

**The Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-ruled Cyprus
(1191–1571): Society, Spirituality and Identity**

vol. I

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Candidate's declaration:

I confirm that this PhD thesis is entirely my own work. All sources and quotations have been acknowledged. The main works consulted are listed in the bibliography.

Candidate's signature:

Date:

To my family

Abstract

The present thesis is a study of the Orthodox Cypriot Church and society between 1191 and 1571, which was marked by various political and socio-religious developments during the island's Frankish and Venetian rule. It aims to investigate to what extent did Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi (i.e., Byzantine Romans) succeed in preserving and adapting their Orthodox identity, and in what ways did political and socio-economic developments affect their ideological and spiritual orientation in this period.

The Latin rule in Cyprus (1191–1571) has been a subject of much debate among scholars. Greek-Cypriot Byzantinists (e.g., Th. Papadopoulos, C. P. Kyrris and B. Englezakis) tend to stress the continuity of ethno-religious resistance against the oppressive nature of the Latin regime, though pointing out that inter-communal symbiosis generated phenomena of socio-religious and cultural interaction in the long term. On the other hand, revisionist Medievalists (e.g., N. Coureas, A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. D. Schabel), give a different picture, placing emphasis on recently-published Latin sources and the fifteenth-century *Chronicle* of Leontios Machairas, which seem to portray all Cypriot Christians as obedient members of the Western Church. It should be noted that revisionist scholars appear to have been influenced by earlier colonial interpretations of Cypriot history (G. F. Hill), which underline the distinctiveness of Cypriot identity and the passive nature of Britain's Greek-Cypriot subjects, in order to marginalise nationalistic calls for Union with Greece in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

Rather than pursuing the *via media* between traditionalist and revisionist interpretations, the present thesis explores fundamental questions related to faith, ideology and identity in a distinct, independent and deeper way. It argues that Cypriot Orthodoxy managed to survive under Latin rule because it adopted a *Realpolitik* of non-coercive, non-violent and covert anti-Latinism. This was expressed, among other ways, through the development of multiple identities and the embodied performance of devotional practices associated with the cultivation of Orthodox theophanic theology.

Based on published and hitherto unpublished sources, this study is the first to explore the subject in a comprehensive way, placing emphasis on issues related to society, spirituality and identity, during the Frankish (1191–1489) and Venetian (1489–1571) periods. The material comprises historiographical works, epistolography (including patriarchal and papal letters), synodal acts and canons, liturgical, theological and hagiographical texts, travellers' accounts, Venetian state reports, manuscript notes, and archaeological evidence. The thesis includes an *editio princeps* of four important unpublished sources, which shed light on aspects of Orthodox identity in Latin-ruled Cyprus: the *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara*; the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople (1350–1353 and 1354–1363); the *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM; and the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* by an anonymous clergyman of the Venetian period. In analysing and interpreting the material we have adopted a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, applying modern theories from the fields of sociology, psychology and social anthropology, which are discussed from a theological and historical perspective.

The thesis comprises an **Introduction**, five **Chapters (I-V)** and **Conclusions**. The **Introduction** presents the aim and scope of the thesis, the approach and methodology adopted, the material examined, and an overview of previous research on the subject. **Chapter I** explores the encounter between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins from the Crusader conquest of Cyprus in 1191 to ca. 1300. **Chapter II** examines Orthodox Cypriot spirituality towards the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century in the light of theoretical models employed throughout the thesis. **Chapter III** contextualises the Cypriot Rhomaic and Latin involvement in the Hesychast Controversy (ca. 1340–ca. 1400). **Chapter IV** focuses on the Cypriot Rhomaic proposals for restoration of ecclesiastical union with Constantinople (1406 and 1412) and the impact of the 'Union' of Florence (1439) on the island. **Chapter V** examines the adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the new conditions created by the establishment of Venetian rule in Cyprus. The **Conclusions** summarise the findings of the thesis and suggest areas for further research. The thesis closes with **Appendices I-IV**, which contain the edition of the four unpublished sources mentioned above

(accompanied by brief palaeographical and historical commentaries), full **Bibliography**, and **facsimiles** of selected folios of manuscripts cited.

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Nicosia, 8 December 2015
Feast of St Patapios of Thebes

A note on transliteration

The transliteration of Greek names into English follows the Library of Congress system, which is accessible online at:

<https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/greek.pdf> (last accessed on 8/12/2015).

I have also used the Anglicised form of Greek, Latin and Hebrew names which have passed into common English usage (e.g., Andrew for Andreas, Eugene for Eugenius and John for Iōannēs). I have generally employed the Anglicised form of French names (e.g., Philip of Mézières for Philippe de Mézières), but preserved Italian names (e.g., Pietro Bembo rather than Peter Bembo). I have also preserved the Italicised form of Greek family names of the Venetian period (Synglitico for Synglētikoi).

List of abbreviations

- ACCS III: J. T. Lienhard et al. (eds), *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, InterVarsity Press: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament III (Downers Grove, Illinois 2001)
- ACCS XI: M. W. Elliott and T. C. Oden (eds), *Isaiah 40–66*, InterVarsity Press: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament XI (Downers Grove, Illinois 2007)
- ACO I: E. Schwartz (ed.), *Concilium Universale Ephesenum. Collectio Segvierana. Collectio Atheniensis. Collectiones Minores*, vol. I.1.7, De Gruyter: Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (Berlin–Leipzig 1929)
- AE XXVIII: C. Baronio and O. Raynaldi (eds), *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. XXVIII: 1424–1453 (Barri-Ducis 1874)
- AE XXXIV: _____, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. XXXIV: 1557–1565 (Barri-Ducis–Paris 1879)
- AHC: *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*
- AnBol: *Analecta Bollandiana*
- ANE: B. T. Yioultsis (ed.), *Πρακτικά Α'Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Άγιος Νεόφυτος ὁ Ἐγκλειστος: Ἱστορία–Θεολογία–Πολιτισμός. 22–26 Ἀπριλίου 2009, Πάφος, Ἱερὰ Βασιλική καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου: Ἐγκλειστρώτικα Ἀνάλεκτα 1* (Paphos 2010)
- ΑπΒαρ: *Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας*
- BC I: C. D. Schabel (ed.) and J. Richard (introd.), *Bullarium Cyprium I. Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus, 1196–1261*, CRC: Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus LXIV (Nicosia 2010)
- BC II: C. D. Schabel (ed.), *Bullarium Cyprium II. Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus, 1261–1314*, CRC: Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus LXIV (Nicosia 2010)
- BC III: C. Perrat et al. (eds), *Bullarium Cyprium III. Lettres papales relatives à Chypre, 1316–1378*, CRC: Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre LXVIII (Nicosia 2012)
- BF: *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- BHG: F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 4

vols, Société des Bollandistes: Subsidia Hagiographica (Brussels 1957–1984)

- BMGS: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BOFP III: T. Ripoll and A. Bremond (eds), *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. III: ab anno 1430 ad 1484 (Rome 1760)
- BSI: *Byzantinoslavica*
- BE: *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα*
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CCEC: *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*
- CDS: B. S. Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*, CUP (Cambridge–New York 2006)
- CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
- CHC III: Th. X. Noble et al. (eds), *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, CUP: The Cambridge History of Christianity 3 (Cambridge–New York 2008)
- CHC IV: M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds), *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500*, The Cambridge History of Christianity 4 (Cambridge–New York 2009)
- CHC V: M. J. Angold (ed.), *Eastern Christianity*, The Cambridge History of Christianity 5 (Cambridge–New York 2006)
- CICO: Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis
- ΓΠ: *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*
- CRC: Cyprus Research Centre
- CRHCB: Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance
- CRSAIBL: *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
- CSHB: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
- CS I: B. McGinn et al. (eds), *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, The Crossroad Publishing Company: World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest 16 (New York 1987)

CS II:	J. Raitt et al. (eds), <i>Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation</i> , The Crossroad Publishing Company–SCM Press: World Spirituality (New York–London 1988)
CSS:	N. Coureas and C. D. Schabel (eds), <i>The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia</i> , CRC: Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XXV (Nicosia 1997)
CUP:	Cambridge University Press
DGMC:	C. N. Constantinides and R. Browning, <i>Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570</i> , Dumbarton Oaks: Studies XXX–CRC: Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus XVIII (Washington, D.C.–Nicosia 1993)
DOP:	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
ΔΧΑΕ:	<i>Δελτίο Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i>
ΕΕΒΣ:	<i>Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
ΕΕΔΘ:	<i>Ἑλληνισμός καὶ Εὐρώπη, Διαχρονικὴ Θεώρηση, Γραφεῖον Δημοσιευμάτων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν</i> (Athens 2011)
ΕΕΟC I-II:	J. A. McGuckin (ed.), <i>The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity</i> , 2 vols, Wiley–Blackwell (Malden, Massachusetts–Oxford–Chichester 2011)
EIBMΣB:	Ἑλληνικὸ Ἴνστιτοῦτο Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Βενετίας
EIE:	Ἐθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν
EK:	Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ
EKEE:	Ἐπετηρίς Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν
EKEIΣ:	Ἐπετηρίς Κυπριακῆς Ἐταιρείας Ἱστορικῶν Σπουδῶν
EKMIMK:	Ἐπετηρίς Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου
EsBiz:	<i>Estudios Bizantinos</i>
EVPC I-III:	L. Kurtz (ed.), <i>Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict</i> , 3 vols, Elsevier: Academic Press (San Diego, California–Oxford 1999, 2008)
GBUZ:	A. Beihammer (ed.), <i>Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines Königlichlichen Sekretärs im</i>

Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367, CRC: Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Zyperns LVII (Nicosia 2007)

- GLIH: M. Hinterberger and C. D. Schabel (eds), *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*, Peeters: Bibliotheca 11 (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, Massachusetts 2011)
- GOTR: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
- GRBS: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- ΘHE: A. Martinos (ed.), *Θρησκευτική και Ήθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 12 vols (Athens 1962–1968)
- ΙΑΓΛ: Ίδρυμα Άναστάσιος Γ. Λεβέντης
- IBE: Ίνστιτούτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν
- IFEB: Institut français d'études byzantines
- IKBK: Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Βυζαντινή Κύπρος*, Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ': Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ίστορίας: Ίστορία τῆς Κύπρου III (Nicosia 2005)
- IKMB I: _____, *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, vol. I, Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ': Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ίστορίας: Ίστορία τῆς Κύπρου IV (Nicosia 1995)
- IKMB II: _____, *Μεσαιωνικὸν Βασίλειον–Ἐνετοκρατία*, vol. II, Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ': Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ίστορίας: Ίστορία τῆς Κύπρου V (Nicosia 1995)
- IKT: _____, *Τουρκοκρατία*, Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ': Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ίστορίας: Ίστορία τῆς Κύπρου VI (Nicosia 2011)
- JAAR: *Journal of the Americal Academy of Religion*
- JEH: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JMGS: *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*
- JMH: *Journal of Medieval History*
- JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JR: *Journal of Religion*
- ΚΛΦ: L. Michaelidou and Ch. A. Chatzichristodoulou (eds), *Η Κυρά τῆς Λευκωσίας. Ἡ Φανερωμένη και τὰ κειμήλιά της*, ΠΠΤΚ (Nicosia 2012)

- KM: E. Th. Schizas et al. (eds), *Κύπρια Μηναῖα, ἤτοι ἀκολουθία ψαλλόμενα ἐν Κύπρῳ*, 11 vols (Nicosia 1994–2009)
- KNK: G. S. Ploumides (ed.), *Κανονισμοὶ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου (1507–1522)*, Πανεπιστήμιο Ἰωαννίνων: Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς «Δωδώνη», Παράρτημα 32 (Ioannina 1987)
- ΚΠΑΑ: P. M. Kitromilides (ed.) and E. Charchare (trans.), *Κυπριακὲς Πηγὲς γιὰ τὴν Ἄλωση τῆς Ἀμμοχώστου*, Ἰνστιτούτο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν–ΕΙΕ: Πηγὲς τῆς Κυπριακῆς Γραμματείας καὶ Ἱστορίας (Athens 2011)
- ΚΣ: *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*
- LSJ: H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (revised and augmented by H. S. Jones), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, OUP (Oxford 1843, ¹⁰1996)
- Mansi: J. D. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols (Florence–Venice 1759–1798)
- MB II: C. N. Sathas (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. II (Venice 1873)
- MEFR: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes*
- MIET: Μορφωτικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης
- MM I-II: F. Miklosich and J. Müller (eds), *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 2 vols (Vienna 1860–1862)
- ΜΥ: *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα*
- NPO I-III: S. Danver (ed.), *Native Peoples of the World. An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures, and Contemporary Issues*, 3 vols, Routledge (London–New York 2015)
- OBCG: J. Muddiman and J. Barton (eds), *The Gospels*, OUP: The Oxford Bible Commentary (Oxford–New York 2010)
- OCP: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB I-III: A. P. Kazhdan et al. (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols, OUP (New York–Oxford 1991)
- OTP I: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*.

New Translations from Authoritative Texts with Introductions and Critical Notes by an International Team of Scholars, vol. I, Hendrickson Publishers (Peabody, Massachusetts 1983, 32013)

- OUP: Oxford University Press
- PAPS: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
- ParOr: *Parole de l'Orient*
- ΠΕΚ: Πανεπιστημιακές Έκδόσεις Κρήτης
- PG: J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, Series graeco-latina* (Paris 1857–1866)
- PGL: G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Clarendon Press (Oxford 1961)
- PIOS: CFDS: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum: Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores
- PIOS: OCA: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum: Orientalia Christiana Analecta
- ΠΠΜ: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν
- ΠΠΚ: Πολιτιστικὸ Ἰδρυμα Τραπεζῆς Κύπρου
- ΠΠΚ–ΙΜΜ: ΟΒΜΚ: Πολιτιστικὸ Ἰδρυμα Τραπεζῆς Κύπρου–Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Μόρφου: Ὁδηγοὶ Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων Κύπρου
- ΠΚΣ I: A. Papageorghiou (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 14–19 Ἀπριλίου 1969)*, vol. II, Ἐταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν (Nicosia 1972)
- ΠΚΣ II: Th. Papadopoulos and B. Englezakis (eds), *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982)*, vol. II Ἐταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν (Nicosia 1986)
- ΠΚΣ III/2: A. Papageorghiou (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, vol. II, Ἐταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν (Nicosia 2001)
- ΠΚΣ III/3: I. Theocharides (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 16–20 Ἀπριλίου 1996)*, vol. III Ἐταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν (Nicosia 2001)
- PL: J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, Series*

latina (Paris 1844–1855)

- PLP: E. Trapp et al. (eds), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 15 vols, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna 1976–1995)
- PO: *Patrologia Orientalis*
- PRK II: H. Hunger et al. (eds), *Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, vol. II: 1337–1350, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* XIX/2, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna 1995)
- PRK III: J. Koder et al. (eds), *Das Register des Patriarchates von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden*, vol. III: 1350–1363, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* XIX/3, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna 2001)
- PUF: Presses universitaires de France
- RAPC I/5: J. Darrouzès (AA). *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. I (fasc. V): les registres de 1310 à 1376, IFEB (Paris 1977)
- RAPC I/6: _____, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. I (fasc. VI): les registres de 1377 à 1410, IFEB (Paris 1991)
- RAPC I/7: _____, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. I (fasc. VII): les registres de 1410 à 1453, IFEB (Paris 1979)
- RDAC: *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (Cyprus)
- REB: *Revue des études byzantines*
- RESEE: *Revue des études sud-est européennes*
- RSBN: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
- ΣΑΝ: *Αγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλειστοῦ Συγγράμματα*, 6 vols, Ἐκδόσεις Ἱερῶς Βασιλικῆς καὶ Σταυροπηγιακῆς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου (Paphos 1996–2008)
- SB: *Series Byzantina*
- SC: Sources chrétiennes
- SEER: *Slavonic and East European Review*

- ΣΘΙΚ: G. A. Ralles and M. Potles (eds), *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων Πατέρων*, ἐκδοθὲν σὺν πλείσταις ἄλλαις τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν διεπούσαις διατάξεσι, μετὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξηγητῶν καὶ διαφόρων ἀναγνωσμάτων, 6 vols (Athens 1852–1859)
- SN: C. D. Schabel (ed.), *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373*, CRC: Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XXXIX (Nicosia 2001)
- SV: *Studi veneziani*
- SVSP: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press
- SVTQ: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*
- TAAB: *Τόμος Αναμνηστικός ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι τοῦ περιοδικοῦ "Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας" (1918–1968)* (Nicosia 1975)
- TM: *Travaux et mémoires*
- TST: A. D. Beihammer and C. D. Schabel (eds), 'Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara in Cyprus, 1231', in Guirao and Filactós 2008, 69-81
- UCLA: University of California, Los Angeles
- WJK: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*

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Introduction

At the close of so long a book, the author may be suffered to moralise. His end will have been gained if he has succeeded in helping to train the judgment of his readers to discern the balance of truth and reality [...], to rest content with nothing less than the attainable maximum of truth, to base their arguments on nothing less sacred than that highest justice which is found in the deepest sympathy with erring and straying men.¹

The present thesis is a study of the Orthodox Cypriot Church and society between 1191 and 1571. This was a critical period in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean. The formation of Crusader States in the aftermath of the Latin conquest of Byzantium (1204) and the limited recovery of Byzantine territories in the second half of the thirteenth century, was succeeded by the consolidation and expansion of Ottoman rule. The Ottoman advance culminated in the conquest of Constantinople (1453), which marked the end of the Byzantine Empire and the beginning of a new era for Orthodox Christianity under Muslim rule. The fall of Byzantine and Crusader strongholds in the Eastern Mediterranean alarmed the West, leading to the adoption of a lenient and unionist ecclesiastical policy *vis-à-vis* the Rhomaic ('Byzantine Roman') populations under Latin rule.² The primary aim of this policy, undermined by Catholic reactions to the Reformation around the mid-sixteenth century, was to create strong sentiments of

¹ Stubbs ⁵1903, 639.

² The term 'Byzantine Roman' is employed by Page 2008, 6, who states that: 'most modern historians make reference to either "Byzantines" or "Greeks", but the first of these is anachronistic for the period, while the second is a term of limited use within the empire, and typically a term used by outsiders about the empire and its people. In a discussion of identity in which names are so important, it seems appropriate to use the self-identifying term favoured by the people themselves, and this was, overwhelmingly, Ῥωμαῖος-*Rhomaïos*, "[Byzantine] Roman". Accordingly, throughout the present thesis we use the terms 'Rhomaïos' and 'Rhomaic' to describe the Medieval Greeks, commonly known in modern scholarship as 'Byzantines'. As is well known, the terms 'Byzantine' and 'Byzantium' were 'coined by seventeenth-century Western scholars, who saw no continuity of *Romanitas* in the East after the fall of Rome (476), and [were] used primarily in a political sense, to distinguish the Eastern from the Frankish Empire, recognized as the heir to the Roman Empire in the West': Dendrinos and Antonopoulos 2001, 167 (n. 1). On the widespread employment of the term 'Rhomaïoi' in the Greek world from Byzantine times to the Modern period, see Kaplanis 2014, 81-97. On the use of this ethnic name in Cyprus, see generally: *DGMC*, 158, 250, 261, 266, 270; *GBUZ*, 180.29.16, 190.33.11, 219.89.17; 235.103.1. See also the discussion by Grivaud 1995a, 107-108; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 61; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005b, 329-331; Coureas 2014a, 14; Kaplanis 2015, 307-308; but cf. the parallel use of the term 'Cypriots' (Nicolaou-Konnari 2000-2001, 259-275).

Christian unity against the Muslim threat. What is clear is that the processes of fragmentation and unification which highlighted the period between 1191 and 1571 were not only political, but also religious. Although the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western Churches were divided by intense disputes of theological and ecclesiastical nature, they often attempted to promote reconciliation with each other, in order to heal the wounds created by ethno-political antagonisms and mutual accusations of heresy and schism.

Cyprus was often the focus of these developments. A former Byzantine province, the island was conquered by the Crusaders in 1191 and became a Kingdom under the Frankish dynasty of the Lusignans. In 1489, the Venetian Republic annexed Cyprus and ruled it for almost a century. In 1571, the Ottomans conquered the island, putting an end to nearly four hundred years of Latin domination (1191–1571).

The socio-ecclesiastical history of Cyprus between 1191 and 1571 was generally characterised by phenomena of polarisation and depolarisation, religious and socio-cultural interaction, and the emergence or strengthening of new identities. Despite the existence of several excellent studies on the Latin rule in Cyprus, there has been no attempt to comprehensively examine Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity during this period. More importantly, Cypriot historiography has been heavily influenced by recent political developments, which inevitably affects interpretations of the sensitive area of Cypriot ethno-religious identities.

Before proceeding to the wider historiographical context, a brief reminder of the modern history of Cyprus is necessary. Following nearly three centuries of Ottoman occupation, the British assumed the island's control in 1878 and ruled it as a Crown Colony between 1925 and 1960. In October 1931, Greek-Cypriot demands for liberation from the British and Union with Greece (*Ένωσις*), caused subsequent repressive measures on the part of the British colonial government. In the words of Robert Holland, 'the roots of Enosis may be explained by the elaboration over a period of high Greek culture within the milieu of Orthodox society in Cyprus. Ethnic, linguistic, literary, and religious conventions were shaped around a Hellenistic consciousness to

preserve a customary order from hostile pressures within and without'.³ The same scholar observes that, 'the ancient church of Cyprus was both the symbol and functional core of this process, but it spanned out through schoolteachers, the professions, the merchant classes, and came to embrace a more affluent peasant cadre as agrarian change slowly brought about social differentiation in the countryside'.⁴ In their attempt to marginalise nationalistic calls for Union with Greece, the British revised the Greek-Cypriot elementary curriculum, placing emphasis on the regional history and geography of Cyprus as a part of the Near Eastern world, while excluding any reference to Greek history, geography and national symbols. In addition, the island's colonial government manipulated archaeology, history, architecture and numismatic iconography in order to promote an 'authentic' Cypriot identity. The forging of a distinct –and largely de-hellenised– Cypriot identity was perceived as the first step in reaffirming Cypriot colonial loyalty to the British Empire.⁵

It is in this context that the highly influential *History of Cyprus* was composed by Sir George F. Hill (1867–1948), formerly Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum (1931–1936). Published in four volumes between 1940 and 1952, Hill's work is a reflection of British colonial policy in the post-1931 period and presents a different view of Cypriot history than the one found in previous colonial historiography. For example, Count Louis de Mas Latrie (1815–1897), a well-known French Catholic diplomat and historian, had interpreted Cypriot Rhomaic expressions of 'energetic and honourable [anti-Latin] resistance' as a powerful mechanism of identity preservation.⁶

³ Holland 1998, 6. In comparison with all other communities in Cyprus, the Greek presence on the island has been historically the longest, dating back to the Mycenaean establishment (post 1200 BC). The Hellenisation of Cyprus continued under its fourth-century indigenous monarchs and was further enhanced under the Ptolemies (294–44 B.C.). The Byzantine rule, a continuation of Roman administration, lasted for almost nine centuries (ca. 300–1191) and sealed the island's predominantly Orthodox Rhomaic identity. On the island's long process of Hellenisation and Cypriot identity see: Mavrojannis 2006, 45–65; Tsakmakis 2006, 1–26; Iacovou 2006, 27–59; Panayotou 2006, 61–75; Chrysos 2006, 77–86; Iacovou 2008, 219–288; Papantoniou 2012. As recently argued by several scholars, during the eighth and ninth centuries, Cyprus remained under the direct or indirect authority of the Byzantine emperor: Metcalf 2009, 76–108, 395–441, 447–490; Lounghis 2010, 88–91, 143–144. On Cyprus and the Arabs, see e.g.: Beihammer 2000–2001, 157–176; Christides 2006.

⁴ Holland 1998, 6.

⁵ Storrs 1937, 488–504, 530–531, 535–547; Georghallides 1992, 361–448; Georghallides 1993–1994, 37–114; Given 1997, 59–82; Hatzopoulos 2005, 185–202; Heraclidou 2010, 147–177.

⁶ Mas Latrie 1861, x: 'Les Grecs ont toujours gardé une arrière-pensée d'espérance et de dédain dans leurs relations, leurs alliances ou leurs soumissions. Nous pouvons regretter, mais nous n'avons pas le droit de blâmer cette énergique et honorable résistance d'un peuple qui ne s'abandonnait pas et qui comptait toujours sur un avenir meilleur'.

Similarly, John Hackett (1851–1915), an Anglican Army Chaplain and a philhellene, had presented the Papacy's domination on the island as 'a long night of ecclesiastical tyranny', which enabled the continuation of Cypriot Rhomaic expectations for 'undisturbed possession of their native Church'.⁷ Hill, on the other hand, perceived Cypriot Hellenism primarily in racial terms, arguing that Greek Cypriots were not 'pure' Greeks.⁸ In addition, he interpreted Orthodox resistance to Latin ecclesiastical rule as 'bigotry',⁹ pointing out that, 'left to themselves, the general antipathy between Latins and Cypriotes gradually became less sharp, although there remained to the end many whose bigotry refused to yield a single point'.¹⁰ Consequently, Hill justified the Constantinopolitan rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for restoration of communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the early fifteenth century by stating that the Cypriot Rhomaioi had been alienated from the Orthodox faith, as a result of socio-religious interaction with the Latins.¹¹ Clearly, Hill's portrayal of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus under the Latins was highlighted by the British colonial attempts to disconnect the island's Greek-Cypriot community from its historical, cultural and religious roots.

Led by their Orthodox ecclesiastical leadership, the Greek Cypriots conducted a hard anti-colonial struggle against the British (1955–1959), which nevertheless failed to bring Union with Greece. Although an independent Republic of Cyprus was founded in 1960, peace was undermined by the conflicting Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot nationalisms. In 1974, the tension culminated in a *coup d'état* orchestrated by the Greek Junta, causing the subsequent military invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. The traumatic consequences of these events involved various war crimes (e.g., execution of prisoners, ethnic cleansing, looting of archaeological sites and desecration of churches), which are

⁷ Hackett 1972, 188.

⁸ Hill 1952, 488: 'Of the three factors, race, language and religion, which contribute to the sense of Cypriote nationality, the first, paradoxical as it may seem, is the least important [...]. At no time has the island been a constituent part of Hellenic Greece [...]. Religion, combined with language [...] foster[ed] the idea that the Cypriotes were Greek in origin. That there was real racial affinity with the Hellenic stock there is nothing to prove; the anthropological evidence, so far as it goes, seems on the whole to favour the contrary view'.

⁹ Hill 1948, 1041: 'The differences between the Greek and the Latin Churches may have been irreconcilable; but had there been any chance of union, the agents of the Roman See were too often tactless though sincere bigots, the last persons likely to find a bridge for the gap, especially when they had to deal with opponents of very similar character'.

¹⁰ Hill 1948, 1041.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1088, 1090. On this incident see below, 247-268.

still affecting both communities. In 1983, the Turkish military occupation of Cyprus was sealed by the self-declaration of an internationally unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Since 2008, the ongoing efforts to resolve the Cyprus Issue have been marked by the Greek-Cypriot governmental policy of rapprochement with the Turkish-Cypriot community. Despite the existence of good intentions on both sides, no essential progress has been made in the negotiations.¹²

The recent implementation of a Greek-Cypriot policy of rapprochement gave rise to a Cyprocentric ideology (commonly known as ‘Cypriotism’), which has –ironically– adopted the aforementioned British colonial views on Cypriot identity. Indeed, ‘Cypriotism’ aims to disconnect 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.¹³ This ideology seems to be further strengthened by the Europeanisation of Greek-Cypriot socio-cultural and administrative structures, following the Republic of Cyprus’ accession to the EU (2004) and the promotion of the values of tolerance, equality and multiculturalism.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, the advocates of Cypriotism argue that history curricula in Greek-Cypriot schools (and universities) need to be fundamentally revised, in order to highlight the fact that ‘Cyprus has been multicultural/multi-religious since at least 1191 and indeed even earlier’.¹⁵ In 2008, the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education announced the government’s intention to reform the Republic’s educational system in order to facilitate reconciliation between the two communities.¹⁶ The thorny issue of educational reform has led members of the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy ‘to accuse the post-2008 government of attempting to destroy Hellenism and to corrupt the youth’.¹⁷ The ideological application of Cypriotism in public education and politics continues to

¹² On the events described in this paragraph and the consequences of the Turkish military invasion in Cyprus see generally: Holland 1998; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998, 13-43; Mallinson 2005; Chotzakoglou 2006, 101-164; Galatariotou 2006, 259-290; Varnava and Faustmann 2009; Papapolybiou 2010b, 232-259; Papapolybiou 2010a, 204-231; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 260-281; Uzer 2011, 105-152.

¹³ Loizides 2007, 172-189 (esp. at 173).

¹⁴ On Greek-Cypriot ‘Europeanisation’ one should consult: Sepos 2008; Ioannou and Kentas 2011, 89-111.

¹⁵ Varnava 2009, 312-313.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 313.

¹⁷ Roudometof and Dietzel 2014, 172.

be perceived by many Greek Cypriots as an extension of British colonial policy and a threat to Greek-Cypriot identity.¹⁸

Although it is not our intention to challenge the political and ideological legitimacy of Cypriotism, we need to recognise its influence on recent Cypriot historiography, particularly in matters of regional, ethnic/national and religious identity. It should also be stressed that the present ‘identity crisis’ – reflected in the conflicting perspectives, views and interests that have shaped the various interpretations of Cypriot history – is largely associated with the legacy of British colonial historiography. For example, Hill’s distorted perception of Cypriot Hellenism is also reflected in the work of two eminent British Byzantinists, Romilly J. H. Jenkins (1907–1969) and Cyril Mango. Jenkins’ and Mango’s arguments concerning the cultivation of a distinct Cypriot ‘national’ identity in Byzantine times and the alleged ‘self-sanctification’ of Neophytos the Recluse (d. 1219) – chief representative of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality at the time of the island’s Crusader conquest in 1191 – have been interpreted by several Greek and Greek-Cypriot Byzantinists since the 1990s as a continuation of British colonial (mis)interpretations of Cypriot Hellenism and Orthodoxy. The fact that these views were adopted and further developed by a number of Greek-Cypriot scholars (Catia Galatariotou and Anthoullis A. Demosthenous), demonstrates the striking influence exercised by British colonial historiography on modern Cypriot historiography.¹⁹

Greek-Cypriot attempts for the deconstruction of colonial and postcolonial readings of the island’s history began relatively early, with Archimandrite Kyprianos’ (d. 1802/5) *Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus* (Venice, 1788). Kyprianos had initially intended his work to be a Greek translation of the *Chorograffia*, a historical treatise composed and published in Bologna (1573) by Stephen of Lusignan (d. ca. 1590), a Cypriot Dominican of Frankish origin. According to Paschalis Kitromilides, ‘Lusignan’s condescension and his religious intolerance toward the [Greek] Cypriots

¹⁸ The fact that the US Embassy in Cyprus seems to support the Greek-Cypriot governmental policy of educational reform has been interpreted by many Greek Cypriots as an external intervention in support of Cypriotism and Turkey: Schlicher 2007 in http://cyprus.indymedia.org/sites/default/files/what_do_greek_cypriot_young.pdf (last accessed on 9/11/2015). See also the discussion by Makrides 2009.

¹⁹ Jenkins 1953, 1014; Mango and Hawkins 1966, 128-129; Mango 1976, 9; Vryonis 1978, 237-241; Vryonis 1990, 7-9; Galatariotou 1991b; Englezakis 1996, 36-43; Papadopoulos 2000–2001, xv-xxv; Demosthenous 2007a, 153-165; Demosthenous 2007b; Triantaphyllopoulos 2008, 133-136; Paschalides 2010, 681-709.

were resented and criticized by Kyprianos as incompatible with the task of serious history writing'.²⁰ In other words, Lusignan's prejudice had led the Archimandrite to write his own version of Cypriot history.²¹ As Kitromilides states, 'reconstructing the past in a more critical spirit could also mean that the present might be faced without fatalism or resignation. [...] Under the rule of Christian masters, such as the Frankish feudal lords and the Venetian mercantile oligarchy, exploitation and oppression had been worse than the Turks'.²²

Following in Kyprianos' footsteps, Theodoros Papadopoulos (1921–2016), an eminent Greek-Cypriot scholar, wrote in 1995 a solid introduction to the history of the Orthodox Cypriot Church under Latin rule.²³ Another distinguished Greek-Cypriot scholar, Costas P. Kyrris (1927–2009), examined the organisation of the Orthodox Cypriot Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy and Leontios Machairas' *Chronicle*.²⁴ Benedictos (later Fr Paul) Englezakis (1947–1992) offered invaluable insights into the ascetic spirituality of St Neophytos the Recluse and his perception of the Latins during the first decades of their rule in Cyprus.²⁵ In addition, Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning (1914–1997) published a detailed description of dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, many of which contain important information of ecclesiastical interest.²⁶ Their work was partly based on the labours of the well-known Assumptionist and eminent Byzantinist Fr Jean Darrouzès (1912–1990).²⁷ Turning now to the history of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Aikaterini Aristidou and Nasa Patapiou shed light on the status of the Orthodox Church under the Venetians, drawing information from unpublished archival sources.²⁸ Similarly, Benjamin Arbel, Gilles Grivaud and Evangelia Skoufari explored

²⁰ Kitromilides 2013, 85.

²¹ Archimandrite Kyprianos 1788, esp. at η'-θ'.

²² Kitromilides 2013, 86.

²³ Papadopoulos 1995a, 759-784; Papadopoulos 1995b, 543-665.

²⁴ Kyrris 1961, 91-122; Kyrris 1962, 21-31; Kyrris 1989-1993, 167-281; Kyrris 1993b, 149-186.

²⁵ See particularly: Englezakis 1996, 229-296, 305-314.

²⁶ DGMC.

²⁷ Darrouzès 1972, XI-XIX.

²⁸ See, e.g.: Aristidou 1993, 183-205; Patapiou 2012, 129-148.

aspects of Orthodox ecclesiastical history in the Venetian period and contributed to the study of the island's society, economy and literature.²⁹

So far, the most influential studies by Greek-Cypriot scholars of the older generation are those by Papadopoulos, Kyrris and Englezakis, despite the fact that their approach sometimes lacks the perspective of a Medievalist. Given that significant Latin sources (e.g., canonical collections and papal letters) became easily accessible and properly edited and commented upon only after 1997, these scholars inevitably based their arguments on scholarly insufficient editions, which occasionally led them to wrong conclusions.³⁰ Thus, Papadopoulos, Kyrris and Englezakis – whose generation had experienced the Greek-Cypriot anti-colonial struggle, the failure of Union with Greece and the catastrophic events of 1974 – maintained a generally negative perception of the Latin rule and its impact on Orthodox ecclesiastical affairs. Not surprisingly, their works echo Archimandrite Kyprianos' view that the survival of Cypriot Hellenism under foreign oppression could be used as a guide to endure the island's present tribulations.³¹

Above all, the Greek-Cypriot 'traditionalist' approach is reflected in Kyrris' portrayal of Leontios Machairas' ethno-religious ideology and identity. Machairas (d. post 1432/ca. 1458), a Cypriot Rhomaios chronicler and Lusignan official, is depicted by Kyrris as a devout and religiously tolerant Byzantine Orthodox Cypriot.³² Recent revisionist studies by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel have accurately pointed out Machairas' recognition of papal authority and his tolerance towards the Latin faith and practices. This strongly suggests that Leontios was, in fact, an obedient member of the Western Church who followed the Byzantine rite and openly accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy.³³ Clearly, Kyrris' overemphasis on Machairas' attachment to the Byzantine rite had led him to underplay (to some extent) this important dimension of Leontios' ideology, spirituality and identity. Moreover, Machairas' case shows how commonly used labels (e.g.,

²⁹ See, e.g.: Grivaud 1993, 219-244; Grivaud 1995c, 863-1207; Grivaud 1998b; Arbel 2000b; Arbel 2002, 73-86; Arbel 2009, 373-380; Skoufari 2011.

³⁰ See Schabel's criticisms in *SN*, 42-43; Schabel 2006a, 277 ('uncritical use of source materials').

³¹ See, e.g., Papadopoulos 1995b, 664-665; Englezakis 1996, 45-46, 314, 620; cf. Englezakis 2012, 298-300.

³² Kyrris 1978, 159-165; Kyrris 1989-1993, 167-281 (*passim*); Kyrris 1993b, 149-186 (*passim*).

³³ Nicolaou-Konnari 2005b, 353-355; Schabel 2006b, 201.

'Orthodox', 'Latins', 'Cypriots' and 'Greeks') can create interpretive problems concerning the spirituality and identity/ies of Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi.³⁴

Revisionist scholars have severely criticised the traditionalist standpoint. According to Christopher D. Schabel: 'The desire to be the victim, to continue to see the history of Cyprus as one long series of foreign invasions, of persecution, of tragedy, makes the myth hard to resist. It shows that the subjugation of the Greek hierarchy [to the Latins] was malicious, personal, even evil, and not expected'.³⁵ Schabel concludes that, 'by emphasizing Latin domination of the Greeks, these historians are able to focus on the separate identity of the Greeks and to applaud all the more their heroic victory against oppression'.³⁶

Yet, what revisionist scholars have failed to notice is that Papadopoulos', Kyrris' and Englezakis' studies introduce to the examination of Cypriot ecclesiastical history the fundamental element of spirituality, which is usually missing from recent studies.³⁷ Indeed, the work of these three scholars demonstrates how in-depth knowledge of history, theology, hagiography, topography and socio-anthropology are indispensable for exploring the dynamics of Orthodox Cypriot identity under Latin rule.³⁸ Interestingly, while traditionalist historians underline the oppressive nature of Latin rule, they do not ignore phenomena of socio-religious and cultural interaction. More

³⁴ See below, 35-36.

³⁵ Schabel 2006a, 277; cf. Schlicher 2007 in http://cyprus.indymedia.org/sites/default/files/what_do_greek_cypriot_young.pdf (last accessed on 9/11/2015), §3: 'The politicization of Greek Cypriot youth begins early. [...] The available teaching materials are largely out of date, even by Greek standards, and reflect nationalist and intolerant sentiments that were more mainstream half a century ago. Impressionable students are instructed to prepare projects documenting Turkish atrocities dating back to the Ottoman period, but with particular attention to the events of 1974. Greek Cypriot students can recite a list of Turkish crimes in Cyprus with the ease of an American 8th grader offering a list of the world's longest rivers. The school parking lot may be full of BMWs and students may be dressed in the latest fashions, but a strong streak of victimization nevertheless runs through the curriculum'. This is a passage from a confidential report written by Ronald L. Schlicher, US Ambassador in Nicosia in 2007 (accessed through WikiLeaks).

³⁶ Schabel 2006a, 277.

³⁷ Note, however, that the notion of spirituality is neither explicitly defined nor systematically employed by these scholars.

³⁸ Englezakis' study on Neophytos the Recluse and the beginning of the Latin rule in Cyprus is an excellent example of this approach: Englezakis 1996, 229-296. The same scholar has also examined the spirituality of the Orthodox Cypriot Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the period between 1878 and 1955: *ibid.*, 335-363, 569-620. Papadopoulos employed socio-anthropological theories in his study of Cypriot society under the Latins: Papadopoulos 1995a, 759-784. See also his innovative study on frontier status and frontier processes in Cyprus: Papadopoulos 1993, 15-24. Kyrris' deep knowledge of history, topography and hagiography is reflected in his examination of the traditions concerning the so-called 'Alaman saints': Kyrris 1993a, 203-235.

significantly for our examination, they argue that Orthodox resistance continued to be manifested in non-coercive ways, even after the Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Latins in the thirteenth century.³⁹

Jean Richard's study on the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260), published in 1996, has been the point of departure for better understanding the Latin point of view. The eminent French historian has argued that the *Bulla*, which marked the submission of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy and flock to the Latin Church, had enabled the Orthodox hierarchy to pursue a *modus vivendi* with the Latin regime and should not be interpreted as an expression of anti-Rhomaic oppression.⁴⁰ In 1997 and 2010, Nicholas Coureas published two monographs on the history of the Latin Church of Cyprus (1195–1378), offering insights into the relations between the island's Latin and non-Latin communities. What Coureas' erudite illustration of the status of non-Latins in the Cypriot Latin Church seems to be lacking, however, is an assessment of the long-term impact of the Latin socio-political expansionism and papal policy on the spiritual identity of Orthodox and Oriental Christians. Indeed, Coureas mostly treats the island's Christian Churches as economic and administrative institutions, without exploring in depth their differences and similarities in doctrine and practice.⁴¹ Similarly, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, an expert on Leontios Machairas, examined various aspects of Cypriot society, culture and identity from the island's Crusader conquest to the Early Modern period. Her numerous studies are characterised by a tendency to focus on peaceful symbiosis as a product of inter-communal acculturation.⁴²

Given the recent political and ideological developments in Cyprus (namely the island's accession to the EU, the prospect of a possible solution of the Cyprus Issue and the governmental promotion of Cypriotism), it is not surprising that from around the mid-2000s, revisionist readings of Cypriot history have focused on deconstructing

³⁹ Kyrris 1993b, 163-164 (crypto-Orthodoxy), 179-185 (interaction); Papadopoulos 1995a, 760 (acculturation), 766-771 (spiritual resistance), 777-782 (interaction); Englezakis 1996, 289-291 (spiritual resistance).

⁴⁰ Richard 1996, 12-31.

⁴¹ Coureas 1997; Coureas 2010; cf. Schabel's remarks in SN, 44.

⁴² See, e.g.: Nicolaou-Konnari 1995, 347-387; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 25-123; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000–2001, 259-275; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 13-62; Nicolaou-Konnari 2008, 293-323; Nicolaou-Konnari 2011, 119-145.

traditionalist views on Orthodox ecclesiastical history under the Latins. This has not been a purely 'Cypriot' phenomenon. In her study on ethnic identities in Venetian-ruled Crete, for example, Sally McKee argued that: 'The myth of ethnic homogeneity continues to propel scholars into the realm of identity politics of the past, when what we in fact should be engaged in is the dismantling, the deconstruction –literally– of the concept, "ethnic identity", without a worry for its eventual reconstruction'.⁴³ Already in 1995, the distinguished American Art Historian Annemarie Weyl Carr had noted that, 'the image of Lusignan Cyprus that emerges from my imagination is coloured as strongly by the romantic late twentieth-century American ideal of multiculturalism as Enlart's had been by his romantic ideal of colonial implantation. Yet I believe that it has its claim upon at least an aspect of truth. As such, I believe it has a claim, too, upon our imagination'.⁴⁴ Advocates of Cypriotism in educational reform have used similar arguments to strengthen their point: 'A discussion of communal development and relations in Cyprus must take into account the works of respected historians, which clearly show that since 1191 Cyprus exhibits a significant degree of cosmopolitanism, integration and, at least until the twentieth century and more specifically the late 1950s, peaceful relations between its various inhabitants'.⁴⁵

The chief representative of the Cyprocentric revisionist school is Christopher D. Schabel, whose indefatigable efforts to put on the map the oft-ignored Latin sources, have contributed substantially to the field of the island's ecclesiastical history.⁴⁶ The *leitmotifs* of Schabel's work are religious unity, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and absence of Latinisation and anti-Latin resistance.⁴⁷ According to Schabel, traditionalist historiography has been uncritically influenced by 'the modern ideals of democracy, freedom of religion, and the self-determination of peoples, perhaps sometimes with a slight dose of Greek Orthodox chauvinism'.⁴⁸ Schabel, like Hill, sees Orthodox resistance to Latinisation as 'intolerance' and implicitly stresses the need of revising

⁴³ McKee 2000, 177; cf. Tsougarakis 2001, 43-65.

⁴⁴ Weyl Carr 1995, 251.

⁴⁵ Varnava 2009, 313.

⁴⁶ CSS (ed. Coureas and Schabel 1997); SN (ed. Schabel 2001); BC I-III (ed. Schabel, Perrat and Richard 2010-2012).

⁴⁷ Schabel 2005, 157-218; Schabel 2006b, 165-207.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 170.

history curricula on the subject.⁴⁹ Oddly enough, Schabel expresses the view that both Latins and Ottomans had exercised a lenient policy towards the Orthodox Cypriot Church, limiting his interpretation to the narrow sphere of administration and jurisdiction.⁵⁰ Although this view is not entirely wrong, it underplays (to some extent) phenomena of institutional submission to the Western Church and conversion to the Latin rite and Islam, as well as Orthodox crypto-religious responses that facilitated the process of identity preservation.⁵¹ Schabel's deconstructive arguments have been more or less adopted and further developed by a younger generation of Medievalists and scholars of the Venetian period.⁵² In general, the most important methodological weakness of the revisionist school is that it tends to ignore or misinterpret basic Greek sources (including canonical collections, patriarchal letters and theological, hagiographical and liturgical texts), which inevitably disconnects the Orthodox Cypriot Church from its wider context of Byzantine Orthodox spirituality and imperial ideology.⁵³

⁴⁹ Schabel 2010b, 1-33 (esp. at 1-3).

⁵⁰ Schabel 2006b, 200.

⁵¹ See below Chapter II.

⁵² See, e.g.: Duba 2000, 167-194; Kaoulla 2006, 109-150; Skoufari 2012, 205-230; Olympios 2013, 321-341; Devaney 2013, 300-341; Kaffa 2014.

⁵³ For example, Schabel misinterprets the Kantara Monks' tonsure to the 'Great Habit', which he confuses with the ordination of monks to priesthood ('hieromonks'): Schabel 2010b, 4-5, 13. By doing so, however, he misses the dimension of spiritual struggle in the Monks' rejection of Latin sacramental practices: see below, 61-62. Olympios 2013, 321-341, does not take into consideration expressions of anti-Latinism in ecclesiastical art, which have already been pointed out in previous studies by Greek and Greek-Cypriot archaeologists (see note below). Duba 2000, 176-177, approaches Palamite Hesychasm in a biased way. While Schabel cites a number of liturgical sources from Cyprus —in order to strengthen his argument of Latin toleration of the Byzantine rite— he seems to ignore the commemoration of the Byzantine emperor in one of these texts, as well as references to Cypriot Rhomaic contacts with the Orthodox world: Schabel 2006b, 187 (n. 49); cf. Papaioannou 1912, 444-446, 592; Papaioannou 1913, 26-28. Skoufari 2012, 217 (n. 35), misinterprets the report of a Venetian official, stating that: 'Il provveditore Bernardo Sagredo rivelava che i sacerdoti ortodossi celebravano anche la messa Latina, però su altari mobili'. In reality, Sagredo had reported to Venice that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops *sono ignoranti et maligni contra quelli che osservano il rito della corte romana, tenendoci per scomunicati* (Mas Latrie 1855, 542)! Perhaps the most striking example of the selective approach to the examination of Greek sources is reflected in Schabel's extensive synthesis on the religious history of Frankish-ruled Cyprus. In 1986, Demetrios Gones had examined an unpublished patriarchal encyclical letter to the Orthodox Cypriot flock and clergy. This mid-fourteenth century letter provides invaluable information on the relations between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, clearly suggesting that the Byzantines perceived the Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi as members of the Orthodox Church: Gones 1986, 333-350. Although Schabel cites Gones' study, he does not elaborate on its findings, but briefly mentions it as 'another source for Peter Thomaes' stay [in Cyprus]': Schabel 2005, 157 (n. 2); cf. *ibid.*, 211. On the *editio princeps* of this important source see below App. II, 424-429.

Clearly, the revisionist school, despite its influence by Cypriotism and methodological weaknesses, has opened a dynamic scholarly debate over the survival and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity under the Latins, which has been enriched by excellent editions and commentaries on Latin sources and promotes constructive dialogue between Byzantinists and Medievalists engaged in the study of the island's ecclesiastical history. With the exception of a small number of Greek archaeologists, so far no systematic attempt has been made by ecclesiastical historians to respond to the revisionist arguments.⁵⁴

The present thesis is, to our knowledge, the first attempt in this direction. Its aim, however, is not to pursue a *via media* in an attempt to conveniently reconcile the traditionalist and revisionist interpretations, but to explore fundamental questions related to faith, ideology and identity in a distinct, independent and deeper way. Admittedly, we do not claim to possess absolute objectivity. According to Arnaldo Momigliano (1908–1987): 'The historian is above all free to bring to historical research all the richness of his own convictions and experience'.⁵⁵ Thus, the process of interpreting the sources is inevitably subjective. As Momigliano points out: '[The historian's] personal records too become sources, as historical research proceeds. But nevertheless, the historian is not an interpreter of sources, although interpret he does. Rather, he is an interpreter of the reality of which the sources are indicative signs, or fragments'.⁵⁶ We primarily approach the subject from the Byzantine Orthodox perspective, although taking into consideration the Latin views and perceptions and attempting to understand 'people and institutions, ideas, beliefs, emotions, and the needs of individuals who no longer exist'.⁵⁷

Based on the traditionalist argument that non-coercive anti-Latinism enabled the long-term preservation of Orthodox identity, this study acknowledges the role of religion as a unifying factor for Cypriot Christians and examines whether anti-Latin resistance

⁵⁴ See e.g.: Gioles 2004, 263-281 (*passim*); Eliades 2005, 145-173; Eliades 2008; Chotzakoglou 2009, 427-439; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 40-51. The monograph by A. and J. Stylianou (Stylianou and Stylianou 1997) is indispensable for the examination of the island's ecclesiastical art. On icons one should generally consult Papageorghiou 1992.

⁵⁵ Momigliano 2013, 188.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

could have coexisted with phenomena of religious symbiosis, collaboration and socio-cultural interaction.⁵⁸ Consequently, the present thesis investigates two interlinked questions: to what extent did Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi succeed in preserving and adapting their Orthodox identity, and in what ways did political and socio-economic developments affect their ideological and spiritual orientation in the period under discussion.

Spirituality enters the scene as a fundamental methodological key which unlocks doors leading to multidimensional areas of research concerning Orthodox Cypriot identity under the Latins. As a term, spirituality is best defined as a 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'.⁵⁹ It should be noted that the use of ambiguous terminology in both traditionalist and revisionist literature with reference to 'Cypriots', 'Greek Cypriots', 'Greeks', 'Uniates' and 'Eastern Catholics' requires a more precise definition of different spiritual identities within Cypriot society. The Greeks of Cyprus generally described themselves as *Rhomaioi* ('Byzantine Romans'), a term that reveals their ethnic, cultural and religious bonds with Byzantium. The present thesis employs the term 'Cypriot Rhomaioi' to denote the Greek Cypriots in general, while 'Byzantines' refers to subjects of the Byzantine Empire. The term 'Latins' denotes Western and Eastern followers of the Latin liturgical rite and doctrines under the Papacy's jurisdiction. This term includes 'Latinised' Christians, namely non-Latin Christians who adopted the Latin rite and doctrines. 'Orthodox' is used to define Cypriot lay and ecclesiastical followers of the Byzantine liturgical rite and doctrines. Scholars have also been using the terms 'Uniates', 'Greek-rite Catholics' or 'Latinisers' to describe the 'Latin-minded' or 'Latinophrones' (*Λατινόφρονες* in the sources) as a separate and well-defined group of Eastern Catholic Rhomaioi, who followed the Byzantine liturgical rite and customs but adopted the Latin doctrines and accepted papal ecclesiastical supremacy.⁶⁰ At least in the case of Cypriot Rhomaioi, it is doubtful whether we can clearly identify 'Latinisers' as a concrete group; so far, there is no

⁵⁸ On the non-divisive role of Christianity in Latin-ruled Cyprus see Schabel 2006b, 169.

⁵⁹ Sheldrake 2007, 2; cf. Bynum 1982, 3-6.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Kirmitsis 1983, 23-25, 31, 37-52; Coureas 1994, 285; Englezakis 1996, 45-46, 293, 316; Coureas 1998, 82; Schabel in *SN*, 61; Schabel 2006b, 199; Chotzakoglou 2011, 475, 480-481, 497-498.

evidence to ascertain their existence as a separate group or party in the period under discussion.⁶¹ What the evidence 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 ‘Latinisers’ did not exist; it is simply difficult to detect them both individually and as a body. Hence, our reluctance to refer to ‘Latinisers’ in the present thesis.

Given that Cypriot Orthodoxy during the period of the Latin rule developed certain crypto-religious characteristics, the concept of ‘anti-Latinism’ (namely manifestations of open or covert/coercive or non-coercive resistance against the *status quo*) becomes a useful criterion for the examination of the survival and adaptation of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the Latins.⁶² However, ‘anti-Latinism’ should not be misinterpreted as part of the very definition of Orthodoxy; in the context of this thesis 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,⁶³ we should note that the term ‘Orthodox’ also includes Orthodox Christians who, while not criticising the Western Church for a variety of practical reasons (e.g., socio-economic 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 coloured by a multiplicity of identities, attitudes, perceptions and reactions, which often varied according to particular circumstances.

The material comprises a wide range of both Greek and Latin sources, including historiographical works (Nikēphoros Grēgoras, Leontios Machairas, George Bustron, Florio Bustron, Stephen of Lusignan and others); private and official epistolography (such as patriarchal and papal letters); synodal acts and canons; liturgical, theological

⁶¹ Cf. Schabel 2000–2001, 231.

⁶² Interestingly, two recent collections of studies on Cypriot identity say little, if anything at all, on anti-Latinism as an expression of Orthodox identity: Fourrier and Grivaud 2006; Papacostas and Saint-Guillain 2014.

⁶³ Alexopoulos 2009, 273-299 (esp. at 294-298); Kalaitzidis 2010, 247-288. See also the discussion by Yannaras 1996; Blanchet 2003, 17-23, 34-39, 42-48; Russell 2006a, 77-92; Louth 2008, 188-202; Papathanasiou 2008, 218-231; Andreopoulos 2011, 10-23; Plested 2012b, 177-219.

and hagiographical texts; travellers' accounts; Venetian State reports; manuscript notes and archaeological evidence (such as inscriptions, icons and mural paintings). The thesis includes an *editio princeps* of four important, unpublished sources, which shed light on aspects of Orthodox identity in Latin-ruled Cyprus: the *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara*; the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople (1350–1353 and 1354–1363); a *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM; and the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* by an anonymous clergyman of the Venetian period. In analysing and interpreting the material, we have adopted a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, applying modern theories on crypto-religiosity, multiple identities, embodiment and memory from the fields of sociology, psychology and social anthropology, which are discussed from a theological and historical perspective.

The thesis comprises an **Introduction**, five **chapters (I-V)**, **Conclusions** and **Appendices I-IV**. **Chapter I** focuses on the encounter between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins during the first century of the Latin rule (1191–ca. 1300), examining different reactions to the establishment of the Frankish political regime and the Latin Church. As is well known, the Early Frankish period in Cyprus was characterised by religious polarisation, which culminated in the harsh and humiliating execution of the Orthodox monastic community of Kantara (1231). The implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260) gradually contributed to the restoration of relations between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi. The interpretation of the reasons leading to the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara, which marked the climax of religious tension on the island, has become a matter of debate among scholars: on the one hand, traditionalists see the Monks as defenders of Orthodox sacramental practices against Latin coercion; on the other hand, revisionists interpret the Monks' rejection of the Latin Eucharist as a provocative expression of intolerance. The examination of the hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara (Appendix I)* —composed by the Monks in defence of the exclusive canonical use of leavened bread in the Eucharist—sheds light on the spiritual and theological reasons behind their adamant resistance. Given the Monks' peaceful yet firm defence of the Orthodox tradition, we can trace a line of non-coercive and non-

violent resistance to Latinisation, which was largely adopted and adapted by the Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi throughout the Latin rule.

Chapter II investigates the adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality following the Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy in 1260. To better contextualise the notions of ‘resistance’, ‘anti-Latinism’ and ‘identity preservation’, we have employed theoretical models from the fields of sociology, psychology and social anthropology to highlight cases of crypto-religiosity, multiple identities and embodiment; these notions are discussed from a theological and historical perspective. This is the first time that these three key concepts are used to illuminate Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins in a systematic and comprehensive way.

Chapter III re-examines the material concerning the involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins in the Hesychast Controversy (ca. 1337–ca. 1400), aiming to better understand how Palamite Hesychasm strengthened Orthodox identity in Cyprus. Most traditionalist and revisionist scholars agree that the Cypriot Rhomaioi were predominantly anti-Palamites; it has even been suggested that their rejection of Palamite Hesychast theophanic theology —sanctioned as doctrine by the Orthodox Church in 1351— was strengthened by the influence of Latin scholasticism. However, a careful investigation of the surviving testimonies on Cypriot anti-Palamites, placed in the wider context of ecclesiastical politics between the Orthodox Patriarchates, indicates that Cypriot anti-Palamism had been initially a Byzantine ‘Orthodox’ and not a Latinising movement. The examination of the hitherto unpublished *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople (**Appendix II**) sheds light on the circumstances that led to a rapprochement between the anti-Palamites and the Papacy, resulting in religious polarisation, which facilitated the establishment of Palamite Hesychasm on the island.

Chapter IV discusses the extent of preservation and adaptation of Orthodox identity in fifteenth-century Cyprus. Various political and socio-religious developments enhanced the processes of inter-communal symbiosis and socio-religious interaction, contributing to the emergence of a strong Cypriot identity encapsulated in Leontios Machairas’ ideology of Cypriot Christian unity under the Lusignans and the Papacy.

The Cypriot Rhomaic proposals for covert restoration of communion with Constantinople (in 1406 and 1412), resulted in the consolidation of a schism between the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople that lasted as late as 1572. From the revisionist point of view, this had been a natural consequence of the Cypriot Rhomaic alienation from Orthodoxy and Byzantium, reflected in the rapprochement with other Cypriot ethno-religious communities under Western ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Lusignan political control. However, the critical examination of all published material concerning the two Cypriot Rhomaic proposals, in light of modern theories on crypto-religiosity and multiple identities, demonstrates the preservation and adaptation of Orthodox identity in Cyprus. The importance of the contextualisation of all testimonies associated with the proposals of 1406 and 1412, which has never been attempted before, stresses the hierocratic ideology motivating the rejection of the proposed union by Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiastics. The chapter also discusses the implementation of the Florentine 'Union' (1439) in Cyprus, arguing that sincere reconciliation between Rhomaioi and Latins was undermined by mutual antagonisms and differences in theology and practice. This significant yet largely unexplored episode in the island's ecclesiastical history, is further illuminated by the examination of the hitherto unpublished *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM (**Appendix III**), reflecting the tension between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins over thorny theological issues associated with theophanies and the afterlife.

Chapter V attempts for the first time to comprehensively explore the survival and adaptation of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the new conditions created by the Venetian rule on the island during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Contrary to traditionalist views that Venetian oppression had led to collaboration between the Cypriot Rhomaic Church and the Ottomans during the War of Cyprus (1570–1571), we argue that the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy remained loyal to the Most Serene Republic. Yet, this should not be interpreted as a manifestation of alienation from the Orthodox tradition. Revisionist claims that most Cypriot Rhomaioi had been sincerely obedient to the Papacy cannot be sustained, particularly in light of the hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*

(**Appendix IV**). The *Report*, probably composed by an anonymous Latin clergyman during the 1560s, provides crucial new evidence on the doctrines, liturgy, religious customs and social life of the non-Latin Christian communities of Cyprus, revealing the continuation of covert anti-Latinism and the preservation of Orthodox identity.

The **Conclusions** summarise the findings of the thesis and suggest areas for further research. The thesis closes with **Appendices I-IV** which contain editions of the aforementioned unpublished documents (accompanied by brief palaeographical and historical commentaries), full **Bibliography** and **facsimiles** of select folios of manuscripts cited.

Chapter I

Orthodox and Latins in Cyprus (1191–ca. 1300)

How eastern, how Greek is this aspect of Francis, this consciousness of God and the world, God in the world, the world in God. [...] But this special stigmatization of the body of some western saints which has occurred ever since Francis is completely unknown to the undivided Church of the first ten or twelve centuries. Did they bear on themselves the signs of the sin of broken love?⁶⁴

I.1. 'Signs of the sin of broken love': the beginnings of the Latin rule in Cyprus

The beginnings of the Latin rule in Cyprus date back to 1191. While on its way to the Holy Land to recover the birthplace of Christianity against the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin (1174–1193), a Crusader army led by King Richard I of England (1189–1199) attacked, plundered and occupied the island, which had formerly been a province of the Byzantine Empire. The fact that for almost seven years Cyprus was *de facto* cut-off from Byzantium due to the rebellion and oppressive rule of a Byzantine usurper, Isaac Komnēnos (ca. 1184–1191), gave the opportunity to Western historians to justify Richard's actions by presenting Isaac as anti-Latin and pro-Muslim. However, the conquest of Cyprus seems to have been motivated by strategic reasons, since the island offered the Crusaders valuable resources and a base for operations close to the Syro-Palestinian coast.⁶⁵

As is well known, Richard did not keep Cyprus but sold it to the Templars. The Order's oppressive economic policy led the local population to the Revolt of Nicosia, which was violently suppressed in 1192. The Templars returned the island to Richard, who sold it for a second time to Guy of Lusignan (d. 1194), formerly King of Jerusalem.⁶⁶ The Frankish dynasty of the Lusignans ruled Cyprus until the late fifteenth century, when it became a protectorate (1473/4) and later a Colony (1489)

⁶⁴ Englezakis 2012, 333-334.

⁶⁵ Coureas 1992, 197-202; Harris 2003, 141-142. The main Latin historians of the conquest of Cyprus are Ambroise, Roger of Howden and William of Tyre's Continuator. Generally on the events described above see: Papadopoullos 1964, 39-114; Edbury 1991, 1-12; Lilie 1993, 229-230, 242; Gillingham 1999, 140-154; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 25-123; Asdracha 2005, 381-412.

⁶⁶ See generally *ibid.*, 409-412.

under the Venetians. In 1571, the Ottomans conquered the island, thus ending a period of Latin occupation that had lasted for almost four hundred years.⁶⁷

The growing antagonism between the Western world and Byzantium, reflected in the conquest of 1191, could be considered as a prelude to the subsequent sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the partition of the Empire's lands among the victorious participants of the Fourth Crusade.⁶⁸ An anonymous Byzantine treatise *On the Schism* that was probably composed sometime after 1231 in Nicaea, the centre of the exiled imperial government and Ecumenical Patriarchate (1204–1261), demonstrates how political hostility contributed to the concretisation of a rift in the sacramental communion between Orthodox and Latin Christians. According to the treatise, the schism had been the outcome of a gradual division, caused by Latin raids in Byzantine lands, the sack of conquered cities and the coercive attempts for ecclesiastical subjugation of Orthodox Christians.⁶⁹

Catherine Holmes has recently noted that the 'rhetoric of polarized religious identity' in medieval sources often 'masks a very different lived experience', though historians should be careful enough not to replace 'an overly polarized depiction of Latin-Greek relations [...] by an equally oversimplistic model of confessional harmony'.⁷⁰ In agreement with Holmes' remark, we shall examine how the Latin conquest of 1191 and the gradual submission of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the thirteenth century provoked different reactions among the island's Rhomaic population, comprising collaboration with the Latins and coercive or non-coercive expressions of anti-Latin resistance. The atmosphere of polarisation between Orthodox and Latins led to the

⁶⁷ See below chapters IV and V. The term 'colony' with reference to Venice's maritime dominions is conventional among historians studying the Venetian period. See, e.g., Arbel 2013, 125-253.

⁶⁸ There is vast bibliography on the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. See the recent studies by Harris 2003, 145-162; Phillips 2004; Laiou 2005; Moschonas 2008a. What is noteworthy is that back in 1191, Constantinople had neither the power to recover Cyprus, nor the ability to foresee the culmination of Western aggressiveness. This is confirmed, for example, by Nikētas Chōniatēs' (d. 1217) description of the Byzantine loss of Cyprus, which reflects the *Kaiserkritik* of a disappointed former imperial official concerning the Byzantine failure to prevent the sack of Constantinople in 1204. It is indicative that Chōniatēs' narrative on the Latin conquest of 1191 does not criticise the Crusaders, but blames the rebellious and oppressive rule of Isaac Komnēnos for the island's loss: Nikētas Chōniatēs, *History*, ed. Van Dieten, 290.12-291.52, 370.84-12, 418.75-88; Tinnefeld 1971, 158-177; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 77-78; Harris 2003, 142-143; Simpson 2006, 189-221.

⁶⁹ *TST*, 70-72 (comm.), 78.54-79.64. According to the editors, the treatise might have been composed between 1254 and 1261.

⁷⁰ Holmes 2012, 40, 42, 54.

development of various attitudes towards the Papacy and the island's Latin ecclesiastical authorities; these were subject to the particular circumstances faced by the Cypriot Rhomaioi. Moreover, the officialisation of Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Western Church (*Bulla Cypria*, 1260) and the fall of Levantine Crusader States (1291) enabled the establishment of a *modus vivendi*, which enhanced the importance of Christian faith as an element of common Cypriot identity. At the same time, anti-Latinism did not disappear but adapted to the new conditions, thus paving the way for the transformation of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity in the following centuries.⁷¹

From a Byzantine Orthodox perspective, the Latin conquest of 1191 was paradoxical. While heading to liberate Jerusalem from the Muslims, the Crusaders had seized and plundered a Christian island, 'one of the earliest regions to generate and to receive Christian preachers'.⁷² In addition, Cyprus officially belonged to Byzantium, the Christianised and Hellenised continuation of the Roman Empire, which had made a peace pact with Richard on the eve of his attack on the island.⁷³ The paradoxical nature of the Crusader conquest was further enhanced by differences between the Latin and Orthodox ecclesiology, concerning the role of the Church in the spiritual salvation of believers. Far from being empty rhetoric, these ecclesiological views mirror different theological interpretations of the 1191 events. Indeed, the cases of the Cypriot Rhomaioi monk Neophytos the Recluse (d. 1219) and Pope Celestine III (1191–1198) reveal how ecclesiology exercised a major role in undermining sincere reconciliation between Latin and Orthodox Christians and contributing to the expression of non-coercive resistance on the part of Orthodox pastors. Thus, manifestations of religious tension —'the signs of the sin of broken love'— culminated in polarisation and coercion, while at the same time sowing the seed for the employment of covert mechanisms of non-violent resistance as a way to reaffirm Orthodox Cypriot identity.⁷⁴

⁷¹ A theoretical model for the examination of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins is further examined below in chapter II.

⁷² The quotation is from Rapp 2014, 30.

⁷³ On the peace pact see *BC I*, 130 (b-15). On Byzantine Orthodox theology and philosophy see the introductory studies by Tatakis 1977 and Matsoukas 2001. On the Hellenic roots of Byzantine identity one should consult Kaldellis 2007. On the Empire's Roman political legacy see generally Kaldellis 2015.

⁷⁴ According to Van der Rijt 2012, 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'. Admittedly,

I.2. Coercion, non-coercion, tolerance and intolerance

Neophytos the Recluse is the earliest Cypriot Rhomaios author referring to the Latin conquest of 1191 and the founding of the Lusignan Kingdom. Born in the village of Leukara around 1134, Neophytos entered the prestigious monastery of St John Chrysostom in Koutzoubendēs at the age of eighteen. In the *Foundation Charter* of his Hermitage, composed in 1214, Neophytos narrates how his stay in Koutzoubendēs had inspired a passionate desire for the quest of contemplation through inner quietness (*φιλήσυχος ἔρωος*). In 1158, Neophytos embarked on a six-month pilgrimage in the Holy Land, where he had the chance to become familiar with the hesychast way of life.⁷⁵ Soon after his return to Cyprus, Neophytos retired to the mountains of Paphos, having decided to live as a recluse until his death. His Hermitage or 'Place of Seclusion' (*Ἐγκλείστρα*) attracted the attention of the local bishop, who persuaded the Recluse to receive disciples and establish a coenobitic monastic community.⁷⁶

various forms of coercion do exist: Giustozzi 2011, vii. For example, coercion could be either violent or non-violent. On cases of non-violent coercion (including Gandhism and the so-called 'Sit-In' protests) see: Case 1923; Frazier 1968, 27-40; Tinker 1971, 775-788; Childress 1972, 376-396; Borman 1986; Kurtz 2008, 837-851. On violence and its denial in South Asian culture see generally Houben and Van Kooij 1999. On the theory and practice of non-violence, Weber's introduction in the *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict* is particularly useful: Weber 2008, 1362-1372. In the same work, McClymond and Freedman offer a comprehensive presentation of the connection between religion and violence/non-violence: McClymond and Freedman 2008, 1860-1982. On spirituality and peacemaking, one should consult Gopin 2008, 1982-1993.

⁷⁵ In the present thesis, the term 'hesychasm' describes a way of ascetic life focusing on contemplation and ceaseless prayer, while 'Palamite Hesychasm' refers to the fourteenth-century Byzantine theological movement. On Neophytos the Recluse as a pre-Palamite hesychast, see generally: Neophytos the Recluse, *Homilies on the Dominical Feasts*, ed. Sakellaridou-Soteroudi, 114-127.4 (esp. at 125.4.26.300-305); Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, ed. Christodoulou, 525.1.20.1.1-9, 622.2.29.4.76-78; Neophytos the Recluse, *Panegyric I*, ed. Yiangou, 125-134.3. See also: Englezakis 1996, 36-43; Triantaphyllopoulos 2000-2001, 400-401; Chotzakoglou 2005, 614-616; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 424-427; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010b, 829; Winfield 2010, 891; Paschalides 2010, 681-709; Kyriacou (forthcoming-b); cf. Mango and Hawkins 1966, 128-129; Galatariotou 1991b, 128-147. It should be pointed out that Neophytos perceived the theophanic radiance as being 'uncreated' (i.e., fully divine), rather than 'created' (i.e., physical, artificial or symbolic). The Recluse explicitly referred to the luminous garment which covers the Lord (Ps 103:2) as 'not [being] servile and created, but unapproachable, streaming out from itself' (*οὐ δοῦλον φῶς καὶ κτιστόν, ἀλλὰ φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, ἐνναϊζον ἀντοφνωῶς*): Neophytos the Recluse, *Commentary on the Psalms*, ed. Detorakis, 445.7-8; Englezakis 1996, 225; Stephanes 2012, 75-76 (on the term *ἐνναϊζον*). One should note that Neophytos generally employed 'uncreated' (*ἄκτιστος, -η, -όν*) to describe the Trinity and 'created' (*κτιστός, -η, -όν*) to speak about God's creations; cf. Neophytos the Recluse, *Commentary on the Hexameron*, ed. Detorakis, 50.1.3.35-38, 52.1.6.

⁷⁶ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 28.3-34.5; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 19-35; Oikonomou 2010, 79-105. On the *Foundation Charter* see also: Constantinides 1996b, 357-372.

What is striking is that Neophytos, who came from a humble village family and was self-taught, became one of the most prolific Byzantine authors of the twelfth century, second only to the eminent canonist Theodore Balsamōn (d. post 1195).⁷⁷ Among his numerous exegetical, catechetical and hagiographical works, Neophytos composed a brief historico-catechetical treatise *On the misfortunes of the island of Cyprus*. This particular work was based on the Recluse's letters to an anonymous spiritual disciple in Constantinople, presumably a Cypriot noble who had left the island during Isaac Komnēnos' oppressive reign. In his treatise, Neophytos gives a vivid description of the events that led to the enslavement of his country by the Latins, blaming Isaac Komnēnos for his separatist rebellion and tyrannical rule.⁷⁸ The Recluse also unveils the hypocrisy behind the actions of Richard I and the Crusaders, and stresses the sufferings of his own people, exacerbated by the implantation of a cast of foreign conquerors on the island:

The villain [i.e., Richard] achieved nothing against his fellow villain Saladin, but this alone: to sell our country to the Latins for two hundred thousand pounds of gold. For great was the mourning, and unbearable the smoke, as said above, coming from the north [...]. Our country now is like a raging sea under heavy storm and tempest [...] a foreign people has multiplied in our land.⁷⁹

Neophytos' anti-Latin statements seem to implicitly emphasise the legitimate rights of Byzantium in Cyprus by focusing on the disturbance of order (*τάξις*), an important principle of Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiology.⁸⁰ It was a widespread belief that the order of things on earth mirrored and imitated the invisible realities of the heavenly Kingdom, a hierarchical universe ruled in harmony by God's love.⁸¹ For the Byzantines, the notion of *τάξις* reflected the interdependence and cooperation between

⁷⁷ Constantinides 2005, 441-449; Oikonomou 2010, 82; Paparnakis 2010, 612-613.

⁷⁸ Galatariotou 1991b, 211-213; Englezakis 1996, 244-245; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 78-80; Harris 2003, 142; Constantinides 2010, 527-554.

⁷⁹ Neophytos the Recluse, *On the misfortunes of the island of Cyprus*, ed. Karpozilos, 408.85-92 and 101: Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἀντὶ ὧ Σαλαχαντίνου ἀνύσας μηδὲν ὁ ἀλιτήριος, ἦνυσε τοῦτο καὶ μόνον, διαπράσας τὴν χώραν Λατίνοις, χρυσίου χιλιάδων λιτρῶν διακοσίων· διὸ καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὄλολυγμὸς καὶ ἀφόρητος ὁ καπνὸς, ὡς προεῖρηται, ὁ ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βορρᾶ [...]. Μαινομένης θαλάσσης ἐκ πολλῆς τρικυμίας καὶ πολλῆς καταιγίδος οὐδὲν ἀποδέει νῦν τὰ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν [...]. Λαὸς ἀλλότριος ἐπληθύνθη ἐν τῇ γῆ ἡμῶν. The translation of the passage is loosely based on Cobham 1908, 12. See also the discussion by Galatariotou 1991b, 201-204; Englezakis 1996, 294-295; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 80-84; Constantinides 2010, 538-540.

⁸⁰ Galatariotou 1991b, 219; Englezakis 1996, 293.

⁸¹ See, e.g., Woodfin 2010, 303-319.

sacerdotium and *imperium*, perceived as two separate though interconnected members of the same ideological, political and religious body.⁸² Byzantine emperors were considered by law to be heads and protectors of the Church, they were highly involved in ecclesiastical administration and participated in discussions over thorny theological issues.⁸³ What should be underlined, however, is that Byzantine emperors alone could not exercise their spiritual authority without the consent of the clergy and their subjects.⁸⁴ Ultimately, there was only one Orthodox Church serving God's plan for the salvation of humanity and only one Empire defending the true faith.⁸⁵

It is clear that the Latin conquest of 1191 and the subsequent fall of Constantinople in 1204 alienated Cyprus from Byzantium, thus disturbing the established order. This created a vacuum in the support and protection provided by the Empire to the island's Orthodox Church. Neophytos' Hermitage was deprived of its local patrons and had to face the daily influx of impoverished pilgrims seeking hospitality and spiritual comfort. Although the Recluse had wished for his community to follow a rule of complete poverty, the distress that followed Isaac's rule and the Latin conquest led him to eventually pursue a *Realpolitik*. The Hermitage acquired a small piece of land for cultivation, a vineyard and some flocks in order serve the pilgrims' needs. Clearly, 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.⁸⁶ Thus, we can easily understand

⁸² Ahrweiler 1975, 129-147.

⁸³ See generally the discussion by Geanakoplos 1965, 381-403; Dagron 2003. On Justinian I's (527-565) legislative contribution to the definition of the emperor's role as head and protector of the Church see: Meyendorff 1968, 47-52; Humfress 2005, 167-171; Pazdernik 2005, 202.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., the case of Maximus the Confessor (d. 662) and his struggle against the imperial formulas of Monenergism and Monothelism: Haldon 1985, 87-91; Dagron 2003, 166-173. On Maximus' ecclesiology see generally Louth 2004b, 109-120. On the later period see Angelov 2007, 351-416.

⁸⁵ Fowden 1993, 37-137; Balch 2003, 483-500; cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, ed. Heikel, 28.1.43.8-13: ὡσπερ δ' ἀνίσχων ὑπὲρ γῆς ἡλίος ἀφθόνως τοῖς πᾶσι τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς μεταδίδωσι μαρμαρυγῶν, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνισχόντι τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν προφαινόμενος, ὡσανεὶ συναπατέλλων τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν φωστῆρι, τοῖς εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτῷ παριοῦσιν ἅπασιν φωτὸς ἀγὰς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέλαμπε καλοκαγαθίας.

⁸⁶ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 37-38.10; Galatariotou 1991b, 200-201; Englezakis 1996, 268-269, 292-293; Constantinides 1996b, 364-366.

why the Recluse requested from the Frankish king to act as lay guardian for his Hermitage and to facilitate the contacts of his monks with the Byzantine government.⁸⁷

Neophytos' rapprochement with the Latin dynasty is a focal point for understanding how Cypriot Rhomaic identity adapted to the new conditions created by the conquest of 1191, without necessarily forsaking its Orthodox Byzantine ethno-religious roots. Neophytos' appeal to the Lusignans should be understood as an application of the Byzantine Orthodox principle of *οικονομία*, which denoted a relaxation of the strict letter of canon law and was sometimes deemed necessary for the physical and spiritual salvation of the believers. This relaxation or leniency was regulated by *ἀκρίβεια*, a combination of doctrinal correctness, accuracy in ritual performance and ethical integrity that guaranteed the application of *οικονομία* within the limits of Orthodox tradition.⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that while Neophytos addressed the Frankish ruler as his 'benefactor' (*εὐεργέτης*) and 'brother' (*ἀδελφός*), he also composed a model note to be used by his monks in future petitions to the Byzantine emperor, which referred to the latter as being 'divinely-guarded' (*θεοφρουρούμενος*). What is even more striking is Neophytos' association of the Byzantine imperial authority with Christ's royal priesthood, revealing that the Recluse continued to maintain strong ideological and spiritual bonds with the Empire.⁸⁹

In his treatise *On the misfortunes of the island of Cyprus*, Neophytos stresses that Isaac Komnēnos' tyrannical reign and the establishment of the Latins in Cyprus were the outcome of divine punishment for the Cypriots' sins. According to Neophytos, the situation would only change when the island's Rhomaioi repented and obeyed the divine commandments in a humble spirit.⁹⁰ In the *Foundation Charter*, Neophytos compared the Latin conquest of Cyprus with the sufferings of Israel during the

⁸⁷ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 34.7-8; Galatariotou 1991b, 217; Englezakis 1996, 265-267, 293; Constantinides 1996b, 369; Coureas 1997, 256-257; Holmes 2012, 41. The anonymous Frankish ruler mentioned in the *Foundation Charter* is probably Hugh I (1205–1218).

⁸⁸ On Neophytos' application of the principle of accommodation (*οικονομία*) see Englezakis 1996, 293. On *οικονομία* and *ἀκρίβεια* in general see: Dagrón 1990, 1-18; Erickson 1991, 80-81; Papadakis 1991c, 1516-1517; Averinstsev 2006, 217.

⁸⁹ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 35.7.2 and 37.8; Galatariotou 1991b, 217; Englezakis 1996, 267-268, 293; Constantinides 1996b, 370; Holmes 2012, 41.

⁹⁰ Neophytos the Recluse, *On the misfortunes of the island of Cyprus*, ed. Karpozilos, 406.42-44, 408.97-108; Yioultsis 2010, 322-325.

Babylonian exile.⁹¹ The Recluse employed the exegetical model of the Babylonian captivity as a 'paradigmatic experience',⁹² thus providing a biblical precedent to the traumatic experiences undergone by his people (including death, poverty and humiliation).⁹³ Above all, Neophytos' hermeneutical association of Israel's Babylonian captivity with the Latin conquest reflects his need to interpret the incomprehensibility of pain by discovering the reason behind the divine wrath.⁹⁴

Neophytos' emphasis on the just nature of theodicy and the need to repent should not be considered as a passive reaction but as way of spiritual and non-coercive resistance. The Recluse's visualisation of his island's sufferings as natural disharmony (i.e., the 'storm and tempest' metaphor), is not only a lamentation for the traumatic and humiliating conditions of the defeat but also a bold expression of the fact that 'although bleeding [the victim] is not dead; although shattered [he/she] is unwilling to be silent'.⁹⁵ Thus, grief and hope became the channels that transformed non-coercive protest into a process of identity preservation. It is not surprising that the two last decades of Neophytos' life, namely the period following the founding of the Frankish Kingdom and the Latin Church in Cyprus, were marked by intensification in his ascetic struggle for inner quietness, through his seclusion in a new and more remote cell.⁹⁶

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 Cypriot Rhomaic society is not clear. Admittedly, Neophytos is the only source historians possess to recover the *vox populi* during the early period of the Frankish rule in Cyprus. The absence of anti-Latin coercion, reflected in the submission and collaboration of Cypriot Rhomaic nobility with the Frankish regime suggests that the dominant tendency was that of reaching a compromise with the island's new rulers. The careers and family distinction of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Syrian notaries in Lusignan and Latin episcopal service, highlighted by their activities as mediators between the Frankish Kingdom and the Byzantine imperial court in Nicaea, mirror the

⁹¹ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 39.11.3.19-40.11.4.10.

⁹² Kelle 2011, 35.

⁹³ Cf. Ames 2011, 173-187; Holton 2011, 217-233; Smith-Christopher 2011, 253-274; Garber 2011, 309-322.

⁹⁴ Cf. Carr 2011, 295-308 (esp. at 297, 300). Generally on theodicy in Neophytos' eschatological perceptions, see Argyriou 2010, 217-260 (esp. at 220-232).

⁹⁵ Maier 2011, 195; cf. Kelle 2011, 29.

⁹⁶ Englezakis 1996, 289-291.

establishment of a *modus vivendi* in the decades that followed the Latin conquest.⁹⁷ As we shall see below, however, anti-Latinism never really disappeared. The employment of coercion by the Papacy and its lay collaborators in Cyprus during the 1220s and 1230s resulted in the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity and provoked various reactions among the Cypriot Rhomaioi.

In 1196, King Aimery of Lusignan (1194–1205) requested from Pope Celestine III to establish a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy on the island. Celestine's letter to Aimery could be considered as the founding document of the Latin Church in Cyprus and indicates that the Pope saw the conquest of 1191 in a radically different way to his Cypriot Rhomaioi contemporary, Neophytos the Recluse. In accordance with Crusader ideology, Celestine welcomed the founding of the Frankish Kingdom, stating that the rule of Cyprus was granted to Aimery by God, rather than humans (*divina potius credimus quam humana ei potestate collatum*). Thus, the Papacy sanctioned the island's passage from Byzantine to Latin hands through divinely-commanded warfare. Moreover, Celestine noted that Cyprus was recalled from its state of schism to the unity of the Roman Mother Church (*revocatam a beluato fermentatorum scismate ad unitatem Orthodoxe Matris Ecclesie*). This particular statement could be interpreted as a prelude to the later papal policy 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.⁹⁸ In 1201, when Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) made a rather delayed complaint to Celestine's successor, Innocent III (1198–1216), concerning the loss of Cyprus, the Pope diplomatically replied that he would examine the possibility of a restoration to Byzantium, but underlined that the island was strategically important for the Crusaders. He also warned Alexios not to shed Christian blood by attempting to recover his former province.⁹⁹ It seems that Innocent, despite his promises to Alexios, undertook no serious effort for a return to the *status quo ante* 1191. It is clear that papal

⁹⁷ On Cypriot notaries and contacts between Cyprus and Nicaea see: *GBUZ*, 55-130 (comm.), 177.26-179.28; Beihammer 2006a, 301-315; Beihammer 2006b, 205-237; Richard 2008, 207-221; Beihammer 2011b, 149-169. On the Cypriot Rhomaic nobility see in general: Grivaud 1995b, 150-151; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 41-57. For a useful comparison with Byzantine scribes and *literati* in Ottoman service after 1453 one should consult Raby 1983, 15-34.

⁹⁸ *BC I*, 95-97 (a-1) (trans. by Schabel in *SN*, 277-278.X.1); Papadopoullos 1995b, 548-551; Fedalto 1995, 669; Coureas 1997, 251; Stouraitis 2011, 41-42.

⁹⁹ *BC I*, 129-131 (b-15); Asdracha 2005, 412.

interests were closer to those of the Lusignans, who were determined to keep Cyprus and use it as a base for their Crusader activities in the Holy Land. It should be noted that the founding of the Latin Church of Cyprus enabled the Papacy to enhance its spiritual authority and jurisdiction in an area considered by Westerners to have been inhabited by Rhomaioi schismatics.

Celestine's view that the Latin conquest of 1191 had been a manifestation of divine providence could be considered as an expression of reformed papal ecclesiology. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a group of (mostly German) ecclesiastical reformers sought to purify the Western Church and society from moral corruption. They focused particularly on simony, relaxation in canonical discipline and secular control over ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁰⁰ Canonical obedience to the Papacy became for the reformers a focal point in order to bring ecclesiastical unity to the politically-fragmented West. Consequently, reformed papal ecclesiology and canon law attributed 'fullness of power' (*plenitudo potestatis*) to the Roman pontiffs in their capacity as supreme judges. Moreover, the status of papal decretals was elevated to that of conciliar canons, underlying the enhanced papal orientation of Western ecclesiology.¹⁰¹

According to the Dominican scholar and theologian Yves Congar (1904–1995), the elevated role of the Roman pope as 'primate and arbiter [of] the Universal Church'¹⁰² and the Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiological principle that the power 'exercised in the Church by the Pentarchy of the Patriarchs and by the Councils [was] less a personal authority than a tradition preserved by the Churches [and] controlled by the Councils', led to gradual estrangement between East and West.¹⁰³ It should be mentioned that the rift between the two Churches was further widened by ecclesiastical antagonisms¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ See generally: Morris 2001; Cushing 2005; Sassier 2007, 214-247; Kolbaba 2008, 221-222; Barrow 2008, 345-362.

¹⁰¹ Robinson 1988, 266-305; Morris 2001, 205-219, 400-409, 339-344, 426-433, 442-447, 470-476, 550-577; Cushing 2005, 55-86; Landau 2008, 44. On the term 'papal orientation' see Ginther 2008, 50.

¹⁰² Congar 1959, 68.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 70; cf. Schmemmann 1992, 145-171; Koutloumousianos 2008, 277-278; Cameron 2009, 4; Gwynn 2009, 14, 22-23; Graumann 2009, 27-44; Whitby 2009, 178-196; Price 2012b, 4-8 (on the non-idealisation of Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiology). On the Byzantine Orthodox insistence that the rift with the West would be bridged in an ecumenical council, which would enable all Christians to discuss their theological differences openly, officially and on equal terms, see generally: Meyendorff 1960, 147-177; Nicol 1969, 69-95; Booramra 1987, 59-76; Kolbaba 1995a, 41-115.

¹⁰⁴ Admittedly, the mutual excommunication between the Ecumenical Patriarch Michael I K roularios (1043–1058) and the Papal Legate Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061) in 1054 was the outcome of tension between two militant ecclesiastics and failed to disturb the generally friendly relations between Byzantines

and theological controversies, the most important of which focused on the internal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone (according to the Byzantine Orthodox position) or from the Father and the Son (according to the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque*)¹⁰⁵ and the use of unleavened or leavened bread in the Eucharist.¹⁰⁶ Pope Gregory IX's (1227–1241) statement in the early 1230s that the Orthodox should follow the Latins in matters of faith, just as John had come after Peter to the tomb of Christ (Jn 20:3-5), is characteristic of the Western view on papal primacy,¹⁰⁷ which highlighted the

and Latins. The schism of 1054 was quickly forgotten in the East and Alexios I Komnēnos went so far as to ask Pope Urban II (1088–1099) to provide military support against the Seljūks, an action that triggered the First Crusade (1095–1099): Kolbaba 2003, 47-61; Harris 2003, 44-51; Louth 2007, 305-318; Kolbaba 2008, 223-224.

¹⁰⁵ During the ninth century, the *de facto* independence of the Roman Church and the need to secure military help against the Lombards and legitimacy in papal elections led the popes to forge an alliance with the Franks. A key moment in the new foreign policy of the Roman Church was the coronation and anointment of Charlemagne (800–814) as *Imperator Romanorum* by Pope Leo III (795–816) in 800. This was interpreted in the East as an act of defiance of Byzantine imperial authority: Noble 1984; Louth 2007, 63-81; Kolbaba 2008, 218-222. On the ecclesiological implications of Carolingian political ideology see: Sassier 2007, 116-180; Garibzanov 2008. From Neophytos the Recluse's point of view, the alliance between the Franks and the Roman Church was a kind of Pandora's box that subsequently permitted the latter's infection by the Frankish errors: Neophytos the Recluse, *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Constantinides, 284.3.11.123-130, 285.3.12.146-150; Englezakis 1996, 258-259. During the Council of Aachen (809), the Franks adopted the *Filioque* teaching —namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son and not from the Father alone, as had been the official position of both Byzantine and Latin Christians— and suggested that it should be introduced in the Creed. Although their proposal had been initially rejected by the Roman Church, the *Filioque* was eventually introduced in the Latin Creed in 1014. The Byzantines saw the *Filioque* as an interpolation that was alien to the Orthodox tradition of the Church. The interpretation of the *Filioque* addition became one of the thorniest issues in the theological dialogue between East and West: Sicienski 2010, 94-100, 112-113.

¹⁰⁶ On this particular issue see Smith III 1978 and further discussion below, 58-60.

¹⁰⁷ On papal primacy see also: Dvornik 1964; Feidas 1969; Papadakis 1991d, 1625-1626; Zizioulas 2009, 33-41 (esp. at 18-19, 39, n. 65). In 451, the Council of Chalcedon granted to Constantinople the privileges of honour that had hitherto been enjoyed by Rome. Viewed from the Roman perspective, the rise of Constantinople was a threat to the Roman primacy among the other Christian Churches. The Roman primacy was justified not only by the city's history as capital of the Roman Empire but also by the prominent position of Peter, founder of the Roman Church, among the Apostles: Herrin 2009, 148-168. On the significance of the Petrine testimony in the Gospels, see: Bauckham 2006, 124-129, 155-182; cf. Mt 16:13-20; Mk 8:27-30; 16:5-7; Lk 9:18-22; 24:33-34; Jn 20:1-10; 21:7-19. The promotion of Constantinople at Rome's expense, however, did not prevent the latter from functioning as champion of Orthodoxy in the following centuries. In the seventh century the Church of Rome supported the Chalcedonian doctrine of the existence of two natures in Christ against the Byzantine imperial formulas of the one activity (Monenergism) and one will (Monothelism). The Roman formulation of the *Filioque* doctrine in the seventh century seems to have reflected the Orthodox theological position that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son and not from the Father *and* the Son. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Roman Church defended the Orthodoxy of the veneration of images against Byzantine imperial Iconoclasm and despite the theological *via media* pursued by the Carolingians. On Rome's involvement in the theological controversies of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries see generally: Meyendorff 1989, 133-373 (esp. at 348-356, 362-373); Karayiannis 1992, 392-397; Larchet 1999, 761-812; Alexakis 2000, 149-165; Louth 2007, 75-91; Ekonomou 2007; Noble 2009; Sicienski 2010, 33-86. Rome's role in defending Orthodoxy contributed to the development of an ecclesiology that stressed the prominent position of Roman popes in the Christian Church: Von Schönborn 1975, 476-490; Louth 2004b, 109-120 (esp. at 116-117); Cubitt 2009, 133-147.

theological and ecclesiastical dialogue with the East.¹⁰⁸ Seen from this perspective, Celestine's remark in 1196 that the Cypriot Rhomaioi should return to the unity of the Western Church, 'the mother of all priestly authority', implied that this would only be succeeded with their submission to papal authority and their correction according to the Latin standards of orthodoxy.¹⁰⁹

The investigation of the much-debated concept of 'Latinisation' is crucial for understanding how Celestine's ecclesiological vision was put into effect in thirteenth-century Cyprus, resulting in polarisation between Latins and Rhomaioi and eventually leading to the submission of Orthodox Cypriots to the Latin Church.¹¹⁰ Latinisation could be understood as a process of institutional subordination of non-Latin communities to the Papacy. Canon 9 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) recognised the existence of various rites and customs (*varios ritus et mores*) under one faith (*sub una fide*) and authorised the appointment of vicars obedient to the Papacy, who would assist the local diocesan bishops in their ministry.¹¹¹ Bernard Hamilton has encapsulated the essence of papal policy towards non-Latin Christians by arguing that 'unity was more important than uniformity, and that diversity was permissible in many matters'.¹¹² According to William W. Bassett, the reference to non-Latin rites and customs reflects 'an increasing 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'.¹¹³

Although this approach seems to be quite tolerant, in reality, it was often undermined by the lack of sincere negotiation and theological discussion on equal terms between the Papacy and the non-Latin members of the Western Church. While the acceptance of papal authority provided a canonical framework that generally protected non-Latins

¹⁰⁸ Gregory IX, *Letter to Germanos II*, ed. Sathas, 48-49.

¹⁰⁹ BC I, 96 (a-1): *sacerdotalis dignitatis mater esse dinoscitur*. Trans. by Schabel in *SN*, 277.X.1.

¹¹⁰ Papadopoulos 1995b, 543-665, understands Latinisation as a policy of coercive persecution against the Orthodox. On the contrary, Schabel 2006b, 187, 198, denies that such a policy ever took place.

¹¹¹ See the incorporation of canon 9 in the constitutions issued by Ranulph, who served as Latin Archbishop of Nicosia between 1273 and ca. 1283: *SN*, 120-121.B.1.b (trans. by Schabel). See also the discussion by Duggan 2008, 346. For the Orthodox perspective of Eastern Catholicism see: Ware 1964, 24-25; Metallinos et al. 1992; Kotsiopoulos 1993, 25-26; Siecienski 2011, 198-199; cf. Taft 1963.

¹¹² Hamilton 1980, 165.

¹¹³ Bassett 1967, 30.

from coercion, this was not always the case.¹¹⁴ Institutional subordination to the Papacy meant that non-Latin Christians were vulnerable targets for conversion by zealous Latin churchmen. As Bassett notes, '[despite] Roman promises to preserve oriental rites, [...] every conceivable effort [was] being made to change practices and alter traditions in devotional activity and church discipline'.¹¹⁵ This policy was the result of reformed Western ecclesiology. To paraphrase Brett E. Whalen, the reformed Papacy pursued a broad "'authorizing process" by which [it] claimed in quite revolutionary terms the right to determine what constituted proper behavior and proper belief for members of Christendom'.¹¹⁶ This 'was a dramatic example of *what* the Roman church's apostolic foundations meant for its unassailable position of supremacy over the faithful, including the definition and defense of sacramental orthodoxy'.¹¹⁷

The Papacy's attempts for ecclesiastical hegemony in Cyprus, through the installation of Latin ecclesiastical structures, had serious consequences for the island's Rhomaioi. During the early decades of the Frankish rule, Latin churchmen seem to have largely been dedicated to acquiring and sustaining property and income through donations from Latin patrons and the collection of tithes. It should be noted that while confiscations of Orthodox ecclesiastical property did take place, the direct beneficiaries were the Lusignans, Latin nobility and religious and military Orders, not the Latin Church as such.¹¹⁸ The peaceful coexistence between the Cypriot Rhomaic and Latin ecclesiastical hierarchies began to change in the 1220s. Papal correspondence and Latin canonical collections are our main sources for the implementation of the Papacy's policy on the island.¹¹⁹ In 1220 and 1222, Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) made

¹¹⁴ Voisin 2013b, 13.

¹¹⁵ Bassett 1967, 30.

¹¹⁶ Whalen 2007, 23.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. A brief presentation of papal policy in Southern Italy, the Holy Land and the Latin-occupied territories of Byzantium is provided in Coureas 1997, 261, 274–280; Schabel in *SN*, 49–58; Schabel 2006b, 180. See also below, 106–111.

¹¹⁸ Edbury 1975–1977, 46–48; Papadopoulos 1995b, 548–551; Fedalto 1995, 670–671; Coureas 1997, 257–258; Schabel 2006b, 173–176, 177.

¹¹⁹ A great number of papal letters concerning Cyprus has survived, providing information on aspects of canonical discipline, spirituality and socio-economic life. *BC* I–II include papal letters from 1196 to 1314. *BC* III contains summaries of papal letters from 1316 to 1378. There is no published collection of papal letters concerning Cyprus after 1378. The *Cartulary* of the Latin cathedral of St Sophia in Nicosia (*CSS*), initially compiled in 1322 with later additions, is so far the only surviving collection of Western episcopal charters from Cyprus and includes papal, legatine, royal and baronial documents concerning the Latin bishopric of Nicosia: Coureas and Schabel in *CSS*, 21–72. The *Synodicum Nicosiense* (*SN*), compiled by Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux (1332–1342) and his successor Philip (1342–1360), is a collection of Latin

agreements with the Crown, Frankish nobility and Latin Church of Cyprus concerning the fate of Rhomaic ecclesiastical property, the collection of tithes and the feudal obligations of Rhomaioi priests. It is remarkable that while the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy were relieved to a great extent from feudal obligations and there were no further confiscations of Rhomaic ecclesiastical property, the island's Orthodox hierarchy was excluded from the negotiations. More importantly, Honorius insisted on the subordination of the Rhomaic, Syrian Melkite, Jacobite, Nestorian and Maronite hierarchies. He also argued that since the Fourth Lateran Council (canon 9) had forbidden the symbiosis of two or more bishops in the same diocese, the island's fourteen Orthodox bishoprics should be re-organised. Although Queen Alice (d. 1246), who was serving at the time as regent for her minor son, Henry (later Henry I, 1218–1253/4), attempted to persuade Honorius to respect the *status quo*, the Pope demanded the expulsion of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops from their ancient sees. In 1222, it was finally decided that the fourteen Orthodox bishoprics should be reduced to only four and that the remaining Rhomaioi prelates should be expelled in rural areas: the archbishop of Nicosia to Solea, the bishop of Paphos to Arsinoë, the bishop of Limassol to Leukara, and the bishop of Famagusta to Karpasia. According to canon 9 of the Fourth Lateran Council, these hierarchs would become part of the Western Church, placed as coadjutors under the authority of their Latin diocesans.¹²⁰

The treaty of 1222 was evidently the first step towards the abolition of the autocephalous status of the island's Orthodox Church. This privilege, which had been confirmed by the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus (431) and Trullo (691/2), recognised the ancient right (*ἔθος ἀρχαῖον*) of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to perform clerical ordinations undisturbed (*ἔξουσιν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον*); this would be done without external intervention from other Churches (*δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας ποιούμενοι*), following the holy canons (*κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων*) and

canon law comprising conciliar statutes and legatine or archiepiscopal regulations from the period between 1249 and 1354: Schabel in *SN*, 17-33.

¹²⁰ *BC I*, 41 (comments by Richard), 220-221 (c-32), 221-223 (c-33), 223-225 (c-35), 227-228 (c-37), 231-233 (c-40), 233-234 (c-41), 234-235 (c-42), 238-239 (c-46), 239-245 (c-47); *CSS*, 123-124.35, 208-209.80, 213-216.82, 216-219.83, 220-222.84, 223-225.86, 249-252.95 (trans. in *SN*, 286.X.6-296.X.11); Hill 1948, 1046 (n. 3); Papadopoulos 1995b, 556-565; Coureas 1997, 259-274; Schabel in *SN*, 55-58; Schabel 2006b, 173-174, 178-181; Claverie 2013, 211-213.

their ancient customs (*κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν*).¹²¹ 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 (Acts 13:4-12). It was also enhanced as a result of the anti-heretical and pro-Orthodox activities of Cypriot churchmen, including St Epiphanius of Constantia (367–403) and the sixth-century hagiographer Alexander the Monk.¹²² 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 without external intervention.¹²³ Although revisionist scholars have interpreted the autocephaly as an abstract concept, it clearly constituted one of the pillars of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under Byzantium.¹²⁴ The Cypriot Rhomaioi took pride in their status of ecclesiastical independence. They employed hagiography, ecclesiastical art and ritual performance to reaffirm, monumentalise and elevate this administrative concept to an ecclesiological prerequisite for the preservation of doctrinal and liturgical orthodoxy in Cyprus.¹²⁵ The gradual abolition of the Cypriot

¹²¹ ACO I.1.7, 118-122.81 (esp. at 122.81.5-10). This was the Ephesine ratification of the Cypriot autocephaly. The Trulline canon concerning the autocephaly can be found in Mansi XI, 961AC; ΣΘΙΚ II, 395-397. On the Cypriot autocephaly see generally the following studies: Konidares 1972, 101-108; Tzortzatos 1976, 450-462; Erickson 1991, 91-113; Mitsides 2005, 129-154.

¹²² On the concept of apostolicity see: Dvornik 1958, 39-137; Morini 1979, 23-45; Bruce ³1990, 160-161, 294-299; Van Deun 2004, 41-50; Oikonomou 2005, 23-105. On ecclesiastical politics associated with the recognition of the autocephaly see: Honigmann 1950, 215-216; Downey 1958, 224-228; Feidas 1969, 187-190; Constantinides 1984, 41-51; Rapp 1993, 175-176; Englezakis 1996, 67-69; Bowersock 2000, 18; Kosiński 2010, 49-73; Constantinides 2012, 245-267; Price 2012a, 395-420; Kyriacou and Dendrinou (forthcoming). On the prominent position of the Cypriot archbishop among other prelates in the Council of Trullo see: Mansi XI, 989A; Englezakis 1996, 105-134; Kountoura-Galake 1994-1995, 169-177; Mitsides 2005, 136-139.

¹²³ Neilos Doxopatṛēs, *On the hierarchy of the patriarchal thrones*, PG 132, 1097B; Konidares 1972, 110; Englezakis 1996, 90-93; Ioannou and Ioannou 1996, 135-136, 140; Mitsides 2005, 147-148; but cf. Kountoura-Galake 2001, 243-253.

¹²⁴ Schabel 2006b, 180-181: 'For one thing, the Greek upper clergy were accustomed to a degree of independence and had come to view their Church as a separate entity in terms of common language and liturgy, not in terms of the legal jurisdiction of a universal Church. Whether or not the Greek Church of Cyprus enjoyed what was later called 'autocephalous' status is somewhat immaterial, because Latins could and eventually did claim that this status had been transferred to the Latins'.

¹²⁵ A short hymn from the service of Sts Hēliophōtoi, which was composed sometime between the seventh and ninth centuries, includes Cyprus among the list of patriarchates, implying that all Churches (Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Cyprus) shared the same institutional status: Staurobouniotes 2002, 83.98-103. A more extreme visualisation of this idea appears on the 'Cypriot' chalice from the Vrap Treasure, probably dated in the late seventh century. The chalice is decorated with four Tychae, each representing a Christian metropolitan see. What is striking is that the place of Antioch is occupied by Cyprus, depicted not as an island but as a πόλις, next to Constantinople, Rome and Alexandria. This has been interpreted by a number of scholars as an emphatic statement of the Cypriot independence from Antioch, which had been recognised by the Council of Ephesus and the Byzantine

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 Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi.

The division of the two communities reached its climax with the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara in 1231. The incident occurred during a period of dynastic crisis for the Frankish Kingdom, marked by a strife over Henry's regency between Queen Alice and the powerful noble family of the Ibelins. The conflict exploded into a civil war between the Ibelin supporters and the partisans of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1220–1250), who was involved in Cypriot affairs as the island's suzerain. The Ibelins eventually managed to defeat Frederick's Cypriot supporters in 1233, becoming the true power behind the Lusignan dynasty for almost seventy years. The power vacuum created due to Henry's minority and the rapprochement between the Ibelins and the Papacy in the early stages of the Civil War, exposed the Cypriot Rhomaic Church to Pope Gregory IX's willingness to exercise pressures for secular coercion against the

imperial government in the fifth century: Shelton 1979, 178; Werner 1986, 12-13; Piguet-Panayotova 2002, 44-51; Gioles 2003, 41; Chotzakoglou 2005, 735-738. In the early tenth century, the *Life* of St Dēmētrianos (fl. ca. late ninth century) of Chytroi describes the election and ordination of the Cypriot archbishop 'to the throne of the great Apostle Barnabas and the light-giver of the world Epiphanius, who shone forth after him': Anonymous, *Life of St Dēmētrianos*, ed. Grégoire, 228.388-229.398 (esp. at 229.393-395: τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα καθέδραν καὶ τοῦ ὕστερον διαλάμπαντος φωστῆρος τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἐπιφανίου). This statement indicates that both Barnabas and Epiphanius continued to be venerated not only as local saints but also as guardians of Cypriot Orthodoxy and ecclesiastical independence. As has been argued by several scholars, the depiction of Sts Barnabas and Epiphanius in the decoration of the island's Byzantine churches was a visual reminder (not necessarily polemical or anti-Constantinopolitan) of the autocephaly. The Virgin's monastery in Arakas is indicative. Sometime before 1192, the mullions between the central windows of the altar apse were decorated, most probably under the patronage of the local noble family of Authentēs, with the images of Sts Barnabas and Epiphanius. The two hierarchs were elevated above other holy bishops represented in the apse, and were directly visible to the priest celebrating the Eucharist. The significance of the altar apse in Arakas was first stressed by Englezakis 1996, 69. See also: Djurić 1993, 260-263; Nicolaïdès 1996, 12; Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 175; Miljković-Peppek 2001, 503-517; Winfield and Winfield 2003, 72, 75, 83, 97-98. The association between Barnabas, Epiphanius and (most probably) the autocephaly went back to the sixth or seventh century. The figure of Epiphanius decorated the lead seals of the (arch)bishops of Constantia. See: Pouilloux et al. 1987, n° 238; Metcalf 2009, 80, 321; *pace* Chotzakoglou 2005, 636-638. It was, above all, the cycle of liturgical commemoration that transformed these pious representations of Barnabas and Epiphanius into sound visual rhetoric of Cypriot Orthodoxy and ecclesiastical independence, communicated to the faithful throughout the centuries. Thus, it is not surprising that a thirteenth-century *synodikon*, preserved in a sixteenth-century Cypriot manuscript, placed Barnabas and Epiphanius at the very beginning of the chain of holy bishops venerated on the island: Constantinides 2003, 503.1-3.

Orthodox, in order to reaffirm the papal ecclesiological principle of defining and defending orthodoxy against heretics.¹²⁶

This amalgamation of political interests and ecclesiology led the Latin secular authorities to the execution of the Orthodox monastic community of Kantara (1231), which had been re-founded in ca. 1227 by the monks John and Konōn. Possibly as a result of the Seljūk invasions in southern Asia Minor, the two men came from Kalon Oros to Cyprus and quickly attracted followers from Kalon Oros and all over the island. Around 1228, the Kantara Monks welcomed Master Andrew, a Dominican monk trained in scholastic theology, who had come to discuss with them various issues concerning theology and sacramental practice. The Monks' defence of the exclusive use of leavened bread in the Eucharist led Andrew to summon them in Nicosia, in order to be interrogated by the Latin archbishop. The Monks were incarcerated for three years, refusing to accept the Latin position that both leavened and unleavened bread could be used in the Eucharist. Finally, Gregory IX instructed the Latin ecclesiastical authorities to proceed against the Monks as if against heretics (*contra predictos monachos sicut contra hereticos processurus*).¹²⁷ Any corporal punishment could only be imposed by the secular arm, presumably the Ibelins acting in the name of the Lusignan dynasty. In May 1231, twelve out of thirteen Monks (one had died in prison) were publicly tortured and burned at the stake by the Frankish authorities and with the Pope's consent.¹²⁸

The martyrdom of the Monks, a case of extreme anti-Rhomaic coercion in the relations between Orthodox and Latins, has been interpreted by Schabel as being the outcome of

¹²⁶ On Queen Alice, the Ibelins and the Orthodox Church see Schabel 2006a, 257-277 (esp. at 267-268). On the war between Frederick and the Ibelins see generally Jacoby 1986, 83-101; Edbury 1991, 42-73 (esp. at 67); Abulafia 1992, 164-201; Schabel 2010b, 12-15.

¹²⁷ BC I, 294 (d-6).

¹²⁸ 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*, most probably composed by an Orthodox Cypriot sometime between 1275 and 1282 (see below, 88-92): Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 307-337. One of the earliest hagiographical testimonies concerning the event is the anonymous Nicene treatise *On the Schism* in *TST*, 78.57-79.97, which suggests that the exiled Ecumenical Patriarchate promoted the Monks' veneration as holy martyrs and confessors of faith. An anonymous Latin treatise, probably composed by a Dominican in Latin-occupied Constantinople in 1252, refers to the Monks as heretics: *TST*, 70-71 (comm.), 74.26-33. The Monks' hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith* and a *Synaxarion* on their memory are discussed below, 61-62 and App. I, 415-419. On a fragmented poem composed by one of the Monks during his incarceration see: Makarios the Kalorite, *Fragments*, ed. Mercati, 190-191.1. On papal correspondence associated with the incident see: BC I, 292-294 (d-6) = CSS, 175-176.69 (trans. in *SN*, 296-297.X.12). For various interpretations of the incident one should consult: Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 205-207; Papadopoulos 1995b, 571-582; Coureas 1997, 281-287; Schabel 2010b, 1-33; Coureas et al. 2012, 132.

Rhomaic intolerance against the more lenient Western practice of permitting the sacramental use of both leavened and unleavened bread. Consequently, as Schabel argues, the Latins paid the Monks back in their own coin by responding to intolerance with intolerance.¹²⁹ However, most scholars agree that the Monks' refusal to accept the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist was motivated by the need to confess the orthodoxy of their own faith, defending their beliefs at the cost of their lives. In other words, the Monks acted as they did because they perceived themselves and their Church as being under persecution by the Latins.¹³⁰ Although we should not ignore the uniqueness of the circumstances leading to the martyrdom, namely the minority of Henry I and the Civil War, it is also true that internal Western political antagonisms cannot fully explain why the Papacy ordered the execution of the Monks or why the Monks had rejected the Latin sacramental practice. Interpreting the martyrdom as an isolated incident, non-representative 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 controversy over the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist remained to the sixteenth century one of the major points of debate between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi and needs to be discussed at some length. On the one hand, the Latins celebrated the Eucharist with unleavened bread, arguing that since the three Synoptic Gospels (Mt 26:1-30; Mk 14:1-26; Lk 22:1-38) present the Last Supper as a Jewish Passover meal, then according to the Jewish customs (e.g., Lev 23:4-8) Christ and His disciples would have consumed unleavened bread. On the other hand, the Orthodox followed the Johannine narrative (Jn 13:1, 18:28 and 19:31), according to which the Last Supper took place *before* the Day of Preparation for the Passover.¹³¹ Although the lack of consensus in the Gospel accounts makes it hard for modern scholars to reconstruct

¹²⁹ Schabel 2010b, 1-33 (*passim*, esp. at 1-3, 14 at n. 41, 32-33).

¹³⁰ Apart from the aforementioned studies by Papadakis–Meyendorff and Papadopoullos see also Hackett 1972, 93-95; Angold 1975, 19; Gounarides 1986, 313-332; Kyrris 1992, 173-174; Bádenas 1998, 341.

¹³¹ On the two positions in the religious dialogue between East and West, see generally: Erickson 1991, 148-149; Schabel 2011, 91-92, 97-101, 105-122, 126.

the historical details of the Last Supper, it should be pointed out that the tradition for the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist should not be dismissed as unrepresentative of the Jewish practices and, therefore, historically inaccurate. Several experts argue that the discrepancies between the Gospels represent two different theological interpretations of Christ's Passion and Resurrection: the Synoptic (based on Mark) and the Johannine. Both lines agree that Christ's Passion was sacrificial and redemptive in a paschal sense: the Synoptic narratives of the Last Supper 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). Thus, the Gospel discrepancies highlight two different theological interpretations of Christ's last days and redemptive Passion. One thing is clear: the Johannine version of the Last Supper as an ordinary meal (in which leavened bread could have been consumed), and not as a Passover ritual feast (in which only unleavened bread should have been consumed) remains historically plausible.¹³²

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*).¹³³ The East Syrian (Assyrian) liturgical tradition, considered as one of the earliest in the Christian world, associates the Apostles Addai (*alias* Thaddeus) and Mari with the institution of the sacramental use of leavened bread (*malkā*) in the Eucharist.¹³⁴ Moreover, the *Canons of the Holy Apostles*, compiled in Syria around 380 and based on older material, condemn the use of Jewish unleavened bread (canon 70).¹³⁵ When opposition to the Council of Chalcedon in 451 marked the definite exclusion of leavened bread from the Armenian Eucharist, the sacramental unleavened bread received non-Chalcedonian associations. The Chalcedonians, who accepted the existence of two natures in Christ (the human and the divine), perceived the use of

¹³² See the discussion in: Zeitlin 1952, 251-260; Shepherd 1961, 123-132; Millar 1990, 355-381; Levenson 1993, 206; Riesner 1998, 57-58; Klawans 2001, 24-33, 47; Klawans 2006, 213-222; Barker 2007, 22-23, 203-219. On the theory that the Synoptics used a different (Qumranic) calendar than the official priestly calendar followed by John see: Humphreys 2011; Saulnier 2012, esp. at 19-63 (building on Jaubert's studies). Note that the Synoptics omit certain essential elements of the Passover meal, while suggesting that the Sanhedrin Trial took place on Passover, something that seems to be rather unlikely: *OBCG*, 125 (Mk 14:12-16), 220-221 (Jn 13:1-30), 235-236 (Jn 19:31-37).

¹³³ Galavaris 1970, 13-14, 26-39; Snyder 2003, 49-51.

¹³⁴ Macomber 1966, 335-371; Brock 2004, 9; Royel 2013, 363-386.

¹³⁵ *ΣΘΙΚ* II, 90-91. On the date and origins of the *Canons* see Ohme 2012, 29.

unleavened bread as denoting the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh during the Passion in accordance with the non-Chalcedonian position that Christ's humanity was absorbed by His divinity. Therefore, we can easily comprehend why the Latin use of unleavened bread was regarded by the Byzantines as a Judaising or non-Chalcedonian practice.¹³⁶ The Latins generally accepted the validity of both unleavened and leavened bread in the Eucharist, although they considered that the use of unleavened bread was more correct. From the Latin point of view, the Byzantine rejection of unleavened bread was a challenge to papal authority and its power to determine doctrinal and liturgical correctness.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the Byzantines were more concerned with the concept of human participation in the two natures of Christ and only recognised the validity of leavened bread. This theological position was deeply rooted in the Byzantine Orthodox view of tradition, regarded as being sanctioned by the ecumenical councils and the canons of the Church, not the Papacy.¹³⁸

We come now to the ecclesiological implications of the Kantara Monks' martyrdom. To repeat, although the pope did not enjoy the exclusive privilege of defining and safeguarding orthodoxy, his role in doing so was central: even revisionist scholars do not fail to admit that Pope Gregory IX's decision for the Monks to be treated as heretics was influenced by the Papacy's struggle against the dualist Cathars in southern France around the same period.¹³⁹

The religious exclusivism that highlighted the Monks' uncompromising stance towards the Latin sacrament of the Eucharist was deeply rooted in their conviction that the long experience of the Orthodox tradition sanctioned the exclusive use of leavened bread as a vehicle of divine immanence.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the nature of the Monks' anti-Latin resistance

¹³⁶ Wooley 1913, 50-56; Kolbaba 2000, 37-39.

¹³⁷ Whalen 2007, 1-24 (esp. at 23); Schabel 2011, 85-127.

¹³⁸ Galavaris 1970; Erickson 1991, 133-155; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 56-57; Kolbaba 2000, 37-39; Congourdeau 2004a, 152-154.

¹³⁹ The Latins called the Monks *πατερίνοιοι* (*patarenos*), a word used to describe dualists, though in this case it was probably employed with the more general meaning of 'heretics'. After all, there is no evidence to support that the Monks were dualists; their condemnation to death had nothing to do with their hesychast ascetic practices, but was caused by their open challenge of papal ecclesiology: Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 329.16; Angold 1995, 468-502; Lower 2003, 99-100; Hamilton 2004, 1-102; Duggan 2008, 345; Schabel 2010b, 11, 33; Hinterberger 2011, 141 (n. 46). Interestingly, the hesychast monks of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century were unjustly accused of dualism (Messalianism/Bogomilism): Casiday 2011, 76.

¹⁴⁰ On this theological position and the concept of embodiment see below, 137-155.

should not be confused with intolerance or coercion, since they did not attempt to impose by force their doctrines on others.¹⁴¹

Like Neophytos the Recluse, the Monks of Kantara perceived their duty to resist the Latins in spiritual and non-coercive terms.¹⁴² 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 (19 May 1231). This important text is an apology for the Monks' defence of the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread, based on the Orthodox interpretation of the Scriptures and the holy canons.¹⁴³ The *Confession* stresses the Monks' reluctance to abandon their life of inner quietness (*ἡσυχία*) in Kantara and points out that the main reason for their public defence of the Orthodox tradition was Latin provocation.¹⁴⁴ A poetic colophon composed by Makarios-Maximus 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.¹⁴⁵ 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,¹⁴⁶ one of which mentions the Latins as 'servants of the devil' (*ὑπηρέται τοῦ διαβόλου*); a characterisation that attributes their anti-Rhomaic coercion to spiritual motivations.¹⁴⁷ Although the image of the Monks emerging from the Greek sources on the martyrdom should not be considered as being more historically 'correct' than that appearing 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.

Spiritual anti-Latin resistance also appears in the depiction of the Monks by thirteenth-century hagiographers as bearers of the 'Great Habit' (*μέγα σχῆμα*), the highest order

¹⁴¹ On religious exclusivism see generally: Constantelos 1991, 63-80; Keith 1992, 57-80; cf. Drake 1996, 9.

¹⁴² On the Monks as representatives of their people see below 131-133.

¹⁴³ See below App. I, 415-417.

¹⁴⁴ App. I, 417.I.3.69-77.

¹⁴⁵ Makarios the Kalorite, *Fragments*, ed. Mercati, 190.1.39-191.1.56.

¹⁴⁶ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 320.29, 321.10-24, 323.3-4; App. I, 418.II.1.82-83 and 94-96.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 418.II.2.113.

in Orthodox monasticism.¹⁴⁸ 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.¹⁴⁹ 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 the concept of martyrdom, inspired by Christ’s redemptive Passion, interpreted Christian self-sacrifice as being a public manifestation of spiritual combat against the demons, who attempted to prevent the martyr’s self-offering to God and the Church.¹⁵⁰ The hagiographical portrayal of the Monks’ prayer before martyrdom, which alludes to the biblical sacrifice of the Three Youths in the Furnace (Dan 3), enhances the non-coercive nature of the Kantara community’s resistance to Latinisation.¹⁵¹

Therefore, far from being intolerant or coercive zealots of the Orthodox tradition, the Monks continued Neophytos the Recluse’s line of non-coercive resistance to Latinisation. Their martyrdom, instigated by the Papacy’s policy and facilitated by the collaboration of the Ibelins during a power vacuum, had a serious impact on Cypriot society and Byzantino-Latin relations. According to the aforementioned Nicene treatise *On the Schism*, the Monks’ execution marked the completion of the schism (τέλειον χωρισμόν) between East and West.¹⁵² On the other hand, it also sparked a series of contacts between the exiled Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Papacy, resulting in the discussions of Nicaea and the Council of Nymphaeum (1234). The subsequent failure

¹⁴⁸ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 332.13-333.3; App. I, 418.II.2.113-114; Gounarides 1986, 316-317.

¹⁴⁹ Kausokalybites 2011, 141-167 (esp. at 148-149: second prayer of the tonsure); cf. Feidas 2010, 833-848.

¹⁵⁰ Saxer 1986, 212-230; Darling Young 2011; Bucur 2013, 137-140. On the connection between martyrdom and asceticism see particularly Fytrakis 1941–1948, 301-329.

¹⁵¹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 336.20-337.2. See also below, 131-133. The word *όλοκαυτούμενοι*, used in the *Narrative*, echoes the biblical *όλοκαυτώμασι(ν)* of Dan 3:39. On the liturgical commemoration of the Three Youth’s martyrdom, one should consult Lingas 2010, 179-230. On the notion of martyrdom as non-violent resistance see McClymond and Freedman 2008, 1868. One should also consult Bockmuehl 2007, 77: ‘Resistance [...] for Jesus as indeed for both Jewish and the subsequent “footprint” of early Christian messianism, is intrinsically part of redemption. And it is resistance to evil comprehensively understood: not just external but internal; not just personal but social and political; not just “natural” but demonic’.

¹⁵² *TST*, 78.78; Schabel 2010, 26.

of the negotiations reveals how difficult it was for the two sides to restore the broken sacramental communion between East and West.¹⁵³

Non-coercive and non-violent resistance to Latinisation was encouraged by Patriarch Germanos II (1223–1240) in a number of letters addressing the Rhomaic and Syrian Melkite clergy and flock in Cyprus. In 1223, Germanos noted that the Latins had expelled Archbishop Neophytos from his see (ca. 1222–ca. 1251), leaving the Orthodox Cypriot flock without pastoral guidance and leading to Cypriot calls for the Patriarch's intervention. Germanos instructed his Cypriot flock to pursue a policy of accommodation (*οἰκονομία*) towards the Latin demands, keeping in mind that they should preserve their canons, traditions and customs (*κανόνες, παραδόσεις* and *ἔθιμα*), according to the principle of theological correctness and accuracy (*ἀκρίβεια*). Canonical submission to the Latins was to be avoided at all cost.¹⁵⁴ In 1229, at the time of the Monks' incarceration, Germanos instructed the Orthodox Rhomaioi and Syrians of Cyprus to adopt a harder (though still non-coercive and non-violent) stance against the Latins and their Rhomaioi 'sympathisers', preferring to isolate themselves from those who had accepted the 1220s arrangements.¹⁵⁵

Soon after the martyrdom of 1231, Germanos sent a third letter to Cyprus, criticising Archbishop Neophytos and the rest of the Cypriot Rhomaic 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 (1221–1254) in 1231/2. 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.¹⁵⁶ Attempting to justify his apparent apathy towards the imprisonment and martyrdom of the Kantara community, Neophytos argued that it was the Monks' provocative stance towards the Latin faith that had caused their

¹⁵³ Germanos II, *Letter to Gregory IX*, ed. Sathas, 39-46 (esp. at 44); Gregory IX, *Letter to Germanos II*, ed. Sathas, 46-49; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 217-218; Doran 1996, 131-144; Arambatzis 2004–2006, 363-378; Arambatzis 2007, 177-206 (esp. at 199-200); Schabel 2010b, 29-31.

¹⁵⁴ Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots I*, ed. Sathas, 5-14.

¹⁵⁵ Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots II*, ed. Sathas, 14-19.

¹⁵⁶ In reality, Germanos' involvement in the island's ecclesiastical affairs was not a violation of the Cypriot autocephaly. The Patriarch had been invited by a Cypriot delegation to support the island's Orthodox clergy and flock around the time of Archbishop Neophytos' expulsion from his see: Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots I*, ed. Sathas, 7-8.

death.¹⁵⁷ There is no doubt that an internal schism was growing between the members of the Cypriot Rhomaic community: while some of them remained spiritually oriented towards Nicaea, another group chose to submit to the Latins out of fear, personal interest, or a sincere belief that the Latins were not heretics.¹⁵⁸

Although the relations between Archbishop Neophytos and Patriarch Germanos seem to have quickly been restored,¹⁵⁹ Pope Gregory IX continued to exercise pressure for the acceptance of the Latin Eucharist by the Orthodox, demanding an oath of obedience from the Cypriot Rhomaioi priests, which included a renunciation of their former heretical beliefs (1238). This policy of coercion 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 the papal demands and threatened the disobedient Rhomaioi with excommunication. As a response, Gregory IX ordered the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia to excommunicate the anti-Latin Rhomaioi and their supporters and to take over the abandoned Rhomaic monasteries with the help of the Latin secular authorities and the Hospitallers (1240).¹⁶⁰

Having noted Archbishop Neophytos' critical stance towards the martyrdom of the Kantara Monks and his justification of the necessity for Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Latins, his anti-Latin resistance a decade later seems incompatible with his

¹⁵⁷ Archbishop Neophytos to John III in *GBUZ*, 180-182.29.

¹⁵⁸ On Germanos' letters to the Cypriots and Neophytos' letter to John III see also the following studies: Chatzipsaltes 1951, 65-82; Chatzipsaltes 1964, 155-158; Angold 1972, 3-6; Angold 1975, 18-19; Gounarides 1986, 322-323; Papadopoulos 1995b, 565-571; Arambatzis 2000, 249-257; Schabel 2010b, 27-29; Claverie 2013, 213-219.

¹⁵⁹ In his aforementioned letter to John III Batatzēs, Archbishop Neophytos recognised the durable ethno-religious links between Cyprus and Byzantium, calling the Emperor 'our natural overlord' (*φυσικὸς ἀνθέντης ἡμῶν*) and stating that he was willing to leave Cyprus, presumably in order to resolve his differences with Patriarch Germanos in Nicaea: *GBUZ*, 181.29.37 and 49-52. It seems that Neophytos' journey to Nicaea took place shortly after, as suggested by a letter sent by Henry I to John III in 1232/3, in which the Lusignan King thanked Batatzēs for the help he had provided to the Cypriot Archbishop and bishops. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the outcome of negotiations between John III, Neophytos and Germanos, though a tone of satisfaction is detected in Henry I's letter to Batatzēs. This could probably indicate that all sides had reached some kind of compromise, thus improving the politico-ecclesiastical contacts between Cyprus and Nicaea: *ibid*, 177.26; Beihammer 2006a, 314.

¹⁶⁰ The reconstruction of these events is based on *BC* I, 328-329 (d-30), 333-335 (d-35), 335-337 (d-36), 337-338 (d-37), 338-340 (d-38); *CSS*, 177.71-184.74 (trans. in *SN*, 297-298.X.13). See also: Papadopoulos 1995b, 583-584; Coureas 1997, 286-287; Schabel 2010b, 30-31. A note by scribe C in *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 367 states that the submission of the Rhomaic community to the Papacy took place in 1238, though the possibility of a chronological error should not be excluded either: *DGMC*, 161-162.

previous attitude.¹⁶¹ Neophytos' case suggests that thirteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi continued to perceive themselves as Orthodox, even when they pursued a non-coercive line of anti-Latinism or openly accepted papal ecclesiastical supremacy. The same stance is reflected, for example, in a number of early fourteenth-century notes in a codex that seems to have belonged to a family of Cypriot Rhomaioi notaries. These brief notes commemorate the martyrdom of the Kantara Monks and other events of ethno-religious significance, including the Latin conquest of Cyprus, the Latin siege of Constantinople and the Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy. Interestingly, the same codex contains poems composed by Makarios-Maximus the Kalorite, one of the Kantara Monks. From the aforementioned notes in this codex we also learn that its owners possessed another manuscript copied by Makarios-Maximus, though we know nothing about its content. It is striking that the members of a family of Cypriot Rhomaioi notaries, who must have been in the service of the Frankish regime, expressed their veneration to the Monks' martyrdom, thus reaffirming their ethno-religious identity in a non-coercive way.¹⁶²

Overall, the relations between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins in the period between 1191 and ca. 1238 were highlighted by both tension and compromise. From the Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiological perspective, the conquest of 1191 had disturbed the established order, resulting in the political alienation of Cyprus from Byzantium and the implantation of a foreign army. Neophytos the Recluse's theological interpretation of the conquest as a just punishment for his people's sins and his expectation that God would one day deliver them from their sufferings, provides the basis for understanding how Cypriot Rhomaioi monastics expressed their anti-Latinism in terms of spiritual struggle against evil. This stance, sanctioned by the ecclesiological

¹⁶¹ Perhaps Neophytos had been too irenic or too afraid to oppose the Latins between 1228 and 1231, or he might have expected that the Monks would have been eventually released from prison. Whether Neophytos did oppose the Latins, but later hagiographical narratives chose to omit his involvement due to his later negotiations with the Papacy, is difficult to tell. It is likely that Neophytos finally recognised the Monks as holy martyrs and confessors as part of his reconciliation with Patriarch Germanos. It is also quite possible that his criticism towards the Monks, recorded in his aforementioned letter to John III, was simply a defensive reaction against Germanos' intervention in Cypriot affairs.

¹⁶² *GBUZ*, 57-58 (comm.), 239.14, 240.23. On the codex and scribes see: *DGMC*, 153-165; Beihammer in *GBUZ*, 33-61. Constantinides and Browning in *DGMC*, 159-161, identify the author of the notes as Constantine Anagnostēs on the basis of palaeographical evidence; but cf. Beihammer 2006a, 305-307. The poems by Makarios-Maximus the Kalorite and Constantine Anagnostēs were first published by Bănescu 1913.

principle of leniency and accommodation (*οἰκονομία*), permitted the establishment of a *modus vivendi* with the Latins and promoted collaboration and peaceful symbiosis. The same line of non-coercive and non-violent resistance was encouraged by Patriarch Germanos in his communication with the Cypriot Rhomaioi. It is also mirrored in the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara and their veneration by a local family of notaries, who were probably in the service of Frankish lords. Non-coercive resistance and covert anti-Latinism would become fundamental elements of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality in the centuries to follow.

The Papacy's policy in Cyprus led to the abolition of the island's autocephalous status and exercised pressures to the secular arm for the implementation of a coercive policy of Latinisation. The controversy over the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist demonstrates how the Papacy, despite promulgations for the toleration of various rites and customs under one faith, wished to enhance its privileged position in defining and defending orthodoxy. Neophytos the Recluse's willingness to appoint the Lusignan rulers as lay guardians of his Hermitage and Queen Alice's irenic stance during the arrangements of 1220 and 1222, mirror the reluctance of the Frankish royal dynasty to fully support the Papacy's policy. However, the power vacuum created during Henry I's minority and the rapprochement between the Ibelins and Pope Gregory IX contributed to the anti-Rhomaic collaboration of the two sides, leading to the execution of the Monks of Kantara.

The re-organisation of Orthodox bishoprics after 1222, marked by the abolition of ten out of fourteen dioceses and the subordination of the remaining Rhomaioi prelates to Latin diocesans, was followed by the Papacy's attempts to enforce the non-exclusive canonical validity of unleavened bread over the Cypriot Rhomaioi, while tolerating the use of leavened bread. These developments led Archbishop Neophytos to initially pursue a *Realpolitik* of superficial submission to the Latin Church –something that created tension in his relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate– and later choose self-exile in order to preserve the Orthodox identity of his clergy and people. Archbishop Neophytos' case shows that the path of compromise was not always easy to follow: criticised by the Patriarch Germanos for not supporting the Kantara Monks, Neophytos had to leave his see under the pressure of Latin coercion.

As we shall see below, Archbishop Neophytos' self-exile created a pastoral vacuum that facilitated conversions to the Latin rite and resulted in the acceptance of papal authority by Cypriot Rhomaioi followers of the Byzantine rite. This was the first step towards the gradual submission of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy to the Papacy, ratified by the *Bulla Cypria* (1260), and the establishment of a new order in the relations between the two communities.

I.3. Compromise, submission and Christian unity

As mentioned earlier, following the treaties of 1220 and 1222, Patriarch Germanos instructed the island's Orthodox population (1229) to avoid those who had recognised papal authority.¹⁶³ The self-exile of the island's Orthodox hierarchy between ca. 1240 and 1250 created a pastoral vacuum that enhanced the process of submission to the Latin Church. In 1246 and 1247, Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) instructed his legate in the East to place the obedient Rhomaioi under papal protection, in order to keep them safe from abuses.¹⁶⁴ On Palm Sunday 1251, the Latin ecclesiastical authorities of Nicosia promulgated a series of regulations that instructed all Rhomaioi who had received the sacraments *morem ecclesiae Romanae* to attend mass at least once a week in the cathedral of St Sophia. Moreover, the Latinised Rhomaioi 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.¹⁶⁵

During the period of Archbishop Neophytos' self-exile, a number of Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries sought to be placed under papal jurisdiction. It should be stressed, however, 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 confirmed the appeal of St Theodosios' monastery near Bethlehem to recognise its rights over possessions in Palestine, Cyprus and Hungary. The community's Cypriot property was mostly concentrated in the Valley of the River Kha

¹⁶³ Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots II*, ed. Sathas, 17-19.

¹⁶⁴ BC I, 355-356 (e-16), 363-364 (e-22) (trans. in SN, 301.X.17), 367-368 (e-27), 370-371 (e-29).

¹⁶⁵ SN, 63, 154.C. (trans. at 155); Papadopoulos 1995b, 589-590; Coureas 1997, 291-292; Coureas et al. 2012, 132.

and included churches, villages, mills, vineyards, olive groves, fishing places, forests and orchards.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, 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 (1217).¹⁶⁷ Admittedly, this mutual policy of rapprochement served both sides, since it enabled the reaffirmation of papal authority, while enhancing the prominence of Orthodox monasteries as popular destinations for pilgrims from all over the Christian world.¹⁶⁸ In addition, papal protection secured the rights and interests of Orthodox monasteries, providing protection from harassment and supporting the effective management of monastic dependencies, which were often located in Latin-ruled areas.¹⁶⁹

The official recognition of papal authority on the part of Orthodox monastic communities should not be interpreted as doctrinal and liturgical Latinisation, 'since [their distant] location [...] guaranteed [their] geographical and political inaccessibility to effective papal supervision'.¹⁷⁰ It is probably correct to see the Orthodox monastic rapprochement with the Papacy as an expression of *οἰκονομία*. Consequently, Latin 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 (1438–1439), Westerners were expelled from the main church and were only permitted to officiate in a separate chapel.¹⁷¹ The Sinaitic policy of *οἰκονομία* towards the Papacy was not something new in the course of the community's long history. Already since the seventh century, when the monastery had been politically cut-off from Byzantium as a result of the Muslim conquest, Sinaite monks had to learn how to adapt to

¹⁶⁶ BC I, 180-181 (c-1), 192 (c-12); Richard 1986, 61-65, 75; Claverie 2013, 224-226; Papacostas 2015, 130-131.

¹⁶⁷ Amantos 1953, 34-37; Richard 1986, 65-66; Coureas 1996, 476-477, 482-484; Kokkinoftas 2001, 128; Coureas 2010, 470-474; Claverie 2013, 226-232; Papacostas 2015, 133.

¹⁶⁸ On the recognition of papal authority see Claverie 2013, 223. On Western pilgrimage to Sinai and the veneration of St Catherine in the West see: Klein 2005, 173-198; Patterson Ševčenko 2006, 118-137; Drandaki 2006, 491-504.

¹⁶⁹ Coureas 1996, 477-478.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 484.

¹⁷¹ Drandaki 2006, 494-495; cf. Prescott 1958: 'More regrettable to modern sentiment was the common but galling experience of Latin priests that they were not allowed to celebrate Mass in the monks' Church, while a Latin pilgrim would be refused burial in the monks' graveyard. Finally, Latins believed that their hosts harboured such hatred against the Roman Church that they would spend the pilgrims' offerings on supplying food to their Arab parasites, yet would have died of hunger rather than make use of the money for their own sustenance'.

changing circumstances. The monks had presented to their Muslim overlords a charter of privileges considered to have been issued to the monastery by the Prophet himself and had even permitted the building of a mosque on their holy mountain in the early twelfth century.¹⁷² Overall, there is no evidence that Sinaitic diplomacy affected negatively the spiritual life of St Catherine's monks. On the contrary, Sinai remained a vibrant Orthodox monastic centre, nourishing one of the greatest ascetic theologians of the fourteenth century, St Gregory the Sinaite (d. ca. 1346).¹⁷³

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. Papal letters record the building of a Latin castle on Mt Athos (ca. 1214), from where groups of Latin soldiers ravaged the nearby monasteries and tortured the monks. The terrified Athonites requested the help of Henry of Flanders (1206–1216), 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, though it is not clear whether 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 recognised papal authority, although it seems unlikely that the local monks ever adopted the Latin doctrines and practices. 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, suggests that the nature of the Athonite recognition of papal authority had been superficial and pragmatic.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Tzirakis 1967, 170-171.

¹⁷³ The Greek and Slavic versions of Kallistos I's, *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, have recently been edited and commented upon by Delikari.

¹⁷⁴ For all the above see: Lemerle et al. 1982, 3-7; Chrestou 1987, 131-132; Van Tricht 2011, 89, 214. It seems that a similar line of *Realpolitik* was employed by the Athonites during War World II. See, e.g., Saunders 1955, 31-32: 'At Vatopedi we heard a story of how the Athonite communities, fearing an invasion by the Bulgarian army during the Second World War, drafted a letter to Adolf Hitler asking his protection as inheritor of the Byzantine imperium. The megalomaniac leader, flattered by the appeal, acted swiftly to forbid any interference or injury to the monasteries, even ordering aircraft rerouted lest the fathers be disturbed at their prayers'. Saunders also notes that 'the monks of Athos risked their lives numerous times during the war as they faced German searching parties angrily demanding that they surrender British and

Probably around 1214, at the time of the Latin raids on Athos, the mixed (i.e., Georgian and Rhomaic) community of the Ibērōn monastery experienced Latin coercion, which led its Georgian monks to submit to the Papacy and adopt the Latin customs. This created a schism between the Georgian and Rhomaioi monks. Dēmētrios Chōmatēnos (1217–1236), Archbishop of Ohrid and ecclesiastical judge in Macedonia, had been informed about the incident and was asked whether the monastery's Rhomaioi were allowed to restore communion with the Latinised Georgian monks. Chōmatēnos replied that, unless the Georgians repented and expressed the wish to return to the Orthodox Church, the Rhomaioi should remain in schism with them. In no case, Chōmatēnos added, should the Rhomaioi remove from the Georgians the right to elect the monastery's abbot, as had been their ancient custom. The established order (τάξις), dictated by tradition, ought to be respected.¹⁷⁵

Turning now to Orthodox Cypriot monasticism in the 1240s, at the time of Archbishop Neophytos' self-exile, it is noteworthy that at least two monastic establishments were willing to recognise papal jurisdiction in exchange for protection and privileges. Papal letters attest the confirmation of rights, exemption from tithes and protection from harassment granted to St Margaret of Agros and its dependency, St Mary of Stylos, in 1243 and 1245. The monks of Agros and Stylos 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.¹⁷⁶ We may suggest that around the same period, the monks of Agros chose to change the dedication of their monastery from the Virgin to St

New Zealand soldiers for whom they were providing an underground railway of escape out of fallen Greece': *ibid.*, 32 (n. 10); cf. Della Dora 2011, 162-201.

¹⁷⁵ Dēmētrios Chōmatēnos, *Works*, ed. Prinzing, 198-201.54; Lemerle et al. 1982, 6-7; Chrestou 1987, 130-132; Lefort et al. 1994, 3-6. Generally on Chōmatēnos see Prinzing 2013, 137-150.

¹⁷⁶ *BC I*, 341-342 (e-1), 344-345 (e-4); *CSS*, pp. 273-275.107, 275.107.a, 275-276.108, 276.108a (trans. in *SN*, 299.X.14-300.X.15). The papal letters concerning Agros and Stylos are discussed by Coureas 1997, 288; Schabel 2006b, 189-190; Coureas 2009, 217-219; Coureas 2010, 466-467. A *mēnaion*, namely a liturgical book containing short *Lives* of saints and verses sung during feast days, was copied at the monastery of Agros in 1251/2 and reveals no penetration of the Latin rite. Although the *mēnaion* includes a number of pre-schismatic saints of Western origin (e.g., the martyrs Victor, Vincent and Gregory of Agrigento), this cannot be considered as concrete evidence of Latinisation. The inclusion of saints from all over the Christian world in the *mēnaion* from Agros is also common in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*: Kazhdan 1996, 485-515. On the *mēnaion* from Agros see *DGMC*, 119-123.

Margaret.¹⁷⁷ In spite of her popularity in the West, St Margaret seems 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, we may argue that the new dedication of Agros to St Margaret must have been intentional and aimed at attracting Latin devotion and patronage.¹⁷⁸

Interestingly, in the 1230s, the Orthodox Rhomaioi and Melkite Syrian monks on Mt Carmel in the Holy Land occupied a church dedicated to St Margaret. This church was situated near the Cave of Prophet Elijah, while a group of Latin hermits had their own church near the Spring of Prophet Elijah. Thus, on Mt Carmel, as elsewhere in the Holy Land, Orthodox and Latin hermits enjoyed a peaceful symbiosis and shared similar ascetic practices, following the models of biblical heroes and the ancient Desert Fathers, although each community preserved its own doctrinal, liturgical and canonical traditions. As a result of the Muslim threat, a number of Latin hermits left Mt Carmel in 1238 and found refuge in Cyprus and the West, leading to the creation of the reformed mendicant Order of the Carmelites.¹⁷⁹ It remains unclear whether the monks of Agros had contacts with the hermits of Mt Carmel. However, it seems possible that the dedication of their monastery to St Margaret intended to convey Christian unity in devotion and ascetic praxis.

Thus, the gradual submission of Cypriot Rhomaioi to the Papacy could be interpreted not only due to the need of Rhomaic establishments to safeguard their socio-economic interests but also as the outcome of religious and cultural interaction. The possible connection between the hermits of Mt Carmel and Agros brings us to the activities of Latin religious orders in Cyprus. During the first century of Frankish rule, the Latin

¹⁷⁷ An undated model letter from a fourteenth-century collection of chancery documents refers to the monastery of the *Virgin* of Agros: *GBUZ*, 166-167.16. This is most probably the same monastery as that of *St Margaret* of Agros, mentioned in the papal letters cited above.

¹⁷⁸ Generally on Sts Marina and Margaret: *BHG* II, 80, 84-86; Papageorgiou 1992, 5, 8-9, 55-56; Folda 1992, 106-133; Mouriki 1993, 252-253; Clayton and Magennis 1994, 3-4; Albani 1993-1994, 211-222; Larson 2002, 23-35; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 171-172. The veneration of St Marina in Cyprus is further attested by an *encomium* composed by Neophytos the Recluse. St Marina was also commemorated in the liturgical *ordo* or *Typikon* of Koutzoubendēs (*Parisinus graecus* 402), Neophytos' motherhouse: Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, ed. Christodoulou, 47-48 (comm.), 521-524.1.19; Papacostas et al. 2007, 32, 43. See also *Encomium on St Marina*, ed. Stauroniketanos, 189-200, 227-239, composed by the Cypriot Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II.

¹⁷⁹ Jotischky 1995, 101-151 (esp. at 103, 111, 120-121, 131, 140, 146); Jotischky 2002, 9-37; Coureas 2010, 368.

religious orders seem not to have been very successful in converting members of the Rhomaic community to the Latin rite. This could partly be explained by the fact that Latin monastic communities preferred to establish themselves in the cities, closer to the Latin authorities and urban population, while Orthodox monasticism had a stronger presence in rural areas, which were largely populated by Rhomaioi. The Order of St Benedict, however, seems to have pursued a different path. Probably during the self-exile of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy in the 1240s, the Benedictines took over the abandoned monastery of the Holy Cross on Mt Staurobouni, one of the most prestigious Orthodox establishments on the island.¹⁸⁰ Although it remains unclear to what extent the Benedictines of Staurobouni were perceived by the Cypriot Rhomaioi as successors of the Orthodox community of the Holy Cross, Benedictine similarities with Orthodox monastic practices did exist. This could be explained by the fact that Benedictine spirituality was rooted, through the writings of Sts Benedict of Nursia (d. 543) and John Cassian (d. 435), in the ascetic praxis of ancient Palestinian and Egyptian monasticism.¹⁸¹ Therefore, the existence of an ‘ascetic *koinē*’ between Rhomaioi monks and Latin friars might have enhanced the Papacy’s message of Christian unity under Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁸² This is further supported by the fact that in 1321, the Benedictine abbot of Staurobouni was appointed executor in several issues concerning the Cypriot Rhomaic Church.¹⁸³ Moreover, the Benedictines were perhaps responsible for the transmission of Western liturgical theatre in Cyprus, which apparently served as a bridge of communication with a wider audience of Cypriot Rhomaioi. Indeed, 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 the cultural and religious interaction between Benedictines and Cypriot Rhomaioi.¹⁸⁴

The Cistercians, an order of reformed Benedictines, might have also contributed to the rapprochement between the two communities. It should be noted that the Cistercians of Cyprus were associated with the priory of Jubin, situated on Mauron Oros outside Antioch, a vibrant mountainous centre of Orthodox monasticism in Syria and a place

¹⁸⁰ Coureas 1997, 225-226; Schabel 2006b, 175-176; Coureas 2010, 391-405; Coureas et al. 2012, 176-184.

¹⁸¹ On St John Cassian and his influence see: Chadwick 1950, esp. at 168-186; Casiday 2007, *passim*.

¹⁸² On the term ‘ascetic *koinē*’ see *ibid.*, 47.

¹⁸³ Coureas 2010, 397-398, 460-461, 469-470.

¹⁸⁴ Stylianos 1988-1989, 51-69; Puchner 2004, 8-190; Triantaphyllopoulos 2003-2004, 69; Grivaud 2005, 275-277; Coureas 2010, 295-297; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 51-56, 80-82.

of contact between Orthodox and Latin hermits.¹⁸⁵ Interestingly, the monk George (d. 1099), founder of Koutzoubendēs, and Neophytos the Recluse, who had spent part of his youth in the same monastery, seem to have been influenced by the spiritual radiance of Maurorite monasticism.¹⁸⁶ The Latin priory of Jubin, which maintained links with the Cistercians, received donations from Guy of Lusignan and possessed a dependency in Nicosia that welcomed monks from Syria after the fall of Antioch in 1268. Contacts between the Cistercians and the Cypriot Rhomaic population are attested by the employment of Cypriot Rhomaioi lay brothers (*conversi*) in the Cistercian abbey of Pyrgos near Limassol.¹⁸⁷ Although we possess no evidence concerning the religious identity of these *conversi*, it should be mentioned that the Augustinian church in Nicosia probably accommodated burials of the community's Cypriot Rhomaioi servants, which could be considered as an indication of their obedience to the Latin Church.¹⁸⁸

The cases of the Carmelites, Benedictines and Cistercians seem to indicate the cultivation of spiritual bonds between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi, based on similarities in ascetic praxis and the experience of coexistence and communication between Latin and Orthodox ascetics in Syria and the Holy Land. Although the role of Latin religious orders in the process of Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy should not be exaggerated, it suggests that common elements in doctrine, devotion and practice must have facilitated Rhomaic conversions to the Latin rite (Latinised Rhomaioi) or submission to papal authority without abandoning the Byzantine liturgical customs. The spiritual nature of the dialectic relationship between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi, which was first crystallised in the 1220s, '30s and '40s, is better documented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Various sources and artistic testimonies demonstrate that the Chalcedonian doctrines,¹⁸⁹ the employment of icons in

¹⁸⁵ Jotischky 1995, 25, 27-31, 37-39, 59-61, 92, 95, 99, 145, 178, 180.

¹⁸⁶ Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi and Yiangou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Panegyric I*, 82-92; Papacostas et al. 2007, 29-50, 149-156; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 53-61; Yiangou 2010, 277-296.

¹⁸⁷ Richard 1969-1970, 63-74; Jotischky 1995, 60-61; Coureas 1997, 197-198; Schabel 2000b, 349-360 (esp. at 352); Coureas 2010, 405-410; Coureas et al. 2012, 173-176. Note that the number of Rhomaioi lay brothers in Pyrgos seems to have been relatively low. On the institution of Cistercian lay brotherhood one should consult France 2012.

¹⁸⁸ Coureas 2010, 378-379, 437. See also Kaoulla and Schabel 2007, 130-132, 139-140, 183.207-184.208.

¹⁸⁹ Both Rome and Cyprus had supported Chalcedonianism in the theological controversies of the seventh century: George of Resh'aina, *Life of Maximus*, ed. Brock, 315.7-317.16; Sophronios of Jerusalem,

worship¹⁹⁰ and the veneration of the Virgin¹⁹¹ and Cypriot saints¹⁹² played a fundamental role in bringing the two communities closer.

The veneration of Cypriot saints was used by the Latin Church as an instrument of 'soft Latinisation' to achieve unity under the Papacy. In 1249, for example, the leading Parisian theologian and Legate in the East (1248–1254) Odo of Châteauroux, promulgated a regulation promoting the veneration of eleven saints of the Early Christian period. The fact that Odo's regulation was issued during the self-exile of the Orthodox hierarchy suggests that the Legate's intentions were to bring the local population under the Papacy's jurisdiction by creating common ground in matters of devotion.¹⁹³ In the sixteenth century, Cypriot Latin historians claimed that many

Letter to Arcadius, ed. Albert and Von Schönborn, 170 [6]-174 [10]; Mansi X, 913B-916E; Karayiannis 1992, 379-398; Déroche 1995, 15-36; Kyriacou and Dendrinou (forthcoming); cf. Sacopoulou 1975, 77-88; Kyrris 1987, 105-108. In the sixteenth century, Stephen of Lusignan (d. ca. 1590) excluded the Chalcedonian Rhomaioi and Georgians from his description of 'rotten and ancient heretics' (*sono heretiche marce & antiche*) inhabiting Cyprus: Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 34r- 34v; cf. Schabel 2006b, 165, 200-201. On the Chalcedonian identity in Byzantium see generally Price 2009, 307-325.

¹⁹⁰ Around 1291, for instance, a Benedictine abbess managed to bring the miraculous icon of Our Lady of Tortosa from Syria to Nicosia, where it became an object of pilgrimage. Although it is impossible to ascertain, we may assume that among the Latin pilgrims venerating Our Lady of Tortosa there were also Rhomaioi, accustomed to expressing their reverence to their own icons of the Virgin: Richard 2001, 135-138; Coureas 2010, 394; Coureas et al. 2012, 180. No lesser in significance is a thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin and Child from the church of St Cassian, Nicosia. The icon depicts, on a smaller scale, a group of Carmelite donors and supplicants, sheltered under the Virgin's right hand. The icon's visual rhetoric must have been clear to Latins and Rhomaioi alike: the Carmelites, probably refugees from the Holy Land, offered this icon as an expression of pious gratitude to the Virgin for her mercy, while the Virgin responded by placing her beloved children under her protection: Papageorghiou 1992, 46, 49, 51; Folda 1995, 218-221; Jotischky 2002, 100-101. On the distinction between 'donors' and 'supplicants' see Safran 2011-2012, 135-151.

¹⁹¹ See, e.g., the case of a late thirteenth-century fresco from the monastery of the Virgin Phorbiōtissa, Asinou: Kalopissi-Verti 2005, 305-319; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 122-131. The mural depicts the Virgin of Mercy and Latin donors and supplicants in the narthex of a Rhomaic monastery.

¹⁹² 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). Several prominent holy figures of early monasticism (e.g., Sts Hilariōn the Great, Jerome, Paula the Roman, Epiphanius and Anastasios the Sinaite) were linked to Cyprus: Kyrris 1987, 95-108; Flusin 1991, 381-409; Chrysos 1996, 205-217; Christodoulou 2002, 167-174; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 13-17; Christodoulou 2010, 94-108. A number of Cypriot saints were also venerated in the West. In the eleventh century, for example, the Milanese wished to elevate the position of their own bishop *vis-à-vis* the bishops of Brescia and Pavia and claimed that St Barnabas had founded the Church of Milan: Tomea 1993. Early medieval martyrologies, like the one compiled by Ado (d. 875), Bishop of Vienne, and that of Florus (d. ca. 860), Archdeacon of Lyons, associated the veneration of St Matthew with the miraculous discovery of his Gospel in fifth-century Cyprus: Rose 2009, 87-88, 176-178. On the Latin translation of the *Life of St Epiphanius* see briefly Rapp 1993, 184 (with further bibliography). Note that King Janus of Lusignan (1398-1432) composed a service on St Hilariōn the Great: *Acts of the Antipopes*, ed. Taütü, 229-231.175.

¹⁹³ *SN*, 61-62 (comm.), 170-173.E.XXI (ed. and trans.). The rulings of Archbishop Philip of Nicosia (1342-1360) in 1353, however, seem to demonstrate a different reality. Being concerned with the increasing socio-cultural and religious rapprochement between Latins and non-Latins on the island, Philip only applied

locally-venerated holy ascetics of the Byzantine period were in fact hermits of Western origin, presumably in order to add prestige to the island's Latin Church.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, the Latin usurpation of Cypriot veneration could be interpreted in different ways that need not be mutually exclusive, reflecting both a pragmatic policy that served the survival of the Western Church in a non-Latin *milieu* and a process of rediscovery of the common roots of Christian tradition in East and West.¹⁹⁵

From the point of view of the Cypriot Rhomaios official and chronicler Leontios Machairas (d. post 1432/ca. 1458), the veneration of Latin saints of the Crusader period did not contradict his reverence for saints who had flourished on the island under Byzantium. The *leitmotif* of Machairas' *Chronicle*, which had been composed during a period of crisis¹⁹⁶ for the Frankish Kingdom, is the unity of all Christian communities in Cyprus under the Papacy and the Lusignans. Machairas, however, did not completely forsake his Byzantine Orthodox background.¹⁹⁷ This is attested, for example, by the

Odo's aforementioned regulation for Sts Barnabas and Epiphanius: CSS, 309-310.130 (trans. in SN, 365.X.55.6, 366.X.55.8). Artistic testimonies concerning these veneration can be found in Paschali 2014b, 284-286, 297-299. For a brief discussion of the dangers faced by the numerically weak Latin Church in the fourteenth century see Coureas 2010, 18-19.

¹⁹⁴ Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 33-34; Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoullos et al., ff. 27^r- 27^v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 63^r-63^v. See also the discussion by Hackett 1972, 418-430; Kyrris 1993a, 203-235; Staurobouniotes 2002, 45-49. The 'Latinisation' of Cypriot veneration is also mirrored in the work of Carmelite historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Carmelite historiography included Sts Spyridōn and Epiphanius among the Order's forerunners, possibly in order to highlight its ancient and venerable past: Jotischky 2002, 128-131, 222-224.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 2002, 239.

¹⁹⁶ See below, 216-217.

¹⁹⁷ There is vast bibliography on Machairas. The most important studies include: Kyrris 1978, 159-165; Thiriet 1986, 185-199; Kyrris 1989-1993, 167-281; Galatariotou 1993, 393-413; Grivaud 1995c, 1066-1084; Anaxagorou 1997, 21-33; Pieris 1997, 35-54; Kyrris 1997, 97-106; Anaxagorou 1998, 12-17, 142; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000-2001, 259-263; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005b, 327-371; Schabel 2006b, 201; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 86-92; Nicolaou-Konnari 2011, 119-145. I am referring first to the earlier critical edition of Machairas by Dawkins (1932) and then to the recent diplomatic edition (actually transcription) of the text by Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari; cf. Kechagioglou 2005, 338-355; Markopoulos 2010, 103. Recent studies by Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel have rightly noted Machairas' irenic attitude towards the Western Church. However, there has been no effort to distinguish Machairas' case from that of other Cypriot Rhomaios who continued to observe the Byzantine Orthodox tradition not only in terms of liturgical rite but also in issues of ecclesiology and doctrine. Machairas' reconciliatory tone is reflected in his various references to the 'most holy pope' (ἀγιώτατος πάπας), who is a 'good Christian' (καλὸς χριστιανός) and 'helper of Christians' (τῶν χριστιανῶν ἡ βοήθεια): Nicolaou-Konnari 2005b, 353-355. In an oft-cited passage, Machairas comments on the conversion of Thibault Abul-Feraj (d. 1376), a Syrian Melkite, to the Latin rite. Machairas was critical of Thibault's conversion, not because he considered the Latins as heretics but because he saw both Latins and 'Rhomaios' (i.e., followers of the Byzantine-rite) as being equally orthodox. In other words, Machairas' problem with Thibault's conversion was the latter's change of liturgical rite, not his alienation from the Orthodox doctrine: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §579 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 403); Schabel 2006b, 201. On Thibault's tombstone in the Augustinian church of Nicosia see Coureas 2010, 378-379. Machairas' obedience to the Papacy could

Chronicle's incorporation of a long list of holy ascetics of the Byzantine period, which was based (at least partly) on a hagiographical source of the eleventh or twelfth century.¹⁹⁸ What is noteworthy is that the *Chronicle* includes in the list John of Montfort, a Crusader knight who had died on the island in 1248 and whose relics were venerated as miraculous by both Latins and Rhomaioi from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century.¹⁹⁹ The Lusignan official and hagiographer Philip of Mézières (d. 1405) reports that another Westerner, the Carmelite Legate Peter Thomas (d. 1366), was venerated by Cypriot Latins and Rhomaioi alike, although his name is not included among Machairas' Cypriot saints.²⁰⁰

In reality, Cypriot Rhomaic devotions of Latin saints of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seem not to have been widely embraced as Machairas and Mézières claim. Bearing in mind that Mézières' aim was to promote Peter Thomas' canonisation by the Western Church and that the Greek sources underline the Carmelite's controversial reputation among the Cypriot Rhomaioi, we have to question the reliability of hagiographical assertions concerning the popularity of the Carmelite's veneration.²⁰¹ More importantly, the non-inclusion of Latin saints of the Crusader period in Cypriot Rhomaic calendars and liturgical art strongly suggests that the aforementioned devotions were never officially sanctioned by the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy.²⁰² This

explain why his *Chronicle* remains silent about the martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara and the Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Latin Church. The Cypriot Rhomaic attempts to restore communion with Constantinople in 1406 are also suspiciously absent from the *Chronicle*. According to Schabel, Machairas' description of the establishment of the Latin Church is rather vague: Schabel 2006a, 261; cf. Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§28-29 (Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 80-81). On the other hand, Machairas is particularly interested in the suppression of the Templars by the Papacy in 1310/1: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§13-17 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 70-74).

¹⁹⁸ On Machairas' source see Papadopoulos 1952, 1-30 (offprint with different pagination; on the list of holy ascetics see esp. at 28.185β-30.186β); cf. Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§31-33 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 82-84).

¹⁹⁹ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §33 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 83-84); Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 34; Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 27^v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 63^r; Stephen of Lusignan, *On the defence of monastics*, ff. 29^v-30^r; Olympios 2012, 41-43; Coureas et al. 2012, 174-175, 193; Olympios 2013, 334-340.

²⁰⁰ Philip of Mézières, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 155.30, 156.1-2, 173.19-174.2, 183.24-32; Coureas 2010, 374-375, 486-487; Olympios 2013, 331-334.

²⁰¹ On Peter Thomas' Latinising activities and his negative image in Greek sources see below, 197-202. On the degree of reliability of Mézières' account see also the comments by Coureas 2010, 375, 487; Olympios 2013, 333-334.

²⁰² Mouriki 1993, 257. The popular recognition of holiness in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition was a necessary prerequisite for the official introduction of new saints in the liturgical calendar and other official manifestations of canonisation. These included, for example, the composition of hagiographical and commemorative liturgical texts, the painting of icons, the dedication of churches and the celebration of the new saint's feast day. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Ecumenical Patriarchate

could partly be explained by the fact that neither Peter Thomas, nor John of Montfort, received official canonisation by the Western Church during the Middle Ages.²⁰³ Yet, the case of St Francis of Assisi, who had been canonised in 1228 but still left no trace in Cypriot Rhomaic liturgical praxis and ecclesiastical art, confirms the view that most Cypriot Rhomaioi did not share Machairas' reverence for Latin saints of the Crusader period.²⁰⁴ Indeed, the sixteenth-century Cypriot Latin Dominican and historian Stephen of Lusignan (d. ca. 1590) noted that the Cypriot Rhomaioi were reluctant to venerate 'the great, contemporary Latin saints' (*li santi moderni, massime Latini*).²⁰⁵ Ultimately, the adoption of Latin veneration by a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi followers of the Byzantine rite was most probably a limited phenomenon and could be interpreted in terms of their open acceptance of the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy.

It is clear that different approaches to the veneration of Eastern and Western saints in Latin-ruled Cyprus reflect different religious identities and attitudes that might have varied according to particular circumstances. For the Latins, the re-adoption of local veneration became a bond with the indigenous population and involved the rediscovery of the common roots of Christianity, adding prestige and authority to their own Church.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, a great part of the Cypriot Rhomaioi seems to have

developed canonisation practices that present similarities to the Western procedures of beatification and canonisation. What is noteworthy, however, is that the Constantinopolitan canonisation procedure primarily aimed to expand the geographic range of veneration, rather than legitimise non-official cults: Alibizatos 1941–1948, 18–52; Macrides 2001, 83–86.

²⁰³ Olympos 2013, 336.

²⁰⁴ Note that St Francis had probably visited Cyprus on his way to Acre in 1219 and that the Franciscans had been established on the island in the mid-1220s. The Poor Man of Assisi was more popular in nearby Crete, where he was venerated by both Latins and Rhomaioi: Lassithiotakes 1981, 146–154; Beraud 1986, 135–153 (esp. at 135–136); Mouriki 1993, 257 (n. 150); Coureas 2010, 325–345; Coureas et al. 2012, 187–191. On St Francis' canonisation by the Papacy see Thompson 2012, 140.

²⁰⁵ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoullos et al., f. 27^v; cf. Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 63^r–63^v (on Lusignan's chronology of death see Grivaud, *ibid.*, v). Note that in this particular passage, Lusignan refers to the devotion expressed by the Cypriot Rhomaioi for local hermits of the Byzantine period. As mentioned above, these veneration had been 'Latinised' in the work of Cypriot Latin historians of the sixteenth century. Lusignan's point is that the Cypriot Rhomaioi venerated 'Western' holy men, despite their reluctance to adopt the veneration of other Latin saints. What is even more striking is that Lusignan includes John of Montfort among the 'Western' hermits venerated in Cyprus. In reality, Lusignan overemphasises the adoption of Latin veneration by the Cypriot Rhomaioi, while also usurping the identity of holy ascetics of the Byzantine period.

