

ORTHODOX CYPRUS UNDER THE LATINS, 1191–1571

Society, Spirituality, and Identities



CHRYSOVALANTIS KYRIACOU

ORTHODOX CYPRUS UNDER THE LATINS, 1191–1571

Society, Spirituality, and Identities



CHRYSOVALANTIS KYRIACOU

Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191– 1571

Byzantium: A European Empire and Its Legacy

Series Editor: Vlada Stanković (University of Belgrade)

The series explores the rich and complex history, culture, and legacy of the longest lasting European state, its place in the Middle Ages, and in European civilization. Through positioning Byzantine history in a wider medieval context, the series will include new perspectives on the place of the eastern Mediterranean; Central, Eastern, and South Europe; and the Near East in the medieval period. The intention is not simply to place the Byzantine Empire in the Western sphere, but rather to call for a reorientation away from the traditional East-West divide and to bring Byzantium out of its isolation from the rest of the medieval world. *Byzantium: A European Empire and Its Legacy* seeks both monographs and edited collections that bring Byzantine studies into conversation with scholarship on the Western medieval world, as well as other works on the place of the Byzantine Empire in the global Middle Ages.

Titles in the Series

The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453, edited by Vlada Stanković

Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe, by Christian Raffensperger

Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571: Society, Spirituality, and Identities, by Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571

Society, Spirituality, and Identities

By
Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

LEXINGTON BOOKS

Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books

An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.

4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706

www.rowman.com

6 Tinworth Street, London SE11 5AL, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2018 The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Available

ISBN 978-1-4985-5115-1 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-1-4985-5116-8 (electronic)

∞™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Acknowledgments

Note on Transliteration

Maps

Introduction: Eagle, Cross, and Lion: Historiography and Orthodox Cypriot Identities

- 1 “Under Heavy Storm and Tempest”: The Coming of the Latins
- 2 “In Our Hearts and Our Churches We Do As We Like”: Living under the *Bulla Cypria*
- 3 “In Your Light We Shall See Light”: The Controversy over Palamite Hesychasm
- 4 “Bounds Set Between Us and You”: Boundary Maintenance in a Period of Transformations
- 5 “Render unto Caesar”: Cypriot Orthodoxy under the Venetians

Coda: The Reed and the Olive Tree

Appendices

Appendix I: *Confession of Faith of the Monks of Kantara* and a Synaxary on Their Memory

Appendix II: *Encyclical Letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople

Appendix III: *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM

Bibliography

Index

About the Author

Acknowledgments

This book began as a doctoral dissertation at the Hellenic Institute of Royal Holloway, University of London (2012–16). First of all, I would like to thank my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Charalambos Dendrinos, for his continuous support and encouragement. Insightful comments and suggestions were kindly put forth by my advisors, Drs. David Gwynn and Georgios Christodoulou. My deep thanks are also extended to my examiners, Professors Richard Price and Costas N. Constantinides, for their constructive criticisms and valuable corrections. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support I received from the A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Holy Church of Panaghia Phanerōmenē (2012–14) during my doctoral studies. I would also like to thank the Hellenic Institute for awarding me *The Joan Mervyn Hussey Memorial Prize* (2012) and *The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomaios I Postgraduate Studentship* (2012–13).

In the course of my writing I received encouragement and expert advice from a number of scholars, whom I would like to thank: Professors Jonathan Phillips, Aristeides Papadakis, Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos, Nikolaos Moschonas, Graeme Murdock, Tassos Kaplanis, Maria Gabriella Arru, Christopher D. Schabel, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, and Michalis Olympios; Drs. Nasa Patapiou, Ioanna Hadjicosti, Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, Panos Christodoulou, Despoina Ariantzi, and Giorgos Papantoniou; Mr. Andreas Loizou, Mrs. Margarita Papantoniou, and Fr. Gregorios Ioannides. I am also deeply indebted to Mrs. Jacqueline-

Westwood Demetriades for her linguistic services, and to Mrs. Naso Kalli Stergenaki for designing the maps.

I am particularly grateful to the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, and Eton College Library for granting their permission for the reproduction of images. The examination and critical edition of the Greek texts in Appendices I–III was based on digital facsimiles provided by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Stauronikēta Monastery Library, and Eton College Library. The Stauronikēta monks also kindly offered their hospitality during my preliminary examination of the manuscript containing Patriarch Kallistos’ *Encyclical* in 2012.

Special thanks should be given to Vlada Stanković for his proposal to publish with Lexington Books, and for his helpful suggestions in how to turn my dissertation into a monograph. Brian Hill and Eric Kuntzman oversaw production of the book, providing expert assistance and editorial advice. I owe many thanks to the anonymous reviewers of Lexington Books for their valuable comments and remarks.

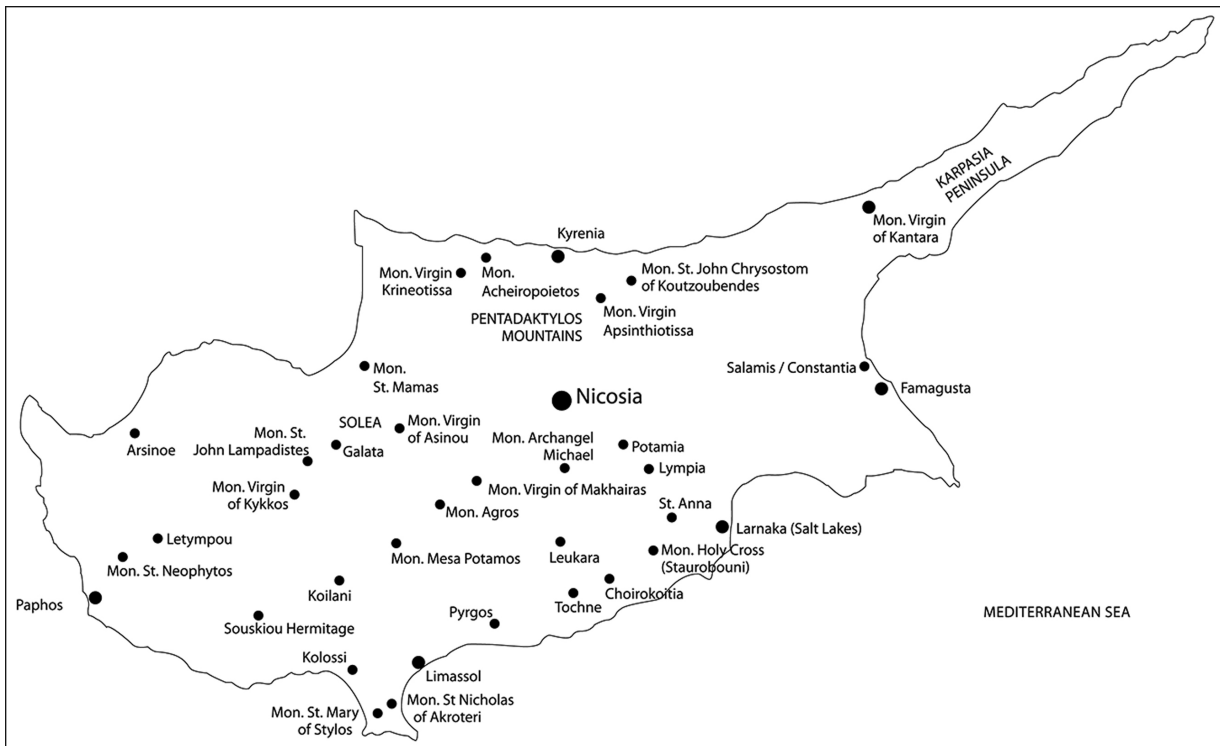
The present book would have been impossible to write without my family’s support; it is to them that this study is dedicated. To Fr. Marios Demosthenous, my πνευματικὸς πατήρ, I owe deep and sincere thanks for helping me keep my life in balance, even when things seemed to go wrong. To my parents, sister, and grandfather, I owe my deepest gratitude: their unconditional love has been a constant source of moral strength. Baby Evridiki closely oversaw the final stages of the revision process, offering editorial assistance. Finally, my wife Maria has been an indefatigable companion throughout my journeys in the footsteps of medieval monks, bishops, and pilgrims. She was patient when I was not, and she lovingly understood that, like the mythical Antaeus, I too, draw strength from the land where I was born.

March 4, 2018
Sunday of St. Gregory Palamas

Note on Transliteration

The transliteration of Greek names into English generally follows the Library of Congress system, available at <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/greek.pdf> (last accessed July 8, 2017). I have used the Anglicized form of Greek, Latin, and French names that passed into common English usage (e.g., John for Iōannēs, Eugene for Eugenius, and Philip for Philippe), but preserved Italian and Italicized forms of names (e.g., Pietro for Peter, and Synglitico for Synglētikoi).

Maps



Map 1 Cyprus. Stergenakis Digital Printing Ltd.



Map 2 Eastern Mediterranean. Stergenakis Digital Printing Ltd.

Introduction

Eagle, Cross, and Lion: Historiography and Orthodox Cypriot Identities

The Hadjigeorgakis Kornosios mansion is situated in a quiet street in *intra muros* Nicosia. Named after its powerful owner, who served the Ottomans as an interpreter before his downfall and execution in 1809, the fortress-like mansion (today Nicosia's Ethnological Museum) is one of the most emblematic buildings of the Cypriot capital. The visitor or passerby often stands for a moment to gaze at the relief decorating the upper part of the entrance (see cover image). Being a visible reminder of the Podocataro (the wealthy Greek family of merchants, nobles, scholars, and cardinals who lived there during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the relief becomes itself a symbolic gateway to the lost world of Latin-ruled Cyprus, a world of symbiosis and tension, tolerance and intolerance, identity preservation and identity adaptation.¹

Three elements in the relief deserve particular attention. The shield in its central part encloses a two-headed eagle, probably alluding to the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire that ruled Cyprus for almost nine centuries, before the Crusader conquest of 1191.² The cross displayed at the eagle's chest brings to mind the island's close links with Palestine and the local tradition of devotion to the True Cross, promoted by both Byzantium and the Crusader overlords of Cyprus.³ The winged lion of St. Mark, an

emblem of Venetian authority, stands upon the shield's upper part, holding with its right foot an open Gospel book.⁴ These three symbols—eagle, cross, and lion—seem to encapsulate the multiplicity of Orthodox Cypriot identities under the Crusaders and the Venetians: a crucial, although often ignored, element in earlier and more recent discussions among historians of Cypriot Orthodoxy during the period of the Latin rule (1191–1571).

The examination of Cypriot identities is a sensitive subject. Interpretations of Cypriot ethnoreligious awareness have been shaped (often unconsciously) by political developments and the influence of British colonialism on historiography. The British Empire assumed control of Cyprus in 1878, following nearly seven centuries of Crusader, Venetian, and Ottoman occupation (1191–1878); this gradually led to the intensification of nationalist calls for Union with Greece among the Greek Cypriots, the island's largest community. By the early twentieth century, the Unionist movement was widely embraced by people of all ages and social groups, with the local Orthodox Church being “both the symbol and functional core” of demands for liberation.⁵ As a response to the Greek Cypriot Uprising of October 1931, the British pursued a repressive policy, employing methods of social engineering: interventions in Greek Cypriot elementary education presented the history and geography of Cyprus in a Near Eastern context, excluding references to Hellenism; the fields of archaeology, architecture, and numismatic iconography were also manipulated in order to promote an “authentic” (denationalized) Cypriot identity, so as to reaffirm Cypriot colonial loyalty to the British Empire.⁶

The monumental *History of Cyprus* by Sir George F. Hill (1867–1948) is representative of this policy. Published in four volumes between 1940 and 1952, Hill's *History* brilliantly provides a detailed account of Cypriot history, from the Stone Age to 1948.

Reacting, however, to Greek Cypriot nationalism, Hill adopts a racial perception of Cypriot Hellenism: although religion and language “[had] foster[ed] the idea that the Cypriotes were Greeks in origin,” there was absolutely no evidence of “real racial affinity with the Hellenic stock.”⁷ Hill’s contribution to the understanding of Latin-ruled Cypriot society is that he viewed religious tension as triggered by the intervention of non-Cypriot Latins in Cypriot affairs.⁸ This, however, is only partly correct: religious tension was also the result of conscious and unconscious boundary building coming from within the Cypriot society.

Hill’s distinction between Cypriots living together in peace and non-Cypriots causing problems on the island was perhaps paralleled by the pro-Union role and activities of the Greek Consulate in Nicosia during the Uprising of 1931, which later developed (with Athens’ blessings) into support toward the EOKA, the Greek Cypriot guerilla organization fighting the British between 1955 and 1959.⁹ The fact that the Greek Cypriot struggle was led by the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and was sanctioned by the Orthodox Church of Greece did not improve the image of Greek Orthodoxy in the eyes of British colonial officials, who (unsuccessfully) attempted to “encourage moderate opinion to break loose from domination by the Church.”¹⁰

The years following the liberation of Cyprus from the British and the founding of the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960 witnessed the enduring legacy of colonial perceptions in the works of eminent non-Cypriot Byzantinists.¹¹ The controversial adoption of these views by Greek Cypriot historians of a younger generation suggests the striking influence exercised by the colonial past on modern Cypriot historiography.¹² In 1974, the culmination of tension between the island’s Greek and Turkish communities (the

result of a *coup d'état* orchestrated by the Greek Junta and Greek Cypriot nationalists against the Cypriot government, leading to a military invasion by Turkey, supported by Turkish Cypriot nationalists) brought bitter division that continues to the present day. The traumatic consequences of these events enhanced the ethnocentric approach of a number of leading Greek and Greek Cypriot scholars, who attempted to provide a different version of Cypriot history by stressing the historical presence of Hellenism and Orthodoxy on the island.¹³

The most influential studies on the period of Latin rule in Cyprus by members of the ethnocentric group (associated with governmental or ecclesiastical research institutions) are those by Theodoros Papadopoulos (1921–2016), Costas P. Kyrris (1927–2009), and Benediktos (later Archimandrite Paul) Englezakis (1947–92).¹⁴ Their work covers various social, ecclesiastical, and ideological issues, shedding light on the preservation and adaptation of Greek Orthodox identity under Latin rule, against an Ultramontane-like policy of Latinization.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, these scholars maintained a generally negative perception of the Latin rule and its impact on Orthodox ecclesiastical affairs, apparently echoing Archimandrite Kyprianos (d. 1802/1805), the well-known Greek Cypriot historian of the eighteenth century, who had argued that the diachronic survival of Cypriot Hellenism under foreign occupation could guide the Greek Cypriots of his time to endure the island's tribulations under the Ottomans.¹⁶ Revisionist historians have criticized the ethnocentric scholars for occasionally ignoring or misinterpreting the Latin ecclesiastical sources: by lacking the perspective of a medievalist, the ethnocentric school was inevitably led to wrong conclusions, underplaying, for example, the role of the Latin political and ecclesiastical regime in

the preservation of Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligious identity.¹⁷ The contribution of ethnocentric historians is that by focusing on hitherto unexplored aspects of the island's religion, society, and culture, they gave new impetus to the examination of the Latin period. More importantly, they internationally promoted, in collaboration with their non-Cypriot colleagues, the study of Cypriot ecclesiastical history, disconnecting it from earlier colonial misinterpretations.¹⁸

The renewed interest in the history and culture of Latin-ruled Cyprus led a number of scholars to the systematic investigation of Latin literary sources and archaeological material. In the 1980s, historical revisionism gradually began to challenge the ethnocentric model by presenting a less bipolar and more interactive picture of multiethnic coexistence and collaboration under the Latins. It is mainly due to the labors of Jean Richard, Peter Edbury, Benjamin Arbel, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, Christopher D. Schabel, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Tassos Papacostas, Alexander Beihammer, and others, that Cypriot ecclesiastical history has shifted away from the paradigm of interreligious tension toward a more balanced understanding of the complex and multidimensional relationship between Latins and non-Latins on the island.¹⁹ I should state beforehand that I do not imply that this group of academic historians and archaeologists (medievalists, Byzantinists, and early modernists) is homogenous in personal background, methodology, or ideology; their common element is that their research and analyses revised the views of ethnocentric historians, who stressed interreligious tension and national continuity.

The development of revisionist scholarship in the 1990s and 2000s, with its emphasis in multiculturalism and diversity, seems to have been facilitated by recent political developments.²⁰ The

accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union (2004), the intensification of efforts to resolve the Cyprus Issue and the emergence of a Greek Cypriot governmental policy of rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots (since 2008), led to attempts to revise history curricula in public education, in order to promote reconciliation between the two communities.²¹ Regardless of the intentions of the scholars named above, their arguments are sometimes involved in the dialogue between Cypriot politics and historiography. For example, Andrekos Varnava, a historian of the modern period, argued (based on the findings of revisionist medievalists) that “a discussion of communal developments and relations in Cyprus must take into account . . . that since 1191 Cyprus exhibits a significant degree of cosmopolitanism, integration and, at least until the twentieth century . . . , peaceful relations between its various inhabitants.”²² In their treatment of the modern Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Varnava and Michalis N. Michael (an Ottomanist) wonder whether this institution should play “the role of a *Cypriot* Church, as it evidently did pre-1900 [rather than] continue to represent a chauvinist brand of Cypriot *Hellenism*.”²³ In the same vein, earlier ethnocentric historiography emphasizing the survival of Orthodox Cypriot identity under the Latins has been viewed by Schabel, a leading medievalist, as shaped by chauvinism and self-victimization.²⁴

Focusing on the thorny issue of Cypriotness during the Latin period, revisionist works accept language and religion as the most important criteria of ethnic identity and argue for the existence of a process of gradual identity fusion, leading to the emergence of an inclusive Cypriot identity that embraced Greeks, Latins, and Oriental Christians.²⁵ The strong emphasis on peaceful symbiosis and local Cypriot identity has been criticized by ethnocentric

scholars for echoing the position of British colonial historiography.²⁶ Moreover, as Anthony Kaldellis has recently shown, “the Byzantines failed (or rather never tried) to define themselves in purely religious terms against the Latins,” which suggests that Greek Cypriot identity in this period was not determined by culture and religion alone, but also by political allegiance to Byzantium and awareness of participation to the Byzantine “body politic.”²⁷

These observations invite a new paradigm shift toward a “postrevisionist” understanding of the complexities of Cypriot Orthodoxy, one that will overcome traditional boundaries between the ethnocentric and revisionist approaches. It is important to examine, for example, the extent of Orthodox Cypriot ethnoreligious survival under the Latins (if any), moving beyond the axiom that “the idea of national identity . . . is not easily applied to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries” (unless what it is implied here is that the modern, post-Enlightenment version of nationalism could not have existed in medieval times, in which case I agree).²⁸ Needless to say that if we are to explore Latin-ruled Cypriot Orthodoxy in a deeper and more systematic way, we can hardly afford to ignore the conclusions of historical revisionism. This highlights the contribution of revisionist scholarship, particularly in recognizing the role of Christianity as a unifying factor among the island’s ethnoreligious communities.²⁹ Equally significant concerning the process of boundary building is the revisionist argument that despite their long symbiosis with other communities and the emergence of an inclusive Cypriot identity, the island’s Franks “maintained their Frankish ethnicity and cultural identity, . . . stressing their connection with France and the West even after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus.”³⁰ Perhaps the most important (yet

largely undeveloped) idea in revisionist historiography concerns the existence of “a plurality of sub-identities or layered identities within one or more inclusive identities, corresponding to different social and cultural groups . . . and depending on the spheres of contact and interaction.”³¹ This is, clearly, not far from the ethnocentric point that the preservation of Cypriot Orthodoxy coexisted with phenomena of interdependence and interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks.³²

Although the notion of “multilayered” or “multiple” identities is crucial for a fresh reading of the sources, it has not been adequately stressed in previous historiography. This book is the first attempt in this direction. Its aim, however, is not to conveniently reconcile the two aforementioned approaches, but to investigate fundamental questions related to faith, ideology, and identity in a distinct, independent, and more holistic way, in order to understand “people and institutions, ideas, beliefs, emotions, and the needs of individuals who no longer exist.”³³ To what extent, if any, did Latin-ruled Greek Cypriots preserve a Byzantine Orthodox awareness? What was the impact of political and socioeconomic developments in their ideological and spiritual orientation? And how can spirituality, this combination of “fundamental values, lifestyles, and spiritual practices [that] reflect particular understandings of God, human identity, and the material world as the context for human transformation,” be critically examined from the perspective of the historian of Latin-ruled Cyprus?³⁴ To answer these questions, we would have to sail the sea of a Cypriot *Byzance après Byzance*,³⁵ exploring the rich heritage of Byzantine Orthodoxy on the island after its political alienation from Byzantium, and mapping the dynamic adaptation of this legacy

throughout the changing and overlapping contexts that marked the shift from Byzantine to Crusader and Venetian rule.

The wide chronological spectrum and scope of this book require the examination of a variety of Greek and Latin literary sources, including patriarchal and papal letters, canonical collections, synodal proceedings, theological treatises, liturgical texts, chronicles, and traveler accounts. The discussion is also enriched by the survey and interpretation of related archaeological material (e.g., icons, frescoes, and inscriptions). New insights into Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligiosity in Latin-ruled Cyprus are provided by the *editio princeps* (in Appendices I–III) of three important sources: the *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara* and a synaxary on their memory, the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople (1350–53 and 1354–63), and the partial edition of a *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot. In order to analyze and interpret the material in a more precise and comprehensive way, I have pursued a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, systematically applying modern theories from the fields of sociology, psychology, and social anthropology.³⁶ This methodological framework, I believe, will enable a deeper examination of phenomena of identity preservation and adaptation by enriching “the historian’s palette [with the] indispensable means of understanding the *totality* of human experience.”³⁷

The use of ambiguous terminology in the sources and previous historiography with reference to different ethnoreligious categories requires a more precise definition of different spiritual identities within the Cypriot society. The Greeks of Cyprus generally described themselves as Ῥωμαῖοι (“Byzantine Romans”), a term that reveals their ethnic, cultural, and religious bonds with Byzantium.³⁸ I have decided to employ the modern term “Greek

Cypriots” or simply “Greeks” to denote the Ῥωμαῖοι of Cyprus in general, while using “Byzantines” to refer to subjects of the Byzantine Empire. The term “Latins” denotes followers of the Latin liturgical rite and doctrines under papal jurisdiction, including “Latinized” Christians, namely non-Latin Christians who adopted the Latin rite and doctrines. The capitalized term “Orthodox” (which, at the time, was not specific to any group) is used to define Cypriot lay and ecclesiastical followers of the Eastern/Byzantine Orthodox liturgical rite and doctrines, including both Greeks and non-Greeks; lowercased “orthodox” denotes perceptions of doctrinal correctness regardless of religious affiliation. “Oriental Christian” is used as an umbrella term for non-Byzantine Orthodox Christian groups, including Armenians, Copts, and Nestorians.

Scholars have also been using the terms “Uniates,” “Greek-rite Catholics,” or “Latinizers” to describe the “Latin-minded” (Λατινόφρονες in the sources) as a separate and well-defined group of Greek Eastern Catholics, who followed the Byzantine liturgical rite and customs but adopted the Latin doctrines and accepted papal ecclesiastical supremacy.³⁹ At least in the case of Latin-ruled Greek Cypriots, it is doubtful whether we can clearly identify “Latinizers” as a concrete group; so far, there is no evidence to ascertain their existence as a separate wing or party in the period under discussion.⁴⁰ What the evidence concerning pro-Latin Greeks shows is the existence of *attitudes* rather than *groups*, for the simple reason that allegiance to the one or the other side fluctuated depending on particular circumstances. This does not mean that “Latinizers” did not exist; it is simply difficult to detect them both individually and as a body, which justifies my reluctance to refer to “Latinizers” in the present study.⁴¹

Given that Cypriot Orthodoxy during the period of the Latin rule developed certain cryptoreligious characteristics, the concept of “anti-Latinism” (namely manifestations of open or covert resistance against the *status quo*) becomes a useful criterion for the examination of boundary maintenance under the Latins. However, “anti-Latinism” should not be misinterpreted as part of the very definition of Orthodoxy; in the context of this book it simply denotes the expression of specific attitudes that are not always directly detectable in the sources, but are considered as important indications of identity preservation. Having seen that “anti-Latinism” does not imply a Hellenocentric, Westernophobic, and ultimately ahistorical perception of Orthodoxy,⁴² it should be noted that “Orthodox” also includes Orthodox Christians who, while not criticizing the Western Church for a variety of practical reasons (e.g., socioeconomic circumstances, involvement in public life, and wish or need to secure papal protection, etc.), remained faithful to their own tradition. Rather than being monolithic, Cypriot Orthodoxy under the Latins is colored by a multiplicity of identities, attitudes, perceptions, and reactions, which often varied according to particular circumstances.

My insistence to speak of a Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligious identity is based on the acknowledgment that, despite the development of regional identities as a result of the political fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, a sense of unity between the free and conquered Ῥωμαῖοι continued to exist, growing stronger toward the mid-fifteenth century. Admittedly, the criteria applied for the definition of ethnic self in late Byzantium primarily correspond to the understanding and aims of the Byzantine *literati* (emperors, statesmen, scholars, and churchmen) who formulated them; the extent to which these identity markers were communicated to the

masses of the *illiterati* and the latter's response to them is difficult to know. Yet, there is no reason to believe that the criteria of ethnic identity were thoroughly invented, and that the Byzantine dominant class managed at some point to inject them into the collective consciousness of the lower masses. These criteria (e.g., Greek language, loyalty to the Byzantine emperor, observance of common habits, laws, and customs) offer insights to an already-existing cultural stratum of collective identity, developed through long-term historical experiences.⁴³

The Orthodox Cypriot community included not only Greeks, but also Syrian Melkites and Georgians (on Latin converts to Orthodoxy, see chapter 5). This book focuses on the Greek Cypriots, the oldest and largest group of Byzantine Orthodox Christians on the island, for whom we possess a clearer picture based on literary and archaeological evidence. This is not to deny that the Byzantine Orthodox identity was shared to some degree by Syrian Melkites and Georgians, namely groups with their own ethnoreligious characteristics: the Syrian Melkites were mostly Arabic speakers originating from a Byzantine cultural *milieu* in Muslim- (and for some time Crusader-) ruled Syria and Palestine, while the Georgians had their own cultural tradition, the product of Caucasian, Byzantine, and Persian influences. Doctrinal and liturgical unity between these Orthodox groups led to a degree of homogenization with the Greek Cypriots, which can explain why the religious presence of Syrian Melkites and Georgians as separate communities is hardly detectable (e.g., they had no bishops of their own and some of their monasteries gradually passed to Greek control). Thus, the inclusive label "Byzantine Orthodox" could also be applied to describe the bonds of non-Greek Orthodox groups with their Greek Cypriot brethren and the politically fragmented Byzantine Orthodox world, including their places of origin (Syria,

Palestine, and Georgia) that adhered to the Byzantine sphere of influence. This is a strong indication that Byzantine Orthodoxy was part of the ethnoreligious identities of non-Greek Orthodox Christians, although perhaps to a lesser degree than in the case of the Greek Cypriots. At the same time, the Syrian Melkites and Georgians interacted with the Latins within the framework created by the conditions of Western political and ecclesiastical domination. An exhaustive analysis of how non-Greek Orthodox Cypriots negotiated their multiple identities in different contexts is beyond the scope of this book; yet, as in the case of the Greek Cypriots, the development and management of various group memberships probably permitted both adaptation and boundary building.⁴⁴

The arrangement of chapters is chronological, covering the whole period of the Latin rule in Cyprus, from the Crusader conquest of 1191 to the Ottoman conquest of 1571.

Chapter 1 invites readers to explore the multiplicity of Orthodox reactions vis-à-vis the establishment of the Lusignan Kingdom and Latin Church on the island from 1191 to the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* in 1260. Chapter 2 captures the *Sitz im Leben* of the fascinating coexistence of cultures and ethnoreligious communities in Cyprus between 1260 and ca. 1330. This chapter redefines the crucial notion of “anti-Latinism” as not being necessarily violent or coercive, and reveals the existence of covert mechanisms of resistance and identity preservation among the Orthodox population of Cyprus. Chapter 3 focuses on a significant, yet largely unexplored, episode in the relations between the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, namely the controversy over Palamite Hesychasm between the 1330s and 1400s. The shifting dynamics of the controversy unveil the emergence of an elite Greek Cypriot group

with pro-Orthodox and pro-Byzantine orientation. The activities of this group had impact on the relations between Greeks and Latins in Cyprus during the second half of the fourteenth century, leading to closer contacts with Constantinople and the Orthodox world. The renegotiation of existing bonds with Byzantium emphasizes the place of Cyprus as part of the Byzantine Orthodox “sphere of influence.”⁴⁵ Chapter 4 focuses on the Bryennios affair (1406 and 1412), an important incident that marked the de jure exclusion of Cyprus from the Byzantine Orthodox ecumene at a time of global transformations. The chapter also explores the Cypriot reception of the “Union” of Florence (1439), which enhanced the status of Latin-ruled Orthodox as members of the Western Church and sanctioned the preservation of non-Latin doctrines, practices, and customs. Chapter 5 provides a kaleidoscopic view of Venice’s ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* in Cyprus, and maps Orthodox Cypriot expressions of both resistance and political loyalty. The chapter also discusses the encounter of Cypriot Orthodoxy with the Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation, closing with a presentation of the cultural achievements of Orthodox Cypriot revival in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Any pretense to absolute historical objectivity is misleading. “The historian,” writes Arnaldo Momigliano (1908–87), “is above all free to bring to historical research all the richness of his own convictions and experience . . . , interpret[ing] the reality of which the sources are indicative signs, or fragments.”⁴⁶ Rather than questing for (or claiming to possess) the utopian absolute objectivity, I acknowledge the limitations of my examination: this is a book written from the perspective of a British-trained Byzantinist, who is also a Greek Cypriot and a practicing member of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Thus, I recognize that my inherent point of view is unavoidably (partly) subjective: no historian is

completely objective, no historian is completely unbiased; idealized historical objectivity is a chimera. Needless to say that I do not consider the historian's work to be entirely personal and subjective. "The most unMarxist historian," notes Norman Hampson (1922–2011), "cannot write now as though Marx had never existed. . . . New views emerge from the old, even when they are intended to refute them."⁴⁷ This realization is at the heart of my critique of previous historiography on the subject: the successively overwhelming dominance in scholarship of the ethnocentric and revisionist viewpoints has been the result of different readings of the sources (and of different sources!) by scholars of different backgrounds, who reacted and responded (consciously or unconsciously) to different political and ideological contexts. Readers must judge the degree to which my interpretation of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity in Latin-ruled Cyprus was shaped by who I am; they should do the same for the scholars whose views this book partially challenges.⁴⁸

Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins invites readers to see Cyprus, the most important Crusader stronghold and Venetian colony in the Eastern Mediterranean, as a religious, cultural, and ideological part of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Orthodox world. Like the relief decorating the Hadjigeorgakis mansion, this book tells the story of multiple, coexisting, and often contradicting identities; the story of

All that man is,
All mere complexities,
The fury and the mire of human veins.

(W. B. Yeats, "Byzantium," stanza 1)

What follows in the next pages is not only a journey to the world of Byzantine, Crusader, and Renaissance Cyprus, but also a journey into the depths of the historical experience of a conquered people, who, as we shall see, managed to survive under foreign occupation and reclaim their place in the land of their forefathers.

NOTES

1. On the mansion, see generally works in the bibliography by M. Pihler and E. Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou. On the Podocataro family, see L. de Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques latins de l’île de Chypre,” *Archives de l’Orient latin* 2 (1882), pp. 320–24; R. W. H. de Collenberg, “Études de prosopographie généalogique des chypriotes mentionnés dans les registres du Vatican, 1378–1471,” *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα* 1 (1984), pp. 650–53 (= MY); Collenberg, “Les premiers Podocataro. Recherches basées sur le testament de Hugues (1452),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 130–82; N. Patapiou, “Ἰωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος: ένας άγνωστος λόγιος του 16^{ου} αιώνα,” *Στασίνο*ς 13 (2011–12), pp. 223–38.

2. On Cyprus as part of Byzantium, see Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, vol. 3 of *Ἱστορία της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2005); D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia, 2009); T. C. Lounghis, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Safeguarding East Roman Identity (407–1204)* (Nicosia, 2010). On the eagle as a symbol of Byzantium, see generally *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991), S. V. “Eagles” (= ODB). The eagle in the relief is perhaps an allusion to the bonds of the Podocataro with the Cypriot branch of the Byzantine family of the Palaiologoi. I would like to thank Nasa Patapiou for pointing out the connection between these two noble families. On the identification of the mansion as the *casa grande* of the Podocataro family: N. Patapiou, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου Πίπη καὶ ἡ ἐνορία του ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας,” *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαὶ* 75 (2011), p. 246 (= KΣ).

3. On the veneration of the True Cross in Cyprus, see chapter 3. On the symbol of the cross in the Podocataro coat of arms (a variation of which appears in the relief from the Hadjigeorgakis mansion), see N. Patapiou,

“Ο λόγιος Ιωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος: η οικογένεια και ο εγκωμιαστικός του λόγος προς τον Ιούλιο Savorgnano,” *Στασίνας* 15 (2015–16), p. 267.

4. G. Aldrighetti and M. De Biasi, *Il gonfalone di San Marco. Analisi storico-araldica dello stemma, gonfalone, sigillo e bandiera della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1998).

5. R. Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959* (Oxford, 1998), p. 6.

6. On the Uprising of 1931 and its aftermath, see generally works in the bibliography by G. S. Georghallides, M. Given, M. Hatzopoulos, A. Heraclidou, and A. Rappas.

7. G. F. Hill, *The Ottoman Province–The British Colony, 1571–1948*, vol. 4 of *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 488; cf. Hill, *The Frankish Period, 1192–1432*, vol. 2 of *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 6 (n. 1); R. J. H. Jenkins, “Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688–965,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. G. E. Mylonas (St Louis, Missouri, 1953), p. 1014 [repr. in Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London, 1970), XXII]. Hill was among the candidates for writing a new history textbook for Cypriot students: A. Heraclidou, *Imperial Control in Cyprus: Education and Political Manipulation in the British Empire* (London–New York, 2017), p. 90. On earlier French and British works on the period of the Latin rule, see, for example, L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1855–61); J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (1901; repr. New York, 1972); N. Iorga, *France de Chypre* (Paris, 1931).

8. G. F. Hill, *The Frankish Period, 1432–1571*, vol. 3 of *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 1041; C. D. Schabel, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2001), p. 38 (= SN).

9. Holland, *Britain*, p. 30; E. Hatzivassiliou, *Greece and the Cold War: Front Line State, 1952–1967* (London–New York, 2006), p. 21; D. French, *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign in Cyprus, 1955–1959* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 53–54.

10. Field Marshal Harding to Colonial Office, December 26, 1955 (quoted by French, *Fighting*, p. 102). On the ecclesiastical leadership of the EOKA struggle, see E. Hatzivassiliou, “Ο τελευταίος ελληνικός εθνοαπελευθερωτικός αγώνας: Κύπρος, 1954–1959. Βασικοί άξονες και προοπτικές μελέτης,” in *Κύπρος. Αγώνες ελευθερίας στην ελληνική ιστορία*, ed. A. Voskos (Athens, 2010), pp. 274–75. On the role of the Orthodox Church of Greece, see S. Anagnostopoulou, “Makarios III, 1950–77: Creating the *Ethnarchic* State,” in *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, ed. A. Varnava and M. N. Michael (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), pp. 252–53.

11. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), pp. 128–29 (= *DOP*): Introducing the argument of the alleged self-sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse; C. Mango, “Chypre: Carrefour du monde byzantine,” in *XVe Congrès international d’études byzantines, Athènes, 5–11 septembre 1976. Rapports et co-rapports*, vol. 5.5 (Athens, 1976), pp. 9–11 [repr. in Mango, *Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and Its Heritage* (London, 1984), XVIII]: arguing for the existence of a distinct Cypriot *nation* in Byzantine times; cf. S. Vryonis Jr., “Recent Scholarship on Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks,” in *The “Past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Vryonis (Malibu, California, 1978), pp. 237–41.

12. C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991); A. Demosthenous, *Ο Έγκλειστος Νεόφυτος και ο κόσμος του* (Nicosia, 2007); Demosthenous, “Interpreting Byzantine Cyprus: Two Essays,” *Byzantinoslavica* 65 (2007), pp. 153–65 (= *BSI*); cf. S. Paschalides, “Η διερεύνηση τῶν κριτηρίων ἀγιότητος τοῦ Ὁσίου Νεοφύτου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, ed. B. T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 681–709.

13. S. Vryonis Jr., *Byzantine Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990), pp. 7–9; B. Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Κύπρου (4ος ἕως 20ος*

αἰών) (Athens, 1996), pp. 36–43; Th. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ ἰδεολογικὴ ἀπεξάρτηση τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας,” ΚΣ 64–65 (2000–01), pp. xv–xxv.

14. Papadopoulos (1963–81) and Kyrris (1981–87) were directors of the governmental Cyprus Research Center; Papadopoulos was also director of the Office of the History of Cyprus of the Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III. Englezakis was director of the Office of Ecclesiastical History of the Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III, and later visiting scholar at Cambridge (1988–90).

15. See, for example, C. P. Kyrris, “Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀμμοχώστου ἐπὶ Λατινοκρατίας (1192–1571),” in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, ed. F. Dölger and H.-G. Beck (Munich, 1960), pp. 278–88; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀρθόδοξη συνείδηση τοῦ Λεοντίου Μαχαιρᾶ,” *Κυπριακὸς Λόγος* 57–58 (1978), pp. 159–65; Kyrris, “Cypriot Identity, Byzantium, and the Latins 1192–1489,” *Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν* 19 (1992), pp. 169–85 (= *EKEE*); Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τοὺς δύο πρώτους αἰῶνες τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου* 2 (1993), pp. 149–86 (= *EKMIMK*); Kyrris, “Some Aspects of Leontios Makhairas’ Ethnoreligious Ideology, Cultural Identity and Historiographic Method,” *Στασίνο* 10 (1989–93), pp. 167–281; Th. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, vol. 4.1 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 543–665; Papadopoulos, “Δομὴ καὶ Λειτουργία τοῦ Φεουδαρχικοῦ Πολιτεύματος,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, vol. 4.2 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 759–84; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 229–96, 305–14.

16. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 664–65; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 45–46, 314, 620; cf. Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία Χρονολογικὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου* (Venice, 1788), pp. ε’–θ’; P. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2013), pp. 85–87. Note that Papadopoulos had studied Kyprianos’ work and wrote a preface to the

1971 edition of the *Ἱστορία Χρονολογική*. On this, see Th. Papadopoulos, “Τὸ ἱστορικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Κυπριανοῦ,” in *Ἱστορία Χρονολογική τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου (ἔκδοσις Παλιγγενεσίας)*, ed. Archimandrite Kyprianos (1788; repr. Nicosia, 1971), pp. 1*–6*; Th. Papadopoulos, “Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός,” *ΚΣ* 44 (1980), pp. 197–203. On the connection between ethnocentric scholarship and Kyprianos see also C. D. Schabel, “The myth of Queen Alice and the subjugation of the Greek clergy on Cyprus,” in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: les cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)*, ed. S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (Mont–Saint–Aignan, 2006), pp. 257–77 [repr. in C. D. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), II].

17. This was partly due to the fact that important Latin sources (e.g., canonical collections and papal letters) became easily accessible and properly edited and commented upon only after 1997. See C. D. Schabel’s comments in *SN*, pp. 42–43, and “The myth of Queen Alice,” p. 277.

18. A comprehensive introduction to the history and culture of Latin-ruled Cyprus is provided in the two collaborative volumes edited by Papadopoulos in 1995: Papadopoulos (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vols. 4.1–2 (with rich bibliography). On Greek manuscripts, see the important studies by J. Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), pp. XI–XIX, and C. N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, D.C.–Nicosia, 1993) (= *DGMC*). On ecclesiastical affairs of the Venetian period, not covered in detail in the aforementioned works, see the comprehensive bibliography in E. Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana (1473–1571). Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011). On Orthodox icons and mural paintings, see generally A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1992); A. Stylianos and J. Stylianos, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (second edition: Nicosia, 1997); I. A. Eliades (ed.), *Κυπριακῷ τῷ τρόπῳ. Maniera Cypria: The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century between Two Worlds* (Nicosia, 2017).

19. General collaborative works in this direction with further bibliography include: A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. D. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden–Boston, 2005); B. Arbel, E. Chayes, and H. Hendrix (eds.), *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)* (Turnhout, 2012); T. Papacostas and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011* (Nicosia, 2014); S. Rogge and M. Grünbart (eds.), *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter. Conference in Münster, 6–8 December 2012* (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2015). See also the discussion by Schabel in *SN*, pp. 34–86, and the bibliography listed by Chr. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-ruled Cyprus (1191–1571): Society, Spirituality and Identity,” PhD diss. (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 2016), pp. 515–675. On the edition of Latin canonical collections and papal letters, see: *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. N. Coureas and C. D. Schabel (Nicosia, 1997) (= *CHW*); *SN*, ed. Schabel; *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus/Lettres Papales Relatives à Chypre, 1196–1378*, 3 vols., ed. C. D. Schabel, C. Perrat, and J. Richard (Nicosia, 2010–12) (= *BC* 1–3). On the Latin Church of Cyprus and its relations with non-Latin Christians on the island, see N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1997); Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010); Schabel, *Greeks*.

20. On the general characteristics of (postmodern) historical revisionism, see R. J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (second edition: London, 2000), and K. N. Demetriou, “Ottoman Cyprus: New Studies on an Obscure Field. A Review,” *Thetis* 16–17 (2010), p. 4. On multiculturalism see, for example, A. Weyl Carr, “Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades,” Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), p. 251 [repr. in A. Weyl Carr, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2005), VII]; cf. S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic*

Purity (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 177, and the critical review of this work by D. Tsougarakis, “Venetian Crete and the Myth of Novel Ideas,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 31 (2001), pp. 43–65.

21. The political emergence of the ideology of “Cypriotism” aims at disconnecting both Greek and Turkish Cypriots from their attachment to motherlands by finding alternative ways of identification, based on their common Cypriot roots and historical past: N. G. Loizides, “Ethnic Nationalism and Adaptation in Cyprus,” *International Studies Perspectives* 8 (2007), pp. 172–89. On Greek Cypriot attempts of educational reform, see A. Varnava, “The Minorities of Cyprus in the *History of Cyprus* Textbook for Lyceum Students: A Critique,” in *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*, ed. A. Varnava, N. Coureas, and M. Elia (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009), pp. 312–13; Heraclidou, *Imperial Control*, pp. 262–64. On Greek Cypriot “Europeanization,” see studies in the bibliography by Ch. Ioannou-G. Kentas, and A. Sepos.

22. Varnava, “The Minorities,” p. 313.

23. A. Varnava and M. N. Michael, “Archbishop-*Ethnarchs* since 1767,” in *The Archbishops*, ed. Varnava and Michael, p. 16 (emphasis mine).

24. Schabel, “The Myth of Queen Alice,” p. 277; Schabel, “The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus,” in “*Sweet Land . . .*” *Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, ed. J. Chrysostomides and Ch. Dendrinos (Camberley, 2006), p. 170 (repr. in *Schabel*, *Greeks*, I).

25. G. Grivaud, “Éveil de la nation chyproise (XII^e–XV^e siècles),” *Sources Travaux Historiques* 43–44 (1995), pp. 105–16; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Ethnic Names and the Construction of Group Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Cyprus: The Case of *Κυπριώτης*,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), pp. 259–75; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 59–62; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Alterity and Identity in Lusignan Cyprus from ca. 1350 to ca. 1450: The Testimonies of Philippe de Mézières and Leontios Makhairas,” in *Identity*, ed. Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, pp. 37–66; J. G. Schryver, “Colonialism or Convivencia [*sic*] in Frankish Cyprus?,” in

Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion, ed. I. W. Zartman (Athens, Georgia–London, 2010), p. 157. Schryver revised his earlier position in “Excavating the Identities of Frankish Cyprus,” in *Identity*, ed. Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, pp. 1–11.

26. A. Makrides, “Τα οκτώ κύματα του κυπριωτισμού,” *Τετράδια Πολιτικού Διαλόγου, Έρευνας και Κριτικής* 44 (1999), pp. 69–79; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ ἰδεο-λογική,” pp. xxi–xxii (n. 16); D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Ἀποκαλύψεως ὁράματα στὴν Κύπρο. Ἱστορική πραγματικότητα καὶ ἐσχατολογικὴ προοπτική,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), p. 402 (n. 66); Triantaphyllopoulos, “Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύση στὴν Κύπρο. Περιδιαβάζοντας στὰ χριστιανικὰ μνημεῖα της μὲ ὁδηγὸ τὸν Γιώργο Σεφέρη,” *ΚΣ* 67–8 (2003–04), pp. 59–77. The Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy has also expressed their worry concerning the policy of educational reform promoted by the state: V. Roudometof and I. Dietzel, “The Orthodox Church of Cyprus,” in *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. L. N. Leustean (Abingdon–New York, 2014), p. 172.

27. A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge–New York, 2007), pp. 353 (n. 78), 358 (quotation).

28. Schabel in *SN*, p. 44. Throughout this book, I have used the term “ethnic” to describe premodern expressions of “nationalism.”

29. Schabel, “The Status,” p. 169.

30. N. Coureas, “How Frankish was the Frankish Ruling Class of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity,” *EKEE* 37 (2015), p. 78.

31. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Alterity,” p. 65; cf. Tsougarakis, “Venetian,” p. 52. On ethnic and social identity see also W. O. Duba and C. D. Schabel, *Bullarium Hellenicum: Pope Honorius III’s Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216–1227)* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 59–60 (= *BH*).

32. Papadopoulos, “Δομή,” pp. 760 (acculturation), 766–71 (spiritual resistance), 777–82 (interaction).

33. A. Momigliano, “The Rules of the Game in the Study of Ancient History,” trans. D. R. Schwartz, in *Reading the First Century: On*

Reading Josephus and Studying Jewish History of the First Century, ed. Schwartz (Tübingen, 2013), p. 189.

34. Ph. Sheldrake, *A Brief History of Spirituality* (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria 2007), p. 2.

35. To (mis)use the term famously introduced by N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest, 1935).

36. On the theoretical framework applied in this book, see below ch. 2.

37. Demetriou, “Ottoman Cyprus,” p. 63 (emphasis in the original).

38. On this ethnic name, see P. Antonopoulos and Ch. Dendrinos, “The Eastern Roman Empire at the Turn of the First Millenium,” in *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. P. Urbančzyk (Warsaw, 2001), p. 167 (n. 1); G. Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 6 (speaking of “Byzantine Romans”); T. A. Kaplanis, “Antique Names and Self-Identification: Hellenes, Graikoi, and Romaioi from Late Byzantium to the Greek Nation-State,” in *Re-imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. D. Tziovas (New York, 2014), pp. 81–97; A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2015). On its use in Cyprus see, e.g., *DGMC*, pp. 158, 250, 261, 266, 270; but cf. the parallel use of “Cypriots,” discussed by Nicolaou-Konnari, “Ethnic names,” pp. 259–75.

39. See, for example, P. I. Kirmitsis, “Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας,” *ΚΣ* 47 (1983), pp. 23–25, 31, 37–52; N. Coureas, “Ἡ Μονή Αγίου Γεωργίου των Μαγγάνων ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Ιστορικών Σπουδών* 2 (1994), p. 285 (= *EKEIS*); Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 45–46, 293, 316; Schabel “The Status,” p. 199. On Byzantine Λατινόφωνες as a group, referring to those who had accepted the Council of Florence (1439) and the Latin doctrines and practices, see generally Mark Eugenikos’ *Encyclical Letter Against the Greco-Latins* in L. Petit, “Documents relatifs au concile de Florence II: oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d’Éphèse,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 17 (1923), pp. 449–59 [311–21] (= *PO*).

40. Cf. C. D. Schabel, “The Greek Bishops of Cyprus, 1260–1340, and the *Synodikon Kyprion*,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), p. 231 (repr. in Schabel,

Greeks, IV).

41. Cf. N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge–New York, 2009), pp. 4–5.

42. Cf. S. Alexopoulos, “Did the Work of Fr. Alexander Schmemmann Influence Modern Greek Theological Thought? A Preliminary Assessment,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 53.2–3 (2009), pp. 294–98 (= SVTQ); see also G. Demacopoulos and A. Papanikolaou (eds.), *Orthodox Constructions of the West* (New York, 2013).

43. There is vast literature on the subject; see, for example, N. Svoronos, *Το ελληνικό έθνος: Γένεση και διαμόρφωση του Νέου Ελληνισμού* (Athens, 2004); Kaldellis, *Hellenism*; Page, *Being Byzantine*; Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*; Kaldellis, “The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium: An Evidence-Based Approach,” *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα* 27 (2017), pp. 173–210 (= BΣ); cf. J. McNerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Malden–Oxford–Chichester, 2014), and A. D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria, 2008). On ethnoreligiosity, see generally V. Karpov, D. Barry, and E. Lisovskaya, “Ethnodoxy: How Popular Ideologies Fuse Ethnic Identities,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51.4 (2012), pp. 638–55.

44. On Syrian Melkite identity, see J. P. Monferrer-Sala, “Between Hellenism and Arabicization. On the formation of an ethnolinguistic identity of the Melkite communities in the heart of Muslim rule,” *Al-Qantara* 33.2 (2012), pp. 445–71. On Byzantine-Georgian relations, see briefly ODB, s.v. “Georgia,” and “Georgian Art and Architecture.” On the Syrian Melkites and Georgians in Cyprus, see generally Schabel, “Religion,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 164, 168–70; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 479–81, 486–87. On the Georgian (later Greek) monastery of Gialia, see W. Djobadze, “Observations on the Georgian Monastery of Yalia (Ġalia) in Cyprus,” *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1984), pp. 196–209; cf. Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρουῶς (Γεώργιος Βο(σ)τρ(υ)ηνός ή Βουστρώνιος), *Διήγησις Κρονίκας Κύπρου*, ed. G. Kechagioglou (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 108–09, with English

translation (= ET) by R. M. Dawkins, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489* (Victoria, 1964), par. 68. The Pipēs (“Bibi”) monastery in Nicosia might have been a Syrian Melkite establishment that later passed to the Greeks: Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, ed. B. Katsaros, “<Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου> Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς Συνόδου τῆς Κύπρου,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 21 (2000), p. 51 (ll. 685–96); A. Papageorghiou, “Ὁ καθεδρικὸς ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου. Προβλήματα τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πίπτη καὶ τῆς εἰκονογράφησης τοῦ ναοῦ,” *ΚΣ* 61 (1997), pp. 47–9; Patapiou, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου Πίπτη,” pp. 245–54 (with further bibliography). On the pro-Crusader stance of the Georgian Kingdom, see B. Hamilton, “Latins and Georgians and the Crusader Kingdom,” *Al-Masāk* 23.2 (2011), pp. 117–24. The multiplicity of Syrian Melkite identities is mirrored in a thirteenth-century Cypriot icon of St. George, depicting a turbaned Syrian Melkite in supplication; it is noteworthy that the icon contains Western stylistic elements and a Greek inscription: Chr. Hadjichristodoulou, “St George the Diasorites,” in *Our Lady of Lefkosia: The Church of Phaneromeni and Its Relics* (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 124–27.

45. To use a term introduced by V. Stanković, “Rethinking the Position of Serbia within Byzantine Oikoumene in the Thirteen Century,” in *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and After the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. Stanković (Lanham–Boulder–New York–London, 2016), pp. 99–100 (n. 2).

46. Momigliano, “The Rules,” pp. 188–89.

47. N. Hampson, “Subjectivity and Objectivity in History,” *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 7.3 (1976), p. 188.

48. On the chimera of absolute objectivity, see the bibliographic presentation by E. Kaffa, *The Greek Church of Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople during the Frankish Era (1196–1303). A New Perspective* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014), ch. 1 (various references to the objectivity of revisionist scholars). Conscious or unconscious expressions of subjectivity/bias can be found in both ethnocentric and revisionist studies: Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 613–14 (Eastern Orthodox interpretation of history); Carr, “Art in the court,” p. 251 (“American ideal of multiculturalism”); C. D. Schabel, “Hugh the Just: The Further

Rehabilitation of King Hugh IV Lusignan of Cyprus,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 151–52 (repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, X: Modern American Ideals of Pluralism, Tolerance, and Multiplicity); Schabel, “Martyrs and Heretics, Intolerance of Intolerance: The Execution of Thirteen Monks in Cyprus in 1231,” in Schabel, *Greeks*, pp. 1–3, III (discussing scholarly/textbook presentations of the martyrdom of the Kantara Monks).

Chapter 1

“Under Heavy Storm and Tempest”

The Coming of the Latins

According to Western sources of the Third Crusade (1189–92), the story of how the Latins conquered Cyprus in 1191 begins with a storm. While on its way to liberate Jerusalem from the Ayyubid sultan Saladin (1174–93), a Crusader fleet led by King Richard I of England (1189–99) is said to have encountered bad weather outside Rhodes; a number of his ships were separated and wrecked in Cyprus, making the rest of the fleet come after them. For almost seven years, Cyprus was *de facto* cut-off from Byzantium due to the rebellion of “Emperor” Isaac Komnēnos (ca. 1184–91), a member of the Byzantine imperial family who had established his oppressive regime on the island, harassing and persecuting the local nobility. The unfriendly reception of the Latins on Isaac’s part quickly led to the escalation of tension; Richard’s rapid victory over the self-proclaimed “emperor” of Cyprus marked the end of Byzantine rule on the island. Although medieval Western historians justify Richard’s actions by presenting Isaac as anti-Latin and pro-Muslim, the conquest of 1191 seems to have been motivated by strategic reasons, since Cyprus offered the Crusaders valuable resources and a base for operations close to the Syro-Palestinian coast.¹

The heavy taxation imposed on the Cypriots by the Knights Templar, to whom Richard had sold the island after plundering it

and crushing a local uprising, led to a popular revolt in Nicosia that was suppressed in 1192. The Templars returned Cyprus to Richard, who sold it for a second time to Guy of Lusignan (d. 1194/95), formerly king of Jerusalem; his successors were to rule the island until the late fifteenth century.² In 1204, the rising political tension between Byzantium and the Latin West exploded into the sack of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade, causing the subsequent partition of the empire's lands and the creation of Latin states in the Aegean.³ According to an anonymous Byzantine author writing in Nicaea, center of the exiled imperial government and Patriarchate of Constantinople (1204–61), the high Byzantino-Latin antagonism brought the completion of the gradual division between Eastern and Western Christianity.⁴

Catherine Holmes has recently noted that the “rhetoric of polarized religious identity” in medieval sources often “masks a very different lived experience,” advising historians to be careful not to replace “an overly polarized depiction of Latin-Greek relations . . . by an equally oversimplistic model of confessional harmony.”⁵ A fresh reading of the crucial early decades of Latin rule in Cyprus requires a new interpretation of the sources, aiming to better understand the nature of polarized religious rhetoric. At the same time, this approach encourages the historian to read between the lines, tracing the reasons that shaped different (and sometimes contradicting) attitudes and identities within the Orthodox community. In order to investigate the different reactions provoked by the Crusader conquest and the gradual submission of the Orthodox Cypriot Church to the papacy and the local Latin hierarchy, I will focus on expressions of both collaboration and noncoercive anti-Latinism.⁶ This chapter covers the early period of Latin rule in Cyprus, beginning with the Crusader conquest of 1191

and ending with the crystallization of a new ecclesiastical order on the island, following the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260).

1. TOWARDS A *MODUS VIVENDI* (1191–1220S)

When Richard's Crusader army set foot on Cyprus in 1191, the Greek monk Neophytos the Recluse (ca. 1134–1219) had been living in his rock-cut hermitage at Tala, Paphos, for more than thirty years. At the age of eighteen, Neophytos left his village to enter the monastery of St. John Chrysostom in Koutzoubendēs; his fervent desire for inner contemplation later led him to a six-month pilgrimage in the Holy Land, before creating his own hermitage in Tala (1160). Under the aegis of the local bishop of Paphos, the hermitage eventually became a coenobitic community, with Abbot Neophytos directing and guiding from his cell the life of his monks.⁷ The Recluse is the earliest Greek Cypriot author referring to the events of 1191 and the founding of the Lusignan Kingdom, which makes his account a valuable source for exploring local reactions to the coming of the Latins.

Writing sometime after the events of 1191, Neophytos described the condition on the island to one of his spiritual disciples, an anonymous Cypriot noble in the service of the Byzantine emperor. He compared the situation to “a raging sea under heavy storm and tempest,” stating that “great was the mourning and unbearable the smoke . . . coming from the north,” and adding that “a foreign people has multiplied in our land.”⁸ Neophytos' dramatic metaphor implicitly emphasizes Byzantine rights on Cyprus by focusing on the disturbance of order (τάξις) caused by the island's political alienation from the empire.⁹ The Byzantine notion of τάξις was rooted in the widespread belief that the order of things on earth

mirrored and imitated the invisible reality of the heavenly Kingdom, a hierarchical universe ruled in harmony by God's love.¹⁰ In Byzantium, τάξις was colored by interdependence and cooperation between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*. The emperor was considered by law to be head and protector of the church, thus being involved in ecclesiastical administration and participating in theological discussions; he was unable, however, to exercise his spiritual authority without the consent of his clergy and subjects. In Byzantine eyes, there was only one orthodox church serving God's plan for the salvation of humanity, and only one empire defending the true faith.¹¹

Neophytos' negative view of the Latins must have been enhanced by the disturbance of established order: the Crusader conquest created a vacuum in the support and protection provided by the empire to the island's Orthodox Church and society. Deprived of its local patrons, Neophytos' monastery had to face the daily influx of impoverished pilgrims seeking hospitality and spiritual comfort. While the Recluse had initially wished for his community to follow a rule of complete poverty, he had no other choice but to pursue a pragmatic policy of ecclesiastical leniency (οἰκονομία). Eventually, the brotherhood acquired a small piece of land for cultivation, a vineyard, and some flocks in order serve the pilgrims' needs. For a small monastic community like Neophytos', the influx of pilgrims in times of crisis did not contribute to the increase of monastic funds but became a heavy burden, creating a greater need for patronage and support. Consequently, we can easily understand why the Recluse requested (1214) from King Hugh I of Lusignan (1205–18) to act as lay guardian of his monastery and facilitate the contacts of his monks with the Byzantine government.¹² Around the same period, Bishop Neilos of Tamasia (fl. ca. 1210), formerly abbot of the Virgin of Makhairas community, instructed his monks

to seek the protection of the island's Latin overlords in case of violation of their rights.¹³

Clearly, Neophytos' appeal to the Lusignans is a focal point for understanding how the Greek Cypriots adapted to the new conditions created by the conquest of 1191, without necessarily abandoning their Byzantine Orthodox identity. While securing Latin royal patronage in order to support his monastery and those depending on its ministry, the Recluse also developed a line of noncoercive anti-Latinism through spiritual introspection that functioned as a channel for identity preservation. Addressing his aforementioned anonymous disciple, Neophytos considered both Isaac's oppression and the coming of the Latins as an expression of divine punishment for his people's sins, stating that the situation would only change when they repented and obeyed the divine commandments.¹⁴ In the *Foundation Charter* of his monastery, the Recluse drew a parallel between the present state of Cyprus under the Crusaders and the sufferings of Israel during the Babylonian exile.¹⁵ By employing the exegetical model of the Babylonian captivity as a "paradigmatic experience,"¹⁶ he sought to provide a biblical precedent to the traumatic experiences undergone by his people (including death, poverty, and humiliation).¹⁷ Above all, his hermeneutical association of Israel's Babylonian captivity with the Latin conquest reflects the need to interpret the incomprehensibility of pain by discovering the reason behind the divine wrath.¹⁸

Neophytos' emphasis on the just nature of theodicy and the need to repent should not be considered as a passive reaction, but as a way of spiritual and noncoercive resistance.¹⁹ His visualization of the island's sufferings as natural disharmony (i.e., the "storm and tempest" metaphor), is both a lamentation for the traumatic conditions of defeat, and a bold expression of the fact that

“although bleeding [the victim] is not dead; although shattered [s/he] is unwilling to be silent.”²⁰ Thus, grief and hope transformed noncoercive protest into a process of identity preservation. Not surprisingly, the last two decades of Neophytos’ life, namely the period following the founding of the Lusignan Kingdom and the Latin Church in Cyprus, were marked by intensification in his ascetic struggle for inner quietness and contemplation, through his seclusion in a new and more remote cell.²¹

The degree to which the views of Neophytos, an Orthodox monk writing for his monastic community and circle of spiritual disciples and pilgrims, were shared by other members of the island’s society is not clear. It is true that Neophytos is one of the few sources historians possess to recover the *vox populi* during the early period of Crusader rule in Cyprus. His pro-Byzantine orientation is confirmed by another Greek source, the Nicene synodal confirmation of the election of Archbishop Isaiah of Lydda in Palestine as archbishop of Cyprus in 1209, which shows that the Orthodox Cypriots preserved their spiritual bonds with Byzantium and the Ecumenical Patriarchate.²² At the same time, the absence of anti-Latin coercion, reflected in the submission and collaboration of the local Greek elite with the Frankish²³ regime, suggests that the dominant tendency was that of reaching a compromise with the island’s new rulers. Indeed, the careers and family distinction of Greek and Syrian notaries in Lusignan and Latin episcopal service, highlighted by their activities as mediators between the Cypriot Kingdom and the Byzantine imperial court in Nicaea, mirror the establishment of a *modus vivendi* in the decades that followed the Latin conquest.²⁴ The lack of open resistance against the Lusignans was further facilitated by the maintenance of preexisting socioeconomic and legal structures that affected the

daily life of the Orthodox Cypriot population,²⁵ as well as by the fact that the first Latin settlers included members of the “old *Polain* families (second and third generation Westerners in the Levant), [who] were already acclimatized to the realities of the East.”²⁶ This is an important observation: as we shall see throughout this book, these Levantine Latins were often more tolerant than those coming from the West.

Revisionist scholars have rightly observed that “Greek society in Cyprus . . . lacked lay leaders of sufficient standing to act at the foci of discontent,” arguing that the Lusignan dynasty was probably able “to neutralize the Orthodox clergy as a political force.”²⁷ What the evidence shows, however, is that the employment of coercion by the papacy and its lay collaborators in Cyprus during the 1220s and 1230s caused various reactions among the local population. As we shall see below, while some Orthodox were willing to die for their faith, when provoked by the Latins, others seem to have chosen a pragmatic line of identity preservation through superficial submission. This variety of attitudes indicates that the consolidation of Western ecclesiastical authority on the island invited the renegotiation of the Orthodox Cypriot policy of *oïkovomía*, first introduced by monastic leaders like Neophytos the Recluse and Neilos of Tamasia, and strengthened the adaptation of Byzantine Orthodox awareness in the changing conditions of the thirteenth century.

The Latin Church of Cyprus was founded in 1196, when King Aimery of Lusignan (1194–1205) requested from Pope Celestine III (1191–98) to establish a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy on the island. Celestine’s letter to Aimery indicates that the pope saw the conquest of 1191 in a radically different way to Neophytos the Recluse. In accordance with Crusader ideology, which sanctioned war against heretics and infidels, Celestine’s letter mentions that

the rule of Cyprus was granted to Aimery by God and that the king was striving to lead the island back to the “Orthodox [i.e., Roman] Mother Church.”²⁸ Celestine’s reaction reflected Western views that ecclesiastical differences with the Byzantine Orthodox Church were not to be resolved through sincere theological dialogue on equal terms, but only with the acceptance of papal supremacy in spiritual matters and jurisdiction.²⁹ In 1201, when the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) made a rather delayed complaint to Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning the loss of Cyprus, the latter replied that he would examine the possibility of restoration to Byzantium, but noted that the island, which had already left the empire’s political control during Isaac’s rule, was important for the Crusaders; he also warned Alexios not to shed Christian blood by attempting to recover his former province.³⁰ Papal interests were, clearly, closer to those of the Lusignans, focusing on the continuation of holy war against the Muslims, and the consolidation of Western spiritual authority in Cyprus.

Rome’s positive view of the 1191 events should be interpreted in the wider context of papal ecclesiology. This was the result of a gradual process of reform within the Western Church, undertaken during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and emphasizing canonical obedience to the papacy as a strong element of unity for the fragmented political landscape of Latin Christianity. Western canon law attributed, for example, “fullness of power” (*plenitudo potestatis*) to the Roman pontiff in his capacity as supreme judge, and elevated the status of papal decretals to that of conciliar canons.³¹ As Yves Congar (1904–95) has correctly observed, the elevated role of the Roman pope as “primate and arbiter [of] the Universal Church” could not easily be reconciled with the Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiological principle that episcopal and conciliar power was “less a personal authority than a tradition

preserved by the churches [and] controlled by the Councils.”³² These ecclesiological perceptions played a major role in the gradual estrangement between East and West. The rift was further widened by ecclesiastical antagonisms³³ and theological controversies. One of the thorniest issues was the observance of different Eucharistic practices: while the Byzantines rejected the Latin use of unleavened bread (azymes) in the Eucharist, the Latins accepted both kinds, although considering more correct the use of unleavened bread.³⁴ Friction was further caused by the different approaches to the question of whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone (as the Byzantines argued), or from the Father and the Son (according to the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque*).³⁵ All the above made it difficult to restore the broken bonds of ecclesiastical communion during the turbulent twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In addition, the supreme status of the Roman Church among all other churches shaped Western perceptions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, which inevitably influenced papal policies towards non-Latin Christians.

Canon 9 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) recognized the existence of various rites and customs (*varios ritus et mores*) under one faith (*sub una fide*) and authorized the appointment of vicars obedient to the papacy, who would assist the local diocesan bishops in their ministry.³⁶ Bernard Hamilton has encapsulated the essence of this policy by stating that “unity was more important than uniformity, and that diversity was permissible in many matters.”³⁷ According to William W. Bassett, the reference to non-Latin rites and customs reflects the tendency of Latin canon law “to confine rite to liturgy and the prescriptions of cult, while considering separately the other aspects of daily Christian living.”³⁸ While the acceptance of papal authority provided a canonical framework that

could (and did) protect non-Latin Christians from coercion, this was not always the case.³⁹ Institutional subordination to the papacy meant that non-Latin Christians were vulnerable targets for the promotion of ritual and doctrinal uniformity by zealous Latin churchmen. Despite papal promises to maintain non-Latin rites, efforts were often “being made to change practices and alter traditions in devotional activity and church discipline.”⁴⁰ In the words of Brett E. Whalen, this “was a dramatic example of *what* the Roman church’s apostolic foundations meant for its unassailable position of supremacy over the faithful.”⁴¹

The first step towards the institutional subordination of Orthodox Cypriots was taken more than two decades after the founding of the Latin Church. The delay in the implementation of papal policy in Cyprus was largely the result of papal attempts to control ecclesiastical affairs in the conquered Byzantine lands (especially in Greece). Confiscations of Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical property on the part of the island’s secular overlords seem not to have disturbed the relatively calm relations between the Latin and Orthodox hierarchies.⁴²

The situation began to change in the 1220s. In 1220 and 1222, the Frankish crown and nobles agreed, with Pope Honorius III’s (1216–27) consent, that the Orthodox Cypriot clergy should be relieved from feudal obligations and tithes, and that there would be no further confiscations of Orthodox ecclesiastical property. Honorius insisted on the subordination of the Greek, Syrian Melkite, Jacobite, Nestorian, and Maronite hierarchies. The pope also argued that since the Fourth Lateran Council (canon 9) forbade the symbiosis of two or more bishops in the same diocese, the island’s fourteen Orthodox bishoprics should be reorganized. Despite the lenient stance of Queen Alice (d. 1246), it was finally decided (in 1222) that the fourteen Orthodox bishoprics should be

reduced to only four: Solea (presumably for the archbishop of Leukosia/Nicosia), Arsinoē (presumably for the bishop of Paphos), Karpasia (presumably for the bishop of Constantia/Ammochōstos/Famagusta), and Leukara (presumably for the bishop of Amathous/Neapolis/Limassol). These hierarchs would be subordinated to the Western Church, serving as coadjutors under the authority of Latin diocesans.⁴³

The reorganization of Orthodox bishoprics threatened to abolish the autocephalous status enjoyed by the Orthodox Cypriot Church since the fifth century. This privilege, which had been confirmed by the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus (431) and Trullo (691/92), recognized the ancient right of Cypriot bishops to perform clerical ordinations without external intervention, following the holy canons and their ancient customs.⁴⁴ The island's tradition of independence, which preceded the official ratification of the autocephaly, was further sanctioned by local hagiographical narratives concerning the apostolic founding of the Cypriot Church by Sts. Paul and Barnabas. Interwoven with the notion of doctrinal correctness, insular independence was consolidated by the antiheretical activities of prominent Cypriot churchmen, including St. Epiphanius of Constantia (367–403) and the sixth-century hagiographer Alexander the Monk.⁴⁵ The imperial appointment of Cypriot archbishops, which seems to have become a regular practice from around the tenth century onwards, did not abolish the concept of autocephaly, since episcopal ordinations continued to be performed as before.⁴⁶ The popes, however, reinterpreted the privilege of autocephaly in terms of independence from patriarchal (not from papal) authority and considered that it had passed to the island's Latin bishops. In the same direction revisionist scholars have interpreted the autocephaly as an abstract concept, although from the Byzantine Orthodox perspective it constituted one of the

pillars of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under Byzantium.⁴⁷ This could explain why the Orthodox Cypriots took pride in their status of ecclesiastical independence, employing hagiography, ecclesiastical art, and ritual performance to reaffirm, monumentalize, and elevate this administrative concept to an ecclesiological prerequisite for the preservation of doctrinal and liturgical orthodoxy in Cyprus.⁴⁸

The immediate reinterpretation of the Cypriot autocephaly by the papacy in the thirteenth century and the control imposed over the island's Orthodox Church paved the way for the culmination of tension between Greeks and Latins. In 1231, the ruling elite's failure to act "as a buffer between the Orthodox community and the Latin clergy" severely challenged the *modus vivendi* reached during the early decades of the Latin rule.⁴⁹ The incident discussed below indicates that some Orthodox were willing, when provoked by the Latins, to sacrifice their lives for their faith; at the same time, others sought to preserve their identity and interests by recognizing papal authority. Clearly, the policy of οἰκονομία pursued by Orthodox monastic pastors had created precedents of both spiritual anti-Latinism and accommodation with the Latins. This contributed to the development of a variety of Orthodox attitudes, inviting further exploration of the adaptation of Byzantine Orthodox identity under Western ecclesiastical authority.

2. THE MONKS OF KANTARA

In 1218 King Hugh I died, leaving the throne to his infant son, Henry I (1218–53/54). The dynastic crisis that followed exploded into civil war between the noble family of the Ibelins and the partisans of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1220–50), who was involved in Cypriot affairs as the island's suzerain. The Ibelins

eventually managed to defeat Frederick's Cypriot supporters in 1233, exercising influence over the Lusignan crown for almost seventy years. The rapprochement between the Ibelins and the papacy in the early stages of the war exposed the Orthodox Cypriots to Pope Gregory IX's (1227–41) pressures for secular coercion against "Greek heresy."⁵⁰

Sometime around 1227, the monastery of the Virgin of Kantara appears to have been refounded by the monks John and Konōn, two Byzantine refugees from Kalon Oros, a major monastic center in Seljūk-threatened Asia Minor. The community quickly attracted followers from Kalon Oros and all over the island. In ca. 1228, the Kantara Monks welcomed Master Andrew, a Dominican who wished to discuss with them various issues concerning theology and sacramental practice. The Monks' defense of the exclusive use of leavened bread in the Eucharist and their perception of the Latin practice as heretical led Andrew to summon them in Nicosia, in order to be interrogated by Archbishop Eustorge (ca. 1217–50). Accompanied by two Greek Cypriot monks of noble origin from the Makhairas monastery, they repeated their position before Eustorge. As a result, they were incarcerated for three years, refusing to accept the Latin position that both leavened and unleavened bread could be used in the Eucharist and labelling the Latin practice as heretical. Pope Gregory IX, a protagonist in the suppression of the Cathar sect in Languedoc, instructed Eustorge to proceed against the Monks as if against heretics. Any corporal punishment could only be imposed by the secular arm, presumably John of Ibelin acting in the name of King Henry I. In May 1231, twelve out of thirteen Monks (one had died in prison) were publicly tortured and burned at the stake.⁵¹

The harsh and humiliating death of the Kantara community, a case of extreme anti-Greek persecution in the relations between

Orthodox and Latins, has been interpreted by scholars in different ways. On the one hand, Schabel has read the event as the outcome of Dominican provocation and of Greek intolerance against the lenient Western practice of permitting the sacramental use of both leavened and unleavened bread: the Latins eventually paid the Monks back in their own coin by responding to intolerance with intolerance.⁵² On the other hand, Papadakis and Meyendorff have seen the incident as “an unusually eloquent example of the brutal fashion by which occasionally the goal of conformity was proclaimed and imposed on the conquered.”⁵³ As Schabel has shown, one cannot doubt the uniqueness of the circumstances leading to the martyrdom: the minority of Henry I, the war against Frederick, the involvement of a Dominican friar in the incident (Master Andrew had not only provoked the Monks, but he was also in charge of their execution), and the absence of the Latin archbishop (Eustorge was probably in Acre when the papal letter arrived in Cyprus). Yet, it is also true that these reasons alone cannot fully explain why the pope ordered the execution of the Monks, or why the Monks had rejected the Latin sacramental practice. Interpreting the martyrdom as an isolated incident, nonrepresentative of the relations between Orthodox and Latins on the island, unavoidably disconnects the Monks’ actions and spirituality from their Byzantine Orthodox context.

What makes the martyrdom indicative of the relations between Orthodox and Latins in thirteenth-century Cyprus is neither the number of the victims involved, nor the frequency in which it occurred, but its theological and ecclesiological implications. The religious exclusivism that highlighted the Monks’ uncompromising stance towards the Latin Eucharist was deeply rooted in their conviction that the long experience of their tradition sanctioned the use of leavened bread alone as a vehicle of divine immanence.⁵⁴

“The dichotomy between leavened and unleavened played a conspicuous role in the process of the demarcation of Christianity from the Jewish cultic practices,” notes Yury P. Avvakumov. “In the mid-11th century, the Latin and the Armenian cultic traditions were objects of assaults on part of the Greeks who accused Latins and [non-Chalcedonian] Armenians of Judaizing.”⁵⁵ Gradually, the inner logic of the Orthodox position was highlighted by the need to reaffirm the concept of human participation in the two natures of Christ in theology and liturgical praxis, according to the decrees of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 (“Christ is perfect God and perfect human”).⁵⁶ From their own perspective, the Latins, who were also Chalcedonians and had their own symbolic interpretation of unleavened and leavened bread, perceived the Byzantine rejection of unleavened bread as a challenge to papal authority and its power to determine doctrinal and liturgical correctness.⁵⁷

Like Neophytos the Recluse, the Monks of Kantara perceived their duty to resist the Latins in spiritual and noncoercive terms. This is reflected in the Monks’ hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith*, composed during their incarceration and publicly read on the day of their last trial and martyrdom (May 19, 1231). This important text, published and discussed here for the first time, is an apology for the Monks’ defense of the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread, based on the Byzantine Orthodox interpretation of the scriptures and holy canons.⁵⁸ The *Confession* stresses the Monks’ reluctance to abandon their life of inner quietness and contemplative prayer (ἡσυχία) in Kantara, and points out that the main reason for their involvement in the Eucharistic controversy was Latin provocation.⁵⁹ A poetic colophon composed by Makarios-Maximos the Kalorite, one of the community’s

incarcerated members, states that the reason behind the Monks' sufferings had been their sincere confession of faith, and underlines that it was the Latins who had first disturbed their state of inner quietness at Kantara.⁶⁰ The same view of the Monks as peaceful ascetics devoted to the quest of inner quietness appears in at least two thirteenth-century hagiographical narratives of their martyrdom,⁶¹ one of which mentions the Latins as "servants of the devil" (ὕπηρέται τοῦ διαβόλου)—a characterization that attributes their anti-Orthodox coercion to spiritual motivations.⁶²

Spiritual anti-Latin resistance also appears in the emphatic depiction of the Monks by thirteenth-century hagiographers as bearers of the "Great Habit" (μέγα σχῆμα), the highest order in Orthodox monasticism.⁶³ The theological significance of the tonsure to the "Great Habit," which most of the Monks had received in prison in preparation for their martyrdom, is that it was perceived to transform the ascetic into an "angelic" soldier, who acquired God's grace for the cultivation of the virtues of repentance, humility, obedience, vigilance, virginity, self-control, self-sacrifice, and ceaseless prayer.⁶⁴ Moreover, hagiographical narratives of the martyrdom draw a connection between the Monks' sacrifice and the early Christian theology of martyrdom as "public liturgy." This liturgical view of martyrdom, inspired by Christ's redemptive Passion, interpreted Christian self-sacrifice in the context of spiritual combat against demons.⁶⁵ The hagiographical association of the Monks with the sacrifice of the Three Youths in the Furnace (Daniel 3), stresses the liturgical symbolism of the martyrdom, presenting the Monks as offering themselves to God for the sake of their community.⁶⁶

Although the image of the Monks emerging from the Greek sources should not be considered as being more historically

“correct” than their negative depiction in the Latin sources, it nevertheless mirrors the element of spiritual anti-Latin resistance, which is important in understanding the Monks themselves and their actions, including their willingness to die for their faith. Far from being intolerant or coercive zealots of the Orthodox tradition (since they did not attempt to impose their view on others, but only defended their own faith and practices), the Monks continued Neophytos the Recluse’s line of noncoercive resistance. Their martyrdom, instigated by Gregory IX’s policy, had a serious impact on Cypriot society and Byzantino-Latin relations. Thus, while the 1231 event sparked a series of contacts between the exiled Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the papacy, resulting in the discussions of Nicaea and the Council of Nymphaeum (1234), the subsequent failure of these negotiations reveals how difficult it was for the two sides to restore the broken sacramental communion between East and West.⁶⁷

The involvement of Patriarch Germanos II of Constantinople (1223–40) in Cypriot affairs around the same period supported the Orthodox Cypriot line of noncoercive resistance; at the same time, it exposed the practical difficulties in maintaining the delicate balance between submission to the Latins and preservation of Orthodox identity. In 1223, Germanos wrote a letter to the Greeks and Syrian Melkites of the island. He noted that the Latins had expelled Archbishop Neophytos (ca. 1222–51) from his see, leaving the Orthodox Cypriot flock without pastoral guidance, and leading to Cypriot calls for the patriarch’s intervention. Germanos instructed the Cypriots to pursue a policy of accommodation (οἰκονομία) towards the Latin demands, keeping in mind that they should preserve their canons, traditions, and customs, according to the principle of theological correctness and accuracy (ἀκρίβεια). Although superficial submission was acceptable, canonical

obedience to the Latins was to be avoided at all cost.⁶⁸ In 1229, at the time of the Monks' incarceration, Germanos instructed the Cypriots to adopt a harder (though still noncoercive and nonviolent) stance, isolating themselves from the Latins and their local "sympathizers," namely from those who had accepted the 1220s arrangements.⁶⁹

Soon after the martyrdom of 1231, Germanos sent another letter to Cyprus, criticizing Archbishop Neophytos and the rest of the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy for not actively supporting the Monks in their resistance against the Latins. Reacting to Germanos' criticisms, Archbishop Neophytos wrote a letter to Emperor John III Batatzēs (1221–54) in 1231/32. Neophytos claimed that physical submission to the Latins was necessary for the survival of his people, and added that Germanos was violating the Cypriot autocephaly. Attempting to justify his apparent apathy towards the imprisonment and martyrdom of the Kantara community, Neophytos argued that it was the Monks' provocative stance that had caused their death.⁷⁰ There is no doubt that an internal schism was growing within the island's Orthodox society: while some Orthodox remained spiritually oriented towards Nicaea, others chose to submit to the Latins.⁷¹

In the later 1230s, Pope Gregory IX continued to exercise pressure for the acceptance of the Latin Eucharist by the Orthodox Cypriot clergy, demanding an oath of obedience and the renunciation of the claim that the use of unleavened bread is heretical (1238). This led to the self-exile of the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy in Armenian Cilicia. From there, Archbishop Neophytos called his clergy and monks in Cyprus not to obey papal demands and threatened the disobedient with excommunication. As a response, Gregory IX ordered the Latin archbishop of Nicosia to

excommunicate those unwilling to obey, and to take over the abandoned Orthodox monasteries (1240).⁷²

Having noted Archbishop Neophytos' critical stance towards the martyrdom of the Kantara Monks and his justification of Cypriot submission to the Latins, his anti-Latin resistance nearly a decade later seems incompatible with his previous attitude. Unfortunately, the exact reasons that motivated his behavior are difficult to ascertain. However, his case suggests that thirteenth-century Greek Cypriots continued to perceive themselves as Byzantine Orthodox, even when they appeared to collaborate with the Latins, or even accept papal ecclesiastical supremacy. Thus, a Greek family of notaries (probably in the service of the Latin regime) possessed manuscripts associated with the Kantara Monks; brief notes from one of these manuscripts seem to suggest that these notaries expressed their ethnic identity and veneration to the Monks in less open and noncoercive ways.⁷³

Orthodox identity adaptation, noncoercive resistance, and covert anti-Latinism would become fundamental elements of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality in the centuries to follow. This process was further facilitated by the pastoral vacuum created during Archbishop Neophytos' self-exile in the 1240s.

3. THE ROAD TO SUBMISSION

The first signs of Orthodox Cypriot individuals accepting papal authority date back to the late 1220s, as a result of the agreements between the papacy and the island's Latin regime in 1220 and 1222.⁷⁴ It is likely that the self-exile of the Orthodox hierarchy between ca. 1240 and 1250 contributed to the process of submission to the Latin Church. This is suggested by Pope Innocent IV's (1243–54) instructions to his legate in the East to

place the obedient Greeks under papal protection, keeping them safe from abuses (1246–47).⁷⁵

The emergence of a group of Latinized Greeks, namely Greek converts to the Latin rite, is attested in the early 1250s. On Palm Sunday 1251, the Latin ecclesiastical authorities of Nicosia promulgated a series of regulations that instructed all Greeks who had received the sacraments *morem ecclesiae Romanae* to attend mass at least once a week in the cathedral of St. Sophia. Moreover, the Latinized Greeks should confess to Latin priests, while any return to the Byzantine rite was forbidden on pain of excommunication. Lastly, the regulations repeated previous sentences concerning the excommunication of heretics who continued to challenge the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church.⁷⁶

The willing submission of a number of Orthodox Cypriot monasteries to the Western Church, at the time of Archbishop Neophytos' self-exile, must have been a focal point for the acceptance of papal authority by Orthodox Cypriot Christians. It should be stressed that there was nothing new in the papal policy of protection, recognition, and expansion of Orthodox monastic rights and privileges. In 1216, for example, Pope Honorius III recognized the rights of St. Theodosios' monastery near Bethlehem over possessions in Palestine, Cyprus, and Hungary.⁷⁷ In the next year (1217), St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai gained papal protection for its dependencies in Muslim-ruled Egypt and the Latin-ruled regions of Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, and Constantinople.⁷⁸ Admittedly, this mutual policy of rapprochement served both sides, since it enabled the reaffirmation of papal authority, while strengthening the prominence of Orthodox monasteries as popular destinations for pilgrims from all over the

Christian world.⁷⁹ In addition, papal protection secured the rights and interests of Orthodox monasteries, providing protection from harassment, and supporting the effective management of distant monastic dependencies (often located in Latin-ruled areas).⁸⁰ As Duba and Schabel have pointed out, “in all areas of Hellenism under Frankish rule, a compromise [was] reached.”⁸¹

The official recognition of papal authority on the part of Orthodox monastic communities should not be interpreted as doctrinal and liturgical Latinization. According to Coureas, their distant location “guaranteed geographical and political inaccessibility to effective papal supervision.”⁸² The Orthodox monastic policy of rapprochement with the papacy was an expression of οἰκονομία that maintained the barriers between Orthodox and Latins. For example, Western pilgrims reaching Sinai during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were allowed to attend the Orthodox mass and received Communion from the hands of the local archbishop, though following the Orthodox rejection of the Florentine Council (1438–39), the Latins were expelled from the main church and were only permitted to officiate in a separate chapel.⁸³ The Sinaite line of οἰκονομία was a product of the community’s long history and encounters with heterodox groups. Already in the seventh century, when the monastery was politically cut-off from Byzantium as a result of the Muslim conquest, Sinaite monks had to learn how to adapt to changing circumstances. The monks had presented to their Muslim overlords a charter of monastic privileges attributed to the Prophet himself, and had even permitted the building of a mosque on their holy mountain in the early twelfth century.⁸⁴ Overall, there is no evidence that Sinaite diplomacy affected negatively the spiritual life of St. Catherine’s monks. On the contrary, Sinai remained a vibrant Orthodox

monastic center, nourishing one of the greatest Orthodox ascetic theologians of the fourteenth century, St. Gregory the Sinaite (d. ca. 1346).⁸⁵

The Athonite policy towards the papacy was similar to that of the Sinaites. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the monastic communities of Mt. Athos remained isolated and unprotected against the greed of Latin conquerors. Sometime before 1214, Latin soldiers ravaged the Athonite monasteries and tortured the monks. The terrified Athonites requested the help of Henry of Flanders (1206–16), the Latin emperor of Constantinople, who placed them under his protection. To express their gratitude, the monks of the Great Laura acquired Henry's portrait for their monastery, and it is likely that they performed before it the traditional prostration (προσκύνησις) that had hitherto been a privilege of the Byzantine emperor. In 1214, the Great Laura requested papal protection to prevent future abuses. This is probably an indication that the monastery had recognized papal authority, but maintained the Byzantine liturgical rite and doctrines. Indeed, Pope Honorius III's reference around 1223 to the anti-Latin activities of "disobedient" and "rebel" Athonite monks, which coincided with the Byzantine attempts to recover Macedonia, shows that the nature of the Athonite submission to papal authority had been superficial and pragmatic.⁸⁶

Let us now return to the submission of Orthodox Cypriot monasteries to the papacy in the 1240s. Papal letters attest the confirmation of rights, exemption from tithes, and protection from harassment granted in 1243 and 1245 to St. Margaret of Agros and its dependency, St. Mary of Stylos, revealing that the two communities had approached the papacy in an attempt to protect their property from abuses. Like other Orthodox monasteries under papal protection, there is no evidence that Agros and Stylos ever

adopted the Latin doctrines and liturgical practices.⁸⁷ The only change that seems to have occurred was that the monks of Agros probably chose to change the dedication of their monastery from the Virgin to St. Margaret.⁸⁸ In spite of her popularity in the West, St. Margaret appears not to have been widely venerated in Cyprus, at least in the period before the Latin conquest. Given that in the West St. Margaret was closely associated with (and even identified as) St. Marina from Antioch in Pisidia, a popular saint in Cyprus and the East in general, the new dedication of Agros to St. Margaret must have been intentional. It is likely that this devotional shift aimed at attracting Latin pilgrims and patronage, without essentially alienating the local community from the Orthodox tradition.⁸⁹

The veneration of St. Margaret, shared by Greek, Syrian Melkite, and Latin hermits on Mt. Carmel, might have reached Cyprus through the coming of Latin refugee monks from the Holy Land in ca. 1238. Although it remains unclear whether the monks of Agros had contacts with the Latin hermits of Mt. Carmel, who later formed the first nucleus of the reformed mendicant order of the Carmelites, the presence of this group in Cyprus strengthens the hypothesis that the dedication of Agros to St. Margaret intended to convey Christian unity in devotion and ascetic praxis.⁹⁰ Thus, gradual submission to the papacy in Cyprus could not only be interpreted due to the need of local Orthodox establishments to safeguard their socioeconomic interests, but also as an expression of religious and cultural interaction.

Orthodox Cypriot monasticism maintained a stronger presence in rural areas, mostly populated by the Orthodox peasantry. Among the Latins, the Benedictines came to occupy the monastery of the Holy Cross on Mt. Staurobouni, which had probably been abandoned during the self-exile of Archbishop Neophytos in the

1240s.⁹¹ Although it remains unclear whether the Benedictines of Staurobouni were perceived by the Greeks as legitimate successors of their Orthodox predecessors (it seems rather doubtful), Benedictine similarities with Byzantine Orthodox monastic practices did exist. This could be explained by the fact that Benedictine spirituality was rooted, through the writings of St. John Cassian (d. 435), in the ascetic praxis of ancient Palestinian and Egyptian monasticism.⁹² The existence of common ground in asceticism might have enhanced the papacy's message of Christian unity under Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is further supported by the fact that in 1321, the Benedictine abbot of Staurobouni was appointed executor in several issues concerning the Orthodox Church.⁹³ Moreover, the Benedictines were perhaps responsible for the transmission of Western liturgical theater in Cyprus, which apparently served as a bridge of communication with a wider audience of Orthodox Cypriots. The *Cypriot Passion Cycle*, an early fourteenth-century Greek liturgical drama on the Passion of Christ, has been considered by some scholars as evidence for cultural and religious interaction between Benedictines and Orthodox Christians.⁹⁴

The cases of the Carmelites and Benedictines may be pointing towards the cultivation of spiritual bonds between Latins and Greeks, based on similarities in ascetic praxis and the experience of coexistence and communication between Western and Orthodox Christian ascetics in Syria and the Holy Land. Although the role of Latin religious orders in the process of Orthodox Cypriot submission to the papacy should not be exaggerated, it suggests that common elements in doctrine, devotion, and practice must have facilitated non-Latin conversions to the Latin rite (Latinized Greeks), or submission to papal authority without abandoning the Byzantine rite. The spiritual nature of the dialectic relationship

between Latins and Greeks, which was crystallized in the 1220s, 1230s, and 1240s, is better documented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Various sources and artistic testimonies demonstrate that the Chalcedonian doctrine of Christ's perfect divine and human nature,⁹⁵ the employment of icons in worship,⁹⁶ devotion to the Virgin,⁹⁷ and the veneration of Cypriot saints⁹⁸ played a fundamental role in bringing the two communities closer.

Back in the 1240s, there can be no definite answer on whether the monks of Agros and Stylos chose submission to the papacy solely because they needed to safeguard their property from abuses, or because they sincerely accepted that "the orthodox faith [was] under the insignia of St. Peter, *princeps apostolorum*."⁹⁹ The language employed in papal letters, usually our only source for similar cases of submission, is formulaic and therefore cannot guarantee safe conclusions with regard to the sincerity of Greek obedience to the papacy.¹⁰⁰ It seems reasonable to argue that the absence of the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy and the growing tendency for institutional submission to the papacy after the 1220s must have led Agros and Stylos to imitate the example of other Orthodox monasteries under Latin obedience. This policy enabled Orthodox monastic communities to seek protection and privileges by participating in the dominant administrative framework provided by the Western Church, apparently without altering their customs, traditions, and doctrines. It is difficult to ascertain whether their long-term contacts with the Latins eventually led to a degree homogenization over issues of doctrine and practice.¹⁰¹ Similarly, while we may detect motives of personal interest in cases of fourteenth-century Greeks who received benefices and ecclesiastical offices by the papacy as a reward for their obedience, there is no evidence that these individuals constituted a party of

“Latinizers” with distinct characteristics and a concrete ideology.¹⁰²

The renewed negotiations between the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy and the papacy in the 1250s were highlighted by the policy of *détente* pursued by Pope Innocent IV. Again, this was part of wider developments in Latin-Orthodox relations: in the late 1240s, David I (ca. 1245–ante 1258), the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, was directly placed (*nullo medio*) under papal authority, enjoying papal protection from Latin harassment.¹⁰³ Archbishop Neophytos’ proposal in 1250 for direct submission to the pope and restoration of Orthodox Cypriot bishoprics to their former number (fourteen and not four) should perhaps be interpreted as part of a similar policy of οἰκονομία, probably aiming to slow down the tempo of conversions to the Latin rite among the local Greek population, who had remained without pastoral leadership for a decade. Like the monks of Agros and Stylos, the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy in the 1240s and 1250s gradually came to see that the best way for their clergy and flock to preserve their distinct identity as a church under Latin rule was by submitting to papal authority.¹⁰⁴

In 1260, Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) promulgated the *Bulla Cypria* (1260), completing the process of Orthodox Cypriot submission to the Western Church. The *Bulla* regulated that the Orthodox Cypriots bishops should preserve their episcopal status and could only be transferred, condemned, or deposed by the pope. The Greeks were permitted to keep their ecclesiastical courts and elect their bishops, who would have to take an oath of submission before their Latin diocesans. Byzantine Orthodox rites, doctrines, and customs that did not come into conflict with the Latin faith were tolerated. The Greek clergy were obliged to participate in annual councils convoked by their Latin diocesans, who would pay

regular visits to the Greek bishops in order to supervise the enforcement of papal regulations. The *Bulla* sanctioned (or did not reverse) the reduction of Orthodox bishoprics from fourteen to four. It was also decided that Germanos Pēsimandros (ca. 1254–post 1274), the Greek archbishop, would be succeeded after his death by the bishop of Solea, placed under the Latin archbishop of Nicosia. Finally, the Syrian Melkites were subject to the same arrangements as the rest of the Orthodox clergy and flock.¹⁰⁵

This arrangement enabled the reestablishment of a *modus vivendi*, lasting until the island’s Ottoman conquest in 1570/71, and offering an administrative framework through which the Orthodox could seek and secure protection from harassment. Moreover, the *Bulla* “guaranteed the existence of a separate, partially independent, but also subordinate Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy.”¹⁰⁶ Under the semblance of a compromise, however, the *Bulla* also constituted institutional Latinization because it completed the abolition of the autocephaly (since the Latins reinterpreted this privilege as an exemption from patriarchal, but not papal, jurisdiction), and placed the Orthodox bishops and clergy under the supervision of Latin prelates and papal representatives.¹⁰⁷ The oath to the papacy would become one of the thorniest issues in the relationship between the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸

The *Bulla Cypria* was the price the Orthodox had to pay in exchange for maintaining their ecclesiastical organization and rite under the Latins. The amalgamation of temporal and spiritual reasons behind the recognition of papal authority does not necessarily mean that Byzantine-rite members of the Western Church were alienated from their ancestral faith. This seems to be confirmed by the case of the fifteenth-century chronicler and official Leontios Makhairas (d. post 1432/ca. 1458). While

advocating the need for unity of all Cypriot Christians under the Lusignans and the papacy, which would help the Frankish Kingdom overcome the multidimensional challenges it was facing, Makhairas was also proud of his island's Byzantine past and defended the preservation of the Byzantine Orthodox tradition in Cyprus. Thus, Makhairas' irenic attitude towards Latin-rite Christians, shaped by his social status and political realism, coexisted with his awareness that although the Roman Church—founded by St. Peter—was “apostolic” (Ἀποστολικοὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι), the Greek Church was “catholic” (καθολικοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι), namely orthodox in matters of faith.¹⁰⁹

Throughout the period of the Latin rule, expressions of Orthodox distinctiveness or exclusivism fluctuated and remained for the most part noncoercive and less visible. As David Frick notes in his study of multiconfessionalism in early modern Wilno, there were always those who, while not being religiously indifferent, were willing “to cross confessional boundaries, to make accommodations with neighbors . . . , or, at least, to look the other way when others did so.”¹¹⁰ Some Greek Cypriots were even willing to appeal to the papacy, in order to promote their interests and preserve their rights. Yet, a complete state of reconciliation with the Western Church, which would have generated widespread expressions of compliance with the Latin standards of correctness in matters of faith and practice (leading, thus, to the disappearance of anti-Latinism and boundary maintenance), was never reached. As we will see in the following chapters, full communion between Orthodox and Latins was not only undermined by ethnic, social, cultural, and political reasons, but also by the awareness that the two communities were separated by nonnegligible differences in theology, ecclesiology, and practice. Despite their state of submission to the papacy and the local Latin Church, many (if not most) Orthodox Cypriots

continued, until the end of the Latin rule in 1571, to defend their traditions, refusing to accept the Latin doctrines and practices as equally valid.

This chapter focused on Orthodox Cypriot reactions to the Crusader conquest (1191), arguing for the development of a variety of responses to Latin coercion (including noncoercive and nonviolent resistance). In exploring Orthodox attitudes in the post-1191 period, it should be pointed out that there was no complete rupture with the *status quo ante*. Orthodox monasteries continued to be under secular patronage, Greek Cypriots were involved in local administration, the Orthodox clergy were relieved from feudal obligations, and the Byzantine Orthodox tradition was preserved.

However, there is evidence that at least part of the Orthodox population perceived the consolidation of Latin political and ecclesiastical authority in terms of discontinuity with the order established under Byzantium. The anxiety created by destabilization was expressed and managed in various ways. Neophytos the Recluse described the conquest of 1191 as natural disharmony, and entrusted himself and his flock to God's providence. The Monks of Kantara stressed the need for firm spiritual struggle as a way of noncoercive and nonviolent resistance. The influx of pilgrims to Neophytos the Recluse's monastery shows that the laity sought the material and spiritual support of monastic pastors in order to endure the conquest's hardships. At the same time, the decision of prominent monastic leaders, like Neophytos the Recluse and Neilos of Tamasia, to place their monasteries under Latin guardianship stressed the pragmatic need for adaptation to the new conditions. Archbishop Neophytos' insistence that physical submission to the Latins was necessary for the survival of his people suggests that many Orthodox Cypriots were well aware that violent resistance was not the only way to preserve their identity as Byzantine Orthodox

Christians: force would perhaps have been met with greater force. This is further confirmed by Patriarch Germanos' instructions to the Greeks and Syrians of Cyprus to isolate themselves from the Latins and those recognizing their authority, and remain attached to the Orthodox tradition. Moreover, the self-exile of the Orthodox hierarchy in the 1240s and the negotiations with the papacy for a *nullo medio* settlement in 1250 reveal a tendency for nonviolence, noncoercion, and ultimately, accommodation with papal policy. The path of compromise (further enhanced by the lack of violent resistance on the part of the Greek nobility) was not always easy to follow. The clash between Patriarch Germanos and Archbishop Neophytos over the limits of the Cypriot application of leniency (οἰκονομία) mirrors the delicate balance between superficial submission to the Latins and preservation of Orthodox identity.

While it is true that the popes generally tolerated the Byzantine Orthodox doctrines and customs, they demanded recognition of their jurisdiction and supremacy in defining doctrinal and liturgical correctness. This is not to argue that subordination to the papacy, as defined for example by the *Bulla Cypria* in 1260, did not offer protection from harassment or autonomy in doctrinal and liturgical matters. It is important, however, to recognize that non-Latin members of the Western Church were exposed (as we shall see in the next chapters) to the threat of doctrinal or liturgical uniformity, particularly when Latin churchmen (usually non-Cypriot zealots) perceived their rites and customs as “errors” that should be reformed (see table at the end of chapter 2 for an overview).¹¹¹

Therefore, it is clear that while the papacy sanctioned coercion as a way to impose its jurisdiction and spiritual authority, the Orthodox Cypriots were largely unable (if not unwilling in some cases) to employ violence in order to defend their rights and ecclesiastical tradition (the outbreak of anti-Latin violence after

1260, mentioned in the next chapter, is an exception). The religious exclusivism expressed by the Monks of Kantara and other Greek ecclesiastics concerning the canonical validity of the Latin Eucharist did not aim to impose by force the Orthodox sacramental practice, but to vindicate the exclusive doctrinal correctness of the use of leavened bread in Holy Communion.

Greek expressions of obedience to the papacy demonstrate that the Monks' uncompromising line of religious exclusivism was not shared by all Cypriots. Manifestations of obedience to the Papacy were motivated by both temporal and spiritual reasons, making it difficult to distinguish between superficial and sincere acceptance of papal authority. What needs to be emphasized, is that there is no concrete evidence for the existence of a parallel Latinizing hierarchy, or for the creation of a party of Byzantine-rite Latinizers with a distinct ideology. To speak of "Eastern Catholicism" in thirteenth-century Cyprus, implying the crystallization of a modern-like system of communion with Rome (see my Introduction), is to employ ambiguous terminology that seems not to accurately reflect the complex dynamics of religious coexistence on the island. Recognition of papal authority was at the heart of the policy of accommodation pursued by a number of prominent Orthodox monastic establishments in the same period; this *Realpolitik*, however, should not be equated with conversion to the Latin rite, or alienation from the Orthodox faith.

Overall, the dominant tendency among the Orthodox of Cyprus between 1191 and 1260 was a mixture of adaptation and noncoercive identity preservation. There was no uniform reaction to the gradual establishment of the Latin political and ecclesiastical authority: the variety of, sometimes, contradicting attitudes was shaped by the interaction of Orthodox Cypriot "social actors" with the changing conditions of their environment, transcending traditional roles and contexts. This observation is important in

order to better understand the development of complex and overlapping identities in the period after the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*.

The next chapter recreates aspects of living under the *Bulla Cypria* regime, by systematically examining (for the first time ever) Orthodox Cypriot spirituality in the post-1260 period.

NOTES

1. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 1–12; N. Coureas, “To What Extent was the Crusaders’ Capture of Cyprus Impelled by Strategic Considerations,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 197–202; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191–1192,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 25–123; E. Asdracha, “Ἡ Κύπρος ὑπὸ τοὺς Κομνηνοὺς (B’),” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 381–412; M. Grünbart, “How to Become an Emperor: The Ascension of Isaakios Komnenos (of Cyprus),” in *Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Rogge and Grünbart, pp. 11–27; P. Edbury, “Ernoul, *Eracles* and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232,” in *Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Rogge and Grünbart, pp. 29–51. The view that the conquest of Cyprus was led by strategic reasons has been challenged by S. Neocleous, “Imaging Isaak Komnenos of Cyprus (1184–1191) and the Cypriots: Evidence from the Latin Historiography of the Third Crusade,” *Byzantion* 83 (2013), pp. 287–337.

2. On these events see, e.g., Asdracha, “Ἡ Κύπρος,” pp. 409–12.

3. There is vast bibliography on the subject. See generally studies in the bibliography by J. Harris, A. Laiou, N. Moschonas, and J. Phillips.

4. A. D. Beihammer and C. D. Schabel, “Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara in Cyprus, 1231,” in *Polyptychon/Πολύπτυχον. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis/Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Χασιώτη*, ed. E. M. Guirao and M. M. Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 78–79. Note, however, the remarks by K. Ware, “Orthodox and Catholics in the Seventeenth Century: Schism or Intercommunion?” in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. D. Baker

(Cambridge, 1972), p. 261: “But the rift was not as absolute as might at first appear. When Greeks and Latins met at the council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–9, from the outset they treated one another as members of the same Christian Church, albeit mutually alienated. . . . Each acted towards the other as if there were a schism *within* the Church, not a schism by one or other party *from* the Church. . . . The ‘wall’, be it noted is *inside* the Church” (emphasis in the original).

5. C. Holmes, “‘Shared Worlds’: Religious Identities—A Question of Evidence,” in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World After 1150*, ed. J. Harris, E. Russell, and C. Holmes (Oxford, 2012), pp. 40, 42, 54.

6. According to J.-W. Van der Rijt, *The Importance of Assent: A Theory of Coercion and Dignity* (London–New York, 2012), p. 33, coercion could broadly be defined as “(1) a fundamentally interpersonal notion where (2) the will of one moral agent is subjugated to that of another.” Coercion could be violent or nonviolent. On nonviolence, see also: *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*, 3 vols, ed. L. R. Kurtz (second edition: San Diego, California–Oxford, 2008), s.v. “Gandhi and His Legacies,” “Nonviolence Theory and Practice,” and “Religious Traditions, Violence and Nonviolence.”

7. On the works of Neophytos the Recluse, see *Συγγράμματα Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου*, 6 vols., ed. N. G. Zacharopoulos et al. (Paphos, 1996–2008) (= ΣΑΝ). The most recent collection of studies on Neophytos is Yioultsis (ed.), *Πρακτικά*.

8. *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus with an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus*, trans. C. D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1908), p. 12, Greek text in *Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν*, ed. A. Karpozilos, ΣΑΝ 5, p. 408 (ll. 88–102). See also the discussion by C. N. Constantinides, “Τὸ ‘Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν’ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 527–54.

9. Galatariotou, *The Making*, p. 219; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, p. 293.

10. W. T. Woodfin, “Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church,” in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stevenson

(London–New York, 2010), pp. 303–19.

11. H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), pp. 129–47; G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003).

12. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη*, ed. I. E. Stephanes, ΣΑΝ 2, pp. 9–10, 34–35 (chs. 7–8), 37–38 (ch. 10), with ET by C. Galatariotou, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, 5 vols., ed. J. Thomas, A. Constantinides Hero, and G. Constable (Washington, D.C. 2000), pp. 1352–53 (= *BMFD*). See also, Galatariotou, *The Making*, pp. 200–01, 217; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 265–69, 292–93; C. N. Constantinides, “Ἡ Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση,” *EKMIMK* 4 (1996), pp. 364–66, 369; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 256–57. Note that Hugh I is not mentioned by name in Neophytos' petition. On the principle of οἰκονομία, see G. Dagron, “La règle et l'exception: analyse de notion d'économie,” in *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. D. Simon (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 1–18, and S. Averintsev, “Epilogue: Some Constant Characteristics of Byzantine Orthodoxy,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies. Papers from the Thirty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002*, ed. A. Louth and A. Casiday (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), p. 217.

13. Ἁγίου Νείλου, *Τυπικὴ Διάταξις*, ed. P. Agathonos (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 180–81 (ch. 161), with ET by A. Bandy in *BMFD*, p. 1164.

14. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν*, pp. 406 (ll. 42–44), 408 (ll. 97–108); B. T. Yioultsis, “Θεσμικὲς κρίσεις καὶ ἀγιότητα κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἐγκλειστο,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 322–25.

15. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη*, pp. 39–40 (ch. 11; ET by Galatariotou in *BMFD*, p. 1354).

16. Cf. B. E. Kelle, “An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Exile,” in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and*

Modern Contexts, ed. B. E. Kelle, F. R. Ames, and J. L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), p. 35.

17. Cf. the studies by F. R. Ames, “The Cascading Effects of Exile: From Diminished Resources to New Identities,” pp. 173–87, M. J. Holton, “Imagining Hope and Redemption: A Salvation Narrative Among the Displaced in Sudan,” pp. 217–33, D. L. Smith-Christopher, “Reading War and Trauma: Suggestions Toward a Social-Psychological Exegesis of Exile and War in Biblical Texts,” pp. 253–74, and D. G. Garber Jr., “A Vocabulary of Trauma in the Exilic Writings,” pp. 309–22, in *Interpreting Exile*, ed. Kelle, Ames, and Wright. The humiliation of Greek Cypriot nobles, who submitted to Richard in order to escape Isaac’s oppression, might have been enhanced by the king’s order to shave off their beards as a visible sign of allegiance to the new regime. Although I do not argue that Richard’s intention was to humiliate the Greeks, there is evidence that the Latin practice of forcing the conquered Byzantines to shave off was perceived by the latter as insulting: Ch. Maltezou, “Ἕλληνες καὶ Λατῖνοι: ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἄλλου στὸν πρῶτο αἰῶνα φραγκικῆς κυριαρχίας στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Coureas and Riley-Smith, pp. 49–50.

18. Cf. D. M. Carr, “Reading into the Gap: Refractions of Trauma in Israelite Prophecy,” in *Interpreting Exile*, ed. Kelle, Ames, and Wright, pp. 295–308 (esp. at pp. 297, 300).

19. Generally on theodicy in Neophytos’ thought see A. Argyriou, “Ἡ ἐσχατολογικὴ σκέψη τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 220–32.

20. C. M. Maier, “Lost Space and Revived Memory: From Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. to New Orleans in 2009,” in *Interpreting Exile*, ed. Kelle, Ames, and Wright, p. 195; cf. Kelle, “An Interdisciplinary Approach,” p. 29.

21. Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 289–91.

22. C. Chatzipsaltes, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τῷ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικῶν Πατριαρχεῖον ἀρχομένου τοῦ ΙΓ’ αἰῶνος,” *ΚΣ* 28 (1964), pp. 135–68.

23. The House of Lusignan originated from Poitou, France, which is the main reason why the term “Frankish Kingdom” is conventional among historians studying the Crusader period of Cypriot history. As an ethnic name, however, “Frank” defined any “Latin-rite Christian who accepted the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope”: P. W. Edbury, “Franks,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, p. 63.

24. On Greek Cypriot nobles collaborating with the Latins, see G. Grivaud, “Les Lusignan et leurs archontes chypriotes (1192–1359),” in *Actes du colloque: Les Lusignans et l’Outre-mer. Poitiers–Lusignan 20–24 octobre 1993. Auditorium du Musée Sainte-Croix Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1995), pp. 150–58; Nicolaou-Konnari, “The conquest,” pp. 54–59; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” 41–57. On Cypriot notaries, see *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines Königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367*, ed. A. D. Beihammer (Nicosia, 2007), pp. 55–130, 177–79; J. Richard, “Aspects du notariat public à Chypre sous les Lusignans,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. Parani, and C. D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 207–21. For a useful comparison with Byzantine scribes and *literati* in Ottoman service after 1453, see J. Raby, “Mehmed the Conqueror’s Greek Scriptorium,” *DOP* 37 (1983), pp. 15–34.

25. See, e.g., N. Svoronos, “Ζητήματα σχετικά με την οικονομική, κοινωνική και νομική κατάσταση των Ελληνοκυπρίων στη διάρκεια της φράγκικης κυριαρχίας,” trans. P. Gounarides, *Σημείο* 4 (1996), pp. 29–50; G. Grivaud, “Formes byzantines de la fiscalité foncière chypriote à l’époque latine,” *EKEE* 18 (1991), pp. 117–27; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 21–57 (with further bibliography).

26. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 18–19.

27. P. W. Edbury, “The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus and the Indigenous Population,” in Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1999), p. 3, XX [ET of Edbury, “La régime des Lusignan en Chypre et la population locale,” in *Coloniser au Moyen Âge. Méthode d’expansion et techniques de domination en*

Méditerranée du XIe au XVIe siècle, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1995), pp. 354–58, 364–65].

28. BC 1, doc. a-1 (= CHW, pp. 76–77), with Schabel's ET in SN, pp. 277–78; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 548–51; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, p. 251; cf. I. Stouraitis, “Jihād and Crusade: Byzantine positions towards the notions of ‘Holy War,’” *BΣ* 21 (2011), pp. 41–42.

29. On the Byzantine Orthodox insistence that the rift with the West could be bridged in an ecumenical council that would enable all Christians to discuss their theological differences openly, officially, and on equal terms, see generally: J. Meyendorff, “Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul,” *DOP* 14 (1960), pp. 147–77 [repr. in Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems. Collected Studies* (London, 1974), XI]; D. M. Nicol, “Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century,” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969), pp. 69–95 [= AHC; repr. in Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World. Collected Studies* (London, 1972), VIII]; J. L. Boojamra, “The Byzantine notion of the ‘Ecumenical Council’ in the fourteenth century,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80.1 (1987), pp. 59–76 (= BZ).

30. BC 1, doc. b–15; Asdracha, “Ἡ Κύπρος,” p. 412.

31. See, e.g., the classic study by C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1988; repr. Oxford–New York, 2001) and the more recent treatment of the subject by K. G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the eleventh century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester–New York, 2005). On papal ecclesiological rhetoric, see also I. S. Robinson, “Church and Papacy,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge–New York, 1988), pp. 266–305.

32. Y. Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years. The Background of the Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches*, trans. Fordham University Press and Russian Center of Fordham University (New York, 1959), pp. 68, 70. See also A. E. Siecienski, *The Papacy and the Orthodox: Sources and History of a Debate* (New York, 2017).

33. See, e.g., the mutual excommunication between Patriarch Michael I Kēroularios of Constantinople (1043–58) and Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061) in 1054. It is noteworthy that the schism of 1054 was quickly forgotten in the East; Emperor Alexios I Komnēnos (1081–1118) went so far as to ask Pope Urban II (1088–99) to provide military support against the Seljūks, thus triggering the First Crusade (1095–99): T. M. Kolbaba, “The Legacy of Humbert and Cerularius: The Tradition of the ‘Schism of 1054’ in Byzantine Texts and Manuscripts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Ch. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003), pp. 47–61; J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London–New York, 2003), pp. 44–51.

