Cypriot Folk Songs as History and Myth, 965–1571

The Byzantine Warrior Hero

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

The Byzantine Warrior Hero

Byzantium: A European Empire and Its Legacy

Series Editor: Vlada Stanković (University of Belgrade)

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

Titles in the Series

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

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

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

Radical Traditionalism: The Influence of Walter Kaegi in Late Antique, Byzantine, and Medieval Studies, edited by David Olster and Christian Raffensperger

Emerging Iconographies of Medieval Rome: A Laboratory of Images in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, by Annie Montgomery Labatt

The Byzantine Warrior Hero: Cypriot Folk Songs as History and Myth, 965–1571, by Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

The Byzantine Warrior Hero

Cypriot Folk Songs as History and Myth, 965–1571

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

LEXINGTON BOOKS
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

6 Tinworth Street, London SE11 5AL, United Kingdom

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020946070
ISBN 978-1-7936-2198-6 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-1-7936-2199-3 (electronic)

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

Contents

Acknowledgments

The idea for a book on the Byzantine warrior hero in Cypriot folk songs came up in 2018, when I was teaching a course on late Byzantine history at the University of Cyprus. My first thoughts were put on paper later that year, and again on 2019, when the Cypriot newspaper *Πολίτης* published, as part of the broad-audience journal *Χρονικό*, two of my articles on the *akritai* and pre-Christian culture in medieval Cyprus. From Yiannis Ioannou—political scientist, journalist, and military history expert—I received constant encouragement to move on to the next step, turning these early thoughts into a monograph. It is his fascination on folklore and the medieval heroic traditions, which revived my own excitement on the warrior culture of Byzantium. Revd. Professor Kyprianos Kountouris, rector of the Theological School of the Church of Cyprus, kindly invited me to present the preliminary findings of my research on the *Charopalema*, during the IV Annual Conference of the School in 2019. I also profited greatly from the lectures and seminars of fellow colleagues in the Hellenic Studies postgraduate program of the European University Cyprus. Collaborating with such a brilliant team of historians, archaeologists, and cultural heritage experts has been a most fruitful experience that enabled me to frame my exploration in ways I could not even imagine in the past. I am particularly grateful to the Cyprus Department of Antiquities and the Holy Monastery of Kykkos Museum for granting their permission for the reproduction of images. Deep thanks go to Vlada Stanković, Eric Kuntzman, Alexandra Rallo, and Kasey Beduhn for believing in this project, and for their expert assistance during its various stages. I also owe sincere thanks to the anonymous Lexington Books reviewer for offering valuable comments and suggestions, which helped me improve—substantially—the final manuscript.

This book could not have been written without my family's love and support. Once again, I would like to thank my parents and sister for all their patience and willingness to help. Three-year-old Evridiki often invaded my office, sweetly demanding to be informed on "how's Dad doing" (meaning that she wanted to know when Dad would have the time to play with her). Last words are for my wife, Maria: thank you for being there. This book is dedicated to you.

Abbreviations

BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CCEC	*Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
PG	*Patrologia cursus completus series greaco-latina*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
ΒΣ	*Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*
ΔΑ	*Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και το Άσμα του Αρμούρη*
ΔΑΥΑ	*Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και τα Άσματα του Αρμούρη και του Υιού του Ανδρονίκου*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*
ΕΚΜΙΜΚ	*Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*
ΕΚΕΕ	*Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*
ΚΣ	*Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*
ΣΒΠΚΙ	*Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών Πηγών Κυπριακής Ιστορίας, 4ος–15ος αιώνας*

Author's Note

The transliteration of ancient Greek and Byzantine names into English generally follows *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Cypriot folk songs quoted in this book are in the monotonic ("single accent") system of accentuation, which has been employed in Modern Greek since 1982. This is in order to stress the continuation, through oral transmission, of Byzantine themes, motifs, ideas, and values from medieval times to the modern era, when these songs were recorded, usually in the polytonic system. For the sake of convenience and simplification, I have chosen to avoid the complex issue of phonetically representing the Greek Cypriot dialect, for which there is no universally employed system. Byzantine texts preserve the breathing marks, accents, and iota subscripts of the polytonic system. The orthographic idiosyncrasies of Cypriot heroic folk songs follow their printed editions. All English translations of Cypriot folk songs and Byzantine sources are mine, unless stated otherwise.

The Greeks of medieval Cyprus generally described themselves as Ῥωμαῖοι ("Byzantine Romans"), which reveals their ethnic, cultural, and religious bonds with Byzantium. This book employs the modern term "Greek Cypriots" or simply "Greeks" to denote the Greeks of medieval Cyprus, while using "Byzantines" to refer to subjects of the Byzantine Empire. The term "Latins" refers to Latin-rite Christians in general; "Franks" and "Frankish" refer to the Latin-rite dynasty of the Lusignans (originating from Poitou, France) and the period of Lusignan rule in Cyprus (1192–1489). The capitalized term "Orthodox" (which, at the time, was not specific to any group) is used to describe Byzantine-rite Christians.

Introduction

Songs Have Stories

There was a time when giant Saracens guarded the Euphrates and the far side of the world was inhabited by monstrous crabs. In this mythic universe, valiant heroes rose to bring order to chaos. Sometimes they had to combat injustice and insolence, killing monsters, defending their women against their own relatives, or coming to rescue an incarcerated brother from the hands of a jealous ruler. Virtuous sisters would sleep with the image of their brother decorating their sheets; young warriors would wreak havoc on Saracen armies in order to liberate their captive relatives; Amazonian wives would take their husbands' arms to slay a demanding mistress; enormous swineherds would clash with lords and their armies. Warrior heroes could also embody the forces of chaos, injustice, and brutality; darkness and light were two sides of the same coin.

Every time I look outside the windows of my home, I see the gray peak of Pentadaktylos, the "Five-Finger Mountain" standing at the north of Nicosia. Overlooking the coastal city of Kerynia, the long limestone range of Pentadaktylos took its name from Digenes, the Byzantine warrior hero who (so the legend says) gripped its rocky peak before leaping over to southern Asia Minor, in pursuit of a Saracen raider. As a child, I grew up with stories of Digenes wrestling with Charos, the personified death.[1] At school, I was taught that Modern Greek literature begins with the Byzantine heroic traditions, surviving in the form of folk songs on the *akritai*, Byzantine warlords of the eastern frontier. During the long winter nights of my two-year service in the Republic of Cyprus National Guard, my imagination grasped something of the life of these Byzantine frontiersmen, shivering on watch and waiting for an invisible enemy to come out of the darkness. One of my favorite readings as an undergraduate history student was Constantinos N. Sathas's (1842–1914) *Greek Warriors in the West and the Renaissance of Greek Tactic*—a *tour de force* (despite its many inherent weaknesses) exploring the mentalities and

practices of Greek frontier warriors from Byzantium to the early modern period.[2] And I later remember completing the bibliography of my doctoral thesis, while listening to Michalis Christodoulides's legendary 1988-recording of Cypriot folk songs on the warrior heroes of the Byzantine frontier.

In many ways, writing a book on the Byzantine warrior hero pays a personal debt to these memories; it is also a tribute to the past and present of Cypriot heroic folk songs, which managed to preserve (despite the heavy blows of modernity and the political peripeties of the twentieth century)[3] the richness of the island's Byzantine culture.[4] From a scholarly perspective, this book underlines the value of Cypriot heroic folk songs in recovering medieval popular perceptions of Byzantium's warrior heroes, which helps us "complete and correct our view of Byzantium, dominated by the culture of the elites, considered as representative of the Byzantine world in general."[5]

Songs tell stories and have their own stories. Although folk songs are born in particular historical contexts, they are constantly transformed and adapted, reflecting new ideas, responding to the needs of younger generations, obscuring or reinterpreting the past; ultimately, folk songs become artifacts, clothed—like marble Caryatids—in layers of cultural vestments. Heroic folk songs praise the deeds of mighty heroes, lost in the mist of their own mythology, and the symbolism of their triumphs and tragedies.[6] Scholars approach heroic folk songs in different ways: they focus on the diachronicity and comparative development of heroic folklore; study the folk ballads' cultural context, language, literary form, transmission and performance; pick up historical details to understand politics, religion, society and economy; and defend or criticize their historicity.[7]

Building on the scholarly approaches mentioned earlier, this book wishes to examine the diachronic symbolism of heroic folk songs in relation to particular historical developments.[8] The originality of the book's approach is that it concentrates on a microcontext with its endemic historical, cultural, social, and ideological mechanisms, while also exploring the relationship between microlevel and the much broader historical picture, thus understanding in a completely novel way complex historical phenomena related to the role of Cyprus as part of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world.[9] In addition, this study is a first step toward a more comprehensive analysis of folk materials (usually outside the canon of sources studied by historians) in the field of Byzantine history.

"AKRITIC" SONGS AND THEIR HISTORICAL STROMATOGRAPHY

Serving the medieval Greco-Roman or Byzantine Empire[10] as a stronghold during the Islamic expansion and the Crusades (649–1191), Cyprus, an island

mostly populated by Greeks, became the last Crusader kingdom in the Eastern Mediterranean under the Frankish family of the Lusignans (1191), and was only conquered by the Ottomans after a bloody war with Venice in 1570–71.[11] The island's proximity to the Near East and its role as a border between Christianity and Islam transformed Cyprus into a key center in the production or revision of Byzantine heroic songs, labeled by scholars "akritic" or the *akritika* (after the *akritai*). Yet, as Guy (Michel) Saunier points out, historical details associated with the *akritai* in these songs are superficial; "akritic" songs should be better viewed as part of a much broader category of heroic narrative folk songs.[12] For this reason, this book chooses to concentrate on Byzantine heroic themes, rather than digging Cypriot folk songs to trace the "akritic" element. Concerning the complex question of the relationship between the *Digenes Akrites* epic (probably composed under the Komnenian emperors in the twelfth century, with later revisions)[13] and the orally performed heroic folk songs,[14] I am in line with Saunier's arguments on the priority of heroic folk themes, later reworked in the form of a literary epic on Digenes;[15] this is another reason why this book puts "Modern Greek" folk songs under the historian's microscope, rather than placing emphasis on the *Digenes* epic (which, anyway, appears to have only loose connection with the folk songs of Cyprus).[16]

My quest for the Byzantine folk hero in the geographical area of medieval Cyprus (965–1571) is driven by two interconnected questions. First, to what extent did historical developments leave their imprint on the cultural ideas and values expressed in the island's heroic folk songs? Secondly, how did Cyprus—a provincial microlevel at the periphery of the Byzantine Empire, which became politically disconnected from Byzantium after 1191—operate within the broader macrolevel of Byzantine culture? The chronological period covered in this book stretches from the island's full reincorporation into Byzantium in 965 until the Ottoman conquest of 1571, which ended a long period of Christian rule on the island (Byzantine and Latin).

Exploring the aforementioned questions requires a reconstruction of the social, cultural, and religious framework functioning as a matrix for the emergence of Byzantine heroic themes in Cyprus. For this reason, a synthetic approach is necessary, taking into consideration both primary sources from Cyprus and the broader Byzantine world (e.g., works of historiography, patristic homilies, epic and didactic poetry, etc.) and archaeological evidence (e.g., depictions of warriors and warrior saints from frescoes, icons, and ceramics). Since no folk songs from medieval Cyprus survive (at least in their original Byzantine Greek form), one has to search for Byzantine heroic themes, motifs, and symbols[17] in folk ballads recorded during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I have decided to examine materials from ten main collections of Cypriot "akritic" folk songs, collected and published between the 1860s and 1980s by Athanasios Sakellarios,[18] Nikolaos G. Politis,[19]

Georgios Loukas,[20] Stilpon P. Kyriakides,[21] Christos G. Pantelides,[22] Hedwig Lüdeke,[23] Georgios K. Spyridakis,[24] Magda Kitromelidou,[25] Alexandros Eleutheriades,[26] and Menelaos N. Christodoulou.[27]

The songs recorded in these collections are in Cypriot Greek, a dialect consisting (as Brian Newton noted in 1972) of no less than eighteen regional varieties.[28] In Byzantine times (ca. 300–1191), Cypriot Greek largely maintained the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the Byzantine *koine* while also preserving ancient local idiosyncrasies. Frankish (1191–1489), Venetian (1489–1571), Ottoman (1571–1878), and British (1878–1960) rule (together with the presence of Armenian, Syriac, and Maronite groups in Cyprus) enriched Cypriot Greek with various linguistic elements.[29] In recent years, "social and historical changes that have taken place since [the 1970s], such as on going urbanization, the Turkish invasion of 1974, and the occupation of the northern part of the island, have had an impact on the dialectical continuum," enhancing the process of koineization at the expense of regional varieties.[30]

The folk songs examined in this book bear witness to the historical development of Cypriot Greek in the medieval and modern period, which inevitably creates a linguistic and cultural gap between Byzantine folk songs and the songs recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: our Cypriot material is "post-Byzantine," in the sense that it has been shaped by later historical contexts, though maintaining its Byzantine core.[31] In the medieval love song known as the *Hundred Words of Love*, for example, we find mixed historical references to the island's Crusader and British rule.

Αφής εχτίστην Τζιβωτός τζιαί τζινουρκώθηκν κόσμος
τζαί χτίστην το τετράποον, απού βαστά τον τόπον,
εχτίστην τζ η Αμμόχωστο, της Τζύπρου το ρηάτον,
εχτίστην τζ η Αγιά Σοφιά τζιαί το Κωνσταντινάτον.

When the Ark was built and the world became new,
and the four pillars of the earth were made,
Famagusta was built, the Kingdom of Cyprus,
and Saint Sophia and the City of Constantine.[32]

This is, clearly, a medieval layer. What follows is a different historical layer, closer to the moment of the song's incorporation into Kitromelidou's collection (1937); here we can find references to England, the British high commissioner, as well as descriptions of the luxurious female dress of the medieval period:

Τζιαί μιαν αγίαν Κυριακήν, δεσποτιτζιήν ημέραν,
ηθέλησεν η Λυερή να πά' στην Εγκλιτέραν.

Ενίφτην τζι εχολλιάστηκεν τζι έσασεν τα μαλλιά της,
εμπέην έσσω τζι άλλαξεν ρούχα της φορεσιάς της.
'Παππέξω φόρησεν χρυσά, παππέσω χρυσταλλένα
τζιαί κάζακον ολόχρυσον τζι εσσιέπασέν τα τέλεια.
Βάλλει τον κάππελλον ομπρός, να μην την πιάννει ήλιος,
πας τζι ήταν κόρη τ' Αρμοστή, πας τζιαί βαστά βασίλειο.

And on a holy Sunday, on the Lord's day,
the Maiden decided to go to England.
She washed her face, painted her eyes, and combed her hair,
went in her house and put on her formal dress.
On the outside she was dressed in gold, on the inside
she was dressed in shiny crystal,
and with a golden coat she covered everything.
She put on her hat, not to be touched by the sun;
she looked like the commissioner's daughter, as if she was holding a kingdom.[33]

The *Hundred Words of Love* is representative of the creative blending of various linguistic elements, themes, and historical details in Cypriot folk songs. Scholars have argued that the authenticity of folk songs containing medieval themes and elements depends on various factors. "The oldest local collections probably preserve texts with a greater degree of authenticity," writes Linos Politis (1906–82). "General collections sometimes modify the text on the basis of criteria that are totally subjective, aesthetic, and arbitrary . . . . Isolated verses from different versions could be authentic; yet, the editor's collation of these verses does not create a whole but an externally-devised summation."[34] Saunier associates editorial "corrections" with the political agenda of collectors willing to "improve" their texts, through the expression of a more explicit national identity.[35] The very classification of a large group of folk songs as "akritic" reflects this process.[36] In addition, printing (with its tendency for standardization) might have intervened in the process of oral performance and the recording of folk songs, affecting their degree of authenticity.[37] Discussing the role of Cypriot folk singers, Roderick Beaton argues that "the epic length of traditional songs in Cyprus is due not to the preservation of a medieval epic tradition lost in the rest of the Greek-speaking world," but to the influence of the singers themselves who achieved greater length in their songs "by a variety of devices such as excessive repetition, prevarication, and the inexpert tacking together of self-contained episodes."[38] Thus, apart from the wide chronological gap between the moment of creation/circulation of medieval heroic folk songs and their modern recordings, both singers and folklorists collecting these songs may have (intentionally or not) introduced modifications, which seems to challenge their value as historical sources.[39]

QUESTIONS OF "HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY"

The historian of Byzantium should not be discouraged by such limitations. A starting point in our attempt to approach the historical significance of heroic folk songs must be a precise definition of "authenticity." Saunier points out that the debated authenticity of Greek folk songs is related to the scholars' ability to decipher the myths encrypted therein. According to Saunier, many themes in Greek folk songs reflect earlier, pre-Christian myths, and have nothing to do with the "akritic" world.[40] "Such historical elements," writes Saunier, "as they may be said to possess are no more than an added gloss, which has nothing to do with the meaning of the myths and no real significance for an interpretation of the songs."[41] It is myth, so Saunier argues, that is important, not the historical elements per se: any historical details or references (as in "historical" folk songs, that is, folk songs relating historical events) seem to be largely dating from the 1200s, namely the period of political fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire (as a result of the Fourth Crusade of 1204), under the pressure of Latin and Turkish expansion.[42] It is only after the thirteenth century that history begins to have a greater influence on myth, for example, in the representation of death, as well as in the perception of divine responsibility in relation to *adikia* ("injustice/wrong-doing"), the very essence of evil.[43] A last point made by Saunier (together with his former student, Emmanuelle Moser) is that folk myths function as (to use a term employed by Mircea Eliade) "initiatory scenarios,"[44] in which new layers of interpretation (shaped by changing contexts) replace older interpretations.[45] At the same time, the older, pre-Christian layers of interpretation coexist with the newer, Christian cultural elements, attesting the fascinating survival of pagan "initiatory patterns"[46] in the Christianized popular culture of medieval Byzantium.[47] To put it simply, folk myths prepared premodern people for their transition from one social (and existential, we may add) phase/status to the other (e.g., life and death, separation from one's family and community, and the creation of a new family through marriage).[48]

Although Saunier's approach to heroic folk songs has not been accepted by everyone,[49] it provides a valuable tool for the analysis of different cultural layers in the heroic folk tradition, and, ultimately, the *histoire de mentalités* in a medieval Cypriot context.[50] Based on Saunier's interpretation of the heroic folk myth in general and the characteristics of Cypriot folk songs in particular, this book will explore the different cultural layers of heroic ballads in relation to continuities and discontinuities during the Byzantine, Frankish, and Venetian rule in Cyprus. Already in 1873, Sathas attempted to draw connections between Byzantine frontiersmen and Cyprus at the time of the Byzantine-Arab wars (seventh–tenth centuries).[51] Sathas's argument concerning Byzantine military ("akritic") presence in Cyprus before 965, sometimes

repeated today,[52] has been proved to be unsubstantiated: during that period, there were no *akritai* established in Cyprus.[53] But Sathas was correct in tracing the historical echo of "akritic" culture on the island.[54] Henri Grégoire (1881–1964)—whose work[55] on the historicity of the "akritic" traditions is of the outmost importance (even if many of his points are now considered outdated)—has shown that the memory of Lusignan Crusader expeditions in Asia Minor is echoed in the Cypriot *Song of Armouris* (collected by Hedwig Lüdeke).[56] In the same vein, Gilles Grivaud has more recently pointed out several elements of historicity in the Cypriot "akritic" songs.[57] Nikolaos Konomis has noted that Leontios Makhairas's fifteenth-century *Exegesis of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* contains a linguistic formula that could be found in Cypriot "akritic" folk songs,[58] thus helping us date such folk materials around the late medieval period; future intertextual research may offer more linguistic examples in this direction.[59] Stylianos Alexiou (1921–2013) argued for the dispersion of Byzantine heroic themes from the *Digenes* epic into Greek folk songs, drawing thematic connections between *Andronikos and his Black Steed*, a folk song from Karpathos, and the Cypriot *Death of Digenes*.[60]

Revised mythic themes and added historical details: these are the keys for examining the reception and adaptation of Byzantine heroic traditions through folk songs. Historical context, even if it plays a secondary role in the creation and revision of folk myths, is "no mere ornament" to our investigation; sometimes myths reflect the process of "internal change within a tradition," inevitably linked to the process of "external change in the social context."[61] Saunier's emphasis on the independence of myth in Greek folk songs should not exclude a historicist reading of heroic ballads "in such a way," to quote Harold Aram Veeser, "as to reveal through the analysis of tiny particulars the behavioural codes, logics, and motive forces controlling a whole society."[62] I should clarify beforehand that my aim is not to reconcile conflicting methodological approaches, but to historically understand in a deeper and meaningful way heroic myths and perceptions in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean, using medieval Cyprus as a case study.

But how exactly can we define the historicity of heroic folk songs? "Some scholars persist in understanding historicity only as the representation of historical events and persons, that is, the very things that are absent from epic poetry," writes Vladimir Propp (1895–1970). "If in epic poetry events are thought of as having occurred in the remote past, in the ballad they are attributed to a potential reality, although perhaps not the reality that surrounds the performer."[63] For the historian, this potential reality (imaginative and inherited as it may be) mirrors the ideas, views, aspirations, and anxieties—that is, the mentalities—of past people and societies in changing contexts. In addition, Propp advises us that "in many works, historicity is

deduced not from the entire plot and its historical significance but from individual details," including proper and place names, the legal and social position of the protagonists, economic details (e.g., trade and monetary system), as well as the description of tools (e.g., a plow), dress, and so forth.[64]

The historian can also profit from the remarks of Eratosthenis G. Kapsomenos, who applies the Marxist approach of literary criticism and semiotics on the "akritic" songs. For Kapsomenos, these ballads could be read as signs or symbols of Byzantine ideological developments, power relations, and class struggle in the middle Byzantine period.[65] Kapsomenos's interpretation is enriched by the brief observations, made in 1978, by Nikolaos G. Svoronos (1911–89) on the influence exercised by Byzantine society on Greek folk songs. According to Svoronos, the Byzantine Empire was characterized by social mobility and political, military, fiscal, and ecclesiastical unity, bridging the cultural gap between cities and their countryside; this became the unifying matrix in which Greek folk songs were born, developing specific characteristics related to the particular historical and socioeconomic circumstances of their geographic dispersion.[66]

METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

Let me summarize by defining this book's methodology. My examination of the image of the Byzantine warrior hero builds on Saunier's "mythic approach," in order to identify different cultural layers, and to focus on the specific features of songs originating from Cyprus. At the same time, I am following Propp's guidelines in how to assess the historicity of folk ballads, in agreement with Veeser that "tiny particulars" could reveal a substratum of cultural codes, logics, and motive forces in a historical context. Lastly, Svoronos's and Kapsomenos's conclusions are valuable in reconstructing the broader historical, cultural, and social framework in which mythic themes were revised and historical details were added to heroic folk songs. More specifically, Svoronos's arguments help us acknowledge the existence of peripheral microlevels and microcultures within a broader and more unified Byzantine culture, while Kapsomenos brings forth political ideology and social struggle as significant shaping forces of Byzantine heroic themes.

Before proceeding to the book's structure, it is necessary to offer some additional theoretical clarifications and definitions.

First, the need to focus on the "microlevel." As John-Paul A. Ghobrial observes, "even though global history has helped us understand circulation and connectedness in important ways, it has been less effective at explaining how change over time happens differently in specific contexts and, more importantly, why this change happens differently in sites that are connected

to one another."[67] One way to concentrate on the microscale is to read primary sources "as if through a microscope . . . prioritizing small details, or clues, which [are] used to unravel the teleology and triumphalism of grand narratives." Such examination can also involve broader chronological periods, "imagined to resemble the very microcosms that had been given life in . . . local studies."[68] The importance of this approach is that specific geographical areas are seen as "'fragments' through which 'universal' processes can be observed, similarly to the way social sciences approach case studies as mere exemplifications of predefined theories."[69] In this book, heroic themes, motifs, and symbols from Cypriot folk songs are scrutinized as the small details and clues through which we can understand the broader picture of historical processes in Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean, Byzantium, and the medieval European world. A useful way to transcend the micro/macro dichotomy is to adopt Jacques Revel's methodology of *jeux d'échelles* ("scale games"), based on the magnification ("zoom out") and minimization ("zoom in") of the historical focus in relation to a local context, in order to capture the different dimensions of the subject under investigation.[70] A similar approach is employed throughout this book.

Heroic traditions could be viewed as the carriers of memory. Cypriot heroic folk songs were composed, revised, preserved, and transmitted by anonymous cultural agents: they are the product of a group of people, bearing witness to their memories. To quote Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), "collective frameworks of memory do not amount to so many names, dates, and formulas, but truly represent currents of thought and experience within which we recover our past only because we have lived it."[71] There is a sense of collective identity in the process of remembering, achieved through intergenerational communication:[72] "the life of the child is immersed in social milieus through which he comes in touch with a past stretching back some distance. The latter acts like a framework into which are woven his most personal remembrances."[73] For Marianne Hirsch, traumatic events can be remembered by the next generation of people ("postmemory"), not actually experiencing them, because "these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation."[74] Halbwachs rightly distinguishes collective memory from history in its official versions,[75] noting that "the memory of involvement in the events or of enduring their consequences, of participating in them or receiving firsthand account from participants and witnesses, may become scattered among various individuals, lost amid new groups for whom these facts no longer have interest because the events are definitely external to them."[76] Social memory is, essentially, the memory of groups keeping particular remembrances,[77] which are bound

to the self-understanding of these collective entities, so as to "perpetuate the feelings and images forming the substance of [their] thought."[78] Individual remembering often occurs "under the pressure of society,"[79] implying a certain "technique" or "technical activity," which "specifies what has to be done, the lack of which will leave the function unaccomplished."[80] Therefore, collective memory can become a transcript of the needs, customs, traditions, and value judgments of a society,[81] which "obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality does not possess."[82] Although the Byzantines did not share Halbwachs's clear distinction between memory and history,[83] the intergenerational transmission and revision of folk songs provides an opportunity to historically examine the function of collective memory as identity formation mechanism, namely the way that the representation of the Byzantine warrior hero and his world corresponded "to the self-image and interests of the group [and was] oriented towards the needs and interests of the group in the present."[84]

Another key term requiring clarification is "myth." Under the influence of Christianity, the word is often employed to denote "the domain of the unfamiliar, of the pagan, who, living in another time or under different skies, does not have the benefit of the lights of Truth. In his ignorance of the revealed biblical narratives, he can construct only irrational fictions."[85] For the ancient Greeks, myth was a discourse, not a lie;[86] it was a narrative inseparable from history.[87] On the contrary, Byzantine historians writing under the hegemony of Christianity generally drew a line between mythology and history; for the Byzantines, the dominant tendency was to interpret myths allegorically, so as to convey higher philosophical, and, more importantly, theological truths.[88] Traces of this allegorical interpretation could be found in Cypriot heroic folk songs, especially those stressing the polar opposition between the hero, fighting under divine protection, and the monsters, perceived as incarnated forces of evil.[89] It would be wrong, however, to take for granted the Christian allegorical interpretation of mythic discourses in the songs. As we shall see in chapters 3 and 4, one can also trace themes, motifs, and symbols that convey ideas incompatible with, and sometimes in direct opposition to, Christianity. This book employs "myth" to define a pre-Christian narrative structure that survived the official establishment of Christianity. For most Orthodox *literati* and church pastors, pagan mythology was recycled only after its allegorical "filtering"; yet, the existence of elements in the songs that seem to have remained untouched by such a process implies that myth could also function independently, partly due to its interpretive plasticity, and partly due to the inability, or unwillingness, of the cultural agents responsible for its transmission and preservation to see the mythopoeic process as deception and false

truth. In other words, although official authorities tolerated and manipulated myth through allegory, this strategy seems not to have been shared by the folk community, for whom the boundaries between fiction and reality appear to have been less clear.

Myths can be read as "invented traditions." According to Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012), the term embraces "both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period."[90] Hobsbawm divides invented traditions into three categories: (a) those expressing the social unity of communities; (b) those sanctioning institutions and power relations; (c) and those inculcating "beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour."[91] This book understands the mythic traditions of medieval Cyprus as being "reinvented," through the addition of historical details, which left their mythic core largely intact.[92] By placing the mythic core of Cypriot heroic folk songs under the historian's microscope, we are able to identify and analyze the "symptoms and therefore indicators of problems" behind these invented traditions.[93] A mythic narrative propagating the need to respect and preserve the established order tells us something of the domination of the Byzantine emperor and his collaborators in a particular geographical context: this is an invented tradition sanctioning the Byzantine imperial institution and the power relations stemming from it. An alternative mythic narrative, deconstructing Byzantine imperial authority and advocating resistance to power, implies a very different ideological attitude, shaped by specific sociopolitical circumstances. In the long term, and regardless of their ideological matrix,[94] heroic folk songs and their myths became part of the folk society's identity and sense of belonging, expressing the social unity of the Cypriot peasant community. Some songs might have also sanctioned moral codes and ways of proper behavior. These issues will be discussed throughout the book.

The observation on power antagonisms brings forth the concepts of "subalternity" and "history from below" in uncovering the cultural agents, both composers/performers and audience, of the heroic themes in Cypriot folk songs. "One significant aspect of grassroots history," writes Hobsbawm, "is what ordinary people remember of big events as distinct from what their betters think they should remember, or what historians can establish as having happened; and insofar as they turn memory into myth, how such myths are formed."[95] Cypriot heroic folk songs are the songs of a folk society. It is reasonable to suggest that at least fragments of the mentalities, fears, and aspirations of the socially marginalized are expressed through their culture. If this is indeed the case, then historians of Byzantium and the medieval world should see subaltern people not merely as the object of exploitation by the powerful (whose version of history offers, quite often, the only way to approach certain periods and events) but also as the active agents of historical developments

and the hidden protagonists of history, a history that was no privilege of any specific social group or class.[96] The historical examination of Cypriot heroic folk songs has exactly this dimension, inviting us to search for the people behind the songs, to recover their stories and mentalities.

Patrick H. Hutton defines the "history of mentalities" (*histoire des mentalités*) as the history of "the attitudes of ordinary people toward everyday life . . . the culture of the common man."[97] Jacques Le Goff (1924–2014) notes that the aim of this particular historical approach is not to study "objective" phenomena, but to concentrate on their representation, and to examine the relationship between mentalities and social structures (e.g., palaces, monasteries, castles, schools, mills, forges, taverns, sermons, painted or sculptured images, and the printing press).[98] Since the 1960s, there has been an increasing tendency to bring under the historian's microscope "insignificant" (from the viewpoint of earlier historiographical examinations) individuals, acknowledging that "history had not been made by kings, and grandiose politics was only a superficial flicker, which really changed nothing in the basic state of things."[99] Given the nature of the folk materials under examination (being products of an anonymous collective entity), this book focuses on the mentalities of elite and non-elite groups, rather than individuals, placing particular emphasis on folk perceptions of the powerful, imperial and royal authority, the ethnoreligious Other, and God.

Chapter 1 sets the scene by presenting the development of heroic warrior cultures in Byzantine and Latin-ruled Cyprus. Chapter 2, inspired by John G. Peristiany's edited volume on honor and shame in the Mediterranean (1965),[100] seeks to historically contextualize perceptions of honor and shame in Cypriot heroic folk songs. In chapter 3, the examination turns to the image of ethnic groups and social outsiders in the multiethnic society of medieval Cyprus. Following a "zoom in-zoom out" presentation of the relationship between pre-Christian and Christian culture in Byzantium and Cyprus, chapter 4 discusses expressions of "folk spirituality"[101] in Cypriot heroic folk songs, paying particular attention to perceptions of theodicy and divine injustice.

The Byzantine Warrior Hero is a book about heroic deeds and tragedies; it is also a study on the dialogue between history and tradition, navigating the sea of pre-Christian heroic themes, motifs, and symbols in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean, and revisiting the survival of Byzantine culture in the Latin-ruled Byzantine world. This is the story of the collective consciousness of an insular society on the southeastern margin of Europe, and of the elements determining their identity: war and peace, initiation and transformation, justice and injustice, shame and honor, life and death.

NOTES

1. During the four-year Greek-Cypriot struggle against the British (1955–59), Colonel Georgios Grivas (1897–1974), leader of the EOKA (the Greek-Cypriot anticolonial guerilla organization), operated under the *nom de guerre* "Digenes." Following the founding of the Republic of Cyprus (1960), central avenues on the island have been named after "Digenes Akritas" or "Digenes the Frontiersman."

2. C. N. Sathas, *Έλληνες στρατιώται εν τη Δύσει και αναγέννησις της ελληνικής τακτικής*, ed. N. Karapidakis (Athens, 1993). Sathas's work, originally published in 1885, remains sadly untranslated in English to this day. Sathas also edited (with Émile Legrand), the Trebizond version of the *Digenes* epic: *Les exploits de Digénis Akritas, d'après le manuscript unique de Trébizonde*, ed. C. Sathas and É. Legrand (Paris, 1875).

3. Namely, the intercommunal strife between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the Greek military Junta's coup against President-Archbishop Makarios III in 1974, the subsequent invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, the military occupation of the northern part of Cyprus by the Turkish army, the establishment of an internationally unrecognized "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," and the bitter division between Greek and Turkish Cypriots to this very day.

4. On the significance of Cypriot heroic folk traditions within the broader corpus of the so-called "akritic" songs, see N. Konomis, "Τα Ακριτικά της Κύπρου," in *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση: από τον Μεγαλέξαντρο στον Διγενή Ακρίτα*, ed. H. Ahrweiler, P. Ifantis, and J. Roques-Tesson (Athens, 2004), pp. 29–46.

5. P. Schreiner, "À la recherche d'un folklore byzantin," *The Annals of Dunarea De Jos University of Galati* 19:4 (2005), p. 89: "les recherches modernes du monde byzantine devraient dédoubler d'effort les études du folklore et de la culture populaire, pour compléter et corriger notre idée de Byzance, une idée qui est dominée par la culture de l'élite, considérée parfois comme identique au monde byzantin en général." See also, W. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία. Η Διαχρονικότητα των Φαινομένων* (Athens, 2010), esp. at pp. 11–15. For the student of Byzantine folklore, the work of Ph. Kukules, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–51) is indispensable.

6. A good introduction on medieval heroic mythology is C. R. Fee, *Mythology in the Middle Ages. Heroic Tales of Monsters, Magic, and Might* (Santa Barbara, CA–Denver, CO–Oxford, 2011), and C. Monette, *The Medieval Hero. A Comparative Study in Indo-European Tradition* (third edition: Wilsonville, OR, 2013). Joseph Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1949) is invaluable for exploring archetypal heroic myths. I have also profited from reading D. A. Miller, *The Epic Hero* (Baltimore, MD–London, 2000).

7. Basic studies on the examination of myths include C. Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1964–1971); Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (London, 1978); V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, trans. A. Y. Martin and R. P. Martin, ed. A. Liberman (Minneapolis, MN, 1984); M. Detienne, *The Creation of Mythology*, trans. M. Cook (Chicago–London, 1986); J.-P. Vernant, *Œuvres: religions, rationalités, politique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2007).

8. In this respect, this study departs from the comparative perspective pursued by W. Puchner in his *Studien zur Volkskunde Südosteuropas und des mediterranen Raums* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2009), and *Die Folklore Südosteuropas. Eine comparative Übersicht* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2016).

9. On the variety of microhistorical approaches, see generally S. G. Magnússon and I. M. Szijártó, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London–New York, 2013).

10. There is vast bibliography on the ethnic, political, and cultural identity/ies of the Byzantine Empire. For example, see: P. Veyne, *L'Empire gréco-romain* (Paris, 2005); F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire. Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 2006); A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge–New York, 2007); G. Page, *Being Byzantine. Greek Identity Before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008); A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2015); S. Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (Leiden–Boston, 2018); O. Katsiardi-Hering, A. Papadia-Lala, K. Nicolaou, and V. Karamanolakis (eds.), *Έλλην, Ρωμηός, Γραικός. Συλλογικοί Προσδιορισμοί και Ταυτότητες* (Athens, 2018); A. Kaldellis, *Romanland. Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2019).

11. Bibliography on medieval Cyprus is growing rapidly over the past decades; what follows is a selection of main studies. On late Antique and Byzantine Cyprus (300–1191), see Th. Papadopoullos (ed.), *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3 (Nicosia, 2005); V. Christides, *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources* (Nicosia, 2006); D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia, 2009). On the role of Cyprus as Byzantine stronghold, one should consult T. C. Lounghis, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Safeguarding East Roman Identity (407–1204)* (Nicosia, 2010), esp. at p. 20. On Cyprus under the Lusignans (1191–1489) and the Venetians (1489–1571), see P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991); Th. Papadopoullos (ed.), *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vols. 4:1-2 (Nicosia, 1995); B. Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000); A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden–Boston, 2005); E. Skoufari, *Cipro veneziana (1473–1571). Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011); B. Arbel, E. Chayes, and H. Hendrix (eds.), *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1460–1650)* (Turnhout, 2012); Chr. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571: Society, Spirituality, and Identities* (New York–London, 2018). On the War of Cyprus, one should consult G. Grivaud, "Η κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τους Οθωμανούς," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 6, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 1–182.

12. G. Saunier, "Is There Such Thing as an 'Akritic Song?' Problems in the Classification of Modern Greek Narrative Songs," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. R. Beaton and D. Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 139–49; Greek translation (= GT) in G. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια. Συναγωγή Μελετών (1968–2000)* (Athens, 2001), pp. 231–48.

13. *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial versions*, ed. and trans. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge, 1998); *Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και το Άσμα του Αρμούρη*, ed.

and intr. S. Alexiou (revised edition: Athens, 2006) (= *ΔΑ*); *Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και τα Άσματα του Αρμούρη και του Υιού του Ανδρονίκου*, ed. and intr. S. Alexiou (revised edition: Athens, 2008) (= *ΔΑΥΑ*); C. Jouanno, "Shared Spaces: Digenis Akritis, the Two-Blood Border Lord," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. C. Cupane and B. Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 260–84. On the epic's dating, see also R. Beaton, "Cappadocians at court: Digenes and Timarion," in *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996), pp. 329–38.

14. On Byzantine "popular oral poetry" and "ballads," see E. and M. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1:3 (1986), pp. 504–47 (esp. at p. 538: "the Modern Greek folk songs tend to be short and lyrical, rather than long and narrative like the poems spawned by the medieval tradition. At first sight, we can only assume that the one tradition must have died so that its successor could take over. On a more careful examination, however, there appears a more conservative branch of the modern tradition, with narrative songs in Crete and particularly in Cyprus, which can be compared directly with the medieval poems"); R. Beaton, "Balladry in the Medieval Greek World," in *The Singer and the Scribe. European Ballad Traditions and European Ballad Cultures*, ed. Ph. E. Bennett and R. F. Green (Amsterdam–New York, 2004), pp. 13–21 (esp. at p. 21: "the evidence for balladry in the medieval Greek world is, then, indirect, but none the less strong. The rich tradition of short oral narratives in verse, represented by collections made since 1820 has almost certainly been in existence, and in some degree of coexistence with written literature since at least the twelfth century. This is not to claim that individual song-texts can be precisely dated. The oral tradition, though conservative, can be assumed never to have been static. But it seems more probable that a tradition closely equivalent to the ballad tradition in the West formed part of the cultural horizon of the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire, and also of the Greek-speaking lands under western rule after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Even if we cannot hope to recover the earlier medieval context in which these songs took shape, they still offer a great deal both to admire as poetry and to set alongside the better documented traditions of other parts of Europe."

15. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 72–77 (esp. at p. 72: "σε ό,τι αφορά τα ακριτικά θέματα, δηλαδή αυτά που έχουν συγκεκριμένη σχέση με το γραπτό ποίημα, βλέπουμε ότι δεν υπάρχει σοβαρός λόγος να σκεφτούμε ότι τα τραγούδια έτσι όπως τα γνωρίζουμε, έτσι όπως τα κατέγραψαν από την αρχή του 19ου αιώνα—ή ακριβέστερα, εδώ πάλι, μεταξύ αυτών εκείνα που μπορούν να καθοριστούν ως πρωταρχικές μορφές—είναι αναγκαστικά διαφορετικά από τα τραγούδια για τα οποία φαίνεται ότι είναι γενικώς παραδεκτή σήμερα η ύπαρξή τους πριν από τη σύνταξη του έπους. Ωστόσο η γοητεία του γραπτού λόγου είναι τόσο δυνατή πάνω σε ορισμένους λογίους, ώστε δεν αποφασίζουν εύκολα να παραδεχθούν χωρίς επιφύλαξη την προτεραιότητα του προφορικού: πρέπει να αποφανθούν ότι τα τραγούδια που προϋπήρξαν του γραπτού ήταν διαφορετικά από εκείνα που γνωρίζουμε"); cf. R. Beaton, "*Digenes Akrites* and Modern Greek Folk Songs. A Reassessment," *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 22–43; Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, p. xvi; *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 80–83.

16. According to R. Beaton, "Was *Digenes Akrites* an Oral Poem?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (= *BMGS*) 7:1 (1981), p. 26, the declining popularity of the literary epic disconnected the epithet *akrites* ("frontiersman") from the name Digenes (meaning "Twice Born" and "Two Blooded") in Greek folk songs: "as a result Diyenis in most parts of the Greek world has survived alone, as a name to be used interchangeably with several others in the folk tradition. . . . Only in Cyprus, where the professional *pyitarides* have, exceptionally, had some influence on traditional folk poetry, is a trace of the literary hero still sometimes found. A fine example of how the shaping forces of traditional poetry can assimilate and the same time transform material which is foreign to it can be seen in the famous Cypriot version of the abduction song. Here the singer has clearly been aware both of the double-birth and of some kind of association between the names Dienis and Akritis, and has cleverly tried to make this intelligible in terms of modern village values." On the complex question of the beginnings of "Modern Greek" literature, see P. A. Agapitos, "Dangerous Literary Liaisons: Byzantium and Neohellenism," *Βυζαντινά* 35 (2018), pp. 33–126.

17. H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (second edition: Cambridge, 2008), p. 237: the motif is "a discreet thing, image, or phrase that is repeated in a narrative. Theme, by contrast, is a more generalized or abstract concept that is suggested by, among other things, motifs. A coin can be a motif, greed is a theme"; p. 242: the theme is "a subject (issue, question) that recurs in a narrative through implicit or explicit reference. With motif, theme is one of the two commonest forms of narrative repetition. Where motifs tend to be concrete, themes are abstract." According to Th. A. Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics* (second edition: Toronto, 2001), p. 157, the symbol is "a sign form that stands arbitrarily or conventionally for its referent."

18. A. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2 (revised second edition: Athens, 1891). Sakellarios, a Greek professor and scholar, served as head of the Hellenic School at Larnaka (1849–1854). During his stay on the island, he gathered ample information on Cypriot history and culture. The first volume of his study on Cyprus was published in Athens in 1855. Volume 3, containing linguistic and literary material, came out in 1868, *in lieu* of the planned volume 2. Sakellarios revised his work, publishing two volumes in Athens in 1890–91. References to Sakellarios are made to the revised second edition.

19. N. G. Politis, "Ο θάνατος του Διγενή," *Λαογραφία* 1 (1909), pp. 169–274. Politis, one of the founders of folklore studies in Greece, published this collection of songs from various parts of the Greek world (including Cyprus), describing the death of Digenes.

20. Th. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα εξ Ανεκδότων Συλλογών του ΙΘ΄ Αιώνος* (Nicosia, 1975). Loukas (1843–1925) was a Greek Cypriot teacher and folklorist, whose unpublished collection of nineteenth-century folk songs came to the possession of the Cyprus Research Center and was published by its director, Theodoros Papadopoullos.

21. S. P. Kyriakides, "Διγενής και Κάβουρας," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917), pp. 368–424. In this paper, the Greek historian and folklorist S. P. Kyriakides covers the struggle of

Digenes against the Crab, collecting folk songs from various parts of the Greek world (including Cyprus).

22. Chr. G. Pantelides, "Κυπριακά Άσματα," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917), pp. 576–602. This is a collection of Cypriot folk songs by Pantelides (1889–1946), a Greek Cypriot folklorist and linguist.

23. H. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια. Τα Ακριτικά*, collab. F. Boehm and V. Kalopissi-Xanthaki (Athens, 1994). Lüdeke, an amateur Hellenist, traveled throughout the Greek world between 1935 and 1939, recording Greek demotic songs; her collection of "akritic" ballads (enriched with songs collected by Kalopisi-Xanthaki and prepared in collaboration with Boehm) was published by the Academy of Athens in 1994. Note that this publication also includes "akritic" materials from X. Pharmakides's *Κύπρια Έπη* (Nicosia, 1926) and other published collections. On Lüdeke's journey to Cyprus, see M. Mitsou, "Καταγραφές κυπριακής δημοτικής ποίησης από την Εντβίγη Λύντεκε (Hedwig Lüdeke) τη δεκαετία του '30," in *Δια ανθύμησιν καιρού και τόπου. Λογοτεχνικές Αποτυπώσεις του Κόσμου της Κύπρου*, ed. M. Pieris (Nicosia, 2015), pp. 391–405.

24. G. K. Spyridakis, G. A. Megas, and D. L. Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια (Εκλογή)*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1962). This is the Academy of Athens collection of Greek demotic songs; the "akritic" material was collected by Spyridakis, a leading Greek folklorist.

25. M. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά Τραγούδια και Παραλογές από την Κύπρο," *Λαογραφία* 33 (1982–84), pp. 198–239. Kitromelidou, a Greek Cypriot teacher and scholar originating from Asia Minor, collected a number of "akritic" songs during her summer vacations in the mountainous area of Paphos in 1937. It is noteworthy that many of these songs were recited by Greek-speaking Turkish Cypriots, who might have been (in fact) Islamized Greeks. On the crypto-Christians of Cyprus, see K. Kokkinoftas, *Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κύπρο* (Nicosia, 2019).

26. A. Eleutheriades, "Ακριτικά άσματα εξ ανεκδότου συλλογής," *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* (= *ΚΣ*) 37 (1973), pp. 16–29. This collection of "akritic" songs by Eleutheriades, a Greek Cypriot school teacher, attracted the attention of Constantinos Ioannides (a researcher of the Cyprus Research Center) and was published with a foreword by the distinguished linguist Menelaos N. Christodoulou.

27. M. N. Christodoulou, *Κυπριακά Δημώδη Άσματα* (Nicosia, 1987). This is a Cyprus Research Center collection of Cypriot demotic songs, edited by Christodoulou, with musical notation by C. Ioannides. This publication includes "akritic" materials from many of the previous collections, with some further additions from the Cyprus Research Center's own collections.

28. B. Newton, *Cypriot Greek: Its Phonology and Inflections* (The Hague–Paris, 1972).

29. For a historicolinguistic survey of Cypriot Greek (in relation to minority languages), see A. Panayotou, "Η γλώσσα μου είναι η δύναμή μου: η ιστορία της ελληνικής στην Κύπρο," *Στασίνος* 13 (2011–12), pp. 113–29; P. Pavlou, "Cypriot Greek," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 90:3 (2012), p. 969. For the period of Crusader and Venetian rule, see also D. Baglioni, "Language and Identity in Late

Medieval Cyprus," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, ed. T. Papacostas and G. Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 27–36 (with earlier bibliography).

30. Pavlou, "Cypriot Greek," p. 969.

31. On the different layers of the "post-Byzantine," a term introduced by Nicolae Iorga in 1935, see C. Stoenescu, "'Byzantium after Byzantium' and the Religious Framework. A Conceptual Analysis," *Annals of the University of Bucharest, Philosophy Series* 61:2 (2012), pp. 97–105. On art, see E. L. Spratt, "Toward a Definition of Post-Byzantine Art," *Record of the Princeton University Art Museum* 71 (2014), pp. 2–19.

32. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," p. 218. Famagusta was one of the most important cities in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus. Saint Sophia was the Latin cathedral at Nicosia, the island's administrative center. I have translated το Κωνσταντινάτον as the "City of Constantine." This is either a reference to Constantinople (in which case Saint Sophia may be referring to the infamous Justinianic cathedral), or to Salamis in Cyprus, Famagusta's predecessor, which had received the name "Constantia" in the fourth century.

33. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," p. 218 (the different historical layers, medieval and modern, are briefly mentioned by Kitromelidou in her footnote).

34. L. Politis, *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας* (Athens, 2003), pp. 118–19: "Οι παλαιότερες και οι τοπικές [συλλογές] μας παραδίδουν ίσως τα κείμενα γνησιότερα· οι συγκεντρωτικές αλλοιώνουν πολλές φορές το κείμενο με κριτήρια εντελώς υποκειμενικά, αισθητικά και αυθαίρετα . . . . Οι στίχοι από τις διάφορες παραλλαγές μπορεί, μεμονωμένοι, να είναι γνήσιοι, αυθαίρετα όμως συνενωμένοι από τον εκδότη δεν αποτελούν οργανικό σύνολο, αλλά άθροισμα εξωτερικό." On the "corruption" of folk songs in general, see also E. G. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι. Μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση* (revised edition: Athens, 1996), pp. 106–8; A. Politis, *Το δημοτικό τραγούδι* (Herakleion, 2010), pp. 263–76, 285–311.

35. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 257; see also M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin, TX, 1982). Various scholars have criticized Herzfeld's approach to the study of Greek folklore; for example, E. Boliaki, *Το διονυσιακό (;) αναστενάρι. Ερμηνείες και παρερμηνείες* (Athens, 2011), pp. 27–34; M. G. Meraklis, "Πρόλογος," in P. J. Anttonen, *Η παράδοση μέσα από τη νεωτερικότητα. Μεταμοντερνισμός και έθνοκράτος στην επιστήμη της λαογραφίας*, trans. G. Ch. Kouzas (Athens, 2018), pp. 11–17.

36. Saunier, "Is There," pp. 139–49; GT in Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 231–48.

37. A. Politis, *Το δημοτικό τραγούδι* (Herakleion, 2010), pp. 166–68; Mitsou, "Καταγραφές," p. 404; cf. B. Bouvier in *Le Mirologue de la Vierge. Chansons et poèmes grecs sur le mort du Christ* (Rome, 1976), pp. 53–54 (on the role of Cypriot ecclesiastics in the "canonization" of the Virgin's folk lament).

38. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 166.

39. G. Kechagioglou and L. Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία της Νεότερης Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 23–24; but cf. pp. 190–92.

40. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 70–76.

41. Saunier, "Is There," p. 147; GT in Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 245.

42. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 249–64.

43. Saunier, *Αδικία. Το κακό και το άδικο στο Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι*, trans. T. Tsiatsika (Athens, 2018), pp. 523–25; GT of Saunier, *Adikia. Le mal et l'injustice dans les chansons populaires grecques* (Paris, 1979).

44. M. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation. The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York–London, 1958), p. 122.

45. G. Saunier and E. Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι. Μύθοι μυητικοί και παραλογές* (Thessalonica, 2019), p. 8.

46. To borrow another phrase from Eliade, *Rites*, throughout (esp. at p. 130).

47. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 8–9, 130–31.

48. See the classic study by A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (London–Henley, 1960).

49. See, for example, S. Alexiou, "Digenes Akrites: Escorial or Grottaferrata? An Overview," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches*, ed. Beaton and Ricks, p. 22 (n. 2): "The mythical approach . . . would be very interesting could we be sure that these myths (Porphyres and Digenes Akrites) 'initiated,' 'resurrected' and so on) existed in the minds of the people of that age and not merely in our own"; cf. G. Saunier and E. Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια. Συναγωγή Μελετών 2* (Athens, 2017), p. 459: "αλλά το πιο σοβαρό ελάττωμα της αποκλειστικής προσήλωσης στα ιστορικά δεδομένα είναι η συστηματική υποτίμηση του μυθικού περιεχομένου των τραγουδιών . . . . Είναι κάτι παραπάνω από δύσκολο να συνδέσει κανείς το θέμα αυτό [referring to the *Song of Tsamados*] με πρόσωπα ή τόπους της Μικρασίας, καθώς το τραγούδι είναι ακριβώς άγνωστο στη Μικρασία. Κι έπειτα τι κάνανε σ' αυτές τις αρχοντικές οικογένειες; Γυρίζανε από τον Άδη για να σκοτωθούν μεταξύ τους; Η μυθική φόρτιση του θέματος βαραίνει ασύγκριτα περισσότερο" (Saunier's review of Alexis Politis, *Το δημοτικό τραγούδι*). For an anthropological perspective, see E. Psychogiou, "Τα 'ακριτικά' ως τελετουργικά τραγούδια μύησης: η περίπτωση του γαμπρού-στρατιώτη," in *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση*, ed. Ahrweiler, Ifantis, and Roques-Tesson, p. 157 (n. 15), who accepts the initiatory function of "akritic" songs, and argues that these were performed in particular ritual and ceremonial contexts (e.g., weddings).

50. Cf. C. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. J. and A. C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD, 1983); Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. J. and A. C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD, 1992).

51. C. N. Sathas in *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1873), pp. νε΄- ξβ΄.

52. Metropolitan Neophytos of Morphou, "Μικρά Ασία και Συροπαλαιστίνη. Η πνευματική ενδοχώρα των Κυπρίων," in *Κυπριακή Αγιολογία. Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*, ed. Th. X. Yiangou and Chr. Nassis (Agia Napa–Paralimni, 2015), pp. 317–19.

53. See studies in the bibliography by Christides, Lounghis, and Metcalf, as well as R. Browning, "Η Κύπρος και οι Άραβες (Ζ΄–Η΄ αι.)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 235–91.

54. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. μθ′-ν′.

55. See, for example, H. Grégoire, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (London, 1975).

56. H. Grégoire and H. Lüdeke, "Nouvelles chansons épiques des IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles," *Byzantion* 14 (1939), p. 239.

57. G. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός βίος και η γραμματολογία κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 4:2, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 1057–62.

58. N. Konomis, "Παροιμίαι και παροιμιώδεις φράσεις εις τρία μνημεία της κυπριακης διαλέκτου," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 23 (1953), p. 479; on the appropriation of Byzantine formulas by later Cypriot folk songs, see H. Eidener, "Μεσαιωνική ποίηση και οι απολήξεις της σε νεώτερα κυπριακά τραγούδια," in *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos and G. K. Ioannides (Nicosia, 1987), pp. 416–23.

59. On the need for intertextual studies, see G. Grivaud, "Literature," in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, p. 282.

60. *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 80–81, 196–98.

61. C. W. Joyner, "A Model for the Analysis of Folklore Performance in Historical Context," *American Folklore Society* 88:349 (1975), p. 264: "historical context is no mere ornament to folkloristic inquiry, it is of its essence. . . . The development of such a perspective is contingent upon integrating the study of internal change within a tradition with the study of external change in the social context."

62. H. Aram Veeser, "Introduction," in *The New Historicism*, ed. Aram Veeser (New York–London, 1989), p. xi.

63. Propp, *Theory*, pp. 29–30.

64. Propp, *Theory*, p. 59.

65. E. G. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship of Hero-Authority-God in the Actantial Model of Heroic Folk Song," *Semiotica* 59 (1986), pp. 281–301; see also his *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, throughout.

66. N. G. Svoronos, *Ανάλεκτα Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας και Ιστοριογραφίας*, ed. X. Giataganas (fourth edition: Athens, 1995), pp. 393–405; see also Svoronos, "Πρόλογος," in Saunier, *Αδικία*, pp. 31–41.

67. J.-P. A. Ghobrial, "Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian," *Past and Present Supplement* 14 (2019), p. 7.

68. Ghobrial, "Introduction," p. 13.

69. Christian G. De Vito, "History without Scale: The Micro-spatial Perspective," *Past and Present Supplement* 14 (2019), p. 352. Writing on social history and microhistory, S. G. Magnússon, "The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge," *Journal of Social History* 36:3 (2003), p. 723, argues that the "so-called fragments, testimony of times past, provide an opportunity to tackle restricted areas of life that can, in spite of their limited scope, be complex and colorful and so offer ways of highlighting the diversity of life and promoting an understanding of all the extant threads relating to a restricted area of knowledge."

70. J. Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience* (Paris, 1996); De Vito, "History without scale," pp. 352–53.

71. M. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, intr. M. Douglas; trans. F. J. Ditter, Jr., and V. Yazdi Ditter (New York, 1980), p. 64.

72. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 67.

73. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 68.

74. M. Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today*, 29:1 (2008), pp. 106–7 (emphasis in the original).

75. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 78: "general history starts only when tradition ends and the social memory is fading or breaking up."

76. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 79.

77. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 82.

78. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, p. 86.

79. M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. L. A. Coser (Chicago–London, 1992), p. 51.

80. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 160.

81. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 166.

82. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 51.

83. For example, Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester–New York, 2007), p. 50: "the things which ancient and medieval writers sought to preserve from oblivion varied from case to case: the characters of great men, their virtuous actions and wise sayings, their heroic achievements, the wrathful or benevolent interventions of the deity in the lives of individuals or of peoples, the acts by which political institutions were founded or rights to property established. But the basic idea, that the purpose of writing about the past (whether a past in recent or in remoter memory) was to fix things in lasting memory—the kind of memory that could endure from generation to generation—seems consistent. In largely illiterate societies, the fact of committing something to writing seemed vitally significant" (also referring to Anna Komnene); on the Byzantine memory culture, see A. Papalexandrou, "The Memory Culture of Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester–Malden, MA, 2010), pp. 108–22.

84. A. Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. S. B. Young (New York, 2011), p. 17.

85. C. Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece. The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*, trans. D. W. Berman (Princeton, NJ–Oxford, 2003), p. 2. Some Christian thinkers of the twentieth century had a more positive view of myth. Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), for example, saw myth as inseparable from human history; N. Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History*, trans. G. Reavey (London, 1936). In the words of David B. Richardson, "a myth or a symbol—true myth, too, as Berdyaev has it—is a fiction (and a true fiction)," initiating people to "the true meaning of history"; D. B. Richardson, *Berdyaev's Philosophy of History. An Existentialist Theory of Social Creativity and Eschatology* (The Hague, 1968), p. 92. To continue quoting from Richardson (p. 169), "though historical traditions and myths give a meaning to history, this meaning in turn has an inner meaning . . . the layers of meaning of history become truer as they become more comprehensive and closer to the kernel, the Godman." Berdyaev was not alone in seeing Christianity as the great myth of human history. Another Christian scholar of the twentieth century, J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973), went so far as to approach the Christian story from the direction of fairy stories: "the Gospels contain a fairy-story, or a story of a larger kind which embraces all the essence of fairy-stories. They contain many marvels—peculiarly

artistic, beautiful, and moving: 'mythical' in their perfect, self-contained significance; and among the marvels is the greatest and most complete conceivable eucatastrophe." J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics, and Other Essays*, ed. C. Tolkien (Croydon, 2006), pp. 155–56 (esp. at p. 156: "the Birth of Christ is the eucatastrophe of Man's history. The Resurrection is the eucatastrophe of the story of Incarnation"). Tolkien uses "eucatastrophe" to describe the essence and true form of the fairy tale, namely (p. 153) "the good catastrophe, the sudden joyous 'turn.'" The great Jesuit theologian Jean Daniélou (1905–74) in his study on Jewish Christian theology also employs "myth" as a technical term, denoting "a system of symbolism [that] does not falsify the original content of revelation [but] is merely a mode of expressing it, and this mode of expression is just as valid as a metaphysical or existential one"; J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, trans. and ed. J. A. Baker (London, 1964), p. 205.

86. Calame, *Myth and History*, p. 30.

87. D. W. Berman, "Introduction to the English Edition," in Calame, *Myth and history*, p. xvii.

88. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (= *ODB*), 3 vols., ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991), s.v. "Historiography"; L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths. Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology*, trans. C. Tihanyi (Chicago–London, 2004), pp. 107–25; on Byzantine historians and scholars, see, for example, H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, vol. 2, trans. T. Kolias, C. Synelli, G. Ch. Makris, and I. Vassis (Athens, 2007), pp. 84–85, 99, 121, 444, 450, 510–12, 522. John Malalas in the sixth century seems to have been an exception to the rule, attempting to synthesize biblical narrative and Greek mythology; A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1997), pp. 545–46.

89. See examples in chapters 2 and 4.

90. E. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), p. 1.

91. Cf. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," p. 6: "more interesting, from our point of view, is the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes. A large store of such materials is accumulated in the past of any society, and an elaborate language of symbolic practice and communication is always available. Sometimes new traditions could be readily grafted on old ones, sometimes they could be devised by borrowing from the well-supplied warehouses of official ritual, symbolism and moral exhortation."

92. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," p. 9.

93. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," p. 12.

94. Michael Freeden, *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford–New York, 2003), pp. 32: "a political ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values that (1) exhibit a recurring pattern; (2) are held by significant groups; (3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy; (4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community"; p. 54: "[5] an ideology is a wide-ranging structural arrangement that attributes decontested meanings to a range of mutually defining political concepts";

p. 55: "[6] ideologies compete over the control of political language as well as competing over plans for public policy; indeed, their competition over plans for public policy is primarily conducted through their competition over the control of political language." The application of this definition of ideology to the case of Byzantium allows us to see elite and non-elite groups as different political bodies in dialogue. Moreover, the struggle over the control of political language seems to be reflected in the way Cypriot heroic folk songs use key terms (e.g., God, honor, emperor/king, imperial/royal rule, and just war) to legitimize or deconstruct sociopolitical power; see chapters 2–4 below.

95. Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (New York, 1997), pp. 206–7 ("On History from Below").

96. G. Ch. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (London, 1988), pp. 271–313; J. G. A. Pocock, "The Politics of History: The Subaltern and the Subversive," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6:3 (1998), pp. 219–34; V. Chaturvedi (ed.), *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London–New York, 2000); R. C. Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York, 2010); P. Banerjee, "The Subaltern: Political Subject or Protagonist of History?" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 38:1 (2015), pp. 39–49. On subalternity in Byzantium, see generally Ch. A. Maltezou (ed.), *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1993), and additional bibliography in chapter 3.

97. P. H. Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History," *History and Theory* 20:3 (1981), pp. 237–38; see also P. Burke, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," *History of European Ideas* 7:5 (1986), pp. 439–51.

98. J. Le Goff, "Mentalities: A New Field for Historians," *Social Science Information* 13:1 (1974), pp. 91–92.

99. A. Jarrick, *Back to Modern Reason. Johan Hjerpe and other petit bourgeois in Stockholm in the Age of Enlightenment* (Liverpool, 1999), p. 181.

100. J. G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965).

101. I have borrowed this term from G. Bondarenko, "Russian Epic Songs and Folk Spirituality," *Temenos Academy Review* 18 (2015), pp. 110–26.

Chapter 1

Warriors and Cultures

Medieval Cyprus, an island known since Antiquity as the birthplace of Aphrodite,[1] was also home of different warrior cultures. Paradoxical as it may seem, the close connection between fertility and destruction, love and war, birth and death, was sanctioned by the ancient cult of the "Cypriot Goddess."[2] If we accept that myths convey deeper psychological states, political claims, and social behaviors, this double role of Aphrodite unveiled for pre-Christian people and societies an uncomfortable truth: *homo amans* is also (or at least can always become) *homo necans*;[3] an idea that persisted (as we shall see in chapters 2–3) well into the Christian Middle Ages.

Heroic folk traditions in Cyprus took flesh within a martial cultural matrix, joining together diverse elements from East and West. But what is a "warrior culture?" For Anthony Cohen, culture is "the community as experienced by its members,"[4] namely (as Mark L. Honeywell explains) "the commonly held values which are, in the main, inherited from the social milieu that an individual is born into."[5] A warrior culture encompasses a wide range of social, political, and ideological practices, principles, and models associated with the "art of war" in communal contexts, praising the deeds of warriors and inspiring heroic action.[6]

In the case of medieval Cyprus, different warrior traditions were cultivated under different political masters. In 1161, the Byzantine scholar Constantine Manasses described the island as "a heavy fortress, an iron wall, a stone cage, / the inevitable Hades from where no one escapes."[7] Under Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) the elite Byzantine unit of the Athanatoi was stationed in Cyprus; another elite corps, that of the Varangians, is mentioned to have guarded Paphos around the middle of the twelfth century.[8] The Frankish kings and nobles of the Lusignan period were famous for their deeds in jousting and crusading exploits, with King Peter I (1359–69) even capturing Alexandria in 1365.[9] A Cypriot

folk song lamenting the island's fall to the Ottomans commemorates the valor of the Cypriot *stradioti*, a light cavalry mercenary force of Greco-Albanian origin, once guarding the Venetian colony of Cyprus:

Κ' η Κύπρο εν' εξακουστή, που βκάλλει παλληκάρκα,
'βκάλλει στρατιώτες μ' άππαρους, στρατιώτες με κοντάρκα.

And Cyprus is famous for giving birth to young and brave warriors,
for giving birth to *stradioti* with horses, *stradioti* with spears.[10]

Byzantine elite troops, Frankish Crusaders, Greco-Albanian *stradioti*: all examples of the multiplicity of Christian military traditions and cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean. Examining human representations on medieval Cypriot ceramics, Joanita Vroom notes the "melting of Byzantine Orthodox, Western European, Armenian, Eastern Christian and Islamic decorative motifs, [ranging] from heraldic symbols and Western and Eastern elements of chivalry to Byzantine and Western romantic epic traditions, Islamic astrological and mythological images, symbols of Christian faith and scenes of a privileged courtly life."[11] Vroom writes that "this pottery seems to reflect a sort of supra-regional new identity, representing a shared ideology and a common artistic ground based on the exchange of motifs, styles and ideas."[12] Similarly, Gilles Grivaud and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari have pointed out the redefinition and strengthening of Cypriot identity in the later medieval period, arguing that a common sense of Cypriotness united the island's ethnoreligious communities under an inclusive new identity.[13]

Does the image of the warrior hero emerging from Cypriot folk songs, in the context of broader historical developments, mirror the same process of interaction and identity fusion, namely the creation—to paraphrase Elizabeth Jeffreys and Cyril Mango[14]—of a "Franco-Greek warrior culture"? Or does it preserve the identity of a *Byzantine* warrior hero, with distinct Cypriot characteristics?