²⁰⁶ In 1581, Stephen of Lusignan published in Paris a treatise *On the defence of monastics*, which was directed against those arguing that monastic life was worthy only for the poor and lazy and not for the wealthy and noble. Lusignan presented in his treatise various examples of prominent men and women of royal and aristocratic origins who had pursued monastic life. Although his Cypriot examples were strictly limited to Westerners of the Crusader period, he nevertheless mentioned a number of Byzantine noble monastics. Lusignan might have come to know these veneration as a result of his familiarity with the Byzantine Orthodox tradition in Cyprus: Stephen of Lusignan, *On the defence of monastics*, *passim*.

remained strictly attached to the Orthodox tradition, rejecting the veneration of Latin saints of the Crusader period. Others, particularly those who were more involved in public life (like Machairas), probably perceived both Eastern and Western venerations as a bridge that kept them united with their ancestral tradition and their current position as members of the universal Roman Church. To paraphrase the anonymous sixteenth-century translator of St John Damascene (d. 749) from Byzantine Greek into the Greek-Cypriot dialect, the orthodox faith was ‘under the insignia of St Peter, *princeps apostolorum*’, and the ‘Old Rome’ was the ‘citadel [of faith]’.²⁰⁷

Back in the 1240s, there can be no definite answer on whether the monks of Agros and Stylos, mentioned earlier, chose submission to the Papacy solely because they needed to safeguard their property from abuses, or because they, too, considered that the orthodox faith was ‘under the insignia of St Peter’. The language employed in papal letters, usually our only source for similar cases of submission, is formulaic and therefore cannot always guarantee safe conclusions in regard to the sincerity of Rhomaic obedience to the Papacy.²⁰⁸ It seems reasonable to argue that the absence of

²⁰⁷ John Damascene, *On those who have departed in faith* (Greek-Cypriot vern.), ed. Nikolopoulos, 15 (n. 20), 35.7.151-153 (ὅσοι πεθανίσκουν εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν, ἀποῦ κάτω εἰς τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου τῶν ἀποστόλων), 45.16.363-364 (Γρηγόριος λοιπὸν ὁ Διάλογος, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πρεσβυτέρας (καὶ ἀκρόπολης Ρώμης)) [additions of the translator appear underlined (emphasis is mine)].

²⁰⁸ E.g., Innocent IV addresses his legate Odo in 1250 as a father: *paterne pietatis est proprium affectuosius illis osculum reconciliationis imprimere quos longius a limine patrio devius error aversionis abduxerat et obnixius filialis reduxit humilitas in aplexum gratie amplioris*: BC I, 382 (e-42); cf. trans. in SN, 302.X.18. Similar is the language used to address the abbot and monks of Agros in 1243: *dilectis filiis abbati et conventui monasterii monachorum Gregorum [...] sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia devotos et humiles filios ex assuete pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit et, ne pravorum hominum molestiis agitentur, eos tanquam pia mater sue protectionis munimine confovere*: BC I, 341 (e-1), trans. in SN, 299.X.14. *Devoti* is also applied in other cases of Cypriot Rhomaioi who had accepted papal jurisdiction and were, therefore, canonically considered as obedient members of the Papacy: *gerentes venerabiles fratres nostros episcopos regni Cypri Grecos Ecclesie Romane devotos in visceribus Ihesu Christi*: BC I, 424 (e-82), trans. in SN, 306.X.22. In 1217, Honorius III addressed the Orthodox bishop of Mt Sinai as his ‘venerable brother in Christ’ (*venerabilis in Christo frater episcopus*): BC I, 191 (c-11). Pope Gregory IX called Patriarch Germanos II ‘his venerable brother’ (τῷ σεβασμίῳ ἀδελφῷ): Gregory IX, *Letter to Germanos II*, ed. Sathas, 46. In May 1438, the Metropolitan of Ephesus Mark Eugenikos (d. 1445), an ardent Orthodox and later leader of the anti-unionist party, addressed Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447), who had convoked the Council of Ferrara/Florence, as following: *Ὁ γὰρ ἀνέχεται ἡ κεφαλὴ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἐφειστάναι διηρημένῳ τῷ σώματι, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης δεσμὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι ἢ ἀγάπη βούλεται. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηγείρε σὲ τὸν τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ πρωτεύοντα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ταυτηνὴ κλήσιν [...]. Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν, ἀγιώτατε πάτερ, ὑποδέξαι τὰ σὰ τέκνα μακρόθεν ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἤκοντα· περιπτύξαι 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 1923, 310 [172] – 311 [173] (comm.), 336 [198] – 337 [199]. All these examples show that modern scholarly interpretations based solely on the sources’ formulaic or rhetorical language cannot fully describe the complex and multidimensional nature of relations between Rhomaioi and the Papacy in the period under examination; *pace* Coureas 1994, 285: ‘τὸ γεγονός ὅτι οἱ κληρικοὶ τῆς μονῆς [i.e., St George of Mangana], ὅπως καὶ οἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι ἀντίπαλοί της, ἐπικαλοῦσαν [sic] τὴ δικαιοδοσία τοῦ πάπα τῆς

the Cypriot Rhomaic 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 protection in the Holy Land, Sinai and Athos. This policy of rapprochement enabled the Cypriot Rhomaic monastic communities to seek protection and privileges by participating in the dominant administrative framework provided by the Western Church.²⁰⁹ Perhaps the monks of Agros and Stylos had initially been involved in this process only for the good of their communities, without considering their submission as alienation from their Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition. It is difficult to ascertain whether their long-term contacts with the Latins eventually extended their obedience over issues of doctrine and practice.²¹⁰ Similarly, while we may detect motives of personal interest in cases of fourteenth-century Rhomaioi who received benefices and ecclesiastical offices by the Papacy as reward for their obedience, we cannot ascertain whether these *devoti* perceived their submission as superficial or sincere.²¹¹ Consequently, the spiritual and temporal reasons behind the Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy in the 1240s, examined in the context of papal and Orthodox monastic policies, obscure the degree of sincerity in the obedience expressed by the island's Rhomaioi towards the Latin Church.

Other Cypriot Rhomaioi continued to pursue a line of non-coercive resistance to Latinisation. In 1246, for instance, Innocent IV instructed the Latin archbishop of Nicosia to reform the monasteries of disobedient Rhomaioi who provided support to Rhomaioi heretics.²¹² This was clearly a reference to persecuted Orthodox Cypriots who refused to recognise papal authority and regarded the Western Church as 'the church of conquerors rather than the church of God'.²¹³ Clearly, similarities in doctrine, practice and devotion did not suffice to heal the wounds opened by the Latin conquest and papal policy. Admittedly, throughout the period of the Latin rule, expressions of

Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς ἐπίλυση τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ πρὸς ἱκανοποίηση τῶν διεκδικήσεών τους ὑποδηλώνει ὅτι στὴν πράξη οἱ Ἕλληνες κληρικοὶ τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὸν 14^ο αἰῶνα ἦσαν Οὐνίτες'; Schabel in *SN*, 60-61 ('Greek rite Catholics'); Coureas et al. 2012, 165. Papadopoulos 1995b, 604, too, notes that the term *devoti* can be considered as formulaic, rather than descriptive.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Voisin 2013b, 16.

²¹⁰ The rapprochement of these monasteries with the Papacy continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Coureas 2009, 220-222; Coureas 2010, 468-469.

²¹¹ See, e.g., *BC* III, 191 (t-66), 275 (t-484), 282 (t-527, t-528), 291 (t-594), 359 (u-288), 375 (v-27).

²¹² *BC* I, 357-358 (e-17), trans. in *SN*, 301.X.17.

²¹³ Locke 1995, 221.

anti-Latinism fluctuated and remained for the most part non-coercive; yet, the sincerity of Cypriot Rhomaic reconciliation with the Papacy was largely undermined by the continuation of Orthodox awareness that the two Churches were separated by non-negligible differences in theology, ecclesiology and practice. Ultimately, the officialisation of Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy in 1260 meant that Orthodox resistance was simply transformed; it never died out.

In the late 1240s, Pope Innocent IV pursued a policy of *détente* that contributed to depolarisation in the relations between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. This was partly a reaction to the re-establishment of Muslim (Ayyubid) control over Jerusalem (1244), following a brief period of Western recovery as a result of the Crusading activities of the German Emperor Frederick II (1229). The loss of Jerusalem upgraded the significance of the Principality of Antioch, where the Latin and Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchies had remained in conflict since the twelfth century. In a manoeuvre of papal diplomacy, the Papal Legate Lawrence of Orte (1246–1247) persuaded the Antiochene Patriarch David I (ca. 1245–ante 1258), to recognise papal authority. Interestingly, Patriarch David, whose predecessors had been forced to leave Antioch, was to be placed directly (*nullo medio*) under Innocent IV's authority. The benefits of this arrangement were that the Rhomaioi patriarchs of Antioch would be allowed to reside in their see, enjoying papal protection and remaining free from the jurisdiction of other Latin prelates. Although the policy promoted by Innocent IV and Lawrence of Orte eventually failed to bring sincere reconciliation in Antioch, it provided the basis for a similar arrangement in Cyprus.²¹⁴

Indeed, Lawrence of Orte came in contact with Archbishop Neophytos, persuading the latter to return to Cyprus in order to resume negotiations over the status of Cypriot Rhomaic clergy. In 1250, Neophytos requested from Odo of Châteauroux, Lawrence's successor, to be placed *nullo medio* under papal authority but to retain full jurisdiction

²¹⁴ BC I, 358-359 (e-18), 368-370 (e-28). According to Schabel (*ibid.*, 358, 370), the anonymous patriarch of Antioch mentioned in papal correspondence was probably Symeon II (1206–post 1239). The chronology of Antiochene patriarchs is problematic. On the events described above see generally Hamilton 1980, 258-263, 322-326, who opts for David I (on the chronology of his patriarchate see 374). Nasrallah 1968, 4-6 (esp. at 4), states that David's patriarchate lasted between ca. 1242 and post 1247. Papadopoulos 1951, 947-952, simply notes that David was pro-Latin and dates his patriarchate after 1235, possibly following Le Quien 1740, 761-763. Constantius I 1873, 176 (n. 4), does not include David in his list of Antiochene patriarchs. Parker 2012, 103, simply states that David reigned in exile.

over his clergy and flock. In addition, he asked for the restoration of Rhomaic bishoprics to their former number (fourteen and not four).²¹⁵ Clearly, Neophytos' proposal to Odo marked a critical moment for the island's Orthodox Church. Taking into consideration the previously uncompromising stance of the exiles, their subsequent request for an arrangement with the Papacy signifies the beginning of a *modus vivendi* that enabled the gradual transformation of Orthodox responses to Latinisation: the passage from open to more covert ways of resistance. Neophytos' proposal for submission to the Papacy should be interpreted as part of a policy of *οἰκονομία*, probably aiming to slow down the tempo of Latinisation among the Cypriot Rhomaioi, who had remained without pastoral leadership for a decade. Like the monks of Agros and Stylos, Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics in the 1240s and 1250s became increasingly aware that the only way for them to preserve their distinct identity as a Church under Latin rule was by submitting to papal authority.²¹⁶

The negotiations were postponed by Archbishop Neophytos' death in 1251 and the procedures for the election of his successor, Germanos Pēsimandros (ca. 1254–post 1274). Moreover, the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, Hugh of Fagiano (1250–1267), was not willing to accept the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal, which he perceived as a threat to the numerically weaker Latin Church. In 1254, Pope Innocent decided to pursue the *via media*. He placed the Cypriot Rhomaioi under his protection and gave instructions to the Latin hierarchy to tolerate the Rhomaic customs, although changes should be applied in several issues, including canonical hours, clerical orders and the administering of the sacrament of Unction. In addition, the Latin hierarchy was entrusted with the task of enforcing papal regulations in cases of disobedience. More important for our examination is Innocent's instruction that the Cypriot Rhomaioi should adopt the term 'Purgatory' to describe the purgation of souls in the afterlife.

²¹⁵ BC I, 381-385 (e-42), with trans. in SN, 302-304.X.18.

²¹⁶ See also the discussion by Hill 1948, 1054; Hamilton 1980, 324; Kirimitsis 1983, 20-22; Papadopoulos 1995b, 586-589; Coureas 1997, 289-291; Schabel 2006b, 190. The same concern for autonomy and the establishment of a network of direct contacts with the imperial conqueror appears, *mutatis mutandis*, in the relations between the Orthodox Cypriot Church and the Sublime Porte. In 1660, the island's Orthodox prelates were given the task to distribute and collect ecclesiastical and state taxes. In 1754, they were officially upgraded into local leaders (*kocabashi*): Michael 2009, 210-217 (esp. at 213: 'any desire for autonomy must be understood as a tendency for an exclusive or at least as powerful as possible political authority on a local level, always however within the Ottoman framework'). For the internal autonomy and broad ecclesio-jurisdictional responsibilities of the Cypriot Church in Early Byzantium see generally: Lokin 1986, 1-9; Kyriacou 2010, 41-55.

This was probably the first papal definition of Purgatory and became one of the thorniest points of doctrinal disagreement between the two communities during the period of the Late Frankish and Venetian rule.²¹⁷

Soon after Innocent's death (December 1254), Hugh of Fagiano seized the opportunity to exercise pressure on Pēsimandros. Pope Alexander IV's (1254–1261) intervention led to the promulgation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260), which officialised the submission of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy and flock to the Papacy until 1571. The *Bulla* regulated that Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops should preserve their episcopal status and could only be transferred, condemned or deposed by the pope. Furthermore, the Rhomaioi were permitted to elect their bishops and keep their ecclesiastical courts. The *Bulla* sanctioned the reduction of Cypriot Rhomaic bishoprics from fourteen to four and the expulsion of Rhomaioi bishops from their ancient sees to rural areas. Although Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops were to be elected and ordained by their own clergy, they would still have to take an oath of submission before their Latin diocesans. As we shall see below, the oath's observance in the early fifteenth century was one of the reasons that led Constantinople to reject the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for covert ecclesiastical union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.²¹⁸ The *Bulla* sanctioned the toleration of rites that did not come into conflict with the Catholic faith. The Cypriot Rhomaic clergy were obliged to participate in annual councils convoked by the Latin diocesans. The latter were instructed to pay regular visits to the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops in order to supervise the enforcement of papal regulations. Following Pēsimandros' death or resignation, the rights and status of the Rhomaioi archbishop should pass to his Latin counterpart. The Cypriot Rhomaioi archbishop should be replaced by the Rhomaioi bishop of Solea, who should be placed under the direct authority of the Latin archbishop. The Syrian Melkites were subject to the same arrangements as the rest of the Orthodox clergy and flock.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ BC I, 391 (e-50), 422-423 (e-81), 423-424 (e-82), 425-432 (e-84) (trans. and comm. in *SN*, 65-66, 304.X.19, 305-306.X.21, 306.X.22, 307-311.X.23); CSS, 238-244.93; Bassett 1967, 31; Kirmitsis 1983, 22-24, 31-36; Le Goff 1984, 283-284; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 399; Papadopoullos 1995b, 590-592; Coureas 1997, 291-296; Duba 2000, 169-172; Schabel 2006b, 186-187. Englezakis 1996, 41-42, traces the Orthodox reaction to Purgatory already back to the times of Neophytos the Recluse and the mural paintings of his Hermitage. On Purgatory see also below, 293-294, 331-332, 344, and App. III, 438-457.

²¹⁸ See below, 259-261.

²¹⁹ For the Latin text of the *Bulla Cypria* see BC I, 502-515 (f-35). A copy was included in CSS, 194-205.78 (trans. and comm. in *SN*, 68-71, 311-320.X.25).

Admittedly, the *Bulla Cypria* enabled the establishment of a *modus vivendi* in the relations between the two Churches, which lasted until the island's Ottoman conquest and occasionally offered to the Cypriot Rhomaioi protection from harassment.²²⁰ Under the semblance of a compromise, however, the *Bulla* constituted institutional Latinisation because it provided official authorisation for the Cypriot Rhomaic subordination to the Papacy.²²¹ The content of the *Bulla*, particularly the oath to the Papacy, came to be known among the Cypriot Rhomaioi as 'the submission' (*ύποταγή*).²²² From an ecclesiological perspective, the *Bulla* was an expression of papal supremacy that came into sharp contradiction with the conciliar spirit of Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiology. Although the Cypriot Rhomaioi might have been consulted during the negotiations, the fact that only Pope Alexander and his cardinals eventually signed the text of the *Bulla*, indicates the obvious lack of equality and interdependence in the agreement of 1260.²²³ The *Bulla* was also the final act in the abolition of the Cypriot autocephaly, ignoring the decrees of two Ecumenical Councils: the Ephesine (431) and the Trulline (692).²²⁴ Above all, the *Bulla* exposed the Cypriot Rhomaioi to the threat of doctrinal and liturgical Latinisation, since it enabled the Papacy and its representatives in Cyprus to decide 'what to tolerate and what to suppress' in the Rhomaic rites and customs.²²⁵

²²⁰ See, e.g., Schabel 2006b, 197.

²²¹ Cf. Englezakis 1996, 45-46.

²²² On Greek translations of the *Bulla Cypria* see: Darrouzès 1979, 6-22, 82.1-86.3; Ioannides 2000, 335-372, in which the *Bulla* is mentioned as 'agreement' (*συμφωνία*), 'command' (*όρδινιασμός*), 'pact' (*συνθήκη*) and 'submission' (*ύποταγή*). Various terms may coexist in the same version. The oath to the Papacy is mentioned at least once as *τάξη τής ύποταγής* ('ordinance of submission').

²²³ On the notion on inequality cf. Papadopoulos 1995a, 759-760.

²²⁴ Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 205.

²²⁵ Bassett 1967, 31; cf. Papadopoulos 1995b, 599 (esp. at n. 149). One should also consult the conflicting views and interpretations of the *Bulla Cypria* by modern scholars: Hackett ²1972, 112-124 (esp. at 123-124: 'All power was completely vested in the Latin Archbishop and his suffragans. The Greeks were regarded merely as their representatives among the members of their own communion'); Hill 1948, 1059-1061 (esp. at 1061: 'Curious compromise'); Magoulias 1964, 90-92 (esp. at 92: 'Abject and total submission of the Cypriots to the Latins'); Kyrris 1993b, 161-163 (esp. at 161: 'Η περίεργη [...] σύγκρουση μεταξύ τής Λατινικής Ίεραρχίας τής Κύπρου και τής «πιστής» στη Ρώμη και στόν «καθολικισμό» Έλληνικής Ίεραρχίας [...] έφτασε θεωρητικά στο τέρας της'); Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 205-206 (esp. at 205: 'The Orthodox Church of Cyprus was to fare no better under Roman centralism [...] its autonomy had vanished. That it had been autocephalous since 431 and was allowed to elect its own primate was beside the point'); Papadopoulos 1995b, 592-602 (esp. at 595: 'Περιεχόμενο [...] κυρίως διοικητικό, έμμέσως δέ και δογματικό'); Richard 1996, 12-31 (esp. at 31: 'La constitution [...] n'a pas été ressentie par les Grecs comme une aggravation de leur situation [...] Bien au contraire, elle représente un aménagement de la condition qui leur était faite [...] la résultat d'un négociation, et non comme un acte d'autorité'; cf. Schabel in *SN*, 39-40: 'The story that unfolded in the works of Hackett and Hill was that a Latin hierarchy was established in violation of canon law [...]. Perhaps not surprisingly, historians from predominantly

The 1260s were marked by expressions of polarisation and opposition against the *modus vivendi* promoted by the *Bulla Cypria*. Manifestations of coercive anti-Latinism came on the part of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Melkite Syrian members of the laity and were directed against Byzantine-rite ecclesiastics and their families who had accepted the *Bulla*. The pro-Latin clergymen were attacked and had their properties despoiled, which led them to a state of poverty and forced them to seek the Papacy's protection. Pope Urban IV (1261–1264) appealed to the Lusignan authorities in order to employ the secular arm against the disobedient Rhomaioi.²²⁶

Yet, the secular administration of Cyprus remained unresponsive to papal calls for the exercise of anti-Rhomaic coercion. The Byzantine restoration of power in Constantinople and Northern Greece must have contributed to this policy. It should be mentioned that in 1261, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) recovered Constantinople and forged an alliance with the Genoese against the forces of the Latin Empire and the Venetians. In 1262, Michael's agents called the Rhomaic nobility of Crete to an anti-Venetian insurrection, leading to the revolts of 1262–1267 and 1272–1275.²²⁷ In 1263, Pope Urban expressed the fear that Michael VIII would employ Genoese help to bring Cyprus under Byzantium and that the Cypriot Rhomaioi, who were hoping to be liberated from their masters' yoke (*a iugo vestri domini*), would collaborate with him.²²⁸ Although the Byzantines never attempted to recover Cyprus, the restoration of the Byzantine imperial authority seems to have intensified Cypriot Rhomaic opposition against the *Bulla Cypria*, revealing the ethnic dimension of Orthodox identity in thirteenth-century Cyprus.²²⁹ Thus, the strong reluctance of the Frankish regime to punish the disobedient Rhomaioi should be considered as a

Catholic countries have a different view. The leading French expert [...] Jean Richard [...] has come to see the relationship between the Churches after the *Bulla Cypria* as a generally peaceful compromise [...]; Coureas 1997, 297-302 (esp. at 298: 'A reversion to the earlier 1220 and 1223 agreements, but the important difference to note is that the Orthodox church was party to the *Bulla* [...]); Schabel 2006b, 191-197 (esp. at 191: 'Rather than abolishing the independence and rights of the Greek clergy, the *Bulla Cypria* guaranteed the existence of a separate, partially independent, but also subordinate Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy after 1260').

²²⁶ BC II, 4-6 (g-2), 8-14 (g-6), 14-18 (g-7), 21-23 (g-9), 39-44 (g-27), 44-47 (g-28); CSS, 95-99.11, 184-186.75, 186-191.76, 190-194.77, 205-208.79, 210-212.81 (trans. and comm. in SN, 71-72, 320-323.X.26, 324-325.X.27, 325-328.X.29). It is not clear whether the Rhomaic attack against Hugh of Fagiano's nuncios mentioned in BC II, 48-51 (g-29) should be interpreted in the context of anti-Latin coercion provoked by the *Bulla Cypria*.

²²⁷ Ahrweiler 1966, 328-273; Svoronos 1989, 7-8.

²²⁸ BC II, 18-21 (g-8); cf. 6 (g-3), 36-37 (g-23).

²²⁹ Papadopoulos 1995b, 604-606; Coureas 1997, 302-304; Schabel in SN, 71; Schabel 2006b, 192-193.

prudent decision to respect the *status quo* and focus instead on urgent political matters, including the succession of King Henry I (d. 1253/4) and the defence of Acre against Baybars (1260–1277), the Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt.²³⁰

In 1267, there were still Rhomaioi abbots, monks and priests who refused to accept the *Bulla Cypria* and were probably in schism with their own prelates.²³¹ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, relations between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins seem to have been improved, since there is no indication of anti-Latin coercion or open clashes over the implementation of the *Bulla*. In 1301, for example, the Cypriot Rhomaioi requested from Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) to arbitrate the elections for the future bishop of Solea.²³²

Political developments enhanced the cultivation of Christian unity. When Acre was conquered by the Mamlūks in 1291, Cyprus became the most important Crusader State in the Levant and a haven for refugees from Syria.²³³ Sometime towards the end of the thirteenth century, members of the House of Ravendel, a noble Latin family previously established in Syria, 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 Rhomaic monastery of St Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, and underlines the rapprochement between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi in the aftermath of the fall of Acre.²³⁴ 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 attributed to Bishop Paul of Sidon (fl. post ca. 1050–ante ca. 1200?) and sent it to Damascus in order to be examined by Muslim theologians. The Arabic treatise preached the supremacy of Christian faith over Islam and has been interpreted by modern scholars as an attempt to support, on a spiritual level, the Crusader plans for the reconquest of the Levant. Thus, the treatise suggests bonds of solidarity between an Orthodox Syrian (Melkite) theologian and the

²³⁰ Edbury 1991, 86-95; Papadopoulos 1995b, 605-606; Coureas 1997, 302-305; Schabel 2006b, 192-193.

²³¹ CSS, 269-270.106 (trans. in SN, 328-329.X.31).

²³² BC II, 262-270 (o-50), (trans. and comm. in SN, 72, 74-75, 333-339.X.33); Coureas 1997, 310, 313-314; Schabel 2006b, 196-197; Coureas et al. 2012, 133.

²³³ Edbury 1991, 99-109; Forey 1995, 70. On refugees from Syria see further discussion below, 170-171.

²³⁴ Papageorghiou 1992, 46, 49, 52-53; Triantaphyllopoulos 2009, 70-89; Eliades 2009b, 90-97; Imhaus et al. 2013, 59-107.

Latin secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Cyprus.²³⁵ The same sense of Christian solidarity is expressed 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.²³⁶

In summary, the process of Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy was gradual and evolving. The pastoral vacuum created by the self-exile of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy in the 1240s seems to have facilitated the recognition of papal authority by a number of monastic communities and members of the laity. Pronouncements of obedience to the Papacy on the part of monastic communities in the Holy Land, Sinai and Athos might have encouraged the adoption of a policy of superficial submission to the Western Church, in order to secure a degree of Cypriot Rhomaic autonomy in matters of faith and papal protection over monastic properties, rights and privileges. Cypriot Rhomaic acceptance of papal authority appears to have also been motivated by spiritual reasons (e.g., similarities in ascetic praxis, common doctrines, shared veneration and devotions). Different attitudes towards local veneration provide evidence for the crystallisation of different religious identities. While the Latin Church promoted its own saints and manipulated local veneration of Byzantine saints, some Rhomaioi expressed their reverence for both Byzantine and Crusader saints and others remained exclusively attached to veneration sanctioned by the Orthodox Church. Consequently, the existence of both temporal and spiritual reasons behind the Cypriot Rhomaic recognition of papal authority, and the formulaic language employed in papal correspondence to describe cases of submission to the Papacy, often create difficulties in ascertaining whether obedience to Rome was sincere or superficial.

The papal policy of *détente* in the late 1240s resulted in the depolarisation of relations between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi. The Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy proposed the restoration of its former rights in exchange for direct submission to the Papacy. This proposal was met with opposition on the part of the Latin Church, leading to the Papacy's intervention and the promulgation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260). The *Bulla*, which remained in effect until 1571, provided the basis for a *modus vivendi* and enabled the toleration of Rhomaic faith and practices. However, it sanctioned the submission of the

²³⁵ Ebied and Thomas 2005, esp. at 1-35; Thomas 2005, 297-322; Coureas 2010, 431-432.

²³⁶ Cobham 1908, 24.

Cypriot Rhomaioi to the Western Church and exposed them to the Papacy's determination to approve or reject rites and customs that did not comply with the Latin standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

The 1260s were dominated by a new wave of polarisation, though the Frankish regime prudently chose not to punish the disobedient Rhomaioi. By the early thirteenth century, it appears that coercive anti-Latinism had died out and that the *Bulla Cypria* regulated the relations between the two Churches. The Muslim conquest of the Levantine Crusader States and the influx of refugees from Syria enhanced the cultivation of Christian unity on the island. However, there is evidence that anti-Latin resistance was expressed in covert and non-coercive ways, revealing the adaptation and preservation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the new conditions created by the *Bulla Cypria*.

I.4. Memory as resistance

The employment of memory as a response to Latinisation attests to the adaptation of Orthodox identity in the period following the promulgation of the *Bulla Cypria*. The notion of resistance should not strictly be interpreted in terms of open hostility or coercive opposition to domination. In a seminal study on the archaeology of colonialism in Cyprus and other areas, Michael Given argues that resistance encompasses a 'wide spectrum of meanings', consisting of 'unconscious patterns of everyday behaviour' and 'deliberate but discrete acts of defiance'.²³⁷ He correctly 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.²³⁸ In addition, expressions of resistance could reflect the human need to interpret and endure the difficulties and seemingly incomprehensible tragedies of life. According to Victor E. Frankl (1905–1997), leading psychiatrist and Holocaust survivor, 'man's search for meaning is the primary motivation in his life [...]. What matters [...] is not the meaning of life in general but rather the specific meaning of a person's life in a given moment. [...] What can never

²³⁷ Given 2004, 11.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7; cf. *ibid.*, 14, 103, 109, 116-117, 119, 120, 131, 134-135, 138-140, 149, 160-161, 163, 165. Similar expressions of resistance have been extensively discussed in Scott 1985; Scott 1990.

be ruled out is the unavoidability of suffering. [...] 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'.²³⁹

Consequently, 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 enabled the conquered and humiliated Cypriot Rhomaioi to challenge the *status quo* in non-coercive ways, following the tradition of spiritual resistance pursued by Neophytos the Recluse and the Monks of Kantara. This permitted the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity, since it involved covert expressions of ethnic identity and religious exclusivism against the correctness of Latin doctrines and practices. Second, the recollection and re-interpretation of traumatic experiences associated with the Latin rule helped the Cypriot Rhomaioi endure the destabilisation of socio-political and ecclesiastical order caused by the Crusader conquest and the Papacy's ecclesiastical policy on the island.

The anonymous *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers* (hereafter: *Kantara Narrative*), our main source for the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara (1231), was probably composed sometime between 1275 and 1282.²⁴⁰ This period coincided with the tenure of the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, Ranulph (1273–1283), whose reforming activities and antagonism with Pēsimandros' successor, Bishop Neophytos of Solea (ante 1283–ante 1287), threatened to disturb the delicate religious peace on the island. Ranulph's conflict with both Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and his own cathedral chapter eventually led to his removal from Cyprus. It seems that around the same period, a number of Rhomaioi priests and monks were persecuted for rejecting the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. Clearly, sacramental practices continued to be a source of friction in the relations between the two communities, which must have revived memories of the 1231 martyrdom.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Frankl 2011, 80, 88, 92, 95-96.

²⁴⁰ Englezakis 2012, 297; cf. Papadopoulos in Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, 308-309; Schabel 2004b, 86. An earlier dating of the *Kantara Narrative* (Goumarides 1986, 330-331; Schabel 2010b, 4, 16-17) seems to me less probable.

²⁴¹ On the clash between Ranulph and Bishop Neophytos of Solea see *BC* II, 216-221 (o-23). A number of regulations promulgated by Ranulph have been published and translated by Schabel in *SN*, 116-153.B, with comments at 72-73. On the Rhomaic rejection of unleavened bread see *ibid.*, 73 (comm.), 142-

The *Kantara Narrative's* composition might have been influenced by the anti-Latin rhetoric of the Arsenites, a group of ultra-conservative Byzantine churchmen who challenged the legitimacy of Michael VIII and opposed his ecclesiastical policy. The Arsenites were in schism with the Patriarchate of Constantinople (1265–1310) and criticised Michael VIII's attempts to achieve union with the Papacy. Since groups of Arsenites were probably active in southern Asia Minor, it is not surprising that their presence could also be attested in Cyprus, where they seem to have opposed both Latin and Rhomaic ecclesiastical authority.²⁴² 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. The ephemeral 'Union' of Lyons, which Michael VIII had intended to employ against the Angevin attempts to restore the Latin Empire of Constantinople, was rejected by both Arsenites and members of the Orthodox clergy and was solemnly denounced after the Emperor's death in 1282. Interestingly, the 'Union' reaffirmed the canonical validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, although it did not sanction its imposition on the Orthodox.²⁴³ What is noteworthy is that a Rhomaios 'archbishop of Nicosia' (*Archiepiscopum Nicosiensem*), perhaps a reference to Pēsimandros, is mentioned by a conciliar report as being present in the Second Council of Lyons. We may assume that Pēsimandros had accepted the 'Union' of 1274, following the line pursued by the Papacy, Michael VIII and Patriarch John XI Bekkos (1275–1282). Therefore, the *Kantara Narrative* could be interpreted as an Orthodox Cypriot response to Pēsimandros'

145.B.18.g. See also the discussion in Papadopoulos 1995b, 603-604; Coureas 1997, 306-310; Schabel 2000–2001, 225-226; Schabel 2004b, 80-90; Coureas et al. 2012, 133.

²⁴² On the Arsenites see generally: Kontogiannopoulou 1998, 179-235; Gounarides 1999. A collection of canon law from the bishopric of Arsinoē in Paphos contains a number of strict condemnations against schismatic clergymen who refused to recognise the authority of the local Rhomaios bishop. These condemnations appear to have adopted the language employed in a fourteenth-century Byzantine canon 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 1979, 77-78, 116-117.10.6; Gounarides 1986, 322-326. Around the same period, two papal letters, dating 1288 and 1290 respectively, mention rather vaguely the presence of 'heretics' and 'schismatics' in Armenian Cilicia and Cyprus: BC II, 138-140 (n-2), 157-158 (n-14).

²⁴³ On the Council of Lyons see generally: Nicol 1976, 157-160; Papadakis 1986, 14-28; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 220-227; Arambatzis 1999, 199-251; Kolbaba 2011, 43-68. On the reaffirmation of the use of unleavened bread see Schabel 2011, 96.

unionist stance.²⁴⁴ The incorporation of the *Kantara Narrative* in an early fourteenth-century dossier of anti-Latin texts underlines its Orthodox apologetic character.²⁴⁵

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 an earlier hagiographical text on the Kantara Monks, the aforementioned Nicene treatise *On the Schism*, confirms the axiom *recentiores non deteriores*, in terms of the accuracy of sources.²⁴⁶ While the Nicene source is highlighted by vivid and dramatic details that emphasise Latin expressions of coercion and disrespect towards the Monks and their relics, the *Kantara Narrative* seems to pay less attention to dramatisation, focusing instead on the presentation of events and their theological interpretation and transmission.²⁴⁷ The fact that the *Kantara Narrative's* anonymous author (hereafter: Anonymous) was familiar with the Scriptures, Byzantine liturgical rite and epic hagiography (*passions épiques*) indicates that he was probably a member of the clergy or a monk.²⁴⁸ In addition, textual similarities between the *Kantara Narrative* and the Monks' hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith* demonstrate that the Anonymous had used the latter as a source.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ The reference to Pēsimandros' presence at Lyons is in Mansi XXIV, 66C. See also: Hill 1948, 1056 (n.1); Schabel 2000–2001, 223. Englezakis 2012, 297, dates the composition of the narrative during Bekkos' patriarchate.

²⁴⁵ *Parisinus graecus* 1335 is the earliest codex containing the *Narrative*. The manuscript also contains Neophytos the Recluse's treatise *On the misfortunes of the island of Cyprus*, inventories of Cypriot Rhomaic bishoprics under Byzantium, Patriarch Germanos' letters to the Cypriot Rhomaioi and his correspondence with Pope Gregory IX on the occasion of the Monks' martyrdom: Papadopoullos in Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, 307-308, citing the description by Omont 1888, 14-16.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Browning 1960, 11-21. On the Nicene treatise see above, 42.

²⁴⁷ According to the Nicene version of the martyrdom, a Latin knight hit one of his Monks with his club, while the latter was praying in the bonfire. Moreover, the Monks' remains were found to be untouched by fire, attesting to their correction of faith. The Latins mixed the martyrs' relics with unclean bones of dead animals and burned them for a second time in order to complete the cremation. These details are not included in the *Kantara Narrative: TST*, 70-72 (comm.), 78.69-76; Gounarides 1986, 313-314, 328-331. A hitherto unpublished *Synaxarion* mentions that the Latins hit the Monks with sticks: App. I, 419.II.2.115-116. On the historical reliability of the *Narrative* see also Schabel 2010b, 4.

²⁴⁸ Gounarides 1986, 314-317, 320-321, 328-329. On the *genre of passions épiques* one should also consult: Delehaye 1921, esp. at 236-315; Detoraki 2014, 63, 66, 68, 71, 90. It is quite likely that the *Kantara Narrative's* author was familiar with Patriarch Germanos' letter to Gregory IX in the aftermath of the martyrdom. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that both Patriarch Germanos and the Anonymous quote Ps 65:12: Germanos II, *Letter to Gregory IX*, ed. Sathas, 44; Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoullos, 337.11-14 (esp. at 13-14); cf. Gounarides 1986, 330. References to the Psalms and other Old Testament books are always to the LXX translation.

²⁴⁹ See various passages from the *Narrative* that present similarities with the *Confession* and are cited in the *apparatus* of App. I, 415-417.

There is adequate evidence to support the view that the *Kantara Narrative* was based on earlier eyewitness testimonies, which passed down from generation to generation until the text's composition around the mid-1270s. The employment of mnemonic techniques by the Anonymous must have initially served the accurate preservation of stories on the Monks and their martyrdom in the interim between 1231 and the composition of the *Kantara Narrative*.²⁵⁰ An interesting parallel of controlled eyewitness testimony could be traced in the concern of the primitive Church to accurately preserve and transmit oral traditions concerning Christ and the Apostles.²⁵¹ Richard Bauckham, for example, has argued that the mnemonic techniques of 'schematisation', 'narrativisation' and 'meaning' were used in the Gospels to facilitate the memorisation, recollection and interpretation of eyewitness testimonies concerning Christ's life and ministry.²⁵² Similarly, the Anonymous appears to have adopted and retained in the *Kantara Narrative* mnemonic techniques that might have previously been employed by members of the Cypriot Rhomaic community in order to memorise, recollect and interpret eyewitness testimonies concerning the Monks' martyrdom. Consequently, the *Kantara Narrative* introduces the Monks in order and symmetry, revealing a tendency for schematisation and narrativisation.²⁵³ In addition, scriptural and liturgical passages provide a basis for identifying the Monks with biblical models and, thus, interpret their martyrdom as spiritual struggle in defence of Orthodoxy.²⁵⁴ This is confirmed, for example, in the quotation of Psalms and the use of long speeches, which facilitate the

²⁵⁰ The use of mnemonics has been first noted by Gounarides 1986, 327-328.

²⁵¹ 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 memorisation 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 some aspects of the tradition that are 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: Bailey 1995, 4-11; Bauckham 2006, 252-257. In defining the concept of 'formal controlled tradition', Bailey follows the Scandinavian school in New Testament studies.

²⁵² 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 memorisation. 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: Bauckham 2006, 319-357.

²⁵³ Gounarides 1986, 314-317, 328. The same techniques, including rhetorical wordplays, were employed in the composition of a *Synaxarion* on the Monks' martyrdom: App. I, 418.II.1.

²⁵⁴ On the Monks' sacrifice as spiritual struggle see above, 61-62.

Kantara Narrative's apologetic aims and organise the material, probably in order to permit its schematic memorisation and recitation.²⁵⁵

The absence of references to the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy, which by 1260 had submitted to the Papacy, is most likely deliberate and mirrors the anti-hierarchical, philo-monastic and strictly Orthodox sentiments of the Anonymous and his entourage at the time of Ranulph's tenure and anti-unionist opposition to Michael VIII's ecclesiastical policy.²⁵⁶ Clearly, the *Kantara Narrative* advocated the imitation of the Monks' non-coercive resistance against the canonical validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The preservation, interpretation and transmission of memories by the Anonymous in the late thirteenth century demonstrates how the management of traumatic past experiences became an instrument of covert anti-Latin resistance and Orthodox Rhomaic 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 non-coercive resistance and Orthodox Rhomaic identity. This was part of a process described by Anthony D. Smith as 'naturalisation' of communities, denoting perceptions of inseparability from the homeland and 'fusion' with its specific characteristics that enabled the 'territorialisation of memories'.²⁵⁷ In the same vein, archaeologists remind us that landscapes can be connected with ancestry, unfolding physical and symbolic interconnections between the familiar world of everyday life and the transcended realm of the divine. Therefore, land, places, people and material objects are closely linked together.²⁵⁸ Recent archaeological studies in northern Troodos by the Sydney

²⁵⁵ Gounarides 1986, 314-317, 320-322, 328-329; Detoraki 2014, 63, 90.

²⁵⁶ It has been suggested that the *Kantara 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 Rhomaic bishoprics before the Latin conquest (thirteen bishoprics plus the archbishopric): Gounarides 1986, 327-328; cf. Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 12.

²⁵⁷ Smith 2009a, 50: '[...] Historical memories of personages, battles, assemblies and the like are closely linked to the intimate landscapes of the homeland, which in turn become intrinsic to those shared memories. If the community is thereby 'naturalised' and becomes a part of its environment, its landscapes become conversely 'historicised' and bear the imprint of the community's peculiar historical development. Through these processes, the territorialisation of memories and attachments creates the idea of a homeland tied to a particular people and, conversely, of a people inseparable from a specific ethno-scape –much as the Dutch became increasingly 'fused' with their irrigated plains and polders, and the Swiss with their Alpine mountains and valleys.'

²⁵⁸ Thomas 2001, 165-186 (esp. at 175-176).

Cyprus Survey Project (1992–1997) 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.²⁵⁹ We may assume that the relative stability of Cypriot rural population throughout the Latin rule must have enabled the ‘territorialisation of memories’ as part of the naturalisation of Orthodox Cypriot ethno-religious identity.²⁶⁰

The fifteenth-century *Narrative of the Kykkos icon* (hereafter: *Kykkos Narrative*) relates the story of the rainmaking palladium icon of the Virgin preserved in the monastery of the Virgin of Kykkos in the area of Marathasa, Troodos. The *Kykkos Narrative’s* anonymous author, probably a member of the community, mentions that his source had been Gregory of Marathasa (d. 1421/2), a centenarian monk from Kykkos. Gregory must have been well-informed about the history of his monastery, for he had consulted the community’s archives, which were later destroyed during a catastrophic fire that rased 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 the Virgin’s miraculous intervention. The monastery was reconstructed thanks to Lusignan patronage and the voluntary work of local villagers.²⁶¹ The reputation of the Kykkos icon reached a point of climax soon after 1365. This is attested by the painting of several replicas between the late fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The fact that many of these icons come from Marathasa would suggest that the veneration of the Kykkos palladium was primarily promoted by Cypriot Rhomaioi *potentes* of the local rural society, rather than the Latin political and ecclesiastical authorities.²⁶² In the fifteenth century, Leontios Machairas mentioned in his *Chronicle* that the venerable icon of Kykkos was considered to bring rainfall in

²⁵⁹ Knapp and Given 2004, 92; Given 2007, 145.

²⁶⁰ Grivaud has argued that nearly 70-90% of Cypriot villages continued to exist from the late twelfth to the sixteenth centuries: Grivaud 1996, 217-226 (esp. at 221-222, 225: 90%); Grivaud 1998b, 424 (70%); cf. Arbel 2000a, 455 (implies an even greater percentage).

²⁶¹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 93-114 (94.2-100.30: on the miraculous icons painted by St Luke; 100.31-101.10: on the monk Gregory; 101.11-111.2: on the foundation of the monastery and the donation of the Virgin’s icon, though the *Kykkos Narrative* seems to be confusing Alexios I with the usurper Isaac Komnēnos; 111.23-113.4: on the destruction of 1365 and the monastery’s reconstruction) and 51-70, 75-79, 115-160, 163-166 (comm.). See also the discussion by Kokkinoftas 2002, 131-132; Kyrris 2004, 61-89 (to be consulted with caution).

²⁶² Weyl Carr 2004, 103-164 (esp. at 117-118); Weyl Carr 2005a, 322-324; Chotzakoglou 2009, 47.

periods of drought.²⁶³ In the next century, the Venetians placed the monastery under their protection and recognised the rainmaking power of its icon, referring to Kykkos as 'St Mary of the Rain' (*Santa Maria della Pioggia*).²⁶⁴

Although the icon became an object of devotion for both Rhomaioi and Latins, the local monastic community continued to express its ethno-religious 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 destabilisation 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 of the forthcoming conquest. Following the coming of the Latins, the monastery's landed property was confiscated by the conquerors and the Cypriot Rhomaioi were forced by the *Bulla Cypria* into submission.²⁶⁵ The *Kykkos Narrative* interprets the miraculous preservation of the Kykkos icon during the fire of 1365 and the subsequent attraction of Latin patronage as parts of God's plan for the monastery's protection and prosperity.²⁶⁶

The continuous occupancy of the monastery by Rhomaioi monks throughout the centuries and the long-term stability of Rhomaic habitation in the area of Marathasa must have contributed to the territorialisation of memories associated with Kykkos' Orthodox Rhomaic identity.²⁶⁷ The detailed description of the confiscation of the monastery's landed property by the Latins in the *Kykkos Narrative* emphasises the community's historical rights and stresses its bonds with Byzantium, the source of Kykkos' former wealth.²⁶⁸ Moreover, while the Lusignans had recently supported the monastery's reconstruction after the destruction of 1365, the *Kykkos Narrative* only commemorates Byzantine emperors and Orthodox churchmen and laypeople and not

²⁶³ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §37 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 86-87).

²⁶⁴ Grivaud 1990b, 227; Weyl Carr 1999, 369.

²⁶⁵ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 111.3-22, and 78, 160-163 (comm.). The element of cosmic participation in tragic events echoes a common literary *topos* in Byzantine chronicles and laments for the fall of cities and the loss of heroes and holy people: Alexiou 2002, 66, 70-71, 89, 96-97, 112-113, 120-121, 168-170, 187-189, 190-191.

²⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 111.23-114.30, 164-170 (comm.).

²⁶⁷ On the habitation of the Marathasa Valley see generally: Grivaud 1998b, 17, 70, 72, 80, 90 (n. 89), 200-205, 208, 210-213, 215, 261, 343, 361-362, 377-378, 398, 468, 470; Kokkinoftas 2002, 119-138.

²⁶⁸ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 110.3-17, 111.9-14, 159-162 (comm.).

the Frankish kings.²⁶⁹ The miraculous icon itself, which had been painted according to the tradition by St Luke and donated to Kykkos by a Byzantine emperor, was a 'living' reminder of the island's ethno-religious links to Constantinople and Orthodoxy. It should be pointed out that 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.²⁷⁰ Thus, Kykkos' palladium was perceived by the fifteenth-century author of the *Kykkos Narrative* as an embodiment of ethno-religious memory and an instrument of divine providence that continued to shelter the monastery even after the Latin 'captivity' (αἰχμαλωσία) of Cyprus in 1191.²⁷¹

A last example of the function of territorialised memory as a mechanism of resistance comes from the fifteenth-century *Chronicle* of Leontios Machairas. The *Chronicle* describes the ill-fated anti-Templar Revolt of Nicosia (1192), which had been caused by the Order's oppressive economic policy and led to the establishment of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus.²⁷² According to Machairas, the spot where the rebels had been brutally killed by the Templars on the banks of River Pediaios was marked with a memorial stone, which continued to be known among fifteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi as the 'Stone of Freedom' (λίθος ἐλευθερίας). Although Machairas, 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 fifteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi, the 'Stone of Freedom' was an identity marker, since it reminded them of their ancestors' attempts to overthrow Templar rule and recover the island.²⁷³ Although we possess no information concerning Latin reactions to the 'Stone of Freedom', the aforementioned statement by Urban IV (1263) that the Cypriot Rhomaioi hoped to be liberated from the yoke of their masters seems to reflect the Pope's underlying fear that an anti-Latin uprising could

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 110.25-28.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 97.14-101.28. On the Hodēgētria icon see below, 173.

²⁷¹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 111.23-25.

²⁷² See above, 41.

²⁷³ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §11-12 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 70). One should also consult: Edbury 1991, 7-8; Kyrris 1989-1993, 226-227, 269-273; Asdracha 2005, 409-411; Leventis 2005, 15-17. On the revisionist position see: Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 64-71; Petre 2012, 8-17.

have shaken the Lusignan regime.²⁷⁴ The Latin concern for the preservation of the *status quo* continued in later periods, as demonstrated by the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt (1426–1427) and the Venetian policy of maintaining the established order on the island at any cost.²⁷⁵

The examination of the reciprocal relationship between memory and resistance reflects the adaptation of Cypriot Rhomaic ethno-religious identity in the conditions created by the *Bulla Cypria*. The recollection, preservation, (re-)interpretation and territorialisation of memories associated with Byzantium, the Latin conquest and papal coercion could be considered as manifestations of ethno-religious identity. The striking *longue durée* of memory preservation throughout the centuries of Latin rule suggests that ethno-religious identity needed to be constantly reaffirmed and negotiated. This is perhaps the reason why the author of the *Kykkos Narrative* interpreted fourteenth-century Latin patronage to the monastery as an expression of divine providence, without nevertheless diminishing the community's Byzantine Orthodox past and the negative impact of the Latin conquest. Similarly, the rising tide of anti-Latinism in the 1270s led to the composition of a philo-monastic, anti-hierarchical and strictly Orthodox hagiographical narrative on the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara, which advocated a line of spiritual resistance to Latinisation.

Last but not least, Leontios Machairas' reference to the 'Stone of Freedom' suggests that fifteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi were able to coexist with the Latins, while at the same time incorporating in their daily lives the visual reminder of a traumatic past experience. The fact that Machairas did not explicitly associate the 'Stone of Freedom' with coercive expressions of anti-Latinism in his own time shows that memorials like the above could have served as identity markers, without necessarily generating anti-Latin violence. Ultimately, the long-term continuation of resistance through memory shows that non-violence and non-coercion were integral elements of covert anti-Latinism.

²⁷⁴ See above, 84.

²⁷⁵ See below, 228-229, 320-325.

I.5. Conclusion

This chapter focused on Cypriot Rhomaic reactions to the Latin conquest (1191) and the gradual submission of the island's Orthodox Church to the Papacy in the thirteenth century, arguing for the development of non-coercive and non-violent resistance as a dominant response to Latin coercion. Admittedly, there was no complete rupture with the *status quo ante* 1191. This is confirmed, for example, by the expansion of royal patronage to Rhomaic monasteries, the participation of Cypriot Rhomaioi in Lusignan administration, the exemption of Cypriot Rhomaic clergy from feudal obligations and the preservation of the Byzantine liturgical rite and doctrines.

However, there is evidence that many Cypriot Rhomaioi perceived the consolidation of Latin political and ecclesiastical authority on the island in terms of discontinuity with the order established under Byzantium. The anxiety created by destabilisation was expressed and managed in various ways. Neophytos the Recluse and the anonymous fifteenth-century author of the *Kykkos Narrative* described the conquest of 1191 as a natural disharmony and entrusted themselves and their people to God's providence. The Monks of Kantara and the anonymous late-thirteenth century author of the *Kantara Narrative* stressed the need for spiritual struggle as a way of non-coercive and non-violent resistance. The influx of pilgrims to Neophytos the Recluse's Hermitage shows that the laity sought the material and spiritual support of monastic pastors in order to endure the conquest's hardships. The island's former nobility seems to have collaborated with the Frankish regime, which probably led to the creation of a group of notaries involved in the Kingdom's administration. Neophytos the Recluse's decision to place his Hermitage under the guardianship of the Lusignan Crown and Archbishop Neophytos' insistence that physical submission to the Latins was necessary for the survival of his people suggest that many Cypriot Rhomaioi were well aware that violent resistance was not the only way to preserve their ethno-religious identity. This is further confirmed by Patriarch Germanos' instructions to the Orthodox Cypriots to isolate themselves from the Latins and those recognising their authority and remain attached to the Orthodox tradition. Moreover, the self-exile of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy in the 1240s and the negotiations with the Papacy for a *nullo medio* settlement in 1250 reveal a tendency for non-violence, non-coercion and, ultimately,

accommodation with papal policy. The path of compromise was not always easy to follow. Indeed, the clash between Patriarch Germanos and Archbishop Neophytos over the limits of the Cypriot Rhomaic application of leniency mirrors the delicate balance between superficial submission to the Latins and the preservation of Orthodox identity.

Therefore, it is clear that while the Papacy sanctioned coercion as a way to impose its jurisdiction and spiritual authority, the Cypriot Rhomaioi rarely employed violence in order to defend their rights and ecclesiastical tradition (one such example was the coercive anti-Latinism of the 1260s). The religious exclusivism expressed by the Monks of Kantara and other Rhomaioi ecclesiastics concerning the canonical validity of the Latin Eucharist did not aim to impose by force the Orthodox sacramental practice, but to vindicate the doctrinal correctness of the use of leavened bread in Holy Communion. The existence of Cypriot Rhomaic expressions of obedience to the Papacy demonstrates that religious exclusivism was not shared by all Cypriot Rhomaioi. Admittedly, obedience to the Papacy was motivated by both temporal and spiritual reasons, which often makes it difficult to distinguish between superficial and sincere acceptance of papal authority. Yet, despite differences in culture, doctrine and practice, the majority of Cypriot Rhomaioi appears to have submitted to the Papacy by the end of the thirteenth century. The fall of the Levantine Crusader States around the same period and the Muslim expansion in Syro-Palestine must have strengthened the bonds of religious unity between Latin and non-Latin Christians in Cyprus. These developments seem to have contributed to the process of depolarisation and to the consolidation of inter-communal rapprochement under the Lusignans and the Papacy.

What is indeed remarkable is that expressions of anti-Latin resistance persisted not only before but also after the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*, which officialised the submission of the Cypriot Rhomaioi to the Papacy. Although anti-Latin tension seems to have been moderated by the policy of *détente* pursued by the Lusignans and the Papacy, the reconciliation between the two Churches was never thoroughly sincere.

While it is true that the Papacy did not attempt to suppress the Byzantine Orthodox doctrines and customs, it demanded recognition of its jurisdiction and supremacy in the definition of doctrinal and liturgical correctness. This is not to argue that

subordination to the Papacy did not offer protection from harassment or autonomy in doctrinal or liturgical matters. It is important, however, to recognise that non-Latin members of the Western Church were exposed to the threat of doctrinal or liturgical uniformity, particularly when Latin churchmen perceived their rites and customs as 'errors' that should be reformed.

Consequently, the long-term continuation of resistance through the recollection, preservation, (re-)interpretation and territorialisation of memories —mirrored in the cases of the *Kantara* and *Kykkos Narratives* and Leontios Machairas' *Chronicle*— bears witness to the non-coercive and non-violent nature of Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Latinism.

In the next chapter we shall proceed with a more systematic examination of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins, confirming its tendency for covert expressions of resistance.

Chapter II

The 'hidden' Church: examining Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins

I was devoted to translating Fr Stephen of Lusignan's *Chronicle* on the Island [...], having in mind to print only my translation. However, though the man is commendable [...], he said very little on the Cities and Habitation while he described the ruling nations quite vaguely and remained silent on the Dukes from Constantinople [...]; not to mention the negative way in which he refers to his Eastern [Orthodox] Rhomaioi compatriots [...]. Therefore, I examined the history of Cyprus with great labour and diligence [...], so that I could approach the truth as far as possible [...]; for I come from the same land.²⁷⁶

II.1. Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity

Recent scholarship has interpreted religious tension in Latin-ruled Cyprus as the result of external intervention by zealous churchmen, both Latins and Byzantines, 'who were unfamiliar with the *Bulla Cypria* and the local situation'.²⁷⁷ This view partly echoes the arguments of British colonial historiography concerning the distinctiveness of Cypriot identity and the passive nature of Britain's Greek-Cypriot subjects, which had aimed to bolster colonial loyalty to the British Empire and marginalise nationalistic calls for Union with Greece. The emphasis placed by revisionist historians on the peaceful symbiosis of Cypriot ethno-religious communities during the Middle Ages seems to reflect modern discussions over the need to forge a common identity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, in order to promote reconciliation after the traumatic events of 1974.²⁷⁸ Although the role of the modern ideology of Cypriotism is completely

²⁷⁶ Archimandrite Kyprianos 1788, η' - θ': Ἐδόθην εἰς τὴν μετάφρασιν τοῦ περὶ τῆς Νήσου Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Φρὰ Στεφάνου Λουζινιανοῦ [...] σκοπὸν ἔχων μόνην τὴν μετάφρασιν τυπῶσαι. Ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὴρ καίτοι ἀξιέπαινος [...] εἰπὼν διότι μόνον ὀλίγα περὶ τῶν Πόλεων, καὶ τοῦ Κατοικισμοῦ, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξουσιασάντων ἔθνῶν πολὺ σκιωδῶς, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Δουκῶν παντελῶς σιωπήσας [...]. Ἀφήνω πόσον παθητικῶς ὀμιλεῖ διὰ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς Ῥωμαίους συμπατριώτας του [...]. Ἐρεῦνησα λοιπὸν μὲ κόπον καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ὄχι μικρὰν [...] ἐσπούδασα ὡς δυνατὸν νὰ πλησιάσω εἰς τὸ ἀληθέστερον [...]. Ὡς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς.

²⁷⁷ Coureas et al. 2012, 133.

²⁷⁸ See, e.g., Demetriou 2008, 1483: 'Evidence in chronicles and travelers' accounts suggests that this population used the label *Greek* practically to denote people within the island. Though the term was, of course, used to refer also to Greek speakers outside Cyprus, links to such groups were not rich at all, and thus, Cypriot Greek speakers' awareness of an encompassing category of Greeks was shallow and

legitimate in the political arena, it is only superficially relevant to the historical period under discussion.²⁷⁹

The argument that religious tension in Latin-ruled Cyprus was subject to external interventions is only partly correct. The Cypriot Rhomaioi under Latin rule were not a passive audience of mere observers, who did not interact with their environment and silently gave their consent to every new master setting foot on the island. As already

exceptional. Therefore, *Greek* in the social reality of the language generally connoted the Cypriot version of Greek language, the practice of Greek-Orthodox rites, and indigenous lineage'; *ibid.*, 1484: 'What is important to stress, however, is that the Greek-Orthodox Church of Cyprus, which had no effective links to any of the four patriarchates of Greek-Orthodoxy, was not an institution with sharp boundaries within the island. On the contrary, toward the end of the Lusignan rule, the Church was featuring certain organizational links and commonalities in ritual with the Catholic, Latin Church (administratively belonging to the Church of Rome), though it was still, as had been in earlier years, defined in opposition to the Latin creed. In this religious context, then, Greeks, Syrians, and Latins alike had a certain measure of flexibility in practicing religion, selectively attending the congregation or performing the rituals of one or the other Church'; Varnava 2010, 207: 'Cyprus, recent scholarship has shown, is a religiously and culturally diverse place since the medieval period and since the Ottoman period various historical minorities (mainly Christian, but also Muslim) have been largely excluded and pressured to assimilate into the 'Greek' Cypriot community, thus suffering internal exclusion (during the Ottoman rule there were sometimes pressures on Christians to assimilate into the Muslim community). *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374* [= Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel 2005] totally revises the pre-existing fallacies that the rule of the Catholic Frankish Lusignan dynasty, from the late twelfth to the fifteenth century, was oppressive for the majority of the population, which was Eastern Orthodox Christian. The book provides ample evidence of a religiously and culturally diverse cosmopolitan Cyprus'; *ibid.*, 216: 'More broadly, this unwillingness to recognise national minorities goes to the very heart of the Cyprus Problem and to reunification. Moving beyond simply 'Greek community of Cyprus' and 'Turkish community of Cyprus' is important in order to recognise the diversity and multiple identities that exist, even a Cypriot identity'; Varnava and Michael 2013, 16: 'In light of the results of this book the reader must ask, can the Cypriot Church play the constructive role needed to reconcile the Cypriot people and reunify the island? Can it play the role of a Cypriot Church, as it evidently did pre-1900, or will it continue to represent a chauvinist brand of Cypriot Hellenism?'; cf. Hill 1952, 488: 'Of the three factors, race, language and religion, which contribute to the sense of Cypriote nationality, the first, paradoxical as it may seem, is the least important [...]. At no time has the island been a constituent part of Hellenic Greece [...]. Religion, combined with language [...] foster[ed] the idea that the Cypriotes were Greek in origin. That there was real racial affinity with the Hellenic stock there is nothing to prove; the anthropological evidence, so far as it goes, seems on the whole to favour the contrary view'.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Nicolaou-Konnari 2000–2001, 259–260, who seems to imply (at least to my understanding) that Latin-ruled Cypriotes formed a separate ethnic group, although she carefully notes that, 'a study of the Cypriotes as a group with its own particular traits should not be interpreted as an attempt to *degreceise* or *cypriotise* their identity'. Elsewhere (Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 59–62), she correctly stresses that language and religion were the most important criteria of ethnic identity and that we cannot ascertain whether the entire population of Cyprus perceived themselves as belonging to a 'nation' of Cypriotes. Nicolaou-Konnari is criticised by Kaldellis 2007, 353 (n. 78), on the basis that her understanding of identity is based on language and religion alone. What Kaldellis means is that, 'the Byzantines failed (or rather never tried) to define themselves in purely religious terms against the Latins. Their outlook was shaped by the memory of their once and future *politeia*, which regrouped at Nikaia and was eventually reconstituted in Constantinople' (*ibid.*). In other words, the ethnic identity of Cypriot Rhomaioi under Latin rule was determined not only by religion and culture, but also by political allegiance to Byzantium and a strong awareness of participation to the Byzantine 'body politic'. Coureas, too, admits that the notion of Cypriot *Romanitas* was both political and cultural: Coureas 2014a, 14. On the political dimension of the ethnic name *Rhomaioi* see also Papadopoulou 2014, 163–167, 174–175.

pointed out, between Orthodox and Latins there existed important cultural, ecclesiological and theological differences that became more intense in times of political friction. Indeed, the long-term continuation of Cypriot Rhomaic expectations for liberation from the Latin yoke demonstrates that Latin-ruled Rhomaic identity was not *tabula rasa*.²⁸⁰

It is necessary to move beyond the concepts of hostility and tension by recognising that the long symbiosis between the two communities produced phenomena of social, cultural and religious interaction.²⁸¹ This indicates that the boundaries between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins gradually became less divisible, revealing that ethno-religious identities were not monolithic but ‘liquid and multiple’, in the sense that they were subject to re-negotiation and re-shaping.²⁸² Again, we have to be careful to escape the pitfall of over-simplification and misinterpretation. As post-processual archaeologists argue, the notions of ‘assimilation’, ‘acculturation’ and ‘diffusionism’, which have been employed in the past to describe phenomena of cultural interaction, are rather passive concepts that do no justice to the study of ‘colonised’ identities and their relation to culture.²⁸³ According to Abdelhamid I. Sabra (1924–2013), a prominent historian of Islamic science, the process of cultural transmission involves the ‘act of appropriation performed by the so-called receiver’.²⁸⁴ This could be defined as the ‘enormously creative art’ of adopting and adapting notions, techniques, skills and elements of social behaviour which appear to the receiver ‘laden with a variety of practical *and* spiritual benefits’.²⁸⁵ For instance, the appropriation and naturalisation of the Western artistic and architectural idiom by the Cypriot Rhomaioi is evidence of both intercultural

²⁸⁰ It is surprising how often recent scholars dealing with Cypriot identity seem to ignore or underestimate the barriers of Cypriot Rhomaic ethnic identity. See, e.g.: Schabel 2005, 212-218; Demetriou 2008, 1477-1497; but cf. Coureas 2015, 78: ‘The Frankish nobility of Cyprus may have called themselves Cypriots in the thirteenth-century chronicle of the noted jurist, chronicler and poet Philip of Novara. Nevertheless, throughout the Lusignan and Venetian periods they maintained their Frankish ethnicity and cultural identity, taking pride in their Frankish heritage despite the decline in knowledge of French that occurred under the Venetians and stressing their connection with France and the West even after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. [...] The ruling class of Lusignan Cyprus, Frankish at the outset, largely remained so to the end’.

²⁸¹ Papadopoulos 1995a, 777-783; Weyl Carr 1998–1999, 59-80.

²⁸² ‘Liquid and multiple’ is the title of a recent volume on thirteenth-century identities in the Aegean: Saint-Guillain and Stathakopoulos 2012.

²⁸³ Gosden 2004, 171-172, associates the notion of acculturation with colonialism. I am much indebted to Papantoniou 2012, 7-72, for making similar observations for the Hellenistic period in Cyprus.

²⁸⁴ Sabra 1987, 223-243 (esp. at 225).

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 225-226 (italics in the original).

exchange and identity adaptation (see, e.g., the case of sixteenth-century ecclesiastical art).²⁸⁶

Clearly, the question raised is not whether Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi were capable of defining themselves, but how methodological tools from the fields of social anthropology, psychology and sociology can help historians examine Orthodox spirituality and identity in the conditions created after the *Bulla Cypria*. Our exploration of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity will mainly focus on examples from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This will help us illuminate the transition between the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* and the socio-religious developments of the fourteenth century, examined in the following chapter.

In this chapter, we argue that Orthodox spirituality under the Latins was highlighted by expressions of covert anti-Latinism, which could broadly be defined as ‘crypto-religiosity’. In addition, the development of ‘multiple identities’ permitted Cypriot Rhomaioi to find their place in the post-1260 world, while at the same time maintaining their Orthodox traditions and ethnic awareness. The non-violent struggle for identity preservation was further enhanced by the activities of spiritual (particularly monastic) pastors, who acted as ‘guardians of tradition’. Last but not least, the ‘embodied’ performance of certain devotional practices and the cultivation of theophanic theology, despite occasional criticisms on the part of the Latins, shows that many Cypriot Rhomaioi continued to perceive the divinity through the lens of the Orthodox tradition.

II.2. Crypto-religiosity

The first characteristic of the adaptation of Orthodox spirituality in the new conditions created by the Latin ecclesiastical hegemony in Cyprus during the second half of the thirteenth century is ‘crypto-religiosity’.²⁸⁷ The phenomenon of crypto-Christianity has attracted the attention of scholars studying the history of Orthodox populations under Ottoman rule.²⁸⁸ The crypto-Christians of Cyprus were pejoratively called

²⁸⁶ See, e.g., below, 368-369.

²⁸⁷ The term is employed by Reinkowski 2007, 409; cf. Robbins 2011, 408-424.

²⁸⁸ See, e.g.: Bryer 1983, 13-68; Photiades 1993.

Λινοβάμβακοι ('fabrics woven of cotton and linen') by other Christians because they were perceived as being neither 'pure' Christians, nor Muslims.²⁸⁹ According to Ottoman judicial registers from Nicosia, more than one third of the number of adult male Muslims recorded to have appeared in court between 1593 and 1595 were converts, presumably from Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christianity.²⁹⁰ There was indeed a tendency among members of the Cypro-Venetian dominant class to convert to Islam or Orthodoxy, which enabled their participation in the new regime after 1571.²⁹¹ Muslim crypto-Catholics were known as *rinegati* and in 1638, eleven of them received the sacrament of baptism in the Latin church of St James in Nicosia. In 1641, the *qadi* (Muslim judge) of Paphos and Limassol was tortured to death inside a mosque, because he had publicly proclaimed the supremacy of (Roman Catholic) Christianity over Islam.²⁹² In the seventeenth century, we can also trace cases of high-profile Rhomaioi crypto-Catholics (including two archbishops, three metropolitans and several priests).²⁹³ The crypto-Christianity of the *Λινοβάμβακοι* survived in Cyprus as late as the twentieth century, revealing the long duration of crypto-religious phenomena on the island.²⁹⁴

Turning now to the period under our investigation, we notice that probably the earliest testimony of crypto-Christianity in the Orthodox East comes from two well-known encyclicals composed in ca. 1339 and 1340 by Ecumenical Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334–1347), addressing the Christians of Ottoman-occupied Nicaea. These encyclicals are of crucial importance, because they reveal that during the first half of the fourteenth century, the Ecumenical Patriarchate developed a theology of crypto-Christianity and neo-martyrdom. More specifically, Kalekas exhorted the Christians of Nicaea – who were threatened by Islamisation – not to despair, but trust God's love for humanity. He presented biblical examples of people who had fallen into sin but

²⁸⁹ Michell 1908, 751-763.

²⁹⁰ Jennings 1993, 137-143 (esp. at 137).

²⁹¹ Kyrris 1984–1987, 255-268; Constantini 2008, 373-388.

²⁹² Tsirpanlis 2011, 836-837.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 834-836; cf. Englezakis 1996, 48-49, 315-333; Michael 2005, 111-117. The conversion of some of these high-profile Rhomaioi prelates to Catholicism might have been superficial, in order to secure Western support for the liberation of Cyprus from the Ottomans. Tsirpanlis estimates that by the mid-seventeenth century, around one hundred Orthodox individuals converted to Catholicism in Cyprus. The total Orthodox population of the island is estimated around forty thousand.

²⁹⁴ See generally: Papadopoulos 1965, 29-48; Tillyrides 1987, 111-145; Kokkinoftas 1996, 137-156; Myaris 1996, 273-286; Protopapa 2002, 213-244; Papadopoulos 2002.

were able to restore their relations with God through repentance. Concerning those who had been forced to convert to Islam, Kalekas' advice was repentance and hope, since they could still return to the spiritual infirmity of the Church. Following the example of St James the Persian (d. 421), a Christian apostate who repented and was tortured to death by his persecutors, Kalekas advised his flock to seek the crown of martyrdom. However, the Patriarch still left room for those who were not brave enough to face martyrdom (*ὅσοι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ τῶν κολάσεων καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ λεληθότι διαζῆν θελήσουσι*) urging them to continue living as Christians in secret (*τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνστερνιζόμενοι καὶ ποιῶντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ σωτηρίας ἐπιτεύξονται*), within the limits of their possibilities (*μόνον κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τηρεῖν σπουδάζοντες τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολάς*). Lastly, Kalekas made an explicit distinction between physical submission to the rulers and spiritual submission to the Church.²⁹⁵

Kalekas' instructions to the Christians of Nicaea in the fourteenth century suggest that the Ecumenical Patriarchate had previous experience in dealing with cases of crypto-religiosity. Indeed, examples of apostasy to Islam and crypto-religiosity existed well before Kalekas' time.²⁹⁶ In 1223, for instance, Patriarch Germanos II advised the

²⁹⁵ For Kalekas' letters see: PRK II, 132-136.116, 186-188.126 (quotation at 136.34-38); Skendi 1967, 228; Vryonis 1981, 340-343; Photiades 1993, 191-193; Preiser-Kapeller 2011, 66. The connection between Kalekas' encouragement of crypto-Christianity and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the *Bulla Cypria* was first made by Kyrris 1993b, 163.

²⁹⁶ Reinkowski 2007, 409 (mentioning the crypto-Christians and crypto-Jews of Egypt and North-West Africa in the early eleventh and twelfth centuries). Crypto-Christianity might have been cultivated in tenth-century Crete under the Arabs (825-961): Skendi 1967, 228 (n. 3); Photiades 1993, 189-190. The Seljūk Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs II (1245-1261) might have been crypto-Christian: *ibid.*, 190-191; Shukurov 2013b, 115-150 (*passim*). One should also consult: Shukurov 2004a, 707-764 (on Christian elements in the identity of Anatolian Turkmens); Shukurov 2004b, 135-157 (on crypto-Muslims in Byzantium); Beihammer 2011a, 597-651 (on thirteenth-century conversions from Islam to Christianity and *vice versa*); Shukurov 2013a, 713-723 (on Christian churches in Seljūk citadels). Forced or sincere conversions from the Byzantine to the Latin rite and *vice versa* in the Balkans during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, might have paved the way for the development of crypto-Christianity under Ottoman occupation: Skendi 1967, 227-246; Reinkowski 2007, 421. The Serbian Nemanjić dynasty (1166-1371), for example, pursued a policy of forced assimilation to Orthodoxy of the Eastern Kosovars and Montenegrins. Under Stephen Dušan (1331-1355), many Latin-rite groups retreated to the hills of northern Albania: Stephen Dušan, *Code*, trans. Burr, 199.6-200.10; Vickers 1998, 6-11; Vickers 2001, 3; cf. Fine 2006, 42-44, 54-58, 94, 106-109. On the other hand, the Angevine Kingdom of Albania pursued a policy of Latinisation which might have led to the development of crypto-Orthodoxy: Lala 2008. In 1365/6, King Louis of Hungary and Croatia (1342-1382) conquered Vidin and forced the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Stacimir (1356-1396) and several thousands of Orthodox Bulgarians to convert to the Latin rite. The Orthodox Voivode of Moldavia Lațcu Voda (1365-1374) converted to the Latin rite in 1370 for political reasons, but his wife and daughter remained Orthodox and he himself was buried in an Orthodox monastery. Despite the Latin ecclesiastical expansionism in Moldavia, the Orthodox Moldavian clergy continued to be ordained by the Orthodox bishop of Halich in Galicia: Deletant 1986, 189-211 (esp. at 193-194); Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 262-

Orthodox Cypriots to adopt a superficial line of submission to the Latin Church, on condition that their canons, traditions and customs were to be preserved.²⁹⁷

Special reference should also be made to the Rhomaioi of Norman-ruled Italy. Conquered by the Normans in the eleventh century, the former Byzantine territories of Southern Italy and Sicily possessed large communities of Orthodox Rhomaioi, who cultivated a rich and dynamic ecclesiastical tradition.²⁹⁸ Although the Papacy and the Normans generally tolerated the liturgical heritage of the conquered Rhomaioi, leading to periods of revival of Italian Byzantine-rite monasticism, the political, ecclesiastical and cultural isolation of these communities forced them to be gradually absorbed into 'mainstream' papal structures.²⁹⁹ Despite the submission of Italian Rhomaioi to the Papacy, we can trace various expressions of resistance to doctrinal and liturgical uniformity. For example, the *Life* of St Luke, Orthodox bishop of Capo Rizzuto in Calabria (d. 1114), dating ca. 1120, gives the impression of violent clashes between Orthodox and Latins over the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.³⁰⁰ Moreover, the demographic concentration of the Italian Rhomaioi in remote areas (e.g., Sila and Aspromonte in Calabria, the Salentine peninsula and Val Demone in Sicily) by the 1240s could partly be interpreted as a defensive reaction against Latinisation.³⁰¹ In the fourteenth century, Barlaam of Calabria (d. 1348) — a well-known theologian whose views on prayer and asceticism had sparked the Hesychast Controversy — composed no less than twenty-one anti-Latin treatises, only to seek refuge in the Western Church when he was condemned by the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate due to his attack on

263. For religious conversions in Transylvania and Banat see generally Daniel 2014. On crypto-religiosity among the Sivakasi Christians see Kent 2011, 1-30. On crypto-Christianity in Japan see: Nosco 1993, 3-29.

²⁹⁷ Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots I*, ed. Sathas, 10: ὅπου δὲ γε οὐκ ἐπισημαίνεται τις ἀθέτησις τῶν κανόνων, τῶν παραδόσεων, τῶν ἐθίμων, αὐτῆς δὲ πίστεως εἴ τι πον 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 λογισθήσονται, τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον εἰς τοῦτο συνήγορον ἔχοντες. See also: Arambatzis 2000, 249.

²⁹⁸ Morini 1999, esp. at 25-97; Morini 2001, 125-151.

²⁹⁹ On aspects of ecclesiastical history after the Norman conquest see: Ménager 1959, 9-40; Scaduto ²1982; Loud, 1988, 215-233; Herde 2002, 213-251; Coureas 2003, 199-215; Loud 2007, 208, 211, 215, 250 494-520.

³⁰⁰ Hinterberger 2011, 132-133.

³⁰¹ Loud 2007, 520.

hesychast practices.³⁰² As late as the 1570s, the Rhomaioi of Brindisi had not yet introduced the *Filioque* in their Creed, and around the same period, a number of local Rhomaioi bishops were ordained by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.³⁰³ All the above, indicate that although the Italian Rhomaic communities had accepted papal authority, there were still individuals or groups who perceived themselves as Orthodox and employed various ways to reaffirm and convey their religious identity.

Similar responses to the Latin ecclesiastical policy towards the Orthodox could be observed in the Levantine Crusader States. Although in the late eleventh century the Papacy had pursued a policy of friendly cooperation with the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, political antagonisms between Crusader leaders and the Byzantine emperor eventually led to Latin ecclesiastical expansionism at the expense of the Orthodox communities of Syria and the Holy Land. As a result, many Orthodox prelates – the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch being among them – were expelled from their ancient sees and replaced by Latins. As in the cases of Southern Italy and Sicily, the Papacy respected the Byzantine rite and there was generally no attempt to impose liturgical Latinisation over the Byzantine-rite clergy, although canonical obedience to the Papacy was a *sine qua non*.³⁰⁴ It should also be mentioned that followers of both rites seem to have shared the same churches and pilgrimage sites, which could be interpreted as evidence of silent acceptance of the Latin doctrines and practices on the part of the local Orthodox communities.³⁰⁵

The question whether or not the Papacy succeeded in achieving ecclesiastical unity through the subordination of Orthodox Christians, can be judged from the extent of sincerity and equality in the relations between Orthodox and Latins. The Crusaders had come to the Holy Land as a multi-ethnic army of conquerors, bound together by their common faith to the Western Church. This meant that though the Papacy respected the Byzantine rite, the legal framework applied in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem did not provide legal equality to the native Orthodox, but perceived them as

³⁰² Kolbaba 1995a, 41-115; Kolbaba 1995b, 124-134. On Barlaam's involvement in the Hesychast Controversy see below, 158-159.

³⁰³ Herde 2002, 234-235, 250 (n. 148) .

³⁰⁴ Hamilton 1980, 1-112, 159-211, 310-360; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 88-106; Pahlitzsch and Baraz 2006, 205-235.

³⁰⁵ Jotischky 1995, 65-100, 178-180; Ellenblum 1998, 119-144.

a second-class community. Ultimately, liturgical and doctrinal Latinisation was the only way of achieving legal and social equality with the dominant class.³⁰⁶ It is clear that the lack of legal equality between Orthodox and Latin Christians undermined the concept of sincere religious unity. At the same time, the Byzantine emperors continued to promote their role as ‘arbiter[s] of Orthodoxy and protector[s] of the Holy Land shrines’.³⁰⁷ Michael the Syrian (1166–1199), the well-known Jacobite Patriarch and historian, records in his *Chronicle* the refusal of the Rhomaioi of Jerusalem to participate in a local council convoked by a papal legate in 1141, because the Byzantine emperor was not to be present.³⁰⁸ Moreover, the preservation of archaic rubrics and the commemoration of the exiled Rhomaios patriarch of Jerusalem in the liturgical ordinance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre shows that the local Latin-ruled Orthodox clergy regarded themselves as being the true representatives ‘of the legitimate patriarch of Jerusalem, i.e., the Orthodox patriarch exiled in Constantinople’.³⁰⁹ The Orthodox monasteries of the Holy Land seem to have actively been engaged in the preservation of the Orthodox tradition by compiling and copying anti-Latin theological treatises, which refuted the doctrines and practices of their conquerors without employing coercion or violence.³¹⁰ James of Vitry (1216–1226), the Latin Bishop of Acre, noted in his *History of Jerusalem* that the Rhomaioi and Syrian Melkites obeyed their Latin bishops out of fear, rather than true obedience.³¹¹ The *Life of St Leontios of Jerusalem* by Theodosios Goudelēs (composed post 1203) relates that Leontios, the exiled Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem (1176–1185), was permitted to visit his see and was received with enthusiasm by the local Orthodox flock, but had to leave the Holy City due to the hostility of the Latin patriarch, who was planning to assassinate him.³¹² Summing up, while the tension between Orthodox and Latins in the Holy Land between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries should not be exaggerated, the union achieved by the submission of the Orthodox to the Papacy was to a great extent superficial and fragile.

³⁰⁶ Nader 2006, 166-167.

³⁰⁷ Hunt 1991, 85.

³⁰⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, 255-256.16.10.626.

³⁰⁹ Pahlitzsch and Baraz 2006, 208.

³¹⁰ Jotischky 2001, 91-92; Pahlitzsch and Baraz 2006, 207.

³¹¹ Hamilton 1980, 316-317.

³¹² Theodosios Goudelēs, *Life of St Leontios of Jerusalem*, ed. Tsougarakis, 126.80-138.88, 203 (Tsougarakis accepts the plausibility of the plot against Leontios’ life).

Following the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the local Rhomaic clergy negotiated with the Latins the election of a new patriarch and accepted the condition that they should commemorate Pope Innocent III in liturgy. Although Latin ecclesiastical coercion eventually resulted in the failure of negotiations and led to the establishment of an exiled Patriarchate of Constantinople in Nicaea, it should be noted that the commemoration was interpreted by the Constantinopolitans as ‘recognition of [the Pope’s] temporal authority only’;³¹³ the Pope’s spiritual authority would be recognised by the Orthodox only after true union was achieved through an an ecumenical council.³¹⁴

In Latin-occupied Greece, Orthodox Rhomaioi prelates either submitted to the Papacy or sought refuge in Byzantine-controlled areas. It seems that at least some of them chose to superficially recognise papal authority in order to continue exercising their pastoral duties. This was probably the case of Theodore of Euripos in Euboea, who had made a profession of submission to the Papacy (ante 1208), but refused to receive the Latin chrism. It has been suggested that Theodore’s submission was perhaps dictated by the need to shelter Orthodox refugees or exiles from other Latin-occupied areas.³¹⁵ It is noteworthy that Theodore maintained frequent correspondence with Michael Chōniatēs (1182–1204), the erudite Metropolitan of Athens and brother of the historian Nikētas Chōniatēs (d. 1217), who had left his bishopric after the Latin conquest and sought refuge in Euboea (ca. 1204–ca. 1205). Between 1205 and 1217, Chōniatēs was established on the island of Kea, from where he sent several letters to Theodore. In his letters, Chōniatēs commented on the burden of ‘barbaric tyranny’ (*βαρβαρικὴν τυραννίδα*) and pointed out the need for patience and easing of strained relations with the conquerors. It is perhaps at Chōniatēs’ instigation that Theodore chose to recognise papal authority.³¹⁶ Additionally, Chōniatēs corresponded with the monastic

³¹³ Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 209.

³¹⁴ Gounarides 2008b, 9-22 (esp. at 14-15); Jacoby 2008, 64-65; Panopoulou 2008, 345-346. The most recent study on the Orthodox Church under the Latin Empire of Constantinople is by Van Tricht 2011, 307-349, who seems to ignore the phenomena of superficial submission and crypto-religiosity.

³¹⁵ Wolff 1948, 36-37.

³¹⁶ Michael Chōniatēs, *Letters*, ed. Kolovou, 162.105, 238-239.146 (esp. at 238.146.6), 248-249.154. Kolovou dates Chōniatēs’ letters to Theodore before the latter’s submission to the Latins in 1208, implying that their communication might have ended afterwards: Kolovou 1999, 16-23, 98-100. See also: Koder 1973, 134-135; Setton 1976, 410-411; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 204-205; Angold 1995, 210; Akritidis 2009, 258-259; Van Tricht 2011, 12, 34, 333-334, 361; Shawcross 2011, 21; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012c, 141-154 (on anti-Latin artistic evidence from Latin-ruled Euboea).

community of Kaisarianē, outside Athens, instructing the local monks to obey the wishes of their new masters, without however forsaking their former Byzantine leadership.³¹⁷

Chōniatēs died around 1222, having spent his last years in the monastery of St John the Forerunner in Latin-ruled Boeotia.³¹⁸ The fact that after 1204 he had chosen to live as a refugee, rather than seek the hospitality and safety of the exiled Byzantine authorities in Epirus and Nicaea or simply recognise papal jurisdiction in order to return to Latin-occupied Athens, seems to reflect the Metropolitan's policy of *oikonomía*. This would have enabled the preservation of Rhomaic ecclesiastical structures in the Greek lands, through the exercise of Chōniatēs' pastoral duties over his conquered brethren. Indeed, Chōniatēs was probably involved in negotiations with the Papacy, which seem to have aimed at improving the condition of Rhomaic monastic establishments under Latin rule, although 'arousing the suspicions of members of [his] flock, who accused him of embezzling church funds for the purpose of carrying out this politicking'.³¹⁹ Disconnected from his pastoral capacity, Chōniatēs could easily be misunderstood as a man 'willing to treat with pretty much everyone and anyone',³²⁰ we should better interpret his actions in the context of twelfth-century Byzantine bishops' attempts to defend the rights of their Church and flock against the greed of corrupted *potentes*.³²¹ The recognition of Chōniatēs' pastoral virtues by his Rhomaioi contemporaries is confirmed by his veneration as a saint in Attica soon after his death.³²² Ultimately, 'it was because of the conduct of men such as [...] Choniates in the initial critical period following the arrival of the crusaders that the fabric of regional society [...] was able to remain as remarkably intact as it did'.³²³ Crypto-religious strategies thus served the

³¹⁷ Michael Chōniatēs, *Letters*, ed. Kolovou, 250-252.156; Kolovou 1999, 18-21; Shawcross 2011, 21.

³¹⁸ Van Tricht 2011, 333; Shawcross 2011, 22.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19-23, 35-37 (esp. at 20); cf. Van Tricht 2011, 333.

³²⁰ Shawcross 2011, 21.

³²¹ Merianos 2011, 273-291 (esp. at 291).

³²² Mouriki 1973-1974, 79, 85, 96-98, 107, 111-112; Panselinou 1987-1988, 173-178 (seems to be accepting the possibility of crypto-religiosity at 175-176); Angold 1995, 211-212; Kolovou 1999, 21-23; Shawcross 2011, 22-23 (who seems to ignore the possibility of crypto-religiosity). The donor at Kalybia was Bishop Ignatios of Kea, who might have dedicated the church to St Peter as a confirmation of his obedience to the Papacy. Note, however, that the dedicatory inscription mentions both St Peter and St Paul. The act of dedication on its own cannot be considered as concrete evidence of Bishop Ignatios' sincere submission to the Papacy. On Chōniatēs' Orthodox theological ethos one should also consult Kontogeorgopoulou 2004-2006, 259-274

³²³ Shawcross 2011, 37.

preservation or restoration of stability after a period of crisis, and enabled the negotiation of religious identities, without involving violence or coercion.

Admittedly, there are considerable differences between crypto-Orthodoxy under Latin rule and other forms of crypto-religiosity (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 massive waves of expulsion and forced conversions, as happened for example with the Moriscos of Catholic Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³²⁴ Furthermore, Orthodox public worship was not only tolerated but also placed under the patronage of secular authorities and the Papacy.³²⁵ Since papal policy towards the conquered Rhomaioi was generally characterised by the principle of ecclesiastical unity that tolerated uniformity in liturgy and doctrine, the essential question is what was 'hidden' about Orthodox Cypriot believers under Latin rule.

As Alfred J. Andrea points out, 'time and again [...] we find Roman popes extolling the virtue of ritual diversity within the Church but rejecting or resisting Greek customs [...] contrary to [...] and [...] not specifically allowed by Roman canon law'.³²⁶ This situation led the Latin-ruled Rhomaioi to 'struggle, sometimes successfully, to retain traditional customs and rites that did not directly violate Latin canon law'.³²⁷ It becomes clear that if the Cypriot Rhomaioi wanted to preserve aspects of their tradition that were rejected by the Latins (e.g., the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread in the Eucharist), they had to invent crypto-religious strategies to express their 'anti-Latinism', namely their rejection of Latin orthodoxy and orthopraxy. The *modus vivendi* sanctioned by the *Bulla Cypria* facilitated the cultivation of phenomena usually associated with crypto-religiosity, such as the conscious or

³²⁴ On the Moriscos (former Muslim converts to Christianity), one should generally consult García-Arenal and Wiegers 2014. Although we possess no concrete evidence about the activities of Cypriot crypto-Jews, we know that the Venetian Republic ordered in 1550 a general expulsion of all Jewish converts to Christianity (Marranos). The official burning of fifty copies of the Talmud in Famagusta in 1554, might be considered as an indication of the existence of crypto-Jewish communities on the island: Arbel 1979, 29-30.

³²⁵ On donations of Latin and Rhomaioi believers to a Cypriot Rhomaic establishment see generally: Darrouzès 1951c, 25-62 (esp. at 31 (f. 69), 49 (f. 236)); DGMC, 74-81 (esp. at 79).

³²⁶ Andrea 2005, 122.

³²⁷ Ibid.

unconscious manipulation of religious identities ('Orthodox', 'Latin' and 'pro-Latin') and the emergence of religious syncretism that encouraged overlapping practices.³²⁸ As long as the Latin authorities (both secular and ecclesiastical) did not consider the Cypriot Rhomaioi as being openly provocative or offensive, they tolerated their crypto-religiosity and did not take measures against them.³²⁹ The fact that the ecclesiastical subordination of the Cypriot Rhomaic population to the Papacy was officially terminated only with the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571, shows that expressions of Orthodox identity throughout the Latin rule had to be characterised by caution and discretion.

In 1406, for example, the island's Orthodox bishops convoked a synod in a remote monastery outside Nicosia, where they discussed the prospect of reaching ecclesiastical union with Constantinople. The event (examined in detail below in chapter IV) is not mentioned in any of the Latin sources or Machairas' *Chronicle*, which suggests that the Cypriot Rhomaioi managed to keep it secret. The conciliar *Acts*, written down immediately after the Synod by Joseph Bryennios (d. ca. 1430), the patriarchal *locum tenens*, record expressions of fear and anti-Latinism on the part of the Cypriot Rhomaioi, which confirms the crypto-religiosity of the island's Orthodox hierarchy under Latin rule.³³⁰ The clearest indication of crypto-religiosity in the *Acts* comes from the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishop of Solea, who stated that, despite the oath of submission to the Papacy and cases of concelebration with the heterodox, the Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic clergy cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith.³³¹ In addition, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishop of Karpasia claimed that the profession of obedience to the

³²⁸ Reinkowski 2007, 414, 419-423, 430-431.

³²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 423-431.

³³⁰ Expressions of fear and secrecy are clear in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.276-277, 43.395-398, 44.418-419, 47.563-564, 49.625-626. The Synod took place in a remote place out of fear of the Latins: *ibid.*, 47.552-556: *διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Λευκωσίας ἐξεβάλομεν ὑμᾶς ἐπιτηδείως, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συνελεύσεως ταύτης ἔλθωσι καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀκούσωσι τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν κεφάλαια ταῦτα καὶ ἔχωσι ἡμᾶς κατεγνωσμένους εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι, ἅπερ ὑπεσχέθημεν γράψαντες* [i.e., in their letters to Constantinople proposing ecclesiastical union], *οὐ φυλάττομεν*. The Bryennios Affair will be further examined below, 247-268.

³³¹ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 38.233-234: *καταργίζομεν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν οὐ φρονοῦμεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοί*.

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’.³³²

The continuation of Cypriot crypto-Orthodoxy under the Latins mirrors a society that was neither ‘a rose-tinted haven of tolerance’, nor ‘a darkening valley of tears’, but implies that ‘violence was a central and systematic aspect of the coexistence’ between the Latin dominant class and the Cypriot Rhomaic population, ‘and even suggests that coexistence was in part predicated on such violence’.³³³ This interpretation could explain why a traumatic incident for the Orthodox, such as the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara (1231), did not produce ‘official’ testimonies of their veneration as holy martyrs and confessors, including liturgical services or icons commemorating their steadfast defence of Orthodox sacramental practices. As we have already seen, however, the hagiographical recollection and interpretation of memories associated with the Monks of Kantara strongly suggests that memory functioned as a mechanism of resistance that enabled the preservation of Orthodox identity.³³⁴ Moreover, several scholars have suggested that the Monks’ relics were secretly buried in the suburban area known today as ‘Holy Confessors’ (*Ἅγιοι Ὁμολογητὲς*) and that their veneration survived, at least for some time, camouflaged under the cult of Sts Gourias, Samōnas and Habibos, the three Early Christian martyrs of Edessa still venerated in that area.³³⁵ A hitherto unpublished *Synaxarion* on the Thirteen Monks notes that the Monks had been led by their executioners to the far end of Nicosia (*ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ Λευκουσίας*), across the banks of River Pediaios, which could perhaps confirm the *Ἅγιοι Ὁμολογητὲς* hypothesis.³³⁶

Papal correspondence reveals that covert Orthodox resistance against the Latin practice of unleavened bread in the Eucharist continued well after the Monks’ martyrdom and

³³² Ibid., 36.151-154, esp. at 152-154: *ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὡς θέλομεν, οὕτω καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ διάγομεν.*

³³³ Nirenberg 1996, 9 (referring to the persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages).

³³⁴ See above, 89-92.

³³⁵ Duckworth 1900, 23; Papadopoulos in Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, 316-319; KM (November), 146-157; Papageorghiou 2003-2004, 177-181; Triantaphyllopoulos and Christodoulou 2007, 678 (n.30), 684-685; Coureas et al. 2012, 161; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 100-101. Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 337.1-2, suggests that the Monks’ relics became an object of veneration by the Orthodox Rhomaioi of Cyprus. The veneration of the Monks was revived in the 1950s. A small chapel dedicated to the Monks has been recently founded in the Holy Confessors area, Nicosia. Their monastery at Kantara is today occupied by Turkish military forces.

³³⁶ App. I, 418.II.2.111-112.

the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*. Around 1288, Bishop Berard of Limassol (ca. 1288–ante 1300) visited Bishop Matthew of Leukara (ca. 1260–post 1295) and his clergy, and enquired their opinion concerning the validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. Berard’s questions alarmed the Cypriot Rhomaioi: Bishop Matthew remained silent on the subject and nodded to his priests, who answered that they were ignorant of the Latin practice. When Berard demanded an oath from them on several other issues, the Cypriot Rhomaioi refused to obey, stating that if they did, they would not be permitted to celebrate the divine offices. Berard proceeded legally against Matthew, who refused to appear in court and was twice excommunicated. Although the result of the two Bishops’ quarrel is not known, it seems that Matthew’s rejection of the Latin sacramental practices echoes the Orthodox refusal to recognise the Latin validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist and could be interpreted as an expression of non-violent, non-coercive and covert resistance to Latin orthodoxy and orthopraxy.³³⁷

The same spirit of rejection of the Latin Eucharist is reflected in various artistic representations of the Communion of the Apostles from a number of Cypriot Rhomaic churches of the Latin period. The Communion of the Apostles depicts Christ administering His Body and Blood in the form of sacramental bread and wine to His disciples. Archaeologists and art historians have interpreted this scene as bearing ‘hidden’ anti-Latin implications, focusing on the condemnation of the Latin Eucharist and the scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation. The elevated status of leavened bread in Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical art is mirrored, above all, in the church of the Holy Cross of Hagiasmati, situated in the mountainous village of Platanistasa. The church was founded by the priest Peter of Peratis and his wife (late fifteenth century) and decorated by the Syrian Melkite painter Philip Goul in the last decade of the fifteenth or the first decade of the sixteenth century. Christ is emphatically depicted, twice in the same church, to bless unbroken leavened breads, which bear the symbol of the cross and are clearly distinguished from the Latin Host.³³⁸

³³⁷ BC II, 210-211 (o-19), 212-214 (o-20): trans. and comm. in SN, 73-73, 331-332.X.31, 332-333.X.32, but note that Schabel finds the episode ‘humorous’ (at 73). See also Coureas 1997, 311-313. I am following the dating proposed by Schabel 2000–2001, 221-222, 227-231; Schabel 2004b, 102-103.

³³⁸ Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1335; Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 190-192, 211, 213; Gioles 2004, 268-269, 271-275; Eliades 2005, 145-166; Eliades 2008, 308; Argyrou and Myriantheus ²2009, 10, 14-16, 24;

Western traveller accounts portray the same picture of Orthodox crypto-religious resistance. Marino Sanudo, a well-known Venetian statesman and scholar who travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean between 1312 and 1321, noted that although the Rhomaioi of Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Rhodes and Peloponnese were under Latin political and ecclesiastical domination, they still followed their heretical customs with all their heart (*cuor loro*) and sought the opportunity to freely express their true convictions and feelings.³³⁹ In the early fifteenth century, Jerome of Prague (d. 1416) claimed that the Rhomaioi of Nicosia and Rhodes insolently turned their backs to the lifted sacrament of the Latin Host, thus expressing their rejection of the Latin Eucharist in a non-violent and non-coercive way.³⁴⁰

Overall, Orthodox Cypriot crypto-religiosity involved the maintenance and implicit or covert manifestation of Orthodox doctrines and practices, which were considered by the Papacy as 'erroneous' or 'heretical', and permitted the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity. The Latins seem to have generally tolerated discreet expressions of Orthodox Cypriot crypto-religiosity, though there was always the possibility of exercising coercion against the 'disobedient' Rhomaioi. This could explain the long-term continuation of Orthodox crypto-religious strategies and practices until the end of the Latin rule.³⁴¹

II.3. Multiple identities

The second characteristic of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality in the period following the *Bulla Cypria* is the multiplicity of identities of Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi believers. According to Diane Austin-Broos, 'conversion' is 'a process of continual embedding in forms of social practice and belief, in ritual dispositions and somatic experience'.³⁴²

Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 48-49. The two representations from Hagiasmati depict the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles. On the name 'Peratis', see Koumbaridou 1986, 361-363.

³³⁹ Marino Sanudo, *History of Rhomania*, ed. Papadopoulou, 10, 167.27-169.2; Kaldellis 2007, 348-349.

³⁴⁰ Schabel 2010b, 31-32; Schabel 2011, 127. An interesting and amusing parallel comes from a painting by the Melian Antonio Vassilacchi (*L'Aliense*; d. 1629), illustrating the coronation of Baldwin of Flanders, first Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1204-1205), by the Venetian doge. Vassilacchi's painting, presently preserved in Venice (Doge's Palace, Hall of the Great Council), ironically depicts a child showing off his naked rear, most probably in order to ridicule the ceremony and the Latin victory over Byzantium: Moschonas 2008b, 12.

³⁴¹ See below chapters III, IV and V (*passim*).

³⁴² Austin-Broos 2003, 2.

Applying the aforesaid definition of conversion in the cases of Orthodox, Latins and Oriental Christians in Latin-ruled Cyprus, we may consider them as 'converts' of their own Churches. Faith, like conversion, usually involves a specific way of life, a continuous return to religious practices, dispositions and beliefs, rather than simply being a singular experience in one's life.³⁴³ Henri Gooren notes that 'significant others' (family, friends and acquaintances) form social networks that tend to influence the religious orientation of individuals, especially in young age.³⁴⁴ Seen from this perspective, Orthodox resistance to Latinisation can be understood as an attempt to safeguard 'parental religion', against a process of conversion to another religion. Gooren's remark that conversion can be achieved through socialisation is significant, because it underlines the instrumental role of social networks in shaping one's religious identity. Thus, the decision of a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi to convert to the Latin rite, or adopt a more religiously syncretistic behaviour, can be associated with the social elevation of non-Latins during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the other hand, Rhomaioi from rural areas, who did not come into frequent contact with the Latins, were more likely to preserve their parental religion than people linked with the Latin dominant class.

Rebecca Sachs Norris has demonstrated that conversion from an old religion to a new one requires the gradual assimilation of the neophyte's beliefs and somatic responses. She has observed that converts tend to assimilate in the shadow of their former religion and worldview. This makes the passage from one religion to the other a lengthy process, exactly because ritual practices are not adopted as ready packages, but can be subject to selection. Although body, feelings and mind are capable of learning and adopting new concepts and rituals, this process is usually gradual because it evokes past images, ideas, emotions and physical associations that belong to a former religion and worldview.³⁴⁵ The fact that many Cypriot Rhomaioi openly accepted papal authority but stubbornly refused to adopt the Latin liturgical rite, seems to confirm these anthropological observations. The reality of conflicting identities in thirteenth-century Cyprus is reflected in the concern of Latin ecclesiastical authorities regarding

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁴⁴ Gooren 2010, 110, 141.

³⁴⁵ Sachs Norris 2003, 171-181.

the sincerity of conversion of Latinised Cypriot Rhomaioi and their possible return to the more familiar Byzantine rite and Orthodox tradition soon after the end of Archbishop Neophytos' exile. It was because of this threat that the Latin Church of Nicosia proceeded to the promulgation of a series of regulations on Palm Sunday 1251, aiming to prevent future expressions of disobedience on the part of its non-Latin members.³⁴⁶

The concepts of 'hybridity' and 'multiplicity of identities' have recently been investigated by Maykel Verkuyten. According to Verkuyten, individuals simultaneously belong to a diversity of social categories, thus developing multiple identities. Verkuyten notes that it is common for people with multiple identities to organise their self-understandings in a hierarchy, in which one layer of identity often dominates the person's thoughts and actions (at least periodically).³⁴⁷ Another modality of hybridity is related with the concept of cultural syncretism. Verkuyten observes that when new social identities arise, they are defined through a process of 'mixing and blending', which involves a degree of rupture or discontinuity with the individual's past. 'Mixed' or 'hybrid' identities within a group cannot be ignored, because they tend to promote new interpretations of collective identity among members of the same community.³⁴⁸ The emerging discontinuity between old and new self-definitions is called 'schism'.³⁴⁹ Moreover, Verkuyten stresses the role of context in the shaping or manifestation of identities. Different contexts enable individuals to activate inconsistent, even contradicting, self-understandings which may 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. 'Identity' is not solidly fixed, but to a large extent manageable and negotiable.³⁵⁰

Verkuyten's analysis shows that it is rather simplistic to solely interpret Cypriot Orthodoxy under Latin rule in terms of its 'Cypriotness', or imposed 'Latinised'

³⁴⁶ See above, 67.

³⁴⁷ Verkuyten 2005, 50-52.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 152-156.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 178-179.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 184-196, 221.

identity.³⁵¹ This is not to argue that a strong regional identity did not exist, or that Cypriots of various ethno-religious origins did not express their affection towards their native island. The rhetorical and literary *topos* of ‘the beautiful, yet misfortuned island’ can be traced from Machairas’ twelfth-century hagiographical source and the writings of Neophytos the Recluse to Patriarch Gregory II (1283–1289) and Leontios Machairas’ *Chronicle* (first half of the fifteenth century); it also appears in the anonymous poem known as the *Lament for Cyprus*, relating the catastrophic consequences of the Ottoman conquest in 1571. Thus, we can see how the regional identity of all Cypriots was highlighted by intense emotional attachment to their native land and compassion for the calamities of its people.³⁵²

Although the political fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century encouraged the development of regional identities, a sense of unity between the free and conquered Rhomaioi continued to exist, growing stronger towards the mid-fifteenth century. Various reasons contributed to the gradual shaping of Late Byzantine ethnic self-consciousness. These included: the Nicene and Palaiologan Hellenocentric cultural revival, the geographical transformation of Byzantium from Empire into small state, the rising tide of Ottoman expansionism, the strained relations with the Latin West and the internal antagonism between unionists and strict Orthodox/anti-unionists. Admittedly, the criteria applied for the definition of the ethnic self in Late Byzantium primarily correspond to the understanding and politico-religious 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. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that the criteria of ethnic

³⁵¹ Similar remarks have been made by Dimitris Tsougarakis against the deconstructive approach of Sally McKee on Venetian-ruled Crete: Tsougarakis 2001, 52: ‘There are regional vs local identities, “we” vs “them”, “our people” vs “foreigners”, “our family” vs strangers, male vs female, orthodox vs catholic, to say nothing of the identities created by belonging to a particular social class’.

³⁵² Note that, already from ancient times, Cypriot anthroponymy reveals a particular preference for personal names that incorporated *Kypros*, either as prefix (*Kypro-*: e.g., Kypragoras), or suffix (*-kypros*: e.g., Akestokypros): Masson 1964, 3-12. On the *topos* of ‘the beautiful, yet misfortuned island’ see generally Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 46 (on Gregory II), 87 (on Machairas), 138-142 (on the *Lament for Cyprus*); cf. Shawcross 2009, 228-229 (on Machairas). On Neophytos the Recluse see also above, 45. On Machairas’ source see Papadopoulos 1952, 12.170α, 27.184β. Stephen of Lusignan’s affection for Cyprus is expressed less sentimentally and more intellectually in his encyclopedic *Chorografia*. Yet, we can still detect traces of the same *topos*. See e.g., Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 1^r-2^r.

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.³⁵³ These criteria offer insights to an already-existing stratum of collective identity, which developed through long-term historical experiences and did not stay static or unchangeable. Anthony D. Smith, one of the chief representatives of the ethno-symbolist school in the study of nationalism, has convincingly stressed the significance of historico-cultural continuity as the cornerstone of ethnic and national identity. In doing so, Smith reappraised previous modernist theories influenced by Marxism, which characterised the nation as a 'construction', 'invention' or 'imagined community'.³⁵⁴ Turning now to markers of ethnic identity in Late Byzantium, two of the most significant elements were the Greek language and political loyalty to the Byzantine emperor (particularly in times of crisis). The Orthodox faith in its ecumenicity was another marker of ethnic identity, though not exclusively Rhomaic, since other ethno-religious groups were Orthodox, too (e.g., the Slavs and Syrian Melkites). The observance of common habits, laws and customs, the adoption of the Rhomaic style of dress and physical appearance (e.g., growing a beard) and the awareness of belonging to the same 'race' (γένος) were no less important markers of Late Byzantine ethnic identity.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ On the development of communal/ethnic/national identity in Byzantium see generally: Odorico 1999; Rapp 2008, 127-147; Kaldellis 2007; Page 2008; Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou 2011, 107-125; Stouraitis 2014, 175-220; Papadopoulou 2014, 157-176.

³⁵⁴ Smith 1998; Smith 2009a; Vryonis 2011, 85-95; Svolopoulos 2011, 119-124. Note, however, that Smith's remarks on Byzantine identity/ies should be consulted with caution: Smith 2008, 87-88, 90-92; cf. Kaldellis 2007, 317-388, who talks about 'national Hellenism'. The Marxist Byzantinologist Nikos Svoronos, too, stressed the cultural continuity of national Hellenism. His study (Svoronos 2004) was written in the 1960s, well before Smith's contribution to ethno-symbolism, but remained unpublished until 2004. Page 2008, 11-26, sees the Byzantine collective identity as ethnic, not national. I chose to use 'ethnic', rather than 'national' identity, because nationalism is generally associated with the modern nation-state. One should not fail to consult Walter Pohl on the formation of ethnic identity during the Migration Period (ca. 400–ca. 900). See generally Pohl 1998, 17-69.

³⁵⁵ I generally depend on Page 2008, esp. at 160-161, 164-165, 268-269, 281. An interesting overview of the characteristics of ethnic identity in Late Byzantium is given by Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) in his *Letter to Alexios Iagoup*, composed around 1396. Manuel II is referring to Manuel Kalekas (d. 1410), the well-known anti-Palamite and Latinophile teacher, scholar and theologian, stressing the latter's 'Hellenic' education, physical appearance and behaviour (including style of dress, manners and gestures), which characterise Kalekas as a Rhomaïos *vis-à-vis* the Latins. Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letter to Alexios Iagoup*, ed. Dendrinou, 367.15-369.11 (forthcoming in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca LXXI*): *Και μὴν, τῶν τοῦτον ἐχόντων ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μετενηνεγμένον, λέγω δὴ τῶν τοῦτον εἰδόντων, πλείους τε ἡμεῖς καὶ πατριῶταί οἱ, καὶ συνήθεσιν ἐνταῦθα πλείοσιν ἔχει χρῆσθαι, ἢ γνωρίμοις ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὅτῳ μέτεστι τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τιμῆς, μὴ ἂν ἴσως ἔλαττον τοῦτον ἔχειν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνων ταύτης τετυχηκότων. Εἴτ' οὐδ' ὑποψίας οὗτος καθαρὸς ἔσται ποτὲ παρ' ἐκείνοισι· εἰκότως· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πρὶν αὐτομολησάντων ὡς αὐτοῦς, εἴτ' ἐπανεληθόντων ὡς ἡμᾶς, δηλον ἂν εἴη ὡς οὐδὲ τούτῳ πάνυ πιστεύοντες*

In the case of Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaiοi under Latin rule, their solidarity with the Rhomaic *γένος* was primarily expressed through their Orthodox faith.³⁵⁶ However, this did not exclude the development of multiple identities. The Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaiοi were subjects of the Lusignan king and members of the universal Western Church, had a distinct regional identity ('Cypriots'), but still considered themselves as 'Byzantines' ('Rhomaiοi'), who spoke Greek (in the form of the Cypriot dialect), expressed their loyalty to the Byzantine emperor and observed the Orthodox Rhomaic ecclesiastical tradition, habits, laws and customs.³⁵⁷ Thus, the multiplicity and strategic deployment of identities in response to various circumstances seems to explain the rapprochement of Cypriot Rhomaic monasticism with the Papacy and the attempts to secure Latin secular patronage.³⁵⁸

A manuscript preserved in the Patriarchal Library of Constantinople (MS *Panaghias* 44), copied and probably owned by a Cypriot Rhomaic rural priest in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, contains a *synodikon* which bears witness to the hierarchical multiplicity of identities in Latin-ruled Cyprus. The text of the *synodikon* ends with a

ἔσονται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπειδήπερ εἰς ἄνδρας ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀπόσῃν ἔχει παιδείαν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν Λατίνων παιδευθεὶς, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξαν μαθὼν, καὶ πρὸς γε ἔτι ὕστερον μετὰ πολλὰς ἐτῶν περιόδους διέστηκεν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἠνίκα πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἦν εἰκὸς νομίζειν ὡς καὶ ἄπερ ἐν νεότητι καὶ ἀκμῇ συνελέξατο, καὶ ταῦτα ἀμβλύθη τυχὸν τῷ χρόνῳ τε καὶ τῇ παρακμῇ, ὡς ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις τοῦθ' ὀρώμεν γινόμενον, τότε ὤφθη διασύρων φανερώς, ὡς μὴ ὄφελεν, ἀ τὸ πρὶν ὕμνει. Καὶ μὴν, μέχρι χθὲς καὶ πρώην καὶ μετὰ τὸ διαβάλλειν ἀξιοῦν τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἱερέας προπηλακίζων μὲν οὐκ οὐκ ἀφίστατο· τοῦτοις δ' οὐκ ὁμῶς ἑαυτὸν προσαγγέλων ἐφαίνετο, εἴ ποιν τι σύννοιδεν ἀνθρώπινον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡξίου καθαίρεσθαι τε καὶ ἀγιάζεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ σφίσι χαίρειν συνῶν τοῖς τε ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις, καὶ ἔθεσι, καὶ λόγοις, καὶ οἷς ἀπλῶς πεφύκασιν ἀνθρώποι εἰς ταῦτό συνέρχεσθαι καὶ συνδεδέσθαι καὶ ὁμογνωμεῖν, τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἦδεται μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς πρὸς οὓς ἠτομολῆσεν. Ἔτι τοίνυν, καὶ ἐσθῆς, καὶ ἐφροσύνης, καὶ ἰππασίας, καὶ μάστιγος, καὶ κέντρον, τὰ εὐτελέστατα, καὶ τὸ ὑποδεδέσθαι, καὶ καθῆσθαι, καὶ ἵστασθαι, καὶ βαδίζειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ σκίμπους, καὶ ἐνῆ, καὶ τράπεζα, καὶ σιτία, καὶ ποτά, καὶ συνελόντα φάναι τᾶλλα πάνθ' οἷς τισι χρῆται, ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς τοῦτων διαίτης καὶ τάξεως, ἀ δὴ καὶ οὗτος παρ' ὧν ἔφυ πεπαίδευται τε καὶ διεδέξατο· καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Λατίνοις ἔστι κοινόν. Ὅθεν, πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ζῶν, ἐν ὑποψίαις διατελέσει, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀνδρὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι βιωτὸν γένοιτ' ἄν. Τί οὐ λέγω τὸ μεῖζον; Οὐ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦτον ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι οἷς λέγειν συμβαίνουσιν· μηδὲν γὰρ ἂν ταύτην πείθειν, πολλοῖς τοῦτο τεκμαίρομαι· ἔφυγε δὲ πολλακίς καὶ ἔρκος τοῦτ' ὀδόντων αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμφιγνοεῖν καὶ ἔργον τούτῳ δεῖσθαι Θεοῦ διδαχθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ληθές. See also Dendrinος 2002, 58-74.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Kaldellis 2007, 359-360: 'The format of theological debate may have rested on that theoretical notion, but in reality everyone knew that there was more at stake, evinced in the constant references to *glossa*, *ethnos*, *genos* and *phylon*. Ecclesiastical union was undermined by deep national sentiments [...]'.

³⁵⁷ On the ethnic name *Rhomaiοi* in Cyprus see: Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 61; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005b, 329. The Greek translations of the *Bulla Cypria* refer to the *Rhomaiοi* of Cyprus, though in some cases they adopt the Latin *Graeci*: Ioannides 2000, 357-368 (*passim*). On the observance of the Byzantine customary law on the island and the depiction of Byzantine emperors as legislators in Cypriot Rhomaic legal manuals see: Chatzipsaltes 1955, 25-33; Kyrris 1985, 232; *DGMC*, pl. 165-166; Aimilianides 2004, 51-74; Pitsakis 2005, 141-182 (esp. at 161-163); *GBUZ*, 224-226.93; Rapti 2014, 317-322, 341-342. On language as a vehicle of ethno-religious identity see: Nicolaou-Konnari 2000a, 9-10; Panayotou 2011-2012, 122-127.

³⁵⁸ See above, 70-79.

series of *πολυχρόνια*, namely liturgical commemorations of prominent individuals. All five patriarchs are mentioned, the Roman pontiff being among them, together with the archbishop (presumably the Latin one), the local bishop (presumably the local Rhomaios prelate) and the Lusignan king. More importantly, the part of the *synodikon* preceding the *πολυχρόνια*, contains long lists of Byzantine emperors and holy prelates of the Orthodox East, including many archbishops and bishops from Cyprus.³⁵⁹ The vast majority of the information contained in the *synodikon*, intended to be annually recited on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of Lent), echoes clearly and in a direct way the Byzantine imperial ideology and stresses the island's position as integral part of the Orthodox world. The commemoration of the pope is somehow overshadowed by the commemoration of all five patriarchs, while the commemoration of the Lusignan king is preceded by a long list of Byzantine emperors. *Synodika* like the above demonstrate how ethno-political messages with covert anti-Latin implications were liturgically communicated by the Orthodox clergy to the laity.³⁶⁰

Artistic evidence, too, seems to confirm the view that Orthodoxy was the main vehicle of ethno-political self-awareness among the Cypriot Rhomaioi.³⁶¹ Iconographic representations of warrior saints from Byzantine churches sometimes provide indications of covert anti-Latinism and ethno-religious identity. The mountainous church dedicated to the Virgin of Moutoullas, situated in Marathasa, functioned most probably as a private chapel for the family of John of Moutoullas (or Gerakiōtēs), who might have been a falconer in the service of a Latin lord. The church was decorated in 1280. Among several full-length representations of Eastern warrior saints, St George is depicted slaying a human-headed dragon, whose crowned head resembles representations of Latin donors and supplicants from other Cypriot monuments. Although St George was venerated by all Christians and the portrayal of a human-headed dragon alluded to the Saint's spiritual victory over Diocletian, it is reasonable to suggest that the anti-Latin visual rhetoric of the Moutoullas depiction would be

³⁵⁹ Couroupou and Géhin 2001, 147-153, 157-160.

³⁶⁰ We find an interesting parallel in Byzantine astrological treatises, not approved by the Orthodox Church, yet invoking the Trinity and the saints in order to stress their orthodoxy: Sangrin 1936, 146, 151-152.

³⁶¹ See generally Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 40-51.

easily deciphered by Orthodox Rhomaioi viewers, literate or not: St George was in fact slaying a Latin monarch.³⁶²

In the late twelfth century, the veterinary physician Nikēphoros of Kallēas commissioned a full-length mural painting of St George for the narthex of the Virgin Phorbiōtissa monastery at Asinou. The Saint's shield bears a cross within a crescent moon, a motif appearing in various Rhomaic churches in Cyprus and Latin-ruled Peloponnese. Archaeologists and art historians associate this particular symbol with Byzantine imperial authority; an interpretation which seems to establish a distinct political identity for St George, portrayed as a Byzantine Orthodox equestrian saint.³⁶³

Art historians and archaeologists have noted that depictions of the Betrayal from various Rhomaic churches and monasteries in Latin-ruled Cyprus and Greece between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries increasingly become 'militarised', in the sense that the mob coming to arrest Christ is often illustrated as a group of Western warriors. This tendency has partly been interpreted as a result of the influence of Western artistic models, as well as due to the growing presence of Latin mercenaries in the service of Byzantium and the establishment of Latin polities in the Greek lands. From the perspective of the conquered Rhomaioi, the visual effect and ethno-religious implications of such depictions might have transformed the Latins into 'enemies of Christ'.³⁶⁴

The 'militarisation' of the Betrayal was particularly popular in Cyprus. So far, the earliest example comes from the Hermitage of Neophytos the Recluse and was

³⁶² Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 328-329; Grotowski 2003, 27-77; Perdikes and Myriantheus 2009, 35-38, 43-58.

³⁶³ Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 137-138, 435-436 (see also the case of St Dēmētrios at Kellia); Gerstel 2001, 263-285; Walter 2003, 109-144, 277-284; Chatzichristodoulou and Myriantheus 2009, 29-30; Nicolaïdēs 2012, 93-101; Winfield 2012, 102-112; Weyl Carr 2012a, 364-365. A thirteenth-century 'Vita icon' of St George from the collections of the Virgin Phanerōmenē church, Nicosia, was probably commissioned by an anonymous Syrian Melkite. On the left corner of the icon, St George is tried by Diocletian, clearly represented as a Frankish king: Chatzichristodoulou 2012a, 124-127; Olympios 2014b, 59-60. Although there is no evidence that the association between Diocletian and the Lusignans was intentional and might as well be attributed to the painter's personal style or iconographic models, we may argue that the icon maintained (even subconsciously) considerable ethno-political implications for its Orthodox Cypriot viewers, especially after the trial and execution of the Monks of Kantara.

³⁶⁴ Stylianou and Stylianou 1992, 570-581; Page 2008, 236-238 (clearly ignores Greek bibliography on the militarisation of the Betrayal and the veneration of military saints); Weyl Carr 2012b, 274-279; D'Amato 2013, 69-95. Similarly, the scene of Crucifixion in the cathedral church of St John the Evangelist in Nicosia (known during the Latin rule as the Pipēs monastery), painted in the eighteenth century during the island's Ottoman occupation, emphatically depicts the Roman guards as Ottoman soldiers: Triantaphyllopoulos 2000-2001, 395-396 (esp. at n. 41-42), 399-402, 404, 406.

probably the work of an anonymous painter who completed the second phase of the monastery's decoration in 1195, four years after the Latin conquest. An inscription from the Betrayal scene, presumably added at Neophytos' instigation, quotes Ps 21:13 and 17. The Byzantine Fathers interpreted these verses as prophetic references to the arrest of Christ by wicked men, described as 'dogs' (κύνες) and 'fat bulls' (ταῦροι πίονες).³⁶⁵ As demonstrated by a number of scholars, Neophytos used similar language to show contempt for both Muslims and Crusaders, pointing out that the latter had only been successful in conquering Cyprus and selling the island to the Latins (Templars and Lusignans).³⁶⁶ The visual rhetoric of the Betrayal scene from Neophytos the Recluse's Hermitage demonstrates the beginning of a distinct line of Cypriot Rhomaic biblical exegesis, which identified the suffering Christ with the conquered Rhomaiοi, betrayed and tortured by their Latin brethren.

In 1192, the year when the Templars crushed the Cypriot Rhomaic Revolt in Nicosia, Theodore Apseudēs, a skilful painter who had previously been employed by Neophytos the Recluse for the decoration of his Hermitage (1183), decorated the dome of the Virgin's monastic church at Arakas, most probably under the patronage of the local noble family of the Authentēs.³⁶⁷ Apseudēs painted Christ Παντοκράτωρ ('Ruler of the Universe'), surrounded by angels and prophets, including Gideon the Judge, unusually depicted as an elderly Prophet in the dome and not as a military leader. The scroll in Gideon's hands quotes Jud 6:36, a prayer requesting divine help for Israel's salvation. Although the threat implied in the text initially referred to various historical enemies of biblical Israel, patristic exegesis interpreted the passage spiritually, as a reference to the salvation of humanity through Christ's Incarnation.³⁶⁸ It seems that the painter's intention, or perhaps the patron's instructions, were to present Gideon as a carrier of God's promises to his 'suffering, yet enduring people', in the sense that the Cypriot Rhomaiοi would eventually be delivered from evil, not only spiritually but

³⁶⁵ For the patristic interpretation of this passage, see Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Hill, 69, 71. Throughout the thesis the LXX numbering of the Psalter is applied.

³⁶⁶ Mango and Hawkins 1966, 146-147; Stylianou and Stylianou 1992, 573-575, 581; Englezakis 1996, 287; Chotzakoglou 2010, 939-940, 945.

³⁶⁷ See generally: Panayotidi 1993-1994, 143-156; Winfield 2010, 887-900; Chotzakoglou 2010, 930. On the Authentēs family see also above, 56 (n. 125).

³⁶⁸ For the patristic interpretation of this passage see, e.g., Origen's exegesis in Kannengiesser 2004 (I), 291-292.

also ethno-politically. This would suggest that the biblical text in Gideon's scroll reflects another case of monastic exegesis with covert ethno-religious implications.³⁶⁹

The co-existence and flexible management of multiple identities enabled the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity and Rhomaic ethnic awareness without, however, alienating the Cypriot Rhomaioi from their social context or resulting in the adoption of coercive and violent resistance to Latinisation and Western political oppression.

II.4. Tradition

The investigation of crypto-religiosity and multiple identities in Latin-ruled Cyprus leads us to the examination of tradition as a crucial concept in the preservation and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity. 'Tradition' (*παράδοσις*) is both the content of the Christian message, expressed in the life of the Church (*traditum*), as well as the way of the message's delivery (*actus tradendi*) throughout generations. The meaning of tradition is at the same time static (*traditio*) and kinetic (*tradere*), conservative and dynamic. Above all, tradition implies the existence of continuation, an uninterrupted transmission of the *traditum*. This requires the remembering (*ἀνάμνησις*) of an original 'giving' (*datio*) to the transmitters, namely the *actus tradendi* of Christ to the primitive Church, which completed the Covenant of the Old Testament between God and Israel through His Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection in the New Testament.³⁷⁰ Tradition joins together theory and praxis in specific historical contexts, and yet remains an incomplete attempt to describe the relationship between God and humanity. Tradition is embodied. To paraphrase St Hilary of Poitiers (d. ca. 368), the

³⁶⁹ Nicolaidès 1996, 50-51; Schiemenz 2004, 193-254. The image of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as 'a suffering, yet enduring people' is biblical; cf. Lind 1980, 174: 'The root of this vision of the way of Yahweh, a way that alienated Israel from her own environment and made her a suffering people, was not a late spiritualization but an event happening at the beginning of Israel's existence, an event that transformed warfare itself from a manipulation of power to a prophetic act and a patient waiting upon Yahweh's deliverance'. Similar interpretations concerning the Cypriot Rhomaioi under Latin rule are misunderstood by Schabel 2006a, 277, who argues that traditionalist historiographical narratives reflect the 'desire to be the victim, to continue to see the history of Cyprus as one long series of foreign invasions, of persecution, of tragedy'. According to a German chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, in 1203 the Orthodox Bishop of Kerkyra, Basil Padiaditēs, told a group of Latin clergymen that the only justification he could think of for the privileged status of the Roman Church was that Christ had been crucified by Roman soldiers, thus implying a connection between Christ and the suffering Orthodox: Nicol 1976, 151.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Englezakis 2011, 30-33; Squarcini 2011, 11-38 (esp. at 14-18).

knowledge of God is not to be found in the reading, but in the understanding of the Scriptures (*in intelligendo*).³⁷¹

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, which confirms Paul Magdalino's statement that in Byzantium, 'the study of God's Word [...] was simply too important to be put in an academic compartment'.³⁷² Monastic spiritual writers, theologians and pastors enjoyed a prominent position in the transmission of faith and interpretation of the Scriptures. Central (though perhaps not of principal value) to this process was the institution of spiritual fatherhood. A spiritual father (*πνευματικὸς πατήρ*), or 'elder' (*γέρον*), was an experienced continuator and transmitter of the tradition, capable of guiding his spiritual brethren (monks or laypeople) in their inner life. Since monks were usually considered as being more spiritually progressed than the parish clergy, they were preferred by the laity to become their spiritual mentors. 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.³⁷³

From the twelfth century onwards, the close encounter between Rhomaioi and Latins in the context of politico-religious tension and the emergence of groups of pro-Latin Rhomaioi led to an increasingly defensive reaction on the part of Orthodox clergy and monastic world. Threatened by the existence of pro-Latin Rhomaioi within their flock, the representatives and transmitters of Orthodox tradition acted as 'guardians' of their ecclesiastical heritage, setting barriers and boundaries between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', 'Orthodox' and 'Latins/pro-Latin Rhomaioi'.³⁷⁴ Orthodox spiritual pastors were aware that even seemingly 'insignificant' devotional practices could be imitative,

³⁷¹ Hilary of Poitiers, *Second volume addressing Emperor Constantius*, PL 10, 570A: *Scripturae enim non in legendo sunt, sed in intelligendo*. See also: Gwynn 2009, 7-26; Englezakis 2011, 30-33.

³⁷² Magdalino 1993, 316-412 (esp. at 366). See also: Constantinides 1982, 1-2, 12-13, 20, 22-25, 47, 52-55, 63-65, 67, 78, 88, 91, 101, 105, 131, 137-138, 141-144, 154, 160; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 175-184.

³⁷³ The above analysis is based on the following studies: Turner 1990, esp. at 52-89; Burton-Christie 1993, esp. at 238; Perone 2008, 393-417; Perone 2010, 257-290; Hann and Goltz 2010, 14; Ware 2011, 301-302; Englezakis 2012, 35-47.

³⁷⁴ Magdalino 1993, 386-388 (who introduces the term 'guardians'); Kolbaba 2000, 28-30; Kolbaba 2006, 199-214.

hardening their stance against those ready to accept the Latins as members of the same fold.³⁷⁵

The Orthodox Cypriot perspective of how holy monastics functioned as authoritative interpreters and transmitters of tradition is exemplified in the case of Neophytos the Recluse. Due to a vacancy in the episcopal throne of Paphos (ca. 1198–ca. 1209), Neophytos functioned as *locum tenens* from his Hermitage for nearly a decade, during the critical phase of Latin establishment on the island. The destabilisation of Byzantine institutional structures and the episcopal vacancy seem to have brought moral relaxation among the Paphians, many of whom abandoned the fasting regulations of ‘Shrove Monday’, marking the first day of Lent (*Καθαρὰ Δευτέρα*). Others celebrated their weddings during the week preceding Lent, known as ‘Cheese-fare week’ (*Τυροφάγος*), and extended their feasts on the first days of the fasting period. Neophytos wrote two encyclical letters trying to keep the flock and clergy of Paphos in order and even threatening the disobedient Paphians with excommunication. His hard stance towards those breaking the beginning of the fast has been interpreted as an attempt to raise barriers between Orthodox and Latin fasting practices, since the Latins, too, consumed meat during the week preceding Lent and began their fasting period on Ash Wednesday.³⁷⁶

Neophytos’ strict instructions concerning fasting practices demonstrate how an authoritative monastic pastor could and should function as guardian of the Orthodox tradition in times of crisis, setting boundaries between those inside and outside the fold. It is in this context that we should examine 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. The Recluse incorporated in his treatise a list of ten Latin errors: the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist; the immorality and beardless appearance of the Latin clergy; the incorrect way of making the cross using all five fingers instead of three; the employment of

³⁷⁵ Cf. Kieckhefer 1988, 100.

³⁷⁶ Neophytos the Recluse, *On those breaking the beginning of the fast*, ed. Karpozilos, 424-432; Englezakis 1996, 255-257; Pitsakis 2010, 723-738. It is not clear whether Neophytos had been appointed to be the *locum tenens* by a local synod, or by the incumbent Orthodox prelate who would have foreseen the vacancy. We should not exclude the possibility that the Recluse might have *de facto* assumed the pastoral responsibilities of the Paphian episcopal throne, by virtue of his widely-respected ascetic holiness.

improper bodily postures during prayer (full prostration and genuflection by bending one knee to the ground); the Saturday fast and consumption of meat during the Cheese-fare week; the rejection of the veneration of icons and the *Filioque* interpolation to the Creed. The Recluse's wish for reconciliation with the West is explicitly stated towards the end of his treatise, concerning a future Eighth Ecumenical Council that would resolve the differences with the Latins by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Interestingly, Neophytos implied that such a union could only be achieved should the Latins abandon their custom of using unleavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷ Neophytos the Recluse, *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Constantinides, 279-287 (esp. at 284-285.12 on the Latin errors). On the Latin errors see the discussion by Englezakis 1996, 257-260, 275-285; Kolbaba 2000, 40-41, 51-52, 54, 56-57. The Recluse interpreted the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist as an implication that Christ's humanity was lesser than His divinity, thus leading to non-Chalcedonism (Englezakis 1996, 259, 276-277). Concerning the wearing of beards, it should be mentioned that Richard I of England had forced the Cypriot Rhomaioi nobles to shave themselves, perhaps as a visible sign of their allegiance after the island's Crusader conquest in 1191. From a Cypriot Rhomaic perspective this seems to have been considered as an act of humiliation. In 1185, the Normans forced the Rhomaioi of Thessalonica to adopt the Latin haircut and shave their beards (Maltezou 1995b, 50; Englezakis 1996, 278). Concerning the sign of the cross, the Byzantines initially used only one finger, though later (around the eighth and ninth centuries) began employing two fingers, most probably as a way to declare their Chalcedonianism (the two fingers were considered as a symbol of the two natures, wills and activities of Christ). The custom of using the three fingers of the right hand was relatively recent at the time of Neophytos' composition of the treatise *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils* (post 1191-ante 1204) and is still used to this day by Orthodox Christians. The two first fingers are joined together and kept closed with the thumb (to signify the three consubstantial Persons of the Trinity), while the two remaining fingers are pressed down and signify the two natures, wills and activities of Christ (Englezakis 1996, 279-280; McGuckin 2011a, 170; Holy Monastery of Paraklētōs 2011, 14-15). Concerning the employment of improper bodily postures during prayer, the Recluse associated full prostration with kissing the ground and considered that it was better to follow Christ's example during the Gethsemane Prayer (Lk 22:41), when He prayed by bending both knees: Neophytos the Recluse, *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Constantinides, 284.12.136-285.12.142. On fasting customs see Neophytos' two encyclicals mentioned above. Concerning the Latin attitude towards the veneration of icons, the Recluse noted Basil of Caesarea's (d. 379) *dictum* that the reverence expressed towards the painted image passes to the archetype: Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit*, ed. Pruche, 300.7.16.35-36: τὸ γὰρ ἀπαύγασμα μετὰ τῆς δόξης νοεῖται· καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου; *ibid.*, 412.18.47.1-7: ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ δυνάμεως φωτιστικῆς τῶ κάλλει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου εἰκόνας ἐνατενίζομεν, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀναγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπέρκαλον τοῦ ἀρχετύπου θέαμα, αὐτοῦ πον πάρεστιν ἀχωρίστως τὸ τῆς γνώσεως Πνεῦμα, τὴν ἐποπτικὴν τῆς εἰκόνας δύναμιν ἐν ἑαυτῶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἀληθείας φιλοθεάμοσιν, οὐκ ἔξωθεν τὴν δεῖξιν ποιούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῶ εἰσάγον πρὸς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν; *ibid.*, 522.30.77.1-2: μετὰβα δὴ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον. Neophytos' statement that Western Christians rejected the veneration of icons might reflect the views of Carolingian theologians, who did not defend 'as a general proposition the ontological holiness of images' but 'insisted that images were mere matter, the work of human hands', although 'by the mid-ninth century [...] some writers had come to believe that the cross (and the crucifix?) formed an exception': Noble 2009, 369. This does not mean, as the Recluse implies, that the Carolingian restrictive line on images came to prevail in the West. In the later Middle Ages there seems to have been just as much devotion to images and belief in miraculous images as in the East: Thunø and Wolf 2004; Rubin 2010, 184-185; cf. the case of Our Lady of Tortosa icon in Nicosia (above, 74, n. 190). Although Neophytos criticised the Latins for the *Filioque* interpolation to the Creed, he seems not to have been very well informed on the Latin position (Englezakis 1996, 275-276, 281). The very fact that Neophytos lists the *Filioque* immediately after the veneration of

Neophytos' concern about the imitation of Latin religious practices and doctrines by members of his clergy and flock is important for our study. First, it demonstrates how authoritative monastic pastors communicated with their flock and influenced their perceptions of the Latins. Second, it implies the existence of Rhomaioi who did not consider the Latins as heretics or schismatics. Third, it stresses the significance of 'external' (audible and visible) differences, which provide concrete and tangible identity markers between 'us' and 'them'. Throughout the Orthodox East, similar lists of Latin religious errors aimed to promote sentiments of unity, stability, and superiority among the defeated, humiliated and disoriented Rhomaioi, especially the *illiterati*.³⁷⁸ 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. Tradition was indeed deemed as being physical, concrete and embodied, while conversion to another faith was demonised, excluded as an almost unnatural development, caused by the crossing of audible and visible boundaries.³⁷⁹

icons, reveals his awareness that the 'archetype-image' doctrine and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone (resting on the Son) had implications for the salvation of humanity through the operation of divine grace in the created world. On the connection between the Incarnation of the Word, the procession of the Holy Spirit and the theology of images see Neophytos the Recluse, *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Constantinides, 285.12.142-147; cf. Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, ed. Christodoulou, 505.1.16.4.97-99: the Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son and inseparable from the Son; *ibid.*, 506.1.16.5.112-130: the 'archetype-image' doctrine reveals the Holy Trinity and helps us understand the Incarnation; *ibid.*, 510.1.16.12.261-266 (cf. Is 11:2-3): the Spirit rests on the Son; *ibid.*, 511.1.16.14.300: the Spirit is equal and coessential with the Father and the Son; *ibid.*, 514.1.17.3.36-47: the images (*εἰκονίσματα*) of nature, and more specifically the sun, confirm the unity of the Trinity. On this last point we should note that St John Damascene uses a similar analogy to argue that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and rests on the Son. The Trinity remains inseparable (Louth 2002, 106-108). See also the discussion by Englezakis 1996, 259, 263-265, 271, 275-276; Isaiah of Tamasos and Horeinē 2010, 173-188 (esp. at 182); Skouteri 2010, 751-763.

³⁷⁸ Kolbaba 2000, esp. at 28-30, 71-72, 124-144.

³⁷⁹ Cf. Laine 2007, 325-344 (esp. at 342). The long-term survival of Orthodox Cypriot attempts for 'tangible' boundary maintenance between Rhomaioi and Latins can be traced in the island's folk tradition, especially in the demotic *Song of Zō(n)graphou*, dating back to the centuries of the Latin rule with later elements from the period of the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus. The *Song* relates the clash of an Orthodox Rhomaioi aristocrat with the Latin nobility for the love of a Syro-Latin lady, stressing the hero's refusal to come to terms with his enemies. According to the *Song*, the Rhomaioi aristocrat proudly declares his Hellenic origins and furiously rejects the proposal to sit on a 'Frankish throne', considering his physical assimilation with the Latins as the beginning of his cultural and ethno-religious Latinisation. See Menardos 2001, 364.261-266: *Τζαι πολοᾶται Τσιτσεκλῆς τζαι λέει τζαι λαλεῖ τους,/ ἀπού'τονν τόσοδ δυνατὸς τζαι σοοῦν τὴν τζεφαλήν τους./ «Παιδὶν τοῦ Βράγκου δέν εἶμαι [sic], τζαι βράντζικα νὰ κάτσω,/ τζαι Βράγκου νὰ μὲ κάμετε τζαι τ'ὄνομαν ν'ἀλλάξω-/ εἶμαι παιδὶν τοῦ Ἑλληνα, παιδὶν τῆς Ἑλληνίδας,/ τρᾶντα τσαέρες ἀρκυρὲς μοιράδιον ἐπῆρα».* Another version is published by Papadopoulos 2001, 210.B.27.173-176: *Κι' ἐπολοῆθην Τσιτσεκλῆς καὶ λέει καὶ λαλεῖ του:/ «Δέν εἶμ' ἐγὼ φραγκοσπορὰ καὶ φράγκικα νὰ κάτσω,/ εἶμαι κλωνὶν τοῦ Ἑλληνα, ρίζα τῆς Μολοχίας,/ χίλιες τσαέρες ἀργυρὲς μοιράσιν*

The activities of Cypriot Rhomaioi monastics, like Neophytos, as ‘guardians of tradition’ bring us to the interactive relationship between Orthodox Cypriot monasticism and the laity. Byzantine monasticism boasted of having a long history of struggles for Orthodoxy, the most prominent of which had been its defence of the holy images during Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, new monastic foundations were established and the ‘angelic life’ became more prestigious, although the increasing property of monasteries created problems of management and threatened monastic spirituality. Imperial legislation permitted Orthodox monasticism to safeguard its belongings and acquire more privileges; at the same time, the development of networks of lay patronage (imperial or aristocratic) enabled secular protection in exchange for spiritual benefits.³⁸⁰ The close contacts between monks and laypeople were further encouraged by the long process of ‘monasticisation’ of the Byzantine liturgical ordinance: the liturgical rite of the great cathedral of St Sophia in Constantinople, characterised by imperial splendour and impressive stational processions, was gradually modified through a series of monastic syntheses, addressing believers in a more private and intimate way.³⁸¹ During the turbulent reign of the Komnēnoi in the twelfth century, when the Empire was threatened by numerous internal and external enemies, monastic piety placed more emphasis on the Passion of Christ, as a result of not only wider liturgical developments, but also as an expression of the anxious atmosphere in a constantly threatened and changing world.³⁸² This was the time when the Byzantines began identifying their own socio-political problems with Christ’s sufferings, assuming the biblical role of the ‘suffering, yet enduring people of God’;³⁸³ an image that was

τὲς ἐπήρα». On the *Song of Zō(n)graphou* see generally: Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 190-191. On the negative image of the Latins in the Greek-Cypriot folk tradition see: Protopapa 1999, 295-296; Menardos 2001, pp. 367-370.

³⁸⁰ Morris 1995, esp. at 294 (synopsis of her previous exposition). See also: Angold 1995, 265-382; Stanković 2011, 47-72.

³⁸¹ Taft 1988a, 415-416. See also: Schmemmann 2003, 242-266; Taft 1977, 8-30.

³⁸² Belting 1980-1981, 1-16; Angold 1995, 69-72.

³⁸³ Cf. the pious rhetoric employed by Alexios I Komnēnos, *Edict on the reform of the clergy*, ed. Gautier, 197.292-306: Δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ καὶ τολμηρὸς ὁ λόγος, κατάληψιν ἔχει αὐτῆς τελείαν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς διανέστη ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ὑποθέσει καὶ γενέσθαι τὴν διόρθωσιν ἠδὲ ἠόκησε τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἑαυτὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν ἐταπεινώσεν ὥστε καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἡμᾶς τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ποιμνῆς, δι’ ἣν καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε καὶ σαρκὶ ἔπαθε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον αἷμα ἐξέχευε καὶ θάνατον ὑπέστη τὸν ἐπονείδιστον, καὶ μὴ διανιστάμενος πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐμμένονσι καὶ τὰ φρικωδέστατα ἀπειλεῖν. Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἀνέξεται ὅλως ἔτι παρεκτανθῆναι τὴν διόρθωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμποδίσουσι τοῦ λοιποῦ πρὸς τὸ ταύτην κατορθωθῆναι μεγίστη εὐθύνη

reaffirmed after the Latin conquest of most of the Byzantine Empire in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.³⁸⁴ All the above, show that by the thirteenth century, the contacts between Orthodox monasticism and the laity were highlighted by strong socio-economic, spiritual and ideological bonds.

On the eve of the island's Latin conquest (1191), Cypriot Rhomaic monasticism flourished, especially due to the monastic policy of Alexios I (1081–1118) and his grandson, Manuel I (1143–1180), which set the basis for the philo-monastic policy of the Lusignans. Under the Komnēnoi, new monasteries were founded, enjoying imperial, aristocratic and episcopal patronage: St Chrysostom at Koutzoubendēs, the Virgin of Kykkos, the Virgin of Machairas and Neophytos the Recluse's Hermitage are probably the best known examples.³⁸⁵ The eleventh-century inventory of the Virgin Krinēōtissa provides invaluable information on the monastery's land property, which included vineyards, olive-groves, gardens, mills and water resources throughout the

ἐπενεχθήσεται, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβοι κατὰ τι πάθος λέγειν ταῦτα τὴν βασιλείαν μου· οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ πρὸς τινα Θεοῦ χάριτι ἔχθραν, οὐδένα μισεῖ, οὐδένα κατακρίνει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον παθαίνεται τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται ὄρᾶν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ χριστιανικὴν κατάστασιν καταλυομένην.

³⁸⁴ See above, 122-124.

³⁸⁵ Not only were Alexios and Manuel motivated in their policy by a deep piety, reflected and confirmed by the founding of new monasteries, but they were also aiming to re-establish good order in monastic life and promote their role as defenders of the Church: Angold 1995, 265-301. For a brief overview of Cypriot monasticism in the twelfth century see: Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 38-42; Metcalf 2009, 322-323; Papacostas 2015, 123-145. The prestigious monastery of St John Chrysostom at Koutzoubendēs was founded by the monk George in 1090, and was placed under the patronage of the well-known general and administrator Eumathios Philokalēs (fl. ca. 1092–ca. 1118): Angold 1995, 259-260; Papacostas et al. 2007, 62-76; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 40; Metcalf 2009, 539-544. On the founding of the Virgin of Kykkos see above, 93. The first nucleus of the Machairas community came from the Holy Land sometime before 1172. The monastery was placed under imperial patronage and received grants and privileges from Manuel I. In 1172, the Cypriot monk Neilos, who had just returned from a pilgrimage in the Holy Land, was introduced to the community. He later became the monastery's abbot and renovator and requested for his community to be placed under the administration of the bishop of Tamasia. In late 1209, Neilos was elevated to the episcopal throne of Tamasia. In 1210, he confirmed the monastery's *Rule*, which he had himself composed as Machairas' Abbot. The *Rule* was influenced by that of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Christ Evergetēs and included rulings on the observance of hesychast life: Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 6*, 9*-10*, 54*-59* (comm.), 9.1-17.23 (on the community's history), 59.152 (on hesychast practices); Angold 1995, 291-292, 303, 307, 315, 322-323; Ioannides 2003–2004, 192-193; Metcalf 2009, 325; Patapiou 2009b, 172-173; Vasiliades 2010, 15-20. Neophytos the Recluse had initially been a member of the Koutzoubendēs community. Neophytos' first-hand experience of hesychast monasticism in the Holy Land, during his pilgrimage (1158), influenced his perception of ascetic life and led him to the establishment of his own hermitage at Paphos, which alluded, in terms of plan and decoration, to the pilgrimage sites of Palestine: Teteriatnikov 2006, 409-433; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010b, 817-832. The Paphian episcopal authorities, who seem to have maintained Constantinopolitan connections, placed the Hermitage under their patronage, and later 'upgraded' it into a monastery. Neophytos' establishment was probably supported by the local nobility as well: Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 34.5.4.4-13, 52-54.22; Galatariotou 1991a, 85-103; Constantinides 1996b, 362-363, 365; Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 28-29, 80-81, 109-111, 155; Metcalf 2009, 325-326.

island. Monastic estates like those of the Krinēōtissa were often cultivated and run by peasant farmers who depended on the monasteries for their living.³⁸⁶ Clearly, Orthodox Cypriot monastic centres were not isolated establishments on the margins of society, but part of the rhythm of everyday life. During feast days, monasteries became poles of attraction for the laity, or received pilgrims on a regular basis, especially when people needed to express their thanksgiving to God, ask for spiritual advice and, ultimately, be guided by monastic mentors on how to secure physical and spiritual salvation.³⁸⁷ The predominantly rural and agrarian basis of Cypriot society meant that most members of the Rhomaic community lived in the countryside, away from the urban centres where the majority of the Latin elite spent most of its time.³⁸⁸ Orthodox rural monasteries were involved in the daily life of the laity, as confirmed by the register of the Hiereōn monastery, which contains names of both Rhomaioi and Latins benefactors of the community.³⁸⁹ The numerous painted churches of Troodos, many of which initially belonged to monasteries, are visible markers of the continuous presence of Rhomaic monasticism in the countryside: their small scale, unity of space and low lighting reflect the mystical atmosphere in which Cypriot Rhomaic rural communities humbly practised their faith.³⁹⁰

The *Kantara Narrative*, most probably composed towards the end of the thirteenth century, portrays in vivid colours the interactive relationship between Orthodox Rhomaic monasticism and the laity. By presenting the Monks as spokesmen of the Orthodox tradition and the Latin-conquered *γένοϛ* of the Rhomaioi, the Anonymous author of the *Narrative* underlines that the quest for inner illumination and the social

³⁸⁶ Darrouzès 1959, 47-51.57 = *DGMC*, 58-59 (on the inventory of Krinēōtissa; English trans. in Papacostas 2015, 139-141, with comm. at 127-129); Georgiou 2007, 42-44; Metcalf 2009, 519-520; cf. Grivaud 1991, 118-119 (who dates the inventory of Krinēōtissa between ca. 1200–ca. 1220).

³⁸⁷ Cf. Gerstel and Talbot 2006, 85-90.

³⁸⁸ On matters of economy and social stratification of the Cypriot Rhomaic peasantry see in general: Richard 1947, 121-153; Richard 1977, 331-352; Grivaud 1991, 117-127; Richard 1995, 354-355, 362-363, 366-368, 370-372; Svoronos 1996, 32-39; Edbury 1999b, 1-7; Grivaud 2001, 361-368 (esp. at 363); Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 31-41; Coureas 2005, 113-114; Petre 2012, 71-79; Antonopoulou 2013. For a comparison with the Byzantine agrarian economy of Cyprus see: Papadopoulos 2005, 789-812 (esp. at 790-793); Georgiou 2007, 21-75. Christodoulou 1959 is particularly useful on matters of agrarian economy in the *long durée* of Cypriot history.

³⁸⁹ See, e.g., Darrouzès 1951c, 35 (f. 119^v), 38 (173^v), 40 (f. 186^r-186^v), 42 (f. 201^v). The manuscript containing the register was copied in the early twelfth century. Dated entries in the register cover the period between ca. 1203–1570: *DGMC*, 75-80.

³⁹⁰ On the mystical atmosphere of the Troodos churches see Feraios 2009, 223-231. See also Gerstel and Talbot 2006, 100.

responsibilities of monastic life were not so distant from each other. This is conveyed, for example, by the recitation of psalmic passages by the Monks in the *Narrative*, which express both their hesychast spirituality and their duty to defend their faith, ultimately with their own lives. In the language of Old Testament typology, the Latins are perceived as the 'mighty', the 'tyrants' and the 'proud' (images taken from Ps 118:23, 46 and 51 respectively), showing that biblical models shaped the psychology and spiritual self-understanding of the Anonymous and his audience.³⁹¹ The hagiographical identification of the Monks' persecutors with evil personae of the Old Testament implies the continuation of the line of scriptural exegesis initially developed by Neophytos the Recluse, according to which the Cypriot Rhomaioi were the 'suffering, yet enduring people of God'. The existence of this hermeneutical approach, which has not been adequately examined by scholars dealing with the ecclesiastical history of Latin-ruled Cyprus, is also mirrored in the Monks' final prayer before their martyrdom. As mentioned earlier, the allusion to the biblical sacrifice of the Three Youths in the Furnace (Dan 3), enhances the non-coercive resistance of the Kantara community to Latinisation and further promotes their role as 'suffering, yet enduring people of God'.

Another indication of the Monks' role as representatives of the conquered Cypriot Rhomaioi, is the Anonymous' reference to the noble Cypriot origins of two Machairiote monks, Gregory and Ignatios, who decided to join the Kantara community and share their brethren's fate. It seems that the Anonymous' intention was to highlight the link between the rightful rulers of Cyprus, namely Byzantium and its Cypriot Rhomaic nobility, and the Monks' sacrifice for Orthodoxy.³⁹² Perhaps the strongest piece of

³⁹¹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 323.26-27, 328.9-13, 28, 330.18-30, 331.1-17, 337.13-14, 336.20-337.2; Gounarides 1986, 314-317; cf. Constantelos 1979, 83-94. On the Monks' hesychast spirituality see: Makarios the Kalorite, *Fragments*, ed. Mercati, 190.1.39-191.1.56; Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 320.22-321.24; App. I, 418.II.1.83 and 96-98. The Psalter constituted an integral part of Byzantine elementary education, since it was used as a textbook and often memorised by children. It also occupied a central position in Orthodox monastic life. The Psalms were recited by virtually all Orthodox monks, often by heart and several times the day, in private or during the liturgy. This led to the cultivation of collective identities, which were clearly inspired by biblical models: Irmscher et al. 1991, 1752-1754 (esp. at 1752); Gerstel and Talbot 2006, 91; Parpulov 2010, 77-105; Krueger 2010, 199-221 (esp. at 218).

³⁹² Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 327.27-328.20; Gounarides, 1986, 315. Note that in the passage cited above, the Cypriot Rhomaioi are described as *τῶν ἡμετέρων γένους ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί*. It seems unlikely that the noble origins of Gregory and Ignatios should be interpreted as a hagiographic *topos*. The author preserves a sober memory of the events and the *Narrative* contains no legendary elements or miracles (ibid., 330).

evidence in the *Kantara Narrative* concerning the depiction of the Monks as spokesmen of their ethno-religious community, is the communal prayer of the anonymous Cypriot Rhomaic flock for the Monks to stand firm during their martyrdom. The Cypriot Rhomaioi people refer to the Latins as ‘bloodthirsty beasts’, ‘lions’, ‘evil rulers’ and ‘tyrants’ and to the Monks as ‘our Fathers’, whose sacrifice would glorify God’s name and strengthen the ‘holy’, ‘humiliated’ and ‘conquered’ *γένος* of the Rhomaioi.³⁹³ Moreover, the people’s prayer constitutes another example of biblical and liturgical exegesis, since it quotes Ps 79:15-16, which is recited by the archpriest before the *Tersanctus* and refers to the gathered congregation as a ‘vine’ (*ἄμπελος*) planted by the Lord, alluding to the subsequent Eucharistic sacrifice of Christ on the altar.³⁹⁴ Therefore, the Cypriot Rhomaic laity is illustrated to be actively participating in the Monks’ martyrdom, motivated by their shared ethno-religious identity and spirituality. Far from being considered as a simple divergence from Byzantine liturgical practices, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist meant for the Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi that the receiving of Christ’s Body and Blood was incomplete in terms of the sacrament, thus putting at risk the very salvation of one’s soul.³⁹⁵ The Monks are portrayed in the *Kantara Narrative* as guardians of the Orthodox faith and tradition, based on the eyewitness testimony of the primitive Church and the personal testimony of the saints, the Scriptures, the canonical authority of ecumenical councils and the established liturgical practices.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 329.18-30; Hinterberger 2011, 140-141. In the case mentioned above, *γένος* should not be considered as a reference to the local provenance of the Monks. The leaders of the community were not Cypriots, but came to Cyprus from Kalon Oros, so *τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς* or *τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους* (Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 324.27; cf. *ibid.* 332.23), refers to the common ethnic identity of all Rhomaioi. Note, however, that *γένος* could be used to denote regional provenance (*ibid.*, 328.5): *Κύπριοι μὲν τὸ γένος*.

³⁹⁴ Karmires 1952, 250 (n. 1); cf. Kannengiesser 2004, 500-501, 1488 (on patristic exegesis of the vine) (II).

³⁹⁵ Matthew Blastarēs (d. ante 1350) goes so far as to argue that God used a kind of leaven —referring to man’s rational and intellectual soul— to unite and give life to the different powers and qualities (corporeal and incorporeal) of human beings. Blastarēs also states that the leavened bread signifies Christ’s Incarnation, while the unleavened bread signifies His salvific Passion. According to Blastarēs, the Eucharistic use of the unleavened bread is incomplete from a theological and sacramental perspective, because the point of departure for our salvation is not simply Christ’s Passion but —first and foremost— His Incarnation: Palaiologos 2011, 58-81 (esp. at 59, 78, 80-81).

³⁹⁶ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 325.15-326.15, 329.6-9, 333.8-335.4.

The case of Neilos of Tamasia, formerly Abbot of the Machairas monastery and later Bishop of Tamasia (1209), demonstrates how prelates originating from a monastic background acted as guardians of the Orthodox tradition, thus contributing to the interactive relationship between episcopate and monastic wing. In 1210, Bishop Neilos confirmed the *Rule* or *Typikon* of the Machairas community, which he had composed as the monastery's Abbot. Notably, the *Rule* describes a semi-anchoretic model of monasticism, according to which hesychast ascetics devoted to the life of inner quietness (*ἡσυχία*) should spend five days of the week as hermits, only to return to the monastery for the weekend in order to celebrate the liturgy and receive supplies. Neilos explicitly stated that: 'Such is the life of the true hesychast, which we have received from our forefathers; I absolutely reject any other kind of hesychast monk'.³⁹⁷ The spiritual collaboration between the episcopate and the monastic wing continued well into the later Frankish period. 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 Cypriot Rhomaic congregation of the village of Emba (1435/6). The incumbent Bishop of Arsinoë, Sabbas Pipēs, was also present and ordered for the catechism to be recorded, presumably in order to be used in the future for the pastoral needs of his flock.³⁹⁸

Although monastics were prominent in acting as guardians of the Orthodox tradition, lay theologians were also involved in this process. This is confirmed by the case of George Lapithēs (fl. ca. 1336–ca. 1351?), a Cypriot Rhomaios polymath and anti-Palamite theologian, whose involvement in the Hesychast Controversy we shall discuss further below.³⁹⁹ In his *History*, secretly composed during his detention by the Palamite Hesychast establishment, the distinguished Byzantine savant and anti-Palamite theologian Nikēphoros Grēgoras (ca. 1290/3–1361), depicts Lapithēs as an

³⁹⁷ Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 6*, 9*-10* (comm.), 59.152 (esp. at lines 16-18: οὗτος γὰρ ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἡσυχαστοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν παρελάβομεν· ἀλλοτρόπως δὲ παντάπασιν ἡσυχαστὴν οὐ προσδέχομαι). Neilos clearly describes the essence of Palestinian laurite monasticism. See Patrich 1995, 3-4, 57-136.

³⁹⁸ *DGMC*, 237.

³⁹⁹ See below, 175, 177. Generally on Lapithēs see: Kyrris 1962, 23-24; Tsolakes 1964, 84-96; Karpozilos 1981-1982, 491-498; *DGMC*, pp. 179, 186, 380; Grivaud 1995c, 928-929; Grivaud 2005, 233; Van Dielen 2003, 214 (n. 58); Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 60-64. There is no evidence that Lapithēs renounced anti-Palamism later in his life as Guiland 1927, 282-283, has argued. See the discussion by Tsolakes 1964, 86-92; Constantinides Hero in Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, xlv-xlv.

ideal Late Byzantine aristocrat and scholar.⁴⁰⁰ According to Grēgoras, Lapithēs was of noble descent (μη τῶν ἀγενῶν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα), belonged to ‘the most illustrious and heads of the island’ (τῶν πάνυ τι λίαν ἐνδόξων καὶ πρώτων τῆς νήσου), and owned an impressive mansion (τῆς περιφανείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ἐπαύλεων τοῦ ἀνδρός), where he hosted solemn feasts and assemblies (έορταὶ γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις ἱεραὶ). Lapithēs’ φιλανθρωπία (‘love for humanity’) was confirmed by his generous patronage to those in need (χορηγία τῶν δεομένων δαψιλεῖς) and the ransoming of captives (παρέχων ἀφθόνως τὰ μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερίας). Lapithēs instructed the congregation of Cypriot Rhomaiοι in matters of faith (διδάσκειν τὰ τε ἄλλα τῆς εὐσεβείας νόμιμα), and even King Hugh IV (1324–1359) honoured his polymathy (ἀπέλανε τῆς ῥηγικῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς). Hugh recognised that Lapithēs had acquired the wisdom and language of both ‘Hellenes’ and Latins (δεξιὸς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ καθ’ ἑκατέραν σοφίαν καὶ γλῶτταν ὁ Γεώργιος ἦν). Lapithēs was involved in disputes with Latin intellectuals on philosophical and doctrinal issues, always defeating the latter (ἐς τὰ κράτιστα βάλλοντός τε καὶ νικῶντος αὐτούς), due to his superiority of spirit and vast learning.⁴⁰¹

While it is true that Grēgoras’ presentation of Lapithēs is idealised for purposes of *Kaiserkritik* against the Palamite Hesychast establishment in Constantinople, Lapithēs was certainly a highly educated and widely appreciated scholar.⁴⁰² Thus, it is not

⁴⁰⁰ Hart 1951, 175, observes that Grēgoras was incarcerated because he had openly challenged Palamite Hesychasm by sending letters to his friends in Trebizond and Cyprus, particularly Lapithēs, urging them to cut themselves off from Constantinople (1351); cf. John VI Kantakouzēnos, *History*, ed. Schopen (vol. III), 171.4.24.15-24. From the two sages’ correspondence, only three letters addressing Grēgoras have survived, focusing on their common bibliophile and scientific interests: George Lapithēs, *Letters to Grēgoras*, in Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 406-408.14, 408-409.15, 409-411.16. On the persona of Agathangelos, employed by Grēgoras in his *History*, see: Kyrris 1962, 21-25; Van Diēten 2003, 214 (n. 57-58); Mavroudi 2006, 68; Kaldellis 2014, 148-149.

⁴⁰¹ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 28.25.8.13-30.25.10.14.

⁴⁰² On Grēgoras’ *Kaiserkritik*, see below, 135. On Lapithēs interests in astronomy and astrology, see Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 32.25.11.12-34.25.11.2. Lapithēs translated into Greek the Latin version of the *Toledan Tables*, which had been originally composed in Arabic in eleventh-century Toledo and were used to predict the movement of stars and planets: Pingree 1976, 86-132; Pedersen 2011, 213-218. In addition to his astronomical writings, Lapithēs composed a long didactic poem, inspired by the Byzantine *Spaneas*, and a poetic monologue on *What the Virgin said when she saw Christ on the Cross*, inspired by a similar Planudean work: Tsolakes 1964, 85; Danezis 1986–1987, 413-425; Tinnefeld 1992, 51-57. Barlaam the Calabrian’s *Solutions* to the philosophical questions addressed to him by Lapithēs (ca. 1336), reveal that the Cypriot scholar was familiar with the works of Plato, Aristotle and perhaps the Neoplatonists: Sinkewicz 1981, 154-158, 162. Gregory Akindynos in his *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 38.10.37-50, 39, 40.10.73, 41, 326-327 (comm.), reproaches Barlaam for having insulted

surprising that sometime after the Provincial Council of 1340 – convoked by the Latin Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux (1332–1342) and aiming to reform the non-Latin ethno-religious communities of Cyprus on issues of sacramental practice, canon law and doctrine— Lapithēs was probably commissioned by the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy to appropriate several Latin regulations concerning the holy sacraments.⁴⁰³ Indeed, Lapithēs composed a liturgical treatise *On the Seven Sacraments*, which 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 line. 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 (1536–1595) 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 1672.⁴⁰⁴

To sum up, the need to defend and preserve the Orthodox tradition in Latin-ruled Cyprus enhanced the role of ecclesiastical and lay ‘guardians of tradition’, engaged in the pastoral guidance of their brethren and the refutation of Latin doctrines and practices. The interactive contacts between Cypriot Rhomaic monasticism and the laity

Lapithēs in his reply to the former’s philosophical questions. So far, none of Lapithēs’ anti-Palamite works, so praised by Akindynos for their style, argumentation and contribution to the struggle against Palamas, appear to have survived: *ibid.*, 174-186.42, 186-188.43, 188-192.44, 192-194.45, 194-198.46, 200-202.47, 220.52.34-35, 222.52.41-43, 242-246.60, 296.74.6-12, 376-387, 399, 412-415, 434 (comm.).

⁴⁰³ The documents concerning the Synod have been published, with English translation by Schabel, in *SN*, 248-249.L.1 (preface, including the names of the prelates attending the council), 250.L.2-259. L.15 (confession of faith), 260.L.I -267.L.VIII (conciliar statutes); cf. *ibid.*, 23-31, 81-83 (comm.). See also the discussion by Schabel 1998, 61-81; Coureas 2010, 444-445.

⁴⁰⁴ Darrouzès 1979, 20-21, 37-48, 60-73 (comm.), 97-113.8 (text); Englezakis 1996, 311-312 (considers the treatise Latinising); Schabel 2006b, 187; Coureas 2010, 440-442; Plested 2012b, 142-146. Darrouzès 1979, 39, observes that one of the manuscripts containing the treatise belonged to the Solea bishopric, and more specifically to the Steward (*οικονόμος*) John, later Bishop John Galatēs of Solea (1402–ca. 1405). This reference provides a possible connection between Leontios of Solea, who had been bishop in the 1340s, and Lapithēs. One should keep in mind that Leontios was probably an anti-Palamite. On Leontios of Solea, see below, 173-174, 182-183. Although Kirmitsis 1983, 37-47, 65-93, and Papadopoulos 1995b, 640-642, attribute the treatise to a certain Bishop Germanos of Amathous, this view seems to be incorrect (cf. Darrouzès 1979, 48-55; Schabel 2000–2001, 230-234). According to Papadopoulos 1995b, 642, Lapithēs might have indeed created a diagram on the seven sacraments, which seems to reflect the Western scholastic, rather than the Byzantine Orthodox methodology. Papadopoulos’ argument concerning Lapithēs’ Latinising treatment of the sacraments is not convincing.

contributed to the transmission of monastic spirituality to a wider audience and strengthened the ethno-religious role of Orthodox monastic pastors. In addition, the collaboration between monastic wing and episcopate reflects the mutual concern for the spiritual direction of the Cypriot Rhomaic flock. This is also confirmed by the activities of George Lapithēs, a lay theologian, who seems to have been involved in the appropriation of elements from Latin theology and their incorporation into a Byzantine Orthodox treatise *On the Seven Sacraments*, revealing that the notion of tradition is both static and kinetic.⁴⁰⁵

II.5. 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 have to turn to the sociological concept of ‘embodiment’ and Orthodox ‘theophanic’ theology.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) showed that our perception of reality is not produced by independent thinking minds, unrelated to the material world and our bodily senses, but always occurs from within our bodies, providing access to the world around us. Thus, thinking is not disembodied, as the dualists support, but an incarnate reality, developed from our consciousness and informed by our activities in the physical world. Time and place constitute the particular perspective through which our bodies and incarnate minds experience the world and reality.⁴⁰⁶ Building on Merleau-Ponty’s theory, Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) developed the notion of *habitus*, referring to durable dispositions, skills and practices generated by the human body. According to Bourdieu, *habitus* is internalised through practical processes of informal

⁴⁰⁵ This is not to argue that Lapithēs was *sensu stricto* Orthodox: his anti-Palamite theophanic theology was rejected and condemned by the Palamite Hesychasts, who were eventually vindicated as the ‘Orthodox’ side in the Hesychast Controversy. What we need to recognise, however, is that Lapithēs’ anti-Palamism seems to have been influenced by his philosophical training and theological conservatism, rather than the Latin scholastic tradition. Lapithēs’ treatise *On the Seven Sacraments* shows that Lapithēs was aware of the Orthodox doctrines and practices, which he set out to defend by appropriating elements from the Latin tradition. In this sense, Lapithēs should be *mutatis mutandis* considered as a lay guardian of the Orthodox Cypriot tradition. On Cypriot anti-Palamism as a ‘Byzantine’ movement see below, 178-193.

