.<sup>4</sup>

A further issue in examining the phenomenon of reconstitution is the language that is used to describe the later structures built on the ruins of a previous church. These religious buildings are referred to as either churches or chapels without explaining the differences between them. While a chapel may be smaller than a church, “this is not always a distinguishing

---

<sup>2</sup> For Soloi, see T. T. Tinh, *Soloi: Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964-1974)* (Quebec, 1985). For Saint Barnabas and Saint Epiphanius, see A. H. S. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?” *DOP* 28 (1974), 76-79; T. Papacostas, “Medieval Byzantine Urban Churches in Cyprus” (M.A. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1995), 29-38; C. A. Stewart, “Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008), 72-77, 132-44.

<sup>3</sup> See I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete: An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* (Warminster, 1982), 95, 104, 113; M. Harrison, *Mountain and Plain: From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (Ann Arbor, 2001), 28.

<sup>4</sup> Aside from the architectural differences between Western and Byzantine churches, the Western churches tended to ignore earlier foundations, as can be seen in the Venetian church at Paphos and the Romanesque basilica constructed at San Gavino on Sardinia. For Paphos, see F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia, 1984), 310-16. For Sardinia see M. Johnson, *The Byzantine Churches of Sardinia* (Wiesbaden, 2013), 84.



criterion.”<sup>5</sup> The scholarly literature is confusing on this issue. Whereas Martin Harrison refers to a construction built inside the body of an earlier church as a chapel measuring 15 x 5.7 m, a structure at Kilise Tepe is labeled as a church despite measuring only 7 x 6.8 m (Fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Even the sixteenth-century church built on the ruins of a basilica at Aphendrika in Cyprus measures less than 12 x 6 m (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> The designation of religious structures as churches or chapels appears to be arbitrary. The term, however, is not linked to the size of the building or even its location, but rather its function.

If the structure was used regularly for communal Christian worship, then, regardless of size or plan, the structure should be termed a church. On the other hand, if the structure was only used occasionally, for special purposes or by a select group of people, then it would be rightly termed a chapel. At Kalavastos-Kopetra on Cyprus, for example, three basilicas existed prior to the attacks of the mid-seventh century. This many churches would have been more than what was required to serve the population of the village.<sup>8</sup> The building of these extra churches would have been a way for the people to express their piety and “local pride.”<sup>9</sup> After the raids, none of the churches was rebuilt. Rather, three small chapels were constructed over the remains of two of the churches (Fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> Where would the pious have attended the liturgy prior to the abandonment of the site in the eighth century? The population would have been vastly reduced in this village following the attacks, and thus large churches would not be necessary to

---

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), 440.

<sup>6</sup> Harrison, *Mountain and Plain*, 27; M. P. C. Jackson, “The Church,” in *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994-98*, eds. N. Postgate and D. Thomas, (Ankara, 2007), 185-98.

<sup>7</sup> A. H. S. Megaw, “Three Vaulted Basilicas in Cyprus,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946), 50-52.

<sup>8</sup> M. Rautman, *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity* (Portsmouth, 2003), 44.

<sup>9</sup> D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus: 491-1191* (Nicosia, 2009), 262.

<sup>10</sup> The monastic area seems to have been converted into a production area based on the insertion of an oven and stable within the complex after its destruction. See Rautman, *A Cypriot Village*, 90.

accommodate their diminished number. These so-called chapels must have functioned essentially as churches despite their small size. As Richard Krautheimer observes about Late Byzantine architecture, “Aisleless chapels are widespread, either as monastery or village churches, or funerary chapels.”<sup>11</sup> This would suggest that other structures of similar size may have functioned as churches as well. While it is questionable if a chapel constructed on the ruins of an earlier basilica was significantly different from the reconstitution of a church, the language used to describe the structures is important due to the notions they invoke. Referring to later structures as chapels may hinder the examination of the act of reconstitution by arbitrarily placing them within a different category of sacred construction.

### *Why churches are abandoned*

The seventh century brought a series of disasters to the Byzantine Empire. The rise of Islam in the East and the incursions by the Slavs in the West combined with other natural and political factors to create a period of decline for the Byzantine Empire.<sup>12</sup> On the island of Cyprus in 649 and 653 attacks led by Mu’awiya, the future third Caliph of Islam and founder of the Umayyad dynasty, mark the beginning of the Cypriot “Dark Age” and the period known most commonly as the “condominium.”<sup>13</sup> It was during this period that many churches were

---

<sup>11</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, 417.

<sup>12</sup> J. Haldon, *Byzantium: A History* (Charleston, 2000), 22-32; J. M. Hussey, *The Byzantine World* (London, 1967), 21-26.

<sup>13</sup> “Condominium” is the name given to the years 688-965 on Cyprus. This name has been criticized for the image it projects of shared rule by the Byzantine Emperor and the Caliph. Numerous other terms have been used to refer to this period, of which none is ideal. Rather than create another term, “condominium” will be used throughout this paper. See V. Christides, *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources* (Nicosia, 2006), 29-46; Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 425-434; Stewart, “Domes of Heaven,” 188-92.

damaged, abandoned, or destroyed. The recovery of the Empire in the ninth century saw an increase in stability and economic prosperity that resulted in a rise in church construction. Cyprus, however, was not reintegrated into the empire until its reconquest by Emperor Nikephoros II (r. 963-969) in 965. Despite the recapture of the island, there is no noticeable rise in church construction until the mid-eleventh to twelfth centuries. Tassos Papacostas remarks:

Despite the change in the island's political status, the archaeological record does not betray any significant shift in the later 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries: there is no evidence for an increase in building activity until the remarkable construction boom of the Comnenian period and very few among the surviving structures on the island can be dated to the intervening decades.<sup>14</sup>

It was during this “construction boom” that eight churches were built on the remains of Early Christian basilicas (Table 1).

The destruction wrought by the Arab raids on Cyprus during the seventh century is well established in the historical and archaeological record. Two important hoards found in the Byzantine town of Lambousa demonstrate the turmoil on the island during this period. These hoards consisted of a cache of thirty-six silver spoons and three other liturgical pieces of silver discovered near the monastery of Acheiropoietos,<sup>15</sup> and a treasure of nine silver plates depicting scenes from the life of David (Figs. 5, 6).<sup>16</sup> The David plates, found in 1902 by locals quarrying nearby ruins for stone, are now divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York

---

<sup>14</sup> T. Papacostas, “A Tenth-Century Inscription from Syngrasis, Cyprus,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), 44.

<sup>15</sup> O. Dalton, “A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia, Cyprus, now preserved in the British Museum,” *Archaeologia* 57 (1900), 159-74.

<sup>16</sup> K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), 475-83.

and the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia.<sup>17</sup> They were found sealed inside a wall around the same time that a jar containing gold jewelry was uncovered beneath the floor.<sup>18</sup> The high quality of the workmanship and the control stamps on the back of the plates establish a Constantinopolitan, and possibly imperial, provenance.<sup>19</sup> The Arab incursions of the mid-seventh century have been identified as the likely reason for their deposition within the walls of a church.<sup>20</sup> Hidden for protection, their lack of discovery until the twentieth century demonstrates the subsequent abandonment of the building and their inability to be recovered in antiquity.

The most explicit evidence for the attacks comes from the mosaic inscription dating to 655 found in Basilica B at Soloi which reads (Figs. 7a, b):

In the year seven of the edict, of TEE of Diocletian occurred by reason of our sins an attack against the island and many were killed, others were carried off as prisoners, around 120,000, again the following year the island suffered another worse attack, during which were slaughtered more than the previous time and there were taken away thousands more, around fifty [...] and the basilica and all the bishop's household and the place of the holy bishops and other notables... and the house became a holocaust of fire and in [...] other places on the island there occurred the accursed earthquake... He raised up in zeal and readiness John the holy, the leading person of [...] and with much care [...] he built those buildings which had fallen, he erected them and he roofed them and he adorned them and completed the task to glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, XIII year of the indict of TOA the year of Diocletian.<sup>21</sup>

This inscription provides evidence for the rebuilding of churches soon after their damage or destruction in the raids. It also demonstrates, though with a clearly exaggerated number, that

---

<sup>17</sup> R. Leader, "The David Plates Revisited, Transforming the Secular in Early Byzantium," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 407.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 407, 425 n.7; O. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906), 11-13.

<sup>19</sup> The control stamps date from the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641).

<sup>20</sup> The date of their deposition seems to have been derived from the date of the materials themselves. The archaeological context for the plates was never recorded and their existence seems to have not been reported until well after their initial discovery. See Leader, "Plates Revisited," 407.