THE BYZANTINES: LORDS OF THE SEA, LORDS OF THE MOUNTAINS

During the ancient Roman period, Cyprus was an unarmed province, with no army camps and veteran colonies.[15] Cyprus's incorporation into the *Quaestura Iustiniana Exercitus*, a new administration unit established by Justinian I (526–65) for the support of the sensitive Danube frontier, did not alter the island's "demilitarized" status.[16] Toward the end of the late Antiquity, we find traces of military architecture on the island, as a response

to various threats from the East (Copts, Persians, and Arabs).[17] In 649, the *cubicularius* Kakorizos was sent to Cyprus with a strong naval force to deal with the raiding fleet of Muawiyah;[18] the Arabs withdrew their ships, only to return for a second raid in 653/54.[19]

The treaty between Justinian II and Abd al-Malik (688) defined the island's status between Byzantium and the Caliphate until the Byzantine recovery of 965: the Cypriots would pay taxes to both Byzantines and Arabs, and Cyprus would become a demilitarized (or military neutral) zone.[20] Romilly J. H. Jenkins's (1907–69) earlier interpretation that, for nearly three centuries, Cyprus belonged territorially to neither power,[21] has been shown to reflect British colonial bias in relation to the mid-twentieth century political situation on the island; as Speros Vryonis (1928–2019) points out, "for Jenkins it was self-evident that contemporary Cyprus could not belong to Greece, and English domination was thus justified."[22] Contrary to the political and cultural implications that Jenkins's neutralization theory has for Byzantine Cyprus, David M. Metcalf's (1933–2018) recent examination of Byzantine led seals reveals that "from the second quarter of the eighth century right through until 965 Cyprus was governed by archons, who were undoubtedly appointed by the emperor," which offers "ample testimony for imperial involvement in the affairs of Cyprus."[23] According to Telemachos C. Lounghis, "the recovery of Cyprus constituted at all times a major concern for the East Roman government, even if at times this concern was temporarily overshadowed by more pressing needs. Moreover, it seems that entire naval themes[24] such as that of the Kibyrrhaeotae in the eight century and that of Seleukeia in the tenth were deliberately established in close connection with Cypriot affairs."[25] Despite not having a military garrison established in Cyprus, the Byzantines were able to supervise and defend the Eastern Mediterranean through their fleet, taking advantage of their administrative presence in Cyprus so as to maintain "an intelligence service in the Gulf of Tarsus and in the ports of the Syrian coast as far as Tripoli as well as Laodikeia."[26] At the same time, as Vryonis writes in response to Jenkins, "the culture of the Cypriotes . . . did not cease to be clearly Byzantine: language, art, religion."[27] This has been confirmed by recent research on the echoes of Byzantine Iconoclasm in Cyprus, a territory hitherto considered beyond the control of the iconoclast emperors.[28]

The so-called treaty period coincided with the emergence of heroic folk traditions associated with the *akritai*, Byzantine warriors guarding the *akra*, the shifting border between Byzantium and Islam in Anatolia. We cannot know whether stories on the *akritai* had reached Cyprus by the time of its reincorporation (in terms of remilitarization)[29] into the Byzantine Empire under Nikephoros II Phokas in 965.[30] This seems to have been the case with hagiographical traditions on the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion, a group of Byzantine officials executed by the Arabs after the sack of Amorion

in 838;[31] a Byzantine defeat that might have inspired the heroic song of Armouris.[32] Not long after the island's Byzantine recovery, the empire's military presence was reinforced: Cyprus came under the supervision of a *strategos* (general), second only to the *strategos* of the important naval theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai.[33] During Bardas Skleros's *coup* in 976–78, the Kibyrrhaiotai fleet turned against Basil II (976–1025), briefly isolating the island and its (presumably loyalist) troops from Constantinople.[34] In the late eleventh century, Kekaumenos writes that the Aegean Islands and Cyprus provided the Byzantine fleet with all sorts of provisions and large amounts of money, which must have exercised great pressure on the local population.[35] In 1042/43, *strategos* Theophilos Erotikos took advantage of the Cypriots's distress and revolted against Constantinople. Order was easily restored by the imperial fleet;[36] what should be noted is that the Byzantine policy of treating "islands as large as Cyprus as 'frontier fortresses' [seems to have] easily led the inhabitants to a state of despair."[37] "Fortress Cyprus" would continue being fertile soil for revolt until the end of the Byzantine rule.

Administrative developments and militarization brought to the island an important element of Byzantine warrior culture: the connection between warrior saints and warrior heroes. In 971, Niketas, *droungarios tou ploimou* (commander of the imperial fleet of Constantinople), offered a manuscript he had himself copied in captivity to the monastery of Saint George Oriates, near Theomorphou in Cyprus;[38] the epithet "Oriates" is probably an indication that Saint George, a warrior saint dear to the *akritai*, was locally venerated as a border protector of the *oria* or *akra*.[39] In addition, Saint George was (most likely) venerated on the island as *gorgos*, namely "fierce" and "fast," reflecting a tradition originating from the imperial sanctuary of Saint George of Mangana in Constantinople, following Constantine IX Monomachos's (1042–55) campaigns against the Pechenegs;[40] a monastery dedicated to Saint George of Mangana existed in Nicosia around the same period (and well after, as late as the sixteenth century).[41] In this context, and given the "frontier status" of Cyprus, the popularity of Saint George created a link between the "soldier emperor" and the island's defense.[42]

In 1081, Alexios I Komnenos, a young warrior aristocrat from Paphlagonia, whose family had achieved prominence in imperial service, became emperor.[43] His reign (1081–1118) marked a new beginning at a moment of severe crisis, when the empire was being attacked, simultaneously, from three different directions by the Normans, Pechenegs, and Seljuk Turks.[44] Alexios introduced a system that "required strong personal leadership, and direct intervention by the ruler in military, fiscal, and political matters."[45] In the words of Vlada Stanković, the Komnenian system of governance was one of "almost complete reliance on marriage alliances," securing political control through union with rival aristocratic families and foreign ruling families in Central

and Southeastern Europe: the Komnenian rule was "a rule of kinsmen."[46] Under the Komnenoi, the empire's social and administrative structures were furthered centralized and militarized,[47] the social and political importance of the imperial and aristocratic *oikos* ("household") was enhanced,[48] and monastic establishments functioned as channels for the expression of imperial and aristocratic ideology, confirmation of social status within the *oikos*, and personal piety.[49]

Cyprus was not immune to these broader developments. Seljuk hegemony in Asia Minor, especially after the Turkish victory in Mantzikert (in 1071) and the subsequent civil unrest within the Byzantine Empire, upgraded the island's strategic significance.[50] Around the mid-eleventh century, Cyprus was governed by a *doux*, another military office that gradually outranked that of the *strategos*. In 1091, Rhapsomates, who was probably the local *doux*, rose up against Alexios I Komnenos. Rhapsomates's *coup* was supported (or even triggered) by the Cypriot-stationed Athanatoi, an elite unit made up of recruits from Phrygia, whose loyalty to the former *doux* of Cyprus (1065/66–67) and previous emperor (1078–81), Nikephoros III Botaneiates (also a Phrygian), is acknowledged by our main contemporary source, Anna Komnene.[51] It has been proposed that the Athanatoi (or at least some of them) had been transferred from Constantinople to Cyprus, due to their lack of loyalty to Alexios; their participation in (or inspiration of) the *coup* could have been (partly) motivated by Alexios paying more attention to the empire's western frontier, rather than Turkish-threatened Asia Minor.[52] As in the case of the Theophilos Erotikos revolt, Cypriot support to the 1091 *coup* seems to have been the result of social misery. Alexios's efficient suppression of the uprising in Cyprus (and Crete, which had also revolted), and his concern of establishing imperial rule on the island by appointing Eumathios Philokales as *stratopedarches* (military commander) with his own troops and fleet, reaffirmed the continuous frontier status of Cyprus, especially vis-à-vis Turkish naval attacks in the Aegean.[53]

Philokales was an experienced general with considerable building and fortification activities in his resume. He served twice as *doux* of Cyprus (1099–1102 and 1108–18), supporting Byzantium's (unreliable) Crusader allies during their advance to Jerusalem, undertaking a naval raid on Muslim-occupied Laodikeia, and probably being responsible for the fortification of the Pentadaktylos Range, over the northern coastline of Cyprus.[54] Philokales's austere, and even cruel, administration was chastised by Archbishop Nicholas Mouzalon (1107–10) upon his abdication,[55] which again confirms the militaristic state of affairs on the island, also reflected in Constantine Manasses's aforementioned description of Cyprus as a fortress.[56] Mouzalon describes the misery of Cypriot peasantry and the methods of social coercion employed by state officials in Cyprus: the Cypriots were said to have eaten what Saint John

the Baptist ate in the desert; they were wearing nothing but the sunrays; the farmers saw their harvest being eaten by others; those not being able to pay taxes were tortured, sometimes to the death; people were tied up and left to be eaten by wild dogs; when someone died due to torture, others were forced to take his place.[57]

Until the end of Byzantine rule on the island, Cyprus remained "a remarkably closed society that was continuously complaining and grumbling about its misfortunes," which contradicts, despite the reality of Venetian commercial penetration, "the more or less adopted slogan 'carrefour du monde byzantine.'"[58] With Byzantine thalassocracy gradually in decline from around the mid-twelfth century, the island became a vulnerable target to a seaborne attack from Raynald of Châtillon and Thoros of Armenian Cilicia in 1156, and to an Arab raid leading to the capture of many Cypriots, including the brother of the *doux*, in 1158; a third attack, this time by Raymond III of Tripoli, came in 1161.[59] John II (1118–43) and Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) preserved the fortress status of Cyprus, appointing as *doukai* trusted members of the extended imperial *oikos* (Constantine Kamytzes, John Komnenos, and Alexios Doukas), while John II is reported by John Kinnamos

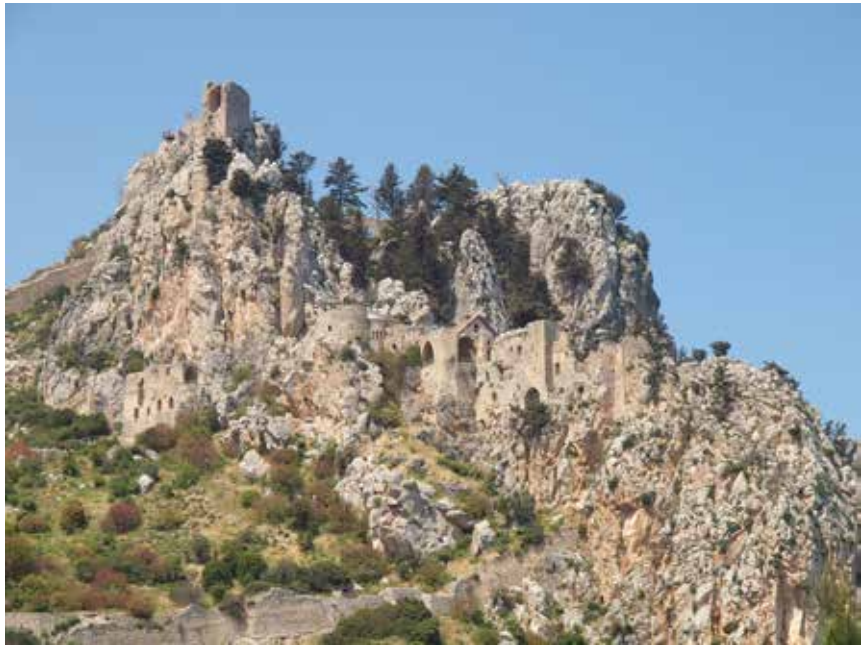

Figure 1.1 Castle of Saint Hilarion, Pentadaktylos Range. The militarization of Cyprus under the Komnenoi left its imprint on the island's physical landscape, and the mentalities of its people. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Figure 1.2 Castle of Kantara, Pentadaktylos Range. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

to have considered the possibility of placing Antioch and other nearby territories, including Cyprus, under the command of young Manuel I.[60] It is rather ironic that the most severe blow against imperial rule on the island came from within the extended imperial *oikos*: Isaac Doukas Komnenos seized control of Cyprus in ca. 1184, proclaiming himself emperor and terrorizing the local Byzantine nobility. Not long after, the Crusader army of Richard I of England conquered the island (1191), permanently cutting off Cyprus from the Byzantine Empire and marking the beginning of a long period of Latin domination.[61]

The fortress status of Byzantine provinces, like Cyprus, under the Komnenoi definitely influenced perceptions of the Byzantine warrior hero. Nikolaos Konomis has proposed that Seljuk penetration in Asia Minor during the eleventh century led Byzantine refugees to Cyprus, bringing with them the earliest traditions on the *akritai*.[62] Similar suggestions have been made in relation to the Digenes traditions, reworked in the form of a literary epic in twelfth-century Constantinople,[63] and even entering the court *milieu* of Manuel I Komnenos, who was praised as a "new" or "second" *Akrites*.[64] It may be the case that Anatolian troops stationed in Cyprus, for example the Athanatoi, facilitated the transmission of heroic legends and songs from their

homeland; these could have been later adapted and reworked as local folk songs. Maronite and Armenian groups of warrior settlers established by the Byzantines on the Pentadaktylos Range, in order to guard mountain passes and other strategic locations, might have also brought stories of their own heroes;[65] Armenian heroic traditions in particular have been associated by scholars with the *Digenes* epic.[66]

The Komnenian policy of founding and supporting monasteries appears to have strengthened the image of the aristocratic warrior hero promoted by Constantinople. Some of the most vibrant Orthodox monasteries on the island (usually to be found in mountainous areas) were placed under imperial and aristocratic patronage, including the Holy Virgin of Kykkos (supported by general Manuel Boutoumites and Alexios I), the Holy Virgin of Makhairas (received privileges from Manuel I), and Saint John Chrysostom at Koutzoubendes (under the aegis of Eumathios Philokales).[67] According to Metcalf, these foundations "were high-profile, and they were political in so far as they represented a kind of entente between the Christian faith in its more dynamic and elitist aspects, and the provincial administration."[68] Writing about Kykkos, Costas P. Kyrris (1927–2009) argued that these monasteries functioned, apart from religious foundations and visible reminders of imperial power, as military watchtowers, supervising, controlling, and protecting Cyprus.[69] Indeed, it was not uncommon for Byzantine monks to undertake guard duties when necessary;[70] we should also keep in mind that "guarding the place" in the spiritual warfare against demons was an important element of the Byzantine monastic tradition.[71] The philomonastic line pursued by the Komnenoi consolidated the bonds between Byzantine Orthodoxy, with its warrior saints, and the Komnenian struggle to save the empire.[72]

The forces of militarization and imperial centralization, the enhanced role of the aristocratic *oikos*, and the ideological threads joining together religion and the Byzantine army, created the context for the reception, revision, and preservation of the Byzantine heroic tradition in Cyprus. At the heart of this process were the emperor and his nobility. To quote John Haldon, under the Komnenoi, the empire became "a gigantic family estate," ruled through a web of relatives, *potentes*, and *clientes*, while "the imperial family and its immediate associates monopolized military and higher civil offices."[73] Despite the centrifugal tendencies of the Erotikos's, Rhapsomates's, and Isaac Komnenos's revolts, Cyprus remained, from late Antiquity until the late twelfth century, part of the Byzantine imperial system of governance, which affected the island's culture well after its political alienation from Byzantium.[74] Before the Latin conquest, the circulation of heroic traditions on the island must have taken place (perhaps not exclusively) within the *milieu* of Byzantine provincial administration, run by imperial associates (e.g., Eumathios Philokales) and the *archontes*, lay and ecclesiastical magnates.[75]

This is suggested, for example, by the aristocratic codes of honor and shame reflected in Cypriot heroic folk songs, which will be discussed below in chapter 2.

The period after 1191 witnessed the establishment of a Latin military class in the frontier fortress of Cyprus,[76] inevitably bringing new martial ideals, values, and models. From the late twelfth until the late sixteenth century, the Latin Cypriot warrior elite formed a chivalric community, pursuing a way of life that rested on three pillars: the equestrian warrior's skills, the need to reaffirm one's aristocratic virtues and lineage, and lay commitment to the Latin Christian ethos.[77]

THE CHIVALRIC ELITES OF THE LATIN PERIOD

Martial violence[78] was a fundamental aspect of political power in every medieval society, shaping social relationships and cultural practices; the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus, later a colony of the Venetian Maritime State, was no exception.[79] The political history of Latin-ruled Cyprus is full of sharp antagonisms and wars, both internal and external: the Lusignans and their Frankish Cypriot knights participated in the defense or recovery of the Holy Land throughout the thirteenth century; became leading powers in the anti-Turkish wars of the fourteenth century; captured Mamluk Alexandria in 1365 during Peter I's Crusade; failed to stop the Mamluk invasion of Cyprus at the battle of Choirokoitia (1426); and were involved in a series of bitter civil wars and power struggles in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, leading to the consolidation of Venetian colonial rule in 1489; as a result of the Ottoman invasion of 1570, the hegemony of Venice in Cyprus was ended in 1571.[80]

The Frankish land-owning warrior aristocrats surrounding the Lusignan kings offered to the crown their military services. As elsewhere in the medieval world, the knights were members of the social elite. Yet, the authority of the Lusignan crown remained particularly strong; "no nobleman held a fortified town or a fortress of any military significance as part of his fief, and no nobleman had a court of his own . . . . In Cyprus there were wealthy nobles but no militarized lordships. All the fortresses belonged to the king, with the exception of the small castles owned by the Templars at Gastria and the Hospitallers at Kolossi."[81] In Cyprus, the Lusignans had the privilege of controlling violence, through the command of the army and castles, and the responsibility for justice.[82] This was, *mutatis mutandis*, in continuation with the collaboratively centralized nature of Byzantine administration, the symbols and practices of which were appropriated by the Lusignans in their own political language.[83] What was new was the foreign nature of the Frankish

regime,[84] an establishment created through conquest and colonization by a dynamic warrior nobility of Latin Christians.[85] Despite the indigenization of the Frankish ruling class and the use of the collective name *Kypriotes*,[86] the heavy blow suffered by old aristocratic families as a result of wars and civil strife,[87] and the realities of social mobility throughout the long period of the Latin domination,[88] Greeks and Latins remained largely separated. The limited number of Greek families securing noble status until the end of the Venetian period has been interpreted (partly) due to the diachronic reluctance of the majority of the Greek population to "undergo some degree of Latinization . . . as a price for social mobility."[89] Thus, adherence to the Latin rite and the privilege of landed property became the basis of sociopolitical inequality, distinguishing the Latin warrior aristocracy from the indigenous Greek population, who had a different social status, a different religion, a different language, and a different culture.[90]

Yet, the conquerors' warrior ethos was not completely alien to the Byzantine culture of war known in Cyprus. Byzantine and Latin perceptions of the aristocratic hero shared a common source of inspiration: the *mos maiorum* of the classical Roman past, celebrating the honorable, self-controlled, honest, and brave warrior.[91] In addition, the Normans had long fought against (or with) the Byzantines,[92] who valued their martial skills and hired Frankish mercenaries, wishing to profit from their thunderous cavalry charges;[93] the First Crusade (1095–99) was actually the outcome of Alexios I's attempts to recruit Frankish mercenaries against the Turks in Asia Minor.[94] Byzantine familiarity with Western arms, armor, and symbols of power (e.g., the triangular shield, heraldic devices, and spurs), especially in areas under Latin domination, is reflected in the iconography of warrior saints after the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[95] This was part of a broader process of transcultural exchange across the Mediterranean that enabled the Byzantine elite to become "conspicuous *and* distinctive—both to themselves and to others."[96] Jousting, for example, a popular martial sport in the Western chivalric tradition, was adopted and performed by the Byzantine elite until the fifteenth century, with Manuel I Komnenos (the first to introduce tournaments of the like in Byzantium) being praised as a competent mounted warrior.[97]

Jousting tournaments (sometimes enacting Arthurian themes) were organized in Cyprus until the end of the Venetian period, and Latin aristocrats were passionate for falconry and hunting.[98] "The Cypriot love of chivalric culture," writes Thomas Devaney, "even influenced those back in France: Philip of Novara's *Les quatre ages de l'homme* [a thirteenth-century treatise on knightly mores written by a Lombard nobleman in the service of the Ibelin family] was widely read in France and the writing of early Grail legends may be linked to the Lusignan court."[99] Philip of Novara encapsulated the essence of the chivalric code, advising his readers that

> Li jone haut home et li chevalier et les autres genz d'armes se doivent traveillier d'oneur conquerre por ester renomez de valor, et por avoir les biens temporeurs et les richesces et les heritages dont il puissant a honor vivre.[100]
>
> The young nobleman, knight or man-at-arms should work to acquire honour, to be renowned for valour, and to have temporal possessions and heritages on which he can live honourably.[101]

Honor, valor, wealth: these were the main strands of the knightly ethos and identity, contributing (as Walter Puchner writes about jousting) to the "vibrant public self-representation and proud projection of the idealized Self of a social class: the nobility or the privileged burgesses."[102] Similarly, the popularity of the Arthurian cycle, with the Round Table Knights performing chivalric exploits under King Arthur's command and for his (and their) glory, "provided a model for the relationship between the [Lusignan] king and his nobility," while also playing "an essential role in the projection of the kingdom's image to the world."[103] A glimpse of the collaborative centralization of the Lusignan Kingdom is perhaps detected in the *Old Knight*, a Byzantine adaptation (thirteenth/fourteenth centuries) of a Western poem of the Arthurian cycle probably originating from Cyprus, which emphasizes "the hero's loyalty to his lord and master, King Arthur, after he had embarrassed all the latter's knights" in jousting.[104] The idea of holy war was another aspect of chivalry,[105] through which the Lusignans projected their connection to the West and special role as legitimate successors of the Crusader kings of Jerusalem.[106] Peter I's founding of the Order of the Sword (ca. 1346),[107] dedicated to the battle against infidels, and his later attack on Alexandria (1365),[108] excited the imagination of his contemporaries, who praised him for his passionate desire to liberate *heredidatis suae paternae regni Ierusalem*[109] and compared him to Alexander the Great, Hector of Troy, Julius Caesar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godfrey of Bouillon.[110]

The advent of artillery warfare in the later medieval period and the island's possession by Venice did not change the chivalric character of the Frankish Cypriot warrior culture. Sixteenth-century Venetian reviews of the Cypriot fief-holding cavalry were perhaps disappointing,[111] but the local nobility, with its knightly past, remained part of the ruling elite, participating in solemn ceremonies that celebrated Venice's colonial authority and reaffirmed chivalric loyalty to the island's new masters.[112] In the same period, we encounter the mercenary companies of the Greco-Albanian *stradioti* serving in Cyprus; these were Orthodox Christians, and their leaders sometimes associated themselves with the Byzantine noble families of old. Despite their jousting skills, their way of fighting largely departed from the chivalric mores of the Frankish aristocracy: "the

stradioti continued the Byzantine and Balkan traditions of cavalry warfare, which emphasized ambushes, hit-and-run assaults, feigned retreats, counterattacks and other tactics little known to western armies of the time."[113] Being religiously and culturally closer to the lower social strata, the *stradioti* were explicitly praised for their bravery and martial skills in a folk song on the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus.[114] The *stradioti* may have functioned as mediators for the adoption and adaptation of the Frankish jousting tournament by Cypriot commoners: as late as the twentieth century, for example, the villagers of Rizokarpaso (where a garrison of *stradioti* had been stationed in Venetian times) held horse riding contests on the day of Saint George (April 23); in Polemi and Anarita, wealthy villagers performed jousting contests with wooden sticks.[115]

Frankish knights are sporadically praised in folk songs with the formulaic phrase "not even Franks with their lance could not separate them" (εν τους εποχωρίζασιν Φράντζοι με το κοντάριν).[116] Despite their strong similarities and points of contact (e.g., mounted warfare, code of honor, and Christian militarism) the Frankish and Greco-Albanian warrior cultures remained distinct: the *stradioti* pursued the tradition of Byzantine and Balkan guerilla fighting,[117] while the Franks preserved their own heritage of chivalric warfare. This should not surprise us: the Greek and Latin communities remained largely distinct, and the indigenization of the Frankish ruling class had not changed their sense of self-identification. In the words of Nicholas Coureas, "the Frankish nobility of Cyprus may have called themselves Cypriots . . . nevertheless, throughout the Lusignan and Venetian periods they maintained their Frankish heritage despite the decline in knowledge of French . . . and stressing their connection with France and the West even after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus."[118]

A CYPRIOT BYZANTINE TRADITION

So far, we have traced the development of two main warrior cultures in Cyprus (the Byzantine and the Frankish), being the product of different social and political conditions and legacies. We have also noted the existence of common ground, which was partly the result of similarities in political structures (collaborative centralization) and social stratification (aristocratic warrior elites); furthermore, we have seen that transcultural expressions of social and political power brought the Latin and Byzantine warrior elites closer. Writing on twelfth-century perceptions of heroic masculinity in Byzantium, Leonora Neville has underlined the enhanced role of "personal honor, honesty, fair contests, self-control, maturity, and moderation. Elements of this ideal," Neville states, "can be found in any number of cultures. All however can be seen as part of a generalized conception of ancient

Roman adult masculinity."[119] A major strength of Neville's work is that she stresses the connection between the militarization of Komnenian Byzantium and the increasing Byzantine dependence on classical Roman models, without linking this process (at least directly) to Western influence.[120] At the same time, Western perceptions of heroic masculinity were partly associated with "the revivified interest in classical literature of the twelfth-century schools," apparently independently from Byzantium.[121] It seems that interexchange cannot be employed as an interpretive *passe-partout* to unlock heroic warrior codes in the Byzantine Empire and the Latin West: the common Roman heritage in East and West constituted a shared cultural substratum.[122] The largely parallel (although perhaps not entirely disconnected) appropriation of perceptions of heroic virtue, inspired by the *mos maiorum*, remains a fruitful subject for future research.[123]

Let us return to our initial question: how did Cyprus, a provincial Byzantine society, perceive and describe its warrior heroes, both before and after the Crusades? Can we speak of the gradual merging of different cultures, or do we trace the preservation of older Byzantine traditions? A comparative overview of Byzantine and Latin cultural layers leads us to label the image of the warrior hero in our folk songs as "Byzantine," without excluding influences or points of contact with the Frankish chivalric heritage.

In the Escorial version of the *Digenes* epic (vv. 797–803), the hero orders his stable master to prepare his uncle's favorite horse, which he is about to use in the abduction of his beloved.

Στράτορα, πρωτοστράτορα και πρῶτε τῶν στρατόρων,
ἀπόστρωσε τὸν γρίβαν μου καὶ στρῶσε μου τον μαῦρον,
τὸν εἶχεν πάντα ὁ θεῖος μου εἰς τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας του.
Τρεῖς ἴγκλες μοῦ τὸν ἴγκλωσε καὶ τρεῖς ὀμπροστελίνες
καὶ τὸν βαρὺν χαλίναρον διὰ να γοργογυρίζῃ,
καὶ κρέμασε εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου καὶ τὸ βαρὺν σπαθί μου,
ὅτι εἰς ανάγκην φοβερὰν καὶ εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ὑπάγω.

Groom, chief groom and chief of grooms,
unsaddle my grey horse and saddle for me the black
which my uncle always used in his valiant deeds.
Gird on for me three saddle girths and three martingales
and the heavy bit so that he can turn quickly,
and hang my heavy sword by my saddle
because I am setting out on a fearsome adventure and on an
abduction.[124]

The Byzantine theme of preparation of the warrior's horse (with similarities in horse equipment) is also echoed in several Cypriot folk songs, including the *Song of Costantas*:

Εφέραν του τον μαύρον του τον πετροκαταλύτην,
που καταλυεί τα σίερα και πίννει τον αβρίτην,
π' αντάν να μείνη νηστικός, την χώραν του κανεί την·
βάλλουν του χάσες δώδεκα και μπροστελλήνες τράντα
και ποκοιλίτες δεκατρείς μεν τον κακοδικήση,
κι έναν μαντήλιν φέρνου<ν> του να (δ)ήση το παλόν του.

They brought his black steed, the stonebreaker,
the ironbreaker, the foamdrinker;
when left hungry, he could eat his [entire] castle.
They gird on him twelve saddlecloths and thirty martingales
and thirteen saddle girths, not to harm him [i.e., the hero],
and they brought him [i.e., the hero] a kerchief to wind around his forehead.[125]

Despite common elements and interexchange in Byzantine and Frankish equestrian equipment,[126] the origins of the "horse preparation" theme are Byzantine, which brings the warrior hero of the Cypriot folk tradition closer to Komnenian models. Note that the kerchief around the warrior's forehead might be a reference to the *phakiolion*, the scarf-like turban worn by Byzantine officials (including high-ranking military commanders);[127] alternatively, it could be interpreted as part of the Greek-Cypriot costume under Ottoman rule, pointing toward a later cultural layer.

Another essential characteristic that places Cypriot heroic folk songs in a Byzantine context is onomatology: nearly all proper names in the songs are Greek, belonging to heroes of the Byzantine epic and the Greek folk tradition—for example, Di(g)enis, Giannis, Costantas, Porphyres, Andronikos, Arestes, Pho(u)kas, and Nikephoros[128]—while there is almost total absence of Latin proper names and heroic figures. Moreover, there are only few explicit references to Latins in Cypriot folk songs in general, and no descriptions of jousting;[129] even the *Arodaphnousa*, a popular love song associated by scholars with the tragic affair between King Peter I and Joanna l'Aleman,[130] is probably Byzantine in origin.[131]

What is important to stress, following Saunier,[132] is that the mythic core of heroic folk songs seems to be largely pre-Christian, predating the Latin conquest of Cyprus: the struggle between Digenes and Charos, for instance, is a reminder of the fight between Herakles and Hades or Herakles and Menoetes, Hades's herdsman;[133] another parallel could be found in Abraham's firm refusal to surrender his soul to Archangel Michael and Death in the Old Testament pseudepigrapha.[134] In addition, the image of the hero playing his tambura while courting his beloved,[135] although familiar to Western troubadours and the Byzantine epic of *Digenes*, goes back, through the archetypal figure of the legendary King Kinyras of Cyprus, to "a traditional topos of

Greek poetry and especially epic—the bifurcation and/or conflation of warrior and singer, familiar from Achilles singing *kléa andrôn* on his lyre and Odysseus stringing his bow like an expert lyrist his instrument."[136] On the contrary, the Arthurian cycle, popular among members of the Frankish Cypriot elite, left no trace in the heroic folk traditions of the island's Greeks.[137] Thus, pre-Christian themes, motifs, and symbols surviving and constantly being transformed in the Eastern Mediterranean from late Antiquity throughout the medieval period, were instrumental in the creation of the stories told by Cypriot heroic folk songs.

The warrior heroes of Cypriot ballads were "Byzantine," because these songs were preserved and adapted within a Byzantine/Greek communal sphere, even after the Latin conquest of 1191. Scholars have linked the iconographic representation of warrior heroes (mainly in twelfth-century ceramics from Constantinople, Thessalonica, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, and in a relief from Saint Catherine's church in Thessalonica) with the Byzantine heroic tradition, sometimes drawing explicit connections with the heroic folk songs of Cyprus. Furthermore, the features of male figures in a number of thirteenth-century Cypriot ceramics present similarities to these twelfth-century depictions, strengthening the view that the image of the Byzantine warrior hero was not only widespread throughout the Byzantine world, but also visually typified.[138] Given the collaborative centralization of the Byzantine Empire under the Komnenoi and the broader processes of cultural homogenization in Byzantium, this picture should not surprise us. As mentioned earlier, Byzantine heroic materials (including folk songs, stories, and legends) probably reached Cyprus around the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the same period when the *Digenes* epic was composed in Constantinople. It is quite likely that these traditions were linked to aristocratic militarization and the group of Cypriot Byzantine *archontes* at a time of crisis for the empire and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The rule of Isaac Komnenos and Frankish establishment on the island weakened and degraded the status of these *archontes*, who submitted to the new regime. At least some of the surviving Byzantine noble families managed to become mediators between the Latin ruling class and their own people.[139] Yet, the identity of the Lusignan Kingdom remained Frankish and sociopolitical division was highlighted by outbreaks of religious tension as late as the sixteenth century. What is important to note is that the ecclesiastical subordination of Byzantine Orthodox Christians to a Latin hierarchy and the papacy sanctioned the preservation of Orthodox institutional structures (e.g., Orthodox bishops with their cathedral chapters and church courts), leading to the crystallization of a spiritual and cultural elite within the conquered Greek population, responsible for controlling the island's Byzantine Orthodox heritage. This elite group of ecclesiastics and laymen combined their pro-Byzantine orientation with the realistic need for coexistence and

collaboration with the Latin and Oriental Christians of Cyprus. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, we even observe a movement of Orthodox cultural revival, inspired by both the Byzantine Orthodox church tradition and the fruits of the Italian Renaissance. It is often to this Orthodox elite group of former *archontes*, church officials, and dignitaries that the lower social strata of the (mostly agrarian and conservative) Greek population turned, when in need for direction, protection, and mediation.[140]

From what we have seen so far, we come to the conclusion that the Byzantine heroic materials remained alive within a structured Greek community in Latin-ruled Cyprus, the social basis of which was at the far end of the social pyramid dominated by the Franco-Venetian chivalric elite. Orthodox Christianity reinforced the pre-Christian mythic arsenal of folk songs with a variety of new ways of representation, perceptions, and ideas.[141] The imagery of the Byzantine warrior hero was also defined by visual depictions of warrior saints, at home (e.g., icons) or in the sacred space of the church.[142] One of the most impressive examples is the mural of Saint George (late twelfth century) from the monastery of the Holy Virgin Phorbiotissa at Asinou: "The various iconographic elements, including what is clearly a diadem, and the military panoply of the Komnenian era, show that St. George is . . . not a 'Byzantine crusader' [but] the protector par excellence of the *archontes* as he was of the emperor John II Komnenos."[143] The distinction between the Byzantine and Western chivalric warrior cultures becomes clearer, if one takes into consideration that the Byzantine art of Cyprus throughout the Latin rule presented Frankish and Venetian warriors as the persecutors of Christ in representations of the Passion.[144] The Asinou mural shows how the political discontinuity of Byzantine rule did not put an end to the function of Orthodox monasteries as spiritual strongholds of the Orthodox faith and the Byzantine Empire (and its warrior heroes). The commemoration of the Byzantine emperor in Orthodox monastic ceremonies celebrating the victorious symbol of the cross "politicized" religion,[145] which reaffirmed Cypriot communal loyalty to Constantinople.[146]

Orthodox worship may have provided an institutional framework for the oral performance and transmission of heroic folk songs. The Byzantine *panegyris* (fair) offered an opportunity to combine religious feasting with economic activities, which, given the popular gathering, enabled folk singers to reach a wider audience.[147] Despite the lack of evidence concerning medieval Cyprus, folk singing has been traditionally a part of the Cypriot *panegyris* to the modern period, expressing Christian devotion as well as social, economic, and political concerns.[148] The possibly phallic connotations of warrior heroes with raised swords from Byzantine ceramics seem to fit well into the merry and relaxed atmosphere of feasting, despite their essential alienation from the spirit of Christian spiritual joy.[149] The *panegyris* was not the only occasion for social gathering: the nuptial rites, for example, might have been accompanied

Figure 1.3 Saint George, Depicted as an Emblematic Warrior Aristocrat of the Komnenian Era. Mural, Monastery of the Holy Virgin Phorbiotissa at Asinou, late twelfth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

by the singing of heroic folk songs, symbolizing the passage from childhood to adulthood through sexual maturity and the responsibilities of marriage.[150]

Fr. Stephen of Lusignan, the sixteenth-century historian of Cyprus, describes his contemporary commoners and middle-class Cypriots entertaining themselves in their gardens *apres le manger*, playing games, dancing, and composing poems *sans en avoir toutefois aucun art ou precepte*.[151] Around the same period, an anonymous Latin report on the errors of the Christian communities of Cyprus mentioned that Orthodox liturgical order was disturbed by incorporations of profane hymns composed by *persone moderne, ignoranti et heretici*.[152] Descriptions of the Latin conquest of Cyprus by Orthodox monks in the late twelfth/early thirteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to have been influenced by folk laments.[153] These testimonies demonstrate that medieval Greek Cypriot commoners were familiar with (and participated actively in) the composition and transmission of folk songs. Sixteenth-century singers were most probably following the older Byzantine tradition of folk singing, already attested in Cyprus in the twelfth century, when Saint Neophytos the Recluse reported listening to a man singing:

Πότε νὰ ὑπάγω ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμά, πότε νὰ ἐπαναλύσω;

When shall I go back to my own, when shall I return?[154]

In the tenth century, Arethas of Caesarea wrote that vagabond (*agyrtai*) folk singers from Paphlagonia sang, from house to house, the deeds of glorious men in exchange for money.[155] Moreover, Michael Psellos in the eleventh century and Nikephoros Gregoras in the fourteenth century mention or imply the existence of folk singers praising warrior heroes.[156] The presence of *cantatores*, military singers specialized in heroic subjects, in the Byzantine army could also be related to the formulation and transmission of Byzantine heroic folk songs.[157] It is very likely that this long tradition of heroic folk singing became rooted in Cyprus during the militarization of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (if not earlier), continuing under Frankish, Venetian, and Ottoman domination until the recording of heroic folk songs in modern times. Naturally, these folk songs did not survive without linguistic and thematic revision. "The elements in the cultural heritage which cease to have a contemporary relevance tend to be soon forgotten or transformed," argue Jack Goody (1919–2015) and Ian Watt (1917–99). "And as the individuals of each generation acquire their vocabulary, their genealogies, and their myths, they are unaware that various words, proper names and stories have dropped out, or that others have changed their meanings or been replaced."[158] As far as Cypriot heroic folk songs are concerned, adaptation and appropriation in the postmedieval period were rather superficial processes that largely kept intact the pre-Christian mythic nucleus and Byzantine character of the materials under examination.[159] The "reinvention" of the mythic traditions, through the addition of layers of historical details on myth, did not alter their pre-Christian origins. Social oppression, the conservatism of the "purely agricultural population,"[160] and the long centuries of foreign domination must have determined the dynamic endurance of heroic folk songs on the island, as a reminder of a mythic past, which, because of its historical vagueness, was constantly and diachronically present in everyday life.

Seen from a European perspective, the emergence of Byzantine heroic traditions is not a *unicum*. For Anthony Kaldellis, the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries witnessed the revival of pagan heroic mythology in the so-called Periphery of the Latin "Core" of Europe, namely in regions populated by Greek-, Celtic-, and Germanic-speakers. On the one hand, vernacular compositions on pre-Christian heroes and gods rehabilitated their protagonists "from their heathenism and sanitized [them] for consumption and even admiration by the Christian societies that produced these tales." On the other hand, heroic tales from the Latin Core focused (with some exceptions) "on more or less recent *Christian* heroes who battled infidels; there was little interest in, or at least little knowledge about, pagan ancestors."[161] Iceland produced *Heimskringla* and the *Edda* sagas; Ireland gave us *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the *Acallam na Senórach*; from Wales we have the *Mabinogion*,

Y Gododdin, and the Arthurian and Briton legends; Anglo-Saxon England is famous for its *Beowulf*; Denmark for the *Gesta Danorum*; and, finally, Byzantium for the historiographical return to the Roman *mos maiorum* (the so-called "akritic" traditions are curiously absent from Kaldellis' survey).[162] From the Latin Core of the territories, once belonging to the Carolingian Empire (Spain, France, Italy, and the German regions), we have the Christian epics and romances of the *Roland*, the *Cantar de mio Cid*, and the *Roman du Brut*; Norman expansion in England produced Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* (also known as the *Historia regum Britanniae*); the German *Nibelungenlied* is rather ambiguous, combining Christianity with strong elements of paganism.[163] Kaldellis interprets these two parallel mythogeneses as a reaction on the part of the Periphery to the religious, military, and cultural expansion of Latin Christendom. This appears to have been the case with Byzantium, "where we can easily see that the turn to the ancient Greeks and the 'discovery' that they were the cultural and possibly biological ancestors of the (eastern) Romans (e.g., by the emperor Theodoros II Laskaris) was designed to help the Byzantines cope with and confront the Latin West that had just invaded their territory and colonized their lands."[164]

Kaldellis's remarks are useful for placing the cultivation and enduring legacy of Byzantine heroic traditions in Cyprus, at the time of the Crusades and during Latin Christian domination, in a broader European context. Cypriot attachment to local heroic tales is perhaps indicative of Byzantine self-awareness and resistance to Latin colonialism in the Periphery of Europe, and could be compared to the rise of pre-Christian traditions in Iceland, Ireland, Wales, England, and Denmark. This is not to deny that Cypriot heroic folk songs could potentially adopt and adapt elements from the Frankish chivalric culture, or that Byzantine heroic folk songs could attract a Latin and Oriental Christian audience. Indeed, as we have seen throughout this chapter, interexchange and the common Roman legacy inspired a shared interest in heroic warrior themes and representations, which should *not* be viewed as cultural homogenization.

The survival of Byzantine culture in Cyprus after 1191, reflected in the Byzantine identity of warrior heroes in Cypriot folk songs, is a complex phenomenon with multiple expressions that should be interpreted in its broader Eastern Mediterranean framework. I have recently argued that Byzantine Orthodox spirituality and culture were preserved on the island, as elsewhere in the Latin-occupied world, long after the ecclesiastical subordination of Orthodox Cypriots to a Latin hierarchy and the papacy.[165] Recent discussions on the identity of Cypriot ecclesiastical art between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries have stressed the creative continuation of earlier Byzantine models, corresponding to related developments in other Orthodox lands.[166] The appropriation of timber-roofed architecture in the mountainous churches

of Troodos after 1100 reveals a similar continuation with the Byzantine architectural heritage, despite Western influences.[167] Turning to the field of historiography, Costas P. Kyrris and Catia Galatariotou have argued that the *Exegesis of the Sweet Land of Cyprus*,[168] written by Leontios Makhairas in the fifteenth century, should be read within the tradition of Byzantine historical writing, rather than being "culturally divorced"[169] from its Byzantine context in terms of *genre* and ideology.[170] Overall, it may be better to see Cyprus after the twelfth century as part of a "late Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean"—evidently not politically, but religiously and culturally. The warrior heroes of Byzantium remained alive and were subsequently transformed in a *milieu* that absorbed diverse cultural elements, without nevertheless losing its Byzantine identity.

The next chapter will continue the exploration of Byzantine characteristics in Cypriot heroic folk songs by focusing on perceptions of honor and shame in the construction of the warrior's heroic masculinity.

NOTES

1. See, generally, A. Ulbrich, "Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her sanctuaries during the Age of the City-Kingdoms," and A. Papagiannaki, "Aphrodite in Late Antique and Medieval Byzantium," both in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, ed. A. C. Smith and S. Pickup (Leiden–Boston, 2010), pp. 165–93, 321–46 (respectively). The basic study on the "Cypriot Goddess" is J. Karageorghis, *Κύπρις: η Αφροδίτη της Κύπρου. Αρχαίες πηγές και αρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες* (Nicosia, 2007).

2. G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Liège, 2007); G. Papantoniou, *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus. From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos* (Leiden–Boston, 2012), pp. 247–48; S. L. Budin, "Aphrodite *Enoplion*," in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, ed. Smith and Pickup, pp. 79–112; G. Papantoniou and C. Morris, "*Kyprogenes* Aphrodite: Between Political Power and Cultural Identity," in *Gods of Peace and War in the Myths of the Mediterranean People*, ed. K. I. Soueref and A. Gartziou-Tatti (Ioannina, 2019), pp. 147–73; P. Christodoulou, "Aphrodite and Imperialistic Politics in Classical Years: From Cimon to Evagoras I," in *Political Religions in the Greco-Roman World. Discourses, Practices and Images*, ed. E. Koulakiotis and Ch. Dunn (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2019), pp. 150–79. It is noteworthy that ancient Cyprus "seems to have refrained not from war, but from its use as a visual mark of social power"; G. Papasavvas, "Warfare and the Cypriot Kingdoms. Military Ideology and the Cypriot Monarch," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* (= *CCEC*) 44 (2014), pp. 153–90 (esp. at p. 172).

3. To borrow the title of W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1983).

4. A. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London–New York, 1985), p. 98.

5. M. L. Honeywell, "Chivalry as Community and Culture: The Military Elite of Late Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England," PhD Thesis (University of York, 2006), p. 142.

6. For a recent study on the different dimensions of warrior culture in Byzantium, see Y. Stouraitis (ed.), *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

7. *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών Πηγών Κυπριακής Ιστορίας, 4ος–15ος αιώνας* (= *ΣΒΠΚΙ*), ed. V. Nerantzi-Varmazi (Nicosia, 1996), p. 101: βαρὺ φρούριον ἡ νῆσος Κύπρος, / τεῖχος σιδηροῦν, γαλεάγρα πετρίνη, / Ἅιδης ἄφυκτος, οὐκ ἔχων διεξόδους. See also, Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 34.

8. On the Athanatoi ("Immortals"), see the reference by Anna Komnene in her *Alexiad*: *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, vol. 1, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin–New York, 2001), p. 263 (bk. 9, ch. 2). On the Viking corps of the Varangians in Cyprus, see *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi ex Monumentis Islandicis*, ed. E. C. Werlauff (Copenhagen, 1821), pp. 27–28; S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, trans. and rev. B. S. Benedikz (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 128, 133–34.

9. See section 2 below.

10. G. K. Spyridakis, "Παρατηρήσεις επί δύο ιστορικών ασμάτων της Κύπρου," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* 6 (1955–56), p. 426.

11. J. Vroom, "Human Representations on Medieval Cypriot Ceramics and Beyond: The Enigma of Mysterious Figures Wrapped in Riddles," in *Cypriot Medieval Ceramics. Reconsiderations and New Perspectives*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi and N. Coureas (Nicosia, 2014), p. 185.

12. Vroom, "Human Representations," p. 186; cf. R. Ousterhout, "Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry," in *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies*, ed. C. Hourihane (Tempe, 2009), p. 169: "the language of the visual was able to communicate across linguistic and national frontiers and . . . it played a key role in both cultural encounters and the negotiation of differences."

13. G. Grivaud, "Éveil de la nation chyproise (XIIe –XVe siècles)," *Sources travaux historiques* 43–44 (1995), pp. 105–16; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Ethnic names and the construction of group identity in Medieval and Early Modern Cyprus: the case of Κυπριώτης," *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 259–75.

14. E. Jeffreys and C. Mango, "Towards a Franco-Greek Culture," in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. C. Mango (Oxford, 2002), pp. 294–302.

15. G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Leiden–New York, 1993), p. 23. In 116–17, *Cohors VII Breucorum equitata c. R.* was transferred to Cyprus to suppress the Jewish revolt; see F. Matei-Popescu and O. Țentea, *Auxilia Moesiae Superioris*, trans. G. Balica (Cluj-Napoca, 2018), pp. 38, 96. On the recruitment of auxiliaries from Cyprus, see G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 44–45, 150. In 323, Cyprus provided Licinius with thirty triremes against Constantine: *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 16 (Zosimos).

In the early fifth century, Cyprus suffered from Isaurian raids: *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 9 (Philostorgios).

16. A. Goutzioukostas and X. M. Moniaros, *Η περιφερειακή διοικητική αναδιοργάνωση της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας (527–565). Η περίπτωση της Quaestura Iustiniana Exercitus* (Thessalonica, 2009).

17. C. A. Stewart, "Military Architecture in Early Byzantine Cyprus," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 285–304.

18. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 35–36 (Theophanes).

19. D. Feissel, "Bulletin épigraphique," *Revue des Études Grecques* (= *REG*) 100 (1987), pp. 380–81. On these two Arab raids, see Christides, *The Image of Cyprus*, pp. 12–28; A. D. Beihammer, "The First Naval Campaigns of the Arabs against Cyprus (649, 653): A Reexamination of the Oriental Source Material," *Graeco-Arabica* 9–10 (2004), pp. 47–68.

20. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 36 (Theophanes), 49–52 (Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos), 53–54 (Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos); Christides, *The Image of Cyprus*, pp. 29–58; A. D. Beihammer, "Audiatur et altera pars. Η βυζαντινο-αραβική συγκυριαρχία στην Κύπρο υπό το πρίσμα των αραβικών πηγών," *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 157–76.

21. R. J. H. Jenkins, "Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688–965," in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by George E. Mylonas (Saint Louis, MO, 1953), p. 1014.

22. S. Vryonis, *Byzantine Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990), p. 7.

23. D. Metcalf, "Imperial Involvement in the Governance of Cyprus during the Years 653–965: Archaeological Evidence from Lead Seals," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 128, 136. On the "treaty period," see also L. Zavagno, *Cyprus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (ca. 600–800)* (London–New York, 2017).

24. The themes were military/naval administrative divisions of the middle Byzantine period; *ODB*, s.v. "Themes."

25. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 91.

26. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 50; cf. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 53 (Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos).

27. Vryonis, *Byzantine Cyprus*, p. 7.

28. Ch. G. Chotzakoglou, "Εικονομαχία (726–787, 813–843) και τέχνη στην Κύπρο και το θεωρητικό της υπόβαθρο: μια κριτική εξέταση βάσει των πηγών και των μνημείων της Μεγαλονήσου," in *Κυπριακή Αγιολογία*, ed. Yiangou and Nassis, pp. 527–66.

29. Cyprus appears to have become a theme under Basil I (867–86); C. Asdracha, "Το θέμα Κύπρου," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 199–233.

30. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, ed. Nerantzi-Varmazi, p. 58 (Anonymous, *On the Emperor Nikephoros*), 61 (John Skylitzes), 70 (John Zonaras); *Georgius Cedrenus*, vol. 2, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1839), p. 363; A. G. Savvides, "Προσωπογραφικό σημείωμα για τον απελευθερωτή της Κύπρου Νικήτα Χαλκούτζη και για τη χρονολογία ανακατάληψης της Μεγαλονήσου (965 μ. Χ.)," *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* (= *ΕΚΜΙΜΚ*) 2 (1993), pp. 371–78.

31. S. Kotzabassi, "Το μαρτύριο των ΜΒ΄ Μαρτύρων του Αμορίου. Αγιολογικά και Υμνολογικά Κείμενα," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του*

Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 2 (1992), pp. 111–53; A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Sophronius, archbishop of Cyprus," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1, ed. D. Thomas and B. Roggema (Leiden–Boston, 2009), pp. 675–78.

32. H. Grégoire, "Études sur l'épopée byzantine," *REG* 46 (1933), pp. 33–47; but cf. *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 159–61. According to Metcalf (*Byzantine Cyprus*, p. 500), a certain *kourator* (Byzantine official responsible for the administration of crown lands) of Cyprus, who is mentioned in his seal as ὁ τοῦ βαρβάρου ("son of the barbarian, the foreigner"), might have been the offspring of a mixed union and, thus, a "digenes," a "two-blood lord" involved in the island's administration after the Byzantine recovery. Note, however, that ὁ τοῦ βαρβάρου could have been a reference not to *kourator*'s descent, but to the name of his father, "Barbaros," after Saint Barbaros.

33. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 55 (*Escorial Taktikon*).

34. See T. Papacostas, "A Tenth-century Inscription from Syngrasis, Cyprus," *BMGS* 26 (2002), pp. 52–56, 64, on the negative reaction toward Skleros' revolt.

35. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 66 (Kekaumenos).

36. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 61–62 (John Skylitzes), 70 (John Zonaras), 76 (Michael Glykas).

37. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 30.

38. C. Hadjipsaltes, "Βυζαντινά και κυπριακά του 10ου μ. Χ. αιώνος," *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 245–56.

39. Metropolitan Neophytos, "Μικρά Ασία," p. 319, argues that the monastery had been founded by the *akritai*. On Saint George and the *akritai*, see K. Krumbacher in *Der Heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich, 1911), p. 246; E. Elizbarashvili, "The Formation of a Hero in Digenes Akrites," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* (= *GRBS*) 50 (2010), pp. 443, 445, 449, 451–53.

40. V. Katsaros, "Άγιος Γεώργιος ο Γοργός: η αλληγορική ερμηνεία στην εννοιολογική μετάλλαξη του επιθέτου," *Receuil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines* 50 (2013), pp. 505–19; cf. *Ioannis Scylitzae, Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin–New York, 1973), p. 541 (Constantine Monomachos, par. 29).

41. D. Pilides, "A Short Account of the Recent Discoveries Made on the Hill of Ayios Yeorgios (PASYDY)," in *Historic Nicosia*, ed. D. Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), p. 212.

42. On the image of the soldier emperor in eleventh-century Byzantium, see A. P. Kazhdan, "The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 43–57. On warrior saints in Byzantium, see C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Oxford, 2003); P. Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, trans. R. Brzezinski (Leiden–Boston, 2010).

43. See A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2017), p. 277, stressing aristocratic dependence on the emperor, rather than feudalization of the Byzantine political system.

44. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, p. 278.

45. J. W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army, 1081–1180* (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2002), p. 235.

46. V. Stanković, "Stronger Than It Appears? Byzantium and Its European Hinterland after the Death of Manuel I Komnenos," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"* ed. A. Simpson (Athens, 2015), pp. 37–38; see also Stanković's *Creating the Rule of Kinsmen: The Transformation of a Political Paradigm in Southeastern Europe in the 12th and 13th Century* (in preparation, expected to be published by Lexington Books).

47. See briefly, M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. A Political History* (second edition: London–New York, 1997), pp. 148–54; J.-C. Cheynet, "Ο στρατός και το ναυτικό," in *Ο βυζαντινός κόσμος*, vol. 2, ed. Cheynet and trans. A. Karastathi (Athens, 2011), pp. 278–79.

48. On the aristocratic *oikos* in general, see P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine aristocratic *oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, ed. Angold, pp. 92–111; J.-C. Cheynet, "Οι ιθύνουσες τάξεις της Αυτοκρατορίας," in *Ο βυζαντινός κόσμος*, vol. 2, ed. Cheynet, pp. 292–307.

49. V. Stanković, "Comnenian Monastic Foundations in Constantinople: Questions of Method and Historical Context," *Belgrade Historical Review* 2 (2011), pp. 47–73 (esp. at pp. 68–69). On the monastic policy of the Komnenoi, see also M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 265–382.

50. C. Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος υπό τους Κομνηνούς (Α΄)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Papadopoullos, p. 298. On the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, see S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1971); A. D. Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130* (London–New York, 2017). On power struggles in Byzantium before and after Mantzikert, see J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990).

51. On Rhapsomates' office, see S. G. Georgiou, "Το αξίωμα του στασιαστή Ραψομμάτη στην Κύπρο (περίπου 1091–1092)," *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 19–21 (2011–13), pp. 551–59. On his depiction by Anna Komnene, see B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 271–72. On the office of the *doux* of Cyprus and Botaneiates, see Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Α΄)," pp. 303–6. On the Athanatoi, Botaneiates, and Rhapsomates, see *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975), pp. 265, 267 (bk. 4, ch. 4); *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 79 (bk. 2, ch. 9), 263 (bk. 9, ch. 2). Botaneiates came from the Phrygian Lampe: *ODB,* s.v. "Nikephoros III Botaneiates."

52. Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, pp. 366–67; D. Kourbetis, "Η στάση του Ραψομάτη στην Κύπρο επί Αλεξίου Α΄ Κομνηνού (περ. 1091–1093)," *Βυζαντιακά* 20 (2000), p. 176.

53. *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 258–63 (bk. 9, chs. 1–2); *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 70 (John Skylitzes), 76 (Michael Glykas); A. G. Savvides, "Can we refer to a concerted action among Rapsomates, Caryces and the Emir Tzachas

between A.D. 1091 and 1093?" *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 122–34; Kourbetis, "Η στάση," pp. 155–95; Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Α΄)," pp. 307–13; S. G. Georgiou, "Eumathios Philokales as Stratopedarches of Cyprus (ca. 1092)," *Byzantinoslavica* (=*BSl*) 66 (2008), pp. 167–72; Lounghis, *Byzantium*, pp. 32–33.

54. Skoulatos, *Les personnages*, pp. 79–82; Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Α΄)," pp. 313–17; Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, pp. 535–39; E. Procopiou, "Ο Ευμάθιος Φιλοκάλης," in *Ευμάθιος Φιλοκάλης. Ανάδειξη βυζαντινών μνημείων Κρήτης και Κύπρου*, ed. E. Procopiou and N. Pyrrou (Rethymno, 2014), pp. 19–21. Note, however, that despite being an experienced commander, Philokales had not been trained as a soldier; *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 425 (bk. 14, ch. 1).

55. On Mouzalon's accusations against Philokales, see *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 76–94.

56. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, pp. 33–34.

57. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 91. On methods of coercion, see also E. Ragia, "Οι μέθοδοι των δυνατών," http://byzmettyhes.gr/τεκμηρίωση/Δυνατοί-και-δυνάσται/Οι-μέθοδοι-των-δυνατῶν- (last accessed August 11, 2020).

58. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 35.

59. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 99–100, 102 (Constantine Manasses), 105–6 (John Kinnamos); C. Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος υπό τους Κομνηνούς (Β΄)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 356–64, 369–73; Lounghis, *Byzantium*, pp. 197–98.

60. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, p. 105 (John Kinnamos); Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Α΄)," pp. 341–42; Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Β΄)," pp. 376–77 (esp. at n. 78); Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 74.

61. *ΣΒΠΚΙ*, pp. 106–9 (Neophytos the Recluse), 116–19 (Niketas Choniates); A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191–1192," *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* (= *EKEE*) 26 (2000), pp. 25–123; Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Β΄)," pp. 381–412; P. Edbury, "Ernoul, *Eracles* and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232," in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, ed. S. Rogge and M. Grünbart (Münster–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 29–51.

62. N. Konomis, "Πόθεν και πως μετεφέρθη εν Κύπρω η ακριτική ποίησις," *Κυπριακά Γράμματα* 228 (1954), pp. 247–50; but see the objections raised by Beaton, "Was *Digenes*," pp. 21–22.

63. Note, however, the possible existence of earlier (tenth century) layers in the *Digenes* epic, which could be pointing toward a reworking of the "akritic" material under the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056); I. Anagnostakis, "Η διεκδίκηση της πορφύρας και ο Διγενής Ακρίτας," *Διαβάζω* 129 (1985), pp. 42–45; A. Argyriou, "L'épopée de Digénis Akritas et la literature de polémique et d'apologétique islamo-chrétienne," *Βυζαντινά* 16 (1991), pp. 7–34.

64. P. Magdalino, "*Digenes Akrites* and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches*, ed. Beaton and Ricks, pp. 1–14; E. Jeffreys, "The Grottaferrata Version of *Digenes Akrites*: A Reassessment," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches*, ed. Beaton and Ricks, p. 37; Jeffreys in *Digenis Akritis*, pp. lvi–lvii; Jouanno, "Shared Spaces: Digenis Akritis," pp. 260–61; C. Cupane, "'Let Me Tell You

a Wonderful Tale': Audience and Reception of the Vernacular Romances," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, pp. 480–83. On the echo of imperial propaganda associating Manuel I with Digenes in the satirical Ptochoprodromic poetry, see *Ptochoprodromos*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne, 1991), pp. 149 (poem 4), 168–69 (poem 4); J. V. de Medeiros Publio Dias, "The Construction of Two Palaces: The Composition of the Song of Digenis Akritas and the Claim for the Anatolic Hegemony of Alexius Komnenos," *Erytheia* 31 (2010), pp. 55–73 (Digenes and Alexios I); E. Jeffreys, "Literary Trends in the Constantinopolitan Courts in the 1120s and 1130s," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the Shadow of Father and Son*, ed. A. Bucossi and A. Rodriguez Suarez (New York, 2016), pp. 118–20 (Digenes, John II, and Manuel I).

65. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, pp. 486–90.

66. H. Bartikian, "Armenia and Armenians in the Byzantine Epic," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches*, ed. Beaton and Ricks, pp. 86–92.

67. *Ἁγίου Νείλου, Τυπικὴ Διάταξις*, ed. P. Agathonos (Nicosia, 2001); *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου κατὰ τὸν ἑλληνικὸ κώδικα 2313 τοῦ Βατικανοῦ*, ed. C. N. Constantinides (Nicosia, 2002). See also, C. Mango, E. J. W. Hawkins, and S. Boyd, "The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and its Wall Paintings. Part I: Description," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (= *DOP*) 44 (1990), pp. 63–94; Angold, *Church*, pp. 291–92, 322–23; T. Papacostas, C. Mango, and M. Grünbart, "The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis," *DOP* 61 (2007), pp. 25–156; M. Parani, "A Monument of His Own? An Iconographic Study of the Wall Paintings of the Holy Trinity Parekklesion at the Monastery of St. John Chrysostom, Koutsovendis (Cyprus)," *Studies in Iconography* 39 (2018), pp. 1–85. On Boutoumites, see Skoulatos, *Les personnages*, pp. 181–85.

68. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, p. 518.

69. C. P. Kyrris, "Ιστορία της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου εξ αρχής μέχρι του 1570–1571," *EKMIMK* 6 (2004), pp. 61–78.

70. M. C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, PA, 1992), pp. 319–20.

71. D. G. R. Keller, *Oasis of Wisdom. The Worlds of the Desert Fathers and Mothers* (Collegeville, MN, 2005), pp. 56–57; D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2006).

72. Cf. T. Papamastorakis, "Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παλληκαριών," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* (= *ΔΧΑΕ*) 20 (1998), pp. 212–30.

73. J. Haldon, "Social élites, Wealth, and Power," in *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. Haldon (Malden, MA–Oxford, 2009), p. 189. A. P. Kazhdan has interpreted this phenomenon as part of a feudalization process, noting however, that feudalization did not exclude state centralization; A. P. Kazhdan, "Κεντρομόλες και κεντρόφυγες τάσεις στο βυζαντινό κόσμο (1081–1261). Η δομή της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας," trans. T. C. Lounghis, *Βυζαντιακά* 3 (1983), p. 104; cf. Kazhdan, "Soviet Studies on Medieval Western Europe. A Brief Survey," *Speculum* 57:1 (1982), pp. 1–19. On scholarly uneasiness concerning the term "feudalism" see E. A. Brown,

"The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe," *The American Historical Review* 79:4 (1974), pp. 1063–88.

74. On Byzantine culture in medieval Cyprus, see C. N. Constantinides, "Η παιδεία και τα γράμματα στη βυζαντινή Κύπρο," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 413–63.

75. On economic conditions in Cyprus under the Komnenoi, see S. G. Georgiou, "Μερικές παρατηρήσεις για την οικονομία της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο των Κομνηνών (1081–1185)," *EKEE* 33 (2007), pp. 21–75.

76. On the frontier status of Cyprus, see generally Th. Papadopoullos, "Frontier Status and Frontier Processes in Cyprus," in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 15–24. For a recent interpretation of Frankish settlement in the Levantine frontier zone during and after the Crusades, see R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007).

77. M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1964), pp. 16–17.

78. Cf. R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), p. 2: "however glorious and refined its literature, however elevated its ideals, however enduring its link with Western ideas of gentlemanliness—and whatever we think of that—we must not forget that knighthood was nourished on aggressive impulses, that it existed to use its shining armour and sharp-edged weaponry in acts of showy and bloody violence."

79. On the Frankish army under the Lusignans, see C. Khalifa, "La défense de l'île de Chypre sous la domination franque de 1192 à 1489," PhD Thesis (Université Paul Valéry–Montpelier III, 2016).

80. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, throughout; Edbury, "The Last Lusignans (1432–1489): A Political History," *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 147–234; Grivaud, "Η κατάκτηση."

81. P. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 77–79 (esp. at p. 79).

82. Edbury, "Franks," p. 80. On castles, see J. Petre, *Crusader Castles of Cyprus. The Fortifications of Cyprus under the Lusignans, 1191–1489* (Nicosia, 2012); *Venice and the Defence of the Regno di Cipro. Giulio Savorgan's unpublished Cyprus correspondence (1557–1570), including Ascanio Savorgnan's Descrittione delle cose di Cipro from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation*, ed. and intr. G. Grivaud, coll. E. Skoufari, and trans. J. Cunningham (Nicosia, 2016), on sixteenth-century Venetian fortifications.

83. G. Grivaud, "Formes byzantines de la fiscalité foncière chypriote à l'époque latine," *EKEE* 18 (1991), pp. 117–27; Edbury, "Franks," p. 70; A. D. Beihammer, "Multilingual Literacy at the Lusignan Court: The Cypriot Royal Chancery and Its Byzantine Heritage," *BMGS* 33:2 (2011), pp. 149–69; P. Papadopoulou, "Betwixt Greeks, Saracens and Crusaders. Lusignan Coinage and its Place in the Eastern Mediterranean (1192–1324)," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 473–92; A. D. Beihammer, "A Transcultural Formula of Rule: The Byzantine-Frankish Discourse on the Formation of the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities*

in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800), ed. G. Christ et al. (Rome, 2015), pp. 435–52.

84. Edbury, "Franks," p. 69: "in Cyprus the Lusignan dynasty headed an alien, Frankish regime."

85. On the concept of colonization, see R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993); cf. Edbury, "Franks," p. 69.

86. See studies by Grivaud and Nicolaou-Konnari cited in the introductory section of this chapter.

87. Edbury, "Franks," p. 85.

88. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 31–57; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 85–92, 189–92.

89. B. Arbel, "The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby (London–New Jersey, 1989) p. 190 [repr. Arbel, *Cyprus*, no. XI].

90. On ethno-religious boundaries in Latin-ruled Cyprus, see Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, throughout. On the principle of inequality, see Th. Papadopoullos, "Δομή και λειτουργία του φεουδαρχικού πολιτεύματος," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 4:2, ed. Papadopoullos, pp. 759–84.

91. Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 102–24, 158; L. Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios* (Cambridge, 2012), throughout (esp. at pp. 3–6, 204).

92. G. Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108* (Woodbridge, 2014).

93. Birkenmeier, *The Development*, pp. 60–62.

94. P. Charanis, "A Greek Source on the Origin of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 24:1 (1949), pp. 93–94; Charanis, "Byzantium, the West and the origin of the First Crusade," *Byzantion* 19 (1949), pp. 17–36; P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012).

95. For example, Grotowski, *Arms*, pp. 235–36, 246–48, 311, 392–95. On heraldry, see also Ousterhout, "Byzantium," pp. 153–70; S. Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204–1453* (Leiden–Boston, 2011), pp. 58–60.

96. Ousterhout, "Byzantium," p. 169 (emphasis in the original).

97. P. Schreiner, "Ritterspiele in Byzanz," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (= *JÖB*) 46 (1996), pp. 225–39; L. Jones and H. Maguire, "A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *BMGS* 26 (2002), pp. 104–48; Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 251–64; Kyriakidis, *Warfare*, pp. 52–57. One of the Byzantine *doukai* of Cyprus, John Komnenos, had lost an eye (before his appointment) in a jousting tournament; Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος (Β΄)," p. 360.

98. Edbury, "Franks," pp. 82–84; T. Devaney, "Spectacle, Community and Holy War in Fourteenth-Century Cyprus," *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013), p. 312; Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 273–78; N. Coureas, "Hunting in Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus (1192–1570)," *Synthesis* 10 (2017), pp. 104–15.

99. Devaney, "Spectacle," p. 312.

100. *Philippe de Navarre*, *Les Quatre Ages de l'Homme*, ed. M. de Fréville (Paris, 1888), p. 39.

101. English translation (= ET) by M. Keen in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, 3 vols., ed. C. J. Rogers (Oxford, 2010), s.v. "Chivalry: overview."

102. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, p. 278: "η λαμπρή και δημόσια αυτοπαρουσίαση, η υπερήφανη παράσταση ενός εξιδανικευμένου Εαυτού μιας κοινωνικής τάξης: της αριστοκρατίας ή του προνομιούχου αστικού πληθυσμού."

103. Edbury, "Franks," p. 84.

104. K. Yiavis, "The Adaptations of Western Sources by Byzantine Vernacular Romances," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, p. 137; see, *Il Vecchio Cavaliere*, ed. F. Rizzo Nervo (Soveria Manelli, 2000).

105. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986); R. W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors. The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009).

106. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 108–9; M. Paschali, "Crusader Ideology, Propaganda, and the Art of the Carmelite Church in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta," in *The Harbour of All This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, ed. M. J. K. Walsh, T. Kiss, and N. Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 135–44; M. Olympios, "The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta," in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 75–202.

107. D. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Late Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge–New York, 1987), pp. 241–48; Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 147, 176–77; N. Christophidou, "Το Τάγμα του Ξίφους," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 143–58.

108. Edbury, *The Kingdom*, pp. 165–68; D. Jacoby, "Western Merchants, Pilgrims, and Travelers in Alexandria in the Time of Philippe de Mézières (ca. 1327–1405)," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden, 2012), pp. 403–25.

109. *Philippe de Mézières, The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. J. Smet (Rome, 1954) p. 102.

110. *Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Geneva, 1877), pp. 2–3.

111. G. Grivaud and A. Papadaki, "L'institution de la *Mostra Generale* de la cavalerie feodale en Crète et en Chypre vénitiennes durant le XVI^{e} siècle," *Studi veneziani* 12 (1986), pp. 165–99.

112. A. Papadaki, "Cerimonie publiche e feste a Cipro veneziana: dimensioni sociali ed ideologiche*,"* in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee*, ed. Ch. Maltezou, D. Vlassi, and A. Tzavara (Venice, 2009), pp. 381–94.

113. N. C. Pappas, *Greeks in Russian Military Service in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries* (Thessalonica, 1991), p. 47; see also Sathas, *Έλληνες στρατιώται*, throughout; M. E. Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice, c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 73–74; N. Patapiou, "H

κάθοδος των Ελληνοαλβανών stradioti στην Κύπρο (ΙΣΤ' αι.)," *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 161–209; S. Birtachas, "*Stradioti, Cappelletti, Compagnie* or *Milizie Greche*: 'Greek' Mounted and Foot Mercenary Companies in the Venetian State (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," in *A Military History of the Mediterranean Sea: Aspects of War, Diplomacy, and Military Elites*, ed. G. Theotokis and A. Yildiz (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 325–46. Dr. Nasa Patapiou has published a number of important studies on the *stradioti*, based on her research (as a member the Cyprus Research Center) in the State Archives of Venice; these reports have now been published by S. Birtachas in *Βενετική Κύπρος (1489–1571). Οι εκθέσεις των αξιωματούχων του ανωτάτου δι οικητικού σχήματος της κτήσης* (Athens, 2019). On the *stradioti*, see also K. Korrè, "Μισθοφόροι stradioti της Βενετίας: πολεμική και κοινωνική λειτουργία (15ος–16ος αιώνας)," PhD Thesis (Ionian University, 2018).

114. See the introductory section of this chapter.

115. N. Patapiou, "Αλογοδρομίες ή 'τσιαττίσματα αππάρων' στην Κύπρος," *Πολίτης* (27 December 2019), p. 43.

116. For example, Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," p. 226.

117. *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. G. Dennis (Washington, DC, 1985), pp. 137–240 (*On Skirmishing*); see also chapter 2. On the Latin experience of Byzantine guerilla fighting during the Crusades and in Latin-ruled Greece, see N. S. Kannelopoulos and I. Lekea, "Η βυζαντινή πολεμική τακτική εναντίον των Φράγκων κατά τον 13ο αιώνα και η μάχη του Tagliacozzo," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* (= *ΒΣ*) 19 (2009), pp. 63–81; L. McMahon, "The Past and Future of *De Velitatione Bellica* and Byzantine Guerilla Warfare," MA Thesis (Central European University, Budapest, 2015), esp. at pp. 45–53.

118. N. Coureas, "How Frankish was the Frankish ruling class of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity," *EKEE* 37 (2015), p. 78.

119. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, p. 204. The "professionalization" of military virtues went as back as the *Principatus* period; M. McDonnel, *Roman Manliness. Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 388: "more basic was the way in which the old republican ideal of manliness was altered by structural changes with the Principate. A society in which military service had been an essential duty of both elite and non-elite citizens, was replaced by one in which the state was defended by men who were full-time professional soldiers. In addition, these men were stationed in the provinces, the majority on the frontiers, where most of Rome's wars were fought under the Principate."

120. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, pp. 205–6.

121. Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 103; C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideas of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 3: "the late Capetian and Valois monarchs sponsored an extraordinary programme of translations of classical works, which gave royal and aristocratic audiences access to many books providing guidance and commentary on warfare by authors such as Aristotle, Titus Livy, Vegetius and Valerius Maximus, as well as more recent writings by John of Salisbury and Giles of Rome."

122. C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009).

123. Fresh insights may be provided by the transcultural examination of scholarly and aristocratic networks. For a first step in this direction, see S. Steckel, N. Gaul, and M. Grünbart (eds.), *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200* (Münster, 2014). On the power of "competitive emulation" (*aemulatio*) in the evolution of the ancient Greek and Roman literature on war, see J. E. Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts. A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 2005), also consulted by Neville, *Heroes and Romans*.

124. Greek text with ET in *Digenis Akritis*, ed. and trans. Jeffreys, pp. 298–301 (= *ΔΑ*, p. 32).

125. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 168–69. I have translated αβρίτης as "foam," following Christodoulou's glossary at the end of the volume; note that the river Euphrates is specified as ποταμός Αφρίτης; for example, Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 361.

126. J. Folda, "Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ," in *Knighthoods of Christ. Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley (Aldershot–Burlington, 2007), p. 96; Grotowski, *Arms*, pp. 379–98.

127. M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden–Boston, 2003), pp. 68, 70, 77–78, 81–82, 119, 221, 225, 241, 330, 333 (note that the kerchief was also part of the female costume); R. Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 203, 320, 405–7 (on the Oriental turban in Byzantium).

128. On scholarly attempts to reconstruct the historical background of these heroic figures, see M. G. Varvounis, "Προσωπογραφικά προβλήματα των ηρώων στα ακριτικά δημοτικά τραγούδια," *Βυζαντιακά* 15 (1995), pp. 389–410; I. Kioridis, "Τα κύρια ονόματα προσώπων και οι ταυτίσεις τους στο *Διγενή Ακρίτη* (χφ. Escorial): Αναλυτικός πίνακας," *Estudios Neogriegos* 15 (2013), pp. 9–21. For a list (with brief commentary by M. Christodoulou) of many of the heroes encountered in Cypriot folk songs, see the *index nominum* in Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 349–65.

129. For example, the use of *regas* (*rex* = Frankish king), rather than *basilias* (*basileus* = Byzantine emperor); note, however, that the two terms could be used interchangeably without apparent alteration in meaning.

130. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, pp. 46–52; *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 14 vols., ed. A. Pavlides (Nicosia, 1984–91), s.v. "Αροδαφνούσα;" Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 425–39; M. Dąbrowska, "A Cypriot Story about Love and Hatred," *Text Matters* 4:4 (2014), pp. 197–206.

131. As supported by Bertrand Bouvier; M. Pieris, "Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Bertrand Bouvier," in *Τελετή Αναγόρευσης του Bertrand Bouvier σε Επίτιμο Διδάκτορα (Φιλοσοφική Σχολή, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου)* (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 20, 26–28. Bouvier's paper on the *Arodaphnousa* was presented during the Second International Conference of Cypriot Studies (Nicosia, 1982), but was not included in the three volumes of the conference's proceedings.

132. See the introduction chapter.

133. N. G. Politis, *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 1:2 (Athens, 1874), pp. 277–78.

134. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA, 1983), pp. 871–902 (*Testament of Abraham*). The theme of the hero's struggle against Death will be discussed in chapter 4 below.

135. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 95, 97. The tambura (Indian tanpura) is a long-necked instrument with strings.

136. J. C. Franklin, *Kinyras: The Divine Lyre* (Washington, DC, 2015), pp. 254–55 (drawing a connection with the *Digenes* epic).

137. On the ancient Greek substratum of the Arthurian legends, see G. Anderson, *King Arthur in Antiquity* (London–New York, 2004).

138. M. A. Frantz, "Akritas and the Dragons," *Hesperia* 10:1 (1941), pp. 9–13; J. A. Notopoulos, "Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 33:2 (1964), pp. 108–33; *ODB*, s.v. "Akritic Imagery"; Vroom, "Human Representations," pp. 170–71. On a late thirteenth-century fresco from Chrysapha, Laconia, depicting Digenes, see I. Anagnostakis, "Από την προφορική ή κειμενική αφήγηση στη μνημειακή απεικόνιση: τρία βυζαντινά παραδείγματα του όψιμου Μεσαίωνα," in *Χαρτογραφώντας τη Δημώδη Λογοτεχνία (12ος–17ος αι.)*, ed. S. Kaklamanis and A. Kalokairinos (Herakleio, 2017), pp. 75–84.

139. G. Grivaud, "Les Lusignans et leurs archontes chypriotes (1192–1359)," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer*, ed. C. Mutafian (Poitiers–Lusignans, 1993), pp. 150–58; Konnari, "Greeks," pp. 41–57; Beihammer, "A Transcultural Formula," p. 442.

140. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, throughout (esp. at pp. 81–129 ff.).

141. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, p. 469 [Saunier's review of Moser's, *Le bestiaire de la chanson populaire grecque moderne* (Paris, 1997)].

142. For a survey of the material, see examples of frescoes from the painted churches of Cyprus in A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (second edition: Nicosia, 1997).

143. A. Nicolaïdès, "The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Twelfth Century," in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), p. 101.

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

145. C. Walter, "IC XC NI KA. The apotropaic function of the victorious Cross," *REB* 55 (1997), pp. 193–220; A. Spanos, "Political Approaches to Byzantine Liturgical Texts," in *Approaches to the Text. From Pre-Gospel to Post-Baroque*, ed. R. Eriksen and P. Young (Pisa–Rome, 2014), pp. 63–81.

146. C. N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, DC, 1993), pp. 53–54.

147. *ODB*, s.v. "Fair;" S. Vryonis, "The panēgyris of the Byzantine Saint: a study in the nature of a medieval institution, its origins and fate," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (New York, 2001), pp. 196–228.

148. Beaton, *Folk Poetry*, pp. 162–68; C. P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule. Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece, 1878–1954* (New York–London, 2019), pp. 109–40.

149. Anagnostakis, "Από την προφορική," p. 77; see also briefly A. Oikonomou-Laniado, "Une représentation pornographique sur un tesson d'Argos byzantine," *ΔΧΑΕ* 20 (1998), pp. 259–60; I. Anagnostakis, "Ο βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός," in *Οίνος: πολιτισμός και κοινωνία*, ed. E. Grammatikopoulou (Athens, 2006), pp. 38–67; C. Livanos, "A Case Study in Byzantine Dragon-Slaying: Digenes and the Serpent," *Oral Tradition* 26:1 (2011), pp. 125–44. Eroticism was intensely visible in Byzantine poetry; J. C. B. Petropoulos, *Eroticism in Ancient and Medieval Greek Poetry* (London, 2003); S. D. Smith, *Greek Epigram and Byzantine Culture. Gender, Desire, and Denial in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2019).

150. Psychogiou, "Τα 'ακριτικά' ως τελετουργικά τραγούδια," pp. 152–85; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 8–9; for a historical perspective of adolescence in Byzantine society, see D. Ariantzi (ed.), *Coming of Age in Byzantium: Adolescence and Society* (Berlin–Boston, 2017).

151. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l'îsle de Cypre*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos and intr. G. Grivaud (Paris, 1580; repr.: Nicosia, 2004), f. 220^{v}; Beaton, *Folk Poetry*, pp. 87–88.

152. *Κυπροβενετικά. Στοιχεία θρησκευτικής ανθρωπογεωγραφίας της βενετοκρατούμενης Κύπρου από τον κώδικα Β-030 του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τράπεζας Κύπρου. Εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση, μετάφραση και σχόλια*, ed. Chr. Kyriacou (Nicosia, 2019), par. II.5.

153. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 4, 47, 74 (n. 78).

154. M. Jeffreys, "The nature and origins of the political verse," *DOP* 28 (1974), p. 160 (Neophytos the Recluse, *Πεντηκοντακέφαλον*, ch. 23, par. 1); Beaton, *Folk Poetry*, pp. 77–78.

155. S. B. Kougeas, "Αι εν τοις σχολίοις του Αρέθα λαογραφικαί ειδήσεις," *Λαογραφία* 4 (1913–14), pp. 239–40; Jeffreys, "The Nature," p. 161.

156. *ΔΑ*, pp. ρθ΄-ρι΄; *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 71–72.

157. K. Karapli, "Οι 'καντατόρες'" *Εώα και Εσπέρια* 2 (1994–96), pp. 229–52.

158. J. Goody and I. Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. Goody (Cambridge, 1968), p. 34; also quoted in Beaton, *Folk Poetry*, p. 92; similar remarks in *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 80–81 (considering that the *Digenes* epic influenced the folk tradition and not the opposite).

159. See also Saunier in the Introduction above.

160. As a British colonial official put it in 1888/89; R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 143.

161. A. Kaldellis, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis: Why Historians Should Look Again at Medieval Heroic Tales," in *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*, ed. U. Dill and C. Walde (Berlin–New York, 2009), p. 357 (emphasis in the original).

162. Kaldellis, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis," pp. 358–62. Note that Kaldellis focuses on the revival of *pre-Christian* heroic traditions. The heroes of

Cypriot heroic folk songs are Christian, at least nominally, although the songs incorporate pre-Christian ideas and values; see further discussion in chapter 4.

163. Kaldellis, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis," pp. 363–68.

164. Kaldellis, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis," p. 368. Kaldellis is inspired by Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*; on Latin ecclesiastical colonization in the Eastern Mediterranean see also A. Papadakis and J. Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church A.D. 1071–1453* (New York, 1994); G. E. Demacopoulos, *Colonizing Christianity. Greek and Latin Religious Identity in the Era of the Fourth Crusade* (New York, 2019).

165. This is the main argument of Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*.

166. I. A. Eliades (ed.), *Cipro e l'Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L'Icona Grande di San Nicola tis Stegis del XIII. secolo restaurata a Roma* (Nicosia, 2009); C. M. Vafeiadis, *Ύστερη Βυζαντινή Ζωγραφική. Χώρος και Μορφή στην Τέχνη της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1150–1450* (Athens, 2015); I. A. Eliades (ed.), *Κυπριακῷ τῷ τρόπῳ. Maniera Cypria: The Cypriot Painting of the Thirteenth Century Between Two Worlds* (Nicosia, 2017); Eliades (ed.), *Palaeologan Reflections in the Art of Cyprus (1261–1489)* (Nicosia, 2019).

167. Ch. Fereos, *Ξυλόστεγος Φραγκοβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2009); on Byzantine and post-Byzantine architecture in Greece, see Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2001).

168. C. P. Kyrris, "Some aspects of Leontios Makhairas' ethnoreligious ideology, cultural identity and historiographic method," *Στασίνος* 10 (1989–93), pp. 167–281; C. Galatariotou, "Leontios Machairas' '*Exegesis of the Sweet Land of Cyprus*': Towards a Re-Appraisal of the Text and Its Critics," in *The Sweet Land*, ed. Bryer and Georghallides, pp. 393–413.

169. In the words of L. Neville, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, assist. D. Harrisville, I. Tamarkina, and C. Whatley (Cambridge, 2018), p. 289; see also similar remarks in Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 86–92. On Greek letters in Cyprus after 1191, one should consult C. N. Constantinides, "Το Ελληνικό Βιβλίο στη Μεσαιωνική Κύπρο," *Σημείο* 4 (1996), pp. 51–70; Constantinides, "Η παιδεία," pp. 462–63.

170. For example, *Leontios Makhairas, Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle*," 2 vols., ed. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932); M. Pieris, "Τύρω από τον Λεόντιο Μαχαιρά. Ιστορική και θρησκευτική συνείδηση, γλώσσα και λογοτεχνικότητα, αφηγηματική και δραματική δομή," in *Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος. Δύο Χρονικά της Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου*, ed. L. Loizou-Hadjigabriel (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 35–54; N. Anaxagorou, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* (Nicosia, 1998); *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*, ed. M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2003); A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "A Neglected Relationship: Leontios Makhairas' Dept to Latin Eastern and French Historiography," in *The French of Outremer. Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean*, ed. L. K. Morreale and N. L. Paul (New York, 2018), pp. 149–96. I disagree with A. Karpozilos', *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, v. 4 (Athens, 2015), pp. 404–6, classification of Makhairas as a "pro-Western

chronicle." Makhairas, like the authors of the *Chronicles of Ioannina* and *Trebizond*, writes under non-Constantinopolitan rule, but acknowledges the imperial authority of Constantinople. Makhairas is not, like other pro-Western chronicles (*Chronicle of the Tocco* and *Chronicle of the Morea*), cut-off from the historical past and traditions of his native island, but begins his work with Constantine I and the local hagiographical traditions. Moreover, while Makhairas praises the Frankish ruling class, he also describes low-level opposition to Latinization, which is not to be found in pro-Western chronicles. On all of these, see the aforementioned studies by Kyrris and Galatariotou on Makhairas.

Chapter 2

Honor and Shame

Asguris goes to war against the Saracens and is tricked into captivity; his son, Arestes, never meets him. The *archontes*, jealous of the boy's hunting exploits, scorn him as "son of the lawlessly-acting woman," "son of the whore," and "bastard dog." The insulted Arestes goes to his mother; she reveals that he is the son of the great Asguris, who makes the earth and the world tremble. Following his mother's advice, Arestes proves himself by defeating the *drakontes*[1] in a strength contest; he is now ready to begin his quest for reunion with his father. Arestes crosses the dangerous waters of the Euphrates and, after honorably announcing his attack, slays the Saracens guarding the riverbank. In the midst of a second battle, he is able to reunite with Asguris, who recognizes his own sword in the hand of his son.[2]

Family honor and commitment to the aristocratic *oikos* are the main driving forces in the *Song of Asguris*, leading Arestes to prove himself in the contest with the *drakontes* and later undertake the Herculean labor of liberating Asguris from the Saracens. Our folk song is based on the Armouris story, which probably predates the composition of the *Digenes* epic in the twelfth century,[3] making it one of the earliest heroic traditions in the Byzantine world. The deeds of Asguris and Arestes introduce us to a central social value in Byzantine society and worldview: honor, *time*, the lack of which sparks the emotion of shame, *atimia*. This chapter examines honor and shame in Cypriot heroic folk songs, building on the argument that the image of the warrior hero was crafted by the realities and memories of Byzantine aristocratic administration during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

HONOR AND *TAXIS*

Asguris is send to war by the emperor (*basilias*). He leaves his pregnant wife at home, instructing her to name their child Myrophora (if she is a girl) or Arestes (if he is a boy). In both cases, the child will honor Asguris's name: Myrophora "will make his name stand in the *Polis* and the City [= Constantinople]"; Arestes will ride the horse, pleasing the *basilias*.[4] Honor is multidimensional. It involves political loyalty, proper behavior in marriage and the family context, as well as fulfillment of one's expected role in society. In defining what is "acceptable" and "honorable," we will turn to the notion of order, *taxis*, deciphering the ambivalence of heroic folk songs toward this particular principle.[5]

Order, Kapsomenos argues, divides Greek heroic folk songs into two categories, representing two antithetical models. In Actantial Model A, order (cosmic, political, and social) is established or reaffirmed through the hero's victory over the powers of chaos, represented by monsters or enemies (usually Saracens). The hero is the protector and defender of the community; his actions are "the execution of the king's order or the result of his own decision which is always in harmony with the bearer of power who in the end glorifies the hero's feat . . . . God is presented as the one who bestows on the protagonist his heroic quality and as the one who supports the hero in his struggle."[6] Asguris is a man of honor because he obeys the order of the *basilias* and goes to war (presumably) in order to defend the community in which he belongs. The hero's wish that his son, Arestes, will become a skilled rider to please the *basilias* also reflects the interconnection between honor and loyalty. Kapsomenos dates the development of Actantial Model A between the eighth and eleventh centuries, a period that witnessed the reign of warrior emperors originating from the provinces (the so-called "Isaurian" and "Macedonian" dynasties).[7] The structure of Actantial Model A is outlined by Kapsomenos as follows:[8]

Subject: hero/champion/saint-protector
Object: community
Sender: basilias/heroic conscience
Receiver: hero
Opponent: monster, Saracens
Helper, donor: God

The ideological implications of the hierarchical and ordered relationship between God, emperor, and hero are outlined as follows:[9]

Respect of the (social and universal) order = legal + moral
Questioning of the (social and universal) order = illegal + immoral

Kapsomenos understands this schema as reflecting Byzantine imperial ideology, which emphasizes the emperor's role as mediator between God and humanity, sanctioning and protecting the established order against anarchy.[10] In the words of Hélène Arhweiler, *taxis* "c'est le principe de toute vie, inscrit et inné dans les choses du monde."[11] Following the Hellenistic and Roman legacies, the structure, function, and ceremonial of earthly hierarchies in Byzantium (both imperial and ecclesiastical) imitated the sacred order of the celestial realm, its beauty, goodness, and perfection. The emperor's prominence in the social and political pyramid was interwoven with his capacity as "the *christomimetes* above all others, that is, the one imitating and impersonating, even ceremoniously staging, Christ, the ruler of the universe."[12] Jon E. Lendon's examination of the function of honor in the politics of the Roman Empire provides a stimulating interpretive framework that helps us better understand the relationship between *taxis* and honor among the Byzantines, the successors of ancient Rome. Lendon argues that Roman honor served the profound need of obeying, serving, and, ultimately, being part of an empire that was not perceived as a distant, impersonal, and tyrannical state; honor created the "imagined reality" of participation, reciprocity, and duty.[13] Similarly, Paul Magdalino's seminal study on Byzantine honor (through the *Digenes* epic and the *Precepts and Tales* of Kekaumenos) points out that that order, ideally impersonated by the emperor, guaranteed the individual and collective honor of dignitaries, highlighting the "constitutional" nature of the Byzantine Empire; a state served and obeyed not by the emperor's servants but by free citizens, whose freedom "was complemented and modified by the honour of loyal service."[14] Asguris's loyalty is a source of pride and controlled independence as the "emperor's man." Like the Homeric heroes of old, his personal honor is tied to group membership and self-esteem (the lack of which brings *aidos*, "shame"), inevitably depending on the esteem of others:[15] his daughter will make "his name stand in the *Polis* and the City," while the *archontes's* disrespect triggers Arestes's exploits.

The *Song of Asguris* is made up of different cultural layers. At its core, we may recognize the "coming-of-age" theme, known from the myths of Oedipus, Telemachos, and Telegonos, as well as from the folk songs of Tsamados, Armouris, and the Son of Andronikos. This earlier mythic core has been interpreted as the remnant of ancient, pre-Christian customs and mores, that is, the (ritual or actual) murder of the father-king by his young successor.[16] Most of the later elements are Byzantine, although at some point (probably after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus) the Byzantine emperor became "Selimis," namely Selim II (1566–74), the Ottoman sultan who conquered Cyprus.[17] At the beginning of the song, Asguris rides his black steed making the City tremble and breaking the ruler's throne, which infuriates the threatened *basilias*. The hero presents himself before the *basilias*, who greets

Asguris by stating that if he (Asguris) sleeps with the *basilissa* (empress), she will give birth to a brave son. This should be interpreted as an implicit accusation that Asguris wishes to depose, and, perhaps, also kill the legitimate ruler. The song then shifts, rather abruptly, to Asguris's wife and the birth of Arestes, but the end of the story finds Arestes clashing with Selimis's army to liberate his father and relatives.[18] All these suggest that this particular version of the *Song of Asguris* omits part of a story that has the hero being unjustly imprisoned by the *basilias*; this theme was incorporated into the mythic core of Arestes's adventures for the liberation of his father from the Saracens. The essence of the matter is the ruler's *adikia*, injustice, which disturbs the established order and leads to Arestes's fight against Selimis's authority, associated here (perhaps out of confusion in the song's oral transmission) with imperial authority and the father-king of pre-Christian myths.

We come now to Kapsomenos's Actantial Model B: the hero, usually a marginal figure motivated by the need to secure personal benefits (above all, social recognition), opposes the established order, threatening and finally humiliating political authority and its representatives.[19]

Subject: hero (marginal figure)
Object: social recognition/royal bride
Sender: inflated ego (heroic willpower)
Receiver: hero
Opponent: power (*basilias—basilias'* army) + official heroes + community
Helper: —(marginal figures)

Clearly, the ideological implications of Actantial Model B are radically different from those of Actantial Model A, justifying (and even sanctioning) the overthrowing of the established order for the sake of individual honor and sense of justice. The *basilias* is no longer the protector of cosmic and earthly order against anarchy but is (symbolically or physically) killed by the same forces that he challenges.[20] Arestes the outcast, insulted by the *archontes* as "son of the whore" and "bastard dog," proves himself by his exploits and defeats Selimis's army in a bloodbath, liberating his father. Actantial Model B, perhaps reflecting popular opposition against imperial and aristocratic oppression from the tenth century onward,[21] will be explored in detail in the next chapter, discussing the role of the "social borderer" in heroic folk songs.

Let us see some more examples of honor and *taxis* from Cypriot heroic folk songs. The *Song of Saint George the Dragonslayer* is indicative of the divine-imperial hierarchy versus anarchy celebrated in Actantial Model A. The mythological roots of the song go back to the myth of Perseus saving Andromeda, Theseus killing the Minotaur, and, perhaps more characteristically, Apollo killing Python. *Saint George* is popular throughout the Greek

world; the Academy of Athens collection includes three rhyming versions from Pontos, Rhodes, and Cyprus; this, according to Saunier and Moser, is evidence of their late composition (the rhyme was developed from the fifteenth century onward) based on earlier material.[22] In the Cypriot song, "the great (*megas*) *basilias*" sacrifices his only daughter for the sake of the common good: the Maiden, like other youths before her, is given to the dragon preventing the water supply of the city of Beirut. Saint George intervenes, kills the dragon, and returns to Beirut with the Maiden; the *basilias* proposes that he should now rule his kingdom and marry his daughter, but the saint refuses, reveals his true identity, and is promised to be venerated with great reverence.[23] It should be noted that Saint George intervenes only after the princess is offered to the dragon; political authority is, thus, guarded by divine power, echoing Byzantine imperial ideology.[24] The restoration of *taxis* is achieved by God's help and with the collaboration of the Maiden, who advises Saint George to cross himself and ride his horse against the monster.[25] In exchange for the saint's feat, the *basilias* offers the greatest possible reward: his daughter's hand and his throne. Yet, the unknown dragonslayer deserves an even greater reward: he is to be venerated as a saint, namely a hero of faith and representative of the supreme ruler of heaven and earth, Christ.[26] The *Song of Saint George the Dragonslayer* fits well into the ideological framework of Actantial Model A, sanctioning the established *taxis* and divine-imperial victory over chaos.

In the song of *Digenes and the Crab*,[27] the hero is ordered by the *basilias* to kill the giant monster devouring brave warriors. Digenes rides his black steed, armed with his mace and sword, which is decorated with the images of Christ and Saint Lazaros (a popular saint in Cyprus).[28] The Crab greets Digenes and invites him for lunch; the hero declines and attacks the monster with his mace, but the Crab disarms him. Digenes then draws his sword, opens his arms and glorifies God. An angel descends from heaven and advises the hero to use a golden knife, miraculously appearing at that very moment. With his right hand, Digenes stabs the Crab below the navel; the monster collapses and dies, recognizing that this was his fate and that Digenes had defeated him by God's help. Before drawing his last breath, the Crab instructs Digenes to use his shell as armor, for it cannot be penetrated either by gun or bombard.[29]

Once again, we note the collaboration of God-*basilias*-hero in the fight against a monster threatening the common good.[30] Order is restored by Digenes's slaying of the Crab; the hero glorifies God before his final strike on the monster, honors the *basilias* through his loyalty and obedience, and is himself finally honored by his opponent's suggestion that he arms himself with the Crab's shell. The reference to gun and bombard points toward a later cultural layer (after the fifteenth century), but the mythic nucleus of the song is certainly pre-Christian, alluding to the fight of Herakles and Iolaos

(supported by Athena) with the Lernaian Hydra and the Crab, or the Pseudo-Callisthenean legend of Alexander the Great's men killing the Crab.[31] In the theme of the hero fighting the Crab, Saunier and Moser detect the myth of birth and rebirth. First, Christ and Saint Lazaros, Digenes's divine protectors, have both died and returned to life; they are, like Digenes (whose name is usually translated as "Two-Blood" due to his Byzantine and Saracen descend in the epic), "twice-born," *digeneis*. Secondly, while facing the danger of being devoured by the Crab, Digenes aims at the Crab's navel and tears the monster's body apart in a symbolic liberation from the bonds of death.[32] Therefore, *Digenes and the Crab* contains multiple levels of meaning: it functions (presumably in rites of passage) as an initiatory scenario of birth and rebirth, praises heroic victory over chaos, celebrates the restoration of celestial and earthly order, and emphasizes loyalty and obedience as integral elements of honor and *taxis*.

The *Song of Costantas* shows how loyalty can be betrayed, eventually overthrowing the established order. The *basilias* goes on hunting; he takes with him a company of heroes: old Phoukas, Nikephoros, Pyrotrachilos, and Constantinos (= Costantas). They encounter an old dragon and the *basilias* asks that the quickest and the bravest of his men should kill the monster. Costantas volunteers, but first writes a farewell letter to his wife, Marouthkia: if three days pass and he has not yet return (a symbolic reference to Christ's three-day burial), she must prepare a memorial offering of boiled wheat and seeds (*kollyva*) for him to be remembered among the living. Costantas rides his black steed and clashes with the dragon. When their lances, maces, and swords are broken and bend in the three-day fight, the two of them wrestle; Costantas finally cuts the monster's head and puts it on a lance. The hero rides back and throws his trophy before the ruler. The *basilias* suggests that he should now govern, but Costantas only wants to return to his wife and leaves. The hero is then accused by the *basilissa*, who claims to have been sexually attacked by Costantas. Instead of honoring Costantas for killing the dragon, an army of 2,000 soldiers is ordered to arrest the hero; they are greeted by Marouthkia, who offers them hospitality until Costantas returns from hunting. The hero soon appears, they announce his arrest, and he tries to escape. Being accused as a rebel, Costantas is eventually arrested and incarcerated. While waiting to be blinded (a common Byzantine punishment for usurpers or dethroned emperors), Costantas prays for God's help, asking that his middle brother appears. By divine intervention, the brother is informed of the injustice and immediate danger, and rides to their father, Andronikos. Enraged, Andronikos mounts his black steed and takes his lance, decorated with Saint George, destroys the prison, and liberates his son.[33]

In the case of *Costantas*, the established order is disturbed not because of the hero's revolt against cosmic and earthly authority, but because of courtly

slandering against Costantas's reputation and ethos. The *basilias*'s proposal that Costantas should take the throne after the dragonslaying could be considered as another trial for the hero, set up by the ruler's jealousy. In *Costantas*, the *adikia* of the *basilias* deprives the latter of divine help, while providing Costantas with the means of escaping: family solidarity, an important element of the Byzantine honor code that will be discussed in more detail below. The intervention of Andronikos the father is instrumental in unlocking the symbolism of birth and rebirth in the mythic core of the song. Costantas is a double-born (and even thrice-born) hero, symbolically dying and returning to life after the battle with the dragon, and his liberation from prison by divine help and his father's support.

Another version of the song from Lüdeke's collection presents the *basilias* as the narrative's tragic protagonist: he is Nikephoros Phokas (963–69), the legendary warrior emperor and liberator of Cyprus from the Saracens,[34] "the great Nikephoros," who sends Costantas to fight the Crab; he gives Costantas his spear, leading to Costantas's victory, but is later persuaded by the *reaina* (>*regina* = queen; here also "empress") to incarcerate him. The hero is liberated by his relatives, Phokas is assassinated, and Costantas is greeted by the *archontes* as the new *regas* (>*rex* = king; here also "emperor").[35] Nikephoros Phokas's downfall and violent death—historically the result of a plot between Empress Theophano and her lover, John Tzimiskes—is reshaped in folk imagination in order to emphasize honor and loyalty, sanctioning rebellion against injustice.[36]

Costantas's treatment by the *basilias* is in sharp contradiction with the honor received by Arestes in the homonymous song published by Eleutheriades. The hero is admired and loved by everyone, especially the *basilias*, for his horsemanship and hunting skills. The *basilias* invites Arestes to the palace, offers his generous hospitality, and is not offended when the hero denies his food and drink, wishing to join his brother, Costantas, at war. The two of them defeat their enemies and return to the *basilias*, who greets them for their solidarity and martial bravery.[37] Being in line with the Byzantine imperial ideology of Actantial Model A, the Eleutheriades *Arestes* brings into scope the characteristics of the warrior aristocrat, especially the virtue of political loyalty in the service of the empire.

A version of the *Crab* published by Kitromelidou expresses the ideology of Actantial Model A in the most explicit way. In the first part of the song the hero is the *basilias* himself, who wrestles with the Crab and defeats the monster by God's help. Returning to the palace, the *basilias* finds the *basilissa* in tears because she has been (so she claims) sexually harassed by Costantas. The *basilias* then sends four men to arrest Costantas for his insolence. The second part of the song repeats the theme of the arrest and liberation of the hero, who is now Costantas; the Kitromelidou version has joined together

two conflicting themes: that of the heroic *basilias*, insulted by Costantas, and that of Costantas being unjustly arrested and incarcerated by the *basilias*.[38] The significance of the song's first part is that the role of the monsterslaying hero is directly given to the *basilias*, who is also responsible for defending his wife's honor.

In *Asguris*, a song that also combines conflicting themes and ideologies, imperial authority is clearly invested with the mantle of holiness. Arestes's mother blesses her son before his journey, invoking Saint George Phoukas, the Virgin, Christ, Saint Charalambos, and Saint Archistrategos (= chief commander, a reference to Saint Michael the Archangel).[39] What is probably a Cypriot *unicum*, indicative of the survival of Byzantine identity and culture on the island, is that Saint George receives the surname "Phoukas" after Nikephoros Phokas, the ascetic warrior emperor and liberator of Cyprus. This might be explained by the fact that Athonite monastic circles venerated Nikephoros Phokas as a martyr after his assassination in 969.[40]

HONOR AND THE *OIKOS*

In 1954, the Greek Cypriot anthropologist John G. Peristiany—"arguably the first Greek anthropologist to emerge after Herodotus"[41]—conducted field research in the mountainous village of Alona in Pitsillia, leading to the publication (in 1965) of a seminal paper on the notions of honor and shame in rural Cypriot society.[42] Peristiany's examination brings forth the significance of "low-level" honor in a conservative social setting, potentially drawing connections with aristocratic, "high-level" expressions of honor in medieval times.[43] Peristiany argues that "excessive centralization goes against the grain of [the] Greek-Cypriot conception of moral values," which puts "excessive emphasis on the family [rather than the state] as a catalyser of values and loyalties." In other words, it is family (not law or some abstract institutional concept) that is all-important.[44] Family and gender roles are the building blocks of honor, organized around the male head of the house. "The first qualification for a man of honour is to be honoured in his own family," writes Peristiany. "The non-recognition by the son of the respect owed to his father shames both the father and the son . . . . Woman's foremost duty to self and family is to safeguard herself against all critical allusions to her sexual modesty."[45] One's shame, *ntrope*, is directly reflected on other members of the family; interestingly, "military imagery, full of castles, conquests and destructions," is often used to describe feminine shame in the case of extramarital relations.[46] The social hero of the traditional society is the reasonable man, the *sophron*, whose wisdom and prudence is necessary for the orderly

function of the community, the preservation of communal honor, and communal protection from evil and sin.[47]

Rural Cypriot honor in the mid-twentieth century has, thus, both an individual and a communal aspect, similarly to the Homeric sense of honor mentioned earlier. It is noteworthy that traditional expressions and conceptions of honor are always accompanied by the vulnerability of losing face and being disgraced. Traditional Cypriot honor, like the ancient Greek *aidos*, conveys "an inhibitory emotion based on sensitivity to and protectiveness of one's self-image."[48] In the same vein, Cicero (*De Republica* 5.4) would describe his fellow Romans as "inhibited not so much by fear of the penalties ordained by law as by the sense of shame with which nature has endowed man as a certain dread of just censure."[49] Under the influence of Christianity and following in the footsteps of their Greek and Roman predecessors, the Byzantines would continue to associate shame with fear and terror.[50] Despite differences in historical and cultural context, the fear of disgrace (communal and individual) shows the enduring continuity of basic elements in the honor codes of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Byzantines, and Peristiany's modern Cypriot highlanders. My intention is not to prove that our Cypriot mountainous communities inherited their values directly from the one or the other culture; rather, I wish to underline that these values were not developed in a vacuum. I would also like to stress the relevance of Peristiany's fieldwork to the present discussion of heroic folk traditions, preserved and adapted within the same traditional folk society under the anthropologist's microscope.

A closer look at Magdalino's historical examination of the Byzantine honor strengthens the points of contact between Cypriot "low-level" honor and (what seems to be) the Byzantine aristocratic background of Cypriot heroic folk songs. According to Magdalino, the Komnenian system of rule in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which connected rival aristocratic *oikoi* with the imperial *oikos* through intermarriage and loyal service, reshaped the image of the aristocratic family "as a model of imperial government, both in its service and in its kinship dimension."[51] At the top of the social pyramid is the emperor, God's representative on Earth and supreme governor, who collaborates with the aristocratic *oikoi* and whose rule is ideally perceived as a reflection of the divine order. The various aristocratic *oikoi* in imperial service are "microreflections" of the emperor's extended family; a colorful mosaic that reproduces the themes of *andreia* (warrior manliness), *taxis*, wealth, and good birth.[52] Being the system's backbone, the aristocratic *oikos* is, like Peristiany's Cypriot highland family, all-important. This creates the necessity of kinship solidarity, emphasizing (as in the case of the *Digenes* epic, a key source in Magdalino's examination) the bond between good birth (*eugeneia*) and kinship (*syngeneia*): the honorable man is primarily concerned with the duty of protecting, defending, and assisting his fellow relatives and friends.[53]

Moreover, family/gender roles are clearly defined (much like in the Cypriot highland family) around the head of the household: as a husband, he should protect his wife and be faithful to her; as a father, he should raise a worthy (*andreios*) son and protect his daughter from seduction.[54] The lurking fear of shame and disgrace is constant. Kekaumenos (the other key source used by Magdalino) instructs his readers to be wary of friends enjoying their hospitality, for they can potentially disturb the *taxis* of the *oikos*, causing disgrace.[55] "A man's honour," Magdalino writes, "was, after all, most at risk from the loose talk and merciless scrutiny of his social peers, and from the shameless disrespect of insubordinate inferiors."[56]

Examining perceptions of honor and shame from eleventh-/twelfth-century Byzantine texts and the Cypriot highlands of the mid-twentieth century enables us to detect a number of common features between aristocratic and peasant mentalities: (a) family solidarity, (b) the role and responsibilities of the family leader, and (c) the fear of losing face and being disgraced. We shall now turn to some examples from the Cypriot heroic folk tradition, wishing to explore how these features operate into the picture emerging from our folk material.

When the *protomiros*, the first *amir* (= Muslim leader), demands that Thkiaphylaktos (Theophylact) or one of his two brothers should be surrendered to the *megas basileas* (= the great sultan), the hero is infuriated; he rides his black steed deep into the lands of Syria and clashes with the Saracen armies. Surrounded by the enemy, Thkiaphylaktos escapes. He prays that his brother, Aliantris, appears; the two of them attack the Saracens, they are surrounded, Thkiaphylaktos escapes, but Aliantris's horse is captured and his head is cut off. Thkiaphylaktos prays once more, his brother Manolis joins him, they go to war together, and Manolis is captured. The song's main theme changes, becoming that of the hero challenging the ruler's authority (Manolis vs. the *basilias*), and being unjustly accused by the *reaina*. Manolis prays that his remaining brother, Thkiaphylaktos, comes to his aid: they attack the *basilias* together, and cut off his head. At the end of the song, the audience is informed that

τίποτε δεν έμεινεν, ούτε κανένας ρήγας,
ούτε κανένας πρίτζιπας, ούλλης της βασιλείας.

they left no-one, neither king (*regas*)
nor prince, in the whole kingdom (*basileia*).[57]

Thkiaphylaktos emphasizes family solidarity as a response to danger and injustice. In the last part of the song, the identity of the *basilias* changes: he is no longer the great sultan, leader of the Saracens, but one of "our own," which makes opposition between the Byzantine (or Frankish) ruler[58] and the

three brothers an internal affair, a civil war, a power struggle. Thkiaphylaktos and Manolis the disgraced (*atimos*)[59] eventually kill the *basilias*, establishing a new order: there is no-one left to claim the throne (obviously, apart from the two brothers), no king, and no prince in the whole kingdom. The song's ending places *Thkiaphylaktos* in the group of heroic folk songs praising the overthrowing of power and the triumph of individual/family honor over that of the ruler (Kapsomenos's Actantial Model B). This is a theme we have already encountered in the case of Andronikos liberating Costantas in the *Song of Costantas*. This category of songs, as we have noted earlier, seems to have been inspired by aristocratic antagonisms and civil wars after the tenth century, namely before, during, and after the reign of the Komnenoi.

The *Song of Mavroudis* depicts the *basilias* and the hero competing over the honor of Maritsou, Mavroudis's sister. Mavroudis is feasting with the *basilias*; when praising Maritsou for being both beautiful and honorable, the *basilias* boasts that he can seduce her. In case he succeeds, Mavroudis will lose his head; if he fails, the kingdom/empire (*to basileios*) will become his. The *basilias* incarcerates Mavroudis and attempts to seduce Maritsou. He is deceived, sleeping with one of her maids, and Maritsou eventually proves her virtue and honor. Mavroudis is liberated, the *basilias* becomes a swineherd, and the hero sits on the throne.[60] *Mavroudis* is a song about love and honor, not war and heroic deeds. Yet, this is an eloquent example of how female honor is expressed through virginity before marriage and family loyalty. The *basilias* fails to seduce Maritsou and this costs him his kingdom/empire: honor conquers all. Mavroudis becomes *basilias* because he can count on his sister's obedience and honor. Maritsou expresses her honor by deceiving the *basilias*, as well as through her (almost amorous) attachment to the head of the family, her brother, an extreme example of kinship loyalty:

Βάλετε το σενδόνιν μου το παραβουττημένον,
που είν' αφέντης Μαυρουδής πάνω ζωγραφισμένος.

Put on the bed my richly decorated sheet,
the one with Lord Mavroudis painted on it.[61]

Seducing one's daughter, and later defending the female prize as part of a man's honor, is a recurring theme in Cypriot heroic folk songs. In ancient Greek mythology, female seduction and rape by a god was, for the woman, "her moment of glory to remember, and her honor to enjoy throughout her life."[62] The cult of Persephone among the Epizephyrian Locri in Magna Graecia has been interpreted as a prenuptial rite of passage, in which young Locrian women offered votives to Persephone, drawing a connection between their own marriage and the *theogamy* of Demeter's daughter. Archaeological findings at the Grotta Caruso seem to suggest that Locrian maidens and

brides-to-be underwent a transformative experience of initiation, marked by their (and Persephone's) descend in the underworld and subsequent return to the upper world.[63] The myth of seduction was pre-Christian, predating its appearance in Komnenian literature. Under the influence of Roman/Byzantine law and Christian morals, the *Digenes* epic (especially the Grottaferrata version) depicts Digenes's abduction of the Maiden in a "sanitized" way (per Angeliki E. Laiou), absolving the hero's actions of any legal accusation.[64] As we shall see below, the heroic folk tradition has preserved a cruder version of the ancient seduction myth. Peter Mackridge's study of the theme in the *Digenes* epic and Greek folk songs sheds light on its social function (marriage songs regarded "as a powerful guarantee of the success of the marriage");[65] the theme's popularity in folk songs collected from Cyprus and other areas has been interpreted as encapsulating "an extreme ideal of aggressive manliness—*andragathia* par excellence—which the menfolk of the community could attempt to emulate, albeit in a symbolic fashion."[66]

In the *Daughter of the basileas Levantis*, the *reas* (king) of the East and the *basilias* of the West (= emperor; but note that these two nouns are probably synonymous here) decide to marry their children.[67] The East-West motif has a cosmic dimension, associated with the solar journey across the sky,[68] and should not be read as referring to actual historical events.[69] The daughter of Levantis, claimed by Digenes, is given to Giannakos; the hero interrupts the wedding feast, snatches the bride, and is pursued by her father's army. Digenes defends his beloved by killing a dragon and blinding a lion; he, then, attacks the enemy army, slays his mother-in-law, brings the bride to his father, and is praised by the *archontes* as the true "son of Akrites" (*akrites* is used in the occasion as a proper name, rather than Digenes's epithet, denoting the identity of the frontier warrior).[70] The image of Digenes invading the feast and taking the bride with him has been interpreted as mirroring the Charos myth, a narrative presenting the personified death violently interrupting a moment of joy and disturbing the order of things.[71] Following the abduction, Digenes passes various ordeals, proving his manliness and protecting his bride from the wild beasts and her father's army: a symbolic initiation similar to the one underwent by the Locrian women in Magna Graecia.[72] Due to his complete failure to protect his daughter, Levantis is disgraced and his *oikos* is irreparably ruined.

A more dramatic presentation of the seduction/abduction theme can be found in *Skleropoullon*, a song that might have been inspired by an incident related in the eleventh-century *Synopsis of Histories* by John Skylitzes.[73] The mythic core of the song is, of course, much older: Iphitos of Oechalia, who offers Herakles his hospitality, is slain by his own guest in "an act of unpredictable violence, an awesome, unjustified, and unethical act." Herakles, the hero-guest, is symbolically transformed into a monster.[74] There is also an

initiatory symbolism in the song's myth: Skleropoullon sets out to seduce his cousin's wife; he violates the sacred laws of kinship and hospitality, and he is brutally killed by Costantas, his cousin. The true hero of the song, Costantas, experiences a symbolic death and rebirth, eventually slaying Skleropoullon, the antihero.[75] Elements of historicity could have been introduced into the mythic/initiatory nucleus of *Skleropoullon*, following the feud between George Maniakes, an eleventh-century general, and Romanos Skleros, a member of the aristocratic family of the Skleroi.[76] According to Skylitzes,

> Οὗτος ὁ Μανιάκης κατὰ τὸ θέμα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχων καὶ Ῥωμανῷ γειτονῶν τῷ Σκληρῷ, διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἐπεχείρησεν τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μὴ φυγῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπορίσατο σωτηρίαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐς Κωνσταντῖνον ἦλθε τὸν Μονομάχον καὶ ὁ Σκληρὸς ἐπὶ μέγα τύχης ἦρτο (ἐπαλλακεύετο γὰρ τῷ Μονομάχῳ ἡ τοῦ Σκληροῦ ἀδελφὴ) μάγιστρος τιμηθεὶς καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ, τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν μεμνημένος τοῦ Γεωργίου καταδρομῶν, καταχρώμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν κατατρέχων τοῦ Μανιάκη, τά τε ἀνήκοντα αὐτῷ ἐδῄου καὶ ἔκειρε χωρία καὶ εἰς τὴν τούτου κοίτην ἀνέδην ἐξύβρισεν. Ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πυνθανόμενος ἤσχαλλε καὶ διεπρίετο τῷ θυμῷ. Ἄρτι δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παραλυθεῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῖς πάσιν ἀπεγνωκὼς (ᾔδει γὰρ ὡς οὐκ εἰς χρηστὸν αὐτῷ τέλος ἡ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἄφιξις τελευτήσει), τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀνασείσας καὶ διαφθείρας, διψώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς οἰκείας ἰδεῖν πατρίδας, ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κινεῖ.[77]
>
> Now this man Maniakes possessed estates in the Anatolikon theme. There he was the neighbour of Romanos Skleros, of whom he fell foul. Maniakes[78] tried on many occasions to kill him but he got himself to safety by running away. But when the Roman scepter passed to Constantine Monomachos, the fortunes of Skleros rose steeply because his sister was the emperor's mistress. He was honoured with the titles of magister and protostrator, and when he recalled George's attempts on his life, asserting his authority and profiting from the absence of Maniakes, he pillaged and destroyed the villages which belonged to him and desecrated his marriage bed. When, in Italy, Maniakes learnt of this he was very angry, burning with rage; then when, at Romanos' instigation, he was relieved of his command, he despaired of everything. He knew very well that his arrival in Byzantium would serve no useful purpose so he stirred up the troops in Italy, alienating their affections (the soldiers were thirsting to see their homeland again), and took up arms against the emperor.[79]

In Skylitzes's account, Maniakes's rise to rebellion against imperial authority in Constantinople was caused by his disgrace and political marginalization by Romanos Skleros. The general was justly infuriated: his command of the

Italian troops was taken away, his property was pillaged and destroyed, and (terrible to imagine) his wife was raped by his worst enemy. In the battle of Ostrovo (1043), Maniakes's army defeated the imperial troops, but the general, fighting like Achilles (as we read in a poem by Christopher Mitylenaios), was killed.[80] The image of Maniakes fighting for vengeance and the restoration of his name, as well the name of his rival (Skleros) might have been blended in *Skleropoullon* (= the young Skleros) with the earlier myth of the guest-monster, receiving the initiatory symbolism of death and rebirth.

The centrality of honor in *Skleropoullon* hardly goes unnoticed. The young Skleropoullon asks for his parents' blessing before the abduction; after seeking an astrological omen, both parents instruct him not to proceed: Costantas is a great warrior and his first cousin, which makes the abduction a shameful act. Skleropoullon is, however, determined. He prays that God will help him and rides to Costantas's house. Costantas cheerfully greets Skleroupollon, inviting him to his table, but his young cousin insolently replies that he has come to take Costantas's wife. Skleropoullon stitches the eyes of Costantas (a symbolic death)[81] and binds him with iron bonds, while the Maiden reproaches her husband for his passivity: isn't he Costantas, the great warrior, the man who can defeat a thousand opponents with his sword and a thousand more with his lance? When Skleropoullon and the Maiden are gone, Costantas is set unbound, arms himself, rides his horse, and pursues them. A young shepherd guides him; he finds Skleropoullon, who had raped the Maiden, and mutilates him. Before dying, Skleropoullon laments his lack of *sophrosyne* (the quality of being *sophron*, a prudent and self-controlled man) and for not listening to his parents. Finally, Costantas cuts him in two with his sword, takes his horses, hounds, and wealth; Skleroupollon has lost everything.[82] Defying his parents (the heads of his *oikos*), Skleropoullon is led to disgrace and destruction; breaking the laws of kinship and hospitality, he becomes a guest-monster and is slain by Costantas. Apart from its initiatory symbolism, the song must have, therefore, functioned as a case study on what is proper/honorable and improper/shameful social behavior.

Male infidelity as an act of disgrace toward one's legitimate wife is the subject of *Costantas and Marouthkia*. Marouthkia waits until her husband, Costantas, has fallen asleep; she, then, dresses with his cloths, and arms herself with his weapons. She rides his black steed and goes to her husband's lover, who, thinking that the rider is Costantas, asks that he kills Marouthkia. The mistake is fatal: the wife beheads the lover and returns to her husband. Costantas asks: "Didn't you feel sorry for her, being an orphan and a foreigner?" "Why should I feel sorry for her, being an orphan and a foreigner?" comes Marouthkia's icy response. "For three years, Costantas, she had me separated from you."[83] Marouthkia is an Amazon (a theme also known from Alexander the Great's legends and the *Digenes* epic),[84] a woman who restores her honor

by briefly assuming a male warrior's identity and by slaying her female opponent.[85] Costantas is silently absolved of his infidelity, similarly to Digenes in the epic, who, after having sex with the Amazon Maximou (thus, becoming "guilty of seduction of a virgin with her consent"), kills her, himself emerging from the affair "relatively unscathed."[86] In the folk song, the blame falls on the shoulders of the anonymous lover, who is an orphan and a foreigner, and can, therefore, be punished in the most severe way without any consequence. *Costantas and Marouthkia* reminds us that the *milieu* that produced and preserved heroic folk songs was largely "a man's world," even if women might have played an important role in the performance and revision process. This makes it even more understandable why strong women in Byzantium were often perceived as males (remember, for example, Anna Komnene, Alexios I's daughter).[87] Ultimately, Marouthkia was expected of becoming a man in her attempt to protect and restore her personal honor and that of her *oikos*.

Perhaps the most striking case of a partner demanding marriage loyalty is to be found in the *Death of Digenes*. The hero lies on his deathbed, calling for his beloved wife:

"Έλα ώδε, καλίτσα μου, να ποσαιρετιστούμεν.
Τον Γιάννην εσού μεν πάρης, τζ' έπαρ' τον Κωσταντίνον."
"Ο Γιάννης άντρας μου ήτουν, πάλε τογ Γιάννην παίρνω."
"Έλα ώδε, καλίτσα μου, να ποσαιρετιστούμεν.
Θέλεις τον Γιάννην έπαρε, θέλεις τον Κωσταντίνον."
Επήεν τζ' η καλίτσα του να ποσαιρετιστούσιν,
στ' αγκάλια του την έσφιξεν τζ' εξέην η ψυσή τους.

"Come here, my dear, to say goodbye.
Don't take Giannis as your husband, take Constantine."
"Giannis was once my man, I'll take Giannis again."
"Come here, my dear, to say goodbye.
Take Giannis, if you want, take Costantine."
And his dear went close to say goodbye,
he held her tight in his arms and their souls left their bodies.[88]

The horrendous image of the hero strangling his wife, encountered in folk songs from Pontos, Crete and Cyprus,[89] and repeated in Shakespeare's *Othello*,[90] should not be interpreted as "an evident folklore exaggeration."[91] In an outbreak of jealousy, Digenes kills his wife (in a Pontic song, he also destroys his mace and slays his horse); Giannakis, his wife's former husband or fiancée (from whom Digenes had stolen his beloved before marrying her), is thus prevented from reclaiming what had been taken from him.[92] The abduction of Giannakis's woman by Digenes seems to be implied earlier in

the song: Digenes and his dear ride the hero's black steed at the far side of the world, and, as the hero recalls on his deathbed,

εφέγγαν μου τα κάλλη της την νύχταν να γυρίζω[93]

her beauty shone bright in the night for me to ride.

The couple remains inseparable, in life and death. Despite standing at the doorway of the otherworld, Digenes refuses to surrender his weapons, his horse, and his wife: they are all his possessions, part of his primitive, archaic individuality, the "moi sur-développé du héros."[94] They are part of his masculinity and honor.

HONOR AND *ANDREIA*

Being a medieval Greco-Roman empire,[95] Byzantium developed different ways in expressing warrior masculinity (*andreia*), based on the Christian faith and the classical traditions of Greece and Rome.

The biblical heritage of Byzantium introduced Orthodox Christian identity into the Byzantine value system of honor and shame. Imperial ideology frequently employed biblical models (e.g., Moses, Joshua, David, and Solomon) "to endow the ruler with sacred features and legitimacy."[96] Moreover, the Byzantine population was collectively perceived as the "New Israel," God's "Elect Nation," which was largely a response to the religious and political challenges posed by Muslim universal monotheism to the Byzantine worldview after the seventh century.[97] During the Byzantine *Reconquista* of the tenth century, led by Nikephoros Phokas and his successors, this sense of self-identification became deeper: "the Byzantines saw themselves as the spearhead of Christianity and at the same time as constituting a defined collectivity, fighting a national as well as a religious war. . . . The ethos that emerged from such a struggle constructed a spiritual and political unity of people, army and rulers."[98] During the eleventh and twelfth centuries (if not already in the tenth century), the ideal of the warrior aristocrat, brave and noble, became an essential part of the Byzantine value system.[99] This inevitably promoted the veneration and influenced the representation of warrior saints as members of the Byzantine military elite.[100]

Writing about the *Digenes* epic, Magdalino notes that the Byzantine ideal of *andreia* was "intimately connected with the Christian Orthodoxy of 'Romania,' the Byzantine Empire, whose cause Digenes champions and advances. . . . This is made clear in the story of Digenes' father, the Saracen Amir, who, although a paragon of *andreia*, is defeated in single combat by the youngest of the three Christian brothers."[101] In the Cypriot version of

the *Spaneas*, a Byzantine didactic poem revised by George Lapithes in the fourteenth century, the ideal Byzantine gentleman is instructed to defend his Christian faith to the death, protect his homeland and family from the barbarian invaders, cheerfully obey his general, imitate his brave fellow soldiers, and train himself for war.[102] We have already discussed the relationship between celestial and imperial *taxis* in Byzantium, highlighting the ideological implications of their interconnection, and tracing the echoes of the *sacerdotium-imperium* synergy in Cypriot heroic folk songs (Kapsomenos's Actantial Model A). Loyalty to the emperor in the hero's struggle for the common good is depicted as being also an expression of Christian piety; the hero defeats the monster through God's help; heavenly and earthly order conflate; the honorable hero enjoys (as in the heroic traditions of the Latin Core of Europe) divine protection.[103]

One of the most characteristic expressions of the Christian *andreia* is to be found in the *Saracen* from Lüdeke's collection. Costantas is send by the *basilias* to fight with the giant Saracen at the world's end. The Saracen has built an iron tower, which is usually the work of Charos, the personified death.[104] Costantas is ordered to return with the Saracen's head, otherwise his own head and that of his beloved will be taken. The hero accepts the challenge. Before leaving for battle, he asks his parents' blessing, expressing his loyalty to the family hierarchy and his commitment to the sacred cause of defending his people. What is equally important, however, is that Costantas prepares himself spiritually by confessing and receiving Communion.[105] This rare reference[106] to the sacraments of the Orthodox Church and the spiritual dimension of warfare is indicative of the Christian military ethos of the Byzantines, especially from the tenth century onward. Let us remember, for example, the poetic encomium by Theodosios the Deacon on Nikephoros Phokas's liberation of Crete from the Arabs (961):

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας εἶδεν ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων
καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυμάτων σεσωσμένους,
μέσον σταθεὶς ἤνοιξε πρὸς Θεὸν στόμα·
"ἰδοὺ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα τοῖς ἐναντίων
ὅροις παρεστώς, δημιουργὲ κτισμάτων·
τῶν σῶν κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἦρε τὴν πανοπλίαν,
καὶ σε προβάλλει μυρίων πυργωμάτων
λύοντα δεσμοὺς εὐκλεᾶ στρατηγέτην.
Πλάτυνον αὐτῶν εἰς μάχην τὰς καρδίας·
δίωξον αὐτοῖς τὴν πικρὰν δειλανδρίαν·
αἴσχυνον ἐχθρῶν τῶν προφητῶν τοὺς λόγους·
δεῖξον Πέτρος τίς, καὶ τίς ὁ ψευδοπλόκος,
ὁ τὰς καμήλους ἐσθίειν ἐπιτρέπων,

ὁ πορνομύστας ἐκτελῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ψευδοπροφήτης ἐκφανεὶς πανουργίᾳ."
Οὕτω βοήσας, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα
δημηγορῶν ἔλεξε τοῖς συνεργάταις·
"ἄνδρες, στρατηγοί, τέκνα, σύνδουλοι, φίλοι,
Ῥώμης τὰ νεῦρα, δεσπότου πιστοὶ φίλοι—
οὗτος γὰρ ὑμᾶς τέκνα καὶ φίλους ἔχει,
λόγοις παραινῶν, οὐκ ἀναγκάζων πόνοις—
ὁρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς ἁλιδρόμους τόπους·
ὁρᾶτε πολλὰς ἰμέρους νήσους πέριξ·
Ῥώμης ὑπῆρχον πατρικῆς κατοικία,
καὶ δεσποτῶν γῆ· πλὴν παρερπύσας ὄκνος.
καὶ νωθρότης, ἔδειξε γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν,
τρέφουσαν ἐχθροὺς καὶ στερουμένην τέκνων.
Ἴωμεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐσθενῶς πρὸς βαρβάρους·
λάβωμεν αὐτῶν ἐν ξίφει καὶ τὰς πόλεις,
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰ τῶν τέκνων τέκνα.
Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὰς βολὰς τῶν βαρβάρων·
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τραῦμα φλεγμαῖνον μάχης·
μηδεὶς τὸ πικρόν, τὴν τελευταίαν βλάβην.
Ἂν γὰρ τὸ λουτρόν τις λαβὼν ᾑμαγμένον
εἰς αἷμα λουθῇ τῶν ὑβριστῶν βαρβάρων,
πλύνει τὸ σῶμα ταῖς ῥοαῖς τῶν αἱμάτων,
καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐκ γῆς αἴρεται νικηφόρος."

When he (Nikephoros Phokas) saw all safe from the waters and the greatest waves, he stood in their midst and addressed God:

> Behold, having positioned Your army at the boundaries of the enemy, Creator of creation, he [Emperor Romanos II] has raised the panoply against Your enemy, and proposes You as the glorious *Strategetes* [leader of the army] losing the fastenings of myriad towers. Open their hearts for battle, banish from them bitter cowardice, bring shame upon the words of the prophets of the enemy, show who is Peter, and who the weaver of falsehoods, the one encouraging the eating of camels, the one initiating the barbarians into fornication, revealed as a false prophet by [his] evil actions.

So he spoke, and taking a shield he addressed his comrades, saying:

> Soldiers, children, fellow servants, friends, sinews of Rome, faithful friends of the sovereign—for he [Romanos] considers you his children and friends, exhorting you with words, not compelling you with toils—behold these seagirt

Figure 2.1 The Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste: An Example of Spiritual Bravery from a Band of Christian Soldier-Martyrs. Mural, Monastery of the Holy Virgin Phorbiotissa at Asinou, early twelfth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

places, behold the many lovely islands round about. They were the settlement of ancestral Rome, the land of [our] sovereigns, but sluggishness and torpor crept over us and rendered the land alien, nourishing the enemy and bereft of [our] children. Let us go therefore stoutly against the barbarians, let us seize their cities by the sword, and their women and children's children. Let no one fear the shafts of the barbarians, let no one fear the inflamed wounds of battle, no one the

> bitter, the final harm. For should anyone taking the bloody bath be bathed in the blood of the arrogant barbarians, he washes his body with the streams of blood and he is raised from the earth, a bright bringer of victory.[107]

In this remarkable passage, Nikephoros Phokas is presented by Theodosios the Deacon preparing for battle with a prayer, in which the true God of the Christians is called to assist the imperial army in their struggle against the forces of the "false prophet" Muhammad. Phokas also exhorts his soldiers to fight for the liberation of the occupied Roman lands and their emperor; they should wash themselves in the barbarians' blood, and, as seems to be implied, win the crown of martyrdom through their sacrifice.[108] Despite being an extreme example of Byzantine Christian military ideology (Phokas's attempt to promote the veneration of soldier-martyrs was not accepted by the Orthodox Church),[109] Nikephoros's prayer and public speech eloquently reflect the model of the Christian *andreia*, around the time of the formation of Byzantine heroic traditions inspired by the empire's wars against the Arabs. Nikephoros Phokas would have certainly applauded Costantas's decision to confess and receive Communion before his battle with the Saracen: in the eyes of the hardened general, this was, unquestionably, the honorable thing to do.

The relationship between Christianity and warrior masculinity is further strengthened by the association of the folk hero with warrior saints.[110] In the *Digenes* epic, the hero is assisted in his deeds by Saint Theodore the Recruit (*Teron*) and Saint Theodore the General (*Stratelates*), Saint George, and Saint Demetrios; he also builds a church dedicated to Saint Theodore in his garden near the banks of the Euphrates.[111] In the folk tradition of Cyprus, Digenes's lance is decorated with Saint Mamas and his sword with Saint George;[112] Andronikos has Saint George on his lance,[113] while Tsitsekles is assisted by Saint George in conquering the beautiful Zographou.[114] The symbolism of the triumphant equestrian hero, represented by the protagonists of heroic folk songs and their warrior saints, had an apotropaic function since Antiquity. Depictions of mounted warriors in late antique magical amulets and the invocation of the so-called theurgic cavaliers in the Chaldaean Oracles created a link between pre-Christian (e.g., Heron, Anubis, Mithras, Apollo, Asklepios, and the Dioskouroi) and Jewish/Christian (e.g., Solomon, Saint Sissinios, and Saint Demetrios) powers against evil.[115] The victorious mounted hero in Cypriot heroic folk songs was, thus, an ancient *apotropaion*, preserved and transformed in Byzantine culture through magical practices and the veneration of warrior saints. In the folk songs of Cyprus, the heroes imitate and honor their divine protectors by decorating their weapons with their sacred images, and by "fighting the good fight" (1 Timothy 6:12) against evil and darkness.

Figure 2.2 Saint Theodore the Recruit (*Teron*) and Saint Theodore the General (*Stratelates*): Divine Protectors of Digenes and the Byzantine Army in General. Mural, Monastery of the Holy Virgin Phorbiotissa at Asinou, twelfth century, repainted in the fourteenth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

But how should one fight the good fight? Neville's analysis of Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger's *Material for History* shows that in twelfth-century Byzantium, there were conflicting views on the values of *andreia* and martial honor. As Neville observes, "in Nikephoros's history [there] is a contrast between the valorization of straightforward fighting in well-ordered battle formation and actual victories given to those who fight by trickery and stratagems. Leading an army forward in good battle-order is described as honorable action and those leaders are praised as noble."[116] This does not mean that honorable generals are always victorious; on the contrary, Nikephoros Bryennios's heroes are most of the time defeated, but their defeats provide an opportunity to prove their moral superiority and virtues. The antihero of Nikephoros Bryennios's work is "the wily, devious, and successful Alexios Komnenos," who tragically defeated the honorable Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder (probably the Younger's father or grandfather).[117] The line of *Kaiserkritik* toward Alexios Komnenos pursued by Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger builds on the honor system of the Roman *mos maiorum*, which valued ordered and straightforward warfare more than unconventional fighting.[118] Responding to Bryennios's veiled criticisms, his wife and Alexios' daughter, Anna Komnene, presents in her *Alexiad* an alternative view of

proper military behavior. As we read, for example, in book five of the *Alexiad*:

> Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ δεῖν ἔγνω διά τινος τρόπου ἑτέρου αὐτούς καταγωνίσασθαι· λογισμοὶ δὲ τοῦτον συνεῖχον καὶ μέριμναι. Καὶ δῆτα σκοπῶν ὅπως χρὴ λόχους ἐνστήσασθαι, δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας διεπονεῖτο Θεὸν ἀρωγὸν ἐπικαλούμενος. Μετακαλεσάμενος οὖν τηνικαῦτα τῶν γερόντων τινά Λαρισσαῖον ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως, καὶ ἀνατείνας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἅμα καὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἐπισημαίνων, ἐπιμελῶς ἀνηρώτα ὅπῃ φάραγγες εἰσὶ διερρωγυῖαι τοῖς τόποις ἢ λόχμαι τινὲς βαθεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὰς συνεχίζονται. Ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίου ἐπυνθάνετο βουλόμενος λόχον ἐπιστῆσαι καὶ δι' ἀπάτης τοὺς Λατίνους καταγωνίσασθαι· τὸν γὰρ φανερὸν καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον φθάσας ἀπηγόρευε πόλεμον πολλάκις συμβαλὼν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς καὶ πεῖραν τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ φραγγικοῦ πολέμου λαβών.[119]
>
> Some other method, the emperor knew, must be found to defeat the enemy. He was absorbed in anxious calculations; indeed, he worked hard all through the day planning how to lay ambushes, pleading God to help him. Help came in this way: he summoned one of the old men from Larissa and questioned him on the topography of the place. Turning his eyes in different directions and at the same time pointing with his finger, he carefully inquired where the terrain was broken by ravines, where dense thickets lay close to such places. The reason why he asked the Larissaean these questions was of course that he wished to lay an ambush there and so defeat the Latins by guile, for he had given up the idea of open hand-to-hand conflict; after many clashes of this kind—and defeats—he had acquired experience of the Frankish tactics in battle.[120]

Alexios, portrayed by Anna as a second wily Odysseus, followed a pragmatic path in waging war, scorned by Bryennios as un-Roman and disgraceful;[121] this was the tradition of guerilla warfare, already known among the Greeks, playing a rather minor role among the Romans of the Republic, emphasized by Ammianus Marcellinus and Vegetius in the late Roman period, and later developed by the Byzantines in their wars against the Muslims.[122] Unlike Alexios, however, the warrior heroes of Cypriot folk songs do not look for terrain broken by ravines in order to lay ambushes; they follow in the footsteps of Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger and the republican Romans, for whom "right action [was prized] far above victory."[123] The same ethos was shared by the Cypriot highlanders examined by Peristiany in the 1950s, who were "prepared to stake everything on one throw of the dice . . . attracted more powerfully by the risk than by the gain, more, that is, by the opportunity of proving [themselves] than by the prize."[124]

Not wishing to (dishonorably) take the enemy by surprise, the hero of Cypriot heroic folk songs announces his attack.