⁴⁰⁶ Deal and Beal 2004, 104-107; Turner 2006a, 43; Turner 2006b, 380.

and unconscious learning, which transform the received information into dispositions. Interestingly, the roots of *habitus* can be traced back to Aristotle's ἔξις ('habituation'), later interpreted by the Byzantine Fathers as a habit of mind leading to divine things, and eventually reaching Bourdieu through Thomistic theology (*habitus*). It is, therefore, safe to argue that the application of the Bourdieuan *habitus* in religious studies 'renders unto Caesar what is Caesar's' (Mk 12:17).⁴⁰⁷

The embodied dimension of religion, perhaps not necessarily or directly influenced by Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu, has drawn the attention of scholars from various disciplinary areas. Caroline Bynum, for example, has contributed to the reaffirmation of the essential 'psychosomatic unity' of human beings in the Western Christian tradition.⁴⁰⁸ The emphasis on psychosomatic unity is equally true for the Orthodox tradition. In the context of our examination, the meaning of the term 'spirituality' should be seen through the prism of the Pauline notions of πνεῦμα and πνευματικὸς (1 Cor 2:14-3:3 and Gal 5:22), which describe a state of life under the presence and direction of the Holy Spirit. In other words, *spiritualitas* should not be considered as the opposite of *corporalitas*. As 2 Cor 6:16-17 reminds us, humans can become temples of the living God.⁴⁰⁹

The Orthodox *habitus* dwells in the observance of tradition. The fulfillment of the Scriptures in the person of Christ means that the faithful have before their eyes the example of Christian life *par excellence*, encouraging and guiding their own personal imitation. In Byzantium, the memory of Christ's teaching, death and resurrection was re-enacted during the liturgy, monumentalised in sacred art, exemplary imitated by the martyrs, practised in the life of the saints, re-imagined and performed in the life-cycle ceremonies of the laity.⁴¹⁰ The Orthodox *habitus* largely depends on μίμησις, imitation, and ἀνάμνησις, remembrance. Thus, the Eucharistic Prayer (ἀναφορὰ) of the liturgy attributed to St John Chrysostom (d. 407) recalls (Lk 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24-25) Christ's

⁴⁰⁷ Csordas 1990, 5-47; Deal and Beal 2004, 49-52; Turner 2006a, 42; Robbins 2006, 45-46; Cohen 2006, 259; Mellor and Shilling 2010, 201-220 (esp. at 207-208). See also the various meanings of ἔξις in *LSJ*, 595 and *PGL*, 497. One should also consult: Gregory Palamas, *In defence of the holy hesychasts*, ed. Chrestou, 330-333.2.2.20; Rist 1984, 201-212; Golitzin 1993, 106; Maier 1994, 739; Bradshaw 2004, 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Bynum 1995a; Bynum 1995b, 1-33.

⁴⁰⁹ On the etymology of spirituality see: *PGL*, 1097-1105; Sheldrake 2007, 2-4; Perrin 2007, 26-31; Andreopoulos 2011, 17-22. On the relationship between Spirit and tradition see Englezakis 2011, *passim*.

⁴¹⁰ Constas 2001, 93; Barnes 2005, 406.

words in the Last Supper: 'do this in memory of me' (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν). In the Byzantine rite, the Words of Institution are associated with the offering of leavened bread and wine; ἀνάμνησις and μίμησις are, therefore, exclusively embodied in the Eucharistic celebration of the ἄρτος, which dynamically joins together past, present and future, body, mind and soul, heaven and earth, the living and the dead.⁴¹¹ Similarly, the Prayer of Oblation (προσκομιδὴ), during which the Holy Gifts (i.e., the sacramental bread and wine) are exposed on the altar before God, requests from the Holy Spirit to tabernacle (ἐπισκηνώσαι) in the celebrant priest, the sacramental offerings and the congregation of the faithful.⁴¹² The fact that the Prayer of Oblation is recited in the sanctuary, modeled after the Holy of Holies (*debir*) of the Jerusalem Temple and dwelling place of God's Presence (*Shekhinah*), enhances the mystical atmosphere of divine embodiment.⁴¹³ The celebration of the Eucharist, prepared by the Prayer of the Oblation, is both an act of sacrifice and a manifestation of God. The leavened ἄρτος plays a central role, not only as a lived and re-enacted ἀνάμνησις of Christ's sacrifice, but also as His living Body.

The insistence of Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi that only leavened bread was canonically permissible in the celebration of the Eucharist reflected their perception of the ἄρτος as being concrete evidence of God's immanence. Twice in the twelfth century, in 1156/7 and 1170, the Orthodox Cypriot hierarchy participated in the conciliar condemnation of Byzantine theologians (Sotērichos Panteugenos, Constantine of Kerkyra and John Irēnikos), whose teachings on the sacrament of the Eucharist and

⁴¹¹ Dix 1949, 161-162; Galavaris 1970, 64; Gittoes 2008, 1-4. Although the Byzantines generally equated ἄρτος with leavened bread, from a historical point of view this is not entirely correct, since it could also indicate the unleavened bread offerings of the Old Testament: PGL, 231 (ἄζυμος ἄρτος); cf. Barker 2007, 204. On the two main lines of liturgical exegesis in the Byzantine rite, the 'Alexandrian'/'symbolical' and the 'Antiochene'/'historical' see: Schulz 1986; Taft 1988a, 417-418. On the liturgical notion of time see Schmemmann 2003, 57-62, 91-116, 189-196, 200-204, 224-232. In the *Kantara Narrative*, the Monks' confession of faith before Master Andrew quotes the aforementioned Eucharistic formula: Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 325.19-21, 29-30. Moreover, the Monks celebrate the liturgy and receive Communion before their trial, incarceration and martyrdom in Nicosia: *ibid.*, 327.12-24; Gounarides 1986, 320-321.

⁴¹² Taft 1975, 350-373.

⁴¹³ Averinstsev 2006, 219-220; Ousterhout 2010, 227, 229-231. An interesting parallel comes from the ancient Jewish Temple practice of offering to God the 'Bread of the Presence' (Lev 24:5-9), a special cereal offering that invoked ('*azkarah*) God's Presence to His priests (cf. Mal 1:6-9): Barker 2004, 87-91; Barker 2007, 209-211. Interestingly, the word ἐπισκηνώσαι, used in the Prayer of Oblation to denote the tabernacling of the Holy Spirit in humans and the Holy Gifts, alludes to the Jewish feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*, Σκηνοπηγία), associated with the theophanic Transfiguration of Christ on Mt Thabor: Golitzin 1994a, 238-241; Andreopoulos 2005, 56-61.

the Holy Trinity were predominantly viewed as heretical, on the basis that they understood Christ's sacrifice as symbolical, or of lesser value.⁴¹⁴ The synodal reaffirmation of the real and sacrificial character of Eucharistic worship in the Orthodox East certainly influenced Cypriot Rhomaic perceptions of the Eucharist. In his *Foundation Charter*, for example, Neophytos the Recluse relates a mystical vision he had experienced during his pilgrimage in the Holy Land (1158), instructing him to meet the Heavenly King, Who was coming to impress His symbols upon bread (*τυπωῶσαι ψωμίον*). This is a reference to the sacred symbols and formulas impressed with bread stamps upon the leavened liturgical ἄρτοι. Neophytos' remembrance of the vision a few years later contributed to the founding of his Hermitage in Paphos and his life-long seclusion. The association between the stamped, leavened bread (*ψωμίον*), and the realisation of Neophytos' monastic vocation is clear.⁴¹⁵ This is not the only reference of leavened bread as a vehicle of holiness in the Recluse's works. In a short treatise entitled *On the Divine Mysteries*, Neophytos defended the sacrificial nature of Eucharistic worship and the incorruptibility of the sacrament itself, when consumed by the faithful, against the heretical teachings of certain Byzantine theologians (Michael Glykas/Michael Sikiditēs), who insisted on the corruptibility of the Eucharist.⁴¹⁶ The Recluse also mentioned contemporary miracles that confirmed the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The very fact that Neophytos included these miraculous stories in his treatise is a strong indication of their popularity.⁴¹⁷ The significance of the reaffirmation of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist is also supported by various twelfth-century Cypriot artistic representations of the *Μελισμὸς* ('Fraction') and the *Ἐτοιμασία τοῦ θρόνου* ('Preparation of the Throne').⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁴ Magdalino 1993, 279-284; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 190-196; Angold 1995, 82-83, 85-86; Mitsides 2005, 144-146.

⁴¹⁵ Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 31.4.21-32.4.1, 33.5.22-25; Christoudoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 421-424 (see also the Recluse's catechism on the Holy Trinity at 513-516.1.17).

⁴¹⁶ Michael Glykas and Michael Sikiditēs are usually identified as the same person: Yiangou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Panegyric I*, 28-29.

⁴¹⁷ Neophytos the Recluse, *On the Divine Mysteries*, ed. Karpozilos, 414-421; Neophytos, *Panegyric I*, ed. Yiangou, 495-498.27; Yevtich 2010, 137-148.

⁴¹⁸ Gerstel 1999, 37-47; Papamastorakis 2001, 80-97; Chotzakoglou 2005, 639-641; Konstantinide 2008, esp. at 65, 162, 174, 204-205; Chotzakoglou 2011, 478-479, 495-496. The *Μελισμὸς* scene depicts Christ as a naked infant, ready to be sacrificed on the altar. The *Ἐτοιμασία τοῦ θρόνου* portrays the eschatological preparation of the empty throne with the symbols of Christ's Passion, the Gospel and the Dove.

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 awareness that the ἄρτος is sacred. One such example is the distribution of blessed ordinary leavened bread (ἀντιδώρον) 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 breads 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 are a symbol of the Virgin, through whom the Incarnation of the Son became possible. It is also an ancient custom for the first homemade leaven of each year to contain blessed water.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, we observe a remarkable continuity in the perception of leavened bread as sacred, which is omnipresent in all aspects of Orthodox Cypriot religious culture, strengthening the perception of God's immanence. In the period of the Latin rule, the leavened ἄρτος functioned as an object of ἀνάμνησις for the Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi, through which they achieved the μίμησις of Christ's commandments and union with God.⁴²⁰

The theological and sociological notion of embodiment brings us to another important dimension of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality: that of theophany. Hieromonk (presently Bishop) Alexander Golitzin defines 'theophany' (θεοφάνεια) as 'the heart of Orthodox Tradition [...] what the Christian East has always understood as the very content of the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.⁴²¹ The term denotes 'the manifestation of the appearance of God: God become[s] visible. God's appearances mark or indeed comprise the key

⁴¹⁹ Goar 1647, 865-867; Galavaris 1970, 45, 167-185; Xioutas 1981, 175-199 (esp. at 181, 188-189). On Jewish Temple customs concerning cereal offerings to the Wisdom of God, see Barker ²2004, 91-95.

⁴²⁰ One of the arguments put forth by the Kantara Monks in their hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith* to support their rejection of unleavened bread is that the use of leavened bread was truly a part of their liturgical tradition, which had been instituted by Christ in the Last Supper and delivered to the Church by the Apostles. On the contrary, the use of unleavened bread was not a part of the Christian tradition, but a 'novelty' (οὐκ ἔστι παραδεδομένον παρά τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων): App. I, 415.I.2.31-416.I.2.32. Thus, it is not surprising that the *Confession's* mutilated beginning introduces the Monks' apology with the words, '[...] we maintain and worship and believe and confess' (καὶ κρατοῦμεν καὶ λειτουργοῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν): *ibid.*, 415.I.1.1-2. The Eucharistic bread is described as 'the Lord's Body' (τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα), 'the true, life-giving and proper Body of the Lord' (ἀληθινὸν καὶ ζωηρὸν καὶ κύριον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου), 'the most holy Body of Christ, our God' (τοῦ παναγίου σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν): *ibid.*, 415.I.2.27, 416.I.2.44-45, 416.I.3.66-67. The Monks' adamant rejection of unleavened bread was based on solid liturgical foundations, namely the long experience of the Orthodox tradition, which perceived the Eucharistic bread as a vehicle of theophany. As Margaret Barker puts it, 'there [are] rites and practices that [imply] a certain theology': Barker 2007, 6. In this case, the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist implies a theophanic theology.

⁴²¹ Golitzin 2007e, xvii.

moments of the sacred history'.⁴²² Theophany is associated with the concepts of transformation and deification: 'The notion of transformation in Christ, or *theosis*, [is] properly understood as the Hellenic expression of certain fundamental themes, centered on the *visio dei* and consequent transformation, inherited from Christianity's original matrix in Second Temple Judaism'.⁴²³ More importantly, Golitzin traces an uninterrupted line of theophanic theology, 'beginning with apocalyptic literature and proceeding to the New Testament era, pre-Nicene Christian writers, the early monks, the iconoclast controversy, and concluding with the Byzantine Hesychasts'.⁴²⁴ April D. DeConick acknowledges that, as modern historians, we cannot know whether people in previous historical periods 'actually' experienced God. However, she stresses the need to recognise that theophanic narratives were, for their audience of believers, 'reports of actual encounters with God'.⁴²⁵ These observations, often ignored in earlier and more recent studies on Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins, are essential for our examination.

Discussing the Gospel narratives of Christ's Transfiguration on Mt Tabor (Mt 17:19, Mk 9:2-10 and Lk 9:29-36), interpreted by the Fathers as a foretaste of the Son's future

⁴²² Ibid., xvii.

⁴²³ Golitzin 2007a, xxxiii (abstract).

⁴²⁴ Ibid. Special reference should be made to Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1), generally considered to have influenced the shaping of later apocalyptic traditions, both Jewish and Christian. Prophet Ezekiel, exiled in Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (597 BC), experienced a vision of the enthroned Deity, Whose likeness (*demut*, *ὁμοίωμα*) appeared like (*ke-mar-'eh*, *ὡς εἶδος*) a human being (*adam*, *ἄνθρωπον*) (Ezek 1:27). My guide for the English translation from Hebrew is Schäfer 2009, 43, though following Barker 2007, 150-151, I have translated *demut* as 'likeness', rather than 'figure', as in Schäfer's translation. The word *adam*, associated with divine anthropomorphism, is a direct reference to the creation of Adam, the First Man, 'according to the image and likeness' of God (*κατ'εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ'ὁμοίωσιν* in Gen 1:26; cf. *ibid.*, 2:19); Orlov and Golitzin 2007, 219 (trans. of Gen 1:26); Barker 2007, 160; Schäfer 2009, 44. This 'image' (*tselem*, *εἰκόνα*) of God in man was understood by later rabbinic exegetes as a kind of luminous 'garment' of the human heart. The internalised view of the *tselem* was adopted by the fourth-century Syrian (?) author of the Pseudo-Makarian *Homilies*, who argued that the saints are bearers of the internal power of Christ and shall be glorified both spiritually and physically, as Christ had been glorified during His Transfiguration on Mt Tabor: Orlov and Golitzin 2007, 218, 221, 223-228. Similarly, Gregory Palamas (ca. 1296–1359), the well-known Byzantine apologist of hesychast spirituality, stated that, before Adam's Fall, the First Man 'participated in this divine illumination and radiance, and as he was truly clothed in a garment of glory, he was not naked, nor was he indecent because he was naked': Gregory Palamas, *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. and trans. Sinkewicz, 160.67.1-4: *ταύτης τῆς θείας ἐλλάμψεως τε καὶ λαμπρότητος καὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ μέτοχος ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως, ὡς ὄντως στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένος δόξης, οὐχ ὑπῆρχε γυμνός, οὐδ' ἀσχήμων ὑπῆρχεν ὅτι γυμνός* (trans. at 161); Orlov and Golitzin 2007, 223. Palamas also added that this 'garment of glory' had not been lost forever to humanity due to Adam and Eve's Transgression, but was manifested in the transfigured Christ, Who promised to share it with those following His commandments: Gregory Palamas, *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. and trans. Sinkewicz, 160.66 (trans. at 161).

⁴²⁵ DeConick 2006b 5-6.

exaltation after the Passion,⁴²⁶ Jon D. Levenson notes that ‘the chosen [are] singled out for both exaltation and humiliation, for glory and for death, but the confrontation with death must come first’.⁴²⁷ As an element of spiritual resistance against the Latins, the ‘humiliation and exaltation’ theme is clearly compatible with the aforementioned hermeneutical theme of the ‘suffering, yet enduring people of God’. The *Life* of the fourteenth-century hesychast monk⁴²⁸ St Sabbas the Young (ca. 1283–1349), composed sometime between 1364 and 1378/9 by Patriarch Philotheos I Kokkinos of Constantinople (1353–1354 and 1364–1376), reflects these two themes and bears witness to the popularity of Orthodox holy ascetics in Latin-ruled Cypriot society.⁴²⁹ Sabbas, an itinerant Athonite monk, visited Cyprus around 1308.⁴³⁰ He pursued the life of a holy fool, embracing nakedness and complete silence and wandering throughout the island. From Sabbas’ perspective, his intentional self-humiliation and extreme state of inwardness were vigorous expressions of his personal ascetic struggle.⁴³¹ However, his *μωρία* (‘foolishness-in-Christ’) had also a social dimension, in the sense that it served the teaching of repentance, humility and watchfulness (*νηψις*) by ‘awaking a self-satisfied public, while at the same time removing from them any suspicion that the fool might indeed be a holy one’.⁴³² Thus, Sabbas appears to have been aware of his pastoral responsibility towards the Cypriot Rhomaioi: his aim was ‘not merely scandalize

⁴²⁶ Levenson 1993, 202; cf. Andreopoulos 2005, 41-50, 53-63 (on patristic exegesis); Bucur 2010, 15-30.

⁴²⁷ Levenson 1993, 202; cf. the patristic Christological interpretation of the ‘Suffering Servant’ prophecies in ACCS XI, 154-173.

⁴²⁸ 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 our examination in the present thesis. Generally speaking, the hesychast way of life required the cultivation of ceaseless prayer, following the Pauline *dictum* (1 Thess 5:17) ‘to ceaselessly pray’ (*ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε*): Ware 1987, 395-396. 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: Skaltsis 2008, 17-279. The ascetic Fathers taught that prayer brings a state of vigilance (*νηψις*) to the heart against impure thoughts (*λογισμοί*) and helps attain *ήσυχία* (‘inner peace’, ‘stillness’ or ‘quietness’): Miquel 1986, 143-180 (‘hēsychia’), 191-199 (‘nēpsis’); Ware 1987, 399-400; Johnson 2010, 15-16. ‘Theology’ (*θεολογία*), the true knowledge of divine things, was understood as being the content of God’s revelation to the human heart, a personal experience of internalised theophany; in Golitzin’s words, the holy man ‘make[s] God visible’: Golitzin 2005, 220; cf. Matsoukas 2001, 282-292; Louth 2004a, 85-103; McGuckin 2005, 187-198. Particularly useful on the concept of *νηψις* is the treatment by Archimandrite Aimilianos 2013. For a modern exploration of *ήσυχία*, one should consult the personal account of Archimandrite Sophrony 1996.

⁴²⁹ The *Life* was probably composed sometime during Philotheos’ second patriarchate (1364–1376), or between his deposition and death (1376–1378/9). Festugière 1974, 223, implies that the latter dating is more probable. See also Goumarides 2011, 273 (n. 59).

⁴³⁰ Festugière 1974, 225-227.

⁴³¹ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 189.17-197.19.

⁴³² Bouteneff 2003, 338.

people or drive them away from the Church, but somehow strangely bring them nearer to God, to the Church, to the genuine, to the eternal'.⁴³³

Philotheos describes that, while wandering the streets of a Cypriot city, Sabbas encountered a mounted Latin noble who suspected Sabbas of being an undercover spy. The Latin arrested and interrogated Sabbas, but received no reply to his questions. Determined to teach the Latin a lesson of humility, Sabbas knocked off the noble's hat with a stick. This led to Sabbas being harshly beaten by the Latin's servants; he would have certainly been killed had not a group of Cypriot Rhomaioi intervened to save his life.⁴³⁴ Philotheos' account continues, stating that Sabbas' non-conformist behaviour aroused the loathing and rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi, who threw at him stones, ashes and manure, and forced him to withdraw in deserted places.⁴³⁵ Although Sabbas began doubting his mission as a holy fool, a condition described by Philotheos in terms of spiritual battle, he did not abandon his persona of foolishness.⁴³⁶ As Sabbas later explained to Philotheos, his zeal for self-sacrifice had led him to desire the martyr's death, as a way of achieving assimilation and, ultimately, union with Christ through martyrdom. Thus, Sabbas intruded into a Latin convent, where he was almost beaten-to-death by the local friars.⁴³⁷

Humiliation is succeeded by exaltation. Lying half-dead after the beating, Sabbas experienced a theophanic vision; the first of many to follow as a reward for his ascetic struggles. Moreover, Sabbas' maltreatment by the Latins enabled him to gain the sympathy of the island's Rhomaic community, who had previously misunderstood his actions and odd behaviour. People from all over the island, poor and rich, came to see Sabbas, asking to receive his blessing.⁴³⁸ Sabbas was now honoured as a living saint: his image was painted on wooden panels and privately venerated with candles, perfumed

⁴³³ Ibid. This point is confirmed by an incident related by Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 197-198.20, concerning Sabbas' meeting with a lustful Cypriot woman; cf. Ivanov ²⁰⁰⁸, 225.

⁴³⁴ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 198-201.21; Ivanov ²⁰⁰⁸, 225-227; Hinterberger 2011, 138; Gounarides 2011, 269-270.

⁴³⁵ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 201-202.22; Ivanov ²⁰⁰⁸, 227; Hinterberger 2011, 138; Gounarides 2011, 270.

⁴³⁶ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 202-206.23; Ivanov ²⁰⁰⁸, 227-228.

⁴³⁷ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 206-209.24; Ivanov ²⁰⁰⁸, 229-231; Hinterberger 2011, 138; Gounarides 2011, 270-271.

⁴³⁸ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 210.26-214.27; Gounarides 2011, 271, 273.

oil and incense, while some of his devotees hung his icon from their necks as an amulet and carried it everywhere. From Cyprus, his reputation reached Constantinople and spread to the Aegean and Macedonia.⁴³⁹ When Sabbas dived into a filthy pit, humbly pretending to be a fool, the people continued to venerate and praise him. The pressure around him was so great that he had to secretly leave for the Holy Land. According to Philotheos, the Cypriot Rhomaioi searched for Sabbas throughout the island and mourned his departure, which they interpreted as a sign for the beginning of great disasters.⁴⁴⁰

The tension between Sabbas and the Latins in Philotheos' account has been interpreted by modern scholars as the result of Sabbas' provocative attitude.⁴⁴¹ Indeed, this kind of behaviour was characteristic of holy people pretending folly and aiming to teach repentance, humility and vigilance. However, it is clear that Sabbas showed no sign of intolerance, coercion or violence against the Latins; on the contrary, he had been the victim of violent treatment by those who misunderstood his behaviour and actions. His 'provocation' was non-aggressive and was mainly manifested through his persistence to remain silent.⁴⁴² Philotheos notes that Sabbas was rebuked by both Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins; yet, it was the latter who had almost killed him twice, while the former gradually recognised his holiness and venerated him as a living saint. Sabbas' maltreatment by the Latin friars marks the point of departure for the spiritual 'awaking' of the island's Orthodox community.⁴⁴³ This shows that the tension between Sabbas and the Latins should not exclusively be attributed to the Holy Fool's provocative behaviour or to Latin intolerance: tension came from within Cypriot society and was rooted in different spiritual, cultural and ethnic perceptions, which

⁴³⁹ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 214-215.28; Gerstel and Talbot 2006, 92; Gounarides 2011, 272. Interestingly, Sabbas' devotees included members of the Cypriot Rhomaic elite (ἄρχοντες). These were probably members of the island's former Byzantine nobility, who later recognised the Lusignan political authority and collaborated with the Latins: Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 213.27.43-214.27.57; Gounarides 2011, 272. Far from simply being a hagiographical *topos*, this detail reflects the appreciation of theophanic theology and its agents (namely the hesychast monks and holy people) by the Cypriot Rhomaioi of all social classes, even those closer to the Latins. See also above, 65.

⁴⁴⁰ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 215.29.1-216.30.8; Gounarides 2011, 272.

⁴⁴¹ Ivanov 2008, 230; Hinterberger 2011, 138.

⁴⁴² Rydén 2001, 112; Bouteneff 2003, 345.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Gounarides 2011, 275.

came occasionally into sharp conflict due to the socio-economic, political and ecclesiastical inequality between Latins and Rhomaioi.

Although Philotheos' hagiographical account of Sabbas' popularity in Cyprus might be exaggerated, there is evidence that the hesychast way of life was widely respected and appreciated by both Rhomaioi and Latins. This could be further explained in terms of social psychology. As Peter Brown's seminal study on the holy man in Late Antiquity suggests, holy people were perceived by society as allayers of temporal and spiritual anxiety and were considered to be bearers of divine power, exercised in daily life through their prayers, charismatic social intervention and miracles.⁴⁴⁴ This view is supported by the great number of pilgrims attracted by Neophytos' Hermitage on the aftermath of the Latin conquest of Cyprus.⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, Patriarch Philotheos' reference that the Cypriot Rhomaioi mourned Sabbas' disappearance (post 1309) is better understood if one takes into consideration the information presented by Florio Bustron (d. 1570) that between 1308 and 1309, Cyprus was suffering from periods of drought and heavy rain, which affected agriculture and caused famine.⁴⁴⁶ Thus, hesychast spirituality, as an embodiment of the mystery of God's immanence and transcendence,⁴⁴⁷ appears to have provided for the believers a sense of meaning in life, despite its difficulties and seemingly incomprehensible tragedies. As Victor E. Frankl reminds us, the primary motivation in human life is to rationally interpret the meaninglessness of pain and anxiety, finding ways to endure suffering.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Brown 1982, 103-152 (esp. at 121-122, 145-146); cf. McGuckin 1996, 20-23.

⁴⁴⁵ See above, 46.

⁴⁴⁶ Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 172-173; Komodikes 2006, lxii.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. Ware 2004, 157-168.

⁴⁴⁸ Frankl 2011, 80, 88, 92, 95-96. Following a terrible epidemic in 1438, which killed thousands of people in Nicosia and the nearby villages, the Rhomaioi priest of Evergetē recorded the incident in the margins of a manuscript, providing pastoral advice and commenting on this apparently incomprehensible tragedy. He advised his flock to always keep in mind the memory of death and the futility of human things, thus, teaching humility and guiding his flock to the cultivation of inner watchfulness; an important element of hesychast spirituality: Darrouzès 1956, 43-44.17; cf. Miquel 1986, 217-232 (*penthos*); Hunt 2004, esp. at 83-84, 147-148. On the appreciation of holy hesychast ascetics by the Latin elite see also Darrouzès 1956, 51.46. In the fifteenth century, Lady Martha Urri, who might have been a widow belonging to a wealthy Syro-Genoese family established in Cyprus, transformed her residence into a house-monastery, perhaps following the models of Late Byzantine idiorhythmic monasticism: Darrouzès 1959, 35-36.27; Melichar 2009, 280-291; cf. Gerstel and Talbot 2006, 489. Note that Martha possessed a Serbian slave by the name of Maria, who must have been employed to perform house duties, thus enabling her mistress to devote herself undisturbed to prayer and other ascetic practices.

Orthodox theophanic theology was not a set of abstract teachings concerning God and humans, supposedly outside the understanding of ordinary people, but was embodied in the island's ecclesiastical art, enriching the spiritual life of Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi.⁴⁴⁹ For example, the popularity of hesychast asceticism is confirmed by the great number of holy ascetics (bishops, monastics and laypeople) in the decoration of the island's churches, hermitages and monasteries, contributing to the dynamic preservation and transmission of theophanic theology and reaffirming the spiritual unity of the politically-fragmented Orthodox world, through the portrayal of both Cypriot and non-Cypriot hesychasts.⁴⁵⁰ The interactive relationship between ecclesiastical art and the congregation seems to have strengthened the value of these representations as ideal models of hesychast life,⁴⁵¹ even influencing technical aspects

⁴⁴⁹ Ecclesiastical art shows how theophanic theology could be visualised and communicated to the wider body of believers. The round mandorla of Christ's Ascension at the Arakas monastery (ante 1192), for instance, is portrayed as a glorious heavenly vehicle carried by four angels, echoing the apocalyptic image of the enthroned God in the Old Testament: Nicolaïdēs 1996, 94. A similar example comes from the Virgin Phorbiōtissa (Chatzichristodoulou and Myriantheus ²2009, 19, 25) and perhaps Koutzoubendēs (Mango et al. 1990, 75-77). See also: Andreopoulos 2005, 92-96 (useful observations on the round mandorla type, but seems to underestimate the theophanic value of the Ascension scene). The oval Ascension mandorla of the thirteenth-century monastic church dedicated to St Heraklēdios at Kalopanagiōtēs (St John Lampadistēs' monastery) incorporates Christ's heavenly throne and is carried by four angels, who move towards an empty altar-throne: an eschatological symbol of the Last Judgement and the undivided Trinity: Gioles 1986, 513-521 (arguing that the empty altar-throne reflects anti-Latin polemic concerning the *Filioque*); Papageorghiou ²2009), 25, 29 (description). See also Andreopoulos 2005, 90-92 (on the oval mandorla). The Transfiguration scene from St Nicholas of the Roof monastery, Kakopetria, probably dating to the early eleventh century, has a radiant oval mandorla, which is drawn around Christ's luminous body. One significant feature of this depiction is the mandorla's dark centre, alluding to the human inability to attain full knowledge of divine realities: Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 55-56 (description). The most ancient example of this representation is the sixth-century Transfiguration mosaic from Mt Sinai, which has been interpreted in terms of Pseudo-Dionysian theophanic theology. See generally: Elsner 1995, 88-124; Andreopoulos 2005, 90-92, 127-144; Golitzin 2007b, 178-179. The (early?) fourteenth-century Transfiguration scene from the Virgin Phorbiōtissa monastery at Arakas is even more remarkable than the Kakopetria mural, in the sense that the centre of Christ's oval mandorla emits fierce reddish flames, reaching His disciples and the Prophets Moses and Elijah. The flaming mandorla could be interpreted as an emphatic visualisation of Christ's theophanic Transfiguration on Mt Tabor: Chatzichristodoulou and Myriantheus ²2009, 17-19 (description); Weyl Carr 2012b, 272-274. This depiction might have preceded the Hesychast Controversy. According to Ćurčić 2012, 313-314, decorative patterns were also employed to depict the heavenly glory.

⁴⁵⁰ See generally (and throughout the Latin period): Papageorghiou 1975, 400-535 (*passim*); Mango et al. 1990, 85-86, 90-93; Mouriki 1993, 245-249, 256; Papageorghiou 1999, 48-52, 64, 69-70; Von Falkenhausen 1999, 30-33; Connor 1999, 214, 216-217, 219-222, 226-227; Chotzakoglou 2005, 595-597, 599-600, 610-618, 627-629, 638; Chatzichristodoulou and Myriantheus ²2009, 23-26, 33, 38-40; Perdikes and Myriantheus 2009, 13-15, 38-42, 54, 70-71; Papageorghiou ²2009, 26, 30, 32-33, 39; Argyrou and Myriantheus ²2009, 17-19, 30-31, 35-39, 46; Myriantheus et al. 2012, 59-70, 73-78; Eliades 2012, 37-38, 43-44, 46. If one takes into consideration the representations of biblical theophanies, then the number of artistic depictions with theophanic character increases significantly. One noteworthy example is the church of the Virgin Podythou, Galata: Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 19-20.

⁴⁵¹ See, e.g., the decoration of Neophytos the Recluse's Hermitage and his instructions to his monks to follow the spiritual zeal of the ancient Desert Fathers: Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, ed.

of hesychast asceticism, such as the adoption of proper bodily postures during prayer.⁴⁵²

The function of liturgy as communal catechesis facilitated the transmission of theophanic theological concepts, through the channels of *ἀνάμνησις* and *μίμησις*. The instructive role of Byzantine liturgy has been pointed out by several scholars who argued that the use of rhetorical and pedagogical mechanisms activated the congregation's attention, anticipation and spiritual interest, thus sowing the seed for active participation in liturgical praxis and enhancing the people's understanding of theology.⁴⁵³ For instance, many hymns could easily be comprehended, employed rhythm and melody in order to aid memorisation, used direct speech (in monologues or dialogues) to create vivid acoustic impressions and encouraged the congregation's

Christodoulou, 546.2.3.31-35: *τοιούτος ἦν Ἀντώνιος, Ἀρσένιος, Εὐθύμιος, Ἰλαρίων, Χαρίτων, Σάβας καὶ Ἀμοῦν ὁ Νιτριώτης καὶ ὁ μέγας Σεραπίων καὶ οἱ τούτων συμπράκτορες. Τούτους γοῦν ὡς οἶόν τε καὶ ἡμεῖς παρακαλῶ, ἀδελφοί, μιμησώμεθα τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν, ζηλώσωμεν καὶ ποθήσωμεν.* On the depiction of holy ascetics in the Hermitage see: Mango and Hawkins 1966, 154-157, 159-160, 167-168, 170-172, 179, 184-185; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010b, 822-828; Chotzakoglou 2010, 934-936.

⁴⁵² Neilos of Tamasia instructed the Machairas monks to kneel down in prayer after the Midnight Office and before the beginning of Matins: Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 24.46.9-12. Neophytos the Recluse advised Euthymios the Chrysostomite to pray in the standing position (*ἀναστὰς εὐξαι*): Neophytos the Recluse, *Letter to Euthymios the Chrysostomite*, ed. Karpozilos, 440.51. The *Δέησις* ('Supplication') scene, depicted in the north wall of Neophytos' cell, and commissioned by the Recluse himself, illustrates the enthroned Christ with the Virgin on His right and St John the Forerunner on His left. Neophytos is depicted kneeling down before Christ's throne and grasping with both hands His right foot: Mango and Hawkins 1996, 180-182. See also some similar examples in Papageorgiou 1992, 42-43; Weyl Carr 2006, 191; Chatzichristodoulou 2012a, 124-125. Although it is common for both Byzantine and Western supplicants to appear kneeling down in the corner of devotional compositions, we may interpret Neophytos' posture as indicative of his praying habit to bent both knees in genuflection. As mentioned above (at 127), the Recluse criticised the Latins for their custom of bending only one knee during prayer. The Latin supplicants from Asinou bend both knees, but keep their hands clasped in prayer, according to the Western custom: Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 124. On representations of donors and supplicants from Latin-ruled Cyprus, see generally: Stylianos and Stylianos 1960, 97-128; Weyl Carr 2001, 599-619; Weyl Carr 2006, 189-198. On depictions of monks in the standing supplication posture from Asinou (fourteenth-century frescoes) see Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 180-185; cf. the depiction of several saints in the standing supplication position in a presumably Cypriot late-thirteenth century icon from Sinai. What is striking, is that the saints combine stylistic elements of both the Byzantine and the Western tradition: Cotsonis 2004, 360-361. We may assume that this icon had been commissioned by a pro-Latin Cypriot Rhomaios. On depictions of laypersons see: Perdikes and Myriantheus 2009, 75, 78; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 115-122 (on Anastasia Samaralyra in a late thirteenth-century fresco from Asinou), 185-190 (other supplicants in early fourteenth-century frescoes from Asinou). Some scholars in the past have erroneously considered Anna Lachana (depicted in Asinou) as a deaconess: Connor 1999, 218; Bogevska 2011-2012, 366 (n. 44).

⁴⁵³ On the liturgy as communal catechesis see, e.g., Pupchek and Mills 2008, 209-233. While it is true that the wider audience could not have understood complex theologico-liturgical texts, particularly when these employed antiquated idioms (Koder 2008, 279-280), the diglossic division between *literati* and *illiterati* should not be overemphasised. There is vast bibliography on the issue of Byzantine diglossia. See generally: Trapp 1993, 115-129; Toufexis 2008, 203-217; Wahlgren 2010, 527-538; Holton and Manolescu 2010, 539-563.

participation through the repetition of refrains.⁴⁵⁴ The Holy Week *Reproaches* (*Improperia*) –an ancient category of hymns identifying Christ as YHWH and interpreting Old Testament theophanies as Christophanies– and the recitation of the Psalter, which contains numerous descriptions of theophanic manifestations, demonstrate the way liturgical chants and readings ‘trained’ the Cypriot Rhomaic congregation in Orthodox theophanic theology.⁴⁵⁵ Similarly, liturgical prayers preceding the Gospel reading and following the administering of Communion to the faithful, alluded to Christ’s Transfiguration on Mt Tabor and highlighted the Eucharist’s transformative effect on the believers.⁴⁵⁶ The observance of the Liturgy of the Hours, in monastic and perhaps also in lay contexts, cultivated spiritual vigilance in imitation of Christ’s earthly life and redemptive Passion.⁴⁵⁷ The veneration of icons invited the active participation of human senses in worship⁴⁵⁸ and the ritual employment of ‘special effects’ (e.g., light performance, use of metal relief surfaces and

⁴⁵⁴ Koder 2008, 280-291.

⁴⁵⁵ Bucur 2006b, 3-26; Bucur 2009, 129-172. For a Cypriot theological example of the tradition of Christological/Trinitarian exegesis see Neophytos the Recluse, *Commentary on the Hexameron*, ed. Detorakis, 78.6.1.1-5, 79.6.2.31-40 (all three Persons of the Trinity participate in the creation of humans; the involvement of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and not the Father alone, is emphatically stated). On theophanies in the Psalms and the liturgical use of the Psalter see: Tournay 1991; Taft 2003, 7-32; Parpulov 2010, 83-84, 100-101; Skrettas 2013, 167-169 (n. 49). On the co-existence of Christological and Trinitarian exegesis in Byzantine Orthodox theophanic theology and the question of the Son’s subordination to the Father, see generally: Bucur 2014, 309-330 (esp. at 329); cf. Ayres 2004, 21.

⁴⁵⁶ Karaisarides 2012, 108-110, 112-113. The theophanic character of liturgy is further developed by Archimandrite Aimilianos ²2009.

⁴⁵⁷ See, e.g.: Neophytos the Recluse, *Foundation Charter*, ed. Stephanes, 55.2-56.3; Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 23.45-24.46; Skaltsis 2008, *passim*; Archimandrite Aimilianos ²2009, 93-128; Skrettas 2013, 283-284. Vigilance and the ‘humiliation and exaltation’ theme were important elements in the Holy Week Services (e.g., in the expectation of Christ the Bridegroom, the association between Christ and Joseph son of Jacob, the commemoration of the Ten Virgins and the anticipation of the Resurrection). See: Neophytos the Recluse, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, ed. Pseutotongas, 662-674.3; App. IV, 481.III.16, 481.III.20-482.III.21; Triōdion 1586, 375-382; cf. Levenson 1993, 202-203, 225-226.

⁴⁵⁸ The bibliography on the Orthodox theology of icons is immense. See briefly: Nicolaou 1992; Zographides 1997, 71-94; Barker ²2004, 150; Golitzin 2007a, xxix-xxx; Golitzin 2007d, 209-210 (n. 66). The sacramental space of the Byzantine church has been described as a ‘living’ space, ‘decorated with saints who gesture [...] and speak to each other by means of scrolls’: Gerstel 1999, 79. Even when the church is empty of believers, it remains fully active, in the sense that the painted figures ‘continue’ to participate in the heavenly liturgy (*ibid.*). Time is, thus, ‘frozen’ at the moment of theophanic encounter between heaven and earth, when past and present meet the future and the eternal. As a visualisation of the recovered *tselem*, the icon mirrors the transformative power of theophanic communion: ‘In the icon, the body and all its senses are imaginatively restored to their true function as modes of relation with both God and the viewer’: Constan 1997, 120. The visual dialogue between the beholder and the painted holy figure, ‘[presupposes] a sacred imagination [i.e., on the viewer’s part] responsive to the visual promptings of the icon which can assist in recollecting and focusing the power of human memory, imagination, and hope’: *ibid.*, 124. The custom of kissing an icon and prostrating before it during prayer denotes reverence expressed towards the icon’s archetype, thus manifesting the physical presence of the holy and its communication with humans: Pentcheva 2006b, 650-651.

the burning of incense) initiated the faithful into the mystery of God's immanence and transcendence.⁴⁵⁹

An incident that took place in 1313 and is described in papal correspondence, reveals that the notion of embodiment is of paramount importance for understanding Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic reactions towards the Latin Church and its sacraments. In 1313, Legate Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne incarcerated Bishops Leo of Solea (ca. 1313–ca. 1321), Olbianos of Leukara (ca. 1313–ca. 1321) and Hilariōn of Karpasia (ca. 1313–ca. 1318), accusing them as instigators of a popular riot.⁴⁶⁰ The tension between Peter and the Cypriot Rhomaioi had partly been triggered by a debate over liturgical customs: the Cypriot Rhomaic 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 an expression of idolatry or heresy (*abusum et idololatriam vel haeresim*).⁴⁶¹ Of the three Rhomaioi bishops, Hilariōn of Karpasia died in prison in ca. 1318, while the other two were eventually released (1318) and ordered by Pope John XXII (1316–1334) to instruct their Rhomaic and Syrian Melkite flock on the exact moment of the conversion of the Holy Gifts into Christ's Body and Blood.⁴⁶² This instruction was repeated in 1340, when Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux issued a

⁴⁵⁹ Neilos of Tamasia emphasised in his *Rule* the significance of lighting the church, day and night, with candles: Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 17.26. The orientation and architecture of Byzantine churches (e.g., their proportions, form of apses, size and angle of windows, etc.) directed natural and artificial light to generate a mystical atmosphere: Potamianos 2000; Potamianos and Jabi 2006, 798-803; Feraios 2009, 223-231; Schibille 2014. The liturgical use of metal relief icons and icons with a partial metal revetment is also associated with theophany. Cypriot examples from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are discussed by Papageorghiou 1992, 30-33 and Chotzakoglou 2005, 741-743. Animated by the interaction between the metal surface and the shifting light and shadow, these icons created the impression that the divine was physically present in the church: Pentcheva 2006b, 631-655; Pentcheva 2009, 222-234; Pentcheva 2010, esp. at 121-154. The burning of fragrant incense during the liturgy (e.g., before the altar and the icons) contributed to the mystical transformation of sacred space and the participation of olfaction and vision in worship: cf. Neilos of Tamasia, *Rule*, ed. Tsiknopoullos, 24.48.27; Pentcheva 2006b, 650-651. On incense, see generally the discussion by Ashbrook Harvey 2006; Caseau 2007, 75-92.

⁴⁶⁰ On the dating of the three prelates' episcopate see Schabel 2000–2001, 219-230, who convincingly dates the incident on May 1313; *pace* Coureas 2010, 426, who opts for May 1314. On the sources describing the incident see: *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taūtu, 68-72.35, 72-75.36, 75-77.37 (comm. and trans. by Schabel in *SN*, 75-77, 341-345.X.37, 345-347.X.38, 348-349.X.39); Anonymous, *Chronicle of Amadi*, ed. Mas Latrīe, 395-396; Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrīe, 247-248; cf. a series of regulations issued by Peter in *SN*, 208-225 (with trans. by Schabel). See also the discussion by Schabel 2006b, 187-188; Coureas 2010, 426-429; Coureas et al. 2012, 133-134.

⁴⁶¹ *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taūtu, 69.35 (trans. in *SN*, 342.X.37).

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 71.35, 76-77.37 (trans. by Schabel in *SN*, 344-345.X.37.9-10, 348-349.X.39.3-4); Paschali 2014b, 287.

regulation instructing the non-Latin bishops and clergy to keep their flock informed on the exact moment of conversion of the Holy Gifts into Christ's Body and Blood, 'so that at that time reverence both fitting and devout is shown to the body of Christ' (*ita quod illo tempore corpori Christi exhibeatur reverentia tam debita quam devota*).⁴⁶³

The Latin reaction towards the Great Entrance prostration could be better understood if one turns to the concept of 'transubstantiation' and its prominence in the Western liturgical tradition. The real presence of Christ in the Eucharist was strongly recognised by the Western Church; this is also affirmed by the intensity of popular devotion to it in the Late Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, the Latin world came to establish a more precise definition of the Eucharistic theophany, through the formulation of the notion of 'transubstantiation', which described the consecration of the bread and wine by employing the language of natural philosophy (*substantia*). The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) sanctioned this definition as a doctrine of the Western Church.⁴⁶⁴ It is true that the term 'transubstantiation' is not mentioned in papal and synodal documents dealing with the Great Entrance prostration; yet, the Latin attempts to 'reform' the Cypriot Rhomaioi and Syrian Melkites by pinpointing the exact moment of the Holy Gifts' conversion, mirrors the Western insistence that the bread and wine should not be adored before they have been converted into the totality of Christ.⁴⁶⁵

According to Miri Rubin, 'the sacred [in Byzantine liturgy] was highly mystified [...]; it was not parcelled and pinpointed but rather unfolded in a *dérroulement*, in a whole drama of liturgical interaction which never settled for a particular climax'.⁴⁶⁶ The Byzantine liturgy had no transubstantiation, no fixed moment of theophany: Christ was perceived as being both High Priest and Offering at the same time, 'the One Who offers and is offered, Who receives and is distributed' (*ὁ προσφέρων, καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος, καὶ διαδιδόμενος*).⁴⁶⁷ The liturgy attributed to St John Chrysostom strongly implies that the priest officiates *in loco Christi*, 'clothed with

⁴⁶³ SN, 262-263.L.IV (English trans. by Schabel); Coureas 2010, 445; Paschali 2014b, 287.

⁴⁶⁴ Goering 1991, 147-170; Rubin 1991, 24-25; Morris 2001, 374-376; Duggan 2008, 345; Rubin 2009, 223, 226, 230, 232, 236.

⁴⁶⁵ Rubin 1991, 49-82. In the Latin mass, the exact moment of the Holy Gifts' conversion was marked by the elevation of the consecrated Host and chalice: Jungmann 2012, 202-217.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 360; cf. Zheltov 2010, 263-306 (esp. at 305).

⁴⁶⁷ Hammond 1878, 101 (Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn); English trans. in Milliner 2014, 88. See also: Taft 1975, 134-141, 147-148; Schulz 1986, 113; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 190-191.

the grace of the priesthood' (*ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν*):⁴⁶⁸ this transformed liturgical performance into a continuous theophany, from beginning to end.⁴⁶⁹ Although Byzantine commentators expressed different views on the prostration issue,⁴⁷⁰ the reaffirmation of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist during the theological controversies of the twelfth century and its visualisation and monumentalisation in ecclesiastical art, contributed to the establishment of this devotional practice in Cyprus and other parts of the Orthodox world.⁴⁷¹ For example, the theme of angelic prostration before the divine altar-throne, usually depicted in the dome, mirrored prostrations performed by the faithful during the liturgy.⁴⁷²

The theophanic character of the Great Entrance becomes more explicit if one takes into consideration the liturgical status of the ritual transfer of the Holy Gifts to the altar. The *πρόθεσις* (Oblation Table) in the sanctuary, where the blessed bread is placed before the Great Entrance, symbolises 'both Bethlehem and Golgotha', thus associating Christ's Incarnation with His Passion.⁴⁷³ The Cherubic Hymn, preceding the Great Entrance procession, reminds the congregation that they are about to receive the King of All, escorted by His angels.⁴⁷⁴ Following the Cherubic Prayer and incensation, the

⁴⁶⁸ Hammond 1878, 101 (Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn): *καὶ ἰκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος, ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν, παραστήναι τῇ ἁγία σου ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα, καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἶμα;* cf. Taft 1975, 119 (English trans.), 147.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Archimandrite Aimilianos 2013, 31-50. We have personally witnessed that, in contemporary Orthodox liturgical practice, the faithful sometimes touch the celebrant priest's vestments during the Great Entrance procession. This indicates that the Great Entrance is perceived and experienced as a theophany by many Orthodox believers to the present day.

⁴⁷⁰ In the sixth century, for instance, Patriarch Eutychios of Constantinople (552-565) criticised the popular manifestations of reverence towards the unconsecrated bread and wine: Schulz 1986, 37-39. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Nicholas Kabasilas, who seems to have been aware of the Latin liturgical theology, instructed the faithful not to worship the unconsecrated bread and wine, although he pointed out that they should perform a prostration before the priest during the Great Entrance: Nicholas Kabasilas, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, PG 150, 420CD; Schulz 1986, 39, 127, 129; Taft 1975, 213-214; Metso 2010, 82-111. In the early decades of the fifteenth century, Symeon of Thessalonica defended the prostration custom against those who criticised it, presumably referring to the Latins and pro-Latin Byzantines, and argued that the unconsecrated bread and wine had been already offered to God, during their exposure on the *πρόθεσις* (an oblation table in a separate niche or chamber) of the sanctuary: Symeon of Thessalonica, *Explanation of the Divine Temple*, ed. Hawkes-Teeple, 128.5.65-131.5.66 (with English trans. by Hawkes-Teeple); Schulz 1986, 119.

⁴⁷¹ See above, 139-140.

⁴⁷² Papamastorakis 2001, 21-25, 272; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 133-134. On the influence of imperial ceremony in liturgical worship see generally: Woodfin 2010, 303-319; Nassis 2011, 398-408. See also the angelic (and human) prostration before the cross: Karagianni 2010-2011, 237-238, 246. On the angelic prostration in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition see *OTP* I, 290-291.39 (3 Enoch).

⁴⁷³ Taft 1991, 1743. See also Schulz 1986, 92-93, 98-99, 107-110, 120-122, 134, 180-184; Paschali 2014b, 288.

⁴⁷⁴ See the text in Taft 1975, 54: *Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων*

celebrant priest transfers the Holy Gifts from the *πρόθεσις* to the main church and back into the sanctuary, placing them on the altar; in the Late Byzantine period the procession included deacons holding candles, embroidered textiles depicting the dead Christ or the symbols of His Passion (*ἐπιτάφιος, ἀήρ, ἀντιμῆνσιον*) and liturgical fans (*ρίπιδια* or *ἑξαπτέρυγα*), which symbolised the angelic orders. In the same period, the placement of the Holy Gifts on the altar –the procession’s *finale*– was interpreted, particularly in monastic circles, as Christ’s Burial.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, the Cypriot Rhomaic prostration before the celebrant priest in the Great Entrance procession could be understood as the Orthodox *habitus* of expressing devotion towards Christ, in imitation of the angelic worship in heaven.

In the early decades of the fourteenth century, the liturgical theology of the Great Entrance ritual, with its emphasis on the sacrificial nature of the Holy Gifts, seems to have inspired expressions of crypto-religious resistance against the Latin doctrine of the transubstantiation.⁴⁷⁶ After his release from prison in 1318, Bishop Olbianos, one of the three prelates involved in the 1313 incident, commissioned a silver-gilt cover for the Holy Cross relic preserved at Leukara. The lower part of the cruciform cover was decorated with the Lamentation scene, placed over Olbianos’ portrait and supplicatory inscription. It is noteworthy that the inscription refers to Olbianos as *τληπαθῆς* (i.e., ‘enduring’), thus alluding to his incarceration and sufferings. The association between the ‘enduring’ Olbianos and the Lamentation scene seems to be intentional, since it implies Christ’s real presence in the Holy Gifts during the Great Entrance procession: the *πρόθεσις* was a symbol of the Golgotha, where the Lamentation took place; the altar was a symbol of Christ’s Tomb, where He was buried. Olbianos, whose background was monastic, must have been familiar with the liturgical interpretation of the Great Entrance procession as a re-enactment of Christ’s Burial. The Lamentation scene would have also reminded its Orthodox viewers of the sacrificial nature of the blessed bread and wine, even before their consecration.⁴⁷⁷ Last but not least, Olbianos’

ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν. Ἀλληλούϊα [...]; cf. Hammond 1878, 100-101.

⁴⁷⁵ Taft 1975, 35-38, 119-219, 244-249, 251-252; Belting 1980-1981, 3-15; Schulz 1986, 35-36, 118, 129; Gerstel 1999, 73-77; Mathews 2006, 12-14. The older study by Pallas 1965 is still useful.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Paschali 2014b, 288, 291.

⁴⁷⁷ On the interpretation of the Lamentation scene see generally *ibid.*, 281-282, 289-291. On Olbianos’ cruciform cover see: Papageorghiou 1994, 245-250; Stylianos and Stylianos 1995, 1399-1401; Bacci 2004,

identification with Christ's Passion reflects the theological theme of the 'suffering, yet enduring people of God', and reveals the Bishop's expectation for spiritual exaltation following his humiliating treatment by Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne.

As we shall see below, the tension between Orthodox and Latins over the Great Entrance prostration continued well into the second half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷⁸ Moreover, the hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* demonstrates that the Cypriot Rhomaic *habitus* of prostrating during the Great Entrance was criticised by the Latins as late as the sixteenth century.⁴⁷⁹ Therefore, the Great Entrance Controversy unveils a long debate between two liturgical traditions over the exact moment of adoration of the Eucharistic bread and wine.

In conclusion, embodiment is a key concept in the examination of Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic spirituality under the Latins. It illuminates the mystery of God's immanence and transcendence, celebrated by the Eucharistic assembly in the form of leavened bread and wine and perpetuated through the channels of *ἀνάμνησις* and *μίμησις*. In addition, the notion of *habitus* (ἔξις) provides a valid methodological tool for the exploration of theophanic theology, as one of the main pillars of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality. Belief in theophanic manifestations shaped liturgical exegesis and hesychast asceticism, highlighting the psychosomatic dimension of spiritual life and reaffirming the Orthodox theological teaching that humans are able to achieve union with God in this life.

The transmission of Orthodox theophanic theology was facilitated by the living example of Cypriot Rhomaioi monastics, the visual catechesis of ecclesiastical art, the theological rhetoric of hymnography and the re-enactment of Christ's life, Passion and Resurrection in the liturgy. From a psychological perspective, the Orthodox theophanic tradition provided a path for enduring temporal and spiritual anxiety and the incomprehensible tragedies of life. This is confirmed by the theological teaching that

231-232. On Olbianos' monastic background see: *GBUZ*, 226-227.94; cf. Chatzipsaltes 1958, 14-16, 20-23. For two contemporary examples of similar crypto-religious anti-Latinism see the frescoes of the Holy Cross church at Pelendri: Zarras 2010, 20-21, 23; Paschali 2014b, 290-292.

⁴⁷⁸ This is suggested by the decoration of the central apse of St George of the Greeks, Famagusta: see below, 207-208.

⁴⁷⁹ See below, App. IV, 475.II.1.

true Christians should humbly endure humiliation and sufferings in imitation of Christ before tasting spiritual comfort and glory.

The Great Entrance Controversy is a concrete example of the strong Cypriot Rhomaic belief that Christ is really present in the liturgy even *before* the conversion of the Holy Gifts, while the Latins insisted that the bread and wine should not be adored before the moment of transubstantiation.

II.6. Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore a number of adaptive mechanisms in the preservation of Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic identity in the period after the *Bulla Cypria*, showing that the British colonial and revisionist argument that religious tension in Latin-ruled Cyprus was mainly subject to external interventions is not entirely correct. The use of methodological tools from the fields of social anthropology, psychology and sociology, facilitates the historical and theological examination of Orthodox spirituality and identity, demonstrating that anti-Latin sentiments emerged from within the Cypriot society.

The first characteristic of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity after 1260 was crypto-religiosity, namely the covert expression and practice of religion. This phenomenon was not restricted to Cyprus; the Orthodox populations of Italy, the Holy Land, Constantinople and Greece employed non-coercive mechanisms of anti-Latin resistance, in order to preserve, adapt and reaffirm their spiritual identity. Thus, Cypriot crypto-Orthodoxy aimed at maintaining aspects of the Orthodox tradition which were rejected or criticised by the Latins, thus implicitly challenging Latin orthodoxy and orthopraxy ('anti-Latinism'). The long-term continuation of Orthodox crypto-religious strategies and practices until the end of the Latin rule, suggests that although the Latins seem to have generally tolerated discreet expressions of Orthodox Cypriot crypto-religiosity, there was always the threat of anti-Rhomaic coercion and violent repression.

The second characteristic of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and identity under the Latins was the multiplicity of identities. According to Maykel Verkuyten, humans

belong to a diversity of social categories, which facilitate the development of multiple identities; these are activated in different ways and contexts, revealing that identity is not solidly fixed, but could be considered as manageable and negotiable.

Verkuyten's remarks are enhanced by the ethno-symbolist work of Anthony D. Smith, who stressed the significance of historico-cultural continuity as the cornerstone of ethnic and national identity. In the case of Latin-ruled Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaioi, we have seen that their solidarity with the Rhomaic *γένος* was primarily expressed through their Orthodox faith. This is confirmed by ecclesiastical artistic evidence: visual rhetoric transformed the Latins into 'enemies of Christ' and the Cypriot Rhomaioi into 'suffering, yet enduring people of God', expecting both spiritual and ethno-political deliverance from evil.

The notions of crypto-religiosity and multiple identities lead us to the controlled transmission of Orthodox tradition in Latin-ruled Cyprus. The need to safeguard the Orthodox tradition gave rise to ecclesiastical and lay 'guardians of tradition', engaged in the pastoral guidance of their brethren and the refutation of Latin doctrines and practices. As we have seen, the interaction between the Cypriot Rhomaic monastic world and the laity strengthened the diffusion of monastic spirituality. Moreover, bishops were active in guiding their flock through the supervision of ascetic practices and catechetical activities. Lay theologians were also engaged in the guardianship of tradition: the case of George Lapithēs shows how the appropriation of Latin theology enabled the adaptive preservation of Orthodox faith and sacramental practices under the Latins.

The last characteristic of Orthodox Cypriot spiritual identity is embodiment, a sociological notion with deep philosophical and theological roots, which sheds light on the mystery of God's immanence and transcendence. The celebration of the Eucharist in the form of leavened bread and wine stresses the role of *ἀνάμνησις* and *μίμησις* in the dynamic preservation of tradition, while the key concept of *habitus* (ἔξις) unveils the richness of Orthodox theophanic theology, focusing on the manifestation of God in creation and the psychosomatic, pre-eschatological deification of the fallen humanity.

Theophanic theology was a 'living' theology, in the sense that its soteriological core was experienced in ascetic life and communal worship and its message was

communicated to the faithful through liturgical praxis and ecclesiastical art. Following Peter Brown and Victor E. Frankl, we have argued that the Orthodox theophanic tradition provided a path for enduring temporal and spiritual anxiety and the incomprehensible tragedies of life, since it perpetuated the expectation of deliverance from evil and the spiritual exaltation of the suffering and humiliated Christians.

Our discussion of the Great Entrance Controversy illuminates the Cypriot Rhomaic *habitus* of prostrating before the Holy Gifts and explains the Latin criticism of this devotional practice in the context of Western liturgical theology. As we have seen, the Latins insisted that the bread and wine should not be adored before the moment of transubstantiation; on the other hand, the Orthodox Cypriots perceived liturgical celebration as a continuous manifestation of God even before the conversion of the Holy Gifts into Christ's Body and Blood.

The next chapter concentrates on the Hesychast Controversy, which shaped the Orthodox theophanic tradition through the formulations of Gregory Palamas, thus sealing the ecclesiastical history of Late Byzantium. The Cypriot involvement in the Controversy demonstrates that in the fourteenth century the island's Rhomaioi continued to function as an integral part of the Orthodox world and succeeded in strengthening their bonds with Byzantium and the Constantinopolitan Church.

Chapter III

The Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy (ca. 1337–ca. 1400)

They followed the light and the shadow, and the light led them forward to light and the shadow led them to darkness.⁴⁸⁰

III.1. Cyprus, anti-Palamism and the Latins

The Hesychast Controversy (ca. 1337–ca. 1400), the most significant theological contention in the Orthodox world during the fourteenth century, had a considerable impact on Late Byzantine ecclesiastical life, theology, artistic expression, society and politics, including Constantinople's diplomatic and theological negotiations with the West. Before proceeding to the Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy, it is important to briefly present the main events and participants, and the theological positions of the Palamite Hesychast and anti-Palamite camps.

The roots of the Hesychast Controversy could be traced in a discussion among fourteenth-century Byzantine theologians (initially between Barlaam of Calabria and Nikēphoros Grēgoras) over the use of ancient philosophical reasoning in Orthodox theology, especially in the context of anti-Latin apologetics.⁴⁸¹ In 1337, the correspondence between Barlaam of Calabria and the learned Athonite monk and theologian Gregory Palamas led to a controversy over the correctness of hesychast ascetic practices, in which Barlaam accused the hesychast monks of rejecting the Scriptures and claiming that they could experience psychosomatic visions of God's essence. Between 1338 and 1341, Palamas composed three treatises in defence of the

⁴⁸⁰ Eliot 2002, 166.

⁴⁸¹ In the 1330s, for example, Nikēphoros Grēgoras completely rejected the use of logical syllogisms in the examination of things divine, thus attacking the Latin (Thomistic) theological appropriation of Aristotelian philosophy. These views were expressed in Grēgoras' work *Flōrentios*, directed against Barlaam and the Latins (i.e., scholastics). Barlaam of Calabria argued that philosophical reasoning alone cannot lead humans to the revelation of divine knowledge concerning the Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Barlaam also argued that human beings possess within themselves (i.e., in their intellect) the universal concepts of divine realities, which they are able to grasp through contemplation and the study of divinely-inspired ancient philosophy. Contrary to Barlaam, Gregory Palamas argued that logical reasoning could and should be used to examine theological questions and formulate the doctrines of the Church. Palamas also stressed that it is faith and God's grace which enable humans to attain the knowledge of divine realities. One should generally consult the following studies: Sinkewicz 1980, 489-500; Sinkewicz 1981, 162-163, 172-174; Demetracopoulos 1999, 64-109; Ierodiakonou 2002, 219-236 (esp. at 228); Golitzin 2007c, 85-86; Sicienski 2010, 144-145; Plested 2012b, 52-55.

hesychast practices and theophanic theology, arguing that, although God's essence (*οὐσία*) is unknowable, it is still possible for humans to experience by divine grace a vision of God's uncreated energies (*ἐνέργειαι*). Instigated by Gregory Akindynos (d. 1348), a scholarly monk who befriended both Barlaam and Palamas, Patriarch John XIV Kalekas condemned Barlaam of heresy (10 June 1341), which forced the Calabrian to leave for the West and declare his obedience to the Papacy, pursuing an ecclesiastical career in the service of the Western Church.⁴⁸²

Barlaam's condemnation, however, did not put an end to the Hesychast Controversy. Several Byzantine theologians, including Grēgoras and Akindynos, Palamas' former supporter and a hesychast himself, perceived the Palamite Hesychast distinction between divine essence and energies as ditheism. The imperial and patriarchal unwillingness to re-examine Palamas' formulations and the coercive attitude of Palamas' supporters against Akindynos, strengthened the anti-Palamite opposition.⁴⁸³ From a strictly theological perspective, a sober appreciation of Palamite Hesychasm demonstrates that Palamas had masterfully managed to create a synthesis of previous scriptural and patristic theology, which defined 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 crystallised in a systematic way the long theophanic tradition of pre-eschatological union between God and human beings.⁴⁸⁴

The tension between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites was further exacerbated during the Civil War of 1341–1347, which broke out between the Grand Domestic (i.e., commander-in-chief of the imperial army) John Kantakouzēnos (later Emperor John VI) and John V Palaiologos' regents (namely Empress Anne of Savoy and Patriarch

⁴⁸² The best exposition of Palamas' theology and the various stages of the Hesychast controversy is by Meyendorff 1959. On the Palamite Hesychast theology and the events described above see: Tatakis 1977, 245-247, 251-256; Constantinides Hero in Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, x-xv; Meyendorff 1988a, 165; Mantzarides 1988, 208-222; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 287-289; Chrestou in Gregory Palamas, *In defence of the holy hesychasts*, 7-13, 26-43 (see also the Greek text of Palamas' treatises with Modern Greek translation by Chrestou and Meretakis at 46-609); Mantzarides 2000. The *Hagioretic Tome*, issued by the Athonite Monks in defence of their hesychast practices and theology (1340–1341), can be found in *PG* 150, 1225A-1236D. On Barlaam's conversion see above, 106.

⁴⁸³ On these objections see generally: Hart 1951, 169-179; Tatakis 1977, 238-243, 247; Constantinides Hero in Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, xv-xxiii; Nadal-Cañellas 2006; Casiday 2007, 28-25; Lukhovitskij 2013, 205-233.

⁴⁸⁴ Florovsky 1972, 105-120; Golitzin 1994a, 409-410; Bradshaw 2004, 229-242; Krausmüller 2006, 101-126 (to be consulted with caution); Golitzin 2007c, 87-104; Tollefsen 2012, 185-206.

John XIV Kalekas), following the death of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341). Kalekas and Akindynos fervently opposed Palamas, who was incarcerated and excommunicated in 1344. Kantakouzēnos, a patron of both Palamas and Grēgoras, eventually won the War and reigned as John V's co-Emperor between 1347 and 1354. In 1351, Palamite Hesychasm was officially vindicated by a patriarchal synod and the anti-Palamites were condemned and excommunicated: Kalekas was deposed and replaced by the Palamite Hesychast Isidore I Boucheiras (1347–1350), Akindynos was persecuted, and Grēgoras, Kantakouzēnos' former supporter, was put in detention.⁴⁸⁵

After his death in 1359, Gregory Palamas, considered by many as a saintly champion of the Orthodox tradition, was officially canonised by synodal decree in 1368. Isidore I's successors, the Athonites Kallistos I (1350–1353 and 1354–1363) and Philotheos I Kokkinos (1353–1354 and 1364–1376), promoted reforms in ecclesiastical life and continued the struggle against the anti-Palamites, both within and outside the Empire.⁴⁸⁶ As we shall see throughout this chapter, the Hesychast Controversy continued until the end of the fourteenth century, despite the Palamite Hesychast victory in 1351 and the condemnation and persecution of anti-Palamite leaders during Kantakouzēnos' reign.

The Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy was highlighted by various socio-political and cultural developments on the island and abroad, which encouraged a rapprochement between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, while at the same time leading to closer contacts between the Cypriot Rhomaic Church and the Eastern Patriarchates. Given that Cyprus was often the focus of these developments, it is rather surprising that the Hesychast Controversy has hitherto not been systematically examined by experts of Cypriot ecclesiastical history, particularly in the context of ecclesiastical and Crusader politics. What is even more striking, is that —despite the existence of evidence to the contrary— most traditionalist and revisionist scholars seem to agree that the Cypriot Rhomaioi were predominantly anti-Palamites throughout the

⁴⁸⁵ On the events described above see: Hart 1951, 169-175; Papadakis 1969, 333-342; Constantinides Hero in Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, xxiii-xxxiii; Vries-Van der Velden 1989, *passim* (to be consulted with caution); Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 289-293; Nicol 1996, 45-112; Koumbes 1998, 235-281; Dennis 2003, 256.

⁴⁸⁶ Meyendorff 1988a, 160-161; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 293, 306-307; Macrides 2001, 83-87; Congourdeau 2007, 37-53.

fourteenth century; it has even been suggested that their rejection of Palamite Hesychast theophanic theology was strengthened by the influence of Latin scholasticism.⁴⁸⁷ 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 noteworthy that a great number of prominent Cypriot Rhomaioi actively supported the anti-Palamite camp during the first phase of the Hesychast controversy (1337–1351). The main question raised is whether Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamism began as a Latinising movement and whether it dominated the island's ecclesiastical life until the end of the fourteenth century.

A new interpretation of the evidence, leads us to challenge previous scholarly views concerning the nature and long-term dominance of anti-Palamism in Cyprus. Moreover, the examination of an important and formerly unpublished source —the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople— reveals the existence of close contacts between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the fourteenth century and illuminates the reasons behind the Cypriot Rhomaic rapprochement with the Palamite Hesychast circles in Byzantium.⁴⁸⁸

This chapter investigates how socio-political and ecclesiastical developments in the second half of the fourteenth century enabled the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity in Latin-ruled Cyprus. We would like to argue that social mobility and religious interaction contributed to the exercise of a lenient ecclesiastical policy on the part of the Lusignan dynasty, allowing the relaxation of the statutes of the *Bulla Cypria* and the creation of a Cypriot Rhomaic cultural elite with pro-Byzantine and pro-Orthodox

⁴⁸⁷ See, e.g.: Kyrris 1985, 229: 'The intervention of Cantacuzenus was one of the factors that gave a pro-Palamite turn to the intellectual theological trends among the Greek Cypriots, so that by the end of the XIVth century the Latinizing ideas were almost defeated. But in the middle of that century Cyprus, owing to the Latin influence, was a place of refuge for quite a number of anti-Palamites [...]'; Englezakis 1996, 309-310: 'Εξ αιτίας τῆς λατινικῆς κυριαρχίας, ἡ Κύπρος κατέστη ἄσυλον ἀντιπαλαμιτῶν [...]. Οἱ λατῖνοι θεολόγοι ἔμαθαν τὰ ὀλίγα ὅσα ἐγνώριζον περὶ παλαμισμού μὲσῶ οὐμανιστῶν, οἷος ὁ Δημήτριος Κυδώνης, ἢ τῶν ἀντιπαλαμιτῶν προσφύγων τῆς Κύπρου. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης, αἱ σχέσεις τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τοὺς ἡσυχαστὰς δὲν ἦσαν ἀνύπαρκτοι [...]'; Duba 2000, 178: 'Greek Cypriot theologians universally opposed the theology of the Palamites, and Cyprus became known as a haven for the anti-Palamite movement'; Schabel 2006b, 198: '[...] Cyprus and the Cypriots played a significant role in the Hesychast controversy [...], with the Greek Cypriots and even King Hugh IV supporting the anti-Palamite cause and offering the anti-Palamites shelter when things did not go their way. [...] It is even possible that the Greek bishops' agreement to the Roman profession of faith in 1340 is related to the controversies in Constantinople'. Note that Papadopoulos 1995b, 543-665, does not discuss the Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy.

⁴⁸⁸ See Gones 1986, 333-350. The *Encyclical* is published below in App. II, 424-429.

orientation. We shall also see that, although Cypriot anti-Palamism was indeed strong in the early stages of the Hesychast Controversy, it seems to have begun as a pro-Byzantine, rather than a Latinising movement. The picture began to change in 1360s, leading to a state of polarisation between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, eventually resulting in the gradual establishment of Palamite Hesychasm on the island and the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity.

III.2. Politics, society, culture and theology

The second half of the fourteenth century was marked by significant socio-political and ecclesiastical developments, particularly during the reigns of Hugh IV (1324–1359), Peter I (1359–1369) and Peter II (1369–1382). Social mobility and religious interaction shaped the lenient ecclesiastical policy of the Lusignans and facilitated the gradual recovery of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church. The improvement in Cypriot Rhomaic relations with the Latins, however, did not erase the Orthodox identity of the Cypriot Rhomaioi. This is supported by two factors which form the background for the Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy: the emergence of an indigenous cultural elite with pro-Byzantine orientation and the preoccupation of the Rhomaic clergy and flock with the preservation of their ancestral rights and faith.

After the fall of Acre in 1291 and the subsequent loss of Syro-Palestine, Cyprus remained the most important Crusader Kingdom in the Levant. Although in the early fourteenth century the Lusignans followed the Papacy's instructions for the enforcement of an embargo against their Muslim neighbours, the relaxation of this policy in the 1320s contributed to the rise of Famagusta as a regional intermediary centre for trade with Egypt, Syro-Palestine and Asia Minor, bringing unprecedented prosperity to the island. This was primarily due to the commercial activities of a mixed group of merchants: Syrian refugees from the Crusader States, Italians, local Cypriot Rhomaioi and naturalised foreigners (e.g., Rhomaioi, Syrians and Jews) who acquired Italian legal status (e.g., 'White Genoese' and 'White Venetians').⁴⁸⁹ The growing prominence of the Lusignan Kingdom was stressed by the fact that in the 1330s, 1340s

⁴⁸⁹ Jacoby 1977, 159-179; Richard 1979, 157-173; Jacoby 1984, 143-179; Richard 1987b, 383-398; Edbury 1991, 102-151 (*passim*); Grivaud 2000, 51, 58; Coureas 2005, 128-156; Jacoby 2009, 65-76; Jacoby 2014, 53-67. Note that Pisa, too, exercised the legal naturalisation of foreigners.

and 1350s, King Hugh IV was one of the protagonists in the creation and direction of a Christian naval league, aiming to eliminate Turkish piracy.⁴⁹⁰ Hugh's anti-Muslim struggle was continued by his son, Peter I, who undertook anti-Turkish expeditions in Asia Minor (1360–1364) and briefly captured Mamlūk Alexandria in 1365.⁴⁹¹ The long-term consequences of Peter's administration and Crusader policy were crucial for the later history of the Lusignan Kingdom: his absolutism and the need to finance his military campaigns threatened the interests and status of the Frankish nobility, leading to his assassination in 1369.⁴⁹² Peter I's death and his succession by his minor son, Peter II, marked the beginning of a turbulent period of civil strife, resulting in the Genoese War (1373–1374). Peter II's loss of Famagusta (1374) enabled the Genoese to impose a tribute on the island. Politically weakened, economically indebted and morally humiliated, the Lusignan dynasty did not recover the city until 1464.⁴⁹³

These important political and economic developments brought considerable changes to Cypriot society. Social mobility was facilitated by the process of selective naturalisation of foreign *protégés* (Latins, Jews, Rhomaioi and Oriental Christians), which was exercised by the Italian communities of Famagusta.⁴⁹⁴ Various reasons, including the Kingdom's costly military expeditions, led to the Lusignan adoption of a policy which encouraged social mobility in order to increase royal income. For instance, Peter I permitted the enfranchisement of burgesses (*περπυριάριοι*) capable of paying a special tax in exchange for their freedom. This policy must have created a greater sense of interdependence between the Latin regime and the lower social classes, while strengthening the status of prosperous merchants and artisans. This is further indicated by the fact that a number of socially elevated Rhomaioi and Syrians were

⁴⁹⁰ Ahrweiler 1966, 374-381; Inalcik 1985, 309-341; Edbury 1991, 156-161.

⁴⁹¹ On Peter I's anti-pirate activities see generally *ibid.*, 163-164. When the papal embargo against the Muslims was further relaxed in 1344, the significance of Famagusta as intermediary commercial station was no longer indisputable. A growing number of merchants bypassed the island, choosing alternative trade routes, which benefited Mamlūk Alexandria. In the meantime, outbreaks of the Black Death in Cyprus, as in every corner of the Mediterranean, reduced the local population and affected economy. Peter I's brief capture and sack of Alexandria has been interpreted by Peter W. Edbury as an attempt to secure by force trade rights in the Mamlūk Sultanate and, perhaps, restore the commercial prominence of Famagusta; on the other hand, David Jacoby has argued (more persuasively) that Peter, who was King of both Jerusalem and Cyprus, had primarily been concerned with recovering the Holy Land. On the Alexandrian Crusade see generally: Edbury 1977, 90-105; Edbury 1991, 151-152, 161-171; cf. Jacoby 1995, 422-437; Jacoby 2012, 409-412; Nicolaou-Konnari 2012a, 359-401 (*passim*); Devaney 2013, 317-326.

⁴⁹² Richard 1952, 108-123; Edbury 1980, 219-233; Edbury 1991, 171-177.

⁴⁹³ Edbury 1986, 109-126; Edbury 1991, 197-211; Edbury 1995a, 1-9; Jacoby 2009, 76.

⁴⁹⁴ Jacoby 2014, 66-67.

entrusted with responsibilities in royal, baronial and episcopal administration, thus attaching themselves to the island's dominant class.⁴⁹⁵

The accounts of the rural settlement (*casale*) of Psimolophou, an estate belonging to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1318), provide a good example of the process of rapprochement: several Rhomaioi scribes, tax collectors, craftsmen, animal farmers and workers were employed in Latin ecclesiastical service, while others had business with the estate.⁴⁹⁶ Socio-religious interaction was also facilitated by the canonical framework provided by the *Bulla Cypria*, which was used (and misused) to arbitrate and resolve disputes among the Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen. The long Mangana Affair (ante 1301–ca. 1366), which began as a quarrel between Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen over the episcopal throne of Solea and continued as a controversy over the administration of the rich monastery of Mangana, seems to have been eventually settled by papal intervention. The Affair also indicates that the recognition of papal authority was the only channel for Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics who wanted to protect their rights from abuse and promote their interests.⁴⁹⁷ In 1343, 1350, 1361 and 1363, for example, several popes granted ecclesiastical offices and benefices to a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi petitioners; this suggests that the Papacy could have been perceived positively by the Cypriot Rhomaioi, provided that their interests were served.⁴⁹⁸

Common processions were also taking place, especially in times of crisis. During the plague of 1392/1393, for instance, King James I (1382–1398) led a procession to the Orthodox shrine of St Therapōn ('The Healer'); the Latin nobility and clergy and many Cypriot Rhomaioi priests carrying their icons also participated in the ritual. According to Leontios Machairas, James was worried that the plague had been sent as a divine punishment because of the heavy taxation imposed on his subjects, the majority of whom were Cypriot Rhomaioi. The royal family sought refuge in the mountainous

⁴⁹⁵ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§157, 215 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 147-148, 180-181); Iorga 1931, 152; Hill 1948, 317-318; Edbury 1991, 153, 195; Richard 1995, 363; Grivaud 2001, 367-368; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 39-41; Nicolaou-Konnari 2012a, 378; Antonopoulou 2013, 55-56.

⁴⁹⁶ Richard 1947, 140-153 (*passim*); Coureas 2010, 435-437.

⁴⁹⁷ *BC* II, 262-270 (o-50), 332-333 (q-22); *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taütü, 79-80.39a, 81-82.40, 118.60, 118-119.61, 119-120.62, 166-167.82, 168-169.83, 169-171.85, 189-190.96; *Acts of Urban V*, ed. Taütü, 194-195.120. The papal letters concerning the Affair have been conveniently gathered and translated by Schabel in *SN*, 80-81 (commentary), 333-339.X.33, 351-352.X.42, 352-353.X.43, 353.X.44, 353-354.X.45, 354-355.X.46, 355-356.X.47, 356-357.X.48, 357-358.X.49, 360-361.X.52, 370.X.59. See also: Coureas 1994, 278-286; Coureas 2010, 460-465; Coureas et al. 2012, 164-165.

⁴⁹⁸ *BC* III, 191 (t-66), 275 (t-484), 282 (t-527, t-528), 291 (t-594), 359 (u-288), 375 (v-27).

monastery of the Virgin at Machairas, but the King eventually decided to return to Nicosia and share the fate of his people.⁴⁹⁹ The so-called *Chronicle of Amadi*, a sixteenth-century anonymous Italian compilation of earlier historical material, relates that John of Conti, the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia (1312–1332), instructed the performance of common public processions for forty days, on the aftermath of devastating floods (1330). Latins, Rhomaioi, Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites and other ethno-religious communities were led by John in solemn litanies, hoping to appease the wrath of God. John instructed the annual repetition of such processions, in order to avoid similar disasters in the future.⁵⁰⁰

There is also evidence for conversions from the Latin to the Byzantine rite and *vice versa*. In 1392, Philip of Frankos ('Philip of the Frank'), a Byzantine-rite priest of probably Latin descent, bought a Greek grammar book in order to improve his knowledge of the Greek language.⁵⁰¹ In the 1360s, Pope Urban V (1362–1370) criticised the errors of many Cypriot Latins who attended the liturgy in Rhomaic churches and employed local professional lamenters in their funerals.⁵⁰² Already in 1353, Archbishop Philip of Nicosia (1342–1360) had attempted – unsuccessfully as it seems – to regulate the issue of mixed marriages between Latins and Cypriot Rhomaioi, by forbidding conversions from the Latin to the Byzantine rite. Philip also stressed the necessity of non-Latin conversions to the Latin rite, so that children from mixed marriages would follow the *mores Francorum*. He also instructed that the two communities should receive the sacraments separately, though leaving the way open for Cypriot Rhomaioi who wished to convert.⁵⁰³

The beginnings of the Lusignan dynasty's lenient ecclesiastical policy towards the Cypriot Rhomaic Church in the fourteenth century are described in Leontios Machairas' *Chronicle*. According to Machairas, Hugh IV extended his patronage over the veneration of the Holy Cross of Tochnē (1340), which was considered to contain

⁴⁹⁹ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§622-624 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 421-423); cf. *DGMC*, 113; Sophocleous 1952, 11-23.

⁵⁰⁰ Anonymous, *Chronicle of Amadi*, ed. Mas Latrue, 404-405; Iorga 1931, 136; Coureas 2010, 485-486; Olympios 2014a, 220. On John of Conti see generally, Schabel 2004b, 96.

⁵⁰¹ *DGMC*, 223.

⁵⁰² *Acts of Urban V*, ed. Taütü, 75-76.45a (trans. in *SN*, 368-369.X.57), 232-233.143, 233-234.144; *CSS*, 312-316.131 (trans. in *SN*, 371-372.X.60); Coureas 2010, 452.

⁵⁰³ *SN*, 84 (comm.), 268.M.I.-270.M.II; Papadopoulos 1995b, 617; Schabel 2000a, 80-81; Coureas 2010, 446-447.

fragments of the True Cross, brought to the island by St Helena in the fourth century. Machairas relates that in 1318, the Tochnē Cross had been stolen by a jealous Latin priest and was later hidden in a carob tree, until it was miraculously retrieved in 1340 by a young Rhomaios shepherd, who brought the Cross to Hugh IV. The Latin ecclesiastical authorities challenged the relic's authenticity, which Machairas interprets not as an expression of impiety or disbelief, but of envy for the miraculous power of Rhomaic icons and relics. The Tochnē Cross was eventually put into trial by fire, which proved it to contain fragments of the True Cross, and later healed Queen Alice from muteness. Machairas notes that the grateful royal family founded a Rhomaic Byzantine-rite monastery dedicated to the Revealed (*Φανερωμένος*) Cross outside Nicosia.⁵⁰⁴

The story of the Tochnē Cross demonstrates the Lusignan willingness to adopt and exploit local religious symbols, thus emphasising royal benevolence towards the Cypriot Rhomaic community.⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, the symbol of the cross was central in the political and Crusader ideology of the Lusignan Kingdom, which justifies Hugh IV's protection of the Tochnē relic as an expression of Crusader propaganda in the context of his anti-Turkish activities.⁵⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that Machairas interpreted Latin ecclesiastical hostility towards the Tochnē Cross as an expression of envy, rather than impiety, which indicates that he did not perceive the Latins as heretics or schismatics, but as representatives of a different liturgical tradition. The Latin objections to the authenticity of the Tochnē Cross probably reveal sentiments of threat, since the revival of its veneration in the hands of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy would create competition with the relic preserved in the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross at

⁵⁰⁴ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §67-77 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 101-107) Note that Machairas explicitly mentions that the monastery was founded outside Nicosia and close to the village of St Dometios. Another monastery dedicated to the Revealed Cross seems to have existed in the village of Leukara and might have been founded around the same period with the Nicosia monastery: Constantinides 1983, 188-189; *DGMC*, 203-205. It is noteworthy that the muteness of Queen Alice was perceived as a divine punishment for her daring act of breaking the *ἄβατον* (canonical status of inaccessibility to women) of the Virgin's monastery at Machairas.

⁵⁰⁵ Schabel 2000a, 69-73; Grivaud 2007, 262-263, 268; Coureas 2010, 437-439.

⁵⁰⁶ The cross was part of the royal insignia of the Lusignan Kingdom, whose rulers were kings of both Jerusalem and Cyprus: Edbury 1991, 108-109. Moreover, one is to recall Hugh IV's involvement in anti-Turkish expeditions and his declaration of sovereignty over Jerusalem (1324): Edbury 1991, 108, 181; Paschali 2014a, 135-144. On Peter I and the symbol of the cross in the context of his Crusader activities see Guillaume of Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, ed. Mas Latrie, 10.291-310; Bacci 2004, 230; Paschali 2014a, 138-139. On the symbol of the cross in Western liturgical rituals associated with pilgrimage and Crusading, see Gaposchkin 2013, 44-91.

Staurobouni, which was promoted by the Latin Church as *the* true fragment of Christ's Cross in Cyprus.⁵⁰⁷ For the Orthodox Cypriots, the symbol of the cross was both spiritual (in terms of denoting doctrinal correctness and being a vehicle of theophany) and ethno-political (in terms of being associated with Byzantine imperial authority).⁵⁰⁸ By successfully appealing to the Lusignans to function as lay guardians of the Tochnē Cross, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bypassed the authority of the Latin Church and secured that the relic would remain under their control.⁵⁰⁹ In this way, they not only took advantage of Frankish royal leniency, but they also reaffirmed their rights over their ancestral relics and the ecclesiastical heritage of their island.

The quasi-romanticisation of the concepts of 'tolerance', 'acculturation' and 'multiculturalism' in modern historiographical interpretations of Latin-ruled Cyprus, has led revisionist scholars to view the fourteenth century as the point of departure for the 'gradual (although never total) merging' of the island's two main communities (Rhomaioi and Latins).⁵¹⁰ It is probably more correct, however, to argue that social mobility and interaction did not necessarily lead to the merging of ethno-religious and cultural identities. As David Jacoby points out, concerning the Italian naturalisation of

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Bacci 2004, 232-234. See the edition and translation by Dawkins in Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, §73: 'The Greeks are deceiving the people and leading them into (great) heresy, by saying about the Cross that it is Holy Wood of the Cross of Christ, and they are lying and making themselves even as the pagans of old, and telling of things unseemly and false' (Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλανοῦν τὸν λαὸν καὶ βάλλουν τοὺς εἰς αἵρεσίαν, λαλῶντα διὰ τὸν σταυρὸν πῶς ἐνι τίμιον ξύλον ἀπὸ τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ λαλοῦν ψέματα καὶ πέφτον ὡς γοιὸν τοὺς Ἕλληνες καὶ ὀνομάζουν πράματα ἄπρεπα τὰ ποῖα δὲν εἶνε); cf. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 103. Both the Staurobouni and the Tochnē Crosses were created by St Helena in the fourth century: Helena had extracted from the True Cross its *suppedaneum* (namely the lower bar on which Christ's feet had been nailed during His Passion), which she divided into parts and attached on mixed fragments of wood from the crosses of the Two Thieves, thus creating 'new' Crosses: Papadopoulos 1952, 24.181β-26.183β; Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, Dawkins, §§7-8 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 67-68); Cobham 1908, 39 (fifteenth-century account by the pilgrim Felix Faber); Menardos 2001, 315-340; Bacci 2004, 229-234. On Latin criticisms of the Cypriot Rhomaic traditions concerning the Holy Cross in the sixteenth century, see below: App. IV, 472.I.26.139-140, 473.I.27.

⁵⁰⁸ See the discussion by Kyriacou (forthcoming-b). One should also consult, among other studies, the following works: Stylianou and Stylianos 1971; Hallit 1972, 261-311; Hallit 1979-1980, 135-163; Teteriatnikov 1995, 169-188; Walter 1997, 193-220; Karagianni 2010-2011, 233-254; Spanos 2014, 63-81. A brief note from a fourteenth-century Cypriot manuscript indicates the commemoration of the Byzantine emperor and the Constantinopolitan patriarch, during the Vespers of the Elevation of the Holy Cross: *DGMC*, 53-54; cf. Neophytos the Recluse, *Panegyric I*, ed. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoridi, 179.7.29.323-329, 7.30.337-338, 180.7.31.361-367, 204.8.50.624-205.8.50.632, 211.8.64.808-811 (on the function of the cross as ethno-religious symbol). On the cross as a theophanic symbol see: *ibid.*, 180.7.31.357-358, 197.8.36.430-198.36.440, 206.8.52.674-675, 206.8.52.676-677, 207.8.53.681, 207.8.55.705; Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§8, 70 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 68, 102-103).

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Bacci 2004, 232.

⁵¹⁰ Schryver 2010, 157; cf. Weyl Carr 1995, 251. Note, however, that Schryver has recently revised his previous position: Schryver 2014, 1-11.

foreign *protégés*, '[naturalisation] generated only limited social integration with respect to non-Latin aliens, because of differences in religious affiliation, language and culture'.⁵¹¹ The Tochnē Cross Affair suggests the existence of competition, if not antagonism, between the Cypriot Rhomaic and Latin hierarchies concerning the control of holy relics and the attraction of royal patronage. Similarly, participation in 'mixed' ceremonies does not imply the merging of identities, since each ethno-religious group had a fixed place in the processions according to its own rite.⁵¹²

Evidence of resistance against the merging of identities in papal correspondence and other Latin sources, demonstrates that the predominating numbers of Cypriot Rhomaioi and the atmosphere of religious rapprochement constituted a threat to the very existence of a distinct Latin identity in Cyprus.⁵¹³ Papal exemptions concerning endogamy reveal the desire of a number of Latin nobles to preserve their ethno-religious identity by avoiding marriages with the 'schismatic' Rhomaioi.⁵¹⁴ Requests concerning papal permission for the possession of portable altars, which enabled their owners to attend the liturgy in private and wherever they travelled, even in places where no Latin churches were to be found, reflect the Latin nobility's concern for identity preservation.⁵¹⁵ In 1363, Admiral John of Sur informed Urban V that he could hardly find Latin priests to celebrate the sacraments in his chapel, situated outside Famagusta.⁵¹⁶ In 1372, the Swedish mystic Bridget (d. 1373), founder of the Bridgettine Order, visited the island on her way to the Holy Land. In a prophetic vision, recorded in her *Revelations* and proclaimed in the presence of the Lusignan court, Bridget stated that Christ had called the Latin population of Cyprus to repent and return to the obedience of the Western Church, in order to escape heavenly punishment; Christ had also condemned the Rhomaioi as disobedient and corrupted, ordering them to submit to the Papacy and reject their errors. Clearly, Bridget's prophetic visions emphasised

⁵¹¹ Jacoby 2014, 67; cf. Kirmitsis 1983, 48-52; Papadopoulos 1995b, 615-618.

⁵¹² This is suggested by the categorisation of ethno-religious communities participating in mixed processions: Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 99.33-100.5, 155.32-156.2; Anonymous, *Chronicle of Amadi*, ed. Mas Latrie, 405; Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 35^v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 75^r-75^v; cf. Olympios 2013, 329.

⁵¹³ Cf. Coureas 1998, 82-83, 86; Coureas 2010, 446-447.

⁵¹⁴ Collenberg 1977, 11-93; BC III, 170 (s-55); cf. Collenberg 1995, 805-807.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Collenberg 1975-1977, 195; Collenberg 1993, 170-176.

⁵¹⁶ BC III, 378 (v-44); cf. *ibid.*, 408 (v-169).

the need for boundary maintenance between the two communities; however, the increasing interaction suggests that her success (if any) was limited.⁵¹⁷

Expressions of Cypriot Rhomaic and Oriental Christian disobedience to the Papacy and the Latin Church in Cyprus are also described in papal letters. In 1306, Pope Clement V (1305–1314) instructed the Latin bishop of Paphos to reform the monasteries of Gialia, Lacrona and St Sabbas, because they had been occupied by ‘schismatic’ Georgians and Rhomaioi, who called themselves ‘abbots’ (*Iorgianus et Greci scismatici [...] dicentes abbates*).⁵¹⁸ In 1326, Pope John XXII complained that the Cypriot Rhomaioi denied the existence of Purgatory and Hell and refused to receive the Eucharist unless it was brought to them from Constantinople.⁵¹⁹ This piece of evidence suggests the existence of hardcore Orthodox Cypriots, who remained in schism with their own hierarchy and pursued close contacts with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In 1363, Pope Urban V referred to ‘schismatic’ or ‘heretical’ (*schismatis seu haeresis labe respersas*) ecclesiastics in Cyprus, who were welcome to return to the Western Church, provided that they had first repented.⁵²⁰ In 1326, John XXII criticised the Nestorians and Jacobites of Cyprus for following their ancestral doctrines; these two communities might be included among Urban V’s ‘schismatics’ and ‘heretics’, who flourished in Nicosia in 1363.⁵²¹ Although the Armenians of Cyprus had been officially united with the Papacy in 1344, receiving the right to remain under the jurisdiction of a Latinised Armenian bishop, it appears that many continued to follow their doctrines and liturgical traditions, even when these came into conflict with Latin doctrinal orthodoxy and ritual orthopraxy. Indeed, papal references to the ‘faithful Armenians’ (*fidelium Armenorum* or *fideles Armeni*), imply the existence of disobedient Armenian groups.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ Piltz 1986, 54-56; Englezakis 1996, 309; Coureas 2010, 455-456.

⁵¹⁸ *BC* II, 306-307 (q-3), esp. at 306 (trans. in *SN*, 339-340.X.34). In the fourteenth century, Gialia was a Georgian establishment. The monastery seems to be associated with the Georgian monk and martyr Nicholas Dvali, who was killed by the Muslims in Jerusalem in 1314: Djobadze 1984, 196-209. St Sabbas and Lacrona were Rhomaic establishments: Coureas 1997, 314. In the fifteenth century, Gialia seems to have been occupied by Rhomaioi monks: George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 108-109; Schabel 2005, 164; Richard in *BC* I, 46.

⁵¹⁹ *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taūtu, 176-177.89 (trans. in *SN*, 358-359.X.50); Coureas 2010, 434.

⁵²⁰ *Acts of Urban V*, ed. Taūtu, 75-76.45a, esp. at 75 (trans. in *SN*, 368-369.X.57); Coureas 2010, 492-493.

⁵²¹ *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taūtu, 176-177.89; *Acts of Urban V*, ed. Taūtu, 75-76.45a (trans. in *SN*, 358-359.X.50, 368-369.X.57); Coureas 2010, 475.

⁵²² *Acts of Clement VI*, ed. Taūtu, 68-70.41 (trans. in *SN*, 361-363.54); Coureas 2010, 482-483.

Jurisdiction over the (Orthodox) Syrian Melkites of Cyprus was a major point of friction between the Rhomaic and Latin ecclesiastical authorities.⁵²³ In 1260, the *Bulla Cypria* placed the Melkites of Cyprus under Latin jurisdiction, although the status of Melkite refugees after 1260 remained unclear.⁵²⁴ Common bonds in faith and culture led the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to claim canonical and spiritual authority over the Melkite refugees. In 1365, Pope Urban V sent a letter to the incumbent Latin archbishop of Nicosia, informing him that the late Hilariōn of Karpasia (d. ca. 1318) had attempted to expand his jurisdiction over the Cypriot Rhomaioi and Syrians dwelling in the city and bishopric of Famagusta. This event, probably dating sometime before 1313, demonstrates that Hilariōn openly challenged the Latin episcopal jurisdiction over the Rhomaic and Syrian flock of Famagusta, which he had considered as the rightful see of his bishopric. Moreover, Urban V stated that, sometime between 1359 and 1363, John of Karpasia (fl. ca. 1359–ca. 1371), one of Hilariōn’s successors, resumed his predecessor’s claims. The case was examined in court by the Papal Legate Peter Thomas (in ca. 1359–1363), who issued a sentence in favour of the Latin side.⁵²⁵ From Pope John XXII’s correspondence we learn that during the incarceration (1313–1318) of the three Rhomaioi bishops in the Great Entrance Controversy, the episcopal properties of Solea and Leukara were despoiled by Latin, Rhomaioi and Syrian ecclesiastics.⁵²⁶ In 1321, Bishops Leo of Solea and Olbianos of Leukara complained to Pope John XXII that the Latin bishops had usurped their jurisdiction over the Melkite community, requesting that the Rhomaic episcopal rights should be respected. Although John XXII ordered the

⁵²³ The Melkites were Chalcedonian Christians from Syro-Palestine who mainly spoke Aramaic and Arabic and whose distinct ethno-religious identity emerged under Muslim rule, between the mid-seventh/eighth and mid-eleventh centuries. The Melkites were culturally influenced by Byzantium and its Romano-Hellenistic legacy in the Near East; the term ‘Melkite’ indicates their attachment to Byzantine Orthodoxy and imperial authority: Griffith 2006, 175-204; Monferrer-Sala 2012, 445-471 (esp. at 449-453). Cultural bonds between the Melkites and Byzantium, though relatively weak in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, continued to exist, as confirmed by the use of Greek in the Melkite liturgies of Syria: Monferrer-Sala 2004, 284. The growing ‘Arabicisation’ of the Melkite culture did not erase its spiritual bonds with Byzantium. Some Melkite churchmen submitted individually to the Papacy in the late sixteenth century, but the (Melkite) Antiochene Patriarchate did not (re-)establish communion with Rome until 1724: Galadza 2007, 297.

⁵²⁴ CSS, 202.78 (trans. in SN, 320.X.25); Ioannides 2000, 365.23-31.

⁵²⁵ *Acts of Urban V*, ed. Taūtu, 119-120.72 = *Acts of Gregory XI*, ed. Taūtu, 105-106.54. English translation with comments by Schabel in SN, 85 (dating Peter Thomas’ involvement in 1360), 369-370.X.58. One should also consult Coureas 2010, 451. On the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops of Karpasia before 1340 see Schabel 2000–2001, 229-230. On John of Karpasia, see below, 206-212.

⁵²⁶ Olbianos’ wish to annex the deserted monastery of the Holy Saviour of Leukara in 1321 should be probably interpreted as part of his attempts to restore the property of his bishopric. Perhaps the same is true for Bishop Leo of Solea and his involvement in the Mangana Affair: Coureas 2010, 460-462, 468-470.

restoration of Leo's and Olbianos' property, he did not do so for their jurisdiction over the Melkites.⁵²⁷ On the contrary, the Pope underlined that 'there will be one sheepfold of the Lord and they will be governed under the care of one shepherd'.⁵²⁸

A possible confirmation of Cypriot Rhomaic authority over the Melkites would constitute a severe blow against the rulings of the *Bulla Cypria* and the domination of the Latin Church in Cyprus, since it would strengthen the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops morally (in terms of a symbolic victory over the Latins), economically (in terms of increased revenues from taxation) and spiritually (in terms of a rapprochement with the Orthodox Syrians). Naturally, the Latins were not willing to reinforce the Rhomaioi by moving back from their principle of unity perceived as subordination to the Papacy. What is noteworthy, however, is that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops did not remain passive, but struggled to preserve the Melkites under their jurisdiction by exploiting the lack of clarity in the rulings of the *Bulla Cypria*.

It becomes clear that the idealised picture of Christian unity under the Papacy, reflected for instance in the public processions of John of Conti in the 1330s, is not representative of the internal dynamics of Latin-ruled Cypriot society, in which tolerance and intolerance, coercion and exclusivity, Latinisation and anti-Latinism coexisted. This observation is crucial for understanding why the Cypriot Rhomaioi were involved in the Hesychast Controversy: they considered themselves as members of the politically-fragmented Orthodox community. The emergence of a Cypriot Rhomaic cultural elite with pro-Byzantine orientation confirms this view.

The prosperity of Cypriot economy during the first half of the fourteenth century created conditions of social elevation and collective action. In 1322/3, the mural paintings of the Virgin Phorbiōtissa monastery 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.⁵²⁹ The portraits of George and Basil Drakocherēs eloquently reflect their elevated social status: the

⁵²⁷ *Acts of John XXII*, ed. Taūtu, 72-75.36, 75-77.37 (trans. in *SN*, 345-347.X.38, 348-349.X.39).

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.37 (trans. in *SN*, 348.39): *unum sit ovile dominicum et sub unius pastoris custodia gubernentur*. On these two incidents concerning the Melkites, see generally the discussion by Schabel in *SN*, 76-79; Schabel 2005, 168-170; Coureas 2010, 426-430, 450-451.

⁵²⁹ Kalopissi-Verti 2012a, 125-139 (esp. at 133-134); Grivaud 2012a, 25; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 176-179 (mentioning other cases of collective patronage from Cyprus).

garments, hairdresses and hairstyle of the two donors follow contemporary Western fashion. The two men's imitation of the stylistic trends of the Latin dominant class reflects the emergence of a Cypriot Rhomaic elite.⁵³⁰

Cypriot social mobility coincided with the revival of higher learning in Constantinople, a process in which Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus and his disciples played a major role.⁵³¹ A number of the island's Rhomaioi, such as Leo the Cypriot (a scholarly monk acquainted with Patriarch Kallistos I), travelled to the imperial capital in order to pursue higher studies.⁵³² 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 local intellectual elite. The circulation and production of Greek manuscripts containing secular texts in fourteenth-century Cyprus, strongly suggests the existence of a circle of Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati*, who shared the interests of their Byzantine counterparts.⁵³³ The royal court of Hugh IV, whom Nikēphoros Grēgoras praised as an ideal monarch for purposes of *Kaiserkritik* against the Palamite Hesychast regime in Constantinople,⁵³⁴ became a hub for scholars engaged in the study of the Latin, Greek and Arab wisdom.⁵³⁵ Athanasius Lepentrēnos, a minor Cypriot Rhomaioi scholar who might have been anti-Palamite, boasted to Grēgoras that his compatriots were trilingual, for they could speak the languages of the 'Syrians' (i.e.,

⁵³⁰ Kalopissi-Verti 2012a, 134; Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 185-188.

⁵³¹ Constantinides 1982, 31-49.

⁵³² Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, ed. Delikari, 315.4.2-5; Constantinides 1982, 48, 108; Grivaud 1995c, 926-927, 929; Grivaud 2005, 272.

⁵³³ Constantinides 1995, 15-32; Constantinides 1996c, 59-66.

⁵³⁴ Grēgoras, who had been forced into silence for his anti-Palamite beliefs, held the Palamite Hesychasts responsible for the decline of the Byzantine State and Church. His criticism against the Palamite Hesychast regime is clear in his portrayal of George Lapithēs as an ideal Late Byzantine aristocrat, who enjoyed Hugh IV's patronage. The explicit or implicit comparison between Cyprus, a prosperous and well-governed state, and Byzantium, suffering from anarchy and heresy, appears not only in Grēgoras' *History*, but also in his *Encomium on Hugh IV*, and his correspondence with Athanasius Lepentrēnos (post 1351). Grēgoras seizes the opportunity to praise, in classicising language, the Cypriot *πολιτεία* (constitution), distinguished among other *πολιτεῖαι* for its justice (*δικαιοσύνη*), order (*εὐταξία*), equality of speech (*ἰσηγορία*) and equality before law (*ἰσονομία*): Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 34.25.12.3-37.25.13.2; Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Encomium on Hugh IV*, 211-224; Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 152-156.44. See also the discussion by Kyrris 1962, 24-26; Schabel 2004a, 132-134; Mavroudi 2006, 68-69; Gounarides 2011, 273-275; Kountoura-Galake 2013, 679-704 (esp. at 702-703); Kaldellis 2014, 148-149, 152.

⁵³⁵ Constantinides 1995, 17; Constantinides 1996c, 60-61; Schabel 1998, 41-43; Schabel 2004a, 127-130. 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: Wollesen 2010, 100-109. Fourteenth-century frescoes from the chapel of the Holy Cross church at Pelendri, associated with Peter I's brother, John of Lusignan (fl. 1353-1374/5), depict Plato and Anaximander: Zarras 2010, 49-51; Weyl Carr 2012b, 230.

Arabic), the 'Italians' (i.e., Latin) and the 'Hellenes' (i.e., Greek).⁵³⁶ Lepentrēnos also referred to Grēgoras' Cypriot Rhomaioi friends as 'Hellenes' and described his island as being ruled not by Aphrodite (the Cypriot goddess of beauty and love), but by Hermes (the god of trade), Athena (the goddess of wisdom), and the other ancient gods of sagacity.⁵³⁷ Although Lepentrēnos' claims are hyperbolic, his use of classicising Greek demonstrates the capability of even minor Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* to participate in the high culture of the Byzantine upper class.

The connection of Cypriot Rhomaioi scholars, both monks and laymen, with the Hodēgoi monastery in Constantinople, strongly suggests that this particular establishment was most probably the centre of the island's *literati* in the imperial capital during the Hesychast Controversy. The Hodēgoi was a prestigious monastery, which was founded and protected by the imperial government for centuries. Its holy spring had a reputation of healing diseases and the miraculous icon of the Hodēgētria, which depicted the Virgin holding the Child with her left arm, was attributed to St Luke the Evangelist. On 15 August 1261, the day of the Virgin's Dormition, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, liberator of Constantinople from the Latins, entered the capital in an ecclesiastical procession, led by the Hodēgētria icon. Until its destruction by the Ottomans in May 1453, the Hodēgētria icon remained a significant religious and political symbol of the Palaiologan dynasty.⁵³⁸ 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*.⁵³⁹ The popularity of the Hodēgētria on the island could be interpreted as a strong expression of ethno-religious allegiance to Orthodox Byzantium. This is further supported by the dedication of the Cypriot Rhomaic cathedral of Nicosia to the Virgin Hodēgētria (ante 1343), most likely by Bishop Leontios of Solea (ca. 1340–1353), who seems to have been the first Cypriot Rhomaioi prelate permitted by the Latins to

⁵³⁶ Athanasius Lepentrēnos in Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 415.18.17-19.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 414.18.8-9, 415.18.30-33; Kyrris 1962, 27.

⁵³⁸ Janin 1969, 199-207; Angelidi and Papamastorakis 2000, 373-387; Lidov 2006b, 349-372; Pentcheva 2006a, 109-143; Kaldellis 2013, 56-75.

⁵³⁹ Papageorghiou 1992, 18-19, 22, 28-31, 35, 40, 42, 44-46, 48-49, 67, 70, 96-97, 101, 105-106, 119, 125-126, 129-131, 132-135, 137, 141; Patterson Ševčenko 2000, 388-389; Papageorghiou 2000, 406-407; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012d, 15-18; Triantaphyllopoulos 2012b, 48-55. On the association with the Kykkos icon (and Antioch) see: Anonymous, *Narrative of the Kykkos icon*, ed. Constantinides, 97.14-101.28.

establish permanently himself in Nicosia: a relaxation of *Bulla Cypria's* rulings that confirms Hugh IV's leniency.⁵⁴⁰

The Antiochene Patriarchate was another bond in the close contacts between the Hodēgoi monastery and Cyprus. Conquered by the Muslims in 637, the city of Antioch was recovered by the Byzantines in 969, while in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it became the apple of discord between Byzantines and Crusaders.⁵⁴¹ In the late tenth century, the Hodēgoi monastery was transferred by imperial decree to the jurisdiction of the Antiochene Patriarchate and became the official residence of its prelates and clergy in the capital, particularly during the period of Crusader rule in Antioch (between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries). Probably in ca. 1344, Patriarch John XIV Kalekas renewed the Antiochene rights over the Hodēgoi: an act of rapprochement with Antioch, which took place during the patriarchate of Ignatios II of Antioch (ca. 1341–ca. 1363), one of the protagonists in the Hesychast Controversy.⁵⁴²

After his ordination as Patriarch of Antioch in ca. 1341, Ignatios II travelled to Constantinople, in order to have his appointment confirmed by Anne of Savoy and Kalekas.⁵⁴³ 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 aforementioned Tochnē relic.⁵⁴⁴ While in

⁵⁴⁰ The earliest reference to the Hodēgētria cathedral comes from a papal letter (29 August 1343), which accords to Nikolēs, son of George of Antioch, the office of *ἑβδομαδάριος* ('semainier'): *BC* III, 191 (t-66). Although Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §35 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 84-85) mentions the Hodēgētria cathedral in relation to Arab raids of the Early of Middle Byzantine period, this seems to refer to an earlier church, which was dedicated to the Hodēgētria at a later stage: Triantaphyllopoulos and Christodoulou 2007, 675-676; Michaelides and Pilides 2012, 54-56; Papacostas 2012, 93-94. Indeed, Willis 1986, 185-192, has shown that a fifth-century basilica preceded the Medieval church of the Hodēgētria. As Papacostas 2005, 11-37, has argued, the Medieval Hodēgētria might be identified with St Sophia, the Byzantine Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia. One should also consult the sixteenth-century archival information brought to light by Patapiou 2003–2004, 227, 231. See also the discussion in the following studies: Jeffery 1918, 84-89; Kirmitsis 1940, 100-106; Enlart 1987, 136-146; Plagnieux and Soulard 2006b, 181-189; Olympios 2014a, 201-202. According to the *Bulla Cypria*, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops of Solea were allowed to use the church of St Barnabas in Nicosia: Papacostas 2005, 16-17. On Leontios of Solea see below, 182-184.

⁵⁴¹ Pitsakis 1991, 91-107; Harris 2003, 75-76.

⁵⁴² Pitsakis 1991, 117-125. On the dating of Ignatios' patriarchate see *PLP*, n° 8073.

⁵⁴³ Cf. Gregory Palamas, *Refutation of Ignatios' letter*, ed. Pseutotongas, 634.5-7; Nasrallah 1968, 13; Pitsakis 1991, 92-95.

⁵⁴⁴ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §77 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 107); Schabel 2000a, 71. Although Machairas' version of the ceremony performed by Ignatios in Cyprus seems to be rather peculiar, it does present similarities with the rite for the consecration of a church, attested by several Cypriot liturgical manuals: Ioannides 2006, 342. Although the length of Ignatios' stay in Cyprus is not known, we may assume that his visit was motivated by his interest concerning Antiochene patriarchal

Constantinople (ca. 1344–1345?), where he supported the anti-Palamite camp, Ignatios must have stayed in the Hodēgoi monastery. It is not clear whether he was acquainted with Hyakinthos, a Cypriot monk in the Hodēgoi and militant anti-Palamite, who later became Metropolitan of Thessalonica (1345–1346). In 1345, Ignatios composed a refutation of Palamite Hesychasm, which Kalekas sent to Thessalonica, in order to support Hyakinthos' anti-Palamite struggle.⁵⁴⁵

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; he later appears to have become member of the Antiochene clergy in the Hodēgoi monastery, Constantinople.⁵⁴⁶ Hyakinthos was a close friend of Akindynos and perhaps Grēgoras, whose writings he brought (ante 1341–ante 1345) to George Lapithēs, recruiting him to the anti-Palamite cause.⁵⁴⁷ Although little is known about

property on the island. A thirteenth-century document regarding the Antiochene Patriarchate's fiscal affairs in Cyprus can be found in *GBUZ*, 182-183.31, 325 (comm.). Moreover, a number of Syrian Melkites and Georgians might have belonged to the Antiochene flock: Nasrallah 1968, 16-17 (n. 64); Grivaud 2000, 52-53; Korobeinikov 2003, 204-205. A detail that often escapes the attention of scholars examining the ecclesiastical relations between Latin-ruled Cyprus and Antioch is that the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates received the holy myrrh from the Antiochene patriarchs; a tradition which lasted as late as 1860. *The Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* explicitly mentions that in the sixteenth century, the Cypriot Rhomaioi received the holy myrrh from Antioch: App. IV, 469.1.7.45-49. Today, the Orthodox Cypriot Church receives the holy myrrh from Constantinople. See generally the discussion in the following studies: Georgiou 1875, 28-29; Hackett 1972, 31-32; Feidas 2012, 17-24. It was perhaps this custom, interpreted by many thirteenth-century Byzantines as an expression of ecclesiastical independence or subordination (cf. Erickson 1991, 105-107; Angelov 2007, 384-392), that must have led Leontios Machairas to the (erroneous) claim that in Byzantine times, Cyprus had been subordinated to Antioch: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §158 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 148); cf. Gones 1986, 336; Kyrris 1989–1993, 173.

⁵⁴⁵ We are informed about Ignatios' refutation of Palamite Hesychasm by Gregory Palamas' *Refutation of Ignatios' letter*, ed. Pseutotongas, 558-562 (comm. by Chrestou), 625-647 (text). On the possible connection between Ignatios and Hyakinthos see: Kyrris 1961, 98, 103-104; Nasrallah 1968, 14; Pitsakis 1991, 125-126. Akindynos, together with Ignatios II of Antioch, must have promoted Hyakinthos' candidacy to the metropolitan throne of Thessalonica: Tsames in Joseph Kalothetos, *Against Kalekas*, 71 (n. 1). Meyendorff 1959, 116 (n. 97), argues that Anne of Savoy opposed Hyakinthos' candidacy.

⁵⁴⁶ See Mercati 1931, 221 (n. 2), who uses as his source a hitherto unpublished document by an anonymous Palamite Hesychast author (preserved in MS *Vaticanus graecus* 321), mentioning Hyakinthos' anti-Palamite persecution in Thessalonica (διωγμὸν ἐποίησεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ). The same source also reveals that Hyakinthos ἐκ Κύπρου ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην ('had been ordained priest in Cyprus'). An anonymous Palamite Hesychast list of prominent anti-Palamites (ibid., 223) includes Hyakinthos among other leading opponents of Palamite Hesychasm. Joseph Kalothetos, *Against Kalekas*, ed. Tsames, 297.389-395, mentions Hyakinthos' fierce persecution in Thessalonica. The persecution is further discussed by Meyendorff 1959, 116 (n. 99); Kyrris 1961, 105-122; cf. Ševčenko 1957, 80-171; Ševčenko 1962, 403-408. Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 222.52.49, states that Hyakinthos had been οἰκίτη (resident) of the Hodēgoi (trans. at 223).

⁵⁴⁷ In his letters, Akindynos makes several references to Hyakinthos: ibid., 190.44.36-40, 191 (implying that Lapithēs had been introduced to anti-Palamism by Hyakinthos, whose name is not mentioned), 222.52.47-54, 223 (urging the anti-Palamite metropolitan of Monembasia to send his refutations of Palamite Hesychasm to Hyakinthos in Thessalonica), 242.60.22-25, 243 (referring to Hyakinthos as a friend),

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 Late Byzantine *literati*.⁵⁴⁸ Other Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamite scholars and monks associated with the Late Byzantine cultural elite and probably with the Hodēgoi monastery were Bartholomew, Kosmas, Blasios, Gerasimos and Leo.⁵⁴⁹

It should be pointed out that Gerasimos and Leo are mentioned in the sources with the honorary title *κῦρ* ('lord'), which suggests their respectable social standing.⁵⁵⁰ This particular form of address was commonly employed to express respect and was not restricted to any particular social or ethno-religious group, although in the cases of

244.60.44-246.60.69 (informing Lapithēs about Hyakinthos' death and mentioning that the latter had composed anti-Palamite treatises), 387, 392-393, 400, 413 (comm.). George Lapithēs (in Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 410.16.17-21), informs Grēgoras that 'our reverend father (*αἰδέσιμος πατήρ*) Hyakinthos' brought to him Grēgoras' letters. Lapithēs' reference to Hyakinthos as *αἰδέσιμος πατήρ* suggests that he had not yet been appointed to the metropolitan throne of Thessalonica. Leone dates the letter with caution before 1341. Since Hyakinthos had become metropolitan in 1345, then it is reasonable to argue that the communication between Hyakinthos and Lapithēs had taken place between ante 1341 and ante 1345. The view that Hyakinthos had introduced Lapithēs to the anti-Palamite camp is supported by Kyrris 1961, 105; Karpozilos 1981-1982, 496; Constantinides Hero in Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, 413. On Lapithēs see also above, 134-137.

⁵⁴⁸ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 244.60.65-246.60.69 (245, 247 trans.). George Galēsiotēs (d. post 1346), a scholar and patriarchal official, composed a letter of consolation at Hyakinthos' instigation, addressed to an anonymous Cypriot. See generally: Mercati 1931, 221 (n. 2); Karpozilos 1981-1982, 496-497.

⁵⁴⁹ Bartholomew, Kosmas and Blasios are mentioned by Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 244.60.33-39, 245 (trans.), 413 (comm.), as being prominent members of the anti-Palamite camp and George Lapithēs' friends. Akindynos, *ibid.*, 242.60.22-24, 243, 413 (comm.), also implies that these men were Hyakinthos' friends. Gerasimos the Monk is mentioned by an anonymous Palamite Hesychast source, published in Mercati 1931, 223.14. Gerasimos might have been a monk of the Hodēgoi monastery. Mercati (*ibid.*, n. 14), mentions that the anonymous author of an anti-Palamite *florilegium* had used, among other sources, an exegetical treatise composed by Gerasimos. The 'most learned' (*λογιώτατος*) Leo is mentioned by Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 244.35, 245 (trans.), 413 (comm.), in the same context with Bartholomew, Kosmas and Blasios. It appears that he must have been a lay scholar, rather than a monk. This Leo is probably the same person as 'the wise' (*σοφός*) Leo, mentioned as one of Grēgoras' Cypriot Rhomaioi friends and correspondents. Leo seems to have been also a friend of Athanasius Lepentrēnos, another Cypriot Rhomaioi *literatus*: Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 155.44.76-156.44.85. It is not clear whether the anti-Palamite Leo should be identified as Leo the Monk, praised by Kallistos I in his *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, ed. Delikari, 315.4.2-8. When Kallistos decided to compose his hagiographical work on the Sinaite (sometime between 1355 and 1360), he was informed by Leo the Monk about St Gregory's stay in Cyprus (post 1290). If the two Leos are the same person then we may assume that after the Palamite Hesychast victory, Leo the Cypriot officially renounced anti-Palamism. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, we hear about a certain Leo from Cyprus, who owned a volume with the works of the Cypriot Patriarch Gregory II. It would not be surprising if Leo, the future anti-Palamite (and later Palamite?), had visited Constantinople in the early fourteenth century to pursue higher education. See generally the discussion by Mercati 1931, 187-188 (n. 3); Gones 1980, 57, 60; Constantinides 1982, 48, 108; Gones 1986, 333-334 (n. 7); Grivaud 1995c, 926-927, 929; Grivaud 2005, 272.

⁵⁵⁰ On Gerasimos, see the anonymous anti-Palamite *florilegium* in Mercati 1931, 223 (n. 14), referring to *κῦρ* Gerasimos the Cypriot. On *κῦρις* Leo the Monk, see Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, ed. Delikari, 315.4.3.

Gerasimos and Leo, it underlines their status as members of the Late Byzantine cultural elite.⁵⁵¹ In Grēgoras' enthusiastic portrayal of the learned Lapithēs, the latter is praised for his noble descent, which distinguished him from the common people (μη τῶν ἀγενῶν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα). Moreover, Grēgoras notes that his Cypriot friend lived in a state of σεμνότης ('dignity' or 'solemnity'), denoting Lapithēs' social prestige.⁵⁵²

These references to the eminent social standing of anti-Palamite Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* seem to suggest that they were part of a wider network of scholars, whose ideology was primarily shaped by their classicising high education, Byzantine Orthodox training and, to a lesser degree, by their encounter with the Latin and Islamic cultural achievements. This ideology was highlighted by a socio-cultural sense of superiority reflected, for example, in Grēgoras' depiction of Lapithēs. It was also characterised by expressions of pride for one's homeland, mirrored in Lepentrēnos' panegyric about the accomplishments of his countrymen. Another element of this ideology was the need of Late Byzantine elites to continuously reaffirm their status of socio-cultural superiority, as a way of distinction from the common people and other ethno-religious communities.⁵⁵³ This could explain why a great number of Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* were involved in the 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.

In summary, the second half of the fourteenth century witnessed phenomena of social mobility and religious interaction, which encouraged the relaxation of Latin ecclesiastical policy towards the Cypriot Rhomaioi and enabled the restoration of Rhomaic episcopal authority in urban centres. Although the relations between Rhomaioi and Latins were certainly improved, the merging of ethno-religious

⁵⁵¹ Cf. Kalopissi-Verti 2012a, 128-129. See also the use of κῦρ in the following cases: Bartusis 1992, 110 (referring to the Byzantine emperor), 370-373, 376-379 (referring to soldiers); Necipoğlu 2003, 149 (referring to a cloth merchant in Thessalonica); Korobeinikov 2004, 57 (Mamlūk diplomatic documents addressing the Byzantine emperor as *malik kyr*); Necipoğlu 2009, 203-204 (referring to the son of an Ottoman merchant); Paschali 2014b, 282 (referring to a Cypriot Rhomaioi bishop).

⁵⁵² Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 28.25.8.18; *LSJ*, 1591; *PGL*, 1229.

⁵⁵³ These observations largely depend on Svoronos 2004, 74-76 and Kiousopoulou 2013, esp. at 152-153. On contemporary socio-ideological developments in Late Byzantium, see generally the discussion by Laiou 1973, 131-151; Meyendorff 1974b, 51-65; Laiou 1982, 96-124; Necipoğlu 2000, 251-263; Kontogiannopoulou 2012, 101-124; Malatras 2014, 99-174.

identities appears to have been limited, since both communities activated mechanisms of identity preservation. The Syrian Melkite Controversy is a good example of how the Latin Church wished to strengthen its authority on the island by expanding its jurisdiction over the Orthodox Syrian refugees, while at the same time the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy struggled to restore its rights by implicitly challenging the Latin ecclesiastical domination.

Prosperity, social mobility and religious tolerance contributed to the formation of a local cultural elite with close connections with Constantinople and Antioch. The revival of higher learning in Byzantium and the radiance of the Hodēgoi monastery, a centre of encounter for the Constantinopolitan, Antiochene and Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and *literati*, shaped the anti-Palamite orientation of the island's Rhomaioi intellectuals. Ultimately, the Cypriot Rhomaic involvement in the early phase of the Hesychast Controversy appears to have been motivated by the willingness of these *literati* to actively participate in the theological debates of their time, in order to defend their version of Byzantine Orthodoxy.

III.3. Cypriot anti-Palamism as a 'Byzantine' movement (1340–1360)

The question remains: was Cypriot anti-Palamism a Latinising movement? The answer appears to be negative: it was a 'Byzantine' movement. This is supported by the high probability that Cypriot Rhomaic 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 Hesychast Controversy seems to parallel that of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church, indicating that anti-Palamism was a unifying element in the ecclesiastical politics of the period.

During the Provincial Council of Nicosia (1340), Archbishop Elias of Nabinaux, a supporter of Pope Benedict XII's (1334–1342) position that the departed saints are able to be fully united with God immediately after death (Beatific Vision), presented the doctrines and teachings of the Western Church before a congregation of Latin and non-Latin (i.e., Cypriot Rhomaioi and Oriental Christian) prelates, who apparently agreed

to them by signing the synodal decrees.⁵⁵⁴ This has led Schabel to the assumption that the Latin theological discussions over the Beatific Vision might have indirectly influenced Cypriot Rhomaic perceptions of Palamite Hesychasm and anti-Palamism.⁵⁵⁵ In 2000, William Duba noted that ‘although the anti-Palamites are considered “latinizers” [...], their position concerning the fundamental unknowability of the divine essence directly opposes Latin doctrine in the wake of the constitution *Benedictus Deus* [namely, Pope Benedict XII’s definition of the Beatific Vision]’.⁵⁵⁶ Duba’s argument is based on the fact that, following Pope Benedict XII, Elias of Nabinaux described the Beatific Vision as a vision of the divine essence (*viderunt, vident, et videbunt Divinam essentiam, visione intuitiva ac etiam faciali*).⁵⁵⁷ What needs to be stressed, however, is that the Beatific Vision Controversy (1331–1336) focused on whether the saints enter into the aforementioned state of union with God immediately after death or only after the Last Judgement.⁵⁵⁸ 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. To put it simply, the Beatific Vision Controversy was quite distinct from the Hesychast one, and does not seem to say much about the theological principles that inspired Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamism.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁴ On the Council see: SN, 250-251.L.3, 252-255.L.8, 254-255.L.10 (with English trans. by Schabel); Darrouzès 1979, 20-21; Schabel 1998, 50-52; Duba 2000, 167-168, 188-190; Coureas 2010, 388, 443. On Elias’ career and involvement in the Beatific Vision Controversy see: Schabel 1998, 46-50; Schabel 2000a, 67-68; Duba 2000, 186-188; Coureas 2010, 388.

⁵⁵⁵ Schabel 2006b, 198.

⁵⁵⁶ Duba 2000, 177. The same view is also shared by Coureas 2010, 443.

⁵⁵⁷ SN, 252-253.L.3 (with English trans. by Schabel); Duba 2000, 186-190.

⁵⁵⁸ On the Beatific Vision Controversy, see Trottmann 1995. A brief account of the various Western theological views on the vision of the divine essence is provided by McGinn 2005, 227-246. For the wider cultural *milieu* and impact of the Beatific Vision Controversy, see Bynum 1995a, 279-317. For a comparative examination of this controversy with the Hesychast one, see Geréby 2011, 183-211.

⁵⁵⁹ I would like to thank Revd Professor Richard Price for drawing my attention to this. On the possible existence of common ground between Orthodox and Latin theology on the issue of the vision of God in this life, see the following studies: Lossky 1960 (apophaticism and knowledge of God in Master Eckhart); Williams 1999 (on the concept of deification in Aquinas and Palamas); Torrell 2005, 283-289 (on liturgical mysticism in Aquinas); Berger 2005, 15-16 (on the same issue); Lévy 2006 (on Maximus the Confessor as a common source in both Aquinas and Palamas); Hudson 2007 (on the concepts of theophany and deification in Nicholas of Cusa); Untea 2010 (on the concept of being in Aquinas and Palamas). Of particular interest are Augustine’s (d. 430) interpretation of Old Testament theophanies (ACCS III, 121; Miles 1983, 125-142; Trottmann 1995, 29-67; Barnes 2003, 329-355; Bradshaw 2004, 228-229; McGinn 2005, 229-231; Bucur 2008c, 67-93; Manoussakis 2010, 76-89; Kloos 2011) and Eriugena’s (d. ca. 877) theophanic theology [Moran 1989, 99-100; Trottmann 1995, 74-83; Carabine 2000, 33; Bradshaw 2004, 255-256; Athanasopoulos 2004, 321-341; McGinn 2005, 232; Bucur 2008a, 130-137; Mooney 2009; Koutloumousianos 2009, 267-297; Kappes et al. 2014, 209-210 (n. 90), 211-212 (n. 95), 213, 219]. Note that Charles du Plessis

There is also no evidence that the contacts between Rhomaioi and Latin theologians in Hugh IV's court shaped Cypriot Rhomaic 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 to the Rhodian Hospitallers, he does not mention Hugh IV's court as a place of discussions over Palamite Hesychasm.⁵⁶⁰ 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.⁵⁶¹ What needs to be stressed, is that the lack of concrete indications concerning Latin scholastic influence on Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamite theology, appears to confirm the argument that Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites were not influenced by Latin theology.⁵⁶²

d'Argentré (1723–1740) included Palamite Hesychasm in his *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus*, associating it with the theological views of Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154) and John of Brescain (fl. ca. 1247): D'Argentré 1728, 323; Colish 1994, 136; Evans 2000, 123-129; Duba 2000, 194 (n. 58); Jeauneau 2009, 60; Young 2014, 59; Kappes et al. 2014, 196 (n. 50).

⁵⁶⁰ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 192.44.70-74, 193 (trans.), 384 (comm.); Plested 2012b, 59. Akindynos' silence on anti-Palamism in Hugh IV's court could be interpreted in the context of mutual accusations of Latinisation between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites. On Hugh IV's cultural interests see generally Schabel 2004a, 128-130. According to Duba 2007, 59 (n. 48), Peter Philargos —the Cretan Franciscan monk, theologian and later Pope Alexander V (1409–1410)— came to know the Palamite Hesychast teachings in his youth. It is likely that Hugh IV's perception of Palamite Hesychasm, with its emphasis on inner purification through prayer and ascetic struggle, was influenced by his hostility towards the Spiritual Franciscans: Schabel 2004a, 150 (n. 69). Inspired by the example of St Francis of Assisi (d. 1226), founder of the Franciscan Order, the Spirituals preached a return to a simpler, 'apostolic' way of life, focusing on prayer, poverty and humility. They also criticised papal authority, attacked scholasticism and developed a prophetic eschatology, which challenged the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Western Church: Burr 2001, esp. at 26-29, 33, 102-105, 114, 128-129; Falbel 2011 (particularly useful on the Spiritual criticism of papal authority). For a comparison with Palamite Hesychasm see: Clucas 1977, 324-346; Meyendorff 1988a, 165 (n. 44); Englezakis 2011, 179-183. Elias of Nabinaux, himself a Franciscan, had actively opposed the Spiritual members of his Order, as confirmed by his official appointment by Pope John XXII to capture Francis of Marchia (d. post 1344), a Franciscan theologian and supporter of the Spirituals: Schabel 2004a, 150. It should be stated that the Spirituals enjoyed the patronage of King Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and his wife, Queen Sancha of Majorca (1309–1344), who had a claim on the throne of Jerusalem, thus becoming Hugh IV's antagonists: *ibid.*, 146-150. In the early 1340s, Hugh attacked the Franciscans of Cyprus, arresting and incarcerating a number of friars, although it is not clear whether these had been indeed associated with the Spirituals. The reason for the King's actions was that the Order was associated with Ferrand of Majorca, his son-in-law and Sancha's nephew. Interestingly, Elias of Nabinaux, at the time Archbishop of Nicosia, seems to have supported Hugh's anti-Franciscan activities: *ibid.*, 139-151.

⁵⁶¹ On Lapithēs' links to Hugh IV's court see above, 135; cf. Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 192.44.75-79. On Grēgoras' *Encomium on Hugh IV* see above, 172 (n. 535).

⁵⁶² It is noteworthy that at least three Latin Archbishops of Nicosia, namely John of Conti (1312–1332), Elias of Nabinaux (1332–1342) and Hugh of Lusignan (1411–1442), had the Transfiguration scene depicted on their seals: de Vaivre 2001, 1038, 1040-1041. Moreover, John of Conti commissioned a textile illustrating the Transfiguration, which he donated to the cathedral of St Sophia in 1332: Anonymous, *Chronicle of Amadi*, ed. Mas Latrue, 406. Although the Transfiguration was rarely depicted in the decoration of Gothic portals, the now-lost sculptures at the tympanum of the cathedral's central portal —executed under John of Conti and Hugh IV— most probably depicted the Transfiguration. On this see: Boase 1977, 170-171;

The reasons that motivated Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* to oppose Palamite Hesychasm were plausibly similar to those that inspired the rejection of the ‘essence-energies’ distinction by the leaders of the Byzantine anti-Palamite camp. The absence of Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamite works, makes it necessary to turn to the arguments of Byzantine anti-Palamites, in order to better comprehend the views of their Cypriot Rhomaioi colleagues. Grēgoras’ anti-Palamism, for example, was primarily shaped by his philosophico-theological training, which led him to reject the use of logical syllogisms in the examination of divine realities, against the methodology employed by both Latin scholasticism and Palamite Hesychasm.⁵⁶³ In doing so, Grēgoras ‘wished to follow [...] the early Church Fathers, who dismissed logical studies following a tradition to be found among Neoplatonists’.⁵⁶⁴ From Grēgoras’ perspective, the ‘essence-energies’ distinction mirrored Plato’s theory of Forms, thus challenging the Orthodox doctrine of unknowability of the divine essence.⁵⁶⁵ 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]’.⁵⁶⁶ Interpreting earlier patristic sources, Akindynos argued that humans are ‘merely eschatological recipients of the reward for virtue’;⁵⁶⁷ in a letter to Lapithēs, he accused Palamite Hesychasm of being a polytheistic teaching that disturbed the unity and simplicity of God.⁵⁶⁸ What is noteworthy, is that Akindynos was not Lapithēs’ only anti-Palamite *and* hesychast friend. A spiritual disciple of Akindynos in the hesychast life, Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina (d. ca. 1356) was a Byzantine aristocrat and Abbess of the Philanthrōpos Sōtēr convent in Constantinople, who opposed Palamite Hesychasm

Rivoire-Richard 1995, 1442 (arguing that the now-lost sculptures depicted the Incoronation of the Virgin); Andrews 1999, 67-68, 83; de Vaivre 2001, 1031-1042; Bacci 2000, 365, 369-370; Andrews 2005, 35-37; Weyl Carr 2005a, 315. The Transfiguration of Christ and the saints appears to have been an element of common ground between the Western and Orthodox Churches, despite different interpretations on the degree or kind of the said theophanic experiences. See: Divry 2009; Cauty 2011.

⁵⁶³ Meyendorff 1988a, 165; Moschos 1998; Demetracopoulos 1999, 88-109; Ierodiakonou 2002, 221-224; Plested 2012b, 55-56.

⁵⁶⁴ Ierodiakonou 2002, 223.

⁵⁶⁵ Moschos 1997, 77-78; Demetracopoulos 1999, 105-108.

⁵⁶⁶ Bradshaw 2004, 235. On Akindynos’ hesychasm: Meyendorff 1988a, 162, 165; Nadal-Cañellas 2006, 28-103.

⁵⁶⁷ Russell 2011, 250.

⁵⁶⁸ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 178.42.80-180.42.84, 179-181 (trans.); cf. *ibid.*, 296.74.6-12, 297 (trans.). Kalekas might have opposed Palamite Hesychasm for similar theological reasons: Casiday 2007, 34.

and praised Lapithēs for his wisdom.⁵⁶⁹ All the above, are strong indications of the ‘Byzantine’ character of Cypriot Rhomaic 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 Latinising influence.⁵⁷⁰

The emergence of an anti-Palamite front in the ecclesiastical politics of the Eastern Patriarchates seems to have been another reason for the adoption of anti-Palamism by many Cypriot Rhomaioi. The case of Bishop Leontios of Solea, mentioned above, could be interpreted as evidence of the willingness of Cypriot Rhomaic prelates to reaffirm their Byzantine Orthodox identity and keep up with ‘international’ ecclesiastical developments.⁵⁷¹ Sometime between 1340 and 1341, Leontios, who had attended the Provincial Council of 1340 (together with Matthew of Arsinoē, Clement of Leukara and Michael of Karpasia),⁵⁷² blessed the founding of the Revealed Cross monastery outside Nicosia.⁵⁷³ This event must have marked Leontios’ permanent re-establishment in his ancient see of Nicosia.⁵⁷⁴ The dedication of Leontios’ new cathedral to the Virgin Hodēgētria (ante 1343), could be interpreted as an expression of the Bishop of Solea’s pro-Byzantine rhetoric.⁵⁷⁵ As Tassos Papacostas has suggested, the Hodēgētria stood over the former Byzantine Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia, dedicated to Christ the Incarnate Word, God’s ‘Divine Wisdom’ (= ‘St Sophia’), after the imperial St Sophia cathedral in Constantinople.⁵⁷⁶ Given that Machairas mentions the preservation of St Triphyllios’ tomb and relics in the Hodēgētria, then the connection between Leontios’

⁵⁶⁹ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 246.60.88-103, 247 (trans.), 318-319, 415 (comm.); Nadal-Cañellas 2006, 28-89.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Meyendorff 1988a, 165. See also Russell 1988, 64: ‘The anti-Palamites retained the radical apophaticism of Dionysius without giving sufficient weight to the doctrine of deification which tended to mitigate it. For Barlaam, Akindynos and Gregoras God-in-himself was imparticipable. Whatever was participable was caused by the unique Deity and was therefore created’. Perhaps the ‘guardians of tradition’ role might have motivated Cypriot Rhomaioi theologians to adopt the anti-Palamite line, in order to preserve the Orthodox identity of their Church in the conditions of the Latin rule.

⁵⁷¹ On Leontios, see also above, 173-174.

⁵⁷² *SN*, 248.L.1 (trans. at 249); Schabel 2000–2001, 224-226.

⁵⁷³ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §76 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 106; note that Machairas does not mention Leontios by name); Schabel 2000a, 75; Coureas 2010, 439. On the liturgical rite probably performed by Leontios see Ioannides 2004, 165-192.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Papacostas 2005, 17.

⁵⁷⁵ Concerning the cathedral’s date of construction, note that Enlart 1987, 139, dates the main doorway of the Hodēgētria (erroneously identified as church of St Nicholas) in the fourteenth century, observing that it imitates the doorways at the west end of the nearby Latin cathedral of St Sophia, which had been built between 1312 and 1330. Coureas et al. 2012, 135, simply date the cathedral between 1305 and 1343.

⁵⁷⁶ Papacostas 2005, 13-17. On the theological concept of the Divine Wisdom see: Meyendorff 1987, 391-401; Pallas 1989–1990, 119-144; McGuckin 2007, 223-234; Hunt 2009, 55-118; Brzozowska 2012, 85-96.

new cathedral and Nicosia's Byzantine Orthodox past becomes even stronger.⁵⁷⁷ The presence of Ignatios II of Antioch in Nicosia in ca. 1341 —when he consecrated the Revealed Cross monastery (already blessed by Leontios)— coincides with Barlaam's condemnation by Kalekas and the beginnings of the Hesychast Controversy, although it is not clear whether Leontios' dedication of his new cathedral to the Virgin Hodēgētria implies a connection with the Antiochene monastery of the Hodēgoi in Constantinople and the anti-Palamite activities of its monks.⁵⁷⁸

Grēgoras notes in his *History* that rumours about Palamas' 'impious' teachings had alarmed the Orthodox Christians of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia.⁵⁷⁹ According to the same source, Kalekas and Ignatios II, supported by Gregory II of Alexandria (ca. 1315/6–1351?) and Gerasimos (1342–1349) —a usurper who had deposed Lazarus (1342–1368), the Kantakouzēnist and Palamite Hesychast Patriarch of Jerusalem— excommunicated Gregory Palamas and Isidore Boucheiras in 1344.⁵⁸⁰ In spring 1345, Akindynos boasted that opposition to Palamite Hesychasm was widespread, stating that Antioch, Cyprus, Alexandria, and even Rome, rejected Palamas' heretical teachings.⁵⁸¹ Around the same period, Kalekas ordered Akindynos to supply Lapithēs with copies of the anti-Palamite *Tomes* issued by himself and Ignatios II.⁵⁸²

By 1347, however, Kantakouzēnos had won the Civil War and after deposing Kalekas, placed Isidore 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 anathematised Palamas and Boucheiras. The *Tome* of 1347 confirms Grēgoras, and includes Barlaam the Calabrian among the excommunicated heretics. The *Tome* mentions that, although only ten anti-Palamite prelates were physically present in the Synod, more than twenty hierarchs had sent letters of support from

⁵⁷⁷ St Triphyllios was the fourth-century patron saint of Lēdra (later Nicosia): Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §35 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 85); Papacostas 2005, 17 (n. 23).

⁵⁷⁸ On Ignatios II in Cyprus see above, 174–175. On Barlaam's condemnation see above, 159.

⁵⁷⁹ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 23.25.4.7–14.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.25.5.2–18; cf. *RAPC* I/5, 194–195 (n° 2249), 195–197 (n° 2250). Ignatios' signature is extant only in the document condemning Isidore. See also the discussion by Van Dieten 2003, 214 (n. 53). On the patriarchates of Gregory II, Gerasimos and Lazarus of Jerusalem see also *PLP*, n°s 3782, 4587, 14350. On Lazarus, our main source is John VI Kantakouzēnos, *History*, ed. Schopen (vol. II), 492.3.79.8–16, 564.3.92.10–18; (vol. III) 90.4.14.1–104.4.15.5. See the discussion by Wirth 1961, 319–323; Nicol 1996, 71, 75; Pahlitzsch 2005, 36–38.

⁵⁸¹ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 188.44.19–23, 189 (trans.), 382 (comm.).

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 202.47.49–55, 203 (trans.), 387 (comm.).

abroad. Grēgoras explicitly refers to the letters sent from Antioch, Alexandria, Trebizond, Cyprus, Rhodes, Mysia and the land of the 'Triballoi' (perhaps referring to Serbia).⁵⁸³

It is hard to know whether Leontios of Solea had been one of the anti-Palamite prelates excommunicating Barlaam, Palamas and Boucheiras. It seems rather unlikely that Lapithēs, a lay theologian, would officially represent the anti-Palamite wing of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church in the 1347 Synod.⁵⁸⁴ It is more reasonable, on the other hand, to assume that the Cypriot letter of 1347 was an official ecclesiastical document, issued by a Cypriot Rhomaioi bishop (or a synod of bishops). Bearing in mind the possible connection between Ignatios II and Leontios, as well as the fact that Leontios' successor was an anti-Palamite,⁵⁸⁵ we may assume that Leontios of Solea was one of the anti-Palamite hierarchs who condemned Palamite Hesychasm in 1347. The significance of the *Tome* of 1347 is that it remains, so far, the only known official condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm by the Cypriot Rhomaioi. It strongly suggests that their ecclesiastical hierarchy was well aware of the anti-Palamite line pursued by Constantinople and the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. More importantly, the anti-Palamite alliance between these Churches shows, beyond any doubt, that the Latin-ruled Rhomaic Church of Cyprus continued to consider itself, and be considered, as an integral part of the politically-fragmented Orthodox Byzantine world.

What was the reaction of Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 non-elite social groups. It appears, however, that opposition to anti-Palamism could have easily been marginalised, due to the centralised role of Cypriot Rhomaic episcopate after 1260. According to the *Bulla Cypria*, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops were to exercise their jurisdiction over 'the monasteries, churches, clergy, and people entrusted [to them]'.⁵⁸⁶ Thus, the

⁵⁸³ *Tome of Constantinople* (1347), PG 150, 877D-885A (esp. at 883BC on the number of bishops participating in the synod); Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 786.15.10.11-787.15.10.8; *RAPC* I/5, 227-229 (n° 2281).

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 228 (n° 2281); Van Dieten 1988, 378 (n. 481).

⁵⁸⁵ See below, 191.

⁵⁸⁶ *CSS*, 199.78: *habeant in monasteriis, ecclesiis, cleris, et populis Grecis sibi commissis* (English trans. by Schabel in *SN*, 316.X.25.17); cf. the Greek translation of the *Bulla Cypria* (δὲ τω ἀντῶ τῶ νεοχειροτονηθέντι

aforementioned controversy over the administration of the rich monastery of Mangana could be interpreted as an attempt to expand local episcopal authority over monastic property, taking advantage of *Bulla Cypria's* rulings.⁵⁸⁷ Similarly, an early fourteenth-century canonical collection from the Arsinoë bishopric contains various rules on monastic discipline, which seem to confirm the view that Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops occasionally attempted to tighten their control over local monastic communities.⁵⁸⁸ The process of centralisation might have enabled anti-Palamite prelates to impose the anti-Palamite theological line on their bishoprics, particularly *vis-à-vis* monastic circles, which were more familiar with the hesychast practices and the Orthodox Cypriot theophanic tradition.

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.⁵⁸⁹ The growing anti-Palamite propaganda on the island and the difficulty of acquiring clear and sufficient information on the Palamite Hesychast arguments⁵⁹⁰ led a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi 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’ (*ἀπλῶ καὶ σαφεῖ λόγῳ*) the Palamite Hesychast theological position.⁵⁹¹ In his reply, composed sometime between 1346 and 1347, Kalothetos interpreted the Cypriot

ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν φροντίδα πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν μοναστηρίων, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τοῦ κλήρου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐντός τε καὶ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐνορίᾳ) in Ioannides 2000, 361.28-30; Grivaud 2012a, 24, 26.

⁵⁸⁷ See above, 164.

⁵⁸⁸ Darrouzès 1979, 115.10.3, 115-116.10.5, 116-117.10.6, 117.10.7, 118.10.15, 119.10.17, 120-121.10.18, 121.10.19; Coureas 2010, 459.

⁵⁸⁹ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 200.47.25-31, 201 (trans.), 386-387 (comm.). Constantinides Hero (following Meyendorff 1959, 408) mentions in her commentary the existence of four hitherto unpublished letters, composed by a Cypriot Rhomaioi Palamite Hesychast, and suggests that these were probably the letters addressing Lapithēs. Although she had been unable to consult this material, she notes (after Meyendorff) that the letters are contained in MS *Chalc. Panagh.* 157, fols 284r-291v. So far, I have not been able to discover this important MS, which seems not to have been included in the repertory by Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1899 (recording MSS from the *Μετόχιον* of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople). Moreover, the MS does not appear in the online catalogue of the National Library of Greece, which preserves, since 1974, a great part of the archival material from the Constantinopolitan *Μετόχιον* of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁵⁹⁰ 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 to him by Akindynos: Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 196.46.41-46, 197.

⁵⁹¹ Joseph Kalothetos, *Letter to the Cypriot monks*, ed. Tsames, 385.4.1.

request as being motivated by laziness and lack of zeal, thus reproaching the monks for not knowing their own tradition.⁵⁹² Despite Kalothetos' ironic remarks, however, we may argue that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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*) were perceived by the anti-Palamites as expressing ditheism.⁵⁹³ In his letter, Kalothetos defended the Palamite Hesychast position in a clear and precise way, based on biblical and patristic testimonies. Thus, he refuted the anti-Palamite propaganda, arguing that the 'essence-energies' distinction was part of the Orthodox theophanic tradition.⁵⁹⁴

The significance of Kalothetos' *Letter to the Cypriot monks* is that it unveils a line of Cypriot Rhomaic resistance to anti-Palamism, despite the Movement's strength on the island in the 1340s. The Cypriot request to Kalothetos to receive information on Palamite Hesychasm *ἀπλῶ καὶ σαφεῖ λόγῳ*, suggests that even monks —expected to be familiar with the hesychast practices and Orthodox theophanic tradition— faced difficulties in understanding the high philosophico-theological language employed by both sides in the Hesychast Controversy.

This observation brings us to the examination of Byzantine Orthodox religious training in Latin-ruled Cyprus. As most scholars accept, the Latin conquest negatively affected Greek learning on the island. Around 1250, for example, 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 depart for Asia Minor, in order to pursue studies in the politico-ecclesiastical and cultural centre of the exiled Byzantine government (1204–1261).⁵⁹⁵ It appears that the poor level of Greek letters in Cyprus, restricted to the basic elements of ecclesiastical education and the rather

⁵⁹² Ibid., 355 (on the letter's dating), 386.4.2.8-386.4.3.30.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 385.4.2.8-10, 386.4.3.30-31, 388.4.9-10.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 386.4.4-394.4.17.

⁵⁹⁵ Gregory II, *Autobiography*, ed. Lameere and trans. Pelendrides, 20.15-26.94; Constantinides 1982, 25; Vryonis 1990, 17-19; Nicolaou-Konnari 1993, 313-314; Grivaud 1995c, 892, 925; Schabel 1998, 37-41; Feidas 2002, 267-280.

technical training of notaries and civil servants, continued to be such on the eve of the Hesychast Controversy.⁵⁹⁶ Orthodox monasticism in fourteenth-century Cyprus, as elsewhere in the Near East, was largely devoted to the preservation, copying and studying of traditional patristic texts, while evidence of original theological production is hard to find.⁵⁹⁷ Only the lucky few managed to travel to Constantinople and be introduced to the imperial capital's intellectual elite.⁵⁹⁸ It is, thus, clear that for the majority of the Cypriot Rhomaic population, the high theological terminology employed during the Hesychast Controversy created problems for the transmission of Palamite Hesychasm on the island, particularly if one takes into consideration that anti-Palamism was supported by the four Eastern Patriarchates and the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical and intellectual elite. What should be stressed is that, despite its supremacy in Cyprus, anti-Palamism did not remain unchallenged: by expressing doubts concerning the correctness of anti-Palamism, the Cypriot Rhomaioi monks who approached Kalothetos probably suspected that Palamite Hesychast theology, which they hardly comprehended, was much closer to their Orthodox theophanic tradition.

Kantakouzēnos' victory in the Civil War and the synodal vindication of the 'essence-energies' distinction (1351), gradually led Palamite Hesychast theology to embrace all

⁵⁹⁶ On the training of notaries and civil servants see generally: Nicolaou-Konnari 1993, 317, 320, 324, 327; Beihammer in *GBUZ*, 117-130; Beihammer 2011b, 149-169.

⁵⁹⁷ See examples of extant fourteenth-century Greek manuscripts with theological content from Cyprus in *DGMC*, 137-142, 144-148, 167-171, 173-180, 189-191, 200-203, 205-209, 216-219. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, the church of St John the Forerunner at Rhiakion (Argaki) had a library of liturgical, canonical and theological texts: Couroupou and Géhin 2001, 157-158. On Neophytos the Recluse's library (12th-13th c.) see: Christodoulou in Neophytos the Recluse, *Catechisms*, 144-146; Sakellaridou-Soteroudi 2010, 739-748. See also the patristic references in Neophytos' works in Paparnakis 2010, 617-623. 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 Chysostom: *DGMC*, 182 (n. 3); Kykkotis and Panagis 1996, 149-160. The Virgin Phorbiōtissa, Asinou, possessed manuscripts of Palestinian origin: Darrouzès 1950, 191 (n. 3); Darrouzès 1957, 144-145; *DGMC*, 49-54. The monastic libraries of Sinai (8th-16th c.), Palestine (9th-13th c.) and Asia Minor (9th-14th c.) provide more or less the same repertory of scriptural, liturgical, canonical, hagiographical and theological texts: Clark 1952, 1-17; Pahlitzsch 2001, 330-353; Jotischky 2001, 90; Kotzambassi 2004.

⁵⁹⁸ Supposing that they acquired any education at all, most Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 to the Cypriot Rhomaioi the possibility of pursuing an ecclesiastical career in the service of the Western Church. Conversion to the Latin rite was, naturally, a *sine qua non*. In the first two centuries of the Latin rule, however, examples of Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 Rhomaic background. It is noteworthy, that Cyprus provides no such parallel as to the case of Peter Philargos, the Cretan Franciscan monk, theologian and later Pope Alexander V (1409-1410), who rose from poverty to the pontifical throne. See generally the observations by Schabel 1998, 40-41.

aspects of Late Byzantine life, from spirituality to ecclesiastical politics and culture.⁵⁹⁹ The Palamite Hesychast revival coincided with Byzantium's decline as an Empire and its transformation into a small and fragmented state, threatened by internal crisis and the Ottoman advance.⁶⁰⁰ Due to the activities of Constantinopolitan patriarchs and the spiritual radiance of Athonite monasticism, the Palamite Hesychast Movement brought new impetus to the cultivation of diplomatic,⁶⁰¹ ecclesiastical⁶⁰² and cultural relations⁶⁰³ between the Orthodox populations of the Balkans and the Russian lands, reaffirming the leading role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Late Byzantine Commonwealth.⁶⁰⁴ The development of a hierocratic ecclesiology, which stressed the spiritual supremacy of churchmen over imperial authority and presented the Constantinopolitan patriarch as a living image of Christ, was another consequence of the Palamite Hesychast victory, although *sacerdotium* and *imperium* were never officially divorced and continued to collaborate.⁶⁰⁵ As Steven Runciman notes, 'it was

⁵⁹⁹ Papadakis 1991b, 923; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 306-307; Mureşan 2012, 294.

⁶⁰⁰ See briefly Laiou 2006, 42-53.

⁶⁰¹ Patriarchs Kallistos I and Philotheos I actively supported the creation of a pan-Orthodox alliance in the Balkans against the Ottoman advance: Evangelou 2011, 189-203. In the late fourteenth century, Patriarch Anthony IV defended the authority of the Byzantine emperor *vis-à-vis* the Muscovite attempts for political alienation from Byzantium: Meyendorff 1988a, 161; Runciman 1988, 516; Trepanier 2007, 34-35.

⁶⁰² Palamite Hesychast hierarchs and ascetics promoted liturgical reform, influenced by the models of monastic life and worship: Meyendorff 1981, 123-124; Taft 1988b, 179-194; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 310-314; Lingas 2006, 155-168; Taft 2007, 55-71. Various theologians, both lay and monastic (e.g., Nicholas Kabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonica), created new theological syntheses, which demonstrated the significance of liturgical worship in man's struggle for inner purification, while others (including John VI Kantakouzēnos, Theophanēs of Nicaea and Manuel II Palaiologos) proceeded to the appropriation of Thomistic theology. See generally: Tsirpanlis 1976, 85-104; Schulz 1986, 114-132, 193-196; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 314-319; Demetracopoulos 1998, 53-93; Congourdeau 2004b, 191-210; Slesinski 2005, 230-244; Taft 2006, 54-61; Constan 2006, 163-183; Yangazoglou 2010, 159-179; Demetracopoulos 2011, 263-372 (esp. at 292-368); Plested 2012b, 84-107, 114, 120-134; Skrettas 2013, 211-212, 284, 335-336. Although Palamite Hesychast theological texts with a dogmatic or polemical content did not become popular among the Slavs (Meyendorff 1981, 127; Mureşan 2012, 299), the ideals of Palamite Hesychasm were transmitted in the Balkans: Obolensky 1971, 301-308, 336-341; Tachiaos 1974, 113-132; Meyendorff 1988a, 161; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 268-274, 341-349; Shepard 2006, 36-41, 46; Mureşan 2012, 297-299. The role of Constantinopolitan patriarchs in this process was seminal: Tachiaos 1974, 121, 128; Gones 1980, 69-121; Meyendorff 1981, 124; Delikari in Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, 103-105; Mureşan 2012, 299; *pace* Shepard 2006, 39; Ryder 2010, 241-258.

⁶⁰³ The formulation of the 'essence-energies' distinction inspired artistic expression, focusing on the theophanic character of the Orthodox tradition. See generally the discussion by Papamastorakis 2001, 284-297; Andreopoulos 2005, 209-254; Dripc 2008, 217-247; Hunt 2009, 99-113; Strezova 2014.

⁶⁰⁴ Following Dimitri Obolensky (1918-2001), we define 'Commonwealth' not in its modern constitutional sense, but as the 'unifying effect of culture [including religion] on human institutions, values and behaviour': Obolensky 1971, 2. Various aspects of the Orthodox Commonwealth under Ottoman rule are examined by Kitromilides 2007.

⁶⁰⁵ On the formation of hierocratic ecclesiology see: Boojamra 1982 (on the reforms of Patriarch Athanasius I, preceding the Hesychast Controversy); Mureşan 2007, 429-469; Angelov 2007, 351-416; Mureşan 2012, 295-296. Examples of hierocratic rhetoric can be found in the following studies: Meyendorff

only through the Church that the Emperor could keep in regular contact with Orthodox populations that were now living under the government of other rulers’;⁶⁰⁶ on the other hand, though the Ecumenical Patriarchate ‘now administered a far larger territory than did the Emperor [...], its prestige and, indeed, much of its political power, still depended on its representing the Church of the Empire’.⁶⁰⁷

The interdependence between *sacerdotium* and *imperium* in Late Byzantium reveals the limits of the Palamite Hesychast establishment, even after Kantakouzēnos’ victory and the synodal vindication of the ‘essence-energies’ distinction. Despite having lost its previous impetus, anti-Palamism was very much alive in the 1350s, posing problems for the consolidation of Palamite Hesychast power. In 1351, Kantakouzēnos invited Gregory II of Alexandria and Ignatios II of Antioch to sign the Palamite Hesychast *Tomes*, but they refused to do so.⁶⁰⁸ Under the administration of Metropolitan Arsenios of Tyre (fl. ca. 1351–ca. 1376), the monastery of the Hodēgoi continued to be a centre of anti-Palamism, challenging the authority of Palamite Hesychast patriarchs;⁶⁰⁹ as late as 1376, Arsenios circulated freely in Constantinople, where he officiated, performed ordinations and collected funds.⁶¹⁰ What needs to be stressed, however, is that fourteenth-century Palamite Hesychast patriarchs did not challenge the Antiochene rights over the Hodēgoi, but respected the monastery’s status, despite its anti-Palamism. Similarly, there is no evidence that the State ever attempted to impose monastic order and the Palamite Hesychast line over the Hodēgoi community. Clearly, Kantakouzēnos and the Palamite Hesychast patriarchs had no other choice but to tolerate the disobedience of the Hodēgoi monks, in order establish a *modus vivendi* with

1988a, 160-161, Erickson 1991, 85; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 308; Trepanier 2007, 34; Angelov 2007, 415-416.

⁶⁰⁶ Runciman 1988, 516.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁶⁰⁸ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 77.26.11; Van Dieten 2003, 239 (n. 132); cf. Meyendorff 1959, 146 (n. 93); Nasrallah 1968, 16; *RAPC* I/5, 293 (n° 2356). Note that Gerasimos of Jerusalem, an anti-Palamite, died in 1349 and was succeeded by Lazarus, the legitimate Patriarch (and Palamite Hesychast): John VI Kantakouzēnos, *History*, ed. Schopen (vol. III), 99.4.15.10-15 (mentioning only Gerasimos’ death); Wirth 1961, 320-323; Pahlitzsch 2005, 38.

⁶⁰⁹ Pitsakis 1991, 126-129; Kresten 2000, 10-22, 33-46, 51-53, 75-82. On Arsenios see also: Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. II), 893.18.5.12-22, 991.20.6.8-15, 1012.21.3.19-23; Meyendorff 1959, 144; Polemis 1993, 241-242. In 1359/60, Kallistos I wrote letters to Ignatios II and the Antiochene metropolitans, requesting Arsenios’ condemnation: *PRK* III, 452-458.249, 464-470.251. In a second letter to Ignatios (1361/2), Kallistos I attacked Arsenios and the Hodēgoi community: *ibid.*, 376-384.239; cf. *ibid.*, 578-580.265.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 486.255.20-26.

Antioch.⁶¹¹ 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.⁶¹²

In 1352, a second Civil War broke out, this time between Kantakouzēnos and John V Palaiologos (1341–1376, 1379–1390 and 1390–1391), eventually resulting in Kantakouzēnos' abdication from the throne (1354) and his tonsure as Joasaph the Monk.⁶¹³ 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-Palamite circles in Constantinople had sent letters opposing Palamite Hesychasm to the three Eastern Patriarchs (i.e., Ignatios II of Antioch, Lazarus of Jerusalem and Gregory III of Alexandria: 1351/2–1366?) and Cyprus (*καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἰς τὴν Κύπρον*). Unfortunately, Cyril provides no further information on the Cypriot recipients of these letters.⁶¹⁴

Around the same period (ca. 1359/60), Cyril received a letter from Grēgoras, informing him that the new monarch, John V (*ὁ θειότατος βασιλεύς*), was favourable 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.⁶¹⁵ Grēgoras stated that the vast majority (*σχεδὸν ἅπαντες*) of anti-Palamites in Constantinople opposed Palamite Hesychasm in secret (*λάθρᾳ λοιδροῦσιν ἀντῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν*), out of fear of their enemies' reaction.⁶¹⁶ Grēgoras' letter shows that despite the official victory of Palamite Hesychasm, anti-Palamism was still strong in the imperial capital. Moreover, Kantakouzēnos remained a formidable

⁶¹¹ *RAPC* I/5, 293 (n° 2356); Pitsakis 1991, 128-133.

⁶¹² *PRK* III, 376-384.239; cf. *ibid.*, 138-144.197; *RAPC* I/5, 328-329 (n° 2397); *ibid.*, cf. 292-293 (n° 2356); Pitsakis 1991, 127-128; Kresten 2000, 13-22.

⁶¹³ See briefly Nicol 1993, 231-232, 235-248.

⁶¹⁴ *PRK* III, 424-438.245; cf. *ibid.*, 438-442.246, 442-446.247, 446-450.248, 458-464.250; Kresten 2000, 23-30. On the dating of Gregory III's patriarchate see *PLP*, n° 4588. On his theological views see also: Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 182.28.8.9-184.28.11; Papadopoulos 1935, 576 (to be consulted with caution); Van Dieten 2003, 343-344 (n. 328-330).

⁶¹⁵ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 254.97.20-28. Although Leone dates the letter after 1354 (at 253), it should be dated more precisely in 1359/60.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 254.97.20-36.

opponent of anti-Palamism, devoting the rest of his life to the theological defence of Palamite Hesychasm and the composition of his *History*, which has been interpreted by scholars as an apology for his political activities and ecclesiastical involvement.⁶¹⁷

In his letter to Cyril of Side, Grēgoras mentions that he had been informed (ἀκούω δέ), about the anti-Palamite beliefs of the ‘archpriest of Nicosia’ (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Λευκωσίας). This is a reference to the Cypriot Rhomaios bishop of Solea, who, according to Grēgoras, was fortunate enough not to face Palamite Hesychast opposition (ἡσύχιον καὶ ἀπόλεμον ἄγει βίον αὐτός).⁶¹⁸ The anti-Palamite Cypriot Rhomaios bishop in question was probably κῦρ Joachim (1353–post 1370?).⁶¹⁹ The total absence of information about the activity of Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites in the period after 1351, could be interpreted as an indication that they had either accepted Palamite Hesychasm or, most likely, kept a low profile, following the example of the Byzantine anti-Palamites who opposed Palamite Hesychasm in secret. Moreover, while Gregory III of Alexandria, and perhaps Ignatios II of Antioch, visited Cyprus (in 1351/2 and between 1351 and 1355 respectively), there is no evidence of contacts with the local anti-Palamite circles.⁶²⁰ The ‘sudden’ silence of our 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-Palamite Movement: the Cypriot Rhomaioi opponents of Palamas were following ‘international’ developments.

⁶¹⁷ See generally Nicol 1996, 134-160.

⁶¹⁸ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, 255.97.63-256.97.76 (esp. at 255.97.66).

