THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

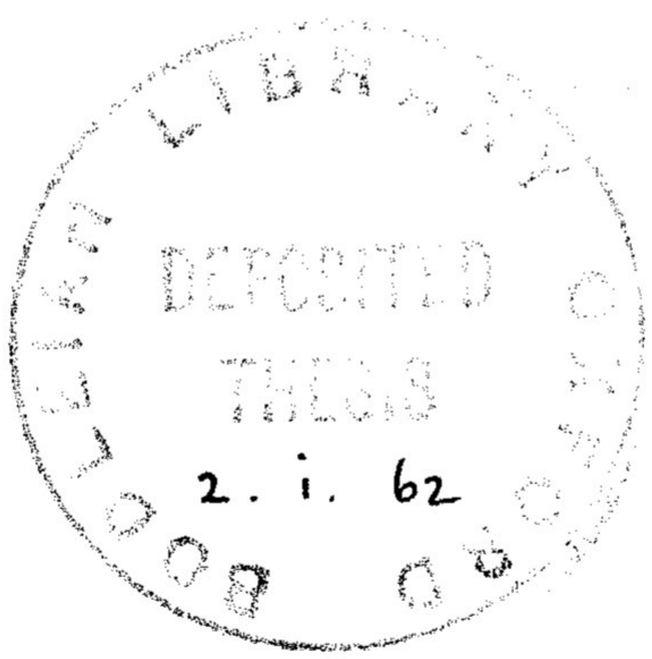
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

A B S T R A C T

of

CYPRUS 'BETWIXT GREEKS AND SARACENS' A.D. 647-965

A. I. Dikigoropoulos



Lincoln College
Oxford
Trinity Term
1961

CHAPTER I: THE POLITICAL STATUS

A re-examination of the documentary evidence in conjunction with, and in the light of, available archaeological evidence indicates that:

For some sixty years after Muawiya's first Arab raid against Cyprus, in 649, the Island was under the control of whichever of the two powers contesting it - Byzantium and Islam - was the stronger.

After the second Arab raid of 653/4 an Arab garrison may have been established in Cyprus, as the Arab chronicler Baladhuri states. But numismatic and other archaeological evidence is cited to show that such an Arab garrison must have been withdrawn from the Island, soon after it is reported to have been stationed there, by Muawiya himself. An Arab garrison reported, by Baladhuri, to have been withdrawn from Cyprus by Muawiya's successor, Yezid, may have been re-established in the Island during the siege of Constantinople in the seventies of the seventh century.

Extensive repair works to various public buildings, the erection and decoration of others and the fortification of the central part of the capital, Constantia, which was renamed Nea Justinianopolis after Justinian II, are cited as evidence for Byzantine control of Cyprus between 680 and 688. The

view of modern historians that Nea Justinianopolis of the 39th Canon of the Council-in-Trullo was in the Hellespont is examined and shown to be untenable.

In 688 Justinian II agreed to share the revenues from Cyprus with the Arab Caliph but three years later he had second thoughts and attempted to transplant the Island's population to the Hellespont and elsewhere in Byzantium. The Archbishop of Cyprus was among those who left.

Between 691 and the repatriation of the expatriated Cypriots the Island seems to have been under Arab control. The evidence of Constantine Porphyroghenitus concerning the repatriation of the Cypriots is re-examined in the light of other independent evidence and the conclusion is reached that expatriated Cypriots were sent back to their Island by Justinian II in consultation with the Caliph Walid I most probably 17 years after their expatriation and not after 7 years as Porphyroghenitus states. The views of modern historians that the repatriation of the Cypriots was the work of Tiberius II are shown to be based on a superficial reading of Porphyroghenitus' text.

Between 708, when the 688 treaties were, probably, re-affirmed, and the eighties of the eighth century the Cypriots accepted and abided by a status of neutrality, except for a few months under Artavasdus, in 742-3.

At first, the Cypriots' acceptance and observation of such a status was a necessity inherent in Byzantium's inability to exercise undisputed control over the Island. But after the outbreak of Iconoclasm in Byzantium, in 730, Byzantine authority was unwelcome to the Cypriots who stood firm in their support of Orthodoxy.

The objections of the Cypriots to the exercise of Byzantine sovereignty in Cyprus could not be sustained after the accession of Constantine VI, at the time Paul of Salamis-Constantia was Patriarch of Constantinople, and during Irene's regency, since the Iconoclastic policies of their predecessors ceased to be operative and Orthodoxy was soon re-established at the Seventh Oecumenical Synod, at Nicaea, in 787. Accordingly, the Cypriots violated their treaty with the Arabs, and collaborated with the Byzantines, whom they seem to have invited to send troops to Cyprus.

A return to the status of neutrality was forced upon the Cypriots, by the Arabs, following a raid on their Island, in 806. This status was maintained, in view of Byzantium's return to Iconoclasm, in 815, until after Theodora's re-establishment of Orthodoxy, in 843. After the election of Ignatius to the See of Constantinople, in 847, and probably in 849, the Cypriots accepted an Imperial representative as

Head of the civil administration of the Island.

The claim of Constantine Porphyroghenitus that Basil I had promoted Cyprus to a Byzantine Theme is discussed alongside other evidence, including that of seals, and shown to be based on a wrong conclusion drawn from the fact that the first imperial representative to be sent to Cyprus was Theodora's son-in-law Alexius, who had been a strategus under Theophilus, and whose mission to Cyprus had been appropriated, by Porphyroghenitus, as an act of the Macedonian dynasty.

The indirect acceptance of Byzantine sovereignty under Theodora developed into full Byzantine control by the beginning of the tenth century, and in 911-2 the Arabs again raided and ravaged the Island. The status of neutrality was re-affirmed, probably in 913, and was abided by until 965 when the Byzantines reconquered the Island on their own initiative.

CHAPTER II: THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS

1. a. The Church

(i) Its status

The status of the Church of Cyprus is discussed in the light of the documentary evidence and shown to be one of autocephaly. The views of Professor Konidaris that

this autocephaly was suspended during the eighth and ninth centuries are shown to be wrong.

(ii) Religious policies

The Orthodoxy of the Church of Cyprus is shown on the evidence of sources.

(iii) Exercise of Temporal Authority

The right of the Church of Cyprus to exercise temporal authority which was implied in the privileges granted to it by the Emperor Zeno, in the late fifth century, is shown to have been fully exercised during the periods when Byzantine authority was unavailable.

(iv) Organisation

The number of bishoprics is discussed in the light of documentary and other evidence.

(v) Episcopal Lists

The evidence of a 12th century Synodikon of Cyprus and of later medieval sources with regard to the Archbishops and bishops of the Island is discussed and the names of those falling within the period of this thesis arranged in probable chronological order. The names

of four Archibishops, previously unknown, is added to the list of Archbishops from the evidence of seals. Seal evidence also reveals the names of several, previously unknown, bishops.

b. Monasticism

Asceticism and monasticism are discussed and a list of known monasteries of the period of this thesis prepared from archaeological evidence and the evidence of sources.

Monasticism is shown to have been greatly respected and honoured in Cyprus; the ecclesiastical and temporal policies of the Church were influenced by the fact that monks were elected to the various sees of the Island.

2. The People

a. Ethnic character

The composition of the population and the question of Arab settlers in the Island is discussed in the light of available evidence.

b. Language

The Greek of the indigenous population of the

Island is shown to have developed along different lines from the Greek of Constantinople, from the evidence of the writings of Cypriots of the period of this thesis.

c. Education

Education, in Cyprus, during the Island's periods of neutrality was, probably, confined to clergymen. But very little evidence is available on this subject.

d. Employment, Industry and Trade

Agriculture, viniculture and husbandry were the main preoccupations of the Cypriots. The operation of the mines seems to have continued. The periods of neutrality favoured Cypriot traders who could buy from the Arabs and sell to the Byzantines or vice-versa,

e. Conditions of Life

No direct evidence on this subject is available. The fact that the Cypriots constantly violated their status of neutrality and that each violation was followed by a destructive Arab raid suggests that any advantages gained during the periods of neutrality were lost in the raids that followed them. Bad seasons, plagues and other natural calamities rendered life in Cyprus during

the period under discussion precarious and uncertain.

3. The Arts

Ecclesiastical and civil architecture is discussed in the light of the most recent archaeological investigations.

Church architecture is shown to have developed from the columnar basilica of the pre-Arab raids period to:

(a) The wooden-roofed basilica with stone piers carrying arches separating the nave from the aisles, during the late seventh and eighth centuries.

(b) The vaulted basilica with stone piers separating the nave and aisles, during the late eighth and first half of the ninth centuries.

(c) The domed basilica, with vaulted aisles and three domes over the nave during the period 850-965.

In civil architecture recent discoveries are discussed but no trend can, as yet, be established.

The paintings of the period are pointed out and the apse mosaic of the church of Panayia Angeloktistos at Kiti, briefly discussed and dated to the late seventh or early eighth century on architectural, iconographic and stylistic considerations.

4. The Cities

A topographic study of the cities is presented on the evidence of archaeological investigations and local surveys. Maps of most of the cities are enclosed.

The cities are shown to contract following the mid-seventh century Arab raids, but most of them are also shown to react by fortifying themselves with walls or castles.

Further contraction and ruralisation of the cities from the mid-eighth century onwards is pointed out.

5. The Rural Areas

Land exploitation is shown to have reached its optimum during the period 750-850. Very little documentary evidence is available but this conclusion is drawn from the results of the archaeological survey of two areas of the Island, one coastal, one inland, which are presented on two maps. The archaeological survey of these areas has shown:

1. An increase in the number of small settlements after the mid-seventh century Arab raids which seem to have forced some people from the poleis and coastal settlements to the komai.

2. A probable destruction of some 20% of coastal

settlements, as a result of the Arab raids, but not a mass abandonment of such settlements.

3. A total destruction and abandonment of some 60% of all settlements in all parts of the Island at about the middle of the eighth century, caused not by Arab raiders but by natural calamities, famine, earthquakes, and a bubonic plague, which struck the cities as well as the rural settlements at the same time.

Memory of the great depopulation of the Island which followed these calamities is shown to have survived in medieval chroniclers, who, lacking precise information, dated it to the fourth century.

4. As a result of this depopulation soil erosion destroyed large areas of land previously under intensive cultivation so that when the population grew again new areas of virgin land had to be reclaimed, this time in the central mountain range.

APPENDIXES

I. A catalogue of Byzantine and Arab coins of the period 649-965 found in Cyprus.

II. A catalogue of seals dating from the 7th to the 10th

century, found in Cyprus. Most of the seals are presented here for the first time.

III. Two groups of plain ware pottery datable to the second half of the seventh century, catalogued and illustrated.

IV. The question of the migration of 300 Saints to Cyprus at the time the Saracens conquered the Holy Land reported by Leontios Makhairas, is examined in the light of the evidence of the Akolouthiai or Synaxaria of Saints said to be of the 300, and the conclusion drawn that the reported migration is not one but several events, of different periods, some of them taking place during the period of this thesis.

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

CYPRUS 'BETWIXT GREEKS AND SARACENS' A.D. 647-965

A. I. Dikigoropoulos

Lincoln College
Oxford

Trinity Term
1961

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements			i
List of Illustrations			iii
Introduction			1
Chapter	I.	The Political Status	6
Chapter	II.	Internal Conditions	
	1. (a)	The Church	86
		i. Status	
		ii. Exercise of temporal Authority	104
		iii. Religious Policies	109
		iv. Organisation	118
		v. Episcopal Lists	123
	(b)	Monasticism	138
	2.	The people	
	(a)	Ethnic character	149
	(b)	Language	158
	(c)	Education	165
	(d)	Employment, Industry and Trade	168
	(e)	Conditions of Life	175
	3.	The Arts	179
	4.	The Cities	206
	5.	The Rural Areas	250
Conclusion			272
Appendices:	I.	Coins	279
	II.	Seals	288
	III.	Pottery	323
	IV.	The 300 Saints	334
Bibliography			354

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If I may, I would like to express my gratitude, appreciation and thanks to:-

A. H. S. Megaw, C.B.E., F.S.A., formerly Director of Antiquities, Cyprus for his encouragement and support throughout the period of the preparation of this thesis and for his kindness in reading the manuscript of Chapter II.3 and suggesting ways of improving it.

Dr. H. W. Catling, formerly Archaeological Survey Officer in the Cyprus Department of Antiquities for supplying me with the information that made the preparation of Chapter II.5 possible and for the many fruitful discussions we have had together both in Cyprus and in Oxford.

Mr. Philip Grierson for his advice on Byzantine numismatics and Dr. G. C. Miles and Miss Helen Mitchell for identifying for me most of the Islamic coins catalogued here.

Miss Joan du Platt Taylor for her kindness in discussing with me the results of her unpublished excavations at Karpasia and in allowing me to incorporate in this thesis information from these excavations.

Professor R. J. H. Jenkins for the opportunity and the time he gave me discussing with me the Island's political

status and for much useful advice.

Professor George Ostrogorsky for his prompt and encouraging way in which he dealt with my enquiries.

Members of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities whose co-operation and assistance during the period of my service with that Department facilitated the preparation of this thesis.

Last, but not least, my supervisor, Professor Joan M. Hussey, for her invaluable assistance throughout the preparation of this thesis.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

1. Cyprus *vis-a-vis* Byzantium and Islam.

2. Byzantine Cyprus.

3. *Codex Bodl. Baroc.* 148, fol. 93r.

4. Ground plan of Curium Basilica.

5. Ground plan of Peyia (Kirbeia?) Basilica.

6. Ground plan of the second church of St. Epiphanius with the east end of the original basilica.

7. Ground plan of early churches at Ayios Mamas, Morphou.

8. Ground plan of the churches of Sto, Barnabas, Salamis-Constantia and St. Lazarus, Citium (Larnaca).

9. Ground plans of the churches of Asomatos and St. George at Aphendrica.

10. Ground plans of the churches of *Panayia* at Aphendrika and *Panayia*, Sykhada.

11. Ground plan of the Public Bath (formerly the Gymnasium) at Salamis-Constantia.

12. Ground plan of the Castle of the Forty Columns Nea (Kato) Paphos.

13. (a) Apse mosaic, church of *Panayia Angeloktistos*, Kiti.
(b) Apse mosaic, detail of border.

14. (a) Apse mosaic, Virgin and Child, detail.
(b) Apse mosaic, details of border.

14A Painted cross and inscription in South niche of West Hall of Public Baths at Salamis-Constantia.

15. Map of Salamis-Constantia.

16. Map of Citium.

17. Map of Amathus.

18. Map of Curium.

19. Map of Nea Paphos.

20. Map of Arsinoe.

21. Map of Soloi.

22. Map of Lapethus.

23. Map of Kerynia.

24. Map of Karpasia.

25. Map of Tamassus.

26. Map of Leukosia (Nicosia).

27. Map of (Ki)Beia.

28. Map of The Lapethus Area.

29. Map of Yialias River Area.

30-31. Byzantine Coins.

32-33. Islamic Coins.

34-35. Byzantine Lead Seals: Civil.

36-37. Byzantine Lead Seals: Ecclesiastical.

38-39. Byzantine Lead Seals: Sundries.

40. (a) Constantia: Public Baths. Section across bench in West Stoa.

(b) Clay lamp from the above bench.

41-42. Pottery from Constantia bench.

43. Pottery from the Kornos Cave.

INTRODUCTION

The history of Cyprus and of the Cypriots during the 316 years which lay between the first Arab raid on the Island, in 649, and its final recovery for Byzantium, in 965, is not easy to determine. Direct literary evidence is scanty and either lacking in detail or ambiguous in meaning. It has been interpreted in different ways by different writers.

Until fairly recently, Muqaddasi's view that Cyprus was 'in the power of which ever nation was overlord of these seas'[1] was generally accepted by modern historians.[2] In 1953, however, Professor R. J. H. Jenkins, in a short but important article,[3] presented, for the first time, a new interpretation of the available documentary evidence and suggested that after 688, when the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II and the Arab Caliph Abd-al-Malik agreed to share the revenues from Cyprus, the Island became 'a demilitarized and neutral no-man's-land'[4] in which both

---

1. Description of Syria, Tr. G. Le Strange, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, (1882) 82.

2. Sathas, MB, 2, νε'-ξϛ'; A. Sakellarios, Τὰ Κυπριακά, I (1890) 396-400; Hill, 290.

3. Jenkins, Cyprus.

4. ibid, 1007, 1014.

Saracens and Christians 'enjoyed equal rights of citizenship'.[1] The new status, which Professor Jenkins describes as an expirement in condominium[2] was, in his view, maintained until the Island was reconquered by the Byzantines in 965, 'except for seven years during the late ninth century, when the island was annexed by Basil I'.[3] The Arabs, according to Professor Jenkins, also respected the new status, except on three occasions when they used it 'as a source of plunder on the excuse of breaches of the treaty'.[4]

The views of Professor Jenkins present, certainly, a more coherent and consequently a more satisfying account of the Island's political status during the period of the Arab wars than the accounts based on Muqaddasi's view. And yet they are not completely satisfactory. For the explanation offered for the three recorded Arab raids against the Island between 688 and 965 is not at all convincing or justified.

On re-examining the sources in connection with the preparation of this thesis, the present writer has been convinced that the above three Arab raids were directed

---

1. ibid, 1007.
2. ibid, 1007.
3. ibid, 1014.
4. ibid, 1014.

against the Island not for the purpose of plunder but as punitive expeditions against the Cypriots, who had violated their treaty with the Arabs. In the case of the last two of these raids the truthfulness of Arab accusations against the Cypriots can be inferred from the evidence of the Byzantine sources. But although the sources, both Arab and Byzantine, indicate a departure on the part of the Cypriots from the established status of neutrality, none of them explains this departure. If Muqaddasi's view was correct, then the Cypriots would be more likely to have violated their treaty under Constantine V, who had regained the initiative in the wars with the Arabs and retained it throughout his reign, and not, as they did, under Irene when the caliphate, under the illustrious Harun al-Rashid called the tune and Byzantium became its tributaries.

The explanation lies, I think, in the fact that the Cypriots had remained Orthodox throughout the period of the Iconoclastic controversy and their acceptance of Byzantine sovereignty was dependent not so much on Byzantium's ability to reclaim their allegiance but on their unwillingness to accept the authority of iconoclast Emperors. But the sympathy of the Cypriots was doubtless with the Byzantines and whenever Orthodoxy was restored in Byzantium, they

violated their treaty with the Arabs and either directly or indirectly accepted Byzantine sovereignty.[1]

Muqaddasi's view, which is not incorrect for the period 649 to 708, ought to be modified, for the rest of the period of this thesis to take account for the fact that, for the first time in their modern history, the Cypriots were one of the determining factors in deciding the nature of their political status.

The neutralisation of Cyprus was certainly a novel situation in international relations, but equally novel, if not more important, was the situation which must have been created in the Island itself, on the withdrawal of Byzantine administrators. This situation can best be described as an experiment in self government but in no way as one of condominium.

The privileges accorded to the Church of Cyprus by the Emperor Zeno recognised its right to exercise temporal authority and this right was fully exercised during the Island's enforced status of neutrality. It was during this period that the Archbishops of Cyprus came to be

---

1. The evidence for the Orthodoxy of the Cypriots was, for the first time, presented by me in an article in 1958. cf. Dikigoropoules The political Status.

recognised as the leaders of the nation, a position which was to be consolidated and maintained in modern times following the fall of Byzantium in 1453, and especially during the Turkish occupation of the Island (1571-1878).

The Island's political status, the position, the status, and the powers of the church, as well as the internal conditions prevailing in the Island during the set period will be re-examined, in the course of this thesis, in the light not only of the available documentary evidence, but also in that of the evidence of the coins, the seals, the pottery and other archaeological material, I hope that the conclusions reached, however tentative, may help to clarify, to some extent, one of the darker periods of the Island's political history and that they may lead to a better understanding of the people who lived and who live in it, the Cypriots.

Chapter I

THE POLITICAL STATUS

After the loss of Syria, Palestine and Egypt to the Arabs in the first half of the seventh century, Cyprus found itself at the periphery of the Byzantine Empire, in a position of the greatest strategic importance. By virtue of its geographical position,[1] lying, as it does, within easy reach of the coasts of Asia Minor to the North and of those of Syria, Palestine and Egypt to the East and South (Pl. 1), Cyprus could offer great advantages to whichever power was in control of it.

To the Byzantines, the Island served, or could serve, both as an outer defence of the southern coasts of Asia Minor and as a naval base from which their navy could, and in all probability did, strike at Arab territory to the east and south.

Arab control of Cyprus, on the other hand, would, probably, secure freedom from Byzantine naval attacks on the Arab mainland and could, at the same time, weaken the

---

1. Cyprus lies between lat. 34°34' and 35°42' N., and Long. 32°16' and 34°36' east of Greenwich, in the N.E. angle of the eastern Mediterranean basin (cf. Hill, 1).

position of Byzantine land forces on the eastern land frontier by exposing their southern and rear flanks to Arab attacks from the Island.

Muawiya, 'the first Arab statesman to realise that war against Byzantium necessitated a strong naval force',[1] may or may not have realised the strategic importance of Cyprus and the advantages to be gained by its control. But it is not impossible that Byzantine attacks on Arab territory by Byzantine naval units using Cyprus as their base,[2] may have convinced him of the need of conquering the Island. The first indication we have of Muawiya's conviction of this need is his request to the Caliph Omar (634-644) for permission to lead a naval expedition against Cyprus.[3] Omar

---

1. Ostrogorsky, History 104.

2. Cyprus may have been used as a base for the Byzantine attack on Alexandria in 646. Although the sources do not record them, other Byzantine raids may also have been made from Cyprus against Arab territory in Syria. Unless the results of these raids had any bearing on the history of the Empire or the Caliphate as a whole the chroniclers of the period would not mention them. A Byzantine raid on Syria in 652/3 in which the Cypriots had assisted (p.18, below) is recorded in Arab sources but only as a justification of an Arab expedition against the Island in 653/4. On the validity of sources for this period cf. Gibb, Arab Byzantine Relations, 219.

3. Baladhuri, 235. The exact date of this request is not recorded. But it could not be before AH.19 (639/40) when Muawiya was appointed Emir of Syria by Omar.

refused, either because he failed to appreciate the value of a naval force[1] or, and this is, perhaps, more likely, because he doubted the wisdom of authorising a naval expedition to be undertaken by people who had no experience of the sea.[2] After Omar's death Muawiya reapplied to the new Caliph, Othman,'asking permission to invade Cyprus, informing him about its proximity, and the ease of acquiring it'.[3] Othman, feeling, perhaps, that the Arabs were not, yet, ready for a naval expedition, but not wanting to offend one of his ablest generals confined himself to a diplomatic reply, stating that he had seen the answer which Omar had given to Muawiya's first application.[4] However,"in the year 27, Muawiya again wrote to Othman referring to the ease with which the sea could be crossed to Cyprus. Othman wrote back this time saying 'if thou sailest with thy wife we allow thee to do so; otherwise not'.[5] Accordingly

---

1. Ostrogorsky, History, 104.

2. Omar's refusal to allow a naval expedition is described as resulting from the Caliph's distrust of the sea by Ibn-al-Athir and Ibn Khaldun (Amari, Storia, 184/5 n.2).

3. Baladhuri, 235.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.; according to Tabari (Caetani, Annali, 229) Othman's permission was also conditional upon those taking part in the expedition being volunteers.

Muawiya embarked from Acre with a large number of ships accompanied by his wife Fakhitah ... Likewise Ubadah ibn-as-Samit took his wife Umm-Haram of the Ansar, daughter of Milhan.[1] This took place in the year 28, after the

---

1. In another passage Baladhuri relates how on their arrival in Cyprus Umm-Haram "disembarked and was offered a mule to ride upon. As she was riding the mule stumbled and she was killed. Her tomb is called 'the Tomb of the Righteous woman'" (Baladhuri, 237). Constantine Porphyroghenitus (De Thematibus [40], 81) refers to the tomb of Umm-Haram as that of the daughter of Abu-Bekr whom he wrongly reports as capturing Cyprus at the time of Heraclius (cf. n. 1, p. 11). The tomb of Umm-Haram is also referred to by Al Harawi (d.1215) (cf. Guide des lieux de Pèlerinage, tr. J.S-Thomine, Damascus (1957) 126). I owe this reference to Mr. J. Parker. The tomb of Umm-Haram is revered today in the Halan Sultan Tekke by the Salt Lake near Citium (cf. Pl. 16). 'It consists of three huge stones, one resting horizontally on the other two, which stand upright' (Hill, 21). The mosque attached to the tomb of Umm-Haram is said to have been built by Ali Aga the Turkish governor of Cyprus in 1761 (Hill, 21, n.4, citing Mariti, Viaggi I (1769) 179. On the legend of Umm-Haram cf. E. D. Cobham, in JRAS 28 (1897) 84 citing Baladhuri, Ibn-al-Athir and Abu 'l Mahasin; H. S. Jarett's translation of History of the Caliphs by Jalullu'ddin a's Suyuti (1445-1505), Calcutta (1881) 159f, cited by O.C 64-5 and Hill, 329. On Umm-Haram cf. also Caetani Chronographia 309. It is not impossible that Muawiya may have had a mosque erected next to Umm-Haram's tomb but if so no trace of it has survived.

cessation of the rainy season[1] ... This was the first time

1. Baladhuri, 235. The raid is dated by other sources as follows.

Year	Source	Reference
AH.27 7.10.647- 24.9.648	Abu Ma'sar d.787 El Makin (1205-1273)	Caetani, Annali, 178, 223. O.C, 53; Hill, 328.
AH.28 25.9.648- 13.9.649	al Waqidi d.823 Tabari (829-923) Eutychius Patriarch of Alexandria (934-950) Elias of Nisibin (early 11th C.) Ibn-al-Athir (1160-1233) Abulfeda (1273-1331) Dzahabi (1274-1348)	Caetani, Annali, 178. ibid, 223-4; 228-9. PG, 111, 1112. Elias Delaporte, 85; Elias, Brooks 66. O.C, 49; he also gives AH 29 as an alternative. OC, 56. Caetani, Annali, 224.
7th year of Constans II End of Sept. 648 - end of Sept. 649.	Paul the Deacon Theophanis Cedrenus Agapius	PL, 95, 1049. Theophanis, 343. (ed. Bonn) 755. Agapius, Vasiliev, 480. He places the raid in the 3rd year of Othman; however, since elsewhere (ibid. 483) he equates the 9th year of Othman with the 13th year of Constans II, it follows that his 3rd year of Othman is the 7th of Constans II.
960 of the Greeks = 648/9	Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (MS finished 775) Michael the Syrian (1126- 1199) Bar Hebraeus d.1286	Dionysius - Chabot, 7. Michel - Chabot, 441. Bar Hebraeus, 98; O.C, 37.

For later sources cf. Caetani, Annali, 223-231, and Chronographia, 309ff; Hill, 329. The majority of sources evidently agree that Muawiya's raid took place between the end of September 648 and September 649. It is very unlikely that the Arabs would initiate their first naval expedition after the middle of September, when unsettled weather conditions might interfere. The raid should therefore be

the Moslems sailed in the Mediterranean."[1]

Muawiya, himself, directed the expedition, "aided by Abdalla ibn Said ibn Abi Sahr, governor of Egypt, who sent the Egyptian fleet to join Muawiya under the latter's command."[2] In all, some 1700 ships took part in the

---

dated to the spring or summer of 649 'after the cessation of the rainy season', as Baladhuri states. A date later than 649, implied by some sources, is precluded by the evidence of the Life of St. Spyridon, read by Theodore of Paphos at Tremythus, in Dec. 655, six years after the death of the monk Stephanus which occurred after the first Arab attack on the Island (Van den Ven, St. Spyridon, 90-1). The same text also indicates that a second Arab attack took place before Dec. 655 (cf. below).

1. Baladhuri, 235. This statement contradicts the evidence of Constantine Porphyroghenitus (De Thematibus (40) 81) that the Arabs, led by Abu-Bekr, took control of Cyprus during the reign of Heraclius, No other source refers to an Arab raid led by Abu-Bekr against the Island. (cf. L. Philippou, 'The first Arab raid against Cyprus' (in Greek) K.X, 3 (1925) 164-8; Hill, 283 and n.3.) A passage in a Life of St. Triphyllius (AS, June, II, 684E) which combines a statement referring to piracy by the Arabs during the reign of Heraclius with another referring to an undated Arab raid on Nicosia, suggest that Porphyroghenitus may have misinterpreted such a passage as meaning that the Arabs raided Cyprus during the reign of Heraclius. Porphyroghenitus refers to Muawiya's raid (DAI, § 20) but does not date it.

2. al Waqidi - Caetani, Annali, 224; Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus - op.cit. - also imply that part of the fleet came from Egypt. It is not impossible that the Egyptian governor may have been anxious to retaliate against the Cypriots if the latter had aided the Byzantine general Manuel in his attack on Alexandria in 646 (cf. n. 2, p. 7).

expedition.[1]

Sources are not in agreement as to what happened when the Arabs arrived in Cyprus. Theophanis records that Muawiya

« παρέλαβε τὴν Κωνσταντίαν σὺν τῇ νήσῳ πάσῃ καὶ ταύτην ἐλυμήνατο· ἀκούσας δὲ Κακόριζον κουβικουλάριον καὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐρχόμενον ἀπέπλευσε κατέναντι Ἀράδου. » [2]

The same story is given by Paul the deacon who had obviously used the same sources as the Byzantine chronicler.[3]

---

1. Theophanis, 343; Paul the Deacon, 1049; Agapius, 480. Cedrenus, 775; Michel - Chabot, 441; Bar Hebraeus, 98.

2. Theophanis, 343-4; Aradus was captured by Muawiya the following year and its inhabitants allowed to settle wherever they pleased. Sathas, MB, 2, κδ' n.1 suggested that they settled in Cyprus but this view was dismissed by Hill (Hill, 327) as 'hardly worth mentioning'. A seal of Pantherius, bishop of Aradus, in the collections of the Cyprus Museum may date from about this time, a fact suggesting that the view of Sathas may not be without foundation after all. cf. Appendix II, seal No. 144.

3. Paul the Deacon, 1049. The Hist. Misc. agrees with Theophanis almost word for word and cannot be considered as anything but a Latin translation of a Byzantine source. The rendering of the word ἐλυμήνατο of the Byzantine original in the passage cited by Theophanis, above, into exterminavit, is obviously wrong.

Constantine Porphyroghenitus[1] and George Cedrenus[2] report the capture of Constantia and the Island but not the withdrawal of Muawiya or the reasons for it. The eastern chronicler Agapius also agrees about the capture of the Island. And, although he does not expressly speak of any ravaging, he implies it, when he states that Muawiya

> emmena de cette île et des îles voisines un grand nombre de gens en captivité. Ensuite comme il apprit que des troupes grecques étaient envoyées contre lui, il revint en Syrie et assiégea Aroud (Aradus)[3]

The story in Arab writers is quite different. Al Waqidi (d.823), the earliest of these writers, and one of the most reliable, refers to the taking of many prisoners, a fact implying the conquest of the Island by force, and to a treaty that Muawiya concluded with the Cypriots, whereby the latter

> had no right to marry a woman of the Greeks, enemies of the Arabs, without the prior consent of Muawiya.[4]

According to Baladhuri (d.892) who takes his story from 'al Waqidi and others',

---

1. DAI, § 20.
2. Cedrenus, 755.
3. Agapius, 480.
4. Caetani - Annali, 224.

> ... when the Moslems arrived in Cyprus and landed on its shore, its Archon demanded to make terms of capitulation which was considered unavoidable by the people. Muawiya made terms with them on 7200 dinars to be paid annually by them. Similar terms had been made with them by the Greeks. Thus the people of Cyprus pay two tributes. It was made a condition that the Moslems would not prevent them from paying the tribute to the Greeks; on the other hand the Moslems made it a condition that they would not fight those who may come after them to subjugate the Cypriots and that the Cypriots would keep the Moslems informed regarding the movement of their enemy the Greeks. [1]

In another passage Baladhuri cites other sources to the effect that

> Muawiya personally carried out the invasion of Cyprus and was accompanied by his wife. Its conquest, effected by Allah, was complete, and the booty he brought to the Moslems was great. The raids of the Moslems were repeated until Muawiya in his caliphate concluded permanent terms with the Cypriots to the effect that they pay 7000 dinars and give advice and warnings to the Moslems regarding their enemy the Greeks.

---

1. Baladhuri, 235-6.

This or something like it was agreed.[1]

Tabari (829-923) gives an account of the treaty between Muawiya and the Cypriots similar to that related by Baladhuri in the first of the above two passages, but he puts the tribute at 7000 dinars, as in Baladhuri's second passage. He does not refer to the negotiations, if any, which

---

1. Ibid, 237. Although the date of this invasion is not given, the fact that Muawiya is said to have been accompanied by his wife indicates that it refers to the 649 raid. The statement that the conquest of Cyprus was complete and the booty great complements rather than contradicts Baladhuri's first account of the first Arab raid against the Island. The authority cited by Baladhuri for this passage is Safwan ibn Amr, the earliest of all Baladhuri's sources. He died between AH.100 and 108 (Aug. 718-April727). Date given by O. Pinto and G. Levi della Vida, Il Califfo Muawiya I, 192, index. In yet another passage Baladhuri cites Abu Obaid al Kassim ibn Sallam's records of an examination of the attitude of the Cypriots towards their treaty with the Arabs in the last decade of the eighth century (pp523 below) in which it is stated that 'when Cyprus was conquered, the status quo of the people was kept, and terms were made on 14000 dinars of which 7000 should go to the Moslems and 7000 to the Greeks' (Baladhuri, 242). But it is not certain to which conquest this passage refers.

preceded the conclusion of the above treaty.[1]

Another account of Muawiya's first expedition against Cyprus is given by the Syrian chroniclers. According to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian (1126-1199), when the Arabs arrived in the vicinity of Cyprus, Muawiya "invited the inhabitants of the Island to treat for their lives".[2] After some hesitation, and presumably after the Cypriots had shown that they did not intend to come to peaceful terms, the Arabs, persuaded by the Alexandrians landed

> ... and put themselves to devastating and pillaging. Muawiya and his contingent moved towards Constantia, capital of the country. They found it absolutely full of people. They established their control over the city through a great massacre and Muawiya lodged in the episcopal palace ... The gold and riches of all the Island, as well as slaves, were gathered together and the booty was divided, the Egyptians

---

1. Caetani - Annali, 224. The tribute is put at 7000 dinars by Ibn al-Athir (Caetani - Annali, 225) and Abulfeda (O.C, 56). Eutychius of Alexandria (PG, 111, 1112) and Elias of Nisibin (Elias - Delaporte, 85, Elias - Brooks, 66) on the other hand give the amount of the tribute as 7200 dinars. O.C, 67, cites H. Zottenberg's translation of Tabari's chronicle according to which 'Muawiya had made himself master of Cyprus and received the tribute which, so far, had been payable to the Greeks and which amounted to 7000 dinars. Muawiya stipulated in the treaty which he concluded with the inhabitants that they should not aid the Greeks against the Musulmans and that when the Greeks planned a war against the Musulmans the Cypriots ought to inform the latter and come to their aid'. Although Caetani does not guarantee the exactitude of his own translation the fact that it accords, more or less with Baladhuri, suggests that his rendering is to be preferred to that of Zottenberg.

2. Michel - Chabot, 441-2.

taking one part and the Arabs the other. Then they returned.[1]

Bar Hebraeus gives a shorter version of the story recorded by Michael but also confirms that the Cypriots did not agree to take a pledge for the safety of their lives.[2]

Neither Michael the Syrian nor Bar Hebraeus mention either a tribute or a treaty between the Cypriots and Muawiya. If, as Theophanis and Agapius tell us, Muawiya retired from Cyprus from fear of the Byzantine forces that were expected to arrive there, it is difficult to see why the Cypriots, who presumably had sent for Byzantine help, should agree to sign a treaty with Muawiya, and become his tributaries, unless a delay in the arrival of Byzantine forces made it necessary for them to do so in order to prevent further devastations and destructions by the Arab forces. It is obvious, however, that the Cypriots could not be expected

---

1. ibid., 442. An anonymous Syrian chronicle compiled in 1203/4 generally follows Michael but gives more details. Constantia is described as wealthy, with a population of all nations and fine buildings. Muawiya is said to "have made priests of the temple of the Athlete ..." The invaders remained as long as they pleased and then took the captives, some to Alexandria, some to Syria. There is no mention of the imposition of a treaty. (Hill, 328 from Chabot, CSCO, Scr. Syr. ser. III, t.xv, pp. 268ff, 271f.) As Chabot did not translate this chronicle I have not been able to verify Hill's reference.

2. Bar Hebraeus, 98.

to abide by whatever they had agreed with Muawiya under duress, after the arrival of the cubicularius Cacorizus.

Thus, in the year 32 (12 Aug. 652 - 1st Aug. 653), "the Cypriots offered ships as an aid to the Greeks in an expedition in the sea",[1] presumably against Arab territory in Syria, and for this reason, according to Baladhuri, Muawiya had the Island raided again the following year. On Baladhuri's evidence Muawiya himself directed the second expedition with a force of 500 ships and

> ... disembarking on the Island of Cyprus conquered it by force slaying many and taking prisoners. He then confirmed them in the terms that were previously made and sent to the Island a garrison of 12000 men of those whose names were recorded in the register and had a mosque built for them. Moreover Muawiya transplanted from Ba'labakk a group of men and erected a city on the Island whose inhabitants were assigned special stipends until the death of Muawiya.[2]

Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus and other Syrian chroniclers also record this raid but on their evidence it was directed not by Muawiya but by Abu' l-Akwar who had the

---

1. Baladhuri, 236.

2. ibid., 236; according to Caetani - Annali, VIII, 44 and 59, Baladhuri took this story from al Waqidi. The raid of AH.33 is also recorded by Abu Ma'sar, Tabari and Ibn al-Athir but without Baladhuri's details (Caetani, ibid., 59). The establishment of a garrison in Cyprus is not mentioned.

whole Island plundered. The city of Paphos[1] was reduced by combat but its people were not harmed because they agreed to hand over their gold and silver and other valuables.[2] At Constantia, on the other hand, where Abu' l-Awwar spent some forty days, and elsewhere in the Island, the inhabitants are said to have been put to the fire and the sword once again.[3] Neither the confirmation of the 649 treaty nor the establishment of an Arab garrison is mentioned by these writers. However, Baladhuri's evidence for the establishment of an Arab garrison in Cyprus, in 654, cannot be rejected for lack of corroboration by the other sources. For it is not

---

1. The name in both Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus is Pathos. The editors of both these chronicles emend Pathos to Lapathos and identify this with Lapethus. This emendation seems to have been suggested by the anonymous Syrian chronicle which gives the name of the city as Lapathos, Hill, (op.cit. 329), is inclined to accept the emendation although he points out the difficulties in the way of so doing. It is not impossible that the city meant by these chroniclers is Paphos. The form Pathos-Epatha for Paphos is given by the Russian pilgrim, deacon Zosimus, in 1421. (O.C, 70 from which Hill, 329.)

2. Michel - Chabot, 442; Bar Hebraeus, 98.

3. Hill, 285 and 328 on the evidence of the anonymous Syrian chronicle of 1203/4; cf. n.1, p.17.

unlikely that Muawiya, bearing in mind the fact that so soon after the first raid on their island the Cypriots assisted the Byzantines in an expedition against his territory, may well have concluded that the only way to prevent a repetition of this would be through the stationing of Arab troops in Cyprus. But it is difficult to believe that troops stationed in Cyprus were not withdrawn before Muawiya's death, as Baladhuri reports.[1] The Arabs could scarcely continue to raid the Island until a permanent treaty was concluded in Muawiya's caliphate, as Baladhuri says they did,[2] if the Island was already under Arab control seven years before Muawiya's accession to the Caliphate.

A continuous Arab occupation of Cyprus from 654 to 680[3] is also incompatible with the internal history of the Caliphate. For it is extremely doubtful that Muawiya would continue to keep troops in Cyprus after the Caliph Othman

---

1. According to Baladhuri it was Yezid, Muawiya's son and successor who had the troops withdrawn (Baladhuri, 236), on the receipt of a large and considerable sum of money as bribe (ibid., 237). The city and mosques built for these troops was destroyed either at Yezid's orders (ibid., 236) or by the Cypriots (ibid., 237).

2. Baladhuri, 237; cf. p.14

3. The date of Yezid's succession to the Caliphate.

was murdered, in 656, and civil war broke out in the Caliphate. At that time he would, doubtless, have needed all the forces he could muster if he was to maintain his position against the Orthodox caliph Ali, and given the opportunity he would have probably withdrawn the Cyprus garrison. If for one reason or another he was unable to do so, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Byzantines would have sought to have the Arab troops removed from the Island, so that they could regain control of it,[1] if not earlier, at least in 659, when Muawiya, forced by the strife in the Caliphate, made peace with the Byzantines, even pledging himself to pay tribute to the Emperor.[2]

---

1. The Armenian chronicler Sebeos, writing in the sixties of the 7th century, probably in 661, and referring to the civil war between Muawiya and Ali writes "Mais l'armée qui était en Egypte négocia avec l'Empereur des Grecs, conclut la pait avec lui et passa de son côté. Une foule des soltats environ 15000 crurent en Christ et furent baptisés" (Sebeos - Macler, 149). Is it possible that Sebeos is here referring to a surrender of the Arab garrison stationed in Cyprus in 654? It is incredible that an Arab military unit stationed in Egypt would, at this time, negotiate and surrender to Constans II. But a unit stationed in Cyprus and not withdrawn in 656 would have no option but to surrender, if communications with Arab territory were severed either because of the strife in the Caliphate or through direct Byzantine action.

2. Ostrogorsky, History, 105.

Caetani's view that after 'the great naval victory of di Dzat al Sawari, in the year AH.34 (AD 655), when the Byzantine navy was destroyed, Cyprus was not occupied but was left to be part of the Greek Empire[1] is borne out by archaeological and numismatic evidence from the Island.

At the site of the Gymnasium-Public Baths, at Salamis-Constantia, archaeological evidence has been recovered of extensive repairs undertaken after Muawiya's raids.[2] At the Cathedral of the same town which Muawiya is thought to have profaned[3] recent investigations have indicated that the original building was not superseded before the reign of Justinian II.[4] No trace of Arab occupation of the basilica and of its presumed conversion into a mosque[5] has come to light.

The post 654 constructions and reconstructions revealed by the above excavations are on such a large scale that they

---

1. Caetani - Annali, 223.

2. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1957, 48, 49ff. Some of the repairs may date from the reign of Justinian II (cf. pp.31, 193, 210-1).

3. Hill, 284, 328.

4. cf. Chapter II, p.183

5. Hill, 284.

could not be undertaken by a population twice massacred and left to its own devices, far less by one labouring under a prolonged Arab occupation. The Cypriots must have had the support of the Byzantine Imperial Treasury, as indeed their forebears had had in works preceding the Arab raids.[1] The renovation of the city by Ἀγαθοὶ Βασιλεῖς referred to in an inscription recovered from the Public Baths at Constantia has recently been assigned to the reign of Constans II with Constantine IV.[2]

Numismatic evidence from the Public Baths and elsewhere at Constantia and other parts of the Island also points to a Byzantine rather than an Arab administration of the Island after the raid of 653/4.

A catalogue of the coins of the period 648-965 found in Cyprus is given in Appendix I. By comparison with the number of gold coins circulating in Cyprus before the

---

1. T. B. Mitford, IECC, 117 - 125 and 121 n.3.

2. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 32.

Arab raids[1] the number of gold coins circulating there during the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV is very low indeed. In view of the unsettled and uncertain

---

1. The following hoards of gold coins were buried in the Island at about the time of Muawiya's first raid and probably because of it.

Hoard	No. of coins	Cyprus Ant. Dept. Reference
Mandres	c. 80	Inv. Nos. 1947/VIII-15/5 and 1950/IV-17/3
Tremythus	c. 35	Inv. No. 1956/1-5/1
Larnaca	c. 40	Inv. Nos. 1951/1-16/2 and 1951/11-5/1
Limassol	c.190	Inv. Nos. various cf. Ant. Dept., MP File 107/52
Lapethus	c.131	Cyprus Museum Committee Minute 2 of meeting of 22nd November 1906. 88 of these coins were allotted to the Cypros Museum and 43 to the See of Kyrenia. In 1958 I saw 19 coins mainly of Heraclius and Constans II in the office of the Kyrenia See. The C.M. has more than 88 uncatalogued coins most of which may come from Lapethus.
Total	476	

Several other gold coins of the Heraclius and Constans II raise the total number of such coins found in the Island well above 500. But it must be remembered that some of these coins may represent the money of refugees who had fled to Cyprus from Syria, Palestine and Egypt because of the Persian and Arab invasions, and who probably buried it when, in its turn, Cyprus was attacked. A correct conclusion as to the money circulating in the Island before the Arab raids cannot, in such circumstances, be arrived at.

conditions brought about by Muawiya's raids this state of affairs is, to some extent, to be expected. Even so, ten gold coins of the period 648-668 have been found in the Island, giving a percentage of 0.50 coins per year for the reign of Constans II, and four others, of the period 668-685, give a percentage of c.0.23 coins per year for the reign of Constantine IV.

