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160-173 **MARKO KIESSEL**
ASU TOZAN

ORTHODOX CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN
THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF CYPRUS
FROM THE MID-19TH CENTURY TO 1974
FROM ECLECTICISM TO NEO-BYZANTINE

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER
UDC 72.035 (564.3)"18/19"

PRAVOSLAVNA SAKRALNA ARHITEKTURA
U SJEVERNIM REGIJAMA CIPRA
OD SREDINE 19. STOLJECA DO 1974.

OD EKLEKTICIZMA DO NEOBIZANTSKOG STILA

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANAK
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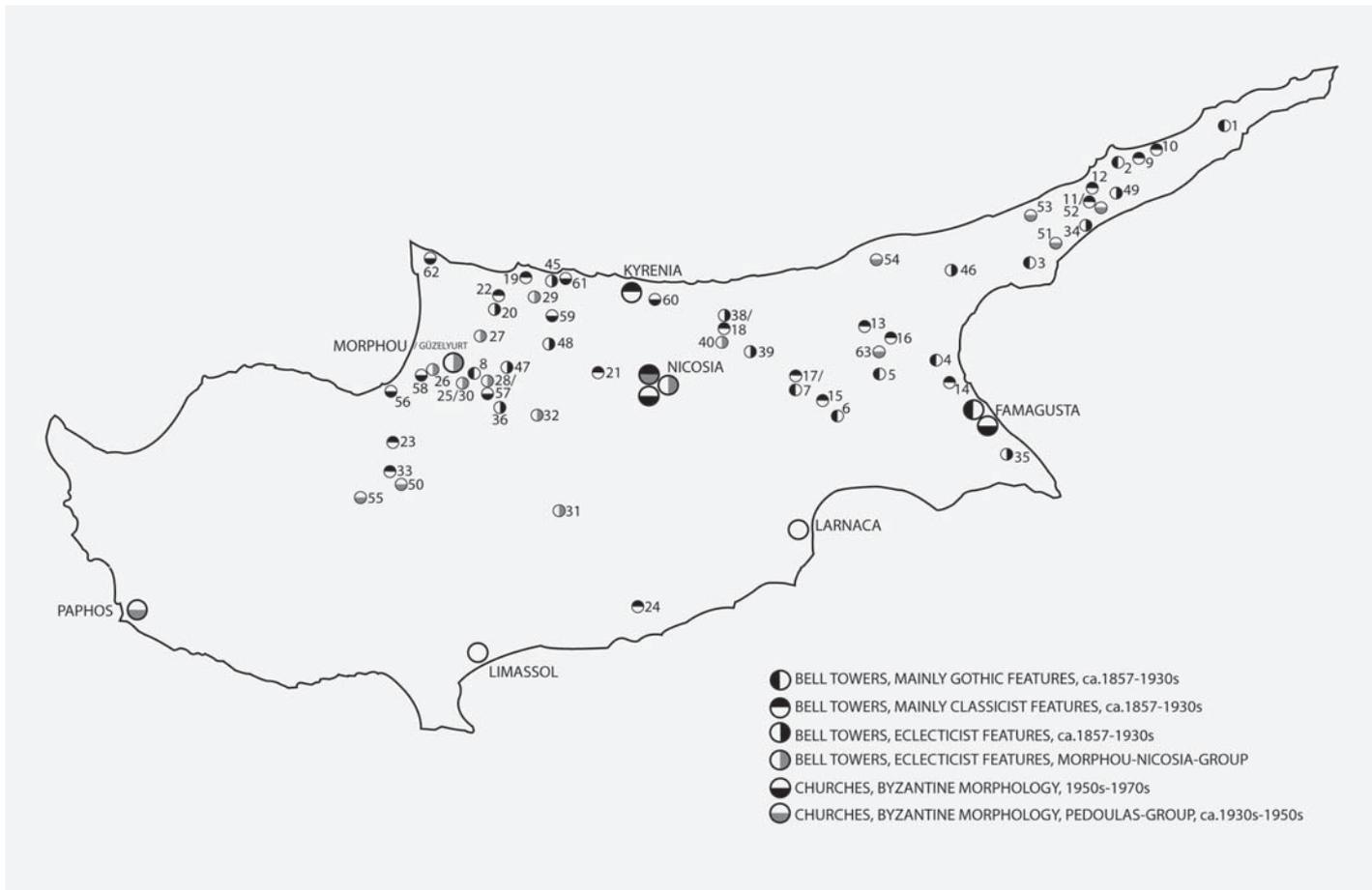


FIG. 1 CYPRUS, DISTRIBUTION OF 81 SURVEYED CHURCH BUILDINGS/BELL TOWERS AND THEIR MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

SL. 1. CIPAR, RAZMJESTAJ 81 ANALIZIRANE CRKVENE ZGRADJE/ZVONIKA I NJIHOVE MORFOLOSKE KARAKTERISTIKE

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PRAVOSLAVNA SAKRALNA ARHITEKTURA U SJEVERNIM REGIJAMA CIPRA OD SREDINE 19. STOLJEĆA DO 1974. OD EKLEKTICIZMA DO NEOBIZANTSKOG STILA

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION
CHURCH ARCHITECTURE
CYPRUS
ECLECTICISM
NEO-BYZANTINISM

ARHITEKTONSKA DEKORACIJA
SAKRALNA ARHITEKTURA
CIPAR
EKLEKTICIZAM
NEOBIZANTSKI STIL

This paper analyses Orthodox Church architecture in Cyprus, considering building typology and sculptural decoration. The hybrid character of the initial eclecticism may be understood as reflection of Cypriot identity. The subsequent dominance of the Neo-Byzantine style began when the aspirations of Greek-Cypriots for Enosis turned into an anti-colonial movement. The Neo-Byzantinism can be understood as expression of Greek cultural-religious identity.

Ovaj rad analizira pravoslavnu sakralnu arhitekturu na Cipru s obzirom na graditeljsku tipologiju i skulpturalnu dekoraciju. Hibridni karakter početnog eklectizma može se shvatiti kao odraz ciparskog identiteta. Razdoblje prevlasti neobizantskog stila koje je uslijedilo započelo je onda kad su težnje ciparskih Grka prerasle u antikolonijalni pokret. Neobizantski stil može se shvatiti kao izraz grčkoga kulturno-religijskog identiteta.

INTRODUCTION

UVOD

This paper analyses the language of Orthodox Church architecture from the mid-19th to the advanced 20th centuries in Cyprus, based on an analysis of the typology of church buildings and of the iconography of exterior sculptural decoration. The examined period is characterized by two serious transitions: the change from Ottoman dominance to British Colonial rule in 1878, and from the Colonial era to the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. The period of our concern ends with the division of the island in 1974.¹

Comprehensive studies of the typology of local ecclesiastical architecture of the 19th-20th centuries and its rich sculptural decoration do not exist. To be mentioned are: D. Myrianthefts who assesses the church architecture of our interest between approximately 1850 and the 1930s in the Morphou district, E. Papademetriou who gives a brief overview of sculptural decoration of Cypriot ecclesiastical and residential architecture, I. Yapıcıoğlu whose work supplies little new (art-) historical data but does contain valuable images, and finally R. Gunnis, whose "Historic Cyprus" – although not being equipped with images – provides important data on our subject in an overview of the historical monuments of the island.²

The Church architecture has been recorded since 2008 by an island-wide survey with a focus on the northern districts of Cyprus (on both sides of the present border): Morphou-, Kyrenia-, Nicosia- and Famagusta. Concern-

ing the Paphos-, Limassol- and Larnaca districts few examples have been examined so far. Although we cannot claim to have established a complete record of church buildings, the 81 monuments in 65 towns and villages which were considered for this article form a sufficient basis for presenting our theses for Cyprus as a whole (Fig. 1).³

FROM THE 1850S TO THE 1930S: THE EMERGENCE OF PROMINENT BELL TOWERS AND A NEW SINGLE-SPACE CHURCH TYPE

RAZDOBLJE OKO 1850.-1930.: POJAVA ISTAKNUTIH CRKVENIH ZVONIKA I NOVOG JEDNOBRODNOG TIPA CRKVE

The focus of this study is firstly on church buildings with single bell towers, the latter dating from the last years of the Ottoman rule to the advanced British Colonial period.⁴ The importance of these bell towers results from their quantity and from the quality and expressiveness of their decoration (Fig. 1). The towers were completed after a long-term Ottoman ban on bell-ringing was lifted – one of the consequences of substantial reforms of the Empire in 1856.⁵ Inscriptions on the towers or on the often contemporaneous church buildings supply information regarding the dates of their construction. Undecorated towers, of which also a considerable number exists, are not considered in this analysis.

¹ This is a thorough revision of a paper presented at the METU Architectural History Conference I in October 2010, Ankara. The paper was submitted for inclusion in the conference proceedings in January and, slightly revised, in August 2011. The publication of the proceedings is still pending. Due to new data, insights of the authors, new scholarly material related to the subject, the authors decided to withdraw the manuscript from the publication of the proceedings and thoroughly revise it.