⁶¹⁹ Joachim’s predecessor is mentioned in a brief manuscript note as ‘the Neangōmite’, which indicates links with the Neangōmos monastery, outside Nicosia. It is not clear whether this man was Leontios of Solea: Darrouzès 1979, 31; Kappaes 2006, 169-170; Coureas et al. 2012, 219. Another brief note, published by Darrouzès 1956, 58.79, records the ordination of Gregory II of Arsinoë (6 May 1370/1) by three bishops, including Joachim of Solea. According to Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, 92.14-20, 93.20-23, the main bishop of the Cypriot Rhomaioi (*episcopum maiorem Graecorum*), at the time Joachim of Solea, had been present in the 1360 incident and was later confirmed by Peter Thomas (English trans. by Schabel 2006b, 206-207). On the 1360 incident see below, 195-201.

⁶²⁰ On Gregory III see Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. III), 183.28.9.5. On Ignatios’ second stay in Cyprus, dated more precisely during the period of the locust problem on the island in the mid-fourteenth century (1351–1355), see: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §40 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 88); Jennings 1988, 279-280; Komodikes 2006, 214, lxi, lxiv; cf. Hackett ²1972, 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 1873, 177; Meyendorff 1959, 146 (n. 93); Nasrallah 1968, 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 2000, 53.

To summarise, the view of many scholars that the Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites in the 1340s and 1350s were pro-Latin is not supported by the evidence. Byzantine anti-Palamite theologians and their Cypriot Rhomaioi colleagues seem to have pursued a more apophatic theological line, which was based on their reading of the Byzantine Fathers and the Christian appropriation of ancient philosophy. The anti-Palamite rejection of the use of logical syllogisms in the study of theology (*contra* Palamas and the Latins), together with the emphasis placed on the ineffability of the divine essence and the eschatological dimension of deification by divine grace, underline the Byzantine identity of anti-Palamism. Moreover, the fact that Akindynos and Choumnaina Palaiologina –both of whom were anti-Palamites and hesychasts—were Lapithēs’ friends, suggests that theological opposition to the ‘essence-energies’ distinction had a Byzantine, rather than Latinising core. The lack of evidence concerning Hugh IV’s direct support of Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites, supports that Cypriot anti-Palamism was essentially no different than anti-Palamism in Constantinople and other areas populated by Orthodox Christians. The synodal condemnation of Palamite Hesychasm by various Churches (1347)—including Cyprus and the Patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria (the throne of Jerusalem was also occupied by an anti-Palamite)— illustrates the willingness of Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites to actively participate in the ecclesiastical politics of the Orthodox world.

The strength of anti-Palamism in Cyprus could perhaps be explained as a result of a process of episcopal centralisation, following the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*. In addition, the employment of subtle philosophical and theological terminology in the discussions over Palamite Hesychasm could also explain the difficulty of *illiterati* and the monastic world in Cyprus to defend the Orthodox theophanic tradition, which was closer to Palamas’ theology than the formulations of his adversaries. In other words, anti-Palamism was successful in Cyprus not because it was a Latinising movement, but because it appears to have been embraced by the Cypriot Rhomaic cultural and ecclesiastical elites.

Although the vindication of Palamite Hesychasm in 1351 enabled the establishment of a Palamite Hesychast regime in Constantinople and brought a revival in all aspects of Late Byzantine social life, the power of the Palamite Hesychasts had its limits. The

moderate anti-Palamism of the Antiochene Patriarchate in the 1350s and the Constantinopolitan policy of *oikonomia* for the establishment of a *modus vivendi*, reflect the mutual efforts for *détente*. In light of these developments, the Cypriot anti-Palamites seem to have expressed their theological views in a more discreet way.

The ecclesiastical policy of Emperor John V Palaiologos, an anti-Palamite, and the Papacy's (indirect) involvement in the Hesychast Controversy would lead to polarisation and religious tension in Cyprus and Byzantium. As we shall see below, these developments facilitated the gradual victory of Palamite Hesychasm on the island as an Orthodox reaction to the rapprochement between Latins and anti-Palamites between 1360 and 1400.

III.4. Polarisation and the victory of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus (1360–1400)

Kantakouzēnos' abdication from the throne (1354) and John V's reign as sole monarch favoured the anti-Palamite Movement. For example, Grēgoras, who had been put in detention by Kantakouzēnos, was released and resumed his public denunciation of Palamite Hesychasm, even confronting Palamas in a theological debate.⁶²¹ Not all anti-Palamites, however, dared to openly challenge Palamite Hesychasm. This was certainly the case with Dēmētrios Kydōnēs (ca. 1324/5–1397/8), an erudite scholar and low-profile anti-Palamite, who had served Kantakouzēnos as Chief Minister (*μεσάζων*) and whose Greek translation of the *Summa contra gentiles* by Thomas Aquinas (encouraged by Kantakouzēnos), opened up new horizons for the theological dialogue between East and West.⁶²² Following a period of retirement from public life, Kydōnēs resumed his duties as Chief Minister under John V (1356/7), but his anti-Palamism continued not to be aggressively expressed.⁶²³

The mid-1350s was a critical period for Byzantium, since the employment of Turkish mercenaries by Kantakouzēnos against John V's Serbo-Bulgarian allies in 1352, had enabled the Turks to establish themselves in Thrace and threaten Constantinople's

⁶²¹ Nicol 1993, 234; Fryde 2000, 379.

⁶²² Russell 2003, 153-156; Glykofrydi-Leontsini 2003, 175-185; Ryder 2010, 13-37; Plested 2012b, 1-2, 63-72, 84-85; Demetracopoulos and Dendrinis 2013.

⁶²³ Kianka 1985, 176-178; Russell 2003, 156; Ryder 2010, 163-168.

hinterland.⁶²⁴ In 1355/6, John V sent to Pope Innocent VI (1352–1362) a personal profession of submission to the Papacy. He promised to encourage the recognition of papal authority among his subjects and requested Western military help against the Turks. This was the point of departure for a rapprochement between the Papacy and the anti-Palamite circles in Byzantium.⁶²⁵ In 1356, Innocent VI sent Peter Thomas, OCarm, and William Conti, OP, as emissaries to John V.⁶²⁶ They reached the Byzantine capital in the following year (1357). According to Philip of Mézières (d. 1405) — Chancellor of Cyprus under Peter I and Peter Thomas’ close friend and hagiographer — John V swore obedience to the Western Church, promised to replace Patriarch Kallistos I with a pro-Latin hierarch, and received the Eucharist from Peter Thomas’ hands.⁶²⁷ Several members of the Byzantine elite, including Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, George (Kydōnēs?) the Philosopher (d. post 1371), and John Laskaris Kalopheros (d. 1392), seem to have converted around the same period.⁶²⁸ A number of anti-Latin homilies, composed by Kallistos I between 1357 and 1358, demonstrate that the Patriarch had been alerted by the Latin proselytising activities and the emergence of a group of Latinised/pro-Latin Byzantines in the capital. It seems, however, that Kallistos was

⁶²⁴ Kianka 1985, 175; Nicol ²1993, 241-242, 262.

⁶²⁵ *Acts of Innocent VI*, ed. Taūtu, 151-155.84; Geanakoplos 1975, 69-70; Setton 1976, 225-226; Nicol ²1993, 258-259, 271; Ryder 2010, 179.

⁶²⁶ Peter Thomas had been appointed Bishop of Patti and Lipari in 1354, while William Conti had been appointed Bishop of the Bulgarian Sōzopolis a day before his assignment to the Constantinopolitan embassy: Setton 1976, 226 (n. 9).

⁶²⁷ Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 74.3-80.7 (incorporating at 76-79 a second letter sent by John V to Innocent VI — dating November 1357 — and composed after his profession before Peter Thomas; this document, generally considered by scholars to be authentic, mentions the Emperor’s commitment to replace Kallistos I with a pro-Latin patriarch at 79.7-9); Geanakoplos 1975, 69-71; Setton 1976, 228; Nicol ²1993, 260; Ryder 2010, 181.

⁶²⁸ See Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 75.1-2, 77.3-6, 77.19-78.1, who mentions the conversion of several Byzantine *baroni* and quotes John V’s second letter to Innocent VI (1357). Although Nicol ²1993, 260 (following Oscar Halecki) considers John V’s conversion as ‘debatable’, for ‘his Church and people knew nothing of it, and not even the popes seem to have been clear about it’, the letter of 1357 shows that John V had indeed converted to the Latin faith; however, his conversion was not public, as it would later be in 1369; cf. Kolbaba 1995b, 123. See also the discussion by Smet in Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, 204; Kianka 1985, 178; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 725-726, 729-733; Ryder 2010, 182. Dēmētrios Kydōnēs’ conversion could be dated to 1357: Kianka 1985, 179; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 737; Hinterberger 2004, 20-24; Gounarides 2004, 180-185; Ryder 2010, 189-190. George the Philosopher appears to have been a convert by 1361/2. He had probably professed his faith before Philip of Bindo Incontri (OP), Dēmētrios’ Latin tutor and spiritual mentor: Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 733; Ryder 2010, 192. The conversion of John Laskaris Kalopheros is mentioned for the first time in a papal letter dating 1365, although he might have possibly converted in 1357: Smet in Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, 205; Jacoby 1968, 190 (n. 6); Kianka 1985, 179-180; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 730.

careful enough not to directly attack John V.⁶²⁹ Following a heated debate with an Orthodox monk from the Pantokratōr community (October 1357),⁶³⁰ 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.⁶³¹

In 1359, Peter Thomas became *legatus a latere*, which granted him full powers over ecclesiastical affairs in the Eastern Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Cyprus. One of his first actions was the coordination of a joint naval strike on Asia Minor. After visiting Constantinople for a second time, the Carmelite successfully led an attack of Byzantine, Cypriot, Venetian and Hospitaller forces against the Turks in Lampsakos.⁶³² In 1360, Peter Thomas was back in Cyprus, where he crowned Peter I King of Jerusalem; the two men's collaboration would eventually lead to the aforementioned Alexandrian Crusade of 1365.⁶³³ While on the island, the Carmelite was involved in an incident that marked the relationship between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins and contributed to the gradual victory of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus.

The three main sources for the 1360 incident represent three different perspectives on the same event: the Latin, that of a Cypriot Rhomaioi who officially accepted the symbiosis of both rites under the Papacy, and the (Constantinopolitan) Orthodox. The first, is the fourteenth-century *Life of St Peter Thomas* by his friend and Chancellor of Cyprus, Philip of Mézières. According to the *Life*, sometime after Peter I's coronation, the Legate attempted to impose the Latin rite on the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates, because they were schismatics (*schismatici erant*), who did not obey the Western Church

⁶²⁹ Kallistos I, *Anti-Latin homilies*, ed. Païdas, 50-57 (comm.), 158-191.1, 192-229.2, 230-273.3 (text with Modern Greek trans. by Païdas). It seems that the pro-Latin Byzantines had only privately declared their obedience to the Papacy. This is further suggested by the lack of evidence concerning popular expressions of anti-Latinism in 1357, especially if one considers the maltreatment of Grēgoras' corpse by the Constantinopolitan mob a few years later (1361); cf. Nicol²1993, 260. Our source for this incident is an anti-Palamite homily by John Kyparissiōtēs (d. ca. 1378), *Fourth oration on the Palamite transgressions*, PG 152, 733D-736A; Nicol²1993, 234; Russell 2003, 158.

⁶³⁰ Darrouzès 1961, 76-109.

⁶³¹ Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 80.8-81.8; Setton 1976, 229; Coureas 2010, 111. The Carmelite's departure from Constantinople seems to have temporarily restored calm relations between John V and Kallistos I: in one of his anti-Latin homilies, the Patriarch praised the Emperor for his piety. See: Kallistos I, *Anti-Latin homilies*, ed. Païdas, 52-56 (comm.), 218.14.3-221.2 (text with Modern Greek trans.).

⁶³² Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 84.1-86.11, 206-212 (comm.); Setton 1976, 233-237; Coureas 2010, 83, 111-112.

⁶³³ Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 91.10-92.6 (Peter I's coronation), 128.4-134.20 (Peter Thomas and the Alexandrian Campaign); Setton 1976, 237-238.

(*nec ecclesiae Romanae revereabantur*), but led the Latin community of Cyprus to their rite (*immo fideles nostros ad ritum ipsorum quantum poterant inducebant*). Wishing the union of the two Churches (*ipse autem unionem ecclesiarum [...] desiderans*), Peter Thomas acquired royal permission and summoned them to the Latin cathedral of St Sophia.⁶³⁴ Mézières notes that the cathedral's doors were locked, in order to avoid a Cypriot Rhomaic riot (*ecclesiae ianuis omnibus clausis ne tumultus Graecorum fieret*). The Legate instructed the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and clergy on their errors. He employed a friendly approach (*dulciter*) and interpreted the Scriptures using a demonstrative methodology (*demonstrative sacram scripturam eis exponens*). As a result, many of them confessed their errors and were reformed (*multi confessi sunt errorem suum et reformati sunt*). However, a stubborn and perfidious priest (*sacerdotis obstinati et perfidi*), motivated by the devil, attacked Peter Thomas and encouraged the others to resist. The mob, gathered outside St Sophia, were alarmed. Assisted by their priests inside the cathedral, they broke in shouting that they should kill the Legate (*moriatur legatus*). Peter Thomas did not lose his courage and was ready to die as a martyr; he was only rescued by the King's soldiers, who threw the Cypriot Rhomaioi outside St Sophia. Mézières states that the Carmelite was not discouraged, but continued to preach and instruct the Cypriot Rhomaioi with Peter I's support, until he managed to confirm their clergy to the Latin rite (*confirmati sunt*) and make them obedient to the Papacy (*ecclesiae Romanae obediunt*).⁶³⁵

It is clear that Mézières presents an idealised picture of Peter Thomas' actions by emphasising his role as virtuous preacher and orthodox teacher, while also stressing his willingness to suffer martyrdom, in order to promote the true faith among the Cypriot Rhomaioi schismatics. Moreover, he underlines the Legate's cooperation with Peter I, contrary to Machairas, who argues that the Lusignan King ordered the Carmelite to leave the island because his activities had disturbed religious peace. Although Mézières' *Life of St Peter Thomas* is a contemporary source, its encomiastic

⁶³⁴ Coureas 2010, 448, argues that Peter Thomas needed royal permission in order to preach to the Cypriot Rhomaioi. Machairas does not state whether Peter I had been informed about Peter Thomas' intentions to Latinise the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates. Mézières, on the other hand, suggests that the Carmelite was acting on royal approval.

⁶³⁵ Philip of Mézières, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 92.7-93.28, 208-209 (comm.). English translation of this passage in Schabel 2006b, 206-207.

character and pro-Latin bias seem to challenge the authenticity of its depiction of the 1360 incident.⁶³⁶

In the fifteenth-century *Chronicle* by Leontios Machairas (who seems to have been obedient to the Papacy, but was also sensitive to the preservation of his ancestral Byzantine rite and customs), we find a rather different account of the events. According to Machairas, Peter Thomas wanted to make the Rhomaioi Latins (*ἐθέλησε νὰ ποίση τοὺς Ρωμαίους Λατίνους*) by giving them the sacrament of Confirmation according to the Latin rite (*νὰ τοὺς κουφερριάση*). The Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and abbots were summoned to St Sophia, having no idea about the Legate's plans (*δὲν ἔξευραν τὸ θέλημάν του*). The Latins locked the cathedral's doors (*ἐ[σ]φαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες*) and confirmed a Cypriot Rhomaioi priest, whose surname was Mantzas (or Mantzēs/Mantzis), while the rest defended themselves (*ἐδιαφεντεύγονταν*) against Latin coercion (*ἐδυναστεύγαν τους*). The people outside St Sophia were alarmed and besieged the cathedral. They employed a beam to crush the doors (*νὰ τσακίσουν τὲς πόρτες*) and even attempted to burn them down (*ἔβαλαν λαμπρόν*). When Peter I was informed about the riot, he sent armed forces in order to control the crowd and rescue the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and clergy. The King ordered Peter Thomas to leave Cyprus (*νὰ ἴφαιρέση τὸ νησίον*) and instructed the Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen to continue following their customs (*νὰ πολομοῦν κατὰ τὸ ἦσαν συνηθισμένοι*). Those who had received the Latin sacrament of Confirmation, threw down the cotton used by the Carmelite and spat upon it (*ἐρίψαν τὸ πανπάκιν καὶ ἐπτύσαν το*). Peter 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 (*σκάνταλα*).⁶³⁷

Machairas' version highlights Peter Thomas' coercive attempts of Latinisation, coming into conflict with Mézières' claims that the Legate had used peaceful means to convert the Cypriot Rhomaioi. It also stresses King Peter's concern to protect the Cypriot Rhomaioi, in order to preserve religious peace. From Machairas' perspective, Peter Thomas is a religious zealot, who came to the island with no understanding of the local

⁶³⁶ Iorga 1896, 108; Gones 1986, 349; Jotischky 1996, 127-129; Papadopoulos 1995b, 610-611; Schabel 2005, 157-159; Coureas 2010, 448-449; Nicolaou-Konnari 2012a, 380.

⁶³⁷ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§101-102 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 117-118). See also the translation by Schabel 2006b, 205-206 (partly based on the Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari edition).

situation, thus disturbing the peaceful *modus vivendi* between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. The *Chronicle* does not attack the Western Church *per se*, but focuses on the Carmelite as an isolated case of religious fanaticism. The Legate's behaviour is foolish, and the Pope should keep him away from Cyprus. Machairas, like Mézières, mentions nothing about the Ecumenical Patriarchate's reaction and intervention. His scope is narrowly Cypriot and reflects the sentiments of a local Rhomaioi follower of the Byzantine rite and obedient member of the universal Western Church.⁶³⁸

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 1362.⁶³⁹ Although this particular document came to the attention of scholars as early as 1977, its importance has not so far been properly appreciated.⁶⁴⁰ Kallistos' *Encyclical* provides a contemporary account of the events, which reflects the official reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and reveals (*contra* Mézières) that the Legate had indeed used coercion. More importantly, the *Encyclical* strongly suggests that for the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, the Cypriot Rhomaic Church remained Orthodox, even after its subjugation by the Latins a century before. The fact that Kallistos addressed *all* Cypriot Rhomaioi ('residents, priests, nobles, and all the rest people of the Lord'),⁶⁴¹ is probably an indication that he expected his audience to recognise the pastoral authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and be in communion with the Orthodox Church.⁶⁴² We may also assume that the Patriarch had initially been informed about Peter Thomas' actions by the Cypriot Rhomaioi themselves, who requested from him moral and spiritual support.

⁶³⁸ Papadopoulos 1995b, 611-612; Schabel 2005, 158-159; Coureas 2010, 449-450; Nicolaou-Konnari 2012a, 381, 400; Devaney 2013, 333-334; Nicolaou-Konnari 2014, 61-63. Interestingly, a papal letter to Peter Thomas, dating 1356, instructed the Carmelite to deliver the sacrament of Confirmation to those returning to the Catholic faith. This might explain why the Legate attempted to confirm the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and clergy a few years later: *Acts of Innocent VI*, ed. Taŭtu, 159.85.

⁶³⁹ See below App. II, 424-429.

⁶⁴⁰ The text was first examined by Darrouzès in 1977: *RAPC* I/5, 370-372 (n° 2443). In 1986, Gones wrote an article on the *Encyclical's* context (Gones 1986, 333-350). Papadopoulos 1995b, 543-665 (who in 1986 had edited, together with Englezakis, the volume containing Gones' article), does not mention the *Encyclical* at all. Englezakis 1996, 309, 311, mentions the *Encyclical* only briefly. Schabel 2005, 157 (n. 2), simply cites Gones' article. On the other hand, Coureas 2010, appears to ignore the existence of the document.

⁶⁴¹ App. II, 424.I.1.1-3: *Οἱ ἐν τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ καὶ περιδόξῳ νήσῳ τῇ Κύπρῳ εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ οἰκοῦντες, ἱερωμένοι, ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἅπας τοῦ Κυρίου λαός.*

⁶⁴² Gones 1986, 349. Although Kallistos' audience is addressed in a formulaic way, it is quite likely that many Cypriot Rhomaioi recognised and accepted the pastoral authority of Constantinople: App. II, 424.I.1.3-4: *ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος.*

What is striking, is that Kallistos stresses the undisturbed religious communion between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Byzantines, by repeatedly referring to their common faith and harassment by the Legate, e.g.: '[your] fervent zeal for *our* piety';⁶⁴³ 'for *we* beat off and drove him [i.e., Peter Thomas] away with the sling of the Spirit, although some of *us* [...] were carried away by his evil beliefs';⁶⁴⁴ 'in the courtyard of the Saviour, in which *we* have truly been chosen [i.e., by Him] from the beginning';⁶⁴⁵ 'let him [i.e., Peter Thomas] show *us* from whom he had learned to beat and open wounds, in order to guide the spiritual nature'.⁶⁴⁶ These references underline Kallistos' support and promote sentiments of solidarity with his subjugated flock.

At the heart of the Patriarch's attempt to hearten his Cypriot Rhomaic audience, lies a theological rhetoric of martyrdom and leniency towards sinners, similar to that expressed by John XIV Kalekas in his encyclicals to the Christians of Turkish-occupied Nicaea (ca. 1339 and 1340).⁶⁴⁷ Although Kallistos deplores the Latinisation of a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi, he urges their brethren to receive and forgive those willing to repent.⁶⁴⁸ According to Kallistos, the Cypriot Rhomaioi who defended themselves against the Legate are indeed 'martyrs who had not shed blood and crown-bearers without wounds' (*χωρίς αἵματος μάρτυρες· καὶ χωρίς πληγῶν στεφανῖται*), for they did not yield to coercion, but were willing to sacrifice their lives, in order to preserve their faith.⁶⁴⁹ The Patriarch exhorts his audience to fear only God, and not the Legate's ferocity and tyranny; inspired by the persecution and martyrdom of saints, they should maintain their faith at any cost.⁶⁵⁰

Kallistos masterfully brings forth the image of Christ the Good Shepherd and compares Him against Peter Thomas. The Patriarch bases his arguments on scriptural and patristic authorities (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, John of the Ladder and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite), reminding his audience that true pastors imitate Christ in

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 424.I.1.9-10: *ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῶν θερμότητος ζῆλος.*

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 424.I.1.28-30: *ἐπεὶ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ ἀπεδιώχθη τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος, εἰ καὶ τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν [...] παρεσύρησαν τῇ τούτου κακοδοξίᾳ.*

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., 426.I.1.78-79: *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀλλῇ, εἰς ἣν ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπαρχῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκληρώθημεν.*

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 427.I.1.99-101: *εἰ δ' οὖν δεῖξάτω ἡμῖν, πόθεν μεμάθηκε μετὰ ῥάβδου, καὶ πληγῶν ἐλαύνειν τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν.*

⁶⁴⁷ See above, 104-105.

⁶⁴⁸ App. II, 424.I.1.29-30, 425.I.1.42-45, 428.I.1.151-429.I.1.154.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 425.I.1.33-42.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 428.I.1.130-142.

showing mercy, love and meekness, even against heretics.⁶⁵¹ 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'.⁶⁵² 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). In addition to condemning the Carmelite's actions, the Patriarch refutes the *Filioque* doctrine and papal ecclesiastical supremacy.⁶⁵³

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 and states that they are truly pro-Latin.⁶⁵⁴ He supports his argument by mentioning the Legate's 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.⁶⁵⁵ Kallistos' statement that the Latins and anti-Palamites had met and held discussions should not be interpreted as mere anti-Latin and anti-Palamite propaganda, since we have already seen the rapprochement between Byzantine anti-Palamites and Peter Thomas after John V's conversion. Moreover, 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 1361/2, seems to support Kallistos' claims.⁶⁵⁶ These developments had clearly alarmed Kallistos, who used the rapprochement of his opponents to turn the tables on both Latins and anti-Palamites: the Patriarch's instructions to the Cypriot Rhomaioi to reject both Peter Thomas and Arsenios created a link between Latinisation and anti-

⁶⁵¹ App. II, 425.I.1.45-428.I.1.130; cf. similar remarks by Germanos II, *Letter to Gregory IX*, ed. Sathas, 44, on the aftermath of the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara. Darrouzès in *RAPC* I/5, 371-372 (n° 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*).

⁶⁵² App. II, 428.I.1.126-130: τὸ γὰρ διώκειν καὶ τύπτειν, ἢ πιστοὺς ἀμαρτήσαντας, ἢ ἀπίστοις ἀδικήσαντας, οὐδεὶς [...] τῶν καρδηναλίων, ἢ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαινέσεται ὅλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτον διδασκαλίας ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν τυραννίδος. In 1232, Germanos II sent a letter to the Latin cardinals, hoping that they would influence Pope Gregory IX to work towards ecclesiastical union between East and West: Arambatzis 2004–2006, 363-378.

⁶⁵³ App. II, 426.I.1.83-427.I.1.91, 427.I.1.92-99, 428.I.1.138-149.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 429.I.2.154-159.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 429.I.2.159-163.

⁶⁵⁶ Smet in Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, 208-211; *RAPC* I/5, 371 (n° 2443); Gones 1986, 341-344, 348; Polemis 1993, 243; Kresten 2000, 77-78.

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.⁶⁵⁷

Overall, Kallistos' emphasis on Peter Thomas' coercive methods and the heretical teachings of the Latin Church, aimed to evoke unpleasant memories for his Cypriot audience and inspire non-coercive resistance to Latinisation, based on the example of Christ and echoing the 'suffering, yet enduring people of God' theme. The *Encyclical*, datable between 1361 and 1362, was a reminder of the Legate's activities in 1360 and exposed his cooperation with the anti-Palamites, accusing them as pro-Latin.⁶⁵⁸

In the *Life of St Peter Thomas*, Philip of Mézières argues that, despite the riot of 1360, the Carmelite eventually managed to unite the Christians of Cyprus under the Papacy. According to Mézières, during the plague of 1361–1362, the Legate led religious processions of both Latins and non-Latins. Peter Thomas' holiness was so widely recognised, that after his death in Famagusta in 1365, he was venerated as a saint by all Cypriot ethno-religious groups.⁶⁵⁹ Although the veneration of Peter Thomas by individual Cypriot Rhomaioi should not be excluded, there is no evidence that it was ever adopted by the island's Rhomaioi as an ecclesiastical body.⁶⁶⁰ This was clearly due to the Legate's coercive attitude in 1360 (confirmed by both Kallistos I and Machairas), which seems to have inspired a rapprochement between the Cypriot Rhomaioi and Constantinople.

In ca. 1362, Dēmētrios Kydōnēs sent a letter to Cyprus, addressing his friend (and probably relative) George the Philosopher, one of the Latinised Byzantine anti-Palamites. The letter implies that George's relations with the local Rhomaioi were not harmonious (*οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ νομίζω*), though without providing further explanation. Moreover, we learn that George had come into conflict with Peter Thomas (*διὰ τὰ περὶ τοῦ λεγάτου σοι γενομένα πολλῶν ὀργιζομένων*

⁶⁵⁷ Kallistos I, *Anti-Latin homilies*, ed. Païdas, 58-63 (comm.), 274-337, 338-401 (text with Modern Greek trans.). According to Ryder 2010, 194-195 (n. 105), Peter Thomas might have presented John V's confession of faith to the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy, in order to persuade them to convert to the Latin rite.

⁶⁵⁸ Gones 1986, 343, 348-349.

⁶⁵⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. Smet, 97.13-100.32 (common processions), 155.30-156.2 (Latins and non-Latins participate in the Legate's funeral), 173.19-174.2, 183.24-32 (Cypriot Rhomaic testimonies collected by Mézières, concerning miracles performed by Peter Thomas).

⁶⁶⁰ Something that most revisionist scholars seem to ignore: Schabel 2005, 157-158; Coureas 2010, 486-488, 490, 492; Coureas et al. 2012, 135; Olympios 2013, 331-334; Devaney 2013, 334-339.

ἡσθόμην), probably because he had accused him or another Latin churchman (*ιερέα καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα ἐδίωκες*) of pederasty (*παιδεραστίας καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων*). Having already professed the Latin faith and having received the Latin sacraments (*τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μυστηρίων μετεσχηκέναι*), George was placed under the Latin canon law. Thus, after being incarcerated (*τῆς εἰρκτῆς*) and tortured (*τῶν πληγῶν*), he was facing death by burning (*ἤδη δέ τινων καὶ πυρὸς μνησθέντων*). George's situation was indeed tragic: accused by the Latins for blasphemy (*αὐτοὶ τοὺς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημοῦντας εἰώθασιν ἀναλίσκειν*), he was criticised by his own people for being a Latinised/pro-Latin Byzantine (*ἐτέρωθεν ἠτιῶντο ὅτι μὴ σαφῶς τοὺς Λατίνους αἰρετικοὺς ἀποφαίνει*); on the other hand, the Palamite Hesychasts (*οἱ δὲ θεόληπτοι καὶ ἐπίπνοι*) warned those praising George for his sufferings that, unless the Philosopher accepted the 'essence-energies' distinction (*τὰς ὑφειμένας*), he was not to be considered Orthodox, even if he was to deliver his body to martyrdom (*οὐδ' ἂν τις τὸ σῶμα πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ παραδῶ*).⁶⁶¹

Although the tension between George the Philosopher and Peter Thomas appears not to have been directly associated with the 1360 incident, it nevertheless indicates the vulnerable condition of Latinised anti-Palamites, caught between their own people and the Latins.⁶⁶² Dēmētrios Kydōnēs' letter also reveals that the Latin authorities of Cyprus were 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 anti-Palamism on the island.

In 1368, Prochoros Kydōnēs (d. 1371/2), Dēmētrios' younger brother and an Athonite monk, 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 focused on his open challenge of the

⁶⁶¹ Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. I), 60-62.5.31 (dating the letter in 1362); cf. Ryder 2010, 192 (dating the letter in 1361/2).

⁶⁶² See the letter's examination by Smet in Philip of Mézierès, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, 209; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 733, 756-757; Russell 2003, 158; Ryder 2010, 192-195; Coureas 2010, 443-444; Koltziou-Nikita, 2013, 125-127. George the Philosopher eventually managed to escape from Cyprus: Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. I), 63-64.5.32.

Palamite Hesychast doctrines and Palamas' holiness.⁶⁶³ What is important about Prochoros' condemnation is that it was signed by Lazarus, the Palamite Hesychast Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Niphōn of Alexandria (1366–1385), Gregory III's successor.⁶⁶⁴ Therefore, the *Tome* of 1368 against Prochoros Kydōnēs marks the official reaffirmation of Palamite Hesychasm by three Eastern Patriarchates: Constantinople, Jerusalem and Alexandria.⁶⁶⁵

The Antiochenes, who faced internal problems of succession after Ignatios' death in ca. 1363, did not participate in Prochoros' condemnation.⁶⁶⁶ The Patriarchate of Antioch was divided into three factions: one supporting Pachōmios of Damascus, another Michael Bisharah, and a third, Arsenios of Tyre. Philotheos I recognised Pachōmios as the legitimate Patriarch, who remained on the throne for only a couple of years (ca. 1363/4–ca. 1365).⁶⁶⁷ Pachōmios returned to the patriarchal throne in 1376. Arsenios of Tyre, representing the extreme anti-Palamite wing, claimed to be the legitimate Patriarch and attempted to gain the support of the Antiochene clergy. This led Pachōmios to forge an alliance with Philotheos I, eventually succeeding in

⁶⁶³ Niketas 1984, 275-315; Russell 2003, 158-165; Russell 2006b, 75-91; Rigo 2004b, 1-51, 55-134; Ryder 2010, 124-128; Plested 2012b, 73-84; Triantafyllopoulos 2012, 411-430; Gómez 2013, 150. It is noteworthy that under John V's protection, Prochoros was not incarcerated, tortured or exiled, but remained free to continue his scholarly activities. Coureas' statement (2010, 443) that Prochoros was excommunicated because he 'came to subscribe to [the] philosophy [of Thomas Aquinas]' is wrong.

⁶⁶⁴ The *Tome* is published by Rigo 2004b, 133.936-947. On Niphōn's tenure see Papadopoulos 1935, 909.

⁶⁶⁵ Note, however, Niphōn's ironic response to Philotheos' demand for liturgical commemoration of his name by the Evergetēs monastic community in Constantinople, which was placed under Alexandrian jurisdiction. It is not clear whether the disobedience of the Evergetēs monks and Niphōn's attitude towards Philotheos indicate the existence of low-profile anti-Palamism among the Alexandrians: *MM* I, 532.277; Pitsakis 1991, 129.

⁶⁶⁶ Russell 2006b, 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: Paul Zaim, *Travels of Patriarch Makarios of Antioch*, ed. and trans. Radu, 29 [29]. This piece of information is dismissed by Darrouzès as unreliable: *RAPC* I/5, 345 (n° 2415). According to John Kyparissiōtēs, *Fourth oration on the Palamite transgressions*, *PG* 152, 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, similarly to the fate of Grēgoras' corpse. It seems that these events did not take place in Cyprus, where the anti-Palamites appear to have been quite strong, even after Kallistos' *Encyclical* to the Cypriot Rhomaioi.

⁶⁶⁷ *MM* I, 463-465.207; *PRK* III, 486.255.13-14; *RAPC* I/5, 404 (n° 2483); Pitsakis 1991, 128-129; Kresten 2000, 47-64. In response to Peter I's Alexandrian Crusade (1365), the Mamlūks unleashed an anti-Christian persecution, replacing Pachōmios with Michael I Bisharah (ca. 1365/6–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 under Mamlūk rule, in order to warn them not to repeat similar attacks: Nasrallah 1968, 19-21; Kresten 2000, 59-60 (n. 197), 72-73; Pahlitzsch 2005, 39-40.

marginalising Arsenios.⁶⁶⁸ Pachōmios' second patriarchate lasted until ca. 1395, when he 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 expansion of Late Byzantine Commonwealth over Syria.⁶⁶⁹

In the late 1360s and early 1370s, Latinised Byzantine anti-Palamites from Dēmētrios Kydōnēs' circle continued to maintain close contacts with the Latin regime of Cyprus. This is confirmed by the case of John Laskaris Kalopheros, a Byzantine noble who had fallen into disgrace with John V, but sought refuge in Cyprus and became Peter I's close associate, participating in the Lusignan campaigns in Asia Minor and Alexandria. The loyalty expressed by Kalopheros and other non-Cypriot knights towards Peter I, contributed to the atmosphere of alienation between the Lusignan King and his local 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 was almost certainly 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 Hesychast Controversy during his stay in Cyprus.⁶⁷⁰

John V's long absence from Constantinople (1366–1371) – during his journey in Italy, where he personally submitted to the Papacy (1369), in an unsuccessful attempt to secure Latin military help against the Turks – and Prochoros Kydōnēs' death in 1371/2, gave new impetus to the Palamite Hesychast opposition.⁶⁷¹ Patriarch Philotheos I hardened his stance against the Latinised/pro-Latin Byzantines and anti-Palamites, many of whom were forced to profess Orthodoxy, denouncing the Latin doctrines and

⁶⁶⁸ PRK III, 484-488.255, 488-490.256; cf. John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 17, 23. See also Polemis 1993, 244-245; Kresten 2000, 80-82.

⁶⁶⁹ MM II, 249.491; Nasrallah 1968, 25; RACP I/6, 267 (n° 3001); cf. Paul Zaim, *Travels of Patriarch Makarios of Antioch*, ed. and trans. Radu, 30 [30] – 31 [31].

⁶⁷⁰ On Kalopheros and his activities see: Jacoby 1968, 189-228; Loenertz 1970, 129-139; Edbury 1991, 177, 202; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 743, 751-752; Grivaud 1995c, 931; Coureas 2010, 63-66. A letter sent to Kalopheros by Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. II), 255.30.325, dating 1365–1366, mentions that the latter had been informed about Peter I's generosity towards Kalopheros.

⁶⁷¹ On John V's Western policy, see Nicol 1993, 270-273. The basic study on the rapprochement between John V and the Papacy is Halecki 1930. On Prochoros' death, see Russell 2003, 166.

anti-Palamism.⁶⁷² Moreover, Joasaph the Monk (formerly John VI Kantakouzēnos) composed and published a number of treatises refuting Prochoros' anti-Palamite works and employing Dēmētrios Kydōnēs' translation of Thomas Aquinas to defend Palamite Hesychasm. Dēmētrios, who felt betrayed by the activities of his old master and friend, 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.⁶⁷³

It was probably during this wave of persecutions that John Kyparissiōtēs (d. ca. 1378), a well-known anti-Palamite scholar and theologian, left Constantinople for Cyprus, where he could not be harassed by the patriarchal authorities.⁶⁷⁴ An unpublished theological work by Kyparissiōtēs, probably composed in Constantinople before his journey to Cyprus (ante 1368?), mentions that the island remained loyal to anti-Palamism.⁶⁷⁵ Although Kyparissiōtēs' statement could be interpreted as an indication that the Byzantine anti-Palamites continued perceiving Cyprus as 'a bastion of anti-Palamism',⁶⁷⁶ there is admittedly no evidence about the activities of Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites in the 1360s and 1370s. When Kyparissiōtēs visited Cyprus, his idealised view of the conditions on the island changed. In ca. 1371, he complained to Dēmētrios Kydōnēs about his poverty in Cyprus, only to receive Kydōnēs' reply that the island ceased to be a favourable destination (*οἶδα μὲν ὡς οὐδ' ἡ Κύπρος δεξιὰ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν*), implying that Kalopheros' downfall from power and the political unrest after Peter I's assassination had deprived the Byzantine anti-Palamites of local support. Having recognised the bleak reality faced by pro-Latin Byzantine anti-Palamites in Cyprus, Kydōnēs encouraged his friend to leave for Italy.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷² Gómez 2013, 163-166.

⁶⁷³ See Dēmētrios' letter to John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos (ca. 1372): Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. II), 355-356.37.400 (esp. at 356.37.400.20-23). One should also consult: Darrouzès in John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, 11; Nicol 1996, 154-155; Russell 2003, 166-167; Coureas 2010, 444 (erroneously mentioning John-Joasaph's work *Ἀντιῤῥητορικὰ* = *Refutations*, as *Antirhetorica* = *Against Rhetorics/Against the Rhetors*; Grivaud 2005, 234, makes the same error); Demetracopoulos 2011, 292-305; Plested 2012b, 84-89; Koltsiou-Nikita 2013, 135-136.

⁶⁷⁴ Dentakis 1977, 20-21, 33.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 (n. 42), 76, 119: *ἀλλ'εἰ καὶ νῦν Κύπρος καὶ Συρία καὶ Παμφυλία καὶ πᾶσα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία τὴν σατανικὴν ταύτην ἀπελαύνει κατὰ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίαν [...].*

⁶⁷⁶ Grivaud 2005, 234; cf. Grivaud 1995c, 930.

⁶⁷⁷ Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. I), 67-68.5.35 (esp. at 68.5.35.32-33); Dentakis 1977, 21-23, 30-33; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 748. Kydōnēs complains about the Cypriot 'ingratitude' towards

Around the same period, Bishop John of Karpasia (fl. ca. 1359–ca.1371) emerged as an important figure in the discussions over Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus. As we have already mentioned, sometime between 1359 and 1363, John of Karpasia had attempted (without any success) to reaffirm his authority over the Syrian Melkite population of Famagusta, thus implicitly challenging the rights and interests of the Latin Church.⁶⁷⁸ John of Karpasia is also associated with the construction of the new Rhomaic cathedral of Famagusta, dedicated to St George of the Greeks. The cathedral's construction might have begun under John's predecessor, Bishop Michael of Karpasia (fl. ca. 1340–ante 1359?), around the time of the Hodēgētria founding in Nicosia in the 1340s.⁶⁷⁹ By the early 1360s, during John's episcopate, St George had not yet been completed, but it seems that it was functioning as Famagusta's Rhomaic cathedral.⁶⁸⁰ Although largely influenced by Gothic architecture, St George was a Byzantine-rite church with a dome, iconostasis, oblation chambers (*προθήσεις*) and a *σύνθρονον*, which probably imitated similar arrangements from the nearby Early Christian basilicas of Salamis/Constantia.⁶⁸¹ Indeed, the fourteenth-century liturgical ordinance of the

Kalopheros: Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. I), 70.5.37.16-17 (comparing the Cypriots to evil creatures of the Greek mythology); *ibid.* (vol. II), 262.31.331.6-7.

⁶⁷⁸ See above, 170-171. Bishop John's background is not known. Kyrris has argued that John was the Mantzas/Mantzēs/Mantzis priest, whom Machairas mentions as the Rhomaioi priest confirmed by Peter Thomas in 1360. This was probably the same person as the 'stubborn and perfidious priest', whom Mézières describes as the instigator of popular resistance against Peter Thomas. Interestingly, a certain 'Bishop Matzas of Famagusta' is mentioned in a brief manuscript note as one of the prelates participating in the ordination of Bishop Gregory of Arsinoë in 1370/1. Since John of Karpasia received a letter from Kantakouzēnos in 1371, then we may assume that John's surname was Matzas and that he could have belonged to the same family as the priest mentioned by Machairas and Mézières. See generally the discussion in the following studies: Darrouzès 1956, 58-59.79, 60.81 (drawing a connection between Bishop Matzas and Bishop John of Karpasia); Kyrris 1960, 283-284; Kyrris 1985, 229; Kyrris 2005, 6-7 (identifying John of Karpasia as Machairas' Mantzas); Paschali 2014b, 282 (distinguishing John of Karpasia from Bishop Matzas).

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. Kaffenberger 2014, 180-181. Michael of Karpasia was one of the Rhomaioi bishops present in the Provincial Council of 1340: *SN*, 248.L.1 (trans. at 249).

⁶⁸⁰ Otten-Froux 2003, 41-42, 44, 46. See also the discussion by Kyrris 1960, 284; Kyrris 2005, 7; Plagnieux and Soulard 2006, 296a; Kaffenberger 2014, 172. Eliades' comments (Eliades 2008, 223) concerning the possibility of initial Latin use of the cathedral are misleading.

⁶⁸¹ On the cathedral's architecture and decoration see generally: Jeffery 1918, 147-151; Enlart 1987, 253-258; Plagnieux and Soulard 2006a, 288-296; Papacostas 2008, 117-132 (arguing against the existence of a fourteenth-century dome); Kaffenberger 2014, 169-190 (arguing that the dome was a part of the initial building and that the iconostasis in its present form was added in the fifteenth century); Paschali 2014b, 281-301 (esp. at 288 on the oblation chambers). On the *σύνθρονον* (a monumental arrangement of clerical seats) see: Jeffery 1918, 150; Plagnieux and Soulard 2006a, 293; Andrews 2012, 153; cf. Weyl Carr 2005a, 315. Mersch 2014, 253, argues (unconvincingly in my opinion) that St George's *σύνθρονον* imitated the twelfth-century Crusader churches of Syro-Palestine. On Early Christian *σύνθρονα* from Cyprus see Nicolaou 2013, 117-118.

Karpasia and Famagusta bishopric appears to contain no Latin influences.⁶⁸² What is noteworthy, is that the iconographic programme of the central apse — perhaps dating in the second half of the fourteenth century (during John’s episcopate)⁶⁸³— seems to have conveyed covert anti-Latin messages, which emphasised the unity of the Church before the Schism⁶⁸⁴ and the Orthodox theology on liturgical theophanies (*contra* the doctrine of transubstantiation and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist).⁶⁸⁵ The

⁶⁸² The liturgical ordinance of the Karpasia bishopric is attested by a fourteenth-century manuscript with fifteenth-century additions and has been published in parts by Papaïoannou 1912, 443-456, 489-494, 511-517, 588-595, 623-631, 668-674; Papaïoannou 1913, 23-28, 52-58, 83-87, 115-118, 239-245; Papaïoannou 1915, 78-90. This important liturgical source had hitherto escaped the notice of scholars examining the Rhomaic cathedral of Famagusta. Thus, e.g., Papacostas 2008, 130, notes that ‘the layout of the church was hardly appropriate for the Byzantine liturgy, although, admittedly, very little is known about the way this was performed in Lusignan Cyprus, whereas the arrangement of liturgical furnishings within the church remains unclear’. The appropriation of Gothic style in Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture in Latin-ruled Greece is examined by Bouras 2001b, 165-175, 226-234; Bouras 2001a, 247-262. However, Bouras does not expand his examination to the liturgical and doctrinal identity of the believers using these churches. Note that St George is attached onto an earlier Byzantine church, which might have preserved the relics of St Epiphanius of Constantia: Jeffery 1918, 147, 149; Enlart 1987, 253, 257; Kyrris 2005, 11; Weyl Carr 2005a, 315; Plagnieux and Soulard 2006a, 295; Kaffenberger 2014, 171-180. The late thirteenth-century depiction of St Epiphanius from the Transfiguration church at Sõtëra, not far from the city of Famagusta, has been associated with anti-Latinism (Chatzichristodoulou 2012c, 542-543).

⁶⁸³ On the murals’ dating see Weyl Carr 2005a, 318-319; Paschali 2014b, 283, 290. According to Kaffenberger 2014, 181, the cathedral’s construction might have begun in 1349/50 and was perhaps finished after a maximum of around twenty-five years, namely in ca. 1374/5. Bishop John’s episcopate is dated between 1359–1363 and ca. 1371.

⁶⁸⁴ In the lower part of the central apse, we have a row of officiating holy bishops, wearing the Byzantine liturgical garments with Latin episcopal mitres. It remains unclear whether these unspecified, mitred figures indicate pre-schismatic holy popes, venerated by both Orthodox and Latins, or less probably, whether they intended to remind the Cypriot Rhomaioi celebrants in the sanctuary of their ecclesiastical submission to the Papacy, by placing mitres on the heads of Eastern saints: *ibid.*, 283-284, 294-296; Rapti 2014, 322. Two late fifteenth-century frescoes in the northern apse depict, among other holy prelates, the pre-schismatic Popes Hippolytos (ca. 170–ca. 236) and Hadrian (772–795): Eliades 2008, 222; Paschali 2014b, 283. Several (pre-schismatic) Western holy prelates, including Roman popes, are depicted in Cypriot Rhomaic churches: Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 59 (St Gregory of Agrigento), 71 (Pope St Sylvester I), 236-237 (St Augustine of Hippo), 379 (Pope St Sylvester I), 458 (St Gregory of Agrigento); Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1312-1313 (Pope St Krikos (?) and Pope St Linos); cf. Papageorgiou 2009, 32 (correcting Krikos to Krinos). As we have already mentioned (see above 70, n. 176), the liturgical commemoration of pre-schismatic saints of Western origin *per se* should not be considered as concrete evidence of Latinisation, but as a reference to the common origins and initial unity of the Christian world.

⁶⁸⁵ Above the row of officiating holy bishops there is the depiction of the Communion of the Apostles, a theme associated with the Orthodox rejection of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. Oddly, the Apostles in St George of the Greeks are accompanied by two Seraphs, angelic creatures who were believed to participate in the heavenly liturgy before God, mirrored in the Great Entrance procession. Two inscriptions, quoting the angelic *Tersanctus* and the beginning of a Communion Prayer, highlight the theophanic character of the depiction and its association with the Eucharist: Enlart 1987, 257; Paschali 2014b, 286-288, 300 (arguing, less convincingly, that the inscriptions convey the transubstantiation doctrine); cf. Alexopoulos and Van den Hoek 2006, 151.124-126, 157-158. Moreover, the Seraph leading the Apostles towards Communion carries a lance, alluding to the extraction of the central part of the sacramental leavened bread (*Ἀμύος*), intended to be offered in the Eucharist: Paschali 2014b, 288-290; cf. Skrettas 2013, 320-321 (n. 28). Therefore, the iconographic programme of the cathedral’s central apse could be understood as an Orthodox response to the Latin attempts to impose the doctrine of transubstantiation and the canonical validity of unleavened bread over the Cypriot Rhomaioi; cf. Paschali 2014b, 290-292.

emphatic reaffirmation of Orthodox theophanic theology in St George could have been provoked by the Latin promotion of the Corpus Christi feast in the fourteenth century.⁶⁸⁶

The significance of St George is that it reflects the eclecticism, dynamism and creativity of the community behind its erection: the Cypriot Rhomaioi and Syrian Melkites of Famagusta were willing to appropriate Western stylistic forms, without abandoning their liturgical practices and doctrinal beliefs. As a visual reminder of the Cypriot Rhomaic and Syrian Melkite economic prosperity and elevated social status, St George seems to have challenged, in terms of size and style, the nearby Latin cathedral dedicated to St Nicholas.⁶⁸⁷ As noted by Papacostas, '[St George] illustrates the determination of the Greek church, and by extension of the community it represents, to make extraordinary use of architectural ostentation in order to affirm its presence in Famagusta and confidently proclaim its ascendancy'.⁶⁸⁸ The increased confidence of the Cypriot Rhomaic elite in the second half of the fourteenth century and the need to reaffirm their status and superiority *vis-à-vis* the island's non-Rhomaioi, are important elements in the examination of John of Karpasia's involvement in the Hesychast Controversy;⁶⁸⁹ for, apart from participating in the construction and decoration of one

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 291-292. From the Latin perspective, the Corpus Christi processions underlined Christ's real presence in the Eucharist and confirmed the doctrinal correctness of the transubstantiation doctrine: Rubin 1991, *passim*. Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne regulated that the Corpus Christi feast should be observed in Nicosia: SN, 222-223.H.XXXV (with English trans. by Schabel). In ca. 1368, Peter I founded in Nicosia a church dedicated to the Corpus Christi; pilgrimage to this new establishment was promoted by Pope Urban V: Coureas 2010, 300-301.

⁶⁸⁷ The donors Michael Çaibach and Fetus Simatecolo were most probably middle-class Syrian Melkites: Otten-Froux 2003, 41-42, 44, 46. Moreover, the arms of Jerusalem in the keystones from the vaults suggest Lusignan patronage: Kyrris 1960, 284; Kyrris 2005, 11; de Vaivre 2006, 452; Papacostas 2008, 130. The main doorway of the cathedral is decorated with a double Cross, which has been associated with either the Tochnē incident (1340), or the Genoese overlords of Famagusta: Plagnieux and Soulard 2004a, 296; de Vaivre 2006, 453. According to de Vaivre 2006, 452, another keystone bears the arms of a family of Rhomaioi notables (described as a 'two-B' emblem crowning a cross); cf. Oikonomides 2003, 235-238; Babuin 2010, 112, 119-120, 122-123, 136, 142 (on the 'four-B' emblem of the Palaiologoi). We may assume that this heraldic design could be identified as the Palaiologan emblem mentioned by Kyrris 1960, 284-285; Kyrris 2005, 11-15, and associated by Christodoulou 2002, 170, with Zōē Kantakouzēnē, wife of James of Flory (fl. 1432-1463), the powerful Count of Jaffa. On James of Flory and Zōē Kantakouzēnē, see below, 220-222 (esp. at n. 729). Note that de Vaivre seems to ignore the aforementioned studies by Kyrris and Christodoulou. A number of the cathedral's patrons were most likely buried *apud ecclesiam*, as suggested by the discovery of burial niches in the walls. This funerary custom was common in both East and West: Jeffery 1918, 149-150; Enlart 1987, 257; Weyl Carr 2001, 599-619; Weyl Carr 2005a, 320-322; Chotzakoglou 2011, 475, 492; Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, 377-428 (*passim*).

⁶⁸⁸ Papacostas 2008, 130.

⁶⁸⁹ This sense of confidence and superiority is reflected in a late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century forged synodal document (dating 1295), which grants extravagant honorary titles and privileges to the four Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops. Thus, the bishop of Solea called himself 'five times bishop'

of the largest churches in the Eastern Mediterranean,⁶⁹⁰ the Bishop of Karpasia corresponded with a former emperor: John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos.

The two men's communication focused on the refutation of an anti-Palamite *Tome*, issued by Arsenios of Tyre in ca. 1365/6, and later incorporated in a compilation of anti-Palamite works by Anthimos Kolybas the Monk, whose corpus circulated in Cyprus and was used by the anti-Palamites to oppose Palamite Hesychasm. In 1371, John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, who was informed about the recent anti-Palamite activities in Cyprus, wrote a letter to John of Karpasia, in which he provided a brief account of the Hesychast Controversy and refuted the anti-Palamite arguments.⁶⁹¹

The letter sheds light on Bishop John's social status, religious identity, intellectual profile and political ideology. John-Joasaph addresses Bishop John by recognising his rights over Karpasia (*θεοφιλέστατε ἐπίσκοπε Καρπασαίων*) and the ancient see of Salamis/Constantia (*πρόεδρε Κωνσταντίας*), which was later succeeded by the Byzantine city of Ammochōstos/Famagusta (*καὶ Ἀμοχώστου*).⁶⁹² Bishop John's social prestige, being a prominent member of the local elite, is confirmed by Kantakouzēnos' employment of the honorary title *κῦρ* ('lord').⁶⁹³ The familiarity between the two men is expressed by John-Joasaph's statement that he had known Bishop John for a long time (*ἡ βασιλεία μου πρὸ καιροῦ σε ἀπεδέχετο*) and that he intended to write to him

(*πενταεπίσκοπος*); the bishop of Karpasia was 'archbishop' and 'thrice bishop' (*τρισεπίσκοπος*); the bishop of Leukara was 'thrice bishop' (*τρισεπίσκοπος*) and the bishop of Arsinoë 'twice bishop' (*δισεπίσκοπος*). These peculiar 'multi-bishopric' claims adopt the terminology of late fourteenth-century Constantinopolitan canon law, but seem to be referring to the reduction of Orthodox bishoprics in Cyprus from fourteen to four. By claiming to be 'two', 'three' or 'five times' bishop, each Cypriot Rhomaïos prelate claimed to have under his jurisdiction a corresponding number of bishoprics. This is a strong indication that the Cypriot Rhomaïc ecclesiastical hierarchy continued to be aware of its historical rights over the abolished Orthodox bishoprics: Darrouzès 1979, 22-30 (comm.), 87-89.4; Kyrris 1993b, 164-176; Pitsakis 2001, 89-110.

⁶⁹⁰ Papacostas 2008, 130.

⁶⁹¹ John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 7-14 (comm.), 15-21 (text), 21-27 (French trans.). On the Antiochene *Tome* and Anthimos Kolybas' compilation see Polemis 1993, 241-252 (comm.), 252-276 (text), 277-281 (comm.). On the wider context see also the brief discussion by Nicol 1996, 154-155. Incidentally, John-Joasaph mentions the anti-Palamite activity of the official Atouemēs and Anthony Phoinikēs the Monk, without, however, providing specific information on the dates of their presence in Cyprus: Darrouzès in John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, 16, 23. Anthony Phoinikēs and Theodore Attouemēs are mentioned in the list of anti-Palamites published in Mercati 1931, 223. Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 208.49.53-58, 209 (trans.), 390 (comm.), mentions Atouemēs, although it is not clear whether he could be identified as the same man mentioned by Kantakouzēnos. John-Joasaph's silence on the activities of Cypriot Rhomaïoi anti-Palamites confirms the view that anti-Palamism in Cyprus had lost much of its former strength.

⁶⁹² John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 15, 21; cf. Kyrris 1960, 283-284; Kyrris 2005, 7.

⁶⁹³ John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 15, 21; Paschali 2014b, 282.

before (*εἶχε κατὰ σκοπὸν γράψαι καὶ δηλῶσαί σοι περὶ τινῶν ἀναγκαίων*), but had been prevented from doing so by other affairs.⁶⁹⁴ 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 (*ἔμφυτον κέκτησθαι ἀρετὴν*) and piety (*τρέφεις ἔνθεον τρόπον*): this is strong evidence that Bishop John was a Palamite Hesychast.⁶⁹⁵

Interestingly, Kantakouzēnos refutes anti-Palamite accusations that the Palamite Hesychasts reject the doctrine of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist⁶⁹⁶ and supports that the 'essence-energies distinction' is in agreement with earlier Orthodox theology stressing humanity's 'dynamic participation in a divine nature which is more than an impenetrable essence'.⁶⁹⁷ Having seen that different theological views on the exact moment of adoration of the Eucharistic bread and wine had caused tension between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins in the fourteenth century and that the murals of St George of the Greeks reflect the Orthodox liturgical theology, we may interpret Kantakouzēnos' teaching on the Eucharist as a link between Palamite Hesychasm and the pre-Palamite theophanic theology, cultivated and experienced by the island's Rhomaioi as an embodied tradition.⁶⁹⁸

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.⁶⁹⁹ Unlike the Cypriot Rhomaioi monks who had approached Kalothetos, asking him to explain the Palamite Hesychast position 'in a simple and clear manner' (*ἀπλῶ καὶ σαφεῖ λόγῳ*), it seems that Bishop John possessed a greater knowledge of Palamite Hesychast theology. However, he appears to have depended on John-Joasaph's theological acumen and authority as former Emperor to fight anti-Palamism within his

⁶⁹⁴ John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 15, 21.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 19-20, 25-26.

⁶⁹⁷ Russell 1988, 66. Kantakouzēnos implies that the divine energies are no less divine than the divine essence (they are not *ἑτέρα τις ἀνούσιος καὶ ὑφειμένη θεότης*); the only difference is that the energies of God (operating in the Eucharist) are participable, while His essence imparticipable: John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 19.

⁶⁹⁸ On Palamite Hesychasm and Eucharistic theology see generally: Perczel 2001, 125-146; Perczel 2005, 131-156; Louth 2005, 199-206; Yangazoglou 2010, 177-178. Grolimund 2005, 157-197, is particularly useful on Late Byzantine Eucharistic theology.

⁶⁹⁹ John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, ed. Darrouzès, 18-19, 24-25 (*passim*).

bishopric. Indeed, Kantakouzēnos promises to send to his correspondent a more lengthy refutation of the anti-Palamite accusations (*μέλλει γράψειν ἡ βασιλεία μου τῆ σῆ ἱερότητι πλατύτερόν τε καὶ καθαρώτερον*).⁷⁰⁰ It should be stressed that only once in the letter does John-Joasaph use his monastic name (*Ἰωάσαφ μοναχός*) when referring to himself, preferring instead the self-reference ‘my imperial highness’ (*ἡ βασιλεία μου*), or his full imperial title which appears in the signature at the end of the document (*Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστός βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων ὁ Καντακουζηνός*).⁷⁰¹ This shows that Kantakouzēnos was well aware that the Cypriot Rhomaioi respected the Byzantine political authority; by emphasising his imperial identity, John-Joasaph must have expected to add such authority to his theological refutation of anti-Palamism.⁷⁰²

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, during the last decades of the fourteenth century. John V’s failure to promote ecclesiastical union 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 (Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch), added to the prestige of the Constantinopolitan Church and stressed the doctrinal correctness of Palamite Hesychasm. The case of Bishop John of Karpasia indicates that by the 1370s, Palamite Hesychasm had gained ground among the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and *potentes*, thus reaffirming their role as mediators with Byzantium and the 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 Latinisation of many Byzantine anti-Palamites, enhanced the bipolarity which characterised the Hesychast Controversy in the second half of the fourteenth century: while Palamite Hesychasm increasingly became accepted as the Orthodox position, the anti-Palamites chose or were forced to rally under the Papacy,

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., 20-21, 27.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 15-17, 20-23, 27.

⁷⁰² Darrouzès, *ibid.*, 11.

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. In 1394, Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1403) besieged Constantinople and in 1396, the Ottoman defeated at Nikopolis a Crusader army marching in Manuel's support. The situation was further exacerbated by the Turkish alliance with John VII Palaiologos, Manuel's nephew and rival to the throne. Wishing to reaffirm the loyalty of the Church and people of Constantinople, Manuel sanctioned the persecution of anti-Palamites by Patriarch Anthony IV (1389–1390 and 1391–1397). The Byzantine capital eventually survived the Ottoman siege and the persecution of anti-Palamites strengthened Manuel's image as a champion of Orthodoxy, forcing many Latinised/pro-Latin Byzantines and opponents of Palamite Hesychasm to flee Constantinople.⁷⁰³

For a brief period of time, Cyprus appeared once again to be a favourable destination for the Latinised and Latinising 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 Rhomaioi supporters of anti-Palamism. This has to be interpreted as strong evidence that the times of Hyakinthos and Lapithēs had indeed passed.⁷⁰⁴ In 1401/2, Manuel Kalekas (d. 1410), a well-known anti-Palamite scholar and teacher, stated he would rather not find refuge in Cyprus, for he was disturbed by the local acceptance (τοὺς μὲν τούτων [...] προεστάναι) of Palamite Hesychasm (τῆς νέας ταύτης τῶν ἡμετέρων θεολογίας): this statement

⁷⁰³ On the political events one should consult: Barker 1969, 84-167; Nicol 1993, 296-307; Necipoğlu 2009, 149-183; Dendrinis 2011a, 397-398. On Manuel II's theological views see: Dendrinis 1996; Demetracopoulos 2011, 327-341. On the final persecution of anti-Palamites see: Loenertz in Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, 23-26; Dendrinis 2002, 67-68; Ganchou 2002, 439-440; Russell 2003, 171; Russell 2006b, 91.

⁷⁰⁴ The friendly communication between Manuel II and Manuel Rhaoul, during the latter's stay in Cyprus, demonstrates that the two men's relations had not been disturbed by the Emperor's support of Palamite Hesychasm: Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. Dennis, li-lii (comm.), 86-89 (with English trans.). See also the communication between Manuel Kalekas and Rhaoul during the same period, mentioning Kalekas' intention to travel to Cyprus, but providing no information on Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites: Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz, 77-78 (comm.), 231-233.46, 249-251.58, 252-254.60, 254.61, 266-267.70, 275-278.77.

leaves no doubt about the final victory of Constantinopolitan Orthodoxy on the island.⁷⁰⁵

Overall, Cypriot Rhomaic support towards anti-Palamism gradually declined, due to polarisation and the transformation of anti-Palamism into a Latinising movement. John V's rapprochement with the Papacy and Peter Thomas' coercive activities in Cyprus provoked the reaction of Kallistos I and resulted in a series of persecutions against the anti-Palamites in Constantinople. Moreover, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch officially adopted the Palamite Hesychast line, thus marginalising the voices of anti-Palamite opposition. The consolidation of a Cypriot Rhomaic elite, whose members had a pro-Byzantine and pro-Orthodox orientation, was marked by a turn towards the Palamite Hesychast Patriarchate of Constantinople, thus contributing to the consolidation of Palamite Hesychasm on the island, as an Orthodox response against both anti-Palamism and Latinisation.

III.5. Conclusion

The examination of the Cypriot involvement in the Hesychast Controversy is part of the wider ecclesiastical, socio-economic, cultural and political developments. Economic prosperity in the first half of the fourteenth century brought social mobility and facilitated religious interaction between Rhomaioi and Latins. Hugh IV's lenient ecclesiastical policy permitted the permanent re-establishment of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops in their former sees and Peter I's Crusading activities enhanced interdependence and non-Latin social elevation. This improvement in Cypriot Rhomaic status and relations with the Latins seems to have strengthened, rather than cut off, the island's bonds with Byzantium and the Orthodox world. This is confirmed by the emergence of a cultural elite with a pro-Byzantine and pro-Orthodox orientation.

Although many of these *literati* were protagonists in the opposition against Palamite Hesychasm in the 1340s, the widely-accepted view that Cypriot anti-Palamism began as a Latinising movement is unsubstantiated. Indeed, fourteenth-century Western

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 277.77.60-64; Darrouzès in John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos, *Letter to Bishop John*, 9; Delacroix-Besnier 1993, 747-748, 759; Englezakis 1996, 311; Ganchou 2002, 484; Russell 2003, 171-172.

theology on the Beatific Vision is not related to the theological apophaticism of Grēgoras, Akindynos and probably Lapithēs. Moreover, there is 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 Eastern 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* favoured episcopal centralisation, which might have facilitated the spread of anti-Palamite ideas, although traces of Palamite Hesychast resistance could also be detected. Taking into consideration that most Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* supported the anti-Palamites, we come to the conclusion that anti-Palamism was successful in Cyprus because it was embraced by the local Rhomaic cultural and ecclesiastical elites.

Following a period of *détente* in the relations between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites, in which the Cypriot Rhomaioi opponents of Palamite Hesychasm appear to have kept a low profile, Cypriot Rhomaic support towards anti-Palamism gradually declined. The main reason for this was the polarisation between pro-Latin anti-Palamites and anti-Latin Palamite Hesychasts, as a result of the rapprochement pursued by John V Palaiologos with the Papacy. Peter Thomas' coercive activities in Cyprus enhanced the anti-Latin sentiments of many Cypriot Rhomaioi, who seem to have approached Kallistos I, the Palamite Hesychast Patriarch of Constantinople, 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 Latinisation. 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 Cypriot Rhomaios prelate with pro-Byzantine and most probably anti-Latin credentials, marks the acceptance of Palamite Hesychasm by members of the Cypriot Rhomaic elite. In the early fifteenth century, Cyprus was considered by the anti-Palamites as a Palamite Hesychast island, suggesting that the most prominent members of the local Rhomaic

community had embraced Palamite Hesychasm, in order to strengthen their role as mediators with Byzantium and Orthodoxy.

In the next chapter, we examine the extent to which Orthodox Cypriot identity was preserved in the fifteenth century, particularly in the context of significant socio-political and ecclesiastical developments on the island and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Chapter IV

Old identities and new: Cypriot Orthodoxy in the fifteenth century (ca. 1400–1489)

To seduce is to appear weak. To seduce is to render weak. We seduce with our weakness, never with signs of strength or power. In seduction we enact that weakness, and this is what gives seduction its strength.⁷⁰⁶

IV.1. Looking behind the façade of Cypriot Christian unity

The fifteenth century was highlighted by the emergence of a strong Cypriot identity, as a reaction to the multidimensional crisis faced by the island's society and Frankish regime. An overview of the main political and ecclesiastical developments that affected the Lusignan Kingdom is necessary in order to understand why the island's ethno-religious communities were forced to intensify their collaboration and become more 'Cypriot' in character.

As mentioned above, the political unrest following the assassination of Peter I (1369) and the Genoese War (1373–1374), led to the loss of Famagusta and the imposition of a tribute by the Genoese.⁷⁰⁷ In 1426, the Mamlūks invaded the island and defeated the Cypriot army in Chirokoitia, capturing King Janus (1398–1432) and sacking Nicosia. The annual tribute imposed by Sultan Barsbay (1422–1438) on Cyprus and the high ransom in exchange for the King's return, added to the Lusignan obligations towards the Genoese, resulted in the long-term debt of the royal treasury.⁷⁰⁸ Under Janus' son, John II (1432–1458), the Turkish Karamanids conquered the Lusignan-controlled stronghold of Kōrykos in Cilicia (1448) and raided Cyprus (1450, 1451 and 1453);⁷⁰⁹ the island was already suffering from outbreaks of plague (1438–1439 and 1449–1451) and famine (1450).⁷¹⁰

The cultivation of a strong Cypriot identity is encapsulated, above all, in Leontios Machairas' *Chronicle*. According to Teresa Shawcross, 'after over two centuries of occupation, apparently conflicting allegiances are reconciled by Machairas through the

⁷⁰⁶ Constan 2004a, 163.

⁷⁰⁷ See above, 163.

⁷⁰⁸ Edbury 1995b, 145-158; Irwin 1995, 159-176; Edbury 2013, 148.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 157-159. The first Turkish raid of 1450 might have been undertaken by the emir of Scandalore (Alanya), rather than the Karamanids.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

exposition of an inclusive Cypriot identity capable of uniting diverse ethnic groups in a fervent *amor patriae*'.⁷¹¹ The same scholar notes that the most important element in Machairas' perception of Cypriot identity was perhaps 'fidelity to the ruling house [of the Lusignans] and [its] dynastic values'.⁷¹² The career of Leontios Machairas and his family in the service of Frankish kings and nobles confirms this view.⁷¹³ Thus, collaboration with the Latin regime was central in Machairas' vision of a Cypriot society united under the Lusignans and the Papacy, but diverse in terms of its distinct socio-cultural elements; as Schabel puts it, 'why should one convert [from the Byzantine to the Latin rite] if we are all orthodox Christian brothers already?'⁷¹⁴

The impact of the Western Great Schism (1378–1417) also contributed to the strengthening of Cypriot identity. Avignon had been the Papacy's seat between 1305 and 1377, until Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378) and the *curia* returned to Rome in 1377.⁷¹⁵ After Gregory XI's death (1378), the cardinals elected Urban VI (1378–1389), but soon came into conflict with him due to his austere reforming policy, which threatened the secular lifestyle they had adopted in Avignon. Urban's opponents elected Clement VII (1378–1394) and returned to Avignon, where they enjoyed the support of the French court, while Urban VI and his partisans remained in Rome and were largely supported by the Italians. In 1409, the Council of Pisa attempted (without any success) to put an end to the Schism by electing a third Pope, Alexander V (1409–1410). The three parallel hierarchies (i.e., the Roman, Avignonese and Pisan) antagonised each other, until the Council of Constance (1414–1431) elected Martin V (1417–1431), thus ending the Schism. However, both Martin V and his successor, Eugene IV (1431–1447), attempted

⁷¹¹ Shawcross 2009, 228.

⁷¹² Ibid.

⁷¹³ Staurinos, Leontios' father, was a Rhomaïos priest. The *Chronicle* describes him as a wise man, who had received an oral training in theology (*ἐξ ἀκουῆς ἐγήνοσκεν πολλὴν θεολογίαν*), and was a respected counsellor in the service of the Latin nobility: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §608 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 414); Anaxagorou 1997, 29; Pieris 1997, 36, 41; cf. Schabel 2013, 385, 391. Although Staurinos' cousin was a nun at the Rhomaïc convent of St Mamas, her son, Philip (d. 1376), was a Latin priest and tutor in Peter II's service: Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§566, 570-571 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 394, 397-398); Pieris 1997, 41. Nicholas and Leontios, Staurinos' sons, were employed as secretaries by the De Nores family. During the Genoese War, Nicholas and Paul (another of Staurinos' sons), participated in the Lusignan defence of Kerynia. Leontios later served under King Janus at Choirokoitia (1426), while his brother Peter was engaged in the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt (1426–1427). Moreover, there is evidence that Leontios was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Karamanids, presumably under John II (1432): Sathas in *MB II*, ρκθ'-ρλα'; Dawkins in Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, 15-21 (vol. II); Pieris 1997, 35-36; Markopoulos 2010, 105, 107.

⁷¹⁴ Schabel 2006b, 201.

⁷¹⁵ On the 'Avignonese' period of the Papacy see: Mollat 1912; Renouard 1970.

to reassert the concept of supreme papal authority against the emerging conciliar movement. The conflict led to a second division in the West, between Eugene IV's supporters and opponents. Under the influence of Savoy, the latter elected a new Pope, Felix V (1439–1449), who resigned in 1449, leading to the reunification of the Western Church under Nicholas V (1447–1455), Eugene IV's successor.⁷¹⁶

The Lusignans responded to these developments with a flexible *Realpolitik*, shifting from the Avignonese to the Pisan obedience, in order to reach an accommodation with the Genoese concerning the recovery of Famagusta. At the same time, the mendicant orders and Hospitallers followed different lines of 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. Dealing with absenteeism, the Cypriot Latin cathedral chapters ignored external appointments and nominated their own, indigenous prelates.⁷¹⁷ As has been rightly observed by Philip Daileader, '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'.⁷¹⁸

The strengthening of Cypriot identity in the fifteenth century has led a number of scholars to argue that the intensification of inter-communal rapprochement negatively affected the survival of Orthodox Rhomaic identity on the island. Commenting on Joseph Bryennios' rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as pro-Latin (1406 and 1412), for example, Hill notes that even pro-Greek historians are 'forced to admit that Bryennios

⁷¹⁶ The reconstruction of these events is based on the following studies: Fedalto 1995, 702-703, 712-713, 715-716; Rollo-Koster 2009, 9-65; Weiß 2009, 67-87; Flanagan 2009, 333-374; Stump 2009, 395-442; Izbicki 2009, 443-446.

⁷¹⁷ Although the Cypriot position during the first decades of the Schism is not clear, we know that after 1395/6, James I adopted the Avignonese line. The Republic of Genoa, which had been controlling Famagusta since 1374, supported the Roman popes from 1379 to 1396. From 1395/6 to 1409, however, Genoa passed to the Avignonese obedience, as a result of French political influence over Liguria. Thus, James I's pro-Avignonese line after 1395/6 —adopted by his son Janus— was most likely an attempt to reach an accommodation with the French and the Genoese, concerning the recovery of Famagusta. Sometime after the Council of Pisa (1409) and the Franco-Genoese declaration of support to the Pisan popes, Janus too, passed to the Pisan obedience, although part of his clergy might have remained obedient to Avignon: Hill 1948, 1084; Richard 1965, 498-507; Collenberg 1979, 197-332; Collenberg 1982b, 621-701; Collenberg 1986, 179-184; Fedalto 1995, 702-713; Daileader 2009, 98-99.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

had much ground for his strictures'.⁷¹⁹ Coureas states that 'Bryennios [...] understandably rejected [the union between the Cypriot Rhomaioi and Constantinople]' and that 'he lucidly pointed out the hypocrisy [behind it]',⁷²⁰ while Schabel suggests that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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.⁷²¹ The implementation of the Florentine 'Union' in Cyprus (post 1439) has been interpreted in a similar way, stressing the Latinising sentiments of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy as a result of their long symbiosis with the Latins.⁷²²

Bearing in mind that the aforementioned scholars have not taken into consideration lately-published sources and studies on the Bryennios Affair and its wider context,⁷²³ and that the implementation of the Florentine 'Union' in Cyprus has not been systematically examined, it is imperative that we revisit Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical history in the fifteenth century. The key concepts of crypto-religiosity, multiple identities and guardians of tradition help us better contextualise and study the way Orthodox Cypriot identity was negotiated, adapted and preserved. Moreover, the hitherto unpublished *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM, provides new evidence concerning the continuation of anti-Latinism in the post-Florentine period.

This chapter examines the extent to which Orthodox identity was preserved in fifteenth century Cyprus. We would like to argue that political and ecclesiastical developments enhanced social mobility and religious interaction, both permitting greater autonomy from papal control and threatening the survival of Orthodox identity. As a result of the new conditions, the Cypriot Rhomaioi proposed secret ecclesiastical union with Constantinople, which was examined and rejected (1406 and 1412) by Joseph Bryennios, an erudite monastic theologian. To understand Bryennios' personality and Cypriot involvement, we shall examine his Cretan activities and hierocratic

⁷¹⁹ Hill 1948, 1088.

⁷²⁰ Coureas 1998, 83.

⁷²¹ Schabel 2000–2001, 232–233; Schabel 2006b, 199.

⁷²² Cf. Hill 1948, 1090.

⁷²³ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 21–31 (comm.), 32–56 (published in 2000); Bazini 2004, 83–132.

ecclesiology, as reflected in the corpus of his writings concerning Cyprus. We shall then turn to the Synod of Cyprus (1406), discussing and contextualising the arguments of both Bryennios and his Cypriot Rhomaioi interlocutors. This will reveal that Bryennios was not only biased against the Cypriot Rhomaioi, but he also ignored (or undervalued) expressions of covert anti-Latinism and the defensive development of multiple identities. The implementation of the Florentine 'Union' on the island will then be examined in the light of published and unpublished sources, showing that behind the façade of Cypriot Christian unity, the Cypriot Rhomaioi continued to employ ways of non-coercive resistance, in order to preserve their Orthodox tradition and identity.

IV.2. Social mobility, interaction and resistance

The fifteenth century witnessed the intensification of non-Latin social elevation, which encouraged religious interaction, particularly through mixed marriages. In addition, the alienation of the island's Latin Church from its Western background, enabled the the indigenisation of its structures and promoted religious syncretism. Although threatened, the Orthodox Cypriot ethno-religious identity was not extinguished. This is confirmed by manifestations of both violent and non-coercive resistance against the Latins, namely the Peasants' Revolt (1426–1427) and the ecclesiastical rapprochement with Constantinople in 1405–1406.

The reigns of John II (1432–1458) and his successors (1458–1473) were highlighted by the social rise and establishment of Rhomaioi and other non-Latins. This was partly the result of the King's marriage to Helena Palaiologina (d. 1458), negotiated in 1441 by James of Flory (d. 1463), the powerful and influential Count of Jaffa.⁷²⁴ Helena was the daughter of Theodore II (1407–1443), Manuel II's son and Despot in Morea, who had recovered from the Latins many parts of Peloponnese, but remained vassal to the Ottomans. Cleopa Malatesta (d. 1433), Helena's mother, had adopted the Byzantine rite after her marriage with Theodore (1421). Interestingly, the couple offered their patronage to George Gemistos Plēthōn (d. ca. 1452), the well-known philosopher and

⁷²⁴ Generally on James of Flory, see Ganchou 2014, 103-194 (esp. at 108-109 on his involvement in the royal marriage arrangements). See also Edbury 2013, 165.

proponent of Byzantino-Hellenic ethno-religious revival.⁷²⁵ Helena was, thus, raised in an environment shaped by various cultural traditions and highlighted by the expectation of internal regeneration and restoration of the Byzantine power.⁷²⁶ These remarks on Helena's background are important, in order to understand her policy as Queen of Cyprus (1442–1458) and her activities concerning the reception of Byzantine refugees from Constantinople (post 1453), which contributed to the revival of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷²⁷

Although Helena did not provide a male successor to John II, she was a strong-willed, clever and dynamic Queen, more capable than her husband in dealing with the crisis experienced by the Frankish Kingdom.⁷²⁸ 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 trusted associates. Thomas of Morea (fl. ca. 1451–1457), the son of Helena's wet-nurse, was elevated to the office of Chamberlain. Another influential person in the Queen's service was James Synklētikos (fl. post 1452), her Cypriot Rhomaios physician. James of Urri (d. 1458), the Syro-Genoese Viscount of Nicosia, also supported Helena.⁷²⁹ The policy of Helena's party, which seems to have been also supported by

⁷²⁵ George Gemistos Plēthōn, *Funeral oration on Lady Cleopa*, PG 160, 944BC (states that Cleopa adopted the Byzantine rite); Origone 1996, 229-231 (mentions that Theodore II had promised to respect his wife's Latin faith, but that Cleopa decided on her own initiative to adopt the Byzantine rite), 240-241; Ronchey 2000, 521-567; Runciman ²2009, 62-73, 97-105. Edbury 2013, 167, claims that Cleopa retained her allegiance to the Latin rite, but seems to ignore Plēthōn's testimony. He also overemphasises the influence of Pandolfo Malatesta, Cleopa's brother and Latin Archbishop of Patras after 1424, on Helena's religious beliefs. Runciman ²2009, 66, mentions the strained relations between Theodore II and Pandolfo.

⁷²⁶ Vacalopoulos 1972, 277-280; Edbury 2013, 167. On Helena's friendly relations with the Latins in Cyprus see also Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou 1998, 521-539.

⁷²⁷ See below, 295-298.

⁷²⁸ See Ganchou 2014, 114-116 and his criticism on the deconstructive study by Kaoulla 2006, 109-150. On the traditionalist view, see Zachariou 1995, 329-346, who provides a simplistic interpretation of Helena's reign; cf. Ganchou 2014, 148. Edbury 2013, 167-169, gives a rather balanced overview of Palaiologina's activities.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 171-172; Ganchou 2014, 116, 127-129, 144-145. Note that in 1444, Helena had influenced her husband in persuading James of Flory to marry Zōē (d. post 1463?), a member of the Kantakouzēnos family and Helena's cousin (1444), thus strengthening the Frankish Kingdom's bonds with the Byzantine imperial dynasty, the ruling dynasties of Trebizond and Serbia, and the Ottoman Sultanate: Edbury 2013, 167; Ganchou 2014, 109-111. Mara Branković (1435–1451), Sultan Murad II's wife (1421–1444 and 1446–1451), was cousin to John IV Megas Komnēnos (1429–1460), Emperor of Trebizond, who was linked to the Kantakouzēnos family (and thus to the Palaiologoi). On Zōē see also Brayer et al. 1951, 47-105 (*passim*); Christodoulou 2002, 169-170. The extent to which Zōē, James of Flory's wife, promoted the Queen's political interests is not clear, though we know that the former remained attached to her Byzantine background, despite being married to the Count of Jaffa, Helena's main opponent in the Lusignan court. James of Flory and Zōē Kantakouzēnē had four children, a daughter (Charlotte) and three sons, bearing Byzantine or ancient Hellenic names (Manuel, Hercules and Jason). What is striking is that Charlotte and

her uncle and Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–1453), was that of rapprochement with the Aragonese King of Naples Alfonso V (1416–1458), who had assisted the Cypriots against the Karamanids (1451). The anti-Turkish alliance between Naples and Cyprus was to be sealed with Charlotte's marriage to a member of the Aragonese dynasty. On the other hand, James of Flory led a group of Latin nobles who were dissatisfied with the promotion of the Queen's counsellors in key positions and pursued a policy of rapprochement with the Genoese, Alfonso's rivals; the pro-Genoese faction supported a Savoyan candidate as Charlotte's future husband. Flory's failed *coup* against Helena in 1455, signified the victory of the Queen's policy.⁷³⁰

In 1456, Charlotte married John of Coimbra (d. 1457), Alfonso V's cousin, but the situation took an unexpected turn: Coimbra came into conflict with the Queen's counsellors (particularly Thomas of Morea) and isolated Charlotte from her mother's influence. When Coimbra died a few months after the wedding, rumours held Thomas of Morea responsible for poisoning him. The young and ambitious James of Lusignan (d. 1473), John II's illegitimate son and Archbishop of Nicosia, killed Thomas of Morea (1457) and James of Urri (1458), supposedly to avenge Coimbra's death. Following the royal couple's death from natural causes (1458), Charlotte was crowned Queen of Cyprus and married Louis of Savoy (d. 1482).⁷³¹ James, whose orchestrated *coup* against his half-sister was revealed, fled to Egypt and persuaded the Mamlūk sultan to support his claim to the throne of Cyprus. During the subsequent civil war (1460–1464), James defeated Charlotte and recovered Famagusta.⁷³²

James II of Lusignan, the last Frankish King of Cyprus, reigned until his death in 1473.

An important development in James II's reign was his rapprochement with the

her children from her marriage with Hugh of Busac retained the Kantakouzēnos family name, which was *followed* by that of Flory. This is attested by Hugh of Busac's notes, written in Greek but using the Latin alphabet. Incidentally, Busac mentions the support of the Kantakouzēnoi towards Palamite Hesychasm as part of his wife's family history. Busac seems to have possessed documents associated with the involvement of the Kantakouzēnoi in the Hesychast Controversy: Brayer et al. 1951, 55-64, 70-73; Christodoulou 2002, 169-170; Ganchou 2014, 111-112. On the possibility of Zōē's patronage towards St George of the Greeks in Famagusta see above, 208 (n. 688); cf. Ganchou 2014, 173.

⁷³⁰ Kaoulla 2006, 123-127; Edbury 2013, 158, 169-172; Ganchou 2014, 120-180. Many Latin nobles had economic interests in adopting a policy of cooperation with the Genoese, since their deposits in the Genoese Bank of St George exceeded the amount of fifty thousand *lire*. On Cypriot investments abroad, see generally Otten-Froux 2002, 107-134. Note that the Hospitallers had also supported the Cypriots against the Turks. On the relations between Hospitallers and Cyprus in the fifteenth century see: Luttrell 2011, xliii-xcii; Coureas 2013b, 193-203; Coureas 2013a, 215-224.

⁷³¹ Kaoulla 2006, 126-127; Edbury 2013, 170-180; Ganchou 2014, 118, 128, 145 (n. 144), 182-183.

⁷³² Edbury 2013, 177-198; Ganchou 2014, 183-187.

Venetians, following the fall of Byzantium (1453) and the Ottoman expansion in Greece and Asia Minor.⁷³³ In 1468, the Cypro-Venetian alliance was sealed by James II's betrothal to Caterina Cornaro, nominated St Mark's adoptive daughter; when James II died unexpectedly in 1473, the island became a Venetian protectorate, although Caterina reigned until Cyprus' official annexation by the Most Serene Republic in 1489.⁷³⁴ John II's socio-economic policy enhanced the social elevation of non-Latins, since he redistributed rural lands among his supporters from the period of the Civil War.⁷³⁵ Dēmētrios of Korōnē (d. ante 1533), for example, a distinguished Rhomaios *condottiero* in James II's service, received the rural settlements of Episkopeio, Kapouti and Strobilos (Strobolos) and was involved in the building of a royal fleet at Kerynia.⁷³⁶ Clearly, the period of the last Lusignan monarchs witnessed the social elevation of Rhomaioi and their appointment as royal counsellors (James Synklētikos), high officials (Thomas of Morea) and fief-holders (Dēmētrios of Korōnē), thus strengthening the interdependence between the island's Rhomaic community and the Lusignan dynasty.

The autonomy of the island's Latin Church, as a result of the Great Schism, facilitated the imposition of royal control over Church affairs and the subsequent indigenisation of Latin ecclesiastical structures on the island. King Janus, for example, granted to Hugh, his younger brother, provisional authority (*in commendam*) over the administration of the Nicosia see (ca. 1406). Hugh received papal confirmation by Pisa and acted as regent during the King's capture by the Mamlūks (1426–1427). He was promoted to Cardinal by Martin V (1426) and lived in the West until his death (1442), managing the Kingdom's foreign affairs. Lancelot (d. 1451), Hugh's nephew, became Cardinal in 1447 and supported Felix V, before eventually making his peace with Nicholas V. In 1447, Nicholas V appointed to the throne of Nicosia Andrew Chrysobergēs (OP), the Rhomaios Archbishop of Rhodes, who occupied the position

⁷³³ Edbury 2013, 203-206, 210-213.

⁷³⁴ Arbel 1993, 67-85; Skoufari 2011, 47-54; Birtachas 2011a, 19-29; Edbury 2013, 208-234; Arbel 2013, 213-229.

⁷³⁵ Richard and Papadopoulos 1983 (a Cypriot *diplomatarium* for the years 1468–1469); Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 417-424; Arbel 1989c, 178-179; Collenberg 1995, 813, 815, 820-821; Edbury 2013, 198-202.

⁷³⁶ Richard and Papadopoulos 1983, 27.51, 30-31.60, 50.105, 159-160 (comm.); Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 422; Edbury 2013, 186. On the activities of Rhomaioi mercenaries after the fall of Constantinople, see generally: Pappas 1991, 21-59; Sathas ²1993.

until his death in 1451.⁷³⁷ When Chrysobergēs died, John II appointed his son James, later King James II, Archbishop of Nicosia, although the latter did not receive papal confirmation. Around the same period, the administration of the Nicosia bishopric appears to have been in the hands of the Cypriot Anthony Soulouan (d. 1473–1476), Cardinal Hugh’s nephew. Following his establishment as King, James II appointed to the throne of Nicosia William Goneme (1460–1469/70), a Cypriot Rhomaïos or Syrian, who received papal approval by Paul II (1464–1471) in 1467. After James II’s death, the Latin Church continued to be rather autonomous from the Papacy and more Cypriot in character. The Venetian authorities managed to gradually control the appointment of prelates through the confirmation of episcopal nominations. In the 1480s, absenteeism remained a problem in the upper ranks of hierarchy, while the administration of the Latin Church and its pastoral responsibilities fell largely on the shoulders of the indigenous clergy.⁷³⁸

The disconnection of the island’s Latin Church from its Western administrative background enhanced its weakness and intensified religious interaction with the Cypriot Rhomaïc community. According to Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II (1458–1464), the Cypriot Latins around the time of the Council of Basel (1431–1438) were more ‘Greek-minded than Roman’ (*magis graece quam romane sapientes*).⁷³⁹ In 1394, the pilgrim Nicholas of Martoni visited the Latin cathedral of St Sophia in Nicosia and was informed that its annual revenues were estimated to around twenty-five thousand ducats, most of which went to the royal treasury.⁷⁴⁰ Martoni’s testimony clearly reflects the Lusignan control over the Latin Church of Cyprus and the exploitation of its wealth, due to the relaxation of papal authority on the island during the Schism.

⁷³⁷ Mas Latrie 1882b, 76 [280] – 84 [288]; Hill 1948, 1090-1091; Collenberg 1982b, 631-632, 641-642; Collenberg 1982c, 83-128; Collenberg 1986, 182-183; Collenberg 1984–1987, 85; Fedalto 1995, 703-716; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 380; Daileader 2009, 99; Coureas et al. 2012, 219; Edbury 2013, 148-150. On Chrysobergēs in particular, see also Darrouzès 1951b, 302-303. Most scholars consider that Hugh of Lusignan became Archbishop of Nicosia in ca. 1411. However, Joseph Bryennios (*Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 50.678-51.680) implies that Hugh had been Archbishop at the time of the Synod of Cyprus (1406); cf. Hill 1948, 1088.

⁷³⁸ Mas Latrie 1877, 257-274; Mas Latrie 1882b, 84 [288] – 313 [109]; Hill 1948, 1092-1093, 1095-1096; Collenberg 1982b, 635; Collenberg 1984, 633-639; Collenberg 1986, 183; Fedalto 1995, 716-721; Coureas et al. 2012, 220; Edbury 2013, 170-171, 203-207 (*passim*).

⁷³⁹ Quoted by Collenberg 1982c, 85; trans. by Hill 1948, 1090. See also Collenberg 1982a, 77, 82; Collenberg 1986, 179. Note that the Council requested from Hugh of Lusignan to send to Basel Cypriot Latin ecclesiastics possessing a good knowledge of Greek, in order to contribute to the theological discussions with Byzantium: Collenberg 1984–1987, 120.

⁷⁴⁰ Cobham 1908, 26.

Moreover, the pilgrims Peter Barbatre and the Anonymous French, who visited Cyprus in 1480, recorded the ruinous state and deserted condition of the cities of Paphos and Limassol, which they attributed to Muslim raids, thus confirming an earlier statement by Pius II that the Latin canons preferred to be away from their bishoprics and flock.⁷⁴¹ In the case of Limassol, there is evidence that by the late 1450s, the city's Latin clergy were transferred to Kolossi, five miles away, and that their revenues were reduced from three thousand ducats to eight hundred. Peter of Manatiis, the Latin Bishop, preferred to move to Nicosia and later offered his resignation from office (1459), thus creating a pastoral vacuum that was most probably filled by the Rhomaios bishop of Leukara.⁷⁴² Similarly, Michael of Castellatio, the Latin Bishop of Paphos, complained in 1469 that the ecclesiastics of his diocese preferred to receive revenues without fulfilling their duties and that they were represented by Rhomaioi priests who did not speak Latin, so that Michael could not properly celebrate the liturgy in his own see.⁷⁴³

The account by Felix Faber, an Observant Dominican pilgrim who came to the island in 1483, reveals the extent of religious interaction between Latins and Rhomaioi.⁷⁴⁴ Faber visited Staurobouni, which had been occupied by the Benedictine Order during the period of self-exile of the local Orthodox monks in the thirteenth century. He noted that the Holy Cross monastery was destroyed by the Muslims and that the Benedictines no longer occupied the place. According to Faber, the priest serving at the church knew no Latin, but he kept some old Latin liturgical books. The chaplain's lack of knowledge of the Latin language made him, in Faber's eyes, 'a pure Greek'.⁷⁴⁵ His remark is confirmed by Alessandro Rinuccini, who visited the monastery in 1474, noting the re-establishment of Rhomaioi monks.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴¹ Collenberg 1982a, 77 (quoting Pius' statement); Grivaud 1990a, 98-101, 107 (on pilgrims' accounts). Felix Faber noted (1483) that Paphos and Limassol were desolate, attributing the destruction of Paphos to an earthquake: Cobham 1908, 45-46. On physical destructions and piracy in fifteenth-century Cyprus see Komodikes 2006, lxxvi-lxxiii, lxxviii-lxxx.

⁷⁴² Hill 1948, 16 (n. 2), 1093-1094; Collenberg 1984-1987, 98-99, 167.11.

⁷⁴³ Collenberg 1984-1987, 94, 176.31.

⁷⁴⁴ On the date of Faber's journey see Cobham 1908, 36; Scheffer 1986, 146-147.

⁷⁴⁵ Cobham 1908, 39-40 (esp. at 40); Stavrides 1998, 140.

⁷⁴⁶ Grivaud 1990a, 93; Moschonas 1993, 137; Stavrides 1998, 140.

Following his pilgrimage to Staurobouni, Faber visited the nearby town of the Holy Cross, where he entered a Rhomaic church in order to pray and rest in the shade.⁷⁴⁷ There he encountered a monk who appears to have been a member of the Latin clergy. The monk reproached Faber for being inside a Rhomaic church, inviting him to follow him to the nearby Latin church. He explained to Faber that on Sundays he officiated in the local Latin church, using unleavened bread in the Eucharist, before proceeding to say mass according to the Byzantine rite for a congregation of Rhomaioi believers. Faber was disturbed by the monk's statement, whom he considered a heretic and deceiver of both Latins and Rhomaioi. He also added that many Latin priests in Cyprus adopted the Byzantine rite and took wives, but continued to enjoy the privileges of the Western Church. Faber was convinced that one could not be Rhomaios and Latin at the same time, since the Western Church regarded the former as heretics and schismatics, while the Orthodox Church rejected the Latin rite and considered the Western Church as excommunicated.⁷⁴⁸

Similarly, Faber's opinion about the Dominican community in Nicosia appears to have been rather negative. He expressed his disapproval of the fact that the Order's superiors no longer visited Cyprus to correct their brethren, thus leaving them under the 'evil' influence of the Rhomaioi. The Dominican convent was poor and the friars were bearded, according to the Eastern custom.⁷⁴⁹ Faber criticised the moral corruption of the island's mendicants and Latin bishops, underlining the need to send virtuous prelates to reform the Latin flock and non-Latin schismatics and heretics.⁷⁵⁰ Indeed, a few years after Faber's journey to Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro asked Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492) to send Latin churchmen to Cyprus, in order to instruct the schismatic Rhomaioi. Despite Innocent's instructions (1490) to the Dominican Inquisitor Vincenzo

⁷⁴⁷ Cobham 1908, 40. The town remains so far unidentified, though it should be placed somewhere close to the modern villages of St Anne and Lympia. Faber mentions that the local Latin church preserved the relic of St Anne's arm. It is possible that a church dedicated to the Holy Cross, known as 'the Cross of Olympion' (*Σταυρός τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*), existed in the vicinity of Lympia around the time of Faber's pilgrimage in the area: Stavrides 1998, 142-143.

⁷⁴⁸ Cobham 1908, 40-41; Hill 1948, 1097; Papadopoulos 1995b, 658-660. Note that in 1448 Pope Nicholas V instructed the Dominicans to take measures against Latins who switched between the Latin and the Byzantine rite (*prohibitio intercambiando ritos*): Collenberg 1984–1987, 120, 158.23; cf. Hofmann 1946, 123-124.297. This piece of evidence strengthens the view that the monk encountered by Faber in the Holy Cross town was a member of the Latin Church; cf. Tsirpanlis 1998, 196.

⁷⁴⁹ Cobham 1908, 44.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

Robini to take action against heretics, the increasing socio-religious interaction between the two communities continued well into the sixteenth century.⁷⁵¹

The rapprochement between the island's ethno-religious communities is further attested by the conduct of mixed marriages and the symbiosis of various rites in the same family. The case of the Podocataro family (Italicised version of the Greek Apodokatharo) is indicative. The family's patriarch, Nicholas Podocataro, was a counsellor in King James I's service in the late fourteenth century. Among Nicholas' children, his daughter, Marina (fl. ca. 1452), became a nun in the Gynaikeio (a Byzantine-rite nunnery in Nicosia) and his son, John (d. ca. 1437), wished to be buried in the same establishment. John's son, Hugh (d. 1457), studied law in Padua in the 1430s and served the Lusignans as a diplomat. He married Melissini according to the Latin rite, but in his will requested the Latin archbishop's license to be buried in the Gynaikeio convent. Interestingly, Hugh stated that in case the Latin archbishop did not permit it, he wished to be buried in the Augustinian church of Nicosia, situated near to the Podocataro mansion. Hugh's brother, Louis (d. 1504), pursued an ecclesiastical career in the Latin Church, eventually becoming Cardinal. Another Podocataro brother, Philip (d. post 1495), was father of Livio (d. 1556) and Cesare (d. 1557) Podocataro, both of whom became Latin Archbishops of Nicosia. Overall, the careers and lives of the members of the Podocataro family demonstrate how mixed marriages, education and social elevation reshaped the religious identities of the local elite.⁷⁵²

The relaxation of identity barriers in the context of socio-religious rapprochement under the Lusignans threatened the survival of Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity on the island. If Neophytos the Recluse in the early thirteenth century criticised the non-observance of Orthodox fasting regulations by his Paphian flock, we may imagine his reproof of fifteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi marrying according to the Latin rite or serving the Latin Church as cardinals. However, we should be careful

⁷⁵¹ Mas Latrîe 1855, 824; Hill 1948, 1096; Longo 1988, 182; Skoufari 2011, 108-109.

⁷⁵² Collenberg 1984, 630-633, 650-653; Collenberg 1993, 130-182; *DGMC*, 205-209; Patapiou 2007b, 165-166; Melichar 2009, 280-291; Patapiou 2011-2012, 225-228. On Cypriot students at Padua in the fifteenth century, see Betto 1993, 40-80. In 1467, a papal letter recommended a certain Rhomaïos (?) layman by the name of Epiphanius Apucari as properly educated and suitable to serve the Latin Church of Nicosia: Collenberg 1984-1987, 119, 175.20. See also the commemoration of several members of the Urri, Rames and Tartous families, recorded in the margins of a *synaxarion* from the Hodêgêtria cathedral and dating between 1389 and 1402: Darrouzès 1953, 83-84, 88-91 (*passim*). The case of the Syrian Audeth family is another noteworthy example of religious interaction: Richard 1981, 89-129.

enough not to consider the aforementioned examples of socio-religious rapprochement as representative of the perceptions and activities of all members of Cypriot society. More importantly, we need to bear in mind that for many local Rhomaioi their Cypriot identity was only one element in a hierarchy of multiple identities, encompassing gender, social class, religion, political loyalties and all other aspects of life and self-perception. This becomes clear if one takes into account Machairas' testimony concerning fifteenth-century manifestations of Cypriot Rhomaic ethno-religious identity, reflected in the cultivation of memory traditions associated with the anti-Templar Revolt of Nicosia (1192) and the prospect of liberation from the Latin yoke.⁷⁵³ As we have already pointed out, the fifteenth-century *Kykkos Narrative* provides similar evidence of memory preservation and non-coercive anti-Latinism.⁷⁵⁴

The Peasants' Revolt of 1426–1427, related by Machairas, is another example of how anti-Latin tension came from within Cypriot society, despite the rapprochement between the two communities. The Revolt began soon after Janus' defeat and capture by the Mamlūks at Chirokoitia. The peasant uprising spread in areas of high economic exploitation by the Latin regime (e.g., Morphou, the Mesaoria Plain and Limassol). As in the case of the Jacquerie Uprisings in fourteenth-century France, the Revolt might have started as a spontaneous manifestation of anger against the socially elevated. The rebels attacked the granaries of their masters, plundering the wine, corn and sugar surplus. They were organised in sectors under local leaders, but acknowledged the supreme authority of a certain Alexēs, who was proclaimed King. Machairas notes that the rebels killed an Armenian knight and raped his wife and that they also robbed, beat and humiliated a Latin bishop. Cardinal Hugh of Lusignan, the Latin nobility and the Hospitallers eventually managed to suppress the Revolt and execute Alexēs. Peter Machairas, Leontios' brother, had a leading role in the restoration of order, while Leontios himself used in his *Chronicle* hard language to describe the rebels' actions.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵³ See above, 95-96.

⁷⁵⁴ See above, 93-95.

⁷⁵⁵ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§696-697 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 456-457). Similar anti-Peasant views are expressed by the anonymous author of a brief manuscript note published by Darrouzès 1958, 242-243.44; cf. Protopapa 1999, 295-296 (on recently-recorded oral traditions concerning the Revolt). See also the discussion by Spyridakis 1960, 71-75; Kyrris 1993b, 261-266; Irwin 1995, 176; Papadopoulos in Arbel 1995c, 541; Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 69-70; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 19-

Although the Revolt should not be interpreted as having a concrete ideological programme with well-defined goals, it appears that the rebels took advantage of the vacuum created by Janus' capture, in order to bring by force their own ruler to power. It should not escape our notice that 'King' Alexēs was not a member of the Latin nobility or the Lusignan dynasty, which had received humiliating blows by the Genoese and Mamlūks, but a Cypriot Rhomaïos of presumably low descent, who had attempted, with the support of the island's peasantry, to overthrow an oppressive socio-economic regime more than two centuries old.⁷⁵⁶ While there is no indication of the Revolt being directed by the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy or former nobility, its primary aim must have been to establish the lower masses' perception of social justice by dethroning the Lusignans and plundering the wealth of Cypriot *potentes*: in that sense, the Revolt could be considered as a violent manifestation of anti-Latinism.⁷⁵⁷

The rapprochement between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the early fifteenth century should be interpreted as an example of covert and non-coercive resistance against the *status quo* imposed by the *Bulla Cypria*, which had placed the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy and flock under the Papacy. The rapprochement was the result of a crisis in the relations between Cyprus and Constantinople. The reconstruction of the events largely depends on Joseph Bryennios' *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*. It appears that around 1405, some Rhomaïoi in areas neighbouring to Cyprus (τῶν κύκλω Ρωμαίων) and others who visited the island (τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Ρωμαίων) made certain accusations (ἐλέγχους) against the Cypriot Rhomaïoi. Although the content of these accusations is not known, we may assume that the Cypriot Rhomaïoi were accused as Latin sympathisers. The crisis led to a *de*

20; Markopoulos 2010, 105-106. On the economic significance of the areas in revolt see: Edbury 1975-1977, 50-51; Richard 1977, 341, 349-350; Grivaud 1998b, 33, 306, 342-343. For a comparison with other uprisings see: Mollat and Wolff 1973; Fourquin 1979; Mullett 1987.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. Spyridakis 1960, 72.

⁷⁵⁷ Michael Given rightly observes that the struggle between conquerors and conquered over agricultural surplus lies at the heart of social experience in systems of foreign or oppressive rule, arguing that peasants often attempt to ensure their control over goods subject to taxation by pursuing open or covert ways of resistance to authority: Given 2004, *passim* (esp. at 5). The emphasis placed by Cypriot Rhomaic agricultural communities on social justice is mirrored in the didactic and apotropaic display in the narthex of the Virgin's monastery, Asinou (dating 1332/3), of *post mortem* torments, associated with transgressions in everyday rural life (e.g., theft, dishonesty and usury): Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 144-148; cf. Vasilaki 1998, 473-482; Triantaphyllopoulos 2003-2004, 61-63.

facto schism between the accusers and the Cypriot Rhomaiοi (ἐγκαλοῦν καὶ ἀποσχίζονται μᾶς) who wished to escape from this situation (ἀποφυγεῖν σπεύδοντες) by securing an official confirmation of concelebration (γράφει με συλλειτουργγόν) from Patriarch Matthew I of Constantinople (1397–1410).⁷⁵⁸

During the Synod of Cyprus in 1406, which is examined below in detail,⁷⁵⁹ Bryennios implied that not only Constantinople but also Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria regarded the Cypriot Rhomaiοi as schismatics (νομίζετε ὅτι ταῖς τέσσαρσι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίαις συνάψαι τὴν τῶν Κυπρίων σπουδάζομεν).⁷⁶⁰ Moreover, he 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, which considered the Cypriot Rhomaiοi as Latin sympathisers (κινδυνεύει τὰς ἐν Συρία τρεῖς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ’αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας ἀπορραγῆναι).⁷⁶¹ Although we have been unable to identify with certainty the ‘Syrian Churches’ mentioned by Bryennios,⁷⁶² we know that around the same period Patriarch Michael II of Antioch found refuge in Cyprus, following the Timurid conquest of Damascus in 1400. Michael II, who was one of the first Antiochene patriarchs to have explicitly declared his acceptance of the Palamite Hesychast doctrines, probably died on the island in ca. 1404.⁷⁶³ His stay in Cyprus coincided with the aftermath of the Genoese invasion, the Western Great Schism and the increasing socio-religious interaction between Cypriot Rhomaiοi and Latins. Perhaps Michael II and the

⁷⁵⁸ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.300-303, 50.662-665. Ἐπιδημοῦντων could be translated either as ‘dwelling permanently in a place’ or as ‘sojourning/visiting’: PGL, 520-522. In this case the second option seems more probable. On the dating of the events see Katsaros in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, 27.

⁷⁵⁹ See below, 247-268.

⁷⁶⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 48.590-591.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 47.536-549.

⁷⁶² According to Korobeinikov 2003, 202: ‘[In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries] the patriarchate of Antioch had its ecclesiastical provinces bordering to those of the patriarchate of Constantinople’, mentioning the metropolitan sees of Tarsus, Hierapolis, Anazarbos, Seleukeia and Amida. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the surviving metropolitan sees under Constantinople in Asia Minor included Caesarea, Ikonion, Pisidia, Trebizond, Amaseia, Neocaesarea, Ankyra, Kerasous and Sōzopolis in Pisidia: *ibid.*, 198; Akritidis 2009, 350. Perhaps Bryennios referred to the Constantinopolitan sees in Pisidia, situated near the Antiochene sees of Cilicia. If our assumption is correct, then it remains unclear why he referred to the Pisidian sees of Constantinople as ‘Syrian’ Churches. On the Antiochene patriarchs of the period see Nasrallah 1968, 25-27.

⁷⁶³ Paul Zaim, *Travels of Patriarch Makarios of Antioch*, ed. and trans. Radu, 30 [30]-31 [31]. See also Nasrallah 1968, 25-26 and above, 203-204.

Antiochenes were part of the aforementioned group of Rhomaiοi (τῶν κύκλω καὶ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Ρωμαίων) who accused the Cypriots as pro-Latin, leading to the Cypriot proposal for ecclesiastical union with Constantinople.⁷⁶⁴

In 1405, the Orthodox members of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy sent a letter (ἐμήνυσαν λόγους) to Patriarch Matthew I of Constantinople, declaring their obedience to Orthodoxy from that point onwards (ἀπάρτι βούλονται ὑποκύψαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων). Matthew responded that the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchs should send signed confessions of faith (ὁμολογίας) to Constantinople. Indeed, the hieromonk Theodoulos, who had been on the island for personal affairs, brought the Cypriot Rhomaic confessions of faith to the imperial capital, presenting them before Emperor Manuel II and the Patriarchal Synod.⁷⁶⁵ Theodoulos reassured them that the Cypriot Rhomaic were ready for union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Patriarchal Chancery prepared an official document of concelebration between the two Churches (1406).⁷⁶⁶ Joseph Bryennios, who had been elevated to the office of patriarchal *locum tenens* (τοποτηρητής), was assigned by the Emperor, Patriarch, Synod, Senate and people of Constantinople to travel to Cyprus (together with Abbot Anthony of Kosmidion and Constantine Timotheos the Deacon) and receive the Cypriot Rhomaic as concelebrants.⁷⁶⁷

The Cypriot Rhomaic proposal and Joseph Bryennios' involvement in the island's ecclesiastical affairs will be extensively examined below;⁷⁶⁸ at this point, we need to underline that the willingness of Cypriot Rhomaic prelates to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople could be considered as a clear indication of their Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity. That the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastics felt the need to reaffirm their bonds with Byzantium and the Orthodox world, risking

⁷⁶⁴ In 1412 Joseph Bryennios (*Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 16) argued that, in case of a possible union between Cyprus and Constantinople, the patriarchs of Antioch should exercise control over the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy as representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This would suggest an earlier involvement of Antioch in Cypriot affairs; cf. Papadopoulos 1995b, 631-632.

⁷⁶⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 32.1-12; *RAPC* I/6, 493-494 (n° 3277).

⁷⁶⁶ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 45.476-479, 50.673-677; *RAPC* I/6, 495 (n° 3279).

⁷⁶⁷ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 32.12-33.21; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 354.29.66, 355.29.91-96; *RAPC* I/6, 495 (n° 3279), 496-497 (n° 3281).

⁷⁶⁸ See below, 247-268.

their lives by secretly approaching Constantinople,⁷⁶⁹ 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 Rhomaioi.

In summary, the intensification of non-Latin social elevation under the last Lusignans and the indigenisation of the island's Latin Church during the Great Schism, contributed to the strengthening of Cypriot identity as a unifying factor between Latins and Rhomaioi. At the same time, these developments encouraged religious interaction, resulting in phenomena of syncretism and facilitating the official and active acceptance of the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy on the part of Cypriot Rhomaioi *potentes*. The preservation of Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity is reflected in manifestations of anti-Latin resistance, both violent and non-coercive. The unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Lusignan dynasty during the Peasants' Revolt unveils the existence of popular opposition against an oppressive socio-political system. The rift in the ecclesiastical relations between Cyprus and Constantinople, which was probably the result of inter-communal socio-religious interaction on the island, led many Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to propose restoration of sacramental communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This required the reaffirmation of their allegiance to the Orthodox Church and its spiritual tradition, through the presentation of signed confessions of faith. The fact that Constantinople accepted the Cypriot Rhomaic credentials and sent to the island a delegation in order to receive the Cypriot Rhomaioi as concelebrants, suggests that the Byzantine authorities recognised the superficiality of Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Papacy.

We shall now return to Joseph Bryennios, examining his background and personality and tracing the ecclesiological reasons behind his rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for union with Constantinople.

IV.3. Joseph Bryennios and Late Byzantine hierocracy

The Byzantine monk Joseph Bryennios (ca. 1340–ca. 1431), principal opponent of the Cypriot proposal for ecclesiastical union with Constantinople, was an erudite scholar

⁷⁶⁹ See, e.g., above, 112.

and Orthodox theologian. Included among Emperor Manuel II's close associates, Bryennios composed treatises in support of Palamite Hesychasm and mentored Mark Eugenikos (d. 1445), who became leader of the anti-unionist party after the Council of Florence.⁷⁷⁰

Around 1382, Bryennios was appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate judge (*δικαιοφύλαξ*) and religious instructor (*οἰκουμηνικός διδάσκαλος*) of the Orthodox population of Venetian-ruled Crete.⁷⁷¹ Bryennios' stay on the island (ca. 1382–ca. 1402) was highlighted by tension between the Latin Church, its local Rhomaioi sympathisers, and the Orthodox Cretans. It should be stressed that some twenty years before Bryennios' coming to Crete, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was involved in the unsuccessful Revolt of St Titus (1363–1366/7), organised by a number of local Cretan Rhomaioi and Venetian magnates against Venice. Many Orthodox Cretans supported the Revolt because they were dissatisfied with the Latin control over clerical ordinations and the prohibition of establishment of Rhomaioi bishops on the island.⁷⁷² During the Revolt, the Ecumenical Patriarchate appointed the Palamite Hesychast Metropolitan of Athens, Anthimos (d. ca. 1370), *πρόεδρος* (i.e., 'leading prelate') of Crete. Anthimos was eventually captured and incarcerated by the Venetians. He died from either an illness caused by the hardships he had suffered in prison or he was murdered by the Venetians and secretly buried sometime after the Revolt's suppression. The local noble Alexios Kallergēs, one of the Revolt's leaders, was also executed by the Venetians in 1367. Both Anthimos and Alexios were venerated by the Orthodox Cretans as confessors and martyrs. The Ecumenical Patriarch Neilos (1380–1388) composed an oration on Anthimos and Joseph Philagrēs (d. post 1394?), a Cretan monk and scholar, probably composed homilies on both Anthimos and Alexios Kallergēs (ante 1395).⁷⁷³ The hard measures imposed on the rebels and their families by Venice, including the incarceration and exile of male descendants of the Revolt's

⁷⁷⁰ Note that Bryennios must have been aware of Thomistic theology, though unlike other Byzantine Orthodox theologians, he seems to have consciously chosen not to use it in order to defend the essence-energies distinction. See generally: Tomadakis 1947, 11–38; Bazini 2004, 83–85; Demetracopoulos 2011, 287–291; Dendrinos 2011b, 33–34; Plested 2012b, 120–122.

⁷⁷¹ Tomadakis 1947, 26–29. For the offices see generally: Darrouzès 1970, 68–72, 109–110; Macrides 1991a, 619; Macrides 1991b, 624; Kountoura-Galake 2008, 173–186.

⁷⁷² For the general context of the Revolt see: Xanthoudides 1939, 71–72, 81–110; Tomadakis 1959b, 39–72; Gill 1973, 461–468; Maltezou 1990, 40–42, 51; McKee 2000, 102–115, 133–167 (to be consulted with caution).

⁷⁷³ Dyobouniotes 1932, 47–79; Tomadakis 1947, 86; Papazoglou 1979, 183–187; Papazoglou 2006, 9–35; Hinterberger 2011, 141–145; Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou 2011–2012, 341–359.

leaders, contributed to the long-term strengthening of Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity on the island.⁷⁷⁴ This is further confirmed by Philagrēs' founding of a small monastic community dedicated to the Three Hierarchs in the remote Hagiopharango Gorge. The monastery became a centre for the study of Greek letters, producing commentaries on Aristotle and anti-Latin theological works. The communication between Philagrēs and Bryennios suggests the existence of a Cretan anti-Latin network with a pro-Constantinopolitan orientation.⁷⁷⁵

Bryennios' presence in Crete as official representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate must have alerted the island's Latin regime. However, it seems that for almost two decades the Venetians pursued a *Realpolitik* of tolerance towards Bryennios; at the same time he, too, must have avoided being openly hostile to the Latin Church, focusing instead on the guidance of Orthodox Cretans, who had been long-deprived of their legitimate spiritual leadership. The situation changed in ca. 1399/1400, when Bryennios was engaged in a public debate over the *Filioque* doctrine, confronting the Rhomaios Dominican Maximus Chrysobergēs (d. ante 1430). Maximus was a former disciple of Dēmētrios Kydōnēs and brother of Andrew Chrysobergēs, later Archbishop of Rhodes and Nicosia and *legatus a latere* in the East.⁷⁷⁶ Bryennios' open defence of the Orthodox position was the first step towards his expulsion from the island. Sometime after the incident, Bryennios reported to Constantinople that certain Cretan monks were guilty of immoral behaviour and encouraged the island's Orthodox community to break communion with them. As a result, the monks accused Bryennios of being an enemy of the Most Serene Republic and placed themselves under the protection of the Latin Church. In ca. 1402, after twenty years of activity on the island, Bryennios was exiled from Crete and returned to Constantinople, residing as a monk in the monastery of Stoudios. Bryennios' encounter with pro-Latin Rhomaioi in Crete and the disappointing outcome of his mission shaped his attitude concerning the two Cypriot

⁷⁷⁴ Maltezou 2011–2012, 397–406.

⁷⁷⁵ Joseph Philagrēs in Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 362.2; Tomadakis 1947, 84–89; Bazini 2004, 83; Paliouras 2011–2012, 426–427.

⁷⁷⁶ Tomadakis 1947, 92–97, 106–121; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 87, 266–267, 442; Bazini 2004, 83–84, 100–101; Plested 2012b, 118–119. On Andrew Chrysobergēs see below, 274–277.

proposals for ecclesiastical union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1405/6 and 1412.⁷⁷⁷

The sources concerning the first Cypriot proposal (1405/6), namely the *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus* and the *Letter to John Syrianos*, comprise, among other works, a corpus of texts composed and compiled by Bryennios after his departure from Crete in ca. 1402. As mentioned earlier, Bryennios was appointed patriarchal *locum tenens* and was sent to Cyprus in 1406, in order to examine the proposed union with Constantinople. While on the island, Bryennios convoked a synod, during which he firmly rejected the Cypriot proposal, arguing that the Cypriot Rhomaioi were pro-Latin and should be excluded from sacramental communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. After the Synod of 1406, Bryennios prepared a report, based on the notes of Abbot Anthony of Kosmidion —a member of the Constantinopolitan delegation in Cyprus— and sent copies to all Orthodox Churches. Unfortunately, this particular document, which should be regarded as the authentic, non-edited text of the *Acts*, has not been discovered (if it has survived). So far, we possess only Bryennios' abridged version of the conciliar *Acts*, which was based on the non-edited text. Although this second text records the synodal discussions at length, it should be treated with caution, since it does not give the full picture of what had actually been stated in the Council, placing emphasis on statements that could justify Bryennios' rejection of the proposed union.⁷⁷⁸

Upon his return to Constantinople, Bryennios wrote a letter to John Syrianos, one of his Cretan friends, relating his Cypriot activities and justifying his decision to reject the union. It was probably for Syrianos and his other Cretan friends that Bryennios prepared the abridged version of the synodal *Acts*, wishing to inform them about the danger of Latinisation and the need to safeguard their Orthodox faith.⁷⁷⁹ In the *Letter to Syrianos*, Bryennios underlines his role as a champion of Orthodoxy by stating that his expulsion from Crete had been a part of God's plan (ὁ Θεὸς ᾠκονόμησαι τῆς Κρήτης ἐκβῆναί με), in order for him to 'remove the eternal reproach from our race' (ἦρα

⁷⁷⁷ Tomadakis 1959a, 1-12; Katsaros in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, 26-27. Bryennios' report concerning the lack of canonical obedience and immorality of the Cretan clergy reveals the serious problems created by the lack of Orthodox pastoral guidance on the island.

⁷⁷⁸ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, 24-31 (comm.), 33.36-39, 34.72-78, 53.769-771; Bazini 2004, 91-93, 112-113, 127; Dendrinis 2011b, 26, 40.

⁷⁷⁹ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 355.104-105; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 12; Bazini 2004, 114-115.

ὄνειδος αἰώνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν) by saving Orthodoxy from the Latinising Cypriots.⁷⁸⁰ This statement reveals that Bryennios' presentation of the 1406 events and his negative perception of the Cypriot Rhomaioi corresponded not only to his commitment to defend Orthodoxy, but also to his agenda of making himself the hero of his own narrative, thus restoring his image after the disappointing outcome of his Cretan mission.⁷⁸¹

The main source concerning the second Cypriot attempt to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople (1412), a lengthy *Study on the proposed union of the Cypriots with the Orthodox Church*, was also composed by Bryennios.⁷⁸² The *Study* was presented during the Constantinopolitan synod that examined the second Cypriot proposal and seems to have played a major role in influencing the synodal rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as schismatics.⁷⁸³ Overall, it becomes clear that our examination of the two Cypriot proposals for union is almost exclusively based on Bryennios' narrative of the events, emphasising his role as a defender of Byzantine Orthodoxy against Latinisation.⁷⁸⁴

Bryennios' emphasis on the need to safeguard the Empire's Orthodox identity reflects the hierocratic ecclesiology of Constantinopolitan patriarchal officials, who stressed the spiritual supremacy of Church over State.⁷⁸⁵ Indeed, Bryennios argues in his letter to Syrianos that the concelebration with the Cypriot Rhomaioi would be 'a reproach for our common race' (τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους ὄνειδος), demonstrating the significance of doctrinal precision (ἀκριβεία) over leniency (οἰκονομία) for the survival of the Rhomaic community.⁷⁸⁶ His views were shared by the patriarchal official John Chortasmenos (d.

⁷⁸⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 355.106-356.117.

⁷⁸¹ Bazini 2004, 115.

⁷⁸² Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 1-25.

⁷⁸³ The synodal decrees of 1412 seem not to have survived; the schism between Cyprus and Constantinople lasted until the island's Ottoman conquest, when a patriarchal synod in 1572 officially pardoned the Cypriot Rhomaioi, receiving them back to Orthodoxy: Mitsides 1990, 26-27; Michael 2005, 104.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. Bazini 2004, 115. See the critical examination of the *Study* by Papadopoulos 1995b, 624-638; *RAPC* I/7, 3 (n° 3289).

⁷⁸⁵ On hierocracy in general see above, 188-189. On Bryennios' hierocracy see generally: Gounarides 2005, 133-145; Kioussopoulou 2007, 214-216, 226-227.

⁷⁸⁶ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 354.29.53-54.

ca. 1439) who commented (sometime after 1407) on Bryennios' rejection of the proposed union with sentiments of relief, praising him for his decision.⁷⁸⁷

Bryennios' and Chortasmenos' perceptions of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as Latin sympathisers should be considered as a rather recent development in the Cypro-Byzantine relations, shaped by internal processes of social transformation and ideological formulation not only in Cyprus, but also in the Byzantine Empire. This is an important observation, because it supports our view of undisturbed communion between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate after the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*, suggesting that the officialisation of schism between the two Churches was largely the result and not the cause of Bryennios' rejection of the two Cypriot proposals for union through liturgical concelebration.

An overview of Byzantine perceptions of Cypriot Rhomaic identity during the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries seems to confirm our interpretation. As already mentioned above, Patriarch Germanos II in the 1220s made a distinction between Cypriot Rhomaioi who resisted the Latins and those who submitted themselves to their authority, pursuing a policy of accommodation with the Latin Church.⁷⁸⁸ After the martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara, the Ecumenical Patriarchate promoted their veneration as martyrs of the true faith.⁷⁸⁹ George Pachymerēs (d. ca. 1310), an anti-unionist historian, states that in 1283, the deposed and exiled unionist Patriarch John XI Bekkos accused George of Cyprus, who had been elevated to the patriarchal throne as Gregory II, of being 'born and educated among the Italians' (*ἄνδρα δὲ παρ' Ἰταλοῖς γεννηθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα*).⁷⁹⁰ Another unionist, the patriarchal official George Metochitēs (d. 1328), called Gregory II 'spurious and illegitimate offspring' (*νόθον κυοφόρημα καὶ οὐ γνήσιον*).⁷⁹¹ According to Grēgoras, the Arsenites, who were excommunicated by Gregory II during the Council of Adramyttion (1284) for remaining in schism with the official Church, spread rumours

⁷⁸⁷ John Chortasmenos in Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, 363-364.3; Talbot 1991, 431-432 (on Chortasmenos); Katsaros in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, 29; Bazini 2004, 115, 126 (dates Chortasmenos' letter to Bryennios post 1407); cf. Nerantze-Varmaze 1996, 199-200 (dates the letter post 1412).

⁷⁸⁸ See above, 63.

⁷⁸⁹ See, e.g., below App. I, 411-414.

⁷⁹⁰ George Pachymerēs, *Andronikos Palaiologos*, ed. Bekker, 89.1.34.6-7; Papadakis 1986, 30; Gounarides 1999, 58; Kaldellis 2007, 385; Page 2008, 112-116.

⁷⁹¹ Quoted by Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 23 (n. 1); Gounarides 1999, 58 (n. 35). On George Metochitēs see Trapp 1991, 1357.

that the Cypriot Patriarch had adopted the Latin customs (τῶν Λατινικῶν ἠθῶν ἔστιν ἁ ἐπαγόμενος) during his youth and had been appointed lector by the Latins in Cyprus (ὡς ἀναγνώστου χειροθεσίαν παρὰ Λατίνων ἐδέξατο).⁷⁹² Gregory II's defence of his Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity is clear in the beginning of his *Autobiography*:

The motherland of the author of this book is the island of Cyprus. His fathers, his grand-fathers and all his fore-fathers had been very wealthy and prominent in the country's affairs up until the Greek people there [τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἑλληνικόν] had become enslaved by the barbarian Italians.⁷⁹³

Gregory's firm declaration of 'Hellenic' identity should not merely be interpreted as an apologetic tool employed against his opponents. The fact that he 'had made it to the ecumenical patriarchate',⁷⁹⁴ occupying the second most important position in Byzantium after the emperor, reveals that he was considered by many of his contemporaries to be both Orthodox and Rhomaios, the latter concept being primarily understood in the sense of sharing the classicising education of the Byzantine elite.⁷⁹⁵ It should be stressed that, Gregory, too, accused his opponents of being barbarians (βαρβάρους).⁷⁹⁶

The exchange of accusations of ethno-religious impurity was a common phenomenon during the Hesychast Controversy. Akindynos implied that Gregory Palamas stated that the Latin-ruled supporters of anti-Palamism, presumably referring to Lapithēs and other Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites, opposed Palamite Hesychasm because they

⁷⁹² Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. I), 165.6.1.14-17; Gounarides 1999, 137-141 (arguing that the accusations against Gregory II took place soon after the Council of Adrammytion).

⁷⁹³ Gregory II, *Autobiography*, ed. Lameere and trans. Pelendrides, 20.5-9, 21 (English text): Πατρις μὲν τῶ συντεταχότι τὴν βίβλον, Κύπρος ἢ νῆσος. Πατέρες δὲ καὶ πατέρων πατέρες καὶ ὄλως ἢ ἄνω τοῦ γένους σειρά, οἱ πλοῦτου τε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἔχοντες ἕως οὐπω βαρβάρους ἔλαχεν ἰταλοῖς τὸ ἐκεῖσε δουλεύειν ἑλληνικόν; Angold 1972, 5; Papadakis 1986, 30; Vryonis 1990, 16-17; Kaldellis 2007, 384-385; Page 2008, 116; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 46.

⁷⁹⁴ Page 2008, 116.

⁷⁹⁵ On the Patriarch's perception of his personal literary achievements see Gregory II, *Autobiography*, ed. Lameere and trans. Pelendrides, 42.281-306, 43 (English trans.). Note that Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz (vol. I), 61.31.45, perceived the Cypriot Rhomaioi as 'Ionians' and that his disciple, Manuel Kalekas (*Letters*, ed. Loenertz, 253.60.57), stated that Cyprus, too, was a part of the ancient homeland of the Hellenes: ἀρχαία γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πατρις καὶ ἡ Κύπρος. Around 1396, Manuel II Palaiologos (*Letters*, ed. Dennis, 87.32.1-89.32.19) praised Manuel Rhaoul about his success in teaching the Cypriots how to write to him in Attic Greek. Manuel Kalekas in his correspondence with Rhaoul noted the 'barbarisation' of the Greek language in Cyprus: Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, ed. Loenertz, 277.77.59-60. The same view is also shared by Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §158 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 148).

⁷⁹⁶ Referring to George Moschampan, who came from Asia Minor: Gounarides 1999, 58 (n. 35).

had been influenced by the faith of their overlords (ὅτιπερ ὑφ' ἑτέροις ἡγεμονίαις οὐκ εὐσεβέσιν εἰσὶ).⁷⁹⁷ Similarly, the Palamite Hesychast Joseph Kalothetos pointed out that the anti-Palamite Patriarch of Antioch Ignatios II was of Armenian descent and that Hyakinthos of Thessalonica came from Cyprus, implying that the piety of both men was doubtful due to their origins.⁷⁹⁸ On the other hand, Akindynos defended the orthodoxy of Lapithēs and the Cypriot Rhomaioi in general, despite the island's Latin occupation. He observed that

[their] lot was to live with them [i.e., the Latins]; for their country was seized by the Latins in war, while they disagree with the <Latins> so completely as to oppose them in courageous discourses and to refute them openly wherever they stray from piety.⁷⁹⁹

We have already seen that several Cypriot Rhomaioi scholars in the fourteenth century were associated with the capital's intellectual elite, probably being based in the prestigious monastery of the Hodēgoi.⁸⁰⁰ We have also discussed the close relations between the Antiochene Patriarchate and Cyprus, particularly during the early phase of the Hesychast Controversy, mentioning that the Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites supported the anti-Palamite Synod of 1347.⁸⁰¹ Moreover, Grēgoras depicted in his *History* George Lapithēs as an ideal Byzantine aristocrat.⁸⁰²

From the Palamite Hesychast perspective, we have noted that John-Joasaph Kantakouzēnos communicated with Bishop John of Karpasia, whom he praised for his piety, and that Patriarch Kallistos I addressed the Cypriot Rhomaioi as his 'Orthodox' flock.⁸⁰³ The *Lives* of St Gregory of Sinai, composed by Patriarch Kallistos I, and St Sabbas the Young, composed by Patriarch Philotheos I Kokkinos, bear witness to the symbolical incorporation of Cyprus and other territories into the Late Byzantine

⁷⁹⁷ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 188.44.10-15, 189 (trans.), 381-382 (comm.); cf. Plested 2012b, 58 (n. 92).

⁷⁹⁸ Joseph Kalothetos, *Against Kalekas*, ed. Tsames, 297.386-395, 298.417-419.

⁷⁹⁹ Gregory Akindynos, *Letters*, ed. Constantinides Hero, 192.44.75-79, 193 (trans.), 384 (comm.): τὸς παρ' ἐκείνοις μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι λαχόντας, πολέμῳ κατασχεσθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Λατίνων, οὕτω δὲ ἐκείνοις οὐ πανταχῇ συμφρονούντας, ὡς καὶ γενναίοις λόγοις αὐτοῖς ἀντιπάττεσθαι καὶ διελέγχειν ἐλευθέρως ἐλέγχοις ὅποι σφάλλοιντο τῆς εὐσεβείας.

⁸⁰⁰ See above, 173-176.

⁸⁰¹ See above, 183-184.

⁸⁰² See above, 135.

⁸⁰³ See above, 198-212.

Commonwealth, through the prism of Palamite Hesychast hagiography.⁸⁰⁴ Both authors describe Cyprus, the Holy Land, Sinai and Greece as places where pre-Palamite theophanic tradition was practised undisturbed under Latin and Muslim rule. Indeed, Kallistos states that Gregory of Sinai was initiated to monasticism in Cyprus and Sinai and that he later received information on the ‘contemplative’ dimension of asceticism in Crete, before reviving hesychast asceticism in Athos.⁸⁰⁵ Philotheos relates that Sabbas the Young experienced his first theophanic vision in Cyprus, before departing for a pilgrimage in Jerusalem. Sabbas stayed for a while on Sinai and lived as a recluse near the River Jordan, visited the monasteries of the Judean Desert, went on to Syria and eventually sailed to Crete, where he lived as a hermit for two years. After wandering in Euboea, Attica, Peloponnese and Macedonia, Sabbas reached Constantinople and Athos, transmitting to his disciples the rich spiritual experience he had gained during his journeys across the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁰⁶ By describing the hardships, temptations and theophanic visions experienced by Sabbas throughout his travels, Philotheos transforms hagiographical topography into a vast spiritual arena, where the hesychast saint is called to be tested and overcome evil by divine grace. Above all, Sabbas’ holiness is recognised and respected –or even venerated– by various ethno-religious communities and social groups.⁸⁰⁷ Therefore, Philotheos perceives hesychast spirituality as a bond of unity between people of different cultures and ethnicities, beyond geographical or political barriers, thus legitimising in a symbolic way the expansion of the Palamite Hesychast Constantinopolitan influence.

It becomes clear, therefore, that Byzantine perceptions of Cypriot Rhomaic ethno-religious identity under Latin rule varied, reflecting different attitudes and points of view in disputes and controversies of internal nature (e.g., the discussions over ecclesiastical union with the West, the Arsenite Movement and Hesychast Controversy).⁸⁰⁸ While the Cypriot Rhomaioi were occasionally attacked as pro-Latin, these accusations came from individual churchmen and, as far as the thirteenth and

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou 2011–2012, 344–345.

⁸⁰⁵ Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregory of Sinai*, ed. Delikari, 60–63, 69–75 (comm.), 315.4–322.9; Kyriacou (forthcoming-b).

⁸⁰⁶ Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 216.30–228.34, 229.36–269.57.

⁸⁰⁷ See e.g., Philotheos I Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas the Young*, ed. Tsames, 218.31.20–220.31.70, 230.36.21–24, 235–237.41, 256.50.1–259.51.38, 268.57.1–269.57.32; Congourdeau 2006, 121–133; Kyriacou (forthcoming-b).

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Kaldellis 2007, 385.

fourteenth centuries are concerned, it is almost certain that the relations between Cyprus and Constantinople never reached the state of schism. On the contrary, the Rhomaic Church of Cyprus continued to be officially regarded as Orthodox by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, even after its submission to the Latins in 1260. As argued above, the rift in the relations between the two Churches was an early-fifteenth century development, which was partly caused by the intensification of socio-religious interaction on the island.⁸⁰⁹

Bryennios in his letter to Syrianos implicitly refers to the existence of two different parties in the Constantinopolitan Patriarchal Synod of 1406, which examined the Cypriot Rhomaic proposals for concelebration. He states that although he was reluctant to assume his Cypriot mission, the majority of prelates supported that he should be sent to the island (*ἀλλ'αἱ πλείους νικήσασαι ψῆφοι καὶ ἄκοντά με ἀπέστειλαν*).⁸¹⁰ Bryennios emphasises the readiness of the Emperor, Patriarch, Patriarchal Synod and Senate to proceed to concelebration with the Cypriot Rhomaioi, by claiming that only he was reluctant to do so, thus stressing his role as champion of Orthodoxy.⁸¹¹ However, in Bryennios' *Study on the proposed union* (1412), there are indications that a number of prelates shared his doubts. Bryennios quotes a passage from the synodal decrees of 1406 (*συνοδικὰς ἀποφάσεις*), according to which the patriarchal delegation was prohibited to concelebrate with the Cypriot Rhomaioi, in case the former were to be found guilty of recognising papal authority (*ἐὰν ὁμολογῶσι τὸν πάπαν τῆς Ρώμης ἅγιον*), submitting to the Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*καὶ τοὺς ὑπ'αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους ἐαντῶν ἐπισκόπους ἡγοῦνται*) and concelebrating with the Latins (*ἐὰν συμφοραίνωσι τοῖς τῶν Λατίνων ἐπισκόποις*).⁸¹² 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 Cypriot Rhomaioi, it also contained pronouncements that prohibited concelebration for reasons of faith,

⁸⁰⁹ See above, 229-232.

⁸¹⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 355.29.60-61.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 355.29.78-96.

⁸¹² Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 11-12; *RAPC* I/6, 494-495 (n° 3278), 495-496 (n° 3280); cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 38.229-232.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liturgical practice. These pronouncements, perhaps added to the synodal decrees at Bryennios' instigation, reflect the hierocratic ideology of a number of prelates in the Patriarchal Synod.

The existence of two different schools of thought in the Patriarchal Synod of 1406 reflects the crystallisation of Late Byzantine hierocracy on the eve of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. This development became even clearer during the reign of Manuel II's sons, John VIII (1425–1448) and Constantine XI (1449–1453). 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 Late Byzantine Commonwealth, 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 beginning of the end of time intensified the struggle for the preservation of Orthodoxy and popularised the hierocratic ecclesiology, re-enforcing the anti-Latin sentiments of the masses. The hierocracy of patriarchal officials should also be interpreted as a reaction to the rise of aristocratic merchant families (e.g., the Goudelēs, Iagaris and Notaras family) and the establishment of close economic and political bonds with Genoa and Venice. Similarly, many of the old aristocratic landowning families (e.g., the Palaiologoi, Kantakouzēnoi and Doukai), who had lost their estates as a result of the Turkish advance, pursued an economic and political rapprochement with the Italian maritime cities. Therefore, a significant part of the Constantinopolitan nobility gradually favoured or actively supported the prospect of union with the West, thus alarming the patriarchal officials and leading them to emphasise the need to defend the purity of Orthodoxy.⁸¹³

Bryennios' description of the imperial and synodal support towards the proposed union with the Cypriot Rhomaioi suggests that by the early fifteenth century, hierocratic ideology had not yet been endorsed by the majority of patriarchal officials. It also shows that the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical authorities predominantly

⁸¹³ The reconstruction of the wider context of Late Byzantine hierocracy is based on the following studies: Necipoğlu 2000, 251-263; Kiousopoulou 2001, 25-36; Guran 2002, 109-124; Necipoğlu 2005, 75-86; Gounarides 2005, 133-145; Guran 2006, 59-69; Kiousopoulou 2007, *passim* (esp. at 42-77); Guran 2007, 73-85; Angelov 2011, 327-330.

saw the Cypriot Rhomaioi as Orthodox. Bryennios characteristically writes to Syrianos that Constantinople saw the union as a *fait accompli* (ὡς ἐπὶ πράγμασι 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 Cypriot Rhomaioi as concelebrants. Even Bryennios' companions, Anthony of Kosmidion and Constantine Timotheos the Deacon, were ready to concelebrate with the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops, who, upon the delegation's arrival on the island, began preparing for the common liturgy (ἤδη ἐνδύονται συλλειτουργῆσαι).⁸¹⁴

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.⁸¹⁵ 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 Rhomaic confessions of faith to Constantinople.⁸¹⁶ The close contacts between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggest that Constantinople was well informed about Cypriot affairs and the state of submission of the island's Rhomaic Church to the Latins.⁸¹⁷ 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 Commonwealth. 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

⁸¹⁴ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 355.29.87-98 (esp. at 90); cf. *ibid.*, 79-80 (referring to γράμματα τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα καὶ βεβουλλωμένα συνοδικῶς ὑπὸ πατριάρχου καὶ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου); cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 51.681-684. See also *RAPC I/6*, 496 (n° 3280).

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 494-495 (n° 3278), 496 (n° 3280).

⁸¹⁶ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 32.5, 45.476-479.

⁸¹⁷ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 353.29.29-30, admits that he was aware of the Cypriot situation even before his journey to Cyprus (οὕτω καὶ πρόην ἐγίνωσκον).

statesman, who pursued a policy of rapprochement with the West, would have recognised the value of re-establishing harmonious contacts with the Cypriot Rhomaic Church, at a time when its Lusignan overlords had distanced themselves from the Papacy as a result of the Western Great Schism.⁸¹⁸ Therefore, the generally positive response of Constantinople to the Cypriot Rhomaic 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 Rhomaioi as essentially Orthodox.

It is striking that Bryennios admits in his writings that, even before his journey to Cyprus, he intended to reject the proposed union. He also reveals that he was unwilling to assume his Cypriot mission. The reasons behind this decision are described in his letter to Syrianos. First, he was discouraged by the prospect of the long journey (*μακρᾶ ἀποδημία*) and unnecessary expenses (*ἐξόδους περιττάς*). Second, he was concerned about the possibly negative effect of his Cypriot activities on his future plans, namely his expected return 'to the islands' (*εἰς τὰς νήσους ἐπάνοδον*), presumably referring to Crete and the Aegean Islands. Third, he was afraid of the reaction of the Latins (*ἐχθροὺς ἀσπόνδους ἐμαντοῦ καταστῆναι*), especially due to his previous anti-Latin activities in Crete. Fourth, he was particularly concerned about the reaction of the Latin bishops of Cyprus (*μὴ ἐμπεισῶν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν φραγκεπισκόπων*). Fifth, he recognised the difficulty of representing correctly (*ἀνεπαισχύντως*) the Byzantine ecclesiastical and political authorities. Sixth, a disagreement between Bryennios and the Cypriot Rhomaioi would create enemies among the locals (*μὴ διὰ τὸ ἀσυνκατάβατον εἰς ἐξουδένωσιν καὶ ἀρὰν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ γενέσθαι με*).⁸¹⁹

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 Cypriot Rhomaioi, either publicly (*φανερῶς*), or secretly (*κρυπτῶς*). A public concelebration would provoke tension

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Katsaros in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, 28. On Manuel II as a theologian, diplomat and politician see generally Dendrinos 2011a, 397-422. On the political exploitation of the Late Byzantine Commonwealth, through the mediation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see Runciman 1988, 515-520.

⁸¹⁹ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 353.29.3-19.

(ὄχλησις προφανῆς καὶ στάσις ἀκολουθήσει) with the Latin sympathisers (πρὸς τε τῶν αἰρετιζόντων αὐτῶν) and the island's Latin overlords (καὶ τῶν τῆς χώρας ἀρχόντων), leading to the persecution of the patriarchal delegation (ἡμᾶς μὲν παθεῖν κακῶς) and the renunciation of Orthodox faith on the part of the Cypriot Rhomaioi concelebrants (τοὺς ἡμῖν συλλειτουργῆσαι τολμήσαντας). This situation would cause persecution (διωγμὸς ἐπακολουθήσει καὶ σύγχυσις). It would also result in the Latin prohibition of entry to Cyprus for the Constantinopolitan clergy, since they would be considered guilty of having plotted against the Latin regime (ὡς δῆθεν ὄντας ἐπιβούλους καὶ κακοτρόπους αὐτούς).⁸²⁰

A secret concelebration with the Cypriot Rhomaioi would also be problematic. A possible betrayal of the union with Constantinople would provoke anti-Rhomaic persecutions (ἐτασμοῖς καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ θανάτοις ὑποβληθήσονται). The danger would also be great for the Constantinopolitan delegation (ἐπίβουλοι τεθνηξόμεθα). Moreover, Bryennios pointed out that it would be impossible (ἀμήχανον) to keep the union completely secret. He stated that a secret union would be no real union, but a deception (ἀπάτη) for both Byzantines and Cypriot Rhomaioi. Lastly, he supported that, in case of disagreement over the concelebration issue (συλλειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῖς μὴ καταδεξόμεθα), the Cypriot Rhomaioi would deliver the Byzantine delegation to the Latin authorities as an act of vindication, leading to their execution as spies (ὡς δῆθεν κατάσκοποι) or enemies of the Latin faith (ὡς τῆς αὐτῶν πίστεως πολέμοι προφανεῖς).⁸²¹

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 (λογισάμενος) the ecclesiastical implications of a concelebration with the Cypriot Rhomaioi in the wider context of theological dialogue between Byzantium and the Papacy. He believed that the papal *curia* (κούρτην) 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 in the negotiations with the

⁸²⁰ Ibid., 353.29.19-354.29.45.

⁸²¹ Ibid., 354.29.46-58.

West, leading to the Latinisation of Orthodox Christians (*λατινίσαι*) and causing numerous schisms (*μυρία σχίσματα μερισθῆναι τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος*) between unionists and anti-unionists.⁸²²

It is clear from Bryennios' own words that he treated the proposed union in a rather prejudiced and unfair way. He reveals that, while on the island, he persuaded the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates to attend a synod before the concelebration, in order to discuss certain important issues. This, according to Bryennios, was only a pretext (*εὐρῶν πρόφασιν εὐλογον, ὡς δῆθεν ἔχων λόγους ἀναγκαίους κοινῇ αὐτοῖς ἀναθέσθαι*), aiming to draw the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops into open dialogue, in which he could use his authority, rhetorical skills and theological competence (*παρρησία*) against them, eventually rejecting them as pro-Latin.⁸²³ It was only during the course of the Synod that suspicions arose among the Cypriot Rhomaioi concerning the sincerity of Bryennios' examination of the proposed union (*προφασιζόμενοι καὶ αἰτίας ζητοῦντες, ὡς ἂν μὴ γένηται ἔνωσις*). They argued that the synodal letters delivered to them by Bryennios made no reference to the issues raised by the patriarchal *locum tenens* (*εἰς τὰ πιπτάκια τῶν ἀποστειλάντων ὑμᾶς οὐ γέγραπται*), accusing him of undermining the discussions (*ὡς φαίνεται ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ταῦτα ἐπλάσατε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε ἡμῶν*). They even asked to see the instructions given to the delegation by the Patriarchal Synod (*ποῦ ἔνι ἐκείνη ἢ ὑποτύπωσις;*), stating that Bryennios had pushed the discussion beyond its expected limits (*ἑπτὰ μόνα κεφάλαια ταῦτα, οὗτος δὲ μυρία ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖ*). Bryennios replied that as patriarchal *locum tenens*, he was sanctioned to examine things the way he considered best.⁸²⁴

Clearly, Bryennios' negative response to the proposed union was influenced by his Cretan experiences, theological intransigence and hierocratic ecclesiology. We shall now turn to the Synod of 1406, examining the arguments put forth by Bryennios and the Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics concerning the impossibility or necessity of a union between Constantinople and Cyprus.

⁸²² Ibid., 354.29.59-355.29.86.

⁸²³ Ibid., 355.29.101-108.

⁸²⁴ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 45.470-46.503.

IV.4. The Synod of Cyprus (1406)

According to the *Acts* of 1406, the Constantinopolitan delegation departed from Constantinople in early May and arrived in Cyprus in late June.⁸²⁵ Bryennios mentions that during their journey they faced various sufferings (*κακοπαθείαις*), including the danger of being drowned and taken captive. He also adds that Anthony of Kosmidion and Constantine Timotheos the Deacon fell seriously ill and they would have been probably dead had their ship not reached the Genoese-controlled port of Famagusta on time.⁸²⁶ This indicates 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 of the proposed union, especially if one takes into consideration Bryennios' strong reluctance to concelebrate with the Cypriot Rhomaioi.

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 church of Archangel Michael the Incorporeal, situated most probably in Analiontas, outside Nicosia.⁸²⁷ Unfortunately, the *Acts* do not provide the names of the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates participating in the Synod, referring to them solely by their titles. The Bishop of Leukara did not participate because he was not in communion with the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy.⁸²⁸ The Bishop of Arsinoë, was not present, though he had appointed the Bishop of Solea as his official representative.⁸²⁹ The Bishop of Solea could perhaps be identified with Paul, known from a brief manuscript note to have been

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.21-24.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.22-23, 52.738-745.

⁸²⁷ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 28 (comm.), 33.30-36, 47.552-556; Papadopoulos 1995b, 621 (n. 222). For other possibilities concerning the Incorporeal's location see Papageorghiou 2001, 27 (n. 22); Schabel 2000–2001, 232 (n. 40).

⁸²⁸ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 34.83-87; Papadopoulos 1995b, 621; Schabel 2006b, 199. The Bishop of Leukara is mentioned in the text by his official Byzantine title as Bishop of Limassol. In 1340 the Bishop of Leukara was Clement: *SN*, 248.L.1, 249 (trans.). To the best of my knowledge, the next known Bishop of Leukara is John Japhoun, who was ordained in 1455: Intianos 1940, 29-31; Darrouzès 1957, 155.113; Chatzipsaltes 1958, 25-26.

⁸²⁹ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 34.79-83. The Bishops of Arsinoë and Solea are mentioned in the text by their official Byzantine titles as Bishops of Paphos and Nicosia (Leukōsia) respectively. Bishop George of Arsinoë died in 1395; we possess no information about his successor, who might have been the 'Bishop of Paphos' mentioned in the synodal *Acts*: Darrouzès 1953, 96.72; Papageorghiou 2008, 18. In 1435/6, Sabbas Pipēs was Bishop of Arsinoë: *DGMC*, 237. He was most likely succeeded by Nicholas (fl. ca. 1483): Darrouzès 1950, 184; *DGMC*, 250.

active in 1405.⁸³⁰ His episcopate might have lasted until 1415, when another brief manuscript note recorded the death of the ‘Bishop of Chōra (= Nicosia)’, referring to the incumbent Bishop of Solea, who could have been Paul.⁸³¹ The Bishop of Karpasia could probably be identified with Makarios, to whom Bryennios addressed a polite letter, requesting his assistance in ransoming the Cypriot Rhomaios Mark Kriskēs, who had been taken captive by the Muslims and whose father had requested Bryennios’ help to liberate his son.⁸³² Makarios is also commemorated by the surviving liturgical ordinance of the Karpasia bishopric that contains his translation from ‘the Syriac language’ (ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Σύρων διαλέκτου) into Greek of an exhortative prayer (παραίνεσις) addressing newly ordained deacons. The liturgical text specifies that Makarios had translated the prayer during his stay in Egypt, thus suggesting the prelate’s knowledge of Arabic and the possibility of close contacts between the Karpasia bishopric and the Patriarchate of Alexandria.⁸³³

Bryennios put forth several arguments in order to support his rejection of the proposed union in 1406; the same arguments were later repeated and further elaborated in his 1412 *Study*, which examined the second Cypriot proposal for union with Constantinople. According to Bryennios, the first and most important error of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church was the oath of submission taken by candidates for episcopal ordination before their Latin diocesan bishops, following the rulings of the *Bulla Cypria*. In Bryennios’ understanding, the oath meant that the Cypriot Rhomaioi submitted themselves to the doctrines of the Western Church, thus betraying (προὐδώκατε) their tradition of autocephaly (αὐτόνομος ὄντες ἐκκλησία) and Orthodoxy.⁸³⁴

The second error mentioned in the synodal *Acts* was that the Cypriot Rhomaioi participated in concelebrations with Latins, Copts, Armenians and Jacobites, namely Christian groups officially considered by the Orthodox Church as heretical or

⁸³⁰ Darrouzès 1956, 40.4, 41; Kyrris 1993b, 178. Paul is not mentioned by Coureas et al. 2012, 219.

⁸³¹ Cf. Darrouzès 1953, 91.24 (n. 1); Kyrris 1993b, 178 (suggesting that John Galatēs might have been Bishop of Solea at the time).

⁸³² Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, ed. Tomadakis, 318-319.11; Loenertz 1949, 23-24. The Bishop of Karpasia is mentioned in the *Acts* by his official Byzantine title as Bishop of Famagusta (Ammochōstos): e.g., Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 35.121.

⁸³³ Papaïoannou 1912, 445-446, 592; Papaïoannou 1913, 26-28.

⁸³⁴ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 33.24-30, 36.132-134, 38.201-220, 46.520-526; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 1-8. On the connection between autocephaly and Orthodoxy see above, 54-55.

schismatic. Bryennios was also strongly negative towards the establishment of kinship relationships between members of different religious affiliations.⁸³⁵

The third error was that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops ordained candidates for priesthood who maintained extramarital relationships. Moreover, Bryennios accused the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates and monks of having sexual relations with concubines. He argued that they shamelessly had children with these women and it was obvious that they had been morally corrupted by the concelebration with heretics.⁸³⁶ Adopting a Donatist-like argument, Bryennios took his point even further, by stating that the sins were transferred (*διαδίδονται*) from the corrupted clergy, through the sacraments, to the Cypriot Rhomaic flock. As a result, the laity shared the sins of their ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁸³⁷

Bryennios was determined to prove that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops were simply not sincere in their wish to restore communion with Constantinople. During his discussion with the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops, he 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 Cypriot Rhomaic submission to the Latins, Bryennios questioned the bishops’ intention to end the division (*διαίρεσιν*).⁸³⁸ The fact that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 former perceived their

⁸³⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 38.222-232, 43.390-394, 44.423-441; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 8, 18, 21.

⁸³⁶ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.286-291, 42.354-360; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 8-9; Mitsides 1990, 27. See also the discussion by Tomadakis 1959a, 3-4.

⁸³⁷ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.304-41.313; cf. Kaufman 1990, 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’.

⁸³⁸ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 34.91-36.130; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 4, 18-19, 24; Papadopoulos 1995b, 621-622. On Germanos and the *Bulla Cypria* see above, 81-83.

separation from Constantinople in different terms than Bryennios.⁸³⁹ It appears that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops 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 (e.g., the reduction of Orthodox bishoprics, sanctioning of a Latin hierarchy, placement of Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates under Latin ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, etc.), 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, though there is no concrete evidence that the Cypriot Rhomaic submission of 1260 caused the official proclamation of a schism between Constantinople and Cyprus.

To strengthen his argument that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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.⁸⁴⁰ Bryennios pushed the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops even further by putting forth two proposals which could enable the official cancellation of the *Bulla Cypria*. According to Bryennios' first proposal, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops should approach King Janus, requesting their enfranchisement from Latin ecclesiastical authority and royal protection from harassment, in exchange for their bishoprics' revenues. Bryennios suggested personally talking to Janus in support of the Cypriot Rhomaic request. When the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 Rhomaioi prelates loved their revenues more than their souls.⁸⁴¹ Bryennios' second proposal focused on the convocation of a synod in Constantinople that would re-examine the proposed union. The Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops should either participate in person, or send representatives with signed

⁸³⁹ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 35.96-97.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.369-378; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 2-3; Papadopoulos 1995b, 621.

⁸⁴¹ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 39.255-40.284, 43.414-44.417.

confessions of faith. Once again, the Cypriot Rhomaioi rejected Bryennios' proposal, fearing of the Latin reaction in case their rapprochement with Constantinople became public: rather than a public union with Constantinople that would most probably provoke the Latins, they preferred a covert rapprochement. From his own perspective, Bryennios noted that their reluctance concerning the prospect of open union with Constantinople (*φανερῶς πράξειαι*) implied lack of sincerity in their intentions and faith.⁸⁴²

Bryennios' last argument against the proposed union revealed his hierocratic concerns behind the rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as Latin sympathisers. 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.⁸⁴³

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 (*εἰς μνήμην τῶν μετέπειτα πάσαις ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γεγράφαμεν*).⁸⁴⁴ The reason behind Bryennios' action was to publicly renounce the Cypriot Rhomaioi as schismatics and defame them as pro-Latin. Indeed, Bryennios warned the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops that the whole world would be informed about the discussions of the Synod (*πᾶσα γινώσεται ταῦτα ἢ οἰκουμένην*) and that nothing was to remain secret.⁸⁴⁵ In the sixteenth century, the Dominican Vicar General Angelo Calepio, who left an eyewitness account on the War of Cyprus (1570–1571), noted that the Orthodox patriarchs, especially the one in Jerusalem, loathed the Cypriot Rhomaioi and considered them excommunicated due to their submission to the Latin Church.⁸⁴⁶ Calepio's testimony demonstrates the success of Bryennios' anti-Cypriot propaganda and confirms the long-term division between Cyprus and the other Orthodox Churches after Bryennios' examination of the proposed union.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, 49.615-637; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 5, 16.

⁸⁴³ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 38.217-220, 47.536-551, 48.585-590; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 6, 9, 11, 13-15, 22-23.

⁸⁴⁴ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 53.769-774.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.669-672.

⁸⁴⁶ Calepio's account was published in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 122^r-122^v; Papadopoulos 1995b, 618-619.

Bryennios wrote to Syrianos that upon his return to Constantinople he was reproached by the Byzantine authorities (*παρὰ τῶν μεγίστων*) for not having restored communion with the Cypriot Rhomaioi, as instructed prior to his departure to Cyprus (*πῶς οὐκ ἐκοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἄρα σοι παρηγγείλαμεν*).⁸⁴⁷ This piece of information further points to the fact that, despite the hierocratic instructions contained in the patriarchal synodal decrees of 1406, Bryennios had been expected to receive the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 (*τοὺς πολλοὺς πείθοντα σιγᾶν*) and was praised for his stance (*πολλῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ ἐγκωμίων κατέστη μοι αἴτια*).⁸⁴⁸ 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.⁸⁴⁹

Bryennios' hierocratic and anti-Cypriot policy also highlighted the second Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for union in 1412. Although little is known about the 1412 discussions between Cyprus and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the fact that the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops continued to wish 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 Rhomaioi prelates might have seen Matthew I's succession by Euthymios II (1410–1416) as a good opportunity to repeat their proposal, leading to the convening of a synod to re-examine the matter.⁸⁵⁰ Bryennios was summoned before the synod and he presented his *Study on the proposed union of the Cypriots with the Orthodox Church*, which was based on the records of the 1406 *Acts*.⁸⁵¹ The aforementioned *Study* included a detailed description of the oath taken by the Cypriot Rhomaioi candidates for episcopal ordination, a point to which we shall return below, and refuted the union on

⁸⁴⁷ Joseph Bryennios, *Letters*, Tomadakis, 356.29.118-120.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 356.29.120-357.29.166.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 357.29.166-168.

⁸⁵⁰ Papadopoulos 1995b, 624.

⁸⁵¹ Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 1-25.

the basis of scriptural, patristic and canonical evidence.⁸⁵² It seems that Bryennios was again successful in persuading his audience about the impossibility of concelebration with the Cypriot Rhomaioi. From that moment onwards, the two Churches remained in official schism until the island's Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century.

As late as the seventeenth century, Bryennios' Cypriot involvement was remembered as the point of departure for the schism between Cyprus and Constantinople. In 1633, Archimandrite Arsenios wrote a letter to Philip the Cypriot, a Constantinopolitan patriarchal official, relating that in 1572, Patriarch Jeremias II (1572–1579) had convoked a synod that officially restored communion between Cyprus and the Orthodox Churches. As Arsenios informed Philip, Sylvester of Alexandria (1569–1590), Germanos I of Jerusalem (1537–1579) and the anonymous Metropolitan of Laodicea — a representative of Joachim IV of Antioch (1540, 1543–1576)— agreed to pardon the Cypriot Rhomaioi, who had been excommunicated since Bryennios' time, and ordained Timothy I Archbishop of Cyprus (1572–ca. 1587).⁸⁵³

Let us now return to the Cypriot Rhomaic apology of 1406. As we have previously said, the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy was favoured by the benevolent Lusignan ecclesiastical policy and the socio-economic developments of the second half of the fourteenth century. The same period also witnessed a rapprochement with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as a result of the polarisation between Latins/pro-Latin or Latinised Byzantines/anti-Palamites and anti-Latin Palamite Hesychasts. The rapprochement was also caused by Peter Thomas' attempts to Latinise the Cypriot Rhomaioi, leading to Kallistos I's expression of pastoral support towards the Orthodox population of Cyprus. In this context, we have interpreted the victory of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus as a reflection of the Cypriot Rhomaic elites' willingness to reaffirm their Orthodox identity and tighten their relations with Byzantium.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵² Ibid., 5-8, 19-20; Papadopoulos 1995b, 627, 632-634.

⁸⁵³ Mitsides 1990, 25-30 (esp. at 27); Michael 2005, 103-104; Mitsides 2011, 524-528. The first archbishop of Cyprus under Ottoman rule was a certain Serb monk, who had been appointed by Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (1565–1579), the Serbo-Ottoman Grand Vizier, but was soon deposed and replaced by Timothy I: Aristidou 1987, 76-77. On Philip the Cypriot and Arsenios, see generally Pitsakis 1986, 368-370 (n. 18), 372-373.

⁸⁵⁴ See above, 211. The improvement in the economic situation of the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops is implied in Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 36.144-145, 39.266-40.275, 43.414-44.417; cf. Papadopoulos 1995b, 622 (n. 229).

The fact that in 1406 three out of four Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops had reached a consensus in seeking to restore sacramental communion with Constantinople, shows that many members of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy considered themselves Orthodox and pursued ways of covert resistance against the Latins. This is also confirmed by the synodal *Acts* of 1406, which state that the anonymous Abbot of the Pipēs monastery in Nicosia (ὁ Πίππης), whose nephew or cousin (ἀνεψιὸς) had been ordained priest by the Bishop of Solea and whose monks concelebrated with the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy, considered himself as being the only true Orthodox Rhomaioi on the island (φρονεῖν μόνος Κυπρίων ὀρθόδοξα διὰ χειλέων ὁμολογεῖ). He also claimed that only his own monastery maintained true communion with the Orthodox Church (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μονήν ἀφωρισμένην εἶναι τοῖς ὀρθόδοξοις). The reason behind the Abbot's claims concerning the purity of his spiritual identity was that he had received, together with a small number of hieromonks, 'external' ordination from non-Cypriot Orthodox prelate/s (ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν τὴν χειροτονίαν κεκτηῖσθαι φησι), thus differentiating himself from the majority of Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen, who were exclusively ordained by Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops under the *Bulla Cypria* regime.⁸⁵⁵

In reply to Bryennios' accusations of clerical immorality the Cypriot Rhomaioi stated 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. The anonymous Steward (οἰκονόμος) of the Solea bishopric stated that there were indeed examples of certain immoral priests who had been reproached by their prelates for their actions and behaviour. These priests had sought the support of Latin bishops and nobles, who, in turn, pressed the Cypriot Rhomaioi hierarchs to accept them, despite their unworthiness. The Steward claimed that this had been the case with the previous Bishop of Solea, stating that he 'was quickly taken out of the way' (εὐγῆκεν ἀπὸ τὴν μέσσην ἐγρηγορώτερα), for he had attempted to properly exercise control over his clergy (ἐγύρευεν τέτοια). Bryennios seems to have been aware of the incident and

⁸⁵⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 51.685-696. The Pipēs monastery seems to have maintained connections with the Syrian Melkite family of the Bibi: Collenberg 1984, 629-630; *DGMC*, 200-203; Papageorgiou 1997, 47-79; Patapiou 2011, 245-254; Coureas et al. 2012, 166-169. On examples of 'external' ordination in Latin-ruled Greece see generally: Tomadakis 1959b, 39-72 (on Crete); Tsiiranlis 1991, 78 (on Crete); Coureas 2014b, 152, 158 (on Crete and Rhodes).

agreed with the Steward's statement (*ἰδοὺ ἀριδήλως τὰληθές περὶ τούτου παρέστησας*).⁸⁵⁶

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 1400.⁸⁵⁷ He might have served as vicar (*ἀβικάριος*) under his predecessor, Bishop Michael (ca. 1396–1402), who appears to have also been John's father (*υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*).⁸⁵⁸ When Michael died in 1402, Galatēs became Bishop until his own death in ca. 1405.⁸⁵⁹ Unfortunately, we know nothing about Galatēs' episcopate and the exact circumstances of his death or abdication, though we have already pointed out that the synodal *Acts* of 1406 suggest the existence of tension in his relations with disobedient members of his clergy, who seem to have sought the Latin support in order to remain unpunished.

Bryennios accused the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops and monks of having sexual relations with unmarried women in their service, supposedly pursuing a life of virginity (*συνεισάκτων ὑπηρετούμενοι*) and criticised the fact that they even had children with them (*παῖδας μετ' αὐτῶν προφανῶς ἔχοντες*). The problem of clerical concubinage had caused Bryennios' expulsion from Crete, due to the intervention of Venetian authorities in support of a number of disobedient Rhomaioi monks.⁸⁶⁰ The case of John Galatēs, who must have succeeded his father to the throne of Solea, seems to support Bryennios' statement that some Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops had children.⁸⁶¹ This, however, does not necessarily confirm Bryennios' accusations of episcopal

⁸⁵⁶ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 41.344-42.354; cf. *ibid.*, 40.292-293.

⁸⁵⁷ Darrouzès 1953, 84, 89.10-11, 90.13, 91.22, 92.29; Kyrris 1993b, 177.

⁸⁵⁸ Darrouzès 1953, 90-91.22; Kyrris 1993b, 177-178, noting that the office of *ἀβικάριος* (*vicarius*) indicates the influence of Latin ecclesiastical organisation; cf. Maltezou 1987, 4.