<sup>21</sup> trans. D. S. Neal, *Basilica at Soli Cyprus: A Survey of the Buildings and Mosaics* (2009), 15.

many people were killed or taken as prisoners. While the actual drop in population is not known, it had to be significant due to the abandonment of sites immediately following the raids, as at Alassa, or shortly thereafter, as seen at Carpasia and Kalavastos-Kopetra.<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that even after the reconstruction of the church at Soloi the site appears to have been abandoned by the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.<sup>23</sup>

The lack of building projects on the island after the mid-seventh century is likely due to the nature of the attacks on the island. The first Arab attacks on Cyprus in 648/653 were not short-lived events. Calling the attacks of the seventh-century “raids” projects an image of a single, definitive strike aimed at looting and pillaging the island. While this undoubtedly did occur, their main purpose was to bring the island under the hegemony of the Caliphate. A garrison was likely established at Paphos as witnessed by evidence found at the site including a number of small houses constructed from the ruins of the Limeniotissa basilica, as well as a number of Arabic inscriptions found throughout the site (Figs. 8a, b).<sup>24</sup> The treaty between the Emperor Justinian II (r. 685-695, 705-711) and the Caliph Abd el-Malik that established the liminal status of Cyprus did not occur until 688, more than thirty years after the “raids.” Following this treaty was a planned migration from the island during the eighth century when Justinian II moved the Archbishop of Cyprus, along with his flock, to the city of Nea

---

<sup>22</sup> For Alassa, see P. Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley II: The Basilica of Alassa* (Nicosia, 1996). For Carpasia, see Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 274. For Kalavastos-Kopetra, see Rautman, *A Cypriot Villiage*, 261-62.

<sup>23</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 490-91. The basilica itself was destroyed around this time and was subsequently looted during its period of abandonment. See Tinh, *Soloi*.

<sup>24</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 412; A. Papageorghiou, “Cities and Countryside at the end of Antiquity and the Beginning of the Middle Ages in Cyprus” in *Sweet Land of Cyprus*, eds. A. Bryer and G. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), 35-36; Mair and Karageorghis, *Paphos*, 300-301.

Justinianopolis at Arakti, modern Erdek, on the Hellespont.<sup>25</sup> Although these Cypriots eventually returned, this imperial action caused a violent reprisal by the Caliphate who enslaved some of the islanders in a punitive raid.<sup>26</sup> Between the eighth and tenth centuries, there were several attacks on the island, occurring in 726, 743, 806, and 911/12. These are more appropriately called raids since their main purpose was to seek reprisal for perceived breaches of the treaty by the Byzantines.<sup>27</sup> These intermittent setbacks and raids resulted in vast destruction and unrest on the island. If every generation or so the population experienced a raid, large scale construction was likely approached with caution. The repair of the Basilica at Soloi in 654/5 should not be seen as indicative of building campaigns throughout the island. This appears to be an exceptional case, though the northwest portion of the island fared better than the rest of Cyprus.<sup>28</sup> Despite the uncertainty of this time, recent scholarship has sought to demonstrate the continued economic vitality of Cyprus during the seventh to ninth centuries.<sup>29</sup> It is clear from numismatic finds and other material that Cyprus was still an active trading hub during this period. The economic viability of the island, however, may not be as important for the construction of churches on the island as its population. Life did not continue as normal after the events of the seventh century. It would take time for Cyprus to recover and rebuild.

The lack of church construction or reconstruction following the Arab raids of the mid-seventh centuries may have to do with demand. As Cyril Mango has noted, by the sixth century

---

<sup>25</sup> Megaw, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 451-55; B. Englezakis, *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Hampshire, 1995), 67-71.

<sup>26</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 451-455.

<sup>27</sup> A. Dikigoropoulos, "Cyprus 'Betwixt Greeks and Saracens' AD 647- 965" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1961), 48-57.

<sup>28</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 496.

<sup>29</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 141-214; L. Zavagno, "At the Edge of Two Empires," *DOP* 66 (2011), 121-55.

there were likely more churches than necessary for the needs of local communities.<sup>30</sup> The reason that surplus churches were created was not due to the particular economic well-being of a given community. Rather, as William Bowden writes, referring to Early Christian Epirus, the communities constructed extra churches due to their ability “to support the financial requirements of the system of church construction and maintenance which in many ways continued irrespective of the underlying ability of the community to sustain it.”<sup>31</sup> The cost of maintenance for these buildings as well as for the clergy that ran them became unsupportable. If more churches than were strictly necessary existed in Cyprus prior to the Arab raids, the decrease in population that followed would have made wide-spread reconstruction both economically unviable and logistically unnecessary. Such an explanation also provides the reason why church construction did not begin in earnest until the Comnenian period. It was the increase in the island’s population that spurred church construction, not its political status.<sup>32</sup>

### *Evolution of Cypriot Architecture*

The religious architecture of Cyprus was far more conservative than that in the rest of the Empire. While there was a shift from columns and timber roofs to piers and barrel vaults, basilicas were essentially the only types of churches being built prior to the seventh century.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 19.

<sup>31</sup> W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (London, 2003), 151-54.

<sup>32</sup> Estimates of the population of Cyprus have varied. The lowest estimates place the population of the island during the period of condominium at sixty to seventy-five thousand with it reaching a peak of one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand during the twelfth century. See T. Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus: The Testimony of its Churches, 650 –1200” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1999), 23-25.

<sup>33</sup> For a survey of all Early Christian and Early Byzantine basilicas in Cyprus see R. Maguire, “Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories” (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012).

This is in stark contrast to the more centralized plans that were gaining popularity throughout the Byzantine Empire during the same period. The shift from the standard basilica to more centralized plans began in the sixth century in Constantinople. The most well known example of this is the Hagia Sophia, a domed basilica that attempted to reorganize the central space of the church. By the Middle Byzantine period, new churches tended to be smaller, centralized constructions.

One of the reasons for the delay in construction of small, centralized churches on Cyprus could be the status of monasticism on the island. As has been noted by several scholars, monasticism played a significant role in the development and proliferation of centrally planned churches.<sup>34</sup> However, we know almost nothing about monasticism on Cyprus prior to the tenth century.<sup>35</sup> While there are a number of monasteries attributed to refugee monks of the eighth and ninth centuries, there is little physical evidence of their existence.<sup>36</sup> That is not to say that monasticism did not exist on the island between 653 and 965, but rather that it was not a significant force during that period.

The lack of a monastic presence on the island may be the result of the targeting of monks and monasteries during the Arab raids. As David Metcalf points out, Abu Bakr, the first successor to the prophet Muhammad and leader of Islam's initial military expansion, had certainly stated his distaste for monks instructing his soldiers to "Strike them with the sword."<sup>37</sup> This was in reference to the wars in Syria, but as Mu'awiya was more brutal in his campaigns, it could be imagined that his views on monks would not have been more tolerant than those of his

---

<sup>34</sup> V. Marinis, "Defining Liturgical Space" in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 286-92; Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, 341-43; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 109-15.

<sup>35</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 387; Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 93.

<sup>36</sup> Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 103

<sup>37</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 395-96.



predecessor.<sup>38</sup> It is possible that the reduced presence of monastic communities on Cyprus, especially during the condominium period, would have resulted in the slower development of centrally planned churches. These factors combined with the loss of population are the likely reasons that many churches were not being rebuilt, and may explain why new churches did not conform to contemporary designs.

A noticeable change in church architecture on Cyprus does not begin until the ninth and tenth centuries when the first cross-in-square churches are built on the island.<sup>39</sup> While this does not necessarily correspond to the end of Iconoclasm and the beginning of the Macedonian dynasty, it does predate the reconquest of the island. Despite not being integrated with the rest of Byzantine Empire at this time, it is clear that new types of church architecture had appeared on the island. This shift away from Early Christian church forms continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when many more centrally planned churches were built and domes were added to existing churches, perhaps in an effort to make existing structures to conform to contemporary aesthetics.<sup>40</sup>

### *Evidence*

During the Early Christian and Early Byzantine period, Cyprus was a thriving part of the Byzantine Empire. At least sixty-five basilicas were constructed on the island at this time (Fig.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 396.

<sup>39</sup> The earliest cross-in-square church on the island, Saint Anthony, dates to the late ninth or early tenth century along with Saint Procopius, a reconstituted church. Saint Nicholas tes Steges has been dated from the tenth to eleventh century. See Papacostas, "A Tenth-Century Inscription," 60; Papacostas, *Byzantine Cyprus*, II 8, 61, 69.

<sup>40</sup> Among the churches with domes added in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are Saint Barnabas at Salamis and Panagia Aphenrika at Koutsovendis. See Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," II 10-11, 18.

9).<sup>41</sup> Eight of these had a Middle Byzantine church constructed above their ruins (Table 1). Although these churches vary in design and construction technique, they form an identifiable group. Among these churches are five that follow a cross-in-square design, and one example each of a basilica, cruciform, and domed hall church. They were all constructed over the remains of an earlier basilica, but each varied in their placement above the ruins and their reuse of construction elements. Since there is a significant difference in the amount of publications on these churches, only Panagia Angeloktistos, Saint Lazarus, Saint Procopius and Saint Philon will be discussed in detail, though all will be included in the analysis of the phenomenon of reconstitution.<sup>42</sup>

The earliest reconstituted church on the island is Saint Procopius in Syngrasis on the Karpas peninsula. Measuring 17 x 11 m, Saint Procopius is an elongated cross-in-square church built with ashlar masonry. Its central dome is supported by four rectangular piers (Figs. 10, 11). The north and south aisles both terminate in small apses at the east end, although these are not visible from the exterior. The later structure reincorporated the original apse of the Early Christian basilica along with its synthronon. Remnants of the original *opus sectile* flooring are also visible throughout the church. The presence of a possible funerary epitaph within the church has provided a date for its construction to the mid-ninth to early-tenth century.<sup>43</sup> This date also makes Saint Procopius one of the oldest cross-in-square churches on the island, post-dating only

---

<sup>41</sup> Sixty-five is the number of basilicas mentioned in Charles Stewart's 2008 dissertation, while seventy-one basilicas are recorded by Richard Maguire in his 2012 dissertation. Tassos Papacostas reports around 80 Early Byzantine basilicas or chapels built prior to the Arab raids. Better publication of the churches on Cyprus would make the picture clearer. See Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas"; Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus"; Stewart, "Domes of Heaven."