Και άνου, άνου, γράκοντα, στάχου ’ς τες αντρεικές σου,
στάχου ’ς τες παιδκιωσύνες σου κείνες τες πρωτινές σου,
μεν πης πως ήρτα πάνω σου πάρπα κι επίρπαξά σε.[125]

And rise up, rise up, *drakonta*,[126] hold your ground bravely,
stand filled with the youthful vigor you had in the past;
do not say that I attacked you, old *drakonta*, by surprise.

Τζαι ηύρεν τους Σαρατζηνούς στον κάμπον τζαι τζοιμούνταν.
Τζείνος κατά την πίστιν του καλά τους απεκρίθη:
“Σηκούτε, βρε Σαρατζηνοί, τζαι πκιάστε τα σπαθκιά σας,
μεν πητ’ έδωκα πάνω σας άρπα τζαι άρπαξά σας.”[127]

And he found the Saracens sleeping in the plain.
He addressed them well, according to his faith:
“Stand up, Saracens, take your swords,
do not say that I suddenly fell on you and took you by surprise.”

The honorable conduct of war is—despite the danger of defeat, captivity, and death—one of the features of heroic masculinity. This dimension of *andreia* is reflected in the folk songs of Cyprus, but cannot be fully appreciated unless we consider its Byzantine aristocratic roots and (what is equally important) the return to the Roman *mos maiorum* by Byzantine authors of the twelfth century. The warrior heroes emerging from Cypriot folk songs—valiant and honorable—would have welcomed Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger’s encomium on Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder, defeated by Alexios Komnenos.

> Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν δεινὸν μὲν ἐν ἀπερισκέπτῳ χρόνῳ τὸ δέον εὑρεῖν, δεινὸν δὲ τάξαι φάλαγγα καὶ καταστρατηγῆσαι πολεμίων ὁ Κομνηνὸς Ἀλέξιος, μήπω τὸν ἴουλον φέρων ἀπαρτισθέντα, ἀλλ’ ἔτι χλοάζοντα καὶ χρυσίζοντα —ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος.....—,[128] μετὰ τὴν συμπλοκὴν ἐκείνην καὶ τοὺς γενναίους ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν ἧτταν νενίκηκεν οὐ πλήθει δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ καρτερίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ μελέτῃ στρατηγικῇ, συνέριθον λαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν πρόνοιαν, δι’ ἣν τὰ τέλη κατορθοῦντα τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων.[129]
>
> But this man, who was capable of making an opportunity out of a moment of crisis and knew very well how to place his troops in battle order and how to overcome the enemy by his generalship, was overpowered, following that battle and his brave struggles and defeat, by Alexios Komnenos; a man with a beard in its first growth, bright like the young grass and golden—for he was only

> [twenty-one years of age].[130] He had won, not due to the numbers of his force, but due to his steadfastness and audacity and strategic thinking, being assisted by the divine providence, through which every enterprise reaches success.

"A medieval warrior aristocrat possessing a great deal of honor thus also had a great deal of power—the effective correlate of honor," writes Andrew Cowell. "Honor is thus the measure of a generalized, consensus social judgment attached to an individual, and power represents the physical and material assistance which members of the community are willing to give to that individual, based on the social judgment."[131] Many layers of honor code in the heroic folk songs of Cyprus are cultural relics that encapsulate Byzantine perceptions of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, namely during the establishment of a Byzantine warrior elite on the island, following a long period of demilitarization. Kapsomenos's Actantial Models A and B have helped us decipher the ideological messages of heroic folk songs through the prism of power relationships in the Byzantine society. The emphasis on the preservation, defense, and restoration of cosmic and earthly order in the hero's honorable struggle echoes the empire's official ideology, sanctioning the "emperor-centric" political system. In a family context, loyalty to the head of the *oikos* mirrored the obedience of the emperor's officials and servants. Honor also framed gender roles, defining what is socially acceptable and proper by forging ethical canons of behavior that guaranteed the unity, integrity, and welfare of the household. Lastly, honor shaped Byzantine views on warrior masculinity: the anatomy of military honor ideas unravels the eloquent synthesis of Greek, Roman, and Christian cultural elements, which is at the heart of what scholars since the Renaissance have labeled "Byzantine."

The threads of sociopolitical power in the folk songs examined in this chapter seem to suggest a top-down process of transmission. The strong traces of imperial and aristocratic honor codes are probably indicative of an elite-driven diffusion of stories on honorable warrior heroes and their families. The eleventh and twelfth centuries may be considered as a possible historical context, when Cyprus was incorporated into the system of collaborative centralization under the Komnenoi. This interpretation does not imply that heroic folk songs where received by the lower strata as a ready package; on the contrary, elite honor ideas were blended with preexisting symbols, motifs, and themes, often detected in the pre-Christian nucleus of the heroic folk material. This suggests that a bottom-up process was also running in parallel to, and probably continued much later than, the transmission of honor ideas from the top of the sociopolitical pyramid. "Low-level" honor may have imitated the "high-level" honor of the elites (since, being a soldier was a source of social power, regardless of possessing noble status or not),[132] but the mythic models adopted by the elites to project their own ideology were never

divorced from the cultural substratum of those not privileged.[133] Furthermore, in the next chapter, we shall see that the oppression experienced by the common people during and after the Byzantine rule in Cyprus led to the release of social tension through the heroification of marginal figures and outsiders. Again, this does not necessarily mean that the relationship between the elites and lower society was that of conflict and hostility; at least not continuously. The bottom-up and top-down processes mentioned earlier are indicators of interaction and exchange, not dichotomy and separation.

In the previous chapter, we have seen that, despite their differences, the Byzantine and Western warrior cultures had a substantial number of points of contact. Under the Franks and the Venetians, the heroic traditions of Byzantine Cyprus were revised and transmitted, surviving until their recording by folklorists in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That these folk songs, praising the prowess of Byzantine warrior heroes, could also attract a Latin audience should not be questioned; although it is true that Cypriot heroic folk songs preserve only superficial traces of the Frankish chivalric culture, they represent an honor code that was far from alien to the island's Latins: loyalty to the ruler and one's noble family, defense of the established order, Christian militarism, and straightforward warfare. These elements guaranteed the survival of the Byzantine heroic traditions long after the ending of the Byzantine imperial rule in Cyprus, because they were speaking to the hearts and minds of not only the Greeks but also of their masters. For instance, it is easy to see how dragonslaying heroes would have created associations with Western dragonslaying legends; stories about the killing of an unjust *basilias* by the hero might have reminded to a Frankish Cypriot audience of the assassination of Peter I of Lusignan by his own nobility (1369); it is also noteworthy that heroic obedience to the ruler is prominent in the Byzantine translation (perhaps undertaken in Cyprus) of the Arthurian *Old Knight*.[134]

The following chapter discusses the portrayal of different ethnic groups and socially marginalized characters in the heroic folk songs of Cyprus. By turning to the image(s) of the "Other" and the "social borderer," we will continue our examination of heroic identities, and of the identities of the hero's collaborators and opponents.

NOTES

1. Giant serpents with supernatural strength; they have the ability of transforming themselves into humans; Moser, *Le bestiaire*, pp. 308–9.

2. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 354–67.

3. *ΔΑ*, pp. 157–94; *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 155–74.

4. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 355, 357.

5. On Byzantine order, see generally H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantine* (Paris, 1975), pp. 129–47.

6. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," pp. 283–84 (quotation); Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 252–54.

7. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," p. 289; Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 272–73.

8. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," p. 284 (with slight modifications: I have used *basilias* for king, and I have included the Saracens among the hero's opponents).

9. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," p. 292.

10. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," p. 293; Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 268.

11. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie*, p. 136; on this principle, see also E. Ragia, "Social Group Profiles in Byzantium: Some Considerations on Byzantine Perceptions about Social Class Distinctions," *ΒΣ* 26 (2016), pp. 361–65.

12. E. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti. Lever du Roi," *DOP* 17 (1963), p. 151 (quotation); A. Golitzin, "Hierarchy versus anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos, and Their Common Roots in Ascetical Tradition," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 38 (1994), pp. 131–79; W. T. Woodfin, "Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London–New York, 2010), pp. 303–19.

13. J. E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 270–71. Note that É. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (Paris, 1948), p. 41, defines ἀτιμαστὴρ as "qui prive de ses droits."

14. P. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos," *BMGS* 13 (1989), pp. 186–87 (quotation at p. 187); Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, pp. 52–53.

15. D. Cairns, "Honour and Shame: Modern Controversies and Ancient Values," *Critical Quarterly* 53:1 (2011), pp. 23–38 (esp. at p. 38); see also his *Aidōs. The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1993).

16. J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. 2 of the *Golden Bough* (third edition: London, 1911), pp. 308–13, 319–23; P. Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, trans. A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford, 1996), s.v. "Oedipus," "Telegonus," "Telemachus"; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 145–47, 151–52. As part of his coming-of-age adventure, Arestes crosses the Euphrates; crossing the sea was important in Greek coming-of-age myths; see M.-C. Beaulieu, *The Sea in the Greek Imagination* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2016), pp. 59–89, 195.

17. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 363, 365; *ΔΑΥΑ*, p. 162. See also discussion in the next chapter.

18. Asguris and the *basilias*: Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 357.

19. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," p. 285 (from where the outline is taken, with slight modifications: *basilias* for king; "figure" for "person"); Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 256, 271.

20. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 257–58.

21. Kapsomenos, "The Relationship," pp. 289–90; Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 262–64.

22. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 335–41; Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 252–53, 270; M. White, "The Rise of the Dragon in Middle Byzantine Hagiography," *BMGS* 32 (2008), pp. 149–67; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 25–29.

23. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 339–41.

24. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 270.

25. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 340.

26. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 340–41.

27. The song is attested in Cyprus and the Dodecanese; Kyriakides, "Διγενής και Κάβουρας," p. 368.

28. On the Cypriot veneration of Saint Lazaros, see I. A. Eliades and Ch. G. Chotzakoglou, *Saint Lazarus and Cyprus: His Church, Iconography, Veneration and Traditions in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2010).

29. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 27–30.

30. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 253, 256, 269–70.

31. Kyriakides, "Διγενής και Κάβουρας," pp. 368–424; Grimal, *The Dictionary*, s.v. "Carcinus," "Heracles," "Hydra of Lerna"; Moser, *Le bestiaire*, pp. 338–39; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 29–31.

32. Saunier, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 165–72 (with earlier bibliography); Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 11–14 (associating *digenes* with the Sanskrit *dvi-ja* = "twice-born"), 31–33; cf. J. Lindsay, *Byzantium into Europe. The Story of Byzantium as the First Europe (326–1204 A.D.) and its Further Contribution till 1453 A.D.* (London, 1952), p. 370: "if we look at the name [Digenes Akrites] we may translate it *The Halfcaste Frontier-Guard*; for the hero was half-Greek, half-Arab. But if we look deeper into the meaning of *Digenes* we recognise in it the initiation-term *Twice-born*, used of the 'second birth' of the young man who has successfully passed the tests and ordeals. And we can call our hero the representative of the initiation-ritual, the youth who supremely defeats the dark forces of the crisis-moment and who therefore symbolises his people in their death and renewal. Such an interpretation harmonises with the many elements of fertility-ritual that surround Digenes in the ballads and the lay, and that show up in the folk-beliefs about his tomb and his Heraklean Club; and in fact in the epic he does pass through initiation-tests, those of the Clubmen." On the association between Digenes and other "twice-born" and "double-blood" heroes, see also I. Anagnostakis, "La géographie des chansons acritiques," PhD Thesis (Université

Paris 1, 1983), pp. 104–28 (I owe this reference to Saunier's aforementioned studies).

33. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 165–69.

34. See chapter 1.

35. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 205–11.

36. *ODB*, s.v. "Nikephoros II Phokas;" *The Rise and Fall of Nikephoros II Phokas. Five Contemporary Texts in Annotated Translations*, trans. and comm. D. Sullivan (Leiden–Boston, 2019), also providing editions of the translated texts on Phokas.

37. Eleutheriades, "Ακριτικά άσματα," pp. 19–20.

38. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," pp. 191–93.

39. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 361.

40. *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 192–237 (Office of Nikephoros Phokas); see also J. Burke, "Nikephoros Phokas as Superhero," in *Byzantine Culture in Translation*, ed. A. R. Brown and B. Neil (Leiden, 2017), pp. 95–114; M. Riedel, "Nikephoros II Phokas and Orthodox Military Martyrs," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 41:2 (2015), pp. 121–47.

41. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece*, ed. N. Wilson (London–New York, 2006), s.v. "Anthropology, Social."

42. Peristiany, "Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village," in *Honour and Shame*, ed. Peristiany, pp. 173–90. On the significance of Peristiany's volume for the history of the Mediterranean, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 485–523.

43. On the history of Mediterranean expressions of honor and for the distinction between "low-level" and "aristocratic" honor, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 519–22 (esp. at p. 522: "altogether, then, a case—inevitably patchy and incomplete—can be made for there having been a non-aristocratic honour, an honour of those most immediately concerned with the 'decision-making under uncertainty' that characterizes the Mediterranean microecology. Its history can be traced over a number of centuries, if not into Braudel's 'mists of time,' then certainly into the later Middle Ages and possibly into Antiquity").

44. Peristiany, "Honour and Shame," p. 189.

45. Peristiany, "Honour and Shame," pp. 181–82.

46. Peristiany, "Honour and Shame," pp. 182–83.

47. Peristiany, "The *sophron*—A Secular Saint? Wisdom and the Wise in a Cypriot Community," in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, ed. J. G. Peristiany and J. Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge, 1992) pp. 103–27. Notably, Meliteniotes' *On the Sophrosyne* (post-fourteenth century) presents similarities in terms of images and literary forms with the *Digenes* epic; although the nature of these similarities is open to discussion, their existence could mean that the *Digenes* epic partly influenced the writing of a work on Byzantine moral values; V. Tiftixoglu, "Digenes, das 'Sophrosyne'-Gedicht des Meliteniotes und der Byzantinische Fünfzehnsilber," *BZ* (= *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*) 67 (1974), pp. 1–63; Jeffreys in *Digenis Akritis*, p. xlvi.

48. Cairns, *Aidōs*, p. 2.

49. Quoted in C. A. Barton, *Roman Honor. The Fire in the Bones* (Berkeley, CA–Los Angeles–London, 2001), p. 19.

50. M. Meyer, "Stirring up Sundry Emotions in the Byzantine Illuminated Book: Reflections on the Female Body," in *Emotions and Gender in Byzantine Culture*, ed. S. Constantinou and M. Meyer (Cham, 2019), p. 250.

51. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," p. 218.

52. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," throughout (esp. at p. 217). Note, however, that "the legislators of the 10th century recognized that social power was mainly not a product of 'nobility,' but of that particular position created by state dependence, and as such the field of its application could expand to include those social contexts in which no nobility existed; a good example showing this is that simple soldiers were considered as socially superior compared to other farmers in a village"; Ragia, "Social Group Profiles," p. 359.

53. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," pp. 194–95.

54. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," p. 197.

55. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," pp. 206–7, 210–11.

56. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," p. 215.

57. Eleutheriades, "Ακριτικά άσματα," pp. 27–30 (esp. at p. 30).

58. The titles *reaina*, *regas*, and prince are Frankish.

59. Eleutheriades, "Ακριτικά άσματα," p. 30.

60. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 44–46.

61. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, p. 45.

62. M. R. Lefkowitz, "Seduction and Rape in Greek Myth," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2003), p. 32.

63. B. MacLachlan, "Women and Nymphs at the Grotta Caruso," in *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, ed. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston (Austin, TX, 2009), pp. 204–16.

64. A. E. Laiou, "Sex, Consent, and Coercion in Byzantium," in *Consent and Coercion*, ed. Laiou, pp. 200–18 (esp. at pp. 200–7). On abduction and elopement in the Byzantine novels, see also J. B. Burton, "Abduction and Elopement in the Byzantine Novel," *GRBS* 41 (2000), pp. 377–409.

65. P. Mackridge, "'None But the Brave Deserve the Fair': Abduction, Elopement, Seduction and Marriage in the Escorial *Digenes Akrites* and Modern Greek Heroic Songs," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches*, ed. Beaton and Ricks, p. 159.

66. Mackridge, "Bride-snatching in *Digenes Akrites* and Cypriot Heroic Poetry," *EKEE* 19 (1992), p. 622.

67. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 89.

68. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, p. 248.

69. Cf. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1060–61.

70. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 87–101.

71. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 222–23.

72. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 14–15.

73. As noted by Stilpon Kyriakides (mentioned in the introduction of the Academy of Athens edition); Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 82.

74. C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York–Oxford, 1995), pp. 398–407 (esp. at p. 402); Grimal, *The Dictionary*, s.v. "Iphitus."

75. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 124–27.

76. *ODB*, s.v. "Maniakes, George," "Skleros."

77. *Ioannis Scylitzae, Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Thurn, pp. 427–28 (Constantine Monomachos, par. 3).

78. Correcting Wortley's ET: "Skleros tried on many occasions to kill him."

79. *John Skylitzes*, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), p. 402.

80. F. Lauritzen, "Achilles at the Battle of Ostrovo. George Maniakes and the Reception of the Iliad," *BSl* 72 (2014), pp. 171–87.

81. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, p. 127.

82. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 82–87.

83. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 101–2.

84. On the Amazon theme, see T. A. Kaplanis, "The Inverted World of the Amazons: Aspects of a Persistent Myth in Early Modern Greek Literature," in *Greek Research in Australia*, ed. M. Rossetto, M. Tsianikas, G. Couvalis, and M. Palaktsoglou (Adelaide, 2009), pp. 291–309.

85. Saunier, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, p. 218.

86. Laiou, "Sex," pp. 213–17 (esp. at p. 217); cf. Anagnostakis, "Από την προφορική," pp. 79–84.

87. L. Neville, *Anna Komnene, the Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (Oxford, 2016); on issues of gender in Byzantium, see also Neville, *Byzantine Gender* (Leeds, 2019).

88. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 41.

89. Politis, "Ο θάνατος του Διγενή," pp. 182–84; Saunier, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 278–80, 295–96, 298, 339.

90. A. H. Krappe, "A Byzantine Source of Shakespeare's *Othello*," *Modern Language Notes* 39:3 (1924), pp. 156–61 (esp. at pp. 158–59).

91. Elizbarashvili, "The Formation of a Hero," p. 456 (n. 62).

92. Politis, "Ο θάνατος του Διγενή," p. 183; Saunier, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 278–79, 295–96.

93. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 40.

94. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 157, 386; cf. Krappe, "A Byzantine Source," p. 159.

95. See Veyne, *L'Empire gréco-romain*; Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire*.

96. Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation*, p. 14.

97. Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation*, p. 188.

98. Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation*, p. 193.

99. A. P. Kazhdan, "Ο τέλειος μοναχός ή ο τέλειος πολεμιστής; Ο συγκερασμός των κοινωνικών ιδανικών στο Βυζάντιο," *Δωδώνη* 15 (1986), pp. 203–17.

100. C. Walter, "Theodore, Archetype of the Warrior Saint," *REB* 57 (1999), pp. 163–210; Papamastorakis, "Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις," pp. 213–30; M. Paissidou, "Byzantine Army in the Palaeologan Period: The Case of the Rock-cut Hermitage in Kolchida (Kilkis Prefecture)," in *Heroes, Cults, Saints*, ed. I. Gergova and E. Moutafov (Sofia, 2015), pp. 181–99; J. Sprutta, "Translations of the Warrior Saints Dragon Slayers' Relics in Byzantium," trans. A. Grzybowska, *Series Byzantina* 16 (2018), pp. 25–31.

101. Magdalino, "Honour among Romaioi," p. 192.

102. *Στίχοι πολιτικοὶ αὐτοσχέδιοι εἰς κοινὴν ἀκοὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου Γεωργίου Λαπίθου τοῦ Κυπρίου*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus series greaco-latina*, vol. 149 (Paris, 1865) (= *PG*), coll. 1019–20; G. Danezis, "Ο Σπανέας και οι πολιτικοί στίχοι του Γεωργίου Λαπίθη," *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986–87), pp. 413–25; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 60–64.

103. See the last section of the previous chapter, and the discussion on honor and *taxis* in this chapter. This is not to argue that Cypriot heroic folk songs should be collectively categorized as part of the Latin Core traditions.

104. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 219–21.

105. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 215.

106. On the role Christianity in Cypriot heroic folk songs, see chapters 3 and 4.

107. *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 140–43.

108. Sullivan in *The Rise and Fall*, p. 129 (*The Capture of Crete* by Theodosios the Deacon).

109. On this, see Riedel, "Nikephoros II Phokas," pp. 121–47.

110. See chapter 1.

111. Discussion in Elizbarashvili, "The Formation of a Hero," pp. 451–52, 454.

112. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 201, 203.

113. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 277.

114. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 205–6.

115. *ODB*, s.v. "Holy Rider;" S. I. Johnston, "Riders in the Sky: Cavalier Gods and Theurgic Salvation in the Second Century A.D.," *Classical Philology* 87:4 (1992), pp. 303–21; H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), pp. 120–27; G. Vikan, "Magic and Visual Culture in Late Antiquity," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, ed. J. C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 53–55; D. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ–Oxford, 2018), pp. 169, 182; P. Stephenson, "The Imperial Theology of Victory," in *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War*, ed. Stouraitis, pp. 48–49; S. McGrath, "Warfare as Literary Narrative," in *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War*, ed. Stouraitis, pp. 174–79.

116. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, p. 91.

117. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, p. 91; cf. *ODB*, s.v. "Bryennios, Nikephoros the Younger."

118. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, pp. 94–103.

119. *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 155 (bk. 5, ch. 5).

120. *Anna Komnene, The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, and rev. P. Frankopan (London, 2009), p. 141.

121. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, pp. 188–91.

122. P. Erdkamp, "Polybius, Livy and the 'Fabian Strategy,'" *Ancient Society* 23 (1993), pp. 127–47; N. P. Milner in *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. xvii, xxx–xxxi (n. 1), 84 (n. 1), 88 (n. 1), 102 (n. 3); R. B. Asprey, *War in the Shadows. The Guerilla in History* (New York, 1994), 1–35; J. den Boeft, J. W. Drijvers, D. den Hengst, and H. C. Teitler, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII* (Leiden–Boston, 2009), pp. 110, 199–200; E. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2009), pp. 287, 339–54; Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, pp. 95–96; M. Boot, *Invisible Armies. An Epic History of Guerilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York–London, 2013), pp. 24–74; R. Konijnendijk, *Classical Greek Tactics: A Cultural History* (Leiden– Boston, 2017), esp. at p. 227 (on Greek "tactical pragmatism"); J. den Boeft, J. W. Drijvers, D. den Hengst, and H. C. Teitler, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI* (Leiden–Boston, 2017), pp. xii, 119, 122, 285. I would like to thank Mr. Christos Aristopoulos for sharing with me his knowledge on late Roman guerilla tactics.

123. Neville, *Heroes and Romans*, p. 94.

124. Peristiany, "Honour and Shame," p. 188.

125. Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, p. 166 (Costantas to the dragon).

126. *Drakontas*, a semi-anthropomorphous dragon.

127. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 347 (Arestes to the Saracens).

128. *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire*, ed. and trans. Gautier, p. 281 (bk. 4, ch. 15).

129. *Lacuna* in the text.

130. Hypothetical restoration based on Gautier's French translation (p. 280).

131. A. Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance, and the Sacred* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 22.

132. Cf. Ragia, "Social Group Profiles," p. 359; T. Maniati-Kokkini, "Στρατιώτες προνομιούχοι ή στρατός προνομιούχων; Δημοσιονομικά μέτρα εν όψει πολεμικών συγκρούσεων στο Ύστερο Βυζάντιο," in *Ιστορίες πολέμου στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη. Μια προσέγγιση στη διαχρονία*, ed. A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, V. Serenidou, S. G. Ploumides, and M. Likaki (Athens, 2018), pp. 139–57, esp. at p. 157: "καταλήγοντας, θα επισημάνω ότι η πιθανότητα απόκτησης της πρόνοιας ίσως να αποτελούσε πρόσθετο δέλεαρ για την επιλογή του στρατιωτικού επαγγέλματος. Ο υστεροβυζαντινός στρατός, όμως, δεν είναι στρατός *προνοιαρίων*, αλλά εμμίσθων ή μισθοφόρων στρατιωτών, μεταξύ των οποίων πολλοί ήταν πιθανό να είναι και κάτοχοι προνοίας ισόβιας ή ενίοτε κληρονομικής." On the social stratification of Byzantine soldiers during the ninth and tenth centuries, see E. Ragia, "Κοινωνικές διαφοροποιήσεις μεταξύ στρατιωτών," http://byzmettyhes.gr/τεκμηρίωση/Στρατιώτες/Κοινωνικές-διαφοροποιήσεις-μεταξύ-στρατιωτών (last accessed August 11, 2020).

133. Chapter 4.

134. On dragonslaying in the Western tradition, see N. BreMiller Black, "The Hero's Fight with a Dragon or Giant Adversary in Medieval Narrative," PhD Thesis (Columbia University, 1971); for the East Christian and Islamic contexts, one should consult S. Kuehn, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art* (Leiden–Boston, 2011). On the assassination of Peter I, see P. Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–1369)," *Journal of Medieval History*, pp. 219–33 [repr. Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders, from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1999), no. XIII]. On common themes in the Byzantine and Western medieval epics, see D. G. Petalas, "Ο αμαζονικός μύθος στον δυτικό Μεσαίωνα," *Παρνασσός* 44 (2002), pp. 219–32; Petalas, "Σημεία συνάντησης του βυζαντινού και του ευρωπαϊκού μεσαιωνικού έπους," *Λαογραφία* 43 (2013–16), pp. 315–46. On the *Old Knight* see chapter 1.

Chapter 3

The Other

Ethnic Groups and Social Borderers

Confrontation and exclusion, Hegel states in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, are crucial forces in the shaping of identity. "Self-consciousness is, to begin with, simple being-for-self, self-equal through the exclusion from itself of everything else . . . . What is 'other' for it is an unessential, negatively characterized object. But the 'other' is also a self-consciousness; one individual is confronted by another individual."[1] The perception of different ethnic and social categories in Cypriot heroic folk songs paints a vivid picture of diversity that enriches our understanding of the Byzantine warrior hero and his socioethnic environment in medieval Cypriot imagination. Muslims, Latin Christians, Gypsies, and Jews cross paths with our warrior heroes, echoing the mechanisms of confrontation and exclusion in an insular society with diachronically multiethnic characteristics. The dominant role of Christianity and the geographical proximity of Cyprus to the Holy Land and the Muslim East, with all their historical implications, determined the definition of alterity, and, ultimately, the expression of Cypriot self-consciousness in the island's heroic ballads.

Some twenty years ago, Margaret Mullett pointed out that the Byzantines described exteriority and exclusion in terms of concentricity, namely of inner and outer circles that defined different levels of proximity to an imaginary center. This could be seen, for example, in the *Alexian Komnenian Muses*: the emperor and Constantinople are at the heart of an imaginary circle, surrounded by the rest of the empire (inner circle), and the barbarian peoples (external circle).[2] Confrontation, the other mechanism of identity formation, is also present in Byzantine discourses of alterity. This is clear in the religious polemic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a key development period for the Cypriot heroic folk traditions.[3]

The Hegelian confrontation and exclusion duo forming the backbone of this chapter raises simple, yet highly complex, questions: how is alterity captured and recreated by folk imagination in the heroic songs of Cyprus? And what messages related to communal identities (ethnic, religious, and social) can we decipher from the hero's confrontation with the Other? This last question is of the outmost significance in placing folk heroes in their *Sitz im Leben*, as representatives of the communities preserving and appropriating the heroic material in discussion.

"Collective identities," write Koray Durak and Ivana Jevtić, "whether imposed from a center of power such as the Byzantine state or agreed upon by a group of people at a communitarian level, impose unity on those who assume, while individual identities arise from the process of differentiating oneself from other individuals."[4] The elements of ambiguity and social marginality in Greek folk songs have been explored in the past by Michael Herzfeld, who introduced the term "social borderers" to describe the ambiguous social status of the so-called "akritic" heroes.[5] Heroic ambiguity and marginalization occupy a special place in our examination of confrontation and exclusion: the hero (a reflection of the Self) becomes Other, both challenging and reaffirming existing polarities in the imaginary universe of the songs and the historical society that produced them.

"The foreigner is within us," notes Julia Kristeva. "And when we flee from or struggle against the foreigner, we are fighting our unconscious. . . . The foreigner is within me, hence we are all foreigners. If I am a foreigner, there are no foreigners."[6] The transformation of the hero into Other stresses the relevance of modern psychoanalytic theories to the historical/cultural discussion of medieval heroic traditions. The deeper symbolism of the Other, the foreigner, the outcast, should be always kept in mind when stumbling upon the ambiguities of social borderers in heroic folk songs: "whatever identity anyone assumed [in Byzantium], the identity of a *xenos* [stranger] was common to all."[7] As we shall see below, explaining the heroification of social outcasts inevitably requires the examination of low-level social conditions in Cyprus under the Byzantines, the Franks, and the Venetians.

FRANKS

The year is 1363. A fleet of eight galleys and some lighter vessels sets sail from the Cypriot ports of Famagusta and Kerynia under the command of John of Lusignan, prince of Antioch, and John of Sour, admiral of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The small army of knights on the galleys leaves the island with a mission; in the words of Leontios Makhairas, their aim is "to go to Turkey [= the Turkish-controlled Asia Minor] and cause harm" (νὰ

πᾶν εἰς τὴν Τουρκία νὰ τὴν ζημιώσουν). In a few hours, the expedition force covers the distance between the northern coast of Cyprus and the castle of Anemourion, at the southernmost edge of Asia Minor. The knights disembark and pillage the town; they turn to the castle, and "by God's help" (μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ) they manage to capture the Turkish garrison and prepare to retreat to Cyprus. Before abandoning Anemourion, the raiders set the fortress on fire; their attempt to takeover Syki is interrupted when news come that Muhammad Rais has raided Cyprus, causing great harm. The galleys have a new mission: hunt down the Muslim corsair, who eventually manages to escape to the friendly port of Tripoli.[8]

Leontios Makhairas's description of the Anemourion attack is a vivid example of the continuous warfare between the Latin Christian and Muslim powers in the Eastern Mediterranean during the reign of Peter I. The clash of the cross with the crescent had taken the form of countless raids and counter-raids, naval skirmishes, captive taking, pillaging, and executions. It also left its imprint on the collective memory and folk imagination of the Cypriots. The *Song of Antzoules*, a retelling of the Armouris story[9] (already discussed in the previous chapter), builds on the Anemourion events of 1363.

Παφούτις εκουρσέψασιν οι Φράντζιοι τ' Ανεμούριν
κουρσέψαν χώρες τζαι βουνά, κουρσέψαν μοναστήρια,
κουρσέψαν τζαι τον Αντζουλήν τζαι πήραν τον τζαι πήαν.[10]

When the Franks sacked Anemourion
they plundered castles[11] and mountains, they looted monasteries,
they captured Antzoules, and took him and left.

Henri Grégoire and Hedwig Lüdeke were the first to note that the song's Cypriot context led to a modification of the initial reference to Amorion (conquered by an Arab army in 838); hence, the castle sacked in the opening scene of *Antzoules* becomes Anemourion.[12] Gilles Grivaud associated the song with the Makhairas passage, arguing that it "reverses the historical situation, making the Franks the protagonists instead of the Muslims. Most importantly, by confusing Amorion, a town in Phrygia, with Anamur, a port on the Cilician coast, the Cypriot poet links two events of the war against the Muslims that are five centuries distant from each other."[13] But how exactly does the echo of Lusignan raids on Turkish-occupied Asia Minor operate within the song's mythic narrative? Why, in other words, does the *Song of Antzoules* present the *Frankish* sack of Anemourion?

The connection between Amorion and Anemourion seems to go beyond the obvious toponymic similarity. Reading the *Song of Antzoules* from beginning to end, and taking into consideration the possibility that the *Song of*

Armouris must have functioned as a source of inspiration, we come to the conclusion that the Franks in the Cypriot ballad replace the villains of the *Armouris*, namely the Saracens. To put it simply: the Franks are not the protagonists in the *Song of Antzoules* (there not mentioned but once); the Cypriot ballad does not praise the heroic deeds of Lusignan Crusaders (no reference to Peter I); the Frankish knights have become the new Saracens, destroying a fictional Anemourion (there is no reference to the Turks), looting Christian monasteries (!), and capturing Antzoules, the father of Arestes (the song's real protagonist).[14]

The negative view of the Franks in the *Song of Antzoules* finds parallels, for example, in the widespread use in Byzantine literature of classical Greek *topoi* on the barbarians in relation to the Latin Other. Byzantine authors described the Latins (especially after the Crusades and the sack of Constantinople in 1204) as arrogant, aggressive, volatile, ignorant, and savage.[15] Although these stereotypes should not be regarded as reflecting the realities of everyday life and cannot be representative of the attitudes of the Byzantine society in general,[16] they did express the fears, anxieties, and identities of the Byzantine people, whose empire was under threat until its collapse in 1453. The bitter experience of the Latin conquest of Cyprus in 1191 did not go unnoticed by Saint Neophytos the Recluse, a Cypriot monastic author of the twelfth century. Lamenting for the misfortunes of his native island, Neophytos narrates the end of the self-proclaimed emperor-tyrant Isaac Doukas Komnenos and his capture by Richard I of England. The Recluse mourns the pillaging of Cyprus and notes (not without sarcasm) that Richard's only success in the Third Crusade was the selling of Cyprus "to the Latins" (a reference to the Knights Hospitaller or, most probably, to the House of Lusignan). It should be underlined that, for Neophytos, Richard and Saladin share the same status of barbarity as "fellow wretches."

> Ἰγγλίτερ προσβάλλει τῇ Κύπρῳ, καὶ θᾶττον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔδραμον πάντες. Τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρημος ἐναπομείνας λαοῦ προύδωκε καὶ αὐτὸς χερσὶ τοῦ Ἰγγλιτέρρων ὢν καὶ δήσας σιδήροις καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ θησαυροὺς διαρπάσας, σφόδρα πολλούς, καὶ τὴν χώραν σκυλεύσας δεινῶς ἀποπλεῖ πρὸς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πλοῖα καταλείψας τοῦ σχιδεύειν τὴν χώραν καὶ στέλλειν ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Κύπρου Ἰσαακίῳ κατακλείει σιδηροδεσμίῳ ἐν καστελλίῳ καλουμένῳ Μαρκάππῳ. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοίου αὐτῷ Σαλαχαντίνου ἀνύσας μηδὲν ὁ ἀλιτήριος ἤνυσε τοῦτο καὶ μόνον, διαπρᾶσαι τὴν χώραν Λατίνοις χρυσίου χιλιάδων λιτρῶν διακοσίων. Διὸ καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὀλολυγμὸς καὶ ἀφόρητος ὁ καπνός, ὡς προείρηται, ὁ ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βορρᾶ.[17]
>
> The Englishman lands in Cyprus, and forthwith all ran unto him! Then the emperor, abandoned by his people, gave himself also unto the hands of the English. Him the English king bound in irons, and having seized his vast

> treasures, and grievously wasted the land, sailed away to Jerusalem, leaving behind him ships to strip the country and to follow him. But Emperor Isaac of Cyprus he shut up in chains in a castle called Marcappus. The wicked wretch achieved nought against his fellow wretch Saladin, but achieved this only, that he sold our country to the Latins for two hundred thousand pounds of gold. Whereon great was the wailing, and unbearable the smoke, as was said before, which came from the north.[18]

Neophytos the Recluse, a contemporary of the Frankish conquest, explicitly states what is implicitly expressed in the *Song of Antzoules*, most probably repeating popular perceptions of the Latins among the Greeks of Cyprus and the Byzantine people outside the island: the Franks are no better than the Saracens; their Christian faith does not make them less savage.

Again, we should remember that such views were not representative of each and every Greek Cypriot under Latin rule. Neophytos himself admits that Isaac Doukas Komnenos had been abandoned by the subjects, which ultimately led to the surrender of Cyprus to Richard.[19] During the nearly four centuries of the Latin rule, the island's Greeks and Latins had to overcome many of the stereotypes dividing the two communities, especially in the face of Ottoman expansionism.[20] Anti-Ottoman perceptions and ideas in Cypriot heroic folk songs will be discussed in more detail further. Another example of the integration of the Latin Christian ruling class in Greek Cypriot society and culture is to be found in references to the *re(g)as* and *re(g)aina*, the Frankish king and queen, in the folk songs examined in the previous chapter.

There is evidence that Frankish military culture and the royal court of Nicosia did occasionally excite the folk imagination of the Greek Cypriots. In *Arodaphnousa*, a love ballad (of probably Byzantine origin) relating the adulterous affair of the *reas* with Arodaphnousa (Rodaphnou in the song), the cheated *reaina* tortures her husband's lover while he is away. The *reas* rides his black steed, finds Rodaphnou, and burns his wife in the fiery furnace. Elements of historicity in the song (e.g., the queen torturing the king's lover and a reference to the king fighting the Turks)[21] could be pointing toward a fourteenth-century cultural layer and the memories of Peter I's affair with Joanna l'Aleman.[22] Moreover, in the *Abduction of Costantas' Wife*, the beautiful female protagonist is greeted as παγκιέρα φράγκισσα, "Frankish warrior banner."[23] There are also a few explicit references to Greek-Latin confrontation. In the *Song of Digenes*, the hero defeats an army of Franks, who are considered formidable warriors.[24] And the handsome Tsitsekles, from the *Song of the Syrian Lady and Tsitsekles*, strives to conquer Zographou, a Latin Christian from Syria. When asked to sit on a Frankish throne he proudly refuses, declaring his Hellenic identity. This direct pronouncement of ethnic identity might be attributed to a later cultural layer, dating to the Ottoman

period and the rise of Greek nationalism. Yet, Tsitsekles (whose name is Turkish) is a warrior hero who challenges existing ethnoreligious barriers, without losing his Byzantine identity (e.g., like a typical Byzantine warrior he prays to Saint George before battle).[25]

Western elements in Cypriot heroic folk songs might be too few or too superficial to speak of "influences." The folk image of the warrior hero remained Byzantine, but this did not exclude references to the Franks and their world, especially their martial abilities and aggressiveness, the beauty of Latin Christian women from Syria (integrated into the Latin community of Cyprus), and—as the *Arodaphnousa* song seems to suggest—the love affairs of their kings.

SARACENS AND TURKS

The presence of Arab Muslims in Cyprus (commonly labeled "Saracens" by medieval Christian Europeans in East and West) dates from the second half of the seventh century, namely the period of the first Muslim naval expeditions. Concerning the early phase of their coming in Cyprus, there is hardly any evidence "of substantial permanent settlement,"[26] although a small Arabic nucleus did exist on the island, presumably under an imam.[27] It appears that the Muslim community of Cyprus (largely consisting of merchants and slaves) became numerically stronger only after the Frankish conquest.[28] Christopher Schabel notes that "in about 1252 and about 1280 Latin archbishops of Nicosia warned Christians against seeking Jewish or Muslim doctors, and in 1298 Archbishop Gerard declared that having sex with a Jewish or Muslim woman was a major crime, subject to his jurisdiction."[29] Benjamin Arbel's study on Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant between 1473 and 1570 shows that during the last century of Latin Christian domination on the island, there were some cases of intercultural communication, social mobility, and even conversion from the one faith to the other (i.e., Muslims converting to Christianity in Cyprus, and Cypriots converting to Islam outside the island).[30]

The multiplicity of contacts and the shifting nature of relations between Christians and Muslims in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean captured the attention of medieval folk imagination. In Cypriot heroic folk songs, the emphasis is largely placed on the conflict of the Christian world with the "Saracens," an umbrella-term employed to cover both Arabs and Turks. Thus, Thkiaphylaktos (Theophylact) and his brothers fight the Saracens

εις τες Συριές τα μέρη,
που' χαν φουσάτα περισσά, οι κάμποι γεμωσμένοι,

όσ' άστρη έσει ο ουρανός, φύλλά 'χουσιν τα δέντρη,
όσον άμμον έσει η θάλασσα τζ' ακόμα 'ναν περίτου.[31]

in the lands of Syria,
where the great armies were, filling the flatland:
more than the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees,
the sand of the sea.

Syria was a traditional theater of war in the long struggle between Byzantines and Arabs. The Byzantine offensive in the East, led by Nikephoros Phokas, resulted in the total defeat of the Hamdanid Emirate of Aleppo (962) and the recovery of Cyprus, Mopsuestia, Tarsos (965), and Antioch (969). By the 970s, northern Syria came once again under imperial control.[32] The memories of the Byzantine-Arab clash, dating from the mid-seventh century, were preserved in the heroic tradition of both Byzantines and Arabs.[33] In the Byzantine *Song of Armouris*, which Grégoire associated with the Arab sack of Amorion (838), the young Arestes can no longer see his family dressed in black and the doors of his house locked in sorrow (his father, Armouris, had been taken prisoner by the Saracens). He promises to drink the Saracen's blood wherever he finds him; mad from rage, he will descend upon Syria, and fill its narrow streets with heads and its dry river-beds with blood.[34]

A different picture of the conflict emerges from the Cypriot folk song of Digenes in the Kitromelidou collection. The hero snatches his beloved on her wedding day. He defeats the army attempting to stop him, and later kills a lion and a dragon.[35] His black steed is now thirsty; reaching the waters of the Jordan (in other versions of the song: the Euphrates), Digenes is stopped by the river's Saracen guard.

Εις τον Ιορδάνην ποταμόν να πα να τον ποτίσει,
στον Ιορδάνην ποταμόν Σαρατζηνόν εγλέπει
τζιαί τζείνος ο Σαρατζηνός, του κόσμου παλλικάριν,
τζιαί πάνω στην ραχούλλαν του εσπέρναν τζιαί θερίζαν,
πάνω στην τζεφαλούλλαν του αλώνι εξικαρπίζαν,
τζιαί μέσα στα ρουθούνια του περτίτσια εκακκουρίζαν,
'που κάτω στες μασκάλες του οι <αππάροι>[36] εσταβλίζαν
τζιαί πάνω στην καρτούλλαν του σκύλλοι ελαουεύκαν.[37]

He goes to water him in the river Jordan,
he sees a Saracen at the river Jordan.
This Saracen was the world's greatest warrior:[38]
on his back they sowed seeds and reaped the crops,

on his head they threshed the harvest as in a threshing floor,
partridges called inside his nostrils,
<horses> were stabled under his arms,
and over his heart dogs hunted rabbits.

The Saracen's physical appearance, strength, and bravery would have terrified anyone but Digenes: this is why he is such a worthy opponent to our hero. When he refuses to let Digenes water his horse, the two of them fight with their maces. The Saracen takes the blows like a tower; he finally collapses and his screams of intolerable pain hit the world's end like a thunder. *Drakontes* and lions gather around the Saracen, and Digenes continues the fight for three more days, until his final victory.[39]

In another version of the fight, the Saracen guards the waters of the Euphrates, the physical (and imaginary) boundary between the Christian empire and the Muslim world. Digenes greets the Saracen, calling him φως τους αντρειωμένους, "the light of the brave."[40] We can trace a direct influence of the *Digenes* epic on the Cypriot folk tradition; it should be noted, however, that it is the hero, not the Saracen, that the epic describes (Escorial, vv. 622–23) as ὁ θαυμαστὸς Βασίλειος, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνδρειωμένων ("the marvelous Vasilios, the light of the brave").[41] In the Cypriot folk tradition, the Saracen is truly a worthy opponent of Digenes, his equal, a projection of Byzantine heroic qualities and features onto the Muslim Other.

A passage from a letter written in 913/14 by Nikolaos I Mystikos, patriarch of Constantinople and regent of the young Constantine VII, to the caliph in Bagdad (falsely addressing the emir of Crete in the text's edition) adds historical depth to the folk perception of the Saracen as (almost) a "second Digenes." The letter was written during the so-called treaty centuries, a period when Byzantines and Arabs had agreed on the demilitarization of Cyprus.[42] But around 910, the Byzantine *droungarios* Himerios "organized his fleet for a military landing on the theoretically neutral island of Cyprus and then plundered the Syrian coast."[43] According to the *Life of Saint Demetrianos of Chytroi*, the Arabs attacked Cyprus, τὸν ληστρικὸν τρόπον συνεργὸν ἐχόντων καὶ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀγριότητα ("having been assisted by their larcenous ways and innate savagery").[44] Lounghis has argued that the patriarch's letter to the caliph, following the dramatic events instigated by Himerios and the Arab acts of retaliation, aimed at restoring the peace "by providing justifications and asking for forgiveness." This, Lounghis points out, would have enabled the Byzantines "to push forward through Italy and even further into the Western Mediterranean."[45] The diplomatic language of the letter to the caliph, crafted by the political realism of Nikolaos I Mystikos and his strategy of *détente*, seem to be in agreement with the image of Digenes and the Saracen in the heroic tradition of Cyprus. These perceptions, the fragments of an

"amiable enmity,"[46] stem from the complex reality that shaped Byzantine-Arab relations from the seventh century onward.

> Δύο κυριότητες πάσης τῆς ἐν γῇ κυριότητος, ἥ τε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὑπερανέχουσι καὶ διαλάμπουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο μεγάλοι ἐν τῷ στερεώματι φωστῆρες, καὶ δεῖ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο μόνον κοινωνικῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἀδελφικῶς, καὶ μὴ διότι τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τῷ σεβάσματι κεχωρίσμεθα, παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διακεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποστερεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων [συνομιλίας] παρὰ μέρος ἐντυχίας.
>
> There are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans, which stand above all lordship on earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament. They ought, for this very reason alone, to be in contact and brotherhood and not, because we differ in our lives and habits and religion, remain alien in all ways to each other, and deprive themselves of correspondence carried on in writing.[47]

Two lordships, two beacons in the firmament, two mighty warriors: Digenes and the Saracen. But the similarities between Digenes and the Saracen are not simply rhetorical; Digenes is himself half-Saracen. The Byzantine epic of *Digenes* relates the story of the hero's birth from a Christianized Saracen emir and a noble Byzantine lady. In the tenth century, Saracen converts were indeed stationed in frontier areas and enjoyed tax exemption, which could attract more Muslim apostates.[48] Intercultural exchanges and the game of apostasy from Islam to Christianity (and vice versa) continued well into the later Byzantine period, as recently shown by Alexander D. Beihammer's paper on cases of defection in Byzantine-Seljuk relations, and Rustam Shukurov's monograph on the Byzantine Turks.[49] The Cypriot folk song of *Andronikos' Children* describes the abduction and raping of Andronikos's daughter by a Saracen; her brothers hunt him down, but, instead of killing him, they lead him to the church in order to be baptized.[50] There are also literary threads linking the *Digenes* epic and the Arabian heroic epic. One of Digenes's Saracen ancestors, for example, is Mouselom, who, as Claudia Ott notes, "can most probably be identified with Maslama, the protagonist of the 'Syrio-Umayyad Cycle' of the *Epic of Holy Warriors*."[51] Moreover, children of mixed descend appear in the Arabian epic of *Dhat al-Himma*, reflecting, in the words of Abdelaziz Ramadan, "the popular imagination of the border society and [perhaps having] connotations consistent with historical reality."[52]

The world of the Byzantine folk hero was partly one of fluid boundaries and exchanges. Yet, this picture should not be idealized: we should keep in mind that "anti-Arab sentiment within Byzantium seems to have been a psychological barrier preventing the full integration of the [Arab] apostates."[53]

Therefore, when Cypriot folk songs mention Digenes's Saracen origin, they do so in order to portray the hero as a social outcast.[54] In the *Daughter of the basileas Levantis*, Digenes is not allowed to marry the daughter of the *basilias*. Levantis and the *archontes* reject him, for "his father is Saracen and his mother Jewish."[55] According to Ramadan, although the "majority of apostates, especially newcomers, were employed against the Muslim enemies" and "the path of social mobility was open to them," the privilege of social elevation "aroused the resentment of many Byzantines, especially among the aristocracy who, no matter how receptive they were to the other, expressed their anger in word and deed."[56] It is true that Digenes is not an apostate (at least there is no indication that he was perceived as such in the folk songs); however, his Saracen (and Jewish) descent in the Levantis song is employed to justify his social marginalization, becoming the bedrock of his association with death, Charos: Digenes is the one who, like Charos, enters the feast uninvited and snatches the bride.[57]

The ambiguous view of the Muslim Other in Cypriot heroic folk songs brings us to another dimension of perceiving the Muslim world. We have opened our discussion with the clash between Christianity and Islam; the dynamics of this struggle, which continued long after the fall of Byzantium and the Arab powers in the East, shall be put once again under the microscope. In 1570, the Ottoman Empire invaded Cyprus and, after a hard and violent war with Venice, the island passed under Muslim rule for the first time in history. By conquering this important outpost of the Venetian Maritime State, the Ottoman sultan Selim II (1566–74), "the grand Turk" as he was often referred to by Western Europeans, haunted the imagination of the Christian world. A fictional "threatening letter," supposedly written by Selim and addressing the Venetian rulers, is today preserved in the Vakis Papanastasiou Collection and was published by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation in 2004. The letter, written in German by an anonymous author, was printed in 1570, probably in Nuremberg. Despite providing a fictional, and evidently biased, presentation of Ottoman views and motives, the "letter" helps us reconstruct the image of the Ottoman sultan among Western Europeans at the time of the War of Cyprus.[58]

> Sultan Selim Keyser zu Constantinopel Africa Asia Trapezunt Rodis Pontho Bythinia Cipern Cappadocien Pamphilien Licien Caire Phrigien Arabia Carmania Herr uber die groß und klein Tartaria mit allen iren Provincien und zugehörden In Griechenland Türkey und Russia. Soldan zu Babilonia in Persia in groß Media auch India und in allen Ländern so der Fluß und das Wasser Ganges mit seinen Sieben Stromen begreifft und Herr uber alles so die Sonn mit irem geschwinden lauff und Circuitu umbgibt auß verhengnuß der Götter ein zerstörer der Christen Glauben ein Herr uber alles . . . . Dann durch mein gehlinge kommende stercke Wellen und Seglen solt ir all flüchtig werden Umb das

ir euch understehet mir unbillicher und abtrinniger weiß Cippern auß meinen Henden als einem herrschenden Soldan zureissen. So will ich mit aller meiner macht zu Wasser und Land kommen dergestalt das ir euch keines wegs nicht solt beschirmen noch beschützen könden damit ir nicht verderbt umbgebracht zu schanden und spott gemacht werden.

Sultan Selim, emperor of Constantinople, of Africa, of Asia, of Trebizond, of Rhodes, of the Pontus, of Bithynia, of Cyprus, of Cappadocia, of Pamphylia, of Lycia, of Cairo, of Phrygia, of Arabia, of Caramania, lord of Greater and Lesser Tartary and of all the other regions and provinces which are in Greece, Turkey and Russia. Sultan of Babylon, in Persia, in the greater Media and in India and of the other countries washed by the waters of the river Ganges with its seven tributaries and lord of all the other regions lit by the sun in its rapid orbit. The providence of the Gods has given me the right to destroy the faith of the Christians and to become the sovereign of all . . . . And so great is the power which I have at sea that before me you will all be swiftly turned to flight. You took Cyprus out of my hands in a crafty and improper way,[59] and for that I shall attack you with all the power that I possess on land and sea, I will wipe you out, I will put you all to death, I will lay waste every thing and I will humiliate you.[60]

The fictional letter depicts Selim as the all-powerful enemy, determined ("by the providence of Gods!") to destroy Christianity and wipe out the Christian nations of the West. By making the sultan look stronger and more threatening, the author of the letter wishes to alarm and mobilize Western Europeans, in order to put an end to Ottoman expansionism. Two Cypriot folk songs, the *Song of the Siege of Malta* and the *Song of the Fall of Cyprus*, present the sultan's decision to conquer Malta (1565) and Cyprus (1570) as almost carefree and spontaneous; as in Selim's fictional letter, the sultan's confidence and audacity is the result of his overwhelming army.

Ο Τούρκος 'σαν εκάθετουν 'ς την Πόλιν 'ς το σκαμνίν του
της Μάλτας εθθυμήθηκε για να την πολεμήση
και να της δώση πόλεμον όσον κι αν ημπορήση.[61]

While the Turk was sitting on his throne in *Polis*[62]
he remembered Malta and decided to fight her,
and give her as much war as he could.

Ο βασιλιάς εκάθετουν 'ς την Πόλιν 'ς το σκαμνίν του
της Κύπρου εθθυμήθηκε για να γινή 'δική του,
και τρεις πασιάδες έφερεν απού 'τον 'ς την βουλήν του.[63]

The *basilias* was sitting on his throne in *Polis*,
he remembered Cyprus and decided to conquer her,
and called for three pashas under his command.

Both Malta and Cyprus in Greek are feminine, which stresses the Ottoman Empire's male aggressiveness: these Christian islands are no better than defenseless women facing the brutal force of a sexually aroused male. Hospitaller Malta eventually managed to escape the mighty grasp of Suleiman I (1520–66), although Venetian Cyprus was subdued and conquered by Selim. The anxiety caused by the fear of an Ottoman invasion of Cyprus in the 1560s and the catastrophic consequences of the war that followed could explain why the *Song of Asguris* has Arestes (a male warrior hero coming from the depths of the Byzantine past) fighting to liberate his relatives from the hands of "the dog Selim," a reference to Sultan Selim I and his successful Cyprus expedition.[64] Arestes meets Selim's Saracen army; in the fictional world of Cypriot folk songs, the Ottoman sultan is the leader of the Muslims in general, and there is no distinction between Turks and Arabs.[65] The hero attacks the larger Saracen army:

Τες άκρες άκρες έκοβκεν, η μές' εκαταλυέτουν,
στο γύρισμαν τ' απ-πάρου του εγλύτωσεν του ένας.
Κατέβη 'που τον άπ-παρον, καβαλ-λικά τον τζείνον,
στέκει τζαι παραντζέλλει τον, στέκει τζαι οδηγά τον:
«Τζαι λάμνε τζαι σαιρέτα μου το σ-σύλλον τον Σελίμην,
να βκάλ-λη τζαι τον τζύρην μου, τον τζύρην του τζυρού μου,
να βκάλ-λη τζαι τον πάπ-πον μου, τον πάπ-πον του παπ-πού μου,
γιατί πατώ την χώραν του, κάμνω μεάλον κούρσον,
νιάζω την, δκιολίζω την τζαί βάλ-λω την λουλάτζιν,
νιάζω την, δκιολίζω την, βάλ-λω την καν-ναούριν.»[66]

He cut down their flanks, their center was extinguished,
when his horse turned back only one was left.
He dismounted and put him on the horse;
he stands and orders him, he stands and instructs him:
"Go and give my greetings to that dog Selim,
tell him to liberate my father, and my father's father,
to liberate my grandfather, and my grandfather's grandfather;
for I will conquer his land, and make a great plunder,
I will plow it up, back and forth, and plant indigo seeds,
I will plow it up, back and forth, and plant hemp seeds."

Arestes's ultimatum to the sultan recalls the threats unleashed by his Byzantine *alter ego* in the *Song of Armouris*: the narrow streets of Syria will be filled with heads and its dry riverbeds will be wet with Saracen blood.[67]

Table 3.1 The Main Muslim Attacks on Cyprus, Seventeenth to Sixteenth Centuries

	Date	*Muslim Attacker*	*Source*
1.	649	Rashidun	Christides, pp. 11–21
2.	653/54	Rashidun	Christides, pp. 21–28
3.	773	Abbasids	Christides, p. 70
4.	806	Abbasids	Christides, pp. 71–72
5.	911/12	Abbasids	Christides, pp. 73–77
6.	1158	Fatimids	Asdracha, p. 364.
7.	1217	Mamluks	Komodikis, pp. xxix–xxx
8.	1363	Turks	Komodikis, p. lxxviii
9.	1364	Turks	Komodikis, p. lxxviii
10.	1368	Saracens (Mamluks?)	Komodikis, p. lxxviii
11.	1395	Turks	Komodikis, p. xxx
12.	1425/26	Mamluk invasion	Komodikis, pp. xxx–xxxiii; Christides, pp. 83–101
13.	1450	Turks	Komodikis, pp. xxxiv–xxxv
14.	1499	Turks (Ottomans?)	Komodikis, p. lxxxi
15.	1500	Ottomans	Arbel, p. 164
16.	1501	Ottomans	Arbel, p. 164
17.	1517	Turks (Ottomans?)	Krantonelli, pp. 162–63
18.	1539	Ottomans	Arbel, p. 164, 180
19.	1570/71	Ottoman invasion and conquest of Cyprus	Grivaud

Sources: Arbel = B. Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 159–85 [repr. B. Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), no. XII]; Asdracha = C. Asdracha, "Η Κύπρος υπό τους Κομνηνούς (Β')," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 349–412; Christides = Christides, *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources* (Nicosia, 2006); Grivaud = G. Grivaud, "Η κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τους Οθωμανούς," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 6, ed. Th. Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 1–182; Komodikis = C. Komodikis, *Οι πληροφορίες των βραχέων χρονικών για την Κύπρο. Η κατάταξη και ο σχολιασμός τους* (Nicosia, 2006); Krantonelli = A. Krantonelli, *Ιστορία της πειρατείας*, vol. 1 (third edition: Athens, 2014). Naval encounters and sea battles have not been taken into consideration.

The Christians of Cyprus (and other Eastern Mediterranean islands)[68] had been the victims of similar attacks from their Muslim neighbors throughout the medieval period. Table 3.1 outlines the main Muslim raids and attacks on the island of Cyprus between the seventh and the sixteenth centuries (note that cases of Christian piracy were also numerous, but have been excluded from the table due to the folk songs' emphasis on Muslim attacks).

When the Ottomans sacked Nicosia in September 1570, Selim's men took 13,719 captives, a number that was greater than the Ottoman invading force (9,000 men). Given that Nicosia's population was around 25,000 before the siege, and that, at the time of the siege, the overall population concentrated behind the city's walls might have reached 56,000, the scale of the blow suffered by the island's administrative center was quite heavy.[69] A number of these captives converted to Islam. At least some of them appear to have preserved the memories of their Christian past, leading them to escape and collaborate with the Spanish in their naval warfare against the Ottoman Empire; Cypriot fugitives also volunteered to fight the Ottomans on the side of Catholic Spain.[70] The

crescendo of death and destruction that accompanied the Ottoman invasion and conquest of Cyprus is tragically illustrated in the *Lament for Cyprus*, a long folk song relating the collective sufferings of all Cypriot (Latins and Greeks alike) as God's just and redemptive punishment for their sins.[71] In ca. 1606, following the suppression of a failed anti-Ottoman revolt in Cyprus, the Orthodox archbishop Christodoulos grieved over the "taking [of] our children from our hugs" (περνουν τα πεδια μας απο τες ακαλες μας) by the Ottomans, namely the separation of Christian families and the forceful conversion of children to Islam.[72]

Under these conditions, it was only natural for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Greek Cypriots to adapt their Byzantine heroic traditions in order to express their sorrow and anger against their Muslim rulers. And it was only natural that Arestes, a Byzantine warrior hero struggling to liberate his family from the Arabs, would totally defeat the Saracen army and threaten "that dog Selim" that he would conquer and plunder his land, destroying everything, and plowing up the soil so that nothing would be left standing. Arestes, the scourge of the Saracens, became a symbol of symbolic resistance for the defeated, humiliated, and conquered Christians of Cyprus under Ottoman rule.

Expressions of animosity against the Muslims in Cypriot heroic folk songs do not, however, openly attack Islam in religious terms. One reason for this was that in the centuries of Ottoman rule, any religious provocation against Islam would have been punished by death. Given that Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire between 1571 and 1878, it is not surprising that the folk songs examined in this book contain no traces of anti-Islamic rhetoric. But it is, I think, clear that the heroic folk materials carry across time the leftovers of an anti-Ottoman political ideology cultivated in the Eastern Mediterranean by the Christian states facing the remarkable expansion of the Ottomans during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As I have argued elsewhere,[73] anti-Ottomanism was rooted in Cyprus during the reign of the last Lusignans and under the colonial authority of the Venetians. This was partly the result of a rapprochement between Byzantium and the Frankish Kingdom of Cyprus in the years of Queen Helena Palaiologina (1442–58), a daughter of the Byzantine imperial family and wife of John II of Lusignan. The dramatic Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 enhanced the interdependence of the different Christian groups of Cyprus in the face of the common Ottoman enemy. Religious antagonisms and individual cases of collaboration with the invader did not prevent Orthodox and Latin Christians from fighting together during the War of Cyprus, in a futile attempt to save their island from Selim. They failed; but their voices remained alive in Cypriot heroic folk songs praising the deeds of Digenes, Thkiaphylaktos, and Arestes against the Muslim Other.

The heroic struggle of these Byzantine warrior figures in Cypriot folk imagination is also enhanced by the (rather marginal but no less important

through its latent symbolism)[74] presence of another legendary hero: Alexander the Great. It is in the *Song of Theophylact*, published by Sakellarios, that we encounter the Macedonian king: not as a historical figure, but as a luminous ghost of a distant and vague historical past that animated folk legend.

Ο βασιλέας Αλέξανδρος Αλεξανδροπολίτης,
έκαμεν μίαν γεορτήν μικρήν και μίαν γεορτήν μεάλην
έκαμεν μίαν τ' άϊ Γιωργκού και μίαν τ' άϊ Μάμα,
εκάλεσεν τους άρκονταις, κη ούλον τ' αρκοντολόϊν,
τραπέζιν εν 'που έβαλε κη εκάτσασιν να φάσιν.
Κη απολοάτ' ο βασιλέας τούτον τον λόον λέει,
ποίος πάει πέρα ς' το Περόν 'ς το μέγα Σουλτανίκιν,
να πάρη τούτο το χαρτίν, να φέρη αντιχάρτιν
να κάμη δίκαιον πόλεμον να 'βγακουδή 'ς τον κόσμον.
Και κει χαμαί Θεοφύλακτος αρκώθη κη εθυμώθη,
κλωτσιάν της τάβλας έδωκεν 'ς τα πόδια του ευρέθη·
Ούλα για μένα τα λαλείς, ούλα για με τα λέεις,
και φέρτε μου τον μαύρον μου τον πετροκαταλύτην,
που καταλύει τα σίερα και πίννει τον αφρήτην,
οπού πατά τα μάρμαρα και κορνιαχτούς εν 'βκάλλει·
και φέρτε το σπαθάκιν μου το 'περευλοημένον,
όθες να 'μπη 'ς τον πόλεμον 'βκαίννει μακελλωμένον.
Φέρτε μου το κοντάριν μου που 'ν' άϊς Γεώρκης 'πάνω,
φέρτε μου το ματσούκιν μου που 'ν' άϊς Μάμας πάνω.
Πηά κη εκαλλίκεψεν τον 'πέρκαλλον τον μαύρον·
κη ώστε να πη έχετε 'γειάν, επήε χίλια μίλια,
κη ώστε να 'πούσιν 'ς το καλόν επήεν άλλα χίλια.
Φτερνιστηρκά του μαύρου του και 'μπαίννει ς' το φουσάτον
ταις νάρκαις νάκραις επίαννε κη η μέσαις καταλυούνταν,
ταις μέσαις μέσαις επίαννε κη η νάκραις ελιαίναν.
Παληόννει τρία 'μερόνυχτα, παληόννει τρεις ημέραις,
ο μαύρος του 'ποστάθηκε κη εκείνος εβαρύθη.[75]

King [*basileas*] Alexander from Alexander's city
held a small feast and a great feast,
one for Saint George and one for Saint Mamas,
he invited the nobles and all nobility,
he set a table and they sat to eat.
And the king says this word:
"Who shall go to Pirun, to the great sultanate,
to take this letter and bring back a reply,
who shall fight a just war and gain fame in the world?"

At that moment Theophylact became full of anger and rage,
he kicked the table and stood on his feet.
"Everything you say is for me, for me is everything you say,
and bring my black steed, the stonebreaker,
the ironbreaker, the foamdrinker,
who steps on a marble floor and raises no cloud of dust;
and bring my dear sword, the most-blessed,
which goes into battle and comes out red in blood.

Figure 3.1 The Mounted Saint George, Venerated as the "Redeemer of Captives." Mural, Church of Saint Michael the Archangel at Pedoulas, late fifteenth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Bring my lance, decorated with Saint George,
bring my mace, decorated with Saint Mamas."
He jumps and mounts the most-beautiful black steed;
a thousand miles he rode before saying "Farewell!"
a thousand more he rode before they replied "Goodbye!"
He spurs his horse and penetrates into the enemy army;
he cut down their flanks, their center was extinguished,
he cut down their center, their flanks were extinguished.
For three days and nights he was fighting,[76] he was fighting for three days,
his black steed became tired and he was bored.

Alexander the Great is the *basileas* ordering his nobles to undertake a diplomatic mission to Pirun, presumably announcing the outbreak of war between his kingdom/empire and the sultanate; the chosen one will later fight the just war and gain fame among men for his brave deeds. Inflamed by proud rage, Theophylact willingly accepts the challenge. He asks for his horse and weapons, rides quickly, and penetrates into the enemy lines, slaughtering the sultan's warriors until "his black steed became tired and he was bored."