⁸⁵⁹ Darrouzès 1953, 84-85, 90.16, 91.24; Kyrris 1993b, 177-178. On the beginning of Michael's episcopate see Darrouzès 1956, 40-41.4.

⁸⁶⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.288-291; Tomadakis 1959a, 1-12; Tzoumalaki 2009, 64-80. Grivaud 2012a, 29, suggests the possibility of a double monastery for monks and nuns at Asinou. Patriarch Athanasius I (1289–1293 and 1303–1309) established two double monasteries in Ganos and Constantinople, something that might have encouraged the establishment of similar houses in Cyprus; however, this hypothesis needs to be ascertained by further research: Boojamra 1982, 165-167.

⁸⁶¹ Kyrris 1993b, 178.

concubinage, since the bishops in question could have had children as married laymen or priests, namely before their clerical and episcopal ordination.

According to the Trullo Council (691/2), all prelates should be celibate (canon 12), though married candidates for the episcopal throne should first proceed to uncontested divorce from their wives, who should become nuns and live separately from their husbands. The husbands, however, were obliged to continue taking care of the former wives (canon 48). Widowers were also permitted to receive episcopal ordination.⁸⁶² In the early fourteenth century, for example, the imperial official John Glykys became Ecumenical Patriarch (John XIII, 1315–1319), after divorcing his wife and despite having sons and daughters (*υἱὸν καὶ θυγατέρας*).⁸⁶³ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, several cases of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops with children are attested. The supplicant Bele (Bella?), recorded by an inscription in a late fifteenth-century icon of the Virgin, was daughter of Bishop Nicholas of Solea (ca. 1458–ca. 1473) to whom we shall return later.⁸⁶⁴ Another inscription from an icon depicting the Communion of the Apostles mentions the supplicant Daniel, son of the late Bishop Peter of Leukara, most likely identified with Bishop Peter Generin (1533–1546).⁸⁶⁵ A funerary inscription from Kythrea commemorates the death of Akylina (d. 1556), daughter of John Smerlino, Bishop of Leukara between 1546 and 1548.⁸⁶⁶ Andrew Flangin (fl. ca. 1562) might have been the son of Bishop Constantine Flangin of Arsinoë, who died during the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus in 1570.⁸⁶⁷ Bishop John Flangin of Solea (d. 1517) was father of Bishop Stephen Flangin of Leukara (1548–1567). John Flangin the Younger (fl. ca. 1567), Stephen's son, pursued an ecclesiastical career and

⁸⁶² ΣΘΙΚ II, 330-333 (canon 12), 419-423 (canon 48); Koumbaridou 2001, 531; Tzoumalaki 2009, 80-86; Troianos 2012, 81.

⁸⁶³ Nikēphoros Grēgoras, *History*, ed. Schopen and Bekker (vol. I), 270.7.11.5-7; Eliades 2005, 167; Tzoumalaki 2009, 64.

⁸⁶⁴ Koumbaridou 2001, 527-534; Papageorghiou 2001, 28. See below, 278-281.

⁸⁶⁵ Eliades 2005, 166-168, 172 (dating the icon in the late fifteenth century); Patapiou 2012, 133; Patapiou 2013a, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=18934> (last accessed on 8/5/2015).

⁸⁶⁶ Peristianis 1910, 877-878; Chatzipsaltes 1958, 26; Patapiou 2012, 133; Patapiou 2014b, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=30177> (last accessed on 8/5/2015).

⁸⁶⁷ Tassini 1872, 271; Patapiou (forthcoming-b).

served as *πρωτοπαπᾶς* ('senior priest') under his father, while another son, Mark (d. 1573), was candidate for the episcopal thrones of Karpasia (1566) and Solea (1568).⁸⁶⁸

The elevated social status of bishops' children in Latin-ruled Cyprus suggests that they were not born outside the bonds of marriage, as argued by Bryennios, but were considered by society to be legitimate. It appears that the Cypriot Rhomaioi in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to ordain previously married candidates with children as bishops. Clearly, this situation could have easily encouraged phenomena of corruption and nepotism.⁸⁶⁹ Similar abuses in Byzantium, as well as the growing monasticisation of the Constantinopolitan Church during the fourteenth century, led to a prevailing tendency to ordain monks as bishops, in order to avoid favouritism and the despoilment of ecclesiastical property.⁸⁷⁰ Therefore, Bryennios' attack against the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates on this particular issue could perhaps be interpreted as a result of different perceptions concerning the principle of chastity and the bishop's role in Church and society. However, we should stress that this does not exclude the existence of individual cases of immorality in the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy. The Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops admitted to Bryennios that they were guilty of all kinds of abuses in their Church (*ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πταίομεν εἰς ὅλα τὰ κεφάλαια ὅπου μᾶς ἐγκαλοῦν καὶ ἀποσχίζονται μας*), 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 common people of Cyprus.⁸⁷¹

The synodal *Acts* of 1406 contain expressions of disappointment and frustration on the part of the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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.⁸⁷² When Bryennios stated that it made no difference whether

⁸⁶⁸ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 5v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 13r; Chatzipsaltes 1958, 26; Patapiou 2012, 144; Patapiou 2014b, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=30177> (last accessed on 8/5/2015); Patapiou (forthcoming-b).

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. the case of the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia James of Lusignan, discussed above, 222.

⁸⁷⁰ Tzoumalaki 2009, 58-64. On Palamite Hesychast Constantinopolitan patriarchs with a monastic background see above, 160.

⁸⁷¹ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.292-303, 41.343-42.367; cf. *ibid.*, 47.530-532.

⁸⁷² See e.g., *ibid.*, 46.516-519, 49.624.

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 Rhomaioi bishops (πάντας ἐξορίζουσιν ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἢ ῥευματίζουσι). Cyprus would then become like Venetian-ruled Crete (γενήσεται καὶ αὕτη ἡ νῆσος ὡσπερ ἡ Κρήτη), where the Latins controlled clerical ordinations and prohibited the establishment of Rhomaioi bishops on the island. This created serious pastoral problems for the Orthodox Cretan population and we should bear in mind that the Cypriot Rhomaioi had already experienced a similar situation during the self-exile of their hierarchy between ca. 1240 and 1250.⁸⁷³ The Cypriot Rhomaic rejection of Bryennios' proposals for an official cancellation of the *Bulla Cypria* and a public union with Constantinople was also highlighted by expressions of fear concerning the Latin reaction and frustration at Bryennios' lack of understanding of the local condition.⁸⁷⁴

The Cypriot Rhomaioi repeatedly stressed that their submission to the Papacy was forced and superficial. They stated that they were not the only Orthodox people in the world who concelebrated with heretics (καὶ ἔστι τόπος πούποτε εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ'οὐρανὸν ὅπου μὴ συγκοινωνοῦσι κατὰ τι οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς;), arguing that in Crete, too, the Latins celebrated the liturgy in Rhomaic churches.⁸⁷⁵ Moreover, the Bishop of Karpasia pointed out that during a pilgrimage in Jerusalem, he had witnessed the Orthodox patriarch concelebrating with Nestorians, Monothelites and Armenians.⁸⁷⁶ The Steward (οἰκονόμος) 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 politico-religious authority.⁸⁷⁷ The Bishop of Solea noted that concelebration with the Latins and other ethno-religious communities was sometimes necessary, as a public expression of political loyalty towards the Lusignan regime.⁸⁷⁸ The Abbot — possibly of

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 37.194-38.199. See also above, 67-79, 233-234. *Ρευματίζω* means 'to strangle': Koraēs 1835, 331.

⁸⁷⁴ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 40.276-277, 47.563-564, 49.625-626; cf. Schabel 2006b, 199.

⁸⁷⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 37.182-184, 39.245-247. On this issue see below, 287-291.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., 44.446-449. This piece of information seems to strengthen the Bishop's identification as Makarios of Karpasia, recorded to have also travelled in Egypt. See above, 248.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., 45.457-461.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., 43.395-398.

the Incorporal monastery where the Synod was taking place— stated that something similar was happening in Armenia, where all Christian groups had been forced by the country's rulers to concelebrate.⁸⁷⁹ As a response to these arguments, Bryennios distinguished between political loyalty (*ἐπιταγή ἄρχοντος κοσμικοῦ*) and obedience to ecclesiastical order, which he perceived as inviolable and unchangeable (*τάξις ἀπαράβατος ἐκκλησιαστική*).⁸⁸⁰ 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.⁸⁸¹

The apology of the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops focused on the superficiality of their oath of submission to the Papacy during their episcopal ordination. The Bishop of Solea stated that, despite taking the oath and concelebrating with heretics, the Cypriot Rhomaioi cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith (*καταργίζομεν πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν οὐ φρονοῦμεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοί*).⁸⁸² He also claimed to have bribed the Latins before his ordination, in order to avoid taking the oath.⁸⁸³ The Bishop of Karpasia added that, although the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates did swear obedience to the Papacy and the island's Latin hierarchy, they did not profess that the pope is correct in matters of doctrine (*οὐκ ὀρθόδοξον αὐτὸν λέγομεν*). The oath, he said, was superficial (*κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον μόνον*), arguing that in their hearts and churches (*ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*) they behaved as they liked (*ὡς θέλομεν*) and believed and lived in the same way (*οὕτω καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ διάγομεν*).⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., 43.402-405. '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 1991, 38, 181; Dedeyan 2009, 57-58. According to the Abbot, the king of Armenians (*ὁ Ἀρμενίων ῥήξ*), who should probably be identified as 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 Karamanid conquest of 1448. See above, 216.

⁸⁸⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 39.248-250, 44.450-456.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., 43.406-407, 45.464-465.

⁸⁸² Ibid., 38.232-234.

⁸⁸³ Ibid., 36.144-145.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., 36.148-154. Note, however, that the version of the oath recorded by Joseph Bryennios in his *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 6, recognises the pope's holiness (*ὁμολογῶ τὸν πάπαν ἅγιον*). The Greek translations of the *Bulla Cypria* published by Darrouzès 1979, 84.2 and Ioannides 2000, 362.2, do not contain professions of the pope's holiness; cf. *GBUZ*, 235.103.5-6. 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 Bishop of Karpasia pointed out that the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates had sworn obedience to the Latins in everything ‘saving their faith’ (λέγομεν, «σωζομένης τῆς πίστεώς μου»⁸⁸⁵). 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 partum adiutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines*.⁸⁸⁶ 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*’.⁸⁸⁷ Therefore, the expression *salvo ordine meo* was ‘a provision that ensure[d] that the episcopal rank of the Greek bishop [would] be safeguarded.’⁸⁸⁸ This particular formula was not solely restricted to the Cypriot Rhomaic oath of obedience to the Papacy, but could also be found in other oaths taken by Latin abbots and prelates.⁸⁸⁹ As noted by Schabel, the Greek interpretation of *salvo ordine meo* ‘as "except my faith" [was] a completely unjustified translation’,⁸⁹⁰ 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’.⁸⁹¹

Did the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 crypto-religious resistance to Latinisation? The Greek translations of the oath render different interpretations of the formula. Σωζομένης τῆς χειροτονίας μου, κατὰ παντός ἀνθρώπου and φυλαττομένης τῆς ἐμῆς τάξεως, κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων are closer to the meaning of the Latin text.⁸⁹² Bryennios’ translation

the possibility that he modified the original oath, in order to provide evidence that could justify his rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as pro-Latin.

⁸⁸⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 36.132-137.

⁸⁸⁶ CSS, 198.78.

⁸⁸⁷ Schabel’s translation in SN, 315-316.X.25.13 (emphasis mine).

⁸⁸⁸ Nicolaou-Konnari 2008, 313.

⁸⁸⁹ Schabel 2005, 211; Schabel 2006b, 181-182.

⁸⁹⁰ Schabel 2005, 211.

⁸⁹¹ Schabel 2000–2001, 232.

⁸⁹² Darrouzès 1979, 13 (comm.), 85.2 (columns A and B); Ioannides 2000, 369-371; GBUZ, 236.103.13. Nicolaou-Konnari 2008, 313, discusses a similar reference in Machairas: σοζομένον τῆς τυμῆς μου (*honneur gardé*) in Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §336 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 254). Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 32^r, has *salvo meo iure; cioè il rito greco, nel quale sono & al quale sono assunto*. In the French version of his work, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 88^r, Lusignan has *sauf toutefois mes droiets, sçavoir les loix & ceremonies Grecques, desquelles mes predecesseurs ont accoustumé*

of the formula in his *Study* (1412) is also literal and transliterates the Latin text into Greek: *σάλβω ὄρδινο μέω· ἤγουν σωζομ(έν)ης τῆς τάξεώς μου*.⁸⁹³ However, the sixteenth-century codices *Barberinianus graecus* 390 and *Dionysiou* 489 confirm the Cypriot Rhomaic translation of the formula mentioned in the synodal *Acts* of 1406. Both manuscripts have *σάλβω ὄρδινο ἐκόντρα ὄμνες ὄμηναις* (*ὀμήναις* in *Dionysiou* 489), *ἤγουν σωζομένης τῆς τάξεώς μου ἐν πᾶσι<ν>*, *ἤτοι τοῦ πατρίου* (*παντοίου* in *Dionysiou* 489) *<μου> δόγματος*.⁸⁹⁴ The expressions *ἤτοι 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.⁸⁹⁵ 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 continuity in the intentional misinterpretation of the oath. This could be understood as a crypto-religious expression of anti-Latin resistance, showing that the Cypriot Rhomaioi in 1406 had not simply modified the oath in order to deceive Bryennios.⁸⁹⁶

Another noteworthy example of crypto-religious resistance directed against the *Bulla Cypria* was the recitation of an Orthodox profession of faith by the Cypriot Rhomaioi episcopal candidates during their ordination. The Latin diocesans, who simply confirmed the candidates' elections by their flock and clergy and accepted their oath of submission to the Western Church, did not participate in the ordination rituals, which were performed according to the Byzantine rite by Cypriot Rhomaioi or itinerant Orthodox prelates.⁸⁹⁷

v fer. Archimandrite Kyprianos 1788, 59, following Lusignan's account, has *ἐκτὸς τοῦ δικαιώματός μου, ἤτοι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ μου ῥητοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὅποῖον εἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὅποῖον ἐκλέχθην*.

⁸⁹³ Dendrinou 2011b, 34; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 6; Ioannides 2000, 371.

⁸⁹⁴ The text of *Barberinianus graecus* 390 is published in Ioannides 2000, 362.10-11. The text of *Dionysiou* 489 can be found in Darrouzès 1979, 84-85.2 (column C).

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13; Ioannides 2000, 355-356.

⁸⁹⁶ Kyrris 1993b, 163; Papadopoulos 1995b, 596-597 (n. 146), 622.

⁸⁹⁷ CSS, 198-199.78 (trans. in SN, 315.X.12-316.X.14); Ioannides 2000, 361.21-362.23. See the description of the confirmation ceremony by Joseph Bryennios, *Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 6-7; cf. Joseph Bryennios, *Acts of the Synod of Cyprus*, ed. Katsaros, 37.166-181. *GBUZ*, 226-227.94, 236-237.104, contains early fourteenth-century documents concerning the election of the bishop of Leukara. On this

According to Cypriot Rhomaic 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, towards the middle of the church, where the image of an eagle – imperial symbol of Byzantium – was laid before him, with its head pointing towards the sanctuary (situated in the East). 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* interpolation. 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.⁸⁹⁸ The candidate recited the second part of the profession which stressed 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).⁸⁹⁹ This reference seems to reflect the Orthodox position on the *Filioque* issue, expressed by the Cypriot Rhomaios Patriarch Gregory II and ratified by the 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 Rhomaic 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 non-polemical way.⁹⁰⁰

particular issue one should also consult Chatzipsaltes 1958, 13-18. A sixteenth-century account of the election, confirmation ceremony and ordination rite is provided by Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoullos et al., ff. 31^v-32^r; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 87^r-88^v. On ordinations performed by itinerant Orthodox prelates see the case of the Abbot of the Pīpēs monastery, mentioned above, 254, as well as the ordination of Bishop Gregory of Arsinoë in 1370/1: Darrouzès 1956, 58-59.79. A third example is recorded in *GBUZ*, 218.88.

⁸⁹⁸ Goar 1647, 305-306 (based on MS *Vaticanus Barberinus graecus* 390; 16th c.); Papaioannou 1913, 115-116 (based on MS *Metropolis of Kition* 1; 14th c. with 15th c. additions); Eustratiades 1917, 485-486 (based on MS *Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense* AD. XI 47; 16th c.); Darrouzès 1979, 14-20 (comm.), 86.3.1-6; Raquez 1988, 474-476; Andreou 2008, 87-96. On the dates of the aforementioned liturgical manuals see Constantinides 1988, 170 (n. 1). On the symbol of the eagle and its association with Byzantium see: Cutler 1991, 669; Chotzakoglou 1996, 60-68; Babuin 2010, 132-134.

⁸⁹⁹ Goar 1647, 307; Papaioannou 1913, 117; Raquez 1988, 480.

⁹⁰⁰ Darrouzès 1979, 21 (n. 56); Raquez 1988, 481-485; Englezakis 1996, 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: *Tome of Blachernai*, PG 142, 243A: οἰκειούται γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐνεργούντος τὴν κλήσιν· ὡσπερ δῆτα καὶ ἡλίον πολλάκις τὴν ἡλίον ἀγῆν καὶ λαμπηδόνα λέγειν οὐκ ἀνανόμηθα. See also the discussion by Meyendorff 1959, 25-30; Papadakis 1969, 338-339; Sopko 1979, 139-147; Papadakis 1986, 92-95, 140-143, 149-150; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 232-238, 284; Bradshaw 2004, 218-220, 242; Sicienski 2010, 140-143, 145-147; Papadakis 2011, 150-151; Plested 2012b, 37-39; cf. Flogaus 1998, 16-17.

According to the Benedictine scholar Olivier Raquez (1923–2012), the third part of the Cypriot Rhomaic profession, which was recited by candidates over the eagle’s head, had probably adopted and adapted passages from the *Tome* of Blachernai (1285) and the profession of faith composed by Patriarch Gregory II against his Latinising opponents.⁹⁰¹ The third part of the Cypriot Rhomaic profession contains condemnations of ‘Arius and his like-minded followers and participants of his heretical cacodoxy’ (ἀναθεματίζω Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶ σύμφρονας καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῆς αὐτοῦ μανιώδους κακοδοξίας), ‘Macedonius and his followers who have rightly been called “enemies of the Holy Spirit”’ (Μακεδόνιόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν καλῶς ὀνομασθέντας πνευματομάχους) and ‘Nestorius and the other heresiarchs and their like-minded followers’ (Νεστόριον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αἵρεσιάρχας καὶ τοὺς τούτων ὁμόφρονας).⁹⁰² Similarly, the second part of the profession condemns Arius ‘who blasphemously considered the Son and the Holy Spirit as created beings’ (ἐβλασφήμει κτίσμα τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον), ‘the God-hating and Jewish-minded Nestorius’ (τὸν θεοστυγῆ καὶ ἰουδαίοφρονα Νεστόριον) and ‘the truly mindless Apollinaris’ (τὸν ἄνουν ὄντως Ἀπολλινάριον).⁹⁰³

The anathematisation of ancient heretics, rejected by both Churches, could be considered as a crypto-religious rejection of the Latin doctrines and liturgical practices. Presented in the Cypriot Rhomaic profession of faith as statements of common ground, some of these creedal condemnations had been employed in Byzantine theological texts to attack the Latins. Indeed, the pejorative epithet πνευματομάχοι (i.e., ‘enemies of the Holy Spirit’), associated with the heresy of Macedonianism, was mentioned in a thirteenth-century *synodikon* against the unionist Patriarch John IX Bekkos, whose theological views and ecclesiastical policy were rejected and condemned by his successor, Gregory II, and the Council of Blachernai. The *Synodikon*, which also commemorates the Thirteen Monks of Kantara as martyrs of faith, calls Bekkos and his supporters πνευματομάχοι due to their adoption of the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque*.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰¹ Goar 1647, 308-310; Eustratiades 1917, 487; Papaïoannou 1913, 239-240; Darrouzès 1979, 86.3.7-10; Raquez 1988, 477-478; Parenti 2000, 213-214; cf. *Tome of Blachernai*, PG 142, 235C-236A; Gregory II, *Profession of faith*, *ibid.*, 247C-248B.

⁹⁰² Goar 1647, 309-310; Papaïoannou 1913, 240; Raquez 1988, 478.

⁹⁰³ Goar 1647, 306-307; Papaïoannou 1913, 117; Raquez 1988, 480.

⁹⁰⁴ The *Synodikon* is published by Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 574 (title), 576.10.29-33; Uthemann 1991, 1688. See also below App. I, 411-414.

Therefore, it is very likely that the condemnation of the *πνευματομάχοι* in the Cypriot Rhomaic profession of faith was directed not only against the ancient Macedonians but also against the Latins and pro-Latin Rhomaioi, perceived as new ‘enemies’ of the Holy Spirit.

The excommunication of Apollinarianism has been interpreted by Darrouzès as a covert condemnation of the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.⁹⁰⁵ This view appears to be further supported by a dubious theological treatise *On the azymes*, attributed to St Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373). According to Pseudo-Athanasius, the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist denotes that the Body of Christ is truly animate (*ἔμψυχον*) and rational (*ἔννοον*), against the Apollinarian teaching that Christ’s divine reason (*νοῦς*) simply assumed a human body (*σῶμα μόνον ἀνελάβετο*), thus implying that the Incarnation was incomplete.⁹⁰⁶ The *Synodikon against Bekkos* stresses this point even further by directly associating the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist with Apollinaris.⁹⁰⁷

The condemnation of Nestorianism in the Cypriot Rhomaic profession of faith reaffirmed the perfect union of the divine and human natures in Christ.⁹⁰⁸ The perception of Nestorianism as a ‘Judaising’ heresy, a common accusation since the fifth century which does not necessarily correspond to Nestorius’ actual beliefs and theology, might have strengthened the connection between the ‘Judaising’ use of unleavened bread and the Latin Church.⁹⁰⁹ The Cypriot Rhomaic perception of the Latins as Judaisers is further supported by the hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith* of the Monks of Kantara, which associates the use of unleavened bread with the Jewish practices without, however, mentioning Nestorius.⁹¹⁰

Lastly, the anathematisation of Arius is linked to St Epiphanius’ (367–403) interpretation of Arianism as a heresy that perceived Christ, the Son of God, as a created being and the Holy Spirit as the creation of a created being.⁹¹¹ The attack against Arianism in the Cypriot Rhomaic profession stresses that the Son is the ‘eternal

⁹⁰⁵ Darrouzès 1979, 21 (n. 56).

⁹⁰⁶ Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the azymes*, PG 26, 1328BC; Baldwin and Kazhdan 1991, 136.

⁹⁰⁷ Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 583-584.37.

⁹⁰⁸ Goar 1647, 307; Papaïoannou 1913, 117.

⁹⁰⁹ On Nestorius as a Judaiser, see Kosiński 2007, 162; cf. Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 576.7.11-12.

⁹¹⁰ See below, App. I, 415-416.I.2.

⁹¹¹ Gwynn 2007, 230. On Arius and the Arian Controversy, see also: Wiles 1996; Ayres 2004.

and infinite principle' (*ἀρχὴν ὑπέρχρονον καὶ ἀόριστον*), Who comes from the One Who is without beginning (i.e., the Father, *ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάρχου ὄντα*). Moreover, the Holy Spirit is described to be together with the principle (*μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς*), namely the Son, though proceeding from the Father alone.⁹¹² Therefore, the condemnation of Arianism enabled the Cypriot Rhomaic expression of the Orthodox doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit, without, nevertheless, challenging openly the *Filioque* doctrine.

Overall, the examination of the Cypriot Rhomaic 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 anathematisations could be traced in Orthodox theological works produced during Gregory II's patriarchate, strengthens their possible anti-Latin role in the Cypriot Rhomaic ritual. All the above, seem to confirm the Bishop of Solea's aforementioned statement that, despite taking an oath of submission to the Papacy and concelebrating with heretics, the Cypriot Rhomaioi cursed the Latins in private and rejected their faith.

According to Verkuyten, 'various identities may interact according to a situational hierarchy whereby one position becomes the main distinction along which other sources of identity are ranked and periodically subsumed'.⁹¹³ The same scholar notes that although 'shifting identities may [...] be an effective strategy for deflecting threatening social comparisons',⁹¹⁴ there are 'circumstances in which a particular identity dominates thoughts and actions and starts to play a role in almost every situation'.⁹¹⁵ Thus, 'the identity at issue constantly plays a role, eclipses other identities, and is announced or communicated in all kinds of situations'.⁹¹⁶

This brief reminder of Verkuyten's remarks on the multiplicity of identities is important, in order to understand how the Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops were able to manipulate rituals, transforming them into non-coercive expressions of resistance. The social adaptation of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy in the conditions of

⁹¹² Goar 1647, 306-307; Papaioannou 1913, 117; Raquez 1988, 480-484 (discussing the scriptural and patristic roots of the theological terminology employed in the profession of faith).

⁹¹³ Verkuyten 2005, 178-179.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 52.

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. It was this dynamic adaptation of Cypriot Rhomaic identity that permitted the preservation of Orthodox self-perception: the intentional misinterpretation of the formula *salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines* undermined the official image of Cypriot Rhomaic unity with the Papacy; the ritual use of the Byzantine imperial eagle during the ordination rite revealed the ethno-religious awareness of the island's Rhomaioi, despite their long subjugation to the Latins; the creedal condemnations against ancient heretics were covert condemnations of the Latin doctrines and practices. The semantic fluidity⁹¹⁷ of pronouncements expressing Cypriot Rhomaic 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 indeed dominate the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy of identities.

Ultimately, Bryennios' rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as 'traitors of Orthodoxy', though based on Patriarch Germanos II's instructions concerning the prohibition of taking an oath of obedience to the Latin Church,⁹¹⁸ ignored the historical experience of Orthodox crypto-religious survival under Latin rule,⁹¹⁹ as well as the variety of identity preservation mechanisms employed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in order to penetrate into Latin-occupied Greek territories.⁹²⁰ We have already noted that the

⁹¹⁷ Turner 2003: 'The word *tree* means as it does to us only because we agree to let it do so'.

⁹¹⁸ See, e.g., Germanos II, *Letter to the Cypriots I*, 9, 11; cf. Arambatzis 2000, 250-251 (esp. at n. 21).

⁹¹⁹ Cf. Kyrris 1985, 233; Papadopoulos 1995b, 638; Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou 2011-2012, 344-349. In Joseph Bryennios' perception (*Study on the proposed union*, ed. Boulgares, 3, 13) not only the Cypriot Rhomaioi, but also the Latin-subjugated Rhomaioi of Calabria, Sicily, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos and the other Aegean Islands were pro-Latin.

⁹²⁰ These included: '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 and the reaffirmation of Constantinopolitan pastoral authority over the Latin-ruled Orthodox flocks, through the missionary activities of itinerant

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.⁹²¹ We have also seen that, after the Latin establishment in Greece, a number of Rhomaioi churchmen did not seek refuge in Byzantine-controlled areas, but remained near their flock and pursued a policy of accommodation with the Latins in order to continue exercising their pastoral duty over the conquered population; even the clergy of Constantinople was willing to accept papal commemoration in exchange for the right to elect a new patriarch.⁹²² The participation of subjugated Rhomaioi, including members of the clergy, in anti-Latin plots and revolts (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) strongly suggests that their submission to the Latins was to a great extent superficial and that it was undermined not only by socio-economic interests but also by ethno-religious awareness.⁹²³ It becomes clear that Cypriot Rhomaic crypto-religious responses to the Latin political and ecclesiastical expansionism were by no means unique.⁹²⁴ Therefore, we may argue that the proposed union between Cyprus and Constantinople was less prevented by the compromising stance of the subjugated Cypriot Rhomaioi towards the Latin Church, than by Bryennios' inflexibility and the growing hierocratic ideology cultivated by the Constantinopolitan patriarchal circles in the early fifteenth century.

monks and the promulgation of encyclicals: Gones 1982, 1119-1142; Akritidis 2009, 256-274, 399-413 (esp. at 409-410); Kountoura-Galake and Koutrakou 2011-2012, 341-359.

⁹²¹ See above, 69-70.

⁹²² See above, 109-111.

⁹²³ Miller 1921, 139-140 (on Athens); Xanthoudides 1939, 27-124 (on Crete); Krantonelli 1964 (on Macedonia and Thrace); Setton 1976, 471-472 (on Athens); Gounarides 1983, 143-160 (generally on the Greek lands); Svoronos 1989, 1-14 (on Crete); Balard 1989b, 164-165, 168-169 (on Chios); Maltezou 1990, 23-57 (on Crete); Luttrell 1992, 203 (on Leros and Nisyros); Tsougarakis 1998, 509-522 (on Crete); Zachariadou 2004, 305 (on Lēmnos); Papazoglou 2006, 9-35 (on Crete); Kaldellis 2007, 349-351 (on Crete); Maltezou 2011-2012, 397-406 (on Crete); Wright 2012, 253 (on Leros, Chios and Phōkaia); Wright 2014, 37, 69, 112 (n. 107), 125, 203-204 (n. 68), 389 (on Phōkaia, Lēmnos, Leros and Nisyros).

⁹²⁴ The most recent synthesis on the ecclesiastical relations between Rhomaioi and Latins in Latin-occupied Greece is Coureas 2014b, 145-184. On Orthodox responses to the Latin ecclesiastical domination in Constantinople and Greece see generally: Janin 1944, 134-184; Wolff 1948, 33-43; Richard 1989, 45-46; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 208-211; Locke 1995, 205-209; Jacoby 2008, 64-66; Gounarides 2008b, 9-22; Panopoulou 2008, 343-363; Van Tricht 2011, 307-349. On Peloponnese see: Gerstel 2001, 263-285; Chrysostomides 2003, 155-167; Page 2008, 177-242. On Crete see: Manousakas 1960-1961, 85-144; Thiriet 1966, 200-212; Gill 1973, 461-468; Maltezou 1995a, 269-280; Georgopoulou 1995, 479-496; Tsougarakis 1998, 509-522; McKee 2000, 102-132; Tsougarakis 2001, 43-65; Lymberopoulou 2006, 194-217. On Euboea see: Triantaphyllopoulos 2012c, 141-154. On Rhodes and the Dodecanese see: Luttrell 1992, 193-223; Tspirpanlis 1998, 199-203; Katsioti 1999, 327-342; Mastrochristos 2012, 75-188. On the Ionians and Aetolia-Akarnania one should consult: Asonites 1999, 223-241, 263-264, 274; Asonites 2005, 239-246; Papanikolaou 2008, 95-112. On Central Greece see: Kalaitzakis 2002, 258-262. Admittedly, there is no scholarly consensus on the interpretation of Orthodox Rhomaic crypto-religiosity in Latin-ruled territories.

Overall, Bryennios justified his rejection of the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for union with Constantinople by openly accusing the Cypriot Rhomaioi as Latin sympathisers. Following the Synod of 1406, he managed to persuade public opinion about the correctness of his actions and to present himself as a guardian of Orthodoxy. The long-term consequence of Bryennios' anti-Cypriot policy was the officialisation of a schism between Cyprus and Constantinople which lasted until 1572.

Admittedly, it is hard to know the extent to which the views of the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates participating in the Synod of 1406 represented those of their congregations. Yet, Bryennios' version of the synodal *Acts* shows that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 they always feared that the Latins could exercise violence or coercion against them. The parallel examination of the Cypriot Rhomaic oath of submission to the Papacy and the profession of faith of Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 crypto-religious nature of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the fifteenth century is further supported by the investigation of the implementation of the Florentine 'Union' on the island.

IV.5. The Florentine 'Union' (1439) and its legacy

The alienation between Cyprus and Constantinople in the decades that followed Bryennios' examination of the proposed union was further exacerbated by the problems created in the Orthodox world by the Council of Florence (1438–1439) that led to an ephemeral union between the Papacy and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Council was an attempt to achieve reconciliation by discussing openly, officially and in equal terms the theological differences dividing East and West. However, the theological dialogue was undermined by political, ecclesiological, cultural and psychological factors.⁹²⁵

⁹²⁵ The basic studies on the Council include: Gill 1959; Alberigo 1991; Kondyli et al. 2014. Particularly useful are also: Nicol ²1993, 351-361; Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 379-408; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 335-

For Emperor John VIII, a union with the Western Church was primarily a channel for securing Latin military help against the Turks. Supported by many nobles and imperial bureaucrats, the Emperor used his influence over the Constantinopolitan Church to promote his unionist policy. However, while John VIII travelled with the Byzantine delegation to Italy and participated in the Council, it appears that he was unwilling to forcefully impose the Florentine 'Union' over his subjects, for he must have realised that this would aggravate the crisis between unionists and anti-unionists.⁹²⁶ On the other hand, the conciliarist pressure exercised on Pope Eugene IV favoured the open and official discussion of theological differences with the East in an ecumenical council. Yet, both Eugene IV and the conciliarists perceived the prospect of union through the lens of reformed papal ecclesiology, namely as an opportunity for the Byzantines to recognise and correct their errors by returning to the unity of the Western Church.⁹²⁷ Therefore, 'agreement [between Latins and Byzantines] was [eventually] reached with the Latin side prevailing over the doctrinal and ecclesiological issues, though conceding to the maintenance of the sacramental rites and liturgical practices of the Orthodox Church'.⁹²⁸ This reveals that the Florentine 'Union' was not the product of sincere theological dialogue on equal terms, but a reflection of reformed papal ecclesiology, which permitted liturgical uniformity in exchange for the recognition of papal supremacy in matters of faith and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Constantinopolitan patriarchal officials did not unanimously pursue a unionist line, but developed fluid ideological networks and alliances according to their beliefs, interests and psychological condition, thus shifting from anti-unionism to unionism or neutrality.⁹²⁹ One of the few Byzantine theologians who stood firm in his Orthodox faith was the Metropolitan of Ephesus Mark Eugenikos, a former disciple of Joseph Bryennios.⁹³⁰ Another reason that contributed to the weaker position of the Byzantine

408; Gounarides 2001, 107-129; Conostas 2004b, 37-61; Blanchet 2007, 79-123; Dendrinou 2007, 131-148; Constantinides 2014, 142-149; Price 2014, 33-47.

⁹²⁶ Kioussopoulou 2001, 25-36; Gounarides 2001, 108-115, 118-120, 123-124, 128-129; Conostas 2004b, 43; Dendrinou 2007, 135-137, 144-146; Zachariadou 2014, 23-32. Another reason that might have prevented John VIII from implementing the 'Union' was his grief for the death of his wife and daughter. On Late Byzantine imperial privileges over the Church see: Laurent 1955, 5-20; Guran 2001, 53-62.

⁹²⁷ Gill 1959, 46-84; Gounarides 2001, 109-110; Dendrinou 2007, 138-140.

⁹²⁸ Dendrinou 2007, 144; cf. Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 402. See also the *Bulla Unionis* in Hofmann 1944, 68-79.176.

⁹²⁹ Gounarides 2001, 118-124.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 115-116; Dendrinou 2007, 143, 145. On Eugenikos see generally Conostas 2002, 411-475.

Orthodox delegation was the lack of ‘academic’ theological training which characterised most of its members, who were unprepared to deal with the better-trained Latin scholastic theologians.⁹³¹ During the Council’s proceedings, the two sides fruitlessly employed authentic –and in some cases forged– passages from patristic authorities in order to defend their theology, without entering into constructive dialogue (e.g., John VIII forbade any discussion over Palamite Hesychasm).⁹³² Last but not least, the members of the divided Byzantine Orthodox delegation were under intense psychological pressure, experiencing the anxiety and insecurity of being dependent on the Latins for their maintenance expenses in Italy. In the end, the majority of Byzantine Orthodox representatives signed the Florentine ‘Union’ (1439) simply because they wanted to return home, being frustrated by the long and stressful negotiations.⁹³³

Upon the Byzantine delegation’s return to the East, the anti-unionists, led by Mark Eugenikos, his brother John (d. post 1454/5), and George Scholarios, later to become the first Ecumenical Patriarch (Gennadios I, 1454–1456 and 1463–1465) under the Ottomans, opposed the ‘Union’. The anti-unionist 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 the Ottomans.⁹³⁴ In the words of Nicholas Conostas, the division between supporters and opponents of the ‘Union’ was so great that ‘each side refrained from concelebrating with each other, refusing even to set foot in each other’s churches. Their differences were resolved by the cannon fire of Mehmet II, whose troops took the city

⁹³¹ Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 392-394; Price 2013, 136. The cases of Mark Eugenikos of Ephesus, Gemistos Plēthōn, George Scholarios, Isidore of Kiev and Bēssariōn of Nicaea are exceptions to the rule: Conostas 2002, 412-419, 422-440; Demetracopoulos 2011, 342-368; Plested 2012b, 124-134; Kappes 2013, 71-114; Constantinides 2014, 146-149; Kappes et al. 2014, 199-200 (n. 60).

⁹³² Alexakis 2000, 149-165; Conostas 2004b, 41-42, 50; Dendrinis 2007, 143; Sabbatos 2012, 599-610; Price 2013, 125-136; cf. Meyendorff 1988b, 395-407. On the eve of the Florentine Council, Pope Eugene IV, who was under Dominican pressure to condemn Gregory Palamas as a heretic, ordered the examination of the latter’s distinction between divine ‘essence’ and ‘attributes’, though there is no evidence that any official discussion over Palamite Hesychasm took place during the Council’s proceedings: Kappes 2015, xviii-xxvii.

⁹³³ Papadakis and Meyendorff 1994, 397-398; Gounarides 2001, 113-114, 123-124; Conostas 2004b, 32-43; Dendrinis 2007, 140-142.

⁹³⁴ Gill 1959, 349-388 (*passim*); Kiousopoulou 2001, 33-35; Gounarides 2001, 125-129; Conostas 2002, 419-422, 441-461; Conomos 2003, 111-134; Rossidou-Koutsou 2006; Blanchet 2007, 79-123; Dendrinis 2007, 145-147.

in the spring of 1453'.⁹³⁵ The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople brought the establishment of anti-unionist hierocratic churchmen in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, who were eager to collaborate with the Turks in order to 'liberate' their Church from the Florentine 'Union', perceived as a Trojan Horse for the expansion of papal hegemony over the Orthodox.⁹³⁶ Therefore, the 'Union', which had already been denounced by some Byzantine ecclesiastics in 1440/1, was officially rejected by a patriarchal synod in 1483/4.⁹³⁷

Opposition to the Florentine 'Union' came from other parts of the Orthodox world, too. The Rhomaios Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia Isidore (d. 1463), who had accepted the 'Union' and was appointed Legate, was imprisoned by the Muscovite political authorities, before managing to escape.⁹³⁸ During the Byzantine delegation's return from Italy to Constantinople, the Orthodox clergy of Latin-ruled Euboea complained that the former had done great harm to them, for the 'Union' would sanction the Latins to forcefully enter their churches and celebrate the liturgy.⁹³⁹ Similarly, the Rhomaioi churchmen of Venetian-ruled Kerkyra expressed to Emperor John VIII their disapproval of the 'Union', arguing that the local Latin archbishop, who had been trying to expand his jurisdiction over them, would now have the opportunity to do so. Indeed, the island's Latin ecclesiastical authorities made several attempts to limit the privileges of the local Rhomaic clergy, with the Venetians intervening to preserve the rights, customs and liberties of their non-Latin subjects.⁹⁴⁰ In 1441 Mark Eugenikos instructed the hieromonk Theophanēs of Euripos to advise the anti-unionist clergy of his area not to concelebrate with the unionist metropolitan of Athens and avoid celebrating the liturgy in Latin churches.⁹⁴¹ Although the authenticity of the 'Union's' condemnation by the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem (1443) and the monks of Mt Athos has been doubted by some scholars, it is highly possible that at

⁹³⁵ Conostas 2004b, 43.

⁹³⁶ Apostolopoulos 1992, 79-80; Angelou ²1999, 99-132; Angelov 2007, 416.

⁹³⁷ Apostolopoulos 1992, 123-133.4; Dragas 1999, 235-271; Blanchet 2007, 93-123; Dendrinou 2007, 146.

⁹³⁸ Gill 1959, 358-363; Constantinides 2014, 145-146.

⁹³⁹ Blanchet 2007, 112-113.

⁹⁴⁰ Asonites 2000, 399-417.

⁹⁴¹ Gounarides 2001, 126; Blanchet 2007, 114-115; Saint-Guillain 2009-2010, 93-94; cf. Kalaitzakis 2002, 260-261.

least some Orthodox churchmen in these centres opposed the Florentine Council.⁹⁴² The monks of St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai continued to receive pilgrims from the West, but allowed them to perform their services in a separate chapel.⁹⁴³ In Crete, the unionist clergy were supported by the Venetian authorities and the Papacy. From their own perspective, the Venetians saw the 'Union' as an opportunity to achieve religious peace by reconciling the local Orthodox clergy, known for their involvement in anti-Latin revolts, with the Latin regime. Despite having the Venetian and papal support, however, the unionists were socially stigmatised and firmly rejected by the Orthodox population, while they were also disdained by the island's Latins for not being 'true' Catholics.⁹⁴⁴

Special attention should be given to the reception of the 'Union' in Latin-ruled Rhodes, for it provides an interesting parallel to Cyprus. Following the Hospitaller establishment on the island (1309) the Rhodian population was forced to acknowledge papal ecclesiastical supremacy, though they preserved the Byzantine rite and part of their ecclesiastical property. While a Latin archbishop was appointed by the Papacy, the supreme control seems to have been exercised by the Hospitallers, who were primarily interested in maintaining socio-religious peace. The Latins prohibited the permanent presence of Orthodox prelates in Rhodes and the nearby islands, something that created pastoral problems for the local Rhomaioi; at the same time, the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to ordain bishops for the Rhodian see and there is evidence that, despite their submission to the Latins, many Rhodian Rhomaioi remained pro-Constantinopolitan. Indeed, fourteenth-century papal letters complain about the activities of 'schismatic' (i.e., Orthodox) Rhomaioi on the island.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴² See the discussion by Nasrallah 1968, 28-31, 47-52; Atiya 1975, 654; Arranz 1991, 412; Gounarides 2001, 127; Blanchet 2007, 120-121; Paschalides 2012, 228-231; Angold 2014, 78. It is noteworthy that representatives from four Athonite monasteries signed the *Bulla Unionis* in 1439. Moreover, Great Laura and Vatopedion seem to have officially pursued a unionist policy until ca. 1459. Athonite unionism might have been partly motivated by expectations of Christian liberation of Mt Athos from the Ottomans, who had ruled the area since 1430: Hofmann 1944, 79.176.4-12; Plested 2012a, 108.

⁹⁴³ Drandaki 2006, 494-495.

⁹⁴⁴ Tomadakis 1959b, 48-49; Tsirpanlis 1991, 77-82.

⁹⁴⁵ Tsirpanlis 1991, 82-83; Luttrell 1992, 207-219; Coureas 2014b, 158. On the survival of Orthodoxy in the Dodecanese see also: Katsiotti 1999, 327-342; Mastrochristos 2012, 75-188.

Metropolitan Nathaniel of Rhodes (d. 1455) participated in the Council of Florence and signed the *Bulla Unionis* in 1439.⁹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether he was a convinced unionist, or whether his acceptance of the Florentine 'Union' aimed at facilitating his return to his legitimate see. In 1452, Nathaniel was granted permission by the Hospitallers to perform ordinations on the island of Kōs. We should also point out that a number of unionist prelates, including Nathaniel, requested from Eugene IV to transfer the incumbent Latin bishops from their sees, arguing that they were now members of the same Church. The Pope responded that Latins and unionist Rhomaioi hierarchs should coexist.⁹⁴⁷ The symbiosis between the Latin and unionist Rhomaic hierarchy, highlighted by rivalry on issues of jurisdiction and expressions of resistance on the part of Rhodian anti-unionists (directed both against the Latins and Rhomaioi unionists), continued until 1474, when Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) attempted to put an end to this complex situation by subordinating the Rhomaios metropolitan to the authority of the Latin archbishop.⁹⁴⁸ In 1513, nine years before the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes (1522), Pope Leo X (1513–1521), alarmed by Turkish expansionism, promulgated a bull that upgraded the position of the Rhomaios metropolitan under the supreme authority of the Holy See.⁹⁴⁹

This long introduction on the Florentine 'Union' and its reception by the Orthodox Christians in the East is important for several reasons. First, it shows that the *Bulla Unionis* (1439) failed to bring sincere reconciliation between the two Churches, though there were unionist individuals and groups who were willing to work for the restoration of Christian unity under the Papacy. Second, we see that there were many in the Latin side who did not recognise the Byzantine-rite unionists as genuine members of the Western Church (Crete). Third, it should be stressed that even in places where the 'Union' appears to have successfully been implemented (Rhodes), the relationship between Rhomaioi and Latins was characterised by rivalry on issues of jurisdiction. This reveals that the Latins manipulated the 'Union' in order to expand their jurisdiction over the local Rhomaic clergy (Kerkyra), while the latter did the same in order to improve their status and regain control over the flock (e.g., Nathaniel of

⁹⁴⁶ Hofmann 1944, 78.176.12.

⁹⁴⁷ Tsirpanlis 1991, 83-84, 86-88; Luttrell 1992, 212.

⁹⁴⁸ Tsirpanlis 1991, 84-86, 88-96.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-99. On Leo X and the Ottoman threat see Setton 1969, 367-424.

Rhodes). Fourth, many Latin-ruled Rhomaioi interpreted the 'Union' as a threat to the preservation of their Orthodox faith and liturgical tradition (Euboea). Fifth, Orthodox resistance to the 'Union' was both coercive (Russia and Crete) and non-coercive. In the latter case, the Latins were permitted to only officiate in separate chapels attached onto Rhomaic churches (Sinai); the Rhomaic prohibition against the Latin use of Rhomaic altars strongly suggests that the Latins were perceived as schismatics or heretics (*vide* Mark Eugenikos' instructions to Theophanēs of Euripos).

The reception of the Florentine 'Union' in Cyprus was similar to other parts of the Orthodox East. As we shall see below, while a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins seem to have perceived the *Bulla Unionis* as a vehicle for sincere reconciliation, there were many in the Cypriot Rhomaic community who manipulated the 'Union' in order to improve their status, without forsaking their Orthodox ecclesiastical and spiritual tradition. This is further supported by expressions of covert anti-Latinism, aiming to set boundaries between the two communities. At the same time, some Latin ecclesiastics used the 'Union' to reaffirm or tighten their control over the Cypriot Rhomaioi; this was interpreted as Latinisation and seems to have intensified Cypriot Rhomaic attempts to preserve their distinct ethno-religious identity.

In 1441, a group of unionist Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics sent a letter to Pope Eugene IV, complaining that, despite the 'Union', the island's Latins continued to exclude them from communion. They added that the Latins prohibited their participation in weddings, funerals and other public ceremonies of the Latin community. Thus, they requested the Pope's intervention in order for the Latin churchmen to treat them as equals, making no discrimination in honours and —as it seems to be implied— the sharing of profits from processions, weddings, funerals and other services. Eugene IV instructed Andrew Chrysobergēs, the Rhomaios Archbishop of Rhodes (1432–1447), to examine the matter and take measures promoting the Florentine 'Union'.⁹⁵⁰ Although the authenticity of the Cypriot Rhomaic appeal to Eugene IV was accepted by several scholars (including Mas Latrie, Hill and Coureas), it was challenged by Hackett and Papadopoullou, who argued that it is rather unlikely that the Cypriot Rhomaioi would

⁹⁵⁰ *Acts of Eugene IV*, ed. Fedalto, 455-456.985, 456.986 (= *BOFP* III, 143-144; *AE* XXVIII, 359.7; Hofmann 1946, 39-41.254). On the dates of Chrysobergēs' episcopate in Rhodes see Darrouzès 1951b, 304.

seek to establish communion with the Latins.⁹⁵¹ This interpretation, however, does not seem to reflect the situation in Cyprus and other areas, where the Florentine 'Union' had both adversaries and partisans. It should be emphasised that the letter of 1441 describes the opposition of certain *Latin* churchmen against the 'Union', presumably motivated by reasons of rivalry over jurisdiction and the sharing of profits from religious services. As previously mentioned, a similar picture comes from Rhodes, revealing that some members of the numerically weaker Latin Church perceived the Florentine 'Union' as a threat to the interests and survival of their own community. Furthermore, the letter's reference to 'obedient' or 'faithful' (*fideles*) unionist Rhomaioi implies the existence of 'disobedient' or 'unfaithful' anti-unionists, which supports the continuation of Orthodox Cypriot resistance to the Latins.

In 1444, Eugene IV appointed Andrew Chrysobergēs administrator of the Paphos bishopric. The following year (1445), Andrew received from Eugene IV an income from the revenues of the Nicosia bishopric.⁹⁵² These expressions of papal favour probably indicate that Chrysobergēs had taken action in order to enforce the Florentine decrees on the island, as indeed instructed by Eugene IV at the request of Cypriot Rhomaioi unionists in 1441. This interpretation seems to be strengthened by the fact that in 1445, Timothy of Tarsus, Metropolitan of the 'Chaldaeans' (Nestorians),⁹⁵³ and Elias of

⁹⁵¹ Mas Latrie 1855, 327 (n. 3); Hill 1948, 1092; Gill 1959, 336; Hackett ²1972, 150-152; Collenberg 1984-1987, 120, 148.61; Papadopoullos 1995b, 645-646; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 379; Coureas 1998, 83-84.

⁹⁵² Darrouzès 1951b, 304; Fedalto 1995, 715. Andrew converted to the Latin faith in ca. 1370, presumably under the influence of Dēmētrios Kydōnēs. In ca. 1390, during the persecution of anti-Palamites and Latinised/pro-Latin Byzantines in Constantinople, his elder brothers Maximus (d. ante 1430) and Theodore (d. 1429) sought refuge in the Dominican convent of Galata (Pera), before officially entering the Order of Preachers. Andrew seems to have followed their example around the same period. In the early fifteenth century, he studied philosophy and theology in Padua: Loenertz 1978, 77-81; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 287-288, 431, 444-445; Ganchou 2002, 435-493; Gómez 2013, 197. Between 1416 and 1417, he participated in the Council of Constance, supporting the reconciliation of the divided Western Church. Andrew, who had dedicated his life to promoting ecclesiastical reunion between Byzantium and the Papacy, instructed his Latin brethren to work towards unity and reminded them that the West was culturally and theologically indebted to the East. He repeated this exhortation in his speech before the Council of Basel in 1432: Laurent 1935, 414-438; Loenertz 1978, 81-130; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 289-313 (esp. at 290, 306). During the Council of Florence, Andrew represented the Western Church as Latin Archbishop of Rhodes in the negotiations with the Byzantine Orthodox delegation. As a pastor, Andrew preached to the Rhodian Rhomaioi in Greek, a language which he also employed in the celebration of services to facilitate the conversion of non-Latins: Tsirpanlis 1991, 87-88; Luttrell 1992, 210; Delacroix-Besnier, 353-357, 367; Coureas 2014b, 182. In his theological works, Andrew defended the Latin position on the procession of the Holy Spirit and rejected the Palamite Hesychast distinction between divine essence and energies on the basis of its incompatibility with Thomist theology: Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 368-379; Pledsted 2012b, 119-120; Hinterberger and Schabel 2015, 492-545.

⁹⁵³ Although Chaldaean Christians are not Nestorians, they are described as such in Eugene IV's letter; cf. Howell 2015, 527: '[...] The small population of ethnic Chaldeans was absorbed into greater

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, travelled to Rome and renounced their former errors, thus submitting to the Papacy and receiving the right to bless marriages between Latins and members of their Churches.⁹⁵⁴

That the acceptance of the Florentine 'Union' could improve the status of non-Latins is supported by papal correspondence. In 1447, Pope Nicholas V confirmed a manumission issued by Chrysobergēs for a certain Thomas George Fussar, who had been born in the vicinity of Nicosia and travelled to the West requesting from Cardinal Bēssariōn (d. 1472) to mediate for his enfranchisement.⁹⁵⁵ This might suggest that Fussar professed the Latin faith in order to elevate his social status. Sometime before June 1447, Abbot Jonathan of Agros requested from Nicholas V to transfer his monastery from the jurisdiction of the Rhomaios bishop of Solea to that of the Latin archbishop of Nicosia. Unfortunately, the exact reasons behind Abbot Jonathan's appeal to Pope Nicholas V remain unclear, although we may assume that he did so in order to protect his monastery from harassment or 'liberate' it from the control of the Rhomaios bishop of Solea.⁹⁵⁶

Papal correspondence also provides evidence for the existence of non-coercive anti-Latinism. In August 1447, Nicholas V sent a letter to Chrysobergēs, having been informed that a number of Rhomaioi in Cyprus and Rhodes argued that it was the Latins who had accepted the Rhomaic faith in Florence and not *vice versa*. Others claimed that the Latins had only recently been enlightened by the Rhomaioi on the doctrine of Christ's two wills and activities, implicitly (and incorrectly from a historical

Mesopotamian society, and the term *Chaldean* came to denote a social class. The European Renaissance "rediscovered" the term, and the 1445 Council of Florence [sic] used it to denote Greek Nestorian Christians of Cyprus who joined the Roman Catholic Church'.

⁹⁵⁴ Hofmann 1946, 105-108.283 (cf. *AE* XXVIII, 452-453.21, 453-454.22); Mas Latrie 1855, 327 (n. 3); Gill 1959, 336-337; Hackett 1972, 533; Collenberg 1984-1987, 154.107-108, 159.31-33; Delacroix-Besnier 1997, 380; Grivaud 2000, 51-52, 54; Coureas et al. 2012, 198.

⁹⁵⁵ Collenberg 1984-1987, 119, 156.6. Note that in 1447 Chrysobergēs was appointed by Nicholas V Archbishop of Nicosia and *legatus a latere* for Cyprus, Rhodes and the non-Venetian-ruled Aegean islands. He held this position until his death in Famagusta in 1451, when John II nominated, without papal approval, his son James Archbishop of Nicosia: Darrouzès 1951b, 302-304; Gill 1959, 391; Collenberg 1984-1987, 85. See also above, 223-224.

⁹⁵⁶ Hofmann 1946, 113.228; Coureas 2009, 221-222. See also the unionist line pursued by several Athonite monasteries, mentioned above, 272 (n. 945).

and theological perspective) accusing them of Monothelitism and Monenergism.⁹⁵⁷ The Pope was also informed that other Rhomaioi 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.⁹⁵⁸ The papal letter of 1447 shows that a group of Cypriot Rhomaioi 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.

In ca. 1450, reports came to Nicholas V that some of the Chaldaeans of Cyprus, who had been united with the Papacy nine years earlier (1441), lapsed into their former errors. The Pope ordered Chrysobergēs to correct and, if necessary, excommunicate those refusing to obey.⁹⁵⁹ Around the same period, the monastery of the Holy Saviour 'of the Indians' was serving the Coptic and Ethiopian communities of Nicosia, under the jurisdiction of the unionist Ethiopian Prior Paul George of India. The anti-unionist Copts harassed Paul George and attempted to place the monastery under their control. Paul George sought papal protection, which he received in 1456, though the controversy between Copts and Ethiopians over the monastery's control appears to have continued well into the sixteenth century.⁹⁶⁰

⁹⁵⁷ On Rome's leading role in defending Chalcedonianism in the seventh century see above, 51 (n. 107).

⁹⁵⁸ Hofmann 1946, 118-119.292 (= *AE* XXVIII, 499-500.27); Mas Latrie 1855, 327 (n. 3); Hill 1948, 1091-1092; Collenberg 1984-1987, 157.12. On the relations between Armenians and Latins in the post-Florentine period see generally Dedeyan 2009, 65-68 (noting the presence of Latinising Armenian clergy on the island during the fifteenth century).

⁹⁵⁹ Hofmann 1946, 125-126.299 (= *AE* XXVIII, 539.14); Mas Latrie 1855, 327 (n. 3); Hill 1948, 1092. A number of Cypriot Chaldaeans remained united with the Western Church: Hofmann 1946, 127-128.301, 128-129.302, 138-140.305.

⁹⁶⁰ Lefèvre 1941, 71-86 (generally on the Ethiopians in Cyprus and esp. at 82 on the Holy Saviour Controversy); Collenberg 1984-1987, 115, 159.34, 164.13; Grivaud 2000, 50; Coureas et al. 2012, 199; cf. Patapiou 2007a, 55-56 (on a rather different account of the events). See also Basetti-Sani 1991, 623-643 (on the Council's reception by the Copts). In 1456 Pius II, who refused to recognise James of Lusignan as Chrysobergēs' legitimate successor, appointed the aforementioned Isidore of Kiev Archbishop of Nicosia. Isidore must have maintained his position until his death in Rome in 1463. Although he appears to have never set foot in Cyprus, we know that in the late 1440s he had sent a report to Rome, arguing that the whole of Rhodes and Cyprus were devoted to the Florentine 'Union'. Clearly, Isidore's enthusiastic statement should be viewed as an exaggeration, for we have already seen that, though many Cypriot Latins, Rhomaioi and Oriental Christians pursued a unionist line, others rejected the decrees of Florence. On the report see Gill 1959, 389-390; Tsirpanlis 1991, 82, 85; Fedalto 1995, 716. On Isidore as Archbishop of Nicosia one should consult Mas Latrie 1882b, 88 [292] - 89 [293]; Hill 1948, 1092; Collenberg 1984-1987, 86-87 (mentioning a certain Archbishop Nicholas of Nicosia, who remains so far unidentified and might have succeeded Isidore around 1460, namely before the latter's death in 1463); Papadopoulos 1995b, 649; Coureas et al. 2012, 220.

In 1472, Pope Sixtus IV promulgated a bull attempting to restore Latin ecclesiastical control over the island's Rhomaioi and Oriental Christians. The Pope noted that the Latin see of Nicosia had long lacked (*diu caruit*) a pastor who could defend its rights and liberties (*qui iura et libertates ecclesie predictae defendere*). As a result of this situation, the Rhomaios bishop of Solea, as well as other Armenian, Jacobite and Oriental Christian prelates uncanonically (*contra sanctos canones*) exercised the jurisdiction of their Latin diocesans. They ordained bigamists, bastards, illiterates and immoral men and allowed them to administer the holy sacraments. They also practised simony, blessed marriages within degrees prohibited by the Latin canon law, allowed divorces and remarriages and usurped the jurisdiction of the Latin hierarchy over matrimonial and spiritual matters (*in huiusmodi matrimonialibus ac aliis spiritualibus causis*). In addition, they ignored the Latin ecclesiastical tradition (*ignorantiam et parum fidei catholice peritiam habentes*) and the decrees of the Florentine Council. Sixtus IV ordered the restoration of Latin episcopal authority, condemned simony and prohibited uncanonical ordinations and intervention over matrimonial and spiritual issues. He underlined that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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.⁹⁶¹

Sixtus IV's bull is important because it unveils the failure of the Papacy's unionist policy in Cyprus: the non-Latin ethno-religious 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. The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that the incumbent Latin Archbishop, the Catalan Louis Perez Fabregues (1471–1476), had been absent from his see between 1471 and 1473,⁹⁶²

⁹⁶¹ Mas Latrie 1855, 325-330 = CSS, 244-249.94 (with English summary by Coureas and Schabel at 244-245); Hill 1948, 1094; Coureas 1998, 85-86; Skoufari 2011, 101; Coureas et al. 2012, 136.

⁹⁶² Louis was John Perez Fabregues' (d. 1473) brother, who had served James II as a mercenary captain against Charlotte and later became Count of Jaffa and Karpasia. Upon his appointment as Archbishop (1471), Louis was sent to the court of Sixtus IV, in order to obtain recognition for King James II, considered by the Papacy to have illegitimately deposed Charlotte. Louis was also ordered to arrange a marriage between James II and Thomas Palaiologos' (d. 1465) daughter. When Sixtus IV refused to sanction James II's rise to the throne and his proposed marriage to the Palaiologoi, Louis was sent to negotiate a marriage between James II's illegitimate daughter and the illegitimate son of King Ferdinand I of Naples (1458–1494). He returned to the island only after James II's death in 1473. George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 148-149, 180-181, 402-404, 419-421 (comm.); Mas Latrie 1855, 327 (n. 1); Mas Latrie 1882a, 417-418.15; Mas Latrie 1882b, 93 [297]-94 [298]; Collenberg 1984–1987, 87; Coureas et al. 2012, 136; Edbury 2013, 216-217. On Thomas Palaiologos in the West see generally: Harris 1995a, 538; Ronchey 2006, 313-342.

something that facilitated the usurpation of Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Rhomaioi bishop of Solea; this must have been Nicholas (ca. 1458–ca. 1473), whose daughter Bele is recorded by an supplicatory inscription in a late fifteenth-century icon of the Virgin.⁹⁶³ Nicholas of Solea is an example of how Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates in the fifteenth century functioned as prominent members of the island’s elite and pursued close contacts with the Lusignan dynasty. George Bustron’s (d. post 1501?) *Chronicle*, our main source for the political events of the second half of the fifteenth century,⁹⁶⁴ informs us that in 1458 Nicholas of Solea was the first ecclesiastic summoned by James 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 rumours that James was planning to kill her.⁹⁶⁵ 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.⁹⁶⁶ George Bustron’s references suggest that Nicholas maintained harmonious relations with James, the Archbishop-turned-King, and that he was actively involved in the Kingdom’s affairs.⁹⁶⁷ Thus, it is not surprising that during Louis Perez Fabregues’ absence, if not earlier,⁹⁶⁸ Nicholas of Solea ‘usurped’ the jurisdiction of the Latin Archbishop, expanding his authority beyond his own bishopric in Solea, over the Rhomaioi and Latins of the Nicosia

⁹⁶³ See above, 256.

⁹⁶⁴ On the *Chronicle* and its author see the extensive introduction by Kechagioglou in George Bustron, *Chronicle*, 45*-267*. On the identification of the Bishop of Solea mentioned in Sixtus IV’s bull as Nicholas, see Coureas et al. 2012, 136.

⁹⁶⁵ George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 60-61; Koumbaridou 2001, 528.

⁹⁶⁶ George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 154-155; Koumbaridou 2001, 530-531.

⁹⁶⁷ Coureas et al. 2012, 135-136.

⁹⁶⁸ It is not clear whether Nicholas of Solea should be identified with a certain *Nicolas archiepiscopus Nicosiae*, who received from Pius II (April 1460) a *licentia testandi*, namely a special papal dispensation concerning the composition and execution of his will. In 1460, the throne of Nicosia was occupied by William Goneme, recognised by James II as the legitimate Latin Archbishop, though Isidore of Kiev, who had succeeded Chrysobergēs in 1456 and was recognised by the Papacy as the legitimate Latin Archbishop, was still alive and it is likely that he maintained his office to his death (1463): Collenberg 1984–1987, 86-87, 168.17; cf. the list of Latin Archbishops in Coureas et al. 2012, 220. The identification of *Nicolas archiepiscopus Nicosiae* remains a *desideratum* for future research. One possibility is that *Nicosiae* is a scribal error for *Nimosiae* (i.e., Limassol); two Latin bishops of Limassol by the name of Nicholas are reported around the same period; cf. Collenberg 1984–1987, 96-100; Koumbaridou 2001, 529-530; Kechagioglou in George Bustron, *Chronicle*, 414. This interpretation, however, does not explain the title *archiepiscopus*, which was associated with the Nicosia bishopric, not the see of Limassol. The question raised is whether Nicholas of Solea had ‘usurped’ the title of Archbishop of Nicosia already by ca. 1460. It seem rather unlikely, however, that Pius II would have sanctioned this ‘usurpation’ in his official correspondence to Nicholas by addressing him as *Nicolas archiepiscopus Nicosiae*.

diocese. As we have seen, the bull mentions that the same policy was also pursued by other Cypriot Rhomaioi and Oriental Christian prelates, who were said to be ignorant of the Latin faith and the Florentine decrees.

For many Cypriot Rhomaioi, 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 facilitated by 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 Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical power was the outcome of a series of small victories won by the Cypriot Rhomaioi in the two preceding centuries: the continuation of episcopal authority under the provisions of the *Bulla Cypria*; the development of crypto-religiosity and covert anti-Latinism; the preservation of collective memory, tradition and ethno-religious identity; the rapprochement with Byzantium and the Antiochene Patriarchate and the exploitation of opportunities offered by the tolerant ecclesiastical policy of the Lusignans in the fourteenth century (e.g., promotion of religious symbols under royal patronage, permanent re-establishment of bishops to their ancient sees and founding of new cathedrals). The indigenisation of the island's Latin Church, the Florentine 'Union' and the strengthening of local Christian identity *vis-à-vis* the Muslim expansion in the East also contributed to this process by promoting tolerance and interaction among the island's ethno-religious communities. All the above, enabled the Cypriot Rhomaioi to improve their status and challenge the rights and privileges of the Latin Church.

There is no evidence that Sixtus IV's bull helped the island's Latin Church recover from the severe crisis it was facing.⁹⁶⁹ On the contrary, the political and dynastic antagonisms of the 1470s seem to have favoured the Cypriot Rhomaioi. In 1473 Louis Perez Fabregues, in collaboration with several nobles and officials, orchestrated a *coup* against Caterina Cornaro and the Venetians, aiming to restore Charlotte with the support the Kingdom of Naples.⁹⁷⁰ One of the first actions of defiance against Cornaro was the refusal of the Latin cathedral chapter of St Sophia to provide a porphyry

⁹⁶⁹ Coureas et al. 2012, 136.

⁹⁷⁰ Edbury 2013, 216-217.

sarcophagus for King James II's burial; clearly, a part of the Cypriot Latin clergy were loyal to Archbishop Louis and his collaborators.⁹⁷¹ George Bustron notes that a Latin friar in Charlotte's service had been sent, together with other Latin agents disguised as pilgrims, to the Rhomaic monasteries of the Virgin Apsinthiōtissa and Acheiropoiētos, in order to provoke a popular uprising among the pilgrims who had been gathered to celebrate the Virgin's Dormition (15 August 1437) and the Holy *Mandylion* feast (16 August 1437). Charlotte's agents were eventually arrested and executed; their plot's failure suggests that the local Rhomaioi supported Cornaro and the Venetian party.⁹⁷² This is further stressed by Bustron's statement that, soon after the King's death, the citizens of Nicosia declared their loyalty-to-death towards Cornaro.⁹⁷³ Although we possess no information about Bishop Nicholas' stance during Fabregues' *coup*, we may assume that he was either pro-Venetian, like many other Rhomaioi in Nicosia, or that he pursued a neutral line. 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.⁹⁷⁴ From 1477 onwards, all Latin Archbishops of Cyprus were either Venetians, or *protégés* of the Most Serene Republic.⁹⁷⁵ The Cypriot Rhomaioi were now under new masters, who were more interested in preserving religious peace and the rights of Venice, than imposing Sixtus IV's strict provisions concerning the Florentine 'Union'.⁹⁷⁶

During the last century of Frankish rule in Cyprus, the Lusignan control over the island's ecclesiastical affairs and the urgent need to increase royal income led to phenomena of corruption and simony that seem to confirm Sixtus IV's complaints about the immorality of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics. A year after the Venetian annexation (1490), the island's authorities composed a report on various problems experienced by the local population. The report noted that, due to the lack of piety (*questo per la pocca devotion e mancho reverentia*), many churches were in a ruinous state (*tutte vanno in ruina*). The report added that the aforementioned churches had been for

⁹⁷¹ George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 156-157, 407-408 (comm.); Grivaud 2013b, 241; Calvelli 2013, 311-355.

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*, 164-167, 413-414 (noting that the Latin friar was probably a Hospitaller from Rhodes).

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 154-155; Coureas et al. 2012, 126; Grivaud 2013b, 242-244.

⁹⁷⁴ Mas Latrie 1882b, 94 [298] – 96 [300]; Coureas et al. 2012, 126-127; Edbury 2013, 218-223.

⁹⁷⁵ Hill 1948, 1095.

⁹⁷⁶ On the Venetian *Realpolitik* and its reception in Cyprus see below, 304-328.

a long time (*da un tempo*) under royal *ius patronatus* (*è sono de juspatronatus de la reale*), meaning that the Lusignans retained proprietary rights and administrative powers over them.⁹⁷⁷ Ecclesiastical offices and benefices were sold by public auction (*si metteno al publico incanto*) and passed to the highest bidder, regardless of his position, morality and education. The practice of simony (*symonia*) affected the Venetian State's control over both Latin and Rhomaic establishments, namely churches (*chiessie*), abbays and priories (*abbatie et priorati*), as well as the appointment of bishops (*vescovati*). Ecclesiastical property was usurped and plundered (*usurpare et depredare li beni de dicte chiese*), against the wishes of supplicants and donors (*contra la opinion de quelli poveri morti che de soi beni le hanno adottate*). Moreover, the celebration of sacraments and holy ceremonies was neglected (*diminuendo le celebration et officii et zerimonie*). The Most Serene Republic was called to intervene for the restoration of ecclesiastical order, though as we shall see below, the practice of simony flourished until the end of the Latin rule.⁹⁷⁸ The Venetian report of 1490 demonstrates that Sixtus IV's earlier pronouncements in 1472 had indeed failed to reform immorality and canonical disobedience in Cyprus that were largely caused by the Kingdom's economic weakness and the Lusignan control over Church.⁹⁷⁹

Sixtus IV's (1472) attempt to reaffirm papal control over the non-Latins of Cyprus, through the strict implementation of the Florentine 'Union', resembles his previously discussed involvement in Rhodian affairs, which led to the subordination of the Rhomaios metropolitan to the Latin archbishop of Rhodes (1474). As we have already mentioned, the situation in Rhodes was improved by Leo X's decision (1513) to upgrade the local Rhomaios metropolitan's status, on the eve of the island's Ottoman conquest.⁹⁸⁰ In 1521, a year before the fall of Rhodes, Leo X, who was presumably informed about the rumours of a planned Ottoman attack in the Eastern Mediterranean

⁹⁷⁷ On the definition of *ius patronatus* see Coureas 2014b, 164. The most recent study on the *ius patronatus* of Latin-ruled Cypriot monasteries is Voisin 2013a, 393-404.

⁹⁷⁸ Mas Latrie 1882a, 529-531.39.2; Hill 1948, 778; Coureas et al. 2012, 136. See also below, 313, 316-318.

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. Runciman 1968, viii: 'The story has often been obscured by bitterness, prejudice and ignorance. It is not always edifying. Not even the most devoted Philhellene can claim that all the Greeks behaved well. There were indeed during these centuries [i.e., of the Ottoman rule] a number of noble and wise and courageous Greeks, who are all the more to be admired because of the circumstances in which they lived their lives. But servitude does not usually bring out the best in men. If absolute power corrupts absolutely, so too does absolute impotence. If the Greeks were guilty of intrigue and corruption, it must be remembered that they were dealing with masters who themselves were all too often corrupt intriguers'.

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. Setton 1969, 369.

(with Cyprus being a likely target), promulgated a bull that reasserted the equality between Latins and Rhomaiοi under the Papacy in various areas under Venetian authority.⁹⁸¹ Although the island is not explicitly mentioned in the text, the bull most probably mirrored the conditions in Cyprus, as well.⁹⁸²

Leo X reminded in his bull that, according to the Florentine decrees, the Rhomaiοi were free to observe certain ancestral rites and customs (*eorum ritibus, & observantiis; κάποιας συνηθείας τους και διατηρήσεις*), as long as they did not contain elements considered heretical by the Papacy (*quae non imputabantur Haeresis; όποῦ δέν εἶχον ἔγκλημα Αἱρέσεως*). Thus, the Latins should tolerate, among others, the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, the baptism according to the Byzantine rite, the ordination of married candidates for priesthood, the priests' custom to have a beard and the reception by everyone (including children) of the Holy Communion in both kinds, namely the reception of *both* Christ's Body *and* Blood (instead of Christ's Body alone, according to the Latin custom). However, the Pope was informed that Latin bishops in areas inhabited by the two communities systematically harassed the Rhomaiοi (*quotidie molestant, perturbant, & inquietant; συγχίζουσι καθ'ήμέραν, ταραττουσι και ἐνοχλοῦσιν*), forcing them to rebaptise their children according to the Latin rite. They also prohibited the administering of Holy Communion in both kinds and the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist and attempted to impose clerical celibacy. Wishing to restore religious peace, Leo X ordered the preservation of the Byzantine rite and customs, as had been the traditional papal policy. Furthermore, he placed all Rhomaiοi hierarchs under his protection and ratified that they should perform their duties undisturbed from Latin secular and ecclesiastical harassment. He underlined that each community should separately ordain its own clergy and that the Rhomaiοi were sanctioned to resolve their own affairs. He explicitly forbade Latin priests to celebrate on Rhomaic altars, apparently because this was interpreted as a sacrilege by the Rhomaiοi. Each community was to preserve its sacraments, customs, property and rights and the widows of Rhomaiοi priests were to enjoy special privileges. Leo X

⁹⁸¹ On these rumours see *ibid.*, 419 (n. 194).

⁹⁸² Bortoli 1777, 7 (: *in locis, ubi praesentes Graeci morantur*), 12 (reference to Cephalaria and Zakynthos) = Ploumides 1970, 241-242.8, 244.8 (comm.). See the discussion by Hill 1948, 1090; Hackett ²1972, 173-174; Papadopoulos 1995b, 653-654; Coureas 1998, 84-85; Arbel 2002, 80; Skoufari 2011, 99.

commissioned the bishops of Caserta and Ascoli to ensure the implementation of the bull, which was later reconfirmed by his successor Clement VII (1523–1534) in 1526.⁹⁸³

The bulls of 1521 and 1526 demonstrate that Leo X and Clement VII wished to protect the Venetian-ruled Rhomaic communities against an aggressive current of Latin anti-unionism, which had been developed as a response to the growing influence of Rhomaioi in territories where the Latin element was numerically weaker and struggled to preserve its communal identity and interests. The reconfirmation of Leo X's bull by Clement VII suggests that Latin resistance to the Florentine 'Union' persisted. The papal formulations aimed at enhancing the equality of status between Rhomaioi and Latins, but underlined that the former were allowed to only 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.⁹⁸⁴

Cypriot Rhomaic anti-unionism persisted, too. The hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* mentions that in the 1560s, the Rhomaioi of Cyprus and other Venetian-ruled territories tacitly (*taccitamente*) denounced (*condannano*) the Council of Florence; they also stated that the Latin faith was incorrect (*è falsa*) and that their own faith was true and holy (*esser vera et santa*).⁹⁸⁵ Moreover, Calepio's account on the War of Cyprus, published in 1573, strongly criticised the Cypriot Rhomaioi for their disobedience to the Latin Church. According to Calepio,

everyone can see the hatred they bore to the dogmas of the Latin Church, and knows that they held it to be heretical. Hence they would not allow any Latin to celebrate upon their altars, but held their priests to be profane persons, and when the Chiefs of the State desired to hear Mass in their churches, they made portable altars. [...] They

⁹⁸³ Bortoli 1777, 5-19 = Ploumidis 1970, 240-245.8. The names of the bishops of Caserta and Ascoli are not mentioned in the text. The Bishop of Caserta might be identified as John Baptista Boncianni (1514–1532/3); the Bishop of Ascoli could either be Philos of Roverella (1518–1550; Ascoli Piceno) or John Francesco of Gaeta (1517–1566/7; Ascoli Puglie): Eubel 1923, 119-120, 155; Ploumidis 1970, 244.8 (comm.); cf. Arbel 2002, 80 (n. 13). On the Florentine position concerning rebaptism and the use of leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist see Arranz 1991, 408-409, 411-412.

⁹⁸⁴ See the discussion by Hill 1948, 1090; Hackett 1972, 173-174; Podskalsky 2005, 33; Papadopoulos 1995b, 653-654; Coureas 1998, 84-85; Arbel 2002, 80; Skoufari 2011, 99.

⁹⁸⁵ See below App. IV, 469.I.8.53-56.

would never accept the Council nor its decrees [i.e., the Council of Trent (1545–1563)], nor the Eighth Council of Florence. Nay, the Greek bishop Loarà [Neophytos Logaras, Rhomaios Bishop of Solea (1564–1568)] said to me openly, when I was sent by the said Archbishop [i.e., Filippo Mocenigo, Latin Archbishop of Nicosia (1560–1586)] to enlighten him and to exhort him to obey our Holy Church, and fulfil his oath. ‘My son (said he) there are bounds set between us Greeks and you Latins, and the cures are divided between us and the flocks, so that on me lies the care of my Greeks, and on your Archbishop of the Latins. The Eighth and Ninth Councils were held concerning matters in question among you Latins, but they have nothing to do with us’.⁹⁸⁶

Clearly, the implementation of the Florentine ‘Union’ in Cyprus was undermined by the conflicting interests and distinct ethno-religious identities of both Latins and Rhomaioi. As we have seen, strategies of crypto-religiosity and non-coercive anti-Latinism exercised a major role in shaping local Rhomaic anti-unionism and reaffirming Orthodox identity in Cyprus. At the same time, the Florentine decrees contributed to the improvement in status of the island’s non-Latin Christians, including those who sincerely pursued a unionist line and those who pretended to remain obedient to the Papacy, often choosing to express their anti-Latinism less openly and in a non-coercive way.

Expressions of covert and non-coercive Orthodox resistance to the Latins and the Florentine ‘Union’ could be traced in ecclesiastical art. A late fifteenth-century fresco from the apse of the church of St Maura at Koilani depicts Christ administering the Holy Communion in both kinds to the Apostles, who are divided in two choirs, each partaking of His Body and Blood respectively. It is noteworthy that neither choir is led by St Peter, considered by the Latins to have established the primacy of the Roman pope. Instead, the Apostles are led by Sts John and Andrew, the latter being

⁹⁸⁶ Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 108r: *A tutti è manifesto l’odio che portavano alla fede della Chiesa latina ha ogni uno come la tenivano eretica, non volevano per questo ad metter nissuno latino celebrare sopra li loro altari, ma iudicandoli come proffani, & volendo li Signori Rettori, udir messa nelle lor Chiese, facevano portatili altari. [...] Ne mai hanno voluto pur accettare ne il Sinodo ne le sue ordinationi anzi, ne il Sinodo 8. di Fiorenza, imo alla scoperta mentre mi disse il Vescovo greco Loarà, quando ero mandato dal sopra detto Illustriss. Arcivescovo ad illuminarlo & essortarlo a l’obedientia della santa Chiesa & all’essecutioni del suo giuramento, Figliuol mio disse sono posti li termini tra noi, & voi tra latini & greci, e son divise le cure, e le peccore, si che Io ho la cura sopra il populo mio greco & l’Arcivescovo solo sopra i latini, li Concilij 8. 9. sono fatti per le cose versate tra voi latini però non han che far con noi [...]* (English translation by Hackett 1972, 175, with minor improvements); Papadopoulos 1995b, 654-655; cf. Schabel 2006b, 165-166. On this incident, see further discussion below, 338-346.

commemorated by the Orthodox as the founder of the Constantinopolitan Church and protector of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.⁹⁸⁷ A mural painting depicting the Last Judgement from the church of the Virgin of Moutoullas, probably dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, presents a group of sinners in the fiery stream. The anonymous artist included two Rhomaioi prelates, one of whom wears the Latin mitre, perhaps in order to be identified by the viewers as pro-Latin.⁹⁸⁸ 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 Judgement 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 previously, this pejorative epithet was associated with the heresy of Macedonianism, the Latin interpolation of the *Filioque* in the Creed and Bekkos' theological views concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁸⁹ Moreover, a fifteenth-century fresco depicting the Holy Trinity from the rock-cut Hermitage in Souskiou should probably be interpreted as an Orthodox and anti-unionist response to the *Filioque* doctrine.⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁷ Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 236-237; Gioles 2004, 274-275; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010b, 48-49; Dialektopoulos 2012, 90. On St Andrew and the Constantinopolitan Church, see Dvornik 1958. On the veneration of St Andrew in Cyprus, see Triantaphyllopoulos 2013, 129-147.

⁹⁸⁸ Nicolaïdēs 1995, 74; Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 330; Perdikes and Myriantheus 2009, 68; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 50-51; cf. a similar scene from Asinou in Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 140.

⁹⁸⁹ Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1321, 1323 (to be consulted with caution); Papageorghiou ²2009, 9, 37-39 (mentioning that the donor was the priestly family of Michael the Lector). See also above, 263.

⁹⁹⁰ The decoration of the Hermitage should be dated with caution around the mid-fifteenth century. Several scholars have interpreted the cruciform halos of all three persons of the Trinity as a reference to the *Filioque*. It seems more likely, however, that the cruciform halos express the equality and unity of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, perhaps reflecting the Orthodox theological position that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. On this see: Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 397-403 (consider the decoration Latinising); Kyrris 1993b, 183-185 (agrees with the aforementioned interpretation); Papageorghiou 1999, 57-59 (argues, more convincingly, that the decoration is Orthodox and not Latinising). The Holy Trinity at Souskiou is surrounded by the angelic powers and is encompassed by a complex mandorla, which consists of a rhombus and a square inside a circle, denoting the divine glory that fills the entire heaven and earth. The theophanic elements of the decoration have not been taken into consideration in previous studies. On the 'Hesychast mandorla' in Byzantine art, see Andreopoulos 2005, 146-147, 229-230, 240. One of the peculiarities of the fresco at Souskiou is that the mandorla encompasses all three Persons of the Trinity and not the Son alone. According to Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 397, the triangular depiction of the Holy Trinity probably reflects Western iconographic models. It is likely that the mural painting expresses Patriarch Gregory II's theological definition (based on earlier patristic sources) of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Father through the Son: *Tome of Blachernai*, PG 142, 240C: δι'Υιοῦ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως αὐτὸς αἰδίως ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀναδείκνυται ὁ Παράκλητος, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος τὸ φῶς. The Patriarch's theology was known in Cyprus, as supported by the Cypriot Rhomaic professions of faith, for which see above, 262-263. On Byzantine and Latin perceptions of Gregory II's theology during the Florentine Council see: Papadakis ²1986, 142-143; Siecienski 2010, 166-167.

As several scholars have argued, the addition of multiple aisles, chapels and altars in Rhomaic churches could partly be interpreted as an indication of the coexistence between Rhomaioi and Latins in the period after the *Bulla Cypria* and the Florentine Council.⁹⁹¹ Although a systematic examination of this complex issue remains a *desideratum* for future research, it is important to note that not all cases of churches with multiple aisles, chapels and altars should be considered as reflecting unionism and liturgical concelebration.⁹⁹² We have already noted that Leo X's bull (1521) and Calepio's account (1573) mention that the Rhomaioi were greatly disturbed by the Latin practice of celebrating the liturgy on their altars. Moreover, the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* states that the Rhomaioi did not permit (*non permettendo*) the Latins to celebrate their liturgy in their churches and on their altars (*nelle lor'chiese et nelli loro altari*), adding that whenever this happened, they perceived it to be a sacrilege (*reputano come si comettesse sacrilegio*) and reconsecrated their altars (*lavano l'altare à modo di consecratione*).⁹⁹³ The surviving Cypriot Rhomaic liturgical ordinance on the 'renovation' or reconsecration of altars, must have partly been employed to purify Rhomaic altars used by Latin priests in the post-Florentine period.⁹⁹⁴

Admittedly, there were cases when the Cypriot Rhomaioi simply had to tolerate the Latin clergy officiating in their churches. For instance, in Kolossi, where the Hospitallers possessed a tower and had established a sugar production centre, the Order used the local Rhomaic church of St Eustathios, which was renovated in the mid-fifteenth century. It is highly possible that St Eustathios served both communities, though we know nothing about the specific details of their accommodation.⁹⁹⁵ The

⁹⁹¹ See, e.g.: Jeffery 1918, 287-288; Hill 1948, 1097; Papadopoulos 1995b, 642-643 (esp. at n. 330); Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1236; Kyrris 1997, 181-183 (n. 76 *passim*); Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 320-322; Kyrris 2005, 17. The case of the so-called 'Latin' chapel of St John Lampadistēs' monastery will be discussed below, 371-373. On examples from Venetian-occupied Crete see Gratziou 2010, 127-183.

⁹⁹² The forthcoming article by Dr Naso Chrysochou (in *ΚΣ* 2013?) on the architectural development of twin-aisle churches in Latin-ruled Cyprus is expected to be an important contribution on the issue. The preliminary findings of Dr Chrysochou's research were presented in the *Symposium on Cypriot Architecture* (*Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο «Αρχιτεκτονική της Κύπρου»*) organised by the Society of Cypriot Studies (Nicosia, 22-24 November 2013). One should also consult Chrysochou 2003, 26-31.

⁹⁹³ App. IV, 472.I.18.96-102.

⁹⁹⁴ On the ritual ordinance see Ioannides 2002, 99-118.

⁹⁹⁵ Luttrell 2011, lxxi. On examples of peaceful reception of Latin pilgrims in Rhomaic churches, with no mention of concelebration, see Cobham 1908, 56, 58, 60 (Le Saige, 1518), 65-66 (Possot, 1533), 66 (Affagart, 1534). Le Saige mentions a church in Salines (Larnaca), the nave of which was occupied by the

addition of aisles, chapels and altars in Rhomaic churches provided a separate space for the performance of Latin funerary, memorial and private services.⁹⁹⁶ The tradition of allocating a distinct space in churches for private use was common in both East and West and should not be regarded as a phenomenon that was solely associated with the Florentine Council.⁹⁹⁷ However, the 'Union' must have enhanced the symbiosis of the two rites, particularly for the elites.⁹⁹⁸

There is evidence that the accommodation of memorial services placed the Cypriot Rhomaic churches and monastic establishments under the patronage of powerful families, providing a source of income in exchange for spiritual benefits. In 1451 and 1453 respectively, the Syrian *potentes* John and Anthony Audeth left money to various Latin, Coptic, Jacobite, Maronite, Armenian and Rhomaic churches for memorial services.⁹⁹⁹ In his will, the Cypriot Rhomaios magnate Eugene Synglitico (*alias* Synglētikos, d. 1538) granted to the monastery of St Mamas eight hundred bezants for two annual memorial services and twelve ducats to the Latin cathedral of St Sophia for an annual service on the altar of St Mark, his patron saint. The will added that two thousand ducats were to be given for St Mamas' renovation, expressing Synglitico's wish for the establishment of two altars, so that both rites would be served in the same church. Clearly, Synglitico, a socially elevated Cypriot Rhomaios, wished to be commemorated according to both liturgical traditions in order to secure salvation for his soul in the afterlife.¹⁰⁰⁰ The will implies that the Latin clergy performing Synglitico's annual memorial service in the Rhomaic monastery of St Mamas were sanctioned to do

Rhomaioi, though an aisle accommodated the Latin clergy: *ibid.*, 60. This should not be considered as a case of concelebration, since the two rites had distinct places of worship; *pace* Grivaud 2013a, 497.

⁹⁹⁶ In some cases, the separation of liturgical space also served members of the Latin rite who were highly concerned with preserving their religious identity. In 1471, for example, Philip Podocataro was granted papal permission (reconfirmed in 1472) to use a portable altar for his services. He also informed Sixtus IV that in his rural possessions there were no Latin churches, requesting permission to either found new churches or convert non-Latin establishments: Collenberg 1993, 170-176; Olympios 2013, 328.

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 326-328; cf. Bacci 2010, 11-30; Chotzakoglou 2011, 475-476, 493. See, e.g., the 'Latin' chapels at Virgin Angeloktistē, Kiti (probably early fourteenth century), and the Holy Cross of Pelendri (fourteenth century): Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 321 (n. 25); Olympios 2009, 119-120; Zarras 2010, 47-52; Foulia 2012, 20-21. See also the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth mural painting from the south conch of the narthex of the Virgin Phorbiōtissa, Asinou, depicting the Virgin of Mercy and the Child with Latin donors: Kalopissi-Verti 2012b, 122-131. On Byzantine chapels see generally: Babić 1969; Ćurčić 1977, 94-110; Mathews 1982, 125-138.

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. Imhaus 2004, 203-204, 206-207.

⁹⁹⁹ Richard 1981, 90 (comm.), 113.5, 118-119.7.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Patapiou 2003-2004, 230-231, 233; Olympios 2013, 327-328. On the Synglētikoī/Synglitico see Arbel 1995a, 325-337.

so only on their own separate altar, presumably in order to avoid tension with the local Rhomaioi monks and flock, who would have considered the use of their altar as a sacrilege. Thus, while Synglitico appears to have favoured both rites by placing Rhomaioi and Latin priests in the same church, he nevertheless had to set apart a distinct space for each community.

A similar situation could be observed in major pilgrimage sites. In ancient Salamis-Constantia, near Famagusta, a Cypro-archaic tomb of the seventh century B.C. was identified as the prison of St Catherine of Alexandria, whose monastery on Mt Sinai possessed several Cypriot dependencies. The wider area of Salamis was also associated with St Catherine's legend. Western pilgrim accounts of the mid-fourteenth century mention that the local church, dedicated to St Catherine and believed to have been founded in her birthplace, was occupied by Rhomaioi. The Franciscans of Famagusta, too, promoted St Catherine's veneration and dedicated a chapel to her veneration. The Catherinian pilgrimage sites fascinated Latin travellers, who considered Salamis as a significant stopover in their journey to the Holy Land and Sinai. In the early sixteenth century, the church in St Catherine's alleged birthplace continued to be managed by Rhomaioi, although the Latins possessed a separate altar.¹⁰⁰¹

Another major pilgrimage site in Rhomaic hands that provided accommodation for the liturgical needs of the Latins was an underground church near Famagusta, dedicated to the Virgin of the Cavern (*La Cava*, perhaps identified as the *Χρυσοσπηλιώτισσα* church). In the fourteenth century the church had been occupied by Sinaite monks, who secured a papal confirmation of their rights and were permitted to found a monastery.¹⁰⁰² Pious travellers and seamen had a custom of visiting the church. In 1335, the Augustinian pilgrim James of Verona celebrated mass in the Cavern, most probably on a separate altar.¹⁰⁰³ Indeed, the liturgical arrangement of the Cavern confirms the view that the two communities officiated on different altars: each according to its own rite.¹⁰⁰⁴ The allocation of separate space for the Latin clergy by the Sinaite monks of the Virgin of the Cavern brings to mind a similar arrangement in St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai, concerning the accommodation of Latin pilgrims in

¹⁰⁰¹ Cobham 1908, 53; Bacci 2009, 439-441; Calvelli 2009, 157-245 (esp. at 203 on the two altars).

¹⁰⁰² Coureas 1996, 483.

¹⁰⁰³ Cobham 1908, 16; Bacci 2009, 441-442.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Bacci 2009, 442; Calvelli 2009, 14-15.

a separate chapel. The obvious advantages of this policy of *οικονομία* were that the Sinaites maintained undisturbed relations with the Papacy, since they continued to receive pilgrims from the West (an important source of income for their community), while at the same time they preserved their own tradition and retained control of the holy site.

The monastic cave church of St Napa close to Cape Greco was dedicated to the Virgin and was probably renovated sometime between the second half of the fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰⁵ In the fourteenth century, a barrel-vaulted chapel with Westernizing murals was provided for the celebration of the Latin rite and was still occupied by the Augustinians in the sixteenth century. The main church, however, must have been managed by Rhomaioi, who preserved a miraculous palladium icon of the Virgin.¹⁰⁰⁶

As we have already mentioned, the Holy Cross monastery at Staurobouni was re-occupied by Rhomaioi monks by 1474; the Latins might have continued appointing their own abbots, who nevertheless seem not to have been established there. In the later fifteenth century, the Latin clergy were probably transferred into the vicinity of Staurobouni, close to the modern villages of St Anne and Lympia, where the Dominican pilgrim Felix Faber encountered a Latin monk serving the churches of both rites. According to Faber, the aforementioned monk was neither Latin, nor Rhomaioi, but a hybrid.¹⁰⁰⁷ Faber's generally critical perception of the Latin clergy in Cyprus, motivated by his Observant zeal and aiming to provide spiritual instructions for his Dominican audience, further confirms our interpretation that the monk in the vicinity of Staurobouni was probably a Latin who had appropriated certain Rhomaic customs, thus alienating himself from his own tradition.¹⁰⁰⁸ Faber's ambiguous depiction of the

¹⁰⁰⁵ On the proposed dates see generally: Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 322; Bacci 2009, 443; Papacostas 2010, 150-156.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Bacci 2009, 443-444.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See above, 225-226. On the possible appointment of Latin abbots of Staurobouni in the later fifteenth century, see the discussion by Stavrides 1998, 141.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Richard 1987a, 408-409, argues that the monk was Rhomaioi, rather than Latin. If so, then he would have been a Latinised Rhomaioi in the service of the island's Latin Church.

monk's identity reflects the Dominican's intention to highlight the moral decline of the island's Latin Church, due to its coexistence with the heretical Rhomaioi.¹⁰⁰⁹

The church of St Lazarus in Salines (Alykes, Larnaca) was dedicated to Lazarus of Bethany and preserved, according to a local tradition, the sarcophagus where he was buried after being raised from the dead by Christ. The Latin chapel in the northern aisle of the church could be dated to the fifteenth century, while the nave continued to be occupied by Rhomaioi until the end of the Latin rule. The description of James le Saige (1518), who probably visited St Lazarus, mentions the accommodation of separate worship practices in the same sacred site. Since St Lazarus was patron saint of the nearby salt lakes (an important source of income for the Most Serene Republic), his veneration was firmly promoted by the Venetians, who renovated the church in 1559.¹⁰¹⁰

Clearly, many local pilgrimage sites continued to function under Cypriot Rhomaic control, becoming poles of attraction for both Eastern and Western believers. The presence of the Latin clergy was tolerated and separate aisles or chapels with their own altars were set apart for the Latin rite.¹⁰¹¹ On the one hand, this was a diplomatic solution that permitted the cultivation of harmonious relations with the Latin political and ecclesiastical regime, thus providing patronage and economic benefits to the Rhomaioi. On the other hand, the two communities officiated in recognisably different liturgical spaces, each preserving its own altar and following its own rite. This was perhaps a natural consequence of ritual differences and differences in sanctuary- and altar-design. However, the possibility that this distinction reflects the Cypriot Rhomaic intention to place visible borders between them and the Latins, in order to safeguard their tradition and effectively maintain the control of their holy sites, cannot be ruled out.

¹⁰⁰⁹ On Faber's audience and the aims of his pilgrimage narratives see Beebe 2014. His ambiguous description of the Staurobouni clergy has created confusion among scholars concerning the identity of the ecclesiastics established in the Holy Cross monastery and its vicinity. See, e.g., Nicolaou-Konnari 1995, 372, 379.

¹⁰¹⁰ Patapiou 2009a, 26-27; Chotzakoglou 2010, 27-28; Olympios 2013, 326. On Le Saige's account see Cobham 1908, 60. On Cypriot traditions concerning Lazarus see Chotzakoglou 2002, 33-42.

¹⁰¹¹ Olympios 2013, 329-330. Note that even Joseph Bryennios, an austere Orthodox, permitted the symbiosis of the two rites in the same church, though he opposed concelebrations. See above, 259.

In 1983, Menelaos N. Christodoulou published two early seventeenth-century Cypriot manuscripts containing a collection of Orthodox canon law in two different versions (A and B).¹⁰¹² This important source appears to have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars examining the relations between Rhomaioi and Latins in the fifteenth century and seems to provide evidence concerning the deployment of crypto-religious and non-coercive strategies of resistance to Latinisation and syncretism. The compilation of canonical material preserves layers that could be dated to the period of the Latin rule.¹⁰¹³ Both versions, for example, quote a series of catechetical instructions on the twelve articles of faith, which precede Lapithēs' treatise *On the Seven Sacraments*.¹⁰¹⁴ It is also possible to trace provisions that seem to reflect the local conditions after the Florentine 'Union'. The growing interaction between the island's ethno-religious communities must have alerted the Orthodox guardians of tradition, leading them to the promulgation of canons that could safeguard their flock's faith. The catechetical instructions on the twelve articles of faith explicitly state that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, while both versions of canon law commemorate the *Orthodox* Christians (living and dead), emperors and archpriests.¹⁰¹⁵ In version B the canons prohibit entry to the churches of Copts, Maronites, Jacobites, Armenians and 'other heretics' (καὶ ἑτέρων αἰρετικῶν), most probably implying the Latins.¹⁰¹⁶ Indeed, a similar canon in version A mentions the 'Franks' (Φράγκοι) among 'other heretics' (καὶ ἄλλων αἰρετικῶν).¹⁰¹⁷ Version B adds that whoever prepares unleavened bread is considered dead in God's eyes.¹⁰¹⁸ Version A prohibits entry in Jewish houses and synagogues, as well as dining with or working for Jews.¹⁰¹⁹ Lastly, both versions prohibit following the Armenian fast of the Artzivour (Ἀρτζιβούριος).¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹² Christodoulou 1983, 334, 338-339, 342.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.*, 342-349. On the historical value of later canonical collections for the examination of the Latin rule in Cyprus see Papadopoulos 1984, 3-57.

¹⁰¹⁴ Christodoulou 1983, 349, 411.A.626-413.A.697, 449.B.111-451.B.185; cf. Tsolakes 1964, 94; Darrouzès 1979, 40.

¹⁰¹⁵ Christodoulou 1983, 342-343, 412.A.638-640 (on the Holy Spirit), 413.A.695 (on Orthodox Christians), 437.A.1727-1729 (on Orthodox emperors and archpriests), 449.B.125-126 (on the Holy Spirit), 473.B.964-966 (on Orthodox emperors, archpriests and people, both living and dead), 480.B.1234-1235 (on Orthodox Christians who have departed); cf. Agathonos 2001, 337, 341, 343.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 343, 466.B.705-709, 459.B.474-476.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 343, 422.A.1056-1058; cf. *ibid.*, 403.A.210, 428.A.1348-1351,

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 343, 479.B.1193-1194.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 343, 403.A.211-213.

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, 350, 404.A.214, 428.A.1352-1354, 466.B.710-712. On prohibitions concerning the Artzivour fast see also Grumel 1933, 168, 173.

Admittedly, the extent to which prohibitions like the above managed to raise barriers between the Cypriot Rhomaioi and the other ethno-religious communities of the island is not clear. However, at a doctrinal level it appears that the Cypriot Rhomaioi 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 the Cypriot, OFM. The date of this formerly unpublished text is not certain, though it must have been composed sometime between the Florentine Council (post 1439) and the late 1540s.¹⁰²¹ Francis, who might have been a Cypriot Rhomaioi convert to the Latin rite, used Greek scriptural, liturgical and theological sources which reveal his familiarity with the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. His primary aim was to persuade his Cypriot Rhomaic audience about the doctrinal correctness of the Latin faith by proving that Western theology was based on the common tradition of both Churches.¹⁰²²

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);¹⁰²³ they also deny that the blessed souls experience the heavenly glory, namely the Beatific Vision (τὰς ἀγίας ψυχὰς μηδαμῶς εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον δόξαν ἀναδέχεσθαι), and reject the pre-eschatological presence of souls in Paradise and Hades (μὴ δε τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν Αἴδην, ἕως οὗ ἀνέλθῃ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Κριτής).¹⁰²⁴ According to the decrees of the Florentine Council, mentioned by Francis in order to add authority to his arguments,¹⁰²⁵ 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).¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²¹ See below App. III, 433-437.

¹⁰²² Ibid.

¹⁰²³ Ibid, 438.I.2-3.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid, 438.I.4-6. On Hades as a pre-eschatological destination for souls in the afterlife see Halleux 1991, 261.

¹⁰²⁵ On Francis’ reference to Florence see App. III, 454.II.42.470-474.

¹⁰²⁶ Ombres 1984, 1-14 (esp. at 14). See also the discussion by Gill 1959, 117-125, 265-267, 272-273; Le Goff 1984, 84, 357; Varella 1989, 72-59; Halleux 1991, 251-301; Dendrinis 2007, 142; Iogna-Prat 2008, 158-172; Kelly 2008, 248-317 (esp. at 261-262).

The theological dialogue with the Latins in Florence led Mark Eugenikos to a more systematic examination of the *post-mortem* state of souls in Orthodox theology. He argued that earlier patristic references to the purgation of souls should be understood as allegorical and instructive and supported that there would be no Judgement of souls until after the eschatological resurrection of bodies. Eugenikos underlined that the souls remain in a state of expectation of the Last Judgement, 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.¹⁰²⁷ It is quite likely that the Cypriot Rhomaioi targeted by Francis' *Florilegium* were aware of Eugenikos' theology. Their rejection of the Latin doctrines of Purgatory and Beatific Vision was essentially a rejection of the Florentine 'Union', indicating the success of Cypriot Rhomaioi pastors in safeguarding Orthodox tradition.

At a more practical level, the influence of the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy in post-Florentine Cyprus is confirmed by Sixtus IV's aforementioned reference that the non-Latin clergy allowed divorces and remarriages and usurped the jurisdiction of the Latin Church over matrimonial and spiritual matters. The case of the Podocataro family reveals how the conduct of mixed marriages between members of the Byzantine and the Latin rite encouraged the Latinisation of socially elevated Rhomaioi.¹⁰²⁸ However, this was a two-way process, since there were also cases of Latins who adopted the Byzantine rite.¹⁰²⁹ The upgraded canonical status of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church in the post-Florentine period, the indigenisation of the Latin Church and community and the fact that the Byzantine Orthodox canon law did not explicitly define the Latins as heretics, thus permitting the practice of intermarriage, must have

¹⁰²⁷ Ombres 1984, 10-13; Halleux 1991, *passim* (esp. at 261, 266); Conostas 2001, 113-119.

¹⁰²⁸ See above, 227.

¹⁰²⁹ See, e.g., the case of Paulinus Zacharia (fl. ca. 1451), a Cypriot Rhomaioi who had married a Latin woman according to the Latin rite (and was thus considered to have been Latinised), but 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 perhaps Paulinus' grandson, founded a Byzantine-rite monastery dedicated to the Virgin in Galata: Hofmann 1946, 129-130.303; Collenberg 1984, 657; Collenberg 1984-1987, 120, 161.45; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 49, 51-55.

facilitated the gradual expansion of Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Latins, despite Sixtus IV's complaints.¹⁰³⁰

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 respectively.¹⁰³¹ Yet, the advent of Helena Palaiologina in Cyprus and her involvement in the administration, dynastic disputes and foreign policy of the Lusignan Kingdom, provoked the hostility of a part of the Latin nobility.¹⁰³² Her support of the Byzantine rite, and perhaps Orthodoxy, seems to have alarmed the Papacy. Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II, stated that Helena was hostile to the Latin religion and the Roman Church (*Latinis inimica sacris et Romanae hostis ecclesiae*).¹⁰³³ Florio Bustron noted that 'she was greatly devoted to the religion of the Greeks' (*haveva gran divotion nella religion dei Greci*) and that she granted landed property and an annual income of fifteen thousand ducats to the Rhomaic monastery of Mangana.¹⁰³⁴ From her contemporary chronicler Leontios Machairas, we learn that she refounded Mangana, sheltering and giving land to a number of Byzantine monks, who came to Cyprus as refugees after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.¹⁰³⁵ George Bustron, another contemporary chronicler, added that Helena's confessor was a member of the same monastic community.¹⁰³⁶ Stephen of Lusignan in the sixteenth century argued that she was promoting the Byzantine at the

¹⁰³⁰ On the issue of mixed marriages one should consult the following studies: Aimilianides 1938, 197-207; Nicol 1964, 160-172; Nicol 1979, 113-135; Troianos 1982, 10-17; Locke 1995, 290-294; Origone 1996, 226-241; Chrysostomides 2003, 163-164; Orlando 2007, 101-119; Englezakis 2012, 219. Note that a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Cypriot canonical collection contains a prohibition of marriage between Orthodox women and Latins. The collection also prohibits eating the flesh of strangled animals and wearing masks, associating both practices with the Latins: Papadopoulos 1984, 85.23.21-33 (on wearing masks), 89.68.26-34 (on mixed marriages), 97.138.2-7 (on eating strangled animals).

¹⁰³¹ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §§708-710 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 461; esp. versions O and R); Aimilianides 1938, 205; Collenberg 1984-1987, 73; Edbury 2013, 167.

¹⁰³² On Palaiologina's policy see above, 221-222.

¹⁰³³ Quoted by Hill 1948, 527 (n. 2). According to Kaoulla 2006, 134, the tension between Helena and the Papacy was provoked due to John II's appointment of his son James as Archbishop of Nicosia at Helena's instigation. Hackett 1972, 555 (esp. at n. 3), mentions a Venetian report, according to which Helena had influenced her husband to proceed to James' nomination, in order 'to remove from her daughter's path a dangerous rival to the throne'.

¹⁰³⁴ Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 372.

¹⁰³⁵ Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §711 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 461; esp. versions O and R). On Mangana see also the archaeological report by Pilides 2012, 212-214. Jeffery 1918, 96, argues that the Virgin Chrysalliniōtissa church at Nicosia might have been (re-)founded by Palaiologina.

¹⁰³⁶ George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 12-13, 342 (comm.).

expense of the Latin rite.¹⁰³⁷ A rather fictitious seventeenth-century account on the Lusignan dynasty by Gianfrancesco Loredano claims that Helena had attempted to replace the Latin archbishop of Nicosia with a Rhomaïos candidate.¹⁰³⁸ According to Stephen of Lusignan, Helena wished to be buried in Mangana, but the Dominicans, whose convent had become the royal dynasty's sepulchre since the mid-fourteenth century, acquired John II's permission to bury her body in a secret location, in order to protect their privileges.¹⁰³⁹

As accurately observed by various scholars, the Latin sources referring to Helena and her anti-Latin activities are biased, although this does not necessarily indicate that she did not have pro-Rhomaic sympathies, as seems to be argued by some revisionists.¹⁰⁴⁰ The Florentine 'Union', which sanctioned the equality of both rites under the Papacy, enhanced the lenient ecclesiastical policy of the island's royal dynasty, giving to Helena greater flexibility to express her pro-Rhomaic sentiments. This is confirmed by the fact that she used her position as Queen to support the wave of Byzantine refugees from Constantinople; given that the newcomers included monks, painters, scribes and bibliophiles, Helena indirectly prepared the ground for the Orthodox Cypriot spiritual and cultural revival under the Venetians.¹⁰⁴¹

Helena's pro-Rhomaic policy strengthened Orthodox identity in Cyprus and reaffirmed the island's ethno-cultural bonds with Constantinople and the imperial dynasty of the Palaiologoi. The monastic community of Mangana, refounded under Helena's patronage for the accommodation of refugee monks, preserved Byzantine manuscripts and had a scriptorium that played a major role in the transmission of the Hodēgōn script on the island in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁴² As mentioned previously, the

¹⁰³⁷ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 60^v; cf. Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 78^r.

¹⁰³⁸ Discussed by Kaoulla 2006, 131. On Loredano's work see generally Schabel 2012, 357-390.

¹⁰³⁹ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 63^r; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 161^v; Hill 1948, 544 (n. 1); Coureas et al. 2012, 186. This piece of information should not be considered as unreliable. Stephen was not only a member of the Lusignan family, but also a Dominican, suggesting that he must have been well informed about Helena's burial.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See, e.g., Hill 1948, 527-528, 1093; Hackett ²1972, 155-158; Vacalopoulos 1972, 277-280; Richard 1987a, 400-403; Pardos 2001, 130-132; Kechagioglou in George Bustron, *Chronicle*, 258*, 330-331; Kaoulla 2006, 109-150 (esp. at 128-147); Ganchou 2014, 114-115 (n. 48), 148 (n. 158).

¹⁰⁴¹ Cf. the revisionist article by Kaoulla 2006, 140-147, which undervalues Helena's cultural contribution and role in strengthening Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic identity. On the Orthodox revival of the Venetian period see below, 347-377.

¹⁰⁴² *DGMC*, 14-15, 33-34, 37, 245 (n. 5), 243-249; Constantinides ²1999, 135-141. See also below, 363-364.

narthex of St John Lampadistēs' monastery was decorated by a Constantinopolitan painter, while the murals in the Souskiou Hermitage echo the Palaiologan art of Mystra in Peloponnese.¹⁰⁴³ The *Lament for the Fall of Constantinople*, which describes the siege of 1453, the heroic resistance of Constantine XI and the sufferings of the conquered population, was probably composed by an anonymous poet in Helena's circle, contributing to the local cultivation of historical memories and legends associated with Byzantium.¹⁰⁴⁴

Although the Empire had fallen, its memory continued to live in Cypriot Rhomaic hearts and minds. This is supported by the decoration of St Michael the Archangel's church in Pedoulas, founded by the priest Basil Chamados in the 1470s. Interestingly, Chamados' familiarity with Orthodox theophanic theology and perhaps Palamite Hesychasm is suggested by the church's dedicatory inscription, which emphasises the theophanic role of the priest in liturgy.¹⁰⁴⁵ 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 the Byzantine Empire, conquered by the Ottomans some twenty years earlier.¹⁰⁴⁶ The northern part of the western wall of the church is decorated with St Constantine and his mother St Helena, depicted as an imperial couple holding the True Cross, symbol of Orthodoxy and political emblem of Byzantium.¹⁰⁴⁷ The emphatic depiction of the Cross and its association with the Byzantine Empire was most probably intentional: the Cross was also an ideological vehicle of Byzantine imperial eschatology, in the sense that 'at the end of [times] the Last Roman Emperor [was expected to] restore the true Cross of Christ on Golgotha, deposit his crown on the Cross, and thus hand over his imperial power to God'.¹⁰⁴⁸ All the above could be considered as indications that Chamados, a Cypriot Rhomaios priest of the post-Florentine period and loyal to both Byzantium and the Lusignans,

¹⁰⁴³ Papageorghiou 1992, 107; Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1320-1321; Papageorghiou 2009, 37.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Anonymous, *Lament for the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. Kriaras and Kechagioglou, 9-17 (comm. by Kriaras, supporting the poem's Cypriot provenance), 21-27 (text), 35-100 (comm. by Kechagioglou; *passim* on the poem's Cypriot connection). See also the discussion by Grivaud 1995c, 1103-1107; Alexiou 2002, 87; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 83-86.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Perdikes 2014, 67-73.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Perdikes 2014, 32-34; cf. Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1328.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Perdikes 2014, 82-83; cf. Triantaphyllopoulos 2001, 625; Guran 2006, 288-292. See also above, 166-167.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Guran 2006, 278.

perceived himself as Orthodox and anticipated the restoration of Byzantine imperial authority, as a prerequisite for the eschatological establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

To sum up, the Florentine 'Union' was another landmark in the adaptation and preservation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the fifteenth century. Although a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins saw the Florentine 'Union' as an opportunity to bridge their differences, there were many in both communities who manipulated the theoretical equality sanctioned by the *Bulla Unionis* to improve their socio-economic and ecclesiastical status. The upgraded position of non-Latin Christians and the weakness of the Latin Church in Cyprus threatened the survival of Latin identity and occasionally led to expressions of coercion against the Rhomaioi (e.g., forceful celebration on Rhomaic altars) or the raising of barriers between the two communities (e.g., refusal to concelebrate with Rhomaioi unionists and defence of the Latin doctrines). The Papacy generally promoted the unity of Latin and non-Latin Christians under the Western Church and in the sixteenth century there were attempts to protect the Venetian-ruled Rhomaic communities from Latin ecclesiastical harassment. However, the popes recognised that non-Latin obedience to the Western Church was not always sincere; papal correspondence records cases of intentional misinterpretation of the Florentine decrees and rejection of the Latin faith by groups of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Oriental Christians. In addition, the Papacy was alarmed by the expansion of Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical jurisdiction over members of the Latin community and in areas outside the control of the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates.

Ultimately, the superficial acceptance of the Florentine 'Union' and the weakness of the Latin Church enabled the *de facto* restoration of Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical authority. At the same time, Orthodox identity was threatened by inter-communal rapprochement and socio-religious syncretism. The employment of non-coercive and covert ways of anti-Latin resistance in ecclesiastical art (e.g., condemnation of Latins and Latin sympathisers), canon law (e.g., prohibition of inter-communal association), liturgy (e.g., prohibition of celebrating the Eucharist on the same altar) and catechesis (instruction on the Orthodox doctrines) must have contributed to the preservation of Orthodox identity, without resulting in violent outbreaks of anti-Latinism.

Mixed marriages seem to have facilitated conversions to the Byzantine rite, and although the Latin Church continued to exercise its jurisdiction over royal marriages, this did not prevent the strengthening of Orthodox Rhomaic identity. The case of Queen Helena Palaiologina is indicative. 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 Rhomaioi under the Papacy, to promote the interests of her own people. Her pro-Rhomaic policy sowed the seed for an Orthodox cultural and spiritual revival, thus bolstering Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity, despite the schism with Constantinople and the fall of Byzantium.

IV.6. Conclusion

The survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the fifteenth century was challenged by various threats. First, the rise of a strong Cypriot Christian identity under the Lusignans and the Papacy threatened to disconnect the Cypriot Rhomaic Church from its Byzantine Orthodox background. The strengthening of Cypriot identity was a reaction to the multidimensional crisis faced by the island's society, particularly due to the Genoese and Mamlūk Wars and the Ottoman expansion, which intensified inter-communal collaboration, social mobility and religious interaction. At the same time, the Western Great Schism led to the indigenisation of the island's Latin Church and encouraged religious syncretism and interaction between Cypriot Latins and Rhomaioi.

The hierocracy of Constantinopolitan patriarchal officials was another threat to the survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy. This ecclesiology aimed at defending the purity of Orthodox identity against the unionist policy pursued by the last Palaiologoi and a part of the Late Byzantine nobility. Joseph Bryennios, the main representative of Constantinopolitan hierocracy in the early fifteenth century, had bitterly experienced the rapprochement between Latins and pro-Latin Rhomaioi in Venetian-occupied Crete and was unwilling to recognise that many Cypriot Rhomaioi had only superficially accepted papal authority. Bryennios' involvement in the discussions over the Cypriot Rhomaic proposals for secret ecclesiastical union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1406 and 1412) led to a schism in the relations between Cyprus and Constantinople, which lasted as late as 1572.

The Florentine 'Union' (1439) constituted a third threat to the survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy. The Papacy actively promoted the reconciliation of Latins and Rhomaioi under the Western Church and generally respected the Byzantine liturgical rite and customs. The 'Union' enhanced phenomena of religious syncretism and interaction and facilitated the conduct of mixed marriages. By advocating the equality of the two rites, at least in theory, the Florentine 'Union' improved the status of those Cypriot Rhomaioi willing to declare their obedience to Rome. Thus, the implementation of the *Bulla Unionis* challenged the preservation of Orthodox tradition, since it recognised that the Western Church had the supreme right to sanction the doctrinal correctness of non-Latin doctrines and practices.

Based on published and hitherto unpublished sources, we have argued that despite being threatened by various factors, Cypriot Orthodoxy managed to survive and become stronger. In response to accusations of Latinisation in the early fifteenth century, three out of four Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops approached the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate and requested to be received as concelebrants. The initially positive reaction of the Byzantine imperial and ecclesiastical authorities shows that the Cypriot Rhomaic Church was predominately viewed as a part of the Orthodox world. It was mainly due to Joseph Bryennios' hierocratic and anti-Cypriot policy that the Cypriot Rhomaic proposals for union were rejected in 1406 and 1412. It should be stressed, however, that there seems to be strong evidence in support of the Cypriot Rhomaic argument that submission to the Papacy was superficial.

Concerning the reception of the Florentine 'Union' in Cyprus, we have pointed out that papal correspondence provides indications for the manifestation of non-coercive anti-Latinism, involving the rejection of the Florentine Council and the challenge of Latin doctrinal correctness. Another source written from a Western perspective, the *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM, demonstrates that many Cypriot Rhomaioi remained attached to the Orthodox teaching on the afterlife. Various artistic representations seem to convey covert anti-Latin messages, directed for example against papal ecclesiastical supremacy, the Latin Eucharist and the *Filioque* doctrine. Moreover, collections of Cypriot Rhomaic canon law prohibit inter-communal association, in an attempt to set barriers between Orthodox and heterodox.

While the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy often had to tolerate (and even invited for reasons of patronage) the presence of Latin priests and pilgrims in their churches, they insisted on using different altars, which strongly suggests that they also refused concelebration. The weakness of the Cypriot Latin Church, due to its subordination to Lusignan authority, the relaxation of papal control and absenteeism, created a pastoral vacuum that enabled the expansion of Rhomaic and Oriental Christian jurisdiction over members of the Latin community. This signified the *de facto* restoration of Cypriot Rhomaic episcopal authority in areas outside those defined by the *Bulla Cypria*. The prominence of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops in the post-Florentine period is confirmed by the case of Bishop Nicholas of Solea and his close collaboration with the Lusignan authorities. A long-term and indirect result of the Florentine 'Union' was that it facilitated the pro-Rhomaic policy of Helena Palaiologina, focusing on the reception and accommodation of Byzantine refugees after 1453. The cultural and spiritual revival of Cypriot Orthodoxy under the Venetians has its roots to the benevolence expressed by the Queen towards a circle of monks, scholars and artists, who brought to the island the spirit, memories and culture of Orthodox Byzantium.

Chapter V

'Render unto St Mark': Cypriot Orthodoxy under the Venetians (1489–1571)

The institutions of Christianity, however divine their inspiration, have been ordered and governed by men and are affected by the temporal processes to which man in subject.¹⁰⁴⁹

V.1. Continuities, discontinuities and multiple identities

Venice ruled Cyprus for almost a century; first as a protectorate (1473/4–1489) and later as a Colony of the Maritime State (1489–1571). In 1570, the Ottomans invaded the island, capturing Nicosia (September 1570) and completing their conquest with the capitulation of Famagusta (August 1571). Venetian ecclesiastical policy in Cyprus has been a matter of debate among scholars. According to Aristidou, Venice's ecclesiastical policy was simply a continuation of Lusignan administration and was shaped and coordinated by the Papacy.¹⁰⁵⁰ From Hackett's perspective, the Cypriot Rhomaioi 'were eager to receive the [Turkish] invaders with open arms' and the Ottoman conquest 'realised at last [their dearest wishes]', in the sense that the 'Orthodox once more found themselves in undisturbed possession of their native Church', although 'the price, which they had to pay for the fulfilment of their desires, was indeed a very heavy one'.¹⁰⁵¹

The negative image of Venetian rule in Cypriot historiography was largely shaped by the nineteenth-century studies of Mas Latrie, who —like most French historians of his time— 'identified the Venetian Republic as a decadent political system run by an oligarchic ruling class'.¹⁰⁵² More recent studies have revised Mas Latrie's views. Arbel's works trace expressions of collaboration between the Most Serene Republic and its Cypriot Rhomaioi subjects, which reveal strong sentiments of political loyalty on the part of the local population.¹⁰⁵³ Equally noteworthy is Grivaud's seminal study on the contribution of Cypriot Renaissance scholars, particularly Florio Bustron (d. 1570), to

¹⁰⁴⁹ Runciman 1968, 3; cf. Papademetriou 2015, esp. at 3.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Aristidou 1993, 183, 205.

¹⁰⁵¹ Hackett 1972, 184, 188.

¹⁰⁵² Povolo 2000, 491. See also Arbel 1998a, 83-85; Nicolaou-Konnari 2013, 514-515.

¹⁰⁵³ See particularly Arbel 1989a, 131-143; Arbel 1998a, 83-107.

the ideological formulation of a rather narrow perception of Cypriot identity that marginalised the island's Byzantine Orthodox heritage, focusing more on the ancient, Lusignan and Venetian periods.¹⁰⁵⁴ According to Schabel, Stephen of Lusignan's presentation of the Cypriot Rhomaioi as obedient members of the Western Church reflects indeed their sincere sentiments of submission to the Papacy, which could be considered as an important element of Cypriot identity under the Venetians.¹⁰⁵⁵

The cultivation of Renaissance culture and the emergence of new identities and pro-Latin expressions of political loyalty set the scene for our examination of the Cypriot Orthodoxy under Venice's rule in this chapter. The main question raised is to what extent did the Cypriot Rhomaioi manage to remain Orthodox in the new conditions created by the Venetian rule.

As a response to Aristidou's argument that the Venetian ecclesiastical policy was simply a continuation of Lusignan and papal administration, we argue that the Most Serene Republic pursued an ecclesiastical *Realpolitik*, relying on certain elements of the former regime, although maintaining different aims than the Papacy (*vide* Arbel).¹⁰⁵⁶ Based on published and unpublished sources, we shall see that the effective implementation of this policy, reflected above all in Venice's protection of the Cypriot Rhomaioi against the Latin ecclesiastical attempts to impose the Counter-Reformation on the island, forged sentiments of political loyalty, leading to the collaboration of Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen with the Venetians during the Ottoman invasion (*pace* Hackett).

Concerning the revisionist argument that the Venetian rule and Renaissance culture contributed to the emergence of new identities with exclusively pro-Latin orientation (*vide* Grivaud and Schabel), we shall point out that although the Cypriot Rhomaioi did express their political loyalty to Venice and remained officially under the jurisdiction of the Papacy, they continued to deploy covert mechanisms of resistance and identity preservation. The concept of multiple identities is crucial in order to understand how a great number of Cypriot Rhomaioi remained Orthodox, despite their ecclesiastical

¹⁰⁵⁴ Grivaud 1995a, 105-116 (esp. at 114; to be consulted with caution); Kitromilides 2002b, 42-46.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Schabel 2006b, 165, 201; cf. Schabel 2002-2003, 343; Schabel 2012, 390.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Fedalto 1995, 719, was probably the first scholar to have described the Venetian policy in Cyprus as a *Realpolitik*.

submission to the Papacy and political obedience to Venice. This is further supported by the fact that sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi experienced a cultural and spiritual revival, which reveals that Cypriot identity was also significantly influenced by the Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition. Ultimately, many Cypriot Rhomaioi managed to effectively adapt to the new conditions created by the Venetian rule, without alienating themselves from their Orthodox faith. While a minority of local *potentes* were Latinised or became agents of Renaissance culture and the Reformation, the majority of Cypriot Rhomaioi seem to have preserved the Orthodox doctrines and customs, though being open to the appropriation of certain Western practices, ideas and values.

We shall now turn to the Venetian ecclesiastical administration in Cyprus, arguing that, while the Republic's *Realpolitik* had generated mixed responses among the local population, it was largely successful in reaffirming Venice's control over the Cypriot Rhomaic Church. This inspired sentiments of political loyalty, confirmed by the degree of anti-Ottoman collaboration between the island's Venetian overlords and the local Rhomaioi churchmen.

V.2. Venetian *Realpolitik* and local responses

Cyprus occupied a central position in the Venetian Maritime State 'as the biggest, richest, most populated, and most remote colony'.¹⁰⁵⁷ The island's significance was further upgraded as a result of the Ottoman expansion in the Near East and the Aegean. Following the Ottoman conquest of Mamlūk-ruled Syro-Palestine and Egypt (1516/7) and the fall of Hospitaller-occupied Rhodes (1522), Cyprus remained one of the last Christian strongholds in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰⁵⁸ The island served the Most Serene Republic as a centre for the collection of information and diplomatic communication with the Muslim world and the Christian communities in the Holy Land. Cyprus was also an important trade post in the Republic's commercial contacts with Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt and one of Venice's main suppliers of grain, cotton, sugar and salt.¹⁰⁵⁹ The prominent strategic and economic role of Cyprus in the Maritime State, coupled with the Venetian adoption and adaptation of previous local

¹⁰⁵⁷ Arbel 2013, 185.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Arbel 1995b, 163-167; Arbel 1995c, 526.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Galloway 1977, 190-194; Arbel 1995b, 166-173; Arbel 1995c, 485-488, 504-505, 522-524; Arbel 2013, 220-222, 230.

administrative institutions and legal traditions inherited from the Byzantine Empire and the Lusignans, enhanced the 'idiosyncratic political character' of the island's administration, allowing Venice 'to take measures that it could not or would not take in other parts of its composite empire'.¹⁰⁶⁰ Therefore, the distinct nature of Venetian *Realpolitik* in Cyprus primarily aimed to safeguard the Republic's political and economic interests on the island, as a part of its maritime dominions, which stretched from the far corner of the Eastern Mediterranean to Istria in the Adriatic coast.¹⁰⁶¹

The Venetian administration of Cyprus was known as the 'Regime' (*Reggimento*) or 'governors' (*rettori*), comprising a chief representative of the Most Serene Republic (*luogotenente*) and his counsellors based in Nicosia. A captain (*capitano*) governed Famagusta and the military forces based on the island. It was also common for Venice to appoint magistrates with extraordinary powers (*provveditori generali*) to carry out special missions in Cyprus. The Venetian governors were recruited from among the Republic's patrician families and held their offices for one or two years, communicating with their Metropolis on a regular basis through dispatches (*dispacci*) or reports (*relazioni*).¹⁰⁶²

The cooperation between the island's Venetian government and the local elite enabled the consolidation of the social power of a number of Cypriot families, through the possession of property, the acquisition of noble status and the appointment to public offices. The conduct of matrimonial alliances with Venetian patrician families gave to the Cypriot *potentes* further access to networks of power in Cyprus and the Metropolis and strengthened the Republic's influence in local society.¹⁰⁶³

Social elevation was highlighted by phenomena of intense religious interaction. Writing after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, Stephen of Lusignan noted that some members of the Cypriot elite had been following the Latin rite, according to the ancient custom of the island's Latin nobility (*alcuni nobili seguitano il loro antico costume come viver'alla latina*), while others had been following the Byzantine rite (*altri fanno alla greca*). Stephen of Lusignan also stated that many others (*molti altri*) used to mix both

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., 185.

¹⁰⁶¹ On Venetian territorial acquisitions and losses see generally *ibid.*, 131-136.

¹⁰⁶² Grivaud 1990c, 192-194; Arbel 1995b, 459-460; Skoufari 2011, 54-59; Birtachas 2011a, 32; Arbel 2013, 146-149, 154-155.

¹⁰⁶³ Arbel 1989c, 175-197; Arbel 1995a, 325-337; O'Connell 2009, 68-69; Arbel 2013, 141.

rites (*mescolando insieme il rito latino con il greco*), thus living in a way that was neither Rhomaic nor Latin (*non fanno ne alla greca, ne alla latina*).¹⁰⁶⁴ In the French version of his work, Stephen added that this hybrid category pursued its ‘amphibious’ way of life with much discretion (*& ce tant pource qu’ils estoient secrets & cachez*), for its members did not want to provoke either the Rhomaic, or the Latin ecclesiastical authorities, who nevertheless tended to tolerate the adoption of a number of Rhomaic customs by the Latins.¹⁰⁶⁵ The aforementioned *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*, probably composed in the 1560s, mentions that the Latin nobles had Rhomaioi as their confessors, which led them to abandon the regulations and customs of the Roman Church (*retirare per lo confessori loro Greci della regola et consuetudine della Romana Chiesa*). Under the influence of their confessors, these Latins became Rhomaioi (*farsi Greci*), received the sacraments according to the Byzantine rite (*perdendo li sacramenti da loro*) and modified their churches ‘in the Greek style’ (*roinano le capelle latine, et le converteno grecale*).¹⁰⁶⁶

Livio and Cesare Podocataro, Latin Archbishops of Nicosia between 1524–1552 and 1552–1557 respectively, were ethnically Rhomaioi from both parents.¹⁰⁶⁷ Stephen of Lusignan, himself a Dominican, relates that his brother, John, became monk at the Rhomaic monastery of Christ Antiphōnītēs, which was situated in his family’s estates. John received the monastic name Hilariōn, lived a pious life, and was reluctantly included among the candidates for the episcopal throne of Solea in the elections of 1568. Stephen also informs us that his sister, Isabel, became nun in a Rhomaic establishment, receiving the name Athanasia.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁴ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 85r; cf. *AE* XXXIV, 100-101.91; Hill 1948, 1099-1100.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 78v.

¹⁰⁶⁶ App. IV, 471.I.21.113-472.I.21.120. The *Report* states that Latin conversions to the Byzantine rite were against the *Assizes* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus. In fact, the *Assizes* distinguished between people ‘obedient’ and ‘not obedient to Rome’ (*gens de tel nacion qui ne sont obeissans a Rome*), namely ‘Greeks, Syrians, Armenians and Jacobites’ (*gres ne suriens ne ermins ne jacopins*), regulating that members of the latter group cannot testify as bearers of warranty against a Latin in the High Court: John of Ibelin, *Assizes*, ed. Edbury, 167.58 (see also comm. at n. a); Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 22-23. On the *Assizes* during the Venetian period see: Grivaud 1995c, 1133-1139; Aristidou 2001b, 95-101.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Mas Latrie 1882b, 116 [320] – 120 [324]; Patapiou 2011–2012, 226-227; Coureas et al. 2012, 220.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 79r; Hill 1948, 1100; Papadopoulos 1995b, 662; Skoufari 2011, 126; Patapiou 2013b, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=18009> (last accessed on 22/7/2015).

The Synglētikoī, *alias* Synglitico, were perhaps the richest and most powerful Cypriot Rhomaic family in Venetian service. A certain Peter (*alias* Piero) Synglitico is attested among the lay electors of the Rhomaios metropolitan of Rhodes in 1511 and probably participated in the Rhodian delegation that negotiated the island's surrender to the Ottomans in 1522.¹⁰⁶⁹ Peter's son, Anthony, became Bishop of Karpasia in 1544 and was praised by the Venetian authorities for his quality of character and knowledge of both the Greek and Italian languages.¹⁰⁷⁰ Other members of the family followed the Latin rite. Audeth and Perrin Synglitico were appointed Latin canons of Famagusta and Nicosia in 1473 and 1474 respectively, and Eugene 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.¹⁰⁷¹ We have already noted that Eugene the Younger's grandfather, Eugene the Elder, favoured both rites, as revealed by his donations to various Latin and Rhomaic churches.¹⁰⁷²

The case of the Flatroi, *alias* Flatro, is also noteworthy. This Cypriot family of Syrian or Rhomaic origins favoured both rites. In the fifteenth century, Balian (fl. ca. 1428–ante 1461) and Loizos Flatro (d. ante 1476) served as notaries in the Latin bishopric of Paphos, which suggests that they might have belonged to the Latin Church, while another Flatro is reported to have become emir in Cairo sometime before 1459/60.¹⁰⁷³ Philip Flatro, Loizos' son, dictated in his testament (1523) that in case his son, also called Loizos, did not have a legitimate successor, the village of Tala, situated near St Neophytos' monastery, should be inherited by the Orthodox Rhomaic Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷⁴ In 1538, Hector Flatro, Philip's cousin and a wealthy merchant based in Venice, expressed his wish to be buried in the church of St George of the Greeks in the Metropolis.¹⁰⁷⁵ In 1563, Alexander Flatro was buried in the Rhomaic monastery of the Acheiropoiētos.¹⁰⁷⁶ Sometime before 1538, Giotin Flatro founded or renovated the Rhomaic monastery dedicated to the Holy Saviour in

¹⁰⁶⁹ Arbel 1995a, 329 (n. 21).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Patapiou 2012, 132-133, 140.1; cf. Arbel 1995a, 335.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷² See above, 288-289.

¹⁰⁷³ George Bustron, *Chronicle*, ed. Kechagioglou, 70-71, 367 (comm.); Collenberg 1983, 9-12; Grivaud 2008, 222-226, 228.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 259.21-260.4; Collenberg 1983, 14-15; Grivaud 2008, 230-231.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 235-236. Throughout this chapter, the term 'Metropolis' refers to Venice as a colonial centre and should not be interpreted as an ecclesiastical term.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Kyrris 1967, 116-117; Grivaud 2008, 228-229.

Nicosia, which could most likely be identified with the *Sergi Flatro* monastery, mentioned by Stephen of Lusignan. In 1538, Eugene Synglitico the Elder, Giotin's cousin, donated ten silver *marche* to the establishment, and Benjamin, the monastery's Abbot, was among the candidates for the episcopal throne of Solea in the elections of 1568.¹⁰⁷⁷

Admittedly, it is difficult to know whether donations or other expressions of patronage towards Rhomaic churches and monasteries on the part of Cypriot *potentes* should be considered as evidence for the *exclusive* preference of the Byzantine over the Latin rite, or the adoption of a crypto-Orthodox doctrinal line.¹⁰⁷⁸ Indeed, the case of Eugene Synglitico the Elder suggests the strong presence of Rhomaioi who openly accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy in the island's upper strata.¹⁰⁷⁹ Stephen of Lusignan's statement that the aforementioned group cultivated its 'mixed' religious identity with discretion, probably indicates that any acceptance of the Byzantine rite could be tolerated only within the context of submission to the Papacy, ratified by the *Bulla Cypria* and the Florentine decrees. Militant expressions of Orthodoxy and religious anti-Latinism would have been interpreted as a provocation against the island's Latin Church and the Venetian regime, thus threatening the social status of the Cypriot elite.

Arbel highlights the cultural and religious Latinisation of Cypriot magnates and argues that the reluctance to abandon one's religious identity could partly explain the limited degree to which lower-class Cypriot Rhomaioi succeeded in entering the island's feudal nobility.¹⁰⁸⁰ He notes that 'the necessity, dictated by the political and social situation, to undergo some degree of Latinization, or the belief that being part of the nobility implied in one way or another the crossing of certain boundaries, may have limited the number of Greeks who were willing to undergo such a transformation as a price for social mobility'.¹⁰⁸¹ Perhaps the 'pro-Rhomaic' attitude of a number of Cypriot *potentes* in matters of religious patronage reveals sentiments of attachment to

¹⁰⁷⁷ Patapiou 2003–2004, 238–239; Patapiou 2013b, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=18009> (last accessed on 22/7/2015); cf. Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 33v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 31v; Grivaud 2008, 229.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. Grivaud 2008, 241.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See above, 288–289.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 189–190.

¹⁰⁸¹ Arbel 1989c, 190.

Orthodoxy, particularly in cases of socially elevated Syrian Melkite or Cypriot Rhomaic families (e.g., the Synglitico and Flatro), or indigenous Latin families that cultivated socio-economic and spiritual bonds with Rhomaic ecclesiastical institutions (e.g., the Lusignans). We have already seen that the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* and Stephen of Lusignan speak of nobles and magnates who abandoned the Latin customs and followed the Byzantine rite, thus living in the ‘Rhomaic way’. Moreover, several members of the Synglitico, Lusignan and Flatro families entered the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy (e.g., Bishop Anthony Synglitico and John-Hilariōn and Isabel-Athanasia of Lusignan), chose to be buried in Rhomaic churches (e.g., Hector and Alexander Flatro) or became patrons of Rhomaic monastic brotherhoods (e.g., Philip and Giotin Flatro). Although the existence of pro-Latin Rhomaioi and Latin believers in the upper social strata is ascertained beyond doubt (e.g., Eugene Synglitico the Elder and probably Eugene Synglitico the Younger, Archbishops Cesare and Livio Podocataro and Stephen of Lusignan), we should not exclude the possibility that the ‘pro-Rhomaic’ attitude of at least a number of Cypriot *potentes* indicates their superficial submission to the Papacy and the cultivation of crypto-Orthodox sentiments.

The collaboration between the Venetians and the Cypriot elite, through the adoption and adaptation of local administrative customs and traditions, created channels for the efficient exercise of the Republic’s ecclesiastical *Realpolitik*. Under the Byzantines and the Lusignans, the island’s various social and ethno-religious groups seem to have enjoyed a degree of collective representation in civic life.¹⁰⁸² The Venetians supported

¹⁰⁸² Little is known about collective representation in Cyprus during the Byzantine and Frankish periods. The Nicosia Revolt of 1192 has been interpreted as a reaction of the city’s Rhomaic middle class to the oppressive fiscal policy of the Templars: Nicolaou-Konnari 2000b, 64-67; Pardos 2001, 112; Asdracha 2005, 410-411. Kaldellis 2015, 115-116, emphasises the function of popular uprisings in Byzantium as mechanisms of socio-political control over the ruling class. Guild organisation under the Lusignans and the Venetians has been also associated by Coureas et al. 2012, 202 with earlier Byzantine corporations in Cyprus. Vryonis 1963, 287-314, stresses the emergence of Constantinopolitan guilds as political factors in the civic life of the capital; cf. Kaldellis 2015, 228 (n. 3). Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 54, mentions that in 1197, the people of Nicosia (*tutti gli altri abitanti nelle città*) pledged an oath of fealty to King Aimery of Lusignan; cf. Coureas et al. 2012, 202. Nicosia and Famagusta possessed burgess communities, which enjoyed special privileges: Kyrris 1991-1992, 126-148 (*passim*); Richard 1995, 359-363; Edbury 2005, 98-101; Nader 2006. The Syrians of Famagusta were represented by a distinct collective body: Richard 1987b, 383-398. The Rhomaioi had their own ecclesiastical courts and participated in the Court of Burgesses: Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 24-26. Throughout the fourteenth century, urban assemblies of all the inhabitants of Nicosia ‘great and small’ (*tutti grandi e piccoli*), were convened to acclaim the Lusignan rulers; these seem to have included knights, burgesses and commoners (*popolari, ó λαός*): Arbel 1986, 204-

pre-existing structures through the institutionalisation of the *università* and *popolo* assemblies. The *università* of Nicosia was composed of the island's feudal nobility and burgesses, while that of Famagusta included members of the city guilds. Unlike other dominions in the Maritime State (e.g., Dalmatia and Crete), 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*). The responsibilities of the *consiglio del popolo* focused on the enforcement of public order, the supervision of trade and artisan practices and the election of minor officials. The *università* of Nicosia was the most important body of collective representation in sixteenth-century Cyprus and functioned as a mediator between Venice and the local population, dealing with issues of administration, public health, food supply and education. Although social antagonism did exist, the Venetians allowed the collective representation of all urban groups in civic life. Therefore, they promoted collaboration with the indigenous population under their domination, which strengthened Cypriot identity and enabled the recognition of the Republic's status as arbitrator in internal disputes.¹⁰⁸³

The lists of requests (*capitoli*) sent by the Cypriot *universitates* to Venice for further examination and approval reveal the interest of both the Metropolis and the local elite concerning the island's ecclesiastical affairs. In 1507, the *università* of Nicosia included a request concerning the election of Rhomaioi bishops, which until then had been performed by the *rettori*, who chose one candidate from a list of three. The *università* underlined the fact that the governors occasionally elected candidates who were not properly qualified. In order for their appointment to be confirmed, the candidates had

205; Coureas et al. 2012, 203. In 1464, the *università* (i.e., 'town council') of Famagusta negotiated the city's surrender to James II: Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 411-416; Arbel 1986, 206. Commoners, namely the *popolo*, seem to have played a major role in defending their cities from enemy attacks: Coureas et al. 2012, 203. The degree to which representatives of the urban population participated in popular uprisings of religious nature (e.g., the anti-Latin riots of 1313 and 1360) is not clear. The anonymous *Chronicle of Amadi*, ed. Mas Latrie, 396, 409, and Florio Bustron, *History of Cyprus*, ed. Mas Latrie, 247, 258, note that the aforementioned riots were caused by the *popolo*, without further specification of the social groups involved. Similarly, Leontios Machairas, *Chronicle*, ed. Dawkins, §101 (ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, 117-118), speaks of the *λαός*. The accommodation of assemblies in the urban landscape is reflected in the topography of Nicosia, namely the existence of markets and squares: Patapiou 2007a, 56-57; Patapiou 2011, 251-252; Coureas et al. 2012, 148-150. Arbel 2013, 184, argues that collective bodies under the Lusignans were rarely convened and had no active role in the administration of the Frankish Kingdom.

¹⁰⁸³ Arbel 1986, 207-213; Grivaud and Patapiou in Pietro Valderio, *War of Cyprus*, 9-15; Dokos 1998, 387-394; Papadia-Lala 2004, 131-157; Skoufari 2011, 82-86; Coureas et al. 2012, 203-204; Arbel 2013, 182-189.

to travel to Venice with their expenses paid by the *università*. The Nicosia assembly requested to be allowed to choose three candidates, one of whom was to be elected by the *rettori*, without being necessary to travel to Venice. The Most Serene Republic accepted the Cypriot proposal, instructing the *rettori* to prepare a list of episcopal candidates, three of whom were to be chosen by the *università*, before the *rettori* finally elected one.¹⁰⁸⁴

Consequently, the election of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops was the result of collaboration between the local elite and the Venetian governors under the firm control of the Metropolis. This is also supported by Famagusta's attempt to establish separate procedures for the election of the bishops of Karpasia. In 1507, the *università* of Famagusta requested that it should be permitted to elect the Rhomaios bishop of Karpasia, whose see had been permanently transferred from Karpasia to Famagusta since the mid-fourteenth century. Candidates for the episcopal throne of Karpasia-Famagusta were until then chosen by the *rettori*, the *università* of Nicosia and the *capitano* of Famagusta. This led to the election of non-Famagustans, who showed no interest in their pastoral duties, but despoiled the property of their bishopric. The *università* of Famagusta requested that all episcopal candidates should be Famagustans and that Theodore of Kerkyra, the Rhomaios Vicar, should be replaced by a Famagustan priest. The Venetian authorities replied that the Rhomaioi bishops of Karpasia-Famagusta should be chosen on merit. It seems, however, that the election of the city's Rhomaioi bishops continued to be controlled by Nicosia. In 1545, the *università* of Famagusta argued that since Famagusta was outside the administrative control of Nicosia, then the city's Rhomaioi bishops should be elected by the *università* of Famagusta and not the *università* of Nicosia. Venice rejected the aforementioned request, thus favouring a more centralised system of episcopal elections under the control of the *rettori*, the *capitano* of Famagusta and the *università* of Nicosia, which unlike that of Famagusta, was composed of the island's feudal nobility and burgesses,

¹⁰⁸⁴ KNK, 19-20.7, 78 (comm. by Ploumidis); Aristidou 1993, 193-194; Papadopoulos 1995b, 653; Arbel 2009, 374-376. The Venetians continued to control the appointments of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops even during the War of Cyprus (1570-1571), as confirmed by the election of the Cretan Makarios Arkoleōn as Bishop of Karpasia: Patapiou 2012, 136-137.

excluding members of the city guilds.¹⁰⁸⁵ Similarly, the request of the *consiglio del popolo* of Nicosia in 1544 to be allowed to participate in the election of Rhomaioi bishops was not accepted by the Republic.¹⁰⁸⁶ It is clear that Venice entrusted the power to elect and appoint the island's Rhomaioi bishops only to its colonial officials and the Cypriot *potentes*, thus blocking the *popolo's* access to greater autonomy through participation in episcopal elections.

Venice's firm control over the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy was primarily administrative and not doctrinal. Admittedly, the members of the *università* of Nicosia, who exercised a major role in the election of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops, were either Latins or non-Latins who officially accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy, as ratified by the *Bulla Cypria* and the Florentine Council. Moreover, the *consiglio del popolo*, which had been excluded from the episcopal elections, must have been predominantly Orthodox in character due to its lower social composition.¹⁰⁸⁷ However, we have seen that several upper-class Cypriots respected or followed the Byzantine rite, which suggests that at least a number of them might have been crypto-Orthodox. The tolerant religious stance of the Cypriot *potentes* served the implementation of Venice's doctrinally lenient ecclesiastical policy, which was not dictated by the Papacy, as implied by Hackett and argued by Aristidou, but was primarily shaped by the Republic's own interests and the peculiarities of its Maritime State.¹⁰⁸⁸ It is true that for almost a century, namely from the Florentine (1438–1439) to the Tridentine Council (1543–1563), the Papacy, too, had pursued a tolerant policy towards the Venetian-ruled Rhomaic communities, as confirmed by the aforementioned bulls promulgated by Leo X and Clement VII.¹⁰⁸⁹ This was partly due to the Ottoman advance in the Eastern Mediterranean, which had intensified the leniency of both Venice and the Papacy. The rapprochement between Rhomaioi and Latins had also been enhanced by the activities of Rhomaioi scholars in Italy after 1453, who had contributed to the emergence of

¹⁰⁸⁵ KNK, 50-51.7, 85 (comm. by Ploumides); Aristidou 1993, 194; Arbel 2009, 378; Skoufari 2011, 103-104; Patapiou 2012, 130-131.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Dokos 1998, 392-393; Papadia-Lala 2004, 152-153.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Arbel 2009, 379; cf. Dokos 1998, 392; Papadia-Lala 2004, 152.

¹⁰⁸⁸ A degree of alienation in the relations between Venice and the Papacy had already existed since 1509, when France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, supported by Pope Julius II (1503–1513), defeated the Venetians in Agnadello, putting an end to Venetian expansion in Italy: Cristellon and Menchi 2013, 403-404.

¹⁰⁸⁹ On the bulls see above, 283-284.

Renaissance culture by inspiring a strong interest for the Hellenic world and its classical heritage. Yet, the rise of the Counter-Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century changed the Papacy's policy, since it sanctioned attempts of forced Latinisation. As we shall see below, this caused Venice's intervention in support of its Cypriot Rhomaioi subjects, showing that the Republic's main concern was the preservation of religious peace on the island and not the doctrinal Latinisation of its subjects.¹⁰⁹⁰

The weakness of the local Latin Church facilitated the exercise of Venice's doctrinally tolerant, though centralised in terms of administration, ecclesiastical policy. In 1484, Benedetto Soranzo, the Venetian Archbishop of Nicosia (1484–1495), was prohibited from visiting the island, for he was considered to be more loyal to the Papacy, than his own country.¹⁰⁹¹ Sometime during his tenure, he received a report from Cyprus, informing him about the condition of the Latin Church on the island. According to the report, the treasures of the Latin cathedral in Nicosia had been despoiled by Charlotte and Louis during the Civil War against James of Lusignan. In addition, many Latin and Rhomaic nunneries had been ruined and the Latin Church had problems in collecting tithes. The report added that simony was practised by both Rhomaioi and Latin ecclesiastics and that the Oriental Christians challenged the Latin ecclesiastical authority.¹⁰⁹² Similarly, in 1507 the *università* of Nicosia informed the Venetian authorities that many Latin nunneries were in a ruinous state and that the daughters of nobles and burgesses who wanted to become nuns had no accommodation.¹⁰⁹³ The *università* also mentioned that the property of St John of Montfort's monastery was being despoiled by the Latin bishop of Limassol.¹⁰⁹⁴ In the mid-sixteenth century, the *provedditore* Bernardo Sagredo (1561–1564) noted that the abbey of Bellapais was ruined and that the friars had wives and children.¹⁰⁹⁵ The clerics and canons of St Sophia were not regularly attending to their duties and they had to be informed in advance in order

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ploumides 1970, 228-266; Papadopoulos 1995b, 650-655; Arbel 2002, 73-86; Maltezou 2005, 175-184; Despotakis 2011–2012, 115-137; Arbel 2013, 170-171. On the impact of the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus see below, 335-346.

¹⁰⁹¹ Mas Latrie 1882b, 100 [304] – 109 [313]; Fedalto 1995, 720; cf. Cristellon and Menchi 2013, 381-382.

¹⁰⁹² Voisin 2013c, 93-126.

¹⁰⁹³ *KNK*, 9-11.1, 77 (comm. by Ploumides).

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-12.2, 77 (comm. by Ploumides); Coureas et al. 2012, 175.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Mas Latrie 1855, 543-544; Bernardo Sagredo, *Report to the Council of Ten*, ed. Zorzi, 87 (comm.), 96. See also: Papadopoulos 1995b, 655-656; Fedalto 1995, 728.

to perform the liturgy for the *rettori*.¹⁰⁹⁶ The *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* states that the Latin cathedral clergy had mistresses and wives and most of them ate meat on Saturday. The same practice was also adopted by a number of noble Latin families.¹⁰⁹⁷ For most of the sixteenth century, absenteeism was a constant problem and even the Cypriot Archbishops Livio and Cesare Podocataro chose to live in Italy, rather than Cyprus.¹⁰⁹⁸ According to pilgrim accounts, many of the canons of the Latin cathedral of Famagusta were Latinised Rhomaioi and we may assume that they must have been rather tolerant towards followers of the Byzantine rite.¹⁰⁹⁹

Under the circumstances, we can easily understand how Venice managed to replace the Papacy and the Lusignans as the dominant power in the ecclesiastical administration of the Cypriot Rhomaic community. Already from the last decades of the Frankish rule on the island, the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops seem to have been elected by the Royal Council and nominated by the Lusignan king, before being confirmed by their Latin diocesans and ordained, according to the Byzantine rite, by their own clergy. This would suggest that the Lusignan control over the island's ecclesiastical affairs embraced both the Latin and Rhomaic communities, marginalising or excluding the role of the Cypriot Rhomaic flock and clergy in the appointment of their own prelates. By adopting this policy, the Venetians institutionalised the election of Rhomaioi bishops by the *rettori* and the *università* of Nicosia.¹¹⁰⁰ The Rhomaic oath of

¹⁰⁹⁶ Mas Latrie 1855, 542-543.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See below App. IV, 497.XIV.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Fedalto 1995, 721-722, 724; Parlato 2012, 67-96.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Kyrris 2005, 2; Grivaud 2013a, 497.

¹¹⁰⁰ The report to Benedetto Soranzo, probably composed in the 1480s, mentions that the exercise of Latin ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Cypriot Rhomaioi was divided between the Crown and the Latin Church. See Voisin 2013c, 113-114, who argues that the Venetians had probably transferred to Cyprus the Cretan model of ecclesiastical administration. The Rhomaic clergy of Crete were divided among those obedient to the Latin Archbishop and his Rhomaioi vicar (*presul*) and those obedient to a senior priest (*πρωτοπαπάς*), appointed by the Venetians. In the fourteenth century, the appointment of senior priests created discord between the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Venetian governors. In the early fifteenth century, the Republic managed to place the *πρωτοπαπάδες* under civilian control: Thiriet 1966, 204-205; Gill 1973, 464-465; McKee 2000, 104-106; Coureas 2014b, 156. In the case of Cyprus, it appears that the system described in the report sent to Soranzo was first introduced by the Lusignans (perhaps John II or his son James II), and it was later elaborated by the Venetians. Other testimonies in support of this view include: Mas Latrie 1882a, 530.39.2 (*persone degne ecclesiastice e letterate, con consulto et parere deli zentilhomeni et altri ceytadini del loco*); Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorographia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 31^v (*dipoi fece, che li Vescovi greci fussero eletti dal consiglio Regale, & poi che fusse accettato dal Re. [...] La elettione andava dal Re [...]*); Angelo Calepio, *ibid.*, f. 122^v (*errano eletti dal consiglio Regale latino*); Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 87^r (*premierement il est esleu par la plus grande partie des Nobles en plein conseil, comme*

submission to the Papacy was not abolished and episcopal ordinations continued to be performed by the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy.¹¹⁰¹ Similarly, the Orthodox misinterpretation of the formula *salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines* in the sixteenth-century codices *Barberinianus graecus* 390 and *Dionysiou* 489 demonstrates that a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics continued to employ methods of covert anti-Latinism in order to reaffirm their religious identity.¹¹⁰²

While it is clear that the Venetians wished to maintain the *status quo* on the island, it is also true that they succeeded in creating networks of interdependence between the Most Serene Republic and the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy. We have already pointed out that the elections of Rhomaioi bishops relied on the approval of both the *rettori* and the *università* of Nicosia. In addition, the involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics in communal administration, which went back to the Frankish period, was undoubtedly encouraged by the Venetians.¹¹⁰³ The local elites had the right to appoint senior priests (*πρωτοπαπάδες*) and notaries (*νομικοί*), who seem to have served as community leaders and arbitrators.¹¹⁰⁴ The Venetians also controlled the number of village priests

c'est leur coutume d'eslire tous les Evesques Grecs. Autrefois apres son election on le presentoit au Roy). See also the discussion by Arbel 2009, 375-376, 379.

¹¹⁰¹ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 31^v-32^r; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 87^r-88^v; Schabel 2002-2003, 344-345.

¹¹⁰² See above, 260-261.

¹¹⁰³ For the Frankish period see, e.g., Maltezou 1987, 5; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005a, 54-56; Beihammer in *GBUZ*, 170-130.

¹¹⁰⁴ This piece of information comes from a Venetian fiscal document concerning the Marathasa district (1549): Florio Bustron, *Register of serfs of Marathasa*, ed. Imhaus, 514: *de li officii hano action li patroni del dicto loco di metter uno protopapa et uno nomico quelli che loro voleno secondo la lora*. It is not clear whether the Venetian-appointed *πρωτοπαπάδες* received ordination like the Orthodox *πρωτοπαπάδες*, *πρωτοϊερείς*, *πρωτοπρεσβύτεροι* and *χωρεπίσκοποι*, whose duties were ecclesiastical. A fourteenth-century list of ecclesiastical offices presents the Cypriot Rhomaic cathedral chapter divided into two choruses under the bishop and his senior priest, who was also sanctioned to act as the former's representative. The division into two choruses probably imitates the organisation of Latin cathedral chapters, although it could also be interpreted as evidence for the elevated role of senior priests after the *Bulla Cypria* and the reduction of Orthodox bishoprics, which created the need for the adaptation and re-organisation of the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy. Documents concerning the activities and role of *πρωτοπαπάδες*, *πρωτοϊερείς*, *πρωτοπρεσβύτεροι* and *χωρεπίσκοποι* in Byzantium and Latin-ruled Cyprus can be found in the following studies: Darrouzès 1970, 225-242 (comm.), 557-563; Darrouzès 1979, 79 (comm.), 119.16; *KNK*, 57-74.4, 86-90 (comm. by Ploumides, esp. at 86); Constantinides 1988, 169-177; *DGMC*, 244-245; *GBUZ*, 157-158.9, 224-226.93, 233-234.101; Ioannides 2003, 65-68. Secondary studies include: Rhalles 1936, 98-107; Ramphos 1947, 134-138; Tomadakis 1973-1974, 309-331 (esp. at 322-324); Pilides 1985, 184-189; Vakaros 1986, 166-169, 183-207, 215-250; Maltezou 1987, 3, 5; Zizioulas 1990, 73-76; Antonopoulou 2013, 175. On the division into two choruses one should consult: Pelade-Olivier 2001, 80, 82; Olympios 2014a, 213. Note that in 1421, the Russian pilgrim Zosima claimed to have observed the use of pipe organ in Cypriot Rhomaic churches, something that seems to strengthen the possibility of Western influences in Cypriot Rhomaic liturgical practices and organisation: Grivaud 1990a, 51.4. Zosima's testimony, however, needs to be confirmed by archaeological research.

and appointed members of the clergy as jurats (*omotí* and *zuradí*), in order to certify donations and land tenure. A number of jurats perhaps participated in the local ecclesiastical courts, arbitrating the settlement of disputes.¹¹⁰⁵ Socio-economic developments might have also contributed to the strengthening of the social status of Cypriot Rhomaioi priests. The fragmentation and lease of landed property owned by feudal lords, who had problems paying their taxes, provided opportunities of land tenure and social mobility, which enabled the creation of a class of peasant landowners that included priests.¹¹⁰⁶ Clearly, the relationship between Venice and the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy was reciprocal. On the one hand, the Metropolis relied on the Cypriot Rhomaioi priests for the preservation of order and the effective implementation of its colonial policy on a local level. On the other hand, the involvement of a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics in the island's administration upgraded their social status and made them mediators between their flock and the Most Serene Republic.¹¹⁰⁷

Turning now to monasticism, Venice's policy generally focused on the affirmation of its control over Cypriot Rhomaic establishments, through the arbitration of disputes and the support of monastic communities, without intervention in dogmatic matters. The practice of simony and the appointment of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops were thorny issues throughout the sixteenth century. In 1501, the Venetian *luogotenente*, Cosmo Pasqauligo (1497–1500), sent a report to Doge Agostino Barbarigo (1486–1501), informing him that a number of Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries were controlled by Latin ecclesiastics and laymen, who despoiled their property and made simoniac appointments, arousing complaints on the part of the monks. Barbarigo recognised that these activities were uncanonical and ordered the intervention of the *rettori* and the incumbent Latin archbishop, instructing them to inspect the elections of abbots.¹¹⁰⁸ During the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516), however, the Republic tolerated simony, in order to finance its military activities. In 1510, the Cypriot Rhomaioi priest Dēmētrēs Doria, whose family name suggests Italian origin, bought St Mamas' monastery, paying both the Metropolis and the local colonial government. Doria's

¹¹⁰⁵ Maltezou 1987, 1-17 (*passim*); Aristidou 1992, 263-280; Antonopoulou 2013, 170-172.

¹¹⁰⁶ Aristidou 2003b, 79-113; Antonopoulou 2013, 143-147, 175.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹¹⁰⁸ Grivaud 1993, 231-233.1; Aristidou 1993, 190-191; Antonopoulou 2013, 199.

money was used for the armament of a Venetian galley. When Dēmētrēs died, the Venetians decided to give St Mamas to his son, Paul, who was also a priest.¹¹⁰⁹

After the War of the League of Cambrai, Venice returned to its official policy of prohibiting simony, although cases of corruption continued to exist. In 1521, the *università* of Nicosia noted that it was common for abbots to buy their offices by paying a sum to the island's colonial government. As a response, the Venetian Senate ordered that abbots should occupy their office for only two years, in order to eliminate phenomena of corruption.¹¹¹⁰ It seems, however, that this particular regulation was largely ignored. In 1534, for example, a certain Joseph (*alias* Iossi) Planda Damascene had already been acting as Abbot of the Acheiropoiētos monastery for some fourteen years. The local monks, who did not approve Damascene, attempted to cancel his appointment by bringing the case before the Venetian magistrates.¹¹¹¹ In 1542, the Latin Archbishop Livio Podocataro proposed that three Cypriot Rhomaioi monks should be appointed to control the activities of abbots. Yet, the *università* of Nicosia opposed Podocataro's proposal, arguing that it would be harmful for monastic life. The *rettori* suggested that the administration of Cypriot Rhomaic establishments should be inspected by both the *Reggimento* and the *università*, stressing the need to maintain the monastic traditions and customs. It is not clear whether this last proposal was ever put into effect.¹¹¹² In 1559, the *università* of Nicosia requested from the Venetians to elect and appoint the abbots of Rhomaic monasteries, but the Cypriot Rhomaioi monks defended their autonomy by sending to Venice Manasseh the Monk, who argued that the old traditions and customs should be retained. The Venetian ambassador in Rome consulted the pope, who appears to have supported the monks' position, leading to the eventual rejection of the Nicosia assembly's request.¹¹¹³ The *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*, which was composed in the 1560s and reflects the perspective of Latin

¹¹⁰⁹ KNK, 56.3, 86 (comm. by Ploumidēs); Aristidou 1993, 194-195; Skoufari 2011, 104; Antonopoulou 2013, 102. Around the same time, Andrew, another Cypriot Rhomaioi priest, became Bishop of Karpasia by paying for the reconstruction of the Famagustan walls: Patapiou 2012, 132.

¹¹¹⁰ Skoufari 2011, 104-105. Note that the *rettori* had to approve the election of abbots by their monastic community: Grivaud 1990b, 240-241.

¹¹¹¹ Grivaud 1993, 219-244.

¹¹¹² Skoufari 2011, 105-106.

¹¹¹³ Arbel 2009, 379.

churchmen promoting the principles of the Counter-Reformation, reveals that during the last decade of Venetian rule, simoniac practices continued to flourish and that there were still Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops and senior priests who bought their offices.¹¹¹⁴

Evidently, the plundering of ecclesiastical property by members of the laity and clergy and the appointment of unworthy abbots through simoniac procedures should be interpreted as manifestations of disorder and power struggle, which involved not only the Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics but also the Latin Church, local *potentes* and Venetian officials. On the one hand, Venice often defended the rights of Cypriot Rhomaioi monks, who had no other choice but to appeal to the Republic's colonial authority in order to safeguard their traditions, customs and property from greedy laymen and churchmen. On the other hand, the Metropolis was rather reluctant to take hard measures against its Cypriot collaborators, albeit recognising their involvement in phenomena of corruption.¹¹¹⁵ What is clear is that Venice respected the doctrines and practices of Cypriot Rhomaic monasticism and did not promote a policy of Latinisation.

The dependence of Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries on Venice was primarily administrative and economic. Due to their poor condition, exacerbated by natural disasters and the grain shortage that struck the Eastern Mediterranean between 1554 and 1561, many establishments (e.g., Pallouriōtissa, Kykkos, Acheiropoiētos, St Mamas, St George Emphoritēs and St Nicholas of the Roof) requested and received tax exemption and economic and material support from the Republic; the Venetian generosity reaffirmed the Metropolis' status as benefactor of the Cypriot Rhomaioi.¹¹¹⁶ It is indicative that even the monastery of Kykkos, which possessed several dependencies and landed property throughout Cyprus but had no jurisdiction over peasant communities, relied on the approval of the *Reggimento*, in order to acquire manual labour for the exploitation of its domains.¹¹¹⁷ Although several Venetian

¹¹¹⁴ See below App. IV, 470.I.12.

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. Arbel 2013, 213, 216.

¹¹¹⁶ Ploumidis 1990–1991, 233–238; Grivaud 1990b, 225–253; Grivaud 1993, 220, 226 (comm.), 242.10; Aristidou 1993, 199–202; Papadopoulos 1995b, 652–653; Antonopoulou 2013, 203–204. According to Grivaud 2012a, 31, the poor condition of a number of old monasteries suggests the redirection of popular devotion towards new establishments (e.g., the Virgin Podythou, Virgin and St Sōzomenos in Galata and the Virgin Chrysokourdaliōtissa in Kourdali); cf. Grivaud 2008, 239–240.