<sup>42</sup> Due to the current political situation on Cyprus, many of the churches which are located in northern Cyprus have not been the subject of detailed excavation or publication.

<sup>43</sup> Papacostas, "A Tenth-Century Inscription," 42-64.

Saint Anthony in Kellia.<sup>44</sup> Today Saint Procopius stands near the outskirts of a small, rural village, far removed from any of the major Byzantine cities of Cyprus. The area around the church has not been the subject of any excavation or survey so it is not possible to understand the context of the rebuilt church.<sup>45</sup>

Similar to Saint Procopius, Panagia Angeloktistos in Kiti was built over the original foundations of the Early Christian basilica, reincorporating the original apse including the synthronon and a sixth to seventh-century mosaic (Fig. 12).<sup>46</sup> The plan of the church is not as elongated as Saint Procopius, measuring about 15 x 13 m (Fig. 13). It was built with rubble masonry with the original piers of the basilica reinforced to support the weight of a central dome. Despite some similarities to Saint Procopius, Panagia Angeloktistos dates centuries later to the eleventh or early-twelfth century. Unlike the other reconstituted churches in Cyprus, the current church at Kiti was preceded by two construction phases, a columnar basilica followed by a pier basilica in the sixth or seventh century. In 1959, during repairs to the church, Vassos Karageorghis carried out a small excavation in the basement.<sup>47</sup> This not only provided evidence for the pier phase of the church, but it also revealed the presence of a number of graves built into the earlier foundations.<sup>48</sup> While there is no subsequent information on these medieval burials, their presence provides evidence that the ruined Early Christian church had served as a burial ground prior to the construction of the Middle Byzantine church.

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 59-61.

<sup>45</sup> Tassos Papacostas writes that the church may have served a medieval village that had been nearby, though he acknowledges further study would be required to confirm this. See Papacostas, "Tenth-Century Inscription," 59-61.

<sup>46</sup> For the date of the mosaic, see A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Worcestershire, 1964), 31; A. Stylianou, *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes* (Paris, 1963), 12.

<sup>47</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Chroniques des fouilles a Chypre en 1959," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 84 (1960), 296-97.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 297.

Less than seven miles to the east of Kiti in Larnaca, ancient Kition, stands the church of Saint Lazarus. It was built as a large three-domed basilica measuring 28.75 x 14.65 m that terminates in three polygonal apses at the east end (Figs. 14, 15). Numerous additions, repairs and renovations over the centuries have drastically altered the fabric of the building making a firm date for its construction difficult to obtain. The church takes its name from the one-time presence of the relics of Saint Lazarus, the man resurrected by Jesus and first bishop of Cyprus. These were discovered around 890 in a marble sarcophagus that was inscribed in Hebrew, and referred to Lazarus's resurrection by Jesus.<sup>49</sup> The relics were soon translated to Constantinople, however, by the Emperor Leo VI (r. 886-912) in 900/901 (Fig. 16).<sup>50</sup> Although this church was built after the relics had been translated to Constantinople, the basilica likely functioned as a pilgrimage church. The current church has been variously dated to either the early tenth century or the mid-eleventh to twelfth century.<sup>51</sup> It is the preserved *opus sectile* pavement, however, that provides the best evidence for the date of the building.

Saint Lazarus is not the only reconstituted church to have *opus sectile* flooring, but it is the only to exhibit a design that helps to establish a date for the church. While churches like Saint Procopius retain remnants of the Early Christian pavement, Saint Lazarus features a design that has been dated to the eleventh century or later. The style of the pavement is noticeably different from what was popular on the island in the Early Christian period. Early *opus sectile* floors on Cyprus consist of small *crustae* that form intricate patterns, while later examples

---

<sup>49</sup> The sarcophagus that sits in the church today bears part of a Greek inscription indicating it may not be the one originally reported. See Stewart, "Domes of Heaven," 122-124.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Stewart is the most recent scholar to assign an earlier date to Saint Lazarus, while Tassos Papacostas supports a later date. Interestingly, both scholars mention the presence of polygonal apses as evidence to support their dating of the building. See Stewart, "Domes of Heaven," 124-25; Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," II 65.

consist of panels of plain marble bordered by a simple geometric design (Fig. 17).<sup>52</sup> The pavement found in Saint Lazarus conforms to this later pattern and compares well to the eleventh-century pavement from Saint John Chrysostom at Koutsovendis as well as the earlier floor of the Sarayia chapel at Episkopi (Figs. 18-20).<sup>53</sup> The similarity of the *crustae* to earlier examples should not be surprising since they were likely recycled from an earlier pavement, as was the case with the bema panel in Saint Procopius (Fig. 21).<sup>54</sup> Both David Metcalf and Demetrios Michaelides write that the *opus sectile* is original to the construction of the basilica.<sup>55</sup> This would firmly establish the construction of the church to no earlier than the eleventh century.

Although Saint Philon is in ruins today, it features the most elaborate external decoration of any medieval church on Cyprus.<sup>56</sup> Unlike the other reconstituted churches on the island, Saint Philon was built over the south aisle of an Early Christian basilica. The church, a cross-in-square, measures about 11.5 x 10 m (Figs. 22, 23). This is one of only three cross-in-square churches on the island to conform to this more standard design.<sup>57</sup> It is built of fine ashlar masonry with blind arches on the outside of the walls that correspond with the internal transept arms. The apses of the northern and southern aisles carry five carved niches while the main apse has three. John du Platt Taylor reports the presence of a ceramic sarcophagus in the north aisle of the basilica,

---

<sup>52</sup> D. Michaelides, "Opus Sectile in Cyprus," in *Sweet Land of Cyprus*, eds. A. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), 72, 78.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-81.

<sup>54</sup> R. Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas on Cyprus" (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia), III 77.

<sup>55</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 265; Michaelides, "Opus Sectile in Cyprus," 77-78.

<sup>56</sup> Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 179.

<sup>57</sup> The only other cross-in-square churches not of an elongated design are the reconstituted church of Acheiropoietos and Saint John Lambastides. See Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 150.

which may postdate the seventh-century abandonment of the site.<sup>58</sup> Burials from the medieval period were reported to the south of the church as well.<sup>59</sup> Though Carpasia was an episcopal center in the Early Christian period, after the Arab attack of the seventh century the site appears to have been eventually abandoned, with the local population moving to Rizocarpasso.<sup>60</sup> Despite the obvious expense that went into the construction of Saint Philon, it is not known what purpose it served at the time of its construction.

None of the reconstituted churches in Cyprus demonstrate a significant use of spolia. Panagia Kyra does include some, including a fragment of the Early Christian chancel screen built into the current wall, but it is not used extensively (Fig. 24).<sup>61</sup> With the exception of Saint Lazarus, the primary function of these churches when they were built is not known.<sup>62</sup> While churches as large as Saint Procopius and Panagia Angeloktistos would likely have been used for communal worship, a smaller church such as Saint Photios could indicate a different focus for the primary function of the building. Further excavation and research is required in the areas around these churches in order to place them within their contemporary context

### *Analysis of Reconstituted Churches*

---

<sup>58</sup> J. du Plat Taylor and A. Megaw, "Excavations at Ayios Philon, The Ancient Caprasia Part 2," from *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 1981* (Nicosia, 1981), 213; Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 274-75.

<sup>59</sup> J. du Plat Taylor, "Excavations at Ayios Philon, 1935," *RDAC* (1936), 15.

<sup>60</sup> du Plat Taylor, "Excavations at Ayios Philon" (1981), 249-50.

<sup>61</sup> Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas," III 39-40.

<sup>62</sup> Saint Lazarus almost certainly served as a pilgrimage church when it was built, despite the relics no longer being present within the crypt.

What is immediately recognizable from the distribution of the reconstituted churches of Cyprus is that they are only located on the eastern half of the island, with a heavy concentration on or near the Karpas peninsula (Fig. 25). There may be examples of reconstitution in the western half of the island, particularly at sites such as Morphou and possibly Paphos, but further research and excavation is required.<sup>63</sup> Locations such as these have Lusignan or later churches built on earlier remains, obscuring the history of the site. The distribution of reconstituted churches on Cyprus however, does not appear to be significant for understanding this phenomenon.