34. This controversy remained to the sixteenth century one of the major points of friction between Orthodox and Latins in Cyprus. Note that the Latins followed the synoptic Gospels (Matthew 26:1–30; Mark 14:1–26; Luke 22:1–38), which present the Last Supper as a Jewish Passover meal. The Byzantines followed the Johannine narrative (John 13:1, 18:28, and 19:31), according to which the Last Supper took place *before* the Day of Preparation for the Passover. On the two positions, see J. H. Erickson, *The Challenge of our Past. Studies in Orthodox Canon Law and Church History* (Crestwood, New York, 1991), pp. 148–49; G. Avvakumov, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche* (Berlin, 2002); C. D. Schabel, “The Quarrel over Unleavened Bread in Western Theology, 1234–1439,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger and C. D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 91–92, 97–101, 105–22, 126. The Gospel discrepancies seem to highlight two different theological interpretations of Christ’s last days and redemptive Passion: the synoptic narratives associate Christ’s body with the paschal lamb, consumed during the Jewish Passover, while John depicts Christ’s Crucifixion on the Day of Preparation, when the paschal lambs were slaughtered for the upcoming Passover (the Sabbath begins on Friday evening). See works in the bibliography by J. Klawans, M. H. Shepherd Jr., and S. Zeitlin. On

the theory that the synoptics used a different (Qumranic) calendar than the official priestly calendar followed by John, see S. Saulnier, *Calendrical Variations in Second Temple Judaism. New Perspectives on the “Date of the Last Supper” Debate* (Leiden–Boston, 2012), pp. 19–63.

35. During the Council of Aachen (809), the Carolingian Frankish Church adopted the *Filioque* teaching but the Roman Church did not introduce this formula in the Latin Creed until 1014. The Byzantines saw the *Filioque* as an interpolation that was alien to the common tradition of the church: A. E. Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford–New York, 2010), pp. 94–100, 112–13; C. D. Schabel, “Pope, Council, and the *Filioque* in Western Theology, 1274–1439,” *Medieval Encounters* 21 (2015), pp. 190–213.

36. See the incorporation of canon 9 in the constitutions issued by Ranulph, who served as Latin archbishop of Nicosia between 1273 and ca. 1283, in SN, pp. 120–21. See also the discussion by A. J. Duggan, “Conciliar Law, 1132–1215. The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils,” in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (Washington, D.C., 2008), p. 346; C. D. Schabel and N. Tsougarakis, “Pope Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council, and Frankish Greece,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67.4 (2016), pp. 741–59 (= JEH); N. Coureas, “One faith but several rites: the application of canon 9 of Lateran IV on Cyprus (1215–1570) and the wider Mediterranean context,” *Sacrum w mieście* 1 (2016), pp. 95–109. For the Orthodox perspective of Eastern Catholicism, see the bibliographic study by C. P. Kotsiopoulos, *Ἡ Οὐνία στὴν ἐλληνικὴ θεολογικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Ἱστορικὴ, Θεολογικὴ καὶ Κοινωνιολογικὴ διερεῦνηση* (Thessalonica, 1993). On the Roman Catholic position, see R. F. Taft, *Eastern-Rite Catholicism: Its Heritage and Vocation* (Glen Rock, New Jersey, 1963).

37. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 165.

38. W. W. Bassett, *The Determination of Rite* (Rome, 1967), p. 30.

39. L. Voisin, “L’‘Ancienne’ ou ‘Nouvelle Rome’: les monastères grecs sous domination latine entre Rome et Constantinople (13e–15e siècles),”

Chronos 28 (2013), p. 13.

40. Bassett, *The Determination*, p. 30. The same effort was also taking place in Western Europe, though more intensively: R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (New York, 1993), esp. at pp. 6–7, 243–44.

41. B. E. Whalen, “Rethinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy and the Latin Rite,” *Traditio* 62 (2007), p. 23 (emphasis in the original). A presentation of papal policy in Southern Italy, the Holy Land, and the Latin-occupied territories of Byzantium, can be found in Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 261, 274–80; Schabel in *SN*, pp. 49–58; Duba and Schabel in *BH*, pp. 9–87.

42. Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 257–58; Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 173–77; Duba and Schabel in *BH*, pp. 50–72; Schabel and Tsougarakis, “Pope Innocent III,” pp. 741–58.

43. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 545–48, 563; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 259–74; *SN*, pp. 286–96; Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 173–74, 178–81; P. -V. Claverie, *Honorius III et l’Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des archives vaticanes* (Leiden–Boston, 2013), pp. 211–13. Papadopoulos argues that the four Orthodox prelates were transferred from their proper sees to rural areas; this, however, needs to be confirmed by future research. It is not clear whether the bishops of Amathous and Constantia had already been living in Leukara and Karpasia respectively; see T. Papacostas, “Byzantine Famagusta: an oxymoron?” in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 25–61; Papacostas, “Neapolis/Nemesos/Limassol: The Rise of a Byzantine Settlement from Late Antiquity to the Time of the Crusades,” in *Lemesos: A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 110–16; A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel, “Limassol under Latin Rule, 1191–1571,” in *Lemesos*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 217–18.

44. *Concilium Universale Ephesenum. Collectio Seguierana. Collectio Atheniensis. Collectiones Minores*, vol. I.1.7 of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin–Leipzig, 1929), pp. 118–22.

This is the Ephesine ratification of the Cypriot autocephaly. The Trulline canon concerning the autocephaly can be found in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2, ed. G. A. Ralles and M. Potles (Athens, 1852), pp. 395–97 (= ΣΘΙΚ). On the Cypriot autocephaly, see generally A. N. Mitsides, “Τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου,” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 129–54 (with rich bibliography).

45. Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 67–69; Ch. Oikonomou, “Ἡ εἰσαγωγή τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ ἡ θεμελίωση τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἐκκλησίας,” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 23–105; Chr. Kyriacou and Ch. Dendrinou, “The Encomium on St Barnabas by Alexander the Monk: ecclesiastical and imperial politics in sixth-century Byzantium,” forthcoming in *Πρακτικὰ Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κυπριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας* (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2018); Chr. Kyriacou, “Martyrdom, Memory and Sacred Topography in Early Christian Salamis,” forthcoming in *Salamis of Cyprus from the Earliest Times to the Late Antiquity*, ed. Ch. Ioannou and S. Rogge (Münster–New York, 2018).

46. Νείλου Δοξοπατρίου, *Τάξεις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus series graeco-latina*, vol. 132 (Paris, 1864), col. 1097B (= PG); G. Konidares, “Ἡ θέσις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ τακτικὰ (Notitia Episcopatum) ἀπὸ τοῦ Η΄ μέχρι καὶ ΙΓ΄ αἰῶνος (συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969), vol. 2, ed. A. Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 1972), p. 110.

47. BC 1, docs. b–28, d–15; Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 180–81 (with reference to Stephen of Lusignan).

48. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 55–56 (n. 125).

49. Edbury, “The Lusignan Regime,” p. 7.

50. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 42–73; Schabel, “The Myth of Queen Alice,” pp. 267–68; Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 12–15.

51. The incident is recorded in both Greek and Latin sources. The main Greek source for the martyrdom is the anonymous *Narrative of the*

Thirteen Holy Fathers of Kantara, most probably composed by an Orthodox Cypriot monk sometime between 1275 and 1282 (see below, ch. 2): Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων τῶν διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθέντων παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ ἐν τῷ ,ςψλθ' ἔτει, ed. Th. Papadopoulos, “Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων,” in *Τόμος Ἀναμνηστικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι τοῦ περιοδικοῦ “Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας”* (1918–1968), ed. A. N. Mitsides (Nicosia, 1975), pp. 307–38. An anonymous Nicene treatise relating the martyrdom was published by Beihammer and Schabel, “Two Small Texts,” pp. 78–79. An anonymous Latin treatise, probably composed by a Dominican in Latin-occupied Constantinople in 1252, refers to the Monks as heretics: Beihammer and Schabel, “Two Small Texts,” p. 74. A poetic colophon composed by one of the Monks during his incarceration was published by S. G. Mercati, “Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 22 (1920–21), pp. 190–91. See also *BC* 1, doc. d–6 (= *CHW*, pp. 175–76), with Schabel’s ET in *SN*, pp. 296–97. The Monks’ *Confession of faith* and a synaxary on their memory are published for the first time in App. I below. On the wider historical context, see Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 1–33.

52. Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 1–3, 14 (n. 41), 32–33; cf. D. Fernández-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain* (Wilmington, Delaware, 2016), p. 233: “Scholars have typically described the actions of the martyrs of Córdoba [who martyred under the Muslims in ca. 850–60] as the foolish decisions of religious fanatics, of recalcitrant and ignorant monks and their unthinking followers.”

53. A. Papadakis and J. Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church A.D. 1071–1453*, vol. 4 of *The Church in History* (Crestwood, New York, 1994), p. 207.

54. The earliest artistic portrayals of Eucharistic bread show that the early Christians used ordinary loaves of presumably leavened bread; these were small, round and stamped (e.g., *panis quadratus* or *trifiditus*): G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy. The symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine bread stamps* (Madison–Milwaukee, Wisconsin–London, 1970), pp. 13–14, 26–39. The East Syrian (Assyrian) liturgical tradition,

one of the earliest in the Christian world, associates the Apostles Addai and Mari with the institution of the sacramental use of leavened bread (*malkā*) in the Eucharist: M. A. Royel, “The Sacrament of the Holy Leaven (*Malkā*) in the Assyrian Church of the East,” in *The Anaphoral Genesis of the Institution Narrative in Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: Acts of the International Liturgy Congress: Rome, 25–26 October 2011*, ed. C. Giraudo (Rome, 2013), pp. 363–86. *The Canons of the Holy Apostles*, compiled in Syria in the fourth century and based on older material, condemn the use of Jewish unleavened bread (canon 70): ΣΘΙΚ 2, pp. 90–91.

55. *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, 15 vols, ed. H. -J. Klauck et al. (Berlin– Boston, 2009–), s.v. “Leaven: Christianity.” See also R. M. Wooley, *The Bread of the Eucharist* (London–Oxford–Milwaukee, 1913), pp. 50–56; T. M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana–Chicago, Illinois, 2000), pp. 37–39.

56. Erickson, *The Challenge*, pp. 133–55.

57. Whalen, “Rethinking,” pp. 1–24 (esp. at p. 23); Schabel, “The Quarrel,” pp. 85–127. On Western symbolisms, see *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*, s.v. “Leaven: Christianity.”

58. See below, App. I (doc. I).

59. App. I, par. I.3.

60. Mercati, “Macaire,” pp. 190–91.

61. Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων, pp. 321 (ll. 11–24), 323 (ll. 3–4), 332 (ll. 13–28); App. I, par. II.1.

62. App. I, par. II.2.

63. Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων, pp. 332 (ll. 13–30), 333 (ll. 1–3); App. I, par. II.2; P. Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις’ τοῦ Μαρτυρίου τῶν Μοναχῶν τῆς Καντάρας καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, vol. 2, ed. Th. Papadopoulos and B. Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 316–17. Schabel confuses the Monks’ tonsure to the “Great Habit” with the monastic ordination to priesthood (“hieromonks”): Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 4–5, 13. By doing so, he misses

the dimension of spiritual struggle in the Monks' rejection of the Latin Eucharist.

64. P. Kausokalybites, "Ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Μεγάλου Σχήματος. Ἑρμηνεία καὶ θεολογία τῶν εὐχῶν τῆς μοναχικῆς καθιερώσεως," *Θεολογία* 82.1 (2011), pp. 141–67 (esp. at pp. 148–49: second prayer of tonsure); cf. Vl. I. Feidas, "Ἡ κουρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἑγκλειστο," in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 833–48.

65. V. Saxer, *Bible et hagiographie. Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles* (Bern–Frankfurt–New York, 1986), pp. 212–30; R. Darling Young, *In Procession before the World. Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (2001; repr. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 2011); D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2006); Fernández-Morera, *The Myth*, pp. 231–32.

66. *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, pp. 336 (ll. 20–30), 337 (ll. 1–2).

67. On the correspondence between Pope Gregory IX and Patriarch Germanos II, see *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, ed. C. N. Sathas (Venice, 1873), pp. 39–49. On the ecumenical patriarch's letter to the cardinals in Rome, see Ch. Arambatzis, "Ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Γερμανοῦ Β' πρὸς τοὺς Καρδινάλιους τῆς Ῥώμης (1232)," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 52 (2004–06), pp. 363–78 (= *ΕΕΒΣ*). On the wider context of these discussions, see generally Schabel, "Martyrs," pp. 29–31.

68. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 5–14.

69. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 14–19.

70. *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 180–82; cf. Fernández-Morera, *The Myth*, p. 233: "[Unsympathetic views of the martyrs of Córdoba] were already present among collaborationist Church authorities in Córdoba," namely "ecclesiastical leaders who preferred to continue their lives of submission under Muslim rule in the interest of peace."

71. See also the discussion by Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 565–71; Ch. Arambatzis, “Ὁ πατριάρχης Γερμανὸς Β΄ καὶ ἡ Λατινικὴ Ἐκκλησία,” *Βυζαντιακά* 20 (2000), pp. 249–57; Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 27–29. It is likely that relations between Germanos II and Archbishop Neophytos were quickly restored: D. Beihammer, “Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican *MS Palatinus Graecus* 367,” in *Identités*, ed. Fourrier and Grivaud, p. 314; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 64 (n. 159).

72. *BC* 1, docs. d–30, 35–38; *CHW*, pp. 177–84; *SN*, pp. 297–98 (ET); Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 30–31.

73. *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 33–61, 239–40; cf. *DGMC*, pp. 153–65; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 64–65.

74. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 17–19.

75. *BC* 1, docs. e–16, 22, 27, 29; *SN*, pp. 301, 367–68, 370 (ET).

76. *SN*, pp. 63, 154–57.

77. On the Cypriot property of St. Theodosios’ monastery, see *BC* 1, docs. c–1, 12; J. Richard, “Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l’établissement de la domination franque,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 61–75 [repr. in J. Richard, *Croisades et Etats latins d’Orient. Points de vue et documents* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1992), XIV]; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 224–26.

78. Richard, “Un monastère,” pp. 65–66; N. Coureas, “The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai and Papal Protection of Its Cretan and Cypriot Properties,” in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 475–84; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 226–32.

79. Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 223. On Western pilgrimage to Sinai and the veneration of St. Catherine in the West, see W. Klein, “St. Symeon Pentaglottos of Trier (†1035). A New Greek Saint of Mt Sinai in the Context of Arabic Christian Studies,” *Parole de l’Orient* 30 (2005), pp. 173–98; N. Patterson Ševčenko, “The Monastery of Mount Sinai and the Cult of Saint Catherine,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*.

Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York–New Haven, Connecticut–London, 2006), pp. 118–37; A. Drandaki, “Through Pilgrims’ Eyes: Mt Sinai in Pilgrim Narratives of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *Δελτίο Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 27 (2006), pp. 491–504 (= ΔΧΑΕ).

80. Coureas, “The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai,” pp. 477–78.

81. Duba and Schabel in *BH*, pp. 61, 71.

82. Coureas, “The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai,” p. 484.

83. Drandaki, “Through Pilgrims’ Eyes,” pp. 494–95.

84. *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 12 vols, ed. A. Martinos (Athens, 1962–68), s.v. “Σινᾶ, Μονή.”

85. *Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου*, ed. A. Delikari, *Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Σιναΐτης: ἡ δράση καὶ ἡ συμβολή του στὴ διάδοση τοῦ Ἠσυχασμοῦ στὰ Βαλκάνια. Ἡ σλαβικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ Βίου του κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαιότερο χειρόγραφο* (Thessalonica, 2004), pp. 311–48.

86. P. Lemerle, “Chronologie de Lavra de 1204 à 1500,” in *Actes de Lavra IV*, vol. 11 of *Archives de l’Athos*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, and S. Ćirković (Paris, 1982), pp. 3–7; F. Van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, trans. P. Longbottom (Leiden–Boston, 2011), pp. 89, 214; *BH*, ed. Duba and Schabel, doc. 171. It seems that a similar line of *Realpolitik* was employed by the monks during the Nazi occupation of Athos: V. della Dora, *Imagining Mount Athos: Visions of a Holy Place from Homer to World War II* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 2011), pp. 162–201. Note that Archbishop Dēmētrios Chōmatēnos of Ohrid (1217–36) advised the Greek monks of the Ibērōn monastery to remain in schism with their Georgian brethren, who had accepted papal authority in ca. 1214, but insisted that the Greeks should respect the Georgians’ right to elect the monastery’s abbot: *Demetrii Chomatēni, Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin–New York, 2002), pp. 198–201.

87. *BC* 1, docs. e–1, 4; *CHW*, pp. 273–76 (ET in *SN*, pp. 299–300). See also: N. Coureas, “The Greek monastery of St Margaret of Agros in Lusignan Cyprus: its relations with the Latin Church and the Papacy,”

Revue des études byzantines 67 (2009), pp. 217–23 (= *REB*). Although the thirteenth-century liturgical calendar of Agros includes a number of preschismatic saints of Western origin (*DGMC*, pp. 119–23), this cannot be considered as concrete evidence of Latinization. The liturgical commemoration of saints from all over the Christian world is also common in the *Synaxary of Constantinople*: A. Kazhdan, “Constantinopolitan Synaxarium as a Source for Social History of Byzantium,” in *The Christian East: Its Institutions and Its Thought. A critical reflection. Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the 75th Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute. Rome, 30 May–5 June 1993*, ed. R. F. Taft (Rome, 1996), pp. 485–515.

88. An undated model letter from a fourteenth-century collection of chancery documents refers to the monastery of the *Virgin* of Agros. See, *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 166–67. This was probably the older name of the monastery of *St. Margaret* of Agros, mentioned in the papal letters cited above.

89. Generally on Sts. Marina and Margaret, see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 4 vols., ed. F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957–84), s.v. “Margarita,” “Marina”; Papageorghiou, *Icons*, pp. 5, 8, 55–6; J. Folda, “The Saint Marina Icon: *Maniera Cypria*, *Lingua Franca*, or Crusader Art?” in *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, ed. B. Davezac (Houston, Austin, 1992), pp. 106–33; D. Mouriki, “The Cult of Cypriot Saints in Medieval Cyprus as attested by Church Decorations and Icon Painting,” in “*The Sweet Land of Cyprus.*” *Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, ed. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 237–77; W. R. Larson, “The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts Margaret and Marina of Antioch,” in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. S. J. E. Riches and S. Salih (London–New York, 2002), pp. 23–35.

90. A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1995), pp. 101–51; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford–New York, 2002), pp. 9–37; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313-1378*, p. 368.

91. Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 175–76; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 391–405. An earlier date (ca. 1211) has been proposed by D. Pringle, “Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition,” *Crusades* 11 (2012), pp. 109–37.

92. O. Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1950); A. M. C. Casiday, *Tradition and Theology in St John Cassian* (Oxford–New York, 2007).

93. Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 397–98, 460–61, 469–70.

94. See, e.g., the discussion by W. Puchner, *Η Κύπρος των Σταυροφόρων και το Θρησκευτικό Θέατρο του Μεσαίωνα* (Nicosia, 2004), pp. 8–190, and G. Kechagioglou and L. Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία της Νεότερης Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 51–56, 80–82. It should be noted that the Cistercians of Cyprus were associated with the priory of Jubin, situated on Maaron Oros outside Antioch, a vibrant mountainous center of Orthodox monasticism in Syria and a place of contact between Orthodox and Latin hermits: Jotischky, *The Perfection*, pp. 25, 27–31, 37–39, 59–61, 92, 95, 99, 145, 178, 180. The monk George (d. 1099), founder of the Koutzoubendēs monastery, and Neophytos the Recluse were perhaps influenced by the spiritual radiance of Maurorite monasticism: T. Papacostas, C. Mango, and M. Grünbart, “The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis, Cyprus,” *DOP* 61 (2007), pp. 29–50, 149–56; Th. X. Yiangou, “Ἑρμηνεῖαι τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἐντολῶν: Ἡ σχέση δύο ὁμότιπλων ἔργων, τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου καὶ τοῦ Νίκωνος Μαυρορείτη,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 277–96. The Latin priory of Jubin received donations from Guy of Lusignan and possessed a dependency in Nicosia that welcomed monks from Syria after the fall of Antioch in 1268; the Cistercians also possessed an abbey in Pyrgos, not far from Limassol, before they were transferred in Nicosia: J. Richard, “L’abbaye cistercienne de Jubin et le prieuré Saint-Blaise de Nicosie,” *EKEE* 3 (1969–70), pp. 63–74; C. D. Schabel, “Frankish Pyrgos and the Cistercians,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (2000), pp. 349–60 (= *RDAC*; repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, VI); Coureas, *The Latin*

Church 1313–1378, pp. 405–10. On Greek servants in Dominican service, see Ch. Kaoulla and C. D. Schabel, “The Inquisition against Peter de Castro, Vicar of the Dominican Province of the Holy Land, in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1330,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 77 (2007), pp. 130–32, 139–40, 183–84 (= *AFP*; repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, VII). On the possibility of Greek burials in the Augustinian church of Nicosia, see Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 378–79, 437; N. Coureas, G. Grivaud, and C. Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia, 1191–1570,” in *Historic Nicosia*, ed. D. Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), p. 193.

95. Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 165, 200–01; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 73–74 (n. 189).

96. Papageorgiou, *Icons*, pp. 46, 49, 51; J. Folda, “Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Coureas and Riley-Smith, pp. 218–21; J. Richard, “Un but de pèlerinage: Notre-Dame de Nicosie,” in *Mosaic. Festschrift for A. H. S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. Mullett, and C. Otten-Froux (London, 2001), pp. 135–38; Jotischky, *The Carmelites*, pp. 100–01. On Western devotion to miraculous images, see generally E. Thunø and G. Wolf (eds.), *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte). Rome, 31 May–2 June 2003* (Rome, 2004).

97. See, e.g., S. Kalopissi-Verti, “Representations of the Virgin in Lusignan Cyprus,” in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot–Burlington, 2005), pp. 305–19.

98. The term “Cypriot saints” refers to both saints of Cypriot origin (e.g., Barnabas and Spyridōn) and non-Cypriot bishops, ascetics, martyrs, and confessors associated with the island (e.g., Hilariōn and Epiphanius). A number of Cypriot saints were venerated in the West; see studies in the bibliography by P. Tomea, C. Rapp, and E. Rose. King Janus of Lusignan (1398–1432) composed a service on St. Hilariōn the Great: *Acta Pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378–1394)*, *Benedicti XIII (1394–1417)*, *Alexandri V (1409–1410) et Johannis XXIII (1406–1415)*, vol.

3.13.2 of *Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis*, ed. A. L. Taŭtu (Rome, 1971), pp. 229–31 (= *CICO*). The depiction of Byzantine holy ascetics as Western saints in the works of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Latin historians, and the limited adoption of Latin veneration by Greek Cypriots, are discussed by Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 74–78.

99. To paraphrase the anonymous sixteenth-century translator of St. John Damascene (d. 749) from Byzantine Greek into the Greek Cypriot dialect: Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ (;), *Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων, μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν κυπριακὴν διάλεκτον*, ed. P. G. Nikolopoulos (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 15 (n. 20), 35.

100. On the formulaic and rhetorical language employed in ecclesiastical diplomacy, see e.g., *BC* 1, docs. c–11, e–1, 42, 82, and *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 46. In May 1438, Metropolitan Mark Eugenikos of Ephesus (d. 1445), an ardent Orthodox and later leader of the antiunionist party, addressed Pope Eugene IV (1431–47), who had convoked the Council of Ferrara/Florence, as following: Οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεται ἡ κεφαλὴ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεὸς ἐφεστάναι διηρημένῳ τῷ σώματι, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης δεσμόν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι ἡ ἀγάπη βούλεται. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρε σὲ τὸν τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ πρωτεύοντα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ταυτηνὴ κλήσιν . . . Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν, ἀγιώτατε πάτερ, ὑποδέξαι τὰ σὰ τέκνα μακρόθεν ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἥκοντα· περίπτυξαι τοὺς ἐκ μακροῦ διεστῶτας τοῦ χρόνου, πρὸς τὰς σὰς καταφυγόντας ἀγκάλας· θεράπευσον τοὺς σκανδαλισθέντας· ἅπαν σκῶλον καὶ πρόσκομμα τῆς εἰρήνης κωλυτικὸν ἐκ μέσου γενέσθαι κέλευσον: Petit, “Documents,” pp. 310–11 [172–73], 336–37 [198–99].

101. The pro-unionist line of these monasteries with the papacy continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Coureas, “The Greek Monastery of St Margaret,” pp. 220–22.

102. See, e.g., *BC* 3, docs. t–66, 484, 527–28, 594, u–288, v–27.

103. *BC* 1, docs. e–18, 28. Generally on the Antiochene settlement, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 322–26. On David I and his patriarchate, see Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 80 (n. 214). On the unionist line pursued by the Syrian Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian or Jacobite) Church, see briefly, A. O’Mahony, “Between Rome and

Antioch: The Syrian Catholic Church in the Modern Middle East,” in *Eastern Christianity in the Modern Middle East*, ed. A. O’Mahony and E. Loosley (London–New York, 2010), p. 120.

104. BC 1, doc. e–42 (ET in SN, pp. 302–04); Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 289–91; cf. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 38 (ll. 207–08).

105. For the Latin text of the *Bulla Cypria* see BC 1, doc. f–35. A copy was included in CHW, pp. 194–205 (commentary and ET in SN, pp. 68–71, 311–20). On Greek translations of the *Bulla Cypria*, see J. Darrouzès, “Textes synodaux chypriotes,” *REB* 37 (1979), pp. 6–22, 82–86; G. A. Ioannides, “La *Constitutio* o *Bulla Cypria Alexandri Papae IV del Barberinianus graecus 390*,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66 (2000), pp. 335–72 (= *OCP*). In these translations the *Bulla* is mentioned as “agreement” (συμφωνία: probably a translation of the Latin term *constitutio*), “command” (ὀρδινιασμός), “pact” (συνθήκη) and “submission” (ὑποταγή). Various terms may coexist in the same version. The oath to the papacy is mentioned at least once as τάξη τῆς ὑποταγῆς (“ordinance of submission”).

106. Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 191 (quotation), 197.

107. Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 45–6; Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, p. 205; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1195–1312*, p. 298.

108. See below, ch. 4.

109. Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle,”* vol. 1, ed. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), par. 579 [Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, ed. M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2003), p. 403]. Dawkins’ ET of καθολικοὶ as “independent church” is misleading; cf. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961), s.v. “καθολικός.” More generally on Makhairas, see Kyrris, “Some aspects,” pp. 167–281; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 61–2; Schabel, “The Status,” p. 201.

110. D. Frick, “Five Confessions in One City: Multiconfessionalism in Early Modern Wilno,” in *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the*

Early Modern World, ed. Th. M. Safley (Leiden–Boston, 2011), p. 438.

[111](#). Bassett, *The Determination*, p. 31; cf. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” p. 599.

Chapter 2

“In Our Hearts and Our Churches We Do As We Like”

Living under the Bulla Cypria

Sometime in the late 1280s, Berard, the Latin bishop of Limassol and a member of the Dominican Order, paid a visit to Matthew, the suffragan Greek bishop of Leukara. After preaching to Matthew and the Greek clergy, Berard asked their opinion concerning the Latin custom of using unleavened bread in the Eucharist, following the *Bulla Cypria* rulings for Latin diocesan supervision. Rather than conveniently declaring his acceptance of the validity of both the Greek and Latin practices, as was the formal Western position, Matthew remained silent and nodded to his priests, who replied that they were completely ignorant about the issue. Berard, in his Dominican zeal, continued pressing the Greeks by demanding an oath of obedience on certain doctrinal matters. Again, the Greek clergy refused to comply and stated that if they were to obey Berard's order, they would be unable to officiate afterwards. The Latin bishop then turned to Matthew, who justified his unwillingness to take the oath by referring to Christ's command not to swear (Matthew 5:34). This was perceived as disobedience: Berard proceeded legally against Matthew, who refused to appear in court and was thrice excommunicated. Papal correspondence, our only source for the incident, indicates that the Latin secular

authorities and archbishop of Nicosia—a Franciscan with a more lenient view of the Greeks—were did not persecute Matthew, who must have remained in position until his death in ca. 1300. The peaceful but firm line of noncompliance pursued by Matthew and his clergy towards Berard suggests that, despite their formal submission to the Western Church in 1260, Orthodox Cypriots were capable of maintaining traditional ethnoreligious boundaries.¹

Immediate Orthodox responses to the *Bulla Cypria* implementation were less irenic than Matthew's reaction twenty years later. In the 1260s, lay Greeks and Syrian Melkites attacked Orthodox clergymen who had accepted the *Bulla Cypria* constitution, despoiling their property and leading to papal calls for secular intervention.² As in the case of Matthew of Leukara, the island's Latin overlords prudently chose not to create new martyrs, focusing instead on urgent political and military matters, such as the succession of King Henry I (d. 1253/54) and the defense of Acre against the Mamlūks.³ Fears that the Greek Cypriots would rise to liberate themselves from their masters' yoke⁴ must have also enhanced the Latin unwillingness to enforce the *Bulla Cypria* rulings, at a time when the Nicene Byzantines recovered Constantinople (1261), forging an alliance with the maritime republic of Genoa and causing an anti-Venetian insurrection in Crete (1262–67 and 1272–75).⁵ In 1267, there were still Orthodox abbots, monks, and priests who refused to accept the *Bulla Cypria* and were probably in schism with their own prelates.⁶ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, relations between Greeks and Latins seem to have been improved, since there is no indication of anti-Latin coercion or open clashes over the *Bulla Cypria*. In 1301, for example, Greek ecclesiastics requested from Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) to arbitrate the elections for the

future bishop of Solea, which sparked a long controversy over the administration of the Mangana monastery in Nicosia.⁷

Political developments appear to have strengthened the bonds of Christian unity on the island. The Mamlūk conquest of Acre in 1291 upgraded the role of Cyprus as a Crusader stronghold in the Eastern Mediterranean, transforming the Lusignan Kingdom into haven for Syrian refugees.⁸ The newcomers included members of the Levantine *Polain* families, who were accustomed to living with non-Latins and seem to have quickly been integrated into the local religious landscape. Sometime towards the end of the thirteenth century, for example, refugee members of the House of Ravendel, a noble family of perhaps Franco-Armenian origin, commissioned an icon depicting St. Nicholas. The icon, probably an expression of gratitude for St. Nicholas' protection during the Latin withdrawal from Syria, was donated to the Greek monastery of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, underlining the easing of religious relations between Latins and Orthodox in Cyprus after the fall of Acre.⁹ Western hopes to regain the Holy Land were still alive in the early fourteenth century, when an anonymous Syrian Melkite theologian from Cyprus revised an earlier apologetic treatise in Arabic and sent it to Damascus, refuting Islam and preaching the supremacy of Christianity. This has been interpreted by scholars as an attempt to support, on a spiritual level, Crusader plans for the reconquest of the Holy Land, implying ties of solidarity between the Melkite (Orthodox Syrian) community and the Latin secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Cyprus.¹⁰ The same sense of Christian unity is confirmed by the testimony of Nicholas of Martoni, an Italian notary and traveller, who noted in 1394 that Cypriot ladies wore black mantles as a sign of sorrow and grief for the fall of Acre a century earlier.¹¹

Apart from the common Muslim threat, the realities of everyday life also encouraged religious peace. In 1330, on the aftermath of devastating floods, John of Conti, the Latin archbishop of Nicosia (1312–32), instructed the performance of common public processions for forty days. Latins, Greeks, Copts, Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, and other Cypriot Christians were led by John in solemn litanies, hoping to appease the wrath of God. The archbishop ordered the annual repetition of such processions, so as to avoid similar disasters in the future.¹² Another nucleus of everyday interaction was workplace. The accounts of the rural settlement (*casale*) of Psimolophou, an estate belonging to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1318), show that Greek scribes, tax collectors, craftsmen, animal farmers, and workers were employed in Latin ecclesiastical service, while others had business with the estate.¹³ Traditional ethnoreligious boundaries, apparently, could not, and did not, prevent collaboration in the context of Western ecclesiastical domination.

The gradual pacification that followed the initial tension of the 1260s enabled the effective implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*. This canonical framework was used (and misused) to arbitrate and resolve disputes among Greek Cypriot churchmen. The aforementioned Mangana affair (ante 1301–ca. 1366), which began as a quarrel over the episcopal throne of Solea and continued as a controversy over the administration of the rich Greek monastery of Mangana, seems to have been settled by papal intervention.¹⁴ Doubtless the Orthodox would have preferred their old autonomy; in the circumstances of Latin rule, however, the papacy offered a court of appeal which could protect them from oppression and corruption: this suggests that the Western Church was perceived in a good light, provided that Orthodox interests were served.

Let us now return to Bishop Matthew's noncompliance with his Latin diocesan's demands in the 1280s. Interpreting the two prelates' quarrel as an expression of Orthodox boundary construction within the broader picture of ethnoreligious conviviality under the papacy, draws our attention to what historians of early modern multiconfessionalism describe as the different spheres and dimensions of belief: "public church, private faith, enacted culture."¹⁵ As Greek bishop of Leukara, Matthew was required to formally and publicly accept Western ecclesiastical authority; within the "private" sphere of his own community, however, he preserved the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, which explains his reluctance to openly accept the canonical validity of the Latin Eucharist.

David Nirenberg's argument that tension in medieval multireligious societies "was a central and systemic aspect of coexistence" encapsulates the essence of the paradoxical symbiosis between contention and peaceful interaction in Latin-ruled Cyprus.¹⁶ The paradox of contentious conviviality is also discussed by Sean Roberts, who argues that "coexistence did not imply tolerance and . . . hostility never fully precluded forms of comprehension."¹⁷ These remarks invite us not to strictly interpret the notion of "resistance" in terms of open hostility or coercive opposition to domination. In a seminal study on the archeology of colonialism in Cyprus and other areas, Michael Given points out that resistance encompasses a "wide spectrum of meanings [consisting of] unconscious patterns of everyday behaviour [and] deliberate but discrete acts of defiance."¹⁸ Given notes that resistance to domination "allowed people to express their pride and identity," since they were able to challenge (often in covert or symbolic ways) the *status quo* imposed on them by their rulers.¹⁹

Thus, Bishop Matthew's disobedience seems to have been highlighted by the need to reaffirm Orthodox Cypriot identity in the face of Latin oppression; however, Matthew did not openly challenge the *Bulla Cypria* arrangement but struggled to preserve Orthodox identity within existing ecclesiastical structures.

Rather than seeing the Orthodox Cypriot Church in the post-*Bulla Cypria* period as "an institution with [no] sharp boundaries,"²⁰ it is more convincing to investigate how boundary building enabled identity adaptation and preservation in the communal ("private") and intercommunal ("public") spheres of spirituality. Being the largest religious community in Latin-ruled Cyprus, Orthodox Christians (including Greeks, Georgians, and Syrian Melkites) constituted a society within a society, with its own customs, traditions, and cultural physiognomy; these elements regulated the pragmatic need for interaction, communication, and collaboration with the non-Orthodox.

What follows is a number of case studies on Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the *Bulla Cypria* regime, employing an innovative methodology from the fields of psychology, social anthropology, and sociology. The proposed framework will be applied throughout the book in order to better understand the paradoxical coexistence of contention and peaceful interaction on the island. The discussion mainly covers the crucial transitional period between 1260 and ca. 1330, tracing the crystallization of identity preservation mechanisms in the first seventy years that followed the *Bulla's* implementation, and setting the scene for the socioreligious developments of the second quarter of the fourteenth century (examined in chapter 3).

1. CRYPTORELIGIOSITY

In 1406, three out of the four Orthodox Cypriot bishops requested a formal concelebration with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, as a response to voices within the Orthodox world accusing them as pro-Latin. The monk Joseph Bryennios (d. ca. 1430) was sent to Cyprus as official representative of the Constantinopolitan Church, convoking a synod to discuss the Cypriot proposal. The synod took place in a remote monastery outside Nicosia; the fact that neither the Latin sources nor Makhairas' *Chronicle* (our main source for the period) mentions the incident strongly suggests that the Orthodox managed to keep the negotiations secret. Bryennios' firm anti-Latinism eventually led to the rejection of the Orthodox Cypriots as "Latinizers." It should be mentioned that the synodal *Acts* record Greek Cypriot expressions of fear for the Latin reaction, justifying the aura of secrecy that covered the discussions.²¹ Moreover, the covert anti-Latinism of Orthodox Cypriots is reflected in bishop of Solea's statement that, despite the oath of submission to the papacy and cases of concelebration with the Latins and Oriental Christians, the Orthodox Cypriot clergy cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith.²² In addition, the bishop of Karpasia claimed that the profession of obedience to the pope was superficial (κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον μόνον) and that "in our hearts and our churches we do as we like, and we believe and live in the same way."²³

Cryptoreligiosity emerges as an important element of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins, without, however, excluding more open expressions of Orthodox Cypriot identity and anti-Latinism.²⁴ So far, Greek manifestations of this phenomenon have attracted the attention of scholars studying the history of Orthodox populations under Ottoman rule in Asia Minor, and under Ottoman and British rule in Cyprus.²⁵ There also seems to be an increasing

scholarly interest on covert Roman Catholic professions of faith by Greek Cypriot ecclesiastics of the early Ottoman period.²⁶

One of the earliest testimonies of crypto-Christianity in the Orthodox East comes from two well-known encyclical letters composed in ca. 1339 and 1340 by Ecumenical Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334–47), addressing the Christians of Ottoman-occupied Nicaea. These letters are of crucial importance, shedding light on the theology of crypto-Christianity and neomartyrdom developed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the first half of the fourteenth century. Kalekas exhorted repentant apostates to seek the crown of martyrdom; he also instructed those not brave enough to face corporal punishment to live as Christians within the limits of their possibilities (κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν), implying the development of cryptoreligious practices (ἐν τῷ λεληθότι διαζῆν).²⁷

Kalekas' instructions suggest that the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had previous experience in dealing with cases of cryptoreligiosity. Indeed, cryptoreligious mechanisms in the Eastern Mediterranean existed well before Kalekas' time.²⁸ In 1223, for example, Patriarch Germanos II advised his Cypriot flock to adopt a superficial line of submission to the Latin Church, on condition that their canons, traditions, and customs were to be preserved.²⁹ The landscape of Orthodox noncoercive resistance and cryptoreligiosity in Latin-ruled areas stretches from Southern Italy to Greece and the Holy Land.³⁰ Western expansion in Syria, Palestine, and Byzantium led to the widespread acceptance of papal authority on the part of dominated Orthodox ecclesiastics. Compromise enabled "the fabric of regional society . . . to remain . . . remarkably intact."³¹

There are considerable differences between crypto-Orthodoxy under Latin rule and other forms of cryptoreligiosity (e.g., crypto-

Christianity, crypto-Judaism and crypto-Islam), where two or more distinct religious systems with solid and predominantly conflicting dissimilarities are forced into coexistence. It should be stressed that in Latin-ruled Cyprus there were no waves of expulsion and forced conversions, as happened for example with the Moriscos of Catholic Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³² Furthermore, Orthodox public worship was not only tolerated but also placed under the patronage of secular authorities and the papacy.³³ Since papal policy towards the conquered Greeks was generally characterized by the principle of ecclesiastical unity that tolerated ritual diversity, the essential question is what was “hidden” about Orthodox Cypriot believers under Latin rule.

The notion of “orthopraxy” (ὀρθοπραξία), denoting “the formal accuracy of technical or ritual proceedings” and “ritual correctness,” was a central part of the Byzantine definition of orthodoxy.³⁴ “If the rite is not correct,” writes Avvakumov, “the sacrament is distorted, and those who practice it are no longer full members of the true Church of Christ.”³⁵ In Byzantine eyes, orthodoxy and orthopraxy were interwoven (καὶ κρατοῦμεν καὶ λειτουργοῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, according to the Kantara Monks’ *Confession of faith*).³⁶ The Latins, however, had a different perception of non-Latin orthodoxy under the papacy: “Latin theology was . . . more inclined to tolerate ‘deviating’ rituals if the unity of the Church was preserved—naturally, in the Roman sense.”³⁷ While Latin criticisms of the Greek rites and customs do not necessarily reflect a policy of ritual uniformity, since unity under the pope was more important than liturgical homogenization,³⁸ Orthodox criticisms of the Latin rites were driven by both ecclesiological and theological reasons. In the words of John H. Erickson, “if the Church is one, the Byzantines

would argue, surely its canons and above all its eucharistic practices should be one.”³⁹ Any deviation from the tradition sanctioned by the Holy Spirit was considered heretical. “There could be only one tradition if the Church was truly one,” Erickson notes. “And this one tradition was articulated by the Holy Spirit, speaking through the ecumenical councils and the canons approved by the councils, not by the pope.”⁴⁰ This principle highlighted Orthodox Cypriot responses towards the Latins and vice versa, since the latter would not tolerate any accusation of being heretical (as Schabel has argued in relation to the Kantara Monks affair). Yet, Orthodox Cypriot exclusivism (“this is heretical, this is not”), not to be confused with coercive intolerance,⁴¹ was an expression of Byzantine Orthodox spirituality, in the sense of preserving and not compromising the true tradition “guided by the Holy Spirit.” Moreover, anti-Latin attitudes (“the *Latin* rites and doctrines are heretical”) were sharpened by the contentious encounter between Orthodox and Latins in the context of Latin political and ecclesiastical domination. As pointed out by Tia M. Kolbaba, “in the relationship between anti-Latin feeling and Byzantine society, the religious aspects are important *not* because everyone understood the theology of *Filioque* but because the uniform religion of Byzantium was an expression of social unity.”⁴²

Orthodox Cypriot cryptoreligious strategies conveyed the rejection of the Latin orthodoxy and orthopraxy by tacitly attacking the Latins and challenging their authority, in order to bolster Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligious identity through the reaffirmation of Byzantine Orthodox doctrinal and ritual correctness. The main issues of anti-Latin opposition throughout the Latin period are shown in the table at the end of this chapter, which also includes a brief presentation of the different viewpoints and important chronological landmarks. These points of friction are

discussed throughout the book, so I have simply listed them here: the principle of universal papal supremacy in matters of faith and jurisdiction; the use of unleavened bread in the Latin Eucharist; the Beatific Vision doctrine (see chapter 3); the *Filioque* doctrine (see chapter 4); the Purgatory doctrine (see chapter 4); and the Great Entrance prostration (see below in this chapter).

The *modus vivendi* sanctioned by the *Bulla Cypria* facilitated the cultivation of phenomena usually associated with cryptoreligiosity, such as overlapping practices.⁴³ For example, religious iconography was used by both Orthodox and Latin Christians, constituting a common element of private and public worship. Although difficult to ascertain, scholars have argued that particular themes of Orthodox iconography (e.g., the Last Supper and Communion of the apostles scenes) might have been interpreted by Orthodox believers as conveying covert anti-Latin statements (e.g., the Latin Eucharist is heretical), thus functioning as religious identity barriers.⁴⁴

This is best reflected in Orthodox depictions of the Betrayal, illustrating Christ's arrest by easily recognizable Western warriors (see [Figure 2.1](#)). The long-term tendency (twelfth to sixteenth centuries) to represent the persecutors of Christ as Latins is related to the growing presence of Latin mercenaries in the service of Byzantium, and the establishment of Latin polities in the Greek lands; the visual rhetoric and ethnoreligious implications of these depictions, usually completed under the patronage or direction of ecclesiastics, transformed the Latins into "enemies of Christ."⁴⁵ The Betrayal scene from Neophytos the Recluse's hermitage, painted around 1195—four years after the Latin conquest—is accompanied by an inscription that describes the Latinized persecutors of Christ as "dogs" and "fat bulls," quoting Psalm 21:13 and 17. The Recluse uses in his works similar language to

express his contempt for both Muslims and Crusaders, associating the Latin conquerors of Cyprus with the “enemies of Christ,” while also identifying the suffering Christ with the conquered Orthodox, betrayed and tortured by their Latin brethren.⁴⁶ As late as the eighteenth century, when Cyprus was in Ottoman hands, covert expressions of ethnoreligious identity were conveyed through artistic representations of the “enemies of Christ,” although these were no longer associated with the Westerners, but with the Ottoman Turks. The monumental Crucifixion scene from the cathedral church of St. John of Pipēs (the Evangelist), Nicosia, emphatically depicts the Roman guards and officials as Ottomans, linking the Passion to the political subordination of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷



Figure 2.1 The Betrayal, Mural, Church of Archangel Michael, Pedoulas, 1474. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Religious art appears to have whispered into the ears of Orthodox Cypriots under the *Bulla Cypria* the message of preserving their distinct ecclesiastical tradition and ethnic identity, although the extent to which this message was successfully conveyed cannot be determined; there would be cases of those who ought to understand but did not, or those who did understand but were unwilling to obey the camouflaged instructions of their pastors. What needs to be stressed is that the Orthodox Cypriot “visual culture of secrecy”⁴⁸ challenges the boundaries between public and private, without directly attacking the Latin faith or openly pronouncing the supremacy of Byzantine Orthodoxy. Religious iconography was both a feature of Orthodox Cypriot culture and an element of Christian devotion shared by all Cypriot Christians. An interesting parallel comes from the historical experience of Japanese crypto-Christians of the Edo period (1603–1868), who practiced their faith employing sacred objects (*osugata* and *nandogami*) that included “nonproscribed objects of everyday use associated with the Buddhist and eclectic folk religious traditions” (e.g., Buddhist statues with child perceived as the Virgin and infant Christ).⁴⁹ In the case of Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriots, the common roots of Christian tradition in East and West must have made the development of cryptoreligious strategies much easier than in the case of crypto-Christian communities under the political domination of non-Christians. As far as the Latin secular authorities of Cyprus are concerned (not to mention many local Latin ecclesiastics), they appear to have been eager to tolerate expressions of noncompliance with the Western standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, looking the other way for the sake of

religious peace. Thus, cryptoreligious resistance also left room for more public manifestations of anti-Latinism. “When a Catholic priest was lifting up [the host] during Mass,” wrote Jerome of Prague in the fifteenth century, “the Greeks that were present turned the backs and the obscene part of their bodies against the sacrament of the altar.”⁵⁰ As the cases of Berard of Limassol (a Dominican) and Jerome of Prague (a Camaldolese) show, zealous Latin churchmen perceived these boundary building practices as provocative or offensive, calling for the suppression of “Greek errors.”⁵¹

Bishop Matthew’s cautious yet firm defiance of his Latin diocesan’s instructions, described in the beginning of this chapter, is probably one of the earliest examples of Orthodox cryptoreligiosity under the *Bulla Cypria* regime, showing that covert identity preservation mechanisms had already emerged by the end of the thirteenth century. Not long after the incident, Marino Sanudo, a well-known Venetian statesman and scholar who travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean (1312–21), noted that the Latin-ruled Greeks of Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Rhodes, and Peloponnese followed their heretical customs with all their heart (*cuor loro*), seeking the opportunity to freely express their true convictions and feelings.⁵²

2. MEMORY AS RESISTANCE

The function of *memory as resistance mechanism* in Latin-ruled Cyprus reflects the human need to interpret and endure the difficulties and seemingly incomprehensible tragedies of life. According to Victor E. Frankl (1905–97), leading psychiatrist and Holocaust survivor, “what is demanded of man is not . . . to endure the meaninglessness of life, but rather to bear his incapacity to

grasp its unconditional meaningfulness in rational terms.”⁵³ The preservation, recollection and interpretation of memories associated with the coercive establishment of Latin political and ecclesiastical authority on the island seems to have had a dual function. First, it permitted the conquered and humiliated Orthodox to challenge the *status quo* in noncoercive ways, following the tradition of spiritual resistance pursued by Neophytos the Recluse and the Monks of Kantara. This facilitated the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity, since it involved covert expressions of ethnic awareness and religious exclusivism against the correctness of Latin doctrines and practices. Second, the recollection and reinterpretation of traumatic experiences helped the Orthodox endure the destabilization of sociopolitical and ecclesiastical order caused by the Crusader conquest and the papacy’s ecclesiastical policy on the island after the 1220s.

Perhaps the earliest appearance of memory as mechanism of resistance in the post-*Bulla Cypria* period can be found in an anonymous hagiographical text, the *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers of Kantara* (= *Kantara Narrative*). This is the main source for the Kantara Monks’ martyrdom (1231), probably composed sometime between 1275 and 1282.⁵⁴ This period coincided with the tenure of Archbishop Ranulph (1273–83), whose reforming activities threatened to disturb the delicate religious peace on the island, eventually leading to his removal. During Ranulph’s archiepiscopacy, the rejection of the Latin Eucharist by a number of Orthodox priests and monks was a major point of friction, reviving memories of the 1231 events.⁵⁵ The *Kantara Narrative*’s composition might have also been shaped by the anti-Latin rhetoric of the Arsenites, a group of conservative Orthodox Byzantine churchmen who challenged the legitimacy of Emperor Michael VIII and opposed his ecclesiastical policy of reconciliation with the

Western Church. The Arsenites were active between 1265 and 1310; their presence could perhaps be detected as far as southern Asia Minor and Cyprus, where they appear to have opposed both the Latin and Greek ecclesiastical authorities.⁵⁶

Orthodox (including Arsenite) anti-Latin rhetoric must have found fertile soil on the island, particularly after the Second Council of Lyons (1274) that sanctioned a feeble union between the papacy and Byzantium, serving Michael VIII's political interests against Angevin attempts to restore the Latin Empire of Constantinople after the Byzantine reconquest in 1261. The "Union" of Lyons met widespread opposition in the East and was solemnly denounced after the emperor's death in 1282. Lyons reaffirmed the canonical validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, although it did not sanction its imposition on the Greeks.⁵⁷ What is noteworthy is that a Greek "archbishop of Nicosia" (*Archiepiscopum Nicosiensem*)—perhaps a reference to Germanos Pēsimandros, the last Greek archbishop after the *Bulla Cypria* implementation—is mentioned by a synodal report as being present in Lyons. Regardless of Pēsimandros' presence in the council, we may assume that he and other Greek bishops in Cyprus had accepted the "Union" of 1274, following the line pursued by the papacy, Michael VIII, and the unionist patriarch of Constantinople, John XI Bekkos (1275–82). Consequently, the *Kantara Narrative* should probably be interpreted as an Orthodox Cypriot response to Byzantine unionism;⁵⁸ the text's incorporation into an early fourteenth-century dossier of anti-Latin texts underlines its apologetic character.⁵⁹

The high probability that the *Kantara Narrative*'s composition took place some forty years after the events of 1231 raises questions concerning its historical accuracy, author, and audience. A comparison between the *Kantara Narrative* and earlier

hagiographical material on the Kantara Monks confirms the axiom *recentiores non deteriores* (in terms of historical accuracy).⁶⁰ While our earlier hagiographical source is highlighted by vivid and dramatic details that emphasize Latin violence and disrespect towards the Monks and their relics, the *Kantara Narrative* pays less attention to dramatization, choosing instead to present and theologically interpret the events.⁶¹ The *Kantara Narrative*'s anonymous author was familiar with the scriptures, Byzantine liturgical rite, and epic hagiography (*passions épiques*) indicating that he was perhaps a member of the clergy or a monk.⁶² Textual similarities between the *Kantara Narrative* and the Monks' hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith* strongly suggest that the anonymous author had used the latter as a source.⁶³

There is adequate evidence to support that the *Kantara Narrative* was based on earlier eyewitness testimonies, passing down from generation to generation until the text's final composition around the mid-1270s. The employment of mnemonic techniques by the anonymous author must have initially served the accurate preservation of memories on the Monks and their martyrdom in the interim between 1231 and the *Kantara Narrative*'s composition.⁶⁴ A parallel of controlled eyewitness testimony could be traced in the concern of the early church to accurately preserve and transmit oral traditions concerning Christ and the apostles.⁶⁵ Richard Bauckham, for example, has argued that the mnemonic techniques of "schematization," "narrativization," and "meaning" were used in the Gospels to facilitate the memorization, recollection, and interpretation of eyewitness testimonies concerning Christ's life and ministry.⁶⁶ Similarly, the anonymous author appears to have adopted and retained in the *Kantara Narrative* mnemonic techniques that might have previously been employed by members

of the Orthodox Cypriot community in order to memorize, recollect, and interpret eyewitness testimonies concerning the Monks' martyrdom. The *Kantara Narrative* introduces the Monks in order and symmetry, revealing a tendency for schematization and narrativization.⁶⁷ Scriptural and liturgical passages provide a basis for identifying the Monks with biblical models, interpreting their martyrdom as spiritual struggle in defense of Orthodoxy. The quotation of Psalms and use of long speeches facilitates the *Kantara Narrative's* apologetic aims and organize the material, permitting its schematic memorization and recitation.⁶⁸

The absence of references to the Latin-subordinate Greek hierarchy is most likely deliberate and mirrors the antihierarchical, philomonastic and strictly Orthodox sentiments of the anonymous author and his entourage at the time of Ranulph's tenure and Byzantine antiunionist opposition to Michael VIII's ecclesiastical policy.⁶⁹ Clearly, the *Kantara Narrative* advocated the imitation of the Monks' noncoercive resistance against the canonical validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The preservation, interpretation, and transmission of memories by the anonymous author in the late thirteenth century shows that the management of traumatic past experiences became an instrument of covert anti-Latin resistance and Orthodox Cypriot self-affirmation.

Although we possess no concrete evidence concerning the reception of the *Kantara Narrative*, there are indications that in later centuries the preservation of memories associated with the Latin conquest continued to convey expressions of noncoercive resistance and Orthodox Cypriot identity. This was part of a process described by Anthony D. Smith (1939–2016) as “naturalization” of communities, denoting perceptions of inseparability from the homeland and “fusion” with its specific characteristics that enabled the “territorialization of memories.”⁷⁰

In the same vein, archeologists remind us that landscapes are often connected with ancestry, unfolding physical and symbolic interconnections between the familiar world of everyday life and the transcended realm of the divine.⁷¹ Archeological surveys in northern Troodos by the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (1992–97) and the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (2000–2004) underline the links between long-term settlement continuity in rural Cyprus and the preservation of social memory and identity.⁷² We may assume that the relative stability of Cypriot rural population throughout the Latin rule must have enabled the “territorialization of memories” as part of the naturalization of Orthodox Cypriot identity.⁷³

The anonymous fifteenth-century *Narrative of the Kykkos Icon* (= *Kykkos Narrative*) relates the story of the rainmaking palladium icon of the Virgin, preserved in the mountainous monastery of the Virgin of Kykkos in Marathasa, Troodos. Gregory of Marathasa (d. 1421/2), a centenarian monk from Kykkos, is mentioned as the author’s main informant, suggesting that the *Kykkos Narrative* had been composed within the local monastic *milieu*. Gregory must have been well-informed about the history of his monastery, for he is reported to have consulted the community’s archives, later destroyed during the catastrophic fire that razed Kykkos in 1365. Unexpectedly, the Virgin’s icon, believed to have been painted by St. Luke and donated to the monastery by Emperor Alexios I Komnēnos (1081–1118), remained intact; this was attributed to divine intervention. The monastery was reconstructed thanks to Lusignan patronage and the voluntary work of local villagers.⁷⁴ The reputation of the Kykkos icon reached a point of climax soon after 1365, as attested by the painting of several replicas between the late fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Many of these icons came from Marathasa, probably evidencing that the veneration of

the Kykkos palladium was primarily promoted by Greek Cypriot *potentes* of the local rural society, rather than the Latin political and ecclesiastical authorities.⁷⁵ In the fifteenth century, Leontios Makhairas mentioned in his *Chronicle* that the venerable icon of Kykkos was considered to bring rainfall in periods of drought.⁷⁶ In the next century, the Venetians placed the monastery under their protection and recognized the rainmaking power of its icon, referring to Kykkos as “St. Mary of the Rain” (*Santa Maria della Pioggia*).⁷⁷

Although the icon became an object of devotion for both Orthodox and Latins, the local monastic community continued to express their ethnoreligious identity through the preservation, interpretation, and transmission of memory. Like Neophytos the Recluse, the anonymous author of the *Kykkos Narrative* described and interpreted the Latin conquest in terms of destabilization of order and natural disharmony. Indeed, the *Kykkos Narrative* claims that on the eve of the Crusader invasion “many signs and wonders” (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πλεῖστα) had appeared on heaven and earth as warnings. Following the coming of the Latins, the monastery’s landed property was confiscated by the conquerors; the *Kykkos Narrative* also mentions that the *Bulla Cypria* had forced the Greeks into submission.⁷⁸ The miraculous preservation of the Kykkos icon during the fire of 1365, and the subsequent attraction of Latin patronage are interpreted by the anonymous monastic author as part of God’s plan for the community’s protection and prosperity.⁷⁹

The continuous occupancy of the monastery by Greek monks throughout the centuries, as well as the long-term stability of Greek habitation in the area of Marathasa, must have contributed to the territorialization of memories associated with Kykkos’ Byzantine

Orthodox identity.⁸⁰ The detailed description of the confiscation of the monastery's landed property by the Latins emphasizes the monks' historical rights and stresses their bonds with Byzantium, the source of Kykkos' former wealth.⁸¹ While the Lusignans had recently supported the monastery's reconstruction after the 1365 destruction, the *Kykkos Narrative* contains the commemoration of only Byzantine emperors and Orthodox churchmen and laypeople.⁸² The miraculous icon itself, believed to have been painted by St. Luke and donated to Kykkos by a Byzantine emperor, was a "living" reminder of the island's ethnoreligious links to Constantinople and Orthodoxy. The *Kykkos Narrative* associates the monastery's palladium with the Hodēgētria icon in Constantinople: a significant religious and political symbol of the Palaiologan dynasty and the Antiochene Patriarchate.⁸³ Thus, Kykkos' palladium was perceived by the fifteenth-century author of the *Kykkos Narrative* as an embodiment of ethnoreligious memory and an instrument of divine providence that continued to shelter the monastery under Latin "captivity" (αἰχμαλωσία).⁸⁴

A last example of the function of territorialized memory as mechanism of resistance comes from the fifteenth-century *Chronicle* of Leontios Makhairas. The *Chronicle* describes the ill-fated anti-Templar revolt of Nicosia (1192), which had been caused by the order's oppressive economic policy, eventually leading to the establishment of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus.⁸⁵ According to Makhairas, the spot where the rebels had been killed by the Templars, on the banks of River Pediaios, was marked with a stone; this memorial was known among fifteenth-century Greeks as the "Stone of Freedom" (λίθος ἐλευθερίας). Although Makhairas, an advocate of Cypriot unity under the Lusignans and the papacy, seems to have been critical to the memorial's value, its significance

should not be underestimated. From the point of view of many fifteenth-century Greeks, the “Stone of Freedom” functioned as an identity marker, reminding them of their ancestors’ attempts to overthrow Templar rule and recover the island.⁸⁶

Overall, the long-term continuation of resistance through memory shows that nonviolence and noncoercion were integral elements of anti-Latinism as expressed in the Orthodox Cypriot communal sphere.

3. CONTROL OF TRADITION

Tradition is both the content of the Christian message, expressed in the life of the church (*tradtum*), as well as the way of the message’s delivery (*actus tradendi*) throughout generations. The meaning of tradition is at the same time static (*tradio*) and kinetic (*tradere*), conservative and dynamic. Above all, tradition implies the existence of continuation, an uninterrupted transmission of the *tradtum*. This requires the remembering of an original “giving” (*datio*) to the transmitters, namely the *actus tradendi* of Christ to the church, which completed the Covenant of the Old Testament between God and Israel through His Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection in the New Testament.⁸⁷

The question raised is who is worthy enough to be entrusted with the transmission of tradition to other people. In the Orthodox East, the *actus tradendi* was not restricted to a small elite of professional theologians or clerics; moreover, the discipline of theology was not systematically taught as part of higher education, confirming Paul Magdalino’s statement that in Byzantium, “the study of God’s Word . . . was simply too important to be put in an academic compartment.”⁸⁸

In Latin-ruled Cyprus the Orthodox bishops were responsible for the transmission of Orthodox teachings to the wider body of believers. Surviving models for catechetical addresses delivered by bishops during the annual assemblies of their clergy seem to present no substantial evidence of doctrinal or liturgical Latinization, revealing that the episcopate was highly involved in the process of controlling the Orthodox Cypriot tradition.⁸⁹ The aforementioned clash between Matthew of Leukara and Berard of Limassol in the late 1280s over the validity of the Latin Eucharist, is an early example of the Greek prelates' role as keepers of the Orthodox tradition under the *Bulla Cyprica* regime.

Sometime after 1340, George Lapithēs (fl. ca. 1336–51?), a noble Greek Cypriot polymath and theologian, composed a liturgical treatise *On the Seven Sacraments*, perhaps at the instigation of the Orthodox Cypriot episcopate following Latin pressures for reform after the Provincial Council of 1340, under Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux (1332–42). The treatise contains minor influences from Latin theology (e.g., the enumeration of *seven* sacraments and the occasional use of Latin terminology), although it generally follows the Byzantine Orthodox doctrinal and liturgical tradition. As scholars have pointed out, Lapithēs' work reconciles the two traditions without essentially alienating from the Orthodox dogmatic and liturgical line. The Orthodoxy of Lapithēs' treatise is further supported by the fact that it was later incorporated as an anonymous text into the *Replies* sent by Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople (1536–95) to the Lutheran theologians of Tübingen, during the theological discussions between Orthodox and Protestants in the sixteenth century. Being a part of Jeremiah II's *Replies*, Lapithēs' treatise eventually received canonical status during the anti-Calvinist Council of Jerusalem in 1672.⁹⁰

That Lapithēs was well versed in both the Byzantine and Latin theological traditions is confirmed by the testimony of the distinguished Byzantine savant and anti-Palamite theologian Nikēphoros Grēgoras (ca. 1290/93–1361), who depicts Lapithēs (also an anti-Palamite) as the ideal Byzantine aristocrat. Grēgoras states that even King Hugh IV (1324–59) honored Lapithēs’ polymathy, hosting philosophical and theological disputations, in which Lapithēs always defeated his Latin opponents due to his superiority of spirit and vast learning. Although Grēgoras’ emphasis on Lapithēs’ virtues and the Lusignan king’s tolerance should primarily be seen as an expression of *Kaiserkritik* against the Palamite Hesychast regime in Constantinople and its persecution of the anti-Palamites, the image of Lapithēs emerging from the sources is that of a competent Byzantine theologian, capable of creatively appropriating Western elements.⁹¹ As Darrouzès has argued, Lapithēs’ treatise was probably commissioned by the island’s Orthodox bishops, suggesting that the episcopate consciously pursued the adaptation of Latin regulations, notions, and practices, in order to substantially preserve the most important aspects of the island’s Orthodox tradition.⁹² As will be shown in chapter 3, the creation of a Cypriot group of anti-Palamites (in which Lapithēs and at least some Greek Cypriot bishops belonged), in opposition to the Palamite Hesychast theology that was eventually vindicated in the mid-fourteenth century, seems to have been the result of Byzantine Orthodox conservatism, rather than the outcome of Greek Cypriot “Latinization.” Lapithēs’ case suggests that educated lay theologians and the Greek Cypriot hierarchy struggled to set boundaries between Orthodox and Latins, without, however, excluding the realistic need for religious dialogue or other forms of interaction.

Apart from bishops and their lay collaborators, monastic spiritual pastors enjoyed a prominent position in the transmission of faith and interpretation of the scriptures. The institution of spiritual fatherhood was an important part of this process. A “spiritual father” (πνευματικὸς πατήρ), or “elder” (γέρον), was an experienced continuator and transmitter of tradition, capable of guiding his spiritual brethren (monks or laypeople) in their inner life. The authority of the scriptures was not threatened by the authority of holiness: as long as the elder was perceived as part of the unbroken chain of tradition, he was to stand *in loco Christi* among his brethren.⁹³

From the twelfth century onwards, the contentious encounter between Latins and Byzantines led to an increasingly defensive reaction on the part of the Orthodox clergy and monastic world. This bipolar perception of East-West relations, however, was not shared by everyone; as the representatives and transmitters of the Orthodox tradition soon discovered, there were members of their flock who adopted a more flexible, and even amicable, attitude towards the Latins. This reality led Orthodox church pastors to act as “guardians” of their ecclesiastical heritage, setting barriers and boundaries between “insiders” and “outsiders,” “Orthodox” and “Latins/Latin sympathizers.” In this context, Orthodox pastors emphasized the theological meaning of even seemingly “insignificant” differences in devotion and liturgical praxis, thus hardening their stance against those ready to accept the Latins as members of the same fold.⁹⁴

Between ca. 1198 and ca. 1209, during a vacancy in the Paphos bishopric, Neophytos the Recluse, who functioned as *locum tenens* from his hermitage, issued two encyclicals condemning those breaking the beginning of the Lenten fasting period, and threatening the disobedient with excommunication. Although not

directly attacking the Western Lent, which begins not on “Clean Monday” (according to the Byzantine Orthodox rite) but on “Ash Wednesday,” Neophytos’ encyclicals aimed at restoring canonical order and prohibiting the possible imitation of Latin practices associated with the beginning of the fast.⁹⁵ Neophytos’ boundary building strategy is also reflected in his treatise *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, dealing with conciliarity (an integral element of Orthodox ecclesiology) and the gradual alienation of the West from doctrinal correctness. By incorporating in the treatise a list of ten Latin “errors”—stretching from the beardless appearance of the Latin clergy to the Eucharistic use of unleavened bread—the Recluse acted as an authoritative guardian of tradition, stressing the significance of “external” (audible and visible) differences that provided concrete and tangible identity markers between “us” and “them.”⁹⁶

Throughout the Orthodox East, similar lists of Latin religious errors aimed at promoting sentiments of unity, stability, and superiority among the defeated, humiliated, and disoriented Orthodox, especially the *illiterati*.⁹⁷ The increasing need for boundary maintenance strongly suggests that, for the guardians of Orthodox tradition and their entourage, one could not adopt the Latin practices and doctrines without losing something of his ethnic identity.

The pastoral activities of monastic guardians of tradition, like Neophytos, bring us to the interactive relationship between Orthodox Cypriot monasticism and the laity. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, new monastic foundations were established in Byzantium, although their increasing property created problems of management and threatened monastic spirituality. Imperial legislation permitted Orthodox monasticism to safeguard its belongings and acquire more privileges, while the development of

networks of lay patronage (imperial and aristocratic) enabled secular protection in exchange for spiritual benefits.⁹⁸ In Cyprus, new monasteries were founded during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; these establishments enjoyed Byzantine patronage (imperial, aristocratic, and episcopal), bringing Orthodox monastic communities to the forefront of local socioeconomic life.⁹⁹

Spiritual factors might have also cultivated bonds between Orthodox monasticism and the laity. During the middle Byzantine period, a synthesis between the solemn “stational mass” and the more mystagogic monastic rite created new liturgical forms, addressing believers of all social classes in an intimate way.¹⁰⁰ The numerous churches of Troodos, dating from the Byzantine to the Venetian period, are visible signs of rural Orthodox Cypriot devotion under Latin rule: their small scale, unity of space, and low lighting recreate the Orthodox mystagogic atmosphere in which Greek mountainous communities (lay and monastic) practiced their faith.¹⁰¹

Clearly, Orthodox Cypriot monastic centers were not isolated establishments on the margins of society, but part of the rhythm of everyday life, weaving a nexus of connections (socioeconomic, spiritual, and ideological) between the church and the laity. At the same time, the aforementioned preservation of local ecclesiastical structures after 1191 (see chapter 1), guaranteed the continuation of the pro-Byzantine ideological orientation of Orthodox Cypriot guardians of tradition. For example, the attachment of the Kykkos community to the monastery’s Byzantine Orthodox past mirrors the enduring center-periphery bonds that shaped the mechanisms of boundary maintenance, long after the traumatic events of the Latin conquest. Another important monastic source, the thirteenth-century *Kantara Narrative*, presents the Thirteen Monks as spokesmen of the Orthodox tradition and the Latin-conquered

“race” (γένος) of the Ῥωμαῖοι; the anonymous author, possibly a monk, associates the Latins with evil biblical personae.¹⁰²

The case of Neilos of Tamasia, formerly abbot of the Makhairas monastery and later bishop of Tamasia (1209), demonstrates how prelates originating from a monastic background acted as guardians of the Orthodox tradition. In 1210, Bishop Neilos confirmed the *Rule* of the Makhairas community, composed by him during his tenure as the monastery’s abbot. Neilos paid particular attention to the observance of ancient ascetic practices, firmly prohibiting any modification of the existing tradition.¹⁰³ Bishops and monks also seem to have collaborated in guiding and directing the laity. According to a brief note in a fifteenth-century manuscript, an anonymous elder delivered a public catechism on the *Sayings* of St. Arsenios before the Greek congregation of the village of Emba (1435/36). Sabbas Pipēs, the incumbent bishop of Arsinoē, was also present, and ordered for the catechism to be recorded, presumably so as to be used for the pastoral instruction of his flock.¹⁰⁴

4. EMBODIMENT

As the quintessential synopsis of Orthodox spirituality, tradition is more than a mechanical repetition of archaic rituals and external identity markers: the daily conversation between humanity and the divine invites psychosomatic and social responses. To comprehend how this happens, we will focus on the concept of *embodiment*.

Caroline W. Bynum notes that, of all world religions, Christianity (Eastern and Western) “has defended the idea that the body is crucial to self in the most strident and extensive, the most philosophically and theologically confused (and rich) form.”¹⁰⁵ Eastern and Western patristic theology interpreted the Aristotelian

ἔξις (“disposition” or “quality”) as the psychosomatic virtues or dispositions leading to things divine (*habitus*). This appears to have led the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) to argue that past experiences are inscribed in the bodies of social agents, generating skills and practices.¹⁰⁶ According to Michael Barnes, “the Christian *habitus* is learned in the living out of the tradition and re-imagining of life-giving stories, and continuing with the various practices of faithful discipleship which they support.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, the fulfillment of messianic prophecies in the historical person of Jesus Christ sets before the faithful the example of Christian life *par excellence*, encouraging and guiding their own personal imitation.

Patristic theology understands the cosmos, the theater of divine revelation, as “held together internally by God himself, the divine Word—the Logos.”¹⁰⁸ The distinctive characteristic of the Byzantine Orthodox *habitus* is that the divine elevation of purified humans carries “the human body and the whole cosmos along with it.”¹⁰⁹ The “transcendent materiality” of the Orthodox tradition is reflected, for example, in the insistence of Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriots that only leavened bread was canonically permissible in the celebration of the Eucharist. The firm defense of the exclusive sacramental use of leavened bread on the island must have been enhanced by the synodal reaffirmation of the real and sacrificial character of Eucharistic worship in Byzantium during the twelfth century (in 1156/57 and 1170).¹¹⁰ Around the same period, Neophytos the Recluse recorded contemporary miracles supporting the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and compared his monastic vocation to the liturgical leavened bread;¹¹¹ iconographic themes from twelve-century churches depict the “Fraction” (Μελισμὸς) and the “Preparation of the Throne” (Ἐτοιμασία τοῦ

θρόνου), stressing the sacrificial nature of the sacrament and its eschatological implications.¹¹²

It is reasonable to argue that the special care of anything having to do with leavened bread, as observed in customs that survive to the present day in Cyprus, indicates the popular belief that this particular kind of bread is sacred. One such example is the distribution of blessed ordinary leavened bread (ἀντίδωρον) by the priest to the faithful, after the end of the liturgy. It is common for liturgical bread to be prepared at home by women of the parish; families still follow the custom of bringing leavened bread to the church on several occasions, such as the commemoration of the living and the dead. In the Byzantine liturgical rite, the loaves of leavened bread symbolize the Virgin, through whom the Incarnation of the Son became possible. It is also an ancient custom for the homemade leaven of each year to contain blessed water.¹¹³ Therefore, we observe a remarkable continuity in the perception of leavened bread as sacred, omnipresent in all aspects of Orthodox Cypriot religious culture. Not surprisingly, the Kantara Monks argued in their *Confession of faith* that the liturgical leavened bread was truly a reminder of Christ's institution of the Eucharist, through which the faithful achieved union with God, in accordance with the long sacramental experience of their church.¹¹⁴

Another important dimension of the transcendent materiality of Byzantine Orthodoxy is “theophany” (θεοφάνεια), denoting “the manifestation of the appearance of God.”¹¹⁵ Alexander Golitzin observes that theophany is connected to the Byzantine Orthodox theology of human transformation and deification in Christ, based on key theological themes from Second Temple Judaism, later reworked by the pre-Nicene and Byzantine patristic and spiritual authors.¹¹⁶ April D. DeConick acknowledges that the modern

historian cannot know whether people in previous historical periods “actually” experienced God; she stresses, however, the need to recognize that theophanic narratives were, for their audience of believers, “reports of actual encounters with God.”¹¹⁷ These remarks, often ignored in earlier and more recent studies on Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins, are essential for our examination of embodiment as identity preservation mechanism.

In his important study on the Byzantine Orthodox theology and iconography of Christ’s luminous Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor (Matthew 17:19, Mark 9:2-10, and Luke 9:29-36), interpreted by patristic exegetes as a foretaste of the Son’s future exaltation after the Passion, Andreas Andreopoulos underlines “the Fathers’ stress upon the Transfiguration as a model of ascetical ascent through prayer.”¹¹⁸ Further insights into this theology are provided by Jon D. Levenson, who states that “the chosen [are] singled out for both exaltation and humiliation, for glory and for death, but the confrontation with death must come first.”¹¹⁹ A key hagiographical text reflecting this theological theme is the *Life of St. Sabbas the Young*, composed by Patriarch Philotheos I Kokkinos of Constantinople (1353–54 and 1364–76). Sabbas (ca. 1283–1349), an itinerant Athonite monk and follower of the contemplative or “hesychast” (from ἡσυχία, namely “inner quietness”) ascetic life, visited Cyprus around 1308; the theophanic narratives in his *Life* bear witness to the popularity of Orthodox holy ascetics in Latin-ruled Cypriot society, stressing their role as models of divine embodiment and agents of communal identity preservation.¹²⁰ Maltreated by the Latins and reproached by his fellow Greeks, who misunderstood his odd and often shocking behavior as “fool for the sake of Christ” (διὰ Χριστὸν σαλότης or μωρία), the humiliated Sabbas experienced a luminous theophanic vision: the first of many to follow as a reward for his ascetic

struggles.¹²¹ Through his sufferings and theophanic experience, Sabbas' holiness was eventually recognized, attracting the attention and reverence of the Orthodox population. People from all over the island, poor and rich (including members of the Greek elite), came to be blessed by Sabbas, honoring him as a living saint. His image was painted on wooden panels and privately venerated with candles, perfumed oil, and incense; some of his devotees even hung his icon from their necks as an amulet and carried it everywhere. The pressure around him was so great that he had to secretly leave for the Holy Land. According to the *Life*, the Greeks searched for Sabbas throughout the island, mourning his departure, for they interpreted his loss as the beginning of great disasters.¹²²

Scholars have argued that the tension between Sabbas and the Latins in Philotheos' account was the result of the holy fool's provocative behavior.¹²³ However, Sabbas' provocation was nonaggressive, and was enhanced by his persistence to remain silent, due to his vow of silence.¹²⁴ Patriarch Philotheos notes that Sabbas was rebuked by both Greeks and Latins; yet, it was the Latins who had severely beaten him twice, while the Greeks gradually recognized his holiness, venerating him as a living saint. Thus, Sabbas' maltreatment by the Latins and subsequent theophanic experience signify the spiritual "awaking" of the island's Orthodox community, stressing the role of theophanic agents as identity preservation activators.¹²⁵

Although Patriarch Philotheos' hagiographical account might be exaggerated for purposes of promoting Palamite Hesychasm as the model of ascetic life *par excellence*,¹²⁶ there is evidence that Orthodox contemplative asceticism was widely respected and appreciated by both Greeks and Latins. By 1333, for example, the relics of St. Sōzomenos had been transferred by the Lusignans from

the saint's hermitage at Potamia to the royal palace of Nicosia; moreover, the Potamia community of Greek hermits seems to have been placed under royal patronage.¹²⁷ Shared appreciation of Orthodox holy ascetics could be explained in terms of social psychology. As Peter Brown's seminal study on the late antique holy man argues, holy people were perceived by society as allayers of temporal and spiritual anxiety; they were also considered to be bearers of divine power, exercised in daily life through their prayers, charismatic social intervention, and miracles.¹²⁸ Patriarch Philotheos' reference that the Orthodox Cypriots mourned Sabbas' disappearance (post 1309) is better understood if we take into consideration that around the same period the island was in turmoil because of the *coup d'état* against King Henry II (1285–1324), the dissolution of the Knights Templar (1310/11), and the vacancy in the Latin see of Nicosia; Cyprus was also suffering from drought and heavy rain, which affected agriculture and caused famine: these conditions must have bolstered Sabbas' role as a charismatic allayer of anxiety.¹²⁹ More than seventy years later, in 1384, John of Lusignan, the Latin lord of Beirut, made a pilgrimage to the church of St. Barnabas of Vasa, venerating the holy hermit's relics and praying for physical salvation and spiritual redemption. A brief manuscript note in Greek, perhaps left by John himself, mentions that he eventually departed from Vasa in a state of great distress: his prayers to St. Barnabas remained unanswered.¹³⁰

Embodying the mystery of God's transcendent materiality in the physical world, Orthodox contemplative spirituality and its theophanic agents appear to have provided for their Greek and Latin believers a sense of meaning in life, despite its difficulties and seemingly incomprehensible tragedies. Following Frankl, the primary motivation in human life is to rationally interpret the meaninglessness of pain and anxiety, finding ways to endure

suffering.¹³¹ While functioning as shared allayers of anxiety, however, Orthodox holy ascetics also activated the distinctive characteristics of Orthodox Cypriot identity. Apart from Patriarch Philotheos' hagiographical testimony concerning Sabbas the Young's Cypriot activities, the great number of male and female holy ascetics (including both ecclesiastics and members of the laity) depicted in the churches of Latin-ruled Cyprus must have reminded

the subjugated Orthodox Cypriots of their ethnoreligious bonds with the rest of the Byzantine Orthodox world.¹³²

The notion of transcendent materiality is of paramount importance for understanding Orthodox Cypriot reactions towards the Western Church and the Latin Eucharist. In 1313, Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne, the papal legate in Cyprus, incarcerated Bishops Leo of Solea (ca. 1313–21), Olbianos of Leukara (ca. 1313–21), and Hilariōn of Karpasia (ca. 1313–18), accusing them as instigators of a popular riot. The tension between Peter and the Greek bishops had partly been triggered by a debate over liturgical customs: the Greek and Syrian Melkite congregation performed a prostration before the celebrant priest during the "Great Entrance," namely the ritual transfer to the altar of the blessed but not yet consecrated bread and wine; from Peter's perspective, the prostration was idolatrous or heretical. Of the three bishops, Hilariōn of Karpasia died in prison in ca. 1318, while the other two were eventually released (1321) and ordered by Pope John XXII (1316–34) to instruct their flock on the exact moment of the conversion of the Holy Gifts into Christ's Body and Blood.¹³³

On the one hand, the Latin attempts to correct the Orthodox Cypriots by pinpointing the exact moment of the Eucharistic consecration mirror the Western insistence that the bread and wine should not be adored before they have been converted into the

totality of Christ. On the other hand, as Miri Rubin argues, the Byzantine liturgy did not parcel and pinpoint the sacred, “but rather unfolded [it] in a *dérroulement*, in a whole drama of liturgical interaction which never settled for a particular climax”;¹³⁴ this transformed liturgical performance into a continuous theophany, from beginning to end.¹³⁵ Although Byzantine commentators expressed different views on the prostration issue,¹³⁶ the aforementioned reaffirmation of Christ’s real presence in the Eucharist during the theological controversies of the twelfth century contributed to the consolidation of this devotional practice in Cyprus and other parts of the Orthodox world: for example, the theme of angelic prostration before the divine altar-throne, usually depicted in the dome, mirrored the Orthodox *habitus* of prostrating in key moments of the Byzantine liturgy.¹³⁷

Upon his release in 1321, Olbianos of Leukara, one of the three Greek prelates involved in the 1313 controversy, commissioned a silver-gilt cover for the Holy Cross relic preserved at Leukara (see [Figure 2.2](#)). The cover’s inscription describes Olbianos as “enduring” (τληπαθής), alluding to his incarceration and sufferings; the Lamentation of Golgotha scene, placed over Olbianos’ portrait, seems to associate the Passion with the sacrificial nature of the blessed bread and wine, even before their consecration. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Great Entrance departs from the πρόθεσις (oblation table or chamber in the sanctuary), a symbol of Golgotha, and ends with the placement of the Holy Gifts on the altar, as a reenactment of the Burial. Consequently, Olbianos appears to have expressed the liturgical theology of his own tradition in a covert way, challenging Western orthodoxy and orthopraxy; at the same time, he identified himself with the suffering Christ in expectation of spiritual exaltation following his

humiliating treatment by the papal legate.¹³⁸ As late as the sixteenth century, the Greeks maintained their *habitus* of prostrating before the unconsecrated Holy Gifts during the Great Entrance procession, while Latin ecclesiastics continued to criticize it.¹³⁹



Figure 2.2 The Lamentation of Golgotha and Bishop Olbianos of Leukara, Silver-Gilt Cover of the Holy Cross Relic, Church of the Holy Cross, Leukara, Post 1321. Source: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

The 1313 incident unveils a long controversy between two liturgical traditions over the exact moment of veneration of the Eucharistic bread and wine, being the vehicle of divine

transcendence and immanence. This is a concrete example of the strong Orthodox Cypriot belief that Christ is really present in the liturgy even *before* the conversion of the Holy Gifts, despite the Latin insistence that the bread and wine should be adored only *after* their consecration. The notion of embodiment also helps us understand the Orthodox Cypriot attachment to the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, perceived as the only proper way to denote Christ's real and living presence in the sacrament, according to the tradition sanctioned in the Orthodox East. Last but not least, the psychosomatic dimension of spiritual life was reaffirmed by the example of holy ascetics; the fact that these were venerated by both Greeks and Latins as agents of divine revelation seems not to have prevented their communal role as activators of ethnoreligious awareness.

5. MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

The *synodikon* (συνοδικὸν) comprises a list of holy prelates and pious emperors, solemnly recited on the first Sunday of Lent (during the Feast of Orthodoxy), when the doctrinal correctness of the Byzantine Orthodox tradition is reaffirmed through the repetition of anathemas against various heretics.¹⁴⁰ Sometime during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the priest and scribe Basil Perderias from Zōtia copied a Cypriot version of the *synodikon*, containing lists of Byzantine emperors and empresses, as well as the names of Cypriot and non-Cypriot local holy prelates. Perderias' *synodikon* ends with a series of liturgical commemorations (πολυχρόνια) of both Greek and Latin prominent individuals: the four Orthodox patriarchs and the Roman pontiff are mentioned, together with the (Latin) archbishop, the local bishop (presumably the Greek one), and the Lusignan king.¹⁴¹ How are we to interpret the commemoration of Latins in a Byzantine

liturgical text linked to the very definition of “orthodoxy” in the Orthodox Cypriot tradition? To answer this question we will have to turn to the field of social psychology and the theory of *multiple identities*.

Modern research has shown that individuals belong to a diversity of social categories simultaneously: this enables the development of multiple identities, namely different ways of perceiving themselves and the world around them, regardless of the degree of “accuracy” or “neutrality” in defining group memberships. Identities shape people’s feelings, behavior, and actions, influencing how they are treated by others in different social contexts.¹⁴² Individuals with multiple identities tend to organize their self-understandings in a hierarchy, in which one layer of identity may dominate the person’s thoughts and actions (at least periodically).¹⁴³ Different contexts enable individuals to activate inconsistent—even contradicting—identities that coexist. For instance, people tend to manifest particular identity layers in familiar cultural contexts that make them feel comfortable, or deploy other identity layers for rhetorical purposes in conversational settings, making identity manageable and negotiable.¹⁴⁴ The intersection of multiple identities (“intersectionality”) leads individuals to organize these identities in various ways, employing different types of identity organization at specific moments in their lives: “identity conflict” occurs when self-understandings are perceived as incompatible to each other, whereas “identity harmony” characterizes the reconciliation of “opposing” identity components.¹⁴⁵ All the above support the view that it is rather simplistic to interpret Cypriot Orthodoxy under Latin rule exclusively in terms of its “Byzantine,” “Cypriot,” “Eastern Catholic,” or “Latinized” identity: if we are to fully evaluate the dynamics of identity preservation and adaptation that

characterized the plurality of combinations of group memberships (producing different attitudes on particular circumstances), it is necessary to pursue an intersectional interpretation of Cypriot Orthodoxy.

Perderias' *synodikon* reflects the multiplicity and intersection of identities in Latin-ruled Cyprus. The *synodikon* commemorates both the Latin secular and ecclesiastical authorities, highlighting the dependence of the Greeks on the Lusignan kings and the papacy for the effective protection of their rights and customs. At the same time, however, the commemoration of the island's Latin overlords may have functioned as a reminder of the Cypriots' political and ecclesiastical subjugation, leading to the expression of their ethnoreligious bonds with Byzantium and Orthodoxy: the commemoration of the pope is overshadowed by the commemoration of all five patriarchs, while the reference to the Lusignan king is preceded by a long list of Byzantine emperors. Thus, the *synodikon* mirrors the combination of different group memberships (ethnic, regional, religious, and political). An outline, based on the names and titles mentioned in the text, would be the following:

Byzantine emperors and empresses (55 names) → "Byzantine Orthodox"

Byzantine holy prelates (56 names) → "Byzantine Orthodox"

Cypriot archbishops before 1260 (32 names) → "Byzantine Orthodox" + "Cypriot"

Cypriot holy prelates before 1260 (24 names) → "Byzantine Orthodox" + "Cypriot"

Pope → “Western”

Eastern patriarchs (4 names) → “Byzantine Orthodox”

Archbishop (Latin) → “Western” + “Cypriot”

Bishop (Greek) → “Byzantine Orthodox” + “Cypriot”

Lusignan king → “Western” + “Cypriot”

At first sight, this combination of different group memberships manages to reconcile “opposing” identity components, expressing identity harmony (“Byzantine Orthodox” + “Cypriot” + “Western”). Having discussed, however, the existence of a variety of boundary building mechanisms throughout this chapter, I believe that it is more convincing to interpret the identity harmony of Perderias’ *synodikon* as a pragmatic application of accommodation (οἰκονομία) to the realities of the Latin domination. An interesting parallel can be found, for example, in Byzantine astrological treatises, not approved by the Orthodox Church, yet invoking the Trinity and the saints in order to stress their orthodoxy.¹⁴⁶ The actual performance of the *synodikon* within a strictly communal context, on occasions when no Latins were present, might have excluded the commemoration of the Latins mentioned therein, while these commemorations would have been pronounced in the presence of Latin ecclesiastics for purposes of rhetoric, or in order to promote collaboration. It should be noted that in 1207, during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, the local Orthodox clergy, who had been left without patriarch, proposed the liturgical commemoration of Pope Innocent III in exchange for the right to elect a new ecumenical patriarch. Although the negotiations eventually failed, leading to the establishment of an exiled

patriarch of Constantinople in Nicaea, the Constantinopolitan proposal must have created a precedent that left room for Orthodox Cypriots under the *Bulla Cypria* to commemorate the pope in the liturgy.¹⁴⁷

What is also noteworthy is that in Perderias' *synodikon* Pope Benedict XII (1334–42) is mentioned by his Greek name, “Eulogios” (rather than “Benediktos”), despite the fact that he never seems to have employed this particular name form.¹⁴⁸ It remains an open question if Orthodox Cypriots had chosen to Hellenize the pope's name, making it almost indistinguishable, so as to “de-Latinize” his identity and create the illusion of commemorating a Byzantine Orthodox prelate. The prevailing number of Byzantine Orthodox bishops, emperors, and empresses of blessed memory mentioned in the text (including Cypriot hierarchs) emphasizes the symbolic position of Latin-ruled Cyprus as integral part of the Byzantine Orthodox ecumene, reversing the *status quo* imposed by the Crusader conquest and the *Bulla Cypria*. The exclusion of Latin saints, together with the extensive reference to holy Cypriot bishops going back to the apostolic era, and the commemoration of Cypriot archbishops up to Archbishop Neophytos' time (ca. 1222–51), sanctioned the historical rights of the Orthodox Church on the island, implicitly renouncing the reduction of ancient episcopal sees and the subordination of the remaining Orthodox bishops to the Latin hierarchy. Overall, *synodika* like the above suggest how ethnoreligious messages with covert anti-Latin implications could have been communicated liturgically by manipulating, at the same time, a hierarchy of multiple identities that enabled the cultivation of bonds with the Western political and ecclesiastical regime.¹⁴⁹

Submission to the Western Church in 1260 did not signify the end of Cypriot Orthodoxy and the creation of a “Latinizing” Byzantine-

rite body of believers. Orthodox Cypriots did not accept the passive role imposed on them by their conquerors, but managed to creatively develop a number of adaptive mechanisms that reconciled ethnoreligious awareness with their new identities as subjects of the Lusignan Kingdom and members of the universal Western Church. By the early fourteenth century, when much of the tension caused by the *Bulla Cypria* seems to have died out, most Greeks appear to have realized that the *Bulla* provided the only realistic option in order to preserve their tradition and promote their interests; at the same time, they were well aware that this particular constitutional framework could work against them, since it implicitly sanctioned interventions on the part of zealous Latin ecclesiastics (e.g., Berard of Limassol and Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne). Political and social developments also contributed to the process of pacification. The fall of Crusader dominions in the Levant (followed by a wave of refugees) and the realities of everyday coexistence galvanized a sense of common Christian belonging that was expressed in shared devotional practices and rituals.

This chapter set out to explore the mechanisms employed by Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriots in the first seventy years after the *Bulla Cypria*, tracing their impact on the communal (or private) and intercommunal (or public) spheres of Orthodox Cypriot spiritual life and culture. The use of methodological tools from the fields of social anthropology, psychology, and sociology facilitates the historical and theological contextualization of Byzantine Orthodox identity, showing that boundary building emerged from within the Cypriot society, although it rarely resulted in anti-Latin coercion or violence.

The absence of coercion and violence is clear in the long-term continuation of resistance through the recollection, preservation, interpretation, and territorialization of memories, which permitted

the discreet cultivation of ethnoreligious bonds with Byzantium and Orthodoxy. Moreover, covert anti-Latin attacks and expressions of Byzantine Orthodox exclusivism challenged the Western standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy in ways that did not openly provoke the Latin regime. Another key mechanism was the controlled transmission of tradition: the need for boundary maintenance gave rise to ecclesiastical and lay guardians of tradition, engaged in the pastoral guidance of their brethren, the reaffirmation of their ethnoreligious identity, and the refutation or appropriation of Latin theology and practices. The notion of embodiment sheds light on Orthodox Cypriot perceptions of divine immanence and transcendence; this strengthens our understanding of the psychosomatic experience of religion, shared by both Orthodox and Latins, and guides us to explore the channels through which the former remained attached to their own doctrines and customs. The multiplicity and intersection of different group memberships stresses the negotiable nature of identity, providing a more holistic appreciation of the complexities created by conviviality, as well as the willingness to define and pronounce the sense of ethnoreligious belonging.

The Orthodox Cypriot involvement in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy, the most significant theological contention in late Byzantium, offers a concrete example of how Latin-ruled Cyprus continued to function as an integral part of the Byzantine Orthodox world. The next chapter tells the story of the formation of an Orthodox Cypriot elite and their attempts to strengthen the island's bonds with Byzantium, at a time of Crusades, cultural regeneration, and heated theological debates.

Table 2.1 The Main Points of Friction between Orthodox Cypriots and Latins. Related Sources not Mentioned Elsewhere in the Book have been Noted in the Fourth Column

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>	<i>Latins</i>	<i>Landmarks</i>
1. Universal papal supremacy in matters of faith and jurisdiction	Non-Cypriot ecclesiastical intervention in Cypriot ecclesiastical affairs is forbidden by the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus (431) and Trullo (691/92): the Cypriot Church is independent. The papal primacy is accepted; papal supremacy in matters of faith and jurisdiction is not. After 1260, the Orthodox hierarchy is submitted to the Western Church, which creates an ecclesiological anomaly	There is only one "Orthodox Mother Church," the Roman, in which the Greeks now belong. This requires the reorganization of Orthodox Cypriot bishoprics: there will be only four Orthodox bishops in Cyprus, placed under Latin diocesans	1222/23: Archbishop Neophytos is "chased away from his throne" (<i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη</i> , p. 7); Patriarch Germanos advises the Cypriots to submit to the Latins, avoiding canonical obedience; 1229: Germanos instructs the Cypriots to isolate themselves from those accepting the Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction; 1231/32: Archbishop Neophytos complains to the Byzantine emperor about Germanos' intervention in Cypriot affairs; 1260s: Orthodox attacks against the Greeks and Syrians who had accepted the <i>Bulla Cypria</i> ; ca. 1313 and ca. 1360: Disputes between Greeks and Latins over the Syrian Melkites; 1406: The autocephaly issue is raised in the negotiations between the Cypriots and Joseph Bryennios; 1472: Papal complains concerning the bishop of Solea's "usurpation" of the Latin archbishop's role; 1567: Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo wishes to impose his control over Orthodox ecclesiastical courts. Around the same period, the <i>Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians</i> mentions that the Greeks did not accept the pope as head of all the other churches. See chapters 1, 3–5
2. Azymes (unleavened bread in the Eucharist)	Only leavened bread is permitted; the use of unleavened bread is heretical	The use of unleavened bread is more correct; both practices are accepted. The Greeks are not required to use the azymes, but their insistence that the Latin practice is heretical is considered heresy	1231: Martyrdom of the Kantara Monks; 1238: Orthodox priests are forced by Gregory IX to take an oath of obedience to the papacy and renounce the heresy of calling the Latins heretics (in respect to their use of the azymes). Self-exile of Archbishop Neophytos and part of his clergy. Latin excommunication of the disobedient; 1280s: The excommunication is repeated in Archbishop Ranulph's regulations. The Berard-Matthew incident should be placed around the same period; 1326: Papal references that some Greeks refuse to receive the Eucharist unless it is brought to them from Constantinople; 1340: Under Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux, the Orthodox bishops are forced to accept the validity of the azymes in the Latin Eucharist; 1560s: The <i>Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians</i> mentions the Greek rejection of the azymes. The Latin use of Greek altars is considered by the Orthodox an act of sacrilege, while the Latins criticize the reconsecration of Greeks altars used by the Latins; Orthodox Cypriot liturgical sources seem to contain covert condemnations of the Latin practice (interpreted as Apollinarianism and Nestorianism). See chapters 1–5, App. I; <i>SN</i> , pp. 72–74, 81–82, 124–7, 142–43, 254–55
3. Beatific Vision	Not accepted	Official doctrine (1336). The Greeks are criticized, but their refusal to accept the Latin position is generally tolerated (partly because they were supposed to have accepted it in 1340)	During the Provincial Council of 1340, the Orthodox bishops are forced to accept the Beatific Vision; in his <i>Florilegium</i> , composed sometime after the Council of Florence (1439), Francis the Cypriot states that there are many who refuse to accept this doctrine. See chapters 3–4, App. III
4. <i>Filioque</i>	Not accepted. The Orthodox doctrine (Council of Blachernai, 1285) is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through (not from) the Son	Official doctrine (1014). The Greeks are criticized, but a changed Creed is generally not required (partly because the Greek bishops were supposed to have accepted the <i>Filioque</i> in 1340; but see also the Peter Thomas incident as described by Patriarch Kallistos)	1229: Patriarch Germanos criticizes the <i>Filioque</i> in his second letter to the Cypriots; 1340: The Western confession of the Provincial Council under Elias of Nabinaux contains the <i>Filioque</i> ; 1360: Patriarch Kallistos' <i>Encyclical</i> suggests that Peter Thomas had attempted to impose the <i>Filioque</i> by force; 1560s: The <i>Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians</i> mentions that the Orthodox reject the <i>Filioque</i> , which they consider heretical; Orthodox Cypriot liturgical sources seem to contain covert condemnations of the <i>Filioque</i> (interpreted as Arianism and Macedonianism). See chapters 1, 3–5, App. II; <i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη</i> , p. 17

5. Purgatory	No clear position concerning the condition of souls after death, until Mark Eugenikos' systematic treatment of the subject (ca. 1439). In general, the Orthodox denied the existence of Purgatory	Official doctrine (1274). Pope Innocent IV's instruction to the legate Eudes (1254) that the Greeks of Cyprus "should adopt the term 'purgatory' for the place of purgation that precedes the Kingdom of Heaven" (Schabel in <i>SN</i> , p. 66) could be interpreted in terms of Innocent's perception of the Orthodox as already accepting the purgation of souls. The Latins criticized the Greeks for not accepting Purgatory	1254: Pope Innocent IV's instructions to the legate Eudes concerning the adoption of the term by the Orthodox Cypriots; 1280s: Archbishop Ranulph repeats Innocent's instructions; 1326: Papal references that some Greeks deny the existence of Purgatory and Hell; 1340: The confession of faith of the Provincial Council under Elias of Nabinaux contains references to Purgatory; post-1439: Francis the Cypriot composes a <i>Florilegium on Purgatory</i> to refute those denying its existence; 1560s: <i>The Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians</i> mentions the rejection of Purgatory. See chapters 2, 4–5, App. III; <i>CHW</i> , pp. 242–43; <i>SN</i> , pp. 66, 72–73, 146–49, 252–53, 310; <i>BC</i> 1, doc. e-84
6. The Great Entrance prostration	A venerable custom in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. Note, however, that various theological views are expressed: Patriarch Eutychios of Constantinople (sixth century) criticizes popular reverence towards the unconsecrated bread and wine; Nicholas Kabasilas (fourteenth century) accepts the prostration custom, but instructs the faithful not to worship the unconsecrated bread and wine; Symeon of Thessalonica (fifteenth century) defends the custom against those criticizing it, presumably the Latins and pro-Latin Byzantines	Considered idolatry (the Holy Gifts are venerated before the moment of transubstantiation). The Orthodox should be instructed and corrected, in order to venerate the Eucharist appropriately	1313: The papal legate Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne incarcerates three Orthodox bishops, accusing them as instigators of a riot. The episode is triggered by the legate's attempt to correct the Orthodox on this particular issue. Following papal investigation, the two Orthodox bishops are released in ca. 1231 (the third had already died in prison). Pope John XXII agrees with his legate that the Greeks and Syrians of Cyprus should be instructed and corrected by their own bishops; 1340: The Provincial Council under Elias of Nabinaux repeats the papal instruction; 1560s: <i>The Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians</i> mentions this point as a Greek error. See chapters 2–3, 5, and sources mentioned in Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," p. 152 (n. 470)

NOTES

1. *BC* 2, docs. o-19-20 (commentary and ET in *SN*, pp. 73–74, 331–33); Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, "Limassol," pp. 258–60.
2. *BC* 2, docs. g-2, 7, 9, 27–28; *CHW*, pp. 95–99, 184–94, 205–208, 210–12 (commentary and ET in *SN*, pp. 320–25, 328–29). The Greek attack on the Latin archbishop's nuncios (*BC* 2, doc. g-29) might be interpreted in the context of violent anti-Latinism provoked by the *Bulla Cypria*.
3. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 86–95.
4. *BC* 2, doc. g-8.

5. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), pp. 328–73; N. Svoronos, “Τὸ νόημα καὶ ἡ τυπολογία τῶν κρητικῶν ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 13ου αἰ,” *BS* 8 (1989), pp. 7–8; Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 192–93.

6. *CHW*, pp. 269–70 (ET in *SN*, pp. 328–29).

7. *BC* 2, doc. o–50 (commentary and ET in *SN*, pp. 72, 74–75, 333–39).

8. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 99–109.

9. On the icon, see I. Eliades (ed.), *Cipro e l’Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L’Icona Grande di San Nicola tis Stégis del XIII secolo restaurata a Roma* (Nicosia, 2009). On the Ravendel family, see B. Imhaus, J.-P. Reverseau, and P. Kalamara, “Le comté de Tripolis dans la deuxième moitié du XIIIe siècle et le commanditaire de l’icône de Saint-Nicolas-du-Toit en Chypre,” *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 59–107.

10. *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades. The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abi Talib al-Dimashqi’s Response*, ed. R. Ebied and D. Thomas (Leiden–Boston, 2005); Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 431–32.

11. *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 24.

12. *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, vol. 1, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891), pp. 404–05, with ET by N. Coureas and P. W. Edbury, *The Chronicle of Amadi, Translated from the Italian* (Nicosia, 2015), pp. 797–98; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 485–86.

13. J. Richard, “Le casal de Psimolofo et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIVe siècle,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 59 (1947), pp. 140–53; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 435–37.

14. See Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 460–65 (with further bibliography).

15. C. S. Dixon, “Introduction: Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe,” in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. C. S. Dixon, D. Freist, and M. Greengrass (Farnham–Burlington, 2009), p. 4.

16. D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1996), p. 9.

17. S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2013), p. 13.

18. M. Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London–New York, 2004), p. 11.

19. Given, *The Archaeology*, pp. 7 (quotation), 14, 103, 109, 116–17, 119, 120, 131, 134–35, 138–40, 149, 160–61, 163, 165. Similar expressions of resistance have been discussed by J. C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1985), and Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1990).

20. Ch. Demetriou, “Big Structures, Social Boundaries and Identity in Cyprus, 1400–1700,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 51.10 (2008), p. 1484.

21. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 40 (ll. 276–77), 43 (395–98), 44 (ll. 418–19), 47 (ll. 552–56, 563–64), 49 (ll. 625–26). The Bryennios affair is examined in detail in chapter 4.

22. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 38 (ll. 233–34): καταργίζομεν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν οὐ φρονοῦμεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοί.

23. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 36 (ll. 152–54): ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὡς θέλομεν, οὕτω καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ διάγομεν.

24. The term is employed by M. Reinkowski, “Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates: The phenomenon of Crypto-Jews and Crypto-Christians in the Middle East,” in *Converting Cultures. Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, ed. D. Washburn and A. K. Reinhart (Leiden–Boston, 2007), pp. 409–33; cf. J. Robbins, “Crypto-Religions and the Study of Cultural Mixtures: Anthropology, Value, and the Nature of Syncretism,” *Journal of American Academy of Religion* 79.2 (2011), pp. 408–24.

25. See, e.g., A. A. M. Bryer, “The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond,” *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν* 4 (1983), pp. 13–68; C. Photiades, *Οἱ ἑξισλαμισμοὶ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ Κρυπτοχριστιανοὶ τοῦ Πόντου*, trans. A. Kapsalis (Thessalonica, 1993); R. C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640* (New York–London, 1993), pp. 137–43; C. Kokkinoftas, “Ἐκχριστιανισμοὶ καὶ επανεκχριστιανισμοὶ στὴν Κύπρο κατὰ τὴν Ἀγγλοκρατία (1878–1960),” *EKEE* 37 (2015), pp. 187–255. For a different view, see M. Hatay, “Three Ways of Sharing the Sacred: Choreographies of Coexistence in Cyprus,” in *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution*, ed. E. Barkan and K. Barkey (New York, 2015), pp. 69–96.

26. C. P. Kyrris, “Modes de survivance, de transformation et d’adaption du régime colonial latin de Chypre après la conquête ottomane,” *EKEE* 13–14 (1984–87), pp. 255–68; Z. N. Tsirpanlis, “Σχέσεις Κύπρου καὶ Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571–1878),” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, vol. 6 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. Th. Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 836–37; M. Hadjianastasis, “Between the Porte and the Lion: Identity, Politics and Opportunism in Seventeenth Century Cyprus,” in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. Hadjianastasis (Leiden–Boston, 2015), pp. 139–67.

27. *Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, vol. 2, ed. H. Hunger, O. Kresten, E. Kislinger, and C. Cupane (Vienna, 1995), docs. 116, 126 (= PRK 2); cf. J. Pahlitzsch, “The Greek Orthodox Communities of Nicaea and Ephesus under Turkish Rule in the Fourteenth Century: A New Reading of Old Sources,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock, B. De Nicola, and S. Nur Yildiz (Farnham–Burlington, 2015), p. 159. The connection between Kalekas’ encouragement of crypto-Christianity and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the *Bulla Cypria* was first made by Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” p. 163.

28. Reinkowski, “Hidden Believers,” p. 409. On crypto-Orthodoxy during the Byzantine Iconoclasm, see V. Baranov, “Constructing the

Underground Community: The Letters of Theodore the Studite and the Letter of Emperors Michael II and Theophilos to Louis the Pious,” in *Patrologia Pacifica Secunda: Selected papers presented to the Asia Pacific Early Christian Studies Society Fifth Annual Conference (Sendai, Japan, September 10–12, 2009) and other patristic studies*, vol. 6 of *Scrinium*, ed. V. Baranov, K. Demura, and B. Lourié (Piscataway, New Jersey, 2010), pp. 230–59. Crypto-Christianity might have been cultivated in tenth-century Crete under the Arabs (825–961): Photiades, *Οἱ ἑξισλαμισμοί*, pp. 189–90. The Seljūk Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykā’ūs II (1245–61) might have been crypto-Christian: Photiades, *Οἱ ἑξισλαμισμοί*, pp. 190–91; R. Shukurov, “Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes,” in *The Seljuks of Anatolia. Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and S. Nur Yildiz (London–New York, 2013), pp. 115–50; cf. A. D. Beihammer, “Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations,” *Speculum* 86 (2011), pp. 597–651. On forced or sincere conversions (from the Byzantine to the Latin rite and vice versa) in the Balkans, see rich bibliography in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 105–06 (n. 296).

29. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 10: ὅπου δέ γε οὐκ ἐπισημαίνεται τις ἀθέτησις τῶν κανόνων, τῶν παραδόσεων, τῶν ἐθίμων, αὐτῆς δὲ πίστεως εἴ τι που εὐμεθόδως καὶ ἀπροσκόπτως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ μετελθεῖν δυνήσονται οἱ Κύπριοι ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὑποπίπτειν καταπιπτούσας, ταῖς ἀληθείαις, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὑποστηρίζαιεν ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῆς ἀπειλουμένης ψυχολέθρου συντριβῆς ἀπαλλάξαιεν, συγγνωστέον ἂν οἶμαι τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκονομίας, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ὑποκρίσεως, καὶ ἀκαταιτίαν λογισθῆσονται, τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον εἰς τοῦτο συνήγορον ἔχοντες.

30. See extensive presentation in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 106–11. Southern Italy: P. Herde, “The Papacy and the Greek Church in Southern Italy between the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2002), pp. 220–21, 226: “In the Salento, for instance at Gallipoli, elements of Greek ritual survived into the sixteenth century. There were many Greek cave-churches and monasteries in this area, into

which the Greek bishops and clerics presumably withdrew after the Norman conquest, and Greek script remained in use for a long time—even for texts in the local dialect. . . . The ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council gave definitive written form to principles that would thereafter also be binding for the relations between the Greek and Latin Churches in southern Italy. . . . In case of contravention [between the Latin bishop and his Greek coadjutor], the conciliar canon threatened excommunication and deposition. This decree was of course aimed also at those Greek bishops who had initially coexisted with the Latin bishops, but who had subsequently withdrawn to minor sites or to cave-churches, and operated as it were underground, as we see above all in the Terra d’Otranto.” Greece: T. Shawcross, “The Lost Generation (c. 1204–c. 1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests under the Impact of the Fourth Crusade,” in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (Farnham–Burlington, 2011), p. 23: “In the course of their careers, some members of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy of the diocese of Athens, certainly, would be associated equally with resistance and collaboration. On the one hand, they opposed the new regime, and in particular its religious arm—often through the form of sermons and other similar activities—, and on the other hand, they attempted to cultivate the regard and trust of the regime, undertaking negotiations intended to secure concessions with respect to church property and revenues.” Palestine: A. Jotischky, “Greek Orthodox and Latin Monasticism around Mar Saba under Crusader Rule,” in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich (Leuven, 2001), pp. 91: “Another vehicle for the preservation of Orthodox doctrinal memory was the genre of anti-Latin writing. . . . The copying of texts on the main doctrinal issues confronting the Orthodox in their relations with their Frankish masters suggests that the Orthodox monasteries were actively involved in controversy. It is possible that this amounted to nothing more than the monks remaining informed about the theological background to the debate. But the fact that Orthodox monks were employed by the Franks as “coadjutor bishops” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and thus had parochial responsibilities to the wider Orthodox community, suggests that they were also in a position to disseminate the Orthodox

doctrine on the Holy Spirit, the eucharist, and other matters, to the laity and clergy.” On superficial submission to the Latins in Asia Minor, see also *BH*, doc. 194.

31. Shawcross, “The Lost Generation,” p. 21.

32. On the Moriscos (Muslim converts to Christianity), see generally M. García-Arenal and G. Wieggers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. A Mediterranean Diaspora*, trans. C. López-Morillas and M. Beagles (Leiden–Boston, 2014).

33. C. D. Schabel, “The Myth of the White Monks’ ‘Mission to the Orthodox.’ Innocent III, the Cistercians, and the Greeks,” *Traditio* 70 (2015), pp. 256–61. On donations of Latin and Greek believers to an Orthodox Cypriot monastery see generally: J. Darrouzès, “Un obituaire chypriote: le *Parisinus Graecus* 1588,” *KΣ* 11 (1951), pp. 25–62 (repr. in Darrouzès, *Littérature*, XIII); *DGMC*, pp. 74–81 (esp. at p. 79).

34. Averintsev, “Epilogue,” p. 217; Y. P. Avvakumov, “The Controversy over the Baptismal Formula under Pope Gregory IX,” in *Greeks*, ed. Hinterberger and Schabel, p. 83.

35. Avvakumov, “The Controversy,” pp. 83–84.

36. App. I, par. I.1.

37. Avvakumov, “The Controversy,” p. 84.

38. Avvakumov, “The Controversy,” p. 84.

39. Erickson, *The Challenge*, p. 147.

40. Erickson, *The Challenge*, pp. 145–46.

41. H. A. Netland, “Inclusivism and Exclusivism,” in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy of Religion*, ed. C. Meister and P. Copan (second edition: Abingdon, Oxon, 2013), p. 257: “Although exclusivism is often identified with intolerance, the two concepts should be distinguished. . . . It is not accepting or rejecting a particular belief that marks one as tolerant or intolerant. For if this were the case, then any time one disagreed with someone’s beliefs one would be intolerant; the only way to be tolerant would be to accept all beliefs or withhold judgement about competing beliefs.”

42. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, p. 169 (emphasis in the original). Elsewhere in her book (p. 69), Kolbaba correctly notes that Byzantine

religious uniformity was “idealized.” On this idealization, see also A. Walker White, *Performing Orthodox Ritual in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 188.

43. Reinkowski, “Hidden Believers,” pp. 414, 419–23, 430–31.

44. N. Gioles, “Εικονογραφικά θέματα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο Εκκλησιών,” in *Θωράκιον. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη*, ed. L. Kypraiou (Athens, 2004), pp. 268–69, 271–75; I. Eliades, “Η ‘Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων’ σε μια κυπριακή εικόνα και η εικονογραφική εξέλιξή της,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), pp. 145–73; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 114.

45. A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, “The Militarization of the Betrayal and its Examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” in *Εὐφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, vol. 2, ed. E. Kypraiou (Athens, 1992), pp. 570–81; R. D’Amato, “The Betrayal: Military Iconography and Archaeology in the Byzantine Paintings of the 11th–15th c. AD Representing the Arrest of our Lord,” in *Weapons Bring peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. L. Marek (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 69–95.

46. Stylianou and Stylianou, “The Militarization,” pp. 573–75, 581; Ch. G. Chotzakoglou, “Σχόλια στὴν οἰκοδόμηση καὶ στὸν τοιχογραφικὸ διάκοσμο τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τοῦ Ὁσίου Νεοφύτου στὴν Τάλα τῆς Πάφου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 939–40, 945. I have applied the LXX numbering of the Psalter throughout the book.

47. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Ἀποκαλύψεως ὁράματα,” pp. 395–96, 399–402, 404, 406.

48. Cf. T. McCall, S. Roberts, and G. Fiorenza (eds.), *Visual Cultures of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, Missouri, 2013).

49. P. Nosco, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 20.1 (1993), p. 13.

50. Quoted by Schabel, “Martyrs,” p. 32.

51. Cf. Reinkowski, “Hidden Believers,” pp. 423–31.

52. Μαρίνος Σανοῦδος Τορσέλλο, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ῥωμανίας*, ed. E. H. Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000), pp. 167–69; Kaldellis, *Hellenism*, pp. 348–49.

53. V. E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning: The Classical Tribute to Hope from the Holocaust* (sixth edition: London–Sydney–Auckland–Johannesburg, 2011), pp. 95–96.

54. B. Englezakis, *Παιδαγωγικὰ Θεολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα*, ed. G. K. Christodoulou (Nicosia, 2012), p. 297; cf. Papadopoulos in *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, pp. 308–09; C. D. Schabel, “The Latin Bishops of Cyprus, 1255–1313, with a Note on Bishop Neophytos of Solea,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), p. 86 (repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, V). An earlier dating of the *Narrative*, supported by Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 330–31 and Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 4, 16–17, seems to me less probable.

