

AN HISTORICAL AND ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF A GROUP OF TWENTY
POST BYZANTINE ICONS IN THE ANTALYA MUSEUM
(VOLUME I: TEXT)

A THESIS PRESENTED BY SERCAN YANDIM
TO
THE INSTITUTE OF
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART

BILKENT UNIVERSITY
JANUARY 1999

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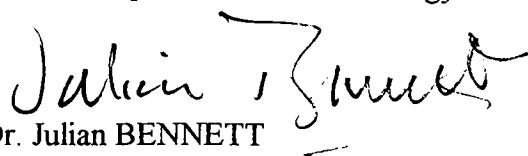
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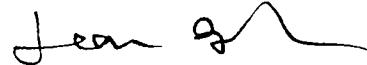
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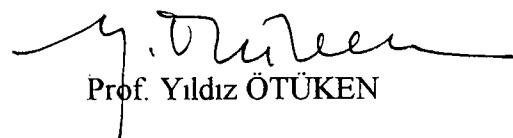

Dr. Julian BENNETT

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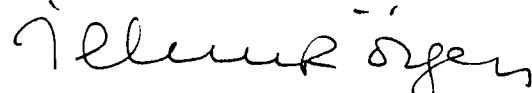
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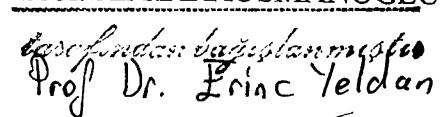
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Assist. Prof. Charles GATES

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art


Assoc. Prof. İlknur ÖZGEN

Approved by the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Ali KARAOSMANOĞLU
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ABSTRACT

AN HISTORICAL AND ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF A GROUP OF TWENTY POST BYZANTINE ICONS IN THE ANTALYA MUSEUM

Yandım, Sercan

M. A., Department of Archaeology and History of Art

Supervisor: Prof. Charles Gates

January 1999, volume I: 105 pages, volume II:154 Figures, one Table

The present thesis explores a group of twenty unpublished Post Byzantine Greek Orthodox icons housed in the Antalya Museum. The entire collection of icons in the Antalya Museum numbers 172. These twenty icons, a representative sample of the whole collection, are examined in terms of their chronology, provenance, and stylistic and iconographic features. A detailed catalogue of the icons provides a complete documentation.

The icons rarely have fixed dates. Of the twenty presented here, two have dates painted on them, and five others have either dates pencilled on the back or iconographic indicators of dates, and so can be assigned a *terminus post quem* or a *terminus ante quem*. These dates, either a precise year or within a certain range, are in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The remaining thirteen icons, because of general similarities of their style and iconography to these seven, seem also to be products of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The place of manufacture of these icons is almost without exception unknown. However, they all ended in Antalya, and thus represent the tastes of nineteenth century Greek

Orthodox Antalians and the kinds of icons that they could obtain, either locally or while on travels.

The thesis first explores the cultural context of the Greek Orthodox community of nineteenth and early twentieth century Antalya. Then, as a background for the twenty Antalian icons, the nature and purpose of icons are surveyed, from early Christianity to modern times. The catalogue follows. Finally, the chronology, place of manufacture, and stylistic and iconographic features are discussed.

Four stylistic approaches are identified: Conservative, Provincial, Western, and Eclectic. Their uses among the twenty Antalian icons and selected icons from elsewhere in Turkey and Greece are discussed.

The icons housed in the Antalya Museum provide information on the Greek Orthodox population of Late Ottoman Antalya, both as artistic expressions of religious beliefs and practices and as historical documents. But Post-Byzantine art, especially as it survives in Turkey, has been little studied and is poorly known. This study, by presenting twenty previously unpublished icons from the Antalya Museum collection, has taken a step toward filling this gap.

ÖZ

ANTALYA MÜZESİNDEN BULUNAN BİR GRUP BİZANS SONRASI İKONANIN TARIHSEL VE İKONOGRAFİK İNCELENMESİ

Yandım, Sercan

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Assist. Prof. Charles Gates

Ocak 1999, cilt I: 105 sayfa, cilt II: 154 resim, bir istatistik tablosu

Bilkent Üniversitesi Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümünde yapılan tez çalışması Antalya Müzesinde bulunan 172 ikonadan seçilen bir grup (yirmi adet), yayınlanmamış, Yunan Ortodox ikonasının, tarihsel ve ikonografik olarak incelenmesini kapsamaktadır. Tez ayrıca seçilen yirmi ikonanın detaylı kataloğunuda içermektedir.

Yirmi ikona, Antalya müzesindeki toplam 172 ikonadan seçilmiş bir örneklem grubudur. Grubun kronolojisi, yapıldıkları yerler, ve stilistik ve ikonografik özellikleri değerlendirilmiştir. Antalya şehri ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu ve yirminci yüzyıl başı, tarih perspektifinde gözden geçirilmiştir. Ardından ikonanın genel tarihi, tanımı ve özellikleri ana hatlarıyla Bizans tarihi çerçevesinde sunulmuştur.

Seçilen yirmi ikonanın yapıldıkları ve geldikleri yerler bilinmemektedir. Grup içinden iki ikonaya tarih atılmıştır. Diğer ikonaların kronolojileri, ikonografik bir öğe, veya ikona arkasına yazılan elyazları ve tarihler yardımcı ile *terminus ante quem* veya *terminus post quem* şeklinde tarihlendirilmiştir.

Yirmi ikonanın stilistik incelenmesi dört anahtar terim ışığında yapılmıştır. Bunlar; konservatif (geleneksel), mahalli (etnik), modern (Rönesans prensiplerini esas alan batı

Avrupa etkisi), ve eklektik sitillerdir. Toplam 172 ikonadan seçilen örneklem grubu yirmi ikonanın geleneksel, mahalli, ve eklektik görüşler etkisi altında olduğu görülmüştür.

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In preparing this thesis I am immensely indebted to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Charles Gates, for his invaluable supervision and encouragement and for keeping me on track. I also wish to extent my deepest appreciation to Assoc. Prof. İlknur Özgen, the chair of the Department of Archaeology and History of Art, for having provided a supportive environment in the course of writing this thesis. I am grateful to Dr. Alessandra Ricci, for providing guidance in defining the scope of my study, especially for directing me to the Antalya museum's collection of icons. I also wish to acknowledge the help of Dr. Julian Bennett of the Department of Archaeology and History of Art in Bilkent University for his support and encouragement.

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From: N. Yılmaz, *Icons in Turkey* (İstanbul 1997).

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a group of twenty Post Byzantine Greek Orthodox icons now housed in the Antalya Museum, and examines them in terms of stylistic and iconographic features. Post Byzantine icons, especially those in Turkey, are poorly known, so the documentation of these icons represents a valuable contribution toward a better understanding of Greek Orthodox painting from the Late Ottoman period.

A detailed catalogue forms the core of the thesis. These icons have never been published; all but one are kept in the museum storerooms. Indeed, of the 172 icons in the Antalya Museum, only 25 have been published at all.¹ Many of the icons from the complete collection will be included in a basic introductory catalogue currently under preparation by Azize Yener of the Antalya Museum.

¹ N. Yilmaz, *Icons in Turkey* (İstanbul 1997) 76-97. Antalva Museum, *Antalya Museum Guide* (Ankara 1996) 115-125. Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, *Antalya Museum* (Ankara 1988). The following twenty-five icons are included in these publications;

The Birth of the Virgin (inventory number: 151. 2. 82).

The Annunciation to the Virgin (3. 2. 82).

The Nativity of Christ, (59. 2. 82).

Virgin and Christ Child (33. 2. 82).

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The icons rarely have fixed dates. Of the twenty presented here, two have dates painted on them, and five others have either dates pencilled on the back or iconographic indicators of dates, and so can be assigned a *terminus post quem* or a *terminus ante quem*. These dates, either a precise year or within a certain range, are in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The remaining thirteen icons, because of general similarities of their style and iconography to these seven, seem also to be products of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The place of manufacture of these icons is almost without exception unknown. However, they all ended in Antalya, and thus represent the tastes of nineteenth century Greek Orthodox Antalians and the kinds of icons that they could obtain, either locally or while on travels. This alone justifies examining them together, even if so much about their production remains unknown.

The thesis first explores the cultural context of the Greek Orthodox community of nineteenth and early twentieth century Antalya. Then, as a background for the twenty Antalian icons, the nature and purpose of icons are surveyed, from early Christianity to modern times. The catalogue follows. Finally, the chronology, place of manufacture, and stylistic and iconographic features are discussed.

The present work makes use of the research material available in Turkey. This fact has restricted the scope of the work. Resources in Turkey are limited. I was not able to travel to adjacent countries with their collections and libraries; thus the comparative material from Greece and Cyprus, notably, lies outside the scope of this thesis.²

The selected group of twenty icons is a representative sample of the Antalya Museum icons. These twenty examples were chosen through a gradual, step by step investigation. The Museum regulations did not allow an actual review of the complete collection. Instead I was permitted to consult the museum's inventory book, which has small photographs of the icons. Some

² The centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens possesses a substantial record of inscriptions on Antalya. Especially they have material on churches and holy springs. These so-called Merlier files are only to be examined in Athens

photographs are poor in quality, however, and some icons have no photographs at all. It was through the available inventory photographs that I was able to make my selection.

The selection process involved the use of the following criteria:

The primary consideration was to reflect the variety of:

a-) the religious themes depicted (such as the images of Christ and Virgin Mary, the saints, the archangels, the illustrations of the biblical and historical stories, and the images of holy objects and places).

b-) the iconography (different treatments of the same subject)

c-) styles.

A secondary consideration was the physical condition of the icons. The icons that are in delicate condition were given priority as their immediate documentation is needed.

The Antalya Museum director, Metin Pehlivaner, and museum archaeologists Akan Atilla and İlhan Ünlüsoy assisted me during the four visits I made to the Antalya Museum. The first visit took place in February, 1997, and the total icon inventory was examined. About sixty-five icons were photographed, including the approximately forty icons on display, and their measurements were recorded. The second visit was in June, 1997, when the total icon inventory was reviewed once again. An initial selection of fifty icons was made. In December 1997, after examining the photographs and the inventory for the third time, I decided upon a group of twenty icons. Close-up photographs were taken, and their measurements recorded more precisely. Finally in October, 1998, I made a last inspection in order to check details.

with the necessary permission. This information comes from Prof. P. M. Kitromilides, the Director of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ANTALYA DURING THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

1. 1. The Historical and Cultural Context of the Icons in the Antalya Museum

The icon collection of the Antalya Museum originated within the turbulent events of the First World War, the subsequent War of Turkish Independence, and the following years.

After the end of the First World War (1914-18), Italian troops occupied Antalya in March 1919 (Figs. 72, 73, 74 and 81). In the meantime they collected antiquities from in and outside of Antalya in collaboration with the Italian embassy. Disturbed by this looting, Süleyman Fikri Erten, a teacher and assistant principal in the high school of Antalya, asked for a solution from the government. As a result, in June, 1919, Erten, was appointed as “*fahri asar-i atika memuru*”, an honorary official for museum materials. A small masjid was the first home for the collected antiquities. The museum had insufficient funds and could only look after the antiquities located within the city centre. Following the Italians’s departure in 1922, a number of Greeks who had become associated with the Italians also left the city. The antiquities were transferred into the Panaya church (today the Alaaddin mosque, Figs. 144, 145 and 146) which remained as a museum until 1937. Erten was promoted to become the principal director of the Antalya Museum in 1923, a position he held until 1940.

The 172 icons in the Antalya Museum were among these antiquities collected.³ These icons were utilised by the Greek Orthodox community of nineteenth and early twentieth century Antalya.

³ S. F. Erten, *Antalya Tarihi* (İstanbul 1930) 3.

1. 2. The Greeks (Fig. 75) and Other Ethnic Groups in Antalya

In the accounts of early travellers like İbn Batuta⁴ of the fourteenth century and Evliya Çelebi⁵ of the seventeenth century, the ethnic composition of Antalya was briefly mentioned. Later, certain traveller's accounts of the nineteenth century also gave ideas about the ethnicity of Antalya. One is provided by F. Beaufort⁶ (the captain of the frigate Frederickssteen) who conducted a survey of the southern coast of Turkey for the British Admiralty. His visits took place during 1811-12. According to his records the population of the city was around 8,000. He noted that the majority of the population was Muslim; in addition, the city contained a substantial number of Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox people who used the Greek script to write in Turkish. Beaufort comments about their inadequate knowledge of the Greek language. Another source about the city's demography is the brief description given by E. J. Davies (a British traveller) during the 1870s.⁷ According to his notes there were 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants in the city. Davies also referred to the significant Greek population in the city. K. G. Lanckoronski⁸ (an Austrian scholar) provided information about the number of people in Antalya in the year 1890. According to him, the population of the city was in the range of 25,000 to 26,000 people. Greeks numbered 7,000, comprising more than 25% of the total population. The remaining ethnic groups were notably the Muslims who formed the majority of the total population, circa 70%. The Muslims consisted of natives, Arabs, Cretans, Rhodians, and Moreans. When the Ottomans were defeated in Crete at the

⁴ I. Parmaksızoğlu, *Şark İslam Klasikleri İbn Batuta Seyahatnamesinden Seçmeler* (İstanbul 1986) 6.

⁵ M. Zillioglu, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol. 9 (İstanbul 1985) 119-20.

⁶ F. Beaufort, *Karamania: A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity* (London 1818) Chapter VI.

⁷ E. J. Davies, *Anatolica; Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia* (London 1874) 208.

⁸ K. G. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Vienna 1890) X.

⁹ R. M. Dawkins, "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey", *Byzantium* 8 (1923) 259.

¹⁰ G. P. Pechlabaide Attaleiate, *Ἀτταλεῖα καὶ Ατταλειῶτες [Antalya and Antalians]*, 2 vols. (Athens 1989).

¹¹ J. McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities, the Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York 1983) 89, 97.

end of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of Muslims who only spoke Greek left Crete to come to Antalya.⁹ Finally, Antalya's population included a small number of Jews and Armenians.

Another type of source material also provides demographic data, a compilation of memories by some of the last Greek inhabitants of the city who were sent to Greece after the Lausanne Peace settlement in the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923.¹⁰ The document puts the population of Antalya in 1890 at 26,000.

By the years 1913-14, the Greek population of the city is given as 12,385. During the years following, this number gradually diminishes (Table 1).¹¹

The Greek orthodox community was not homogeneous. Erten¹² divided it into three groups. The first group were indigenous Greeks who spoke Turkish as their mother tongue and whose customs shared similarities with those of the Muslim communities. They were called *karamanlides*. Their knowledge of the Greek language was limited, but they used the Greek alphabet to write in Turkish. They were the majority of the total Greek population. The second group consisted of migrants from Cyprus and the Aegean islands. The third group were people from mainland Greece. They resided along the coast of Antalya, and were active mainly in trade with the Aegean islands.¹³ Greeks of the second and third groups spoke Greek and were brought up within the Greek culture.

In the sources provided by Beaufort, Erten, and Evliya Çelebi, the *karamanli* people (*karamanlides*) were clearly described as the Turkish-speaking Greek community of Antalya. Largely attested from the epigraphical evidence, Cappadocia (particularly Kayseri, Nevşehir, and Niğde), Konya, Burdur, and Antalya were the places where a substantial number of *karamanlides* once existed.

¹² S. F. Erten, *Millî Mücadelede Antalya* (Antalya 1996) 2-3.

¹³ Erten (supra n. 12) 3.

The ethnic origin of the *karamanli* people has been a subject of debate, seriously faced during the exchange of the two populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923; were they Hellenised Turks or Turkicised Greeks? The *karamanli* people themselves were not concerned about their origin. Perhaps one revealing comment is their answer, when asked about their ethnicity: “I am Christian but nothing else”.¹⁴ In any case, the basis of the 1923 exchange was religion, so they were sent to Greece together with their Greek-speaking coreligionists.¹⁵

The *karamanlides* were mentioned by foreign travellers (such as the German traveller H. Dernschwam) of the fifteenth century as being famous goldsmiths.¹⁶ By the mid sixteenth century, there were a considerable number of *karamanlides* living in Constantinople, and until the nineteenth century they resided there, concentrated in the Yedikule, Samatya, and Narlıkapı quarters of Constantinople.

The principle burial place of *karamanli* people was between Silivri kapı and the monastery of the Zoodochos Pege at Balıklı in Constantinople. A number of gravestones have been found in the courtyard of the monastery.

The *karamanlides* produced an important collection of literature on various topics. Their literature consisted of translations of religious books (the Bible, lives of the saints, homilies, psalms, and the like), guide books to the Holy Land and other pilgrimage sites, and translations from world literature. One known Antolian patron of book publication in *karamanlidika* is the Danielzadeogullari family of Antalya.¹⁷ They commissioned the translation and the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe in 1853. Other than providing a translation of a book, they also commissioned the production of a decorated *Epitaphios* cloth, used for Good Friday processions.

¹⁴ R. Clogg, *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (London 1996) 68. In fact in Asia Minor, *karamanli* people were not the only example exhibiting an interesting linguistic phenomenon. Some of the Armenians also spoke Turkish by the late nineteenth century. They also used hymn books printed in Turkish written in Greek script. Within the late Ottoman territory, there were also Slavs speaking Turkish but writing with the Cyrillic alphabet.

¹⁵ Clogg (supra n. 14) 67.

¹⁶ Clogg (supra n. 14) 68-9.

¹⁷ Pechlibaide (supra n. 10) 132-3.

This cloth is now preserved in the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. On this cloth two subjects, the Dormition of the Virgin and the Assumption of the Virgin (Metastasis), were depicted. The religious text of the theme (the hymn of the feast day) of the Dormition of the Virgin was woven into the cloth. Also included were two inscriptions, one in *karamanlidika*, the other in Greek (Fig. 76). The inscription in *karamanlidika* reads in transcription as “*Atallgia ta Daniel zade ogoullari Chatzedemetre, Chatkiriako be ogoullari cha Strate cha Efraem pounnarin chagratitir Allach kapoul eglesin Panagia saglouk bersin.*” This inscription means the following, “*A dedication and pious charity of the Danielids from Antalya, of Chatzidemtres, Chatzikyriakos, and their children, Chatzebrates and Chatzeephraim. May God accept this and may the Virgin give health to us.*”¹⁸ These people were among the possible patrons, owners, and donors of the 173 icons now in the Antalya Museum.

1. 3. The Churches of Antalya

The churches of Antalya were also among the possible homes for these icons (Figs. 84, 82, 77, 78, 79 and 80). The document provided by the Greek deportees of 1923 contains a brief account of the churches of Antalya.¹⁹ There were nine metropolitan and two suburban churches. The churches of St. Demetrios and St. Leontios burnt down in 1895. The Panaya church was later converted into a mosque, the Alaaddin mosque. Although the mosque of the truncated (Yivli) minaret has a complex story, it was recorded as the six domed Byzantine church of St. John the Theologian. Other churches included St. Alypios, St. Panteleemon, St. Nicholas, and St. George (today renovated as the Vehbi Koç Vakfi, Suna and İnan Kıraç Research Institute for

E. Balta, *Karamanlidika, Additions (1584-1900)* (Athens 1987) 45.

¹⁸ The Turkish translation is “Antalya’da Danielzadeoğulları Hacı Dimitri, Hacı Kriyako ve oğulları Hacı Strate, Hacı Efraem, bunların hayratıdır. Allah kabul eğlesin, Panagia sağlık versin.”

¹⁹ Pechlibaide (supra n. 10) 229-35.

