

The Empire Strikes Back: Multi-Faith Cyprus and Byzantine Orthodox Culture in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean



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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to explore ways in which Byzantine symbols, ideas, and practices constituted a transcultural 'language' of communication for groups of Christians in Ottoman-ruled Cyprus in the seventeenth century. Aspects of this koine are sometimes visible in the contacts between Cypriot Christians and Western Europeans (mainly Catholics, but also Lutherans) outside Cyprus, and perhaps also in the interaction between Cypriot Christians and Muslims. The Byzantine koine indicates a process of interaction between Greek and non-Greek cultural agents, through which new and mutually understandable forms of Byzantine culture emerged. By concentrating on the micro-region of seventeenth-century Cyprus and its plurality of 'micro-Christendoms' (per Peter Brown) this paper wishes to shed light on little-known aspects of the appropriation of Byzantine culture (mainly church culture) and ideology in the post-Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean and early modern Europe in general, helping us to understand more comprehensively phenomena of identity formation, conflict, and co-existence in multi-faith societies.

In 1629–30, nearly sixty years after the Ottomans had conquered Cyprus from the Venetians (1570–71),¹ the *Propaganda Fide* estimated the island's population as follows:

¹ On the War of Cyprus, see Gilles Grivaud, 'Η κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τους Οθωμανούς', in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, VI, ed. Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, 2011), 1–82.

in a total of 56,350 people, 40,000 (70.98%) were *Greci* (followers of the Byzantine Orthodox rite and doctrines); 12,500 (22.18%) were Turks; 2,000 (3.55%) were Armenians; 1,500 (2.66%) were Maronites; 200 (0.35%) were Jews; 100 (0.18%) were Nestorians (i.e., Christians of the Church of the East); 50 (0.09%) were Roman Catholics from Western Europe (French, Venetians, and Observant Franciscans); and 8 (0.01%) were Flemish Lutherans.² The picture emerging from these estimations reflects the multi-faith dynamics of the insular society of Cyprus, following a long period of Byzantine (c. 330–1191), Frankish Crusader (1191–1489), and Venetian (1489–1571) rule, before the coming of the Ottomans (1571–1878).³ It also stresses the numerical predominance (70.98%) of the followers of the Byzantine Orthodox liturgical and doctrinal tradition, who generally identified themselves as *Romaioi* ('Romans'), and were viewed by their pro-Catholic compatriots and Western Europeans as *Greci/Graikoi* ('Greeks').⁴

² *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα εκ των Αρχείων του Βατικανού (1625–1667)*, ed. Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1973), pp. 208–10. The key study on Cypriot historical demographic trends is Theodoros Papadopoulos, *Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570–1881* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1965).

³ Selected bibliography (in English): (a) Byzantines: David M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus, 491–1191* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2009); (b) Franks: Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1997); Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher D. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2005); Chrysovalantis Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus under the Latins, 1191–1571: Society, Spirituality, and Identities* (New York–London: Lexington Books, 2018); (c) Venetians: Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks, and Venice, 13th–16th centuries* (Aldershot–Burlington, Ashgate, 2000); Arbel, *Studies on Venetian Cyprus* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2017); Kyriacou, *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: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2020); (d) Ottomans: Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640* (New York–London: New York University Press, 1993).

⁴ Tassos A. Kaplanis, 'Antique Names and Self-Identification: Hellenes, Graikoi, and Romaioi from Late Byzantium to the Greek Nation-State', in *Re-imagining the Past. Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Dimitris Tziouvas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 81–96; Kaplanis, 'Νεόφυτος Ροδινός – Ιωακείμ Κύπριος: Λογοτεχνικές αποτυπώσεις της Κύπρου και ταυτότητες στο 17^ο αι.', *Επετηρίδα Κέντρον Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 37 (2015), 283–310. Non-Romaioi Orthodox Christians: *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 22–23 (Frankish Cypriots convert to Orthodoxy); Christopher D. Schabel, 'Religion', in *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, ed. Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, pp. 164 (Georgians), pp. 168–70 (Syrian Melkites). Byzantine rite: Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992).

On the eve of the Ottoman invasion of 1570, the numerically weaker Latin Church of Cyprus struggled, through its leader, Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo of Nicosia (1560–86), to reaffirm its hegemony (going back to the thirteenth century but fading away due to episcopal absenteeism) over all other Christian communities. The underlying tension, provoked by Mocenigo's attempt to implement the Tridentine decrees in Cyprus in the 1560s, culminated in an open conflict (1567) with Neophytos Logaras, the Orthodox bishop of Solea (1543–68).⁵ During the War of Cyprus (1570–71), it seems that the Venetians, who had protected their Orthodox subjects during the Mocenigo-Logaras episode, were largely supported by the Orthodox population.⁶ Experiencing the sudden and violent end of Christian domination in Cyprus was a traumatic event, which must have been the main reason why Cypriot Christian church leaders (and, most of all, the Orthodox archbishops and bishops) sought to preserve and strengthen their links to Western Europe, even inviting Roman Catholic Venice, Spain, Savoy, and Tuscany to liberate their island.⁷ As a result of this turn to the West, after 1629 and for nearly 35 years, the Holy See pursued a unionist policy through the re-establishment of the Latin/Roman Catholic bishopric of Paphos and the activities of Roman Catholic missionaries.⁸ By that time, the Ottomans had partly restored the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church, while the Roman Catholics were

⁵ Evangelia Skoufari, 'L' Arcivescovo Filippo Mocenigo e l' applicazione della riforma tridentina a Cipro', in *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Evelien Chayes and Harald Hendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 205–30; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 194–99.

⁶ Grivaud, 'Η κατάκτηση', pp. 162–66.

⁷ This subject is extensively discussed in Chrysovalantis Kyriacou, 'Πόλεμος της Κύπρου (1570–73) και χριστιανική ταυτότητα: Μια νέα αφετηρία ιδεολογικών μετασχηματισμών', in *Χριστιανική ετερότητα και συνύπαρξη πριν και μετά την Οθωμανική κατάκτηση: Η Κύπρος στο μεταίχμιο δύο κόσμων (16^{ος}–17^{ος} αι.)*, ed. Kyriacou (Lefkosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2021), pp. 36–67. On anti-Turkish plots and revolts, see Ioannis Hassiotis, 'Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις στην Κύπρο και η στάση των Ευρωπαϊκών Δυνάμεων (από την οθωμανική κατάκτηση ως τις αρχές του 19^{ου} αιώνα)', in *Κύπρος: Αγώνες Ελευθερίας στην Ελληνική Ιστορία*, ed. Andreas Voskos (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2010), 147–87.

⁸ The sources have been collected and published, with commentary, in *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis.

deprived of their previous domination in Cypriot society and experienced the restriction of their religious liberties.⁹

1. BYZANTINE KOINEISATION

The aim of this paper is to explore ways in which Byzantine symbols, ideas, and practices constituted a 'Byzantine koine', namely a transcultural 'language' of communication for groups of Christians in seventeenth-century Cyprus. Aspects of this koine are sometimes visible in the contacts between Cypriot Christians and Western Europeans (mainly Catholics, but also Lutherans) outside Cyprus. The notion of 'koinisation' has been borrowed from socio-linguistic studies, describing the 'contact-induced process through which new varieties of a language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of understandable varieties'.¹⁰ The Byzantine koine indicates a process of interaction between *Romaioi* and non-*Romaioi* cultural agents, through which new and mutually understandable forms of Byzantine culture emerged. By 'new forms of Byzantine culture', we mean Byzantine symbols, ideas and practices, which were employed, appropriated and re-defined outside their original cultural matrix, namely the political boundaries of the Byzantine Empire, but continued being associated with Byzantium.¹¹ We need to clarify that, although other forms of cultural koine were present on the island during the medieval and early

⁹ On the Roman Catholics of Cyprus during the Ottoman period, see briefly Nicholas Coureas, 'Stunted Growth: The Latin Clergy of Cyprus during the Ottoman Period', in *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and Identities of the Internal-Exclusion*, ed. Andrekos Varnava, Nicholas Coureas and Marina Elia (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 92–110. On the Orthodox: Michalis N. Michael, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου κατά την οθωμανική περίοδο (1571–1878). Η σταδιακή συγκρότησή της σε θεσμό πολιτικής εξουσίας* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2005).

¹⁰ Vit Bubenik, 'North-West Doric Koina and the Issue of 'Koineization': Sociolinguistic Concerns', in *Studies in Ancient Greek Dialects: From Central Greece to the Black Sea*, ed. Georgios K. Giannakis, Emilio Crespo and Panagiotis Filos (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), p. 149.