55. On Ranulph's antagonism with Bishop Neophytos of Solea, see *BC* 2, doc. o–23. The regulations promulgated by Ranulph are published in *SN*, pp. 72–73, 116–53. See also the discussion by Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 603–04, and Schabel, “The Latin Bishops,” pp. 80–90.

56. On the Arsenites, see P. Gounarides, *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261–1310). Ἰδεολογικὲς διαμάχες τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων* (Athens, 1999). A collection of canon law from the bishopric of Arsinoë in Paphos contains a number of strict condemnations against schismatic clergymen who refused to recognize the authority of the local Orthodox bishop. These condemnations appear to have adopted the language of fourteenth-century Byzantine canon law directed against Arsenite groups in the regions of Attaleia and Myra. This piece of evidence suggests the presence of Arsenite schismatics in Paphos in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century: Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 77–8, 116–17; Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 322–26. Around the same period, two papal letters, dating 1288 and 1290 respectively, vaguely mention the presence of “heretics” and “schismatics” in Armenian Cilicia and Cyprus: *BC* 2, docs. n–2, 14.

57. On the Council of Lyons see generally Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 220–27, and Ch. Arambatzis, “Ἐκκλησιαστικο-πολιτικὲς καὶ θεολογικὲς διεργασίες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὸν

ἀπόηχο τῆς Συνόδου τῆς Λυῶν (1274–1280),” *Βυζαντινὰ* 20 (1999), pp. 199–251 (with further bibliography). On the reaffirmation of the use of unleavened bread, see Schabel, “The Quarrel,” p. 96.

58. The reference to the archbishop of Nicosia’s presence at Lyons is by Pope Gregory X: *Brevis nota Gregorii X quae in secundo concilio Lugdunensi generali acta sunt*, ed. G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 24 (Florence, 1780), col. 66C. See also: Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1056 (n.1); Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” p. 223. Englezakis, *Παιδαγωγικά*, p. 297, dates the composition of the *Narrative* during Bekkos’ patriarchate.

59. Papadopoulos in *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, pp. 307–08.

60. Cf. R. Browning, “Recentiores non deteriores,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 7 (1960), pp. 11–21.

61. Beihammer and Schabel, “Two Small Texts,” pp. 70–72, 78; cf. App. I, par. II.2, and discussion by Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 313–14, 328–31, and Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 90. On the historical reliability of the *Narrative*, see also Schabel, “Martyrs,” p. 4.

62. Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 314–17, 320–21, 328–29.

63. See the apparatus in App. I, pars. I.1–3.

64. The use of mnemonics was noted by Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 327–28.

65. Kenneth Bailey, a New Testament scholar with extensive research experience in the Levant (including Cyprus), stresses the ability of Middle Eastern peasants (both Orthodox Christians and Muslims) in “mental gymnastics,” namely the memorization of extensive liturgies or the Qu’ran. According to Bailey, the cultivation of “formal controlled” oral traditions requires clearly identified teachers, audience, and material for transmission. While aspects of the tradition deemed to be of lesser significance may be subject to modification, other elements are considered to be inviolable and need to be preserved intact. Bailey notes that oral traditions can also be “informal and controlled,” in the sense that it is the community, not the official reciter, who controls the content of tradition: K. Bailey, “Informal Controlled Oral Tradition and the

Synoptic Gospels,” *Themelios* 20.2 (1995), pp. 4–11. In defining the concept of “formal controlled tradition,” Bailey follows the Scandinavian school in New Testament studies.

66. Bauckham accepts that unique or unusual events are better remembered and that a degree of emotional involvement may have either positive or negative effect on memorization. It is also common for recollective memories to reflect the observer’s particular point of view and to depend on frequent rehearsal for their accurate preservation: R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids, Michigan–Cambridge, 2006), pp. 319–57.

67. Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 314–17, 328. The same techniques, including rhetorical wordplays, were employed in the composition of the synaxary on the Monks’ martyrdom: App. I, par. II.1.

68. Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 314–17, 320–22, 328–29; M. Detoraki, “Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Farnham–Burlington, 2014), p. 90.

69. It has been suggested that the *Narrative*’s emphasis on the number of the Monks (thirteen) intended to evoke the number of Christ and the apostles (thirteen), thus sanctioning the number of abolished Orthodox bishoprics before the Latin conquest (thirteen bishoprics plus the archbishopric): Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 327–28; cf. the remarks by G. K. Christodoulou, *Le Livre des catéchèses de saint Néophyte le Reclus: texte et commentaire historique* (Nicosia, 2009) = *MY* 2 (2009), p. 12.

70. A. D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London–New York, 2009), p. 50.

71. J. Thomas, “Archaeologies of Place and Landscape,” in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. I. Hodder (Malden, Massachusetts, 2001), pp. 175–76.

72. A. B. Knapp and M. Given, “Social Landscapes and Social Space: The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project,” in *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus: Past History, Future Potentials: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the Archaeological Research Unit of Cyprus, 1–2 December*

2000, ed. M. Iacovou (London, 2004), p. 92; M. Given, “Mountain Landscapes on Early Modern Cyprus,” in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. S. Davies and J. L. Davis (Princeton, New Jersey, 2007), p. 145.

73. Grivaud has argued that nearly 70 to 90 percent of Cypriot villages continued to exist from the late twelfth to the sixteenth centuries: G. Grivaud, “Population et Peuplement Rural à Chypre (fin XIIe siècle-milieu du XVIe),” in *Ruralia I (Conference Ruralia I–Prague 8th–14th September 1995)*, ed. J. Fridrich, J. Klapste, Z. Smetanka, and P. Sommer (Prague, 1996), pp. 221–22, 225 (90 percent); Grivaud, *Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XIIIe–fin XIXe siècle)* (Nicosia, 1998) = *MY 3* (1998), p. 424 (70 percent); cf. B. Arbel, “Cypriot Villages from the Byzantine to the British Period: Observations on a Recent Book,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), p. 455 (implies an even greater percentage).

74. *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου κατὰ τὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 2313 τοῦ Βατικανοῦ*, ed. C. N. Constantinides (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 93–114, 163–66.

75. A. Weyl Carr, “Reflections on the Life of an Icon: The Eleousa of Kykkos,” *EKMIMK* 6 (2004), pp. 103–64.

76. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 37 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 86–87).

77. G. Grivaud, “Le monastère de Kykkos et ses revenus en 1553,” *Studi Veneziani* 16 (1990), p. 227; A. Weyl Carr, “Thoughts on the Economy of the Image of Mary,” *Theology Today* 56 (1999), p. 369.

78. *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας*, pp. 111, 160–63. The element of cosmic participation in tragic events echoes a common literary *topos* in Byzantine chronicles and laments for the fall of cities, the loss of heroes, and the Passion of Christ: M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, rev. D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (second edition: Oxford, 2002), pp. 66, 70–71, 89, 96–97, 112–13, 120–21, 168–70, 187–89, 190–91.

79. *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας*, pp. 111–14, 164–70.

80. On the habitation of the Marathasa Valley, see generally: Grivaud, *Villages*, pp. 17, 70, 72, 80, 90 (n. 89), 200–05, 208, 210–13, 215, 261,

343, 361–62, 377–78, 398, 468, 470.

81. Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας, pp. 110–11, 159–62.

82. Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας, pp. 110.

83. Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας, pp. 97–101. On the Hodēgētria icon, see chapter 3.

84. Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας, p. 111.

85. See chapter 1.

86. Leontios Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, pars. 11–12 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 70).

87. Cf. B. Englezakis, *Καινὰ καὶ Παλαιὰ στὴν Ἀποκάλυψη τοῦ Θεοῦ. Μελέτες γιὰ τὶς σχέσεις Πνεύματος καὶ Παράδοσης στὴ Βίβλο*, trans. C. Kalotaris (Athens–Thessalonica, 2011), pp. 30–33; F. Squarcini, “Tradens, Traditum, Recipiens. Introductory Remarks on the Semiotics, Pragmatics and Politics of Tradition,” in *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia*, ed. Squarcini (London–New York–Delhi, 2011), pp. 14–18.

88. P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 366; cf. C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), pp. 1–2, 12–13, 20, 22–25, 47, 52–55, 63–65, 67, 78, 88, 91, 101, 105, 131, 137–38, 141–44, 154, 160; Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 175–84.

89. C. N. Constantinides, “A Dated Greek Manuscript from Cyprus of the Sixteenth Century: *Oxford Lincoln College Gr. 19*,” in *Porphyrogenita*, ed. Dendrinis, Harris, Harvalia-Crook, and Herrin, p. 494; cf. the forthcoming paper by G. Ioannides, “Συνοδικὰ κείμενα σὲ κυπριακὰ χειρόγραφα κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Λατινοκρατίας,” in *Πρακτικὰ Γ’ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κυπριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας*, ed. Th. X. Yiangou and Ch. Nassis (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2019).

90. On Lapithēs, see generally *DGMC*, pp. 11, 179, 186, 380; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 60–64; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 134–36 (with further bibliography). On the treatise, see: Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 20–21, 37–48, 60–73, 97–113; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 311–12; Coureas, *The Latin Church*

1313–1378, pp. 440–42; M. Plested, *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 142–46. Although Kirmitsis, “Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 37–47, 65–93, and Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 640–42, attribute the treatise to a certain Bishop Germanos of Amathous, this view seems to be incorrect; cf. Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” pp. 230–34. The documents concerning the Provincial Council of 1340 have been published (with commentary and ET) in *SN*, pp. 23–31, 81–83, 248–67; Schabel, “Archbishop Elias and the *Synodicum Nicosiense*,” *AHC* 32 (2000), pp. 61–81 (repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, IX).

91. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker (Bonn, 1855), pp. 28–30 (bk. 25, chs. 8–10); P. Gounarides, “Κύπρος: η ‘ουτοπία’ για τις ιδεολογικές διαμάχες σχετικά με τον ησυχασμό,” in *Φιλοτιμία. Τιμητικός Τόμος για την Ομότιμη Καθηγήτρια Αλκμήνη Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα*, ed. Th. Korres, P. Katsoni, I. Leontiades, and A. Gkoutzioukostas (Thessalonica, 2011), pp. 273–75; E. Kountoura-Galake, “Πρότυπα αρχαίων νομοθετών κατά τις επιστολές του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά: δίκαιο και πολιτική πρακτική,” in *Αντικλήνωρ. Τιμητικός Τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωιάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του*, vol. 1, ed. V. Leontaritou, K. A. Bourdara, and E. S. Papagianni (Athens, 2013), pp. 679–704; A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2014), pp. 148–49, 152. Palamite Hesychasm will be examined in chapter 3.

92. Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 37–48. Darrouzès observes (at p. 39) that one of the manuscripts containing the treatise belonged to the Solea bishopric, and more specifically to the οἰκονόμος (steward) John, later Bishop John Galatēs of Solea (1402–ca. 1405). This reference provides a possible connection between Leontios, who had been bishop of Solea in the 1340s, and Lapithēs. One should keep in mind that Leontios was probably an anti-Palamite. On Leontios of Solea, see chapter 3.

93. H. J. M. Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden–New York–Copenhagen–Cologne, 1990), pp. 52–89; D. Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York–Oxford, 1993), p. 238; Englezakis, *Παιδαγωγικά*, pp. 35–47.

94. The term “guardians of tradition” is introduced by Magdalino, *The empire*, pp. 386–88; Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, pp. 28–30; Kolbaba, “The Orthodoxy of the Latins in the Twelfth Century,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, ed. Louth and Casiday, pp. 199–214.

95. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Πρὸς τοὺς ἀτακτούντας καὶ λύοντας τὰ τῆς νηστείας προοίμια*, ed. A. Karpozilos, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 424–32; Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 255–57; C. G. Pitsakis, “Νομοκανονικὴ προσέγγιση τῆς ἐγκυκλίου τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου στὴν χηρεύουσα Ἐπισκοπὴ Πάφου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 723–38.

96. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων*, ed. C. N. Constantinides, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 279–87 (esp. at pp. 284–85 on the Latin errors); Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 257–60, 275–85; Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, pp. 40–41, 51–52, 54, 56–57.

97. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists*, pp. 28–30, 71–72, 124–44.

98. R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995); M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 265–382; V. Stanković, “Comnenian Monastic Foundations in Constantinople: Questions of Method and Historical Context,” *Belgrade Historical Review* 2 (2011), pp. 47–72.

99. See, e.g., Angold, *Church*, pp. 265–301; T. Papacostas, “Monastic Estates in the Middle Byzantine Period: Evidence from Cyprus for Local and Overseas Landowners,” in *Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Rogge and Grünbart, pp. 123–45; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 130–31.

100. R. F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1992).

101. Ch. Feraios, *Ξυλόστεγος Φραγκοβυζαντινὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 223–31.

102. *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, pp. 327 (ll. 27–30), 328–29 (ll. 1–30), 330 (ll. 1–2, 18–30), 331 (ll. 1–17), 336 (ll. 20–30), 337 (ll. 1–2, 13–14); Gounarides, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις,’” pp. 314–17; M. Hinterberger, “A Neglected Tool of Orthodox propaganda? The image of the Latins in Byzantine Hagiography,” in *Greeks*, ed. Hinterberger and Schabel, pp. 140–41; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 131–33.

103. Ἀγίου Νείλου, *Τυπικὴ Διάταξις*, pp. 174–75 (ch. 152; ET in *BMFD*, p. 1162).

104. *DGMC*, p. 237.

105. C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York–Chichester, 1995), p. 13.

106. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. “ἔξις”; G. Rist, “La notion médiévale d’*habitus*’ dans la sociologie de Pierre Bourdieu,” *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 22.67 (1984), pp. 201–12; A. Golitzin, “The Mysticism of Dionysius Areopagita: Platonist or Christian?,” *Mystics Quarterly* 19.3 (1993), p. 106; P. Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. R. Nice (Stanford, California, 2000), p. 139.

107. M. Barnes, “Theology of Religions,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Spirituality*, ed. A. Holder (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria 2005), p. 406.

108. V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 69.

109. J. Milbank, “Commentary: Ecumenical Orthodoxy—a Response to Nicholas Loudovikos,” in *Encounter Between Eastern Orthodoxy and Radical Orthodoxy: Transfiguring the World Through the Word*, ed. A. Pabst and C. Schneider (Farnham–Burlington, 2009), p. 162 (commenting on Fr. Nicholas Loudovikos’ paper in the same volume; Milbank is paraphrasing St. Gregory Palamas, quoted by Loudovikos at p. 151).

110. Magdalino, *The Empire*, pp. 279–84; Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 190–96; Mitsides, “Τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον,” pp. 144–46.

111. Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Συνοπτικὴ παρεξέτασις περὶ τῆς νεοφανοῦς διχονοίας*, ed. Th. X. Yiangou, *ΣΑΝ* 3, pp. 495–98; Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, *Περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων*, ed. A. Karpozilos, *ΣΑΝ* 5, pp. 417–20; Christoudoulou, *Le livre*, pp. 421–27; A. Yevtich, “Ἡ Θεία Εὐχαριστία κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἐγκλειστο,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 137–48.

112. S. E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle, Washington–London, 1999), pp. 37–47; T.

Paramastorakis, *Ὁ διάκοσμος τοῦ τρούλου τῶν ναῶν τῆς Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στὴ Βαλκανικὴ Χερσόνησο καὶ τὴν Κύπρο* (Athens, 2001), pp. 80–97; Ch. G. Chotzakoglou, “Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 639–41; Ch. Konstantinide, *Ὁ Μελισμός. Οἱ συλλειτουργοῦντες ἱεράρχες καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστὰ στὴν Ἁγία Τράπεζα ἢ τὸν εὐχαριστιακὸ Χριστὸ* (Thessalonica, 2008).

113. *Εὐχολόγιον, sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, Officiorum, Sacramentorum, Consecrationum, Benedictionum, Funerum, Orationum, & c. cuilibet personae, statui, vel tempori congruos, iuxta usum Orientalis Ecclesiae*, ed. J. Goar (Paris, 1647), pp. 865–67; Galavaris, *Bread*, pp. 45, 167–85; P. Xioutas, “Ὁ Μάντζιπας,” *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 181, 188–89.

114. App. I, pars. I.1–3.

115. A. Golitzin, “Theophaneia: Forum on the Jewish Roots of Orthodox Spirituality,” in *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, vol. 3 of *Scrinium*, ed. B. Lourié and A. Orlov (Saint Petersburg, 2007), p. xvii.

116. A. Golitzin, “Christian Mysticism over Two Millenia,” in *The Theophaneia School*, ed. Lourié and Orlov, pp. xxi–xxxiii.

117. A. D. DeConick, “What is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, ed. DeConick (Atlanta, Georgia, 2006), pp. 5–6.

118. A. Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis: The Transfiguration in Byzantine Theology and Iconography* (Crestwood, New York, 2005), pp. 41–50, 53–63 (quotation at p. 45); cf. *Isaiah 40–66*, vol. 11 of *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament*, ed. M. W. Elliott and T. C. Oden (Downers Grove, Illinois, 2007), pp. 154–73.

119. J. D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1993), p. 202; cf. D. Trakatellis, *The Pre-Existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Missoula, Montana, 1976).

120. A. J. Festugière, “Appendice: Étude sur la Vie de S. Sabas le Jeune qui simulait la folie,” in *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A. J. Festugière and L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), pp. 223–27. A comprehensive account of the *pre-Palamite hesychast tradition* (to be distinguished from the *Palamite Hesychast movement* in the fourteenth century) is beyond the scope of the present book. Generally speaking, the hesychast way of life required the cultivation of ceaseless prayer, following the Pauline *dictum* (1 Thessalonians 5:17) “to ceaselessly pray” (ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε): K. Ware, “Ways of Prayer and Contemplation. I. Eastern,” in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. McGinn, J. Meyendorff, and J. Leclercq (New York, 1987), pp. 395–96. The practice of private prayer was usually complemented and enhanced by communal worship, namely the celebration of the Eucharist and the observance of the Liturgy of the Hours: P. I. Skaltsis, *Ἡ παράδοση τῆς κοινῆς καὶ τῆς κατ’ ἰδίαν προσευχῆς μὲ ἐίδικὴ ἀναφορὰ στὸ Ὡρολόγιο τοῦ Θηκαρᾶ* (Thessalonica, 2008), pp. 17–279. On the Cypriot pre-Palamite hesychast tradition, see Chr. Kyriacou: “Από τον Ὅσιο Νεόφυτο τον Ἐγκλειστο στον Ὅσιο Σάββα τον Βατοπαιδινό. Ο προπαλαμικός Ησυχασμός στην Κύπρο και την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο (ca. 1200–ca. 1350),” forthcoming in *ΚΣ* 76 (2012), and “Spirituality and *hexis*: tracing the Christian *habitus* in the basilicas of Early Byzantine Cyprus,” in *Church Building in Cyprus (4th to 7th Centuries): A mirror of Intercultural Contacts in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. M. Horster, D. Nicolaou, and S. Rogge (Münster–New York, 2018), pp. 175–89.

121. Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου πατρός ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ Νέου*, ed. D. G. Tsames, Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κόκκινου *ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα* (Thessalonica, 1985), pp. 189–212. On holy fools in general, see P. C. Bouteneff, “‘What Kind of Fool Am I?’ Further Gleanings from Holy Folly,” in *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West. Festschrift for Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia*, ed. J. Behr, A. Louth, and D. E. Conomos (Crestwood, New York, 2003), pp. 335–49, and S. A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, trans. S. Franklin (second edition: Oxford–New York, 2008).

122. Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Βίος Σάββα τοῦ Νέου*, pp. 212–16.
123. Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, p. 230; Hinterberger, “A neglected tool,” p. 138.
124. L. Rydén, “The Holy Fool,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (Crestwood, New York, 2001), p. 112; Bouteneff, “What Kind,” p. 345.
125. Cf. Gounarides, “Κύπρος,” p. 275.
126. E.g., Gounarides, “Κύπρος,” pp. 267–77.
127. A. Parageorghiou, “Λαξευτὰ ἀσκητήρια καὶ μοναστήρια τῆς Κύπρου,” *EKMIMK* 4 (1999), pp. 47–52; G. Grivaud, “Les Lusignan patrons d’églises grecques,” *BF* 29 (2007), pp. 264–65. See more examples in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 146 (n. 448).
128. P. Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80–101.
129. *Chronique de l’île de Chypre par Florio Bustron*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1884), pp. 172–73; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Translation*, trans. A. Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden, 1998); *Οι πληροφορίες των Βραχέων Χρονικών για την Κύπρο. Η κατάταξη και ο σχολιασμός τους. Σύντομη Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής και Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου (324–1571)*, ed. C. Komodikes (Nicosia, 2006), p. lxii. See also Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 101–31, and Schabel, “The Latin bishops,” pp. 92–96.
130. J. Darrouzès, “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre (deuxième article),” *ΚΣ* 20 (1956), p. 51 (repr. in Darrouzès, *Littérature*, XV).
131. Frankl, *Man’s Search*, pp. 80, 88, 92, 95–96.
132. On these representations, see: Mouriki, “The Cult,” pp. 245–49, 256; V. von Falkenhausen, “Bishops and Monks in the Hagiography of Byzantine Cyprus,” in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Patterson Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, New Jersey, 1999), pp. 30–33; C. L. Connor, “Female Saints in Church Decoration of the Troodos Mountains in Cyprus,” in *Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Patterson Ševčenko and Moss, pp. 214, 216–17, 219–22, 226–27; Chotzakoglou, “Βυζαντινή ἀρχιτεκτονική,” pp. 595–97, 599–600, 610–18, 627–29, 638; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,”

p. 147 (n. 450, with further bibliography; see also n. 449 on the depiction of theophanies).

133. *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334)*, vol. 3.7.2 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Taŭtu (Vatican City, 1952), docs. 35–37 (ET in *SN*, pp. 341–49); *Chroniques d’Amadi*, pp. 395–96 (ET in *The Chronicle of Amadi*, par. 762); *Chronique par Florio Bustron*, pp. 247–48; cf. a series of regulations issued by Peter in *SN*, pp. 208–25. On the incident, see Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” pp. 219–30; Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 187–88; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 426–29. On the Great Entrance, see the classic study by R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome, 1975). In 1340, Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux repeated the papal instruction to the Orthodox Cypriot clergy: *SN*, pp. 262–63. In the Latin mass, the exact moment of the Holy Gifts’ conversion is marked by the elevation of the consecrated Host and chalice: J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, vol. 2 (second edition: Notre Dame, Indiana, 2012), pp. 202–17.

134. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist on Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 360.

135. Archimandrite Aimilianos, *Θεία Λατρεία. Προσδοκία καὶ Ὁρασις Θεοῦ* (second edition: Athens, 2009), pp. 31–50.

136. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 213–14; H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, trans. M. J. O’Connell (New York, 1986), pp. 37–9, 127, 129; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 152 (n. 470).

137. Papamastorakis, *Ὁ διάκοσμος*, pp. 21–5, 272; A. Karagianni, “Représentations des croix dans les églises byzantines du Xe au XIIe siècle: interprétation et liens avec la liturgie,” *Βυζαντιακά* 29 (2010–11), pp. 237–38, 246.

138. M. Paschali, “Negotiating Identities in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta: Saint George of the Greeks, the Liturgy and the Latins,” in *Identity*, ed. Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, pp. 281–82, 288–91; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 151–54. On the theological significance of the *πρόθεσις* and altar, see Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp.

35–8, 119–19, 244–49, 251–52; H. Belting, “An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium,” *DOP* 34–5 (1980–81), pp. 3–15; Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy*, pp. 35–36, 92–93, 98–99, 107–10, 118, 120–22, 129, 134, 180–84. On Olbianos’ cruciform cover, see A. Papageorgiou, “Ο Σταυρός των Λευκάρων,” in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, vol. 1, ed. L. Bratzioti (Athens, 1994), pp. 245–50.

139. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 475 (App. IV, par. II.1).

140. See, e.g., J. Gouillard, “Le Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 1–316.

141. M. Couroupou and P. Géhin, “Nouveaux Documents Chypriotes,” *REB* 59 (2001), pp. 147–60.

142. I. H. Settles and N. T. Buchanan, “Multiple Groups, Multiple Identities, and Intersectionality,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity*, ed. V. Benet-Martínez and Y.-Y. Hong (Oxford–New York, 2014), pp. 160–61.

143. M. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity* (Hove–New York, 2005), pp. 50–52; Settles and Buchanan, “Multiple Groups,” p. 171.

144. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology*, pp. 184–96, 221.

145. Settles and Buchanan, “Multiple Groups,” pp. 170–71.

146. E.g., M. A. F. Sangin, *Codices Rossici*, vol. 12 of *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (Brussels, 1936), pp. 146, 151–52.

147. *Graecorum ad Innocentium III Pontificem Romanum Epistola*, PG 140, col. 297BC; Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 209–10; P. Gounarides, “Μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσης: δύο ἐπεισόδια ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κλήρου τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης μετὰ τὸ 1204,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 38 (2008), pp. 9–22.

148. Couroupou and Géhin, “Nouveaux documents,” pp. 150, 152.

149. On other Cypriot *synodika*, see bibliography in Constantinides, “A Dated Greek Manuscript,” pp. 502–03.

Chapter 3

“In Your Light We Shall See Light”

The Controversy over Palamite Hesychasm

Standing in the southeast corner of the medieval city of Famagusta, the fourteenth-century cathedral church of St. George of the Greeks is a visible reminder of ethnoreligious coexistence and interaction between Orthodox and Latin Christians (see [Figure 3.1](#)). Eclecticism and appropriation have left a strong imprint on the Greek cathedral: in both its architecture and murals St. George combines the Western and Byzantine traditions, being a Gothic Byzantine-rite basilica decorated with Palaiologan frescoes and Italianate ornaments.¹ The arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the keystones from the vaults indicate Lusignan patronage, stressing the ruling family's claims on the Holy Land (the nearby Latin cathedral of St. Nicholas was the church where Hugh IV, Peter I, and Peter II were crowned kings of Jerusalem).² The depiction of mitered holy bishops in the central apse probably suggests the use of the Latin episcopal miter by Orthodox Cypriot bishops in the context of socioreligious interaction under the *Bulla Cypria*.³ At the same time, St. George has a distinctive Byzantine Orthodox voice: the liturgical ordinance of the Karpasia and Famagusta bishopric (preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript) appears to contain no Latin influences;⁴ moreover, the iconographic program of the central apse (probably dating to the

second half of the fourteenth century) seems to convey Orthodox theology on the transcendent materiality of the Eucharistic leavened bread before and after the Great Entrance procession.⁵ Uncommonly gigantic in size, the Greek cathedral of Famagusta not only confirms Lusignan patronage, but also visualizes the confidence and dynamism of the Greek and Syrian Melkite *potentes* who supported its erection, suggesting that economic prosperity and social elevation led to the aesthetic appreciation and imitation of Western stylistic forms, without distancing their agents from the Byzantine Orthodox tradition.⁶

Being an embodiment of multiple identities, St. George of the Greeks poses more questions than answers. What do we know about the Greek bishops supervising the cathedral's building and decoration? To what extent did they employ identity preservation strategies in order to negotiate, adapt, and express their Byzantine Orthodox identity? Did they share the confidence and dynamism of the cathedral's Greek and Syrian lay patrons?

Thomas Kaffenberger has suggested that the cathedral was built between around 1349/50 and 1374/75.⁷ As widely accepted by scholars, the mid-fourteenth century witnessed the rebuilding or renovation of Orthodox cathedrals, at least in Nicosia and Famagusta.⁸ The relaxation of the *Bulla Cypria* rulings was encouraged by the lenient ecclesiastical policy of King Hugh IV (1324–59), at a time when Famagusta had become intermediary center for trade with Egypt, Syro-Palestine, and Asia Minor, bringing unprecedented prosperity to the island (ca. 1320s–40s).⁹ The growing prominence of the Lusignan Kingdom was enhanced by Hugh's involvement in creating and directing a Christian naval league against Turkish piracy.¹⁰ Peter I (1359–69), Hugh's son, continued his father's military policy: the Crusader king undertook

expeditions in Asia Minor and briefly captured Alexandria in 1365.¹¹ Peter's assassination (1369) and the minority of his successor, Peter II (1369–82), marked the beginning of a turbulent period of civil strife, resulting in a war with the Genoese (1373–74). Famagusta, royal emporium and symbol of the dynasty's Crusader ambitions, was captured in 1374 by the Genoese, who imposed a tribute on the Kingdom of Cyprus. Politically weakened and economically indebted, the Lusignans did not recover the city until 1464.¹²

These important political and economic developments brought considerable changes to Cypriot society. Commercial activity during the golden age of Famagusta facilitated the social elevation of Syrians, Greeks, and Jews, some of whom managed to become members of the city's Italian communities as "White Genoese" and "White Venetians."¹³ Moreover, the Lusignans' costly military expeditions led to a policy of social mobility aiming to increase royal income: Peter I, for example, permitted the enfranchisement of burgesses (περπουριάριοι) capable of paying a special tax in exchange for their freedom. This must have created a greater sense of interdependence between the Latin regime and the non-Latins, while strengthening the status of wealthy merchants and artisans. The growing interdependence is also confirmed by the careers of educated Greeks and Syrians in royal, baronial, and episcopal service. By the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, prominent non-Latin families (e.g., the Synglētikoι/Synglitico, Apodokatharoi/Podocataro, Kappadokai/Cappadoca, Bustronioi/Bustron, and Urri/Gurri), succeeded in acquiring noble status, cutting across traditional ethnoreligious categories.¹⁴



Figure 3.1 St. George of the Greeks, Famagusta, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Scholars have argued that “Famagusta was the king’s town,” and that its physiognomy was shaped by Hugh IV’s and Peter I’s ideological connection to the Holy Land (a process that had already begun under Henry II).¹⁵ The same can be said about mid-fourteenth-century Lusignan ecclesiastical policy toward the Orthodox: it aimed at promoting the image of a “royal church”—a church loyal to the king, placed under the king’s protection, and serving the king’s policy. In ca. 1340, Hugh IV extended his patronage over the veneration of the Holy Cross of Tochnē, considered to contain fragments of the True Cross brought to the island by St. Helena in the fourth century. According to Leontios Makhairas, the Tochnē relic had been stolen in 1318 by a jealous

Latin priest; hidden in a carob tree, it was miraculously retrieved in 1340 by a young Greek shepherd, who later brought it to the king and became a monk. When the Latin clergy challenged its authenticity, the Tochnē Cross proved its miraculous power, leading to the Lusignan founding of a Byzantine Orthodox monastery dedicated to the Revealed Cross outside Nicosia: preserved near the royal capital, the Tochnē Cross sheltered from evil both the ruling family and its Cypriot subjects.¹⁶ Apart from emphasizing Lusignan benevolence toward the Orthodox, Hugh IV's patronage of the Tochnē relic could be interpreted as an expression of Crusader propaganda, since the cross was part of the royal insignia of the Lusignan Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus.¹⁷

It is in this context that the Orthodox bishop of Karpasia was permitted to build a new cathedral in the city of Famagusta. The appropriation of Gothic architecture in the impressive cathedral of St. George, probably funded by the king and Greco-Syrian *potentes*, implies that the Orthodox episcopate sanctioned the incorporation of Western stylistic elements into the visual identity of the local Orthodox community: the bishop of Karpasia was playing the role of “the king's bishop.”

The cathedral's construction might have begun under Bishop Michael of Karpasia (fl. ca. 1340–59?) and probably continued under his successor, John (fl. ca. 1359–71).¹⁸ Sometime between 1359 and 1363, John attempted (without any success) to expand his authority over the Syrian Melkite population of Famagusta, implicitly challenging the rights and interests of the Latin Church (a point that will be discussed in more detail below).¹⁹ Notarial documents indicate that by the early 1360s, St. George had not yet been completed, although it was functioning as Famagusta's

Orthodox cathedral.²⁰ It is likely that the Byzantine Orthodox iconographic program of the central apse began during the last years of John's episcopate; it was certainly completed at the time of the Genoese occupation of Famagusta, in the last decades of the fourteenth century, perhaps under John's successor.²¹ The episcopal liturgical ordinance of Karpasia and Famagusta mentions Bishop Makarios, who translated from Arabic into Greek an exhortative prayer addressing newly ordained deacons; it also specifies that Makarios composed his translation during a journey in Egypt, suggesting contacts between the Church of Karpasia/Famagusta and the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Liturgical rubrics indicate that the dating system employed in the ordinance for commemorating the consecration of altars follows the reign of Palaiologan emperors, which further stresses the episcopate's Byzantine Orthodox orientation.²² This seems to be further confirmed by the fact that the bishop of Karpasia participated in the aforementioned discussions for concelebration between the Cypriot hierarchy and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1406;²³ around the same period, Joseph Bryennios, the patriarchal representative responsible for examining the Cypriot proposal, corresponded with Bishop Makarios of Karpasia/Famagusta for the purpose of ransoming a Greek Cypriot who had been taken captive by the Muslims.²⁴

It is clear that, while serving Lusignan ideology as "the king's bishops," the Karpasia/Famagusta prelates also perceived and defined themselves as members of the Byzantine Orthodox world. It is noteworthy that St. George's cathedral is literally attached onto an earlier Byzantine church, perhaps so as to affirm Orthodox historical rights in Famagusta.²⁵ The same historical awareness, mixed with sentiments of confidence and superiority, is reflected in

a forged synodal document (composed in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century but dating 1295), which grants extravagant honorary titles and privileges to the four Orthodox bishops: the honorary status of each prelate is determined by his symbolical jurisdiction over a corresponding number of abolished Orthodox bishoprics.²⁶ Thus, the “Lusignan king’s bishops” also emerge as the “Byzantine emperor’s bishops,” combining different layers of political and ideological loyalism. The essence of the matter is that, despite the calm relations between Latins and non-Latins, Byzantine Orthodoxy remained at the heart of Greek Cypriot liturgical praxis and theology. In this respect, it is necessary to turn to contemporary political, ecclesiastical, and theological developments in Byzantium, in order to explore their impact on the island’s Orthodox community and its relations with the Latin regime.

1. THE RISE OF AN ORTHODOX CYPRIOT ELITE

The first *dynamic* signs of Orthodox Cypriot social elevation and collective action, due to the economic prosperity of the early fourteenth century, appear in the decades preceding the erection of St. George of the Greeks. This does not mean that the footprints of an Orthodox Cypriot elite are not detectable in the previous period: the episcopal election of Olbianos of Leukara in 1300/1301, for example, was performed by the local clergy, in collaboration with “trustworthy and distinguished men” (μετὰ ἀξιοπίστων καὶ λογίμων ἀνδρῶν), both lay and monastics.²⁷ As we move toward the mid-fourteenth century, however, the evidence concerning the improvement of Orthodox Cypriot social status become more concrete. In 1322/23, the murals of the Virgin Phorbiōtissa monastery, Asinou, were restored by the monk Theophilos and the “common people” (κοινὸς λαός); the most prominent members of

the local community had their portraits painted in the narthex of the church.²⁸ The donors George and Basil Drakocherēs are depicted in a way that stresses their high social status: their garments and hairstyle follow contemporary Western fashion, imitating the trends of the Latin dominant class.²⁹ It would be wrong to assume that fourteenth-century social mobility alienated the island's Orthodox community from its Byzantine Orthodox matrix; the enduring contentional character of ethnoreligious coexistence shows that the lack of open expressions of tension did not produce a homogenous Cypriot Christianity, but maintained traditional identity barriers.

Fourteenth-century papal letters describe expressions of Orthodox and Oriental Christian disobedience to the Western Church. In 1306, the Latin bishop of Paphos was ordered by Pope Clement V (1305–14) to rebuild and reform three monasteries in his diocese, reported to have been occupied by “schismatic” Georgian and Greek abbots.³⁰ In 1326, Pope John XXII complained that there were Greeks who denied the existence of Purgatory and Hell, and refused to receive the Eucharist unless it was brought to them from Constantinople, indicating the existence of hardcore Orthodox Cypriots who remained in schism with their own hierarchy and pursued close contacts with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.³¹ Around the same period, the Nestorians and Jacobites were criticized for following their ancestral traditions;³² moreover, references to “obedient Armenians” probably imply the existence of disobedient members of this community, who continued to maintain their old doctrines and practices, despite the Armenian acceptance of papal authority in 1344.³³

The growing concern for boundary building on the part of the numerically weaker Latin dominant class reflects the insecurity of Latins wishing to preserve their separate religious identity, against

others who were more open to the influence of the local Orthodox population.³⁴ Papal exemptions concerning endogamy reveal the desire of a part of the Latin nobility to avoid marriages with schismatics.³⁵ In 1372, the Swedish mystic Bridget (d. 1373), called the Latins of Cyprus to repent and return to the obedience of the Western Church; the Greeks, she said, were corrupted and they should free themselves from their errors by submitting to the papacy.³⁶ Bridget's warnings and instructions had limited success: in 1392, for example, we find a Latin convert to the Byzantine rite by the name of Philip of Frankos ("Philip of the Frank"), who bought a Greek grammar book in order to improve his knowledge of the Greek language.³⁷ Latin Christians attended the liturgy in Greek churches and employed Greek professional lamenters in funerals; mixed marriages were also taking place, leading Archbishop Philip of Nicosia (1342–60) to prohibit Latin conversions to the Byzantine rite.³⁸

The aforementioned debate over the authenticity of the Tochnē Cross (1340) unveils the growing power game between Greeks and Latins. The Latin objections to the authenticity of the Tochnē Cross could be explained in terms of Western ecclesiastical attempts to control the monopoly of the True Cross veneration in the Benedictine-held monastery of Staurobouni. By appealing to the Lusignans to become lay guardians of the relic, the Orthodox, represented by the young shepherd of Makhairas' narrative, managed to bypass the Latin ecclesiastical authority, securing that the Tochnē Cross would remain under their control, and creating an alternative pilgrimage center near the royal capital.³⁹ Additionally, the Orthodox reaffirmed their rights over the island's ecclesiastical heritage, since the cross was both a political emblem, associated with the Byzantine imperial authority, and a spiritual symbol, as a

vehicle of theophany and an embodiment of Byzantine doctrinal correctness.⁴⁰

Jurisdiction over the Syrian Melkites of Cyprus was also a major point of friction. The *Bulla Cypria* had placed the Melkites under Latin jurisdiction, although the status of Syrian Orthodox refugees after 1260 remained unclear.⁴¹ Between ca. 1313 and 1363, various Greek bishops (especially Hilariōn and John of Karpasia) attempted to expand Orthodox jurisdiction over the Melkites. Not surprisingly, the Latins rebuked these claims; a possible confirmation of Greek jurisdiction over the Melkites would have strengthened the Orthodox episcopate morally (in terms of a symbolic victory over the Latins), and economically (in terms of increased revenues from taxation).⁴² The Latins were not willing to reinforce the Orthodox by moving back from their principle of unity perceived as subordination to the papacy. It is noteworthy, however, that the Orthodox bishops were equally unwilling to passively accept their inferior position: by exploiting the lack of clarity in the *Bulla Cypria* rulings, they struggled to keep the Melkites under their jurisdiction and consolidate their episcopal status.

While the reality of everyday coexistence proved that ethnoreligious barriers were far from unbreachable, it becomes clear that the Orthodox were steadily recovering from the traumatic thirteenth century. Not only did they keep their ancestral doctrines and practices, resisting homogenization, but also exploited royal leniency so as to reaffirm their historical rights, and attempted to improve their status by placing the Melkites under their jurisdiction. These expressions of Orthodox regeneration were perceived by members of the Latin community as undermining from within the existence of a separate Western Christian identity in Cyprus, which led to the development of Latin identity

preservation strategies.⁴³ Therefore, depolarization and rapprochement did not change the competitive character of Orthodox-Latin relations: tension remained an important element in the two communities' symbiosis.

We have already seen that the Orthodox Cypriot elite included Greek and Syrian Melkite *potentes*: the donors of Asinou were probably powerful social actors of the local village community; the burgesses enfranchised by Peter I were wealthy merchants and artisans; socially elevated Greek and Syrian families served the Latin dominant class and the two churches as notaries and administrators; educated descendants of the former Byzantine Cypriot aristocracy, like the noble George Lapithēs, maintained close contacts with the royal court and Orthodox episcopate.⁴⁴ Orthodox Cypriot episcopal dignitaries and prelates (e.g., the bishops of Karpasia responsible for the construction of St. George of the Greeks) were also prominent members of the island's Orthodox elite. Last but not least, the Orthodox Cypriot elite included lay and ecclesiastical *literati* as agents of higher education (again, the name of George Lapithēs deserves to be mentioned). In the remaining of this chapter, I will concentrate on the last two groups (ecclesiastics and *literati*), in order to examine the ideology of the Orthodox Cypriot elite in relation to fourteenth-century Byzantine political, ecclesiastical, and theological developments.

An important benefit of acquiring a classicizing higher education was that it forged, "by means of habitus, a group identity and thus enabled men of learning to connect relatively easily . . . with one another"; moreover, it created channels for the *literati* to address the emperor and his close associates, anticipating rewards.⁴⁵ Orthodox Cypriot social mobility in the fourteenth century coincided with the revival of higher learning in Constantinople, which was largely the result of the scholarly activities of George of

Cyprus, later Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II (1283–89), and his disciples.⁴⁶ Probably around the same period, a number of Greek Cypriots, such as Leo (a scholarly monk later acquainted with Patriarch Kallistos I) travelled to the imperial capital in order to pursue higher studies.⁴⁷ While some of these philomaths might have remained in Constantinople, others probably returned to their native island, or maintained a network of contacts with the Cypriot intellectual elite. The circulation and production of Greek manuscripts containing secular texts strongly suggests the existence of a circle of *literati* who shared the interests of their Byzantine counterparts.⁴⁸ The royal court of Hugh IV, whom Nikēphoros Grēgoras praised as an ideal monarch (partly) in order to criticize imperial and ecclesiastical politics in Constantinople,⁴⁹ became a hub for scholars engaged in the study of Latin, Greek, and Arab wisdom.⁵⁰ Athanasios Lepentrēnos, a minor Greek Cypriot scholar, boasted to Grēgoras that his compatriots were trilingual, for they could speak Arabic, Latin, and Greek; Lepentrēnos also referred to Grēgoras' Cypriot friends as "Hellenes," and described his native island as being ruled by Hermes (the god of trade), Athena (the goddess of wisdom), and the other ancient gods of sagacity.⁵¹ Lepentrēnos' use of classicizing Greek demonstrates the capability of even minor Greek Cypriot *literati* to participate in the high culture of the Byzantine upper class.

The connection of Greek Cypriot scholars (monks and laymen) with the Hodēgoi monastery in Constantinople indicates that this particular establishment was most probably the center of the island's *literati* in the imperial capital during the first half of the fourteenth century. Founded and protected by the imperial government for centuries, the Hodēgoi monastery was famous for preserving the miraculous icon of the Virgin Hodēgētria, attributed

to St. Luke the Evangelist. The icon was also a political symbol, since it had led the victory procession of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (liberator of Constantinople from the Latins) on August 15, 1261, the feast day of the Virgin's Dormition; until its destruction by the Ottomans in May 1453, the Hodēgētria icon remained a significant religious emblem of the Palaiologan dynasty.⁵²

The Hodēgētria iconographic type was quite popular in Cyprus, as confirmed by several depictions and the association of the Constantinopolitan Hodēgētria with the palladium icon of Kykkos in the *Kykkos Narrative*.⁵³ The popularity of the Hodēgētria on the island should be interpreted as an expression of ethnoreligious allegiance to Orthodox Byzantium. This is further supported by the dedication of the new/renovated Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia to the Virgin Hodēgētria (ante 1343), most likely by Bishop Leontios of Solea (ca. 1340–53) (see [Figures 3.2](#) and [3.3](#)).⁵⁴ The connection between the Hodēgētria cathedral and the Hodēgētria icon could also explain why the upper part of the cathedral's doorway is decorated with a Gothic relief depicting the Dormition of the Virgin: the Orthodox bishops of Solea seem to have associated their improved status with the victorious entry of the Palaiologoi and the Hodēgētria icon in Constantinople.⁵⁵



Figure 3.2 The Hodēgētria Cathedral, Nicosia, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.



Figure 3.3 The Hodēgētria Cathedral, Nicosia, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

The Antiochene Patriarchate was another bond between the Hodēgoi monastery and Cyprus. Conquered by the Muslims in the seventh century, the city of Antioch was recovered by the Byzantines in 969, later fell to the Seljūks in 1084, only to become the apple of discord between Byzantines and Crusaders during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁶ In the late tenth century, the Hodēgoi monastery was transferred by imperial decree to the jurisdiction of the Antiochene Patriarchate, becoming the official residence of its prelates and clergy in the capital. Probably in ca. 1344, Patriarch John XIV Kalekas renewed the Antiochene rights over the Hodēgoi; the Constantinopolitan rapprochement with

Antioch took place during the patriarchate of Ignatios II of Antioch (ca. 1341–63), one of the protagonists in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy.⁵⁷

Before discussing the role of Antioch in the ideology of Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastics and *literati*, it is necessary to briefly describe the controversy over Palamite Hesychasm, a major theological dissension at the heart of the very definition of fourteenth-century Byzantine Orthodox identity.

The contention began as a discussion between Byzantine theologians over the appropriation of ancient philosophical reasoning in Orthodox theology, especially in the context of anti-Latin apologetics.⁵⁸ In 1337, the erudite monk Barlaam of Calabria (d. 1348) accused the Athonite hesychast monks of rejecting the scriptures and claiming to experience psychosomatic visions of God's essence. In his defense of the hesychast practices and theophanic theology, the Athonite Gregory Palamas (d. 1368) argued that, although God's essence (οὐσία) is unknowable, it is still possible for humans to experience by divine grace a luminous vision of God's uncreated energies (ἐνέργεια): the same divine light that the disciples had seen during Christ's Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor. A patriarchal synod under John XIV Kalekas condemned Barlaam of heresy in 1341, forcing him to seek refuge in the Western Church. However, there were still objections concerning the correctness of Palamas' theology among Byzantine theologians; Nikēphoros Grēgoras and Gregory Akindynos (d. 1348), for example, perceived Palamas' distinction between divine essence and energies as ditheism.⁵⁹

The tension between Palamas' followers and opponents was exacerbated during the civil war of 1341–47, which broke out as a result of Emperor John V Palaiologos' minority and the antagonism between John Kantakouzēnos, chief commander of the imperial

army, and Patriarch John XIV Kalekas over the regency. During the civil war, Kantakouzēnos supported Palamas, while the anti-Palamite opposition was led by Kalekas and Akindynos. Kantakouzēnos eventually won the war and reigned as John VI (1347–54), with John V Palaiologos as his coemperor. In 1347, Kalekas was deposed and replaced by the Palamite Hesychast Isidore I Boucheiras (1347–50). Following two synodal condemnations in 1343 and 1347, Palamite Hesychasm was officially vindicated by a patriarchal synod in 1351 and the anti-Palamites were condemned and excommunicated.⁶⁰ After his death in 1359, Gregory Palamas, considered by many a saintly champion of the Orthodox tradition, was canonized by synodal decree (1368). Isidore I's successors, the Athonites Kallistos I (1350–53 and 1354–63) and Philotheos I Kokkinos (1353–54 and 1364–76), promoted reforms in ecclesiastical life and continued the struggle against the anti-Palamites, both within and outside the empire.⁶¹ As we shall see below, the Palamite Hesychast Controversy continued until the end of the fourteenth century.

A sober appreciation of the Palamite Hesychast theology demonstrates that Palamas had masterfully created a synthesis of previous scriptural and patristic theology, defining significant issues of Orthodox spirituality, such as the relationship between human and divine wisdom, and the possibility of God's perception by the bodily senses. Therefore, Palamite Hesychast theology crystallized in a systematic way the long theophanic tradition of union between God and human beings in this life.⁶²

Let us now return to the Antiochene involvement in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy in connection to the Hodēgoi monastery and the Orthodox Cypriot elite. After his ordination as patriarch of Antioch in ca. 1341, Ignatios II travelled to Constantinople, in order to have his appointment confirmed by Empress Anne of

Savoy and Kalekas.⁶³ Probably on his way to Constantinople, Ignatios visited Cyprus, where he performed the consecration of the Revealed Cross monastery, founded by the Lusignans in order to preserve the Tochnē relic.⁶⁴ While in Constantinople (ca. 1344–45?), where he supported the anti-Palamite camp, Ignatios must have resided in the Hodēgoi monastery. Perhaps he was acquainted with Hyakinthos, a Cypriot monk in the Hodēgoi and an anti-Palamite, who later became metropolitan of Thessalonica (1345–46). In 1345, Ignatios composed a refutation of Palamite Hesychasm, which was sent by Kalekas to Thessalonica, in support of Hyakinthos’ anti-Palamite struggle.⁶⁵

A leading figure in the introduction of anti-Palamism in Cyprus and a persecutor of Palamite Hesychasts in Thessalonica, Hyakinthos was ordained priest on his native island; it is likely that he later became member of the Antiochene clergy in the Hodēgoi monastery.⁶⁶ Hyakinthos befriended Akindynos, and perhaps Grēgoras, whose writings he brought (ante 1341–45) to George Lapithēs, recruiting him to the anti-Palamite cause.⁶⁷ Although little is known about Hyakinthos’ intellectual profile, his contacts with Akindynos, Grēgoras, and Lapithēs, as well as Akindynos’ reference to Hyakinthos’ writings, suggest that he must have belonged to the circle of *literati*.⁶⁸ Other Greek Cypriot anti-Palamite scholars and monks associated with the Byzantine intellectual elite (and probably with the Hodēgoi monastery) were Bartholomew, Kosmas, Blasios, Gerasimos, and Leo.⁶⁹

The anti-Palamites Gerasimos and Leo are mentioned in the sources as κῦρ (“lord”), evidencing their respectable social standing.⁷⁰ This particular form of address was commonly employed to express respect and was not restricted to any particular social or ethnoreligious group, although in the cases of Gerasimos

and Leo it underlines their status as members of the late Byzantine intellectual elite.⁷¹ In Grēgoras' enthusiastic portrayal of the learned Lapithēs, the latter is praised for his noble descent, which distinguished him from the common people. Moreover, Grēgoras notes that his Cypriot friend lived in a state of σεμνότης (in this case: "dignity"), denoting Lapithēs' social prestige.⁷²

These references to the eminent social standing of Greek Cypriot anti-Palamite *literati* suggest that they were part of a wider network of scholars, whose ideology was shaped by their classicizing high education and Byzantine Orthodox identity. This ideology was highlighted by a sense of superiority, reflected, for example, in Grēgoras' statement that Lapithēs was distinguished from the common people. It was also characterized by expressions of pride for one's homeland, mirrored in Lepentrēnos' panegyric about the accomplishments of his countrymen. The extent to which these *literati* belonged to the former Byzantine Cypriot nobility, or emerged as *homines novi* of the non-Latin middle class, cannot be ascertained; their social origins are also obscured by the fact that "the middle class in Byzantium is a social layer which is difficult to distinguish from the lower aristocracy and did not have any independent organisation."⁷³

What is important to stress is the mediating role of the Byzantine learned elite, namely the capacity of its members to communicate "with strata of society both above and, importantly, below them."⁷⁴ Although Byzantine *literati*, particularly those originating from the periphery (Latin-ruled or not), were probably "closer to the [common] people than they cared to admit," they carefully constructed "the mystique of their own learned eloquence," reaffirming their superiority vis-à-vis the nonelites and the Latins.⁷⁵ This ideology could explain why a great number of Greek

Cypriot *literati* were involved in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy: despite being ruled by the Latins, or perhaps because of this condition, they wished to stress their identity as members of the Byzantine Orthodox world, defending their own version of Byzantine Orthodoxy.⁷⁶

2. CYPRIOT ANTI-PALAMISM: A LATINIZING MOVEMENT?

Several ethnocentric and revisionist scholars seem to agree that the Greek Cypriots were predominantly anti-Palamites; it has even been suggested that their rejection of Palamite Hesychast theology was strengthened by the influence of Latin scholasticism.⁷⁷ Having noted the popularity of pre-Palamite hesychast asceticism in Cyprus and the cultivation of a local theophanic tradition, particularly among the island's monastic circles, it is indeed striking that a great number of prominent Greek Cypriots actively supported the anti-Palamite camp.

Did Cypriot anti-Palamism begin as a Latinizing movement? The answer should be negative: it was a Byzantine movement. This is supported by the high probability that Cypriot opposition to Palamite Hesychasm was motivated by principles founded on Byzantine theology. Moreover, the involvement of the three Eastern Patriarchates (Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria) in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy indicates that anti-Palamism was a unifying element in the ecclesiastical politics of the period.

During the Provincial Council of Nicosia in 1340, Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux presented the doctrines and teachings of the Western Church before a congregation of Latin and non-Latin (i.e., Byzantine Orthodox and Oriental Christian) prelates, whose names are recorded in the preface of the Western profession of faith.⁷⁸

This has led Schabel to the assumption that Latin theological discussions over the Beatific Vision, namely the Latin doctrine that the departed saints are able to enjoy a full vision of God immediately after death, might have indirectly influenced Cypriot anti-Palamism.⁷⁹ On the contrary, Duba has argued that the anti-Palamite rejection of human ability to experience the divine essence opposes Latin theology.⁸⁰ What needs to be stressed, however, is that the Beatific Vision Controversy (1331–36) focused on whether the saints enjoy a full vision of God *immediately after death*, or only *after the Last Judgement*.⁸¹ Thus, the Beatific Vision discussions did not relate to the question of the degree or kind of vision of God *in this life*, the possibility of which was in no way ruled out by Western theologians and spiritual writers.⁸² To put it simply, the Beatific Vision Controversy was quite distinct from the Palamite Hesychast one, and does not seem to say much about the theological principles that inspired Cypriot anti-Palamism.⁸³

There is also no evidence that the contacts between Orthodox Cypriot and Latin theologians in Hugh IV's court shaped Cypriot anti-Palamism, or that Hugh IV supported anti-Palamism in an active and direct way. For example, while Akindynos accused Palamas in 1345 of sending his theological treatises to the Genoese community of Galata (Pera) and the Rhodian Hospitallers, he does not mention Hugh IV's court as a place of discussions over Palamite Hesychasm.⁸⁴ This is not to argue that Hugh IV had not been informed about the anti-Palamite teachings: Lapithēs' scholarly activities in the Lusignan court and Grēgoras' encomium on Hugh IV suggest the opposite. However, the lack of *concrete indications* concerning Latin scholastic influence on Cypriot anti-Palamite theology appears to confirm the argument that Cypriot anti-Palamites were not influenced by Latin theology.⁸⁵

The question remains: why did the Cypriot intellectual elite oppose Palamite Hesychasm? Cypriot anti-Palamism was probably grounded on the same theological basis as the rejection of the “essence-energies” distinction by prominent leaders of the Byzantine anti-Palamite camp. Admittedly, the total absence of Cypriot anti-Palamite works, perhaps the result of *damnatio memoriae* after the victory of Palamite Hesychasm, cannot provide definite answers on the theological arsenal of Palamas’ Cypriot opponents; however, the arguments of Byzantine anti-Palamites seem to offer an invaluable parallel that helps us understand the nature of Cypriot anti-Palamite theology.⁸⁶

Grēgoras’ anti-Palamism was primarily shaped by his philosophical and theological background, which led him to reject the use of logical syllogisms in the examination of divine realities. His extreme apophaticism has been interpreted as a response to the Latin scholastic appropriation of pagan philosophy; from his own perspective, Palamas argued that ancient wisdom could and should be used to examine theological questions, although it is only through faith and God’s grace that humans attain the knowledge of things divine.⁸⁷ In adopting an extremely apophatic stance, Grēgoras “wished to follow . . . the early Church Fathers, who dismissed logical studies following a tradition to be found among Neoplatonists.”⁸⁸ From Grēgoras’ point of view, the “essence-energies” distinction mirrored Plato’s theory of Forms, thus challenging the Orthodox doctrine of unknowability of the divine essence.⁸⁹ Similarly, Akindynos, himself a hesychast monk, “objected not to hesychasm [i.e., to the hesychast way of ascetic life] but to the distinction between the essence and energies of God that Palamas employed in defending it [= Palamite Hesychasm].”⁹⁰ Interpreting earlier patristic sources, Akindynos argued that

humans are “merely eschatological recipients of the reward for virtue”;⁹¹ in a letter to Lapithēs, he accused Palamite Hesychasm of being a polytheistic teaching that disturbed the unity and simplicity of God.⁹² The same reluctance concerning Palamas’ theology was shared by Kalekas, who stated that Orthodox Christians should accept the teachings of the saints without further examination (ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως).⁹³ Last but not least, it should be noted that Akindynos was not Lapithēs’ only anti-Palamite *and* hesychast friend. Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina (d. ca. 1356), a Byzantine aristocrat and spiritual disciple of Akindynos, was abbess of the Philanthrōpos Sōtēr convent in Constantinople, one of the centers of anti-Palamite opposition. From Akindynos’ letters, we learn that Irene-Eulogia praised Lapithēs for his wisdom, which suggests that Lapithēs, like Akindynos, might not have been hostile to hesychast asceticism per se; he was simply rejecting what he perceived as Palamas’ radically kataphatic theology.⁹⁴

All the above are strong indications of the Byzantine character of Cypriot anti-Palamism: opposition to Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus was most probably an expression of theological conservatism, similar to that of other Byzantine theologians, and not of Latinizing influence.⁹⁵ Particularly in Cyprus, the need to safeguard the “purity” of Orthodox tradition from any heretical innovation (Byzantine or Latin), might have enhanced the decision of the local elite to support the conservative and extremely apophatic theology of Byzantine anti-Palamites.

The emergence of an anti-Palamite front in the ecclesiastical politics of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates seems to have been another reason for the adoption of anti-Palamism by the Orthodox Cypriot elite. Grēgoras notes in his *History* that rumours about

Palamas' teachings had alarmed the Christians of Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia.⁹⁶ In 1344, Kalekas and Ignatios II, supported by Gregory II of Alexandria (ca. 1315/16–51?) and Gerasimos of Jerusalem (1342–49), excommunicated Palamas and Boucheiras.⁹⁷ In spring 1345, Akindynos boasted that opposition to Palamite Hesychasm was widespread, stating that Antioch, Cyprus, Alexandria, and even Rome rejected Palamas' heretical teachings. Around the same period, Kalekas ordered Akindynos to supply Lapithēs with copies of the anti-Palamite *Tomes* (synodal decrees) issued by himself and Ignatios II.⁹⁸

By 1347, however, Kantakouzēnos had won the civil war, deposing Kalekas and placing Boucheiras on the patriarchal throne. Grēgoras gives in his *History* an account of the anti-Palamite reaction, describing a synod convoked in Constantinople (July 1347), which anathematized both Palamas and Boucheiras. The *Tome* of 1347 includes Barlaam the Calabrian among the excommunicated heretics. The *Tome* also mentions that, although only ten anti-Palamite prelates were physically present during the synod, more than twenty hierarchs had sent from abroad letters of support. Grēgoras explicitly refers to the letters sent from Antioch, Alexandria, Trebizond, Cyprus, Rhodes, Mysia (in Asia Minor), and the land of the "Triballoi" (probably referring to Serbia).⁹⁹ This demonstrates that anti-Palamism, as the official dogmatic position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate until 1347, was rallying supporters from all over the Orthodox world, despite the lack of political unity in the Byzantine sphere of influence.

Leontios of Solea might have been one of the Greek Cypriot bishops participating in the condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm in 1347. Leontios was one of the prelates signing the Latin confession of faith during the Provincial Council of 1340; around the same period, he seems to have blessed the founding of the

Revealed Cross monastery, outside Nicosia.¹⁰⁰ Sometime before 1343, Leontios dedicated the new (or renovated) Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia to the Virgin Hodēgētria, most probably in order to express his Byzantine Orthodox ideology.¹⁰¹ This suggests that although Leontios knew well how to take advantage of Lusignan leniency, playing his role as “the king’s bishop,” he was also aware of the island’s historical and spiritual bonds with Byzantium. The possibility that the Hodēgētria cathedral stood over the former Byzantine Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia, dedicated to St. Sophia (after the imperial cathedral in Constantinople), together with Makhairas’ reference that the Hodēgētria preserved the fourth-century tomb and relics of St. Triphyllios, appear to have strengthened the connection between Leontios’ church and Nicosia’s Byzantine Orthodox past.¹⁰²

The lack of concrete evidence concerning the relationship between Leontios of Solea and the Cypriot anti-Palamite monks of the Hodēgoi monastery prevents us from giving a definite answer on whether Leontios was indeed involved in the condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm in 1347. It seems rather unlikely that Lapithēs, a lay theologian, would officially represent the anti-Palamite wing of the Orthodox Cypriot Church in the 1347 synod.¹⁰³ It is more reasonable, on the other hand, to assume that the Cypriot letter of 1347 was an official ecclesiastical document, issued by a bishop (or a synod of bishops). Ignatios II’s visit in Cyprus around the time of Leontios’ episcopate suggests that Leontios of Solea was one of the anti-Palamite hierarchs who condemned Palamite Hesychasm in 1347; this hypothesis is further strengthened by the anti-Palamism of Leontios’ successor (discussed below).

The significance of the *Tome* of 1347 is that it remains, so far, the only known official condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm by the

Cypriots. Greek Cypriot prelates appear to have been well aware of the anti-Palamite line pursued by Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and other churches. In addition, the *Tome* shows that, by participating in “pan-Orthodox” ecclesiastical developments, Greek Cypriot churchmen wished to reaffirm their identity as members of the Byzantine Orthodox ecumene. More importantly, the anti-Palamite alliance strongly suggests that non-Cypriot Orthodox ecclesiastics continued to perceive the Latin-ruled Greek Cypriot hierarchy as equally Orthodox.

What was the reaction of Orthodox Cypriot monks to the prevailing anti-Palamism of their ecclesiastical and intellectual elite? Once again we have to deal with the frustrating scarcity of evidence concerning nonelite groups. Opposition to anti-Palamism could have easily been marginalized, due to the centralized role of the Orthodox Cypriot episcopate after 1260: according to the *Bulla Cypria*, Orthodox Cypriot bishops were to exercise their jurisdiction over laypersons, clerics, and monastics in their bishopric.¹⁰⁴ This could be interpreted as an expansion of Orthodox Cypriot episcopal jurisdiction over previously autonomous monastic communities. Thus, the aforementioned controversy over the administration of the rich monastery of Mangana seems to reflect the consolidation of the bishop of Solea’s authority in the first half of the fourteenth century, taking advantage of the *Bulla Cypria*’s rulings.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, an early fourteenth-century canonical collection from the Arsinoë bishopric contains various rules on monastic discipline, perhaps indicating that Orthodox Cypriot bishops occasionally attempted to tighten their control over monasteries.¹⁰⁶ The process of centralization might have enabled anti-Palamite prelates to impose their theological line on their flock and clergy, particularly the monks

who were more familiar with the hesychast practices and Orthodox theophanic theology.

Yet, a degree of Palamite Hesychast opposition to anti-Palamism did exist. In 1345, for example, Akindynos was informed that certain Palamite Hesychast theologians had attempted, unsuccessfully as it seems, to persuade Lapithēs to abandon his positions. It is likely that some of these Palamite Hesychasts were Cypriots.¹⁰⁷ The growing anti-Palamite propaganda on the island and the difficulty of acquiring clear and sufficient information on the Palamite Hesychast arguments¹⁰⁸ led a number of Orthodox Cypriot monks to consult Joseph Kalothetos (d. ca. 1356), a Palamite Hesychast monk and theologian. The monks requested that Kalothetos explain to them “in a simple and clear manner” (ἁπλῶ καὶ σαφεῖ λόγῳ) the Palamite Hesychast theological position. In his reply, composed sometime between 1346 and 1347, Kalothetos interpreted the Cypriot request as being motivated by laziness and lack of zeal, thus reproaching the monks for not knowing their own tradition. Despite Kalothetos’ ironic remarks, however, we may argue that the Cypriot monks were indeed troubled by the use of subtle theological terminology employed by the Palamite Hesychasts to describe the “essence-energies” distinction; terms like “the transcended essence of God” (ὑπερκειμένη τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσία) and “the subdued energy of God” (ὑφειμένη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια) could have easily been understood as expressing ditheism. In his letter, Kalothetos defended the Palamite Hesychast position in a clear and precise way, based on biblical and patristic testimonies: in refuting the anti-Palamite arguments, he attempted to persuade the Cypriot monks that the “essence-energies” distinction was part of the Orthodox theophanic tradition.¹⁰⁹

The importance of Kalothetos' letter to the Cypriot monks is that it unveils a line of Orthodox Cypriot resistance to anti-Palamism, despite the movement's strength on the island in the 1340s. The Cypriot appeal to Kalothetos to receive information on Palamite Hesychasm "in a simple and clear manner" suggests that even monks, expected to be familiar with the hesychast practices and theophanic tradition, faced difficulties in understanding the high philosophical and theological language employed by both sides in the controversy.

This observation brings us to the examination of Byzantine Orthodox religious training in Latin-ruled Cyprus. Around 1250, the young philomath George of Cyprus (later Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II) acquired the basics in a Greek elementary school, but failed, due to his poor knowledge of Latin, to successfully attend courses at the Latin cathedral school in Nicosia. Given that the only higher education institutions on the island were Latin, George decided to pursue studies in Asia Minor, where the exiled Byzantine government and Patriarchate of Constantinople were based between ca. 1204 and 1261.¹¹⁰ It appears that the poor level of Greek letters in Cyprus, restricted to the basic elements of ecclesiastical education and the rather technical training of notaries and civil servants, continued to be such on the eve of the Palamite Hesychast Controversy.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, we possess no evidence concerning where and how Lapithēs was educated. Orthodox monasticism in fourteenth-century Cyprus,¹¹² as elsewhere in the Orthodox East,¹¹³ was largely devoted to the preservation, copying, and studying of traditional patristic texts, while evidence of original theological production is hard to find. After 1261, only the lucky few managed to travel to Constantinople and be introduced to the imperial capital's intellectual elite.¹¹⁴ It is, thus,

clear that for the majority of the Orthodox Cypriot population, the high theological terminology employed during the controversy created problems for the transmission of Palamite Hesychasm on the island, a theology that was also opposed by the four Eastern Patriarchates and members of the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical and intellectual elite. Yet, despite its supremacy in Cyprus, anti-Palamism did not remain unchallenged: by expressing doubts concerning the correctness of anti-Palamism, the Cypriot monks who approached Kalothetos probably suspected that Palamite Hesychast theology, which they hardly comprehended, was much closer to the Orthodox theophanic tradition.

Following the victory of Kantakouzēnos and the synodal vindication of Palamite Hesychasm, Byzantine anti-Palamism lost its impetus; in the 1350s, however, the movement remained very much alive, posing problems for the consolidation of the Palamite Hesychast regime in Constantinople. Despite the monasticization of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the gradual promotion of Palamite Hesychasm as a unifying factor between Byzantium and the Orthodox populations in the Balkans and Russia,¹¹⁵ the imperial and patriarchal authorities could not effectively impose their doctrinal line on the rest of the church. In 1351, for example, when Kantakouzēnos invited Gregory II of Alexandria and Ignatios II of Antioch to sign the Palamite Hesychast *Tomes*, the two patriarchs refused to do so.¹¹⁶

Under the administration of Metropolitan Arsenios of Tyre (fl. ca. 1351–76), the Hodēgoi monastery continued to be a center of anti-Palamism, challenging the authority of Constantinopolitan patriarchs;¹¹⁷ as late as 1376, Arsenios circulated freely in Constantinople, officiating, performing ordinations, and collecting funds.¹¹⁸ Fourteenth-century Palamite Hesychast patriarchs did not challenge the Antiochene rights over the Hodēgoi, but respected

the monastery's status. Similarly, there is no evidence that the imperial authority ever attempted to force the Hodēgoi community to accept Palamite Hesychasm. Clearly, Kantakouzēnos and the Palamite Hesychast patriarchs had no other choice but to tolerate the disobedience of the Hodēgoi monks, probably in order establish a *modus vivendi* with Antioch.¹¹⁹ At the same time, Ignatios II of Antioch did not take official action against Palamite Hesychasm, as he had done in the past (in 1344 and 1347), but corresponded with Kallistos I of Constantinople in a calm and almost amicable tone.¹²⁰

In 1352, a second civil war broke out, this time between Kantakouzēnos and John V Palaiologos (1341–76, 1379–90, and 1390–91), eventually resulting in Kantakouzēnos' abdication from the throne (1354), and his tonsure as Joasaph the Monk.¹²¹ Sometime before 1359/60, Cyril, the anti-Palamite metropolitan of Side in Pamphylia, travelled to Cyprus, as a result of the Muslim threat and various problems in the administration of his see. During his stay on the island (ca. 1359/60), Cyril wrote a letter to Nicholas, an official of his metropolis, expressing the intention to visit Constantinople in the near future and refuting Palamite Hesychasm. Cyril stated that the anti-Palamites of Constantinople had sent refutations of Palamite Hesychasm to Cyprus and the three Eastern patriarchs (i.e., Ignatios II of Antioch, Lazaros of Jerusalem, and Gregory III of Alexandria: 1351/52–66?). Unfortunately, Cyril provides no further information on the Cypriot recipients of these letters.¹²²

Around the same period (ca. 1359/60), Cyril received a letter from Grēgoras, informing him that the new emperor, John V, was favorable to anti-Palamism, but was prevented by his Palamite Hesychast entourage, namely Patriarch Kallistos I and Joasaph the Monk (formerly John VI Kantakouzēnos), to openly express his

theological position. Grēgoras stated that the vast majority of anti-Palamites in Constantinople opposed Palamite Hesychasm in secret (λάθρᾱ), fearing their enemies' reaction.¹²³ He also mentioned that he had been informed about the anti-Palamite beliefs of the “archpriest of Nicosia” (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Λευκωσίας), referring to the Greek bishop of Solea, who, according to Grēgoras, was fortunate enough not to face Palamite Hesychast opposition (ἡσύχιον καὶ ἀπόλεμον ἄγει βίον αὐτός).¹²⁴ The anti-Palamite prelate in question was probably κϋρ Joachim (1353–post 1370?).¹²⁵

The scarcity of information concerning the activity of Cypriot anti-Palamites in the period after 1351 could be interpreted as an indication that they kept a low profile, following the example of other Byzantine anti-Palamites in Constantinople and the Patriarchate of Antioch. Moreover, while Gregory III of Alexandria and perhaps Ignatios II of Antioch visited Cyprus (in 1351/52, and between 1351 and 1355 respectively), there is no evidence of contacts with the local anti-Palamite circles.¹²⁶ The “sudden” silence of the sources concerning Cypriot anti-Palamism reflects the *modus vivendi* in the relations between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites in the 1350s. Once again, this confirms the “Byzantine” identity of the island's anti-Palamism: the Cypriot opponents of Palamas were following “international,” pan-Orthodox developments.

3. THE VICTORY OF PALAMITE HESYCHAST ORTHODOXY IN CYPRUS

The second half of the fourteenth century was a critical period for Byzantium: years of bitter civil strife had given the Turks the opportunity to conquer Thrace, isolating Constantinople from its

European dominions and threatening the very survival of the declining Byzantine Empire.¹²⁷ The bleak reality forced John V to pursue a policy of ecclesiastical reconciliation with the papacy, in exchange for military help against the Turks. In 1355/56, the emperor sent to Pope Innocent VI (1352–62) a personal profession of obedience to the Western Church, promising that he would encourage the recognition of papal authority on the part of his subjects.¹²⁸ In 1357, two papal emissaries, the Carmelite Peter Thomas and the Dominican William Conti, reached Constantinople. According to Philip of Mézières (d. 1405), chancellor of Cyprus under Peter I and Peter Thomas' friend and hagiographer, John V renewed his profession of obedience before Peter Thomas, promised to replace Patriarch Kallistos I with a pro-Latin hierarch, and received the Eucharist from the Carmelite's hands.¹²⁹ Several anti-Palamite members of the Byzantine elite seem to have converted to the Latin rite around the same period,¹³⁰ including Chief Minister (μεσάζων) Dēmētrios Kydōnēs (d. 1397/98),¹³¹ George (Kydōnēs?) the Philosopher (d. post 1371),¹³² and John Laskaris Kalopheros (d. 1392).¹³³ A number of anti-Latin homilies, composed by Kallistos I between 1357 and 1358, demonstrate that the patriarch had been alarmed by the Latin proselytizing activities and the emergence of a group of pro-Latin Byzantines. It seems, however, that Kallistos was careful enough not to directly attack John V.¹³⁴ Following a heated debate with an Orthodox monk from the Pantokratōr monastery (October 1357),¹³⁵ Peter Thomas left Constantinople for Cyprus, where he must have discussed with Hugh IV the possibility of Cypriot participation in a Christian league against the Turks.¹³⁶

In 1359, Peter Thomas received by the pope extensive powers over ecclesiastical affairs in the Eastern Mediterranean as *legatus a*

latere. After visiting Constantinople for a second time, the Carmelite successfully led a joint Christian raid against the Turks in Lampsakos, Hellespont. In 1360, Peter Thomas was back in Cyprus, where he crowned Peter I king of Jerusalem; the two men's collaboration would culminate in the Alexandrian Crusade of 1365.¹³⁷ While on the island, the Carmelite was involved in an incident that signaled the beginning of the end for the domination of anti-Palamism in the local Greek elite. The three main authors describing the 1360 event (Philip of Mézières, Leontios Makhairas, and Patriarch Kallistos I) represent three different perspectives: Latin, Greek Cypriot, and Constantinopolitan.

Philip of Mézières, Peter Thomas' friend and hagiographer, relates that the Carmelite wished to enforce obedience, because the Greek prelates and priests were schismatics who did not revere the Western Church and led the island's Latin community to their own rite. After acquiring royal permission, Peter Thomas summoned the Greek higher clergy to St. Sophia; in order to avoid a Greek riot, the cathedral's doors were locked (see [Figure 3.4](#)). The legate instructed the Greek congregation on their errors in a friendly tone, persuading many of them to be "reformed" (perhaps in the sense of reciting a pro-Latin oath). However, a stubborn and perfidious priest resisted, encouraging the others to do the same. The situation was exacerbated when the mob outside the cathedral broke in, shouting that they should kill the legate. Although prepared to die the martyr's death, Peter Thomas was eventually rescued by the king's soldiers. Mézières states that the Carmelite was not discouraged, but continued to preach and instruct the Greeks with Peter I's support, until he managed to confirm their clergy to the obedience of the Western Church (again, a possible reference to the taking of a pro-Latin oath).¹³⁸ Mézières presents an idealized picture of Peter Thomas' actions by emphasizing his role as

virtuous preacher and orthodox teacher. Despite being a contemporary source, Mézières' pro-Latin hagiographical agenda suggests that his narrative should be consulted with caution.¹³⁹



Figure 3.4 The Latin Cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

The fifteenth-century *Chronicle* by Leontios Makhairas presents a rather different account. Peter Thomas gathered the Greek clergy because he wanted to make them Latins by confirming them (να τοὺς κουφερμιάσι/κουφερμιάση). This reference creates problems of interpretation regarding the legate's intentions. Did Peter Thomas wish the Greeks to receive the Latin rite of confirmation,

as implied by the version of the *Chronicle* preserved in the sixteenth-century codex *Venetus, Marcianus graecus* VII, 16 (1080)? The other two main codices preserving the *Chronicle* seem not to support this interpretation, suggesting that the Greeks were forced to be reconfirmed in office by reciting (or repeating) a pro-Latin oath. It should be noted, however, that the Venice version of Makhairas is generally considered by scholars to be not only the longest but also the oldest of the three main versions, containing precious details that are not to be found elsewhere. A more systematic examination of Makhairas' manuscripts remains a *desideratum*; for the time being, we cannot rule out that Peter Thomas had indeed intended to Latinize the Greeks in the ritual sense, departing from the traditional papal policy of respecting ritual diversity under Rome.¹⁴⁰ Unaware of the legate's intentions, the Greek bishops and abbots went to St. Sophia, and, as in Mézières' narrative, the doors were locked. Peter Thomas began by "confirming" a Greek priest (Venice version), but the rest of the Greeks resisted Latin coercion. The mob besieged the cathedral, crushing the doors with a beam and attempting to burn them down. Peter I intervened, controlling the crowd and rescuing the Greek clergy; he also ordered the Carmelite to leave Cyprus, and encouraged the Greeks to continue following their customs. In the Venice version, those who had received the Latin confirmation threw down the cotton used by the legate and spat upon it. The king informed Innocent VI about Peter Thomas' "foolish activities" (πελλάραν), and requested that the pope send no more legates to Cyprus, for they were causing scandals.¹⁴¹ Makhairas' account (especially the Venice version) highlights the coercive methods of the Carmelite, coming into conflict with Mézières' claims that Peter Thomas had used peaceful means to convert the Greeks. It also stresses King Peter's concern to preserve religious peace by

protecting his Greek subjects. The *Chronicle* does not attack the Western Church per se, but focuses on the Carmelite as an isolated case of religious zealotry. Makhairas, like Mézières, mentions nothing about the Ecumenical Patriarchate's reaction and intervention. His scope is narrowly Cypriot, reflecting the sentiments and ideology of a Greek Cypriot official in Lusignan service.¹⁴²

Our third source for the 1360 incident is the hitherto unpublished *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople, probably composed sometime between 1361 and 1362 (see Appendix II). Although this particular document came to the attention of scholars as early as 1977, its importance has not been properly appreciated.¹⁴³ Kallistos' *Encyclical* provides a contemporary account of the events, mirroring the official reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and arguing (against Mézières) that Peter Thomas had indeed used coercion. More importantly, the *Encyclical* demonstrates that for the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate the Greek Church of Cyprus remained Orthodox, even after its subjugation by the Latins a century before. The fact that Kallistos addressed *all* Orthodox Cypriots ("residents, priests, nobles, and all the rest people of the Lord"),¹⁴⁴ using a formulaic form of address, probably indicates that he expected his audience to recognize the pastoral authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁴⁵ We may also assume that the patriarch had been informed about Peter Thomas' actions by Orthodox Cypriots, who requested his moral and spiritual support. Kallistos stresses the undisturbed religious communion between Greek Cypriots and Byzantines, by repeatedly referring to their common faith and harassment by Peter Thomas. The use of first plural in the first paragraph of the *Encyclical* (with reference to the common faith of Byzantines and

Greek Cypriots) underlines Kallistos' support to the Cypriots and promotes sentiments of solidarity with his subjugated flock.¹⁴⁶

At the heart of the patriarch's attempt to hearten his Cypriot audience, we find a theological rhetoric of martyrdom and leniency toward sinners, similar to the arguments of John XIV Kalekas in his encyclicals to the Christians of Turkish-occupied Nicaea (ca. 1339 and 1340).¹⁴⁷ Although Kallistos deplores the Latinization of a number of Orthodox Cypriots, he urges their brethren to receive and forgive those willing to repent. It is noteworthy that the patriarch implies that Peter Thomas had attempted to impose the *Filioque* doctrine, which strengthens the view that the legate's activities threatened to modify the Byzantine rite. According to Kallistos, those who resisted the legate are "martyrs who have not shed blood and crown-bearers without wounds" (χωρὶς αἵματος μάρτυρες· καὶ χωρὶς πληγῶν στεφανῶνται), for they did not yield to coercion, but were willing to sacrifice their lives for their faith. The patriarch exhorts his audience to fear only God, and not the Carmelite's ferocity and tyranny; inspired by the persecution and martyrdom of saints, they should maintain their faith at any cost. In addition, Kallistos masterfully brings forth the image of Christ the Good Shepherd and compares Him against Peter Thomas, reminding his audience that true pastors imitate Christ in showing mercy, love, and meekness, even against heretics. Interestingly, Kallistos points out that, "no one of the cardinals or their wise men would praise the persecution and torture of believers who have sinned or unbelievers who have made some kind of injustice; for this is not an act of teaching, but rather tyranny" (τὸ γὰρ διώκειν καὶ τύπτειν, ἢ πιστοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας, ἢ ἀπίστους ἀδικήσαντας, οὐδεὶς . . . τῶν καρδηναλίων, ἢ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαινέσεται ὅλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτον διδασκαλίας ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν τυραννίδος). From Kallistos' perspective, Peter

Thomas is an unworthy pastor, whose actions are inconsistent with Christ's example and the common Christian tradition (in both East and West).¹⁴⁸

The second part of Kallistos' *Encyclical* is devoted to the anti-Palamite activities on the island. The patriarch urges his audience to stay away from the anti-Palamites, accusing them as Latinizers. He supports his argument by mentioning Peter Thomas' meetings and discussions with the anti-Palamites during the former's stay in Constantinople; these encounters should probably be dated in ca. 1359, around the time of the Lampsakos campaign. Kallistos' statement that the Latins and anti-Palamites were in contact is confirmed by the conversion of Byzantine anti-Palamites to the Latin rite, following John V's example. Moreover, the anti-Palamite leader Arsenios of Tyre had been present in Constantinople in ca. 1361, which means that he could have met Peter Thomas in ca. 1359; the fact that both men were in Cyprus in 1361/62, supports Kallistos' claims.¹⁴⁹ These developments clearly alarmed Kallistos, who used his opponents' rapprochement to turn the tables on both Latins and anti-Palamites: the patriarch's instructions to the Orthodox Cypriots to reject Peter Thomas and Arsenios created a link between Latinization and anti-Palamism. Similar accusations could be detected in other contemporary homilies composed by Kallistos, expressing his concern about the emerging alliance between the Western Church and the Byzantine anti-Palamite circles.¹⁵⁰

Overall, Kallistos' *Encyclical* provides a unique (and largely overlooked) testimony on the 1360 incident, confirming Makhairas' description (particularly in the Venice version) of the legate's coercive methods, and tracing the impact of this traumatic experience on the relations between Cyprus and Constantinople, as well as between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites. The

patriarch's emphatic references to Peter Thomas' use of coercion must have evoked unpleasant memories, also inspiring noncoercive resistance to Latinization. By strengthening the bonds between Latin-ruled Cypriots and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the *Encyclical* exposed Peter Thomas' cooperation with the anti-Palamites, accusing them as pro-Latin.¹⁵¹

Philip of Mézières claims that, despite the 1360 riot, the Carmelite eventually managed to unite the Christians of Cyprus under the papacy. According to Mézières, during the second wave of Black Death on the island (1361–62), Peter Thomas led religious processions of both Latins and non-Latins to appease the divine wrath. The Carmelite's holiness was so widely recognized that after his death in Famagusta in 1365, he was venerated as a saint by all Cypriot ethnoreligious groups.¹⁵² Although the veneration of Peter Thomas by individual Greeks and Syrian Melkites should not be excluded, there is no evidence that it was ever officially adopted by the island's Orthodox Church.¹⁵³ This was probably due to the legate's coercive stance in 1360 (confirmed by both Kallistos I and Makhairas), which inspired closer contacts between the Orthodox Cypriots and the Palamite Hesychast Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Sometime around 1362, Dēmētrios Kydōnēs sent a letter to Cyprus, addressing his friend (and probably relative) George the Philosopher, one of the anti-Palamite converts to the Latin faith in ca. 1357. The letter implies that George's relations with the local Greeks were not calm, though without providing further explanation. Moreover, we learn that George had come into conflict with the legate (= Peter Thomas), probably because he had accused a Latin "priest and philosopher" (ἱερέα καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα) of pederasty. Having already professed the Latin faith and having received the Latin sacraments, George was placed under the Latin

canon law: after being incarcerated and tortured, he was facing death by burning. George's situation was indeed tragic: accused by the Latins of blasphemy, he was criticized by his own people for being pro-Latin; on the other hand, the Palamite Hesychasts (οἱ δὲ θεόληπτοι καὶ ἐπίπνοι) warned those praising George for his sufferings that, unless he accepted the "essence-energies" distinction (τὰς ὑφειμένους), he was not to be considered Orthodox, even if he was to deliver his body to martyrdom.¹⁵⁴

Although the tension between George the Philosopher and Peter Thomas appears not to be associated with the 1360 incident, it nevertheless indicates the vulnerable condition of Latinized anti-Palamites, caught between their own people and the papal legate.¹⁵⁵ Dēmētrios Kydōnēs' letter also reveals that Peter Thomas was willing to employ coercion and violence against those openly challenging the Latin Church and its representatives, and suggests the existence of Palamite Hesychast opposition to Cypriot anti-Palamism.

In 1368, the Athonite monk Prochoros Kydōnēs (d. 1371/72), Dēmētrios' younger brother, was excommunicated and defrocked by a patriarchal synod convoked by Philotheos I Kokkinos. Although Prochoros had translated Latin theological works into Greek and had employed the Western scholastic methodology in his writings, he did not convert to the Latin faith; his condemnation was caused by his open challenge of the Palamite Hesychast doctrines and Palamas' holiness.¹⁵⁶ What is important about Prochoros' condemnation is that it was signed by Lazaros (1342–68), the Palamite Hesychast patriarch of Jerusalem, and Niphōn of Alexandria (1366–85), Gregory III's successor.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the *Tome* of 1368 against Prochoros Kydōnēs marks the official

reaffirmation of Palamite Hesychasm by three Eastern Patriarchates: Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria.¹⁵⁸

The Antiochenes, who faced internal problems of succession after Ignatios' death in ca. 1363, did not participate in Prochoros' condemnation.¹⁵⁹ The Patriarchate of Antioch was divided into three factions, supporting Pachōmios of Damascus, Michael Bisharah, and Arsenios of Tyre. Philotheos I recognized Pachōmios as the legitimate patriarch (ca. 1363/64–65 and 1376–ca. 1395); their alliance managed to marginalize Arsenios of Tyre and the extreme anti-Palamite wing.¹⁶⁰ Pachōmios was succeeded by Michael II (ca. 1395–ca. 1404). In a letter sent to Constantinople, the new patriarch professed Palamite Hesychasm, thus marking the end of Antiochene anti-Palamism and the symbolic reincorporation of Syria into the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence.¹⁶¹

In the late 1360s and early 1370s, Latinized Byzantine anti-Palamites from Dēmētrios Kydōnēs' circle maintained close contacts with the Lusignan regime. This is confirmed by the case of John Laskaris Kalopheros, a Byzantine noble who had fallen into disgrace with John V, before seeking refuge in Cyprus. Kalopheros became Peter I's close associate, participating in the king's campaigns in Asia Minor and Alexandria. The loyalty expressed by Kalopheros and other non-Cypriot knights toward Peter I contributed to the atmosphere of alienation between the Lusignan king and his nobility, leading to Peter I's assassination and Kalopheros' downfall after 1369. Following these developments, Kalopheros offered his services to the papacy and travelled across Europe on several diplomatic missions. Although Kalopheros must have been hostile to the Palamite Hesychast doctrines, due to his friendship with Kydōnēs and his personal conversion to the Latin

faith, there is no indication that he was actively involved in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy during his stay in Cyprus.¹⁶²

Between 1366 and 1371, John V travelled in the West, personally submitting to the papacy in 1369 in an unsuccessful attempt to secure Latin military help against the Turks. The emperor's long absence from Constantinople, as well as Prochoros Kydōnēs' death in 1371/72, gave new impetus to the Palamite Hesychast opposition.¹⁶³ Patriarch Philotheos I hardened his stance against the Latinizers, many of whom were forced to denounce the Latin doctrines and anti-Palamism.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, Joasaph the Monk (John VI Kantakouzēnos) composed and published a number of treatises opposing Prochoros' anti-Palamite works. Dēmētrios Kydonēs complained that John-Joasaph's refutations were sent, among other places, to Cyprus, Crete, Palestine, and Egypt, thus spreading Palamite Hesychasm throughout the Orthodox world.¹⁶⁵

It was probably during this wave of persecutions that the anti-Palamite scholar and theologian John Kyparissiōtēs (d. ca. 1378) left Constantinople for Cyprus (ante 1368?), where he could not be harassed by the patriarchal authorities.¹⁶⁶ An unpublished theological work by Kyparissiōtēs, probably composed in Constantinople before his journey, mentions that the island remained loyal to anti-Palamism.¹⁶⁷ Kyparissiōtēs' statement is an indication that Byzantine anti-Palamites continued perceiving Cyprus as one of the last anti-Palamite strongholds; yet, there is no evidence concerning the activities of Cypriot anti-Palamites in the 1360s and 1370s. When Kyparissiōtēs visited Cyprus, his idealized view of the conditions on the island changed. In ca. 1371, he complained to Dēmētrios Kydōnēs about his poverty, only to receive Kydōnēs' reply that the island ceased to be a "favorable destination," implying that Kalopheros' downfall from power and

the political unrest after Peter I's assassination had deprived the Latinized Byzantine anti-Palamites of local support. Recognizing his friend's misery, Kydōnēs encouraged him to leave for Italy.¹⁶⁸

That Palamite Hesychasm was increasingly gaining ground, penetrating into the local Greek elite, is attested by a letter sent by John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos to Bishop John of Karpasia, probably one of the prelates involved in the building of Famagusta's Orthodox cathedral (discussed in the beginning of this chapter). The two men's communication focused on the refutation of an anti-Palamite *Tome*, issued by Arsenios of Tyre in ca. 1365/66; this document was later incorporated into the anti-Palamite miscellanea compiled by the monk Anthimos Kolybas, which circulated in Cyprus refuting Palamite Hesychasm. In 1371, Kantakouzēnos, who was informed about the recent anti-Palamite activities in Cyprus, wrote a letter to John of Karpasia, providing a brief account of the Palamite Hesychast Controversy and opposing the anti-Palamite arguments.¹⁶⁹

The letter sheds light on Bishop John's social status, religious identity, intellectual profile, and political ideology. Kantakouzēnos addresses Bishop John by recognizing his rights over Karpasia and the ancient see of Salamis/Constantia, which was later succeeded by Ammochōstos/Famagusta. Bishop John's social prestige, being a prominent member of the local elite, is confirmed by Kantakouzēnos' employment of the honorary title κῆρ ("lord"). The two men's familiarity is expressed by Kantakouzēnos' statement that he had known Bishop John for a long time, but was prevented from writing to him by other affairs. It is, thus, clear that Bishop John knew and communicated with Kantakouzēnos, former emperor and leading apologist of Palamite Hesychasm, and that he was highly esteemed by the latter, who praised him for his virtue

and piety: this is strong evidence that Bishop John was a Palamite Hesychast.¹⁷⁰

Kantakouzēnos' brief refutation of anti-Palamism involves high theological terminology (e.g., ὑφειμένη θεότης, οὐσιώδης and φυσικὴ ἐνέργεια), suggesting Bishop John's familiarity with contemporary theological discussions in Byzantium.¹⁷¹ Unlike the Cypriot monks who had approached Kalothetos, asking him to explain the Palamite Hesychast position "in a simple and clear manner," it seems that Bishop John possessed a greater knowledge of the Palamite Hesychast theology. However, he appears to have depended on Kantakouzēnos' theological acumen and authority as former emperor to fight anti-Palamism within his bishopric. Indeed, Kantakouzēnos promised to send to his correspondent a more lengthy refutation of the anti-Palamite accusations.¹⁷²

What is noteworthy is that only once in the letter does Kantakouzēnos use his monastic name (Ἰωάσαφ μοναχὸς), preferring instead the self-reference "my imperial highness" (ἡ βασιλεία μου); his full imperial title also appears in the signature at the end of the document.¹⁷³ By reminding his Cypriot correspondent of his imperial authority, Kantakouzēnos combines theological argumentation with Byzantine *Kaiserpropaganda*, in order to underline his refutation of anti-Palamism and the defense of Palamite Hesychasm.¹⁷⁴

The activities of Patriarch Kallistos I, John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, and Bishop John of Karpasia seem to have played a major role in the establishment of Palamite Hesychasm on the island and its adoption by members of the local Orthodox elite. John V's failure to promote ecclesiastical reconciliation with the papacy and to secure Western military help against the Turks showed that the rapprochement between anti-Palamites and Latins

was largely unsuccessful. At the same time, the official adoption of a Palamite Hesychast line by all four Eastern Patriarchates asserted the doctrinal correctness of Palamas' theology. The case of Bishop John of Karpasia suggests that, by the 1370s, Palamite Hesychasm had won over a number of Orthodox Cypriot prelates and *potentes*, reaffirming their role as mediators with the Byzantine Orthodox world. John V's unionist ecclesiastical policy, Peter Thomas' coercive activities in the 1360s, the patriarchal attempts for suppression of anti-Palamism in Constantinople, and the Latinization of many Byzantine anti-Palamites enhanced the bipolarity which characterized the Palamite Hesychast Controversy in the second half of the fourteenth century: while Palamite Hesychasm increasingly became accepted as *the* Byzantine Orthodox position, the anti-Palamites chose (or were forced) to rally under the papacy, leaving no middle ground for conservative Byzantine anti-Palamites of the old generation, such as Grēgoras, Akindynos, and Lapithēs.

The last persecution of anti-Palamism in Constantinople took place under Manuel II (1391–1425), John V's son and successor. A former disciple of Dēmētrios Kydōnēs and a scholar in his own right, Manuel II was a convinced supporter of Palamite Hesychasm. Facing the Ottoman threat and dynastic rivalries, Manuel wished to reaffirm the loyalty of the church and people of Constantinople, presenting himself as a champion of Orthodoxy. This led to a final wave of anti-Palamite persecutions by Patriarch Anthony IV (1389–90 and 1391–97), forcing many Byzantine Latinizers and opponents of Palamite Hesychasm to flee Constantinople.¹⁷⁵

For a brief period of time, Cyprus appeared once again to be a favorable destination for the remaining anti-Palamites. Although at least one Byzantine anti-Palamite, the noble Manuel Rhaoul (fl. ca.

1390s), occupied an influential position in the Lusignan court, we hear nothing about Cypriot supporters of anti-Palamism. This has to be interpreted as strong evidence that the times of Hyakinthos and Lapithēs had indeed passed.¹⁷⁶ In 1401/1402, Manuel Kalekas (d. 1410), a well-known anti-Palamite scholar and teacher, stated that he would rather not find refuge in Cyprus, for he was disturbed by the local acceptance of Palamite Hesychasm: this statement leaves no doubt about the final victory of Constantinopolitan orthodoxy on the island.¹⁷⁷

The examination of the Cypriot involvement in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy is part of wider ecclesiastical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political developments. Economic prosperity in the first half of the fourteenth century brought social mobility and facilitated religious interaction between Orthodox and Latins. Hugh IV's ecclesiastical policy led to the rebuilding or renovation of Orthodox cathedrals, and Peter I's crusading activities enhanced interdependence and non-Latin social elevation. The improvement of the Orthodox Cypriot condition seems to have strengthened the island's bonds with Byzantium and the Orthodox world. This is confirmed by the emergence of a Greek ecclesiastical and intellectual elite with pro-Byzantine and pro-Orthodox orientation.

Although many of these *literati* were protagonists in the opposition against Palamite Hesychasm in the 1340s, the view that Cypriot anti-Palamism began as a Latinizing movement is unsubstantiated. Indeed, fourteenth-century Western theology on the Beatific Vision is not related to the theological apophaticism of Grēgoras, Akindynos, Kalekas, and probably Lapithēs. Moreover, there seems to be no evidence that the Lusignans ever supported Cypriot anti-Palamism in a direct way. The synodal condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm in 1347 shows that most Orthodox

Churches (including Cyprus) had reached a consensus of opinion in supporting Constantinopolitan anti-Palamism. Another reason behind the popularity of anti-Palamism in Cyprus is that the *Bulla Cypria* favored episcopal centralization, which might have facilitated the spread of anti-Palamite ideas, although traces of Palamite Hesychast opposition could also be detected. Taking into consideration that most Orthodox Cypriot *literati* supported the anti-Palamites, we come to the conclusion that anti-Palamism was successful in Cyprus because it was embraced by the local intellectual and ecclesiastical elite.

Following a period of *détente* in the relations between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites, in which Cypriot opponents of Palamite Hesychasm appear to have kept a low profile, Cypriot support toward anti-Palamism gradually declined. The main reason for this was the polarization between pro-Latin anti-Palamites and anti-Latin Palamite Hesychasts, as a result of the unionist policy pursued by John V Palaiologos. Peter Thomas' coercive activities in Cyprus enhanced the anti-Latin sentiments of many Orthodox Cypriots, who seem to have approached Kallistos I requesting pastoral guidance. Kallistos' hitherto unpublished *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* exposes the collaboration between Peter Thomas and the anti-Palamites, thus associating anti-Palamism with Latinization. Indeed, while the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch officially adopted the Palamite Hesychast line, many anti-Palamites sought refuge in the Western Church and were persecuted by the Palamite Hesychasts. The correspondence between Joasaph the Monk (formerly Emperor John VI Kantakouzēnos) and Bishop John of Karpasia, a dynamic Orthodox Cypriot prelate, eloquently marks the acceptance of Palamite Hesychasm by members of the Orthodox Cypriot elite.

In the early fifteenth century, Cyprus was viewed by the anti-Palamites as a Palamite Hesychast island, suggesting that the

leaders of the Orthodox community had embraced Palamite Hesychasm, in order to strengthen their role as mediators with Byzantium and Orthodoxy. Thus, after nearly sixty years of theological controversy, Orthodox Cypriots finally accepted that Palamas' theology was truly representative of their pre-Palamite theophanic tradition: "in Your light we shall see light" (ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς, Psalm 35:10).

The next chapter examines Cypriot Orthodoxy during the fifteenth century, a fertile period of political, ideological, and religious transformation in Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Europe.

NOTES

1. T. Papacostas, "Byzantine Rite in a Gothic Setting: Aspects of Cultural Appropriation in Late Medieval Cyprus," *Series Byzantina* 8 (2008), pp. 117–32; J. M. Andrews, "Gothic and Byzantine in the Monumental Arts of Famagusta: Diversity, Permeability and Power," in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. M. J. Walsh, P. W. Edbury, and N. S. H. Coureas (Farnham–Burlington, 2012), p. 161; Th. Kaffenberger, "Harmonizing the Sources: An Insight Into the Appearance of the Hagios Georgios Complex at Various Stages of Its Building History," in *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm. Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, ed. M. J. Walsh, T. Kiss, and N. S. H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 169–90; M. Olympios, "Saint George of the Greeks and its Legacy: A Facet of Urban Greek Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus," in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. A. Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 143–202; M. Bacci, "Patterns of Church Decoration in Famagusta (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries)," in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, pp. 232–33; M. Paschali, "Mural Decoration in Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta," in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, pp. 277–314; T. Papacostas, "A Gothic Basilica in the Renaissance: Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta," in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, pp. 339–66. On the appropriation of

Gothic architecture in Latin-ruled Greece, see Ch. Bouras, “The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture,” in *The Crusades from the Perspectives of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 247–62.

2. Kyrris, “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπή,” p. 160; M. Paschali, “Crusader Ideology, Propaganda, and the Art of the Carmelite Church in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta,” in *The Harbour*, ed. Walsh, Kiss, and Coureas, pp. 135–44; M. Olympos, “The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta,” in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, pp. 75–142; cf. Bacci, “Patterns,” p. 247.

3. I. Eliades, “Ἡ Κυπροαναγεννησιακὴ Ζωγραφικὴ: το Λατινικὸ Παρεκκλήσιο τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λαμπαδιστοῦ στον Καλοπαναγιώτη καὶ τὰ παρεμφερή μνημεία,” PhD diss. (University of Cyprus, 2008), pp. 192–93, 277; Paschali, “Negotiating Identities,” pp. 281–84; Paschali, “Mural Decoration,” pp. 289–90; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 207 (n. 684); cf. I. Rapti, “Identities on the Page: Printed Books in Late Medieval Cyprus,” in *Identity*, ed. Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, p. 322. On episcopal miters, see generally W. T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford–New York, 2012), pp. 28–32. The fourteenth-century cruciform cover of Leukara depicts Bishop Olbianos bareheaded: Papageorghiou, “Ο Σταυρός,” p. 248. An unpublished (?) sixteenth-century icon of St. Barnabas from the collection of the Byzantine Museum (Nicosia) depicts a supplicant Orthodox bishop wearing a monastic cap. These examples show that during the period of the Latin rule, Orthodox Cypriot bishops had no standard form of headwear.

4. Ch. I. Paraïoannou, “‘Τακτικόν,’ ἦτοι Ἀρχιερατικὸν Εὐχολόγιον τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Καρπασέων καὶ Ἀμμοχώστου,” *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ* 3 (1912), pp. 443–56, 489–94, 511–17, 588–95, 623–31, 668–74 (= *EK*); Paraïoannou, “‘Τακτικόν,’” *EK* 4 (1913), pp. 23–28, 52–58, 83–87, 115–18, 239–45; Paraïoannou, “‘Τακτικόν,’” *EK* 5 (1915), pp. 78–90. This important liturgical source has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars examining the Greek cathedral of Famagusta; cf. Papacostas, “Byzantine Rite,” p. 130.

5. On the theological interpretation of the murals, see Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 207 (n. 685), 208 (n. 686), 210; cf. Paschali, “Negotiating identities,” pp. 286–92; Paschali, “Mural decoration,” pp. 290–92. The Communion of the apostles scene has been associated by scholars with the Orthodox rejection of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The seraphs accompanying the apostles allude to the Great Entrance procession and the extraction of the central part of the sacramental leavened bread (ἄμνός) offered in the Eucharist. Scenes of Christ’s Passion stress the sacrificial character of the sacrament, which was also a Latin doctrine.

6. Papacostas, “Byzantine Rite,” p. 180; Olympios, “Saint George,” pp. 171–72; Bacci, “Patterns,” pp. 244–47. On Greek and Syrian Melkite donors (possibly including a fifteenth-century member of the Kantakouzēnoi/Palaiologoi family) see Kyrris, “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπή,” pp. 284–85; G. K. Christodoulou, “Ὁ Ἅγιος Φίλων τῶν Ἀγριδίων Καρπασίας, ὡς φέουδο μεγάλων οἰκογενειῶν τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, ed. Ch. Maltezou (Venice, 2002), p. 170; C. Otten-Froux, “Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIVE siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell’Orio (1362–1371),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 33 (2003), pp. 41–42, 44–46; Paschali, “Mural decoration,” pp. 293–95; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 208 (n. 687).

7. Kaffenberger, “Harmonizing,” p. 180–81.

8. See the studies by Ph. Plagnieux and Th. Soulard, “Nicosie: Le Bédestan (cathédrale grecque de Nicosie),” and “Famagouste: La cathédrale Saint-George des Grecs,” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, ed. J. -B. de Vaivre and Ph. Plagnieux (Paris, 2006), pp. 181–89, 288–96, and T. Papacostas, “Byzantine Nicosia, 650–1191,” in *Historic Nicosia*, ed. Michaelides, p. 93. On the rebuilding/renovation of the Orthodox cathedral church in Nicosia, see further discussion below.

9. D. Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,” *MY* 1 (1984), pp. 143–79 [repr. in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), VIII]; Edbury, *The Kingdom*,

pp. 102–51; N. Coureas, “Economy,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 128–56; D. Jacoby, “The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: Trade, Settlement, and Politics,” in *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima. Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 65–76.

10. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 156–61.

11. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 151–52, 161–71; D. Jacoby, “Western Merchants, Pilgrims, and Travellers in Alexandria in the Time of Philippe de Mézières,” in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden, 2012), pp. 409–12.

12. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 171–77, 197–211.

13. D. Jacoby, “Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venice et des Gênes en Chypre du XIII^e au XV^e siècle,” *BF* 5 (1977), pp. 159–88 [repr. in Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), VI]; J. Richard, “Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle,” *BF* 7 (1979), pp. 157–73 [repr. in Richard, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs. Les perspectives orientales du monde latin medieval* (London, 1983), VII]; D. Jacoby, “Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus Around the Mid-Fourteenth Century,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία*, ed. Maltezou, pp. 59–83; Jacoby, “Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300,” in *The Harbour*, ed. Walsh, Kiss, and Coureas, pp. 53–67.

14. Leontios Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, pars. 157, 215 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 147–48, 180–81); Iorga, *France*, p. 152; Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 2, pp. 317–18; Edbury, *The Kingdom*, p. 195; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 39–57; M.-E. Antonopoulou, *Η κοινωνική θέση των αγροτών (παροίκων και φραγκομάτων) στην Ενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (15ος–16ος αιώνας)* (Athens, 2013), pp. 55–56; Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” pp. 244–47.

15. Andrews, “Gothic and Byzantine,” p. 149; A. Weyl Carr, “Introduction,” in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, p. 14 (quotation).

16. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 67–77 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 101–107). There was another monastery dedicated to the Revealed Cross in Leukara; perhaps the two establishments were founded around the same period: C. N. Constantinides, “Δύο χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ Πάνω Λεύκαρα,” *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 188–89. On the veneration of the True Cross in Cyprus, see bibliography in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 167 (n. 508).

17. Schabel, “Archbishop Elias,” pp. 69–73; Grivaud, “Les Lusignan Patrons,” pp. 262–63, 268; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 437–39. On the Lusignan insignia, see Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 108–109. On Peter I and the cross, see *Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d’Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre Ier de Lusignan*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Geneva, 1877), p. 10. On the cross in Western liturgical ceremonies of pilgrimage and crusading, see M. C. Gaposchkin, “From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300,” *Speculum* 88.1 (2013), pp. 44–91. On the cross in the Byzantine tradition, see generally *ODB*, s.v. “Cross,” “Cross, Cult of the,” and “True Cross.”

18. Michael was one of the Greek prelates present in the Provincial Council of 1340: *SN*, pp. 248–49. Bishop John’s background is not known; he might have belonged to the Mantzas/Mantzēs/Mantzis family, although he is probably not the same person as the priest mentioned by *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 101 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 117–18). See discussion in Darrouzès, “Notes (deuxième article),” pp. 58–59 (doc. 79), 60 (doc. 81); Kyrris, “Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπή,” pp. 283–84; Kyrris, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μέσης Ἑκπαιδευσεως Ἀμμοχώστου 1191–1955, ἰδίως δε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Γυμνασίου Ἀμμοχώστου* (second edition: Nicosia, 2005), pp. 6–7; Paschali, “Negotiating identities,” p. 282; Olympios, “Saint George,” pp. 170–71; Paschali, “Mural decoration,” pp. 293–95; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 206.

19. *Acta Urbani PP. V (1362–1370)*, vol. 3.11 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Taŭtu (Rome, 1964), doc. 72 = *Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370–1378)*, vol. 3.13 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Tăutu (Rome, 1961), doc. 54 (ET in *SN*, pp. 369–70); Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, p. 451.

20. Otten-Froux, “Un notaire,” pp. 41–42, 44, 46.

21. Paschali, “Mural Decoration,” pp. 279, 293–95; J. M. Andrews, “The Role of Genoa in the Visual Culture of Famagusta,” in *Famagusta*, vol. 1, ed. Weyl Carr, p. 329.

22. Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” (1912), pp. 444–46, 494; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” (1913), pp. 26–28.

23. See chapter 2.

24. N. B. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας. Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ καὶ αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν Γ΄,” *Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983–86), pp. 318–19 (= *EEBS*); cf. R.-J. Loenertz, “Pour la chronologie des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios,” *REB* 7 (1949), pp. 23–24.

25. See discussion by Kaffenberger, “Harmonizing,” pp. 171–80, and Papacostas, “Byzantine Famagusta,” pp. 38–50 (with extensive bibliography).

26. Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 22–30, 87–89; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” pp. 164–76; C. G. Pitsakis, “Οἱ Κύπριοι ‘Τρισεπίσκοποι.’ Ἐνα παράδοξο στὴν ὁρολογία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κανονικοῦ δικαίου,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, vol. 2, ed. A. Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 89–110.

27. *Griechische Briefe*, p. 226. See also the building and decoration of the Virgin’s chapel at Moutoullas by John of Moutoullas and his wife Irene (1280): S. Perdikes and D. Myrianthefs, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στον Μουτουλλά* (Nicosia, 2009).

28. S. Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions,” in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin. Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg, 13–15 mars 2008*, ed. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris, 2012), pp. 125–40 (esp. at pp. 133–34); G. Grivaud, “Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Small Byzantine Foundation,” in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdès (Washington, D.C., 2012), p. 25; S. Kalopissi-Verti, “The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Asinou*, ed. Weyl Carr and Nicolaïdès, pp. 176–79.

29. Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns,” p. 134; Kalopissi-Verti, “The Murals of the Narthex,” pp. 185–88.

30. *BC* 2, doc. q–3 (ET in *SN*, pp. 339–40).

31. *Acta Ioannis XXII*, doc. 89 (ET in *SN*, pp. 358–59).

32. *Acta Ioannis XXII*, doc. 89; *Acta Urbani PP. V*, doc. 45a (ET in *SN*, pp. 358–59, 368–69).

33. *Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342–1352)*, vol. 3.9 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Tăutu (Vatican City, 1960), doc. 41 (ET in *SN*, pp. 361–63); Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 482–83.

34. Cf. N. Coureas, “Conversion on Latin Cyprus: A New Faith or a New Rite?” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 82–83; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 446–47.

35. R. W. H. de Collenberg, “L’histoire du mariage aux archives du Vatican. Les dispenses matrimoniales accordées à l’Orient latin selon les registres du Vatican d’Honorius III à Clément VII (1223–1385),” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 89.1 (1977), pp. 11–93 (= *MEFR*).

36. E. Piltz, “Saint Bridget and Byzantium—In view of her Cyprian Revelations,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 54–56; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 455–56.

37. *DGMC*, p. 223.

38. *Acta Urbani PP. V*, docs. 45a, 143–44; *CHW*, pp. 312–13; *SN*, pp. 100–01 (prohibition of professional lamenters by Archbishop Hugh in the early 1250s), 268–71, 368–69, 371–72; Schabel, “Archbishop Elias,” pp. 80–81; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 446–47, 452.

39. Cf. M. Bacci, “Vera croce, vero ritratto e vera misura: sugli archetipi bizantini dei culti Cristologici del medioevo occidentale,” in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin (Paris, 2004), pp. 232–34.

40. *DGMC*, pp. 53–54; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 167 (n. 508: extensive bibliography).

41. *CHW*, p. 202 (ET in *SN*, p. 320); Ioannides, “La *Constitutio*,” p. 365; Schabel, “The Status,” p. 197.

42. *Acta Ioannis XXII*, docs. 36–37, and *Acta Urbani PP. V*, doc. 72 = *Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370–1378)*, vol. 3.13 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Tăutu (Rome, 1961), doc. 54 (ET and commentary in *SN*, pp. 76–79, 85, 345–49, 369–70); Schabel, “Religion,” pp. 168–70; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 426–30, 450–51; Olympios, “Saint George,” pp. 169–71.

43. Coureas, “Conversion,” p. 82.

44. On Lapithēs, see chapter 2.

45. N. Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men (and His Nephews). *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320,” *DOP* 70 (2016), p. 262.

46. Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 31–49.

47. *Βίος Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου*, p. 315; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 48, 108; G. Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος καὶ ἡ γραμματολογία κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.2, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 926–97, 929; G. Grivaud, “Literature,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, p. 272.

48. C. N. Constantinides, “The Copying and Circulation of Secular Greek Texts in Frankish Cyprus,” *EKEE* 21 (1995), pp. 15–32.

49. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 34–37 (bk. 25, chs. 12–13); *Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ, Εἰς τὸν ῥῆγα τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. P. L. M. Leone, “L’Encomio di Niceforo Gregora per il Re di Cipro (Ugo IV di Lusignano),” *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 211–24; *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae. Accedunt epistulae ad Gregoram missae*, vol. 2, ed. P. L. M. Leone (Matino, 1982), pp. 152–56. On Gregoras’ anti-Palamite *Kaiserkritik*, see chapter 2.

50. Constantinides, “The Copying,” p. 17; Schabel, “Archbishop Elias,” pp. 41–43; Schabel, “The Latin Bishops,” pp. 127–30. Note that Henry II (1285–1324), Hugh IV’s predecessor, had most likely commissioned the decoration of the Royal Chapel at Pyrga, employing painters who had excellent knowledge of contemporary Palaiologan artistic models: J. T. Wollesen, *Patrons and Painters on Cyprus: The Frescoes in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga* (Toronto, Ontario, 2010), pp. 100–109; but cf. the later dating proposed by S. J. Lucey, “Intercessory Identity: Heraldry and

Portraiture in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga, Cyprus,” in *Imagining the Self, Constructing the Past*, ed. R. G. Sullivan and M. Pagès (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2016), pp. 22–43. Fourteenth-century frescoes from the chapel of the Holy Cross church at Pelendri, associated with Peter I’s brother, John of Lusignan (fl. 1353–74/75), depict the philosophers Anaximander and Plato: N. Zarras, *Ο ναός του Τιμίου Σταυρού στο Πελένδρι* (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 49–51.