Mediterranean Civilisations) (Figs. 77, 78 and 79). St. Irene was said to be converted to a mosque by the Seljuks then by the Franks it was turned into a church and today it is the Kesik minaret mosque. The two suburban churches were eight to ten kilometres from Antalya. One, called the Virgin of the Spring, was situated west of Antalya. It was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin. The miraculous holy water (hagiasma) was in great demand by visiting pilgrims. The church provided accommodation facilities for visitors. The second one, St. Andrew, located east of Antalya, also contained a miraculous holy spring with healing powers. Many pilgrims including Muslims were said to have visited the site seeking a cure.

Although the location of these springs has been forgotten, today local people mention four places situated east of Antalya that once had water springs. One may have been St. Andrew's. They are the villages of Gebiz, Çandır, Hurma, and Ayanos (Fig. 81). However, their water supply dried up in the mid twentieth century.

1. 4. Asia Minor during the Nineteenth Century

During the second half of the nineteenth century trade became intensive and profitable in the late Ottoman empire. Many of the Greek people of Antalya were traders and they established commercial networks with the neighbouring Aegean and Mediterranean islands and regions.

Between the years 1750 and 1815, the Ottoman empire as a whole was incorporated into the world economy.²⁰ Later, by the second half of the nineteenth century, accompanying the removal of the trade barriers, new discoveries of gold mines, development in transportation and communication, and the absence of major wars in Europe enabled the circulation of goods, people and capital. The Greek merchant class continued to prosper in this business environment. Thus there was a rise of non-Muslim traders who were largely located in the western and northern

²⁰ R. Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy of the Nineteenth Century* (New York 1988) 35.

provinces of Asia Minor, in such centers as Constantinople, Smyrna and Trebizon. The Muslims were not as active as their Greek counterparts in trade and commerce.

Trade was already extensive by the second half of the eighteenth century between Asia Minor, the Balkan countries, and as far west as France and Spain. Greek merchants and shippers were noticeably active in this trading network. At the end of the century Ottoman trade underwent a great expansion. Thanks to the relatively peaceful international relations which they enjoyed, the Ottomans were able to develop secure trading routes in order to profit from the growing demands from the developing industries of central and western Europe. In addition, continuing unrest in Europe caused by the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars provided opportunities to Ottoman producers and traders.²¹ These new commercial opportunities stimulated migrations as people sought to take advantage of them. This movement of people basically strengthened the social fabric that accompanied the economic networks already developed in the border regions of the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century. For example, a Chian family with business in the big cities of Europe and the Balkans could have family members actually living in these different places. The movement of the Greek people was the most important of these migrations (the Jewish population migrated from the Balkans to Europe and from eastern to western Anatolia and other ethnic groups such as Vlachs, Serbians and Albanians also took part). Some Greek merchants established contacts with the major commercial areas of the Balkans, Europe, and Britain (among them were the cities of Leipzig, Vienna, Paris, Marseilles, and London). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ottoman (mainly Greek) commercial intermediaries became the main beneficiaries of the improved relations with the world economy.

The Greek revolt and the following independence war (1821-1829) stimulated migrations from mainland Greece and the Aegean islands to the coastal parts of Asia Minor.²² Security and

²¹ Kasaba (*supra* n. 20) 18-21.

²² G. Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the 19th century* (Kent, Ohio 1992) 27, 69, 210.

economy were among the factors that encouraged this new wave of migration. Security was a concern as the situation in Greece required civic and administrative steadiness in the years after independence. In addition, the economy of the new state was in recession. The relatively densely populated coastal and inner parts of Anatolia with good markets for their business looked attractive.

Some of the merchants migrated with their wives and children from Greece and the Aegean islands. They soon were involved in the trade network and developed significant commercial relations with Europe. They also began to experience prosperity in their economic life.

At the same time, another migration wave took place, this one internal, from inner Anatolia to the coastal areas. The Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Caesarea (Kayseri) noted that by the year 1834, around 60% of the males left their homes for work in the cities on the coasts, such as Constantinople, Smyrna, and Antalya.²³ These tradesmen were absent from their home cities and towns for months at a time. They arrived at the coastal fringes and purchased the products, then sold them to the interior markets of Anatolia in a period of three to six months.²⁴ They acted as intermediary agents who provided imported goods from Europe and from other foreign markets to the people of inland Anatolia. Thus both native and emigrant Greek merchants interacted with the foreign and domestic markets extensively, and trade increased both in volume and value.

The demographic changes which started in the second half of the eighteenth century lasted until the beginning years of the First World War, in 1914-18. This flow of people, initiated essentially by economic reasons, slowed down by the end of the nineteenth century as the social and economic conditions become satisfactory and stable.

²³ Augustinos (supra n. 22) 27.

²⁴ Their trip was sometimes stopped by robbers or bandits. For protection they preferably carried an icon of St. George with them. If possible they also took a piece of candle to light on Easter Sunday during long business trips.

1. 5. Trade and Other Networks in Antalya During the Nineteenth Century

Throughout most of the nineteenth century Antalya was active in trading and business. The Chamber of Commerce of Antalya was founded in 1886.²⁵ Among the recorded members of the Chamber, Greeks, Muslims (who were natives and/or from Crete, Morea, and Rhodes), Armenians, and Jews were included. Some of these traders were Italian nationals as well as Ottoman citizens (Figs. 86 and 87).

Major trading networks were established between Antalya and the Aegean islands (like Rhodes and Crete) and Smyrna, Constantinople, Alexandria, Syria, and Trieste. The primary export of Antalya was wood. Licorice, acorns, grain, and wax were also exported. The traders of Antalya imported sugar, olive oil, coffee, goods of drapery and haberdashery, small items of hardware, and gas.²⁶ The goods were distributed and sold in Anatolia through Konya, Akşehir, and Burdur.

In addition to the commercial networks, religious visits took place to the pilgrimage sites of neighbouring regions. For instance, the people of Antalya province visited the monasteries in Cyprus.²⁷ St. Andrew, a small Gothic monastery from Lusignan times in the vicinity of Nicosia, was well known for its miracle working icons. Pilgrims were said to have visited the site and purchased icons from there during the nineteenth century.²⁸ Many of the priests of the monasteries in Cyprus (St. Andrew, St. Pantelemon, Kykko, St. Nicholas, and the like) earned their living by icon painting. They were also allowed to participate in trade.²⁹

²⁵ M. Güçlü, *Antalya Ahval-i Ticariyesini ve Tüccarinin Esamisini Havi Risaledir* (Antalya 1997) 6-14.

²⁶ Güçlü (*supra* n. 25) 13-15.

²⁷ G. Home, *Cyprus Then and Now* (London 1960) 164-5, 189.

²⁸ Home (*supra* n. 27) 185. "A Greek peasant woman Maria Georgiou, a widow living in the small seaport of Alanya on the coast of Asia Minor, in 1895 lost her son Panteli, then thirteen years of age. He had gone to a neighbouring village to visit a good friend of the family, and thenceforward his disappearance was complete." After many years Maria Georgiou had a dream of St. Andrew, who said to her that she could find her son if she visited the monastery of St. Andrew in Cyprus. Consequently on her way to Cyprus she accidentally met her lost son who had become a dervish; that they recognised each other seemed a miracle.

²⁹ R. C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571-1640* (New York 1993). 133.

1. 6. Conclusions

The Greek Orthodox population of nineteenth century Antalya (Figs. 82, 83, 84 and 85) was important both in terms of their number and their economic activities. The majority of the Greek community was *karamanli*, Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox people. Trade and commerce in Antalya were mainly handled by the Greeks. Some of these people accumulated considerable wealth as a result of their businesses.

The Greek presence in Antalya ended in the 1920s. A first group of Greeks estimated at 13,000 departed after the end of the Italian occupation in 1922. The remainder, indeed the majority, left after the Lausanne Peace settlement in 1923. Some moved to Constantinople; among these were *karamanli* people who perhaps played a role in the formation of the Turkish Orthodox Church by Papa Eftim during the 1920s. Most, however, went to Greece in the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece.

CHAPTER 2.

WHAT IS AN ICON?

This chapter surveys the history of the icon in the Christian Orthodox community. Starting with the definition and meaning of an icon, an historical survey of styles, types and usages from the early Christian (early Byzantine) period through the Byzantine period to modern times will be presented.

2. 1. Types and Meaning of the Icon

An icon, as a religious object or as a work of art, refers to an image, Εἰκὼν, in Greek, representing the likeness of a sacred person(s), and/or a sacred event(s). Those subjects illustrated on an icon generally show Old and New Testament content. However, in different historical, social, and geographical contexts, additional sacred images were produced of subjects not included in the Bible. Icons could be painted on various media and in different sizes, although all twenty examples in this thesis happen to be painted wooden panels.

There are three different classes of icons on the basis of their subject matters. These are festal, liturgical, and doctrinal.³⁰ Festal cycle icons are primarily the ones that refer to the twelve feasts of Christianity. The liturgical cycle refers to the representation of the communion of apostles, the participants in the divine liturgy, and the figures from the church hierarchy. The writers of the liturgy and some bishops are also included in this class. The representation of Christ as the “Man of Sorrow” is also a liturgical icon. The doctrinal cycle aims to highlight the principles of Christian teachings. The doctrinal cycle is composed of the Christ Pantocrator, the Virgin Mary, the representations of the angels, the four evangelists, and the prophets. Calendar (Fig. 93) and

³⁰ C. Cavarnos, *Guide to Byzantine Iconography* (Boston 1993) 59.

biographical icons (*vitae icons*) are (Fig. 92, 104 and 153), the types of icons, and reflect themes depicted. Calendar icons are the complete catalogue of the saints of a year illustrated according to their monthly and daily position. The only surviving examples come from St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai. Biographical icons show a central portrait of a particular saint surrounded by smaller scale scenes of his/her life.

Panel icons are basically placed on the proskynetaria (icon stands; proskynesis means veneration in Greek)³¹ and on the iconostasis. Usually there is an official proskynetarion (Fig. 148) that is traditionally placed in the northern part of the nave in a church, closer to its western side. This official proskynetarion is devoted to the holy person(s) and event(s) to which the church was dedicated. In addition, the saint or event of the day according to the ecclesiastical calendar is placed on the official proskynetarion. There are other proskynetaria (Fig. 147) of different size and type. These are for the panel icons that are considered to be miracle working, kept as special treasure by the church, and the icons that might not find a suitable place in the iconostasis.³²

Most icons, however, are accommodated by the iconostasis in a church (Fig. 139 and 149). It is a screen that separates the nave from the sanctuary.³³ In the course of the fourth century altar screens were low, basically to help the congregation to follow the liturgy.³⁴ Gradually their height increased owing especially to the development of church architecture, and completely separated the sanctuary from the nave. An iconostasis is typically divided into two parts. The lower part has the icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist. Most of the time the saint of the church is also added to this row of images. The upper row bears the icons of the feast days of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints, as permanent icons. These events are ordered chronologically.

³¹ Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 51.

³² Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 52-54.

³³ A. Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991) 2023. The Iconostasis is also called a templon (τεμπλόν). Originally a low parapet or chancel barrier after the fifth century it gradually increased in height. Especially after the periods of Iconoclasm, by the eleventh century, the templon was extended to pastaphoria and many tiered and wooden examples were produced.

³⁴ G. Babic, *Icons* (London 1988) 4.

Traditionally there are twelve major feasts:³⁵ the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Nativity of Christ, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem (Palm Sunday), the Crucifixion (Good Friday), the Resurrection (Easter Sunday), the Ascension, the Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. These feast day icons have certain didactic roles as they are considered to be the illustrations of events described in the Old and the New Testaments. Sometimes this upper tier possesses the icons of the twelve Apostles instead of the twelve feasts of Christianity. According to the ecclesiastical calendar, on the feast day of a saint or an event (as already mentioned above), the icon of the occasion is placed on a proskynetarion and venerated (the proskynesis). During the proskynesis, icons are kissed, and a candle or incense is placed before them.³⁶ Veneration is usually accompanied with hymns.

The icons which are not permanently placed on the iconostasis are kept in other places in the church when they are not called upon by the liturgy and/or church rituals. The treasury rooms, chapels, side-chapels or the tombs of donors are possible places for keeping them when they do not participate in the rituals.³⁷

³⁵ Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 73.

³⁶ H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Images before the Era of Art* (Chicago 1994) 183. A seventh century text of Maximus the Confessor reports the kissing of the icons of Christ and Mary on special occasions. After the eighth century, the icons of the iconostasis began to be kissed during the liturgy of the so-called proskomidy, and on the Sunday of Orthodoxy.

³⁷ Belting (*supra* n. 36) 230.

2. 1. A. Definition of the Icon

A formal definition of the icon stresses that the image and/or the icon is a simulacrum which reflects the subject's characteristics yet with some differences.³⁸ The icon does not reproduce the exact appearance of the archetype; instead the icon contains within itself elements of both resemblance (likeness) and non-resemblance (dissimilarity). The quality of resemblance is a basic aspect of the likeness which indicates their inner meanings. This quality of resemblance provides the sacred beauty of what is represented in the icon and is an essential feature for conveying the divine element.³⁹

The important principle of non-resemblance signifies a world that is different from the one that surrounds us. Hence it does not provide the real appearance of the world; however, the aim is to refer to the celestial world where the subjects of icons are supposed to belong. When one venerates an icon, the archetype is revered through the likeness illustrated on the icon. This feature of painting, by keeping them within defined limits of resemblance and non-resemblance, prevented Byzantine painting from unlimited stylisation and deformation. Icon painting is closely connected with honouring and recognising of the holy persons as the servants of God. Veneration of the image glorifies the person(s) represented in the icons. Thus the veneration and honour given to the icon are in reality directed to the holy person illustrated. Consequently icons were considered as reminders of holy persons.

The seventh ecumenical council held in Nicaea (modern İznik) in 787 offered an important statement about the theology of Christian image making. During this council, the theology and meaning of icons were presented, and a legitimate veneration of icons differentiated from an

³⁸ M. Chatzidakis and A. Grabar, *Byzantine and Medieval Painting* (London 1965) 4.

In this context the word simulacrum may be interpreted as the likeness of what is represented.

³⁹ J. Baggley, *Doors of Perception* (1987)

L. Ouspensky and V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (New York 1989).

absolute worship of God.⁴⁰ The seventh ecumenical council legalised the veneration of the icons and gave them a divine status. In addition, the council also provided valuable information about the function of icons.

According to the council, complicated theological concepts were assumed to be understood and conveyed easily through the icons. This was especially important for the illiterate people of the society. Thus the teaching role of the icons was significantly emphasised as the theology books for them.⁴¹ It was argued that there has been an immediate communication, and subsequent effects of joining with the holy persons. The illiterate people are hence guided on Christian teachings through icons, and an interactive, permanent communication is achieved with the holy persons. Consequently, the council argued that the saints could be painted on the church walls in order to stimulate awareness of the holy persons and/or events.⁴²

In devotional use, icons were considered as intermediaries serving between celestial and terrestrial worlds, and images of Christ and the saints were to receive the petitions of the people. Consequently the image of the holy person enables the average person to reach divinity and inspires him/her to remember the virtuous life of the saint. As examples, the icons of St. Demetrios of Thessalonica and St. Nicholas of Myra were given as inciting personal piety and salvation by the council. The emotional effects of icons were also noted, in order to meet the psychological needs of the people. Furthermore people could venerate images by the use of candles and incense, and by kissing them.

Certain icons were venerated, as they were considered ‘wonder’ or ‘miracle working’ icons. The council endorsed them, too.⁴³ For instance the Holy Mandylion of Christ which was sent to king Abgar of Edessa (Fig. 138) performed a miracle during the siege of the city of Edessa in 544

⁴⁰ Kazhdan (*supra* n. 33) 1463-5.

⁴¹ Ambrosios Giakalis, *Images of the Divine: The Theology of Icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council* (Leiden 1994) 55.

K. Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden 1996) 7.

⁴² Giakalis (*supra* n. 41) 20.

⁴³ Giakalis (*supra* n. 41).

by the Persians. There were also icons of saints who worked miracles. Icon fragments of Sts.

Kosmas and Damianos were considered miraculous and had a healing power for the sick.⁴⁴

The seventh Ecumenical council discussed the relationship between the image and its painter. The council argued that the icon belongs to the painter, yet its form and display are at the discretion of the church fathers. While the artist exhibited his talent, he was restricted by the rules and prototypes provided by the church officials. Thus the artist was allowed to experiment in technical skills, but constrained by the prescribed iconographies and themes. Peculiarities in design, colour combinations, and composition are generally elements which help to identify different artists.⁴⁵

2. 2. Traditional (Byzantine) Elements of Style and Iconography in Icon Painting

One of the main aims of Byzantine religious art works is to transform terrestrial forms in such a way that at the end the celestial world is made visible to the beholder. This is one of the essences of Byzantine aesthetic vision.⁴⁶ However, this theology oriented aesthetic vision has not been exhibited on every icon. The ideal is set by the ecumenical councils and synods. In order to accomplish the role of interpreting God's revelation, the iconographer was expected to follow a spiritual path, and perform an ascetical practice. On the other hand, by the end of the fifteenth century, icons were treated like commercial commodities. There is evidence documenting the activities of guilds and commissionaires of icon painting.⁴⁷ As a result, technical skills and expertise (for instance draughtsmanship, on the use of colours and on the type of wood) became overt elements of differing styles and iconographies.

⁴⁴ Giakalis (*supra* n. 41) 47.

⁴⁵ M. Chatzidakis and A. Grabar (*supra* n. 38) 5-6.

⁴⁶ E. Sendler, *The Icon: Image of the Invisible* (Torrance, California 1995) 240-41. Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 27.

⁴⁷ N. Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Cretan School* (Athens 1983) 9. During the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, bulk orders are made for the icons of the same subjects, such as 900 icons of the Virgin to be delivered within two months.

Essential features of style and iconography in traditional (Byzantine) icon painting include following:

First, the archetypes of the holy figures and events are firmly established by Byzantine iconography. There is a standardisation of the forms and appearances of holy persons and events. Facial features, for example, are fixed so that by seeing them one can easily recognise and identify the figure illustrated.⁴⁸

Frontality is one of the basics of Byzantine iconography. A direct relationship is sought between the image and the viewer (Fig. 121). The face of the figure depicted is either a whole face or at least three quarters of it. Profile representations are very rare; heretics and demons are shown in this way.⁴⁹

The halo painted around the head of holy persons is another standard element. It is usually painted in gold, and/or ochre yellow. A halo signifies the sanctity of the person represented, and draws attention to the figure. The halo does not entirely cover the head. It encircles the upper part and the sides of the head, ending at the sides of the neck or by the shoulders. In addition, halos should be distinct from the background. Differentiation is obtained by painting halo and background in contrasting colours. Usually a halo painted in yellow is encircled by red, then by white. Christ's halo is different from the halos of other holy persons. It has an inscribed cross depicted on the halo. Three arms of the cross are shown, two on the sides, and one above the head of Christ. There is lettering within the halo generally painted in red, and it is to be read from left to right. This inscription "O ΩΝ"⁵⁰, reads "He Who is".

⁴⁸ For instance the form of each saint is fixed. However, it varies due to the iconographer (icon painter) by means of colour use, and technical skills on drafting.

⁴⁹ Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 29.

⁵⁰ H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha* (New York 1977). 70. Exodus 3. 14. "God said to Moses, 'I AM WHO I AM.' And he said, 'Say this to the people of Israel, I AM has sent me to you.'"

Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 32. The lettering signifies the concept of "timelessness" of God. It is the non-temporal mode of being of God, which is not broken up into past, present, and future.