¹¹ On the study of Byzantine concepts of innovation, see Apostolos Spanos, 'To Every Innovation, Anathema' (?). Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Study of Byzantine Innovation', in *Mysterion, strategike og kainotomia*, ed. Harald Knudsen, Joyce Falkenberg, Kjell Grønhaug and Åge Garnes (Oslo: Novus, 2010), 51–59; Spanos, 'Was innovation unwanted in Byzantium?', in *Byzantium Wanted: The Desire for a Lost Empire*, ed. Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 2014), 43–56.

modern periods, the Byzantine cultural koine was one of the most visible, and, admittedly, the most enduring.¹²

To give an example of Byzantine koineisation in Cyprus, it is useful to turn to Michele Bacci's examination of the use of Late Byzantine religious painting in the cosmopolitan society of fourteenth-century Famagusta. Bacci notes 'the trans-confessional appreciation of Byzantine religious painting and [...] each community's interest in having their churches embellished in the best Greek manner'.¹³ Another example concerns the extensive presentation and re-interpretation of Byzantine theological and liturgical texts by a Cypriot Franciscan, writing after the Council of Florence (1439), in support of the doctrinal correctness of Purgatory and the Beatific Vision, against an Orthodox Cypriot audience rejecting these doctrines.¹⁴ A third example would be that of the two-headed eagle, the Palaiologan heraldic symbol, employed by the Cypriot branch of the Palaiologoi, serving Venice as mercenaries (*stradioti*) in the sixteenth century. The two-headed eagle was an emblem of social power, used not only by the Palaiologoi, but also by the noble (and largely Latinised) Podocataro family, who were related to them.¹⁵ In all three examples presented here,

¹² Examples of the Byzantine cultural koine in the medieval period are discussed in Chrysovalantis Kyriacou, 'The Late Byzantine Mediterranean — an oxymoron?', in *Unity in Diversity: Aspects of Centrality and Regionalism in the Byzantine World (Texts, Visual Culture, Ideology, Identity)*, ed. Vlada Stanković (New York–London: Lexington Books, forthcoming). On other forms of cultural koine (especially in painting and architecture), see, among many studies, the following: Annemarie Weyl Carr, 'Iconography and Identity: Syrian Elements in the Art of Crusader Cyprus', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89 (2009), 127–51; Tassos Papacostas, 'Byzantine Rite in a Gothic Setting: Aspects of Cultural Appropriation in Late Medieval Cyprus', *Series Byzantina*, 8 (2010), 117–32; Papacostas, 'Echoes of the Renaissance in the eastern confines of the *stato da mar*: architectural evidence from Venetian Cyprus', *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, 3.3 (2010), 136–72; Denys Pringle, 'Gothic architecture in the Holy Land and Cyprus: from Acre to Famagusta', *Levant*, 47.3 (2015), 293–315; Nasso Chrysochou, 'Frankish-Venetian Cyprus: effects of the Renaissance on the ecclesiastical architecture of the island', *Journal of Sustainable Architecture and Civil Engineering*, 3.16 (2016), 97–107.

¹³ Michele Bacci, 'Sharing the authority of Byzantine religious painting: Palaeologan art in Famagusta', in *Palaeologan reflections in the art of Cyprus (1261–1489)*, ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (Lefkosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation–Deputy Ministry of Tourism, 2019), p. 86.

¹⁴ Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 157–59, 247–49.

¹⁵ Andreas Stylianou and Judith Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of the Byzantine Art* (London: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1985), pp. 438–39; Nasa Patapiou, 'Η κάθοδος των ελληνοαλβανών *stradioti* στην Κύπρο (ΙΣΤ' αι.)', *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 24 (1998), pp. 180–81, 193–95, 204, 206, 208; Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. xxii–iii (n.2: Palaiologoi and

cultural forms of expression associated with Byzantium (Late Byzantine art, Byzantine Orthodox theology, and a dynastic symbol of power) became the *medium* of transcultural communication on an island that had not been politically Byzantine since the twelfth century.

2. DEFINING 'BYZANTIUM'

As the late antique and medieval continuation of the Roman Empire in the East, Byzantium existed for over a millennium. The appropriation of Byzantine symbols, ideas, and practices in the Cypriot Byzantine koine of the seventeenth century did not encompass this long period as a whole; it was selective, focusing instead on specific elements mostly deriving from, or attributed to, Late Antiquity (c. 300–700). On the contrary, aspects of the relatively recent history of the Byzantine Empire, accepted by Orthodox believers as integral elements of their church tradition, were often attacked and rejected by Roman Catholics. This was the case, for example, with St Gregory Palamas (d. 1359), defender of hesychast (from *hesychia*, 'inner quietude') asceticism and the ability of purified human beings to experience, before death, visions of God.¹⁶ A report on the religious errors, ceremonies, and customs of Cypriot Christian communities, contained in MS Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-030 and composed in the 1560s by an anonymous proponent of the Counter-Reformation, noted that the *Greci* venerate St Gregory Palamas; the report also mentioned, incorrectly, that Palamas had been condemned by the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439.¹⁷ In 1667, Salvatore da Giove, the leader of the Roman Catholic mission in

Podocatharoi). On the Podocataro, see also Rudt W. H. de Collenberg, 'Les premiers Podocataro. Recherches basées sur le testament de Hugues (1452)', *Θησαυρίσματα*, 23 (1993), 130–82, and Nasa Patapiou, 'Ιωάννης Ποδοκάθαρος: ένας άγνωστος λόγιος του 16^{ου} αιώνα', *Στασίνο*, 13 (2011–12), 223–38.

¹⁶ The classic study on Palamas is John Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, trans. by Adele Fiske (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974). See also the recent treatment by Norman Russell, *Gregory Palamas and the Making of Palamism in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹⁷ *Κυπροβενετικά. Στοιχεία θρησκευτικής ανθρωπογεωγραφίας της βενετοκρατούμενης Κύπρου από τον κώδικα B-030 του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τράπεζας Κύπρου. Εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση*,

Cyprus, pointed out that Nikephoros, the pro-Catholic Orthodox archbishop (1640/41–74), tolerated Palamas' veneration by his flock.¹⁸

Returning now to the common ground between Orthodox Cypriots and Roman Catholics, we observe that the shared legacies of 'Ancient Christianity' (per Peter Brown), not yet succeeded by the 'New Christendoms' of c. 750–1000, provided models for the promotion of inter-confessional dialogue, self-definition and the construction of images of power.¹⁹ Does the seventeenth-century emphasis in earlier, pre-schismatic Christian traditions mean that these legacies should not be associated with Byzantium?

Orthodox ecclesiastical sources suggest that a clear awareness of what is 'Byzantine' existed in seventeenth-century Cyprus in both semantic and cultural/chronological terms. The authors of these sources were Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastics, mostly scholarly monks, whose views and perceptions of Byzantium were probably shared by most Orthodox believers in Cyprus. This is supported by the fact that the daily lives of Ottoman-ruled Orthodox Cypriots were largely regulated by their Orthodox Christian faith and ecclesiastical canon law,²⁰ as well as by their self-perception as *Romaioi*.

Byzantine Orthodox liturgy offered a ritual and theological context for developing such an awareness, not only in Cyprus but throughout the post-Byzantine world. Robert F. Taft defines the Byzantine rite as 'the liturgical system that developed in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople and was gradually adopted, in the Middle Ages, by the other Chalcedonian Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria,

μετάφραση και σχόλια, ed. Chrysovalantis Kyriacou (Nicosia: Holy Monastery of Kykkos Museum, 2019), pp. 29, 52, 84, 117–18; Kyriacou, *Christian Diversity*, pp. 13, 52.

¹⁸ Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, pp. 189–90.

¹⁹ Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 10th edn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), parts II and III.

²⁰ Menelaos Christodoulou, 'Κυπριακά κανονικά διατάξεις', *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 12 (1983), 329–490; Theodoros Papadopoulos, 'Κυπριακά Νόμιμα', *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, 1 (1984), 1–142; Benedict Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται διά την Εκκλησίαν Κύπρου, 4^{ος} έως 20^{ος} αιών* (Athens: A. G. Leventis Foundation–National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, 1996), pp. 335–63.

Antioch, and Jerusalem'.²¹ Although Taft's definition should not be taken as implying the existence of complete liturgical uniformity throughout the Orthodox populations of the Eastern Mediterranean, it does suggest unity in faith and liturgical praxis. This unity was rooted in the centuries-old self-understanding of the Byzantines/*Romaioi* as 'the Holy Nation, the New Israel, defined by religious praxis, political and ecclesiastical loyalty, spoken and liturgical language, geographical territory centering around a holy city and not the least — an ethos: the ethos that God would never forsake them'.²² In this vision, Constantinople was 'the common homeland of the Christian-Romans', or the 'archetypal *patria communis* of the *Rhomaioi*'.²³

Being Orthodox Cypriot was largely interwoven with the idea of belonging to a broader community of *Romaioi*, with Constantinople as a common spiritual centre.²⁴ For example, when Orthodox Cypriot bishops were ordained under the Latins, they professed the faith of Constantinople, using contemporary Byzantine synodal statements (perhaps with a covert anti-Latin tone) and standing over an image of the imperial eagle.²⁵ This pro-Constantinopolitan orientation could also explain the insistence of Orthodox Cypriots in the seventeenth century to venerate St Gregory Palamas, despite the hostility of Roman Catholic missionaries.

²¹ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, p. 16.

²² Shay Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018), p. 202. On *Romaic* identity/ies and liturgical 'Byzantinisation', see also Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), passim, esp. at pp. 352–54.

²³ Yannis Stouraitis, 'Reinventing Roman Ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium', *Medieval Worlds*, 5 (2017), p. 78 (quotation); Evangelos Chrysos, 'Το Βυζάντιο: η Αυτοκρατορία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, 78–79 (2016–17), 1005–22; Panagiotis Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines call themselves Byzantines? Elements of Eastern Roman identity in the imperial discourse of the seventh century', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 45.1 (2021), p. 40.