Bronze coinage, on the other hand, offers quite a different picture. Appendix I B shows that some 865 coins of Constans II were circulating in the Island between 648 and 668, an average of 43.25 coins per year for that period. This is about three times as much as the coin circulation shown by Wroth's British Museum Catalogue of Byzantine coins for all the Byzantine Empire for the period 602-685,[1] a fact suggesting that the absence of gold coinage, in Cyprus, during the period following the Arab raids may have been, to a large extent, offset by an increased bronze coin circulation. It is hard to believe that all these coins could have found their way to the Island, with an Arab garrison stationed there, in the course of Cypro-Byzantine trade relations, although such trade relations are evidenced by a number of lead seals,

---

1. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 49.

including one of a general commerciarius of the apotheke of A C I A, K A P I A and ⋀ Y K I A, dated to 655/6-656/7.[1]

For the period 668-685, however, only eight coins of Constantine IV have been found in Cyprus. And although the percentage of coin circulation for this period is maintained to c. 39 coins per year, by the fact that another 657 earlier coins, mainly of Constans II, were countermarked, in Cyprus,[2] with Constantine IV's monogram and circulated there, the conclusion that Cyprus was, for a time, cut off from Constantinople, after Constantine IV's accession cannot be avoided.

The history of Arab-Byzantine relations in the seventies of the seventh century suggests that control of Cyprus may have passed into the hands of the Arabs, probably as early as 670, at the time Muawiya was putting into effect his plans of conquering Constantinople, or in 672 when the coasts

---

1. No. 38 of Appendix II.

2. All coins with Constantine IV's monogram come from Cyprus except two in the British Museum (nos. 211 of Constans II and 36 of Constantine IV of the BMC) and these too may have come from Cyprus, or, if found elsewhere, they may have been countermarked there before they found their way out of the Island. That the countermarking was done after the accession of Constantine IV is indicated by the coin of Constantine IV in the British Museum and by another recovered during my excavations at Salamis-Constantia in 1959 (no. 867 of Appendix I B). The countermarking must have been done at a time when the Island was cut off from Constantinople, its usual source of supply.

of Lycia and Cilicia were occupied by his forces.[1] Control of Cyprus, at this time, was imperative for the Arabs if their rear and home bases were to be safeguarded, and an Arab garrison may have been established on the Island then. It is not unlikely that the original agreement between the Cypriots and Muawiya was at the same time given the form of a permanent treaty.[2] If an Arab garrison was stationed in

---

1. Ostrogorsky, History, 111.

2. cf. p.14, above. Even at this time, however, a treaty between the Cypriots and Muawiya could hardly contain all the terms which Arab writers assign to the treaty of 649. The content of some of these terms suggest that they were added later either by way of clarifying the meaning of the original treaty, on occasions when the attitude or behaviour of the Cypriots called for such clarification, or as new terms. For example; one can understand Muawiya demanding an annual tribute from the Cypriots, but it is difficult to understand wither why the Cypriots should ask or why Muawiya should guarantee them the right to pay a similar tribute to the Byzantines, unless the Byzantines themselves had taken part in the formulation of this term. This was probably done in 688 when Justinian II and Abd-al-Malik agreed to share the revenues from Cyprus. In 649, the Cypriots may have agreed, under duress, to become Muawiya's tributaries, in exchange for freedom from Arab attacks, but it is unlikely that they agreed to anything else. However, after the 653/4 raid which was directed against them on the grounds that they had helped the Byzantines in a naval attack on the Syrian coast the Cypriots may have been forced to agree Not to assist the Byzantines against the Arabs, and To inform the Arabs of Byzantine movements against them. These terms and that regulating the amount of tribute payable may have been all that Muawiya demanded from the Cypriots. Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries lacking precise information on events of the seventh century in general and on Muawiya's expeditions in particular, ascribed to the latter events and consequences which in all probability occurred or were brought about later. This is indicated by differing and often contradictory accounts of the events relating to the early Islamic campaigns, in different writers.

the Island, it must have been withdrawn, shortly afterwards, either by the Caliph Yezid, as Baladhuri reports[1] or even by Muawiya himself when, following the defeat of his forces before Constantinople, in 678, he became once more the tributary of the Byzantine Emperor.[2] In April, 681, three Cypriot bishops were able to attend the sixth Oecumenical Synod at Constantinople, in their words

"Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου
καὶ θεοσέπτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν" 3

It is obvious that Muawiya had failed in his original objective of conquering Cyprus, partly because of Byzantine reaction, partly because of internal strife in the Caliphate, but mainly because the Cypriots were not accessible to the attractions of Islam in the same way that the semitic people of Syria and Palestine may have been, in view of their moral, religious and cultural ties with Byzantium. After all, the Cypriots had been subject to the imperial authority exercised from Constantinople for over three centuries and in view of their historical antecedents they had come to feel part and parcel of its Empire. Their outlook on life may have

---

1. cf. p. 20, above.

2. Theophanis, 355; Ostrogorsky, History, 111-2.

3. Mansi, XI, 597. The Synod opened in November 680 but the Cypriot bishops did not join it before its 14th session which opened on the 5th April, 681.

differed, in detail, from that of citizens of Constantinople or of other Imperial provinces but in essence it was the same. They may have had grievances against Byzantine administration, but these were not and could not, in the seventh century, suggest the idea of separating themselves from the Empire as a means of solving them. In the final analysis the allegiance of the Cypriots to Byzantium was not one of economic or political necessity but one of conviction emanating from their belief that the Imperial authority was God-sustained,[1] and in Muawiya's time it would have been impossible for them, willingly, to deny Imperial Byzantine authority without denying their own religious convictions.[2] Thus, even when, under Constantine IV, Cyprus was cut off from Byzantium and an Arab garrison may have been stationed there, the Cypriots continued to express their recognition of the Emperor's authority by countermarking with his monogram Byzantine coins

---

1. cf. George of Pisidia, De expeditione Persica, PG, 92, 1217.

2. cf. Chapter II 1.a, below for the religious convictions of the Cypriots determining their attitude towards Byzantium in the 8th and 9th centuries. An attempt may have been made, in 668, to persuade the Cypriots to renounce their allegiance to Constans II. The seal of a Sergius stratelates, found in Cyprus (no. 37 of Appendix II) may be that of the Sergius stratelates whom Savorius, the strategus of the Anatoliknon theme, had sent to Muawiya to solicit his support in his revolt against the Emperor. This attempt, if made, does not seem to have found any response from the Cypriots.

already in circulation in the Island.[1]

The low coin circulation, in Cyprus, after 680[2] doubtless reflects the Island's economic condition[3] but it cannot, in this case point to its political status. Byzantine control of the Island, after 680, is, on the other hand, indicated by the archaeological evidence pointing to a renewed building activity of a nature that, in the light of the numismatic evidence, could not be undertaken by the Cypriots without the help of Constantine IV or Justinian II.

The decoration of the church of Panayia Angeloktistos,

---

1. The Arabs would not object, at this time, to the circulation of Byzantine coins since they themselves accepted them as legal tender until Abd-al-Malik's reforms later in the seventh century (cf. Ph. Grierson, 'The monetary reforms of Abd-al-Malik' Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient VIII, 3 (1960) 241-264 and bibliography therein). On the other hand the Cypriots may also have been forced to accept as legal tender Arab imitations of Byzantine coins such as those numbered 1-20 in Appendix I C; these may have been brought to Cyprus by the Arabs at the times when Muawiya's forces may have been stationed in the Island.

2. cf. Appendix I.

3. cf. P. Charanis, 'The significance of coins as evidence for the history of Athens and Corinth in the 7th and 8th century' Historia 4 (1955) 163-172. The drop in bronze coin circulation, however, may also reflect the general cut back in bronze coinage which has been noted in all parts of the Byzantine Empire after the reign of Constans II (cf. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 50-52).

at Kiti, which seems to have been erected at this time, is, almost certainly, the work of Byzantine artists from Constantinople,[1] probably sent to the Island by the Emperor.

At Constantia, which had suffered heavily in the hands of the Arabs,[2] archaeological investigations indicate not only extensive repairs to existing buildings but also the erection of new ones and a complete renovation of the central part of the city which was fortified.[3] Most of these works seem to date from the first reign of Justinian II, in whose honour or at whose request the renovated capital was renamed Nea Justinianopolis. To prove this a parenthesis is necessary:

In the 39th canon of the Council in Trullo, we are told that the see of Nea Justinianopolis would have the same rights as were of old confirmed on Constantia, that its bishop would preside over the bishops of the Hellespontine district where he and his flock had been transferred[4] and that the bishop of Cyzicus would be subject to him and would be

---

1. cf. Chapter II 3, pp. 203-5
2. cf. evidence of sources cited on pp. 12, 16 and 17 n. 1
3. This evidence is discussed in Chapter II 4, below.
4. cf. pp. 38-9, and Chapter II 1.a.

ordained by him, if necessary.[1] The 39th Canon does not however tell us where Nea Justinianopolis is. But since it distinguishes between Nea Justinianopolis and Cyzicus it follows I think that Nea Justinianopolis is not Cyzicus as Constantine Porphyroghenitus implies.[2]

Theodore Balsamon, commenting on the 39th Canon of the Trullan Council considered Nea Justinianopolis as referring to the Church of Cyprus τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Κυπρίων Νέαν Ἰουστινιανούπολιν.[3] whilst Aristenus thought that Nea Justinianopolis was Cyprus itself[4] a view later accepted by L. Allatius.[5] The criticism of these views that neither the church of Cyprus nor the Island itself could be described as a polis has already been made.[6] On the other hand, one cannot conclude, from such criticism, that the evidence of

---

1. cf. Chapter II 1, below.

2. DAI § 47, 224.

3. PG, 137, 649; Ralles and Potles, Syntagma Canonum 2 (1852) 396-7.

4. PG, 137, 652, Ralles and Potles, loc.cit., 396-7.

5. L. Allatius, De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione (1648) 427-429.

6. Ph. Georghiou, Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου, (1875) 33-35, Hackett — Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, Α (1923) 65.

Balsamon and Anstenus should be rejected _in toto_ in favour of Le Quien's view that Nea Justinianopolis was the name given by Justinian II to the city he erected to house the expatriated Cypriots near Cyzicus.[1] But if that was the case would it not, also, be the case that the rights and privileges accorded to Nea Justinianopolis, in 691, because its bishop was also the Archbishop of the autocephalus church of Cyprus,[2] would be revoked when the Archbishop of Cyprus ceased to occupy its see? If it was thought necessary, in 691, to confirm the rights and privileges of the see of Constantia to that of Nea Justinianopolis would it not be, also, necessary to have these rights reconfirmed to the see of Constantia, to which they belonged, when the Archbishop of Cyprus returned there? And, if a new city was built in the Hellespont by Justinian II would it not be the case that the new city would survive the departure of the Cypriots,[3] and should we not expect to

---

1. Le Quien, _Oriens Christianus_ 2 (1740) 1041-2.

2. On this point cf. Chapter II 1a. below.

3. The city may have been used to house refugees from other parts of the Empire. For the policy of resettlement of frontier peoples by Constans II and Justinian II cf. Ostrogorsky, _History_ 117-8.

find its bishopric represented in subsequent church councils?

We have no evidence either of the revocation of the autocephalus privileges confirmed to the see of Nea Justinianopolis by the Trullan council, nor of the reconfirmation of those of Constantia. Nor do the records of church councils preserve the name of a Nea Justinianopolis in the Hellespont.

The silence of sources on these points can only mean that neither the revocation of the rights of Nea Justinianopolis nor the reconfirmation of those of Constantia was ever necessary because Nea Justinianopolis and Constantia were one and the same city. The same conclusion was drawn by Beveridge, just under 300 years ago, when, commenting on the 39 canon of the council in Trullo, he wrote " ... ista autem Cypri metropolis, quae antea Constantia dicebatur, a Justiniano imperatore suo de nomine nova Justinianopolis dicta est".[1] The Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1668-1704) was also of the opinion that Justinian II had renovated Salamis and called it Nea Justinianopolis.[2] However, the

---

1. W. Beveridge, Pandectae Conciliorum (1672) 154-5.
2. cf. Hackett - Papaioannou, Ἱστορία , B, 23.

evidence of the 16th century Cypriot chronicler Stephano Lusignano that Constantia "ultimamente fu destrutta dalli Saraceni al tempo di Eraclio imperatore e non è più edificata"[1] was almost generally accepted[2] and the view has prevailed that Nea Justinianopolis 'was the name which the Emperor gave to the Settlement at or near Cyzicus'.[3] A notable exemption from the general acceptance of this view was Archimandrite (later Archbishop) Kyprianos who, probably on wrong evidence, concluded rightly that Justinian II

---

1. Lusignano - Chorographia, 12.

2. Even after the evidence of my excavations at Salamis had been made public (cf. A brief history and description of Salamis, Nicosia, 1957, 1958, 1959) K. Kyrris accepted the abandonment of Constantia in the 7th century, as far as I can make out, so that he could support an unfounded theory that Famagusta served as the seat of the Cyprus Archbishop in the Middle Ages (cf. K. P. Kyrris, 'The Greek bishopric of Famagusta' (in Greek) Akten 278-288). On Mr. Kyrris' views cf. n.1, p.102, Chapter II 1(a)i below.

3. Hill, 288.

"ἀνακαίνιεε τὴν Κωνσταντίαν ἡ Ἀμμόχουστον
φθαρεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ἰοῦ Μαβίου καὶ
ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Νέαν Ἰουστινιανήν
ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομά του." [1]

It is true the metropolis of Cyprus is again referred to as Constantia in the Life of St. Willibald, who stayed there in the spring and early summer of 723,[2]

---

1. Kyprianos, Ἱστορία, 157. The fact that Constantia was subsequently known as Palaia Ammochostus - it was known by that name at the time Kyprianos was writing (ibid. 46) - seems to have confused Kyprianos, for in his account of the early history of medieval Famagusta he refers to it as having been renovated by Justinian II who called it Nea Justiniane (ibid, 43). The name Nea Justiniane (for Nea Justinianopolis) is also used in respect of Constantia by the author of the Synaxarion of St. Kendeas (cf. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 80).

2. Tobler and Molinier, Itin. Hierosol, 257, 288. Names of cities or localities established and accepted by the people are seldom given up by them even though altered by the highest authority. Constantia was originally known as Salamis. And though the former name was gradually accepted the latter also continued to be used and has survived to the present day. In view of the events that followed the renovation and renaming of Constantia by Justinian II (cf. pp. 38-40) the retention and prevalence of its former name is not at all surprising.

and in the Acts of the 787 Synod, but the name of Nea Justinianopolis also was retained, at least in the title of the Island's Archbishop which has survived to the present day as

ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νέας Ἰουστινιανῆς (for Νέας Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως) καὶ πάσης Κύπρου.

In view of the corroborating evidence of the archaeological investigations the conclusion that Constantia was renamed Nea Justinianopolis becomes unavoidable,[1] and the reality of Byzantine control of the Island, at this time, obvious.

However, in 688, Justinian II, probably because the situation in the Balkans called for his attention there[2] acceded to the request of Abd-al-Malik and sent Paul the Magister to sign a new peace treaty with the caliph. This treaty provided, inter alia, that the revenue from Cyprus

---

1. Professor G. Ostrogorsky, whose opinion on my views of Nea Justinianopolis I invited, in a letter dated 17th February, 1961 writes: 'Your ideas about Nea Justinianopolis are very interesting and the reasons you are giving seem to me well founded and convincing. Of course before forming a definite opinion one should re-examine all the texts in question, and this I have not been able to do at this moment, but I am inclined to believe that you have found the right solution'.

2. Ostrogorsky, History 116.

was to be divided between the two powers,[1] and thus recognized, for the first time, the right of the Arabs to have a say in the affairs of Cyprus.

This recognition may have been followed by the stationing of Arab representatives in the Island.

But Justinian II was by nature a passionate and impulsive ruler[2] and three years later he had second thoughts on Cyprus. Accordingly he "sent and made captives the Arabs who were in Cyprus"[3] and attempted to

---

1. Paul the Deacon, 1058; Theophanis, 363; Life of St. Constantine Judaeus, AS, Nov. IV, 638; DAI, § 22, 94; Agapius, 497. A seal of a royal mandator, Paul, found in Cyprus, no. 5 of Appendix II, may belong to Pavlos Magistrianos whom Justinian II had sent to the Caliph's court to negotiate the peace treaty. The Cypriots were doubtless consulted and may have sent representatives to take part in the negotiations. Their treaty with Muawiya was probably reused at this time at the instigation of the Byzantines. The term whereby the Arabs guaranteed to the Cypriots the right to pay tribute to the Byzantines and that restraining the Cypriots from aiding the Arabs against the Byzantines seem to have been added to the treaty at this time. cf. also, p. 27 n.2

2. Ostrogorsky, History, 116.

3. Bar Hebraeus, 103.

have the Cypriots transferred to the Hellespont

"διά τε τάς βαρβαρικάς ἐφόδους διά τε τό ἴδιον ἐθνικῶς ἐλευθεροῦσθαι δουλείας καί καθαρῶς τοῖς ἐκ πατρός ἰοῦ Χριστιανικωλάλου κράτους ὑποτάσσειν" [1]

Reporting the attempt Theophanis states that

"πλῆθος δέ Κυπρίων κατεπονλίσθη καί ἀπό ἀρρωστίας ὤλοντο καί οἱ λοιποί ἐστράφησαν εἰς Κύπρον." [2]

It is not unlikely that some Cypriots were drowned and that others turned back to their homes in Cyprus. But in view of Chapter 39 of the Council in Trullo the evidence of Theophanis that all Cypriots returned to Cyprus cannot be accepted.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe or see how Justinian II could attempt anything more than the transfer of the more influential inhabitants of the Island. The fact that when some years later the Emperor decided to

---

1. Chapter 39 of the Council in Trullo cf. Chapter II 1a, below. Mansi, XI, 961; DAI, § 48-224. The violation of the 688 treaty was followed by a clash of arms with the Arabs on the eastern frontier resulting in the defeat of the Byzantines at Sebastopolis and the occupation of Armenia by the Arabs (Ostrogorsky, History, 118).

2. Theophanis 365; cf. also Paul the Deacon, 1059.

have the Island repopulated he

"ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἀμερουμνὴν τοῦ Βαγδάτ τρεῖς τῶν ἐνδόξων Κυπριώων αὐτόχθονας τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου τυγχάνοντας τοὺς λεγομένους φαγγουμεῖς, μετὰ καὶ βασιλικοῦ τινος ἀγχίνου τε καὶ ἐνδόξου γράψας τῷ ἀμερουμνῇ ἵνα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα λαὸν τῆς νήσου Κύπρου ἀπολύσῃ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον". [1]

indicates that enough Cypriots were left on the Island for the Arabs to emulate the Emperor's action.

The expatriation of Cypriots by the Arabs to Syria may have been intended as a punishment in retaliation for Justinian II's treatment of Arabs he may have found in Cyprus.[2] It certainly did not result in the depopulation of the Island for seven years as the opening statement in Porphyroghenitus' DAI § 47 states. The addition of 1000 dinars to the tribute payable by the Cypriots by

---

1. DAI § 47-224. The caliph at the time resided at Damascus not, as Porphyroghenitus says, at Bagdad.

2. The passage in the Life of St. Therapon (AS, May VI, 685) about an impending 'second Arab invasion' of the Island that would result in its occupation by the Arabs - because of this the Saint agreed to the translation of his relics to Constantinople - may refer to a post 691 Arab raid which resulted in the transfer of Cypriots to Syria.

Abd-al-Malik,[1] an addition unlikely to have been made before Justinian II's violation of the 688 treaty,[2] could not have been made, if the Island had become uninhabited.

In fact, it is not unlikely that an Arab garrison was, after 691, stationed again in the Island. A passage in the medieval Cypriot chronicler, Leontios Makhairas referring to the control of the Island by Ἕλληνες at the time of the arrival in Cyprus of 300 Saints who had fled there from the Holy Land, when the latter was conquered by the Saracens[3] has been cited by Sathas,[4] who considered that the word Ἕλληνες, in the said passage, has the meaning of Arabs, as evidence in support of his suggestion that the Arabs took control of the Island after Justinian II's attempted transfer of the Cypriots. The evidence of the Life of St. Therapon where the Arabs are referred to as

---

1. Baladhuri, 238.

2. An increase in the tribute before 688 is unlikely in view of internal strife in the Caliphate which had in fact forced the Caliph to seek a new treaty with Justinian II, accepting to become his tributary. The increase is almost certain to have been intended as a further punishment of the Cypriots for their violation of the newly re-affirmed treaty with the Arabs.

3. Makhairas - Dawkins, 58. On the question of the 300 Saints cf. Chapter II 1.b and Appendix IV.

4. Sathas, Vies des Saints, 408.

Ἕλληνες Ἀγαρηνοί[1] may bear out Sathas' suggestion

Commenting on Porphyroghenitus' DAI, § 47, where it is stated that seven years after their expatriation the Emperor, in consultation with the Caliph, had the Cypriots repatriated, Sathas righly observed that seven years after the expatriation of the Cypriots the Emperor was Tiberius II and not Justinian II as Porphyroghenitus implied. From this observation Sathas went on to conclude that the Cypriots were repatriated by Tiberius II, in 698,[2] and this view has been generally accepted.[3]

However, there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting Sathas' conclusion. A rapprochement over Cyprus, the casus belli in 691/2[4] could hardly be obtained, in 698, by an Emperor, who had just attained power through a revolution, and who would have needed to devote all his attention to consolidating his own position in Constantinople. Even assuming that Tiberius II could attend to the problems

---

1. AS, May VI, 684.

2. Sathas, MB, 2, ριδ'

3. cf. Hill, 289.

4. J. D. Breckenridge, The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II, Numismatic notes and Monographs no. 144, (1959) 75.

of a disputed frontier province,[1] is it likely that Abd-al-Malik, whose forces were controlling Cyprus and who would want to exploit the further confusion created within the Byzantine Empire by the deposition of Leontios,[2] would accede to a request from the Byzantine emperor which would, in effect, terminate his undisputed control of the Island? Abd-al-Malik might have agreed to revive the 688 treaty over Cyprus if it was in his interest to do so, but in 698, there is every indication that this was not the case.

Indeed, the continued control of the Island after 698[3]

---

1. It is also very doubtful that Tiberius II who ἀνηγορεύθη ὑπὸ τῶν πρασίνων (cf. F. Cumont 'Chroniques byzantines du manuscript 11376 - Anecdota Bruxellensia I, 30 - cited by Ostrogorsky, History, 124 n.2) the party with heretical tendencies (cf. Dvornik, The Photian Schism, 7) would bother about the Cypriots whose Orthodoxy would make them supporters of the Blues.

2. cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 124-5, for the uncertainty and confusion within the Byzantine Empire following Justinian's deposition in 695.

3. The statement by Dzahabi (1274-1348) and Mahasin (1411-1465 or 1469) that in AH.80 (9th March 699 - 25th Feb. 700) Abd al Wāhid b. abi-l-Kunūd sailed from Alexandria against the al Farang (?) and then turned towards Cyprus (Caetani, Chronographia, 950) cannot be taken as evidence of an Arab raid against Cyprus. Even if the 688 treaty was revived in 698, as Sathas suggests the Cypriots could scarcely have time to violate it and thus provoke another Arab attack. Whatever the status of the Island may have been in 699/700 an Arab attack is unlikely.

is indicated by the fact that the Caliph al Wālid (705-715) had eighteen mule-loads of gold and silver brought from Cyprus to be used in the erection of the Mosque of Damascus.[1] It is unlikely that this represented the tribute payable by the Cypriots. More probably it represented ecclesiastical or other treasures confiscated or looted by the Arabs who had undisputed control of the Island. Ten post 695 Ummayad coins - nos. 21-30 of Appendix I - may have found their way to the Island during this period.

Abd-al-Malik, we have seen, would have had no occasion and certainly he had no obligation to accede to a request by Tiberius II for the repatriation of the Cypriots. But we have every reason to suggest that al Walid had. We are told by Tabari, who takes his story from al Waqidi, that on the request of al Walid, the Byzantine Emperor sent to Damascus "100000 mithqals of gold, 100 workmen and 40 loads

---

1. Mugaddasi (d.985) cited by Cresswell, EMA, 101, 158. In one passage the amount is given as 18 ship-loads, doubtless a mistake. cf. also, Marguerite Van Berchem 'Les mosaiques de la mosquée des Ommayades à Damas' Monuments Piot, 30 (1929) 129. The Mosque of Damascus was built by al Walid between 705 and 712. (Gibb, Arab Byzantine relations, 225, where Tabari's evidence from al Waqidi to the effect that the erection of the Mosque was put in hand in January 707, is also cited.)

of mosaic cubes"[1] to be used in the decoration of al Walid's mosque. Is it not possible that in acceding to al Walid's request the Emperor put forth the proposals concerning the repatriation of the Cypriots and would it not then be the case that al Walid would find it difficult to refuse?

It seems to me that the mistake in Porphyroghenitus' passage lies in the number of years, and that the Emperor responsible for the repatriation of the transferred Cypriots was, after all, Justinian II, who returned to power in 705. The mistake in the chronological dating of the rapprochement between the Emperor and the Caliph over Cyprus may result from faulty transcriptions of the DAI, ἑπτὰ being copied for δέκα ἑπτὰ years which Porphyroghenitus may have given in the original text. However, 'the fact that the number seven is given twice in the same chapter suggests that we have here a simple mistake for which the tradition itself and not the copyist is responsible, seven being a particularly popular and frequently cited number'.[2]

The repatriation of Cypriots in Byzantium and Islam by Justinian II and al Walid and not by Tiberius II and

---

1. Gibb, ibid. 226.

2. Professor G. Ostrogorsky in a private letter dated 17th February 1961.

Abd-al-Malik is also suggested by the fact that after the Byzantines raided Damietta, in 709, the commander of the Egyptian fleet, Khalid b. Kaysan, who was taken prisoner was handed over to al Walid, 'by virtue of a treaty between the Byzantines and the Caliph'.[1] The word Byzantines may, here, refer to the Cypriots, and the treaty may have been that which Byzantine and Cypriot representatives had signed in Walid's court, probably in 708, reaffirming the terms of the 688 treaty concerning Cyprus. It is very doubtful that the Byzantines would agree to hand over to the Caliph their prisoners, but a condition may have been added to the treaty between the Cypriots and the Arabs whereby the former were obliged to "protect the life and property of the Arabs"[2] and go to the aid of the latter if they were

---

1. Caetani, Chronographia, 1092.

2. A late authority, Ibn Khaldun (b.1332 in Tunis) (cf. Amari, Storia I, 615 n.3) does in fact ascribe this term to the original treaty between Muawiya and the Cypriots.

attacked.[1] If Cyprus was used by the Byzantines on organising the 709 raid against Damietta, the Cypriots may have persuaded the Byzantines to let them return to Walid the Commander of the Egyptian fleet, as proof of their adherence to the newly reaffirmed treaty, thus forestalling Arab accusations of betrayal that might be followed by yet another punitive raid on the Island.

---

1. This term is reported by Nikolaos Mystikos in his letter to the Caliph of Bagdad in 913 (PG, 111, 33A); cf. p.54, n.2, 55,n.2 and p.84. The terms of the treaty between the Cypriots and al Walid may have been as follows:
   The Cypriots agreed:
   1. To pay an annual tribute of 8000 or 8200 dinars (the original amount had been increased by Abd-al-Malik by 1000 dinars) to the Arabs, and an equal amount to the Byzantines.
   2. Not to assist either the Arabs or the Byzantines in their war with each other.
   3. To keep the Arabs informed of Byzantine movements against them.
   4. To respect the life and property of Arabs in Cyprus and to go to their aid if they were attacked.

   On their part, the Arabs agreed that if the above terms were observed they would not attack the Cypriots. The condition reported by Waqidi and Tabari that the Cypriots should not marry 'a woman' of the Greeks without the consent of Muawiya (cf. p. 13, above) if ever made, was probably dropped after Muawiya's death.

The Arab raids and occupations of the Island between 649 and 708 and Byzantium's inability to extend its unimpaired authority over Cyprus, made obvious by the Emperor's recognition of the right of the Arabs to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus in 688 and 708, and underlined by the confusion and uncertainty resulting from the struggle for power within the Empire, lasting from 695 to 717, must have forced upon the Cypriots the realisation of the need to abide by the terms of their treaty with the Arabs. Thus in 723 when the western pilgrim St. Willibald and his companions came to Cyprus, the Island was "inter Grecos et Saracenos"[1] and the Cypriots "sedebant inter Grecos et Saracenos et inermes fuerunt, quia pax maxima fuit et conciliatio inter Saracenos et Grecos".[2] It was probably because the Cypriots abided by their treaty that the Caliph Omar (715-720) cancelled the increase in the tribute added by Abd-al-Malik.[3]

Nevertheless the acceptance by the Cypriots of their new status was a necessity, inherent in Byzantium's inability

---

1. Tobler and Molinier, Itin. Hierosol, 257, 288.
2. ibid. 260.
3. Baladhuri 238.

to react against Arab claims, and of and when Byzantium were to reclaim the allegiance of the Cypriots they would more likely than not welcome the authority of a "Κρατοῦσα ἐὼν Θεῷ Μοναρχία ".[1] That they did so is indicated by at least three punitive Arab raids between 723 and 965. In 743

> Walid ibn Yezid fit déporter les Chypriotes de leur foyers et de leur pays pour les installer à al-Mahoun (?) qui est situé au bord de la mer entre Tyr et Sidon[2]

because he suspected them of violating their treaty;[3] in 806,

> Al Rashid sent Humaid the son of Ma'yuf on raid by the sea; and the people of Cyprus had broken the peace; and he raided them and slew and took captives; [4]

---

1. George of Pisidia, op.cit. 1214/5.

2. Agapius, 511/2.

3. Baladhuri, 238, 241; Tabari cited by J. Wellhausen 'Die Kämpfe der Araber, 445 from which Hill, 291 n.1.

4. Ibn Wadhih (873) in E. W. Brooks 'Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids', EHR, 15 (1900) 745. Baladhuri, 238; Tabari, also in Brooks (ibid. 745-746) refers to two raids in the same year: one led by Humaid who "destroyed and burnt (Cyprus) and carried 16000 of its people captive, and he brought them to Al Rafika and Abu'l Bakhtara the judge was appointed to sell them, and the bishop of Cyprus fetched 2000 dinars". The other raid recorded by Tabari for the year 806 was led by Ma'yuf the son of Yahya who raided the people of Cyprus who "broke the treaty and carried the people captive". A later source, Abulfeda, also records Ma'yuf's raid as follows: " ... tendebant Cyprii vinculum rumpere, quo Muslemis obstricti erant. Sed redigebat eos in ordinem, armis compressos et minutos captivitate, Maatue filios Jahiae, qui Chalifae nomine maritimas Aegypti Syriaque regiones moderabatur" (O.C, 56). The occurrence of two punitive raids against Cyprus, in the same year, is unlikely. Most probably the sources confused the leadership of one and the same raid and thus reported two.

and in A.H. 299 = (29th April 911 - 7th April, 912).

> Damiana, chef des éxpedition maritimes musulmanes en Méditerranée fit une incursion dans l'îsle de Chypre dont les habitants avaient voilé le traité conclu au début de l'Islam et stipulant qu'ils n'assisteraient pas les Rûm contre les Musulmans, ni les Musulmans contre les Rûm, et que l'impôt serait payé moitié aux Rûm moitié aux Musulmans. Damiana resta dans cette îsle pendant quatre mois à faire des prisonniers, incendier et conquérir les places où les habitants s'étaient fortifiés. [1]

Byzantine sources report there raids but do not admit the violation of any treaty by the Cypriots. On the 743 raid Theophanis simply states that Υ̓αλὶδ τοὺς Κυπρίους μετῴκησεν εἰς Συρίαν [2] and on the raid of 806 he accuses Harun Al-Rashid that

> "πέμψας στόλον εἰς Κύπρον τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας κατέστρεψε καὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους μετέστησε καὶ πολλὴν ἅλωσιν ποιήσας τὴν Εἰρήνην διέστρεψεν." [3]

without stating the cause of the raid. Events preceding

---

1. Masudi, 282; A. A. Vasiliev, Byzance et Les Arabes, II, 43 and n.3. The report in Hill, 294 states that Damian seized many places which he fortified is based on a translation of Masudi's passage such as that in O.C, 45. The erection of fortifications by the Arabs in Cyprus is incompatible with the events that followed Damian's raid.

2. Theophanis, 417. As Hill points out (Hill, 291 n.1) this is de Boor's insertion from the Latin Version by Anastasius bibliothecarius (de Boor's edition vol. II, p. 271 'Uhalid Cyprios in Syriam transtulit').

3. Theophanis, 482. cf. also, Paul the Deacon, 1130 and Cedrenus II, 35.

this raid however, tend to support the Arab claim that it followed the violation of the treaty by the Cypriots. Theophanis himself states that in the year 790 "στόλος δὲ ἐξῆλθε ἀράβων ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ τοῦτο προγνοῦσα ἡ βασίλισσα ἐσκόπευσε καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα τὰ Ρωμαϊκὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἀπέλυσε κατ' αὐτῶν",[1] a statement indicating that Irene had foreknowledge of the movements of the Arab fleet which she could only obtain from the Cypriots themselves.[2]

The presence of six Cypriot bishops, including the Archbishop, at the second Nicaea Synod[3] doubtless strengthened

---

1. Theophanis, 465; cf. also Paul the Deacon, 1119. In the battle that followed off Attaleia, the strategos of the Cibyrrhaeote fleet, Theophilus, was captured by the Arabs and later executed for his refusal to apostatise. He is honoured by the Greek Orthodox church as a martyr. His feast day is given as Jan. 30 - Συναξαριστής (ed. Th. Nicolaides, Athens (1868) 430); Neophytus Rhodinus, 32 refers to St. Theophilus as a 'foreign' Saint who resided in Cyprus. This is not mentioned by Kyprianos, Ἱστορία, but Hackett (Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία B, 292) thought that he died there, though he does not give any evidence in support of this hypothesis. cf. also Hill, 293 and n.1.

2. The Cypriots could have got their information from Syria, Palestine or Egypt where they were free to travel (cf. Chapter II, 2). It would have been too late for a Byzantine representative stationed in the Island (cf. p. 79 below) to inform the Byzantines of Arab movements after the Arab fleet arrived in Cyprus.

3. Mansi, XII, 993, 994; cf. below Chapter II 1a.

Cypro-Byzantine relations[1] but the collaboration of the Cypriots with the Byzantines seems to date back to the beginning of Constantine VI's reign when the see of Constantinople was occupied by a Cypriot, Paul of Salamis-Constantia.[2] At about this time a Byzantine military unit may have been stationed in Cyprus at the invitation of the Cypriots.[3]

This was, doubtless, the rebellion which, according to Abu Obaid al Qasim b. Sallam (770-837) started "during the governorship of Abd-al-Malik ibn Salih over the frontier

---

1. cf. Chapter II 3, p.193, n3, for a suggestion of a 'grant in aid' by Irene to the Church of Cyprus.

2. The birthplace of Paul is given in The Life of Tarasius (PG, 98, 1388-9) who succeeded him as patriarch. Paul became Patriarch on the 20th February 780 and resigned on the 31st August 784, on the grounds of ill health, retiring to the monastery τοῦ φλώρου where he took the monastic vows (Theophanis, 457; Cedrenus, II 22. cf. also Grumel - Les Regestel, I, (3) 11). On his resignation Paul is said to have instigated Irene to summon an Oecumenical council to restore the Icons. (Theophanis, 457; Nicephonus 119-20 calls Paul Ὁ ῥάδδοξος καὶ δημοφιλής .) cf. also Ι. Δ. Φορόπουλος, Εἰρήνη ἡ Ἀθηναία, (1887) 20-21 and Chapter II 1.a (iii) below.

3. Makhairas - Dawkins, 9ff. The passage in Makhairas and other medieval chroniclers is confused. It is discussed in Chapter II 5, with the story of the depopulation of the Island for 36 years, with which it is associated.

cities".[1] The Omir "desired to break the covenant made"[2] with the Cypriots but before doing so, he asked the jurists, probably in 793[3] to give him their opinion. The jurists, whose replies have been preserved,[4] agreed that the fidelity

---

1. Baladhuri, 238, citing Abu Obaid. According to Canard (Deux épisodes, 63), the latter took his information from the archives of the Emir.

2. Baladhuri, 239.

3. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam I (1913) 50, Abd-al-Malik b. Salih was not appointed governor of Syria before AH.196 (811/2) when he died. But it does not seem probable that the Cypriots would have violated their treaty at this time. Nor would it be possible for Abd-al-Malik b. Salih to consult all the jurists he is reported to have consulted, for the simple reason that some of them had died before that date. The latest date at which the Emir of Syria could invite the opinion of the jurists was AH.177 (18th April 793 - 6th April 794) when one of the jurists, al-Laith ibn Said died. (O. Pinto and G. Levi della Vida, Il Calipho Moawiya I (1938) 191). The Enc. Islam 3 (1936) 20, on the other hand, gives al-Laith's death as AH.161 or 165 or 175; if this date is correct then the date of Abd-al-Malik b. Salih's consultation with the jurists cannot be later than AH.175 (10th May 791 - 27th April 792). But E. de Zambaur Manuel de genealogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam 1 (1927),[28] records two periods during which Abd-al-Malik b. Salih was governor of Damascus. The date of the first is given as AH.177 (793/4), the same as that given by Pinto and G. Levi della Vida for al-Saith's death.

4. Baladhuri, 239-243.

of the Cypriots had not been proved but with the exception of one who favoured an attack on Cyprus, the others recommended abidance by the terms of the treaty despite treasonable behaviour by some Cypriots, and thus the latter were allowed to continue their collaboration with Byzantium until Humaid's raid in 806, following which the treaty between the Cypriots and the Arabs was doubtless reaffirmed and a new term, probably, added, whereby the Cypriots undertook 'Not to inform the Byzantines of Arab movements against them'.[1]

The guilt of the Cypriots preceding Damian's raid in 911/2 is also denied by Byzantine writers. The Patriarch of Constantinople Nikolaos Mystikos, who addressed the caliph of Bagdad in this connection,[2] considered Damian's raid as an unjustified epanastasis since, according to Mystikos, the Cypriots had not violated the treaty which had been

---

1. ibid; 240, 241, 242/3; The replies of four of the eight jurists make it clear that the Cypriots were disclosing Arab secrets to the Byzantines. It is doubtful however that the treaty of the Cypriots with the Arabs was explicit on this point and it seems more probable that this condition was added after the raid of 806 by way of clarifying the previous treaty.

2. Migne P.G 111, cols. 27-36. The letter is headed 'to the Emir of Crete', but as Jenkins has shown (R. J. H. Jenkins 'The mission of St. Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad' AIPHOS 9 (1949) 267-275) the addressee could not be any other than the Caliph of Bagdad and consequently the rubric is wrong.

signed between themselves and the Arabs just under three hundred years before. This treaty, argues Mystinos had been respected by the Caliph's predecessors and the Cypriots had lived in peace and security until Damian revolted against the treaty and raided Cyprus because ' Σαρακηνοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λαβὼν Ἡμέριος διεχρήσατο The Patriarch denies that the Cypriots aided Himerius in his ill treatment of the Saracens and justifies their failure to go to the aid of the Saracens on the ground that they were not in a position to oppose Himenus.

The author of the Life of St. Demetrianus, of Chytri, who seems to have known of the Patriarch's letter also describes Damian's raid as

> ' Ἐπανάστασις Βαβυλωνίων βαρβάρων κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κυπρίων νῆσον, οὐ φέρων παραβάσεως ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐχθρῶν, οὐκ ἐπαναφλάσεως αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ τὸν ληστρικὸν τρόπον συνεργὸν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀγριότητα.[1]

The Letter of Nikolaos Mystikos was a diplomatic note from the acting head of one state[2] to that of another and

---

1. Gregoire, St. Demetrianus, 232. AS, Nov. III, 306-7.
2. The prologue of the letter implies that the Patriarch was writing on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor and this he could only do when he acted as regent for the child Constantine VII, after the death of Alexander on the 6th June 913 and before February 914 when he was asked to leave the palace by the Empress Zoe. Jenkins, St. Demetrianus, 274 agrees that the letter cannot be dated earlier than August 913 because it mentions the death of Damian which occurred in AH.301 (7 Aug. 913 - 28 July 914).

was intended to aid the mission of St. Demetrianus who went to Bagdad to plead for the release of Cypriot captives.[1] The inaccuracy of his account of the facts is evidenced by his silence over the raids of 743 and 806 which are reported by other Byzantine writers[2] and his presentation of events preceding Damian's raid is naturally coloured to whitewash the Cypriots in whose defence he was writing. But even on his own evidence the Cypriots had violated their treaty for they had failed to inform the Arabs of the activities of the Byzantine admiral Himerius[3] who was residing among them.[4]

Other Byzantine writers on events preceding Damian's raid indirectly support and corroborate the veracity of Arab sources. Constantine Porphroghenitus informs us that

'Εδέξατο ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων καὶ ἄρχων Κύπρου ὁ τοῦ Συμβατίκη ἀποσταλεὶς ἀκριβὴς κατασκόπους εἰς τὰ Στόμια, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Τρίπολιν καὶ Λαοδίκειαν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν

---

1. Jenkins - St. Demetrianus, 267-8.

2. cf. p. 50 above. Even without these two raids the history of Cyprus between 648 and 911/2 can hardly be described as one of peace and security for the Cypriots.

3. Cf. notes 2 p.27; 1, p.38 ; 1, p.47 and 1 , p.54; also, the chronological summary on p.83 ff below for the terms of this treaty.

4. 'Ημέριος Κυπρίοις συνοικῶν ἐν τῇ κτίσει χαλεπὸς ὤφθη Σαρακηνοῖς', PG, 111, 33B.

ἀμφοτέρων μερῶν ἐνέγκωσι μανδάτα εἰς τι
διὰ μεχέτης ἔχουσι οἱ Σαρακηνοί. [1]

Leo's undertaking, as reported by Porphyroghenitus, was in connection with the Cretan expedition which was led by Himerius in 911,[2] but it seems more probable that Leo's reconnaissance may have been undertaken in connection with the attack which Himerius directed, in 910, against the Syrian coast and Laodicea.[3] We are not told but the implication is that Leo Symbaticius was ruling Cyprus for Byzantium, or, at least, willingly accepting Byzantine directives. Nikolaos Mystikos, naturally, would not agree: he would argue that Leo had undertaken to spy against the Arabs for fear of Himerius.

However, nine years earlier, neither Himerius nor, as far as we know, any other Byzantine admiral was in Cyprus

---

1. De Cerim (ed. Bonn) 657 C.

2. On the Cretan expedition of. R. J. H. Jenkins 'The date of Leo VI's Cretan Expedition', Melanges St. Kyriakides (1953) 277ff.

3. It is difficult to see how Leo's spying of Arab ports in Syria would help the Cretan expedition. Such spying however would certainly be of help to a Byzantine expedition against these ports since they would have foreknowledge of what they were to encounter. On Himerius' attack on the Syrian coast cf. Canard, Deux épisodes, 63; Ostrogorsky, History, 229.

or in its vicinity. Yet, in 901, Leo VI had the body of St. Lazarus, and probably that of St. Epiphanius[1] translated from Cyprus to Constantinople without any opposition on the part of the Cypriots. Leo VI's intention to translate the relics was indicated in 899 when he put in hand the erection of a church of St. Lazarus in Constantinople.[2] The Cypriots must have known of this, yet they do not seem to have raised any objections. Of course, they may have been compensated.[3] But even if they were, it does not seem probable that a local neutral administration of the Island would consent to the translation of the relics of two of its most venerated Saints.

---

1. cf. Chapter II, 3 p. 189

2. R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, C. Mango 'Nine orations of Arethas from Codex Marc. Grec. 524, Byz. Zeit, 47 (1954) 7. The second and third of these orations, edited by Mango refer to the translation of St. Lazarus. R. H. Dolley 'The significance of the translation of St. Lazarus from Kypros to Byzantium' B, 19 (1949) 59ff and 'A forgotten Byzantine reconquest of Cyprus' Boll. Acad. Roy. de Belgique, Classe de Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 5e serie, 34 (1948) 209ff dates the translation of the relics of St. Lazarus after 906 when, in his view, Himerius reconquered Cyprus and Alexius Mousele governed it. There is nothing in the sources to commend such a hypothesis.