51. Athanasios Lepentrēnos in *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, pp. 414–16; Kyrris, “Ἡ Κύπρος καὶ τὸ ἡσυχαστικὸν ζήτημα,” p. 27.

52. Ch. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, “Ἡ μονή των Οδηγών και η λατρεία της Θεοτόκου Οδηγήτριας,” in *Μήτηρ Θεού: απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη*, ed. M. Vasilaki (Athens–Milan, 2000), pp. 373–87; A. Lidov, “Spatial Icons. The Miraculous Performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople,” in *Hierotopy: Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Russia*, ed. Lidov (Moscow, 2006), pp. 349–72; B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 109–43.

53. See, e.g., D. Talbot Rice, R. Gunnis, and T. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), pp. 64–66, and Papageorgiou, *Icons*, pp. 18–19, 22, 28–31, 35, 40, 42, 44–46, 48–49, 67, 70, 96–97, 101, 105–106, 119, 125–26, 129–31, 132–35, 137, 141. On the association with the Kykkos icon (and Antioch), see *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας*, pp. 97–101.

54. The earliest reference to the Hodēgētria comes from a papal letter (August 29, 1343), which accords to Nikolēs, son of George of Antioch, the office of ἑβδομαδάριος (*semainier*): *BC* 3, doc. t–66. On the Hodēgētria and its Byzantine predecessor see, e.g., T. Papacostas, “In Search of a Lost Byzantine Monument: Saint Sophia of Nicosia,” *EKEE* 31 (2005), pp. 11–37; D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos and G. K. Christodoulou, “Early Christian and Early Byzantine Leucosia/Ledra/Ledroi/Nicosia: An Essay on Historical Topography and Hagio-Topography,” in *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kl. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Külzer, and M. A. Stassinopoulou (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2007), pp. 675–76; D. Michaelides and D. Pilides, “Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman

Ledroi,” in *Historic Nicosia*, ed. Michaelides, pp. 54–56; Papacostas, “Byzantine Nicosia,” pp. 93–94. On Leontios of Solea, see discussion below.

55. See sketch and description of the relief in C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. D. Hunt (London, 1987), pp. 144–45.

56. C. G. Pitsakis, “Η ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνὸς ὑπερόριου πατριάρχῃ: ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 12ο αἰῶνα,” in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12ο αἰῶνα. Κανονικὸ Δίκαιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), pp. 91–107; Harris, *Byzantium*, pp. 75–76.

57. Pitsakis, “Η ἔκταση,” pp. 117–25. On the dating of Ignatios’ patriarchate, see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 15 vols., ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976–95), no. 8073 (= *PLP*).

58. R. E. Sinkewicz, “A New Interpretation for the First Episode in the Controversy Between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1980), pp. 489–500; Sinkewicz, “The Solutions Addressed to George Lapithes by Barlaam the Calabrian and their Philosophical Context,” *Medieval Studies* 43.1 (1981), pp. 151–217; J. A. Demetracopoulos, *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Κατὰ Πύρρωνος. Πλατωνικὸς φιλοσκεπτικισμὸς καὶ ἀριστοτελικὸς ἀντισκεπτικισμὸς στὴ βυζαντινὴ διανόηση τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1999), pp. 64–109; K. Ierodiakonou, “The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. Ierodiakonou (Oxford–New York, 2002), pp. 219–36; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 52–55.

59. The classic exposition of Palamas’ theology and the various stages of the Palamite Hesychast Controversy is J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l’étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959). See also, G. I. Mantzarides (ed.), *Ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς στὴν Ἱστορία καὶ τὸ Παρόν. Πρακτικὰ Διεθνῶν Ἐπιστημονικῶν Συνεδρίων Ἀθηνῶν (13–15 Νοεμβρίου 1998) καὶ Λεμεσοῦ (5–7 Νοεμβρίου 1999)* (Holy Monastery of Vatopedion, Mt. Athos, 2000), and Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 159 (ns. 482–83: bibliography). Anti-Palamite theology will be discussed in more detail below.

60. Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 289–93; D. M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine emperor and monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 45–112; M. D. Koumbes, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ ἔριδα καὶ ἡ ἐμπλοκὴ τῆς στὶς πολιτικὰς ἐξελίξεις στὴ διάρκεια τοῦ δευτέρου ἐμφυλίου πολέμου (1341–1347),” *Βυζαντινὰ* 19 (1998), pp. 235–81. See also bibliography in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 159–60 (ns. 483 and 485).

61. Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 293, 306–07.

62. See works in the bibliography by M. Constatas (on the reception of Pauline theology by the Byzantine fathers), G. Florovsky, and T. T. Tollefsen.

63. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, *Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Ἰγνατίου*, ed. B. S. Pseutotongas and P. K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, vol. 2 (Thessalonica, 1966), pp. 558, 634; J. Nasrallah, *Chronologie des Patriarches melchites d’Antioch de 1250 à 1500* (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 13.

64. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 77 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 107). Although Makhairas’ description of the ceremony seems to be rather peculiar, it does present similarities with the rite for the consecration of a church, attested by several Cypriot liturgical manuals: G. A. Ioannides, “Ἡ τάξις ἐγκαίνιων ναοῦ στὰ κυπριακὰ χειρόγραφα εὐχολόγια,” *EKMIMK* 7 (2006), p. 342. The Antiochene Patriarchate had landed property on the island: *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 182–83. Groups of Syrian Melkites and Georgians established in Cyprus might have belonged to the Antiochene flock: Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, pp. 16–17 (n. 64); G. Grivaud, “Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époques médiévale et moderne),” in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale. Formations identitaires: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains. Actes du colloque tenu à Lyon, 1997*, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Université de Chypre, ed. Y. Ioannou, F. Métral, and M. Yon (Lyons, 2000), pp. 52–53; D. A. Korobeinikov, “Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Part 1: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch,” *Al-Masāq* 15.2 (2003), pp. 204–05. As late as 1860, the Orthodox Cypriot Church received the holy myrrh from the Antiochene patriarchs, which probably led Makhairas to the erroneous claim that in Byzantine

times Cyprus had been ecclesiastically subordinated to Antioch (as had been the Antiochene claim before 431): Ph. Georgiou, *Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1875), pp. 28–29; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 175 (n. 544), 469 (App. IV, par. I.7); cf. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 158 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 148).

65. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, *Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Ἰγνατίου*, pp. 558–62, 625–47; C. P. Kyrris, “Ὁ Κύπριος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης Ὑάκινθος (1345–6) καὶ ὁ ρόλος του εἰς τὸν ἀντιπαλαμικὸν ἀγώνα,” *ΚΣ* 25 (1961), pp. 98, 103–04; Pitsakis, “Ἡ ἔκταση,” pp. 125–26.

66. *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuelle Caleca ed Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ed. G. Mercati (Vatican City, 1931), pp. 221 (n. 2), 223; Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου, *Κατὰ Ἰωάννου Καλέκα*, ed. D. G. Tsames, *Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα* (Thessalonica, 1980), p. 297; *Letters of Gregory Akindynos: Greek Text and English Translation*, ed. A. Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 222–23; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 116 (n. 99); Kyrris, “Ὁ Κύπριος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος,” pp. 105–22; cf. I. Ševčenko, “Nicolas Cabasilas’ ‘Anti-Zealot’ Discourse: A Reinterpretation,” *DOP* 11 (1957), pp. 80–171; Ševčenko, “A Postscript on Nicolas Cabasilas’ ‘Anti-Zealot’ Discourse,” *DOP* 16 (1962), pp. 403–08.

67. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 190–91, 222–23, 242–46, 387, 392–93, 400, 413; George Lapithēs in *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, p. 410; Kyrris, “Ὁ Κύπριος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος,” p. 105; A. Karpozilos, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ ἔριδα καὶ ἡ Κύπρος,” *EKEE* 11 (1981–82), p. 496.

68. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 244–47. George Galēsiotēs (d. post 1346), a Byzantine scholar and patriarchal official, composed, at Hyakinthos’ instigation, a letter of consolation to an anonymous Cypriot: *Notizie*, p. 221 (n. 2); Karpozilos, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ ἔριδα,” pp. 496–97.

69. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 242–45, 413; *Notizie*, pp. 187–88 (n. 3), 223; *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, pp. 155–56; *Βίος Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου*, p. 315; D. B. Gones, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α΄* (Athens, 1980), pp. 57, 60; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 48, 108; D. B. Gones, “Εἰδήσεις

γιά τὴν Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατ' ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ Πατριάρχου Κων/πόλεως (μέσα ΙΔ' αἰ.),” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 333–34 (n. 7); Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” pp. 926–27, 929; Grivaud, “Literature,” p. 272; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 176 (n. 549).

70. *Notizie*, p. 223 (n. 14); *Βίος Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου*, p. 315.

71. Cf. M. C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. 110, 370–73, 376–79; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium*, pp. 203–04; Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns,” pp. 128–29; Paschali, “Negotiating Identities,” p. 282.

72. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 28 (bk. 25, ch. 8, ll. 15–18); *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. “σεμνότης.”

73. Ch. Malatras, “The ‘Social Aspects’ of the Second Civil War (1341–1354),” in *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes (1342–1350). Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès des études byzantines, à Sofia, le 25 août 2011*, ed. M.-H. Congourdeau (Paris, 2014), p. 113.

74. Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men,” p. 262 (n. 77); cf. Gaul, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 2011), pp. 163–68; *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 29 (bk. 25, ch. 8): Lapithēs is mentioned to have catechized the Orthodox Christian congregation in Cyprus.

75. P. Magdalino, “Byzantine Snobbery,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 67, 69; cf. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 28–29 (bk. 25, ch. 8): Lapithēs’ ransoming of captives and charitable activities. See also, Svoronos, *Το ελληνικό έθνος*, pp. 74–76, and particularly T. Kiousopoulou, *Οι “αόρατες” βυζαντινές πόλεις στον ελλαδικό χώρο (13ος–15ος αιώνας)* (Athens, 2013), pp. 152–53. On Lapithēs’ claimed superiority vis-à-vis the Latin theologians in Hugh IV’s court, see chapter 2. Following his classicizing exposition of his countrymen’s achievements, Lepentrēnos mentions the “Latin arrogance” (τῆς Ἰταλικῆς ὀφρύος) in *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, p. 416.

76. Writing in defense of Lapithēs, Akindynos stated that, although they were forced to live with the Latins, the Greek Cypriots disagreed with them in matters of faith and openly refuted their errors: *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 192–93, 384.

77. See, e.g., C. P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus with an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985), p. 229; Englezakis, *Εἰκοσι μελέται*, pp. 309–10; Schabel, “The Status,” p. 198. It is noteworthy that Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 543–65, does not discuss the Cypriot involvement in the Palamite Hesychast Controversy.

78. SN, pp. 250–51, 252–55; Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 20–21; C. D. Schabel, “Elias of Nabinaux, Archbishop of Nicosia, and the Intellectual History of Later Medieval Cyprus,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 68 (1998), pp. 50–52 (repr. in Schabel, *Greeks*, VIII); W. Duba, “The Afterlife in Medieval Frankish Cyprus,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 167–68, 188–90; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 388, 443.

79. Schabel, “The Status,” p. 198.

80. Duba, “The Afterlife,” pp. 177, 186–90; cf. SN, pp. 250–51.

81. On the Beatific Vision Controversy, see C. Trottmann, *La vision béatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995).

82. On the possible existence of common ground between Orthodox and Latin theology on the question of the vision of God in this life, see studies in the bibliography by B. Bucur, N. J. Hudson, K. Kloos, V. Lossky, N. Loudovikos, J. -P. Torrell, and A. N. Williams; see also further bibliography in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 179–80 (n. 559).

83. I would like to thank Revd. Professor Richard Price for drawing my attention to this. For a different view, see G. Geréby, “Hidden Themes in Fourteenth-Century Byzantine and Latin Theological Debates: Monarchianism and Crypto-Dyophysitism,” in *Greeks*, ed. Hinterberger and Schabel, pp. 183–211.

84. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 192–93, 384; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, p. 59. Akindynos’ silence on anti-Palamism in Hugh IV’s court

could be interpreted in the context of mutual accusations of Latinization between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites. The extent to which Hugh IV's perception of Palamite Hesychasm was influenced by his hostility toward the Spiritual Franciscans is not clear: Schabel, "Hugh," p. 150 (n. 69); Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," p. 180 (n. 560).

85. On the contrary, the Latins of Cyprus might have been influenced by the Orthodox tradition on Christ's Transfiguration; indeed, the Transfiguration could be considered as an element of common ground between the two churches, despite different interpretations of theophanies: *Chroniques d'Amadi*, p. 406, with ET in *The Chronicle of Amadi*, par. 800; M. Bacci, "Tra Pisa e Cipro: la committenza artistica di Giovanni Conti (†1332)," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 5.2 (2000), pp. 365, 369–70; J.-B. de Vaivre, "Le tympan du portail central de la cathédrale Sainte-Sophie de Nicosie," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145.2 (2001), pp. 1038, 1040–41 (= *CRSAIBL*); J. M. Andrews, "The Latin Cathedral of Nicosia: The Sculpture of the Western Portals and its Reception," *EKEE* 31 (2005), pp. 35–37; cf. M. Rivoire-Richard, "Η γοτθικὴ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο," in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.2, ed. Papadopoulos, p. 1442. Generally on the Transfiguration in the Western tradition, see studies in the bibliography by A. Canty and É. Divry.

86. Lapithēs' anti-Palamite works were praised by Akindynos for their style, argumentation, and contribution to the struggle against Palamas: *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 174–98, 200–02, 220, 222, 242–46, 296, 376–87, 399, 412–15, 434.

87. J. Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy," *DOP* 42 (1988), p. 165; D. Moschos, *Πλατωνισμὸς ἢ Χριστιανισμός; Οἱ φιλοσοφικὲς προϋποθέσεις τοῦ Ἀντισηχασμοῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου Γρηγορᾶ (1293–1361)* (Athens, 1998); Demetracopoulos, *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Κατὰ Πύρρωνος*, pp. 88–109; Ierodiakonou, "The Anti-Logical Movement," pp. 221–35 (esp. at pp. 221–24); Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 53–56.

88. Ierodiakonou, "The Anti-Logical Movement," p. 223; N. Russell, "The Hesychast Controversy," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kaldellis and N. Siniosoglou (Cambridge, 2017), pp.

501–04. On anti-Palamism as a fundamentally Neoplatonic movement, see N. Siniossoglou, *Radical Platonism in Byzantium: Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 93–124. Lapithēs was probably familiar with the works of Plato, Aristotle, and the Neoplatonists: Sinkewicz, “The Solutions,” pp. 154–58, 162; cf. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 38–39.

89. D. Moschos, “Τὸ νόημα τῆς κατηγορίας ἐπὶ ἑλληνισμῷ στὴ βυζαντινὴ θεολογικὴ σκέψη,” *Σύναξη* 62 (1997), pp. 77–78; Demetracopoulos, *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Κατὰ Πύρρωνος*, pp. 105–08.

90. D. Bradshaw, *Aristotle East and West. Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom* (Cambridge–New York, 2004), p. 235; Russell, “The Hesychast Controversy,” pp. 497–501. On Akindynos’ hesychasm: Meyendorff, “Mount Athos,” pp. 162, 165; J. Nadal-Cañellas, *La résistance d’Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas. Enquête historique, avec traduction et commentaire de quatre traités édités récemment. Commentaire historique*, vol. 2 (Leuven, 2006), pp. 28–103.

91. N. Russell, “The ‘Gods’ of Psalm 81 (82) in the Hesychast Debates,” in *Meditations of the Heart: The Psalms in Early Christian Thought and Practice. Essays in Honour of Andrew Louth*, ed. A. Andreopoulos, A. Casiday, and C. Harrison (Turnhout, 2011), p. 250.

92. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 178–81, 296–97.

93. <Πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου ΙΔ΄, Περὶ τοῦ Τόμου τοῦ 1341>, PG 150, coll. 900B–903B (esp. at col. 903A); A. M. C. Casiday, “John XIV (Kalekas), Byzantine Theology-Cum-Politics and the Early Hesychast Controversy,” in *Le Patriarcat Oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe–XVIe siècles. Rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5–6–7 décembre 2005*, ed. P. Odorico (Paris, 2007), pp. 30–32, 34–35.

94. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 242–47, 318–19, 415; Nadal-Cañellas, *La Résistance*, pp. 28–89. This explains my reluctance to speak about “anti-Hesychasm,” since for the anti-Palamites the problem was largely Palamas’ interpretation of theophanies.

95. Cf. Meyendorff, “Mount Athos,” p. 165; N. Russell, “‘Partakers of the Divine Nature’ (2 Peter 1:4) in the Byzantine Tradition,” in

Καθηγήτρια. Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), p. 64; A. Torrance, “Receiving Palamas: the case of Cyprus, 1345–71,” *Analogia* 4.2 (2018), pp. 115–33.

96. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 23 (bk. 25, ch. 4).

97. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 24 (bk. 25, ch. 5); cf. *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. 1.5, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1977), docs. 2249–50 (= *RAPC* 1.5). Gerasimos was a usurper who had deposed Lazaros (1342–68), the Kantakouzēnist and Palamite Hesychast patriarch of Jerusalem. Ignatios’ name is only extant in the document condemning Boucheiras. See also, P. Wirth, “Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem,” *BZ* 54.1 (1961), pp. 319–23; *PLP*, nos. 3782, 4587, 14350; *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike*, vol. 5, trans. and comm. J. L. Van Dieten (Stuttgart, 2003), p. 214 (n. 53); J. Pahlitzsch, “Mediators between East and West: Christians Under Mamluk Rule,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 9.2 (2005), pp. 36–38.

98. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 188–89, 202–03, 382, 387.

99. <Τόμος ἀντιπαλαμικός>, *PG* 150, coll. 877D–885A; *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 2, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1830), pp. 786–87 (bk. 15, ch. 10); *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2281.

100. *SN*, pp. 248–49; *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 76 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 106); Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” pp. 224–26; Schabel, “Archbishop Elias,” p. 75. On the liturgical rite probably performed by Leontios, see G. A. Ioannides, “Ἡ ἀκολουθία θεμελίου ἐκκλησίας στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberini greco* 390,” *EKMIMK* 6 (2004), pp. 165–92.

101. On the cathedral’s dating, see above; see also Enlart, *Gothic Art*, p. 139; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia, 1191–1570,” in *Historic Nicosia*, ed. Michaelides, p. 135.

102. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 35 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 85); Papacostas, “In Search,” pp. 13–17.

103. Cf. *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2281; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike*, vol. 3, trans. and comm. J. L. Van Dieten (Stuttgart, 1988), p. 378 (n. 481).

104. *CHW*, p. 199 (ET in *SN*, p. 316); Ioannides, “La *Constitutio*,” p. 361; Grivaud, “Fortunes,” pp. 24, 26.

105. See chapter 2.

106. Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 115–21; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, p. 459.

107. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 200–01, 386–87. Manuscript *Chalcensis Panaghias* 157, ff. 284r–291v, is mentioned to contain Palamite Hesychast letters addressing Lapithēs: Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 408. So far, I have been unable to trace this important manuscript.

108. Only a few Palamite Hesychast treatises must have reached Cyprus. No text composed by Palamas and his close colleagues appears in *DGMC*. Lapithēs’ examination of the Palamite Hesychast teachings relied on copies supplied by Akindynos: *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 196–97.

109. *Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου, Πρὸς τινὰς Κυπρίους μοναχοὺς*, ed. Tsames, *Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα*, pp. 354–56, 385–94.

110. *The Autobiography of George of Cyprus (Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II)*, ed. W. Lameere and trans. A. Pelendrides (London, 1993), pp. 20–26; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, p. 25; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Σχέσεις αλληλεπίδρασης και φαινόμενα αλλοτρίωσης στην Κύπρο των Λουζινιάν (1192–1489): το παράδειγμα της εκπαίδευσης,” *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 313–14; Grivaud, “Ο πνευματικὸς βίος,” pp. 892, 925; Schabel, “Elias of Nabinaux,” pp. 37–41; Vl. I. Feidas, “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τοὺς ὕστεροβυζαντινοὺς χρόνους,” in *Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου 2000 χρόνια Χριστιανισμοῦ. Πρακτικὰ ἐπιστημονικοῦ συνεδρίου. Λευκωσία, 9–11 Ἰουνίου 2000 (Κέντρο Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου, Ἀρχάγγελος)*, ed. Th. X. Yiangou (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 267–80.

111. Nicolaou-Konnari “Σχέσεις,” pp. 317, 320, 324, 327; Beihammer in *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 117–30; A. D. Beihammer, “Multilingual

Literacy at the Lusignan Court: The Cypriot Royal Chancery and its Byzantine Heritage,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35.2 (2011), pp. 149–69 (= *BMGS*).

112. *DGMC*, pp. 137–42, 144–48, 167–71, 173–80, 189–91, 200–03, 205–09, 216–19. Around the mid-fourteenth century, the church of St. John the Forerunner at Rhiakion (Argaki) had a library of liturgical, canonical, and theological texts: Couroupou and Géhin, “Nouveaux documents,” pp. 157–58. On Neophytos the Recluse’s library, see Christodoulou, *Le livre*, pp. 144–46; A. Sakellaridou-Soteroudi, “Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 739–48. See also the scriptural and patristic references in Neophytos’ works: A. G. Paparnakis, “Ἡ χρῆσις τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς στὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 607–46. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the small mountainous monastery of the Virgin Agria, Marathasa, had its own library, which contained theological works (best represented by Chrysostom): S. Kykkotis and G. Panagis, “Ἡ ἱερὰ Μονὴ Παναγίας Ἀγρίας,” *EKMIMK* 3 (1996), pp. 149–60. The Virgin Phorbiōtissa, Asinou, possessed manuscripts of Palestinian origin: *DGMC*, pp. 49–54.

113. The monastic libraries of Sinai (eighth to sixteenth century), Palestine (ninth to thirteenth century), and Asia Minor (ninth to fourteenth century) provide more or less the same repertory of scriptural, liturgical, canonical, hagiographical, and theological texts: K. W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai: Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington, D.C., 1952), pp. 1–17; J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem* (Berlin, 2001), pp. 330–53; Jotischky, “Greek Orthodox,” p. 90; S. Kotzambassi, *Βυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* (Athens, 2004).

114. Supposing that they acquired any education at all, most Greek Cypriots could only pursue the Byzantine Orthodox-focused elementary learning. There was always the choice of receiving a Latin religious training, by attending the more promising mendicant *studia*. This choice

offered the prospect of pursuing an ecclesiastical career in the service of the Western Church. In the first two centuries of the Latin rule, however, examples of Greek students converting to the Latin rite appear to have been rare—if we accept that some of the few Cypriots who studied theology in the West during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries might have originated from an Orthodox Cypriot background. It is noteworthy that fourteenth-century Cyprus provides no such parallel as to the case of Peter Philargos, the Cretan Franciscan monk, theologian, and later Pope Alexander V (1409–10), who rose from poverty to the pontifical throne: Schabel, “Elias of Nabinaux,” pp. 40–41.

115. See studies in the bibliography by E. Evangelou, D. I. Mureşan, and A.-E. Tachiaos; see also Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 187–89.

116. *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 77 (bk. 26, ch. 11); *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 239 (n. 132); cf. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 146 (n. 93); Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, p. 16; *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2356. Gerasimos of Jerusalem, an anti-Palamite, died in 1349 and was succeeded by Lazaros, the legitimate patriarch (who was Palamite Hesychast): Wirth, “Der Patriarchat,” pp. 320–23; Pahlitzsch, “Mediators,” p. 38.

117. Pitsakis, “Η ἔκταση,” pp. 126–29; O. Kresten, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia unter Kallistos I. und Philotheos Kokkinos im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel* (Mainz–Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 10–22, 33–46, 51–53, 75–82. On Arsenios see also *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 2, pp. 893 (bk. 18, ch. 5), 991 (bk. 20, ch. 6), 1012 (bk. 21, ch. 3); Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 144; I. D. Polemis, “Arsenius of Tyrus and his Tome against the Palamites,” *JÖB* 43 (1993), pp. 241–42. In 1359/60, Kallistos I wrote letters to Ignatios II and the Antiochene metropolitans requesting Arsenios’ condemnation: *Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, vol. 3, ed. H. Hunger, M. Hinterberger, and O. Kresten (Vienna, 2001), docs. 249, 251 (= *PRK* 3). In 1361/62, the patriarch again attacked Arsenios and the Hodēgoi community: *PRK* 3, docs. 239, 265.

118. *PRK* 3, doc. 255.

119. *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2356; Pitsakis, “Η ἔκταση,” pp. 128–33.

120. *PRK* 3, docs. 197, 239; cf. *RAPC* 1.5, docs. 2356, 2397; Pitsakis, “Ἡ ἔκτασις,” pp. 127–28; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 13–22.

121. D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 231–32, 235–48.

122. *PRK* 3, docs. 245, 246–48, 250; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 23–30. On the dating of Gregory III’s patriarchate see *PLP*, no. 4588. On his theological views see also *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 182–84 (bk. 28, chs. 8–11); *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 343–44 (ns. 328–30). It is noteworthy that under Philotheos I Kokkinos a patriarchal synod accepted Cyril of Side’s orthodoxy; the anti-Palamite letters written by him were said to be forgeries. Cyril’s correspondence with Grēgoras, however, strongly suggests that Cyril was anti-Palamite.

123. *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, p. 254. Despite his abdication, Kantakouzēnos remained a formidable opponent of anti-Palamism, devoting the rest of his life to the theological defense of Palamite Hesychasm and the composition of his *History*, an apology for his political activities and ecclesiastical involvement: Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, pp. 134–60.

124. *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, pp. 255–56.

125. Joachim’s predecessor (d. 1353) is mentioned in a brief manuscript note as “the Neangōmite,” suggesting links with the Neangōmos monastery, outside Nicosia. It is not clear whether this was Leontios of Solea: Darrouzès, “Textes,” p. 31; D. Kappaes, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ κίνησις στὴν Κύπρο κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ΄ αἰῶνα,” *EKMIMK* 7 (2006), pp. 169–70; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 219. Another brief note, published in Darrouzès, “Notes (deuxième article),” p. 58, records the ordination of Gregory II of Arsinoë (May 6, 1370/71) by three Greek bishops, including Joachim of Solea. According to *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, ed. J. Smet (Rome, 1954), p. 92–93, the Greek Cypriot primate (*episcopum maiorem Graecorum*), at the time Joachim of Solea, attended the synod convoked by Peter Thomas (1360). On Peter Thomas, see discussion below.

126. On Gregory III, see *Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, vol. 3, p. 183 (bk. 28, ch. 9). On Ignatios’ second stay in Cyprus (1351–55), see

Leontios Makhairas, ed. Dawkins, par. 40 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 88); R. C. Jennings, “The Locust Problem in Cyprus,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51.2 (1988), pp. 279–80; *Οι πληροφορίες των Βραχέων Χρονικών*, pp. 214, lxi, lxiv; cf. Hackett, *A History*, pp. 439, 457. Ignatios’ journey to Cyprus seems not to have been caused by his supposed deposition and exile by the Palamite Hesychast patriarch Pachōmios, as supported by various scholars: Constantius I (Patriarch of Constantinople), “The Patriarchs of Antioch,” in J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: The Patriarchate of Antioch* (London–Oxford–Cambridge, 1873), p. 177; Meyendorff, *Introduction*, p. 146 (n. 93); Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, pp. 16–17. Although the chronology of the Antiochene patriarchs of this period is problematic, it seems that Pachōmios’ election came only after Ignatios’ death around 1363: Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, p. 53.

127. E. de Vries-Van der Velden, *L’élite byzantine devant l’avance turque à l’époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1354* (Amsterdam, 1989); G. C. Liakopoulos, “The Ottoman Conquest of Thrace: Aspects of Historical Geography,” MA diss. (Institute of Economics and Social Sciences, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2002).

128. *Acta Innocentii PP. VI (1352–1362)*, vol. 3.10 of *CICO*, ed. A. L. Taŭtu (Rome, 1961), doc. 84; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1976), pp. 225–26; Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, pp. 258–59, 271.

129. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 74–80; Setton, *The Papacy*, p. 228; Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, p. 260; J. R. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones. A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society* (Leiden–Boston, 2010), p. 181.

130. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 75, 77–78, 204.

131. An erudite scholar and low-profile anti-Palamite, Dēmētrios had initially served as Kantakouzēnos’ μεσάζων. His Greek translation of the *Summa contra gentiles* by Thomas Aquinas opened up new horizons for the theological dialogue between East and West. Among the vast literature on Dēmētrios and his work, see N. Russell, “Palamism and the Circle of Demetrius Cydones,” in *Porphyrogenita*, ed. Dendrinis, Harris, Harvalia-Crook, and Herrin, pp. 153–56; A. Glycofrydi-Leontsini,

“Demetrius Cydones as a Translator of Latin Texts,” in *Porphyrogenita*, ed. Dendrinios, Harris, Harvalia-Crook, and Herrin, pp. 175–85; Ryder, *The Career*, pp. 13–37, 163–68, 189–90; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 1–2, 63–72, 84–85; J. A. Demetracopoulos and Ch. Dendrinios (eds.), *When East Met West: The Reception of Latin Philosophical and Theological Thought in Late Byzantium: Acts of the Institute of Classical Studies International Byzantine Colloquium, (Bari, 2013)* = *Nicolaus. Rivista di Teologia ecumenico-patristica* 40 (2013).

132. George the Philosopher (a relative of Dēmētrios?) probably converted to the Latin faith in ca. 1361/62: C. Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIVe siècle,” *MEFR* 105.2 (1993), p. 733; Ryder, *The Career*, p. 192. On his anti-Palamism, see discussion below.

133. The conversion of John Laskaris Kalopheros is mentioned for the first time in a papal letter dating 1365, although he is likely to have converted in 1357: Smet in *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, p. 205; D. Jacoby, “Jean Lascaris Calophéros, Chypre et la Morée,” *REB* 26 (1968), p. 190 (n. 6); F. Kianka, “Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones,” *The International History Review* 7.2 (1985), pp. 179–80; Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions,” p. 730.

134. *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι καὶ αἱρετικοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 14ο αἰώνα. Ἐπὶ ἀνέκδοτες ὁμιλίες τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, ed. C. Païdas (Athens, 2011), pp. 50–57, 158–91, 192–73.

135. J. Darrouzès, “Conférence sur la primauté du pape à Constantinople en 1357,” *REB* 19 (1961), pp. 76–109.

136. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 80–81; Setton, *The Papacy*, p. 229; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, p. 111.

137. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 84–86, 91–92, 128–134, 206–12; Setton, *The Papacy*, pp. 233–38; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 83, 111–12.

138. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 92–93, 208–09, with ET in Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 206–07.

139. See generally, Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 448–49.

140. On the *Chronicle*'s versions, see comments by Dawkins in *Leontios Makhairas*, vol. 2, pp. 1–21 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 27–42); G. Kechagioglou, “Βιβλιοκρισία,” *Ελληνικά* 55.2 (2005), pp. 338–55 (book review of the edition by Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari); Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 205–06 (arguing that the Venice version cannot be trusted on this particular issue).

141. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 101–02 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 117–18), with ET in Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 205–06.

142. Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 449–50; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Alterity,” pp. 61–63. On papal instructions (not in relation to Cyprus) to Peter Thomas to confirm those returning to the Catholic faith, see *Acta Innocentii*, doc. 85.

143. The text was first examined by Darrouzès (1977) in *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2443. In 1986, Gones wrote an article on the *Encyclical*'s wider historical context: D. B. Gones, “Εἰδήσεις,” pp. 333–50. Papadopoulos does not mention the *Encyclical* at all. Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, pp. 309, 311, mentions the *Encyclical* only briefly. Schabel, “Religion,” p. 157 (n. 2), simply cites Gones' article without further comments, while Coureas in *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, appears to ignore the existence of this source.

144. App. II, par. I.1: Οἱ ἐν τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ καὶ περιδόξῳ νήσῳ τῇ Κύπρῳ εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ οἰκοῦντες, ἱερωμένοι, ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἅπας τοῦ Κυρίου λαός. See also further below: συγχαίρομεν πνευματικῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις.

145. Gones, “Εἰδήσεις,” p. 349.

146. App. II, par. I.1, e.g., τῆς ευσεβείας ἡμῶν θερμότατος ζῆλος, παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ ἀπεδιώχθη, τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν παρεσύρησαν, ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπαρχῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκκληρώθημεν.

147. See chapter 2.

148. App. II, par. I.1. cf. similar remarks by Patriarch Germanos II in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 44, on the aftermath of the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara. Darrouzès in *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2443, notes that Kallistos' arguments echo the anti-Latin works of Neilos Kabasilas and

Matthew Angelos Panaretos (preserved in the same manuscript with the *Encyclical*). In 1232, Germanos II sent a letter to the Latin cardinals, hoping that they would influence Pope Gregory IX to work toward ecclesiastical union between East and West: Arambatzis, “Ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολή,” pp. 363–78.

149. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 208–11; *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2443; Gones, “Εἰδήσεις,” pp. 341–44, 348; Polemis, “Arsenius,” p. 243; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 77–78.

150. On Kallistos’ homilies, see *Ψευδοπροφῆτες*, pp. 58–63, 274–401. According to Ryder, *The Career*, pp. 194–95 (n. 105), Peter Thomas might have presented John V’s confession of faith to the Greek clergy, in order to encourage their conversion to the Latin rite.

151. Gones, “Εἰδήσεις,” pp. 343, 348–49.

152. *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 97–100, 155–56, 173–74, 183; C. Tsiamis, E. Poulakou-Rebelakou, A. Tsakris, and E. Petridou, “Epidemic Waves of the Black Death in the Byzantine Empire (1347–1453 AD),” *Le Infezioni in Medicina* 19.3 (2011), p. 197.

153. Cf. Schabel, “Religion,” pp. 157–58; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 486–88, 490, 492.

154. *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, vol. 1, ed. R. -J. Loenertz (Vatican City, 1956), pp. 60–62.

155. See the letter’s examination by Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, p. 209; Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions,” pp. 733, 756–57; Russell, “Palamism,” p. 158; Ryder, *The Career*, pp. 192–95; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 443–44; A. Koltsiou-Nikita, “Ἡ στάση του Βυζαντινίου λογίου Δημητρίου Κυδώνη ἐναντι της θεολογίας του Γρηγορίου Παλαμά,” *Σύνθεσις* 2.2 (2013), pp. 125–27. George the Philosopher eventually managed to escape from Cyprus: *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, vol. 1, pp. 63–64.

156. N. Russell, “Prochoros Cydones and the Fourteenth-Century Understanding of Orthodoxy,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, ed. Louth and Casiday, pp. 75–91; A. Rigo, “Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica dal concilio del 1351 al Tomo sinodale del 1368. Giacomo Trikanas, Procoro Cidone e Filoteo Kokkinos,” in *Gregorio Palamas e*

oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino, ed. Rigo (Florence, 2004), pp. 1–51, 55–134; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 73–84; Ch. Triantafyllopoulos, “The Thomist Basis of Prochoros Kydones’ anti-Palamite Treatise ‘De essentia et operatione Dei’ and the Reaction of the Byzantine Church,” in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz. Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. A. Speer and Ph. Steinkrüger (Berlin–Boston, 2012), pp. 411–30. Under John V’s protection, Prochoros remained free to continue his scholarly activities in the capital. Coureas’ statement in *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, p. 443, that Prochoros was excommunicated because he was influenced by Thomism is erroneous.

157. The *Tome* is published by Rigo, “Il Monte Athos,” p. 133. On Niphōn’s tenure, see Ch. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας (62–1934)* (Alexandria, 1935), p. 909. On Lazaros of Jerusalem, see above.

158. Note, however, Niphōn’s ironic response to Philotheos’ demand for liturgical commemoration by the Evergetēs monastic community in Constantinople (the Evergetēs was under Alexandrian jurisdiction). It is not clear whether the disobedience of the Evergetēs monks and Niphōn’s attitude toward Philotheos indicate the existence of low-profile anti-Palamism among the Alexandrians: *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 1, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1860), doc. 277 (= *MM* 1); Pitsakis, “Ἡ ἔκταση,” p. 129.

159. Russell, “Prochoros,” p. 85 (n. 54). Archdeacon Paul Zaïm (d. 1669), who claims to have consulted the now lost *Chronicle* by Patriarch Michael II of Antioch (ca. 1395–ca. 1404), states that Ignatios II died in Cyprus: *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d’Antioche: texte arabe et traduction française*, ed. B. Radu (Turnhout, 1989) = *PO* 22 (1930), p. 29. This piece of information is dismissed by Darrouzès as unreliable: *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2415. According to John Kyparissiōtēs (Ἰωάννου Κυπαρισσιώτου, *Κατὰ τῶν παλαμικῶν παραβάσεων λόγοι*, *PG* 152, col. 736AB), Ignatios was persecuted and tortured. He died in a hidden place (ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τελευτᾷ) and his dead body was abused by his Palamite Hesychast opponents.

160. *MM* 1, doc. 207; *PRK* 3, docs. 255-56; *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2483; J. Darrouzès, “Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse palamite,” *REB* 17 (1959), pp. 17, 23; Polemis, “Arsenius,” pp. 244–45; Pitsakis, “Ἡ ἔκτασις,” pp. 128–29; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 47–64, 80–82. Note that, in response to Peter I’s Alexandrian Crusade (1365), the Mamlūks unleashed an anti-Christian persecution, replacing Pachōmios with Michael I Bisharah (ca. 1365/66–ca. 1376). The new patriarch was obliged to write letters to King Peter I and Emperor John V, relating the sufferings of the Christian population, so as to warn them not to repeat similar attacks: Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, pp. 19–21; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 59–60 (n. 197), 72–73; Pahlitzsch, “Mediators,” pp. 39–40.

161. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 2, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1862), doc. 491 (= *MM* 2); Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, p. 25; *RAPC* 1.6, doc. 3001; cf. *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d’Antioche*, pp. 30–31.

162. On Kalopheros and his activities see Jacoby, “Jean Lascaris,” pp. 189–228; R.-J. Loenertz, “Pour la biographie de Jean Lascaris Calophéros (à propos de deux publications récentes),” *REB* 28 (1970), pp. 129–39; Edbury, *The Kingdom*, 177, 202; Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions,” pp. 743, 751–52; Coureas, *The Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 63–66.

163. O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930); Russell, “Palamism,” p. 166.

164. R. E. Gómez, “Saint-Sauver de Chôra. Monastère catholique à Constantinople dans le troisième quart du XIVe siècle,” *Estudios Bizantinos* 1 (2013), pp. 163–66 (= *EsBiz*).

165. *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, vol. 2, ed. R. -J. Loenertz (Vatican City, 1960), p. 356; Darrouzès, “Lettre,” p. 11.

166. B. L. Dentakis, *Ἰωάννης Κυπαρισσιώτης, ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος* (Athens, 1977), pp. 20–21, 33.

167. Dentakis, *Ἰωάννης Κυπαρισσιώτης*, pp. 20 (n. 42), 76, 119.

168. *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, vol. 1, pp. 67–68; cf. vol. 1, p. 70, and vol. 2, p. 262. See also, Dentakis, *Ἰωάννης Κυπαρισσιώτης*, pp.

21–23, 30–33; Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions,” p. 748.

169. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” pp. 7–27; Polemis, “Arsenius,” pp. 241–81; Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, pp. 154–55. Incidentally, Kantakouzēnos vaguely mentions the Cypriot activities of two (most probably non-Cypriot) anti-Palamites: the official Attouemēs and the monk Anthony Phoinikēs. Anthony Phoinikēs and Theodore Attouemēs are mentioned in the list of anti-Palamites published by Mercati in *Notizie*, p. 223; Attouemēs is also mentioned in the *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, pp. 208–09, 390. Kantakouzēnos’s silence on the activities of Cypriot anti-Palamites confirms the view that anti-Palamism in Cyprus had lost much of its former strength.

170. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” pp. 15, 21; Kyrris, “Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπή,” pp. 283–84; Paschali, “Negotiating identities,” p. 282

171. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” pp. 18–19, 24–25. The most recent treatment of the letter is Torrance, “Receiving Palamas,” pp. 127–31.

172. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” pp. 20–21, 27.

173. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” pp. 15–17, 20–23, 27.

174. Darrouzès, “Lettre,” p. 11.

175. R.-J. Loenertz in *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas* (Vatican City, 1950), pp. 23–26; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969), pp. 84–167; *Imperatoris Manuelis Palaeologi Apologia de processione Spiritus Sancti, Tractatus de ordine in Trinitate, Epistula ad dominum Alexium Iagoup*, ed. Ch. Dendrinis, “An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus’ treatise ‘On the procession of the Holy Spirit,’” PhD diss. (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 1996; forthcoming as vol. 71 of *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*); Th. Ganchou, “Dèmètrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397–1401) de nouveaux documents,” in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz O. P., Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000*, ed. Ch. Maltezou and P. Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 439–40; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium*, pp. 149–83.

176. *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, ed. Loenertz, pp. 77–78, 231–33, 249–54, 266–67, 275–78; *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. G. T. Dennis (Washington D.C., 1977), pp. li–lii, 86–89.

177. *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, p. 277; Darrouzès, “Lettre,” p. 9; Delacroix-Besnier, “Conversions,” pp. 747–48, 759.

Chapter 4

“Bounds Set Between Us and You”

Boundary Maintenance in a Period of Transformations

In ca. 1450, the Orthodox monastery of the Holy Cross on Mt. Staurobouni, which had been occupied by the Benedictines in the thirteenth century, was recovered by Orthodox monks. Traveler accounts report that Greek monks and Latin (Augustinian) friars lived side by side, each community celebrating the liturgy in a separate chapel. In 1483, the Observant Dominican pilgrim Felix Faber encountered at Staurobouni a Greek priest who kept some old liturgical books in Latin, despite being unable to read them. Faber also visited the nearby town of the Holy Cross (probably close to the modern villages of St. Anne and Lympia), where he met a local priest serving the churches of both rites; the strict friar considered him a heretic and deceiver of both Greeks and Latins.¹

Faber’s ambiguous description of the Cypriot priest’s identity (was he a Greek convert to the Latin rite, a Latin convert to the Byzantine rite, or a hybrid?), motivated by his zeal and agenda of instructing his Dominican audience in Ulm on the need to safeguard the purity of their faith,² has led scholars fascinated by the postmodern transcendence of rigid ethnoreligious categories to argue for the fifteenth-century existence of an inclusive Christian spirituality. By encompassing a plethora of denominations, this

spirituality is said to have brought out “original ecumenical attitudes”;³ it has even been suggested that the “syncretistic transgression” of socioreligious systems was a diachronic characteristic of Cypriot history, which should be taken into account in political discussions over the Cyprus Issue.⁴

If hybridity and homogenization eventually prevailed, then two hundred years of contention in the symbiosis between Orthodox and Latin Christians must have come to an end under the last Lusignans. Does the fifteenth century mark a “golden age” of tolerance and religious indifference, when religious differences (supposedly) did not matter? This chapter will examine whether earlier boundary maintenance tactics could also be found during this period, or whether noncoercive Orthodox resistance was replaced by an “ecumenical” Christian identity.

As Laura Balletto correctly notes, fifteenth-century Cyprus was “a meeting-point for various ethnic groups and cultures, which coexisted for long periods and exerted a reciprocal influence on different levels.”⁵ Existing bonds were further enhanced by the Lusignan Kingdom’s political peripeties after the loss of Famagusta to the Genoese in 1374. In 1426, the Mamlūks invaded the island and defeated the Cypriot army in Choirokoitia, capturing King Janus (1398–1432) and sacking Nicosia. The annual tribute imposed by Sultan Barsbay (1422–38) on Cyprus and the high ransom in exchange for the king’s return, added to the Lusignan obligations toward the Genoese, resulted in long-term debt.⁶ Under Janus’ son, John II (1432–58), the Turks conquered the Lusignan-controlled stronghold of Kōrykos in Cilicia (1448) and raided Cyprus (1450, 1451, and 1453); the island was already suffering from outbreaks of plague (1438–39 and 1449–51) and famine (1450).⁷

The cultivation of a sense of Cypriot Christian unity during these hard times is best reflected in Leontios Makhairas' Chronicle. According to Teresa Shawcross, Makhairas reconciles "conflicting allegiances . . . through the exposition of an inclusive Cypriot identity capable of uniting diverse ethnic groups in a fervent amor patriae."⁸ Loyalty to the Lusignan dynasty, forged by the career of Makhairas' family in royal and aristocratic service, was at the heart of Leontios' perception of being "Cypriot."⁹ However, we have already seen that the line of political realism advocated by the Chronicle does not exclude irenic expressions of Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligious awareness, such as the aforementioned distinction between "apostolic" Latins and "catholic" (= doctrinally correct) Greeks, or the critical view of Peter Thomas' Latinizing activities.¹⁰ The high probability that Makhairas' readers or audience included socially prominent followers of the Latin rite seems to be reflected in Leontios' willingness to combine religious reconciliation with Orthodox boundary maintenance.¹¹

The impact of the Great Western Schism and the Conciliarist Crisis (1378–1449) also contributed to the strengthening of common Cypriot identity. Since 1309 Avignon had been the papacy's seat, until Pope Gregory XI (1370–78) and the curia returned to Rome in 1377.¹² The new pope, Urban VI (1378–89), was an austere reformer, who came into conflict with his cardinals, leading to the election of Pope Clement VII (1378–94). The new pope and his court established themselves in Avignon, while Urban VI and his followers remained in Rome. In 1409, the Council of Pisa attempted (without any success) to put an end to the schism by electing a third pope, Alexander V (1409–10). The antagonism between the three parallel hierarchies (i.e., the Roman, Avignonese, and Pisan) continued as late as 1415; in 1417 Martin V (1417–31)

was elected pope by the Council of Constance (1414–18). The end of the Great Western Schism was followed by a new division, this time between Pope Eugene IV (1431–47), who wanted to reassert supreme pontifical authority, and his conciliarist opponents. The crisis lasted until the final reunification of the Western Church (1449) under Eugene IV's successor, Nicholas V (1447–55).¹³

The Lusignans responded to these developments with a flexible Realpolitik: aiming to recover Famagusta from Genoa (a power initially adhering to the Roman, later to the Avignonese, and finally to the Pisan obedience), not only through war but also through diplomatic means, the Cypriot kings supported Avignon, before passing to the Pisan camp. At the same time, the mendicant orders and Hospitallers pursued their own ecclesiastical diplomacy, according to their sympathies and interests. In this chaotic situation all sides (Rome, Avignon, and Pisa) considered the Latin Church of Cyprus as being under their own legitimate authority, thus proceeding to appointments of prelates, most of whom never visited the island in person to assume their administrative and pastoral duties.¹⁴

Philip Daileader observes that “the Schism contributed to the emergence of a more Cypriot identity and to a more open demonstration of the island’s Greek culture, . . . weakening the island’s ties to France and to the West.”¹⁵ Indigenization was achieved through royal control over ecclesiastical affairs,¹⁶ and the cultural de-Westernization of the Latin community of Cyprus (facilitated by the numerical weakness of the Latin clergy and their long interaction with non-Latins).¹⁷ From the point of view of Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II (1458–64), the Latin Cypriots of his time “were more Greek-minded than Roman” (*magis graece quam romane sapientes*).¹⁸

Political interdependence under the Lusignans (as expressed by Makhairas) and de-Westernization of the Latin Cypriots were crucial elements for the formation of an elite that included both Latins and non-Latins (primarily Greeks and Syrians). Bound by mutual interests, marital strategies, and a tolerant attitude toward the rite of others, Cypriot potentes, like the Podocataro (Greeks) and Audeth (Syrians), became emblematic of the peaceful coexistence of different rites within the same family. Moreover, non-Latin social elevation was often combined with training in Western universities (e.g., Padua), as well as by conversion to the Latin rite.¹⁹ As Arbel points out, however, the crossing of ethnoreligious boundaries that highlighted one's penetration into the dominant class might have "limited the number of Greeks who were willing to undergo such a transformation as a price for social mobility."²⁰

Consequently, a process of Westernization of individual socially elevated Greeks and Syrians ran in parallel with the de-Westernization of the Latin Cypriots as a community. This is not to argue that the island's Latins were thoroughly "Hellenized," or to deny the existence of different levels of Westernization and de-Westernization. What should be stressed is that political, ecclesiastical, and social reasons seem to have intensified the indigenization of Latin Cypriots, who, despite their hegemonic status on the island, remained a minority.

The strengthening of Cypriot Christian identity has led Coureas to interpret fifteenth-century Orthodox attempts for ecclesiastical rapprochement with Constantinople as "hypocritical."²¹ Commenting on Joseph Bryennios' rejection of the Greek Cypriots as "Latinizers," Hill, an advocate of the colonial line of Cypriotism, argued that "Bryennios had much ground for his strictures."²² Schabel argued that the Greek Cypriot bishops might have

attempted to deceive Bryennios by modifying their oath to the papacy, in order to provide evidence of their attachment to Orthodoxy and superficial submission to the Latins.²³ The implementation of the Florentine “Union” in Cyprus (post 1439), another key factor in the formation of a common Cypriot Christian identity, has been interpreted by Hill in a similar way, emphasizing the Latinizing sentiments of the Greek Cypriot clergy, as a result (we are told) of their long symbiosis with the Latins.²⁴

Based on both published and unpublished sources, this chapter will provide the first systematic examination of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the fifteenth century, uncovering the existence of boundary preservation and adaptation mechanisms.

1. THE BRYENNIOS AFFAIR

Bryennios’ intervention in Cypriot ecclesiastical affairs was probably the result of a crisis between the island’s Orthodox Church and the Patriarchate of Antioch, around the time of Patriarch Michael II’s stay in Cyprus (ca. 1400–04), in the aftermath of the Timurid conquest of Damascus (1400).²⁵ The reconstruction of events largely depends on Bryennios’ Acts of the Synod of Cyprus (= Acts), mentioning that non-Cypriot Ῥωμαῖοι who visited Cyprus, as well as others from nearby areas, had made certain accusations against the Cypriots. This led to a de facto schism between the Cypriots and their accusers, forcing the former to request a written confirmation of concelebration from the Constantinopolitan patriarch (at the time Matthew I, 1397–1410), in order to publicly reaffirm their Orthodoxy.²⁶ Although the Acts make no explicit reference to the Antiochenes, Bryennios claimed that it would be impossible to achieve ecclesiastical union between Constantinople and Cyprus, due to the danger of detachment from

Constantinopolitan authority of the Orthodox Churches of Syria and other territories.²⁷ In 1412, during the examination of the second Cypriot proposal for concelebration with Constantinople, Bryennios argued that, in case of reconciliation, the patriarchs of Antioch should exercise control over the Cypriot hierarchy as representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.²⁸ All the above seem to suggest that by ca. 1404 Antioch, which had only recently (under Michael II in ca. 1395) professed Palamite Hesychasm, adopted a more austere line vis-à-vis the Latinizers in general and the Cypriots in particular, perhaps in the context of discussions with Constantinople over the definition of doctrinal correctness and issues of peripheral ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²⁹

In 1405, the Orthodox Cypriot prelates sent signed confessions of faith to Constantinople, presented by the hieromonk Theodoulos (who had been on the island for personal affairs) before Emperor Manuel II and the patriarchal synod.³⁰ Theodoulos reassured the Byzantine authorities that the Cypriots were ready for “union” (understood as concelebration); the patriarchal chancery prepared an official document of concelebration, and Joseph Bryennios was elevated to the office of patriarchal locum tenens (τοποτηρητής), in order to personally travel to Cyprus (together with Abbot Anthony of Kosmidion and Constantine Timotheos the Deacon) and receive the Cypriots as concelebrants.³¹

The willingness of Cypriot prelates to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople should be considered as a clear indication of their Byzantine Orthodox ethnoreligious identity. That these ecclesiastics felt the need to reaffirm their bonds with Byzantium and the Orthodox world, risking their lives by secretly approaching Constantinople,³² shows that the emergence of a

strong Cypriot identity after centuries of submission to the Latins had not erased their self-perception as Orthodox and Ῥωμαῖοι.

Before proceeding to the Synod of Cyprus in 1406, it is necessary to examine Joseph Bryennios' background and personality, tracing the ecclesiological reasons behind his rejection of the Cypriot proposal. An erudite Palamite Hesychast monk and theologian, Bryennios (d. ca. 1431) was one of Manuel II's close associates and mentor of Mark Eugenikos (d. 1445), later leader of the antiunionist party after the Council of Florence.³³ Between ca. 1382 and ca. 1402, Bryennios served as patriarchal judge and instructor (δικαιοφύλαξ καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος) of Orthodox Christians in the Venetian colony of Crete.³⁴ His coming to the island took place around fifteen years after the Venetian suppression of the Revolt of St. Titus (1363–66/67)—instigated by the local magnates (Greek and Venetian), and supported by the Orthodox lower stratum and Palamite Hesychast Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (the Orthodox were dissatisfied with Latin control over clerical ordinations and the expulsion of Greek bishops from Crete).³⁵ Despite the underlying tension between Orthodox and Latins, Bryennios' pastoral activities were tolerated by the Venetians for almost two decades. This lasted until Bryennios' public refutation of the Filioque doctrine in ca. 1399/1400, against the Dominican Maximos Chrysobergēs (d. ante 1430), a Byzantine convert to the Latin faith and former disciple of the anti-Palamite Dēmētrios Kydōnēs.³⁶ Bryennios' open defense of the Orthodox tradition must have been perceived by the Venetians as disturbing religious peace. Not long after, Bryennios reported to Constantinople that a number of Cretan monks were guilty of having sexual relations with unmarried women in their service, supposedly pursuing a life of virginity: this should be interpreted as a natural consequence of the moral laxity that

followed the expulsion of Orthodox hierarchy from Crete. When Bryennios instructed Orthodox Christians to break communion with the monks, the latter accused him of being an enemy of Venice, and placed themselves under the protection of the Latin Church. In ca. 1402, Bryennios was exiled from Crete and returned to Constantinople, residing as a monk in the monastery of Stoudios. Bryennios' Cretan encounter with Latin-rite Byzantines (like Chrysobergēs) and sexually immoral monks under the protection of the Latin Church led to the disappointing outcome of his mission, influencing his attitude vis-à-vis the two Cypriot proposals for ecclesiastical concelebration with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1405/1406 and 1412.³⁷

The theory of Cypriot alienation from Byzantine Orthodoxy is weakened by the fact that all primary sources concerning the reasons behind the Constantinopolitan rejection of the Cypriot proposal were written or edited by Bryennios, who himself admits that, even before his journey to Cyprus, he had intended to reject the union. The synodal Acts of 1406 (a report prepared by Bryennios based on the notes of Abbot Anthony of Kosmidion, and sent to all Orthodox Churches to inform them on the breaking of communion with the Cypriots), survive only in an abridged version, which records the synodal discussions at length, but does not give the full picture of what had actually been said, placing emphasis on statements that could justify Bryennios' rejection of the union.³⁸ Another key source, Bryennios' letter to John Syrianos, one of his Cretan friends, was written soon after his return to Constantinople, in order to justify the union's rejection; it was probably for Syrianos and his other Cretan friends that Bryennios prepared the abridged version of the Acts, so as to bolster their Orthodox faith.³⁹ In his letter to Syrianos, Bryennios underlines his role as a champion of Orthodoxy by stating that his

expulsion from Crete had been part of God's plan, in order for him to remove "the eternal reproach from our race" (ἡρὰ ὄνειδος αἰώνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν) by saving Orthodoxy from the Latinizing Cypriots. This reveals that Bryennios' presentation of the 1406 events and his negative perception of the Cypriots corresponded to his commitment to defend doctrinal correctness, underlined by his intention to restore his image after the disappointing outcome of his Cretan mission.⁴⁰ The second Cypriot attempt to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople is also exclusively known from Bryennios' lengthy Study on the proposed union, presented during the patriarchal synod of 1412, which ultimately led to the consolidation of schism between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.⁴¹ The schism lasted as late as 1572, when, after the island's incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, a patriarchal synod officially pardoned the Cypriots.⁴²

Bryennios' emphasis on the need to safeguard the Byzantine Empire's Orthodox identity reflects the hierocratic ecclesiology of Constantinopolitan patriarchal officials, who stressed the spiritual supremacy of church over state.⁴³ Indeed, Bryennios argues in his letter to Syrianos that the proposed concelebration would be "a reproach for our common race" (τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους ὄνειδος), demonstrating the significance of doctrinal precision (ἀκρίβεια) over leniency (οἰκονομία) for the survival of the Ῥωμαῖοι.⁴⁴ His views were shared by the patriarchal official John Chortasmenos, who commented (sometime after 1407) on Bryennios' rejection of the proposed union with sentiments of relief, praising him for his decision.⁴⁵ Bryennios' and Chortasmenos' perception of the Cypriots as Latin sympathizers should be considered a rather recent development in Cypro-Byzantine relations, shaped by internal

processes of social transformation and ideological formulation not only in Cyprus (see the introductory section of this chapter), but also in the Byzantine Empire (rise of hierocracy and antiunionism).⁴⁶ This is an important observation, because it supports the view that Cyprus maintained undisturbed sacramental communion (i.e., mutual recognition of liturgical and doctrinal correctness) with the Ecumenical Patriarchate after the implementation of the Bulla Cypria, which seems to be also the prevailing position among Byzantine authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Consequently, it appears that the officialization of schism between the two churches was largely the result and not the cause of Bryennios' rejection of the two Cypriot proposals for union.

In his letter to Syrianos, Bryennios acknowledges that his hierocratic beliefs were not shared by all members of the Constantinopolitan patriarchal synod of 1406, stating that, although he had been reluctant to assume his Cypriot mission, the majority of prelates supported that he should be sent to the island. Bryennios also emphasizes the readiness of Byzantine authorities (including the emperor and patriarch) to accept the Cypriots as concelebrants, and claims that only he was reluctant to do so.⁴⁸ However, the Study on the proposed union (1412) suggests that some members of the patriarchal synod of 1406 shared Bryennios' reluctance. A passage from the synodal decree of 1406, quoted by Bryennios in 1412, shows that the patriarchal delegation was prohibited to concelebrate with the Cypriots on the following conditions:

1. The Cypriots were found guilty of recognizing papal authority.
2. The Cypriots accepted Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
3. The Cypriots concelebrated with the Latins.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, Bryennios does not reproduce the synodal document in its whole, but only quotes the passage that justifies his rejection of the Cypriot proposal. Yet, this partial reference to the synodal decrees of 1406 reveals that, although the document must have instructed the delegation to restore sacramental communion with the Cypriots, it also contained pronouncements that prohibited concelebration for reasons of faith, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and liturgical practice. These pronouncements indicate that the patriarchal synod of 1406 had been divided between hierocratic and nonhierocratic ecclesiastics.

Bryennios' description of the imperial and synodal support toward the proposed union could be considered as evidence that, by the early fifteenth century, hierocratic ideology had not yet been endorsed by the majority of patriarchal officials. More importantly, the Byzantine Orthodox political and ecclesiastical authorities appear to have predominantly accepted the Cypriots as members of their fold. Bryennios characteristically writes to Syrianos that Constantinople saw the union as a *fait accompli* (ὥς ἐπὶ πράγμασί τε τετελεσμένοις ἀπέστειλαν καὶ παρήγγειλάν μοι). He states that Emperor Manuel II instructed him to proceed to concelebration, and that Patriarch Matthew I and the patriarchal synod accepted in their letters the Cypriots as concelebrants. Even Bryennios' companions, Anthony of Kosmidion and Constantine Timotheos the Deacon, were ready to concelebrate with the Greek Cypriot bishops, who, upon the delegation's arrival on the island, began preparing themselves for the common liturgy.⁵⁰

Darrouzès has argued that the patriarchal synod of 1406 underestimated the practical and moral dimensions of the proposed union, which was eventually undermined by a careful examination of the Cypriot situation by Bryennios.⁵¹ Indeed, this is the impression created by Bryennios' own account of the events,

serving to highlight his role as a guardian of Orthodoxy. It would be rather simplistic to consider that the Byzantine ecclesiastical and political authorities had been so naïve as to throw themselves into the pitfall of concelebration with schismatics and heretics. It is also rather unlikely that they had been deceived, as Bryennios argues, by the hieromonk Theodoulos, who brought the Cypriot confessions of faith to Constantinople.⁵² The close contacts between Cyprus and the Constantinople in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggest that the Ecumenical Patriarchate was well informed about Cypriot affairs and the state of submission of the island's Orthodox Church to the Latins.⁵³ It seems that the Ecumenical Patriarchate saw the proposed union as an opportunity to restore its relations with Cyprus in the wider context of ecclesiastical, diplomatic, and cultural expansion of the late Byzantine sphere of influence.

The political benefits of the union, however, are not clear. It is reasonable to suggest that Manuel II, a competent Orthodox theologian and experienced diplomat and statesman who pursued an anti-Ottoman alliance with the West, would have recognized the value of reestablishing harmonious contacts with the Orthodox Cypriot Church, at a time when its Lusignan overlords were largely in control of the local ecclesiastical affairs.⁵⁴ Therefore, the generally positive response of Constantinople to the Cypriot proposal for union should not be interpreted as a superficial decision that did not receive careful consideration, but as a combination of ecclesiastical and imperial politics, influenced by the Byzantine perception of Latin-ruled Cypriot Ῥωμαῖοι as essentially Orthodox.

Bryennios admits in his writings that he was unwilling to assume his Cypriot mission for various reasons: he was discouraged by the prospect of the long journey and unnecessary expenses; he was

concerned about the negative effect of his Cypriot activities on his future plans, namely his expected return to Crete and the Aegean Islands; he was afraid of the Latin reaction (particularly the reaction of Cypriot Latin bishops), due to his previous anti-Latin activities in Crete; he recognized the difficulty of properly representing the Byzantine authorities; and he was afraid that a possible rejection of the union would drive the Cypriots against him.⁵⁵

Eventually, Bryennios had no choice but to obey the patriarch and emperor. However, he did express his reluctance before the patriarchal synod of 1406, arguing that it would be impossible to concelebrate with the Cypriots, either publicly (φανερώς), or secretly (κρυπτῶς). A public concelebration would provoke tension with the Latin sympathizers and Latins, leading to attacks against the patriarchal delegation, the renunciation of Orthodox faith on the part of Cypriot concelebrants, and a general persecution against the island's Greeks. Moreover, churchmen from Constantinople, considered guilty of having plotted against the Latin regime, would be barred from entering Cyprus.⁵⁶ A secret concelebration with the Cypriots would also be problematic: a possible betrayal would provoke persecutions; it would be impossible to keep the union completely secret; a secret union would be no real union, but a deception; in case of disagreement over the concelebration issue, the Cypriots would deliver the Byzantine delegation to the Latin authorities as an act of vindication, leading to their execution as spies or enemies of the Latin faith.⁵⁷

As Bryennios admits to Syrianos, the main reason behind his reluctance to accept the proposed union was not openly expressed or thoroughly discussed during the patriarchal synod of 1406. He describes himself as having considered the ecclesiastical

implications of a concelebration with the Cypriots in the wider context of theological dialogue between Byzantium and the papacy. He believed that the Western Church would use the concelebration as a Trojan horse in the negotiations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, sending legates to the Eastern Orthodox Churches and promoting a unionist policy. In other words, a union between Constantinople and Cyprus would be used as precedent, leading to the Latinization of Orthodox Christians (λατινίσαι) and causing numerous schisms within the race of the Ῥωμαῖοι (μυρία σχίσματα μερισθῆναι τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος).⁵⁸

From Bryennios' own words, it becomes clear that he treated the proposed union in a rather prejudiced and unfair way.⁵⁹ As he himself admits, while on the island, he persuaded the Orthodox Cypriot prelates to attend a synod before proceeding to concelebration. This, according to Bryennios, was only a pretext (εὐρῶν πρόφασιν εὖλογον, ὥς δῆθεν ἔχων λόγους ἀναγκαίους κοινῇ αὐτοῖς ἀναθέσθαι), aiming to draw the Cypriots bishops into open dialogue, in which he could use his authority, rhetorical skills, and theological competence against them, eventually rejecting them as pro-Latin.⁶⁰ It was only during the course of the synod that suspicions arose among the Cypriots concerning the sincerity of Bryennios' examination. They argued that the synodal letters delivered to them by Bryennios made no reference to the issues raised by the patriarchal locum tenens, accusing him of undermining the discussions. They even asked to see the instructions given to the delegation by the patriarchal synod, stating that Bryennios had pushed the discussion beyond its expected limits. Bryennios replied that, as patriarchal locum tenens, he was sanctioned to examine things the way he considered best.⁶¹

Clearly, Bryennios' negative response to the proposed union was influenced by his Cretan experience, theological intransigence, and

hierocratic ecclesiology. Let us now turn to the synod of 1406, examining the arguments put forth by Bryennios and the Cypriot ecclesiastics concerning the impossibility or necessity of a union between Constantinople and Cyprus.

According to the Acts of 1406, the Constantinopolitan delegation departed from Constantinople in early May and arrived in Cyprus in late June.⁶² Bryennios mentions that during their journey they faced various sufferings, including the danger of being drowned and taken captive. He also adds that his companions fell seriously ill, and they would have probably been dead had their ship not reached the Genoese-occupied port of Famagusta on time.⁶³ This suggests that from a physical and psychological point of view, the members of the Constantinopolitan delegation were greatly distressed, which must have influenced the objectivity of their examination, especially if one takes into consideration Bryennios' strong reluctance to concelebrate with the Cypriots.

The synod convoked by Bryennios took place in late July. The conciliar proceedings were kept secret out of fear of the Latins and took place in the remote monastery of Archangel Michael the Incorporeal, perhaps situated in Analiontas, outside Nicosia.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the Acts do not provide the names of the Cypriot prelates at the time, referring to them solely by their titles. The bishop of Leukara did not participate because he was not in communion with the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy.⁶⁵ The exact reasons for his decision are not clear; he was probably separated from the pro-Byzantine bishops due to his "Latinizing" sympathies.⁶⁶ The bishop of Arsinoē was not present, but appointed the bishop of Solea as his official representative.⁶⁷ The bishop of Solea could perhaps be identified with Paul, known from a brief manuscript note to have been active in 1405;⁶⁸ his

episcopate might have lasted until 1415, when another brief manuscript note recorded the death of the “bishop of the Chōra (= Nicosia),” referring to the incumbent bishop of Solea, who could have been Paul.⁶⁹ The bishop of Karpasia could probably be identified with Makarios, already mentioned in connection with the liturgical ordinance of St. George of the Greeks in Famagusta.⁷⁰

Bryennios put forth several arguments in order to support his rejection of the proposed concelebration; the same arguments were later repeated and further elaborated in his 1412 Study on the proposed union, which examined the second Cypriot proposal for concelebration with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. What follows is a brief presentation of the most important points raised by the patriarchal locum tenens concerning the Cypriot errors:

1. The oath of submission taken by candidates for episcopal ordination before their Latin diocesan bishops, following the rulings of the Bulla Cypria, meant that they had betrayed (προὔδωκατε) their tradition of autocephaly (αὐτόνομος ὄντες ἐκκλησία) and doctrinal correctness.⁷¹ Bryennios’ rejection echoes the position of Patriarch Germanos II in the thirteenth century, according to which the Cypriots were prohibited from taking an oath of obedience to the Latin Church.⁷²
2. They concelebrated with Latins, Copts, Armenians, and Jacobites, namely Christian groups officially considered by the Orthodox Church as heretical or schismatic. Bryennios was also strongly negative concerning the establishment of kinship relationships between members of different religious affiliations.⁷³
3. The Cypriot bishops ordained candidates for priesthood who maintained extramarital relationships. Moreover, the Cypriot and

monks were accused of having sexual relations with concubines (much like the Cretan monks mentioned earlier). Bryennios added that they shamelessly had children with these women, and it was obvious that they had been morally corrupted.⁷⁴ Adopting a Donatist-like argument, Bryennios took his point even further, by stating that the sins were transferred (διαδίδοται) from the corrupted clergy, through the sacraments, to the flock: the laity, thus, shared the sins of their ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁷⁵

4. The Cypriots were simply not sincere in their wish to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople. Bryennios noted that the schism had first occurred during the episcopate of Germanos Pēsimandros, who had accepted the Bulla Cypria in 1260. Since “almost two hundred years” (in reality, a century and a half) had passed from the Orthodox Cypriot submission to the Latins, Bryennios questioned the bishops’ intention to end the division (διαίρεσιν).⁷⁶ The fact that the Cypriot prelates did not challenge Bryennios’ interpretation, placing the origins of the schism at the time of the Bulla Cypria, does not necessarily indicate that the two churches had been in schism ever since, but rather suggests that the Cypriots perceived their separation from Constantinople in different terms than Bryennios.⁷⁷ The Cypriot bishops probably saw their present state of de facto schism with Constantinople, an early fifteenth-century development, in the wider context of ecclesiastical submission to the Latins since 1260; they seem to have perceived the Bulla Cypria as the moment of departure for the creation of discontinuities in several aspects of Orthodox ecclesiastical life on the island (the reduction of Orthodox bishoprics, sanctioning of a Latin hierarchy, and placement of Cypriot prelates under Latin ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction), which contributed to a certain degree of alienation from the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Bryennios, on the other hand, understood the division as an actual break of communion between the two churches.

5. To strengthen his argument that the Cypriots were not sincere in their proposal for union, Bryennios pointed out that the former did not approach Constantinople unanimously, but were divided into various factions, as revealed by the bishop of Leukara's absence from the synod of 1406.⁷⁸ Bryennios pushed the Cypriot bishops even further by proposing ways that would lead to the cancellation of the Bulla Cypria: (a) he suggested personally talking to King Janus in support of the Cypriot enfranchisement from Latin ecclesiastical authority, and (b) he proposed that the Cypriot bishops should personally appeal to the king, requesting their enfranchisement and royal protection in exchange for their bishoprics' revenues. When the Cypriots replied that Bryennios' proposal was unattainable, for the Latins would certainly kill them all (πάντες ἡμεῖς ἀποθνήσκομεν), Bryennios responded (not without sarcasm) that the Cypriot prelates loved their revenues more than their souls.⁷⁹ Bryennios also proposed convoking a synod in Constantinople that would reexamine the proposed union. The Cypriot bishops should either participate in person, or send representatives with signed confessions of faith. Once again, the Cypriots rejected Bryennios' proposal, fearing the Latin reaction in case their reunion with Constantinople became public: rather than an open union with Constantinople that would provoke the Latins, they preferred a covert concelebration. From his own perspective, Bryennios noted that their reluctance concerning the prospect of open union with Constantinople implied lack of sincerity in their intentions and faith.⁸⁰
6. Bryennios' last argument against the proposed union revealed his hierocratic concerns. He argued that a union between

Constantinople and Cyprus would not only threaten the unity of Orthodoxy but also its very survival, since all heresies would be sanctioned to restore communion with the Orthodox, leading to further divisions and the corruption of true faith.⁸¹

Following the end of the synod, Bryennios sent copies of the original conciliar Acts to all Orthodox Churches, so that the events of 1406 would be remembered by later generations. The reason behind Bryennios' action was to publicly renounce the Cypriots as schismatics and Latinizers. Indeed, Bryennios warned the Cypriot bishops that the whole world would be informed about the discussions of the synod, and that nothing was to remain secret.⁸² Angelo Calepio, the Dominican vicar general in Cyprus around 1570, noted that the Orthodox patriarchs, especially the one in Jerusalem, loathed the Cypriots and considered them excommunicated due to their submission to the Latin Church.⁸³ Calepio's testimony demonstrates the success of Bryennios' anti-Cypriot campaign, and confirms the long-term division between Cyprus and the other Orthodox Churches after Bryennios' examination of the proposed union.

Bryennios wrote to Syrianos that upon his return to Constantinople he was reproached by the Byzantine authorities for not having restored communion with the Cypriots, as instructed prior to his departure.⁸⁴ This piece of information further points to the fact that, despite the strict instructions contained in the patriarchal synodal decrees of 1406, Bryennios had been expected to receive the Cypriots as concelebrants, and that his rejection of the proposed union caused the displeasure of Emperor Manuel II, Patriarch Matthew I, and the patriarchal synod. Bryennios justified his decision by exposing the reasons that had led him to oppose the union. In the end, he managed to persuade public opinion about the

correctness of his actions and was praised for his stance. Closing his letter to Syrianos, Bryennios expressed the wish to spend the rest of his life in peace as a humble monk, admitting that he had no interest in returning to the public arena, or in receiving further ecclesiastical offices.⁸⁵

Bryennios' negative view of the condition in Cyprus also highlighted the second Cypriot proposal for union in 1412. Although little is known about the 1412 discussions between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the fact that the Cypriot bishops continued to wish for the restoration of communion with Constantinople, despite the bitter episode with Bryennios, demonstrates that they did not accept Bryennios' verdict and perceived themselves as Orthodox. The Cypriot prelates might have seen Matthew I's succession by Euthymios II (1410–16) as a good opportunity to repeat their proposal, leading to the convening of a synod to reexamine the matter.⁸⁶ Bryennios was summoned before the synod and presented his Study on the proposed union, which was based on the records of the 1406 Acts. The Study included a detailed description of the oath taken by Cypriot candidates for episcopal ordination, a point to which we shall return below, and refuted the union on the basis of scriptural, patristic, and canonical evidence.⁸⁷ It seems that Bryennios was again successful in persuading his audience about the impossibility of concelebration with the Cypriots. From that moment onward, the two churches remained in official schism until the island's Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century.⁸⁸

The fact that in 1406 three out of the four Greek bishops had reached a consensus in seeking to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople suggests that many members of the Cypriot clergy considered themselves Orthodox and pursued ways of covert resistance against the Latins. This is also confirmed by the synodal

Acts of 1406, stating that the abbot of the Pipēs monastery in Nicosia, whose nephew or cousin (ἀνεψιὸς) had been ordained priest by the bishop of Solea, considered himself as being the only true Orthodox on the island. He also claimed that only his monastery maintained true communion with the Orthodox church. The reason behind the abbot's claims was that he had received, together with a small number of hieromonks (priestmonks), “external” ordination from a non-Cypriot Orthodox prelate or prelates: this differentiated them from the majority of Cypriot churchmen, who were exclusively ordained by Cypriot bishops under the Bulla Cypria regime.⁸⁹

In reply to Bryennios' accusations during the synod of 1406, the Cypriot ecclesiastics made the following points:

1. They admitted that they were incapable of exercising full control over their clergy, because the true power was in the hands of their Latin diocesans and nobility, which led to phenomena of clerical immorality. The anonymous steward (οἰκονόμος) of the Solea bishopric also said that there were indeed examples of certain immoral priests who had been reproached by their prelates for their actions and behavior; like the immoral Cretan monks encountered by Bryennios, however, these priests had sought the support of Latin bishops and nobles, who, in turn, pressed the Cypriot hierarchs to accept them, despite their unworthiness. The steward claimed that this had been the case with the previous bishop of Solea, who “was quickly taken out of the way” (εὐγῆκεν ἀπὸ τὴν μέσῃν ἐγρηγορώτερα), for he had attempted to properly exercise control over his clergy. Bryennios seems to have been aware of the incident and agreed with the steward.⁹⁰

2. Concerning Bryennios' accusations of clerical concubinage, the Cypriot bishops simply admitted that they were guilty of all kinds of abuses in their church, implying that due to their incapability of exercising full control over their clergy, they had to tolerate in their ranks unworthy ecclesiastics. They underlined, however, that the abuses burdened the bishops alone, not the rest of their flock.⁹¹ Bryennios' attack on the moral standards of Cypriot prelates could be interpreted in the context of different perceptions concerning the principle of chastity: as late as the fourteenth century, married Orthodox laymen or priests with children were allowed to be ordained as bishops (see canons 12 and 48 of the Trullo Council in 691/92), although this began to change with the victory of Palamite Hesychasm and the gradual establishment of monastics within the Ecumenical Patriarchate; it seems that in Cyprus the older tradition continued up to the end of the Venetian period, as confirmed by the episcopal ordination of previously married candidates with children.⁹²
3. The synodal Acts of 1406 contain expressions of disappointment and frustration on the part of Cypriot participants, revealing that they were under great psychological tension, since they had to face not only Bryennios' unsympathetic attitude and offending comments concerning the sincerity of their proposal, but also the fear of the Latins.⁹³ When Bryennios stated that it made no difference whether submission to the papacy was voluntary or constrained, the bishop of Solea replied that superficial submission was necessary for the survival of the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy on the island, otherwise the Latins would exile or kill all Cypriot prelates; Cyprus would then become like Venetian-ruled Crete, where the Latins controlled clerical ordinations and prohibited the establishment of Orthodox

bishops on the island (this created serious pastoral problems for the Orthodox Cretans, and we should bear in mind that the Cypriots had already experienced a similar situation during the self-exile of their hierarchy between ca. 1240 and 1250).⁹⁴ The Cypriot rejection of Bryennios' proposals for an official cancellation of the Bulla Cypria and a public concelebration with Constantinople was also highlighted by expressions of fear concerning the Latin reaction and frustration at Bryennios' lack of understanding of the local condition.⁹⁵

4. The Cypriots repeatedly stressed that their submission to the papacy was forced and superficial. They stated that they were not the only Orthodox Christians in the world worshipping with heretics (συγκοινωνοῦσι κατὰ τι οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς), pointing out that in Crete, too, the Latins celebrated the liturgy in Orthodox churches.⁹⁶ The bishop of Karpasia stated that during a pilgrimage in Jerusalem, he had witnessed the Orthodox patriarch concelebrating with Nestorians, Monothelites, and Armenians.⁹⁷ The steward of the Solea bishopric added that during the election of the Antiochene patriarch the Mamlūk sultan placed his turban over the former's head, as an expression of the patriarch's submission to Muslim authority.⁹⁸ The bishop of Solea noted that attending the Latin rites (e.g., funerals and memorial services of prominent Latins) was sometimes necessary as a public expression of political loyalty toward the Lusignan regime. The abbot (possibly of the Incorporeal monastery where the synod was taking place) stated that something similar was happening in Armenia, where all Christian groups were forced by the local rulers to concelebrate.⁹⁹ As a response to these arguments, Bryennios distinguished between political loyalty and obedience to

ecclesiastical order, which he perceived as inviolable and unchangeable.¹⁰⁰ He also replied that it was permissible for the Orthodox to allocate space in their churches to heretics in order for them to perform their liturgy, but it was prohibited to celebrate mass with heretics, as happened in Cyprus.¹⁰¹

5. The apology of the Cypriot bishops focused on the superficiality of their oath of submission to the papacy during episcopal ordination. The bishop of Solea stated that, despite taking the oath and worshipping with heretics, the Cypriots cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith (καταργίζομεν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν οὐ φρονοῦμεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοί). He also claimed to have bribed the Latins before his ordination, in order to avoid taking the oath.¹⁰² The bishop of Karpasia added that, although Cypriot prelates did swear obedience to the papacy and the island's Latin hierarchy, they did not profess that the pope is orthodox (οὐκ ὀρθόδοξον αὐτὸν λέγομεν); the oath, he said, was superficial (κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον μόνον), claiming that in their hearts and churches (ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις) they behaved as they liked (ὥς θέλομεν) and believed and lived in the same way (οὕτω καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ διάγομεν).¹⁰³

This last point requires further discussion, for it is crucial for understanding Orthodox Cypriot boundary maintenance mechanisms under the Latins. The bishop of Karpasia pointed out that the island's Orthodox prelates swore obedience to the Latins in everything "saving their faith" (λέγομεν, «σωζομένης τῆς πίστεώς μου»).¹⁰⁴ The Latin text of the oath concerning the Solea bishopric, as appears in the *Bulla Cypria*, has *Papatum Romane ecclesie ac pontificatum ecclesie Nicosiensis, et regulas sanctorum patrum adiutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine*

meo, contra omnes homines.¹⁰⁵ This could be translated as following: “I will assist in defending and maintaining the papacy of the Roman Church and the episcopal primacy of the Nicosia Church and the rules of the Holy Fathers against all men, except for my position.”¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the expression salvo ordine meo was “a provision that ensure[d] that the episcopal rank of the Greek bishop [would] be safeguarded.”¹⁰⁷ This particular formula was not solely restricted to the Cypriot oath of obedience, but could also be found in other oaths taken by Latin abbots and prelates.¹⁰⁸ As noted by Schabel, the Greek interpretation of salvo ordine meo “as ‘except my faith’ [was] a completely unjustified translation,”¹⁰⁹ arguing that “in 1406 the bishops slightly modified the oath of allegiance that they took to the pope and local Latin prelate upon election so that it would appear to exempt their ‘faith’ rather than their order, rank, or position.”¹¹⁰

Did the Cypriot bishops really try to deceive Bryennios by altering the oath’s text and meaning, or does their misinterpretation of salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines reflect a mechanism of cryptoreligious resistance to Latinization? Greek translations of the oath render different interpretations of the formula. Σωζομένης τῆς χειροτονίας μου, κατὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου and φυλαττομένης τῆς ἐμῆς τάξεως, κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων are closer to the meaning of the Latin text.¹¹¹ Bryennios’ translation of the formula in his Study on the proposed union (1412) is also literal, and transliterates the Latin text into Greek: σάλβο ὄρδινω μέω· ἥγουν σωζομ(έν)ης τῆς τάξεώς μου.¹¹² However, the sixteenth-century codices Barberinianus graecus 390 and Dionysiou 489 confirm the Cypriot translation of the formula mentioned in the synodal Acts of 1406. Both manuscripts have σάλβω ὄρδινω ἐκόντρα ὅμνες ὁμηναις (ὁμήναις in Dionysiou 489), ἥγουν σωζομένης τῆς τάξεώς μου ἐν

πᾶσι<ν>, ἦτοι τοῦ πατρίου (παντοίου in Dionysiou 489) <μου> δόγματος.¹¹³ The expressions ἦτοι τοῦ πατρίου (or παντοίου) <μου> δόγματος (“saving my order in everything, namely my ancestral doctrines”/“all of my doctrines”) and σωζομένης τῆς πίστεώς μου (“saving my faith”) could be considered as exegetical comments on the Latin formula that modify its true meaning by declaring the candidate’s willingness to safeguard his Orthodoxy, despite his superficial submission to the papacy.¹¹⁴ The fact that this particular translation of the formula appears both in the synodal Acts of 1406 and in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, demonstrates a continuation in the intentional misinterpretation of the oath. This could be understood as a cryptoreligious expression of anti-Latin resistance, suggesting that the Cypriots in 1406 had not simply modified the oath in order to deceive Bryennios.¹¹⁵ Even if the Latin bishop present during the ceremony understood the oath’s modification (either directly or via trusted interpreters), it is likely that these expressions of symbolic disobedience were generally tolerated; this is implied, for example, by the bishop of Solea’s aforementioned claim that he had bribed the Latins before his ordination to avoid taking the oath.

Another noteworthy example of cryptoreligious resistance directed against the Bulla Cypria, not mentioned in the abridged version of the 1406 Acts, was the recitation of an Orthodox profession of faith by Cypriot episcopal candidates during their ordination. The Latin diocesans or their vicars, who confirmed the candidates’ election by their flock and clergy (accepting their oath of submission to the Western Church), might have been present but did not participate in the ordination ritual, which was performed according to the Byzantine rite by Cypriot or non-Cypriot Orthodox prelates.¹¹⁶

According to Cypriot liturgical manuals, the episcopal candidate made a tripartite profession of faith before the ordinant hierarchs, clergy, and congregation of believers. The candidate stood outside the sanctuary, at the center of the church, where the image of an eagle, imperial symbol of Byzantium, was laid before him with its head pointing toward the sanctuary (ὁμόφαλιον). The candidate, standing over the eagle's tail, was requested to publicly declare his wish to receive episcopal ordination, and recited the Creed without the Filioque addition. He then proceeded over the eagle's body and was blessed, before being asked to make a profession concerning the three Persons (ὑποστάσεις) and single essence (οὐσία) and divinity (θεότης) of the Trinity.¹¹⁷ The candidate recited the second part of the profession, stating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and "is together with the Son and depends on the Son" (μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον).¹¹⁸ This reference seems to reflect the Orthodox position on the Filioque issue, expressed by the Cypriot Patriarch Gregory II and ratified by the Constantinopolitan councils of 1285 and 1351, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. It should be noted, however, that the Cypriot profession does not openly attack the Filioque doctrine, nor does it systematically discuss the Holy Spirit's procession and eternal manifestation, but conveys its Orthodox interpretation in a nonpolemical way.¹¹⁹

According to the Benedictine scholar Olivier Raquez (1923–2012), the third part of the Cypriot profession, recited by candidates over the eagle's head, probably adopted and adapted passages from the Tome of Blachernai (1285), and the profession of faith composed by Patriarch Gregory II against his Latinizing opponents.¹²⁰ The Cypriot profession (parts two and three) contains condemnations of Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Apollinaris, and their followers, namely ancient heretics rejected

by both the Orthodox and Western Churches.¹²¹ Again, this could be interpreted as a cryptoreligious rejection of the Latin doctrines and liturgical practices. Presented as statements of common ground, some of these creedal condemnations had already been employed in the Synodikon against Bekkos (composed or revised during the patriarchate of Gregory II) to attack the Latins and Latinizers. The Synodikon associated, for example, the Filioque doctrine with the Macedonian πνευματομάχοι (“enemies of the Holy Spirit”) and commemorated the Thirteen Monks of Kantara as martyrs of Orthodoxy.¹²² Moreover, the excommunication of Apollinarianism has been interpreted by Darrouzès as a covert condemnation of the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.¹²³ The Synodikon against Bekkos stresses this point even further by directly associating the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist with Apollinaris.¹²⁴ The condemnation of Nestorianism in the Cypriot profession of faith could perhaps be connected with the Orthodox Cypriot perception of the Latins as Judaizers, due to their use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist (Nestorius was labeled by his opponents “Judaizer,” regardless of his actual beliefs and theology).¹²⁵ Last but not least, the attack on Arius and his followers, considered to have perceived the Son as a created being and the Holy Spirit as the creation of a created being, enabled the expression of the Orthodox doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit (from the Father through the Son), without, nevertheless, challenging openly the Filioque doctrine.¹²⁶

The examination of the Cypriot profession of faith suggests the existence of “hidden” anti-Latin statements, serving to reaffirm the Orthodox identity of episcopal candidates willing to interpret (or misinterpret) creedal condemnations as expressions of covert anti-Latinism. The fact that some of these anathematizations could be

traced in Orthodox theological works composed around the time of Gregory II's patriarchate strengthens their possible anti-Latin role in the Cypriot ritual. All the above seem to confirm the claim made by the bishop of Solea in 1406 that, despite being forced to take an oath of submission to the papacy and concelebrate with heretics, Orthodox Cypriots cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith.

Latin-ruled Orthodox Christians in fifteenth-century Cyprus were, thus, able to manipulate rituals, transforming them into noncoercive expressions of resistance. The social adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot clergy in the conditions of Latin political and ecclesiastical domination was achieved within a complex web of shifting identities: the oath of submission officially confirmed their obedience to the papacy; concelebrations with the Latins and Oriental Christians served to promote their public image as devoted members of the universal Western Church; participation in mixed ceremonies highlighted their political loyalty to the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and enabled their incorporation into networks of patronage; the appropriation of Western cultural elements reflects the cultivation of an aesthetic taste forged by symbiosis, social mobility, and intercultural dialogue. The dynamic development and adaptation of multiple identities permitted the preservation of Orthodox self-perception: the intentional misinterpretation of the formula *salvo ordine meo* symbolically undermined the official image of Cypriot obedience to the papacy; the ritual use of the Byzantine imperial eagle during the ordination rite revealed the ethnoreligious awareness of the island's Greeks, despite their long subjugation to the Latins; creedal condemnations against ancient heretics seem to have become covert condemnations of the Latin doctrines and practices. The semantic fluidity of pronouncements expressing Orthodox Cypriot obedience to the papacy or common elements in the doctrinal tradition of both

East and West left room for anti-Latin interpretations, thus revealing that Orthodox self-awareness could dominate the Cypriot hierarchy of identities.¹²⁷

Ultimately, Bryennios' rejection of the Cypriots as "traitors of Orthodoxy," considered irrelevant the historical experience of Orthodox superficial submission to the Latins.¹²⁸ We have already noted that the Latin-ruled Athonites in the thirteenth century sought the protection of the papacy and the Latin emperor of Constantinople, in order to safeguard their rights, privileges, and liberties; even the clergy of Constantinople was willing to accept papal commemoration in exchange for the right to elect a new patriarch.¹²⁹ In the late eleventh and early thirteenth century, Nicholas of Kasoulōn, a Greek monk from Southern Italy, accepted papal jurisdiction and served the Western Church as an interpreter in the negotiations with the Byzantines, while also maintaining contacts with Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiastics and composing Orthodox theological works.¹³⁰ Another Italiote Greek, Barlaam of Calabria, composed no less than twenty-one anti-Latin treatises, seeking refuge to the Western Church (and serving the papacy as bishop of Gerace) only after his condemnation by the patriarchal synod in 1341, due to his attack on hesychast practices.¹³¹ Michael Chōniatēs (d. ca. 1222), the Orthodox archbishop of Athens who had left his see after the Latin conquest, continued to exercise his pastoral duties from afar, encouraging his brethren to reach a compromise with the Latins, so as to safeguard their traditions and privileges.¹³² According to Filip Van Tricht, Latin-ruled Greeks "could display a whole range of loyalties, which implies that in a study of the mutual relations an all too strict dichotomy Latin versus Byzantine would be relatively fruitless."¹³³ It becomes clear that Orthodox Cypriot responses to Latin political and

ecclesiastical expansionism were by no means an exception to the rule, as implied by Bryennios. Moreover, the Ecumenical Patriarchate did not consistently pursue, to the best of my knowledge, an official line of condemning Latin-ruled Greeks who had accepted papal authority (Germanos II's instructions to the Cypriots seem not to have been repeated by other patriarchs), which strengthens the view that the label "Latinizer" had been rather vague and negotiable before Bryennios' time (Bryennios himself had been appointed by the Patriarchate of Constantinople to serve the Orthodox population of Venetian-ruled Crete).

Bryennios also considered irrelevant the variety of identity preservation mechanisms employed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in order to penetrate into Latin-occupied Greek territories. Although a systematic examination of this important subject is beyond the scope of our book, some of the mechanisms that enabled the control of the Orthodox tradition in Latin-occupied areas are briefly mentioned here: "external" ordinations performed by itinerant Orthodox prelates, or Orthodox prelates outside Latin jurisdiction; the appointment of Orthodox hierarchs as titular bishops, or in commendam (κατ' ἐπίδοσιν) administrators of vacant sees; the reaffirmation of Constantinopolitan pastoral authority through the missionary activities of itinerant monks; the promulgation of patriarchal encyclicals; the cultivation of Byzantine Orthodox cultural ties between the imperial center and the Latin-ruled periphery; and the involvement of the Latin-ruled periphery in Byzantine theological discussions (e.g., the controversy over Palamite Hesychasm).¹³⁴

In the case of Cyprus, the institutional arrangements of the 1220s and 1260 (despite having created a canonical anomaly from a Byzantine Orthodox perspective) enabled the remaining Orthodox bishops to keep their rite, ecclesiastical courts, and property by

taking the oath to the papacy and submitting to Latin diocesans.¹³⁵ This ensured a better degree of controlling the Orthodox tradition in a predominantly Greek milieu,¹³⁶ unlike Southern Italy, for example, where political and cultural alienation from Byzantium, combined with demographic decline and occasional outbreaks of Latin coercion, facilitated cultural and religious Latinization.¹³⁷ We have already mentioned that the expulsion of Orthodox bishops from Crete created problems of pastoral guidance and that Venetian supervision was able to obstruct pastoral interventions from Constantinople. Similarly, the fleeing or expulsion of Orthodox bishops from Peloponnese seems to have left the local Greek flock and clergy acephalous.¹³⁸ In comparison to these areas, the Greeks of Cyprus appear to have been much more capable in maintaining their Byzantine Orthodox awareness; as confirmed by the 1313 and 1360 incidents, when papal legates attempted to modify the Byzantine rite (contrary to the traditional line pursued by the papacy), Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastics and laypeople successfully resisted ritual homogenization. Therefore, we may argue that the proposed union was less prevented by the compromising stance of the subjugated Orthodox Cypriots toward the Latin Church than by Bryennios' inflexibility and the growing hierocratic ideology cultivated within the Constantinopolitan patriarchal circles in the early fifteenth century.

Admittedly, it is hard to know the extent to which the views of the Cypriot prelates participating (or being represented) in the synod of 1406 reflected those of their congregations. Yet, Bryennios' version of the synodal Acts shows that the Cypriot participants unanimously perceived their submission to the papacy as superficial, and saw their church as part of the Orthodox world; at the same time, they admitted that the Latin occupation had forced them to compromise, and always feared that the Latins could

exercise violence or coercion against them. The parallel examination of the Cypriot oath of submission to the papacy and the profession of faith of Cypriot episcopal candidates seems to confirm these statements: the semantic fluidity of pro-Latin or doctrinally “neutral” pronouncements enabled the manipulation of rituals and the covert expression of Orthodox identity. The preservation and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity during the fifteenth century is further attested by the investigation of the implementation of the Florentine “Union” on the island after 1439.

2. THE FLORENTINE “UNION” AND ORTHODOX BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

The background of the Council of Florence (1438–39) is well known: for Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48) and his nobility, a union with the Western Church was primarily a channel for securing Latin military help against the Turks. From the Latin viewpoint, a union could only be achieved if the Byzantines recognized and corrected their errors by accepting the Western definition of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Consequently, the Bulla Unionis of 1439 appeared to be a papal victory, “with the Latin side prevailing over the doctrinal and ecclesiological issues, though conceding to the maintenance of [Orthodox] sacramental rites and liturgical practices.”¹³⁹

Antiunionist opposition in the East was led by Palamite Hesychast ecclesiastics, chiefly Mark Eugenikos (Bryennios’ disciple), his brother John (d. post 1454/55), and George Scholarios, later Gennadios II (1454–56 and 1463–65), the first patriarch of Constantinople under the Ottomans.¹⁴⁰ The antiunionist party gradually managed to win over the monastic wing and common people of Constantinople, and the “Union” was not officially proclaimed until December 1452, on the eve of

Constantinople's last siege by Mehmed II (1444–46 and 1451–81).¹⁴¹ The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (May 1453) brought the official condemnation of the "Union"; in 1483/84, almost half a century after the Council of Florence, a patriarchal synod formally denounced the *Bulla Unionis*, and decided that former unionists returning to Orthodoxy should receive the chrism and sign an Orthodox confession of faith.¹⁴²

In Orthodox areas under Latin occupation, reactions toward the Florentine "Union" varied. In Crete, for example, Byzantine-rite unionists found themselves in the most unpleasant position: rejected by their own people as traitors of Orthodoxy, they were also disdained by Latin antiunionists for not being genuine members of the Western Church.¹⁴³ Orthodox antiunionists in Euboea saw the "Union" as a threat to the preservation of their Orthodox faith and liturgical tradition, since the Latins would seize the opportunity to forcefully enter their churches and celebrate the liturgy on their altars.¹⁴⁴ Even in places where the "Union" appears to have successfully been implemented, the relationship between Greeks and Latins was overshadowed by ecclesiastical rivalries. In Kerkyra, the Latins manipulated the "Union" in order to place the local Greek clergy under their own courts, while in Rhodes the Greeks saw the "Union" as an opportunity to improve their status and regain control over the flock.¹⁴⁵

Orthodox monastic attitudes toward the "Union" might have encouraged its superficial acceptance by Latin-ruled Orthodox Christians. In Sinai, a major pole of attraction for both Orthodox and Western pilgrims, the Latins were permitted to officiate in a separate chapel attached onto the main monastic church.¹⁴⁶ It is also noteworthy that representatives of no less than four Athonite monasteries signed the *Bulla Unionis* in 1439; the Great Laura and

Vatopedion seem to have officially pursued a unionist policy until ca. 1459. Athonite “unionism” might have been motivated by the need to safeguard monastic properties in Latin-ruled territories, perhaps reflecting Athonite expectations of Christian liberation of Macedonia and Thrace from the Ottomans. It is rather ironic that, as early as the late fourteenth century, Athonite communities had repeatedly approached the Ottoman sultans, requesting protection of their rights, privileges, and properties in areas suffering from Ottoman raids. Overall, Sinai and Athos once again show how monastic centers managed to survive in difficult times by adopting a pragmatic policy toward the Great Powers (be they political or ecclesiastical) that does not necessarily reflect the spiritual orientation of Orthodox monasticism.¹⁴⁷

The reception of the Florentine “Union” in Cyprus was similar to other parts of the Orthodox East. Although individual cases of sincere ecclesiastical reconciliation cannot be excluded,¹⁴⁸ the dominant tendency among the Orthodox Cypriots was to manipulate the theoretical equality between the Byzantine and Latin rite in order to improve their status; the use of identity preservation mechanisms shows that the officially “unionist” policy of the Orthodox Cypriot Church continued to be interwoven with boundary building, thus permitting the continuation of covert and noncoercive resistance behind the façade of submission to the papacy. Primary sources seem to provide only tesserae of evidence concerning (often antithetical) attitudes and responses to particular circumstances: placing the tesserae in place enables us to have a clearer picture of the colorful mosaic that tells the story of the “Union’s” reception on the island. Despite expressions of goodwill, tolerance, collaboration, and obedience, the continuation of contentional dynamics is remarkable, showing that, like the group of “moderate” (per Aristeides Papadakis) Byzantine unionists who

had initially supported Bekkos after the Council of Lyons, most Orthodox Cypriots “were unionists in appearance only, and had agreed to union solely on a canonical (not a theological) basis. Thus, acceptance of the right of appeal to the pope was permissible; a changed creed was not.”¹⁴⁹

In 1441, only two years after the Council of Florence, religious unity in Cyprus was undermined by rivalry over issues of jurisdiction. Pope Eugene IV received a letter by a number of Greek Cypriot ecclesiastics: they complained that the Latins excluded them from sacramental communion, adding that they also prohibited their participation in weddings, funerals, and other public ceremonies of the Latin community. The Greeks requested the pope’s intervention in order for the Latin churchmen to treat them as equals, making no discrimination in honors and (as seems to be implied) the sharing of profits from these ceremonies. Eugene IV instructed Andrew Chrysobergēs, brother of Maximos Chrysobergēs and Latin archbishop of Rhodes (1432–47), to examine the matter and take measures toward implementing the “Union.”¹⁵⁰ It is clear that control over revenues from religious ceremonies was a major point of friction between Latins and non-Latin “unionists”: although the Latin clergy was part of the dominant class, its economic and cultural survival must have been threatened by the enhanced status and stronger numbers of non-Latin clerics sanctioned to administer the sacraments for Latins and non-Latins alike.

In 1445, Timothy of Tarsus, metropolitan of the “Chaldeans” (Nestorians),¹⁵¹ and Elias of Byblos, bishop of the Maronites, were persuaded by Andrew to make a pro-Latin profession of faith in the cathedral of St. Sophia; Timothy of Tarsus and Isaac of Minya, the Maronite representative, later traveled to Rome and renounced their former errors, thus receiving the right to bless marriages between

Latins and members of their communities.¹⁵² In ca. 1450, reports came to Pope Nicholas V that some of the “Chaldeans” in Cyprus had lapsed into their former errors, which probably indicates the superficial nature of their earlier acceptance of the Florentine decrees. The pope ordered Andrew Chrysobergēs, at the time Latin archbishop of Nicosia (1447–51), to correct and, if necessary, excommunicate those refusing to obey. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Andrew was in residence at the time, which would have certainly affected his control over the disobedient.¹⁵³ Around the same period, the monastery of the Holy Savior of the Indians was serving the Coptic and Ethiopian communities of Nicosia under its Ethiopian prior, Paul George of India. Antiunionist Copts harassed Paul George and attempted to place the monastery under their control, leading the prior to seek and receive papal protection in 1456, though clashes over the monastery and its property seem to have continued well into the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴ Contrary to the enthusiastic statement of Isidore of Kiev, papal envoy in the East (1444–48) and later Chrysobergēs’ successor to the throne of Nicosia (1456–63), that the whole of Rhodes and Cyprus were devoted to the Florentine “Union,” sincere reconciliation was continuously undermined by conflicting interests and deep-rooted religious differences.¹⁵⁵

Sometime before June 1447, Abbot Jonathan of Agros requested from Nicholas V to transfer his monastery from the jurisdiction of the Greek bishop of Solea to that of the Latin archbishop of Nicosia. Although the exact reasons behind the abbot’s appeal remain unclear, his “unionism” was probably motivated by the pragmatism that highlighted the policy pursued by Sinai, Athos, or the Holy Savior’s monastery around the same period: one may suspect that disputes over the monastery’s rights and property had

led Jonathan of Agros to seek Latin support, rather than turning to the Solea bishop.¹⁵⁶

Being united with the Western Church did not mean that Orthodox Cypriots abandoned their doctrines and traditions; boundary maintenance was a crucial aspect of everyday life under Latin rule. In the words of Bishop Neophytos Logaras of Solea (1543–68), who resisted Latin attempts of implementing the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus (in ca. 1567): “there are bounds set between us Greeks and you Latins” (sono posti li termini tra noi, & voi tra latini & greci).¹⁵⁷

In August 1447, Nicholas V sent a letter to Chrysobergēs, having been informed that a number of Greeks in Cyprus and Rhodes argued that it was the Latins who had accepted the Greek faith in Florence and not vice versa. Others claimed that the Latins had only recently been enlightened by the Greeks on the doctrine of Christ’s two wills and activities, implicitly (and incorrectly from a historical and theological perspective) accusing them of Monothelitism and Monenergism.¹⁵⁸ The pope was also informed that other Greeks questioned the canonical validity of the union between Latins and Armenians (agreed in Florence), stating that such reconciliation was contrary to the Catholic faith. Nicholas V instructed Chrysobergēs to examine the matter, employing, if necessary, the secular arm against heretics and rebels.¹⁵⁹ The papal letter of 1447 shows that a group of Orthodox Cypriots rejected the Florentine “Union” in various ways, either by intentionally misinterpreting its decrees, or by challenging the orthodoxy of the Latin faith and the council’s validity.

The “setting of bounds” has left its imprint on Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical art. A late fifteenth-century fresco from the apse of the church of St. Maura at Koilani depicts Christ administering the Holy Communion to the apostles, who are divided into two choirs,

each partaking of His Body and Blood respectively. It is noteworthy that neither choir is led by St. Peter, considered to have established the primacy of the Roman pope. Instead, the apostles are led by Sts. John and Andrew, the latter being commemorated by the Orthodox as the founder of the Constantinopolitan Church and patron of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁶⁰ The narthex of St. John Lampadistēs' monastery at Kalopanagiōtēs was decorated by a Constantinopolitan painter, probably in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Last Judgment scene illustrates the punishment of sinners in the fiery stream. Inscriptions identify various groups of sinners, including the πνευματομάχοι (i.e., "enemies of the Holy Spirit"). As mentioned above, this pejorative epithet was associated with the heresy of Macedonianism, the Latin doctrine of the Filioque, and Bekkos' unionism.¹⁶¹ Likewise, a fifteenth-century fresco depicting the Holy Trinity from the rock-cut Hermitage of Souskiou should probably be interpreted as an Orthodox response to the Filioque doctrine.¹⁶²

As several scholars have argued, the addition of multiple aisles, chapels, and altars in Byzantine-rite churches could perhaps be interpreted as an indication of unionism.¹⁶³ A systematic examination of this complex issue remains a desideratum for future research. What needs to be stressed is that the forced or voluntary coexistence of different rites in the same church (accepted by the intransigent Joseph Bryennios) does not necessarily imply liturgical concelebration.¹⁶⁴ Various Western sources point out that when Latin priests celebrated the liturgy on Orthodox altars, the Greeks were greatly disturbed; instead of being considered an act of brotherly love, the Latin intervention was seen as a sacrilege, leading the Orthodox to reconsecrate their altars (the Orthodox

Cypriot liturgical ordinance of reconsecrating altars seems to confirm these Western testimonies).¹⁶⁵

How are we, then, to interpret the phenomenon of shared churches? As Eftichia Arvaniti argues, reasons of convenience (e.g., long distances and the lack of Latin priests) “forced religious communities to employ the ‘others’ for their religious needs.”¹⁶⁶ Thus, the Hospitallers of Kolossi probably used the Orthodox church of St. Eustathios, although we know nothing about the specific details of their liturgical accommodation.¹⁶⁷ From the Orthodox perspective, providing a separate space for the performance of funerary, memorial, and private services had the benefit of attracting Latin patronage.¹⁶⁸ The same pragmatism governed the management of major pilgrimage sites throughout the island, which, by the early sixteenth century, had passed into Greek hands (see, e.g., the testimony of Felix Faber, discussed in the beginning of this chapter): the Orthodox had to accept (and might have also invited for sociopolitical and economic reasons) the Latins in their churches, but set apart separate aisles or chapels with their own altars for Latin use.¹⁶⁹ This was a diplomatic solution that permitted the cultivation of harmonious relations with the Latin political and ecclesiastical regime, providing patronage and economic benefits to the Orthodox, while the two communities officiated in recognizably distinct liturgical spaces, each preserving its own altar and following its own rite. Although we cannot rule out that the separation of sanctuaries was a natural consequence of ritual differences and differences in sanctuary- and altar-design, the fact that the Latins were sometimes willing to take over Orthodox altars, meeting Orthodox resistance, strongly suggests that the Orthodox wished to maintain visible borders with the Latins, in

order to safeguard their tradition and effectively maintain control over their holy sites.

In the post-Florentine period, Orthodox guardians of tradition continued to be conscious of the need to instruct and guide their flock, against the temptation of religious syncretism hidden in the realities of everyday coexistence. An undated collection of Orthodox Cypriot canon law, preserved in two seventeenth-century manuscripts (versions A and B), could be dated to the period of the Latin rule, perhaps reflecting the deployment of noncoercive strategies of boundary building after the Council of Florence.¹⁷⁰ Both versions, for example, repeat the catechetical instructions on the twelve articles of faith that precede Lapithēs' treatise *On the Seven Sacraments*.¹⁷¹ The instructions explicitly state that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, while both versions exclusively commemorate Orthodox Christians (the dead and the living, including emperors and archpriests).¹⁷² In version B, the canons prohibit entry to the churches of Copts, Maronites, Jacobites, Armenians, and "other heretics" (καὶ ἑτέρων αἱρετικῶν), perhaps implying the Latins.¹⁷³ Indeed, a similar canon in version A mentions the "Franks" (Φράγκοι) among "other heretics" (καὶ ἄλλων αἱρετικῶν).¹⁷⁴ Version B adds that whoever prepares unleavened bread is considered dead in God's eyes.¹⁷⁵ Version A prohibits entry in Jewish houses and synagogues, as well as dining with or working for Jews.¹⁷⁶ Lastly, both versions prohibit Orthodox Christians to follow the Armenian fast of the Artzivour.¹⁷⁷

The extent to which prohibitions like the above managed to raise barriers between Orthodox Christians and other Cypriot ethnoreligious communities is not clear. However, at a doctrinal level it appears that Orthodox Cypriot guardians of tradition

succeeded in instructing their flock on the Orthodox theological position concerning the condition of souls in the afterlife; this led pastors in the Latin community to respond with a Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife, composed in Greek by Francis, a Cypriot Franciscan friar (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and Appendix III). The date of this formerly unpublished text is not known, though it must have been composed sometime between the Florentine Council (1439)¹⁷⁸ and the late 1540s.¹⁷⁹ Francis, who might have been a Greek convert to the Latin rite or a Hellenized Latin, used Greek scriptural, liturgical, and theological sources, which reveal his familiarity with the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. His primary aim was to persuade his Greek Cypriot audience about the doctrinal correctness of the Latin faith by proving that Western theology was based on the common tradition of both churches.

In the introduction of his Florilegium, Francis notes that “there are many in this city [i.e., Nicosia or Famagusta] and on this island who deny the existence of Purgatory in the afterlife” (πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες πῦρ καθαρτήριον μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον μὴ εἶναι); they also deny that the blessed souls experience the heavenly glory, namely the Beatific Vision (τὰς ἁγίας ψυχὰς μηδαμῶς εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον δόξαν ἀναδέχεσθαι), and reject the preeschatological presence of souls in Paradise and Hades (μὴ δε τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν Ἅδην, ἕως οὗ ἀνέλθῃ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Κριτής).¹⁸⁰ According to the decrees of the Florentine Council, mentioned by Francis in order to add authority to his arguments,¹⁸¹ the souls who need to complete their penance in the afterlife undergo penalties in a specific place, Purgatory (vadunt ad purgatorium); this formula had already been accepted by the unionist Byzantines in Lyons (1274).¹⁸² Parenthetically, it should be noted that in 1254, during a clash between Archbishop Hugh of Fagiano and the Orthodox

Cypriot bishops over issues of practice, Pope Innocent IV sent a letter to Eudes of Châteauroux, the papal legate in Cyprus, attempting to reach a settlement. Innocent was generally willing to tolerate the Byzantine rite, only modifying practices that he considered spiritually harmful.¹⁸³ Innocent, who seems to have been vaguely aware of Byzantine patristic references to the postmortem purgation of souls (see below), instructed the Greeks of Cyprus to adopt the term “Purgatory.” Although this was probably the first papal definition of Purgatory, we do not know whether the pontifical pronouncements were implemented or not. As our *Florilegium* suggests, the island’s Orthodox continued to reject Purgatory as late as Francis the Cypriot’s time (and well after).¹⁸⁴

Since the Orthodox had no doctrinal pronouncement concerning the postmortem state of souls, the theological dialogue with the Latins in Florence led Mark Eugenikos to a more systematic examination of this theological question. He argued that earlier patristic references to the purgation of souls should be understood as allegorical and instructive. Eugenikos underlined that the souls remain in a state of expectation of the Last Judgment, either relieved in the promise of their future union with God, or in fear of their future punishment. Eugenikos, a Palamite Hesychast, stressed that Paradise should be perceived as the transfigurative vision of God’s energies (not essence), granted to the righteous; he noted that sinners would be deprived of this blessing, thus experiencing a condition that is worse than physical pain.¹⁸⁵ It is quite likely that the Orthodox Cypriots targeted by Francis’ *Florilegium* were aware of Eugenikos’ theology: their rejection of Purgatory and the Beatific Vision was essentially a rejection of the Latin faith, suggesting the success of Orthodox Cypriot pastors in safeguarding their tradition.