We would like to thank Mr. Şahin Ballı (B.arch.) and Mr. Okan Güvener (B.arch.) for their outstanding contribution to this research while being undergraduate students of architecture. Furthermore we would like to express our gratitude to Mrs. Emine Pilli, former Head of the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, and Mrs. Vildan Açı, Department of Graphic Design, Cyprus International University, for their valuable support.

The ongoing division into a northern (Turkish) and southern (Greek) part is a consequence of the increased inter-communal confrontation after the independence of Cyprus in 1960, culminating in the Turkish intervention of 1974.

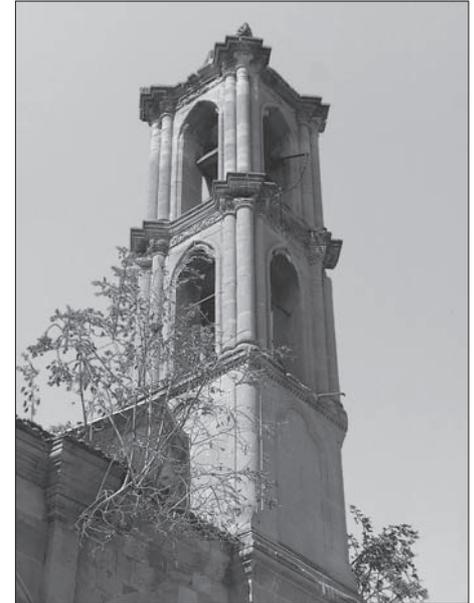
² MYRIANTHEFS, 2006; PAPADEMETRIOU, 2011; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007; GUNNIS, 1936

³ The names of locations may be addressed in the languages of the two major communities of the island, first in Greek (English), followed by the Turkish name where appropriate. The usage of a Turkish name for locations usually indicates that the respective church building has been converted to a mosque.

⁴ The island had been leased to the British in 1878. After the annexation in 1914 Cyprus received colonial status in 1925, see: MARKIDES, 2012: 362-363.

⁵ GAZIOĞLU, 1990: 212; GUNNIS, 1936: 109; MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 87; RIZOPOULOU-EGOUMENIDOU, 2012: 289-290

The square, multi-storey tower type may appear as an addition to previously existing church buildings, as in the case of the former Episcopal Church St. Synesios in Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz (Fig. 2), where a tower had been attached to a building that goes back to the 12th century.⁶ This tower type usually occurs together with an equally new, widespread and hardly analysed type of a comparatively large single-space parish church which was examined by Myrianthefts in the Morphou/Güzelyurt-district.⁷ The nave of this hybrid church type which Myrianthefts wrongly defines as a basilica, is subdivided into three to five bays and covered by Frankish/Gothic pointed cross-vaults. A sanctuary with a Byzantine-style, polygonally encapsulated apse frequently occurs. An iconostasis separates the sacred space from the nave. This single-space church type would prove a departure from the Byzantine tradition.⁸ This is a conclusion which cannot be fully accepted when considering the case of medieval Byzantine church architecture in Cyprus. Around 1100 AD a single-space church type appeared on the island, equipped with a barrel-vault and a single dome over the central bay. Its exterior design still reflects its origin from older multi-domed cross-in-square structures. This "domed-hall" type survives in the post-Byzantine era down to at least the 18th century, but in a simpler version: without a dome, frequently being equipped with "western medieval details" such as pointed barrel vaults or Gothic forms of portals, probably



inherited from the "Gothic-Byzantine architectural amalgam" of the late Lusignan period.⁹ The 19th-to-20th century single-space church type, with its Gothic-style vaults, is very probably to be considered the distant successor of the medieval "domed hall" church, and reflects therefore a local Byzantine element. New is the feature of the Gothic-style cross-vault (and the prominent bell tower).

The tower type may go back to a 16th-century Italian Renaissance predecessor which appears for example in the "Wedding at Cana" by Veronese (1560-63) and which can also be traced throughout the Italian Baroque.¹⁰ It consists of up to four storeys, divided by entablatures, equipped with arched openings on all four sides of the third and fourth storeys (Fig. 3). If it stands on the ground next to the church body, the closed first storey reaches the height of the cornice which completes the elevation of the wall of the church body. In cases where the tower is built onto a corner of the building, the two upper storeys rest on a closed base. Its position in relation to the church building does not follow a regular pattern apart from always being attached to the body of the building.

The oldest towers are represented seemingly by the examples of: a) St. Anthony in Nicosia. According to Gunnis the building's present situation is the result of a restoration in 1743.¹¹ The analysis of the tower's base in comparison to the main body of the church, however, indicates that the tower was added later (Fig. 4), and b) the church St. John the Baptist in Lapithos/Lapta which according to Gunnis goes back to the late 18th century.¹²

FIG. 2. RIZOKARPASO/DIPKARPAZ, FORMER EPISCOPAL CHURCH ST. SYNESIOS, BELL TOWER, EAST SIDE, 2ND TO 4TH STOREYS (TOWER: 2ND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY)
SL. 2. RIZOKARPASO/DIPKARPAZ, BIVŠA EPISKOPALNA CRKVA SV. SINEZIJA, ZVONIK, ISTOČNA STRANA, 2.-4. KAT (ZVONIK: II. POLOVINA 19. ST.)

FIG. 3. MORPHOU/GÜZELYURT, ST. GEORGE, BELL TOWER, VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST, 1ST TO 3RD STOREYS (TOWER: 1931)
SL. 3. MORPHOU/GÜZELYURT, SV. JURAJ, ZVONIK, POGLED S JUGOZAPADA, 1.-3. ST. (ZVONIK: 1931.)

6 GUNNIS, 1936: 411; KESHISHIAN, 1985: 227; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 165-168

7 MYRIANTHEFTS, 2002: 84-85, fig. 12-16 (plans) with further references; fig. 23: church of the Holy Cross in Kato Zodia/Asaği Bostanci, the date "1923" inscribed on the tower.

8 MYRIANTHEFTS, 2002: 87

9 Domed-hall type of ca. 1100 AD: ĆURČIĆ, 1999: 78-79 Fig. 15-16, 18; PAPANOSTAS, 1999: 151-152 Fig. 13-17. 18th-century reduced versions with "western medieval details" going back to a late Lusignan "Gothic-Byzantine amalgam": ĆURČIĆ, 1999: 78-79 Fig. 19-20; PAPANOSTAS, 1999: 226. Regarding the 18th-century churches, e.g. ĆURČIĆ, 1999: Fig. 19, compare the church building of St. George in Limnia/Mormenekşe and note 13.

10 Painting of Veronese: TOMAN, 1994: 411. This tower-form might have been transferred to 19th century Cyprus through monumental paintings in local churches, executed in the Venetian period and of which several examples survived: Constantinides, 1999. This aspect would require further investigation. Venetian campanili of the 16th-18th cent. on the Ionian islands are different: ZÄH, 2011: 258 Fig. 5. On the Mani peninsula (Peloponnes), however, campanili of western influence are recorded, one of ca. 1700 in Kardamyli, when the Peloponnes was under Venetian rule, which strongly resembles the Cypriot towers: ZÄH, 2011: 260-261 Fig. 13. A quick survey of built Venetian monuments on Crete did not lead to convincing comparisons so far.

11 GUNNIS, 1936: 67-68. See: PARTHOĞ, 2006: 258 with fig.

12 1936: 314. Images: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 828-831

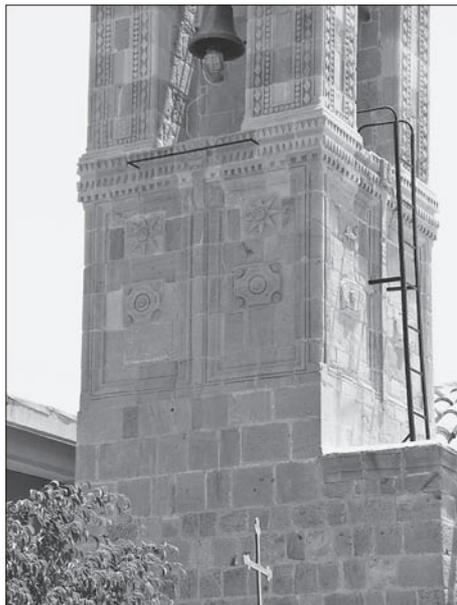


FIG. 4. NICOSIA, ST. ANTHONY, BELL TOWER, WEST SIDE, 1ST TO 2ND STOREYS (CHURCH RESTORED IN 1743, THE 1ST STOREY OF THE TOWER OBVIOUSLY PLACED INTO/ONTO THE WESTERN WALL OF THE CHURCH BODY)
SL. 4. NIKOZIJA, SV. ANTUN, ZVONIK, ZAPADNA STRANA, 1.-2. KAT (CRKVA JE OBNOVLJENA 1743., PRVI KAT ZVONIKA JE NA ZAPADNOM ZIDU GRAĐEVINE)

FIG. 5. LIMNIA/MORMENEKŞE, ST. GEORGE, BELL TOWER, VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST, 1ST TO 3RD STOREYS (TOWER: 1862)

SL. 5. LIMNIA/MORMENEKŞE, SV. JURAJ, ZVONIK, POGLED S JUGOZAPADA, 1.-3. KAT (ZVONIK: 1862.)