3. The churches of St. Epiphanius and St. Lazarus were constructed at about this time, probably at the expense of Leo VI. cf. Chapter II 3, p. 189

At about the same time Leo VI was advising his strategi that

> "Ἐὰν πολεμῇς πρός ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων συλλεγομένους, ὦ στρατηγέ, δέον σε μή περιμένειν ἕως εἰς ἓν συναχθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς, ἢ κατά τάς ἰδίας χώρας ἕκαστον, ἢ εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους, πρίν ἢ συνέλθωσιν ἐπιχείρει. Καί νῦν δέ τοῖς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καί Συριάς καί Κιλικίας ἀθροιζομένοις βαρβάροις πρός τήν κατά Ρωμαίων ἐκστρατείαν δέον τοῖς πλωΐμοις στρατηγοῖς σύν τῷ ναυτικῷ στόλῳ τήν Κύπρον καταλαβόντας, προλοῦ συναφθῆναι τάς βαρβαρικάς ναῦς, ἀποστεῖλαι κατ' αὐτῶν πλωΐμου δύναμιν ἱκανήν καταγωνίσασθαι τήν βαρβαρικήν ναυμαχίαν ἔτι διεφθαρμένην, ἢ τάς ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐμπρῆσαι πρό τοῦ ἀποπλεῦσαι τῆς ἰδίας."[1]

In the reign of Basil I, the pro-Byzantine attitude of the Cypriots is indicated by their archbishop, Epiphanius, in his letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, whom he addressed in connection with the anti-Photian Council of 869/70. In that letter Epiphanius refers to the Byzantine Emperors as the " εὐσεβεῖς καί δίκαιοι καί μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν ".[2]

---

1. PG 107, 1072.
2. Mansi, XVI, 308.

At about this time, Constantine Porphyroghenitus tells us "ὁ δὲ μακάριος καὶ περιώνυμος ἐν βασιλεῦσι ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος Βασίλειος εἰς δέματος τάξιν αὐτὴν (τὴν Κύπρον) κατέστησε καὶ διεπέρασεν ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλέξιον στρατηγὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν περιβόητον τὸ γένος Ἀρμένιον, ὃς καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς χρόνους ἑπτά· πάλιν δὲ ἀφῃρέθη (ἡ Κύπρος) ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ αὐτὴν φορολογοῦσιν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον." [1]

Modern historians have accepted the evidence of Porphyroghenitus and most of them have interpreted the above passage as meaning that Basil I reconquered Cyprus and kept it for seven years.[2] But this is not what Porphyroghenitus says. His statement simply means that Basil I advanced Cyprus to the status of a theme and that Alexius, not Basil[3] governed it for seven years. It does not state that the Island was reconquered by Basil or Alexius nor that it was lost when Alexius' administration came to an end. Porphyroghenitus had good reasons for being vague. For if, as he says, Cyprus was a Byzantine theme - this is by no means certain - it could not be detached from the Empire except by force. And the only

---

1. De Thematibus, 40-81.
2. Jenkins, Cyprus, 1014.
3. Ὃς refers to Alexius, not to Basil.

use of force against the Island, after Basil I's accession, was the raid of 911/2, following which, the Island must have reverted to the status defined in the treaties with the Arabs, doubtless through a reconfirmation of these treaties. Such reconfirmation, however, could not have been achieved before St. Demetrianus' visit to Bagdad, or before the letter which Nikolaos Mystikos had written to the Caliph as regent for Constantine Porphyroghenitus.[1] In other words, Cyprus, which on the evidence of Porphyroghenitus may have been under Byzantine administration before Basil I's accession was detached from Byzantium and the Cypriots became tributaries of the Arabs once again during Porphyroghenitus' own reign. Obviously, Porphyroghenitus would not make a direct admission of this.

A pro-Byzantine, if not Byzantine, administration of the Island during the reign of Michael III is indicated by the Taktikou Ukspenskij, which mentions an archon of Cyprus after the metropolitans and autocephalus archbishops, the Kleisurarchs, the turmarchs, the drungarius of the Aegean Sea, the archontes of Dyrrachium, Chaldia and Cherson, and the duke of Calabria but before the turmarch of the fleet,

---

1. Canard, Deux épisodes, 64, dates St. Demetrianus' journey after the letter of Nikolaos Mystikos.

the cubicularii and the spatharioi.[1]

I believe this archon to have been no other than Alexius the 'famous general' of Porphyroghenitus' passage, and that he was sent to Cyprus, not by Basil I, but by Theodora. Porphyroghenitus appropriated for the Macedonian dynasty, to which he belonged, the re-establishment of Byzantine influence in Cyprus for 'the reigns of the emperors who immediately preceded Basil I could not be represented as other than uniformly disastrous, because it was part of the Imperial myth that Basil supervened to bring salvation after fifty years of uninterrupted decline'.[2] The silence of other sources on the activities of an Armenian general by the name of Alexius at the time of Basil's ascendancy,

---

1. Th. Unspenskij - Ranklist, 124; Benesevic, Ranglisten, 140.

2. R. J. H. Jenkins, "The classical background of the scriptures post Theophanem" DOP, 8 (1954) 18. For the rehabilitation of Michael III cf. H. Gregoire 'Inscriptions historiques Byzantines, Ancyre et les Arabes sous Michael l'Ivrogne' B 4 (1927/8) 437-468; 'Michael III et Basile le Macedonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre' B, 5 (1928) 327-46; 'Etudes sur le neuvième siècle' B, 8 (1933) 515-50; 'Etudes sur l'épopée Byzantine' REG, 46 (1933) 29-69; R. J. H. Jenkins 'Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III', Bull. de l'Acad. de Belgique 34 (1948) 71ff. A. A. Vasiliev 'The Emperor Michael III in apocryphal literature' Byzantinae-Metabyzantina, 1 (1946) 237ff; Ostrogorsky, History, 192-206.

in the reign of Michael III, or during Basil's own reign confirm the accuracy of the above verdict and suggest that the Alexius, of the passage in Porphyroghenitus, is, probably, Alexius Mousele[1] the son in law of Theophilus and Theodora.

Byzantine sources tell us that this Alexius became a monk and retired on the death of his wife Maria[2] but the evidence of sources, concerning Alexius, have been shown to be both inconsistent[3] and wrong,[4] and although he may have

---

1. R. H. Dolley, 'A forgotten Byzantine conquest of Cyprus', op.cit. 221, was the first to identify Alexius as belonging to the Mousele family. But Dolley believed that the Emperor who sent him to Cyprus was Leo VI, in whose reign, he thought, the Island was reconquered. In Dolley's view the Alexius who governed Cyprus was the same Alexius who was drungarius of the fleet (ibid. 222). For Dolley's views cf. also note 2, p.58, above. The identification of Alexius as Alexius Mousele is also suggested by the name of Mousere (for Mousele ?) village in the Paphos district.

2. Theophanis Continuatus (ed. Bonn) 108-9; Symeon Logothetes (ed. Bonn) 630ff; Georghios Monachos (ed. Bonn) 794ff; Cedrenus, II, 118-119; Zonaras (ed. Bonn) 367.

3. Byry. Irene to Basil I, 126 n.5 and 467.

4. F. Dvornik 'La vie de Saint Gregoire le décapolite et les Slave Macédoniens au IXe siècle', Travaux publiés par l'Institut des études Slaves V (1926) 35ff. cf. also H. Gregoire in B, 9 (1934) 787.

preferred the monastic life to imperial instability under Theophilus[1] as the son in law of Theodora, who had intervened on his behalf under Theophilus, he could scarcely refuse to go to Cyprus, as her representative, if the Cyprus Church, which in all likelihood was responsible for the administration of the Island[2] had asked for an imperial representative to head its civil administration. As a man of experience in the administration of a frontier province[3] and as one who had shown preference for the monastic life, Alexius was obviously the most suitable person to undertake the administration of Cyprus, where Studite ideas permeated the Island's politics.[4]

---

1. Dvornik, loc.cit. 38.

2. cf. Chapter II 1.a(ii) p.104 f.

3. Alexius was sent to Sicily by Theophilus and carried his duties with honour. cf. Dvornik, loc.cit. 37 and sources cited on p.63, n.2

4. The pro-Studite attitude of the Cypriots is evidenced by their support of Ignatius against Photius indicated by the letter of their Archbishop Epiphanios to Ignatius expressing great pleasure at the reinstatement of the latter (Mansi, XVI, 308). cf. Dvornik, Les Légendes, 138 ff., Les Slaves, 131 and The Photian Schism 18ff, for Ignatius and the Studites; also Chapter II 1.b p.148

It is very unlikely, however, that Alexius went to Cyprus as a strategus or that Cyprus was advanced to the status of a theme. But the fact that Alexius had been a strategus did, in my view, mislead Porphyroghenitus into thinking that Cyprus was advanced to the status of a theme, and since he was not prepared to concede that this was possible during the reign of Michael III, he appropriated it for the reign of his grandfather.

The gradual paralysation of the strength of the Caliphate in the course of the ninth century 'by the intrusion of a Turkish element and by the operation of centrifugal feudal tendencies which led to the formation of a number of feudal kingdoms'[1] and Byzantine victories in Asia Minor, especially those of the strategus Petronas in 856 and 863[2] after which 'there began the era of Byzantine attack in Asia'[3] certainly favoured the re-annexation of Cyprus by Byzantium. Nevertheless the advancement of the Island to the status of a Byzantine theme does not seem very likely. For if Cyprus became a theme either under Michael III or under Basil I,

---

1. Ostrogorsky, History, 196; cf. also Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I, 124ff; 175, 198, 213, 251ff.

2. Ostrogorsky, History, 202; Gregoire, Michel III, 331ff; Neuvième siècle, 534ff; Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes I, 251ff.

3. Ostrogorsky, History, 202.

it could not have lost that status before Damian's raid of 911/2. Yet immediately before that raid, the Island is ruled not by a Strategus, as would have been the case had it been a theme, but by the protospatharius Leo Symbaticius.[1] Another archon of Cyprus to whom the Patriarch Photius wrote, accusing him of financial extortion[2] and who may have ruled the Island between Dec. 25, 858 and 25th September 867 or between Oct. 26, 877 and September 29, 886[3] was the spatharoeandidatus Stavrakius. A seal, in the Museum collections[4] testifies to yet another archon of the Island probably in the late 9th or early 10th century. He

---

1. De Thematibus, 40-81; cf. page 60.

2. I. N. Valetta Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί (1864) 527 no. 213; PG 102, 984/5.

3. The two periods during which Photius was Patriarch of Constantinople Jenkins (Cyprus, 1009), Grumel, Regestes, 114 and others date the letter of Photius to Stavrakius to the year 878 because of the wrong interpretation of Porphyroghenitus' passage concerning the establishment of Cyprus as a theme. The letter could have been written at any of the above two periods. Photius addresses Stavrakius as archon of the Island of the Cypriots. The ἐπάρχοντι of the rubric has the meaning of 'him who rules'. A title of ἐπάρχων (Jenkins, Cyprus, 1009) is not known and should not be confused with the dignity of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων. On the latter cf. Bury IAS, 21, 22, 133.

4. No. 63 of Appendix II.

was Auxentius, who in addition to being the archon of Cyprus was also a βασιλικός of Asia and the ? Dodecannese.

All these archontes of the Island, except Alexius are known by their titles to have been βασιλικοί ἄνθρωποι [1] and of a status below that of the Archbishop of Cyprus, which is in accordance with the evidence of the Taktikon Unspenskij. And if, as I suggest, Alexius went to Cyprus not as a strategus but as Theodora's personal representative his status vis-a-vis the Island's Archbishop would also be that of a βασιλικός ἄνθρωπος

Alexius' term of office as archon of Cyprus probably came to an end with the deposition of Theodora and her minister Theoctistus, by Michael III and his uncle Bardas, in 856. If, as Porphyroghenitus says, he ruled Cyprus for seven years,[2] he was probably sent to Cyprus in 849. The Cypriots would be inclined to invite an imperial representative to head the civil administration of the Island if they were convinced that imperial authority was 'god sustained'. Theodora's support of the restoration of images, in 843, would certainly commend her to the Cypriots. However, in view of

---

1. cf. Bury, IAS, 112ff, for the βασιλικοί ἄνθρωποι.

2. For another use of the number seven by Porphyroghenitus cf. DAI, 47, 224, cited above, and Professor Ostrogorsky's comments referred to on p. 95 above.

the experience gained from their association with Irene, following which they were raided by the Arabs, in 806, and in view of the uncertainty of the permanency of the restoration of images,[1] the Cypriots would have been more cautious in their relations with Theodora than they had been in those with Irene.

Internal dissensions in the caliphate, which forced al Wathik (842-847) to make peace with Byzantium may have encouraged the Cypriots towards a closer association with Constantinople. The seal of a Theodore strategus and kleisurarch, found in Cyprus[2] may point to Cypro-Byzantine negotiations at about this time.[3] The reversion of the policy of religious toleration by the Caliph Mutawakkil

---

1. Although the images were restored in 843 Theodora and her ministers with the support of the Patriarch Methodius treated former adherents of iconoclasm with circumspection and moderation (cf. Dvornik, Legendes 39ff).

2. No. 56 of Appendix II.

3. The seal may be dated on typologocal evidence to the 9th century. The establishment of three kleisurai on the Arab frontier seems to have been the work of Theophilus (cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 184 n.2.). It is not impossible that a strategus may have been appointed by Theoctistus, Theodora's minister, to be in charge of all these kleisurai.

(847-861) resulting, in 849/50, in a series of edicts against the non-Moslem, especially the Christians[1] may also have prompted the Cypriots to a closer collaboration with Byzantium. But the need for circumspection was not yet over and full Byzantine control of the Island could not, openly, be invited. In the circumstances, a new solution had to be found, and this, I suggest, was done by inviting the Byzantine Emperor to send a βασιλικὸς ἄνθρωπος to head the Island's administration.[2] From the legal point of view the Cypriots could not be accused by the Arabs of violating their treaty for they could reply that the man from Byzantium was their employee, running their own internal affairs and that if anything the Byzantines were assisting them and not vice versa. There was nothing in their treaty prohibiting their acceptance of Byzantine assistance.

Thus, the Cypriots would continue to pay their tribute to the Arabs and would raise no objections to Arab ships calling in Cyprus waters, as indeed they did not when, in 904, the Arabs, on their return journey from the siege

---

1. Dvornik, Legendes, 91.

2. cf. Chapter II I.a(i) for the non exercise of προχείρησις by the Byzantine Emperor in the Archiepiscopal elections in Cyprus as evidence in support of this hypothesis.

of Thessalonica, put in at Paphos.[1]

The stationing of an Imperial representative at the head of the Island's administration was, nevertheless an indirect acceptance of Byzantine sovereign rights over Cyprus and the Byzantines, no doubt, exploited the new situation. It is not unlikely that the Byzantine fleet which raided Damietta in 853 and in 859[2] set off, on its last trip, from Cyprus, where it may have been reprovisioned.

As the time went by, and Arab weaknesses became obvious, the Cypriots, doubtless, recognised and accepted Byzantine sovereignty and openly sided with the Byzantines in their wars with the Arabs, as the acceptance of Byzantine directives by Leo Symbaticius indicates, thus provoking Damian's raid in 911/2.

---

1. J. Cameniata, De excidio Thessalonicae (ed. Bonn) 596. The call of Arab ships at Cyprus does not prove that the Arabs were masters of the Island as has been suggested by Hadjipsaltis 'Cyprus during the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century' (in Greek) Ἑλληνικά 9 (1955) 333, and Sathas, MB 2, §6.

2. On the Damietta raids cf. Gregoire, Neuvième siècle, 515ff; G. Levi della Vida 'A papyrus reference to the Damietta raid of 853 A.D.' B 17 (1944-45) 212ff; E. W. Brooks 'The relations between the Empire and Egypt from a new Arabic source' BZ 22 (1913) 381-391; Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I, 198, 227; CMH IV, 132-3.

The Cypriots' acceptance of Byzantine sovereignty cannot, however, be explained either by the extent of Arab weakness or of Byzantium's power and ability to reclaim their allegiance, alone. Indeed, if that was the only criterion they would have, more likely, sided with the Byzantines under Constantine V when 'the situation in the east had taken a favourable turn for Byzantine'[1] especially when, after a lengthy civil war, the Ummayad dynasty was replaced by the Abbasid in 750 and the capital of the caliphate was transferred from Damascus to Bagdad.[2] They could easily have done so after the destruction of the Arab fleet in 747[3] if proof of Byzantine power was what they wanted. Or, again, they could side with Byzantium during the period of internal strife in the caliphates under Mamun (813-833).[4]

And yet they did not. Instead we find that twice, during the eighth century, the Cypriots violated their

---

1. Ostrogorsky, History, 149.

2. With the exception of frontier raids in 754, 756, 759/60 and 775 the initiative rested with Byzantium throughout Constantine V's reign.

3. Theophanis, 424, Paul the Deacon, 1095, Nicephorus, (ed. de Boor) 64. cf. also L. Philippou 'Ἡ Ναυμαχία τῆς Κεραμαίας', Κ.Σ., 6 (1942) 1-5.

4. cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 179, 185.

treaty with the Arabs on occasions when Byzantine strength could not prevent Arab reactions. It is obvious that the attitude of the Cypriots was depended not upon Byzantium's recovery from past troubles and weaknesses, not upon Byzantium's willingness to reclaim Cyprus, but on their unwillingness to accept Byzantine authority which was not 'god-sustained'. Constantine V and other Iconoclast emperors may have been eager to extend their authority over Cyprus but their authority was not considered as θεοστήρικτος by those who administered the Island, when Byzantine authority was unavailable, for Iconoclasm had found no favour with them.[1]

In view of the uninterrupted orthodoxy of the Cypriots, the acceptance of Byzantine sovereignty between 730 and 843, at least, depended upon the religious convictions and policies of the Byzantine emperors, and not on their ability to extend their authority over Cyprus.

It might be objected that the above statement is inaccurate on the grounds that Walid's raid, in 743, suggests, if it does not prove, a violation by the Cypriots of their original treaty with the Arabs, and consequently an association with the Iconoclast emperor Constantine V; that such an

---

1. cf. also Chapter II 1.a(iii), pp.109-117

association with the same emperor is indicated in the threats of Lachanodracon, the strategus of the Thracesian theme to exile recalcitrant iconodule monks and nuns to Cyprus, in 770;[1] and that the reported arrest of the ex prosopou Lacer[illegible]baphos, by Arabs, in Cyprus, in 773[2] shows not only Cypro-Byzantine co-operation, but also a Byzantine administration of the Island.[3]

But none of these objections is valid. Walid's raid does, indeed suggest that the Cypriots had, before the raid, violated their treaty with the Arabs, but it does not follow that they had accepted the authority of an Iconoclast emperor. The opportunity for the Cypriots to associate themselves with an Orthodox Emperor was provided in 742 when the count of the Opsikion theme, Artavasdus, revolted against his brother-in-law Constantine V and restored icon worship after having himself crowned Emperor by the Patriarch Anastasius. When Artavasdus was dethroned by Constanine V, in 743, the Cypriots severed their association with Bysantium and the Cypriots who had been carried off by Walid were

---

1. Theophanis, 445.

2. ibid. 446.

3. K. HadjiPsaltis 'Cyprus Byzantium and Islam' (in Greek) K.Σ. 20 (1957) 25 n.35[a].

returned to their homes the following year, by his successor Yezid III.[1]

The ability of Lachanodracon to send exiles to Cyprus tells us nothing about the Island's political status at the time.[2] Indeed, if anything, the threat of Lachanodracon indicates that Cyprus was outside Byzantine influence. For if either he, or Constantine V, were able to persecute Orthodoxy in Cyprus they would almost certainly have done so. The fact that they could only send exiles there confirms the evidence of the Life of St. Stephen the Younger[3] that the Island was outside the range of iconoclastic persecutions.

The arrest of the ek prosopou Lacherbaphos, in Cyprus, again, is not proof of Byzantine control of the Island or of Cypriot violation of their treaty with the Arabs. Nor is it certain that Lacherbaphos had any connection with the administration of the Island. The text in Theophanis

---

1. Baladhuri, 238.

2. The report in The Life of St. Romanos the Neomartyr (P. Peeters, 'S. Romain le Néomartyr - 1st May 780 - Anal. Boll., 25 (1911) 419), that five monks who "in Cyprum a Constantino imperatore iconomacho relegati fuerant" had been abducted from there by the Arabs and brought before al Mahdi (775-785) in the first year of his reign, suggests that the strategus of the Thracesian theme carried out his threat. But it does not prove Cyprus was Byzantine, as HadjiPsaltis (Cyprus during the second half of the 9th C. etc., 25) suggests.

3. PG, 100, 1117; cf. Chapter II 1.a(iii) p.111

is confused and ambiguous. It says:

> « ὁ δὲ Ἀβδελλᾶς ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπενήστευσε καὶ ἐπέτρεψε γραφῆναι τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν διὰ θαλάσσης ἔφυγον εἰς Ῥωμανίαν. ἐκρατήθη δὲ ὁ Κούρικος Σέργιος ἐξῶθεν Συκῆς καὶ ὁ Λαχέρβαφος εἰς Κύπρον ἐκ προσώπου ὢντων ἐκεῖσε. »[1]

On the evidence of this passage, after the flight of Christians from Palestine, Lacherbaphos, 'being the representative of those that were there' was arrested by the Arabs in Cyprus. It is not clear what Theophanis means by 'those who were there' (τῶν ἐκεῖσε). One cannot rule out the possibility that by this he meant the Cypriots, but in view of the fact that Arab sources neither accuse the Cypriots of violating their treaty, nor report an Arab raid on the Island, at this time, the probability is that Theophanis meant Lacherbaphos to be the representative of Palestine Christians who had taken refuge in Cyprus.[2] Whatever the meaning of τῶν ἐκεῖσε, in the above passage, maybe, it qualifies and defines ἐκ προσώπου which, in this case, cannot have the

---

1. Theophanis, 446. This story is not given in the translation by Anastasius; cf. Theophanis, II, 295.

2. For Cyprus as a place of refuge cf. Chapter II 1.a and b pp. 95, 145 and 146.

meaning either of an Imperial representative administering a Byzantine province on the Emperor's behalf[1] or of an Imperial representative stationed in a neutral territory with no political or administrative functions.[2]

It is obvious, that the objections to the hypothesis I propose, that between 730 and 843, at least, the acceptance of Byzantine sovereignty by the Cypriots was dependent upon the religious convictions and policies of the Byzantine Emperors, cannot be sustained. Support for this hypothesis is also indicated by the numismatic evidence. The fact that, with the exception of one silver coin of Artavasdus,[3] no Byzantine coins of the period 730-780 have been found in the Island,[4] whereas six Islamic coins[5] of the same period, were found there, cannot be fortuitous. Byzantine coins begin to circulate, in Cyprus, again, alongside Islamic coins,

---

1. cf. Bury, IAS, 46, for this meaning of ἐκ προσώπου; Jenkins, Cyprus, 1009 accepts this meaning.

2. cf. E. Hanton, 'Lexique éxplicatif due recueil des inscriptions Grècques d'Asie Mineure', B, 4 (1927/8) 121, for this meaning of ἐκπροσώπου. For ἐκπροσώπου = representative of, cf. Mansi, XIII, 136ff and Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire Byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècle, (1960) 39-42.

3. No. 20 of Appendix I A.

4. One silver coin of Leo IV is almost certain to have reached the Island after 780.

5. Nos. 31-36 of Appendix I C.

after 780; but in view of the fact that a dinar of al-Mansur, dated to the year 784/5[1] was found with three gold coins of Theophilus[2] it is impossible to determine with accuracy the period of each coin's circulation in the Island, during this period. On the other hand, the absence of any Islamic coins of the period 843-912, and the comparative increase in the number of both gold and bronze Byzantine coins of the same period does suggest a resumption of close Cypro-Byzantine relations and tends to support the evidence of the sources that the Cypriots had, once again, violated their treaty with the Arabs.

The success of St. Demetrianus' mission to the Caliph's court in Bagdad[3] suggests that the treaty between the Cypriots and the Arabs was reaffirmed, probably in 913, and remained in force until the patricius Nicetas Chalcutzes recovered the Island for Byzantium, in 965.[4]

To sum up: Neither the first nor the second Arab raid convinced the Cypriots of the need to accept and abide by a

---

1. No. 36 of Appendix I C.
2. Nos. 26-28 of Appendix I A.
3. Gregoire, St. Demetrianus, 233; cf. p. 56 n. 1, above.
4. Cedrenus, II, 363; Zonaras, III, 503.

status of neutrality. Even when an Arab garrison seems to have been stationed in the Island, they continued to express their recognition of the Byzantine's Emperor's sovereign rights over Cyprus by countermarking coins with the Emperor's monogram. It was not until after Justinian II's treaties with Abd-al-Malik, in 688 and, probably, in 708, that the Cypriots resigned themselves to the novel situation and accepted a status of 'neutrality'. But they remained Byzantines at heart and would willingly have given up that status if and when Byzantium invited them to do so, provided Byzantine authority had not forfeited the divine support which alone maintained it, as the Iconoclast Emperors had done by pursuing beliefs and practices which,in the opinion of the Cypriots,were contrary to God's will. Whenever Orthodox Emperors assumed control of Byzantine authority, the Cypriots violated their treaty with the Arabs and joined them: Artavasdus in 743; Constantine VI and Irene, in the eighties of the eighth century; Theodora and Michael III, probably in 849; each violation was, ultimately, followed by an Arab raid which, in each case, marked the end of their association with Byzantium. For the rest of the period between 708 and 965, the Cypriots governed themselves and remained neutral paying taxes both

to the Byzantines and the Arabs.

The seal matrix of a διοικητής named John[1] and the lead seal of another διοικητής, also named John,[2] both found in Cyprus, doubtless refer to Byzantine revenue officials stationed in Cyprus in connection with the collection of the tributes payable by the Cypriots. The tenth century Arab geographer, Ibn Hawgal (c.983) informs us that the Arabs also had a tax collector (hakem) together with an admiral (emir) stationed in the Island.[3] We are not told what the duties of the admiral were but we may guess that they were not unconnected with the use the Arab fleet was making of Cyprus during this period. In this connection, another tenth century Arab geographer informs us that: "When the government has decreed an expedition, the governors of Egypt and Syria receive orders to make the necessary preparations. The place of the meeting of the fleet is

---

1. No. 49 of Appendix II.

2. No. 48 of Appendix II. D. Zakynthinos 'Περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ Κράτει', EEBΣ, 17 (1941) 268 suggests a date after 746 for this seal, on the ground that Constantine V had reconquered the Island on that date. But even if this seal was certain to be of the period of Constantine V's reign it does not follow that the Island was reconquered by him.

3. Kitāb Surāt al-Ard, ed. de Goeje, BGA II, 136 and J. H. Kramers Opus Geographiconum (1938/9) 203-4.

Cyprus".[1] It is not impossible that the Byzantines, too, had a naval representative stationed in Cyprus.

In addition to their official duties both the Arab and the Byzantine officials stationed in the Island may have collected information about the situation prevailing there, or at least in their place of residence,[2] which they could pass to their respective superiors in Syria and Attaleia by the regular passenger services which were running from Cyprus to and from both Byzantine and Arab

---

1. Abulfaraj, in de Goeje, BGA, VI, 195f; O.C, 41; Hill, 290; Jenkins, Cyprus, 1012-1013.

2. Jenkins, Cyprus, 1010 suggested that the Byzantine representative resided in one of the ports of the north coast of Cyprus, probably at Polis (Arsinoe) or Kyrenia and the Arab representatives at Constantia. Both Arsinoe and Kyrenia seem to have survived the destructive Arab raids of the 7th century (cf. Chapter II.4), but Kyrenia seems a better candidate for the residence of the Byzantine representative in view of the fact that it was nearer the Island's capital but also because of the survival there of fortification remains datable to the period of the Arab wars (cf. Chapter II.2). The fact that no evidence of Arab settlement or influence was found during my excavations at Constantia between 1952 and 1960 suggests, on the other hand, that the Island's capital could not have been the seat of residence of the Arab representatives. It is more likely that the Arab representatives resided in or near Citium in the vicinity of which lay the tomb of the 'Righteous Woman', Umm-haram, who had died in Cyprus during Muawiya's raid in 649 (cf. p.9,n.1).

ports.[1] It is doubtful, however, whether these representatives

---

1. Traffic between Cyprus and the Arab ports is testified by: the Life of St. Spyridon, from whom we learn that Paul, Archbishop of Crete, stopped at Cyprus, in 655, on the way from Egypt to Constantinople (Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 89); the Life of St. Willibald, which informs us that he and his companions sailed from Constantia to
   'regionem Sarracenorum in urbem Tharratas secum mare'
(Tobler and Molinier, op.cit., 257, 288); the Acts of the 787 Synod at Nicaea where Theodore, bishop of Citium stated that
   'Κατέπλευσαν ἄνδρες Κιτιεῖς ἐν δυσὶ πλοίοις εἰς πόλιν τῆς Συρίας καλουμένην Γάβαλα,
(Mansi, XIII, 77/80); the Annals of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (PG, 111, 1130) which informs us that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas (807-820),
   'Cyprum mittens caedi curavit cedrorum et abietum quinquaginta truncos eosque Hierosolyma adduci'
the passage in the De Cerim (ed. Bonn) 657 C, cited above referring to the spying of Arab ports by the archon of Cyprus Leo Symbaticius. For the flight of refugees from Arab lands to Cyprus cf. Chapter II 1.a and b. pp.95, 146
Traffic between Cyprus and Byzantine ports is expressly stated by the Life of St. Constantine Judaeus (AS, Nov. IV, 635, 636, 639) which tells us
   'Καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττάλειαν γενόμενος (ὁ ἅγιος) πόλιν ἧς ἀφορμᾶν εὐώδαιν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἰὼν εἰς Κύπρον πορευομένων'
and
   'ἐπιβὰς (ὁ ἅγιος) τινι ἰῶν εὐωδότων τὴν περαίαν ποιεῖσθαι πλοίων',
and from Cyprus
   'πλοίου ἰσαυρικοῦ ἐπιβὰς κατὰ τὴν Σελευκείων γῆς παράλιος γίνεται'
One of these routes may have been used by St. Peter of Atroa (d.837) who on the resumption of iconoclasm under Leo V,
   'πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύπρον ἐξώρμησε ἐν ᾗ καὶ μῆνας δέκα περιπολεύσας καὶ ἰᾷ ἑαυτῷ ὡς ἔμπροσθεν, καταπαυσάμενος ἅμα καὶ πολλῶν φυγαδεύσας τοὺς νόσους πρὸς τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ὄρος ὑπέστρεψεν'
(V. Laurent, Saint Pierre d'Atroa, 101).

exercised any control over the internal affairs or administration of the Island, either separately or jointly, or in any way that could be described as 'an experiment in condonimium'.[1]

The view first expressed by Muqaddasi (d.988) that between 649 and 965 'Cyprus was in the power of whichever nation was overlord of these seas'[2] and which was accepted by most modern historians[3] is true only for the period 649-708. For the period 708-965, however, this view should be modified, to take account of the fact that for the first time in their modern history, the Cypriots were one of the determining factors in deciding the nature of their political status. One cannot escape the fact that they willingly rejected the authority of the strong iconoclast Emperor Constantine V and accepted that of the weak but Orthodox Constantine VI and

---

1. Jenkins, Cyprus, 1011.
2. cf. p. 1 above.
3. cf. p1,n.2 above.

Irene.[1]

The table set out below gives in chronological order the main events of the period and the varying political status of the Island as indicated by the above conclusions.

Year	Event	Political status
648	Muawiya attacks Cyprus; under duress the Cypriots agree to become his tributaries; Muawiya withdraws before arrival of Byzantine forces.	Byzantine rule
653/4	Second Arab raid; 648 agreement re-imposed with added conditions that Cypriots should not aid the Byzantines and should inform the Arabs of Byzantine movements against them. Arab garrison, probably, stationed in the Island.	Arab control
656	Withdrawl of Arab garrison.	Byzantine rule

---

1. Muqaddasi's statement cannot however be wholly rejected for the second half of the 9th century. Michael III and the first two Macedonians were Orthodox but the tide in the wars between them and the Arabs had turned to their favour. The Cypriots would, probably, violate their treaty with the Arabs once they were convinced of the permanency of the restoration of images. But if the Arabs were in a stronger position than the Byzantines and their navy controlled the Eastern Mediterranean it is difficult to decide what the attitude of the Cypriots would have been. On the other hand it is certain that if iconoclasm had continued in Byzantium the Cypriots would not invite the exercise of Byzantine authority in their Island.

Year	Event	Political status
c.670-c.678	Probable re-establishment of Arab garrison. Above agreement made 'permanent'.	Arab control.
678-680	Withdrawal of Arab garrison.	Byzantine rule
688	Justinian II agrees with Abd-al-Malik to share revenues from Cyprus. Treaty between Cypriots and Arabs reconfirmed. Right of the Cypriots to pay tribute to Byzantines recognised; new condition added whereby the Cypriots ought not to assist the Arabs against Byzantium.	Status of neutrality
691	Justinian II attempts to transfer the Cypriots to Byzantine territory. Arabs react and transfer Cypriots to Syria. Arab garrison re-established in the Island.	Arab control
c.708	Justinian II and al Walid re-affirm 688 treaty. Treaty between Cypriots and Arabs also re-affirmed with an added obligation undertaken by the Cypriots: To protect the life and property of the Arabs and go to their aid if they are attacked. Expatriated Cypriots sent back home.	Status of neutrality
730	Leo III promulgates decree against icons; Cypriots remain Orthodox.	
742/3	Cypriots join with Artavasdus.	Violation of Status of neutrality
743	Arabs raid Cyprus and carry captives off to Syria. Artavasdus' revolt fails.	
744	Cypriots sent back to the Island.	Status of neutrality re-established.
780	A Cypriot, Paul of Salamis, elected Patriarch of Constantinople. Close Cypro-Byzantine relations.	

Year	Event	Political Status
After 780	A Byzantine military unit probably established in the Island.	Violation of status of neutrality
787	Restoration of image worship.	Cypriots accept Byzantine rule (?)
789/90	Cypriots spy on the Arabs and pass information to Byzantines	
806	Punitive Arab raid. Re-affirmation of treaty between Cypriots and Arabs. Another condition added whereby The Cypriots ought not to disclose Arab secrets to the Byzantines.	Status of neutrality
815	Resumption of Iconoclasm by Byzantine Emperor.	
843	Orthodoxy re-established.	Relations with Byzantium resumed and Byzantine sovereignty gradually accepted.
c.849	Alexius Mousele sent to 'rule' Cyprus at the invitation of the Cypriots.[1]	
858	Stavrakius, spatharocandidatus, archon of Cyprus in place of Alexius who may have retired in 856.	
Late IXth C.	Auxentius archon of Cyprus.	
901	Body of St. Lazarus translated to Constantinople.	
910	Leo Symbaticius, archon of Cyprus spies for Himerius, the Byzantine admiral who uses Cyprus as a naval base.	
911/2	Damian raids the Island for the Arabs.	Arab occupation for 4 months. Status of neutrality resumed. (913)
965	Byzantine reconquest under Nicephorus II Phocas.	Byzantine rule re-established

---

1. If this date is correct, the Taktikon Unspenskij, should be dated to the period 849-856. For the date of this Taktikon, cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 191 and n.4.

Chapter II

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS

1. THE CHURCH

(i) Status

We are informed by the 39th canon of the Council-in-Trullo, in 692, that:

> Whereas our brother and fellow minister Ioannis, proedros of the Island of the Cypriots, because of the barbarian assaults and to the end that they might be free from slavery to the infidel and be subject unfeignedly to the sceptre of the most Christian State, has migrated from the said Island with his own people to the province of the Hellespont, by the providence and mercy of God and by the labour of our Christ loving and pious Emperor, we do resolve: that the privileges previously accorded unto the throne of the aforesaid (Ioannis) by the Fathers inspired of God at their meeting at Ephesus shall be preserved unaltered; so that Nea Justinianopolis shall have the rights of the city of the Constantineans and that the most beloved of God bishop, who is set over it shall preside over all the bishops of the province of the Hellespont, and shall be ordained by his own bishops according to the ancient custom (for our Fathers inspired of God have also resolved that the customs in each church are to be preserved); the bishop of the (district and) city of Cyzicus, shall be subject to the proedros of the said Justinianopdis, in like manner as are all the rest of the bishops under the said most beloved of God, proedros Ioannis; by whom, if need be, the bishop

of Cyzicus shall also be ordained.[1]

The status of the Church of Cyprus as defined by the above Canon is that of an autocephalus church subject to no ecclesiastical authority.

The privileges accorded to the Church of Cyprus by the 3rd Oecumenical Synod at Ephesus, in 431, to which the above Canon refers, are embodied in a decree of that Synod, usually referred to as its 8th Canon, which states:

> ... the Bishops presiding over the holy Churches of Cyprus shall have the unfettered right to consecrate the most pious bishops themselves, in accordance with the Canons of the Holy Fathers and ancient custom.[2]

This autocephaly of the Cyprus Church was questioned, some fifty years later, by the Patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, probably in 488.[3] However, the timely intervention of the Apostle Barnabas, founder of the Church of Cyprus, enabled Anthemius, the Archbishop of the Island at

---

1. Mansi, XI, 961; Pitra, JEG, II (1868) 44-5; DAI, 48 - 224, 226; Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, A.57-58. The above translation is based on that of the DAI edition by Moravcsik and Jenkins, which I have altered where I am not in agreement with it.

2. Mansi, IV, 1469.

3. Date given by Victor Tunenensis (PL, 68, 947). For different dates given by other sources cf. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, A.42-3; Hill, 277.

the time, to thwart Antioch's claims. Following the instructions which the Apostle gave him in a dream, Anthemius - so the story goes -[1] discovered the Apostle's tomb and within his coffin a copy of St. Mathew's Gospel, which the Apostle himself had written. The Archbishop then proceeded to Constantinople and presented the Gospel book to the Emperor Zeno, who, on the advice of a local Synod, was convinced of the righteousness of the Cypriot's claim to independence in matters ecclesiastical and confirmed the autocephaly of their Church. In addition, he granted its Archbishop the right to sign in red ink - a distinction till then enjoyed only by the Emperor -, the right to wear a purple cloak at church festivals and the right to carry an Imperial sceptre, instead of a pastoral staff.[2] These rights have been retained by the Archbishop of Cyprus to the present day.

The restatement by the Council-in-Trullo of the privileges granted to the Church of Cyprus at Ephesus was necessitated following Justinian II's attempted transplantation of the Cypriots to the Hellespontine district, in 691.[3] Since the district of the Hellespont, which under ordinary

---

1. For an account of this story cf. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, A.40-42.

2. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, A.41, Hill, 278.

3. cf. Chapter I, pp.38-9, above.

circumstances came under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, would now be subject to the Archbishops of Cyprus, it became necessary to restate the Archbishop's autocephalus status and make it clear that he would not come under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This restatement indicates that the Church of Cyprus had not been made subject to the Church of Constantinople at the time the Antiochene claims were rejected, as stated by Cedrenus,[1] and implies, if anything that its autocephaly was not again questioned after it had been confirmed by Zeno.[2]

The Council-in-Trullo did not restate the other privileges granted to the Cyprus Archbishop by Zeno, because it had no right to restate Imperial privileges. These must have been reconfirmed, if reconfirmation was necessary, by Justinian II himself, at whose oeconomia the other rights of the Church of Cyprus had been restated.[3]

The retention of full independence by the Church of Cyprus in the ninth and tenth centuries has in recent years

---

1. Cedrenus, I, 619. Cedrenus had probably misread Κωνσλανλία for Κωνσλανλινούπολις , cf. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, A.44.

2. The arguments put forthy by Sathas (MB, 2, ιδ') in support of his view that the autocephaly of the church of Cyprus was not established until the Council in Trullo are not convincing.

3. DAI, §47.

been questioned by Professor Gerasimos Konidaris.[1] In his view, the Arab raids so worsened the situation in Cyprus,[2] where in the eighth century 'the whole economic and political life was absolutely dependent upon Constantinople',[3] that it became necessary for the Church of Cyprus to ask the help of that of Constantinople which 'was the protecting and everhelping Church'[4] and thus

> 'a closer relationship between the two churches and, because of prevailing circumstances, a gradual increase in the supervision by the Patriarchate was brought about without an official abolition of the autocephaly,

about which the Church of Cyprus was not in a position to care and which 'in any case was only formally preserved'.[5] This supervision of the Church of Cyprus by the Patriarchate of Constantinople was, in the opinion of Professor Konidaris, exercised 'mainly from the end of the eighth century when the Church of Cyprus was <u>defacto</u> subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople[6] throught the ninth century[7] and in the

---

1. Konidaris - <u>Αἱ Μητροπόλεις</u> and Konidaris - <u>Ἡ θέσις</u>
2. Konidaris - <u>Αἱ Μητροπόλεις</u>, 36.
3. Konidaris, <u>Ἡ θέσις</u>, 140. The translation in this and other passages from Professor Konidaris' articles are mine.
4. Konidaris - <u>Αἱ Μητροπόλεις</u>, 36.
5. <u>ibid</u>.
6. Konidaris - <u>Ἡ θέσις</u>, 139.
7. <u>ibid</u>, 141.

tenth century, when 'the Archiepiscopal see may have remained vacant for long periods',[1] even after the Island's reconquest by Byzantine forces, in 965.[2]

The evidence produced by Professor Konidaris in support of his theories are:

1. The so-called Notitia of Leo III, which he dates to the period 733-746[3] and which refers to the bishop of Constantia as the third Metropolitan after those of Caesarea and Ephesus.

2. The fact that the Archbishop of Cyprus, Constantine, is referred to as bishop of Constantia in the Acts of the 787 Nicaea Synod, which he signs after the Metropolitan of Ephesus.[4]

3. The statement by Theophanis[5] that Michael I had sent help to Christian refugees flying from Arab persecution in Palestine to Cyprus in 813, from which Professor

---

1. ibid, 143.

2. It is strange that if, as Professor Konidaris argues, the danger of the Arabs had made it necessary for the Church of Cyprus to accept the supervision of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the need did not come to an end when the danger that necessitated it was removed.

3. Konidaris - Αἱ Μητροπόλεις , 85, 104.

4. Konidaris - Ἡ θέσις , 136-7, 139.

5. Theophanis, 499.

Konidaris deduces, that the Church of Cyprus 'was in need of the Church of Constantinople'.[1]

4. The letter of the Archbishop of Cyprus Epiphanius to the Patrairch Ignatius, in 870, whom he addressed as δεσπότης,[2] and

5. The Notitia of the times of Tsimisces which after the order (τάξις) of metropolitans subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople has:

'Πρό δέ τούτου κεῖνται αἱ δύο Ἀρχιεπισκοπαί·
'Ο Βουλγαρίας
'Ο Κύπρου [3]

a text considered by Professor Konidaris as evidence for a 'νέα ἰδιάζουσα θέσις καὶ τάξις μεταξύ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Θρόνου καὶ ἰῶν μητροπόλεων τῶν ὑποκειμένων' [4] an order not subject (ὑποκείμενη) to the Patriarch of Constantinople but under his supervision.[5]

The evidence of Professor Konidaris will not, however, stand up to a critical examination.

The so-called Notitia of Leo III is certainly not earlier than Leo III's time. Parts of it, however, have been shown

---

1. Konidaris - Ἡ θέσις, 141.
2. ibid, For the letter cf. Mansi, XVI, 308.
3. Gelzer - Ungedruckte, 569; Konidaris - Ἡ θέσις, 137.
4. Konidaris - Ἡ θέσις, 138.
5. ibid.

to be of a much later date[1] and the whole is almost certainly an arbitrary

> 'compilation made from older lists, including, as if nothing had happened, provinces that had been lost, and presenting furthermore instances of negligence'.[2]

The Notitia of Basil in Jalimbana may have served the compiler as a model[3] but his finished work 'does not reflect the facts'[4] and, consequently, it cannot be accepted as evidence in support of Professor Konidaris' theories.[5]

The Acts of the 787 Nicaea Synod do refer to Constantine of Constantia as ' ὁ Κωνσταντίας ' or ' ὁ Κωνσταντίας ἐπίσκοπος ' but they also refer to him as ' ὁ θειότατος ἐπίσκοπος Κύπρου ',[6] and he signs the Acts as ' ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου '.[7]

---

1. L. Duchesne 'Les anciens évêchés de la Grèce' Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Histoire, 15 (1895) 379; G. Vernadsky 'Byzantium and S. Russia' B, 15 (1940/1) 69; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 53; Honigman - Hierokles, 3-5.

2. Ostrogorsky - Byzantine Cities, 53.

3. Laurent - Corpus, 521.

4. Ostrogorsky, loc.cit., 53.

5. It should also be noted that the Notitia is entitled ' Τάξις προκαθεδρίας ἱῶν θείων πατριαρχῶν, μητροπολιτῶν καὶ αὐτοκεφάλων ' a fact suggesting that Cyprus was given as autocephalus in the sources used by the compiler (probably the Notitia of Basil in Jalimbana) who failed to make this clear in his text.

6. Mansi, XII, 1018.

7. ibid. 380.

The fact that he signs after the Metropolitans of Caesarea and Ephesus is no evidence of his accepting the supervision of the Patriarchate of Constantinople; with the exception of Archbishop Ioannis, who signed the Acts of the Council-in-Trullo before these Metropolitans,[1] the Cyprus Archbishops usually signed after them. Professor Konidaris does not question the full autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus in the seventh century. Yet the representative of the Archbishop of Cyprus, at the Sixth Oecumenical Synod at Constantinople, Theodore of Tremythus, signs the Acts of that Synod after the bishop of Caesarea,[2] in the same way as Constantine of Constantia signed those of the 787 Synod. One can scarcely claim supervision of the Church of Cyprus by the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 681, since some ten years later the 39th canon of the Council-in-Trullo leaves one in no doubt as to the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus.[3]

Constantine of Constantia, far from being under the supervision of Tarasius, occupied one of the first ranks among the bishops attending the 787 Nicaea Synod, in whose

---

1. Mansi, XI, 989A. Archbishop Ioannis seems to have enjoyed the personal favour of the Emperor Justinian II.

2. Mansi, XI, 683.

3. cf. pp. 86-7, above.

proceedings he played the most important role after the Patriarch himself. The records of the Synod's proceedings show Constantine taking the platform more often than not immediately after Tarasius. He was the first to approve all texts supporting image worship.[1] After the opening speech by Tarasius, he calls on the other bishops to enter and attend the Synod,[2] and on other occasions he speaks as if on behalf of the Synod.[3] All this indicates that Constantine was in high honour at Nicaea, doubtless because of his autocephalus status.