The song mentions two geographical locations. The one is Pirun, the ancient Perrhe near modern Örenli; this is the fictional center of "the great sultanate," which could be interpreted as a vague reference to the Artuqid Emirate controlling the area of Mardin, Amid, Mantzikert, Melitene, and Kharput in the twelfth century.[77] The other is "Alexander's city" (*Alexandropolis*), namely Alexandria in Egypt, sacked by Peter I of Lusignan (a second Alexander!) in 1365.[78] Saunier has analyzed the symbolism of Alexandria in Greek folk songs: Alexander's city is imagined as a city of wonders and wealth, as well as a city of death. The reason for this is that Alexandria is intimately associated with Alexander's afterlife in the *Alexander Romance* and the Greek folk tradition, as an explorer-and-warrior-king who expanded the boundaries of Hellenism through domination over and cultural integration of the Other. But Alexander is no mere mortal; like the "two-blood" Digenes of Byzantium, he is also *digenes*,[79] a god-king, the mortal son of Amun Ra and the magician-pharaoh Nectanebo: his city is, thus, a city of magic; moreover, being Alexander's final resting place, Alexandria is also a city of death.[80] The magical use of Alexander's name in the Cypriot folk tradition is confirmed by apotropaic formulas on the "binding" of foxes:

Εβουλήθηκα
ο βασιλιάς Αλέξαντρος Αλεξαντροπολίτης
να πάω 'ς τα Γεροσόλυμα, να πα να προσσυνήσω.
'Σ την στράταν δκιάν επήαιννα, ηύρα σίλια πρόβατα,
σίλιους αρνούς, κούκλον πετεινόν, όρνιθαν μαύρην, τσαι

κατσέλλαν με εκατό δαμάλους.
Μάντραν έχτισα τσ' έβαλά τα μέσα.
Εποστάθηκα.
Έγυρα τσαι ποτσοιμήθηκα
στέκοντα
πά 'ς το δεκανίτσιν μου.
Ήρτεν τ' αλούπιν, το καθούπιν, το τελώνιον της γης, το οχτρομούτσουνον,
το κακομούτσουνον, το σουγλοδόντικον, το σουβλοπόδικον, πον τα
μμάθκια του γυαλλίν, τσαι τα δόνκια του καρφίν τσ' έφαν μου τα
σίλια πρόβατα, τους σίλιους άρνους, τον κούκλον πετεινόν, τσαι την
όρνιθαν τημ μαύρην, τσαι την κατσέλλαν με εκατό δαμάλους.
Κλαίω τσαι θρηνίζω
τσαι ποτάμια ξερανίσκω
τσαι τα δέντρα μαρανίσκω.[81]

I, King [*basilias*] Alexander from Alexander's city, have decided
to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.
While I was going, I found a thousand sheep,
a thousand lambs, a proud cock, a black chicken, and
a cow with a hundred heifers.
I set up a yard and closed them inside.
I was tired.
As I was standing, I fell asleep
on my staff.
The little fox came, the *kathoupin*,[82] the toll of the earth, the face of the enemy,
the face of evil, whose teeth are sharp and legs are pointy, whose eyes are like
glass and teeth like nails; and [she] ate my thousand sheep, my thousand lambs,
my proud cock, and the black chicken, and the cow with the hundred heifers.
I am crying in my sorrow,
and I am drying up rivers,
and I am making trees wither.

The incantation continues with the Virgin's intervention, who takes the lead in the "binding" ritual invoking the Holy Trinity against the "little fox." Another version of the same formula has the Lord and the angelic powers intervening in Alexander's support;[83] in both cases, we note the imaginary perception of Alexander as a Christian ruler, undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and being engaged in pastoral activities. A third incantation mentioning Alexander presents the legendary king as the *sympetheros* (cofather-in-law) of Saint Mamas, thus stressing Alexander's Christian identity even further.[84]

In the *Song of Theophylact*, however, what we see is not the magical dimension of Alexander the Great's legend, but his role as a Byzantine

emperor ordering the hero to fight "the just war" against the Turkish army of Pirun. The Byzantine appropriation of the Roman concept of *bellum iustum* has been recently examined by Ioannis Stouraitis. According to Stouraitis, the notion of just war in Byzantine ideology "practically provided the imperial power with the ideological potential to justify offensive warfare at will in the period after the seventh century, since the immediate areas of expansion for the imperial state in East and West lied far within the notional limits of the Roman territorial Ecumene."[85] The just nature of warfare against the Turks in our folk song seems to be also strengthened by the underlying connection between Alexander and the patriotic rhetoric of the Palaiologan court during the last years of Byzantium, when "references to Alexander tend to lose their encomiastic quality and rather serve as patriotic exhortation, [becoming] a motif of comfort and hope for the salvation of the Empire."[86]

A good example of this phenomenon is Manuel II Palaiologos's oration addressing the people of Thessalonica during the Ottoman siege of 1383–87. Manuel raises Alexander (and his father, Philip II) as symbols of resistance *pro patria communis* against the Turks: "you should remember that we are Romans, and that we have [better: we possess] the homeland of Philip and Alexander" (μνημονευτέον ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι ἡ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει πατρίς).[87] The Romans (= Byzantines) are now in control of Alexander's homeland; it has become their homeland and they should defend it against the Turks, the new "Persians."[88] This is *bellum iustum* rhetoric, dressed with references to the classical past, and inspired by the cultural and emotional association of fourteenth-century Byzantines, the legitimate successors of Alexander's empire (according to Manuel II), with Macedonia.

Although not explicitly stated in the *Song of Theophylact*, the reason behind the just war commanded by Alexander is to defend the Byzantine homeland and liberate the once-Byzantine lands of Asia Minor, conquered by the Turks after the eleventh century. Through a passing refence at the beginning of Theophylact's folk song, Alexander transforms once again, this time into an emblematic figure of Byzantine patriotism against the rising tide of Turkish ("Persian") domination.[89]

GYPSIES AND JEWS

The reader of Cypriot folk songs is surprised to find warrior heroes interacting with two socially marginal groups: the Gypsies and the Jews. This seems to suggest a rather positive view of the non-privileged Other, which could be partly explained by the multiethnic character of medieval Cypriot society (it is noteworthy, for example, that only Cypriot heroic folk songs mention

Gypsies in Lüdeke's 500-page collection of "akritic" songs from the Greek world).[90]

The Jews had a long presence in Cyprus, dating back to the Hellenistic period. They had their own synagogues and communal organization; it is from within the diaspora Jews of Cyprus that the earliest Christian community on the island emerged, during the missionary expansion of Christianity in the mid-first century, probably predating the founding of the great apostolic churches in Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. At the time of the Jewish revolt of 115–17, Cyprus suffered from the war, and the entire Greco-Roman population of Salamis is reported to have been massacred by the Jews. Although Hadrian (117–38) seems to have prohibited the establishment of an organized Jewish community in Cyprus, the Jews reappeared on the island in late Antiquity.[91]

The Jews continued living in Cyprus in the following centuries.[92] During the Middle Ages, the labels "Judaizer" and "Judaization" were often employed by Greek and Latin church pastors to describe the practices and beliefs of Christian individuals and groups considered to be heretical or schismatic (e.g., the Greeks considered the Latins "Judaizers" for using unleavened bread in the Eucharist; in the mid-thirteenth century, Archbishop Hugh of Nicosia perceived the wailing of professional mourning women as a pagan or Jewish practice; and the Armenians were viewed as "Judaizers" by both Greeks and Latins for sacrificing a lamb on Easter).[93] In the early fourteenth century, John of Conti, the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, ordered that all Jews should wear on their head a yellow sign; this measure of segregation was the first of its kind in Byzantine lands occupied by the Latins.[94]

Writing around the end of the sixteenth century, Stephen of Lusignan stated that the Jews of Nicosia suffered from Greek attacks during Holy Week, for which reason they had to flee to Famagusta.[95] The "miserable Jews" (*miserables Iuifs*) of Famagusta were also reported to have been forced by a zealous Venetian *luogotenente* to venerate the Host during a public procession.[96] The Venetians renewed the earlier requirement that Jews should wear a yellow headwear; in 1554, during the Counter-Reformation, fifty copies of the Talmud and related works were forcefully collected from Famagusta and burnt in the central *piazza*. In 1568, the growing Venetian distrust (if not hostility) toward the Jews was strengthened by the uncovering of an Ottoman-Jewish plot to undermine the defenses of Famagusta and surrender the city to the Ottomans; as a result, all non-Cypriot Jews were expelled.[97] When Famagusta eventually surrendered to the Ottomans (August 1571), the Venetian *capitano*, Marcantonio Bragadino, was flayed alive in the same *piazza* used to burn the confiscated Jewish books in 1554; the execution, according to a contemporary German *avviso* ("news report"), was carried out by four Jewish volunteers.[98] For the Christians, Bragadino had died the

martyr's death: another *avviso*, allegedly based on the letter of a Greek priest, who had been an eyewitness of the execution, mentions that Bragadino's head received the sweet fragrance of martyrs' relics.[99]

We possess less information on the migration and presence of Gypsies (the nomadic Romani people of Indian origin) in Cyprus. George C. Soulis notes that the earliest reference to Gypsies in Byzantium dates to the eleventh century.[100] They probably came from Armenia and Persia. According to the same scholar, "it is tempting to surmise that the Seljuks, whose invasion of Armenia at that time caused the well-known dislocation of the Armenian people which finally brought about the foundation of Little Armenia in Cilicia, drove them into Byzantine territory."[101] It is reasonable to assume that the first Gypsies reached Cyprus around that time; there might have been other migrations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, due to a variety of reasons causing population dislocation (the Deccan wars, the Mongol invasions, and the outbreak of bubonic plague).[102] In the sixteenth century, the Gypsies of Cyprus made and sold nails and belts;[103] the existence of a Gypsy village outside Nicosia is also attested in the sources.[104] Stephen of Lusignan wrote that the Gypsies of Cyprus were Christians, but added that they were superstitious by nature, practicing palmistry and necromancy.[105] The Byzantines, similarly, noted their practice of fortunetelling.[106] "In the eleventh century," Soulis explains, "when they first appeared in Byzantium, superstition was very widespread among the Byzantines, reaching from the lower social strata to the highest and including the emperors themselves; so the Gypsies found fertile soil for practicing their traditional arts."[107]

Both Jews and Gypsies were visible in the medieval society of Cyprus. We have already mentioned that in the *Daughter of the basileas Levantis* (also *Aliantris*), Digenes is the offspring of a Saracen father and a Jewish mother, and therefore considered an outcast. A Cypriot folk song recorded in 1937 by Lüdeke gives a distinctively Jewish name to Digenes: "Solomakin," "Little-Solomon." The hero is no longer a giant warrior, but "short, very short, short with a single weapon."[108]

In various versions of the song relating the abduction of Levantis's/Aliantris's daughter, Digenes encounters a group of three Gypsies. The men are mentioned to tell stories (ξήησες κρατούσιν) or narrate a great story (μεγάλην ξήην είχαν): the first tells the story of a sword (ένας ξητούν για σπαθίν); the second that of a lance (τζ' ο άλλος για κοντάριν); the third (and best of all three) narrates the story of Levantis' court and the planned wedding of his beautiful daughter with Giannakis/Giannakos, rather than Digenes.[109] What we can learn from these folk songs is that storytelling emerges as an important dimension of the Cypriot perception of Gypsy identity.[110] When Digenes sends one of the Gypsies to arrange his marriage with the princess, the Gypsy asks for (and eventually takes) the hero's horse, cloths, and arms.[111]

Although in some versions, Digenes hits the Gypsies before asking them to arrange his future marriage,[112] the transcending of social boundaries (reflected in the exchange of identities between the hero and the Gypsy) is remarkable. But in terms of an actual (rather than symbolic) blurring of social barriers, this exchange of identities is rather illusionary: when the Gypsy returns with bad news (Digenes's marriage proposal is declined because the hero is half-Saracen and half-Jewish),[113] Digenes hits the Gypsy[114] and demands, using insulting language, that he return his cloths, horse, and arms.[115] The Gypsy is "a stinky onion" (κρομ-μύιν βρωμισμένον); his farting is said to have made the hero's black steed unclean (τζαι βρώμισες το μαύρον μου, από το κλάσε-κλάσε);[116] he is "a wormy cheese" (τυρί σαρατζασμένον).[117] Digenes no longer tolerates his Gypsy messenger. The hero's scornful attitude reveals the segregation habitus of a society setting the Gypsies apart as "smelly," "unclean," and "impure." The boundaries of distinction are maintained, without excluding interaction. Following Digenes's reproach of the Gypsy, the latter shares his apocryphal wisdom with the hero:

Τζαι 'πόμεινε μου, Διγενή, για να σου παραντζείλω:
Πκιάσε το τζείνον το στρατίν, τζείνον το μονοπάτιν,
το μονοπάτιν βκάλλει σε σ' έναν περιδολάκιν.
Τζαι κόψε μούτ-την της μηλιάς, μούτ-την του τζυπαρίσσου,
τζαι κάτσε τζαι πελέκησε έναν μικρόν ταμπούριν,
(Σκότωσε φίδκια τζαι θερκά τζαι βάλε του τες κόρτες),
βάλλε τες άσπρες για ψιλές, τες μαύρες για μιντζάνες
τζαι το ταμπούριν παίζει σου πάσας λοής φωνάες,
χορεύκουσιν οι παίδαινες, χορεύκουσιν τζ' οι 'ρκάες,
χορεύκουσιν οι κορασές, οι άσπρες ανεράες.[118]

Digenes, let me tell you a piece of advice:
take that path and take that track,
the track will lead to a little orchard.
And cut the branch of an apple tree, the branch of a cypress,
sit down and construct a small tambura
(kill serpents and black snakes to make the chords)
use white strings for the high tunes, black strings for the middle tunes,
so that the little tambura will play for you every kind of music:
girls will dance, old women will dance,
and the maidens, the white fairy ladies, will also dance.

Gypsy magic adds to the mythological atmosphere of heroic folk songs a dose of exoticism, accompanying Digenes's encounter with the incomprehensible forces believed to have been tamed by the Gypsies.[119] For example, Gypsy

witches (*chovihani*) were approached "to provide a charm for the purpose of either bringing back a lover or else gaining the love of a loved one."[120] It should be noted that Digenes is instructed to use snakes (or rather snake skins)[121] as strings for his musical instrument; for the Byzantines, as later for Freud and the Freudians, the snake had (among other connotations) a phallic symbolism, which stresses the sexual power of the music produced by the tambura.[122] The idea that music could express or inspire love went back to ancient, pre-Christian myths and rites of the Near East, which might be found in the mythic nucleus of the folk song. According to John Curtis Franklin, "as the Mesopotamian and Biblical parallels indicate, divinized instruments enabled a monarch to communicate with, and give voice to, the instrument's master god. For Gudea, this was Ningirsu; for David, Yahweh. For the Alashiyan king [i.e., the king of late Bronze Age Cyprus or the ruler of the island's most important city in that period], it will have been the Ishtarized Cypriot goddess."[123] In a Bronze Age context the goddess became, through the lyre-player's song, a beloved lady, a muse ("I shall greet the great lady of heaven, Inanna"),[124] enabling the royal performer to become a royal lover as part of the hierogramic ritual.[125] As we shall see in the next chapter, ancient myths and symbols continued being rediscovered and transformed across generations. In the case of the royal musician-lover of Bronze Age Cyprus, we know that learned humanists of the sixteenth century (e.g., Stephen of Lusignan) had the opportunity to consult now-lost Byzantine manuscripts, containing attractive mythological materials (e.g., Xenophon the Cypriot); that these written legends might have informed the oral folk tradition remains an intriguing possibility.[126]

Digenes's half-Jewish identity in one version of the folk song[127] could explain his engagement with magic. There are various ancient and early Byzantine references to Jewish magicians being active in Cyprus, although "there is no reason to believe that there was a school of magicians, let alone of Jewish magicians, in Cyprus that lasted from the first until the seventh century."[128] In the same way that Digenes symbolically assumed the identity of a Gypsy, and later followed Gypsy guidelines to construct and play the tambura in order to seduce his beloved, he was also tacitly justified, because of his Jewish origins, to use magical music.

The paradoxical symbiosis of tolerance and intolerance toward Jews and Gypsies in Cypriot heroic folk songs agrees with the complex picture of contentional conviviality in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean.[129] As Sean Roberts puts it, "coexistence did not imply tolerance and . . . hostility never fully precluded forms of comprehension."[130] Or, in the words of David Nirenberg, tension "was a central and systemic aspect of coexistence."[131] In the multiethnic environment of medieval Cyprus, the Byzantine warrior hero could become the voice of the marginalized (as imagined by others), which indicates a degree of integration of the Jewish and Gypsy communities in a non-Jewish

and non-Gypsy milieu. Yet, these marginal groups were never fully accepted or treated as equals: the warrior hero could adopt a Jewish or Gypsy persona, but this only increased his special powers and ability to become physically bigger or morally better than (and even more dangerous for) those around him.

CHRIST AND THE WARRIOR'S FURY

The *Song of Porphyres* (also known as Possyrkas, Prossyrkas, and Possphyrkas) is one of the most curious entries in the repertory of Cypriot heroic folk songs. Here we encounter two different cases of Otherness. On the one hand, Porphyres the swineherd is a marginal hero with an ambiguous social status; he is what Herzfeld calls a "social borderer."[132] On the other hand, Saunier has shown that Porphyres transforms into a Christ-figure, assuming a Christ-like role with radical social implications.[133] Unlike the song relating Digenes's abduction of the princess, which seems to have been popular in Cyprus alone, the Porphyres song was also known in Asia Minor (Trebizond and Cappadocia), Crete, the Dodecanese, the Aegean, Thrace, and Thessaly,[134] while there is no material coming from mainland Greece.[135]

Εβραία 'γέννησε παιδί κη έβκαλέ τον Προσφύρη
'πο 'σπέρας εγεννήθηκε κη ούλη 'νύκτα παρπάτε,
κη επάνω 'ς το μεσάνυχτον ψουμίν εζήτησέν τους·
εδώκάν του κορτίν ψουμίν κη εσαντρολόησέν το.
Σαν είδεν έτσ' η μάνα του πολλά τον εφοήθη·
άννοιξε το στομάκι της γλυκεά τον αποκρίθη·
Και 'πόμεινέ μου, γυιούλλη μου, ώστη να 'ξημερώση,
να πιάσω μισταρκούς πολλούς, ψουμιά να σου ζυμώννω,
και σκλάβαις και μιστάρκισσαις για να σου μαειρεύκουν.[136]

A Jewish woman gave birth to a son and called him Prosphyres;
he was born in the evening and all night he was walking,
and at midnight he asked for bread;
they gave him a piece of bread and he threw it way.
When his mother saw him, she was very frightened of him;
she opened her little mouth and talked to him sweetly:
"Be patient, my son, until the morning comes,
and I shall take many [male] servants to knead bread for you,
and [female] slaves and servants to cook for you."

The hero's mother is Jewish.[137] The prejudice faced by Jewish people in the medieval Christian world justifies Herzfeld's statement that she is "a source of

'contamination' in traditional Greek terms." The same scholar notes that "the hero's father, by contrast, remains obstinately out of sight [and his place], as a figure of authority to be challenged, is taken by the king, the 'father' of his imperial subjects; perhaps there is an echo of this in Porfiris' own imperial-sounding name [i.e., 'the Purple-Bearer']" (we shall return to this clash below).[138] In Saunier's view, Porphyres's supernatural birth and physical growth make him a Herculean hero, and his Gargantuan hunger is linked with mythological figures and deities representing the life-death dipole: Porphyres is a "good monster."[139] Similarly, Menelaos N. Christodoulou sees Porphyres as a "monstrous hero" and a solar symbol. Following a linguistic-etymological interpretation, Christodoulou associates the hero's name with Lucifer (the dawn-bringing angel) and the Persian word *bakhtar* ("eastern"), interpreting the Porphyres story as a retelling of older myths on the slaying of serpents.[140] Commenting on the initiatory dimension of the Porphyres song, Saunier understands the name "Porphyres" ("the Purple-Bearer") as an allusion to blood and night, the heroic descend to the realm of death, and the hero's symbolic resurrection.[141]

Despite his Jewish origin, Porphyres becomes a swineherd, namely a guardian of "unclean" animals.[142] He can eat a thousand pigs at once. He later meets a craftsman and asks to have a staff "like those of the men of old" (ραβτί τους πρωτεινούς αθρώπους), made of iron and steel. He breaks two staffs until he finds the right one. Up on the mountain, Porphyres prays to God for the appearance of an army. The soldiers come, looking for him. The hero generously shares his food with them; he strikes a stone with his fist, giving them fresh water to drink.[143] The prayer on the mountain and the feeding and miraculous watering of the hungry and thirsty crowd in the Cypriot versions of the song are elements appearing in the stories of Moses and Christ. The connection between Porphyres and Christ is underlined by the former's portrayal as a harmless and innocent swineherd (cf. Christ the good shepherd).[144] Moreover, like Christ, Porphyres allows himself to be arrested and humiliated (cf. Christ wearing the purple robe).[145] Lastly, his Jewishness excludes him from the dominant Christian community: he is, like Christ, a *xenos*, a foreigner and an outcast.[146]

Following the feeding and watering of the army, Porphyres reveals his true identity and the soldiers capture him. They bound him in chains, stitch his eyes thrice, and put on his back a heavy load of lead. He asks to be liberated, on the condition that he can jump over nine horses and sit on the tenth. When he performs this remarkable feat, however, the soldiers take him to his own village in a humiliating parade (the underlying Byzantine custom of publicly humiliating enemies and traitors is noted by Saunier and Moser).[147] The hero pledges the soldiers not to show him to his mother; they ignore him, his mother sees him, and the pain strikes her hard, as if hungry dogs were tearing her chest.[148]

Εν είσαι σου 'που μου 'λεες πωρνόν και μεσομέριν,
'πως εν εγγίζει 'πάνω σου ποτέ αθρώπου χέριν.
Επολοήθην κη είπεν της και λέει και λαλεί της·
'Πόμεινέ μου, μανούλλα μου, άλλο κομμάτιν ώραν,
να τους εβκάλω τσιά 'ξω τσιά, γιατί βρωμίζ' η Χώρα.[149]

"Wasn't you telling me, morning and midday,
that no man's hand can ever touch you?"
And he replied and told her, and he says the following words:
"Be patient, dear mother, for a little longer,
for I will drive them out there, for they make the castle dirty."

Porphyres's supernatural strength enables him to be set unbound. He finds a little mace (his staff?) and attacks the soldiers.[150] This is, according to Saunier and Moser, a symbolic return to life: the hero's *katabasis* into the underworld (another Christ-figure element) is now over.[151] The earlier given passage offers an insight into the deeper reasons behind Porphyres's persecution by the soldiers: his lack of prudence and overconfidence leads him to challenge political authority, since he openly boasts ("morning and midday") that "no man's hand can ever touch him."[152] In his examination of the Porphyres song, Kapsomenos proposes a semiotic interpretation of the conflict between the hero and political authority. By emphasizing the hero's social marginality (his identity as a "social borderer"), the protagonist represents and justifies a reversal of the established order. Kapsomenos considers the political crises of the tenth and eleventh century, namely the revolts against a centralized imperial authority, as the *Sitz im Leben* for the emergence of the Porphyres myth. Thus, in Kapsomenos's view, Porphyres's song reflects the ideological schema outlined by Actantial Model B: the hero overturns the status quo, gaining (by force) social recognition.[153]

Subject: hero (marginal figure)
Object: social recognition/royal bride
Sender: inflated ego (heroic willpower)
Receiver: hero
Opponent: power (*basilias* — *basilias'* army) + official heroes + community
Helper:—(marginal figures)

Porphyres is a victim of injustice on the part of political authority, represented by the army of the *basilias*.[154] The powerful image of the hero restoring justice for the sake of the non-privileged transcends the historical limits of the Byzantine period. "The rebellious figure of a hero who defies 'the king,'" writes Herzfeld, "will have been as popular with the underprivileged subjects of the Byzantine emperor as with the peasants who had to cope with the

vagaries of Ottoman rule."[155] Although the mythic nucleus of the Porphyres song might have been manipulated by centrifugal Byzantine elites opposing Constantinople (e.g., Grégoire argued that Porphyres was no other than Constantine Doukas, a tenth-century member of the aristocratic *oikos* of the Doukai and an usurper of the imperial throne),[156] this interpretation does not contradict the diachronicity of the hero's social marginality and his resistance to political authority. The ideological message of fighting the state's *adikia* (injustice) must have been easily absorbed by the lower social strata in Byzantium and beyond.

The non-exalted social status of Porphyres seems to have predated his whatever initial adoption, if we are to follow Grégoire, by Byzantine elite groups opposing imperial authority. It is important to remember that, in the case of Cyprus, the Erotikos, Rhapsomates, and Isaac Komnenos revolts took advantage of the lower masses' misery as a result of imperial taxation and militarization. As we have already pointed out (in chapter 1), the island's fortress status was a key cause of unrest under Byzantine rule. Furthermore, we have argued that the Frankish and Venetian regimes widened the cultural and religious gap between the dominant elite and the indigenous Greek population at the bottom of the social pyramid. There is good reason to assume that Byzantine folk legends (initially employed to express provincial resistance against the emperor in Constantinople) later became, under the Franks and the Venetians, a symbol of defying Latin domination.

Popular resistance and protest against the Latins was expressed through outbreaks of both social and religious tension (e.g., in 1192,[157] 1260,[158] the 1270s,[159] 1313,[160] 1360,[161] 1426–27,[162] 1561/62–63,[163] and 1567[164]), suggesting a fusion of social, religious, ideological, and ethnic motivations. Justice, be it a reflection of virtuous Orthodox Christian life and social behavior, or the act of defending the community's customs, traditions, and interests, was inseparable from the aforementioned factors shaping the dynamics of resistance. There is, perhaps, no better way of understanding how the Orthodox agrarian society of Cyprus imagined the fate of the *adikoi* ("unjust people"), than the fourteenth-century murals of the monastery of the Virgin of Asinou. The visual condemnation of sinners in Hell includes "sins concerning agricultural economy specifically (he who ploughs over the boundaries, the dishonest miller), [and] sins related to financial life and social interaction in general, but also affecting rural communities (the falsifier of weights, the thief, the slanderer)."[165] No Latins or representatives of state authority are depicted among the sinners of the Asinou murals; yet, the depictions' strong message of justice (human and divine) could be traced in almost every manifestation of popular resistance against the Byzantines, the Franks, and the Venetians.

There seems to have been a development in popular perceptions concerning the impact of *adikia* on human life. From around the thirteenth century onward, according to Saunier, folk songs from all over the Greek world present Charos/Death (and through him, evil itself) as a raider and a corsair. It was the foreign nature of the Latin (and later Ottoman) rule that reoriented the attention of the subjugated Byzantine/Greek populations toward identifying Charos with the Latin/Ottoman warrior elite established in the lands once belonging to the Byzantine Empire.[166] In her study on rural communities and landscapes in late Byzantium, Sharon E. J. Gerstel underlines the peasants' "disdain for those who compiled tax accounts and property inventories."[167] The picture of Byzantine socioeconomic oppression in eleventh- and twelfth-century Cyprus (chapter 1) confirms Gerstel's remark.[168] But under the Franks and the Venetians (and later the Ottomans), cultural and religious differences were added to the list: the ruling elite was not only oppressive, but also foreign, which must have strengthened the identification of the oppressed Cypriot peasants with their Byzantine warrior defenders.

Michael Given's examination of Cypriot material culture associated with acts of peasant resistance helps us reconstruct low-level views of state authority. Commenting on the existence of mountainous "unwritten villages" (unrecorded tax evading communities of farmers and shepherds) during the late Venetian, Ottoman, and British periods, Given makes an important observation. "Continuous and intensive survey," he writes, "shows that human activity and settlement was not confined to the obvious 'villages' which were visited by the officials and made into bureaucratic entities. The range of activities in the Asinou Valley is one example. Another is the pastoral hinterland round the fourteenth to seventeenth-century village of Mavrovounos."[169] The same scholar points out that Saint Mamas the lionrider (included among the patron saints of Byzantine warrior heroes in Cypriot folk songs) functioned as a protector of peasant tax evaders. Stories portraying Saint Mamas as a tax evader, which might have had medieval roots, became widespread during Ottoman rule.[170] "The sense of landscape, the picture of the ferocious lion wagging its tail, the look on the king's face when he sees Saint Mamas on his lion, all provide a wonderfully rich and vivid hidden transcript to justify a hard-pressed peasant's secret cultivation."[171]

Porphyres the social outcast was a suitable persona for conveying the anxiety, frustration, and anger of oppressed Cypriot peasants in medieval times and beyond. At this point, I would like to clarify that my examination deals with low-level views and perceptions, not with the "actual" conditions of social exploitation. Recognizing that manual labor and social inequality were basic characteristics of premodern economies is one thing; exploring how underprivileged communities experienced these conditions and imagined their heroes is another. Moreover, my reference to "Byzantine oppression" should not be read in terms of challenging the multifaceted bonds between

Cyprus and the Byzantine Empire. It is the Byzantine historians themselves who record "Roman-on-Roman crimes, as the mobile society of the army preys on the settled communities of villages and towns."[172] This was the case of fortress Cyprus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At the same time, however, soldiers in the armies of the Byzantine periphery were said to be "the closest and most permanent connection between a distant government and the populations living in the empire's provinces."[173]

Porphyres's social ambiguity, his Christ-like simplicity and generosity, and, finally (as we are about to see below), his transformation into savage warrior are the different faces of Otherness expressing (in the words of Dimitris Krallis) "popular political agency."[174] The creativity of folk imagination in the reworking and adaptation of older traditions ("the mythic nucleus"), combined with the absorption of various cultural layers and the interconnection between (re)interpretation and historical setting, put flesh on the bones of heroic folk songs. The *Song of Porphyres* is rich in meanings: religious, social, and ideological. A synthesis of all three categories highlights the importance of popular resistance and protest against perceived forms of injustice. This was a key mechanism of low-level participation and negotiation in Byzantine politics. The Byzantine village world was one of "continuously and vociferously expressed local demands and opinions that no authority . . . would have been wise to ignore."[175] Behind the image of Porphyres, we can trace "the sovereignty of the people in practice" as an ideological axis of the Byzantine political sphere.[176] The reference to various forms of popular protest and resistance in medieval Cyprus (eleventh to sixteenth centuries) suggests that this medieval *Widerstandsrecht*, rooted in the Roman republican legacy and mirrored in the justice-injustice dialectic presented earlier, survived on the island long after the end of the Byzantine rule.

Porphyres breaks loose from his chains. This is a moment of transformation: he is no longer a merciful Christ-figure, but a furious warrior.[177] He cuts down the flanks of the enemy army and crushes their center. Suddenly, he sees his uncle among the soldiers.

Και ρέξε, θειούλλη μου, να πας εις την καλήν σου στράταν,
κη ο μαύρος μου πυρομαχά και το σπαθί μου κόβκει,
κη η φούχτα μου 'μηλλόδρωσε κη έμπορ' αποθυμάνω.[178]

And go away, dear uncle, continue on your good way,
for my black steed breathes fire and my sword is sharp,
and my palm [holding the sword] is sweating, and I cannot find rest.

This is a warning: leave, or I shall kill you. The hero's killer instinct is directed against the only father-figure appearing in this version of the song: that of

his uncle.[179] Herzfeld is correct in commenting on "the dubious origins of the hero on his mother's side, and his initial lack of acquaintance with his father's identity . . . in a society where a man is identified in significant measure by his patronymic and by other references to his paternal ancestry."[180] When the uncle defies Porphyres's warning he pays the price. The song ends abruptly:

Μιαν κονταρκάν του 'χάρισε 'που πάνω 'ς το κεφάλιν,
κη ευτύς εξέβην ο μυαλός μαζί με το καυκάλιν.[181]

He stroke him with his lance on the head,
and immediately the brain was spilled out and the skull was broken.

Porphyres's victory is washed in the bloodbath of his tormentors; his battle rage is so great that he even kills his uncle. Standing in striking contrast with the Christ-figure theme, the theme of the warrior's fury is to be found in a number of Greek heroic folk songs, most significantly that of *Vlachopoulon*, a young Vlach mounted warrior slaying an innumerable Saracen army.[182] The reality of war brutality is reflected in the Byzantine *Song of Armouris*: the hero promises to drink Saracen blood, fill the narrow streets of Syria with heads, and its dry riverbeds with blood.[183] We have already seen that, before Nikephoros Phokas' attack on the Arab garrison of Crete (961), the Byzantine general called for his army (according to Theodosios the Deacon) to seize the enemy's cities, women, and children by the sword, preparing to be bathed in the blood of the barbarians.[184] As Evangelos Chrysos has shown, the Byzantine *nomos polemou* (*ius belli*) sanctioned the taking, and, if necessary, the killing of captives: the Byzantine army invading Adana, for example (963), slew so great a multitude of Saracens that the nearby mountain was called "Blood Mountain." The same scholar points out that Nikephoros Phokas is indirectly praised by Theodosios the Deacon for the massacre of Arab non-combatants, including women and infants. The tacit acceptance of warrior brutality could be also seen in the (perhaps exaggerated in the sources) blinding of Bulgarian prisoners of war by Basil II in 1014.[185] Another example of war brutality comes from the pen of Anna Komnene, who states that, during a campaign in Asia Minor, Eumathios Philokales's men threw the newborn babies of their Turkish enemies into boiling cauldrons.[186]

From the perspective of the history of religion, Mircea Eliade explores aspects of the homicidal fury in Scandinavian (*Ynglinga Saga*, *Volsunga Saga*, *Saga of Grettir the Strong*, and *Saga of Hrolf Kraki*), German (*Wütende Heer*), and Irish (*Táin Bó Cúailnge*) epics, drawing parallels with shamanic initiations.[187] "The young warrior," he writes, "must transmute his humanity by a fit of aggressive and terror-striking fury, which assimilated him to the raging beast of prey. He became 'heated' to an extreme degree, flooded by

a mysterious, nonhuman, and irresistible force that his fighting effort and vigor summoned from the utmost depths of his being."[188] The flaming breath of Porphyres's black steed, the inner warmth making his swordholding hand sweat, and his cry that his uncle should immediately disappear before being cut down by the hero's burning fury are all elements of what Eliade calls "the magical heat" ("many primitives think of the magicoreligious power as 'burning,' and express it by terms meaning heat, burn, very hot").[189] The Otherness of the furious state of the warrior is interpreted by Eliade in the context of shamanic myths and practices of "ascending to heaven," namely of a "magical flight" signifying "a break with the universe of daily life" and expressing "the desire of absolute freedom—that is, the desire to break the bonds that keep [man] tied to earth."[190] According to Saunier and Moser, this is exactly the function of the "warrior's fury" theme in Greek folk songs: an initiation scenario leading young members of the community to conquer the invaluable "magical heat" necessary for overcoming their rivals.[191]

An examination of the diachronic and universal diaspora of this particular theme in geographically and chronologically separated cultures is beyond the scope of this book. Connell Monette suggests that processes of common origin and indirect transmission might have enabled the (re)appearance of this theme in East and West during the medieval period. Thus, we are not talking about an undisturbed survival of ancient, pre-Christian traditions, but for their rediscovery and revival.[192] This rediscovery may (or may not) be associated with Kaldellis's earlier remarks on the mythogenesis of the non-Latin "Periphery" of Europe, as a response to the expansion of Latin Christianity.[193] The vast family of the so-called Indo-European cultures[194] brings forth the image of the frenzied *bersekir*, the "bare-shirted" warrior of the Celtic, Germanic, and Norse epics, "fighting without armour, either lightly clad or naked."[195] Porphyres the swineherd, not properly dressed for war, walks on the footsteps of the *bersekir*, assuming the identity of a wild animal. It should be also pointed out that his homicide madness is similar to the Homeric *lyssa*, "the wolfish rage" of warrior heroes fighting under the walls of Troy.[196]

An investigation of the exact circumstances of the transmission/revival of related themes, motifs, and symbols in the Byzantine heroic tradition remains a fruitful subject for future research. We must also acknowledge that historians cannot (at least for the moment) reconstruct (or, at best, always ascertain) the specific contexts of performance and communication of Byzantine heroic folk songs in different microgeographical settings. What should capture our attention, however, is the presence of the warrior's fury in Cypriot heroic folk songs, indicating that the theme was no mere literary rubric, but a window into something deeper and more profound, echoing the realities, concerns, and hopes of the island's (and the Byzantine Empire's, if we consider the body of Greek heroic folk songs in its entity) medieval society. An enraged

Costantas tears off the lips of his cousin, Skleropoullon, before mutilating his hands and slicing him in half with his sword.[197] The frenzied Arestes, surrounded by enemies in the midst of battle, recognizes his father, Asguris, whom he urges to keep his distance. Asguris asks his son not to harm his uncle, who, nevertheless, defies Arestes's warning and is eventually slain.[198] Similarly, the Son of Andronikos warns his brother, Costantas, to be careful, for his swordholding palm is burning and his sword is shining.[199] In another version of the song, recorded by Sakellarios, Costantas defies the warning, infuriating his younger brother. The Son of Andronikos beheads Costantas and extracts his liver with his own sword, sending it as a gift to their father.[200]

Saunier has proposed that the butchering of the enemy (particularly visible in the Porphyres song) implies a cannibalistic mood on the hero's part.[201] We cannot fully comprehend the logic behind this tacitly expressed savagery, unless we turn once again to Eliade's work on heroic and shamanic initiations. "Like the heat of the cannibal, the wrath of the young warrior, which manifests itself in extreme heat, is magicoreligious experience; there is nothing profane or natural in it—it is the syndrome of gaining possession of a sacrality."[202] It is only by carefully reading and contextualizing Cypriot heroic folk songs that we can unveil the hidden layers of the darker forces running through the veins of Byzantine warrior heroes emerging from a dominantly Christian milieu. And it is only by acknowledging that such (anti)heroic depictions, despite their marginality, provide a fuller picture of the folk community preserving and adapting these songs that we can grasp something of the dynamic presence of the Other (ethnic, religious, and social) in medieval Cypriot imagination.

The examination of different forms of Otherness in Cypriot heroic folk songs confirms Julia Kristeva's observation at the beginning of this chapter: the foreigner is within us all; the Other is (or, at least, can always become) me. The labyrinthine question posed by the relationship between distinction/segregation and identification as conflicting but not mutually exclusive (in terms of their interconnection) processes was not unknown to the Byzantines. In fact, the same question was already addressed by a homily on Christ's Burial, attributed to one of the most authoritative ecclesiastical figures of late Antiquity: Saint Epiphanios, the late fourth-century bishop of Salamis/Constantia in Cyprus. In a masterful stroke of theological rhetoric, the homily creates an interplay between the divine Otherness of the crucified Christ and the inability of humans (due to their own alienation from God) to recognize and accept the true identity of the divine Other: Christ is a subaltern, a *xenos*.[203] He who comes from a distant country is certainly a stranger to me, but there is also a degree of undeniable proximity in our encounter; even, as Cypriot heroic folk songs suggest, in the case of sworn enemies.

Exploring perceptions of Otherness in relation to the Byzantine warrior hero has helped us define more precisely the identity of heroic figures dominating Cypriot folk imagination. The protagonists of the songs discussed in this chapter are the representatives and defenders of a "we" that distinguishes a particular community from "them," namely a multitude of other groups and communities. At this point, it should be clarified that speaking of identities, rather than a single identity, seems more correct: the "we" in Cypriot heroic folk songs is multilayered.[204] This broad, yet tangible, sense of belonging encompasses a range of ethnic, cultural, and religious expressions, all of which are crystallized by the (rather banal in terms of scholarly originality) threefold definition of Byzantium as a "Roman," "Greek," and "Orthodox Christian" empire. The warriors of Cypriot folk songs are "Byzantine" because they are the offspring of this trinitarian blending; they are also "Cypriot" because their image has been crafted in a microgeographical setting with its own historical circumstances and particularities. Latin Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Gypsies parade in the folk songs, reflecting the political, ideological, religious, and social dichotomies, which shaped the realities of the medieval Eastern Mediterranean. But these dichotomies also leave room for the gray (or colorful) zones of interaction and communication in the lives of ordinary people, attesting a non-Manichean and more pragmatic experience of ethnoreligious diversity.

The social borderer is a special category of Otherness in Cypriot heroic folk songs. The marginalization of the warrior hero takes various forms: ethnic, religious, and social. The ideological implications of the hero's exclusion could be read as indicators of low-level political agency in the power game between elite and non-elite groups during the middle Byzantine period. The interpretive plasticity of folk songs and the recycling of symbols and messages guaranteed their long-term circulation and adaptation under the Byzantines, the Franks, the Venetians, and the Ottomans.

We have already acknowledged the lack of evidence concerning the channels through which Cypriot heroic folk songs were transmitted and performed in the medieval period. An interdisciplinary approach to this question, drawing heavily from the works of Eliade and Saunier, suggests that local microcontexts (e.g., the village community or the extended family) functioned as a framework for the recreation of initiatory scenarios in ritual practice.[205] Among the main components of the ritual communication process, the historian can only attempt to decipher the code (or communicated message) of folk songs, facing the almost total absence of information on the participants (the sender and the receiver), circumstances (place and time), and means of communication (gestures, words, objects, and other ritual details).[206]

The fight between Digenes and Charos could be examined as a case study of the interaction between myth and church ritual, offering significant

insights into the medieval Cypriot matrix of the theme. In the next chapter, we will rejoin the threads uniting the mythic core of the Digenes/Charos song with Byzantine Orthodox theology, iconography, and liturgical praxis, reconstructing the superimposed layers of Christian and pre-Christian meaning behind the hero's fight with death. To do so, we shall first synthesize the broader context of pre-Christian cultural encounters with Orthodox Christian culture in Byzantium and medieval Cyprus.

NOTES

1. *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller, anal. and forew. J. N. Findlay (Oxford, 1977), p. 113 (par. 186).

2. M. Mullett, "The 'Other' in Byzantium," in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, ed. D. C. Smythe (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), p. 9.

3. Mullett, "The 'Other' in Byzantium," p. 15.

4. K. Durak and I. Jevtić, "Identity and the Other in Byzantine Studies: An Introduction," in *Identity and the Other in Byzantium*, ed. K. Durak and I. Jevtić (Istanbul, 2019), p. 18.

5. M. Herzfeld, "Social Borderers: Themes of Conflict and Ambiguity in Greek Folk-song," *BMGS* 6 (1980), pp. 61–80.

6. J. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. L. S. Roudiez (New York, 1991), pp. 191–92.

7. Mullett, "The 'Other' in Byzantium," p. 21 (also citing Kristeva).

8. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, pars. 143–44 = *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 137–38; Edbury, *The Kingdom*, p. 163; N. Coureas, "The Admirals of Lusignan Cyprus," *Crusades* 15 (2016), p. 123.

9. Grégoire and H. Lüdeke, "Nouvelles chansons épiques," pp. 237–38 (with a table at the end of the article).

10. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 379.

11. Χώρα could mean both land/country and fortified city/castle.

12. Grégoire and H. Lüdeke, "Nouvelles chansons épiques," p. 237; for a different view, *ΔΑ*, 164–65 (n. 9).

13. Grivaud, "Literature," p. 282; cf. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1058–59.

14. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 379–85; *Armouris*: *ΔΑ*, pp. 157–94.

15. There is vast bibliography on Byzantine perceptions of the Latins; for example, A. P. Kazhdan, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 83–100; E. and M. Jeffreys, "The 'Wild Beast from the West.' Immediate Literary Reactions in Byzantium to the Second Crusade," in *The Crusades*, ed. Laiou

and Mottahedeh, pp. 101–16; J. T. Roche, "The Byzantine Conception of the Latin Barbarian and Distortion in the Greek Narratives of the Early Crusades," in *Fighting for the Faith—The Many Crusades*, ed. C. S., J. M., and K. V. Jensen (Stockholm, 2020), pp. 143–73.

16. Kazhdan, "Latins and Franks," p. 100: "the Franks entered the elite of Byzantine society, entered into marital contracts with the members of the Komnenian clan, created mixed families, and became Hellenized."

17. *Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν*, ed. A. Karpozilos, *Συγγράμματα Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου*, vol. 5 (Paphos, 2005), pp. 401–11 (whole text; here: par. 6); B. Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται διά την Εκκλησίαν Κύπρου (4ος–20ος αι.)* (Athens, 1996), pp. 229–314 (esp. at pp. 286–87).

18. *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus*, trans. C. D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1908), p. 12, with slight modifications: Emperor Isaac (rather than king).

19. But cf. J. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), p. 58: "the fact that the inhabitants of a particular region surrendered to an invading army does not necessarily mean either that they had given up all hope of their own cause or that they had abandoned former loyalties and political identities."

20. The collection of studies edited by Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus*, is illuminating when it comes to Cypriot Christian coexistence; see also Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 131–222.

21. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, pp. 47–48; Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 425–39.

22. See chapter 1.

23. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 257.

24. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 125.

25. Later cultural layers belong to the Ottoman period: "Tsitsekles" is Turkish (>*çiçekli*), and there are references to Western diplomatic consuls, established in Cyprus after the Ottoman conquest. The older cultural layers of the song are Byzantine, belonging to the category of love songs on the *Castle of the Beautiful*; Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 205–10, 352–53, 363; S. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαί και λαογραφικαί μελέται* (Nicosia, 1970; repr.: Nicosia, 2001), pp. 348–64; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 190–91. On the *Castle of the Beautiful*, one should consult C. Gotsis, "Το Κάστρο της Ωριάς," *Revue des Études néo-helléniques* 2 (1993), pp. 145–62; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 111–15.

26. Christides, *The Image of Cyprus*, p. 58; cf. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, pp. 478–86.

27. See, for example, Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus*, pp. 482–83. The same scholar proposes (at p. 486) that individual Arabs might have served the Byzantine emperor during the so-called treaty centuries, as suggested by a mid-seventh-century Byzantine-lead seal discovered in Cyprus, bearing the inscription "Bismillah" ("in the name of Allah").

28. Christides, *The Image of Cyprus*, p. 58; C. Schabel, "Religion," in *Cyprus*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, p. 162.

29. Schabel, "Religion," p. 162.

30. B. Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 173–77 [repr. Arbel, *Cyprus*, no. XII].

31. Eleutheriades, "Ακριτικά άσματα," p. 24.

32. W. Garrood, "The Byzantine Conquest of Cilicia and the Hamdanids of Aleppo, 959–965)," *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008), pp. 127–40.

33. C. Ott, "Shared Spaces 2: Cross-border Warriors in the Arabic Folk Epic," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, pp. 285–310; for an Arabic view of the wars with the Byzantines, see M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War. Studies on the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine frontier* (New Haven, CT, 1996).

34. *ΔΑ*, p. 178.

35. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," pp. 181–83.

36. Omission of illegible text. The word σταβλίζω ("to stable") suggests that the omitted word must be απάροι ("horses"). This is also suggested by other versions of the song; Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," p. 183 (n.).

37. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," pp. 182–83.

38. In the Greek text, we have του κόσμου παλληκάριν, "the world's *pallikarin*." Παλληκάριν is used to describe a brave and strong young man, usually a warrior. I have chosen to translate this as "the world's greatest warrior."

39. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά," pp. 183–84.

40. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 139.

41. *Digenis Akritis*, ed. and trans. Jeffreys, pp. 284–85 (with a slight modification in the ET: Vasilios rather than Vasilis) = *ΔΑ*, p. 25.

42. Chapter 1 above.

43. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 144.

44. H. Grégoire, "Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)," *BZ* 16 (1907), p. 232.

45. Lounghis, *Byzantium*, p. 153; see also R. J. H. Jenkins, "The mission of St Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 9 (1949), pp. 267–75; Jenkins, "A note on the 'Letter to the Emir' of Nicholas Mysticus," *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 399–401.

46. For the term, see Th. Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza. Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture, 1460–1492* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015), p. 55 (and throughout).

47. *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, ed. and trans. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, DC, 1973), pp. 2–3.

48. *ΔΑ*, pp. ξα΄-ξβ΄, 3–24; A. Ramadan, "Arab apostates in Byzantium: Evidence from Arabic Sources," *ΒΣ* 29 (2019), pp. 273–314.

49. A. D. Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations," *Speculum* 86 (2011), pp. 597–651; Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*.

50. Christodoulou, *Κυπριακά Δημώδη Άσματα*, pp. 618–19.

51. Ott, "Shared Spaces 2: Cross-border Warriors," p. 302.

52. Ramadan, "Arab Apostates," p. 281.

53. Ramadan, "Arab Apostates," p. 307.

54. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 13: ο τζύρης του εσ' Σαρατζηνός τζ' η μάννα του 'τον' Οβραίσσα.

55. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 13.

56. Ramadan, "Arab Apostates," p. 313.

57. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 222–23.

58. *Avvisi (1570–1572). The War of Cyprus, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collections*, ed. C. Koumarianou, intr. A. Malliaris, trans. G. Cox (Nicosia, 2004), pp. 25–29.

59. The Ottomans maintained tribute rights over Cyprus, because the Lusignans had been paying (since the fifteenth century) a tribute to Egypt, which became part of the Ottoman Empire after 1517. Selim supposedly considers the Venetian annexation of Cyprus (1489) as a violation of Ottoman rights over the island; Malliaris in *Avvisi*, pp. 46–47 (n. 25).

60. *Avvisi*, pp. 61–62.

61. Spyridakis, "Παρατηρήσεις," p. 423.

62. Constantinople.

63. Spyridakis, "Παρατηρήσεις," p. 425.

64. *ΔΑΥΑ*, p. 162.

65. Cf. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 18: Σαρακηνοί αρματόννεσθε και Τούρκοι περιποιέσθε, ("Saracens arm yourselves and Turks prepare yourselves").

66. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 349; cf. pp. 351, 363, 365.

67. See above.

68. In the *Song of Andronikos*, the opening verse is κουρσεύκουν και Σαρακηνούς κουρσεύκουν και Ροδίταις ("they raid the Saracens, and they raid the Rhodians"); Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 9. Arab attacks on Rhodes and Kastellorizo took place in 1440, 1443, and 1444. Suleiman I took Rhodes in 1512; C. E. Bosworth, "Arab Attacks on Rhodes in the Pre-Ottoman Period," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 6:2 (1996), pp. 157–64 (esp. at 162–64).

69. V. Costantini, *Il sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano* (Turin, 2009), pp. 63, 66.

70. See various reports in the body of Spanish documents published by I. Hassiotis, *Ισπανικά έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας (ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ αιώνας)* (second edition: Nicosia, 2003); *Πηγές της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το ισπανικό αρχείο Simancas. Από τη μικροϊστορία της Κυπριακής Διασποράς κατά τον ΙΣΤ΄ και ΙΖ΄ αιώνα*, ed. I. Hassiotis (Nicosia, 2000).

71. Th. Papadopoullos, "Ο Θρήνος της Κύπρου," *ΚΣ* 44 (1980), pp. 1–78; A. Argyriou, "*Le Thrène sur la prise de l'infortunée île de Chypre*: une approche idéologique," in *Polyptychon. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis*, ed. E. Motos Guirao and M. Morfakidis Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 35–47.

72. *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, vol. 3, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1865), p. 269 (preserving the orthography of the original).

73. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 159–63, 187–205.

74. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 399.

75. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 12; I have maintained Sakellarios' orthography.

76. I have used the past participle, rather than the present tense (as in the original). The next verse in the Greek text abruptly changes from present to past tense.

77. Beihammer, *Byzantium*, p. 202. On the identification with Perrhe, see Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 52 (n. 2; first pointed out by Grégoire); K.-P. Todt and B. A. Vest, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 15 (Syria) (Vienna, 2015), pp. 147, 299, 305, 309–10, 314, 316, 321, 373–74, 396, 422, 527, 727, 803, 833, 959, 1055, 1111, 1137, 1272, 1298, 1301, 1398, 1570, 1575–76, 1689–90, 1715, 1715, 1728, 1765, 1860.

78. Chapter 1.

79. G. Veloudis in *Η Φυλλάδα του Μεγαλέξαντρου. Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδόνος* (Athens, 1989), pp. 90–93: (a) both Alexander and Digenes have been born by a "foreigner" and a Greek woman: Digenes's father is a Saracen and his mother a Byzantine noble lady; Alexander's father is Nectanebo/Amun Ra and his mother Olympias; (b) both heroes begin their exploits at the age of twelve; (c) Digenes's taming of the wild horse recalls Alexander's taming of Bucephalus; (d) both heroes are dragonslayers; (e) both heroes save an abducted woman: Alexander saves his mother; Digenes his wife; (f) both have sexual relations with Amazons; (g) they accomplish similar feats; (h) they organize feasts for their friends; (i) they have a palace near the Euphrates; (j) their death is prophesized; (k) they die at the age of thirty-three; and (l) their wife dies after them.

80. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 387–400 (esp. at p. 399). On the reception of Alexander and his legend in the Greek world and beyond, see *Η Φυλλάδα*, ed. Veloudis; E. Koulakiotis, *Genese und Metamorphosen des Alexandermythos im Spiegel der griechischen nicht-historiographischen Überlieferung bis zum 3. Jr. n. Chr.* (Konstanz, 2006); U. Moennig, "A Hero Without Borders 1: Alexander the Great in Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek Tradition," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, pp. 159–89; F. C. W. Doufikar-Aerts, "A Hero Without Borders 2: Alexander the Great in the Syriac and Arabic Tradition," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, pp. 190–209; J. Rubanovich, "A Hero Without Borders 3: Alexander the Great in the Medieval Persian Tradition," in *Fictional Storytelling*, ed. Cupane and Krönung, pp. 210–33; K. R. Moore (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

81. S. P. Kyriakides, "Κυπριακαί επωδαί (ευκές)," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917–1918), pp. 609–11 (esp. at p. 609, with minor corrections).

82. Meaningless word rhyming with *aloupin* (little fox); S. L. Skartsis, *Η επωδή* (Athens, 1994), p. 192 (n. 103).

83. Skartsis, *Η επωδή*, pp. 87–88.

84. Chr. G. Pantelides, "Κυπριακαί επωδαί," *Λαογραφία* 1 (1909), p. 698; see also Veloudis in *Η Φυλλάδα*, pp. 81–2.

85. I. Stouraitis, "'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages. Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study," *JÖB* 62 (2017), pp. 254–55.

86. C. Jouanno, "Byzantine Views on Alexander the Great," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. Moore, p. 460.

87. B. Laourdas, "Ο 'Συμβουλευτικός προς τους Θεσσαλονικείς' του Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγου," *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1956), pp. 290–307 (esp. at p. 299).

88. Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, pp. 37–42. On the distinction between Greeks/Romans/Byzantines and barbarians/Persians/Turks, see also Ch. Dendrinos, "An unpublished funeral oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)," in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Ch. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 423–56; on the authorship of this text, see I. Polemis, "Two Praises of the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos: Problems of Authorship," *BZ* 103 (2011), pp. 700–13 (at pp. 700–4).

89. The political symbolism of Alexander the Great was not unknown among the Cypriots in Byzantine times. The Cyprus Department of Antiquities excavations at Akrotiri-Katalymata ton Plakoton have brought to light a seventh-century complex, probably associated with Saint John the Almsgiver and Emperor Heraclius. According to the excavator, E. Procopiou, "The Excavations at Akrotiri-Katalymata ton Plakoton, 2007–2014," in *Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Rogge and Grünbart, p. 201: "an atrium lies in between the two ecclesiastical monuments of the south wing of this huge complex . . . . A small hall in a lower level to the south end of the west portico links the atrium with the structures further south and east. In that hall a marble stele with a bust of a horned man was found, fallen from a second storey. It is a Dionysos bust re-carved as Alexander the Great, having horns and wearing a Phrygian cap. It is most probably related with the Syriac Alexander legend written in 630, which prophesizes victory over the Persians, portraying Heraclius as a new Alexander."

90. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός βίος," pp. 1060–61; see index in Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 499 ("Καρσίγγανοι, Καρτσίγγανοι, Κατσίγγανοι").

91. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (New York, 1970), pp. 69, 83–84, 85–86; P. W. van der Horst, "The Jews of Ancient Cyprus ," *Zutot* 3 (2003), pp. 110–20; G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin* (Paris, 2010), throughout (especially in relation to Leontios of Neapolis' views of the Jews); E. Polyviou, "The Jewish Diaspora in Cyprus in Roman Times. The Limitations of Evidence," *ΚΣ 75* (2011), pp. 69–84; Chr. Kyriacou, "Spirituality and *Hexis*: Tracing the Christian *Habitus* in the Basilicas of Early Byzantine Cyprus," in *Church Building in Cyprus (Fourth to Seventh Centuries). A Mirror of Intercultural Contacts in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. M. Horster, D. Nicolaou, and S. Rogge (Münster–New York, 2018), pp. 175–89; E. Polyviou, "The Upheaval of the Jews in 115–117 in Salamis and the Proconsulate of C. Calpurnius Flaccus in 123 AD in Cyprus," in *Salamis of Cyprus. History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Rogge, C. Ioannou, and Th. Mavrojannis (Münster–New York, 2019), pp. 581–90.

92. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 18–19, 41–42, 61, 185, 232, 244; Schabel, "Religion," pp. 162–63.

93. Schabel, "Religion," p. 163; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 148–49, 157, 234; *Κυπροβενετικά*, ed. Kyriacou, par. VI.6.

94. Schabel, "Religion," p. 163.

95. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, f. 76^{r}.

96. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, ff. 76^{r-v}.

97. B. Arbel, "The Jews in Cyprus: New Evidence from the Venetian Period," *Jewish Social Studies* 41 (1979), pp. 23–40 [repr. Arbel, *Cyprus*, no. X].

98. *Avvisi*, pp. 146, 163.

99. *Avvisi*, pp. 119, 128.

100. G. C. Soulis, "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *DOP* 15 (1961), pp. 141–65 (esp. at p. 145 on their earliest presence in Byzantium, and p. 143: "it has been suggested with good reason that even the designations used by the European Gypsies to identify themselves and their language, *Rom, Romani*, may very well derive from the Byzantine *Romaioi* or *Romania*").

101. Soulis, "The Gypsies," p. 144.

102. A. Marsh and E. Strand, ". . . Spies, Deserters and Undesirable Persons . . . ," the Gypsies of Cyprus, 1322–2003," *Kuri Dom Research Center Journal* 1:8 (2003), http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/18/cyprus8.html (last accessed March 9, 2020).

103. D. Kenrick, *Historical Dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)* (second edition: Lanham, Maryland–Toronto–Plymouth, 2007), s.v. "Cyprus."

104. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, f. 71v; N. Patapiou, "Η οικογένεια Γιαφούνη της Κύπρου," http://parathyro.politis.com.cy/2014/11/η-οικογένεια-γι αφούνη-της-κύπρου/ (last accessed March 9, 2020).

105. *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, f. 71^{r}.

106. Soulis, "The Gypsies," pp. 147–48.

107. Soulis, "The Gypsies," p. 163.

108. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 61: κοντός, κονταζινός, κοντός τζαι μονοπλίτης. Note that the hero of another folk song collected by Lüdeke (pp. 182–85) is Pieris. Although the origins of the name, still surviving in Cyprus, are Frankish (Pierre), the protagonist (and the victim of Charos) is a Cypriot farmer, not a member of the Frankish elite.

109. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 71, 79, 89.

110. Cf. the rather stereotypical depiction of Gypsies in K. Henwoord's *Secrets of the Gypsies* (London, 1974); D. Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1500–2000. From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London–New York, 2004), p. 6: "having established a static continuity, she [i.e., Henwoord] then builds a familiar picture of encampments on idyllic heaths with the members of the group squatting around open fires, feasting and drinking, telling stories, playing music, singing and dancing."

111. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 71, 81.

112. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 79, 89.

113. Only in one version of the song; Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 93.

114. Only in one version of the song; Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 73.

115. In all three versions (note that in version 3, the role of the Gypsy messenger is assumed by Philopappous, whose name is that of a Byzantine warrior hero); Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 73, 81–83, 93–95.

116. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 73.

117. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 81.

118. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 73.

119. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 14–15.

120. E. B. Trigg, *Gypsy Demons and Divinities. The Magic and Religion of the Gypsies* (New Jersey, 1973), p. 43.

121. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 15.

122. V. Kokori, "Η Γυναίκα στα Ονειροκριτικά Κείμενα των Βυζαντινών," PhD Thesis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2013), p. 176 (n. 3), 200–1; cf. M. V. Adams, *For Love of the Imagination. Interdisciplinary Applications of Jungian Psychoanalysis* (New York, 2014), pp. 221–24; J. Forrester and L. Cameron, *Freud in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 280, 490–91 (n. 43). On the connection between music and snake charming, see W. Heimpel, "Balang-Gods," in Franklin, *Kinyras*, p. 601: "singer, great singer, balang [= harp] singer, string singer, . . . snake charmer, great snake charmer, lamenter, chief lamenter, little lamenter, royal chief lamenter, royal lamenter, royal mobile lamenter, ? lamenter, mother of tears, balang, of balang, balang carrier" (text from a Mesopotamian tablet, ca. 2600 BC).

123. Franklin, *Kinyras*, p. 382.

124. Franklin, *Kinyras*, p. 39 (hymn of Iddin-Dagan, ca. 1974–54 BC).

125. Franklin, *Kinyras*, p. 40.

126. Franklin, *Kinyras*, pp. 557–67. On the role of ancient Cyprus in the transmission of Near Eastern epic traditions to the Greek world, see M. R. Bachvarova, *From Hittite to Homer. The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 301–30.

127. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 93.

128. M. W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World* (London–New York, 2001), p. 282.

129. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 37–38.

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

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

132. Herzfeld, "Social Borderers," pp. 67–71.

133. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 189.

134. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 179–80.

135. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 64.

136. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 34 (with minor orthographic corrections).

137. Note that in other, non-Cypriot versions of the song the mother is a nun, a widow, or an old woman. Saunier mentions a Cypriot version in which the mother is Armenian (adding a dose of exoticism to Porphyres's origins); Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 182. The absence from (or limited appearance in) the island's heroic folk songs of Armenians and Syrians, two groups with a particularly strong presence in medieval Cypriot society, needs to be examined by scholars in the future. Perhaps the reason for this is that many Armenians and Syrians in the Lusignan and Venetian periods were Latin Christians, and were, therefore, perceived by folk

imagination as members of the broader Frankish community. A Cypriot love song with, what seems to be, a dominant Ottoman cultural layer tells the story of a certain Armenouis (an Armenian) and his lover, Melia; Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 53–54.

138. Herzfeld, "Social Borderers," pp. 69–70.

139. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 182, 193–95.

140. Christodoulou in Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 361–62.

141. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 189.

142. On the uncleanness of pigs, see Christodoulou in Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, p. 361.

143. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, pp. 35–36.

144. For example, Exodus 16:1–36, 17:1–7, 19:1–25; Numbers 11:1–9, 20:1–24; Matthew 14:13–21, 15:32–39, 17:1–8; Mark 6:31–44, 8:1–9, 9:2–8; Luke 9:12–17, 28–36; John 6:1–14; Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 184, 189–90.

145. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 189.

146. On Christ as a foreigner, see a homily attributed to Saint Epiphanios of Salamis/Constantia in Cyprus (late fourth century); *Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου λόγος εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου*, *PG* 43, coll. 444–48.

147. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 66.

148. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, pp. 36–37.

149. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 37.

150. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 37.

151. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 185–89; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 66–67.

152. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 185.

153. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 133–60; see also chapter 2, and Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 195–96.

154. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 184.

155. Herzfeld, "Social Borderers," p. 64.

156. Grégoire, "Études sur l'épopée," pp. 59–63.

157. The anti-Templar revolt of Nicosia in 1192 was triggered by a new tax threatening the interests of the city's merchants; A. Pardos, "Το ιδεολογικό και πολιτισμικό κρηπίδωμα της κυπριακής αντίστασης (12ος–16ος αιώνας)," in *Κύπρος, σταυροδρόμι της Μεσογείου*, ed. E. Grammatikopoulou (Athens, 2001), pp. 112–13.

158. The 1260 unrest was caused by the implementation of the *Bulla Cypria*, a papal constitution regulating ecclesiastical affairs on the island until the sixteenth century; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 17–18, 35–36.

159. The 1270s tension was a mixture of Byzantine anti-unionism (a response to Michael VIII Palaiologos's unionist policy) and the reforming activities of (the Latin) Archbishop Ranulph of Nicosia; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 44–45.

160. In 1313, Peter of Pleine-Chassaigne, the papal legate, incarcerated three Greek bishops, accusing them as instigators of a riot caused by his attempted "correction" of the Orthodox custom of prostrating before the blessed bread and wine during the Great Entrance procession; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 56–57.

161. In 1360, the Latin cathedral of Nicosia was besieged by a Greek crowd fearing that Peter Thomas, the papal legate, would forcefully Latinize the Orthodox Cypriot bishops and clergy; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 100–5, 239–45.

162. The peasants' revolt of 1426–1427, in the aftermath of King Janus's capture by the Mamluks and their sack of Nicosia (1426), has been interpreted either "as a nationalistic movement of liberation," or as "unsystematic riots and pillaging by some Greek peasants and some Spanish mercenaries in the king's army, who took advantage of the absence of firm political control"; Konnari, "Greeks," p. 20. Although the national element in the revolt should not be overemphasized, it appears that the peasants' rising was more than "unsystematic riots and pillaging." In 1426, a self-proclaimed king, Alexis, had the central leadership of the revolt, which was managed by "captains" throughout Cyprus. This form of organization, however primitive, strongly suggests that, in times of crisis, the lower Orthodox Cypriot strata not only anticipated the opportunity to attack the socially elevated, but also to overthrow and replace the Lusignans; C. Spyridakis, "Ο χαρακτήρ της κυπριακής επαναστάσεως του 1426 και ο Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς," in *Εις μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου* (Athens, 1960), pp. 71–75 (overstressing the national element, but also noting the revolt's organization and spread).

163. In Venetian times, there seems to have been a growing number of anti-Venetian plots, protests, and revolts, due to natural disasters, plague, food shortage, taxation, elite corruption, and Greek exclusion from the election of Orthodox bishops. In 1563, James Diasorenos, a forerunner of early modern Hellenic revival, was executed for attempting to overthrow the Venetian regime; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 192–94, 213 (n. 47: bibliography on anti-Venetian revolts).

164. In 1567, the attempt of Filippo Mozenigo, the last Latin archbishop of Nicosia, to impose the principles of the Counter-Reformation over the Orthodox, led to a clash with the Orthodox bishop of Solea. The Greeks of Nicosia besieged the Latin cathedral, which forced the Venetians to intervene in support of the undisturbed continuation of Orthodox rites and customs; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 194–99.

165. S. Kalopissi-Verti, "The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Asinou Across Time*, ed. Weyl Carr and Nicolaïdès, p. 145; cf. S. E. J. Gerstel, *Rural lives and landscapes in Late Byzantium. Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 172: "village painting occasionally shows signs of disdain for the elite." For a Liberation Theology reading of Byzantine Orthodox patristic thought, see A. N. Papathanasiou, "Liberation perspectives in Patristic Thought. An Orthodox Approach," *Hellenic Open University: Scientific Review of Post-Graduate Program "Studies in Orthodox Theology"* 2 (2011), pp. 419–38.