Yet again, the character of the wall surface of the tower indicates a later date of construction, compared to the wall surface of the body of the church.

The present stage of research, therefore, does not suggest the introduction of this tower type prior to 1857. Apart from the aforementioned two cases, the oldest examples of the new type of bell tower, often connected to the new Gothic-inspired single-space church type, have been recorded on the basis of inscriptions and written sources with the churches St. Michael in Koma tou Yialou/Kumyali (1859), St. George in Limnia/Mormenekşe (1862), the Holy Trinity church in Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz (1867) and St. George in Prastio/Dörtüol (1876).¹³ These monuments belong to the last years of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus. Photos of Larnaca and Nicosia from 1875 and 1878 which show this church- and tower type prove that such inscriptions actually reflect the years of construction. A record of a number of churches in the Morphou/Güzelyurt district contains buildings of similar age, and the record suggests that for churches built prior to 1857 the bell towers are later additions.¹⁴

CATEGORIES OF SCULPTURAL DECORATION FOR BELL TOWERS BETWEEN C. 1857 AND THE 1930S

KATEGORIJE SKULPTURALNE DEKORACIJE ZA ZVONIKE IZMEĐU 1857. I 1930-IH

The decoration of the bell towers (church portals and windows) displays a large variety and a mostly remarkable quality of crafts-

manship until the 1930s. Three main types of decoration can be identified on the towers: a) Neo-Gothic (which however may show slight traces of the Neoclassical), b) Neoclassical (which however may show slight traces of the Neo-Gothic), and c) Eclecticism, characterized by an apparent mixture of Neo-Gothic and Neoclassical features. The Neo-Byzantine plays either no role or a negligible one.¹⁵

The decoration includes architectural elements, non-figural and figural motifs. Details of the decoration often derive from folk-art. The individual craftsmen of the churches and/or their decoration are anonymous in many cases. However, the village Kaimaklı, now a suburb of Nicosia was an important centre of craftsmen.¹⁶ Throughout the main categories the repetition of single motifs has been recorded which lead to the conclusion of either a dissemination of motifs from craftsman/workshop to craftsman/workshop or of the presence of the same craftsman/workshop in different locations. The latter is most probable in cases in which the monuments are situated in neighbouring villages. Secondly, the motifs allow the identification of sub-categories within the main categories.

• **Neo-Gothic decoration on bell towers** – This category (list I) is mainly spread in the east of the island. Some of its general design characteristics are: Comparatively simply moulded entablatures/cornices separate the storeys of the bell tower. Their corners are not strongly emphasized by (engaged) columns, just as the design of the corners in the east is generally rather simple compared to the west of the island. Tracery is inserted into the pointed arches, thus imitating Gothic windows. Gablets with crockets crown the arches of the last storey in some buildings, thus referring to the Gothic buildings in Famagusta and Nicosia.

¹³ Koma tou Yialou/Kumyali: GUNNIS, 1936: 280-281. Limnia/Mormenekşe: GUNNIS, 1936: 326, and inscription applied to the south portico. The south portico appears to be a later addition or the result of a restoration. Probably the date indicates the construction of the present portico and of the bell tower while the church building itself, which does not correspond to the previously described type of single-space church, is older. Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz: inscription applied to the last storey of the bell tower. Prastio/Dörtüol: inscriptions applied to different parts of the building, with dates from 1867 to 1876.

¹⁴ Historical photos: BONATO, et al., 2007: 30-31, 72-73. Morphou: MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 85

¹⁵ Exception: the hybrid design of the Panagia Phaneromeni in Nicosia, see note 57. Generally on the eclecticism during the British colonial period in Cyprus, and briefly on the eclectic decoration of some of the here discussed church buildings: YILDIZ, 2011: 267-268.

¹⁶ MARKIDES, 2012: 347. However PAPADEMETRIOU, 2011: 16, 20, 50 mentions also Lapithos/Lapta and Karavas/Karaoġlanoġlu. On folk-art and iconography of (non-) figural details on churches and secular buildings: PAPADEMETRIOU, 2011: 11, 14, 21, 29-30, 60, 65.

¹⁷ GUNNIS, 1936: 326; Images: YAPICIOĖLU, 2007: 459-461

One of the oldest recorded examples is the heavily decorated tower of the (older) church St. George in Limnia/Mormenekşe, built around 1862.¹⁷ The tower's Neo-Gothic clustered columns at the corners and their connecting cluster-rings are highly unusual. The motif of the 'Gothic window' created by relief on the wall surface above the opening of the arches of the tower is also unusual (Fig. 5).

The bell towers of six churches belong to an interesting sub-category of which four are located in the Karpasia/Karpaz-peninsula: St. Synesios, of Byzantine origin (Fig. 2), and the single-space church of the Holy Trinity in Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz, the single-space churches St. Marina (St. Michael?) in Yialoussa/Yenierenköy, St. Theodore in Ayios Theodoros/Çayırova and St. George in Prastio/Dörtüol, finally a church of unknown consecration in Varosha/Maraş, Famagusta.¹⁸ In addition to the general characteristics of the Neo-Gothic category, some of the bell towers of these churches display the imitation of tracery that is applied relief-like onto the wall surfaces. All of them share the same types of geometrical friezes or bands. Their relation is also proven by the same type of crouching figure that is attached to one of the corners of the last storey in St. Synesios (Fig. 2), St. Theodore and the church in Varosha/Maraş. The dates 1867 and 1876 are assured for the bell-towers of the Holy Trinity church and of St. George in Prastio/Dörtüol but the similarity of all monuments allows a dating of the sub-category to the last years of the Ottoman period.

The bell-towers of the churches St. Timios Prodromos in Argaki/Akçay and St. George in Philia/Serhatköy¹⁹, the latter belonging to the third category, again prove the dissemination of decorative motifs: The capitals of their engaged columns remind of the "wind-blown



acanthus" of early Byzantine capitals in the 5th century.²⁰

• **Neoclassical decoration on bell towers** – No topographical pattern as in the previous category can be recognized (Fig. 1; list II). General characteristics include the sometimes strongly moulded entablatures/cornices, the emphasis of the corners by fluted pilasters or (engaged) columns, crowned by variations of the Corinthian capital, and friezes or bands of repetitive floral or geometrical motifs. The examples of towers displaying predominantly Neoclassical features like the one of St. Pantaleemon in Myrtou/Çamlibel or of SS. Ioachim and Anna in Kaliana are rare, compared to the ones of the third category (Fig. 6).²¹

Several proofs of the dissemination of decorative motifs exist also within this category: The Neoclassical decoration of the bell towers of the aforementioned church St. Anthony in Nicosia and of the church St. Marina in Kythrea/Değirmenlik share the same simple entablatures and slim rectangle bands of geometrical or floral friezes that are shaped in a comparatively flat relief.²² Some decorative details of the tower of the single-space church St. Dimitrios in Leonarisso/Ziyamet, such as the simple entablatures, the narrow, vertically applied floral bands and the horizontal bands of small bells below the cornices (Fig. 7) link this monument to the towers of the single-space church St. George in Kilamenos/Esenköy and of the Archangel Michael in Komatou Yialou/Kumyalı (1859), the latter belonging to the third category.²³ An obvious example of eclectic application of styles, when (younger) towers are compared to (older)

FIG. 6. MYRTOU/ÇAMLIBEL, MONASTERY CHURCH ST. PANTALEEMON, BELL TOWER, EAST SIDE (TOWER/CHURCH: BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY)

SL. 6. MYRTOU/ ÇAMLIBEL, SAMOSTANSKA CRKVA SV. PANTALEEMONA, ZVONIK, ISTOČNA STRANA (ZVONIK/CRKVA: POČETAK 20. ST.)

FIG. 7. LEONARISSEO/ZIYAMET, ST. DIMITRIOS, BELL TOWER, WEST SIDE, 3RD AND 4TH STOREYS (TOWER: 19TH CENT.?)

SL. 7. LEONARISSEO/ZIYAMET, SV. DIMITRIJE, ZVONIK, ZAPADNA STRANA, 3. I 4. KAT (ZVONIK: 19. ST.?)

¹⁸ Historical information: GUNNIS, 1936: 411-412, 207. Images: KESHISHIAN, 1985: 227; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 165-168, 169-170, 286-287 (instead of St. Marina here called St. Michael), 288-289, 427-428. The single-space church St. Theodore includes older structure. The church in the Turkish military area of Varosha/Maraş is a single-space church, interrupted by a kind of transept in the third of six bays. The present church building has likely been built close to the middle of the 20th century while the tower seems to be a separate older structure.

¹⁹ Argaki/Akçay: inscription with date "1901"; GUNNIS, 1936: 174; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 630-631. Serhatköy: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 638-639; MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 85 fig. 25.

²⁰ See: BRENK, 1985: 232, fig. 247a

²¹ GUNNIS, 1936: 352: "18th century... recently restored"; date "1914" in the iron lattice of the north portal. Kaliana, SS. Ioachim and Anna: PARTHOĞ, 2006: 183-184: "belfry early 20th century".