It is true that Michael I 'τάλαντον χρυσίου ἀπέστειλεν'[4] to Christians fleeing from Arab persecutions in Palestine to Cyprus; but I fail to see how this assistance by the Emperor can be read as evidence of the supervision of the Church of Cyprus by that of Constantinople.[5]

---

1. P. Van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au Concile de Nicée de 787', B, 25-27 (1955-57) 334; Dikigoropoulos, The political status, 108 n.94.

2. Mansi, XII, 1002.

3. ibid. XIII, 4.

4. Theophanis, 499.

5. Even if the Archbishop of Cyprus, whose Treasury may have been depleted by the Arab raiders of 806, (cf. Chapter I, p. 50) had asked the Patriarch of Constantinople for financial assistance in 813 - we have no evidence that he did - the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus would in no way be affected by such request. It would be ungracious to suggest that it would.

The humility which the Archbishop of Cyprus shows in his letter to the Patriarch Ignatius is not unusual. Professor Konidaris dismisses the view of the Archbishop of Cyprus Philotheos (c.1734-1759) that

> 'Τὸν μὲν Οἰκουμενικὸν λέγειν τε καὶ γράφειν δεσπότην καὶ αὐθέντην τοὺς αὐτονόμους τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐ μόνον πρέπον ἀλλὰ καὶ χρέος ἡγοῦμαι μὴ χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τίτλους πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφοντας.' [1]

but fails to state that Philotheos gave other instances of such humility in epistolography in ancient times by writers to the Patriarch of Constantinople including some of the eastern Patriarchs.

Professor Konidaris admits that his theories are not in line with the evidence of the contemporary[2] Notitia of Basil in Jalimbana who is careful to stress, in respect of Cyprus, that

> 'δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι αὐτὴ (ἡ ἐπαρχία Κύπρου νήσου) αὐτοκέφαλος ἐστὶ μὴ τελοῦσα ὑπὸ ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον ἀλλὰ τιμηθεῖσα διὰ τὸ εὑρεθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰὼν Ἅγιον Ἀπόστολον Βαρνάβαν.' [3]

---

1. In Kyprianos, Ἱστορία, 576.
2. Laurent, La Notitia, dates it to the period 845/6-863/9.
3. Parthey, Notitia I, 93.

but dismisses it as contributing ‘κάλλον φιλολογικὴν παρὰ ἐπιθηκῶν ἀναγραφήν’[1] by an author, ignorant of the new official order, who copied the passage referring to Cyprus from a chronicler adding and altering to the best of his knowledge.[2] This opinion is very surprising especially in view of Honigman's and Laurent's articles[3] which have shown that Basil's Notitia 'c'est, de tout evidence, un travail d'erudit bien informé'.[4]

The evidence of Basil in Jalimbana on Cyprus is confirmed by the Life of St. Demetrianus, who in c.885 was elected bishop of Chypoi after his predecessor Eustathius had succeeded to the archiepiscopal see

‘πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Κυπρίων τεχούντων
νῆσον ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων συμψήφων
καὶ ὁμογνώμων γεγονότων’.[5]

That the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus was not affected in the tenth century, at least in the years before the Byzantine reconquest, is also indicated by the fact that

---

1. Konidaris ‘Η Δέησις, 142.
2. ibid. 143.
3. Honigman, 'Die Notitia des Basileios von Jalimbana' B, 9 (1934) 211-222; Laurent, La Notitia.
4. Laurent, La Notitia, 439.
5. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 228/9.

Constantine Porphyroghenitus cites in full the 39th Canon of the Council-in-Trullo[1] immediately after his account of the expatriation and repatriation of the Cypriots by Justinian II.[2] The probability is that if the status of the Church of Cyprus had been altered since the seventh century Porphyroghenitus would have said so.

The text in the Notitia of the times of Tsimisces is certainly at variance with the text on Cyprus of earlier Notitia. But it probably reflects the attitude of the Byzantine Emperor towards the Church of Cyprus following, and not preceding, the Island's reconquest in 965, and in no way affects the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus vis-a-vis the Constantinople Patriarchate at any time. It seems that, following the above reconquest, the Byzantine Emperors began to propose or appoint bishops to be elected as Archbishops of Cyprus by the Island's Synod. This practice is indicated by The Life of Euthymius, a georgian monk of the time of Basil II, which informs us that

> 'inter cathedras metropolitanas insignis atque conspicua sedes Sancti Epiphanii Cypri. Contigit regnante Basilio ut moreretur archiepiscopus qui illic erat. Beatum Euthymium vehementer impulit

---

1. DAI, §48.

2. DAI, §47. This passage is fully discussed in Chapter I, p. 42f, above.

rex ut in illius administrationem succederet. [1]

The practice of the Byzantine Emperors to propose or appoint for election the candidate for the archiepiscopal see of Cyprus was described as προχείρησις by the 12th century Archbishop of the Island Nikolaos Mouzalon[2] and in the 13th century by the Archbishop Neophytus (c.1222/3) who wrote to the Emperor John Dukas Vatatzes (1222-1254) to complain about the Patriarch of Constantinople's interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of his see, which Neophytus explains,

> 'οἶδεν ἡ ἁγία βασιλεία σου ὅτι ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ὁ μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ κορυφάρχων Βαρνάβα οὐχ ὑπόκειται ἰῳ οἰκουμενικῳ ἀλλά τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας προχείρησις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτοκέφαλος· καγὼ δὲ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ εὐχέτης σου ἔλαβον τὴν προχείρησιν παρὰ τοῦ τρισμάκαρος ἐκείνου ὀρθοδόξου αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως...' [3]

Archbishop Neophytus goes on to say that if it was the

---

1. Paul Peeters 'Histoires Monastiques Georgiennes' AB, 36/37 (1917-1919) 40.

2. S. Dhonaidou. 'The resignation of Nikolaos Mouzalon from the Archbishopric of Cyprus' (in Greek), Ἑλληνικά, 7 (1934) 141.

3. Sp. P. Lambros 'Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα ἐκ τοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος 367' Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 14 (1917-20) 14-50, especially p. 43. Parts of the above letter are also given by K. Hadji Psaltis 'Σχέσεις τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Βυζαντινὸν Κράτος' Κ.Σ, 15 (1951) 76.

Emperor's will that he should leave Cyprus he would do so, although he was blameless, if he was ordered ' διὰ βασιλικῆς συλλαβῆς '.[1]

The Byzantine Emperors could not interfere with the archiepiscopal elections in Cyprus during the periods when the Island was outside the fold of the Byzantine Empire, but they could probably do so towards the end of the eighth century and again in the second half of the ninth and first decade of the tenth centuries, when the Cypriots seem to have accepted Byzantine sovereignty.[2] Yet they did not.[3] The explanation must lie in the fact that whereas Byzantine authority in Cyprus after 708 and before 965 was exercised at the invitation of the Cypriots[4] sovereignty after 965

---

1. Lambros, loc.cit. 43. The implication in Neophytus' letter is that the Church of Cyprus is autocephalus vis-a-vis all other churches but dependent upon the Emperor. It follows that if a Patriarch of Constantinople could influence the Emperor - this they often did - he could get proposed or appointed for election to the archiepiscopal see of Cyprus a bishop amenable to his wishes and would thus exercise an indirect influence over the ecclesiastical affairs of Cyprus. From this point of view the church of Cyprus did not attain full and absolute autocephaly until the fall of Byzantium in 1453.

2. cf. Chapter I, p. 85, above.

3. cf. evidence of the Life of St. Demetrianus cited on p. 97 n. 5, above.

4. cf. Chapter I, pp. 84-5

resulted from a Byzantine military campaign and was exercised irrespective of the wishes of the Cypriots and of their Archbishop. It seems that the wishes of the Archbishop after 965 may have been at variance with those of the Byzantine officials who were sent to administer the Island and that friction may have been caused between them handicapping the Byzantine administration. The Byzantine government sought to avoid this by choosing Lefkosia and not the ecclesiastical

capital[1] as the centre of their administration but this

---

1. The Archbishops of Cyprus resided at or near Constantia long after that city was destroyed and abandoned. An early fourteenth century document referring to a meeting of the ecclesiastical court (Sp. P. Lambros, Κυπριακὰ Ἐγγραφα... loc.cit., 158) states that a decision was taken ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Βαρνάβα ἐτς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπήν. The church of St. Barnabas is no other than that on the outskirts of Constantia. It cannot be in Nicosia as Hadji Psaltis has suggested (K. Hadji Psaltis, Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δικαστήρια Κύπρου ἐπὶ φραγκοκρατίας ΚΣ, 19 (1955) 34) since the document distinguishes between the chartophylax of the Archbishopric and that of the bishopric of Nicosia. No church of St. Barnabas is known to have existed in Nicosia before the 20th century. The view of Jeffrey that the seat of the Archbishopric was transferred to Famagusta on the return of the Cypriots from the Hellespont and that the Church of St. Symeon in Famagusta was the Cathedral Church of the Archbishopric (G. Jeffrey, Historic Monuments of Cyprus, 14) is based on no authority older than Stefano Lusignano (cf. passage cited on p. of Chapter I above), and cannot be accepted especially since the building of St. Symeon can hardly be dated to a period earlier than the 11th century. The evidence of F. von Heimendorf (Itinerarium Aegypti, (1621) 105) who claims to have seen the relics of St. Epiphanius in St. Symeon in 1564, has been cited by P. I. Kyrmitsis (Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ καθέδρας καὶ καθεδρικοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου, ΚΣ, 4 (1940) 87-112) in support of his acceptance of the view that Constantia was abandoned after the seventh century Arab raids (ibid. 90) and the seat of the Archbishopric transferred to Famagusta as Jeffrey had previously suggested. But this evidence cannot be accepted since, according to Neophytus Rhodinus (1661) the relics of St. Epiphanius had been translated to Constantinople by Leo VI (Kyprianos, Ἱστορία , 524). The fact that other sources refer to the saint's relics as being in Prague in 1356 (AS, May 12 (1680) 37) tend to support Rhodinus' evidence and disprove that of Heimendorf. The acceptance of Jeffrey's views by K. Kyrris (cf. Chapter I, p. 35 n. 2) may be noted without further comment.

move does not seem to have met with the desired success. Hence the practice was evolved for the Byzantine Emperor to choose or appoint the candidate to be elected to the see of Constantia, in the hope that the Emperor's candidate would not, when elected, interfere with the civil administration of the Island.[1]

But the fact remains that before 965 neither the Patriarch of Constantinople, nor the Byzantine Emperor interfered or attempted to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of Cyprus whose Church retained the autocephalus status of the 39th canon of the Council-in-Trullo, throughout the period of this thesis.

---

1. That this hope was not always realised is indicated by the comments of Nikolaos Mouzalon written after his resignation in 1110 and castigating the Byzantine administration of the Island. According to Mouzalon the Byzantine governor of Cyprus was playing the bishops against the Archbishops, doubtless another device of the civil administration to curb the temporal powers of the Archbishop. This practice is worthy of further investigation but falls outside the period and scope of this thesis.

(ii) <u>The church and temporal authority</u>

The desire of the post 965 Byzantine administration of the Island to curb the authority of the Archbishop, evidenced by the Imperial practice of προχείρησις, indicates that the Archbishop had been exercising authority of a temporal nature. The right of the Archbishop to exercise such authority was inherent in the privileges granted by the Emperor Zeno[1] and this right seems to have been exercised even before the Arab raids when the church was, in certain matters, acting for and on behalf of the Emperor.[2]

With the breakdown of the Byzantine administration of the Island in the second half of the seventh century and the enforced neutralisation of the Island, the most

---

1. cf. <u>Hill</u>, 278.

2. cf. Mitford - <u>IECC</u>, 162-4 for an imperial edict to a bishop in respect of the right of asylum and, <u>ibid</u>, 117-125 for inscriptions from Constantia referring to the repairs of the city's aqueduct under the Archbishops Plutarch and Arkadius in the reign of Heraclius. (Mitford's dates for Plutarch and Arkadius are wrong. cf. Appendix II, seal no. 66.) For the exercise of temporal authority by bishops in the VIth century cf. Daniel C. Dennett 'Pirenne and Muhammad' <u>Speculum</u> 23 (1948) 183 where it is stated that the bishops 'had the recognised power of continual intervention in all matters of secular policy'; also A. Pernice <u>L'imperatore Eraclio</u> (1905) 202 and n.1 for the exercise of secular administration by the clergy in upper Egypt, and G. Rouillard, <u>L'administration...</u>, 66-7, 157.

important, indeed the sole heir of Byzantine authority in Cyprus must have been the Church. The account by Constantine Porphyroghenitus of the repatriation of the Cypriots expatriated by Justinian II and the Arabs[1] tells us of

‹ τρεῖς τῶν ἐνδόξων Κυπρίων αὐτόχθονας τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου τυγχάνοντας τοὺς λεγομένους φαγγουμεῖς ›

whom the Byzantine Emperor had sent with a Byzantine official to the court of Bagdad to negotiate the repatriation of Cypriots in Syria.[2] This suggests that civilian Cypriots were connected with the administration of the Island. But such administration must have been under the supervision and direction of the Church which alone had the experience and the ability to exercise authority and, what was more important, could exercise authority with legality. The Arab raiders of 806 seem to have been aware of the Archbishop's temporal powers for among the prisoners they carried away to be sold in the slave market at Al Rafika in Syria was the Island's Archbishop.[3]

---

1. cf. Chapter I, pp. 39-40, above.
2. DAI, §47-224.
3. Brooks - Byzantine and Arabs..., 745.

It would have been out of character for the Arabs of Harun-al-Rashid's forces to have done this had the Archbishop confined himself to his ecclesiastical duties. Over a century later, after Damian's raid and pillaging of Cyprus in 911/2, it was a bishop, St. Demetrianus of Chytroi who went to Bagdad to plead the innocence of the Cypriots in the Caliph's court.[1] The reference in the Life of St. Demetrianus, to the Saint's successor as 'κυβερνήτης'[2] may also refer to the exercise of temporal authority by ecclesiastical prelates.[3]

No details of the civil administration of the Island during its enforced status of neutrality are available. The diocesan organisations of the various sees must have, doubtless, played an important role, in this respect, but alongside these there must have been secular offices and officials which had either survived from the pre-Arab raids

---

1. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus. On the mission of St. Demetrianus to Bagdad cf. Chapter I, p. 56.

2. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 237.

3. The obverse of four seals of Epimachus, bishop of Soloi, of mid seventh century or later date (nos. 101-104 of Appendix II) is certain to have been impressed from the same matrix as that of the obverse of two other seals of an Epimachus, ex-consul (nos. 18-19 of Appendix II) a fact suggesting that the bishop of Soloi was also a civil dignitary. However it is not impossible that Epimachus was an ex-consul before he became bishop and that he gave up this dignity on his election to the see of Soloi.

administration or were developed on the lines of the civil administration of a district of a Byzantine theme. The 7th-8th C. seal of Theodore comes,[1] probably the same Theodore as that described in a limestone inscription from Amathus as a comes,[2] may refer to a Cypriot official of the civil administration of the Island. A painted inscription on a column of the Public Baths at Constantia refers to a Constantine comes and he too may have been a local official.[3] The existence of a civil administration is indicated by the fact that after the restoration of icons in 843 the Church of Cyprus invited the Byzantine Emperor to send a βασιλικὸς ἄνθρωπος to head and direct it.[4]

Byzantine law and Imperial edicts, which did not conflict with the interests of the Church may have been accepted and enforced in the Island. The medieval Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus incorporate Byzantine legislation from the Novels of Justinian, the Farmer's Law and

---

1. No. 62 of Appendix II.

2. Mitford IECC, 157. Mitford dates the inscription to the Vth century. The decadence of the lettering of the inscription does not, however, seem compatible with such early dating.

3. cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Archaeological Reports, 1955, 44.

4. cf. Chapter I, p. 64 above.

the Procheiron,[1] but not from the Ecloga of the Isaurians, a fact suggesting that these laws had been received and accepted in Cyprus where part of them survived to be incorporated in the Lusignan Assizes. But the Assizes also distinguish between the 'laws of the country' and 'royal or civil laws'[2] and incorporate legislation representing the unwritten law of each country, some of which referring to Cyprus Sathas has traced back to Ptolemaic times.[3] In all likelihood such legislation was valid in Cyprus during the Island's enforced periods of neutrality alongside official Byzantine legislation.

The acceptance and recognition of Byzantine sovereign rights under Theodora and Michael III, and, in the eighth century, first under Artavasdus and later under Irene, and the refusal of the Cypriots to associate with iconoclast Emperors[4] - also illustrated by the absence of Isaurian legislation in the Assizes - confirms and forcibly illustrates the extent of the temporal authority of their Church. When Byzantine sovereignty was unacceptable, all rights and

---

1. Sathas, MB, 6, ξη΄-ξθ΄.
2. ibid, ξξ΄-ξη΄.
3. ibid, ξε΄.
4. The question is fully discussed in Chapter I, pp.72 ff.

authority emanating from such sovereignty, in as far as the internal affairs of Cyprus were concerned, must have vested in the Church of Cyprus, under whose auspices all executive actions and all litigations must have been carried out.

(iii) Religious Policies

The religious doctrines of the Church of Cyprus had always been Orthodox. Iconoclasm, like other heresies in the past, found no favour in the Island either with the Church or with the people.[1] Cypriot opposition to iconoclasm is confirmed by the sources as well as by the Island's monuments.

Among those condemned by the Iconoclast Council of 754 was George of Cyprus whose teachings have survived in the Νουθεσία γέροντος περὶ ἱῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων.[2] George grew up and received his religious convictions in

---

1. The stories related by Constantine of Constantia at Nicaea in 787 about miracles performed by icons in Cyprus (cf. below) shows that some people must have been affected by iconoclastic beliefs; but they do not seem to belong to that class of Cypriots who could, by virtue of their position, bring to bear any influence upon the 'foreign policy' of the Island during this period. They were probably members of one or other of the various minorities which had been settled in Cyprus by Imperial action in the past (cf. pp. 149-153).

2. ed. Melioranskij, Georgij Kiprjanin, Iff.

Cyprus where he took up the monastic habit.[1] He later retired to a cell ' ἐν ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐν ᾧ ταύρῳ Ἰσῆς Κιλικίας'[2] from where, between 750 and 754 he gave out his teachings.[3] He was arrested there and taken to Constantinople where he is said to have been tortured by Constantine V's agents.[4]

John of Damascus (c.675-749), also condemned by the 754 Councils, indirectly confirms the iconophilia of the Cypriots in two of his three treatises entitled πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας. In his first treatise he writes

'Ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὁ Ἰούδου (τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου) ἔκοπτε τὰς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπετίθετο, μάρτυς ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θείου Ἐπιφανίου Ἐκκλησία εἰκόσι, μέχρις ἡμῶν περικεκομμένη.'[5]

---

1. The only scholar who has rightly identified George as a Cypriot monk not, an Archbishop, is, as far as I know, P. J. Alexander (Alexander - Nicephorus 11). Laurent - Les fastes, 161 refers to George as Archbishop.

2. Melioranskij, loc.cit. V.

3. Alexander - Nicephorus, 11.

4. Melioranskij, loc.cit. XXXIX; Mansi, XIII, 357.

5. PG, 94, 1257.

In his second treatise John repeats the same story:

'Καὶ μάρτυς ἡ τούτου ἐκκλησία εἰκότως καλλωπιζομένη, ἕως οὗ τινες κατ' αὐτῆς ἀντεπανέστησαν καὶ τὴν Χριστοῦ διετάραξαν ποίμνην ποτῖσαι τὸν λαὸν Θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀνατροπὴν δογμάτων,' [1]

This passage, if correct, suggests that an attempt was made in Cyprus to have the iconoclastic doctrines accepted there.

The failure of this attempt, if ever made, is evidenced by the Life of St. Stephen the Younger (+767)[2] which refers to Cyprus as one of the three places not in communion with the Iconoclastic heresy:

'Τριῶν ὄντων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μερῶν τῶν μὴ κοινωνούντων ταύτῃ τῇ μιαρᾷ αἱρέσει... Τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικὸν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου... τὸ πρὸς παρθενικὸν συγκείμενα πέλαγος... ἥ τε Κυπρίων νῆσος καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀντικρὺ ἕως Τριπόλεως καὶ Τύρου καὶ Ἀκῶπης... Τούτων οὕτως λεχθέντων παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου Στεφάνου... ὥχοντο (οἱ πατέρες) πρὸς τοὺς τῆς φυγῆς σωστικωτάτους τόπους... Καὶ ὃς μὲν τὸν Εὔξεινον ἀπέπλεεν πόντον, ὃς δὲ τὴν Κύπρον κατελάμβανεν ἄλλος

---

1. ibid. 1305.

2. The Life was written in the first decade of the ninth century, by Stephen deacon of St. Sophia in Constantinople, on the basis of earlier information (Ostrogorsky, History, 132). Ostrogorsky, ibidem dates the Life to 808, and Alexander - Nicephorus, 15, to 806.

πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαίρειν διενοεῖτο... καὶ οὕτω ξενωδέντες τῶν οἰκείων φροντιβλητρίων ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι ἐγνωρίζοντο.[1]

The Archbishop of Cyprus, Constantine of Constantia, contributing to the evidence collected by the 787 Nicaea Synod concerning miracles performed by icons related:

Κἀγὼ δέ ὁ μέτριος, ἅπερ γνώσκω γεγονότα σημεῖα παρόμοια διηγήσομαι· ἀνήρ τις Κύπριος ἐν Κωνσταντία τῇ πόλει ἐλαύνων τὸ ζεῦγος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπιών ἐπὶ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ τὸ ζεῦγος αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθε τοῦ αὐξάσθαι εἰς εὐκτήριον οἶκον τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου. καὶ τῷ εὔχεσθαι αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψας βλέπει εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου ἀπὸ χρωμάτων ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ καὶ λέγει· τοῦτο τί ποιεῖ ὧδε; καὶ ἐπάρας τὸ βούκεντρον αὐτοῦ ἐξώρυξε τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς εἰκόνος τὸν δεξιόν. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἔνυξε τὸ ζευγάριον αὐτοῦ τῷ βουκέντρῳ· κλασθέντος δὲ τοῦ βουκέντρου ἐπανῆλθε τὸ κλάσμα τοῦ βουκέντρου εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τετύφλωκεν αὐτόν· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐγὼ εἶδον καὶ ἐπίσταμαι ἑτερόφθαλμον γεγονότα. Ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ πόλει λεγομένῃ Κιτίῳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου, πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου

---

1. PG, 100, 1117.

εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν Ἰοῦ κοσμῆσαι αὐτὸν βήλοις· καὶ λαβὼν ἧλον ἔπηξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μέτωπον τῆς εἰκόνος Ἰοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου· σχοινίον οὖν δήσαντος καὶ ἁπλώσαντος τὸν βῆλον, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρα ὀδύνη ἐπέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ μετώπῳ ἀφόρητος· καὶ διέμεινε τὰς δύο ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς κείμενος καὶ βασανιζόμενος· γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἰοῦ Κιτίου ἐπέμψατο καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ ἀπελθόντι ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἧλον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἀπελθὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δράσας σὺν τῷ ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἧλον ἐκουφίσθη τῆς ὀδύνης.

The bishop of Citium, who was present at the Synod, was asked and confirmed on oath the truthfulness of events reported as happening in his diocese.[1]

The Patriarch Nicephorus in his Apologeticus Minor, refuting the iconoclast claim that St. Epiphanius was opposed to image worship writes:

‹οὔτε ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἐκείνοις εὐσεβεῖς βασιλεῖς, πρὸς οὓς τὸ γράμμα δοκεῖ φέρεσθαι, τὸν περὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς αὐτῶν λόγων ἐδέξαντο, ὡς δηλοῦσιν αἵ τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν κτισθεῖσαι ἐκκλησίαι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰκονίσματα τυγχάνοντα· πρὸς Ἰούτοις καὶ αἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἐκκλησίαι βοῶσιν ὅτι οἱ

1. Mansi, XIII, 77; on the iconoclastic activities reported in these stories cf. p. 109 n. 1.

οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι οὐκ ἠκούσθησαν πώποτε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυπρίας νήσου ὁρμώμενοι, ὧν ἐστιν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Παῦλος, ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀρχιερεύς, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν νῆσον ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἄνδρες σοφοὶ καὶ ἐλλόγιμοι, καὶ τὰ δόγματα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ τῆς νήσου προεδρεύσαντος ἑπόμενοι, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὰς χρήσεις, ἃς ἐν τῷ ψευδοσυλλόγῳ οἱ συναθροισθέντες αὐτῷ προσήγαγον'.

1

Similar arguments are repeated by Nicephorus in his 'Ἀντίρρησις καὶ Ἀνασκευὴ τῶν Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ἐπιφανιδουλόγων', 2 where the Epiphanius referred to by the Iconoclasts is described as

---

1. Mai - PNB, V (1849) 4; PG, 100, 837. The Apologeticus Minor 'is a more or less official document issued by Nicephorus as Patriarch of Constantinople' between 813 and 815 (Alexander - Nicephorus, 163, 164, 182). On Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, (780-4) cf. Chapter I, p. 52 n. 2.

2. J. B. Pitra - Spigilegium Solesmense, I (1852) 371-503 and IV (1858) 292-380. cf. also Alexander - Nicephorus, 173 for comments on Pitra's separate treatment of this work; which in Alexander's opinion was written after the Iconoclastic Council of 815 (Alexander - Nicephorus, 178 and n.2, 183, 188).

Παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μαμωνᾶν (i.e. Constantine V) καὶ πλαττόμενος καὶ χειροτονούμενος· ὃν οὔτε εἶδεν ἡ Κύπρος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους μέχρι καὶ σήμερον ἀκήκοεν'[1]

The real Epiphanius of Cyprus was not in the opinion of Nicephorus opposed to icons for

'οὐδαμοῦ μέχρι καὶ σήμερον ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἐπιφάνιον παροικίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἀνοσίας ἐκείνης διαθήκης ἐμφανίζεται, οὔτε ὁ τοιοῦτος παραδέδεκται λόγος. Ὃ δὲ μάλιστα εἰς βεβαίωσιν πάντων τυγχάνει, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι κατὰ τὸν τῇδε περιόντος βίον Ἐπιφανίου, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, πάντες οἱ τῷ Θεῷ ἱερωμένοι οἶκοι τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἱερογραφίας λαμπρύνονται περιφανέστατα. Οὔτε οὖν ἱερέων οὔτε ὁστιοῦν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκεῖθεν λεχθὲν ἐπίσταται κήρυγμαν[2]

and

'... ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον οἰκούντων, παλαιῶν καὶ νέων, τὰ τῆς ψευδοῦς εἰδέναι, ὥσπερ, οὐδὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνόσια συγγράμματα, ἅπερ εἰς πρόσωπον Ἐπιφανίου ψευδῶς ἀνατιθέασιν... ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰκονίσματα ἐν ταῖς κατὰ

---

1. Pitra, loc.cit. 380-1.

2. ibid. 298.

Κύπρον ἐκκλησίαις τό ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀνέκαθεν ἐμπρέπειν.[1]

The same arguments, in shorter form, are repeated by Nicephorus in his unpublished Refutatio et Eversio[2] which was directed against the Council of 815.[3]

The non acceptance of iconoclastic beliefs in Cyprus is also suggested by The Letter of the three Eastern Patriarchs, sent, in 836, to the Emperor Theophilus; a passage of this letter informs us that:

"Ἐν τῇ Ἰῶν Κυπρίων χώρα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν αὐτῆς πολυχνίων τά τοιαῦτα ἐνεργούμενα ἄχρι τῆς δεῦρο· καὶ γάρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κύπρῳ τῆς πρὸς νοτείῳ μέρει εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου ἐνίδρυται, εἰκών ἐκ ψηφίδων. Ταύτην εἰς τό γόνατον ἐνδα ὁ σωτήρ ἐγκόλπιος κάθηται ἄραψ τις τοξεύσας εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν διαρρέον αἷμα ποταμιδόν ἕως ποδῶν κρουνίζων καὶ ἔστι

---

1. ibid. 374-5.

2. Alexander - Nicephorus, 262.

3. ibid. 180-1; Alexander publishes an analysis of this work (ibid. 242-262) which he dates to the period 820-8, and promises to edit the treatise as soon as possible (ibid. 180 n.3).

μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ... ⁊ (Pl. 3).[1]

The absence of effective Iconoclasm in Cyprus is also convincingly shown in the survival of the pre-Iconoclast mosaic decorations in the churches of Panayia Kanakaria[2] and Panayia Angeloktistos[3] as well as by the survival of some wall paintings which may well date from the period of the iconoclastic controversy.[4]

In the light of both the archaeological and the documentary evidence the absence of effective Iconoclasm in Cyprus can no longer be questioned.

---

1. cf. p. 199, n.1.
2. ibid.
3. cf. Chapter II.3, pp. 200-205.
4. cf. Chapter II.3, p. 200.

(iv) Ecclesiastical organisation

The ecclesiastical organisation in Cyprus, as in other parts of the Byzantine Empire was based on cities, each city being the centre of a diocese presided over by a bishop.[1]

In addition to the metropolis and archiepiscopal residence, Constantia, the following Cyprus cities are enumerated by the source, secular or ecclesiastical from the seventh century onwards.

No.	City	Authority	Remarks
1	Citium	A B C D M	A = George of Cyprus c.600
2	Amathus	A B C D M	
3	Neapolis) Lemesos)	C D M	B = Basil in Jalimbana 9th C.
4	Curium	A B C D M	C = Constantine Porphyrogenitus in De Thematibus He gives Neapolis as Nemevos or Nemesos and Kermeia or Kerbeia[2] as an alternative for Lefkosia
5	Paphos	A B C D M	
6	Arsinoe	A B C D M	
7	Soloi	A B C D M	
8	Lapethus	A B C D M	
9	Kerynia	A B C D M	D = Codex Par. Gr 1555A. containing Notitia, known as 'Notitia of Leo III'
10	Karpasia	A B C D M	
11	Tamassus	A B C D M	
12	Tremythus	A B C D M	M = Makhairas; Bustron; Strambaldi
13	Chytroi	A B C D M	
14	Lefkosia Kermeia?	C D M	

1. Codex Just. I.3.35; cf. also Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 52.

2. A city named Kirbeia or Kirboia is given by the sixth century List of Hierokles (ed. Burckhardt, 1893) 36; Honigman - Hierokles, 38.

The above table shows that both Neapolis and Lefkosia are omitted by George of Cyprus and Basil in Jalimbana.[1] Whilst it is probable that Neapolis may have been abandoned and its see absorbed by that of Amathus after the Arab raids of the seventh century[2] its existence during the reign of Constans II is testified by the writings of Leontios[3] who occupied its see at about that time. Another bishop, Joannis, mentioned in the Life of St. Spyridon may have been Leontios' predecessor as he is said to have occupied the see at about 619.[4] The Life of St. Spyridon identifies Neapolis with Theodosias[5] the existence of which in the fifth century is

---

1. Basil may have relied on George of Cyprus, whose work would have been unknown, but for him. (Laurent, La Notitia, 440, n.1); on the other hand he may have omitted Neapolis because it no longer existed when he wrote (cf. Chapter II.4, p. 222). Basil was not content to transcribe his sources or gloss them here and there (cf. E. Honigman Die Notitia des Basileios von Jalimbana, B, 9 (1934) 211-222, and in the case of Cyprus he is careful to add that the church of Cyprus was autocephalus (cf. passage cited on p. 96 n. 3 above). The Lists of George of Cyprus and Basil in Jalimbana is repeated by Nilus Doxapatres in the 12th C. cf. Parthey, 285.

2. cf. Chapter II.4, p.

3. cf. Gelzer, Leontios Von Neapolis, 13.

4. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81.

5. ibid.

attested by the fact that its bishop, Soteras, attended the Synod of Chalkedon in 451.[1] It follows that Theodosias or Neapolis was in existence at about 600 when George of Cyprus composed his list[2] and that he is mistaken in omitting it from his list. Whether Basil in Jalimbana omitted Neapolis because he copied George of Cyprus, or because he knew that the city was no longer in existence we don't know.[3]

The abandonment of Lefkosia, already a bishopric in the fourth century,[4] is highly improbable in view of the fact that it emerged as the Island's capital after the 965 Byzantine reconquest of Cyprus.

The Life of St. Willibald describes Cyprus as '12 episcoporum parochia'[5] but does not name them; if Constantia,

---

1. E. Honigman 'The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber Synod and the Council of Chalkedon' B, 16 (1942/3) 20-80, p. 57. The Life of St. Auxibius (AS, Feb. 19, 128) mentions Tychikos, a first century personage as bishop of Neaopolis. So do Makhairas and other medieval chroniclers. The existence of the name Neapolis at this early period is unlikely (Hill, 266 and n.2).

2. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 55 n.2; cf. also Hill, 262.

3. cf. p.119 n.1 above. The fact that Basil, like George, also omits Lefkosia, which was certainly not abandoned in the ninth century suggests that Basil relied on George for the number of Cypriot bishoprics.

4. Its Bishop Trifyllius attended the Synod at Sardinia (343/4). (Mansi, III, 69.)

5. Tobler and Molinier, Itin. Hierosol, 260.

the metropolis is not included in this number, its evidence is in accord with that of George of Cyprus and Basil in Jalimbana. On Fol. 103a and 119b of Codex 225 of the monastery of S. Sabba, which is dated to the year 1370 the number of cities in Cyprus is also given as thirteen.[1] On the other hand, the story about the Cyprus mosaic that was arrowed by an Arab, which may have been created not long after St. Willibald's visit to Cyprus,[2] in the version of Codex Vat. Grec., 1141, refers to Cyprus as, 'δεκατέσσαρας ἐπισκόπους ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν τούτων ἀρχιπρόεδρον'.[3] The same number of fourteen bishops and one Archbishop is given by some MSS of the pilgrimage of the Russian monk Daniel (1113-1115).[4] At least thirteen, if not fourteen bishops besides an Archbishop are implied in the case of the bishop of Amathus Ioannis, who during the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180) and the Patriarchate of Lucas Chrysoverghis (1157-1169), was deprived of his see by the

---

1. A. P-Kerameus, IB, 2 (1894) 342. Cyprus is referred to as having been ruled by 'κονδιλαρίων τουτέστι βουλευτῶν', a fact suggesting that the Codex copied sources of a period preceding that of the Arab raids.
2. It refers to Cyprus as 'τελοῦσα Ρωμαίοις καὶ Ἀγαρηνοῖς' (Smirnof, The Christian mosaics in Cyprus (in Russian) Viz. Vrem 9 (1897) 6)
3. ibid.
4. O.C 68ff. The number of 20 and 24 given in some MSS, instead of 14 is obviously wrong.

Archbishop Joannis Kretikos (1152-1170).[1]

The Lists of bishops to be found in Conciliar Acts are doubtless of paramount importance in a study of Byzantine Cities, in general.[2] But in the case of Cyprus the evidence of the conciliar Acts is deceptive. For whereas in 681 we find only three bishops from Cyprus attending the Synod at Constantinople,[3] in 787 five of them attended the Synod at Nicaea.[4] It should be borne in mind that old age and ill health might prevent attendance of Oecumenical or other Councils outside the Island.[5] Vacancies and the economic affairs of the sees might also affect the number of bishops attending such Councils, and, in the case of Cyprus, communication difficulties would also have to be taken into consideration.[6]

---

1. cf. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία , A, 77-78. The Archbishop's decision was reversed on the ground that it was taken by 11 bishops, apart from the Archbishop, and not by a Synod of 12 bishops as provided by canon 11 of the Carthage Synod. The implication is that not all Cypriot bishops agreed with the Archbishop.

2. cf. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 54ff.

3. Mansi, XI, 584, 585; cf. also p. 28 n. 3, above.

4. Mansi, XII, 993-4.

5. The Archbishop of Constantia Epiphanius may not have been able to attend the 680 Synod through old age or ill health. cf. Episcopal Lists below.

6. For a fuller discussion of the survival or abandonment of cities and consequently of bishoprics cf. Chapter II.4.

(v) Episcopal Lists

A Synodikon of the Church of Cyprus published by N. Cappuyns, in 1935,[1] from the Codex Sinaiticus 989, fol. 20v-37v, gives the names of twenty eight Archbishops of the Island, from the foundation of its Church to the late twelfth century. Slightly variant lists to that of the above Synodikon are provided by the sixteenth century British Museum MS no. 34554, which gives the names of 32 Archbishops from a thirteenth century MS,[2] and by the sixteenth century Cyprio-Venetian chronicler Florio Bustron, who gives the names of 29 Archbishops.[3]

The lists given by the above sources are reproduced here, in the following tables.[4]

---

1. N. Cappuyns 'Le Synodikon de Chypre au XIIè siècle B, 10 (1935) 489-504. Cappuyns dates the Synodikon to c.1170. Since Barnabas the last named Archbishop may have succeeded John Kretikos, at about this time, this date may be accepted as approximately correct.

2. R. M. Dawkins 'On a hagiographical source used by Leontios Makhairas' K.X, 11 (1935) 10-23. Makhairas, the fifteenth century Cypriot chronicler, copied the 13th C. MS, but left out its nos. 11-20. His list appears in § 30 of his Chronicle (Dawkins - Makhairas, I, 28. The list in Strambaldi (Strambaldi, 22) is a translation of the list by Makhairas.

3. Bustron, 32-3.

4. The lists which Laurent prepared from the Synodikon, Makhairas and Bustron, omit one name from each list; Euthymius from the Synodikon, Sophronius from Bustron and Alexius from Makhairas /Strambaldi (cf. Laurent - Les Fastes, 155/6). Laurent is also mistaken in stating that Bustron reverses the order of nos. 8-9 of the Synodikon (Laurent - ibid. 156). He does not.

No.	SYNODIKON (A)	B.M.MS No.34554 fol.184 v (B)	BUSTRON (C)
1	Barnabas	Barnabas	Barnabas
2	Epiphanius	Epiphanius	Epiphanius
3	Serghius	Serghius	Serghius
4	Dometius	Dometius	Dometius
5	Porphyrius	Porphyrius	Porphyrius
6	Plutarch	Plutarch	Plutarch
7	Barnabas II	Barnabas II	Barnabas II
8	Theodore I	Theodore I	Theodore I
9	Basil I	Basil I	Basil I
10	Arkadius	Arkadius	Arkadius
11	Anthimus (Anthemius)	Anthimus (Anthemius)	Anthemius
12	Damianus	Damianus	Damianus
13	Sabinus	Sabinus	Sabinus
14	Akakius	Akakius	Akakius
15	Gelasius	Gelasius	Gelasius
16	Theophanis	Theophanis	Theophanis
17	Ioannis I	Ioannis I	Ioannis I
18	Epiphanius II	Epiphanius II	Barnabas
19	Gregorius	Basil	Epiphanius II
20	Euthymius	Nikolaos	Sophronius
21	Ioannis II	Theodoret	Gregorius/Georghius
22	Alexius	Ioannis	Euthymius
23	Epiphanius III	Barnabas	Ioannis II
24	Basil II	Sophronius	Alexius
25	Nikolaos	Isaias	Neilus
26	Theodoret	Hilarion	Basil
27	Ioannis III	Neophytus	Nikolaos
28	Barnabas III	Gregorius	Theodoret
29		Euthymius	Ioannis
30		Alexius	
31		Neilus	
32		Germanus	

Of the 34[1] Archbishops listed in all three lists, 12, those underlined in the above table, fall within the period 648-965. In addition to these, we know the names of seven other Archbishops, three from contemporary sources and four from their seals. Arranged in probable chronological order the Archbishops of the above period may have been as follows:

1. Serghius (642-655 or later); no 3 in all three lists. He is known from his letter to Pope Theodore, written in May of the first indiction, that is in May 643.[2] Since we know from John of Nikiu that Arkadius, the Archbishop, died soon after the accession of Constans II[3] it can safely be presumed that Serghius succeeded him, probably in 642. He was still the Archbishop in December 655, when he attended the feast of St. Spyridon at Tremythus.[4]

---

1. This number is arrived at by adding to the number of those listed in the Synodikon, the names of six other Archbishops not included therein but mentioned either by the British Museum MS or by Bustron; these are Sophronius and Neilus common to both the Br. Mus. MS and Bustron, and Isaias, Ilarion, Neophytus and Germanus given only by the Br. Mus. MS, and consequently by Makhairas and Strambaldi. I have assumed that the Sophronius given by Bustron is the same Sophronius as that of the Br. Mus. MS and not the earlier Sophronius associated in the SEC with Damianus, in view of Bustron's interpolation of late Archbishops in his list after his no. 17.
2. Mansi, X, 916.
3. R. H. Charles, The Chronicle of John, bishop of Nikiu, (1916) 199.
4. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 89.

2. Constantine. He may have been the successor of Serghius. A date in the second half of the seventh century, for this Archbishop is suggested by at least six examples of his seal.[1]

3. Gregorius. (No. A.19, B.28, C.21).[2] His feast day is given in the SEC as the 5th March.[3] The order in the Synodikon, Ioannis, Epiphanius, Gregorius, suggests that Gregorius must be placed before Epiphanius, since Ioannis who is known to be of later date than Epiphanius is given in the Synodikon as preceding him.[4]

4. Epiphanius. (No. A.18, B.18, C.19). He was represented at the sixth Oecumenical Synod, at Constantinople, in 681, by Theodore bishop of Tremythus.[5] Sixteen examples of his seal are given in Appendix II under Nos. 76-91.

It is not impossible that he may have been the author of Ἔκθεσις πρωτοκκλησιῶν πατριαρχῶν τε καὶ μητροπολιτῶν.[6]

---

1. Seals nos. 70-75 of Appendix II.

2. In some MSS, Bustron gives the name of Georghius, instead of Gregorius (Bustron, 33); Laurent - Les Fastes, 161, seems to accept the reading of Georghius whom he identifies with the George of Cyprus condemned by the Iconoclastic Council of 754 (cf. n.1 of p. 110, above). On the evidence of the two other lists, Gregorius seems preferable.

3. SEC, 511.

4. For the probable reversing of the order of succession by the compilers of the Synodikon, cf. Laurent - Les Fastes, 159.

5. Mansi, XI, 587.

6. For a dating of this Notitia to the second half of the seventh century cf. Ostrogorsky - Byzantine Cities, 53 and n.20.

5. Theodore. (No. 8 in all three lists.) Probably the successor of Epiphanius. Before his election to the see of Constantia, he was in all likelihood, bishop at Tremythus. The fact that Theodore of Tremythus was asked by Epiphanius to represent him at the Synod of Constantinople suggests that he was the most senior of the other Cypriot bishops and, therefore, the most likely person to succeed to the see of Constantia.

Three seals of a Theodore Archbishop, datable to the second half of the seventh century are given in Appendix II under nos. 92-94. Another similar seal, published by Konstantopoulos[1] is included in the same Appendix under no. 95.

Theodore of Tremythus is known to have been the author of a Life of St. John Chrysostrome.[2]

6. Ioannis. (no. 17 in all three lists.) He is known from the 39th Canon of the Council in Trullo cited above.

Two seals, probably of this Ioannis, one in the Department of MSS of the British Museum and another in a private collection are given in Appendix II, under nos. 96-7.

7. Theophanis. (no. 16 in all three lists.) We have no firm evidence for the dating of this Archbishop. I

---

1. Konstantopoulos, BM, 50 no. 166. Konstantopoulos dated the seal to the tenth or eleventh century. Laurent - Les Fastes, 160 dated it to the tenth century. The seal seems only a variant of seals nos. 92-4 and should be assigned to the same Archbishop. As the seals of Archbishop Arkadius show (cf. nos. 66-9 of Appendix II) variations in the seal matrixes of one and the same person are not uncommon.

2. Krumbacher - Geschichte, 191; Mai, PNB, 6, 2 (1853) 265-290; PG, 47, LI-LXXXVIII.

place him here for the same reason that I have placed Gregorius, no. 3 above, before Epiphanius. The order of nos. 16-19 in the Synodikon should, in my view, be reversed.[1]

8. Damianus (no. 12 in all three lists). He has so far been known from the SEC, who gives him as the predecessor of Sophronius (no. 9 below).[2] A lead seal, recently acquired by the Cyprus Museum, no. 98 of Appendix II, and datable to the eighth century, indicates that the sixth century date hitherto proposed for Damianus and Sophronius is no longer tenable.[3]

9. Sophronius. (Not given in the above lists.) He is known to have succeeded Damianus from the SEC.[4]

10. Thomas. (Not given in the above lists.) He is known from an example of his seal in the Cyprus Museum collections, no. 99 of Appendix II, datable to the eighth century.

11. Christopher. (Not given in the above lists.) He is, also, known from a seal in the Cyprus Museum collections, no. 100 of Appendix II, of eighth century date. It is not impossible that this Christopher was the pupil of Stephen the Younger, who may have followed his master's

---

1. cf. p. 126 n. 4

2. SEC, 290.

3. Laurent - Les Fastes, 159 dated both Damianus and Sophronius to the sixth century. It should be noted however that Laurent did not know of the seal presented here for the first time.