166. Saunier, *Αδικία*, pp. 523–24; see further discussion in Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 125–51; M. Bzinkowski and M. Serrano, "Η δυτικοευρωπαϊκή μάσκα του Χάρου στα δημοτικά τραγούδια," in *Συνέχειες, ασυνέχειες, ρήξεις στον ελληνικό κόσμο (1204–2014): οικονομία, κοινωνία, ιστορία, λογοτεχνία*, ed. C. A. Dimadis (Athens, 2015), pp. 802–28.

167. Gerstel, *Rural lives*, p. 51.

168. A Cypriot version of the Porphyres song has Porphyres, the son of a Jewess, challenging heroes of the Byzantine nobility; in a reversal of the song's main plot, he is killed for his insolence and left unburied; Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 245.

169. M. Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London–New York, 2004), p. 135.

170. Given, *The Archaeology*, pp. 116–18, 135–37.

171. Given, *The Archaeology*, p. 136.

172. D. Krallis, "Popular Political Agency in Byzantium's Villages and Towns," *ΒΣ* 28 (2018), p. 16 (referring to Attaleiates).

173. Krallis, "Popular Political Agency," p. 29.

174. Krallis, "Popular Political Agency," pp. 11–48.

175. Krallis, "Popular Political Agency," p. 48.

176. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, pp. 118–64.

177. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, p. 67.

178. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 37.

179. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 183, 192; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 65–66.

180. Herzfeld, "Social Borderers," p. 70.

181. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, p. 37.

182. Brief discussion in Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 34–36. On Vlach warriors in the Byzantine army, see A. Madgearu, "Vlach military units in the Byzantine army," in *Samuel's State and Byzantium: History, Legend, Tradition, Heritage*, ed. M. B. Panov (Skopje, 2015), pp. 47–55.

183. See above.

184. Chapter 2.

185. E. Chrysos, "Νόμος Πολέμου," in *Το Εμπόλεμο Βυζάντιο (9ος–12ος αι.)*, ed. K. Tsiknakis (Athens, 1997), pp. 201–11 (esp. at pp. 204–8); on myth and reality in the blinding of Bulgarian captives by Basil II, see P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge, 2003).

186. *Annae Comnenae, Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 426 (bk. 14, ch. 1).

187. Eliade, *Rites*, pp. 81–102. On the relationship between shamanism and Christianity, with reference to the Middle Ages, see *Shamanism. An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Cultures*, 2 vols., ed. M. N. Walter and E. J. N. Fridman (Santa Barbara, CA–Denver, CO–Oxford, 2004), s.v. "Christianity and Shamanism," where it is noted that "the concept of shamanism was borrowed from its original central Asian context by historian of religions Mircea Eliade. His intent was to define the notion of shamanism with greater precision, so that it would no longer be arbitrarily equated with magic and wizardry. . . . For many years, shamanic activities were usually regarded as standing in opposition to Christian religious practices. . . . There were, however, syncretistic phases in Christian religious and missionary history during which pagan influences were integrated." On shamanism in the Greco-Roman world, s.v. "Classical world shamanism (ancient Greece and Rome)" (also discussing Hellenistic Judaism,

Mithraism, and Christianity). On initiation, s.v. "Initiation" (themes discussed: death and dismemberment; new powers of vision; relations with spirits; and sexual and reproductive potencies). The Vlach and Bulgarian soothsayers recruited by the Asanids against the Byzantines in 1186 were said to be "demoniacs" (δαιμονόληπτοι), who venerated Saint Demetrios and had twisted eyelids. Scholars have associated these shamanic practices with the firewalking ritual of the Anastenaria; Boliaki, *Το διονυσιακό (;) αναστενάρι*, pp. 140–47; A. Madgearu, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)* (Leiden–Boston, 2017), pp. 44–46.

188. Eliade, *Rites*, p. 84.

189. Eliade, *Rites*, p. 85.

190. Eliade, *Rites*, p. 101.

191. Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 35–36.

192. Monnette, *The Medieval Hero*, pp. 227–28.

193. Chapter 1.

194. M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–2: "'Indo-European' is primarily a term of historical linguistics. It refers to the great family of languages that now extends across every continent and already two thousand years ago extended across the whole breadth of Europe and large tracts of central and southern Asia; or it refers to the hypothetical ancestral language from which all the recorded Indo-European languages descend . . .. A language embodies certain concepts and values, and a common language implies some degree of common intellectual heritage. Within the original common territory, which we may call Eurostan, there no doubt existed local diversities: differences of material culture, of dialect, of cult and custom. But as long as the dialects remained mutually intelligible and there was easy communication across the whole area, we might suppose there also to have been a measure of shared tradition in such spheres as religion, storytelling, and general ideology."

195. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, p. 449.

196. B. Lincoln, *Death, War, and Sacrifice: Studies in Ideology and Practice* (Chicago–London, 1991), pp. 131–37; West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, p. 450.

197. Spyridakis, Megas, and Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 87.

198. Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 367.

199. É. Legrand, *Trois chansons populaires grecques* (Paris, 1904), pp. 27–28.

200. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 2, pp. 11–12; *ΔΑΥΑ*, p. 181.

201. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 191–92.

202. Eliade, *Rites*, p. 85.

203. *Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου λόγος εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου*, *PG* 43, coll. 444–45; cf. Matthew 25:31–46; Luke 2:7.

204. On the multiplicity of Orthodox Cypriot identities under Latin rule, see Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 58–60.

205. On different perspectives concerning the theory of rituals, see J. Kreinath, J. Snoek, and M. Stausberg (eds.), *Theorizing Rituals. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts* (Leiden–Boston, 2006).

206. On these communication components, see D. Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Arpad Dynasty (1000–1301)*, trans. J. and P. Sherwood (Leiden–Boston, 2016), p. 34. In Thrace, for example, heroic folk songs (mainly praising the deeds of the warrior hero Constantine) are associated with the veneration of Saint Constantine (Emperor Constantine I) during the firewalking ritual of the Anastenaria; Boliaki, *Το διονυσιακό (;) αναστενάρι*, pp. 71–87, 188–210.

Chapter 4

Paganism, Christianity, and the Byzantine Warrior Hero

On November 25, 1936, a thin, middle-aged Oxford professor of Anglo-Saxon delivered the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture to the British Academy, changing the way scholars read and understood the mythic universe of *Beowulf*. J. R. R. Tolkien's (1892–1973) paper "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" has been acknowledged as "the first contribution to *Beowulf* criticism that placed the monsters centre stage and argued for their symbolic significance."[1] The man who would later become famous for his *Lord of the Rings* saw *Beowulf*'s monsters as being essential characters in the architecture and deeper meaning of the epic.[2]

Beowulf, Tolkien argued, was the offspring of England's conversion to Christianity; a flower that blossomed in a world still retaining many of the older, pre-Christian traditions; a world increasingly viewing pagan memories from a different perspective: "at once [these memories] become more ancient and remote, and in a sense darker."[3] The inhuman, monstrous forces in *Beowulf* are the shadows of "the foes of the gods," who (in this nascent Christian age of Anglo-Saxon England) "became inevitably the enemies of the one God [because] the Christian was (and is) still like his forefathers a mortal hemmed in a hostile world."[4] As noted in the appendix of Tolkien's paper, the anonymous poet of *Beowulf* did not confuse Christianity with Germanic paganism but "probably drew or attempted to draw distinctions, and to represent moods and attitudes of characters conceived dramatically as living in a noble but heathen past."[5] The epic reflects a conscious return to pagan themes and values by a Christian author ("repaganization"),[6] narrating heroic struggles against cosmic adversaries that surpass the narrow limits of human history, and focusing on the tragic defeat of the valiant warrior by the forces of darkness.[7] In the words of John D. Niles, "the poet's melancholic vision and the characters' heroic fatalism," become channels for "the artistic

designs of a deep thinker, religiously enlightened, who let his mind play over a lost heroic world of the imagination."[8]

Like *Beowulf*, Cypriot folk imagination absorbed and appropriated pagan themes, motifs, and symbols. What we have defined as the pre-Christian mythic nucleus of Cypriot heroic folk songs draws heavily from a pool of ancient traditions. As in the case of *Beowulf*, there seems to be no confusion of paganism with Christianity, but a "repaganization" of the heroic traditions, through a unique cultural blending of Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman myths, creatively reworked and reshaped by a medieval Christian society at the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. It is exactly this interaction between paganism and Christianity that this chapter explores, employing a "zoom in-zoom out methodology," ultimately concentrating on the battle of Digenes against Charos, as a case study of tracing the sources and context of inspiration for the formation of the heroic death wrestling myth.

PRE-CHRISTIAN CULTURE IN CHRISTIAN BYZANTIUM

In 1966, Carlo Ginzburg published his study on the *benandanti* of early modern Friuli, later translated in English (with a foreword by Eric Hobsbawm) in 1983. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *benandanti* claimed to fight witches and warlocks in nocturnal antagonisms; their beliefs and practices did not escape the attention of the Holy Inquisition, eventually resulting in their persecution and suppression.[9] Ginzburg interpreted their claims and practices within a broader context of Germanic and Slavic traditions.[10] According to Ginzburg, Friuli became a place of encounter between these traditions, leading to the emergence of the *benandanti* cult, protecting harvest and field fertility.[11] Although Ginzburg's thesis for the existence of an early modern fertility cult has been criticized by scholars,[12] his microhistorical analysis provides an invaluable paradigm of, as Hobsbawm remarks, pre-Christian ritual practices coexisting with (and later opposed by) the Christian Church.[13]

But to what extent can we talk of pagan *survival* in the Middle Ages, and, more particularly, the Byzantine East? For Ludo J. R. Milis, who coined the term "the pagan Middle Ages," the expanding role of Christianity in the medieval period met pagan resistance, resulting in the marginal survival of pagan practices and superstitious beliefs.[14] But as wisely pointed out by Alain Dierkens, "very often it is not possible to distinguish precisely between the simple persistence of ancestral customs and proof of the survival of paganism."[15] Revisiting the question of paganism in the peasant society of medieval England, Ronald Hutton concludes that "active paganism did not survive among the English population after the early eleventh century." He proposes

"that the medieval English Christian religion was a kind that matched paganism in so many structural respects that it provided an entirely satisfactory substitute for it."[16] For example, the Christian Trinitarian dogma and the veneration of the saints could have been (mis)interpreted by medieval peasants as expressions of polytheism, offering parallels between pre-Christian cults and Christianity. Life cycle and agricultural activities were, as in the pre-Christian period, regulated by seasonal festivals, and "divine" female figures continued to be important in Christianity (e.g., through the veneration of the Virgin and holy women), resembling the pagan religions of old. A last major continuity with paganism was the centrality of sacrifice in the Christian ritual: not only was the offering of incense and flowers maintained in Christian ritual, but the Eucharist powerfully replaced pagan animal sacrifices.[17] Hutton's observations lead us beyond the sharp dichotomy between paganism and Christianity, into the gray zone of overlapping cultural/religious layers, which suggests a less confrontational and more interactive transition from pre-Christian religions to medieval Christianity.

The visibility of the pre-Christian past throughout Europe was bound to both physical landscape and human environment. Landscape welcomed ritual practice by providing "religiously correct" (*fas*) focus areas that "magnetically attract[ed] ritual."[18] Trees, stones, springs, lakes, rivers, shores, caves, hills, mountains, meadows, and groves have been, diachronically, sceneries for the performance of religious ritual.[19] Pagan temples were also *loci* of practiced pietas, occasionally suffering from the catastrophic intolerance of Christian zealots.[20] At the same time, however, Christian churches incorporated (as Helen Saradi writes about the Byzantine world) *spolia* from pagan temples and monuments. Many reasons could explain this practice: the use of *spolia* highlighted the Roman identity of the Byzantine Empire, created a sense of aesthetic variety, offered a convenient solution in terms of employing earlier building materials, stressed the triumph of Christianity over paganism, expressed Christian appreciation of pre-Christian art, and facilitated the reinterpretation of the pagan past according to Christian theology and liturgy.[21] For Yannis Hamilakis, "the incorporation of this material (with its associations with mystical powers and with strength) in new buildings would have been an attempt to incorporate these qualities into the present . . . as part of the belief in their apotropaic and protective properties."[22]

The case of mainland Greece, the cradle of classical culture, deserves particular attention when discussing Byzantine ambivalence toward the pagan past. Parthenon, the emblematic classical temple dedicated to Athena in the Acropolis and later converted into a Christian church dedicated to the Virgin, is a most eloquent example of the appropriation of the pagan past and its medieval revival, filtered through Byzantine Christianity.[23] This new cultural synthesis is made clear by the case of Byzantine aristocrats and scholars

originating from Hellas, the Byzantine theme covering large parts of the Greek peninsula, who, between the eighth and twelfth centuries, expressed their pride "of their homeland and ancient ancestors."[24]

There was, perhaps, no place in the Byzantine world to have boasted for such a great collection of ancient statues and transported monuments than Constantinople. These included, among many others, the Serpent Column commemorating the Greek victory at Plataea (479 BC); the bronze doors from the temple of the Ephesian Artemis (depicting Gigantomachy) reinstalled at the Senate House; statues of Julius Caesar, Pompey, Apuleius, and Virgil at the Baths of Zeuxippos; Phidias's famous chryselephantine statue of the Olympian Zeus; and the Lindian Athena, the Cnidian Aphrodite, and the Samian Hera decorating the Palace of Lausos.[25] The impressive fourth-century porphyry column of Constantine I is reported to have presented the first Christian emperor as the radiant Apollo-Helios, harmonizing Christian and pagan attitudes toward the common Roman ruler and inviting mythologization in later times.[26] The constant encounter of the Byzantines with ancient Greco-Roman art and Greek scholarship offered fertile soil for the cultivation of what modern scholars have described as "renaissance," "classicist," "humanist," and "antiquarian" trends among the empire's cultural agents (artists and *literati*). These trends were certainly visible in the imperial capital (particularly under the Macedonians, the Komnenoi, and the Palaiologoi), sometimes reaching distant provinces of the periphery (e.g., Cyprus) through the circulation and copying of manuscripts, the establishment of scholarly and artistic networks, and the transmission or creative appropriation of Komnenian and Palaeologan art.[27]

Pre-Christian pictorial elements entered the iconography of warrior saints, the very embodiments of Christian bravery and divine defenders of the Byzantine warrior heroes.[28] Ernst Kantorowicz drew parallels between Greco-Roman representations of armed gods and emperors, and Christian depictions of the armed Christ and saints, showing that the militarization of divine/imperial attire was a rather general phenomenon in late Antiquity. Reasons for this included "the interrelation of *imitatio deorum* on the part of the emperors and *imitatio imperatorum* on the part of the gods," as well as the tendency "to Romanize the *dii peregrini* by means of displaying them in military attire."[29] It is in this context that depictions of *Christus imperator/miles/belliger* and the *tropaeum Crucis* emerged, underlying the spiritual victory of a warrior Christ against the forces of evil.[30] Until the late Byzantine period, the military dress of warrior saints (e.g., the two Saints Theodore, Saint George, Saint Demetrios, Saint Prokopios, and Saint Merkourios) repeated pictorial formulas established in late Antiquity, unconsciously revealing a point of indirect contact with the empire's pagan past.[31] In chapter 2, we have seen how the image of the mounted hero was probably inspired by the "theurgic cavaliers"

of the late antique period, namely divine riders fighting evil, and influencing the representation and symbolism of Christian holy warriors on horseback. Magical practices may have provided a narrative framework for the transmission of stories relating the killing of monsters and demons by heroic/divine horsemen. The narrative threads joining together mounted warriors and holy riders could have been weaved through the integration of divine riders into the *historiolae*, ritual apotropaic narratives probably visualized in depictions from magical amulets.[32] Even when the pagan past was denounced by the Christian Church (e.g., in a seventh-century homily on Saint George by Archbishop Arkadios of Cyprus, Plato, Apollonios of Tyana, Zeus, and Herakles are presented to have fallen in humiliation before the holy martyr of Christ),[33] the striking similarities between pre-Christian and Christian perceptions of the—often mounted—warrior hero cannot be ignored.

Paganism did not *survive* as a concrete belief system after the officialization of Christianity in the Eastern Roman Empire and its persecution by the Christian emperors. Yet, pre-Christian culture (more or less sanitized by the supervision of bishops, the creative *interpretatio Christiana*[34] of the church Fathers, and the intervention of pious emperors) remained part of the inner life and outer image of Byzantium until the fifteenth century. This kind of "sanitization" could be detected in the Christianization of ancient philosophy: "the sustainability of a Plato Christianus necessarily called for the exercise of a considerable hermeneutical violence upon Plato's *lexis* and *nous*. . . . Pagans and Christians were in agreement that Platonism and Christianity as self-sufficient and self-consistent paradigms remained incompatible and irreconcilable."[35] Individual dissident voices had to publicly accept the mantle of Orthodox Christianity in order to escape suppression. "Just because a person goes to church, or says the right words in contexts when they are required, does not mean that his thinking is orthodox in the way that contemporaries understood and valued orthodoxy," write Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou. "We cannot deny that a person was preoccupied with 'pagan' thoughts on the grounds that he did not also go around performing pagan sacrifices: *social* conformity (or its opposite) is not the issue. The history of heresy in Byzantium makes it clear that deviations from the norm did not necessarily imply one's parting from the ritual of the Church."[36]

The afterlife of Roman festivals in the Byzantine East, recently examined by Fritz Graf, sheds light on the processes through which established practices and customs with a pagan past continued to take place despite the criticisms of the Christian Church. The persistence of local festivals was interwoven with local and translocal identities, often proving to be stronger than Christian identity. "The wish to belong to Carthage," we read in Graf, "and to celebrate the common Matronalia in the same way as all the neighbors did could be stronger than the wish to stand out as a Christian, and not

Figure 4.1 Saint John Chrysostom and Saint George: The Ascetic Bishop and the "Warrior of Christ." Mural, Church of Saint Philon at Agridia, Rizokarpaso, twelfth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

all Christians were willing to pay for their religious choice with the loss of local identity, or were able to cling to their new, Christian identity alone."[37] The Quinisext Ecumenical Council of Trullo (692) stood against the continuation of the Kalendae, Brumalia, Vota, and Matronalia festivals, which were associated by Christian bishops with pagan deities and offending forms of entertainment (e.g., public dancing, mask wearing, and cross dressing). The council also condemned the invocation of Dionysos during wine harvest, as well as the joyful laughter of peasants during the filling of wine jars.[38] Despite the Trullo prohibitions, the Kalendae did survive in Byzantium as late as the twelfth century at least,[39] and there are strong indications that, in practice, the

Christian moral code was ignored by members of the Byzantine society, long after Trullo.[40]

Why were these festivals so popular? The answer is simple: they offered opportunities for happiness and relaxation, being part of the Greco-Roman world centuries before their prohibition by the Trullo Council. And it was the duty of good emperors to provide moments of festive joy, proving themselves to be (according to a third-century tetrarchic inscription from Cyprus) "the origin of public joy and all ceremonies" (*laetitiae publicae caerimoniarumque omnium auctori*).[41] In a pragmatic move, Theodosios I (379–95), a pious Christian emperor responsible for the ban of the pagan religion, granted imperial protection to the Kalendae and Vota festivals, respecting the sentiments of his subjects.[42] At the end of the day, as Graf says, "gods can disappear from festivals but the festivals themselves remain or undergo minor changes. . . . What counts to the celebrating people is the celebration as such, the ritual acts, not the divine recipient."[43]

Byzantine interest in the occult sciences absorbed much of the magical, astrological, and alchemical traditions of the Greco-Roman world, Judaism, Mesopotamia, and Islam (not to mention the Gypsy contribution, already discussed in the previous chapter). The hardships of life, poverty, illiteracy, unintended pregnancies, and gambling were only some of the reasons making the practice of various forms of magic attractive to the lower social strata. But the occult sciences penetrated all social categories, including priests, the learned (see, for example, the practice of theurgy by Byzantine Neoplatonists), and the elites. Magic was generally prohibited by both state and canon law; yet, the very persistence of occult practices from late Antiquity to late Byzantium reflects their striking endurance and waves of appropriated revival.[44]

While the first Christian emperor banned harmful magical practices, he "allowed rituals that were used to heal and prevent ailments, or to protect the harvest, especially the vineyards, against rain and hailstorms."[45] Constantine's I tolerant legislation was adopted by the *Codex Justinianus*, but Leo VI (886–912) proscribed harvest and healing spells as paganism.[46] The popular need to invoke God for the "benediction of cattle and fields," and the vacuum created by imperial law forbidding pagan practices enabled the Christian Church to quietly take control of agrarian rituals;[47] this was, probably, in continuation of Jewish agrarian rituals of the Second Temple period.[48] The Greek *Euchologion*, published by Jacques Goar (Paris, 1647) on the basis of Orthodox liturgical manuscripts (primarily one from sixteenth-century Cyprus: *Barberini gr.* 390), contains prayers on the purification of polluted wells, harvest vessels, wheat, and flour; on the blessing of new harvest, fields, vineyards, wells, and seeds; on the benediction of fishing nets, lakes, ships, salt, the offering of lambs, cheese, eggs, furnaces, and sheepfolds; finally, it contains prayers on the ending of a drought, the temperance

of air, earthquakes, plague, thunders, and storms.[49] A vivid picture of how the Christian Church assumed control of the agrarian rites is also presented in the seventh-century *Life of Saint Tychon of Amathous* (a fourth-century bishop), written by Saint John the Almsgiver: Tychon's blessing of vineyards in the Cypriot city of Amathous resulted in the miraculous early maturity of vines, providing (according to Ilias Anagnostakis) "une ampélographie christianisée."[50]

The intersection between paganism and Christianity, detected, for example, in the case of agrarian rituals and the military representation of warrior saints, is important in order to understand folk spirituality and the social *milieu* producing, adapting, and circulating heroic folk songs in Cyprus and other Byzantine areas. David Frankfurter's work on the Christianization of Egypt in late Antiquity has shown that "Christianization amounts to an ongoing and historically contingent *process* without an endpoint," operating differently in different social contexts or worlds: "Christianity amounted to a system of authority and a repository of symbols and stories, variously combined and recombined with local traditions according to the goals, crafts, and everyday circumstances of specific types of people."[51] Building on Robert Redfield's anthropological theory of the social organization of tradition, as Frankfurter does,[52] allows us to see how a plurality of local traditions coexisted with official Christianity: "religion is always a process of negotiation between *local* traditions, often one deeply invested in claiming the *authority* of a Great Tradition and ever-changing ideology—and its representatives—of that Great Tradition."[53]

Redfield has noted that the culture of peasant communities is not autonomous, being part of a broader civilization, and constantly relying on the "Great Tradition" for its continued functioning; "the intellectual, and often the religious and moral life of the village," he writes, "is perpetually incomplete; the student needs also to know something of what comes into the village from the minds of remote teachers, priests or philosophers whose thinking affects and perhaps is affected by the peasantry."[54] If the Little Tradition is the culture of the small people, namely the peasants and their agrarian communities, the Great Tradition is the culture of the elites and their authority.[55] The gradual suppression of paganism in the Christian Roman Empire led to the marginalization and reinterpretation of pre-Christian beliefs and cultural practices: pre-Christian culture was now a Little Tradition, ironically depending on the Great Tradition of Christianity for its selective survival through the transformation of the *interpretatio Christiana*. But this is no one-way process: Redfield speaks of mutual adjustment and integration between the Great and Little Traditions, traced, for example, in the repertory of festivals (not always sanctioned by the high Sanskrit tradition) celebrated in the Indian village of Kishan Garhi; or in successive purification rituals undertaken by a Catholic

parish priest and a shaman of the Maya tradition in a Guatemalan village.[56] The peaceful coexistence between Christianity and a pre-Christian agrarian cult, before the suppression of the *benandanti* (examined by Ginzburg), could be viewed as another case of local negotiation between the Great Tradition of Christianity and the Little Tradition of older pagan practices and beliefs. A helpful hermeneutical tool to investigate the plurality of identities produced by this kind of negotiation is the term "*incerti*," coined by Maijastina Kahlos in her exploration of Christians and pagans in late Antiquity. By moving beyond strict dichotomies, Kahlos employs the term to describe "the state of uncertainty—*incertitudo*—on the mental level of individuals [belonging] in the grey area between hard-line polytheism and hard-line Christianity."[57]

The Christianization of the Byzantine world could, thus, be understood as an ongoing process: there were still pagans in tenth-century Peloponnese, and the Orthodox Church remained hostile to the "unfiltered" reception of ancient Greek philosophy until the end of the Byzantine period.[58] Whatever survived from ancient paganism was subject to negotiation, compromise, and adjustment between the Great and Little Traditions (see, for example, the appropriation of pagan pictorial elements in Christian iconography, the incorporation of *spolia* in Christian churches, as well as the gradual disconnection of pagan agrarian rites and festivals from polytheism). In this fluid *milieu* of shifting boundaries, there were always people, who, like Kahlos' *incerti*, found themselves (consciously or not) in the gray middle-ground between Christianity and the pagan past: it was in the agrarian community of the Byzantine village that the Little Tradition must have been rooted, in dialogue with the Great Tradition of Christianity promoted by the imperial center. And it was this peasant community who became the vehicle *par excellence* for the preservation and transmission of the Byzantine Empire's heroic folk traditions.

CYPRIOT FOLK SPIRITUALITY AND HEROIC TRADITIONS

Sometime around 700, an old Sinaite monk from Cyprus wrote a corpus of spiritually edifying and supporting stories, partly based on his personal memories and experiences from his native island. Saint Anastasios of Sinai's narratives open an important gateway to the *histoire des mentalités* of Cyprus toward the end of Antiquity, namely on the eve of the Arab expansion and the collapse of Byzantine authority in the Near East.

Two of Anastasios's Cypriot stories deal with magic. Our monk talks about a Christian priest-magician, arrested and tried by the local governor in 639; the man was eventually burned at the stake, while the gathered people were shouting "Great is the God of the Christians!"[59] Around the same period,

another magician, Daniel the Jew, was also arrested, tried, and burned at the stake.[60] The presence of Jewish magicians in seventh-century Cyprus is similarly attested by Sophronios of Jerusalem's description of a Jewish magician attempting to harm a Christian physician in Lapithos; he was saved only by the miraculous intervention of Saints Kyros and John, the holy Anargyroi.[61] The archaeological discovery of a mid-seventh-century curse tablet with sexual content from Amathous, Anastasios's own hometown is indicative of the persistence of pre-Christian rituals in an increasingly Christian society.[62] The continuing practice of magic and its violent suppression by the island's political authorities (meeting the excitement of the Christian crowd) are only fragments of a world tormented by evil. According to Haldon, "the uncertainty and insecurity of the age [was caused by] massive change in popular conceptions of the experienced, day-to-day world, as well as in relations of political authority." The new world emerging after the seventh century was one of limited horizons, marked by "the closing off of discourses which had been part of the common cultural heritage of the Hellenistic and Roman world."[63] Magic was not only harmful for the Christian soul but also (and this could perhaps explain the harsh treatment of magicians by the governor of Cyprus) for the Roman/Byzantine political power, not long before the first Arab raid of 649.[64]

The shadow of paganism was very much alive during Anastasios of Sinai's time. Already in the fifth century, the apocryphal *Acts of Saint Barnabas* (set in the mid-first century) vividly describes pagan temple servants converting to Christianity, pagan rituals honoring the gods at the theater of Lapithos, naked men and women running publicly as part of a pagan ritual, people offering libations at Amathous, and Salamis being full of idols, honored through pagan festivals and libations.[65] Sometime before Anastasios's edifying and supporting stories, John the Almsgiver wrote the *Life of Saint Tychon of Amathous* (set in the fourth century); again we observe a similar preoccupation with the island's pagan past. Tychon destroys the idols of the ancient gods, successfully facing and converting Anthousa, the priestess of Artemis. In his apology before the city's court, the good bishop declares the death of Aphrodite, the great goddess of pre-Christian Cyprus: "she is dead," he tells the judges, urging them to seek her tomb at Paphos.[66] Anastasios himself relates an incident from his youth, when the bishop of Amathous expelled the demons seeking refuge on the mountain called *Kypria*, a toponym associated with the cult of Aphrodite.[67] An apocalyptic text of the seventh or eighth century, attributed to Saint Daniel the Prophet, embodies the collective fear and anxiety of the Byzantines (instigated by the thunderous Muslim conquests, and the internal transformation of imperial institutions and social life), showing how memories of paganism remained interwoven with the image of Cyprus. The island is said to be a filthy and dark place, governed by the stars

of Aphrodite and Taurus; Cyprus is home of fornication and lechery, and will, therefore, experience the wrath of God.[68]

Local memories of paganism faded as the time passed, but never disappeared from the collective mentality of the Cypriots. More than seven centuries after Anastasios of Sinai, Leontios Makhairas vaguely described pagan domination in Cyprus around the time of the Arab raids, claiming that refugee ascetics coming from the Holy Land opened holes on the ground to hide themselves, due to their fear of the Hellenes (= pagans).[69] Under Frankish and Venetian rule almost everyone in Cyprus was Christian, yet Orthodox Cypriot Christianity could be expressed in ways reminiscent (in terms of ritual practice) of the older pre-Christian culture. The underground tomb of Saint Photini at Karpasia was reported by Makhairas to have had its own holy spring; when the new moon came, the water created a rather solid crust, employed for the healing of the blind.[70] Suffering from fever, Peter I of Lusignan visited the miraculous shrine of Saints Kyprianos and Justine at Menikon, venerated by Orthodox Christians as protectors against magic and feverish illnesses. Like Greek Cypriot pilgrims, the Frankish king must have drunk from the salty water of the local holy spring. When he was eventually healed, he renovated the church and provided a silver reliquary for the two saints, whose relics had been transferred to Cyprus from Syria in the late thirteenth century.[71]

These two examples of healing from Makhairas, involving water rituals in Orthodox Christian pilgrimage centers, testify the blending between the Great and Little Traditions in medieval Cyprus. From a theological perspective, we may trace in Makhairas' narrative a taste of what Fr. Nikolaos Loudovikos has termed the "sacred materialism" of Byzantine Orthodox spirituality, inherent, for instance, in the veneration of holy icons and the doctrine of God's created and uncreated energies (Palamite Hesychasm).[72] The substratum of this theological emphasis concerning the created world and its potential of being "glorified in Christ"[73] went back to Second Temple Judaism and the Christological interpretation of Old Testament theophanies by early Christian theologians;[74] as a theological idea it was part of a long heritage, "with a Eucharistic foundation that appreciated materiality."[75] Parenthetically, it should be noted that similar, although not identical, theological currents could be found in Western Christianity as well, which underlines the "glorification potential" of matter throughout medieval Christendom, East and West.[76] Overall, what we observe in Makhairas's water rituals is not merely a Christianization of pagan rituals, but the long-term development of theological discourses sanctioning the collective participation of the created cosmos in Christian worship: "matter . . . is valorized as a vehicle for the transmission of divine grace."[77]

In the Middle Ages, there were official distinctions between the miraculous power of God and the evil power of magic. Under the Franks, both Orthodox

and Latin law continued to prohibit the practice of sorcery. A Greek confession manual requires that the priest asks the confessant whether he or she practices (or believes in) astrology and other forms of magic.[78] In the corpus of Latin canon law known as the *Synodicum Nicosiense*, there is a number of provisions "forbidding Christians from seeking help from Jewish or Muslim physicians and from consulting sorcerers and diviners."[79] Additionally, there are decrees against female professional lamenters in funerals, whose wailing is said to be "in agreement with the ritual of pagans and Jews [and to] even provoke or excite other women to wail and to beat and wound themselves" (*paganorum ac Iudaeorum ritui consonis, ad plorandum, verberandum, et lacerandum se ipsas*).[80] Although the Latin ecclesiastical authorities forbade this particular custom, ritual mourning had been an integral element of biblical and Greek funeral rites since the pre-Christian period, providing an opportunity to praise the dead, and to find comfort through the grieving process. It is noteworthy that this practice was not only tolerated by Orthodox canon law but also encouraged by liturgical practice (e.g., the *Lamentations* sung before the *Epitaphios* of Christ on Holy Friday evening).[81] Similarly, the sensitivity of Latin ecclesiastics regarding the prohibition of sorcery practices (stemming from a series of systematic condemnations of magic in the medieval West),[82] as well as the Latin tradition of signifying the exact moment of Eucharistic transubstantiation,[83] influenced Latin Cypriot regulations concerning the Orthodox liturgical custom of the Great Entrance. During the Great Entrance procession, the blessed (but still unconsecrated) bread and wine were venerated by Orthodox Cypriot believers with a prostration; from a Latin perspective, this was considered idolatry or heresy, occasionally leading to tension between the two communities.[84] Accusations of heresy, sorcery, devil-worship, and idolatry could be directed against fellow Latins, too. The trial and suppression of the Templar Order in Cyprus (1310–11), at the time of a general campaign of anti-Templar persecution (1307–12), is indicative of the way accusations like the aforementioned could be exploited to achieve political and economic benefits—in this case, the dismantling of the Templar Order and acquisition of their rich property. For Leontios Makhairas, a Greek Cypriot writing on these events a century later, the Templars were no more than sodomists and abominable blasphemers of the Christian faith, who had been rightfully punished for their beliefs and actions.[85]

What has been presented earlier is strong evidence for the widespread belief in sorcery and paganism in Latin-ruled Cyprus, despite official prohibitions. Although we cannot speak of an undisturbed continuation of pre-Christian culture, the examples presented so far demonstrate the revived interest and fears of a medieval insular society concerning the practice of magic and pagan rites. Such anxieties were so seriously taken that John of Ibelin's thirteenth-century legal treatise forbade sorcery practices for

participants in trials by combat.[86] Allegations of sorcery sometimes carried a political weight. Ferrand of Majorca claimed that King Hugh IV of Lusignan (1324–59), his father-in-law, had accused Isabella of Ibelin, the countess of Jaffa and Ferrand's mother, of causing the death of Hugh IV's daughter by sorcery (1340).[87] The case of the legendary Melusine, the half-woman and half-serpent protectress of the House of Lusignan, also deserves to be mentioned here. Melusine, a symbol of fertility and wealth, embodies the social and political ambitions of the Lusignan family (and the Latin Christian warrior aristocracy in general) for landed property, castles, and progeny. Despite being Latin Christians, members of this class often "refused to accept the Church's cultural models, preferring fairies to saints, entering into contracts with hell, toying with a suspect totemism."[88] On the eve of his assassination by his own nobility, Peter I is said (by the fourteenth-century French writer John of Arras) to have been warned by Melusine for his imminent death (1369), in agreement with the image of the serpent lady guarding the Lusignan clan. Nearly a century later, Anne of Lusignan (1440–62), the duchess of Savoy, was labeled "Melusine" by her political opponents due to her lavish lifestyle. Like her legendary *alter ego*, whose image she carried with her, Anne's economic management and involvement in politics had been considered a threat for Savoy: the Cypriot duchess was viewed as a charming but dangerous creature, a serpent woman.[89] "Lusignan totemism" linked the ruling dynasty of Cyprus with other aristocratic families of Western Europe, who cultivated their own fantastic ancestry legends and political ideologies.[90]

Venetian antiquarianism and the interest of Renaissance humanists in the pre-Christian past of Cyprus carried, like medieval perceptions and constructions of magic and the supernatural, a political weight.[91] The public display of a Roman sarcophagus in the main *piazza* of Famagusta and its identification as the "tomb of Venus" were part of the Venetian political ideology: "Venus [i.e., the Roman Aphrodite] had been the first queen of [Cyprus]; Venice, the queen of the seas, was her legitimate and most obvious heir."[92] Likewise, two monumental lion statues from the nearby ancient city of Salamis-Constantia were used to decorate the Sea Gate of Famagusta; a port-city controlled by a power whose emblem was the winged lion of Saint Mark.[93] Stephen of Lusignan's antiquarian treatment of the history of Cyprus was, apart from his personal scholarly interest and patriotic duty to praise his native island, also driven by political motivations. By rediscovering and highlighting in his work the glorious past of Cyprus (mythic, ancient, and medieval), Lusignan wished to mobilize European humanist princes, so as to liberate the island from the Ottomans after 1570/71.[94]

Byzantine apocalyptic visions, the Frankish Melusine myth, and sixteenth-century antiquarianism tell us very little about pre-Christian elements in the Cypriot folk culture, and even less about Byzantine images of the warrior

hero. But they are important indicators of the collective mentalities, and of the broader cultural landscape in which pre-Christian mythic elements were preserved and adapted in the island's heroic folk songs. What we have seen so far is that waves of revived interest in and appropriation of the pagan heritage of Cyprus depended on a variety of reasons: fear and anxiety, destabilization of order, religious reform, cultural movements, and politics. Regardless of their provenance (Byzantine/Latin, Cypriot/non-Cypriot) and nature (ecclesiastical/secular), the views of individual medieval authors concerning Cypriot paganism in its broader sense (i.e., including forms of magic) largely reflect the ideology, spirituality, concerns, and interests of the elites, be they political, ecclesiastical, or intellectual. This was simply one narrative of rediscovering or reimagining the pagan past and its medieval afterlife. Yet, there was another narrative that should not escape our attention: the living reality of low-level folk culture in continuous dialogue with its pre-Christian matrix, and in constant contact with the ancestral environment, physical and human.

Toponymy and folklore are invaluable tools in approaching the low-level narrative. Place names, for example, offer a panorama of pre-Christian cultural layers reutilized and reinterpreted in later periods.[95] *Afamis*, near Koilani, denotes the mountainous cult of Zeus Euphemios; *Moutti tou Thkia*, the "Peak of Zeus," suggests a similar cult in Phasoula; *Patiman t' Arakli*, the "Footstep of Herakles" is a common toponym in Marathasa, Akamas, and Papoutsa; *Arakleia/Arakli* is another Herculean toponym found in Rizokarpaso; *Thkionysos*, "Dionysos," is encountered near the village of Lania; *Demonovounin*, "Mountain of Demons," and *Demonostasin*, "Standing place of demons," are to be found in Platanisteia and Salamis respectively; *Drakontas* and *Moutti tou Drakonta* ("Dragon's Peak") are toponyms in Rizokarpaso; a *Drakontorotsos*, "Dragon's Rock," exists near Polemi; *Drakongia* ("Dragon's Place") in Saint Therapon, *Drakontospilios* ("Dragon's Cave") in Skouli, *Drakontotripa* ("Dragon's Hole") in Pegeia, and *Paliomata tous Drakous* ("Fighting place of the Dragons") in Pyrgos are additional place names with a draconic flavor; *Spilios tis Lamias* ("Lamia's Cave") in Kolossi is a reminder of the pre-Christian belief in the monstrous Lamia; lastly, *Hagiopetres* ("Holy Stones") or *Petres oi Tripimenes* ("Holed Stones") throughout Cyprus are monolithic holed stones (probably the part of oil press mechanisms) considered to possess healing powers, and to cure infertility by the mediation of the Virgin and the saints.[96] Like the ancient *spolia* incorporated in Christian churches, landscapes and their cultural value were renegotiated and reappreciated by the increasingly Christianized society of medieval Cyprus. As Frankfurter notes about late antique Egypt, the landscape "was itself not just 'Christian' but an integrated topography of potent and ambiguous (and sometimes aggressive) spirits within which churches, shrines, and monasteries required ongoing local assimilation as ritual centers.

The relics of the old religion could . . . *complement* saints' shrines and churches . . . [and] might also have been acculturated to the Christian landscape as monuments of a new Christian past."[97] Hence, refences to demons, dragons/anthropomorphic *drakontes*, the Lamia, and holy stones: the ancient enemies of the gods became (as in Tolkien's reading of *Beowulf*) the demonic forces of the Christian faith, while monolithic stones were seen as receiving their healing power from the Virgin or the saints.

The monstrous forces of the pagan past were also embodied in folk legends concerning the Trimmatoi, three-eyed creatures whose spare eye was to be found at the back of their head. Like the mythic Cyclops of old, they lived in caves, thick bushes, or near rivers; they boiled small children in cauldrons, and could only be defeated by the miraculous intervention of the Virgin.[98] The medieval afterlife of the Cypriot Goddess/Aphrodite is inseparable from stories (recorded by modern folklorists) on Re(g)aina, a ferocious warrior queen and lover of Digenes, whose shadowy presence laid claim to ancient monuments, tombs, castles, towers, mountain peaks, cliffs, flatlands, springs, hidden treasures, and rural churches.[99] The appropriated image of Aphrodite in the Middle Ages and her connection with Digenes should not be solely attributed to the Renaissance interest of sixteenth-century humanists and Venetian officials promoting the ideological triptych Venice-Venus-Cyprus. Already in 1910, Simos Menardos (1871–1933) pointed out the conflation between Aphrodite, the Cypriot goddess of fertility, and Saint Helen (Helena Augusta), who, according to medieval tradition, brought fragments of the Holy Cross in Cyprus, saving the island after a prolonged period of drought. The Virgin and Saint Helen, thus, emerge as the Christian counterparts of the pagan goddess of Cyprus; Re(g)aina, on the other hand, is closer to the pre-Christian image of Aphrodite.[100] What is striking is that the superimposed cultural layers of female divinity are not mutually exclusive: Aphrodite, the Virgin, Saint Helen, and Re(g)aina meet each other, without, nevertheless, fully losing their individual characteristics.

Next to Re(g)aina stand the Anerades, white-dressed fairies living in forests, springs, rivers, and meadows. The Anerades were, like the nymphs of Greco-Roman mythology, both charming and dangerous. In the late nineteenth century, folklorist accounts from Cyprus mention the widespread fear that these fairies could replace newborn babies with their own children, thus disturbing the boundary between the world of humans and that of supernatural creatures.[101] Another remnant of the pagan mythic universe were the Kalikantzaroi, demon-like successors of Priapos and the donkey-headed gods of onolatry (e.g., the Egyptian Set), whose presence on earth coincided with the relaxation period of the Christmas celebrations.[102] The horrendous Laminga, a serpentine quadruped, was reported by Martin Crusius (d. 1607) to have existed in Cypriot mountains. An eight-century Cypriot spell against

the demon Gylou, a distant descendant of the ancient Gello, invokes against her Saint Michael the Archangel; demonic women or witches were also named "Geloudes," after Gello and Gylou.[103]

A noteworthy entry in the repertory of supernatural beings is the personified month of May. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (1850–1917) argued that May was perceived by folk imagination "as a male god, or demon . . . regularly celebrated on the 1st of May." The same scholar interpreted the Cypriot contraction for May (Mas) in connection with "the Anatolian goddess Ma (identified with Kybele) of the Greek Maia, the mother of Hermes."[104] Although Richter's interpretation concerning the survival of a pagan cult should be treated with caution, folklore accounts underline the similarities between May Day folk rituals (e.g., the singing of songs; the gathering of flowers by young maidens, placed in a vase and kept under the starry sky for two nights; the practice of cleromancy) and the pre-Christian rituals of the Klidonas, prohibited by the Trullo Council but remaining part of the Greek folk culture.[105]

Figure 4.2 Quadruped Monster with a Woman's Head. Glazed bowl, thirteenth/fourteenth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Richter was correct in noticing the male identity of the personified May, whose coming coincided with the beginning of summer harvesting,[106] and the receiving of supernatural signs by unmarried young women. It is true that we possess no specific information on how the May Day was celebrated in medieval Cyprus; yet, May Day celebrations seem to have been so widespread that even the royal court in the fifteenth century celebrated the beginning of May/Mas.[107]

Folk spirituality[108] appropriated pre-Christian religious ceremonies, transforming them into the ritual *spolia* of a Christian language of paraliturgical (i.e., popular, unofficial, not dictated by liturgical manuals) worship. The sacredness of trees in Orthodox Cypriot rituals, for example, goes back to practices of dendrolatry (tree worship) in ancient Cyprus.[109] Writing on folk religious customs in the Greek world, Manolis G. Varvounis observes that the offering of blood sacrifices is a good case of how the old pre-Christian wine was poured into new Christian skins.[110] On the occasion of Christian feasts (at least those not falling into a period of fast), animals are slaughtered and cooked for the common festive meal. Traditionally, these meals "take place in the church ground or beneath a large tree, but also in the narthex or in the village coffee shop when the weather conditions or the time of year do not allow this." During the celebration, ecclesiastical hymns and songs are sung, including the so-called "akritic" songs.[111] In a folklorists' report, published in 1960–61, we read that Cypriot peasants sacrificed mouflons (wild sheep) to honor Saint Mamas, patron of shepherds, peasant tax evaders, and Byzantine warrior heroes (see chapter 3). In addition, the mouflons around the mountainous monastery of the Virgin of Kykkos were said to be "Saint Mamas's flock," and were, therefore, considered sacred.[112] Incidentally, we should mention that the pictorial formula of Saint Mamas riding the lion, which may be of Cypriot origin, brings to mind the Anatolian goddess Ma/Kybele and her shepherd consort Attis, both of whom were accompanied by lions.[113] Blood sacrifices were also employed to fight drought. Cypriot peasants led a sheep in procession; the animal was blessed by the priest and killed on the open field: its head was buried and the rest of the body was divided in four, in order for the birds of prey to carry the meat high in the sky, attracting rain.[114] In the sixteenth century, the Armenians of Cyprus sacrificed a lamb to celebrate Easter, a ritual that was condemned as Judaism by the Latin Church. Given that the sacrifice occurred on the appearance of the first star on Holy Saturday night, when the *Hail Mary* was chanted, we can perhaps trace a connection with the pagan cult of Arsha-luis, the virgin goddess of dawn and mother of the sun.[115]

The profound relationship of the premodern Cypriot society with its pagan past—reimagined or filtered through the sanitizing process of the *interpretatio Christiana*, which transformed gods and goddesses into demons and

monsters, and modified cultic practices to fit in the context of Christian worship—underlines the ongoing synthesis and mutual adjustment between the Great and Little Traditions. Elements of pre-Christian religious culture were absorbed by the dominant religious culture of Orthodox Christianity, which had to be itself adjusted, through the development of paraliturgical beliefs and rites, to redefine and accept what was alien, and perhaps also threatening. The peasant communities, whose agency (sometimes sanctioned by imperial legislation and episcopal initiative)[116] created new bridges between the Great and Little Traditions, included people who were neither pagans nor "puritan" proponents of Christianity: they were *incerti*, stuck in the gray middle ground that separated the true pagans of old from the militant defenders of the Christian Church, fighting to eliminate any remaining trace of idolatry.

Mixing pre-Christian and Orthodox Christian ideas, symbols, and rituals enabled the establishment of an "emotional regime," promoting unity of purpose and ethos in communal life, maintained through emotional order and coherency.[117] During the period of Latin rule, aspects of this emotional regime, mainly supported by Orthodox non-elite groups, occasionally came into conflict with the emotional regime represented by reforming members of the Latin Church (see, for example, the Counter-Reforming activities of Archbishop Filippo Mozenigo and his circle in the 1560s).[118] Sociopolitical inequality and cultural differences between dominant Latins and dominated Greeks in the frontier island of Cyprus could have been one of the reasons why indigenous pre-Christian elements remained visible in Orthodox Cypriot folk spirituality.[119] Other forces did play their part in this process: Orthodox Cypriot folk spirituality embraced an "emotional culture"[120] rooted in the intentional cultivation of emotions ("habitus"), the backbone of which were rituals (e.g., blood sacrifices, sacred tree ceremonies, and apotropaic rites). According to Merridee L. Bailey and Katie Barclay, "rituals are used to bind individuals, families and nations together, reaffirming wider norms, values and political processes, contributing to social stability as well as the preservation of established power relations."[121] The degree of emotional arousal (high or low) involved in ritual praxis determined the ritual's efficacy and the degree of social cohesion within a group: rituals spark emotions, shaping, in turn, social relationships.[122] The persistence of habitus, the desire to maintain what has already been an accepted social custom or norm (regardless of its religious mantle), is at the heart of understanding the profound need to preserve or reinvent connections with the pagan past. This gesture of approval toward the religious heritage of the pre-Christian world seems to have depended less on top-down initiatives (e.g., Byzantine imperial benevolence and Renaissance humanism) and more on the low-level dynamics of an emotional regime informed by the landmarks (physical, social, economic, and religious) of people's life cycle.

It is now time to turn to the Byzantine warrior hero and the heroic folk songs of Cyprus. We have seen that Tolkien's concept of "repaganizing" Anglo-Saxon heroic traditions in *Beowulf* tells us something of the appreciation and modification of pagan myths in a Christian heroic narrative. For Grigory Bondarenko, "Russian epic songs stand as evidence of the Russian spiritual tradition, along with medieval church architecture, agriculture, folk customs and the ritual years. Heroic and spiritual values, such as truth, valour and wisdom, as well as all-transforming miracle, form the heart of the Russian folk and epic tradition."[123] The same scholar argues (following Alexander Veselovsky) that the Greco-Roman legacy, Christian faith, and pre-Christian culture "are combined in an organic synthesis" in the Russian heroic tradition, leading to the recreation ("remythologization") of secondary mythological traditions under medieval Christianity.[124] As we have already noted throughout this book, the warriors of Cypriot heroic folk songs slay dragons and giant crabs; they imitate pagan heroes in their strength and bravery (Porphyres fights with a staff worthy of "the men of old");[125] their savagery and battle fury has nothing to do with the Christian spirit of love and self-sacrifice; they use magic (Digenes) and astrology (Skleropoullon) to achieve victory; at the same time, however, they also seek God's help in their struggles; they are protected and supported by angels and saints; and they even decorate their weapons with the images of warrior saints. Like the peasant society producing and circulating the heroic materials, the Byzantine warriors of Cypriot heroic folk songs are often resembling the so-called *incerti*, being witnesses of the gray zone between paganism and Orthodox Christianity.

But how are the two worldviews, the Christian and the pre-Christian, reconciled in heroic folk traditions? In his essay on polytheism and monolatry in ancient Judaism, Paul Veyne states that "for a mindset not yet accustomed to abstract thought, the idea of non-existence is hardly accessible. . . . When the categories of truth and error are not clear," Veyne observes, "any gods that one rejects become poor-quality gods. . . . For the early Christians, the gods of paganism certainly existed, but they were regarded as demons that had passed themselves off as gods."[126] This is why in Greek folk songs, according to Georges Contogeorgis, we seem to encounter not one, but many gods and supernatural powers (e.g., the Virgin, the saints, Hades, Charos, Charissa, and Earth), ranked in a hierarchy dominated by God.[127] What we have here is not a failed process of Christianization, but what Paul Veyne describes as the "plurality of truths."[128] Discussing whether Greek people in Antiquity believed in their myths, Veyne writes that, as in the medieval period, the "legendary worlds were accepted as true in the sense that they were not doubted, but they were not accepted the way that everyday reality is. . . . [The Greek myths] took place 'earlier,' during the heroic generations, when the gods still took

part in human affairs. Mythological space and time were secretly different from our own."[129] Veyne makes a useful comparison with the contradictory attitudes of the Greco-Roman society toward the deified emperor: "although the emperors were gods . . . when the faithful needed a true god, they did not turn to the emperor."[130]

Certainly, we cannot measure the degree to which the medieval Greek Cypriot peasant "believed" in his or her heroic folk traditions; to quote Veyne once again, "the difference between fiction and reality is not objective and does not pertain to the thing itself; it resides in us, according to whether or not we subjectively see in it a fiction."[131] What we can say is that these traditions became tangible due to the same plurality of truths governing the worldview of the ancient Jews and Greeks. For the folk mind, there were no abstract realities: dragons existed; and they did not.

FIGHTING DEATH: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

Charopalema means "death wrestling."[132] The manner of one's death is given immense importance in the Greek folk tradition: an agonized and prolonged death could be the result of a curse or an unfulfilled vow, or may have been caused by the dying person's wrongdoing; lastly, "the absence of a loved one can cause long agony and delay in the departure of the soul." Young men and women wrestle with death in the literary sense, for they are unwilling to abandon life, its pleasures, and responsibilities. The dying person, usually a young man, "may call out that he can see Charos approach, sword in hand, often dressed in black, or winged, like ancient Hades."[133] Margaret Alexiou mentions the case of a young girl from Thrace, a victim of the influenza epidemic in 1917, who screamed that she could see a young man approaching with a spear and intensely asked for a knife to defend herself.[134] In the case of young people fighting death, *Charopalema* expresses bravery, the way young men and women (especially men) ought to confront death: not in fear, but in a heroic and fighting spirit.[135]

Alexiou notes that ritual laments were not performed at the time of one's death, when it was vital for everyone to remain silent (premature lamentation would scare away the angels coming to accompany the soul of the dead).[136] It was only after the soul's departure that elderly women, usually relatives or neighbors, tended the body of the deceased. From that moment onward, lamentation could begin, culminating during the body's transfer from house to church.[137] It is noteworthy that laments were performed not only on the occasion of death, but also in marriage, being part of the so-called rites of separation, which signified a change of status for both the deceased and the young man/woman about to marry.[138] Perhaps the hero's death wrestling in

Greek heroic folk songs belonged to the death and marriage rituals, expressing (literally and metaphorically)[139] the pain of separation. However, as Korina Yiaxoglou has recently argued, laments can also circulate "as collective oral history both of the community and of specific families, creating a narrative tradition whose impact extends beyond the ritual."[140] Since it is hard to know the context of performance for Cypriot heroic folk songs containing the *Charopalema* theme (e.g., family gatherings, communal feasts, separation rites, etc.), we shall concentrate on the ritual/mythic matrix of the death wrestling.

Despite being "entirely absent" from the Byzantine epic of Digenes,[141] the episode narrating the hero's fight with Charos is quite popular in the folk songs of Cyprus and Pontos, and can be also encountered (in different variations) in folk songs from Epiros, Macedonia, Crete, Cappadocia, Chios, the Dodecanese, and other areas. In his systematic examination of Digenes's *Charopalema*, Saunier comes to the conclusion that Cypriot variations are not as homogenous as those from Pontos, but composite, containing archaic elements from earlier folk myths. Cypriot variations are, thus, more eclectic and synthetic, and have influenced folk songs from areas situated at the west of Cyprus (e.g., the Dodecanese, Crete, and Peloponnese).[142] Let us summarize the main characteristics of the Cyprus songs, following Saunier: (a) Charos is presented as a man dressed in black and riding a black steed; (b) he interrupts the feast, and (c) declines the invitation to share the offered food and drink; he announces that he has come to take the bravest of men, whom he describes (d), sometimes pointing out that his victim has sparse teeth, a sign of premature death; (e) the infuriated Digenes challenges Charos in a fight; (f) the two of them begin to fight in a marble threshing floor; (g) Digenes's grip is tighter, bringing his opponent in a difficult position; (h) Charos asks Digenes to loosen his grip, takes advantage of his opponent's mercy, and holds Digenes firmly; (i) after a three-day fight, Digenes emerges victorious; (j) Charos admits his weakness to God, transforms into a golden eagle, and flies to heaven; (k) God reproaches Charos for not being able to take the soul of Digenes, and provides him with an unspecified divine object, which can help him win; (l) Charos returns as a golden eagle and attacks Digenes's head with his nails; (m) Digenes lays in bed, mortally ill; (n) his companions arrive, but dare not speak with him; (o) one of them eventually approaches Digenes, (p) who asks his friends to eat and drink, while he is relating his deeds, (r) taking place at the far side of the world; (s) the first feat is the killing of giant snake (sometimes *drakontes* and lions are also involved); (t) the hero's horse is thirsty, but (u) the giant Saracen guarding the Euphrates challenges Digenes; (v) the two of them fight and (w) the Saracen is mortally wounded; (x) the narrative returns once again to Digenes's deathbed; the song's final act is Digenes's killing of his wife, for

he does not wish to share her with another man, even after his death; finally, the hero dies.[143]

The Greek heroic folk tradition has not been kind to the dead: there is no heaven, no Paradise awaiting for them; there is no reward for the just, no punishment for the sinners. The deceased are indiscriminately absorbed by the lifegiving earthly womb itself, a place both desirable and detestable. In thewords of Eleni Psychogiou, the underworld, or Black Earth (*Mavrigi*), is the realm of Charos the psychopomp, the one who guides the souls of the dead, "the executioner and accompanier of the dead and/or the demonic lover in the service of *Mavrigi*."[144] Black is the color of both Charos and the underworld; it is noteworthy that in the heroic folk songs examined in this book the horses of warrior heroes are identified as black, denoting sorrow and death.[145] For Evgeniy V. Stelnik, the *Charopalema* theme expresses the primordial clash between light (represented by the warrior hero) and darkness (represented by Charos and the chthonic powers).[146] The folk image of Charos seems to have been influenced by pre-Christian perceptions of Charon, the mythological ferryman carrying the souls to Hades, and Thanatos, the winged god of death, who wrestled with and was defeated by Herakles in the hero's infernal *katabasis* to save Alkestis.[147] Charos is sometimes imagined as an angel, the winged angel of death, Saint Michael the Archangel.[148] Although the idea of fighting with an angel can be encountered in the Old and New Testament (e.g., Jacob wrestling with the angel in Genesis 32:22–32, and Saint Michael defeating the dragon in Revelation 12:7–9), the *Charopalema* folk theme seems to convey pre-Christian heroic values concerning the proper way of dying. To quote Robert Garland's study on the ancient Greek way of death, "infinitely was life preferred over death. Yet not life at any price. There was a right time and right place to die: in the Homeric epic and in the Archaic period death on the battlefield was more honourable than inglorious old age."[149] Perhaps the reevaluation of life and death in Greek heroic folk songs was related to the aristocratic honor code of the Byzantine warrior aristocracy between the tenth and twelfth centuries: death in battle became for many Byzantine nobles "the social privilege of the hero-aristocrat."[150] Incidentally, the nickname "Charon" seems to have been employed by Byzantine military circles during this period, which strengthens the connection between the image of the warrior Charos and the militarization of Byzantine society. Alexios I's namesake and maternal grandfather had been nicknamed "Charon" for his bravery; in the late tenth century, the usurper Bardas Phokas faced in battle and killed a certain Constantine "Charon," while a monk known as "Charonites" was active in the tenth century.[151]

So far, we have noted the influence exercised by pre-Christian traditions in the heroic *Charopalema*. But what about Christianity? Is Digenes's death wrestling simply a retelling of pre-Christian myths and rituals?

Examining the Jewish substratum of Orthodox Christianity enables us to trace the transformative survival of Near Eastern heroic themes during the Byzantine period. The Scriptures (especially the Old Testament) depict YHWH as a divine warrior; in fact, early biblical evidence seems to support the view that YHWH was, initially, "a storm-and warrior-god from the southern region of Edom."[152] For early Christian theologians, the ultimate confrontation of YHWH with evil has been the battle of Christ against Satan during the Passion. A fourth-century homily on the Passion and the Cross, attributed to Saint Athanasios of Alexandria and examined by Nicholas (Fr. Maximos) Constas, "compares Christ to a 'noble wrestler' (γενναῖος παλαιστὴς) who, when seeing his opponent about to take flight, feigns weakness in order to lure him back into the ring." The author of the homily makes an allusion to Homer's *Odyssey* and the wrestling match between Odysseus (disguised as a beggar) and Iros: "like a wily Odysseus, Christ deploys a strategy of deception in order to lure the devil into mortal combat at the climax of a Christian epic."[153] The *Apocryphal Gospel of Nikodemos*, probably a fifth-century document, presents Christ as a mighty warrior-king, breaking the gates of Hades and delivering the defeated Satan to the angelic army.[154] A pseudo-Epiphanian homily on Christ's Burial, perhaps written around the same period, has Christ forcefully entering Hades accompanied by legions of angels, breaking the bows of the enemy, stepping on the Serpent's head, and erecting the trophy of victory over death.[155] The Byzantine Orthodox iconography of the Lord's Descend into Hades/Hell visualizes the salvific heroism of Christ and His triumph over the personified death: a majestic Christ steps on the fallen gates of Hades, dragging Adam and Eve out of their infernal prison, while Hades/Death himself is shown to be fallen and defeated.[156] Henry Maguire writes that, after the ninth century, Byzantine artists "showed Hades more discretely, with a normal human shape, but plainly conquered by Christ, with his naked body trampled underfoot and his face exhibiting the emotions of pain and defeat." Thus, Byzantine iconography managed to depict "a credible adversary for Christ, whose visible anguish in defeat could counteract the mortal onlooker's anguish at death," while underlying that Hades should not be worshipped by the believers.[157]

The reenactment of Christian theology during liturgy was the ritual context for the worshippers' communal initiation into the mysteries of faith and Christian life.[158] The image of Christ the warrior and His struggle against evil is an essential part of liturgical symbolism and ritual praxis. In the early Christian centuries, Jewish Christian theologians understood the Baptism of Christ "as a descent into the waters of death where the dragon lives."[159] The Byzantine Orthodox baptismal rite preserved the ancient theme of Christ's fight against the dragon, as confirmed by the exorcisms recited before baptism and the prayer for the blessing of the baptismal waters.[160] The dragonslaying

Figure 4.3 Christ's Infernal Descend (without Hades). Mural, Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Arakas at Lagoudera, late twelfth century. *Source*: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

theme can be also found in Jewish Christian texts on the Lord's infernal Descend: the crucified Christ "scatters the enemies, bruises the dragon with his hands, and tramples its roots under his feet. It would seem that this struggle takes place in the air, on earth and in Hell at one and the same time."[161] Other Jewish Christian sources depict Christ fighting against the Devil or the angel of death.[162] The aforementioned Byzantine sources on Christ the warrior and the Byzantine Orthodox iconography of the Descend into Hades/Hell evidently echo the earlier Jewish Christian theology concerning Christ's infernal combat. While there is an ongoing debate among biblical scholars on whether the Jewish (pre-Christian and Christian) tradition borrowed the "chaos combat" theme (*Chaoskampf*) from Mesopotamian cosmogonic myths,[163] "the imagery of the Divine Warrior, his battle against and his defeat of the forces of chaos (pictured both as the waters of chaos and as dragons or monsters) are clearly part of the Hebrew religious traditions of the period 515 BCE to 200 CE."[164] The Byzantine Orthodox imagery of Christ's victory over death was informed by the Jewish imagery of the warrior YHWH.

The forceful entry of Christ the royal warrior into Hades is still reenacted in Orthodox Cypriot churches on Holy Saturday night (more precisely: soon after midnight), after the reading of the Resurrection Gospel and before the beginning of the paschal liturgy. Walter Puchner's thorough investigation of this paraliturgical ceremony—also known in medieval England and Germany

(in the latter case continuing as late as the twentieth century), and taking place, usually on Holy Friday, in other parts of the Greek world—underlines the popularity of the custom among Orthodox Cypriot worshippers.[165] Psalm 23 (24) 7:10 is at the heart of the Ἄρατε Πύλας (*Tollite portas* or "Lift up the gates!") ritual. The priest, representing Christ before the gates of Hades, is standing outside the church, doors closed; he calls for the doors to be opened, so that the King of Glory enters Hades. Inside the church, a deacon (or, as I have personally observed, a chanter), representing Hades/Satan, asks who the King of Glory is. The dialogue between "Christ" and "Hades/Satan" is, basically, a repetition (twice) of the psalmic passage mentioned earlier. When the priest finally answers (after a third question by "Hades/Satan") that the King of Glory is the Lord of the Hosts (*Sabaoth*), namely the heavenly leader of the angelic armies, he forcefully opens the doors and enters into the realm of death. Christ the royal warrior has once again descended into Hades/Hell, defeating Hades/Satan and liberating the dead.[166] Puchner argues that the ritual is Byzantine, and that it should be dated already in the sixth century, and more specifically during the rededication (the second *encaenia*) of the imperial cathedral of Saint Sophia in Constantinople in 562.[167]

Byzantine Orthodox Christianity, with its Jewish substratum and Near Eastern imagery, had its own tradition of divine warfare. The point of contact with the pre-Christian elements in the *Charopalema* is the combat of YHWH/Christ against Death/Hades/Satan. The visualization of this struggle through various means (theological literature, sacred art, sermons, liturgical, and paraliturgical rituals) must have triggered the revival of pre-Christian/pagan models concerning Charon/Charos, Thanatos, and the infernal descend of ancient heroes. Repaganization, at least in the form of the *Charopalema* theme in heroic folk songs, depended, therefore, on the Great Tradition of Christianity.[168] Although Christ's infernal combat should not be equated with Digenes's fight against Charos, there are some noteworthy similarities suggesting the influence of Byzantine Orthodox imagery on the heroic folk tradition: both Christ and Digenes are the forces of life fighting Death; both Christ and Digenes suffer death; in both cases, there is a "happy ending" (or at least vindication) achieved through (and despite) disaster: Christ is resurrected from the dead, and Digenes is morally victorious against Charos, who uses trickery and divine help to kill him);[169] in both the Byzantine Orthodox and the heroic folk traditions Death is anthropomorphous; according to the aforementioned homily attributed to Saint Athanasios, Christ is a "noble wrestler" (γενναῖος παλαιστής), while Digenes, too, wrestles with Charos; even the threshing floor, where Digenes and Charos wrestle, is to be encountered in the Old Testament as a sacred space controlled by YHWH.[170]

But there are also great differences between Christ and Digenes, showing that the Great and Little Traditions, the Christian and the pre-Christian,

were never totally merged, resulting in the plurality of mindsets or truths (per Veyne) in folk society and culture. Christ is God, Digenes is mortal; Christ obeys the will of God the Father, Digenes defies divine authority by challenging Death; Christ is meek and humble (the "Suffering Servant"), Digenes is fierce and proud; Christ is completely victorious over Death, Digenes is only morally vindicated. Kapsomenos stresses this aspect of the *Charopalema*: the folk hero commits *hubris* by seeking immortality and is eventually punished by Charos, the instrument of divine order.[171]

Saunier observes that Cypriot folk songs of the *Charopalema* emphasize the element of deception employed by Charos to defeat Digenes: Death asks from Digenes to let him go, then attacks him again; he flies to heaven, seeking divine help, then returns and attacks the hero in the form of an eagle. The main ideological element in Cypriot death wrestling songs is, for Saunier, the injustice (*adikia*) committed by God and Charos against Digenes: God is responsible for the hero's death. How are we to explain this negative image of God in the folk myth? According to Saunier, the responsibility of God in the *Charopalema* reflects a new perception of death, one that seems to dominate folk songs of every kind from the end of the Byzantine period onward. This development has been interpreted in terms of the historical calamities of the Byzantine/Greek people, whose encounter with war and the violence of death came (since after the Latin conquests of 1204, or, in the case of Cyprus, already in 1191) from everywhere: Franks/Latins, Turks, and pirates. Charos, thus, represented the raider, the invader, the enemy, while God was made responsible for the injustice of death. This schema was employed to interpret the incomprehensible tragedies experienced by Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greeks, resulting not in the fatalistic acceptance of defeat, but in the galvanization of resistance, even against God.[172]

The rebellion of humanity, so eloquently represented by Digenes in the *Charopalema*, constitutes a little-noticed development in the collective mentalities of common people in late Byzantium and the post-Byzantine period. It is only through a subaltern reading of heroic folk songs that we can pinpoint the shift from the biblical worldview to one that comes into direct conflict with the idea of theodicy. For those bearing the burden of war violence, for those suffering under the pressure of invasion, raids, destruction, and loss, for those living in fear and constant threat, day after day, the expression of grief and protest through the Digenes song became one of the few weapons they had to rationalize and interpret the world around them. It was also a way of resistance against the impersonal powers dominating and crushing their fragile lives. God and Charos were supernatural actors staging the play of man's downfall; humanity, on the other hand, was the innocent victim of divine tyranny.