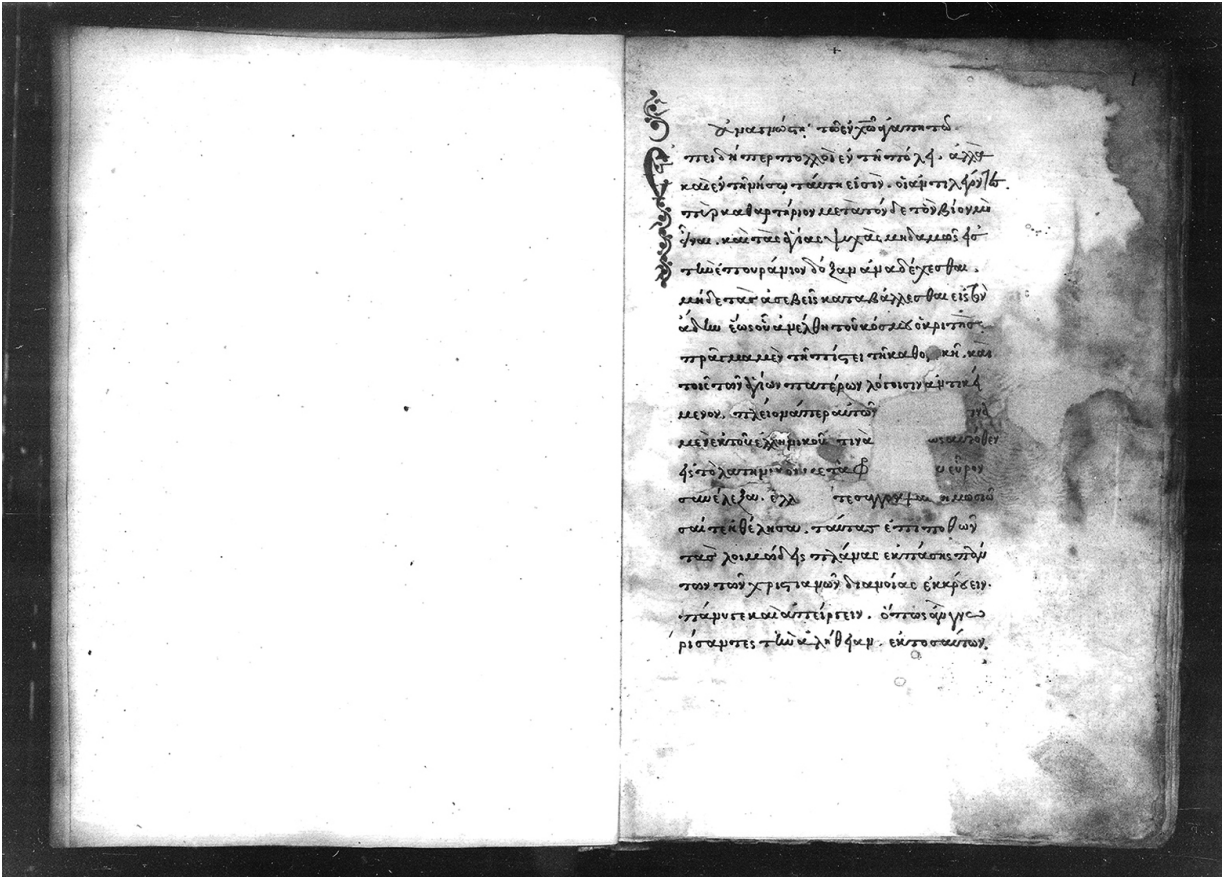


Figure 4.1 Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife by Francis the Cypriot, MS Eton College 166, f. 1r, ca. post 1439–ante 1547. Source: Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

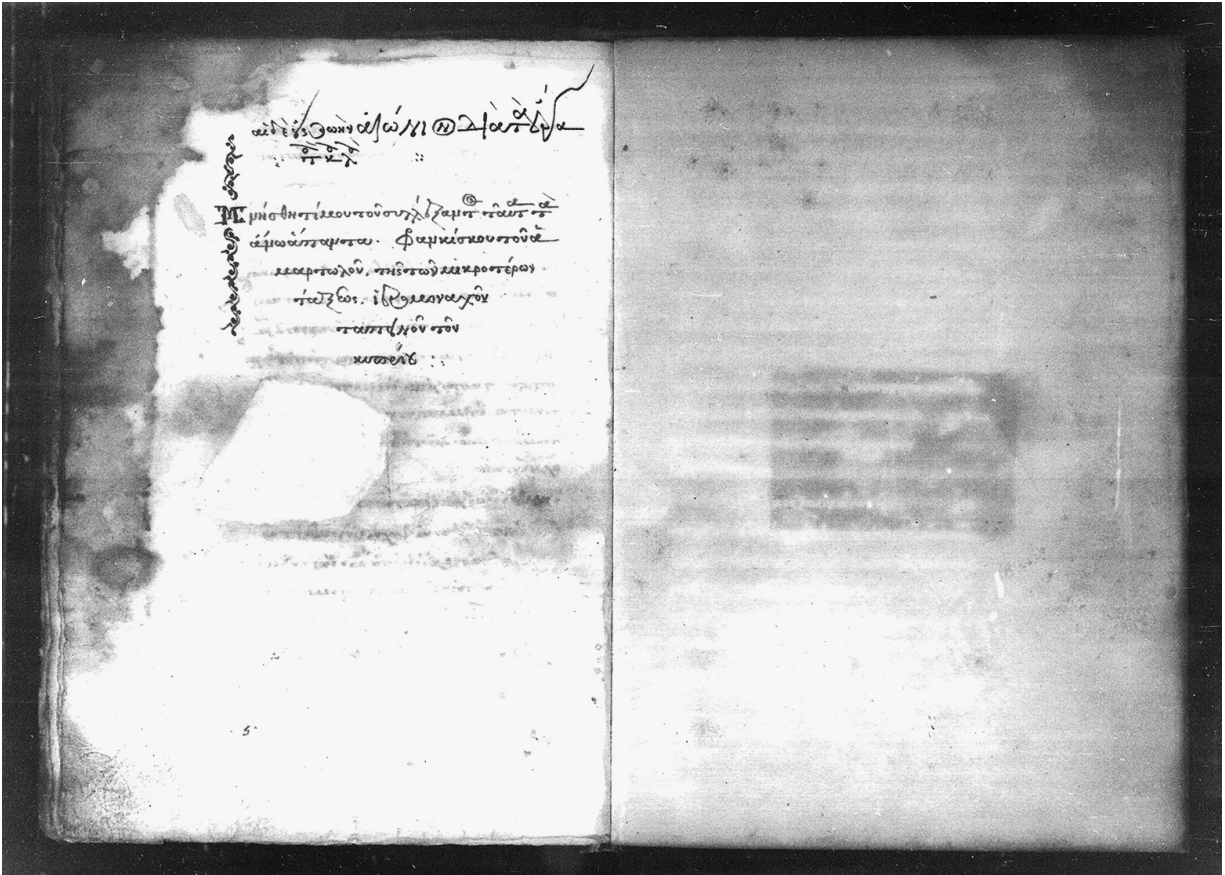


Figure 4.2 Colophon by Francis the Cypriot, MS Eton College 166, f. 22v, ca. post 1439–ante 1547. *Source:* Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

3. THE “KING’S CHURCH” AFTER FLORENCE

The “Union” of Florence intensified intermarriage between Latin- and Byzantine-rite Christians; the phenomenon was facilitated by the fact that both the Latin and Byzantine Orthodox canon law permitted mixed marriages.¹⁸⁶ The symbiosis of the two rites in the same family inevitably led to syncretistic behaviors or changes of rite.¹⁸⁷ The Latin Church continued to exercise its jurisdiction over royal marriages, as demonstrated by John II’s first (1440) and

second marriage (1442) with Medea (Amadea) of Monferrat (d. 1440) and Helena Palaiologina (d. 1458) respectively.¹⁸⁸

The coming of Princess Helena Palaiologina in Cyprus and her involvement in the administration, dynastic disputes, and foreign policy of the Lusignan Kingdom (1442–58) provoked the hostility of a part of the Latin nobility.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, Helena's support of Orthodoxy and her intervention in ecclesiastical affairs, which aimed at controlling the succession to the throne by having James II (her husband's illegitimate son and possible rival to her daughter, Charlotte) nominated as Latin archbishop of Nicosia, alarmed the papacy.¹⁹⁰ Although the Latin sources referring to Helena and her alleged anti-Latinism are clearly biased, this does not prove that she did not have pro-Greek sympathies. The Council of Florence, which sanctioned the equality of both rites under the papacy, must have given to Helena greater flexibility to express her pro-Greek sentiments. This is confirmed by the fact that she used her position as queen to support the wave of Byzantine refugees from Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest of 1453; given that the newcomers included monks, painters, scribes, and bibliophiles, Helena indirectly (and probably unintentionally) prepared the ground for the Orthodox Cypriot spiritual and cultural revival under the Venetians, reaffirming the island's ethnoreligious bonds with Byzantium.¹⁹¹

Although Helena did not provide a male successor to John II, she was a strong-willed and dynamic queen, more capable than her husband in dealing with the crisis experienced by the Lusignan Kingdom.¹⁹² After giving birth to Charlotte (1444) and Cleopa, who died during her infancy in 1448, Helena became paraplegic and was forced to exercise her political role from her private chambers with the help of a close circle of Byzantine, Greek

Cypriot, and Syrian associates.¹⁹³ Rather than attempting to reach an accommodation with the Genoese over the recovery of Famagusta, the policy of Helena's party, which seems to have been supported by her uncle and last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–53), focused on the prospect of an alliance with the Aragonese king of Naples, Alfonso V (1416–58), “ruler of perhaps the strongest Christian kingdom in the Mediterranean [and] potential participant in a grand [anti-Turkish] crusade.”¹⁹⁴ The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the rise of Ottoman naval power were alarming developments for the Christian world, particularly the Latin Christian dominions in the Eastern Mediterranean. James II of Lusignan (John II's bastard and last Lusignan ruler of Cyprus, 1464–73), who had previously served as Latin archbishop of Nicosia before dethroning his sister Charlotte (1458–64) with the help of the Mamlūks, pursued an anti-Ottoman alliance with the Venetians, sealed by his betrothal to Caterina Cornaro, adopted daughter of the Venetian Republic. After James II's unexpected death in 1473, Cyprus became a Venetian protectorate, with Caterina reigning until the island's official annexation by Venice in 1489.¹⁹⁵

The pro-Byzantine orientation¹⁹⁶ and anti-Ottomanism of the last Lusignan rulers of Cyprus, strengthened by the dynastic union between the Lusignans and the Palaiologoi on the eve of the conquest of Constantinople, formed the basis of a political ideology that facilitated cultural interaction and socioreligious interdependence between Orthodox and Latins in the post-Florentine period, against the common Ottoman enemy. The symbolic alliance between the lost empire of Byzantium and the Lusignans is best visualized in the small chapel of St. Michael the Archangel at the mountainous village of Pedoulas, founded by the priest Basil Chamados and his wife in the 1470s: the central part of

the iconostasis is decorated with the insignia of both Byzantium and the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus, placing Chamados' church under the patronage of the island's Frankish dynasty, as well as denoting his allegiance to Byzantium, conquered by the Ottomans some twenty years earlier.¹⁹⁷

Loyalty toward Byzantium and the Lusignans (and later Venice) emerges as an important element of Orthodox Cypriot political identity in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁸ This ideology must have been consolidated by the Lusignan control of both Latin and Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical affairs. In the last decades of Lusignan rule, Orthodox Cypriot bishops, like their Latin diocesans, were elected by the Royal Council and nominated by the Lusignan king.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, the Lusignans maintained (or claimed) proprietary rights (*ius patronatus*) over Latin and Orthodox churches and monasteries. The opportunity to increase royal income led the royal dynasty to sell offices and benefices by public auction, causing phenomena of corruption and simony, which remained major ecclesiastical problems until the end of Venetian rule in Cyprus.²⁰⁰

The case of Bishop Nicholas of Solea (ca. 1458–73) is an example of how post-Florentine Orthodox prelates were integrated into the Lusignan political regime. George Bustron's (d. post 1501?) Chronicle, our main source for the political events of the second half of the fifteenth century,²⁰¹ informs us that in 1458 Nicholas of Solea was the first ecclesiastic summoned by James II of Lusignan, at the time Latin archbishop of Nicosia, to assist his attempt at reconciliation with Queen Charlotte, who wanted to arrest and put her brother on trial, due to rumors that James was planning to kill her.²⁰² George Bustron also notes that in 1473, Nicholas of Solea was among the high officials and churchmen of

Nicosia gathered on the occasion of James II's death and the public declaration of his wife, Caterina Cornaro, as queen of Cyprus.²⁰³ George Bustron's references suggest that Nicholas maintained harmonious relations with James, the archbishop-turned-king, and that he was actively involved in the Lusignan Kingdom's affairs.²⁰⁴

Latin absenteeism and political antagonisms favored Nicholas' establishment in the public stage. Between 1471 and 1473, Archbishop Louis Perez Fabregues (1471–76) was on a diplomatic mission in Italy. Upon James II's unexpected death (1473) the Latin archbishop, in collaboration with several nobles and officials, orchestrated a coup against Caterina Cornaro and the Venetians, aiming to restore Charlotte with the support of the Kingdom of Naples.²⁰⁵ One of the first actions of defiance against Cornaro was the refusal of the Latin cathedral chapter of St. Sophia to provide a porphyry sarcophagus for King James II's burial; clearly, a part of the Cypriot Latin clergy were loyal to Archbishop Louis and his collaborators.²⁰⁶ George Bustron notes that the people of Nicosia declared their loyalty-to-death toward James II's widow, and that Charlotte's agents were arrested before provoking a popular uprising among the gathered pilgrims in the Orthodox monasteries of the Virgin Apsinthiōtissa and Acheiropoiētos.²⁰⁷ Bishop Nicholas' presence during the public declaration of Caterina Cornaro's legitimacy strongly suggests that, like many other of his compatriots, he was pursuing a loyalist line, against the Latin archbishop. In 1474, a Venetian fleet arrived in Cyprus, defeating Charlotte's partisans, and establishing Cornaro and the Venetian party. Fabregues was forced to flee and never return to the island.²⁰⁸ From 1477 onward, all Latin archbishops of Cyprus were either Venetians or Venetian protégés, while the island's

ecclesiastical affairs came to the control of St. Mark's Republic and her local collaborators.²⁰⁹

The “royalization” of Cypriot ecclesiastical institutions must have facilitated the expansion of Orthodox and Oriental Christian pastoral activities over the Latin community at the time of Louis Perez Fabregues' absence from Cyprus (1471–73). In 1472, Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) promulgated a bull attempting to restore Latin ecclesiastical control over non-Latins. The pope noted that the Latin see of Nicosia lacked a pastor who could defend its rights and liberties: the Greek bishop of Solea (namely Nicholas), together with other prelates belonging to the Oriental Christian rites, exercised the role of their Latin diocesans, ordaining bigamists, bastards, illiterates, and immoral men, and allowing them to administer the holy sacraments; they also practiced simony, blessed marriages within degrees prohibited by the Latin canon law, allowed divorces and remarriages, usurped the jurisdiction of the Latin hierarchy over matrimonial and spiritual matters, and were ignorant of the Latin ecclesiastical tradition, including the decrees of the Florentine Council. Sixtus IV ordered the restoration of Latin episcopal authority, condemned simony, and prohibited uncanonical ordinations and intervention over spiritual issues. He underlined that the Greek bishops were free to exercise their jurisdiction within their own bishoprics (namely Solea, Arsinoë, Leukara, and Karpasia), but were prohibited on pain of excommunication to extend their authority beyond these areas.²¹⁰

Sixtus IV's bull is important because it unveils the partial failure of the papacy's unionist policy in Cyprus: the non-Latin ethnoreligious communities manipulated the Florentine decrees in order to expand their jurisdiction and fill the pastoral vacuum created by the weakness of the island's Latin Church. Nicholas of Solea “usurped” the role of the Latin archbishop, expanding his

pastoral authority over the Orthodox and Latins of the Nicosia diocese; the same policy was also pursued by other Orthodox and Oriental Christian prelates, who were accused of being ignorant of the Latin faith and the Florentine decrees.

For many Orthodox Cypriots, whose long historical presence on the island predated the Latin establishment and their submission to the papacy, the “usurpation” of Latin jurisdiction must have been considered as the rightful restoration of their ecclesiastical authority. This was the outcome of the gradual process of decline of the Latin Church of Cyprus, which was suffering from absenteeism, relaxation of canonical obedience, lack of papal control, and numerical weakness. Moreover, the *de facto* restoration of Orthodox ecclesiastical power was the result of a series of small victories won by the Orthodox Cypriots in the two preceding centuries: the continuation of episcopal authority under the provisions of the Bulla Cypria; the development of boundary maintenance strategies; the strengthening of relations with Byzantium and the Orthodox world (before the hierocratic rejection of the Cypriots as Latinizers in the fifteenth century). The improvement of Orthodox status was also the outcome of the royalization of the Orthodox and Latin Churches, facilitated by the theoretical equality of Latin and non-Latin rites under the Florentine Bulla Unionis, and strengthened by the need to reaffirm local Christian identity vis-à-vis Muslim expansion in the East.

The bull of 1472 says nothing about the Lusignans and their control over church affairs. Yet, the sound of silence is colored by the tune of royal tolerance, suggesting that James II was more interested in effectively governing his kingdom with the collaboration of local ecclesiastical hierarchies than imposing a line of obedience to the papacy.

This chapter examined the preservation and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the context of fifteenth-century

socioreligious developments in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Although the victory of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus appears to have strengthened local Orthodox identity, it exposed Orthodox Cypriots to the criticism of hierocratic Orthodox ecclesiastics. Intercommunal symbiosis and phenomena of socioreligious interaction reflect the complex process of indigenization of the Cypriot Latin sociocultural structures, caused by various factors, including internal antagonisms, Ottoman expansion, social mobility, and de-Westernization. The bolstering of Cypriot Christian identity is encapsulated in Leontios Makhairas' ideology of unity under the Lusignans and the papacy, paradoxically combined with his awareness of the island's historical bonds with Byzantium and Orthodoxy. However, from the point of view of Orthodox hierocratic churchmen, the lack of open tension between Orthodox Cypriots and Latins threatened the purity of the Orthodox faith, leading to a de facto schism between Constantinople and Cyprus. Ultimately, Constantinople's rejection of the Cypriot proposal for reunion was largely the result of a hierocratic ideology that chose to deny the significance of cryptoreligious resistance to Latinization.

The Orthodox antiunionist struggle against the decrees of the Florentine Council, and the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire (1453), contributed to the consolidation of the schism between Cyprus and Constantinople. This, together with the implementation of the Florentine decrees on the island, constituted a clear threat to the survival of local Orthodoxy. The theoretical equality between the Byzantine and Latin rites sanctioned in Florence largely failed to bring sincere reconciliation: the Florentine "Union" was undermined by rivalry over issues of jurisdiction, while expressions of noncoercive, nonviolent, and covert anti-Latinism appear to have effectively set boundaries between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians.

Ironically, the Florentine “Union” facilitated the reception of Byzantine Orthodox cultural agents: under the patronage of Queen Helena Palaiologina, the newcomers brought to the island the spirit, memories, and culture of Orthodox Byzantium, reaffirming Orthodox Cypriot identity despite the schism with Constantinople and the Ottoman conquest of 1453. The strengthening of the Orthodox element had already begun during Hugh IV’s reign in the fourteenth century; yet, it was due to the Byzantine queen of Cyprus that the process of Orthodox regeneration was reinforced: by not openly provoking the Latins in matters of faith, Helena respected the Florentine “Union” and employed its framework, namely the theoretical equality between Latins and Greeks under the papacy, to promote the interests of her kingdom (anti-Ottoman policy) and people (reception and accommodation of Byzantine refugees). Helena’s activities coincided with the “royalization” of Cypriot ecclesiastical structures (already in progress since the fourteenth century), which enhanced loyalism among the local Orthodox population, paving the ground for similar responses toward the Venetians, sole arbitrators of socioreligious stability and protectors of Christian Cyprus after the island’s annexation in 1489.

NOTES

1. *Fratri Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, vol. 1, ed. C. D. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843), pp. 173–77 (ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 39–41); *Excerpta Cypria Nova. Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XVème siècle*, vol. 1, ed. G. Grivaud (Nicosia, 1990), pp. 39–40; Th. Stavrides, “Ο σεισμός του 1491 στην Κύπρο,” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 139–43; Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” pp. 316–18, 349. Muslim attacks and Latin clerical absenteeism are considered the main reasons for the Greek return at Staurobouni.

2. K. Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford–New York, 2014).

3. M. E. Dorninger, “The Island of Cyprus in Travel Literature of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History*, ed. A. Grafetstätter, S. Hartmann, and J. Ogier (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), p. 76; Schabel, “Religion,” p. 218.

4. C. M. Constantinou, “Aporias of Identity: Bicommunalism, Hybridity and the ‘Cyprus Problem,’” *Cooperation and Conflict* 42.3 (2007), pp. 247–70 (esp. at p. 253); cf. Varnava, “The State of Cypriot Minorities: Cultural Diversity, Internal-Exclusion and the Cyprus ‘Problem,’” *The Cyprus Review* 22.2 (2010), pp. 205–18.

5. L. Balletto, “Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. B. Arbel (London–Portland, Oregon, 1996), p. 48.

6. P. W. Edbury, “Ἡ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Βασιλείου ἀπὸ τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ Οὔγου Δ΄ μέχρι τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰανοῦ (1324–1432),” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.1, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 145–58; R. Irwin, “Οἱ εἰσβολὲς τῶν Μαμελούκων στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.1, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 159–76.

7. P. W. Edbury, “The Last Lusignans (1432–1489): A Political History,” *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 157–60.

8. T. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford–New York, 2009), p. 228; cf. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Ethnic Names,” pp. 259–75.

9. Staurinos, Leontios’ father, was an Orthodox priest; he had received an oral training in theology (ἐξ ἀκουῆς ἐγήνοσκειν πολλὴν θεολογίαν), and was a respected counselor of the Latin nobility. Staurinos’ cousin was a nun at the Orthodox convent of St. Mamas, but her son, Philip (d. 1376), was a Latin priest and tutor of King Peter II: *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 566, 570–71, 608 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 394, 397–98, 414). Nicholas and Leontios, Staurinos’ sons, were employed as secretaries by the Nores family. Nicholas and Paul (another

of Staurinos' sons) participated in the Lusignan defense of Kyrenia against the Genoese. Leontios later served under King Janus at Choirokoitia (1426), while his brother Peter was involved in the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt (1426–27). There is evidence that Leontios was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Karamanids, presumably under John II (1432): C. Sathas in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. ρκθ'–ρλα'; Dawkins in *Leontios Makhairas*, vol. 2, pp. 15–21; M. Pieris, “Γύρω από τον Λεόντιο Μαχαιρά: ιστορική και θρησκευτική συνείδηση, γλώσσα και λογοτεχνικότητα, αφηγηματική και δραματική δομή,” in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου “Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς-Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος, δυο χρονικά της μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου,”* ed. L. Loizou-Hadjigabriel (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 35–36.

10. See chapters 1 and 3. The inclusion of St. John of Montfort (d. 1248) in the *Chronicle*'s list of miraculous saints venerated on the island, not supported by Orthodox Cypriot liturgical sources and artistic evidence, could be interpreted in terms of Makhairas' irenic stance toward the Western Church, and perhaps also by his purpose of addressing Latin-rite readers or audience: *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 33 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 83–84); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 75–78. The *Chronicle* also notes that the pope is a “good Christian,” again evidencing Makhairas' reconciliatory tone: A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Η ονοματολογία στα χειρόγραφα του Χρονικού του Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά,” in *Αναδρομικά και Προδρομικά. Approaches to Texts in Early Modern Greek*, vol. 5 of *Neograeca Medii Aevi*, ed. E. Jeffreys and M. Jeffreys (Oxford, 2005), pp. 353–55.

11. On Makhairas' readers/audience, see: Pieris, “Γύρω από τον Λεόντιο Μαχαιρά,” pp. 35–54; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Η προφορικότητα στα χειρόγραφα του Χρονικού του Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά. Μεταγραφικά και εκδοτικά προβλήματα,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Loizou-Hadjigabriel, pp. 55–77; N. Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* (Nicosia, 1998); Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 86–92.

12. Y. Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, trans. D. Bethell (Hamden, Connecticut, 1970).

13. E. Delaruelle, E. R. Labande, and P. Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1379–1449)*, vol. 14.1 of *Histoire de l'Église Fliche et Martin* (Paris, 1963); F. Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300–1870* (Oxford–New York, 2003); J. Rollo-Koster and T. M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Leiden–Boston, 2009).

14. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1084; J. Richard, “Le royaume de Chypre et le Grand Schisme, à propos d’un document récemment découvert,” *CRSAIBL* 109.2 (1965), pp. 498–507; R. W. H. de Collenberg, “État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre avant le Grand Schisme d’après les registres des papes du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle,” *MEFR* 91.1 (1979), pp. 197–332; Collenberg, “Le royaume et l’Église de Chypre face au Grande Schisme (1378–1417) d’après les registres des archives du Vatican,” *MEFR* 94.2 (1982), pp. 621–701; Collenberg, “Chypre et la Papauté aux tempts du Grand et du Petit Schisme, 1378–1474,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 179–84; G. Fedalto, “Ἡ Λατινικὴ Ἐκκλησία στὸ Μεσαιωνικὸ Βασίλειο,” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.1, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 702–13; A. Kouroupakis, “Κύπρος και Μεγάλο Σχίσμα (1378–1417),” in *First Annual Conference on Byzantine and Medieval Studies: Nicosia, 13–15 January 2017 (Abstracts of Presentations)*, ed. S. G. Georgiou (Nicosia, 2017), p. 68.

15. Ph. Daileader, “Local Experiences of the Great Western Schism,” in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism*, ed. Rollo-Koster and Izbicki, pp. 99–100.

16. In ca. 1406, for example, King Janus granted to Hugh, his younger brother, provisional authority (*in commendam*) over the Nicosia diocese; after receiving papal confirmation by Pisa, Hugh acted as regent during Janus’ captivity (1426–27), and was promoted to cardinal (1426), participating in the Council of Basel (1431–38). See L. de Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques,” pp. 280–86; R. W. H. de Collenberg, “Les cardinaux de Chypre Hugues et Lancelot de Lusignan,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 20 (1982), pp. 83–128 (esp. at pp. 83–115); cf. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1088, and *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ*

γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 50–51 (ll. 678–80). See more examples of royal control in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 223–24.

17. See, for example, the de-Westernization of the Latin dioceses of Limassol and Paphos (caused by abseenteism, plague, natural disasters, war, and Muslim raids): *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 45–46; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, pp. 98–101, 107; *Οι πληροφορίες των Βραχέων Χρονικών*, pp. lxxvi–lxxiii, lxxviii–lxxx; Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” pp. 280–92, 306–19; M. Olympios, “Rummaging through Ruins: Architecture in Limassol in the Lusignan and Venetian Periods,” in *Lemosos*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 364–65, 395–402. Michael of Castellatio, the Latin bishop of Paphos, complained in 1469 that pastoral duties in his diocese were performed by Greek priests who were ignorant of the Latin language: R. W. H. de Collenberg, “Le royaume et l’Église latine de Chypre et la papauté de 1417 à 1471 (d’après les registres des archives du Vatican),” *EKEE* 13–16 (1984–87), pp. 94, 176.

18. Quoted by Collenberg, “Les cardinaux,” p. 85 (ET in Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1090); cf. Collenberg, “Le royaume,” p. 120.

19. J. Richard, “Une famille de ‘Vénitiens blancs’ dans le royaume de Chypre au milieu du XVe siècle: les Audet et la seigneurie du Marethasse,” *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981), pp. 89–129 (repr. in Richard, *Croisés*, X); B. Betto, “Nuove ricerche su studenti ciprioti all’università di Padova (1393–1489),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 40–80; Collenberg, “Les premiers Podocataro,” pp. 130–82.

20. B. Arbel, “The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation,” in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby (London–Totowa, New Jersey, 1989), p. 190 [repr. in B. Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), VI].

21. Coureas, “Conversion,” p. 83.

22. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1088.

23. Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” pp. 232–33; Schabel, “The Status,” p. 199.

24. Cf. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1090.
25. *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, pp. 30–31; cf. Nasrallah, *Chronologie*, pp. 25–26.
26. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 40 (ll. 300–303), 50 (ll. 662–65).
27. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 47 (ll. 536–49), 48 (ll. 590–91). It is not clear whether Bryennios considered the Constantinopolitan metropolis of Pisidia, situated near the Antiochene see of Cilicia, as a “Syrian” church; cf. N. S. Akritidis, *Ἡ ἱστορικὴ γεωγραφία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἀπὸ τὸν 9ο αἰ. μ.Χ. μέχρι τὸ 1453* (Thessalonica, 2004), p. 350; Korobeinikov, “Orthodox Communities,” p. 202.
28. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, vol. 2, ed. E. Boulgares (Leipzig, 1768), p. 16; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 631–32.
29. On the Antiochene acceptance of Palamite Hesychasm, see chapter 3. A more systematic examination of Antiochene ecclesiastical policy during the early fifteenth century remains a *desideratum*. Following the official Constantinopolitan acceptance of the Florentine “Union” in 1439, the three Eastern Patriarchates (Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem) seem to have welcomed ecclesiastical reconciliation with the West: J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence, and other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 213–21. This indicates that Antioch was following in Constantinople’s footsteps, adopting a harder line toward the “Latinizers” after the consolidation of Palamite Hesychasm in the late fourteenth century, but accepting the Florentine *Bulla Unionis* a few decades later.
30. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 32 (ll. 1–14); *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. 1.6, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1991), doc. 3277 (= *RAPC* 1.6).
31. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 32–33 (ll. 14–21), 45 (ll. 476–79), 50 (ll. 673–77); Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 354–55; *RAPC* 1.6, docs. 3279, 3281.

32. On Orthodox Cypriot expressions of fear for the Latin reaction, see chapter 2, and further discussion below.

33. N. B. Tomadakis, *Ὁ Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ 1400. Μελέτη ἱστορικὴ καὶ φιλολογικὴ* (Athens, 1947), pp. 11–38; H. Bazini, “Une première édition des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les *Traitées addresses aux Crétois*,” *REB* 62 (2004), pp. 83–85; J. A. Demetracopoulos, “Palamas Transformed. Palamite interpretations of the distinction between God’s ‘Essence’ and ‘Energies’ in Late Byzantium,” in *Greeks*, ed. Hinterberger and Schabel, pp. 287–91; Ch. Dendrinos, “Palaiologan scholars at work. Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios’ autograph,” in *From Manuscripts to Book/Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009), ed. A. Giannouli and E. Schiffer (Vienna, 2011), pp. 33–34; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 120–22.

34. Tomadakis, *Ὁ Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος*, pp. 26–29.

35. S. Xanthoudides, *Ἡ Ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν* (Athens, 1939), pp. 71–72, 81–110; N. B. Tomadakis, “Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι παπάδες ἐπὶ Ἐνετοκρατίας καὶ ἡ χειροτονία αὐτῶν,” *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 13 (1959), pp. 39–72 (= KX); J. Gill, “Pope Urban V (1362–1370) and the Greeks of Crete,” *OCP* 39.2 (1973), pp. 461–63; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 102–15, 133–67; Ch. Maltezos, “Μέτρα τῆς Βενετίας ἐναντίον τῶν οἰκογενειῶν τῶν ἐπαναστατῶν στὴν Κρήτη (14ος αἰ.),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 397–406. The strong ethnoreligious element in Cretan resistance against the Venetians, questioned by modern revisionist scholarship, is confirmed by the hagiographical and scholarly activities of Joseph Philagrēs (d. post 1394), with whom Bryennios corresponded: K. I. Dyobouniotes, “Ὁ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνθιμος καὶ Πρόεδρος Κρήτης ὁ Ὁμολογητής,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 9 (1932), pp. 47–79; G. K. Parazoglou, “Χειρόγραφα ἔργα Ἀνθίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ κείμενα ποὺ ἀναφέρονται σ’ αὐτόν,” *Ἑλληνικὰ* 31 (1979), pp. 183–87; Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 362; Parazoglou, ““Ὅς τὸν μαρτυρίου δέχεται στέφανον”. Ὁ Ἀλέξιος Καλλέργης καὶ μία ἄγνωστη διήγηση τῶν Κρητικῶν Ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 1365–1367,” *Θησαυρίσματα*

36 (2006), pp. 9–35; Hinterberger, “A neglected tool,” pp. 141–45; E. Kountoura-Galake and N. Koutrakou, “Ο Άνθιμος Αθηνών, πρόεδρος Κρήτης, και οι αντιθετικές τάσεις Ορθόδοξης συσπείρωσης καὶ διάσπασης στην Ύστερη Βυζαντινὴ εποχή. Μια προσέγγιση μέσω των λογίων αγιολογικῶν κειμένων,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 341–59; A. Paliouras, “Τὸ Ἀγιοφάραγγο καὶ τὰ χριστιανικὰ ἀσκηταριὰ τῆς νότιας Κρήτης,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 426–27.

36. Tomadakis, *Ὁ Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος*, pp. 92–97, 106–21; C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Rome, 1997), pp. 87, 266–67, 442; Bazini, “Une première édition,” pp. 83–84, 100–01; Plested, *Orthodox Readings*, pp. 118–19.

37. N. B. Tomadakis, “Μελετήματα περὶ Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου: (Α΄) Τὸ ζήτημα τῶν ‘συνεισακτῶν’ ἐν Κρήτῃ (περὶ τὸ 1400). (Β΄) Χρονολογικὰ προβλήματα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 29 (1959), pp. 1–12; Katsaros, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 26–27.

38. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 24–31, 33 (ll. 36–39), 34 (ll. 72–78), 53 (ll. 769–74); Bazini, “Une première édition,” pp. 91–93, 112–13, 127; Dendrinou, “Palaiologan scholars,” pp. 26, 40.

39. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 355; cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὗρεθέντα*, p. 12; Bazini, “Une première édition,” pp. 114–15.

40. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 355–56; Bazini, “Une première édition,” p. 115.

41. The *Study* was published by Boulgares, *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὗρεθέντα*, pp. 1–25; cf. *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. 1.7, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1979), doc. 3289 (= *RAPC* 1.7), and Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 624–38.

42. A. N. Mitsides, “Ὁ πρῶτος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατία κανονικὸς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου Τιμόθεος ὁ Κυκκώτης (1572–1587/8),” *EKMIMK* 1 (1990), pp. 26–27.

43. J. L. Booramra, *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Study for the Patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople*

(Thessalonica, 1982); P. Gounarides, “Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης της καταστροφής,” in *1453. Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, ed. T. Kiousopoulou (Heraklion, 2005), pp. 133–45; D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 351–416 (employing the term “hierocracy”); T. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση* (Athens, 2007), pp. 214–16, 226–27; Mureşan, “The Hesychasts,” pp. 295–96.

44. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 354.

45. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 363–64; Bazini, “Une première édition,” pp. 115, 126.

46. Most patriarchal officials, whose status had been strengthened due to the establishment of Palamite Hesychasm and the leading role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Byzantine Orthodox sphere of influence, rejected submission to papal authority and the acceptance of Latin doctrines and practices. They also perceived themselves as true guardians of Orthodoxy, at a time when the Byzantine political authority had lost much of its former imperial prestige and power. The widespread belief that a possible Ottoman conquest of Constantinople would signify the end of time intensified the struggle for the preservation of Orthodoxy and popularized hierocratic ecclesiology, strengthening the anti-Latin sentiments of the masses. In addition, a significant part of the Constantinopolitan nobility gradually favored or actively supported the prospect of union with the West, causing an emphatic reaffirmation of Orthodox identity within patriarchal circles. See T. Kiousopoulou, “Ἡ κοινωνικὴ διάσταση τῆς σύγκρουσης ἀνάμεσα στοὺς ἐνωτικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθενωτικοὺς τὸν 15ο αἰώνα,” *Μνήμων* 23 (2001), pp. 25–36; N. Necipoğlu, “Social and Economic Conditions in Constantinople during Mehmed II’s Siege,” in *1453*, ed. Kiousopoulou, pp. 75–86; P. Guran, “Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium,” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45 (2007), pp. 73–85.

47. For example, Nikēphoros Grēgoras, Gregory Akindynos, John Kantakouzēnos, and Patriarchs Kallistos I and Philotheos I of Constantinople: see chapters 2–3, and extensive discussion in Kyriacou,

“The Orthodox Church,” pp. 237–41; Kyriacou, “Από τον Όσιο Νεόφυτο,” forthcoming.

48. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 355.

49. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 11–12; *RAPC* 1.6, docs. 3278, 3280; cf. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 38 (ll. 229–32).

50. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 355; cf. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 51 (ll. 681–84); *RAPC* 1.6, doc. 3280.

51. *RAPC* 1.6, docs. 3278, 3280.

52. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 32 (l. 5), 45 (ll. 476–79).

53. Bryennios admits that he was aware of the Cypriot situation even before his journey (οὕτω καὶ πρόην ἐγίνωσκον): Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 353.

54. Cf. Katsaros, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 28. On Manuel II as a theologian, diplomat, and politician, see generally Ch. Dendrinou, “Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400–1402): Theology, Diplomacy and Politics,” in *Greeks*, ed. Hinterberger and Schabel, pp. 397–422.

55. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 353.

56. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 353–54.

57. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 354.

58. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 354–55.

59. By characterizing Bryennios’ attitude as unfair and prejudiced, I do not intend to judge him morally, as this is not the historian’s task; I am simply pointing out in factual terms that his examination of the Cypriot condition was not objective, which helps us understand why he rejected the Cypriots in the way he did; cf. Evans, *In Defence of History*, p. 51.

60. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 355.

61. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 45–46 (ll. 470–503).

62. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 33 (ll. 21–24).

63. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 33 (ll. 22–23), 52 (ll. 738–45).

64. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 28, 33 (ll. 30–36), 47 (ll. 552–56); Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” p. 621 (n. 222). For other possibilities concerning the Incorporeal’s location, see A. Papageorgiou, “Ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Σόλων,” *EKMIMK* 5 (2001), p. 27 (n. 22); Schabel, “The Greek Bishops,” p. 232 (n. 40); Papacostas, “Neapolis,” p. 116.

65. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 34 (ll. 83–87). To the best of my knowledge, the first known bishop of Leukara in the fifteenth century is John Japhoun, ordained in 1455: A. K. Intianos, “Κυπριακὰ Μεσαιωνικὰ Μνημεῖα. Ἐπιγραφές I,” *ΚΣ* 4 (1940), pp. 29–31; J. Darrouzès, “Autres Manuscrits Originaires de Chypre,” *REB* 15 (1957), p. 155 (repr. in Darrouzès, *Littérature*, XII); C. Chatzipsaltes, “Ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν Φραγκοκρατίαν,” *ΚΣ* 22 (1958), pp. 25–26.

66. Cf. Schabel, “The Status,” p. 199: “Despite what some historians have said, it is improper for us to call any of these views ‘incorrect’: The Latins were satisfied with the oath; the bishop of Lefkara represented a group that was content with the situation; the other three bishops represented another group that considered themselves Greek Orthodox in every way, resented the separation from the Byzantine *oecumene*, and downplayed the oath; Bryennios, the outsider, saw them all as uniates.”

67. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 34 (ll. 79–83). Bishop George of Arsinoë died in 1395; we possess no information about his immediate successor, who might have been the “bishop of Paphos” mentioned in the synodal *Acts*: J. Darrouzès, “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre,” *ΚΣ* 17 (1953), p. 96 (repr. in Darrouzès, *Littérature*, XIV). In 1435/36, Sabbas Pipēs was bishop of Arsinoë; he was most likely succeeded by Nicholas (fl. ca. 1483): *DGMC*, pp. 237, 250.

68. Darrouzès, “Notes (deuxième article),” pp. 40–41; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” p. 178.

69. Cf. Darrouzès, “Notes,” p. 91; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” p. 178 (suggesting that John Galatēs might have been bishop of Solea at the time).

70. See chapter 3.

71. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 33 (ll. 24–30), 36 (ll. 132–34), 38 (ll. 201–20), 46 (ll. 520–26); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 1–8.

72. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 9, 11; Arambatzis, “Ὁ πατριάρχης Γερμανὸς Β΄,” pp. 250–51 (esp. at n. 21).

73. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 38 (ll. 222–32), 43 (ll. 390–94), 44 (ll. 423–41); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 8, 18, 21.

74. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 40 (ll. 286–91), 42 (ll. 354–60); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 8–9.

75. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 40–41 (ll. 304–13); cf. P. I. Kaufman, “Note: Augustine, Evil, and Donatism: Sin and Sanctity before the Pelagian Controversy,” *Theological Studies* 51 (1990), p. 123: “Augustine succinctly summarized the Donatists’ dangerous misconception: They believed that priests transferred their righteousness or wretchedness to persons receiving their sacraments. Such foolishness could undermine the day-by-day administration of the church by encouraging laypeople to shop for priests of impeccable character or, as Cresconius seemed to suggest, for priests who made the best impressions, i.e. priests with the best reputations. That would turn the church into a marketplace and make peddlers of priests. It would induce laity to trust their priests’ salesmanship rather than God’s promises.”

76. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 34–36 (ll. 91–130); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 4, 18–19, 24.

77. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 35 (ll. 96–97).

78. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 42 (ll. 369–78); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 2–3.

79. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, pp. 39–40 (ll. 255–84), 43–44 (ll. 414–17).

80. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 49 (ll. 615–37); cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 5, 16.

81. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 38 (ll. 217–20), 47 (ll. 536–51), 48 (ll. 585–91); cf. Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα, pp. 6, 9, 11, 13–15, 22–23.

82. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 50 (ll. 669–72), 53 (ll. 769–74).

83. Calepio's account was published in *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, ed. Th. Papadopoulos, G. Grivaud, G. A. Ioannides, and Chr. A. Pantelides (Bologna, 1573; second edition: Nicosia, 2004), ff. 122r–122v (ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 160–61).

84. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” p. 356.

85. Tomadakis, “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας,” pp. 356–57.

86. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” p. 624.

87. Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα, pp. 5–8, 19–20; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 627, 632–34.

88. It is noteworthy that as late as the seventeenth century, Bryennios' Cypriot involvement was remembered as the beginning of the schism between Cyprus and Constantinople: Mitsides, “Ὁ πρῶτος,” pp. 25–30 (esp. at p. 27).

89. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 51 (ll. 685–96). The Pipēs monastery seems to have been connected with the Bibi, a Syrian Melkite family: Collenberg, “Études,” pp. 629–30; *DGMC*, pp. 200–03; Papageorghiou, “Ὁ καθε-δρικός,” pp. 47–79; Patapiou, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου Πίπη,” pp. 245–54. On examples of “external” ordination from Latin-ruled Crete, see generally Tomadakis, “Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι παπάδες,” pp. 39–72.

90. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 40 (ll. 292–93), 41–42 (ll. 343–54). The bishop of Solea in question could most likely be identified with Paul's predecessor, John Galatēs, whose ecclesiastical career in the Hodēgētria cathedral is recorded in the form of brief manuscript notes. Around the last decade of the fourteenth century, Galatēs occupied the office of ἐβδομαδάριος (*semainier*) in the Hodēgētria, before becoming its steward (οἰκονόμος) in 1400. He might have served as vicar (ἀβικάριος) under his predecessor, Bishop Michael (ca. 1396–1402), who appears to have also been John's father (ὕιός τοῦ

ἐπισκόπου). When Michael died in 1402, Galatēs became bishop until his own death in ca. 1405. Unfortunately, we know nothing about Galatēs' episcopate and the exact circumstances of his death or abdication: Darrouzès, “Notes,” pp. 84–85, 89–92; Darrouzès, “Notes (deuxième article),” pp. 40–41; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” pp. 177–78. The office of ἀβικάριος (*vicarius*) indicates the influence of Latin ecclesiastical institutions on Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical organization.

91. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 40 (ll. 300–303), 41–42 (ll. 343–67), 47 (ll. 530–32).

92. ΣΘΙΚ 2, pp. 330–33 (canon 12), 419–23 (canon 48); A. X. Koumbaridou, “Ἡ εἰκόνα τῆς Καμαριωτίσσης καὶ αἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐπιγραφαί. Ἄγνωστα οἰκογενειακὰ στοιχεῖα ἐπισκόπου ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας καὶ ὁ ἱστορικὸς αὐτοῦ περίγυρος,” in Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, vol. 2, ed. Parageorghiou, pp. 527–34; V. Ch. Tzoumalaki, “Ο γάμος μετὰ τη χειροτονία καὶ τη μοναχική κουρά,” MA diss. (Aristoteleion University of Thessalonica, 2009); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 255–57. For married Greek bishops in Southern Italy, see Herde, “The Papacy,” pp. 237–40.

93. See, for example, Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 46 (ll. 516–19), 49 (l. 624).

94. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 37–38 (ll. 196–99).

95. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 40 (ll. 276–77), 47 (ll. 563–64), 49 (625–26).

96. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 37 (ll. 182–84), 39 (ll. 245–47); cf. *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity*, 2 vols., ed. J. A. McGuckin (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Chichester, 2011), s.v. “Ecumenism, Orthodoxy and” (esp. at p. 213): “Firstly, there is a canonical problem for the Orthodox who have an authoritative canonical statement to the effect ‘Do not pray with heretics’ (*Apostolic Constitutions* 45; *Laodicea* 33–4) which some have interpreted as meaning that Orthodox today ought not to worship or even pray with Christians of other communions. Secondly, there is the ethical problem related to the nature of ecumenical prayer. The Orthodox do not have a

single approach to the matter of praying ecumenically (with the exception of ‘intercommunion’ or ‘Eucharistic hospitality,’ which in the ecumenical context is excluded by the Orthodox entirely). Regarding common prayer, those Orthodox who are willing to participate actively in the ecumenical movement accept the practice of offering prayers along with fellow Christians as an important one. However, this is not a standard behavior, as many Orthodox simply refuse to allow this as viable In other words, there is no one established rule or attitude shared by all the Orthodox at present.”

97. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 44 (ll. 446–49). This piece of information seems to strengthen the possibility that the bishop was Makarios of Karpasia, recorded to have also traveled in Egypt.

98. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 45 (ll. 457–61).

99. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 43 (ll. 390–405). “Armenia” most probably denotes the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, which had been conquered by the Mamlūks in the late fourteenth century. In 1394, the titular title of the king of Armenia passed to James I of Lusignan: Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 38, 181. According to the abbot, the king of Armenians (ὁ Ἀρμενίων ῥήξ), namely Janus of Lusignan, exercised his power over the Christians of Armenia in matters of religion. This is an exaggeration, since by the early fifteenth century most of Cilician Armenia was under Muslim rule, apart from the stronghold of Kōrykos, which remained under Lusignan control until the Turkish conquest of 1448.

100. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 43 (ll. 406–408), 45 (ll. 462–69).

101. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 39 (ll. 248–50), 44–45 (ll. 450–56).

102. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, pp. 36 (ll. 144–45), 38 (ll. 233–34).

103. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 36 (ll. 148–54). Note, however, that the version of the oath recorded by Joseph Bryennios in his *Study on the proposed union* (Ἱωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ

εὐρεθέντα, p. 6), recognizes the pope's holiness (ὁμολογῶ τὸν πάπαν ἅγιον). The Greek translations of the *Bulla Cypria* published in Darrouzès, "Textes," p. 84 and Ioannides, "La *Constitutio*," p. 362, do not contain professions of the pope's holiness; cf. *Griechische Briefe*, p. 235. Perhaps Bryennios had in mind a different version of the oath, which he presented before the patriarchal synod in 1412. We may not exclude the possibility that he modified the original oath, in order to provide evidence that could justify his rejection of the Cypriots as pro-Latin.

104. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, p. 36 (ll. 132–37).

105. *CHW*, p. 198.

106. ET in *SN*, pp. 315–16 (emphasis mine).

107. A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Diplomatics and Historiography: The Use of Documents in the *Chronicle* of Leontios Makhairas," in *Diplomatics*, ed. Beihammer, Parani, and Schabel, p. 313.

108. Schabel, "Religion," p. 211; Schabel, "The Status," pp. 181–82; Schabel, "*Ab hac hora in antea*. Oaths to the Roman Church in Frankish Cyprus (and Greece)," in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, ed. M. Sinibaldi, K. J. Lewis, B. Major, and J. A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 95–116.

109. Schabel, "Religion," p. 211.

110. Schabel, "The Greek Bishops," p. 232.

111. Darrouzès, "Textes," pp. 13, 852 (coll. A–B); Ioannides, "La *Constitutio*," pp. 369–71; *Griechische Briefe*, p. 236; *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 336 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 254); Nicolaou-Konnari, "Diplomatics," p. 313. Stephen of Lusignan (Estienne de Lusignan) in the *Chorograffia*, f. 32r, has *salvo meo iure*; cioè *il rito greco, nel quale sono & al quale sono assunto*. In the French version of his work, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre*, ed. Th. Papadopoulos and G. Grivaud (Paris, 1580; phot. repr. Nicosia, 2004), f. 88r, Lusignan has *sauf toutefois mes droiets, sçavoir les loix & ceremonies Grecques, desquelles mes predecesseurs ont accoustumé y fer*. Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία Χρονολογική*, p. 59, following

Lusignan, has ἐκτὸς τοῦ δικαίωμάτός μου, ἥτοι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ μου ῥητοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον εἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκλέχθην.

112. Dendrinios, “Palaiologan Scholars,” p. 34; cf. *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, p. 6; Ioannides, “La Constitutio,” p. 371.

113. The text of *Barberinianus graecus* 390 is published in Ioannides, “La Constitutio,” p. 362. The text of *Dionysiou* 489 can be found in Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 84–85 (col. C).

114. Darrouzès, “Textes,” p. 13; Ioannides, “La Constitutio,” pp. 355–56.

115. Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” p. 163; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 596–97 (n. 146), 622.

116. *CHW*, pp. 198–99 (ET in *SN*, pp. 315–16); Ioannides, “La Constitutio,” pp. 361–62. See the description of the confirmation ceremony by Joseph Bryennios in 1412: *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 6–7; cf. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 37 (ll. 166–81). The collection of documents published by Beihammer in *Griechische Briefe*, pp. 226–27, 236–37, contains early fourteenth-century documents concerning the election of the bishop of Leukara. A sixteenth-century account of the election, confirmation ceremony, and ordination rite is provided by Stephen of Lusignan: *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, ff. 31v–32r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, ff. 87r–88v (it is not clear whether Stephen of Lusignan was present during the ordination rite in his capacity as vicar of the Latin bishop of Limassol; he was certainly present during the confirmation ceremony and recitation of the oath to the papacy). On ordinations performed by non-Cypriot Orthodox prelates, see the case of the abbot of the Pipēs monastery (mentioned above), as well as the ordination of Bishop Gregory of Arsinoē in 1370/71: Darrouzès, “Notes (deuxième article),” pp. 58–59. A third example is recorded in *Griechische Briefe*, p. 218.

117. *Εὐχολόγιον*, pp. 305–06; Παπαῖοαννου, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, pp. 115–16; S. Eustratiades, “Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ Ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ,” *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 10 (1917), pp. 485–86; Darrouzès, “Textes,” pp. 14–20, 86; O. Raquez, “Les confessions de foi de la Chirotonie épiscopale des Églises grecques,” in *Traditio et progressio: Studi liturgici in onore del Prof. A. Nocent OSB*, ed. G.

Faredi (Rome, 1988), pp. 474–76; G. Andreou, “Δύο λειτουργικές τάξεις τοῦ κυπριακοῦ χειρογράφου, Παλατινὸς 367 (1317–1320), τῆς Βατικάνειας Βιβλιοθήκης,” *ΚΣ* 72 (2008), pp. 87–96.

118. *Εὐχολόγιον*, p. 307; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, p. 117; Raquez, “Les confessions,” p. 480.

119. Darrouzès, “Textes,” p. 21 (n. 56); Raquez, “Les confessions,” pp. 481–85; Englezakis, *Εἵκοσι μελέται*, p. 47. As accepted by various scholars, Gregory II’s theological definition on the Spirit’s procession, sanctioned in the Council of Blachernai (1285) against John Bekkos and the Latins, probably influenced the theophanic theology of Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century: A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)* (second edition: New York, 1983), pp. 92–95, 140–43, 149–50; Bradshaw, *Aristotle*, pp. 218–20, 242; Siecienski, *The Filioque*, pp. 140–43, 145–47; cf. R. Flogaus, “Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium,” *SVTQ* 42.1 (1998), pp. 16–17.

120. Raquez, “Les confessions,” pp. 477–78; cf. *Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου τῆς Πίστεως κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου*, *PG* 142, coll. 235C–236A; *Ὁμολογία Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου Β΄*, *PG* 142, coll. 247C–248B; *Εὐχολόγιον*, pp. 308–10; Eustratiades, “Τάξις,” p. 487; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, pp. 239–40; Darrouzès, “Textes,” p. 86.

121. *Εὐχολόγιον*, pp. 306–10; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, pp. 117, 240; Raquez, “Les Confessions,” pp. 478, 480; cf. T. M. Kolbaba, “Byzantines, Armenians, and Latins: Unleavened Bread and Heresy in the Tenth Century,” in *Orthodox Constructions*, ed. Demacopoulos and Papanikolaou, pp. 55–56: “The association of Jews and Armenians with Latins may not stand up to twenty-first-century scrutiny, but it made perfect sense in the eleventh century for two reasons. First, the Byzantines had adopted, from Justin Martyr (103–65) to Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 320–403) and then through centuries of tradition after that, the idea that heresy is unoriginal, that it is a family with different branches, and that what can be said of one group of heretics can usually be said of many. . . . The second reason that the link from Jews to Judaizing to Armenians to Latins made sense . . . was a slippage between

doctrinal or theological traits, on the other hand, and ethnic ones on the other.”

122. *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273–1277)*, ed. V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1976), pp. 574, 576. *The Acts of the Trial of Nikēphoros*, an Orthodox monk from Athos at the time of Michael VIII's unionist policy (1277), mention the exile of Byzantine antiunionist monks in Cyprus and the martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara, which strengthens the view that the *Kantara Narrative* was probably composed in the aftermath of the Council of Lyons: *Dossier grec*, pp. 82–88, 486–506. The names of the Thirteen Monks in the *Synodikon against Bekkos* [attributed to Germanos II (1223–40) with later additions dating 1274 or 1285, namely around the time of Gregory II's patriarchate], seem to have been taken from the synaxary on the Thirteen Monks, published below in App. I, par. II.1; *Dossier grec*, pp. 128–32; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 410–13.

123. *Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου, Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων* (dub.), PG 26, col. 1328BC; Darrouzès, “Textes,” p. 21 (n. 56).

124. *Dossier grec*, pp. 583–84.

125. *Εὐχολόγιον*, p. 307; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, p. 117; *Dossier grec*, p. 576.

126. *Εὐχολόγιον*, pp. 306–07; Papaïoannou, “Τακτικόν,” 1913, p. 117; Raquez, “Les Confessions,” pp. 480–84; cf. D. M. Gwynn, “From Iconoclasm to Arianism: The Construction of Christian Tradition in the Iconoclast Controversy,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007), p. 230.

127. G. Turner, *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (third edition: London–New York, 2003), p. 11: “The word *tree* means as it does to us only because we agree to let it do so”; cf. Verkuyten, *The Social Psychology*, pp. 51–52, 178–179.

128. Cf. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, p. 233; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” p. 638; Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou, “Ο Ἀνθιμος Αθηνών,” pp. 344–49. From Joseph Bryennios' viewpoint not only the Cypriots, but also the Orthodox of Calabria, Sicily, Crete, Rhodes,

Lesbos, and the other Aegean Islands were pro-Latin: *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, pp. 3, 13.

129. See chapters 1–2.

130. S. N. Kolias, *Λατῖνοι καὶ Ὀρθόδοξοι στὴ Magna Graecia τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα* (Athens, 2017).

131. T. M. Kolbaba, “Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy: Introduction, Edition, and Translation,” *REB* 53 (1995), pp. 41–115.

132. Shawcross, “The Lost Generation,” pp. 9–37; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 109–11.

133. Van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium*, p. 334.

134. N. G. Zacharopoulos, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τὴ Φραγκοκρατία* (Thessalonica, 1981); D. B. Gones, “Γεράσιμος Σιναΐτης ὁ ἐξ Ευρίπου ἱεραπόστολος τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Θεολογία* 53.4 (1982), pp. 1119–42; D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 243–44; Herde, “The Papacy,” pp. 234–35, 250 (n. 148); Akritidis, *Ἡ ἱστορικὴ γεωγραφία*, pp. 256–74, 399–413 (esp. at pp. 409–10); E. Chatziantoniou, “Ἡ παραχώρηση ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐδρῶν κατ’ ἐπίδοσιν,” *Βυζαντιακά* 27 (2008), pp. 117–66; Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou, “Ο Ἀνθιμος Ἀθηνῶν,” pp. 341–59; *BH*, docs. 78, 184 (on itinerant bishops). See also chapter 3 (on the anti-Palamite synod of 1347), and works in the bibliography by A. Paliouras and G. K. Papazoglou.

135. Duba and Schabel in *BH*, p. “In the case of the lower Greek clergy in Latin-held lands, it is clear that there are common elements: the demands of Rome, the lay rulers, and the Greek clergy. It is the Greek Cypriot clergy that ultimately obtained the best terms for the freedom of clerics from servile dues, entry into monasteries, the ordination of priests, and the permanent survival of the episcopacy”; Schabel, “The Myth of the White Monks’s ‘Mission,’” pp. 276–77; see also Schabel in *SN*, pp. 49–52 and chapter 1.

136. Schabel, “The Status,” p. 200.

137. Herde, “The Papacy,” pp. 213–51; G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 494–520.

138. See briefly N. Coureas, “The Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule,” in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. N. I. Tsougarakis and P. Lock (Leiden–Boston, 2014), pp. 152–53, 161, 164, 184.

139. Ch. Dendrinis, “Reflections on the Failure of the Union of Florence,” *AHC* 39 (2007), p. 144. Generally on the council, see: J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1995); G. Alberigo (ed.), *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39–1989* (Leuven, 1991); Papadakis and Meyendorff, *The Christian East*, pp. 357–408; F. Kondyli, V. Andriopoulou, E. Panou, and M. B. Cunningham (eds.), *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean* (Furnham–Burlington, 2014). On the *Bulla Unionis*, see *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes: Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438–1439 gestis*, ed. G. Hofmann (Rome, 1944), pp. 68–79.

140. Th. Zisis, *Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος: βίος, συγγράμματα, διδασκαλία* (Thessalonica, 1980); N. Conostas, “Mark Eugenikos,” in *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, ed. C. G. Conticello and V. Conticello (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 411–75 (with extensive bibliography); *John Eugenikos’ Antirrhetic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. An Annotated Critical Edition*, ed. E. Rossidou-Koutsou (Nicosia, 2006); Demetracopoulos, “Palamas Transformed,” pp. 342–68; C. W. Kappes, “The Latin Sources of the Palamite Theology of George-Gennadius Scholarius,” in *When East Met West*, ed. Demetracopoulos and Dendrinis, pp. 71–114; Kappes, “Mark of Ephesus, the Council of Florence, and the Roman Papacy,” in *Primacy in the Church: The Office of Primate and the Authority of Councils*, vol. 1, ed. J. Chryssavgis (Yonkers, New York, 2016), pp. 109–50.

141. Gill, *The Council*, pp. 349–88; M.-H. Blanchet, “L’Église byzantine à la suite de l’Union de Florence (1439–1445). De la contestation à la scission,” *BF* 29 (2007), pp. 79–123.

142. Ὁ “ἱερὸς Κῶδιξ” τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στὸ β΄ μιστὸ τοῦ ΙΕ΄ αἰῶνα. Τὰ μόνον γνωστὰ σπαράγματα, ed. D. G.

Apostolopoulos (Athens, 1992), pp. 79–80, 123–33; G. D. Dragas, “The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special Reference to the Decisions of the Synods 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople) and 1667 (Moscow),” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44.1–4 (1999), pp. 235–71.

143. Tomadakis, “Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι παπάδες,” pp. 48–49; Z. N. Tsirpanlis, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογὴ τοῦ Φλωρεντίνου ‘ὄρου’ στὸ ἐλληνικὸ Ἀρχιπέλαγος. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης καὶ τῆς ἱπποτοκρατούμενης Ῥόδου,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 16 (1991), pp. 77–82.

144. Blanchet, “L’Église,” pp. 112–15; G. Saint-Guillain, “La carrière d’un prélat unioniste au milieu du XVe siècle et l’établissement du culte grec à Venise,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 39–40 (2009–10), pp. 93–94.

145. Tsirpanlis, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” pp. 82–99; S. N. Asonites, “Προβλήματα του Ορθόδοξου κλήρου της Κέρκυρας πριν και μετά τη Σύνοδο Φερράρας–Φλωρεντίας,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 21 (2000), pp. 399–417; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 272–73 (with further bibliography).

146. Drandaki, “Through Pilgrims’ Eyes,” pp. 494–95.

147. *Epistolae pontificiae (1438–1439)*, p. 79; V. Demetriades, “Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation,” in *Mount Athos in the 14th–16th centuries*, ed. D. Komini-Dialeti (Athens, 1997), pp. 41–67; M. Plested, “Latin Monasticism on Mount Athos,” in *Mount Athos: Microcosm of the Christian East*, ed. G. Speake and K. Ware (Bern, 2012), p. 108.

148. See, for example, the case of the unionist theologian (and monk?) Isaiah the Cypriot (fl. ca. 1430), who supported the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque* on the basis of Byzantine patristic theology, refuting the Orthodox treatises of the Cretan theologian Nicholas Sklengias: *Ἡσαΐου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Γράμμα πρὸς Νικόλαον τὸν Σκλεγγίαν περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, PG 158, coll. 971A–976A; J. P. Cavnaros, “Ἀνέκδοτα ποιήματα τοῦ Ἀνδρέου Σκλεγγίου,” *KX* 4 (1950), pp. 7–8 (on Sklengias’ Cretan origins). Isaiah’s letter and Sklengias’ response are preserved in manuscript *Parisinus graecus* 1295, ff. 329r–341r, available at gallica.bnf.fr,

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107216910/f3.image> (last accessed September 6, 2017).

149. Papadakis, *Crisis*, p. 34. There is no concrete evidence that the signing of the Latin profession of faith by the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy in 1340 was anything more than superficial (see chapter 3).

150. *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. Epistolae pontificiae de ultimis actis Concilii Florentini annis 1440–1445 et de rebus post concilium gestis annis 1446–1453*, ed. G. Hofmann (Rome, 1946), pp. 39–41. Generally on Andrew Chrysobergēs, see Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains*, pp. 287–313, 353–79, 431, 444–45; Ganchou, “Dèmètrios Kydônès,” pp. 435–93; M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, “Andreas Chrysoberges’ Dialogue against Mark Eugenikos,” in *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters in Honor of John Monfasani*, ed. A. Frazier and P. Nold (Leiden–Boston, 2015), pp. 492–545.

151. Although Nestorian Christians are not Chaldeans, they are described as such in Eugene IV’s letter: *Native Peoples of the World: An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures, and Contemporary Issues*, 3 vols., ed. S. Danver (London–New York, 2015), s.v. “Chaldeans”; J. Healy, “‘The Church Across the Border’: The Church of the East and its Chaldaean Branch,” in *Eastern Christianity*, ed. O’Mahony and Loosley, pp. 41–55; Coureas, “One Faith but Several Rites,” p. 99.

152. *Epistolae Pontificiae (1440–1453)*, pp. 105–108; Gill, *The Council*, pp. 336–37.

153. *Epistolae Pontificiae (1440–1453)*, pp. 125–26; other Cypriot “Chaldeans,” however, seem to have remained united with the Western Church: pp. 127–29, 138–40. On the dating of Andrew’s tenure, see J. Darrouzès, “La date de la mort d’André Chrysobergès O.P., archevêque de Nicosie et légat apostolique en Chypre,” *AFP* 21 (1951), pp. 301–05 (repr. in Darrouzès, *Littérature*, XIX): Andrew died in Famagusta on February 1451.

154. R. Lefèvre, “Roma e la comunità etiopica di Cipro nei secoli XV e XVI,” *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 1.1 (1941), pp. 71–86; Collenberg, “Le royaume,” pp. 115, 159, 164; Grivaud, “Les Minorités,” p. 50; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 199; cf. N.

Patariou, “Νέα στοιχεία για τη βενετοκρατούμενη Λευκωσία από το Κρατικό Αρχείο της Βενετίας,” ΚΣ 71 (2007), pp. 55–56.

155. Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques Latins,” pp. 292–93; Gill, *The Council*, pp. 389–90; cf. Collenberg, “Le royaume,” pp. 86–87 (mentioning a certain Archbishop Nicholas of Nicosia, who remains so far unidentified, and might have succeeded Isidore around 1460); cf. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 279 (n. 968). It is doubtful whether Isidore ever set foot on Cyprus during his tenure as archbishop of Nicosia.

156. *Epistolae Pontificiae (1440–1453)*, p. 113; Coureas, “The Greek monastery,” pp. 221–22.

157. Mentioned by Angelo Calepio, *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, f. 108r; ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 143. See further discussion in chapter 5.

158. On Rome’s leading role in defending Chalcedonianism, see generally B. Green, *The Soteriology of Leo the Great* (Oxford–New York, 2008); C. Cubitt, “The Lateran Council of 649 as an Ecumenical Council,” in *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils, 400–700*, ed. R. Price and M. Whitby (Liverpool, 2009), pp. 133–47.

159. *Epistolae Pontificiae (1440–1453)*, pp. 118–19; Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, pp. 1091–92; Collenberg, “Le Royaume,” p. 157.

160. Stylianos and Stylianos, *The Painted Churches*, pp. 236–37; Gioles, “Εικονογραφικά θέματα,” pp. 274–75; D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Encounter of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church in Cyprus. The Ecclesiastical Art as Testimony,” in *Cyprus and Italy during the time of the Byzantine Empire: Historical and Artistic Testimonies of the Period of the Latin Rule in Cyprus (1191–1571)*, ed. I. A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 48–49.

161. A. Stylianos and J. Stylianos, “Η βυζαντινή τέχνη κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας (1191–1570),” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.2, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 1321, 1323 (to be consulted with caution); A. Parageorghiou, *Η μονή του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Λαμπαδιστού στον Καλοπαναγιώτη* (second edition: Nicosia, 2009), pp. 9, 37–39

(mentioning that the decoration of the narthex was commissioned by a local family of ecclesiastics).

162. Stylianos and Stylianos, *The Painted Churches*, pp. 397–403; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” pp. 183–85; Papageorgiou, “Λαξευτὰ ἄσκητήρια,” pp. 57–59. The Holy Trinity at Souskiou is surrounded by the angelic powers and is encompassed by a complex mandorla, which seems to be associated with the so-called “Hesychast mandorla,” for which see Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 146–47, 229–30, 240. According to A. Stylianos and J. Stylianos, the triangular depiction of the Holy Trinity probably reflects Western iconographic models. Perhaps the mural painting expresses Patriarch Gregory II’s theological definition of the Holy Spirit’s procession from the Father through the Son; the patriarch’s theology was known in Cyprus, as evidenced by the Orthodox episcopal professions of faith. On Byzantine and Latin perceptions of Gregory II’s theology during the Florentine Council, see Papadakis, *Crisis*, pp. 142–43, and Siecienski, *The Filioque*, pp. 166–67.

163. See, for example, Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1097; Papadopoulos, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 642–43 (esp. at n. 330); Stylianos and Stylianos, “Ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη,” p. 1236; Kyrris, “Ἡ ὀργάνωση,” pp. 181–83 (n. 76); D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Βενετία καὶ Κύπρος: Σχέσεις τους στὴν τέχνη,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Maltezos, pp. 320–22; N. Chrysochou, “Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας τοὺς Σίντη στὴν Πάφο. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτῃ τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς τῆς Εὐετοκρατίας στὴν Κύπρo,” vol. 1, PhD diss. (University of Cyprus, 2003), pp. 26–28; cf. R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 119–44; O. Gratzou, *Ἡ Κρήτῃ στὴν Ὑστερὴ Μεσαιωνικὴ ἐποχὴ: ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς* (Heraklion, 2010), pp. 127–83; E. Arvaniti, “Double-Identity Churches on the Greek Islands under the Venetians: Orthodox and Catholics Sharing Churches (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” in *Innovation in the Orthodox Christian Tradition? The Question of Change in Greek Orthodox Thought and Practice*, ed. T. S. Willert and L. Molokotos-Liederman (Abingdon, Oxon–New York, 2012), pp. 53–72.

164. This is not to deny that cases of concelebration (as those mentioned during the Synod of Cyprus in 1406) did take place; it should be underlined, however, that shared expressions of worship coexisted with manifestations of Orthodox boundary building in liturgical praxis. On examples of peaceful reception of Latin pilgrims in Orthodox churches, with no explicit mention of concelebration, see *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 56, 58, 60 (Le Saige, 1518), 65–66 (Possot, 1533), 66 (Affagart, 1534); cf. G. Grivaud, “Les voyageurs de la langue française et la domination vénitienne sur le royaume de Chypre (1480–1550),” *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 43 (2013), p. 497 (= CCEC).

165. G. S. Ploumides, “Αἱ βοῦλλαι τῶν παπῶν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων τῆς Βενετίας (1445–1782),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 7 (1970), p. 242 (perhaps not referring particularly to Cyprus); Angelo Calepio, *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, f. 108r (ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 143); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 273–75, 287, 472 (App. IV, par. I.18); cf. G. A. Ioannides, “Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ σαλευθεῖσαν Ἀγίαν Τράπεζαν’ στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberinianus graecus* 390,” *EKEE* 28 (2002), pp. 99–118.

166. Arvaniti, “Double-Identity Churches,” p. 56; cf. Collenberg, “Les premiers Podocataro,” pp. 170–76.

167. A. Luttrell, “Rhodes and Cyprus: 1409–1459,” in *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital’s Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*, ed. K. Borchardt, A. Luttrell, and E. Schöffler (Nicosia, 2011), p. lxxi.

168. Richard, “Une famille,” pp. 90, 113, 118–19; N. Patapiou, “Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Εὐγένιου Συγκλητικοῦ τοῦ Θωμᾶ (1538). Νέες εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὴ βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” *ΚΣ* 67–68 (2003–04), pp. 230–31, 233; M. Bacci, “Side Altars and ‘Pro Anima’ Chapels in the Medieval Mediterranean: Evidence from Cyprus,” in *The Altar and its Environment, 1150–1400*, ed. J. E. A. Kroesen and V. M. Schmidt (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 11–30; Zarras, *Ο ναός*, pp. 47–52; A. Foulías, *The Church of Our Lady Angeloktisti at Kiti, Larnaka. A visitor’s guide* (second edition: Nicosia, 2012), pp. 20–21; Kalopissi-Verti, “The Murals,” pp. 122–31.

169. M. Bacci, “‘Mixed’ Shrines in the Late Byzantine Period,” in *Archaeologia Abrahamica: исследования в области археологии и*

художественной традиции иудаизма, христианства и ислама, ed. L. A. Beljaev (Moscow, 2009), pp. 439–44; L. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009), pp. 14–15, 157–245; M. Olympios, “Shared Devotions: Non-Latin Responses to Latin Sainthood in Late Medieval Cyprus,” *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp. 321–41 (esp. at pp. 329–30); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 289–91.

170. M. N. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 334, 338–39, 342–49. On the historical value of later canonical collections for the examination of the Latin rule in Cyprus, see Th. Papadopoulos, “Κυπριακὰ Νόμιμα,” *ΜΥ* 1 (1984), pp. 3–57.

171. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 349, 411–13, 449–51.

172. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 342–43, 412–13, 437, 449, 473, 480; cf. P. Agathonos, “Λειτουργικὲς παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὸ κείμενον τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ ὑπ’ ἀριθμὸν 41 χειρογράφου τῆς Μονῆς Κύκκου,” *EKMIMK* 5 (2001), pp. 337, 341, 343.

173. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 343, 459, 466.

174. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 343, 403, 422, 428.

175. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 343, 479.

176. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 343, 403.

177. Christodoulou, “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” pp. 350, 404, 428, 466.

178. The *Florilegium* mentions the Council of Florence: App. III, par. II.42.

179. Manuscript *Eton College Library* 166, which preserves the autograph *Florilegium* by Francis, was acquired by Bernardo (d. 1519) or Pietro Bembo (d. 1547). The manuscript remained in Italy until the seventeenth century, when Sir Henry Wotton (d. 1639), benefactor of the Eton College Library, bought a large number of manuscripts belonging to

the Bembo collections. Although Pietro Bembo maintained a network of connections with Cyprus, the exact date and circumstances of the *Florilegium's* acquisition by the Bembo Library are not known: J. Montague Rhodes, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. viii, 90; C. H. Clough, "Pietro Bembo's Library Represented in the British Museum," *The British Museum Quarterly* 30.1–2 (1965), p. 3; C. Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal* (Montreal and Kingston–London–Ithaca, 2004), pp. 99–112, 377; M. Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva, 2005), p. 356; Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," pp. 430–37 (further discussion with bibliography).

180. App. III, par. I. On Hades as preeschatological destination for souls in the afterlife, see A. de Halleux, "Problèmes de méthode dans les discussions sur l'eschatologie au concile de Ferrare et Florence," in *Christian Unity*, ed. Alberigo, p. 261.

181. App. III, par. II.42. It is quite likely that Francis had consulted the Greek Acts of the Florentine Council, and particularly the theological discussions on Purgatory: see, for example, App. III, pars. I.6 and I.9; cf. *De Purgatorio disputationes in Concilio Florentino habitae*, ed. L. Petit and G. Hofmann (Rome, 1969), pp. 10–12.

182. Note that Bonaventure (d. 1274), the great Franciscan theologian, described Purgatory as a postmortem state, rather than a physical place, although he insisted that purgatorial fire is physical (but manifested in a spiritual way); he also added that the process of purification enabled souls to enjoy the Beatific Vision: Gill, *The Council*, pp. 117–25, 265–67, 272–73; J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984), pp. 84, 254–55, 357; R. Ombres, "Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230–1439," *JEH* 35.1 (1984), pp. 1–14; D. Iogna-Prat, "Topographies of Penance in the Latin West," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. A. Firey (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 158–72; I. Delio, "Theology, Spirituality and Christ the Center: Bonaventure's Synthesis," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. J. M. Hammond, J. A. W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Leiden–Boston, 2014), pp. 261–62.

183. Schabel, "The Status," p. 187: "There are only twenty points, perhaps fewer than one would expect. In six cases the pope says

explicitly that the Greek practice is permissible, even allowing Greek priests who are married to hear confessions, and in three or four others the pope just calls for a minor modification. In two other cases the pope simply says that the Greeks should apply their own rules more strictly. In several instances it is hard to determine what the complain was. . . . On only a small number of points does the pope request an important change: widows should be allowed to remarry as often as they are widowed; the Greeks should henceforth confer seven clerical orders instead of just four; and perhaps most important, the Greeks should adopt the term ‘Purgatory’, although here the pope clearly thinks that the Greeks already share the Roman belief in a vague way.”

184. *BC* 1, doc. e–84; *CHW*, pp. 242–43; *SN*, pp. 66, 72–73, 146–49, 252–53, 310; Le Goff, *The Birth*, pp. 283–84.

185. Ombres “Latins,” pp. 10–13; Halleux, “Problèmes,” pp. 261, 266; N. Constatas, “‘To Sleep, Perchance to Dream’: The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature,” *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 113–19.

186. A. Aimilianides, “Ἡ ἐξέλιξις τοῦ δικαίου τῶν μικτῶν γάμων ἐν Κύπρῳ,” *ΚΣ* 2 (1938), pp. 197–207; D. M. Nicol, “Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Studies in Church History*, vol. 1, ed. C. W. Dugmore and C. Duggan (London–Edinburgh, 1964), pp. 160–72 (repr. in Nicol, *Byzantium*, IV); D. M. Nicol, “Symbiosis and Integration. Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries,” *BF* 7 (1979), pp. 113–35 (repr. in Nicol, *Byzantium*, III); S. Troianos, “Οἱ μικτοὶ γάμοι εἰς τοὺς κανόνας,” *Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας* 43 (1982), pp. 10–17; S. Origone, “Marriage Connections between Byzantium and the West in the Age of the Palaiologoi,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. B. Arbel (London–Portland, Oregon 1996), pp. 226–41; E. Orlando, “Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins in Late Medieval Italy,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 (2007), pp. 101–19.

187. On the adoption of the Latin rite, see the cases of the Podocataro and Audeth families mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter. The case of the Zacharia family is also revealing. Paulinus Zacharia (fl. ca. 1451), a Greek who had married a Latin according to the Latin rite, was allowed by Pope Nicholas V to follow the Byzantine rite and receive

a Byzantine-rite funeral; Paulinus' children were granted the same dispensation. In the early sixteenth century, Polo Zaccaria (*alias* Zacharia), who was probably Paulinus' grandson, founded a Byzantine-rite monastery dedicated to the Virgin in Galata: *Epistolae pontificiae* (1440–1453), pp. 129–30; Collenberg, “Le Royaume,” pp. 120, 161; M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou and D. Myrianthefs, *Οι ναοί της Παναγίας Ποδύθου και της Θεοτόκου (ή του Αρχαγγέλου) στη Γαλάτα* (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 49, 51–55.

188. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 708–10 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 461); Aimilianides, “Ἡ ἐξέλιξις,” p. 205; Collenberg, “Le Royaume,” p. 73; Edbury, “The Last Lusignans,” p. 167.

189. Th. Ganchou, “La rébellion de Jacques de Flory, comte de Jaffa, contre son ‘roi’ Hélène de Chypre (1455),” in *Identity*, ed. Papacostas and Saint-Guillain, pp. 103–94. Helena was the daughter of Theodore II (1407–43), Emperor Manuel II's son and despot of Morea, who had recovered Peloponnese from the Latins but remained vassal to the Ottomans. Helena's mother, the Italian Cleopa Malatesta (d. 1433), had adopted the Byzantine rite after her marriage with Theodore (1421). The couple offered their patronage to George Gemistos Plēthōn (d. ca. 1452), the well-known philosopher and proponent of Byzantino-Hellenic ethnoreligious revival, who might have influenced Helena's anti-Turkish ideology and political vision: A. Vacalopoulos, “Une reine grecque de Chypre mal comprise par les historiens, Hélène Paléologine (1442–1458),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* vol. 2, ed. Papageorgiou, pp. 277–84; Origone, “Marriage Connections,” pp. 229–31, 240–41; S. Ronchey, “Malatesta/Paleologhi: un'alleanza dinastica per rifondare Bisanzio nel quindicesimo secolo,” *BZ* 93.2 (2000), pp. 521–67.

190. Helena refounded (or renovated) the monastery of Mangana and established there refugee monks from Constantinople, also giving them land: *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 711 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 461). Helena's confessor was an Orthodox monk of the Mangana community: *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρουῖς*, pp. 12–13, 342 (ET in *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, par. 6). Helena was said to be greatly devoted to the religion of the Greeks; she granted landed property

and an annual income of fifteen thousand ducats to Mangana: *Chronique par Florio Bustron*, p. 372. According to Stephen of Lusignan, the queen promoted the Byzantine rite at the expense of the Latin rite; she had wished to be buried in Mangana, but the Dominicans acquired permission to bury her in a secret location: *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, ff. 60v, 63r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, ff. 78r, 161v. Helena's role in the appointment of James as archbishop is based on Domenico Malipiero's (d. 1515) *Venetian Annals*: Hackett, *A History*, p. 555 (esp. at n. 3); Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, pp. 527 (n. 2), 531 (n. 4), 544 (n. 1); Chr. Kaoulla, "Helena Palaiologina of Cyprus (1442–1458). Myth and History," *EKEE* 32 (2006), pp. 134–35; Ganchou, "La Rébellion," p. 184 (n. 259). George Bustron, who had been in James II's service, seems to imply that the appointment had been made by King John alone: *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρουῖς*, pp. 6–7, 24–25 (ET, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, pars. 4, 12); cf. the contemporary brief manuscript note published by Darrouzès, "La date de la mort," pp. 302, 304–305.

191. Artistic evidence associated with the Palaiologan art of Mystra: Papageorghiou, *Icons*, p. 107; Stylianou and Stylianou, "Η βυζαντινὴ τέχνη," pp. 1320–21. Greek manuscripts in Cyprus after 1453 and the founding of a scriptorium in Mangana: C. N. Constantinides, "Πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὴν Κύπρο μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωση τοῦ 1453," in *Ἡ Ἄλωση τῆς Πόλης*, ed. E. Chrysos (second edition: Athens–Thessalonica, 1999), pp. 135–41. E. Kriaras and G. Kechagioglou have supported the Cypriot origin of the *Lament for Constantinople*, a poem describing the fall of Constantinople and the sufferings of the Byzantine population: *Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινέπολης*, ed. E. Kriaras and comm. G. Kechagioglou (Thessalonica, 2012). See further discussion by Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," pp. 296–97. On the Orthodox revival of the Venetian period see, chapter 5.

192. Ganchou, "La Rébellion," pp. 114–16.

193. Thomas of Morea (fl. ca. 1451–57), the son of Helena's wet nurse, was elevated to the office of chamberlain; James Synklētikos (fl. post 1452), the queen's physician, was her trusted advisor; the Syro-Genoese James of Urri (d. 1458), who became viscount of Nicosia, was another of

Helena's supporters. Note that in 1444, Helena had influenced her husband in persuading James of Flory (d. 1463), the count of Jaffa, to marry Zoe (d. post 1463?), a member of the Kantakouzēnos family and Helena's cousin (1444). The extent to which Zoe, James of Flory's wife, promoted the queen's political interests is not clear; Zoe remained attached to her Byzantine background, despite being married to the powerful count of Jaffa, Helena's main opponent in the Lusignan court: E. Brayer, P. Lemerle, and V. Laurent, "Le *Vaticanus Latinus* 4789. Histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIVe–XVe siècles," *REB* 9 (1951), pp. 47–105; Christodoulou, "Ο Ἅγιος Φίλων," pp. 169–70; Edbury, "The Last Lusignans," pp. 167, 171–72; Ganchou, "La Rébellion," pp. 109–112, 116, 127–29, 144–45.

194. M. Aloisio, "Alfonso V and the Anti-Turkish Crusade," in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. N. Housley (London–New York, 2017), p. 68. See also Kaoulla, "Helena," pp. 123–27; Edbury, "The Last Lusignans," pp. 158, 169–72; Ganchou, "La Rébellion," pp. 120–80.

195. Edbury, "The Last Lusignans," pp. 169–34; A. D. Beihammer, "The Kingdom of Cyprus and Muslim-Christian Diplomacy in the Age of Mehmed the Conqueror," *Crusades* 12.1 (2013), pp. 197–232. James II's socioeconomic policy enhanced the social elevation of non-Latins: see, for example, the case of Dēmētrios of Korōnē (d. ante 1533), a distinguished Greek *condottiero* in his service, who received land after the end of the civil war against Charlotte, and founded the Orthodox monastery of the Virgin Podythou at Galata: Ai. Aristidou, "Άγνωστα στοιχεία σχετικά με τους κτίτορες της εκκλησίας της Παναγίας Ελεούσας (Ποδύθου)," *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 171–90.

196. A continuation of Byzantino-Frankish collaboration since the fourteenth century and the result of Lusignan appropriation of Byzantine institutions, symbols, and policies; cf. A. D. Beihammer, "A Transcultural Formula of Rule: The Byzantine-Frankish Discourse on the Formation of the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. G. Christ, F. -J. Morche, R. Zaugg, W. Kaiser, St. Burkhardt, and A. D. Beihammer (Rome, 2015), pp. 435–52.

197. S. Perdikes, *Ο ναός του Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στον Πεδουλά* (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 32–34, 67–73; but cf. Stylianos and Stylianos, “Η βυζαντινή τέχνη,” p. 1328.

198. Greek loyalism to the Lusignans must have been further strengthened during the internal conflicts of the fourteenth century: C. D. Schabel, “Like God from Heaven, but they don’t Call him King. The Rebellion against James I of Cyprus,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 379–92. The Peasants’ Revolt of 1426–27, however, shows that loyalism to the Lusignan dynasty was not shared by everyone; in times of crisis, the lower Orthodox Cypriot strata anticipated the opportunity to overthrow the Lusignan regime and attack the socially elevated: *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 696–97 (= ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 456–57); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 228–29 (with further bibliography).

199. L. de Mas Latrie, “Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l’histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan,” *Mélanges historiques* 4 (1882), p. 530; *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, ff. 31v, 122v (Angelo Calepio = ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 160–61); *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, f. 87r; B. Arbel, “L’elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro durante la dominazione veneziana,” in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, ed. Ch. Maltezou, A. Tzavara, and D. Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 375–76, 379 [repr. in Arbel, *Studies on Venetian Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2017), VI]; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 314–15 (n. 1100); *pace* L. Voisin, “L’Église de Chypre dans les années 1460–1480 d’après la correspondance de Benedetto Soranzo,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 43 (2013), pp. 113–14. Lusignan control over the Orthodox Cypriot Church is implied by Bryennios’ aforementioned proposal of royal intervention in support of the Cypriot union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (1406).

200. Mas Latrie, “Documents Nouveaux,” pp. 529–31; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 136; L. Voisin, “Francs de Chypre et monastères grecs: le jus patronatus en question,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 393–404.

201. On the *Chronicle* and its author, see the extensive introduction by Kechagioglou in *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς*, pp. 45*–267*.
202. *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς*, pp. 60–61 (ET in *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, par. 31); Koumbaridou, “Ἡ εἰκόνα,” p. 528.
203. *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς*, pp. 154–55 (ET, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, par. 102); Koumbaridou, “Ἡ εἰκόνα,” pp. 530–31.
204. Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” pp. 135–36.
205. Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques,” pp. 297–98; Edbury, “The Last Lusignans,” pp. 216–17; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 278 (n. 962).
206. *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς*, pp. 156–57, 407–08 (ET, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, par. 104); L. Calvelli, “Un ‘sarcofago imperiale’ per l’ultimo re di Cipro,” in *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice: International Conference, Venice, 16–18 September 2010*, ed. C. Syndikus and S. Rogge (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2013), pp. 311–55.
207. *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς*, pp. 154–55, 164–67, 413–14 (ET in *The Chronicle of George Boustronios*, pars. 116 and 172); Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 126; G. Grivaud, “Un règne sans fastes—Catherine Cornaro à travers les sources produites à Chypre,” in *Caterina Cornaro*, ed. Syndikus and Rogge, pp. 242–44.
208. Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques,” pp. 298–300; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” pp. 126–27; Edbury, “The Last Lusignans,” pp. 218–23.
209. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 1095; see also, chapter 5.
210. *CHW*, pp. 244–49; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 136. This reference could perhaps be considered as an indication that the Orthodox bishops were supposed to reside outside their ancient sees. There is also the possibility that Sixtus was misinformed on this particular issue.

Chapter 5

“Render unto Caesar”

Cypriot Orthodoxy under the Venetians

At first light on Saturday, September 9, 1570, the Ottoman army besieging Nicosia surprisingly stormed the city’s heart-shaped bastions and managed to force their way in. The Latin (Venetian and Frankish) and Greek defenders were unable to stop them; one by one, the members of Nicosia’s most illustrious and noble families, who had recently paid for the construction of their capital’s promising fortifications, fell by the muskets and scimitars of Lala Mustafa Pasha’s men. In the chaotic situation that followed the bloody entry of Ottoman troops, a group of Latin and Greek fighters made a last stand in front of the city’s two main churches: the Western cathedral of St. Sophia and the Orthodox cathedral of the Virgin Hodēgētria.¹ The two cathedrals had stood side by side for more than two centuries. Together, they had witnessed royal coronations, weddings, feasts, murderous plots, popular riots, ecclesiastical councils, and liturgical processions, as the everyday lives of Nicosia’s population were interwoven with the dust, sun, and shady corners of the city that served the Byzantines, Lusignans, and Venetians as the island’s administrative and political center.

On that September day, however, everything was about to change. The last defenders of Nicosia were killed or taken captive, including many Orthodox priests and monks, as well as three out of

the four Orthodox bishops.² The capitulation of Famagusta in August 1571 sealed the end of almost four centuries of Latin rule, and marked the beginning of a new occupation, this time under the Sublime Porte. Writing in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest, the Dominican Angelo Calepio bitterly interpreted the fall of Cyprus as divine punishment for the disobedience of the island's Greek population, who preferred the authority of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, rather than that of the Roman pope.³

Until relatively recently, Orthodox Cypriot loyalty to Venice during the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus was largely overlooked by scholarship; this was mainly due to the influence of nineteenth-century French historiography, which viewed Venice “as a decadent political system run by an oligarchic ruling class,”⁴ and the anti-Orthodox bias of Western sources, which justified the Ottoman victory by accusing the Greeks of treason.⁵ Despite cases of individual collaboration with the Muslim invaders during the War of Cyprus, Orthodox Cypriot loyalty to Venice seems to be confirmed by the fact that after the Ottoman conquest of 1571, a great number of Greeks, including clerics and monks, sought refuge in Venice and its Greek dominions; to use Cardinal Bēssariōn's famous phrase, Venice became for these refugees “almost a second Constantinople” (*quasi alterum Byzantium*).⁶ Moreover, the involvement of Orthodox Cypriot prelates, priests, monks, and laymen in anti-Ottoman plots and revolts throughout the seventeenth century strengthens the view that, despite the partial restoration of Orthodox religious freedom by the Ottomans, many Greeks preferred to be governed by Christian rulers.⁷

The determination of Cypriot Christians to defend their island against the common Ottoman enemy in 1570/71, was not only forged by the long coexistence of Orthodox and Latins, but also by

the escalating tension between the Ottoman Empire and the Western powers throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,⁸ the experience of Turkish raids,⁹ and the fear of Muslim destructions and atrocities.¹⁰ The rallying of Orthodox Cypriots under St. Mark's banner was further facilitated by the ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* pursued by Venice in Cyprus, "the biggest, richest, most populated, and most remote colony" of the Venetian Maritime State.¹¹ Although oligarchic in nature,¹² Venetian colonial administration fostered collaborative governance in various ways, consolidating the social power of Cypriot elite families,¹³ institutionalizing collective representation bodies (i.e., the *università* and *popolo* assemblies),¹⁴ relying on Orthodox priests for the preservation of order and the effective implementation of colonial policy,¹⁵ and providing opportunities for social mobility.¹⁶ The Venetians also adapted the Lusignan policy of controlling the appointment of Orthodox bishops: instead of being nominated by the Royal Council, episcopal candidates were now chosen by Venetian officials and the *potentes* council (*università*) of Nicosia, excluding the participation of commoners in the election process, and only formally allowing the pope to confirm the appointment of prelates;¹⁷ not surprisingly, some of these bishops belonged to the aristocratic families involved in their election.¹⁸ Rather than attempting to enforce Latinization, as argued by ethnocentric scholars in the past,¹⁹ Venice was mainly interested in replacing the papacy and the Lusignans as the dominant power in the island's ecclesiastical administration.²⁰ This was achieved, for example, by economically and materially supporting Orthodox monastic communities, without imposing a line of doctrinal or liturgical uniformity, as well as by occasionally intervening to safeguard

Orthodox monastic traditions, customs, and property rights.²¹ The success of Venice's ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* was facilitated by the weakness of the Latin Church of Cyprus, which continued to experience subordination to secular authority, economic problems, absenteeism, and canonical laxity in a predominantly non-Latin milieu.²²

Scholars have pointed out that Cypriot identity in the Venetian period was shaped by Renaissance culture and socioreligious rapprochement; this view is indeed supported by the work of Cypriot Renaissance historians, who were socially and culturally part of the dominant class. The jurist Florio Bustron (d. 1570?), for example, composed "a patriotic history celebrating the noble and ancient culture of Cyprus," which marginalized the island's Byzantine Orthodox heritage, and even attempted to Westernize Byzantine religious traditions.²³ In the same vein, Stephen of Lusignan (d. 1590), a descendant of the Lusignan royal family and Dominican vicar to the Latin bishop of Limassol, emphasized his island's ties with the West, in an attempt to persuade French and Italian Catholics to liberate Cyprus from the Ottomans. Despite the great historical value of Lusignan's works, his pro-Latin bias did not go unnoticed by later Orthodox Cypriot historians: already in the eighteenth century, Archimandrite Kyprianos "resented and criticized [his condescension] as incompatible with the task of serious history writing."²⁴

The amalgam of peaceful coexistence and ethnoreligious tension reflected in the sources shows that Orthodox identity, anti-Ottomanism, Cypriot patriotism, loyalty to Venice, and expressions of (a largely Westernized) Renaissance Cypriot self-awareness, represent different identity layers within sixteenth-century Cypriot society. The main question raised is how Orthodox Cypriot identity was preserved, enriched, adapted, and negotiated in the context of

religious, cultural, and ideological developments during the Venetian period; in other words: to what extent did Orthodoxy and Byzantium continue to shape the attitudes, perceptions, and actions of Venetian-ruled Orthodox Cypriots?



Figure 5.1 The Zaccaria Donors, Mural, Church of the Virgin (or the Archangel), Galata, 1514. Note the use of the rosary and a prayer book containing the Akathist Hymn. Source: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

1. CYPRIOT ORTHODOXY AND EARLY MODERNITY

According to Stephen of Lusignan's *Chorograffia* (originally published in Bologna, 1573), the Cypriot dominant class presented a variety of religious attitudes. Some *potentes* followed the Latin rite, others followed the Byzantine rite, and many others mixed both rites, living in a way that was neither Greek nor Latin.²⁵ The French version of Lusignan's work (*Description de toute l'île de Cypre*, published in Paris, 1580) adds that the Greek and Latin clergy tolerated the religious pluralism of the Cypriot elite; even some of the popes had given permission to Latin Christians in

Venice “to live in the Greek way” (*vivre à la façon Grecque*).²⁶ The *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians, and other ecclesiastical, administrative, and financial matters* (= *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians*), probably composed in the 1560s by a Latin ecclesiastic with personal knowledge of things Cypriot, mentions that the Latin nobles had Greek confessors; they also abandoned the regulations and customs of the Roman Church, received the sacraments according to the Byzantine rite, and modified their churches in the Greek style.²⁷

Interestingly, both sources point out that the nobility did not respect the hierarchy of rites described in Crusader customary law, “which defined identity and thus inclusion in or exclusion from the dominant group” in religious terms: power was supposed to be solely in the hands of Latin-rite Christians.²⁸ The nostalgia of these church pastors for the “good old days,” when Cyprus was governed by “pure” Latin-rite Christians, captures the dynamic penetration of Orthodox customs, devotions, and practices into the island’s upper social stratum. Rather than indicating the existence of a distinct “Eastern Catholic” group or party with a consistent ideological or spiritual orientation, these testimonies should better be interpreted as reflecting fluctuating attitudes within the Cypriot elite, in response to a variety of factors and circumstances: religious tolerance in the family context;²⁹ discovery of common ground in similar devotional practices (see [Figure 5.1](#));³⁰ strategic conversion of non-Latins to the Latin rite in order to facilitate social elevation;³¹ patronage and donations in exchange for spiritual benefits;³² the pursuing of higher education;³³ and obligatory participation in religious rituals as an expression of loyalty to Venice.³⁴ Devotional eclecticism, syncretism, and the blurring of traditional boundaries mark the transition from a religiously

coherent dominant class adhering to the Latin rite to one characterized by religious individualism, adaptability, and selectivity. Signs of the times: early modernity was on the way.³⁵

The encounter of Cypriot aristocrats and *potentes* with the ideas of the Protestant Reformation illuminates this transition. The Calvinist sermons of Ambrogio Cavalli of Milan (d. 1566), Augustinian friar and vicar to the Latin bishop of Limassol, in the cathedral church of St. Sophia (1544), seem to have been welcomed by a small number of Venetian officials and members of the Cypriot elite, including the Greek magnates Marco Zaccaria and Pietro Paolo Synglitico. Cavalli attacked the veneration of the Virgin and the saints, questioned the value of the sacraments, rejected ecclesiastical hierarchy, denied the existence of Purgatory and free will, criticized the practice of memorial services and the collection of alms, argued that ecclesiastical property should belong to all faithful, taught that man can be saved by faith alone (*sola fide*), and condemned the veneration of miraculous icons, urging his audience (particularly the Greeks) to imitate the Muslim prohibition against images.³⁶

In the following years, Franzino Synglitico (1550), Pietro Paolo Synglitico (1555), and Marco Zaccaria and his son, Andrea (1563), were accused by the Holy Inquisition for propagating Lutheranism, and for possessing or transporting prohibited books from Venice to Cyprus. What made these Cypriot devotees of the Protestant Reformation vulnerable was the fact that their activities had attracted the Inquisition's attention in Venice, where the Protestant ideas did not openly circulate; as long as they kept a low profile and remained in Cyprus, where the Venetians preserved the *status quo* by prohibiting the Inquisition's activities, Cypriot "Protestantizers" were more likely to be protected. During his interrogation in Venice, Franzino Synglitico defended himself by

stating that he was Greek, he had an uncle who was Greek bishop in Cyprus (Anthony of Karpasia), and his family had always been outside the papacy's jurisdiction. Franzino's unsuccessful attempt to avoid punishment (he was eventually condemned to death in 1564) shows that sixteenth-century Cypriot *potentes* developed and manipulated multiple identities in different contexts and in response to particular circumstances: Franzino was born in Venetian-ruled Cyprus; his Greek family had penetrated into the Latin Cypriot dominant class; he was educated in the West; he was a sympathizer of the Protestant ideas; and he attempted to escape from the Inquisition by stressing his Greek origins.³⁷

The socioreligious background and intellectual profile of Greek Cypriot sympathizers of the Protestant Reformation suggests that the vast majority of the island's Orthodox population were not affected by the "novel teachings" of Lutheranism and Calvinism. The channels through which a number of socially elevated Greeks came to know the Protestant ideas, namely the Italian universities and the Renaissance humanist circles, were primarily accessible to the culturally (and often religiously) Westernized members of the Cypriot elite.³⁸ Moreover, the coexistence of different rites in Cypriot magnate families encouraged the challenging of established belief systems, and facilitated the acceptance of new religious ideas.³⁹

Nonelite Orthodox Cypriots were more conservative. Ambrogio Cavalli's Calvinist sermons in 1544 attacked the venerable traditions of both Latin and Orthodox Christians, threatening public order, and eventually leading to his removal from Cyprus. Reports to Venice mention that had it not been for the Venetian colonial authorities, the common people of Nicosia would have certainly stoned Cavalli to death or burned him alive; it was also noted that the Greek peasants were greatly disturbed by the Augustinian

friar's teachings, became disobedient against the Latin Church, and there were fears that they would take up arms against the Venetians.⁴⁰ What is remarkable is that there is no evidence of Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastics adopting Cavalli's Calvinist ideas: the teachings of the Protestant Reformation were too radical to constitute a real threat for the island's deeply rooted Orthodox tradition (Calvinism was only condemned by the Orthodox Cypriot Church in 1688).⁴¹ It is noteworthy that in 1601 the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical authorities included in their requests to Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy (1580–1630), who was expected to liberate Cyprus from the Ottomans, a provision that would forbid Lutherans, Hussites, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Huguenots, Arians, and atheists to establish themselves on the island.⁴² This piece of information demonstrates that Orthodox Cypriots continued to resist the “novel ideas” of Protestantism, and suggests that Orthodox Cypriot prelates acknowledged the existence of various Reforming groups, adopting, for example, the widespread characterization “Arians” to describe Protestant theological currents that emphasized Christ's humanity.⁴³

The encounter of Cypriot Orthodoxy with early modernity was also highlighted by a renewed interest in the legacy of the Hellenic antiquity, as part of redefining Greek identity in the late Byzantine and Renaissance periods, particularly after the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium in 1453.⁴⁴ Central to this process was the revolutionary movement of the Rhodian scholar and scribe James Diasorēnos (1561/62–63), considered by some historians as signifying “the origins of Greek Cypriot nationalism as a dynamic historical phenomenon.”⁴⁵ Diasorēnos seems to have belonged to a wider network of Greek intellectuals linked to the Ecumenical Patriarchate; he also collaborated with his cousin, James Heraklidēs

Basilikos, sharing the vision of liberating the Greeks from the Ottoman yoke. A former mercenary in the Habsburg army, Basilikos managed to briefly become despot of Moldavia (1561–63), presenting himself as heir to the Byzantine emperors and Serbian despots, and calling his boyars to liberate the Greek lands from Ottoman domination.⁴⁶ Probably in 1562, a year after Basilikos' rise in Moldavia, Diasorēnos came to Nicosia. Taking advantage of the growing anti-Venetian sentiments of the lower masses⁴⁷ (the result of natural disasters, outbreaks of plague, food shortages, taxation, corruption on the part of the local elites, and exclusion from the election of Orthodox bishops),⁴⁸ he decided to expel the Venetians. Diasorēnos' ambitious plan involved Basilikos, the Habsburgs, and at least two Greek mercenary captains claiming (probably for reasons of social prestige, rather than for the sake of historical reality) to be descendants of noble Byzantine families, the Laskarids/Megadoukai and the Palaiologoi.⁴⁹ Although some members of the Orthodox peasantry might have entertained expectations that their condition would be improved under Ottoman rule (occasionally appealing to the Sublime Porte to conquer Cyprus),⁵⁰ there is no concrete evidence that Diasorēnos had involved the Ottomans in his plans.⁵¹

During his stay in Nicosia, Diasorēnos worked as a teacher, presumably in the Greek school of the Hodēgētria cathedral, situated close to the Latin cathedral of St. Sophia.⁵² A Venetian report on Diasorēnos' activities states that he was admired by all Cypriots; the same source also mentions that the Lutheran beliefs of his predecessors (a reference to Ambrogio Cavalli?) had created problems in local society.⁵³ This piece of information seems to confirm Diasorēnos' attachment to Orthodoxy, despite his acquaintance with the Lutheran theologian and scholar Philip

Melanchthon (d. 1560), and the support of Lutheranism by Basilikos.⁵⁴ Diasorēnos' teaching activities coincided with the revival of Greek learning in Venetian-ruled Cyprus: in 1521, the common people (*popolo*) of Nicosia had requested from the Venetians that a special tax should be paid by Orthodox Cypriot monasteries for the founding of a Greek school with two teachers. Although the Venetians confirmed their request, they permitted the appointment of only one teacher, which seems to have led to the founding of the Greek cathedral school of Nicosia, where Diasorēnos probably taught; it was also decided that all Orthodox Cypriot bishoprics should be served by preachers who were priests and had a good knowledge of theology.⁵⁵

According to the administrator (*provveditore*) Giovanni Matteo Bembo (1561–62), Diasorēnos was deeply respected by the poor, who considered him a prophet.⁵⁶ Moreover, Diasorēnos seems to have befriended members of the Podocataro family, who advised him to leave the island.⁵⁷ Diasorēnos' teachings, as reflected in his own writings and the works of later Italian historians (e.g., Antonio Maria Graziani), focused on the glory of the Hellenic past and the cultural/ethnic/(proto)national unity of the politically fragmented Greek world; he also offered free medical services and welcomed in his audience those unable to pay student fees. The poor called him "Father."⁵⁸ Equally revealing is a report by the French ambassador in Constantinople (spring 1563), who noted that Diasorēnos was driving the island's Greeks against the Latin Church, claiming (not without exaggeration) that he had gathered around him five thousand men.⁵⁹ The Venetians eventually arrested Diasorēnos in Paphos, in the residence of the Orthodox bishop of Arsinoē, which suggests that his plans were supported by members of the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy; he was tortured

and executed, together with a number of local collaborators (1563).⁶⁰

Overall, Diasorēnos appears to have been an exceptional man and a revolutionary, inspired both by the Renaissance and by the heritage of Orthodox Byzantium. His attempt to take action against Venice with the help of Basilikos and the Habsburgs suggests that his primary aim was to establish himself as the island's ruler, probably as a first step toward liberating other Greek territories from the Ottomans. Diasorēnos' employment of Greek education in the service of his revolutionary plans was also innovative, in the sense that he seems to have acknowledged that political liberation was interconnected with the cultural revival of his people.⁶¹ Several revisionist historians have questioned Diasorēnos' revolutionary motivations, arguing that he was simply an adventurer;⁶² it is perhaps more correct to interpret the 1563 plot in the context of an emerging early modern ethnic/(proto)national ideology, nourished by political oppression, social misery, Renaissance culture, and the vision of restoring the lost empire of Orthodox Byzantium.⁶³

The most long-lasting effect of Diasorēnos' movement was the strengthening of Hellenic studies in Nicosia. "[Acquiring] a good education," Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis notes, "was a matter of patriotism, for it could be used to serve the enslaved homeland."⁶⁴ In the late sixteenth century, following a break due to the traumatic events of the Ottoman conquest, a Greek school was reestablished in the monastery of St. John of Pipēs (the Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia to this day) hosting eminent ecclesiastics and scholars (including Leontios Eustratios, Matthew Galatianos, Hilariōn Kigalas, Archbishop Philotheos, and Ephraim the Athenian). In their appeal to Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, presented in

1601, the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical authorities requested that after their liberation from the Ottomans, public schools should be founded in all cities, together with a royal seminary in Nicosia, which should be open to all people. In 1812, Archbishop Kyprianos (condemned to death by the Ottomans for supporting the Greek Uprising in 1821) founded the Hellenic School of Nicosia, known today as the Pancyprian Gymnasium. Being the oldest secondary school on the island, the Gymnasium was a bastion of anticolonial opposition in the 1950s, which attests to the enduring influence of Hellenic learning on Greek Cypriot struggles for liberation from foreign occupation.⁶⁵

2. CYPRIOT ORTHODOXY AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The reappearance of religious tension in Cyprus in the 1560s seems to have been caused by the papacy's attempts to impose the principles of the Counter-Reformation over the Orthodox Cypriots.⁶⁶ For almost a century (1440s–1540s), the Western Church had pursued a unionist policy that emphasized the equality of Latin and non-Latin rites under papal jurisdiction; this was largely the result of the Ottoman advance, which had led the popes to undertake a twofold mission: “[wage] war against the Turks to protect Europe and . . . confirm papal superiority over Christendom.”⁶⁷ This policy is best reflected in the papal bulls of 1521 and 1526: Greek communities under Venetian domination were protected from Latin ecclesiastical coercion, provoked by the growing influence of Orthodox populations in territories where the Latin element was numerically weaker. The papal formulations aimed at enhancing the equality of status between Greeks and Latins, but underlined that the former were only allowed to

preserve traditions and customs considered by the papacy as orthodox; ultimately, the Holy See retained its supreme privilege to decide about the doctrinal correctness of non-Latin doctrines and liturgical practices, demonstrating that a policy of tolerance could only be afforded within the limits of non-Latin submission to the papacy.⁶⁸

This tolerant policy began to change in 1542, when Pope Paul III (1534–49) required that all priests serving in the Greek community of Venice should profess the Latin faith. The pope justified his decision by stating that the Greeks of Venice were deemed unworthy of the benevolence shown to them by his predecessors, for they were rejecting the Florentine decrees and accusing the Latins of heresy.⁶⁹ In 1564, Pope Pius IV (1559–65) placed the Greek communities of Italy under the jurisdiction of Latin ordinaries.⁷⁰ His successor, Pius V (1566–72), expanded the judicial powers of the Holy Office, making the Inquisition a mighty instrument in the struggle against all forms of heterodoxy.⁷¹ In 1550, the newly founded Jesuit Order (an institution that was directly subject to papal authority) was established in Venice.⁷² Fourteen years later (1564), the Venetians accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent (1543–63), which aimed at the creation of “a renovated Catholicism.”⁷³

Filippo Mocenigo, a Venetian patrician who served as Nicosia’s last archbishop (1560–86) before the Ottoman invasion, was a protagonist in the implementation of the principles of the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus.⁷⁴ The beginning of Mocenigo’s archiepiscopacy was marked by an agreement between the papacy and Venice concerning the confirmation of the republic’s rights over the appointment of Venetian prelates to the see of Nicosia, in exchange for the island’s protection from the Ottomans.⁷⁵ Putting

an end to the absenteeism of his predecessors, Mocenigo travelled to Cyprus to exercise his duties in person (September 1560); he was accompanied by the Jesuit fathers Emanuele Gomes of Montemajor and Clemente of Montepulciano, who were planning to found the first Jesuit college on the island, in order to restore the purity of the Latin rite (their plan was not fulfilled).⁷⁶ In 1562/63 Mocenigo attended the last sessions of Trent, and received the doge's permission to implement the council's decrees in Cyprus (1564), promising that he would not impose liturgical uniformity on the Greeks.⁷⁷ Although Venetian magistrates saw Mocenigo's reforming zeal as an opportunity to deal solely with problems of simony and moral corruption in the island's Latin and non-Latin clergy, the archbishop appears to have been willing to intervene in matters of faith and ritual practice, deciding which Orthodox rites and customs were to be tolerated or not.⁷⁸

Ironically, it was the Venetians, who, alarmed by Diasorēnos' movement and wanting to maintain religious peace, constituted the main obstacle to the archbishop's plans. Upon Mocenigo's return to the island, the Orthodox bishops complained that the archbishop's activities were threatening their tradition; this led the Venetians to postpone the official announcement of the Tridentine decrees.⁷⁹ In October 1565, when Mocenigo attempted to regain control over the bestowal of benefices and ecclesiastical appointments, the Venetian authorities were unwilling to surrender Venice's patronage and ecclesiastical rights.⁸⁰ In 1567, the Latin archbishop condemned John Flangin, the Orthodox senior priest of Leukara, for having transferred stones and "other blessed things" for the blessing of an Orthodox church; since the Byzantine ritual ordinance deemed necessary the participation of a bishop in the ceremony, Flangin's actions were considered uncanonical. In 1568, Flangin appealed to

the Venetians, arguing that he should have been tried by John of Sur, the incumbent bishop of Leukara, rather than Mocenigo. Not surprisingly, Venice approved Flangin's request.⁸¹

Mocenigo's intention to proceed to a general reform⁸² is best reflected in the convening of a provincial synod in the cathedral church of St. Sophia (January–February 1567), which called for the participation of the Latin, Greek, Maronite, Armenian, and Jacobite clergy: the Latin archbishop, who had been nominated commissary general of the Inquisition three years earlier (1564), announced his intention to appoint six investigators for the correction of errors of all Cypriot ethnoreligious communities.⁸³ Fresh evidence contained in the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians*—probably the work of an anonymous Latin churchman (ca. 1563–68), who seems to have undertaken a careful investigation of Cypriot Christian religious traditions and customs—strongly suggests (although not explicitly stating) that Mocenigo was planning to reform a broad spectrum of non-Latin doctrines and practices, departing from the traditional acceptance of ritual uniformity under the papacy (see [Figure 5.2](#)).⁸⁴ Nearly 70 percent of the *Report* focuses on the traditions of Orthodox Christians (*Greci*), as perceived by the Counter-Reformers of Mocenigo's circle. We are informed, for example, that the Orthodox rejected the *Filioque* doctrine, denied papal primacy, condemned the pope and the Latin clergy as heretics, spoke against the Council of Florence, performed a prostration during the Great Entrance procession (namely before the consecration of the blessed bread and wine), and did not venerate Latin saints who had been canonized after the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787).⁸⁵ A detailed analysis of each and every point mentioned in this highly important document will be the subject of a future study. What is

essential to emphasize is that despite the occasionally inaccurate way in which the anonymous author portrays non-Latin Christians, the *Report* bears witness to the dynamic preservation of Orthodox Cypriot identity after centuries of Latin political and ecclesiastical domination.

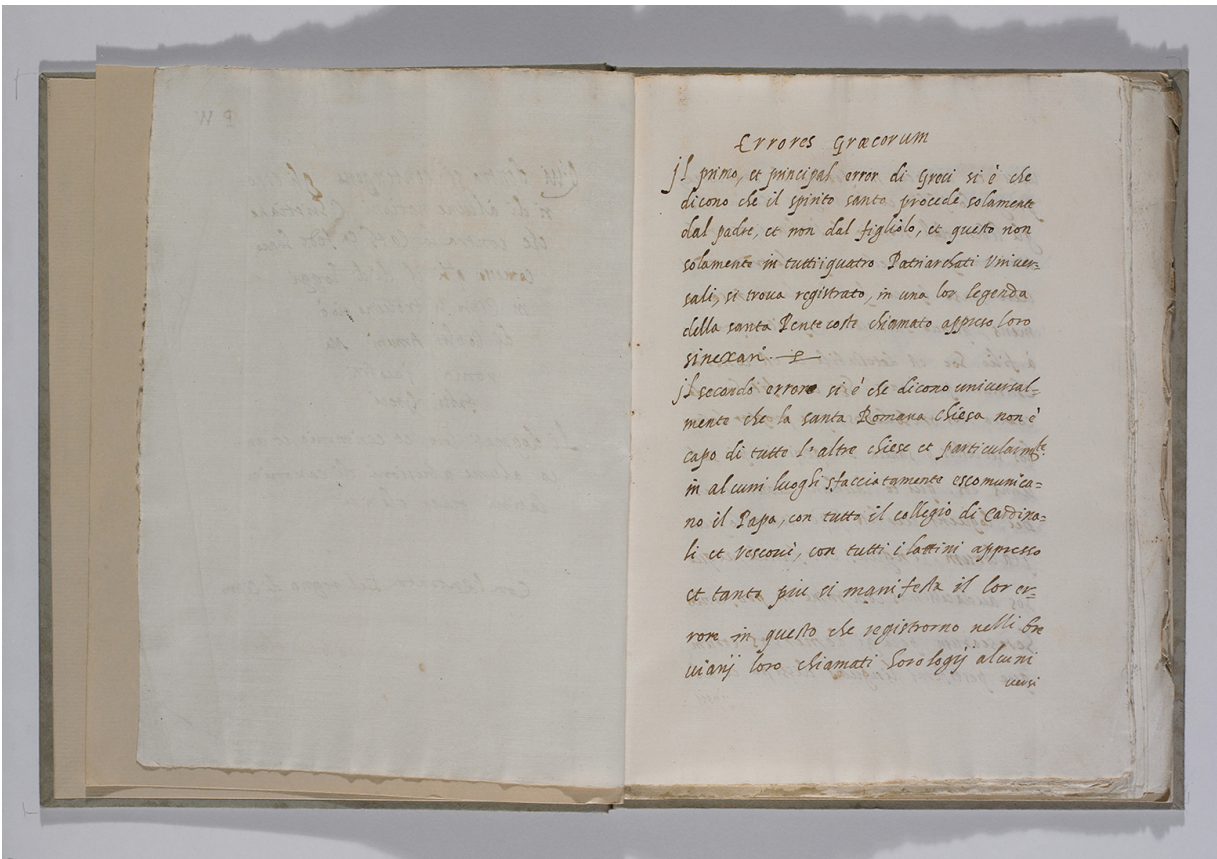


Figure 5.2 The Report on the Errors of Cypriot Christians, and other Ecclesiastical, Administrative, and Financial Matters, MS Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-030. Source: Courtesy of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.