The iconography of the garments emphasises two basic points. One of them is the depiction of the folds and draperies. The other one is the colours used on the garments. The draperies are intended to be illustrated by means of geometrical forms, like rectangles, triangles, or parallel lines. They lack a natural look. The colours used are serene and sober.

The parts of the body are also intended to be painted in an unnatural and sometimes disproportional manner. Big eyes and small, thin lips are favoured in order to draw attention to the face, and to express the holiness of the person.

Objects depicted in the composition are illustrated in a very simplified and schematic way. They do not have a realistic appearance. In contrast with the natural perspective rules, in which depictions in the foreground are larger than the ones in the background, in Byzantine iconography the purpose is to provide a flat look. Thus the objects in the background are larger than the ones in the foreground. The vanishing point is in the foreground unlike the natural perspective rules which place it in the background. As a result the icon does not give the impression of three dimensions and depth. In compositions, the main figure is set at the center and is shown bigger than the others. The proportions of the parts of the body are often distorted. For instance, the heads and the hands are larger than the other parts.

In some icons, events that take place at different times and in different places are painted in one composition as if they occurred simultaneously. This narrative method is called the concept of the “abolition of time”.⁵¹ It is a common practice in the compositions of St. George. To sum up, unnatural, sober, restrained, and stereotyped paintings are intended.

⁵¹ Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 38.

2. 3. Early Christian Period From the Fourth Century to the Eighth Century

The origins of the icons can be traced back to Graeco-Roman portraiture, but icon painting developed in a different direction within the Christian context.

Strikingly realistic panel portraits were used on mummy cases, in the Fayum, in Egypt, during the Roman period. These portraits were painted on wood, or sometimes on canvas using the encaustic technique (Figs. 94 and 95).⁵² These were kept during the life of a person, and placed upon his mummy when (s)he was dead. Some scholars regard these portraits as the forerunners of Byzantine icons.⁵³

Few icons, however, have been preserved from the early periods of Christianity. These examples come from the Coptic monasteries of Egypt at Sinai (namely the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mt. Sinai), and in Georgia where Christianity was adopted as early as the fourth century. The earliest surviving icons are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries and made by the encaustic technique (Fig. 121).⁵⁴

With the edict of Milan in 313 by Constantine the Great (327-337), which allowed people freedom of religious beliefs and practices, and the later decree issued by Theodosius II (379-395) in 380 announcing Christianity as the state religion, important changes took place. As a result, the state determined Christ to be the supreme ruler of the Christian world; he is represented on earth by the emperor of the Romans. Also, buildings were constructed at the holy sites, more places became available for worship, and they began to be decorated with various objects, relics, and paintings. However, it had been already stressed by the Christian theologians of the third century that any

⁵² Colored waxes applied with a heated straight piece of wood.

G. Calavaris, *The Iconography in the Life of the Church*, Iconography of Religions XXIV, 8 (Leiden 1981) 1.
⁵³ K. Weitzmann, *A Treasury of Icons* (New York 1966).

G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mt. Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor 1973).

K. A. Manafis ed., *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine* (Athens 1990).

⁵⁴ Babic (*supra* n. 34) 1.

Weitzmann (*supra* n.53) 10.

images used for the worship of God should be strongly opposed.⁵⁵ Although a relatively small group of theologians continued to reject images, after the second half of the fourth century a positive attitude developed towards Christian pictorial representations, relics, and other church furnishings. The church approved the use of pictures showing the New Testament events and figures basically for didactic purposes to the illiterate. In devotional uses individuals might attach supernatural powers to the pictures of Christ, the portraits and relics of saints. The church fathers permitted the use of the paintings both as teaching instruments and as cultic objects, without clarifying the church's views and attitudes about the difference between an icon and an idol.⁵⁶

By the fifth century, imperial ceremonies resembled the liturgical processions. The kind of veneration shown to the emperor was also given to the icons.⁵⁷ At this point it is worth noting the ongoing practices of imperial cult in the Byzantine empire. For instance the portrait of Constantine the Great was carried in the processions celebrating the anniversary day of the foundation of the city of Constantinople and the emperor of the day would bow before it.⁵⁸

At the end of the fourth and the fifth centuries, there was an increase in the number of legends about the supernatural powers and miracles of certain icons.⁵⁹ Afterwards literary texts of the early sixth century mention the practice of *proskynesis* in many churches, the veneration of images by bowing before them.

Particularly from the later sixth century onwards (the immediately post-Justinianic period, after 565), sources begin to mention the existence, the use, and the power of icons more and more frequently; accordingly, the increasing popular cult of the images included the following practices:⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Babic (*supra* n. 34) 2.

E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm", *DOP* 8 (1954) 87.

⁵⁶ Babic (*supra* n. 34) 2-3.

Kitzinger (*supra* n. 55) 87.

⁵⁷ Parry (*supra* n. 41) 8.

⁵⁸ Kitzinger (*supra* n. 55) 90.

⁵⁹ Kitzinger (*supra* n. 55) 94.

Babic (*supra* n. 34) 2.

⁶⁰ J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge 1990) 403-6.

Kitzinger (*supra* n. 55) 86-150.

as devotional, miracle working images and as *apotropaia* (considered to have the power to avert evil influence or ill-luck)⁶¹ and *palladia* (a safeguard)⁶² for cities and armies, particularly in war times. Finally, icons regarded as magical images of miraculous origin, for instance, the authentic likenesses of Christ and the Virgin Mary, were considered to possess supernatural powers, and labelled as *acheiropoietai* (not made by human hands).

In summary, during the period between the second half of the sixth century and the iconoclastic controversy (725-843), an increase and intensification of the cult of images were observed.

2. 3. The Iconoclastic Controversy

In 725, a religious movement against the veneration and display of icons took hold, initiated by the removal of Christ's image from the Chalke gate of Constantinople during the reign of the emperor Leo III (717-741). A subsequent official edict was issued in 730 against the use of icons (and for their destruction).

Iconoclasts (image breakers) argued that the painting of an image of Christ causes either a separation of his two natures, divine and human, or a confusion of them.

The long lasting iconoclastic controversy was composed of two periods.⁶³ The first one lasted from 726 to 787. The seventh ecumenical council was held in 787 in Nicaea by the *iconophiles* (image lovers) in order to present their defences with a developed theology on Christian image-making, and to restore the use of icons (see above). This council was effective among the clergy and the monastic hierarchy, but excluded the army and some other parts of Byzantine society. The

⁶¹ L. Brown ed., *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, vol. I (Oxford 1993) 96.

⁶² The Oxford English Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, vol. III (Oxford 1978). 397.

"Palladium: The image of goddess Pallas in the citadel of Troy, on which the safety was supposed to depend, reputed to have been thence brought to Rome. Fig. Anything on which the safety of a nation, institution, privilege, etc. is believed to depend."

⁶³ Parry (*supra* n. 41) 10.

interval between the years 787 and 813 was an unsatisfactory truce. The second period took place between the years 813 and 843. At the beginning of the reign of Michael III (842-867) in 843, the restoration of icons was officially announced and the conclusions of the council at Nicaea were reaffirmed. It has been argued by some scholars that without the iconoclastic controversy there would be no Byzantine theology of the image.⁶⁴

The ban on production and on displacement of any figural representations caused a reduction in artistic activities. Some earlier images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were destroyed. Church decoration was restricted to non-figural works and depictions of the cross. Meanwhile, many artists moved to the west. The extent of the impacts of the ban varied, with Constantinople and its vicinity affected the most by the ban.⁶⁵ In contrast, areas remote from the capital city, like Cappadocia, southern Asia Minor, and Sinai remained relatively unaffected (Fig. 117). The *iconoclastic* ban on figural images was unobserved. In these places monks continued to decorate their churches with figural representations (Fig. 118).⁶⁶

2. 4. Middle and Late Byzantine Periods

The Middle Byzantine period covers a time span beginning with the reign of Michael III (843-867) and ending with the Latin conquest in 1204. The years between 1204 and 1261 saw Latin rule in Constantinople, and a temporary removal of the Byzantine capital to Nicaea. The Late Byzantine era is the period from the end of the Latin occupation in 1261 to the Ottoman conquest, in 1453.

Following the years after the iconoclastic controversy, in order not to be imperilled by the *iconoclasts* and to prevent icons from abuses (like excessive veneration, attributing to them

⁶⁴ Parry (*supra* n. 41) 1.

⁶⁵ L. Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture* (Cambridge 1994) 125.

exaggerated miraculous powers, and so on), the church provided a disciplinary control based on theological concerns. Therefore, what some scholars have named *an applied theory of images* was brought into life.⁶⁷ The veneration of images was allowed under well-defined conditions, and icons were displayed at predetermined and specific locations within churches. In addition, also within the official liturgy, circumscribed roles were given to them in order to focus the attention of the people on the official liturgy.⁶⁸ The church officially administered the veneration of the images, to prevent them from becoming idols. For instance the priest himself handled the veneration of the icon by displaying and kissing it, all done, however, according to the liturgical order. It was again the liturgy that dictated *which* icons were to be venerated and *when*. A calendar (of the ecclesiastical year) and a space (the church interior) together regulated the veneration and the placement of the icons and/or images. The images of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the patron saint of the church were given prominent display. The decoration of the church reflected the hierarchy among the feasts and the saints. However, the size, plan and importance of the church affected the scheme of decoration, too.⁶⁹

Generally icons are connected with public devotion and veneration. However, icons are also considered as instruments of personal salvation and symbols of wealth. Already by the twelfth century, individual donors of icons hoped to be commemorated in the liturgy.⁷⁰ So votive images as votive gifts are offered for the salvation of the donor. Therefore icons are displayed and venerated in the churches according to the church liturgy, and commemorated a donor when offered as a votive gift; also earlier practices of paying attention to some icons as miracle working, and using them as *palladia* and *apotropaia* continued in the later periods of the Byzantine empire.

⁶⁶ L. W. Barnard, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (Leiden 1974) 122.

⁶⁷ Belting (*supra* n. 36) 172.

⁶⁸ Belting (*supra* n. 36) 172.

⁶⁹ Babic (*supra* n. 34) 4.

Bagley (*supra* n. 39) 90.

⁷⁰ Belting (*supra* n. 36) 230.

It was in the eleventh century that icons were produced, especially from the Constantinopolitan workshops, in order to transmit the orthodox message.⁷¹ Also during this century icon production increased among other regions and communities of the Orthodox world. The earliest centers appeared in Russia, Greece, and such eastern European areas as Bulgaria. The characteristic features of style in the eleventh century relied mainly on the ethical and ecclesiastical roles assigned to the icons. Hence the primary aim was to convey the religious message embedded in them. Balanced compositions with a serene harmony and an expression of religious tension were the main concerns.⁷² Accordingly, figures tended to show an ecstatic appearance on their faces while dominating the whole composition. The colours were clearly applied in large, flat patches.

The following periods of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries illustrate certain efforts in expressing the emotions and giving a dramatising effect to the themes. For instance, “Man of Sorrow”, (Figs. 100, 101 and 102) an iconographic type of the image of Christ, is a distinctive product of the twelfth century. Figures were painted relatively naturally when compared to the previous period. Human figures were still the focus of the compositions, with architectural and landscape elements reduced to a minimum.⁷³ In the course of the thirteenth century, the concept of monumentality was still observed. However, new elements of western influence also began to be felt. For instance, emotion was freely expressed and a realistic approach was undertaken. Gradually in this century monumentality was applied to a lesser extent and figures were painted in a less linear fashion, but treated instead in a livelier and softer way.⁷⁴ Lastly, the style of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries was shaped by realistically depicted scenes. It showed certain elements of antiquity too. Architecture and landscape were given importance so that the figures lost their

⁷¹ Chatzidakis and Grabar (*supra* n. 38) 16-19.
Babic (*supra* n. 34) 6.

Belting (*supra* n. 36) 261-296.

⁷² Chatzidakis and Grabar (*supra* n. 38) 16-17.
Babic (*supra* n. 34) 6.

⁷³ Chatzidakis and Grabar (*supra* n. 38) 20.

⁷⁴ Chatzidakis and Grabar (*supra* n. 38) 23.
Belting (*supra* n. 36)

specially dominant placement in the compositions. In addition, the variety of colours used was enriched and a free interplay among them was intended.

2. 5. The Post-Byzantine Period

A considerable icon production mainly in the orthodox lands and experimentation of different artistic styles has been ongoing from the end of the Byzantine empire to modern times (Fig. 141).

From the late fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries more and more western influences were felt in icon paintings (Figs. 120 and 123). Cretan artists of the sixteenth century, who also worked in Mt. Athos and Metéora, especially put their mark on this Creto-Italian style (Fig. 100).⁷⁵ Their tradition continued until the eighteenth century. Also in Cyprus, which was ruled by the Franks (1192-1483) and by the Venetians (until 1571), a similar case appeared.⁷⁶ Italo-Cretan and Italo-Greek artists employed a realistic scheme including the rules of natural perspective (Figs. 104, 105 and 137). However, this realism caused a conflict with the theological principle of the *timeless existence* of the icons which refers to the fact that icons do not have specific spatial and temporal parameters but reflect the timeless existence of the celestial world.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries icons were produced in all orthodox lands: Greece, Greek islands in the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Ionian seas, among the Orthodox communities of Asia Minor, and in the Slavic lands of eastern Europe including Russia. Russian icons developed their own traditions, and schools, but they do not have an immediate relevance to Greek icons.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Chatzidakis and Grabar (*supra* n. 38).

⁷⁶ A. Weyl-Carr, "Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art", *DOP* 49 (1995) 339-357.

⁷⁷ For further information on Russian icons, please see; S. V. Iamshchikov, *Pskov: Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 12th-17th Centuries* (Leningrad 1978); N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian Icon* (Oxford 1927); S. Smirnova, *Moscow Icons: 14th-17th Centuries* (Oxford 1989); V. V. Gormin, *Novgorod: Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 11th-18th Centuries* (Leningrad 1984); M. Apotov, *Early Russian Icon Painting* (Moscow 1984); T. T. Rice, *Russian Icons* (London 1963); V. N. Lazarev, *The Russian Icon: From its Origins to the 16th Century* (Collegeville, Minnesota 1997).

The seventeenth century onwards saw the production of paper icons, or engravings, circulating within Orthodox lands (Figs. 106, 108, 109, 110, 111 and 112). The bulk of this material comes from the nineteenth century. They were produced mostly in the workshops of Constantinople and in the monasteries of Mt. Athos, Venice, Vienna, and Leipzig.⁷⁸

The study of Greek Orthodox icons from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries has remained limited. Such icons are found in churches, museums, and private collections in Greece, Cyprus, Central Europe, Turkey, and elsewhere. Some have been published in catalogues, but synthetic studies have been rare.⁷⁹ Much basic work still needs to be done.

Better attested are the functions of icons in modern times, thank to the researches of anthropologists. The use of images as *palladia*, *apotropaia*, or miracle workers has continued into modern times in addition to their public or private veneration according to church liturgy (Figs. 98 and 99). For instance, the image of the holy Mandylion was carried into the battlefield during the First World War as a *palladium* by the Bulgarian army (Fig. 97).⁸⁰ Pilgrimage sites with miraculous icons are frequently visited. An *apotropaic* use is attested by the people of rural Greece. In small villages, little shrines (or niches) containing icons and a sanctuary lamp are usually placed at the two entrances, east and west.⁸¹ They are meant to keep evil powers and dangers away from the village. In addition, people customarily devote a room or a little hall in their houses for their icons. Icons are put on a high shelf in the eastern corner and a sanctuary lamp hangs before it. The lamp is

⁷⁸ D. Papastratos, *Paper Icons, Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings, 1665-1899* (Athens 1990).

⁷⁹ There are a number of books and catalogues on this subject; however, they are not available in Turkey. They include the following:

Treasure of Mt. Athos, exhibition catalogue of the exhibition at Thessaloniki 1997.

N. Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Vellimezis collection* (Athens 1997).

O. Baltoyanni, *Icons: Mother of God* (Athens 1994).

Exhibition catalogue with icons from the Byzantine Museum, *Conversation with God* (Athens 1997).

This information was given by Dr. Maria Vassilaki (personal communication).

Some other places that have icon collections include the following;

The Museum of Recklinghausen in Germany; The Benaki Museum and the Byzantine Museum in Athens; The Hellenic Institute in Venice; The Menil Collection in Houston; and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

⁸⁰ Belting (*supra* n. 36) 219.

⁸¹ J. Du Boulay, *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village* (Oxford 1974) 13.

Also see I. T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock, The People of Rural Greece* (Cambridge 1962).

lit every Saturday evening as well as the evening before a particular saint's day and during the saint's day itself, and during the other festival days of Orthodoxy.

CHAPTER 3

THE CATALOGUE OF TWENTY POST BYZANTINE ICONS FROM THE ANTALYA MUSEUM

In this catalogue, the twenty icons are presented in groups according to their subject matter. The first group are the images of Jesus Christ. It consists of the icons of Christ of Pity and Christ as *Pantokrator*, which means “ruler of all” in Greek (Nos. 1-2; Figs. 1-9). The second group (No. 3; Figs. 10-15) contains an image of Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus. The third group (Nos. 4-9; Figs. 16-36) are images of saints. In this group icons of St. Demetrios, St. George, Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, St. Pantaleimon, and St. Gerasimos are presented. Icons of archangel Michael are treated separately in the fourth group (Nos. 10-12; Figs. 37-42). Icons depicting religious and historical events are the fifth group (Nos. 13-17; Figs. 43-61). One subject comes from the Old Testament (the Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace), and two from the New Testament (the Annunciation and the Parable of the Ten Maidens), and two from later Christian history (the Discovery and Exaltation of the True Cross and the Council of the Church Fathers). As a sixth and last group the images of holy places and objects are presented (Nos. 18-20; Figs. 62-71). The icons of the Zoodochos Pege and the Holy Mandylion are included in this group.

In the cataloguing of these twenty icons, standard colour descriptions are given with reference to a colour chart and corresponding colour codes provided by RAL Deutsches Institut für Gütesicherung und Kennzeichnung e. V., (the German Institute for Quality Assurance and Labelling, RAL), model k-5.

Group L The Images of Christ (Nos. 1-2)

1. Christ of Pity (Figs. 1-4)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 41.9 x 57 x 2.8 cm.

Inscription: Lettering IC XC, denotes Christ; this lettering is in poor condition. A Christogram, ΙΩΟ, is depicted on his halo

Inventory number: 51. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

This icon, “Christ of Pity” (‘η’ ακρα ταπεινωσις, which literally means “the peak of humiliation”) (Fig. 1), portrays Christ rising from his tomb. His hands are crossed in front of his waist. He looks towards his right side, while his head is bent slightly. He has a fleshy body when compared to other Christ of Pity icons (Figs. 100, 101 and 102). His eyes are half open, and the facial expression reveals sadness and sorrow. He is naked except for a white loin cloth. His lips are colored in red (carmine red, RAL 3002), and red dots are visible on his hands, chest, and navel. The arms of a cross are seen behind Christ. On the upper part of the icon, in the left and the right corners the letters, IC XC, signify Jesus Christ. In addition the Christogram, ΙΩΝ (He Who is), is depicted on his halo as ΝΩΟ, in reverse order. Thus the artist writes the Christogram not according to the icon itself but, instead according to the position of Christ. There is no such treatment among the other twenty icons. There are circular black painted starlike motifs on his head (black brown, RAL 8022). These circular motifs are outlined by red. They may represent crown of thorns with drops of blood.⁸² The panel is framed by stylised floral motifs.