Official Orthodox Christian authorities would not have disagreed more. Gennadios Scholarios, for example, leader of the Orthodox anti-unionist party and later patriarch of Constantinople under the Ottomans (1454–56, 1462–63, 1464–65), saw the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 as the result of the Byzantines' alienation from the correct faith, and of their expectation that the Latins would have protected the city, on the condition that the Byzantines accepted papal supremacy.[173] Late Byzantine historians interpreted the declining state of the empire and Ottoman success by employing the biblical image of the punishing God, whose ways of theodicy encouraged human beings to humble themselves, repent, and be led to salvation.[174] Constantinopolitan patriarchal officials, whose status had been strengthened in the fourteenth century, rejected submission to papal authority, perceiving themselves as true guardians of the Orthodox faith, at a time when the Byzantine imperial institution had lost much of its former prestige and power. During the last decades of the Byzantine period, the widespread belief that a possible Ottoman conquest of Constantinople would signify the end of time intensified the struggle for the preservation of the correct faith; it also popularized hierocratic ecclesiology, which stressed the spiritual supremacy of church over state.[175]

The long theological tradition of Byzantine Orthodoxy did not lift the burden of responsibility from the believers, but cultivated introspection and self-criticism. The revival of Byzantine asceticism in the fourteenth century (Palamite Hesychasm) gave rise to a primarily monastic spirituality that "placed a major emphasis on the notion of spiritual progress of the individual and the community, implying synergy between divine grace and human freedom and refusing any legalistic understanding of redemption, sacramental grace, and therefore salvation."[176]

Therefore, the Byzantine Orthodox position on theodicy and human responsibility was redefined in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by historical conditions. These spiritual and ideological developments have left their imprint on the Grottafferata version of the *Digenes* epic (dated by scholars around the twelfth, thirteenth, or the fourteenth century), said to be "thoroughly impregnated with conventional orthodox piety."[177] This is clear in the threnody following Digenes's death, referring to "the vain pleasures of 'the deceiving world,'" and concluding with "the conventionally Christian hope that at the Last Judgement Christ will have mercy on Digenes and his wife, together with 'all who delight and live in orthodoxy.'"[178] The Cypriot folk theme of the *Charopalema* stands in sharp contrast to this idea, evoking pre-Christian views on life and death, God, and justice. In this sense, Digenes's fight with Charos could be read as the reaction, or rather response, of the Cypriot folk community to the hierocratic, introspective, and austere spirituality of late Byzantium.

In 1871, the young Greek folklorist Nikolaos G. Politis published the first part of his *Neohellenic Mythology*, as a response to Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's earlier arguments (in the 1830s) concerning the racial and cultural discontinuity of the Greek nation. Politis's aim was to discredit the discontinuity theory by proving the survival and development of ancient Greek mythology from Byzantium to modern times.[179] Politis's book "inaugurated the systematic exploration by Greeks of their own folklore [providing] a detailed account of beliefs and practices current among the Greek peasantry, many of which do indeed bear a relationship, although not always as direct as Politis would have wished, to those of antiquity."[180]

In this chapter, we have seen that Byzantium produced its own mythological heritage, as a result of the ongoing process of Christianization, the rediscovery and appropriation of pre-Christian culture, and the growing dependence between what Redfield has defined as the Great and Little Traditions. We have also noted, following Veyne, that the plurality of truths in Byzantine society, and more specifically Cyprus, left room for both the official teachings of the Christian Church and the cultivation of folk perceptions, images, and symbols challenging doctrinal correctness. Our discussion has then focused on the *Charopalema* theme in the songs relating the wrestling between Digenes and Charos: here we can observe both similarities and differences between the Byzantine warrior hero and the divine warriors of the pre-Christian Near East, Jewish Christianity, and Byzantine Orthodoxy.

Historians of ancient Greece rightly point out that, in the classical period, "political claims were reflected in the reinterpretation of various myths."[181] Can the same be said about the medieval mythology of Byzantium?[182] Throughout this book, we have seen the way power relations (be they political or ecclesiastical) shaped society and culture, influencing the expression of religion and the mentalities of people. The Byzantine heroic mythology of Cyprus is a vivid example of this tendency: folk myths on warrior heroes mirror political attitudes and social relationships; they are manifestations of ideology and agency, communal and individual. This, I hope, has been made clear by the book's exposition of the heroic honor code in chapter 2, as well as by the analysis of folk perceptions of the Other and the social borderer in chapter 3. The contribution of chapter 4 concerns the dynamics of Orthodox Cypriot folk spirituality, especially in relation to conflicting views of the Christian God, usually depicted as the divine protector of His people. The key notion of *adikia* in the *Charopalema* theme creates a dichotomy between the folk understanding of God's intervention (or lack of) in history, and the communal self-perception represented by the proud and fighting Digenes. The historical contextualization of this ideological development (during late Byzantine and post-Byzantine times according to Saunier) not only confirms

the interpretive plasticity of myth but also brings us back to Kaldellis's argument presented in chapter 1: heroic mythogenesis needs to be examined, partly at least, as a reaction to Latin Christian (and Turkish, we may add) expansionism.

Byzantine mythology, namely the creative remaking of the medieval materials included in Politis's *Neohellenic Mythology*, is a rich, yet largely unexplored field, awaiting for historians with a folklorist background to study it. The reception of Greco-Roman culture in Byzantium is only part of this much broader mythopoeic phenomenon. The role of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity as a vehicle of pre-Christian Near Eastern (particularly Jewish) ideas and symbols requires further examination. Underlying factors, such as political agency, socioeconomic inequality, cultural differences, and ideology, should be taken into account. Equally important is to focus on the geographical and social microlevel, to produce more studies on different microcontexts, which will, eventually, help us see the bigger and more complex picture with more clarity.

It is only hoped that this book has made the first step toward this direction, stimulating interest in the fascinating heroic mythology of Byzantium.

NOTES

1. J.-A. George, *Beowulf* (New York, 2010), p. 2.
2. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 19.
3. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 21.
4. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 22.
5. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 39.
6. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 41.
7. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, pp. 23, 33.
8. J. D. Niles, "Introduction: Beowulf, Truth, and Meaning," in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. R. E. Bjork and J. D. Niles (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1997), p. 5, adding that Tolkien imagined the poet to be "a man like Tolkien himself."
9. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*.
10. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*, pp. 57–58.
11. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*, p. xx.
12. For example, R. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon. A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 277–78; cf. Magnússon and Szijártó, *What is Microhistory*, pp. 17–25, 113–16.
13. E. Hobsbawm, "Foreword," in Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*, p. x.
14. L. J. R. Milis, "The Pagan Middle Ages—A Contradiction in Terms?" in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, ed. Milis and trans. T. Guest (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 5.
15. A. Dierkens, "The Evidence of Archaeology," in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, ed. Milis, p. 40.

16. R. Hutton, "How Pagan Were Medieval English Peasants?" *Folklore* 122 (2011), p. 241.

17. Hutton, "How Pagan," pp. 242–44.

18. K. Dowden, *European Paganism. The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (New York, 2000), p. 25.

19. Dowden, *European Paganism*, pp. 25–116.

20. Dowden, *European Paganism*, pp. 117–48; see also briefly, H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 47–61.

21. H. Saradi (-Mendelovici), "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3:4 (1997), pp. 395–423 (esp. at pp. 422–23). On the role of *spolia* in Byzantine Christian memory, see A. Papalexandrou, "Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. R. M.Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock (Malden, MA–Oxford, 2003), pp. 56–80.

22. Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins. Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford, 2007), p. 67.

23. A. Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge–New York, 2009).

24. I. Anagnostakis, "Byzantium and Hellas. Some Lesser Known Aspects of the Helladic Connection (8th–12th centuries)," in *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, ed. J. Albany and E. Chalkia (Athens, 2013), pp. 15–28 (quotation at p. 28); I. Anagnostakis and A. Kaldellis, "The Textual Sources for the Peloponnese, A.D. 582–959: Their Creative Engagement with Ancient Literature," *GRBS* 54 (2014), pp. 105–35.

25. R. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folk-Lore* 35:3 (1924), pp. 209–48; Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople: Additional Note," *Folk-Lore* 35:4 (1924), p. 380; C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 53–81; C. Mango, M. Vickers, and E. D. Francis, "The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and Its Collection of Ancient Statues," *Journal of the History of Collections* 4:1 (1992), pp. 89–98; L. James, "'Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard.' Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople," *Gesta* 35:1 (1996), pp. 12–20; A. Kaldellis, "Christodoros on the Statues of the Zeuxippos Baths: A New Reading of the *Ekphrasis*," *GRBS* 47 (2007), pp. 361–83; Kaldellis, "Greek Art in Late Antiquity and Byzantium," in *A Companion to Greek Art*, vol. 2, ed. T. J. Smith and D. Phlantzos (Hooken, NJ, 2012), pp. 621–32; J. Ma, "Travelling Statues, Travelling Bases? Ancient Statues in Constantinople," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 180 (2012), pp. 243–49; P. Stephenson, *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography* (Oxford, 2016); A. Kaldellis, "The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople. What Do We Know about Its Original Architecture and Adornment?" *GRBS* 56 (2016), pp. 714–39.

26. R. Ousterhout, "The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014), pp. 304–26; see also, J. Bardill, *Constantine, divine emperor of the Christian golden age* (Cambridge, 2012).

27. For example, S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (New York, 1970); C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982); P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: The First Phase. Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from its Origins to the 10th Century*, trans. H. Lindsay and A. Moffatt (Leiden–Boston, 1986); A. Kaldellis, *Byzantine Readings of Ancient Historians. Texts in Translation with Introductions and Notes* (London–New York, 2015); Vafeiadis, *Ύστερη Βυζαντινή Ζωγραφική* (on the "classicist" Komnenian background of late Byzantine art); Cyprus: C. N. Constantinides, "The Copying and Circulation of Secular Greek Texts in Frankish Cyprus," *EKEE* 21 (1995), pp. 15–32; Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία*, pp. 22–27, 43–50, 60–67, 70–80 (various examples from the field of literature); Eliades (ed.), *Κυπριακῷ τῷ τρόπῳ* (Komnenian art and the *maniera Cypria*); Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 85–92, 199–204 (focusing on ecclesiastical culture); Eliades (ed.), *Palaeologan Reflections* (Palaeologan art in Cyprus).

28. See chapters 1–2.

29. E. H. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105:4 (1961), pp. 368–93 (esp. at p. 384).

30. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," pp. 384–87.

31. Kantorowicz, "Gods in Uniform," p. 388.

32. V. A. Foskolou, "The Magic of the Written Word: The Evidence of Inscriptions of Byzantine Magical Amulets," *ΔΧΑΕ* 35 (2014), pp. 329–48 (esp. at pp. 345, 347).

33. *Der Heilige Georg*, ed. Krumbacher, pp. 78–81 (esp. at p. 80).

34. On this process, see H. Inglebert, *Interpretatio Christiana. Les mutations des saviors (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire) dans l'Antiquité chrétienne (30–630 après J.-C.)* (Paris, 2001).

35. N. Siniossoglou, "Plato Christianus: The Colonization of Plato and Identity Formation in Late Antiquity," in *Pseudologie: Études sur la fausseté dans la langue et dans la pensée*, ed. P. Hummel (Paris, 2010), p. 174.

36. A. Kaldellis and N. Siniossoglou, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Kaldellis and Siniossoglou (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 14–15 (emphasis in the original).

37. F. Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 309.

38. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 2, ed. G. A. Ralles and M. Potles (Athens, 1852), pp. 448–52 (Trullo, canon 62); Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 74, 77, 136, 147–48, 183, 214–17, 311.

39. A. Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium, 400–1200 A.D.: A New Interpretation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13:1 (2012), pp. 187–203; Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 219–21.

40. See, for example, the depiction of an erotic scene from a twelfth-century ceramic fragment discovered in Argos (Oikonomou-Laniado, "Une representation," pp. 259–60); the opposition of twelfth-century canonists regarding erotic representations in wealthy houses [*Σύνταγμα*, ed. Ralles and Potles, pp. 545–46 (Balsamon on

Trullo, canon 100)]; and the literary image of the drunken monk (Anagnostakis, "Ο βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός," p. 53).

41. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 315, 317–18 (esp. at p. 315).

42. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, p. 312.

43. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, p. 313.

44. There is rich bibliography on the subject; for example, H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC, 1995); A. D. Vakaloudi, *Η μαγεία ως κοινωνικό φαινόμενο στο πρώιμο Βυζάντιο (4ος–7ος αι.)* (Athens, 2001); Dickie, *Magic*, pp. 243–309; P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva, 2006); J. C. B. Petropoulos, "Introduction: Magic in Byzantium," in *Greek Magic*, ed. Petropoulos, pp. 41–43; S. N. Trojanos, "Magic and the Devil: From the Old to the New Rome," in *Greek Magic*, ed. Petropoulos, pp. 44–52; Vikan, "Magic," pp. 53–57; D. Jordan, "Another 'Wretched Subject': The Demons of the World," in *Greek Magic*, ed. Petropoulos, pp. 58–63; G. Th. Calofonos, "The Magician Vigrinos and His Victim: A Case of Magic from the *Life of St Andrew the Fool*," in *Greek Magic*, ed. Petropoulos, pp. 64–71; A. Tselikas, "Spells and Exorcisms in Three Post-Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Greek Magic*, ed. Petropoulos, pp. 72–84; *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αιρετικοί στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον 14ο αιώνα. Επτά ανέκδοτες ομιλίες του Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, ed. C. Paidas (Athens, 2011); S. Mariev and W.-M. Stock (eds.), *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium* (Berlin, 2013); Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 268–304.

45. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 273–74.

46. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 283–84.

47. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, p. 318.

48. For example, Y. Adler, "Second Temple Period Ritual Baths Adjacent to Agricultural Installations: The Archaeological Evidence in Light of Halakhic Sources," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61:1 (2008), pp. 61–72. Christ blessed the catching of fish (Luke 5:1–11; John 21:1–14), miraculously multiplied the loaves and fish (Matthew 14:13–21, and 15:32–39; Mark 6:31–44, and 8:1–10; Luke 9:10–17; John 6:1–15), turned water into wine at Cana (John 2:1–12), and blessed bread and wine during the Last Supper (Matthew 26:26–29; Mark 14:22–25; Luke 22:17–20; John 15:1–8, on Christ the true vineyard; 1 Corinthians 11:23–34).

49. *Εὐχολόγιον, sive ritual Graecorum*, ed. J. Goar (Paris, 1647), pp. 599–604, 655–57, 701–3, 705, 714, 718, 743, 771–72, 776–806.

50. *Der Heilige Tychon*, ed. H. Usener (Leipzig–Berlin, 1907), pp. 120–28; I. Anagnostakis, "Noms de vignes et de raisins et techniques de vinification à Byzance. Continuité et rupture avec la viticulture de l'antiquité tardive," *Food & History* 11:2 (2013), p. 43.

51. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, p. 257 (emphasis in the original).

52. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, pp. 257–59.

53. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, pp. 258–59 (emphasis in the original).

54. R. Redfield, "The Social Organization of Tradition," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15:1 (1955), pp. 13–14.

55. Redfield, "The Social Organization of Tradition," p. 17.

56. Redfield, "The Social Organization of Tradition," pp. 18, 21.

57. M. Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue. Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360–430* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2007), p. 31.

58. I. Anagnostakis, "Η θέση των ειδωλολατρών στο Βυζάντιο. Η περίπτωση των 'Ελλήνων' του Πορφυρογέννητου," in *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, pp. 25–47; Siniossoglou, "Plato Christianus," pp. 145–76.

59. F. Nau, "Le texte grec de récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)," *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), pp. 69–70.

60. Nau, "Le texte," p. 70.

61. *Τοῦ Μακαρίου Σωφρονίου Μοναχοῦ Μονῆς Ἀββᾶ Θεοδοσίου, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Κύρον καὶ Ἰωάννην*, *PG* 87.3, col. 3625.

62. P. Aupert, "Hélios, Adonis et magie: les trésors d'une citerne d'Amathonte (Inscriptions d'Amathonte VIII)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 132 (2008), pp. 370–78.

63. J. Haldon, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, ed. A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Princeton, NJ, 1992), pp. 142–43.

64. Cf. A. T. Wilburn, *Materia Magica. The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2012), pp. 172–73, 211–12.

65. *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae accedunt Acta Barnabae*, ed. M. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 292–300.

66. *Der Heilige Tychon*, ed. Usener, pp. 151–52.

67. S. Heid, "Die C-Reihe erbaulicher Erzählungen des Anastasios vom Sinai im Codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 2592," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74 (2008), p. 114.

68. *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik*, ed. E. Klostermann (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 122–23; this source has been first noted by E. Chrysos, "Από την ιστορία του μοναχισμού στην Κύπρο τον 7ο αιώνα," *EKMIMK* 4 (1999), p. 213.

69. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 31 = *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 82.

70. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 34 = *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 84–85.

71. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 33 = *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, p. 88.

72. N. Loudovikos, *Ο μόχθος της μετοχής. Είναι και μέθεξη στον Γρηγόριο Παλαμά και τον Θωμά Ακινάτη* (Athens–Thessalonica, 2010), p. 40; a brief exposition of divine embodiment and transcendent materiality in the Orthodox spirituality of Latin-ruled Cyprus could be found in Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 52–57, 81–129.

73. D. Pallis, "A Critical Presentation of the Iconology of John of Damascus in the Context of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversies," *Heythrop Journal* 56 (2015), p. 178.

74. B. Lourié and A. Orlov (eds.), *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, vol. 3 of *Scrinium* (Saint Petersburg, 2007).

75. Pallis, "A Critical Presentation," p. 179.

76. C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality. An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, Brooklyn, 2011).

77. Pallis, "A Critical Presentation," p. 183.

78. M. N. Christodoulou, "Κυπριακαί κανονικαί διατάξεις," *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 404, 414–15.

79. Edbury, "Franks," p. 86; see also *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373*, ed. and trans. C. Schabel (Nicosia, 2001), nos. A.XIII–XIV, B.10, C.11–12, G.IV.g.

80. *The Synodicum Nicosiense*, ed. and trans. Schabel (Nicosia, 2001), no. A.XX.

81. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, rev. D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (second edition: New York–Oxford, 2002); Ph. Pharos, *Το πένθος. Ορθόδοξη λαογραφική και ψυχολογική θεώρηση* (fifth edition: Athens, 2006); C. Protopapa, *Τα έθιμα του θανάτου στην παραδοσιακή κοινωνία της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2012).

82. For example, E. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, PA, 1978).

83. For example, M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

84. See discussion (with earlier bibliography) in Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 41, 56–57, 66, 79, 81, 197.

85. *Leontios Makhairas*, ed. Dawkins, par. 13 = *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, ed. Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, pp. 70–73; see also A. Gilmour-Bryson, "Sodomy and the Knights Templar," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7 (1996), pp. 151–83; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A Complete English Translation*, trans. Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden–Boston, 1998).

86. Edbury, "Franks," p. 87.

87. Edbury, "Franks," p. 86.

88. J. Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago–London, 1980), p. 220.

89. N. Patapiou, "Άννα Λουζινιάν: η φοβερή Μελουζίνη," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών* 4 (1999), pp. 178, 186–87, 192; on Anne and Melusine, see also D. Taverna, *Anna di Cipro: l'eterna straniera* (Milan, 2007).

90. B. Sax, *The Serpent and the Swan. The Animal Bride in Folklore and Literature* (Blacksburg, Virginia, 1998), p. 82: "old aristocratic houses, filled with mementos of an indistinctly remembered past, are still a frequent setting for stories of supernatural events. Fantastic legends of family origins, not always believed, have always circulated about such places. In pre-Christian times, ruling families such as the Merowingens of ancient Germany traced their ancestry to a god. As the Middle Ages progressed, such genealogies were often replaced by links with mighty, though still human, warriors such as Alexander the Great. A few aristocratic families of Europe have traced their descent from fairies, those ambiguous creatures variously identified with pagan deities, devils, animals, and spirits of the dead." The same scholar seems to accept Sabine Baring-Gould's nineteenth-century view that the Melusine myth might have originated from a Mesopotamian goddess

associated with the cult of Demeter; through Cyprus, this myth might have reached continental Europe (p. 89); Le Goff, *Time*, pp. 214, 218, is rather skeptical of this interpretation.

91. L. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento: la percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009).

92. Calvelli, "Archaeology in the Service of the Dominante: Giovanni Matteo Bembo and the Antiquities of Cyprus," in *Cyprus and the Renaissance*, ed. Arbel, Chayes, and Hendrix, p. 57.

93. Calvelli, "Spolia ruggenti e miracolosi: i leoni antichi di Salamina e Famagosta," in *La Serenissima a Cipro. Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, ed. E. Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 109–30.

94. As observed by G. Grivaud, "Introduction," in *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*,p. xiii.

95. Landscape archaeology offers valuable insights into the *longue durée* perception of ritual and cultic spaces in the Mediterranean; G. Papantoniou, C. Morris, and A. K. Vionis (eds.), *Unlocking Sacred Landscapes: Spatial Analysis of Ritual and Cult in the Mediterranean* (Nicosia, 2019). On the historical/cultural layers of Cypriot toponymy, see Th. Papadopoullos, "Συνοπτικόν διάγραμμα τοπωνυμικής μεθοδολογίας," *EKEE* 5 (1971–72), pp. 1–28.

96. D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria. Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus in 1888* (London, 1889), pp. 20, 37–38, 41, 46–52; G. K. Spyridakis and St. Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή εις Κύπρον. Έκθεσις περί της λαογραφικής συλλογής," *Επετηρίς του Λαογραφικού Αρχείου* 13–14 (1960–61), pp. 312, 322; Th. Papadopoullos, "Τοπωνύμια Ριζοκαρπάσου," *ΚΣ* 46 (1982), pp. 238, 242, 251; Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαί και λαογραφικαί μελέται*, pp. 15, 37, 332; M. Yiasemidou-Katzi, *Κοιλάνι. Το χωριό, η ιστορία και ο κόσμος του* (Limassol, 2005), p. 102; I. Ionas, *Δεισιδαιμονίες και μαγεία στην Κύπρο του χτες* (Nicosia, 2013), pp. 219–24.

97. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, pp. 247–48 (emphasis in the original).

98. Spyridakis and Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή," pp. 315–17.

99. Spyridakis and Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή," pp. 308–15, 317; Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαί και λαογραφικαί μελέται*, pp. 226–51; Karageorghis, *Κύπρις*, pp. 9, 78, 237–38.

100. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαί και λαογραφικαί μελέται*, pp. 315–40. On the symbolic connection between Saint Helen and pre-Christian fertility cults, see also E. Psychogiou, *"Μαυρηγή" και Ελένη. Τελετουργίες θανάτου και αναγέννησης. Χθόνια μυθολογία, νεκρικά δρώμενα και μοιρολόγια στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2008), pp. 83–98.

101. A. Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 1 (revised second edition: Athens, 1890), pp. 717, 736.

102. G. Ch. Papacharalambous, "Ενδείξεις περί πίστεως εις την ύπαρξιν ονομόρφων δαιμόνων," *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 171–74.

103. M. Patera, *Figures grecques de l'épouvante de l'antiquité au présent. Peurs enfantines et adultes* (Leiden–Boston, 2015), pp. 86, 156, 228, 236, 313–14.

104. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (London, 1893), pp. 121–22.

105. *Σύνταγμα*, ed. Ralles and Potles, pp. 456–60 (Trullo, canon 65); see also Sakellarios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, vol. 1, pp. 709–10; Spyridakis and Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή," pp. 245–46. Scholars no longer accept the earlier view that ancient Greek festivals signified the resurrection of pagan fertility gods (e.g., Attis/Adonis), as seems to be implied by Richter's understanding of the Kybele/Attis cult; M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis. Spices in Greek Mythology*, trans. J. Loyd (second edition: Princeton, NJ, 1994); D. Ø. Endsjø, *Greek Resurrection Beliefs and the Success of Christianity* (New York, 2009); L. Reitzammer, *The Athenian Adonia in Context: The Adonis Festival as Cultural Practice* (Madison–London, 2016).

106. Chr. Exadaktylos, "Κυπριακή λαογραφία των μηνών," *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 244, 250.

107. *Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρούς (Γεώργιος Βο(σ)τρ(υ)ηνός ή Βουστρώνιος), Διήγησις Κρονίκας Κύπρου*, ed. G. Kechagioglou (Nicosia, 1997), pp. 292–93.

108. "Spirituality" is used to describe 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," according to Ph. Sheldrake, *A Brief History of Spirituality* (Malden, MA–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria, 2007), p. 2.

109. P. Flourentzos, "Η δεντρολατρεία στην αρχαία Κύπρο," *Κυπριακή Αρχαιολογία* 4 (2001), pp. 123–28; D. Damianou, "Ιδιάζοντα λειτουργικά έθιμα της 'λαϊκής λατρείας' της Κύπρου," MA Thesis (Aristotle University of Thessalonica, 2012), pp. 61–62.

110. On pagan, Jewish, and Christian ritual sacrifices, see D. I. Pallas, *Η "θάλασσα" των εκκλησιών. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν του χριστιανισμού και την μορφολογίαν της λειτουργίας* (Athens, 1952); E. Kovaltchuk, "The *Encaenia* of St Sophia: Animal Sacrifice in a Christian Context," *Scrinium* 4 (2008), pp. 161–203; M.-Z. Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to 200 AD* (Oxford, 2008).

111. M. G. Varvounis, *Traditional and Popular Religiosity in Greece: Customs and Rituals. Studies and Aspects on Social and Religious Folkloristics* (Athens–Belgrade, 2018), p. 15.

112. Spyridakis and Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή," pp. 320–21.

113. A. Marava-Hadjinicolaou, *Ο Άγιος Μάμας* (Athens, 1953), pp. 28–29, 32, 97; Grimal, *The Dictionary*, s.v. "Attis," "Cybele."

114. G. N. Aikaterinides, "Βροχής μαγεία και δεισιδαιμονία," in *Μαγεία και δεισιδαιμονία* (Athens, 2011), p. 87.

115. *Steffano Lusignano, Chorograffia*, ed. Th. Papadopoullos, contr. G. Grivaud, G. A. Ioannides, and Ch. A. Pantelides (Bologna, 1573; second edition: Nicosia, 2004), f. 34^{r}; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description*, ff. 72$^{r\text{-}v}$; *Κυπροβενετικά*, ed. Kyriacou, par. VI.5; on Arsha-luis, see K. Stopka, *Armenia Christiana. Armenian Religious Identity and the Churches of Constantinople and Rome (4th–15th Century)* (Kraków, 2016), p. 39.

116. It is estimated that in the sixteenth century around 82–85 percent of the Cypriot population were peasants; M.-E. Antonopoulou, *Η κοινωνική θέση των αγροτών (παροίκων και φραγκομάτων) στην ενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (15^{ος}–16^{ος}*

αιώνας) (Athens, 2013), p. 113. It is reasonable to assume that the number of peasants was relatively the same under the Byzantines and the Franks.

117. W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 55, 61–62.

118. Chr. Kyriacou in *Christian Diversity in Late Venetian Cyprus. A Study and English Translation of Codex B-030 from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation* (Lefkosia, 2020), pp. 35–36.

119. See the argument supported by Kaldellis concerning the Great Medieval Mythogenesis (chapter 1); cf. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 312: "native peoples subject to the violence of the military aristocracy of the Latin world did not only grieve. Sometimes reaction on the part of the native societies was strong enough to produce enduring states, hammered out in the very process of resistance. The Lithuanian state was born in response to the German threat and went on to outlast the *Ordensstaat* and, by the late Middle Ages, to dominate eastern Europe. . . . The birth of this dynamic and expansionary political structure was linked to a vigorous renewal of their traditional religion. It is sometimes overlooked that by the mid-fourteenth century this state, ruled by pagans, was the largest in Europe. There was nothing atavistic about it: its deployment of artillery was as sophisticated as anyone's. Its gods were old, but its guns were new."

120. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55.

121. M. L. Bailey and K. Barclay, "Emotion, Ritual and Power: From Family to Nation," in *Emotion, Ritual and Power in Europe, 1200–1920. Family, State and Church*, ed. Bailey and Barclay (London, 2017), p. 10.

122. Bailey and Barclay, "Emotion, Ritual and Power," pp. 7–9; Kyriacou in *Christian Diversity*, pp. 37–38.

123. Bondarenko, "Russian Epic Songs," p. 110.

124. Bondarenko, "Russian Epic Songs," pp. 110–11.

125. These legendary men of old were the "Hellenes." For the perception of these legendary and gigantic warriors in the Greek folk tradition, see Politis, *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 1:2, pp. 501–27.

126. P. Veyne, *When our world became Christian, 312–394*, trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge–Malden, MA, 2010), pp. 160–61.

127. G. Contogeorgis, "Οι ανθρωποκεντρικές σταθερές του δημοτικού τραγουδι ού," *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* 119 (2006), p. 18.

128. P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, trans. P. Wissing (Chicago–London, 1988), throughout (esp. at p. 90). Veyne explains (at p. 113) this "plurality of beliefs" in the following way: "the truth is the child of the imagination. The authenticity of our beliefs is not measure according to the truth of their object. Again we must understand the reason, which is a simple one: it is we who fabricate our truths, and it is not 'reality' that makes us believe. For 'reality' is the child of the constitutive imagination of our tribe." For the faithful Christian (both in the Middle Ages and in our postmodern times), however, the truth of faith is not an invention of our imagination: it is a revealed reality, often (as in the case of the Christian martyrs and ascetics) worth sacrificing your life for. My use of Veyne's "plurality of truths/beliefs" aims at highlighting the way mythological

language and narratives were employed by the folk imagination to speak of abstract realities, despite the emerging contradiction with the truth of the Christian faith.

129. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths*, pp. 17–18.

130. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths*, p. 89.

131. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths*, p. 21.

132. M. Alexiou, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor* (Ithaca, New York, 2002), p. 333.

133. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 37.

134. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 37–38.

135. Cf. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38; Alexiou, *After Antiquity*, p. 206.

136. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38.

137. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 38–51.

138. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 118–28; Alexiou, *After Antiquity*, pp. 332–34.

139. Alexiou, *After Antiquity*, p. 333.

140. K. Yiaxoglou, "Trajectories of Treasured Texts: Laments as Narratives," in *Storytelling as Narrative Practice. Ethnographic Approaches to the Tales We Tell*, ed. E. A. Falconi and K. E. Graber (Leiden–Boston, 2019), p. 149.

141. Beaton, *Folk Poetry*, p. 79. On the representation of death in the epic, see Angold, Church, pp. 442–46.

142. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 267–359 (esp. at pp. 272–98, 339–46).

143. Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 281–96; see examples of Digenes' *Charopalema* in Politis, "Ο θάνατος του Διγενή," pp. 207–16; Lüdeke, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 121–57.

144. Psychogiou, *"Μαυρηγή" και Ελένη*, pp. 38–39; quotation not specifically referring to Cyprus, at p. 527; cf. Politis, *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 1:2, pp. 231–492 (also discussing folk perceptions of Paradise, Purgatory, Hell, and the Devil; it should be pointed out that in Greek heroic folk songs, there is neither Paradise, nor Hell).

145. Psychogiou, *"Μαυρηγή" και Ελένη*, pp. 41–42; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 105–17, 392–94.

146. E. V. Stelnik, "Fight with Charos in the Byzantine Chthonic Outlooks," *Science Journal of Volgograd State University. History. Area Studies. International Relations* 21:5 (2016), pp. 123–24 (article in Russian with an English abstract).

147. Politis, *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 1:2, pp. 263–64; Grimal, *The Dictionary*, s.v. "Alcestis," "Charon," "Hades," "Heracles," "Thanatos;" C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 303–60; Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 318–20; Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 39; G. Ekroth and I. Nilsson (eds.), *Round Trip to Hades in the Eastern Mediterranean Tradition. Visits to the Underworld from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

148. Kitromelidou, "Ακριτικά Τραγούδια," p. 195 (the hero Costantas, a formidable warrior, is said to be an angel, the brother of Charos); Papadopoullos, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα*, pp. 3–7 (dialogue between man and Charos/Saint Michael the

Archangel); M. Bzinkowski, "The case of the angels. The relevance of the research by classical scholar John Cuthbert Lawson (1874–1919) on Modern Greek culture," *Classica Cracoviensia* 30 (2016), pp. 51–78.

149. R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (Ithaca, New York, 1985), p. 123.

150. Stelnik, "Fight with Charos," pp. 121–28 (esp. at p. 121).

151. *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, ed. R.-J. Lilie, C. Luwdig, and T. Pratsch, s.v. "Alexios Charon" (https://db.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ22403), "Charonites" (https://db.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ23387), "Konstantinos Charon" (https://db.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ26076) (last accessed May 26, 2020); Stelnik, "Fight with Charos," p. 122.

152. M. S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism. Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford, 2001), p. 146; see also M. C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior. The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, PA, 1980); M. Brettler, "Images of YHWH the Warrior in Psalms," *Semeia* 61 (1993), pp. 135–65.

153. N. P. Constas, "The Last Temptation of Satan: Divine Deception in Greek Patristic Interpretations of the Passion Narrative," *Harvard Theological Review* 97:2 (2004), pp. 156–57.

154. *Το Απόκρυφο Ευαγγέλιο του Νικοδήμου. Τα Πρακτικά της Δίκης του Ιησού Χριστού και η Κάθοδός Του στον Άδη*, ed., trans., intr. and comm. C. Bozinis (Athens, 2005), pp. 200–6 (pars. 21–22).

155. *Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου λόγος εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου*, *PG* 43, col. 456.

156. See the survey by Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 197–219.

157. H. Maguire, "Why Did Hades become Beautiful in Byzantine Art?" in *Round Trip to Hades*, ed. Ekroth and Nilsson, pp. 304–22 (esp. at p. 317).

158. On this aspect of the Byzantine Orthodox liturgy, see, for example, R. Barrett, "'Let Us Put Away All Earthly Care.' Mysticism and the *Cherubikon* of the Byzantine Rite," *Studia Patristica* 64 (2013), pp. 111–24.

159. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, p. 225.

160. C. Oancea, "*Chaoskampf* in the Orthodox Baptism Ritual," *Acta Theologica* 37:2 (2017), pp. 125–42.

161. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, p. 246.

162. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, pp. 239–43.

163. For example, D. T. Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction. A Reappraisal of the Chaoskampf Theory in the Old Testament* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2005).

164. A. R. Angel, *Chaos and the Son of Man. The Hebrew Chaoskampf Tradition in the Period 515 BCE to 200 CE* (London–New York, 2006), p. 200.

165. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 159–237 (esp. at pp. 165–74).

166. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 159–64 (also based on my own, personal observation of the custom in Cyprus).

167. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, pp. 224–28. The same scholar points out that the ritual should not be associated with the "theatrical" *Cypriot Passion Cycle*.

168. Cf. Puchner, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία*, p. 237: "στη σφαίρα του θεοκεντρικού Μεσαίωνα οι δυνατότητες επίδρασης είναι μονόδρομος: από το ιερό στο κοσμικό, από το αιώνιο στο πρόσκαιρο, από το επέκεινα στο ψεύτικο *hic et nunc*."

169. On this point, see Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 172, 181.

170. J. L. Waters, "Threshing Floors as Sacred Spaces in the Hebrew Bible," PhD Thesis (The Johns Hopkins University, 2013).

171. Kapsomenos, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι*, pp. 175–77.

172. Saunier, *Αδικία*, pp. 506–11, 523–25; in more detail, Saunier, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, pp. 125–151, 262–63; Saunier and Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια*, pp. 133–59, 219–30.

173. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, vol. 4, pp. 343–44.

174. E. Chrysos, "Περί Παιδείας Λόγος," in *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, ed. Th. Antonopoulou, S. Kotzabassi, and M. Loukaki (Berlin, 2015), pp. 96–97.

175. P. Gounaridis, "Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης της καταστροφής," in *1453. Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, ed. T. Kiousopoulou (Heraklion, 2005), pp. 133–45; D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 351–416 (employing "hierocracy"); T. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση* (Athens, 2007), pp. 214–16, 226–27; P. Guran, "Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45 (2007), pp. 73–85; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 136–38, 169–70. Incidentally, the Constantinopolitan patriarchal circles were responsible for a schism between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Orthodox Cypriots, lasting from 1406/12 to 1572.

176. J. Meyendorff, "New Life in Christ: Salvation in Orthodox Theology," *Theological Studies* 50 (1989), p. 483.

177. Angold, *Church*, p. 442. Angold understands the epic's spiritual ideas as reflecting Komnenian developments; I would rather associate them with Palamite Hesychasm in the fourteenth century. For a fourteenth-century dating of the Grottaferrata version, see *ΔΑΥΑ*, pp. 64–70.

178. Angold, *Church*, p. 444.

179. N. G. Politis, *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, vol. 1:1 (Athens, 1871).

180. R. Beaton, "Romanticism in Greece," in *Romanticism in National Context*, ed. R. Porter and M. Teich (Cambridge, 1988), p. 105.

181. Christodoulou, "Aphrodite and Imperialistic Politics," p. 151.

182. See, for example, the political myths sanctioning the rise of Basil I and the establishment of the so-called Macedonian dynasty; A. Markopoulos, "Οι μεταμορφώσεις της 'μυθολογίας' του Βασιλείου Α΄," in *Αντικήνσωρ. Τιμητικός τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωιάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του*, ed. V. Leontaritou, C. A. Bourdara, and E. Sp. Papagianni (Athens, 2013), pp. 945–70.

Conclusion

The Byzantine Warrior Hero: Culture, Society, and Image

Being a warrior is a bloody business. It involves the use of coercive power and violence, sometimes at their most extreme degree. "Warfare," wrote John Keegan (1934–2012) in 1993, "is almost as old as man himself, and reaches into the most secret places of the human heart, places where self dissolves rational purpose, where pride reigns, where emotion is paramount, where instinct is king."[1] At the same time, warfare "is always an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms, in some societies the culture itself."[2]

The subject of this book has been the image of the Byzantine warrior hero in the folk songs of Cyprus, focusing on particular themes, motifs, and symbols related to medieval perceptions, values, views, beliefs, and behaviors. The number, originality, and length of heroic folk songs from Cyprus help us reconstruct the endemic characteristics of the microcontext under investigation, always in dialogue with broader phenomena and developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, Byzantium, and other regions of the European continent. In the words of Norbert Elias (1897–1990), this study has attempted to map changes in "human conduct and sentiment,"[3] through the interdependence of people and the social interweaving of "human impulses and strivings . . . which determines the course of historical change [and] underlies the civilizing process."[4] Cypriot heroic folk songs become a tapestry that visualizes what Elias in *The Civilizing Process* calls the "sociogenetic" and "psychogenetic" mechanisms behind history. They invite us to see the medieval Eastern Mediterranean as a world "where violence is an unavoidable and everyday event."[5]

What can the songs tell us about the societies producing and preserving them? First, they speak of war and violence: this is their main subject. Once again, we return to *The Civilizing Process*: as noted by Elias, in medieval

societies with an upper warrior class,[6] the warrior has "extraordinary freedom in living out his feelings and passions, [and is permitted] savage joys, the uninhibited satisfaction of pleasure from women, or of hatred in destroying and tormenting anything hostile or belonging to an enemy." At the same time, however, the warrior is threatened, "if he is defeated, with extraordinary degree of exposure to the violence and the passions of others, with such radical subjugation, such extreme forms of physical torment as are later, when physical torture, imprisonment and the radical humiliation of individuals have become the monopoly of a central authority, hardly to be found in normal life."[7] One of the main arguments put forth by Elias is that it is exactly this monopoly on violence that marks the birth of the modern state.[8]

War and violence imply the development and structure of particular power relations. In chapter 1, we have seen that state authorities in medieval Cyprus (the Komnenoi, the Lusignans, and the Venetian colonial motherland) exercised, in collaboration with the local elites, a rather centralized system of government. But the sociopolitical fabric was not one of a monopoly on violence; as Kaldellis states in his *Byzantine Republic*, it would be wrong to define the state solely (or primarily) "in terms of its coercive power within a society . . . . While the *basileia* had a monopoly on the governance of all Romans, the latter did not identify their state or society with that executive power."[9] The governing authorities of medieval Cyprus may have had control over the army and justice, but the lower strata were often able to negotiate with and resist this power, physically or symbolically—in the latter case exploiting the interpretive fluidity of heroic folk songs. Mouzalon's bleak description of the sufferings of Greek Cypriot peasants under the Komnenoi in the twelfth century gave voice to the impoverished, humiliated, and tortured peasantry of Cyprus;[10] the same voice is echoed in Cypriot heroic folk songs, praising heroic deeds against the state's *adikia* (injustice). Inequality and cultural/religious differences between Greeks and Latins from the late twelfth century until the coming of the Ottomans in the late sixteenth century determined the ideals and realities of subaltern resistance to political authority (and, thus, the exercise of physical/symbolic violence), so eloquently reflected, for example, in the *Song of Porphyres*. At the same time, the Byzantine warrior elite, the one controlling the mechanism of violence in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, is the one glorified in Cypriot heroic folk songs sanctioning imperial and aristocratic authority, and the preservation (or restoration) of order. It is the honor code of this warrior nobility, nourished in the values of the Greco-Roman past and Orthodox Christianity, which left its mark on the songs of Asguris, Saint George the Dragonslayer, Digenes and the Crab, and others. This is evidence that medieval Cyprus was not as "anarchical" as Elias's theory concerning the lack of a monopoly on violence in other medieval societies suggests: order, *taxis*, was a central administration axis;

and, yet, violence could come from any direction—the agents of central authority, a popular riot, an aristocratic revolt, a seaborne raid, a foreign invasion. This reality inspired antithetical ideologies in folk society and the heroic tradition: both low-level and high-level, both against and in support of the central authority. The appropriation and recontextualization of these ideological responses, based on Byzantine heroic models, continued well after the end of the Byzantine rule in Cyprus (e.g., late medieval/early modern anti-Ottomanism).

More than historical memorials of medieval power struggles, the folk materials under investigation are monuments of culture, and even spirituality. The mythic nuclei in Cypriot heroic folk songs could be viewed as the bonds joining together the Great Tradition of Christianity and the Little Tradition of the pre-Christian heritage during the Christian Middle Ages. The synthesis between the pre-Christian past and Byzantine Orthodox Christianity produced new cultural expressions, which are visible in the heroic folk mythology of Cyprus. Although pre-Christian culture did not survive as a self-sufficient, independent, and unchangeable tradition (for this would have been impossible in a medieval Christian society), we need to acknowledge its enduring presence as the mythic omphalos of heroic folk stories, often (but not exclusively) through the dynamic and transformative mediation of the *interpretatio Christiana*. But the melancholy of those not having tasted the paschal joys of Christ's eternal kingdom remains. Death is death: dark, sorrowful, the patriarch of inconsolable grief. The dramatic wrestling contest between Digenes and Charos is a striking example of how greatly life was valued by the folk community of Cyprus, especially in times of turmoil, suffering, and loss: heroic resistance against death in the *Charopalema* theme is not inspired by the promise of Paradise; the hero's inmost passion for worldly life nourishes his defiance of the cosmic order and divine will. Promethean pessimism in a Christian age: the success, glory, and pleasures of this world are all ephemeral; *hubris* is always punished. And so Digenes dies.

The perspective of the heroic folk songs examined in this book is "Cypriot Byzantine." It should be clarified that, by employing the term "Byzantine," I do not imply that the civilization of the Christian Greco-Roman Empire was static or isolated in terms of external influences. Cyprus remained part of the Byzantine cultural and religious map, even after the coming of the Crusaders, and well after 1453. During the Frankish and Venetian periods, the social basis of the Cypriot population was Byzantine (i.e., both Roman and Greek), maintaining its language (in the form of the Greek Cypriot dialect), customs, traditions, and Orthodox faith. Byzantine identity was also partly shared by other local ethnoreligious groups (e.g., Syrian Melkites, Armenians, and Georgians) exposed to the political, religious, cultural, and ideological influence of Byzantium.[11] Moreover, the Latins were happy to adopt and adapt

Byzantine symbols and practices that would help them legitimize themselves in the eyes of their Greek subjects. In addition, anti-Ottomanism appears to have been an ideological spearhead and a bond of unity for all Christians of Cyprus, especially after 1453. The way Cypriot heroic folk songs portray non-Byzantine ethnic groups (Franks, Arabs, Turks, Jews, and Gypsies) mirrors the conflict, interaction, and even interdependence of Cypriot Christian communities under the Lusignans and the Venetians. The viewpoint is Byzantine, but not Constantinopolitan. It's Byzantium in the periphery.

The identity of the warrior heroes in the folk songs discussed in this book is also Byzantine, regardless of its local appropriation by the peasant society of Cyprus. Byzantium is more than a single identity, just as Greek (ancient and modern) is not only Athenian. The geographically focused examination of the warrior heroes of Byzantium stresses their relevance for the people of medieval Cyprus by showing how layers of collective memory and mythic nuclei (quite often from other geographical regions and chronological periods) were reworked, reshaped, resynthesized, and experienced anew, generation after generation, through oral transmission and performance, in particular contexts of which we know, unfortunately, almost nothing. One is amazed at the dynamism, driven not by uncreative conservatism but by a deeper, inner thirst for life, of the communities preserving and retelling these songs; the invisible social cells, which maintained (effortlessly as it seems) their sense of belonging, despite waves of conquerors, and the pressure of exploitation and oppression by the powerful. It is these very people that this book has wished to approach. The tales of Byzantine warrior heroes are also their tales. The image of Digenes, Costantas, and Porphyres is also their image.

NOTES

1. J. Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York, 1993), p. 3.
2. Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, p. 12.
3. N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. E. Jephcott (revised edition: Malden, MA–Oxford–Cartlon, Victoria, 2000), p. 365.
4. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 366.
5. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 370.
6. On the idiosyncrasies (comparing with the Latin West) of Byzantine society and aristocratic groups, see Ragia, "Social group profiles," pp. 365, 367: "there were no clear social barriers between the 'classes' in Byzantium. This created a particular social fluidity, a mobility that is manifest in the rise of certain persons to power, of which the most notable cases are those of Justin I and Basil I . . . . And yet no convincing argument can be articulated that would prove that there was no real aristocracy in Byzantium . . . . No law ever secured special handling for any member of the great

families. On the one hand, this resulted in the renewal and mobility of the aristocracy, which was additionally augmented by the emperor's right to appoint men of his own choice to higher hierarchical positions . . . . Without legal or political investment, 'nobility,' hence 'aristocratic' identity, remained until the late 11th century a subject of ideological proclamation and self-projection."

7. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 371.
8. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, throughout.
9. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, pp. 39–40.
10. Chapter 1.
11. Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, p. xx.

Bibliography

DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Benveniste, Émile, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (Paris, 1948).

Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece, edited by Nigel Wilson (London–New York, 2006).

Grimal, Pierre, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, translated by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford, 1996).

Kenrick, Donald, *Historical Dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)* (second edition: Lanham, Maryland–Toronto–Plymouth, 2007).

Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online, edited by Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Claudia Luwdig, and Thomas Pratsch, https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz (last accessed May 26, 2020).

Shamanism. An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Cultures, 2 volumes, edited by Mariko N. Walter and Eva J. N. Fridman (Santa Barbara, CA–Denver, CO– Oxford, 2004).

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 volumes, edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, and Nancy P. Ševčenko (New York–Oxford, 1991).

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology, 3 volumes, edited by Clifford J. Rogers (Oxford, 2010).

Todt, Klaus-Peter, and Bernd A. Vest, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, volume 15 (Syria) (Vienna, 2015).

Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, 14 volumes, edited by Andros Pavlides (Nicosia, 1984–91).

COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES

(including studies containing primary sources)

Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi, volume 3, edited by Francis Miklosich and Joseph Müller (Vienna, 1865).

Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae accedunt Acta Barnabae, edited by Maximilian Bonnet (Leipzig, 1903).

Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και τα Άσματα του Αρμούρη και του Γιού του Ανδρονίκου, edition and introduction by Stylianos Alexiou (revised edition: Athens, 2008).

Βασίλειος Διγενής Ακρίτης και το Άσμα του Αρμούρη, edition and introduction by Stylianos Alexiou (revised edition: Athens, 2006).

Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik, edited by Erich Klostermann (Leipzig, 1895).

Aupert, Pierre, "Hélios, Adonis et magie: les trésors d'une citerne d'Amathonte (Inscriptions d'Amathonte VIII)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 132 (2008), pp. 347–87.

Avvisi (1570–1572). The War of Cyprus, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collections, edited by Catherine Koumarianou, with an introduction by Alexis Malliaris, and translated by Geoffrey Cox (Nicosia, 2004).

Bouvier, Bertrand, *Le Mirologue de la Vierge. Chansons et poèmes grecs sur le mort du Christ* (Rome, 1976).

Christian Diversity in Late Venetian Cyprus. A Study and English Translation of Codex B-030 from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, translated, with an introduction, by Chrysovalantis Kyriacou (Lefkosia, 2020).

Christodoulou, Menelaos N., "Κυπριακαί κανονικαί διατάξεις," *EKEE* 12 (1983), pp. 329–490.

———, *Κυπριακά Δημώδη Άσματα* (Nicosia, 1987).

Der Heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung, edited by Karl Krumbacher (Munich, 1911).

Der Heilige Tychon, edited by Hans Usener (Leipzig–Berlin, 1907).

Eleutheriades, Alexandros, "Ακριτικά άσματα εξ ανεκδότου συλλογής," *ΚΣ* 37 (1973), pp. 16–29.

Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus, translated by Claude D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1908).

Feissel, Denis, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 100 (1987), pp. 347–87.

Hadjipsaltes, Constantinos, "Βυζαντινά και κυπριακά του 10ου μ. Χ. αιώνος," *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 245–56.

Heid, Stefan, "Die C-Reihe erbaulicher Erzählungen des Anastasios vom Sinai im Codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 2592," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74 (2008), pp. 71–114.

Kaldellis, Anthony, *Byzantine Readings of Ancient Historians. Texts in Translation with Introductions and Notes* (London–New York, 2015).

Kitromelidou, Magda, "Ακριτικά Τραγούδια και Παραλογές από την Κύπρο," *Λαογραφία* 33 (1982–84), pp. 198–239.

Komodikis, Constantinos, *Οι πληροφορίες των βραχέων χρονικών για την Κύπρο. Η κατάταξη και ο σχολιασμός τους* (Nicosia, 2006).

Kyriakides, Stilpon P., "Διγενής και Κάβουρας," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917), pp. 368–424.

———, "Κυπριακαί επωδαί (ευκές)," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917–18), pp. 603–15.

Legrand, Émile, *Trois chansons populaires grecques* (Paris, 1904).

Lüdeke, Hedwig, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια. Τα Ακριτικά*, with the collaboration of Fritz Boehm and Vita Kalopissi-Xanthaki (Athens, 1994).

Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters, edited and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins and Leendert G. Westerink (Washington, DC, 1973).

Pantelides, Christos G., "Κυπριακά Άσματα," *Λαογραφία* 6 (1917), pp. 576–602.

———, "Κυπριακαί επωδαί," *Λαογραφία* 1 (1909), pp. 698–700.

Papadopoullos, Theodoros, *Δημώδη Κυπριακά Άσματα εξ Ανεκδότων Συλλογών του ΙΘ΄ Αιώνος* (Nicosia, 1975).

Pharmakides, Xenophon, *Κύπρια Έπη* (Nicosia, 1926).

Politis, Nikolaos G., "Ο θάνατος του Διγενή," *Λαογραφία* 1 (1909), pp. 169–274.

Sakellarios, Athanasios, *Τα Κυπριακά*, volumes 1–2 (revised second edition: Athens, 1890–91).

Skartsis, Socrates L., *Η επωδή* (Athens, 1994).

Spyridakis Georgios K., "Παρατηρήσεις επί δύο ιστορικών ασμάτων της Κύπρου," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* 6 (1955–56), pp. 423–38.

Spyridakis, Georgios K., Georgios A. Megas, and Demetrios L. Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια (Εκλογή)*, volume 1 (Athens, 1962).

Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi ex Monumentis Islandicis, edited by Erik C. Werlauff (Copenhagen, 1821).

The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, volume 1, edited by James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA, 1983).

The Rise and Fall of Nikephoros II Phokas. Five Contemporary Texts in Annotated Translations, translation and commentary by Denis Sullivan (Leiden–Boston, 2019).

The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373, edited and translated by Christopher Schabel (Nicosia, 2001).

The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A Complete English Translation, translated by Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden–Boston, 1998).

Three Byzantine Military Treatises, edited by George Dennis (Washington, DC, 1985).

Venice and the Defence of the Regno di Cipro. Giulio Savorgan's unpublished Cyprus correspondence (1557–1570), including Ascanio Savorgnan's Descrittione delle cose di Cipro from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, edited, with an introduction, by Gilles Grivaud, with the collaboration of Evangelia Skoufari, and translated by Jane Cunningham (Nicosia, 2016).

Wilburn, Andrew T., *Materia Magica. The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2012).

Βενετική Κύπρος (1489–1571). Οι εκθέσεις των αξιωματούχων του ανωτάτου διοικητικού σχήματος της κτήσης, edited by Stathis Birtachas (Athens, 2019).

Ισπανικά έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας (ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄αιώνας), edited by Ioannis Hassiotis (second edition: Nicosia, 2003).

Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, volume 2, edited, with an introduction, by Constantinos N. Sathas (Constantine) (Venice, 1873).

Πηγές της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το ισπανικό αρχείο Simancas. Από τη μικροϊστορία της Κυπριακής Διασποράς κατά τον ΙΣΤ΄ και ΙΖ΄ αιώνα, edited by Ioannis Hassiotis (Nicosia, 2000).

Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών Πηγών Κυπριακής Ιστορίας, 4ος–15ος αιώνας, edited by Vassiliki Nerantzi-Varmazi (Nicosia, 1996).

Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, volume 2, edited by Georgios A. Ralles and Michael Potles (Athens, 1852).

Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αιρετικοί στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον 14ο αιώνα. Επτά ανέκδοτες ομιλίες του Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄, edited by Constantinos Paidas (Athens, 2011).

INDIVIDUAL SOURCES

Anna Komnene, The Alexiad, translated by Edgar R. A. Sewter, revised by Peter Frankopan (London, 2009).

Annae Comnenae, Alexias, volume 1, edited by Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis (Berlin–New York, 2001).

Dendrinos, Charalambos, "An unpublished funeral oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)," in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook, and Judith Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 423–56.

Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial versions, edited and translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys (Cambridge, 1998).

Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l'îsle de Cypre, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos, with an introduction by Gilles Grivaud (Paris, 1580; reprinted: Nicosia, 2004).

Georgius Cedrenus, volume 2, edited by Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1839).

Grégoire, Henri, "Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)," *BZ* 16 (1907), pp. 204–40.

Grivaud, Gilles, and Anastasia Papadaki, "L'institution de la *Mostra Generale* de la cavalerie feodale en Crète et en Chypre vénitiennes durant le XVIe siècle," *Studi veneziani* 12 (1986), pp. 165–99.

Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie, edited by Louis de Mas Latrie (Geneva, 1877).

Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit, translated by Arnold V. Miller, analysis and foreword by John N. Findlay (Oxford, 1977).

Il Vecchio Cavaliere, edited by Francesca Rizzo Nervo (Soveria Manelli, 2000).

Ioannis Scylitzae, Synopsis Historiarum, edited by Johannes Thurn (Berlin–New York, 1973).

John Skylitzes, A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057, translated by John Wortley (Cambridge, 2010).

Jones, Lynn, and Henry Maguire, "A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *BMGS* 26 (2002), pp. 104–48.

Kotzabassi, Sofia, "Το μαρτύριο των ΜΒ΄ Μαρτύρων του Αμορίου. Αγιολογικά και Υμνολογικά Κείμενα," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 2 (1992), pp. 111–53.

Laourdas, Basileios, "Ο 'Συμβουλευτικός προς τους Θεσσαλονικείς' του Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγου," *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1956), pp. 290–307.

Lauritzen, Frederick, "Achilles at the Battle of Ostrovo. George Maniakes and the Reception of the Iliad," *BSl* 72 (2014), pp. 171–87.

Leontios Makhairas, Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle," 2 volumes, edited by Richard M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932).

Les exploits de Digénis Akritas, d'après le manuscript unique de Trébizonde, edited by Constantine (Constantinos N.) Sathas and Émile Legrand (Paris, 1875).

Nau, François, "Le texte grec de récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)," *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), pp. 69–70.

Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire, edited and translated by Paul Gautier (Brussels, 1975).

Papacostas, Tassos, "A Tenth-century Inscription from Syngrasis, Cyprus," *BMGS* 26 (2002), pp. 42–64.

Papadopoullos, Theodoros, "Ο Θρήνος της Κύπρου," *ΚΣ* 44 (1980), pp. 1–78.

Philippe de Mézières, The Life of Saint Peter Thomas, edited by Joachim Smet (Rome, 1954).

Philippe de Navarre, Les Quatre Ages de l'Homme, edited by Marcel de Fréville (Paris, 1888).

Ptochoprodromos, edited by Hans Eideneier (Cologne, 1991).

Steffano Lusignano, Chorograffia, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos, with contributions by Gilles Grivaud, Gregorios A. Ioannides, and Christos A. Pantelides (Bologna, 1573; second edition: Nicosia, 2004).

Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science, translated by Nicholas P. Milner (Liverpool, 1993).

Ἁγίου Νείλου, Τυπικὴ Διάταξις, edited by Paraskevas Agathonos (Nicosia, 2001).

Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου λόγος εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου, *PG* 43, coll. 439–64.

Εὐχολόγιον, sive ritual Graecorum, edited by Jacques Goar (Paris, 1647).

Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς Θαυματουργῆς Εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου κατὰ τὸν ἑλληνικὸ κώδικα 2313 τοῦ Βατικανοῦ, edited by Costas N. Constantinides (Nicosia, 2002).

Η Φυλλάδα του Μεγαλέξαντρου. Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδόνος, edited, with an introduction, by Giorgos Veloudis (Athens, 1989).

Κυπροβενετικά. Στοιχεία θρησκευτικής ανθρωπογεωγραφίας της βενετοκρατούμενης Κύπρου από τον κώδικα Β-030 του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τράπεζας Κύπρου. Εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση, μετάφραση και σχόλια, edited by Chrysovalantis Kyriacou (Nicosia, 2019).

Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά, Χρονικό της Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων, edited by Michalis Pieris and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Nicosia, 2003).

Νεοφύτου Ἐγκλείστου, Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν, edited by Apostolos Karpozilos, *Συγγράμματα Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου*, volume 5 (Paphos, 2005), pp. 401–11.

Στίχοι πολιτικοὶ αὐτοσχέδιοι εἰς κοινὴν ἀκοὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου Γεωργίου Λαπίθου τοῦ Κυπρίου, *PG* 149, coll. 1009–46.

Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρούς (Γεώργιος Βο(σ)τρ(υ)ηνός ή Βουστρώνιος), Διήγησις Κρονίκας Κύπρου, edited by Giorgos Kechagioglou (Nicosia, 1997).

Το Απόκρυφο Ευαγγέλιο του Νικοδήμου. Τα Πρακτικά της Δίκης του Ιησού Χριστού και η Κάθοδός Του στον Άδη, edited and translated, with an introduction and commentary, by Constantinos Bozinis (Athens, 2005).

Τοῦ Μακαρίου Σωφρονίου Μοναχοῦ Μονῆς Ἀββᾶ Θεοδοσίου, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Κύρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, *PG* 87.3, coll. 3380–3696.

SECONDARY WORKS

Adams, Michael V., *For Love of the Imagination. Interdisciplinary Applications of Jungian Psychoanalysis* (New York, 2014).

Adler, Yonatan, "Second Temple Period Ritual Baths Adjacent to Agricultural Installations: The Archaeological Evidence in Light of Halakhic Sources," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61:1 (2008), pp. 61–72.

Agapitos, Panagiotis A., "Dangerous Liaisons: Byzantium and Neohellenism," *Βυζαντινά* 35 (2018), pp. 33–126.

Ahrweiler, Hélène, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantine* (Paris, 1975).

Aikaterinides, Georgios N., "Βροχής μαγεία και δεισιδαιμονία," in *Μαγεία και δεισιδαιμονία* (Athens, 2011), pp. 85–90.

Alexiou, Margaret, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor* (Ithaca, NY, 2002).

———, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, revised by Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos (second edition: New York–Oxford, 2002).

Alexiou, Stylianos, "Digenes Akrites: Escorial or Grottaferrata? An Overview," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 15–25.

Anagnostakis, Ilias, "Byzantium and Hellas. Some Lesser Known Aspects of the Helladic Connection (8th–12th centuries)," in *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, edited by Jenny Albany and Eugenia Chalkia (Athens, 2013), pp. 15–28.

———, "La géographie des chansons acritiques," PhD Thesis (Université Paris 1, 1983).

———, "Noms de vignes et de raisins et techniques de vinification à Byzance. Continuité et rupture avec la viticulture de l'antiquité tardive," *Food & History* 11:2 (2013), pp. 35–59.

———, "Από την προφορική ή κειμενική αφήγηση στη μνημειακή απεικόνιση: τρία βυζαντινά παραδείγματα του όψιμου Μεσαίωνα," in *Χαρτογραφώντας τη Δημώδη Λογοτεχνία (12ος–17ος αι.)*, edited by Stefanos Kaklamanis and Alexis Kalokairinos (Herakleio, 2017), pp. 75–84.

———, "Η διεκδίκηση της πορφύρας και ο Διγενής Ακρίτας," *Διαβάζω* 129 (1985), pp. 42–45.

———, "Η θέση των ειδωλολατρών στο Βυζάντιο. Η περίπτωση των 'Ελλήνων' του Πορφυρογέννητου," in *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, edited by Chryssa A. Maltezou (Athens, 1993), pp. 25–47.

———, "Ο βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός," in *Οίνος: πολιτισμός και κοινωνία*, edited by Eleni Grammatikopoulou (Athens, 2006), pp. 38–67.

Anagnostakis, Ilias, and Anthony Kaldellis, "The Textual Sources for the Peloponnese, A.D. 582–959: Their Creative Engagement with Ancient Literature," *GRBS* 54 (2014), pp. 105–35.

Anaxagorou, Nadia, *Narrative and Stylistic Structures in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* (Nicosia, 1998).

Anderson, Graham, *King Arthur in Antiquity* (London–New York, 2004).

Angel, Andrew R., *Chaos and the Son of Man. The Hebrew Chaoskampf Tradition in the Period 515 BCE to 200 CE* (London–New York, 2006).

Angelov, Dimiter, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007).

Angold, Michael, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995).

———, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. A political history* (second edition: London–New York, 1997).

Antonopoulou, Maria-Erifylli, *Η κοινωνική θέση των αγροτών (παροίκων και φραγκομάτων) στην ενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο (15ος–16ος αιώνας)* (Athens, 2013).

Aram Veeser, Harold, "Introduction," in *The New Historicism*, edited by Harold Aram Veeser (New York–London, 1989), pp. ix–xvi.

Arbel, Benjamin, "The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby (London–New Jersey, 1989), pp. 175–97 [reprinted in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), no. XI].

———, "The Jews in Cyprus: New Evidence from the Venetian Period," *Jewish Social Studies* 41 (1979), pp. 23–40 [reprinted in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), no. X].

———, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 173–77 [reprinted in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), no. XII].

———, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000).

Arbel, Benjamin, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix (editors), *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1460–1650)* (Turnhout, 2012).

Argyriou, Astérios, "L'épopée de Digénis Akritas et la literature de polémique et d'apologétique islamo-chrétienne," *Βυζαντινά* 16 (1991), pp. 7–34.

———, "*Le Thrène sur la prise de l'infortunée île de Chypre*: une approche idéologique," in *Polyptychon. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis*, edited by Encarnació Motos Guirao and Moschos Morfakidis Filactós (Granada, 2008), pp. 35–47.

Ariantzi, Despoina (editor), *Coming of Age in Byzantium: Adolescence and Society* (Berlin–Boston, 2017).

Asdracha, Catherine "Η Κύπρος υπό τους Κομνηνούς (Α΄)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 293–347.

———, "Η Κύπρος υπό τους Κομνηνούς (Β΄)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 349–412.

———, "Το θέμα Κύπρου," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 199–233.

Asprey, Robert B., *War in the Shadows. The Guerilla in History* (New York, 1994).

Bachvarova, Mary R., *From Hittite to Homer. The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (Cambridge, 2016).

Baglioni, Daniele, "Language and Identity in Late Medieval Cyprus," in *Identity/ Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, edited by Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 27–36.

Bailey, Merridee L., and Katie Barclay, "Emotion, Ritual and Power: From Family to Nation," in *Emotion, Ritual and Power in Europe, 1200–1920. Family, State and Church*, edited by Merridee L. Bailey and Katie Barclay (London, 2017), pp. 1–20.

Banerjee, Prathama, "The Subaltern: Political Subject or Protagonist of History?" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 38:1 (2015), pp. 39–49.

Bardill, Jonathan, *Constantine, divine emperor of the Christian golden age* (Cambridge, 2012).

Barrett, Richard, "'Let Us Put Away All Earthly Care.' Mysticism and the *Cherubikon* of the Byzantine Rite," *Studia Patristica* 64 (2013), pp. 111–24.

Bartikian, Hrach, "Armenia and Armenians in the Byzantine Epic," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 86–92.

Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993).

Barton, Carlin A., *Roman Honor. The Fire in the Bones* (Berkeley, CA–Los Angeles–London, 2001).

Bartusis, Mark C., *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, PA, 1992).

Beaton, Roderick, "Balladry in the Medieval Greek World," in *The Singer and the Scribe. European Ballad Traditions and European Ballad Cultures*, edited by Philip E. Bennett and Richard F. Green (Amsterdam –New York, 2004), pp. 13–21.

———, "Cappadocians at court: Digenes and Timarion," in *Alexios I Komnenos*, edited by Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast, 1996), pp. 329–38.

———, "*Digenes Akrites* and Modern Greek Folk songs. A Reassessment," *Byzantion* 51 (1981), pp. 22–43.

———, "Romanticism in Greece," in *Romanticism in National Context*, edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 92–108.

———, "Was *Digenes Akrites* an Oral Poem?" *BMGS* 7:1 (1981), pp. 7–27.

———, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980).

Beaulieu, Marie-Claire, *The Sea in the Greek Imagination* (Philadelphia, PA, 2016).

Beihammer, Alexander D., "A Transcultural Formula of Rule: The Byzantine-Frankish Discourse on the Formation of the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, edited by Georg Christ, Franz-Julius Morche, Roberto Zaugg, Wolfgang Kaiser, Stefan Burkhardt, Alexander D. Beihammer (Rome, 2015), pp. 435–52.