4. SEC, 287, 290.

advice and come to Cyprus[1] where he was elected Archbishop. He may have been the predecessor of Constantine, no. 12 below.

12. Constantine. (Not given in the above lists.) He attended the seventh Oecumenical Synod at Nicaea, in 787, in which he played a leading role.[2] The lead given in Appendix II, under no. 101, may belong to him.

13. Ioannis. (Not given in the above lists.) He is evidenced by a seal published by Schlumberger and dated by him to the 8th-9th century.[3] The seal is given in Appendix II as no. 102.

It is not impossible that Ioannis was the successor of Constantine.

14. Alexius (A.22, B.30, C.24). He may have been the predecessor of Epiphanius, No. 15 below, who occupied the see of Constantia at the same time as Alexius Mousele? headed the civil administration of the Island.[4]

15. Epiphanius (A.23). He is known from his letter to the Patriarch Ignatius about 870.[5]

16. Basil (no. 9 in all three lists). He may have been the successor of Epiphanius, who took the name of Basil, in honour of the Emperor Basil I.

---

1. PG, 100, 1070; cf. also, pp. 111-2
2. cf. pp. 93-5, above.
3. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 107.
4. cf. Chapter I, p. 62f., above.
5. Mansi, XVI, 308. cf. also Chapter II.1.a(i) pp. 92, 96, above.

A tessera published by Schlumberger[1] is more likely to belong to this Basil rather than the Basil who may have preceded Nikolaos Mousalon as the Island's Archbishop late in the 11th century. The type of legends used by the tessera is not uncommon on lead seals of the ninth century. The tessera is included, as no. 103, of Appendix II.

17. Eustathius. He was, before his election, bishop of Chytroi. He succeeded to the see of Constantia at about 885.[2]

18. Euthymius (A.20, B.29, C.22). He may have been the successor of Eustathius. It is not impossible that he took the name Euthymius in honour of his contemporary Patriarch of Constantinople.

19. Ioannis (A.21, C.23). A tenth century date for this Ioannis is suggested by a seal in a private collection to which Laurent has drawn attention.[3]

---

1. Schlumberger, MA, 307; Laurent - Les Fastes, 161 dates the tessera to the 11th century.

2. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 208, 228. It is not impossible that the Euthymius given by the Synodikon and the other medieval lists may be a faulty reading for Eustathius. A blur in the source used by the compiler of the Synodikon and the other sources is suggested by the fact that the Bodleian MS of the chronicle of Makhairas gives the name of Eleutherius in the place of Euthymius (cf. Bodleian MS Seld. 14 Supra fol. 7r).

3. Laurent - Les Fastes, 161, n.2.

The average length of each Archbishop's tenancy during the 324 years between 641 and 965 is just over 17 years. Allowing for the possibility of vacancies and the fact that for the 65 years of the tenth century we only have the names of two Archbishops, the length of the tenancy could be reduced to under 15 years for each Archbishop, a fact suggesting that for the period 641-900 we may have in the above table most if not all of the names of the Island's Archbishops.

Unfortunately sources are not very helpful in the case of names of the occupants of the other fourteen bishoprics during the same period. A number of lead seals in the collections of the Cyprus Museum and elsewhere gives the names of some bishops not mentioned in the sources, but these are not many.

The following table shows the fourteen bishoprics with the names of their bishops known either from the sources or from seals. Bishops named in seals which do not define the see are, with some exceptions, added to the end of this table.

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
CITIUM	Theodore (c.685)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 90. Seal no. 104 - D. Pierides, Eccl. Studies, 57.
	Leontios, successor or predecessor of Theodore.	Seal n. 105; D. Pierides, Eccl. Studies, 57.
	Tychon (c.680)	Acts of 680 Synod. Mansi, XI, 585, 673.
	?Therapon[1]	Akolouthia, Bios, Sathas, Vies de Saints, 11-16; Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 247ff; Crerides - St. Therapon.
	Theodore (c.787)	Acts of the 787 Synod; Mansi, XII, 994. Seal No. 132?[2] - Appendix II, Pl.36/7 II, 5B.

---

1. The story of St. Therapon is confused. cf. Appendix IV. I have placed the St. Therapon of the Akolouthia, to the see of Citium on the evidence of the preservation of his memory there, in Turabi Tekke, (cf. Pl.16), a mosque probably founded on the remains of his church. (cf. H. C. Luke, Cypriot Shrines (1920) 37; Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία B, 280-2; Sathas - Vies de Saints, 11-16.)

2. The seal does not identify the see. I am inclined to assign the seal to Theodore of Citium who attended the 787 Synod at Nicaea on the evidence of its obverse which shows the standing Virgin, probably the Virgin Hodegetria - the seal is blurred where the Christ Child should be - which may have been copied from the mosaic in the Church of Panayia Angeloktistos, near Citium. (On the mosaic cf. Chapter II.3, pp.200-5, below.)

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
AMATHUS	Theodore (c.614)	Delehaye - St. Jean l'Aumonier, 23. Gelzer - Leontios, 112. Seals 133-134?;[1] Appendix II, Pl.36/7 II.5 C.
	Ioannis (after 654)	Anastasius Sinaites; Nau - Les Recits, 49, 58ff; Seals 138-142?; [2] Appendix II, Pl.36/37 II.6 BD.
	Alexander (c.787)	Acts of the 787 Synod; Mansi, XII, 994.
NEAPOLIS	Ioannis (after 619)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81.[3]
	Leontios	Gelzer - Leontios.
CURIUM	Dionysius (7th C.)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 82.
PAPHOS	Theodore (c.655)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon.

---

1. One of the seals comes from Salamis and the other from Lapethus. They do not identify the see. They might belong to Theodore of Amathus, but they could also belong to either Theodore of Paphos, the author of St. Spyridon's life, or Theodore of Tremythus (cf. under their respective sees) although in the case of Theodore of Tremythus I am assigning other seals. cf. n.1, p.135

2. These seals are all of seventh century date. But they do not identify the see of the bishops to whom they belong. They may belong to Ioannis of Amathus, Ioannis of Neapolis or Ioannis of Tremythus.

3. cf. n. 2 , for seal evidence.

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
ARSINOE	Nikon Arkadius	Life of Arkadius by St. Neophytus. Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 197ff.[1]
SOLOI	Ioannis (7th C.)	Seal nos. 115-119; Appendix II, Pl.36/7 II.3DE.
	Kyros (7th C.)	Seal no. 120; Appendix II, Pl. 36/7 II.4E.
	Epimachus (7th C.)	Seals nos. 106-114; Appendix II, Pl.36/37, II.3BC.
	Stratonikus (c.680)	Acts of the 680 Synod; Mansi, XI, 585, 673.
	Eustathius (c.787)	Acts of 787 Synod; Mansi, XII, 994.
LAPETHUS	Eusebius (c.655)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 90. Seals nos. 126-130; Appendix II, Pl.36/37, II.4E.
KERYNIA		
KARPASIA		
TREMYTHUS	Evagrius (before 625)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 91ff.
	Paul (after 625)	do
	Ioannis, successor of Paul [2]	do

---

1. The date is not given by St. Neophytus and may or may not fall within the period of this thesis. Hackett-Papaioannou Ἱστορία, B, 89 wrongly identify the see of Arsinoe with Famagusta. cf. n. 2, p. 135, for evidence of seals.

2. cf. p.133, n.2, for seal evidence.

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
TREMYTHUS	Theodore (c.655-c.680)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 91ff, Acts of 680 Synod, Mansi, XI, 584; Seal nos. 135-6, Appendix II, Pl. 36/37 II.5DE.[1]
	Arkadius	SEC, 518; Seals nos. 121-2?, Appendix II, Pl. 36/7, II.4B.[2]
	Nestor	SEC, 518.
	Georghius	Acts of 787 Synod; Mansi, XII, 994. Seal no. 124?; Appendix II.[3]

---

1. The see is not given by the seals. I ascribe them to Theodore of Tremythus on the evidence of their obverse which is not unlike that of Arkadius, the Archbishop (seals nos. 66-69 of Appendix II). It is more probable that Theodore of Tremythus, the nearest city to Constantia, would imitate the seals of the Archbishop of Constantia than the Theodori of other sees; for these cf. note 1, p. 133, above.

2. The seals could belong to Arkadius of Tremythus, or Arkadius of Arsinoe, although the type of their obverse which is not unlike that of the obverse of the seals of Archbishop Arkadius, suggests that the Tremythus Arkadius is more likely to have been their owner.

3. The seal does not name the see and I am not very happy to date it to the end of the eighth century.

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
CHYTROI	Spyridon (c.787)	Acts of 787 Synod, Mansi, XII, 994.
	Eustathius (? -885)	Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 208-228, AS, Nov. III, 300, 308. Synodikon of Cyprus; Makhairas; Fl. Bustron.[1]
	Demetrianus (885-c.915)	As for Eustathius.[2]
	Nicetas (10th C.?)	Synodikon ofCyprus,[3] Makhairas, Bustron.
LEFKOSIA	Trifyllius II (10th C.?)[4]	Enkomion to St. Diomedes, by St. Neophytus; Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 213.

---

1. cf. above, p.130, under the chronological arrangement of Archbishops.

2. For references to these sources cf. above p.124 in table of Archbishops, and p. 123 ns. 1-2

3. Nicetas is not mentioned in any other source. The date is not mentioned in either the Synodikon or the later sources. He may have been the successor of St. Demetrianus.

4. The account given by St. Neophytus of St. Diomedes the Younger places Triphyllius within the period of the Arab raids against Cyprus. According to St. Neophytus, it was during one of these raids that Trifyllius was arrested by the Arabs who were demanding the collection of money (Delehaye - Sts. de Chypre, 213). The most probable raid against Nicosia is that of 911/2 when Chytroi was sacked (cf. Chapter I, pp.55-6). This is the only raid in which the Arabs are reported to have ventured to the interior of the Island.

SEE	BISHOP	REFERENCE
UNSPECIFIED	Epiphanius (7th C.)[1]	Seal no. 125; Appendix II, Pl.36/37 II.4D.
	Zenobius (7th C.)	Seal no. 131; Appendix II, Pl.36/37 II.5A.
	Serghius (7th C.)[2]	Seal no. 143; Appendix II, Pl.36/37 II.7A.
	Thomas (8th C.)[3]	Seal no. 137; Appendix II, Pl.36/37 II.6A.
	Ioannes (9th C.)[4]	Laurent - St. Pierre d'Atroa, 169.

---

1. This Epiphanius may be the same Epiphanius who later became Archbishop (cf. p.126, above).

2. The seal may belong to Serghius who succeeded Arkadius to the see of Constantia, probably in 642. (cf. p.125, above.)

3. The seal may belong to Thomas whose election to the see of Constantia, probably in the eighth century is evidenced by another seal (cf. p.128 above).

4. The life of St. Peter of Atroa refers to Ioannis as a bishop, of Cypriot descent. He may have been a bishop in Cyprus but again he may have been a Cypriot who became a bishop of a see outside the Island.

1.b Monasticism

Monasticism like Christianity came early to Cyprus. The monastery of St. Nicolas of the Cats, in the Akrotiri peninsula goes back to the fourth century and may have been the earliest monastic establishment in the Greek East.[1] The existence, in Cyprus, of several monasteries at the beginning of the fifth century is evidenced by the Life of St. Epiphanius,[2] whose successor, Sabinus was abbot of a monastery before his election to the Archiepiscopal throne.[3] The respect for monastic life expressed by Novels 5 and 133 of Justinian I[4] is certain to have been felt in sixth century Cyprus. In the seventh century, this respect is evidenced by Leontios, bishop of Neapolis, in his Life of St. John Eleëmon who, "always honoured the monastic habit and respected it and suffered with it".[5] The contemporary of

---

1. Sathas - Vies de Saints, 406.

2. '... ἦμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων ἅπαντες οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει' cf. G. Dindorfus 'Epiphanii Episcopi Constantiae Opera (1859) XXXIII.

3. ibid. 78.

4. R. Schoell and G. Kroll Corpus Juris Civilis, 3 (1954 ed.) 28ff and 666ff.

5. Gelzer - Leontios, 49.

Leontios, Theodore of Paphos[1] was, prior to his election to the episcopal see, a monk in the Μονή Συμβόλου near Curium.[2]

The unsettled conditions and uncertainty which resulted from the Arab raids and Imperial Byzantine policy in the second half of the seventh and early eighth century doubtless gave an impetus to the growth of monasticism in Cyprus.

In a society like the Cypriot, where religion permeated every aspect of the peoples' life, whether social, political, economic or private[3] it was natural for the people

---

1. cf. Episcopal Lists, Chapter II 1.a(v), p.133 above.

2. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81.

3. Cyprus was doubtless not unique in this respect. Writing on the social life of the Byzantine citizen or peasant, in general, the late Professor Baynes wrote 'The interests and enthusiasms of people were religious and questions whether social or political took a religious form. His world was a world where the supernatural was omnipresent and all powerful. His holidays were religious festivals, his performances in the circus began with the singing of hymns, his trade contracts were marked with the sign of the cross, or contained an innovation of the Trinity, his oracles were given by hermits or through visions accorded by the Holy dead, his protection lay in consecrated amulets, the most powerful remedy in his pharmacopoeia was the dust which contained a drop of sweat from the body of a saint ... every startling event in nature was for him a special omen sent for his warning or encouragement' (N. H. Baynes, The Byzantine Empire (1952, 1958) 22-23).

to look upon any evils or misfortunes that befell them as punishment from God for their known or unknown deviations from His way[1] and equally natural for them to seek protection and salvation of their souls either in renunciation of the worldly in favour of the monastic life which even imperial legislation described as ' πρᾶγμα ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνάγον αὐτόθεν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐς τὸν θεὸν. [2] or in support of monks and monastic institutions by leaving to them their property when they were gone.

The flight of Orthodox monks to Cyprus either from iconoclastic persecutions in Byzantium, in the eighth century[3] or from persecutions in Arab territories in the early ninth century[4] both of which have already been noted, are also certain to have favoured the Island's monastic

---

1. The ills befalling the Cypriots at the time of Muawiya's conquest of the Island were attributed by Michael the Syrian (Michel, Chabot 442) and a thirteenth century anonymous chronicler 'to the wrath of God at the falling away of the Christian priests from the doctrines of Epiphanius' (Hill, 328). The conquest of the Cypriots by Muawiya is also referred to as resulting from their departure from God's way by Ibn-al-Athir and Gawzi (Caetani - Annali, 230).
2. Justiniani Nov. 133. For reference cf. note 4 p.138, above.
3. Life of St. Stephen the Younger cited on pp.111-2.
4. Theophanis, 449 also cited under n. 5 p. 91 above.

movement. The now defunct monasteries of Panayia ton Katharon, Agros and Panayia Absithiotissa, which derive their names from monasteries or localities in Constantinople[1] were probably founded by refugees from Byzantium's capital. The original foundation of Antiphonetes monastery may also date back to this period and may owe its name to the image of Christ Antiphonetes above the Palace gate of Chalke, in that it was the first image to be destroyed by Leo III in his campaign against images.

It is not unlikely that an Iberian monastery was also founded in the Island, at Yialia, near Arsinoe, by Iberian monks flying from Palestine[2] during this period. This monastery is known to have been renovated in the late 12th or early 13th century[3] but evidence of its existence in the 10th century is also known.[4]

---

1. T. P. Themelis 'Eponymics of the Virgin in Cyprus' (in Greek) (1926) 13, 17, 22; K. Spyridakis, 'The monastery of Makedonitissa, in Cyprus' (in Greek) K.Σ, 7 (1943) 2.

2. For the Iberians in Palestine cf. A. P. Kerameus, IB, (1897) 307.

3. It was renovated by Queen Tamara (1184-1213). Information in a letter of the director of the Georgian Museum of Arts dated 29th Feb. 1960 to the Mayor of Nicosia citing 'KARTLIS CHKHVREBA' (The Life of Kartli), in the History of Georgia, Tiflis (1959).

4. A tenth century Georgian MS refers to the Iberian monastery in Cyprus. cf. P. Peeters 'Traduction et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie Orientale a l'époque Byzantine' AB, 40 (1922) 241-298 citing on p. 285 n.8. Th. Zordania 'Chroniques et autres materiaux concernant l'histoire de la Georgie (in Georgian), Tiflis, I (1952) 128.

Ὁ Κάλλιστος ἡγούμενος διαφόρων μοναστηρίων Κύπρου

signed the Acts of the seventh Oecumenical Synod in 787[1] and the Island is referred to as full of monasteries and ascetes in the tenth century.[2]

The following table shows those monasteries, the existence of which during the period of this thesis is evidenced in sources, tradition or archaeological remains:

Monastery	Evidence
St. Nicolas of the Cats	Tradition (Hill, 244, 273; Hackett-Papaioannou Ἱστορία B, 150ff. Corinthian capitals of VIth C. date.
Stavrovani ?	Tradition (Hill, 272; Hackett-Papaioannou Ἱστορία B, 293-4. Pre-christian remains. The existence of a monastery during the period 649-965 is probable but not certain.
Moni (near Chrysoroiatissa)	Tradition (L. Philippou 'The monastery of the 'Priests'' (in Greek) K.X, 4 (1926) 310-9; VIth century church apse surviving.
Panayia Sykhada (Rizo karpaso)	Remains of columnar and vaulted basilica (cf. Chapter II.3).
Panayia Kanakaria Lythrankome	Remains of columnar and vaulted basilica and VIth C. apse mosaic (cf. Chapter II.3). The church became that of a monastery in the Middle Ages. At the period under discussion it may have been that of a village settlement.

1. Mansi, XIII, 153.

2. Georghios Hamartolos, PG, 110, 409; monks and monasteries in 9th century Cyprus are referred to in the Life of St. Constantine Judaeus (AS, Nov. IV (1925) 636).

Monastery	Evidence
St. John Chrysostome Koutzoventis	Early Byzantine capitals and other marble remains. Of the present buildings the earliest is probably of late 10th C. date.
Ayia Aikaterini (Vasilia)	Sixth century corinthian capitals and columns.
Panayia Kriniotissa	Archaeological evidence of seventh century date. Cyprus Arch. Survey Inv. no. 611.
Panayia Arakou (Laghoudera)	Archaeological evidence CM Inv. no. 1940/III - 12/9 RDAC (1937-39) 206.
Panayia Angeloktistos (Kiti)	Apse and mosaic decoration of late seventh century date (cf. Chapter II.3).
(near Curium)	Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81 and 102* n.1.
Antiphonetes Panayia Katharon Panayia Ansithiotissa Monastery of Agros	As suggested above.
Ayia Mavra, (East of Kerynia)	Paintings; cf. Chapter II.3, p.200.
Panayia Chrysospiliotissa near Deftera	Rock-cut church, probably of this period.
Ayioi Phanentes (near Ayios Epiktetus)	Life of St. Constantine Judaeus AS, Nov. IV, 639 §.30.
St. Antonios (near Chytroi)	Life of St. Demetrianus, (Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 223).
St. George (Mavrovouni)	Probable St. Neophytus: Enkomion to St. Theosebius (Delehaye: Saints de Chypre, 195).
Unspecified	Life of St. Constantine Judaeus, ibid, 636.

Asceticism, like Monasticism, also appeared early in the Island's history. From as early as the third century there seems to have been ascetes in Cyprus. The Synaxarion of Sts. Reghinus and Orestes refers to them as having arrived in Cyprus from Chalkedon with many others who 'went their various ways some becoming ascetes in secret places others losing their heads to pagan executioners'.[1] The date of Sts. Reghinus and Orestes and of their companions is indicated by a carved stone sarcophagus lying in a tomb chamber beneath the ruined church of St. Reghinus, near the village of Phasoula, the style of which

> 'seems to mark the transition from pagan to Christian art and probably dates from the third century A.D.'[2]

In the following century doubtless asceticism, in Cyprus, was given an impetus by the great St. Hilarion who spent his last days in a cave, near Paphos.[3]

In the seventh century, stylites and hermits are said to have lived on the Island at the time of the Archbishop

---

1. Fol. 38 of MS in church of St. Reghinus at Phasoula, Cyprus.

2. A. H. S. Megaw in Guide to the Cyprus Museum (1953) 120.

3. Hieronymus, Vita S. Hilar. PL, 23, 50-1; Hill, 248. L. Philiphou 'The life and death of St. Hilarion the Great, in Cyprus' (in Greek) K.Σ, 4 (1940) 33-38.

Arkadius.[1] Their number was probably increased through the flight to Cyprus of monks and ascetes from Palestine and Egypt following the Persian and Arab conquests.[2]

The Medieval Cypriot chonricler Leontios Makhairas does in fact tell us that

> When the Saracens seized the Land of Promise then the poor Christians who had escaped departed and went wherever they found a place of refuge ... and a company who were 300 persons came to the famous land of Cyprus, and when they heard that pagans ("Ελληνες) ruled the land in terror they went to one place and to another and dug into the earth and lived there, and offered their prayers to God.[3]

Various dates for the emigration of the 300 Saints to Cyprus have been proposed by various writers,[4] doubtless because Makhairas misused his sources[5] and presented as one several events of the same nature.[6] This is clearly shown

---

1. Delehaye Les Saints Stylites (1923) CXL and n.2. For Arkadius cf. Appendix II, seals nos. 66-69.

2. The flight of people from Palestine and Egypt to Cyprus during the reign of Herculius is indicated by the increased gold coin circulation in the Island at that time. cf. Chapter I, p. 24 n.1

3. Dawkins - Makhairas, 28-29 §.31.

4. cf. Appendix IV.

5. For the sources used by Makhairas cf. Dawkins - Makhairas, II, 12ff and 'On a hagiographical source used by Leontios Makhairas' K.X. 11 (1935) 10-23.

6. cf. Appendix IV and Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 277 n. 276.

by the Akolouthiai and Synaxaria of some of the Saints listed by Makhairas as of the 300, which have survived independently.[1] But in all likelihood some of the sources used by Makhairas referred to the flight to Cyprus of Christian refugees from Arab lands, during the period of this thesis, in 813, as recorded by Theophanis[2] but also earlier in the second half of the seventh or first half of the eighth century. The Egyptian copt chronicler Severus ibn-al-Muqaffa refers to trials and tribulations of the Christians under Moslem rule in Egypt in the seventh century, particularly at the time of the Patriarch Isaac (686-689), in 705 and in 713.[3] The Christians, doubtless, sought refuge from these tribulations and from the persecutions that followed the iconoclastic edict of Caliph Yezid, in 721, and some of them may have fled to Cyprus. It is not unlikely that some of them reached the Island during one of the short periods when the Arabs were in control of it[4] in which case it could be said that 'pagans (Ἕλληνες) ruled the land'.[5]

---

1. cf. Appendix IV.

2. cf. passage cited on p. 91 n.5

3. A. A. Vasiliev 'The iconoclastic policy of Caliph Yezid' DOP, 9 (1956) 40-41 and n.19.

4. cf. Chronological Summary in Chapter I, pp. 83-5 above.

5. cf. Sathas, Vies de Saints, 408; cf. p. 145 n.3

Of the two Christophers mentioned by Makhairas, one may have been the pupil of St. Stephen the Younger who, I have suggested, was subsequently elected Archbishop of the Island.[1]

The practice of electing monks to the episcopal sees or even to the archiepiscopal see in Cyprus was one of long standing[2] and was continued during the period of the Arab wars as is shown by the Life of St. Demetrianus, who was forced to abandon his cell and accept his election to the see of Chytroi.[3]

Cypriot monasticism is known to have contacts with monks from Mt. Olympus, in Bithynia, some of whom visited the Island on various occasions.[4] But at no time was Cypriot monasticism affected by the spirit of conciliation and moderation which found favour with the majority of the monks of Mt. Olympus, in regard to the restoration of images in the ninth century.[5] The Cypriots could not understand

---

1. cf. p. 128.

2. cf. p. 138.

3. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 230.

4. cf. Chapter I, p. 81 n. 1. One of the pupils of St. Peter of Atroa (d.837) was an Ioannis bishop of Cypriot descent. (V. Laurent, St. Pierre d'Atroa, 169.)

5. Dvornik - Les légendes, 126ff.

the problems which called for conciliation, moderation and caution in the restoration of images, in Constantinople, because they had had no iconoclasm and consequently did not know of them. They would probably be prepared to forgive iconoclasts who recanted and renounced their heretical beliefs, as Constantine of Constantia had done at Nicaea, in 787,[1] but the need for cautiousness in the restoration of images they could not understand and therefore they could not accept. In this respect they may be described as Studites.[2]

The practice of electing monks to the Cypriot sees inevitably affected the policies of the Church of Cyprus not only in its ecclesiastical but also in temporal affairs. The pro-Studite attitude of the Church of Cyprus after 843 is indicated in their hesitation of accepting Byzantine authority as long as Methodius, an exponent of the policy of moderation,[3] occupied the see of Constantinople, and is conclusively shown in the letter of their Archbishop Epiphanius to the Patriarch Ignatius in 870[4] expressing the pleasure of the Cypriots at his reinstatement.

---

1. Mansi, XII, 1015, 1047, 1117.
2. cf. Chapter I, p. 64, n. 4.
3. Dvornik, loc.cit. 122ff.
4. Mansi, XVI, 308; cf. also Chapter II 1.a(i) pp 92, 96.

2. THE PEOPLE

a. Ethnic character

From as far back as the Mycenaean Age, when Cyprus was colonised from the Greek mainland, the ethnic and cultural connections of the indigenous population of the Island has been Greek.[1] People of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds had certainly made their way to Cyprus, where they settled, at various times, from prehistoric to Early Byzantine. Among these, the Jewish community in particular must have been considerable,[2] if we judge from the insurrection of the Jews under Trajan in115/6.[3] But the foreign communities were, on the whole, concentrated in the cities and were never large enough to affect or alter the character of the autochthonous population, which in many cases absorbed and assimilated the newcomers.[4]

The survival of Jews in Cyprus, in the seventh century, is evidenced by the writings of the monk Anastasius, from which we learn of the burning of a Jew named Daniel, at Constantia, where he was convicted of practising magic a

---

1. I do not want to imply by this that the Cypriots were, at this time, motivated by the ideas and principles of modern nationalism.
2. For the settlement of Jews in Cyprus cf. Hill, 241, n.4. St. Barnabas founder of the Church of Cyprus was a Jew from Salamis.
3. Hill, 242 and n.1.
4. The greekness of the great majority of the Island's population is also indicated by linguistic, literary and archaeological evidence. cf. pp. 144 ff.

few years before the first Arab raid on the Island,[1] and of the conversion to Christianity of a Jewish boy at Amathus, after the second Arab raid, in 653/4.[2] The Adversus Judaeus of Leontios bishop of Neapolis, also suggests the existence of Jews in Cyprus in the seventh century.[3] However, in view of the Cypriots' opposition to iconoclastic policies and the fact that iconodules believed a Jew to have been responsible for the origin of the iconoclastic movement,[4] any Jews staying in Cyprus after 730 may have been forced to leave the Island. We have no evidence of Jews living in Cyprus between this date and 965.[5]

The letter of the Emperor Heraclius to the Archbishop of Cyprus, Arkadius,[6] against the Paulicians suggests that followers of this sect existed in Cyprus. These were, probably, Christian Armenians who had been settled in Cyprus by

---

1. Nau - Les Recits, 57-8.

2. ibid. 58. J. Starr, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire", 85.

3. Leontios may have composed the Adv. Jud. in Alexandria, as Baynes suggests (The icons before iconoclasm, 97). But it is not unlikely that he was prompted to write against the Jews from their activities in Cyprus.

4. Acts of the 787 Synod. Mansi, XIII, 196-200.

5. For the persecution of Jews in the 9th century cf. Dvornik, Les Légendes, 202ff.

6. Mansi, XI, 525; for Arkadius cf. seal no. 66 in Appendix II.

Maurice Tiberius in the 6th century.[1] Whether the Cypriot Armenians persisted in their unorthodox beliefs after the outbreak of Iconoclasm it is not known. By that time however, most if not all of the Armenians setted in Cyprus villages in the 6th century would have been absorbed and assimilated by the autochthonous Greek population. More Armenians may have settled in Cyprus in the 9th century, when the former strategus Alexius, the Armenian, was sent by Theodora to head the civil administration of the Island.[2]

The Emperor Heraclius may, also, have been responsible for the settlement of stratiotai in Cyprus, in which he seems to have taken a personal interest.[3] It is not unlikely that in addition to his attempt to make the Church of Cyprus the subject of a theological experiment[4] Heraclius may, with greater success, have made the Island the subject of an

---

1. Hill, 281, n.4 and authorities cited therein.

2. cf. Chapter I, pp. 62 ff. The Armenians as a separate community survive, today, only in Cyprus towns. But the name of Armenokhori in the Limassol district suggests that at one time they also lived in villages. It is not certain however that Armenokhori goes back to the 6th century; its foundation may not be earlier than the Middle Ages.

3. The repairs of the Constantia aqueduct during the reign of Heraclius (Mitford, IECC, 117-125) was probably carried out at imperial expense. The interest of Heraclius in Cyprus is also indicated by the establishment of a royal mint at Constantia (cf. Wroth, BMC, 222-3 and Pl. XX for bronze folles struck in Cyprus in 626/7 and 627/8, and Appendix I B nos. 53-5 for such coins circulating in Cyprus under Constantine IV.

4. Hill, 283.

administrative experiment by sending a strategus to administer it. This is indicated by one biographer of St. John Eleemon, who tells us that on his return to Cyprus from Alexandria, in 616, the sent intervened between the strategus Asparugius who ' ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίαν τὴν κατὰ Κύπρον σταλεὶς καὶ μὴ δεχθεὶς παρὰ τῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς πόλεμον ὡπλίσθη '[1] and the citizens of Constantia. The stratiotai of Asparugius were probably settled in Cyprus in the same way as other soldiers were being settled in provinces of Asia Minor at about the same time.[2] More soldiers, known as apelatai may have been settled in the Island towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. This is suggested by the survival of the place name apelates of an Early Byzantine settlement, of that date, near Kormakiti village,[3] and by the widespread cult of the patron Saint of the apelatai, St. Mamas, in the Island. Recent investigations below the pavement of the church of St. Mamas at Morphou revealed the remains of an earlier church the foundation of which may date from this period.[4] It is not unlikely that these apelatai

1. Delehaye, St. Jean l'Aumonier, 25. This administrative experiment may not be unconnected with the organisation of the Byzantine Empire into themes.

2. Ostrogorsky, History, 87.

3. cf. p. 261 below.

4. cf. p. 185 below. Also Sathas, MB, II, VS; in view of the above evidence the view of Sathas should be preferred to that of Hill, 261, n.2.

were Mardaites from the Lebanon from where they are known to have been translated by Justinian II, in 688.[1]

A military unit which in all likelihood was sent to Cyprus during Constantine VI's reign (780-790),[2] may have disbanded itself and its members settled in the Island following the Arab attack of 806.[3] In all probability they had been sent to Cyprus from the Cibyrrhaeote theme but we have no evidence of their ethnic character.

The evidence of Baladhuri that following the second Arab raid of 653/4 Muawiya, in addition to the establishment of an Arab garrison, had a group of people transplanted from Baalbek to Cyprus where he had a city erected for them and that the city was not abandoned until Muawiya's son and successor had the garrison withdrawn, has already been cited.[4] So has that of BarHebraeus that in 691 Justinian II had sent and made captives the Arabs who were in Cyprus.[5] The presence of Arabs in Cyprus is also implied in the story of the arrowing of a mosaic in Cyprus reported in the letter

---

1. Theophanis, 363.
2. cf. pp. 52 ff.
3. cf. p. 54 above.
4. cf. p. 18 above.
5. cf. p. 38 above.

of the three Eastern Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus, in 836, and in other sources.[1] The same conclusion may be drawn from the Life of St. Constantine Judaeus, which refers to Saracens arriving in the church where the Saint was praying whilst in Cyprus,[2] and from the letter of Nikolaos Mystikos to the Caliph of Bagdad which refers to the arrest by the Byzantine admiral Himerius of Saracens he found in the Island.[3]

Two Arab tombstones, one dating from soon after the first Arab raid[4] and the other from 780[5] also attest the presence of Arabs residing in Cyprus.

By the terms of their treaties with the Cypriots the Arabs were free to call at Cyprus and to stay or settle there if they wanted to. According to Tabari,

> The Imam of the Musulmans ought to chose for them a patrician from among the Cypriots.[6]

---

1. cf. pp. 116-7.
2. AS, Nov. IV, 638.
3. PG, 110, 33.
4. Hill, 329; J. S. Thomine, "Guide des lieux de Pelerinage" by al-Harawi (d.1215), 126. According to al-Harawi the inscription when he saw it was built in the east wall of a church. I owe this reference to Mr. J. Parker.
5. A. H. S. Megaw for St. H. Stephan, "A muslim tombstone from Cyprus", JRAS (1950) 108-9.
6. Canard - Deux épisodes, 62, n.5.

But the Arabs residing in Cyprus would be those attending the Caliph's representatives in the Island,[1] traders, businessmen and the like and would congregate together in cities. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Arabs settled in Cyprus as land cultivators.

Commenting on a passage in the Life of St. Constantine Judaeus which states:

> ‹ Ἐξεῖ γὰρ ἀναδασμός τις κατὰ Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς πολιτείας οὕτω δόξαν τοῖς πάλαι τὰ Ρωμαίων ῥθύνουσι σκῆπτρα τρόπῳ τινὶ συμφερούσης οἰκονομίας ›[2]

Professor Jenkins suggested that

> the phrase ἀναδασμός πολιτείας means merely that Christians and Saracens enjoyed equal rights of citizenship.[3]

If by equal rights of citizenship one means that the Arabs were entitled to the same rights in Cyprus as the Cypriots were entitled to in Arab territory the suggestion of Professor Jenkins may be accepted.[4]

---

1. cf. p. 79 above.

2. AS, Nov. IV, 638.

3. Jenkins - Cyprus, 1011.

4. It is very doubtful however that the author of the Life of St. Constantine Judaeus, had this in mind or that his ἀναδασμός πολιτείας implies more than a reference to the treaty between the Byzantine Emperors and the Caliphs concerning the revenues of Cyprus (cf. Chapter I, pp. 37-8).

On the status of the Cypriots in Arab territories and of the Arabs in Cyprus Professor Canard is very convincing when he writes:

> ... les Musulmans à Chypre devaient jouir du même traitement que les Chypriotes en territoire islamique. Or ceux-ci, en tant qu'habitants d'un pays ayant un traité avec les Musulmans, obtenaient automatiquement l'amān et la qualite de musta'min c'est-à-dir que, comme tout autre harbī admis à séjourner en pays musulman, ils jouissaient de la sauvegarde et étaient sous le protection des autorités musulmanes pour leur vie et leur biens. On sait que le musta'min même si la guerre éclate entre son pays et le pays musulman dans lequel il se trouve, continue à jouir de l'amān et peut retourner chez lui en toute sécurite. Le terme musta'min est employé par les juristes aussi bien pour l'étranger en territoire musulman que pour le Musulman en territoire étranger. Il est donc probable que le Musulman était musta'min à Chypre, comme le Chypriote l'était en Syrie par exemple.[1]

However, the Greekness of the autochthonous population of Cyprus during the period of the Arab wars is indicated by:

i. the failure of the Arabs to occupy and 'colonise' the Island in the same way they had colonised Syria, Palestine and Egypt.[2]

ii. the repeated violations of the treaties of neutrality.[3]

---

1. Canard - Deux épisodes, 66.

2. Caetani, Annali, VII, 223 rightly observes that the Cypriots were not susceptible to the attractions of Islam in view of the fact that they were 'racially different from the Semitic (Syrians and Arabs) inhabitants of continental Asia'.

3. cf. Chapter I, pp. 83-5

iii. the Cypriots' support of iconodule religious policies.[1]

iv. the literary and archaeological evidence.[2]

It is also directly admitted by at least one Arab writer, the 10th century geographer, Istakhri, who refers to the Island's inhabitants as Christian Greeks.[3]

---

1. For the adherence of people of Hellenic origin to the worship of religious images cf. Grabar, L'Iconoclasme, 96.

2. cf. pp. 158 ff and Chapter II·3.

3. de Goeje, BGA (1870) 70. Istakhri's work was in reality an elaboration of that of Balkhri (d.934) written in 920 (cf. Aly Mohammed Fahmy, Muslim sea power in the eastern Mediterranean from the 7th to the 10th century (1950) 16). Balhkri may himself have copied from the oldest known Arab geographer Ibn Khordadbeh (d.885).

b. Language

The language of the indigenous population of Cyprus was unquestionably Greek. But because of the Island's geographical position and its historical associations from the Hellenistic times onwards, the Greek of the Cypriots was, often, more closely connected with the Greek that was developed in Alexandria rather than with the Greek of Athens or Constantinople. In Alexandria, it seems, the Greek koine or spoken language was used in writing as far back as Ptolemaic times, and it survived there in papyri and inscriptions under Roman, Byzantine and Arab rule.[1] The literary connections of Cyprus with Alexandria were revived and strengthened in the 7th century, especially at the time St. John Eleëmon, a Cypriot,was Patriarch of the latter city.

---

1. Sathas, MB, 6, δ'-ιγ'

Arkadius of Constantia,[1] Leontios of Neapolis,[2]

---

1. For the dates of Arkadius cf. seal no. 66 in Appendix II. He was the author of a Life of St. Symeon Stylites, (Krumbacher, Geschichte, 191), an Enkomion to St. George (Krumbacher, ibid.), and of Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ Ἀγώνων Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου (A. P-Kerameus, "Περὶ τινος συγγραφῆς Ἀρκαδίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου", Viz. Veem, 1 (1894) 603).

2. Leontios was bishop of Neapolis in the 7th century when he wrote, various Homilies (PG, 93, 1597-1612), a Life of St. Symeon the Fool, (PG, 93, 1669-1748; AS, July I, 136-169) and a Life of St. John Eleëmon, (Gelzer - Leontios). His life of St. Symeon the Fool has been described as an example of the Alexandrinian koine (Sathas, loc.cit., κα′ - κβ′) and that of St. John Eleemon as 'un specimen assez rare du Grec Alexandrin' (J. Van den Gheyn in reviewing Gelzer's Leontios von Neapolis, BZ, 2 (1893) 636). His Adversos Judaeos may have been written in Alexandria itself (cf. p. 150 n.3 above). For the use of the koine by Leontios cf. also H. Gelzer, "Ein griechischer Volkschrifsteller des 7 Jahr." Hist. Zeit, 61, (1889) 1-38. Internal evidence in the Life of St. John Eleemon shows that Leontios wrote it during the reign of Constans II (cf. Gelzer - Leontios, 13) but we do not know the exact dates when he was bishop of Neapolis.
I have not been able to study comparatively the Λόγος εἰς τὰ προφωτίσματα καὶ εἰς τὰ Βαΐα καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔγερσιν τοῦ Λαζάρου published by Migne (PG, 61, 715) as the work of St. John Chrysostome or the Λόγος εἰς τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν published by Migne (PG,86-92, 1976) as the work of Leontios-presbyter of Constantinople, and cannot therefore say whether they are the work of Leontios, presbyter of Neapolis and Leontios of Neapolis respectively as Codex 136 (14th C.) and Codex 6 (9-10th C.) of the Library of the Holy Sepulchre claim they are (cf. A. P-Kerameus, IB, I (1891) 242, 22). Fabricius (Bibliotheca Graeca, X (1807) 302 and 309) accepts these as works of Leontios of Neapolis.

Theodore of Paphos,[1] Theodore of Tremythus,[2] Anastasius the Monk[3]

---

1. He is known from his Life of St. Spyridon which he read at Tremythus on the occasion of the Saint's feast day in 655. (Van den Ven - St. Spyridon.)

2. He represented the Island's Archbishop at the sixth Oecumenical Synod at Constantinople in 680 (cf. pp. 126, 135). He wrote a Life of St. John Chrysostome (cf. Krumbacher, Geschichte, 191; Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca, X (1807) 210, 246; PG, 47, LI-LXXXVIII; L. Allatius in Mai's PNB, 6.ii (1853) 265-290; A. P. Kerameus, IB, 2 (1894) 62-63.

3. A monk Anastasius Sinaites, the Cypriot, is known from his Διηγήματα Ψυχωφελῆ καὶ Πνευματικά published by F. Nau, in 1902 (cf. Nau - Les récits). He entered the monastery at Sinai at the same time as Stephanus, another Cypriot monk (Nau, ibid. 3). Stephanus is known to have died in 650/1 from the Life of St. Spyridon (cf. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 91). Anastasius was in Cyprus after the second Arab raid of 653/4 and dined at the table of the bishop of Amathus, Ioannis (Nau, ibid. 58ff). He seems to have travelled a lot in Syria and Palestine visiting many cities and monasteries (cf. A. P-Kerameus, IB, I (1891) 198-9) for Holy Sepulchre Codex 113, fols. 217b and 225a giving the Διηγήματα of Anastasius).
The Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ Ἀποκρίσεις published in PG, 89, 311-824 seem, on the whole, to be the work of the Cypriot monk. Question 94 shows that he knew Cyprus well; Question 96, which speaks of Cypriots working in the area of the Dead Sea, also shows the interest of Anastasius in Cyprus; Question 117 indicates that this work was written in the first half of the 8th century. Questions 2 and 57 which give extracts from the writings of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople are almost certainly later interpolations. A 15th century MS of Mt. Athos (cf. S. Lambros, MSS on Mt. Athos, I (1895) 392) gives the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις as the work of Athanasius (? a mistake of Anastasius) the Cypriot.
The Viae Dux (Ὁδηγός) published in PG. 89, 45ff, as the work of the same Anastasius who wrote the Interrogationes, is obviously the work of another Anastasius. The author of the Viae Dux is versed in Greek philosophy which the author of the Interrogationes despises.
The Adversus Judaeos also assigned by the PG, (ibid. 1203-1282) to Anastasius Sinaites cannot be earlier than the end of the 9th century (cf. Dvornik, Les Légendes, 201; G. Bardy 'Les Trophées de Damas', PO, 15.ii (1920/7) 187). A critical study of the writings of the various Anastasii is lacking.

and the anonymous author of the Life of St. John Eleemon,[1] all wrote in the Alexandrian Greek koine or spoken language in preference to the Attic style prevailing in Constantinople.[2]

In Cyprus the spoken language was, in the seventh century, also used in inscriptions as those from the aqueduct of Constantia show.[3]

It is difficult to speculate as to what would have happened had Cyprus remained under direct Byzantine administration, after the lossof Palestine and Egypt to the Arabs. It is not impossible that Cypriot writers might, then, have adopted the Attic style of Constantinople. But, as we have seen, Cyprus too was severed from the Byzantine Empire and for long periods remained outside the literary influence of the Byzantine capital. Since the influence from Alexandria was also lost literary and intellectual activities in the Island were, doubtless, adversely affected.[4] However, the use of the Greek koine, in writings does not seem to have

---

1. Delehaye - St. Jean l'Aumonier, 8, dates this work after that of Leontios of Neapolis, which he used, and before Symeon Metaphrastes who used it.

2. Sathas, MB, 6, ιη΄, considers that Cyprus was the first stage from where the koine spread to the rest of the Greek world.

3. Mitford, IECC, 117-125; Chr. Pandelides 'Of the medieval Cypriot dialect' (in Greek) BZ, 31 (1931) 325.

4. L. Philippou, The Greek letters in Cyprus (in Greek) (1930) 20.

been given up. The spirit and grammar of the koine survived and were retained in the Cypriot dialect which was evolved in the Island during the Latin occupation (1191-1571).[1]

With the exception of the Life of St. Spyridon by Theodore of Paphos, the anonymous Life of St. John Eleemon and the Life of St. Demetrianus, no other works survive which can be dated with certainty to the period of this thesis. Certain hagiographical works may, however, be tentatively assigned to this period. They are:

1. The De Inventione Crucis,[2] by the Cypriot monk Alexander. This work is usually associated with the Laudatio in Ap. Barnabam[3] which is usually dated to the sixth century.[4] An Iberian MS in the Bodleian Library, in Oxford,[5] refers to the author of the De Inventione Crucis, as Alexander the monk from Amathus. It is not unlikely that this Alexander was the one who in 787 attended the 787 Synod

---

1. Sathas, loc.cit. ΚΕ'; Pandelides, loc.cit. 326.

2. PG, 87-93, 4013-4076;

3. ibid. 4087-4106; AS, June, II, 436-452.

4. S. Salaville, Le moine Alexandre de Chypre, EO, 15 (1912) 134-7; Delehaye Saints de Chypre, 236.

5. P. Peeters 'De Codice Hiberico Bodleiana Oxoniensis' AB, 31 (1912) 301-318.

at Nicaea as bishop of Amathus.[1] There is nothing in the De Inventione Crucis which is opposed to this hypothesis.

2. The Life of St. Auxibius[2] which according to Delehaye was written between the 6th and the 11th century[3] may have been written during the period of the Arab wars.