²² GUNNIS, 1936: 67-68: "1743" (St. Anthony), 310: "built in 1734" (St. Marina). Regarding these building dates see above the discussion on the construction of the towers. Images: PARTHOĞ, 2006: 258 (St. Anthony); YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 564-565 (St. Marina).

²³ GUNNIS, 1936: 280-281; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 222-223, 218-219, 244-247

church buildings, is the much restored church St. Andronicos of uncertain age in Kythrea/Değirmenlik.²⁴ The younger tower displays Neoclassical detailing, the north side of the building a Neo-Gothic moulded archivolt portal that is framed by a Neoclassical *aedicula*.

• **The eclectic decoration on bell towers** – The biggest of all three categories of bell towers displays a varying combination of Neo-Gothic and Neoclassical detailing (Fig. 1). The decoration of a group of towers which we have named the "Morphou-Nicosia type" is highly remarkable: so far we have traced fourteen closely related monuments in the wider area between Morphou and Nicosia in the western part of the island, expanding slightly also beyond Nicosia. These towers mostly belong to church buildings of the new single-space type. Their storeys are separated by strongly moulded Neoclassical entablatures/cornices. Their corners are heavily emphasized by non-fluted engaged (Neo-Gothic) cluster-columns which are crowned by variations of the Corinthian capital. Their pointed arches imitate Gothic windows, usually enriched by inserted trefoil-arch tracery (Fig. 8). Sometimes these 'Gothic windows' are underneath a classical pediment, which is usually crowned by symmetrically sculpted floral or "peopled scrolls". The cornices at the top of the towers bear corner-anthemias. The quality of the decoration of these bell towers is outstanding. The towers date approximately from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s and belong to:

1) Kato Zodhia/Aşağı Bostancı, church of the Holy Cross (Fig. 1, Nr. 25); 2) Nikitas/Güneşköy, St. Nikitas (Fig. 1, Nr. 26); 3) Morphou/Güzelyurt, St. Mamas; 4) Morphou/Güzelyurt, Agia Paraskevi; 5) Kapouti/Kalkanlı, St. George (Fig. 1, Nr. 27); 6) Kambia, monastery of Macheras (Fig. 1, Nr. 31); 7) Larnakas tis Lapithou/Kozanköy, St. Dimitrianos (Fig. 1, Nr. 29); 8) Meniko, St. Cyprian (Fig. 1, Nr. 32); 9) Trakhonas/Kızılbaş (suburb of Nicosia), church of BVM; 10) Pano Zodhia/Yukarı Bostancı, Archangel Michael (Fig. 1, Nr. 30); 11) Kato Kopia/Zümrütköy, church of the BVM (Fig. 1, Nr. 28; Fig. 8); 12) Morphou/Güzelyurt, St. George (Fig. 3); 13) Kaimaklı (Nicosia), Ayia Varvara, and 14) Neokhorio/Minareliköy, St. John Prodromos (Fig. 1, Nr. 40).²⁵

To the east of Nicosia the closely related bell towers of two single-space churches of neighbouring villages St. George in Kythrea/Başpınar-Değirmenlik and St. George in Exometokhi/Düzova display heavy architectural decoration with four fluted corner columns in each of the two upper storeys and with strongly moulded entablatures.²⁶ These towers, and perhaps the church buildings too, were surely built by the same workshop.

• **The sources and the significance of the decoration of Cypriot bell towers between ca. 1857 and the 1930s** – The Neo-Gothic, Neoclassical and eclectic decoration of bell towers (portals and windows) can be recorded until the 1930s/1940s. It is typical of the last years of the Ottoman period and the first five to six decades of the British period. The influence of the contemporary Neo-Gothic Victorian architecture is possible. However, the types of decoration in Cyprus are unique. The source of the Neo-Gothic is naturally the island's rich heritage of Gothic churches of the Lusignan era, a fact that has already been mentioned regarding St. Synesios in Dipkarpaz/Rizokarpaso (Fig. 2).²⁷

The source of the Neoclassical may be found in the mainstream of European Historicism and/or in the ideological-cultural Greek Neoclassicism of Greece (Athens) between approximately 1840 and 1910. So was the Neoclassical vocabulary in Cyprus, especially regarding educational architecture of the 1920s, interpreted as an expression of Greek identity.²⁸ However, the non-academic Neoclassicism of Cypriot church towers (and – buildings), and especially the eclectic mixture of the Neo-Gothic and the Neoclassical, are not related specifically to a "Greek" Neoclassicism – in contrast to the academic Neoclassicism of educational buildings. We therefore suggest that the discussed Orthodox churches do not transport codes of Greek identity. Their hybrid design is a consequence of local Cypriot identity, considering a) the

²⁴ GUNNIS, 1936: 310: "almost completely rebuilt". YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 567-568

²⁵ 1: Date "1923" on tower. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 195, 197. 2: Date "1932" on tower. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 202-204. 3: GUNNIS, 1936: 348-349: "rebuilt in 1725"; date "1900" on tower. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 177, 179. 4: Two dates "1880/85" on body of the church. YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 606-607. 5: Images: PITTAS, 2006: 199; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 611-612. 6: PARTHOĞ, 2006: 269-270: "rebuilt in 1892". 7: Date "1930" on tower. YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 944-945. 8: MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 87, fig. 29: tower built in 1913. 9: Dates "1901" and "1916" in iron lattices of portals; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 499; 10: MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 85: "1908"; date "1911" on tower. Image: PITTAS, 2002: 194. 11: GUNNIS, 1936: 259: "rebuilt in 1818"; date "1910" on tower; the two western bays belong to the single-space church type. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 214-215. 12: MYRIANTHEFS, 2006: 85, note 113; date "1931" on tower. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 180-181. 13: MARKIDES, 2012: 347 fig. 35. 14: date "1908" on tower; images: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 558.

²⁶ Exometokhi/Düzova: date "1898-1909" on tower. Images: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 569-570, 576-577. Apart from the previously discussed churches, the third category has been recorded regarding the towers of the churches in Fig. 1 Nr. 20: Karpasia/Karpaşa, Holy Cross (Maronite church, rebuilt in 1924; YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 934); Nr. 35: Paralimni, St. George (single-space church); Nr. 36: Peristerona, SS. Barnabas and Hilarion [PARTHOĞ, 2006: 273: 19th century bell tower]; Nr. 37: Gondea/Türkmenköy, St. Charalambos (date "1893" above the south portal); Nr. 45: Lapithos/Lapta, St. Minas [GUNNIS, 1936: 315: church of 1843], St. Paraskevi (single-space church; date "1892" in iron lattice above north portal; GUNNIS, 1936: 314: church of 1892), St. Anastasia (single-space church; GUNNIS, 1936: 314: "modern church"), St. John Baptist [GUNNIS, 1936: 314: church



distant origin of the single-space church type in a medieval, local Byzantine church type, b) the Neo-Gothic-style pointed cross-vaults, c) the decoration of the towers and d) the folk-art character of some of the decoration.²⁹

The widespread non-academic, eclectic character of the decoration and its relation to folk-art, results from the fact that anonymous local craftsmen were commissioned instead of academically trained architects. The first church-architects are known by name from c. 1930 onwards, according to Myriantefs, in relation to the churches in the district of Morphou/Güzelyurt.³⁰ This circumstance coincides approximately with the return of the first Cypriot architects who trained abroad, including Theodoros Photiadis whose role we discuss below.³¹

The boom in construction and decoration of bell towers (and of the single-space church type) is very likely the consequence of a new

self-confidence of the Orthodox Church after the Ottoman reforms of 1856 (leading to the end of the bell-ringing ban) and again after the beginning of the British rule in 1878 which created hope for a union with Greece, a hope that was disappointed in 1925 when Cyprus became Crown Colony.³²

THE REVIVAL OF THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

PONOVNI PROCVAT BIZANTSKE TRADICIJE

Concerning the churches in the Morphou/Güzelyurt-district, Myriantefs noted that the new churches, built from the 1930s onwards, "abandoned the typological and morphological characteristics of the churches of the immediately preceding period. The domed church was re-introduced [...]"³³ However, this describes a general development in Cyprus, not only in the Morphou-district. The new types are equipped with barrel vaults, domes and towers without elaborate sculptural decoration. Myriantefs does not mention the term "Byzantine" in relation to this revival. Nor does he discuss the change of meaning of the architectural language with regards to cultural, religious and political conditions of the island.

At the beginning stand buildings like Our Lady in Galata³⁴ (Fig. 1, Nr. 50) which still demonstrates characteristics of the churches of the "immediately preceding period" by the type of its two towers. This eclectic work of a local master mason draws from the previous ecclesiastical architecture and from Neo-Byzantine models which had been developed in Greece, for example by Aristotelis Zachos.