²⁴ For Late Byzantine notions of the *genos*, see Tonia Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την άλωση* (Athens: Polis, 2007), pp. 217–25. On Ottoman perceptions of the *Rum* community in relation to the broader Orthodox community, see Paraskevas Konortas, 'From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community', in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin, 1999), 169–79. On the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the passing from *genos* to nation, see Archimandrite Andreas Nanakis, *Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο στην Υστερη Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία: από το Γένος και την Εθναρχία στο Έθνος* (Thessalonica: Barbounakis, 2013).

²⁵ Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 147–49.

Seventeenth-century Orthodox Cypriots did not use the terms 'Byzantine' and 'Byzantium' employed today by scholars, but largely perceived themselves as *Romaioi*, namely as the same people once inhabiting Byzantium or *Romania*.²⁶ The term *Greci/Graikoi* was also employed, but 'was restricted in certain periods to small groups of people related in one way or another to the West'.²⁷ Writing in the 1600s, Logizos Skevophylax from Leukara, an Orthodox chronicler, saw the coming of St Helen (mother of St Constantine I, 306–37) in Cyprus as the beginning of a new Christian Roman ('Byzantine') era for the island's history. Describing the supposed colonisation of Cyprus under Helen, Logizos states that 'in those times, *Romaioi* were everywhere [in the East], and for this reason the multitude of Cypriots stayed [in Cyprus] and are *Romaioi*'.²⁸ Although Logizos' account is essentially a revised translation of Steffano Lusignano's *Chorograffia* (Bologna, 1573), he replaces Lusignan's *Greci* with *Romaioi*, employing the same term that the Byzantines used to define themselves.²⁹ Logizos also mentions to have consulted earlier *Romaic* sources on St Helen's Cypriot journey, probably referring to the local Byzantine Orthodox hagiographical tradition; the use of the term *Romaic* indicates his perception of continuity in the island's Orthodox church culture.³⁰

Ioakeim the Cypriot (*d. a.* 1669), a scholarly clergyman of the seventeenth century, uses *Kyprios* to speak of the local Cypriot identity, and *Romaioi* with reference

²⁶ Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland. Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019). On the use of the term 'Byzantine' in seventh-century Byzantium to describe 'Eastern Romaness', even 'a Palestinian monk who prayed in Syriac in Rome' (p. 41), see Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines', 25–41.

²⁷ Kaplanis, 'Antique Names', p. 97.

²⁸ Λογίζου Σκευοφύλακος, *Κρόνικα ἡγουν χρονογραφία τοῦ νησιῦ τῆς Κύπρου*, I, ed. Stylianos K. Perdakis (Nicosia: Holy Monastery of Kykkos Museum, 2004), p. 58: εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς εἰς ὅλους τοὺς τόπους ἦτον Ῥωμαῖοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅλον τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς Κυπραίους ἔμειναν καὶ εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι. On Logizos, see Christos G. Pantelidis, 'Κυπριακὸν Χειρόγραφον', in *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, ed. by Theodoros Papadopoulos, Gilles Grivaud, and Gregorios Ioannides (Bologna: Alessandro Benaccio, 1573; 2nd edn: Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2004), 281–316; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη, 1571–1878. Προσωπογραφική Θεώρηση* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2002), pp. 188–89.

²⁹ *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorograffia*, f. 29^r.

³⁰ Λογίζου Σκευοφύλακος, *Κρόνικα*, p. 58.

to the broader *Romaic* community, as well as to the Byzantine Empire.³¹ Contrary to Logizos and Ioakeim, the pro-Catholic Neophytos Rodinos (*d.* 1659) employs the inclusive term *Kypriotis/Kyprios* for both Orthodox and Latin Cypriots, but describes the vernacular Greek language as *romaika*, ‘language of the *Romaioi*’.³² The anonymous folk song on the fall of the dragoman Markoullis (1668–74) refers to the *Romioi* of Cyprus, and could be considered as closer to the way most Orthodox Cypriots saw themselves.³³ The same source refers to the Ottoman sultan as *basilias*, the title designated for the Byzantine emperor (*basileus*), which implicitly reflects the rather widespread view of *translatio imperii* from the Byzantines to the Ottomans.³⁴

Seventeenth-century *Romaioi/Graikoi/Greci* from Cyprus perceived Byzantium primarily through the lens of their religious culture, defined by the Byzantine Orthodox rite and faith and associated with the spiritual (and once political) centre of Constantinople. They more or less understood that the shift from pre-Christian to Christian Roman/Byzantine rule took place in the fourth century, under Constantine I, the first Christian Roman emperor. This rule ended in 1453, when the Ottomans conquered Constantinople (note that the fifteenth-century *Lament for Constantinople* might have been composed in Cyprus).³⁵ Lastly, they defined themselves as *Romaioi*, which highlights the continuous existence of this community even without their empire. For seventeenth-century *Romaioi* from Cyprus, ‘Late Antiquity’ (a modern

³¹ Kaplanis, ‘Νεόφυτος Ροδινός – Ιωακείμ Κύπριος’, pp. 301–10.

³² Kaplanis, ‘Νεόφυτος Ροδινός – Ιωακείμ Κύπριος’, pp. 283–301. On this identity, see Gilles Grivaud, ‘Éveil de la nation chypriote (XII^e–XV^e siècles)’, *Sources Travaux Historiques*, 43–44 (1995), 105–16; Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, ‘Ethnic names and the construction of group identity in medieval and early modern Cyprus: the case of Κυπριώτης’, *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, 64–65 (2000–1), 259–75.

³³ Theodoros Papadopoulos, ‘Το άσμα των διερχομένων’, *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, 45 (1981), pp. 99 (l. 461), 114 (l. 773); Antonis Hadjikyriacou, ‘The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: towards a spatial imagination beyond the centre-province binary’, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 25.2 (2016), 85–86.

³⁴ Papadopoulos, ‘Το άσμα των διερχομένων’, pp. 106 (l. 618), 107 (l. 629, 632); Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), *passim*, esp. at p. 119.

³⁵ *Ανακάλυψη της Κωνσταντινούπολης*, ed. Emmanuel Kriaras and comm. Giorgos Kechagioglou (Thessalonica: Institute of Modern Greek Studies, 2012).

periodisation term) did not exist as a category; their Christian past was inseparable from their historical past under Byzantium.

3. BYZANTINE RELIGIOUS CULTURE AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM

The spirit of Christian humanism was a strong driving force behind the re-discovery and acknowledgment of a pre-schismatic past and tradition that brought Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians closer. Writing on the printing history and reception of Greek patristic texts in the West, Natasha Constantinidou observes that these editions were 'primarily intended for members of the Catholic orders as a way of achieving internal conformity and discipline and as a tool to challenge Reformed scholarship'.³⁶

The *editio princeps* of St Epiphanius of Cyprus' (367–403) *Opera omnia*, published by the Jesuit scholar Denis Pétau (Paris, 1622), is one among many examples of Christian humanist exchanges in this period, involving Byzantine religious culture. The Epiphanius edition was decorated with a frontispiece portrait of the saint; as we read in the inscription under the engraving, the image was the work of John Adolos of Nicosia (*Ioannes Adolus Leucosiensis*), who was 'by no means a careless painter' (*haud indiligens pictor*). This (otherwise unknown) Cypriot painter, who must have been active after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, is mentioned to have copied the image from the monastery of Sula in Constantinople (perhaps a reference to an eleventh-century fresco at the monastery of Peribleptos),³⁷ thus bringing it to the attention of Western humanist circles. The earliest appearance of Adolos' image of Epiphanius is to be found in Ponce de Leon's edition of the *Physiologus* (Antwerp, 1588), and it was

³⁶ Natasha Constantinidou, 'Aspects of the Printing History and Reception of John Chrysostom and Other Greek Church Fathers, c. 1450–1600', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, (2019), p. 17 doi.org/10.1007/s12138-019-00545-z

³⁷ Claudia Rapp, 'Epiphanius of Salamis: The Church Father as Saint', in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. Anthony A. M. Bryer and George S. Georgallides (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1993), p. 186.

later used in the *Opera omnia* edition by Pétau.³⁸ Several questions concerning Adolos remain to be answered by future research. Was he a monk (*adolos* = 'guileless') or a lay hagiographer? Was he familiar with the Western art of engraving? Did he visit Constantinople himself, or was his painting the copy of a copy? Was he one of the 13,719 prisoners of war taken by the Ottomans after the sack of Nicosia (September 1570), many of whom ended up in Constantinople?³⁹ What is important for our examination, is that Adolos' frontispiece accompanied the published writings of a fourth-century Father who had been bishop in Cyprus, and whose work was greatly valued by Pétau and other Roman Catholic scholars in their struggle against the Reformers.⁴⁰

Christian humanism sparked the interest of Western Europeans in the island's Byzantine Orthodox culture. 'Digging' Cypriot monastic libraries for Byzantine manuscripts to be collected, and sometimes published in the West, was a common endeavour for European *literati* and their agents during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴¹ The Neoplatonic scholar Francesco Patrizi (1529–97), initially at the service of Count Giorgio Contarini of Jaffa and later Archbishop Filippo Mocenigo of Nicosia, assembled a number of philosophical, theological, mathematical, astrological, geographical, musical, historical, rhetorical, poetical, and medical texts from Byzantine manuscripts he had either purchased or copied (through

³⁸ Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐπιφανίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντείας τῆς Κύπρου, Ἄπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα. *Sancti Patris Nostri Epiphani Constantiae, sive Salaminis in Cypro, Episcopi, Opera omnia*, I (Parisiis: Sumptibus Michaelis Sonni, Claudii Morelli et Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1622) [Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, B-198], with description in Leonora Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books, 15th–18th Century. From the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2010), pp. 232–33; Ingo Herklotz, 'Alfonso Chacón e le gallerie dei ritratti nell'età della Controriforma', in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio*, ed. Patrizia Tosini (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2009), 111–42 (esp. at pp. 132–33); University of Victoria, *Saint Epiphanius on the Physiologus (Facsimile and Commentary)*, <<http://spcoll.library.uvic.ca/Digit/physiologum/index.html>> [accessed 22 October 2020].