⁸² H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed.(supra n. 50) 1210. Matthew 27. 27-29. “Then the soldiers of the government took Jesus into the praetorium, and they gathered the whole battalion before him. And they stripped him and put

The skin colour of Christ is darkish grey-brown (iron grey, RAL 7011). His hair is brown (chocolate brown, RAL 8017) with long black strips (graphite black, RAL 9011) covering the shoulders. He has a beard and a moustache. Behind the figure of Christ, there are two main colour zones. The first part is golden (pearl gold, RAL 1036) from the top until Christ's lower chest; below this the background is dark blue (steel blue, RAL 5011). The tomb of Christ is painted in white (papyrus white, RAL 9018), with random red scratches (flame red, RAL 3000) on the top edge, and light blue on the left side (pastel blue, RAL 5024).

The inner border is red (flame red, RAL 3000). Then a simple floral motif emerges and the outer frame of the panel is black (black blue, RAL 5004).

This icon thematically belongs to the liturgical cycle. The image of the “Man of Sorrow”, or “Christ of Pity”, was venerated during the liturgy of the Passion on Good Friday, in the Byzantine church. “Christ of Pity” as the portrait icon of Christ represents the interval between his crucifixion and his resurrection. During the church services on Good Friday (the last Friday before Easter, the day of Christ’s Resurrection), the meaning and importance of Christ’s death on the cross are explained and the image depicting his humiliation is venerated.⁸³ Christ accepts his suffering as a sacrifice to relieve mankind from sin and evil, then considers himself alive after his passion. Thus the theme reflects Christ’s suffering as his divine response to evil and his suffering ends with his resurrection.

a scarlet robe upon him, and plaiting a crown of thorns they put it on his head, and put a reed in his right hand. And kneeling before him they mocked him, saying, ‘Hail, King of the Jews ! ’ ”.

K. Clark, *Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London 1996) 79-80. “The bible story is one of the series of scenes comprising the Trial of Christ, and the prelude to the Ecce Homo, after which Christ was led away to be crucified.”

D. A. Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian Art* (New York 1994) 91. The episode from the Bible (see above) was the foundation for the image of Behold the Man. The Crown of Thorns has been included into the imagery of suffering of Christ.

⁸³ B. Davezac, *Greek Icons after the Fall of Constantinople* (Houston 1996) 49.

“ [A] historically improbable dead Christ raised out of his tomb before his Resurrection. Extracted from its narrative context, Christ is transformed into a functional image seeking the emotional participation of the viewer, addressing itself to ‘the eyes of the heart’(Sicard of Cremona, 1160-1215). Although caught up in the stream of events -the Passion- Christ is disengaged from time. Theologically, the icon tells us that his death was the ultimate humiliation of his becoming man. Thus, the Man of Sorrow, along with the image of Christ on his Mother’s lap born of many ancient texts, is an *imago pietatis* in the double sense of the word *pietas*, mercy or pity, and its derivate, piety, although the term has come to be associated with the latter in the modern languages. ”

“Christ of Pity” has a Byzantine origin that goes back to the twelfth century.⁸⁴ During the thirteenth century this subject was painted in Venice.⁸⁵ In the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, a group of Italian icons of the trecento were taken as prototypes by the Cretan artists.⁸⁶ The compositions of “Christ of Pity” and “the Pieta” (Figs. 113 and 150) are among this group of icons. Cretan artists frequently used this theme on both icons and murals.⁸⁷ The subject matter and its iconography and style, the image of Christ as Man of Sorrows, follow the traditional elements. Hence the icon is referred to as one of the examples of an Italo-Cretan school despite some stylistic differences. The painter is familiar with the iconography of the theme and style and may be of Cretan origin.

The icon of “Christ of Pity” or “Man of Sorrows” has other functions as a talisman, as a private religious painting, and as a funeral item when it is placed over a tomb.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Davezac (*supra* n. 83) 49.

⁸⁵ Davezac (*supra* n. 83) 49.

⁸⁶ Chatzidakis (*supra* n. 47) 12-3. The prototype preferences are mainly determined by their patrons and commissioners according to the specified style (manner) they want the theme to be treated. That is either all Italiana or a la Greca.

⁸⁷ Davezac (*supra* n. 83) 50. “Christ of Pity” of Nicolaos Tzafouris (?) which is dated to 1480-1500 is in Athens in a private collection. A Cretan example of “Christ of Pity”, c. 1500, is now at the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens.

⁸⁸ H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom ed., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, AD 843-1261*, (New York 1997) 124.

2. Christ Pantocrator (Figs. 5-9)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood and framed

Dimensions: 71 x 110 x 2 cm

Inscription: On the front there is an inscription identifying the icon, Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ (ruler of all), Ο ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ (the merciful) and a Christogram, ΩΩΝ.

Inventory number: 115. 2. 82

Condition: generally good, except for a vertical crack on the 36th cm.

Antalya Museum, store room

The icon of Christ Pantocrator (Fig. 5), “ruler of all” (Παντοκράτορ), shows Christ’s face and torso in a frontal view. Christ’s eyes give the impression that he is looking towards his right side. His right hand is in the position of blessing, as his thumb touches the ring finger, while his left hand holds the open holy book. The left side contains a passage from the Bible, from the gospel according to John: ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ Ο ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗΣΕΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΚΟΤΙΑ ΑΛΛ ΕΞΕΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ (I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life).⁸⁹ The right side of the book presents another passage from John, ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΘΥΡΑ ΔΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΗ ΣΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΙΣΕΔΕΥΣΕΤΑΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΞΕΔΕΥΣΕΤΑΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΝΟΜΗΝ ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙ Ο ΚΛΕΠΤΗΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΕΙ ΜΗ ΙΝΑ ΚΛΕΨΗ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΡΗ, (I am the door, if any one enters by me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture. The thief comes only to steal and kill).⁹⁰ His halo bears a Christogram, ΩΩΝ.

⁸⁹ H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed. (supra n. 50) 1298-9. John 8. 12.

⁹⁰ H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed. (supra n. 50) 1302-3. John 10. 9-10.

On the icon, verse 10 is not presented in its entirety; the verse concludes with the following: “... and destroy; I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly”.

He is bearded and long haired. He wears a dark red chiton (wine red, RAL 3005), and over it a dark blue himation (steel blue, RAL 5011). The delicate but scanty golden patterns (pearl gold, RAL 1036) on his himation reflect the artist's attention to detail.

On the upper section of the icon, the letters IC XC referring to Jesus Christ are written in circular medallions (Figs. 6 and 7). The inscriptions that are identifying the icon as Pantocrator are carefully written, and nicely treated. The red inscriptions (purple red, RAL 3004) on each side denotes Christ as, Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ (ruler of all), and Ο ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ (the merciful).

The background is painted in gold; the outer frame of the panel is in red (carmine red, RAL 3002) and the paint has peeled off in parts.

The icon of Christ Pantocrator is among the common images of Christ. Christ is represented in artistic works and among them are the narratives about Christ, like the Nativity, the Anastasis, the Ascension, miracles of Christ, and the like. The imagery of Christ that is developed in the Byzantine church includes the Pantocrator, the image of Christ in the Transfiguration or Resurrection.⁹¹ The iconography of Christ Pantocrator aims to convey an ascetic, merciful, and judgemental impression of Christ.⁹²

In his conventional iconography Christ is shown either from waist up, but standing, or seated on a throne, holding the Bible with his left hand and blessing with his right. His Christogram, IC XC, is seen on either side as IC on his right and XC on his left. The word *pantokrator* (ruler of all), accompanied the theme from the twelfth century onwards.

⁹¹ A. Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 434.

⁹² Duchet, G. and Pastoureau, S. M., *The Bible and the Saints* (Paris 1994) 264. The word Pantocrator is specifically Byzantine it refers to the omnipotent, almighty God. Later it also designates God who controls and keeps alive all things. This iconographical type depicted on coins during the reign of Justinian II (565-578) with the epigraph *Rex Regnantium*.

Group II. The Virgin Mary and the Infant Christ (No. 3)

3. The Virgin Mary and Infant Christ Enthroned (Figs. 10-15)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 23.8 x 30.5 x 1.5cm

Inscriptions: On the front the figures are identified by the related inscriptions, Ο Προφήτης ΔΑΒΙΔ, Ο Προφήτης ΣΟΛΟΜΟΝ, Ο Προφήτης Ιεσαίας, Ο Προφήτης Μωυσῆς and lettering denotes the Virgin Mary, ΜΡ ΘΥ; the icon is also signed, and dated as 1865.

Inventory number: 135. 2. 82

Condition: In good condition

Antalya Museum, store room

The Virgin Mary and the infant Christ are enthroned and crowned (Fig. 10). The faces of the figures, especially of the Virgin Mary, are lively. They do not have an ascetic look. The Virgin Mary is identified by lettering written on the upper left and right of the icon, ΜΡ and ΘΥ, respectively. The child Christ sitting on his mother's lap blesses the viewer with his right hand while holding a scroll in his left hand. The Virgin Mary and child Christ are surrounded by small images of the Old Testament kings and prophets. In clockwise order from the top left of the icon are presented the images of David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Moses.

Mary wears a long blue robe (gentian blue, RAL 5010), and over it a green (emerald green, RAL 6001), red (carmine red, RAL 3002) and yellow (pearl gold, RAL 1036) hemmed cloth. Her head and shoulders are covered with a maphorion in pale pink (pastel violet, RAL 4009), blue (light blue, RAL 5012) and green (emerald green, RAL 6001). The child Christ wears a kind of golden vest with red drapery folds. The throne is painted in tones of yellow (lemon yellow, RAL 1012; maize yellow, RAL 1006). The back of the throne is ornamented with tiny pearl depictions in white. There are two cylindrical pillows in oriental style. The smaller is red (vermilion, RAL 2002), whereas the larger is pink (light pink, RAL 3015); both have golden ends with green tassels

(emerald green, RAL 6001). There is a small blue platform with two steps under Mary's feet (distant blue, RAL 5023; pastel blue, RAL 5024).

David and Solomon are approaching from distant clouds. David and Solomon wear royal costumes and are crowned (Fig. 11). The inscriptions bear their names. David is depicted as an old man with grey hair and beard (traffic grey, RAL 7042). His son Solomon is shown as a young figure. They both hold religious scrolls with writings. “Because of your deeds my Lord has been exalted” is written on the scroll of David. The scroll held by Solomon reads, “the beginning of wisdom is the fear of God”.⁹³

Moses and Isaiah are seen rising from chalices (Figs. 13 and 14) and surrounded by clouds. Moses and Isaiah have short and long brown beards, respectively (chocolate brown, RAL 8017). They also hold written religious scrolls. The scroll held by Moses records the following, “Our prophet to be resurrected by the Lord”. Lastly the scroll of Isaiah reads “The enlightened Jerusalem gives light”.

The background of the icon has two main zones of colours. The top part, painted gold (pearl gold, RAL 1036), ends by the knee level of Mary. At this point the background turns to brownish red (fawn brown, RAL 8007), gradually fading into white (light ivory, RAL 1015) at the bottom of the icon. There is an inscription on the lower left hand side of the icon (Fig. 15). The inscription reveals the name of the painter and reads, Χέιρ Εύσταθίου Χατζιδάκη Κρής (by the hand of Eustathios Chatzidakis the Cretan). Another inscription at the lower right side of the icon reads, “1865”. The icon is framed with a red line (carmine red, RAL 3002).

⁹³ I would like to thank to Dr. Eugenia Kermeli for identifying the contents of these inscriptions.

Group III. Saints (Nos. 4-9)

4. Saint Demetrios (Figs. 16-18)

Place of manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 40.5 x 57.5 x 4 cm

Inscription: On the front, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios); on the back, a *karamanli* Greek inscription in poor condition reads as 1796 Πουραγια Καντλεφ [---] Παντελ Κελπ Τονου Οτολρτου Κεμουλτουν Εχη Αλλοχταν Ολουτζ, [—], (This, came here [---] sacristan Pandeli [his, he sat —] his goodness may come from God).

Inventory Number: 55. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The main figure of the icon is Saint Demetrios⁹⁴, identified by the inscription as Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios) in the upper left of the icon (Figs. 16 and 17). St. Demetrios is placed at the center of the icon riding his horse and poised to drive his spear into a fallen soldier. The head of Saint Demetrios is disproportionately large compared to his body. He wears a green cloak (leaf green, RAL 6002), and yellow armour (honey yellow, RAL 1005) of ancient Roman type. In addition he has a blue tunic (capri blue, RAL 5019) underneath. He also has a yellowish halo (sand yellow, RAL 1002). The horse is rearing up.⁹⁵ In conventional iconography usually the horse is shown rearing up to the left.⁹⁶ However, in this icon of St. Demetrios the horse rises up to the right (Fig. 109). The excited expression of the horse contrasts with the relatively impassive face of St. Demetrios.

Behind Saint Demetrios sits a miniature priest in black religious costume⁹⁷ (black blue, RAL 5004). He has a long greyish beard. He is a figure from the saint's legends, a Cypriot, and a bishop

⁹⁴ This military saint was usually portrayed together with St. George.

⁹⁵ New Grecian Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, *Warrior Saints* (London 1973). "This type of horse gained popularity in the Ionian Isles and Venice where strict stylisation is avoided."

⁹⁶ Papastratos (*supra* n. 75) 224.

⁹⁷ Papastratos (*supra* n. 75) 224.

of Carthage in Africa who was rescued by St. Demetrios when he was taken by the pirates. A cleric sitting on the horseback of the saint is also an element of the conventional portraiture of the saint.

The saint is attacking a warrior lying on the ground. According to legends of St. Demetrios, this warrior is the Bulgar tsar, Skyloyiannis, who besieged the city of Thessaloniki in 1207.⁹⁸ The bearded and moustached warrior wears an armour in yellow (maize yellow, RAL 1006) and green (leaf green, RAL 6002), with a grey cloth wrapped around him (traffic grey, RAL 7042). A spear and a shield lie on the ground beside him. The iconographic type of St. Demetrios (Fig. 16) as one of the warrior saints slaying an enemy is of Byzantine origin. The icon of St. Demetrios illustrates two events as if they occurred at the same time. However, these took place at different times and places. This is an example of the concept of abolition of time.

In the background, a city-wall is seen in a rather bare and hilly landscape with some tufts of grass on the ground. This fortress is shown on the right hand side of the icon, surely intended to represent the city of Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki was a port, however, the icon does not indicate this. In the upper right hand side of the icon, a winged angel is approaching the saint from the sun and clouds. She is holding a floral wreath with her right hand and a blue ribbon with the left. The sky is painted in pale blue (pastel blue, RAL 5024), and the clouds are pale grey (agate grey, RAL 7038) and white (oyster white, RAL 1013).

Saint Demetrios, the patron saint of the city of Thessaloniki,⁹⁹ was associated with the city of Thessaloniki after the sixth century. He was regarded as the source of miracles in and around the city. The feast day of St. Demetrios is the twenty-sixth of October.

On the back of the icon the poorly preserved inscription (Fig. 18) in *karamanli* mentions a sacristan Pandeli, the name of a possible owner of this icon, and a date: 1796 Πουραγια Καντιλεφ [---] Παντελι Κελτι Τονουν Οτολρτουν Κεμουλτουν Εχη Αλλαχταν Ολουτζ [-]; this

⁹⁸ Papastratos, (supra n. 75) 224.

⁹⁹ Kazhdan ed. (supra n. 33) 605-6.

handwritten text can be tentatively translated as, (This, came here [---] sacristan Pandeli [his, he sat ---] his goodness may come from God).¹⁰⁰

The icon does not have a defined borderline.

5. St. George (Figs. 19-20)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 21.3 x 25.5 x 2.4 cm

Inscription: There is a handwritten inscription in modern Greek on the back of the icon that reads 1907 Ιουνίου 29 [-]
Βοριώλου Χ' Κιριωνου [-]ν Αγιος Γεωργιος (1907 twenty-ninth of June, Saint George of Vorioglou Chatzekirginoun)

Inventory number: 153. 2. 82

Condition: poor

Antalya Museum, store room

In this icon (Fig. 19) St. George (Γεωργιος), riding a white horse, is slaying the dragon with his spear.¹⁰¹ The dragon, green with a pinkish wing, is lying on the ground with the saint's spear piercing his open mouth. The spear has a cross at one end. The icon of St. George (Fig. 19) offers the popular iconographic type as a dragon slayer (see also, Fig. 104).

St. George is accompanied by five other figures. Different stories from the legends of St. George are shown in one icon is an illustration of the concept of abolition of time. A small male child sits behind St. George on the horse. The boy extends his right hand outwards.¹⁰² A winged angel approaches the saint. The angel extends his two hands, probably to greet the saint.

¹⁰⁰ This handwritten *karamanli* inscription, very difficult to read, may translate into Turkish as, “buraya kandilef -- - Pandeli geldi. Onun oturdu kemuldun. Eihyi [iyiliği] Allah’tan oluc --”.

¹⁰¹ Kazhdan (*supra* n. 33) 834.

¹⁰² Cormack, R., and Mihalaras, S., “A Crusader painting of St. George: ‘maniera greca’ or ‘lingua franca’?,” *The Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) 132-141. “The accompanied St. George was a narrative scene which became common on Orthodox icons during the Turkish period. The three posthumous miracles of St. George concern the rescue of young male captives.”

At the right side of the panel three more figures are seen. Two of them, a king and a queen in royal costumes, hail the saint from the top of a building. The remaining figure, a small female, stands in front of a door; she also hails the saint by holding out her hands.¹⁰³

The background of the icon bears floral imprints on a golden paint (honey yellow, RAL 1005). These imprints are applied unevenly. The panel is framed in black (steel blue, RAL 5011). The icon overall badly suffers from possibly later markings of a kind of felt-tipped pen which have somewhat blurred the precision of the figures and other elements of the icon.¹⁰⁴

A handwritten inscription on the back (Fig. 20) refers to a possible possessor of the icon and reads as 1907 Ιουνίου 29 [-] Βοριογλού Χ" Κιργινουν [-]υ Α γιος Γεωργιος (1907 twenty-ninth of June, Saint George of Vorioğlu Chatzekirginoun).¹⁰⁵

St. George, whose feast day is the twenty-third of April, is one of the legendary warrior saints and a martyr.¹⁰⁶ Although there is no credible information about his martyrdom, he has been venerated by the Greek church since early times.¹⁰⁷ He also became popular in the west starting in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ During the reign of emperor John II Komnenos (reigned 1118-1143), St. George in military costume was engraved on coins.

The stories about St. George and the dragon are believed known since the twelfth century.¹⁰⁹ The dragon has symbolised various concepts through the ages. For instance, during the early periods of Christianity the dragon symbolised the Pagan. During later periods St. George is depicted as Perseus who is fighting with the dragon and rescuing the king's daughter; during the Ottoman empire the dragon symbolised the Turk. Thus through time multiple interpretations of the

¹⁰³ Duchet, G. and Pastoureau, S. M (supra n. 92) 144. "The princess Cleodolinda was prepared as a sacrificial offering to the dragon that was pillaging and burning the kingdom of Silene. St. George then saves the life of the princess by killing the dragon."

¹⁰⁴ A detailed inspection of these markings could not be made due to the museum regulations.

¹⁰⁵ This handwritten *karamanlı* inscription could be translated into Turkish as, "1907, Haziran 29, – Vorioğlu Hacı Kiriyun – u, Aziz Yeoryios".

¹⁰⁶ Clark (supra n. 82) 136-7.

¹⁰⁷ Kazhdan (supra n. 33) 834.