The Karpas peninsula maintained a firm connection with the rest of the Byzantine Empire throughout the period of condominium.<sup>64</sup> It may be thought that this connection had some influence on the construction of the reconstituted churches. However, most of these churches are firmly dated to well after the reconquest of the island. By the eleventh century it would be assumed that the entire island was under Byzantine control and influence. If this connection with the rest of the Empire during the period of condominium was vital to the development of reconstituted churches on Cyprus then we would expect to see this phenomenon occur at an earlier period here and then spread throughout the rest of Cyprus after 965. However, only Saint Procopius likely dates before the reconquest; the rest of the churches were built during the mid-eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is also no evidence that the process of reconstitution spread throughout the island. The majority of reconstituted churches were built along with many others during the construction boom of the eleventh and twelfth century, a period when no part of the

---

<sup>63</sup> Sondages performed by Arthur Megaw revealed earlier structures under the current church of Saint Mamas at Morphou, but their chronology is not clear. Both Byzantine churches at Paphos were built on the remains of Early Christian basilicas that were subsequently destroyed in an earthquake in the twelfth century. The date of construction for the churches following the initial raids is uncertain. See Maier and Karageorghis, *Paphos*, 302.

<sup>64</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 472-74.

island was more integrated with the Empire than another. Further investigation into this phenomenon would presumably make the distribution of reconstituted churches less stark.

### *Pragmatic Reasons*

There are several pragmatic reasons that the churches might have been reconstituted. The most likely would be the repopulation of previously abandoned areas, the availability of building materials that the ruins may have offered, and the ease of construction on previous foundations. Upon an examination of the churches, however, one can see that none of these factors was the driving force for this phenomenon.

The effect that repopulation of abandoned areas had on the construction of these churches is undeniable. A church that has been in ruin for centuries is only rebuilt if there is a community that takes ownership of the site. The question is whether or not repopulation was the driving force behind the reconstitution of a church. Unfortunately, not enough of the history of the area surrounding these churches is known to provide a definitive answer. There are, however, reasons to believe that it was not the main cause for the creation of these churches. Only eight churches on Cyprus can be called reconstituted churches. If repopulation was the main impetus for their construction, then this would imply that only these eight areas were repopulated after the Arab raids. This is not likely to have been the case. The history of Saint Procopius in Syngrasis also appears to argue against this idea. As Tassos Papacostas has stated, this area appears to have been occupied continuously from the Roman period through the fifteenth century.<sup>65</sup> Historical

---

<sup>65</sup> Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 32.



evidence also suggests that sites may have been impoverished, but not completely abandoned.<sup>66</sup> For these reasons, repopulation does not appear to be a compelling answer for why these reconstituted churches were built, though perhaps increased economic prosperity would have allowed these new churches to be constructed. This would not have been for want of a church in these areas, however, which must have had a church to serve the local population prior to the eleventh century.

The availability of building material does not appear to be a factor in the construction of reconstituted churches either. As monuments fell into disrepair they were frequently mined for resources.<sup>67</sup> After more than a century, little would have remained of value at these sites, especially if they were not immediately abandoned after the raids. This is evidenced from the lack of spolia in most of the churches. Even when earlier fragments are visible, as at Panagia Kyra, their use is not substantial. Furthermore, at Kiti and elsewhere there are visible remains of the earlier basilica in the area of the current church (including part of the marble chancel screen) that were ignored during the reconstitution of the church (Fig. 26).<sup>68</sup> It is possible that some mundane building material was still present at these sites, such as uncarved local stone, but this is something that can be difficult to prove archaeologically. At Kiti and Syngrasis, where the reconstituted churches reused the earlier basilican foundations, it is unlikely that enough usable stone remained to allow the construction of the medieval church without the addition of new material.

Overall it appears that the construction of these reconstituted churches would have been more difficult than building an *ex novo* church. This may well be demonstrated by how few

---

<sup>66</sup> Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, 437-38.

<sup>67</sup> R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 140.

<sup>68</sup> Maguire, "Late Antique," III 30.

churches were reconstituted when compared to the many *ex novo* churches built during this same period. Ease or speed of construction was not the primary consideration of their builders. The reincorporation of an earlier apse, as at Panagia Angeloktistos, Panagia Kyra and Acheiropoietos, would prove to be a more difficult and labor intensive task than simply building a new apse.<sup>69</sup> It can be argued that the reincorporation of the apse at both Panagia Angeloktistos and Panagia Kyra was due to the presence of an Early Christian mosaic (Fig. 27). The importance and sacredness of such images are reason enough for their retention. The difficulty with this line of reasoning as a *de facto* rule for when an apse is reincorporated can be seen at Acheiropoietos. At this church the masons went out of their way, using innovative and novel solutions, to retain the apse of the earlier church despite there being no evidence that it preserved a mosaic. While the ground plan does not demonstrate this well, the view from the exterior shows how unique this construction is since it juts out from the body of the church (Figs. 28, 29). The cross-in-square church was built 11 m wide, the same width as the original apse. Communication of the body of the church with the apse also appears to have been limited. All these factors would indicate that the reincorporation of the apse of the much larger Early Christian basilica was cumbersome and impractical, yet was considered important to the community.

When the apse was not reincorporated into the church, the eastern end of the church was still prioritized. While Saint Philon is built over the south aisle of the previous church, its sanctuary covered more than half of the Early Christian apse. Only Panagia Pergameniottissa was built in the nave of the Early Christian basilica, about 3.5 m from the main apse (Fig. 30). In some cases, the earlier apse may have been too large to be integrated into a new church. The odd

---

<sup>69</sup> Charles Stewart proposes that the apses of Saint Lazarus may have reincorporated the Early Christian apse foundations due to their polygonal shape. See Stewart, "Domes of Heaven," 125.

architectural inclusion of the earlier apse for the smaller church of Acheiropoietos demonstrates the difficulty of including the original foundations from a much larger church. The solution to this can be seen at Saint Photios, and elsewhere in the Empire at the agora church at Iasos, and at Saint John at Lebna in Crete (Fig. 31, 32).<sup>70</sup> The new apse is simply placed within the boundaries of the earlier one. In this way the size would be proportional to the new church, but the sacred area was still fully incorporated into the new structure. This conscious retention can also be seen at the church of Panagia Kanakaria which underwent multiple renovations over the centuries, but always preserved the original apse due to the presence of an Early Christian mosaic (Fig. 33, 34).<sup>71</sup> However, the mosaic was not preserved due to its artistic merits, but rather because of its religious significance. While the presence of a mosaic makes the religious significance of the apse more palpable for us today, a mosaic was not what made the apse of a Byzantine church a sacred location. It was the activities that took place within it that imbued the space with ritual importance. Had the mosaic not been present in this church, it is possible that the apse may have been remodeled; it would not, however, have been abandoned.

The reincorporation of earlier foundations, as at Saint Procopius and Panagia Angeloktistos, are not as advantageous to the construction of a new church as may be initially thought. While reusing foundations can lessen the cost and difficulty of construction, these churches were not rebuilt as basilicas, but rather according to a cross-in-square design. This centralized form could not be immediately transferred to basilican foundations. The design of the building had to be altered to accommodate the elongated plan. Barrel vaults were used in the corner bays instead of the more typical groin vaults and the bema of the church consists of the

---

<sup>70</sup> Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 113-14.

<sup>71</sup> A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (Washington D. C., 1977), 11-36.

two most eastern bays as well as the eastern cross arm, instead of having a separate sanctuary.<sup>72</sup> While these are all typical elements of Cypriot cross-in-square architecture, they are adaptations well suited to applying a centralized design over earlier basilican foundations.

The construction material of the churches also varies, with six of the churches being built of ashlar masonry. This may not seem significant, but only a small number of churches on Cyprus were constructed of this material, the majority were made of rubble masonry.<sup>73</sup> Interestingly, the only two churches not built with ashlar are Panagia Angeloktistos and Pangia Kyra, the two churches which preserved an Early Christian mosaic. It would be difficult to accept that their construction of rubble masonry indicates that these buildings were valued less than the other reconstituted churches. It is possible, that due to the preservation of something as valuable as the apse mosaics, construction material was of secondary importance. The masons' first priority would have been to integrate the apse within a new building. Perhaps rubble and mortar was better for this task, since ashlar masonry would have been far more difficult to integrate with the surviving architecture. If the integration of the existing apse was of primary importance, than rubble masonry served this end better than ashlar. It should be noted that despite using the term rubble for the material of these churches, both were solidly built and neither was hastily constructed.

### *Noticeable Similarities*

The reconstituted churches of Cyprus have been shown to display enormous variability. Like all of Byzantine sacred architecture, there is no single form or style that is required.

---

<sup>72</sup> Papacostas, "Tenth-Century Inscription," 60-61.

<sup>73</sup> Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 176-77.

However, there are several unifying features that should be discussed, beginning with the design of the churches.