Mocenigo's reforming pronouncements during the Provincial Synod of 1567 brought him into direct conflict with Bishop Neophytos Logaras of Solea (1543–68).⁸⁶ The main issues raised were the following:

1. The ancient custom of Orthodox bishops to preside over courts of first instance when dealing with cases of Greeks. By attempting to impose his control over Orthodox ecclesiastical courts, Mocenigo was attacking one of the pillars of Orthodox Cypriot communal organization, which had hitherto been tolerated (and even protected) by the *Bulla Cypria*, the Lusignans, and the Venetians.⁸⁷
2. The indissolubility of marriage (according to the Western tradition), and the Orthodox practice of permitting the dissolution of marriage and allowing remarriage. Although the Tridentine decrees tolerated the Byzantine Orthodox dissolution of marriage in cases of adultery, they prohibited remarriage.⁸⁸
3. Simoniac practices among the Orthodox clergy, particularly in regard to the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices. As Logaras reminded to Mocenigo, however, the bestowal of benefices was controlled by the Venetians and the *potentes* council (*università*) of Nicosia, not by himself.⁸⁹ The fact that the newly elected bishops of Solea were obliged to pay royalties (*regalias*) to the Latin archbishops of Nicosia and their vicars and canons seems to confirm Logaras' argument that simony was tacitly sanctioned (if not encouraged) by the Latin political and ecclesiastical authorities.⁹⁰

In his capacity as commissary general of the Inquisition, Mocenigo ordered Logaras to comply with his instructions; otherwise, the bishop of Solea would be tried by the papal court in Rome. According to Angelo Calepio, an eyewitness, Logaras declared that he did not recognize the authority of the papal court, and in turn, summoned the Latin archbishop to God's tribunal.⁹¹ According to Pietro Valderio, the last viscount of Famagusta, the synodal proceedings were taking place behind locked doors, which

led the Orthodox commoners of Nicosia to besiege St. Sophia, shouting that their bishops should not accept the Latin positions; when the mob eventually forced their way in, Mocenigo (much like Peter Thomas in 1360) hardly managed to save his life.⁹² Apart from Valderio, various Venetian reports refer to “scandals” (*scandali*), “riots” (*tumulti*), “rebellions” (*seditioni*), and “controversies” (*controversie*) provoked by Mocenigo’s attempt to modify “the Greek rites” (*di alterar li riti de Greci*).⁹³ Facing popular pressure, the Venetian authorities ordered Mocenigo not to proceed with Logaras’ court summons; the bishop of Solea was sent to Venice, in order to present his case before the Council of Ten (February 1568).⁹⁴

Once again, Venice sided with her Orthodox Cypriot subjects. The Council of Ten vindicated Logaras and paid for his travel expenses. When the Venetian ambassador in Rome informed Pope Pius V that it was too dangerous to modify the rites and customs of the island’s Greeks, the irritated pope replied that there was no need for the Venetians to defend heresy in the name of “rites and customs.” Divided between his duty as a Venetian and his obligations as Latin archbishop of Nicosia (a case of multiple identities!), Mocenigo was recalled to Venice to answer for his actions (May 1568); despite not being punished, he was reproached by his countrymen for having disturbed religious peace.⁹⁵

Although the conflict between the two prelates had officially ended, there were voices in support of imposing religious uniformity. Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, the papal nuncio in Venice, was a proponent of this idea; he also suggested that the founding of a Jesuit college in Cyprus would contribute to the strengthening of Catholic faith.⁹⁶ The Venetian magistrate Bernardo Sagredo proposed that all Orthodox bishops should be

expelled, and that their flock should be subordinated to the Latin archbishop.⁹⁷ The fact that Venice did not adopt these views but respected and protected its Orthodox Cypriot subjects from Latinization is the strongest piece of evidence for the exercise of a *Realpolitik* that enabled autonomy in matters of doctrine and practice. Consequently, the political loyalty of many Orthodox Cypriots at the time of the Ottoman invasion, despite the earlier suppression of Diasorēnos' movement, should be interpreted in terms of the republic's success in protecting Orthodox Christians from Latin ecclesiastical harassment in the 1560s.⁹⁸

Logaras' firm resistance against Mocenigo illustrates the dynamism of Orthodox identity in sixteenth-century Cyprus. Undoubtedly, it would have been much easier for the bishop of Solea to obey the Latin archbishop's orders, and comply with the standards set by the papacy, rather than expose himself to the Inquisition for the sake of issues related to jurisdiction and matrimony. What Logaras seems to have suspected, however, is that Mocenigo's reforming activities would not have stopped there: Latin intervention (e.g., through the appointment of inquisitors) threatened Cypriot Orthodoxy not only in matters of jurisdiction, but also in matters of faith and liturgical praxis.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Logaras' case demonstrates how Orthodox Cypriots could deploy their identity as subjects of Venice (e.g., by bypassing the papal court and putting pressure on the colonial authorities through popular protest), in order to effectively protect themselves and their Orthodox tradition from Latin ecclesiastical coercion.

3. THE DYNAMICS OF ORTHODOX CYPRIOT REVIVAL: THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

The confidence and dynamism that highlighted Orthodox Cypriot resistance to Mocenigo can be better understood, if we consider the cultural and spiritual revival experienced by the island's Orthodox Christians during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The roots of this regeneration could be traced back to Helena Palaiologina's reign, marked by the reception of Byzantine monks, painters, scribes, bibliophiles, and poets after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.¹⁰⁰ This appears to have been the beginning of a cultural and religious regeneration, continuing throughout the Venetian period and preparing the island's reintegration into the Orthodox world after 1572. What follows is a brief presentation of the main characteristics of Orthodox Cypriot culture under the Venetians; the subject will be treated extensively in a future study.¹⁰¹

Cultural production implies the mobility of ideas and spiritual values, involving the active participation of both agents and audience. Manuscript production, for example, was not simply an exercise in copying texts, but implied the study of the scriptures and church fathers: reflecting upon the fruits of Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition paved the way for a return to the heart of Orthodox spirituality, and particularly, its liturgical and ascetic dimension. This *ressourcement*, however, does not indicate "the rediscovery of something completely lost," but refers to a process of recovery of patristic testimony, namely an engagement with critical problems of its agents and audience.¹⁰² The sixteenth century, for instance, witnessed the copying of the fourteenth-century *Thēkaras Book of Hours* by Cypriot monastic scribes, which suggests the familiarity of Orthodox Cypriot monks with the practices of hesychast asceticism.¹⁰³ The vernacularization of patristic writings in the same period, attested by the translation of St. John Damascene's *On those who have departed in faith* from

Byzantine Greek into the Greek Cypriot dialect, aimed at interpreting and popularizing the teachings of the church fathers. This was partly in order to defend the practices of both Orthodox and Latin Christians (e.g., memorial services) against the “novel ideas” of the Protestant Reformation.¹⁰⁴

Eclecticism and creativity were key features of the Orthodox Cypriot revival. This can be observed in the adoption or appropriation of post-Byzantine and Renaissance artistic elements by Cypriot painters nourished in the local Byzantine idiom. The ability of Cypriot artists to convey the teachings and doctrines of Orthodoxy, while open to Renaissance influences, is a strong indication for the development of multiple identities: sixteenth-century Cypriots managed to reconcile their multidimensional cultural background and aesthetic preferences with their Orthodox identity and tradition.¹⁰⁵ During the early Venetian period, for example, the Syrian Melkite painter Philip Goul adopted architectural elements from both the late Byzantine and Italian Renaissance traditions, reinterpreting and integrating Western models into a post-Byzantine pictorial context.¹⁰⁶

The Orthodox revival was the result of a rapprochement between Cyprus and other Orthodox centers, which enriched the island’s cultural heritage and the spiritual life of its inhabitants. Despite the fifteenth-century schism caused by Bryennios’ involvement in Cypriot affairs, the reestablishment of contacts with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople,¹⁰⁷ the Patriarchates of Antioch¹⁰⁸ and Jerusalem,¹⁰⁹ the Palestinian monastery of St. Sabbas the Sanctified (Mar Saba),¹¹⁰ the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai,¹¹¹ the monasteries of Mt. Athos,¹¹² the Aegean Islands (particularly Rhodes),¹¹³ and Venice (especially after 1572),¹¹⁴ enabled the transmission of a variety of artistic

trends (post-Byzantine and Renaissance),¹¹⁵ and Orthodox spiritual practices and writings, reaffirming the role of Cyprus as integral part of the Orthodox world.¹¹⁶ The revival was further supported by the institutionalization of Greek learning in Cyprus with Venice's support, achieved through the collaboration of town assemblies and Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical authorities.¹¹⁷ In addition, the invention of printing renewed the interest of Latins and Greeks in ecclesiastical manuscripts, which further encouraged *ressourcement*.¹¹⁸

The activities of Orthodox (including Syrian Melkite) churchmen and laymen as musicians (hymnographers, composers, and cantors),¹¹⁹ bibliophiles, scribes,¹²⁰ and painters,¹²¹ were supported by both Orthodox and Latin patrons, testifying that the radiance of cultural and spiritual regeneration transcended traditional ethnoreligious barriers.¹²² A noteworthy example of collaboration between a Latin sponsor and an Orthodox scribe is that of Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo and Abbot Philotheos of Arakas (1564/65). Mocenigo commissioned the copying of a Greek manuscript containing patristic and philosophical works, which would be used as a master copy for the printing of these texts in Italy. A dedicatory poetic colophon by Abbot Philotheos praises Mocenigo as a virtuous pastor, indicating that Christian humanism and local patriotism could bridge the religious divide between Orthodox and Latins.¹²³

Shared expressions of piety contributed to intercommunal symbiosis and interaction, without however, leading to the merging of ethnoreligious identities. This is eloquently mirrored in Orthodox murals or icons depicting Christ's Passion and Resurrection: while these representations addressed both Orthodox and Western Christians as statements of common ground, they

might also invited an ethnopolitical interpretation on the part of Orthodox viewers, denoting liberation from the foreign conqueror and ethnic restoration.¹²⁴ Another example of the adaptability and multilayered symbolism of Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical art under the Venetians is the depiction of scenes inspired by the *Akathist Hymn*, the most famous Byzantine liturgical hymn to the Virgin. Translated into Latin in the ninth century (a cultural achievement that enriched the long Western tradition of devotion to the Virgin),¹²⁵ the *Akathist Hymn* became increasingly popular in Orthodox ecclesiastical art, as a result of the Palamite Hesychast emphasis on the Virgin's exemplary ascetic life and role in the Incarnation.¹²⁶ A sixteenth-century mural of the *Akathist Hymn* from the church (καθολικὸν) of St. Neophytos' monastery in Tala follows post-Byzantine stylistic models and includes representations of a Byzantine emperor and Orthodox prelates venerating the enthroned Virgin. Given the close contacts between St. Neophytos' monastic community and major Orthodox centers, the Byzantine character of the murals (perhaps suggesting the patronage of non-Cypriot Orthodox ecclesiastics) is not surprising.¹²⁷ What is striking, however, is the different way in which the same scene is depicted in the so-called Latin Chapel at the monastery of St. John Lampadistēs in Kalopanagiōtēs: Renaissance stylistic influences are greater, and the flock venerating the Virgin includes a Venetian doge, a pope, Latin prelates, Greek bishops with Latin miters, and Greek monks (see [Figure 5.3](#)). Far from visualizing religious and cultural Latinization, the Kalopanagiōtēs *Akathist* murals reveal the openness and creativity of Orthodox identity in Venetian-ruled Cyprus: the adoption of the Renaissance style seems to reflect the aesthetic preferences of the local monastic community; the pictorial inclusion of Latins could be interpreted as a diplomatic expression

of gratitude toward the monastery's Western patrons; the Latin miters of Greek prelates probably indicate the actual adoption of Western headwear by the Orthodox Cypriot episcopate. Despite misleadingly being labeled "Latin" by modern scholars, the Kalopanagiōtēs "Chapel" most likely functioned as a separate space (paranarthex) for the daily recitation of the *Akathist Hymn* by Orthodox monks; the representation of Old Testament theophanies and miraculous images of Christ (The Holy Image of Edessa and the Holy Tile) further stresses the Orthodox spiritual orientation of the local monastic community: the "Latin Chapel" is a monument of multiple identities. ¹²⁸



Figure 5.3 The Akathist Hymn (stanzas 23–24), “Latin Chapel,” Monastery of St. John Lampadistēs, Kalopanagiōtēs, Sixteenth Century. *Source:* Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Boundary maintenance remained part of the *modus vivendi*. Orthodox Cypriots adapted and manipulated cultural production to reaffirm their own doctrines and practices, particularly in cases when these were rejected or criticized by the Latins. The absence of explicit anti-Latin pronouncements and coercion should be considered as an indication of the Orthodox Cypriot ability to survive by expressing their faith in ways that could generally be tolerated (or even go unnoticed) by the Latin Church. As we have seen throughout this book, statements of common Christian faith enabled the cryptoreligious pronouncement of Orthodox doctrines, teachings, and practices that challenged Western hegemony in matters of faith. Therefore, while the depiction of ecumenical councils in Cypriot ecclesiastical art was a visual expression of unity between East and West, it also constituted an ecclesiological manifesto that stressed the principle of conciliarity, against the principle of papal spiritual supremacy.¹²⁹ Special reference should also be made to the Orthodox Cypriot appropriation of the *Gnadenstuhl* (“Mercy Seat”). As scholars have pointed out, this Western representation of the Trinity reflects Anselm of Canterbury’s (d. 1109) theology on divine satisfaction (repaid to the Father through the Son’s Incarnation and Passion).¹³⁰ Depictions of the *Gnadenstuhl* in Orthodox Cypriot pictorial contexts seem to focus on a different theological issue. In these depictions, the procession of the Holy Spirit (in the form of spiration) is restricted to the Father alone, denoting that the Spirit proceeds from a single principle; this doctrine was accepted by both Orthodox and Latins, disagreeing, however, on whether the “single principle” referred to the Father alone (Orthodox position),

or whether the Father and the Son were united in a single spiration (Latin position).¹³¹ The possibility that the Cypriot *Gnadenstuhl* scenes conveyed the Orthodox doctrine is strengthened by the theme's earlier interpretation by Makarios, Orthodox metropolitan of Ancyra (1397–1405). "The depiction," Makarios writes (referring to the Spirit's single spiration in the *Gnadenstuhl*), "shows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests and remains within the Son. But the Latins . . . remain indifferent to the holy sayings and decrees of the Fathers."¹³² Regardless of the validity of Makarios' exegesis, his comments support Patriarch Gregory II's definition of the Holy Spirit's procession, which was accepted by the Orthodox in Cyprus.¹³³ Consequently, the Orthodox appropriation of the *Gnadenstuhl* theme and its interpretive fluidity appear to have permitted the covert expression of Orthodox theology.

Above all, the wind of spiritual renewal brought to Venetian-ruled Cyprus the echo of Palamite Hesychast teachings and devotional practices. Although largely ignored by previous scholarship, this fascinating aspect of Cypriot religious history mirrors the vitality of the island's Orthodoxy after centuries of Latin domination. The earliest Cypriot reference to the veneration of St. Gregory Palamas on the second Sunday of Lent appears in the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians*, which erroneously mentions that Palamas had been condemned during the Council of Florence for having composed anti-Latin works. This piece of information reflects the prevailingly negative perception of Palamite Hesychasm by the Western Church in this period.¹³⁴ The Venetian official Fantino Dolfin (fl. 1542–44) noted that a great number of Greek monks lived without observing a monastic rule, or having spiritual supervision by their superiors. It is likely that Dolfin, who was more familiar with the centralized monastic organization of the

Western Church, referred in fact to the variety of Orthodox heremitic, coenobetic, or semicoenobetic monastic practices on the island.¹³⁵ A positive picture of Orthodox Cypriot monasticism comes from the pen of Stephen of Lusignan. Sometime after 1550, Lusignan witnessed the translation of St. Theophanēs' relics (formerly bishop of Solea between ca. 1532 and 1543, and later hermit at the monastery of Mesa Potamos), testifying that a sweet fragrance came out of Theophanēs' grave, and that the holy man's head still possessed flesh. According to Lusignan, Theophanēs' head was kept in the monastery of Mesa Potamos, performing many miracles.¹³⁶ Various adaptations of the so-called Hesychast mandorla in depictions of the Transfiguration indicate that sixteenth-century Orthodox Cypriots were familiar with artistic representations of the divine energies.¹³⁷ It is remarkable that, although Palamite Hesychasm had been established in Cyprus during the second half of the fourteenth/early fifteenth century, it is only in the sixteenth century that we can find artistic traces of this particular theme, revealing a renewed interest in Palamite Hesychast theology and devotional practices.¹³⁸ This is further supported by related iconographic themes stressing the theophanic and transformative dimension of Orthodox liturgy, such as the depiction of the Risen Christ "in a different form" (Mark 16:12) from Letympou (church of Sts. Kērykos and Juliet),¹³⁹ and the portrayal of Christ the Great High Priest in the ciborium of St. Mamas' monastery, Morphou.¹⁴⁰

Venetian ecclesiastical policy in Cyprus was pragmatic: rather than imposing religious uniformity, it tolerated (and even protected) diversity in matters of faith, placing Orthodox Christians under the aegis of a centralized colonial administration, which granted restricted autonomy to the Orthodox clergy. Although

corruption and social misery did exist, the Venetians were largely successful in bolstering Cypriot loyalism during the Ottoman invasion of 1570–71. At the same time, as revisionist scholars have correctly pointed out, the Venetian period witnessed the emergence of a religiously and culturally Westernized Cypriot identity, which paid little attention to the island's Byzantine Orthodox heritage.

This chapter has argued that Cypriot Orthodoxy *could* and *did* coexist with Venetian loyalism, the Renaissance, and early modernity. As we have seen, the encounter with the Protestant Reformation affected a small number of Greek *potentes*, who were more open to religious syncretism, without altering the solid communal basis of Cypriot Orthodoxy. This is further suggested by the resistance of Bishop Neophytos of Solea to Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo's attempts to reform the Orthodox Cypriot clergy: due to the improvement of their condition during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries Orthodox Cypriot prelates were unwilling to step back from their religious autonomy, or modify their ancestral traditions. The Venetian support to the island's Orthodox Christians underlines the political realism of the colonial authorities, who prudently chose to preserve social stability and religious peace, rather than continue promoting the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus. The heavy blood price paid by the Orthodox Cypriot clergy during the War of Cyprus underlines the Venetian success in keeping their colonial subjects under St. Mark's banner, only a few years after the outbreak of tension in the 1560s.

Quite paradoxically, Venetian loyalism in the last years of the Latin rule coexisted with the rise of an early modern ethnic/(proto)national ideology among Orthodox Cypriots, inspired by James Diasorēnos' anti-Venetian movement. Despite the effective suppression of Diasorēnos' plot, the emphasis placed on

Hellenic education as an instrument of ethnopolitical liberation became a diachronic characteristic of Greek Cypriot nationalism.

The regeneration of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that, instead of decrying all things Western, Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriots perceived the essence of one's salvation to be the recovery of Christ's authentic teachings, preserved in the religious culture of both East and West. This was achieved, for example, through the eclectic appropriation of Western ideas, values, and practices, and their occasional reinterpretation in ways beyond their original meaning and context.

The multiplicity of Cypriot identities enabled the survival of Orthodoxy, without overthrowing the Latin political and ecclesiastical regime. Ultimately, it was one thing to remain politically loyal to Venice, avoiding to openly provoke the Latins, and another to sincerely accept the doctrines and practices of the Western Church. To paraphrase Tom Papademetriou, it is only from this vantage point that one can understand the fact that sixteenth-century Orthodox Cypriots knew well and responded to the Gospel's command: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's" (Matthew 22:21).¹⁴¹

NOTES

1. Angelo Calepio, *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, ff. 103v–105r (ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 138–39); Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, "Frankish and Venetian Nicosia," pp. 204–08.

2. Angelo Calepio, *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, ff. 104v–105r, 112r (ET, *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 139, 148); Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, "Frankish and Venetian Nicosia," p. 129; Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," pp. 323–34. The casualties included Symeon of Kykkos, bishop of Solea (1568–70), and Constantine Flangin, bishop of Arsinoë (fl. ante 1570), while the bishop of Leukara, most likely John of Sur (1567–71/72?), was taken captive; note that the bishop of Karpasia,

the Cretan Makarios Arkoleōn (fl. ca. 1570/72), participated in the defense of Famagusta. On these bishops, see *Κυπριακές Πηγές για την Άλωση της Αμμοχώστου*, ed. P. M. Kitromilides and trans. E. Charchare (Athens, 2011), pp. 26–28, 64–65, 68–69; N. Patariou, “Νέα στοιχεία για την Ορθόδοξη Επισκοπή Αμμοχώστου-Κωνσταντίας κατά τα χρόνια της βενετικής κυριαρχίας στην Κύπρο,” *EKEIS* 10 (2012), pp. 136–39, 147–48; Patariou, “Νέα στοιχεία για την κυπριακή οικογένεια Φλαγγή (Flangin),” in *Ι΄ Διεθνές Πανιώνιο Συνέδριο, Κέρκυρα, 30 Απριλίου–4 Μαΐου 2014. Πρακτικά*, ed. Th. Pylarinos and P. Tzivara (Kerkyra, 2015), pp. 675–92; Patariou, “Συμεών ηγούμενος Κύκκου: η εκλογή του ως αρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου (1568),” *EKMIMK* 11 (2016), pp. 191–210.

3. Angelo Calepio in *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, ff. 122r–122v (ET, *Excerpta Cypria*, pp. 160–61); Schabel, “The Status,” pp. 165–66; cf. the anonymous Greek *Lament for Cyprus*, which describes the collective sufferings of *all* Cypriots as God’s just and redemptive punishment for their sins: A. Argyriou, “Le *Thrène sur la prise de l’infortunée île de Chypre*: une approche idéologique,” in *Polyptychon*, ed. Guirao and Filactós, pp. 42–44.

4. Cl. Povolo, “The Creation of Venetian Historiography,” in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. J. Martin and D. Romano (Baltimore, Maryland–London, 2000), p. 491; see also, B. Arbel, “Résistance ou Collaboration? Les Chypriotes sous la domination vénitienne,” in *État et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. M. Balard (Lyons, 1989), pp. 131–43 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, VIII); Arbel, “Entre mythe et histoire: la légende noire de la domination vénitienne à Chypre,” *Études balkaniques* 5 (1998), pp. 83–107 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, XIV); A. Nicolaou-Konnari, “La ‘France de Chypre’ de Louis de Mas Latrie,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 514–15; cf. Hackett, *A History*, pp. 184, 188.

5. For example, *Antonii Mariae Gratiani, De Bello Cyprio/Ἀντωνίου Μαρίας Γκρατσιάνι, Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. and trans. Ch. Gasparis (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 154–55. On a well-known case of forced Greek collaboration with the Ottoman invaders and its subsequent punishment by the Venetians, see N. Patariou, “Ἡ σφαγή στα Λεύκαρα τον Ιούλιο του 1570. Αρχειακές μαρτυρίες,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 44 (2014), pp. 157–98;

Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” pp. 354–55. I would like to thank Andreas Loizou for pointing out the lack of concrete evidence concerning a general tendency of Greek collaboration with the Ottomans.

6. G. Grivaud, “Ἡ κατάκτηση τῆς Κύπρου ἀπὸ τοὺς Ὀθωμανούς,” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, ed. Papadopoulos, p. 164. General studies on the Greek Cypriot diaspora in Venice, include Ch. Maltezu, “Κυπριακὸς Ἑλληνισμὸς τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ του δράση κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Ἑνετοκρατίας (1489–1571),” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.2, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 1209–27; B. Imhaus, “La minorité chypriote de Venise du XVI^e siècle au début du XVII^e siècle,” in *Chypre*, ed. Ioannou, Métral, and Yon, pp. 33–41; Ch. Maltezu, *Από την Κύπρο στη Βενετία: Κύπριοι στη Γαληνότητα μετά την τουρκική κατάκτηση του νησιού* (Nicosia, 2003); Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Ο Κυπριακός Ἑλληνισμὸς της Διασποράς και οι σχέσεις Κύπρου-Βατικανού (1571–1878)* (Thessalonica, 2006), pp. 19–136, 321–32, 345–56, 364–404; P. M. Kitromilides, “Κύπριοι στη Βενετία,” in *La Serenissima*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 207–17.

7. See generally, I. Hassiotis, “Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις στην Κύπρο και η στάση των ευρωπαϊκῶν δυνάμεων (ἀπὸ την οθωμανική κατάκτηση ως τις αρχές του 19ου αιώνα),” *Κύπρος*, ed. Voskos, pp. 147–78. In a report to his superiors (January 1572), the Venetian officer Marc’Antonio Pasqualigo mentioned that he had entrusted to the Orthodox senior priest (πρωτοπαπᾶς) of the mountainous community of Chandria five barrels of gunpowder and a number of firearms: G. Grivaud, “Le rapport de Marc’Antonio Pasqualigo sur la première année de la domination ottomane à Chypre,” *ΚΣ* 51 (1987), pp. 11–12, 16–17.

8. Following the Ottoman conquest of Syro-Palestine and Egypt (1516/17), and the fall of Rhodes (1522), Cyprus remained one of the last Christian strongholds in the Eastern Mediterranean. The siege of Malta (1565) seems to have inspired Cypriot resistance against the Ottomans: G. K. Spyridakis, “Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ δύο ἱστορικῶν ἁσμάτων τῆς Κύπρου,” *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 6 (1955–56), pp. 423–38; Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” pp. 1170–71; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 121–23.

9. B. Arbel, “Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Coureas and Riley-Smith, p. 164 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, XII); I. Theocharides, “Μέθοδοι κατάκτησης της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας: η περίπτωση της Κύπρου,” in *Polyptychon*, ed. Guirao and Filactós, p. 139.

10. On massacres, destructions, and prisoners of war during the War of Cyprus, see generally: *Thrène de la prise de l’infortunée île de Chypre. Le chant de Hadjiyorgakis/Διήγησις εἰς τὸν Θρῆνον τοῦ αἰχμαλωτισμοῦ τῆς εὐλογημένης Κύπρου. Ἄισμα Χατζηγεωργάκη Δραγομάνου*, ed. A. Chatzisavvas and trans. H. Tsangaris-Reeb (Besançon, 2000), pp. 11–28, 69–71, 134–36; Theocharides, “Μέθοδοι,” pp. 140–41; V. Costantini, *Il sultano e l’isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano* (Turin, 2009), pp. 43–116 (*passim*); G. Grivaud, “Ἡ κατάκτηση,” pp. 165–66, 171–73. On the flaying of Marco Antonio Bragadino (d. 1571), the Venetian *capitano* of Famagusta, see *Κυπριακές Πηγές για την Ἀλωση*, pp. 89–113; an Orthodox priest who witnessed the execution reported that Bragadino’s head received the sweet fragrance of martyrs’ relics: *Avvisi (1570–1572): The War of Cyprus (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collections)*, ed. C. Koumarianou and A. Malliaris (Nicosia, 2004), pp. 119, 128. On cases of Christian martyrdom under the Ottomans in various Greek territories and Egypt, see generally: M. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437–1860* (Crestwood, New York, 2000), pp. 31–98; F. Armanios, *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford–London, 2011), pp. 41–63. Thirty thousand Greek speakers in Egypt were reported to have had their tongues cut off by the Ottomans in ca. 1565: G. Kekaumenos, *Το Κρυφό Σχολειό. Το Χρονικό μιας Ιστορίας* (Athens, 2012), pp. 62–64. An interesting parallel concerning the Orthodox Cypriot determination to support the Venetian resistance against the Ottomans comes from the Maltese experience: D. Castillo, *The Maltese Cross: A Strategic History of Malta* (Westport, Connecticut–London, 2006), p. 77: “The Maltese did not fight out of love for the knights. . . . In the long, long history of the islanders, foreign rulers were seen as necessary evils. In 1565, despite reservations about how the order took

control of the islands, the Maltese resolved that it was in their interests, for reasons of both faith and personal liberty, to fight.”

11. B. Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period,” in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. E. R. Dursteller (Leiden–Boston, 2013), p. 185. The Venetian policy in Cyprus has been described as “*Realpolitik*” by Fedalto, “Η Λατινική Ἐκκλησία,” p. 719.

12. Colonial power was in the hands of the *reggimento* or *rettori*, comprising a chief representative of Venice (*luogotenente*) and his counselors (based in Nicosia); a captain (*capitano*) governed Famagusta and commanded the island’s military forces, while magistrates with extraordinary powers (*provveditori generali*) were often appointed by Venice to carry out special missions. The Venetian governors were recruited from among the republic’s patrician families and held their offices for one or two years, communicating with the colonial metropolis on a regular basis through dispatches (*dispacci*) or reports (*relazioni*). See, generally, Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” pp. 146–49, 154–55.

13. For example, through possession of property, acquisition of noble status, appointment to public offices, and matrimonial alliances: B. Arbel, “The Cypriot Nobility,” pp. 175–97; Arbel, “Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: The Case of the Synglitico Family,” *DOP* 49 (1995), pp. 325–37 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, VII); M. O’Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice’s Maritime State* (Baltimore, Maryland, 2009), pp. 68–69; Arbel “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” p. 141.

14. The *università* of Nicosia, the most important body of collective representation in sixteenth-century Cyprus, was composed of the island’s nobility and burgesses, while that of Famagusta included members of the city guilds. Unlike other dominions in the Venetian Maritime State, the Venetians granted restricted autonomy to the capital’s lower masses, particularly the guilds, by permitting the commoners of Nicosia to set up their own council (*consiglio del popolo*). See B. Arbel, “Urban Assemblies and Town Councils in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 203–13 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, IV); C. Dokos, “Οι κοινότητες των λαϊκών τάξεων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, ed. Ch. Maltezou (Venice, 1998), pp. 387–94;

A. Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (13ος–18ος αι.). Μια συνθετική προσέγγιση* (Venice, 1996), pp. 131–57; Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana*, pp. 82–86; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” pp. 203–04; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 309–10.

15. The Venetian authorities appointed senior priests (πρωτοπαπάδες) and notaries (νομικοί), who served as community leaders and arbitrators: B. Imhaus, “Un document démographique et fiscal vénitien concernant le casal du Marethasse (1549),” *MY* 1 (1984), p. 514; G. A. Ioannides, “‘Τάξις ἐπὶ προχειρίσεως πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου, μεγάλου οἰκονόμου καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου’ στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberini greco* 390,” in *Υψίστου Κληῆσις. Ἀναμνηστικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ιδρύσεως τῆς ἱερατικῆς σχολῆς “Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας”* (Nicosia, 2003), pp. 65–68; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 315 (n. 1104: further bibliography). The colonial regime also appointed members of the clergy as jurats (*omotì* and *zuradi*), in order to certify donations and land tenure; a number of these jurats participated in local ecclesiastical courts, arbitrating the settlement of disputes: Ch. Maltezu, “Τρία κυπριακὰ ἀφιερωτήρια ἔγγραφα. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς λατινοκρατούμενης Κύπρου,” *ΒΣ* 7 (1987), pp. 1–17; Ai. Aristidou, “Κτηματολογικὴ πρακτικὴ στὴν Κύπρο γιὰ τὸν καθορισμὸ τῶν συνόρων τῶν χωραφιών κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 263–80; Antonopoulou, *Η κοινωνικὴ θέση*, pp. 170–72.

16. Ai. Aristidou, “Ἡ εκμίσθωση γῆς, προσωπογραφικά στοιχεῖα καὶ τοπωνύμια στὴν περιοχὴ Πεντάγυιας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *EKEE* 29 (2003), pp. 79–113; Antonopoulou, *Η κοινωνικὴ θέση*, pp. 143–47, 175.

17. *Κανονισμοὶ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου (1507–1522)*, ed. G. S. Ploumides (Ioannina, 1987), pp. 19–20, 50–51, 78, 85; Ai. Aristidou, “Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 193–94; Dokos, “Οἱ κοινότητες,” pp. 392–93; Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός*, pp. 152–53; Arbel, “L’elezione,” pp. 374–76, 378–79; Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana*, pp. 103–04; Patariou, “Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀμμοχώστου,” pp. 130–31; Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” p. 344.

18. See, for example, the case of Anthony of Karpasia (fl. ca. 1544), belonging to the Synglitico family: Arbel, “Greek Magnates,” p. 335; Patapiou, “Νέα στοιχεία για την Ορθόδοξη Επισκοπή Αμμοχώστου,” pp. 132–33, 140.

19. Aristidou, “Η Ορθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 183, 205.

20. In 1509 France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, supported by Pope Julius II (1503–13), defeated the Venetians in Agnadello, putting an end to Venetian expansion in Italy; the Venetian defeat contributed to the alienation of Venice from the papacy: C. Cristellon and S. S. Menchi, “Religious Life,” in *A Companion to Venetian History*, ed. Dursteller, pp. 403–04.

21. G. S. Ploumides, “Ἐγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Μονὴν Ἀγίου Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης (1558),” *EKEE* 4 (1970–71), pp. 233–38; G. Grivaud, “Le monastère de Kykkos,” pp. 225–53; Grivaud, “Ἡ Βενετία καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικὲς ὑποθέσεις στὴν Κύπρο: ἡ διαμάχη τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας Ἀχειροποιήτου (1527–1534),” *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 219–44; Arbel, “L’elezione,” p. 379; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp. 104–06; Antonopoulou, *Η κοινωνική θέση*, pp. 203–04; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 316–19.

22. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, pp. 542–45; Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques,” pp. 304–13; *Κανονισμοί*, pp. 9–12, 77; Fedalto, “Ἡ Λατινικὴ Ἐκκλησία,” pp. 721–22, 724, 728; M. Zorzi, “La relazione di Bernardo Sagredo, provveditore generale e sindaco a Cipro,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro. Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, ed. E. Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 87, 96; Voisin, “L’Église,” pp. 93–126; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 313–14, 497 (App. IV, par. XIV). According to pilgrim accounts, many of the canons of the Latin cathedral of Famagusta were Latin-rite Greeks, see Kyrris, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μέσης Ἐκπαιδεύσεως*, p. 2, and Grivaud, “Les voyageurs,” p. 497.

23. J. P. Huffman, “The Donation of Zeno: St Barnabas and the Origins of the Cypriot Archbishop’s Regalia Privileges,” *JEH* 66.2 (2015), pp. 245–54 (esp. at p. 246). See also, Grivaud, “Éveil,” p. 114; Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” pp. 1154–68. On the Westernization of Byzantine veneration of saints by Bustron, see *Chronique par Florio Bustron*, pp. 33–34; Ph. Ioakeim, “Τὸ κεφάλαιο περὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀσκητῶν τῆς

βυζαντινῆς Κύπρου (4ος–12ος αἰ.): προλεγόμενα στὴν ἀναθεώρηση τῶν ἐπικρατούντων σχετικῶν δεδομένων,” in *Κυπριακὴ Ἀγιολογία. Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου, Παραλίμνι, 9–12 Φεβρουαρίου 2012*, ed. Th. X. Yiangou and Ch. Nassis (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2015), pp. 213–23; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 75 (n. 194). Carmelite historiography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also “Westernized” the veneration of Sts. Spyridōn and Epiphānios, so as to stress the order’s ancient and venerable past: Jotischky, *The Carmelites*, pp. 128–31, 222–24.

24. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, p. 85; cf. Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία Χρονολογική*, pp. η΄–θ΄. On Lusignan and his work, see generally: Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” pp. 1189–1204; P. Kitromilides, *Κυπριακὴ Λογισύνη, 1571–1878: Προσωπογραφικὴ Θεώρηση* (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 42–46, 190–94; C. D. Schabel, “Etienne de Lusignan’s *Chorograffia* and the ecclesiastical history of Frankish Cyprus: notes on a recent reprint and English translation,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 18–19 (2002–2003), pp. 339–53; Huffman, “The Donation,” pp. 254–59.

25. *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, f. 85r.

26. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l’île de Cypre*, f. 78v.

27. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 471–72 (App. IV, par. I.21). The Report will be discussed below.

28. See, Nicolaou-Konnari, “Greeks,” pp. 22–23 (quotation at p. 22); *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, f. 85r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l’île de Cypre*, f. 78v; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 471–72 (App. IV, par. I.21); cf. *John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Leiden–Boston, 2003), pp. 827–28 (index: *de la loi de Rome; Franc de la loi de Rome; garans de la loi de Rome*).

29. Stephen of Lusignan, himself a Dominican and proponent of the Counter-Reformation, relates that his brother, John, became monk at the Orthodox monastery of Christ Antiphōnētēs, which belonged to his family’s estates. John received the monastic name Hilariōn, lived a pious life, and was one of the candidates for the episcopal throne of Solea in the elections of 1568. Stephen also informs us that his sister, Isabel, became Orthodox nun (receiving the name Athanasia): *Estienne de*

Lusignan, Chorograffia, f. 79r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l'isle de Cypre*, ff. 204r–204v; Patapiou, “Συμεών,” pp. 200–01.

30. Mandalena Zaccaria, depicted with her family in a fresco from the Virgin’s church at Galata (1514), is shown to be holding the rosary, much like an Orthodox lady would have prayed using the prayer rope (κομβοσχοίνιον); Mandalena’s eldest daughter reads from an open book containing the *Akathist Hymn*, the most famous Byzantine liturgical hymn to the Virgin: Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou and Myrianthefs, *Οι ναοί*, pp. 51, 55 (see also fig. 10); N. D. Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (New York–London, 2009). On the connection between devotion to the Virgin and Palamite Hesychasm, see Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 370–71 (with bibliography), and further discussion below.

31. Zegno Synglitico the Younger (d. 1570), viscount of Nicosia, stated in his testament that his son should be educated by pious Catholics and loyal Venetian subjects: Arbel, “Greek Magnates,” p. 335.

32. See, for example, donations by members of the Flatro family: G. Grivaud, “Les testaments parallèles des cousins Flatro (1523, 1538),” in *Oltre le morte. Testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziana nei sec. XIV–XVIII, atti dell’incontro scientifico (Venezia, 22–23 gennaio 2007)*, ed. Ch. Maltezou and G. Varzelioti (Venice, 2008), pp. 221–41.

33. On the establishment of funds for Cypriot students in Padua and the involvement of the island’s Latin Church in the selection of candidates see A. Tselikas, “Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Petro de Cafrano καὶ οἱ πράξεις ἐκλογῆς Κυπρίων φοιτητῶν γιὰ τὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τῆς Πάδοβας (1393, 1436–1569),” *EKEE* 17 (1987–88), pp. 261–92; Betto, “Nuove ricerche,” pp. 40–80; Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana*, p. 139; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo Filippo Mocenigo e l’applicazione della riforma tridentina a Cipro,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Arbel, Chayes, and Hendrix, pp. 211–12. Since 1564, the universities of Bologna, Rome, Ferrara, and Perugia required from students a pro-Catholic profession of faith; Padua, which was under Venice’s control, was more tolerant: H. de Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” in *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in Early Modern*

Europe (1500–1800), vol. 2, ed. W. Rüegg and H. de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge–New York, 1996), pp. 425–26.

34. *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, f. 35r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l'île de Cypre*, ff. 75r–76r; A. Papadaki, “Cerimonie pubbliche e feste a Cipro veneziana: dimensioni sociali ed ideologiche,” in *I Greci*, ed. Maltezos, Tzavara, and Vlassi, pp. 381–94; P. Fortini Brown, “Ritual Geographies in Venice’s Mediterranean Empire,” in *Rituals of Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, ed. M. Jurdjevic and R. Strøm-Olsen (Toronto, 2016), pp. 43–89.

35. H. Scott, “Introduction: ‘Early Modern’ Europe and the Idea of Early Modernity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, vol. 1, ed. H. Scott (Oxford, 2015), p. 3.

36. S. Birtachas, “Μορφές πρόσληψης της Μεταρρύθμισης και μηχανισμοί πειθά-ρχησης στην Ιταλία στα μέσα του 16ου αιώνα: κύπριοι βενετοί υπήκοοι στη Ρωμαϊκή Ιερά Εξέταση,” *ΚΣ* 73 (2009), pp. 163–64; Birtachas, “Ουμανισμός, Μεταρρύθμιση και Αντιμεταρρύθμιση στη βενετική Κύπρο: αφομοίωση, αντίσταση και νέες ταυτότη-τες,” in *Δ’ Ευρωπαϊκό Συνέδριο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Γρανάδα, 9–12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2010. Ταυτότητες στον ελληνικό κόσμο (από το 1204 έως σήμερα). Πρακτικά*, vol. 3, ed. C. A. Dimadis (Athens, 2011), pp. 666–68; F. Ambrosini, “Inquietudini religiose e intrecci familiari tra Cipro e Venezia nel secolo XVI,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro*, ed. Skoufari, pp. 14–17; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 330 (n. 1162).

37. P. M. Kitromilides, “Βιβλία καὶ ἀνάγνωση στὴ Λευκωσία τῆς Ἀναγέννησης. Ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Μάρκου Ζαχαρία,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία*, ed. Maltezos, pp. 263–75; Birtachas, “Μορφές,” pp. 164–65; J. Martin, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1993); Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p. 96 (n. 3); Birtachas, “Ουμανισμός,” pp. 668–71; E. Chayes, “Carriers, Companions, Accomplices. The Zaccaria Network,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Arbel, Chayes, and Hendrix, pp. 231–72; Ambrosini, “Inquietudini,” pp. 18–19, 21–23, 25–28; E. Chayes, “Ciprioti Fuoriusciti Riformati: Coinvolgimento

Accademico e Coscienza Geografica. L'impresa degli Zaccaria da Padova a Nicosia,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro*, ed. Skoufari, pp. 47–64.

38. Andrea Zaccaria and his brother, Giovanni Battista Zaccaria, were archdeacons of the Latin cathedral of Nicosia: Kitromilides, “Βιβλία,” p. 274; Chayes, “Carriers,” p. 249.

39. Kitromilides, “Βιβλία,” p. 273; Ambrosini, “Inquietudini,” p. 41.

40. Birtachas, “Μορφές,” p. 164; Birtachas, “Ουμανισμός,” pp. 668, 674; Ambrosini, “Inquietudini,” pp. 15–16, 18 (n. 20).

41. A. N. Mitsides, “Ἡ Ἀντικαλβινιστικὴ Σύνοδος στὴν Κύπρο το 1668,” *EKMIMK* 3 (1996), pp. 111–18.

42. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, vol. 3, pp. 571–72; Hassiotis, “Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις,” pp. 162–65.

43. On Arianism and the Protestant Reformation, see generally M. Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (London–New York, 1996), pp. 52–61.

44. A. Vacalopoulos, *Ἀρχές και διαμόρφωση τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, vol. 1 of *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (second edition: Thessalonica, 1974); Vacalopoulos, *Τουρκοκρατία, 1453–1669: Οἱ ἀγῶνες γιὰ τὴν πίστη καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερία*, vol. 3 of *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (Thessalonica, 1968); N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2004); Kaldellis, *Hellenism*, pp. 360–61; Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 269–81; H. Lamers, *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden, 2015); cf. A. D. Smith, “Nationalism in Early Modern Europe,” *History and Theory* 44 (2005), pp. 404–15.

45. Nicolaou-Konnari, “Alterity,” p. 66.

46. Diasorēnos studied in Chios under the erudite Michael Hermodōros Lēstarchos (d. ante 1577), who was associated with the Zygomalades (a prominent family of patriarchal officials and scholars); Lēstarchos was summoned to Constantinople by Patriarch Joasaph II (1556–65), in order to serve as a physician; he might have been involved in Diasorēnos' failed plot against the Venetians. In 1562, Diasorēnos sent from Nicosia a letter of recommendation for James Heraklidēs Basilikos to Patriarch Joasaph II: E. Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός: ένας πρώιμος*

οραματιστής της Ελληνικής Εθνεγερσίας (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 23–45, 48–49; A. Rhoby, “The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas,” in *Ιωάννης καὶ Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς*, ed. S. Perentides and G. Steiris (Athens, 2009), pp. 125–30; A. Falangas, “Imperial Antagonisms in the Eastern Mediterranean Area (16th–17th c.): The Ideological Background,” *Interbalkanica* 42 (2006), pp. 229–31.

47. Generally on anti-Venetian plots and protests by the Cypriots, see Ai. Aristidou, “Άγνωστες απόπειρες για οργάνωση στάσεων ή εξεγέρσεων κατά τη διάρκεια της Βενετοκρατίας,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, ed. Parageorghiou, pp. 581–98; N. Patapiou, “Antonio Bragadin, γενικός προνοητής Κύπρου. Μια επιστολή του στις 26 Απριλίου 1565,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 191–207; A. Paradia-Lala, “Κοινωνία, ιδεολογία και εξεγερτικές κινήσεις στην Κύπρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετικής κυριαρχίας (1474/1489–1571),” *Κύπρος*, ed. Voskos, pp. 115–46; S. Birtachas, *Κοινωνία, πολιτισμός και διακυβέρνηση στο Βενετικό Κράτος της Θάλασσας: το παράδειγμα της Κύπρου* (Thessalonica, 2011), pp. 115–27, 279–81.

48. B. Arbel, “Sauterelles et mentalités: le cas de la Chypre vénitienne,” *Annales* 44.5 (1989), pp. 1057–74 (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, XI); Ai. Aristidou, “Απελευθερώσεις παροίκων και αντισηκώματα απελευθέρων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (1509–1517),” *EKEE* 23 (1997), pp. 115–23; B. Arbel, “Roots of Poverty and Sources of Richness in Cyprus under Venetian Rule,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 351–60 (repr. in Arbel, *Studies*, IV); G. Grivaud, “Échapper à la pauvreté en Chypre vénitienne,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 361–71; Ai. Aristidou, “Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 373–86; Given, *The Archaeology*, pp. 116–37; Arbel, “L’elezione,” pp. 379–80; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp. 96–97. In 1567, on the eve of the Ottoman invasion, the demolition of thousands of houses and several churches and monasteries by the Venetians in order to construct the new walls of Nicosia further exacerbated the condition of the lower strata: G. Grivaud, “Nicosie remodelée (1567). Contribution à la topographie de la ville médiévale,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 281–306; Patapiou, “Ο λόγιος Ιωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος,” pp. 211–67; *Venice and the Defence of the Regno di*

Cipro: *Giulio Savorgnan's unpublished Cyprus correspondence (1557–1570), Including Ascanio Savorgnan's Descrittione delle cose di Cipro from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation*, ed. G. Grivaud and E. Skoufari, and trans. J. Cunningham (Nicosia, 2016).

49. Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, pp. 839–40 (n. 2); Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 47–49; N. Patapiou, “Η κάθοδος των Ελληνοαλβανών stradioti στην Κύπρο (ΙΣΤ΄ αι.),” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 173, 175, 180–81, 193–94, 202 (n. 1), 204 (n. 7), 206–207 (ns. 16–17); Ch. Apostolopoulos, “Τα τελευταία χρόνια της Βενετοκρατίας στην Κύπρο: αρχειακά τεκμήρια για την παρουσία, τη δράση και το θάνατο του Ιάκωβου Διασορηνού,” in *Ε΄ Ευρωπαϊκό Συνέδριο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών της Ευρωπαϊκής Εταιρείας Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2–5 Οκτωβρίου 2014: Συνέχειες, ασυνέχειες, ρήξεις στον ελληνικό κόσμο (1204–2014): οικονομία, κοινωνία, ιστορία, λογοτεχνία (Πρακτικά)*, ed. C. A. Dimadis (Athens, 2015), pp. 242–45.

50. See, for example, Ch. Apostolopoulos, “Μια απόπειρα προσέγγισης των παροίκων της βενετοκρατούμενης Κύπρου με την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (1551),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρoλογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, ed. Papageorghiou, pp. 669–89.

51. According to later Italian historians (Antonio Maria Graziani and Natale Conti), Diasorēnos had been corresponding with Iskender Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Anatolia, which could be considered as an indication of Turkish involvement in the conspiracy. It is noteworthy that the hitherto examined Venetian archival sources provide no concrete evidence of collaboration between Diasorēnos and the Ottomans; at the time of Diasorēnos’ plot, the Ottomans wished to maintain peace with Venice: Hill, *The Frankish Period*, vol. 3, p. 840 (n. 1); Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 48–50; Apostolopoulos, “Τα τελευταία χρόνια,” pp. 247–48; Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 275–77; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 322–23 (with further bibliography); cf. Papadia-Lala, “Κοινωνία,” pp. 139–40 (noting that during the War of Cyprus, there were only isolated cases of collaboration with the Ottomans).

52. Patapiou, “Η διαθήκη τοῦ Εὐγένιου Συγκλητικοῦ,” p. 231 (esp. at n. 59): *Schuola Greca di Sancta Odigitria*, which was situated *posta nela*

chiesa catedral di Nicosia (i.e., “inside the cathedral church of Nicosia”). It is unclear whether this reference means that the school was close to the Latin cathedral, or whether it was accommodated *inside* St. Sophia. Perhaps the metaphorical translation of the Italian text is more correct; cf. P. Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia. Nicosia, Cyprus, 1192–1570: Topography, Architecture and Urban Experience in a Diversified Capital City* (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 293, 295, 299 (on the fifteenth-century perception of both cathedrals as parts of the same complex). Apostolopoulos, “Τα τελευταία χρόνια,” pp. 248–49, argues that Diasorēnos was a popular preacher (and not a school teacher).

53. Apostolopoulos, “Τα τελευταία χρόνια,” pp. 243–44. The report was composed by Leoninos Serbos, a Cretan agent in Venetian service based in Constantinople: Ch. Apostolopoulos, “Λεονῖνος Σέρβος: Ἐνας πολυπράγμων Χανιώτης ἔμπορος τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη,” in Ἄνθη Χαρίτων. *Μελετήματα ἑόρτια συγγραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτρόφων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας*, ed. N. Panagiotakes and S. Kaklamanis (Venice, 1998), pp. 9–27.

54. On the communication between Diasorēnos and Melanchthon, see Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 30–33; cf. Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 118–19 (n. 6).

55. *Κανονονισμοί*, pp. 78, 89; Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” p. 890; Dokos, “Οἱ κοινότητες,” p. 392; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp. 134–36.

56. Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, p. 46.

57. Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, p. 48.

58. I. Kourouni, “Ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἡ ‘θεματογραφία’ τοῦ Διασωρηνοῦ,” *Παρνασσός* 11.3 (1969), pp. 434–47; Ph. K. Bouboulides, “Τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τοῦ Ἰακ. Διασωρηνοῦ,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 37 (1969–70), pp. 365–73; Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 45–46; Apostolopoulos, “Τα τελευταία χρόνια,” p. 250.

59. *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant ou correspondances, mémoires et actes diplomatiques*, vol. 2, ed. E. Charrière (Paris, 1850), p. 723; Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 51–52.

60. Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 51–53. The extent to which the revolt of the people of Karpasia, a few days after Diasorēnos’ execution, was associated with Diasorēnos’ plot remains to be ascertained: N. Patapiou, *Η κωμόπολη Ριζοκαρπάσου και η ακραία χερσόνησος. Νέα στοιχεία από τα βενετικά αρχεία*, vol. 179 of *Χρονικό* (Πολίτης newspaper, 2011), pp. 18–19.

61. On the role of Hellenic culture in plans for the political liberation of sixteenth-century Greeks, see also A. Pardos, “Μάρκου Μουσούρου του Κρητός, Ωδή στον Πλάτωνα,” and G. Kekaumenos, “Ο Γεννάδιος Σχολάριος και το Ελληνικό Έθνος,” in *Νέος Ερμής ο Λόγιος* 11 (2015), pp. 114–25, 156–75 (respectively).

62. See, for example, B. Arbel, “Η Κύπρος ὑπὸ ἐνετικὴ κυριαρχία,” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.1, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 526–27; Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 115–27.

63. Th. Papadopoulos, “Ἐπίμετρο: Ἰάκωβος Διασσωρηνός,” in *Μεσαιωνικόν*, vol. 4.1, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 537–42; Christodoulidou, *Ιάκωβος Διασορηνός*, pp. 59–65.

64. Z. N. Tsirpanlis, “Μορφές επικοινωνίας του κυπριακού μοναχισμού με την καθολική Δύση (17ος αι.),” *Δωδώνη* 25 (1996), p. 145 (English abstract).

65. On these personalities and their scholarly contribution, see Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη*, pp. 110–11, 131–39, 152–55, 177–80, 262–65, and “Ἡ παράδοση τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἡ κυπριακὴ λογιοσύνη τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς περιόδου,” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, ed. Papadopoulos, pp. 469–517 (*passim*). On the Savoyan appeal, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, pp. 572–73.

66. Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 116–17.

67. B. Weber, “Toward a Global Crusade? The Papacy and the Non-Latin World in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade*, ed. N. Housley (London, 2017), p. 34; see also, B. Arbel, “Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in the Early Modern Venetian State,” in *The Three Religions. Interdisciplinary Conference of Tel Aviv University and Munich University, Venice, October 2000*, ed. N. Cohen and A. Heldrich (Munich, 2000), pp. 73–86.

68. Ploumides, “Αἱ βοῦλλαι,” pp. 240–45; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 282–84 (with further bibliography); cf. Arbel, “Roman Catholics,” p. 80.

69. Ploumides, “Αἱ βοῦλλαι,” pp. 245–50; Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire,” p. 171.

70. Bassett, *The Determination*, p. 36.

71. E. Bonora, “The Heresy of a Venetian Prelate: Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo,” in *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, ed. R. K. Delph, M. M. Fontaine, and J. J. Martin (Dexter, Michigan, 2006), p. 213.

72. Cristellon and Menchi, “Religious Life,” p. 386.

73. T. M. Parker, “The Papacy, Catholic Reform, and Christian Missions,” in *The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559–1610*, vol. 3 of *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. R. B. Wernham (Cambridge, 1968), p. 48. On the official acceptance of Trent by the Venetians, see Cristellon and Menchi, “Religious Life,” p. 387. On scholarly perceptions of the Tridentine Council (with further bibliography), see S. Ditchfield, “Tridentine Catholicism,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. A. Bamji, G. H. Janssen, and M. Laven (Farnham–Burlington, 2013), pp. 16–31.

74. Generally on Mocenigo and his career, see Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques,” pp. 325–28; Bonora, “The Heresy,” pp. 211–29; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 205–30; V. Vozza, “Filippo Mocenigo da Nicosia ai Colli Euganei,” *Padova e il suo territorio* 171 (2014), pp. 37–41.

75. *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 34, ed. C. Baronio and O. Raynaldi (Bar-le-Duc–Paris, 1879), pp. 100–01; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 209–10.

76. Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 137–38; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 210–11. In his letter to João Nunes Barreto, St. Ignatius Loyola (d. 1556) noted that a Jesuit college should be established in Cyprus: *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540–1640*, ed. and trans. J. P. Donnelly (Indianapolis, Indiana–Cambridge 2006), p. 28.

77. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 214–15.

78. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” p. 217; cf. Bassett, *The Determination*, p. 38.

79. *Secrets d’État de Venise. Documents, extraits, notices et études servant à éclairer les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les grecs, les slaves et la Porte ottomane à la fin du XVe et au XVIe siècle*, ed. V. Lamansky (St. Petersburg, 1884), pp. 065–66; C. Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς Συνόδου τοῦ Trento καὶ ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 212–13; Birtachas, *Koinωνία*, pp. 281–82; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 217–18.

80. Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” p. 213; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 218–19.

81. *Secrets*, p. 068; Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” pp. 214–15; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 221–22; Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, “Limassol,” p. 348. It is not clear whether John Flangin had been acting as vicar to his father, Bishop Stephen Flangin of Leukara (d. 1567), who was succeeded by John of Sur.

82. A different view is supported by Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” p. 217.

83. Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” p. 213; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 212, 223.

84. The *Report* and other documents of socioeconomic interest are preserved in the unique codex B–030 from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (this is a later copy of the original, produced in Venice sometime between 1580 and 1595). *Editio princeps* with brief commentary in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 342–46, 458–514 (App. IV); see also L. Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books 15th–18th Century from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation* (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 166–69; Coureas, Grivaud, and Schabel, “Frankish and Venetian Nicosia,” p. 136. Nasa Patapiou suggested that the *Report*’s author might have been Giulio Stavriano, a well-known Cypriot Armenian Dominican in Mocenigo’s service, and teacher or spiritual mentor of Stephen of Lusignan. On Stavriano, see C. Longo, “Fr. Giuglio Stavriano, OP, vescovo Armeno di Cipro (1561–1571) e vescovo Latino di Bova (1571–1577),” *AFP* 58 (1988), pp. 177–264.

85. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 467–69 (App. IV, pars. I.1–2 and I.8), 475 (par. II.1), 477 (par. II.14). The *provedditore* Bernardo Sagredo (1561–64) also noted that Orthodox Cypriot Christians were not following the Latin rite, for the Latins had been declared excommunicated: Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, p. 542.

86. On Logaras, see Patapiou, “Συμεών,” pp. 197–98 (with further bibliography).

87. Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” p. 213; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” p. 223 (esp. at n. 53). On Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical courts, see C. G. Pitsakis, “Ἡ οἰκουμενικότητα τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ δικαίου,” in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο ὡς Οἰκουμένη*, ed. E. K. Chrysos (Athens, 2005), pp. 161–63 (with extensive bibliography).

88. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 214–15; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 339 (n. 1208).

89. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” p. 223.

90. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, p. 538.

91. *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, f. 108r (ET in *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 143); Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” p. 214; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 223–24.

92. *Pietro Valderio, La Guerra di Cipro*, ed. G. Grivaud and N. Patapiou (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 20, 33, 191; Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” pp. 215–16 (dating the riot in 1566).

93. *Secrets*, pp. 067–68; Birtachas, *Κοινωνία*, pp. 283–85. Bernardo Sagredo accuses the Orthodox bishops for instigating popular disobedience against Mocenigo: Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, p. 542.

94. Dokos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογή,” p. 214; Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” p. 224.

95. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 224–29.

96. Skoufari, “L’Arcivescovo,” pp. 228–29.

97. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, p. 542; Zorzi, “La Relazione,” p. 96.

98. Already in 1547, the Inquisitor Lorenzo of Bergamo had been ordered by the Venetians not to disturb religious peace in Cyprus:

Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp. 95–96 (n. 3).

99. Following his appointment as bishop of Bova in Calabria (1571–77), Giulio Stavriano, a collaborator of Mocenigo and Stephen of Lusignan, imposed liturgical Latinization on the Orthodox community under his jurisdiction: Longo, “Fr. Giuglio Stavriano,” pp. 209–31.

100. See chapter 4.

101. See a more lengthy presentation in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 347–77.

102. A. Louth, “The Patristic Revival and its Protagonists,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. M. B. Cunningham and E. Theokritoff (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 188, 191.

103. *DGMC*, pp. 274–76, 295–98; Skaltsis, *Ἡ παράδοση*, pp. 281–411.

104. *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ* (;), *Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων*. The common Protestant threat might explain the unionist references in the translation (see chapter 1).

105. See, for example, I. Eliades, “La pittura cipriota e i suoi rapporti con l’arte italiana all’epoca delle dominazioni franca e veneziana (1191–1571),” in *Cipro e l’Italia*, ed. Eliades, pp. 31–45; Ch. G. Chotzakoglou, “Unveiling the Venetian Art-Image: Remarks on the Painting and Its Religious Background of Cyprus During the Period of the Venetian Rule (1489–1571),” in *I Greci*, ed. Maltezou, Tzavara, and Vlassi, pp. 427–39 (with further bibliography).

106. M. Parani, “Το αρχιτεκτονικό βάθος στο έργο του ζωγράφου Φίλιππου Γούλ: μερικές σκέψεις,” in *Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή* (Athens, 2010), pp. 341–68.

107. In late December 1523, Patriarch Jeremiah I (1522–24 and 1525–46) visited Cyprus on his way to the Holy Land; due to a rebellion in the Middle East, he stayed in St. Neophytos’ monastery (Tala) and Paphos for more than a month. Orthodox Cypriots may have interpreted Jeremiah’s stay as a symbolic extension of the Ecumenical Patriarchate’s authority over their Latin-ruled island: Constantinides, “A Dated Greek Manuscript,” pp. 501–02, 507; M. Stroumbakis, *Ἱερεμίας Α΄, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ ἔργο του* (Athens, 2004), pp. 38–43; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 353–54. Official reunion between

Cyprus and Constantinople was postponed until after the Ottoman conquest of 1571; an explicit declaration of Constantinopolitan patriarchal authority over the Cypriots would have caused the negative reaction of not only the papacy, but also of the Venetians and the Ottomans (a peace treaty had been signed between the two powers in 1503; in 1520 the Ottoman Empire had confirmed Venice's trading privileges; anti-Venetian conspirators were arrested by the Ottomans and delivered to the Venetian authorities in Constantinople); cf. A. Williams, "Mediterranean Conflict," in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. M. Knut and C. Woodhead (London–New York, 1995), pp. 41–42.

108. Sixteenth-century Orthodox Cypriots received the holy myrrh from the Antiochene Patriarchate: Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," p. 469 (App. IV, par. I.7). The Antiochene/Damascene Virgin was venerated by the Orthodox in Cyprus: S. Sophocleous, *Ιcônes de Chypre: diocese de Limassol 12e–16e siècle* (Nicosia, 2006), pp. 62–63, 393; D. Myrianthefts, D. Nicolaou, G. Philotheou, and Chr. Hadjichristodoulou, *Η Μονή της Παναγίας Αμασγού στο Μονάγρι* (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 15, 70–85.

109. Philip Flatro dictated in his testament (1523) that the village of Tala (near St. Neophytos' monastery) should be inherited by the Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem: *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1894), 259–60. In 1537, the abbots of St. Neophytos (Tala) and St. Nicholas (Akrōtēri) attempted to place their communities under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and/or Alexandria; the "apostasy" was punished by the Venetian governors, who removed the abbots from their posts: *Ανέκδοτα Ἐγγράφα της Κυπριακῆς Ιστορίας από το Κρατικό Αρχεῖο της Βενετίας*, vol. 4, ed. Ai. Aristidou (Nicosia, 2003), pp. 249–52 (note, however, that *Patriarcha di Jberi* is perhaps a reference to the Georgian *katholikos*, rather than the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem). On the copying of a Cypriot manuscript donated to an Orthodox foundation in Jerusalem, see *DGMC*, pp. 283–85.

110. Mar Saba maintained a dependency in Paphos: B. Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570," in *Cyprus*, ed. Coureas and

Riley-Smith, pp. 169, 182 (n. 72) (repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus*, XII). On Cypriot manuscripts and monks in Mar Saba, see *DGMC*, pp. 303–08, 333–36, 354–56.

111. On Cypriot manuscripts in Sinai, see *DGMC*, pp. 34, 189–91, 274–76, 295–98. The Cypriot monk Makarios was archbishop of Sinai between 1545 and 1547: I. E. Anastasiou, “Σιναιτικὰ τοῦ ΙΣΤ΄ καὶ ΙΖ΄ αἰῶνος,” *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 15 (1970), pp. 33–40; Stroumbakis, *Ἱερεμίας Α΄*, pp. 154–57. The contacts between Sinai and Cyprus are also mirrored in the “theophanic” murals of the Virgin of Podythou: S. Frigerio-Zeniou, *L’art “italo-byzantin” à Chypre au XVI^e siècle. Trois témoins de la peinture religieuse: Panagia Podithou, la Chapelle Latine et Panagia Iamatikê* (Venice, 1998), pp. 68–74; A. Weyl Carr, “Sinai and Cyprus: Holy Mountain, Holy Isle,” in *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. Sh. E. J. Gerstel and R. S. Nelson (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 473–78.

112. C. Chatzipsaltes, “Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ Κύπρῳ οἰκογενειακὸν ὄνομα Λογαρᾶς κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴν περίοδον,” *EKEE* 6 (1972–73), pp. 150–57; *DGMC*, pp. 268–69, 285–87; Kitromilides, *Κυπριακὴ Λογιοσύνη*, pp. 150–51, 187–88; Maltezu, *Απὸ τὴν Κύπρῳ στὴ Βενετία*, pp. 14–17, 19–20; C. Parageorghiou, *Κύπριον Πατερικὸν τοῦ Ἀθωνος* (Cyprus, 2011), pp. 35–41.

113. *DGMC*, pp. 258–61, 280–83; N. Mastrochristos, “Ἐν τόπῳ τῆς χλόης. Κυπριακὴ εἰκόνα Δέησης στα Τριάντα τῆς Ρόδου,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 34 (2013), pp. 273–84.

114. The prominent role and activities of Cypriots in the Greek Confraternity of Venice (*nazione greca*) after 1572, imply the de facto acceptance of Greek Cypriots as members of the Orthodox world *before* the Ottoman invasion: D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Βενετία καὶ Κύπρος: Σχέσεις τοὺς στήν τέχνη,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 334–36; M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou, “Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι στὴ Βενετία στὰ τέλη τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου αἰῶνα. Ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες καὶ καλλιτεχνικὴ παραγωγή,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Maltezu, pp. 353–68; Maltezu, *Απὸ τὴν Κύπρῳ στὴ Βενετία*, pp. 13, 25–26; Ch. Maltezu, “Οἱ Ἕλληνες μέτοικοι

στή Βενετία μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωση. Ταυτότητα καὶ ἐθνικὴ συνείδηση,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), p. 181.

115. See, for example, Eliades, “Ἡ Κυπροαναγεννησιακὴ Ζωγραφικὴ”; Eliades, “Ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου στὴν ἀνάπτυξη τῆς Κυπροαναγεννησιακῆς Ζωγραφικῆς. Τοιχογραφίες στὸ καθολικὸ καὶ τὴν Ἐγκλείστ-ρα,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Yioultsis, pp. 389–415.

116. Around the mid-sixteenth century, the Orthodox monk and scribe Methuselah Macheir considered the Greek Cypriots as “impure Greeks,” and “a race of mules,” comparing them to a “blend or alloy created by diverse elements.” This extremely negative perception of the Greeks of Cyprus by a non-Cypriot Orthodox seems to reflect Macheir’s psychotic personality, rather than the nature of relations between Cyprus and major Orthodox centers: *DGMC*, pp. 319–20.

117. Grivaud, “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος,” p. 890; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp. 131–40; Patapiou, “Συμεών,” p. 197.

118. E. Layton, *The Sixteenth-Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World* (Venice, 1994); G. Grivaud, “Une liste de manuscrits grecs trouvés à Chypre par Francesco Patrizi,” in *Cyprus*, ed. Arbel, Chayes, and Hendrix, pp. 125–56; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 475 (App. IV, par. II.4), 496 (sect. XIII).

119. See studies in the bibliography by P. Agapitos, Chr. I. Demetriou, and A. Jakovljević, and discussion by Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 356–59. Note that a number of Cypriot musicians were influenced by a new vocal idiom, known as “kalophonic,” which seems to have been associated with Palamite Hesychasm: A. Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, ed. Louth and Casiday, pp. 155–68.

120. C. N. Constantinides, “Ὁ βιβλιογράφος Φιλόθεος, ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἱέρακος τῆς Κύπρου (16ος αἰ.),” *Δωδώνη* 14 (1985), pp. 75–83; Constantinides, “Scriptoria in Sixteenth-Century Cyprus,” in *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15ο καὶ 16ο αἰῶνες*, ed. S. Patoura (Athens, 2000), pp. 261–82.

121. There is vast bibliography on the subject. See, for example, A. Papageorghiou, “Οἱ ζωγράφοι τοῦ 15ου καὶ 16ου αἰώνα στὴν Κύπρο,” *RDAC* (1974), 193–209; A. Paliouras, “Ὁ Κύπριος ζωγράφος Συμεὼν Αὐξέντης καὶ τὰ καλλιτεχνικὰ ῥεύματα τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα,” in *Πρακτικά*, ed. Papadopoulos and Englezakis, pp. 591–600; Papageorghiou, “Syrie et les icônes de Chypre peintres syriens à Chypre,” *RDAC* (1989), pp. 171–76; Papageorghiou, *Icons*, pp. 107–206; Eliades, “Ἡ Κυπροαναγεννησιακὴ Ζωγραφικὴ” (*passim*); Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 365 (n. 1348: extensive bibliography).

122. A. Stylianos and J. Stylianos, “Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), pp. 100, 114–22; S. Frigerio-Zeniou, “Οἱ δωρητὲς στὴν ἐκκλησία τῆς Παναγίας Ποδίθου στὴ Γαλάτα καὶ στὸ Λατινικὸ Παρεκκλήσι τοῦ Καλοπαναγιώτη,” *ΚΣ* 61 (1997), pp. 97–106; Frigerio-Zeniou, “Κυπριώτισσες Κυράδες: reflets de la mode feminine à Chypre au XVI^e siècle,” *ΚΣ* 67–68 (2003–2004), pp. 245–315.

123. Constantinides, “Ὁ βιβλιογράφος Φιλόθεος,” pp. 81–82; *DGMC*, pp. 350–54.

124. D. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Ἡ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453) ἕως τὴν ἔναρξη τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571): βυζαντινὴ/μεσαιωνικὴ ἢ μεταβυζαντινὴ,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρoλογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, ed. Papageorghiou, pp. 625–28; R. Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford–New York, 2008). In the Virgin Pantanassa of Choulou, Roman soldiers with Ottoman shields and standards appear in the Crucifixion, while a Latin monk (a donor?) is present in the Flagellation; Eliades, “Ἡ Κυπροαναγεννησιακὴ Ζωγραφικὴ,” p. 361. In the Virgin Podythou church, the guards in the Crucifixion scene are dressed with Western armor; others carry Ottoman standards: Frigerio-Zeniou, *L’art*, p. 54; Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou and Myrianthefs, *Οἱ ναοί*, pp. 24–25. Double representations of the Resurrection according to both iconographic traditions could also be interpreted as an artistic opportunity to illustrate the Risen Christ’s victory over the Westernized

Roman soldiers guarding His Tomb: Triantaphyllopoulos, “Encounter,” pp. 50–51; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 367 (n. 1355: examples from Cyprus). Note that a planned anti-Ottoman revolt in the early seventeenth century, which would be led by the Orthodox Cypriot clergy, was to begin three hours before the Easter Vigil; this was in order to catch the Ottomans unprepared, while also enhancing the religious dimension of the struggle for liberating Cyprus: Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, vol. 3, p. 575.

125. Frigerio-Zeniou, *L’art*, pp. 102 (n. 559), 122 (esp. at n. 656); Averintsev, “Epilogue,” pp. 222–24; P. S. Andreu, “El himno *Akáthistos* en Occidente. La importancia de la traducción latina de Cristóforo (ca. 800),” *EsBiz* 1 (2013), pp. 39–55. The *Akathist* was first printed in Venice in 1502.

126. See studies in the bibliography by K. Banev, O. Iacubovschi, P. Kalafatis, and A. Pätzold, and discussion by Frigerio-Zeniou, *L’art*, pp. 119–21.

127. Eliades, “Η συμβολή,” pp. 392–94; cf. T. Papacostas, “An Exceptional Structure in a Conventional Setting: Preliminary Observations about the Katholikon of Saint Neophytos (Paphos, Cyprus),” in *Caterina Cornaro*, ed. Syndikus and Rogge, p. 307. As already noted, St. Neophytos’ monastery had offered hospitality to the Constantinopolitan patriarch in 1523/24; in 1537, its abbot had attempted to place his community under the authority of Orthodox primates in Jerusalem and/or Alexandria; in 1523, Philip Flatro, the lord of Tala, dictated in his testament that Tala should be inherited by the Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

128. Frigerio-Zeniou, *L’art*, pp. 99–104, 118–23, 162–82, 202–203; Eliades, “Η Κυπροαναγεννησιακή Ζωγραφική,” pp. 104–11, 150–52, 156–57, 175–78, 191–94, 277; A. Weyl Carr, “The ‘Holy Sepulcher’ of St. John Lampadistes in Cyprus,” in *New Jerusalems: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow, 2009), pp. 475–99; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 372–73. On episcopal miters, see also above ch. 3.

129. C. Walter, “The Names of the Council Fathers at Saint Sozomenus, Cyprus,” *REB* 28 (1970), pp. 189–206; Walter, “The Series of Frescoes

of Councils on the North Wall of the Church of Saint Sozomenus, Galata,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, ed. Papageorgiou, pp. 281–84; Eliades, “Ἡ συμβολή,” pp. 402–03.

130. G. Thiessen, “Images of the Trinity in Visual Art,” in *Trinity and Salvation: Theological, Spiritual and Aesthetic Perspectives*, vol. 2, ed. D. Marmion and G. Thiessen (Bern, 2009), p. 130.

131. Chotzakoglou, “Unveiling,” pp. 434–35, 801. On the single spiration and principle question, see Schabel, “Pope,” pp. 190–213 (*passim*).

132. Quoted by Dendrinou, “Manuel II,” p. 417.

133. See chapter 4.

134. Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 480 (App. IV, par. III.10). While it is true that on the eve of the Council of Florence Pope Eugene IV ordered, under Dominican pressure, the examination of the Palamite Hesychast distinction between divine essence and energies, there is no evidence that any official discussion over Palamas’ theology ever took place during the synodal proceedings: C. W. Kappes, “Foreword,” in J. I. Goff, *Caritas in Primo: A Historical–Theological Study of Bonaventure’s Quaestiones Disputatae de Mysterio SS. Trinitatis* (New Bedford, Massachusetts, 2015), pp. xviii–xxviii. The *Report’s* hostility toward Palamas might be considered as an indication that its anonymous author was Giulio Stavriano, a Dominican. It should be noted that the Cypriot manuscripts collected by Francesco Patrizi contained anti-Palamite works by Grēgoras and Kyparissiōtēs (probably remnants of the fourteenth-century controversy over Palamite Hesychasm): Grivaud, “Une liste,” pp. 144, 154.

135. Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p. 105.

136. *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, ff. 26v–27r; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, ff. 59r–60v; Grivaud, “Ἡ Βενετία,” pp. 220, 235–36; Arbel, “L’elezione,” p. 377; Patapiou, “Συμμεών,” p. 198.

137. The “Hesychast mandorla” first appeared in a manuscript (ca. 1370–75) containing the Constantinopolitan *Tome* of 1351 and Palamite Hesychast treatises by John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos. Christ’s figure “is

surrounded by a resplendent mandorla rendered as a complex geometrical configuration consisting of two superimposed and overlapping forms, a concave square and a rhombus, inscribed within two concentric circles from whose center radiate beams of light. . . . Below, in the lower section of the composition, the three disciples are shown overcome by dread . . . , unable to gaze at the blazing body of the transfigured Lord”: I. Drpić, “Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis. Parisinus Graecus 1242 Revisited,” *DOP* 62 (2008), p. 225. According to Fr. Andreas Andreopoulos, the Transfiguration mandorla has a cosmic symbolism, portraying Christ’s uncreated energies that fill the entire universe: Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 231–52.

138. See variations of the mandorla in Papageorghiou, *Icons*, pp. 182, 196; Stylianou and Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, p. 85; Sophocleous, *Ikônes*, pp. 46–48, 57–59, 222–23, 363, 384, 478; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” p. 375 (n. 1382: further bibliography).

139. N. Zarras, “Ο Χριστὸς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 28 (2007), pp. 213–24; A. Papageorghiou, *Η Λετύμπου και ο ναός των Αγίων Κηρύκου και Ιουλίττης στη Λετύμπου* (Letymbou, 2008), pp. 40–42. Note the radiant star-shaped mandorla drawn around Christ’s body.

140. T. Papamastorakis, “Η μορφή τοῦ Χριστοῦ-Μεγάλου Ἀρχιερέα,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993–94), pp. 67–78; A. Golitzin, “The Image and Glory of God in Jacob of Serug’s Homily ‘On that Chariot that Ezekiel the Prophet Saw,’” in *The Theophaneia School*, ed. Lourié and Orlov, pp. 180–212; E. S. Bolman, “Painting Heaven: Art and the Liturgy,” in *The Canopy of Heaven: The Ciborium in the Church of St. Mamas, Morphou*, ed. M. Jones and A. M. Jones (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 136–45. The painted decoration of the ciborium alludes to Ezekiel’s theophanic vision (Ezekiel 1:4–25), symbolically reenacted during the liturgy.

141. T. Papademetriou, *Render Unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford, 2015), p. 219.

Coda

The Reed and the Olive Tree

In 2006, the Press and Information Office (= PIO) of the Republic of Cyprus published a collection of studies, commemorating the enduring historical and cultural ties between Cyprus and Europe. Surprisingly, the volume, entitled *Cyprus has always been Europe* and written by a number of distinguished scholars under the coordination of PIO, excludes the long Byzantine centuries (a natural continuation of Hellenistic and Roman rule in Cyprus), passing directly from Roman to Lusignan and Venetian times. The tragicomic inside story¹ behind the synthesis of the volume's contents—government confusion, it is said, affected the book's structure and the ability of scholars to compose their chapters on time—seems to reflect the way that at least some Greek Cypriot laymen, in this case government officials, see the island's Byzantine past and its place in the wider Byzantine world: Byzantine Cyprus appears to have implicitly been perceived as “oriental” and “non-European.”²

History, as Marx used to say, repeats itself. In a chapter entitled “Byzantium and Islam,” the colonial four-volume *History of Cyprus*, composed by Hill, devoted no more than 72 pages to the Byzantine period; on the other hand, the Latin rule was treated in no less than two volumes.³ Although this must have been partly due to the amount of written source material at Hill's disposal (fewer primary sources concerning Byzantine Cyprus), it was also the result of the historian's inability to be completely unbiased:

“the unhappiness of the population under the imperial oppression made it the more willing to accept a change of masters.”⁴ Capturing the political dynamics of Cypriot history, Lawrence Durrell, who served the British colonial government as head of PIO between 1955 and 1956 (at the time of the Cyprus Emergency), wrote in his *Bitter Lemons* that, “in consideration of the Enosis [= Union with Greece] problem the cultural heritage of Byzantium and its institutions illuminated everything.”⁵ Despite these remarks, however (and much like Hill’s narrow view of Cypriot history), Durrell’s portrayal of the Cypriot *genius loci* in the *Bitter Lemons* combined “Gothic drama and Gothic contemplation, [with] Anatolian indolence and fatalism, [and] occasional flashes of Levantine emotion and hot temper,” missing the elements of Hellenic culture and Byzantine Orthodox spirituality.⁶ From the perspective of mid-twentieth-century British colonialism, Hellenism and Byzantine Cyprus were at the heart of Greek Cypriot nationalism, and should, thus, be marginalized or reinterpreted, in order to facilitate (rather than challenge) the implementation of British policy. As shown by the exclusion of Byzantium from the PIO volume, as well as by the historiographical presentation in the Introduction, the influence of colonial bias is still traceable in scholarly and lay attempts to reconstruct Cypriot history and identities.

This book has argued that Latin-ruled Cyprus remained part of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine religious, cultural, and ideological landscape. Entering into fruitful dialogue with the ethnocentric and revisionist paradigms (although moving beyond both theoretical schools), this study has attempted to systematically explore the variety of Orthodox Cypriot responses toward Byzantium and the Latins. The task was not easy: a new reading of Greek, Latin, French, and Italian primary sources was required;

fresh evidence needed to be retrieved from hitherto unpublished manuscripts; archaeological case studies had to be revisited; more importantly, it was necessary to develop an interdisciplinary methodological framework that would enable a deeper and more precise understanding of the subject. Despite the weaknesses and religious bias of his work, Archimandrite Kyprianos was correct in that Cypriot history cannot be written without taking into adequate consideration the island's place in the Byzantine Orthodox world. By focusing on the Latin medieval primary sources (and by largely interpreting Cypriot history through this particular prism), revisionist historiography seems to undervalue the perspective(s) of the vast majority of the Cypriot population under Latin rule.⁷

Society, spirituality, and identities were recurring themes of this study. I have already mentioned that the Orthodox Cypriot community constituted “a society within a society,” in the sense that it possessed a degree of self-sufficiency (e.g., larger numbers than any other ethnoreligious group on the island, controlled autonomy in communal organization, continuation of ethnic awareness, preservation of cultural physiognomy, boundary maintenance in religious matters, etc.), within a broader social context highlighted by ethnoreligious coexistence and interaction. The identity crisis caused by the Crusader conquest and its aftermath led the Orthodox to develop various levels of adaptation vis-à-vis the new regime. Consequently, flexibility and noncoercive boundary-building became vital elements of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins. From the fourteenth century onward, interaction and collaboration became stronger, consolidating anti-Ottomanism, and contributing to the creative synthesis between the Byzantine and Renaissance cultural traditions. Although tension fluctuated and symbiosis gradually became part of everyday life (even facilitating individual cases of Latinization), the ethnogenetic

merging of identities as a general phenomenon was prevented by the very nature of contentional conviviality, characterized by ethnoreligious inequality and rivalries, and occasionally sparked (as Hill and the revisionists have shown) by zealous non-Cypriot Latins. But there was more to theological differences and external pressures on the island's Orthodox. "The format of theological debate may have rested on that theoretical notion, but in reality everyone knew that there was more at stake," writes Kaldellis. "Ecclesiastical union was undermined by deep national [or ethnic] sentiments."⁸ According to Andrew Louth, "the question of the use of unleavened bread . . . in the liturgy was an issue that could, on quiet reflection, be peaceably settled." It did not—"partly because of the heated context in which it was raised."⁹ And despite the obvious generalization (if not exaggeration), Peter Lock seems to be partly correct in arguing that "with its Latin missals and scriptures [the Latin Church] was linguistically separated from the Greek community, with the filioque and the azymaton doctrinally distinct and with its dress and tonsure visibly different. It was the church of the conquerors rather than the church of God."¹⁰

The book aimed at unveiling the multiplicity and richness of Orthodox Cypriot identities in the Latin period. The examination has mainly focused on the Greeks, the dominant element in a community that also included Syrian Melkites and Georgians, as well as Latin converts to Orthodoxy (all of whom seem to have undergone a degree of Hellenization by the sixteenth century). Although from a modern viewpoint ethnic and religious self-awareness constitute two distinct identities, for the majority of Orthodox Cypriots the two were tightly interwoven; this is confirmed, for example, by the use of the Byzantine imperial eagle in the ordination ritual of Orthodox Cypriot bishops.¹¹ As long as the Byzantine Empire existed (and well after its collapse), it

constituted a major pole of political, cultural, and religious identification for the Orthodox Christians of Cyprus, one that both challenged *and* facilitated (e.g., through marriage alliances, or strategic imitation of Byzantine policies) the domination of the Latin ruling class. At the same time, the conditions of the Latin rule became the matrix of new identities within the Orthodox Cypriot community: while being “Cypriot,” “Byzantine,” and “Orthodox,” its members expressed their political loyalty toward the Lusignans and the Venetians, appreciated the Gothic style and Italian painting, and created alliances with the papacy, in order to protect their rights and promote their interests. The fragmentation of Orthodox Cypriot identities, similar to the political fragmentation of the Byzantine world after the thirteenth century, has shown that overlapping layers of self-perception were shaped by particular circumstances and different contexts, and could be exploited, so as to facilitate the preservation of one’s religious identity even under adverse conditions. Ethnocentric historiography, with its emphasis on national narrative and influenced by modern Orthodox views of Roman Catholicism and the West, has overlooked the reality of less rigid identity categories, adopting a more polarized model of interpretation.¹² This, I have tried to show (in accordance with revisionist historiography), is not supported by the picture painted by the Latin sources, which leaves room for ritual diversity under the papacy, facilitating the cultivation of a variety of boundary-building strategies and practices (something that even revisionist scholars have failed to see).

Clearly, the martyr’s path, courageously walked by the Kantara Fathers in 1231, was not for everyone to follow: martyrdom came to be viewed as an ineffective way to resist Latinization.¹³ During the negotiations with Bryennios in 1406, the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy stated that a public renunciation of the *Bulla Cypria*

would certainly lead to their death; superficial submission was thus necessary.¹⁴ A modern Orthodox may be scandalized by the compromises Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriots had to make, including their recognition of papal authority and occasional concelebrations with the Latins. “These things we do,” the bishop of Karpasia admitted to Bryennios, “yet we are under the sway of tyranny.”¹⁵ The “double life” of oppressed people is something that historians should always remember when examining phenomena of forced coexistence and religious persecution, be they in seventeenth-century Japan, or in the twenty-first-century Middle East (here Runciman’s *Great Church in Captivity* comes in mind).¹⁶ Reflecting on the innate need of human beings not only to explain the world, but also to give a meaning to the world, and constantly redefine themselves in it, we are reminded of the Aesopian fable of the reed and the olive tree: a strong wind blew and the olive tree, unbending, was easily broken; the reed bowed before the wind’s fury and was saved.¹⁷

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the anonymous Lexington Books reviewer for sharing the private story concerning the volume’s structure and contents.

2. Y. Solomou (coord.), *Cyprus has always been Europe* (third edition: Nicosia, 2014). Note, however, sporadic references to Byzantine Cyprus in the studies by D. Michaelides (Roman Cyprus), A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Lusignan Cyprus), and C. D. Schabel (Cyprus and Italy); cf. E. Chrysos, “The European Profile of Byzantine Cyprus,” in “*Sweet Land . . .*,” ed. Chrysostomides and Dendrinou, pp. 77–86.

3. G. F. Hill, *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, vol. 1 of *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 257–329.

4. Hill, *To the Conquest by Richard*, p. 257.

5. L. Durrell, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus* (London, 1957), p. 121. See also J. R. Mas, “Lawrence Durrell in Cyprus: A Philhellene against *Enosis*,” *Epos* 19 (2003), pp. 229–43.

6. M. Given, “‘Father of his Landscape’: Lawrence Durrell’s Creation of Landscape and Character in Cyprus,” *Deus Loci: The Lawrence Durrell Journal* NS5 (1997), p. 58.

7. See, for example, Schabel, “Religion,” p. 218: “Peter Thomae’s experience in Cyprus shows why there is no simple way to portray religion in early Frankish Cyprus, except that it was devoutly Christian.”

8. Kaldellis, *Hellenism*, pp. 359–60.

9. A. Louth, *Greek East and Latin West. The Church A.D. 681–1071*, vol. 3 of *The Church in History* (Crestwood, New York, 2007), pp. 317–18.

10. P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London–New York, 1995), p. 221.

11. Cf. S. G. Gouloulis, “*Ρίζα Ιεσσαί.*” *Ο σύνθετος εικονογραφικός τύπος (13ος–18ος αι.). Γένεση, ερμηνεία και εξέλιξη ενός δυναστικού μύθου* (Thessalonica, 2007), p. 17 (Cypriot examples).

12. See, for example, Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται*, p. 308: “Ἡ μεταξὺ λατίνων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων ἐνότης ἐπὶ τῆς Κύπρου θα παρέμενε καὶ μετὰ τὴν Σύνοδον τῆς Λευκωσίας τὸ 1340, ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπίσκοποι συγκατένευσαν ἔκουσίως νὰ ὁμολο-γήσουν τὸ ρωμαϊκὸν δόγμα. . . . Διὰ τὴν χριστιανικὴν Ἀνατολὴν ἡ Κύπρος ἀπετέλει τὴν σφῆνα τῆς Δύσεως ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας.”

13. Cf. Schabel, “Martyrs,” pp. 30–32; Fernández-Morera, *The Myth*, p. 232.

14. See chapter 4.

15. *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου*, p. 37 (ll. 192–93): ἀληθῶς οὕτω ποιοῦμεν, πλὴν τυραννοῦμενοι.

16. S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968). On the term “double life,” see E. Mase-Hasegawa, *Christ in Japanese Culture: Theological*

Themes in Shusaku Endo's Literary Works (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 50–52.

17. Αἰσώπου Μῦθοι. *Die Fabeln des Aesop*, ed. H. F. M. Volger (Leipzig, 1811), p. 118; cf. Photiades, *Οἱ ἑξισλαμισμοί*, pp. 557–58.

Appendices

PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

The edition of the three texts below largely preserves the variety of grammatical and syntactical forms, occasionally introducing orthographic corrections, and recording errors or medieval conventions in the apparatus. Accents and mute *iotas* are tacitly introduced in the edition, unless these occur in words which are misspelled in the manuscript and are, thus, recorded in the apparatus. Abbreviations and *nomina sacra* are expanded, section division is introduced to facilitate the reader, and modern accentuation and punctuation are applied to enhance the clarity of the text.

SIGNA TYPOGRAPHICA

(αβγ)	expansion of contractions
[]	lacuna caused by damage to the parchment or paper of the MS
---]	mutilated beginning
[.. ¹⁰ lit. ..]	lacuna of ten spaces
[αβγ]	probable restoration of letters lost in a lacuna in the MS
<αβγ>	letters not extant in the MS, but supplied by the editor

ABBREVIATIONES

<i>alt. lect.</i>	altera lectio
<i>bis. acc.</i>	bis accentus
<i>cod.</i>	in codicem
<i>fon. non inv.</i>	fontem non inveni
<i>fort.</i>	fortasse
<i>in marg.</i>	in margine
<i>incip. mut.</i>	incipit mutavit
<i>intel.</i>	intellige
<i>parech.</i>	parechesis
<i>post corr.</i>	post correctionem
<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>spat. vac. 4 lit.</i>	spatium vacuum 4 litteris

SIGLA SACRAE SCRIPTURAE

1 Cor.	I ad Corinthios Epistula
1 Pet.	I Petri Epistula
1 Tim.	I ad Timotheum Epistula
2 Tim.	II ad Timotheum Epistula
2 Thess.	II ad Thessalonicenses Epistula
Act.	Actus Apostolorum
Eph.	ad Ephesios Epistula
Gal.	ad Galatas Epistula
Ioh.	Evangelium secundum Iohannem
Is.	Isaias
Lev.	Leviticus
Luc.	Evangelium secundum Lucam
Ps.	Psalmorum liber

Sap.	Sapientia
Tit.	ad Titum Epistula
Matth.	Evangelium secundum Matthaeum

FONTES

- Bas. Caes., *Serm. Ascet.* [Basilii Caesariensis, *Sermo Asceticus*] = PG 31, coll. 869D–883D.
- Bul. Un. Fl. [*Bulla Unionis Florentina*] = *Epistolae pontificiae* (1438–1439), pp. 68–79.
- Call., *Contr. blasph. Lat.* [Callistus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Contra blasphemus Latinos*] = *Ψευδοπροφῆτες*, pp. 274–337.
- Call., *Contr.Lat. I* [Callistus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Contra Latinos I*] = *Ψευδοπροφῆτες*, pp. 158–91.
- Call., *Contr.Lat. II* [Callistus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Contra Latinos II*] = *Ψευδοπροφῆτες*, pp. 192–229.
- Call., *Contr.Lat. III* [Callistus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Contra Latinos III*] = *Ψευδοπροφῆτες*, pp. 230–73.
- Can. Apost. [*Canones Apostolorum*] = ΣΘΙΚ 2, pp. 1–112.
- Conc. Laod. [*Concilium Laodiciae*] = ΣΘΙΚ 3, pp. 171–226.
- Conc. Quinis. [*Concilium Quinisextum*] = ΣΘΙΚ 2, pp. 295–554.
- Euch. [*Euchologion*] = *Εὐχολόγιον*.
- Euseb. Caes., *De laud. Const.* [Eusebius Caesariensis, *De laudibus Constantini*] = *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 195–223.
- Euseb. Caes., *Dem. Ev.* [Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica*] = *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 4, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1913).
- Germ., *Epist. ad Greg.* [Germanus II Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, *Epistula ad Gregorium Papae Romanum*] = *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, pp. 39–46.
- Greg. Naz., *Orat. I* [Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio I*] = *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1-3*, vol. 247 of *Sources chrétiennes*, ed. J. Bernardi (Paris, 1978), pp. 72–83.
- Greg. Nyss., *Hom. in Cant. Cant.* [Gregorius Nyssenus, *Homilia in Cantica Canticorum*] = *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 6, ed. H. Langerbeck

(Leiden, 1986).

Greg. Nyss., *Orat. Cat.* [Gregorius Nyssenens, *Oratio Catechetica*] = *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 3, ed. E. Mühlenberg (Leiden, 1996).

Greg. Nyss., *Ref.* [Gregorius Nyssenens, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*] = *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 2, ed. W. Jaeger (Leiden, 1960), pp. 312–410.

Ioh. Chrys. (dub.), *In par. Sam.* [Iohannes Chrysostomus (dubius), *In parabolam Samaritani*] = *PG* 11, coll. 755–58.

Ioh. Chrys., *Div. Lit.* [Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Divina Liturgia*] = *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, ed. C. E. Hammond (Oxford, 1878), pp. 82–105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131.

Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.* [Iohannes Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*] = *Toŭ Óσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σιναΐτου, Κλῆμαξ*, ed. Archimandrite Ignatios (ninth edition: Holy Monastery of the Paraklētos, 2002).

Mac. Calor., *Coloph. Poet.* [Macarius Calorites, *Colophon Poeticus*] = Mercati, “Macaire,” pp. 190–91.

Narr. [*Narratio passionis Sanctorum XIII Patrum Kantarae*] = *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, pp. 307–38.

Neoph., *De Conc.* [Neophytus Inclusus, *De Conciliis*] = *Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ Οἴκουμενικῶν Συνόδων*, pp. 279–87.

Pent. [*Pentekostarion*] = *Πεντηκοστόριον* (Rome, 1883).

Ph. Mez., *Vita Petr. Thom.* [Philippus Mezieris, *Vita Sancti Petri Thomae*] = *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*.

Ps-Dion., *Epist. ad Dem.* [Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *Epistula ad Demophilo monacho*] = *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2, ed. G. Heil and A. M. Ritter (Berlin–New York, 1991), pp. 171–92.

Purg. disp. [*De Purgatorio disputationes*] = *De Purgatorio disputationes*.

Synod. con. Bec. [*Synodicum contra Iohannem XI Beccum Patriarcham Constantinopolitanus*] = *Dossier grec*, pp. 574–88.

Theod. Cyr., *Hist. Eccl.* [Theodoretus Cyrrensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*] = *Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte* ed. L. Parmentier (Leipzig, 1911).

Appendix I

Confession of Faith of the Monks of Kantara and a Synaxary on Their Memory

MS *Vaticanus graecus* 1409 (thirteenth century): miscellaneous codex copied by various scribes and containing texts of historical, literary, and ecclesiastical interest; ff. 239r-268v, probably copied sometime between 1274 and 1282, seem to form an anti-Latin dossier; several texts of Cypriot provenance and interest form a special group, comprising the correspondence between Pope Gregory IX and Patriarch Germanos II in the aftermath of the Monks' martyrdom in 1231, and the two small texts (ff. 239r-239v) edited below: (a) the Monks' *Confession of faith* (doc. I, pars. 1-3), and (b) a synaxary (i.e., brief hagiographical narrative recited in the liturgy) on their memory (doc. II, pars. 1-2).

Bibliography: Papadopoulos in *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων*, p. 315 (n. 37); Laurent and Darrouzès in *Dossier grec*, p. 53; K.-H. Uthemann, "Der *Codex Vaticanus gr.* 1409. Eine Beschreibung der Handschrift," *Byzantion* 53 (1983), pp. 639–53; S. Ronchey, "An Introduction to Eustathios' *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum*," *DOP* 45 (1991), pp. 149–58; P. Canart, "Notes complémentaires sur le *Vaticanus graecus* 1409," in *Alethes Philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, ed. M. D'Agostino (Spoleto, 2010), pp. 77–92; Kyriacou, "The Orthodox Church," pp. 405–19.

Note: Constantinos Chatzipsaltes presented a paper on the Monks' *Confession of Faith* during the XI International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Munich, 1958). Although Chatzipsaltes had intended to publish his paper in the forthcoming proceedings, his study was not included in the publication and remains, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished. I have been unable to trace Chatzipsaltes' paper.

(f. 239^r) [I.1] ---]¹καὶ κρατοῦμεν καὶ λειτουργοῦμεν· καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν· κἄν μυρίους θανάτους δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμᾶς τὴν τοιαύτην ἡμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα· καὶ εἴ τις ἔξω τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου παραδόσεων κρατεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων, Χριστιανὸς ὀρθόδοξος οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐπειδὴ² δὲ καὶ³ περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου ἡμᾶς ἐρωτᾶτε, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἤλθομεν διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τούτου· οὐδὲ ἠθέλομεν ἔχειν συντυχίας μετὰ τινος· ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον, περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν μεριμνᾶν· ἐπεὶ δε ἐρωτῶμεθα περὶ τούτων, ἀπολογούμεθα ἀδιστάκτως καὶ χωρὶς πάσης ὑποκρίσεως· οὐκ ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν τι συνιστῶντες ἢ γράφοντες· ἀλλὰ καθὼς γράφει ἡ θεία Γραφή. Λοιπὸν ἀκούσατε ἐπιμελῶς διὰ λόγου προφορικοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαβαίνοντος καθάπερ καὶ αἱ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ βεβαιοῦσι, καὶ μὴ σπεύδετε πράττειν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου· ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον πολλὰ πολλὰ μεταμεληθῇτε καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει·⁴ καὶ λοιπὸν εἰ ἀκριβῶς βούλεσθε γινῶναι πῶς ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ ὡς οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι Χριστιανοὶ κρατύνουσι καὶ πιστεύουσι, παρ' ἡμῶν νῦν τῶν εὐτελῶν μοναχῶν, τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκοῦσαι θελήσατε· ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἤλθε καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι·⁵ καθὰ δὴ καὶ τῷ βαπτιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ φησὶν· Ἄφες ἄρτι· οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶ πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν·⁶ καὶ ἐβαπτίσατο ὁ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀμόλυντος ὁ μὴ χρήζων καθάρσεως.

[I.2] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀκταήμερος περιετμήθη·⁷ ὁ δὲ μέγας ἀπόστολος Παῦλος βοᾷ· Ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσει·⁸ ὥστε οἱ δοκοῦντες τὸ ἄζυμον ἀσφαλῶς κρατεῖν καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν διὰ τὸ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ Χριστός, καὶ περιτεμνέσθωσαν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαίοις ἐξακολουθεῖτε, ἵνα τί ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα καθ' ἑκάστην μεταλαμβάνετε ἡμέραν καὶ ἑορτήν; Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄζυμον, ἐνιαύσιον ἐτελεῖτο· καὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ μόναις ἡμέραις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦτο ἥσθιον·⁹ ὥστε οἱ τὸ ἄζυμον βουλόμενοι ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ποιεῖτω[σαν]· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι παραδεδομένον παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, Χριστιανὸς ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογῆσαι τοῦτο ὡς σῶμα Χριστοῦ οὐ δύναται ἢ προσάξει· ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα Γραφὴ θεόπνευστος¹⁰ καὶ αἱ συνοδικαὶ ἅγαι βίβλοι, οὕτως φασίν· οἱ τὰ Σάββατα μετὰ τῶν ἁζύμων φυλάττοντες καὶ λέγοντες Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι, καταψεύδονται·¹¹ οὔτε γὰρ Χριστιανοὶ εἰσὶν οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι καθαροί· ἀλλ' ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ δορᾷ παρδάλεως ὡς ὁ μέγας λέγει Βασίλειος· ἥς ἡ θρίξ, οὔτε μέλαινα ἐστὶν οὔτε διόλου λευκή·¹² Καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ μεγάλοι φωστῆρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἅγιοι, παράνομοι εἰσὶ καὶ Ἰουδαιοφρονες, καὶ ἔξω τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως οἱ τὸ ἄζυμον ἐκτελοῦντες· ὡς παραβαίνοντες τὴν ἀληθῆ παραδόσιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἀριδὴλως ἀναφωνούντων, ἀληθινὸν καὶ ζωηρὸν καὶ κύριον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ ἐνζυμον καὶ αἷμα τὸ τίμιον καὶ πανάχραντον αὐτοῦ αἷμα· τὸ βλύσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ἁγίας αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς· τῆς νυγείσης λόγχῃ παρὰ τοῦ στρατιώτου τῷ καιρῷ τῆς σταυρώσεως· ὡς αὐτίκα ἐξηλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ¹³ κατὰ τὰς θείας Γραφάς, δύο πηγαὶ σωτηρίας. Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν·¹⁴ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀρτίως πάσχομεν· καὶ ἐτοίμως ἀποθανεῖν ἔχομεν·¹⁵ Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἅπερ ἐγράψαμεν

ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ τὰς θείας Γραφὰς οὐ πιστεύετε, ποιήσατε λοιπὸν τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν ἐξαρχῆς ἐζητήσα-μεν· ταύτην δὲ λέγομεν, τὴν διὰ πυρός· καὶ ἔτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς φανερῶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.¹⁶ εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ θέλετε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως φονεῦσαι βούλεσθε, ἔστω τοῦ ὑμετέρου κρίματος· καὶ ὅπερ μέλλει εἰς ἡμᾶς συμβῆναι, ἐπάνω ὑμῶν.¹⁷ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔξω τοῦ κρίματος ἐσμέν, ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες καὶ μὴ κρύψαντες· ὡς ἔσχατοι δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰ μὲν θέλετε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν, πιστεύσατε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπόσασθε· εἰ δ' οὖν, ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο, ταῦτα πάντα ἐγγράφως ὑμῖν παραδίδομεν· ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ ἐγγράφου τούτου κριθῶμεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ κοινοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

[I.3] Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γνωστά, τῇ τε ὀρθοδόξῳ ὑμῶν¹⁸ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμόφροσι Χριστιανοῖς μετὰ τὸν ἡμῶν θάνατον· οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς θάνατον ἑαυτοὺς παρεδώκαμεν· ἦν καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν τυραννούντων ἡμᾶς, ἀναφανδὸν ὡμολογήσαμεν καὶ ἐκηρύξαμεν. Καὶ μήτε ὑπολάβῃ ὅτι ἐξ αὐθαδείας ἡμῶν ἢ οἰκείας γνώμης πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα αὐτοκλήτως καὶ ταῦτα ἐλέξαμεν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὅρει καταλαβόντες καὶ περὶ τούτων πολλὰ βιασάμενοι, κρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη-μεν· κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐγχωροῦν καὶ ὅσον ὁ Θεὸς ἐχορήγησεν· ἄκοντες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὅρου καταγαγόντες· (f. 239^v) καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος αὐτῶν παραστήσαντες, καὶ δις καὶ τρίς καὶ πολλάκις ἐρωτηθέντες· καὶ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς τυραννήσαντες, ἐξ ἡμῶν αἰτία τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐγένετο.¹⁹ πολλά δε παρ' αὐτῶν βιασθέντες, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τέλει ἡμῶν, ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν πάντων ὡμολογήσαμεν, ὅτι καὶν δέοι μυρίοις θανάτοις ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀμετάθετοι ἐν τῇ

ὀρθοδόξῳ ἡμῶν πίστει ἐμμένομεν. Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ ιθ' ἡμέρᾳ β',
ἕτους ,ςψλθ'.

[II.1] Μνήμη τῶν ὁσίων τρισκαίδεκα πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ
ἡσυχαστῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως μαρτυρησάντων·
ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰσὶ ταῦτα· Κόνων καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ τῆς θείας
ταύτης παρεμβολῆς²⁰ καθηγηταὶ καὶ ἑξαρχοὶ καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς
πίστεως διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες καὶ ὁμολογηταί· Μάρκων²¹ μαθητῆς
αὐτῶν ὁ μέχρι τέλους συγκακοπαθῶν καὶ συμπάσχων αὐτοῖς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ συστεφανούμενος· Κλήμης ὁ τοῦ Παγκάλου, Κύπριος
ἱερεὺς καὶ θύτης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀμπέλου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ,
αεὶθαλὲς καὶ εὐκαρπον κλῆμα, ὁμολογητῆς καὶ κῆρυξ τῆς
ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως· Μάξιμος ὁ ὄντως μακαριστὸς καὶ
Θεοδώρητος τὸ ἀληθὲς δῶρον, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καλοῦ Ὁρους
ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμαῖμονες, οἱ τῆς ἁνῶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ πολῖται καὶ τῆς
ὑπερφώτου πίστεως ὁμο-λογηταί· Θεόκτιστος καὶ Βαρνάβας ἡ
πεφωτισμένη δυάς· Κύπριοι καὶ οὗτοι ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμαῖμονες·
Ἱερεμίας ὁ τὸν ὄντως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον²² ἀσπα-σάμενος
καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὑφηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος· Γρηγόριος
ὁ ὄντως γρήγορος ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως ὁμολογητῆς·
Ἰωσήφ ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος καὶ προσμοναρίου τῆς ὑπεραγίας
Θεοτόκου· Γεράσιμος ὁ τὰ πάντα ἀφείς καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπ'
ὧμων ἀράμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογητῆς καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως
κῆρυξ· Γερμανὸς²³ ὁ τὸ τίμιον γέρας ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεξάμενος καὶ
τὸν Χριστὸν ὅλον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα, καὶ αὐτὸς
ὁμολογητῆς τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως.

[II.2] Οὗτοι οἱ τρισμακάριοι καὶ τρισόσιοι πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ
ὁμολογηταὶ καὶ μάρτυρες, ἐν τῇ ζοφώδει εἰρκτῇ τῶν Λατίνων
τριετίαν ποιήσαντες· καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπάθειαν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει καὶ
τῇ ἄλλῃ παντοδαπῇ στενοχωρίᾳ καὶ γυμνότητι, καὶ ἐν σκοτεινῷ
χώρῳ καὶ δυσώδει ὄντες οἱ ἀδαμάντινοι πύργοι.²⁴ Ὑστερον μετὰ

πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐρωτήσεων ἐρωτηθέντες· καὶ μὴ εἰζαντες τῷ θελήματι τῶν Λατίνων, ἄχθέντες οἱ τρισμακάριοι πατέρες ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ Λευκουσίας καὶ τῇ προστάξει τῶν μιαρῶν Λατίνων ἄραντες οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀγγελικὰ αὐτῶν σχήματα καὶ κουκούλια, εὐθὺς ἐλιθοβόλησαν αὐτούς· εἴτα δεθέντες ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν, καὶ συρέντες δι' ὅλου τοῦ ποταμοῦ Λευκουσίας καὶ ῥάβδοις ἀνηλεῶς τυπτόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς σάρκας κατατεμνόμενοι, τὸ τελευταῖον φλόγα πυρὸς ὕλη πολλῇ ἐξαφθεῖσαν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ τρισόσιοι ἐμβληθέντες, τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζῶντος παρέδωκαν.²⁵

APPARATUS

1. *Incip. mut. cod.*
2. *post corr. (ex ἐπειδή) cod.*
3. *ante καὶ scr. Ση(μείωσαι) in marg. cod.*
4. κἂν μυρίους-ὠφελήσει] cf. *Narr.*, 327.5, 334.4–17; *Germ., Epist. ad Greg.*, 43; *Gal.* 5:2.
5. οὐκ-πληρῶσαι] *Matth.* 5:17.
6. Ἄφες-οἰκονομίαν] cf. *Matth.* 3:15.
7. ἀλλὰ-περιετμήθη] *Luc.* 2:21.
8. Ἐὰν-ὠφελήσει] *Gal.* 5:2.
9. καὶ-ἥσθιον] cf. *Lev.* 23:4–8.
10. πᾶσα-θεόπνευστος] *2 Tim.* 3:16.
11. ἀλλὰ-καταψεύδονται] *Can. Apost.*, 66, 70; *Conc. Laod.*, 29, 38; *Conc. Quinis.*, 11; cf. *Neoph., De Conc.*, 3.12.131–32, 3.12.141–42, 3.13.154–3.14.164.
12. ὅμοιοι-λευκῇ] *Bas. Caes., Serm. Ascet.*, 873C.
13. ἐξῆλθεν-ὔδωρ] *Ioh.* 19:34.
14. καὶ ἔξω τῆς ὀρθοδόξου-ὁμολογοῦμεν] cf. *Narr.*, 325.15–23, 333.15–334.4.
15. καὶ ἐτοιμῶς-ἔχομεν] cf. *Narr.*, 334.25–28.

16. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα-ἀλήθειαν] cf. *Narr.*, 326.6–15, 334.28–335.1.
17. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο-ὑμῶν] cf. *Narr.*, 335.1–4.
18. *fort. intel.*: ἡμῶν.
19. Καὶ μήτε ὑπολάβη-ἐγένετο] cf. *Mac. Calor., Coloph. Poet.*, 190.39–191.56.
20. θείας-παρεμβολῆς] cf. *Pent.*, 358.
21. Μάρκων] cf. *Narr.*, 320.12, 332.29; *Synod. con. Bec.*, 576.10.29.
22. ἥρεμον-βίον] 1 Tim. 2:2.
23. Κόνων-Γερμανὸς] cf. *Synod. con. Bec.*, 576.10.29–33.
24. ἐν τῇ ζοφώδει εἰρκτιῇ-πύργοι] cf. *Mac. Calor., Coloph. Poet.*, 17–20, 63–66; *Narr.*, 330.9–12, 332.8–12.
25. τὰς μακαρίας-παρέδωκαν] cf. *Sap.* 3:1.

Appendix II

Encyclical Letter to the Cypriots by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople

MS *Athonensis Stauroinicetanus* 62 (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries): miscellaneous codex, which comprises various texts of ecclesiastical and theological interest, including a corpus of works by Kallistos I of Constantinople (1350–53 and 1354–63/64); the codex was probably copied sometime between after 1364 and before 1438/39 (there is no reference to the Council of Florence); the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* is presented in ff. 295^r-298^v.

Bibliography: S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 81–82; *RAPC* 1.5, doc. 2443; Gones, “Εἰδήσεις,” pp. 333–50; Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 420–29.