Clark (supra n. 82) 36-7.

¹⁰⁸ Clark (supra n. 82) 136-7.

meaning of St. George and the dragon become possible, depending on the related era and the viewer in question.

6. St. George and the Dragon (Figs. 21-23)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 13.5 x 20 x 1 cm

Inscription: None

Inventory number: 129. 2. 82

Condition: Good.

Antalya Museum, store room

In this tiny icon of St. George (Fig. 21), only his head and hands are painted; the rest of the scene is drawn with a pencil. His head is painted disproportionately large in relation to his body (Fig. 22). Only one leg of the saint is visible from this sketch. The face of the saint is painted realistically. His eyes are blue and his curly hair protrudes from the helmet. The realistically painted face of the saint with his emotional look contradicts the principle of unnaturalness featured in the traditional iconography. On the other hand the head and the hands of the saint are drawn larger compared to the other parts of the body. This is one of the elements of traditional iconography.

Tiny holes in the icon, including three around the face of St. George, suggest that the icon was once gilded or plated with some kind of metal. When the metal was removed, the parts other than his head and hands were revealed as unpainted (Fig. 23).

7. Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (Figs. 24-27)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 45.7 cm at the top and 48 cm at the bottom x 126.5 x 3 cm

Inscription: On the front inscriptions identify the figures. They read: ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΙ, ΚΟΣΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ, (the Holy Anargyroi, Kosmas and Damianos).

Inventory number: 14. 2. 82

Condition: quite good

Antalya Museum, store room

The inscriptions on top of each figure within their halo gives their names as ΚΟΣΜΑΣ (Kosmas), ΚΑΙ (and) ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ (Damianos), painted in red (purple red, RAL 3004) on a golden surface. In addition ‘ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ (Holy) ΑΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΙ (the Anargyroi) is inscribed above the names of the saints, outside the border of the halos (Fig. 25). The twin brothers, Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, were doctors; they offered their medical services free of charge, and so were called the “anargyroi” (without money). Details of their lives vary according to different traditions.¹¹⁰ They were also the patron saints of barbers, physicians, medicine, surgery, the city of Florence, and the Medici family.

This icon of saints Kosmas and Damianos (Fig. 24) was probably part of an iconostasis, as suggested by the shape of the icon, an arched design at the top of the icon. In this icon the twin saints are turning slightly toward each other. In the upper part of the icon, Jesus Christ is depicted arising from a semicircular cloud¹¹¹; he extends his hands in blessing. Christ has a Christogram and the letters ΟΩΝ are seen on his halo. He is long-haired, has a moustache and a beard, and wears a pink chiton and over it an ivory himation. The garments are depicted in chiaroscuro.

¹¹⁰ Davezac (*supra* n. 83) 74-75. One of the three main traditions mentions their persecution during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. Another relates their martyrdom in Rome, where they were said to have been stoned under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Carinus (283-285 AD). The last one relates their peaceful death as the sons of Theodora.

The saints hold a medical box and surgical instruments. They have golden halos bordered with dots (pearl beige, RAL 1035; pearl gold, RAL 1036). Their moustaches and beards are in black-brown (black brown, RAL 8022). They wear long pink robes (antique pink, RAL 3014) and surplices with long sleeves in white and blue for Kosmas and Damianos respectively (light ivory, RAL 1015 and sapphire blue, RAL 5003; brilliant blue, RAL 5007). In addition they have their cloaks (traditional penula) in blue for Kosmas and pink for Damianos. The draperies of the garments are painted in chiaroscuro.

The background of the upper zone is painted in gold and the small part where the saints stand is green (turquoise blue, RAL 5018). The golden background is bordered by red (purple red, RAL 3004).

¹¹¹ Papastratos (*supra* n. 7⁵) 322.

8. St. Panteleimon (Figs. 28-32)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 55 x 131.5 x 3 cm

Inscription: On the front the figure is identified with an inscription, 'Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜ(ΟΝ) (Saint Panteleimon), in addition, a donor's inscription is also located at the lower part of the icon.

Inventory number: 11. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The inscription records the name of the saint (Figs. 29 and 30), Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜ(ΟΝ) (Saint Panteleimon), written on either side of the saint, at his shoulder level. St. Panteleimon is another physician saint, an anargyros¹¹² (Fig. 28) like Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. He is believed to have been the teacher of the twin physicians. His feast day is the twenty-seventh of July.

This panel seems to have been a part of an iconostasis as was the previous icon; it, too, has an arched design at the top of the icon. The saint is shown in full front view. He carries a scalpel and scissors with his right hand, and a medicine box with his left. He is young and beardless. He wears a long blue robe (capri blue, RAL 5019) with black motifs on its hem. Over this he wears a white surplice (oyster white, RAL 1013) with floral motifs over his long robe. He has a belt over his surplice. The belt seems to be silver with a coloured gem in the center of the buckle.

The floral motifs on his surplice resemble pink roses (rose, RAL 3017) with four green leaves (fir green, RAL 6009) organised as a cross. The pink mantle (light pink, RAL 3015) that is worn over the surplice is loosely knotted over his chest.

The background is painted in gold (pearl gold, RAL 1036) and green (moss green, RAL 6005). The red frame (carmine red, RAL 3002) follows an arched shape of an iconostasis door. The remaining part of the icon is in dark brown (chocolate brown, RAL 8017).

¹¹² Davezac(supra n. 83) 34-35.

The icon has two inscriptions. One is written in the lower part of the icon, between St. Panteleemon's feet. It refers to the possible donors of this icon (Fig. 32). The inscription reads,

ΔΕΗΘΗΤΙ ΑΓΙΕ ΥΠ(ΕΡ) ΥΓΕΙΑΣ ΤΩ(Ν) ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΣΟΥ, Χ(ATZH)ΚΥΠΙΑΚΟΥ,
Χ(ATZH) ΑΛΕΞΙ'ΟΥ, Κ(AI) ΤΗ(Σ) ΣΥΖΥΓΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΗΣ
Κ(AI)ΤΟΥ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ αύτων Παντελή του σοι ομονυμού. (Pray, Saint, for the health of
your servants Chatzakyriakos, Chatzealexios, and his wife Aikaterine, a pilgrim, and their child
Panteles, your namesake).¹¹³

Kazhdan (*supra* n. 33) 1572-1573.

¹¹³ For the translation of this dedicatory inscription, I am thankful to Tassos Papacostas.

9. St. Gerasimos (Figs. 33-36)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 26 x 36.5 x 2 cm

Inscription: On the front, there is an inscription identifying the saint, ‘Ο Ἅγιος, Γεράσιμος (Saint Gerasimos). An additional inscription on the side wall of the building identifies it as the monastery of Saint Gerasimos by the Jordan: ‘Η μονή τοῦ Ἅγιου Γερασ (ίμου): παρα τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ (The monastery of St. Gerasimos by the Jordan river). On the back there is a modern Greek inscription written with a pen, Πισσιδεῖος Μητροπολίτου Γερασίμου 4 Μαρτίου 1901 (of Gerasimos, Metropolitan of Pisidia, 4 March, 1901).

Inventory number: 35. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The icon (Fig. 33) of St. Gerasimos is identified with an inscription revealing the saint's name, “Ο Αγιος, Γερασιμος, written at the top of the icon (Fig. 35). The saint is depicted as an old monk with a long, white beard (traffic white, RAL 9016). He wears a yellow chiton and a black cloak. Another blue cloak covers the saint's head and shoulders. A cross, a skull and crossbones are depicted on the lower part of the blue garment of the Saint.¹¹⁴

His head is surrounded by a brownish halo (nut brown, RAL 8011). He is holding a golden staff (honey yellow, RAL 1005) that has a cross flanked by two lion heads at the top. Saint Gerasimos was a monk and founder of the first monastery in the Jordan river valley. A work by an anonymous monk of the sixth century gives us information about him and his works.¹¹⁵ The friendship between St. Gerasimos and a lion is part of a story told about this Judean desert monk.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ D. A. Cappadona (*supra* n. 82) 308. The skull symbolises the transitory nature of human life and material wealth and was an attribute of a hermit. When a cross, a skull and crossbones are depicted together, in this order, it refers to a medieval legend that the cross of Jesus was placed on the grave of Adam.

¹¹⁵ Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven 1992) 244.

¹¹⁶ Hirschfeld (*supra* n. 115) 244.

When he died in 470, the lion is said to have died also, suffering from the pain of the saint's loss.

The saint is usually depicted in paintings with a lion beneath his feet, however, not in this icon.

Blue sky is seen at the background and white clouds are depicted in circular and horizontal shapes. A building complex is shown in the background, too, a main building with a courtyard, all enclosed within an outer wall. A Greek cross is placed on top of the tiny domed entrance of the building. On the upper part of the enclosure wall, an inscription says, 'Η μονή τού Αγίου Γερασ (ίμου): παρα τώ 'Ιορδάνη (The monastery of St. Gerasimos by the Jordan) (Fig. 36). An arch with two columns in white (signal white, RAL 9002) frames the picture. In the background there is a hilly landscape; a tiny river flows in front of the white building complex.

The outer frame is in black (umbra grey, RAL 7022). Next there is a red frame (ruby red, RAL 3003), and finally dark brown is used in the remaining space (chocolate brown, RAL 8017).

On the back of the icon, a handwritten inscription mentions (Fig. 34) Πισσιδείας Μητροπολίτου Γερασίμου 4 Μαρτί 1901 (of Gerasimos, the Metropolitan of Pisidia, 4 March, 1901) The name “Gerasimos” is written in the genitive case, which indicates that the icon belonged to him, the Metropolitan of Pisidia.

Group IV. Archangel Michael (Nos. 10-12)

10. Archangel Michael (Figs. 37-39)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas on wood

Dimensions: 79.5 x 138 x 4 cm

Inscription: On the front there is an inscription identifying the icon, Ο ΜΗΧΑΝΑ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (Archangel Michael).

The shield has a Christogram, IC XC, and lettering signifying Christ's victory, NIKA (he conquers).

Inventory number: 83. 2. 82

General Appearance: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The icon (Fig. 37) shows a frontal standing figure of the archangel holding a shield with his right hand and a sword with his left. His left leg is slightly extended outwards. At the top of the panel, the inscription identifies the icon as Ο ΜΗΧΑΝΑ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (Archangel Michael) (Fig. 38). The letters of the inscription are carefully written in dark brown (black brown, RAL 8022). A Christogram IC XC referring to Jesus Christ and the word NIKA (he conquers) are inscribed¹¹⁷ on his shield.

He is illustrated with smoky-white coloured wings (olive grey, RAL 7002; yellow grey, RAL 7034). His face is realistically drawn as young and beardless and its details are carefully considered (Fig. 38). He has long brown hair (chocolate brown, RAL 8017). His cheeks have pale orange-pink touches (bright red orange, RAL 2008). His soft look contrasts with the rest of the figure. His halo is orange (deep orange, RAL 2011) with a bright red-orange outline (luminous orange, RAL 2005). He wears a military costume of Roman type and his armour and the chlamys are in orange (red orange, RAL 2001; signal orange, RAL 2010). Moreover, the clothing of the archangel contains large draperies in orange with yellow stripes (maize yellow, RAL 1006) representing the folds of

¹¹⁷ Kazhdan, (supra n. 33) 981. IC XC Nika, is abbreviation of Greek Ιησους Χριστος, νικα “Jesus Christ, conquer” or Ιησους Χριστος νικα “Jesus Christ conquers”. It is inspired by Constantine the Great’s vision at the battle of the Milvian bridge. This slogan was then repeated during acclamations in the Hippodrome, and occurred on

the draperies. The draperies of his garments are painted in chiaroscuro. His skirt and stockings together with the boots are in tones of green (moss green, RAL 6005; blue green, RAL 6004). His helmet is in curvilinear shape and it is colored in green (ocean blue, RAL 5020) and yellow (sand yellow, RAL 1002). The yellow is used to decorate the helmet. Probably the two yellow circular patterns are intended to represent a shining effect on the helmet. Behind the helmet there are circular motifs that are painted in pink (beige red, RAL 3012) with white touches for depth and shine. These motifs may represent plumes on the helmet.

The background of the icon exhibits a free play of colours without the usual precisely differentiated colour zones. Instead, there are blurred images of green, yellow, pale brown, orange, and blue. The boots of the Archangel, for instance, are hardly detectible because they blend into the green ground.

The icon is framed in pinkish-red (coral red, RAL 3016).

various objects. It served as an invocatory or apotropaic sign at the entrances to houses and churches, on bread stamps, and on the back of icons and ivories.

11. Archangel Michael (Fig. 40)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 24 x 30 x 2.5 cm

Inscription: None

Inventory number: 54. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

This tiny icon (Fig. 40) of Archangel Michael shows him in military costume slaying a pagan and taking out his soul; the soul is symbolically represented by a very small doll-like figure. The Archangel Michael, seen as a beardless young man with brown hair, holds a sword with his right hand and the small figure with his left. The bearded, white haired pagan lies on the ground and the Archangel is standing on him. The left hand of the Archangel is plated with silver or another kind of metal. In addition his legs and the small doll-like figure in his left hand are plated with the same material.

A limited number of colours is used in the icon. The wings and the costume of the Archangel are painted in tones of yellow (lemon yellow, RAL 1012; broom yellow, RAL 1032) and green (emerald green, RAL 6001). His tunic underneath the military costume is in blue (sky blue, RAL 50145). In addition a light red paint is used as the inner colour of his yellow cloak. The pagan looks like a Roman as he wears a piece of cloth covering his body except his left shoulder (ochre yellow, RAL 1024). His fear is reflected through an expressive look on his face.

This icon is painted directly on untreated wood.

12. Archangel Michael (Figs. 41-42)

Place of Manufacture: Possibly at Panormitis, on the island of Symi, at the monastery of the Archangel Michael

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 15 x 21 x 1.5 cm

Inscription: On the front there is an inscription identifying the icon as Ο Ἀρχ. Μιχ. Ο Πανορμίτης (Archangel Michael Panormitis).

Inventory number: 1. 3. 88

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The winged figure of Archangel Michael is shown as a young soldier. The Archangel's name is inscribed on top of the icon, and reads as Ο Ἀρχ. Μιχ. Ο Πανορμίτης (Archangel Michael Panormitis) (Fig. 42). In his right hand he holds a sword, in his left hand a small doll-like human figure. He is standing over an old man representing a pagan (Fig. 41). The tiny human figure refers to the soul of pagan taken by the Archangel.

The Archangel wears a military tunic which is yellow (lemon yellow, RAL 1012), green (leaf green, RAL 6002), and blue (light blue, RAL 5012). A pink cloak (heather violet, RAL 4003) is fixed by a circular fibulae on his right shoulder. His halo is yellow and bordered in red. The pagan lying on the ground wears a pink garment, that leaves one of his shoulders bare. His beard and moustache are grey. His fear is revealed through the look expressed by his eyes. The background of the panel is in yellow (ochre yellow, RAL 1024).

The icon is painted directly on wood. Fourteen tiny holes made on the panel possibly served for attaching a metal revetment. These holes are evenly distributed. Four of them are in the corners; another four are cutting across the centre. Two of them are at the top section of his halo while two are on the intersecting points between the shoulders and the halo. Two are on the lower part, one on his pink cloak and the other to its right.

The word Panormitis possibly refers to a monastery dedicated to the Archangel Michael on the island of Symi (Sömbeki in Turkish) in the south-east Aegean.¹¹⁸ The present monastery was said to be founded in the eighteenth century, and visited by pilgrims especially by sailors and shippers. On this island the Archangel is also called “Hagio Zorba” (zorba in Turkish means tyrant), because of the belief that if someone does not fulfil his/her dedications to the Archangel, a punishment by the Archangel will subsequently come.

¹¹⁸ New Ilios Lexicon, vol. 15 [Neoteron Engiklopedhikon Leksikon “Iliu”, vol. 15] 421. Papastratos (supra n. 7%) 526. The present monastery of the Panormitis, dedicated to the archangel Michael, in Symi is an eighteenth century foundation. There are lithographs produced during the second half of the nineteenth century illustrating the monastery and the archangel Michael. M. E. Zenfell ed., *Greek Islands* (1990). 203-204. The island of Symi is among the southern Dodecanese islands. The monastery of the Panormitis is located at the southern part of the island. It is a world-wide place of pilgrimage for the Greeks and its church is usually crowded by the votive offerings from sailors.

Group V. Religious and Historical Events from the Old and the New Testament and Early Christian History

(Nos. 13-17)

13. The Annunciation (Figs. 43-44)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 24.4 x 34.8 x 2.5 cm

Inscription: On the front at the top of the icon the inscription reads, Ο Ευαγγελισμός (the Annunciation).

Inventory number: 12. 2. 82

Condition: poor

Antalya Museum, store room

This icon of the Annunciation of Theotokos (*ευαγγελισμός της θεοτοκου*) (Fig. 43) has two main scenes, shown in its upper and lower sections, the Annunciation and a building complex respectively. The upper section shows the Virgin Mary, sitting by a table with an open book, and the Archangel Gabriel, who holds either a lily or an olive branch with his right hand while indicating a dove, the Holy Spirit, with his left hand. The table is half covered by a green cloth (patina green, RAL 6000) that is in very poor condition. The dove of the Holy Spirit is depicted as sending rays of light towards the Virgin Mary. A barely legible inscription above the Archangel Gabriel, which reads as Ο Ευαγγελισμός, identifies the subject of the icon as the Annunciation. Both the Virgin Mary and the archangel Gabriel have yellow haloes bordered in white. Both wear a green chiton and a yellow cloak. However, the paint of the garment of the archangel has been peeled off.

Although the paint of the background is poorly preserved, two colours are still recognisable. One of them is the dark blue wall (sapphire blue, RAL 5003), and the other is the yellow ground (broom yellow, RAL 1032).

The lower part of the icon contains an architectural structure (Fig. 44). The building complex with distinctive architectural features represents the church of Panayia Evangelistria on the island of

Tinos. Although the icon does not reveal much artistic competence, still the modest depiction of the church shows similarities with the actual church (Figs. 113 and 114).¹¹⁹ The three storeyed main church is placed at the right side of the courtyard (it is on the left of the icon). Two rows of arched colonnades and adjacent rooms are seen. The main church has two stairways on either side. The stairways are barely visible. At the back on the left side of the main church, a bell-tower is seen. The representation of the monastery is modest and also in damaged condition.

In Tinos, a miraculous icon of the Annunciation was found in 1823.¹²⁰ The date also refers to the beginning of the Greek independence revolt. Since that time, during processions and celebrations of independence day, the Annunciation icon is carried. The Tinos icon is also believed to have healing powers and the church in Tinos became a pilgrimage centre for Orthodox Christians. In addition the whole island has been given a status of holiness. The inclusion of the Tinos church is a criterion for the dating of the icon. Accordingly the icon is dated after the building of the church, to the second half of the nineteenth century.

The icon of the Annunciation is among the twelve festal icons. The Annunciation is celebrated on the twenty-fifth of March. It also has a liturgical meaning, and refers to the meeting of divine and human.¹²¹ Generally the scene of the Annunciation shows the archangel Gabriel greeting the seated or standing Virgin Mary. The present icon is unusual in showing an architectural structure as well, the church of Panayia Evangelistria on Tinos.¹²² The painter may have visited the site or was familiar with the prototypes illustrating the site.

The icon seems to be framed by a red paint; however, the paint is poorly preserved.

¹¹⁹ Papastratos (*supra* n. 78) 539.

¹²⁰ Kindersley, D, *The Greek Islands* (1977) 208-209.