³⁹ Vera Costantini, *Il Sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano* (Milan: UTET Libreria, 2009), p. 66.

⁴⁰ Rapp, 'Epiphanius', pp. 186–87.

⁴¹ For some fifteenth-century precedents, see Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1993), pp. 19–21.

Romaioi scribes) in the 1560s.⁴² In 1564/65, Filippo Mocenigo is known to have sponsored the copying of a luxury volume (MS Ottobonianus graecus 25) containing the works of St Neilos, Epiktetos and Evagrios of Pontos; the scribe was Philotheos, Orthodox abbot of the Virgin of Hierax (Arakas) monastery in the Troodos mountain range. Philotheos praised Mocenigo in a long dedicatory poem, mentioning that the manuscript was intended to be used as a master print, presumably in Italy. Mocenigo's and Philotheos' collaboration in this project shows how Christian humanism and local patriotism could place Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians side-by-side, despite their differences in faith and practice.⁴³ The anonymous report in MS Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-030, probably composed by one of Mocenigo's close associates, points out the existence of unpublished Byzantine manuscripts in Orthodox monastic libraries. These manuscripts are described as 'very useful and necessary for our times' (*utilissimi et necessariissimi a tempi nostri*), referring to their potential employment against the Reformers.⁴⁴ Unlike the case of the Mocenigo-Philotheos joint project, however, Orthodox Cypriot monks did not let the Roman Catholics see these manuscripts.

The phenomenon of harvesting Byzantine manuscripts from Orthodox Cypriot monasteries culminated after the establishment of Ottoman rule. In the seventeenth century, the French kings presented themselves as legitimate successors of the Byzantine emperors, and the idea of a Crusade against the Ottomans 'was revived by Mazarin and Louis XIII and their entourage'; indeed, the study of Byzantium was so highly appreciated that the Louvre sponsored the *Byzantine du Louvre* collection of

⁴² Gilles Grivaud, 'Une liste de manuscrits grecs trouvés à Chypre par Francesco Patrizi', in *Cyprus and the Renaissance*, ed. Arbel, Chayes and Hendrix, 125–56; Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, 'Francesco Patrizi's Cypriot Connections and Giason and Pietro de Nores', in *Cyprus and the Renaissance*, ed. Arbel, Chayes and Hendrix, 157–203.

⁴³ Costas N. Constantinides, 'Ο βιβλιογράφος Φιλόθεος, ηγούμενος της μονής του Ιέρρακος της Κύπρου (16^{ος} αλ.)', *Δωδώνη*, 14 (1985), 75–83; Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 16, 22, 350–54.

⁴⁴ *Κυπροβενετικά*, ed. Kyriacou, pp. 63, 93, 128–29; for the translation, Kyriacou, *Christian Diversity*, p. 61.

Byzantine works of historiography.⁴⁵ In 1627, the French consul in Cyprus sent three manuscripts to Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), including a liturgical *menaion* and an ethical treatise *On Vices and Virtues* by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59). In c. 1643, Athanasios the Rhetor (1571–1663), a Greek Catholic priest from Cyprus and an agent of Chancellor Pierre Séguier (1635–72), collected forty-six manuscripts for his patron. In 1671, the Dominican Johan-Michael Wansleben gathered forty-seven volumes for the French king, including Arabic, Syriac and Coptic manuscripts. Between 1669 and 1691, the French consul Balthasar Sauvan collected for Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the well-known statesman of Louis XIV (1643–1715), more than two hundred manuscripts. Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning estimate that ‘as a result of these well-organised French missions, some three hundred of the best manuscripts existing in the island were transferred to Paris in the seventeenth century’.⁴⁶ *Ex Oriente lux*: the image of French absolutism in the age of *le Roi Soleil*, perceived as a continuation of the Byzantine *basileia*,⁴⁷ was partly built on the cultural looting of Cyprus, a former Byzantine province that had long preserved, even under Frankish Crusader domination, the very heritage recently discovered by the French elites.

The reasons why Orthodox Cypriot monks sold or permitted the taking of Byzantine manuscripts from their monasteries seem to vary: poverty, negligence, lack of appreciation caused by ignorance, and perhaps also inability to protect what was theirs in the challenging conditions after 1570/71. The pre-conquest testimony that Roman Catholics had been prevented from reading Byzantine manuscripts in monastic libraries, together with the negative legacy of Athanasios the Rhetor among

⁴⁵ Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France. Eurasian Trade Exoticism and the Ancient Regime* (Oxford–New York: Berg, 2008), p. 140.

⁴⁶ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 23–27 (quotation at p. 27).

⁴⁷ Gilbert Dagron, ‘La France au miroir de Byzance. Quelques remarques sur l’historiographie française du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e s.’, *Rossijskaja Akademia Nauk, Sankt-Peterburgskoe Otdelenie, Vspomogatel’nye istoričeskie discipliny*, 30 (2007), p. 268; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ‘The Byzantine Legacy in Early Modern Political Thought’, in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 666–68.

Orthodox Christians in the East,⁴⁸ may suggest that the dispersal of Byzantine manuscripts outside Cyprus was largely due to the force exercised on Orthodox monastic communities by the harsh realities following the War of Cyprus.⁴⁹ But these realities were far more complex than it may seem: sometimes the taking of manuscripts might have been allowed as an act of ecclesiastical diplomacy. Given that Athanasios the Rhetor's infiltration in Orthodox monasteries had been sanctioned by the permission granted to him by Archbishop Nikephoros in 1643 to celebrate the liturgy and preach throughout the island, it is likely that the removal of Byzantine manuscripts from their monastic libraries had been occasionally facilitated by the Orthodox archbishops' policy of rapprochement with Roman Catholic Europe.⁵⁰

Greek printed books containing Byzantine materials were offered, from time to time, as gifts by Orthodox Cypriot monks travelling (and wishing to study) in Western Europe. This was the case with the copies of Orthodox liturgical books presented by Leontios Eustratios (d. 1601) to Martinus Crusius (1526–1607) in Tübingen in 1590.⁵¹ The Cypriot monk's gift to the Lutheran classicist should be seen within the broader picture of Lutheran humanist re-discovery of Classical Antiquity, Byzantium and the history of the Christian Church, the origins of which Lutherans 'believed to be reviving in their own day'.⁵² Although Crusius seems to have thought that Eustratios was sympathetic to Lutheranism, the confessional openness of his Cypriot guest was probably due to his expectation of receiving a scholarship by the duke of Württemberg and his irenic approach to both Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. This attitude was shared by Eustratios' mentor, Bishop Maximos Margounios of Kythera (d. 1602).

⁴⁸ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 24 (n. 35).

⁴⁹ Ioannis P. Theocharides, 'Στοιχεία από την ιστορία της Κύπρου (μέσα του 17^{ου} αι.)', *Δωδώνη*, 16 (1987), 209–24.

⁵⁰ Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, p. 24.

⁵¹ Ulrich Moennig, 'On Martinus Crusius's collection of Greek vernacular and religious books', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 21 (1997), p. 45. On Eustratios' biography, see Claudia Sode, 'Ein bisher unbekannter Epitaphios des Maximos Margounios auf Leontios Eustratios Philoponos (Cod. Chart. B 147 der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha)', *Codices Manuscripti*, 34–35 (2001), 29–52.

⁵² Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity. Melancthonian Scholarship Between Universal History and Pedagogy* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 83–131 (quotation at p. 131).

Like Margounios, Eustratios was opposed by his fellow Orthodox in Cyprus as a pro-Catholic, although there is no concrete evidence to support this accusation.⁵³ Eustratios himself did not perceive his contacts with Lutherans and Roman Catholics as harmful for his faith. Writing to Margounios from Vienna in 1589, where he studied under the aegis of Elisabeth of Austria's (queen of France, 1571–74) confessor, Eustratios was thankful to God for having befriended his patrons, but noted that he remained adamant in his ecclesiastical customs and doctrines.⁵⁴ Byzantine Orthodox culture could, thus, provide opportunities for amicable dialogue, and even collaboration, between Cypriot *Romaioi* and Western European cultural agents, without excluding the preservation of one's doctrinal identity.

4. CONSTANTINIAN MONARCHY

The gathering of Byzantine manuscripts from Cyprus at the time of Athanasios the Rhetor and Colbert reflects the turn of early modern Europe to Byzantium 'as a source of Roman legitimacy and norms of correct practice in the transaction of the tasks of a Christian monarchy'.⁵⁵ The image of Constantine I was a central point of reference in early modern imperial ideologies across Europe, becoming another thread in the textile of 'koineisation' between Orthodox and Catholics in Cyprus and beyond. According to Thomas James Dandeleit, 'for the Renaissance of empire, no Roman emperor was more important as a model of imperial behavior than the first great patron of Christian Rome'.⁵⁶ The 'Constantinian Renaissance' was primarily founded

⁵³ Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos of Athens, *Η Εκκλησία Κύπρου επί Τουρκοκρατίας (1571–1878)* (Athens: Phoenix, 1929), pp. 24–32; Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογισσύνη*, p. 132; A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 180–81 (on Margounios' position on the *Filioque*); cf. George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 323–25 (on Eustratios' alleged deviation from Orthodoxy).