(f. 295^r) [I.1] Οἱ ἐν τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ καὶ περιδόξῳ νήσῳ τῇ Κύπρῳ εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ οἰκοῦντες, ἱερωμένοι, ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἅπας τοῦ Κυρίου λαός· ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, χάριν, εἰρήνην, ἔλεος, εὐθηνίαν τὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐπεύχεται ὑμῖν ἅπασιν ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος. Οὐ διέλαθεν, οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἡμᾶς καὶ πρότερον, ὧ φιλόθεον τῶν πιστῶν σύστημα, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνισταί, καὶ ὑπέρμαχοι τῶν ὑγιῶν δογμάτων τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῶν θερμότατος ζῆλος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου μέχρις

αἵματος καὶ θανάτου ἀντικατάστασις, οὗ χάριν καὶ ἡμᾶς μὲν παρακλητικοῖς λόγοις, ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰκὸς παρεμυθησάμεθα πρὸς νουθεσίαν ὑμῶν ἀφορῶσι· Χριστῷ δὲ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους ᾠδὰς ἀνεπέμψαμεν, πῶς τῇ ἄνωθεν ἁρωγῇ¹ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου νευρούμενοι, ἀπεκρούσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον τὸν ἀραβικὸν λύκον,² τὸν διαστρέφοντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας,³ καὶ ἐξυδαροῦντα τοὺς λόγους τῶν θείων πατέρων;⁴ Τὸ δὲ δὴ μεῖζον κακόν, καὶ ἀσεβείας ἀνάμεστον, ὅτι τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βορβορώδη ψυχὴν διαστρέφει τὸ κυριακὸν λόγιον⁵ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὅστις καὶ δύο ἀρχὰς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει πιστεύειν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, τερατευόμενος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ κατατέμνον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν, εἰς δύο αἷτια καὶ ἀρχάς, τὸ δογματίζειν τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· εἰ καὶ τὸ λέγειν δύο αἷτια τὸ δοκεῖν παραιτεῖται ὑπούλως καὶ δολερῶς; Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀσεβεῖν ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἀπωλείας υἱὸς⁶ ἀναγκάζειν οὐ παύεται, καὶ καινο-τομεῖν θείων πατέρων θεσπίσματα, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ θείου εὐαγγελίου φωνήν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ ἀπεδιώχθη τῇ σφενδόνη τοῦ Πνεύ-ματος,⁷ εἰ καὶ τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὡς μὴ ὥφελε, παρεσύρησαν τῇ τούτου κακοδοξίᾳ, (f. 295^v) πῶς ἂν πλέξοιμι πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔνστασιν καὶ διέγερσιν τοὺς ἐπαίνους; Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον στεφανίτας ἀποκαλῶ καὶ ὁμολογητὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ θύματα λογικά·⁸ οὕτω γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία κατέστεψεν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀκραιφνεῖς ζηλωτὰς τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων τῆς εὐσεβείας. Ὅσοι γε μέντοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐθρήνουν τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν πιστῶν, διὰ τὴν ἀγριότητα τοῦ θηρὸς ἐκείνου, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν κραταιῶς ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι, διὰ τὸ λεοντῶδες ἐκείνου καὶ φωνικὸν⁹ πρόσχημα, μάρτυρας καὶ τούτοις τῇ προαιρέσει ἡγοῦμαι ὡς

ἀληθεῖς, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀλήπτας, διὰ τὸν εἰς τοῦτον τῆς συνειδήσεως ἔλεγχον· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ χωρὶς αἵματος μάρτυρες, καὶ χωρὶς πληγῶν στεφανῖται. Τοὺς δὲ πεπτωκότας καὶ ὑπενδοῦντας διὰ τῶν ἀπειλῶν τοῦ ἀπεινοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ θηριώδους, καὶ χαυνωθέντας πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ταλανίζειν οἰκτρῶς, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δακρύειν οὐ παραιτήσομαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος, ὃς μήτε Θεὸν φοβούμενος, μήτε οἰκτεῖρων τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμόφυλον,¹⁰ ἀπηνῶς πάνυ γε διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κυρίῳ αὐτόθι πιστούς, καὶ καθάπερ μονιὸς ἄγριος ἐν ἀμπέλῳ τινὶ¹¹ εἰσκωμάσας¹² βριθούσῃ καρπούς, καὶ τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτῆς διακόψας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε διαλυμένεται βότρυας ἀληθῶς, οὕτω κἀκεῖνος ἐπησφρίσας εἰς τὴν λογικὴν ἄμπελον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκ δρυμοῦ ἐλυμήνατο¹³ καὶ συνέθλιψε ὥσπερ βότρυας τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης καρπούς, τοῦ ἡμετέρου τούτου ποιμνίου καὶ γεωργίου μὴ φειδόμενος ὅλως αὐτοῦ. Βαβαὶ τοῦ πάθους! Βαβαί, τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ κενοῦ διδασκά-λου!¹⁴ Ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, πολλὴν μοι προὔξενε¹⁵ καὶ παρέσχε τὴν λύπην καὶ ἀθυμίαν, (f. 296^r) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ θείᾳ ὁμηγύρει τῶν ἱερωτάτων ἀρχιερέων, καὶ παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὅτιπερ ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης τῶν λογικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων¹⁶ μοίραν ἀπέσχισεν ὁ θῆρ οὗτος, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας καὶ τόπους οὓς οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ Κύριος.¹⁷ Ἐνθεν τοι¹⁸ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ἀφόρητόν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ κακόν, καθαπτόμενον αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ γὰρ καλῶς συναχθέντα¹⁹ πρόβατα λογικὰ εἰς μίαν αὐλήν, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν δηλαδή τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξηγορασμένα²⁰ διὰ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ῥυέντος ἐκ τῆς ἀθανάτου πλευρᾶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος,²¹ τοῦ τὰ μακράν που διεστῶτα συνάψαντος,²² οὗτος κατελυμήνατο, καὶ

κακῶς διεσκέδασεν. Ὡ τοῦ κενοῦ διδασκάλου! Ὡ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγριότητος! Ὅτι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς διεσκόρπισε· καὶ τὰ μὲν, [*sprat. vac. ca. 18-20 lit.*] διὰ τῆς ὑποκαθημένου δολερᾶς ὑποκρίσεως, καὶ κατεσθίει τὰ τούτων κρέη, ἅπερ ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς εἴρηται ἐξηγόρασε· τὰ δὲ ἔρια αὐτῶν περιβάλ<λ>εται²³ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς ἑαυτὸν βόσκων, καὶ οὐ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀφορῶν μόνον καὶ κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, τὸ καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης κάκεῖνα με δεῖ ἀγαγεῖν.²⁴ Ἀκουέτω ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ²⁵ τὴν τούτου παράνοιαν· ὅτιπερ ἀγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν ὡς αὐτὸς παραφθέγγεται, μᾶλλον δὲ τερατεύεται, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος αὐλῇ, εἰς ἣν ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκληρώθημεν,²⁶ πῇ μὲν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως,²⁷ πῇ δὲ διὰ τῆς τηρήσεως τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ· εἰς ποίαν οὖν ὑμᾶς αὐλὴν ἀγαγεῖν βούλεται νῦν; Οἶμαι, ἣν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες ἐπιβούλως ἐνομοθέτησαν. Τοῦ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπο-ρεύεται,²⁸ καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ὡς θύραν τῆς ὁμολογίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἱερᾶς αὐλῆς ἀποφηναμένου, καὶ τὸν μὴ εἰσερχόμενον δι' αὐτῆς ληστὴν καὶ κλέπτην ἀποκαλοῦντος, (f. 296^v) οὗτος ἐκ τολμηροῦ γνώμης προσθήκην παρενείρων ἀπροσφυῶς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι πλαττόμενος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς θύρας, ἥγουν τῆς συνήθους ταύτης ὁμολογίας· ἀλλὰ ἀλλαχόθεν ὡς κλέπτης καὶ ληστῆς ἀναβαίνων, ταύτην καὶ ὑμῖν εἰσηγεῖται πορεύεσθαι. Βαβαὶ ὁ τοῦ πράου καὶ εἰρηνικοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς!²⁹ Ὅτι μετὰ ῥάβδου καὶ ἀπειλῆς, καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ φυλακῶν, εἰσαγαγεῖν ὑμᾶς βούλεται εἰς τόπους ἀβάτους, καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ Κύριος,³⁰ ποῦ γὰρ εἶπέ μοι ὁ κενὸς οὗτος ἐξεῦρε διδάσκαλος, ἔλκειν ὅλως τοὺς εὐσεβεῖν

ἡρημένους εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀσεβείας;³¹ Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αἵρετικοὺς διαλέγεται ὡς αὐτὸς διατείνεται,³² πειθέτω αὐτῷ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν λόγιον, τὸ ἄφετε συναυξά-νειν καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια μετὰ τοῦ σίτου.³³ Εἰ δ' οὖν δειξάτω ἡμῖν, πόθεν μεμάθηκε μετὰ ῥάβδου, καὶ πληγῶν ἐλαύνειν τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν, εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας δῆθεν σεμνόν, καὶ πληροῦν αἱμάτων τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ ἀτοπώτατον; Μὴ³⁴ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Δεσπότη μεμάθηκε ταῦτα, ὃς λοιδορούμενος, οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ, πάσχων, οὐκ ἠπεῖλει,³⁵ ἢ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν τούτου καὶ ὁπαδῶν;³⁶ Πάντως οὐκ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅλως· ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατὰ πάντα μιμούμενοι τὸν οἰκεῖον διδάσκαλον, οὐδὲν ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον Ἐλύμαν τὸν μάγον ἐκεῖνον,³⁷ τὴν καθέδραν³⁸ τοῦ διαβόλου,³⁹ Πέτρος δὲ Ἀνανίαν καὶ Σαμφείραν, ὡς ψευσαμένους τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.⁴⁰ Εἰ δὲ βούλει μαθεῖν ἀκριβέστερον τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος φιланθρωπίαν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ μετὰ τὸν σταυρόν, ἀναλογίσαι⁴¹ τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ θείου Κάρπου καὶ ἀποστόλου· ζήλου γὰρ ἔμπλεως γεγονῶς τῆς ἀπιστίας ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ἐκείνου λαοῦ,⁴² διχάσαι τὴν γῆν παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τούτους ἄρδην⁴³ καταπιεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ τῇ⁴⁴ συνήθει χρησάμενος καὶ τούτῳ φιланθρωπία, οὐ μόνον οὐκ εἰσήκουσε τῆς τούτου (f. 297^r) δεήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως παρῆχεν, ὥ φιланθρωπίας Θεοῦ, τῷ Κάρπῳ⁴⁵ τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα,⁴⁶ καὶ προσέτατε παίειν αὐτήν, ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ἀπειθοῦς ἐκείνου λαοῦ. Ὅποταν δὲ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ἔλεγον· Κύριε θέλεις εἴπομεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας⁴⁷ ἐποίησεν,⁴⁸ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, οὐκ οἴδατε ποίου πνεύματος ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς;⁴⁹ Ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν ὑποτύπωσιν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστός, ἵνα καὶ διωκόμενοι,

καὶ ὑβριζόμενοι, μὴ μόνον οὐδὲν ὀργιζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερευχόμεθα τούτων, κἂν πιστοὶ ᾖσιν, ἢ καὶ ἄπιστοι καὶ αἵρετικοί· τὸ γὰρ διώκειν καὶ τύπτειν, ἢ πιστοὺς ἀμαρτήσαντας, ἢ ἀπίστους ἀδικήσαντας, οὐδεὶς οἶμαι τῶν καρδηναλίων,⁵⁰ ἢ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαινέσε-ται ὅλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτο διδασκαλίας ἐστί, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν τυραννίδος, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθεσίας ἀλλότριον.⁵¹ Οὐκοῦν, μὴ φοβηθῆτε τὸν ἄνδρα, μὴ δὲ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐνέδρας καὶ ἀπειλάς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν φοβηθῶμεν τὸν δυνάμενον ἀπολέσαι καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἐν τῇ γεέννῃ.⁵² Καὶ τοίνυν ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, μὴ προδῶμεν παρακαλῶ τὸ ἡμέτερον σέβας, καὶ χαυνωθῶμεν ἀνάνδρως ταῖς αὐτοῦ πονηραῖς εἰσηγήσεσιν. Ἐπειδὴ βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς· αὐρὶον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.⁵³ καὶ τί τὸ ὄφελος τῆς ἀτίμου ταύτης καὶ προσκαίρου ζωῆς, ὅταν τὸν μὲν ὅλον κόσμον κερ-δήσωμεν, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν ζημιωθῶμεν ψυχὴν;⁵⁴ Ἐννοήσατε τοίνυν τοὺς διωγμοὺς τῶν ἁγίων, τὰς πικρὰς ἐκείνας⁵⁵ καὶ ἀφορήτους βασάνους, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Χριστὸν ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρικῶς, ἵνα νικητικοῖς καταστεφθῶσι στεφάνοις, κομισάμενοι τὰς (f. 297^v) τοῖς μάρτυσι πρέπουσι μισθαποδοσίας, καὶ ἄφθαρτα γέρα· οἶδα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πεπληροφόρημαι, τὴν ἔνστασιν καὶ νίκην ὑμῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκαλῶ ὑμᾶς στεφανίτας, ἐρηρυσμένους ἀκλονήτως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῷ θεμελίῳ τῆς ἀληθινῆς πέτρας τῆς πίστεως, καθ' ἧς καὶ πύλαι Ἰδοῦ οὐ κατισχύουσιν,⁵⁶ ὁ σωτήριος ἀπεφήνατο λόγος πρὸς τὸν κορυφαιότατον μαθητὴν, οὐ μὴν, πρὸς τὴν τούτου ὡς δῆθεν διαδοχὴν καὶ καθέδραν.⁵⁷ Διὰ τοῦτο⁵⁸ χαίρομεν, καὶ συγχαίρομεν πνευματικῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, ὡς νικηταῖς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· τοῖς δὲ πεπλανηθεῖσι καὶ ὑπενδοῦσι διὰ τὰς⁵⁹ ἀπειλάς, ταῖς κολακείαις, καὶ τῇ χείρονι ὡς μὴ ὥφελε προστεθεῖσι μερίδι,

εἴ γε μετανοήσουσι καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστρέψουσιν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον κακῶς, συγγνώμην δεδόσθω.

[I.2] Ἀπέχεσθε δὲ πάνπαν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Βαρλαάμ ἐκείνου τοῦ λατινόφρονος, καὶ τοῦ ὁμόφρονος ἐκείνω Ἀκινδύνου αἰρέσεως, οἵτινες δοκοῦσι μὲν εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ὑποκλέπτοντες τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους, λατινόφρονες δὲ ὄντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· δείκνυται καὶ μηδεμίαν διαφορὰν ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ λεγάτου τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπιδεδημηκότος, πάντες οἱ τοῦ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δόξης αἰρεσιῶται, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ὠμίλησαν τούτῳ, καὶ ἔστερξαν ἀναμφιβόλως τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀθετηταὶ προδήλως ὄντες τῆς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τε καὶ χάριτος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτόθι ὁ Τύρου, λαθραίως ἐξελθὼν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, ἔστι δὲ φανερὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐχθρὸς καὶ πολέμιος, τὰ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου καὶ διεκδικῶν καὶ στέργων, καὶ σχίσματα εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ἡμῶν πίστιν εἰσάγων, (f. 298^r) τὰ τοιαῦτα δὲ οὐ παύσεται καὶ αὐτόθι διασπείρων καὶ κωμωδῶν,⁶⁰ καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἱερὰν σύνοδον ἐξυβρίζων ἀναιδῶς, παρακελεύεται πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν, καὶ πατρικῶς παραινεῖ, ὡς ἂν οὐδόλως παραδέξησθε τοῦτον τοιαῦτα λέγοντα, καὶ ἄντικρυς βλασφημοῦντα, ἀλλὰ ἀποδιώξητε μακρὰν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ὡς τάρακτὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τοῦ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου αἰρέσεως, ἵνα μὴ δελεασθέντες τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν, τῇ τούτου δολερᾷ καὶ ἀπατηλῇ⁶¹ γνώμῃ, ἀποθάνωσι τὸν ψυχικὸν θάνατον, κινδυνεύσαντες περὶ τὴν οἰκείαν εὐσέβειαν. Ἀπόστητε οὖν παρακαλῶ τεκνία ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὰ τῆς τοῦδε λυθέντος Τύρου κακίστης ὁμιλίας καὶ συναυλίας· πρόδηλος γάρ ἐστιν ἀθετητῆς τῶν ὑγιῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφυλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, καὶ ἄνωτέρους παντὸς ἀνιαροῦ συναντήματος.

APPARATUS

1. ἄρ' ὡγῆ *cod.*
2. ἄρραβικὸν λῦκον *cod.*
3. ἄραβικὸν-ἀληθείας] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.4–5.
4. ἐξυδαροῦντα-πατέρων] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.8–9.
5. τὸ-λόγιον] Ioh. 15:26.
6. ὁ-υἱὸς] cf. 2 Thess. 2:3.
7. τῆ-Πνεύματος] *Pent.*, 358; cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.8; Call., *Contr. Lat. II*, 11.10.
8. θύματα λογικά] cf. Euseb. Caes., *Dem. Ev.*, 1.6.49.33.
9. *parech. ex* φονικὸν.
10. ὁμόφυλλον *cod.*
11. μονιὸς-τινὶ] cf. Ps. 79:9–14.
12. εἰσκομάσας *cod.*
13. ἄμπελον-ἐλυμήνατο] Ps. 79:14.
14. Βαβαὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης-διδασκάλου] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 12.1–3.
15. προὔξενισε *cod.*
16. τῶν-θρεμμάτων] cf. Euseb. Caes., *De laud. Const.*, 2.17; Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 4.23.
17. ἐπὶ-Κύριος] Greg. Naz., *Orat. I*, 80.7.13–14.
18. Ἐνθὲν τοι *cod.*
19. καλῶς συναχθέντα] cf. Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 3.12.
20. ἐξηγορασμένα] cf. Gal. 3:13.
21. διὰ-Σωτῆρος] cf. Ioh. 19:34.
22. τοῦ-συνάψαντος] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ref.*, 387.20.
23. ἔρια-περιβάλλεται] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Hom. in Cant. Cant.*, 225.7.15–20.
24. καὶ-ἀγαγεῖν] Ioh. 10:16.
25. Ἀκουέτω-γῆ] cf. Is. 34:1.
26. εἰς-ἐκληρώθημεν] cf. Eph. 1:11.

27. διὰ-ἀναγεννήσεως] Ioh. Chrys. (dub.), *In par. Sam.*, 758; cf. Tit. 3:5; Greg. Nyss., *Orat. Cat.*, 91.4-5; Call., *Contr. Lat. III*, 4.9–10.
28. τὸ-ἐκπορεύεται] Ioh. 15:26.
29. Βαβαὶ-μαθητῆς] cf. Germ., *Epist. ad Greg.*, 44.
30. οὐς -Κύριος] Greg. Naz., *Orat. I*, 80.7.13–14.
31. ὄλεθρον ἀσεβείας] cf. Theod. Cyr., *Hist. Eccl.*, 192.3.15.17.
32. Εἰ-διατείνεται] cf. Ph. Mez., *Vita Petr. Thom.*, 49.7–11.
33. ἄφετε-σίτου] cf. Matth. 13:30.
34. Μῆ *bis. acc. cod.*
35. ὅς-ῆπείλει] 1 Pet. 2:23.
36. ὁπαδῶν *cod.*
37. Ἐλύμαν-ἐκεῖνον] cf. Act. 13:6–12.
38. καθέδρα *cod.*
39. καθέδραν-διαβόλου] cf. Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 24.3.
40. Πέτρος-ἅγιον] cf. Act. 5:1–11.
41. ἀναλόγισαι *cod.*
42. ἀναλόγισαι-λαοῦ] cf. Ps-Dion., *Epist. ad Dem.*, 188–92.8.6.
43. ἄρδην *cod.*
44. τῇ *cod.*
45. Καρπῶ *cod.*
46. τὴν-σιαγόνα] Matth. 5:39.
47. Ἡλίας *cod.*
48. Κύριε-ἐποίησεν] Luc. 9:54.
49. οὐκ-ὕμεῖς] Luc. 9:55–56.
50. καρδδηναλίων *cod.*
51. ἀλλότριον *cod.*
52. τὸν-γεέννη] cf. Matth. 10:28.
53. αὔριον-ἀποθνήσκωμεν] Is. 22:13; 1 Cor. 15:32.
54. τὸν-ψυχὴν] cf. Matth. 16:26.
55. ἐκείνους *cod.*
56. πέτρας-κατισχύσουσιν] cf. Matth. 16:18.

57. οὐ-καθέδραν] cf. Germ., *Epist. ad Greg.*, 44; Call., *Contr. blasph. Lat.*, 3.12–28.11.

58. Διατοῦτο *cod.*

59. τὰς *dittogr. cod.*

60. κομωδῶν *cod.*

61. ἀπατειλῇ *cod.*

Appendix III

***Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM**

MS *Eton College Library* 166 (currently preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford): autograph codex (22 fols.) by Francis, a Cypriot Franciscan (signature on f. 22v); the *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* was probably composed sometime after 1439 and before 1550.

Bibliography: Montague Rhodes, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 90; G. Podskalsky, *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, 1453–1821. Ἡ Ὁρθοδοξία στὴ σφαῖρα ἐπιρροῆς τῶν δυτικῶν δογμάτων μετὰ τὴ Μεταρρύθμιση*, trans. G. D. Metallinos (Athens, 2005), p. 63 (n. 54); Danzi, *La biblioteca*, p. 356.

Note: What follows is a partial critical edition of the *Florilegium*. *Editio princeps* of the full text (with an introduction) can be found in Kyriacou, “The Orthodox Church,” pp. 430–57. Critical edition of the whole codex (with detailed commentary) will be the subject of a future study.

(f. 1^r) Ἀναγνώστη τῷ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγαπητῷ.

[I] Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ¹ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες πῦρ² καθαρτήριον μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον μὴ εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀγίας ψυχὰς μηδαμῶς εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον δόξαν ἀναδέχεσθαι, μή δε τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν Ἅδην,³ ἕως οὗ ἀνέλθῃ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Κριτής· πρᾶγμα μὲν τῇ πίστει τῇ

καθολικῇ, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων λόγοισιν ἀντικείμενον, πλειονάπερ⁴ αὐτῶν [..ca. 12 lit. ..] τινὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ⁵ τινὰ [..ca. 9 lit. ..] ὡς αὐτόθεν εἰς τὸ λατινικὸν⁶ μετὰ φρ[..^{ca.9}..]υ εὔρον συνέλεξα, ἑλλ[ηνιστί] τε συγγρ[ά]ψα[ς δη]μοσιῶσαί⁷ τε ἠθέλησα, ταύτας ἐπιποθῶν τὰς λοιμώδεις πλάνας ἐκ πάσης πάντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν διανοίας ἐκκρούειν, πάνυ γε καὶ ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἀναγνωρίσαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκ τοσαύτων, (f. 1^v) καὶ τοιαύτων ἀνανήψωσι πλανῶν, τοιγαροῦν πρότερον τὸ καθαρτή-ριον πῦρ εἶναι παντελῶς ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ αἰῶνι, διὰ τῶν τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εὐδοκίμων διδασκάλων ἥδη νῦν ἀποδείξω.

[I.1] Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας ἐν τῇ περὶ νεκρῶν ἀκολουθίᾳ τὸ τοῦ κεκοιμημένου τῷ Θεῷ λαλο[ῦν]τος, πρόσωπον εἰσάγων· ταῦτα λέγει· *Εἰκὼν εἰμὶ ἐγὼ τῆς ἀνεκλαλήτ[ου δόξης] σου, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν στίγματα μετ' ἐμοῦ φέρω· ἔλεησον τὸ πλ[άσμα] σου Κύριε καὶ διὰ σπλάγχχνων⁸ ἐλέους [σ]ου καθάρισον [..^{ca. 4 lit. ..}] καὶ τὴν τοῦ Παραδείσου περιπόθητον πατρίδα δός μοι, ποιῶν με πάλιν τῆς ἐπουρανίου αὐλῆς μέτοχον.*⁹

[I.2] Πάλιν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἱερουργίᾳ προσευχόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι θεία κατη-(f. 2^r)χηθέντων¹⁰ λέγει· *Μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου· καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.*¹¹

(f. 3^r) [I.6] Θεοδώρικος ἐπίσκοπος Κυρηναῖος,¹² διδάσκαλος παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εὐδόκιμος, εἰς τὴν πρώτην πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον· *Εἰ δέ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τοῦτον χρυσόν,¹³ καὶ μεθόσον, αὐτός δε σωθήσεται οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός,¹⁴ ταῦτα φησί, Λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος ὅτι σωθήσεται οὕτως δέ, ὡς διὰ χωνευτηρίου πυρὸς καθαίροντος ὅσα ἂν τῷ αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς τοῦ πρα[κτ]ικοῦ βίου ἀμελείας ἐκ τῆς τῶν ποδῶν γε τῆς χοῖκῆς διανοίας κόνιος ἐγγένηται, ᾧ ἐν πυρὶ τόφρα*

μένει, ἕως οὗ ὅ[τι] ἂν περὶ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς καὶ χοϊκοῦ πάθους προσέφυ καθαρισθῇ· οὗ περὶ μήτηρ ἡ Ἐκκλησία προσεύχεται, καὶ δῶρα εἰρηνικὰ ἰκέτις προσφέρει· ἴν' οὕτω δι' αὐτοῦ καθαρὸς ἐνθένδε καὶ ἐναγῆς ἐξελθὼν τὸν Κύριον σαβαὼθ ἐν πανάγνοις ὀφθαλμοῖς (f. 3^v) ἄμωμος θεωρήσῃ.¹⁵

(f. 4^r) [I.9] Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, μαθητῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου, ἐπειδὴ μέμνηκε¹⁶ τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐχῆς ἣν ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπεύχεται τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ, τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν,¹⁷ ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Διονύσιος φησίν, ἐκ τῶν ἐνθέων ἡμῶν καθηγε-μόνων παράδοσιν,¹⁸ ἐπάγει λέγων· Ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐχή τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος δεῖτα[ι] πάντα μὲν ἀφεῖναι τὰ δι' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡμαρτημένα τῷ κεκοι-μημένῳ· κατατάξαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χώρᾳ ζώντων, εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ¹⁹ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ²⁰ ἐν τόπῳ, οὗ ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός.²¹ (f. 4^v)

(f. 19^r) [II.42] Τὸ πλέον δὲ καὶ μόνον δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῶν νηπίων στόματα ἐπιφράττειν ἱκανόν, ἡ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος ἡ οἰκουμενική, ἐν τῇ Φλω-ρεντίᾳ²² τῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας πόλει γενομένη, ἐπ[ὶ] προστάτου τότε τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Εὐγενίου τετάρτου, τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,²³ καὶ μετὰ λοιποῦ τοῦ ἀσπέτου πλήθους, ἀρχιεπισκόπων, ἐπισκόπων, ἡγουμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων τῇ μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, τῇ δὲ βεβήλων Γραικῶν παρόντος, (f. 19^v) τάδε ἅπαντα φάσκει, κρίνει τε²⁴ καὶ ἐντέλλεται παντελῶς πιστεύειν.²⁵

(f. 22^r) [II.47] Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὅλως ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντ[ων δῆ]λον ἐστίν, ὅτι τῶν ἀγίων αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν νῦν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῳ, τῶν ἀσεβῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς κρίσεως·

τότε δὴ, μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων σωμάτων, αἱ μὲν εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον ἀπελευσόμεναι διὰ τὰ ἔργα τὰ κακά, (f. 22^v) αἱ δὲ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον²⁶ διὰ τὰ οὐράνια τὰ καλά.

Μνήσθητί μου τοῦ συλλέξαντος ταῦτα τὰ ἄνω ἅπαντα· Φραγκίσκου²⁷ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τῆς τῶν μικροτέρων τάξεως, ἱερομονάχου²⁸ ταπεινοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου.

APPARATUS

1. Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ] cf. Luc. 1:1.
2. πὺρ *cod.*
3. ἄδην *cod.*
4. πλειονάπερ *cod.*
5. ἑλληνικοῦ *cod.*
6. λατηνικὸν *cod.*
7. δημωσιῶσαί τε *cod.*
8. σπλάγχνα *cod.*
9. Εἰκῶν-μέτοχον] *fon. non inv.*; cf. *Euch.*, 528.
10. κατοικηθέντων *cod.*
11. Μνήσθητι-σου] *Ioh. Chrys., Div. Lit.*, 115.
12. *alt. lect.* (Petit-Hofmann in *Purg. disp.*, 11.6.10–22–23): Θεοδώρητος ὁ Τύρου ἐπίσκοπος *et intel.* Theoricus Trevorensis.
13. Εἰ-χρυσόν] 1 Cor. 3:12.
14. αὐτός-πυρός] 1 Cor. 3:15.
15. Λέγει-θεωρήσῃ] cf. *Purg. disp.*, 11.6.10.
16. μέμναικε *cod.*
17. ἦν-ἐλθοῦσαν] *Ps-Dion., De Eccles. Hier.*, 127.7.6.14–15.
18. ἐκ-παράδοσιν] *Ps-Dion., De Eccles. Hier.*, 127.7.6.15. παράδωσιν *cod.*
19. Ἀβραὰμ *cod.*
20. Ἰακώβ *cod.*

21. Ἡ μὲν-στεναγμός] Ps-Dion., *De Eccles. Hier.*, 125.7.4.10–14.
22. Φλορεντία *cod.*
23. Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως *cod.*
24. κρίνεί τε *cod.*
25. Τὸ πλέον-πιστεύειν] cf. *Bul. Un. Fl.*, 72.176.5–15.
26. εἰς-αἰώνιον] Matth. 25:46.
27. Φρανκίσκου *cod.*
28. ἱερομοναχοῦ *cod.*

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum</i>
<i>BC</i>	<i>Bullarium Cyprium</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BH</i>	<i>Bullarium Hellenicum</i>
<i>BMFD</i>	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents</i>
<i>BSI</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CHW</i>	<i>The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia</i>
<i>CICO</i>	<i>Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis</i>
<i>CRSAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>DGMC</i>	<i>Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EsBiz</i>	<i>Estudios Bizantinos</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i>

OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia cursus completus series graeco-latina</i>
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
PRK	<i>Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel</i>
RAPC	<i>Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i>
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
SN	<i>Synodicum Nicosiense</i>
SVTQ	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i>
ΒΣ	<i>Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα</i>
ΔΧΑΕ	<i>Δελτίο Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</i>
ΕΕΒΣ	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
ΕΚ	<i>Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ</i>
ΕΚΕΕ	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν</i>
ΕΚΕΙΣ	<i>Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Ιστορικών Σπουδών</i>
ΕΚΜΙΜΚ	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου</i>
ΚΣ	<i>Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαὶ</i>
ΚΧ	<i>Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ</i>
ΜΥ	<i>Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα</i>
νΕΛ	<i>Νέος Ερμῆς ο Λόγιος</i>
ΣΑΝ	<i>Συγγράμματα Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου</i>
ΣΘΙΚ	<i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i>

I. MANUSCRIPTS

Athonensis Stauroticetanus 62, ff. 295^r–298^r.

Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B–030.

Eton College Library 166.

Parisinus graecus 1295, ff. 329^r–341^r, [gallica.bnf.fr, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107216910/f3.image](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107216910/f3.image) (last accessed September 6, 2017).

Vaticanus graecus 1409, ff. 239^r–239^v.

II. PRINTED WORKS

A. Dictionaries and encyclopedias

A Patristic Greek Lexicon, edited by Geoffrey W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961).

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 4 volumes, edited by François Halkin (Brussels, 1957–84).

Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception, 15 volumes, edited by Hans-Josef Klauck, Bernard McGinn, Choon-Leong Seow, Hermann Spieckermann, Barry Dov Walfish, and Eric Ziolkowski (Berlin–Boston, 2009–).

Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict, 3 volumes, edited by Lester R. Kurtz (second edition: San Diego, California–Oxford, 2008).

Native Peoples of the World. An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures, and Contemporary Issues, 3 volumes, edited by Steven Danver (London–New York, 2015).

Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, 15 volumes, edited by Erich Trapp, Rainer Walther, Hans-Veit Beyer, Katja Sturm-Schnabl, Ewald Kislinger, Sokrates Kaplaneres, and Ioannis Leontiadis (Vienna, 1976–95).

The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, 2 volumes, edited by John Anthony McGuckin (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Chichester, 2011).

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 volumes, edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, and Nancy P. Ševčenko (New York–Oxford, 1991).

Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, 12 volumes, edited by Athanasios Martinos (Athens, 1962–68).

B. Catalogues of manuscripts

Clark, Kenneth W., *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai. Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington, D.C., 1952).

Constantinides, Costas N., and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, D.C.–Nicosia, 1993).

Danzi, Massimo, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva, 2005).

Kotzambassi, Sophia, *Βυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* (Athens, 2004).

Montague Rhodes, James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895).

Navari, Leonora, *Manuscripts and Rare Books 15th–18th Century from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation* (Nicosia, 2010).

Sangin, Mstislav A. F., *Codices Rossici*, volume 12 of *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (Brussels, 1936).

C. Collections of sources

Acta Clementis PP. VI (1342–1352), volume 3.9 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Vatican City, 1960).

Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, 2 volumes, edited by Francis Miklosich and Joseph Müller (Vienna, 1860–62).

Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370–1378), volume 3.13 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome, 1961).

Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370–1378), volume 3.13 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome, 1961).

Acta Innocentii PP. VI (1352–1362), volume 3.10 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome, 1961).

Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334), volume 3.7.2 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Vatican City, 1952).

Acta Pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378–1394), Benedicti XIII (1394–1417), Alexandri V (1409–1410) et Johannis XXIII (1406–1415), volume 3.13.2 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome, 1971).

Acta Urbani PP. V (1362–1370), volume 3.11 of *CICO*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome, 1964).

- Annales Ecclesiastici*, volume 34, edited by Cesare Baronio and Odorico Raynaldi (Bar-le-Duc–Paris, 1879).
- Avvisi (1570–1572): The War of Cyprus (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collections)*, edited by Catherine Koumarianou and Alexis Malliaris (Nicosia, 2004).
- Beihammer, Alexander D. and Christopher D. Schabel, “Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara in Cyprus, 1231,” in *Polyptychon/Πολύπτυχον. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis/Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Χασιώτη*, edited by Encarnación Motos Guirao and Moschos Morfakidis Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 69–81.
- Bullarium Cyprium. Papal letters concerning Cyprus/Lettres papales relatives à Chypre, 1196–1378*, 3 volumes, edited by Christopher D. Schabel, Charles Perrat, and Jean Richard (Nicosia, 2010–12).
- Bullarium Hellenicum. Pope Honorius III’s Letters to Frankish Greece and Constantinople (1216–1227)*, edited by William O. Duba and Christopher Schabel (Turnhout, 2015).
- Concilium Universale Ephesenum. Collectio Sequierana. Collectio Atheniensis. Collectiones Minores*, volume I.1.7 of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, edited by Eduard Schwartz (Berlin–Leipzig, 1929).
- Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, edited by Raymond-Joseph Loenertz (Vatican City, 1950).
- Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, volume 2, edited by Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, Ewald Kislinger and Carolina Cupane (Vienna, 1995).
- Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, volume 3, edited by Herbert Hunger, Martin Hinterberger, and Otto Kresten (Vienna, 2001).
- De Purgatorio disputationes in Concilio Florentino habitae*, edited by Louis Petit and Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1969).
- Demetrii Chomateni, Ponemata Diaphora*, edited by Günter Prinzing (Berlin–New York, 2002).
- Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 volumes, edited by Raymond-Joseph Loenertz (Vatican City, 1956–60).
- Dossier grec de l’Union de Lyon (1273–1277)*, edited by Vitalien Laurent and Jean Darrouzès (Paris, 1976).

Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438–1439 gestis, edited by Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1944).

Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. Epistolae pontificiae de ultimis actis Concilii Florentini annis 1440–1445 et de rebus post concilium gestis annis 1446–1453, edited by Georg Hofmann (Rome, 1946).

Excerpta Cypria Nova. Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XVème siècle, volume 1, edited by Gilles Grivaud (Nicosia, 1990).

Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus with an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus, translated by Claude D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1908).

Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines Königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367, edited by Alexander D. Beihammer (Nicosia, 2007).

Imperatoris Manuelis Palaeologi Apologia de processione Spiritus Sancti, Tractatus de ordine in Trinitate, Epistula ad dominum Alexium Iagoup, edited by Charalambos Dendrinou, “An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus’ treatise ‘On the procession of the Holy Spirit,’” PhD dissertation (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 1996; forthcoming as volume 71 of *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*).

Isaiah 40–66, volume 11 of *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament*, edited by Mark W. Elliott and Thomas C. Oden (Downers Grove, Illinois, 2007).

Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540–1640, edited and translated by John P. Donnelly (Indianapolis, Indiana–Cambridge, 2006).

Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches, volumes 1.5–7, edited by Jean Darrouzès (Paris, 1977–91).

Letters of Gregory Akindynos. Greek Text and English Translation, edited by Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 1983).

Mercati, Silvio G., “Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 22 (1920–21), pp. 181–93.

Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abi Talib al-Dimashqi’s Response, edited by Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas (Leiden–Boston, 2005).

- Négotiations de la France dans le Levant ou Correspondances, mémoires et actes diplomatiques*, volume 2, edited by Ernest Charrière (Paris, 1850).
- Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae: Accedunt epistulae ad Gregoram missae*, volume 2, edited by Pietro Luigi M. Leone (Matino, 1982).
- Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuelle Caleca ed Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, edited by Giovanni Mercati (Vatican City, 1931).
- Petit, Louis, “Documents relatifs au concile de Florence II: oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d’Éphèse,” *PO* 17 (1923), pp. 307–524 [169–386].
- Ploumides, Georgios S., “Αἱ βοῦλλαι τῶν παπῶν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων τῆς Βενετίας (1445–1782),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 7 (1970), pp. 228–66.
- , “Ἐγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Μονὴν Ἀγίου Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης (1558),” *EKEE* 4 (1970–71), pp. 233–38.
- Secrets d’État de Venise. Documents, extraits, notices et études servant à éclairer les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les grecs, les slaves et la Porte ottomane à la fin du XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*, edited by Vladimir Lamansky (St. Petersburg, 1884).
- The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Christopher D. Schabel (Nicosia, 1997).
- The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, edited by George T. Dennis (Washington D.C., 1977).
- The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus*, edited by Christopher D. Schabel (Nicosia, 2001).
- The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Translation*, translated by Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden, 1998).
- Thrène de la prise de l’infortunée île de Chypre. Le chant de Hadjiyorgakis/ Διήγησις εἰς τὸν Θρῆνον τοῦ αἰχμαλωτισμοῦ τῆς εὐλογημένης Κύπρου. Ἄισμα Χατζηγεωργάκη Δραγομάνου*, edited by Andréas Chatzisavas and translated by Hélène Tsangaris-Reeb (Besançon, 2000).
- Tomadakis, Nicholaos B., “Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπιστολογραφίας. Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ καὶ αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν Γ΄,” *EEBS* 46 (1983–86), pp. 279–364.

- Venice and the Defence of the Regno di Cipro: Giulio Savorgnan's unpublished Cyprus correspondence (1557–1570), including Ascanio Savorgnan's Descrittione delle cose di Cipro from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation*, edited by Gilles Grivaud and Evangelia Skoufari, and translated by Joe Cunningham (Nicosia, 2016).
- Αἰσώπου Μῦθοι: Die Fabeln des Aesop*, edited by Heinrich Friedrich Magnus Volger (Leipzig, 1811).
- Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1894).
- Ανέκδοτα Ἐγγραφα της Κυπριακῆς Ιστορίας από το Κρατικό Ἀρχεῖο της Βενετίας*, volume 4, edited by Aikaterini Aristidou (Nicosia, 2003).
- Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, volume 2, edited by Eugenios Boulgares (Leipzig, 1768).
- Κανονισμοὶ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου (1507–1522)*, edited by Georgios S. Ploumides (Ioannina, 1987).
- Κυπριακές Πηγές για την Ἀλωση της Αμμοχώστου*, edited by Paschalis M. Kitromilides, and translated by Eleni Charchare (Athens, 2011).
- Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, volume 2, edited by Constantinos N. Sathas (Venice, 1873).
- Οι πληροφορίες των Βραχέων Χρονικῶν για την Κύπρο. Η κατάταξη και ο σχολιασμός τους. Σύντομη Ιστορία της Βυζαντινῆς και Μεσαιωνικῆς Κύπρου (324–1571)*, edited by Constantinos Komodikes (Nicosia, 2006).
- Συγγράμματα Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου*, 6 volumes, edited by Nicholaos G. Zacharopoulos, Ioannis D. Karavidopoulos, Christos K. Oikonomou, Demetrios G. Tsames, Theodoros X. Yiangou, Theocharis Detorakis, Apostolos Karpozilos, Basilios Katsaros, Costas N. Constantinides, Niki Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi, Alexandra Sakellaridou-Soteroudi, Demetrios Z. Sofianos, Ioannis E. Stephanes, Panayiotis Soteroudis, and Basilios S. Pseutotongas (Paphos, 1996–2008).
- Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, volume 2, edited by Georgios A. Ralles and Michael Potles (Athens, 1852).
- Ψευδοπροφῆτες, μάγοι καὶ αἵρετικοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 14^ο αἰῶνα. Ἐπὶ ἀνέκδοτες ὁμιλίες τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, edited by Constantinos Païdas (Athens, 2011).

D. Individual sources

Antonii Mariae Gratiani, De Bello Cyprio/Ἀντωνίου Μαρία Γκρατσιάνι, Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Κύπρου, edited and translated by Charalambos Gasparis (Nicosia, 1997).

Brevis nota Gregorii X quae in secundo concilio Lugdunensi generali acta sunt, edited by Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, volume 24 (Florence, 1780), columns 61E–68D.

Chronique de l'île de Chypre par Florio Bustron, edited by René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1884).

Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi, volume 1, edited by René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891) [*The Chronicle of Amadi, translated from the Italian*, translated by Nicholas Coureas and Peter W. Edbury (Nicosia, 2015)].

Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos, Gilles Grivaud, Gregorios A. Ioannides, and Christodoulos A. Pantelides (Bologna, 1573; second edition: Nicosia, 2004).

———, *Description de toute l'île de Cypre*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Gilles Grivaud (Paris, 1580; photographic reprint Nicosia, 2004).

Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem, volume 1, edited by Conrad D. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843).

Graecorum ad Innocentium III Pontificem Romanum Epistola, PG 140, columns 293A–298D.

Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie ou Chronique du roi Pierre I^{er} de Lusignan, edited by Louis de Mas Latrie (Geneva, 1877).

John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. An Annotated Critical Edition, edited by Eleni Rossidou-Koutsou (Nicosia, 2006).

John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises, edited by Peter W. Edbury (Leiden–Boston, 2003).

Leontios Makhairas, Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle," 2 volumes, edited by Richard M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932) [*Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, edited by Michalis Pieris and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2003)].

- Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia*, volumes 2–3, edited by Ludwig Schopen (Bonn, 1830–55) [*Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike*, volumes 3 and 5, translated with commentary by Jan L. Van Dieten (Stuttgart, 1988–2003)].
- Pietro Valderio, La Guerra di Cipro*, edited by Gilles Grivaud and Nasa Patapiou (Nicosia, 1996).
- The Autobiography of George of Cyprus (Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II)*, edited by William Lameere and translated by Andreas Pelendrides (London, 1993).
- The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, edited by Joachim Smet (Rome, 1954).
- Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche: texte arabe et traduction française*, edited by Basile Radu (Turnhout, 1989) = *PO* 22 (1930), pp. 1–99.
- Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου, *Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων* (dubious), *PG* 26, columns 1327A–1332A.
- Ἀγίου Νείλου, *Τυπικὴ Διάταξις*, edited by Paraskevas Agathonos (Nicosia, 2002) [translated by Anastasius Bandy in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, 5 volumes, edited by John Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero, and Giles Constable (Washington, D.C. 2000), pp. 1107–75].
- Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης, edited by Emmanuel Kriaras and commentary by Giorgos Kechagioglou (Thessalonica, 2012).
- Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου, edited by Angeliki Delikari, Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Σιναΐτης: ἡ δράση καὶ ἡ συμβολή του στὴ διάδοση τοῦ Ἡσυχασμοῦ στὰ Βαλκάνια. Ἡ σλαβικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ Βίου του κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαιότερο χειρόγραφο (Thessalonica, 2004), pp. 311–48.
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Ἰγνατίου, edited by Basileios S. Pseutotongas and commentary by Panagiotes K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, volume 2 (Thessalonica, 1966), pp. 558–62, 625–47.
- Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων τῶν διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθέντων παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ ἐν τῷ ,ςψλθ' ἔτει,

- edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos, “Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων,” in *Τόμος Ἀναμνηστικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι τοῦ περιοδικοῦ “Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας”* (1918–1968), edited by Andreas N. Mitsides (Nicosia, 1975), pp. 307–38.
- Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου τῆς Πίστεως κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου, PG 142, columns 233A–246B.
- Εὐχολόγιον, sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, Officiorum, Sacramentorum, Consecrationum, Benedictionum, Funerum, Orationum, & c. cuilibet personae, statui, vel tempori congruos, iuxta usum Orientalis Ecclesiae*, edited by Jacques Goar (Paris, 1647).
- Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου κατὰ τὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 2313 τοῦ Βατικανοῦ, edited by Costas N. Constantinides (Nicosia, 2002).
- Ἡσαΐου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Γράμμα πρὸς Νικόλαον τὸν Σκληγγίαν περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, PG 158, columns 971A–976A.
- Ἰωάννου Κυπαρισσιώτου, Κατὰ τῶν παλαμικῶν παραβάσεων λόγοι, PG 152, columns 664–738.
- Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ (;), Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων, μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν κυπριακὴν διάλεκτον, edited by Panayiotis G. Nikolopoulos (Nicosia, 2000).
- Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου, Κατὰ Ἰωάννου Καλέκα, edited by Demetrios G. Tsames, Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessalonica, 1980), pp. 68–74, 296–301.
- , Πρὸς τινὰς Κυπρίους μοναχοὺς, edited by Demetrios G. Tsames, Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessalonica, 1980), pp. 354–56, 385–94.
- Μαρῖνος Σανοῦδος Τορσέλλο, Ἱστορία τῆς Ῥωμανίας, edited by Eutychia H. Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000).
- Νείλου Δοξοπατρίου, Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, PG 132, columns 1083A–1114C.
- Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Οἴκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, edited by Costas N. Constantinides, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 279–87.
- , Περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, edited by Apostolos Karpozilos, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 417–20.
- , Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν, edited by Apostolos Karpozilos, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 401–11.

- , *Πρὸς τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας καὶ λύοντας τὰ τῆς νηστείας προοίμια*, edited by Apostolos Karpozilos, ΣΑΝ 5, pp. 424–33.
- , *Συνοπτικὴ παρεξέτασις περὶ τῆς νεοφανοῦς διχονοίας*, edited by Theodoros X. Yiangou, ΣΑΝ 3, pp. 495–98.
- , *Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη*, edited by Ioannis E. Stephanes, ΣΑΝ 2, pp. 3–69 [translated by Catia Galatariotou in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, 5 volumes, edited by John Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero, and Giles Constable (Washington, D.C. 2000), pp. 1338–73].
- Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγοροῦ, *Εἰς τὸν ῥῆγαν τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Pietro Luigi M. Leone, “L’Encomio di Niceforo Gregora per il Re di Cipro (Ugo IV di Lusignano),” *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 211–24.
- Ὁ “Ἱερὸς Κῶδιξ” τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στὸ β’ μισθὸ τοῦ ΙΕ’ αἰώνα. *Τὰ μόνον γνωστὰ σπαράγματα*, edited by Demetris G. Apostolopoulos (Athens, 1992).
- Ὁμολογία Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου Β’, PG 142, columns 247A–270A.
- <Πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου ΙΔ’, *Περὶ τοῦ Τόμου τοῦ 1341*>, PG 150, columns 900B–903B.
- Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενομένης συνόδου, edited by Basilios Katsaros, “<Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου> Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς Συνόδου τῆς Κύπρου,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 21 (2000), pp. 21–56
- Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστροῦς (Γεώργιος Βο(σ)τρ(υ)ηνός ἢ Βουστρώνιος), *Διήγησις Κρονίκας Κύπρου*, edited by Giorgos Kechagioglou (Nicosia, 1997) [*The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489*, translated by Richard M. Dawkins (Victoria, 1964)].
- <Τόμος ἀντιπαλαμικός>, PG 150, columns 877C–885A.
- Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου πατρός ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ Νέου*, edited by Demetrios G. Tsames, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κόκκινου ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα* (Thessalonica, 1985), pp. 161–325

E. Secondary works

(Including modern studies that contain primary sources)

- Agapitos, Panagiotes A., “Ἱερώνυμος Τραγωδιστής. Ἐνας Κύπριος μουσικὸς τῆς ὀψίμης ἀναγέννησης,” *Σημείο* 4 (1996), pp. 71–82.
- Agathonos, Paraskevas, “Λειτουργικὲς παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὸ κείμενον τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ ὑπ’ ἀριθμὸν 41 χειρογράφου τῆς Μονῆς Κύκκου,” *EKMIMK* 5 (2001), pp. 335–44.
- Ahrweiler, Hélène, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966).
- , *L’idéologie politique de l’Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975).
- Aimilianides, Achilleas, “Ἡ ἐξέλιξις τοῦ δικαίου τῶν μικτῶν γάμων ἐν Κύπρῳ,” *ΚΣ* 2 (1938), pp. 197–207.
- Akritidis, Nicholaos S., *Ἡ ἱστορικὴ γεωγραφία τοῦ Οἴκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἀπὸ τὸν 9^ο αἰ. μ.Χ. μέχρι τὸ 1453* (Thessalonica, 2004).
- Alberigo, Giuseppe (ed.), *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39–1989* (Leuven, 1991).
- Aldrighetti, Giorgio, and Mario De Biasi, *Il gonfalone di San Marco. Analisi storico-araldica dello stemma, gonfalone, sigillo e bandiera della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1998).
- Alexiou, Margaret, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, revised by Demetrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotes Roilos (second edition: Oxford, 2002).
- Alexopoulos, Stefanos, “Did the work of Fr. Alexander Schmemmann influence Modern Greek theological thought? A preliminary assessment,” *SVTQ* 53.2–3 (2009), pp. 273–99.
- Aloisio, Mark, “Alfonso V and the anti-Turkish crusade,” in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and competing cultures*, edited by Norman Housley (London–New York, 2017), pp. 64–74.
- Ambrosini, Federica, “Inquietudini religiose e intrecci familiari tra Cipro e Venezia nel secolo XVI,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro. Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, edited by Evangelia Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 13–46.
- Ames, Frank E., “The Cascading Effects of Exile: From Diminished Resources to New Identities,” in *Interpreting Exile. Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 173–87.

- Anagnostopoulou, Sia, “Makarios III, 1950–77: Creating the *Ethnarchic* State,” in *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age. The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, edited by Andrekos Varnava and Michalis N. Michael (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), pp. 240–92.
- Anastasiou, Ioannis E., “Συναϊτικὰ τοῦ ΙΣΤ΄ καὶ ΙΖ΄ αἰῶνος,” *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 15 (1970), pp. 33–142.
- Anaxagorou, Nadia, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* (Nicosia, 1998).
- Andrea, Alfred J., “Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite, 1198–1216,” in *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences*, edited by Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 111–22.
- Andreopoulos, Andreas, *Metamorphosis: The Transfiguration in Byzantine Theology and Iconography* (Crestwood, New York, 2005).
- Andreou, Georgios, “Δύο λειτουργικὲς τάξεις τοῦ κυπριακοῦ χειρογράφου, Παλατινὸς 367 (1317–1320), τῆς Βατικάνειας Βιβλιοθήκης,” *ΚΣ* 72 (2008), pp. 87–96.
- Andreu, Pedro S., “El himno *Akáthistos* en Occidente. La importancia de la traducción latina de Cristóforo (ca. 800),” *EsBiz* 1 (2013), pp. 39–55.
- Andrews, Justin M., “Gothic and Byzantine in the Monumental Arts of Famagusta: Diversity, Permeability and Power,” in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, edited by Michael J. Walsh, Peter W. Edbury and Nicholas S. H. Coureas (Farnham–Burlington, 2012), pp. 147–66.
- , “The Latin Cathedral of Nicosia: the Sculpture of the Western Portals and its Reception,” *EKEE* 31 (2005), pp. 1–76.
- , “The Role of Genoa in the Visual Culture of Famagusta,” in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Annemary Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 315–37.
- Angelidi, Christina, and Titos Papamastorakis, “Ἡ μονή των Οδηγῶν καὶ ἡ λατρεία τῆς Θεοτόκου Οδηγήτριας,” in *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ: ἀπεικονίσεις τῆς Παναγίας στη βυζαντινὴ τέχνη*, edited by Maria Vasilaki (Athens–Milan, 2000), pp. 373–87.

- Angelov, Dimiter, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Angold, Michael, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Antonopoulos, Panagiotis, and Charalambos Dendrinos, “The Eastern Roman Empire at the Turn of the First Millenium,” in *Europe around the Year 1000*, edited by Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 167–203.
- Antonopoulou, Maria-Erifyli, *Η κοινωνική θέση των αγροτών (παροίκων και φραγκο-μάτων) στην Ενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (15^{ος} –16^{ος} αιώνας)* (Athens, 2013).
- Apostolopoulos, Christos, “Λεονῖνος Σέρβος: Ἕνας πολυπράγμων Χανιώτης ἔμπορος τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰώνα στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη,” in *Ἄνθη Χαρίτων. Μελετήματα ἑόρτια συγγραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτρόφων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας*, edited by Nikos Panagiotakes and Stephanos Kaklamanis (Venice, 1998), pp. 9–27.
- , “Μια απόπειρα προσέγγισης των παροίκων της βενετοκρατούμενης Κύπρου με την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (1551),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorgiou (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 669–89.
- , “Τα τελευταία χρόνια της Βενετοκρατίας στην Κύπρο: αρχειακά τεκμήρια για την παρουσία, τη δράση και το θάνατο του Ιάκωβου Διασορηνού,” in *Ε΄ Ευρωπαϊκὸ Συνέδριο Νεοελληνικῶν Σπουδῶν της Ευρωπαϊκῆς Εταιρείας Νεοελληνικῶν Σπουδῶν. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2–5 Οκτωβρίου 2014: Συνέχειες, ασυνέχειες, ρήξεις στον ελληνικό κόσμο (1204–2014): οικονομία, κοινωνία, ιστορία, λογοτεχνία (Πρακτικά)*, edited by Constantinos A. Dimadis (Athens, 2015), pp. 239–52.
- Arambatzis, Christos, “Ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Γερμανοῦ Β΄ πρὸς τοὺς Καρδινάλιους τῆς Ῥώμης (1232),” *ΕΕΒΣ* 52 (2004–2006), pp. 363–78.
- , “Ἐκκλησιαστικο-πολιτικὲς καὶ θεολογικὲς διεργασίες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὸν ἀπόηχο τῆς Συνόδου τῆς Λυῶν (1274–1280),” *Βυζαντινὰ* 20 (1999), pp. 199–251.

- , “Ο πατριάρχης Γερμανὸς Β΄ καὶ ἡ Λατινικὴ Ἐκκλησία,” *Βυζαντιακὰ* 20 (2000), pp. 243–64.
- Arbel, Benjamin, “Cypriot villages from the Byzantine to the British period: observations on a recent book,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 439–56 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), V].
- , “Entre mythe et histoire: la légende noire de la domination vénitienne à Chypre,” *Études balkaniques* 5 (1998), pp. 83–107 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), XIV].
- , “Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: The Case of the Synglitico Family,” *DOP* 49 (1995), pp. 325–37 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), VII].
- , “L’elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro durante la dominazione veneziana,” in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, edited by Chryssa Maltezos, Angeliki Tzavara, and Despina Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 373–80 [reprinted in Arbel, *Studies on Venetian Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2017), VI].
- , “Résistance ou collaboration? Les Chypriotes sous la domination vénitienne,” in *État et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, edited by Michel Balard (Lyons, 1989), pp. 131–43 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), VIII].
- , “Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in the Early Modern Venetian State,” in *The Three Religions: Interdisciplinary Conference of Tel Aviv University and Munich University, Venice, October 2000*, edited by Nili Cohen and Andreas Heldrich (Munich, 2000), pp. 73–86.
- , “Roots of Poverty and Sources of Richness in Cyprus under Venetian Rule,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, edited by Chryssa Maltezos (Venice, 1998), pp. 351–60 [reprinted in Arbel, *Studies on Venetian Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2017), IV].

- , “Sauterelles et mentalités: le cas de la Chypre vénitienne,” *Annales* 44.5 (1989), pp. 1057–74 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), XI].
- , “The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation,” in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby (London–Totowa, New Jersey, 1989), pp. 175–97 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), VI].
- , “Urban Assemblies and Town Councils in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 203–13 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), IV].
- , “Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades,” Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 159–85 [reprinted in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), XII].
- , “Venice’s Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period,” in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, edited by Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden–Boston, 2013), pp. 125–253.
- Arbel, Benjamin, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix (editors), *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)* (Turnhout, 2012).
- Archimandrite, Aimilianos, *Θεία Λατρεία. Προσδοκία καὶ Ὁρασις Θεοῦ* (second edition: Athens, 2009).
- Argyriou, Asterios, “Le Thrène sur la prise de l’infortunée île de Chypre: une approche idéologique,” in *Polyptychon/Πολύπτυχον. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis/Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Χασιώτη*, edited by Encarnación Motos Guirao and Moschos Morfakidis Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 35–47.

- , “Ἡ ἐσχατολογικὴ σκέψη τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἁγίος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός*. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 220–32.
- Aristidou, Aikaterini, “Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικῆς Ανατολῆς*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou (Venice, 1998), pp. 373–86.
- , “Ἀγνωστα στοιχεῖα σχετικὰ με τοὺς κτίτορες τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Παναγίας Ελεούσας (Ποδύθου),” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 171–90.
- , “Ἀγνωστες ἀπόπειρες γιὰ οργάνωση στάσεων ἢ ἐξεγέρσεων κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 581–98.
- , “Ἀπελευθερώσεις παροίκων και ἀντισηκώματα ἀπελευθέρων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (1509–1517),” *EKEE* 23 (1997), pp. 115–23.
- , “Ἡ ἐκμίσθωση γῆς, προσωπογραφικά στοιχεῖα και τοπωνύμια στην περιοχή Πεντάγυιας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *EKEE* 29 (2003), pp. 79–113.
- , “Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 183–205.
- , “Κτηματολογικὴ πρακτικὴ στην Κύπρο γιὰ τὸν καθορισμὸ τῶν συνόρων τῶν χωραφιών κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 263–80.
- Armanios, Febe, *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford–London, 2011).
- Arvaniti, Eftichia, “Double-Identity Churches on the Greek Islands under the Venetians: Orthodox and Catholics Sharing Churches (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” in *Innovation in the Orthodox Christian Tradition? The Question of Change in Greek Orthodox Thought and Practice*, edited by Trine S. Willert and Lina Molokotos-Liederman (Abingdon, Oxon–New York, 2012), pp. 53–72.
- Asdracha, Ekaterini, “Ἡ Κύπρος ὑπὸ τοὺς Κομνηνοὺς (Β΄),” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, volume 3 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 349–412.
- Asonites, Spyros N., “Προβλήματα τοῦ Ὁρθόδοξου κλήρου τῆς Κέρκυρας πρὶν και μετὰ τὴ Σύνοδο Φερράρας–Φλωρεντίας,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 21 (2000),

pp. 399–417.

Averintsev, Sergei, “Epilogue: Some Constant Characteristics of Byzantine Orthodoxy,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies. Papers from the Thirty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002*, edited by Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), pp. 215–28.

Avvakumov, Georgij (Yury P.), *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche* (Berlin, 2002).

Avvakumov, Yury P., “The Controversy over the Baptismal Formula under Pope Gregory IX,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 69–84.

Bacci, Michele, “Tra Pisa e Cipro: la committenza artistica di Giovanni Conti († 1332),” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 5.2 (2000), pp. 343–86.

———, “‘Mixed’ Shrines in the Late Byzantine Period,” in *Archaeologia Abrahamica: исследования в области археологии и художественной традиции иудаизма, христианства и ислама*, edited by Leonid A. Beljaev (Moscow, 2009), pp. 433–44.

———, “Patterns of church decoration in Famagusta (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries),” in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Annemary Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 203–76.

———, “Side Altars and ‘Pro Anima’ Chapels in the Medieval Mediterranean: Evidence from Cyprus,” in *The Altar and its Environment, 1150–1400*, edited by Jea E. A. Kroesen and Victor M. Schmidt (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 11–30.

———, “Vera croce, vero ritratto e vera misura: sugli archetipi bizantini dei culti Cristologici del medioevo occidentale,” in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, edited by Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (Paris, 2004), pp. 223–38.

Bailey, Kenneth, “Informal Controlled Oral Tradition and the Synoptic Gospels,” *Themelios* 20.2 (1995), pp. 4–11.

Balletto, Laura, “Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval*

- Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, edited by Benjamin Arbel (London–Portland, Oregon, 1996), pp. 35–48.
- Banev, Krastu, “‘Myriad of Names to Represent Her Nobleness’: The Church and the Virgin Mary in the Psalms and Hymns of Byzantium,” in *A Celebration of Living Theology: a Festschrift in Honour of Andrew Louth*, edited by Justin A. Mihoc and Leonard Aldea (London–New York, 2014), pp. 75–103.
- Baranov, Vladimir, “Constructing the Underground Community: the Letters of Theodore the Studite and the Letter of Emperors Michael II and Theophilos to Louis the Pious,” in *Patrologia Pacifica Secunda: Selected Papers Presented to the Asia Pacific Early Christian Studies Society Fifth Annual Conference (Sendai, Japan, September 10–12, 2009) and Other Patristic Studies*, volume 6 of *Scrinium*, edited by Vladimir Baranov, Kazuhiko Demura, and Basil Lourié (Piscataway, New Jersey, 2010), pp. 230–59.
- Barker, John W., *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969).
- Barnes, Michael, “Theology of Religions,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Spirituality*, edited by Arthur Holder (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria 2005), pp. 401–16.
- Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (New York, 1993).
- Bartusis, Mark C., *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1992).
- Bassett, William W., *The Determination of Rite* (Rome, 1967).
- Bauckham, Richard, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids, Michigan–Cambridge, 2006).
- Bazini, Hélène, “Une première édition des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les *Traités adressés aux Crétois*,” *REB* 62 (2004), pp. 83–132.
- Beebe, Kathryne, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford–New York, 2014).
- Beihammer, Alexander D., “Multilingual Literacy at the Lusignan Court: The Cypriot Royal Chancery and its Byzantine Heritage,” *BMGS* 35.2 (2011), pp. 149–69.

- , “A Transcultural Formula of Rule: The Byzantine-Frankish Discourse on the Formation of the Kingdom of Cyprus,” in *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, edited by Georg Christ, Franz-Julius Morche, Roberto Zaugg, Wolfgang Kaiser, Stefan Burkhardt, and Alexander D. Beihammer (Rome, 2015), pp. 435–52.
- , “Byzantine Chancery Traditions in Frankish Cyprus: The Case of the Vatican *MS Palatinus Graecus 367*,” in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: les cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)*, edited by Sabine Fourrier and Gilles Grivaud (Mont–Saint–Aignan, 2006), pp. 301–15
- , “Defection Across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations,” *Speculum* 86 (2011), pp. 597–651.
- , “The Kingdom of Cyprus and Muslim-Christian Diplomacy in the Age of Mehmed the Conqueror,” *Crusades* 12.1 (2013), pp. 197–232.
- Belting, Hans, “An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81), pp. 1–16.
- Betto, Bianca, “Nuove ricerche su studenti ciprioti all’università di Padova (1393–1489),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 40–80.
- Birtachas, Stathis, “Μορφές πρόσληψης της Μεταρρύθμισης και μηχανισμοί πειθάρχησης στην Ιταλία στα μέσα του 16^{ου} αιώνα: κύπριοι βενετοί υπήκοοι στη Ρωμαϊκή Ιερά Εξέταση,” *ΚΣ* 73 (2009), pp. 157–69.
- , “Ουμανισμός, Μεταρρύθμιση και Αντιμεταρρύθμιση στη βενετική Κύπρο: αφομοίωση, αντίσταση και νέες ταυτότητες,” in *Δ’ Ευρωπαϊκό Συνέδριο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Γρανάδα, 9–12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2010. Ταυτότητες στον ελληνικό κόσμο (από το 1204 έως σήμερα). Πρακτικά*, volume 3, edited by Constantinos A. Dimadis (Athens, 2011), pp. 665–74.
- , *Κοινωνία, πολιτισμός και διακυβέρνηση στο Βενετικό Κράτος της Θάλασσας: το παράδειγμα της Κύπρου* (Thessalonica, 2011).
- Bisaha, Nancy, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2004).
- Blanchet, Marie-Hélène, “L’Église byzantine à la suite de l’Union de Florence (1439–1445). De la contestation à la scission,” *BF* 29 (2007), pp. 79–123.

- Bolman, Elizabeth S., "Painting Heaven: Art and the Liturgy," in *The Canopy of Heaven: The Ciborium in the Church of St. Mamas, Morphou*, edited by Michael Jones and Angela M. Jones (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 134–45.
- Bonora, Elena, "The Heresy of a Venetian Prelate: Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo," in *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, edited by Ronald K. Delph, Michelle M. Fontaine, and John J. Martin (Dexter, Michigan, 2006), pp. 211–29.
- Boojamra, John L., "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the fourteenth century," *BZ* 80.1 (1987), pp. 59–76.
- , *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Study for the Patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople* (Thessalonica, 1982).
- Bouboulides, Phaidon K., "Τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τοῦ ἱακ. Διασσωρινοῦ," *ΕΕΒΣ* 37 (1969–70), pp. 365–73.
- Bouras, Charalambos, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," in *The Crusades from the Perspectives of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 247–62.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Pascalian Meditations*, translated by Richard Nice (Stanford, California, 2000).
- Bouteneff, Peter C., "'What Kind of Fool Am I?' Further Gleanings from Holy Folly," in *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West: Festschrift for Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia*, edited by John Behr, Andrew Louth, and Dimitri E. Conomos (Crestwood, New York, 2003), pp. 335–49.
- Bradshaw, David, *Aristotle East and West: Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom* (Cambridge–New York, 2004).
- Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2006).
- Brayer, Edith, Paul Lemerle, and Vitalien Laurent, "Le Vaticanus latinus 4789. Histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIV^e–XV^e siècles," *REB* 9 (1951), pp. 47–105.
- Brown, Peter, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80–101.

- Browning, Robert, "Recentiores non deteriores," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 7 (1960), pp. 11–21.
- Bryer, Anthony A. M., "The Crypto-Christians of the Pontos and Consul William Gifford Palgrave of Trebizond," *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν* 4 (1983), pp. 13–68.
- Bucur, Bogdan, "Ps-Dionysius East and West: Unities, Differentiations, and the Exegesis of Biblical Theophanies," *Dionysius* 26 (2008), pp. 115–38.
- Burton-Christie, Douglas, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York–Oxford, 1993).
- Bynum, Caroline W., *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York–Chichester, 1995).
- Calvelli, Lorenzo, "Un 'sarcofago imperiale' per l'ultimo re di Cipro," in *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice. International Conference, Venice, 16–18 September 2010*, edited by Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2013), pp. 311–55.
- , *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento: La percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009).
- Canty, Aaron, *Light and Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ in Early Franciscan and Dominican Theology* (Washington, D.C., 2011).
- Carr, David M., "Reading into the Gap: Refractions of Trauma in Israelite Prophecy," in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 295–308.
- Casiday, Augustine M. C., "John XIV (Kalekas), Byzantine Theology-Cum-Politics and the Early Hesychast Controversy," in *Le Patriarcat Oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIV^e –XVI^e siècles. Rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque International, Rome, 5–6–7 décembre 2005*, edited by Paolo Odorico (Paris, 2007), pp. 19–35.
- , *Tradition and Theology in St John Cassian* (Oxford–New York, 2007).
- Castillo, Dennis, *The Maltese Cross: A Strategic History of Malta* (Westport, Connecticut–London, 2006).

- Cavarnos, John P., “Ἀνέκδοτα ποιήματα τοῦ Ἀνδρέου Σκληγγίου,” *KX* 4 (1950), pp. 7–20.
- Chadwick, Owen, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1950).
- Chatziantoniou, Elisabeth, “Ἡ παραχώρηση ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐδρῶν κατ’ ἐπίδοσιν,” *Βυζαντιακὰ* 27 (2008), pp. 117–66.
- Chatzipsaltes, Constantinos, “Ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν Φραγκοκρατίαν,” *ΚΣ* 22 (1958), pp. 11–26.
- , “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τῷ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον ἀρχομένου τοῦ ΙΓ’ αἰῶνος,” *ΚΣ* 28 (1964), pp. 135–68.
- , “Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ Κύπρῳ οἰκογενειακὸν ὄνομα Λογαράς κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴν περίοδον,” *EKEE* 6 (1972–73), pp. 133–36.
- Chayes, Evelien, “Carriers, Companions, Accomplices. The Zaccaria Network,” in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 231–72.
- , “Ciprioti fuoriusciti riformati: coinvolgimento accademico e coscienza geografica. L’impresa degli Zaccaria da Padova a Nicosia,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro. Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, edited by Evangelia Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 47–64.
- Chotzakoglou, Charalambos G., “Unveiling the Venetian Art-Image: Remarks on the Painting and its Religious Background of Cyprus During the Period of the Venetian Rule (1489–1571),” in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara, and Despina Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 427–39.
- , “Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, volume 3 of *Ἱστορία της Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 465–787.
- , “Σχόλια στὴν οἰκοδόμησι καὶ στὸν τοιχογραφικὸ διάκοσμο τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τοῦ Ὁσίου Νεοφύτου στὴν Τάλα τῆς Πάφου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ’ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 919–57.

- Christodoulidou, Elena, *Ιάκωβος Διασπορηγός: ένας πρώιμος οραματιστής της Ελληνικής Εθνεγερσίας* (Nicosia, 1997).
- Christodoulou, Georgios K., “Ο Άγιος Φίλων τῶν Ἀγριδίων Καρπασίας, ὡς φέουδο μεγάλων οἰκογενειῶν τῆς Βενετοκρατίας,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezos (Venice, 2002), pp. 167–74.
- , *Le Livre des catéchèses de saint Néophyte le Reclus: texte et commentaire historique* (Nicosia, 2009) = MY 2 (2009).
- Christodoulou, Menelaos N., “Κυπριακαὶ κανονικὰ διατάξεις,” *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 329–490.
- Chrysochou, Naso, “Ἡ αρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Ορθοδόξου μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας τοῦς Σίντη στὴν Πάφο. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτῃ τῆς θρησκευτικῆς αρχιτεκτονικῆς τῆς Ενετοκρατίας στὴν Κύπρο,” volume 1, PhD dissertation (University of Cyprus, 2003)
- Chrysos, Evangelos, “The European Profile of Byzantine Cyprus,” in “*Sweet Land...*” *Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, edited by Julian Chrysostomides and Charalambos Dendrinos (Camberley, 2006), pp. 77–86.
- Claverie, Pierre-Vincent, *Honorius III et l’Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des archives vaticanes* (Leiden–Boston, 2013).
- Clough, Cecil H., “Pietro Bembo’s Library Represented in the British Museum,” *The British Museum Quarterly* 30.1–2 (1965), pp. 3–17.
- Collenberg, Rudt W. H. de, “Chypre et la Papauté aux tempts du Grand et du Petit Schisme, 1378–1474,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 179–84.
- , “État et origine du haut clergé de Chypre avant le Grand Schisme d’après les registres des papes du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle,” *MEFR* 91.1 (1979), pp. 197–332.
- , “Études de prosopographie généalogique des chypriotes mentionnés dans les registres du Vatican, 1378–1471,” *MY* 1 (1984), pp. 521–678.

- , “L’histoire du mariage aux archives du Vatican. Les dispenses matrimoniales accordées à l’Orient latin selon les registres du Vatican d’Honorius III à Clément VII (1223–1385),” *MEFR* 89.1 (1977), pp. 11–93.
- , “Le royaume et l’Église de Chypre face au Grande Schisme (1378–1417) d’après les registres des archives du Vatican,” *MEFR* 94.2 (1982), pp. 621–701.
- , “Le royaume et l’Église latine de Chypre et la papauté de 1417 à 1471 (d’après les registres des archives du Vatican),” *EKEE* 13–16 (1984–87), pp. 63–193.
- , “Les cardinaux de Chypre Hugues et Lancelot de Lusignan,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 20 (1982), pp. 83–128.
- , “Les grâces papales, autres que les dispenses matrimoniales, accordées à Chypre de 1305 à 1378,” *EKEE* 8 (1975–77), pp. 187–252.
- , “Les premiers Podocataro. Recherches basées sur le testament de Hugues (1452),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 23 (1993), pp. 130–82.
- Congar, Yves, *After Nine Hundred Years: The Background of the Schism Between the Eastern and Western Churches*, translated by Fordham University Press and the Russian Center of Fordham University (New York, 1959).
- Connor, Carolyn L., “Female Saints in Church Decoration of the Troodos Mountains in Cyprus,” in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, edited by Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Candida Moss (Princeton, New Jersey, 1999), pp. 211–28.
- Constantinides, Costas N., “A Dated Greek Manuscript from Cyprus of the Sixteenth Century: *Oxford Lincoln College Gr. 19*,” in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003), pp. 493–508.
- , “Scriptoria in Sixteenth-Century Cyprus,” in *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ γράφῃ κατὰ τοὺς 15^ο καὶ 16^ο αἰῶνες*, edited by Sophia Patoura (Athens, 2000), pp. 261–82.
- , “The Copying and Circulation of Secular Greek Texts in Frankish Cyprus,” *EKEE* 21 (1995), pp. 15–32.

- , “Δύο χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ Πάνω Λεύκαρ’,” *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 185–94.
- , “Ἡ Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση,” *EKMIMK* 4 (1996), pp. 357–72.
- , “Ὁ βιβλιογράφος Φιλόθεος, ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἱέρακος τῆς Κύπρου (16^{ος} αἰ.),” *Δωδώνη* 14 (1985), pp. 75–83.
- , “Πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὴν Κύπρο μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωση τοῦ 1453,” in *Ἡ Ἄλωση τῆς Πόλης*, edited by Evangelos Chrysos (second edition: Athens–Thessalonica, 1999), pp. 135–41.
- , “Τὸ ‘Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιοῶν’ ἔργο τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου. Μία ἱστορικὴ ἀνάγνωση,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ’ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 527–54.
- , *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982).
- Constantinou, Costas M. “Aporias of Identity: Bicommunalism, Hybridity and the ‘Cyprus Problem,’” *Cooperation and Conflict* 42.3 (2007), pp. 247–70.
- Constantius I (Patriarch of Constantinople), “The Patriarchs of Antioch,” *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: The Patriarchate of Antioch* edited by John M. Neale (London–Oxford–Cambridge, 1873), pp. 153–90.
- Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou, Maria, “Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι στὴ Βενετία στὰ τέλη τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου αἰώνα. Ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες καὶ καλλιτεχνικὴ παραγωγή,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezos (Venice, 2002), pp. 353–68.
- Constantoudaki-Kitromilidou, Maria, and Diomedes Myrianthefs, *Οἱ ναοὶ τῆς Παναγίας Ποδύθου καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου (ἡ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου) στη Γαλάτα* (Nicosia, 2005).
- Constas, Maximos, “The Reception of Paul and of Pauline Theology in the Byzantine Period,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, edited by Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2016), pp. 147–76.

- , “‘To Sleep, Perchance to Dream’: The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature,” *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 91–124.
- , “Mark Eugenikos,” in *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, volume 2, edited by Carmelo G. Conticello and Vassa Conticello (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 411–75.
- Costantini, Vera, *Il sultano e l’isola contesa: Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano* (Turin, 2009).
- Coureas, Nicholas, “Conversion on Latin Cyprus: A New Faith or a New Rite?,” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 77–86.
- , “Economy,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 103–56.
- , “How Frankish was the Frankish Ruling Class of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity,” *EKEE* 37 (2015), pp. 61–78.
- , “One Faith but Several Rites: The Application of Canon 9 of Lateran IV on Cyprus (1215–1570) and the Wider Mediterranean Context,” *Sacrum w mieście* 1 (2016), pp. 95–109.
- , “The Latin and Greek Churches in Former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule,” in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, edited by Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden–Boston, 2014), pp. 145–84.
- , “The Greek Monastery of St Margaret of Agros in Lusignan Cyprus: Its Relations with the Latin Church and the Papacy,” *REB* 67 (2009), pp. 217–23.
- , “The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai and Papal Protection of Its Cretan and Cypriot Properties,” in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, edited by Michel Balard, (Paris, 1996), pp. 475–84.
- , “To What Extent was the Crusaders’ Capture of Cyprus Impelled by Strategic Considerations,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 197–202.
- , “Η Μονή Αγίου Γεωργίου των Μαγγάνων επί Φραγκοκρατίας,” *EKEIS* 2 (1994), pp. 275–86.
- , *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1997).
- , *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010).

- Coureas, Nicholas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Frankish and Venetian Nicosia, 1191–1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, edited by Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 111–229.
- Couroupou, Matoula, and Paul Géhin, "Nouveaux documents chypriotes," *REB* 59 (2001), pp. 147–64.
- Cristellon, Cecilia, and Silvana S. Menchi, "Religious life," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, edited by Eric R. Dursteller (Leiden–Boston, 2013), pp. 379–419.
- Cubitt, Catherine, "The Lateran Council of 649 as an Ecumenical Council," in *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils, 400–700*, edited by Richard Price and Michael Whitby (Liverpool, 2009), pp. 133–47.
- Cushing, Kathleen G., *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester–New York, 2005).
- D'Amato, Raffaele, "The Betrayal: Military Iconography and Archaeology in the Byzantine Paintings of the 11th–15th c. AD Representing the Arrest of Our Lord," in *Weapons Bring peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Lech Marek (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 69–95.
- Dagron, Gilbert, "La règle et l'exception: Analyse de notion d'économie," in *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, edited by Dieter Simon (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 1–18.
- , *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 2003).
- Daileader, Philip, "Local Experiences of the Great Western Schism," in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, edited by Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden–Boston, 2009), pp. 89–121.
- Darling Young, Robin, *In Procession before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (2001; reprinted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 2011).
- Darrouzès, Jean, "Autres Manuscrits Originaires de Chypre," *REB* 15 (1957), pp. 131–68 [reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), XII].
- , "Conférence sur la primauté du pape à Constantinople en 1357," *REB* 19 (1961), pp. 76–109.

- , “La date de la mort d’André Chrysobergès O.P., archevêque de Nicosie et légat apostolique en Chypre,” *AFP* 21 (1951), pp. 301–05 [reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), XII].
- , “Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse palamite,” *REB* 17 (1959), pp. 7–27.
- , “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre (deuxième article),” *KΣ* 20 (1956), pp. 33–63 [reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), XV].
- , “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre,” *KΣ* 17 (1953), pp. 83–102 [reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), XIV].
- , “Textes synodaux chypriotes,” *REB* 37 (1979), pp. 5–122.
- , “Un obituaire chypriote: le *Parisinus Graecus* 1588,” *KΣ* 11 (1951), pp. 25–62 [reprinted in Darrouzès, *Littérature et histoire des texts byzantins* (London, 1972), XIII].
- De Vries-Van der Velden, Eva, *L’élite byzantine devant l’avance turque à l’époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1354* (Amsterdam, 1989).
- DeConick, April D., “What is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, edited by April D. DeConick (Atlanta, Georgia, 2006), pp. 1–24.
- Delacroix-Besnier, Claudine, “Conversions Constantinopolitaines au XIV^e siècle,” *MEFR* 105.2 (1993), pp. 715–61.
- , *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Rome, 1997).
- Delaruelle, Eugène, Edmond-René Labande, and Paul Ourliac, *L’Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1379–1449)*, volume 14.1 of *Histoire de l’Église Fliche et Martin* (Paris, 1963).
- Delio, Ilia, “Theology, Spirituality and Christ the Center: Bonaventure’s Synthesis,” in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, edited by Jay M. Hammond, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden–Boston, 2014), pp. 361–402.
- Della Dora, Veronica, *Imagining Mount Athos: Visions of a Holy Place from Homer to World War II* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 2011).

- , *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016).
- Demacopoulos, George, and Aristotle Papanikolaou (ed.), *Orthodox Constructions of the West* (New York, 2013).
- Demetracopoulos, John A., “Palamas Transformed. Palamite Interpretations of the Distinction Between God’s ‘Essence’ and ‘Energies’ in Late Byzantium,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 263–372
- , *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Κατὰ Πύρρωνος. Πλατωνικὸς φιλοσκεπτικισμὸς καὶ ἀριστοτελικὸς ἀντισκεπτικισμὸς στὴ βυζαντινὴ διανόηση τοῦ 14^{ου} αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1999).
- Demetracopoulos, John A., and Charalambos Dendrinos (ed.), *When East Met West: The Reception of Latin Philosophical and Theological Thought in Late Byzantium: Acts of the Institute of Classical Studies International Byzantine Colloquium, (Bari, 2013)* = *Nicolaus. Rivista di Teologia ecumenico-patristica* 40 (2013).
- Demetriades, Vassilis, “Athonite Documents and the Ottoman Occupation,” in *Mount Athos in the 14th –16th Centuries*, edited by Dora Komini-Dialeti (Athens, 1997), pp. 41–67.
- Demetriou, Chares, “Big Structures, Social Boundaries and Identity in Cyprus, 1400–1700,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 51.10 (2008), pp. 1477–97.
- Demetriou, Christiana I., “Die Musikalische Praxis der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche Zyperns und Ihre Hauptvertreter (14.–20. Jahrhundert),” *EKEE* 27 (2002), pp. 43–63.
- , “Ἑπτὰ ἀγνώστα καλοφωνικά στιχηρά ἢ τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφη στὴν Κύπρο;,” *EKEE* 29 (2003), pp. 53–78.
- , “Παλαιογραφικὲς καὶ κωδικολογικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸ ‘καλόφωνον στιχηράριον Α4’ (μέσα 16^{ου} αἰ.) τῆς Μονῆς Μαχαίρα,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 281–302.
- , *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ μουσικὴ παράδοση στὴν Κύπρο*, volume 110 of *Χρονικὸ (Πολίτης newspaper, 2010)*.
- Demetriou, Kyriakos N., “Ottoman Cyprus: New Studies on an Obscure Field. A Review,” *Thetis* 16–17 (2010), pp. 63–72.

- Demosthenous, Anthoullis, “Interpreting Byzantine Cyprus: Two Essays,” *BSI* 65 (2007), pp. 153–65.
- , *Ο Έγκλειστος Νεόφυτος και ο κόσμος του* (Nicosia, 2007).
- Dendrinou, Charalambos, “Palaiologan Scholars at Work. Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios’ Autograph,” in *From Manuscripts to Book/Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009), edited by Antonia Giannouli and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna, 2011), pp. 25–53.
- , “Reflections on the Failure of the Union of Florence,” *AHC* 39 (2007), pp. 131–48.
- , “Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400–1402): Theology, Diplomacy and Politics,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 397–422.
- Dentakias, Basileios L., *Ἰωάννης Κυπαρισσιώτης, ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος* (Athens, 1977).
- Detoraki, Maria, “Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, volume 2, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham–Burlington, 2014), pp. 61–101.
- Ditchfield, Simon, “Tridentine Catholicism,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, edited by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham–Burlington, 2013), pp. 16–31.
- Divry, Édouard, *La Transfiguration selon l’Orient et l’Occident: Grégoire Palamas-Thomas d’Aquin vers un dénouement oecuménique* (Paris, 2009).
- Dixon, Scott C., “Introduction: Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe,” in *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, edited by C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass (Farnham–Burlington, 2009), pp. 1–20.
- Djobadze, Wachtang, “Observations on the Georgian Monastery of Yalia (Galia) in Cyprus,” *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1984), pp. 196–209.
- Dokos, Constantinos, “Ἡ ἐφαρμογὴ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς Συνόδου τοῦ Trento καὶ ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες*. Ἀθήνα, 1–3

- Μαρτίου 2001. *Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezu (Venice, 2002), pp. 209–16.
- , “Οι κοινότητες των λαϊκών τάξεων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, edited by Chryssa Maltezu (Venice, 1998), pp. 387–94.
- Dorninger, Maria E., “The Island of Cyprus in Travel Literature of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History*, edited by Andrea Grafetstätter, Sieglinde Hartmann, and James Ogier (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 67–82.
- Dragas, George D., “The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church with Special Reference to the Decisions of the Synods 1484 (Constantinople), 1755 (Constantinople) and 1667 (Moscow),” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44.1–4 (1999), pp. 235–71.
- Drandaki, Angeliki, “Through Pilgrims’ Eyes: Mt Sinai in Pilgrim Narratives of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 27 (2006), pp. 491–504.
- Drpić, Ivan, “Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis. Parisinus Graecus 1242 Revisited,” *DOP* 62 (2008), pp. 217–47.
- Duba, William, “The Afterlife in Medieval Frankish Cyprus,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 167–94.
- Duggan, Anne J., “Conciliar Law, 1132–1215. The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils,” in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, edited by Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, D.C., 2008), pp. 318–66.
- Durrell, Lawrence, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus* (London, 1957).
- Dyobouniotes, Konstantinos I. “‘Ο Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνθιμος καὶ Πρόεδρος Κρήτης ὁ Ὁμολογητής,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 9 (1932), pp. 47–79.
- Edbury, Peter W., “Franks,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 63–101.
- , “The last Lusignans (1432–1489): A Political History,” *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 147–234.
- , “The Lusignan Regime in Cyprus and the Indigenous Population,” in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus*, edited by Peter

- W. Edbury (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1999), pp. 1–9, XX [English translation of Edbury, “La régime des Lusignan en Chypre et la population locale,” in *Coloniser au Moyen Âge. Méthode d’expansion et techniques de domination en Méditerranée du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, edited by Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1995), pp. 354–58, 364–65].
- , “Η πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Βασιλείου ἀπὸ τὴ βασιλεία τοῦ Οὐγού Δ΄ μέχρι τὴ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ (1324–1432),” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.1 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 51–158.
- , “Ernoul, *Eracles* and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232,” in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter. Conference in Münster, 6–8 December 2012*, edited by Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 29–51.
- , *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Eliades, Ioannis (ed.), *Cipro e l’Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L’Icona Grande di San Nicola tis Stégis del XIII secolo restaurata a Roma* (Nicosia, 2009).
- , *Κυπριακῶ τῶ τρόπῳ. Maniera Cypria: The Cypriot Painting of the 13th Century Between Two Worlds* (Nicosia, 2017).
- , “La pittura cipriota e i suoi rapporti con l’arte italiana all’epoca delle dominazioni franca e veneziana (1191–1571),” in *Cipro e l’Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L’Icona Grande di San Nicola tis Stégis del XIII secolo restaurata a Roma*, edited by Eliades, pp. 31–45.
- , “Η ‘Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων’ σε μια κυπριακή εικόνα και η εικονογραφική εξέλιξή της,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), pp. 145–73.
- , “Η Κυπροαναγεννησιακὴ Ζωγραφικὴ: το Λατινικὸ Παρεκκλήσιο τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λαμπαδιστοῦ στον Καλοπαναγιώτη και τα παρεμφερή μνημεία,” PhD dissertation (University of Cyprus, 2008).
- , “Η συμβολὴ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου στὴν ἀνάπτυξη τῆς Κυπροαναγεννησιακῆς Ζωγραφικῆς. Τοιχογραφίες στὸ καθολικὸ καὶ τὴν Ἐγκλείστρα,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 389–415.

- Ellenblum, Ronnie, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998).
- Englezakis, Benediktos (Archimandrite Paul), *Εἴκοσι μελέται διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Κύπρου (4^{ος} ἕως 20^{ος} αἰών)* (Athens, 1996).
- , *Καινὰ καὶ Παλαιὰ στήν Ἀποκάλυψη τοῦ Θεοῦ. Μελέτες γιὰ τὶς σχέσεις Πνεύματος καὶ Παράδοσης στὴ Βίβλο*, translated by Costas Kalotaris (Athens–Thessalonica, 2011).
- , *Παιδαγωγικὰ Θεολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα*, edited by Georgios K. Christodoulou (Nicosia, 2012).
- Enlart, Camille, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, translated by David Hunt (London, 1987).
- Erickson, John H., *The Challenge of our Past: Studies in Orthodox Canon Law and Church History* (Crestwood, New York, 1991).
- Eustratiades, Sophronios, “Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ Ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ,” *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 10 (1917), pp. 483–90.
- Evangelou, Elias, “Τὸ κίνημα τοῦ ἡσυχασμοῦ ὡς παράγοντας προσέγγισης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀρθόδοξου νοτιοσλαβικοῦ κόσμου ἐνόψει τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς ἐπέλασης τὸν 14^ο αἰώνα,” in *Φιλοτιμία. Τιμητικός Τόμος για την Ομότιμη Καθηγήτρια Αλκμήνη Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα*, edited by Theodoros Korres, Polymnia Katsoni, Ioannes Leontiades, and Andreas Gkoutzioukostas (Thessalonica, 2011), pp. 189–203.
- Evans, Richard J., *In Defence of History* (second edition: London, 2000).
- Falangas, Andronikos, “Imperial Antagonisms in the Eastern Mediterranean Area (16th–17th c.): The Ideological Background,” *Interbalkanica* 42 (2006), pp. 228–36.
- Falkenhausen, Vera von, “Bishops and Monks in the Hagiography of Byzantine Cyprus,” in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, edited by Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Candida Moss (Princeton, New Jersey, 1999), pp. 21–33.
- Fedalto, Giorgio, “Ἡ Λατινικὴ Ἐκκλησία στὸ Μεσαιωνικὸ Βασίλειο,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.1 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 667–732.
- Feidas, Vlasios I., “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τοὺς ὑστεροβυζαντινοὺς χρόνους,” in *Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου 2000 χρόνια*

- Χριστιανισμοῦ. Πρακτικὰ ἐπιστημονικοῦ συνεδρίου. Λευκωσία, 9-11 Ἰουνίου 2000 (Κέντρο Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου, Ἀρ-χάγγελος), edited by Theodoros X. Yiangu (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 267–80.
- , “Ἡ κουρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἐγκλειστο,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός*. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος, edited by Basilios T. Yioultis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 833–48.
- Feraios, Charis, *Ξυλόστεγος Φραγκοβυζαντινὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2009).
- Fernández-Morera, Darío, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain* (Wilmington, Delaware, 2016).
- Festugière, André J., “Appendice: Étude sur la Vie de S. Sabas le Jeune qui simulait la folie,” in *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, edited by André J. Festugière and Lennart Rydén (Paris, 1974), pp. 222–49.
- Flogaus, Reinhard, “Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium,” *SVTQ* 42.1 (1998), pp. 1–32.
- Florovsky, George, “St. Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers,” *Sobornost* 4 (1961), pp. 165–76 [reprinted in Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, volume 1 of *Collected Works of George Florovsky* (Belmont, Massachusetts, 1972), pp. 105–20].
- Folda, Jaroslav, “Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades,” Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 209–37.
- , “The Saint Marina Icon: *Maniera Cypria*, *Lingua Franca*, or Crusader Art?,” in *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, edited by Bertrand Davezac (Houston, Austin, 1992), pp. 106–33.
- Fortini Brown, Patricia, “Ritual Geographies in Venice’s Mediterranean Empire,” in *Rituals of Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, edited by Mark Jurdjevic and Rolf Strøm-Olsen (Toronto, 2016), pp. 43–89.

- Foulias, Andreas, *The Church of Our Lady Angeloktisti at Kiti, Larnaka: A visitor's guide* (second edition: Nicosia, 2012).
- Frankl, Victor E., *Man's Search for Meaning: The Classical Tribute to Hope from the Holocaust* (sixth edition: London–Sydney–Auckland–Johannesburg, 2011).
- French, David, *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign in Cyprus, 1955–1959* (Oxford, 2015).
- Frick, David, "Five Confessions in One City: Multiconfessionalism in Early Modern Wilno," in *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World*, edited by Thomas M. Safley (Leiden–Boston, 2011), pp. 417–43.
- Frigerio-Zeniou, Stella, "Κυπριώτισσες Κυράδες: reflets de la mode feminine à Chypre au XVI^e siècle," *ΚΣ* 67–68 (2003–2004), pp. 245–315.
- Frigerio-Zeniou, Stella, "Οι δωρητές στην εκκλησία της Παναγίας Ποδίου στη Γαλάτα και στο Λατινικό Παρεκκλήσι του Καλοπαναγιώτη," *ΚΣ* 61 (1997), pp. 97–106.
- , *L'art "italo-byzantin" à Chypre au XVI^e siècle. Trois témoins de la peinture religieuse: Panagia Podithou, la Chapelle Latine et Panagia Iamatikê* (Venice, 1998).
- Galatariotou, Catia, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Galavaris, George, *Bread and the Liturgy: The symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine bread stamps* (Madison–Milwaukee, Wisconsin–London, 1970).
- Ganchou, Thierry, "Dèmètrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397–1401) de nouveaux documents," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz O. P., Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 435–93.
- , "La rébellion de Jacques de Flory, comte de Jaffa, contre son 'roi' Hélène de Chypre (1455)," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus: Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011*, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 103–94.

- Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300," *Speculum* 88.1 (2013), pp. 44–91.
- Garber, David D. Jr., "A Vocabulary of Trauma in the Exilic Writings," in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 309–22.
- García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Wiegers (ed.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, translated by Consuela López-Morillas and Martin Beagles (Leiden–Boston, 2014).
- Gaul, Niels, "All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews). *Paideia* and Networking Strategies at the Court of Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1290–1320," *DOP* 70 (2016), pp. 153–78.
- , *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 2011).
- Georghallides, Georgios S., "Church and State in Cyprus, October 1931 to November 1932: 'a systematic humiliation of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus?'" *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 361–448.
- , *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis* (Nicosia, 1986).
- Georgiou, Philippos, *Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1875).
- Geréby, György, "Hidden Themes in Fourteenth-Century Byzantine and Latin Theological Debates: Monarchianism and Crypto-Dyophysitism," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 183–211.
- Gerstel, Sharon E. J., *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle, Washington–London, 1999).
- Gill, Joseph, "Pope Urban V (1362–1370) and the Greeks of Crete," *OCP* 39.2 (1973), pp. 461–68.
- , *Personalities of the Council of Florence, and other Essays* (Oxford, 1964).
- , *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Gioles, Nicholaos, "Εικονογραφικά θέματα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο

- Εκκλησιών,” in *Θωράκιον. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη*, edited by Loula Kypraiou (Athens, 2004), pp. 263–81.
- Given, Michael, “‘Father of his Landscape’: Lawrence Durrell’s Creation of Landscape and Character in Cyprus,” *Deus Loci: The Lawrence Durrell Journal* NS5 (1997), pp. 54–63.
- , “Mountain Landscapes on Early Modern Cyprus,” in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, edited by Siriol Davies and Jack L. Davis (Princeton, New Jersey, 2007), pp. 137–48.
- , “Star of the Parthenon, Cypriot *mélange*: Education and Representation in Colonial Cyprus,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7.1 (1997), pp. 59–82.
- , *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London–New York, 2004).
- Glycofrydi-Leontsini A., “Demetrius Cydones as a Translator of Latin Texts,” in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003), pp. 175–85.
- Golitzin, Alexander, “Christian Mysticism over Two Millenia,” in *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, volume 3 of *Scrinium*, edited by Basil Lourié and Andrei Orlov (Saint Petersburg, 2007), pp. xxi–xxxiii.
- , “The Mysticism of Dionysius Areopagita: Platonist or Christian?” *Mystics Quarterly* 19.3 (1993), pp. 98–114.
- , “Theophaneia: Forum on the Jewish Roots of Orthodox Spirituality,” in *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, volume 3 of *Scrinium*, edited by Basil Lourié and Andrei Orlov (Saint Petersburg, 2007), pp. xvii–xx.
- , “The Image and Glory of God in Jacob of Serug’s Homily ‘On that Chariot that Ezekiel the Prophet saw,’” in *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, volume 3 of *Scrinium*, edited by Basil Lourié and Andrei Orlov (Saint Petersburg, 2007), pp. 180–212.
- Gómez, Raúl E., “Saint-Sauver de Chôra. Monastère catholique à Constantinople dans le troisième quart du XIV^e siècle,” *EsBiz* 1 (2013),

pp. 140–97.

Gones, Demetrios B., “Εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατ’ ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ Πατριάρχου Κων/πόλεως (μέσα ΙΔ’ αἰ.),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 333–50.

———, “Γεράσιμος Σιναΐτης ὁ ἐξ Ευρίπου ἱεραπόστολος τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Θεολογία* 53.4 (1982), pp. 1119–42.

———, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α’* (Athens, 1980).

Gouillard, Jean, “Le Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 1–316.

Gouloulis, Stavros G., “*Ρίζα Ιεσσαί.*” *Ο σύνθετος εικονογραφικός τύπος (13^{ος} –18^{ος} αι.). Γένεση, ερμηνεία και εξέλιξη ενός δυναστικού μύθου* (Thessalonica, 2007).

Gounarides, Paris, “Ἡ ‘Διήγησις’ τοῦ Μαρτυρίου τῶν Μοναχῶν τῆς Καντάρας καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 313–32.

———, “Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης τῆς καταστροφῆς,” in *1453. Ἡ Ἀλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης καὶ ἡ μετάβαση ἀπὸ τοὺς μεσαιωνικοὺς στοὺς νεώτερους χρόνους*, edited by Tonia Kiousopoulou (Heraklion, 2005), pp. 133–45.

———, “Κύπρος: ἡ ‘ουτοπία’ γιὰ τις ιδεολογικὲς διαμάχες σχετικὰ με τὸν ησυχασμό,” in *Φιλοτιμία. Τιμητικὸς Τόμος γιὰ τὴν Ομότιμη Καθηγήτρια Ἀλκμήνη Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα*, edited by Theodoros Korres, Polymnia Katsoni, Ioannes Leontiadis, and Andreas Gkoutzioukostas (Thessalonica, 2011), pp. 267–77.

———, “Μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσης: δύο ἐπεισόδια ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κλήρου τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης μετὰ τὸ 1204,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 38 (2008), pp. 9–22.

———, *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261–1310). Ἰδεολογικὲς διαμάχες τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων* (Athens, 1999).

- Gratziou, Olga, *Η Κρήτη στην Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική εποχή: η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* (Heraklion, 2010).
- Green, Bernard, *The Soteriology of Leo the Great* (Oxford–New York, 2008).
- Grivaud, Gilles, “Échapper à la pauvreté en Chypre vénitienne,” in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou (Venice, 1998), pp. 361–71.
- , “Éveil de la nation chypriote (XII^e–XV^e siècles),” *Sources Travaux Historiques* 43–44 (1995), pp. 105–16.
- , “Formes byzantines de la fiscalité foncière chypriote à l’époque latine,” *EKEE* 18 (1991), pp. 117–27.
- , “Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Small Byzantine Foundation,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andreas Nicolaïdès (Washington, D.C., 2012), pp. 13–36.
- , “Le monastère de Kykkos et ses revenus en 1553,” *Studi veneziani* 16 (1990), pp. 225–53.
- , “Le rapport de Marc’ Antonio Pasqualigo sur la première année de la domination ottomane à Chypre,” *ΚΣ* 51 (1987), pp. 9–19.
- , “Les Lusignan et leurs archontes chypriotes (1192–1359),” in *Actes du colloque: Les Lusignans et l’Outre-mer. Poitiers–Lusignan 20-24 octobre 1993. Auditorium du Musée Sainte-Croix Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1995), pp. 150–58.
- , “Les Lusignan patrons d’églises grecques,” *BF* 29 (2007), pp. 257–69.
- , “Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époques médiévale et moderne),” in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale. Formations identitaires: Perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains. Actes du colloque tenu à Lyon, 1997, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Université de Chypre*, edited by Yannis Ioannou, Françoise Métral, and Marguerite Yon (Lyons, 2000), pp. 43–70.
- , “Les testaments parallèles des cousins Flatro (1523, 1538),” in *Oltre le morte. Testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziana nei sec. XIV–XVIII, atti dell’incontro*

- scientifico (Venezia, 22–23 gennaio 2007), edited by Chryssa Maltezou and Gogo Varzelioti (Venice, 2008), pp. 221–41.
- , “Les voyageurs de la langue française et la domination vénitienne sur le royaume de Chypre (1480–1550),” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 493–504.
- , “Literature,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 219–84.
- , “Nicosie remodelée (1567). Contribution à la topographie de la ville médiévale,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 281–306.
- , “Population et peuplement rural à Chypre (fin XII^e siècle-milieu du XVI^e),” in *Ruralia I (Conference Ruralia I–Prague 8th–14th September 1995)*, edited by Jan Fridrich, Jan Klapšte, Zdeněk Smetanka, and Petr Sommer (Prague, 1996), pp. 217–26.
- , “Un règne sans fastes—Catherine Cornaro à travers les sources produites à Chypre,” in *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice. International Conference, Venice, 16–18 September 2010*, edited by Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2013), pp. 231–53.
- , “Une liste de manuscrits grecs trouvés à Chypre par Francesco Patrizi,” in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 125–56.
- , “Ἡ Βενετία καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικὲς ὑποθέσεις στὴν Κύπρο: ἡ διαμάχη τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας Ἀχειροποιήτου (1527–1534),” *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 219–44.
- , “Ἡ κατάκτηση τῆς Κύπρου ἀπὸ τοὺς Ὀθωμανούς,” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, volume 6 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 1–182.
- , “Ὁ πνευματικὸς βίος καὶ ἡ γραμματολογία κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἑνετοκρατία*, volume 4.2 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 863–1207.
- , *Villages désertés à Chypre (fin XII^e –fin XIX^e siècle)* (Nicosia, 1998) = *MY* 3 (1998).
- Grünbart, Michael, “How to Become an Emperor: The Ascension of Isaakios Komnenos (of Cyprus),” in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of*

- Cultural Encounter. Conference in Münster, 6–8 December 2012*, edited by Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 11–27.
- Guran, Petre, “Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium,” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45 (2007), pp. 73–85.
- Gwynn, David M., “From Iconoclasm to Arianism: The Construction of Christian Tradition in the Iconoclast Controversy,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007), pp. 225–51.
- Hackett, John, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (1901; reprinted in New York, 1972).
- Hadjianastasis, Marios, “Between the Porte and the Lion: Identity, Politics and Opportunism in Seventeenth Century Cyprus,” in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, edited by Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden–Boston, 2015), pp. 139–67.
- Hadjichristodoulou, Christodoulos, “St George the Diasorites,” in *Our Lady of Lefkosia: The church of Phaneromeni and its relics* (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 124–27.
- Halecki, Oskar, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930).
- Halleux, André de, “Problèmes de méthode dans les discussions sur l’eschatologie au concile de Ferrare et Florence,” in *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39–1989*, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo (Leuven, 1991), pp. 251–301.
- Hamilton, Bernard, “Latins and Georgians and the Crusader Kingdom,” *Al-Masāk* 23.2 (2011), pp. 117–24.
- , *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980).
- Hampson, Norman, “Subjectivity and Objectivity in History,” *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 7.3 (1976), pp. 184–88.
- Harris, Jonathan, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London–New York, 2003).
- Hassiotis, Ioannis, “Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις στην Κύπρο και η στάση των ευρωπαϊκών δυνάμεων (από την οθωμανική κατάκτηση ως τις αρχές του 19^{ου} αιώνα),” in *Κύπρος. Αγώνες ελευθερίας στην ελληνική ιστορία*, edited by Andreas Voskos (Athens, 2010), pp. 147–87.
- Hatay, Mete, “Three Ways of Sharing the Sacred: Choreographies of Coexistence in Cyprus,” in *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites:*

- Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution*, edited by Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey (New York, 2015), pp. 69–96.
- Hatzivassiliou, Evanthis, “Ο τελευταίος ελληνικός εθνικοαπελευθερωτικός αγώνας: Κύπρος, 1954–1959. Βασικοί άξονες και προοπτικές μελέτης,” in *Κύπρος. Αγώνες ελευθερίας στην ελληνική ιστορία*, edited by Andreas Voskos (Athens, 2010), pp. 261–81.
- , *Greece and the Cold War: Front Line State, 1952–1967* (London–New York, 2006).
- Hatzopoulos, Miltiades, “Cypriot Archaeology, Modern Numismatics and Social Engineering: The Iconography of the British Coinage of Cyprus”, *Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 2 (2005), pp. 185–202.
- Healy, John, “‘The Church Across the Border’: The Church of the East and its Chaldaean Branch,” in *Eastern Christianity in the Modern Middle East*, edited by Anthony O’Mahony and Emma Loosley (London–New York, 2010), pp. 41–55.
- Heraclidou, Antigoni, *Imperial Control in Cyprus: Education and Political Manipulation in the British Empire* (London–New York, 2017).
- , “Making a British Atmosphere in Cyprus, 1931–1939: The ‘*coup d’état*’ on Elementary Education?,” *ΚΣ* 74 (2010), pp. 147–77.
- Herde, Peter, “The Papacy and the Greek Church in Southern Italy Between the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Society of Norman Italy*, edited by Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2002), pp. 213–51.
- Hill, George F., *A History of Cyprus*, 4 volumes (Cambridge, 1940–54).
- Hinterberger, Martin, “A Neglected Tool of Orthodox Propaganda? The Image of the Latins in Byzantine Hagiography,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 129–49.
- Hinterberger, Martin, and Christopher Schabel, “Andreas Chrysoberges’ Dialogue against Mark Eugenikos,” in *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters in Honor of John Monfasani*, edited by Alison Frazier and Patrick Nold (Leiden–Boston, 2015), pp. 492–545.
- Holland, Robert, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959* (Oxford, 1998).

- Holmes, Catherine, “‘Shared Worlds’: Religious Identities—A Question of Evidence,” in *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World After 1150*, edited by Jonathan Harris, Eugenia Russell, and Catherine Holmes (Oxford, 2012), pp. 31–59.
- Holton, M. Jan, “Imagining Hope and Redemption: A Salvation Narrative Among the Displaced in Sudan,” in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 217–33.
- Hudson, Nancy J., *Becoming God: The Doctrine of Theosis in Nicholas of Cusa* (Washington, D.C., 2007).
- Huffman, Joseph P., “The Donation of Zeno: St Barnabas and the Origins of the Cypriot Archbishop’s Regalia Privileges,” *JEH* 66.2 (2015), pp. 235–60.
- Iacubovschi, Oana, “Der Akathistos-Bilderzyklus in der Wandmalerei der Wallachei im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 6 (2011), pp. 289–324.
- Ierodiakonou, Katerina, “The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, edited by Ierodiakonou (Oxford–New York, 2002), pp. 219–36.
- Imhaus, Brunehilde, “La minorité chypriote de Venise du XVI^e siècle au début du XVII^e siècle,” in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale. Formations identitaires: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains. Actes du colloque tenu à Lyon, 1997, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Université de Chypre*, edited by Yannis Ioannou, Françoise Métral, and Marguerite Yon (Lyons, 2000), pp. 33–41.
- , “Un document démographique et fiscal vénitien concernant le casal du Marethasse (1549),” *MY* 1 (1984), pp. 375–520.
- Imhaus, Brunehilde, Jean-Paul Reverseau, and Paris Kalamara, “Le comté de Tripolis dans la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle et le commanditaire de l’icône de Saint-Nicolas-du-Toit en Chypre,” *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 59–107.
- Intianos, Antonis K., “Κυπριακὰ Μεσαιωνικὰ Μνημεῖα. Ἐπιγραφές Ι,” *ΚΣ* 4 (1940), pp. 17–32.

- Ioakeim, Photios, “Τὸ κεφάλαιο περὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀσκητῶν τῆς βυζαντινῆς Κύπρου (4^{ος}–12^{ος} αἰ.): προλεγόμενα στὴν ἀναθεώρηση τῶν ἐπικρατούντων σχετικῶν δεδομένων,” in *Κυπριακὴ Ἀγιολογία. Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου, Παραλίμνι, 9–12 Φεβρουαρίου 2012*, edited by Theodoros X. Yianguou and Chrysostomos Nassis (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2015), pp. 213–23.
- Ioannides, Gregorios A., “Συνοδικὰ κείμενα σὲ κυπριακὰ χειρόγραφα κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Λατινοκρατίας,” forthcoming in *Πρακτικὰ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κυπριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας*, edited by Theodoros X. Yianguou and Chrysostomos Nassis (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2019).
- , “‘Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ σαλευθεῖσαν Ἀγίαν Τράπεζαν’ στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberinianus graecus* 390,” *EKEE* 28 (2002), pp. 99–118.
- , “‘Τάξις ἐπὶ προχειρίσεως πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου, μεγάλου οἰκονόμου καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου’ στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberini greco* 390,” in *Υψίστου Κλήσις. Ἀναμνηστικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ιδρύσεως τῆς ἱερατικῆς σχολῆς “Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας”* (Nicosia, 2003), pp. 53–72.
- , “Ἡ ἀκολουθία θεμελίου ἐκκλησίας στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο *Barberini greco* 390,” *EKMIMK* 6 (2004), pp. 165–92.
- , “Ἡ τάξη ἐγκαινίων ναοῦ στὰ κυπριακὰ χειρόγραφα εὐχολόγια,” *EKMIMK* 7 (2006), pp. 335–414.
- , “*La Constitutio o Bulla Cypria Alexandri Papae IV del Barberinianus graecus* 390,” *OCP* 66 (2000), pp. 335–72.
- Ioannou, Christina, and Giorgos Kentas, “Social Effects of Membership,” in *An Island in Europe: The EU and the Transformation of Cyprus*, edited by James Ker-Lindsay, Hubert Faustmann and Fiona Mullen (London–New York, 2011), pp. 89–111.
- Iogna-Prat, Dominique, “Topographies of Penance in the Latin West,” in *A New History of Penance*, edited by Abigail Firey (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 158–72.
- Iorga, Nicolae, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest, 1935).
- , *France de Chypre* (Paris, 1931).
- Irwin, Robert, “Οἱ εἰσβολὲς τῶν Μамελούκων στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.1 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 159–76.

- Ivanov, Sergey A., *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, translated by Simon Franklin (second edition: Oxford–New York, 2008).
- Jacoby, David, “Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venice et des Gênes en Chypre du XIII^e au XV^e siècle,” *BF* 5 (1977), pp. 159–88 [reprinted in Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, economies* (London, 1979), VI].
- , “Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus Around the Mid-Fourteenth Century,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou (Venice, 2002), pp. 59–83.
- , “Jean Lascaris Calophéros, Chypre et la Morée,” *REB* 26 (1968), pp. 189–228.
- , “Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300,” in *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, edited by Michael J. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas S. H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 53–67.
- , “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,” *MY* 1 (1984), pp. 143–79 [reprinted in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), VIII].
- , “The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: Trade, Settlement, and Politics,” in *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima: Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 59–100.
- , “Western Merchants, Pilgrims, and Travellers in Alexandria in the Time of Philippe de Mézières,” in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden, 2012), pp. 403–25.
- Jakovljević, Andreas, “Cypriot Musicians and Copyists of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts in the 15th and 16th centuries,” *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980–81), 72–77
- Jenkins, Romilly J. H., “Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688–965,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by George E. Mylonas (St Louis, Missouri, 1953), pp. 1006–14

- [reprinted in Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London, 1970), XXII].
- Jennings, Ronald C., “The Locust Problem in Cyprus,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51.2 (1988), pp. 279–313.
- , *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640* (New York–London, 1993).
- Jotischky, Andrew, “Greek Orthodox and Latin Monasticism around Mar Saba under Crusader Rule,” in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, edited by Joseph Patrich (Leuven, 2001), pp. 85–96.
- , *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford–New York, 2002).
- , *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1995).
- Jungmann, Josef A., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, volume 2 (second edition: Notre Dame, Indiana, 2012).
- Kaffa, Elena, *The Greek Church of Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople during the Frankish Era (1196–1303): A New Perspective* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014).
- Kaffenberger, Thomas, “Harmonizing the Sources: An Insight into the Appearance of the Hagios Georgios Complex at Various Stages of its Building History,” in *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, edited by Michael J. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas S. H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 169–90.
- Kalafatis, Panteleimon, “Ἡ Θεοτόκος ὡς πρότυπο τελειώσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Γρηγόριο τὸν Παλαμᾶ,” in *Ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς στὴν Ἱστορία καὶ τὸ Παρόν. Πρακτικὰ Διεθνῶν Ἐπιστημονικῶν Συνεδρίων Ἀθηνῶν (13–15 Νοεμβρίου 1998) καὶ Λεμεσοῦ (5–7 Νοεμβρίου 1999)*, edited by Georgios I. Mantzarides (Holy Monastery of Vatopedion, Mt. Athos, 2000), pp. 79–85.
- Kaldellis, Anthony, “The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium: An Evidence-Based Approach,” *BS* 27 (2017), pp. 173–210.
- , *Ethnography after Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2014).

- , *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge–New York, 2007).
- , *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2015).
- Kalopissi-Verti, Sofia, “Representations of the Virgin in Lusignan Cyprus,” in *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, edited by Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot–Burlington, 2005), pp. 305–19.
- , “Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions,” in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin. Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg, 13–15 mars 2008*, edited by Jean-Michel Spieser and Élisabeth Yota (Paris, 2012), pp. 125–40.
- , “The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andreas Nicolaïdès (Washington, D.C., 2012), pp. 114–208.
- Kaoulla, Christina, “Helena Palaiologina of Cyprus (1442–1458). Myth and History,” *EKEE* 32 (2006), pp. 109–50.
- Kaoulla, Christina, and Christopher D. Schabel, “The Inquisition against Peter de Castro, Vicar of the Dominican Province of the Holy Land, in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1330,” *AFP* 77 (2007), pp. 121–98 [reprinted in Christopher D. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), VII].
- Kaplanis, Tassos A., “Antique Names and Self-Identification: Hellenes, Graikoi, and Romaioi from Late Byzantium to the Greek Nation-State,” in *Re-imagining the Past. Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, edited by Dimitris Tziovas (New York, 2014), pp. 81–97.
- Kappaes, Demetrios, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ κίνησις στὴν Κύπρον κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ’ αἰῶνα,” *EKMIMK* 7 (2006), pp. 157–90.
- Kappes, Christiaan W., “Foreword,” in Jared I. Goff, *Caritas in Primo. A Historical–Theological Study of Bonaventure’s Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio SS. Trinitatis* (New Bedford, Massachusetts, 2015), pp. xvii–xxxiii.