Papastratos (*supra* n. 78)

¹²¹ New Grecian Gallery, *Feast Day Icons* (London 1974).

¹²² Papastratos (*supra* n. 78) 539.

In Tinos there were workshops producing engravings of the Church of Panayia Evangelistria. Initially they aimed to provide funding for the construction of the church. Later they continued in order to maintain the church's needs. So these engravings illustrate the appearance of the church.

14. The Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Figs. 46-50)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 22.5 x 29.4 x 2.5 cm

Inscription: On the front top of the icon there is an inscription that reads as 'Η ΚΥΠΙΑΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ (The Sunday of the Three Children)

Inventory number: 61. 2. 82

Condition: The paint of the upper and lower left side of the icon is peeled off

Antalya Museum, store room

The icon shows the prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrew Youths. There is also an inscription written in red, 'Η ΚΥΠΙΑΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ, (Fig. 48) the title of the icon.¹²³ The icon (Fig. 46) has two rows of figures. The upper row reveals the winged angel and the prophet Daniel (Fig. 47). The lower shows the three Hebrew boys. The Prophet Daniel, a young man with no beard,¹²⁴ wears a conical hat (a bonnet) along with his costume.¹²⁵ His bonnet is painted in gold (pearl gold, RAL 1036) as is his halo. The halo is outlined in red (carmine red, RAL 3002). He extends his right hand towards the angel while holding the shoulder of one of the Hebrew boys with his left hand. He also gazes to his right towards the angel. The winged angel wears armour, and

¹²³ H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed. (*supra* n. 50) 1070. Dan. 3.1-30: The Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, a story to show how martyrdom is preferable to apostasy.

"1 King Nebuchadnezzar made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits and its breadth six cubits. He set it up on the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon. 2 Then King Nebuchadnezzar sent to assemble the satraps, the prefects, and the governors, the counselors, the treasurers, the justices, the magistrates, and all the officials of the provinces to come to the dedication of the image which King Nebuchadnezzar had set up." (verses 2-12) Daniel's companions Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego disobeyed the order of Nebuchadnezzar, to worship a golden statue. Then they were sentenced to death because of that, and thrown into the furnace. However, they survived. (verses 12-24)

"...Then King Nebuchadnezzar was astonished and rose up in haste. He said to his counselors, 'Did we not cast three men bound into the fire?' They answered the king, 'True, O king.' 25 He answered, 'But I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they are not hurt; and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of the gods.' " (verses 24-25).

¹²⁴ Duchet, G. and Pastoureau (*supra* n. 92) 113.

Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 584.

G. Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection" *DOP* 28 (1974) 363.

¹²⁵ Duchet, G. and Pastoureau (*supra* n. 92) 113.

tones of blue are used to colour his wings (black blue, RAL 5004; grey blue, RAL 5008; brilliant blue, RAL 9001; cream, RAL 5007). He also has a halo in gold with a red border. There are motifs in red (carmine red, RAL 3002) on the angel's hair. The angel holds the shoulders of two of the Hebrew boys. He gazes upwards. Another figure in small scale is placed at the upper right corner of the icon, sitting on a throne above a column. This golden figure is in imperial costume, and holds a globe with his right hand and a sceptre with his left. This figure could represent the golden statue of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king who played an important role in this story.

The three Hebrews boys are shown on the lower row. They are depicted as children. All three stand with their hands crossed on their chests. The one in the middle catches the gaze of the viewer. The two on either side look to their right.

The background is composed of red flames (carmine red, RAL 3002; black red, RAL 3007), and the upper zone that is in between the red flames is painted in blue. The other three sides of the flames are shown like a wall, probably as an indication of a furnace. The remaining part of the upper section is painted in gold (pearl beige, RAL 1035; pearl gold, RAL 1036). The outer frame is in red with a very tiny inner white line. The upper and lower sections of the left of the icon have peeled off.

The iconography illustrates to the three Hebrews and the archangel in a furnace. In this present icon the prophet Daniel is included in the iconography too, and the Hebrew youths are shown as children. Draperies of the garments of the figures recall previous chiaroscuro examples.

The theme of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace is one of the earliest in Christian art, and appears on wall paintings of Roman catacombs.¹²⁶ The commemoration of the three Hebrew Youths was held at St. Sophia each December the seventeenth. In some Orthodox churches, specifically the Greek and the Russian, certain religious themes are performed inside the churches

¹²⁶ Clark (supra n. 82) 90-91.

T. D. Rice, *Byzantine Icons* (London 1959) 2-3.

as religious plays. This theme of the prophet Daniel and the three Hebrews is celebrated during such liturgical dramas, and accompanied by relevant hymns.¹²⁷

In addition, Byzantine tradition mentions the existence of the tomb and relics of the Prophet Daniel in Constantinople. They were said to be kept at the church of St. Romanus located near the Romanus gate (today, the Topkapı gate).¹²⁸

¹²⁷ M. M. Velimirovic, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP* 16 (1962) 353, 363. There are four manuscripts known to contain this subject. One of them is in the Lavra monastery in Mt. Athos, of the 17th century. Some scholars suggest that this story was performed as a liturgical drama as early as the 11th century. In the 15th century accounts mention its staging on the Sunday before Christmas. During the Byzantine period it was performed after matins, and before the liturgy on a day between the 16th and 22nd of December.

¹²⁸ Majeska (*supra* n. 124) 361-367.

15. The Parable of Ten Maidens (Figs. 51-54)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood and framed

Dimensions: 30.5 x 47.5 x 1.5 cm

Inscription: On the front it has inscriptions as references to related narrative presented in the New Testament, αἱ Πέντε Παρθένοι αἱ φρόνιμοι (the five wise girls), αἱ Πέντε Μωροί (the five foolish girls), Κύριε Κύριε ὄνοιξον την (Lord, Lord open to us), and a lettering identifying Christ, ΙΣ ΧΣ. The date of 1884 is painted at the bottom of the icon.

Inventory number: 49. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, store room

The present icon (Fig. 51) represents a narrative from the New Testament, the Parable of Ten Maidens,¹²⁹ a theme from the liturgical cycle.

The story, illustrated in two sections, narrates the two main parts of the story. The upper zone presents the five wise girls standing and Christ sitting frontally at the middle (Fig. 52), holding a scroll with his left hand, his right hand open. The letters ΙΣ ΧΣ are written above the halo of Christ, on either side of the shoulders of the central maiden who stands behind the seated figure of Christ. The inscription at the upper section of the icon reads as follows: αἱ Πέντε Παρθένοι αἱ φρόνιμοι and refers to the five girls as ‘wise’. Each girl holds a lit candle. They all have halos. They wear knee length tunics over a long robe. The colours are of yellow (honey yellow, RAL

¹²⁹ H. G. May and B. M. Metzger ed., (*supra* n. 50) 1205. Matthew 25.1-14: The Parable of Wise and Foolish Maidens is based on the Palestinian custom that the bridegroom received his bride from her parent’s home and took her to his own.

“At that time the Kingdom of Heaven will be like this. Once there were ten girls who took their oil lamps and went out to meet the bridegroom. Five of them were foolish and the other five were wise. The foolish ones took their lamps but did not take any extra oil with them, while the wise ones took containers full of oil for their lamps. The bridegroom was late in coming, so the girls began to nod and fall asleep.

It was already midnight when the cry rang out, ‘Here is the bridegroom! Come and meet him!’ The ten girls woke up and trimmed their lamps. Then the foolish ones said to the wise ones, ‘Let us have some of your oil, because our lamps are going out.’ ‘No indeed’, the wise ones answered, ‘there is not enough for you and for us. Go to the store and buy some for yourselves.’ So the foolish girls went off to buy some oil; and while they were gone the bridegroom arrived. The five girls who were ready went in with him to the wedding feast, and the door was closed. Later the other girls arrived, ‘Sir, Sir, let us in!’ they cried out. ‘Certainly not! I do not know you’, the bridegroom answered. And Jesus concluded, ‘Watch out, then, because you do not know the day or the hour’.”

1005), blue (ultramarine blue, RAL 5002), pink (red lilac, RAL 4001) and pale blue (pastel blue, RAL 5024). The tunics are hemmed in yellow (honey yellow, RAL 1005) together with yellow cuffs and belts.

The lower zone reveals the ‘foolish’ girls who are standing in front of a door, asking the Lord to open it (Fig. 53). The inscription reads; αἱ Πέντε Μωραῖ (the five foolish [maidens]), Κύριε Κύριε ἀνοίξον ημῖν (Lord, Lord open to us). They each hold their wax candles but they are not lit. Their clothes are in various colours; red (vermilion, RAL 2002), yellow, pink, white, and blue. They wear a sort of surplice over those robes, again in varying colours. The background represents a house facade. The year 1884 is painted at the bottom of the icon. This icon is in good condition with a frame yellow (ochre yellow, RAL 1024) and white lines surrounding the frame.

16. The Council of the Church Fathers (Figs. 55-58)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 37.6 x 56.7 x 2.5 cm

Inscription: There is a damaged inscription on the front at the lower part of the icon to be restored as, 'Η ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ (the Synod of the Fathers).

Inventory number: 155. 2. 82

Condition: The lower section of the icon is in poor condition.

Antalya Museum, store room

The icon (Fig. 55) contains two parts. The upper part shows Christ as a crowned emperor seated on a throne placed on a raised podium. He presides over a council of church fathers. Most of those present are sitting in a semi-circular arrangement. The figures have dark skin (in parts pastel violet, RAL 4009 and blue grey, RAL 7031) and big almond shaped eyes.

Christ is flanked by two guardians, possibly the two Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Their hats are strange in shape and their armour is painted in chiaroscuro. The one on the left is clean shaven but the one on the right has a moustache. They do not have haloes.

The lower zone focuses on a figure in blue, a seeming heretic.¹³⁰ His blue surplice contrasts significantly from the golden clothes of the patriarchal figures (brilliant blue, RAL 5007; azure blue, RAL 5009; grey blue, RAL 5008) painted in chiaroscuro; also, he does not have an halo. The remaining figures have golden haloes.

The figure who stands at the left holds the heretic's beard with his left hand and an unidentified object with his right (Fig. 57). This object might be scissors.¹³¹ The patriarchal figure

¹³⁰ Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 918-20.

¹³¹ In order to expel a monk from his community, his beard is cut and his clothes are taken away. So the object held by the patriarchal figure is possibly a pair of scissors (Fig. 140).

on the right gazes towards his left as if telling something about the heretic to the other participants of the council.

Varying tones of blue are applied to the podium and the walls at the background. Pale pink curtains are hanging on each side (light pink, RAL 3015), the one on the left of the icon with many folds, on the right hanging with only a few folds. The background of the lower zone is green (leaf green, RAL 6002). The inscription at the lower part of the icon (Fig. 56), reads Ἡ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ (the Synod of the Fathers); it is in very poor condition and much paint has peeled off.

None of the figures are denoted by inscriptions.

The icon is framed first by a red border (carmine red, RAL 3002) with dark blue as the outer frame (steel blue, RAL 5011). A slight bluish line is painted on the lower section of the icon before the red border.

17. The Discovery and Exaltation of the True Cross (Figs. 59-61)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on wood

Dimensions: 43.6 x 55.8 x 2.7 cm

Inscription: Inscriptions identify the icon and some of the figures presented in the icon, and they read as Η ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟC ΥΨΩCΙC TOY TIMIOY ΣΤΑΥΡΟY (the universal exaltation of the precious cross), 'Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΕΝΗ (Eleni), and 'Ο ΑΓΙΟC MAKAPIOC (Makarios).

Inventory number: 103. 2. 82

Condition: Poor, especially the lower part of the icon

Antalya Museum, store room

The theme of the icon is given by its title, written at the top, Η ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟC ΥΨΩCΙC TOY TIMIOY ΣΤΑΥΡΟY (the universal exaltation of the precious cross). This icon of the Discovery and Exaltation of the True Cross (Fig. 59) has two parts. The upper and lower parts of the icon show two episodes in the history of the true cross. The first event, the discovery or exhumation of the cross, is shown below. The later event, the public display and exaltation of the cross, is placed above, in the more prominent position on the icon. The upper part shows a figure in patriarchal surplices who stands in the centre of an ambo and holds the true cross (Fig. 60). On either side, stairs lead up to the ambo. Empress Helena in her imperial costume stands on the left of the patriarchal figure. The Patriarch holding the cross is identified by an inscription MAKAPIOC (Makarios); he was the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Empress is identified by the inscription ΕΛΕΝΗ (Eleni) (Fig. 60). There is another slightly legible inscription behind Makarios.¹³² It seems to be IC XC, referring to Jesus Christ. There are two deacons on the stairs at each side, shown as kneeling figures holding processional candles.¹³³ Underneath the ambo, a crowd witnesses the elevation of

¹³² Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 549-553.

¹³³ Duchet, G. and Pastoureau (*supra* n. 92) 117-118. Deacons rank after the priests, and they assist the priest and the bishop during the processions.

the true cross. Other domed structures are shown behind the ambo on either side. They represent the holy city, Jerusalem.

This theme is from the festal cycle.¹³⁴ Besides the chief twelve icons of the festal cycle, that is the Dodekaorton, there are some other scenes from the life of Christ and the Theotokos, and important events of the church such as the Exaltation of the True Cross and the Ecumenical Synods that are included in the festal cycle. Empress Helena gained fame through the journey she made to Palestine in order to find the relics of Christ and the true cross. In circa 327 she discovered the true cross in Jerusalem. The event was marked by a feast on the eighteenth of August.

The lower section of the icon contains two easily recognisable figures. They are on the upper left of the lower section. The one at the left of the icon is a patriarchal figure; the other next to him seems to be a royal figure. They are surely Patriarch Makarios and the Empress Helena. Although there are no identifying inscriptions, their faces and garments are the same as in the upper scene. A third priestly figure is seen slightly behind the left of Empress Helena. He is indicating the two figures, on his left, who are involved in the exhumation of the true cross with their axes. A group of people witness this event as seen on either side of the exhumation scene.

The main colours used in the icon are the tones of pink (rose, RAL 3017; pastel violet, RAL 4009) which are for the domes, the ambo and the costumes, and bluish grey with white that are for the architectural elements (pastel blue, RAL 5024; telegrey 4, RAL 7047). The background of the upper section is golden (pearl gold, RAL 1036).

The icon is bordered by a floral motif in red (carmine red, RAL 3002) and green (leaf green, RAL 6002). They look like stamped motifs. The border design is in very poor condition, however.

¹³⁴ Cavarnos (*supra* n. 30) 123-4.

L. Ouspensky and V. Lossky, (*supra* n. 39) 62-3.

The outer wooden frame is painted deep blue (grey blue, RAL 5008). On the right side of the icon there is an additional piece of wood (Fig. 61).¹³⁵ The lower part of the icon is in poor condition.

¹³⁵ The possible reason for this extra piece of wood is to adjust the icon's size to its frame. The frame may have been used to hold another icon bigger than the present one. When it was removed the new icon was adjusted according to the frame by enlargening its one side.

Group VI. Holy Places and Objects (Nos. 18-20)

18. Zoodochos Pege (Figs. 62-68)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood and framed

Dimensions: 69.3 x 114 x 2 cm

Inscription: On the front, an inscription identifies the icon, Η ΖΩΟΔΟΧΟΣ ΠΗΓΗ (the life-containing spring).

Inventory number: 87. 2. 82

Condition: good, except for a vertical crack on the 37.5th cm.

Antalya Museum, store room

The Zoodochos Pege, a sanctuary of the Virgin Mary, lies outside the Theodosian walls of Constantinople (Turkish Balıklı). Its water is thought to be miraculous with healing powers.¹³⁶ An image of the Virgin Mary was created in order to illustrate this attribute. The image may be related to a famous Byzantine icon, the Virgin Blachernitissa.¹³⁷

This icon shows the crowned Virgin Mary sitting with Christ in a chalice-like fountain (Fig. 62). From his size and face, Christ looks like a mature boy. Two winged angels rise out of brown clouds (brown grey, RAL 7013; grey olive, RAL 6006) and hold the halo of the Virgin Mary. A christogram, ΩΩΝ is seen on Christ's halo. They also hold religious scrolls. The facial details of the angels are painted realistically (Figs. 63 and 64).

The city walls and certain buildings of Constantinople are seen in the lower background. Two gates open through the city wall. The miraculous water flows from seven taps into the pool in which five fish are swimming. The pool is not following its typical look provided by the iconography which is quadrilateral or cross in shape. It has circular edges, and follows an oval pattern. Each tap is denoted with a dragon head. The people of the city are benefiting from the water of the spring by drinking. Certain people seek cures; three are lying on the ground on

¹³⁶ Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 1616.

stretchers, and are offered water by their companions. Two other men drink water from bottles. A tiny figure of a standing woman with a baby is seen on the right of the icon. In front of the gates stand patriarchal figures in black (left) (signal black, RAL 9004) and red (right) (carmine red, RAL 3002). The background is painted in gold (pearl gold, RAL 1036). The use of golden paint is extensive. The halos are decorated with incisions over a golden paint. The inscriptions Η ΖΩΟΔΟΧΟΣ ΠΗΓΗ (the life-containing spring) (Figs. 65 and 66) are bordered above and below by floral decorations.

Three miracles are usually illustrated in icons of Zoodochos Pege. The first one is the cure of the man possessed by a devil. Next is the cure of the barren woman. The third is the miracle of the ill Thessalian who was brought back to life after three bottles of water were poured over him. The miracles common to this iconography are not precisely represented in this icon.¹³⁸ The figures on the bottom left of the icon represent the only miracle typical of its iconography. The rest of the healing figures are freely imagined. The frame of the icon is golden. However, the lower part of the frame is peeled off.

¹³⁷ Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 2170-71.

¹³⁸ Papastratos (*supra* n. 78) 172.

19. Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 25 x 35 x 2.2 cm

Inscription: On the front, there is an inscription identifying the icon, ‘Η Ζωοδόχος Πηγή (the life-containing spring).

Inventory number: 146. 2. 82

Condition: good

Antalya Museum, on display, however, not published

This is another icon of the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69). The Virgin with the Christ child is placed on a water spring (fountain chalice) in praying position with their hands extended to the sides.¹³⁹ They are flanked by the two winged angels who stand on clouds.

The background shows trees and plants, and behind them city walls. The vegetation painted on the background is shown in small scale. The fountain chalice has sculpted sides from which water flows into the red stone lined pool (tomato red, RAL 3013). The stand of the chalice has a figure which looks like a Gorgon head. A few red fish swim in the pool. Around the pool eight human figures drink and wash. Three men are drinking water from bottles while the rest serve water to ill persons. These are representations of the conventional miracle scenes. In the lower right of the icon is the scene of the cure of the gravely ill Thessalian. On the left is the cure of the man possessed by devil (as a demon is emerging from his mouth). Also two figures in imperial costume, and two in religious garb stand behind the left corner of the pool. There is an inscription which reads, ‘Η Ζωοδόχος Πηγή (the life-containing spring).

The icon is framed by a thin white line, then by a broader red line.

¹³⁹ Kazhdan ed. (*supra* n. 33) 1616, 2170.

20. Holy Mandylion (Figs. 70-71)

Place of Manufacture: Unknown

Painted on canvas over wood

Dimensions: 32 x 48.3 x 2 cm

Inscription: On the front, an inscription identifies the icon, To Ἅγιον Μανδύλην (Holy Towel), but it is in poor condition.

Inventory number: 9.2.82

Condition: poor

Antalya Museum, store room

This icon shows the Holy Mandylion, a cloth with the bust of Christ painted on it (Fig. 70).¹⁴⁰

At the top of the icon the inscription reads Tó Ἅγιον Μανδύλην (Holy Towel) in white (oyster white, RAL 1013); however, it is in poor condition (Fig. 71).