3. The Life of St. Trifyllius[4] was in all likelihood written during the first half of the tenth century. This is indicated by the reference made in the text to Saracens profaning the Saint's relics, an event unlikely to have taken place before Damian's raid of 911/2,[5] and by the reference to the emanation of the Holy Ghost from the Father only, a fact suggesting that the filioque controversy was fresh in the writer's mind. The writer was a Cypriot since he claims to have witnessed the profanation of the Saint's tomb.[6]

---

1. Mansi, XII, 994.
2. AS, Feb. III, 124-128.
3. Delehaye, loc.cit. 237.
4. AS, June, II, 681-685.
5. cf. p.50.
6. This work seems to have been used by St. Neophytus in his Enkomion to St. Diomedes the Younger. (cf. Delehaye, loc.cit. 212-216.)

4. The Life of St. Therapon, published by Deubner[1] may also have been written by a Cypriot in the ninth century.

An exemption to the general use of the koine in writings of this period is the Life of St. Demetrianus, whose author seems to have been versed in rhetoric as practised in the tenth century, had some knowledge of philosophical doctrines and probably knew part of the classics.[2] He probably received his education in Constantinople in the second half of the ninth or first decade of the tenth century[3] but he wrote the Life of St. Demetrianus, in Cyprus and for the Cypriots not long after the Saint's death.[4]

---

1. Deubner, De Incubatione, 120ff.

2. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 312/4.

3. For the co-operation of the Cypriots with the Byzantines during this period cf. Chapter I, pp.68-70

4. Gregoire, ibid. 213.

c. Education

We know very little about the education of the Cypriots during Byzantine period in general and much less for the period of the Arab wars. The view that St. Helen had founded schools in Cyprus ' πρὸς θεραπείαν τῆς τε ἕω καὶ δύραθεν παιδείας ',[1] is disproved by the evidence of the Gymnasium at Salamis, which, following its destruction in the earthquakes of 332 and 342, was reconstructed for use as Public Baths.[2] In all likelihood, education in Cyprus during the period of the Arab wars was organised and directed by the Church and must have been restricted to the teaching of the ἱερὰ καὶ θεῖα γράμματα which formed the basis of sacred (ἕω) education (ἀναγωγή). St. John Eleëmon was brought up ' ἐν πάνυ παιδεία καὶ νουθεσία κυρίου ' [3] and St. Demetrianus was trained from his youth ' ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἤδεσί τε καὶ μαθήμασι παίδευσιν '.[4] It is very doubtful whether Cypriots could

---

1. Hackett-Papaioannou, ἱστορία, A, 19. On the legend of St. Helen's visit to Cyprus cf. Chapter II.5, p.269,n1,below. For Byzantine education in general cf. Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, A, I (1948) 37ff; for Byzantine education in the 8th and 9th century cf. Dvornik Les Légendes, 27-82, Les Slaves, 11-125, and 'La carriere universitaire de Constantin le philosophe', BYz-Slav, 3 (1931) 59-67.

2. A brief history and description of Salamis (1959) 5-12.

3. Delehaye, St. Jean L'Aumonier, 20.

4. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 222.

receive secondary education (ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσιν), which covered the study of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy,[1] in Cyprus. The Cypriot monk Anastasius leaves one in no doubt as to what he thought of profane education[2] and the author of the De inventione Crucis, also a Cypriot[3] does not deny that,

> ‹ οὐδὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδεύσεως
> ἐν μυήσει γεγόναμεν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀσκήσεως
> γυμνασίαν κεκτήμεθα › [4]

---

1. Koukoulles, loc.cit. 48ff.

2. PG, 89, 680 where profane education is referred to as ἀνόητος καὶ βλαβερὰ σοφιστεία and ibid. 681 where he advises τῶν ἐθνικῶν βιβλίων πάντων ἀπέχου and comments καὶ γὰρ Ἕλληνες φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν for in his view true wisdom could only be derived from a knowledge of the scriptures (ibid. 672/3). cf. p. 160 n. 3, above.

3. cf. p. 162, above.

4. PG, 87-93, 4016.

The style of the Life of St. Demetrianus, indicates that a number of Cypriots, doubtless both lay and ecclesiastical, went to Constantinople where they were trained in ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις during the period of Cypro-Byzantine co-operation, in the second half of the ninth and the first decade of the tenth century.[1] But the number of such Cypriots could not have been great.[2]

---

1. cf. Chapter I, pp.68-70 and Chapter II, 2, b. p. 164, above.

2. The bishop of Arsinoe, Arkadius, was, according to St. Neophytus, sent by his parents to receive his education in Constantinople (Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 191, 199), but we have no information as to his date; cf. also p.164 above.

d. Employment, Industry and Trade

The cultivation of land has been the main preoccupation of the Cypriots from prehistoric to modern times. During the period of the Arab wars farming provided employment not only for the majority of the inhabitants of the rural areas[1] but also for a fair number of citizens. Citizen landowning farmers at Tremythus are referred to in the Life of St. Spyridon[2] and at Constantia they are implied in the story of miracles performed by icons related by Constantine of Constantia at Nicaea in 787.[3] Citizen tenant farmers at Chytroi are known from the Life of St. Demetrianus.[4]

Wheat, the cultivation of which is evidenced by the Life of St. Spyridon,[5] and barley must have been then, as they are today, the most important crops under cultivation. But legumes, such as vetch, for feeding oxen, and industrial

---

1. Conditions in the rural areas are more fully discussed in Chapter II.5, below.

2. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 11ff; 14ff.

3. Mansi, XIII, 77; cf. passage cited on pp. 112-3, above.

4. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 234. For agricultural and vinicultural activities of citizens in other parts of the Byzantine Empire cf. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine Cities, 65.

5. Van den Ven - loc.cit. 11ff; 14ff.

crops such as flax, linseed,[1] aniseed and hemp, may, also, have been cultivated though not on such a large scale.

Next to agriculture, viniculture seems to have been the major source of employment of the Cypriot peasant. Commenting on Botrus Cypri dilectus meus mihi in vineis Engaddi, the 13th verse of Solomon's Cantica Canticorum, Gregory the Great referred to Cyprus as the island,

'in qua uberiores vineae quam alibi nascuntur'[2]

Archaeological and toponymic evidence confirm the widespread cultivation of vines during the period of the Arab wars. Various sites recorded by the Cyprus Archaeological survey[3] indicate that vines were cultivated not only on the central mountain range, the viniferous regions of the Island today, but, also, along the northern range of mountains where vine cultivation today is almost unknown. The place name of the locality Λινός (wine press) about a mile inland from Ayios Thyrsos, in the east end of the northern range[4] confirms the

---

1. The cultivation of flax and linseed in the regions of Soloi, Lapethos and Chytroi is referred to in inscriptions of the third century B.C. cf. T. B. Mitford 'Cypriot writing: Minoan to Byzantine', Archaeology 5 (1952) 154.

2. PL, 79; cf. also PL 91, 1097 for Bede's comments on the same verse.

3. Remains of wine presses have been recorded at these sites. Information from Dr. H. W. Catting formerly Archaeological Survey Officer, Cyprus.

4. Peristianes, Ἱστορία..., 519; cf. Pl. 2 for Ayios Thyrsos.

evidence recorded by the Archaeological Survey, in the west end of the same range. The vineyards which are implied, in the Life of St. Spyridon, at the locality Παρύμνη , near Chytroi, in the fourth century[1] are not likely to have been abandoned by the seventh.

A fair number of peasants and of some citizens were also engaged in animal husbandry. Goats and sheep are referred to in the Life of St. Spyridon[2] who is said to have been a shepherd before his election to the see of Tremythus.[3] The brother of Arkadius, bishop of Arsinoe, Theosebius was also a shepherd.[4] A shepherd of sheep is also referred to in the Life of St. Constantine Judeus, in the ninth century.[5]

The cultivation of fruit bearing trees was doubtless carried out in conjunction with agricultural or viticultural activities but we lack details of such cultivation. Palm trees in Constantia are referred to in the Itinerarium of

---

1. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 63-64.
2. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 54, 72-73, 79.
3. ibid. 2-3.
4. Enkomion to St. Theosebius, by St. Neophytus (cf. Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 191). St. Neophytus also refers to shepherd peasant farmers (ibid. 196) in the region of Akamas. The date of St. Theosebius and his brother are not certain.
5. AS, Nov. IV, 637 §34.

Antoninus Placentinus in c.570[1] and were to be found in most Cyprus cities, then, as they are today. But it is doubtful whether palm tree cultivation was undertaken as a means of sustenance. The cultivation of olive trees on the other hand must have been extensive for the export of olive oil from Cyprus to Egypt in late Roman times is an attested fact.[2]

The mining industry in Cyprus dates back to prehistoric times. Copper was the main product in these early days[3] but by-products of copper and silver were, also, anciently mined.[4] In early Byzantine times copper is known to have been exported to Egypt[5] and, if the evidence of an anonymous Persian geography of the late tenth century may be relied upon, the mining of both copper and silver alongside that of

---

1. P. Geyer, It. Hierosol., CSEL, 38 (1898) 159, 195.

2. L. C. West 'Phases of commercial life in Roman Egypt' JRS, 7 (1917) 52. Other Egyptian imports from Cyprus, at this time, are given as pinewood, IOS (used as a remedy in eye diseases) and cadmia, the ancient name for calamine, a zinc ore. The mining of cadmia at Soloi is evidenced by Galen who visited the mines there in the middle of the second century (cf. K. K. Keshishian Romantic Cyprus, 9th ed. 185).

3. Hill, 8-9 and references therein.

4. ibid. 7, 10, 173, for silver mines.

5. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies, 147.

plasma continued, in Cyprus, throughout the period of the Arab wars.[1] The ἀργυροπρᾶται from Neapolis, referred to in The Life of St. John Eleëmon[2] may have been money changers but they were more probably silversmiths or silver merchants trading the silver from the Island's mines.

Since most of the Island's cities were coastal it was inevitable that a number of citizens would be employed as sailors. Some of them, even from inland cities, such as Tremythus[3] owned their own ships and made their living by trading with overseas countries, both Arab and Byzantine. The Life of St. Spyridon speaks of a naukleros from Tremythus who

> ... asked to be loaned a small sum of money in order to buy a cargo (βηδίδιον) for his ship so that by trading it he could maintain his family. [4]

This story was related to the author of St. Spyridon's Life by an old man from Tremythus, a fact suggesting the

---

1. Hudud al Alam (The Regions of the World), a Persian geography of AH.372-AD.982, Translated and explained by V. Minorsky, Oxford (1937) 59.

2. Gelzer - Leontios, 45.

3. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 65.

4. ibid. 92ff. cf. also R. S. Lopez 'The role of trade in the economic readjustment of Byzantium in the seventh century', DOP, 13 (1959) 81; and H. Gregoire 'Les mots βηδίδιον et βκορτίδιον dans la vie de S. Spyridon', La Nouvelle Clio, 4 (1952) 324-325.

existence of sea merchants at Tremythus and other cities in Cyprus in the seventh century, and no doubt later. This is also indicated by the fact that a similar story is related by Leontios of Neapolis in his Life of St. John Eleëmon.[1]

Some of the merchandise carried by Cypriot traders to Arab territories are known from sources mainly of the tenth century. Timber is mentioned by Eutychius of Alexandria who informs us that Thomas, Patriarch of Jerusalem (807-820)

> Cyprum mittens caedi curavit cedrorum et abietum quinquaginta truncos, eosque Hierosolyma adduci.[2]

Styrax and mastiky are named by Istakhri[3] and Ibn Hawqal[4] who refer to Cyprus as a very fertile country.[5] A similar description of the Island is given by Muqaddasi, who writes:

---

1. Gelzer - Leontios, 18. Leontios uses the word ξενώκη in the place of βηθεῖδιον.

2. PG, 111, 1130.

3. O.C, 42; de Goeje BGA I (1870) 70.

4. Sir W. Ouseley The Oriental geography of Ebn Hawkal, (1800) 53; O.C, 67; de Goeje BGA II, 136 and J. H. Kramers Opus Geographicorum (1938/9) cited by K. Hadjipsaltes, Cyprus..., 16. Ibn Hawqal's work is in reality an elaboration of the work of Istakhri; cf. M. Canard in Vasiliev - Byzance et les Arabes, II (1950) 409-411; cf. also n. 3 p. 157 above.

5. Hadjipsaltes, loc.cit. 16.

> ... the island of Cyprus ... offers the muslims many advantages in their trade thither, by reason of the great quantities of merchandise, stuffs and goods which are produced there. [1]

The wine of Cyprus which had been described by Synesius as the finest[2], though not mentioned in the sources, was, doubtless, one of the major exports of the Island.[3] It is not unlikely that the distillation of wine, widely practised in vine growing villages today, was learnt from the Arabs during this period.

The trading of Cypriots with both Byzantines and Arabs at this time is testified by Yahya ibn Said of Antioch who writes:

> Les habitants de cette île avaient apporté paisiblement leur marchandises aux Grecs et aux Musulmans. [4]

---

1. Descriptions of Syria, tr. by G. le Strange, London (1886) 82; de Goeje BGA, III (1906) 184.

2. PG, 66, 1548.

3. For the export of wine from Cyprus in Roman times cf. Hill, 241, n.4.

4. I. Kratchovsky, A. Vasiliev 'Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche', PO, 18 (1924) 794.

e. Conditions of Life

The conditions of life of the Cypriots during the period of the Arab wars can only be surmised. We have no evidence in the sources on this point.

Had the Cypriots accepted and abided by their status of neutrality their economic condition, on the whole, would, probably, have been better than what it had been under Byzantine administration, despite the fact that they now had to pay a double tribute, one to the Byzantines and one to the Arabs.

The advantages to be gained from a neutral status which enabled them to trade freely with both Byzantines and Arabs - probably buying from one and selling to the other[1] - cannot

---

1. Professor H. A. R. Gibb has recently suggested that trade relations between the Byzantines and the Arabs continued even at times of war. (Arab-Byzantine relations, 230-231.) However, the Byzantine trader may have been, at times, reluctant to take his cargo and ship to a country officially at war with his own even though the Arab Caliphs would issue orders prohibiting the placing of obstacles in the way of those who trade by sea. The Cypriot trader, on the other hand, would have no hesitation since his country was neutral and the safety of his life and property were guaranteed. If Byzantine traders could freely call at Arab ports I see no reason why the archon of Cyprus was asked, at the beginning of the tenth century, to send spies to Arab ports (cf. Chapter I, p. 57). Byzantine traders could spy in Arab ports equally well as Cypriot traders.

be exaggerated.

But the political activities of the Cypriots do not seem to have ever been dependent upon economic considerations. Their treaties with the Arabs were repeatedly violated and each violation was, ultimately followed by an Arab raid,[1] which probably destroyed all that had been gained between it and the previous raid. It was inevitable that the economic conditions in the island in general and of the people in particular were adversely affected by these raids.

Bad seasons, droughts, plagues and earthquakes, all of which seem to have befallen the Island at one time or other, during this period,[2] must have rendered the conditions of life of the average Cypriot even more difficult.

And yet, the life of the ordinary Cypriot peasant of those days may have been, on the whole, better than the life of the ordinary Cypriot in the less troubled times that preceded or followed the period of the Arab wars.

---

1. cf. Chapter I, pp. 83-5 above.
2. cf. Chapter II.5, p.268f. The Cypriots of those days must have felt and understood the prayer for protection from 'λιμοῦ λοιμοῦ σεισμοῦ καταποντισμοῦ αἰχνιδίου πολέμου, αἰχνιδίου θανάτου...' as no modern Cypriot can ever hope to understand, far less feel, despite the fact that the prayer is repeated as part of the liturgy in Orthodox churches every Sunday.

The destructive Arab raids of the seventh century and the attempted transplantation of the Cypriots by Justinian II and Abd al Malik[1] are more likely to have affected the powerful and big landowners to a far greater extent than they would the poor and small landowner or dependent farmer.[2] It is probable that the unsettled and unsafe conditions which prevailed in Cyprus in the second half of the seventh and first decade of the eighth century may have led to an increase in the number of free peasants in Cyprus and from this point of view, the life of the ordinary Cypriots, who would have formed the major part of the Island's population, would have been much better than that of the ordinary Cypriots of the pre or post Arab raid periods, for the power and authority of the big landowners would have been weakened and they would have been freer. However miserable and insecure their life, during this period, may have been, it could not have been

---

1. cf. Chapter I, pp. 38-40

2. Justinian II, in any case, could scarcely attempt to remove from the Island any Cypriots other than those who paid the greater amount of taxes, i.e. the big landowners. The idea behind Justinian's action was to deprive the Arabs of their revenue from Cyprus.

worse than that of the ordinary Cypriot living in Byzantine Cyprus towards the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, when, according to Nikolaos Mouzalon, the Island's Archbishop at the time, the Cypriots,

> ... went naked to the day, sheltered only in caves; the fruit of their labours were taken from them; those who could not pay the taxes were hung up and dogs hung up beside them and picked up to tear their flesh. [1]

and when

> Ταλάντεροι μένουσι καὶ τοῦ Ταντάλου
>
> . . .
>
> ἀμῶντες οὐκ ἐσθουσιν, ὡ κενοῦ κόπου
> τρυγῶντες οὐ πίνουσιν, ὡ πικροῦ πόνου
> ἔχοντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ὡ πλούτου ξένου. [2]

---

1. S. I. Donaidou 'The resignation of N. Mouzalon' (in Greek) Ἑλληνικά, 7 (1934) vv 893ff; English translation by Hill, op.cit. 303.

2. S. I. Donaidou, loc.cit., vv, 275, 277-279.

3. THE ARTS

Although much remains to be done, still, before a definite study of the arts of the period of this thesis may be undertaken[1] our knowledge of them has been considerably increased, of recent years, as a result of archaeological investigations and research carried out by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

The wood-roofed basilica with colonnades seems to have been the only type of church architecture put up in the Island, in the period before the Arab raids. The great basilica of St. Epiphanius at Salamis - Constantia, the cathedral churches at Curium (Pl. 4), Lapethus and at the unidentified city near cape Drepanum (Pl. 5), as well as other churches located or investigated in these and other parts of the Island[2] conform to this type.[3] The columns used were either of stone (Salamis, Ayia Trias, Aphendrika),

---

1. In this chapter I can only give a brief outline.

2. Two basilicas at the city near cape Drepanum (JHS, 74 (1954) 175 and Archaeol. Reports, 1955, 45; a small basilica at Ayia Trias, near Yalousa (Arch. Reports, 1957, 50); columnar basilicas have been located at Amathus, Nea (Kato) Paphos, Arsinoe (Polis tes Chrysochou), Soloi, Morphou, Nicosia, Citium, Pyla (near the Larnaca Famagusta road) Karpasia (Ayios Philon) Aphendrika, and elsewhere in the Island.

3. A. H. S. Megaw, in Hill, History, 332, n.2 and 'Three vaulted basilicas in Cyprus' JHS, 66 (1946) 48-56.

granite and marble (Curium), or marble (Cape Drepanum, Karpasia, etc.). Granite and marble columns and capitals were imported.

Church architecture of the period of the Arab wars can be studied in: the church of St. Epiphanius erected on an Annexe of the original basilica at Constantia (Pl. 6); the remains of the second church erected at the site of the church of St. Mamas at Morphou (Pl. 7); the earliest remains of the church of Panayia Angeloktistos at Kiti; the churches of the abandoned town site at Aphendrika (? ancient Urania); the churches of Panayia Sykhada at Rizokarpaso and Panayia Kanakaria, at Lythrankome, and the churches of Apostolos Barnabas, near Constantia and St. Lazarus, at Citium.

The great basilica of St. Epiphanius is said to have been profaned by Muawiya in the first Arab raid against the Island,[1] and no doubt it was damaged in the course of this and subsequent raids. But damage caused by the Arabs does not seem to have been irreparable. For my excavations of the north east section of the church in 1954 and 1956[2]

---

1. Hill, History, 328 citing an anonymous Syrian chronicle published by Chapot in CSCO, Scr. Syr., ser. III, 15 (1916) 271.

2. Exploratory soundings at the site of the basilica were first made in 1890, on behalf of the British Exploration Fund, by Munro and Tubbs who referred to it as the site of the Drums or site H (JHS, 12 (1891) 101-103, 166 and Pl. VII A). It was first identified as the basilica of St. Epiphanius by G. E. Jeffrey as a result of further excavations in 1924 (AJ, 8 (1928) 344-349).

produced evidence of repairs and reconstructions[1] testifying to the use of that part of the building, at least, after the first two Arab raids. However, the basilica seems to have been given up as a church before the end of the 7th century,[2] when it was replaced by a new smaller church[3] comprising a nave and two aisles separated by arches carried on square piers, a narthex and a porch (Pl. 6). The nave and aisles of the

---

1. These include repairs to the 6-7th century opus sectile pavement in front of the north apse, the blocking of doorways and the doubling of the thickness of the original apse wall by deliberately blocking with mortared rubble the passage formed between this wall, and the sixth century semicircular synthronon.

2. Various factors may have contributed to the abandonment of the great basilica. Arab action in the seventies of the seventh century, when an Arab garrison may have been established on the Island (cf. Chapter I, pp.26-7) is not known. But it is not impossible that it was adverse to the maintenance of a large basilica - the original building measured, approximately, 58 by 42ms, excluding the Narthex and Atrium - by a rapidly shrinking population. Earthquakes, which are recorded in the region of Palestine during this period - the Chronikon Maroniticum of 664 records earthquakes in Palestine in the years 658/9 and 659/60 (Guidi - Chronika Minora, 54, 55), and Theophanis reports earthquakes in 659 and 679 in the same region (Theophanis, 347, 356) - may also have struck Constantia causing irreparable damage to the great basilica. Of this however, we have no record. The abandonment of the great basilica as a church is a fact testified by the church which was put up to replace it, but the causes of the abandonment can only be conjectured.

3. The new church was excavated under my direction between 1955 and 1959.

new church occupied the full width of an annexe of the basilica, whilst its narthex and porch extended westwards, into the area of the abandoned basilica, doubtless in order to enclose within its limits the tomb of St. Epiphanius which was located there.[1]

The new Church seems to have been constructed piece-meal and in different mortars. Lime mortar was used for external features[2] and the lateral walls of the Bema, gypsum was used for all other internal features including the square piers and the synthronon steps.[3]

The size of the piers - c. 70 cms. square - and the absence of any pilasters at this phase of construction indicates that the first roof of the new church was wooden and, in appearance, probably not different from the wooden roof of the great basilica. This suggests that the new church

---

1. The construction of the tomb of St. Epiphanius inside the basilica is testified by the letter of Sabinus, successor of St. Epiphanius to the see of Constantia, to Polybius bishop of Rhinocoruri (cf. G. Dindorfus, Epiphanii Episcopi Constantine Opera, I (1859) xxxi-xxxv and 53.

2. These included the apse wall, the reconstructed parts of the annexe walls which would serve as the outer walls of the church and the Narthex walls.

3. The gypsum mortar in the synthronon steps included crushed brick grains and some grains of burned wood, the latter being a characteristic of mortar used in the repairs of the Public Baths carried out after the first two Arab raids and in the construction of the late city wall which as I suggest elsewhere (cf. chapter on cities) was erected under Justinian II, between 685 and 690.

may have been erected not long after the great basilica became unserviceable. A date in the second half of the seventh century is indicated by the archaeological evidence recovered from a packed layer below the pavement in the Bema of the new church.[1]

If the evidence submitted elsewhere in this thesis, in support of the view that Justinian II reconstructed Salamis-Constantia renaming it Nea Justinianopolis[2] is accepted, it is probable that the new church was, also, put up between 685 and 691. However, it is not impossible that the new church was erected after the return of the Archbishop and other Cypriots who had left the Island in 691.[3]

The important differences between the new church and the earlier columnar basilicas, found in the Island, is the use of square piers, instead of columns, between the nave and aisles. This departure from established practice in church architecture resulted largely from economic necessity. The destructions to life and property caused by the initial Arab

---

1. At least two sherds recovered from this layer come from jugs with dimple bases a characteristic of the Kornos cave jugs which are dated by coin evidence to the second half of the seventh century (cf. Appendix III). Most of the sherds from this layer are plain ware ribbed sherds of the type found in a bench in the Public Baths and which are also dated, by coin and other evidence to the second half of the seventh century (cf. Appendix III).

2. cf. Chapter I, pp. 31-7

3. ibid. p. 39

raids and the financial implications of the treaty of neutrality[1] must have disrupted the economy of the Island and may have depleted the treasuries of the Church.[2] New churches, no doubt, had to be erected to replace unservice-able buildings, but in view of the poor state of the finances of those responsible for the erection of the new buildings the strictest possible economy had to be exercised. The most obvious economy to be effected was the replacement of the columns, which were imported, with square piers built with local stone.[3] The use of stone slabs and local marmara

---

1. ibid. p. 37

2. The gold and silver treasures of the Church would be the first and most obvious spoil for which the Arab raiders would look. Church authorities had no choice but to give up their valuables to save their buildings and their flocks (cf. BarHebraeus, 98, for the sparing of Lapethus on the receipt of the gold and silver which the Arabs found there).

3. The absence of marble or granite columns from Cyprus churches of the period 649-965 cannot be explained on the ground that trade in the Eastern Mediterranean was disrupted because of the Arab wars. Arab Byzantine trade relations do not seem to have been terminated because of the wars between the two powers (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, Arab-Byzantine relations, 230ff). The export of columns from Byzantium to Islamic territory is testified by Theophanis for the same year when Justinian II attempted to transfer the Cypriots to the Hellespont, i.e. in 691. According to Theophanis Abd-al-Malik, who wanted to take the columns from the church at Gethsemane, was persuaded by Serghius, his general logothete, and another eminent Christian, Patrikius, not to do so

(Theophanis, 365: 21ff.)

in place of mosaic and marble slabs for paving and the use of cheap, easily and locally produced and quick setting gypsum, where possible, also led to a smaller overall expenditure.

The use of square piers in the place of columns is known to have been used in other parts of the Island and in other churches of this period. At the church of St. Mamas, at Morphou, a series of soundings made under the supervision of Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, in 1958, revealed the remains of at least three earlier churches under the present building (Pl. 7). To quote Mr. Megaw:

> 'The earliest of these, of which traces were found under the west half of the present building and which must have extended outside it, dates probably from the fifth or sixth century. The second was the largest of all and occupied the whole area of the present church as well as considerable space outside it. It had three aisles, separated by arches carried on square pillars of masonry. It was probably erected after the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century when the first church may have been destroyed'.[1]

---

1. Extract from the respective Cyprus Antiquities Department File, from Mr. A. H. S. Megaw's report; cf. also Arch. Reports, 1958, 34. The columnar basilica church, which the church with square piers replaced, may have been rendered unserviceable through Arab action, as Mr. Megaw suggests. It would not be difficult for the Arabs to set fire to a wooden-roofed basilica, but, on the other hand, it is difficult to see either why they should - the purpose of the Arab raiders could be achieved without setting fire to religious buildings - or, if they did, why the new church erected did not reuse the columns of the burned building. It seems to me more probable that the church and the columns were destroyed in an unrecorded violent earthquake. The second church may have been the one erected for use by the apelatai, who may have been sent to the Island by Justinian II (cf. Chapter II,2 p. 152 and Chapter II.5, p. 261). It is not impossible that the new church was dedicated to St. Mamas, the patron Saint of the apelatai, at this time.

At the church of Panayia Angeloktistos, at Kiti, investigations carried out under my supervision, in 1959, below the modern pavement of the present building brought to light remains of the original church which, in my view, cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the seventh century. These remains comprise the synthronon of the first church, under two later ones, the rubbly foundations of an arcade, including the foundations of a square pier below the mid-Byzantine arcade and a semi-column built with rubble and mortar in the form of a square at the base, but rounded at the top, where it is given the shape of a corinthian capital by means of acanthus leaves applied to the masonry in gypsum plaster.[1] This semi-column, which was found during the removal of modern plaster covering the east pier of the south mid-Byzantine arcade, is engaged with the wall that turns to form the apse which carries the famous mosaic of the Virgin Hodegetria. The apse wall was tested, where possible, and found to be of similar construction to that of the column except for a beam of pink concrete which may have been introduced with the intention of strengthening it round its lower half.

---

1. cf. BCH, 84 (1960/1) 295-296 and fig. 75. I regret to have to note that my former colleague in the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in his report of the investigations of the Kiti church quotes, almost verbatim, my preliminary report to the Director of Antiquities without acknowledging it.

The use of square piers or rubbly columns shaped more or less into square piers indicates that the date of erection of the first church cannot be earlier than the abandonment of the use of proper columns which as we have seen did not take place before the Arab raids of the mid-seventh century. A post 654 date is also suggested by a Kornos ware sherd found between the square pier foundation and virgin soil, and by several plain ribbed ware sherds of the Salamis bench type recovered from the rubbly foundations of the early arcade which were cut at one point.[1] The use of gypsum plaster for converting the upper part of the engaged column into a capital is also in support of a post Arab raid dating for the

---

1. cf. Appendix III, for the Kornos and Salamis bench pottery.

church.[1] If the church had been erected before the Arab raids the capital over this and other columns would almost certainly have been of marble.

The new church of St. Epiphanius at Constantia was at a later date again reconstructed by the introduction of massive piers supporting three domes over the nave and by

---

1. Gypsum plaster is known to have been in use, in Seleucia and other parts of the Parthian east for the production of small architectural units such as engaged columns and capitals from as early as the first century of the Christian era, (cf. N. C. Debevoise, 'Origin of decorative stucco' AJA, 45 (1941) 48ff) and this practice survived in Persia and Iraq and was handed down to the Arabs. By the middle of the eighth century the use of plaster as a medium for sculpture was admitted among the established building trades of Syria and Palestine (cf. R. W. Hamilton 'Carved plaster in Ummayad architecture', Iraq, 15 (1953) 43-55 and Khirbat al Mafjar (1959) 156; D. Schlumberger, 'Les fouilles de Gars el Heir el Garbi, 1936-1938', Syria, 20 (1939) 326ff). Had the Arabs of the Syria-Palestine area accepted the use of plaster for the production of small architectural units in the seventh century one might be tempted to suggest that they might have been responsible for the introduction of this technique to Cyprus, probably after the raid of 653/4 when, according to Baladhuri, Muawiya had mosques and a city built in the Island (Baladhuri, 236; cf. Chapter I, p. 18). But the Ummayad Caliphs tended to adopt Byzantine usages and to emulate the Byzantine Emperors especially in the erection of monuments (Gibb - Arab-Byzantine relations, 223-224). It was not until after their defeat before Constantinople in 718 that they turned their backs to Byzantine civilisation in favour of the east (Gibb, ibid. 232-233).
The fact that the Corinthian capitals over the corner columns of the transept of the church of St. Demetrius at Salonika, which were reconstructed in the second half of the seventh century, are also of gypsum indicates that the Byzantines did know of the potentialities of gypsum and did use it when forced either by circumstances or by economic necessity. (For the Salonika capitals cf. G. and M. G. Soteriou Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (1952) 25, 126, 127, 128, 130, 143, 145 and 170; I owe this reference to Mr. A. H. S. Megaw.)

the addition of pilasters carrying transverse arches in the aisles, obviously in connection with their re-roofing with vaults. These reconstructions were probably carried out towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, in all likelihood, at the expense of the Emperor Leo VI, who, according to local tradition, had the body of the saint translated to Constantinople.[1] The fact that Leo VI did translate the supposed relics of St. Lazarus from the Saint's church at Citium (Pl. 8), in 901[2] and the similarity between Constantia and Citium churches, does suggest that local tradition concerning the translation of the relics of St. Epiphanius may not be without foundation. It is very likely that both churches were reconstructed at the Emperor's expense in exchange for the relics of the Saints.

The same arrangement of three domes over the nave and vaulted roofs over the aisles has survived in part in the reconstruction of the original church of St. Barnabas, near

---

1. Neophytus Rhodinus in Kyprianos, Istoria, 524.

2. R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, C. A. Mango, 'Nine orations of Arethas', BZ, 47 (1954) 7. The second and third of these orations edited by Mango refer to the translation of the relics of St. Lazarus.

Constantia[1] (Pl. 8). This reconstruction and the small domed chapel of Ayios Georghios, at Aphendrika (Pl. 9), might also date from the same period.[2]

The transition from the wooden-roofed church with arcades over square piers to the vaulted church with domes over the nave was not a direct one. The vaulted basilica without domes seems to have been an intermediary stage in the development of church architecture in Cyprus. Two churches at Aphendrika, one at Sykhada and the second church of Panayia at Lythrankome belong to this type.

> "Massive piers in the nave arcades, internal blind arcading, attached pilasters carrying transverse arches under the vaults, and the absence of clerestory windows, these are the characteristic

---

1. The present churches of St. Barnabas and St. Lazarus have suffered various and radical transformations in the course of time (G. Soteriou, 'Les églises byzantines à Chypre à trois et à cinq coupoles et leur place dans l'histoire de l'architecture byzantine' SBeN, 6 (1940) 401-409 and Figs. 1 and 2 on p. 403. The original basilica of St. Barnabas must have been of the wooden-roofed type not domed as Soteriou (ibid. 404) suggests. Like the basilica of St. Epiphanius it may have been reconstructed between the seventh and the ninth century but of such reconstruction we have no evidence.

2. cf. also, G. Soteriou, BMK, fig. 7 and Pl. 13b. The dome is carried on transverse arches, a feature which may have been copied from the nearby vaulted basilicas of Panayia and Asomatos.

features'[1]

of the churches of Panayia (Pl. 10) and Asomatos (Pl. 9) at Aphendrika. The church of Panayia, at Sykhada, in the village lands of Rizokarpaso, (PL. 10) various from the two Aphendrika churches in that it lacks the interior blind arcading in the aisles, but has this in the Narthex, which the other two churches lack. Like these, and in the same manner, the church of Panayia at Lythrankome was reconstructed, from an Early Byzantine columnar basilica the main apse of which was retained and incorporated in the reconstructed building.[2]

The vaulted churches of the Aphendrika type cannot be dated to the 12th century as some have suggested[3] for at this time they

> are not at home among the many churches built between the Byzantine reconquest and the occupation by Richard Lionheart, for of these all the larger examples are domed[4]

---

1. A. H. S. Megaw, Three...basilicas...,50. In this article Mr. Megaw tentatively dated the Aphendrika churches to the period after the Byzantine reconquest of 965; he has, however, revised his view since then and is now of the opinion that they belong to the period of the Arab wars. I understand Mr. Megaw is going to comment on the Aphendrika churches in a paper he is reading at the Byzantine Congress, at Ochrid, in September, 1961.
2. A. H. S. Megaw, ibid. 54, n.13.
3. They are assigned to this date by C. Enlart (L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre, I (1889) 395-401); G. Jeffrey (A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus (1918) 258-260) and R. Gunnis (Historic Cyprus (1956) 167 and 414).
4. A. H. S. Megaw, Three...basilicas...,54.

For the same reason they cannot be dated to the period of the domed churches of Sts. Epiphanius, Barnabas and Lazarus. Nor can they be dated to the period before the Arab raids when the columnar basilicas which they replaced were standing.[1] On the evidence of the wooden-roofed church with arcades on piers of St. Epiphanius a date in the second half of the seventh century should also be excluded.[2] The size and type of the churches of the Aphendrika family suggest that

---

1. They were assigned to this period by Professor G. Soteriou 'Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου', Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (1931) 8 and BMK, Figs. 4 and Pls. 10a, 11a, 15a (Panayia), Fig. 5 and Pls. 11b and 12b (Asomatos). Professor Soteriou has also revised his views since then and now agrees to a dating within the period of the Arab wars.

2. It might be argued from the fact that all known churches of the vaulted basilica type in Cyprus are in the Karpas peninsula, that they reflect a local type of church architecture. But the fact that no other church of this type has been identified in other parts of the Island is not necessarily proof of their absence. Their survival in the Karpas peninsula may be coincidental. If it is proved that it is not, their dating again becomes problematical. For although they can be dated to the period after the abandonment of the columnar basilica type, i.e. after the mid-seventh century Arab raids, once they are detached from the main line of the development of church architecture in the Island, it becomes impossible to assign them to any particular period. The only other evidence available is the surviving 16th C. church inside the vaulted basilica of Panayia, which does provide a terminus ante quem.

they were built at a time when either the finances of those commissioning their erection could afford the cost, or when financial assistance from outside the Island could be forthcoming. In view of the conditions prevailing in the Island between the seventh and ninth century[1] the second alternative should be preferred. And since we know that the Cypriots invoked the help of Byzantium between 780 and 806[2] we must conclude that the above churches were erected during this period.[3]

Civil architecture of the period of the Arab wars has not, so far, received the same attention as ecclesiastical architecture.[4] Consequently we know very little about it.

The Public Baths into which the Salamis Gymnasium was reconstructed (Pl. 11) following its destruction in the fourth century earthquakes was, again, the subject of repairs in the second half of the seventh century and continued to be

---

1. cf. Chapter 1, above.

2. cf. Chapter I, p.52, above, and Chapter II.5, pp.269-70 below.

3. A 'grant-in-aid' to the Cyprus Church may have been made, at this time by the Empress Irene, probably at the request of the Cypriot bishops who attended the 787 Synod (cf. p. 51 above).

4. We know nothing of the domestic architecture of this period, not because it does not exist (in ruins) but because it has not been investigated. The ruins at Constantia and Chytroi, to name only two places are certain to include the remains of private buildings.

used for some time after the mid-seventh century Arab raids.[1] But these repairs do not offer anything new to the civil architecture of the period, and the repaired building remains, essentially, the same as that existing before the Arab raids.[2]

At Kyrenia Castle certain features recently brought to light may date from the period of this thesis. These comprise: parts of both the outer and inner south walls of the first castle, including a pentagonal tower of the outer wall[3] and a tower of elongated pland with semicircular front containing a cistern[4] of the inner wall; parts of the inner west wall of the first castle including a tower at the south west corner.[5]

---

1. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1957, 47-48 and 1958, 32.

2. The building was finally destroyed by earthquakes (not by Arab raiders) probably in the eighth century but it is not certain that it continued to function as Public Baths beyond the end of the seventh century. The latest remains in the open courtyard and in the stoas are of very poor quality and suggest the abandonment of the building to squatters. The evidence for the repair of the building under Justinian II is discussed in Chapter II.4.

3. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', 1951, JHS, 72 (1952) 117. This tower is one of a series projecting from the original outer south wall. Parts of at least two others have been identified in opening a blocked gallery of the Lusignan fortifications that encase them.

4. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1953', JHS, 74 (1954) 175.

5. Mr. Megaw is now preparing a preliminary study of these and later remains in the Castle for publication by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

The most impressive and without doubt the most important single monument of this period, however, is the castle of the Forty Columns at Nea Paphos (Kato Paphos) (Pl. 12) which was partly investigated by Mr. A. H. S. Megaw between 1957 and 1959.[1]

> "The castle consists of a keep, approximately square, with projecting towers, surrounded by an outer wall and a ditch. The keep had a small courtyard, about 13 m. square, surrounded by massive piers which carried vaulted undercrofts round its four sides. ... The keep was entered from the east through a projecting horse-shoe gate tower, with the inner gate in the line of the wall and the outer in the south flank, both once provided with the portcullises and the outer one with a massive corbelled batrice."[2]

Eight towers of varying form project from the outer wall and

> "five of these contain staircases leading to sally ports opening into the ditch, but the main outer gate has not yet been located."[3]

The castle was repaired in mid Byzantine and early Lusignan times but was destroyed by the earthquake of 1222 when it was abandoned.[4]

The castle may be assigned to one of three periods. To

---

1. A. H. S. Megaw, Arch. Reports, 1957, 48-49 and Arch. Reports, 1958, 32ff.
2. A. H. S. Megaw, Arch. Reports, 1957, 48-49.
3. A. H. S. Megaw, Arch. Reports, 1958, 32.
4. ibid. 33.

the second half of the 7th century when it could have been erected to counteract the Arab raids;[1] to the period 780-806 when it could have been put up to garrison part of the armed unit the Byzantines may have sent to the Island at the invitation of the Cypriots;[2] or to the period 849-910 during which Bysantine control of the Island was again effected.[3] I would hesitate to decide in favour of any of the above periods, at this time, and before Mr. Megaw has completed his study and publication of the results of his investigations. I would, however, note that the Life of St. Willibald, who visited the Island and passed through Paphos in 723, refers to the Cypriots as being unarmed at the time of the Saint's visit[4] and draw attention to the evidence of Masudi, who, reporting the Arab raid of 911/2, informs us that Damian

> resta dans cette îsle pendant quatre mois a faire des prisonniers, incendier et conquerir les places ou les habitants s'etaient fortifies.[5]

---

1. This is the date tentatively proposed by Mr. Megaw (ibid, 32).
2. cf. Chapter I, p. 52 above, and Chapter II, pp. 269-70, below.
3. cf. Chapter I, pp. 62 ff, above.
4. Tobler and Molinier, Itin. Hierosol., 260. cf. also Chapter I, p. 48 above.
5. Masudi, 282; cf. also, Chapter I, p. 50 above.

In my view both these statements should be taken into consideration in deciding the date of the Castle of the Forty Columns.[1]

Paintings.

Very few paintings of images of our period have survived. 'Earthquakes and the hand of time'[2] careless reconstruction

---

1. Islamic fortifications of this period should also be taken into consideration, I think, in view of the fact that the idea of a more or less square fort with eight towers is found in some Islamic Ribats (cf. K. A. C. Cresswell, EMA (ed. Penguin) (1958) 233 and fig. 46). The gate to the keep may, also, prove an important criterion for the dating of the Castle, for it has all the elements of a bent entrance, a feature which, according to Cresswell (ibid. 174-179) is not found before the ninth century when it appears in the south gate of the Citadel of Ancyra. Cresswell dates the bent entrance to this castle to the reign of Michael III on the evidence of two inscriptions in the name of that Emperor. (cf. H. Gregoire, 'Inscriptions historiques byzantines' B, 4 (1927/8) 437-468, and 'Michel III et Basile le Macedonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre' B, 5 (1929) 327ff.) These inscriptions certainly point to work by Michael III at Ancyra but they do not prove that the Castle was built in toto, by him. For a date of the original castle in the second half of the seventh century cf. A. H. S. Megaw, in Arch. Reports, 1958, 32 citing P. Wittek in Fetschrift Georg Jacob, 330.

2. Hill, 321.

and ignorance[1] these are the factors that brought about the loss of both monuments and of their paintings. Iconoclasm had no part in this.[2] Known paintings, now lost, are those in the church of St. Spyridon, at Tremythus, to which Theodore bishop of Paphos refers in his Life of the Saint in 655;[3] the paintings and the church of Panayia, at Constantia, those in a church at Citium, to which Archbishop Constantius referred, at Nicaea, in 787;[4] and probably the painting of the Virgin and Child in mosaic, above the entrance to a church in the southern parts of the Island, referred to by the letter of the three eastern Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus in

---

1. Even today some village church authorities have a weakness for whitewashing monuments in their charge, or covering paintings with carpenters' varnish, in the belief they are improving them. Paintings which are said to have dated from the beginning of the tenth century were lost in this manner in a chapel of St. Mamas at Pano Lefkara (R. Gunnis, Historic Cyprus, 321; I. K. Peristianes, Ὁ σταυρὸς τῶν Λευκάρων, Ἐκκλ. Κῆρυξ (Larnaca) 2 (1912) 665.

2. cf. Chapter II.1, pp. 109-117

3. Van den Ven, St. Spyridon, 88ff. The present church of St. Spyridon was rebuilt in the 18th century; it incorporates remains of at least three earlier buildings. (Gunnis, op.cit. 443.)

4. cf. Chapter II.1, pp. 112-3, above.

836.[1]

1. cf. Pl. 3 from Bodleian Library Codex Baroc. 148, Fol. 93. The full letter was published from MSS 48 and 179 from Patmos by I. Sakellion, in Ἐκκλης. Κῆρυξ, 8 (1864). Sakellion's text was republished with an Italian translation in Roma e l'Oriente (1912/13) 225-239, 273-285 and 349-366. Other MSS containing the letter are referred to by F. Halkin 'Les differentes éditions de la Synodique a l'empereur Théophile', AB, 76 (1958) 64, n.4. The letter published in PG, 105, 345-385 is spurious and apocryphal (cf. A. Vasiliev 'The Life of Theodora of Edessa', B, 16 (1942/3) 165 and I. I. Smirnov 'The Christian mosaics of Cyprus' (in Russian) Viz. Vrem, 9 (1897) 1-94, greek translation by A. Deliyiannis, Ἐκκλης. Κῆρυξ, Larnaca, I (1911) 43ff). A more elaborate account of the same story is given by Smirnof from the 16th C. Codex Vat. Gr. 1141, fols. 129-132; Damaskenus of Thessalonika, Βιβλίον Ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρὸς (1618) under Λόγος ΚΕ΄ gives the story of the Cyprus mosaic but with some details: according to his version, the mosaic was over a doorway, outside the church, and showed the Virgin enthroned carrying the Christ child on her knees, between the two Archangels; the story is supposed to have been related, along with others by the Patriarch of Constantinople, to Leo III, in an attempt to dissuade the Emperor from pursuing his iconoclastic policy (cf. also Smirnof, loc.cit. 11, for reference to the 1676 edition of Damaskenus' book). If the sources used by Damaskenus are correct then the mosaic referred to in his story and in the letter of the three Eastern Patriarchs is lost. For no mosaic above a doorway outside a church survives in Cyprus today. It is not impossible however that Damaskenus is mistaken in placing the mosaic outside the church. The story in Codex Vat. Gr. 1141 (Smirnof, loc.cit. 6) places the mosaic inside the church. If so, then the sixth century mosaic in the apse of the Church at Panayia Kanakaria, fits in with Damaskenus' description, in that it shows the Virgin Enthroned with the Christ child on her knees flanked by the two Archangels (cf. A.H.S. Megaw, Early Byzantine Art in Cyprus, Κυπριακὰ Γράμματα, ΚΑ΄ (1956) 174 and 'The mosaics in the church of Panayia Kanakaria in Cyprus' Atti del VIII Congr. di studi Bizantini (1953) 199 and Pl. XLVI). There is still the difficulty that Lythankome cannot, today, be described as lying in the south parts of the Island. But one does not know what conception the writers of the Cyprus mosaic story had about the shape of Cyprus. Some medieval maps place the Karpas peninsula more or less in line with the southern coast (cf. O.C, Taf. IV, facing p. 416) and it may be that in the 9th C. or earlier this was the prevalent view about the Island's shape; in which case the church of Kanakaria could be said to lie in the southern parts of the Island. In support of the hypothesis that Kanakaria was the church of the Cyprus mosaic story, we have a local tradition which places the story of the arrowing of the mosaic in the

The painting of the Ascension and other paintings in the rock cut chapel of Ayia Mavra, east of Kerynia[1] and some of the paintings in another rock cut chapel, that of Ayia Solomone at Nea (Kato) Paphos[2] may be included among the paintings that have survived.