———, "Audiatur et altera pars. Η βυζαντινο-αραβική συγκυριαρχία στην Κύπρο υπό το πρίσμα των αραβικών πηγών," *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 157–76.

———, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations," *Speculum* 86 (2011), pp. 597–651.

———, "Multilingual Literacy at the Lusignan Court: The Cypriot Royal Chancery and Its Byzantine Heritage," *BMGS* 33:2 (2011), pp. 149–69.

———, "The First Naval Campaigns of the Arabs against Cyprus (649, 653): A Reexamination of the Oriental Source Material," *Graeco-Arabica* 9–10 (2004), pp. 47–68.

———, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130* (London–New York, 2017).

Berdyaev, Nikolai, *The Meaning of History*, translated by George Reavey (London, 1936).

Berman, Daniel W., "Introduction to the English Edition," in Claude Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece. The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*, translated by Daniel W. Berman (Princeton, NJ–Oxford, 2003), pp. xi–xvii.

Birkenmeier, John W., *The Development of the Komnenian Army, 1081–1180* (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2002).

Birtachas, Stathis, "*Stradioti, Cappelletti, Compagnie* or *Milizie Greche*: 'Greek' Mounted and Foot Mercenary Companies in the Venetian State (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," in *A Military History of the Mediterranean Sea: Aspects of War, Diplomacy, and Military Elites*, edited by Georgios Theotokis and Aysel Yildiz (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 325–46.

Blöndal, Sigfús, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, translated and revised by Benedikt S. Benedikz (Cambridge, 1978).

Boeft, Jan den, Jan W. Drijvers, Daniël den Hengst, and Hans C. Teitler, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII* (Leiden–Boston, 2009).

———, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI* (Leiden–Boston, 2017).

Boliaki, Eleni. *Το διονυσιακό (;) αναστενάρι. Ερμηνείες και παρερμηνείες* (Athens, 2011).

Bondarenko, Gregory, "Russian Epic Songs and Folk Spirituality," *Temenos Academy Review* 18 (2015), pp. 110–26.

Bonner, Michael, *Aristocratic violence and holy war. Studies on the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine frontier* (New Haven, CT, 1996).

Boot, Max, *Invisible Armies. An Epic History of Guerilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York–London, 2013).

Bosworth, Clifford E., "Arab Attacks on Rhodes in the Pre-Ottoman Period," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 6:2 (1996), pp. 157–64.

Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathan D., *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Late Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge–New York, 1987).

Bouras, Charalambos, *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2001).

Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2006).

BreMiller Black, Nancy, "The Hro's Fight with a Dragon or Giant Adversary in Medieval Narrative," PhD Thesis (Columbia University, 1971).

Brettler, Marc, "Images of YHWH the Warrior in Psalms," *Semeia* 61 (1993), pp. 135–65.

Brown, Elizabeth A., "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe," *The American Historical Review* 79:4 (1974), pp. 1063–88.

Browning, Robert, "Η Κύπρος και οι Άραβες (Ζ΄–Η΄ αι.)," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 235–91.

Brisson, Luc, *How Philosophers Saved Myths. Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology*, translated by Catherine Tihanyi (Chicago–London, 2004).

Budin, Stephanie L., "Aphrodite *Enoplion*," in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, edited by Amy C. Smith and Sadie Pickup (Leiden–Boston, 2010), pp. 79–112.

Burke, John, "Nikephoros Phokas as Superhero," in *Byzantine Culture in Translation*, edited by Amelia R. Brown and Brian Neil (Leiden, 2017), pp. 95–114.

Burker, Peter, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," *History of European Ideas* 7:5 (1986), pp. 439–51.

Burkert, Walter, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, translated by Peter Bing (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1983).

Burton, Joan B., "Abduction and Elopement in the Byzantine Novel," *GRBS* 41 (2000), pp. 377–409.

Bynum, Caroline W., *Christian Materiality. An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, Brooklyn, 2011).

Bzinkowski, Michał, and Manuel Serrano, "Η δυτικοευρωπαϊκή μάσκα του Χάρου στα δημοτικά τραγούδια," in *Συνέχειες, ασυνέχειες, ρήξεις στον ελληνικό κόσμο (1204–2014): οικονομία, κοινωνία, ιστορία, λογοτεχνία*, edited by Constantinos A. Dimadis (Athens, 2015), pp. 807–28.

———, "The Case of the Angels. The Relevance of the Research by Classical Scholar John Cuthbert Lawson (1874–1919) on Modern Greek Culture," *Classica Cracoviensia* 30 (2016), pp. 51–78.

Cairns, Douglas, "Honour and Shame: Modern Controversies and Ancient Values," *Critical Quarterly* 53:1 (2011), pp. 23–41.

———, *Aidōs. The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1993).

Calame, Claude, *Myth and history in Ancient Greece. The symbolic creation of a colony*, translated by Daniel W. Berman (Princeton, NJ–Oxford, 2003).

Calofonos, George Th., "The Magician Vigrinos and his Victim: A Case of Magic from the *Life of St Andrew the Fool*," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 64–71.

Calvelli, Lorenzo, "Archaeology in the Service of the Dominante: Giovanni Matteo Bembo and the Antiquities of Cyprus," in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1460–1650)*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix, (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 19–66.

———, "Spolia ruggenti e miracolosi: i leoni antichi di Salamina e Famagosta," in *La Serenissima a Cipro. Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento*, edited by Evangelia Skoufari (Rome, 2013), pp. 109–30.

———, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento: la percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009).

Campbell, Joseph, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1949).

Charanis, Peter, "A Greek Source on the Origin of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 24:1 (1949), pp. 93–94.

———, "Byzantium, the West and the origin of the First Crusade," *Byzantion* 19 (1949), pp. 17–36.

Chaturvedi, Vinayak (editor), *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London–New York, 2000).

Cheesman, George L., *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914).

Cheynet, Jean-Claude, "Ο στρατός και το ναυτικό," in *Ο βυζαντινός κόσμος*, volume 2, edited by Jean-Claude Cheynet and translated by Anastasia Karastathi (Athens, 2011), pp. 255–83.

———, "Οι ιθύνουσες τάξεις της Αυτοκρατορίας," in *Ο βυζαντινός κόσμος*, volume 2, edited by Jean-Claude Cheynet and translated by Anastasia Karastathi (Athens, 2011), pp. 285–315.

———, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990).

Chotzakoglou, Charalambos G., "Εικονομαχία (726–787, 813–843) και τέχνη στην Κύπρο και το θεωρητικό της υπόβαθρο: μια κριτική εξέταση βάσει των πηγών και των μνημείων της Μεγαλονήσου," in *Κυπριακή Αγιολογία. Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*, edited by Theodoros X. Yiangou and Chrysostomos Nassis (Agia Napa–Paralimni, 2015), pp. 527–66.

Christides, Vassilios, *The Image of Cyprus in the Arabic Sources* (Nicosia, 2006).

Christodoulou, Panos, "Aphrodite and Imperialistic Politics in Classical Years: From Cimon to Evagoras I," in *Political Religions in the Greco-Roman World. Discourses, Practices and Images*, edited by Elias Koulakiotis and Charlotte Dunn (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2019), pp. 150–79.

Christophidou, Nasa, "Το Τάγμα του Ξίφους," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, edited by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 143–58.

Chrysos, Evangelos, "Από την ιστορία του μοναχισμού στην Κύπρο τον 7ο αιώνα," *EKMIMK* 4 (1999), pp. 205–17.

———, "Νόμος Πολέμου," in *Το Εμπόλεμο Βυζάντιο (9ος–12ος αι.)*, edited by Konstantinos Tsiknakis (Athens, 1997), pp. 201–11.

———, "Περί Παιδείας Λόγος," in *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, edited by Theodora Antonopoulou, Sofia Kotzabassi, and Marina Loukaki (Berlin, 2015), pp. 85–97.

Cohen, Anthony, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London–New York, 1985).

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

———, "Η παιδεία και τα γράμματα στη βυζαντινή Κύπρο," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 413–63.

———, "Το Ελληνικό Βιβλίο στη Μεσαιωνική Κύπρο," *Σημείο* 4 (1996), pp. 51–70.

Constantinides, Costas N., and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, DC, 1993).

Constantinides, Costas N., *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982).

Constas, Nicholas P., "The Last Temptation of Satan: Divine Deception in Greek Patristic Interpretations of the Passion Narrative," *Harvard Theological Review* 97:2 (2004), pp. 139–63.

Contogeorgis, Georges, "Οι ανθρωποκεντρικές σταθερές του δημοτικού τραγουδιού," *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* 119 (2006), pp. 3–26.

Costantini, Vera, *Il sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano* (Turin, 2009).

Coureas, Nicholas, "How Frankish Was the Frankish Ruling Class of Cyprus? Ethnicity and Identity," *EKEE* 37 (2015), pp. 61–78.

———, "Hunting in Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus (1192–1570)," *Synthesis* (2017), pp. 103–15.

———, "The Admirals of Lusignan Cyprus," *Crusades* 15 (2016), pp. 117–34.

Cowell, Andrew *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance, and the Sacred* (Cambridge, 2007).

Cubitt, Geoffrey, *History and Memory* (Manchester–New York, 2007).

Cupane, Carolina, "'Let Me Tell You a wonderful tale': Audience and Reception of the Vernacular Romances," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 479–94.

D'Amato, Raffaele, "The Betrayal: Military Iconography and Archaeology in the Byzantine Paintings of the 11th–15th c. A.D. Representing the Arrest of Our Lord," in *Weapons Bring Peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Lech Marek (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 69–95.

Dąbrowska, Malgorzata, "A Cypriot Story about Love and Hatred," *Text Matters* 4:4 (2014), pp. 197–206.

Dagron, Gilbert, and Vincent Déroche, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin* (Paris, 2010).

Damianou, Damianos, "Ιδιάζοντα λειτουργικά έθιμα της 'λαϊκής λατρείας' της Κύπρου," MA Thesis (Aristotle University of Thessalonica, 2012).

Danezis, Georgios, "Ο Σπανέας και οι πολιτικοί στίχοι του Γεωργίου Λαπίθη," *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986–87), pp. 413–25.

Daniélou, Jean, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, translated and edited by John A. Baker (London, 1964).

Dawkins, Richard, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folk-Lore* 35:3 (1924), pp. 209–48.

———, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople: Additional Note," *Folk-Lore* 35:4 (1924), p. 380.

De Vito, Christian G., "History without scale: the micro-spatial perspective," *Past and Present Supplement* 14 (2019), pp. 348–72.

Demacopoulos, George E., *Colonizing Christianity. Greek and Latin Religious Identity in the Era of the Fourth Crusade* (New York, 2019).

Detienne, Marcel, *The Creation of Mythology*, translated by Margaret Cook (Chicago–London, 1986).

———, *The Gardens of Adonis. Spices in Greek Mythology*, translated by Janet Loyd (second edition: Princeton, NJ, 1994).

Devaney, Thomas, "Spectacle, Community and Holy War in Fourteenth-Century Cyprus," *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013), pp. 300–41.

———, *Enemies in the Plaza. Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture, 1460–1492* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015).

Dickie, Matthew W., *Magic and Magicians in the Graeco-Roman World* (London–New York, 2001).

Dierkens, Alain, "The Evidence of Archaeology," in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, edited by Ludo J. R. Milis and translated by Tanis Guest (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 39–64.

Doufikar-Aerts, Faustina C. W., "A Hero Without Borders 2: Alexander the Great in the Syriac and Arabic Tradition," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 190–209.

Dowden, Ken, *European Paganism. The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (New York, 2000).

Durak, Koray, and Ivana Jevtić, "Identity and the Other in Byzantine Studies: An Introduction," in *Identity and the Other in Byzantium*, edited by Koray Durak and Ivana Jevtić (Istanbul, 2019), pp. 3–22.

Edbury, Peter, "Ernoul, *Eracles* and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232," in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, edited by Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 29–51.

———, "Franks," in *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 63–101.

———, "The Last Lusignans (1432–1489): A Political History," *EKEE* 36 (2013), pp. 147–234.

———, "The murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–1369)," *Journal of Medieval History*, pp. 219–33 [reprinted in Peter Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders, from Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1999), no. XIII].

———, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991).

Eidener, Hans, "Μεσαιωνική ποίηση και οι απολήξεις της σε νεώτερα κυπριακά τραγούδια," in *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos and Georgios K. Ioannides (Nicosia, 1987), pp. 416–23.

Ekroth, Gunnel, and Ingela Nilsson (editors), *Round Trip to Hades in the Eastern Mediterranean Tradition. Visits to the Underworld from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

Eliade, Mircea, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation. The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York–London, 1958).

Eliades, Ioannis A. (editor), *Cipro e l'Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L'Icona Grande di San Nicola tis Stegis del XIII. secolo restaurata a Roma* (Nicosia, 2009).

———, *Palaeologan Reflections in the Art of Cyprus (1261–1489)* (Nicosia, 2019).

———, *Κυπριακῷ τῷ τρόπῳ. Maniera Cypria: The Cypriot Painting of the Thirteenth Century Between Two Worlds* (Nicosia, 2017).

Eliades, Ioannis A. and Charalambos G. Chotzakoglou, *Saint Lazarus and Cyprus: his church, iconography, veneration and traditions in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2010).

Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (revised edition: Malden, MA–Oxford–Cartlon, Victoria, 2000).

Elizbarashvili, Eliso, "The Formation of a Hero in Digenes Akrites," *GRBS* 50 (2010), pp. 437–60.

Ellenblum, Ronnie, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007).

———, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998).

Endsjø, Dag Ø., *Greek Resurrection Beliefs and the Success of Christianity* (New York, 2009).

Englezakis, Benediktos, *Είκοσι μελέται διά την Εκκλησίαν Κύπρου (4ος–20ος αι.)* (Athens, 1996).

Erdkamp, Paul, "Polybius, Livy and the 'Fabian Strategy,'" *Ancient Society* 23 (1993), pp. 127–47.

Erll, Astrid, *Memory in Culture*, translated by Sara B. Young (New York, 2011).

Eshel, Shay, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

Exadaktylos, Christos, "Κυπριακή λαογραφία των μηνών," *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 201–75.

Fee, Christopher R., *Mythology in the Middle Ages. Heroic Tales of Monsters, Magic, and Might* (Santa Barbara, CA–Denver, CO–Oxford, 2011).

Fereos, Charis, *Ξυλόστεγος Φραγκοβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2009).

Flourentzos, Pavlos, "Η δεντρολατρεία στην αρχαία Κύπρο," *Κυπριακή Αρχαιολογία* 4 (2001), pp. 123–28.

Folda, Jaroslav, "Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ," in *Knighthoods of Christ. Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, edited by Norman Housley (Aldershot–Burlington, 2007), pp. 87–107.

Forrester, John, and Laura Cameron, *Freud in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2017).

Foskolou, Vicky A., "The Magic of the Written Word: The Evidence of Inscriptions of Byzantine Magical Amulets," *ΔΧΑΕ* 35 (2014), pp. 329–48.

Frankfurter, David, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, New Jersey–Oxford, 2018).

Franklin, John C., *Kinyras: The Divine Lyre* (Washington, DC, 2015).
Frankopan, Peter, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012).
Frantz, M. Alison, "Akritas and the Dragons," *Hesperia* 10:1 (1941), pp. 9–13.
Frazer, James G., *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, volume 2 of the *Golden Bough* (third edition: London, 1911).
Freeden, Michael, *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford–New York, 2003).
Galatariotou, Catia, "Leontios Machairas' '*Exegesis of the Sweet Land of Cyprus*': Towards a Re-Appraisal of the Text and its Critics," in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, edited by Anthony A. M. Bryer and George S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 393–413.
Garrood, William, "The Byzantine Conquest of Cilicia and the Hamdanids of Aleppo, 959–965)," *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008), pp. 127–40.
Gennep, Arnold van, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London–Henley, 1960).
George, Jodi-Anne, *Beowulf* (New York, 2010).
Georgiou, Stavros G., "Eumathios Philokales as Stratopedarches of Cyprus (ca. 1092)," *BSl* 66 (2008), pp. 167–72.
———, "Μερικές παρατηρήσεις για την οικονομία της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο των Κομνηνών (1081–1185)," *EKEE* 33 (2007), pp. 21–75.
———, "Το αξίωμα του στασιαστή Ραψομμάτη στην Κύπρο (περίπου 1091–1092)," *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 19–21 (2011–13), pp. 551–59.
Gerstel, Sharon E. J., *Rural lives and landscapes in Late Byzantium. Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015).
Ghobrial, John-Paul A., "Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian," *Past and Present Supplement* 14 (2019), pp. 1–22.
Gilmour-Bryson, Anne, "Sodomy and the Knights Templar," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7 (1996), pp. 151–83.
Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD, 1992).
———, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD, 1983).
Given, Michael, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London–New York, 2004).
Golitzin, Alexander, "Hierarchy versus Anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos, and Their Cmmon Roots in Ascetical Tradition," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 38 (1994), pp. 131–79.
Goody, Jack, and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, edited by Jack Goody (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 27–68.
Gotsis, Costas, "Το Κάστρο της Ωριάς," *Revue des Études néo-helléniques* 2 (1993), pp. 145–62.
Gounaridis, Paris, "Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης της καταστροφής," in *1453. Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, edited by Tonia Kiousopoulou (Heraklion, 2005), pp. 133–45.
Goutzioukostas, Andreas, and Xenophon M. Moniaros, *Η περιφερειακή διοικητική αναδιοργάνωση της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας (527–565). Η περίπτωση της Quaestura Iustiniana Exercitus* (Thessalonica, 2009).

Graf, Fritz, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era* (Cambridge, 2015).

Grégoire, Henri, "Études sur l'épopée byzantine," *REG* 46 (1933), pp. 29–69.

———, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (London, 1975).

Grégoire, Henri, and Hedwig Lüdeke, "Nouvelles chansons épiques des IX^e^ et X^e^ siècles," *Byzantion* 14 (1939), pp. 235–63.

Grivaud, Gilles, "Éveil de la nation chyproise (XII^e^ –X^ve^ siècles)," *Sources travaux historiques* 43–44 (1995), pp. 105–16.

———, "Formes byzantines de la fiscalité foncière chypriote à l'époque latine," *EKEE* 18 (1991), pp. 117–27.

———, "Les Lusignans et leurs archontes chypriotes (1192–1359)," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer*, edited by Claude Mutafian (Poitiers–Lusignans, 1993), pp. 150–58.

———, "Literature," in *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 219–84.

———, "Η κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τους Οθωμανούς," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 6, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 2011), pp. 1–182.

———, "Ο πνευματικός βίος και η γραμματολογία κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 4:2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 863–1207.

Grotowski, Piotr Ł., *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, translated by Richard Brzezinski (Leiden–Boston, 2010).

Guran, Petre, "Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45 (2007), pp. 73–85.

Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago–London, 1992).

———, *The Collective Memory*, introduction by Mary Douglas, and translated by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York, 1980).

Haldon, John, "Social élites, Wealth, and Power," in *The Social History of Byzantium*, edited by John Haldon (Malden, MA–Oxford, 2009), pp. 168–211.

———, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, volume 1, edited by Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton, NJ, 1992), pp. 107–47.

———, *The Empire that would not die: the paradox of Eastern Roman survival, 640–740* (Cambridge, MA, 2016).

Hamilakis, Yannis, *The Nation and Its Ruins. Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford, 2007).

Heimpel, Wolfgang, "Balang-Gods," in John C. Franklin, *Kinyras: The Divine Lyre* (Washington, DC, 2015), pp. 571–632.

Henwoord, Kay, *Secrets of the Gypsies* (London, 1974).

Herzfeld, Michael, "Social Borderers: Themes of Conflict and Ambiguity in Greek Folk-song," *BMGS* 6 (1980), pp. 61–80.

———, *Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin, TX, 1982).

Hirsch, Marianne, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29:1 (2008), pp. 103–28.

Hobsbawm, Eric, "Foreword," in Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD, 1983), pp. ix–x.

———, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1–14.

———, *On History* (New York, 1997).

Hogarth, David G., *Devia Cypria. Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus in 1888* (London, 1889).

Honeywell, Mark L., "Chivalry as Community and Culture: The Military Elite of Late Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England," PhD Thesis (University of York, 2006).

Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

Hunger Herbert, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, volume 2, translated by Taxiarchis Kolias, Caterina Synelli, Giorgos Ch. Makris, and Ioannis Vassis (Athens, 2007).

Hutton, Patrick H., "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural Hstory," *History and Theory* 20:3 (1981), pp. 237–59.

Hutton, Richard, "How Pagan Were Medieval English Peasants?" *Folklore* 122 (2011), pp. 235–49.

———, *The Triumph of the Moon. A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford, 1999).

Inglebert, Hervé, *Interpretatio Christiana. Les mutations des saviors (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire) dans l'Antiquité chrétienne (30–630 après J.-C.)* (Paris, 2001).

Ioannides, Christos P., *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule. Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece, 1878–1954* (New York–London, 2019).

Ionas, Ioannis, *Δεισιδαιμονίες και μαγεία στην Κύπρο του χτες* (Nicosia, 2013).

Jacoby, David, "Western Merchants, Pilgrims, and Travelers in Alexandria in the Time of Philippe de Mézières (ca. 1327–1405)," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden, 2012), pp. 403–25.

James, Liz, "'Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard.' Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople," *Gesta* 35:1 (1996), pp. 12–20.

Jarrick, Arne, *Back to Modern Reason. Johan Hjerpe and other petit bourgeois in Stockholm in the Age of Enlightenment* (Liverpool, 1999).

Jeffreys, Elizabeth and Cyril Mango, "Towards a Franco-Greek Culture," in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, edited by Cyril Mango (Oxford, 2002), pp. 294–302.

Jeffreys, Elizabeth and Michael, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1:3 (1986), pp. 504–47.

———, "The 'Wild Beast from the West.' Immediate Literary Reactions in Byzantium to the Second Crusade," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 101–16.

Jeffreys, Elizabeth, "Literary Trends in the Constantinopolitan courts in the 1120s and 1130s," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the Shadow of Father and Son*, edited by Alessandra Bucossi and Alex Rodriguez Suarez (New York, 2016), pp. 110–20.

———, "The Grottaferrata Version of *Digenes Akrites*: A Reassessment," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 26–37.

Jeffreys, Michael, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *DOP* 28 (1974), pp. 141–95.

Jenkins, Romilly J. H., "A Note on the 'Letter to the Emir' of Nicholas Mysticus," *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 399–401.

———, "Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688–965," in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by George E. Mylonas (Saint Louis, MO, 1953), pp. 1006–41.

———, "The Mission of St Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 9 (1949), pp. 267–75.

Johnston, Sarah I., "Riders in the Sky: Cavalier Gods and Theurgic Salvation in the Second Century A.D.," *Classical Philology* 87:4 (1992), pp. 303–21.

Jordan, David, "Another 'wretched subject': The Demons of the World," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 58–63.

Jouanno, Corinne, "Byzantine Views on Alexander the Great," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, edited by Kenneth R. Moore (Leiden–Boston), pp. 449–76.

———, "Shared Spaces: Digenis Akritis, the Two-Blood Border Lord," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 260–84.

Joyner, Charles W., "A Model for the Analysis of Folklore Performance in Historical Context," *American Folklore Society* 88:349 (1975), pp. 254–65.

Kaeuper, Richard W., *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999).

———, *Holy Warriors. The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009).

Kahlos, Maijastina, *Debate and Dialogue. Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360–430* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2007).

Kaldellis, Anthony, "Christodoros on the Statues of the Zeuxippos Baths: A New Reading of the *Ekphrasis*," *GRBS* 47 (2007), pp. 361–83.

———, "Greek Art in Late Antiquity and Byzantium," in *A Companion to Greek Art*, volume 2, edited by Tyler J. Smith and Dimitris Phlantzos (Hooken, NJ, 2012), pp. 621–32.

———, "The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople. What Do We Know about Its Original Architecture and Adornment?" *GRBS* 56 (2016), pp. 714–39.

———, "The Great Medieval Mythogenesis: Why Historians Should Look Again at Medieval Heroic Tales," in *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*, edited by Ueli Dill and Christine Walde (Berlin–New York, 2009), pp. 356–71.

———, "The Kalends in Byzantium, 400–1200 A.D.: A New Interpretation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13:1 (2012), pp. 187–203.

———, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge–New York, 2007).

———, *Romanland. Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2019).

———, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2017).

———, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2015).

———, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge–New York, 2009).

Kaldellis, Anthony, and Niketas Siniossoglou, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, edited by Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 1–24.

Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia, "The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, edited by Annmarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), pp. 115–208.

Kannelopoulos, Nikolaos S., and Ioanna Lekea, "Η βυζαντινή πολεμική τακτική εναντίον των Φράγκων κατά τον 13ο αιώνα και η μάχη του Tagliacozzo," *ΒΣ* 19 (2009), pp. 63–81.

Kantorowicz, Ernst, "Oriens Augusti. Lever du Roi," *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 117–77.

———, "Gods in Uniform," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105:4 (1961), pp. 368–93.

Kaplanis, Tassos A., "The Inverted World of the Amazons: Aspects of a Persistent Myth in Early Modern Greek Literature," in *Greek Research in Australia*, edited by Marietta Rossetto, Michael Tsianikas, George Couvalis, and Maria Palaktsoglou (Adelaide, 2009), pp. 291–309.

Kapsomenos, Eratosthenis G., "The Relationship of Hero-Authority-God in the Actantial Model of Heroic Folk Song," *Semiotica* 59 (1986), pp. 281–301.

———, *Δημοτικό τραγούδι. Μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση* (revised edition: Athens, 1996).

Karageorghis, Jacqueline, *Κύπρις: η Αφροδίτη της Κύπρου. Αρχαίες πηγές και αρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες* (Nicosia, 2007).

Karapli, Katerina, "Οι 'καντατόρες,'" *Εώα και Εσπέρια* 2 (1994–96), pp. 229–52.

Karpozilos, Apostolos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, volume 1 (Athens, 1997).

———, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, volume 4 (Athens, 2015).

Katsaros, Vassilis, "Άγιος Γεώργιος ο Γοργός: η αλληγορική ερμηνεία στην εννοιολογική μετάλλαξη του επιθέτου," *Receuil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines* 50 (2013), pp. 505–19.

Katsiaounis, Rolandos, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia, 1996).

Katsiardi-Hering, Olga, Anastasia Papadia-Lala, Katerina Nicolaou, and Vangelis Karamanolakis (editors), *Έλλην, Ρωμηός, Γραικός. Συλλογικοί Προσδιορισμοί και Ταυτότητες* (Athens, 2018).

Kazhdan, Alexander P., "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 83–100.

———, "The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, edited by Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 43–57.

———, "Κεντρομόλες και κεντρόφυγες τάσεις στο βυζαντινό κόσμο (1081–1261). Η δομή της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας," translated by Telemachos C. Lounghis, *Βυζαντιακά* 3 (1983), pp. 91–110.

———, "Ο τέλειος μοναχός ή ο τέλειος πολεμιστής; Ο συγκερασμός των κοινωνικών ιδανικών στο Βυζάντιο," *Δωδώνη* 15 (1986), pp. 203–17.

———, "Soviet Studies on Medieval Western Europe. A Brief Survey," *Speculum* 57:1 (1982), pp. 1–19.

Kechagioglou, Giorgos, and Lefteris Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία της Νεότερης Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia, 2010).

Keegan, John, *A History of Warfare* (New York, 1993).

Keen, Maurice, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1964).

Keller, David G. R., *Oasis of Wisdom. The Worlds of the Desert Fathers and Mothers* (Collegeville, MN, 2005).

Khalifa, Cécile, "La défense de l'île de Chypre sous la domination franque de 1192 à 1489," PhD Thesis (Université Paul Valéry–Montpelier III, 2016).

Kioridis, Ioannis, "Τα κύρια ονόματα προσώπων και οι ταυτίσεις τους στο *Διγενή Ακρίτη* (χφ. Escorial): Αναλυτικός πίνακας," *Estudios Neogriegos* 15 (2013), pp. 9–21.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση* (Athens, 2007).

Kokkinoftas, Kostis, *Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κύπρο* (Nicosia, 2019).

Kokori, Vasiliki, "Η Γυναίκα στα Ονειροκριτικά Κείμενα των Βυζαντινών," PhD Thesis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2013).

Kolia-Dermitzaki, Athina, "Sophronius, Archbishop of Cyprus," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, volume 1, edited by David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (Leiden–Boston, 2009), pp. 675–78.

Konijnendijk, Roel, *Classical Greek Tactics: A Cultural History* (Leiden–Boston, 2017).

Konomis, Nikolaos, "Παροιμίαι και παροιμιώδεις φράσεις εις τρία μνημεία της κυπριακής διαλέκτου," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 23 (1953), pp. 472–83.

———, "Πόθεν και πως μετεφέρθη εν Κύπρω η ακριτική ποίησις," *Κυπριακά Γράμματα* 228 (1954), pp. 247–50.

———, "Τα Ακριτικά της Κύπρου," in *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση: από τον Μεγαλέξαντρο στον Διγενή Ακρίτα*, edited by Hélène Ahrweiler, Panayiotis Ifantis, and Jean Roques-Tesson (Athens, 2004), pp. 29–46.

Korrè, Katerina, "Μισθοφόροι stradioti της Βενετίας: πολεμική και κοινωνική λειτουργία (15ος–16ος αιώνας)," PhD Thesis (Ionian University, 2018).

Kougeas, Socrates B., "Αι εν τοις σχολίοις του Αρέθα λαογραφικαί ειδήσεις," *Λαογραφία* 4 (1913–14), pp. 236–70.

Koulakiotis, Elias, *Genese und Metamorphosen des Alexandermythos im Spiegel der griechischen nicht-historiographischen Überlieferung bis zum 3. Jr. n. Chr.* (Konstanz, 2006).

Kourbetis, Demetris, "Η στάση του Ραψομάτη στην Κύπρο επί Αλεξίου Α΄ Κομνηνού (περ. 1091–1093)," *Βυζαντιακά* 20 (2000), pp. 153–96.

Kovaltchuk, Ekaterina, "The *Encaenia* of St Sophia: Animal Sacrifice in a Christian Context," *Scrinium* 4 (2008), pp. 161–203.

Krallis, Dimitris, "Popular Political Agency in Byzantium's Villages and Towns," *ΒΣ* 28 (2018), pp. 11–48.

Krantonelli, Alexandra, *Ιστορία της πειρατείας*, volume 1 (third edition: Athens, 2014).

Krappe, Alexander H., "A Byzantine Source of Shakespeare's *Othello*," *Modern Language Notes* 39:3 (1924), pp. 156–61.

Kreinath, Jens, Joannes Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (editors), *Theorizing Rituals. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts* (Leiden–Boston, 2006).

Kristeva, Julia, *Strangers to Ourselves*, translated by Leon S. Roudiez (New York, 1991).

Kuehn, Susan, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art* (Leiden–Boston, 2011).

Kukules Phaidon, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, 6 volumes (Athens, 1948–51).

Kyriacou, Chrysovalantis, "Spirituality and *Hexis*: Tracing the Christian *Habitus* in the Basilicas of Early Byzantine Cyprus," in *Church Building in Cyprus (Fourth to Seventh Centuries). A Mirror of Intercultural Contacts in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Marietta Horster, Doria Nicolaou, and Sabine Rogge (Münster–New York, 2018), pp. 175–89.

———, *Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571: Society, Spirituality, and Identities* (New York–London, 2018).

Kyriakidis, Savvas, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204–1453* (Leiden–Boston, 2011).

Kyrris, Costas P., "Some Aspects of Leontios Makhairas' Ethnoreligious Ideology, Cultural Identity and Historiographic Method," *Στασίνος* 10 (1989–93), pp. 167–281.

———, "Ιστορία της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου εξ αρχής μέχρι του 1570–1571," *ΕΚΜΙΜΚ* 6 (2004), pp. 61–102.

Laiou, Angeliki E., "Sex, Consent, and Coercion in Byzantium," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2003), pp. 113–32.

Le Goff, Jacques, "Mentalities: A New Field for Historians," *Social Science Information* 13:1 (1974), pp. 81–97.

———, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago– London, 1980).

Lefkowitz, Mary R., "Seduction and Rape in Greek Myth," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2003), pp. 17–37.

Lemerle, Paul, *Byzantine Humanism: The First Phase. Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from its Origins to the 10th Century*, translated by Helen Lindsay and Ann Moffatt (Leiden–Boston, 1986).

Lendon, Jon E., *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford, 1997).

———, *Soldiers and Ghosts. A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 2005).

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *Myth and Meaning* (London, 1978).

———, *Mythologiques*, 4 volumes (Paris, 1964–71).

Lincoln, Bruce, *Death, War, and Sacrifice: Studies in Ideology and Practice* (Chicago–London, 1991).

Lind, Millard C., *Yahweh Is a Warrior. The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, PA, 1980).

Lindsay, Jack, *Byzantium into Europe. The Story of Byzantium as the First Europe (326–1204 A.D.) and its Further Contribution till 1453 A.D.* (London, 1952).

Livanos, Christopher, "A Case Study in Byzantine Dragon-Slaying: Digenes and the Serpent," *Oral Tradition* 26:1 (2011), pp. 125–44.

Loudovikos, Nikolaos, *Ο μόχθος της μετοχής. Είναι και μέθεξη στον Γρηγόριο Παλαμά και τον Θωμά Ακινάτη* (Athens–Thessalonica, 2010).

Lounghis, Telemachos C., *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Safeguarding East Roman Identity (407–1204)* (Nicosia, 2010).

Lourié, Basil, and Andrei Orlov (editors), *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, volume 3 of *Scrinium* (Saint Petersburg, 2007).

Luttwak, Edward, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2009).

Ma, John, "Travelling Statues, Travelling Bases? Ancient Statues in Constantinople," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 180 (2012), pp. 243–49.

Mackridge, Peter, "'None But the Brave Deserve the Fair': Abduction, Elopement, Seduction and Marriage in the Escorial *Digenes Akrites* and Modern Greek Heroic Songs," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), 150–60.

———, "Bride-snatching in *Digenes Akrites* and Cypriot Heroic Poetry," *EKEE* 19 (1992), pp. 617–22.

MacLachlan, Bonnie, "Women and Nymphs at the Grotta Caruso," in *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, edited by Giovanni Casadio and Patricia A. Johnston (Austin, TX, 2009), pp. 204–16.

Madgearu, Alexandru, "Vlach military units in the Byzantine army," in *Samuel's State and Byzantium: History, Legend, Tradition, Heritage*, edited by Mitko B. Panov (Skopje, 2015), pp. 47–55.

Magdalino, Paul, "*Digenes Akrites* and Byzantine Literature: The Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version," in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 1–14.

———, "Honour among Romaioi: The Framework of Social Values in the World of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos," *BMGS* 13 (1989), pp. 183–218.

———, "The Byzantine aristocratic *oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, edited by Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–111.

Magdalino, Paul, and Maria Mavroudi (editors), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva, 2006).

Magnússon, Sigurður G., and István M. Szijártó, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London–New York, 2013).

Magnússon, Sigurður G., "The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge," *Journal of Social History* 36:3 (2003), pp. 701–35.

Maguire, Henry (editor), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington, DC, 1995).

———, "Why Did Hades Become Beautiful in Byzantine Art?" in *Round Trip to Hades in the Eastern Mediterranean Tradition. Visits to the Underworld from Antiquity to Byzantium*, edited by Gunnel Ekroth and Ingela Nilsson (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 304–22.

———, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1996).

Mallett, Michael E., and John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice, c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984).

Maltezou, Chryssa A. (editor), *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1993).

Maniati-Kokkini, Triantaphyllitsa, "Στρατιώτες προνομιούχοι ή στρατός προνομιούχων; Δημοσιονομικά μέτρα εν όψει πολεμικών συγκρούσεων στο Ύστερο Βυζάντιο," in *Ιστορίες πολέμου στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη. Μια προσέγγιση στη διαχρονία*, edited by Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki, Vaso Serenidou, Spyridon G. Ploumides, and Marilia Likaki (Athens, 2018), pp. 139–57.

Mango, Cyril, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 53–81.

Mango, Cyril, Ernest J. W. Hawkins, and Susan Boyd, "The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings. Part I: Description," *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 63–94.

Mango, Cyril, Michael Vickers, and Eric D. Francis, "The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues," *Journal of the History of Collections* 4:1 (1992), pp. 89–98.

Marava-Hadjinicolaou, Anna, *Ο Άγιος Μάμας* (Athens, 1953).

Mariev, Sergei, and Wiebke-Marie Stock (editors), *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium* (Berlin, 2013).

Markopoulos, Athanasios, "Οι μεταμορφώσεις της 'μυθολογίας' του Βασιλείου Α΄," in *Αντικήνσωρ. Τιμητικός τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωιάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του*, edited by Vasiliki Leontaritou, Calliope A. Bourdara, and Eleftheria Sp. Papagianni (Athens, 2013), pp. 945–70.

Marsh, Adrian, and Elin Strand, " . . . Spies, Deserters and Undesirable Persons . . . ," the Gypsies of Cyprus, 1322–2003," *Kuri Dom Research Center Journal* 1:8 (2003), http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/18/cyprus8.html (last accessed March 9, 2020).

Matei-Popescu, Florian, and Ovidiu Ţentea, *Auxilia Moesiae Superioris*, translated by Gabriela Balica (Cluj-Napoca, 2018).

Mayall, David, *Gypsy Identities, 1500–2000. From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London–New York, 2004).

McDonnel, Myles, *Roman Manliness*. *Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2006).

McGrath, Stamatina, "Warfare as Literary Narrative," in *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, edited by Yannis Stouraitis (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 160–95.

McMahon, Lucas, "The Past and Future of *De Velitatione Bellica* and Byzantine Guerilla Warfare," MA Thesis (Central European University, Budapest, 2015).

Medeiros Publio Dias, João Vincente de, "The Construction of Two Palaces: The Composition of the Song of Digenis Akritas and the Claim for the Anatolic Hegemony of Alexius Komnenos," *Erytheia* 31 (2010), pp. 55–73.

Menardos, Simos, *Τοπωνυμικαί και λαογραφικαί μελέται* (Nicosia, 1970; reprinted: Nicosia, 2001).

Meraklis, Michalis G., "Πρόλογος," in Pertti J. Anttonen, *Η παράδοση μέσα από τη νεωτερικότητα. Μεταμοντερνισμός και έθνος-κράτος στην επιστήμη της λαογραφίας*, translated by Giorgos Ch. Kouzas (Athens, 2018), pp. 11–17.

Metcalf, David M., *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia, 2009).

———, "Imperial involvement in the governance of Cyprus during the years 653–965: archaeological evidence from lead seals," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 127–36.

Metropolitan Neophytos of Morphou, "Μικρά Ασία και Συροπαλαιστίνη. Η πνευματική ενδοχώρα των Κυπρίων," in *Κυπριακή Αγιολογία. Πρακτικά Α΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*, edited by Theodoros X. Yiangou and Chrysostomos Nassis (Agia Napa–Paralimni, 2015), pp. 305–26.

Meyendorff, John, "New Life in Christ: Salvation in Orthodox Theology," *Theological Studies* 50 (1989), pp. 481–99.

Meyer, Mati, "Stirring up Sundry Emotions in the Byzantine Illuminated Book: Reflections on the Female Body," in *Emotions and Gender in Byzantine Culture*, edited by Stavroula Constantinou and Mati Meyer (Cham, 2019), pp. 245–79.

Milis, Ludo J. R., "The Pagan Middle Ages —A Contradiction in Terms?" in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, edited by Ludo J. R. Milis and translated by Tanis Guest (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–12.

Millar, Fergus, *A Greek Roman Empire. Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 2006).

Miller, Dean A., *The Epic Hero* (Baltimore, MD–London, 2000).

Mitsou, Mariliza, "Καταγραφές κυπριακής δημοτικής ποίησης από την Εντβίγη Λύντεκε (Hedwig Lüdeke) τη δεκαετία του '30," in *Δια ανθύμησιν καιρού και τόπου. Λογοτεχνικές Αποτυπώσεις του Κόσμου της Κύπρου*, edited by Michalis Pieris (Nicosia, 2015), pp. 391–405.

Moennig, Ulrich, "A Hero Without Borders 1: Alexander the Great in Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek Tradition," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 159–89.

Monette, Connell, *The Medieval Hero. A Comparative Study in Indo-European Tradition* (third edition: Wilsonville, Oregon, 2013).

Moore, Kenneth R. (editor), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

Morris, Rosalind C., *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York, 2010).

Moser, Emmanuelle, *Le bestiaire de la chanson populaire grecque moderne* (Paris, 1997).

Mullett, Margaret, "The 'Other' in Byzantium," in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, edited by Dion C. Smythe (Aldershot–Burlington, 2000), pp. 1–22.

Neville, Leonora, *Anna Komnene, The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (Oxford, 2016).

———, *Byzantine Gender* (Leeds, 2019).

———, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, with the assistance of David Harrisville, Irina Tamarkina, and Charlotte Whatley (Cambridge, 2018).

———, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios* (Cambridge, 2012).

Newton, Brian, *Cypriot Greek: Its Phonology and Inflections* (The Hague–Paris, 1972).

Nicolaïdès, Andréas, "The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Twelfth Century," in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, DC, 2012), pp. 93–101.

Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, "A Neglected Relationship: Leontios Makhairas' Dept to Latin Eastern and French Historiography," in *The French of Outremer. Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean*, edited by Laura K. Morreale and Nicholas L. Paul (New York, 2018), pp. 149–96.

———, "Ethnic Names and the Construction of Group Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Cyprus: The Case of Κυπριώτης," *ΚΣ* 64–65 (2000–2001), pp. 259–75.

———, "The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191–1192," *EKEE* 26 (2000), pp. 25–123.

Nicolaou-Konnari, Angel, and Christopher Schabel (editors), *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden–Boston, 2005).

Niles, John D., "Introduction: Beowulf, Truth, and Meaning," in *A Beowulf Handbook*, edited by Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1997), pp. 1–12.

Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1996).

Notopoulos, James A., "Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 33:2 (1964), pp. 108–33.

Oancea, Constantin, "*Chaoskampf* in the Orthodox Baptism Ritual," *Acta Theologica* 37:2 (2017), pp. 125–42.

Ohnefalsch-Richter, Max, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (London, 1893).

Oikonomou-Laniado, Anastasia, "Une représentation pornographique sur un tesson d'Argos byzantine," *ΔΧΑΕ* 20 (1998), pp. 259–60.

Olympios, Michalis, "The Shifting Mantle of Jerusalem: Ecclesiastical Architecture in Lusignan Famagusta," in *Famagusta: Art and Architecture*, volume 1, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 75–202.

Ott, Claudia, "Shared Spaces 2: Cross-border Warriors in the Arabic Folk Epic," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 285–310.

Ousterhout, Robert, "Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry," in *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies*, edited by Colum Hourihane (Tempe, 2009), pp. 153–70.

———, "The life and afterlife of Constantine's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014), pp. 304–26.

Page, Gill, *Being Byzantine. Greek Identity Before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008).

Paissidou, Melina, "Byzantine army in the Palaeologan Period: The Case of the Rock-cut Hermitage in Kolchida (Kilkis Prefecture)," in *Heroes, Cults, Saints*, edited by Ivanka Gergova and Emmanuel Moutafov (Sofia, 2015), pp. 181–99.

Pallas, Dimitrios I., *Η "θάλασσα" των εκκλησιών. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν του χριστιανισμού και την μορφολογίαν της λειτουργίας* (Athens, 1952).

Pallis, Dimitrios, "A Critical Presentation of the Iconology of John of Damascus in the Context of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversies," *Heythrop Journal* 56 (2015), pp. 173–91.

Panayotou, Anna, "Η γλώσσα μου είναι η δύναμή μου: η ιστορία της ελληνικής στην Κύπρο," *Στασίνος* 13 (2011–12), pp. 113–29.

Papacharalambous, Georgios Ch., "Ενδείξεις περί πίστεως εις την ύπαρξιν ονομόρφων δαιμόνων," *ΚΣ* 45 (1981), pp. 171–74.

Papacostas, Tassos, Cyril Mango, and Michael Grünbart, "The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis," *DOP* 61 (2007), pp. 25–156.

Papadaki, Anastasia "Cerimonie publiche e feste a Cipro veneziana: dimensioni sociali ed ideologiche," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee*, edited by Chryssa Maltezou, Despoina Vlassi, and Angeliki Tzavara (Venice, 2009), pp. 381–94.

Papadakis, Aristeides, and John Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church A.D. 1071–1453* (New York, 1994).

Papadopoullos, Theodoros (editor), *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 3 (Nicosia, 2005).

———, *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volumes 4:1–2 (Nicosia, 1995).

———, "Frontier Status and Frontier Processes in Cyprus," in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, edited by Anthony A. M. Bryer and George S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), pp. 15–24.

———, "Δομή και λειτουργία του φεουδαρχικού πολιτεύματος," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, volume 4:2, edited by Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 759–84.

———, "Συνοπτικόν διάγραμμα τοπωνυμικής μεθοδολογίας," *EKEE* 5 (1971–72), pp. 1–28.

———, "Τοπωνύμια Ριζοκαρπάσου," *ΚΣ* 46 (1982), pp. 217–69.

Papadopoulou, Pagona, "Betwixt Greeks, Saracens and Crusaders. Lusignan Coinage and Its Place in the Eastern Mediterranean (1192–1324)," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 473–92.

Papagiannaki, Anthousa, "Aphrodite in Late Antique and Medieval Byzantium," in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, edited by Amy C. Smith and Sadie Pickup (Leiden–Boston, 2010), pp. 321–46.

Papalexandrou, Amy, "Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock (Malden, MA–Oxford, 2003), pp. 56–80.

———, "The Memory Culture of Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, edited by Liz James (Chichester–Malden, MA, 2010), pp. 108–22.

Papamastorakis, Titos, "Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παλληκαριών," *ΔΧΑΕ* 20 (1998), pp. 212–30.

Papantoniou, Giorgos, and Christine Morris, "*Kyprogenes* Aphrodite: Between Political Power and Cultural Identity," in *Gods of Peace and War in the Myths of the Mediterranean People*, edited by Konstantinos I. Soueref and Ariadni Gartziou-Tatti (Ioannina, 2019), pp. 147–73.

Papantoniou, Giorgos, Christine E. Morris, and Athanasios K. Vionis (editors), *Unlocking Sacred Landscapes: Spatial Analysis of Ritual and Cult in the Mediterranean* (Nicosia, 2019).

Papantoniou, Giorgos, *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus. From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos* (Leiden–Boston, 2012).

Papasavvas, Giorgos, "Warfare and the Cypriot Kingdoms. Military Ideology and the Cypriot Monarch," *CCEC* 44 (2014), pp. 153–90.

Papathanasiou, Athanasios N., "Liberation perspectives in Patristic Thought. An Orthodox Approach," *Hellenic Open University: Scientific Review of Post-Graduate Program "Studies in Orthodox Theology"* 2 (2011), pp. 419–38.

Pappas, Nicholas C., *Greeks in Russian Military Service in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries* (Thessalonica, 1991).

Parani, Maria, "A Monument of His Own? An Iconographic Study of the Wall Paintings of the Holy Trinity Parekklesion at the Monastery of St. John Chrysostom, Koutsovendis (Cyprus)," *Studies in Iconography* 39 (2018), pp. 1–85.

———, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden–Boston, 2003).

Pardos, Antonis, "Το ιδεολογικό και πολιτισμικό κρηπίδωμα της κυπριακής αντίστασης (12ος–16ος αιώνας)," in *Κύπρος, σταυροδρόμι της Μεσογείου*, edited by Eleni Grammatikopoulou (Athens, 2001), pp. 109–52.

Paschali, Maria, "Crusader Ideology, Propaganda, and the Art of the Carmelite Church in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta," in *The Harbour of All This Sea and*

Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas Coureas (Budapest, 2014), pp. 135–44.

Patapiou, Nasa, "Αλογοδρομίες ή 'τσιαττίσματα αππάρων' στην Κύπρος," *Πολίτης* (27 December 2019), p. 43.

———, "Άννα Λουζινιάν: η φοβερή Μελουζίνη," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών* 4 (1999), pp. 175–96.

———, "Η κάθοδος των Ελληνοαλβανών stradioti στην Κύπρο (ΙΣΤ' αι.)," *EKEE* 24 (1998), pp. 161–209.

———, "Η οικογένεια Γιαφούνη της Κύπρου," http://parathyro.politis.com.cy/2014/11/η-οικογένεια-γιαφούνη-της-κύπρου/ (last accessed March 9, 2020).

Patera, Maria, *Figures grecques de l'épouvante de l'antiquité au présent. Peurs enfantines et adultes* (Leiden–Boston, 2015).

Pavlou, Pavlos, "Cypriot Greek," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 90:3 (2012), pp. 967–71.

Peristiany, John G. (editor), *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965).

———, "Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village," in *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society*, edited by John G. Peristiany (London, 1965), pp. 173–90.

———, "The *sophron* —A Secular Saint? Wisdom and the Wise in a Cypriot Community," in *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, edited by John G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge, 1992) pp. 103–27.

Petalas, Dimitris G., "Ο αμαζονικός μύθος στον δυτικό Μεσαίωνα," *Παρνασσός* 44 (2002), pp. 219–32.

———, "Σημεία συνάντησης του βυζαντινού και του ευρωπαϊκού μεσαιωνικού έπους," *Λαογραφία* 43 (2013–16), pp. 315–46.

Peters, Edward, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, PA, 1978).

Petre, James, *Crusader Castles of Cyprus. The Fortifications of Cyprus under the Lusignans, 1191–1489* (Nicosia, 2012).

Petropoulos, John C. B., "Introduction: Magic in Byzantium," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 41–43.

———, *Eroticism in Ancient and Medieval Greek Poetry* (London, 2003).

Petropoulou, Maria-Zoe, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to 200 AD* (Oxford, 2008).

Pharos, Philotheos, *Το πένθος. Ορθόδοξη λαογραφική και ψυχολογική θεώρηση* (fifth edition: Athens, 2006).

Pieris, Michalis, "Γύρω από τον Λεόντιο Μαχαιρά. Ιστορική και θρησκευτική συνείδηση, γλώσσα και λογοτεχνικότητα, αφηγηματική και δραματική δομή," in *Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος. Δύο Χρονικά της Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου*, edited by Loukia Loizou-Hadjigabriel (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 35–54.

———, "Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Bertrand Bouvier," in *Τελετή Αναγόρευσης του Bertrand Bouvier σε Επίτιμο Διδάκτορα (Φιλοσοφική Σχολή, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου)* (Nicosia, 2011).

Pilides, Despina, "A Short Account of the Recent Discoveries Made on the Hill of Ayios Yeorgios (PASYDY)," in *Historic Nicosia*, edited by Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 212–14.

Pironti, Gabriella, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Liège, 2007).

Pocock, John G. A., "The Politics of History: The Subaltern and the Subversive," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6:3 (1998), pp. 219–34.

Polemis, Ioannis, "Two Praises of the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos: Problems of Authorship," *BZ* 103 (2011), pp. 700–13.

Politis, Alexis, *Το δημοτικό τραγούδι* (Herakleion, 2010).

Politis, Linos, *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας* (Athens, 2003).

Politis, Nikolaos G. *Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία*, volumes 1:1–2 (Athens, 1871–74).

Polyviou, Evanthia, "The Jewish Diaspora in Cyprus in Roman Times. The Limitations of Evidence," *ΚΣ 75* (2011), pp. 69–84.

———, "The Upheaval of the Jews in 115–117 in Salamis and the Proconsulate of C. Calpurnius Flaccus in 123 AD in Cyprus," in *Salamis of Cyprus. History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity*, edited by Sabine Rogge, Christina Ioannou, and Theodoros Mavrojannis (Münster–New York, 2019), pp. 581–90.

Porter Abbott, H., *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (second edition: Cambridge, 2008).

Procopiou, Eleni, "The Excavations at Akrotiri-Katalymata ton Plakoton, 2007–2014," in *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter*, edited by Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart (Münster–Berlin–New York, 2015), pp. 69–98.

———, "Ο Ευμάθιος Φιλοκάλης," in *Ευμάθιος Φιλοκάλης. Ανάδειξη βυζαντινών μνημείων Κρήτης και Κύπρου*, edited by Eleni Procopiou and Nikoletta Pyrrou (Rethymno, 2014), pp. 19–21.

Propp, Vladimir, *Theory and History of Folklore*, translated by Ariadna Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin, and edited by Anatoly Liberman (Minneapolis, MN, 1984).

Protopapa, Calliope, *Τα έθιμα του θανάτου στην παραδοσιακή κοινωνία της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2012).

Psychogiou, Eleni, "*Μαυρηγή" και Ελένη. Τελετουργίες θανάτου και αναγέννησης. Χθόνια μυθολογία, νεκρικά δρώμενα και μοιρολόγια στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2008).

———, "Τα 'ακριτικά' ως τελετουργικά τραγούδια μύησης: η περίπτωση του γαμπρού-στρατιώτη," in *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση: από τον Μεγαλέξαντρο στον Διγενή Ακρίτα*, edited by Hélène Ahrweiler, Panayiotis Ifantis, and Jean Roques-Tesson (Athens, 2004), pp. 152–85.

Puchner, Walter, *Die Folklore Südosteuropas. Eine comparative Übersicht* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2016).

———, *Studien zur Volkskunde Südosteuropas und des mediterranen Raums* (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2009).

———, *Ιστορική Λαογραφία. Η Διαχρονικότητα των Φαινομένων* (Athens, 2010).

Ragia, Efi, "Social Group Profiles in Byzantium: Some Considerations on Byzantine Perceptions about Social Class Distinctions," *ΒΣ* 26 (2016), pp. 309–72.

———, “Κοινωνικές διαφοροποιήσεις μεταξύ στρατιωτών,” http://byzmettyhes.gr/τεκμηρίωση/Στρατιώτες/Κοινωνικές-διαφοροποιήσεις-μεταξύ-στρατιωτών (last accessed August 11, 2020).

———, “Οι μέθοδοι των δυνατών,” http://byzmettyhes.gr/τεκμηρίωση/Δυνατοί-και-δυνάσται/Οι-μέθοδοι-των-δυνατῶν- (last accessed August 11, 2020).

Ramadan, Abdelaziz, “Arab Apostates in Byzantium: Evidence from Arabic Sources,” *BΣ* 29 (2019), pp. 273–314.

Reddy, William M., *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2004).

Redfield, Robert, “The Social Organization of Tradition,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15:1 (1955), pp. 13–21.

Reitzammer, Laurialan, *The Athenian Adonia in Context: The Adonis Festival as Cultural Practice* (Madison–London, 2016).

Revel, Jacques (editor), *Jeux d’échelles. La micro-analyse à l’expérience* (Paris, 1996).

Richardson, David B., *Berdyaev’s Philosophy of History. An Existentialist Theory of Social Creativity and Eschatology* (The Hague, 1968).

Riedel, Meredith, “Nikephoros II Phokas and Orthodox Military Martyrs,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 41:2 (2015), pp. 121–47.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986).

Roberts, Sean, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, MA–London, 2013).

Roche, Jason T., “The Byzantine Conception of the Latin Barbarian and Distortion in the Greek Narratives of the Early Crusades,” in *Fighting for the Faith —The Many Crusades*, edited by Carsten S., Janus M., J, and Kurt V. Jensen (Stockholm, 2020), pp. 143–73.

Rubanovich, Julia, “A Hero Without Borders 3: Alexander the Great in the Medieval Persian Tradition,” in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 210–33.

Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

Runciman, Steven, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (New York, 1970).

Saradi-Mendelovici, Helen, “Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries,” *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 47–61.

———, “The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3:4 (1997), pp. 395–423.

Sathas, Constantinos N. (Constantine), *Έλληνες στρατιώται εν τη Δύσει και αναγέννησις της ελληνικής τακτικής*, edited by Nikolaos Karapidakis (Athens, 1993).

Saunier, Guy, “Is There Such Thing as an ‘Akritic Song?’ Problems in the Classification of Modern Greek Narrative Songs,” in *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Aldershot–Brookfield, 1993), pp. 139–49.

———, *Αδικία. Το κακό και το άδικο στο Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι*, translated by Tina Tsiatsika (Athens, 2018).

———, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια. Συναγωγή Μελετών (1968–2000)* (Athens, 2001).

Saunier, Guy, and Emmanuelle Moser, *Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια. Συναγωγή Μελετών 2* (Athens, 2017).

———, *Ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι. Μύθοι μυητικοί και παραλογές* (Thessalonica, 2019).

Savvides, Alexis G., "Can We Refer to a Concerted Action among Rapsomates, Caryces and the Emir Tzachas between A.D. 1091 and 1093?" *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 122–34.

———, "Προσωπογραφικό σημείωμα για τον απελευθερωτή της Κύπρου Νικήτα Χαλκούτζη και για τη χρονολογία ανακατάληψης της Μεγαλονήσου (965 μ. Χ.)," *EKMIMK* 2 (1993), pp. 371–78.

Sax, Boria, *The Serpent and the Swan. The Animal Bride in Folklore and Literature* (Blacksburg, Virginia, 1998).

Schabel, Christopher, "Religion," in *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 157–218.

Schreiner, Peter, "À la recherche d'un folklore byzantin," *The Annals of Dunarea De Jos University of Galati* 19:4 (2005), pp. 81–89.

———, "Ritterspiele in Byzanz," *JÖB* 46 (1996), pp. 225–39.

Sebeok, Thomas A., *Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics* (second edition: Toronto, 2001).

Sheldrake, Philip, *A Brief History of Spirituality* (Malden, MA–Oxford–Carlton, Victoria, 2007).

Shukurov, Rustam, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden–Boston, 2016).

Siniossoglou, Niketas, "Plato Christianus: The Colonization of Plato and Identity Formation in Late Antiquity," in *Pseudologie: Études sur la fausseté dans la langue et dans la pensée*, edited by Pascale Hummel (Paris, 2010), pp. 145–76.

Skoufari, Evangelia, *Cipro veneziana (1473–1571). Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011).

Skoulatos, Basile, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980).

Smith, Mark S., *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism. Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford, 2001).

Smith, Stephen D., *Greek Epigram and Byzantine Culture. Gender, Desire, and Denial in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2019).

Soulis, George C., "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *DOP* 15 (1961), pp. 141–65.

Spanos, Apostolos, "Political Approaches to Byzantine Liturgical Texts," in *Approaches to the Text. From Pre-Gospel to Post-Baroque*, edited by Roy Eriksen and Peter Young (Pisa–Rome, 2014), pp. 63–81.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London, 1988), pp. 271–313.

Spratt, Emily L., "Toward a Definition of Post-Byzantine Art," *Record of the Princeton University Art Museum* 71 (2014), pp. 2–19.

Sprutta, Justina, "Translations of the Warrior Saints Dragon Slayers' Relics in Byzantium," translated by Anna Grzybowska, *Series Byzantina* 16 (2018), pp. 25–31.

Spyridakis, Constantinos, "Ο χαρακτήρ της κυπριακής επαναστάσεως του 1426 και ο Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς," in *Εις μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου* (Athens, 1960), pp. 71–75.

Spyridakis, Georgios K., and Stavros Karakasis, "Λαογραφική αποστολή εις Κύπρον. Έκθεσις περί της λαογραφικής συλλογής," *Επετηρίς του Λαογραφικού Αρχείου* 13–14 (1960–61), pp. 301–50.

Stanković, Vlada, "Comnenian Monastic Foundations in Constantinople: Questions of Method and Historical Context," *Belgrade Historical Review* 2 (2011), pp. 47–73.

———, "Stronger Than It Appears? Byzantium and Its European Hinterland after the Death of Manuel I Komnenos," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"* edited by Alicia Simpson (Athens, 2015), pp. 37–38.

———, *Creating the Rule of Kinsmen: The Transformation of a Political Paradigm in Southeastern Europe in the 12th and 13th Century* (in preparation, expected to be published by Lexington Books).

Starr, Joshua, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (New York, 1970).

Steckel, Sita, Niels Gaul, and Michael Grünbart (editors), *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200* (Münster, 2014).

Stelnik, Evgeniy V., "Fight with Charos in the Byzantine Chthonic Outlooks," *Science Journal of Volgograd State University. History. Area Studies. International Relations* 21:5 (2016), pp. 121–28.

Stephenson, Paul, "The Imperial Theology of Victory," *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, edited by Yannis Stouraitis (Leiden–Boston, 2018), pp. 23–58.

Stephenson, Paul, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge, 2003).

———, *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography* (Oxford, 2016).

Stewart, Charles A., "Military Architecture in Early Byzantine Cyprus," *CCEC* 43 (2013), pp. 285–304.

Stoenescu, Constantin, "'Byzantium after Byzantium' and the Religious Framework. A Conceptual Analysis," *Annals of the University of Bucharest, Philosophy Series* 61:2 (2012), pp. 97–105.

Stopka, Krzysztof, *Armenia Christiana. Armenian Religious Identity and the Churches of Constantinople and Rome (4th–15th Century)* (Kraków, 2016).

Stouraitis, Yannis (Ioannis) (editor), *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204* (Leiden–Boston, 2018).

———, "'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages. Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study," *JÖB* 62 (2017), pp. 254–55.

Stylianou, Andreas and Judith, "The Militarization of the Betrayal and Its Examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," in *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, volume 2, edited by Evangelia Kypraiou (Athens, 1992), pp. 570–81.

———, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (second edition: Nicosia, 1997).

Svoronos, Nikolaos G., "Πρόλογος," in Guy Saunier, *Αδικία. Το κακό και το άδικο στο Ελληνικό Δημοτικό Τραγούδι*, translated by Tina Tsiatsika (Athens, 2018), pp. 31–41.

———, *Ανάλεκτα Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας και Ιστοριογραφίας*, edited by Xenophon Giataganas (fourth edition: Athens, 1995).

Taverna, Donatella, *Anna di Cipro: l'eterna straniera* (Milan, 2007).

Taylor, Craig, *Chivalry and the Ideas of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013).

Theotokis, Georgios, *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108* (Woodbridge, 2014).

Tiftixoglu, Victor, "Digenes, das 'Sophrosyne'-Gedicht des Meliteniotes und der Byzantinische Fünfzehnsilber," *BZ* 67 (1974), pp. 1–63.

Tolkien, John R. R., *The Monsters and the Critics, and Other Essays*, edited by Christopher Tolkien (Croydon, 2006).

Trigg, Elwood B., *Gypsy Demons and Divinities. The Magic and Religion of the Gypsies* (New Jersey, 1973).

Trojanos, Speros N., "Magic and the Devil: From the Old to the New Rome," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 44–52.

Tselikas, Agamemnon, "Spells and Exorcisms in Three Post-Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 72–84.

Tsumura, David T., *Creation and Destruction. A Reappraisal of the Chaoskampf Theory in the Old Testament* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2005).

Ulbrich, Anja, "Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in Her Sanctuaries during the Age of the City-Kingdoms," in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, edited by Amy C. Smith and Sadie Pickup (Leiden–Boston, 2010), pp. 165–93.

Vafeiadis, Constantinos M., *Ύστερη Βυζαντινή Ζωγραφική. Χώρος και Μορφή στην Τέχνη της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1150–1450* (Athens, 2015).

Vakaloudi, Anastasia D., *Η μαγεία ως κοινωνικό φαινόμενο στο πρώιμο Βυζάντιο (4ος–7ος αι.)* (Athens, 2001).

Van der Horst, Pieter W., "The Jews of Ancient Cyprus," *Zutot* 3 (2003), pp. 110–20.

Varvounis, Manolis G., "Προσωπογραφικά προβλήματα των ηρώων στα ακριτικά δημοτικά τραγούδια," *Βυζαντιακά* 15 (1995), pp. 389–410.

———, *Traditional and Popular Religiosity in Greece: Customs and Rituals. Studies and Aspects on Social and Religious Folkloristics* (Athens–Belgrade, 2018).

Vernant, Jean-Pierre, *Œuvres: religions, rationalités, politique*, 2 volumes (Paris, 2007).

Veyne, Paul, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, translated by Paula Wissing (Chicago–London, 1988).

———, *L'Empire gréco-romain* (Paris, 2005).

———, *When our world became Christian, 312–394*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge–Malden, MA, 2010).

Vikan, Gary, "Magic and Visual Culture in Late Antiquity," in *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, edited by John C. B. Petropoulos (London–New York, 2008), pp. 53–57.

Vroom, Joanita, "Human Representations on Medieval Cypriot Ceramics and Beyond: The Enigma of Mysterious Figures Wrapped in Riddles," in *Cypriot Medieval Ceramics. Reconsiderations and New Perspectives*, edited by Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Nicholas Coureas (Nicosia, 2014), pp. 153–87.

Vryonis, Speros, "The panēgyris of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate," in *The Byzantine Saint*, edited by Sergei Hackel (New York, 2001), pp. 196–228.

———, *Byzantine Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990).

———, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1971).

Walter, Christopher, "IC XC NI KA. The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross," *REB* 55 (1997), pp. 193–220.

———, "Theodore, Archetype of the Warrior Saint," *REB* 57 (1999), pp. 163–210.

———, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Oxford, 2003).

Waters, Jaime L., "Threshing Floors as Sacred Spaces in the Hebrew Bible," PhD Thesis (The Johns Hopkins University, 2013).

Watkins, Calvert, *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York–Oxford, 1995).

West, Morris L., *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007).

White, Monica, "The Rise of the Dragon in Middle Byzantine Hagiography," *BMGS* 32 (2008), pp. 149–67.

Wickham, Chris, *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009).

Woodfin, Warren T., "Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church," in *The Byzantine World*, edited by Paul Stephenson (London–New York, 2010), pp. 303–19.

Wright, George R. H., *Ancient Building in Cyprus*, volume 1 (Leiden–New York, 1993).

Yiasemidou-Katzi, Maroulla, *Κοιλάνι. Το χωριό, η ιστορία και ο κόσμός του* (Limassol, 2005).

Yiavis, Kostas, "The Adaptations of Western Sources by Byzantine Vernacular Romances," in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, edited by Carolina Cupane and Bettina Krönung (Leiden–Boston, 2016), pp. 127–56.

Yiaxoglou, Korina, "Trajectories of Treasured Texts: Laments as Narratives," in *Storytelling as Narrative Practice. Ethnographic Approaches to the Tales We Tell*, edited by Elizabeth A. Falconi and Kathryn E. Graber (Leiden–Boston, 2019), pp. 136–62.

Zavagno, Luca, *Cyprus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (ca. 600–800)* (London–New York, 2017).

Zupka, Dušan, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Arpad Dynasty (1000–1301)*, translated by Julia and Peter Sherwood (Leiden–Boston, 2016).

Index

Page references for figures are italicized.

About the Author

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou (PhD, University of London) is a historian of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world based in Cyprus. His research focuses on Eastern Mediterranean identities, ideologies, and spiritualities, using Cyprus as a case study. He is the author of three books, including *Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571: Society, Spirituality, and Identities*, also published by Lexington Books (2018).