Christ's eyes are boldly outlined by black-brown pigments (sepia brown, RAL 8014 and black brown, RAL 8022). A golden halo (ochre yellow, RAL 1024) contains his Christogram in red OΩΝ (flame red, RAL 3000). His hair and beard are painted by thick brush strokes.

The icon is framed by a thin red line (flame red, RAL 3000) and black paint (signal black, RAL 9004). Blue (capri blue, RAL 5019) is applied to the background of the icon.

The icon was subject to damage caused probably by termites. The possible reason for its significant deterioration could be due to the fact that the icon is made of a kind of soft wood, like poplar, instead of a more durable and resistant wood, like oak or mahogany. The overall condition of the icon is very poor.

The image on the original towel is believed to have been made not by human hands, 'Acheiropoietos', but willingly by Christ himself. Accordingly it was considered to be the authentic

¹⁴⁰ A. Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Byzantium* (London 1996) 80-94.

likeness of Christ.¹⁴¹ The towel itself disappeared after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, but has been often depicted on icons ever since.

The imagery and its story was gradually enriched and developed as new circumstances occurred, and the image gained a political power.¹⁴² The image has been venerated by the Slavs and the Slavic church for generations. During the First World War, Bulgarian soldiers carried the image to the battlefield (Fig. 97).

The earliest texts that refer to the story are different in details from later versions.¹⁴³ The story concerns a letter written by Abgar, the king of Edessa (present day Urfa), to Christ in which Abgar requests Christ to cure his illnesses. Christ then sent him this holy towel. The earliest reference to the event, in Syriac, had no mention about an image of Christ. Later, by the late sixth century, the first of the icons “not made by human hands” had appeared in the Syriac speaking regions to which Edessa belonged. By this time, thus, texts refer to a miraculous image of Christ impressed on a piece of cloth. By the early eighth century the image became widely known, even though the city of Edessa was no longer under Byzantine rule. After the iconoclastic controversy, 726-843, the image of Edessa was transformed into a major religious symbol for the Christian east. A tenth century narrative mentions that it had been nailed onto a board and fixed in a golden frame.¹⁴⁴ In 944 the image was brought to Constantinople where it remained until the Latin conquest of 1204. The most complete of those texts is the latest one, the “Narratio de Imagine Edessa.” The text was provided for the commemoration of the image in Constantinople in 944.

¹⁴¹ Kazhdan (*supra* n. 33) 1282-83.
Giakalis (*supra* n. 41) 44-46.

¹⁴² Cameron (*supra* n. 140) 94.

¹⁴³ Cameron (*supra* n. 140) 80.

¹⁴⁴ Cameron (*supra* n. 140) 81.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION: CHRONOLOGY, PLACE OF MANUFACTURE, AND STYLISTIC AND ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter presents a consideration of the chronology, the place of manufacture, and stylistic and iconographic features of the selected group of twenty icons.

4. 1. Chronology of the Selected Group of Twenty Icons

Some icons can be definitely dated, but most can not be dated precisely. The icons fall into four groups, according to the certainty of their dating.

The first group consists of those icons with dates painted on the front of the icons. Two icons in the selected group of twenty belong to this group. These are the icon of the Virgin Mary and Infant Christ (No. 3, Figs. 10-15), dated to 1865, and the icon of the Parable of Ten Maidens (No. 15, Figs. 51-54), dated to 1884.

The second group are the icons with dates pencilled on the back. These dates may indicate the time of purchase; in any case, they serve as *terminus ante quem* for the manufacture of the icons. Three icons belong to this group: the icons of St. Demetrios (No. 4, Figs. 16-18), St. Gerasimos (No. 9, Figs. 33-36) and St. George (No. 5, Figs. 19-20).

The third group contains icons with datable iconographic features that indicate a *terminus post quem* for the manufacture of the icons. The icon of the Annunciation (No. 13, Figs. 43-45) falls into this group, because the church of the Annunciation on the island of Tinos included in the scene was built in the 1830s. A possible addition to this group is the icon of the Archangel Michael (No. 12, Figs. 41-42). If it indeed was made at the monastery of the Archangel Panormitis on the

island of Symi, it could date to the eighteenth century or later, because the monastery was founded in the eighteenth century.

The fourth group contains icons whose dates are uncertain. However, the similarity of their stylistic and iconographic features and painted inscriptions to those of icons in Groups I-III suggest that they were also made in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.

Table of the Dating of the Icons

Group I. The Virgin Mary and Infant Christ (Figs. 10-15), dated, **1865**.

The Parable of Ten Maidens (Figs. 51-54), dated, **1884**.

Group II. St. Demetrios (Figs. 16-18), at the back of the icon date given of 1796, date *terminus ante quem*.

St. Gerasimos (Figs. 33-36), at the back of the icon date given of 1901, date *terminus ante quem*.

St. George (Figs. 19-20), at the back of the icon date given of 1907, date *terminus ante quem*.

Group III. The Annunciation (Figs. 43-45), *terminus post quem*, after the 1830s, based on the inclusion of the depiction of the Church of the Annunciation in the island of Tinos into the iconography of the icon.

The Archangel Michael (Figs. 41-42), *terminus post quem*, eighteenth century or later; the word Panormitis possibly refers to the monastery dedicated to the archangel Michael on the island of Symi which was founded in the eighteenth century.

Group IV. Christ of Pity (Figs. 1-4), dating uncertain.

Christ Pantocrator (Figs. 5-9), dating uncertain.

St. George (Figs. 21-23), dating uncertain.

Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (Figs. 24-27), dating uncertain.

St. Panteleimon (Figs. 28-32), dating uncertain.

The Archangel Michael (Figs. 37-39), dating uncertain.

The Archangel Michael (Fig. 40), dating uncertain.

The Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Figs. 46-50), dating uncertain.

The Council of the Church Fathers (Figs. 55-58), dating uncertain.

The Discovery of the True Cross (Figs. 59-61), dating uncertain.

Zoodochos Pege (Figs. 62-68), dating uncertain.

Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69), dating uncertain.

The Holy Mandylion (Figs. 70-71), dating uncertain.

4. 2. Place of Manufacture

No certain information is available about the place of manufacture of the twenty icons catalogued in this thesis. The icon of the Archangel Michael, labelled “Panormitis” (Nos. 10-12, Figs. 41 and 42), may, however, have been made at the monastery of Panormitis on Symi.

4. 3. Affinities among the Group of Twenty Icons

Certain icons show affinities, in terms of style and other features. Such factors include the following: the quality of draughtsmanship (the basic features of execution as refined or crude), individual elements of style (the choice and use of colours, and the drawing of the figures), and calligraphy. Additional features include, for instance, the size of the icons; information about the painter; and the content of the inscriptions as written on the back of the icon about a donor and/or owner.

First, the icons of Christ of Pity (Fig. 1) and Christ Pantocrator (Fig. 5) exhibit similar artistic skills. Their self-contained and austere appearance is supported by minor details like the similarities in the modelling of Christ’s face, the depiction of his lips as thin and coloured in red, and his thin arched eyebrows. Also the modelling and painting of the hands of Christ (mainly the depiction of the fingers) show stylistic similarities, seen in the crossed hands of Christ of Pity (Fig. 1) and the partly visible right hand of Christ Pantocrator (Fig. 6). Their close association with traditional iconography support the idea that these two icons may belong to the same period and related artistic circles.

Second, the icons of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos and St. Panteleimon and also another icon from the store room of Antalya Museum showing the Virgin Mary and child Christ (Figs. 24, 28 and 142) offer parallel features. For instance, the shape of the icons (the arched shape of the

background frame, greatly resembling parts of an iconostasis), the iconography of the themes (that is, the saints are seen with their proper attributes), the modelling of the figures and their chiaroscuro garments, the colours used, the golden background, and their calligraphy, are all parts of their remarkable similarity in style. Therefore it could be argued that these icons were produced by the same workshop or, possibly, by the same painter.

Third, similarly the icons of St. Gerasimos (Fig. 33), the Annunciation (Fig. 43), the Parable of Ten Maidens (Fig. 51), and the Holy Mandylion (Fig. 70) share likenesses. Such features consist of their modelling, the choice of colours and the way the garments are coloured, and the calligraphy painted on the icons (Figs. 35, 43, 53, 54 and 70). Also in the painting of the faces of the figures, especially striking in the icons of the Parable of Ten Maidens and the Holy Mandylion with their eyebrows and big wide-opened eyes, these affinities are exhibited.

Fourth, the two small icons of the archangel Michael (Figs. 40 and 41) strongly resemble each other in their iconography, modest draughtsmanship, the forming and modelling of the figures, and the colouring. However, these two icons are not identical because of the pose of the right wing of the Archangel in Fig. 41. Common features include the fearful look of the pagan lying on the ground, the costume of the archangel, the musculature seen on his right arm, and the details in the colouring of the costume of the archangel (using green, yellow and pink). The two icons may come from the same workshop. In addition, their relatively small size supports the idea that they may have been souvenirs and/or votive gifts.

Lastly, the icons of the prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Fig. 46), and one of the Zoodochos Pege icons (Fig. 69) follow similarities in the modelling of the figures in their plain and squat look (short and thick figures), the faces of the figures, the way the haloes are shown (golden haloes are outlined by red), the use of colours and the colours used, chiaroscuro draperies, and their calligraphy.

4. 4. Stylistic Considerations

In this section, discussions on the style of the selected group of twenty icons are presented. During these stylistic considerations four key terms have been used in order to characterise style, first, of icons in general and then of the selected group twenty as a whole.¹⁴⁵ They are:

- conservative (refers to a strong devotion to traditional aspects)
- provincial (refers to the folkloric features)
- western (western European style based on Renaissance principles)
- and eclectic (a combination of the previously stated three styles).

Each of these issues is illustrated with certain representative examples from the selected group of twenty icons.

A strong allegiance to standards originating in Byzantine times characterises conservatism. Therefore a conservative icon contains the following features: the use of conventional iconography, a self-contained and balanced composition, the schematised background with minimum details, a restricted use of limited number of colours, the linear (two-dimensional) modelling of the figures with the rectangular folding of their draperies, and the calligraphy identifying the figures represented in the icon. In the selected group of twenty icons, the Discovery and the Exaltation of the True Cross (Fig. 59) is the chief example in which conservative aspects are attested. This icon has a retrospective approach to its subject which shows the scene of the exaltation of the true cross on the upper part of the icon with the icon's and the figures's identifying inscriptions. On the other hand the discovery scene, which in reality happens first, is shown on the lower part of the icon. This iconography then follows a symmetrically organised balanced composition of the theme; for

¹⁴⁵ The twenty icons exhibit certain broad stylistic features. Four general characteristics are explored in this study. Some of these stylistic terms have been presented by other researchers, but when examining different kinds of problems. In various stylistic discussions on icons, the concepts of metropolitan, Constantinopolitan, and provincial outlooks are presented. Some examples of these studies are the following:

S. Boyd, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial", *DOP* 28 (1974) 57-69. Davezac (*supra* n. 83) 8-12. In this publication the eclectic aspect of Post-Byzantine icons is briefly introduced.

instance, the architectural elements on each side of the icon and people who witness these two consecutive events are placed in symmetry in the composition. In addition, the finely rendered figures stand stiffly and the folds of their garments are depicted in linear fashion. A restricted number of colours is used in limited combinations (the tones of pink and blue-grey are favoured). The main characters of the theme are also identified by inscriptions (Fig. 60). Overall a self-contained, restrained, and reserved look dominate. Some other examples illustrating the conservative view are the icons of Christ of Pity (Fig. 1) and Christ Pantocrator (Fig. 5). In them, too, the composition of the themes, the modelling, the forming of the figures, and the colouring show strong respect for traditional models.

Provincialism is defined by the following: a crude draughtsmanship, the limited number of colours used and the jarring combination of colours (an example is the colouring of the icon of the Annunciation in Fig. 43). Other features of provincialism include expressive eyes and a rough modelling of short and thick figures. In this context an expressive eye refers to lively, wide-opened eyes and classic examples are found in the mummy portraits of Fayum (Figs. 94, 95 and 118). Unskillfully written inscriptions, an example of which is seen in Fig. 53, also characterise provincialism. Representative examples of provincialism are the icons of the Annunciation (Figs. 43 and 44), St. George (Fig. 19), and the Archangel Michael (Figs. 40, 41 and 42). In these icons the figures are rendered rather crudely and an informal look prevails, in contrast to a reserved appearance as seen in the icon of the Discovery and the Exaltation of the True Cross.

A western approach features certain Renaissance principles (three dimensional painting with its chiaroscuro-based realism), and a complex detailed composition that contrasts with conventional Byzantine style and iconography. Examples of this approach are given in Figs. 104 and 105, icons from Greece. On the other hand it is not often evident in the icons of the selected group of twenty. However, to take an example, in one of the Zoodochos Pege icons (Fig. 62), the realistically

painted faces of the Virgin Mary, child Christ, and the angels, and the background with details show the above stated features of a western viewpoint.

An eclectic outlook is characterised mainly by the mingling of the features of the previous three aspects of style. Some of these elements are, for instance, the inclusion of expressive eyes, a greater number of colours and the freer combination of colours, a two dimensional depiction with some respect paid to the issues of traditional iconography, in the meantime, however, also presenting innovative features of iconography and style.

The icon of the Virgin Mary and infant Christ (Fig. 10) exemplifies an eclectic view. In this icon, the modelling of the figures, their expressive faces (it diminishes the austerity of a Byzantine look), the unrestricted use and combination of colours to some extent, and the peculiar iconography seen as the prophets rising from the chalices surrounded by clouds, are the elements of eclecticism.

In the group of twenty icons, as stated earlier, a western influence does not dominate alone. However, it exists within eclecticism. Examples of this combination are the icons of the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 62) and the icon of the Archangel Michael (Fig. 37) and the icon of St. George (Fig. 21). In these icons Renaissance principles are applied, such as the realistic depictions of the wings and face of the Archangel (Fig. 37). Such realism also occurs on the icon of St. George (Fig. 21) with his realistically painted face also demonstrating this feature, as do the detailed depiction of the city view at the background and the healing figures around the pool in the one of the Zoodochos Pege icons (Fig. 62). However, on the icon of Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 62), the difference in proportions between the large Virgin Mary and child Christ and the tiny people emphasises the icon's religious aspect and function. Its nicely treated calligraphy (Figs. 38, 65 and 66) is a skillful attempt at a more careful artistic effort than seen on most of the other twenty icons.

At this point the two icons of St. George, as examples of provincialism and eclecticism with western influence, are compared (Figs. 19 and 21). In the first icon of the saint (Fig. 19), his face is

easily differentiated from the latter's realistic (Fig. 21) appearance. Some parts of the body of St. George (Fig. 21) are also left unpainted, possibly for a metal revetment. These two icons of the same subject illustrate two different approaches to painting the theme. This issue is also seen in the three icons of the Archangel Michael (Figs. 37, 40 and 41); in the former icon the archangel is painted realistically with many details (for instance the colouring of his face, the elegant look of its calligraphy and the like) whereas the other two icons as examples of provincialism have a plainer look.

An eclectic view with a dominating conservative component is also seen among the group. In these examples, a considerable degree of reverence is shown to traditional principles, such as the unrealistic disposition of the figures and their austere look, and the illustration of the conventional attributes of the figures; on the other hand the chiaroscuro draperies, a western feature, indicate an eclectic outlook. Some representative examples of this combination of features are the icons of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (Fig. 24) and St. Panteleimon (Fig. 28), and the Council of Church Fathers (Fig. 55).

At the same time, within eclecticism, a provincial side can also dominate, as in the example of the icon of the Parable of Ten Maidens (Fig. 54). In this icon, the crude renderings of the figures, their expressive eyes, and the handwriting are among the features that demonstrate its provincial character within an eclectic view. The depiction of the architectural background shows an attempt at a three dimensional view (Fig. 54). Other examples of this combination include the icons of St. Gerasimos (Fig. 33), the Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrew Youths in the Furnace (Fig. 46), and the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69). Specifically the plain look and large expressive eyes of the figures, the chiaroscuro painted draperies, and at the same time their respect for the traditional iconographies, and such elements as the schematic representations of the background elements (like the city view shown in the Pege icon with its schematic and minimally detailed appearance), are illustrative features of an eclectic icon containing a significant provincial approach. In addition,

especially these two icons show intentions of mainly transmitting the Orthodox message. The icon of Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace illustrates all characters of this Old Testament story; likewise the second Zoodochos Pege icon (Fig. 69) shows the relevant miracles attached to the iconography of the theme, instead of showing efforts at further artistic refinements.

The two Zoodochos Pege icons which have the same theme and two different variants of the conventional iconography of the subject (Figs. 62 and 69) illustrate contrasts between an eclectic style with western influence and an eclectic style with dominating provincial components. The angels who rise from clouds are among the common features of these two Zoodochos Pege icons. In the first icon (Fig. 62, 63 and 64) angels are painted with great detail and recall Renaissance types. On the other hand, in the second icon of the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69), these two angels are depicted without any special attention given to them, possibly considered as an expected part of the theme. In this icon of the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69), intentionally or not, the importance seems to be given to the healing figures around the pool, not to the Virgin Mary and the Christ child. However, the former Pege icon (Fig. 62) focuses on the figures of the Virgin Mary and the Christ child. Also, the angels are depicted with special care. The healing figures around the pool seem to be secondary. This is a contrasting feature in these two icons.

In summary, conservative, provincial, and eclectic perspectives play a role in the painting of the icons of the selected group of twenty from the Antalya Museum. In addition, within an eclectic point of view the conservative or provincial components dominate in some of the icons. In essence, the selected group of twenty icons serve their purpose of being images of sacred people and/or sacred events in order to transmit the Orthodox message.

4. 5. A Comparison with Examples External to the Selected Group of Twenty Icons in the Antalya Museum

In this section, some comparative material from Turkey is presented, namely from the Hagia Sophia Museum's collection in İstanbul, from the exhibition in the Antalya Museum (these other Antalya examples are included in order to show some stylistic parallels with certain icons from the selected group of twenty), and from the Sinop and Tokat museums. One of the difficulties faced in this section was the scarcity of comparative material in Turkey for the selected group of twenty icons. In addition, comprehensive surveys and research about the icons (mainly post Byzantine) existing in this country are lacking. Some of the icons that are found in the above stated museums of Turkey are catalogued and published in only a very few publications.¹⁴⁶

Briefly introduced are a few icons from Patmos, an island off the west coast of Turkey. Otherwise, painted icons from outside Turkey is not included in this work. Practical difficulties made it impossible to visit Greece or Cyprus; but the rich collections and libraries of these countries offer fertile resources for further research.

In contrast to painted icons, one well-studied group of comparative material consists of paper icons, that is, printed icons. Within a period of circa two hundred years (the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries) they were much produced, demanded, and circulated among the territories of the Ottoman empire.¹⁴⁷ Examples of paper icons from the workshops of the monasteries of Mt. Athos and Constantinople are discussed here.

The icon collection of the Hagia Sophia Museum in İstanbul contains Russian and Greek icons. Catalogues provide basic information about certain of these icons. The Russian icons

¹⁴⁶ The publications which present brief catalogue information of some of the icons that are found in Turkey include the following:

Ş. Başeğmez, *İkonalar* (İstanbul 1989).
N. Yılmaz *İkonalar*, 2 vols. (Ankara 1993).
Yılmaz (*supra* n. 1).