But the most important painting of the period that has come down to us is undoubtedly of the Virgin Hodegetria, painted in mosaic in the apse of the church of Panayia Angeloktistos at Kiti (Pl. 13). In my consideration of the early architectural remains of this church I have suggested that the church in whose apse the mosaic is set cannot be earlier than the second half of the seventh century[3] and elsewhere I have suggested that the mosaic may have been the work of Byzantine artists from Constantinople.[4] This suggestion, is, I think, borne out by a consideration of the iconographic and stylistic evidence.

Turkish period (1571-1878) and derives the name of Kanakaria from the Turkish word kan- blood- on the ground that when a Turk threw an arrow against an icon blood started running from it (cf. Chr. Charalambous 'Η μονὴ Μαχαιρᾶ καὶ Κανακαρκᾶς· Η παραγωγὴ ἰῆς ἐπωνυμίας των K.X, 10, 1934, 311).

1. Soteriou, BMK, Fig. 3a and Pl. 3b for the chapel and Pl. 62 for a painting showing the Archangel Michael.

2. ibid. Pl. 7b.

3. cf. pp. 186-188.

4. cf. p. 31.

The Kiti mosaic is the only extant example of a standing Virgin Hodegetria in mosaic decoration of the pre-iconoclastic date. A similar decoration, however, seems to have been executed for Hyakinthos, in the apse of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea, in the late seventh or early eighth century.[1] The standing Virgin Hedegetria is also known to have been used on imperial seals of the first quarter of the eighth century[2] a fact suggesting that this type may have been in vogue at Constantinople in the half century preceding

---

1. E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, 12-16 and Fig. 28, and P. Underwood, 'The evidence of restorations in the sanctuary mosaics of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea', DOP, 13 (1959) 235-243 and fig. 3, have shown conclusively the existence of a standing Virgin in the apse of the Nicaea church; this was replaced by a cross in iconoclastic times and the cross was again removed by Naukratios, who restored the status quo ante.

2. Lihacev, Leon III. Lihacev questions the identification of a seal published by J. Ebersolt (Sceaux byzantins du Musée de Constantinople, RN (1914) 210, no. 137 and Pl. VII, fig. 2) as that of Philippicus Bardanes, but Lihacev's arguments are not convincing. The earliest imperial seal with the standing Hodegetria may have been one of Justinian II. The seal of Michael III with the standing Hodegetria on the obverse (Grabar, L'Iconoclasme, fig. 55) may copy an earlier similar seal of Justinian II, in the same way that coins of Michael III copy coins of Justinian II (Grabar, L'Iconoclasme, figs. 12-14 for coins of Justinian II and figs. 46-47 for coins of Michael III). It is not impossible that Justinian II had transferred to his seal a Virgin Hodegetria put up in his or his father's time in a church at Constantinople.

the outbreak of Iconoclasm.[1]

The iconographic relationship of the border of the Kiti mosaic (Pl. 14) with some of the 691 decoration of the Dome of the Rock[2] as well as with some of the contemporary mosaic decoration in the church of the Nativity, in Bethlehem[3] supports the dating of the Kiti mosaic to the late seventh or early eighth century.

The Kiti mosaic has been dated from the fifth to the

---

1. Lihacev, Leon III, 477 cites P. Kondakov, Ikonografia Bogomateri, I (1914) 156, as referring to several copies of icons of the Virgin Hodegetria from the 6th century onwards; but the Virgin Hodegetria on these icons was of the half figure type and there is no evidence to suggest that the standing Virgin Hodegetria was painted on icons or elsewhere before the second half of the seventh century. The miniature in the 6th century Rabula Gospel depicting a standing Virgin Hodegetria is almost certainly a later interpolation (Lihacev, ibid. 478).

2. Cresswell, EMA, I (1932) 190, fig. 186.

3. H. Stern 'Les representations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité a Bethléem', B, 11 (1936) 101-152 and B, 13 (1938) 415-459.

tenth century, and even later[1] probably because of the juxtaposition of two conflicting styles, the three dimensional and the abstract, certainly, in some cases, on the basis of wrong historical abstractions.[2]

The firm perspective and modelling, the delicacy and vigour in the details and the illusionistic effect of the whole border, standing out against a dark background, are

---

1. Smirnov, op.cit. (cf. p. n.) dated the Kiti mosaic to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. A sixth century date was favoured by: C. Diehl, Manuel d'Art Byzantin, (1925) 205; O. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology (1911) 385; A. Grabar, L'Art Byzantin (1938) Pl. 58; N. Bettini, La pittura Bizantina: I Mosaici (1939) 43-44; H. Peirce and R. Tylor, L'Art Byzantin, II (1934) 110 and Pl. 124; N. Kondakov, Ikonografia Bogomateri (1914) 231. David Talbot-Rice, Byzantine Art (1954) 91 and D. Wulff, Altchrist. und Byz. Kunst (1936) 521 favour a seventh century date, and so does A. H. S. Megaw - Early Byzantine Art in Cyprus, op.cit. 171 and Early Byzantine Monuments in Cyprus, Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, 1958, (1960) 350 - who does not exclude the possibility that the mosaic was set in some period of partial recovery following the first two Arab raids. Th. Schmidt (IRAIC, 15 (1911) 207 suggested a ninth century date and Madame M. G. Soteriou, Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς χρονολογίας τοῦ μωσαϊκοῦ τῆς Παναγίας Ἀγγελοκτίστου BNJ, 14 (1935) 293ff, one in the third quarter of the tenth century. For an even later date cf. A. Frolow, 'La mosaique murale byzantine' Byzantinoslavica, 12 (1951) 180-209.

2. Madame Soteriou's dating of the mosaic (reference in previous note) was based, mainly, on the wrong historical assumption that Cyprus went through iconoclasm, and that it was lost for Byzantium except for seven years under Basil I, until 965. This, as I have already shown, was not the case.

all hellenistic in quality. So are the heads of the Archangels, especially in the soft but firm modelling of the features, and the Virgin's foot-stool projecting into space in a most remarkable way. These three dimensional characteristics contrast sharply with the developed iconic character of the Virgin and the abstract treatment of the background and draperies of the figures. The stiff pointed projection in the Virgin's robe, echoing that of Michael's mantle introduces an incongruous rhythm rather alien to the classical spirit of the whole composition, but at the same time contributes towards the creation of a general impression of monumentality.

The juxtaposition of the three dimensional and the abstract is not, however, unique to the Kiti mosaic. It has recently been shown by Professor Kitzinger, that dualism in works of art of the seventh century was a common phenomenon which continued similar trends found in works of art of the previous century.[1] By comparison with works of art of the Justinian era most of the seventh century works lack 'the intensity and dynamic quality of the former',[2] but towards

---

1. Kitzinger, op.cit. 32.

2. Kitzinger, op.cit. 32.

the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century a return to 'Justinianic ideals in the rendering of individual figures' and in the achievement of monumental effects through a synthesis of the two styles[1] is again discerned. It is to this class of monuments that the Kiti mosaic belongs, both in style and in compositional effects.

The Kiti mosaic was ,almost certainly, the work of Byzantine artists from Constantinople sent to Cyprus, probably, at the request of the church of Cyprus.[2] But whatever the origin of the artists, the Kiti mosaic remains the only surviving example of church mosaic decoration of the late seventh or early eighth century, and from this point of view, its importance in the history of the style of Byzantine pictorial art cannot be exaggerated.

---

1. Kitzinger, op.cit. 32.

2. The artists could have been engaged by Theodore, bishop of Citium, when he attended the sixth Oecumenical Synod, at Constantinople, in 681 (cf. p. 28 above). But the possibility that they were sent to Cyprus by Justinian II, either at the time of his work at Constantia (cf. pp. 31, 193 above and p. 210 below), or, at the time of the repatriation of the expatriated Cypriots, probably in 708 (cf. p. 45 above), cannot be excluded.

4. THE CITIES.

The known cities of Cyprus on the eve of the Arab invasions were:

1. Salamis - Constantia, the metropolis.
2. Citium.
3. Amathus.
4. Neapolis.
5. Curium.
6. Nea Paphos.
7. Arsinoe, the ancient Marium.
8. Soloi.
9. Lapethus.
10. Kerynia.
11. Karpasia.
12. Tamassus.
13. Tremythus.
14. Chytroi or Kythria.
15. Lefkosia or Kallinikesis.

With the exception of the last four, all the above cities were coastal. All of them have been the centre of habitation from prehistoric times and all, except Neapolis, had been cities from classical times onwards.

Salamis,[1] which had prospered and become famous under

---

1. For the early history of Salamis cf. RE, Bd. IV (1901) 953-957, and 2nd series I (1920) 1832-1844; Hill, 7, 44, 86, 115, 127-129, 228ff; also, A brief history and Description of Salamis, Antiquities Dept., Nicosia, Cyprus, 1959 ed.

its king Evagoras (411-374 B.C.) was severely damaged by earthquakes during the reign of Vespasian, in AD.76 or 77,[1] and in the revolt of the Jews in 115/6;[2] it was finally destroyed in the earthquakes of 332 and 342,[3] following which it is said to have been rebuilt by Constantius II (337-361) who had it renamed Constantia.[4]

Between the fourth century when Constantia superseded Paphos as the capital of the Island[5] and the first Arab raid of 649, the new metropolis expanded and prospered, and, despite the fact that it seems to have been the victim of

---

1. Hill, 235 and n.1.
2. ibid. 241-243.
3. Theophanis, 29 and 37.
4. Malalas, (ed. Bonn) 313, wrongly dates the foundation of Constantia to Constantine Chlorus; cf. also, O.C, 140 and Hill, 245 and n.5.
5. Hill, 250 and n.2.

more earthquakes,[1] by the second half of the sixth century it was

> civitas pulchra, deliciosa, ornata palmis dactalorum. [2]

The city reached its height of development and prosperity under Heraclius who favoured it with the establishment of a

---

1. An inscription recovered from the East Stoa of the Public Baths refers to the restoration of Cyprus to its pristine glory by one Valerius, probably a local governor of the Island. Megaw dates the inscription to the 6th century on the wrong, I think, assumption that it formed an integral part of an opus sectile pavement datable to the 6th C. (cf. Arch. Reports, 1958, 31.) The tabula ansata, on which the inscription is cut, did form part of the opus sectile pavement in question, but the inscription did not; for when the tabula ansata was set, as part of the opus sectile pavement, it was pressed into the fresh lime-mortar bedding so that the latter overflowed and was deliberately spread and smoothed over the inscription which it obliterated. The inscription was discovered during consolidation of the opus sectile pavement carried out under my direction; the slab was lifted and the mortar covering the inscription was found to be identical both in colour and texture with that of the bedding into which the slab was set. Mitford, with whom I discussed the inscription, has no objection to dating it to the early 5th century or earlier (cf. Arch. Reports, 1958, 32, for a previous reporting of my view), on epigraphic grounds.

2. P. Geyer, Antonini Placentini Itinerarium, Itin. Hierosol. CSEL, 38 (1898) 159.

royal mint[1] and whose benefactions included extensive repairs to its aqueduct.[2] At that time the city covered an area over a mile long by one mile wide (Pl. 15)[3] and may have had a population of about 150,000.[4]

Being the metropolis of the Island, and doubtless its largest and richest city, it was inevitable that Constantia would be exposed to the full brunt of the Arab raids. Muawiya's reported behaviour at Constantia[5] cannot be confirmed independently in all its details. But extensive damage to two of the major buildings of the city - the Basilica of St. Epiphanius and the Public Baths, which have been investigated - at the time of Muawiya's raids in 649 or 653/4, is confirmed by the evidence of the excavations of these buildings, carried out between 1952 and 1960, and there is no reason to believe

---

1. cf. Wroth, BMC, Pl. XXVI, 4.

2. cf. Mitford, IECC, 117-125.

3. The city extended beyond the limits shown on the map to the West and South.

4. This figure is arrived at as follows: The whole area covered by the city was approximately 30m. square feet; half this area was, probably, either free space or occupied by public buildings; if we allow 100 sq. ft. per inhabitant, for the remaining 15m. sq. ft. we arrive at the figure of 150,000. Hill, 242, suggests a population of 120,000 on the ground that the aqueduct would serve some 120,000 inhabitants.

5. cf. pp. 12-18 above.

that other buildings did not equally suffer. On the other hand, evidence of repairs and reconstruction datable to the same period has been recovered both from the basilica of St. Epiphanius[1] and the Public Baths, indicating their continued use after Muawiya's raids. The basilica was finally abandoned, probably before the end of the seventh century, and a new smaller church was erected over one of its annexes at about that time.[2]

The Public Baths (Pl. 11) also were repaired, and seem to have remained in use throughout the seventh century. Several rooms alongside the stoas surrounding the open court in front of the main building, were abandoned and used as dumping ground for the debris cleared; doorways and archways were blocked and damage to the pavements of the east stoa and the main buildings made good, probably during the reign of Constans II and Constantine IV, to which an inscription from the debris of the West Hall of the main building has recently been dated.[3] The mortar of the repaired walls of the main building contains burnt wood grain pointing to a reconstruction

---

1. cf. Chapter II. 3 pp. 181-3, above.

2. ibid. pp. 193-4

3. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 32.

after destruction by fire such as would have been occasioned by the Arab raid of 649 or 653/4.

Other repairs are certainly later and seem to date from the first reign of Justinian II. Two edicules in the N.E. and S.E. corner of the open court and the opus sectile pavement in that court are datable by coin evidence to that period.[1] A bench alongside the west wall of the west stoa produced evidence compatible with a date in the first reign of Justinian II;[2] the benches alongside the outer walls of the north and south stoas and a stone pavement in the north stoa which belong to the same scheme of works as that with which the bench in the west stoa is associated, should also be dated to the same reign. Repairs to the main building, at this time, are indicated by a fragmentary inscription from the West Hall, in seventh century lettering reading ... ЄΠΙ ΙωΑΝΝΟΥ..., an obvious reference to Archbishop Ioannis, who in 691 left Cyprus, with other Cypriots, for the Hellespont, at the instigation of Justinian II.[3] A painted cross with an inscription reading, probably, K Y P I E B O H Θ E I (pl. 14a)

---

1. cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus' Arch. Reports, 1955, 44, and Appendix I B, Coin no. 876.

2. cf. Appendix III.

3. cf. pp. 38-39 above.

in a niche of the south wall of the same hall may also date from this period.[1] Another painted inscription on a column of the South Stoa reading: + | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙ(ΝΟΝ) /ΤΟΝ ΚΟΜ'(ΗΤΑ) ΤΟ Τ'(ΕΚΝΟΝ) ΤΟΥ ΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΦΥΛΑΤ(ΤΕ) ΑΦΘΟΝΟC ΑΓΝ(Η) ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ/+ ,[2] may also belong to the same period.

The fortification wall with which the central part of Constantia was ringed in the second half of the seventh century (Pl. 15) was, also, in all likelihood, the work of Justinian II. Several trenches cut across the wall in 1958 and 1959 have shown that, in the west, it had been constructed outside and parallel to the aqueduct which served the great water reservoir[3] giving it a total thickness of about 20 feet

---

1. The cross and inscription come from the third layer of paintings in the same niche. Of the first and earlier layer only part of the border survives. The second layer showing a youthful male figure sitting on the left and a female figure approaching the former from the right may date from the late fourth or early fifth century and may not be unconnected with the repairs by Valerius referred to above (cf. p.208 n. 1).

2. Reference to this inscription is made by A. H. S. Megaw in 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1955, 44.

3. The remains of the reservoir are locally known today, as the Vouta (the Vault). They are marked under this name on Pl. 15.

(including the earth filling between the two structures)[1] and, in the east, alongside similar water works, which may have been connected with the circulation of water inside the city. In the west, the late date of the wall was indicated by

> coins of Heraclius in the material accumulated outside the aqueduct, into which the foundation trench of the wall was cut.[2]

In the east, a coin of Constans II with Constantine IV's monogram[3] from a packed layer associated with the foundation trench and an Islamic Ummayad coin of post reform date[4] associated with the destruction layer, confirm that the fortification wall could not be erected before the seventies of the seventh century, when Constantine IV's monogram was countermarked on coins in Cyprus,[5] or later than the first quarter of the eighth century. In view of the fact that in the seventies of the seventh century the Island was, probably, under the supervision of an Arab garrison stationed

---

1. cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 32.
2. ibid.
3. No. 52 of Appendix IB.
4. No. 26 of Appendix IC.
5. cf. p. 26, above.

there,[1] the erection of the wall, which in any case could not be undertaken without Byzantine assistance, could not have been undertaken before 678, at the earliest, when communication with Constantinople may have been restored.[2] The probability is that the fortification wall waserected at the time of the repairs to the Public Baths, mentioned above, at the expense of Justinian II, who had the city renamed Nea Justinianopolis.[3] The wall which seems to have been known as the k a s t r o[4] was probably dismantled by the Arabs after Justinian II's attempted transplantation of the Cypriots, in 691.[5]

However, even after the expatriation of the Cypriots, Constantia was not abandoned and those who left in 691 were returned to it probably in 708.[6] The evidence of the Life of St. Willibald, who stayed there from April 'until after

---

1. cf. pp. 26-28 above.

2. cf. p. 28 above.

3. cf. pp. 31-37 above.

4. It is referred to as such by an anonymous English traveller in 1344/5; (cf. G. Golubovich, Bibliotheca Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano, 4 (1923) 447) by Martoni, in 1394; (cf. Cobham, Exc. Cypria, 24) and by Fra Noe in the 15th C. (cf. Cobham, ibid. 53).

5. cf. pp. 38-39 above.

6. cf. p. 45 above.

the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist'[1] on the 24th June, in 723; the evidence of Constantine of Constantia at Nicaea in 787,[2] and that of the Life of St. Demetrianus concerning the election of bishop Eustathius of Chytroi to the see of Salamis,[3] indicate that the city continued to exist and function at least down to the end of the ninth century.

At the Public Baths and elsewhere outside the fortification walls however, there is evidence of abandonment and destruction datable to about the middle of the eighth century. That part of the city lying to the North and East of the fortification walls was never rebuilt and was gradually buried in the sand which was blown in from the sea, and became A m m o c h o s t u s.

Henceforth the city seems to have been confined within the limits of Justinian II's K a s t r o, to an area just over 5% of the original city with a population scarcely exceeding ten thousand.[4]

When the city was finally abandoned, its inhabitants

---

1. Tobler and Molinier, Itin. Hierosol, 257, 288.
2. Mansi, XIII, 77; text cited on pp.112-3 above.
3. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 228.
4. cf. p.209 n. 4 above for the estimated population of Constantia before 649.

seem to have moved to a new site, five miles east of Constantia, and to this they gave the latest name of their former residence, Ammochostus.

The date of the abandonment of Constantia is not known. J. Locke, a sixteenth century English traveller, considered that Constantia

> was destroyed by Englishmen and is cleane overthrown to the ground to this day desolate ... This Old Famagusta is from the other four miles. [1]

Martoni, who visited Cyprus in 1394, thought that Constantia was abandoned towards the end of the thirteenth century

> Formerly, that is a hundred years ago, the city was set elsewhere, and stood where is a place named Costanza four miles from Famagusta. The city was then ... two miles from the sea and had no harbour. [2] And when Acre was lost ... all the people who escaped from Acre fled to the Island of Cyprus and then the ancient city Costanza was removed to the place where is now Famagusta. [3]

How much one may rely on either of the above stories is not certain. But the fact that William of Oldenburg who visited medieval Ammochostus (Famagusta) referred to it as

---

1. Cobham, Exc. Cypria, 70. The Englishmen mentioned are doubtless, Richard I's troops, who conquered the Island in 1191.

2. An obvious reference to that part of Constantia fortified in the late seventh century (cf. Pl. 15).

3. Cobham, loc.cit. 24.

slightly fortified[1] in 1211, and the lack of any evidence, archaeological or architectural, supporting the existence of a city at this site before the 12th century, render the hypothesis of a late abandonment of Constantia quite plausible.

The description of Constantia as Palea Ammochostus (Old Famagusta) is common to almost all accounts of visitors to Cyprus from the early sixteenth century onwards.[2]

It is obvious that the view of Stephano Lusignano that Salamis Constantia was destroyed by the seventh century Arab raiders and that it was never rebuilt, a view still held by some modern historians[3] is quite baseless.

Citium (Pl. 17)

Although Citium[4] is not mentioned in the sources as being

---

1. ibid. 13.

2. ibid: 57 for Le Saige's visit in 1518; 78 for Fürer, who visited the Island in 1566; 165 for Porcacci's visit in 1576; 193 for the visit of I. Cotovicus in 1599; 206 for the report of G. Sandys, in 1610, according to which 'Salamis was destroyed ... finally by the Saracens in the reign of Heraclius ... upon the ruins thereof the famous Famagosta was erected ...'; and 256 for Pococke's report. Florio Bustron referred to Constantia as Old Famagusta (Bustron, 18), and a Cyprus Manuscript published by Chs. Pandelides (Ἀθηνᾶ, 34 (1922) 130-165), also refers to Salamis as Famagusta.

3. cf. p. 35 n.2 above; also Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B.89.

4. For the earlier history of Citium cf. RE Bd. XI (1921) 535-545, Hill, 12, 44, 113ff, 128, 132, 137ff, 158ff, 180ff, 231, 239, and 241.

sacked by Muawiya, the presence of Umm Haram's tomb, by the shores of the Salt Lake, near the city, indicates that it, too, like Constantia may have suffered heavily in the hands of the Arabs.[1]

In view of the fact that the site of Citium is, today, fully occupied by the modern town of Larnaca, it is difficult to determine with accuracy to what extent the city was maintained during the period of the Arab wars. The map submitted herewith is based on an archaeological surface survey of the modern town. And although no evidence of a fortification wall datable to the period of the Arab wars has been secured[2] it is not impossible that such a wall existed and that its remains are, today, buried beneath the modern buildings. On the other hand, Citium may not have been fortified during this period, because it would not have been practicable for those responsible for the administration of the city to do so in the presence of the Arab representatives who may have been stationed in or near Citium at this time,[3] without

---

1. The Larnaca Hoard of gold coins (cf. p. 24, n.1 above) was probably buried at the time of Muawiya's first raid in 649.

2. The remains of a fortification wall accidentally brought to light not far from Turabi Tekke (cf. Pl. 16), in 1960, seems to date from the classical period. It has not as yet been properly investigated.

3. cf. pp. 79-80 and p. 80 n.2 above.

provoking an Arab attack against them for violating the treaty with the Arabs.

The stricter observance by Citium of the status of neutrality imposed upon Cyprus may in the end have proved beneficial to the city and this may account for the fact that it did not shrink in the same proportion to the city of 649 as Constantia seems to have done.

The presence of bishops from Citium, at Constantinople, in 680, and at Nicaea, in 787,[1] and the early tenth century reconstruction of the church of St. Lazarus[2] testify to the survival of the city throughout the period of this thesis, but do not inform us either of its extent or its decline. The evidence of the surface archaeological survey however, does suggest that the city contracted to about one third of its original size.

Amathus (Pl. 17)

Unlike Citium, but like Constantia, Amathus[3] is, today, abandoned and under cultivation.

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a. v. , p. 132 above.

2. cf. Chapter II.3, p. 189 above.

3. For the earlier history of Amathus cf. RE, Bd. I (1893) 1752; Hill, 12, 77-80, 113ff, 159, 231.

In Early Byzantine times the city was of considerable importance but it is not true to say that it became a metropolis in the seventh century, because Epiphanius, the father of St. John Eleemon, was, in the words of the Saint's biographer

.... τὰ τῆς Κυπρίων ἠνίας νήου ἐπαρχικῶς
ἐμπιστευθῆναι παρὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα
κρατούντων προκέκριτο. [1]

Epiphanius may well have been appointed archon of Cyprus by Heraclius but there is no evidence to suggest that he carried out his duties from Amathus.[2]

As at Constantia, the central part of the city seems to have been fortified during the period of the Arab wars, and these fortifications were, as at Constantia, known as K a s t r o. But unlike Constantia, the fortifications were extended down to the sea in what seems to have been known as E x o k a s t r o (outer fort).

A quarter of the city outside these fortifications, which has survived to the present day as Palea Lemesos (cf. Pl. 17) may have housed the refugees from the nearby Neapolis which

---

1. Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 20.

2. Lusignano's claim (Chorograffia, f.9) that in the time of the Dukes Amathus had the honour of being a metropolis is quite baseless. I am surprised that Hill, 265 and 282 n.1, accepts this late evidence and the implication from it that Epiphanius was a Duke.

seems to have been abandoned following the initial Arab raid of the mid-seventh century.[1]

Amathus survived and may not have been abandoned until after it was sacked by Richard I of England in 1191.[2] But like all other cities it had contracted and declined, much before its final abandonment.

Neapolis

Unlike Amathus and Constantia, but like Citium, the site of Neapolis is today fully occupied by a modern town that of Lemessos (Limassol).

Although archaeological evidence from the town of Lemessos indicate the existence of a settlement there from prehistoric times,[3] it was probably not until the fifth century of the Christian era that the settlement was given the status of a polis, probably by Theodosius II (408-450) who named it Theodosias. It is referred to as Theodosias or Nea Polis (new city) by Theodore, bishop of Paphos, in his

---

1. cf. below, p. 222.

2. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία B, 86.

3. Finds from the site of Neapolis date back to the Early Bronze Age (2300-2200 B.C.). On Neapolis cf. RE, Bd. XII (1925) 1896; Hill, 'Two toponymic puzzles', Journal of the Warbourg Institute 2 (1938/9) 375-379; and Hill, 108 n.1 and 256.

biography of St. Spyridon in 655.[1]

Accidental discoveries during building operations in various parts of modern Lemessos, have produced evidence of the existence of a small but evidently prosperous city in the middle of the seventh century. A hoard of some 190 gold coins, mostly solidi, of Heraclius[2] indicates the extent of the prosperity of some of its citizens and also marks the end of the history of the Early Byzantine town. No find datable to the period between the middle of the seventh century and the end of the twelfth has been recovered from the site of Neapolis. In the light of this evidence, the conclusion that the city was destroyed by the Arab raiders and was not rebuilt becomes unavoidable.[3]

The 'Neapolitans' who survived the raids of 649 and 653/4 either sought refuge in the safety of the hills or in the nearby city of Amathus. The quarter of that city where they were housed survives to the present day as Palea Lemesos.

The evidence of Constantine Porphyroghenitus, who lists

---

1. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81.

2. cf. p. 24, n.1, above.

3. The fact that John of Damascus (PG, 94, 1272) and the 787 Synod (Mansi, XIII, 37, 44ff, 53) refer to Leontios of Neapolis does not mean that the city survived into the 8th century as Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 84, infer.

Nemeuos (for Nemesos) as an independent city[1] cannot be relied upon. The probability is that Porphyroghenitus, who compiled his list of Cyprus cities from earlier sources,[2] confused the name of the abandoned city of Neapolis with that of a quarter of Amathus, to which the Neapolitans had taken refuge, and the name of which he may have heard, and inserted it in his list as an independent city, by way of improving the evidence of his sources.

The name Nemesos, may have originated at Amathus, probably from the name of a temple dedicated to Nemesis which may have existed in that quarter of the city. It is not impossible however that Neapolis which was ἐν μέσῳ (between) Curium and Amathus may have been, at times referred to as such and that this was the name given to that quarter of Amathus to which the Neapolitans took refuge, following the destruction of their city. In time the E of EN may have been inter-changed with N and by the time of Constantine Porphyroghenitus the ἐν μέσῳ became Nemesos, a name which may, subsequently, have been applied, as an alternative to Amathus, to the whole

---

1. De Thematibus, 80.
2. Hill, 262.

city.[1] When in the late 12th or early 13th century the 'Nemesians' had reason to move back to the abandoned site of Neapolis[2] they took the name of their former city with them. The N of Nemessos seems to have been changed into L[3] and their new foundation became known as Lemessos under the Lusignans (1191-1491).

---

1. This is suggested by the fact that the sources relating to Richard I's conquest of Cyprus (for these cf. Hill, 315 n.2) make him land at Lemesos. If the city where Richard I landed his forces was walled (Hill, 318) it must have been Amathus and not Lemesos; for no evidence of a fortification wall of any period has been found at Lemesos in any of the several trenches dug at various parts of the town in connection with the erection of new buildings in the last ten years. All such trenches were inspected by the Museum Assistant of the Limassol District Museum before they were filled in.

2. Probably following the sacking of Amathus by Richard I. Lusignano, Chorograffia, fol. 8v ascribes the foundation of Lemesos to the Lusignans.

3. cf. Sir George Hill, 'Two toponymic puzzles', Journal of the Warbourg Institute, 2 (1938/9) 375-379.

Curium (Pl. 18)

Like all other coastal cities, Curium[1] seems to have been attacked by the Arabs in the mid-seventh century, and like them it may have been sacked. This is indicated by the evidence from recent excavations at the city's basilica which seems to have been destroyed by fire at about the time of Muawiya's raids.[2]

The main city of Curium was built on the summit of a rocky elevation rising sharply and almost inaccessibly on three sides to a height of over 200 feet.

> At a short distance one would take this rock for the walls of a huge medieval castle in ruins but if the traveller coming from Episkope approach it nearer, he will be surprised at the patience, labour and ingenuity of the people, who having selected that excellent spot for their habitation, forced the gigantic rock to take the shape they wished ... The rock is of common calcacerous sandstone, and has been cut on the east and south sides into a quite perpendicular face. [3]

The date of the cutting of the rock is not known; it is not impossible that this may have been done, in part at

---

1. For the early history of Curium cf. RE, Bd. XI (1922) 2210-2214; Hill, 89, 113ff, 149, 238; A brief history and description of Curium, published by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, 1956.

2. A. H. S. Megaw, in his preliminary report of his excavations of the basilica in Cyprus Department of Antiquities file No. 55/1955.

3. Louis P. di Cesnola, Cyprus: its cities, tombs and temples (1877) 294.

least, following the first two Arab raids of 649 and 653/4. It may be that those responsible for the administration of the city resorted to this form of defence because it may have been cheaper, or, and more probably, because the erection of a fortification wall may not have been practicable, in view of the presence of an Arab representative in the vicinity of Curium. The place name of a locality west of Curium has survived to the present day as Symboulas,[1] and this may have arisen from the fact that a representative of the Arabs, who may have been known as the Symboulos, may have resided there or in that vicinity.[2] However, the name of the locality may have been derived from the name of the Μονή Συμβόλου[3] which is known to have existed in the same area, before 649.[4]

---

1. cf. Cyprus Land Registration and Survey, Sheet LIII, Plan 58.

2. Dikigoropoulos, The Political Status, 100, n.37.

3. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 102* prefers to call the monastery Μονή Συμβούλου, although the name Μονή Συμβόλου appears in some MSS; the place name Stavros Symboulou, in the N.W. of the Island (O.C, 151 cited by Van den Ven, ibid, 102* n.1) probably derives from Stavros Symbolou, a monastery that may have existed in that locality.

4. Theodore of Paphos had taken the monastic vows at this monastery before his election to the see of Paphos. He stated this in his biography of St. Spyridon which he read at Tremythus in Dec. 655 (cf. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 81).

Whatever the reasons for, and despite, the absence of a fortification wall datable to the period of the Arab raids, Curium, unlike Neapolis was not abandoned in the seventh century.

Evidence of structural repairs post-dating the mid-seventh century Arab raids was brought to light, in 1959, during the excavations of the basilica, whose abandonment was, according to its excavator, voluntary.[1]

Seventeen coins of Constans II of the period 651-656,[2] 11 with Constantine IV's monogram, one of Justinian II[3] from the American excavations at Curium[4] and another coin of Constans II, also with the monogram of Constantine IV from the excavations of the basilica[5] bear evidence for the survival of Curium into the fourth quarter of the seventh century, and a post reform Ummayad coin,[6] from the debris of the basilica, suggests that the site may not have been abandoned before about the middle of the eighth century, when

---

1. As in n. 2 on p. 225 above.

2. Nos. 151-152, 159-163, 439-444, 539-541, 769-771 of Appendix IB.

3. No. 877 of Appendix IB.

4. cf. D. H. Cox, Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953, (1959) 82, 123, 125.

5. No. 344 of Appendix IB.

6. No. 29 of Appendix IC.

the population and its bishop may have moved further inland to the site of the modern village of Episkope (cf. Pl. 18). The name of the village indicates that at one time the episkope (bishopric) of Curium was situated there.

Episkope became famous in the Middle Ages, because of its sugar cane plantations, and at one time the Knights of St. John had a Castle built there.[1] But no trace of it survives today and one cannot say whether it had been built on the ruins of an earlier one, the date of which may go back to the period of the Arab wars.

Nea Paphos (Pl. 19)

In Roman times Nea Paphos[2] was entitled 'Augusta, Claudia, Flavia, sacred metropolis of the cities throughout Cyprus'[3] a position which it retained until the fourth century when it was superseded by Salamis-Constantia. Paphos, like Salamis, was severely damaged in the earthquakes of 332 and 342 but it is not true to say that

---

1. Lusignano, Chorograffia 7b; Hill, II, 24.

2. For the early history of Nea Paphos cf. RE, Bd. XVIII.3 (1949) 937-964; Hill, 160, 164, 174, 179, 186; Arch. Reports, 1958, 34.

3. Hill, 234.

> it hever recovered and has been allowed to remain in ruins even to the present day[1]

At least two basilican churches of sixth-seventh century date have been located and partly investigated of recent years and a third may have existed on the site where the church of Panayia Chrysopolitissa now stands.[2] One of these basilicas, that of Panayia Limeniotissa (cf. Pl. 19) was reconstructed at various times and survived until it was destroyed in an earthquake in the 12th century.[3]

Surface evidence from elsewhere within the boundaries of the classical city's fortification walls[4] also shows that the city was reconstructed after the fourth century earthquakes. By the middle of the seventh century the city extended, probably over all the area occupied by it in the classical period.

Paphos seems to have been sacked by the Arabs during

---

1. ibid. 266.

2. "The foundations of a larger and older apse ... encircling the present bema" (Gunnis, Historic Cyprus, 142) seem to be those of an Early Byzantine basilica.

3. cf. St. Neophytus in Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 211.

4. The evidence consists mainly of sherds of the Kornos and Salamis bench type, but Byzantine coins of the sixth and seventh century were also found during the ploughing of that part of Nea Paphos which is now under cultivation.

the raid of 653/4[1] and some of its people may have fled inland, but it was certainly not abandoned. The basilica of Panayia Limeniotissa, which I investigated in 1959, produced evidence of destruction datable to the second half of the seventh century but also evidence of reconstruction datable to the same period and later.[2]

The Castle of the Forty columns the date of which cannot be earlier than the seventh century[3] and the proto-Byzantine paintings in the rock cut chapel of Ayia Solomoni[4] also indicate the survival of Paphos into the period of the Arab wars and beyond. The Castle was finally destroyed in an earthquake, in 1222,[5] the rock cut chapel of Ayia Solomoni survives to the present day.

Further excavations and archaeological research are needed before the extent and history of Nea Paphos, during the period of the Arab wars may be fully studied.

---

1. cf. p. 19 above.

2. The evidence includes a coin of Constans II of the year 656/7 (No. 374 of Appendix IB) from below an osteotheke east of the apse of the church, and a Kornos ware sherd from the mortar of the reconstructed north wall of the church.

3. cf. Chapter II.3, p.195 above.

4. cf. Chapter II.3, p.200 above.

5. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 3233.

Arsinoe (Pl. 20)

The history of the city in Roman and Early Byzantine times is obscure and not much is known about it.[1] In the fifth century, the bishop of Arsinoe, Proechius, is said to have been represented at Chalkedon, in 451, by bishop Soteras of Neapolis.[2] The bishopric of Arsinoe in the sixth to seventh century is testified by a seal of that date in the British Museum[3] and its survival into the period of the Arab wars is attested by its inclusion in the various Notitiae and lists of Cyprus cities cited above.[4] But of the history of the city itself nothing is known.

In prehistoric and classical times the city may have owed its existence to the copper mines that were being worked in its vicintiy[5] and, if the evidence of the tenth century Arab geography concerning the mining of copper in

---

1. For the early history of Arsinoe and of Marium which it replaced cf. RE, Bd. I (1896) 1278; Hill, 8, 12, 113, 159-160, 184, 231-232, 251.

2. E. Honigman 'The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber Synod and the Council of Chalcedon' B, 16 (1942/3) 57; Hacket-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία B, 89 is wrong in stating that Proechius attended the 451 Synod.

3. British Museum, Department of MSS, No. CLXXXVI, 2.

4. cf. Chapter II.1.a, p. 118 above.

5. Hill, 8ff.

Cyprus during the period of the Arab wars[1] may be relied upon, Arsinoe may have been a more prosperous city than most others in the Island, during this period.

The map submitted herewith is based on the evidence of a surface survey of the area. The fortification wall traceable, in most places, along the contours of the high terrain, may have been put up to counteract the Arab raids and may mark the limits to which the city contracted. Before the wall is properly investigated through excavations, however, it is impossible to have definite views about it, or about the history of Arsinoe.

Arsinoe is today buried beneath the modern buildings of the township of Polis tes Chrysochous.

Soloi (Pl. 21)

Like Arsinoe, Soloi owed its prosperity and doubtless the fame it had in antiquity to the copper mines at nearby Mavrovouni and Skouriotissa.[2] In 166, when Galen visited these mines they were operated under the supervision of an epitropos, representing the Emperor;[3] they may have continued

---

1. cf. Chapter II.2, pp. 171-2, above.

2. For the early history of Soloi cf. RE, (1927) 938-941; Hill, 8, 88, 113, 117, 119, 134, 231, 238, 240.

3. Hill, 238; K. K. Keshishian, Romantic Cyprus, 9th ed., 185.

to be operated as an imperial concern until Justinian II agreed to the neutralisation of Cyprus.[1] After that date, the mines were probably operated on behalf of the see of Soloi, the natural heir of Byzantine authority within its area.[2] Details of these operations are, however, lacking.[3]

Apart from the evidence of the survival of the see of Soloi, indicated by the attendance of its bishops at the Synods of 680 and 787[4] no documentary evidence survives bearing upon the history of the city during the period of the Arab wars.

Extensive excavations at Soloi were, it is true, carried out by the Swedes, but these were directed towards the

---

1. cf. Chapter I, pp. 37-38 and p.45 above.

2. cf. Chapter II.1.a.ii.p.106,above.

3. A. Westholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition III (1937) 407, 409-410, cites the Life of St. Auxibius (AS, Feb. III, 124-128) which refers to the Saint as landing at Limnia as evidence that Soloi's harbour had silted by the 4th century, from which date, in his view, the mines ceased to be operated. Westholm's view depends upon the date of The life of St. Auxibius which he accepts as having been written in the fourth century. But this is by no means certain. Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 237, dates the Life of St. Auxibius to the period VIth to XIth century. A date nearer the XIth than the VIth century is not, at all, impossible.

4. cf. Chapter II.1.a.v. p. 134,above.

investigation of the remains of the classical period.[1] The investigation of the remains of the Byzantine period must still be awaited.

However, the Swedish excavators recovered a hoard of 74 Byzantine coins from the area of the Roman theatre,[2] 46 of which are countermarked with the monogram of Constantine IV,[3] a fact confirming, on the one hand, the survival of the city into the late seventh century, and indicating, on the other that it was, then, in trouble at the hands of the Arabs.

It seems likely that at some time during the seventh century, perhaps between 680 and 691,[4] the southern and

---

1. For the excavations of the Swedes at Soloi cf. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, III (1937) 399-547, particularly p. 403 where reference is made to a large and comparatively well preserved portico with marble columns and capitals, traced when searching for the Isis and Aphrodite temples, which was not entirely excavated, doubtless because the marble capitals (ibid. p. 413, fig. 219) indicated that the building belonged to the Byzantine period.

2. cf. A. Westholm 'A hoard of bronze coins of Constans II' Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift (1940) 135-146.

3. cf. Appendix IB, Nos. 108-131, 136-137, 149, 295-303, 504-533 and 545-552.

4. That is after the withdrawal of the Arab garrison which may have been stationed in Cyprus when Constantinople was besieged in the seventies of the seventh century and before Justinian II's attempted transplantation of the Cypriots. It seems likely that the Byzantine Emperors, probably Justinian II, would want to provide protection to Soloi, as they did for Constantia, because of the importance of the copper mines of the city, to the imperial treasury.

higher parts of the city were enclosed with a fortification wall, as indicated on the map of the city submitted herewith (Pl. 21). The survival of the place name Palea Khora (the old city) in this part of the city tends to support the above hypothesis.[1] It should be noted however, that the map is based on the evidence of a surface survey of the area only, and that until this evidence is confirmed by archaeological investigations of the wall and the area it encloses, the conclusions drawn from it must remain tentative.

Lapethus (Pl. 22)

The importance of Lapethus[2] on the eve of the Arab invasions is indicated by the famous Lambousa treasure of silver dishes and other jewellery[3] which was buried at that

---

1. This part of the city is Palea (old) in relation to the medieval and post medieval villages which arose in its vicinity, and which it preceded as a place of habitation. It follows that in relation to the classical and Early Byzantine city, the Palea Khora is the last and latest part of the city to be inhabited. The coin hoard recovered by the Swedes (cf. n.2, p.134, above) came from this part of the city.

2. For the early history of Lapethus cf. RE, Bd. XII.1 (1924) 763-766; Hill, 19, 87, 158ff, 179, 231, 240.

3. cf. W. F. Volbach, Metallarbeiten des christlichen Kultes, (1921) 17 for a bibliography of this treasure; also M. C. Ross "A Byzantine gold medallion at Dumbarton Oaks", DOP, 11 (1957) 247ff; and E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, 4-7.

time. A hoard of some 131 gold coins of Heraclius and Constans II of pre 649 date[1] also points to the great prosperity of some of its citizens.

The city may have been sacked by the Arabs, probably during the raid of 653/4[2] but like most other cities it survived and reacted by confining the circuit of its walls to the area round its basilica. Parts of these walls, to the north of the basilica, were investigated a few years ago; and although the debris investigated had been found to have been disturbed in the past, the hurried and careless construction of the upper courses of the uncovered wall, similar to that of the Constantia fortifications, suggested a date in the second half of the seventh century for their erection. Several fragments of pottery, of the Kornos and Salamis bench type,[3] recovered during these investigations and two from elsewhere in the now abandoned city,[4] point to the survival of Lapethus during the second half of the seventh century. By that time however, the inhabitants of the city began to move inland and a number of settlements of this period,

---

1. cf. Chapter I, p. 24, n.1, above.
2. cf. Chapter I, p. 19, n.1, above.
3. cf. Appendix III.
4. cf. Nos. 571 and 868 of Appendix IB.

recorded in the area of modern Lapethus (Pl.28) may owe their origin to such migrations. By the middle of the eighth century, the city, except for the basilica which became a monastery, was abandoned.

Kerynia (Pl. 23)

Documentary evidence on the history of Kerynia[1] during the period of the Arab wars is lacking. The evidence of Kyrenia Castle, however, parts of which date from this period, and the now worn paintings in the rock cut chapel of Ayia Mavra, indicate that the city continued to exist throughout this period.

The walls, which are known to have encircled the city in the 11th century,[2] may also have been, originally, put up during this period, but in view of the fact that they are now buried below the modern town, their investigation is extremely difficult.

The existence of a place name Episkope, in the foothills below Bellapais, about three miles S.E. of Kerynia, suggests that its bishop may, perhaps during this period, have moved

---

1. For the early history of Kerynia cf. RE, Bd. XI (1922) 344-347; Hill, 87, 113, 158-160, 231.

2. Hill, 267.

his residence there. He may have done this for greater safety in case of Arab raids, but he may also have moved away from the city to avoid interference or control by the Byzantine representative who may have been stationed there.[1]

Karpasia (Pl. 24)

As in most other coastal cities, the central part of Karpasia[2] bordering on the barbour and including the basilican church was encircled with a fortification wall (cf. Pl. 24). A trench dug across this wall by Miss Joan du Plat Taylor, produced stratified evidence testifying to its erection in the second half of the seventh century.[3] A hoard of 15 Byzantine folles of Constans II, three of which are datable to the years 663-666, which was found hidden in the wall[4] may provide a terminus ante quem for the erection of the wall, and its careless and hurried construction suggests that it should be dated to the period immediately following the mid-seventh century Arab

---

1. cf. Chapter I, p. 80, n.2.