All of the reconstituted churches on Cyprus were built with a centralized plan in mind. The only possible exception to this would be Saint Lazarus. However, as Athanasios Papageorgiou has suggested, the design of Saint Lazarus appears to combine three cross-in-square units.<sup>74</sup> While the foundation is undoubtedly basilican, there does appear to be an attempt to reorganize the central space of the church. This is not unlike Justinian's experiments with domed basilicas in the sixth century. The heavy piers used to support the domes appear to have isolated the aisles, creating a greater focus on the nave of the church. The use of centralized designs demonstrates that despite building over a ruined basilica, and possibly reusing the foundations, the reconstituted church was designed according to contemporary spatial needs. Whatever was gained by constructing a new church over the Early Christian ruins, it was not the church building that was valued, but rather what it represented. Had the builders wished to reclaim or simply construct the previous building, then we would expect to see basilicas erected over existing foundations. This does not appear to be the case with any of the reconstituted churches.

The reincorporation or preservation of the synthronon in at least three of the reconstituted churches is important (Fig. 35). Three of the churches, Acheiropoietos, Panagia Angeloktistos and Panagia Kyra, were constructed in the mid-eleventh or twelfth centuries,<sup>75</sup> a time when, according to Robert Ousterhout, the synthronon was either reduced or eliminated altogether,

---

<sup>74</sup> A. Papageorgiou *Ο ναός του Αγίου Λάζαρου στη Λάρνακα*,” *RDAC* (1998), 213.

<sup>75</sup> Saint Procopius also reincorporated a synthronon but dates to at least a century before the other examples.

although medieval examples are known.<sup>76</sup> It would be too simple to dismiss their retention as a result of their preservation from the Early Christian period. That is, that they would have been kept because they were still present in the ruins when a new church was built. This view can be dismissed for several reasons. The synthronon was a piece of liturgical furniture. Despite its construction from stone, it was not bonded with the masonry of the apse. Synthrona could be, and were, removed from churches. At Acheiropoietos, the retention of the earlier synthronon was only possible by integrating the much larger Early Christian apse. During the Middle Byzantine period, the synthronon was not a common feature in churches, as it may have no longer served a functional purpose for the clergy during their performance of the liturgy.<sup>77</sup> If the synthronon no longer served a purpose or practical function in the performance of the liturgy, then why would it have been retained?

The first possibility is that the retention of the synthronon along with other elements of the original apse was an attempt by the Byzantine masons to reclaim the sacredness of this area. The presence of a synthronon may have indicated that the church had been the seat of a bishop, making its retention desirable. If the synthronon was seen as an antiquated church furnishing, then it is possible that its retention was deliberately archaizing. Not only was the church being reclaimed by building a new church over the ruins, but so was the sanctity of the area. This might also relate to the retention of the main apse of the church and the reuse of *opus sectile*. Older forms of decoration and furnishing were retained or reused in contemporary structures in order to infuse them with a sense of community history or memory.

---

<sup>76</sup> Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 14. Charles Stewart states that the synthronon was obsolete by the tenth century, making its inclusion in an eleventh century structure even more unique. See Stewart, "Domes of Heaven," 112. The island of Naxos, however, has thirty churches that contain snythrona, the oldest of which dates to the ninth century. Medieval examples such as this contradict the opinion that the elimination of the synthronon in the medieval period was uniform throughout the empire. See G. Dimitrokallis, "The Byzantine Churches of Naxos," *AJA* 72 (1968), 283-86.

<sup>77</sup> Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 14-15.

A more pragmatic reason for its retention, in the case of Panagia Angeloktistos and Saint Procopius, may have to do with the layout of the church. Part of the reason that the synthronon was not widely used in the Middle Byzantine period was that the shift from the longitudinal basilica to a more centralized plan made its use as part of an entrance procession less practical. However, the churches at Kiti and Syngrasis were built on the original basilican foundations making an elongated cross-in-square design. This effectively retained the longitudinal nature of the earlier building making the synthronon practical for use. This explanation does not work for the churches of Acheiropoietos or Panagia Kyra, but there need not be a single reason for any of the elements retained or ignored in the construction of a reconstituted church. The preservation of the synthronon was clearly a deliberate action on the part of the Byzantine masons who constructed these reconstituted churches, but their motivations for doing so may have been different.

### *Significance*

Evident throughout all of the examples of reconstituted churches in Cyprus is the care that went into construction. All of the churches, regardless of their masonry, were solidly built and well designed. The adaptation of centralized designs to longitudinal foundations, as with Panagia Angeloktistos and Saint Procopius, would have taken some level of planning and ingenuity on behalf of the masons that built the churches. The reincorporation of the apse, the preservation of the *opus sectile* floor and synthronon among other elements indicate the importance of not just rebuilding on these sites, but reintegrating them. Some of the reconstituted churches have clear reasons for why they would be valued by the community that built them.

Saint Lazarus served as the burial place of an important saint, Panagia Angeloktistos and Panagia Kyra preserved an Early Christian mosaic, and Saint Philon had once been an episcopal center.<sup>78</sup>

These could all serve as viable reasons that these churches were selected to be reconstituted. However, if the churches that were examined were the result of a unified phenomenon, then there should be something that connects these reasons together.

These reconstituted churches served as a tangible bridge to the past. This is made explicit in the reincorporation of elements of the Early Christian basilica into the Middle Byzantine church. The earlier apse, mosaic, flooring, foundations, and visible remains in the grounds around the churches would all indicate to the community that however new their church may have been, it had a history that went beyond their immediate memory. They lived and worshiped where Christians had centuries before. The majority of these churches were built in the mid-eleventh to twelfth century, when the population of the island was increasing. Whether communities expanded from within or were newly founded is not entirely relevant. No one living in the eleventh century would have remembered the Early Christian basilicas as anything other than ruins. These communities would want to connect themselves to their landscape. The reconstitution of these churches would not only revitalize this sacred area but allow the current community to connect with the past. Antiquated elements, like the synthronon, would add a sense of antiquity to the newly built church, furthering the fusion of past and present.

These constructions preserved the importance of these sites in the memory of the community. No longer were they important ruins representing something that had been lost, they were now integrated into the community and became part of it. The Arab attacks of the seventh

---

<sup>78</sup> While Carpasia continued to be listed as an episcopal see, there is no evidence for occupation at Saint Philon after the seventh century. The population appears to have shifted to the nearby settlement of Rizocarpaso following the abandonment of the site. See du Plat Taylor, "Excavations at Ayios Philon," 157; du Plat Taylor and Megaw, "Excavations at Ayios Philon," 250.



century would have been remembered on the island, and the visible ruins around Cyprus would be constant reminder of not only these attacks, but what had been lost because of them. By rebuilding these churches they were not seeking to replace what had existed previously. Elements that were incorporated into the new churches would have been visible; the synthronon, an apse mosaic, *opus sectile* pavement and more. The churches that were built on a smaller scale than the Early Christian basilicas would have had been surrounded by the previous remains.<sup>79</sup> The reconstituted church would likely have stood as a reminder of not only what had been lost, but what had been regained. This is well illustrated at Saint Lazarus. The church itself was built in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, more than a century after the relics of the titular saint had been translated to Constantinople.<sup>80</sup> All that remained for the pilgrims that came to Saint Lazarus was his stone sarcophagus (Fig. 16). The construction of such a grand church would have demonstrated that the community was reclaiming this sacred precinct and re-emphasizing the cult of one of the most important saints in Cyprus. These areas no longer existed simply as ruins, but were reclaimed and resanctified establishing a visible sign to the community of their connection with the sacred past of the island.

### *Alassa*

The analysis of the Middle Byzantine reconstituted churches on Cyprus allows us to examine the Late Byzantine example of Saint Mavri at Alassa in order to determine if this phenomenon continued into the later centuries. The Late Byzantine church at Alassa was erected over the ruins of an Early Byzantine basilica that was destroyed by fire and abandoned in the

---

<sup>79</sup> As seen at Panagia Angeloktistos and Saint Philon.

<sup>80</sup> See previous comments on the dating of this church above.

seventh century (Fig. 36).<sup>81</sup> The gap in the use of the site is displayed well in the archaeological record. Early Byzantine finds do not post-date the mid-seventh century, and no medieval material earlier than the twelfth century was recovered.<sup>82</sup> Unlike the Middle Byzantine examples, Saint Mavri is in southwest Cyprus, demonstrating that if reconstitution continued into the Late Byzantine period it was no longer confined to the eastern half of the island.

The church was published by Pavlos Flourentzos in 1996 and exhibits some of the difficulties discussed earlier regarding the publication of reconstituted churches. The author focuses on the Early Byzantine remains of the site, including the recovery of the original plan of the basilica and an analysis of the earlier ceramics. While the later church is discussed, Flourentzos's main concern is how its construction affected the earlier remains of the site.<sup>83</sup> Possible spolia are also discussed for the evidence of the decoration of the Early Byzantine basilica, and not how they were integrated into the later church, if at all.<sup>84</sup> The dating of the church also remains unclear, with its construction being dated to the twelfth to thirteenth century while its western wall and entrance were dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century.<sup>85</sup> However, since the west end of the church appears to be bonded with the north wall, according to the plan of the site, it is likely that its construction was contemporaneous with the body of the church. It is also unclear how the church could have stood without a western wall. Sherds found within the church have been dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, indicating that the site

---

<sup>81</sup> The basilica has been dated to the early-seventh century meaning that it had a very short life before it was destroyed and abandoned in the mid-seventh century. Despite a clear ash layer throughout the site indicating its destruction by fire, Pavlos Flourentzos states that there is not enough evidence to attribute this to the Arab raids of the same period. See Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley*, 37.