¹⁴⁷ Papastratos (*supra* n. 78) 18-19.

outnumber the Greek.¹⁴⁸ These Russian icons mainly came from Balıkesir and from its vicinity, notably from Kocaköy, a Kazak village. The remaining icons in the museum were collected from all over Turkey or donated to the museum. Out of the complete collection of the icons from the Hagia Sophia Museum, circa 600 items in total, 200 are included in Yılmaz's catalogue.¹⁴⁹

The museum in Sinop was founded in 1945. Its icons are said to have been obtained in 1924 after the exchange of populations; no further information about their acquisition is available. The museum possesses thirty-three icons, twenty-eight of which are on display. The Tokat museum, founded in 1926, received its icons during the 1930s; however, the museum has no registers or information about the icons. Their relatively small collection is said not to exceed fifteen, of which five are on exhibition.¹⁵⁰

Examples from the Hagia Sophia Museum in İstanbul show similar features with some of the icons of the selected group of twenty from the Antalya Musem. One such feature is the depiction of the draperies of the garments. The chiaroscuro draperies of the icons of the Virgin Mary, the Annunciation, St. Menas, and St. Thomas from the Hagia Sophia collection¹⁵¹ recall the draperies of the icon of the Archangel Michael (Figs. 37-39). Other significant elements seen among the icons from the Hagia Sophia Museum are the floral (rose-like) motifs painted on the garments of the figures. The icons of the Christ Enthroned, the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, St. Chrysostomos, and St. Jacob exhibit very similar rose-like floral motifs to those seen on the icon of St. Panteleimon (Figs. 28-32).¹⁵² Some of these icons from the Hagia Sophia Museum have dates painted on them. They fall into a period of the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Yılmaz 1993 (*supra* n. 146), 2 vols., published by the Ministry of Culture.

¹⁴⁹ Please see, N. Yılmaz *İkonalar*, 2 Cilt (Ankara 1993) published by the Ministry of Culture.

¹⁵⁰ A. İşin, İ. Tatlıcan and M. İşin, *Sinop* (Ankara 1992).

¹⁵¹ Interviews made with the director of the Sinop museum, İsmail Tatlıcan and with the director of the Tokat museum, Birsel Özcan.

¹⁵² Yılmaz 1993 (*supra* n. 146), vol I., pp. 49, 127, 151, 211 for the photos of the corresponding icons.

¹⁵³ Yılmaz 1993 (*supra* n. 146), vol I., pp. 97-99, 127, 203, 219.

The icon of the Samaritan Woman (Fig. 127) and the icon of the Empty Tomb (Fig. 129) are among the icons which are on exhibition in the Antalya Museum.¹⁵⁴ They feature a crude draughtsmanship, squat figures with expressive eyes, chiaroscuro draperies of the garments, schematised landscape and plain quality of the inscriptions. These elements denote an eclectic view with a significant provincial component. These two icons (Figs. 127 and 129) recall stylistically the icons of the Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Fig. 46) and the Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 69). In addition, these four icons show similar treatments in the depiction of the figures and in the calligraphy of the inscriptions.

In contrast, the icons of the Healing of the Blind Man (Fig. 126) and the Way to Golgotha (Fig. 130) have a similar but more refined draughtsmanship. The expressive eyes, the modelling of the figures, the painting of the landscape, chiaroscuro draperies, and the use of colours are among the similar features.

A last example from the Antalya collection is the icon of the Last Supper (Fig. 128). In this symmetrically composed icon the traditional iconography of the theme is seen. The icon is identified by an inscription. The details of the composition (such as the food on the table) are represented in a simpler and schematic way. These points illustrate the conservative approach embedded in the icon. On the other hand, the garments of the figures with their remarkable chiaroscuro and the use of gold paint introduces elements of eclecticism. When this icon is compared with the icon of the Council of the Church Fathers from the selected group of twenty icons (Fig. 55), it can be seen that they both share similar features of an eclectic approach with a significant conservative component. For instance the faces and the chiaroscuro draperies are among these similarities.

Icons presented from the museums of Sinop and Tokat show differing stylistic aspects, especially a considerable amount of western influence. The icon of St. Menas with Scenes from his Life (Fig. 153) is from the Sinop Museum's collection. In this icon a heavy western influence is

¹⁵⁴ The images presented are from:

detectable, for instance, the modelling of the figures (like the detailing of St. Menas's horse), the facial expression of the saint, the way his hair is combed, and his military costume. Another icon from the Sinop Museum (Fig. 152) shows the Archangel Michael taking the soul of a man lying on the ground. This iconography is also seen in the icons of the Archangel from the selected group of twenty from the Antalya Museum (Figs. 40 and 41). However, the Sinop icon illustrates a significant western viewpoint as evident from its style. Certain attributes of the Archangel are depicted realistically, like his wings and armour and also the miniature boy-like figure held by the Archangel that symbolises the soul. Similar examples can be found among the paper icons illustrating the very same iconography (Fig. 116). In contrast, the icons of Christ Pantocrator (Fig. 132), of the Virgin Mary and child Christ (Fig. 131), and of St. George and the dragon (Fig. 133) all from the Sinop museum, reveal relatively less western influence, combined with a conservative point of view. Meanwhile the icon of St. George and the dragon from the Tokat museum (Fig. 154) illustrates western features, as seen in the depiction of the saint's armour and horse.

Another group of comparative material is from Patmos.¹⁵⁵ The examples from Patmos (Figs. 101 and 137), where a Cretan-school was influential, mainly show strong western influences.¹⁵⁶ They exhibit a significant difference from the selected group of icons found in the Antalya Museum.

An important group of comparative material comes from a great volume of paper icons. These paper icons were commissioned by the Greek communities in the cities of Venice, Messina, Vienna, Budapest, Trieste, and Constantinople, and in the monasteries of Mt. Athos. By the nineteenth century paper icons were intensely demanded and widely circulated. One of the practices which received great popularity was the distribution of paper icons during religious festivals.¹⁵⁷ This practice was customary among the Greek communities in the cities of Asia Minor and in

Yilmaz (*supra* n. 1).

¹⁵⁵ A. D. Kominis, *Patmos, the Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988).

¹⁵⁶ Kominis (*supra* n. 155) 17.

¹⁵⁷ Papastratos (*supra* n. 75) 23.

Constantinople until 1922.¹⁵⁸ In the monasteries of Mt. Athos, usually the monks (generally self-educated), goldsmiths, and silversmiths ran the engraving workshops. Today coloured lithograph ex-votos have replaced the old black and white paper icons.

These paper icons provide rich comparative material for the selected group of icons from the Antalya Museum. In some of the paper icons western influences on the traditional iconographies are easily seen, like the inclusion of a sense of depth in the painting of landscapes and figures, and the use of baroque or rococo motifs for ornamentation (Figs. 106, 107 and 151).

Other similar examples are: the paper icon of St. Demetrios from Mt. Athos (the background scene of the icon and the armour of the saint) (Fig. 114), and the icon of Zoodochos Pege (the ornamental frame of the icon and the city view at the background) (Fig. 112) from Constantinopolitan workshops. In addition, different versions of familiar themes are seen; the paper icon of the Exaltation of the True Cross from Mt. Athos (Fig. 151) is one such example. In this icon only the exaltation of the True Cross is shown, not its discovery, in contrast with the Antalian icon (Fig. 59). The architectural elements at the background resemble a European city of the nineteenth century.

Also, among the paper icons holy places and pilgrimage sites are represented. One of them is the paper icon showing the church of Panayia Evangelistria of Tinos (Figs. 108, 109 and 110). The Annunciation icon from the selected group (Fig. 43 and 44) very much recalls this paper icon (Fig. 110). In both cases, the distinctive architectural features of the Annunciation church are clear.

In the paper icons, the images of the passion of Christ were mainly reflected through another iconographic type of the theme, the Virgin lamenting or Pieta (Fig. 113)

The widely circulated paper icons differ from our twenty Antalian icons in terms of the iconographies and style. The selected group of twenty icons from the Antalya Museum could be termed as traditional in the sense that although they exhibit individualities in the treatments (to be

¹⁵⁸ Papasratos (*supra* n. 75) 23-29.

associated to an eclectic view), they show an enduring allegiance to traditional and provincial (folkloric and naive) considerations.

4. 5. Conclusions

The selected twenty icons from the Antalya Museum, a representative sample of the complete collection of 172 icons, according to the limited information available, were most likely made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Where they were made is not known, with one possible exception (the Archangel Michael Panormitis, Figs. 41 and 42). However, they all ended in Antalya.

Stylistic affinities observed between some icons indicate that certain icons were made in the same artistic circles. The group of twenty icons is characterised by three key stylistic approaches. These are conservative, provincial, and eclectic. Unlike certain examples from the Sinop and Tokat museums, a western outlook is not a prominent feature of the selected group.

The icons housed in the Antalya Museum provide information on the Greek Orthodox population of Late Ottoman Antalya, both as artistic expressions of religious beliefs and practices and as historical documents. But Post Byzantine art, especially as it survives in Turkey, has been little studied and is poorly known. This study, by presenting twenty previously unpublished icons from the Antalya Museum collection, has taken a pioneer step toward filling this gap.

APPENDICES

A. THE COMPLETE COLLECTION OF ICONS FROM ANTALYA MUSEUM

Inventory Number, Subjects, Dimensions (cm)

1. 2. 82. The Ascension 70 x 87
2. 2. 82. Baptism of Christ 75 x 128
3. 2. 82. The Annunciation 72,5 x 131
4. 2. 82. Three Clergy 41,5 x 57,2
5. 2. 82. The Triumph of Orthodoxy 34 x 48
6. 2. 82. Dormition of the Virgin Mary 39,5 x 49
7. 2. 82. Entry into Jerusalem 45,5 x 58
8. 2. 82. St. Demetrius and Scenes from His Life 49 x 44, 5
9. 2. 82. Holy Mandylion 32 x 48
10. 2. 82. St. Nicholas 24 x 33
11. 2. 82. St. Panteleimon 55 x 131
12. 2. 82. The Annunciation 24 x 34
13. 2. 82. St. Nicholas 46, 5 x 55
14. 2. 82. Sts. Kosmas and Damianos 48 x 126, 5
15. 2. 82. Sts. Peter and Paul 61 x 182
16. 2. 82. Christ Enthroned 54 x 131
17. 2. 82. Sts. Nicodimos and Leontios 57, 5 x 93
18. 2. 82 Sts. Chrisostomos and Basil and Gregory 73, 5 x 12,5
19. 2. 82 St. John in the Wilderness 74 x 131
20. 2. 82 Christ and the Samaritan Woman 42 x 55
21. 2. 82 Deesis, Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist 39 x 56

22. 2. 82 Christ Rising from His Tomb 45 x 56
23. 2. 82 The Archangels Gabriel and Michael (Christ in a medallion) 41, 5 x 55
24. 2. 82 Christ 33, 5 x 46,5
25. 2. 82 The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste 36,5 x 48
26. 2. 82 Pentecost 46, 5 x 56,6
27. 2. 82 Three Clergy 33 x 42
28. 2. 82 Christ 42 x 56
29. 2. 82 Subject uncertain, dimension uncertain
30. 2. 82 Subject uncertain, dimension uncertain
31. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 73,7 x 131
32. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 21 x 31,5
33. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 51,5 x 60
34. 2. 82 Anastasis 36,5 x 48,5
35. 2. 82 St. Gerasimos 25,8 x 36,2
36. 2. 82 Subject uncertain 27 x 35,8
37. 2. 82 St. Gregory 22,2 x 30
38. 2. 82 St. John the Evangelist 77 x 131
39. 2. 82 St. John the Evangelist 20,5 x 28,1
40. 2. 82 The Annunciation 35 x 48
41. 2. 82 The Pentecost 44,8 x 56,2
42. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 21 x 25,6
43. 2. 82 The Nativity Of Christ 29,5 x 40
44. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 25,5 x 30,5
45. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 20 x 27
46. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 17,5 x 22,5

47. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 28 x 38,5
48. 2. 82 Deesis, The Virgin Mary, Christ, St. John the Baptist, Sts. Helena and Constantine
36x42,5
49. 2. 82 The Parable of Ten Maidens 30,5 x 47,5
50. 2. 82 Empty Tomb 45,5 x 56,5
51. 2. 82 Christ of Pity 42,5 x 56,2
52. 2. 82 Subject uncertain 32 x 40,5
53. 2. 82 St. Demetrios 36 x 53,5
54. 2. 82 The Archangel Michael 24 x 30
55. 2. 82 St. Demetrios 40,5 x 57,5
56. 2. 82 Sts. Constantine and Helena 41,2 x 54,5
57. 2. 82 Young Cleric Holding the Gospel 44,9 x 56
58. 2. 82 The Archangel Michael 44,5 x 60,5
59. 2. 82 The Nativity of Christ 44,9 x 56
60. 2. 82 Christ 39,2 x 53,3
61. 2. 82 The Prophet Daniel and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace 22,5 x 28,5
62. 2. 82 Three Patriarchs 45 x 56 .
63. 2. 82 Sts. Constantine and Helena 25,5 x 40
64. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 25,2 x 38,5
65. 2. 82 St. Symeon 37 x 48,3
66. 2. 82 St. Luke the Evangelist 39,7 x 51,5
67. 2. 82 St. Mark the Evangelist. Dimensions uncertain
68. 2. 82 St. Luke the Evangelist 22,6 x 29
69. 2. 82 St. John 22,9 x 29,5
70. 2. 82 St. John 42,5 x 55,5

71. 2. 82 St. Paul 46 x 52,7
72. 2. 82 St. Mark the Evangelist 46,2 x 58,5
73. 2. 82 St. Andrew 26 x 35,5
74. 2. 82 Christ 21,4 x 29,5
75. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 14,8 x 20,2
76. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 20,4 x 27,7
77. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 19,5 x 25,2
78. 2. 82 St. Catherine 73,8 x 136,7
79. 2. 82 St. Luke the Evangelist 45,5 x 56,2
80. 2. 82 St. John 79,7 x 137,5
81. 2. 82 Three Church Fathers 45,4 x 56
82. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 58,7 x 133,2
83. 2. 82 The archangel Michael 79,5 x 137,4
84. 2. 82 Healing of the Blind Child 45,5 x 56,2
85. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary. Dimensions uncertain.
86. 2. 82 Christ Pantocrator 79,1 x 137,5
87. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 68,8 x 112,5
88. 2. 82 Figure of a saint 45 x 55,9
89. 2. 82 Three Church Fathers 42 x 55,3
90. 2. 82 Sts. Constantine and Helena 45,2 x 56,5
91. 2. 82 St. Luke 45,1 x 56
92. 2. 82 St. Peter 45,5 x 56,5
93. 2. 82 St. Thomas 45,6 x 57
94. 2. 82 The Dormition of the Virgin Mary 45 x 56
95. 2. 82 Christ Pantocrator 46 x 57,5

96. 2. 82. Subject uncertain. 29,2 x 38,6
97. 2. 82. Subject uncertain. 30,5 x 41,5
98. 2. 82. Two young Clerics 29,4 x 39,7
99. 2. 82 Three Church Fathers 29,8 x 40,5
100. 2. 82 The Annunciation 23 x 30,6
101. 2. 82. Subject uncertain. 45 x 57,3
102. 2. 82. Christ 41,7 x 55
103. 2. 82. The Council of Church Fathers 43,6 x 55,5
104. 2. 82 A Church Father 22,3 x 31,5
105. 2. 82 The Annunciation 113,5 x 158
106. 2. 82 The archangel Michael 24,5 x 34
107. 2. 82 The Annunciation 93,5 x 146
108. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 42,1 x 55,5
109. 2. 82 Christ and the twelve Apostles 34,6 x 40
110. 2. 82 The Annunciation 20,2 x 27,5
111. 2. 82 Two Church Fathers 56,5 x 131,5
112. 2. 82 Young Cleric 93,5 x 146
113. 2. 82 St. John 55,6 x 100
114. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 62,5 x 135,5
115. 2. 82 Christ Pantocrator 71 x 110
116. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 79,5 x 137,5
117. 2. 82 Young Cleric 22 x 30
118. 2. 82 Young Cleric 20 x 28,2. Poor condition
119. 2. 82 The archangel Michael 20,5 x 28
120. 2. 82 Subject uncertain. 16 x 23 .Poor condition

121. 2. 82 Church Father 23,4 x 31,5. Poor condition
122. 2. 82 The Annunciation 174 x 91
123. 2. 82. Subject uncertain. 10,2 x 14. Poor in condition
124. 2. 82 St. Symeon, the Virgin Mary, infant Christ 31 x 41,5
125. 2. 82 The Annunciation 55,2 x 41,8
126. 2. 82 The Annunciation 12,7 x 17,5
127. 2. 82 The Birth of the Virgin Mary 55,5 x 42
128. 2. 82 Christ 49,5 x 39,4
129. 2. 82 St. George 13,5 x 19,5
130. 2. 82 The Annunciation 15,5 x 21
131. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary infant Christ 32,6 x 23,5
132. 2. 82 Church Father 34,6 x 40
133. 2. 82 St. Alexios 21,5 x 30
134. 2. 82 The Virgin Mary and infant Christ 47 x 35,5
135. 2. 82 The Four Evangelists 30,5 x 23
136. 2. 82 The Presentation to the Temple 56 x 45
137. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 27 x 31,5
138. 2. 82 Bema gate, the Annunciation 177 x 103
139. 2. 82 Two Church Fathers 18,2 x 22
140. 2. 82 John and scenes from his Life 45,5 x 56 St.
141. 2. 82 The Baptism of Christ 44,6 x 56,2
142. 2. 82 Christ blessing the crowd 56 x 37
143. 2. 82 Christ and the Samaritan woman 56 x 37,2
144. 2. 82 Healing of the blind man 57 x 38
145. 2. 82. Subjects uncertain. Dimensions uncertain.

146. 2. 82 Zoodochos Pege. Dimensions uncertain.
147. 2. 82 Last Supper 56,5 x 38
148. 2. 82 The Way to Golgotha 36,5 x 56
149. 2. 82 Crucifixion 23,5 x 20,2
150. 2. 82 Crucifixion 55,5 x 39
151. 2. 82 The Birth of the Virgin Mary 53,5 x 37,5
152. 2. 82 The Empty Tomb 38,2 x 56,5
153. 2. 82 St. George. Dimensions uncertain.
154. 2. 82 Dormition of the Virgin Mary 34,7 x 27,7
155. 2. 82 The Council of Church Fathers. Dimensions uncertain.
156. 2. 82 Sts. Jacob and Chrysostomos 42 x 55,5
157. 2. 82 St. Leontios 37 x 53
158. 2. 82 St. Basil 33,5 x 53
159. 2. 82 St. Mark 27,7 x 22,9
160. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 29 x 42,6
161. 2. 82 St. Nicholas 25,7 x 35
162. 2. 82 Christ, Sts. Charalambos, John, and Basil 75 x 126,4
163. 2. 82 The Circumcision 42,2 x 55,7
164. 2. 82 The Annunciation (on a cloth). Dimensions uncertain
165. 2. 82 Bema gate, the Annunciation, four Evangelists, the archangels 151 x 109
166. 2. 82 Half figure of an angel 13,6 x 10,6
167. 2. 82 Head of a Lion holding Bible 11,3 x 13,7
1. 34. 83 St. Nicholas 13,7 x 19,5
1. 17. 87 Christ Rising from sarcophagus 54,5 x 41
170. 2. 82 The archangel Michael. Dimensions uncertain.

2. 3. 88 The Ascension. Dimensions uncertain.

1. 33. 92 Christ Pantocrator 14 x 17,5

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