¹¹¹⁷ Grivaud 1990b, 232–233, 240–241.

officials complained that in comparison to Latin establishments, Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries flourished, it is clear that Cypriot Rhomaic monasticism was essentially subordinated to the Venetians and their colonial administration.¹¹¹⁸

In general, Venice's ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* in Cyprus was characterised by concentration of supreme control over Church affairs in the hands of its metropolitan administrators, the island's colonial governors and their local collaborators. The Republic maintained the *status quo* created by the *Bulla Cypria* and the Florentine 'Union', but did not pursue a policy of Latinisation and occasionally intervened to safeguard the Cypriot Rhomaic traditions, customs and property. Consequently, while the Venetians did not liberate their Cypriot Rhomaioi subjects from their institutional submission to the Papacy, they did not promote doctrinal and liturgical uniformity on the island. The weak condition of the Latin Church strengthened the public image of the Venetians as sovereigns, arbitrators and benefactors of the Cypriot Rhomaic community. The limits of Venice's ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* in Cyprus are indicated by its inability to effectively take action against phenomena of corruption, disorder and power struggle throughout the sixteenth century. It should be stressed, however, that the establishment of networks of interdependence between the Republic and the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy enhanced Venice's role as protector of its colonial subjects. It also upgraded the position of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics as mediators between their flock and the Metropolis, promoting a degree of administrative autonomy at a local level.

Cypriot Rhomaic responses to the Venetian *Realpolitik* were mixed, expressing both resistance and collaboration to various degrees. The poor condition of the lower masses was exacerbated by natural disasters, outbreaks of plague, food shortages and occasional manifestations of corruption on the part of the island's governors and the local elites.¹¹¹⁹ 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

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid., 241.

¹¹¹⁹ Arbel 1989b, 1057-1074; Aristidou 1997, 115-123; Arbel 1998b, 351-360; Grivaud 1998a, 361-371; Aristidou 1998, 373-386; Skoufari 2011, 96-97.

the new walls of Nicosia, made the situation even worse.¹¹²⁰ Hunger and social misery led the popular strata to the adoption of resistance mechanisms, directed against the Venetians and their Cypriot collaborators. The exclusion of the *popolo* and clergy from the election of bishops must have contributed to the anti-Venetian sentiments of the Cypriot Rhomaic population.¹¹²¹ The tension culminated in the 1560s, when apart from the torment of food shortage, the Latin Church attempted to impose the principles of the Counter-Reformation on the island. Expressions of protest included violent riots and rather naïve appeals to foreign powers, particularly the Ottoman Empire, to conquer Cyprus and liberate the peasant population from the Venetian yoke. The fact that members of the lower clergy actively participated in anti-Venetian riots and plots could be considered as evidence that Orthodox Cypriot Rhomaic ethno-religious identity was strengthened in times of crisis.¹¹²² This is further supported by the popular cultivation of hagiographical legends that criticised the socio-economic exploitation of the poor and placed them under the patronage of local saints.¹¹²³

Above all, the connection between Orthodoxy and anti-Venetian resistance is revealed by the case of James Diasorēnos, a Rhodian scholar who was accused of conspiring against Venice and was executed in Nicosia in 1563. The examination of Diasorēnos' intellectual background and activities is crucial for understanding his personality, ideology and political activities. Following the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes in 1522, Diasorēnos' family moved to Chios, where Diasorēnos studied under the erudite scholar and physician Michael Hermodōros Lēstarchos (d. ante 1577).¹¹²⁴ It should be stressed that Lēstarchos maintained friendly relations with the Zygomalades, a prominent Constantinopolitan family of patriarchal officials and scholars, and that he

¹¹²⁰ Grivaud 1984–1987, 269-279; Grivaud 1992, 281-306; Grivaud 1998a, 370; Coureas et al. 2012, 128; Grivaud 2012b, 191-207.

¹¹²¹ On episcopal elections as a possible cause of tension cf. Arbel 2009, 379-380.

¹¹²² Generally on anti-Venetian protests see: Grivaud 1998a, 366-367, 369-370; Aristidou 2001a, 581-598; Apostolopoulos 2001 669-689; Dokos 2002, 209-216; Patapiou 2004, 191-207; Papadia-Lala 2010, 115-146; cf. Birtachas 2011a, 279-280.19, 280-281.20. See also below, 267.

¹¹²³ The Czech pilgrim Kristof Harant visited Cyprus in 1598 and recorded a local etiological tradition concerning the extraction of salt near Larnaca. According to the tradition related by Harant, St Barnabas had cursed the area, for he was given to drink brackish water, resulting to the creation of the salt lakes of Larnaca. As Papalexandrou 2008, 259-260, argues (at 260), the tradition probably reflects 'the point of view of the weak and oppressed' Cypriot Rhomaioi involved in the extraction of salt under the Venetians. Similarly, Given 2004, 116-137, associates the local veneration of St Mamas with the existence of mountainous tax-evading communities.

¹¹²⁴ Christodoulidou 1997, 23-25.

was summoned to Constantinople by Patriarch Joasaph II (1556–1565) himself, in order to serve as a doctor.¹¹²⁵ In the 1540s and 1550s, Diasorēnos lived in the West, working as a physician and scribe of Greek manuscripts in France and Spain.¹¹²⁶ He was closely associated with his cousin, James Heraclidēs Basilikos (d. 1563), who served as a mercenary under Charles V (1516–1556) and Philip II of Spain (1556–1598). Both Basilikos and Diasorēnos hoped that Spain would one day liberate their brethren from the Ottomans. When in 1561 Basilikos became Prince of Moldavia, he presented himself as heir to the Byzantine emperors and the Serbian despots, but his attempt to impose Lutheranism over the Moldavians eventually led to his downfall.¹¹²⁷ It was probably at Basilikos’ instigation that Diasorēnos came to Cyprus in 1561/2.¹¹²⁸ In 1562, Diasorēnos was based in Nicosia, from where he sent a letter of recommendation for Basilikos to Patriarch Joasaph II.¹¹²⁹ Given that Joasaph II had been a student of the patriarchal official John Zygomalas (d. ante 1585) and that he had invited Lēstarchos, Diasorēnos’ teacher, to Constantinople, we should interpret Diasorēnos’ communication with the Patriarch within a wider network of contacts and cooperation between sixteenth-century Orthodox Rhomaioi intellectuals linked to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹¹³⁰

During his stay in Nicosia, Diasorēnos worked as a teacher, presumably in the Greek school of the Hodēgētria cathedral, which, according to the testament of Eugene Synglitico the Elder, was situated close or inside the Latin cathedral of St Sophia.¹¹³¹ A Venetian report on Diasorēnos’ activities states that he was admired by all Cypriots. The same source also mentions that many of his predecessors had been ‘Lutherans’,

¹¹²⁵ Rhoby 2009, 125-130.

¹¹²⁶ Papadopoulos 1912, 507-508; Papadopoulos in Arbel 1995c, 539-540; Christodoulidou 1997, 25-28.

¹¹²⁷ McNeill ²1975, 47-48; Papadopoulos in Arbel 1995c, 537-538; Christodoulidou 1997, 27-31; Falangas 2006, 229-231. According to Sathas ²1993, 145, 233, 253, Diasorēnos, too, might have served as a mercenary.

¹¹²⁸ Papadopoulos 1911, 513-514; Papadopoulos in Arbel 1995c, 540-541; Christodoulidou 1997, 44-45.

¹¹²⁹ Christodoulidou 1997, 41-44.

¹¹³⁰ On Joasaph II and John Zygomalas see Rhoby 2009, 125, 128 (n. 10).

¹¹³¹ On the Greek school of Nicosia see Patapiou 2003–2004, 231 (esp. at n. 59). According to Synglitico’s testament, the school (*Schuola Greca di Sancta Odigitria*) was situated *posta nela chiesa catedral di Nicosia* (i.e., ‘inside the cathedral church of Nicosia’). It is unclear whether this meant 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. Leventis 2005, 293, 295, 299 (on the fifteenth-century perception of both cathedrals of Nicosia as parts of the same complex).

which had created problems in their relations with the Cypriots.¹¹³² 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 Protestant activities of James Basilikos.¹¹³³ According to the *provveditore* Giovanni Matteo Bembo (1561–1562), Diasorēnos was deeply respected by the poor, who considered him a prophet.¹¹³⁴ Moreover, Diasorēnos seems to have been associated with members of the Cypriot elite, namely the Podocataro family.¹¹³⁵ The Latin Bishop of Amelia Antonio Maria Graziani (1592–1611), who might have consulted Venetian archival sources, relates that Diasorēnos' teachings focused on the glory of Hellenic antiquity and that his audience welcomed those unable to pay student fees. He also offered free medical services, for which reason the poor called him 'Father'.¹¹³⁶ Equally revealing is a report by the French ambassador in Constantinople (spring 1563), who noted that Diasorēnos was driving the island's Rhomaioi against the Latin Church and that he had gathered around him five thousand men.¹¹³⁷

There is evidence that Diasorēnos plotted with Basilikos and the Spanish-controlled Kingdom of Naples to overthrow the Venetian regime in Cyprus with the assistance of Rhomaic and Albanian mercenary units (*stradioti*) stationed on the island. The Venetians warned Diasorēnos to leave Cyprus but he refused to obey. He found refuge in Paphos, in the residence of the Rhomaioi bishop of Arsinoē, which strongly suggests that his plans were supported by members of the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was eventually arrested by the Venetians and executed (1563), together with a number of local collaborators.¹¹³⁸ Although the Italian historian Natale Conti (d. 1582), states that Diasorēnos had been corresponding with Iskender Pasha (d. 1571),

¹¹³² Apostolopoulos 2015, 243-244. The report was composed by Leoninos Serbos, a Cretan agent in Venetian service who had been based in Constantinople: Apostolopoulos 1998, 9-27.

¹¹³³ On the relationship between Diasorēnos and Melanchthon see Christodoulidou 1997, 30-33; cf. Birtachas 2011a, 118-119 (n. 6).

¹¹³⁴ Christodoulidou 1997, 46. On the chronology of Bembo's office see Calvelli 2012, 22 (n. 11).

¹¹³⁵ Christodoulidou 1997, 48.

¹¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 45-46; Apostolopoulos 2015, 250. On Graziani, see Gasparis in Antonio Maria Graziani, *On the War of Cyprus*, xxv.

¹¹³⁷ Charrière 1850, 723; Christodoulidou 1997, 51-52. The numbers mentioned by the French ambassador are most probably exaggerated.

¹¹³⁸ Hill 1948, 838-842; Christodoulidou 1997, 47-53; Papadia-Lala 2010, 133-135; Skoufari 2011, 136; Apostolopoulos 2015, 239-252; cf. Birtachas 2011a, 275-276.17, 276-279.18.

Beylerbey of Anatolia, there is no concrete evidence that the former had involved the Ottomans in his anti-Venetian plot. Indeed, the hitherto examined Venetian reports on Diasorēnos only mention his aforementioned collaboration with Basilikos, the Spanish and the *stradioti*, while also including Lēstarchos among the conspirators.¹¹³⁹

Overall, Diasorēnos appears to have been an exceptional man and revolutionary, inspired both by the Renaissance and the heritage of Orthodox Byzantium. His attempt to take action against Venice with the help of Basilikos and the Spanish suggests that his primary aim was to establish himself as the island's ruler, probably as a first step towards the liberation of other Greek territories by 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 and ethno-religious revival of his people. Although several historians have questioned Diasorēnos' revolutionary motivations, arguing that he was simply an adventurer, it is probably more correct to interpret his actions as being led by an Early Modern Greek ethno-religious ideology; his vision was shared by a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi, whose ethno-religious identity was strengthened in times of crisis, resulting in expressions of anti-Venetian resistance.¹¹⁴⁰

Having seen that in the 1560s the relations between the Venetians and the local population were generally characterised by tension, it is striking that during the War of Cyprus (1570–1571), the majority of the Cypriot Rhomaic flock and clergy collaborated

¹¹³⁹ Hill 1948, 840 (n. 1); Christodoulidou 1997, 48-50; Apostolopoulos 2015, 247-248; cf. Birtachas 2011a, 277. While on his way to Moldavia, carrying Diasorēnos' letters to Basilikos, one of the former's agents was arrested in Constantinople and was delivered by the Ottomans to the Venetian *bailo*. This incident reveals that, at the time of Diasorēnos' plot, the Ottomans were not interested in waging war against Venice: Apostolopoulos 2015, 241-257; cf. Aristidou 1987, 70-71; Aristidou 2001a, 589-590; Apostolopoulos 2001, 670-671, 675. However, the possibility that Diasorēnos appealed to the Ottomans to assist him overthrow the Venetians in Cyprus, perhaps as a first step before turning against the Ottoman Empire, should not be entirely excluded.

¹¹⁴⁰ Papadopoulos 1912, 508-511; Papadopoulos in Arbel 1995c, 541-542; Christodoulidou 1997, 59-65; Papadia-Lala 2010, 133; Skoufari 2011, 136; Apostolopoulos 2015, 239-240, 250; *pace* Arbel 1989a, 139; Arbel 1995c, 526-527; Arbel 1998a, 101; Grivaud 1995a, 108-109; Birtachas 2011a, 115-127; Arbel 2013, 214. It is noteworthy that Diasorēnos dedicated to Philip II of Spain his handwritten manuscript of Aelian's *Tactics*, comparing him to Philip II of Macedon (359–336 B.C.) and urging him to liberate Greece from the Turks. Diasorēnos also composed a manual on the teaching of Greek, in which he expressed the hope that Philip II would one day liberate the Rhomaioi from the Ottoman yoke and expand his authority throughout the politically-fragmented Greek world. Diasorēnos appears to have perceived the Greek lands as an ethnic, cultural and geographical entity, expanding from Kerkyra to Cyprus: Kourouni 1969, 434-447; Christodoulidou 1997, 29-30.

with their Venetian overlords against the Ottomans.¹¹⁴¹ It is indicative that during the Ottoman siege of Nicosia (1570), the city's Latin and Rhomaioi defenders made a last stand in front of the Hodēgētria cathedral and the Rhomaic episcopal residence, which resulted in the death of many Rhomaioi priests and monks. The casualties included Symeon of Kykkos, Bishop of Solea (1568–1570), and Constantine Flangin, Bishop of Arsinoē (fl. ante 1570), while the Bishop of Leukara, most likely John of Sur (1567–1571/2?), was taken captive.¹¹⁴² The collaboration of Cypriot Rhomaic clergy with the Venetians is also confirmed by the report of a Venetian officer, Marc'Antonio Pasqualigo (January 1571), who noted that during the hostilities, he had entrusted to the Rhomaios senior priest of the mountainous community of Chandria five barrels of gunpowder and a number of firearms.¹¹⁴³ Similarly, the *Lament for Cyprus*, composed on the aftermath of the island's Ottoman conquest by an anonymous Cypriot Rhomaios poet, who must have followed the Byzantine rite and was perhaps Orthodox, relates the sufferings of all Cypriots, making no distinction between Rhomaioi and Latins.¹¹⁴⁴ In addition, after 1571 many Cypriot Rhomaioi, including clerics and monks, sought refuge in Venice and its Greek dominions. The fact that these refugees occupied a prominent position in the Metropolis' vibrant Rhomaic Confraternity, underlines the pro-Venetian sentiments of a great part of the island's Rhomaioi and their perception of Venice as being 'almost a second Constantinople' (*quasi alterum Byzantium*).¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹⁴¹ Pace, e.g., Hackett 1972, 184, 188; cf. Arbel 1989a, 138-139; Arbel 1998a, 100-102.

¹¹⁴² Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorographia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 104^v-105^r, 112^r; Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 260^r-261^v, 271^r; Hill 1948, 982; Coureas et al. 2012, 129. On Symeon of Kykkos' episcopate see: Kyrris 1967, 112; Chatzipsaltes 1972–1973b, 147; Grivaud 1990b, 227 (n. 9); Papageorghiou 2001, 30; Patapiou 2012, 137. On Constantine Flangin see above, 256. On John of Sur's episcopate see Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorographia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 123^r; Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, f. 290^r; Patapiou 2012, 137.

¹¹⁴³ Marc'Antonio Pasqualigo, *Report*, 11-12 (comm. by Grivaud), 16-17.

¹¹⁴⁴ Anonymous, *Lament for Cyprus*, ed. Chatzisavas et al., 11-28 (comm. by Papadopoulos), 69.425-71.456; 134.425-136.456; Grivaud 1995c, 1181-1189; Kitromilides 2002b, 232-233; Argyriou 2008, 35-47 (esp. at 46-47); Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 137-142.

¹¹⁴⁵ The phrase belongs to Cardinal Bessarion: Pardos 1998, 527-568 (esp. at 532, n. 29). On the Cypriot Rhomaic diaspora see, e.g.: Kyrris 1967–1968, 85-104; Kyrris 1968–1969, 57-84; Kyrris 1969–1970, 145-165; Maltezou 1995c, 1209-1227; Imhaus 2000, 33-41; Tsiknakis 2002, 175-207; Vlasi 2002, 217-237; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 331-336; Constantoudaki 2002, 353-368; Maltezou 2003; Kitromilides 2009, 207-217; Nicolaou-Konnari 2009b, 218-239; Patapiou 2010, 67-84; Antonopoulou 2013, 177-178. The involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates, priests and monks in anti-Ottoman plots and revolts in the seventeenth century also strengthens the view that at least part of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy preferred to be governed by Christian rulers. See generally: Michael 2005, 111-117; Hassiotis 2010, 161-178; Antonopoulou 2013, 179, 212-214.

The Cypriot Rhomaic willingness to fight the Turks under St Mark's banner could be primarily interpreted as an expression of political loyalty towards the Most Serene Republic. It is true that the Venetians relentlessly punished acts of disobedience by the local population, making it clear that they were unwilling to tolerate collaboration with the Ottoman invaders.¹¹⁴⁶ We should, nevertheless, recognise that the Latino-Rhomaic collaboration was undoubtedly strengthened by sentiments of common Christian identity, forged by centuries of religious coexistence and socio-cultural interaction. This is supported, for example, by Stephen of Lusignan's description of the participation of all Cypriot ethno-religious groups in the processions held for the feasts of the Corpus Christi and St Mark.¹¹⁴⁷ The fear of Muslim atrocities must have also contributed to the rapprochement of Cypriot Christians and their determination to defend their island.¹¹⁴⁸

Although the political loyalty of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy and clergy towards the Venetians at the time of the Ottoman invasion could be *prima facie* interpreted as an indication of ecclesiastical obedience to the Papacy, there is evidence that many Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics in Venice's service preserved their Orthodox identity. Between 1567 and 1568, for example, the Bishop of Leukara John of Sur and his senior priest John Flangin had been involved in a controversy with the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia Filippo Mocenigo, concerning the right of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to preside over courts of first instance. As we shall see below, the Venetians eventually confirmed John of Sur's jurisdiction over the Cypriot Rhomaic flock and clergy of his bishopric.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., the execution by the Venetians of a great part of the population of Leukara for having been forced to collaborate with the Ottomans: Arbel 1989a, 139-140; Arbel 2013, 216; Patapiou (forthcoming-a).

¹¹⁴⁷ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorografia*, ed. Papadopoullos et al., f. 35r; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 75r-76r; Hill 1948, 1100-1101; Schabel 2002-2003, 343; Papadaki 2009, 381-394; Coureas et al. 2012, 200. The political symbolism of Latin religious festivals suggests that the participation of non-Latins was almost mandatory, since there was clearly a need to publicly express their obedience towards the Latin rulers and their Church.

¹¹⁴⁸ On Ottoman raids against the island see: Arbel 1995b, 164; Theocharides 2008, 139. On massacres and destructions during the War of Cyprus see generally: Anonymous, *Lament for Cyprus*, ed. Chatzisavas et al., 29-182 (*passim*); Theocharides 2008, 140-141; Grivaud 2009, 196-198, 200; Grivaud 2011, 165-166, 171-173; Coureas et al. 2012, 210-211. On cases of Christian martyrdom under the Ottomans in various Greek territories and Egypt during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one should consult: Vaporis 2000, 31-98; Armanios 2011, 41-63; cf. Paschalides 2011, 697-722. On the flaying of Marco Antonio Bragadino (d. 1571), the Venetian *capitano* of Famagusta, see generally: Augustine of Famagusta, *Report on the Fall of Famagusta* in *KΠΑΑ*, 89-113; Hill 1948, 1032-1034. The siege of Malta (1565) seems to have inspired the Cypriot resistance against the Ottomans: Grivaud 1995c, 1170-1171; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 121-123.

¹¹⁴⁹ See below, 338. It is not clear whether Constantine Flangin of Arsinoë, who died during the siege of Nicosia in 1570, was the same person as the aforementioned bishop of Arsinoë who had provided shelter

Before his episcopal election, Symeon, the last Cypriot Rhomaïos Bishop of Solea, had been Abbot of Kykkos for some twenty-six years (ca. 1542–1568). Symeon’s pastoral and administrative qualities are confirmed by the fact that he had rebuilt the monastery after the catastrophic fire of 1542. Almost ten years after the fire, the number of Kykkos’ monks seems to have remained high and the monastery continued to attract novices. Moreover Symeon, who was also a bibliophile, had donated Palladius’ *Lausiaca History* to the Mar Saba monastery. This shows that Symeon respected the Orthodox ascetic tradition and maintained a network of contacts with Orthodox monastic centres in Palestine.¹¹⁵⁰ In October 1570, during the Ottoman siege of Famagusta, a Cretan hieromonk, Makarios Arkoleōn, was elected Bishop of Karpasia and his appointment was confirmed by the Metropolis in February 1571. Arkoleōn, who belonged to a noble Byzantine family, was praised by the Venetians for his piety and learning. During the siege of Famagusta, he participated in the city’s defence, encouraging the soldiers with the cross in his hand. He remained in his see even after the Ottoman conquest of Famagusta and the island’s new masters recognised him as Bishop of Famagusta in 1572.¹¹⁵¹ Given Arkoleōn’s participation in Famagusta’s defence and the Ottoman fears for a Western reconquest of Cyprus, the decision to retain the former in his position, despite his election and confirmation under the Venetians, probably implies that he must have openly declared his obedience towards the Ottoman-controlled Ecumenical Patriarchate, thus reassuring the Turks that he was not pro-Latin.¹¹⁵²

Another point that supports the view that many Cypriot Rhomaïoi in Venetian service were Orthodox, is the anti-Rhomaic criticism of Latin ecclesiastical historians of the War of Cyprus. While the anonymous Cypriot Rhomaïos poet of the *Lament for Cyprus*

to Diasorēnos seven years earlier (1563). If so, then this could be considered as evidence concerning the Orthodox identity of several members of the Flangin family. On sixteenth-century Rhomaïoi bishops of Arsinoē one should consult Darrouzès 1951a, 202.

¹¹⁵⁰ Grivaud 1990b, 227 (n. 9), 229; DGMC, 182-183 (esp. at n. 5), 219.

¹¹⁵¹ Patapiou 2012, 138-139, 147-148.8. On Arkoleōn’s participation in the city’s defence, see Alexander Podocataro, *Report on the events of Famagusta in ΚΠΑΑ*, 26-28 (comm. by Kitromilides), 64-65, 68-69. Interestingly, the Famagustan elite had asked for Arkoleōn’s mediation to Bragadino, requesting a capitulation with the Ottomans to avoid massacres. Note that the Latin bishop of Famagusta, too, had contributed to the defence of Famagusta. Although Kitromilides identifies the Rhomaïos bishop of Famagusta with Germanos Kouskōnari, the prelate mentioned by Alexander Podocataro is, in fact, Arkoleōn.

¹¹⁵² On Ottoman fears for a Western reconquest, see Hassiotis 2010, 147-153.

adopted the biblical interpretation of historical events in describing the collective sufferings of all Cypriots as God's just and redemptive punishment for their sins, non-Cypriot Latin ecclesiastics (e.g., Angelo Calepio and Antonio Maria Graziani) perceived the island's Ottoman conquest as the result of Cypriot Rhomaic disobedience to the Western Church.¹¹⁵³ According to Graziani, who had no personal knowledge of the War, two Cypriot Rhomaioi from Nicosia chose to surrender to the Ottomans, declaring their willingness to betray the city's defenders. The two men justified their action by confessing their anti-Latin hatred and stating that they preferred to become Muslims than continue serving under the Venetians.¹¹⁵⁴ Similarly, the Dominican Vicar General Angelo Calepio, an eyewitness to the siege of Nicosia, bitterly observed that the fall of Cyprus had been a divine punishment for the disobedience of the Cypriot Rhomaioi, who preferred to be under the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan patriarch rather than the Papacy. This they did, despite being considered excommunicated by the other Orthodox Churches, presumably due to Joseph Bryennios' negative response to the Cypriot proposal for secret ecclesiastical union with Constantinople in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁵⁵

Schabel has convincingly argued that the anti-Rhomaic prejudice in Calepio's narrative should not be considered as representative of the relations between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins.¹¹⁵⁶ We should not, however, misinterpret the critical attitude of Latin ecclesiastics as being entirely a product of religious intolerance and lack of familiarity with Cypriot society. Indeed, Calepio's personal testimony concerning an incident that had occurred in besieged Nicosia, demonstrates the continuation of religious tension between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. Calepio was shocked, when during a collection

¹¹⁵³ On the *Lament for Cyprus*, see Argyriou 2008, 42-44. Grivaud 1995c, 1179-1181, argues that a Western source, the narrative composed by the Veneto-Cypriot Viscount of Famagusta Pietro Valderio, also adopts the biblical interpretation of history. Unlike the Cypriot Rhomaioi poet of the *Lament for Cyprus*, however, Valderio, who was not only Latin, but also a member of Famagusta's bourgeoisie, holds the lower masses in contempt. In addition, Valderio criticises the Venetian government of Nicosia and its local collaborators for their failure to effectively resist the Ottoman invasion. He argues that Nicosia's 'worthless' leadership caused an anti-Venetian riot among the city's Rhomaic forces, thus encouraging the Cypriot Rhomaioi commoners to surrender themselves to the Ottomans. Valderio seems to overemphasise the tension between the various social groups in Nicosia, in order to present Famagusta and its defenders in a more favourable light: Pietro Valderio, *War of Cyprus*, ed. Grivaud and Patapiou, 20-21 (comm.), 56-57, 60, 221-222, 226 (Modern Greek trans.); Coureas et al. 2012, 128-129, 203, 210.

¹¹⁵⁴ Antonio Maria Graziani, *On the War of Cyprus*, ed. Gasparis, 154.2.2-11, 155 (Modern Greek trans.).

¹¹⁵⁵ Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 122^r-122^v; Papadopoulos 1995b, 618-619.

¹¹⁵⁶ Schabel 2006b, 165-167; cf. Frazee 1983, 113; Papadopoulos 1995b, 655.

of alms for the foundation of a Latin church dedicated to St Mary of Victory, a number of Rhomaioi refused to contribute, stating that they did not want to pay for a Latin church.¹¹⁵⁷ The hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* examined below, reveals that the anti-Rhomaic criticism of Latin ecclesiastical historians was not entirely a product of religious bias, but an indication of the preservation of Orthodoxy on the island.¹¹⁵⁸

The long symbiosis between Rhomaioi and Latins in Cyprus and the ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* exercised by the Venetians – characterised by centralised administrative control, collaboration with the local elites and restricted autonomy and tolerance in religious matters – enabled the development of multiple identities. Consequently, a sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi could have been at the same time both ‘Cypriot’ and ‘Rhomaioi’ in terms of ethno-regional origin and cultural identity. In addition, he could have been politically loyal to Venice and ecclesiastically subordinated to the Papacy. It is true that the official position of Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy during the War of Cyprus was largely pro-Venetian, despite expressions of anti-Venetian tension in the preceding decades. Ultimately, the need to protect Cyprus from the Ottoman threat sealed the political rapprochement between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, without necessarily blurring their ethno-religious identity barriers.¹¹⁵⁹ While Cypriot Rhomaioi churchmen officially and actively accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy, they also pursued a more defensive line against the newly-emerging threats of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

¹¹⁵⁷ Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorographia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 103r; Angelo Calepio in Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 256r-257r; Hill 1948, 1101; Papadopoulos 1995b, 655.

¹¹⁵⁸ See below, 342-346, and App. IV, 467-514.

¹¹⁵⁹ Cf. the case of Joachim the Cypriot, a seventeenth-century Orthodox monk, scholar and scribe, who composed a narrative poem on the Cretan War of 1645–1669; this work emphasised the unity of Orthodox and Latin Christianity against the common Ottoman threat: Kaplanis 2015, 301-310. Similarly, during the fatal siege of Constantinople in 1453, the memory of the common Christian past – traumatised after centuries of conflicts, mistrust and hostility – had managed to forge a fragile alliance between Byzantines (unionists and anti-unionists) and Latins, but was too weak to prevent the consolidation and expansion of Ottoman power, or indeed the mutual accusations for treachery that followed the Empire’s fall: Kiousopoulou 2007, 113-116; Gounarides 2008a, 43-59; Papaderos 2010, 96-99, 229; Philippides and Hanak 2011, 250 (n. 161), 533, 629.

V.3. Cypriot Orthodoxy between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation

Until recently, the examination of the transmission of Protestant ideas in sixteenth-century Cyprus was a journey to *terra incognita*. It is mainly due to the studies of Paschalis Kitromilides, Elena Bonora, Stathis Birtachas, Evelien Chayes and Federica Ambrosini that we can now explore the encounter between the Reformation and its Cypriot devotees and opponents. Before proceeding to the examination of Cypriot Rhomaic responses to Protestant teachings, we should underline that the impact of the Reformation on the island appears to have been limited. Therefore, only members of the Cypriot elite, who were usually closer to the Latin Church, maintained networks of contacts with Western scholars and were active agents of Renaissance culture, seem to have been eager to adopt Protestant ideas. The fact that the island's Orthodox Church did not officially condemn Calvinism until 1688, shows that in the sixteenth century most Cypriot Rhomaioi considered the Reformation as a rather distant threat.¹¹⁶⁰ As we shall see below, however, the Latin ecclesiastical attempts to enforce the principles of the Counter-Reformation on the island were more serious, leading to a clash between the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy and the Papacy's representatives that ended with Venice's intervention in support of the former. Ultimately, Cypriot Rhomaic reactions to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation reveal the degree of preservation of Orthodox identity in Cyprus, despite the conversion of a small number of Cypriot Rhomaioi to Protestantism and the long ecclesiastical submission of the island's Rhomaic community to the Papacy.

We shall now discuss the impact of the Reformation in Cyprus. In 1539, the Venetian Andrea Zantani, a sympathiser of Reformation ideas, was appointed Latin Bishop of Limassol. Although Zantani never visited his see, he sent to the island his Vicar and Augustinian friar, Ambrogio Cavalli of Milan (d. 1566). Like Zantani, Cavalli had been influenced by Erasmus (d. 1536) and the Protestant teachings. Cavalli's sermons, delivered in St Sophia during the Lent of 1544, were clearly highlighted by Calvinist theology. The Augustinian friar attacked the veneration of the Virgin and the saints, questioned the value of the Eucharist and the holy sacraments, rejected ecclesiastical hierarchy and denied the existence of Purgatory and free will. He also criticised the

¹¹⁶⁰ On the Synod of 1688 see Mitsides 1996, 111-118.

practice of memorial services and the collection of alms. He argued that man could be saved by faith alone (*sola fide*) and that ecclesiastical property should belong to all faithful.¹¹⁶¹ In addition, Cavalli attacked the Orthodox veneration of icons, particularly those considered miraculous by the Cypriot Rhomaioi, whom he urged to imitate the Muslim prohibition against images.¹¹⁶²

Cavalli's sermons caused mixed reactions. On the one hand, a small number of Venetian officials and Cypriot *potentes*, including the Rhomaioi Marco Zaccaria and Pietro Paolo Synglitico, were sympathetic to Cavalli's views.¹¹⁶³ On the other hand, the Augustinian friar's open condemnation of both the Latin and Orthodox doctrines and practices insulted the religious beliefs of many Cypriots, particularly the common people, thus threatening public order. Local reports to Venice mention that had it not been for the *Reggimento*, the *popolo* of Nicosia would have certainly stoned Cavalli to death or burn him alive. It was also noted that the Cypriot Rhomaioi peasants were greatly disturbed by the Augustinian friar's teachings, became disobedient towards the Latin Church and there were fears that they would take up arms against the Venetians.¹¹⁶⁴ What is remarkable, however, is that there is no evidence of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics adopting Cavalli's Calvinist ideas. On the contrary, the aforementioned Venetian report on Diasorēnos' activities in Cyprus stresses that the Rhodian teacher, who must have worked in the Greek cathedral school of Nicosia, had been respected by the locals for his doctrinally correct beliefs, which had been different to those of his 'Lutheran' predecessors.¹¹⁶⁵ Perhaps this could be interpreted as a reference to Cavalli's sermons, associated by some Cypriots with Lutheranism.¹¹⁶⁶ The Cypriot Rhomaic concern for the proper religious education of their children strengthens the view that the Protestant teachings did not manage to penetrate deep into the Cypriot Rhomaic community. Not surprisingly, in 1601, the Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastical authorities included in their requests to Duke Charles Emmanuel I of

¹¹⁶¹ Birtachas 2009, 163-164; Birtachas 2011b, 666-667; Ambrosini 2013, 14. On Zantani's appointment see Eubel 1923, 259.

¹¹⁶² Ambrosini 2013, 14-15. It seems that Cavalli had in mind either the veneration of the Virgin of Kykkos or that of the Virgin Phanerōmenē in Nicosia. Note that both icons were considered to bring rainfall, a belief that was strongly criticised by Cavalli. See also Triantaphyllopoulos 2012a, 48-55.

¹¹⁶³ Birtachas 2009, 164; Birtachas 2011b, 668; Ambrosini 2013, 15-17.

¹¹⁶⁴ Birtachas 2009, 164; Birtachas 2011b, 668, 674; Ambrosini 2013, 15-16, 18 (n. 18).

¹¹⁶⁵ See above, 330.

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. Ambrosini 2013, 16.

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.¹¹⁶⁷ This piece of information shows that the Cypriot Rhomaioi rejected Protestantism and acknowledged the existence of various Reforming groups, adopting the widespread characterisation ‘Arians’ to describe Protestant theological currents that emphasised Christ’s humanity.¹¹⁶⁸

Although Cavalli was forced to return to Venice in late 1544 and was eventually executed in Rome in 1556, his Cypriot sermons appear to have sowed the seed for the embracement of the Reformation by several members of the island’s elite.¹¹⁶⁹ In 1550, Lorenzo of Bergamo, a Dominican Inquisitor and Vicar of Archbishop Livio Podocataro, reported to the Holy Office in Venice that Franzino Synglitico was a Lutheran sympathiser. Lorenzo, who had been prohibited by the Venetians to exercise his powers as Inquisitor in Cyprus, accused Franzino, formerly a student in Padua, of propagating the Protestant ideas in the Metropolis.¹¹⁷⁰ Venice’s geographic position, multi-ethnic population, flourishing cultural life and ecclesiastical autonomy from the Papacy made St Mark’s city an important centre for the transmission of the Reformation in Italy, though in the 1550s, the Protestant teachings did not circulate openly.¹¹⁷¹ During his interrogation, Franzino was asked by the Inquisitors whether or not he had denied the existence of Purgatory. He initially replied that the notion of Purgatory was alien to the Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition, but he later admitted that he could have been wrong and that the Byzantine Fathers might have indeed preached the purgation of souls in the afterlife.¹¹⁷² In emphasising his Rhomaic origins, Franzino stated that his brother, the aforementioned Anthony of Karpasia, was serving as Rhomaios Bishop in Cyprus. Franzino claimed that both he and his family

¹¹⁶⁷ Mas Latrie 1855, 571-572.13; Sathas 1869, 187; Michael 2005, 115.

¹¹⁶⁸ On Arianism and the Reformation see generally Wiles 1996, 52-61.

¹¹⁶⁹ On Cavalli’s execution see: Birtachas 2009, 164; Ambrosini 2013, 18.

¹¹⁷⁰ Skoufari 2011, 96 (n. 3); Birtachas 2009, 165; Birtachas 2011b, 668; Ambrosini 2013, 18-19.

¹¹⁷¹ Cristellon and Menchi 2013, 407-408. See also Martin 1993.

¹¹⁷² Ambrosini 2013, 21-22.

had always been outside the Papacy's ecclesiastical jurisdiction; therefore, the Inquisition had no authority over him.¹¹⁷³

Franzino's case demonstrates how sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi developed or manipulated multiple identities in different contexts. We have already seen that the Synglitico family included members of both the Latin and Byzantine rite and that Pietro Paolo Synglitico had been among Cavalli's Cypriot devotees. Although Franzino, a Cypriot Rhomaioi student in the West, had claimed before the Inquisition that he was following the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, he eventually confessed —or was forced to confess— his Protestant views, which included the rejection of the veneration of icons and doubts concerning the existence of Purgatory. Finally, Franzino was condemned to death in 1564.¹¹⁷⁴

During Franzino's trial, it was mentioned that another member of his family, the philo-Protestant Pietro Paolo Synglitico, had visited Germany and was planning to import prohibited books from Venice to Cyprus. Pietro Paolo was brought before the Inquisition in 1555, but managed to escape Franzino's fate.¹¹⁷⁵ Around the same period, Andrea Zaccaria, whose father Marco —a wealthy merchant of textiles— was among Cavalli's Cypriot Rhomaioi devotees, went to study law in Padua and came in contact with Renaissance Humanism and Protestantism. In 1563, Andrea and Marco were tried by the Inquisition for philo-Protestantism. Like Pietro Paolo Synglitico, they were also accused of transporting prohibited books from Venice to Cyprus. Indeed, the books confiscated from Marco's library in Nicosia included translations of the Bible from Hebrew to the Tuscan vernacular that had been banned by the Papacy.¹¹⁷⁶ Andrea seems to have been associated with several prominent Italian scholars, including members of the *Accademia degli Occulti*, a Brescian intellectual circle inspired by Neoplatonic philosophy. The *Occulti* promoted the use of the vernacular, showed a great interest in ancient Greek culture and focused on the study of controversial theological and philosophical issues, which must have strengthened Andrea's philo-

¹¹⁷³ Birtachas 2011b, 669; Ambrosini 2013, 23. On Anthony of Karpasia see above, 307.

¹¹⁷⁴ Birtachas 2011b, 669; Ambrosini 2013, 25-26. On the Synglitico family see below, 307.

¹¹⁷⁵ Chayes 2012, 239; Ambrosini 2013, 26-28.

¹¹⁷⁶ Kitromilides 2002a, 263-275; Birtachas 2009, 164-165; Birtachas 2011b, 671; Chayes 2012, 249-255.

Protestant views.¹¹⁷⁷ It was probably due to the intervention of Marco's influential friends in Venice that the Zaccarias were eventually set free. While Andrea Zaccaria remained in Italy, Marco returned to Cyprus and was killed —together with his sons Giacomo, Giannuccio and Giovanni Battista— during the Ottoman siege of Nicosia in 1570.¹¹⁷⁸

The cases of Franzino and Pietro Paolo Synglitico, and Marco and Andrea Zaccaria, demonstrate that it was through Renaissance culture that several socially elevated Cypriot Rhomaioi became acquainted with the teachings of the Reformation, leading to their persecution, and even execution, by the Inquisition.¹¹⁷⁹ It should be mentioned, however, that 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, the Cypriot Rhomaioi philo-Protestants were less vulnerable and could be protected from the hostility of the Latin ecclesiastical authorities.¹¹⁸⁰

Another reason that might have contributed to the embracement of Protestant ideas by a small number of Cypriot Rhomaioi *potentes* was the conduct of mixed marriages. Unions between members of different rites enabled the emergence of hybrid identities that challenged the established belief systems, encouraging the acceptance of new religious ideas.¹¹⁸¹ In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, for example, the Zaccarias (*alias* Zacharias) were a Byzantine-rite family, as evidenced by the fact that Stephen Zaccaria and his wife, Loisa, founded a church dedicated to the Virgin in Galata, which was decorated in 1514 at the expenses of Polo Zaccaria, his wife Mandelena and their four children. The ethnic origins of Loisa and Mandelena were probably Latin; however, the representation of Mandelena's eldest daughter in Galata, depicts the latter holding an open book that contains the *Akathist Hymn*, which strongly suggests that the family followed the Byzantine rite.¹¹⁸² By the mid-sixteenth century, several members of the family appear to have been Latinised, as revealed by the appointment of Andrea and Giovanni Battista Zaccaria to the archidiaconate of the

¹¹⁷⁷ Chayes 2012, 244-245, 256-271; Chayes 2013, 47-64.

¹¹⁷⁸ Kitromilides 2002a, 274-275; Chayes 2012, 236-237; Ambrosini 2013, 28-34.

¹¹⁷⁹ Birtachas 2011b, 673.

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. Kitromilides 2002a, 273-274.

¹¹⁸¹ Ambrosini 2013, 41. On hybrid identities see above, 116-117.

¹¹⁸² Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 117-120; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 51-55.

Latin Church of Nicosia.¹¹⁸³ Therefore, the philo-Protestant Andrea Zaccaria was a Latinised Cypriot Rhomaïos, whose hybrid identity had encouraged him to accept the teachings of the Reformation and become convinced that the true interpretation of the Scriptures should be practised not by friars, but by the lovers of knowledge (*sola Scriptura*).¹¹⁸⁴

The socio-religious background and intellectual profile of Cypriot Rhomaïoi philo-Protestants suggests that the vast majority of the island's Rhomaïc population were not affected by the former group's encounter with the Reformation but maintained their ancestral tradition. Indeed, the channels through which a number of Cypriot Rhomaïoi came to know the Protestant ideas, namely the Western universities and the Renaissance humanist circles of Italy and Germany, were primarily accessible to the culturally – and often religiously – Latinised members of the Cypriot elite. Moreover, the pursuit of higher education in Western universities was commonly associated with religious Latinisation. The involvement of the island's Latin ecclesiastical authorities in the selection of candidates and the requirement of a pro-Catholic profession of faith from all students enrolled in Italian universities must have discouraged low-class Cypriot Rhomaïoi students, who wished to preserve their Orthodox identity, from studying in the West. This seems to have contributed to the reception of Protestant ideas by only a minority of highly educated members of the elite.¹¹⁸⁵ The activities of Counter-Reforming ecclesiastics in the 1560s and the Ottoman conquest of 1571 eventually put an end to the transmission of Protestant teachings in Cyprus, thus keeping the encounters between the Reformation and Cypriot Orthodoxy to a limited degree.¹¹⁸⁶

¹¹⁸³ Kitromilides 2002a, 274; Chayes 2012, 249, 271.

¹¹⁸⁴ As mentioned in Andrea's letter to Marco Zaccaria (20 February 1558), quoted by Kitromilides 2002a, 273.

¹¹⁸⁵ 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: Tselikas 1987–1988, 261–292; Betto 1993, 40–80; Nicolaou-Konnari 1993, 325–326; Skoufari 2011, 139; Chayes 2012, 233; cf. Ridder-Symoens 2003, 426–428; Arbel 2013, 171 (on the papal bull of 1564, which required a pro-Catholic profession of faith from students in Italian universities under the Papacy's control; note, however, that the Venetian-controlled university of Padua was generally considered to have been more tolerant concerning the religious beliefs of its students). In 1563, Giovan Battista Eliano, the Latin archiepiscopal Vicar in Cyprus, intended to send to Rome a number of approximately twenty young students, originating from various ethno-religious communities (e.g., Rhomaïoi, Copts, Maronites, Jacobites and Armenians): Skoufari 2012, 211–212.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. Chayes 2012, 272.

The last Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, Filippo Mocenigo (1560–1586), was a protagonist in the implementation of the principles of the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus, leading to a brief revival of the local Latin Church, which created problems in its relations with the Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics. We have already seen that, between the 1440s and 1540s, the Papacy had pursued a unionist policy of soft Latinisation towards the Orthodox, which was highlighted by theoretical equality between Latins and Rhomaioi under the Western Church.¹¹⁸⁷ This tolerant policy began to change in 1542, when Pope Paul III (1534–1549) required that all priests serving in the Rhomaic community of Venice should profess the Latin faith. The Pope justified his decision by stating that the Rhomaioi of Venice had been deemed unworthy of the benevolence shown to them by his predecessors, for they were rejecting the Florentine decrees and accusing the Latins as heretics.¹¹⁸⁸ In 1564, Pope Pius IV (1559–1565) placed the indigenous Rhomaic communities of Italy under the jurisdiction of Latin ordinaries.¹¹⁸⁹ His successor, Pius V (1566–1572), expanded the judicial powers of the Holy Office, making the Inquisition a mighty instrument in the struggle against heterodoxy.¹¹⁹⁰ Arbel notes that, ‘though founded mainly to combat the threat of Protestant heresy, the Papal Inquisition quickly developed into a mechanism that prosecuted any form of belief or behavior that was considered to be a menace to good Christian society. [...] Although Inquisition trials against Orthodox Christians were relatively few, their very existence, including [those] in Venice’s Hellenic territories, is indicative of an ambition to purify lands ruled by Catholics from any other form of Christian practice and belief’.¹¹⁹¹ In 1550, the newly-founded Jesuit Order —an institution that was directly subject to papal authority— was established in Venice.¹¹⁹² Fourteen years later (1564), the Venetian Patriarchate and government publicly swore to respect and obey the decrees of the Tridentine Council (1543–1563), which aimed at the creation of ‘a renovated Catholicism [that] would win back the dissidents individually’.¹¹⁹³

¹¹⁸⁷ See discussion below, 268-299, 312-313.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ploumidis 1970, 245-250.14; Arbel 2013, 171.

¹¹⁸⁹ Bassett 1967, 36.

¹¹⁹⁰ Bonora 2006, 213.

¹¹⁹¹ Arbel 2013, 172.

¹¹⁹² Cristellon and Menchi 2013, 386.

¹¹⁹³ Parker 1968, 48. On the official acceptance of Trent by the Venetians see Cristellon and Menchi 2013, 387.

It is in this context that Filippo Mocenigo, a Venetian patrician and diplomat, was appointed Archbishop of Nicosia by Pius IV in 1560. Unlike his predecessors, Mocenigo travelled to the island to exercise his duties in person. In 1562, he returned to Italy to participate in the last sessions of the Tridentine Council. As is well known, in 1564 Mocenigo attempted to enforce the Tridentine decrees on the Latin and non-Latin clergy of Cyprus. Mocenigo's Counter-Reforming activities caused outbreaks of tension, leading to the Archbishop's return to Venice in 1568. The Ottoman conquest prevented Mocenigo from revisiting his see, though he retained his archiepiscopal title until his death. It is rather ironic that in 1573, Mocenigo was accused of heresy by the Inquisition on the basis of possessing prohibited books and having employed the vernacular in one of his theological treatises. He was eventually vindicated in 1583 and died three years later (1586).¹¹⁹⁴

A closer examination of Mocenigo's Cypriot policy requires a brief presentation of his relations with the Venetian Republic and his attempts to reinforce the authority of the Latin Church of Cyprus. The beginning of Mocenigo's archiepiscopacy was highlighted 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 against the Ottomans.¹¹⁹⁵ Bearing in mind that Venetian governors in the past had repeatedly drawn the Republic's attention to the moral corruption of the Cypriot Latin clergy, we can easily understand why the Venetians expected Mocenigo to focus his Counter-Reforming activities on the local Latin Church. Indeed, when Mocenigo first arrived in Nicosia in September 1560, he was accompanied by the Jesuits Emanuele Gomes of Montemajor and Clemente of Montepulciano, with whom he intended to found a Jesuit College. Although the Jesuits noted in their reports that the Latin rite on the island had lost its purity, presumably due to the socio-religious interaction of the Latin community with the Cypriot Rhomaioi, the plans for the founding of a Jesuit College were not fulfilled.¹¹⁹⁶ Yet, Mocenigo seems to have been successful in partially restoring canonical order in the

¹¹⁹⁴ Mas Latrie 1882b, 121 [325] - 124 [328]; Aristidou 1993, 204; Fedalto 1995, 722; Bonora 2006, 211-229; Skoufari 2012, 205-230; Arbel 2013, 172.

¹¹⁹⁵ *AE* XXXIV, 100-101.91; Setton 1984, 755; Fedalto 1995, 725; Skoufari 2012, 209-210.

¹¹⁹⁶ Birtachas 2011a, 137-138; Skoufari 2012, 210-211. In his letter to João Nunes Barreto, Ignatius Loyola (d. 1556), the founder of the Society of Jesus, had expressed the wish that a Jesuit College should be established in Cyprus. See the letter's English trans. by Donnelly 2006, 28.

Latin Church, as revealed by Bernardo Sagredo's reference that under the new Archbishop, there were again frequent liturgies in Nicosia and that even the ruined Latin cathedral of distant Paphos was renovated.¹¹⁹⁷

Following his return from Trent in 1564, Mocenigo asked and received from Doge Girolamo Priuli (1559–1567) permission to put the Council's decrees into effect in Cyprus. The Archbishop had reassured the Venetian authorities of his intention to respect the customs of his Cypriot Rhomaic flock, stating that he did not intend to impose liturgical uniformity.¹¹⁹⁸ In April 1565, the Council of Ten and the administrative council of the *Zonta* reminded Mocenigo of the fact that the Metropolis did not wish the alteration of the *status quo* on the island and ordered him to postpone the official announcement of the Tridentine decrees to the Cypriot Rhomaic community. The Venetian intervention was caused by the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops' refusal to collaborate with the Latin Archbishop, because they perceived his promotion of the Tridentine decrees as a threat to the preservation of their own tradition.¹¹⁹⁹ Therefore, while the Republic's administrators appear to have seen the Archbishop's reforming zeal as an opportunity to deal with problems of simony and moral corruption in the Cypriot Rhomaic community, they insisted that this should be done without imposing doctrinal or liturgical Latinisation.¹²⁰⁰ However, the fluid meaning of the concept of *ritus*, which had been interpreted in the past as an umbrella term for 'customs [...], traditions, particular law, jurisdiction, [...], religious regulations, discipline, practice and even elements of faith', but was re-interpreted by the Tridentines in 'a strictly ceremonial or rubrical context', provided Mocenigo with the flexibility to decide which Cypriot Rhomaic 'customs' were to be tolerated or not.¹²⁰¹

In October 1565, Mocenigo's struggle against simony was marked by his attempt to control the bestowment of benefices and ecclesiastical appointments. This brought him into conflict with the *rettori*, who successfully defended Venice's patronage rights on

¹¹⁹⁷ Mas Latrie 1855, 542-543; Bernardo Sagredo, *Report to the Council of Ten*, ed. Zorzi, 96. See also: Setton 1984, 756; Fedalto 1995, 722; Skoufari 2012, 214 (n. 27).

¹¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 214-215.

¹¹⁹⁹ Lamansky 1884, 065-066.8; Birtachas 2011, 281-282.21. See also the discussion by Dokos 2002, 212-213; Skoufari 2012, 217-218.

¹²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹²⁰¹ Bassett 1967, 34, 38.

the island.¹²⁰² Similarly, Mocenigo's interference in Cypriot Rhomaic judicial affairs led the Council of Ten to order in 1568 that each community should exercise its jurisdiction separately and according to its own rites and customs (*riti et consuetudini*).¹²⁰³ From his own perspective, Mocenigo justified his interference by arguing that the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical courts were corrupted; a view that was also shared by a number of Venetian officials.¹²⁰⁴

Mocenigo's attempt to expand his jurisdiction over the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical courts inevitably challenged the authority of the Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates. In 1567, for example, Mocenigo condemned the senior priest of Leukara John Flangin for having transferred stones and 'other blessed things' in order to bless the foundation of a Rhomaic church (*haver portato le pietre et alter cose benedette per la consecratione di un chiesa*). 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 the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia. The Metropolis finally approved Flangin's request.¹²⁰⁵

Between January and February 1567, Mocenigo convened a Provincial Synod in the Latin cathedral of St Sophia, which called for the participation of the Latin, Rhomaic, Maronite, Armenian and Jacobite clergy. The reconstruction of the events that took place during the Synod is mainly based on unpublished Venetian archival documents that have been examined by Constantinos Dokos and Evangelia Skoufari. 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 ethno-religious communities in Cyprus.¹²⁰⁶ Bishop Neophytos Logaras of Solea (1543–1568), a widely-respected prelate, defended the ancient custom (*rito antiquo*) of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to preside over courts of first instance

¹²⁰² Dokos 2002, 213; Skoufari 2011, 111; Skoufari 2012, 218-219.

¹²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 221.

¹²⁰⁵ Lamansky 1884, 068.11. See also the discussion by Dokos 2002, 214-215; Skoufari 2012, 221-222; Patapiou (forthcoming-b). On the role of bishops in the ritual ordinance for the blessing of newly-founded churches, one should consult Ioannides 2004, 165-192 (*passim*); cf. Skoufari 2011, 106. It is not clear whether John Flangin had been acting as Vicar to his father, Bishop Stephen Flangin of Leukara, who died in 1567 and was succeeded by John of Sur.

¹²⁰⁶ Dokos 2002, 213; Skoufari 2012, 212, 223.

(*giudicare in prima instantia*) when dealing with cases of Rhomaioi. Logaras attempted to buy time by requesting that the appointment of investigators should be postponed, which was interpreted by Mocenigo as hypocrisy.¹²⁰⁷ The Latin Archbishop pointed out that Logaras should follow the Gospel's commands, which indicated that the sacrament of marriage cannot be dissolved and rejected simony. Thus, Mocenigo insulted Logaras as a simoniac and doubted his ability to interpret the Scriptures, while also implying that the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, which permitted the dissolution of marriage and allowed remarriage under certain circumstances, was incorrect.¹²⁰⁸ Logaras replied that neither did he challenge Mocenigo's authority, nor did he wish his own authority to be limited. In addition, he reminded Mocenigo that ecclesiastical benefices were bestowed by the *università* of Nicosia and the *rettori*, not himself.¹²⁰⁹ In his capacity as Commissary General of the Inquisition, the Latin Archbishop ordered Logaras to obey and summoned him to the papal court in Rome.¹²¹⁰ Angelo Calepio, who had been sent by Mocenigo to Logaras, reports that the Bishop of Solea declared that he did not recognise the authority of the papal court and, in turn, summoned the Latin Archbishop to God's tribunal.¹²¹¹

¹²⁰⁷ Dokos 2002 213; Skoufari 2012, 223 (esp. at n. 53). On the occasion of Logaras' election in 1543, the *rettori* had described the new Bishop of Solea as 'a holy and pious person' (*persona di santa et religiosa vita*), whose appointment had been welcomed by many of Nicosia's inhabitants: Arbel 2009, 377. On the Logaras family one should consult: Chatzipsaltes 1972–1973b, 133–168; Kyrris 1967, 107–135. Neophytos Logaras was succeeded by Symeon of Kykkos: Patapiou 2012, 137.

¹²⁰⁸ In attacking Logaras, Mocenigo defended the traditional Western position on the indissolubility of marriage. On the issues of divorce and remarriage in the Byzantine Orthodox and Latin traditions see: Meyendorff 2000, 54–58; Pennington and Müller 2008, 134; Ohme 2012, 30, 99, 101; Troianos 2012, 130, 194. We have already mentioned that Sixtus IV in 1472 had criticised the Byzantine Orthodox practice of permitting divorces and remarriages (see above, 278). Similarly, the sixteenth-century *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*, which was probably composed under Mocenigo, prohibits divorce and remarriage: see below Append. IV, 482.I.11. During the Council of Trent, the Venetian representatives defended the Byzantine Orthodox position, arguing that they did not want to offend their Rhomaioi subjects. Although the Tridentine decrees tolerated the Byzantine Orthodox practice of divorce in cases of adultery, they prohibited remarriage: Skoufari 2012, 214–215 (with further bibliography). Interestingly, Odorico Raynaldi's (d. 1671) edition of the Tridentine decrees on matrimony in Cesare Baronio's (d. 1607) monumental *Annales Ecclesiastici* contains a gloss referring to Elias of Nabinaux's prohibition of divorce and remarriage, which was promulgated during the Provincial Synod of Cyprus in 1340. It is noteworthy that Elias' text incorporated passages from Emperor Michael Palaiologos' unionist *Profession of Faith* (1267): SN, 256–259.L.13 (with trans. by Schabel); AE XXXIV, 436.12.194. Concerning simony, it should be mentioned that the newly-elected Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops of Solea were obliged to pay royalties (*regalias*) to the Latin archbishops of Nicosia and their vicars and canons, which reveals that the Latin Church, too, encouraged simoniac practices: Mas Latrie 1855, 538.

¹²⁰⁹ On the dialogue between Mocenigo and Logaras see Skoufari 2012, 223.

¹²¹⁰ Dokos 2002, 214; Skoufari 2012, 223–224.

¹²¹¹ See above, 284–285; Dokos 2002, 214; Skoufari 2012, 224.

The last Viscount of Famagusta, Pietro Valderio, relates an incident that should be placed around the time of Mocenigo's Provincial Synod.¹²¹² According to Valderio, the Latin Archbishop ordered St Sophia's doors to be kept locked during the synodal proceedings (*essendo serrate le Porte*). This alarmed the Cypriot Rhomaioi *popolari*, who besieged the cathedral (*procurano rompere le Porte della Chiesa*) shouting that they wanted to be informed about the Synod (*dicendo, che volevano vedere, & udire quello si proponesse*), for they did not want their bishops to accept the Latin positions (*non volevano, che li suoi Vescovi assentissero alle deliberazioni de' Latini*). Valderio notes that Mocenigo managed to save his life with much difficulty, adding that the *Reggimento* provided no support to the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹²¹³ The riot of 1567, which presents similarities with the aforementioned uprising caused by Peter Thomas' Latinising activities in 1360, seems to be confirmed by various Venetian reports referring to 'scandals' (*scandali*), 'riots' (*tumulti*), 'rebellions' (*seditioni*) and 'controversies' (*controversie*) associated with Mocenigo's attempt to modify Cypriot Rhomaic customs (*di alterar li riti de Greci*) that had hitherto been tolerated by the Papacy.¹²¹⁴ That these reports —composed by Venetian governors, officials and administrators— depict the 1567 riot in rather vague terms most likely reflects Venice's concern to constrain the Holy See's involvement in the controversy. Indeed, soon after the clash between Mocenigo and Logaras, the Venetian authorities ordered the Latin Archbishop not to proceed with the Logaras' court summons, sending him to Venice, in order to present his case before the Council of Ten (February 1568).¹²¹⁵

Once again, the Most Serene Republic sided with her Cypriot Rhomaioi subjects. The Council of Ten vindicated Logaras and paid for his travel expenses. When the Venetian ambassador in Rome informed Pope Pius V that Venice had decided that it was too

¹²¹² Valderio seems to have based his account on a personal diary for the period between 1569 and 1571: Grivaud and Patapiou in Pietro Valderio, *War of Cyprus*, 16. Dokos 2002, 215-216, argues that the riot related by Valderio was the same as the riot of 1566, which had been caused by food shortage (see also Patapiou 2004, 191-207). It seems, however, that Valderio's riot must have coincided with the Provincial Synod that took place between January and February 1567.

¹²¹³ Pietro Valderio, ed. Grivaud and Patapiou, *War of Cyprus*, 20 (comm.), 33, 191 (Modern Greek trans.).

¹²¹⁴ Lamansky 1884, 067.9, 067.10, 068.11; Birtachas 2011a, 283-285.22. Bernardo Sagredo accuses the Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops for causing popular disobedience against Mocenigo: Mas Latrie 1855, 542; Hill 1948, 1102. See also the discussion by Skoufari 2011, 110-111 (esp. at n. 78); Coureas et al. 2012, 136. On the Peter Thomas Affair see above, 195-201.

¹²¹⁵ Dokos 2002, 214; Skoufari 2012, 224.

dangerous to modify the rites and customs of the island's Rhomaioi, 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, Mocenigo was recalled to Venice to answer for his actions (May 1568) and although he was not punished, he was reproached by his countrymen for having disturbed the religious peace on the island.¹²¹⁶

Around the same period, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti (fl. 1566–1573), the papal *nuncio* in Venice, proposed that the problems caused by the Cypriot Rhomaic insubordination would be solved if the Venetians permitted the Latinisation of the island's Rhomaioi. He also pointed out that the foundation of a Jesuit College would contribute to the strengthening of Catholic faith in Cyprus.¹²¹⁷ Moreover, the *provveditore generale*, Bernardo Sagredo, suggested that the Venetians should expel all Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops from the island, which would lead to the subordination of their flock under the Latin Archbishop's jurisdiction.¹²¹⁸ The fact that Venice did not adopt these views but respected and protected the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy, clergy and flock from Latinisation is, perhaps, the strongest piece of evidence for the exercise of a *Realpolitik* that enabled autonomy in matters of doctrine, practice and jurisdiction. Consequently, the political loyalty of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church towards the Venetians at the time of the Ottoman invasion should be interpreted in terms of the Republic's success to protect the former from harassment in the post-Tridentine period.¹²¹⁹

Logaras' firm resistance against Mocenigo illustrates the preservation 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. Logaras' case also demonstrates how the Venetian-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi could deploy their

¹²¹⁶ Aristidou 1993, 204; Dokos 2002, 214; Skoufari 2012, 224-229.

¹²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 228-229.

¹²¹⁸ Mas Latrie 1855, 542; Bernardo Sagredo, *Report to the Council of Ten*, ed. Zorzi, 96. See the discussion by Hill 1948, 1102; Hackett 1972, 175 (n. 1); Papadopoulos 1995b, 655; Skoufari 2012, 229.

¹²¹⁹ It is indicative that already in 1547, the Inquisitor Lorenzo of Bergamo had been ordered by the Senate and the *rettori* not to disturb the religious peace between Latins and Rhomaioi in Cyprus: Skoufari 2011, 95-96 (n. 3).

identity as subjects of the Republic, in order to effectively protect themselves and their Orthodox tradition from Latin harassment.

The aforementioned incidents show that a considerable number of Cypriot Rhomaioi were well aware of their Orthodox tradition, which they wished to preserve against Mocenigo's attempts to reform their 'errors'. This is further confirmed by fresh evidence contained in the hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*. Probably composed sometime between 1563 and 1568, the *Report* is preserved in a unique manuscript in the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia (MS B-30), which is a later copy produced sometime between 1580 and 1595.¹²²⁰ It is quite likely that the *Report's* anonymous author is no other than the Cypriot Dominican Giulio Stavriano, who served the Papacy as Bishop of the Cypriot Armenians and Maronites (1561–1571) and Latin Bishop of Bova in Calabria (1571–1577), where he imposed the Latin rite over the local Rhomaic community.¹²²¹ It appears that Stavriano, himself a Cypriot Armenian and fluent Greek-speaker, participated in the Provincial Synod of 1567 supporting Mocenigo's vision for a reform of all Christians in Cyprus.¹²²² According to Stephen of Lusignan, who mentions that Stavriano had been his teacher or spiritual mentor (*maistre*), the latter was successful in correcting the errors of Cypriot Armenians, particularly their ancient Easter ritual of animal sacrifice. Interestingly, the aforementioned Armenian custom, which might have had a theophanic theological significance, is described in rather similar terms by both Lusignan and the *Report*. This could be considered as an indication of Lusignan's dependence on the *Report*, which

¹²²⁰ See below App. IV, 467-514. Iacovou et al. 2003, 180, consider the year 1563 as a *terminus post quem* for the *Report's* composition. Navari 2010, 166-169 (esp. at 166), dates the original manuscript to sometime between 1563 and 1570. Chayes 2012, 233 (n. 2), argues that the *Report* was plausibly composed in 1563 or 1564. The year 1563 is indeed mentioned in a document incorporated into the *Report*, which records the Republic's income from Cyprus, though the amount given (*ducati 50, 55, 000*) seems to be hyperbolic: see below App. IV, 505.XX.10.674-675. Mocenigo's name is twice mentioned in the manuscript: *ibid.*, 473.I.28.155, 503.XIX.1.625. The *Report's* reference to the re-establishment of provincial synods under Mocenigo could probably be considered as an indication that the *Report* was composed after the Provincial Synod of 1567: App. IV, 473.I.28. It is, thus, quite likely that the *Report* was used to justify Mocenigo's Counter-Reforming activities on the island before the Venetian authorities (1568). This is further strengthened by the fact that the paper of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation manuscript 'is also the same as that used for the "Lettere di Rettori" of the Venetian State Archives': Navari 2010, 169.

¹²²¹ On Stavriano see: Eubel 1923, 240; Longo 1988, 177-264; Nikas 1998, 206; Dedeyan 2009, 69-70; Skoufari 2011, 119, 121; Skoufari 2012, 228 (n. 70).

¹²²² Dedeyan 2009, 69-70; Skoufari 2011, 121.

strengthens the possibility that Stavriano had been indeed the *Report's* author.¹²²³ What is clear is that the *Report* is the product of investigations of Latin Counter-Reformers in Cyprus during the 1560s, revealing a broad spectrum of perceptions of non-Latin errors and highlighting the Papacy's intentions to promote Latinisation, rather than tolerate diversity in doctrine, liturgy and practice.¹²²⁴

Although the *Report* contains information on the errors of Cypriot Copts, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites and Latins, it mainly focuses on the island's Rhomaioi.¹²²⁵ According to the *Report*, the Cypriot Rhomaioi rejected the *Filioque* doctrine, denied the papal primacy, condemned the pope and the Latin clergy as heretics and prayed that the Virgin would one day liberate them from the *Filioque* heresy.¹²²⁶ They rejected the

¹²²³ I would like to thank Dr Nasa Patapiou for proposing a possible connection between Stavriano, Lusignan and the *Report's* author: Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., f. 34^v; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 72^r -72^v; cf. App. IV, 488.VI.2, 488.VI.5, 513.XXIV.21. One should also consult: Longo 1988, 205-209; Dedeyan 2009, 69; Skoufari 2011, 121. Passages from Lusignan's works that seem to be echoing the *Report* are noted in the *apparatus* of our edition in App. IV. A more detailed examination of the connection between the *Report* and Lusignan's *Chorograffia* and *Description of the Island of Cyprus* will be the subject of a future study. On the Easter ritual of animal sacrifice and its possible theophanic dimension see: Conybeare 1903, 62-90; Conybeare and Maclean 1905, 65; Levenson 1993, 173-232; Giulea 2007, 30-58; Kovaltchuk 2008, 161-203. In the Armenian ritual ordinance, the altar is a symbol of God's throne, surrounded by angels and worshipped by men: Hammond 1878, 136 (Preparation in the sanctuary). Similarly, Bishop Jacob of Serug (d. 521), a well-known Syrian non-Chalcedonian theologian, composed a homily on Ezekiel's chariot vision, stating that the Christian altar is truly the Lord's chariot-throne and identifying the presence of Christ in the Eucharist with the enthroned Deity witnessed by Ezekiel in his prophetic vision: Golitzin 2007d, 180-212. Golitzin argues that theophanic theology constituted for both Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians an essential element of Christian identity, exactly because it was grounded on the Jewish (pre-Nicene) substratum of Christianity and was enhanced by various currents of Christian liturgical theology: Golitzin 2003, 294-297; Golitzin 2007a, xxxi-xxxiii.

¹²²⁴ Cf. Coureas et al. 2012, 136. The *Report* contains no clear evidence concerning the identity of its author, who seems to have been fluent in Italian and to have had a good knowledge of Latin and Greek, despite occasional mistakes and scribal errors (e.g., *passionatiss* in App. IV, 478.III.4.255 could be considered as a miscomprehension of the Greek *πατήσας*, which might have been erroneously interpreted as *παθήσας* and translated as *passionatus*, i.e., passionate). It remains unclear whether the composition and compilation of non-religious documents incorporated into the *Report* (e.g., the lists of Cypriot feudatories and a report on Venice's income from Cyprus for the year 1563) had been undertaken by the *Report's* author. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Report* had direct knowledge of the liturgical traditions and religious customs of Cypriot communities, presumably as a result of personal investigation: see, e.g., App. IV, 473.I.29-474.I.30, 506.X.2, 496.XIII. The author had also investigated the presence of unpublished Greek manuscripts in Rhomaic monastic libraries and the houses of illustrious members of the local elite (*ibid.*, 496.XIII), which suggests that he was sharing the bibliophile interests of Archbishop Mocenigo (see below, 360-361) and was concerned with the promotion of theological dialogue between the Papacy and the other Christian Churches (both Orthodox and Protestant).

¹²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 467.I-497.XIV, 524-527.XXIV. In what follows, one should consult the *apparatus* of our edition for references to related primary sources. A more detailed discussion of the errors mentioned in the *Report* will be the subject of a future study.

¹²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 467.I.1-468.1.2. For the *Filioque* condemnation by Neophytos the Recluse see also above, 127. In the 1560s, Bernardo Sagredo noted that the Cypriot Rhomaioi did not follow the Latin rite, for they considered that the Latins had been excommunicated: Mas Latrè 1855, 542.

use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist and denied the existence of Purgatory and God's pre-eschatological judgement of the dead.¹²²⁷ They preserved Maundy Thursday's Holy Communion for a whole year and gave it to those seriously ill.¹²²⁸ They received the holy myrrh from the Antiochene Patriarchate in Syria and used it to anoint children.¹²²⁹ They condemned the Latin faith and the Council of Florence and rebaptised Latins.¹²³⁰ They permitted simony, divorces and remarriages.¹²³¹ They delivered the Eucharist to children, but denied its administering to grave sinners, though some of them received the Holy Communion without confession.¹²³² Moreover, they considered it a sin for monks and clerics to shave their beard and hair.¹²³³ They claimed that monks should not eat meat and prohibited the consumption of strangled and non-slain animals.¹²³⁴ They prepared the Holy Unction in a special ceremony and used it to anoint grave sinners.¹²³⁵ They forbade Latin priests to officiate in their churches and on their altars, which they reconsecrated in cases of violation.¹²³⁶ They also considered it permissible to deceive and steal from the Latins and usurped the control of Latin churches.¹²³⁷ They elected stupid and uneducated men as ecclesiastical leaders and spiritual pastors.¹²³⁸ They delivered the sacraments to the island's Latin nobility.¹²³⁹ They denied the virginity of St Joseph the Betrothed and taught that there had been three women by the name of Mary who anointed Christ's feet and not one.¹²⁴⁰ They condemned those fasting on Saturday, did not observe the Jubilee and their priests celebrated the liturgy without confession.¹²⁴¹ They maintained that St Helena had left fragments of the Holy Cross on the island and told apocryphal and erroneous stories about it.¹²⁴² They had only three decrees of ecclesiastical orders and —until Mocenigo's re-establishment of canonical order—there had been no annual assemblies

¹²²⁷ App. IV, 468.I.3-5.

¹²²⁸ Ibid., 468.I.6.

¹²²⁹ Ibid., 469.I.7.

¹²³⁰ Ibid., 469.I.8-9.

¹²³¹ Ibid., 469.I.10-470.I.12.

¹²³² Ibid., 470.I.13.

¹²³³ Ibid., 470.I.14.

¹²³⁴ Ibid., 470.I.15-16. On prohibitions concerning polluted food see Acts 15:20, 29.

¹²³⁵ App. IV, 470-471.I.17.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., 471.I.18.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., 471.I.19.

¹²³⁸ Ibid., 471.I.20; cf. Bernardo Sagredo in Mas Latrie 1855, 542.

¹²³⁹ App. IV, 471-472.I.21.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid., 472.I.22-23.

¹²⁴¹ Ibid., 472.I.24-26.

¹²⁴² App. IV, 472.I.26-473.I.27.

in the Latin cathedral of Nicosia.¹²⁴³ Their confessors did not immediately absolve sins, but required the performance of charities and anointed sinners with the Holy Unction.¹²⁴⁴ Finally, the Cypriot Rhomaioi were reported to deny the existence of guardian angels and demons and were said to accuse the Latins of no less than forty-two errors.¹²⁴⁵

The *Report* also mentions several errors associated with the Byzantine rite and the Cypriot Rhomaic religious customs. The Cypriot Rhomaioi performed a prostration before the celebrant priest during the Great Entrance and prior to the moment of transubstantiation.¹²⁴⁶ They ate during vespers and performed genuflections on both knees only once a year, during the feast of the Pentecost.¹²⁴⁷ They preserved prohibited and apocryphal writings in their monasteries, churches and houses.¹²⁴⁸ Their liturgical hymns contained verses from secular songs and they chanted hymns composed by contemporary hymnographers who were ignorant and heretics. Moreover, they ignored several beneficiary hymns and orations and did not observe the proper liturgical order.¹²⁴⁹ They practised simony through their custom of having more than one godparent and celebrated weddings during Lent and on Easter Sunday.¹²⁵⁰ On certain occasions, they ate meat on Fridays in order to express their disrespect towards the Armenians and Jacobites; they also ate meat for eight continuous days after Easter.¹²⁵¹ They blessed clandestine marriages and delivered the sacrament of marriage to members of the Latin community (both laypeople and ecclesiastics) and other non-Latins.¹²⁵² They permitted monks to bless marriages and their bishops allowed remarriages and regulated fixed prices for the issue of marriage licences.¹²⁵³ They prohibited the consumption of fish during Lent, apart from the feasts of the Annunciation and Palm Sunday.¹²⁵⁴ Their feasts were characterised by confusion and

¹²⁴³ App. IV, 473.I.28.

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid., 473.I.29.

¹²⁴⁵ Ibid., 474.I.30.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid., 475.II.1.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid., 475.II.2-3.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid., 475.II.4.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid., 475-476.II.5.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid., 476.II.6-7.

¹²⁵¹ Ibid., 476.II.8; cf. Soteropoulou 2005, 249-253-254, 265-266.

¹²⁵² App. IV, 476.II.9.

¹²⁵³ Ibid., 476.II.10-477.II.11.

¹²⁵⁴ Ibid., 477.II.12; Soteropoulou 2005, 254, 260, 262-263.

lack of proper order and they venerated saints who had not been officially canonised by the Papacy.¹²⁵⁵ They did not venerate any of the Latin saints who had been canonised after the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787).¹²⁵⁶ Their priests were involved in commercial activities.¹²⁵⁷ The *Report* continues, providing further information on the observance of the Byzantine Orthodox calendar, ritual ordinance and canon law, which confirms the view that many Cypriot Rhomaioi remained attached to their ancestral liturgical tradition and customs.¹²⁵⁸

Overall, the *Report* reflects the views and perceptions of its Counter-Reforming author, concerning the Cypriot Rhomaioi and other non-Latin groups on the island. A detailed analysis of each and every point mentioned in the *Report* is beyond our scope. What is, however, essential for our study is that this document illustrates the dynamic development of Orthodox Rhomaic identity in Cyprus after centuries of Latin political and ecclesiastical domination. Clearly, the political loyalty expressed by a great number of Cypriot Rhomaioi towards Venice did not become an obstacle for the preservation of their religious heritage. On the contrary, the cultivation of crypto-religiosity and multiple identities in the preceding centuries, the gradual weakness of the Latin Church and the tolerant policy pursued by the last Lusignans, the Western Church and the Most Serene Republic enabled the survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy behind the façade of superficial unity with the Papacy. This is also indicated by the limited transmission of Protestant teachings in Cyprus, despite the conversion of a small number of Cypriot Rhomaioi *potentes* and scholars to Protestantism (Calvinism and/or Lutheranism). More significantly, the preservation of Orthodox identity in Cyprus is demonstrated by Mocenigo's unsuccessful attempt to reform the island's Rhomaic flock and clergy.

The cultural and spiritual revival experienced by the Cypriot Rhomaioi during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that the manifestation of anti-Latin tension in the 1560s was not solely the result of Mocenigo's policy, but also a reflection of a conscious process of reaffirmation of Orthodox identity in Cyprus.

¹²⁵⁵ App. IV, 477.II.13.

¹²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 477.II.14.

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 477.II.15. The Latin Church prohibited the involvement of clerics in commercial affairs: SN, 92-93.A.VIII, 144-145.B.19.b, 234-235.IXVII, 240-243.J.VIII.a-b (with English trans. by Schabel).

¹²⁵⁸ App. IV, 478-483.III.

V.4. The revival of Cypriot Orthodoxy

The concept of Orthodox Cypriot 'revival' in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries should primarily be understood as a cultural phenomenon. The roots of this regeneration could be traced back to Helena Palaiologina's reign, which was highlighted by the reception of Byzantine refugees after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The newcomers included monks, painters, scribes, bibliophiles and poets.¹²⁵⁹ This was the beginning of a *de facto* cultural and religious rapprochement between Cyprus and the Orthodox world that continued throughout the Venetian period.

What needs to be stressed is that cultural production implies the mobility of ideas and spiritual values; a process that has accurately been encapsulated in Arthur Vööbus' (1909–1988) remark that 'ideas have legs'.¹²⁶⁰ Therefore, the process of cultural revival should be interpreted as an embodied phenomenon, which involved the active participation of both agents and audience. Manuscript production, for example, was not simply an exercise in copying texts, but implied the reading and study of the Scriptures and Church Fathers. Thus, reflection 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 and an engagement with critical problems of its agents and audience.¹²⁶¹

Above all, the eclectic and creative physiognomy of Orthodox Cypriot revival is unveiled in the adoption or appropriation of Post-Byzantine and Renaissance artistic elements by Cypriot painters nourished in the local Byzantine idiom. As we shall see below, the ability of Cypriot artists to convey the teachings and doctrines of Orthodoxy and at the same time be open to Renaissance influences, is a strong indication for the development of multiple identities. Indeed, sixteenth-century Cypriots managed to

¹²⁵⁹ See above, 296-297.

¹²⁶⁰ Vööbus 1960, 139.

¹²⁶¹ Louth 2008, 188, 191.

reconcile their multi-dimensional cultural background and aesthetic preferences with their Orthodox identity and tradition.¹²⁶²

The fact that Cyprus remained *de jure* in schism with the four Orthodox Patriarchates until 1572 did not prevent the *de facto* rapprochement between the Cypriot Rhomaioi and the Orthodox world, which appears to have contributed to the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity on the island.¹²⁶³ The *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* states that the Cypriot Rhomaioi received the Holy Chrism from the Antiochene Patriarchate in Syria (*mandano in Soria et chieggono dal Patriarcha loro*), rather than the Latin cathedral in Nicosia (*la onde dovrebbero pigliarlo da Santa Sophia dell' arcivescovado*).¹²⁶⁴ The contacts between Cyprus and the Patriarchate of Antioch during the period of Venetian rule are further illuminated by a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century icon of the Virgin Antiochētēssa, which is currently preserved in the church of Christ Monogenēs in Koilani.¹²⁶⁵ This icon suggests the veneration of the Antiochene Virgin by Syrian Melkites in Cyprus or local Rhomaioi who were familiar with the Antiochene devotional practices.¹²⁶⁶

Cypriot contacts with the Holy Land must have remained largely uninterrupted throughout the sixteenth century. We have already seen that Philip Flatro dictated in his testament (1523) that the village of Tala should be inherited by the Orthodox Rhomaic Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹²⁶⁷ In 1537, the abbots of St Neophytos' monastery near Tala and St Nicholas' monastery in Akrōtēri attempted to place their communities under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and/or Alexandria, thus renouncing their obedience towards their own bishops, presumably because the latter had officially submitted to the Latin Church. The abbots' 'apostasy'

¹²⁶² Cf. the discussion on El Greco's (d. 1614) religious identity and his Byzantine artistic influences by Kalemén 1961; Mouriki 1991, 10-41; Triantaphyllopoulos 1993-1994, 375-380; Panagiotakes 2000, 57-66, 97-115; Triantaphyllopoulos 2014, 769-776.

¹²⁶³ On the schism see above, 253.

¹²⁶⁴ App. IV, 469.I.7.

¹²⁶⁵ Sophocleous 2006, 62-63, 393. It is also quite possible that the Byzantine monastery of Virgin 'Amasgou' in Monagri, which was re-decorated in 1564, had initially been dedicated to the Virgin of Damascus (= 'Amasgou'); Archimandrite Epiphanius 2012, 15; Philotheou 2012, 15, 70-85.

¹²⁶⁶ On the Virgin's veneration in the Syriac tradition see generally Brock 1982, 182-191; Rubin 2010, 34-40.

¹²⁶⁷ See above, 307.

was prevented by the Venetian governors, who removed the former from their ecclesiastical posts in order to maintain the *status quo* on the island.¹²⁶⁸ Sometime between 1544 and 1557, the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba requested Venice's intervention to regain control over its dependency in Paphos, which had been usurped by Cypriot Rhomaioi monks.¹²⁶⁹ In 1535, the well-known scribe Ambrose of Andreiou, to whom we shall return below, copied a Gospel Lectionary which was sponsored by the nun Xenē and donated to an Orthodox establishment in Jerusalem.¹²⁷⁰ Sometime after 1547, the monk Nikanōr donated a volume containing various theological works to Mar Saba.¹²⁷¹ In 1556, Joasaph Sarbos, a Cypriot Rhomaioi scribe and monk in Palestine, copied a manuscript containing the annual liturgical readings from the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, which he donated to Mar Saba. Sarbos was probably responsible for decorating the manuscript with rather simple drawings of the Transfiguration and the Virgin's Dormition, which suggest his familiarity with Orthodox theophanic theology.¹²⁷² The presence of Cypriot Rhomaioi monks in Mar Saba is also confirmed by the case of Leontios the Lector. In 1566, Leontios copied a volume containing Palladius' *Lausiak History* and the *Life of St Makarios the Roman*, which he donated to Mar Saba. Interestingly, Leontios mentions in a subscription that he had originated from 'the village of the holy Hermitage' (ἐκ τοῦ πρᾶστέιου τῆς ἁγίας ἐγκλείστρας), perhaps a reference to the village of Tala near St Neophytos the Recluse's monastery, which had been granted by the Flatro family to the Orthodox Rhomaic Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.¹²⁷³

There is also evidence of contacts between Cyprus and Sinai. Around 1530, Ambrose of Andreiou copied, perhaps on Sinai, the Book of Hours attributed to Thēkaras, a fourteenth-century Orthodox hesychast monk. According to a later note by Makarios – a Cypriot Rhomaioi who had been elected Archbishop of Sinai in 1545 with the

¹²⁶⁸ The incident is described in a report sent by the *rettori* to the Council of Ten: Aristidou 2003a, 249-252.124; cf. Coureas 2009, 222-223. The patriarch of Jerusalem is mentioned as *al' Patriarcha di Jberi*, which could be considered as an indication that the abbots had approached the Georgian ecclesiastical authorities of Jerusalem, rather than the city's Rhomaioi patriarch.

¹²⁶⁹ Arbel 1995b, 169, 182 (n. 72).

¹²⁷⁰ *DGMC*, 283-285.

¹²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 303-308.

¹²⁷² *Ibid.*, 333-335. On the connection between the Virgin's veneration and Orthodox theophanic theology see below, 370-373. Sarbos' activities in Mar Saba are further attested by the copying and donation of a Psalter to the same monastery in 1556/7: *DGMC*, 335-336.

¹²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 354-356.

support of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem— the volume was donated to St Catherine’s monastery by a certain Matthew Kōtis.¹²⁷⁴ Makarios occupied the archiepiscopacy until 1547, when he was accused by the Sinaites of neglecting his duties and spending his time in Cairo in the company of laypeople. The Sinaitic opposition against Makarios, which must be interpreted in the context of antagonism between the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria over the monastery’s control, led to Makarios’ exile and deposition, though he was later permitted to return to Sinai as a humble monk (1557).¹²⁷⁵

We should now turn to the ecclesiastical and cultural contacts between Cyprus and other Greek territories. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, Makarios Eukolios, a Rhodian monk and scribe, copied in Nicosia a volume containing the Psalter, Canticles and other hymnographical works.¹²⁷⁶ In 1532, the monastic community of St Paraskeuē in the vicinity of Famagusta invited to Cyprus the Rhodian priest Clement the Virgin, who had been widely respected for his virtues as a spiritual mentor. Clement came to the island with his sister, An(n)eza, presumably in order to assume duties as the monastery’s spiritual father or abbot. However, both Clement and his sister died a few days after their arrival. It seems that Clement had left money for the copying of a luxury Gospel lectionary that was later completed with the contribution of other sponsors.¹²⁷⁷ Another Rhodian established in Cyprus was the aforementioned scholar and teacher James Diasorēnos, who plotted against the Venetian regime and the Latin Church in the early 1560s.¹²⁷⁸

Contacts between Cyprus and Athos predated the island’s Ottoman conquest. In 1525/6, Gregory, a monk from Cyprus, restored in the monastery of Dionysiou a twelfth-century manuscript containing the Old Testament, with the exception of the

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid., 274-276. Another Cypriot manuscript containing the *Thēkaras*, Psalter and Canticles and copied in 1539 by the scribe Sōphronios Seiros is currently preserved in St Catherine’s monastic library: *ibid.*, 295-298. Interestingly, the Alexandrian Patriarch Joachim I Pany (1487/8–1563/5) had owned a fourteenth-century Cypriot manuscript which he later donated to St Catherine’s monastery: *ibid.*, 189-191. On Cypriot manuscripts on Sinai see generally *ibid.*, 34. On Thēkaras’ hesychast theology see also below, 364.

¹²⁷⁵ Anastasiou 1970, 33-40; Stroumbakis 2004, 154-157.

¹²⁷⁶ DGMC, 258-261. See also Constantinides 1991, 313-315.

¹²⁷⁷ DGMC, 280-283. See also Constantinides 1991, 315-316.

¹²⁷⁸ See above, 320-323.

Psalms.¹²⁷⁹ Sometime between 1535 and 1552, Ambrose of Andreiou copied a scroll containing the liturgy attributed to St John Chrysostom. It is unclear whether the scroll had been commissioned by the Dionysiou community, or whether Ambrose himself had decided to donate it to this Athonite establishment, as indeed implied in the colophon.¹²⁸⁰ In 1560, Gregory the Lauriote from Cyprus dedicated a Psalter to his monastery of Great Laura. Gregory, who was also a scribe, copied two manuscripts containing hymnographical works.¹²⁸¹ Another Cypriot Rhomaios monk and scribe in the Great Laura was Malachi (d. 1573), who copied volumes containing theological works. Malachi occupied the office of *δομέστικος*, suggesting that he was probably the monastery's choirmaster.¹²⁸² Following the island's Ottoman conquest, a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi monks sought refuge in Athos, including Hierotheos 'Koukouzelēs' (d. post 1626?), a scribe and musician who became Abbot of the Stauronikēta monastery around 1625.¹²⁸³ Another monk, Theophanēs Logaras (d. ca. 1581), who might have been related to the aforementioned Bishop Neophytos of Solea, established himself in Venice around 1573, where he was appointed chaplain of the Rhomaic cathedral dedicated to St George of the Greeks and worked as editor of various ecclesiastical books published in the Metropolis.¹²⁸⁴ In 1578, Theophanēs confirmed before the Venetian authorities that another Cypriot Rhomaios monk, Gabriel of Mangana, had come to Venice as a refugee and intended to travel to Athos. Theophanēs himself maintained close contacts with Athos.¹²⁸⁵ In his testament, he donated a hundred ducats to the 'Great Church of the Holy Mountain of the Virgin' (*alla chiesa grande de Monte Santo della Madonna*) on the condition that prayers would be offered for the salvation of his soul.¹²⁸⁶ It is quite likely that the contacts between Theophanēs and the Athonites had been cultivated as a result of the former's wish to collect information on the fate of his missing brothers.¹²⁸⁷ Theophanēs' Orthodox

¹²⁷⁹ *DGMC*, 268-269.

¹²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 285-287.

¹²⁸¹ Papageorghiou 2011, 35-37.

¹²⁸² *Ibid.*, 37-38. On the office of *δομέστικος* see Kazhdan 1991, 646.

¹²⁸³ Kitromilides 2002b, 150-151. The monks Chrysanthos and Lawrence might also have come to Athos as refugees after 1570-1571: Papageorghiou 2011, 38-40, 40-41 (on Koukouzelēs).

¹²⁸⁴ On Logaras' activities in Venice see: Chatzipsaltes 1972-1973b, 150-157; Kitromilides 2002b, 187-188; Maltezou 2003, 14-17, 19-20.

¹²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁸⁶ Chatzipsaltes 1972-1973b, 153, 155 (Greek trans. by Chatzipsaltes).

¹²⁸⁷ Maltezou 2003, 16.

identity is attested by a request to his sister, Lucia, to pay the ransom for the liberation of his brothers from the Ottomans on the condition that they would have remained Orthodox Christians (*christiani, et orthodoxi*).¹²⁸⁸ Therefore, the relations between Athos and Cyprus had begun prior to the Ottoman conquest and were intensified in the later sixteenth century.

The *de facto* rapprochement between Cyprus and the Orthodox world, however, did not convince everyone of the Orthodox identity of the Cypriot Rhomaioi. In 1548/9 and 1551/2, the monk Methuselah Macheir, ‘a strange and neurotic scribe [...] who wandered around in many places from Mount Sinai to Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Constantinople and elsewhere’, copied in Cyprus two volumes containing commentaries on Aristotle and other works.¹²⁸⁹ Macheir left a long note describing his sufferings and stating that the Cypriots were ‘impure Rhomaioi’ (*νόθοι ῥωμαῖοι*). Macheir probably implied that the Cypriot Rhomaioi had lost their Orthodox faith as a result of the socio-religious interaction with the Latins. He also compared the Cypriots to a ‘blend or alloy created by diverse elements’ (*μίγμα ἢ κράμμα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ξένων*) and called them ‘a race of mules’ (*καθὰ γούν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμιόνων γένος*).¹²⁹⁰ Macheir’s negative perception of the Cypriot Rhomaioi seems to primarily reflect the scribe’s neurotic (if not psychotic) personality. Indeed, Macheir described himself as being persecuted by enemies and thieves everywhere he went, even accusing the patriarchal circle in Constantinople of having threatened his life.¹²⁹¹

Pachōmios Rousanos from Zakynthos (d. 1553), a well-known Orthodox monk and theologian, appears not to have shared Macheir’s negative perception of the Cypriot Rhomaioi. It is likely that Rousanos visited Cyprus, perhaps during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹²⁹² What is certain is that Rousanos had knowledge of the Greek-Cypriot dialect and other local vernaculars and was greatly concerned about the linguistic diversity of the Rhomaioi. Therefore, Rousanos considered the Cypriot Rhomaioi as cultural members of the Rhomaic ethnic community, in spite of its political

¹²⁸⁸ Chatzipsaltes 1972–1973b, 154, 155 (Greek trans. by Chatzipsaltes).

¹²⁸⁹ *DGMC*, 308-311, 317-320 (esp. at 320).

¹²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 319-320 (esp. at 319).

¹²⁹² Podskalsky 2005, 144. Rousanos composed an anti-Lutheran treatise, which defended the beneficial value of pilgrimages in the Holy Land: Pachōmios Rousanos, *Against the accusers of sanctity*, ed. Oikonomos, 141-151.

fragmentation and geographic dispersion.¹²⁹³ That Rousanos' perception of the island's Rhomaioi was widely established is further confirmed by the fact that after 1572, the Cypriot Rhomaioi occupied a prominent position among the various regional groups (*patrie*) of the Rhomaic Confraternity of Venice (*nazione greca*).¹²⁹⁴ The Orthodox character of the Cypriot *patria* is indicated by the Confraternity's decision (1589) to entrust the decoration of the central dome and parts of the sanctuary of St George's cathedral to John the Cypriot, who was instructed to follow the Byzantine iconographic style. Indeed, John's paintings, presumably executed under the aegis of the Orthodox Metropolitan Gabriel Sebēros of Philadelphia (1577–1616), remain true to the Byzantine style and convey the Orthodox doctrinal tradition. Bearing in mind that John's work had been placed under the supervision of the Italian master Jacobo Tintoretto (d. 1594) and was completed in the West during the period of the Counter-Reformation, his artistic achievement —an expression of the Confraternity's Orthodox Rhomaic identity— is even more remarkable.¹²⁹⁵

Above all, the reaffirmation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the sixteenth century is revealed by the *de facto* rapprochement between the island's Rhomaioi and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In late December 1523, Patriarch Jeremiah I (1522–1524 and 1525–1546) visited Cyprus on his way to a pilgrimage in the Holy Land. For seventeen days the Patriarch stayed in St Neophytos' monastery together with fifteen members of his entourage. He later spent twenty-seven days in Paphos, waiting for a ship to take him to Egypt. Jeremiah left for Damietta in mid-February 1524 and continued his journey to Sinai, before proceeding to Jerusalem, with a stopover in Famagusta. The Patriarch's decision to spend a few weeks in St Neophytos' monastery and later remain in Paphos for almost a month was most probably a reaction to the chaotic situation created in the Middle East during the rebellion of Hain Ahmed Pasha (1523–1524), the Ottoman Beylerbey of Egypt. Jeremiah's determination to leave the safety and hospitality of St Neophytos' monastery, resulted in an outbreak of tension between the Patriarch and a number of his followers, who refused to obey and returned to

¹²⁹³ Pachōmios Rousanos, *On the Hellenic language*, ed. Moustoxydes, 633, 635.

¹²⁹⁴ Maltezou 2003, 13; Maltezou 2005, 181.

¹²⁹⁵ Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 334-336; Constantoudaki 2002, 356-368; Maltezou 2003, 25-26. On Sebēros' Orthodox identity one should consult: Podskalsky 2005, 167-174; Fykas 2008; Plested 2012b, 145-147. On the contacts between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Rhomaic community of Venice see Manousakas 1968, *passim*.

Constantinople, where they supported his rival, Iōannikios of Sōzopolis. Iōannikios deposed Jeremiah and ruled briefly as Patriarch (1524–1525), before the latter's final restoration to the throne of Constantinople in late 1525.¹²⁹⁶

Bearing in mind the close contacts between St Neophytos' monastery and other Orthodox centres, both at the time of its foundation by Neophytos the Recluse in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century as well as during the sixteenth century, it is easy to understand why Jeremiah, a pastor concerned with the observance and preservation of the Orthodox tradition, chose to stay there.¹²⁹⁷ The Patriarch's presence among the monks of St Neophytos' monastery must have contributed to the reaffirmation of their Orthodox identity, perhaps resulting in the 'apostasy' of the community's abbot in 1537 and the aforementioned attempt to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchates of Jerusalem or Alexandria. Orthodox Cypriots may have interpreted Jeremiah's stay in Cyprus as a symbolic extension of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's authority over their Latin-ruled island. This perception could have been further enhanced by the fact that all Constantinopolitan patriarchs after 1453 were subjects and administrators in the service of the Ottoman sultans, who had conquered Egypt in 1517, thus becoming overlords of Cyprus (in the sense that they continued to receive the tribute paid by the Lusignans and the Venetians to the Mamlūk Sultanate).¹²⁹⁸ The fact that Jeremiah did not proceed to a more explicit declaration of his spiritual authority over the Cypriot Rhomaioi should probably be seen as a sign of prudence. Such a pronouncement would have alarmed both the Papacy and the Most Serene Republic, causing their intervention in order to maintain the *status quo* in Cyprus. Similarly, the Ottomans pursued at the time a policy of *détente* towards Venice and would not have supported the 'officialisation' of Orthodox rapprochement between Constantinople and Cyprus.¹²⁹⁹

¹²⁹⁶ Stroumbakis 2004, 36-53 (esp. at 38-43 on Cyprus); Papademetriou 2015, 121-123. I have been unable to confirm Runciman's statement that Jeremiah 'had managed to make a concordat with the Venetian authorities [of Cyprus] on behalf of the Orthodox': Runciman 1968, 199. What seems to be Jeremiah's signature appears twice in a Cypriot manuscript copied in 1506: Constantinides 2003, 501-502, 507.

¹²⁹⁷ Cf. Stroumbakis 2004, 71-157.

¹²⁹⁸ Stroumbakis 2004, 40; Arbel 2013, 140. On the function of Constantinopolitan patriarchs as Ottoman administrators see generally: Hattox 2000, 105-123; Papademetriou 2015.

¹²⁹⁹ The Ottomans had confirmed Venice's trading privileges in 1520. The two powers had signed a peace treaty in 1503: Williams 1995, 41-42. In times of peace, the Ottomans preferred to deliver anti-

The aforementioned statement by Angelo Calepio that the Cypriot Rhomaioi were considered excommunicated and were loathed by the rest of the Orthodox world for being submitted to the Latin Church is, clearly, not entirely correct.¹³⁰⁰ On the contrary, there is ample evidence for the gradual restoration of contacts between Cyprus and many major Orthodox centres, including Syria, the Holy Land, Sinai, Athos and Constantinople. This process involved the creation of networks of patronage and cultural exchange that enabled the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity in Cyprus, adding confidence to its expression through the channels of cultural and spiritual revival. The case of St Neophytos' monastery is indicative. In 1503, some twenty years before Patriarch Jeremiah's stay in the monastery, the rock-cut narthex and main church of the Recluse's Hermitage were decorated under the patronage of the monk Neophytos, who later became the community's Abbot until his death in 1512. The foundation and decoration of a larger monastic church probably began under Abbot Neophytos, continued under his successor, Joachim (d. 1521), and was completed in 1544.¹³⁰¹ Although the decoration of the new church appropriated a number of Renaissance stylistic elements, it reflects the Orthodox tradition as demonstrated, for example, by the depiction of scenes inspired by the *Akathist Hymn*, the Communion of the Apostles and the Ecumenical Councils.¹³⁰² The community's contacts with the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Alexandria, as well as the pro-Orthodox orientation of the Flatro family, probably suggest that the regeneration experienced by St Neophytos' community in the sixteenth century was led by dynamic spiritual pastors and was supported in various ways (e.g., morally, economically and technically) by Orthodox institutions and magnates.¹³⁰³

Venetian conspirators to the Venetian authorities of Constantinople rather than support their plots: see above, 323 (n. 1139).

¹³⁰⁰ See above, 251.

¹³⁰¹ Darrouzès 1950, 187; Stylianiou and Stylianiou 1960, 100; Mango and Hawkins 1966, 140; Chotzakoglou 2010, 931-932; Papacostas 2013, 293-310 (esp. at 303-307). It is not clear whether Abbot Neophytos is the same person as Neophytos the Monk, whose liturgical poems have been published by Stephanes 2012, 93-113. Stephanes suggests that this second Neophytos was probably an Athonite: *ibid.*, 94-95.

¹³⁰² Christodoulides 1996, 13-14, 30-51; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 329-330; Eliades 2010, 389-415; Chatzichristodoulou 2010, 904-906. See also below, 367-368, 371.

¹³⁰³ Cf. Papacostas 2013, 307: 'Neophytos the "new founder" may have had a determining role in [the construction of the extraordinary katholikon]; but he would have probably not been able to carry it through on his own, without assistance from a generous patron'.

Ecclesiastical music and hymnography provide traces for the enrichment of Orthodox Cypriot culture during the sixteenth century. Alexander Lingas has pointed out the relationship between Palamite Hesychasm and psalmody in fourteenth-century Byzantium, convincingly arguing that the upgraded status of the all-night Vigil in Athonite monasticism encouraged the composition of chants that enabled cantors to express themselves with greater freedom. According to Lingas, the newly-recovered ‘artistic freedom derived from a sense of confidence in God’s immanence’, which had been reaffirmed by the Palamite Hesychast theology.¹³⁰⁴ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this new vocal idiom, known as ‘kalophonic’ (‘beautified’), was more or less embraced by several Cypriot Rhomaioi composers and cantors in Cyprus and abroad, including Nicholas, Manuel and Constantine A(s)san, Andrew Stellōn and Paul Kasas.¹³⁰⁵ The transmission of the kalophonic vocal style in Cyprus, although limited, is most probably associated with the reception of Byzantine refugees after 1453. The kalophonic connection between Constantinople and Cyprus is further indicated by the fact that Manuel Chrysaphēs (d. 1480/90), the leading Byzantine composer and patriarchal choirmaster, composed no less than seven brief hymns on the patron saint of Nicosia, St Tryphyllios, which are preserved in a fifteenth-century Cypriot manuscript.¹³⁰⁶ It should be noted, however, that kalophony, which required the existence of particularly skilled and trained cantors, did not succeed in replacing the more archaic and conservative Cypriot style. The encounter of the two traditions in Cyprus during the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries created a unique Cypriot style, known as ‘the Cypriot way of chanting’ (*καθὼς ψάλλεται παρὰ τῶν Κυπραίων*).¹³⁰⁷

The aforementioned developments encouraged creativity and innovation. In the second half of the fifteenth century, for example, Nicholas Petropoulos created a unique composition on the ‘Lift up the gates’ custom that still takes place in Cyprus

¹³⁰⁴ Lingas 2006, 155-168 (esp. at 168).

¹³⁰⁵ Jakovljević 1980–1981, 72-74; Jakovljević 1993, 385; Demetriou 2001, 355; Demetriou 2002, 46-47; Demetriou 2003, 70; Demetriou 2010, 4-5. On the term ‘kalophonic’ see Lingas 2006, 155, 162.

¹³⁰⁶ Demetriou 2003, 53-78. Note that the fifteenth-century choirmasters of Mangana, Theodoulos and Theodore, might have been members of the Cypriot community of Mangana, which had been re-founded by Helena Palaiologina and received refugee monks from Constantinople: Jakovljević 1980–1981, 74-75.

¹³⁰⁷ Chatzigiakoumes 1980, 27; Jakovljević 1980–1981, 76; Demetriou 2000–2001, 295-296; Demetriou 2003, 61-62, 68, 70-71.

during the midnight ceremony of the Easter Vigil.¹³⁰⁸ This ancient custom, probably inspired by the apocryphal *Gospel of Nikodēmos*, is a dialogue between Satan (represented by a cantor or lector) and the angelic forces that accompany Christ in His Harrowing of Hell (represented by a priest holding the Gospel). The doors of the church, a symbol of Hades, are kept shut and the ‘angels’ call ‘Satan’ to open them, in order for Christ, the ‘King of Glory’ (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης), to enter and bring salvation to humanity. The priest, representing Christ, eventually opens the doors and enters ‘Hades’ by force, a symbol of Christ’s victory over death, which is also visualised in the Byzantine Orthodox iconography of the Resurrection.¹³⁰⁹ The identification of Christ as the psalmic ‘King of Glory’ (Ps 23:7) is an expression of Orthodox theophanic theology, in the sense that Christ is perceived to be YHWH, the God of the Old Testament.¹³¹⁰ It is clear that Petropoulos’ composition unveils the popularity of Orthodox paschal customs in Latin-ruled Cyprus.¹³¹¹ The description of Easter ceremonies in the sixteenth-century *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* supports this view. According to the *Report*, every Easter, the Cypriot Rhomaic *popolo* of Nicosia gathered in the episcopal cathedral at midnight, where they chanted a victorious hymn on the Resurrection (*Christus resurrexit a mortuis*) accompanied by trumpets and shawms (*a suono di trombe et pifari*).¹³¹²

John (fl. ca. 1474–1500) and Thomas (d. ante ca. 1480) Kordokotos, were two other Cypriot Rhomaioi priests and composers of the same period. Both of them probably held offices in the Hodēgētria cathedral and composed brief kalophonic hymns and works in the Cypriot style.¹³¹³ It is unclear whether Constantine Flangin, a sixteenth-century composer, should be identified as the aforementioned Bishop of Arsinoē who

¹³⁰⁸ Demetriou 2010, 7.

¹³⁰⁹ Bertonière 1972, 201; cf. Anonymous, *Apocryphal Gospel of Nikodēmos*, ed. Bozinis, 200-203.5 (with Modern Greek trans.), 337-339 (n. 133-139).

¹³¹⁰ Bozinis, *ibid.*, 337-338 (n. 133 and 135); cf. Taft 1975, 108-112. Probably the earliest reference to Ps 23:7 in the apocryphal traditions of the Resurrection comes from the second-century Anonymous, *Apocalypse of Peter*, ed. Detlef and Müller, 635.17 (English trans. by Wilson). Note that a homily *On the Burial of our Lord*, attributed to Epiphanius of Constantia, quotes Ps 23:7: Epiphanius of Constantia, *On the Burial of our Lord*, PG 43, 457BC; cf. Parenti 2000–2001, 191-199.

¹³¹¹ Demetriou 2010, 7.

¹³¹² See below App. IV, 481-482.III.21 (esp. at 331-332).

¹³¹³ Chatzigiakoumes 1980, 27, 113; Jakovljević 1980–1981, 75-76; *DGMC*, 253-255; Demetriou 2002, 47-51; Demetriou 2010, 7.

died during the siege of Nicosia in 1570.¹³¹⁴ Furthermore, a certain Bishop Paul, whose see and exact dates are not known, composed brief liturgical hymns on St Epiphanius and the Virgin of Kykkos.¹³¹⁵

Cypriot Rhomaioi musicians of the sixteenth century were also active outside their native island. The case of Jerome Tragoudistēs (fl. 1541–1559) is indeed noteworthy. Like Dominikos Theotokopoulos ('El Greco', d. 1614), who had been an accomplished Cretan iconographer before pursuing a career as a Renaissance artist in Italy and Spain, Jerome had been first nourished in the musical tradition of his homeland, studying under Constantine Flangin. Jerome worked as a scribe and seems to have been associated with the powerful Synglitico family. Around the mid-1540s, Jerome went to Italy, where he studied musicology in Venice and medicine and philology in Padua. Interestingly, Jerome composed a musicological treatise proposing a synthesis between the Eastern and Western musical traditions. His attempt to attract papal patronage seems to have remained unsuccessful, despite his apparent acceptance of the Latin doctrines. Around 1558, Jerome worked in Augsburg as a librarian and scribe for the Fuggers, a wealthy family of German bankers. The last piece of information we possess about Jerome's activities is that in 1559, he copied a volume containing the *Orations* and *Hymns* by St Symeon the New Theologian. Bearing in mind that this eleventh-century Byzantine Father was one of the most prominent representatives of Orthodox theophanic tradition, Jerome's interest on St Symeon could partly be interpreted as a conscious return to his own spiritual roots.¹³¹⁶

The case of the aforementioned Hierotheos 'Koukouzelēs' shows that Cypriot Rhomaioi musicians continued to flourish outside Cyprus even after the end of the Venetian rule. Sometime after 1570/1, Hierotheos became a monk in the Stauronikēta

¹³¹⁴ Jakovljević 1980–1981, 75-76; Demetriou 2002, 49-50 (n. 24-26, 34); Demetriou 2010, 7. On Constantine Flangin see above, 256. Note that Tassini ²1872, 271, mentions two members of the Flangin family by the name of Constantine.

¹³¹⁵ Demetriou 2002, 50; Demetriou 2010, 8; Patapiou (forthcoming-b). Manuel the Steward is also mentioned among other sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi composers.

¹³¹⁶ Generally on Jerome see: Strunk 1962, 101-113; Jakovljević 1980–1981, 76-77; *DGMC*, 21-22, 300-303, 313-315, 321-323, 336-343; Constantinides 1996c, 67-68; Agapitos 1996, 71-82; Demetriou 2002, 49; Demetriou 2010, 8-9; *pace* Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 110. On St Symeon's theophanic theology see briefly: Golitzin 1994b, 131-179; Golitzin 2001, 125-153 (*passim*). On El Greco's re-adoption (and re-adaptation) of Byzantine iconographic and stylistic elements in his later paintings one should consult Aznar 1991, 176-194.

monastery, Mount Athos, which had been re-founded by Patriarch Jeremiah I between 1540 and 1545.¹³¹⁷ Hierotheos, who became Abbot of the Stauronikēta community in ca. 1625, worked as a scribe and maintained a network of contacts with other scholarly Cypriot Rhomaioi monks of the diaspora, including Bishop Luke of Buzău (1583–1603), who later became Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia (1603–1629).¹³¹⁸ For his skills as an ecclesiastical musician, Hierotheos was named ‘Koukouzelēs’ after St John Koukouzelēs, the fourteenth-century Athonite monk and composer of works in the kalophonic vocal idiom.¹³¹⁹

Another aspect of the enrichment of Orthodox Cypriot culture and spiritual life in the sixteenth century was the production of manuscripts. The socio-cultural interaction between the various ethno-religious communities of Venetian-ruled Cyprus strengthened the island’s encounter with the Renaissance, particularly in cases where members of the Cypriot elite pursued higher education in Italian universities. Several reasons contributed to the development of a strong interest for the Hellenic past and Orthodox ecclesiastical heritage: the soft policy of Latinisation in the guise of papal unionism following the Florentine Council; the expansion and consolidation of Ottoman power in the East; the scholarly activities of Rhomaioi refugees in the West; the invention of printing; the emergence of Venice as a major cultural centre in Italy and the rise of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.¹³²⁰

During the sixteenth century, Cyprus became a major centre for the collection of manuscripts, which could be used as master copies for the printing of books in the West.¹³²¹ Indeed, the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* is particularly interested in the existence of unpublished Greek manuscripts on the island (*libri non mai stampati ne venute in luce greci andichissimi*).¹³²² The *Report* mentions that the Cypriot Rhomaioi preserved

¹³¹⁷ Kitromilides 2002b, 150. On the re-foundation of the Stauronikēta monastery see Stroumbakis 2004, 103-122.

¹³¹⁸ Kitromilides 2002b, 150-151, 197. On Luke of Buzău see below, 364.

¹³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 150. On the fourteenth-century Koukouzelēs see Lingas 2006, 155-168 (*passim*).

¹³²⁰ On Cyprus and the Renaissance see generally: Budd 1927, 421-434; Panagiotakes 1986, 467-486; Holton 1992, 515-530; Grivaud 1995a, 112-116; Grivaud 1995c, 1109-1204; Constantinides 2000, 261-263; Nicolaou-Konnari 2006, 329-353; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 99-126; Nicolaou-Konnari 2012b, 157-203. On the wider context one should consult: Layton 1994; Harris 1995b; Arbel 2002, 73-86.

¹³²¹ Constantinides 2000, 263.

¹³²² App. IV, 496.XIII (title).

apocryphal and prohibited texts in their monasteries, churches and houses, which they studied, read and preached (*studiano, leggono et predicano*). These included the *Apocalypses* attributed to the Virgin and St Makarios of Egypt and Christ's *Infancy Gospels*.¹³²³ While the Counter-Reforming Papacy strictly prohibited the study of non-canonical texts, the Orthodox Church regarded some of the apocrypha 'as a vital component of ecclesiastical Tradition rather than as failed scriptures' and sanctioned their acceptance in liturgy, theology and ecclesiastical art.¹³²⁴

The *Report* also mentions the existence of ancient manuscripts containing theological writings in various Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries, including those of Pipēs, Andreiou and Agros. These texts were said to be 'most useful and necessary in our times, although [the monks] do not let us see them' (*utilissimi et necessariissimi, a, tempi nostri, ma non si lasciano vedere*). St Cyril of Alexandria's treatises on the Holy Trinity, preserved in the monastery of Pipēs, were considered by the *Report's* author to provide evidence for the justification of the *Filioque* doctrine and the prominence of papal authority. The *Dialogues* by Pope St Gregory I, preserved in the library of the Andreiou community, were considered to support the Latin teaching on the existence of Purgatory. Moreover, the writings by St Maximus the Confessor, kept in the monastery of Agros, were deemed to have great anti-heretical value, presumably against the Protestants and the Orthodox. Last but not least, the *Report* notes the existence of ecclesiastical manuscripts in the libraries of Cypriot *potentes*.¹³²⁵

In 1564/5, Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo sponsored a luxury manuscript containing the works of St Neilos of Ancyra, Epictetus and Evagrius of Pontus, which was copied by Abbot Philotheos of Arakas, to whom we shall return below. Interestingly, Philotheos stated in his poetic colophon that Mocenigo had seen a volume with St Neilos' writings in the monastery of Andreiou and had requested from Philotheos to produce a copy, which would later be sent to the press for publication (*ἵνα μετακομίσωμαι ταύτην ἐν*

¹³²³ *Ibid.*, 475.II.4. On the *Apocalypse* of the Virgin see the edition by Montague Rhodes 1893, 109-126. The *Infancy Gospels* were published by Schneider 1995. An eleventh-century Cypriot manuscript contains the *Infancy Gospel* of Thomas: *DGMC*, 65. On a sixteenth-century manuscript containing apocryphal works see Constantinides 1996a, 55-73 (esp. at 57-58). Another sixteenth-century manuscript contains a prohibition against the use of non-canonical books in liturgy, though it does not seem to prohibit the reading of non-canonical books *per se*: Constantinides 2003, 495.

¹³²⁴ Shoemaker 2012, 153-163 (esp. at 154).

¹³²⁵ App. IV, 486.XIII. See also *DGMC*, 168 (on manuscripts containing St Cyril's treatises), 173-174 (on St Maximus the Confessor's works).

χαλκοτύποις).¹³²⁶ Although Mocenigo's volume was never used as a master copy, other Cypriot manuscripts succeeded in reaching the press.¹³²⁷ In the 1560s, Francesco Patrizi (d. 1594), a well-known Platonist philosopher and scholar in Mocenigo's service, acquired a large number of Cypriot manuscripts, which later found their way to the West. Patrizi's collection included Hermetic manuscripts from St Neophytos' monastery and a volume containing John Philoponos' *Commentaries* on Aristotle, which had been preserved in the Flatro monastery of Nicosia. These manuscripts were used in Patrizi's editions of Philoponos' *Commentaries* (1583) and the Hermetic texts (1591).¹³²⁸

Special reference should be made to a liturgical manuscript owned by Germanos Kouskōnari. During the War of Cyprus, Kouskōnari —at the time Abbot of Koutzoubendēs— was taken prisoner by the Ottomans, before returning from captivity to become Bishop of Limassol (1572). In ca. 1575, Kouskōnari sponsored a manuscript containing a corpus of liturgical prayers (*εὐχολόγιον*). Perhaps as a result of anti-Ottoman activities associated with the Janissary Revolt of 1578, Kouskōnari left his native island and sought refuge in Rome, where he denounced his obedience to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and recognised papal authority. Kouskōnari was placed under the patronage of Filippo Mocenigo and Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (d. 1585) and was permitted to officiate in the Byzantine-rite church of St Athanasius in Rome. He also taught in the newly-founded Greek Pontifical College, where he took great pains to preserve the institution's Byzantine liturgical orientation. In 1595, he was instructed to perform ordinations for the Byzantine-rite communities of Italy. Kouskōnari died in 1610, some fifty-nine years before his liturgical manuscript, which in the meantime had passed to the library of Leo Allatius (d. 1669), was used as a master copy by the Dominican Jacques Goar (d. 1653) in his seminal volume on Byzantine liturgy (1647).¹³²⁹

¹³²⁶ *DGMC*, 16, 350-354 (esp. at 352.13). See also the studies by Constantinides 1985, 75-83; Constantinides 2000, 268-270.

¹³²⁷ *DGMC*, 16.

¹³²⁸ Grivaud 2012c, 125-156 (esp. at 142, 153); Nicolaou-Konnari 2012b, 169-177 (esp. at 174).

¹³²⁹ On Kouskōnari's career and activities one should consult: Chatzipsaltes 1965, 63-69; Peri 1970, 17-19, 26; Tillyrides 1975, 827-829, 833-835; Kitromilides 2002b, 116-117; Papacostas et al. 2007, 91 (n. 246); Skoufari 2011, 139-140; Mitsides 2011, 526 (n. 21). On the manuscript see: Mercati 1949-1951, 223-232; Jacob 1974, 169-173; Constantinides 1993, 346-348; Englezakis 1996, 46-47. On the Janissary Revolt see Hassiotis 2011, 189-193.

Another reason that must have contributed to the atmosphere of sixteenth-century *ressourcement*, apart from the interest of Western bibliophiles in Cypriot manuscripts, was the revival of Greek learning on the island. Although Latin schools existed before the sixteenth century, in 1521 the *popolo* of Nicosia requested from the Venetians that the Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries should pay a special tax for the foundation of a Greek school with two teachers. The Venetians confirmed their request, though they permitted the employment of only one teacher. It was also regulated that all Cypriot Rhomaic bishoprics should be served by preachers who were priests and had a good knowledge of theology.¹³³⁰ In the same year, the people of Famagusta requested permission for the foundation of a Greek grammar school in their city.¹³³¹ Similarly, the representatives of the people of Kerynia requested in 1522 that two teachers should be appointed to teach the city's children Greek and Latin.¹³³² We have already mentioned that the Greek cathedral school of Nicosia, in which Diasorēnos most probably served, was situated near or inside the Latin cathedral of St Sophia. This, together with the possibility that Ambrogio Cavalli preached his Protestant sermons before an audience of Cypriot Rhomaioi students, suggest close cultural and religious contacts between Latins and Rhomaioi, which do not necessarily reflect an alienation from the Orthodox tradition.¹³³³ It should be stressed that 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.¹³³⁴ The 1601 appeal shows that after centuries of symbiosis with the Latins and under the influence of Italian Renaissance, many Cypriot Rhomaioi did not consider the acquisition of education *per se* as an obstacle to the preservation of their ethno-religious identity.¹³³⁵

¹³³⁰ Grivaud 1995c, 890; Dokos 1998, 392; Skoufari 2011, 135-136. On Greek, Latin and Italian learning in this period see generally: Nicolaou-Konari 1993, 323-327; Grivaud 1995c, 889-891, 894-898; Skoufari 2011, 131-140.

¹³³¹ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹³³² *KNK*, 70.17, 89 (comm. by Ploumidis); Skoufari 2011, 134.

¹³³³ See above, 321-322, 329-330.

¹³³⁴ Mas Latrè 1855, 572.15, 573.23; Sathas 1869, 187-188; Nicolaou-Konnari 1993, 324; Michael 2005, 115; Antonopoulou 2013, 213.

¹³³⁵ Note that the 1601 appeal to Savoy included provisions concerning the preservation of Orthodox bishoprics and the Byzantine rite, the administrative duties of the Cypriot Rhomaioi archbishop, the privileges of the Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchy and the return to Orthodoxy of two Islamised

The reception of Byzantine refugees on the island after 1453 and the re-establishment of Greek grammar schools under Venice's aegis in the early 1520s, were the main reasons for the (re-)founding of monastic scriptoria.¹³³⁶ Throughout the Venetian period, Cypriot Rhomaic monasteries seem to have continued to operate as centres of learning, as confirmed by a brief manuscript note (1563) referring to the existence of an elementary school in the monastery of Virgin Krineōtissa, a dependency of Mangana.¹³³⁷ Mangana, which had been re-founded by Helena Palaiologina in ca. 1453, probably contributed to the transmission of the Constantinopolitan Hodēgōn script that was imitated by the aforementioned Abbot Ambrose of Andreiou (fl. 1530–1552). Ambrose mostly copied theological and liturgical manuscripts and maintained a network of contacts with various Orthodox centres, including Sinai, Jerusalem and Athos.¹³³⁸ Among Ambrose's disciples, Abbot Philotheos of Arakas (fl. 1564/5) co-operated with Mocenigo for the preparation of a volume containing theological and philosophical works and intended to be published in the West. The fact that Philotheos praises the Counter-Reforming Archbishop of Nicosia in his colophon as a virtuous pastor should most likely be interpreted as a diplomatic expression of gratitude for the latter's patronage. Philotheos' creative skill as a calligrapher is highlighted by his imitation of not only Ambrose's hand, but also of the so-called 'Renaissance script' attested in the early printed Greek books of Venice.¹³³⁹ Abbot Symeon of Kykkos (ca. 1542–1568), formerly Abbot of Mangana and later Bishop of Solea, established a scriptorium in Kykkos, which collected, restored and copied manuscripts. Symeon's bibliophile activities aimed at healing the wounds left by the catastrophic fire of 1542

Cypriots: Mas Latrie 1855, 570.1-571.5, 573.21 and 24; Sathas 1869, 187-188; Michael 2005, 114-115; Antonopoulou 2013, 213. On the Orthodox archbishops of Cyprus at the time of the Savoyan appeal see Michael 2005, 104-107.

¹³³⁶ On Byzantine refugees in Cyprus after 1453 see Constantinides 2000, 263-264. On the connection between scribes and grammar schools see Grivaud 1995c, 890.

¹³³⁷ Darrouzès 1957, 140.26; *DGMC*, 36 (n. 140); Grivaud 1995c, 889.

¹³³⁸ *DGMC*, 15-16, 271-278, 283-287, 293-294, 315-317, 323-325, 375-379; Constantinides 2000, 264-267. On the Hodēgōn script in particular see: Politis 1958, 17-36, 261-287; Canart 1987–1988, 48; Constantinides 2000, 271-272. On the monastery of Andreiou see: Archimandrite Kyprianos 1788, 394; Coureas et al. 2012, 169.

¹³³⁹ Constantinides 1985, 75-83; *DGMC*, 350-354; Constantinides 2000, 267-270. It has been suggested, on the basis of palaeographical observation, that Ambrose could be identified with the pro-Latin (?) translator of a theological work by St John Damascene in the Greek-Cypriot vernacular: Nikolopoulos in John Damascene, *On those who have departed in faith*, 12-15. Note, however, that the similarities of the manuscript's script with Ambrose's style could also be attributed to one of Ambrose's disciples.

that had burned down the monastery's library.¹³⁴⁰ Following the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the aforementioned Bishop Luke of Buzău and Hungaro-Wallachia, probably a disciple of Ambrose or Philotheos, expanded the geographical horizons of the Cypriot Rhomaic calligraphic tradition by producing creative variations of Ambrose's script in manuscripts copied in the Balkan peninsula during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.¹³⁴¹

Bearing in mind that the production of original ecclesiastical works in sixteenth-century Cyprus appears to have been limited, the existence of anti-Latin orations and hymns, mentioned or quoted by the author of the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*, is strong evidence for the preservation and manifestation of Orthodox identity on the island.¹³⁴² The copying of theological and liturgical manuscripts with traditional Orthodox material points in the same direction. It also demonstrates how the message of the Scriptures and the Byzantine Fathers continued to be relevant in sixteenth-century Cyprus, leading to the study and circulation of these texts.¹³⁴³ The communication of Orthodox teachings to the wider body of believers was made through catechetical sermons.¹³⁴⁴ Interestingly, new additions to the repertory of ecclesiastical manuscripts included the *Akathist Hymn* and *Thēkaras' Book of Hours*, both of which were significant texts in Palamite Hesychasm, thus suggesting that the Cypriot Rhomaioi monks were familiar with fourteenth-century Orthodox theophanic theology.¹³⁴⁵ Printing might have also

¹³⁴⁰ Constantinides 2000, 270-271.

¹³⁴¹ Constantinides 1985, 79-80; Gratziou 1987-1988, 57-80; Politi-Sakellariadi 1987-1988, 81-111; Constantinides 2000, 273. Luke's attachment to Orthodoxy is revealed by his struggle against the Catholic propaganda in his see: Kitromilides 2002b, 197.

¹³⁴² See below App. IV, 467-468.I.2, 475-476.II.5. The translation of John Damascene's oration *On those who have departed in faith* in the Greek-Cypriot vernacular was probably the work of a Rhomaioi who openly accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy. See above, 78. A number of prayers in poetic colophons that might contain elements of originality have been published by Constantinides 1993, 332-348, 354-362.

¹³⁴³ See, e.g., *DGMC*, 253-358 (*passim*).

¹³⁴⁴ A sixteenth-century manuscript examined by Constantinides 2003, 494, contains models for catechetical addresses delivered by the Rhomaioi bishops of Amathous (Leukara) at the annual assemblies of their clergy. A brief note in a fifteenth-century manuscript informs us that an anonymous spiritual father delivered a public catechism on the *Sayings* of St Arsenios before a gathering of people in the village of Emba (1435/6). The Rhomaioi bishop of Arsinoë, who was also present, ordered for the catechism to be recorded: *DGMC*, 237. We have already mentioned above that the Venetians proceeded to the regulation of issues concerning Cypriot Rhomaic preachers in 1521.

¹³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 258-259, 274-275, 295-296, 286 (n. 3). Although both manuscripts containing *Thēkaras* seem to have been produced outside Cyprus, the fact that they were copied by Cypriot Rhomaioi scribes (one of whom was Ambrose of Andreiou) strengthens the view that Cypriot Rhomaioi monastics were indeed

facilitated the transmission of Orthodox texts, as indicated by the depiction of Polo Zaccaria's eldest daughter in the Virgin's church in Galata (1514). Polo's daughter, the offspring of a mixed marriage, holds open what seems to be an early printed Greek book containing the *Akathist Hymn*.¹³⁴⁶ The fact that a Latin translation of the *Akathist Hymn* had existed since the ninth century probably facilitated the reception of this text by Rhomaioi and Latins alike, regardless of their degree of acceptance of the Orthodox doctrines.¹³⁴⁷ Artistic evidence examined below, however, strongly suggests that the *Akathist Hymn* could have been potentially interpreted in the context of Palamite Hesychasm and Orthodox theophanic theology. Thus, the implicit visualisation of differences with the Latin theology, a crucial element of crypto-religious resistance in Latin-ruled Cyprus, was pronounced in a moderate and non-coercive way, without openly provoking the Latins.

Ecclesiastical art is perhaps the most eloquent expression of Orthodox Cypriot revival in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cypriot Rhomaioi and Syrian painters (e.g., Philip Goul, Symeon Axentēs and Joseph Khouris) continued to cultivate the Byzantine iconographic tradition, conveying the doctrines of Orthodoxy and creating a unique Cypriot style that was influenced by the island's earlier artistic heritage and the Post-Byzantine and Renaissance idioms.¹³⁴⁸ Artistic production was facilitated by the support of Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates, priests, monks and laypeople, while new opportunities of patronage arose as a result of social mobility, religious interaction and Venice's *Realpolitik*. These developments enabled groups or individuals from different ethnic communities and religious affiliations to provide the means for the execution of ecclesiastical works of art, the visual reception of which seems to have been often

familiar with Palamite Hesychast theology and hesychast asceticism. On *Thēkaras* and Orthodox monasticism see generally Skaltsis 2008, 281-411. On the *Akathist Hymn* and its Palamite Hesychast interpretation see below, 370-373.

¹³⁴⁶ Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 119; Frigerio-Zeniou 2003–2004, 250; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 51, 55. The *Akathist Hymn* was first published in Venice by Aldo Manuzio (1502): Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 122 (esp. at n. 656).

¹³⁴⁷ On the Latin translation see Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 102 (n. 559); Averintsev 2006, 222-224; Andreu 2013, 39-55 (with further bibliography).

¹³⁴⁸ There is vast bibliography on this subject. One should consult, among other studies, the following: Garidis 1972, 25-32; Papageorgiou 1974, 193-209; Votocopoulos 1986, 587-590; Paliouras 1986, 591-600; Papageorgiou 1989, 171-176; Papageorgiou 1992, 107-206; Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1332-1368, 1377-1399; Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, *passim*; Frigerio-Zeniou 1998; Triantaphyllopoulos 2001, 621-650; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 322-330, 334-336; Sophocleous 2005, 89-102; Chotzakoglou 2007, 197-207; Eliades 2008; Eliades 2009c, 36-41; Constantoudaki 2009, 157-193; Chotzakoglou 2009, 427-805; Parani 2010, 341-368; Eliades 2012b, 285-326.

characterised by interpretive flexibility.¹³⁴⁹ This permitted the covert expression of anti-Latinism on the part of Orthodox painters or patrons in ways that did not openly attack the Latin doctrines and practices.

The ecclesiastical art of the Venetian period is highlighted by the reappearance of older iconographic themes with Orthodox and anti-Latin implications. The True Cross theme, for example, which we have already encountered in Basil Chamados' church in Pedoulas (1470s) as a symbol of Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity, could also be found in the churches of the Virgin Chrysopantanassa in Palaichōri (first half of the sixteenth century), the Holy Cross of Hagiasmati in Platanistasa (late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries) and the Virgin in Galata (1514).¹³⁵⁰ Scenes with eschatological torments of Latinising prelates and priests appear in the monasteries of the Virgin of Asinou (fourteenth century) and St John Lampadistēs in Kalopanagiōtēs (mid-fifteenth century) and are repeated in the churches of the Virgin Katholikē in Pelendri (late fifteenth century), the Virgin in Moutoullas (late fifteenth or early sixteenth century) and St Sōzomenos in Galata (1513).¹³⁵¹ The exclusive sacramental use of leavened bread and the administration of Holy Communion in both ways are conveyed in representations of the Hospitality of Abraham (*alias* the Holy Trinity or Abraham and the Three Angels), the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles from the churches of Hagiasmati, the Transfiguration in Palaichōri (early sixteenth century), the Virgin Chrysokourdaliōtissa in Kourdali (early sixteenth century), St Neophytos' monastery in Tala (1503–1544) and the Virgin Amasgou in Monagri (1564).¹³⁵² The

¹³⁴⁹ On donors and supplicants see generally: Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 100, 114-122; Frigerio-Zeniou 1997, 97-106; Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 163, 165-166; Frigerio-Zeniou 2003–2004, 245-315; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 17, 28-35, 49-55; Frigerio-Zeniou 2007, 227-260; Argyrou and Myriantheus 2009, 9-10, 14; Eliades 2012a, 21-25.

¹³⁵⁰ Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 53, 70-71; Eliades 2008, 308-312; Argyrou and Myriantheus 2009, 14, 40-44; Eliades 2012b, 306-308. We possess no information on the donor and painter of the Chrysopantanassa church. Hagiasmati was decorated by Philip Goul under the patronage of the priest Peter of Peratis and his wife. The Galata church was decorated in 1514 by Symeon Axentēs under the patronage of the Zaccaria family. On Pedoulas see above, 297-298.

¹³⁵¹ Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 116-117; Eliades 2008, 240-241, 326, 328; Chotzakoglou 2009, 435-436. The donors and supplicants in Asinou were monks and members of the local community. The painter in Kalopanagiōtēs was from Constantinople. We know nothing about the identity of the painters and donors in Pelendri and Moutoullas. The donors in Galata were thirteen members of the village community, including priests, and the painter was Symeon Axentēs. On Asinou, Kalopanagiōtēs and Moutoullas see above, 229 (n. 757), 286.

¹³⁵² Eliades 2005, 158-160; Eliades 2010, 396, 399-401, 409-410; Eliades 2012a, 23-24, 40-42; Eliades 2012b, 287, 289-290; Philotheou 2012, 70, 72-73, 85. The Tala church belonged to the monastic community of St Neophytos and the painter, identified in the past as Joseph Chouris, is not known. Similarly, we know

recovered emphasis on scenes associated with Christ's Passion and Resurrection, most probably under the influence of Post-Byzantine and Renaissance art, should also be interpreted in the Cypriot context of the Holy Cross traditions and the older hermeneutical association of the suffering Christ with the Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi.¹³⁵³ For instance, 'militarised' versions of the Betrayal from the aforementioned churches of Hagiasmati in Platanistasa and St Sōzomenos and the Virgin in Galata seem to reflect the underlying tension between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, which was often visible in matters of faith and was strengthened by the socio-economic exploitation of the weak by the powerful.¹³⁵⁴ Similarly, double representations of the Resurrection according to both the Western and Byzantine Orthodox iconographic traditions should not simply be interpreted in terms of aesthetic preference or as a common element of Christian identity, but could also be considered as an artistic opportunity to illustrate the Risen Christ's victory over the Westernised Roman soldiers guarding His Tomb, while at the same time conveying expectations for spiritual salvation and ethno-religious liberation from the Latins.¹³⁵⁵

Special reference should be made to the appearance of new themes. Mural paintings depicting the ecumenical councils from the churches of St Sōzomenos in Galata and St Neophytos' monastery are probably linked to the feast of the Triumph of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. The anachronistic emphasis placed on the patriarchal

nothing about the painter in Kourdali and the painter and donor in Amasgou. The donor in Kourdali was Leontios Kourdalēs the Deacon and his family. On Platanistasa and older depictions of the Communion of the Apostles see above, 114, 256.

¹³⁵³ Triantaphyllopoulos 2001, 625-628. See also: Papageorghiou 1992, 110, 113, 115-116; Christodoulides 1996, 55; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 323-326; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 24-25, 28, 61-65; Argyrou and Myriantheus 2009, 20, 25-28, 45; Eliades 2012a, 54-61; Eliades 2012b, 290-291, 305-306; Perdikes 2014, 56-65. On the Passion in Renaissance and Counter-Reforming art see Viladesau 2008.

¹³⁵⁴ Stylianou and Stylianou 1992, 578-580. See also the discussion above, 122-123, 229, 320. Various artistic representations from Rhomaic churches of the Venetian period imply or clearly denote the ethno-religious identity of Christ's persecutors as being non-Rhomaic. 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 2008, 361. In the Virgin Podythou church the guards in the Crucifixion scene are dressed in Western armour, though some of them carry Ottoman standards: Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 54; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 24-25.

¹³⁵⁵ This is a new theme which enhances our understanding of the ethno-religious dimension behind similar representations. On the possible ethno-religious interpretation of such scenes see Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 50-51. See examples in Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 62-65 (the Virgin's church in Galata); Eliades 2009e, 65-67, 70 (the Transfiguration church in Palaichōri); Eliades 2012a, 59-61 (Kourdali). It is noteworthy that according to the anti-Ottoman plot of 1601, the Cypriot Rhomaioi, led by their clergy, would take arms against the Turks three hours before the Easter Vigil: Mas Latrie 1855, 575; Sathas 1869, 187.

privileges of Constantinople over Rome in Nicaea (325), the historically inaccurate inclusion of canonised Roman popes of the pre-schismatic period among the prelates present in the councils, the prominence given to Byzantine emperors and the preponderance of patriarchal over non-patriarchal sees, demonstrate a clear ecclesiological perception which stressed the unity of the Orthodox world by presenting 'the general councils as a modality of the Pentarchy'.¹³⁵⁶ Therefore, the concept of papal ecclesiastical supremacy and the theological 'novelties' introduced in the Western Church after the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) were implicitly condemned by emphasising the Orthodox Byzantine ecclesiology of the *primus inter pares* status of all hierarchs in light of sacramental communion and doctrinal unity.¹³⁵⁷

The Orthodox appropriation of the Western representation of the Mercy Seat (*Gnadenstuhl*), which depicts the Father holding the crucified Son and the Holy Spirit in the image of a dove, is also noteworthy. According to Gesa Thiessen, 'the development of the *Gnadenstuhl* theme has to be examined in relation to Anselm of Canterbury's [1093–1109] prevailing atonement theology and satisfaction theory which was then operative in the West'.¹³⁵⁸ In his attempt to interpret Christ's Incarnation and Passion, Anselm put forth a rather judicial theological argument stating that:

Everyone who sins is under an obligation to repay to God the honour which he has violently taken from him, and this is the satisfaction which every sinner is obliged to give to God.¹³⁵⁹

Orthodox appropriations of the *Gnadenstuhl* theme appear in Hagiasmata and the Holy Cross chapel in the hamlet of St Irene, Troodos. In both cases, the Holy Spirit is shown to proceed not according to the Latin *Filioque* doctrine, namely from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone. Thus, the Western *Gnadenstuhl* theme was creatively

¹³⁵⁶ Walter 1970, 203.

¹³⁵⁷ See generally: Walter 1970, 189-206; Walter 1972, 281-284; Stylianos and Stylianos 1995, 1357; Stylianos and Stylianos 1997, 86; Chotzakoglou 2007, 199-201; Eliades 2010, 402-403; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 50-51. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy see also below App. IV, 479-480.III.9.

¹³⁵⁸ Thiessen 2009, 130. On *Gnadenstuhl* in the sixteenth century see also Kress 2010, 181-194.

¹³⁵⁹ Anselm of Canterbury, *Why God Became Man*, ed. Laemmer, 21.1.11.10-11: *sic ergo debet omnis qui peccat, honorem quem repuit Deo, solvere; et haec est satisfactio, quam omnis peccator debet Deo facere*. English trans. in Fairweather 1998, 283.

adapted in order to convey the Orthodox Cypriot rejection of the *Filioque*, though without openly provoking the Latins.¹³⁶⁰

Artistic expressions of Orthodox theophanic theology and Palamite Hesychasm should also be noted.¹³⁶¹ The transmission of Palamite Hesychast theology on the island is strongly suggested by the veneration of St Gregory Palamas, whose feast is celebrated on the second Sunday of Lent. Interestingly, the earliest reference to Palamas' veneration in Cyprus is contained in the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*, which erroneously mentions that Palamas had been condemned during the Florentine Council for having composed many anti-Latin works.¹³⁶² This piece of information reflects the prevailingly negative perception of Palamite Hesychasm by the Western Church in this period.¹³⁶³

Fantino Dolfin, who served the *Reggimento* as a counsellor between 1542 and 1544, stated in a report to Venice that there were many (*molti*) Cypriot Rhomaioi monks who lived outside their communities and were neither visited, nor corrected by their superiors (*per non esser visitati ne correti da superior alchuno*). Dolfin added that these monks wasted the property of their monasteries (*devorando e consumando le intrate*) and lived under no spiritual supervision (*senza religion alchuna*), without bearing fruits to the Church (*senza fruto o beneficio alchuno alla Giesie*). Dolfin's statement mirrors the negative perception of a sixteenth-century Venetian concerning what seems to be a description of the diversity of Orthodox heremitic, coenobetic or semi-coenobetic monastic practices in Cyprus, against the predominantly Western system of centralised

¹³⁶⁰ Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1334-1335; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 261; Chotzakoglou 2007, 199; Eliades 2008, 308, 351-352; Argyrou and Myriantheus 2009, 20, 26; Chotzakoglou 2009, 434-435, 801; Triantaphyllopoulos 2010a, 48-49. We possess no information on the painter and donor in St Irene. On the Holy Cross chapel see generally Stylianou and Stylianou 1965, 81-98. Note that in St Irene, the Holy Spirit literally rests on the Son's Cross, perhaps denoting Patriarch Gregory II's aforementioned theological position that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. It is noteworthy that during Emperor Manuel II's journey to the West (1400-1402), Makarios of Ancyra (1397-1405) had interpreted the *Gnadenstuhl* according to the Orthodox doctrine, stating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and rests on the Son: Dendrinos 2011a, 417.

¹³⁶¹ Triantaphyllopoulos (forthcoming) is expected to be an important contribution to this issue.

¹³⁶² See below App. IV, 480.III.10. So far, the earliest known icon of St Gregory Palamas dates from the eighteenth century and comes from the collection of the Virgin Phanerōmenē church in Nicosia: Chatzichristodoulou 2012b, 108-109.

¹³⁶³ It should be noted that the Cypriot manuscripts collected by Francesco Patrizi contained anti-Palamite works by Grēgoras and Kyparissiotēs: Grivaud 2012c, 144, 154. Although we possess no information concerning the provenance of these manuscripts, we may consider them remnants of the Hesychast Controversy in the fourteenth century.

monasticism in the Papacy's service. Moreover, while Orthodox monks focused primarily on prayer and inner quietness as a way to achieve purification from passions and union with God, Latin monks were not only expected to pray, but also teach and guide the wider body of believers.¹³⁶⁴

Around the same period, Bishop Theophanēs of Solea (ca. 1532–1543), formerly Abbot of Mangana and Logaras' predecessor, abdicated from the episcopal throne to live as a humble hermit in the monastery of Mesa Potamos, where he died in 1550. Stephen of Lusignan, who had been present in the translation of Theophanēs' relics a few years after his death, testifies that a sweet fragrance came out of the grave and that the holy man's head still possessed flesh. According to Lusignan, Theophanēs' head was kept in the monastery of Mesa Potamos and performed many miracles.¹³⁶⁵ Clearly, Lusignan's testimony indicates that, despite Dolfin's critical view of the hesychast way of life, the ascetic quest for inner quietness continued to flourish in Venetian-ruled Cyprus and was appreciated by both Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins.

Admittedly, it is difficult to know to what extent Latin sympathisers of hesychast asceticism became familiar with Palamite Hesychasm and Orthodox theophanic theology. It seems, however, that devotional practices associated with the veneration of the Virgin provided common ground for the cultivation of religious symbiosis and interaction, without necessarily alienating the Cypriot Rhomaioi from the Orthodox tradition. Indeed, the Virgin occupied a central position in Palamite Hesychasm as a model of hesychast asceticism and for her role in the Incarnation, which enabled the deification of humans.¹³⁶⁶ Similarly, in the Western world there was a long tradition of

¹³⁶⁴ Skoufari 2011, 105; cf. above, 187 (n. 598).

¹³⁶⁵ Stephen of Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, ed. Papadopoulos et al., ff. 26^v-27^r; Stephen of Lusignan, *Description of the Island of Cyprus*, ff. 59^r-60^v; Hackett ²1972, 387-388; *KM* (May), 120-131. The reconstruction of the dates of Theophanēs' tenure is based on archival sources discussed by Grivaud 1993, 220, 235-236.4 (esp. at n. 12); Arbel 2009, 377; Patapiou 2014a, in <http://www.parathyro.com/?p=29883> (last accessed on 31/8/2015). Note that at least one Venetian source erroneously mentions Theophanēs (*alias* Theophanios) as 'Epiphanius'. There is no evidence to support Schabel's claim that Lusignan doubted Theophanēs' holiness: Schabel 2002–2003, 343.

¹³⁶⁶ Kalafatis 2000, 79-85; Banev 2014, 75-103. On the view of some modern Roman Catholic scholars that Palamas' theology implied the teaching and later doctrine of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception see: Likoudis 2007, 139-158; Kappes 2014, *passim*. St Gregory of Sinai had received the spiritual gift of ceaseless prayer after praying to the Virgin: Skaltsis 2008, 249. Another fourteenth-century hesychast monk, St Maximus of Kausokalybia, used to pray before the Virgin's icon: Ware 1988, 423-426. It is noteworthy that Neophytos the Recluse described a theophany experienced by the Virgin on her Dormition day: Neophytos the Recluse, *Homilies on the Dominical Feasts*, ed. Sakellaridou-Soteroudi, 130-131.5.7.

contemplative prayer to the Virgin using the rosary, which was further intensified in the period prior and after Trent.¹³⁶⁷ Unsurprisingly, Mandelena Zaccaria, depicted with her family in the Virgin's church in Galata (1514), is shown to be holding the rosary, while her eldest daughter reads from an open book containing the *Akathist Hymn*.¹³⁶⁸

Under the influence of Palamite Hesychasm in monastic circles from the fourteenth century onwards, representations of the *Akathist* –the most famous Byzantine Orthodox liturgical hymn to the Virgin– became increasingly popular in the Balkans.¹³⁶⁹ Two noteworthy depictions of the *Akathist Hymn* from Cyprus come from the sixteenth-century church of St Neophytos' monastery in Tala and the 'chapel' attached to St John Lampadistēs' monastery in Kalopanagiōtēs. Bearing in mind the contacts between St Neophytos' community and the Orthodox world, it is not surprising that the *Akathist Hymn* murals from Tala follow the Post-Byzantine artistic style, incorporating representations of a Byzantine emperor and a number of prelates who venerate the enthroned Virgin.¹³⁷⁰

In Kalopanagiōtēs, however, stylistic influences from Renaissance art are greater and more prominent and the flock venerating the enthroned Virgin includes a Venetian doge, a pope, Latin prelates, Rhomaioi bishops with Latin mitres and Rhomaioi monks. It would probably be wrong to interpret the aesthetic preference to Renaissance style and the depiction of Latin supplicants and mitred Byzantine-rite bishops as indications of liturgical and doctrinal Latinisation. Given that a thirteenth-century icon from Kalopanagiōtēs depicts St John Lampadistēs, whose miraculous relics were preserved in the monastery, as a Latin deacon, we may assume that the local monastic community attracted both Rhomaioi and Latin pilgrims. The creation and decoration of a sixteenth-century 'chapel' shows that the monks of Kalopanagiōtēs continued to flourish under the Venetians, without nevertheless providing concrete evidence of liturgical or doctrinal Latinisation. Although the community officially recognised papal

¹³⁶⁷ On the history of the rosary see Winston-Allen 1997. On the rosary and the veneration of the Virgin in the Counter-Reformation one should consult: Mitchell 2009; Rubin 2010, 332-338. On confraternities dedicated to rosary devotional practices see Black 1989, 103-104. On different Western approaches concerning the contemplation of Christ's Passion see Viladesau 2008, *passim*.

¹³⁶⁸ Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 90-92; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 51, 55.

¹³⁶⁹ Pätzold 1989, 91-104; Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 119-121; Iacubovschi 2011, 289-324; Strezova 2014, 70, 73, 80, 235. On the *Akathist* see generally Peltomaa 2001.

¹³⁷⁰ Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 329-330; Eliades 2010, 392-394.

authority, as indeed most Cypriot Rhomaioi since the thirteenth century, the liturgical function of the ‘chapel’ decorated with the *Akathist Hymn* must have been primarily associated with the daily recitation of this text according to the Byzantine Orthodox monastic tradition. It is quite likely that the presence of Latin supplicants and mitred Rhomaioi bishops in the Kalopanagiōtēs murals –probably an indication of subordination to the Papacy– was simply a diplomatic expression of gratitude towards the establishment’s Western patrons, rather than a sincere manifestation of obedience to the Latin Church.¹³⁷¹

What is clear is that the Kalopanagiōtēs monks were open to artistic innovation, which enabled them to effectively attract Latin devotion to the Virgin and St John Lampadistēs, thus encouraging Western patronage. At the same time, the *Akathist Hymn* murals in the sixteenth-century ‘chapel’ could be considered as indications that the monks had managed to preserve their liturgical, and perhaps also doctrinal tradition, without becoming militantly anti-Latin. Therefore, the different representations of the *Akathist Hymn* in Tala and Kalopanagiōtēs should be primarily viewed as mirroring different sources of patronage, rather than being reflections of pro-Orthodox or pro-Latin spiritual orientation.

That the Kalopanagiōtēs community remained Orthodox is further suggested by the theophanic character of the iconographic programme in the sixteenth-century ‘chapel’. Apart from the *Akathist Hymn* murals, associated with the prominent position of the Virgin in Palamite Hesychast theology, the ‘chapel’ was also decorated with representations of various theophanic appearances in the Old Testament, including the Hospitality of Abraham (Gen 18:1-34), the Sacrifice of Abraham (Gen 22:1-15), Moses

¹³⁷¹ Stylianou and Stylianou 1995, 1344-1346; Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 99-104, 118-123, 162-167, 202-203; Triantaphyllopoulos 2002, 329-330; Eliades 2008, esp. at 150-52, 156-157, 175-178, 191-194; Papageorghiou 2009, 43-52, 58 (esp. at 51); Weyl Carr 2009, 488-489. Note that St John Lampadistēs should have been depicted not as a deacon but as a notary: Anonymous, *Life of St John Lampadistēs*, ed. Kakkouras, 242-247 (comm.), 95.10.10-19; Chatzichristodoulou 2012d, 116-117. The argument that the ‘chapel’ was used for the monastic performance of the *Akathist Hymn* is put forth by Eliades 2008, 191-192. On the depiction of Latin mitres as an indication of ecclesiastical subordination to the Papacy see Rapti 2014, 322, 341-342. It remains unclear whether the illustration of mitred Rhomaioi bishops should be interpreted as an allusion to their loss of independence, and perhaps also Latinising sentiments, or whether it reflects the actual adoption of mitres as a stylistic influence from the Western Church. On episcopal mitres in Byzantium and the Orthodox Church see Woodfin 2012, 28-32. Note that the fourteenth-century cruciform cover commissioned by Olbianos of Leukara depicts him bareheaded: Papageorghiou 1994, 248. An unpublished (?) sixteenth-century icon of St Barnabas from the collection of the Byzantine Museum, Nicosia, depicts a supplicant Cypriot Rhomaioi bishop, wearing a black soft-sided brimless hat.

before the Burning Bush (Ex 3:1-6) and Moses receiving the Law on Mt Sinai (Ex 31:18). Representations of the Holy *Mandyllion* ('Holy Image of Edessa') and the Holy *Keramion* ('Holy Tile') enhance the theophanic character of the decoration, demonstrating that the aforementioned Old Testament scenes should not solely be interpreted as biblical prefigurations, but also as actual appearances of Christ before His Incarnation.¹³⁷² Indeed, this is the way Gregory Palamas, based on the earlier patristic tradition, had interpreted Old Testament theophanies against Barlaam the Calabrian's teachings.¹³⁷³

Similar themes appear in other churches, as well. One of the most remarkable cases is that of the Virgin Podythou in Galata, founded by Dēmētrios of Korōnē and his family in the early sixteenth century.¹³⁷⁴ The eastern gable of the church, above the iconostasis, is occupied by representations of Moses receiving the Law on Mt Sinai and the Burning Bush, both of which are placed below the depiction of the Holy *Mandyllion*. The unusual placement of scenes depicting Old Testament theophanies in Podythou and the hermeneutical connection between Christ and YHWH, a precondition of Palamite Hesychast theology, are most probably associated with the existence of a nearby dependency belonging to St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai.¹³⁷⁵ As mentioned above, the close spiritual contacts between Sinai and Cyprus are also indicated by sixteenth-century manuscripts in St Catherine's library containing Thēkaras' Book of Hours and copied by Cypriot Rhomaioi monks. This, too, demonstrates that Palamite Hesychasm was an important element in the rapprochement between Sinai and Cyprus in the Venetian period, suggesting that the murals in Kalopanagiōtēs and Galata should be interpreted in the context of Orthodox theophanic theology.

The connection between liturgical worship and Orthodox theophanic theology becomes more explicit in the decoration of the sixteenth-century ciborium of St Mamas' monastery in Morphou, painted by Sylvester from Naxos under the patronage of

¹³⁷² Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 102-104, 168-182; Papageorghiou ²2009, 43-45, 47; Weyl Carr 2009, 485-486. On the Holy *Mandyllion* see also: Papadaki-Oekland 1987-1988, 283-296; Guscini 2009; Guscini 2016.

¹³⁷³ Gregory Palamas, *In defence of the holy hesychasts*, ed. Chrestou, 590-593.3.3.5. See also: Bucur 2007, 131-146; Bucur 2008a, 115-138.

¹³⁷⁴ Stylianou and Stylianou ²1997, 98-99; Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 12-19; Aristidou 2004, 171-190; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 10, 17-18, 28-35. On the founder see also above, 223.

¹³⁷⁵ Frigerio-Zeniou 1998, 68-74; Kokkinoftas 2001, 133; Constantoudaki and Myriantheus 2005, 18-19. Note that the Burning Bush was perceived by some Byzantine Fathers as a prefiguration of the Virgin: ACCS III, 14-15 (quoting St John of Damascus' *On the Divine Image*); cf. Le Boulluc and Sandevour 2004, 88-90 (n. 3, 2-3, 6).

Abbot Paul. The ceiling of the ciborium portrays Christ the Great High Priest, surrounded by stars, the sun and the moon, the symbols of the four evangelists, two angels and two seraphim. This is an allusion to Ezekiel's theophanic vision (Ezek 1:4-25), re-enacted during the preparation of the Holy Communion and highlighted by the Great Entrance prostration performed by the faithful before the celebrant priest; a custom considered by the Latins as idolatry.¹³⁷⁶ A unique Cypriot mural (late fifteenth or early sixteenth century) from the sanctuary of the church dedicated to Sts Kērykos and Ioulittē, Letymbou, depicts the Risen Christ 'in a different form' (Mk 16:12), with a radiant star-shaped mandorla drawn around His body. This particular theme had been developed in Byzantium during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in order to emphasise that Christ was indeed the Great High Priest and was present in the liturgy and the sacraments of the Church.¹³⁷⁷ Gregory Palamas in his writings stresses the need for participation in the liturgy and even interprets the case of Melchizedek, the priestly King of Salem and biblical prefiguration of Christ (Gen 14:18-20; Ps 109:4; Heb 5:1-10), as an example of how God's uncreated energies can lead humans to deification.¹³⁷⁸ Thus, both the ciborium from Morphou and the mural from Letymbou underline the theophanic and transformative dimension of the liturgy, in accordance with Palamite Hesychast theology.

Various adaptations of the so-called 'Hesychast mandorla' in representations of the Transfiguration provide perhaps the strongest piece of evidence concerning the creative appropriation of Palamite Hesychast themes in sixteenth-century Cypriot ecclesiastical art. The 'Hesychast mandorla' had first appeared in an illumination from a manuscript (ca. 1370–1375) containing the Constantinopolitan *Tome* of 1351 and Palamite Hesychast and anti-Muslim 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

¹³⁷⁶ App. IV, 475.II.1; Bolman 2010, 134-165 (esp. at 136-145); Chotzakoglou 2011, 477-482. Portrayals of Christ the Great High Priest first appear in the fourteenth century and are partly associated with the upgraded role of Constantinopolitan patriarchs, particularly in the period following the Hesychast Controversy: Papamastorakis 1993–1994, 67-78. On Ezekiel's vision in liturgical symbolism, see Golitzin 2007d, 180-212.

¹³⁷⁷ Zarras 2007, 213-224; Papageorghiou 2008, 40-42.

¹³⁷⁸ Gregory Palamas, *In defence of the holy hesychasts*, ed. Chrestou, 596-597.3.3.8.16-20. See also the discussion by Skaltsis 2008, 274-279.

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 [...].¹³⁷⁹ According to Fr Andreas Andreopoulos, much like the mandala in Indian art, the Transfiguration mandorla has a cosmic symbolism for it portrays Christ's uncreated energies that fill the entire universe.¹³⁸⁰

The appropriation of the 'Hesychast mandorla' in fifteenth-century Slavic ecclesiastical art in the form of hexagonal, starlike and eye-shaped depictions of Christ's glory on Mt Tabor reveals how the visualisation of Palamite Hesychast doctrines was creatively adapted and transmitted beyond the borders of Byzantium.¹³⁸¹ What is remarkable is that, though Palamite Hesychasm had been established in Cyprus since the second half of the fourteenth century, it is only in the sixteenth century that we can find traces of the 'Hesychast mandorla' in the island's ecclesiastical art. Although the exact reasons and influences behind this artistic development remain a *desideratum* for future research, it is important to note that the various adaptations of the 'Hesychast mandorla' in Cypriot art reflect a renewed interest in Palamite Hesychasm, which is also supported by the veneration of Gregory Palamas, the continuation of hesychast asceticism, the strengthening of Marian devotion, the Christological exegesis of Old Testament theophanies and the reaffirmation of Christ's real presence in the liturgy.¹³⁸²

Overall, the Orthodox revival in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the result of a *de facto* rapprochement between Cyprus and other Orthodox centres. It was also the product of an encounter of different cultural and spiritual traditions that enabled

¹³⁷⁹ Drpić 2008, 220 (on the codex), esp. at 225 (description of the mandorla). See also Andreopoulos 2005, 228-230.

¹³⁸⁰ Ibid., 231-242.

¹³⁸¹ See generally *ibid.*, 243-252.

¹³⁸² See, e.g., icons from St Neophytos' monastery in Tala, St Sōzomenos in Galata, St Marina in Eptagōneia, St Nicholas in Klōnari, the Virgin Katholikē in Pelendri and St John Lampadistēs in Kalopanagiōtēs: Papageorghiou 1992, 182, 196; Sophocleous 2006, 46-48, 57-59, 222-223, 363, 384, 478; Papageorghiou 2009, 56-57. In Tala and Galata the mandorla takes the form of a concave square inscribed within a circle. In Eptagōneia and Pelendri it is hexagonal transcending an oval. In Kalopanagiōtēs, it has the shape of an arrowpoint transcending an oval. In Klōnari it is a combination of an arrowpoint shape and a concave square transcending a circle. The triple aura of the mandorla in the Transfiguration mural from St Sōzomenos in Galata has also been associated with Palamite Hesychasm: Stylianou and Stylianou 1997, 85; Chotzakoglou 2007, 199. See also the Transfiguration mural from the Transfiguration church in Palaichōri: Eliades 2009e, 52-54. Traditional oval mandorlas could also be found in this period. See, e.g., an icon from St Dēmētrios in Marathasa: Chatzichristodoulou 2002, 347-348.

the creative appropriation of certain practices, ideas and values, thus enriching the island's cultural heritage and the spiritual life of its inhabitants. The establishment of networks of contacts with Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Mar Saba, Sinai, Athos, the Aegean Islands and Venice created channels of patronage and permitted the transmission of Post-Byzantine and Renaissance culture. In addition, the revival was facilitated by the institutionalisation of Greek learning in Cyprus with Venice's support and with the collaboration of the *università, popolo* and Cypriot Rhomaic ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, the invention of printing and Venice's cultural role renewed the interest of Latins and Rhomaioi in ecclesiastical manuscripts, which further encouraged the process of *ressourcement*.

The activities of both churchmen and laymen as hymnographers, composers, cantors, bibliophiles, scribes and painters and the patronage provided by members of all ethno-religious communities and social groups testify that the cultural and spiritual regeneration had penetrated the social and ethno-religious barriers between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. Thus, shared expressions of piety contributed to inter-communal symbiosis and interaction. The transmission of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus and its impact on ecclesiastical music, painting and the production of manuscripts illustrates how ascetic practices and Marian devotion could bring Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins closer. On the other hand, the *de facto* rejection of Palamite Hesychasm by the Western Church and its acceptance by the Orthodox meant that the two communities were largely unable to fully overcome their differences in theology and worship.

Consequently, crypto-religious resistance became a part of the *modus vivendi*, in the sense that the Orthodox Cypriots adapted and manipulated cultural production to reaffirm their own doctrines and practices, particularly in cases when these were rejected or criticised by the Latins. The absence of explicit anti-Latin pronouncements and coercion should be considered as an indication of the Cypriot Rhomaic ability to survive by expressing their faith in ways that could generally be tolerated by the Latin Church. Moreover, the aesthetic appreciation of Renaissance culture and its Orthodox appropriation reveals that sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi managed to develop multiple identities, without being alienated from their own tradition.

Ultimately, the process of *ressourcement*, mirrored above all in the strengthening of Palamite Hesychasm in Cyprus, suggests that expressions of Orthodox identity primarily aimed at bolstering the self-confidence of Cypriot Rhomaioi as members of the Orthodox Church and the Post-Byzantine world, rather than provoke a militant reaction against the Latin regime. Instead of decrying Western culture or pursuing an inflexible line of aggressiveness, Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi perceived the essence of one's salvation to be the recovery of Christ's authentic teachings, preserved in Orthodox liturgy, monastic life and patristic theology. The renewed confidence in Orthodox Cypriot identity, reflected in the achievements of the sixteenth-century cultural and spiritual revival, must have contributed to the firm Cypriot Rhomaic resistance to Mocenigo and eventually facilitated the official reintegration of Cyprus into the Orthodox world after 1571.

V.5. Conclusion

While traditionalist historiography has seen the ecclesiastical history of the Venetian period as an arena of ethno-religious antagonism and hostility between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, revisionist scholarship has emphasised the emergence of new identities, which were primarily influenced by Renaissance culture and enhanced the unity of all Cypriots under the Papacy. Both interpretations are only partly correct. We have argued that relations between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins in the Venetian period were far more complex than previously acknowledged by traditionalist and revisionist historians, comprising manifestations of both resistance and collaboration. Moreover, Renaissance culture and obedience to the Papacy were not the only pillars of Cypriot Rhomaic identity, which was also highlighted by a conscious recovery of the Orthodox Byzantine tradition and a rapprochement with the Orthodox world.

To understand how the new conditions created by the Venetian rule affected Cypriot Rhomaic religious life, we have focused on the Republic's ecclesiastical *Realpolitik* on the island. Venice's primary aim was the preservation of religious peace and stability in Cyprus *vis-à-vis* the expansion and consolidation of Ottoman power in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Venetians appropriated various institutional practices of the Lusignan Kingdom, established centralised administrative control over Church affairs,

promoted collaboration with the local elites, granted restricted autonomy to the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy, supported monasticism and tolerated the Orthodox doctrines and customs. The social elevation of Cypriot families in Venice's service enhanced the atmosphere of symbiosis and contributed to the process of religious interaction. Thus, the small group of sixteenth-century Cypriot *potentes* collaborating with the Republic seems to have included not only Latins, but also Orthodox who expressed their faith with discretion.

Cypriot Rhomaic responses to Venice's colonial *Realpolitik* varied. On the one hand, natural disasters, food shortage and administrative corruption exacerbated the social misery experienced by the lower masses. Clerical exclusion from the election of bishops and the Counter-Reforming policy of the Latin Church in the 1560s must have strengthened Orthodox Rhomaic ethno-religious identity, leading to anti-Venetian revolts or conspiracies. The Cypriot activities of the Rhodian scholar, teacher and revolutionary James Diasorēnos, reveal how the emergence of an Early Modern Greek ethno-religious ideology threatened to shake the island's Venetian regime, presumably with the support of at least a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and members of the laity. What is striking is that, despite the aforementioned manifestations of tension in the 1560s, the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy and clergy actively contributed to the defence of Cyprus against the Ottomans in 1570–1571, paying a heavy blood price for their political loyalty. However, political allegiance to Venice should not be equated with sincere obedience to the Papacy, since there is ample evidence for the survival of Orthodox tradition on the island. The coexistence of different, and often contradicting, self-understandings leads us to discern the multiplicity of Cypriot Rhomaic identities, which enabled the preservation of Orthodox faith and Rhomaic cultural traits in the context of superficial submission to the Papacy and political loyalty to Venice.

The survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy is further attested by Cypriot Rhomaic reactions to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The rejection of Protestantism by the vast majority of the Cypriot Rhomaic flock and clergy, despite the conversion of a small number of Cypriot Rhomaioi *potentes* and scholars, illustrates the former group's strong reluctance to abandon their ancestral doctrines and devotional practices (e.g., the veneration of icons and the Virgin) in order to adopt the teachings of Western

Reformers. The implementation of the Counter-Reformation in Cyprus is associated with a change in the Papacy's unionist and more tolerant policy and the gradual adoption of a harder stance towards Protestantism and the Byzantine Orthodox tradition around the mid-sixteenth century. Although the last Archbishop of Nicosia, Filippo Mocenigo, seems to have been partly successful in reforming the island's Latin Church under the Republic's aegis, his attempts to modify the traditions, doctrines and practices of the Cypriot Rhomaic community led to the firm resistance of Bishop Neophytos of Solea and the subsequent Venetian intervention in support of the latter. The hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* clearly demonstrates the degree of Mocenigo's intentions to reform the island's Rhomaioi, while also confirming the continuity of Cypriot Orthodoxy and covert anti-Latinism in the sixteenth century.