<sup>82</sup> Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley*, 21-36.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 3-7.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 5, 37.

was at least reoccupied by then (Fig. 37).<sup>86</sup> Due to this, the date for the building must be placed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>87</sup>

The Late Byzantine church was constructed from a cut limestone block facing with a rubble and mortar core. The walls of the later church are much more robust than the Early Byzantine remains and indicate that the later church was possibly a barrel vaulted structure. This would explain why the walls were made thicker than those of the Early Byzantine period and the absence of any remnants of columns or piers.<sup>88</sup> It is also evident that the structure of the Late Byzantine church was a single-aisled structure, comparable to the Middle Byzantine church at the agora at Iasos and the sixteenth-century church of Aphenrika (Figs. 3, 31). The presence of ashlar masonry in the apse indicates that the interior of the original apse was integrated into the later church.<sup>89</sup> The north aisle of the earlier basilica was shortened and converted into an ossuary during the medieval period.<sup>90</sup> The style of masonry of the ossuary differs from that of the body of the church and the masonry is not bonded with its walls. This indicates that it was likely a later addition to the Late Byzantine church. The south aisle of the earlier basilica has been completely destroyed by the creation of a modern road.<sup>91</sup> While this obscures the design of the Early Byzantine church, there is nothing to suggest that this area was integrated into the medieval church.

---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>87</sup> The early reports on the excavation dated the medieval church to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is likely that after further examination of the evidence that this date was revised. Tassos Papacostas discusses the site, but does not include the church in his study of churches built during the Middle Byzantine period. See V. Karageorghis, *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the year 1984* (Nicosia, 1985), 37-38; Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 39.

<sup>88</sup> Florentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley*, 5.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 4-5.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 6.

The addition of an ossuary and the presence of two medieval burials within the nave of Saint Mavri indicates that it served primarily as a burial church. The lack of evidence for a settlement around the church has led Flourentzos to suggest that it served a nearby community, though this has not yet been located.<sup>92</sup> The later creation of the ossuary suggests that the area around the church must have been used for burials for a long period of time and indeed the site appears to have been occupied through the fifteenth century.<sup>93</sup> Despite this, Flourentzos assigns the burials located to the east of the church to the Early Christian period, though this was based on sparse diagnostic evidence.<sup>94</sup>

Comparing the Late Byzantine church at Alassa to the Middle Byzantine examples, several characteristics of reconstituted churches are noticeable. The original apse of the basilica was reintegrated into the later church as seen in three of our examples. Though the construction material varied between the Early Byzantine apse and the medieval church, its integration was made more successful by building around the exterior of the apse. From the outside, the difference in design would not be noticeable. The Late Byzantine church is quite small, measuring only 11 x 5 m. However, this may be due to the size of the Early Christian basilica. Saint Mavri reincorporated the earlier apse, and only built over the nave of the earlier church, stopping before the narthex. If the focus was on reincorporating the apse, then the design of the church is proportional. This focus on proportionality has been seen at Panagia Angeloktistos and Saint Procopius, which featured elongated designs, and at the agora church in Iasos, which built

---

<sup>92</sup> The modern village of Alassa is about 1 km from the site of the church. Ibid, 37.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>94</sup> The skeletal remains located in the ossuary must date to the medieval period since the structure did not exist prior to this point. It is unlikely that the north aisle of the Early Byzantine basilica would have housed such remains. The earliest reports label the cemetery as medieval, only in the final report are the graves attributed to the Early Byzantine period. See Karageorghis, *Annual Report 1984*, 37-38; V. Karageorghis, *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the year 1985* (Nicosia, 1986), 60-62.

within the earlier apse (Figs. 11, 13).<sup>95</sup> The only church that breaks this rule is Acheiropoietos (Fig. 28); its interesting solution to incorporating a much larger apse is an exceptional case.

The quality of construction for this church echoes what has been seen for the Middle Byzantine examples. The fine masonry, regardless of the inclusion of spolia, demonstrates that the community that constructed this church took care to make it solid and well designed. The inclusion of the original apse further indicates the effort that went into the design. The stratigraphy of the site indicates that the medieval church was built at the same level as the Early Byzantine basilica. This would mean that the masons had to dig through the debris to reach this level.<sup>96</sup> This is further evidenced by the medieval walls that are built on top of the Early Byzantine mosaic pavement.<sup>97</sup> The pavement was not preserved in the nave of the medieval church, indicating that the medieval flooring did not survive or that it had an earthen floor.<sup>98</sup> The early mosaic pavement within the body of the church may have been removed from the church prior to its reconstitution. The mosaic flooring was likely damaged from the fire that destroyed the site as the church was destroyed. It is unlikely that the masons that built the church had the ability to repair the damage. The simple medieval floor then, can be seen as an act of making the church uniform and further shows the time and care put into its construction. The effort made to reach the Early Byzantine level, preserve the original apse, and build the church all demonstrate the same level of care exhibited in the Middle Byzantine examples in Cyprus.

---

<sup>95</sup> Proportionality appears to have been a general focus in Byzantine church construction. See Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 58-59, 70-85.

<sup>96</sup> This is based on the Early Christian floor of the north aisle being buried beneath 30 cm of ashes, relating to the destruction of the church in the seventh century. Despite serving as an ossuary it does not appear as if the level was brought down to that of the rest of the medieval church. See Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley*, 5.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Pavlos Flourentzos cites the absences of evidence for medieval flooring as indicative of the church having an earthen floor. See Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley*, 5.

What makes Saint Mavri stand out from the Middle Byzantine examples is the number of burials associated with the church. There is no doubt that during the medieval period Saint Mavri served primarily as a cemetery church. However, we have seen that there were burials at Panagia Angeloktistos prior to the construction of the Middle Byzantine church. Saint Procopius has evidence for at least a single burial. To the south of Saint Philon, moreover, a number of yet unpublished medieval graves were found.<sup>99</sup> It could be expected that further investigation at the other reconstituted churches would uncover graves within the vicinity of the buildings. As Early Christian basilicas were abandoned, they began to be used as places of burial. This can be seen at Panagia Angeloktistos and also at Soloi, where, in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, graves were dug into the ruins of the church.<sup>100</sup> Outside of Cyprus evidence for this practice is also widespread. Myrto Veikou writes that twenty-two Early Christian basilicas in Epirus were turned into cemeteries in the medieval period.<sup>101</sup> Worth noting is that eighteen of the churches that were not turned into cemeteries had a Middle Byzantine church built above the Early Christian ruins.<sup>102</sup> Reconstituted churches at Iasos, Halai, and Kilise Tepe are all associated with burials as well.<sup>103</sup> We know from the evidence on Cyprus that the presence of burials did not make the Early Christian basilicas ineligible for reconstitution. It could be possible that the presence of burials not only preserved the sacredness of the ruins in later centuries, but that it also precipitated the building of the churches. This might also explain the confusion with the dating

---

<sup>99</sup> du Plat Taylor, "Excavations at Ayios Philon," (1935), 15.

<sup>100</sup> Tinh, *Soloi*, 81-84.

<sup>101</sup> M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus: A Topography of Transformation* (Brill, 2012), 57.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, 57 n. 22.

<sup>103</sup> For Halai, see K. O'Neill, W. Yielding, J. Near, J. E. Coleman, P. S. Wren, and K. M. Quinn. "Halai The 1992-1994 Field Seasons." *Hesperia* 68 (1999), 285-341.

of the church at Alassa, as the site may have been used already for burials before the church was built.

The reason for the reconstitution of the church at Alassa, beyond its use as a burial church, would have been that a new community had recently assumed ownership of the site. The care taken to reincorporate elements of the original apse and the presence of spolia indicates the same level of integration with the past that has been seen in the Middle Byzantine examples. Saint Mavri was not built just to serve the funerary needs of a community, but also to connect that community to the landscape. Had just a simple structure been required to provide for the necessary rites of the deceased, then, even if the sacred precinct was reused, the community would not have necessarily needed to put in the effort to reconstitute the Early Christian church. As has been shown with the Middle Byzantine examples, the process of reconstitution was almost certainly more difficult than building an *ex novo* church. The motivation for the reconstitution of the church at Alassa must have gone beyond simple necessity. For the reasons discussed above, it is clear that the phenomenon of reconstitution continued into the Late Byzantine period, as there is no fundamental difference between the church at Alassa and the Middle Byzantine examples on Cyprus.

### *Conclusion*

As has been demonstrated, while there are identifiable characteristics of reconstituted churches, further research is required to better understand their purpose. The reconstituted churches of Cyprus form only 6% of the churches built on the island from the mid-seventh to twelfth centuries. These churches were built as pilgrimage centers, to serve villages or to act as

funerary churches. Church building throughout the Byzantine Empire was never monolithic or uniform. It is in this heterogeneous environment that reconstituted churches belong and in which they can be best understood. The site around the reconstituted churches needs to be studied in greater detail, examining the area for more than just the foundations of an earlier basilica. Burials and evidence of a surrounding or nearby settlement should also be sought for in order to have significant information to understand the context in which the churches were built. Once the sites have been put into their context then they can be interpreted and understood in greater detail.