- , “Mark of Ephesus, the Council of Florence, and the Roman Papacy,” in *Primacy in the Church: The Office of Primate and the Authority of Councils*, volume 1, edited by John Chryssavgis (Yonkers, New York, 2016), pp. 109–50.
- , “The Latin sources of the Palamite Theology of George-Gennadius Scholarius,” in *When East When East Met West: The Reception of Latin Philosophical and Theological Thought in Late Byzantium: Acts of the Institute of Classical Studies International Byzantine Colloquium, London, 11–12 June 2012*, edited by John A. Demetracopoulos and Charalambos Dendrinis (Bari, 2013) [= *Nicolaus. Rivista di Teologia ecumenico-patristica* 40 (2013)], pp. 71–114.
- Karagianni, Alexandra, “Représentations des croix dans les églises byzantines du X^e au XII^e siècle: Interprétation et liens avec la liturgie,” *Βυζαντιακά* 29 (2010–2011), pp. 235–54.
- Karpov, Vyacheslav, David Barry, and Elena Lisovskaya, “Ethnodoxy: How Popular Ideologies Fuse Ethnic Identities,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51.4 (2012), pp. 638–55.
- Karpozilos, Apostolos, “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ ἔριδα καὶ ἡ Κύπρος,” *EKEE* 11 (1981–82), pp. 491–98.
- Kaufman, Peter I., “Note: Augustine, Evil, and Donatism: Sin and Sanctity Before the Pelagian Controversy,” *Theological Studies* 51 (1990), pp. 115–26.
- Kausokalybites, Patapios, “Ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Μεγάλου Σχήματος. Ἑρμηνεῖα καὶ θεολογία τῶν εὐχῶν τῆς μοναχικῆς καθιερώσεως,” *Θεολογία* 82.1 (2011), pp. 141–67.
- Kazhdan, Alexander, “Constantinopolitan Synaxarium as a Source for Social History of Byzantium,” in *The Christian East: Its Institutions and its Thought: A Critical Reflection. Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the 75th Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute. Rome, 30 May–5 June 1993*, edited by Robert F. Taft (Rome, 1996), pp. 485–515.
- Kechagioglou, Giorgos, “<Βιβλιοκρισία>,” *Ελληνικά* 55.2 (2005), pp. 338–55.
- Kechagioglou, Giorgos, and Lefteris Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία της Νεότερης Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia, 2010).

- Kekaumenos, Giorgos, “Ο Γεννάδιος Σχολάριος και το Ελληνικό Έθνος,” *νΕΛ* 11 (2015), pp. 156–75.
- , *Το Κρυφό Σχολειό. Το Χρονικό μιας Ιστορίας* (Athens, 2012).
- Kelle, Brad E., “An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Exile,” in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 5–38.
- Kianka, Frances, “Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones,” *The International History Review* 7.2 (1985), pp. 175–213.
- Kidwell, Carol, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal* (Montreal and Kingston–London–Ithaca, 2004).
- Kiousoroulou, Tonía, “Η κοινωνική διάσταση τῆς σύγκρουσης ἀνάμεσα στοὺς ἐνωτικούς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθενωτικούς τὸν 15^ο αἰώνα,” *Μνήμων* 23 (2001), pp. 25–36.
- , *Βασιλεύς ἢ Οικονόμος. Πολιτική ἐξουσία καὶ ἰδεολογία πρὶν τὴν Ἀλωση* (Athens, 2007).
- , *Οἱ “ἀόρατες” βυζαντινὲς πόλεις στὸν ἐλλαδικό χώρο (13^{ος} –15^{ος} αἰῶνας)* (Athens, 2013).
- Kirmitsis, Parthenios I., “Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας,” *ΚΣ* 47 (1983), pp. 1–108.
- Kitromilides, Paschalis M., “Βιβλία καὶ ἀνάγνωση στὴ Λευκωσία τῆς Ἀναγέννησης. Ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Μάρκου Ζαχαρία,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou (Venice, 2002), pp. 263–75.
- , “Κύπριοι στὴ Βενετία,” in *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima: Venice in Cyprus and Cyprus in Venice*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 207–17.
- , “Ἡ παράδοση τῶν ἐλληνικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἡ κυπριακὴ λογιόσύνη τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς περιόδου,” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, volume 6 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 469–517.
- , *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2013).

- , *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη, 1571–1878: Προσωπογραφική Θεώρηση* (Nicosia, 2002).
- Klawans, Jonathan, “Was Jesus’ Last Supper a Seder?” *Bible Review* 17.5 (2001), pp. 24–33, 47.
- Klein, Wassilios, “St. Symeon Pentaglottos of Trier (†1035). A New Greek Saint of Mt Sinai in the Context of Arabic Christian Studies,” *Parole de l’Orient* 30 (2005), pp. 173–98.
- Kloos, Kari, *Christ, Creation, and the Vision of God: Augustine’s Transformation of Early Christian Theophany Interpretation* (Leiden–Boston, 2011).
- Knapp, Bernard A., and Michael Given, “Social Landscapes and Social Space: The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project,” in *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus: Past History, Future Potentials: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the Archaeological Research Unit of Cyprus, 1–2 December 2000*, edited by Maria Iacovou (London, 2004), pp. 77–93.
- Kokkinoftas, Costis, “Εκχριστιανισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κύπρο κατά την Αγγλοκρατία (1878–1960),” *EKEE* 37 (2015), pp. 187–255.
- Kolbaba, Tia M., “Barlaam the Calabrian. Three treatises on papal primacy: introduction, edition, and translation,” *REB* 53 (1995), pp. 41–115.
- , “Byzantines, Armenians, and Latins: Unleavened Bread and Heresy in the Tenth Century,” in *Orthodox Constructions of the West*, edited by George Demacopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York, 2013), pp. 45–57.
- , “The Legacy of Humbert and Cerularius: The Tradition of the ‘Schism of 1054’ in Byzantine Texts and Manuscripts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003), pp. 47–61.
- , “The Orthodoxy of the Latins in the Twelfth Century,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies. Papers from the Thirty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002*, edited by Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), pp. 199–214.

———, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana–Chicago, Illinois, 2000).

Kolias, Soterios N., *Λατῖνοι καὶ Ὁρθόδοξοι στὴ Magna Graecia τοῦ 13^{ου} αἰῶνα* (Athens, 2017).

Koltsiou-Nikita, Anna, “Ἡ στάση του Βυζαντινὸν λογίου Δημητρίου Κυδώνη ἐναντὶ τῆς θεολογίας τοῦ Γρηγορίου Παλαμά,” *Σύνθεσις* 2.2 (2013), pp. 118–41.

Kondyli, Fotini, Vera Andriopoulou, Eirini Panou, and Mary B. Cunningham (ed.), *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean* (Furnham–Burlington, 2014).

Konidares, Gerasimos, “Ἡ θέσις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ τακτικὰ (Notitia Episcopatum) ἀπὸ τοῦ Η΄ μέχρι καὶ ΙΓ΄ αἰῶνος (συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 1972), pp. 81–120.

Konstantinide, Chara, *Ὁ Μελισμός. Οἱ συλλειτουργοῦντες ἱεράρχες καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστὰ στὴν Ἁγία Τράπεζα ἢ τὸν εὐχαριστιακὸ Χριστὸ* (Thessalonica, 2008).

Korobeinikov, Dmitry A., “Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Part 1: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch,” *Al-Masāq* 15.2 (2003), pp. 197–214.

Kotsiopoulos, Constantinos P., *Ἡ Οὐνία στὴν ἐλληνικὴ θεολογικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Ἱστορικὴ, Θεολογικὴ καὶ Κοινωνιολογικὴ διερεύνηση* (Thessalonica, 1993).

Koumbaridou, Anastasia X., “Ἡ εἰκόνα τῆς Καμαριωτίσσης καὶ αἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐπιγραφαί. Ἄγνωστα οἰκογενειακὰ στοιχεῖα ἐπισκόπου ἐπὶ Φραγκοκρατίας καὶ ὁ ἱστορικὸς αὐτοῦ περίγυρος,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 527–34.

Koumbes, Moschos D., “Ἡ ἡσυχαστικὴ ἔριδα καὶ ἡ ἐμπλοκὴ τῆς στὶς πολιτικὲς ἐξελίξεις στὴ διάρκεια τοῦ δευτέρου ἐμφυλίου πολέμου (1341–1347),” *Βυζαντινὰ* 19 (1998), pp. 235–81.

- Kountoura-Galake, Eleonora, “Πρότυπα αρχαίων νομοθετών κατά τις επιστολές του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά: δίκαιο και πολιτική πρακτική,” in *Αντικήνσωρ. Τιμητικός Τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωιάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του*, volume 1, edited by Vasiliki Leontaritou, Kalliopi A. Bourdara and Eleftheria S. Papagianni (Athens, 2013), pp. 679–704.
- Kountoura-Galake, Eleonora, and Niki Koutrakou, “Ο Άνθιμος Αθηνών, πρόεδρος Κρήτης, και οι αντιθετικές τάσεις Ορθόδοξης συσπείρωσης καὶ διάσπασης στην Ύστερη Βυζαντινή εποχή. Μια προσέγγιση μέσω των λογίων αγιολογικών κειμένων,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 341–59.
- Kourouni, Irene, “Ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἡ ‘θεματογραφία’ τοῦ Διασωρηνοῦ,” *Παρνασσός* 11.3 (1969), pp. 434–47.
- Kouroupakis, Apostolos, “Κύπρος και Μεγάλο Σχίσμα (1378–1417),” in *First Annual Conference on Byzantine and Medieval Studies: Nicosia, 13–15 January 2017 (Abstracts of Presentations)*, edited by Stavros G. Georgiou (Nicosia, 2017), p. 68.
- Kresten, Otto, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia unter Kallistos I. und Philotheos Kokkinos im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel* (Mainz–Stuttgart, 2000).
- Kykkotis, Sergios, and Georgios Panagis, “Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Παναγίας Ἀγρίας,” *EKMIMK* 3 (1996), pp. 149–60.
- Kyprianos, Archimandrite, *Ἱστορία Χρονολογικὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου* (Venice, 1788).
- Kyriacou, Chrysovalantis, “Από τον Όσιο Νεόφυτο τον Έγκλειστο στον Όσιο Σάββα τον Βατοπαιδινό. Ο προπαλαμικός Ησυχασμός στην Κύπρο και την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο (ca. 1200–ca. 1350),” forthcoming in *ΚΣ* 76 (2012), pp. 21.
- , “Martyrdom, Memory and Sacred Topography in Early Christian Salamis,” forthcoming in *Salamis of Cyprus from the Earliest Times to the Late Antiquity* (Münster–New York, 2018), edited by Christina Ioannou and Sabine Rogge, pp. 16.
- , “Spirituality and *Hexis*: Tracing the Christian *Habitus* in the Basilicas of Early Byzantine Cyprus,” in *Church Building in Cyprus (4th to 7th centuries): A Mirror of Intercultural Contacts in the Eastern*

- Mediterranean*, edited by Marietta Horster, Doria Nicolaou and Sabine Rogge (Münster–New York, 2018), pp. 175–89.
- , “The Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-Ruled Cyprus (1191–1571): Society, Spirituality and Identity,” PhD dissertation (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 2016).
- Kyriacou, Chrysovalantis, and Charalambos Dendrinos, “The *Encomium on St Barnabas* by Alexander the Monk: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Politics in Sixth-Century Byzantium,” forthcoming in *Πρακτικὰ Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κυπριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας* edited by Theodoros X. Yiangou and Chrysostomos Nassis (Ayia Napa–Paralimni, 2018), pp. 36.
- Kyrris, Costas P., “Cypriot Identity, Byzantium, and the Latins 1192–1489,” *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 169–85.
- , “Modes de survivance, de transformation et d’adaption du régime colonial latin de Chypre après la conquête ottomane,” *EKEE* 13–14 (1984–87), pp. 255–68.
- , “Some Aspects of Leontios Makhairas’ Ethnoreligious Ideology, Cultural Identity and Historiographic Method,” *Στασίνο*s 10 (1989–93), pp. 167–281.
- , “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀμμοχώστου ἐπὶ Λατινοκρατίας (1192–1571),” in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, edited by Franz Dölger and Hans-Georg Beck (Munich, 1960), pp. 278–88.
- , “Ἡ ὀργάνωση τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τοὺς δύο πρώτους αἰῶνες τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 149–86.
- , “Ἡ ὀρθόδοξη συνείδηση τοῦ Λεοντίου Μαχαιρᾶ,” *Κυπριακὸς Λόγος* 57–58 (1978), pp. 159–65.
- , “Ὁ Κύπριος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης Ὑάκινθος (1345–6) καὶ ὁ ρόλος του εἰς τὸν ἀντιπαλαμικὸν ἀγῶνα,” *ΚΣ* 25 (1961), pp. 91–122.
- , *History of Cyprus with an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985).
- , *Ἱστορία τῆς Μέσης Ἐκπαιδεύσεως Ἀμμοχώστου 1191–1955, ἰδίως δε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Γυμνασίου Ἀμμοχώστου* (second edition: Nicosia, 2005).

- Laiou, Angeliki (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences* (Paris, 2005).
- Lamers, Han, *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy* (Leiden, 2015).
- Larson, Wendy R., "The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts Margaret and Marina of Antioch," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, edited by Sam J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London–New York, 2002), pp. 23–35.
- Layton, Evro, *The sixteenth-Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and publishers for the Greek world* (Venice, 1994).
- Le Goff, Jacques, *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1984).
- Lefèvre, Renato, "Roma e la comunità etiopica di Cipro nei secoli XV e XVI," *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 1.1 (1941), pp. 71–86.
- Lemerle, Paul, "Chronologie de Lavra de 1204 à 1500," in *Actes de Lavra IV*, volume 11 of *Archives de l'Athos*, edited by Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachryssanthou, and Sima Ćirkovi (Paris, 1982), pp. 3–62.
- Levenson, Jon D., *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1993).
- Leventis, Panos, *Twelve Times in Nicosia: Nicosia, Cyprus, 1192–1570: Topography, Architecture and Urban Experience in a Diversified Capital City* (Nicosia, 2005).
- Liakopoulos, Georgios C., "The Ottoman Conquest of Thrace: Aspects of Historical Geography," MA dissertation (Institute of Economics and Social Sciences, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2002).
- Lidov, Andrei, "Spatial Icons. The Miraculous Performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople," in *Hierotopy: Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Russia*, edited by Lidov (Moscow, 2006), pp. 349–72.
- Lingas, Alexander, "Hesychasm and Psalmody," in *Byzantine Orthodoxies. Papers from the Thirty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002*, edited by Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), pp. 155–68.

- Lock, Peter, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London–New York, 1995).
- Loenertz, Raymond-Joseph, “Pour la biographie de Jean Lascaris Calophéros (à propos de deux publications récentes,” *REB* 28 (1970), pp. 129–39.
- , “Pour la chronologie des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios,” *REB* 7 (1949), pp. 12–32.
- Loizides, Neophytos G., “Ethnic Nationalism and Adaptation in Cyprus,” *International Studies Perspectives* 8 (2007), pp. 172–89.
- Longo, Carlo, “Fr. Giuglio Stavriano, OP, vescovo Armeno di Cipro (1561–1571) e vescovo Latino di Bova (1571–1577),” *AFP* 58 (1988), pp. 177–264.
- Lossky, Vladimir, *Théologie negative et connaissance de Dieu chez Maître Eckhart* (Paris, 1960).
- Loud, Graham A. *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Loudovikos, Nicholas, *Ὁ μόχθος τῆς μετοχῆς: εἶναι καὶ μέθεξι στὸν Γρηγόριο Παλαμᾶ καὶ Θωμᾶ Ἀκινάτη* (Athens, 2010).
- Lounghis, Telemachos C., *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Safeguarding East Roman Identity (407–1204)* (Nicosia, 2010).
- Louth, Andrew, *Greek East and Latin West: The Church A.D. 681–1071*, volume 3 of *The Church in History* (Crestwood, New York, 2007).
- , “The Patristic Revival and its Protagonists,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, edited by Mary B. Cunningham and Elizabeth Theokritoff (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 188–202.
- Lucey, Stephen J., “Intercessory Identity: Heraldry and Portraiture in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga, Cyprus,” in *Imagining the Self, Constructing the Past*, edited by Robert G. Sullivan and Meriem Pagès (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2016), pp. 22–43.
- Luttrell, Anthony, “Rhodes and Cyprus: 1409–1459,” in *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital’s Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*, edited by Karl Borchardt, Anthony Luttrell, and Ekhard Schöffler (Nicosia, 2011), pp. xliii–xcii.
- Magdalino, Paul, “Byzantine Snobbery,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, edited by Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 58–78.
- , *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993).

- Maier, Christl M., “Lost Space and Revived Memory: From Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. to New Orleans in 2009,” in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 189–201.
- Makrides, Andreas, “Τα οκτώ κύματα του κυπριωτισμού,” *Τετράδια Πολιτικού Διαλόγου, Έρευνας και Κριτικής* 44 (1999), pp. 69–79.
- Malatras, Christos, “The ‘Social Aspects’ of the Second Civil War (1341–1354),” in *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes (1342–1350). Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22^e Congrès des études byzantines, à Sofia, le 25 août 2011*, edited by Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (Paris, 2014), pp. 99–174.
- Maltezou, Chryssa, “Οἱ Ἕλληνες μέτοικοι στὴ Βενετία μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωση. Ταυτότητα καὶ ἐθνικὴ συνείδηση,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), pp. 175–84.
- , “Ἕλληνες καὶ Λατῖνοι: ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἄλλου στὸν πρῶτο αἰῶνα φραγκικῆς κυριαρχίας στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades,” Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 47–57.
- , “Τρία κυπριακὰ ἀφιερωτήρια ἔγγραφα. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς λατινοκρατούμενης Κύπρου,” *ΒΣ* 7 (1987), pp. 1–17.
- , “Κυπριακὸς Ἑλληνισμὸς τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ του δράση κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Ἑνετοκρατίας (1489–1571),” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἑνετο-κρατία*, volume 4.2 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 1209–27.
- , “Μέτρα τῆς Βενετίας ἐναντίον τῶν οἰκογενειῶν τῶν ἐπαναστατῶν στὴν Κρήτη (14^{ος} αἰ.),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 397–406.
- , *Απὸ τὴν Κύπρο στὴ Βενετία: Κύπριοι στὴ Γαληνότητα μετὰ τὴν τουρκικὴ κατάκτηση τοῦ νησιοῦ* (Nicosia, 2003).
- Mango, Cyril, “Chypre: Carrefour du monde byzantine,” in *XV^e Congrès international d’études byzantines, Athènes, 5–11 septembre 1976. Rapports et co-rapports*, volume 5.5 (Athens, 1976), pp. 3–13 [reprinted

- in Mango, *Byzantium and its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and Its Heritage* (London, 1984), XVIII].
- Mango, Cyril, and Ernest J. W. Hawkins, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings,” *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 119–206.
- Mantzarides, Georgios I. (ed.), *Ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς στὴν Ἱστορία καὶ τὸ Παρόν. Πρακτικὰ Διεθνῶν Ἐπιστημονικῶν Συνεδρίων Ἀθηνῶν (13–15 Νοεμβρίου 1998) καὶ Λεμεσοῦ (5–7 Νοεμβρίου 1999)* (Holy Monastery of Vatopedion, Mt. Athos, 2000)
- Martin, John, *Venice’s Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1993).
- Mas Latrie, Louis de, “Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l’histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan,” *Mélanges historiques* 4 (1882), pp. 343–619.
- , “Histoire des archevêques latins de l’île de Chypre,” *Archives de l’Orient latin* 2 (1882), pp. 207–328.
- , *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 volumes (Paris, 1855–61).
- Mas, José Ruiz, “Lawrence Durrell in Cyprus: A Philhellene against Enosis,” *Epos* 19 (2003), pp. 229–43.
- Mase-Hasegawa, Emi, *Christ in Japanese Culture: Theological Themes in Shusaku Endo’s Literary Works* (Leiden–Boston, 2008).
- Mastrochristos, Nikolaos, “Ἐν τόπῳ τῆς χλόης. Κυπριακή εἰκόνα Δέησης στα Τριάντα της Ρόδου,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 34 (2013), pp. 273–84.
- McCall, Timothy, Sean Roberts, and Giancarlo Fiorenza (ed.), *Visual Cultures of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, Missouri, 2013).
- McInerney, Jeremy (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Malden–Oxford–Chichester, 2014).
- McKee, Sally, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2000).
- Metcalf, David M., *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia, 2009).
- Meyendorff, Jean, “Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy,” *DOP* 42 (1988), pp. 157–65.
- , “Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul,” *DOP* 14 (1960), pp. 147–77 [reprinted in Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems. Collected Studies* (London, 1974), XI].

- , *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959).
- Michaelides Demetrios, and Despoina Pilides, "Nicosia from the beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia*, edited by Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 2–74.
- Milbank, John, "Commentary: Ecumenical Orthodoxy—a Response to Nicholas Loudovikos," in *Encounter between Eastern Orthodoxy and Radical Orthodoxy: Transfiguring the World through the Word*, edited by Adrian Pabst and Christoph Schneider (Farnham–Burlington, 2009), pp. 156–64.
- Mitchell, Nathan D., *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (New York–London, 2009).
- Mitsides, Andreas N., "Η Αντικαλβινιστική Σύνοδος στην Κύπρο το 1668," *EKMIMK* 3 (1996), pp. 111–18.
- , "Ο πρώτος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατία κανονικὸς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου Τιμόθεος ὁ Κυκκώτης (1572–1587/8)," *EKMIMK* 1 (1990), pp. 25–30.
- , "Τὸ αὐτοκέφαλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου," in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, volume 3 of *Ἱστορία της Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 129–54.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo, "The Rules of the Game in the Study of Ancient History," translated by Daniel R. Schwartz, in Schwartz, *Reading the First Century: On Reading Josephus and Studying Jewish History of the First Century* (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 182–90.
- Monferrer-Sala, Juan Petro, "Between Hellenism and Arabicization. On the Formation of an Ethnolinguistic Identity of the Melkite Communities in the Heart of Muslim Rule," *Al-Qantara* 33.2 (2012), pp. 445–71.
- Morris, Collin, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1988; reprinted in Oxford–New York, 2001).
- Morris, Rosemary, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Moschonas, Nicholaos (ed.), *Ἡ Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία καὶ ὁ ἐλληνικὸς κόσμος* (Athens, 2008).
- Moschos, Demetrios, "Τὸ νόημα τῆς κατηγορίας ἐπὶ ἐλληνισμῷ στὴ βυζαντινὴ θεολογικὴ σκέψη," *Σύναξη* 62 (1997), pp. 69–84.
- , *Πλατωνισμὸς ἢ Χριστιανισμός; Οἱ φιλοσοφικὲς προϋποθέσεις τοῦ Ἀντισηχασμοῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου Γρηγοροῦ (1293–1361)* (Athens, 1998).

- Mouriki, Doula, "The Cult of Cypriot Saints in Medieval Cyprus as Attested by Church Decorations and Icon Painting," in *"The Sweet Land of Cyprus." Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, edited by Anthony A. M. Bryer and Georgios S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 237–77.
- Mureşan, Dan I., "The Hesychasts. 'Political Photianism' and the Public Sphere in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Orthodox Christian World*, edited by Augustine Casiday (London–New York, 2012), pp. 293–301.
- Myrianthefts, Diomedes, Doria Nicolaou, Giorgos Philotheou, and Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, *H Μονή της Παναγίας Αμασγού στο Μονάγρι* (Nicosia, 2012).
- Nadal-Cañellas, Juan, *La résistance d'Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas. Enquête historique, avec traduction et commentaire de quatre traités édités récemment. Commentaire historique*, volume 2 (Leuven, 2006).
- Nasrallah, Joseph, *Chronologie des Patriarches melchites d'Antioch de 1250 à 1500* (Jerusalem, 1968).
- Necipoğlu, Nevra, "Social and Economic Conditions in Constantinople during Mehmed II's Siege," in *1453. Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, edited by Tonia Kioussopoulou (Heraklion, 2005), pp. 75–86.
- , *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge–New York, 2009).
- Neocleous, Savvas, "Imaging Isaak Komnenos of Cyprus (1184–1191) and the Cypriots: Evidence from the Latin Historiography of the Third Crusade," *Byzantion* 83 (2013), pp. 287–337.
- Netland, Harold A. "Inclusivism and Exclusivism," in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy of Religion*, edited by Chad Meister and Paul Copan (second edition: Abingdon, Oxon, 2013), pp. 250–60.
- Nicol, Donald M., "Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century," *AHC* 1 (1969), pp. 69–95 [reprinted in Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western world. Collected Studies* (London, 1972), VIII].
- , "Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in *Studies in Church History*, volume 1, edited by Clifford W. Dugmore and Charles Duggan (London–Edinburgh, 1964), pp. 160–72 [reprinted in

- Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western world. Collected Studies* (London, 1972), IV].
- , “Symbiosis and Integration. Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries,” *BF* 7 (1979), pp. 113–35 [reprinted in Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western world. Collected Studies* (London, 1972), III].
- , *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984).
- , *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993).
- , *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, “Alterity and Identity in Lusignan Cyprus from ca. 1350 to ca. 1450: The Testimonies of Philippe de Mézières and Leontios Makhairas,” in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011*, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 37–66.
- , “Diplomatics and Historiography: The Use of Documents in the *Chronicle* of Leontios Makhairas,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, edited by Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 293–323.
- , “Ethnic Names and the Construction of Group Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Cyprus: The Case of *Κυπριώτης*,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 259–75.
- , “Greeks,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 13–62.
- , “La ‘France de Chypre’ de Louis de Mas Latrie,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 505–21.
- , “The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191–1192,” *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 25–123.
- , “Η ονοματολογία στα χειρόγραφα του *Χρονικού* του Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα,” in *Αναδρομικά και Προδρομικά. Approaches to Texts in Early*

- Modern Greek*, volume 5 of *Neograeca Medii Aevi*, edited by Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys (Oxford, 2005), pp. 327–71.
- , “Η προφορικότητα στα χειρόγραφα του Χρονικού του Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά. Μεταγραφικά και εκδοτικά προβλήματα,” in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου “Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς-Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος, δυο χρονικά της μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου,”* edited by Loukia Loizou-Hadjigabriel (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 55–77.
- , “Σχέσεις αλληλεπίδρασης και φαινόμενα αλλοτρίωσης στην Κύπρο των Λουζινιάν (1192–1489): το παράδειγμα της εκπαίδευσης,” *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 311–28.
- Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, and Christopher D. Schabel (ed.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden–Boston, 2005).
- , “Limassol under Latin Rule, 1191–1571,” in *Lemesos: A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, edited by Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 195–361.
- Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1996).
- Nosco, Peter, “Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the ‘Underground’ Christians,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 20.1 (1993), pp. 3–29.
- O’Connell, Monique, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice’s Maritime State* (Baltimore, Maryland, 2009).
- O’Mahony, Anthony, “Between Rome and Antioch: The Syrian Catholic Church in the Modern Middle East,” in *Eastern Christianity in the Modern Middle East*, edited by Anthony O’Mahony and Emma Loosley (London–New York, 2010), pp. 120–37.
- Oakley, Francis, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300–1870* (Oxford–New York, 2003).
- Oikonomou, Christos, “Η είσαγωγή τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ ἡ θεμελίωση τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἐκκλησίας,” in *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, volume 3 of *Ἱστορία της Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 23–10.
- Olympios, Michalis, “Rummaging through Ruins: Architecture in Limassol in the Lusignan and Venetian Periods,” in *Lemesos: A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, edited by Angel

- Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 362–500.
- , “Saint George of the Greeks and its Legacy: A Facet of Urban Greek Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus,” in *Famagusta*, volume 1, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 143–202.
- , “Shared Devotions: Non-Latin Responses to Latin Sainthood in Late Medieval Cyprus,” *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp. 321–41.
- , “The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta,” in *Famagusta*, volume 1, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 75–142.
- Ombres, Robert, “Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230–1439,” *JEH* 35.1 (1984), pp. 1–14.
- Origone, Sandra, “Marriage Connections between Byzantium and the West in the Age of the Palaiologoi,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, edited by Benjamin Arbel (London–Portland, Oregon 1996), pp. 226–41.
- Orlando, Ermanno, “Mixed Marriages between Greeks and Latins in Late Medieval Italy,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 37 (2007), pp. 101–19.
- Otten-Froux, Catherine, “Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIV^e siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell’Orio (1362–1371),” *Θησαυρίσματα* 33 (2003), pp. 15–159.
- Page, Gill, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Pahlitzsch, Johannes, “Mediators between East and West: Christians under Mamluk Rule,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 9.2 (2005), pp. 31–47.
- , “The Greek Orthodox Communities of Nicaea and Ephesus under Turkish Rule in the Fourteenth Century: A New Reading of Old Sources,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yildiz (Farnham–Burlington, 2015), pp. 147–82.
- , *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem* (Berlin, 2001).

- Paliouras, Athanasios, “Ο Κύπριος ζωγράφος Συμεὼν Αὐξέντης καὶ τὰ καλλιτεχνικὰ ρεύματα τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰώνα,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 591–600.
- , “Τὸ Ἀγιοφάραγγο καὶ τὰ χριστιανικὰ ἀσκηταριὰ τῆς νότιας Κρήτης,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 41–42 (2011–12), pp. 423–29.
- Papacostas, Tassos, “A Gothic Basilica in the Renaissance: Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta,” in *Famagusta*, volume 1, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 339–66.
- , “An Exceptional Structure in a Conventional Setting: Preliminary Observations about the Katholikon of Saint Neophytos (Paphos, Cyprus),” in *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice. International Conference, Venice, 16–18 September 2010*, edited by Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2013), pp. 293–310.
- , “Byzantine Famagusta: An Oxymoron?,” in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 25–61.
- , “Byzantine Nicosia, 650–1191,” in *Historic Nicosia*, edited by Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 78–109.
- , “Byzantine Rite in a Gothic Setting: Aspects of Cultural Appropriation in Late Medieval Cyprus,” *Series Byzantina* 8 (2008), pp. 117–32.
- , “In Search of a Lost Byzantine Monument: Saint Sophia of Nicosia,” *EKEE* 31 (2005), pp. 11–37.
- , “Monastic Estates in the Middle Byzantine Period: Evidence from Cyprus for Local and Overseas Landowners,” in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter. Conference in Münster, 6–8 December 2012*, edited by Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 123–45.
- , “Neapolis/Nemesos/Limassol: The Rise of a Byzantine Settlement from Late Antiquity to the Time of the Crusades,” in *Lemesos: A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, edited by

- Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. 96–188.
- Papacostas, Tassos, and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (ed.), *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011* (Nicosia, 2014).
- Papacostas, Tassos, Cyril Mango, and Michael Grünbart, “The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis, Cyprus,” *DOP* 61 (2007), pp. 25–165.
- Papadaki, Aspasia, “Cerimonie pubbliche e feste a Cipro veneziana: dimensioni sociali ed ideologiche,” in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, edited by Chryssa Maltezu, Angeliki Tzavara, and Despina Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 381–94.
- Papadakis, Aristeides, and John Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church A.D. 1071–1453*, volume 4 of *The Church in History* (Crestwood, New York, 1994).
- Papadakis, Aristeides, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)* (second edition: New York, 1983).
- Papademetriou, Tom, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford, 2015).
- Papadia-Lala, Anastasia, “Κοινωνία, ιδεολογία και εξεγερτικές κινήσεις στην Κύπρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετικής κυριαρχίας (1474/1489–1571),” in *Κύπρος. Αγώνες ελευθερίας στην ελληνική ιστορία*, edited by Andreas Voskos (Athens, 2010), pp. 115–46.
- , *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (13^{ος} –18^{ος} αι.). Μια συνθετική προσέγγιση* (Venice, 1996).
- Papadopoulos, Theodoros (ed.), *Βυζαντινή Κύπρος*, volume 3 of *Ιστορία της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2005).
- , “Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός,” *ΚΣ* 44 (1980), pp. 197–203.
- , “Δομὴ καὶ Λειτουργία τοῦ Φεουδαρχικοῦ Πολιτεύματος,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.2 of *Ιστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 759–84.
- , “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” in *Με-σαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.1 of *Ιστορία τῆς*

- Κύπρου, edited by Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 543–665.
- , “Ἡ ἰδεολογικὴ ἀπεξάρτηση τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), pp. xv–xxv.
- , “Κυπριακὰ Νόμιμα,” *ΜΥ* 1 (1984), pp. 1–142.
- , “Τὸ ἱστορικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Κυπριανοῦ,” in *Ἱστορία Χρονολογι-κὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου (ἔκδοσις Παλιγγενεσίας)* edited by Archimandrite Kyprianos (1788; reprinted in Nicosia, 1971), pp. 1*–6*.
- Papadopoulos, Chrysostomos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας* (62–1934) (Alexandria, 1935).
- Parageorghiou, Athanasios, “Syrie et les icônes de Chypre peintres syriens à Chypre,” *RDAC* (1989), pp. 171–76.
- , “Ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Σόλων,” *EKMIMK* 5 (2001), pp. 9–37.
- , “Λαξευτὰ ἀσκητήρια καὶ μοναστήρια τῆς Κύπρου,” *EKMIMK* 4 (1999), pp. 33–70.
- , “Ὁ καθεδρικὸς ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου. Προβλήματα τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πίπη καὶ τῆς εἰκονογράφησης τοῦ ναοῦ,” *ΚΣ* 61 (1997), pp. 47–79.
- , “Ὁ Σταυρὸς των Λευκάρων,” in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, volume 1, edited by Lucy Bratzioti (Athens, 1994), pp. 245–50.
- , “Οἱ ζωγράφοι τοῦ 15^{ου} καὶ 16^{ου} αἰώνα στὴν Κύπρο,” *RDAC* (1974), 193–209.
- , *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1992).
- , *Ἡ Λετύμπου καὶ ὁ ναὸς των Αγίων Κηρύκου καὶ Ιουλίττης στη Λετύμπου* (Letymbou, 2008).
- , *Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Αγίου Ιωάννου τοῦ Λαμπαδιστοῦ στον Καλοπαναγιώτη* (second edition: Nicosia, 2009).
- Parageorghiou, Costas, *Κύπριον Πατερικὸν τοῦ Ἄθωνος* (Cyprus, 2011).
- Παραϊοαννου, Charilaos I., “‘Τακτικόν,’ ἥτοι Ἀρχιερατικὸν Εὐχολόγιον τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Καρπασέων καὶ Ἀμμοχώστου,” *ΕΚ* 3 (1912), pp. 443–56, 489–94, 511–17, 588–95, 623–31, 668–74.
- , “‘Τακτικόν,’ ἥτοι Ἀρχιερατικὸν Εὐχολόγιον τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Καρπασέων καὶ Ἀμμοχώστου (συνέχεια),” *ΕΚ* 4 (1913), pp. 23–28, 52–58, 83–87, 115–18, 239–45.

- , “‘Τακτικόν,’ ἦτοι Ἀρχιερατικὸν Εὐχολόγιον τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Καρπασέων καὶ Ἀμμοχώστου (συνέχεια),” *EK* 5 (1915), pp. 78–90.
- Paramastorakis, Titos, “Ἡ μορφή τοῦ Χριστοῦ-Μεγάλου Ἀρχιερέα,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993–94), pp. 67–78.
- , *Ὁ διάκοσμος τοῦ τρούλου τῶν ναῶν τῆς Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στὴ Βαλκανικὴ Χερσόνησο καὶ τὴν Κύπρο* (Athens, 2001).
- Pararnakis, Athanasios G., “Ἡ χρήση τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς στὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός*. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 607–46.
- Parazoglou, Georgios K., “‘Ὁς τὸν μαρτυρίου δέχεται στέφανον’. Ὁ Ἀλέξιος Καλλέργης καὶ μία ἄγνωστη διήγηση τῶν Κρητικῶν Ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 1365–1367,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 36 (2006), pp. 9–35.
- , “Χειρόγραφα ἔργα Ἀνθίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ κείμενα ποὺ ἀναφέρονται σ’ αὐτόν,” *Ἑλληνικὰ* 31 (1979), pp. 183–87.
- Parani, Maria, “Το αρχιτεκτονικὸ βάθος στο ἔργο του ζωγράφου Φίλιππου Γούλ: μερικές σκέψεις,” in *Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες προς τιμὴν τῆς Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρῆ* (Athens, 2010), pp. 341–68.
- Pardos, Antonis, “Μάρκου Μουσούρου του Κρητός, *Ωδὴ στον Πλάτωνα*,” *νΕΛ* (2015), pp. 114–25.
- Parker, Thomas M., “The Papacy, Catholic Reform, and Christian Missions,” in *The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559–1610*, volume 3 of *The New Cambridge Modern History*, edited by Richard B. Wernham (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 44–71.
- Paschali, Maria, “Crusader Ideology, Propaganda, and the Art of the Carmelite Church in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta,” in *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, edited by Michael J. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas S. H. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 135–44.
- , “Mural Decoration in Saint George of the Greeks at Famagusta,” in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Annemary Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 277–314.
- , “Negotiating Identities in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta: Saint George of the Greeks, the Liturgy and the Latins,” in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium*,

London, 13–14 June 2011, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 281–301.

Paschalides, Symeon, “Ἡ διερεύνηση τῶν κριτηρίων ἀγιότητος τοῦ Ὁσίου Νεοφύτου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἁγίου Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 681–709.

Patarίου, Nasa, “Antonio Bragadin, γενικός προνοητής Κύπρου. Μια επιστολή του στις 26 Ἀπριλίου 1565,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 191–207.

———, “Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Εὐγένιου Συγκλητικοῦ τοῦ Θωμᾶ (1538). Νέες εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὴ βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο,” *ΚΣ* 67–68 (2003–04), pp. 119–243.

———, “Ἡ κάθοδος των Ελληνοαλβανῶν *stradioti* στην Κύπρο (ΙΣΤ΄ αι.),” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 161–209.

———, “Ἡ σφαγὴ στα Λεύκαρα τον Ιούλιο του 1570. Αρχειακές μαρτυρίες,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 44 (2014), pp. 157–98.

———, “Ἰωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος: ἓνας ἀγνωστος λόγιος του 16^{ου} αἰῶνα,” *Στασίνος* 13 (2011–12), pp. 223–38.

———, “Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴ βενετοκρατούμενη Λευκωσία ἀπὸ τὸ Κρατικὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Βενετίας,” *ΚΣ* 71 (2007), pp. 55–68.

———, “Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν κυπριακὴ οικογένεια Φλαγγή (Flangin),” in *Ι΄ Διεθνὲς Πανιόνιο Συνέδριο, Κέρκυρα, 30 Ἀπριλίου–4 Μαΐου 2014. Πρακτικά*, edited by Theodosios Pylarinos and Panagiota Tzivara (Kerkyra, 2015), pp. 675–92.

———, “Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν Ορθόδοξη Ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀμμοχώστου-Κωνσταντίας κατὰ τὰ χρόνια τῆς βενετικῆς κυριαρχίας στην Κύπρο,” *EKEIS* 10 (2012), pp. 129–48.

———, “Ὁ λόγιος Ἰωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος: ἡ οικογένεια καὶ ὁ ἐγκωμιαστικὸς τοῦ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Ιούλιο Savorgnano,” *Στασίνος* 15 (2015–16), pp. 211–67.

———, “Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Πίπη καὶ ἡ ἐνορία τοῦ ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας,” *ΚΣ* 75 (2011), pp. 245–54.

———, “Συμεὼν ηγούμενος Κύκκου: ἡ ἐκλογή του ὡς ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου (1568),” *EKMIMK* 11 (2016), pp. 191–210.

———, *Ἡ κωμόπολη Ριζοκαρπάσου καὶ ἡ ἀκραία χερσόνησος. Νέα στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τὰ βενετικὰ ἀρχεῖα*, volume 179 of *Χρονικὸ (Πολίτης newspaper,*

2011).

Patterson Ševčenko, Nancy, “The Monastery of Mount Sinai and the Cult of Saint Catherine,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, edited by Sarah T. Brooks (New York–New Haven, Connecticut–London, 2006), pp. 118–37.

Pätzold, Alexandra, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der Byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1989).

Pentcheva, Bissera V., *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2006).

Perdikis, Stylianos, and Diomides Myrianthefs, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στον Μουτουλλά* (Nicosia, 2009).

Perdikis, Stylianos, *Ο ναός του Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στον Πεδουλά* (Nicosia, 2014).

Phillips, Jonathan, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2004).

Photiades, Constantinos, *Οί έξι ισλαμισμοί τής Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ Κρυπτοχριστιανοί τοῦ Πόντου*, translated by Achilleas Kapsalis (Thessalonica, 1993).

Pieris, Michalis, “Τύρω από τον Λεόντιο Μαχαιρά: ιστορική και θρησκευτική συνείδηση, γλώσσα και λογοτεχνικότητα, αφηγηματική και δραματική δομή,” in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου “Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς-Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος, δυο χρονικά της μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου,”* edited by Loukia Loizou-Hadjigabriel (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 35–54.

Pihler, Mette (ed.), *A Dragoman’s House: The House of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios in Nicosia* (Nicosia-Copenhagen, 1993).

Piltz, Elisabeth, “Saint Bridget and Byzantium—In View of Her Cyprian Revelations,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 45–60.

Pitsakis, Constantinos G., “Η ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνὸς ὑπερόριου πατριάρχη: ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 12^ο αἰῶνα,” in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12^ο αἰῶνα. Κανονικὸ Δίκαιο, κράτος καὶ κοινωνία*, edited by Nicholaos Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), pp. 91–139.

- , “Ἡ οἰκουμενικότητα τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ δικαίου,” in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο ὡς Οἰκουμένη*, edited by Evangelos K. Chrysos (Athens, 2005), pp. 141–82.
- , “Νομοκανονικὴ προσέγγιση τῆς ἐγκυκλίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου στὴν χηρεύουσα Ἐπισκοπὴ Πάφου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἁγίου Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός*. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 723–38.
- , “Οἱ Κύπριοι ‘Τρισεπίσκοποι.’ Ἐνα παράδοξο στὴν ὁρολογία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κανονικοῦ δικαίου,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996), volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorgiou (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 89–110.
- Plagnieux, Philippe, and Thierry Souldard, “Famagouste: La cathédrale Saint-George des Grecs,” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, edited by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2006), pp. 288–96.
- , “Nicosie: Le Bédestan (cathédrale grecque de Nicosie),” in *L’art gothique en Chypre*, edited by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2006), pp. 181–89.
- Plested, Marcus, “Latin Monasticism on Mount Athos,” in *Mount Athos: Microcosm of the Christian East*, edited by Graham Speake and Kallistos Ware (Bern, 2012), pp. 97–111.
- , *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas* (Oxford, 2012).
- Polemis, Ioannis D., “Arsenius of Tyrus and his Tome against the Palamites,” *JÖB* 43 (1993), pp. 241–81.
- Povolo, Claudio, “The Creation of Venetian Historiography,” in *Venice Reconsidered. the History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, edited by John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore, Maryland–London, 2000), pp. 491–519.
- Pringle, Denys, “Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211–1212): A New Edition,” *Crusades* 11 (2012), pp. 109–37.
- Puchner, Walter, *Η Κύπρος των Σταυροφόρων και το Θρησκευτικό Θέατρο του Μεσαίωνα* (Nicosia, 2004).
- Raby, Julian, “Mehmed the Conqueror’s Greek Scriptorium,” *DOP* 37 (1983), pp. 15–34.
- Rapp, Claudia, “Epiphanius of Salamis: The Church Father as Saint,” in *“The Sweet Land of Cyprus.” Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee*

- Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, edited by Anthony A. M. Bryer and Georgios S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 169–87.
- Rappas, Alexis, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London–New York, 2014).
- Rapti, Ioanna, “Identities on the Page: Printed Books in Late Medieval Cyprus,” in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011*, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 303–60.
- Raquez, Olivier, “Les confessions de foi de la Chirotonie épiscopale des Églises grecques,” in *Traditio et progressio. Studi liturgici in onore del Prof. A. Nocent OSB*, edited by Giustino Faredi (Rome, 1988), pp. 469–85.
- Reinkowski, Maurus, “Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates: The Phenomenon of Crypto-Jews and Crypto-Christians in the Middle East,” in *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, edited by Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart (Leiden–Boston, 2007), pp. 409–33.
- Renouard, Yves, *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, translated by Denis Bethell (Hamden, Connecticut, 1970).
- Rhoby, Andreas, “The Letter Network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas,” in *Ἰωάννης καὶ Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς*, edited by Stavros Perentides and George Steiris (Athens, 2009), pp. 125–52.
- Richard, Jean, “À propos de la ‘Bulla Cypria’ de 1260,” *BF* 12 (1996), pp. 12–31.
- , “Aspects du notariat public à Chypre sous les Lusignans,” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, edited by Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 207–21.
- , “L’abbaye cistercienne de Jubin et le prieuré Saint-Blaise de Nicosie,” *EKEE* 3 (1969–70), pp. 63–74.
- , “Le casal de Psimolofo et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIV^e siècle,” *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 59 (1947), pp. 121–53.

- , “Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle,” *BF* 7 (1979), pp. 157–73 [reprinted in Richard, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs. Les perspectives orientales du monde latin medieval* (London, 1983), VII].
- , “Le royaume de Chypre et le Grand Schisme, à propos d’un document récemment découvert,” *CRSAIBL* 109.2 (1965), pp. 498–507.
- , “Un but de pèlerinage: Notre-Dame de Nicosie,” in *Mosaic. Festschrift for A. H. S. Megaw*, edited by Judith Herrin, Margaret Mullett, and Catherine Otten-Froux (London, 2001), pp. 135–38.
- , “Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l’établissement de la domination franque,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, volume 2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos and Benediktos Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 61–75 [reprinted in Richard, *Croisades et Etats latins d’Orient. Points de vue et documents* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1992), XIV].
- , “Une famille de ‘Vénitiens blancs’ dans le royaume de Chypre au milieu du XV^e siècle: les Audet et la seigneurie du Marethasse,” *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981), pp. 89–129 [reprinted in Richard, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs. Les perspectives orientales du monde latin medieval* (London, 1983), X].
- Ridder-Symoens, Hilde de, “Mobility,” in *A History of the University in Europe. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, volume 2, edited by Walter Rüegg and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge–New York, 1996), pp. 416–48.
- Rigo, Antonio, “Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica dal concilio del 1351 al Tomo sinodale del 1368. Giacomo Trikanas, Procoro Cidone e Filoteo Kokkinos,” in *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino*, edited by Rigo (Florence, 2004), pp. 1–177.
- Rist, Gilbert, “La notion médiévale d’‘habitus’ dans la sociologie de Pierre Bourdieu,” *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 22.67 (1984), pp. 201–12.
- Rivoire-Richard, Monique, “Ἡ γοτθικὴ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο,” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, volume 4.2 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*,

- edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 1415–54.
- Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, Euphrasyne, *To αρχοντικό του Δραγομάνου της Κύπρου Χατζηγεωργάκη Κορνέσιου* (Nicosia, 1991).
- Robbins, Joel, “Crypto-Religions and the Study of Cultural Mixtures: Anthropology, Value, and the Nature of Syncretism,” *Journal of American Academy of Religion* 79.2 (2011), pp. 408–24.
- Roberts, Sean, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts–London, 2013).
- Robinson, Ian S., “Church and Papacy,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*, edited by James H. Burns (Cambridge–New York, 1988), pp. 252–305.
- Rogge, Sabine, and Michael Grünbart (ed.), *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter. Conference in Münster, 6–8 December 2012* (Münster–Munich–Berlin–New York, 2015).
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle, and Thomas M. Izbicki (ed.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Leiden–Boston, 2009).
- Ronchey, Silvia, “Malatesta/Paleologhi: un’alleanza dinastica per rifondare Bisanzio nel quindicesimo secolo,” *BZ* 93.2 (2000), pp. 521–67.
- Rose, Els, *Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)* (Leiden–Boston, 2009).
- Roudometof, Victor, and Irene Dietzel, “The Orthodox Church of Cyprus,” in *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Lucian N. Leustean (Abingdon–New York, 2014), pp. 161–80.
- Royel, Mar Awa, “The Sacrament of the Holy Leaven (Malkā) in the Assyrian Church of the East,” in *The Anaphoral Genesis of the Institution Narrative in Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari. Acts of the International Liturgy Congress: Rome, 25–26 October 2011*, edited by Cesare Giraudo (Rome, 2013), pp. 363–86.
- Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist on Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Runciman, Steven, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968).

Russell, Norman, “‘Partakers of the Divine Nature’ (2 Peter 1:4) in the Byzantine Tradition,” in *Καθηγήτρια. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, edited by Julian Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 51–67.

———, “Palamism and the Circle of Demetrius Cydones,” in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003), pp. 153–74.

———, “Prochoros Cydones and the Fourteenth-Century Understanding of Orthodoxy,” in *Byzantine Orthodoxies. Papers from the Thirty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002*, edited by Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), pp. 75–91.

———, “The ‘gods’ of Psalm 81 (82) in the Hesychast debates,” in *Meditations of the Heart: The Psalms in Early Christian Thought and Practice: Essays in Honour of Andrew Louth*, edited by Andreas Andreopoulos, Augustine Casiday, and Carol Harrison (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 243–56.

———, “The Hesychast Controversy,” in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, edited by Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 494–508.

Rydén, Lennart, “The Holy Fool,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, edited by Sergei Hackel (Crestwood, New York, 2001), pp. 106–13.

Ryder, Judith R., *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society* (Leiden–Boston, 2010).

Saint-Guillain, Guillaume, “La carrière d’un prélat unioniste au milieu du XV^e siècle et l’établissement du culte grec à Venise,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 39–40 (2009–10), pp. 91–110.

Sakellaridou-Soteroudi, Alexandra, “Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου,” in *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἁγίου Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 739–48.

- Saulnier, Stéphane, *Calendrical Variations in Second Temple Judaism: New Perspectives on the “Date of the Last Supper” Debate* (Leiden–Boston, 2012).
- Saxer, Victor, *Bible et hagiographie: Textes et thèmes bibliques dans les Actes des martyrs authentiques des premiers siècles* (Bern–Frankfurt–New York, 1986).
- Schabel, Christopher D., “*Ab hac hora in antea*. Oaths to the Roman Church in Frankish Cyprus (and Greece),” in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, edited by Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin J. Lewis, Balázs Major, and Jennifer A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 95–116.
- , “Archbishop Elias and the *Synodicum Nicosiense*,” *AHC* 32 (2000), pp. 61–81 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), IX].
- , “Elias of Nabinaux, Archbishop of Nicosia, and the Intellectual History of Later Medieval Cyprus,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 68 (1998), pp. 35–52 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), VIII].
- , “Etienne de Lusignan’s *Chorograffia* and the Ecclesiastical History of Frankish Cyprus: Notes on a Recent Reprint and English Translation,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 18–19 (2002–03), pp. 339–53.
- , “Frankish Pyrgos and the Cistercians,” *RDAC* (2000), pp. 349–60 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), VI].
- , “Hugh the Just: The Further Rehabilitation of King Hugh IV Lusignan of Cyprus,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 123–52 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), X].
- , “Like God from Heaven, but they don’t Call him King. The Rebellion against James I of Cyprus,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 379–92.
- , “Martyrs and Heretics, Intolerance of Intolerance: The Execution of Thirteen Monks in Cyprus in 1231,” in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), pp. 1–33, III.

- , “Pope, Council, and the Filioque in Western Theology, 1274–1439,” *Medieval Encounters* 21 (2015), pp. 190–213.
- , “Religion,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 157–218.
- , “The Greek Bishops of Cyprus, 1260–1340, and the *Synodikon Kyprion*,” *KΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), pp. 217–34 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), IV].
- , “The Latin Bishops of Cyprus, 1255–1313, with a Note on Bishop Neophytos of Solea,” *EKEE* 30 (2004), pp. 75–111 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), V].
- , “The Myth of the White Monks’ ‘Mission to the Orthodox.’ Innocent III, the Cistercians, and the Greeks,” *Traditio* 70 (2015), pp. 237–61.
- , “The Myth of Queen Alice and the Subjugation of the Greek Clergy on Cyprus,” in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: les cas de Chypre (Antiquité–Moyen Âge)*, edited by Sabine Fourier and Gilles Grivaud (Mont–Saint–Aignan, 2006), pp. 257–77 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), II].
- , “The Quarrel over Unleavened Bread in Western Theology, 1234–1439,” in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, edited by Martin Hinterberger and Christopher D. Schabel (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts, 2011), pp. 85–127.
- , “The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus,” in “*Sweet Land...*” *Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, edited by Julian Chrysostomides and Charalambos Dendrinos (Camberley, 2006), pp. 165–207 [reprinted in Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (Farnham–Burlington, 2010), I].
- Schabel, Christopher D., and Nickiphoros Tsougarakis, “Pope Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council, and Frankish Greece,” *JEH* 67.4 (2016), pp. 741–59.
- Schryver, James G., “Colonialism or Convivencia in Frankish Cyprus?” in *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in*

- Motion*, edited by Ira William Zartman (Athens, Georgia–London, 2010), pp. 133–159.
- , “Excavating the Identities of Frankish Cyprus,” in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus. Papers given at the ICS Byzantine Colloquium, London, 13–14 June 2011*, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 1–11.
- Schulz, Hans-Joachim, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, translated by Matthew J. O’Connell (New York, 1986).
- Scott, Hamish, “Introduction: ‘Early Modern’ Europe and the Idea of Early Modernity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, volume 1, edited by Scott (Oxford, 2015), pp. 1–33.
- Scott, James C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1990).
- , *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Connecticut–London, 1985).
- Sepos, Angelos, *The Europeanization of Cyprus: Polity, Policies and Politics* (Houndmills–New York, 2008).
- Settles, Isis H., and Nicole T. Buchanan, “Multiple Groups, Multiple Identities, and Intersectionality,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity*, edited by Verónica Benet-Martínez and Ying-Yi Hong (Oxford–New York, 2014), pp. 160–80.
- Setton, Kenneth M., *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, volume 1 (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1976).
- Ševčenko, Ihor, “A Postscript on Nicolas Cabasilas’ ‘Anti-Zealot’ Discourse,” *DOP* 16 (1962), pp. 403–08.
- , “Nicolas Cabasilas’ ‘Anti-Zealot’ Discourse: A Reinterpretation,” *DOP* 11 (1957), pp. 80–171.
- Shawcross, Teresa, “The Lost Generation (c. 1204–c. 1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests under the Impact of the Fourth Crusade,” in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, edited by Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Farnham–Burlington, 2011), pp. 9–45.
- , *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford–New York, 2009).
- Sheldrake, Philip, *A Brief History of Spirituality* (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria, 2007).

- Shepherd, Massey H. Jr., "Are Both the Synoptics and John Correct about the Date of Jesus' Death?" *The Society of Biblical Literature* 80.2 (1961), pp. 123–32.
- Shukurov, Rustam, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yildiz (London–New York, 2013), pp. 115–50.
- Siecienski, Anthony Edward, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford–New York, 2010).
- , *The Papacy and the Orthodox: Sources and History of a Debate* (New York, 2017).
- Siniosoglou, Niketas, *Radical Platonism in Byzantium: Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Sinkewicz, Robert E., "A New Interpretation for the First Episode in the Controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas," *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1980), pp. 489–500.
- , "The Solutions Addressed to George Lapithes by Barlaam the Calabrian and their Philosophical Context," *Medieval Studies* 43.1 (1981), pp. 151–217.
- Skaltsis, Panagiotes I., *Ἡ παράδοση τῆς κοινῆς καὶ τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν προσευχῆς μὲ ἐῖδική ἀναφορὰ στὸ Ὡρολόγιο τοῦ Θηκαρᾶ* (Thessalonica, 2008).
- Skoufari, Evangelia, "L'Arcivescovo Filippo Mocenigo e l'applicazione della riforma tridentina a Cipro," in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 205–30.
- , *Cipro veneziana (1473–1571). Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011).
- Smith, Anthony D., "Nationalism in Early Modern Europe," *History and Theory* 44 (2005), pp. 404–15.
- , *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London–New York, 2009).
- , *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria, 2008).
- Smith-Christopher, Daniel L., "Reading War and Trauma: Suggestions Toward a Social-Psychological Exegesis of Exile and War in Biblical

- Texts,” in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, edited by Brad E. Kelle, Frank R. Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta, Georgia, 2011), pp. 253–74.
- Solomou, Yiannakis (coordinator), *Cyprus has always been Europe* (third edition: Nicosia, 2014).
- Sophocleous, Sophocles, *Ιcônes de Chypre: diocese de Limassol 12^e –16^e siècle* (Nicosia, 2006).
- Spyridakis, Georgios K., “Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ δύο ἱστορικῶν ἁσμάτων τῆς Κύπρου,” *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 6 (1955–56), pp. 423–38.
- Squarcini, Federico, “*Tradens, Traditum, Recipiens*. Introductory Remarks on the Semiotics, Pragmatics and Politics of Tradition,” in *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia*, edited by Federico Squarcini (London–New York–Delhi, 2011), pp. 11–38.
- Stanković, Vlada, “Comnenian Monastic Foundations in Constantinople: Questions of Method and Historical Context,” *Belgrade Historical Review* 2 (2011), pp. 47–72.
- , “Rethinking the Position of Serbia within Byzantine Oikoumene in the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Balkans and the Byzantine World Before and After the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, edited by Stanković (Lanham–Boulder–New York–London, 2016), pp. 91–102.
- Stavrides, Theocharis, “Ο σεισμός του 1491 στην Κύπρο,” *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 125–44.
- Stouraitis, Ioannis, “Jihād and Crusade: Byzantine positions towards the notions of ‘Holy War,’” *ΒΣ* 21 (2011), pp. 11–63.
- Stroumbakis, Michael, *Ἱερεμίας Α΄, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ ἔργο του* (Athens, 2004).
- Stylianou, Andreas, and Judith Stylianou, “Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960), pp. 97–128.
- , “The Militarization of the Betrayal and its Examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” in *Εὐφρόσυνον. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, volume 2, edited by Evangelia Kypraiou (Athens, 1992), pp. 570–81.

- , “Ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας (1191–1570),” in *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἑνετοκρατία*, volume 4.2 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 1229–1407.
- , *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (second edition: Nicosia, 1997).
- Svoronos, Nicholas, “Ζητήματα σχετικά με την οικονομική, κοινωνική και νομική κατάσταση των Ελληνοκυπρίων στη διάρκεια της φράγκικης κυριαρχίας,” translated by Paris Gounarides, *Σημείο* 4 (1996), pp. 29–50.
- , “Τὸ νόημα καὶ ἡ τυπολογία τῶν κρητικῶν ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 13^{ου} αἰ.,” *ΒΣ* 8 (1989), pp. 1–14.
- , *Το ελληνικὸ ἔθνος: Γένεση καὶ διαμόρφωση τοῦ Νέου Ελληνισμοῦ* (Athens, 2004).
- Tachiaos, Anthony-Emil, “Le mouvement hésychaste pendant les dernières décennies du XIV^e siècle,” *Κληρονομία* 6 (1974), pp. 113–32.
- Taft, Robert F., *Eastern-Rite Catholicism: Its Heritage and Vocation* (Glen Rock, New Jersey, 1963).
- , *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1992).
- , *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome, 1975).
- Talbot Rice, David, Rupert Gunnis, and Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937).
- Theocharides, Ioannis, “Μέθοδοι κατάκτησης της Οθωμανικῆς Αυτοκρατορίας: η περίπτωση της Κύπρου,” in *Polyptychon/Πολύπτυχον. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis/Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Χασιώτη*, edited by Encarnación Motos Guirao and Moschos Morfakidis Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 137–48.
- Thiessen, Gesa, “Images of the Trinity in Visual Art,” in *Trinity and Salvation: Theological, Spiritual and Aesthetic Perspectives*, volume 2, edited by Declan Marmion and Gessa Thiessen (Bern, 2009), pp. 119–40.
- Thomas, Julian, “Archaeologies of Place and Landscape,” in *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by Ian Hodder (Malden, Massachusetts, 2001), pp. 165–86.

- Thunø, Erik, and Gerhard Wolf (ed.), *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte). Rome, 31 May–2 June 2003* (Rome, 2004).
- Tollefsen, Torstein T., *Activity and Participation in Late Antique and Early Christian Thought* (Oxford–New York, 2012).
- Tomadakis, Nicholaos B., “Μελετήματα περὶ Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου: (Α΄) Τὸ ζήτημα τῶν ‘συνεισακτῶν’ ἐν Κρήτῃ (περὶ τὸ 1400). (Β΄) Χρονολογικὰ προβλήματα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 29 (1959), pp. 1–33.
- , “Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι παπᾶδες ἐπὶ Ἐνετοκρατίας καὶ ἡ χειροτονία αὐτῶν,” *KX* 13 (1959), pp. 39–72.
- , *Ὁ Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ 1400. Μελέτη ἱστορικὴ καὶ φιλολογικὴ* (Athens, 1947).
- Tomea, Paolo, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo: la leggenda di san Barnaba* (Milan, 1993).
- Torrance, Alexis, “Receiving Palamas: The Case of Cyprus, 1345–71,” *Analogia* 4.2 (2018), pp. 115–33.
- Torrell, Jean-Pierre, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and his Work*, volume 1, translated by Robert Royal (second edition: Washington, D.C., 2005).
- Trakatellis, Demetrios, *The Pre-Existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Missoula, Montana, 1976).
- Triantafyllopoulos, Christos, “The Thomist Basis of Prochoros Kydones’ Anti-Palamite Treatise ‘De essentia et operatione Dei’ and the Reaction of the Byzantine Church,” in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, edited by Andreas Speer and Philipp Steinkrüger (Berlin–Boston, 2012), pp. 411–30.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, Demetrios D., “Encounter of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church in Cyprus. The Ecclesiastical Art as Testimony,” in *Cyprus and Italy during the Time of the Byzantine Empire: Historical and Artistic Testimonies of the Period of the Latin Rule in Cyprus (1191–1571)*, edited by Ioannis A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 40–51.
- , “Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύση στὴν Κύπρο. Περιδιαβάζοντας στὰ χριστιανικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς μὲ ὁδηγὸ τὸν Γιώργο Σεφέρη,” *KΣ* 67–68 (2003–04), pp. 59–77.

- , “Ἀποκαλύψεως ὀράματα στὴν Κύπρο. Ἱστορικὴ πραγματικότητα καὶ ἐσχατολογικὴ προοπτικὴ,” *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–01), pp. 385–428.
- , “Βενετία καὶ Κύπρος: Σχέσεις τους στὴν τέχνη,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κύπρος–Βενετία κοινὲς ἱστορικὲς τύχες. Ἀθήνα, 1–3 Μαρτίου 2001. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου Λεβέντη hominis universalis*, edited by Chryssa Maltezu (Venice, 2002), pp. 315–36.
- , “Ἡ τέχνη στὴν Κύπρο ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453) ἕως τὴν ἑναρξὴ τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571): βυζαντινὴ/μεσαιωνικὴ ἢ μεταβυζαντινὴ;,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, volume 2, edited by Papageorgiou, pp. 621–50.
- Triantaphyllopoulos, Demetrios D., and Georgios K. Christodoulou, “Early Christian and Early Byzantine Leucosia/Ledra/Ledroi/Nicosia: An Essay on Historical Topography and Hagio-Topography,” in *Byzantina Mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus Belke, Ewald Kislinger, Andreas Külzer, and Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2007), pp. 671–91.
- Troianos, Spyros, “Οἱ μικτοὶ γάμοι εἰς τοὺς κανόνες,” *Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας* 43 (1982), pp. 10–17.
- Trottmann, Christian, *La vision béatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa definition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995).
- Tselikas, Agamemnon, “Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Petro de Cafrano καὶ οἱ πράξεις ἐκλογῆς Κυπρίων φοιτητῶν γιὰ τὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τῆς Πάδοβας (1393, 1436–1569),” *EKEE* 17 (1987–88), pp. 261–92.
- Tsiamis, Costas, Effie Poulakou-Rebelakou, Athanassios Tsakris, and Eleni Petridou, “Epidemic Waves of the Black Death in the Byzantine Empire (1347–1453 AD),” *Le Infezioni in Medicina* 19.3 (2011), pp. 194–201.
- Tsirpanlis, Zacharias N., “Μορφές ἐπικοινωνίας του κυπριακοῦ μοναχισμοῦ με τὴν καθολικὴ Δύση (17^{ος} αἰ.),” *Δωδώνη* 25 (1996), pp. 121–45.
- , “Σχέσεις Κύπρου καὶ Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571–1878),” in *Τουρκοκρατία*, volume 6 of *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 825–60.
- , “Ἡ ἐφαρμογὴ τοῦ Φλωρεντίνου ‘ὄρου’ στὸ ἐλληνικὸ Ἀρχιπέλαγος. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης καὶ τῆς

- ἱπποτοκρατούμενης Ῥόδου,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 16 (1991), pp. 77–115.
- , *Ο Κυπριακός Ἑλληνισμός της Διασποράς και οι σχέσεις Κύπρου-Βατικανού (1571–1878)* (Thessalonica, 2006).
- Tsougarakis, Dimitris, “Venetian Crete and the Myth of Novel Ideas,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 31 (2001), pp. 43–65.
- Turner, Graeme, *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (third edition: London–New York, 2003).
- Turner, H. J. M., *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden–New York–Copenhagen–Cologne, 1990).
- Tzoumalaki, Vasiliki Ch., “Ο γάμος μετά τη χειροτονία και τη μοναχική κουρά,” MA dissertation (Aristoteleion University of Thessalonica, 2009).
- Vacalopoulos, Apostolos, “Une reine grecque de Chypre mal comprise par les historiens, Hélène Paléologine (1442–1458),” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorghiou (Nicosia, 1972), pp. 277–84.
- , *Ἀρχές και διαμόρφωση τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, volume 1 of *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (second edition: Thessalonica, 1974).
- , *Τουρκοκρατία, 1453–1669: Οἱ ἄγῳνες γιὰ τὴν πίστη καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερία*, volume 3 of *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (Thessalonica, 1968).
- Vaivre, Jean-Bernard de, “Le tympan du portail central de la cathédrale Sainte-Sophie de Nicosie,” *CRSAIBL* 145.2 (2001), pp. 1031–42.
- Van der Rijt, Jan-Villem, *The Importance of Assent: A Theory of Coercion and Dignity* (London–New York, 2012).
- Van Tricht, Filip, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, translated by Peter Longbottom (Leiden–Boston, 2011).
- Vaporis, Michael, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437–1860* (Crestwood, New York, 2000).
- Varnava, Andrekos, “The Minorities of Cyprus in the *History of Cyprus* Textbook for Lyceum Students: A Critique,” in *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*, edited by Andrekos Varnava, Nicholas Coureas, and Marina Elia (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009), pp. 299–313.

- , “The State of Cypriot Minorities: Cultural Diversity, Internal-Exclusion and the Cyprus ‘Problem,’” *The Cyprus Review* 22.2 (2010), pp. 205–18.
- Varnava, Andrekos, and Michael N. Michael, “Archbishop-Ethnarchs since 1767,” in *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, edited by Varnava and Michael (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), pp. 1–16.
- Verkuyten, Maykel, *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity* (Hove–New York, 2005).
- Viladesau, Richard, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford–New York, 2008).
- Voisin, Ludivine, “Francs de Chypre et monastères grecs: le jus patronatus en question,” *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 393–404.
- , “L’‘Ancienne’ ou ‘Nouvelle Rome’: les monastères grecs sous domination latine entre Rome et Constantinople (13^e–15^e siècles),” *Chronos* 28 (2013), pp. 7–23.
- , “L’Église de Chypre dans les années 1460–1480 d’après la correspondance de Benedetto Soranzo,” *Θησαυρίσματα* 43 (2013), pp. 93–126.
- Vozza, Vincenzo, “Filippo Mocenigo da Nicosia ai Colli Euganei,” *Padova e il suo territorio* 171 (2014), pp. 37–41.
- Vryonis, Spyros Jr., “Recent Scholarship on Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks,” in *The “Past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, edited by Vryonis (Malibu, California, 1978), pp. 237–41.
- , *Byzantine Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990).
- Walker White, Andrew, *Performing Orthodox Ritual in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Walter, Christopher, “The Names of the Council Fathers at Saint Sozomenus, Cyprus,” *REB* 28 (1970), pp. 189–206.
- , “The Series of Frescoes of Councils on the North Wall of the Church of Saint Sozomenus, Galata,” in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, volume 2, edited by Athanasios Papageorgiou (Nicosia, 1972), pp. 281–84.

- Ware, Kallistos, "Orthodox and Catholics in the Seventeenth Century: Schism or Intercommunion?" in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, edited by Derek Baker (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 259–76.
- , "Ways of Prayer and Contemplation. I. Eastern," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, edited by Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff, and Jean Leclercq (New York, 1987), pp. 395–414.
- Weber, Benjamin, "Toward a Global Crusade? The Papacy and the Non-Latin World in the Fifteenth Century," in *Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade*, edited by Norman Housley (London, 2017), pp. 11–44.
- Weyl Carr, Annemarie, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan kings," in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference "Cyprus and the Crusades," Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 239–74 [reprinted in Weyl Carr, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2005), VII].
- , "Introduction," in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 7–22.
- , "Reflections on the Life of an Icon: The Eleousa of Kykkos," *EKMIMK* 6 (2004), pp. 103–64.
- , "Sinai and Cyprus: Holy Mountain, Holy Isle," in *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, edited by Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Robert S. Nelson (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 449–78.
- , "The 'Holy Sepulcher' of St. John Lampadistes in Cyprus," in *New Jerusalems: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, edited by Alexei Lidov (Moscow, 2009), pp. 475–99.
- , "Thoughts on the Economy of the Image of Mary," *Theology Today* 56 (1999), pp. 359–78.
- Whalen, Brett E., "Rethinking the Schism of 1054: Authority, Heresy and the Latin Rite," *Traditio* 62 (2007), pp. 7–23.
- Wiles, Maurice, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism Through the Centuries* (London–New York, 1996).
- Williams, Ann, "Mediterranean Conflict," in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, edited by Metin Knut and Christine Woodhead (London–New York, 1995), pp. 39–54.

- Williams, Anna N., *The Ground of Union: Deification in Aquinas and Palamas* (New York–Oxford, 1999).
- Wirth, Peter, “Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem,” *BZ* 54.1 (1961), pp. 319–23.
- Wolff, Robert Lee, “The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261. Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin conquest,” *Traditio* 6 (1948), pp. 33–60.
- Wollesen, Jens T., *Patrons and Painters on Cyprus: The Frescoes in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga* (Toronto, Ontario, 2010).
- Woodfin, Warren T., “Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church,” in *The Byzantine World*, edited by Paul Stephenson (London–New York, 2010), pp. 303–19.
- , *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford–New York, 2012).
- Wooley, Reginald M., *The Bread of the Eucharist* (London–Oxford–Milwaukee, 1913).
- Xanthoudides, Stephanos, *Ἡ Ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν* (Athens, 1939).
- Xioutas, Pavlos, “Ὁ Μάντζιπας,” *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 175–99.
- Yevtich, Alexander, “Ἡ Θεία Εὐχαριστία κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἐγκλειστο,” in *Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 137–48.
- Yiangou, Theodoros X., “Ἑρμηνεῖαι τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἐντολῶν: Ἡ σχέση δύο ὁμότιτλων ἔργων, τοῦ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου καὶ τοῦ Νίκωνος Μαυρορεΐτη,” in *Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Basilios T. Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 277–96.
- Yioultsis, Basilios T., “Θεσμικὲς κρίσεις καὶ ἀγιότητα κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Νεόφυτο τὸν Ἐγκλειστο,” in *Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Ἅγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος*, edited by Yioultsis (Paphos, 2010), pp. 311–26.
- Zacharopoulos, Nikos G., *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τὴ Φραγκοκρατία* (Thessalonica, 1981).
- Zarras, Nektarios, *Ὁ ναός του Τιμίου Σταυροῦ στο Πελένδρι* (Nicosia, 2010).

Zeitlin, Solomon, “The Last Supper as an Ordinary Meal in the Fourth Gospel,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 43.2 (1952), pp. 85–127.

Zisis, Theodoros, *Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος: βίος, συγγράμματα, διδασκαλία* (Thessalonica, 1980).

Zorzi, Marino, “La relazione di Bernardo Sagredo, provveditore generale e sindaco a Cipro,” in *La Serenissima a Cipro: Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, edited by Evangelia Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 87–107.

Index

- Acre, [9](#), [36](#)
Aegean, [1](#), [139](#), [176n128](#), [201](#)
Agros, Jonathan of, [154](#)
Akathist Hymn, [201–2](#), [211n30](#), [220n125](#)
Akindynos, Gregory, [90–95](#), [97](#), [108–9](#), [119nn76](#), [84](#), [120n86](#), [122n108](#),
[170n47](#)
Alexander the Monk, [7](#)
Alexandria, patriarchs of:
 and the Cypriot apostasy, [218n109](#);
 Gregory II, [95](#), [98](#);
 Gregory III, [99](#), [105–6](#), [123n122](#), [124n126](#);
 Niphōn, [105](#), [127nn157–58](#)
Alfonso V (king of Naples), [160](#)
Alice (queen of Cyprus), [7](#)
Ancyra, Makarios of, [203](#)
Andreopoulos, Andreas, [54](#), [180n162](#), [222n137](#)
Angelos, Alexios III, [5](#)
Angelos Panaretos, Matthew, [126n148](#)
Antioch, patriarchs of:
 Bisharah, Michael I, [106](#), [127n160](#);
 Damascus, Pachōmios of, [106](#), [127n160](#);
 David I, [16](#), [33n103](#);
 Ignatios II, [89](#), [91](#), [95–96](#), [98–99](#), [106](#), [116n57](#), [121n97](#), [123n117](#),
 [124n126](#), [127n159](#);
 Michael II, [106](#), [127n159](#), [134–35](#)
anti-Ottomanism, [100](#), [106](#), [108](#), [139](#), [160–61](#), [164](#), [188–89](#), [220n124](#), [225](#)
anti-Palamite Greek Cypriot *literati*, [49–50](#), [87–88](#), [91–98](#), [109](#)
antiunionism, [32n100](#), [44–46](#), [135–40](#), [152–59](#), [164](#), [176n122](#)

Apollinaris/Apollinarianism, [63](#), [148](#)
 Arakas, Philotheos of, [201](#)
 Arbel, Benjamin, [xv](#), [133](#)
 Archbishops of Cyprus (before 1261):
 Lydda, Isaiah of, [4](#);
 Neophytos, [11–13](#), [15–16](#), [19](#), [29n71](#), [60](#), [62–63](#);
 Pēsimandros, Germanos, [17](#), [44](#), [141](#)
 Archimandrite Kyprianos, [xv](#), [xxvn16](#), [174n111](#), [189](#), [224](#)
 Arius/Arianism, [64](#), [148–49](#), [192](#), [212n43](#)
 Armenians, [xviii](#), [10](#), [36](#), [86](#), [141](#), [145](#), [155](#), [157](#), [173–74n99](#), [176n121](#), [196](#),
 [216n84](#);
 Armenian Cilicia, [12](#), [72n56](#), [132](#), [173–74n99](#);
 Artzivour fast, [157](#)
 Arsenites, [44](#), [72n56](#)
 Arsinoē, bishops of:
 Flangin, Constantine, [206n2](#);
 George, [171n67](#);
 Gregory II, [124n125](#);
 Pipēs, Sabbas, [52](#), [171n67](#), [82](#), [95](#), [98](#), [106](#), [122](#)
 Arvaniti, Eftichia, [156](#)
 Asia Minor, [8](#), [39](#), [44](#), [70n30](#)
 Attouemēs, Theodore, [128n169](#)
 Attouemēs (Byzantine official), [128n169](#)
 Audeth family, [133](#), [183n87](#)
 Augustinians, [31n94](#), [131](#), [190](#), [192–93](#). *See* Cavalli, Ambrogio
 autocephaly, [7–8](#), [12](#), [17](#), [26n44](#), [62](#), [141](#)
 Avignon, [132–33](#)
 Avvakumov, Yury P., [10](#), [40](#)

 Babylonian exile, [4](#)
 Bailey, Kenneth, [72–73n65](#)
 Balletto, Laura, [132](#)
 Barnes, Michael, [52](#)
 Barsbay, [132](#)
 Basel, council of, [166n16](#)
 Basilikos, James Heraklidēs, [193–94](#), [212n46](#)

Bassett, William W., 6
Batatzēs, John III, 12
Bauckham, Richard, 45, 73n66
Beatific Vision, controversy of, 41, 64, 93, 109, 119n81, 157–59, 182n182, 247–50
Beihammer, Alexander, xvi
Bembo:
 Bernardo, 181n179;
 Giovanni Matteo, 193;
 Pietro, 181–82n179
Benedictines, 15, 86, 131, 148
Bēssariōn, 188
Bishops with children, 144–45, 172n90, 173n92, 216n81
Blachernai, council of, 64, 148, 175n119
Black Death, 104, 132, 167n17, 193
Bourdieu, Pierre, 52
Bragadino, Marco Antonio, 207n10
Brown, Peter, 55
Bryennios, Joseph, 38–39, 62, 84, 134–52, 156, 200, 226
Bulla Cypria, 17–20, 33n105, 35–67n2, 81–82, 86–87, 96–97, 109, 137, 141–47, 163, 174n103, 198, 226. See oath of submission
Bustron, Florio, 189
Bustron, George, 161–62, 184n190
Byblos, Elias of, 154
Bynum, Caroline W., 52
Byzantine sphere of influence, xx–xxi, 95, 106, 138, 169n46, 200–1

Calabria, Barlaam of, 90, 95, 150
Calepio, Angelo, 143, 172n83, 187, 198
Calvinism, 49, 190, 192
Carmelites, 15, 210n23. See Thomas, Peter
Castellatio, Michael of, 167n17
Cathars, 9
cathedrals:
 St. George of the Greeks (Famagusta), 81–82, 85, 87, 141, 210n22;
 St. Nicholas (Famagusta), 81;

St. Sophia (Nicosia), [13](#), [96](#), [101–2](#), [154](#), [162](#), [187](#), [190](#), [193](#), [196](#), [198](#), [214n52](#);
 Virgin Hodēgētria, (Nicosia), [89–90](#), [96](#), [172n90](#), [193](#), [214n52](#)
 Cavalli, Ambrogio, [190](#), [192](#), [193](#)
 Chaldeans, [154](#), [179nn151](#), [153](#). See Nestorians
 Chamados, Basil, [161](#)
 Chandria, [207n7](#)
 Charles Emmanuel I (duke of Savoy), [192](#), [194](#)
 Châteauroux, Eudes of, [65](#), [158](#)
 Chirokoitia, battle of, [132](#), [165n9](#)
 Chōniatēs, Michael, [150](#)
 Chortasmenos, John, [137](#)
 Choumnaina Palaiologina, Irene-Eulogia, [94](#)
 Chrysobergēs, Andrew. See Nicosia, Latin archbishops of
 Chrysobergēs, Maximos, [135–36](#), [154](#)
 churches:
 St. Eustathios at Kolossi, [156](#);
 St. John the Forerunner at Rhiakion, [122n112](#);
 St. Maura at Koilani, [155](#);
 St. Michael the Archangel at Pedoulas, [42](#), [161](#);
 Sts. Kērykos and Juliet at Letympou, [204](#);
 Virgin Pantanassa at Choulou, [220n124](#)
 Cistercians, [31n94](#)
 concelebration, [38–39](#), [84–151](#), [156](#), [180n164](#), [226](#)
 Conciliarist Crisis, [132–33](#)
 condition of souls after death, [64–65](#), [157–59](#), [182nn180–83](#), [247–50](#). See
 Beatific Vision, controversy of; Francis the Cypriot; Purgatory
 Congar, Yves, [6](#)
 Constance, council of, [133](#)
 Constantinople, patriarchs of:
 Bekkos, John XI, [45](#), [72n58](#), [148](#), [153](#), [155](#), [175n119](#), [176n122](#);
 Boucheiras, Isidore I, [91](#), [95](#), [121n97](#);
 Euthymios II, [143](#);
 Eutychios, [66](#);
 Gennadios II (George Scholarios), [152](#);

Germanos II, [11–12](#), [28n67](#), [29n71](#), [39](#), [62](#), [64](#), [126n148](#), [141](#), [150](#), [176n122](#), [233](#);
 Gregory II (George of Cyprus), [88](#), [98](#), [148–49](#), [175n119](#), [176n122](#), [180n162](#), [203](#);
 Jeremiah I, [218n107](#);
 Jeremiah II, [49](#);
 Joasaph II, [212n46](#);
 Kalekas, John XIV, [39](#), [69n27](#), [89–92](#), [94–95](#), [103](#), [109](#);
 Kallistos I, [88](#), [91](#), [99–101](#), [103–5](#), [108](#), [110](#), [123n117](#), [170n47](#), [239–45](#);
 Kēroularios, Michael I, [24n33](#);
 Kokkinos, Philotheos I, [54–55](#), [91](#), [105–6](#), [123n122](#), [127n158](#), [170n47](#);
 Matthew I, [135](#), [138](#), [143](#)
 Conti, Natale, [214n51](#)
 Conti, William, [100](#)
 Cornaro, Caterina, [160–62](#)
 Counter-Reformation, [195–99](#)
 Coureas, Nicholas, [xv](#), [xvii](#), [13](#), [126n143](#), [127n156](#), [134](#)
 Crete, [13](#), [36](#), [43](#), [69n28](#), [106](#), [123n114](#), [135–36](#), [139–41](#), [144–45](#), [150–52](#), [168n35](#), [172n89](#), [176n128](#), [178n148](#), [206n2](#), [214n53](#)
 Crusader customary law, [190](#)
 cryptoreligiosity, [xix](#), [12](#), [38–44](#), [46](#), [57](#), [60–61](#), [63–64](#), [142](#), [144](#), [147–51](#), [153](#), [164](#), [203](#)
 Cypriotism, [xxvin21](#), [134](#)
 Cyprus Issue, [xiii–xvi](#), [131](#)

 Daileader, Philip, [133](#)
 Darrouzès, Jean, [xxvn18](#), [49](#), [75n92](#), [138](#), [148](#)
 DeConick, April D., [53–54](#)
 de-Westernization, [133–34](#), [163](#), [167n17](#)
 Diasorēnos, James, [192–96](#), [199](#), [205](#), [212n46](#), [214nn51–52](#), [54](#), [214–15n60](#)
 Dolfín, Fantino, [204](#)
 Dominicans, [8–9](#), [27n51](#), [31n94](#), [35](#), [43](#), [100](#), [131](#), [135–36](#), [143](#), [184n190](#), [187](#), [189](#), [210n29](#), [216n84](#), [221n134](#). See Calepio, Angelo; Chrysobergēs, Maximos; Conti, William; Faber, Felix; Limassol, Latin bishops of (Berard); Lusignan, Stephen of; Master Andrew; Nicosia, Latin

archbishops of (Chrysobergēs, Andrew; Conti, John of); saints (Aquinas, Thomas); Stavriano, Giulio
 Donatism, [141](#), [171n75](#)
 Drakocherēs, Basil, [85](#)
 Duba, William O., [13](#), [93](#)
 Durrell, Lawrence, [223–24](#)
 ecclesiastical leniency (οἰκονομία), [3](#), [5](#), [8](#), [11](#), [13–14](#), [17](#), [19](#), [59](#), [137](#)
 ecumenical councils:
 and Byzantine attempts to restore union with the West, [24n29](#), [104](#), [126n148](#), [152](#);
 Chalcedon, Fourth Ecumenical Council of, [10](#), [16](#), [33n103](#), [179n158](#). See Monenergism; Monothelitism;
 and ecclesiology, [6](#), [40](#), [50–52](#), [203](#), [234](#);
 Ephesus, Third Ecumenical Council of, [7](#), [26n44](#), [62](#);
 Florence (as the Eighth Ecumenical Council), [157](#), [249](#);
 Nicaea, Seventh Ecumenical Council of, [197](#);
 Trullo, Quinisext Ecumenical Council of, [7](#), [26n44](#), [62](#), [145](#)
 Edbury, Peter, [xv](#)
 Egypt, [13](#), [15](#), [82](#), [84](#), [95](#), [101](#), [106](#), [173n97](#), [207n8](#), [207–8n10](#)
 Emba, [52](#)
 embodiment, [48](#), [52–57](#)
 Englezakis, Benediktos, [xv](#), [xxivn14](#)
 episcopal confessions of faith, [64–65](#), [95](#), [126n150](#), [101](#), [147–49](#). See oath of submission
 episcopal elections, [4](#), [17](#), [36](#), [60](#), [85](#), [124](#), [132–33](#), [145](#), [147](#), [150](#), [161](#), [175n116](#), [188](#), [193](#), [198](#), [210](#)
 Erickson, John H., [40](#)
 Ethiopians, [154](#)
 ethnoreligious identity, [xiii–xx](#), [xxviiin43](#), [35](#), [37](#), [41–42](#), [47–48](#), [55](#), [57](#), [59–61](#), [83](#), [85](#), [87–89](#), [105](#), [131–35](#), [149](#), [157](#), [160](#), [162](#), [168n35](#), [183n189](#), [189](#), [192–96](#), [201](#), [224–25](#)
 Euboea, [43](#), [152](#)
 Eugenikos, John, [152](#)
 Eugenikos, Mark (metropolitan of Ephesus), [xxviiin39](#), [32–33n100](#), [65](#), [135](#), [152](#), [158–59](#)

external ordinations, [7](#), [144](#), [150](#), [172n89](#)

Faber, Felix, [131](#), [156](#)

Facchinetti, Giovanni Antonio, [199](#)

Famagusta:

and Andrew Chrysobergēs, [179n153](#);

captured by the Genoese, [83–84](#), [132](#), [140](#), [160](#);

defense and capitulation of (1571), [187](#), [206n2](#), [207n10](#);

last viscount of, [198](#);

and Peter Thomas, [105](#);

royal emporium and Lusignan symbol, [81–83](#);

Syrian Melkites in, [81](#), [84](#), [86–87](#), [105](#), [112n6](#);

Venetian administration of, [208nn12](#), [14](#). See cathedrals (St. George of the Greeks; St. Nicholas); Karpasia, bishops of

Filioque, [6](#), [25n35](#), [41](#), [64](#), [103](#), [135](#), [148–49](#), [155](#), [175n119](#), [178n148](#), [180n162](#), [197](#), [225](#)

Flangin, John, [196](#), [216n81](#)

Flatro, Philip, [218n109](#), [221n127](#)

Florence, “Union” of, [xxviiiin39](#), [21n4](#), [32–33n100](#), [64](#), [134](#), [151–64](#), [168–69n29](#), [180n162](#), [182n181](#), [195](#), [249](#)

Flory, James of, [184n193](#)

Fourth Lateran Council, [6–7](#), [25n36](#), [69–70n30](#)

Franciscans, [35](#), [119n84](#), [123n114](#), [157](#), [182n182](#), [247](#). See Francis the Cypriot; popes (Alexander V); saints (Bonaventure)

Francis the Cypriot, [64–65](#), [157–59](#), [181–82n179](#), [182n181](#), [247–50](#)

Frankl, Victor E., [43](#), [55](#)

Frankos, Philip of, [86](#)

Franks, [xvii](#), [4](#), [7](#), [13](#), [18](#), [23n23](#), [25n35](#), [70n30](#), [86](#), [157](#), [161](#), [185n196](#), [187](#)

Frederick II (Holy Roman emperor), [8–9](#)

Frick, David, [18](#)

Gemistos Plēthōn, George, [183n189](#)

Genoa/Genoese, [36](#), [82–84](#), [93](#), [132–33](#), [140](#), [160](#), [165n9](#), [184n193](#)

George (Virgin Phorbiōtissa donor), [85](#)

George the Philosopher, [100](#), [105](#), [125n132](#), [126n155](#)

Georgians, [xx](#), [xxviii–xxixn44](#), [30n86](#), [38](#), [85](#), [117n64](#), [218n109](#), [225](#)

Given, Michael, [38](#)
Gnadenstuhl, [203](#)
 Golitzin, Alexander, [53](#)
 Goul, Philip, [203](#)
 Great Entrance, controversy of, [41](#), [56–57](#), [66](#), [79](#), [81](#), [111n5](#), [197](#)
 Great Western Schism, [132–33](#)
 Greek Orthodox studies in Cyprus, [98](#), [122–23n114](#), [193–95](#), [201](#)
 Grēgoras, Nikēphoros, [49](#), [88](#), [90–95](#), [99](#), [108–9](#), [123n122](#), [170n47](#),
[221n134](#)
 Grivaud, Gilles, [xv](#), [73n73](#)

 Habsburgs, [193–94](#)
 Hamilton, Bernard, [6](#)
 Henry of Flanders (Latin emperor of Constantinople), [14](#), [150](#)
 Hesychasm:
 in art, [180n162](#), [200–4](#), [222nn137–38](#);
 Palamite, [49–50](#), [77n120](#), [81–129](#), [135](#), [145](#), [150–52](#), [159](#), [163](#), [167–](#)
 [68n29](#), [169n46](#), [200](#), [219n119](#), [221n134](#), [240–43](#);
 Pre-Palamite, [2](#), [4](#), [10](#), [52–55](#), [77n120](#), [98](#), [234–36](#)
 hierocracy, [137–38](#), [140](#), [142](#), [151](#), [163–64](#), [169nn43](#), [46](#)
 Hill, George F., [xiv](#), [xxiiin7](#), [134](#), [223](#), [225](#)
 historical objectivity, [xxi–xxii](#)
 Hodēgētria icon, [47](#), [88–89](#)
 Holmes, Catherine, [2](#)
 Holy Land, [2](#), [15–16](#), [26n41](#), [36](#), [40](#), [54](#), [81](#), [83](#), [218n107](#)
 holy myrrh, [117n64](#), [218n107](#)
 Hospitallers, [93](#), [133](#), [156](#)

 Ibelin, John of, [8–9](#)
 India, Paul George of, [154](#)
 Iskender Pasha, [214n51](#)
 Islam/Muslims, [xx](#), [1](#), [5](#), [13–14](#), [27n52](#), [29n70](#), [36–37](#), [40](#), [42](#), [69n28](#), [72–](#)
[73n65](#), [84](#), [89](#), [99](#), [145](#), [163](#), [165n1](#), [167n17](#), [174n99](#), [188](#), [190](#), [223](#)

 Jacobites, [7](#), [33n103](#), [37](#), [86](#), [141](#), [157](#), [196](#)
 Japanese crypto-Christians, [43](#), [226](#)
 Jerusalem, council of, [49](#)

Jerusalem, patriarchs of:

and the Cypriot apostasy, [218n109](#);

Gerasimos, [95](#), [121n97](#), [123n116](#);

Lazaros, [99](#), [105](#), [121n97](#), [123n116](#);

in schism with the Cypriots, [143](#)

Jesuits, [195–96](#), [199](#), [216n76](#)

Jews/Judaism/Judaizers, [10](#), [24–25n34](#), [28n54](#), [40](#), [53–54](#), [83](#), [148–49](#), [157](#),
[176n121](#), [234](#)

Joasaph the Monk. See Kantakouzēnos, John VI

Kabasilas, Neilos, [126n148](#)

Kabasilas, Nicholas, [66](#)

Kaldellis, Anthony, [xvi](#), [225](#)

Kalekas, Manuel, [109](#)

Kalothetos, Joseph, [97–98](#), [108](#)

Kantakouzēnē, Zoe, [184n193](#)

Kantakouzēnos, John VI, [90–91](#), [95](#), [98–99](#), [106–8](#), [110](#), [123–24n123](#), [131–32n124](#), [128n169](#), [170n47](#), [222n137](#)

Kantara, Monks of, [xxixn48](#), [8–12](#), [19–20](#), [21n4](#), [27n51](#), [40](#), [44–46](#), [52–53](#),
[63](#), [126n148](#), [148](#), [176n122](#), [226](#), [233–37](#)

Karpasia, bishops of:

Arkoleōn, Makarios, [206n2](#);

Hilariōn, [56](#), [86](#);

Makarios, [84](#), [141](#), [173n97](#);

Mantzas, John, [86](#), [107–8](#), [110](#), [113n18](#);

Michael, [84](#), [113n18](#);

Synglitico, Anthony, [191](#), [209n18](#)

Kasoulōn, Nicholas of, [150](#)

Kerkyra, [152](#)

Knights Templar, [1](#), [48](#), [55](#)

Kolbaba, Tia M., [41](#), [71n42](#)

Kolossi, [156](#)

Komnēnos, Alexios I, [24n33](#), [46](#)

Komnēnos, Isaac, [1](#), [3](#), [5](#), [21n1](#), [22n17](#)

Korōnē, Dēmētrios of, [185n195](#)

Kōrykos, [132](#), [174n99](#)

Kosmidion, Anthony of, [135–36](#), [138](#)
 Kydōnēs, Dēmētrios, [100](#), [105–8](#), [136](#)
 Kydōnēs, Prochoros, [105–6](#), [127n156](#)
 Kyparissiōtēs, John, [107](#), [127n159](#), [221n134](#)
 Kyrris, Costas P., [xv](#), [xxivn14](#), [69n27](#)

Lala Mustafa Pasha, [187](#)
 Lampsakos, [100](#), [104](#)
 Lapithēs, George, [49–50](#), [75nn90](#), [92](#), [87](#), [92](#), [94–98](#), [108–9](#), [118nn74–75](#),
[119n76](#), [120nn86](#), [88](#), [121nn107–8](#), [157](#)
 Laskaris Kalopheros, John, [100](#), [106–7](#), [125n133](#), [127n162](#)
 Latinizers, [xix](#), [xxviiin39](#), [6](#), [16](#), [20](#), [25n36](#), [39](#), [58](#), [100–1](#), [104](#), [106](#), [109](#),
[134–35](#), [143](#), [148](#), [150](#), [163](#), [168n29](#), [171n66](#), [190](#)
 Leavened-unleavened, controversy of, [6](#), [8–12](#), [20](#), [24–25n34](#), [27–28n54](#),
[35](#), [41](#), [44](#), [46](#), [51](#), [53](#), [57](#), [63](#), [111n5](#), [148–49](#), [157](#), [176n121](#), [225](#)
 Lepentrēnos, Athanasios, [88](#), [92](#), [119n75](#)
 Lēstarchos Hermōdoros, Michael, [221n46](#)
 Leukara, bishops of:
 not in communion with the Orthodox, [140–41](#), [171n66](#);
 Flangin, Stephen, [216](#);
 Japhoun, John, [171n65](#);
 Matthew, [35–38](#), [43](#), [49](#), [63](#);
 Olbianos, [56–57](#), [85](#), [111n3](#);
 Sur, John of, [196](#), [206n2](#), [216n81](#)
 Levenson, Jon D., [54](#)
 Limassol, Latin bishops of:
 and Ambrogio Cavalli, [190](#);
 Berard, [35](#), [43](#), [49](#), [61](#), [63](#);
 and Stephen of Lusignan, [175n116](#), [189](#)
 Lock, Peter, [225](#)
 Loizou, Andreas, [206n5](#)
 Louth, Andrew, [225](#)
 Lusignan:
 Aimery of, [5](#);
 Charlotte of, [160–62](#), [185n195](#);
 Cleopa of, [160](#);

Guy of, [1](#), [31n94](#);
Henry I of, [8–9](#), [36](#);
Henry II of, [55](#), [83](#), [115n50](#);
Hugh I of, [3](#), [8](#), [22n12](#);
Hugh IV of, [49](#), [81–83](#), [88](#), [93–94](#), [100](#), [109](#), [115n50](#), [119n75n84](#), [164](#);
Hugh of (brother of Janus), [166n16](#);
James II of, [160–63](#), [184n190](#), [185n195](#);
Janus of, [32n98](#), [132](#), [142](#), [165n9](#), [166n16](#), [173n99](#);
John II of, [132](#), [159–60](#), [165n9](#);
John of (brother of Peter I), [115](#);
John of (lord of Beirut), [55](#);
Peter I of, [81–83](#), [87](#), [100–2](#), [106–7](#), [109](#), [113n17](#), [115n50](#), [127n160](#);
Peter II of, [81–82](#), [165n9](#);
Stephen of, [27n47](#), [175n116](#), [184n190](#), [189–90](#), [204](#), [210n29](#), [216n84](#),
[217n99](#)
Lutheranism, [49](#), [191–93](#)
Lyons, council of, [44–45](#), [72n58](#), [153](#), [157](#), [176n122](#)

Macedonia, [14](#), [153](#)
Macedonius/Macedonianism, [64](#), [148](#), [155](#)
Macheir, Methuselah, [219n116](#)
Magdalino, Paul, [48](#), [75n94](#)
Makhairas, Leontios, [18](#), [39](#), [47–48](#), [83](#), [86](#), [96](#), [101–5](#), [117n64](#), [132–33](#),
[163](#), [165n9](#), [166nn10–11](#)
Malatesta, Cleopa, [183n189](#)
Malipiero, Domenico, [184n190](#)
Malta, siege of, [207–8n8](#)
Mamlūks, [36](#), [127n160](#), [132](#), [145](#), [160](#), [173n99](#)
Marathasa, Gregory of, [46](#)
Maria Graziani, Antonio, [193](#), [214n51](#)
Maronites, [7](#), [37](#), [154](#), [157](#), [196](#)
Martoni, Nicholas of, [36](#)
Master Andrew, [8–9](#)
Mehmed II, [152](#)
Melanchthon, Philip, [193](#), [214n54](#)
Memory, [43–48](#)

Meyendorff, John, 9
Mézières, Philip of, 100–5
Michael, Michalis N., xvi
Minya, Isaac of, 154
mixed marriages, 86, 154, 159, 183nn187, 189, 184n193, 190, 192, 225
Mocenigo, Filippo, 62, 195–99, 201, 205, 215n74, 216n84, 217nn93, 99
monasteries:
 Archangel Michael the Incorporeal, 140, 146, 170n64;
 Christ Antiphōnētēs, 210n29;
 Christ Evergetēs, 127n158;
 Gialia, xxviiiin44, 85;
 Holy Cross on Mt. Staurobouni, 15, 86, 131, 165n1;
 Holy Savior of the Indians, 154;
 Mauron Oros, 31n94;
 Mesa Potamos, 132;
 Mt. Athos/Athonites, 14, 30n86, 54, 90–91, 105, 150, 153–54, 176n122, 201, 239;
 Mt. Carmel (hermitages), 15;
 Neangōmos, 124n125;
 Philanthrōpos Sōtēr, 94;
 Revealed Cross, 83, 91, 95, 113n16;
 Souskiou (hermitage) 155, 180n162;
 St. Catherine of Sinai, 13–14, 29n79, 122n113, 152–54, 201, 218n111;
 St. George of Mangana, 36–37, 97, 183–84nn190–91;
 St. John Lampadistēs, 155, 202–3;
 St. John of Pipēs, xxixn44, 42, 144, 172n89, 175n116, 194;
 St. John of Stoudios, 136;
 St. Margaret of Agros, 14–17, 30nn87–88, 154;
 St. Mary of Stylos, 14, 16–17;
 St. Neophytos the Recluse, 2, 201–2, 218nn107–9, 221n127;
 St. Nicholas at Akrōtēri, 218n109;
 St. Nicholas of the Roof, 36;
 St. Sabbas the Sanctified (Mar Saba), 200–1, 218n110;
 St. Theodosios, 13, 29n77;
 under papal protection, 13–17, 152–54;
 Virgin Acheiropoiētos, 162;

Virgin Agria, [122n112](#);
 Virgin Apsinthiōtissa, [162](#);
 Virgin of Kykkos, [46–48](#), [51](#), [88](#), [116n53](#), [206n2](#);
 Virgin of Makhairas, [3](#), [9](#), [52](#);
 Virgin of Phorbiōtissa, [85](#), [87](#), [122n112](#);
 Virgin of the Hodēgoi, [88–89](#), [91–92](#), [96](#), [98–99](#), [123n117](#);
 Virgin Podythou, [185n195](#), [218n111](#), [220n124](#)
 Monenergism, [155](#)
 Monferrat, Medea (Amadea) of, [159](#)
 Monks with concubines, [136](#), [141](#), [144](#)
 Monothelitism, [145](#), [155](#)
 Morea, Thomas of, [184n193](#)
 Moriscos, [40](#), [70n32](#)
 multiconfessionalism, [18](#), [37](#)
 multiple identities, [xiii](#), [xviii](#), [xix](#), [xxix](#), [58–61](#), [82](#), [149](#), [191](#), [198](#), [200](#), [203](#),
[205](#), [225](#)

 Neophytos the Recluse, [xxivn11](#), [2–5](#), [10–11](#), [19](#), [21n7](#), [31n94](#), [41–42](#), [44](#),
[47](#), [50](#), [53](#), [122n122](#). *See also* monasteries (St. Neophytos the Recluse)
 Nestorius/Nestorianism, [xviii](#), [7](#), [37](#), [63](#), [86](#), [145](#), [148–49](#), [154](#), [179](#)
 Nicaea, [1–2](#), [4](#), [11–12](#), [39](#), [60](#), [103](#)
 Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, [xvi](#)
 Nicosia, Latin archbishops of:
 Chrysobergēs, Andrew, [154–55](#), [179](#), [179n153](#);
 Conti, John of, [37](#);
 Eustorge, [9](#);
 Fabregues, Louis Perez, [161–62](#);
 Fagiano, Hugh of, [114n38](#), [158](#);
 Kiev, Isidore of, [154](#), [179n155](#);
 Nabinaux, Elias of, [49](#), [63–66](#), [86](#);
 Nicholas, [179n155](#);
 Philip, [86](#);
 Ranulph, [25n36](#), [44](#), [46](#), [63–64](#), [72n55](#), [79n133](#), [93](#). *See* Mocenigo, Filippo
 Nikolēs, son of George of Antioch, [116n54](#)
 Nirenberg, David, [37](#)
 Nymphaeum, council of, [11](#)

oath of submission, [12](#), [17](#), [33n105](#), [35](#), [39](#), [63](#), [101](#), [134](#), [141](#), [144](#), [146–47](#),
[149](#), [151](#), [171n66](#), [174n103](#), [175n116](#)
 order (τάξις), [3](#), [47](#), [188](#)
 Orthodox Cypriot Renaissance, [199–204](#)
 Orthopraxy-Orthodoxy, [40–41](#)
 Ottomans, [xiii–xv](#), [xvii](#), [17](#), [23](#), [39](#), [42](#), [88](#), [100](#), [108](#), [137](#), [139](#), [144](#), [152–53](#),
[160–61](#), [163–64](#), [169n46](#), [183n189](#), [187–89](#), [192–96](#), [199](#), [204](#), [206n5](#),
[207n8n10](#), [213n48](#), [214n51](#), [218n107](#), [219n114](#), [220n124](#), [225](#)

 Padua, university of, [133](#), [211n33](#)
 Palaiologina, Helena, [159–60](#), [164](#), [183n189–90](#), [184n193](#), [199](#)
 Palaiologos:
 Constantine XI, [160](#);
 John V, [90–91](#), [99–100](#), [104](#), [106](#), [108](#), [110](#), [126n150](#), [127nn156](#), [160](#);
 John VIII, [152](#);
 Manuel II, [108–9](#), [135](#), [137–39](#), [143](#), [170n54](#), [183n189](#);
 Michael VIII, [44–46](#), [88](#), [176](#);
 Theodore II, [183n189](#)
 Palamas, Gregory, [90–91](#), [93–95](#), [100](#), [105](#), [108](#), [110](#), [116n59](#), [120nn86](#), [94](#),
[121n108](#), [175n119](#), [204](#), [221n134](#). See hesychasm (Palamite)
 Palestine, [xviii](#), [xx](#), [1](#), [4](#), [13](#), [15](#), [40](#), [70n30](#), [82](#), [106](#), [122nn112–13](#), [200](#),
[207n8](#)
 Papacostas, Tassos, [xvi](#)
 Papadakis, Aristeides, [9](#), [153](#)
 Papademetriou, Tom, [205](#)
 Papadopoulos, Theodoros, [xv](#), [xxivn14](#), [26n43](#), [125n143](#)
 Pasqualigo, Marc'Antonio, [207n7](#)
 Patapiou, Nasa, [xxiin2](#), [216](#)
 Patrizi, Francesco, [221n134](#)
 Peasants' Revolt, [165n9](#), [185n198](#)
 Peloponnese, [43](#), [151](#), [183n189](#)
 Perderias, Basil, [58–60](#)
 Philagrēs, Joseph, [168n35](#)
 Philargos, Peter. See popes (Alexander V)
 Phoinikēs, Anthony, [128n169](#)
 Pisa, council of, [132](#)

Pleine-Chassaigne, Peter of, [56](#), [61](#), [66](#)
Podocataro family, [xiii](#), [xxiiin2](#), [83](#), [133](#), [183n187](#), [193](#)
Polain families, [4–5](#), [36](#)
popes:
Alexander IV, [17](#);
Alexander V, [123n114](#), [132](#);
Benedict XII, [60](#);
Boniface VIII, [36](#);
Celestine III, [5](#);
Clement V, [85](#);
Clement VII, [132](#);
Eugene IV, [32n100](#), [133](#), [153–54](#), [179n151](#), [221n134](#);
Gregory IX, [8–9](#), [11–12](#), [28n67](#), [63](#), [126n148](#), [233](#);
Gregory XI, [132](#);
Honorius III, [7](#), [13–14](#);
Innocent III, [5](#), [60](#);
Innocent IV, [13](#), [16](#), [65](#), [158](#);
Innocent VI, [100](#), [102](#);
John XXII, [56](#), [66](#), [85](#);
Martin V, [132–33](#);
Nicholas V, [133](#), [154–55](#), [183n187](#);
Paul III, [195](#);
Pius II, [133](#);
Pius IV, [195](#);
Pius V, [195](#), [198](#);
Sixtus IV, [162–63](#), [186n210](#);
Urban II, [24n33](#);
Urban VI, [132](#)
Potamia, [55](#)
Prague, Jerome of, [43](#)
Price, Richard, [119n83](#)
Psimolophou, [37](#)
Purgatory, [41](#), [65](#), [85](#), [157–59](#), [182nn181–83](#), [190](#), [247–50](#)

Raquez, Olivier, [148](#)
Rhaoul, Manuel, [109](#)

Rhodes, [1](#), [43](#), [93](#), [95](#), [152](#), [154–55](#), [176n128](#), [192](#), [201](#), [207n8](#)

Richard, Jean, [xv](#)

Richard I (king of England), [1–2](#), [22n17](#)

Roberts, Sean, [37–38](#)

Roman primacy, [xix](#), [5–6](#), [12](#), [19](#), [41](#), [62](#), [155](#), [197](#), [203](#). *See also*
autocephaly; ecumenical councils (and ecclesiology); oath of submission

Rubin, Miri, [56](#)

Sagredo, Bernardo, [199](#), [216n85](#), [217n93](#)

saints:

Andrew the Apostle, [155](#);

Aquinas, Thomas, [124–25n131](#);

Arsenios, [52](#);

Barnabas the Apostle, [7](#), [111n3](#);

Bonaventure, [182n182](#);

Canterbury, Anselm of, [203](#);

Cassian, John, [15](#);

Chrysostom, John, [122n112](#);

Constantia, Epiphaniōs of, [7](#), [210n23](#);

Damascene, John, [32n99](#), [200](#);

George, [xxixn44](#);

Helena, [83](#);

Hilariōn, [32n98](#);

John the Apostle, [155](#);

Luke the Evangelist, [46–47](#), [88](#);

Mesa Potamos, Theophanēs of, [204](#);

Montfort, John of, [165–66n10](#);

Nicholas, [36](#);

Paul the Apostle, [7](#), [78n120](#);

Peter the Apostle, [155](#);

Sabbas the Young, [54–55](#);

Sinai, Gregory of, [14](#);

Spyridōn, [32n98](#), [210n23](#);

Sweden, Bridget of, [86](#);

Vasa, Barnabas of, [55](#). *See also* Neophytos the Recluse; Palamas, Gregory;
Thomas, Peter

Saladin, [1](#)
 Sanudo, Marino, [43](#)
 Schabel, Christopher D., [xvi](#), [9](#), [13](#), [28n63](#), [40](#), [93](#), [126n143](#), [134](#), [146–47](#)
 Serbia, [95](#), [193](#)
 Serbos, Leoninos, [214](#)
 shared churches, [131](#), [146](#), [156–57](#)
 shared expressions of piety, [15–16](#), [36–37](#), [55](#), [93](#), [119nn82](#), [85](#), [190](#), [201–4](#)
 Shawcross, Teresa, [132](#)
 Side, Cyril of, [99](#), [123n122](#)
 Silva Candida, Humbert of, [24n33](#)
 Sinai, Makarios of, [218n111](#)
 Sklengias, Nicholas, [178n148](#)
 Smith, Anthony D., [46](#)
 social mobility, [4](#), [47](#), [81](#), [83–84](#), [85–92](#), [108](#), [133–34](#), [188–89](#)
 Solea, bishops of:
 Galatēs, John, [75n92](#), [171n69](#), [172n90](#);
 Galatēs, Michael, [172n90](#);
 Joachim, [99](#), [124n125](#);
 Kykkos, Symeon of, [206n2](#);
 Leo, [56](#);
 Leontios, [75n92](#), [95–96](#), [124n125](#);
 Logaras, Neophytos of, [155](#), [197–99](#);
 Nicholas of, [161–63](#);
 Paul, [141](#), [172n90](#)
 Southern Italy, [26n41](#), [39](#), [69n30](#), [150](#), [173n92](#), [181](#), [217n99](#)
 Stavriano, Giulio, [216n84](#), [217n99](#)
 Synglitico (Synglētikos):
 Franzino, [191](#);
 James, [184n193](#);
 Pietro Paolo, [191](#);
 Zegno, [211n31](#)
 Syria, [xx](#), [1](#), [13](#), [16](#), [28n54](#), [31n94](#), [36](#), [40](#), [82](#), [95](#), [106](#), [134](#), [167](#), [207n8](#)
 Syrian Melkites, [xx](#), [xxviii–xxixn44](#), [7](#), [11](#), [15](#), [17](#), [35–36](#), [38](#), [56](#), [62](#), [81](#),
 [84](#), [86–87](#), [105](#), [112n6](#), [117n64](#), [172n89](#), [200–1](#), [225](#)
 Syrianos, John, [136–39](#), [143](#)

Tamasia, Neilos of, [3](#), [5](#), [19](#), [52](#)
 Tarsus, Timothy of, [154](#)
 Theodoulos the Hieromonk, [135](#), [138](#)
 Thessalonica, Hyakinthos of, [91–92](#), [118n68](#), [109](#)
 Thessalonica, Symeon of, [66](#)
 Thomas, Peter, [64](#), [100–5](#), [108](#), [110](#), [124n125](#), [125n142](#), [126n150](#), [132](#), [198](#)
 Thrace, [100](#), [153](#)
 Timotheos, Constantine, [135](#), [138](#)
 Tochnē Cross, [83](#), [86](#), [91](#)
 town assemblies, [188](#), [201](#), [208n14](#)
 tradition, control of, [48–52](#), [61](#), [75n94](#), [138](#), [156–57](#)
 Trebizond, [95](#)
 Trent, council of, [195–96](#), [215n73](#)
 Tsirpanlis, Zacharias N., [194](#)
 Tyre, Arsenios of, [98–99](#), [104](#), [106–7](#), [123n117](#), [243](#)

 Urri, James of, [184n193](#)

 Valderio, Pietro, [198](#)
 Van Tricht, Filip, [150](#)
 Varnava, Andrekos, [xvi](#)
 Venice/Venetians, [xiii–xiv](#), [xxvn18](#), [36](#), [43](#), [47](#), [51](#), [83](#), [135–36](#), [145](#), [150–51](#), [160–62](#), [164](#), [168n35](#), [187–99](#), [201](#), [205](#), [208n12](#), [209n20](#), [211n33](#), [214n51](#), [216n84](#), [218n107](#), [219n114](#), [220n125](#)

 War of Cyprus, [187–88](#)
 Westernization, [133–34](#), [210n23](#)
 Weyl Carr, Annemarie, [xv](#)
 Whalen, Brett E., [6](#)

 Zaccaria (Zacharia):
 Andrea, [191](#), [212n38](#);
 Giovanni Battista, [212n38](#);
 Mandalena, [191](#), [211n30](#);
 Marco, [190–91](#);
 Paulinus, [183n187](#);
 Polo, [183n187](#)

Zōtia, [58](#)

Zygomalas family, [212n46](#)

About the Author

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou (PhD, University of London) is an independent scholar based in Cyprus. His area of specialty is late antique, Byzantine, medieval, and early modern history and culture, focusing on the role of Cyprus as a place of ethnoreligious encounter, interaction, and contention. He has taught Byzantine history at the University of Cyprus.