⁵⁴ Eleni Kakoulidi-Panou, *Κυπριακός Πεζός Λόγος, 15^{ος}–17^{ος} αιώνας* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2011), pp. 140–41.

⁵⁵ Kitromilides, 'The Byzantine Legacy', p. 666.

⁵⁶ Thomas James Dandeleit, 'The Imperial Renaissance', in *The Renaissance World*, ed. John Jeffries Martin (New York–London: Routledge, 2007), p. 322.

on 'the close relationship between the Spanish Empire and the papacy'.⁵⁷ The renovated basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome (1488–1523), for example, was a visual celebration of 'Spain's providential destiny to propel Christendom to victory'.⁵⁸ Interest in Constantine grew particularly under Charles V (1516–56) and Philip II of Spain (1556–98), both of whom presented themselves as defenders of Catholic Christendom against the Reformers and the Ottomans.⁵⁹ Another member of the House of Habsburg, the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637), saw his mission to protect Catholicism and his empire through the same lens of Constantinian emperors.⁶⁰ France, as we have briefly noted above, was no stranger to claims of *translatio imperii*. The famous 'Constantine Tapestries' by Rubens (1577–1640) were designed and woven in Paris in 1622.⁶¹ Under the patronage of Louis XIV, the French *Constantinus Novus*, his court painter, Charles Le Brun (1619–90), published (1666) two large Constantinian prints: *La bataille du pont de Milvian* (*The Battle at the Milvian Bridge*) and *L'entrée triomphale à Rome de Constantin* (*The Triumph of Constantine*).⁶² The 'Constantinisation' of French political ideology sparked tension in the diplomatic and artistic relations between Paris and Rome for almost a century (1590s–1690s), since both France and the papacy considered themselves as legitimate successors of Constantine's empire.⁶³

⁵⁷ Dandele, 'The Imperial Renaissance', p. 323.

⁵⁸ Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 34.

⁵⁹ Thomas James Dandele, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 138–98.

⁶⁰ Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578–1637* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 36, 86–87, 130, 165, 284, 310, 312.

⁶¹ Koen Brosen, *The Constantine Series* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁶² Louis Marchesano, 'Charles Le Brun's Constantine Prints for Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert', in *L'estampe au Grand Siècle. Études offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhring, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, Marianne Grivel, Séverine Lepale and Véronique Meyer (Paris: École nationale des chartes – Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010), pp. 463–83. On the iconography of Constantine I in Byzantium and the post-Byzantine period, see Christopher Walter, *The Iconography of Constantine the Great, Emperor and Saint (with associated studies)* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2006), esp. at pp. 98–110 ('New Constantines').

⁶³ Marc Fumaroli, 'Cross, Crown, and Tiara: The Constantine Myth between Paris and Rome (1590–1690)', *Studies in the History of Art*, 48 (1995), 88–102.

Constantine and his mother, Helen, had been venerated as a saintly couple in Cyprus since Byzantine times, leaving their imprint on the island's Orthodox hagiography, art, and folk culture.⁶⁴ The late medieval tradition concerning the Cypriot origins of St Catherine and her alleged family connections to the Constantinian dynasty added prestige to the Frankish Lusignan kings of Cyprus, and was embraced by both Orthodox and Latin/Roman Catholic devotees.⁶⁵ The artistic revival of traditions related to Constantine and the finding of the True Cross by Helen took place in the Venetian period, when the Christians of Cyprus experienced the growing Ottoman threat. Being a symbol of Christian militarism against Islam, the phrase *In hoc signo vinces*, accompanying the Cross, appeared on the papal banner during the battle at Lepanto (1571), when the allied Christian fleet defeated the Ottomans soon after the conquest of Cyprus.⁶⁶ Sebastian Venier, one of the leaders of the Lega Sacra and later doge of Venice (1577–78), was praised by the Cypriot noble and scholar Giason Denores (1510–90) as the man who had led the arms of Christendom against Muslim banners. Denores' intention might have been to implicitly associate Venier with Constantine and the True Cross, alluding to well-established rhetorical and ideological formulas of the Constantinian model.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Theodoros Papadopoulos, 'Εκ της αρχαιοτάτης ιστορίας του Πατριαρχείου Ιεροσολύμων. Το κείμενον αρχαίας παραδόσεως περί επισκέψεως της αγίας Ελένης εις Παλαιστίνην και Κύπρον', *Νέα Σιών* (1952), 1–30; Simos Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικά και λαογραφικά μελέται*, 2nd edn (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2001), 315–40.

⁶⁵ Lorenzo Calvelli, 'Cypriot origins, Constantinian blood: the legend of the young Saint Catherine of Alexandria', in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, ed. Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2014), 361–90.

⁶⁶ Stylianiou and Stylianiou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, pp. 198, 200–5; Walter, *The Iconography of Constantine*, pp. 61, 89–90; Eugenia Drakopoulou, 'In hoc signo vinces between 1453–1571: the iconography of an encounter between art and history', *НИИ И ВИЗАНТИЈА*, 12 (2013), 393–94. On the possible association between Constantine and Alexander the Great in art, see Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Κωνσταντίνος και Μεγαλέξανδρος στα Ιωάννινα. Ιερο-κοσμικός χώρος στο Μεταβυζάντιο', in *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο*, ed. Vasilis Katsaros and Anastasia Tourta (Athens: Kapon, 2015), 527–38.

⁶⁷ *Oratione di Iason Denores al Sereniss. Principe di Venetia Sebastian Veniero, per nome di quei Gentil'huomini del Regno di Cipro, che dopo la perdita della patria si trovarono presenti nel tempo della sua feliciss. creatione* (Padova: Lorenzo Pasquati, 1578), f. 5^v [Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, B-492], with description in Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books*, pp. 164–65.

During the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the great Cross relic preserved at Stavrobouni and believed to have been left on the island by St Helen, was burned by the Ottomans; Ottoman soldiers also tried, unsuccessfully, to destroy the Cross relic at Leukara. Naturally, these Ottoman attacks on local Cross relics were viewed as lamentable and insulting for the island's Christians.⁶⁸ At least three letters, written by Orthodox Cypriot ecclesiastics and laymen (1609 and 1611) and addressing Philip III of Spain (1598–1621) in order to liberate Cyprus from the Ottomans, make reference to the banners of the 'most Catholic' king that would hearten the Christians of Cyprus in their planned revolts against the Ottomans.⁶⁹ Taking into consideration the widespread emphasis on Constantine and the revival of Christian militarism, it may be reasonable to assume that these letters alluded to the symbol of the Cross and Constantinian ideology.

The ideological implications of Cross symbolism in relation to Constantine and Christian militarism, of which the Christians of Cyprus appear to have been aware, might have also influenced Catholic perceptions of Cyprus and its Byzantine Orthodox heritage. Catholic travelers in Cyprus after 1571 (e.g., the French Jacques de Villamont and Henry de Beauvau) mention the monastery of the Holy Cross at Stavrobouni, founded by St Helen to preserve relics of the Cross, as a venerable pilgrimage site worthy to be known by their readers.⁷⁰ We need to underline that these accounts lack the hostility occasionally traceable in Latin/Roman Catholic voices before the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus: by the early seventeenth century, the Cross came to embody the unity of Christendom, Eastern and Western, against the common

⁶⁸ Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικά και λαογραφικά μελέται*, pp. 293, 327.

⁶⁹ *Ισπανικά Εγγράφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας (ΙΣΤ'-ΙΖ' αι.)*, ed. Ioannis K. Hassiotis, 2nd edn (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2003), pp. 55, 59, 82.

⁷⁰ *Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Hierusalem, Gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roy* (Paris, 1596; 6th edn: Lyon: Claude Lariot, 1609), pp. 187–88 [Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, B-166], with description in Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books*, pp. 87–88; *Relation journalière du voyage du Levant fait et décrit par Messire Henry de Beauvau* (Toul: François Du Bois, 1608), pp. 119–20.

Muslim enemy.⁷¹ This must have been clear to Francesco Ferretti, captain of the Ordine di Santo Stefano, a Catholic military order, which attempted, unsuccessfully, to capture Famagusta in 1607. In his *Isolario*, published in Ancona in 1579 and 1604, Ferretti described Cyprus as 'a most Christian country' (*paese christianissimo*), once visited by 'St Helen, mother of Constantine the emperor' (*Santa Helena madre di Constantino Imperatore*); the island was now in the hands of 'the most arrogant and infidel grand Turkish lord' (*superbissimo infedele gran Signor Turco*).⁷² In 1616, Zerbin de Vernin (Verny), a Roman Catholic noble from Cyprus related to the Lusignans and the Palaiologoi, approached King Philip III, proposed bringing to Spain the venerable relic of the Cross, preserved in a Cypriot monastery not far from the sea. Vernin's attempt to attract the Spanish king's attention, in order to liberate Cyprus, was unsuccessful; his proposal, however, should be interpreted through the prism of Constantinian monarchy (Philip III as *Constantinus Novus*) and the unifying power of the Cross symbol.⁷³

Through the multifaceted legacy of Constantine/Helen and the Cross, Byzantium was present in the way Catholic Europeans and Orthodox Cypriots

⁷¹ In the pre-conquest period, some Latin/Roman Catholic Christians had been less ready to accept the validity of Orthodox hagiographical traditions on the Cross (MS *Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-030*), had claimed full control over the island's pilgrimage sites (Leontios Makhairas on the Holy Cross of Tochne incident), and had not tolerated syncretism (Felix Faber); see: Kyriacou, *Orthodox Cyprus*, pp. 83, 86, 131–32, 155–56; *Κυπροβενετικά*, ed. Kyriacou, pp. 46, 79, 112; Kyriacou, *Christian Diversity*, p. 47.