As has been seen with Saint Mavri at Alassa, reconstitution did not end in the Middle Byzantine period. Further research on other possible Late Byzantine examples would reveal if there was a change in purpose for these buildings over the centuries. However, due to the similarities of Saint Mavri to the Middle Byzantine examples, there appears to be continuity in function. From several examples mentioned throughout this paper it is clear that the reconstitution of churches was not a phenomenon unique to Cyprus. Middle Byzantine churches built over the ruins of an Early Christian or Early Byzantine basilica can be found in Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete. Specific examples include the agora church at Iasos and the church at Kilisie Tepe.<sup>104</sup> From the evidence it appears that the erection of new churches over earlier ruins was an exception in Middle Byzantine church building programs. An examination of the reconstitution of churches as an empire-wide phenomenon would not only provide more information for this process, but would allow a greater understanding of this important subset of Byzantine buildings.

---

<sup>104</sup> For Iasos, see U. Serin, *Early Christian and Byzantine Churches at Iasos in Caria* (Vatican City, 2004), 87–98. For Kilisie Tepe, see Jackson, “The Church,” 185-198.



Table 1

Name of Church	Date	Type	Location
Saint Philon	11th-12th c.	Cross-in-Square	Karpasia
Saint Photios	11th-12th c.	Domed Hall	Gialousa (Yeni Erenkoy)
Panagia Kyra	11th-12th c.	Cruciform	Livadia (Sazikloy)
Saint Procopius	9th-10th c.	Cross-in-Square	Syngrasis (Sinirustu)
Panagia Pergamieniotissa	11th-12th c.	Cross-in-Square	Akanthou (Tatlisu)
Acheiropoietos	11th-12th c.	Cross-in-Square	Lambousa (Lapithos)
Saint Lazarus	11th-12th c.	Basilica	Larnaka
Panagia Angeloktistos	11th-12th c.	Cross-in-Square	Kiti

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 1: Map of Cyprus (After A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct* [Washington, D.C., 2007], vi)**

[Image Redacted]

Figure 2: Aerial view of church at Kilise Tepe (After M. P. C. Jackson, "The Church," in *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994-98*, eds. N. Postgate and D. Thomas [Ankara, 2007], Fig. 166)

[Image Redacted]

Figure 3: Plan of Panagia Apendrika showing fifteenth-century church over earlier basilica (After A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 [1974], Fig. 7)

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 4: Plan of Area II at Kalavassos-Kopetra showing the stages of building over the basilica (After M. Rautman, *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity* [Portsmouth, 2003], Plan 3)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 5: Liturgical silver spoons discovered in Kyrenia (Lambousa) (After O. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the district of Kerynia, Cyprus, now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 [1900], Pl. xviii)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 6: Scene of the anointing of David (After K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* [New York, 1979], Fig. 425)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figures 7a, b: Inscription from the basilica at Soloi detailing the reconstruction of the church in 655 (After T. T. Tinh, *Soloi: Dix Campagnes de Fouilles (1964-1974)* [Quebec, 1985], Figs. 119, 120)**



[Image Redacted]

**Figures 8a, b: Arabic inscriptions dating to the seventh or eighth centuries from Paphos (After C. A. Stewart, "Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus" [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Figs. II.22b, e)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 9: Map showing the locations of the Early Christian basilicas in Cyprus (After R. Maguire, “Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories” [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 1)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 10: Ground plan of Saint Procopius (After C. A. Stewart, "Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus"  
[Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Fig. V. 47)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 11: Exterior of Saint Procopius (After C. A. Stewart, “Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus” [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Fig. V.50)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 12: Apse mosaic from Panagia Angeloktistos (After E. Hein, A. Jakovljević and B. Leidt, *Cyprus: Byzantine Churches and Monasteries, Mosaics and Frescoes* [Ratingen, 1998], Fig. 131)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 13: Plan of Panagia Angeloktistos (After G. Soteriou, *Βυζαντινά Μνημεία Της Κύπρου*, [Athens, 1935] Fig. 16)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 14: Plan of Saint Lazarus (After G. Soteriou, *Βυζαντινά Μνημεία Της Κύπρου*, [Athens, 1935], Fig. 9)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 15: Exterior of Saint Lazarus (After C. A. Stewart, “Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus” [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Fig. V.16)**



[Image Redacted]

**Figure 16: Sarcophagus of Saint Lazarus below the church (After C. A. Stewart, "Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus" [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Fig. V.5)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 17: Example of Early Christian *opus sectile*, from Saint Philon (After J. du Plat Taylor and A. H. S. Megaw. "Excavation at Ayios Philon, The Ancient Carpasisa. Part II. The Early Christian buildings," from *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, 1981, Pl. XLIII)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 18: Extant *opus sectile* from Saint Lazarus (After D. Michaelides, “Opus Sectile in Cyprus,” in *Sweet Land of Cyprus*, eds. A. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides [Nicosia, 1993], Pl. 46)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 19: *Opus sectile* pavement from Ayios Chrysostomos. (After D. Michaelides, “Opus Sectile in Cyprus,” in *Sweet Land of Cyprus*, eds. A. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides [Nicosia, 1993], Pl. 28)**

[Image Redacted]

Figure 20: *Opus sectile* from the Sarayia chapel at Episkopi using *crustae* from Kourion (After A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct* [Washington, D.C., 2007], Pl. 6.19 b)

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 21: *Opus sectile* from the Bema of Saint Procopius featuring reset *crustae* (After R. Maguire, “Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories” [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 67.2)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 22: Ground plan to Saint Philon (After J. du Plat Taylor, John. "Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Carpasia. Part I. The Classical to the Roman periods," from *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*, [1980], Fig. 53)**

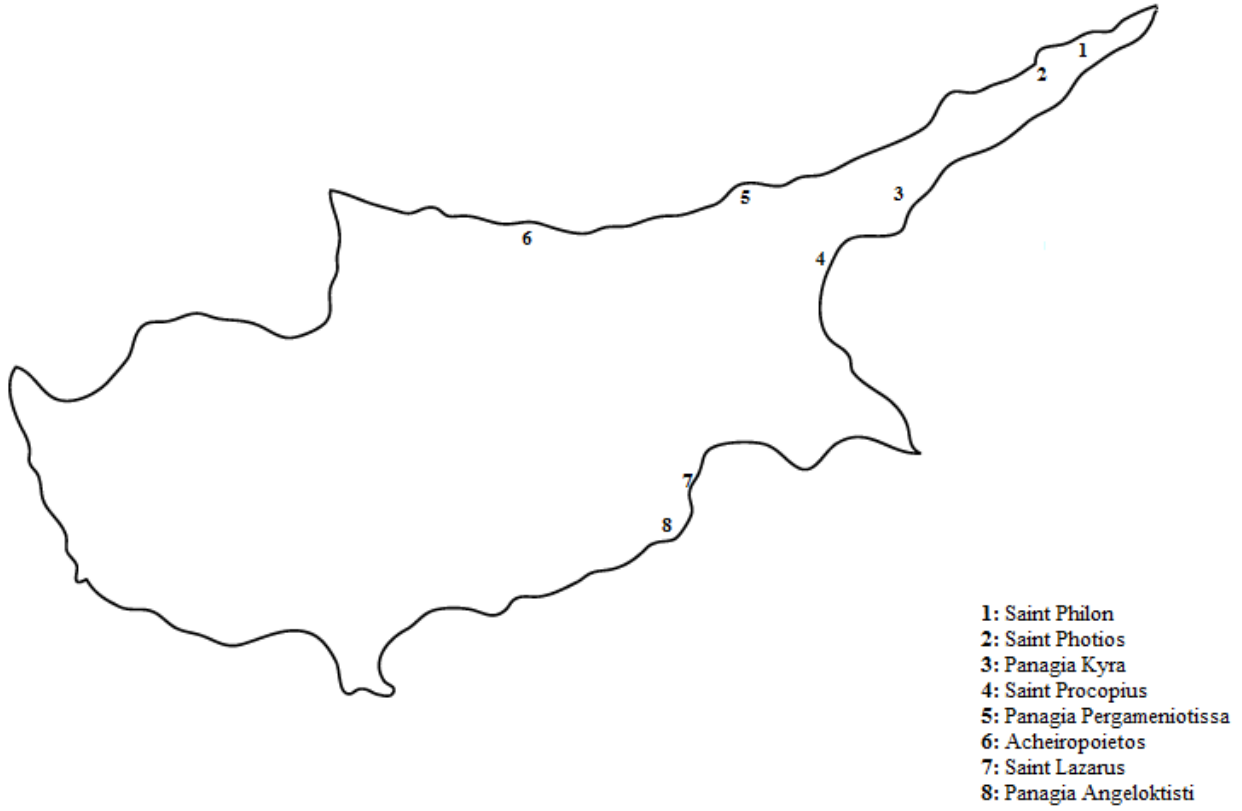
[Image Redacted]

**Figure 23: Exterior of Saint Philon from the east (After C. A. Stewart, "Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus" [Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008], Fig. V.II.6)**