Zachos is considered an outstanding exponent "of a revival of Greekness" in the 1920s and is known for his eclectic "re-interpretation", rather than for a plain revival of the Byzantine tradition.³⁵ Two of his church designs, St. Nicholas in Bolos with double-tower façade and the church of the Transfiguration in Volos (1930-36) without double-tower façade, demonstrate the types by which the architect of Our Lady in Galata might have been inspired.³⁶

FIG. 8. KATO KOPIA / ZÜMRÜTKKÖY, CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, BELL TOWER, 3RD STOREY, EAST SIDE (TOWER: BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY)

SL. 8. KATO KOPIA/ZÜMRÜTKKÖY, CRKVA BLAŽENE DJEVICE MARIJE, ZVONIK, 3. KAT, ISTOČNA STRANA (ZVONIK: POČETAK 20. ST.)

FIG. 9. TAVROU/PAMUKLU, SS. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, NORTH SIDE (CA. 1930s/50s)

SL. 9. TAVROU/PAMUKLU, SV. SERGIOS I BAKCHOS, SJEVERNA STRANA (OKO 1930.-1950.)

FIG. 10. TAVROU/PAMUKLU, SS. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS. CAPITAL OF THE TRIPLE ARCADE OF THE WEST FACADE (CA. 1930s/50s)

SL. 10. TAVROU/PAMUKLU, SV. SERGIOS I BAKCHOS, KAPITEL TROSTRUKE ARKADE ZAPADNOG PROČELJA (OKO 1930.-1950.)

of the 18th cent.]; Nr. 46: Ardhana/Ardahan, St. George (no date available); Nr. 48: Skilloura/Yilmazköy, BVM Skillouriotissa (no date of the present building mentioned in GUNNIS, 1936: 426); Nr. 49: Vathylakkas/Derince, St. George (single-space church; GUNNIS, 1936: 456; church of the 17th cent. (?): probably meaning the predecessor of the present church).

²⁷ St. Synesios: GUNNIS, 1936: 411-412. On the Gothic heritage of Cyprus: ENLART, 1987; VAIVRE, 2006. On the transfer of the "Gothic-Byzantine architectural amalgam" of the late Lusignan period down to the 18th century see above and note 9.

²⁸ YILDIZ, 2011: 267-269; GIVEN, 2005: 408-409; MARKIDES, 2012: 356-361 fig. 60-61, 63b

²⁹ On the Greek Neo-Classicism: BIRIS, 1999: 15-16. Our argument is supported by G. Hill who, as a sideline, mentions the importance of the Byzantine for the Greek (Cypriot) nationalism, compared to the Classical: HILL 1972: 489, note 3 (extensively on the Enosis movement in Cyprus: 488-568). PAPADEMETRIU, 2011: 11, 14, on the relation to folk-art. Short remark on the 'Cypriot' character of the three tower categories: KIESEL, 2014.

³⁰ MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 88

³¹ FEREOs, et al., 2006: 15; GIVEN, 2005: 408-409

³² On the hope for a union: SPYRIDAKIS, 1964: 63-64

³³ MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 88

³⁴ Information on Our Lady in Galata: MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 88, fig. 32

³⁵ GIACUMACATOS, 1999: 27, 29; BIRIS, 1999: 23; FESSAS-EMMANOUIL, et al., 2005: 29

³⁶ On the two churches in Greece: FESSAS-EMMANOUIL, et al., 2005: 17, 32



FIG. 11. PENDAYIA/YEŞILYURT, ST. NICHOLAS, VIEW FROM SOUTH-EAST (CA. 1950)

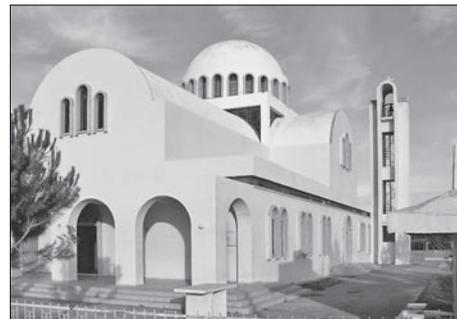
SL. 11. PENDAYIA/YEŞILYURT, SV. NIKOLA, POGLED S JUGOISTOKA (OKO 1950.)

FIG. 12. AYIOS ERMOLAOS/ŞİRINEVLER, ST. ERMOLAOS, VIEW FROM SOUTH-EAST (CA. 1950S/60S)

SL. 12. AYIOS ERMOLAOS/ŞİRINEVLER, SV. ERMOLAOS, POGLED S JUGOISTOKA (OKO 1950.-1960.)

FIG. 13. PRASTIO/AYDINKÖY, ST. STYLIANOS, PROBABLY BY TAKIS ZEMBYLAS / DIOMIDES KYTHREOTIS, WEST AND SOUTH SIDE (CA. 1970)

SL. 13. PRASTIO/AYDINKÖY, SV. STYLIANOS, VJEROJATNO DJELO TAKIS ZEMBYLASA/DIOMIDES KYTHREOTISA, ZAPADNA I JUZNA STRANA (OKO 1970.)



While the double-tower facade of Our Lady displays the older tower type, although without sculptural decoration, an arched tympanum under a central barrel vault and the indication of a Byzantine arcaded triple window underneath, the double-tower facade of the nearly contemporaneous cross-plan church type in Tavrou/Pamuklu (Fig. 9-10) shows a tower type with Byzantine triple windows, a central gable and a 'thermal window' underneath. The gable derives from the model of the early Byzantine/early Christian basilica that had been interpreted for example by Zachos in SS. Konstantin and Helena in Volos (1930-1935).³⁷ Accordingly the decoration of the Tavrou/Pamuklu church type refers to early Byzantine examples, especially to the main column order of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. This type has been recorded in the western annex to St. Dimitrios in Leonariso/Ziyamet, in SS. Sergios and Bakchos in Tavrou/Pamuklu, St. George in Ephtakomi/Yedikonuk, the church of the Anastasis in Peristerona/Alanici, the church of Our Saviour in Akanthou/Tatlısu, St. Andreas in Neapolis/Yenişehir (a suburb of Nicosia), Ayios Kendeas in Paphos and in the Holy Cross church in Pedoulas (Fig. 1, Nr. 52, 51, 53, 63, 54, 55).³⁸ None of these buildings in their present state are mentioned by Gunnis' 'Historic Cyprus' of 1936, although his work does occasionally mention non-historical buildings with the pejorative description "modern".

Considering the hybrid morphological features of Our Lady in Galata we do not assume that the Tavrou/Pamuklu type originated in Cyprus. It might be a previously existing Greek type as the "domed typology was most common in modern Greece".³⁹ It might then have been imported either by Greek architects or Greek-Cypriot architects returning to the island from their education abroad.⁴⁰ As the Cypriot Theodoros Photiadis is known to have designed the Holy Cross church in Pedoulas (1931-35) (Fig. 1 Nr. 55)⁴¹, he might have been the one who imported this type to Cyprus or who developed it on the basis of other Greek types. Photiadis was educated in Athens and is otherwise well-known for the design of neo-Greek school buildings and

town houses in the 1920s (in Nicosia).⁴² The Tavrou/Pamuklu type should therefore be better named the Pedoulas type.

Interpretations of the early Byzantine basilica such as Zachos' SS. Konstantin and Helena in Volos with its campanile might have inspired another Cypriot church type, recorded so far only in Pendaia/Yeşilyurt: St. Nicholas is a decoratively brick-clad, three-aisled basilica without a dome, but with polygonally encapsulated apse, blind niches, gable roof and a two-storey campanile. The interior unmistakably shows a structure of reinforced concrete piers (Fig. 11).⁴³

A transitional example from the Neo-Gothic/Neoclassical eclecticism of the 3rd category to the Neo-Byzantine is the decoration of the bell tower of the Gothic-style single-space church St. George in Morphou/Güzelyurt (1931).⁴⁴ The capitals of its cluster-columns, which frame the usual Gothic pointed arches, are not of the usual Corinthian but imitate an early Byzantine type (Fig. 3).⁴⁵

THE CONTINUATION OF THE NEO-BYZANTINE STYLE

KONTINUITET NEOBIZANTSKOG STILA

Besides the introduced church types several other types developed in the decades after 1930 which refer to the Byzantine heritage. Amongst them are buildings which display a

³⁷ FESSAS-EMMANOUIL, et al., 2005: 33, 35-36

³⁸ Images according to the order of churches: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 222-223; 262, 266, 432, 358-359 (or KESHISHIAN, 1985: 230), 500; LAZARIDES, 2007: 157; no image of Ayios Kendeas available; SCHNEIDER, 2002: 163

³⁹ CONDURATOS, et al., 1999: 144

⁴⁰ Generally on the return of Cypriot architects from education abroad: FEREOs, et al., 2006: 15

⁴¹ MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 88; LAZARIDES, 2007: 157 (photo of the church dated to 1935)

⁴² GIVEN, 2005: 408-409; MARKIDES, 2012: 356-361

⁴³ PITTAS, 2006: 209; "built in 1950". Image: YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 658. Compare: Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna (6th cent.): EFFENBERGER, 1986: fig. 130

⁴⁴ MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 85, note 113; inscription with date "1931" on tower