Orthodox Cypriot identity was bolstered by a cultural and spiritual revival during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This process of regeneration, reflected, for example, in ecclesiastical music, painting and the production of manuscripts, was partly the result of a *de facto* rapprochement between Cyprus and the Orthodox world. The significance of the aforementioned restoration of contacts could hardly be underestimated, particularly if one takes into consideration that the relations between the island's Rhomaic Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate had been characterised by an official breach since the early fifteenth century. Other reasons that contributed to the revival were: the reception of Byzantine refugees after 1453; the institutionalisation of Greek learning by the Venetians under Rhomaic communal and ecclesiastical control; the creative synthesis of Renaissance, Post-Byzantine and Cypriot Byzantine cultural traditions; the Hellenic interests of Renaissance scholars; the state of socio-religious symbiosis on the island and the creation of new patronage opportunities. The eclectic appropriation of Western ideas, values and practices suggests that the aesthetic appreciation of Renaissance culture was not an obstacle in the covert expression of Orthodox faith and anti-Latinism. While common devotional practices (e.g., the veneration of the Virgin) did inspire bonds of Christian unity among Cypriots, the reaffirmation of Palamite Hesychast theophanic theology and its non-acceptance by the Western Church, indicate that Orthodox identity managed to preserve its distinctiveness.

The multiplicity of Cypriot Rhomaic identities enabled the survival of Orthodoxy without shaking the *status quo* created by the ecclesiastical domination of the Latin Church and Venice's colonial authority on the island. Ultimately, it was one thing to remain politically loyal to the Most Serene Republic and avoid openly provoking the Latins and another to sincerely accept the doctrines and practices of the Western Church. To paraphrase Tom Papademetriou's statement concerning the Ecumenical Patriarchate under Ottoman rule, sixteenth-century Cypriot Rhomaioi knew well and responded to the command: 'render unto Venice what was Venice's and unto God what was God's'.¹³⁸³

¹³⁸³ Papademetriou 2015, 219.

Conclusions

The existence of those who seem not to rebel is a warren of minute, individual, autonomous tactics and strategies which counter and inflect the visible facts of overall domination, and whose purposes and calculations, desires and choices resist any simple division into the political and the apolitical.¹³⁸⁴

All the more reason, then, to respect, if not celebrate, the weapons of the weak. All the more reason to see in the tenacity of self-preservation—in ridicule, in truculence, in irony, in petty acts of noncompliance, in foot dragging, in dissimulation, in resistant mutuality, in the disbelief in elite homilies, in the steady, grinding efforts to hold one's own against overwhelming odds—a spirit and practice that prevents the worst and promises something better.¹³⁸⁵

The aim of the present thesis has been to explore the Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-ruled Cyprus, focusing on aspects associated with society, spirituality and identity. Although the sincerity or superficiality of Cypriot Rhomaic obedience to the Papacy has been a matter of debate among traditionalist and revisionist scholars, the subject's treatment in historiography is inconclusive. On the one hand, traditionalists have argued that Orthodox identity survived through a process of spiritual resistance and compromise; on the other hand, revisionists have pointed out that the common Christian faith largely contributed to Cypriot unity under the Lusignans and the Papacy. Our examination began with two interlinked questions: to what extent did Cypriot Rhomaioi succeed in preserving and adapting their Orthodox identity, and in what ways did political and socio-economic developments affect their ideological and spiritual orientation.

In Chapter I, we saw how the Latin conquest of Cyprus (1191) and the gradual submission of the Orthodox Church in the thirteenth century provoked different reactions among the island's Rhomaic population. The evidence shows that the establishment of the Frankish Kingdom and the founding of the island's Latin Church

¹³⁸⁴ Gordon 1980, 257.

¹³⁸⁵ Scott 1985, 350.

during the last decade of the twelfth century, generated discontinuities with the Byzantine socio-political and ecclesiastical structures. The traumatic atmosphere of destabilisation was interpreted by Cypriot Rhomaioi monastics in terms of natural disharmony, leading to the intensification of spiritual struggle and sowing the seed for the cultivation of non-coercive responses to the new conditions created by the Latin political expansionism. Non-coercion and non-violence enabled the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. Inter-communal rapprochement was further highlighted by the collaboration of the island's former nobility with the Frankish regime, the involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi notaries in the Kingdom's administration and the placement of Orthodox monasteries under Lusignan patronage. However, the Papacy's policy led to the gradual subordination of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy and flock. The polarisation between the two Churches was marked by the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara (1231), the self-exile of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy in Cilicia (1240s) and manifestations of tension, following the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* (1260).

The dominant Cypriot Rhomaic response to the Latin policy of coercion was a combination of non-violence, compromise and religious exclusivism. This was not an easy path to follow. Although the Monks of Kantara had peacefully but firmly defended their ancestral sacramental tradition, they suffered a harsh and humiliating death for rejecting the canonical validity of the Latin Eucharist. The examination of the hitherto unpublished *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara* shows that traditionalist scholars were correct in interpreting the martyrdom as spiritual resistance; on the other hand, revisionist interpretations underemphasise or completely ignore the deeper theological and spiritual reasons behind the Monks' adamant rejection of Latin sacramental practices. In the 1230s, Archbishop Neophytos' insistence that physical submission to the Latins was necessary for the survival of his flock, brought tension in his relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Nicaea. Moreover, the Cypriot Rhomaic proposal for a *nullo medio* settlement with the Papacy in 1250 was virtually ignored by the Latins, leading to the official subordination of Cypriot Rhomaioi bishops to Latin diocesans in 1260.

The delicate balance between superficial submission to the Latins and preservation of Orthodox identity is also mirrored in the recognition of papal authority on the part of a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi. In 1240s, during the self-exile of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy at least two monastic establishments sought and received papal protection from harassment, creating a precedent for the recognition of papal authority by members of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy and laity. Admittedly, obedience to the Papacy was motivated by both temporal and spiritual reasons that often make it difficult to distinguish between superficial and sincere submission. This is further supported by the fact that particular circumstances (e.g., whether someone was highly involved in public life or sought protection from oppression and harassment) also contributed to the open and official acceptance of papal authority. What needs to be stressed is that the status of Cypriot Rhomaioi as members of the Western Church did not fully guarantee protection from Latinisation. It is true that the *Bulla Cypria*, which seems to have been accepted by most Cypriot Rhomaioi by the end of the thirteenth century, offered a degree of autonomy and protection; however, the *Bulla* permitted Latin ecclesiastics to reform rites and customs that were not aligned with the Western definition of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Consequently, socio-religious and political inequality encouraged long-term expressions of non-coercive and non-violent anti-Latinism, through the recollection, preservation, interpretation and territorialisation of memories.

The adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality and anti-Latinism after the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria* was investigated (in Chapter II) by applying for the first time, theoretical models on 'crypto-religiosity', 'multiple identities' and 'embodiment'. This proved a fruitful exercise in contextualising Cypriot Rhomaic resistance and identity preservation in both historical and theological terms. An examination of the material under the prism of these theories suggests that Orthodox spirituality during the Latin rule was highlighted by expressions of 'crypto-religious' anti-Latinism, in the sense that Orthodox doctrines and practices regarded by the Western Church as 'erroneous' or 'heretical' (e.g., the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread in the Eucharist) were maintained and manifested in covert ways, which did not openly provoke the Latins.

Another important finding of our research is the development of ‘multiple identities’, which enabled the preservation of spiritual (‘Orthodox’), ethnic (‘Rhomaic’), and regional (‘Cypriot’) self-perceptions, while also permitting the construction of new political (‘Lusignan’ or ‘Venetian’ subjects) and ecclesiastical identities (‘Byzantine-rite members of the Western Church’). The co-existence and flexible management of multiple identities permitted social and cultural interaction with the Latins, without necessarily alienating the Cypriot Rhomaioi from their ancestral Orthodox tradition. Indeed, the reaffirmation of Orthodox identity is mirrored in the activities of both ecclesiastical and lay ‘guardians of tradition’, involved in the pastoral guidance of their brethren and the Orthodox appropriation of Latin theology. The bipolar interpretation of Cypriot Rhomaic identity by traditionalist and revisionist scholars (‘Orthodox’ vs ‘Latinisers’) shows that the element of multiple identities has not been adequately stressed in previous scholarship, leading to more rigid interpretations of the sources. Moreover, our thesis underlined for the first time the ‘embodied’ performance of practices associated with the cultivation of Orthodox theophanic theology (e.g., the Great Entrance prostration), which clearly demonstrates that many Cypriot Rhomaioi continued to remain attached to the Orthodox doctrines and customs, even when the Latins criticised them for being in error.

The re-examination (in Chapter III) of the material concerning the involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins in the Hesychast Controversy (ca. 1337–ca. 1400) enables us to better understand the extent to which Palamite Hesychasm strengthened Orthodox identity in Cyprus, particularly during the second half of the fourteenth century. We argued that this process was subject to socio-economic, political and ecclesiastical developments. For example, social mobility and religious interaction enabled the exercise of a lenient ecclesiastical policy on the part of the Lusignans, which allowed the permanent re-establishment of Cypriot Rhomaioi prelates to their ancient sees and the construction of new cathedrals. The island’s contacts with the Patriarchates of Antioch and Constantinople and the presence of Cypriot Rhomaioi *literati* in Constantinople underline the pro-Byzantine orientation of the island’s Rhomaic ecclesiastical and cultural elite. This is the context in which the Cypriot Rhomaioi supported the anti-Palamite party, namely the opponents of Gregory Palamas’ distinction between divine essence and energies (‘Palamite Hesychasm’). In

the 1340s, a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and laymen, who sided with the anti-Palamite hierarchies of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, were actively involved in refuting Palamite Hesychasm. We have concluded that in this early period, Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamism was probably not influenced by Latin theology. On the contrary, Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Palamism should perhaps be considered as an expression of theological conservatism against Gregory Palamas' allegedly 'novel' teachings, and not as a product of Latinisation, as had been suggested by several scholars in the past.

Following the synodal vindication of Palamite Hesychasm (1351), the Cypriot Rhomaioi anti-Palamites kept a low profile. However, the anti-Palamite rapprochement with the Papacy, confirmed by the recognition of papal authority by Emperor John V Palaiologos, led to the consolidation of division between Palamite Hesychasts and anti-Palamites. The study of the hitherto unpublished patriarchal *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Kallistos I of Constantinople sheds light on the circumstances that led to the establishment of Palamite Hesychasm on the island, as a response to Latin coercion and the collaboration between anti-Palamites and the Papacy. In the early 1360s, the policy of coercive Latinisation pursued in Cyprus by Peter Thomas seems to have forced the Cypriot Rhomaioi to seek the intervention of Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople, who advocated a line of non-coercive resistance and openly accused the anti-Palamites of collaborating with the Latins. Indeed, during the later decades of the fourteenth century, Cyprus became a haven for persecuted Byzantine anti-Palamites. This development must have confirmed Patriarch Kallistos' previous pronouncements concerning the absence of middle ground between 'Orthodoxy', namely Palamite Hesychasm, and the Latin faith: the anti-Palamites were rallying under the Western Church. The gradual establishment of Palamite Hesychasm on the island was highlighted by the communication between Bishop John of Karpasia and Joasaph the Monk (formerly Emperor John VI Kantakouzēnos), which could be interpreted as a strong indication that the island's Rhomaioi hierarchs and *potentes* sought to reaffirm their role as mediators with Byzantium and Orthodoxy by approaching the Palamite Hesychasts.

The extent of preservation and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity in the fifteenth century was discussed (in Chapter IV) in the context of socio-religious developments in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. By the early fifteenth century, Palamite Hesychasm appears to have won over the hearts and minds of Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi. Although this must have strengthened Orthodox identity in Cyprus, it appears to have also exposed Cypriot Rhomaioi to the criticism of hierocratic – and most probably Palamite Hesychast – Orthodox ecclesiastics, who were alerted by the rapprochement of the island’s ethno-religious communities. Inter-communal symbiosis and phenomena of socio-religious interaction reflect the complex process of indigenisation of the island’s Latin socio-cultural structures, which was caused by various reasons. These included: the Genoese and Mamlūk Wars and the Ottoman expansion; the social elevation and occasional Latinisation of non-Latin Cypriots; the weakening of the Latin Church and its alienation from the Papacy during the Western Great Schism. Above all, the emergence of a strong Cypriot identity is encapsulated – as revisionists have accurately pointed out – in Leontios Machairas’ ideology of Cypriot Christian unity under the Lusignans and the Papacy, despite his awareness of the island’s historical bonds with Byzantium and Orthodoxy. However, from the point of view of Orthodox hierocratic churchmen, the rapprochement between Rhomaioi and Latins threatened the purity of Orthodox faith, leading to a *de facto* schism between Constantinople and Cyprus.

The Cypriot Rhomaic attempts for covert restoration of communion with Constantinople (in 1406 and 1412) invited the involvement of the erudite monastic theologian and patriarchal representative Joseph Bryennios in Cypriot affairs. A careful examination of Bryennios’ testimonies concerning the proposed union with Constantinople and the condition of the Cypriot Rhomaic Church in the early fifteenth century demonstrates that the patriarchal representative’s hierocratic beliefs influenced his negative treatment of the Cypriot Rhomaic proposals. Although hierocratic perceptions of the relationship between *sacerdotium* and *imperium* in Late Byzantium were fundamental in shaping a hard stance towards the Latin-ruled Cypriot Rhomaioi, no attempt has been made in the past to properly contextualise Bryennios’ Cypriot activities by discussing the growing hierocratic ideology of fifteenth-century Byzantine ecclesiastics. Ultimately, the Constantinopolitan rejection of the proposed union was

not the result of Cypriot Rhomaic alienation from Orthodoxy, but the outcome of Bryennios' hierocratic ideology that had undermined the Cypriot rapprochement with Constantinople, choosing to ignore expressions of crypto-religious resistance to Latinisation. This is an important finding, because it strongly suggests that Constantinople might have received the Cypriot Rhomaioi as concelebrants (*pace* revisionists), had Bryennios not been involved in Cypriot affairs.

The Orthodox anti-unionist struggle against the decrees of the Florentine Council (1438–1439) and the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire (1453) contributed to the consolidation of the schism between Cyprus and Constantinople and its continuation until 1572. This, together with the implementation of the Florentine decrees on the island —a significant yet largely unexplored episode of Cypriot ecclesiastical history— constituted a clear threat to the survival of Orthodoxy. Yet, the theoretical equality between the Byzantine and Latin rite under the Papacy, sanctioned in Florence, did not bring sincere reconciliation between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. In reality, the Florentine 'Union' was undermined by rivalry over jurisdiction and the coercive attitude of a number of Latin ecclesiastics, who had been alarmed by the weakness of their own Church and the growing prominence of the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy. Consequently, while the Florentine 'Union' seems to have been sincerely embraced by some Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins, there are also indications that many other members of the Cypriot Rhomaic community simply manipulated the 'Union' in order to improve their status, without forsaking their doctrines and liturgical traditions. Expressions of non-coercive, non-violent and covert anti-Latinism served to reaffirm the Orthodox identity of the Cypriot Rhomaioi. Indeed, the study of the hitherto unpublished *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM, reflects the tension between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins over thorny theological issues associated with the afterlife. The process of identity preservation was enhanced by the leniency that characterised papal policy, particularly during the early sixteenth century, thus providing a degree of protection from Latin ecclesiastical harassment and preventing coercive Latinisation. Even more important was perhaps the fact that the Florentine 'Union' facilitated the reception and cultural activities of Byzantine Orthodox cultural agents under the patronage of Queen Helena Palaiologina. Although revisionist accounts underplay Helena's role in the

reaffirmation of Orthodox Cypriot identity, the evidence strongly indicates that her patronage paved the way for the cultural and spiritual regeneration of Cypriot Orthodoxy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The adaptation of Orthodox identity in the new conditions created by the Venetian rule in Cyprus (examined in Chapter V) was largely determined by the Venetian ecclesiastical *Realpolitik*, which aimed to retain religious peace and stability in Cyprus *vis-à-vis* the expansion and consolidation of Ottoman power in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Most Serene Republic retained and exploited various institutional practices of the Lusignan Kingdom and established centralised administrative control over Church affairs. At the same time, the Venetians promoted collaboration with the local elites and granted restricted autonomy to the Cypriot Rhomaic clergy. Furthermore, Venice supported monasticism and tolerated the Orthodox doctrines and customs. Religious interaction was enhanced by the social elevation of non-Latins in the Republic's service. This process created a Cypriot elite of Latinised non-Latins or non-Latins who openly and actively accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy, without excluding the existence of Orthodox Cypriots who expressed their faith with discretion.

The colonised Cypriot Rhomaioi responded to Venice's *Realpolitik* in various ways. Natural disasters, food shortage and administrative corruption, combined with clerical exclusion from the election of bishops and the Counter-Reforming policy of the Latin Church in the 1560s, led to anti-Venetian revolts or conspiracies. Expressions of anti-Venetian resistance culminated with James Diasorēnos' plot, which appears to have been supported by at least a number of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and laypeople. Although revisionist scholars tend to undervalue the significance of Diasorēnos' activities, the contextualisation of his plot and revolutionary plans enables us to trace the emergence of Early Modern Greek identity in a politically-fragmented world. During the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus (1570–1571), the majority of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy and clergy remained loyal to the Venetians (*pace* Hackett), paying a heavy blood price for their stance. The present thesis has been the first to comprehensively examine the involvement of Cypriot Rhomaioi ecclesiastics in the island's defence and to underline their loyalty to the Most Serene Republic.

Manifestations of both political allegiance to Venice and superficial submission (*pace* Schabel) to the Papacy should be interpreted as reflecting the coexistence of multiple identities that enabled the preservation of Orthodoxy. This is further confirmed by the rejection of Protestant ideas by many Cypriot Rhomaioi and, more importantly, by the resistance of the Cypriot Rhomaic hierarchy to the Counter-Reformation, which resulted in the Republic's intervention in their support. The hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* provides invaluable evidence concerning the superficial obedience of many Cypriot Rhomaioi to the Papacy, conveyed through their attachment to their ancestral doctrines and religious traditions.

The cultural and spiritual revival of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reveals how Orthodox Cypriot identity was bolstered, under the influence of the Renaissance and due to a process of *de facto* rapprochement with major centres in the Orthodox world. Although many excellent studies in the past have emphasised the cultural dimension of this regeneration, little attention has been paid to the important area of Orthodox spirituality. We argued that the achievements of Orthodox Cypriot culture in this period were characterised by creativity, dynamism and innovation, while also mirroring a concern for the recovery of the authentic teachings of the Orthodox tradition, through the appropriation of Western cultural elements. This stresses the Cypriot Rhomaic ability to develop multiple identities, without alienating themselves from Orthodoxy or adopting coercion and violence as channels for the expression of anti-Latin resistance.

Clearly, the historical physiognomy of Orthodox Cypriot spirituality under the Latins, and particularly during the Late Frankish and Venetian periods, was highlighted by both adaptability and attachment to the doctrines, practices and religious customs of the Orthodox Church. The reaffirmation of Orthodox identity through covert expressions of resistance was rooted in the spiritual principles of non-coercion and non-violence, which were strengthened as a result of the collaboration of the Cypriot Rhomaic socio-religious elite with the island's Latin overlords. The development of multiple identities enhanced adaptability in changing times, while the pastoral activities of ecclesiastical and lay guardians of tradition contributed to the preservation

of identity barriers between Orthodox and heterodox. In addition, the embodied experience of tradition, which involved both spiritual and somatic participation in worship, guaranteed the long-term continuation of practices criticised by the Latins as 'erroneous' (e.g., the Great Entrance prostration, the rejection of the Latin Eucharist and the observance of Orthodox fasting customs). Admittedly, the Papacy's attempts to impose doctrinal and liturgical uniformity were occasional, rather than continuous, and the Franco-Venetian political authorities took pains to protect their Cypriot Rhomaioi subjects from religious coercion. It is also true that a number of Rhomaioi ecclesiastics and laypeople appear to have openly (and perhaps also sincerely) accepted the symbiosis of the two rites under the Papacy; at the same time, they followed the Byzantine rite and criticised coercive attempts of Latinisation (*vide* Leontios Machairas). This strongly suggests that Orthodox identity was shared by Cypriot Rhomaioi who, while not criticising the Western Church for a variety of practical reasons, remained attached to their own liturgical tradition and doctrines. However, the survival of Cypriot Orthodoxy was primarily due to the active concern of men and women, who, though politically and ecclesiastically submitted to the Latins, were willing to defend their faith by challenging the *status quo* in open or covert ways. Indeed, the religious tension that sparked the popular uprisings of 1313, 1360 and 1567 is a clear indication of the solid social basis behind expressions of anti-Latinism and identity preservation. This does not mean that anti-Latinism was part of the very definition of Cypriot Orthodoxy; the multiplicity of reactions, attitudes, perceptions and practices among the Cypriot Rhomaic population highlights the variations of Orthodox identity in Latin-ruled Cyprus, showing that these were shaped by particular circumstances and different contexts.

The examination of hitherto unpublished sources — the *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara* and a *Synaxarion* on their memory; the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots* by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople; the *Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife* by Francis the Cypriot, OFM, and the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* by an anonymous clergyman of the Venetian period— provided crucial new evidence concerning Cypriot Rhomaic, Byzantine and Latin perceptions of Orthodox Cypriot identity and spirituality. The wide chronological spectrum (1191–1571) and methodological approach adopted in the

present thesis enabled the re-evaluation of previous scholarship on the subject, based on a variety of both Greek and Latin literary and archaeological sources, with the help of methodological tools from the fields of social anthropology, psychology, sociology and theology. Consequently, we have seen that the period between 1191 and 1571 was generally characterised by polarisation and depolarisation, religious and socio-cultural interaction, the emergence or strengthening of new identities and the development of identity-preservation mechanisms. By drawing our attention to largely-neglected Western sources, we conclude that revisionist historians were correct in seeing Christianity as a unifying factor among the island's ethno-religious communities.¹³⁸⁶ Indeed, this reality had been often ignored or underplayed in traditionalist portrayals of Cypriot ecclesiastical history for the period of the Latin rule. Yet, to overstress the element of Christian unity is to provide a simplistic interpretation of the complex relationship between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins. What revisionist scholarship failed to see – and what the present thesis has repeatedly emphasised – is encapsulated in the closing lines of Papadopoulos' study on the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the Latins: 'The subjugation of the Church to Latin authority was external and caused by coercion, occasionally culminating in persecution. The [Orthodox] Church of Cyprus managed to preserve intact its doctrinal physiognomy, throughout a period of tribulations which had lasted for almost four centuries'.¹³⁸⁷

The present thesis attempted to provide as comprehensive an account as possible of the Orthodox Church in Latin-ruled Cyprus during the Frankish and Venetian periods. It is inevitable that any historical interpretation is characterised by a degree of subjectivity, particularly in cases where the available sources are fragmented, represent conflicting standpoints and obey the formulas of literary *genres*. This is reflected, for example, in our interpretation of the continuation of Cypriot Rhomaic anti-Latinism in covert ways, despite the lack of explicit references to long-term manifestations of open resistance in the Latin sources and Leontios Machairas' *Chronicle*. Similarly, the Latin criticism of Cypriot Rhomaic religious errors (*vide* the hitherto unpublished *Florilegium*

¹³⁸⁶ See, e.g., Schabel 2006b, 169.

¹³⁸⁷ Papadopoulos 1995b, 664-665: 'Η ύποδούλωση της Ἐκκλησίας στή λατινική ἐξουσία ὑπῆρξε ἐξωτερική, ἀποτέλεσμα ἐξαναγκασμοῦ, ἀποκορυφωθέντος κατὰ καιροῦς σέ διωγμό. Διὰ μέσου δοκιμασιῶν τεσσάρων σχεδόν αἰῶνων ἡ Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου διετήρησε ἀκέραιη τή δογματική της ὑπόστασις'.

on Purgatory and the Afterlife and the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters*) could simply be interpreted as expressions of anti-Rhomaic rhetoric, which are not representative of the cordial contacts between the two communities in daily life. Yet, to underemphasise these anti-Rhomaic references does not contribute to a full evaluation and contextualisation of the dynamics of Byzantine Orthodox tradition in Cyprus. For instance, the Cypriot Rhomaic insistence that only leavened bread could be used in the Eucharist implies a whole set of doctrines, sacramental practices and daily customs (e.g., bread baking), which had been sanctioned by the Orthodox tradition centuries before the Latin conquest and were reaffirmed by the martyrdom of the Monks of Kantara in 1231.

Given the present thesis' geo-chronological scope and methodological limitations, certain aspects were not fully investigated and, thus, remain *desiderata* for future research. A systematic examination of the activities, spirituality and identity of non-Rhomaioi Orthodox Cypriots (including Georgians and Syrian Melkites) and Oriental Christians is an exciting and promising area of research. Admittedly, published sources on these Christian communities appear to be scarce and references to their religious activities mostly come from papal letters, which only occasionally mention expressions of 'obedience' or 'disobedience' towards the Western Church. The lack of a corpus of papal correspondence, which would cover Cypriot ecclesiastical history for the period between the late fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, creates further difficulties for the comprehensive assessment of non-Rhomaic Orthodox and Oriental Christian responses to Latinisation. Moreover, given the Latin attempts to suppress certain aspects of the Oriental Christian tradition (e.g., the Armenian custom of Easter animal sacrifice), we may detect similarities with the Latin prohibition of the Great Entrance prostration. This would suggest that differences in liturgical theology and praxis constituted an area of friction between non-Latin and Latin Christians in Cyprus. Concerning the state of sources for the sixteenth century, the hitherto unpublished *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* provides a cornucopia of information on the Oriental Christian communities of Cyprus, which demonstrates how Venetian archival sources can enrich our understanding of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus. Clearly, if we are to fully comprehend the spirituality and identity of the non-Latin ethno-religious communities

of Cyprus (both Orthodox and Oriental Christians), we have to move beyond the formulaic language of papal correspondence and recognise that obedience to the Papacy could have been not only sincere, but also superficial, particularly when it was undermined by ethnic, social and spiritual reasons. The *Report* will become the subject of an in-depth analysis in a future study.

Finally, the examination of the Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-ruled Cyprus unveils the fluid dynamism of identity preservation and adaptation in the changing conditions created by the Latin conquest and other factors. Our post-modern world –threatened by cultural homogenisation and torn by religious fanaticism, political frictions and socio-economic antagonisms— can hardly afford to ignore the Cypriot Rhomaic example of spiritual, non-coercive and non-violent resistance to socio-political and religious domination and oppression. 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 Medieval church of St George Exorinos in Famagusta, presently under Turkish military occupation since 1974. Its iconostasis, recently restored under the aegis of the Greek-Orthodox Metropolis of Constantia and Famagusta, is decorated with a modern icon of Christ the ‘Deliverer’ (*Ελευθερωτής*). One wonders whether the choice of this particular icon has been intentional, perhaps denoting modern Greek-Cypriot expectations of both spiritual and political deliverance from foreign occupation, which echo a long line of spiritual, non-coercive and non-violent resistance to domination that goes back to the Latin period of Cypriot history.

**The Orthodox Church in Frankish- and Venetian-ruled Cyprus
(1191–1571): Society, Spirituality and Identity**

vol. II

CHRYSOVALANTIS KYRIACOU

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Appendices

Signa typographica

($\alpha\beta\gamma$)	expansion of abbreviations and contractions
[]	lacuna caused by damage to the parchment or paper of the MS
---]	mutilated beginning
[...]	lacuna of three spaces
[.. ¹⁰ lit..]	lacuna of ten spaces
[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]	probable restoration of letters lost in a lacuna in the MS
< $\alpha\beta\gamma$ >	letters not extant in the MS, but supplied by the editor
(?)	doubtful reading, form, or reading of the preceding word
	change of folio

Abbreviationes

<i>alt. lect.</i>	altera lectio	<i>passim</i>	
<i>ante</i>		<i>post</i>	
<i>ante intel.</i>	ante (X) intellige (Y)	<i>post corr.</i>	post correctionem
<i>ante scr.</i>	ante (X) scripsit (Y)	<i>post del.</i>	post delevit
<i>bis acc.</i>	bis accentus	<i>post scr.</i>	post scripsit
<i>ca.</i>	circa	<i>post subscr.</i>	post subscripsit, -tum
<i>cod.</i>	codex	<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>corr.</i>	correctio	<i>spat. vac. ca. 3-4 lit.</i>	spatium vacuum circa 3-4 litteris
<i>cf.</i>	conferre	<i>sscr.</i>	superscripsit, -tum
<i>del.</i>	delevit	<i>subscr.</i>	subscripsit, -tum
<i>dittogr.</i>	dittographia	<i>sup.</i>	supra
<i>dub.</i>	dubium	<i>transp.</i>	transposuit
<i>ex</i>		<i>tit.</i>	titulus
<i>f.</i>	folium	<i>vel</i>	
<i>fon. non inv.</i>	fontem non inveni	<i>vid.</i>	vide
<i>fort.</i>	fortasse		
<i>in marg.</i>	in margine		
<i>incip. mut.</i>	incipit mutavit		
<i>inf.</i>	infra		
<i>intel.</i>	intellige		
<i>lin.</i>	linea		
<i>linn.</i>	lineae		

Sigla sacrae Scripturae

Act.	<i>Actus Apostolorum</i>	Rom.	<i>ad Romanos Epistula</i>
Ap.	<i>Apocalypsis Ioannis liber</i>	Sap.	<i>Sapientia</i>
Bar.	<i>Baruch</i>	2 Thes.	<i>II ad Thessalonicenses Epistula</i>
1 Cor.	<i>I ad Corinthios Epistula</i>	1 Tim.	<i>I ad Timotheum Epistula</i>
2 Cor.	<i>II ad Corinthios Epistula</i>	2 Tim.	<i>II ad Timotheum Epistula</i>
Deut.	<i>Deuteronomium</i>	Tit.	<i>ad Titum Epistula</i>
Eph.	<i>ad Ephesios Epistula</i>		
Ex.	<i>Exodus</i>		
Gal.	<i>ad Galatas Epistula</i>		
Heb.	<i>ad Hebraeos Epistula</i>		
Ier.	<i>Ieremias</i>		
Ioh.	<i>Evangelium secundum Iohannem</i>		
1 Ioh.	<i>I Iohannis Epistula</i>		
Is.	<i>Isaias</i>		
Lev.	<i>Leviticus</i>		
Luc.	<i>Evangelium secundum Lucam</i>		
2 Mac.	<i>II Maccabeorum liber</i>		
Matth.	<i>Evangelium secundum Matthaeum</i>		
Num.	<i>Numeri</i>		
1 Petr.	<i>I Petri Epistula</i>		
2 Petr.	<i>II Petri Epistula</i>		
Phil.	<i>ad Philippenses Epistula</i>		
Ps.	<i>Psalmorum liber</i>		

Abbreviationes apparati fontium

<i>Act. Ioh. XXII</i>	<i>Acta Iohannis XXII</i>	A. L. Tăutu (ed.), <i>Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334)</i> , CICO III.VII.II (Vatican City 1952)
<i>Andr. Caes., Comm. in Ap.</i>	Andreas Caesariensis, <i>Commentarius in Apocalypsin</i>	PG 106, 207-458
<i>Ap. Mar. Virg.</i>	<i>Apocalypsis Mariae Virginis</i>	J. Montague Rhodes (ed.), <i>Apocrypha Anecdota. A collection of thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments</i> , CUP: Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature (Cambridge 1893), 109-126
<i>Ass.</i>	<i>Assizes</i>	P. W. Edbury (ed.), <i>John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises</i> , Brill: The Medieval Mediterranean 50 (Leiden–Boston 2003)
<i>Aug. Hipp., Contr. duas epist. Pel.</i>	Augustinus Hipponensis, <i>Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum libri quattuor</i>	C. F. Urba and J. Zycha (eds), <i>Sancti Aureli Augustini: De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione et de Baptismo Parvulorum ad Marcellinum libri tres; De Spiritu et Littera liber unus; De Natura et Gratia liber unus; De Natura et Origine animae libri quattuor; Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum libri quattuor</i> , Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum LX (Vienna–Leipzig 1913), 421-571
<i>Bas. Caes., Reg.</i>	Basilii Caesariensis, <i>Regulae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ IV, 88-294
<i>Bas. Caes., Serm. Ascet.</i>	Basilii Caesariensis, <i>Sermo Asceticus</i>	PG 31, 869D-883D
<i>Bern. Sagr., Rel.</i>	Bernardo Sagredo, <i>Rellatione</i>	L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), <i>Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan. Documents et mémoires</i> , vol. III, Imprimerie impériale (Paris 1855), 540-556
<i>Bul. Un. Fl.</i>	<i>Bulla Unionis Florentina</i>	G. Hofmann (ed.), <i>Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438–1439 gestis</i> , PIOS: CFDS A.II (Rome 1944), 68-79.176

C		Textus C (<i>vid.</i> Appendix)
Call., <i>Contr. blasph. Lat.</i>	Callistus I Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Contra blasphemus Latinos</i>	C. Païdas (ed.), <i>Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αίρετικοί στο Βυζάντιο κατά τὸν 14^ο αἰώνα. Ἑπτὰ ἀνέκδοτες ὁμιλίες τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄</i> , Kanakis: <i>Κείμενα Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας 6</i> (Athens 2011), 274-337
Call., <i>Contr. Lat. I</i>	Callistus I Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Contra Latinos I</i>	Païdas 2011, 158-191
Call., <i>Contr. Lat. II</i>	Callistus I Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Contra Latinos II</i>	Païdas 2011, 192-229
Call., <i>Contr. Lat. III</i>	Callistus I Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Contra Latinos III</i>	Païdas 2011, 230-273
Can. <i>Apost.</i>	<i>Canones Apostolorum</i>	ΣΘΙΚ II, 1-112
Can. <i>Ars.</i>	<i>Canones pseudo-Concilii Arsinoensis</i>	J. Darrouzès (ed.), 'Textes synodaux chypriotes', <i>REB 37</i> (1979), 74-80, 115-121.10
Conc. <i>Ant.</i>	<i>Concilium Antiochinum</i>	ΣΘΙΚ III, 127-170
Conc. <i>Laod.</i>	<i>Concilium Laodiciae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ III, 171-226
Conc. <i>Quinis.</i>	<i>Concilium Quinisextum</i>	ΣΘΙΚ II, 295-554
D		Textus D (<i>vid.</i> Appendix)
<i>De alt. cons.</i>	<i>De altaris consecratione</i>	G. A. Ioannides (ed.), '«Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ σαλευθεῖσαν Ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν» στὸ κυπριακὸ εὐχολόγιο <i>Barberinianus graecus 390'</i> , <i>EKEE 28</i> (2002), 99-118
<i>De Inv. Cr.</i>	<i>De Inventione Sanctae Crucis</i>	Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), 'Ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιοτάτης ἱστορίας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων. Τὸ κείμενον ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως περὶ ἐπισκέψεως τῆς ἁγίας Ἑλένης εἰς Παλαιστίνην καὶ Κύπρον', <i>Νέα Σιών</i> (1952), 1-30 (offprint)
<i>De Sacr.</i>	<i>De Sacramentis</i>	Darrouzès 1979, 67-73, 97-114.8

DGMC		C. N. Constantinides and R. Browning, <i>Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570</i> , Dumbarton Oaks: Studies XXX–CRC: Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus XVIII (Washington, D.C.–Nicosia 1993)
DP	<i>De Purgatorio Disputationes</i>	L. Petit and G. Hofmann (eds), <i>De Purgatorio disputationes in Concilio Florentino habitae</i> , PIOS: CFDS A.VIII.II (Rome 1969)
Epiph. (dub.), <i>Hom. in div. corp. sep.</i>	Epiphanius Magnus (dub.), <i>Homilia in divini corporis sepulturam</i>	PG 43, 439A-464D
<i>Euch.</i>	<i>Euchologion</i>	J. Goar (ed.), <i>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 Ecclesia</i> (Paris 1647)
Euseb. Caes., <i>De laud. Const.</i>	Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>De laudibus Constantini</i>	I. A. Heikel (ed.), <i>Eusebius Werke: Über das Leben Constantins; Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung; Tricennatsrede an Constantin</i> , vol. I, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1902), 195-223
Euseb. Caes., <i>Dem. Ev.</i>	Eusebius Caesariensis, <i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>	_____, <i>Eusebius Werke: Die Demonstratio Evangelica</i> , vol. VI, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1913)
Germ., <i>Epist. ad Greg.</i>	Germanus II Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Epistula ad Gregorium Papae Romanum</i>	C. N. Sathas (ed.), in MB II, 39-46
Girol. Dand., <i>Miss. Apost.</i>	Girolamo Dandini, <i>Missione Apostolica</i>	Girolamo Dandini, <i>Missione Apostolica al Patriarcha, e Maroniti del Monte Libano</i> (Cesena 1656)
Greg. Mag., <i>Dial. I</i>	Gregorius I Magnus Papa Romanus, <i>Dialogorum liber I</i>	PL 77, 149B-216B

Greg. Naz., <i>Orat. I</i>	Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio I</i>	J. Bernardi (ed.), <i>Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1-3</i> , Cerf: SC 247 (Paris 1978), 72-83
Greg. Naz., <i>Orat. VII</i>	Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio VII</i>	M.-A. Calvet-Sebesti (ed.), <i>Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 6-12</i> , Cerf: SC 405 (Paris 1995), 180-245
Greg. Naz., <i>Orat. VIII</i>	Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio VIII</i>	Calvet-Sebesti 1995, 246-299
Greg. Naz., <i>Orat. XLIII</i>	Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio XLIII</i>	J. Bernardi (ed.), <i>Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42-43</i> , Cerf: SC 384 (Paris 1992), 116-307
Greg. Nyss., <i>Hom. in Cant. Cant.</i>	Gregorius Nyssenus, <i>Homilia in Cantica Canticorum</i>	H. Langerbeck (ed.), <i>Gregorii Nysseni, In Canticum Canticorum</i> , Brill: Gregorii Nysseni Opera VI (Leiden 1986)
Greg. Nyss., <i>Orat. Cat.</i>	Gregorius Nyssenus, <i>Oratio Catechetica</i>	E. Mühlenberg (ed.), <i>Gregorii Nysseni, Oratio Catechetica</i> , Brill: Gregorii Nysseni Opera III (Opera Minora, Pars IV) (Leiden–New York–Cologne 1996)
Greg. Nyss., <i>Ref.</i>	Gregorius Nyssenus, <i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i>	W. Jaeger (ed.), <i>Contra Eunomium Libri. Pars Altera: Liber III (Vulgo III-XII), Refutatio confessionis Eunomii (vulgo lib. II)</i> , Brill: Gregorii Nysseni Opera II (Leiden 1960), 312-410
Greg. Pal., <i>Pro Hesych.</i>	Gregorius Palamas, <i>Pro Hesychastis</i>	P. K. Chrestou (ed.), <i>Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα 2: Λόγοι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερώς ἡσυχάζοντων</i> , E. G. Meterakis (rev.), Πατερικαὶ Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς: Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας 54 (Thessalonica 1962, ² 1999)
<i>Hor.</i>	<i>Horologion</i>	B. Koutloumousianos of Imbros, <i>Ωρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα</i> , S. I. Zerbos (Venice ⁷ 1851)
Ioh. Chrys., <i>Adv. Jud. VI</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>Adversus Judaeos oratio VI</i>	PG 48, 903-916
Ioh. Chrys., <i>De Virg.</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>De Virginitate</i>	H. Musurillo (ed.), <i>Jean Chrysostome, La Virginité</i> , Cerf: SC 125 (Paris 1966)
Ioh. Chrys., <i>Div. Lit.</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>Divina Liturgia</i>	C. E. Hammond (ed.), <i>Liturgies Eastern and Western, being a reprint of the texts, either original or translated, of the most representative liturgies of the Church, from</i>

various sources, Clarendon Press (Oxford 1878), 82-105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131

Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. ad Hebr. hom. XXVIII</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam ad Hebraeos homilia XXVIII</i>	PG 63, 191-202
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. II ad Cor. hom. X</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam II ad Corinthios homilia X</i>	PG 61, 465-474
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. ad Phil. hom. III</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam II ad Philippenses hom. III</i>	PG 62, 197-206
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. ad Rom. hom. XV</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam ad Romanos homilia XV</i>	PG 60, 539-548
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. ad Rom. hom. XXV</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam ad Romanos homilia XXV</i>	PG 60, 627-638
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In epist. II ad Tim. hom. IX</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In epistulam II ad Timotheum homilia IX</i>	PG 62, 649-656
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In Matth. hom. V</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In Matthaeum homilia V</i>	PG 57, 55-62
Ioh. Chrys., <i>In Matth. hom. XLII</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus, <i>In Matthaeum homilia XLII</i>	PG 57, 451-456
Ioh. Chrys. (dub.), <i>In par. Sam.</i>	Iohannes Chrysostomus (dub.), <i>In parabolam Samaritani</i>	PG 11, 755-758
Ioh. Clim., <i>Sc. Parad.</i>	Iohannes Climacus, <i>Scala Paradisi</i>	Archimandrite Ignatios (ed.), <i>Τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σιναΐτου, Κλίμαξ</i> (Holy Monastery of Paraklētōs, 1978, ²2002)
Ioh. Dam. (dub.), <i>Orat. de his qui in fide</i>	Iohannes Damascenus (dub.), <i>Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt</i>	P. G. Nikolopoulos (ed.), <i>Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ (;), Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων, μετὰ φρασὶς εἰς τὴν</i>

<i>dorm.</i>		κυπριακήν διάλεκτον, CRC: Publications XXVIII (Nicosia 2000) (<i>vid.</i> PG 95, 247-278)
<i>Lit. Arm.</i>	<i>Liturgia Armenorum</i>	Hammond 1878, 132-168
<i>Mac. Calor., Coloph. Poet.</i>	Macarius Calorites, <i>Colophon Poeticus</i>	G. Mercati (ed.), 'Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès', <i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> 22 (1921-1921), 190-191.1
<i>Narr.</i>	<i>Narratio passionis Sanctorum XIII Patrum Kantarae</i>	Th. Papadopoulos (ed.), 'Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων', in <i>TAAB</i> , 307-338
<i>Neoph., De Conc.</i>	Neophytus Inclusus, <i>De Conciliis</i>	C. N. Constantinides (ed.) in <i>ΣΑΝ V</i> , 249-255, 279-287
<i>Neoph. De Inord. I-II</i>	Neophytus Inclusus, <i>De Inordinatis I-II</i>	A. Karpozilos (ed.) in <i>ΣΑΝ V</i> , 424-433
<i>Neoph., Reg.</i>	Neophytus Inclusus, <i>Regulae</i>	I. E. Stephanes (ed.) in <i>ΣΑΝ II</i> , 54-66.23
<i>Nestle-Aland</i>		Nestle E. et al. (eds), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart 1898, 272006)
<i>Nic. Patr., Reg.</i>	Nicephorus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, <i>Regulae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ IV, 427-431
<i>Nic., Ped.</i>	Nicodemus (et Agapius Hagioritae), <i>Pedalion</i>	<Agapios the Hieromonk and> Nikodemos the Monk, <i>Eis dóξαν Patrós, Yioũ kai ágiou Pneúmatos tou énoũ Θεοũ Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηός, τῆς μίας, άγίας, καθολικῆς, και άποστολικῆς τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας</i> (Athens 21841; 1 st edn: Leipzig 1800)
<i>Pent.</i>	<i>Pentekostarion</i>	<i>Πεντηκοστάριον χαρμόσυνον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάσχα μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων Κυριακῆς ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῶ ἀκολουθίαν περιέχον ἐπὶ τέλους δὲ και τὰ ἑωθινὰ Εὐαγγέλια τὰ ἐν τῶ ὀρθρῶ ἐκάστης τῶν ἐν τῶ μεταξὺ τούτῳ ἑορτῶν ἀναγινωσκόμενα</i> (Rome 1883)
<i>Petr. Alex., Reg.</i>	Petrus Patriarcha Alexandrinus, <i>Regulae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ IV, 14-44
<i>Ph. Mez., Vita Petr. Thom.</i>	Philippus Mezieris, <i>Vita Sancti Petri Thomae</i>	J. Smet (ed.), <i>The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières</i> , Institutum Carmelitanum (Rome 1954)

Ps-Cyr. Hier., <i>Ad Aug.</i>	Pseudo-Cyrillus Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, <i>Ad Augustinum epistula</i>	PL 33, 1128-1153
Ps-Dion., <i>De Coel. Hier.</i>	Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, <i>De Coelesti Hierarchia</i>	G. Heil and A. M. Ritter (eds), <i>Corpus Dionysiacum. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De Coelesti Hierarchia; De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia; De Mystica Theologia; Epistulae</i> , vol. II, De Gruyter: Patristische Texte und Studien XXXVI (Berlin–New York 1991), 5-59
Ps-Dion., <i>De Eccles. Hier.</i>	Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, <i>De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia</i>	Heil and Ritter, 61-132
Ps-Dion., <i>Epist. ad Dem.</i>	Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, <i>Epistula ad Demophilo monacho</i>	Heil and Ritter, 171-192.8
Rahlfs		A. Rahlfs (ed.), <i>Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes</i> , 2 vols (Stuttgart 1935, ⁵ 1952)
<i>Rit. Arm.</i>	<i>Rituale Armenorum</i>	F. C. Conybeare (ed.) and A. J. Maclean (trans.), <i>Rituale Armenorum, being the administration of the sacraments and the breviary rites of the Armenian Church, together with the Greek rites of Baptism and Epiphany edited from the oldest MSS. and the East Syrian Epiphany rites</i> , Clarendon Press (Oxford 1905)
SN	<i>Synodicum Nicosiense</i>	C. D. Schabel (ed.), <i>The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373</i> , CRC: Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XXXIX (Nicosia 2001), 87-273
Steph. Lus., <i>Chor.</i>	Stephanus Lusinianus, <i>Chorograffia</i>	Steffano Lusignano, <i>Chorograffia</i> , Th. Papadopoullos et al. (ed. and comm.), ΠΙΤΚ: Κυπριολογική Βιβλιοθήκη 10A (Nicosia ² 2004; 1 st edn: Bologna 1573)
Steph. Lus., <i>Descr.</i>	Stephanus Lusinianus, <i>Descriptio Cypri</i>	Estienne de Lusignan, <i>Description de toute l'isle de Cypre</i> , Th. Papadopoullos (ed.) and G. Grivaud (intr.), ΠΙΤΚ: Κυπριολογική Βιβλιοθήκη 10B (Paris 1580; phot. repr. Nicosia 2004)
Sym. Thess., <i>De</i>	Symeon Thessalonicensis, <i>De</i>	PG 155, 515B-536B

<i>sacr. rit. Euch.</i>	<i>sacro ritu Euchelaei</i>	
<i>Sym. Thess., De Sacr.</i>	<i>Symeon Thessalonicensis, De Sacramentis</i>	PG 155, 175D-238B
<i>Syn. con. Bec.</i>	<i>Synodicum contra Iohannem XI Beccum Patriarcham Constantinopolitanus</i>	V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès (eds), <i>Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273–1277)</i> , IFEB: Archives de l'Orient chrétien 16 (Paris 1976), 574-588.27
<i>Syn. Orth.</i>	<i>Synodicum Orthodoxiae</i>	J. Gouillard (ed.), 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire', <i>TM</i> 2 (1967), 1-316
<i>Tim. Alex., Resp.</i>	<i>Timotheus Patriarcha Alexandrinus, Responsiones canonicae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ IV, 331-341
<i>Theod. Bal., Ad Marc.</i>	<i>Theodorus Balsamon, Responsio ad Marcum Patriarcham Alexandriae</i>	ΣΘΙΚ IV, 447-496
<i>Theod. Cyr., Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Theodoretus Cyrrensis, Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	L. Parmentier (ed.), <i>Theodoret, Kirchengeschichte</i> , J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1911)
<i>Theod. Stud., Cat.</i>	<i>Theodorus Studita, Catechesis Chronica</i>	PG 99, 1693-1704A
<i>Triod.</i>	<i>Triodion</i>	G. Blastos (ed.), <i>Τριώδιον. Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τετύποται Ἐνετίησιν, παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Τζανέτου, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθῶσει, Γεωργίου ἱερέως τοῦ Βλαστοῦ</i> (Venice 1586; no page numb.)
<i>Vit. Theod. Aug.</i>	<i>(Georgius Monachus?), Vita Theodoraе Augustae</i>	A. Markopoulos (ed.), 'Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (BHG 1731)', <i>BS</i> 5 (1983), 249-285

Appendix I

Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara and a Synaxarion on their memory

Commentary

[A.1] MS Description and Principles of the Edition

MS *Vaticanus graecus* 1409 is a miscellaneous codex that comprises various texts of historical, literary and ecclesiastical interest. These include: the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manassēs, political verses by Michael Psellos, the works of Gregory of Nyssa, Anastasios of Sinai and Eustathios of Thessalonica and a dossier of anti-Latin documents. Several texts of Cypriot provenance and interest form a special group, comprising the *Confession of faith of the Monks of Kantara*, a *Synaxarion* on their memory and the correspondence between Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) and Patriarch Germanos II (1223–1240) in the aftermath of the Monks' martyrdom in 1231.¹³⁸⁸

The compilation of the anti-Latin material in fols 239^r-268^v most probably dates during the reign of Michael VIII (1261–1282), and more specifically, around the time of the Council of Lyons (1274), or soon after the Emperor's death in 1282.¹³⁸⁹ The codex consists of 281 fols (257x190 mm)¹³⁹⁰ copied by several scribes.¹³⁹¹ The descriptions of the codex by Karl-Heinz Uthemann and Silvia Ronchey provide different information on the physical description of the MS; we shall limit our examination to fols 239^r-239^v, which contain the hitherto unpublished *Confession* and the *Synaxarion*.¹³⁹²

¹³⁸⁸ Sathas' (1873, ρικε', 39-49) edition of Germanos' letter to Gregory and the Greek text of Gregory's response to Germanos is based on MS *Marcianus graecus* 545.








¹³⁸⁹ Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 53; Uthemann 1983, 653.

¹³⁹⁰ The dimensions are given as in Ronchey 1991, 151. On the other hand, Uthemann 1983, 640, gives 245x170 mm.

¹³⁹¹ At least nine different scribes, according to Ronchey 1991, 150, who, nevertheless, gives no additional information. Uthemann 1983, 641-642 notes that the codex comprises six different parts and was copied by four scribes. Ronchey, on the other hand, mentions only two parts: Ronchey 1991, 151. According to Uthemann (1983, 641), the script in part IV, containing ff. 239^r-239^v, is identical to that of parts I and VI.

¹³⁹² Papadopoulos in Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, 315 (n. 37), noted that Constantinos Chatzipsaltes had delivered 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.

The recto folio contains 39 lines and the verso 25. The scribe used sepia ink. The abbreviated Ση(μείωσαι) in the left-hand margin before καὶ (in line 5), the date of the Monks' martyrdom (in line 81) and the major initial M (for Μνήμη in line 81) are written in red ink. On the right-hand corner of f. 239^r, a later hand numbered the folio as '339' in sepia ink; the number was later corrected, in pencil, to '239'. On the top right-hand margin of the folio, a later hand wrote 'Vido'. The paper is generally in good condition, though the margins on the left-hand edge and the top of the recto have been torn and repaired.

The script on the right-hand side of the recto and the left-hand side of the verso is faded and both pages are stained. The text is written in blocks, without paragraph division, by a calligraphic hand using mixed minuscule. The letters are small and slightly sloping to the right, and the ductus is thin. The scribe uses a horizontal stroke over proper names and elongates his Γ, while β, ε, λ, ο, τ, υ and φ are often enlarged. The hyphen is used to denote syllabic division in the case of φανερωσαι, which is written at the end of a line in the MS (see line 54 of the edition). The scribe ligatures his κ (which resembles the Latin *h*) and ο without lifting his pen (e.g., ἄκοντες in line 74: ). Similarly, the ligature ψευδος (60) is formed by the letters ψ, ε, υ and δ and the abbreviation for -ος (). Letters ε and μ form a distinctive ligature in ἥρεμον (Σ in line 95). The scribe makes extensive use of syllabic abbreviations (including  for -αν, // for -εiv,  for -εν,  for -ης, \\ for -όν, ο for -ος,  for -ους and  for -ων) and *nomina sacra* (e.g., the contracted form of the formula ὁ Κ(ύριος) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστ)τ(ός) in lines 18-19; Θ(εο)ῦ in line 53; Θ(εὸ)ς in line 54; and Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν in lines 58-59).

The scribe uses round forms of the smooth and rough breathings (Ϻ, ϻ), as well as enlarged forms of the acute, grave and circumflex (ϳ, ϴ, ϵ), which are sometimes joined to breathings (e.g., ϳ and ϴ). Several punctuation marks are used to indicate various degrees of pause, including the comma (,), middle comma (Ͽ), lower (⋅), middle (⋅) and upper point (⋅) and full stop (: and ⋮). The scribe also makes occasional use of the double dot over *iota* (ι̇) and *upsilon* (υ̇) in the beginning (e.g., Χρι̇στιανοι), or the middle (e.g., Τερεμ̇ιας and κη̇ρυκες) of words, as well as occasional use of the *iota* subscript to denote the dative case.

The scribe is very careful and generally avoids grammatical and syntactical mistakes. In line 5, the acute over *ἐπειδὴ* is corrected to grave.

The edition below largely preserves the various grammatical and syntactical forms in the codex, occasionally introducing corrections in the orthography of the text and recording the 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 MS 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.

[A.2] Structure and content

[A.2.1] *The Confession of faith of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara*: [I.1] The beginning of the text is mutilated. The Monks confess their willingness to die countless times for their faith and argue that the sacramental use of unleavened bread is not part of the Orthodox Christian tradition. They state that they had initially no intention to discuss with the Latins the sacramental use of unleavened bread, but were invited to do so, which led them to confess the true teaching of the Church on the subject. They also remind the Latins that Christ did not come to abolish but to fulfill the Mosaic Law (Mt 5:17). [I.2] The advocates of unleavened sacramental bread argue that their practice follows the example of Christ. In reality, they are following the Jewish customs; they might as well be circumcised, against the warnings of St Paul (Gal 5:2) that circumcision is no good for Christians. In other words, the Mosaic Law is not higher than the fulfilled and revised Law of Christ. The Latins do not accurately practise the Mosaic Law, since they use unleavened bread in the Eucharist on a daily basis, while the Jews use it only during the Passover week (Lev 23:4-8). Therefore, the Latins are neither Christians, nor Jews, but a hybrid group outside the Orthodox tradition, which emphasises that the Body and Blood of Christ are both living and life-giving. The Monks propose a trial by fire to prove the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread. However, in case the Latins continue to refuse their proposal and want to unjustly execute them, the Monks are willing to accept martyrdom. They state that the actions of every man will eventually be judged by God and that their *Confession of Faith*

will serve as an apology for their actions and beliefs. [I.3] The Monks express the hope that their *Confession* will be known to all Orthodox Christians after their death. Moreover, they stress their readiness to sacrifice their lives and point out that their apology does not express their personal views, but follows the official theological line of the Orthodox Church. Finally, the date of the martyrdom is noted (Monday, 19 May 1231).

[A.2.2] A *Synaxarion* on the Thirteen Monks of Kantara: [II.I] The *Synaxarion* introduces the Monks and praises their virtues; [II.2] it closes with a description of the Monks' sufferings during their incarceration and martyrdom.

[A.3] Context, Date and Author

The *Kantara Narrative* mentions that on 19 May 1231, Master Andrew, the public prosecutor of the Monks, presented to King Henry I (1218–1253/4) the Monks' *Confession*, which proved that despite their three-year incarceration, they continued to remain unrepentant and refused to accept the canonical validity of both leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist.¹³⁹³ It is the same *Confession* that MS *Vaticanus graecus* 1409 preserves. Although the beginning of the text is mutilated, there is no doubt that the authorship of the text should be attributed to the Monks, due to the consistent use of the first person plural. The *Confession* should be dated in 1231, on the third year of the Monks' imprisonment (lines 75-76 state that they had already been tried thrice),¹³⁹⁴ and more specifically on 19 May 1231; the date is written at the end of the text (in lines 80-81).¹³⁹⁵

It should also be noted that the literary style of the *Confession* presents similarities with a poetic colophon composed in prison by one of the Monks, Makarios-Maximus the

¹³⁹³ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 336.4-6: ἀναγγέλλει Ἀνδρέας ἀντῶ πάντα κατ' ἔπος τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν, δεικνύων ἀντῶ καὶ ὧν ὁμολόγουν ἐγγράφως καὶ τὸ ἀμετάτρεπτον τῶν τοσοῦτων χρόνων, ὧν ἐπιέζοντο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. On the context of the Monks' martyrdom see above, 56-66.

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 331.28-332.2.

¹³⁹⁵ *Contra* Uthemann 1983, 648, who notes that the date should refer to the *Synaxarion* following the *Confession*. Examples of letters and legal documents that bear their date of composition at the end of the text can be found in *GBUZ*, e.g., at 151.2.37-38, 151.3.17, 152.4.18, 154.5.46, 157.9.27, 170.19.26, 172.20.52-53.

Kalorite, who might have been the principle author of the *Confession*.¹³⁹⁶ It is highly likely that the anonymous author of the *Kantara Narrative* knew the Monks' *Confession* and used it to compose his own work in the late thirteenth century. Indeed, there are several corresponding passages between the two texts and even *verbatim* quotations of the *Confession* in the *Narrative* (see the *apparatus* of our edition).

The *Confession* is an apology for the Monks' rejection of the canonical validity of unleavened bread, based on the Orthodox interpretation of Scriptures and the holy canons. The Monks' basic arguments are five: (a) the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist is even worse than Jewish practices, since it misinterprets the Mosaic Law; (b) only leavened bread can be transformed into the living and life-giving Body of Christ; (c) the exclusive canonical validity of leavened bread can be proved in a trial by fire; (d) the Monks' incarceration and abuse by the Latins is unfair, because the Latins do not care about the truth, but they have already decided to execute them and (e) the Monks repeatedly state that they had no intention to discuss this thorny subject with the Latins, but they had been invited by them to do so, thus defending their faith with sincerity.

The second text comprises an encomiastic presentation of the Thirteen Monks and a detailed description of their martyrdom in the form of a *synaxarion*.¹³⁹⁷ The author of the *Synaxarion* remains anonymous, though we may assume that he might have received ecclesiastical training, for he masterfully associates the Monks' names with virtues of Orthodox (hesychast) asceticism (e.g., *Τερεμίας ὁ τὸν ὄντως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὑφηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος*·

¹³⁹⁶ Lines 69-77: *Καὶ μήτε ὑπολάβῃ ὅτι ἐξ ἀθαρθείας ἡμῶν ἢ οἰκείας γνώμης πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα ἀντοκλήτως καὶ ταῦτα ἐλέξαμεν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καταλαβόντες καὶ περὶ τούτων πολλὰ βιασάμενοι, κρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἠβουλήθημεν· κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐγχωροῦν καὶ ὅσον ὁ Θεὸς ἐχορήγησεν· ἄκοντες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους καταγαγόντες· καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος αὐτῶν παραστήσαντες, καὶ δὶς καὶ τρίς καὶ πολλάκις ἐρωτηθέντες· καὶ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς τυραννήσαντες, ἐξ ἡμῶν αἰτία τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐγένετο; cf. Makarios the Kalorite, *Fragments*, ed. Mercati, 190.1.39-191.1.56: *Ὡς γὰρ ἤμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει/ καθεζόμενοι ἡσύχως, / ἰδὺο τῶν Λατίνων ἤλθον/ θέλοντες διαλεχθῆναι./ Ἡμεῖς δὲ γε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τε/ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπόντες/ καὶ ἀληθινὴν τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἡμῶν ὁμολογοῦντες, / <Iac.> / προὔδωκαν ἡμᾶς ἐκ φθόνου/ πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν τούτων./ <Iac.> / αὐθις δὲ καταλαβόντες/ καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πάντων/ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀληθείας/ λόγον εἶπαμεν οἱ πάντες/ <Iac.>/ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες τί δρᾶσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀμετρήτου φθόνου./ Ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοὺς πάντας ὡς δυνάσται καὶ κρατοῦσιν.**

¹³⁹⁷ In terms of form, the *Synaxarion* is similar to a brief memorial note in the *diplomatarium* of *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 367, which describes the martyrdom and theological position of the Monks and gives the date of their execution: *GBUZ*, 240.23.

Γρηγόριος ὁ ὄντως γρήγορος ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως ὁμολογητῆς in lines 96-98).¹³⁹⁸

The names of the Monks in the *Synaxarion* do not fully correspond to the names given by the *Kantara Narrative*. *Μάρκων* in line 86 raises questions concerning the correct form of the Monk's name, since the *Narrative* delivers *Μᾶρκος*.¹³⁹⁹ It is rather unlikely that *Μάρκων* is an error, for the scribe of fols 239^r-239^v avoids similar mistakes. Although one may argue that the scribe copied exactly what he had seen in his exemplar, delivering *Μάρκων* for *Μᾶρκος*, it is plausible to consider *Μάρκων* as a valid variation of *Μᾶρκος*. Indeed, this specific onomastic form is attested in other sources, as well.¹⁴⁰⁰

The majority of Monks are mentioned in the *Synaxarion* by the name they had received as *μεγαλόσχημοι* (monks of the order of the 'Great Habit'): Konōn, John, Mark, Maximus, Theoktistos, Barnabas, Jeremiah, Joseph, Gerasimos and Germanos. Clement son of Pankalos¹⁴⁰¹ (later Cyril), and Theodore-Theodōrētōs (later Theognōstos) are probably mentioned by the names they had received as monks of the 'Lesser Habit' (*μικρόσχημοι*). Ignatios-Gennadios is not mentioned in the *Synaxarion*, though we do find a certain Gregory, who is most probably identified as the aforementioned Gerasimos. If this is correct, then Gregory-Gerasimos is mentioned twice in the *Synaxarion* as two different people, while his brother, Ignatios-Gennadios, is omitted.¹⁴⁰² Papadopoulos' edition of the *Narrative* mentions that Basil had been initially renamed Barlaam (as a monk of the 'Lesser Habit') and later Barnabas (as a monk of the 'Great Habit').¹⁴⁰³ Thus, the *Narrative's* reference that Barnabas had been renamed Barlaam should perhaps be considered as an error on the part of the scribe,

¹³⁹⁸ Cf. the *oikos* of the *kontakion* in the modern service of the Monks in *KM* (May), 139.

¹³⁹⁹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 320.12, 332.29. The *Synodikon against Bekkos* in Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 576.10.29, delivers *Μάρκων*, which is genitive singular for both *Μάρκων* and *Μᾶρκος*.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See e.g., Markōn the Hymnographer in Fabricius 1737, 136 (corrected to Markos by Fabricius). Two Cypriot examples are mentioned in Darrouzès 1950, 168 (Bishop Markōn Pantimos of Arsinoē) and Darrouzès 1951c, 33 (Markōn the *hieromonk* and *nomikos* in f. 94^v); cf. Darrouzès 1951a, 99, 101 (Bishop Marchōn Pantimos of Arsinoē).

¹⁴⁰¹ This is probably his monastic, rather than his baptismal name (cf. Joseph son of Leo).

¹⁴⁰² See lines 84-101.

¹⁴⁰³ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 320.13 (mentioned as Barnabas), 321.25-322.19 (Basil renamed Barlaam), 330.29-331.2 (mentioned as Barnabas).

which seems to have escaped Papadopoulos' notice.¹⁴⁰⁴ Indeed, the *Synaxarion* only delivers the name Barnabas, which must have been the correct form of the Monk's name after his tonsure to the 'Great Habit'.¹⁴⁰⁵ The following tables demonstrate the onomastic differences between the *Narrative* and the *Synaxarion*:

Pre-monastic name	1 st monastic name (‘Lesser Habit’- <i>mikroschēmoi</i>)	2 nd monastic name (‘Great Habit’- <i>megaloschēmoi</i>)
-	-	John
-	-	Konōn
-	Matthew	Mark
Theodore	Thomas	Theoktistos
Basil	Barlaam	Barnabas
-	Clement son of Pankalos	Cyril
-	-	Jeremiah
Michael	Makarios	Maximus
Theodore	Theodōrētos	Theognōstos
John	Hilariōn	Joseph
-	Gerontios	Germanos
-	Gregory	Gerasimos
-	Ignatios	Gennadios

Table 1. The Monks according to the *Kantara Narrative*

Pre-monastic name	1 st monastic name (‘Lesser Habit’- <i>mikroschēmoi</i>)	2 nd monastic name (‘Great Habit’- <i>megaloschēmoi</i>)
-	-	Konōn
-	-	John
-	-	Markōn
-	Clement son of Pankalos	-
-	-	Maximus
-	Theodōrētos	-
-	-	Theoktistos
-	-	Barnabas
-	-	Jeremiah
-	Gregory	-
-	-	Joseph son of Leo
-	-	Gerasimos
-	-	Germanos

Table 2. The Monks according to the *Synaxarion*

The names of the Monks in the *Synaxarion* can also be found in the same order and with the confusing statement concerning Gregory-Gerasimos and the omission of

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 332.30.

¹⁴⁰⁵ See lines 94-95. Theoktistos, Barnabas' brother, is also mentioned by his name as monk of the 'Great Habit'.

Ignatios-Gennadios in a *synodikon* against John XI Bekkos, the well-known unionist Ecumenical Patriarch (1275–1282) at the time of the Second Council of Lyons (1274). The *Synodikon* is attributed to Germanos II (1223–1240); in its present form it could probably be dated around 1285, or perhaps even earlier, in 1274.¹⁴⁰⁶

The *Synodikon* mentions the Monks of Kantara as ‘true martyrs and confessors and champions of Orthodoxy’ (τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀσιομαρτύρων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προμάχων).¹⁴⁰⁷ Perhaps the author of the Constantinopolitan *Synodikon* had used the Cypriot *Synaxarion* as his source, rather than *vice versa*. The following table presents the names of the Monks in the *Synodikon*:

Pre-monastic name	1 st monastic name (‘Lesser Habit’- <i>mikroschēmoi</i>)	2 nd monastic name (‘Great Habit’- <i>megaloschēmoi</i>)
-	-	Konōn
-	-	John
-	-	Mark or Markōn ¹⁴⁰⁸
-	Clement	-
-	-	Maximus
-	Theodōrētos	-
-	-	Theoktistos
-	-	Barnabas
-	-	Jeremiah
-	Gregory	-
-	-	Joseph
-	-	Gerasimos
-	-	Germanos

Table 3. The Monks according to the *Synodikon against Bekkos*

It is quite possible that the author of the *Synaxarion* based his account on eyewitness testimonies. Indeed, the *Synaxarion* provides new information which does not appear in other sources. Joseph’s father is mentioned as ‘Leo’ (in line 98) and the syntax of the sentence (lines 98-99) suggests that he was *προσμονάριος* (‘concierge’) in the monastery of the ‘most blessed Virgin’ (probably identified with the monastery of Pallouriōssa). On the other hand, the *Narrative* mentions John-Hilariōn-Joseph as *προσμονάριος* of the Virgin’s monastery.¹⁴⁰⁹ We may assume that this piece of information is either incorrect —perhaps due to a syntactical error in the scribe’s

¹⁴⁰⁶ Laurent and Darrouzès 1976, 128-132. If the *Synodikon* indeed dates around 1285, then the reference to the Thirteen Monks could be associated with the Cypriot Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory II (1283–1289).

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 576.10.29-33.

¹⁴⁰⁸ The genitive singular *Μάρκου* could be a form for either *Μάρκων* or *Μάρκος*.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Anonymous, *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers*, ed. Papadopoulos, 323.23-24.

exemplar (i.e., use of the genitive case instead of the nominative)— or that both Leo and his son Joseph had been *προσμονάριοι* of the aforementioned monastery.

Despite the fact that the *Synaxarion* praises the Monks as ‘adamantine towers’ (*ἀδαμάντινοι πύργοι* in line 108), which suggests the author’s familiarity with the *Narrative* or *vice versa*,¹⁴¹⁰ the description of the tortures endured by the Monks before their public burning (in lines 111-119) is more extensive than in the *Narrative*.¹⁴¹¹ Although one may argue that the author of the *Synaxarion* wished to enhance the dramatic atmosphere of his heroes’ martyrdom, there seems to be nothing legendary or epic in the description of the Monks’ sufferings. Another detail in the *Synaxarion* supports the view that the anonymous author enriched his narrative with eyewitness testimonies. The *Synaxarion* notes that the Monks had been led by their executioners to the far end of Nicosia (*ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ Λευκουσίας* in lines 111-112), before being stoned and tied behind horses in order to be dragged across Pediaios. This piece of information seems to confirm previous scholarly assumptions concerning the veneration of the Monks in association with the area of ‘Holy Confessors’ (*Ἅγιοι Ὁμολογητές*), which had been located at the far end of Medieval Nicosia.¹⁴¹²

It is noteworthy that the author of the *Synaxarion* underlines the ‘angelic’ status of the Monks as bearers of the *μέγα σχῆμα*, the highest order of Orthodox monasticism, and places emphasis on their brutal and humiliating treatment by the Latins, who had stripped them from their ‘holy and angelic habits and hoods’ (*ἄραντες οἱ ὑπηρέται τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀγγελικὰ αὐτῶν σχήματα καὶ κουκούλια* in lines 111-113), before delivering them to public tortures and death.¹⁴¹³

The *Synaxarion* is probably dated around the time of the composition of the *Narrative* and the *Synodikon against Bekkos*, namely towards the end of the thirteenth century, though an earlier date —during the patriarchate of Germanos II— should not be excluded. Its aim was to preserve memories of the Monks and their martyrdom and to facilitate their transmission, perhaps in a liturgical context. We may assume that the author was Cypriot. Both the *Synaxarion* and the *Monks’ Confession* found their way

¹⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 332.11: *ἀδάμαντες τῆ ψυχῆ*.

¹⁴¹¹ Ibid., 336.11-337.18.

¹⁴¹² See above, 113.

¹⁴¹³ See above, 61-62.

outside Cyprus and were incorporated by Byzantine Orthodox anti-unionists into the miscellaneous codex *Vaticanus graecus* 1409. This shows that both texts served the anti-unionist struggle of the Byzantine Orthodox camp against Michael VIII, John Bekkos and the Latins.

[I.1] ---] καὶ κρατοῦμεν καὶ λειτουργοῦμεν· καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ
ὁμολογοῦμεν· κὰν μυρίους θανάτους δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμᾶς τὴν
τοιαύτην ἡμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα· καὶ εἴ τις ἔξω τῶν τοῦ
Κυρίου παραδόσεων κρατεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων, καὶ
5 τῶν ἁγίων πάντων, Χριστιανὸς ὀρθόδοξος οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ
περὶ τοῦ ἄζυμου ἡμᾶς ἐρωτᾶτε, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἤλθομεν διαλέγεσθαι
περὶ τούτου· οὐδὲ ἠθέλομεν ἔχειν συντυχίας μετὰ τινος· ἀλλ' ἡ
μόνον, περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν μεριμνᾶν· ἐπεὶ δε ἐρωτῶμεθα
περὶ τούτων, ἀπολογοῦμεθα ἀδιστακτικῶς καὶ χωρὶς πάσης
10 ὑποκρίσεως· οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τι συνιστῶντες ἢ γράφοντες· ἀλλὰ
καθὼς γράφει ἡ θεία Γραφή. Λοιπὸν ἀκούσατε ἐπιμελῶς διὰ
λόγου προφορικοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαβαίνοντος καθάπερ καὶ αἱ θείαι
Γραφαὶ βεβαιοῦσι, καὶ μὴ σπεύδετε πράττειν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον
Κυρίου· ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον πολλὰ πολλὰ μεταμεληθῆτε καὶ οὐδὲν
15 ὠφελῆσει· 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·
20 καθὰ δὴ καὶ τῷ Βαπτιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ φησίν· Ἄφες ἄρτι· οὕτω γὰρ
πρέπον ἐστὶ πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν οἰκονομίαν· καὶ ἐβαπτίσατο ὁ
καθαρὸς καὶ ἀμόλυντος ὁ μὴ χρῆζων καθάρσεως. [I.2] Ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὀκταήμερος περιετμήθη· ὁ δὲ μέγας ἀπόστολος Παῦλος βοᾷ· Ἐὰν
περιτεμνησθε, Χριστὸς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὠφελῆσει· ὥστε οἱ δοκοῦντες τὸ
25 ἄζυμον ἀσφαλῶς κρατεῖν καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν διὰ τὸ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ
Χριστός, καὶ περιτεμνέσθωσαν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαίους
ἐξακολουθεῖτε, ἵνα τί ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα καθ' ἑκάστην
μεταλαμβάνετε ἡμέραν καὶ ἑορτήν; Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄζυμον, ἐνιαύσιον
ἐτελεῖτο· καὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ μόναίς ἡμέραις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦτο ἤσθιον·
30 ὥστε οἱ τὸ ἄζυμον βουλόμενοι ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως
ποιεῖτω[σαν]· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι παραδεδομένον παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

2-15. κὰν-ὠφελῆσει] cf. *Narr.*, 327.5, 334.5-17; *Germ., Epist. ad Greg.*, 43 — 14-15. οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσει] *Gal.* 5:2 — 19. οὐκ-πληρῶσαι] *Matth.* 5:17 — 20-21. Ἄφες-οἰκονομίαν] cf. *Matth.* 3:15 — 22-23. ἀλλὰ-περιετμήθη] *Luc.* 2:21 — 23-24. Ἐὰν-ὠφελῆσει] *Gal.* 5:2 — 28-29. καὶ-ἤσθιον] cf. *Lev.* 23:4-8

1. *Incip. mut. cod.* — 5. *post corr. (ex ἐπειδὴ) cod.* — *ante καὶ scr.* Ση(μείωσαι) *in marg. cod.*

ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, Χριστιανὸς ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογήσαι τοῦτο
ὡς σῶμα Χριστοῦ οὐ δύναται ἢ προσάξει· ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα Γραφή
θεόπνευστος καὶ αἱ συνοδικαὶ ἅγιοι βίβλοι, οὕτως φασίν· οἱ τὰ
35 Σάββατα μετὰ τῶν ἀζύμων φυλάττοντες καὶ λέγοντες Χριστιανοὶ
εἶναι, καταψεύδονται· οὔτε γὰρ Χριστιανοὶ εἰσὶν οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι
καθαροί· ἀλλ' ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ δορᾶ παρδάλεως ὡς ὁ μέγας λέγει
Βασίλειος· ἥς ἡ θρίξ, οὔτε μέλαινα ἐστὶν οὔτε διόλου λευκή. Καὶ
λοιπὸν ὡς μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ μεγάλοι φωστῆρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ
40 ἅγιοι, παράνομοι εἰσὶ καὶ Ἰουδαιοφρονες, καὶ ἔξω τῆς ὀρθοδόξου
πίστεως οἱ τὸ ἄζυμον ἐκτελοῦντες· ὡς παραβαίνοντες τὴν ἀληθῆ
παράδοσιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ
ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἀριδῆλως
ἀναφωνούντων, ἀληθινὸν καὶ ζωηρὸν καὶ κύριον σῶμα τοῦ
45 Κυρίου τὸ ἐνζυμον καὶ αἷμα τὸ τίμιον καὶ πανάχραντον αὐτοῦ
αἷμα· τὸ βλύσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ἀγίας αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς· τῆς
νυγείσης λόγχῃ παρὰ τοῦ στρατιώτου τῷ καιρῷ τῆς σταυρώσεως·
ὡς αὐτίκα ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὰς θείας Γραφάς, δύο
πηγαὶ σωτηρίας. Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ
50 ὁμολογοῦμεν· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀρτίως πάσχομεν· καὶ ἐτοιμῶς
ἀποθανεῖν ἔχομεν. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἄπερ ἐγράψαμεν ἀπιστεῖτε
καὶ τὰς θείας Γραφάς οὐ πιστεύετε, ποιήσατε λοιπὸν τὴν κρίσιν
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν ἐξαρχῆς ἐζητήσαμεν· ταύτην δὲ λέγομεν, τὴν διὰ
πυρός· καὶ ἐτοιμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς φανερῶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· εἰ δὲ
55 τοῦτο οὐ θέλετε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως φονεῦσαι βούλεσθε, ἔστω τοῦ
ὑμετέρου κριματος· καὶ ὅπερ μέλλει εἰς ἡμᾶς συμβῆναι, ἐπάνω
ὑμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔξω τοῦ κριματος ἐσμέν, ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες
καὶ μὴ κρύψαντες· ὡς ἔσχατοι δούλοι τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ
Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰ μὲν θέλετε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν, πιστεύσατε
60 τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπώσασθε· εἰ δ' οὐκ, ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· διὰ
γὰρ τοῦτο, ταῦτα πάντα ἐγγράφως ὑμῖν παραδίδομεν· ἵνα μετὰ
τοῦ ἐγγράφου τούτου κριθῶμεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ κοινοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ
Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. [I.3] Ταῦτα δὲ

33-36. ἀλλὰ-καταψεύδονται] *Can. Apost.*, 66, 70; *Conc. Laod.*, 29, 38; *Conc. Quinis.*, 11; cf. *Neoph.*, *De Conc.*, 3.12.131-132, 3.12.141-142, 3.13.154-3.14.164 — 33-34. πᾶσα-θεόπνευστος] 2 *Tim.* 3:16 — 37-38. ὅμοιοι-λευκή] *Bas. Caes.*, *Serm. Ascet.*, 873C — 48. ἐξῆλθεν-ὑδωρ] *Ioh.*, 19:34 — 40-50. καὶ-ὁμολογοῦμεν] cf. *Narr.*, 325.15-23, 333.15-334.4 — 50-51. καὶ-ἔχομεν] cf. *Narr.*, 334.25-28 — 51-54. εἰ-ἀλήθειαν] cf. *Narr.*, 326.6-15, 334.28-335.1 — 54-57. εἰ-ὑμῶν] cf. *Narr.*, 335.1-4

πάντα ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γνωστά, τῇ τε ὀρθοδόξῳ ὑμῶν Ἐκκλησίᾳ,
65 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
70 οἰκείας γνώμης πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαρησιασάμεθα αὐτοκλήτως καὶ
ταῦτα ἐλέξαμεν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καταλαβόντες καὶ
περὶ τούτων πολλὰ βιασάμενοι, κρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ
ἠβουλήθημεν· κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἐγχωροῦν καὶ ὅσον ὁ Θεὸς
f. 239^v 75 ἐχορήγησεν· ἄκοντες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους καταγαγόντες· καὶ
ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος αὐτῶν παραστήσαντες, καὶ δις καὶ τρις καὶ
πολλάκις ἐρωτηθέντες· καὶ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς τυραννήσαντες, ἐξ ἡμῶν
αἰτία τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐγένετο· πολλά δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν
βιασθέντες, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τέλει ἡμῶν, ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν πάντων
ὡμολογήσαμεν, ὅτι κἂν δέοι μυρίοις θανάτοις ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν,
80 ἀμετάθετοι ἐν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ ἡμῶν πίστει ἐμμένομεν. Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ
ιθ' ἡμέρᾳ β', ἔτους ςψλθ'.

69-77. Καὶ-ἐγένετο] cf. Mac. Calor., *Coloph. Poet.*, 39-56 — 79-80. ὅτι-ἐμμένομεν] *vid. sup.* [I.1.2-3]

[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
85 ταύτης παρεμβολῆς καθηγηταὶ καὶ ἑξαρχοὶ καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες καὶ ὁμολογηταί· Μάρκων 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,
90 αειθαλὲς καὶ εὐκαρπον κληῖμα, ὁμολογητῆς καὶ κηρυξ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως· Μάξιμος ὁ ὄντως μακαριστὸς καὶ Θεοδώρητος τὸ ἀληθὲς δῶρον, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καλοῦ Ὁρους ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμαίμονες, οἱ τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ πολῖται καὶ τῆς ὑπερφώτου πίστεως ὁμολογηταί· Θεόκτιστος καὶ Βαρνάβας ἡ
95 πεφωτισμένη δυάς· Κύπριοι καὶ οὗτοι ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμαίμονες· Ἱερεμίας ὁ τὸν ὄντως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὑφηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος· Γρηγόριος ὁ ὄντως γρήγορος ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως ὁμολογητῆς· Ἰωσήφ ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος καὶ προσμοναρίου τῆς ὑπεραγίας
100 Θεοτόκου· Γεράσιμος ὁ τὰ πάντα ἀφείς καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπ' ὧμων ἀράμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογητῆς καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως κηρυξ· Γερμανὸς 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
105 πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογηταὶ καὶ μάρτυρες, ἐν τῇ ζοφῶδει εἰρκτῇ τῶν Λατίνων τριετίαν ποιήσαντες· καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπάθειαν λιμῶ καὶ δίψει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παντοδαπῇ στενοχωρίᾳ καὶ γυμνότητι, καὶ ἐν σκοτεινῷ χώρῳ καὶ δυσῶδει ὄντες οἱ ἀδαμάντινοι πύργοι. Ὑστερον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων
110 ἐρωτήσεων ἐρωτηθέντες· καὶ μὴ εἴξαντες τῷ θελήματι τῶν Λατίνων, ἀχθέντες οἱ τρισμακάριοι πατέρες ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ Λευκουσίας καὶ τῇ προστάξει τῶν μιαρῶν Λατίνων ἄραντες οἱ ὑπηρέται τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀγγελικὰ αὐτῶν σχήματα καὶ κουκούλια, εὐθὺς ἐλιθοβόλησαν αὐτούς· εἶτα δεθέντες ἐκ τῶν πο-

84-101. Κόνων-Γερμανὸς] cf. *Synod. con. Bec.*, 576.10.29-33 — 84-85. θείας-παραεμβολῆς] cf. *Pent.*, 358 — 86. Μάρκων] cf. *Narr.*, 320.12, 332.29; *Synod. con. Bec.*, 576.10.29 — 96. ἡρεμον-βίον] 1 Tim. 2:2 — 105-108. ἐν-ὄντες] cf. *Mac. Calor., Coloph. Poet.*, 17-20, 63-66; *Narr.*, 330.9-12, 332.8-11 — 108. ἀδαμάντινοι πύργοι] cf. *Narr.*, 332.11

115 δῶν, 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.

118-119. τὰς-παρέδωκαν] cf. Sap. 3:1

Appendix II

Encyclical letter to the Cypriots by Patriarch Kallistos I of Constantinople

Commentary

[B.1] MS Description and Principles of the Edition

MS *Athonensis Stauroinicetanus* 62 is a miscellaneous codex that comprises various texts of ecclesiastical and theological interest, including works by Matthew Angelos Panaretos, Neilos Kabasilas, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Michael Kēroularios, John Damascene, Maximus the Confessor and Phōtios of Constantinople. It also contains a corpus of works by the Ecumenical Patriarch Kallistos I (1350–1353 and 1354–1363/4), comprising two homilies against the anti-Palamites, three anti-Latin homilies, a treatise in support of the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist and the *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots*.¹⁴⁹¹ According to Spyridon P. Lambros, the codex dates to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.¹⁴⁹² Since Kallistos' *Encyclical* was probably composed sometime between 1361 and 1363/4 (see below), we may argue that the compilation of the MS was completed sometime after this date, or in the early fifteenth century.¹⁴⁹³ The codex consists of 317 fols.¹⁴⁹⁴ We shall focus on fols 295^r-298^r, which preserve Kallistos' hitherto unpublished *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots*.

The MS is made from paper and there are worm holes on the margins of fols 295^r-298^r. Each folio contains approximately 26 lines of text, written in blocks in dark brown ink, without paragraph division. The scribe used red ink for the major initial *O* (for *Oí*) in the beginning of the text. The rectos were numbered in Arabic numerals on their right-hand corner by a later hand using blue pen ink. The fols are generally in good condition and the text is written by a calligraphic hand using mixed minuscule. The *Encyclical* bears no title.

The letters are medium-sized and slightly sloping to the right; the ductus is medium thick. The scribe uses a horizontal stroke over proper names and elongates his δ , ϵ , κ , λ ,

¹⁴⁹¹ Lambros 1895, 81-82.

¹⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁴⁹³ There is no evidence that the compilation of the MS took place around the time of the Council of Florence (1438–1439), or even later, around the time of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans (1453).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Lambros gives no information on the dimensions of the codex and the scribe/s.

ς, τ, υ, and Ν, particularly at the beginning and end of lines. The letters α, ε, κ, ο, σ, υ, φ, and ω are often enlarged. There is no use of the hyphen to denote syllabic division at the end of lines. The scribe joins in ligature his ε and υ without lifting his pen (ϵυ). The same tendency is observed in the case of γ and ρ. In line 53, γ is joined with ε and ω, forming the beginning of γεωργίου (γεω). Οὐτος (line 67) is formed by the ligature ο, υ, and τ and the superscript ending -ος (ου̇ς). Another elaborate ligature is created by joining ε, κ, κ, and λ (εκκλ) in Ἐκκλησίας (line 165). The scribe employs syllabic abbreviations (including ✓ for -ας, ↙ for -εν, ὶ for -ην, ~ for -ων, and Ϛ for -ως) and contracted *nomina sacra* (e.g., Θ(εο)ῦ in line 179, Κ(υρῖ)ω in line 3, Πν(εῦμ)α in line 23, Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς in line 19, and Χ(ριστο)ῦ in line 9).

The scribe uses round forms of the smooth and rough breathings (ϲ, ϳ), as well as (sometimes enlarged) forms of the acute, grave and circumflex (/, \, ~), which are occasionally joined to breathings (e.g., ϳ), or abbreviation signs and ligatures (e.g., ϳ and ϳ̇). Several punctuation marks are used to indicate various degrees of pause, including the comma (,), middle comma (ϛ), lower (·), middle (·) and upper point (·) and full stop in the form of a colon and a monocondyle cross (: ϳ̇). Interestingly, a small dot is sometimes placed over the Greek *iota* (i for ι), perhaps in imitation of its Latin equivalent (*i*). The scribe makes occasional use of the double dot over υ (*ü*), usually in the beginning of words (e.g., over ὑπέρμαχοι), as well as sporadic use of the *iota* subscript to denote the dative case. The apostrophe (ϛ) is also used in order to mark the elision of a vowel.

The scribe is quite careful in terms of spelling, though he occasionally makes grammatical mistakes. There are mistakes of *parechesis* due to confusion of sound (e.g., εἰσκομάσας for εἰσχωμάσας in line 49 and κομωδῶν for κομωδῶν in line 168) and haplography (e.g., περιβάλεται for περιβάλλεται in line 72). There are also two noteworthy cases of incorrect accentuation: τῆ for τῆ̄ (line 114) and Καρπῶ for Κάρπω (line 117). Φωνικὸν for φονικὸν in line 38 should be considered a wordplay between φωνή ('voice', 'speech') and φόνος ('murder', 'killing').¹⁴⁹⁵ The following words and phrases were underlined with little dots, presumably by the scribe himself, though

¹⁴⁹⁵ It is not clear whether ἀλήπτας in line 40 is a wordplay with ἀλείπτας.

without further evidence of correction: ἐξυδαροῦντα (line 16), εἴρηται (line 72), τερατεύεται (line 78), πορεύεσθαι (line 91), ποῦ γὰρ εἶπέ μοι (line 95), γὰρ (line 112), οὐ μόνον (line 121), and ἄφθαρτα γέρα (line 142). In line 151, the scribe deleted by encircling the immediate repetition of τὰς (dittography). In lines 70, the scribe has left an empty space of around 20 letters, presumably in order to denote a lacuna in his exemplar intended to be filled at a later stage. Since MS *Athonensis Stauroicetanus* 62 seems to be the only source for Kallistos' *Encyclical letter to the Cypriots*, the lacuna is indicated in our edition.

The edition below largely preserves the various grammatical and syntactical forms in the codex, occasionally introducing corrections in the orthography of the text and recording errors in the *apparatus*. Accents and mute *iotas* are tacitly introduced in the edition, unless these occur in words that are misspelled in the MS 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.

[B.2] Structure and Content

Kallistos' *Encyclical* aimed to strengthen Orthodox Cypriot resistance against both Latinisation and anti-Palamism.

[B.2.1] *Kallistos against Latinisation:* [I.1] The Patriarch addresses all Cypriot Rhomaioi and praises their resistance against Peter Thomas. Kallistos mentions that the Legate had attempted to impose the *Filioque* over the Cypriot Rhomaioi and that a number of them had been indeed Latinised. The Patriarch's rhetoric is inspired by the theology of martyrdom and reflects his approval of Cypriot Rhomaic resistance. Wishing to bolster this stance, Kallistos points out the inconsistency between the Legate's coercive attempts of Latinisation and the teaching of Christ, preserved in the common (Eastern and Western) Christian tradition. He rejects the *Filioque* as a theological novelty and argues that the Cypriot Rhomaioi should endure persecution and martyrdom in order to safeguard their faith and tradition. In addition, the Patriarch rejects the papal primacy and advises his flock to receive their Latinised brethren, provided that they had sincerely repented.

[B.2.2] *Kallistos against anti-Palamism*: [I.2] The Patriarch instructs the Cypriot Rhomaioi to stay away from the anti-Palamites. Kallistos argues that the anti-Palamites are pro-Latin and heretics and claims that they had met and discussed with Peter Thomas during the latter's stay in Constantinople. The Patriarch also mentions that the anti-Palamite Arsenios of Tyre had secretly visited the island; Kallistos instructs the Cypriot Rhomaioi not to receive him and exhorts them to preserve the true faith.

[B.3] Context, Date and Author

The text was first examined by Jean Darrouzès, who convincingly identified its author as Kallistos I and suggested that its composition had taken place sometime between late 1361 and early 1362.¹⁴⁹⁶ Demetrios B. Gones' study on the *Encyclical's* wider context, agrees with Darrouzès' remarks.¹⁴⁹⁷ It should be noted that, although Gones extends the possible date of the *Encyclical's* composition to the end of Kallistos' patriarchate (1363/1364), the patriarchal letter must have been sent to Cyprus around the time of Arsenios' activities on the island, namely soon after Gregoras' death in 1361.¹⁴⁹⁸ The *Encyclical* is further discussed in chapter III.¹⁴⁹⁹

¹⁴⁹⁶ *RAPC* I/5, 370-372 (n° 2443).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Gones 1986, 333-350.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 348.

¹⁴⁹⁹ See above, 195-201.

[I.1] Οί ἐν τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ καὶ περιδόξῳ νήσῳ τῇ Κύπρῳ
 εὐρισκόμενοι 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
 5 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
 10 θερμότητος 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 ῥῥὰς ἀνεπέμψαμεν, πῶς τῇ
 ἄνωθεν ἀρωγῇ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου νευρούμενοι,
 15 ἀπεκρούσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον τὸν ἀραβικὸν λύκον, τὸν
 διαστρέφοντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐξυδαροῦντα τοὺς
 λόγους τῶν θείων πατέρων; Τὸ δὲ δὴ μείζον κακόν, καὶ ἀσεβείας
 ἀνάμεστον, ὅτι τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βορβορώδη ψυχὴν
 διαστρέφει τὸ κυριακὸν λόγιον τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὅστις καὶ δύο ἀρχὰς
 20 ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει πιστεύειν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ
 ἐκπορεύεσθαι, τερατεύομενος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ
 κατατέμνον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν, εἰς δύο αἰτία καὶ
 ἀρχὰς, τὸ δογματίζειν τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξίν
 ἔχειν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· εἰ καὶ
 25 τὸ λέγειν δύο αἰτία τὸ δοκεῖν παραιτεῖται ὑπούλως καὶ δολερῶς;
 Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀσεβεῖν ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἀπωλείας υἱὸς ἀναγκάζειν οὐ
 παύεται, καὶ καινοτομεῖν θείων πατέρων θεσπίσματα, μᾶλλον δὲ
 αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ θείου εὐαγγελίου φωνήν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν
 ἀπεκρούσθη καὶ ἀπεδιώχθη τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος, εἰ καὶ
 30 τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὡς μὴ ὄφελε, παρεσύρησαν τῇ τούτου κακοδοξίᾳ, ||

15-16. ἀραβικὸν-ἀληθείας] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.4-5 — 16-17. ἐξυδαροῦντα-
 πατέρων] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.8-9 — 19. τὸ-λόγιον] cf. Ioh. 15:26 — 21.
 τερατεύομενος-ἅγιον] cf. Greg. Pal., *Pro Hesych.*, 3.3.3.14 — 26. ὁ-υἱὸς] cf. 2 Thess.
 2:3 — 28. cf. Ioh. 15:26 — 29. τῇ-Πνεύματος] Pent., 358; cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 7.8;
 Call., *Contr. Lat. II*, 11.10

14. ἀρ'ωγῇ *cod.* — 15. ἀραβικὸν λυκον *cod.*

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· οὕτω γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία κατέστεψεν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀκραιφνεῖς ζηλωτὰς
 35 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 φωνικὸν πρόσχημα, μάρτυρας καὶ τούτοις τῇ προαιρέσει ἡγοῦμαι ὡς
 40 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
 45 οἰκτρῶς, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δακρῦειν οὐ παραιτήσομαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος, ὃς μήτε Θεὸν φοβούμενος, μήτε οἰκτεῖρων τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμόφυλον, ἀπηνῶς πάνυ γε διετέθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κυρίῳ αὐτόθι πιστοὺς, καὶ καθάπερ μονιὸς ἄγριος ἐν ἀμπέλῳ τινὶ εἰσχωμάσας βριθούση καρπούς, καὶ τὸν φραγμὸν
 50 αὐτῆς διακόψας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε διαλυμένεται βότρουας ἀληθῶς, οὕτω κἀκεῖνος ἐπησφρίσας εἰς τὴν λογικὴν ἄμπελον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκ δρυμοῦ ἐλυμήνατο καὶ συνέθλιψε ὥσπερ βότρουας τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης καρπούς, τοῦ ἡμετέρου τούτου ποιμνίου καὶ γεωργίου μὴ φειδόμενος ὅλως αὐτοῦ. Βαβαὶ τοῦ πάθους! Βαβαί, τῆς αἰσχύνης
 55 τοῦ κενοῦ διδασκάλου! Ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, πολλὴν μοι προῦξένησε καὶ παρέσχε τὴν λύπην καὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἢ 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
 60 θρεμμάτων μοίραν ἀπέσχισεν ὁ θῆρ οὗτος, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς βουνούς καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας καὶ τόπους οὓς οὐκ ἐπισκοπεῖ Κύριος. Ἐνθεν τοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ἀφόρητόν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ κα-

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33. θύματα λογικά] cf. Euseb. Caes., *Dem. Ev.*, 1.6.49.33 — 48-49. μονιὸς-τινὶ] cf. Ps. 79:9-14 — 51-52. ἄμπελον-ἐλυμήνατο] Ps. 79:14 — 54-55. Βαβαὶ-διδασκάλου] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 12.1-3 — 59-60. τῶν-θρεμμάτων] cf. Euseb. Caes., *De laud. Const.*, 2.17; Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 4.23 — 60-62. ἐπὶ-Κύριος] Greg. Naz., *Orat. I*, 80.7.13-14

47. ὁμόφυλλον *cod.* — 49. εἰσχωμάσας *cod.* — 56. προῦξένησε *cod.* — 62. Ἐνθεν τοὶ *cod.*

κόν, καθαπτόμενον αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ γὰρ καλῶς συναχθέντα
 πρόβατα λογικὰ εἰς μίαν ἀυλήν, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν δηλαδὴ τοῦ
 65 Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐξηγορασμένα διὰ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ῥυέντος
 ἐκ τῆς ἀθανάτου πλευρᾶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τοῦ τὰ μακρὰν που
 διεστῶτα συνάψαντος, 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,
 70 [*spat. 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 περιβάλλεται ὁ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς ἑαυτὸν βόσκων, καὶ οὐ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀφορῶν μόνον καὶ κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος πρὸς τὴν
 75 ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, τὸ καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης
 κἀκεῖνα με δεῖ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀκουέτω ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ 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, πῆ μὲν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς
 80 ἀναγεννήσεως, πῆ δὲ διὰ τῆς τηρήσεως τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων καὶ
 τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ· εἰς ποίαν οὖν ὑμᾶς αὐλήν
 ἀγαγεῖν βούλεται νῦν; Οἶμαι, ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες
 ἐπιβούλως ἐνομοθέτησαν. Τοῦ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὸ
 Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ ταύτην
 85 τὴν φωνὴν ὡς θύραν τῆς ὁμολογίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἱερᾶς αὐλῆς
 ἀποφηνάμενον, καὶ τὸν μὴ εἰσερχόμενον δι' αὐτῆς ληστήν καὶ
 κλέπτην ἀποκαλοῦντος, ἢ οὗτος ἐκ τολμηροῦ γνώμης προσθήκη
 παρενείρων ἀπροσφυῶς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι
 πλαττόμενος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς θύρας, ἤγουν τῆς
 90 συνήθους ταύτης ὁμολογίας· ἀλλὰ ἀλλαχόθεν ὡς κλέπτῃς καὶ

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63. καλῶς συναχθέντα] cf. Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 3.12 — 65. ἐξηγορασμένα] cf. Gal. 3:13 — 65-66. διὰ-Σωτῆρος] cf. Ioh. 19:34 — 66-67. τοῦ-συνάψαντος] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ref.*, 387.20 — 68. Ὡ-διδασκάλου] *vid. sup. linn.* 54-55 — 71-72. ὡς-ἐξηγόρασε] *vid. sup. lin.* 65 — 72. ἔρια-περιβάλλεται] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Hom. in Cant. Cant.*, 225.7.15-20 — 75-76. καὶ-ἀγαγεῖν] Ioh. 10:16 — 76. Ἀκουέτω-γῆ] cf. Is. 34:1 — 78-79. εἰς-ἐκληρώθημεν] cf. Eph. 1:11 — 79-80. 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 — 83-84. τὸ-ἐκπορεύεται] Ioh. 15:26

ληστής ἀναβαίνων, ταύτην καὶ ὑμῖν εἰσηγεῖται πορεύεσθαι.
 Βαβαὶ ὁ τοῦ πράου καὶ εἰρηνικοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς! Ὅτι μετὰ
 ῥάβδου καὶ ἀπειλῆς, καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ φυλακῶν,
 εἰσαγαγεῖν ὑμᾶς βούλεται εἰς τόπους ἀβάτους, καὶ οὐκ οὐκ
 95 ἐπισκοπεῖ Κύριος, ποῦ γὰρ εἶπέ μοι ὁ κενὸς οὗτος ἐξεῦρε
 διδάσκαλος, ἔλκειν ὅλως τοὺς εὐσεβεῖν ἡρημένους εἰς ὄλεθρον
 ἀσεβείας; Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αἰρετικούς διαλέγεται ὡς αὐτὸς
 διατείνεται, πειθέτω αὐτῷ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν λόγιον, τὸ ἄφετε
 συναυξάνειν καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια μετὰ τοῦ σίτου. Εἰ δ' οὖν δειξάτω ἡμῖν,
 100 πόθεν μεμάθηκε μετὰ ῥάβδου, καὶ πληγῶν ἐλαύνειν τὴν λογικὴν
 φύσιν, εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας δῆθεν σεμνόν, καὶ πληροῦν αἱμάτων
 τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ ἀτοπώτατον; Μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου
 Δεσπότητος μεμάθηκε ταῦτα, ὃς λοιδορούμενος, οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει,
 πάσχων, οὐκ ἠπείλει, ἢ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν τούτου καὶ ὀπαδῶν;
 105 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 ἐκείνον, τὴν καθέδραν τοῦ
 διαβόλου, Πέτρος δὲ Ἀνανίαν καὶ Σαμφείραν, ὡς ψευσαμένους τὸ
 Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Εἰ δὲ βούλει μαθεῖν ἀκριβέστερον τὴν τοῦ
 110 Σωτῆρος φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ μετὰ τὸν
 σταυρόν, ἀναλογίσαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ θεοῦ Κάρπου καὶ
 ἀποστόλου· ζήλου γὰρ ἔμπλεως γεγονῶς τῆς ἀπιστίας ἕνεκα τοῦ
 ἀσεβοῦς ἐκείνου λαοῦ, διχάσαι τὴν γῆν παρεσκεύασε, καὶ
 τούτους ἄρδην καταπιεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ τῆ συνήθει χρησάμενος
 115 κἂν τούτῳ φιλανθρωπία, οὐ μόνον οὐκ εἰσήκουσε τῆς τούτου ἢ
 f. 297^r δεήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως παρεῖχεν, ὡς φιλανθρωπίας Θεοῦ, τῷ
 Κάρπῳ τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, καὶ προσέταττε παίειν αὐτήν, ὑπὲρ
 τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ἀπειθοῦς ἐκείνου λαοῦ. Ὅποταν δὲ καὶ οἱ
 μαθηταὶ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ἔλεγον· Κύριε θέλεις εἶπομεν πῦρ
 120 καταβῆναι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας
 ἐποίησεν, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπετίμησεν

92. Βαβαὶ-μαθητῆς] cf. Germ., *Epist. ad Greg.*, 44; *vid. sup. linn.* 54-55—94-95. οὐκ-Κύριος] *vid. sup. linn.* 61-62—96-97. κενὸς-διδάσκαλος] *vid. sup. lin.* 55—96-97. ὄλεθρον ἀσεβείας] cf. Theod. Cyr., *Hist. Eccl.*, 192.3.15.17—97-98. Εἰ-διατείνεται] cf. Ph. Mez., *Vita Petr. Thom.*, 49.7-11—98-99. ἄφετε-σίτου] cf. Matth. 13:30—103-104. ὃς-ἠπείλει] 1 Pet. 2:23—107. Ἐλύμαν-ἐκείνον] cf. Act. 13:6-12—107-108. καθέδρα-διαβόλου] cf. Ioh. Clim., *Sc. Parad.*, 24.3—108-109. Πέτρος-ἅγιον] cf. Act. 5:1-11—111-113. ἀναλόγισαι-λαοῦ] cf. Ps-Dion., *Epist. ad Dem.*, 188-192.8.6—117. τὴν-σιαγόνα] Matth. 5:39—119-121. Κύριε-ἐποίησεν] Luc. 9:54

102. Μὴ *bis. acc. cod.*—104. ὀπαδῶν *cod.*—107. καθέδρα *cod.*—111. ἀναλόγισαι *cod.*—114. ἄρδην, τῆ *cod.*—117. Καρπῷ *cod.*—120. Ἡλίας *cod.*

αὐτοῖς λέγων, οὐκ οἶδατε ποίου πνεύματος ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς; Ταύτην
 τοίνυν τὴν ὑποτύπωσιν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστός, ἵνα καὶ
 διωκόμενοι, καὶ ὑβριζόμενοι, μὴ μόνον οὐδὲν ὀργιζόμεθα πρὸς
 125 αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερευχώμεθα τούτων, κὰν πιστοὶ ᾧσιν, ἢ καὶ
 ἄπιστοι καὶ αἰρετικοί· τὸ γὰρ διώκειν καὶ τύπτειν, ἢ πιστοὺς
 ἁμαρτήσαντας, ἢ ἀπίστους ἀδικήσαντας, οὐδεὶς οἶμαι τῶν
 καρδηνάλιων, ἢ τῶν κατ' αὐτούς σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαινέσεται
 130 ὅλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτο διδασκαλίας ἐστί, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν
 τυραννίδος, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθεσίας ἀλλότριον. 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. Καὶ τοίνυν ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, μὴ προδῶμεν
 παρακαλῶ τὸ ἡμέτερον σέβας, καὶ χαυνωθῶμεν ἀνάνδρως ταῖς
 135 αὐτοῦ πονηραῖς εἰσηγήσεσιν. Ἐπειδὴ βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς
 παρούσης ζωῆς· αὖριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν· καὶ τί τὸ ὄφελος τῆς
 ἀτίμου ταύτης καὶ προσκαιροῦ ζωῆς, ὅταν τὸν μὲν ὅλον κόσμον
 κερδήσωμεν, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν ζημιωθῶμεν ψυχὴν; Ἐννοήσατε
 τοίνυν τοὺς διωγμοὺς τῶν ἁγίων, τὰς πικρὰς ἐκεῖνας καὶ
 140 ἀφορήτους βασάνους, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Χριστὸν ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρικῶς,
 ἵνα νικητικοῖς καταστεφθῶσι στεφάνοις, κομισάμενοι τὰς ἡ
 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,
 145 ἐρηρυσμένους ἀκλονήτως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῷ θεμελίῳ τῆς
 ἀληθινῆς πέτρας τῆς πίστεως, καθ' ἣς καὶ πύλαι Ἰερουσαλῆμ
 οὐ κατισχύσουσιν, ὁ σωτήριος ἀπεφήνατο λόγος πρὸς τὸν
 κορυφαϊότατον μαθητὴν, οὐ μὴν, πρὸς τὴν τούτου ὡς δῆθεν
 διαδοχὴν καὶ καθέδραν. Διὰ τοῦτο χαίρομεν, καὶ συγχαίρομεν
 150 πνευματικῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, ὡς νικηταῖς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· τοῖς
 δὲ πεπλανηθεῖσι καὶ ὑπενδοῦσι διὰ τὰς ἀπειλάς, ταῖς κολακείαις,

f. 297^v

122. οὐκ-ὑμεῖς] Luc. 9:55-56 — 132-133. τὸν-γεέννη] cf. Matth. 10:28 — 136. αὖριον-
 ἀποθνήσκομεν] Is. 22:13; 1 Cor. 15:32 — 137-138. τὸν-ψυχὴν] cf. Matth. 16:26 — 146-
 147. πέτρας-κατισχύσουσιν] cf. Matth. 16:18 — 148-149. οὐ-καθέδραν] cf. Germ.,
Epist. ad Greg., 44; Call., *Contr. blasph. Lat.*, 3.12-28.11

128. καρδδηνάλιων *cod.* — 130. ἀλλότριον *cod.* — 139. ἐκεῖνους *cod.* — 149. Διατοῦτο
cod. — 151. τὰς *ditto gr. cod.*

καὶ τῆ χειρόνι ὡς μὴ ὄφελε προστεθεῖσι μερίδι, εἴ γε
μετανοήσουσι καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστρέψουσιν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον κακῶς,
συγγνώμην δεδόσθω. [I.2] Ἀπέχεσθε δὲ πάμπαν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ
155 Βαρλαάμ ἐκείνου τοῦ λατινόφρονος, καὶ τοῦ ὁμόφρονος ἐκείνω
Ἀκινδύνου αἰρέσεως, οἵτινες δοκοῦσι μὲν εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καθ’
ὑπόκρισιν ὑποκλέπτοντες τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους, λατινόφρονες δὲ
ὄντες τῆ ἀληθείᾳ· δείκνυται καὶ μηδεμίαν διαφορὰν ἔχοντες πρὸς
αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ λεγάτου τῆ Κωνσταντινουπόλει
160 ἐπιδημηκότος, 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,
165 ἔστι δὲ φανερός τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐχθρός καὶ πολέμιος, τὰ τοῦ
Ἀκινδύνου καὶ διεκδικῶν καὶ στέργων, καὶ σχίσματα εἰς τὴν
ὀρθόδοξον ἡμῶν πίστιν εἰσάγων, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα δὲ οὐ παύσεται καὶ
αὐτόθι διασπείρων καὶ κομωδῶν, καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ἱερὰν
σύνοδον ἐξυβρίζων ἀναιδῶς, παρακελεύεται πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐν ἀγίῳ
170 Πνεύματι ἢ μετριότης ἡμῶν, καὶ πατρικῶς παραινεῖ, ὡς ἂν
οὐδόλως παραδέξησθε τοῦτον τοιαῦτα λέγοντα, καὶ ἄντικρυς
βλασφημοῦντα, ἀλλὰ ἀποδιώξητε μακρὰν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, ὡς
ταράκην τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τοῦ Βαρλαάμ καὶ
Ἀκινδύνου αἰρέσεως, ἵνα μὴ δελεασθέντες τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν, τῆ
175 τούτου δολερᾶ καὶ ἀπατηλῆ γνώμη, 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
ἀθετητὴς τῶν ὑγιῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ
180 διαφυλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ ψυχῆ καὶ σώματι, καὶ ἀνωτέρους
παντὸς ἀνιαροῦ συναντήματος.

f. 298^r

176-178. Ἀπόστητε-συναυλίας] cf. Call., *Contr. Lat. I*, 8.16-1

168. κομωδῶν *cod.* — 175. ἀπατελιῆ *cod.*

Appendix III

Florilegium on Purgatory and the Afterlife by Francis the Cypriot, OFM

Commentary

[C.1] MS Description and Principles of the Edition

MS *Eton College Library* 166 comprises an autograph *florilegium* on Purgatory by Francis, a Cypriot Franciscan, who signed the MS on f. 22^v. The text was most probably composed sometime after 1438–1439 and before 1547.¹⁵⁰⁰

The *Florilegium* is written on paper and consists of 22 fols (229x160 mm).¹⁵⁰¹ The verso of the cover bears the arms of Eton College with the motto *Beata Maria di Eterna*, placed over an attachment of a photocopy reproduction of James Montague Rhodes' description of the codex.¹⁵⁰² The notes 'B.O.6.13' and 'Bl.6.21', which were written by two different hands on the left-hand corner of the verso of the cover, indicate previous shelf marks, most probably dating sometime after the acquisition of the MS by the Eton College in the seventeenth century. Two unnumbered blank fols follow, the second of which bears the calligraphic title *Demonstratio Purgatorii & Scriptis Doctorum Ecclesiae Graece*. According to Massimo Danzi, the title was added in the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁰³ A later hand numbered the rectos in Arabic numerals, either on the left-hand margin, or below the text. The same system is used for the numbering of the right-hand corners of the rectos, though some of the numbers do not survive due to damage on the paper. All folios are marked by a little cross on the top centre of the page. Although the margins are stained and the paper is sometimes damaged, thus creating lacunae in the text, the MS has been restored and appears to be generally in good condition.














¹⁵⁰⁰ The Eton MS is currently preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. On the author, date and history of the MS see below, 433–437. Montague Rhodes 1895, 90, simply dates the composition of the MS between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while Podskalsky 2005, 63 (n. 54), dates it to the sixteenth century. Danzi 2005, 356, follows Podskalsky's date.

¹⁵⁰¹ The dimensions have been converted from cm to mm, following the numbers given by Danzi 2005, 356 (22,9x16 cm). Montague Rhodes 1895, 90 gives 8 7/8x6 1/2 inches.

¹⁵⁰² 'Bl.6.21' in the reproduction of Montague Rhodes' description (*ibid.*, 90) is crossed out and corrected by a modern hand to 'BL724'.

¹⁵⁰³ Danzi 2005, 356.

Each folio contains 19 lines of text.¹⁵⁰⁴ Francis divided the text into 2 sections and 61 paragraphs (excluding the colophon), all of which are numbered in the *editio princeps* below. The major initials introducing each paragraph are often decorated with vignettes. In paragraph II.2, the major initial was omitted; this would suggest that major initials might have been introduced by another scribe. Occasional corrections and marginal notes are by Francis' hand.¹⁵⁰⁵ In two cases, the text is interrupted by empty spaces, which signify Francis' intention to complete the text at a later stage (line 315) and to introduce subdivision of a paragraph (line 413).

The letters are medium-sized, slightly sloping to the right and hang from the ruling lines. The ductus is rather thick, though the script is elegant. The colophon is calligraphic and forms an inverted V. Although Francis' script is round and clear, it seems not to have been influenced by the idiosyncrasies of the Cypriot adaptation of the so-called 'Hodēgōn style', which was used in Cyprus after 1453 and is attested, for example, in the MSS copied by Ambrose of Andreiou between 1530 and 1552.¹⁵⁰⁶ Following the Byzantine convention, there is sporadic use of a horizontal stroke over proper names. Some letters are elongated (e.g., α, δ, θ, ι, λ, ξ, ρ, τ, φ, χ and ψ), or enlarged (e.g., α, β, Γ, ε, θ, Μ and φ). Francis' ε () and φ () , as well as his high-standing Γ () and diagonal-tailed δ () , resemble those in Michael the Priest's copy of St Mamas Gospel Lectionary (1531).¹⁵⁰⁷ In some cases, his π inclines to the right (e.g., in the ligature -πo: ) , which could be interpreted as a scribal tendency to imitate older letterforms of the *chypriote bouclée*.¹⁵⁰⁸ His bulging β () seems to confirm this tendency.¹⁵⁰⁹ There are also some noteworthy ligatures, including δε () , δια () , ἐξ- () , -ερο- () , -ος () and πρὸς () . The ending -ov () is infrequently used.

¹⁵⁰⁴ The present examination of the MS was based on black-and-white digital facsimiles of the codex, kindly provided by the Eton College and Bodleian Libraries. We have been, thus, unable to detect the colour of ink. Montague Rhodes 1895, 90, states that the colophon was written in red ink.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Pace Danzi 2005, 356.

¹⁵⁰⁶ According to Canart 1987–1988, 47: 'À Chypre, comme ailleurs, les XV^e et XVI^e siècles sont marqués par une notable diversité: chaque copiste, s'il atteint un niveau d'habileté suffisant, tend à créer son propre style'. On Ambrose and this particular script see above, 296, 363–364.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Whose script might have been influenced by early printed Greek books: *DGMC*, 278–280.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 (with bibliography).

¹⁵⁰⁹ Canart 1987–1988, 47; *DGMC*, 13.

Francis' use of abbreviations (e.g., Ⲙ for -εν, Ⲁ for -ἦν, Ⲙⲥ, Ⲙⲥ and Ⲙⲥ for καὶ) is limited. He occasionally employs contracted forms of *nomina sacra* (e.g., Θ(εο)ῦ in line 460, οὐ(ρα)νῶ in line 551, Χ(ριστὸ)ς in line 518 and Χ(ριστ)ῶ in line 1). He consistently uses smooth and rough breathings (ϲ, ϳ, ϲ, ϳ), as well as (sometimes enlarged) forms of the acute, grave and circumflex (Ⲁ, Ⲁ, Ⲁ). Several punctuation marks are used to indicate various degrees of pause, including the comma (ⲃ), middle comma (ⲃ), lower (ⲃ), middle (ⲃ) and upper point (ⲃ) and full stop (ⲃ). The apostrophe (ⲃ) is used to mark the elision of a vowel and the double hyphen (=) to denote syllabic division in the end of lines. There is also sporadic use of the *iota* subscript to denote the dative case.

Despite the author's Franciscan identity and his various grammatical mistakes, there seems to be no evidence of imitation of Latin letterforms. Francis' use of scriptural, liturgical and patristic language shows great familiarity with the Byzantine Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition; it is indicative that Francis' personal literary style seems to imitate that of his sources.¹⁵¹⁰ It should also be pointed out that, contrary to other contemporary Cypriot authors and poets, Francis does not adopt the vernacular.¹⁵¹¹

The edition below largely preserves the various grammatical and syntactical forms in the codex, occasionally introducing corrections in the orthography of the text and recording errors in the *apparatus*. Accents and mute *iotas* are tacitly introduced in the edition, unless these occur in words that are misspelled in the MS 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.

[C.2] Structure and Content

Francis' *Florilegium* on Purgatory is divided in two parts:

[C.2.1] *Demonstration of the existence of Purgatory*: [I] Francis states that the main reason behind the composition of the *Florilegium* was the denial of the existence of Purgatory by many Cypriots, as well as their belief that the souls of the dead go neither

¹⁵¹⁰ E.g., cf. II.27, II.45.

¹⁵¹¹ See generally: *DGMC*, 16-18; Grivaud 1995c, 1115-1128; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou 2010, 92-96, 111-121.

to Paradise, nor to Hades, before the Last Judgement. [I.1-12] Francis uses liturgical, patristic, pseudepigraphal and scriptural sources to support the existence of Purgatory.

[C.2.2] *Demonstration of the existence of Paradise and Hades:* [II] Francis argues that the blessed souls go to Paradise and the sinful to Hades. [II.1-47] He uses liturgical, patristic, pseudepigraphal and scriptural sources to support the existence of Paradise and Hades. In the colophon, Francis reveals his name, Cypriot origin and monastic identity (Franciscan hieromonk).

[C.3] Context, Date and Author

Nothing is known about Francis. He might have either come from a local family of Hellenised Latins, or he was perhaps a Cypriot Rhomaios convert to the Latin rite. The Franciscan friars had been established in Cyprus during the thirteenth century and possessed monastic houses in Nicosia and Famagusta.¹⁵¹²

The Friars Minor had a long tradition in formulating, defending and preaching the Latin doctrine of Purgatory. Indeed, the Franciscans were involved in one of the earliest debates between Latins and Orthodox over the existence of purgatorial fire, recorded to have taken place in Otranto around 1231.¹⁵¹³ Although Bonaventure (d. 1274), the great Franciscan theologian, described Purgatory as a post-mortem state,¹⁵¹⁴ rather than a physical place, he nevertheless insisted –contrary to the Orthodox– that purgatorial fire is physical, although manifested in a spiritual way. He also added that the process of purification enabled the liberation of souls to enjoy the Beatific Vision, even before the Last Judgement.¹⁵¹⁵

¹⁵¹² On the Franciscans in Cyprus, see generally: Beraud 1986, 135-153; Olympios 2009, 103-122; Coureas 2010, 325-345; Coureas et al. 2012, 187-190. We possess no further evidence on Francis' position in the Order. A number of laymen and ecclesiastics by the name of Francis were active in fifteenth-century Cyprus, though none of them seems to be the same person as our Franciscan: Collenberg 1984-1987, 117, 136.35, 172.14, 175.28. Around the same period, Christopher, a learned Franciscan from Cyprus, composed in Latin a *Chronicle on the history of Genoa*: Grivaud 1995c, 1093-1096. Although the Constantinopolitan scholar Michael Apostolēs (d. ca. 1478) visited Cyprus in ca. 1468, it appears that Francis, one of his correspondents, is not a Cypriot, but should perhaps be identified as Francesco Filelfo (d. 1481), the well-known Italian classicist: Michael Apostolēs, *Letters*, ed. Stefec, 119.98 (ed. Noiret, 119-120.98 and comm. at 10, 13-14, 23, 37-38, 49).

¹⁵¹³ Le Goff 1984, 246-256, 281-283.

¹⁵¹⁴ A view that resembles vaguely the anti-Purgatorial teaching of Mark Eugenikos (see below, 434).

¹⁵¹⁵ Le Goff 1984, 254-255; cf. Delio 2014, 377.

As mentioned above, the first papal definition of Purgatory was formulated by Innocent IV (1243–1254) in 1254, during his attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* between the Latin and Rhomaic ecclesiastical hierarchies of Cyprus.¹⁵¹⁶ The Second Council of Lyons (1274), though less explicit in defining Purgatory, advocated the existence of otherworldly purgatorial penalties and required the acceptance of this doctrine by Byzantine unionists.¹⁵¹⁷ The Orthodox, however, had no official theological position or doctrine concerning the afterlife. The Early Byzantine Fathers (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Gregory of Nyssa) considered the otherworldly purification of souls as being primarily spiritual and therapeutic, which was offered to all dead, either before, or after the Last Judgement.¹⁵¹⁸ Other theologians (e.g., Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadios II Scholarios and several authors of beneficial or hagiographical narratives) argued that the souls of the departed passed through a process of trial by demonic tollgates, which resembled, superficially at least, the Western perception of Purgatory.¹⁵¹⁹

The theological dialogue with the West finally led the Orthodox to a more systematic examination of the afterlife state of souls. The Orthodox teaching was presented during the Council of Florence (1438–1439) by the Metropolitan of Ephesus, Mark Eugenikos (d. 1445). Eugenikos understood earlier patristic references to the *post-mortem* purification of the souls as being allegorical and instructive. Eugenikos argued that the Last Judgement would follow the eschatological resurrection of bodies. This would lead the righteous to a transfigurative vision of God’s energies and the sinners, who would be deprived of this vision, to a state of suffering that would be worse than any physical pain. Until then, Eugenikos argued, the souls of the departed remain in a state of expectation of the Last Judgement and are either relieved in the promise of their future union with God, or fear of their future punishment.¹⁵²⁰

Although Francis’ *Florilegium* mentions the Council of Florence [II.42], setting a *terminus post* 1439 for the composition of the text, the absence of references to Trent

¹⁵¹⁶ See above, 81-82.

¹⁵¹⁷ Le Goff 1984, 284-286.

¹⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 55-57; Conostas 2001, 94-99; Mateo-Seo 2010, 559-561.

¹⁵¹⁹ Conostas 2001, 105-109. See also Wortley 2001, 53-69. This similarity with the Latin teaching of Purgatory might have led Innocent IV to formulate his own definition of Purgatory in 1254, expecting its acceptance by the Cypriot Rhomaioi. See above, 81.

¹⁵²⁰ Conostas 2001, 113-119. See also above, 294.

suggests that the *Florilegium* had been composed before 1563.¹⁵²¹ Internal evidence contained in the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* (1563–1568) perhaps indicates a link with Francis' *Florilegium*. In paragraphs II.5-6, Francis states that it was Andrew of Caesarea who had first introduced the 'heretical' teaching (τῆς αἰρέσεως δὲ ταύτης εἰσηγητῆς) that the souls of the departed remain in a state of expectation of their future judgement and go neither to Paradise, nor to Hades.¹⁵²² Similarly, the author of the *Report* [I.4] calls Andrew of Caesarea *l'inventor di questa heresia*, repeating in Italian Francis' aforementioned statement.

Sometime before 1547, the MS was acquired by the Bembo Library, which had been created by Bernardo (d. 1519) and expanded by Pietro Bembo (d. 1547).¹⁵²³ The MS remained in Italy until the seventeenth century, when Sir Henry Wotton (d. 1639), benefactor of the Eton College Library, bought a large number of MSS belonging to the Bembo collections.¹⁵²⁴ 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.¹⁵²⁵

The *Florilegium* addressed a Cypriot Rhomaic audience. Francis stated that 'there are many in this city and on this island, who deny the existence of Purgatory in the afterlife' [I.2-3] (πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες πῦρ καθαρτήριον μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον μὴ εἶναι) and mentioned the 'Eighth Ecumenical' Council of Florence, 'in which [had participated] the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, an unutterable multitude of archbishops, bishops and abbots of the Greeks and many others, including both ecclesiastics and profane people' [II.42.470-474] (ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς

¹⁵²¹ On Purgatory and the Council of Trent see generally Le Goff 1984, 41-42, 357.

¹⁵²² See II.5.155 in the edition.

¹⁵²³ Clough 1965, 3; Danzi 2005, 356.

¹⁵²⁴ Montague Rhodes 1895, viii.

¹⁵²⁵ Giovanni Matteo Bembo, Pietro's nephew, was appointed *capitano di Famagosta* between 1546/7 and 1549 and *provveditore generale di Cipro* in 1561. Although Giovanni Matteo's appointment as *capitano di Famagosta* took place on 17 October 1546, he did not actually assume his post until 6 May 1547. Pietro Bembo died on 18 January 1547 and his last letters to Giovanni Matteo date from before the latter's arrival in Cyprus: Calvelli 2012, 21-23. This suggests that it is rather unlikely that Cardinal Pietro Bembo had acquired the MS from his nephew, since Giovanni Matteo came to Cyprus only after his uncle's death. On the relations between Pietro Bembo and the Asolian court of Caterina Cornaro see: Bolzoni 2013, 133-145; Von Kulesa 2013, 147-159.

Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ μετὰ λοιποῦ τοῦ ἀσπέτου πλήθους, ἀρχιεπισκόπων, ἐπισκόπων, ἡγουμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων τῆ μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, τῆ δὲ βεβήλων Γραικῶν παρόντος).¹⁵²⁶ Francis aimed to demonstrate to his audience that the existence of Purgatory and the pre-eschatological presence of souls in Paradise and Hades was based on the common Christian tradition of both East and West [I]. Francis quoted scriptural, liturgical and theological sources (including Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa), some of which are pseudepigraphal or dubious (e.g., Cyril of Jerusalem,¹⁵²⁷ Dionysius the Areopagite, Epiphanius of Salamis/Constantia and John Damascene).

Although Francis claims to have consulted Gregory of Nyssa's *Sermon on the Dead* [I.3],¹⁵²⁸ we have been unable to identify the passage quoted in the *Florilegium* among Gregory's published works. This is not the only case of unidentified passages in Francis' collection.¹⁵²⁹ The existence of unidentified passages in the *Florilegium* raises questions concerning Francis' method of work. One possibility, is that Francis collected passages from patristic texts which are lost to us. Given that the *Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters* [II.4, XIII.1-5] provides information on monastic and private libraries in Venetian-ruled Cyprus, we may assume that Francis was able to use a variety of sources.¹⁵³⁰ Moreover, the existence of unidentified passages in the *Florilegium* leaves open the possibility of forgery on Francis' part. This would have enriched his arsenal of patristic *testimonia*, thus strengthening his arguments in defence of Purgatory.

Francis was not only a collector and compiler, but also an exegete. The whole process of the composition of the *Florilegium* is interpretive, in the sense that our Franciscan

¹⁵²⁶ It is quite likely that Francis had consulted the Greek *Acts* of the Florentine Council and particularly the theological discussions on Purgatory. This is suggested by the fact that both the *Acts* and the *Florilegium* employ the same or similar passages to support the Latin doctrines. See, e.g.: I.6, I.9; cf. Petit and Hofmann 1969, 10.VI.7, 11-12.VI.10.

¹⁵²⁷ The Pseudo-Cyrrillian corpus of letters is a part of St Jerome's Latin hagiographical corpus. Its composition could be dated during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. See Whatley et al. 2004, in <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/whatley-saints-lives-in-middle-english-collections-st-jerome-introduction> (last accessed on 22/8/2014)

¹⁵²⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Sermon on the Dead*, ed. Heil, 28-68.

¹⁵²⁹ Marked as *fon. non inv.* in the edition. Note also the unidentified reference to the 'philosopher' (Aristotle?) in paragraph II.45.503-505.

¹⁵³⁰ Among the MSS mentioned in the *Report*, there is a luxury volume of the proceedings of the Council of Florence, bought from Mytilene by the Latin Archbishop, Podocataro (Livio, 1524-1552, or Cesare, 1552-1557): App. IV, 496.XIII.4; cf. App. III, 454.II.42.

creates a mosaic of scriptural and patristic references in defence of the Latin doctrines. This becomes evident in several cases.¹⁵³¹ In paragraphs II.44-45, for example, Francis quotes a hitherto unidentified passage from Chrysostom's *Sermon against the Manichean*, which supports the view that the righteous are able to enter Paradise before the Last Judgement. Francis comments on Chrysostom's attempt to persuade the Manichean to adopt the orthodox position and mentions Augustine's dogmatic flexibility in his dialogue with the Manicheans and Pelagians (though without referring to specific passages).

To our knowledge, this is the only Greek theological *Florilegium* composed by a Latin author during the period of the Latin rule. Francis was clearly familiar with the Byzantine Orthodox theology and liturgy, which reflects the socio-religious interaction between Cypriot Rhomaioi and Latins after centuries of coexistence. It is also noticeable that Francis avoids quoting the Latin Fathers and mentions only briefly the views expressed by Augustine and Gregory the Great. All the above, indicate that Francis appealed to the mentality of the Cypriot Rhomaioi and attempted to persuade them by invoking their own tradition. Finally, we may assume that Francis had Cypriot Rhomaic ethnic origins, and that despite his Franciscan training, continued to better express himself in the theological and liturgical language of his ancestors, rather than the language of the Church he had chosen to serve and follow.

¹⁵³¹ E.g., *ibid.*, 442.I.12, 443.II.5-444.II.6, 444.II.9, 447.II.18, 450.II.27.

f. 1^r Αναγνώστη τῷ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγαπητῷ.

[I] Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες πῦρ καθαρτήριον μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον μὴ εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀγίας ψυχὰς μηδαμῶς εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον δόξαν ἀναδέχασθαι, μὴ δε τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδην, ἕως οὗ ἀνέλθῃ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Κριτής· πρᾶγμα μὲν τῇ πίστει τῇ καθολικῇ, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων λόγοισιν ἀντικείμενον, πλειονάπερ αὐτῶν [^{ca. 12 lit.}..τ]ινὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ τινὰ [^{ca. 9 lit.}..]ως αὐτόθεν εἰς τὸ λατινικὸν μετὰ φρ[^{ca. 9.}..]υ εὗρον συνέλεξα, 5 ἑλλ[ημιστί] τε συγγρ[ά]ψα[ς δη]μοσιῶσαί τε ἠθέλησα, ταύτας ἐπιποθῶν τὰς λοιμῶδεις πλάνας ἐκ πάσης πάντων τῶν Χριστιανῶν διανοίας ἐκκρούειν, πάνυ γε καὶ ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἀναγνωρίσαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκ τοσαύτων,|| καὶ τοιαύτων ἀνανήψωσι πλανῶν, τοιγαροῦν πρότερον τὸ καθαρτήριον πῦρ 10 εἶναι παντελῶς ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ αἰῶνι, διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εὐδοκίμων διδασκάλων ἤδη νῦν ἀποδείξω.

f. 1^v

[I.1] Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας ἐν τῇ περὶ νεκρῶν ἀκολουθίᾳ τὸ τοῦ κεκοιμημένου τῷ Θεῷ λαλο[ῦν]τος, πρόσωπον εἰσάγων ταῦτα λέγει· *Εἰκῶν εἰμὶ ἐγὼ τῆς ἀνεκλαλήτ[ου δόξης] σου, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σ[ί]γματα μετ' ἐμοῦ φέρω· ἐλέησον τὸ πλ[άσμα] σου Κύριε καὶ διὰ σπλάγχχνων ἐλέους [σ]ου καθάρισον [^{ca. 4 lit.}..] καὶ τὴν τοῦ Παραδείσου περιπόθητον πατρίδα δός μοι, ποιῶν με πάλιν τῆς ἐπουρανίου αὐλῆς μέτοχον.* 20

f. 2^r

[I.2] Πάλιν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἱερουργίᾳ προσευχόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι θεία κατη-||χηθέντων λέγει· *Μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου· καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.* 25

2. Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ] cf. Luc. 1:1 — 19-23. Εἰκῶν-μέτοχον] *fon. non inv.*; cf. *Euch.*, 528 — 25-27. Μνήσθητι-σου] *Ioh. Chrys., Div. Lit.*, 115

3. πῦρ *cod.* — 5. ἄδην *cod.* — 8. πλειονάπερ *cod.* — ἑλληνικοῦ *cod.* — 9. λατινικὸν *cod.* — 10. δημοσιῶσαί τε *cod.* — 21. σπλάγχχνα *cod.* — 25. κατοικηθέντων *cod.*

[I.3] Ὁ πάνσοφος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸς Νυσ<σ>αέων Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ
περὶ νεκρῶν λόγῳ, τῷ ἀναγινωσκομένῳ τῷ πρώτῳ Σαββάτῳ μετὰ
30 τὴν Πεντηκοστήν, λέγει· Σοφία Θεοῦ· τῆδε βουλήν εὔρε τον
ἄνθρωπον, ἐν οἷς ἠθέλησεν εἶναι ἀφιέναι, ἵνα πρῶτον
[...]*γευσάμενος τὰ κακὰ, ἅπερ εἰργάσα[το· ἔ]πειτα δὲ πᾶσαν κακίαν,
ἀλογίαν [...ώ]σανεὶ τὶ βᾶρος ἀποθέμενος καὶ τῆς φύσεως
ἀποκινήσας, εἴτε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δι' εὐχῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν
35 παρατηρήσεως, εἴτε μετὰ τόνδε τον βίον τεθείς, διὰ τῆς τοῦ
καθαρηρίου πυρὸς φλεγμασίας ἐξινώμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ θελήματος ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπανακάμψη.*
f. 2^v

[I.4] Αὐθις ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ φησίν, Οὐδὲν ἀλογίστως, οὐδὲ ἀκερδῶς
ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηρύκων καὶ μαθητῶν παραδέδοται, καὶ ἐν τῇ
40 τοῦ Θεοῦ πανταχοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ διακεκράτῃται· ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα
ἐπωφελεὲς καὶ θεάρεστον, τὸ μνήμην δηλονότι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς θείας
καὶ παμφαοῦς μυσταγωγίας τῶν ἐν ὀρθῇ τῇ πίστει κεκοιμημένων.

[I.5] Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ περὶ νεκρῶν λόγῳ τάδε
φησίν· Ἐὰν μὴ τις ὧδε τὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ [ἀμ]αρτιῶν κηλίδας
45 καθαρῶσινται, μετὰ τὴν [ἐν]τεῦθεν μετάβασιν διὰ τῆς τοῦ
καθαρηρίου πυρὸς φλεγμασίας ἐξινώμενος, τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου εὐθύμως
ἀπολύεται· διὸ καὶ ἡ πιστὴ νύμφη μᾶλλον μᾶλλον τε, ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἑαυτῆς τέκνων, ἄγε δὴ Χριστῶ, τῷ αὐτῆς νυμφίῳ, κατ' οἰκονομίας
λόγόν τε καὶ μυστήριον παγκάλως ἐγέννησεν, ἢ εἰς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
50 πάθους ἀνάμνησιν προσφέρειν δῶρα τε καὶ θυσίας.

f. 3^r

[I.6] Θεοδώρικος ἐπίσκοπος Κυρηναῖος, διδάσκαλος παρὰ τοῖς
Ἑλλησιν εὐδόκιμος, εἰς τὴν πρώτην πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴν

30-37. Σοφία-παρακάμψη] *fon. non inv.* — 38-42. Οὐδὲν-κεκοιμημένων] Ioh. Chrys. in Ioh. Dam. (dub.), *Orat. de his qui in fide dorm.*, 34 — 38. *alt. lect.* (Migne-Nikolopoulos): οὐδ' ἀκερδῶς — 41. *alt. lect.* (Migne-Nikolopoulos): παντῶς ἐπωφελεὲς — 44-50. Ἐὰν-θυσίας] *fon. non inv.* — 51. *alt. lect.* (Petit-Hofmann in DP, 11.VI.10-22-23): Θεοδώρητος ὁ Τύρου ἐπίσκοπος *et intel. Theoricus Trevorensis*

31. οἷς *cod.* — 36. *post* καθαρηρίου *scr.* κεκαθαρισμένος εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν μακαριότητα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενος ἐπανακάμψη *in marg. cod.* — 36. ἐξινώμενος *cod.* — 38. ἀκέρδως *cod.* — 46. ἐξινώμενος *cod.*

ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον· «Εἰ δέ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον
 τοῦτον χρυσόν», καὶ μεθόσον, «αὐτός δε σωθήσεται οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ
 55 πυρός», 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 χοϊκῆς διανοίας
 κόνιος ἐγγένηται, ὧ ἐν πυρὶ τόφρα μένει, ἕως οὗ ὅ[τι] ἂν περι τοῦ
 60 σωματοειδοῦς καὶ χοϊκοῦ πάθους προσέφω καθαρισθῆ· οὗ περι
 μήτηρ ἢ Ἐκκλησία προσεύχεται, καὶ δῶρα εἰρηνικὰ ἰκέτις
 προσφέρει· ἴν' οὕτω δι' αὐτοῦ καθαρὸς ἐνθένδε καὶ ἐναγῆς ἐξελθῶν
 τὸν Κύριον σαβαὼθ ἐν πανάγνοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἢ ἄμωμος θεωρήση.

f. 3^v

[I.7] Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ ξθ' λέγει· Ἐπινοήσωμεν
 τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν ὠφέλειαν· δώσομεν αὐτοῖς τὴν προσοῦσαν
 65 βοήθειαν, ἐλεημοσύνας λέγω καὶ προσφοράς· καὶ φέρει τούτοις
 πολλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὴν ὄνησιν, καὶ μέγα τὸ κέρδος καὶ τὴν
 ὠφέλειαν· οὗ γὰρ εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε ταῦτα νενομοθέτηται, καὶ τῆ
 τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πανσόφων μαθητῶν
 παραδέδοται· φημί καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων εὐχὴν
 70 ποιῆσθαι τὸν ἱερέα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων· ἴσασι αὐτοῖς
 πολὺ τὸ κέρδος ἐκ τούτου καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

[I.8] Πάλιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ καὶ Γαλάτας θεοφεγγεῖ
 ἐρμηνείᾳ· Εἰ γὰρ Ἕλληνες, φησί, συγκατακαίουσι τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι τὰ
 ἑαυτῶν, πόσω γε μᾶλλον σὲ τὸν πιστὸν συμπαραπέμψαι δεῖ τῷ ἢ
 75 πιστῷ τὰ οἰκεῖα, οὐχ ἵνα τέφρα γένωνται, καθὼς ἐκεῖνα καὶ ταῦτα,
 ἀλλ' ἵνα μείζονα τούτῳ περιβάλης τὴν δόξαν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἁμαρτωλὸς
 ὁ τεθνηκῶς ἦ, ἵνα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα λύσης, εἰ δὲ δίκαιος ἵνα προσθήκη
 γένηται μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως.

f. 4^r

53-54. Εἰ-χρυσόν] 1 Cor. 3:12 — 54. αὐτός-πυρός] 1 Cor. 3:15 — 55-62. λέγει-
 θεωρήση] cf. DP, 11.VI.10 — 63-71. Ἐπινοήσωμεν-ὠφέλειαν] Ioh. Chrys. in Ioh.
 Dam. (dub.), *Orat. de his qui in fide dorm.*, 32 — 64. alt. lect. (Migne-Nikolopoulos):
 δῶμεν — 69. alt. lect. (Migne-Nikolopoulos): φημί δὴ — 70. alt. lect. (Migne-
 Nikolopoulos): εἰ μὴ ἴσασι — 72-73. ἐν-ἐρμηνείᾳ] Ioh. Dam. (dub.), *Orat. de his qui
 in fide dorm.*, 32 — 73-78. Εἰ-ἀντιδόσεως] Ioh. Chrys. in Ioh. Dam. (dub.), *Orat. de his
 qui in fide dorm.*, 32

56. post ἂν scr. καθαίροντος τὰς ἐγγενομένας αὐτῷ ἐξανθρωπίνης (corr.: ἐξ
 ἀνθρωπίνης) ἀσθενείας κηλίδας ὧ ἐν πυρὶ τόφρα μένει ἕως, οὗ in marg. cod. — 59.
 σωματοειδοῦς cod. — 62. σαβαὼθ cod. — 66. πολὺ cod. — 72. Φιλιππησίους cod. —
 77. τεθνηκῶς cod.

[I.9] Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, μαθητὴς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου,
 80 ἐπειδὴ μέμνηκε τῆς ἱεραῆς εὐχῆς ἣν ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπεύχεται τῷ
 κεκοιμημένῳ, τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Διονύσιος φησίν,
 ἐκ τῶν ἐνθέων ἡμῶν καθηγεμόνων παράδοσιν, ἐπάγει λέγων· Ἡ
 μὲν οὖν εὐχὴ τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος δεῖτα[ι] πάντα μὲν
 ἀφεῖναι τὰ δι' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡμαρτημένα τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ
 85 κατατάξαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χάρα ζώντων, εἰς κόλπους
 Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τόπῳ, οὗ ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη
 καὶ στεναγμός. ||

f. 4^v

[I.10] Καὶ ὀλίγω ὕστερον διδάξας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων
 ἀληθοῦς παραδόσεως, ὅτι τῶν δικαίων αἱ προσευχαὶ κατὰ τὸν
 90 τῆδε βίον, μὴ τι γε μετὰ θάνατον, εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους ἱερῶν εὐχῶν
 ἐνεργοῦσι μόνον· δεύτερον τάδε περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης εὐχῆς λέγει·
 Ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης ἐκφαντορικός ἐστιν, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησὶ τῶν
 θεαρχικῶν δικαιωμάτων· ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου Θεοῦ
 παντοκράτορος ἔστι· μεμάθηκεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν θεοπαραδότων λογίων,
 95 ὅτι τοῖς ὀσίως βιώσασιν, ἢ φανοτάτη καὶ θεῖα ζωὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ὑπὸ
 τῶν δικαιοτάτων ζυγῶν ἀντιδίδεται, παρορώσης ἀγαθότητι τῆς
 θεαρχικῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὰς ἐγγενομένας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης
 ἀσθενείας κηλίδας· ἐπεὶπερ οὐδεὶς, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησι, καθαρὸς
 ἀπὸ ρύπου· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ ἱεράρχης οἶδεν ἐπηγγελμένα πρὸς τῶν
 100 ἀληθῶν λογίων, αἰτεῖται δὲ αὐτὰ γενέσθαι || καὶ δωρηθῆναι τοῖς
 ὀσίως βιώσασι τὰς ἱεραῆς ἀντιδόσεις.

f. 5^r

[I.11] Πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός, ἐν τῷ εἰς
 Καισάριον τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας μητροῦς Ἠκούσθη, φησὶ,
 κήρυγμα πάσης ἀκοῆς ἄξιον· καὶ μητροῦς πάθος κενοῦται δι'
 105 ὑποσχέσεως καλλῆς καὶ ὀσίας, δοῦναι τὰ πάντα τῷ παιδί τὸν ἐκείνου
 πλοῦτον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δῶρον ἐντάφιον· καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα τὰ μὲν οὖν
 παρ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα· καὶ τὰ μὲν, ἀποδεδώκαμεν· τὰ δέ, δώσωμεν, τὰς

80-81. ἦν-ἐλθοῦσαν] Ps-Dion., *De Eccles. Hier.*, 127.7.6.14-15 — 82. ἐκ-παράδοσιν] Ps-Dion., *De Eccles. Hier.*, 127.7.6.15 — 82-87. Ἡ-στεναγμός] Ps-Dion., *De Eccles. Hier.*, 125.7.4.10-14 — 88-89. τῶν-παραδόσεως] cf. Ps-Dion., *De Coel. Hier.*, 26.6.2.18 — 92-101. Ὁ-ἀντιδόσεις] Ps-Dion., *De Eccles. Hier.*, 127.7.7.16-24 — 92. *alt. lect.* (Heil): τὰ λόγια φησιν — 93-94. *alt. lect.* (Heil): ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ — 98. *alt. lect.* (Heil): τὰ λόγια φησιν — 100. *alt. lect.* (Heil): αἰτεῖ — 103-106. Ἠκούσθη-ἐντάφιον] Greg. Naz., *Orat. VII*, 232.20.36-39

80. μέμνηκε *cod.* — 82. παράδοσιν *cod.* — 85. Ἀβραὰμ *cod.* — 86. Ἰακώβ *cod.* — 87. ὀλίγω *cod.* — 90. τῆδε *cod.* — 95. φανοτάτη *cod.* — θεῖα *cod.* — 97-98. ἐξανθρωπίνας ἀσθενείας *cod.* — 102. Ναζανζηνός *cod.* — 103. τον *cod.* — 105. τῶν ἐκείνου *cod.* — 107. δώσωμεν *cod.*

δι' ἔτους προσφέροντες τιμάς τε [καὶ] μνήμας. Δαμασκηνός, ἀνὴρ
110 μὲν ὁσίος τε καὶ εὐδόκιμος διδάσκαλος, τὸ καθαρτήριο πῦρ εἶναι
ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ αἰῶνι, ἐκφαντικῶς τε καὶ ἐπιμελῶς φάσκει, ὃς καὶ
βιβλίον, τὸ ἐν χερσὶ πανταχοῦ, περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν
ἀντιλεγόντων περισπουδάστως, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας
συνεγράψατο. ||

f. 5^v

[I.12] Διὸ καθάπερ ἐκ δευτέρου Μακκαβαίων βίβλου, κεφαλαίῳ
115 ιβ', ἔχομεν· Ἰούδας ὁ Μακκαβαῖος ποιησάμενος κατ' ἀνδρολογίαν
κατασκευάσματα εἰς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
Τεροσόλυμα προσαγαγεῖν περὶ ἀμαρτίας θυσίαν· πάννυ καλῶς καὶ
ἀστείως πράττων ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως διαλογιζόμενος· εἰ γὰρ μὴ
120 τούτους προπεπτωκότας ἀναστῆναι προσεδόκα [περισσὸν] ἂν ἦν καὶ
ληρῶδες ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν πρ[οσεύχε]σθαι· εἴτ' ἐμβλέπων τοῖς μετ'
εὐσ[εβείας κε]κοιμημένοις κάλλιστον ἀπο[κείμε]νον χαριστήριον·
ὁσία καὶ εὐσεβῆς ἢ ἐπίνοια· ὅθεν περὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων τὸν
ἐξιλασμόν ἐποίησατο τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπολυθῆναι· καὶ τοῖα ἕτερα
πολλὰ ἐξ' ἀμφοτέρων θείας Γραφῆς ἀγίων τε φωστήρων δύναται
125 προσφέρεισθαι, ἀφ' ὧν ρεῖα δεικνύται τὸ καθαρ- || τῆριον πῦρ εἶναι
παντελῶς ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ αἰῶνι· καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου
πυρὸς ἀρκούντος εἴρηται.

f. 6^r

[II] Ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰσὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ, τῶν δὲ
ἀσεβῶν ἐν τῷ Ἄϊδη.

130 **[II.1]** Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀθανάσιος ἐν βίβλῳ ἐπερωτημάτων ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῦ
νῦν αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν ἀποκρίνεται· Ἀλλοδαπὸν γέ τοι καὶ φοβερὸν
ἐρώτημα καὶ βροτοῖς ἀπόρρητον, μετὰ δε ταῦτα λέγει· Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐν
ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς διδασκόμεθα τὰς ἀγίας ψυχὰς νῦν ἐν τῷ
135 Παραδείσῳ εἶναι, καθὼς ἐν τῷ ληστῆ ἐμάθομεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ
τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου ληστοῦ ψυχὴν ἤνοιξεν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν Παράδεισον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν ἀγίων ψυχὰς· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπάγει τὰς ἀ-

107-108. καὶ-μνήμας] Greg. Naz., *Orat. VII*, 220.17.24-26 — 107-108. *alt. lect.* (Calvet-Sebasti): τὰ δι' ἔτους — 111. βιβλίον] Ioh. Dam. (dub.), *Orat. de his qui in fide dorm* — 115-123. ποιησάμενος-ἀπολυθῆναι] 2 Mac. 12:43-48 — 118. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): εἰ μὴ γὰρ — 119-120. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): περισσὸν καὶ ληρῶδες — 120. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): εὐχεσθαι — 121 *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): κοιμωμένοις — 131-139. Ἀλλοδαπὸν-σιδήρῳ] *fon. non inv.*

115. κατανδρολογίαν *cod.* — 119. προπεπτοκότας *cod.* — 124. φωστήρων *cod.* — 129. ἄδη *cod.* — 131. *post* ἄλλοδαπὸν *scr. et del.* ἐρώτημα — 134. καθὼς *cod.*

f. 6^v σεβείς δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἄϊδι τῷ ὑπὸ κάτω πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καθὼς ἐν Ψαλμοῖς γράφεται· «καθη-||μένους ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, πεπεδημένους ἐν πτωχείᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ».

140 [II.2] <Π>άλιν ἐπερωτηθεῖς τί ἐργάζονται ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ, οὕτως ἀποκρίνεται· Μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐν γῆ ζώντων τὸν Θεὸν αἰνοῦσι καὶ ἀγαλλιῶσι.

[II.3] Ὁ Χρυσόστομος εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τινῶν τῶν ἀντιφρονούντων λέγει· Τινὲς ψευδολογοῦσι μὴ εἶναι ἔτι τὸν ληστήν ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀσφάλειαν. τὸν Κύριον εἰπεῖν· «Σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔση ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ»· καὶ ἀποδοκιμάσας τὴν αἴρεσιν ταύτην, καὶ ὁ ληστής, φησί, νέμεται τὸν παράδεισον· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ψεύδεσθαι ὁ λέξας· «Σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔση ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ».

f. 7^r 150 [II.4] Διόπερ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ λειτουργίᾳ ὁ διάκονος θυμιῶν τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν κύκλῳ σταυροειδῶς λέγει καθεαυτὸν· Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς, ἐν Ἄϊδου δὲ μετὰ ψυχῆς ὡς Θεός, ἐν Παραδείσῳ δὲ μετὰ ληστοῦ, καὶ ἐν θρόνῳ ὑπῆρχες Χριστὲ μετὰ Πατρός καὶ Πνεύματος· πάντα πληρῶν ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος.

155 [II.5] Τῆς αἰρέσεως δὲ ταύτης εἰσηγητῆς ὑπῆρξε ποιός τις Ἀνδρέας, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας, ψευδόμενος ὅτι τῶν ἁγίων αἱ ψυχαὶ οὐπω ἀναβαίνουν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καταβαίνουν εἰς Ἄϊδου, μέχρι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας· τότε δὴ ἀφέξουσαι μισθὸν κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

[II.6] Ἐπιχειρεῖ δὲ ὁ ψευδῆς ψευδῶς δεικνῦναι διὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐβραίους ἐπιστολῇ ταῦτα λέγοντος· «Καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως, οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν κρεῖττόν τι προβλεψάμενον· ἵνα

138-139. καθημένους-σιδήρῳ] Ps. 106:10-11—142-143. Μετὰ-ἀγαλλιῶσι] *fon. non inv.*—144-149. Τινὲς-Παραδείσῳ] *fon. non inv.*—149. Σήμερον-Παραδείσῳ] Luc. 23:43—151-154. Ἐν-ἀπερίγραπτος] Ioh. Chrys., *Div. Lit.*, 90, 102—155-160. Τῆς-αὐτῶν] cf. Andr. Caes., *Comm. in Ap.*, 365B—161-165. Ἐπιχειρεῖ-τελειωθῶσιν] Andr. Caes., *Comm. in Ap.*, 272AB—162-165. Καὶ-τελειωθῶσιν] Heb. 11:39-40

138. καθῶς *cod.*—139. πτωχεία *cod.*—142. ζώντων *cod.*—143. Λουκᾶν *cod.*—147. αἴρεσιν *cod.*—151. καθεαυτὸν *cod.*— ἐν *cod.* — 161. ψεύδης

165 μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν».||

f. 7^v [II.7] Ἀποκρίνεται ὁ ἅγιος Χρυσόστομος εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον τάδε λέγων· Ὁρᾶς κηδεμονίαν; Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν «ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν στεφανωθῶσιν», ἀλλ' «ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν»· ὥστε καὶ τέλειοι τότε φαίνονται· προέλαβον κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀλλ' οὐ
170 προλαμβάνουσι κατὰ τοὺς στεφάνους. Οὐκ ἐκείνους ἠδίκησεν ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἐτίμησε.

[II.8] Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ Ἀποκαλύψει, κεφαλαίῳ ἕκτῳ, τάδε περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἣν εἶχον, λέγει· Καὶ ἐδόθησαν
175 ἐκάσταις στολαὶ λευκαί· καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς· ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἐτι χρόνον μικρὸν, ἕως οὗ πληρώσονται καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί.

f. 8^r [II.9] Αἱ στολαὶ δέ, αἱ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκείναις δοθεῖσαι, || εἰσὶ τὰ γέρα
180 ἐκεῖνα, τὰ νῦν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὡς ἄνω δηλοῖ ὁ ἅγιος Χρυσόστομος, μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον κομιζόμενα· ὁ ἴδιος μισθὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἕκαστον εὐσεβῆ κατὰ τὸν ἐνταῦθα ἴδιον κόπον ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι λήψεσθαι, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ, κεφαλαίῳ γ'. τὸ στέφος φημί ἐκεῖνο, ὅπερ
185 ἀποκείμενον ἑαυτῷ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος λέγει ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ, κεφαλαίῳ δ', σημαίνων τὸ ἄθλον, ὃ ἔμελλε διὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτοῦ καὶ πόνους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς [ἑαυτ]οῦ ἀναλύσεως προλαμβάνειν ταῦτα· Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκε, τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἠγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· εὐθὺς δὲ τὸ
190 γέρας τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνων καὶ καμάτων προσθείς, λοιπόν, φησὶν, ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς || δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

f. 8^v

[II.10] Τὸν τόπον δὲ τοῦτον διηγούμενος ὁ Χρυσόστομος ταῦτα

167-171. Ὁρᾶς-ἐτίμησε] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Hebr. hom. XXVIII*, 192 — 174-177. Καὶ-αὐτοί] cf. Ap. 6:11 — 174-175. *alt. lect.* (Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολῇ λευκῇ — 177. *alt. lect.* (Nestle-Aland): ἀποκτείνεσθαι — 178-180. Αἰ-κομιζόμενα] *vid. sup. limn.* 167-171 — 180-183. ὁ-κεφαλαίῳ γ'] cf. 1 Cor. 3:8 — 187-192. Ἐγὼ-ἡμέρᾳ] 2 Tim., 4:6-8

169. φαίνονται *cod.* — 174. ἦν *cod.* — 178. γέρατα *cod.* — 181. ὄν *cod.* — 185. τὸ ἄθλον, ὃ ἔμελλε *cod.* — 191. ὄν *cod.*

λέγει· Δεῖ λοιπόν χαίρειν, εἰς γὰρ ἀνάπανσιν ἔρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι
195 τὸ στάδιον, ἤκουσας, ὅτι τὸ ἀναλῦσαι κρεῖσσον, «καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ
εἶναι», καὶ μεθ' ὅσον, δικαιοσύνην ἐνταῦθα πάλιν τὴν καθόλου
φησὶν ἀρετὴν· οὐ τοίνυν ἀλγεῖν χρή, ὅτι ἄπειμι στεφανωσόμενος
τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ τιθέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ
ἄρα ἐνταῦθα οὕτως, ἀλγεῖν ἐχρῆν, μὴ παραπέσω, μὴ
200 παραπόλωμαι.

f. 9^r **[II.11]** Εἰς ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππησίους ὁ ἀπόστολος πρότερον
εἶπεν· Ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχω εἰς τὸ ἀναλύσαι, καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι· μεθ'
οὗ εἶναι οὐκ ἠδύνατο, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἐν
δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενος, ὅς γε θνητὸς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ^{||} ὑπάρχων,
205 παραπλήσιός τε θανάτου ταῦτα τὸν Πατέρα περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν
αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευσόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς
ἑαυτὸν ἠρώτησε· Πάτερ οὐς δέδωκάς μοι, θέλω ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγώ,
κακεῖνοι ὧσι μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἣν ἔδωκάς
μοι· ὅτι ἠγάπησάς με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

210 **[II.12]** Διὸ καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία μνημονεύουσα τοὺς
μάρτυρας τὸ τροπᾶριον ἀναγινώσκει τοῦτο· Οἱ μάρτυρές σου,
Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἀθλήσει αὐτῶν, στεφάνους ἐκομίσαντο τῆς ἀφθαρσίας,
ἐκ σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῖα ἕτερα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς
αὐτῆς πολλάκις εὐρίσκεται.

f. 9^v 215 **[II.13]** Ἔτι δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς μάρτυρας λέγει· Οἱ
μάρτυρες ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡ γῆ κατέκρυψεν, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ὑπεδέξατο,
ἠνοίγησαν ὑμῖν Παραδείσου πύλαι, καὶ ἥ ἐντὸς γενόμενοι τοῦ ξύλου
τῆς ζωῆς ἀπολαύετε.

220 **[II.14]** Ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἀναβάς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
ἀνήγαγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα, ὅσους τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου φρουρᾶς
ἠλευθέρωσε· καθὼς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῇ,

194-196. Δεῖ-εἶναι] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. II ad Tim. hom. IX*, 652 — 196-200.
δικαιοσύνην-παραπόλωμαι] cf. Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. II ad Tim. hom. IX*, 653 — 198-
199. *alt. lect.* (Migne): Ἀλλ' εἰ ἐνταῦθα παρέμενον, ὅπως ἀλγεῖν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον καὶ
δεδοικέναι — 202. Ἐπιθυμίαν-εἶναι] Phil. 1:23 — 207-209. Πάτερ-κόσμου] Ioh.
17:24 — 211-213. Οἱ-ἡμῶν] cf. *Hor.*, 166 — 215-218. Οἱ-ἀπολαύετε] *Triod.*, 179

199. οὕτως *cod.* — 200. παραπόλωμαι *cod.* — 201. Φιλιππισίους *cod.* — 207. οὐς
cod. — 208. ἣν *cod.* — 210. μνημονεύουσα *cod.* — 216. οὐχι γῆ *cod.* — 218.
ἀπελάβετε *cod.* — 221. καθὼς *cod.*

κεφαλαίῳ τετάρτῳ, περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγει· Ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος
ἤχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν· ὁ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Δαυὶδ ἐκ
παλαιοῦ προεῖρηκε, Ψαλμῶ ζζ'.

f. 10^r 225 **[II.15]** Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ χρυσορῥήμων ὄντως καὶ χρυσεπώνυμος
Ἰωάννης εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ πάθος, ἔσχατον
πάντων, ταῦτα λέγει· Ὁ δὲ Κύριος σκυλεύσας τὸν Ἄϊδην καὶ τὸν
θάνατον θανάτῳ πατήσας καὶ τὸ ξύλον ξύλῳ ἰασάμενος, καὶ τὰς
230 διάβολον^{||} δῆσας, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐλευθερώσας, πάντα εἰς
οὐρανὸν ἀνεκόμησεν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάς, ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ
φιλόανθρωπος καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων.

f. 10^v 235 **[II.16]** Ἔτι δὲ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἐπιφάνιος εἰς τὴν τοῦ
Κυρίου ἡμῶν ταφήν, τὸν αὐτὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδην,
ἐλευθεροῦν ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἀγίους πατέρας, εἰσάγει τάδε τῷ
Ἀδὰμ ὑμνήσαι· Ἐδεξάμην κάλαμον, ἵνα ὑπογράψω ἐλευθερίαν
τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὕπνωσα ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ, καὶ ῥομφαία
ἐνύχθη τὴν πλευρὰν διὰ σὲ τὸν ἐν Παραδείσῳ ὑπνώσαντα, καὶ
240 εὖαν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐξενέγκαντα· ἡ ἐμὴ πλευρὰ ἰάσατο τὸ ἄλγος
σου τῆς πλευρᾶς, ὁ ἐμὸς ὕπνος ἐξάξει σε τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄϊδι ὕπνου, ἡ
ἐμὴ ῥομφαία ἔστησε τὴν κατὰ σοῦ στρεφομένην ῥομφαίαν· λοιπὸν
ἔγειρε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, ἐξήγαγόν σε ἀπὸ γῆς Παραδείσου^{||}
ἀποκαθιστῶ σε οὐκ ἔτι ἐν Παραδείσῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανίῳ θρόνῳ·
ἐκάλυσά σε τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ τυπικοῦ τῆς ζωῆς· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς
245 ἐγὼ ὄλωσ ἠνώθην σοι ἡ ζωή· ἔταξα τὰ Χερουβίμ δουλοπρεπῶς
φυλάττειν σε· ποιῶ τὰ Χερουβίμ θεοπρεπῶς προσκυνεῖν σε·
ἐκρύβης ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὡς γυμνός, ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἔκρυψας ἐν αὐτῷ Θεὸν
γυμνόν· ἐνεδύθης τὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης δερμάτινον χιτῶνα· διὸ
ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν, ἀπὸ σκότους
250 εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον φῶς, ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ἐγείρε-

222-223. Ἀναβάς-αἰχμαλωσίαν] Eph. 4:8 — 223-224. Ἀναβάς-ζζ'] cf. Ps. 67:19 —
227-232. Ὁ-αἰώνων] *fon. non inv.* — 236-253. Ἐδεξάμην-οὐρανόν] Eriph. (dub.),
Hom. in div. corp. sep., 464AB — 238-239. *alt. lect.* (Migne): καὶ τὴν εὖαν — 239-240.
alt. lect. (Migne): τὸ ἄλγος τῆς πλευρᾶς — 240. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἐκ τοῦ ἐν ἄδι
ὕπνου — 242. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἐξήγαγέ σε ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς Παραδείσου — 246.
alt. lect. (Migne): προσκυνῆσαι σε — 247. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἐν ἑαυτῷ — 249. *alt. lect.*
(Migne): ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου *et* ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους — 250. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἀπὸ
δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν

223. ὁ *cod.* — 225. ὄντως *cod.* — 226. Σωτήρος *cod.* — 227. ἄδην *cod.* — 228.
ἰασάμενος *cod.* — 237. *scr. et corr.* ὕπνωσα (ex ὕπνωσα) *cod.* — 238. ὑπνώσαντα *cod.*
— 239. Ἐβαν *cod.* — ἰάσατω *cod.* — 241. ῥομφαία, ῥομφαίαν *cod.* — 242. ἐγειραι *cod.*
— 243. *intel.*: οὐκέτι — 245. ἠνώθην *cod.* — 249. ἐγείρεσθαι *cod.*

σθε ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ φυλακῆς εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν· ἀπὸ τῆς κατοχῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Παραδείσου τρυφὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

f. 11^r 255 **[II.17]** Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρωτομάρτυς
Στέφανος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀπο-ἠστολῶν πρᾶξι, κεφαλαίῳ ζ',
κηρύξας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἀτενίσας τε εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα ἐκ
δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶπεν· «Ἴδου θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεωγμένους·
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ Θεοῦ»· καὶ μετ'
260 ὀλίγον λιθοβολούντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ
ἔλεγε· «Κύριε Ἰησοῦ δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου».

f. 11^v 265 **[II.18]** Ὁ κήρυξ δὲ καὶ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν
πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκαλος, ὅταν ἦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, οὗ καὶ
ὁ σκόλοψ τῆ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατᾶν, ἐκολάφιζεν αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τρίς
270 τὸν Κύριον παρεκάλεσεν, ἵν' ἀποστῆ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς
ἀπόστολος, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ὑπεπίαζε τε καὶ ἐδουλαγῶγει, μὴ πως
ἄλλοις κηρύξας, αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένηται, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
ταλαιπωρίαν συν-ἠεμφαίνων, ἐθρήνει τε καὶ ᾠδύρετο λέγων·
Ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος· τίς με ρύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ
270 θανάτου τούτου; Ἔως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἰς Παράδεισον τὸν
ἐπουράνιον ἤρπάγη, καὶ νῦν πάσης τῆς ταλαιπωρίας παντ'
ἐλεύθερος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τε καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Παραδείσῳ;
Καὶ τὰ ἄρρήτα ῥήματα, ἃ τότε ἤκουσεν, οὐχὶ νῦν ἀκούει; Εἰ δὲ τὴν
ἀποκειμένην οὖν μακαριότητα καρποῦται, νῦ[ν] ὁμοίως τὴν
275 αὐτὴν καρποῦνται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἅγιοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι
προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

[II.19] Διὸ πάλιν ὁ Χρυσόστομος εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ κζ', ἀνεωγμένον, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῖς

251. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνεσιν — 256-258. ἀτενίσας-εἶπεν] cf. Act. 7:55-56 — 258-259. Ἴδου-Θεοῦ] Act. 7:56—261. Κύριε-μου] Act. 7:59 — 264-265. ὁ-ἑαυτοῦ] cf. 2 Cor. 12:7-8 — 266-267. τὸ-γένηται] cf. 1 Cor. 9:27 — 269-270. Ταλαίπωρος-τούτου] Rom. 7:24 — 270-273. Ἔως-ἤκουσεν] cf. 2 Cor. 12:2-4 — 275-276. οὐ-Θεῷ] Rom. 2:11 — 278-280. ἀνεωγμένον-μεταβάλλεσθαι] *fon. non inv.*

251. Ἱερουσαλήμ *cod.* — 256. Ἰησοῦ]ν *cod.* — 257. ἐστῶτα *cod.* — 259. ἐστῶτα *cod.* — 261. πνεῦμα *cod.* — 262. κήρυξ *cod.* — 266. ὑπεπίαζε *cod.* — 268. συν-ἠεμφαίνων *cod.* — 268. ἐθρήνει *cod.* — 271. ἐπου(ράν)ιον *cod.* — 273. ἃ *cod.*

δικαίοις τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἰς ζωὴν ἄφθαρτον καὶ
280 ἀμίαντον μεταβάλλεσθαι. ||

f. 12^r [II.20] Καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολὴν
κεφαλαίῳ ε', ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ δεκάτῃ ἐρμηνεύων τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον,
θαῤῥοῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος,
καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, ταῦτα λέγει· Τὸ μείζον πάντων
285 ὕστερον τέθεικε· τοῦ γὰρ ἄφθαρτον λαβεῖν, τὸ μετὰ Χριστοῦ εἶναι
βέλτιον· ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτο ἐστίν· οὐ σβέννυσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ζωὴν ὁ
πολεμῶν καὶ ἀναιρῶν· μὴ φοβηθῆς, θάρρει κατακοπτόμενος· οὐ
γὰρ μόνον φορο[ᾶς] σε ἀπαλλάττει, καὶ βάρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
Κυρίῳ σε παραπέμπει ταχέως, διὸ οὐδὲ εἶπεν, ὄντες ἐν τῷ σώματι,
290 ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ὄντων καὶ ξένη.

f. 12^v [II.21] Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν κατὰ τῶν
ἀντιλεγόντων μήδε τοὺς πονηροὺς μετὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον
κολάζεσθαι, μήδε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἴσως στεφανοῦσθαι || λέγει· Τί
δε; Οἱ τὰ ὄρη κατειληφότες μοναχοὶ καὶ μυρίαν ἄσκησιν
295 ἐπιδειξάμενοι, ἀστεφάνωτοι ἀπελεύσονται; Εἰ γὰρ οἱ πονηροὶ οὐ
κολάζονται, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς ἀντίδοσις, ἔρει τίς ἕτερος ἴσως, ὅτι
οὐδὲ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ στεφανοῦνται. Ναὶ φησί, τοῦτο γὰρ Θεῷ πρόπον,
βασιλείαν εἶναι μόνον, καὶ μὴ γεένναν. Οὐκοῦν ὁ πόρνος καὶ ὁ
μοιχός, καὶ ὁ μυρία κακὰ ἐργασάμενος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεται τῷ
300 σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀγιωσύνην ἐπιδειξαμένῳ.