⁷² *Dialoghi Notturni del Capitano Francesco Ferretti Cavagliero di S. Stefano* (Ancona: Giovan Battista Ciotti, 1604), p. 115 [Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, C-084], with description in Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books*, pp. 200–1; 1st edn: *Diporti Notturni. Dialoghi Familiari del Capitano Francesco Ferretti Cavagliero dell'Ordine di Santo Stefano* (Ancona: Angelo Marrelli, 1579). On the Famagusta attack, see Hassiotis, 'Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις', pp. 171–75; Marios Hadjianastasis, 'Corsair tactics and lofty ideals: The 1607 Tuscan raid on Cyprus', in *City of Empires. Ottoman and British Famagusta*, ed. Michael J. K. Walsh (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 22–36. As mentioned earlier, around the same period, Logizos Skevophylax consulted local *Romaic* hagiographical traditions on St Helen.

⁷³ *Πηγές της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Ισπανικό Αρχείο Simancas: Από τη Μικροϊστορία της Κυπριακής Διασποράς κατά τον ΙΣΤ' και ΙΖ' αιώνα*, ed. Ioannis K. Hassiotis (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000), pp. 174–79. Perhaps this should be also interpreted as an allusion to Heraclius' (610–41) return of the True Cross to Jerusalem, after the Persian war; Constantin Zuckerman, 'Heraclius and the Return of the Holy Cross', *Travaux et mémoires*, 17 (2013), 197–218; cf. Sammlung Städelmuseum, 'Adam Elsheimer, *The Altarpiece of the Exaltation of the True Cross, 1603–1605*', <<https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/the-altarpiece-of-the-exaltation-of-the-true-cross>> [last accessed 11 May 2021].

imagined Cyprus in the decades following the Ottoman conquest, indicating that the island was perceived as part of a shared Christian culture in East and West.⁷⁴

5. BYZANTINE IMPERIAL PRIVILEGES

The restricted domination of the Orthodox hierarchy in the new conditions created by the Ottoman rule, was manifested through the invention of tradition, a process defined as 'the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes'.⁷⁵ In the early seventeenth century, Logizos Skevophylax wrote (echoing Lusignan's similar statement about the Latin archbishop)⁷⁶ that the Orthodox archbishop of Cyprus enjoyed the privilege, allegedly granted to him by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), not to be subject to any of the patriarchs, and to be dressed in red, like a Catholic cardinal.⁷⁷ This is the first instance of an Orthodox author associating the so-called 'imperial privileges' of the archbishop with the autocephalous ('self-headed') status of the Church of Cyprus, sanctioned by the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431, and not by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, as claimed by Lusignan and Logizos.⁷⁸ But the earliest traces of the 'imperial privileges' go back to another Cypriot historian, the Roman Catholic Florio Bustron (*d.* 1570). In Bustron's narrative, the Byzantine emperor Zeno (474–91,

⁷⁴ On the eschatological and anti-Muslim implications of the monumental Crucifixion in the eighteenth-century murals of the Nicosia Orthodox cathedral, see Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Αποκαλύψεως οράματα στην Κύπρο. Ιστορική πραγματικότητα και εσχατολογική προοπτική', *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, 64–65 (2000–1), 395–96, 399–402, 404, 406.

⁷⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 6. On the making of a 'Cypro-Ottoman' elite, see Marios Hadjianastasis, 'Cyprus in the Ottoman Period: Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite, 1650–1750', in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, ed. Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler and Eftihios Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 63–88; Hadjikyriacou, 'The Ottomanisation of Cyprus', pp. 81–96; Hadjikyriacou, 'Beyond the millet debate: communal representation in pre-Tanzimat-era Cyprus', in *Political thought and practice in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon days in Crete IX*, ed. Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2019), 71–96.

⁷⁶ *Estienne de Lusignan, Chorographia*, f. 32^v.

⁷⁷ Λογίζον Σκευοφύλακος, *Κρόνικα*, ed. Perdakis, p. 67.

⁷⁸ Glanville Downey, 'The Claim of Antioch to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Cyprus', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 102.3 (1958), 224–28.

with interruptions) in the late fifth century had granted to Archbishop Anthemios of Constantia, upon Anthemios' discovery of the relics of St Barnabas, the privilege to carry an imperial sceptre decorated with an orb and to wear a cape with a red cross.⁷⁹ According to Joseph P. Huffman, the invention of the 'imperial privileges' within Roman Catholic ecclesiastical circles in Nicosia was based on the *Donatio Constantini* forgeries.⁸⁰ This probably coincided with the Counter-Reforming activities of Archbishop Mocenigo in the 1560s. Benedict Englezakis has convincingly argued that the 'imperial privileges' have nothing to do with the confirmation of the Cypriot autocephaly in Ephesos or the discovery of St Barnabas' relics at the time of Zeno. Although the privileges are attributed to a Byzantine emperor, they seem to have appeared in the late medieval/early modern period.⁸¹ Looking at the privileges from the viewpoint of an Ottomanist, Michalis N. Michael has analysed their function in visualising the powers of the Orthodox Cypriot archbishop in the seventeenth century, and his close connection to the Ottoman elite in Constantinople.⁸² What has not been adequately stressed in earlier studies, is that the Orthodox archbishop seems to have adopted the privileges to convey his upgraded authority and role as leader of both Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans.

The termination of Roman Catholic hegemony after 1570/71 led the Roman Catholics of Cyprus to either convert to Islam or pass under the jurisdiction of Orthodox bishops by officially becoming Orthodox. This was facilitated due to the friendly relations between the Orthodox hierarchy of Cyprus and the Roman Catholic powers for much of the seventeenth century, sealed by the signing of pro-Catholic confessions of faith on the part of Cypriot bishops and clergymen, who presented

⁷⁹ Joseph P. Huffman, 'The Donation of Zeno: St Barnabas and the Origins of the Cypriot Archbishops' Regalia Privileges', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66.2 (2015), 246–47.

⁸⁰ Huffman, 'The Donation of Zeno', pp. 237, 250–52, 260. On the papal *Donatio Constantini* rhetoric in late sixteenth-century Rome, see Moffitt Watts, 'The Donation of Constantine, Cartography, and Papal 'Plenitudo Potestatis' in the Sixteenth Century: A Paper for Salvatore Camporeale', *Modern Language Notes*, 119.1 (2004), S88–S107.

⁸¹ Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται*, pp. 365–90, 667–75.

⁸² Michalis N. Michael, 'Βυζαντινά σύμβολα οθωμανικής πολιτικής εξουσίας: η περίπτωση των προνομίων των αρχιεπισκόπων Κύπρου', *Τα Ιστορικά/Historica*, 51 (2009), 315–32.

themselves and were perceived by the *Propaganda Fide* as crypto-Catholics. There were also *Romaioi*, Latin and Maronite converts to Islam who continued to practice Christianity in secrecy (crypto-Christians).⁸³ It seems that, by 1629, a number of Syrian Jacobites and Copts either moved under the jurisdiction of the Maronite bishop or were placed under the Orthodox archbishop and bishops. After 1629, the Maronites of Cyprus who wished to remain in communion with Rome were placed under the Roman Catholic bishop of Paphos.⁸⁴ In 1668, the Maronite Stephen El Douaihy was bishop of the Cypriot Maronites; following his death, he was succeeded by a certain Luke (1670–73).⁸⁵ According to the Franciscan Archives, the 'Maronite villages [were] administered by Latin priests from 1690 to 1759, which shows that the Maronites lacked priests of their own rite'.⁸⁶ The lack of pastoral care, despite occasional visits from Roman Catholic bishops who performed baptisms, continued until around the time of Archbishop Sylvestros (1718–34), when the Maronites passed under Orthodox jurisdiction. In 1845, the French consul obtained an Ottoman *firman*, restoring the Maronites of Cyprus under the jurisdiction of the Maronite hierarchy in Lebanon.⁸⁷ During the period of Orthodox ecclesiastical supervision (a. 1734–c. 1845), the Maronites followed Roman Catholicism, but were obliged to pay to the Orthodox archbishop a special tax, acknowledging his primacy.⁸⁸ The Armenians, who were in

⁸³ Passing to Orthodox jurisdiction: *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 2–3, 8, 19, 36. Pro-Catholic confessions of faith: Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, *Ο Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός της Διασποράς και οι Σχέσεις Κύπρου-Βατικανού (1571–1878)* (Thessalonica: A. Stamoulis, 2006), pp. 269–83 (arguing that 'conversions' to Roman Catholicism were superficial). Conversions and crypto-Christians: *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 2–3, 69–70, 106–7, 127–28, 153, 239; Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, pp. 137–43; Guita G. Hourani, 'The Maronites of Cyprus under Ottoman Rule', in *The Minorities of Cyprus*, ed. Varnava, Coureas and Elia, pp. 120–21; Kostis Kokkinofas, *Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κύπρο* (Nicosia: Holy Monastery of Kykkos Research Centre, 2019), pp. 18–25.