⁴⁵ See: KRAMER, 1998. 46, pl. 10, 2-4 (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople)



modern aesthetic of concrete and abstracted Byzantine forms, like the single-space Ayios Ermolaos/Şirinevler type (Fig. 1, Nr. 59; Fig. 12).⁴⁶ The type is characterized by a continuous barrel vault, smoothly plastered, rounded surfaces, a curvilinear apse, arched bell-tower and several Byzantine arched triple windows. The body of the church type, not its abstracted Byzantine decorative features, refer back to the local post-medieval examples of single-space, (pointed) barrel-vaulted Orthodox churches, which survive at least down to the 18th century and which have been discussed above as predecessor of the cross-vaulted single-space churches of the advanced 19th and early 20th centuries. Its modern design approach makes a date in the 1950s to the 1960s probable, considering the general development of modern architecture of Cyprus in these years.⁴⁷

Another type appears in the church of the BVM in Kato Kopia/Zümrütköy, designed by Takis Zembylas and Diomides Kythreotis (1970/71), and in St. Stylianos in Prastio/Aydinköy, designed probably by the same architectural office because of the strong simi-

larity of the two buildings (Fig. 1, Nr. 57-58; Fig. 13-14).⁴⁸ It corresponds to the Byzantine three-aisled basilica with transept, a dome over the crossing and sets of triple windows.⁴⁹ Based on the aesthetics of concrete and glass, is the type an abstracted version of older basilicas with transept and dome such as the church of the Panagia Chrysopelaotissa in Famagusta (1955-60) which display a more figurative Neo-Byzantine vocabulary.⁵⁰ All these are typological successors of the type of the early Byzantine basilica encountered in St. Nicholas in Pendayia/Yeşilyurt.

A departure from the apparent reference to the Byzantine has been achieved only by very few churches built around 1970, such as the single-space Apostle Barnabas and St. Makarios church by Neoptolemos Michaelides in Nicosia (Fig. 15-16) and the Agia Triada church by J&A Philippou in Famagusta.⁵¹ The parabolic vault of the church in Nicosia and its façade recall Oscar Niemeyer's St. Francis in Pampulha (1943).⁵² However, the parabol is element of a number of progressive, partially influential (Catholic) church buildings since the 1920s which symbolise the *ecclesia peregrinans*, the church as tent, according to Wittmann-Englert.⁵³ In comparison to the church of the BVM in Kato Kopia and St. Stylianos in Prastio discussed above, the Byzantine character of the exterior is more strongly reduced and abstracted. Apart from the parabolic vault of the nave, a separate, slightly higher parabol marks the space in front of the *bema*, in contrast to the domes of the BVM and St. Stylianos over the crossing of nave and transept. The "holiest", however, is traditionally separated from the Orthodox laity by an iconostasis. This "orthodox" separation stands in contrast to modern Catholic and Protestant church architecture of the 20th century which often abandons the division of the interior into "holy" and "holiest", in favour of a unified space.⁵⁴

The Maronite Panagia Chariton church by Charilaos Dikaïos in Nicosia (1959-61)⁵⁵ is formally a modern, abstracted version of the early Byzantine basilica-type of St. Nicholas in Pendayia/Yeşilyurt discussed above. Its

FIG. 14. NICOSIA, APOSTLE BARNABAS AND ST. MAKARIOS CHURCH, BY NEOPTOLEMOS MICHAELIDES, VIEW FROM NORTH-WEST (1970S)

SL. 14. NIKOZIJA, CRKVA APOSTOLA BARNABA I SV. MAKARIOSA, DJELO NEOPTOLEMOS MICHAELIDESA, POGLED SA SJEVEROZAPADA (OKO 1970.)

FIG. 15. NICOSIA, APOSTLE BARNABAS AND ST. MAKARIOS CHURCH, WEST FACADE

SL. 15. NIKOZIJA, CRKVA APOSTOLA BARNABASA I SV. MAKARIOSA, ZAPADNO PROČELJE

FIG. 16. KATO KOPIA/ZÜMRÜTKÖY, NEW CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, BY TAKIS ZEMBYLAS / DIOMIDES KYTHREOTIS, UNDER THE DOME LOOKING EAST INTO THE CHOR WITH ICONOSTASIS (1970/71)

SL. 16. KATO KOPIA/ZÜMRÜTKÖY, NOVA CRKVA BLAŽENE DJEVICE MARIJE, DJELO TAKIS ZEMBYLASA/DIOMIDES KYTHREOTISA, ISPOD KUPOLE POGLED PREMA ISTOKU NA KOR S IKONOSTASOM (1970./71.)



⁴⁶ The modern aesthetic, however, is achieved often by traditional but plastered construction material, as visible on Ayios Ermolaos.

⁴⁷ Recorded in: Bellapais (Fig. 1,60), St. George; Bellapais mountain, St. ?; Agios Georgios / Karaoĝlanoĝlu, St. Phanourios (Fig. 1,61); Livera/Sadrazamköy, SS. Konstantinos and Helena (Fig. 1,62); Ayios Ermolaos / Şirinevler, St. Ermolaos. Images: YAPICIOĖLU, 2007: 699-700, 865, 916, 952. On the modernism of the 1950s/60s in Cyprus: FEREOs et al., 2006: 17-19.

⁴⁸ Kato Kopia/Zümrütköy: PHOKAIDES, 2007: 37. FEREOs et al., 2009: 152 fig. 1-2. Images: PITTAS, 2006: 218, 223. That the church is in a desperate state of situation as FEREOs et al., 2009 claim, cannot be confirmed by us. During our visit in 2009 the interior was in a very good state, even the iconostasis had not been removed.

⁴⁹ On the Byzantine typology: FESSAS-EMMANOUIL, et al., 2005: 17-19

⁵⁰ Images: YAPICIOĖLU, 2007: 136-137

⁵¹ FEREOs, et al., 2009: 105 fig. 1-2; 144 fig. 1-2

⁵² KIESSSEL, 2014

⁵³ 2006: 17-22, 69-79. See examples in: SCHNELL, 1973: 42 fig. 30-31 (1926) ; 66 fig. 70 (1922-25); 102 fig. 105 (1951); 109 fig. 133 (1953-54)

⁵⁴ WITTMANN-ENGLERT, 2006: 22

⁵⁵ KESHISHIAN, 1990: 162-163; FEREOs, et al., 2009: 61 fig. 1-4

three-aisled nave is subdivided by slender concrete piers which slightly widen from the base to the top. The altar is spatially strongly separated from the nave, being shifted into an elevated rectangle recess.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEO-BYZANTINE CHURCH TYPES IN CYPRUS

ZNAČAJ NEOBIZANTSKIH TIPOVA CRKVI NA CIPRU

The formal "revival of Greekness" in Greece during the 1920s with Aristotelis Zachos in its centre obviously influenced Cyprus as well.⁵⁶ The temporal congruence of the revival of the Byzantine morphology in Cyprus after 1930 and of the arising political difficulties on the island at the end of the 1920s, i.e. the resistance against colonial rule and the intensified hope for a union with Greece, are hardly a coincidence. This congruence has not previously been emphasized, perhaps even noticed, according to our present knowledge. The resistance had been actively supported by representatives of the Orthodox Church, even leading to a revolt in 1931.⁵⁷ The Byzantine typology and morphology of the first half of the 20th century in Cyprus may be understood as an expression of cultural, religious-ethnic identity and of resistance.⁵⁸ The circumstances of the design of the new Government House in Nicosia (after the previous one had been burnt to ashes in the anti-colonial events of 1931), which avoided deliberate references to the "Greek" and emphasised the "Cypriot *mélange*" instead⁵⁹, indicates that the British government of the 1930s understood the meaning of the Neo-Byzantine morphology very well. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Gunnis does not mention any of the (admittedly non-historic) churches of the Pedoulas-type although the example in Pedoulas had been built before the publication of his "Historic Cyprus" in 1936.

Although modern aesthetics and abstraction had been introduced to ecclesiastical architecture of Cyprus in the 1950s to 1960s, the design of churches continued to make apparent references to the tradition, in contrast to the international trend of modern church architecture.⁶⁰ The confrontation with the British administration, which lasted until 1960⁶¹, and with the Turkish-Cypriot community, and the following formation of an independent Republic were probably not a supportive situation for the development of a modern (i.e. neutral) ecclesiastical architecture that would abandon the Neo-Byzantine as expression of "Greekness". The few examples of a modern expression of the Orthodox Christian temple of the years around 1970 stand out from the general domination of the Neo-Byzantine morphology.

CONCLUSION

ZAKLJUČAK

The Neo-Gothic, Neoclassical and eclectic historicism of Orthodox Church buildings in Cyprus, recorded especially in relation to newly constructed, post-1856 bell towers, dominated for about 80 years, from the final phase of the Ottoman- to the advanced British colonial period. The hybrid character of the design, including influences of folk-art, may be understood as reflection of local (Greek-) Cypriot identity. It is hardly a coincidence that the revival and subsequent dominance of the Byzantine morphology in Cypriot Church architecture and decoration occurred at a time when the initial hope of many Greek-Cypriots for a union with Greece turned into an open resistance against colonial rule. The Neo-Byzantine style is to be understood, therefore, as expression of Greek cultural-religious identity and of resistance.