[II.22] Διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴν κεφαλαίῳ η', ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ
ιε', τῇ ἠθικῇ περὶ τέλος, ἐν ζητῶ, φησί, παρ' ὑμῶν μόνον, τὴν διὰ
τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξιν, τὴν διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπακοήν· τοῦτο
ἔπαινος ἐμός, τοῦτο κέρδος ὑμέτερον, τοῦτο διαδήματός μοι
305 λαμπρότερον· τοῦτον τοίνυν ἀπελθόντες καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐμοὶ κατα-
|| σκευάσετε τὸν στέφανον διὰ τῆς τῶν πενήτων χειρός, ἵνα καὶ
κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον, χρηστῆ συντραφῶμεν ἐλπίδι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
μέλλουσαν ἀπελθόντες ζωὴν, τῶν μυρίων ἐπιτύχωμεν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν

f. 13^r

283-284. θαῤῥοῦμεν-Κύριον] 2 Cor. 5:8 — 284-290. Τὸ-ξένη] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. II ad Cor. hom. X*, 469 — 286. *alt. lect.* (Migne): τοῦτο ἐστίν· οὐ σβέννυσιν ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν — 293-300. Τί-ἐπιδειξαμένῳ] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Rom. hom. XXV*, 635-636 — 297. *alt. lect.* (Migne): Οὐχί, φησί — 302-309. ἐν-φιλανθρωπίᾳ] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Rom. hom. XV*, 548

286. βέλτιον *cod.* — 296. ἀντίδοσις *cod.* — 298. εἶναι *cod.* — οὐκ οὖν *cod.* — 304. διαδήματός μοι *cod.*

γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν, χάριτι, καὶ φιλανθρωπία.

310 **[II.23]** Πάλιν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολήν, κεφαλαίῳ α', ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γ', περὶ τέλος, καλὸν φησι, τὸ ἀναλῦσαι, «καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι», καὶ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος τῶν ἀδιαφόρων ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλὰ κακὸν τὸ ἀποθανόντα κολάζεσθαι· οὐδὲ καλὸν ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλὰ καλὸν τὸ ἀποθανόντα «σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι»·
315 τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, ἢ καλὰ, ἢ κακὰ· [*spat. vac. ca. 8-10 lit.*] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἠθικῷ.

f. 13^v **[II.24]** Μὴ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι πενθῶμεν ἀπλῶς, μὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ζῶσι χαίρωμεν ἀπλῶς· ἀλλὰ τί; Πενθῶμεν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς|| μὴ ἀποθνήσκοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντας·
320 χαίρωμεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις, μὴ ζῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτηκόσιν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ζῶντες τεθνήκασιν, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀποθανόντες ζῶσιν, ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντες ἔλεεινοὶ πᾶσιν εἰσίν, ἐπειδὴ Θεῷ προσκρούουσιν· οὗτοι καὶ ἐκεῖ μεταστάντες, μακάριοι, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπῆλθον· οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὅπου ἂν ᾧσι, πόρρω
325 τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσί· διὰ τοῦτο δακρῶν ἄξιοι· οἱ δὲ δίκαι[οι] ἂν τε ἐνταῦθα, ἂν τε ἐκεῖ, μετὰ τοῦ βασιλ[έ]ως εἰσί, κακεῖ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐγγύτερον, οὐ διὰ εἰσόπτρου οὐ διὰ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ «πρόσω[π]ον πρὸς πρόσωπον».

f. 14^r **[II.25]** Πλὴν καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀγίων πολλοὶ συνεγεροθέντες τῷ Χριστῷ, καθὼς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ματθαῖος γράφει, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνακομίσει, τουτέστι, στεφα-||νωθῆναι, τελειωθῆναι τε, προλαβόντες τὴν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν στολήν διῶσχυρίζονται, ὁ καὶ γραφῆ παρεδόθη ὑπὸ διδασκάλων καθολικῶν καὶ ὀσιοτάτων.

335 **[II.26]** Ἄρ' οὖν, αἱ τοῦ σώματος δεσμῶν, ὡσανεὶ δεσμοτηρίου, ἐκ πᾶσαι τῶν θεοσεβῶν ψυχαί, παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδύονται τὴν πρώτην στολήν, τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπαύομεναι

311-315. καλόν-κακὰ] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Phil. hom. III*, 202-203—313. *alt. lect.* (Migne): ἀπελθόντα—317-328. Μὴ-πρόσωπον] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Phil. hom. III*, 203—317. *alt. lect.* (Migne): μηδὲ—327-328. *alt. lect.* (Migne): οὐ διὰ εἶδους, οὐ διὰ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ, «Πρόσωπον», φησί, «πρὸς πρόσωπον»; cf. 1 Cor. 13:12—329. τῶν-συνεγεροθέντες] cf. Matth. 27:52—333. προλαβόντες-διῶσχυρίζονται] *fon. non inv.*—336-337. ἐνδύονται-στολήν] cf. Luc. 15:22

310. *scr.* Φιλιππίσιους post corr. (ex. Φιλιππισίους) *cod.* — 317-318. ἀπλῶς *cod.*—322. ἐλεηνοὶ *cod.*— 323. πρὸς κρούουσιν *cod.*— κακεῖ *cod.* — 330. καθὼς *cod.* — 332. τοῦτ' ἔστι *cod.* — 333. διῶσχερίζονται, ὁ *cod.* — 335. ἄρ *cod.* — δεσμοτηρίου *cod.*

προσδοκῶσι τὴν πάνδημον ἀνάστασιν, ἵνα τότε καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς στεφάνους δευτέραν στολὴν ἐνδύσωνται.

- f. 14^v
- 340 [II.27] Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας βίβλῳ, κεφαλαίῳ ζ', περὶ τοῦ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὁσίως βιώσαντος φησὶν ὅτι, τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ θεῖα θεσμοθεσία, μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν, τὰς θεαρχικὰς κοινωνίας||
- 345 ἀμφοῖν δωρεῖται· τῇ ψυχῇ μὲν ἐν καθαρᾷ θεωρίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν τελουμένων, τῷ σώματι δὲ κατὰ τὸ θεϊότατον, ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι μύρον, καὶ τῆς θεαρχικῆς κοινωνίας ἱερώτατα σύμβολα, τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ἀγιάζουσα, καὶ τὴν ὀλικὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἱεουργοῦσα, καὶ τελεωτάτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔσσεσθαι διαγγέλλουσα ταῖς
- 350 καθολικαῖς ἀγιστεῖαις· τουτέστιν ἢ ὁσία ψυχὴ μετὰ τὸ μεταστῆναι, λαμβάνει διὰ τῆς θεῖας θεσμοθεσίας τὴν ἐν καθαρᾷ θεωρίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν τελουμένων αὐτῆς ἀμοιβαίαν λήξιν, τὴν τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναπαυσαμένου πρώτην στολὴν, τὸ σῶμα δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, οὐπω, μόνον δὲ νῦν κατὰ τὸ
- 355 θεϊότατον, ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι μύρον· ἤγουν ἐπιχύσαι τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ τὸ θεϊότατον μύρον ὁ ἱεράρχης διαγγέλλει καὶ τὴν ἱεράν τοῦ σώματος ἀντίδοσιν, ὥστε|| τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ἡγιασμένον, σεσωσμένον τε, μακάριον, ὀλοτελῆ τελῶς ἀναστήσεσθαι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐννοηθῆναι.
- f. 15^r

- 360 [II.28] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον αὐθις ὁ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος καὶ θεορῳγῶν Γρηγόριος, ἐν τῷ εἰς Καισάριον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιταφίῳ λόγῳ, ταύτην τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐνωπιδίως τε καὶ σαφῶς ἐκφαίνει, τάδε λέγων· Πείθομαι σοφῶν λόγοις, ὅτι ψυχὴ πᾶσα καλὴ τε καὶ θεοφιλῆς, ἐπειδὴν τοῦ συνδεδεμένου σώματος ἐνθένδε
- 365 ἀπαλλαγῆ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν συναισθήσει καὶ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ μένοντος αὐτὴν καλοῦ γενομένη (ἅτε τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦντος ἀνακαθαρθέντος, ἢ ἀποτεθέντος, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι καὶ λέγειν χρή) θαυμασίαν τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἥδεται καὶ ἀγάλλεται, καὶ ἴλεως χωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην,

339. δευτέραν στολὴν] cf. *Triod.*, 69-70 — 343-350. τῶν-ἀγιστεῖαις] *Ps-Dion., De Eccles. Hier.*, 129.7.9.29-130.7.9.5 — 347. *alt. lect.* (Migne): καὶ τὰ τῆς — 349. *alt. lect.* (Migne): τελειοτάτην — 353-354. πρώτην-δευτέραν] *vid. sup. linn.* 333, 336-339 — 363-372. Πείθομαι-μακαριότητα] *Greg. Naz., Orat. VII*, 232.21.42-234.21.12 — 364. *alt. lect.* (Calvet-Sebasti): τοῦ συνδεδεμένου λυθεῖσα σώματος

341. τῷ *cod.* — 343. *sscr.* -θε *post* -μο *cod.* — 350. τοῦτ' ἔστιν *cod.* — 352. ἀμοιβαίαν λήξιν *cod.* — 354. οὐπω *cod.* — 355. εἰκῶνι *cod.* — ἐπιχήσαι *cod.* — 358. σεσοσμένον *cod.* — 363. πᾶσα *cod.* — 365. μεν *cod.* — 367. οὐκ' *cod.*

f. 15^v 370 ὡσπέρ τι δεσμωτήριον χαλεπὸν τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον ἀποφυγοῦσα· καὶ
 τὰς περικειμένας ἀποσεισαμένη πέδας, ὕφ' ὧν τὸ ἢ τῆς διανοίας
 πτερόν καθείλκετο· καὶ οἶον ἤδη τῇ φαντασίᾳ καρποῦται τὴν
 ἀποκειμένην μακαριότητα· τοσοῦτον ὅσον περὶ τῆς ὀσίας ψυχῆς·
 375 τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς περὶ τοῦ σώματος· Μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς
 σαρκίον ἀπολαβοῦσα, ᾧ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν συνεφιλοσόφησε, παρὰ τῆς καὶ
 δούσης καὶ πιστευθείσης γῆς, τρόπον ὃν οἶδεν ὁ ταῦτα συνδήσας
 καὶ διαλύσας Θεός, τούτῳ συγκληρονομεῖ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν δόξης.

[II.29] Πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν, ὅτ' εἰς τὰς ἐπουρανίους
 χαράς τε καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεις αὐτὴ καταποθείσα, τῆς ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν
 ἐπίνοϊαν τοῦ Θεοῦ παρουσίας καὶ πάντων, ὧν ἔτι ὑπὲρ γῆς εἶχε
 380 τὰς ἀπορρόϊας, νῦν πάμπαν ἀπολάβει, ταῦτα φησί· Κρείσσω μὲν
 οὖν εὔ οἶδα καὶ μακρῶ τιμιώτερα τὰ παρόντα σοι νῦν, ἢ κατὰ τὰ
 f. 16^r ὀρώ-ἢ μενα· ἦχος ἐορταζόντων, ἀγγέλων χορεία, τάξις οὐρανία,
 δόξης θεωρία, τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω, Τριάδος ἔλλαμψις
 καθαρωτέρα τε καὶ τελεωτέρα· μηκέτι ὑποφυγοῦσης τὸν δέσμιον
 385 νοῦν, καὶ διαχεόμενον ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἀλλ' ὅλης ὄλω νοῖ
 θεωρουμένης τε καὶ κρατουμένης, καὶ προσαστραπτούσης ταῖς
 ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς ὄλω τῷ φωτὶ τῆς θεότητος· πάντων ἀπολαύσις,
 ὧν ἔτι ὑπὲρ γῆς εἶχες τὰς ἀπορρόϊας, διὰ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ
 νεύσεως.

390 [II.30] Ἐτ' εἰς Βασίλειον τὸν μέγαν, ἴν' αὐτὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἡμᾶς
 ἐποπτεύσει τε, καὶ ὅταν μεταστήσωμεν δέξει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ σκηναῖς,
 λέγει· Σύ δε ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύσις ἄνωθεν, ᾧ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ, καὶ
 τὸν δεδομένον ἡμῖν παρὰ Θεοῦ σκόλοπα τῆς σαρκός, τὴν ἡμετέραν
 f. 16^v παιδαγωγίαν, ἢ στήσαις ταῖς ἢ σεαυτοῦ πρεσβείαις, ἢ πείσαις
 395 καρτερῶς φέρειν, καὶ τὸν πάντα βίον ἡμῖν διεξάγοις πρὸς τὸ
 λυσιτελέστατον· εἰ δὲ μετασταίημεν· δέξαιο κἀκεῖθεν ἡμᾶς ταῖς
 σεαυτοῦ σκηναῖς, ὡς ἂν ἀλλήλοις συζῶντες, καὶ συνεποπτεύοντες
 τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν Τριάδα, καθαρώτερόν τε καὶ τελεώτερον,

373-376. Μικρὸν-δόξης] Greg. Naz., *Orat.* VII, 234.21.12-16 — 379-380. ὧν-
 ἀπορρόϊας] cf. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* VIII, 296.23.9 — 380-378. Κρείσσω-νεύσεως] Greg.
 Naz., *Orat.* VIII, 296.23 — 387. *alt. lect.* (Calvet-Sebasti): ἡμετέραις — 392-401. Σύ-
 ἀντίδοσιν] Greg. Naz., *Orat.* XLIII, 304.82.6-306.82.17

369. ὡς πέρ τι *cod.* — ἀποφυγοῦσα *cod.* — 373. τὰδὲ *cod.* — 376. συγκληρονομεῖ *cod.*
 — 375. ὃν *cod.* — 390. Ἐτ' *cod.* — οὐρανοῦ *cod.* — 392. θεία *cod.*

400 ἥς νῦν μετρίως δεδέγμεθα τὰς ἐμφάσεις, ἐνταῦθα σταίημεν τῆς
ἐφέσεως, καὶ ταύτην λάβοιμεν, ὧν πεπολεμήκαμεν καὶ
πεπολεμήμεθα, τὴν ἀντίδοσιν.

f. 17^r **[II.31]** Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις ἐκφαντορικόν ἐστι, τὰς τῶν ἀγίων
ἀπελθούσας ψυχὰς νέμεσθαι νῦν τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω
405 τῆς παναγίας Τριάδος δόξην θεωρεῖν τε, καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ ἀπόστολος
λέγει, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον βλέπειν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ τοῦ
Ψαλμοῦ πγ', μακάριοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων αἰνέσουσί σε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ λε', μεθυσθήσονται
ἀπὸ πιότητος οἴκου σου, καὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῆς τρυφῆς σου ποτιεῖς
αὐτούς.

410 **[II.32]** Αἱ ψυχαὶ δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπειδὰν τοῦ συνδεδεμένου
σώματος ἐνθὲνδ' ἀπαλλάξωσι, ταχέως καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἄιδου,
ὡς καὶ ὁ Ψαλμὸς ριγ' λέγει Οὐχ οἱ νεκροὶ αἰνέσουσί σε Κύριε, οὐδὲ
πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς Ἄιδον [*sprat. vac. ca. 2-3 lit.*]. <I>ὠβ,
κεφαλαίῳ κα', ἄγουσιν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν
415 ἀτόμῳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸν Ἄιδην.

f. 17^v **[II.33]** Ἐζεκίας ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὠδή, ἢ παρὰ τῷ Ἡσαΐα,
κεφαλαίῳ λη'. Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Ἄιδου αἰνέσουσί σε, οὐδὲ οἱ
ἀποθανόντες εὐλογήσουσί σε, οὐδὲ ἐλπιούσιν οἱ ἐν Ἄιδου τὴν
ἐλεημοσύνην σου.

420 **[II.34]** Βαρούχ, κεφαλαίῳ β'. Ἄνοιξον ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἴδε, ὅτι
οὐχ' οἱ τεθνηκότες ἐν τῷ Ἄιδῳ, ὧν ἐλήφθη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτῶν, δώσουσι δόξαν καὶ δικαιώματα τῷ Κυρίῳ.

[II.35] Πάλιν ὁ Δαυὶδ Ψαλμῷ ρλθ'. Ἄνδρα ἄδικον κακὰ θηρεύσει
εἰς διαφθοράν.

405. πρόσωπον-βλέπειν] cf. 1 Cor. 13:12 — 406-407. μακάριοι-σε] Ps. 83:5 — 407. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): αἰνέσουσίν σε — 407-409. μεθυσθήσονται-αὐτούς] Ps. 35:9 — 408. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): τοῦ οἴκου σου — 412-413. Οὐχ-Ἄιδου] Ps. 113:25 — 414. ἐν-αὐτῶν] cf. Iob 21:13 et 36:11 — 414-415. ἐν ἀτόμῳ] cf. 1 Cor. 15:52 — 415. ἐν-καιροῦ (*in marg. cod.*) cf. Luc. 4:5 — 417-419. Οὐ-σου] Is. 38:18 — 417-418. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): αἰνέσουσίν σε et εὐλογήσουσίν σε — 420-422. Ἄνοιξον-Κυρίῳ] cf. Bar. 2:17 — 420. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): Ἄνοιξον, Κύριε, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἴδέ — 422. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): δικαίωμα — 423-424. Ἄνδρα-διαφθοράν] Ps. 139:12

404. ὡς πὲρ *cod.* — 407. αἰῶνας *cod.* — 412. οὐχ' *cod.* — 414. αὐτῶν *cod.* — 415. *post* εἰς *scr.* ἐν στιγμῇ καιροῦ *in marg. cod.*

425 [II.36] Τὴν διαφθορὰν δὲ ταύτην καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακὰ σημαίνει ὁ
Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ, κεφαλαίῳ ιζ', ταῦτα περὶ
τοῦ πλουσίου ἐκείνου, τοῦ εἰς τὸν πτωχόν, ὀνόματι Λάζαρον,
ἀπηνοῦς λέγων, ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη· καὶ ἐν τῷ
430 Αἰδιῇ ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βαράνοις, ὄρα τὸν
Ἀβραάμ.

[II.37] Ἔτι δὲ οὐ παραβολὴ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἱστορία ἔστιν ἀληθῶς,
δηλον ἐν τῆς τοῦ Χρυσόστομου εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον,
κεφάλαιον ιβ', ὁμιλίας μβ', ἴδε.

f. 18^r [II.38] Διὸ ὁ αὐτὸς Χρυσόστομος εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥω-Ἰμαίους
435 ἐπιστολὴν φάσκει, τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ψυχὰς, εὐθέως μετὰ τὸ
ἐξελεθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, ταρταροῦσθαι, τουτέστιν, εἰς Τάρταρον
καταβάλλεσθαι.

[II.39] Ἔτι δὲ φανερῶς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴν, κεφαλαίῳ ιδ', ἐν
ὁμιλίᾳ κε', περὶ τέλος· Οὐχ' ὄρας, φησί, καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τί πεποίηκε;
440 Πῶς δύο ληστὰς λαβῶν, οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἰς
βασιλείαν εἰσήγαγε, τὸν δὲ εἰς γεένναν ἀπέπεμψε;

[II.40] Μεγάλῃ ἔτι καὶ φανερὰ κατὰ τῶν λαλούντων μηδένα ἔτι
κατάκριτον Αἰδοῦ εἶναι, μαρτυρία ἔστι τὸ περὶ τοῦ Κορέ, Δαθάν τε
καὶ Ἀβειρών, ἐν Ἀριθμοῖς, τῷ τοῦ Μωσέως βιβλίῳ, κεφαλαίῳ ιζ'·
445 ὡς δε ἐπαύσατο ὁ Μωϋσῆς λαλῶν, ἐρράγη ἡ γῆ ὑπὸ κάτω τῶν
ποδῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἠνοιχθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς
οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας μετὰ Κορέ
καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἢ αὐτῶν, καὶ κατέβησαν αὐτοὶ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔστιν
αὐτοῖς, ζῶντες εἰς Αἶδον, καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτοὺς ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἀπόλοντο
f. 18^v 450 ἐκ μέσου τῆς συναγωγῆς· τούτου δὲ μέμνηται καὶ τὸ
Δευτερονόμιον, κεφαλαίῳ ια', καὶ ὁ Ψαλμὸς ρε'.

425. διαφθορὰν-κακὰ] *vid. sup. linn.* 418-419 — 427. πτωχόν-Λάζαρον] cf. Luc. 16:20 — 428-430. ἀπέθανε-Ἀβραάμ] Luc. 16:22-23 — 428. *alt. lect.* (Nestle-Aland): ἀπέθανεν — 429-430. *alt. lect.* (Nestle-Aland): ὄρα Ἀβραάμ — 432-433. κατὰ-ιβ'] Matth. 12:33 — 433. ὁμιλίας μβ'] Ioh. Chrys., *In Matth. hom.* XLII, 451-456 — 434-437. Διὸ-καταβάλλεσθαι] *fon. non inv.* — 439-441. Οὐχ'-ἀπέπεμψε] Ioh. Chrys., *In epist. ad Rom. hom.* XXV, 636 — 445-450. ὡς-συναγωγῆς] Num. 16:31-33 — 445. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): ὡς δὲ *et* ὑποκάτω — 447-448. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): ὅσα ἔστιν αὐτῶν — 449. *alt. lect.* (Rahlfs): ζῶντα — 451. Δευτερονόμιον-ια'] Deut. 11:6 — ὁ-ρε'] Ps. 105:17-18

427. πτωχόν *cod.* — 430. Ἀβραάμ *cod.* — 436. τοῦτ' ἔστιν *cod.* — 439. τί *cod.* — 442. μὴ δ' ἔνα *cod.* — 444. βίβλω *cod.* — 449. ζῶντες *et* ἀπόλοντο *cod.*

[II.41] Τόδε πέρας ὁ Κύριλλος ὁ πατριάρχης τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστίνον ἐπιστολῇ φάσκει τήνδε ὅλην τὴν αἴρεσιν, τὴν ἀπὸ τότε ὀλίγῳ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱερωνύμου
 455 κοίμησιν ἀρξαμένην, αὐτοῦ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ παρόντος ἀνασκευασθῆναι, κατακριθῆναι τε, θεόθεν ἐγεροθέντων τινῶν, τῶν νεωστὶ τελευτησάντων, κατασκευασάντων δὴ τὰς ἁγίας ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ταχὺ μάλα παραδέχεσθαι· καὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς Αἴδου καταβάλλεσθαι· τὰς ψυχὰς δ' αἵτινες ἂν
 f. 19^r 460 μετανοοῦσαι, τοῦδε τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπη μεταβάλλονται πρὶν ἢ καρποὺς τῆς μετανοίας ἀξίους ποιῆσαι, ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι διὰ πυρὸς καθαρτηρίου καθαίρεσθαι, τελέως δὲ κεκαθαρμένας, εὐθύς ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐαγεῖς καὶ εὐθύμους ἀναβαίνειν· ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐσεβίου,
 465 μαθητοῦ τοῦ ὀσιοτάτου Ἱερωνύμου, βίῳ, δι' ὅλου ἀναγινώσκονται.

[II.42] Τὸ πλέον δὲ καὶ μόνον δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῶν νηπίων στόματα ἐπιφράττειν ἰκανόν, ἢ ὀγδόη Σύνοδος ἢ οἰκουμενική, ἐν τῇ Φλωρεντία τῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας πόλει γενομένη, ἐπ[ί] προστάτου τότε
 470 τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Εὐγενίου τετάρτου, τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ μετὰ λοιποῦ τοῦ ἀσπέτου πλήθους, ἀρχιεπισκόπων, ἐπισκόπων, ἡγουμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων τῇ μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, τῇ δὲ βεβήλων Γραικῶν παρόντος, ἢ τάδε
 f. 19^v 475 ἅπαντα φάσκει, κρίνει τε καὶ ἐντέλλεται παντελῶς πιστεύειν.

[II.43] Λοιπὸν, πᾶς ὅστις τοῦδε τοῦ βίου ἐκπορεύεται, εὐθύς, ὅπου ἔαν μέλλει, κεκριμένος ὑπάγει· κεκριμένος, φημί, κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ κατὰ μέρος, διότι καθ' ὅλον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα, ὁ ἀπόστολος Πέτρος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάδε λέγει· Οἶδε Κύριος εὐσεβεῖς
 480 ἐκ πειρασμοῦ ῥύεσθαι, ἀδίκους δὲ εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον· καὶ ἀπελεύσονται, φησὶν, οὗτοι [εἰς] κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον· τότε δὴ, ὅταν ῥηθῇ τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι μὲν, δεῦτε οἱ

452-466. Τόδε ἀναγινώσκειται] cf. Ps-Cyr. Hier., *Ad Aug.*, 1129-1132 — 467-475. Τὸ πιστεύειν] cf. *Bul. Un. Fl.*, 72.176.5-15 — 479-481. Οἶδε-τηρεῖν] 2 Petr. 2:9 — 481-483. καὶ-αἰώνιον] Mt. 25:46 — 483-484. δεῦτε-μου] Matth. 25:34

454. Ἱερωνύμου *cod.* — 459. αἵτινες *cod.* — 461. μεταβάλλονται *cod.* — 465. Ἱερωνύμου — 466. ἀναγινώσκειται *cod.* — 469. Φλωρεντία *cod.* — 472. Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως *cod.* — 475. κρίνει τε *cod.* — 477. κεκριμμένος *cod.* — 483. εὐσεβοῖσι *cod.*

εὐλογημένοι τοῦ Πατρὸς μου· τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσι δέ, πορεύεσθε ἀπ’
485 ἔμοῦ οἱ κατηραμένοι.

f. 20^r [II.44] Καί τι φαίη τις, ὁ ἅγιος Χρυσόστομος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μανιχαίου
λόγῳ φησί, τὸν ληστήν, ὃπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε·
«Σήμερον μετ’ ἔμοῦ ἔσῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ»· εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον,
490 ὅθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παρακοὴν ἐξεβλήθη· εἰσδύσασθαι,
μενοῦνγε κατώτερον ὀλίγω, μηδένα εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐπουράνιον
εἰσελθεῖν· ὥστε κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἀλλ’ ὡς τι ἢ ὡς ἄνω
φρονῆσαι δοκεῖ ὁ αὐτὸς Χρυσόστομος.

f. 20^v [II.45] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος διδάσκαλος συλλογίζων τὴν τῶν
νεκρῶν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν, διαλεκτικῶς ταυθ’ ὀμιλεῖ, καὶ
495 ὥσπερ τὸν θέλοντα τὴν ἐπικαμπῆ ῥάβδον εὐθείαν ποιῆσαι, ἢ τὸν
ἀντιπειρώμενον σῦραι ἵνα σταθῇ, οὗ αὐτὸς ἐστήκει, χρῆ τὴν
αὐτὴν ῥάβ[δον ἐς] τὸ ἐναντίον κάμψαι, χρῆ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ
ὀπίσω καμφθῆναι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος, κατὰ τοῦ
προειρημένου αἰρετικοῦ, τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἀρνοῦντος
500 ποιεῖ· θέλων γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνάστασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν αἰρετικὸν εἰς τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν διορθῶσαι, κλίνει
ποσῶς πρὸς ἢ τοὺς ἀρνοῦντας, τινάπερ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν
οὐρανῶν εἰσέτ’ εἶναι, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν
ἔσσεσθαι χρῆναι φάσκοντας· κατὰ δε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Αὐγουστῖνος,
505 διαλεγόμενος τοῖς Μανιχαίοις μὲν περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου, κλίνει
ποσῶς πρὸς τοὺς Πελαγιανούς (τοῖς Πελαγιανοῖς δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ
Θεοῦ χάριτος)· πρὸς τοὺς Μανιχαίους, ἵν’ ἐνάγη τοὺς μὲν
ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον
αὐτεξούσιον· ὅτε γὰρ ὥσπερ λέγει ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς
510 ἡ[θικῆ]ς βίβλῳ, ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐλθεῖν, ἐστὶ τὸ πέρα<v> τοῦ
μέσου εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἔσχατον ἐπίποσον παρεῖναι· πολλάκις δὲ οἱ
ἅγιοι θέλοντες τὰς βλαστούσας αἰρέσεις ἐκσπᾶσαι, τοσαύτως
ἐποίησαν, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ, πέρι ὠμίλησαν, κἂν εἰ τὰδ’ ἔτι τὰ Χρυσοστό-

484-485. πορεύεσθε-κατηραμένοι] Matth. 25:41 — 486-491. Καί-εἰσελθεῖν] *fon. non inv.* — 488. Σήμερον-Παραδείσῳ] Luc. 23:43 — 505-509. διαλεγόμενος-αὐτεξούσιον] cf. Aug. Hipp., *Contr. duas epist. Pel. (passim)* — 510-511. ἡ-παρεῖναι] *fon. non inv. in Aristotelem*

484. πορεύεσθαι *cod.* — 489. εἰς δύσασθαι *cod.* — 490. κατώτερον *cod.* — μηδ’ ἕνα *cod.* — 491. ὥστί *cod.* — 494. μελλοῦσαν *cod.* — 495. ἡ *cod.* — 496. ἀντι πειρώμενον *cod.* — οὐ *cod.* — 498. οὕτω *cod.* — 501. κλίνεται *cod.* — 503. εἰς ἔτ’ *cod.* — 505. αὐτ’ ἐξουσίου *cod.* — κλίνεται *cod.* — 509. αὐτ’ ἐξουσίου *cod.*

f. 21^r μου ῥήματα, δηλονότι, τὸν ληστὴν εἰς τὸν Παρά-|| δεισον, ὅθεν ὁ
515 Ἀδὰμ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παρακοὴν ἐξεβλήθη, εἰσδύναι ἢ τὰς τῶν
κεκοιμημένων ἀγίων ψυχὰς μήπως εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐπουράνιον
εἰσελθεῖν, νοῆσαί τις, κατ' ἀξίαν δύναται, τὸν μὲν διὰ τῶν
τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν
520 αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα παρέστησεν, εἰς τὸν
αὐτὸν Παράδεισον εἰσδύναι μέλλοντ' ἔπειτα συντελεσθεισῶν
τῶν αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, εὐθέως μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐξ Ἄιδου αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναληφθῆναι [..^{ca. 5} lit..]
[μ]ήπω τὴν πλήρη καὶ τελείαν χαρὰν ἔχει; Καὶ δὴ ταύτην εἶναι,
525 τὴν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἀληθὴ καὶ ἐρῶμένη γνῶμην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως
καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅγιον ἐρῶμένως τε καὶ ἀληθῶς φρονῆσαι τὰς τῶν
κεκοιμημένων ἀγίων ψυχὰς νῦν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἶναι, τάσδε τῶν
τελευτησάντων ἀσεβῶν ἐν τῷ Ἄιδῃ φανερόν πρὸς ἀφθονίαν|| ἐκ
τῶν προειρημένων ἔστι διὸ καὶ ὅπου περὶ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων ὁ
αὐτὸς λέγει, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τοῦ Παύλου χορὸν οἱ μάρτυρες οὐκέτι
530 στεφανωθέντες περιῆλθον, καὶ προσδοκία τῶν στεφάνων
εὐθυμοὶ νῦν αἰωροῦνται, ἀσφαλεῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· νοεῖ τοὺς
αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐπουράνιον εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
τὰ τοῦ σώματος τέσσαρα ἔδνα μήπως ἔχει· ἔξει δ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐν
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ὅτε καὶ αὐτοὶ σωματικῶς
535 ἀναστήσονται, ὅπερ εὐθ[υμοὶ νῦν] πάντως καὶ αἰωρούμενοι
προσδοκῶσι· τούτων μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸν
προϊῶμεν.

[II.46] Νῦν οὖν ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ τὸν τῆδε βίον κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον
οὐχ' ὀλοτελῶς, ἀλλὰ μερικῶς· τοῦνεκα διὰ τοῦ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ
540 προφήτου λέγει, κεφαλαίῳ ιζ'. Ἐγὼ Κύριος ἐτάζων καρδίας, καὶ
δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς τοῦ δοῦναι ἐκάστω|| κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ
κατὰ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος
Πέτρος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ· Καὶ εἰ πατέρα, φησὶν, ἐπικαλεῖσθε
f. 22^r

514-515. τὸν-εἰσδύναι] *vid. sup. linn.* 486-491 — 518-519. μετὰ-αὐτὸν] Act. 1:3 — 519. ἑαυτὸν-παρέστησεν] Act. 1:3 — 522-523. εἰς-ἀναληφθῆναι] cf. Act. 5:11 — 529-532. εἰς-μέλλοντος] cf. Ioh. Chrys., *Adv. Jud.* VI, 905 — 532-532. εἰς-εἰσελθεῖν] cf. Matth. 25:21 — 533. ἔδνα] cf. Ioh. Chrys., *De Virg.*, 318.59.7 — 540-542. Ἐγὼ-αὐτοῦ] Ier. 17:10 — 543-545. Καὶ-ἀναστράφητε] 1 Petr. 1:17

515. αὐτοῦ *cod.* — εἰς δύναι: ἡ *cod.* — 517. ἐπ'οὐράνιον *cod.* — 519. αὐτὸν *cod.* — ζόντα *cod.* — 520. εἰς δύναι *cod.* — 521. *post* τεσσαράκοντα *scr. et corr.* τελελεμένων (*ex* τετελημένων) *in marg. cod.* — 522. Ἄδου αἰχμαλωσίας *cod.* — 523. πλήρη *cod.* — — τελείαν *cod.* — 524. ἀληθὴ *cod.* — 529. οὐκ'ἔτι *cod.* — 530. πρὸς δοκία *cod.* — αἰωροῦνται *cod.* — 533. ἔδνα *cod.* — 536. πρὸς δοκῶσι *cod.* — 537. προϊῶμεν *cod.* — 539. ὀλοτελῆ *cod.* — τοῦ-νεκα *cod.* — 542. αὐτῶν *cod.*

545 τὸν ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ
τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε· τελευταῖον δέ, ἢ
ἀλήθεια ὁ Χριστός, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ, κεφαλαίῳ
τρίτῳ, περὶ τοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀπίστου, ταῦτα λέγει· Ὁ δὲ μὴ πιστε[ύ]ων
ἤδη κέκριται, ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ [ὄνομα] τοῦ μονογενοῦς
Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τοσαῦτ[α δὲ (?) πε]ρὶ τούτων.

f. 22^v 550 [ΠΙ.47] Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὅλως ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντ[ων δῆ]λον ἐστίν, ὅτι τῶν
ἀγίων αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν νῦν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τῶν ἀσεβῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ
Ἄϊδι, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς κρίσεως· τότε δὲ, μετὰ τῶν
σφετέρων σωμάτων, αἱ μὲν εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον ἀπελευσόμεναι
διὰ τὰ ἔργα τὰ κακά, ἢ αἱ δὲ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τὰ οὐράνια τὰ
555 καλά.

Μνήσθητί μου τοῦ συλλέξαντος ταῦτα τὰ ἄνω ἅπαντα·
Φραγκίσκου τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τῆς τῶν μικροτέρων τάξεως,
ἱερομονάχου ταπεινοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου.

547-549. Ὁ-Θεοῦ] Ioh. 3:18 — 553-554. εἰς-αἰώνιον] *vid. sup. linn.* 482-483

545. τελευταῖον *cod.* — 548. το *cod.* — 557. Φραγκίσκου *cod.* — 558. ἱερομοναχοῦ *cod.*

Appendix IV

Report on the errors of Cypriot Christians and other ecclesiastical, administrative and financial matters by an anonymous author

Commentary

[D.1] MS Description and Principles of the Edition

MS *Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-30* comprises a report on the religious errors, ceremonies and customs of various ethno-religious communities in Venetian-ruled Cyprus, including a compilation of economic and administrative documents and miscellaneous notes on the Oriental Christians of Cyprus. There is no reference to the author, whose possible identity we have discussed above in chapter V.¹⁵³² According to Leonora Navari, the codex is a fair copy of the original MS, which had been possibly composed between 1563 and 1570. The Bank of Cyprus MS could be dated between 1580 and 1595.¹⁵³³ The Venetian origin of the MS is plausibly indicated by watermarks.¹⁵³⁴

The MS consists of 37 unnumbered fols (288x225 mm) and on the right-hand corner of f.1^r, it bears the hitherto unidentified initials 'P.W.' by a later hand.¹⁵³⁵ On the left-hand corner of the same folio, another hand wrote and erased an illegible word, the first and third letters of which are *B* and *b*. Each folio contains approximately 15 lines of text. The scribe divided the text in 24 sections and subdivided it into paragraphs, all of which are numbered in the *editio princeps* [I.1-XXIV.32].¹⁵³⁶ Lines 139-140 were marked by the scribe with the marginal symbol λ and seem to belong to paragraph I.27. The marginal notes on fols 20^v (line 420) and 23^r (lines 468, 470), as well as various corrections throughout the MS, belong to the hand of the scribe and are noted in the *apparatus*. The word *greco* (line 334) was underlined by the scribe, without further

¹⁵³² See above, 342-343.





¹⁵³³ For a more detailed description of the MS and an examination of its date of composition on the basis of watermarks see Navari 2010, 166-169.

¹⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 169: '[The] watermarks [...] establish the fact that the paper used for this manuscript is also the same as that used for the "Lettere di Rettori" of the Venetian State Archives, which may indicate that the manuscript is of Venetian origin'.

¹⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁵³⁶ It is not clear whether lines 276-277 were intended to form a separate paragraph, or an extension of paragraph III.8. In the edition we have adopted the second option, because the subject of these lines remains the same as in paragraph III.8.

evidence of correction. In several cases (e.g., lines 734, 769, 853-854), the scribe left space for further additions to the text, concerning first names, figures concerning money and numbers of officials. The script is a version of the *corsiva italiana*, with medium-sized letters that are slightly sloping to the right. Headers are written in larger letters. The ductus is thin and the scribe used ink of reddish-brown colour. The letters *c, r, n, t* and *z* are sometimes written in a similar pattern, creating difficulties in reading the text (e.g., in line 755, it is not clear whether the scribe wrote *Tores* or *Zores*). The letter *y* is frequently used to denote the double and joined letter *i*, and has been transcribed as such in the edition (e.g., *Grechianii* for *Grechiany*, as in line 10). Similarly, the letter *J* has been transcribed as *I* when necessary, according to the common Italian spelling (e.g., *Iddio* for *jddio*, as in line 12). The scribe attempted to transcribe the Greek alphabet (line 785) and to present the letterforms used by the Copts in Cyprus (line 784), while also providing evidence for their pronunciation (line 783). There are various scribal errors, including a dittography (line 247), omissions of letters (e.g., *Chriso* for *Christo* in line 376), as well as cases of *homoioteleuton* (e.g., *Soria* for *Sophia* in line 49, corrected by the scribe) and confusion of sound (e.g., *della giunta* for *dell' aggiunta* in line 458).

The scribe used several abbreviations and contractions, including, e.g.: *7bre* (240)¹⁵³⁷ for *settembre*, *9bre* (242) for *novembre*, *altrim.^{te}* (171) for *altrimente*, *ant.^o* (731) for *Antonio*,  (792) for *bisanti*, *cant.^o* (669) for *cantaro*, *Cap.ⁿⁱ* (682) for *Capitani*, *Card.^l* (636) for *Cardinal*, *Cath.^{ca}* (tit.) for *Catholica*, *cì* (198) for *et cetera*, *Cons.^{ri}* (679) for *Consiglieri*, *Cophor* (tit.: IV) for *Cophorum*, *cò* (262) for *con*, *cḡ* (257) for *et cetera*, *duc* (594) for *ducati*, *et* (827) for *et cetera*, *fam.^{ta}* (627) for *Famagusta*, *fran.^{co}* (753) for *Francisco*,  (696) for *compagnia*, *Giac.^o* (741) for *Giacomo*, *Gove.^r* (687) for *Governator*, *Hier.^{mo}* (637) for *Hieronimo*, *ill.^{ma}* (585) for *illustrissima*, *ill.^{re}* (551) for *illustre*, *jac.^o* (737) for *Jacomo*, *K.* (719) for *Kavalièr*, *Lud.^{co}* (733) for *Ludovico*, *M.^{ro}* (630) for *Magistro*, *m.* (494) for *mille*, *M.* (633) for *Missièr*, *Mad.^{na}* (642) for *Madonna*, *mag.^{co}* (556) for *magnifico*, *mia* (653) for *massima*, *Monsig.^{re}* (576) for *monsignore*, *Nic.^a* (tit.: XI, 678) for *Nicosia*,  (594) for *per*, *particularm^{te}* (7) for *particularmente*,  (32) for *perché*, *pho* (155) for *Philippo*, *Pod.^{ro}* (732) for *Podachataro*, *Primam.^{te}* (172) for *primamente*, *prossimam.^{te}* (278) for *prossimamente*, *Provd gnale* (680) for

¹⁵³⁷ The numbers in paragraph indicate specific lines in the text.

Proveditor generale, *q.* (731) for *quidam*, *q^{li}* (tit.) for *quali*, *qn* (799) for *quando*, *qsto* (388) for *questo*, *R.^{do}* (573) for *reverendo*, *R.^{mo}* (575) for *reverendissimo*, *R.^{ri}* (767) for *Rettori*, *remordim.^{to}* (70) for *remordimento*, *sacram.^{ti}* (69) for *sacramenti*, *sig.^r* (554) for *signor*, *similm.^{te}* (262) for *similmente*, *sop.^a* (69) for *sopra*, *Ven.^a* (670) for *Venezia*, *X primo* (64) for *decimo primo*, *Zacc.^a* (739) for *Zaccaria*. The codex also contains a number of *nomina sacra*, many of which bear a superscribed dash, e.g.: *aca* (35) for *anima*, *Batta* (347) for *Batista*, *Dom.^{ca}* (286) for *Domenica*, *eer* (168) for *esser*, *Gio:* (347) for *Giovan*, *N. D.* (816) for *Nostra Donna*, *mn* (276) for *memorabili*, *Palman.* (339) for *Palmarum*, *spo* (563) for *Spirito*, *Testam.^{to}* (481) for *Testamento*, *Xpe* (18) for *Christe*, *Xps* (255) for *Christus*, *Xpo* (41) for *Christo*. Abbreviations, contractions and *nomina sacra* are expanded in the edition.¹⁵³⁸

The scribe used several punctuation marks to indicate various degrees of pause, including the comma (,), semi-colon (;), middle point (·), and full-stop (.). The punctuation system in the codex has been largely followed in the edition, though occasionally further intervention was necessary to enhance the clarity of the text.

The text is written in sixteenth-century Italian vernacular and has been strongly influenced by the Venetian idiom (e.g., *fia* in line 434, *salizata* in line 555 and *doane* in line 672). This is further confirmed by the scribe's tendency to use apocopic forms (*separation'* in line 30, *communicar* in line 43 and *beuto* in line 385).¹⁵³⁹ There are also Latinisms (e.g., *populo* for *popolo* in line 176, *escomunicano* for *scomunicano* in line 8 and *heresia* for *eresia* in line 12) and occasional references to Latin proverbs and standard phrases (e.g., lines 336, 352 and 838) and to liturgical texts written or translated into Latin (e.g., lines 14-22, 379-380). One may detect traces of Hellenisation in the spelling, and perhaps pronunciation, of certain Italian words derived from Latin (e.g., *Catholica* in line 191, *Eucharestia* in line 79, *monachi* in line 82 and *Archiepiscopo* in line 576). The scribe attempted to transcribe Greek words using the Latin alphabet (e.g., *sinexari* in line 5, *Latria* in line 176 and *antideron* in line 372), though in some cases these attempts were not always successful (e.g., *ecyodion* in line 128, *euchiifleon* in line 159 and *ecopario* in line 197). The identification of toponyms and proper names is sometimes equally

¹⁵³⁸ The edition maintains the abbreviation *n^o* for *numero*.

¹⁵³⁹ Generally on the Venetian language one should take into consideration Ferguson 2013, 929-957. I have also benefited from consulting the indispensable studies by Mutinelli 1851; Boerio ³1867; Cappelli 1899.

problematic (e.g., *Templos, over auso prasini* in line 559-560,¹⁵⁴⁰ *Auder* in line 591, *Bristan* in line 615, *della Gridia* for *dell'Agria* in line 738), especially due to the lack of standard forms of toponyms and proper names in the sixteenth century, as well as the scribe's unfamiliarity with Cypriot toponyms and family names. Although the scribe's spelling has been generally followed in the edition, the first letters of proper names, titles following or preceding proper names, toponyms, and feast days have been capitalised.

As is widely accepted, sixteenth-century Venetian remained to a great extent grammatically and syntactically uncodified, despite the growing influence of Tuscan/Italian.¹⁵⁴¹ This grammatical and syntactical flexibility is also reflected in our MS. For example, the scribe uses both Venetian and Tuscan/Italian forms of the same words (e.g., *quatro* in line 3, but *quattro* in line 768). There is also a tendency to use the articles *le* instead of *il* (e.g., line 8), *li* instead of *gli* and *i* (e.g., lines 133, 448), *alli* instead of *ai* (e.g., lines 409), *di, d'i, delli* and *de i* instead of *dei* and *degli* (e.g., lines 53, 490, 492, 530, 575), *de* instead of *degli* (e.g., lines 12), the pronouns *il* and *li* instead of *lo* (e.g., lines 179, 224), etc.¹⁵⁴² The variety of forms of articles and pronouns has been generally maintained in the edition, though corrections have been occasionally made in order to enhance the clarity of the text. The auxiliary verb *avere* is used instead of *essere* to form the passive participle *sono commessi* in the title (f. 1r).¹⁵⁴³ It is also noteworthy that the scribe duplicates consonants (e.g., *commanda* for *comanda* in line 812, *elleggono* for *eleggono* in line 455 and *Trippoli* for *Tripoli* in line 825) and the vowel *i* (e.g., *beneficii* in line 62, *contrarii* in line 190 and *necessarii* in tit.: XII). Moreover, he uses *-t* in stems preceding the endings *-ion(e/i)*, while the standard Italian uses *-z* (e.g., *celebration'* for *celebrazion* in line 283, *esecutione* for *esecuzione* in line 154 and *orationi* for *orazioni* in line 160). Accents are occasionally omitted or misplaced (e.g., *куси* for *cusì* in line 69, *peró* for *però* in line 24 and *virginita* for *virginità* in line 121).

The edition generally preserves the various grammatical and syntactical forms in the codex, while occasional corrections and alternative spellings are provided in the

¹⁵⁴⁰ This toponym probably reflects the veneration of the Virgin Chrysoprasinē Templiōtissa, known from an icon in the Byzantine Museum of Nicosia; cf. Eliades 2009a, 30, 33-34.

¹⁵⁴¹ Ferguson 2013, 950-954.

¹⁵⁴² For the ambiguous use of these and other grammatical and syntactical forms see Bartoli 1833. Similar remarks on the edition of sixteenth-century Venetian texts have been made by Moschonas 1979, 272.

¹⁵⁴³ Navari 2010, 166, cf. Moschonas 1979, 272.

apparatus. We have maintained the following forms of words used by the scribe: *Abbate* (307, 573) for *Abate*, *Abbissini* (805, 810, 821) for *Abissini*, *accioche* (301, 302) for *acciocché*, *adoration* (176) for *adorazion*, *afflition* (342) for *afflizion*, *Affrica* (392) for *Africa*, *anadochii* (199) for *anadochi*, *annimali* (86, 854) for *animali*, *Annuntiata* (227) for *Annunziata*, *Annuntiatione* (124, 338, 483) for *Annunziazione*, *ante detto* (464-465) for *antedetto*, *apparenza* (385) for *apparenza*, *Appocalypse* (187) for *Apocalisse*, *appreciate* (tit.: XI) for *apprezate*, *arithmetico* (436) for *aritmetico*, *Armiraglio* (552, 716) for *Ammiraglio*, *articolo* (77, 111) for *articolo*, *Assensione* (411) for *Assunzione*, *azimo* (24, 466, 839) for *azzimo*, *bagneri* (771) for *bannieri*, *balotta* (760) for *ballotta*, *Barutto* (822, 825) for *Beirut*, *beneditione* (356, 361) for *benedizione*, *beneditioni* (478) for *benedizioni*, *beneficii* (62) for *benefici*, *Calcedonense* (382, 459) for *Chalcedonense*, *canelle* (662) for *cannelle*, *capella* (551, 553, 556) for *cappella*, *capelle* (tit.: XI) for *cappelle*, *cassali* (tit.: XVIII) for *casali*, *cassate* (tit.: XVI) for *casate*, *Catholica* (tit., 191, 285) for *Catolica*, *celebration'* (283) for *celebrazion*, *Christiana* (419) for *Cristiana*, *Christiane* (tit.) for *Cristiane*, *Christiani* (55, 821, 829) for *Cristiani*, *Christiano* (488, 546) for *Cristiano*, *Christo* (41, 74, 178, 188, 274, 301, 324, 345, 383, 386, 411, 414, 518, 521, 533, 544) for *Cristo*, *cimiterio* (558) for *cimitero*, *collatione* (180) for *collazione*, *Comandaria* (559) for *Commandaria*, *comette* (200) for *commette*, *commanda* (811) for *comanda*, *Commemoration* (195, 244, 246) for *Commemorazion*, *commun(e)* (400, 461, 529) for *comune*, *communemente* (313) for *comunemente*, *communicano* (78, 403, 798) for *comunicano*, *communica* (800) for *comunica*, *communicar* (43) for *comunicar*, *communicarsi* (76) for *comunicarsi*, *Communione* (266, 367, 368, 374) for *Comunione*, *communità* (tit.: XXIII) for *comunità*, *Concilii* (395, 534, 580) for *Concili*, *confirmation* (193) for *confirmazion*, *confirmatione* (52) for *confirmazione*, *confitente* (157) for *confidente*, *confitenti* (87, 266) for *confidenti*, *confussione* (442) for *confusione*, *consecratione* (101, 177, 510) for *consecrazione*, *consuetudine* (115) for *consuetudine*, *contrarii* (190) for *contrari*, *cosi* (69, 354, 363, 374, 419, 451, 580, 779, 847) for *così*, *Cotestabil* (716) for *Contestabil*, *куси* (31, 64, 92, 94, 111, 215, 485, 487, 770, 777) for *cusì*, *determination* (467) for *determinazion*, *distrution* (209) for *distruzion*, *Efessino* (397) for *Efesino*, *ellegono* (455) for *eleggono*, *escomunicano* (8) for *scomunicano*, *escomunicati* (131) for *scomunicati*, *escomunicatione* (62) for *scomunicazione*, *esecutione* (154) for *esecuzione*, *espiration* (77) for *espirazion*, *Essaltatione* (143) for *Esaltazione*, *essecutione* (204) for *esecuzione*, *esultatione* (255) for *esultazione*, *Ethiopia* (392, 812) for *Etiopia*, *Eucharestia* (493, 495) for *Eucarestia*, *evangelii* (406) for *evangeli*,

exclamation (286) for *esclamazion*, *feudarii* (118, tit.: XXII) for *feudatari*, *fidutia* (106) for *fiducia*, *fornicatione* (65) for *fornicazione*, *fuorche* (226, 711) for *fuorché*, *generatione* (419) for *generazione*, *generationi* (216, 804) for *generazioni*, *gentil homini* (113-114, 676) for *gentiluomini*, *Gierusalem* (118, 822) for *Gerusalemme*, *Giobbia* (27, 42, 321) for *Giobia*, *giovedi* (349) for *giovedì*, *giubilation* (258, 332) for *giubilazion*, *giusdicenti* (769) for *jus dicenti*, *Grechianii* (10) for *Grechiani*, *Hebreo* (488) for *Ebreo*, *heresia* (12, 36, 518) for *eresia*, *heresiarchi* (464, 526, 536) for *eresiarchi*, *heresie* (168, 288) for *eresie*, *heretici* (209, 284, 570) for *eretici*, *hinni* (190, 254) for *himni*, *hinno* (333) for *himno*, *historie* (186) for *istorie*, *hoggi* (tit.) for *oggi*, *hora* (140, 155, 326, 540, 805) for *ora*, *horologii* (11) for *orologi*, *Hospidale* (559) for *Hospitale*, *hostia* (540, 801) for *ostia*, *hostie* (542) for *ostie*, *huomini* (666, 667) for *uomini*, *huomo* (166) for *uomo*, *imaggini* (284) for *immagini*, *imballotati* (767) for *imballottati*, *in contro* (31) for *incontro*, *ingenochianti* (184) for *ingenocchianti*, *institutione* (546) for *istituzione*, *intitulata* (125) for *intitolata*, *Inventione* (145) for *Invenzione*, *Juditio* (32, 40) for *Giudizio*, *latticinii* (279, 341, 421) for *latticini*, *Lavation'* (322) for *Lavaggio*, *legendarii* (234) for *legendari*, *letanie* (253, 331) for *litanie*, *letioni* (193) for *lezioni*, *lunedì* (315, 346) for *lunedì*, *marinari* (664) for *marinai*, *martedì* (317, 347) for *martedì*, *martirologii* (233) for *martirologi*, *matrimonii* (205, 213) for *matrimoni*, *mention(e)* (233, 293, 319) for *menzion(e)*, *mercadanti* (235) for *mercatanti*, *mercordi* (319, 348, 412) for *mercoledì*, *meza* (545) for *mezza*, *monachi* (82, 217) for *monaci*, *monasterii* (185, 571, 816) for *monasteri*, *monasterio* (561, 566, 569, 848) for *monastero*, *morticinii* (86) for *morticini*, *nationi* (tit.) for *nazioni*, *necessarii* (tit.: XII) for *necessari*, *necessariissimi* (571) for *necessarissimi*, *negotiano* (236) for *negoziario*, *nesun* (59) for *nessun*, *Nobia* (392) for *Nubia*, *officii* (62, 107) for *uffici*, *offitii* (179, 409, 425, 454) for *uffici*, *offitio* (180) for *ufficio*, *ogn(e)' uno* (111, 230, 287, 300, 481) for *ognuno*, *operatione* (533) for *operazione*, *opuscoli* (297) for *opuscoli*, *oration(e)* (11, 38, 322) for *orazion(e)*, *orationi* (160, 183, 292) for *orazioni*, *ordination* (455, 793) for *ordinazion*, *particularmente* (48) for *particolarmente*, *Patriarcha* (49, 472, 810, 813, 818, 847) for *Patriarca*, *Patriarchati* (3) for *Patriarcati*, *patroni* (665) for *padroni*, *perche* (32, 432, 487) for *perché*, *percioche* (272, 282, 299, 421, 475, 491) for *perciocché*, *perfettione* (523) for *perfezione*, *pero* (37, 47, 86, 280) for *però*, *peroche* (228) for *perocché*, *pertinentie* (602, 604) for *pertinente*, *piu* (10, 104, 150, 168, 170, 203, 211, 249, 261, 409, 410, 418, 436, 441, 448, 487, 490, 525, 527, 547, 584, tit.: XXXII, 559, 667, 767, 768, 801, 826, 828, 846) for *più*, *polastre* (773) for *pollastre*, *populo* (176, 287) for *popolo*, *profetie* (181, 327) for *profezie*, *prohibition(e)*

(200, 218, 236, 419) for *proibizion(e)*, *prohibitioni* (408) for *proibizioni*, *provisionati* (700) for *provisionati*, *puo* (23, 33, 59, 84, 362, 364) for *può*, *Purificatione* (485) for *Purificazione*, *reccita* (26, 317) for *recita*, *reconciliatione* (102) for *reconciliazione*, *refabricate* (tit.: XI) for *rifabbricate*, *retirate* (114) for *ritirare*, *ridiculosa* (170) for *ridicolosa*, *robbe* (659) for *robe*, *s'ingenochiano* (182) for *s'ingenocchiano*, *sabbato* (130, 247, 248, 325, 352, 412, 426, 432, 440, 469, 474, 584, 834, 836, 840) for *sabato*, *satisfatione* (157) for *soddisfazione*, *separation'* (30) for *separazion'*, *servitio* (tit.: XVII) for *servizio*, *settembre* (239) for *settembre*, *Settuagesimma* (268) for *Settuagesima*, *Sexagesimma* (271) for *Sexagesima*, *si comunichi* (226) for *si comunichi*, *sopra dette* (168) for *sopradette*, *sopra detti* (459, 519, 647, 806) for *sopradetti*, *Soria* (48, 652, 660, 671, 824) for *Siria*, *subbito* (100, 335, 511) for *subito*, *taccitamente* (56) for *tacitamente*, *testimonii* (203) for *testimoni*, *Transfiguratione* (486) for *Trasfigurazione*, *Transgressione* (276) for *Trasgressione*, *transmutano* (196) for *trasmutato*, *Trippoli* (825) for *Tripoli*, *ungettero* (127) for *ungessero*, *Untione* (90, 95, 158) for *Unzione*, *veneratione* (229) for *venerazione*, *venerdi* (202, 208, 324, 351, 412) for *venerdì*, *virginita* (121) for *virginità*.

[D.2] Structure and Content

The content of the MS could be divided in three parts. The first part is a report on the religious errors, ceremonies and customs of Cypriot Christian ethno-religious communities. The second part is a compilation of several economic and administrative documents. The third part contains miscellaneous notes on the Oriental Christians of Cyprus. What follows is a brief summary of the contents of the MS:

[D.2.1.1] Errors, ceremonies and customs of the Cypriot Rhomaioi (Graeci/Greci):

See above in chapter V.¹⁵⁴⁴

[D.2.1.2] Errors, ceremonies and customs of the Copts (Cofiti/Cophti): [IV.1] They

deny the human nature of Christ, use Peter the Fuller's addition in the Thrice-Holy Hymn and recognise as patristic authorities Dioskoros and other non-Chalcedonians.

[IV.2] They teach that the Incarnation of Christ was not real and [IV.3] that Christ did

not obey to the needs of human nature. [IV.4] They are circumcised and [IV.5] reject all

synods, apart from the first three Ecumenical Councils. [IV.6] They are ignorant of their

own doctrines and believe that the Virgin gave birth to Christ from her ribs. [IV.7]

¹⁵⁴⁴ See above, 343-346.

They give the Holy Communion to newly-baptised children; however, they mix the sacramental wine with water and confess the Latin Creed. [V.1-2] This section closes with a description of Coptic fasting customs and sacraments.

[D.2.1.3] Errors, ceremonies and customs of the Armenians: [VI.1] They only recognise the validity of the first three Ecumenical Councils. In addition, they accept the patristic authority of Dioskoros and other non-Chalcedonians. Although they use unleavened bread in the Eucharist, their sacramental wine is not mixed with water. [VI.2] They celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday and [VI.3] their Holy Chrism is made of sesame oil. [VI.4] They celebrate all of their sacraments on Saturday and [VI.5] on Easter Sunday, they perform a ritual of animal sacrifice. [VI.6] Their liturgical calendar is different and they are guilty of no less than twelve Judaising practices and beliefs. [VII.1] This section closes with a description of Armenian fasting customs, [VII.2] including a service that could be perhaps identified with the Armenian 'Hour of Peace'.

[D.2.1.4] Errors of the Jacobites (Jacobiti/Giacobiti): [VIII.1-2] They reject the humanity of Christ and [VIII.3] recognise the patristic authority of non-Chalcedonian theologians. [VIII.4] They use leavened bread in the Eucharist, but mix it with olive oil. [VIII.4] They also believe that only the Virgin and the Good Thief are in Paradise.

[D.2.1.5] Errors, ceremonies and customs of the Maronites: [IX.1] They confess the one will and activity of Christ and [IX.2] only accept the first four Ecumenical Councils. [IX.3] They secretly venerate St Marōn and other heretics. [IX.4] Their fasting customs are similar to the Byzantine tradition, but they use unleavened bread in the Eucharist and perform baptisms according to the Latin rite. [IX.5] In certain occasions, they tolerate the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist.

[D.2.1.6] Latin chapels converted to Byzantine-rite churches: [XI.1-4] Reference is made to various examples from Nicosia; [XII.1] the *Report* also mentions cases of Latin ecclesiastical monuments and sacred sites, which have been converted to sewers.

[D.2.1.7] Unpublished Greek MSS: [XIII.1-5] Examples of unpublished Greek MSS, containing patristic works and other ecclesiastical documents.

[D.2.1.8] Errors of the Latins: [XIV.1] The clerics and canons of St Sophia in Nicosia have concubines and a number of them are married. [XIV.2] Most of the Latin clerics and nobles eat meat on Saturday.

[D.2.2] A compilation of socio-economic and administrative documents: [XV.1] The most ancient noble families of Cyprus; [XVI.1] noble families who had come to Cyprus during the reign of James II (1463–1473); [XVII.1] noble families in the service of the Hospitallers; [XVIII.1] villages bought by noble families from the Venetian Republic; [XVIII.2] a prayer for the universal unity of all Christians under the Papacy; [XIX.1-2] foreign nobles, officials and ecclesiastics in Cyprus and the taxes paid by them to Venice; [XX.1-10] the trading activities of the Venetian Republic in Cyprus and its income; [XXI.1] the expenses of the Venetian Republic in Cyprus; [XXII.1] the feudatories of the Kingdom of Cyprus; [XXIII.1-6] officials and administrators in the service of the Venetian Republic.

[D.2.3] A compilation of material concerning the Oriental Christians of Cyprus: [XXIV.1-32] This section contains a variety of information on the demography, economy, culture and ecclesiastical activities of Oriental Christian communities.

[D.3] Context, Date and Author

See above chapter V.¹⁵⁴⁵

¹⁵⁴⁵ See above, 338-346.

f. 1^r **Qui dentro si contengono gli errori di alcune nationi Christiane che contra la Catholica fede hanno commessi quali il di d'hoggi in Cipro si trovano cio è di Cophti, Armeni, Maroniti, Jacobiti, falsi Greci. Li dogmati loro, et cerimonie, et anco alcune abusioni di canonici Latini over clerici. Con l'entrata del Regno di Cipro. ||**

f. 2^r **I. Errores Graecorum**

[I.1] Il primo, et principal error di Greci si è che dicono che il Spirito Santo procede solamente dal Padre, et non dal Figliolo, et questo non solamente in tutti i quatro Patriarchati Universali; si trova registrato, in una lor legenda della Santa Pentecoste chiamato appreso loro
5 *sinexari.*

[I.2] Il secondo error si è che dicono universalmente que la Santa Romana Chiesa non è capo di tutte l'altre Chiese et particolarmente in alcuni luoghi sfacciatamente escomunicano il Papa, con tutto il collegio di cardinali et vescovi, con tutti i Lattini; appresso et tanto
10 piu si manifesta il lor errore in questo che registrorno nelli Grechianii loro chiamati *horologii* alcuni||versi, et cantici, in forma di oratione; pregando Iddio et la Vergine Maria, che gli liberi dall'heresia d' Italiani, over Latini, con queste medesme parole tradotte dal vero
f. 2^v senso greco, *furibunda ac insana mens, quod Paracletus Spiritus procedat à*
15 *Filio, hoc est detestabile et est contra Christum predicare, hec vox fit, horrida contra nos Orthodoxos, qua propter destrae hos scelestos, o, Sancta Dei Genitrix· pie salvons eos, qui te laudant verum tuis Dei loqueris verbis Christe vaniloquas Italorum linguas confunde, atque hos audacissimos comprime in profundo hereseorum pelagi demersos eorum que pestiferas lin-*

1-2. Il-Figliolo] cf. Neoph., *De Conc.*, 3.12.146-147— 3-5. si-sinexari] *fon. non inv.* — 8-9. escomunicano-Lattini] cf. Bern. *Sagr., Rel.*, 542 — 14-19. *furibunda-pestiferas] fon. non inv.*

Tit. *intel.*: sono commessi — *intel.*: di — *intel.*: cioè — *intel.*: Cofti — *intel.*: dogmi — *intel.*: alcuni abusi — 6. *post corr. (ex errore) cod.* — 9. *corr.*: Latini — 10. *intel.*: registrano — 14. *intel.*: atque — *post corr. (ex quodo?) cod.* — *intel.*: a — 16. *intel.* *quapropter* — 17. *intel.*: *pie*

f. 3^r 20 *guas dissipa et ab illis victorem gregem tuum conserva, confunde eos dum
contra illos invocamus intercessorem servum tuum Lazarum et nova fraudis
italicorum temeritatum annulla, et altre simile blasfemie.*

[I.3] Il terzo errore si è che tengono che non si può consecrar con pan
azimo, et dicono che quelli, che fanno judaizzano, però non fanno
25 alcuna riverenza à sacramenti di Latini, ne in questo, ne similmente a
altri luoghi: si trovano registrato in una lor legenda, che si recita nel
di della Giobbia Santa queste parole, *confundantur qui in azimis
sacrificant.*

f. 3^v 30 [I.4] Il quarto errore si è che tengono che le anime doppo la
separation' del corpo non sentano pene alcune, ne di Purgatorio ne di
Inferno, et cusi all'in contro le anime de giusti, et santi, non sentano
allegrezza al Paradiso per fin all'Ultimo Juditio, et questo perche
negano il Juditio particolare, il che dicono che niun può descendere
35 all'Inferno, ne manco andar allo Paradiso, per fin all'Ultimo Juditio
eccettuando la Vergine Maria, et l'anima del Latrone; l'inventor di
questa heresia fu Andrea Arcivescovo Casariense.

[I.5] Il quinto si è che negano il Santo Purgatorio, et però tengono, che
l'oratione della Chiesa, che si fa per li morti non giovino nulla, et
alcuni tamen di costoro vogliano che siano valide, ma si bene all'
f. 4^r 40 Ultimo Juditio universale.

[I.6] Il sesto si è che tengono che il Corpo di Christo da loro
consacrato il di della Giobbia Sancta, e da loro reservato per tutto l'
anno per comunicar gli infermi sia di maggior virtù et efficacia che
non è quel che si consacra cotidianamente.

20-22. linguas-annulla] *fon. non inv.* — 23-24. Il-azimo] cf. *Can. Apost.*, 70; *Conc. Quinis.*, 11; *Neoph., De Conc.*, 3.12.131-132, 3.13.154-3.14.164 — 27-28. *confundantur-sacrificant*] *fon. non inv.* — 35. anima-Latrone] cf. *Luc.* 23:39-43 — 35-36. *inventor-Casariense*] cf. *Andr. Caes., Comm. in Ap.*, 365B; *sup. C* [II.5-6] — 37-40. Il-universale] cf. *SN*, B.22.b

24. *intel.*: però — 25. *intel.*: a sacramenti — *intel.*: né — 27. *intel.*: di — 30. *intel.*: né — 34. *intel.*: né — 35. *intel.*: eccettuando — 36. *corr.*: Caesariensis — 42. *intel.*: di — *intel.*: Santa

45 [I.7] Il settimo si è che il Santo Cresma fatto da loro con settanta due
specie di cose aromatiche: et odorifere, si tien appresso loro chel'
vechio sia miglior del novo et pero lo riservano in perpetuo et tali di
costoro particolarmente in Cipro mandano in Soria et chieggono dal
Patriarcha loro, la onde doverebbono pigliarlo da Santa Sophia dell'
f. 4^v 50 arcives-llcovado secondo il Concilio Provinciale da quatordecim vescovi
nel tempo del Re, et con questo crismano i fanciulli per mano di
sacerdoti, et non dal vescovo et altra confirmatione non hanno.

[I.8] L'ottavo si è che condannano il Concilio Fiorentino Universale
che la fede Romana è falsa, et la loro esser vera et santa, eccettuando
55 Ciipro, et alcuni altri luoghi, che dominano i Christiani dove pur lor
fanno taccitamente.

[I.9] Il nono si è che rebatezano over recresmano alcuni Latini, che
insidiosamente tirano al lor peccato, dicendo che senza il batismo di
Greci nesun si puo salvare; il simil fanno nelli ordini ecclesiastici. ||

60 [I.10] Il decimo error che cometteno, si è che tengono che li lor signori
f. 5^r temporali possino privare i sacerdoti, e, religiosi per se over per altri
da tutti gli officii, e, beneficii senza incorrere in escomunicatione
alcuna.

[I.11] Il decimo primo si è che separano il marito dalla moglie et cusi
65 la moglie dal marito, per causa di fornicatione, over adulterio, o per
alcun'altra causa simile permettendo che il marito pigli un'altra
moglie, et cusì la moglie un altro marito.

45-46. Il-odorifere] cf. *Euch.*, 637-647— 50-52. secondo-hanno] cf. *SN*, B.4-5, 8, 21.b; *De Sacr.*, IV

45. intel.: Crisma — 49. post corr. (ex Soria?) cod. — 55. corr.: Cipro — 57. intel.: rebattezzano — intel.: recrismano — 58. intel.: battesimo — 61. intel.: possono — post sacerdoti sscr. e

f. 5^v 70 [I.12] Il duodecimo si è che si fanno lecito il poter vender le prelature,
et sepulture et cosi le confessioni, et atre prelature, et sacramenti
senza remordimento di simonia, ne sanno che sia simonia:
consecrando il vescovo uno sacerdote toglie otto over diece ducati
senza deter-llminatione, facendo un protopapa ducati trenta over
quaranta, e tal volta ducati cinquanta.

75 [I.13] Il decimo terzo si è che danno il Corpo di Christo alli bambini,
che lattano, et che sono in cuna, et all'incontro prohibiscono gli adulti
penitenti peccatori, di non comunicarsi per fin a molti anni, et ad
alcuni per fin alla lor ultima expiration, et venendo all'articolo della
morte, gli comunicano senza il sacramento della Santa Confessione,
havendo opinion come in tal caso l' Eucharestia sola sia bastante alla
80 salute loro.

[I.14] Il decimo quarto si è che tengono esser grande peccato il rader
la barba et li capelli a sacerdoti over monachi .

[I.15] Il decimo quinto si è che dicono che il monaco che mangià carne
non si puo salvare. ||

f. 6^r 85 [I.16] Il decimo sesto si è che tengono esser grande peccato mangiar
carne d'animali strangolati over *morticinii* et cacciagione, et pero alli
confitenti che commettono tal peccato danno la penitenza dell'
homicidiario, come appare in alcuni canonarii over confessionali di
loro.

90 [I.17] Il decimo settimo si è che tengono che l'Estrema Untione non
sana altrui dall'infirmità del peccato in particolare; ma l'usano darla
in luogo di penitenza alli gravi peccatori et la fanno cusi benedicono

68-73. Il-cinquanta] cf. SN, F, I.X, J.VIII —78. gli-Confessione] cf. SN, B.7—81-82. Il-
monachi] cf. Neoph., *De Conc.*, 3.12.131-132; *De Sacr.*, II.29—83-84. Il-salvare] cf. Bas.
Caes., *Reg.*, 86; Neoph., *Reg.*, 23.4—85-86. Il-morticinii] cf. Act. 15:20, 29; *Can. Apost.*,
63

70. *intel.*: rimordimento—*intel.*: né—83. *intel.*: mangia—84. *post sal- subscr.* -vare—87.
intel.: commettano

l'oglio comune da setti sacerdoti, con setti evangelii et altre tant' epistole, e, cusi con questo ungono i sensi del peccatore, et l' 95 assolveno, et questa è l'Estrema loro Untione. ||

f. 6^v [I.18] Il decimo ottavo si è che non permettono che i Lattini celebrano nelle lor'chiese et nelli loro altari, ma se inviolatamente, o, in advertentemente il sacerdote Lattino celebrasse la messa in le ditte lor chiese, reputano come si comettesse sacrilegio et saputo il caso 100 subito con l' aqua benedetta, fatta da loro con odorifere cose, vanno spargendo per la chiesa, et lavano l'altare à modo di consecratione, overo reconciliatione.

[I.19] Il decimo nono si è che dicono non essere peccato l'ingannare et robbare alli Latini, over Franchi ma piu presto esser merito, et però 105 rapiscono le giuresdizioni delle chiese lattine con grandissima fidutia. ||

f. 7^r [I.20] Il vigesimo errore si è che ne gli officii ecclesiastici, come di vescovadi, abbatie, predicatori et confessori eleggono persone idiote di crassa ignoranza, che non sanno, ne vogliano saper ne qualita ne 110 quantità di sacramenti della Chiesa; similmente ne forma, o materia d'ognuno di essi sacramenti, et cusi l'articolo della fede et d'i comandamenti di Iddio.

[I.21] Il vigesimo primo si è che particolarmente in Cipro i gentil 115 homini Lattini si lasciano insidiosamente estraere, et ritirare per lo confessori loro Greci della regola et consuetudine della Romana Chiesa et, farsi Greci, perdendo li sa-llcramenti da loro, il che etiam il f. 7^v

90-95. Il-Untione] cf. *Euch.*, 408-441, 863-864; *SN*, B.4-5, 8, 21.b; *De Sacr.*, VII; *Sym. Thess.*, *De sacr. rit. Euch.* — 96-102. Il-reconciliatione] *De alt. cons.*, 114-118 — 107-112. Il-Iddio] cf. *Bern. Sagr.*, *Rel.*, 542 — 113-116. Il-loro] cf. *SN*, M.II — 113-116. Il-Greci] cf. *Steph. Lus.*, *Chor.*, f. 85^r

93. *intel.*: olio — *intel.*: sette — 95. *post l' scr. et del. ultima cod.* — 96. *corr.*: Latini — *intel.*: celebrino — 97-98. *intel.*: inadvertentemente — 98. *corr.*: Latino — 104. *intel.*: rubare — 105. *intel.*: giurisdizioni — *corr.*: latine — 107. *intel.*: negli — 109. *intel.*: qualità — 109-110. *intel.*: né — 111. *intel.*: dei — 114. *corr.*: Latini — *intel.*: estrarre — *intel.*: per li

che si è contra la greca legge, overo Asisa francese del Re di Gierusalem et Cipro, qual vuole che i feudarii vivono secondo il rito della Santa Romana Chiesa, et similmente roinano le capelle latine, et
120 le converteno grecale.

[I.22] Il vigesimo secondo si è che negano la virginita di San Joseffo sposo della Madonna, et dicono come era vedovo havendo setti figlioli, quatro maschi, e, tre femine, governandosi con una omelia di San Joan Chrisostimo sopra l'Annuntiatione della Madonna, forse
125 falsamente intitulata.

f. 8^r [I.23] Il vigesimo terzo si è che dicono che furono tre Marie che ungettero li piedi del Salvatore, et non una, si trova questa legenda in un libro chiamato appresso loro *ecyodion*, la qual si recita nella Settimana Santa nelle loro chiese.

130 [I.24] Il vigesimo quarto si è che digiunando il sabbato, appresso loro tengono per escomunicati coloro che in tal giorno digiunano, governandosi con li Apostolici Canoni.

[I.25] Il vigesimo quinto si è che non hanno mai Giubileo, ne lo vogliono accettare ne manco sanno che cosa sia Giubileo in
135 particolare.

f. 8^v [I.26] Il vigesimo sesto si è che li sacerdoti loro che celebrano la messa continuamente non si confessano, se non una volta l'anno, et tali di costoro rimangono fino alla morte.

Il contrario in Cipro che tengono al Monte della Croce tra Togni Santa
140 Elena vi lasciasse sa que di Togni mostrano hora a Leucara.

117-119. che-Chiesa] cf. *Ass.*, 167 — 124-125. omelia-intitulata] cf. Matth. 13:55-56; Ioh. Chrys., *In Matth. hom. V*, 58 — 126. tre Marie] *Triod.*, 389-391 — 130-132. Il-Canoni] *Can. Apost.*, 66, cf. Neoph., *De Conc.*, 3.12.141-142 — 135-137. Il-morte] cf. *De Sacr.*, II.13, VI.9 — 139-140. Il-Leucara] cf. *De Inv. Cr.*, 25-26.183αβ

117. *post corr.* (ex legga?) *cod.* — *intel.*: Assizes — 118. *intel.*: vivano — 119. *intel.*: rovinano — 121. *intel.*: Josefo — 124. *corr.*: Chrisostomo — *scr.* Annuntiatione *post corr. cod.* — 128. *corr.*: tryodion — 133-134. *intel.*: né — 139. *ante il scr.* λ in *marg. cod.* — 140. *post Leucara subscr.* -ra et del. -a *cod.* — 139-140. *fort. post.* [I.27] *transp.*

[I.27] Il vigesimo settimo si è che tengonochel precioso legno della Santa Croce sia ascenso in cielo, come Christo, però nel giorno de la Santa Essaltatione di essa si fa legger nelle chiese loro una certa historia falsa, et apocriffa, affermando con questo proposito che,
145 come la teneva in mano Santa Elena, nel giorno della Inventione, fugi della man sua, et ando in cielo, mediante alla quale ha da venire mostrando alli Giudei quel medesimo|| legno sopra lo quale lo crucifissero.
f. 9^r

[I.28] Il vigesimo ottavo si è che nelli ordini ecclesiastici, over sacri,
150 non hanno piu che quattro gradi, cio é lettore, subdiacon, pecodiacon, et sacerdote, contra etiam il Concilio celebrato qui in Cipro da quator dici vescovi, qual si commemora a Santa Sophia di Nicosia due volte l'anno, cioè alla vigilia di Sant'Antonio et la vigilia del Corpus Domini, il qual Concilio non è stato messo da molti anni in esecuzione
155 hora è rinovato da monsignore Philippo Mozenigo Arcivescovo.

[I.29] Il vigesimo nono si è che usure, e, furti et rapine manifeste, il confessori loro non iniungono al confitente la satisfatione della restititione, ma gli danno l' Estrema Untione in luogo di penitenza chiamata da loro *euchiifleon*, ungendolo con oglio semplice, fatto con certe orationi, obligandolo non dimeno a dare qualche elemosina ad alcuna chiesa loro, et con questo l'assolveno, et tengono che far chiese, ponti, e strade, et simili li giustificano.
f. 9^v
160

141-148. Il-crucifissero] cf. *De Inv. Cr.*, 18.176 β -19.177 α , 25-26.183 $\alpha\beta$ — 149-152. Il-vescovi] cf. *SN*, B.13.a-c — 151-154. Concilio-Domini] *SN*, A.I, E.I, H.XXXV, L.III — 156-162. Il-justificano] *vid. sup.* [I.17]

144. *intel.*: apocrifa — 146. *intel.*: andò — 150. *intel.*: cioè — 152. *intel.*: commemorà — 153. *corr.*: Sant' — 156. *intel.*: i — *intel.*: nondimeno — 157. *intel.*: ingiungono — 159. *corr.*: eucheleon— *intel.*: olio

[I.30] Il trigesimo et ultimo errore che noi havemo potuto investigare
nelli detti Greci, si è che per un modo di dire, quante teste sono, tante
165 opinioni hanno circa la fede, che negano l'angelo guardiano et chi
dice esser il libro arbitrio nel corpo del huomo, et non ne l'anima, et
chi finalmente negano non esser i diavoli nell'Inferno, et chi parte
delle sopra dette heresie et chi abbracià tutte et piu anzi et all'
f. 10^r incontro imputano alli Latini haver per|| numero settanta due il
170 specificar delle quali qui si tace per esser piu presto cosa ridiculosa
che altrimenti.

163. *intel.*: avemmo — 166. *intel.*: libero — *corr.*: nell'anima — 169. *intel.*: aver — 171.
intel.: altrimenti

II. Qui sonno alcune cerimonie et abusioni di detti Greci

- [II.1]** Primamente nel celebrar della messa nell'Offertorio, chiamato da loro il Secondo Introito, che vien fuori il sacerdote da Santa Santorum, over Tabernacolo, portando sempre in mano il calice, con
175 il pan benedetto, et vin puro non ancora consecrato, si adora dal populo di adoration *Latria*, et all'incontro dicendo poi le parole della consecratione, essendo compitamente et perfettamente il Corpo di Christo in mano del sacerdote, non li fanno riverenza alcuna. ||
- f. 10^v **[II.2]** Item nelle lor feste solenni agli offitii vesperini usano dentro alle
180 chiese loro per far collatione, over merenda, per mezzo l'offitio quando si recitano certe profetie.
- [II.3]** Item nelle chiese loro, et fuor delle chiese mai s'inginocchiano facendo orationi eccetto in un sol giorno della Santa Pentecosto et alli ingenochianti attribuiscono peccato.
- 185 **[II.4]** Item nelli monasterii, chiese, et camere loro tengono libri prohibiti, historie false, et apochriphe, con le quali studiano, leggono et predicano, come *L'Appocalipse della Madonna*, *L'Appocalipse di San Macario Egittio*, *Le fanciullezze di Christo*, et altri simili.
- f. 11^r **[II.5]** Item permettono nelli cantici spirituali et salmadre, che siano
190 congiunti et connumerati alcuni versi over hinni profani, et contrarii alla fede Catholica, composti da qual si voglia persone moderne ignoranti et heretici, et all'incontro defrancano et mozzano alcune letioni salutifere, et necessarie alla confirmation delli fideli, come il sermon di San Joanne Damasceno sopra i defonti qual usa la Chiesa

172-178. Primamente-alcuna] cf. *Act. Ioh. XXII*, 35-37; *SN*, H.XXXVI — 182-184. Item-peccato] *Pent.*, 407-419; cf. *Neoph.*, *De Conc.*, 3.12.136-141 — 187. L'Appocalipse-Madonna] *Ap. Mar. Virg.* — 187-188. L'Appocalipse-Egittio] *fon. non inv.* — 188. Le-Christo] cf. *DGMC*, 64 — 194. sermon-defonti] *Ioh. Dam.* (dub.), *Orat. de his qui in fide dorm.*

Tit. corr.: sono — **intel.:** abusi — **post corr.** (ex gecì?) **cod.** — 172. **post corr.** (ex Primana?) **cod.** — 174. **corr.:** Sanctorum — 178. **intel.:** lo — 179. **post corr.** (ex lorr?) **cod.** — 183. **intel.:** Pentecoste — 186. **post corr.** (ex appocrif) **cod.** et **intel.:** apocrife — 188. **intel.:** Egizio — **intel.:** La fanciullezza — 189. **fort. intel.:** salmastri — 190. **intel.:** congiunti — 191. **intel.:** da qualsivoglia — 192. **intel.** defrangono — 194. **scr.** sopra **post corr. cod.**

195 Orientale recitare nel giorno della Commemoration de Morti, et anco
transmutano vocaboli secondo l'intention sua, come il verso over
ecopario, che si dice appreso di loro per ogni Kalenda del mese, cioè
Domine salva populum tuum, et cetera.

f. 11^v 200 **[II.6]** Item nel batesmo permettono che intervengono molti *anadochii*,
over compari, senza prohibitione alcuna dove || si comette simonia
contra de un provincial Concilio, che si celebra tra loro ad ogne anno
il Venerdi della Quinquagesima, il quale ne concede, ne permette
senon due testimonii, et il piu tre, et chi mettesse piu gli scomunica e
non dimeno, non si mette in essecutione.

205 **[II.7]** Item nella Quinquagesima festeggiano il matrimonii contra il
detto Concilio; similmente fanno nel giorno della Santa Domenica
della Resurretion, in quel medemo giorno.

f. 12^r 210 **[II.8]** Item in alcuni venerdi dell'anno mangiano carne, et dicono che
lo fanno per dispetto over distrution di alcuni heretici, come gli
Armeni, Giacobiti, et altri, et cio come gli ammaestra una lor rustica,
over ordinario apocripho, e di piu mangiano carne per otto di
continui || doppo ogni Pasca loro.

215 **[II.9]** Item usano far clandestini matrimonii talmente che reputano
haver merito appresso Dio, se furtivamente, diano il sacramento del
matrimonio ad alcuno canonico Latino, over secolare, et cusi ad altre
generationi.

[II.10] Permettendo che ancora li monachi lo possino dare, il che lo
fanno senza prohibition alcuna.

198. Domine-et cetera] cf. *Triod.*, 226 — 199-203. Item-tre] cf. *SN*, G.II.a-c — 205-207. Item-giorno] *Conc. Laod.*, 52, cf. *Neoph.*, *De Inord. I-II* — 208-212. Item-loro] cf. *Theod. Bal.*, *Ad Marc.*, 54 — 213. clandestini-matrimonii] cf. *SN*, A.XVI, B.14.c, B.15.l, C.18, G.IV.k, G.IX, L.II, M.II — 214-216. se-generationi] cf. *SN*, B.12.a-b, M.II — 217-218. Permettendo-alcuna] cf. *Can. Ars.*, 6; *De Sacr.*, I.5, 11.46-47

197. *corr.*: tropario — 199. *intel.*: batesmo — *corr.*: Kalendae — 201. *intel.*: ogni anno — 202. *intel.*: né — 204. *intel.*: nondimeno — 205. *intel.*: i matrimoni — 207. *intel.*: Resurrezione — 210. *intel.*: ciò — 211. *intel.*: apocripho — *intel.*: di — 212. *intel.*: Pasqua — 214. *intel.*: aver

[II.11] Il vescovo si come è stato asserto per dar la licenza à far il
220 matrimonio toglie bisanti due, e, mezzo, e, per bigami ducato uno, e,
per trigami ducati due, liquali trigami dannano dicendo con il primo
matrimonio è benedetto, il secondo remissibile, il terzo irremissibile,
ma speronati dall'offerto il permettono. ||

f. 12^v [II.12] Item come uno mangiasse pesce nelle Quadragesima Santa
225 non lo vogliano assolvere ne che si possa assolvere ne tam poco che
si comunichi alla Santa Resurretoni, fuorche il giorno della
Annuntiata et delle Palme.

[II.13] Item nelle sante feste, si vede gran confusione peroche ad
alcuna solenne non si fa veneratione, et ad altre minime de Santi non
230 canonizzati, se festegiano ogn'uno a suo modo, senza ordine, ne
fanno alcuno Apostolo.

[II.14] Item nota che dal Settimo Universal Concilio fin al di d'oggi di
verun Santo della stirpe latina si fa mentione nelli lor martirologii
over legendarii.

f. 13^r 235 [II.15] Item alcuni sacerdoti di costoro si fanno mercadanti et
negotiano || pubblicamente senza rimordimento et senza prohibition
alcuna.

219-223. Il-permetteno] cf. *SN*, B.14.b, L.10; *De Sacr.*, I.11.48-51 — 224-225. Item-
assolvere] *Can. Apost.*, 69; *Conc. Laod.*, 50 — 226-227. giorno-Palme] cf. *Nic. Patr.*, *Reg.*,
5; *Theod. Stud.*, *Cat.*, 1700BC — 232-233. Item-legendarii] cf. *Steph. Lus.*, *Chor.*, f. 27^v;
Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 63^r-63^v — 235-237. Item-alcuna] *SN*, A.VIII, B.19.b, I.XVII,
J.VIII.a-b

223. *intel.*: lo — 225. *intel.*: vogliano — *intel.*: né — 226. *corr.*: Ressuretion et *intel.*:
Resurrezione — 229. *intel.*: alcune — 230. *scr.* canonizzati *post corr. cod.* — *intel.*: né —
232. *post al intel.*: di

III. Usanze over regole di Greci

[III.1] Primamente il calendario lor, o over il primo di dell'anno, comincia appresso loro dal primo giorno di settembre; la festa della
240 Natività della Madonna la fanno alli 9 di settembre, similmente la
festa di Santa Catherina l'hanno un giorno in anzi cioè alli 20 di
novembre, la festa di San Thomaso la celebrano la prima domenica
dopo la Santa Resurrezione.

[III.2] Item la festa della Commemoration dei Santi la fanno alla
245 seconda domenica dopo la Pentecoste immediate la sequente. ||

f. 13^v **[III.3]** La Commemoration' delli Defonti la fanno due volte l'anno cio
e la vigilia del suo Carnevale che è il sabbato in anzi la Domenica
della Quinquagesima et il Sabbato che è la vigilia della Pentecoste.

[III.4] Hanno per usanza et regola di piu solennemente festigiare la
250 Santa Pasqua della Resurrezione et il di di Natale tenendo tutta quella
settimana in grandissima solennità cio e dalla Domenica Santa fin all'
altra seguente, chiamata da loro la Domenica del Santo Tomasso
Apostolo, occupandosi tutti quelli giorni in molte letanie di allegrezza
cantando sempre continuamente certe laudi et hinni di molta
255 esultatione verso Dio, cioè *Christus resurrexit, a, mortuis passionatiss,
mortem mortificavit et his qui in monumentis fuerant vitam ornavit*, et
anco questa *antifona, Hec || dies quam fecit Dominus*, et cetera, con altri
simili; et per questa lor giubilation tutta quel la settimana mangiano
carne continuamente et entrano nelle messe un medesimo evangelio,
f. 14^r 260 cioe, *Prima die sabbati Maria Magdalena*, et cetera, si que tutta quella

244-245. Item-sequente] *Pent.*, 440-472 — 247-248. sabbato-Quinquagesima] *Triod.*, 19-29 — 248. Sabbato-Pentecoste] *Pent.*, 371-388 — 255-256. Christus-ornavit] *Pent.*, 6 — 257. Hec-Dominus] *Ps.* 117:24 — 258-259. tutta-continuamente] cf. *Theod. Bal., Ad Marc.*, 54 — 260. Prima-Magdalena] *Ioh.* 20:1

238. *post corr. (ex calendario?) cod.* — *intel.*: di — 241. *intel.*: Caterina — *intel.*: innanzi — *intel.*: cioè — 242. *intel.*: Tommaso — 243. *intel.*: Resurrezione — 245. *intel.*: immediate — *intel.*: seguente — 246. *intel.*: Defunti — 247. *intel.*: innanzi — 246-247. *intel.*: cioè — 247. suo *dittogr. cod.* — *post suo et ante Carnevale scr. Ca- cod.* — 250. *intel.*: Resurrezione — *post il intel.*: di — 251. *intel.*: cioè — 252. *intel.*: Tommaso — 255. *fort. intel.*: passionatus (*ex πατήσας?*) — 260. *intel.*: cioè

settimana tengono feste, ma nella festa del Natale, non osservano piu
che tre; similmente nel giorno dell'Epifania con le due seguenti; nel
qual giorno dell'Epifania batezzano la croce due volte: l'una al
vespero della vigilia et l'altra la matina compita la messa; et quel
265 aqua benedetta la salvano per tutto l'anno et l'usano dare a confitenti
peccatori, quali non si gia dicono esser degni della Communion, per
f. 14^v il spatio di tanti anni over mesi.

[III.5] La Domenica della Settuagesima li Greci la chiamano la
Domenica de Fariseo, et publicano però che si canta in quel giorno il
270 detto evangelio.

[III.6] La Domenica della Sexagesima si chiama appresso loro del
Figliol Prodigio percioche medesimamente si canta il suo evangelio.

[III.7] L'altra della Quinquagesima l'hanno dell'Advenimento di
Christo cioè la festa dell'Advento.

275 [III.8] La sequente Domenica che è l'ultimo giorno del lor Carnevale
si domanda della Transgressione delli memorabili Primi Parenti.
Della ditta Domenica della Quinquagesima fin all' altra
f. 15^r prossimamente alla Quadragesima [*spat. vac. ca. 30 lit.*] che è l'ultimo
giorno del lor Carnevale totale, mangiano tutta quella settimana
280 latticini, et pesce, et non carne pero la chiamano *Latticinaria*.

[III.9] La prima Domenica di Quaresima la chiamano dell'*Orthodoxia*
percioche in quel giorno, la Chiesa Orientale fá memoria della
celebration' del Settimo Universale Concilio Niceno contra gli non
venerandi l'immagini di santi, et denunciano tutti gli heretici che

262-264. nel-messa] cf. *Euch.*, 453-468 — 268-270. La-evangelio] cf. *Triod.*, 3-12— 271-
272. La-evangelio] cf. *Triod.*, 12-19 — 275-276. La-Parenti] cf. *Triod.*, 29-41— 278-280.
mangiano-Latticinaria] cf. *Neoph., De Conc.*, 3.12.141 — 281-284. La-santi] cf. *Triod.*,
141-166; *Neoph., De Conc.*, 3.12.142-146

263. intel.: batezzano — 266. intel.: già — 267. post per *sscr. et del. de cod.* — 278. post
Quadragesima· *spat. vac. ca. 30 lit. cod.* — 282. intel.: fa

285 resuscitorno contra la Catholica fede fin in quel tempo
anathematizandoli publicamente in chiesa con exclamation, del
populo, tre volte per ogn'uno et anco beatificano tutti quelli Santi
Padri, quali furno repignanti contra tutte, et tali heresie, appresso si
fa memoria d'una spetia gratia, over miracolo di Dio, fatto nel tempo
290 de Theophilo Re di Constantino poli come la sua moglie Theodora
f. 15^v Augusta essendo lui morto delibero et || estratto dall'Inferno mediante
le sue orationi et le sue messe de i santi che furono in quel tempo.

[III.10] La seconda Domenica di Quaresima si fa mentione overo
memoria d' un Gregorio Arcivescovo Thesalonicense cognominato
295 Palamano, del qual se suspica, che sia esso condannato nel Concilio
Ottavo Fiorentino, over Ferrarese, il qual scrisse molti oppuscoli
contra Latinos.

[III.11] La terza Domenica di Quaresima s'intittola della Santa Croce,
percioche in quel giorno presentano la Croce in mezzo della chiesa,
300 accioche ogne uno l'adori, et la baci tutta quella settimana, chiedendo
sussidio dalla Passion di Christo, accioche venendo fin alla mezza
Quaresima, stanchi dal digiuno, non si ritirino adietro, ma che sotto
l'ombra di quel stendardo, come sotto un om-llbratile, et frondoso
f. 16^r albero si riposino alquanto.

305 [III.12] La quarta Domenica si recità la vita di San Gioanne Climaco,
detto Scolastico, gran contemplator della regola et passion d'i monaci
il qual fu Abbate di Raythim.

[III.13] La quinta Domenica della Quaresima leggono la vita, e,
conversion di Santa Maria Egitticca come fu miracolosamente
310 convertita.

284-288. denunciano-heresie] cf. *Syn. Orth.* — 288-292. appresso-tempo] cf. *Vita Theod. Aug.*, 8; *Triod.*, 146 — 294-298. La-Latinos] cf. *Triod.*, 191-198 — 299-305. La-alquanto] *Triod.*, 224-233 — 305. si recità-Climaco] cf. *Triod.*, 264-270 — 308-310. La-convertita] cf. *Triod.*, 322-327

285. *intel.*: resuscitano — 288. *fort. intel.*: fuerunt repugnanti — 289. *fort. intel.*: spezia — 290. *post corr.* (ex Theofl-?) *cod. et intel.*: Teofilo — *intel.*: Constantinopoli — 291. *intel.*: deliberò — 295. *intel.*: Thessalonicense — 296. *corr.*: Palamas — *fort. intel.*: suspecta — *intel.*: condannato — 299. *intel.*: s'intitola — 303. *intel.*: si ritirano — 305. *intel.*: si recita — 307. *intel.*: Raithu — 310. *intel.*: Egiziana

[III.14] La sesta Domenica se celebra la festa delle Sante et Dive Palme comunemente come tutti gli altri, eccetto che nella vigilia di questa Domenica si fa memoria della resurretion di San Lazaro.

f. 16^v 315 [III.15] Il Lunedì Santo cominciano alla terza legger in chiesa li santi evangelii per tutti tre seguenti giorni *a principio usque ad finem*.

[III.16] Il Martedì Santo si recita la parabola delle dieci Vergini over si legge il ditto evangelio.

320 [III.17] Il Mercordì Santo si fa mention delle peccatrice Maddalene, pur tre, e non una.

[III.18] La Giovedì Santa si celebrano quattro cose, cio è la Santa Lavation' delli piedi, il Misterio Cenacolo, l'Oration del horto et il Tradimento di Giuda.

[III.19] Il Venerdì Santo la Santa Passion di Christo.

325 [III.20] Il Sabato Santo stanno quieti senza hore, et senza cantare per fin all'hora di nona et poi cantano una messa di Santo Basilio mista col vespero et dodice profetie; similmente questa messa l'usano celebrar per ogn'domenica della detta Quaresima.

[III.21] La Domenica Santa della Resurretion in anzi al levar del sole

311-312. La-Palme] cf. *Triod.*, 364-373 — 312-313. nella-Lazaro] cf. *Triod.*, 351-364 — 315-316. Il-finem] cf. *Triod.*, 375-382 — 317-318. Il-evangelio] cf. *Triod.*, 382-388 — 319. Il-peccatrice] cf. *Triod.*, 388-396 — 320. pur-una] *vid. sup.* [I.27] — 321-323. La-Giuda] *Triod.*, 396-417 — 324. Il-Christo] *Triod.*, 417-433 — 326-327. cantano-profetie] *Triod.*, 433-460

314. *intel.*: resurrezion di San Lazzaro — 315. *intel.*: i — 317. *intel.*: si recita — 318. *intel.*: si legge — 321. *intel.*: cioè — 325. *fort. intel.*: horae — 329. *intel.*: Resurrezion innanzi

f. 17^r 330 senza matutino, et senza || altre cerimonie passato il trionfo che fanno
alla mezza notte, congregato tutto il popolo al vescovado con letanie,
et giubilation grandi; a suono di trombe et pifari cantano il vitorioso
hinno, che dice *Christus resurrexit a mortuis*, et cetera ch'appresso loro
si chiama con greco idioma *Calos Logos*, che vuol dire Buono Sermone;
335 subito cantano una messa di San Chrisostimo brevissima et
mandano il popolo alle case loro al gaudio *ad edendum carnem*.

[III.22] Tutta la detta Quaresima non mangiano pesce eccetto il
giorno dell'Annuntiatione della Madonna et il giorno dell'Olive,
Domenica Palmarum. Item nella festa della Natività di San Giovan
340 Batista che è alli 24 di giugno, non mangiano ni quel di qual si sia
f. 17^v carne, ne latticini, ne pesce, volendo accompagnar|| (secondo che
dicono) li discepoli di esso San Giovan Batista, nell'afflition ch'
ebbero.

[III.23] Le domeniche di tutto l'anno se fa memoria della Passion di
345 Christo.

[III.24] Il lunedì delli Incorporei Angeli.

[III.25] Il martedì di San Giovan Batista.

[III.26] Il mercoledì della Madonna.

[III.27] Il giovedì delli Apostoli et sommi pontefici insieme con San
350 Nicolao.

[III.28] Il venerdì del Crucifisso.

332-333. cantano-mortuis] *vid. sup.* [III.4] — 335. cantano-brevissima] *Pent.*, 5-20 —
336. ad-carnem] *vid. sup.* [III.59] — 337-339. Tutta-Palmarum] *vid. sup.* [II.12] — 339-
343. Item-hebbero] cf. *Theod. Stud., Cat.*, 1701C — 351. Il-Crucifisso] cf. *Petr. Alex.,*
Reg., 15

331. *post corr. (ex populo) cod.* — 332. *intel.*: grande — 335. *corr.*: Chrisostomo — 339.
intel.: Natività — 340. *intel.*: qualsisia — 341. *intel.*: né — 343. *intel.*: ebbero

[III.29] Il sabbato *pro Santis in commune et pro defuntis*.

f. 18^r 355 [III.30] Tutti quelli che si trovano in una casa che habbia partorito la
donna cosi forestieri come familiari non potranno uscire de li secondo
la lor consuetudine se primamente non pigliano dal sacerdote
parochiano la beneditione facendo bene- || dire over santificare l'aqua
con un ramo d'oliva, spargendo per la casa et aspergendosi tutti.

360 [III.31] Similmente s'aviene che cascasse nel pozzo qualch'animal,
come di gatta over cane over uccello, cavato che serà, o, vivo, o,
morto, non ardisce nesciun di beber quel aqua, se primamente non se
dia la beneditione dal sacerdote parochiano.

365 [III.32] La donna che sia mestruta, non puo comunicarsi a casi
necessarii, ne intrar in chiesa, se non passino giorni sette et cosi
ancora essendo la donna dal parto immonda non puo intrar in chiesa
se non passino quaranta giornate.

f. 18^v 370 [III.33] Se acadesse che si mettesse in bocca sua una gocciola d'aqua
sarà privo della Communione tutto quel di; etiam non vo-||gliono et
non solamente della Communione, ma anco non potra haver un
boccon di quel pane benedetto che sogliono dare alli astanti nella
messa, chiamato appresso loro *antiocron*. Compita la messa il
sacerdote piglia dell'offerto pane, et si lo minuzza dando a ricever un
bocon per uno lo qual nominano nel loro idioma *antideron*, che vol
dire retributione, overo contra dono, qual vogliono alcuni che el sia
seconda Communione et cosi lo stimano.

352. Il-defuntis] cf. Nic., *Ped.*, 85.1 — 353-357. Tutti-tutti] cf. *Euch.*, 316-330; Sym. Thess., *De Sacr.*, 208CD-209A — 358-361. Similmente-parochiano] *Euch.*, 597-600 — 362-365. La-giornate] Lev. 15:19-33; Tim. Alex., *Resp.*, 7, cf. *Euch.*, 316-330 — 366-367. Se-Communione] *Conc. Quin.*, 29 — 370-374. Compita-stimano] cf. *Conc. Ant.*, 2; *Euch.*, 865-869

352. *corr.*: Sanctis — *corr.*: defunctis — 353. *intel.*: abbia — 354. *intel.*: li — 360. *intel.*: nessun — 363. *intel.*: né — 363-364. *intel.*: intrar — 367. *intel.*: di — 368. *intel.*: potrà aver — 369. *intel.*: bocon — 370. *corr.*: antidoron — 372. *scr.* lo post *corr. cod.*

IV. Errores Cophtorum

f. 19^r 375 **[IV.1]** Il primo et principal errore di Cofiti, overo Dioscoritani, si è che pubblicamente negano la doppia natura in Christo et non voglano che habbi se non una sola a tal che tacitamente vengono a biasitemar
esser stata || passionata la deità con l'humanità, quali manifestano in questo, che cantano il *sanctus, Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et*
380 *immortalis*, aggiungono qui: *qui es crucifixus pro nobis, miserere nobis*, et hanno per dottori i padri loro gl'inventori di questa heresia Dioscoro et autrice condannati nel Quarto Universal Concilio Calcedonense.

[IV.2] Il secondo error si è che dicono come Christo non s'incarnò perfettamente, ma fantasticamente, imperò non hebbe mangiato, ne
385 beuto per bisogno della natura, ma solamente in apparenza.

[IV.3] Il terzo loro errore si è che dicono come Christo non uso mai la necessità della natura, cioè (con immensa riverenza parlando) non hebbe mai cacato, ne urinato, et questo non tutti, n'in luoghi ove sono molti, ma dove sono pochi per tema di Mori. ||

f. 19^v 390 **[IV.4]** Il quarto error si è che tutti quelli che vengono da paesi lontani, over stanno nella sua patria, cioè di Egitto, di Alesandria, Ethiopia, Nobia, Affrica, Arabia, et Pentapoli, sono circoncisi, et tengono che la circoncisione sia necessaria alla lor salute, eccetuando quelli che nascono in Cipro quali conversano con Greci, et Latini.

395 **[IV.5]** Il quinto error si è che non accettano altri concilii over synodi, se non li primi tre Universali, cioè il Niceno, Constantinopolitano, et Efessino, Primo.

379. *sanctus-immortalis*] cf. *Lit. Arm.*, 143 — 380-382. et-Calcedonense] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 73^v — 392. sono circoncisi] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 73^v

376. *corr.*: Christo — *intel.*: vogliono — 377. *intel.*: abbia — *intel.*: biastemàr — 382. *intel.*: autori condannati — 384. *intel.*: ebbe — *intel.*: né — 385. *intel.*: bevuto — 386. *intel.*: usò — 388. *intel.*: ebbe — *intel.*: né — 381. *intel.*: Alessandria — 393. *intel.*: eccettuati

[IV.6] Il sesto si è che alcuni di costoro per la lor crassa ignoranza, et
affettata, non sapend'anco qual sia il suo proprio dogmate dicono che
400 la Vergine Maria, non ha partorito come l'altre donne dal comun'
luogho, ma si ben dal costato. ||

f. 20^r [IV.7] Il settimo si è che tutti i bambini, che battezzano, gli
communicano ancora, cioè gli danno il sacramento dell'Eucharestia in
quel'istante tenendo non haver efficacia il sacramento del battesimo
405 senza l'Eucharestia et solo metteno su le labra un poco di vino
consecrato, ma non pane, e, il vino è mischio con l'aqua et dicono il
Credo nostro preciso, et lo confessano.

399. *intel.*: quali siano i suoi propri dogmi — 401. *intel.*: luogo — 404. *intel.*: aver —
405. *corr.*: mettono sulle — 406. *intel.*: mischiato

V. Cerimonie di Cophti, e, loro usanze

[V.1] Primamente alli digiuni, et astinenze, et prohibitioni di cibi, et
nelli offitii ecclesiastici somigliano in la piu parte alli Greci, non
410 dimeno hanno questa abbusione di piu, cioè dalla Domenica della
Santa Resurrettione fin alla Santa Assensione di Christo mangiano
carne continuamente, mercurdi, venerdi, et sabbato. Costoro fanno
f. 20^v quattrollQuaresime alle anno come li suedetti Greci cio è di Natale
over dell'Advento la prima; et principal' ch'è la Quarantana di Christo
415 la qual chiamano Grande ch' è la seconda; de gl'Apostoli nel mese di
giugno la quale è mutabile nella quantità d'i giorni, ch'è la terza; et
della Madonna di agosto ch'è l'ultima, ma nella Grande, et principal
Quaresima, digiunano et si astengono di cibi di piu di Greci, et d'
ogn'altra generatione Christiana cosi nella prohibition'di cibi come
420 nella tolleranza del tempo primamente astengansi dalla carne, dalli
latticini, dallo pescie, et dalli legumi percioche dicono, come non si
deve mangiar nel tempo del digiuno li cibi over legumi, et frutti ch'
f. 21^r fanno dentro certi vermicioi chia-llmati nella lingua greca *sarachia*:
secondariamente in quant'al tempo non mangiano più d'una volta il
425 giorno et questo fanno compiti li offitii ditta la nonna et vespero, dal
tramontar del sole fin all'altro tramontare, eccetto il sabbato, e, la
domenica ch' in tali giorni mangiano due volte al giorno, come li
Greci, non dimeno costoro astengonsi dalli detti cibi, dalla
Quinquagesima final di della Resurrettione, che vien a esser la
430 Quaresima loro in otto settimane; volendo digiunar quaranta giornate
compite, facendo questo conto, batteno dalle settimane due giorni,
cioè il sabbato è la domenica, lequali perche non digiunano con
tolleranza di tempo chiamano Prato di Monaci, restano cinque
f. 21^v dunque cinque fia otto || fanno giusti 40. e il medesimo conto tengono
435 anco i Greci ma si perdono nella settima delli detti giorni, perchioche
non trovano nel loro arithmetico numero piu che trenta sei giornate

410-412. dalla-sabbato] *vid. sup.* [III. 4, 21] — 417-418. ma-Greci] *vid. sup.* [III. 8, 22];
— 420-424. astengansi-sarachia] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 73^v-
74^r

409-410. *intel.*: nondimeno — 410. *intel.*: questo abuso — 411. *intel.*: Resurrezione —
413. *intel.*: cioè — 420. *post* dalla *subscr.* mangiano legumi *in marg. cod.* — 421. *intel.*:
pesce — 423. *intel.*: vermicelli — 429. *intel.*: fin al dì — 431. *intel.*: battono — 432. *corr.*:
e — 434. *intel.*: fia

in questo modo cavano fuori della settimana. Li sudetti due giorni
che sono il Prato di Monaci, cioè il *Gaudeamus*, restano cinque, et
moltiplicano il numero cinque con il numero sette che sono le
440 settimane di Quaresima fanno trenta cinque et aggiungono il Sabato
Santo vengono à esser trenta sei giusti, e non piu talmente che restano
in confusione, non trovand' il numero giusto di quaranta giorni
secondo il conto loro, ma vanno vagabondi cercando et palpando di
f. 21^r trovar questi || altri giorni quattro per trovar il maggio giusto della
445 Quarantena, si che secondo che dice il volgo tra loro rapiscono questi
quattro di alcune settimane, strane et lontane da questa Santa
Quarantena et fanno la somma loro a lor modo.

[V.2] Li sacramenti della Chiesa fanno la piu parte anco come li Greci,
et quasi totalmente simiglianti, eccetto in alcune cerimonie: costoro
450 celebrano la messa con pan fermentato, come coloro battezzano alla
greca, dicendo cosi *baptizetur servuus Dei*, et non *ego te baptizo*,
secondo la forma Romana, et battezzano fra sei over otto giorni, se
passa quaranta è scomunica. Il Santo Crisma lo fanno come li Greci
con settanta due spetie di cose aromatiche ma nelli offitii ecclesiastici
f. 22^v 455 cio è || nell'ordination sacerdotale elleggono per forza violentemente
persone pur maritate come li detti Greci; nella loro invocando li santi
per intercessari loro, s'invoca anco un Pietro Chnapha, interventor
della giunta del *santus deus* ditto di sopra, condannato dalla Chiesa
Santa con altri due sopra detti nel Quarto Concilio Calcedonense, cioè
460 Dioscoro.

448-449. Li-simiglianti] *vid. sup.* [II.1-15] — 449-450. costoro-fermentato] *vid. sup.*
[I.3] — 451-452. ego-Romana] cf. *SN*, AXVII.1, G.I.b — 453-454. Il-aromatiche] *vid. sup.*
[I.7] — 457-460. s'invoca-Dioscoro] *vid. sup.* [IV.1, 5]

440. *intel.*: aggiungono — 448. *ante sacramenti et Greci intel.* i — 449. *intel.*: somiglianti
— 451. *intel.*: servus — 454. *intel.*: specie — 455. *intel.*: cioè — 457. *intel.*: intercessori —
intel.: Cnaphea — 458. *corr.*: dell'aggiunta — *corr.*: sanctus — *intel.*: ditta

VI. Errores Armenorum

f. 23^r 465 [VI.1] Il primo error di Armeni si è che sono di commune opinione con *logia* detti Cofiti in cio che non accettano altro concilio se non li tre primi Universali; similmente hanno ancor costoro per lor dottori li sudetti heresiarchi, cioè Dioscoro, annathematezati nel Concilio ante detto, ma sono discrepanti in questo che nell celebrar messa consacrano con pan'azimo, ma con vino puro senza aqua, contra la determination della Santa Chiesa Romana Oriental et Occidentale.

[VI.2] Il secondo lor error si è che la Pasqua della Santa Resurrettione la fanno il Sabato Santo all' *Ave Maria*, appanita la prima stella.

470 [VI.3] Il terzo error si è che fanno, o, compongono il Santo Chrisma, con oglio di susima; alcuni non dimeno di costoro lo portano dal lor Patriarcha.

[VI.4] Il quarto si è che tutti li sacramenti, et feste, le celebrano nel giorno del sabbato però sono chiamati da Greci *Sabbatini*.

f. 23^v 475 [VI.5] Item judaizzano in questo ch'è il quinto errore, percioche fanno l'agnel pasquale della Antica Legge, con questa cerimonia pigliano un agnello et lo vestono di molti adornamenti, et vanno girando con esso ritorno l'altar grande cantando le lor beneditioni, et poi santificano il sale, et lo mactano, et preparato ogni cosa, fatto il giorno 480 della Santa Domenica, il mangiano appicato in chiesa, ornati tutti secondo il Vechio Testamento et ogn'uno gli da un morso, ma questo non si fa in Cipro.

461-465. Il-detto] *vid. sup.* [IV.1, 5, V.2] — 465-467. nel-Occidentale] cf. *SN*, G.VI.d, G.VI.g.2, L.10 — 468-469. Il-stella] *Steph. Lus., Chor.*, f. 34^v; *Steph. Lus., Descr.*, ff. 72^r-72^v — 473-475. Il-sabbatini] *vid. sup.* [I.24, II.8] — 475-482. Item-Cipro] *Lev.* 1:10-15; *Rit. Arm.*, 54-85, 413-414, 436-438, 520-521; cf. *Steph. Lus., Descr.*, ff. 72^r-72^v

462. *intel.*: ciò — 464. *intel.*: anathematizzati — 465. *intel.*: nella celebrata — 468. *ante Santa scr. vero in marg. cod.* — *intel.*: Resurrezione — 469. *corr.*: apparita — 470. *ante Chrisma scr. vero in marg. cod.* — *intel.*: Crisma — 471. *intel.*: olio di sesamo — *intel.*: nondimeno — 475. *intel.*: judaizzano — 480. *intel.*: lo mangiano appicato — 481. *intel.*: Vecchio — *intel.*: dà

f. 24^r [VI.6] Item la festa della Annuntiatione de la Madonna non la fanno
485 alli 25 di marzo, ma la festeggiano alli 6 di aprile, perché il Natal
insieme con l'Epifania la fanno alli 6 di genaro et cusi la Purificatione
alli 24 di febraro, la Transfiguratione alli 18 di agosto; sem-|| pre
aggiungendo dodici giorni di piu, et questo perche ordinò cusi un
Hebreo che fu fatto Patriacha, credendolo Christiano, et gli ordino 12
giudaismi.

483-487. Item-piu] cf. *Rit. Arm.*, 529-531

487. *intel.*: aggiungendo — 488. *intel.*: ordinò

VII. Qui sono alcune usanze et cerimonie delli detti Armeni

490 [VII.1] Nella piu parte d'i digiuni loro somegliano alli Greci, ma nella
Quaresima Grande simigliano alli Cofti, percioche fanno grandissime
astinenze et nella Quaresima dell'Adventi, chiamata da Greci
Quaresima di Natale, osservano questa usanza, cioè cinque giorni
continui digiunano strettamente et poi immediate quindici ne
495 rilassano mangiando tutto quello che gli vien in appetito, o,
f. 24^v potranno||havere et compiti li quindici giorni di novo ritornano al
digiuno, come prima; la qual Quaresima loro comincia dalli 14 di
novebre e dura fin all' Epifania, et in quel giorno medemo fanno le
feste insiememente dell' Epifania et del Natale, cioè la sera il Natale,
500 e, il seguente di l'Epifania, ma la settimana delle feste in anzi l'
Epifania vengono a digiunar, et far vigilie tutti quelli giorni con molta
austerità; liqualli giorni li Nicosiotti appellano impulsatamente notti
negre, et questo è l'aviso che dicono i Greci, per certa d'gli Armeni
digiunano per un cane la settimana avanti al lor Carnevale,
505 nondimeno ha referito un sacerdote loro, come tutti quelli estranei
f. 25^r della stirpe loro|| dell' Armenia usano l'anteditto digiuno
continuamente et con dett' ordine, over disordine, consumano tutto l'
anno.

[VII.2] Item quanto si celebra la messa nelle chiese loro venend'il
510 sacerdote alla consecratione fanno una buona cerimonia, et santa, che
tutto il popolo di fuori subito ch'il sacerdote dice *pax vobis*,
s'abbracciano insieme et si baciano l'un l'atro caritativamente à due à
due; il simile fanno le donne tra se baciandosi, si ben fussero le
magior nemiche del mondo in quel istante fanno la pace; usanza
515 veramente d' abbracciarla da tutti, especialmente da orthodoxi. ||

490. Nella-Greci] *vid. sup.* [II.8, III.4, 8, 21-22] — 491. simigliano-Cofti] *vid. sup.* [V.1]
— 509-515. Item-orthodoxi] *Lit. Arm.*, 151; cf. *Rit. Arm.*, 483-486

490-491. *intel.*: somigliano — 492. *intel.*: Advento — 494. *intel.*: né — 496. *intel.*: avere
— 500. *intel.*: di — *intel.*: innanzi — 502. *intel.*: li qualli — *intel.*: impulsivamente —
503. *post corr.* (ex negri) *cod.* — *intel.*: certi degli — 505. *intel.*: riferito — 506. *intel.*:
anteditto, antedetto — 508. *intel.*: medesimo — 512. *intel.*: caritatevolmente — 513.
intel.: fusero — 514. *intel.*: maggior — 515. *intel.*: ortodossi

VIII. Errores Jacobitorum

[VIII.1] Sono in Cipro de Giacobiti 50 famiglie in Nicosia, senza vescovo, due preti soli. Il primo errore di Giacobiti over la prima heresia ch'hanno si è che negano la doppia natura in Christo et si fanno in questo amici et compagni delli sopra detti Cofiti.

520 **[VIII.2]** Nel secondo anco semigliano adessi Cofiti dicendo come Christo non hebbe preso carne humana realmente, ma fantasticamente, però non uso mai la necessità della natura, non hebbe mai mangiato, ne beuto per bisogno della perfettione della natura humana, ne mai hebbe cacato, ne urinato, *ut supra*.

f. 26^r 525 **[VIII.3]** Item tengono per padri loro illuminatori della fede, ma piu presto conduttori delle heresie, tutti gli heresiarchi delli detti Cofiti et hanno di piu il suo, quale è Giacobito Siro, et questo si è terzo errore.

[VIII.4] Il quarto si è che consacrano con pan fermentato come li Greci, ma lo misticano over impastano con oglio commune.

530 **[VIII.5]** Item tengono che l'anime de i santi non siano in Paradiso eccetto la Vergine Beata, et l'anima del Latrone crucifisso.

516-517. Sono-soli] Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 74^v — 517-519. Il-Cofiti] *vid. sup.* [IV.1]; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 74^v-74^v — 520-524. Nel-supra] *vid. sup.* [IV.3] — 525-526. Item-Cofiti] *vid. sup.* [IV.1, V.2] — 528-529. Il-Greci] *vid. sup.* [I.3] — 530-531. Item-crucifisso] *vid. sup.* [I.5]

Tit. corr.: Jacobitarum — 520. *intel.:* somigliano — *intel.:* adesi — 522. *intel.:* usò — 523. *intel.:* bevuto — 521-524. *intel.:* ebbe — 523-524. *intel.:* né — 529. *intel.:* mesticano — *intel.:* olio — 530. *intel.:* dei — 531. *post crucifi- subscr. -so*

IX. Errores Maronitarum

[IX.1] Il primo e principal error di Maroniti si è che negano la doppia volontà in Christo et anco la doppia operatione.

[IX.2] Il secondo si è che non accettano altri Concilii senon li quattro
535 primi Universali. ll

f. 26^v [IX.3] Il terzo si è ch'hanno per dottore il Marone et altri heresiarchi loro che gli occultano.

536-537. Il-occultano] cf. Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 73^r-73^v

535. *post Univer- -sali*

X. Cerimonie di Maroniti et usanze loro

[X.1] Costoro similmente hanno i suoi digiuni et Quaresime come li detti Greci, ma nelli sacramenti alquanto si discostano da loro
540 consacrano con pan fermentato, ma hora fanno l'hostia et battezzano alla forma Romana come i Latini.

[X.2] Item alcuna volta, non trovando hostie da consecrare, pigliano del pan fermentato alcune fugacette fatte da loro et con quelle consacrano excusandosi con questo, come Christo nell'Ultima Cena
f. 27^r 545 benche in sua meza havea pan azi-llmo secondo la Leggie Vechia, non dimeno nella institutione del nuovo Christiano, fece in quello instante mutar in pan fermentato. Tutte queste cose la piu parte l'haveamo viste, et intese dalle proprie bocche loro, et toccate con mano, et il restante l'habiamo compreso da persone degne da prestargli fede,
550 perciocho erano della stirpe loro et capi principali.

538-539. Costoro-Greci] *vid. sup.* [II.8, III.4, 8, 21-22] — 540-541. ma-Latini] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 73^r-73^v — 545. secondo-Vechia] Ex. 12:15-21; Lev. 2:11 — 547-548. Tutte-mano] cf. 1 Ioh. 1:1

542. *intel.*: consacrare — 544. *intel.*: scusandosi — 545. *intel.*: benché — *intel.*: mezza — *intel.*: aveva — *corr.*: Legge Vecchia — 545-546. *intel.*: nondimeno — 547. *intel.*: avevamo — 548. *intel.*: bocce — 549. *intel.*: abbiamo — 550. *corr.*: percioche et *intel.*: percioché

XI. Alcune chiese, over capelle, malamente appreciate, anzi ruvinate, et essendo lattine refabricate alla greca in Cipro e Nicosia

[XI.1] In casa dell'illustre Gran Siniscalco del Regno la sua capella. ||

f. 27^v [XI.2] In casa dell'illustre signor Costanzo, Grand'Armiraaglio del Regno, la sua capella.

[XI.3] In casa del signor Pallol de Lucimburgo totaliter estinta et
555 salizata.

[XI.4] In casa del magnifico signor Philipppo Podachataro la capella di Santa Chaterina.

Tit. Alcune-ruvinate] cf. Bern. Sagr., *Rel.*, 543-544

Tit. *intel.*: ruminare — *corr.*: latine — 554. *fort. intel.*: Lussemburgo — 555. *intel.*: salizàda — 557. *intel.*: Caterina

XII. Monumenti di Christiani doventati necessarii over cloache

[XII.1] Nel cimiterio, over campo santo, nel Santo Jovan Batista dell' Hospidale della Comandaria, il domo antico chiamato Templos, over
560 auso *prasini*.

Tit. intel.: diventati — **560. fort. intel.:** Chrysoprasini

XIII. Libri non mai stampati ne venuti in luce greci andichissimi

f. 28^r [XIII.1] Nel Monasterio di Bibi si trovano li *Tesauri* di San Cirillo Patriacha Alessandrino che tratta fedelmente delle processioni del Spirito Santo et delle auto-llritá pontificale, et preminenza papale; ivi ancora si trova un volume antichissimo et probatissimo, di sermoni di 565 diversi autori, chiamato *panagyricon*.

[XIII.2] Nel Monasterio di Andrio si trovano li quattro libri delli *Dialoghi* di San Gregorio, dottor Romano, che tratta del Purgatorio et altre belle cose.

570 [XIII.3] Nel Monasterio di Agro si trova un volume antichissimo, opera di Santo Massimo contra diversi heretici; molti altri si trovano nelli detti monasterii utilissimi et necessariissimi, a, tempi nostri, ma non si lasciano vedere.

f. 28^v 575 [XIII.4] In mano dell'illustre signor il reverendo Abbate Podachataro si trova il Concilio Fiorentino over Ferrariense, con tutte le dispute d'isanti Padri, con lettere capitali d'oro, per il che il reverendissimo monsignore Archiepiscopo Podachataro ha speso circa ducati trenta per haverlo d'una città chiamata Mittellini.

580 [XIII.5] In mano dell'illustre signore Alesandro Lascari, Governator di Aradiotti, si trova un volume grande di carta membrana antichissima di tutti i Concilii, cosi Universali, come Provinciali, con alquante epistole di Santo Basilio, et di molti altri dottori Greci.

561-562. li-Alessandrino] cf. *DGMC*, 168 — 566-567. si-Purgatorio] Greg. Mag., *Dial.* I, 214AB — 569-570. Nel-heretici] cf. *DGMC*, 173-174 — 573-574. In-Ferrariense] *vid. sup.* C [II.42]

Tit. *intel.*: né — *intel.*: antichissimi — 562. *intel.*: Alessandrino — 563. *post auto- scr. et del. -ritá cod. et intel.*: autorità — 565. *intel.*: panygyricon — 571. *scr. in post corr. (ex ij?) cod.* — 574. *intel.*: Ferrarensis — 575. *intel.*: di Santi — 576. *intel.*: Arcivescovo — 577. *intel.*: averlo d' una città — *intel.*: Mitilene — 578. *intel.*: Alessandro

XIV. Qui sono alcune abussioni di clerici Latini, similmente edi alquanti laici

f. 29^r [XIV.1] Li clerici et canonici di Santa Sofia tengono in publico le concubine et tali di costoro si danno al matrimonio clandestino.

585 [XIV.2] Item la piu parte delli detti clerici mangiano carne il sabbato et similmente le case di gentil homini Nicosini, eccetto l'illustrissima casa di Nores, et anco l'illustre casa de i Podachatari, et qual'ch'un' altra.

582-583. Li-concubine] cf. SN, H.XL— 583. et-clandestino] *vid. sup.* [II.9]

Tit. *scr.* sono *post corr. cod.* — *intel.:* alcuni abusi — 582. *intel.:* Santa Sophia — 586. *intel.:* dei Podachatari

XV. Case le piu antiche

[XV.1] Di Nores. Gilber. Zappo. Mistachil, Lassi. Vernia. Prevesto.

588. *intel.*: Gibelet. Zaffo. Mistachiel — *scr.* Lassi *post corr. cod. et fort. intel.*: Laze — *intel.*: Verny. Provosto

XVI. Cassate venute a tempo di Zacco

[XVI.1] Davila. Benedetti. Costanzo. Caraffa.

XVII. Di servitio di Cavalieri sono:

590 [XVII.1] Missièr Pietro di Nores.
Auder di Nores Sasson. ll

591. *fort. intel.:* Audeth di Nores Soissons

XVIII. Cassali comprati dalla Signoria

	[XVIII.1]	Morso	}	per ducati 40,000
		Alona		
	Zegno Sindico	Potamia		
595		Margo		
		Aradippo		
		Larnaca		
	Zuan di Nores	Aschia	}	per ducati 2,000
		Stefani		
600		Vasili		
	Benedetti	Peristerone e pertinentie	}	per ducati 6,000
	Zuani il laseorno	Pelemidia e pertinentie	}	per ducati 6,000

592. *intel.*: Morfou — 594. *intel.*: Singlittico — 595. *intel.*: Margi — 600. *intel.*: Vatali —
post Vasili *subscr. et del.* Panucci il luseorno *cod.* — 602. *scr.* 6,000 *post corr. cod.* — 604.
post corr. (ex Palochino) cod.

605	Hieronimo Bragadin	Palochino Vom Sicca exop cerlochi Monastiri	} per ducati [<i>spat. vac. ca.9 lit.</i>]
610	Hercol Podachataro	Chiri Chier Stefano San Zorzi Menegon	} per ducati [<i>spat. vac. ca. 9 lit.</i>]
f. 30 ^r	615	Jolin Bristan Cordomeno di Levante	
	620	Paluro campo Prastio in Nicosia Lacadamia	} per ducati 2,400

[XVIII.2] Idio per la sua infinita bontà et misericordia voglia concederci, gratia che con un sol pastore, et una sol grege si glorifichi il suo nome in universo per infinita *secula seculorum amen.* ||

605. *intel.*: Palochitro, Palecithro — 606. *intel.*: Voni — 608. *intel.*: Exo Metochi — 610. *intel.*: Chiti — 611. *intel.*: Tersefanou — 613. *intel.*: Menevon, Mene(v)ou — 614. *intel.*: Jolou — 616. *intel.*: Condomeno — 622. *intel.*: Iddio — 623. *intel.*: saecula saeculorum

XIX. Forestieri che hanno intrata in Cipro

- 625 [XIX.1] L'Arcivescovo [*spat. vac. ca. 3 lit.*] Mozenigo
 Il Vescovo [*spat. vac. ca. 3 lit.*] Contarini di Baffo
 Il Vescovo Ragazzoni di Famagusta
 Il Vescovo Mozenigo di Lemisso
 Il Comendator Cornaro
- 630 Il Gran Magistro di Rodi
 Il Conte di Zaffo Contarini
 Il Conte del Carpasso Giustinian
 Missièr Zorzon Corner
 Missièr Zorzi Corner
- 635 La fraterna del Cardinal Cornaro
 Li Coneri del Piscopia
 Missièr Hieronimo et Zuanne Giustiniani
 Missièr Giovan Bragadin
 Missièr Luca, e, Giulio da Pesaro
- 640 Missièr Orsato Giustinian
 Missèr Andrea Quirini
 Madòna Mariètta Corner
 Madòna [*spat. vac. ca. 3 lit.*] Bembo ||
- f. 31^r
 645 Il Patriarca di Gierusalem Greco et il Latino
 Un monastero di frati lberi

[XIX.2] L'intrate de forestieri sopra detti et paesani sono in estimo ducati 120,000; l'hanno la metà per parte che sono li due terzi di casali. Il Publico ha il terzo di casali, ma ne cava in contanti ducati 120,000, senza le biade.

Tit. intel.: entrata — **636. intel.:** Corneri — **647. intel.:** entrate dei forestieri

XX. Saline

[XX.1] Rende al Publico di valuta in Cipro ducati [*spat. vac. ca. 3 lit.*] per la Soria.

[XX.2] Per Venezia almeno 15 navi all'anno, che massima leva carri 1,500 di sale, che fanno carra 22,500, che a Venezia vagliano [*spat. vac. ca. 3 lit.*] ducati il carco.
655

[XX.3] Il particular delle navi per ogni carro ha di nolo ducati 2 che fa all'anno ducati 45,000. ||

f. 31^v [XX.4] Fa l'isola un anno per l'altro, ogn'anno gottoni 5,600; hanno di nolo le navi di 4 per uno et fa ducati 24,000.

660 [XX.5] Altretanto et piu hanno di nolo delle robbe di Soria, che cargano qui, cioè ceneri, galle, cordoani, gottoni, filadi, sede, droghe, canelle, spetiarie, et altro.

[XX.6] Si che val la scala di Cipro alli padroni delle navi ducati 150,000 l'anno.

665 [XX.7] Si nudrisce 30 nobili Veneziani, 60 marinari da comando patroni, noechieri, pedotti, huomini di consiglio, 60 bombardieri, 30 scrivani, et piu di 900 altri huomini da mare.

[XX.8] Vagliano i gottoni un anno con l'altro, à ducati 35 il cantaro, fanno ducati 210,000, se ne guadagna 10 per cantaro, che il frutto sarebbe ducati 60,000 l'anno, che tutta colà in Venezia et ducati 100,000 di Soria.
670

652. Per-anno] cf. Bern. Sagr. *Rel.*, 554 — 660-662. Altretanto-altro] cf. Bern. Sagr. *Rel.*, 555

652. *fort. intel.*: massima — 653. *intel.*: carri — *intel.*: valgono — 655. *post corr.*: (*ex carro?*) *cod. et intel.*: carcano — 661. *intel.*: galli, cordorani — *intel.*: filadi — 662. *intel.*: speziarie, altri — 665. *intel.*: nutrisce — 666. *intel.*: nocchieri — 668. *intel.*: valgono — 670. *intel.*: tutto cola

f. 32^r [XX.9] Il Publico ne cava anch'esso di gabelle et ll doane di Venezia ducati 40,000.

[XX.10] Valsero al Publico l'entrate di Cipro l'anno 1563 ducati 50,
675 55,000 per il dominio del navere in Cipro, di modo che a quelli giunto
il guadagno del sale che si fa à Venetia, arriva à un million d'oro l'
entrata del Publico.

672. *intel.*: dogane— 674. *post corr.* (*ex intrate*) *cod.* — 675. *intel.*: navigare — 676. *intel.*:
Venezia

XXI. Spesa che ha il Pubblico

	[XXI.1] Luogotenente di Nicosia	ducati 1,000
	Consiglieri due	ducati 1,400
680	Provveditor generale	ducati 1,600
	Camerlenghi due	ducati 400
	Capitani di Famagusta	ducati 1,000
	Capitani di Cirines	ducati 200
	Capitani di Saline	ducati 200
685	Capitan di Baffo	ducati 200
	Castellan di Famagusta	ducati 570
f. 32 ^v	Governator di Famagusta	ducati 500 ll
	Governator delle carne	ducati 400
	Governator di Nicosia il signor Giulio	ducati 1,500
690	Governator di Cerines	ducati 200
	Capitani di ordinanze n° 15 a ducati 15	ducati 1,800
	Capitani cinque in Famagusta a ducati 25	ducati 1,000
	Capitani due in Cerines	ducati 400
	Capitani sette in Nicosia	ducati 1,400
695	Fanti n° 2,100	ducati 56,448
	Capo soldo a 20 per compagnia	ducati 470
	Stratia governatori	ducati 210
	Capitani n° 2 a ducati 100 capitani di 50	ducati 1,100
	Cavalli 800	ducati 32,000
700	Rasonati di camera due	ducati 310
	Provisionati n° 66 a ducati 48 l'anno	ducati 3,168

696. *intel.*: Caposoldo — *fort. intel.*: compagnia — 698. *scr.* Capitani *post corr. cod.* — 699. *intel.*: della — 701. *intel.*: Provisionati

		Due galere della guardia	ducati 12,000
		Ballete	ducati 90
		Due scontri	ducati 120
f. 33 ^r	705	Due contadori	ducati 80
		Massaro	ducati 36
		Feudati di camera	ducati 6,000
			<u>126, 668</u>
		L'intrata della Real in tutta	ducati 130,000
	710	Le quali tutte vanno in spese fuorche si pagano in Venezia	ducati <u>23,000</u>

709. *intel.*: entrata

XXII. Feudarii del Regno

	[XXII.1] Il Conte Zaffo	
	Il Conte del Carpasso	
	Il Conte di Prochar	
715	Il Conte di Tripoli	
	L'Armiraaglio missièr Costanzo	
	Il Cotestabil il signore Andonia	
	Davelle	
	Pietro di Nores Kavalièr	
720	Auder di Nores Kavalièr	
	Giovan di Nores	
	Gianotto di Nores ll	
f. 33 ^v	Giason di Nores	Phebo Benedetti
	Pietro Singlittico	Bernandin Benedetti
725	Tomasso Singlittico	Zuan Benedetti
	Nicolò Singlittico	Zuan Flattro
	Hieronimo Singlittico	Hettor Flattro
	Livio Singlittico	Pier Flattro
	Vico Singlittico	Ballian Flattro
730		Flattro Flattro
	Pier Antonio Singlittico	quidam Zuan Flattro
	Philippo Podachataro	Bernardo Bustron
	Ludovico Podachataro	Giason Bustoron
	Hettor Podachataro	[<i>spat. vac. 4-5 lit.</i>] Bustron
735	Eugenio Podachataro	Giacomo Philippo Milano
	Livio Podachataro	Giacomo Bergantino

714. *fort. intel.*: Roccas — 717. *corr.*: Antonio — 720. *fort. intel.*: Audeth — 726. *scr.*
Flattro *post corr. cod.* — 731. *fort. intel.*: quidam — 733. *intel.*: Bustron

	Jacomo Strambali	Giovan Scella
	Hettor Strambali	Bernardo della Gridia
	Piero Strambali	Marco Zaccaria
740	[<i>spat. vac. 4-5 lit.</i>] Strambali	Aloise Zaccaria
	Giacomo Strambali rosso	Paris di Looron
	Diomede Villaraut	Paris Sannson
	Nicoló Benedetti	
	Zuan Benedetti	Pier Martinengo II
f. 34 ^r	745 Hieronimo Circasso	
	Mutio Zibler	Alesandro Prevosto
	Tristan Zibler	Bellisario da Lion
	Phebo Zibler	Hettor Zappo
	Tristan Zerbas	Anniballo Babin
750	Zuan Sosomeno	
	Januccio Muscorno	Tomaso Ficardo
	Marchio Frasenghi	Pier Gierusalem
	Francisco Antar	Gasparro Impallol
	Olivier Guerra	Pier Antonio Lusignan
755	Zuan di Tores	Marco Cadit
	Zuan Zerbrin	Ugo Flattro
	Piero Lase	Giuffre Corner
		Aluise Leforia
		Anibal de San Zuanne

738. *corr.*: dell'Agria — 741. *fort. intel.*: Coron — 742. *intel.*: Soissons — 743. *intel.*: Nicolò — 746. *intel.*: Alessandro — 746-748. *intel.*: Gibelet — 748. *intel.*: Zaffo — 753. *intel.*: Attar, Pallol — 755. *fort. scr.*: Tores et non Zores — 756. *intel.*: Zerbin — 759. *corr.*: Annibal

XXIII. La comunità

- 760 [XXIII.1] Balotta le giurisdizioni ch'sono
Capitan di Limisso
Civitan di Pardaia
Civitan di Crusocoo
Civitan di Andrino
- 765 Civitan di Massotto
Tutto le provisioni ||
- f. 34^v Egli otto ch' hanno piu voti sono imballotati dalli tre rettori, et li quattro che hanno piu sono imbossolati, et tratti a sorte.
- [XXIII.2] Gli scrivani che sono n^o [*spat. vac. 3-4 lit.*] non hanno salario
770 ma del guadagno vivono, et cusi giusdicenti, de quali il guadagno è nel porre i civitani, paricivitani, bagneri per ogni casale.
- [XXIII.3] I sangui che si fanno 85 per parte.
- [XXIII.4] Le regaglie, caponi, et galline, et polastre, tratte di biave, carrobe, et altro mese delle camuse.
- 775 [XIII.5] Al visconte fatto da isoli tre rettori, e lo stesso nella città et vescontado, cio è le mete alle camere, et a tutte le grascie, e, al pane.
- [XIII.6] Gli scrivani si danno dalli rettori soli et cusi le due secretarie della Real. ||

761-765. Capitan-Civitan] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 81^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 217^v — 771. civitani-paricivitani] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 81^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 217^v — 772. I-fanno] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 80^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 215^v-216^r — 773-774. Le-camuse] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, ff. 85^v-86^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 221^v-223^v — 775-776. Al-pane] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 80^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, ff. 215^v-217^r

760. *intel.*: giurisdizioni — 762. *intel.*: Pentaia — 763. *post corr.* (ex Crusochou?) *cod. et intel.*: Crusochou — 764. *intel.*: Avdimou — 768. *intel.*: imbussolati — 771. *intel.*: paracivitani — 773. *intel.*: rigaglie, pollastre — 774. *intel.*: carrube, camozze — *intel.*: altra messe — 775. *intel.*: dai soli — *intel.*: città — 776. *scr.* vescontado *post corr. cod. et intel.*: viscontado

[XXIV.1] Si chiamano cosi da una città antica in Egitto, che ora si
 780 chiama *Cofths*, d' onte si porta a Venetia un certo sabbion' per far
 lustio come cristallo.

[XXIV.2] Usano la scrittura greca, ma vi aggiungono setti charateri,
sciai, phai, chai, chiuri, chienchia, chiema, di,

Ϡ ϣ ϥ ϧ Ϩ ϩ

785 Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω γ.

[XXIV.3] Sono li Cofthi in famiglie in Cipro, Nicosia 200, famigle n°
 900.

Palochino 12 famigle.

San Demeri 10 famigle.

790 Famagusta 30 famigle.

Usano li apparamenti sacerdotali alla Siria.

Il vescovo loro ha regalie da maridaggi bisanti 10, o, 20.

Da Gnoxorio bisanti 20.

Da Lansa porta tra loro bisanti 360. ll

f. 35^v 795 D'ordination di preti non ha niente.

[XXIV.4] Hanno in Nicosia due preti, hanno di Lansa de Cophti
 ducati 26 per uno, e, da Gnoxorio bisanti 120, e da preghie rettori 12.
 Consacrano in fermentato, ma non comunicano, se non i consacrati,
 cioè il prete, e, il diacono, quando dice messa ordinaria, ma quando
 800 comunica partecipa a tutti et guarda che sia intero et bello della
 grandezza d'un hostia ma piu grossa.

[XXIV.5] I Giacobiti, Nestorini e Maroniti hanno una lingua che parlo
 Adamo, et un carattere.

[XXIV.6] Prima erano cinque generationi che havevano una fede,
 805 Cofthi, Giacobiti, Armeni, Abbissini, Nubi; hora sono usciti gli Armeni

780. *intel.*: onde — *intel.*: Venezia — *intel.*: lustro — 782. *intel.*: aggiungono — *intel.*:
 caratteri — 784. *scr. x post corr. cod.* — 786. *intel.*: Cofthi — 788. *intel.*: Palochitro,
 Palecithro — 789. *intel.*: San Demetri — 791. *intel.*: paramenti — 792. *post corr. (ex*
maritaggi) cod. et fort. intel.: maritarsi — 793. *intel.*: Gno Chorio — 794. *fort. intel.*: Lasa
 — 796. *fort. intel.*: Lasa de Cofthi — 797. *intel.*: Gno Chorio — *fort. intel.*: delle preghiere
 rettori 12 — 799. *post ordinaria fort. intel.*: quando — 800. *post corr. (ex intiero?) cod.* —
 802. *intel.*: parlò

in publico, ma in privato tengono con gl'altri, tengono Dioscoro et si maritano con li sopra detti, liquali non si maritano, ne con Maroniti ne con Greci, ne con Franchi, ne con Nestorini. ||

f. 36^r

[XXIV.7] I Nubi sono dispersi.

810 [XXIV.8] Gl'Abbissini obediscono al Patriarcha di Egitto Cofto, il quale gli manda anco i vescovi ne possono farli da se sta al Cairò, il qual commanda, a, tutto l'Egitto fin in Ethiopia. Il prete Janni se fa Zago da un vescovo fatto dal Patriarcha, il qual è creato dalli vescovi congregati in Allessandria.

815 [XXIV.9] Hanno nel eremo quattro monasterii: Sant'Antonio, San Macario, Nostra Donna, et San Bichiano.

[XXIV.10] I Giacobiti hanno il Patriarcha in Antiochia, hanno anco un metropolitano come arcivescovo et vicario del Patriarcha.

[XXIV.11] Gli Armeni hanno il lor signor.

820 [XXIV.12] I Maroniti in monte Libano. ||

f. 36^v

[XXIV.13] Li Christiani dalla cintura sono gli Abbissini.

[XXIV.14] I Greci l'hanno in Gierusalem, il Barutto, al Cairo, et a Constantinopoli.

[XXIV.15] Al Cairó vi sono Greci, ma pochi ma in Soria molti.

825 [XXIV.16] Da Barutto fin a Trippoli, et Aleppo, sono i Maroniti.

806. tengono Dioscoro] *vid. sup.* [VI.1] — 810-814. Gl'-Allessandria] cf. Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 74^v — 815-816. San Macario] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 73^v — 817-818. I-Patriarcha] *vid. sup.* [VIII.1]; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 74^v — 819. I-signor] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 72^r — 820. I-Libano] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^r; Steph. Lus., *Descr.*, f. 73^r

807-808. *intel.*: né — 810. *intel.*: obbediscono — 811. *intel.*: né — *intel.*: Cairo — 812. *intel.*: fin all'Ethiopia — 813. *intel.*: Zacco — 814. *intel.*: Alessandria — 818. *intel.*: metropolitano — 819. *fort. intel.*: sire — 824. *intel.*: Cairo

[XXIV.17] In Aleppo vi sono gli Armeni et Giacobiti, et piu dentro verso Oriente, et cetera.

[XXIV.18] E piu dentro vi sono Nestorini verso il sofi nel paese dalcui non vi sono Christiani.

830 [XXIV.19] Gli Armeni giudaizzano in decenoni articoli che sono gli infrascritti.

[XXIV.20] Nostra Donna di marzo 25 fanno alli 6 di aprile, si batezano con olio susimano.

[XXIV.21] Fanno la Pasqua di Sabato Santo con cascio et ova, e, la
835 Domenica l'agnello. ll

f. 37^r [XXIV.22] Di Sabato si maritano et batezzano.

[XXIV.23] L'agnel pasquale mangiano arosto apiccato in chiesa *succinti lumbos*, et cetera.

[XXIV.24] L'Eucaristia con l'azimo.

840 [XXIV.25] Natale il sabbato avanti cioè la vigilia dell'Epifania.

[XXIV.26] La Candelore alli 14 di febraro.

[XXIV.27] Nel sacrar i preti i diaconi l'ungano di Cresma nelle mani.

[XXIV.28] Stanno al fuoco il Natale come i pastori dell'evangelio.

[XXIV.29] I Maroniti in Cipro sono in Chitria, Attalù, Ormusfa,
845 Clepini, Casal Pifani, Carpascia, Cordomeno, Merhochi, Vunos,

830-831. Gli-infrascritti] *vid. sup.* [VI.1-6] — 832-833. Nostra-susimano] *vid. sup.* [VI.3, 6] — 834-835. Fanno-agnello] *vid. sup.* [VI.2, 5] — 836. Di-batezzano] *vid. sup.* [VI.5] — 837-838. L'agnel-cetera] *vid. sup.* [VI.5] — 839. L'Eucaristia-azimo] *vid. sup.* [VI.1] — 840. Natale-Epifania] *vid. sup.* [VI.6, VII.1]

830. *intel.*: diciannovi — 832. *scr.* aprile *post corr. cod.* — 833. *intel.*: batezzano — 836. *intel.*: batezzano — 837. *intel.*: arrosto appiccato — 842. *intel.*: Crisma nelli mani — 844-845. *intel.*: Cithrea, San Giorgio Attalù — *intel.*: Condomeno, Metochi

f. 37^v Sichari, Piscopia et sono di piu di 1,000 || famiglie dall'quali il vescovo
hà 96 et cosi il Patriarcha.

[XXIV.30] Haveano in Nicosia San Fosi Monasterio con due altre
famiglie et hanno un vescovo, oltre il Latino, il qual vive da San Fosi.

850 [XXIV.31] Armeni sono à Spatarico, San Vasili, Cornochipo, Platani,
da settanta fameglie.

[XXIV.32] In Nicosia circa fameglie n° 100 che sono anco molte
commode [*spat. vac. ca. 4-5 lit.*] alla prima messa danno al vescovo la
franda ducati [*spat. vac. ca. 4-5 lit.*] il qual ha anco animali minuti
855 forsi n° 400, poi ogni Pasqua una limosina. ||

844-846. I-Piscopia] cf. Steph. Lus., *Chor.*, f. 34^v; Girol. Dand., *Miss. Apost.*, 23

847. *intel.*: ha — 848. *intel.*: Hanno — 848-849. *fort. intel.*: San Fotioi — 850. *post corr.*
(*ex Vasali?*) *cod.* — 851. *intel.*: famiglie — 854. *fort. intel.*: frauda ducati *vel* francha
ducati — 855. *intel.*: elemosina

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Plates

τα τοιαυτὰ δὲ οὐ παύσει καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν καὶ νομῶν.
 καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ ἱερὰ σωδοὺν ὀξυβρίζον ἀσθεῖα,
 ὡς ἀπελάττει πάντας ὑμῖν ἐν ἀπώπνι ἡμετέριό τας ἡμῶν
 καὶ πᾶσι πᾶσι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄλλως πᾶσι δέξειτε τοῦ
 τοιοῦτ' ἀλλοτρίου. καὶ αὐτίκα βλασφημοῦσθε. ἀλλὰ
 ἀποσφραξίτε μακρὰ ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆς ἐκείνης
 κοινῶν τῆς τοῦ βδελυγμένου. καὶ ἀκίρην αἰρίσεως. ἡμῶν
 μὴ δελεασθῆτε τῶν βδελυγμένων. τὰ τοῦ τουδελεῖ καὶ ὡς
 τελευτήσθε, ἀποσφραξίτε τὸν ψυχικὸν φάτον. κινδύωσθε
 πρὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀσθεῖας. ἀποσφραξίτε τὰ κινδύωσθε
 ἐν κῶμῳ τῆς τοῦ δελεῖ τῆς τυρῆδος ἐν κῶμῳ καὶ
 σὺν αὐλίας. πρὸς τὸν ἀσθεῖα τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνης
 δομάτ. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ θυδία φύλαξαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς
 ψυχῆ καὶ σώματι. καὶ ἀνώτερος πᾶσι ἀνιδροῦ ἐν αὐτῷ
 μὲν τῶν ἀποσφραξίτε τῶν ἐν κῶμῳ καὶ ὡς τῆς
 κοινῶν τῆς ἀσθεῖας.

Επειδὴ τινες προσφρόμενοι τοῖς ἀζύμοις. καὶ ἀζύμαθον τὸ πρὸς
 τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σῶτος διεχωρίζονται, τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἀφαιρῶν
 αὐτὸν τὸ νομικὸν πᾶσι. πᾶσι δὲ τῶν οἰκείων μεθυσταῖς τοῖς
 ἰδοῖς δηλαδὲ ἀσθεῖας διὰ τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην. τελε
 σθῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νομικοῦ πᾶσι ἡμῶν τῆς οἰκείας
 καὶ ἐκείνης φησὶ τῆς σελήνης, περὶ σελήνης ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἡμῶν
 δείξει, ὅτι οὐτε κατὰ τὴν ἡμερᾶν τὸ νομικὸν ἐστὶν
 πᾶσι, οὔτε τὸν ἀμῶν μετὰ τῶν μεθυστῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀζύμων ἀφαι
 ρῶν τὸ ἀληθεῖτε καὶ μὴ τὸν πρὸς δῶκεν. οὐδὲ ἀζύμων ἀφαι
 ρῶν τῶν τελεῖον. εἰ γὰρ πᾶσι ἡμῶν τῶν βδελυγμένων τῶν

PLATE 2b
MS Athonensis Stauronicetanus 62, f. 298r

ἄμα τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν χῶρῳ ἡμετέρῳ
 πειδὴ ὡς περὶ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ ἄλλα εἰσὶν. οἷα μὲν τὸ λῆξιν
 πύρκα θηροτάριον μετὰ τὸν δετὸν βίον με
 ἴσται. καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς μετὰ αὐτῶν εἰς
 τὴν ἐστὸν ῥάμιον δόξα μὲν ἀδέχεται.
 μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τὰ βλάβησθαι εἰς τὸν
 ἄδελφον ἕως οὗ ἀμείλιχον τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἔστιν
 πρῶτον μετὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς πόλεως, κῆ. καὶ
 τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων πτωτέρων λόγους ἀμείλιχον
 μενον. πτωτέρον μὲν αὐτῶν
 μετὰ τῶν ἐλλειπτικῶν τινῶν
 εἰς τὸ λατρεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς
 σκέλεθαι. ἔλλειπτικῶν μετὰ τῶν
 σαίτε κῆ θησῶν. τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιπλοῦν
 τὰς λοιμῶν εἰς τὸ γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 τῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν διαμοῖα εἰς κέρειν.
 τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀπείρειν. ὅπως ἀμείλιχον
 ρίσα μὲν τὴν ἀμείλιχον. εἰς τὸ σαίτων.

PLATE 3a
 MS Eton College Library 166, f. 1^r

τού Θ' ἄρπτα με ταμ ἄλλωσι ται πορὶν ἡ κ' ἄ
 πτω τῆς μεταμοίσε ἀξίως ποιήσε. εἰ τὸ με
 λλον τὸ δ' ἄπυρος καθαφτηρίου καθαίρεσθαι.
 τελέως δὲ κεκαθαρμένως εἴθις ἔσπειται καὶ αὐ
 τὰ εἰς τὸν οὐμὸν ἐναφίς καὶ εὐθύμεως ἀμα
 βάμειν. τὰυτα καὶ εἰ τὸ τὸ ἄρπον ἀρθίον
 μεθι τοῦ τοῦ οὐσι τὰυτου εἰδ' ἄρπυμιν βίω, δ' ἰ
 ὄλου ἄρπυμιν ἄσκειται.

Π ὅτι γὰρ δὲ καὶ μέγαν δι' αὐτοῦ τὰυτων γηπί
 ων γόμαυτα ἐπιφύττειν ἰνα μὸν. ἡ ὄρπυ
 σάμοδος ἡ οἰκουμένη κη. εἰ τὴ φλορεν τία τῆ
 τῆς ἰσταλίσε σπύλι. τέτο μὲν. εἰ τὸ πρὸς τὴ
 του τότε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ευ-εγίου
 πετάρτου. τοῦ ἐναυτῆ μετα τοῦ κασιγῆς
 ἄμω καὶ τὸν πρὶ ἀρχου τῆς κωνσταντινῆ
 πόλεως. καὶ μετα τοῦ τοῦ ἀσπίτου
 πηλῆθου. ἀρχιεπισκόπου. ἐπισκόπου
 ἡ του μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄρπον τῆ μὲν ἐκκλη
 σιαστικόν. τῆ δὲ ἐκκλησίαν γραμμῶν σπαρίτος

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PLATE 3b
 MS Eton College Library 166, f. 19r

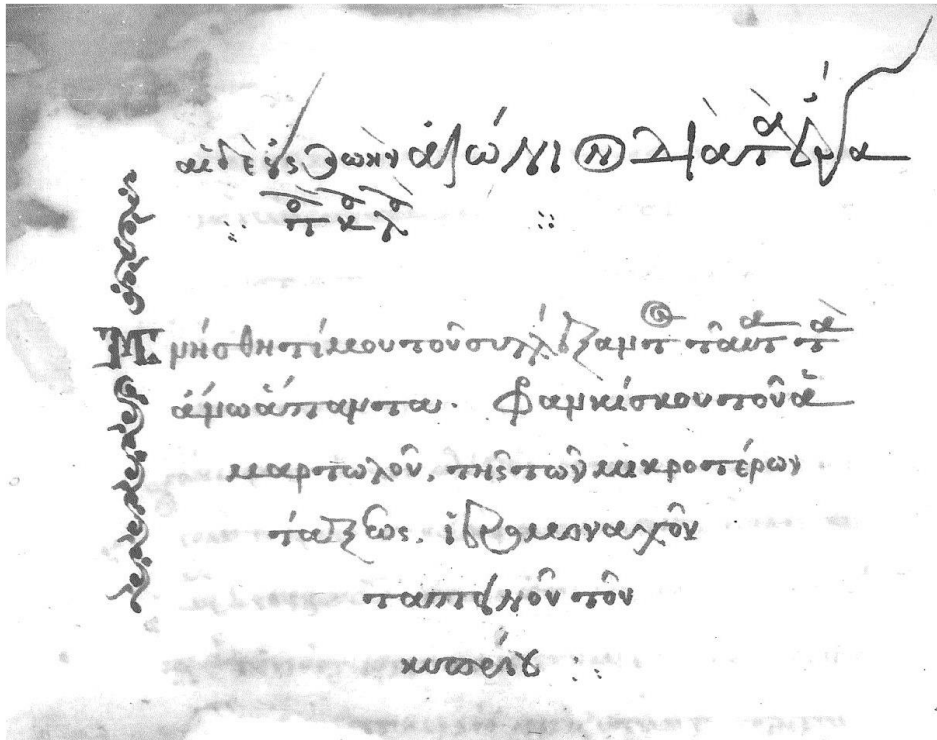


PLATE 3c
MS Eton College Library 166, f. 22v

Qui dentro si contengono gli erro-
 ni di alcune nazioni Christiane
 che contra la Cat. ca fede hanno
 commesso q^{ti} il di d'oggi
 in Cipro si trouano cio è
 di Cophti, Armeni, Ma-
 roniti, jacobiti
 falsi Greci

Li dogmati loro, et cerimoniae, et an-
 co alcune abusioni di canonici
 latini ouer elenici

Con l'entrata del regno di Cipro

Errores Graecorum

Il primo, et principal error di Greci si è che dicono che il spirito santo procede solamente dal padre, et non dal figliolo, et questo non solamente in tutti quattro Patriarcati Universalis, si troua registrato, in una lor legenda della santa Pentecoste chiamato appresso loro sinecani. —

Il secondo errore si è che dicono universalmente che la santa Romana Chiesa non è capo di tutte l'altre Chiese et particolarmente in alcuni luoghi sfacciatamente escomunicano il Papa, con tutto il collegio di Cardinali et vescouè, con tutti i latini appresso et tanto piu si manifesta il lor errore in questo che registrorno nelli Breuiarij loro chiamati Soro logij alcuni uersi

estratto dall' inferno mediante le sue orazioni et
le sue messe de i santi che furono in quel
tempo.

La seconda dom^{ca} di Quaresima si fa mençione
ouer memoria d' un Gregorio Arcivescovo Thesa-
lonicense cognominato Palamano del qual
se suspicia, che sia esso condannato nel con-
cilio ottavo fiorentino, ouer ferrarese il
qual scrisse molti oppuscoli contra Latinos.

La terza dom^{ca} di Quaresima s' intitola della sancta
voce, perche in quel giorno presentano la
voce in mezzo della Chiesa accio che ogne
uno l' adori, et la baci tutta quella setti-
mana, chiedendo sussidio dalla passion
di Christo, accio che uenendo fin alla mezza
Quaresima stanchi dal digiuno non ri-
ritirino a dietro ma che sotto l' ombra di
quel stendardo, come sotto un om-
bra

nità pontificale, et preminenza papale
iui ancora si troua un uolume antichiss.
et probatissimo, di sermoni di diuersi
autori chiamato panagynicon.

Nel Monasterio di Andrio si trouano li quat-
tro libri delli dialoghi di san gregorio dottor
Romano, che tratta del purgatorio et al-
tre belle cose

Nel Monasterio di Agro si troua un uolume
antichissimo opera di santo Massimo con-
tra diuersi heretici, molti altri si troua-
no nelli detti Monasterij utiliss. et necessa-
rissimi, a tempi nri manon si lasciano
uedere

Si mano dell' Illre sig. il Sr. do Abate Rodol-
faro si troua il Concilio fiorentino ouer fer-
rariense con tutte

te