⁸⁴ *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 1–3, 17, 193–94, 199.

⁸⁵ Guita G. Hourani, 'The Maronites', pp. 122–23. Generally on the Maronites in seventeenth-century Cyprus see Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, pp. 148–49.

⁸⁶ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 382.

⁸⁷ The piece of information concerning Sylvestros comes from the archbishop's own report, published in *Λογίζον Σκευοφύλακος, Κρόνικα*, p. 148; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, pp. 382–83; Hourani, 'The Maronites', pp. 124, 129–34.

⁸⁸ Archbishop Sylvestros in *Λογίζον Σκευοφύλακος, Κρόνικα*, p. 148; Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Venice: Nikolaos Glykes of Ioannina, 1788), p. 395; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 383; Hourani, 'The Maronites', pp. 120–21, 124.

good terms with their Muslim overlords and struggled to maintain their rights over the Armenian church of Nicosia (also claimed by the Orthodox), were more successful in maintaining the communal autonomy under an Armenian bishop. Eventually, they, too, were obliged to recognise the primacy of the Orthodox archbishop. By the late eighteenth century, 'the Armenian church in the capital made an annual gift to the Archbishop in token of subjection'.⁸⁹ This custom lasted down as late as the early 1900s.⁹⁰

Overall, we observe the deconstruction of the pre-war confessional barriers, followed by a tendency towards centralisation under the Orthodox bishops and archbishop, who were entrusted by the Ottomans with the collection of taxes (1660).⁹¹ The property of the Orthodox Church witnessed a significant growth. In 1629, for example, the archbishop's income was estimated around 7,000 *piastres*, of which 3,000 were paid to the Ottomans.⁹² The Roman Catholic failure to counterbalance the stronger status of the Orthodox hierarchy by re-installing a Roman Catholic bishop of Paphos, confirmed the elevated position of the Orthodox archbishop as the leader of Cypriot Christians. By the eighteenth century, the Orthodox archbishop's primacy among all other confessions was acknowledged through the paying of a special tax by non-Orthodox Christians. Seventeenth-century Roman Catholic missionary reports from Cyprus claim that Orthodox centralisation under the archbishop was sometimes achieved through coercion and the 'persecution' (*persecutioni*) of non-Orthodox.⁹³ This, however, does not necessarily indicate a continuous tension between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians. Archbishop Philotheos (1734–59), for example, was said by

⁸⁹ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 383.

⁹⁰ Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική*, p. 395; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 383; *Ανέκδοτα Εγγράφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 38, 204, 208–9; Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, pp. 146–48; Gilles Grivaud, 'Les minorités orientales à Chypre: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains', in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale. Formations identitaires: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains*, ed. Françoise Métral, Marguerite Yon and Yannis E. Ioannou (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2000), p. 48; Gérard Dédéyan, 'The Armenians of Cyprus during and after the Ottoman Rule', in *The Minorities of Cyprus*, ed. Varnava, Coureas and Elia, pp. 81–91.

⁹¹ Michael, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου*, p. 109; Hadjikyriacou, 'Beyond the millet debate', pp. 81–88.

⁹² *Ανέκδοτα Εγγράφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, pp. 50–51, 206.

⁹³ *Ανέκδοτα Εγγράφα*, ed. Tsirpanlis, p. 8.

a Maronite papal envoy to be 'treating the Maronites in the same manner as he treated his own flock'.⁹⁴

Similarly, the archbishop's imperial privileges should be understood as a visible reminder of the underlying and growing process of centralisation during the seventeenth century. This is eloquently captured in the 1673 icon of the enthroned St Barnabas, the Orthodox archbishop's apostolic predecessor; St Barnabas is depicted receiving from two angels an imperial sceptre and a world globe, among other insignia. The island of Cyprus, in the form of a map, also appears in the icon, as St Barnabas' footstool.⁹⁵ St Barnabas is, thus, imagined to be the spiritual ruler of Cyprus and the bearer of the Byzantine imperial privileges; his successor, the Orthodox archbishop, is an earthly image of the saint's heavenly reign, under whom all Christians in Cyprus were (or hoped to become) united. Unfortunately, we possess no information on the way other Cypriot Christian confessions saw the imperial privileges and their elite symbolism. Yet, the striking continuation of the privileges tradition from Ottoman times to this day is indicative of the dynamism of rituals, symbols and ideas associated with Byzantium and its imperial legacy. It also suggests that the privileges were part of the seventeenth-century Byzantine koine, a new form of transcultural language that was mutually understood by all Cypriot Christian groups.

By enabling the powerful construction of an authority image, the 'imperial privileges' were employed in the internal conflicts of the Orthodox hierarchy, providing legitimisation to their bearers and adding to the claims of different parties an aura of apostolic antiquity that guaranteed doctrinal correctness. In 1651, Archbishop Nikephoros, whose pro-Catholic orientation has already been noted, appealed to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, concerning his dispute

⁹⁴ Hourani, 'The Maronites', p. 125.

⁹⁵ Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, 'A Map of Cyprus in a Post-Byzantine Cypriot Icon', *Τετράδια Εργασίας*, 25–26 (2004), 337–46 (esp. at p. 339); Veronica Della Dora, 'Windows on Heaven (and Earth): The Poetics and Politics of Post-Byzantine Cartographic Icons', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 38.1 (2012), 84–112.

with other Cypriot bishops over the recognition of the archbishop's primacy. Although Constantinople supported Nikephoros in his attempt to restore canonical order, the power struggle among Orthodox prelates did not end.⁹⁶ It is in this context that Nikephoros presented himself as the legitimate successor of St Barnabas, through the depiction of the imperial privileges in the Kalopanagiotis reliquary (1641) and the 1673 icon of the enthroned St Barnabas mentioned earlier.⁹⁷

Nikephoros' tenure would soon be threatened by an even greater opponent. In 1674, Hilarion Kigalas (1674–78), formerly student of the Pontificio Collegio Greco di Sant' Atanasio in Rome and pro-Catholic missionary, managed — partly with the help of Nektarios, the former Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem (1660–69) — to depose Nikephoros and become archbishop of Cyprus. Kigalas' rise to the throne and his earlier anti-Catholic collaboration with Nektarios, coincided with the leading role exercised by the patriarchs of Jerusalem (especially Dositheos II, 1669–1707, and Chrysanthos, 1707–31), in refuting Roman Catholic theology and defending Orthodox possessions in the Holy Land.⁹⁸ Therefore, Kigalas' need to distance himself from both his pro-Catholic past and Nikephoros highlighted his declared attachment to the Byzantine Orthodox tradition and St Barnabas. Kigalas' public image was in line with broader developments among the Orthodox throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans: a renewed interest in the Byzantine roots of Orthodoxy and a tendency towards 'hierocracy' (per Dimitar Angelov), namely the continuation of the Byzantine imperial idea through church representatives. These hierocratic tendencies — strengthened after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and revived under Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem and the Moldavian/Vlachian princes —

⁹⁶ Michael, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου*, pp. 78–79, 108–9.

⁹⁷ Reliquary: Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, 'Κτήτορες ναών και δωρητές κειμηλίων την εποχή της Τουρκοκρατίας στην Κύπρο (1571–1878)', I (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cyprus, 2008), pp. 66–67.

⁹⁸ Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, 'Μορφές επικοινωνίας του κυπριακού μοναχισμού με την καθολική Δύση (17^{ος} αι.)', *Δωδώνη* 25 (1996), 130–36; Theodoris Stavridis in *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Κύπρος. Τα πατριαρχικά έγγραφα των ετών, 1600–1878* (Nicosia: Holy Monastery of Kykkos Research Centre, 2001), pp. 24–26; Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογισσύνη*, pp. 152–55; Tsirpanlis, *Ο Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός*, pp. 128–36, 171–81.

went back to Late Byzantium.⁹⁹ The broader re-appearance of Byzantine 'hierocracy' could explain why Kigalas promoted the veneration of St Barnabas by restoring the saint's Byzantine monastery outside Constantia and composing hymns for his feast-day (11 June). Wishing to emphasise the archbishop's primacy among his fellow bishops, Kigalas also declared, in a 1676 document, that the imperial sceptre and the cinnabar-red signature had been exclusively granted to the archbishop by the emperors of old: Zeno and Justinian (probably referring to Justinian II, 685–95 and 705–11, but sometimes confused with Justinian I, 527–65).¹⁰⁰

Kigalas' pro-Orthodox, hierocratic and anti-Catholic activities would sanction the on-going centralisation of the Orthodox archbishop and his restricted hegemony over all other Christian confessions on the island. Around the end of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, the Orthodox hierarchy seems to have eventually realised that Western Catholic powers had no interest in sending an expeditionary force to liberate Cyprus from the Ottomans.¹⁰¹ The dreams for a *Constantinus Novus* from the West disappeared; the archbishop was now the island's *Constantinus*, or rather *Barnabas*

⁹⁹ Selected bibliography on hierocracy: Δέκα τουρκικά έγγραφα για την Μεγάλη Εκκλησία (1483–1567), ed. and comm. Elisabeth A. Zachariadou (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation–Hellenic Institute of Byzantine Studies, 1996), pp. 41–50; Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 351–416 (employing the term 'hierocracy'); Bernard Russell, 'From the 'Shield of Orthodoxy' to the 'Tome of Joy': The anti-Western stance of Dositheos II of Jerusalem (1641–1707)', in *Orthodox Constructions of the West*, ed. George Demetracopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 71–82; Frédéric Gabriel, 'Tradition orientale et *vera ecclesia*: une critique hiérosolymitaine de la primauté pontificale. Nektarios, de Jassy à Londres (v. 1671–1702)', in *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIII^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: Collège de France – CNRS, 2013), 198–236; Ioannis Kyriakantonakis, 'Between Dispute and Erudition. Conflicting Readings of Byzantine History in Early Modern Greek Historical Literature', in *Héritages de Byzance en Europe du Sud-Est à l'époque moderne et contemporaine*, ed. Olivier Delouis, Anne Couderc and Petre Guran (Athènes: École Française d'Athènes, 2013), pp. 161–78; Kitromilides, 'The Byzantine Legacy', pp. 655–58.