[Proofread by: Dr. JONATHAN STUBBS,
Cyprus International University]

⁵⁶ On the situation in Greece: BIRIS, 1999: 23

⁵⁷ HILL, 1972: 543-553, 604; SPYRIDAKIS, 1964: 65; MARKIDES, 2012: 366-367

⁵⁸ Short remark on the 'Greek' character of the Byzantine morphology: KIESSEL, 2014. Similar already Hill, 1972: 489, note 3, who mentions in a sideline that it is the Byzantine that is related to the expression of Greek nationalism in Cyprus. The Byzantine decorative vocabulary appears infrequently already before 1930 on few churches of eclectic character, e.g. on the church of the Phaneromeni in Nicosia (1872) [KESHISHIAN, 1990: 148; GUNNIS, 1936: 76-78; RIZOPOULOU-EGOUMENIDOU, 2012: 288-289] which was an important building concerning the Greek-Cypriot national movement [GIVEN, 2005: 408-409]. However, the architectural language of the early Byzantine basilica type of the Panagia Chariton church discussed above, does not convey a Greek national-religious meaning, as the Maronites belong to the Catholic Roman church.

⁵⁹ GIVEN, 2005: 409-412

⁶⁰ WITTMAN-ENGLERT, 2006; SCHNELL, 1973

⁶¹ SPYRIDAKIS, 1964: 66-67

APPENDIX – DECORATIVE DETAILS OF BELL TOWERS, LINKED TO OTHER TOWERS/CHURCHES (LISTS I-II)

DODATAK – DEKORATIVNI DETALJI ZVONIKA, POVEZANI S DRUGIM ZVONICIMA/CRKVAMA (POPISI I-II)

- a) independent rose window-like tracery in relief
- b) gablets with crockets
- c) antithetical double-S motif
- d) horizontal zig-zag frieze with bell-like pendants
- e) crouching corner-figure in 4th storey
- f) Gothic window tracery in relief
- g) bands of aligned rhombs alternating with circles
- h) 'tree of life' motif (?) on a gablet
- i) bell-like pendants
- j) capitals with 'wind-blown' foliage
- k) vertical bands of aligned rhombs
- l) band of bouquets of leaves below the cornice (see Vathylakkas; 3rd cat.)
- m) bands of bell-like pendants,
- n) vertical bands of floral ornaments (see St. Michael in Koma tou Yialou; 3rd cat.),
- o) bands of floral ornaments (see St. Michael in Koma tou Yialou)
- p) pilaster-like colonnettes (see Skilloura, BVM Skillouriotissa)
- q) framing bands of aligned rhombs alternating with circles (circles with inserted Greek cross)
- r) bands of aligned rhombs
- s) bands of aligned rhombs and pearls
- t) bands of aligned antithetical leaves

LIST I: BELL TOWERS WITH PREDOMINANTLY NEO-GOTHIC FEATURES (SEE FIG. 1)

- 1) a) Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz, St. Synesios; tower: 1867 (inscription), decorative details: a) b) c) d) e); church type: origin: Byzantine cross-in-square, decorative details: Byzantine, Neo-Gothic
- 1) b) Rizokarpaso/Dipkarpaz, Holy Trinity; tower: 1867 (inscription), decorative details: f) g); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: Neo-Gothic
- 2) Yialousa/Yenierenköy, St. Marina (St. Michael?); tower: 19th cent., decorative details: f) g); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 3) Ayios Theodoros/Çayırova, St. Theodore; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: a), b), d), e), g); church type: single-space/cross-vaults (incl. older structure), decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 4) a) Limnia/Mormenekşe, St. George; tower: 1862 (inscription), decorative details: c), g), h), i); church type: probably aisled, pointed barrel vault, decorative details: "Neoclassical"

- 4) b) Limnia/Mormenekşe, St. Nicholas; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: c), g), h); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: mainly "Neo-Gothic"
- 5) Prastio/Dörtüol, St. George; tower: 1876 (inscription), decorative details: b), c), d); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neo-Gothic", "Neoclassical"
- 6) Lysi/Akdogan, BVM; tower/church: end of 19th cent. [GUNNIS, 1936: 330], decorative details: generally referring to cathedrals of Famagusta/ Nicosia; church type: basilica/cross-vaults/tambour and dome, decorative details: Neo-Gothic, Neo-Byzantine
- 7) Asha/Paşaköy, St. John the Baptist; church: 1861 [GUNNIS, 1936: 179], decorative details: i); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neo-Gothic", "Neoclassical"
- 8) Argaki/Akçay, St. John the Baptist; tower: 1901 (inscription), decorative details: j); church type: probably single-space, barrel vault, 1 crossing vault, decorative details: post-medieval (?) Gothic, "Neoclassical"
- Famagusta (Varosha), ?; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: b), c), e), k); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: Neo-Gothic, Neo-Byzantine

LIST II: BELL TOWERS WITH PREDOMINANTLY NEOCLASSICAL FEATURES (SEE FIG. 1)

- 9) Ayias Trias/Sipahi, Holy Trinity; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: l); church type: probably single-space, barrel vault, 1 crossing vault, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 10) Ayios Thyrsos, St. Thyrsos; church/tower: 20th cent., decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: Neo-Gothic
- 11) Leonariso/Ziyamet, St. Dimitrios; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: m) n) o); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neoclassical", Neo-Byzantine (west facade after 1930)
- 12) Kilameno/Esenköy, St. George; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: m), o); church type: probably single-space, barrel vault, 1 crossing vault, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 13) Lefkoniko/Geçitkale, Archangel St. Michael; church (tower?): rebuilt in early 19th cent. [GUNNIS, 1936: 323], decorative details: p); church type: origin: Byzantine cross-in-square, decorative details: "Neoclassical", Byzantine
- 14) Engomi/Tuzla, BVM; tower: 20th cent.? ca. 1930?, decorative details: q); church type: single-space, barrel vault, decorative details: Neoclassical, Neo-Byzantine (facade)
- 15) Vatili/Vadili, St. George; church: 1856 [inscription; GUNNIS, 1936: 456: rebuilt]; tower obviously later, decorative details: p);

- church type: probably single-space, barrel vault, decorative details: post-medieval (?) Gothic, "Neoclassical"
- 16) Milea/Yildirim, St. Andronicos; church (tower?): early 19th cent. [GUNNIS, 1936: 345], decorative details: o); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 17) Asha/Paşaköy, St. George; church (tower?): 1861 [GUNNIS, 1936: 179], decorative details: r); church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: Neoclassical, "Neo-Byzantine"
- 18) a) Kythrea/Değirmenlik, St. Marina; church: 1734 [GUNNIS, 1936: 310], tower obviously later, decorative details: s) t); church type: barrel vaulted, 1 crossing vault, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 18) b) Kythrea/Değirmenlik, St. Andronicos; tower: 19th cent., decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: several building phases, two-aisled, groin vaults, decorative details: Neo-Gothic, Neoclassical
- 19) Vasilya/Karşıyaka, St. Konstantinos; tower: 20th cent., decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neoclassical"
- 21) Yerolakkos/Alayköy, Panagia Evangelistria; church/tower: beginning of 20th cent. [YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 496], decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neo-Gothic", "Neoclassical"
- 22) Myrtou/Çamlıbel, St. Panteleemon; "1914" (north portal), church (tower?) "recently" restored [GUNNIS, 1936: 352], decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: not defined, decorative details: "Neo-Gothic", "Neoclassical"
- 23) Flasou, St. Demetrianus; date: ? [MYRIANTHEFS, 2002: 85, 87], decorative details: not defined; church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: "Neoclassical", "Neo-Gothic"
- 24) Tochni, Agios Stavros; church/tower: rebuilt in 19th cent. [PARTHOĞ, 2006: 307], decorative details: not defined; church type: not defined/barrel vault, decorative details: Neoclassical
- 33) Kalia, SS. Ioachim and Anna; belfry early 20th cent. [PARTHOĞ, 2006: 183], decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: not defined, decorative details: not defined
- Kyrenia, St. Michael; church: 1860; tower: 1885 [YAPICIOĞLU, 2007: 671], decorative details: no specific decoration; church type: single-space/cross-vaults, decorative details: no specific decoration
- Nicosia, St. Anthony; church rebuilt in 1743 [PARTHOĞ, 2006: 258]; tower obviously added later, decorative details: k) r); church type: barrel-vaulted, decorative details: not defined

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ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

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- FIG. 1. Created by Vildan Ačan, Department of Graphic Design, Cyprus International University, according to instructions of the authors

Figs. 2.-16. Authors

SUMMARY

SAŽETAK

PRAVOSLAVNA SAKRALNA ARHITEKTURA U SJEVERNIM REGIJAMA CIPRA OD SREDINE 19. STOLJEĆA DO 1974.