[Image Redacted]

**Figure 24: Reused portion of the chancel screen in the all at Panagia Kyra (After R. Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories" [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 38.4)**



**Figure 25: Map of Cyprus with the location of reconstituted churches (M. Pawlowski, 2014)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 26: Piece of Early Christian chancel screen found next to Panagia Angeloktistos (After R. Maguire, “Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories” [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 29.3)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 27: Virgin Orant mosaic from Panagia Kyra, prior to 1974 (After C. Chotzakoglou, *Religious Monuments in Turkish Occupied Cyprus* [Lefkosia, 2012], 122)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 28: Ground Plan of Acheiropoietos (After A. Papageorgiou, "Foreign Influences on the Early Christian Architecture of Cyprus," in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident,"* ed. V. Karageorghis [Nicosia, 1986], Fig. 3)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 29: Exterior of Acheiropietos from the North (After C. Chotzakoglou, *Religious Monuments in Turkish Occupied Cyprus* [Lefkosia, 2012], 61)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 30: View of the east end of Panagia Pergamienotissa with remains of Early Christian apse visible (After R. Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories" [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 2.1)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 31: Plan of Agora church at Iasos showing various building phases (After U. Serin, *Early Christian and Byzantine Churches at Iasos in Caria* [Vatican City, 2004], Pl. V)**



[Image Redacted]

**Figure 32: The church of Saint John at Lebna in Crete (After I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete: An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* [Warminster, 1982], Fig. 38)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 33: Ground plan of the Panagia Kanakaria showing the different building phases (After A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* [Washington D. C., 1977], Fig. C)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 34: Preserved apse mosaic from Panagia Kanakaria (After A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* [Washington D. C., 1977], Pl. 40)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 35: Synthronon from Saint Procopius (After R. Maguire, "Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories" [Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012], Fig. 67.1)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 36: Plan of Saint Mavri and surrounding site (After P. Flourentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley II: The Basilica of Alassa* [Nicosia, 1996], Plan 1)**

[Image Redacted]

**Figure 37: Glazed ceramic found within the basilica at Alassa (After P. Florentzos, *Excavations in the Kouris Valley II: The Basilica of Alassa* [Nicosia, 1996], Pl. XLVI)**

## Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, 2012.
- Bowden, William. *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*. London: Duckworth, 2003.
- Ćurčić, Slobodan. "Divine Light: Constructing the Immaterial in Byzantine Art and Architecture," from *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, eds. Bonna Wescoat and Robert Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 307-337.
- Chotzakoglou, Charalampos G. *Religious Monuments in Turkish Occupied Cyprus*. Lefkosia: 2012.
- Christides, Vassilios. *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources*. Nicosia: Πολιτιστικόν Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ', Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ιστορίας, 2006.
- Dalton, Ormonde. "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the district of Kerynia, Cyprus, now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* LVII (1900). 159-174.
- . "A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus," from *Archaeologica* LX, (1906). 1-24.
- Davies, J.G. *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953.
- Dikigoropoulos, Andreas. "Cyprus 'Betwixt Greeks and Saracens' AD 647- 965" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1961).
- Dimitrokallis, George. "The Byzantine Churches of Naxos." *AJA* 72 (1968). 283-286.
- Doig, Allan. *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- du Plat Taylor, John. "Excavations at Ayios Philon, 1935," *RDAC* (1936). 14-17.
- . "Excavations at Ayios Philon, the ancient Carpasia. Part I. The Classical to the Roman periods," *RDAC*,(1980). 152-216
- du Plat Taylor, John and A. H. S. Megaw. "Excavation at Ayios Philon, The ancient Carpasia. Part II. The Early Christian buildings," *RDAC*,(1981). 209-250.
- Englezakis, Benedict. *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Trans. Norman Russell. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Flourentzos, Pavlos. *Excavations in the Kouris Valley II: The Basilica of Alassa*. Nicosia: Proodos, 1996.
- Foulias, Andreas. *The Church of Our Lady Angeloktisti at Kiti, Larnaka*. Nicosia, 2004.
- Gagniers, Jean and Tran Tam Tinh. *Soloi: Dix Campagnes de Fouilles, 1964-1974*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1985.
- Gunnis, Rupert. *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns, Villages, Monasteries and Castles*. London: Methuen & Company, 1947.
- Hackett, John. *A History of the Orthodox of Cyprus, From the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1972.
- Halbawchs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Trans. Lewis Coser. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.
- Haldon, John. *Byzantium: A History*. Charleston: Tempus, 2000.
- Harrison, Martin. *Mountain and Plain: From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

- Hein, Edward and Andrija Jakovljevic, Brigitte Kleidt. *Cyprus: Byzantine Churches and Monasteries, Mosaics, and Frescoes*. Trans. John Deasy. Ratingen: Melina-Verlag, 1997.
- Hill, George. *A History of Cyprus Volume I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Hussey, J. M. *The Byzantine World*. London: Hutchinson & co, 1967.
- Jeffery, George. *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*. London: Zeno Publishers, 1983.
- Johnson, Mark. *The Byzantine Churches of Sardinia*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2013.
- Karageorghis, Vassos. "Chroniques des fouilles a Chypre en 1959," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 84 (1960). 242-299.
- . *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1984*. Nicosia, 1985.
- . *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1985*. Nicosia, 1986.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Leader, Ruth. "The David Plates Revisited, Transforming the Secular in Early Byzantium," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000). 407-427.
- Maguire, Richard. "Late Antique Basilicas of Cyprus: Sources, Context, Histories" (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2012)
- Maier, Franz and Vassos Karageorghis. *Paphos: History and Archaeology*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1984.
- Mango, Cyril. *Byzantine Architecture*. Milan: Rizzoli International Publications, 1985.
- Marinis, Vasileios. "Defining Liturgical Space" in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 286-292
- Mathews, Thomas. *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.
- Megaw, A. H. S. "Three Vaulted Basilicas in Cyprus." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946). 48-56.
- . "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 (1974). 57-88.
- . "Betwixt Greeks and Saracens," from *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident."* ed. Vassos Karageorghis. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1986. 505-519.
- . "The Episcopal Precinct at Kourion and the Evidence for Re-location," from *The Sweet Land of Cyprus, Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, eds. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides. Nicosia: The Cyprus Research Centre for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 1993. 53-62.
- . *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 38. Washington, D.C. : [Cambridge, Mass.]: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection ; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Megaw, A. H. S. and Andreas Stylianou. *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*. New York Graphic Society, 1963.
- Metcalf, David. *Byzantine Cyprus 491-1191*. Nicosia: Theopress Limited, 2009.



- Michaelides, Demetrios. “*Opus Sectile in Cyprus*,” from *The Sweet Land of Cyprus, Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, eds. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides. Nicosia: The Cyprus Research Centre for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 1993. 69-114.
- Neal, David Stanley. *Basilica at Soli Cyprus: A Survey of the Buildings and Mosaics*. SAVE, 2009.
- O’Neill, Kerill et al. “Halai: The 1992-1994 Field Seasons.” *Hesperia* 68 (1999). 285-341.
- Ousterhout, Robert. *Master Builders of Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Papacostas, Tassos. “Byzantine Cyprus: The Testimony of its Churches, 650 –1200.” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1999)
- . “A Tenth-Century Inscription from Syngrasis, Cyprus” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002). 42-64.
- Papageorghiou, Athanasios. “Foreign Influences on the Early Christian Architecture of Cyprus,” in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium “Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident,”* ed. V. Karageorghis. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1986. 490-503.
- . “Cities and Countryside at the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages in Cyprus,” from *The Sweet Land of Cyprus, Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, eds. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides. Nicosia: The Cyprus Research Centre for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 1993. 27-52.
- . “Ο ναός του Αγίου Λάζαρου στη Λάρνακα,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* (1998), 205-224.
- Quinn, Kathleen. “Late Antique Halai: A Study of the Roman and Byzantine Remains at the Site of Halai, Greece, as Recorded in the Field Journals of Hetty Goldman and Alice L. Walker.” Cornell, 1996.
- Rautman, Marcus. *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity, Kalavastos-Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley*. Portsmouth: Thomson-Shore, 1992.
- Sanders, Ian. *Roman Crete: An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips limited, 1982.
- Ševčenko, Nancy and Christopher Moss. *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*. New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Soteriou, Georgios. *Τα Βυζαντινά Μνημεία Της Κύπρου*. Athens: Academy at Athens, 1935.
- Stewart, Cecil. *Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*. New York: David McKay Company, 1962.
- Stewart, Charles Anthony. “Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus.” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2008)
- . “The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69 (2010). 162–189.
- Stylianou, Andreas, and Judith Stylianou. *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*. Worcestershire: Research Centre, Greek Communal Chamber, Cyprus, 1964.
- Veikou, Myrto. *Byzantine Epirus: A Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Greece*. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Weitzmann, Kurt ed. *Age of Spirituality* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- Zavango, Luca. “At the Edge of Two Empires: The Economy of Cyprus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (650’s-800s CE), in *DOP* 65-66, (2011-12). 121-156.