¹⁰⁰ Ακολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα (Venice: Antioni Bortoli, 1756), p. 30; *Bibliographie hellénique*, III, ed. Émile Legrand (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895), p. 324; Andreas Tillyrides, 'Άγνωστα κείμενα διὰ τοὺς μητροπολίτας Κυρηνείας Τιμόθεον (1625;–1647), Πάφου καὶ Τριμυθούντος Νεκτάριον (1677–1686) καὶ Αμαθούντος Γερμανόν (1572–1600)', *Θεολογία*, 46.4 (1975), 825–27; *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο καὶ Κύπρος*, ed. Theocharis Stavridis, pp. 39–40, 272–75 (esp. at p. 274).

¹⁰¹ Stavridis in *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο καὶ Κύπρος*, p. 26; Hassiotis, 'Οι αντιτουρκικές κινήσεις', p. 179.

Novus. The archbishop's increasing collaboration with the Ottoman ruling elite, mostly in matters of taxation, created new conditions that enhanced Cyprus' alienation from the West, in terms of the abandonment of the pro-Catholic line pursued by seventeenth-century archbishops.¹⁰² One of Kigalas' eighteenth-century successors, Archbishop Philotheos, would stress the Byzantinised image of the Orthodox primate even further.

Philotheos wished to repudiate claims made by the Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem concerning the status of the Orthodox archbishop of Cyprus. This crisis went back to 1600, when Archbishop Athanasios (1592–1600) had been deposed by Patriarch Matthew II of Constantinople (1599–1602), for his uncanonical behaviour and activities. When Athanasios turned against the representatives of Patriarch Meletios Pegas of Alexandria (1590–1601) — namely the people supervising the local situation *in lieu* of the Constantinopolitan primate — Patriarch Joachim Ibn Ziade of Antioch (1593–1604) took the opportunity to claim jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Meletios Pegas and Matthew II sided with the Cypriots and the autocephaly discussions seemed, for the moment, to have ended.¹⁰³ It was around the same period that Logizos Skevophylax pointed out in his chronicle that the Orthodox archbishop of Cyprus was free from patriarchal jurisdiction and enjoyed the special privilege of being dressed in red. This shows that the imperial privileges were also employed as a way of re-affirming Cypriot ecclesiastical independence in the Orthodox world. But around the late seventeenth century,¹⁰⁴ Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem came to challenge the privileged status of the archbishop; according to Dositheos, the Cypriot archbishop was simply one of many 'ordinary metropolitans

¹⁰² Michael, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου*, pp. 80–81, 109–10, 121.

¹⁰³ *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Κύπρος*, ed. Stavridis, pp. 31–37, 257–65; see also, Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos of Athens, *Η Εκκλησία Κύπρου*, pp. 35–36; Michael, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου*, pp. 104–5; Carsten-Michael Walbinger, 'The relations between the Greek Orthodox of Syria and Cyprus in the 17th and early 18th centuries', *Chronos*, 16 (2007), 113–28.

¹⁰⁴ Kostas Sarris, 'Ο Χρύσανθος Νοταράς και η έκδοση της 'Δωδεκαβίβλου' του Δοσιθέου Ιεροσολύμων: μια περίπτωση αναληθούς χρονολογίας έκδοσης (1715/c. 1722)', *Μνήμων*, 27 (2005), 29–30.

vested with independent powers'.¹⁰⁵ Archbishop Philotheos replied to Dositheos by turning once again to the apostolic past of Cyprus and the Byzantine 'imperial privileges', so as to strengthen his argument that the Cypriot archbishop was more than an independent metropolitan. In c. 1744, Philotheos had the discovery of St Barnabas' relics and the imperial privileges painted on the walls of St John the Theologian's cathedral in Nicosia.¹⁰⁶ In 1756, he sponsored the publication of St Barnabas' Office in Venice.¹⁰⁷ In 1788, his *Presentation of the Privileges of the Church of the Cypriots* (written in 1740 and attacking Dositheos' thesis) was published as an appendix to Archimandrite Kyprianos' *Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus*.¹⁰⁸ The Byzantine imperial idea, inseparable from the notions of apostolicity and doctrinal correctness, was becoming more and more embedded in the core identity of the island's Christian leader. In 1812, a few years before his execution during the great anti-Ottoman revolution of 1821 in Greece, Archbishop Kyprianos (1810–21) had his inkpot decorated with the images of St Barnabas and Emperor Zeno granting the privileges to the island's primates. In a masterful stroke of visual rhetoric, Archbishop Kyprianos was himself depicted to be holding the sceptre, while lifting up the fallen personification of Ottoman-ruled Cyprus.¹⁰⁹

6. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to investigate the appropriation of Byzantine culture, especially church culture, during the first century of Ottoman domination in Cyprus. We have argued that this process produced new and mutually understandable forms of a

¹⁰⁵ John Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London: Methuen, 1901), pp. 246–50 (quotation at p. 249).

¹⁰⁶ Athanasios Papageorgiou, 'Ο καθεδρικός ναός του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου. Προβλήματα της ιστορίας της μονής του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Πίπη και της εικονογράφησης του ναού', *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, 61 (1997), 64, 69–75.

¹⁰⁷ This is the aforementioned *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα*, which includes Kigalas' hymns on St Barnabas.

¹⁰⁸ Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική*, pp. 370–90; Hackett, *A History*, pp. 250–60.

¹⁰⁹ Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται*, pp. 367, 371–76.

transcultural language employed in both communal (intra-Orthodox) and inter-confessional communication. The core area of this koine was the Eastern Mediterranean, although its echo reached as far as the Louvre and the Lutheran humanists of Germany. The eclectic re-appearance and metamorphosis of Byzantine cultural elements served the construction of images of power and the self-definition of groups and individuals identifying themselves with Byzantine ideas, symbols and practices.

- (a) *Byzantine religious culture and Christian humanism*. As noted at the beginning of this paper, the seventeenth-century Byzantine koine focused on Late Antiquity/Early Byzantium and the concept of a unified Christian Roman world. The idea of a common Christian past is reflected, among many other cases of artistic interaction and theological *ressourcement*, in the publication of the Epiphanius frontispiece by Adolos, which should be read in the context of Roman Catholic anti-Reformation apologetics. The collecting of Byzantine manuscripts and Greek books with Byzantine materials by learned Western Europeans brought Cyprus at the forefront of the early modern re-discovery and selective adaptation of Byzantine culture, contributing to the formation of novel images of power (Catholic absolutism) and confessional identity (Lutheran revival of the early church). Cypriot scribes and scholars involved in the process of cultural dialogue (e.g., Philotheos of Hierax, Eustratios Leontios and Athanasios the Rhetor) did so for different reasons (e.g., local patriotism, confessional openness, love of learning, and pro-Catholic zeal); some of them managed to cultivate friendly relations with the West, without necessarily distancing themselves from their religious and cultural tradition.
- (b) *Constantinian monarchy*. By c. 1600, the symbolism of the Cross as an emblem of Christian unity *vis-à-vis* Muslim victory was stressed anew in East and West. This paper has proposed that Roman Catholics from Western Europe and Orthodox Cypriots might have approached the Cypriot legacies of

Constantine, Helen and the Cross as points of reference to the ideologies of Catholic 'Constantinian' monarchies and the *translatio imperii* from Byzantium to the West. Although this is a hypothesis, it seems to be supported by the following points: (i) the broader ideological background; (ii) the Cypriot traditions on Constantine/Helen and the Cross going back to the Byzantine period; and (iii) Cypriot appeals to Western powers to liberate their island.

- (c) *Byzantine imperial privileges*. In the seventeenth century, the Orthodox archbishop's imperial privileges, borrowed from the sixteenth-century Latin archbishop of Nicosia, expressed primacy, apostolicity and doctrinal correctness. The archbishop's high status was recognised by both Muslims and Christians (Orthodox and non-Orthodox alike) in Cyprus; it was also defended against the claims of other Cypriot bishops and the demands/criticisms of the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem.

Multi-faith Cyprus in the 1600s was an island experiencing the sharing, appropriation, re-working, and even invention of cultural expressions related to Christian humanism, Constantinian monarchy and the Byzantine imperial heritage of the Orthodox Church under the Ottomans. These symbols, ideas and practices were dynamically employed in the communication and conflicts of groups and people in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond. Long after its collapse, the empire of the Orthodox *Romaioi* was still alive in faith and ritual, in images of power and age-old manuscripts, in people's expectations and their ambitions.

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