OD EKLEKTICIZMA DO NEOBIZANTSKOG STILA

Rad analizira jezik pravoslavne sakralne arhitekture 19. i 20. stoljeća na Cipru s obzirom na tipologiju sakralnih građevina i ikonografiju vanjske skulpturalne dekoracije. Opsežne studije tipologije lokalne sakralne arhitekture ovoga povijesnog razdoblja, kao ni njezine bogate skulpturalne dekoracije – ne postoje. Analiza cjelokupne otočke arhitekture, s naglaskom na sjeverne regije Morphou, Kyrenia, Nikozija i Famagusta, službeno se provodi od 2008. i obuhvaća 81 spomenik na 65 lokacija. Moguće je da to nije cjelokupan popis, no svakako predstavlja dostatnu osnovu za postavljanje naših teza. Ova studija prije svega obuhvaća crkve s ukrašenim zvonnicima koji potječu iz razdoblja posljednjih godina osmanske vladavine (do 1878. god.), sve do britanskoga kolonijalnog razdoblja (od 1960. god.), nakon što je 1856. ukinuta osmanska zabrana crkvene zvonjave.

Kvadratičan, višekatni tip zvonika vjerojatno potječe od talijanskog tipa zvonika iz 16. stoljeća, koji se, primjerice, pojavljuje na slici Veronesea. On je prislonežen uz glavnu građevinu i sastoji se od najviše 4 kata. Ima lučno nadsvođene otvore na sve četiri strane trećeg i četvrtog kata. Zvonici se pojavljuju obično zajedno s isto tako novim tipom jednodvornih zupne crkve s gotičkim križnim svodom. Najstariji zabilježeni primjeri novoga tipa zvonika potječu iz razdoblja između 1859. i 1876. godine. Dekoracija zvonika pokazuje veliku raznolikost sve do tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Identificirane su tri glavne kategorije dekoracije: a) neogotička, b) neoklasicistička i c) eklektična – mješavina neogotike i neoklasicizma. Bizantski stil ima zanemarivu ulogu. Dekoracija sadržava arhitektonske elemente, nefigurativne i figurativne motive. Detalji ikonografije nerijetko su preuzeti iz narodne umjetnosti. Majstori crkvene gradnje i/ili izrade dekoracija u mjestu Kaimakli blizu Nikozije uglavnom su anonimni. Ponavljanje motiva zabilježeno je u glavnim kategorijama, što upućuje na činjenicu da su motivi bili preuzimani iz jedne radionice u drugu ili je jedna radionica bila prisutna na različitim lokacijama. Od 30-ih godina 20. st. novi sakralni tipovi zamijenili su prethodni tip. Njihova neobizantska morfologija

označava bitnu promjenu u shvaćanju značenja sakralne arhitekture na Cipru. Kategorija neogotičkog tipa dekoracije bila je raširena uglavnom na istočnom dijelu otoka i djelomično se oslanja na gotičke crkve u Famagusti i Nikoziji. Zvonici šest crkava pripadaju potkategoriji crkvi od kojih su četiri smještene na poluotoku Karpasia. Neki od njih ukrašeni su imitacijom tzv. ukrasne ispune dekorativnim rebrima (*tracery*) reljefno aplicirane na zidu. Sličnost svih ovih spomenika indicira da bi ova potkategorija mogla potjecati iz posljednjih godina osmanske vladavine. Kategorija neoklasicističke dekoracije razlikuje se od prethodne. Zvonici s primarno neoklasicističkim obilježjima (npr. u Myrtou) nisu česti u usporedbi s trećom kategorijom. Čak i topografski udaljene građevine mogu imati ista dekorativna obilježja, dok se druge građevine mogu povezati sa zvonnicima treće kategorije.

Najveća kategorija zvonika pokazuje raznolikost hibridnu kombinaciju neogotičkih i neoklasicističkih detalja. Izuzetno je značajna dekoracija skupine od barem četrnaest zvonika na širem području između Morphou i Nikozije, koji uglavnom pripadaju novomu jednodvornom tipu crkve. Ovi zvonici potječu iz razdoblja između kraja 19. st. i tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Neogotička, neoklasicistička, pa i eklektična dekoracija zvonika i crkvenih građevina zabilježena je do tridesetih/četdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Gotika potječe iz otočnoga naslijeđa lusi-njanskih gotičkih crkvi, dok je neoklasicizam potekao iz europskoga historicizma i/ili grčkoga neoklasicizma između 1840. i 1910. Tako se neoklasicistički vokabular na Cipru u kontekstu arhitektonske edukacije dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća interpretira kao izraz grčkog identiteta. Nase je pak misljuje da je hibridni dizajn pravoslavnih crkava izraz lokalnoga ciparskog identiteta.

Procvat izgradnje zvonika najvjerojatnije je posljedica novoga samopouzdanja Pravoslavne crkve nakon osmanskih reformi 1856. i nakon početka britanske vladavine 1878., što je potaknulo nadu u ujedinjenje s Grčkom.

Oko 1930. godine dolazi do ponovnog procvata bizantskog stila i grade se crkve, kao što je, primjeri-

ce, ona u Galati, sagrađena po uzoru na prijašnju eklektičku arhitekturu i neobizantske modele koji su se razvili u Grčkoj u djelima A. Zachosa, istaknutog predstavnika ponovnog ozivljavanja grčkog identiteta. Još jasniji neobizantski tip obilježen je istom dekoracijom kao Hagia Sophia u Istanbulu. S obzirom na to da je ciparski arhitekt Th. Photiadis, inače poznat po projektiranju školskih zgrada u neogrčkom stilu dvadesetih godina 20. st., također projektirao i crkvu ovoga tipa u Pedoulasu, moguće je da je upravo on donio taj stil na Cipar ili da ga je razvio na temelju nekih drugih grčkih tipova. Model ranobizantske bazilike mogao je biti inspiracija za jedan drugi tip, o čemu svjedoči tek jedna lokacija u Pendayi.

Drugi tipovi koji su se razvili nakon 1930. odnose se na bizantsko naslijeđe. Među njima su zgrade s modernim apstraktnim bizantskim oblicima, kao što je, primjerice, jednodvorna crkva Ayios Ermolaos ili tip kupolom nadsvođene bazilike s tri bočna broda i transeptom iz 1970-ih godina u mjestima Kato Kopia i Prastio. Samo se nekoliko projekata nastalih oko 1970. ne oslanjaju otvoreno na bizantski stil: jednodvorne crkve apostola Barnabasa i sv. Makariosa u Nikoziji.

Formalni 'ponovni procvat grčkog identiteta' u Grčkoj tijekom dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća očigledno je imao utjecaj na Cipar. Činjenica da je do ponovnog procvata bizantske morfologije na Cipru nakon 1930. došlo istodobno kada su politički problemi na otoku potkraj 1920-ih postajali sve izraženiji, nije bila puka slučajnost. O ovoj se podudarnosti prije nije toliko govorilo. Neobizantska morfologija prve polovice 20. stoljeća može se shvatiti i kao izraz kulturnoga, religijsko-etničkog identiteta i otpora britanskom kolonijalizmu. Iako je moderna apstrakcija postala sastavni dio projektiranja crkava tijekom 50-ih i 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća, bizantski je stil i dalje prevladavao. Sukob s britanskom vladom i turskom zajednicom na Cipru, kao i uspostava Republike 1960. godine, ipak, čini se, nisu bili dovoljno poticajni čimbenici koji bi pridonijeli razvoju moderne (neutralne) sakralne arhitekture koja bi mogla potpisnuti neobizantski stil kao izraz 'grčkog identiteta'.

MARKO KIESEL
ASU TOZAN

BIOGRAPHIES

BIOGRAFIJE

MARKO KIESEL, Ph.D., Studied Classical Archaeology, Art History and History at the universities of Trier, Köln and Bologna. His interdisciplinary research has resulted in diverse studies, for example on parts of the late Roman imperial palace of Trier, on early Byzantine architecture in Cyprus, on Art Déco architecture in Cyprus and on a postmodern New Classicism in Northern Cyprus.

ASU TOZAN, B.Arch., M.Sc., Ph.D., studied at Eastern Mediterranean University and Istanbul Technical University. Her Ph.D. thesis deals with the urbanization and architecture of the British colonial period in Cyprus (1878-1960). Her research has resulted in published and forthcoming studies on the heritage of modern architecture and housing in Cyprus.

Dr.sc. **MARKO KIESEL**, studirao je klasičnu arheologiju, povijest umjetnosti i povijest na sveučilištima u Trieru, Kölnu i Bologni. U sklopu svoje interdisciplinarne istraživačke djelatnosti, bavio se raznim temama, primjerice, dijelovima kasnorimske carske palače u Trieru, ranobizantskom arhitekturom na Cipru, Art Déco arhitekturom Cipra i postmodernističkim novim klasicizmom sjevernog Cipra.

Dr.sc. **ASU TOZAN**, B.Arch., M.Sc. studirala je na Sveučilištu istočnog Mediterana i Tehničkom sveučilištu u Istanbulu. U disertaciji se bavi urbanizacijom i arhitekturom britanskog kolonijalnog razdoblja na Cipru (1878.-1960.). Njezina znanstveno-istraživačka djelatnost usmjerena je na istraživanje naslijeđa moderne arhitekture i stanovanja na Cipru.