2. For the early history of Karpasia cf. RE, Bd. X (1919) 1996-1999; Hill, 12, 131, 166, 179, 231.

3. I am grateful to Miss Taylor for letting me read the typescript of her forthcoming publication of her excavations at Karpasia.

4. Information from Miss Taylor's forthcoming publication. These coins are incorporated in Appendix IB under Nos. 754-768 by kind permission of Miss Taylor.

raids.

Other coins of Constans II, some of them with the monogram of Constantine IV, recovered from the level of occupation of Early Byzantine buildings, and from elsewhere in the now abandoned city,[1] confirm the continued habitation of Karpasia to the late seventh century at least.

The Arab raids seem to have forced a migration of the people to the interior, here, as in other coastal cities, but the final abandonment of the city seems to have been peaceful and was not complete until about the middle of the eighth century.

Tamassus (Pl. 25)

Tamassus, like Arsinoe and Soloi, owed its prosperity and fame in antiquity, to the copper mines operated in its vicinity.[2]

Practically nothing is known of the city during the period of the Arab wars. No indications of a fortification wall survive and probably none was ever built.

The map submitted herewith shows that at some time the city broke up into three distinctive settlements: Politiko,

---

1. cf. Nos. 153-158, 337, 537-538, and 753 of Appendix IB.

2. For the early history of Tamassus cf. RE, (1932) 2095-2098, Hill, 9, 99, 150, 173, 231, 237.

obviously the centre of political administration; Episkopeio, doubtless the centre of the diocesan organisation; and Pera, probably a topographic description of the settlement πέρα (on the other side) of the river.

We have no evidence as to when this subdivision of the city took place but the probability is that it followed the mid-eighth century destructions and abandonments recorded in the rural areas.[1]

Although no records of the bishops of Tamassus during this period have survived, the bishopric is certain to have continued to function at least as late as the 13th century when Neilus, the founder of Makhairas Monastery, succeeded Nicetas Hagiostephanites to the see of Tamassus.[2]

Tremythus

The city[3] became famous in Early Byzantine times as the see of St. Spyridon, on whose feast day an annual trade fair seems to have been soon established. Theodore of Paphos, the biographer of St. Spyridon, records the story told to him

---

1. cf. Chapter II.5, pp.265ff, below.

2. Hill, 270, 310/11; Hackett-Papaioannou, Ιστορία, B, 81.

3. Very little is known of Tremythus in prechristian times cf. RE, (1937) 2290; Hill, 231-232, 270; Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 48* n. 1.

by one who loved the Saint, who attended the
at Tremythus, in the seventh century, firstly in order to
pay homage to the Saint's relics and

ἔπειτα δέ καί λόγω τῶν ἀδελφῶν
ἡμῶν τῶν πτωχῶν ἐνδύματα καί
σκεπάσματα ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ
αὐτόθι τελουμένῃ ἀγοράσαι. [1]

It was at Tremythus on such a feast day that Theodore read his biography of the Saint in 655.[2]

Although the see of Tremythus survived till the 13th century when it was suppressed by the Latins,[3] the city itself declined probably as a result of the eighth century natural catastrophes which befell the Island[4] and has not risen above the status of a village settlement ever since.

Like Tamassus the city does not seem to have been fortified.

Chytroi-Kythrea

Part of Chytroi[5] is, today, occupied by the modern

---

1. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 96-97.
2. ibid. 89.
3. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 95.
4. cf. Chapter II.5 pp.265ff below.
5. For the early history of Chytroi cf. RE, Bd. III (1899) 2530-2532, Hill, 88, 99, 107, 135 n.1, 158 n.4, 179 n.1, 182 n.2, 231, 240.

township of Kythrea, part of it has been abandoned and is under cultivation.

In the fourth century the city was described as 'wretched' by a biographer of St. Epiphanius[1] and by comparison with coastal cities it may have been rather insignificant even in the seventh century. In fact, Theodore of Paphos, who calls it Kythria referred to it as a πολίχνη in 655.[2]

Situated, as Kythrea is today, in the interior of the Island, Chytroi seems to have been free of Arab raids until the tenth century, a fact which must have favoured its development and prosperity during this period. It is not impossible that had the city not been sacked by Damian in 911/2,[3] it might have been preferred to Lefkosia as the administrative capital of the Island after the Byzantine reconquest of 965.

Lefkosia (Pl. 26)

Various names were given to the town of Lefkosia, at different times. During the classical period it may have

---

1. Hackett-Papaioannou, loc.cit. 93; Hill, 270.

2. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 162; ibidem, 63 and 122 for the name Kythria.

3. cf. Chapter I, p. 50 above.

been known as Ledra, a derivation from Lidir, whose king Unasagusu is mentioned in Esarhaddon's prism inscription of 673/2 B.C.[1] In the 4th century of the Christian era, its bishop Trifyllius, who attended the council of Sardica in 343/4 is referred to as the bishop of Ledra. By this time the city is also referred to as Leucothea or Leuteon.[2] In 655 Theodore of Paphos referred to Trifyllius as

Τῶν Καλλινικηϑέων πόλεως
ἤτοι Λευκῶν Θεῶν ἐκκλησίας [3]

The anonymous Life of St. Trifyllius refers to the city as a metropolis and calls it ‹ τῆς Καλλινεικηϑέων μέντρὶν νῦν δὲ Λευκωσίας ›[4] Constantine Porphyroghenitus refers to

---

1. Hill, 105; for the early history of Lefkosia cf. RE, Bd. XII.1 (1924) 1115-1127; Hill, 105, 262-264. The map of Lefkosia submitted herewith incorporates the evidence of archaeological discoveries from Lefkosia and its suburbs most of which was unavailable to Hill and earlier writers. Between 1952 and 1960 as the officer responsible for accidental discoveries in Lefkosia and its suburbs, I had two members of the Cyprus Museum staff inspect daily all sites of building operations, and all finds were recorded, planned and classified. The information thus collected and previous finds recorded in the archives of the Cyprus Museum have been utilised in preparing the aforesaid map of Lefkosia's development from prehistoric times to Byzantine.

2. Hill, 264.

3. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 63, 77, 122, 162.

4. AS, June, II, 683.

the city as Leukousia, but gives Kermeia as an alternative name.[1] The name Leukousia or Leukou is also used by the compiler of the so called Notitia of Leo III.[2] In the 12th century, St. Neophytus referred to the city as Leukoupolis[3] and in the 13th, Gregory of Cyprus called it Kallinikesis.[4] It is not impossible that the Latin name of Lefkosia, Nicosia, was derived by the dropping of the first two syllables of Kallinikesis.[5]

The map of Lefkosia submitted herewith is based on the archaeological evidence collected by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.[6]

The Early Byzantine city returned to the site of the Mycenaean settlement, from which it expanded northwards to the banks of the river Pediaeos, which in those days followed more or less the course suggested on the map.[7] No evidence

---

1. De Thematibus, 80.

2. de Boor, Nachträge, 523; for the reliability of this Notitia cf. Chapter II.1.a . i., pp. 92 ff, above.

3. Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 213.

4. PG, 142, 21.

5. Hill, 'Two toponymic puzzles', op.cit. 379-381, is of the opinion that Nicosia was derived from Lefkosia by a changing of the L of Lefkosia into N.

6. cf. p. 243 n. 1

7. The course of the river was altered by the Venetians in the 16th century, at the time of the erection of the fortification wall, in 1567-1570.

of a fortification wall at this time has been found.[1]

The city came into its own with the decline of the coastal cities during the period of the Arab wars and expanded north of the river. This is indicated by the Early Byzantine remains, unearthed of recent years, on the site of the medieval church of St. Nicolas (now the Bedestan), south of the Gothic Cathedral of St. Sophia; these remains belong to a church with square piers of the type datable to the second half of the seventh century.[2]

If the late evidence of St. Neophytus may be relied upon, the city was raided by the Arabs, probably at the time they sacked Chytroi; but the city does not seem to have suffered much in their hands. By 965, when the Island was reconquered for Byzantium, the city had expanded into

μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ περικαλῆ τῶν λοιπῶν
τῆς Κύπρου πόλεων λαμπρῶς προκατεξομένην [3]

---

1. Lusignano, Chorograffia f. 16v, states that when the old walls were pulled down by the Venetians, to make way for the new, copper coins of Constantine the Great and Helena were found in quantities. Lusignano's identification of coins is based, probably, on the popular misconception, persisting to the present day, which identifies all Byzantine coins as coins of Constantine the Great (Constantinata). The coins found by the Venetians may have been Comnenian coins of the 12th C, which could have been hidden or buried at the time of Richard I's conquest in 1191.

2. cf. Chapter II.3, pp. 181ff, above for a discussion of this type of church architecture.

3. AS, June, II, 683.

and soon afterwards it seems to have been chosen as the seat of Government and central administration,[1] a position it has retained to the present day.

Kirbeia (Pl. 27)

In addition to the above cities, archaeological investigations have confirmed the existence, in the middle of the seventh century, of another city between Nea Paphos and Arsinoe, by Cape Drepanum. The foundation of the city goes back to Hellenistic times, if not earlier. Visible remains of this date and of the Roman period are a series of rock-cut tombs in the escarpment which at one time formed the boundary of the city, which reaches its highest development in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era. It is to this period that the buildings excavated by the Antiquities Department from 1952-1955 belong.[2]

The buildings excavated are three basilican churches, one with a Baptistery and other annexes (Pl. 5) being probably the Cathedral church, and a small Public Baths building.

The Cathedral church and its subsidiary buildings seem to have been destroyed in the Arab raids of the seventh century

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a.ii., pp. 101-2, above.

2. cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1955, 45.

and although indications were found of subsequent attempts to clear the ruined building and improvised arrangements seem to have been made for conducting services in it when it was a roofless shell, it was never rebuilt.

A tomb in the Narthex of a smaller church to the S.W. of the cathedral which, judging by its contents had been occupied, originally, by some benefactress of the Church and her children, was, at a later time, re-used as the common repository for various bones and skulls, possibly removed here from nearby graves, for better protection in the troubled times of the second half of the seventh century.[1]

At the Public Baths, which, like the rest of the town, seem to have suffered at the hands of the Arab raiders of the mid-seventh century, remains of subsequent poor masonry construction also suggest the subsequent re-use of the site for some other purpose.[2]

The indications of a survey of the city are that its central part (cf. Pl. 27) continued to be used for some time after the middle of the seventh century. But the site does not seem to have been fortified and was soon abandoned.

The name of the city is not known. I venture to suggest that this was the Kirbeia mentioned by Hierocles as being one

---

1. ibid.
2. ibid.

of the cities of Cyprus.[1] The nearest village to the abandoned town site by cape Drepanum is that of Peyia. It is not impossible that this name is derived from Kirbeia; for if the Kir of this name is dropped we have Beia which could easily have been turned into Peyia. Whatever the name of the city by Cape Drepanum it is almost certain that those surviving when it was abandoned took refuge at Peyia, or its vicinity.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above study of the cities of Cyprus are obvious.

All coastal cities seem to have been raided by the Arabs, either in 649 or during the second half of the seventh century when most of them may have been sacked and their prosperity and development arrested. Some of the survivals from these Arab attacks may have left the cities to seek safety in the rural areas[2] but, except in the case of Neapolis, which seems to have been abandoned at about the middle of the seventh century, most of them remained and counteracted against the Arabs by the erection of fortification walls or castles around or in their cities.

---

1. Honigman - Hierokles, 38. Some MSS of Constantine Porphyroghenitus' De Thematibus give Kerbeia as an alternative to Kermeia (cf. Hill, 264 n.4).

2. cf. Chapter II.5, pp.262-3, below.

Cities in the interior of the Island do not seem to have been raided until the 10th century, and profited as a result, probably at the expense of coastal cities.

Some cities - Curium, Lapethus, Karpasia and the city by Cape Drepanum - seem to have been abandoned at about the middle of the eighth century when their inhabitants move to new sites further inland, but in the same area. At about the same time, other coastal and most inland cities contracted further and became ruralised, with part of the population engaged in agriculture and probably viniculture.[1]

The abandonment of some cities and the contraction and ruralisation of others did not however result from destructions caused by Arab raiders at this time; most probably they were the result of destructions to life and property caused by the natural calamities which seem to have struck the Island in the forties of the eighth century.[2]

---

1. cf. Chapter II.2.d. pp.168ff, above.

2. The evidence and the effects of these calamities are discussed in Chapter II.5, below.

5. THE RURAL AREAS.

Direct documentary evidence on the agrarian conditions prevailing in Cyprus either during the Early Byzantine period or during the period of the Arab raids is lacking. But it would not be unreasonable to assume that these conditions did not vary much from those prevailing in other Byzantine provinces, where the soil was, as in Cyprus, the basis of the economy.

The privately owned land of a Byzantine province was divided into small parcels or lots. The owners were either free small landholders, who were also the cultivators, or big landholders whose estates were made up of different parcels or lots of land in different regions and the cultivation of which was carried out by persons other than the landowner. Big landowners were either private individuals or corporate bodies such as the church or monasteries.[1] The greater part of these estates was leased out either to free farmers on short or long term leases[2] or to coloni. In the latter case the owner was bound to keep the land leased irrigated and to provide the necessary cultivation implements.[3]

---

1. Lemerle, Histoire Agraire, 48; Rouillard, La vie rurale, 20.
2. Rouillard, loc.cit. 25, 48.
3. ibid. 26.

A small part of the estate was retained for cultivation by salaried personnel in the employment of the proprietor.[1] A building or buildings used by the proprietor as his residence was often to be found on that part of the estate reserved for his own use and was known, in Early Byzantine times, as the proasteion;[2] it was usually an important building which might include a bath.[3]

Most of the free landholders lived in χωρία or κῶμαι which may or may not have been surrounded by walls,[4] together with free landless farmers (οἰκήτορες),[5] but some of them, especially when the land to be cultivated was too far away from the kome, grouped themselves together in ἐποίκια (hamlets).[6]

The coloni, also, either lived in villages or were grouped together in hamlets.[7] The coloni and the salaried farmers were fixed to the soil.

---

1. ibid. 26.
2. ibid. 29.
3. ibid. 33.
4. ibid. 48; Lemerle, loc.cit. 43.
5. Lemerle, loc.cit. 44.
6. Rouillard, loc.cit. 70, n.79.
7. Rouillard, loc.cit. 25.

Land outside the kome was known as Ktema or Ktemata.[1]

In the period between the fourth and the seventh century, heavy taxation, the exploitation of officials, bad seasons and debts combined against the small free proprietor and were forcing him to seek the protection of the big landowner to whom he ceded his land and became his enapographus.[2] This process was arrested in the seventh century following the administrative reorganisation of the Empire into themes and

> the important financial reforms which differentiated the early and middle Byzantine fiscal systems. [3]

The decline of cities resulting from foreign invasions and enemy raids contributed towards the accelerated development of the kome to which many citizens sought refuge. A major problem arising out of the increased population of the kome was the need for land to provide for the means of sustenance of the newcomers. As land in the vicinity of the kome, the ktemata were already under cultivation before the arrival of city refugees, the latter had to go further out of the kome and reclaim new land. The housing situation in the kome must also have necessitated the foundation of new residences and the practical solution of erecting these in the vicinity

---

1. ibid. 20; Lemerle, loc.cit. 44.
2. Rouillard, loc.cit. 15; Charanis, Social Structure, 40-41.
3. Ostrogorsky, History, 121; Rouillard, loc.cit. 86-87.

of the newly reclaimed land seems to have been followed thus resulting in the creation of more and more hamlets (ἐποικία).[1]

The new appreciation of land and the emergence of the free peasant as a characteristic feature of the provinces is clearly reflected in the famous Farmer's Law (Νόμος Γεωργικός)[2] which is mainly concerned with the free peasant community.

The Farmer's Law is not, however, to be taken as evidence for the disappearance of the big landowners and dependent farmers. The Church and monasteries continued to have their estates with enapographi and paroikoi[3] and lay δυνάσται (big landowners) continued to exist, as is shown by the Lives of the Saints.[4] By the ninth century the landed aristocracy grew powerful once again and began to expand at the expense of the small landholder, the numbers of which gradually diminished.[5] The Novels of the tenth century Byzantine

---

1. Rouillard, loc.cit. 91.

2. W. Ashburner, The Farmer's Law, JHS, 32 (1912) 68-95; Ostrogorsky, History, 120, and 82 n.3; Charanis, Social Structure, 42, n.5. Ostrogorsky and Charanis accept the view that the Farmer's Law is the work of Justinian II, but Lemerle, op.cit. 54, does not.

3. Theophanis, 486-487.

4. Lemerle, op.cit. 66; M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, La vie de S. Philarète, B, 9 (1934) 113; cf. also L. Brehier 'Les populations rurales au IXe siècle d'après l'hagiographie byzantine', B, 1 (1924) 175-190.

5. Ostrogorsky, History, 225-226, where the failure of Leo VI to recognise the danger of the expanding aristocracy is also pointed out.

Emperors reflect the struggle between the landed aristocracy and the central government which tried desperately to protect the small free peasant proprietor.[1]

The Fiscal Treaty, a tenth century document[2] dealing only with free villages, indicates that the small free proprietor, continued to survive. At that time, they usually lived in χωρία, their houses one next to the other, but also had residences near their properties (ἐξώδυρα, ἐξωχώρια) which were known as ἀγρίδια. Well-off χωρῖται had dependents whom they sent to reside on distant properties known as proasteia. Dispersed habitations were known as κτήσεις or κτησίδια. A κτῆσις had its own boundaries and might include several dispersed habitations in one fiscal unit. The inhabitants of κτησίδια were not χωρῖται but χωροικοδεσπόται.[3]

The anonymous tenth century Persian geography Hūdūd al Alam, informs us that

> to each village appertains a castle where in times of flight they may take shelter.[4]

---

1. Charanis, Social Structure, 52 and 'The monastic properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', DOP, 4 (1948) 51-118; Ostrogorsky, History, 241-244.

2. The treaty was first published by W. Ashburner in JHS, 35 (1915) 76-84; it was republished and edited by F. Dolger in Finanzweraltung and by Ostrogorsky in a German translation in Steurgemeinde; Dolger dates the treaty to the period 913-1139 and Ostrogorsky to the tenth century. Lemerle, op.cit. 259 agrees with a tenth century dating. On the Fiscal Treaty cf. also, Rouillard, op.cit. 87ff and Charanis, Social Structures, 43ff.

3. Lemerle, op.cit. 260-261; Rouillard, op.cit. 89.

4. Hūdūd al Alam (The regions of the World) translated and explained by V. Minorsky (1937) 157.

The emergence of the fortified settlement is, however, much earlier for flights to kastra are implied by Theophanis under AM.6271 (778/9) when he writes:

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διετάξατο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ πολεμῆσαι αὐτοὺς (τοὺς Ἀραβας) δημόσιον πόλεμον ἀλλ' ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ κάστρα καὶ λαὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν πρὸς παραφυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἀπολύσας καὶ ἄρχοντας κατὰ κάστρον. 1

The only documentary evidence we have about agrarian conditions in Cyprus for the period under discussion is to be found in the Lives of St. Spyridon and St. Demetrianus, and they tell us very little about them. From the Life of St. Spyridon we gather that farmers would borrow wheat from wheat merchants, to whom they pledged something valuable as security, and paid back, with interest, after the harvest.[2] These farmers are penetes, that is small proprietors who obviously owned the land they cultivated.[3] In the Life of St. Demetrianus, probably written in the tenth century, we read:

---

1. Theophanis, 452; cf. also Theophanis, II, 30 for the καστροκτισία of Cyzicus.

2. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 11, 14, 15, 17.

3. The word penes does not necessarily mean poor; cf. Lemerle, op.cit. 279.

ἦλθεν τις τῶν τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου γεωργῶν αὐτῶν
παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βοῦν εἰς ἐργασίαν [1]

from which we deduce that the bishopric of Chytroi had dependent farmers whom it had to provide with the necessary cultivation implements.[2] And here our documentary evidence ends.

The place names of Cyprus provide further evidence towards a better understanding of the agrarian conditions prevailing in the Island. Unfortunately a full and detailed study of all place names is lacking. The Toponymikon of the Island published by Menardos in 1906[3] is mainly a study of the surviving village names. What is wanted is a catalogue and an Index of all place names recorded on all the Land Registration Survey Sheets. However, even in the names of villages some indication as to the agrarian conditions of Byzantine Cyprus, may be obtained. Five villages and several localities survive, today under the name of prasteio,

---

1. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 234.

2. cf. p.250n.3 above.

3. S. Menardos, 'Toponymikon of Cyprus, (in Greek) Athena, 18 (1906) 315-421.

an obvious derivation from proasteio;[1] others are known by the name of Ἀγρός and its derivations, e.g. Ἀγρίδια .[2] One town has the name of KTEMA (cf. Pl. 19). Several villages with such names as Enkome (Nea Kome), Neon Khorion, Palaikhori (Palaion Khorion), Kalon Khorion, Pera Khorion, may have been founded, to begin with, as hamlets by people flying from cities, or going out of overpopulated komai, to reclaim new land in the late seventh and early eighth century. Names of villages derived from locality descriptions such as Vouno, Kambyle, Strongylon, Livadhia, may also have had similar origins.[3]

Fortunately we now have additional evidence both toponymic and of an archaeological nature to supplement the evidence of the sources and that of village names, provided by the Archaeological Survey which the Cyprus Department of Antiquities initiated in 1955.

By the summer of 1959 when the Survey's Director, Dr. H. W. Catling had to give up his appointment in Cyprus, two areas of the Island, one coastal, one inland, had been almost

---

1. ibid. 372.

2. ibid. 371/2.

3. Menardos (ibid. 357-358) assigns the foundation of these villages to the period when monasticism and strict Christian teaching despised life in this world.

fully surveyed. The coastal area covers part of the Island west of Kerynia, on both sides of the Kerynia range, and is hitherto referred to as the Lapethus area. The inland area covers part of the Island bordering on the Yialias river, S.E. of Lefkosia and is hitherto referred to as the Yialias river area. Minor surveys were also carried out by Dr. Catling in the Kormakitis peninsula, west of the Lapethus area, by Dr. Catling and myself, of a small mountainous area between the villages of Ardhana and Kantara in the Karpas peninsula[1] and by myself of a small area bordering on the upper sources of the Serahis river, in the central mountain range, near the villages of Gourri and Pharmakas. Maps of the Lapethus and Yialias river area showing the recorded Early Byzantine settlements have been prepared from the information kindly made available to me by Dr. Catling and are submitted herewith as Pls. 28 and 29.

The main evidence for dating these settlements is that of pottery. This was provided in at least two groups dated with certainty to the second half of the seventh century if not later[2] and from the excavation material recovered by Dr. Catling from a kiln, excavated by him at Mersineri, a locality

---

1. Cyprus Land Registration and Survey, Sheet VII, Plan 58 E & W. The exploitation of this area goes back to Roman times; it is intensified in the second half of the seventh century.
2. cf. Appendix III.

S.E. of Dhiorios in the Kormakitis peninsula, which seems to date from about the middle of the eighth century.[1] A detailed analytic comparison between the pottery recovered by the Survey from the recorded sites and the pottery of the above three groups will, no doubt, result in a more precise dating of the various sites. It is doubtful, however, that such a comparison, or a more precise dating of the Early Byzantine settlements than that offered here will alter substantially the general pattern of land exploitation resulting from the present dating.[2]

In the Lapethus area, the density of the population during the Early Byzantine period, to judge by the number of sites and settlements recorded by the Archaeological Survey, is, probably, the highest in the Island's history. The map of the Lapethus area (Pl. 28) shows one city and 205 Early Byzantine sites in an area of about 300 sq. kilometers, that is, on an average, one settlement for every 1.5 sq. kilometers. The density is relatively much higher on the coastal plain where most of the settlements are located. Of these

---

1. cf. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 34. Dr. Catling is now preparing a detailed study of the Mersineri pottery with a view to publication.

2. Both Dr, Catling's experience and knowledge of the Survey pottery and my own knowledge of the pottery of the period acquired during eight years of excavations at Salamis-Constantia have been utilised in the dating of these settlements.

settlements 33 seem to be a continuation of Roman settlements.[1]

Architectural remains in 14 sites indicate that they were never more than farmsteads. The place name of one, vikla, suggests that it may have been used as a watch tower in troubled times, doubtless during the period of the Arab raids.[2]

Eighty six of the sites lie in terrain higher than 500 feet and the majority of these, especially those on the upper slopes of the Kerynia range, were more in the nature of hamlets than of developed village settlements (komai). These settlements and the 14 farmsteads indicate that in Cyprus, as in other parts of the Byzantine Empire, the problem created by the overpopulation of the kome, following the decline of the cities was solved by the reclamation of virgin land and the

---

1. It would not be unreasonable to assume that a number of Roman settlements may lie buried below the surface remains of other settlements of the Early Byzantine period. But short of trial excavations at each site of the Early Byzantine period it would be impossible to assess accurately their number.

2. The place name, Vikla, Viklin, Vikles, and other derivative forms is found all over the Island. Menardos, Toponymikon, 375 has noted such place names at Kerynia, Koma tou Yialou, Trikomo, Lefkoniko, Ayios Mamas, Kallepia, Monagri, Ayios Tykhon, Pissouri, Mousere, Kissonerga, and Tsadha. The records of the Archaeological Survey show similar place names at Ayios Ambrosios, Pyla and Gourri, where Early Byzantine settlements have been recorded. At Pyla architectural remains show that the settlement was fortified. cf. also Gunnis, Historic Cyprus, 151 for a now abandoned village named Vikla, near Akapnou.

establishment of hamlets and farmsteads.

The emergence of the fortified settlement in Cyprus, is evidenced by architectural remains in four settlements, three of which are in high terrain, and by the place name of at least three others: one, in the village lands of Kormakiti village, is locally referred to as aperates,[1] an obvious corruption of apelates, a fact suggesting that Sathas may not have been wrong in his conjecture that apelatai were established in Cyprus[2] as Hill tries to make out;[3] two others[4] within the municipal boundaries of modern Lapethus, lie in a locality known as kastro, obviously a fortification of some sort erected by those inhabitants of the city of Lapethus who sought refuge from the Arab raiders in the foothills of the Kerynia range, where modern Lapethus now lies.[5] Place names known as kastra or paleokastra in other parts of the Island also testify to the emergence of the fortified settlement in the period of the Arab raids. At Ayios Symeon, in the Karpas peninsula, a village settlement used as its kastro a curious

---

1. Cyprus Archaeological Survey No. 64; Cyprus Land Registration and Survey Sheet XI, Pl. and 9 W. Pl. 28 co-ordinate 720885.

2. Sathas, MB, 2, vs'

3. Hill, 261, n.2.

4. Plan 28 co-ordinates 873867 and 873870.

5. cf. p.236, above, for the flight of citizens from the city of Lapethus to the foothills.

building, cut in the precipice of a rocky plateau above the settlement, that may have existed before the establishment of the village settlement.[1]

Of the 205 Early Byzantine settlements recorded by the Archaeological Survey in the Lapethus area only 24, excluding modern villages and townships, survived into the Middle Ages. Even assuming that all modern villages in the area have a continuous history going back to the Early Byzantine period, the fact still remains that over 80% of the village settlements of that period were abandoned before the onset of the Middle Ages.

It has been, so far, assumed that the abandonment of the Early Byzantine settlements was caused by the Arab raids against the Island. Even as recently as 1959, Dr. Christodoulou, expressed the view that

> the insecurity of later times, especially the Arab invasions but also the fear of piratical raids, made coastal locations dangerous and the absence of rural settlements on the coast may date from these days, if not earlier. [2]

Apart from the coastal cities, the coastal settlements of the Island were, doubtless, adversely affected by the Arab raiders.

---

1. Cyprus Land Registration and Survey, Sheet III, Plan 55 E, plot 449, shows the locality of the Kastro. For a plan of this rock cut building cf. D. G. Hogarth, Devia Cypria (1899) 73.

2. D. Christodoulou, The evolution of the rural land use pattern in Cyprus, (1959) 61.

Fear of piratical raids during the periods of the Island's enforced neutrality may also have made some of the inhabitants of coastal rural settlements move to the safer higher regions or to other fortified settlements. This is indicated by the small surveys of the mountainous areas between the villages of Ardhana and Kantara, on the one hand, and of the also mountainous area bordering on the upper sources of the Serahis river on the other, where the settlements recorded date from the second half of the seventh century and may owe their foundation to fugitives from the coastal regions.[1]

But the movement of people from the coastal areas to the foothills and inland parts of the Island was not a mass movement and did not result in a mass abandonment of the coastal settlements. Had this been the case one should expect to find a proportionate increase in the number of contemporary settlements of the safer regions. The evidence from the areas south of the Kerynia range included in the survey of the Lapethus area and that from the Yialias river area does not come up to such expectations. The map of the Yialias river area shows 19 Early Byzantine settlements and 2 farmsteads. Eight of the settlements survive from Roman times and the rest were established before the advent of the

---

1. cf. p. 258n. 1, above.

Arabs. The two farmsteads only seem to date from the period of the Arab raids. In the words of Dr. Catling:

> ... the Yialias valley did not become a refuge for fugitive communities from the coasts dislodged by sea borne Arab raiders.[1]

Here, as in the Lapethus area, several Early Byzantine settlements were abandoned before the onset of the Middle Ages. Of the 19 settlements only 8 seem to have survived into the later periods, and of the two farmsteads only one. The percentage of abandonment is admittedly lower than in the Lapethus area, for it only amounts to some 58% of the total settlements. This suggests that in the case of the coastal regions one might consider the difference between the percentage of abandonment recorded there and the percentage of abandonment recorded in the Yialias valley, that is some 22%, as abandonment caused by the Arab raids. But one still has to reckon with the abandonment of the other 58% of the settlements and this cannot be explained as resulting from the Arab raids. For the Arab raids were directed against Cyprus with a view to enforcing the Island's neutrality and it is difficult to see how the Arabs would purposely go about sacking and destroying all settlements in the Island,

---

1. From Dr. Catling's preliminary report on the results of the Yialias river area survey, in the respective File of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

exterminating the very people whom they were hoping to force to observe the terms of a treaty, a basic article of which was the payment, by the Cypriots, of some 7000 dinars per annum to the Arabs. Even assuming that they did do this, one would expect to find some evidence that the abandonment of some 58%, if not more, of the Island's rural settlements took place as a result of sacking or destruction by raiders. Such evidence is not, however, forthcoming. On the other hand, we have positive evidence from two trial excavations carried out by Dr. Catling, at Mersineri, near Dhiorios[1] and at Panayia, west of Kormakiti village[2] testifying to the peaceful abandonment of these sites. In the circumstances the explanation for the abandonment of so many Early Byzantine settlements must be sought in causes other than the Arab raiders.

The most obvious explanation and the most convincing is that the Island was catastrophically affected either by famine or an epidemic or both which carried off most of its population.[3] An AR coin of Artavasdus[4] recovered by Dr. Catling

---

1. cf. p. 259 and n.1 , above.

2. A. H. S. Megaw, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1958, 30, 34.

3. Dr. Catling was the first to suggest the possibility of a plaque, in his report of his Panayia excavations to the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus. The identification of the plaque is mine.

4. Arch. Reports, 1958, 34.

from trial "P" of his excavations at Panayia gives us the necessary clue for pin-pointing the catastrophe that overcame the Island at about this time. We know from Theophanis that in the 6th year of Constantine V (746/7) the bubonic plague

ἀπό Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἀρξάμενος οἱόν τι πῦρ ἐπιμενόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν Μονεβασίαν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς παρακειμένους νήσους ἦλθε δι' ὅλης τῆς ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος [1]

and that in Constantinople, where the plague spread a few months later it caused

ὁλοκλήρους οἴκους κλεισθῆναι παντελῶς καὶ μὴ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ὀφείλοντας θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς. [2]

In fact so great was the number of dead that they had to be carried away in carts, and dry cisterns and wells, vineyards and gardens as well as existing cemeteries were used for their burial.[3] The plague prevailed also in Asia Minor and "everywhere North and South of it to the Red Sea".[4] Although Cyprus is not mentioned by name it is unlikely that

---

1. Theophanis, 422/3.
2. ibid. 423; cf. also, George the Monk, Chronikon, 752.
3. Theophanis, 423.
4. Chabot - Dionysius [illegible], 36.

it escaped. It is also probable that the Island did not escape the great famine that seems to have preceded and followed the great plague.[1] If, as seems likely, Cyprus was also struck by the earthquake that preceded the plague[2] and is known to have caused extensive damage in the Syria Palestine area, and or by that of 748/9[3] we have a combination of catastrophes[4] which could result in destruction and abandonment of 58% of the Island's settlements or more. That the plague did strike Cyprus is suggested by at least one place name known to me of an Early Byzantine settlement known, today, as Limochoron (the village of the plague).[5]

The abandonment of some cities and the contraction of others, which, as we have seen,[6] occurred at about this time, must have been the result of the same calamities which struck at the rural areas.

---

1. ibid. 30-32 and 50-51.

2. Theophanis, 422; Paul the Deacon, 1094; Nicephorus, 64-65; Agapius, 521.

3. Theophanis, 426; Elias - Delaporte, 105; George the Monk, Chronikon, 760.

4. To these one should add the Arab raid of 743; cf. p. 49 above.

5. cf. Cyprus Land Registration and Survey, Sheet XXXVIII, Plan 54, Plots 536, 546, 547 and 587.

6. cf. Chapter II.4 above.

Memory of the great plague and depopulation of the Island survived into the Middle Ages; unfortunately, the medieval chroniclers who report it were not careful about their sources and grouped together, as of one period, a series of facts and legends of different periods, presenting them as one story. Thus we find the factual depopulation of the Island following the calamities outlined above being embellished with the legend of St. Helen's visit to the Island. Makhairas, taking his story from a 13th century hagiographer writes:

> Constantine the Great ... saw that our land of Cyprus had been without inhabitants for thirty six years because there was a great famine ... and people deserted our most admirable Cyprus and crossed over to this place and that ...[1]

Bustron, who takes his story from a different and, it seems, a more reliable source, states that in the time of Constantine the Great

> havendo patito una seccura grandissima per sei anni continui fu abandonata da gli abitani e stata disahabitata anni tertasei ...[2]

Bustron, like Makhairas, goes on to relate how the drought came to an end after St. Helen's visit to the Island, in contradiction to his earlier statement that the drought lasted only six years. The story of the depopulation of the Island was obviously used by the originators of the legend of St.

---

1. Dawkins - Makhairas, 2.
2. Bustron, 45/6.

Helen's visit to Cyprus[1] to add colour and, in their view, conviction to their story. Fortunately, they were not very careful as to how they made their story fit the facts of an undefined period and inadvertently provided us with a clue to dating the factual parts of their story, in the passage that follows St. Helen's departure from the Island. The Chroniclers tell us that after St. Helen's return to Constantinople, the population of the Island grew and a request was sent by them to the Emperor to send troops to Cyprus to defend its inhabitants from the Saracens who had been known to have raided the Island in the past.[2] The 13th century source of Makhairas gives the name of the Emperor as Constantine.[3]

---

1. As early as 1910, Menardos (St. Helen in Cyprus (in Greek) Λαογραφία 2 (1910) 266-298) had suggested that the story of St. Helen's visit to Cyprus was created "by the imagination of the Cypriots, the intelligence of the Latins, the jealousy between monks and the faith of the sailors ... with the help of the chroniclers". The evidence of contemporary sources bear out Menardos's views, for they do not refer to either St. Helen's visit or to a prolonged drought that led to a depopulation of the Island. The Cypriot monk Alexander, who wrote an account of the Invention of the Cross by St. Helen, says nothing about her visiting Cyprus (cf. p. 162 and n. 4, above). A failure of crops is mentioned in the Life of St. Spyridon (Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 10-11), but nothing unusual or a depopulation of the Island is implied.

2. Dawkins - Makhairas, 8; Bustron, 45/6.

3. R. M. Dawkins, On a hagiographical sourced used by Leontios Makhairas, K.X, 11 (1935) 16.

It goes without saying that Constantine the Great would not have to send troops to defend the Cypriots from the Saracens. But 36 years after the great plague takes us into the reign of Constantine VI, at the time Paul the Cypriot was Patriarch of Constantinople[1] and at this time Byzantine troops may have been sent to Cyprus at the request of the Cypriots, for the purpose stated in the medieval chroniclers.

It seems probable that the great plague of 746 which was, as we have seen, probably preceded and followed by a famine and the depopulation of the Island which resulted from it, served as a dating point for local chroniclers, and that a 9th century or later account of it which went on to say that 36 years after the great depopulation the Cypriots, at the time of the Emperor Constantine (i.e. Constantine VI) had sent a request to Constantinople for armed protection against the Saracens, was the source which gave the factual parts of the story as related by the medieval chroniclers.

The effects of this catastrophe must have been far reaching. Conspicuous among those noted by Dr. Catling in a survey of the N. W. Kormakiti peninsula (west of the Lapethus area) was the soil erosion which followed the removal of the human agency which normally provides the

---

1. cf. p. 52 above.

artificial barriers to soil ersoion. In view of the fact that land utilisation had reached its optimum during the Early Byzantine period so that natural vegetation had been extensively obliterated by the Early Byzantine farmers, the soil erosion that followed the mid-eighth century catastrophes was far more serious than it would have been had land exploitation not been so intense. The effects of soil erosion have survived to the present day, in Cyprus, not only in the Kormakitis peninsula but elsewhere in the Island, for example along the southern foothills of the Kerynia range.

When the effects of the original disaster had passed and the expanding population began to seek for more and more land from which to derive its means of sustenance it tended to seek it from areas less heavily populated in the Early Byzantine times, such as those of the central mountain range, simply because land in the heavily populated regions of the pre-catastrophe period had become uncultivable through soil erosion. It is to this factor that one must seek the explanation of the apparent, relatively densar, occupation of the central mountain range in the Middle Ages than to that of the Arab raids.

CONCLUSION

The history of Cyprus during the 316 years that lay between 649, when Muawiya first attacked the Island, and 965, when it was finally recovered for Byzantium does not easily lend itself to generalised statements.

Between the first Arab raid of 649 and the probable reaffirmation of the 688 treaty between Justinian II and Abd-al-Malik, in 708, Cyprus seems to have been held or controlled by whichever of the two powers happened to be stronger. The Cypriots' steadfast adherence to Byzantine political ideas and principles thwarted the Arab attempts at conquering their Island and kept it out of the sphere of influence of Islamic civilisation and culture. This attitude of the Cypriots, doubtless, influenced Arab deliberations concerning the Island's status but the wishes of the Cypriots on this latter point do not seem to have been a determining factor in either Arab or Byzantine decisions.

The trials and tribulations to which the Cypriots were subjected during the above sixty years and Byzantium's inability to prevent their recurrence made it obvious to the Cypriots that, for the time being anyway, they had to accept and abide by a status of neutrality even though this meant that they would become tributaries to the Arabs. But

there is no doubt that, if and when Byzantium was in a position to put an end to Arab claims, the Cypriots would have no hesitation in welcoming Byzantine authority.

Byzantium, however, was not in a position to keep the Arabs away from Cyprus until, perhaps, the middle of the eighth century, when the tide in the wars with the Arabs had turned in its favour, and by that time the Cypriots were not prepared to accept Byzantine authority. For the Cypriots were firm supporters of image worship and, in their views, Byzantine authority had ceased to be God-sustained, when Leo III promulgated his decree against icons in 730. Thus, with the exception of a short-lived association with the Orthodox Emperor Artavasdus, in 742/3, the Cypriots abided by their treaty with the Arabs until the eighties of the eighth century when, under Irene, Iconoclasm was brought to an end and image worship was restored.

There is no doubt that at about this time the Cypriots, in violation of their treaty with the Arabs, co-operated with Byzantium whose authority and assistance they seem to have invited and accepted. The Arabs seem to have been slow in reacting but in the end react they did by raiding and ravaging the Island, in 806, and by re-imposing the status of neutrality.

Before the Cypriots had time to recover from their latest misfortunes Iconoclasm had again returned to Byzantium, and Cypro-Byzantine co-operation could not be considered until

after Orthodoxy was re-established by Theodora, in 843. But the anastelosis of icons was not as easy to effect as the decree authorising it, and in Byzantium a policy of moderation had to be followed.

Because of this, and in view of the experience they had gained from their association with Irene and Nicephorus I, the Cypriots were now rather reluctant to invite the exercise of Byzantine authority in Cyprus. However, after the religious extremists had gained control of the Constantinople Patriarchate, in the person of Ignatius, in 847, any doubts the Cypriots may have had about the return of full Orthodoxy in Byzantium, seem to have been waived. And although they were not yet convinced that the time was ripe for open co-operation with the Byzantines, for fear of Arab reprisals, co-operation with Byzantium was achieved by inviting the Byzantine Emperors to appoint one of his men to head the civil administration of the Island.

The Byzantine advances on the Eastern frontier during the reigns of Michael III and Basil I, the weakness of the Caliphate resulting from internal strife and the consequent inability of the Arabs to react against the attitude of the Cypriots seem to have encouraged the latter into closer association with Byzantium which, by the beginning of the tenth century had developed into open Byzantine control and

use of Cyprus and of the Cypriots against the Arabs. This once again provoked another Arab expedition against the Island, in 911/2, and a year later the old treaties were revived and the status of neutrality reaffirmed.

The status of neutrality was maintained until 965 when the Byzantine general Nicetas Chalkutzes re-established Byzantine authority and sole control.

The heir of Byzantine authority in Cyprus, when direct Byzantine administration became impossible, was the Church, whose right to exercise temporal authority had been recognised as far back as the late 5th century by the Emperor Zeno.

Details of the internal self-government during the Island's enforced status of neutrality are lacking. But it seems probable that alongside established civil institutions, the diocesan organisations were utilised so that bishops had "κυρίως καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἁπάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν"[1] in their sees.

The Church of Cyprus not only had retained its autocephaly but also assumed full responsibility for the internal government of the Island and for the maintenance or violation of the treaties with the Arabs. And since the Church of Cyprus had remained Orthodox throughout the period of the Iconoclastic controversy, the relations of Cyprus with Byzantium were largely dependent upon the religious policies of the Byzantine

---

1. Gregoire - St. Demetrianus, 231.

Emperors.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Arab raids and probable Arab occupations of Cyprus, between 649 and 708, had had, in many ways, a catastrophic effect upon life in the Island. Cities were ravaged, many people lost their lives, others lost their properties and their homes, many were forced to abandon their place of residence.

Language, education, art and all cultural activities which were centred in the cities were adversely affected, and although commerce and industry may have benefited, during the periods of neutrality, natural calamities and the Arab raids that followed each violation of neutrality repeatedly disrupted the economy and shattered the prosperity of the Island.

The life of a great number of peasants, who had previously been dependent upon the big landowners, may have improved, through freedom, but on the whole life must have been precarious and uncertain.

However, it is not true to say that coastal cities and coastal settlements were abandoned because of the Arab raids. A number of citizens and some inhabitants of coastal settlements most probably left their homes, either because these had been shattered or because their sense of security had been undermined; but most of the coastal cities and most of the coastal settlements survived. The cities reacted

by fortifying themselves with walls or kastra, the settlements by the erection of vigle or watch towers.

The movement from the poleis and the coastal settlements to the safer komai, in the interior of the Island, led to the overpopulation of the latter and the need for reclamation of virgin land, resulting in the foundation of new hamlets and farmsteads. Most probably, land utilisation in Cyprus reached its optimum between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the eighth century. It is not impossible that the same movement may also have resulted in an increase of the number and the predominance of the free peasant small-holders in the Island.

In the forties of the eighth century, however, the bubonic plague and other natural calamities seem to have struck the Island and as a result, the cities contracted further and became ruralised, whilse elsewhere some 60% of the rural settlements were abandoned.

This abandonment, which may well have lasted for over a generation, caused the erosion of the soil of the areas previously under cultivation, with the result that when the population grew again new land, required to provide for the means of sustenance, had to be sought in regions scarcely populated in the pre-catastrophe days, such as those of the central mountain range. The apparent, relatively denser

occupation of the mountainous regions in the Middle Ages and modern times may have been the result of a new movement in land utilisation following the eighth century calamities.

APPENDIX I

A. Byzantine Coins, other than Bronze, which circulated in Cyprus between 649 and 965.

Abbreviations

Under Denomination:
S = solidus
(s) = semissis
(t) = tremissis
AR = Silver

Under Reference:
B = W. Wroth, British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins, Plate,
RDAC: Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1937-39.

Under Disposition:
OC = Old Collection
Dr = Coin Cabinet, Drawer
ZDP = Zenon D. Pierides collection
GDP = George D. Pierides collection

No	Year	Den	References	Provenance	Disposition: Cyprus Museum Registration	Disposition: Other	Remarks
1	646-51	S	B.XXX,15	Unknown	OC/Dr.2		
2	"	AR	B.XXXI,9	Kouklia	?		
3	651/2-6	S	B.XXX,16	Unknown	OC/Dr.2		
4	654-59	S	B.XXX,17	"	"		
5	"	S	B.XXX,19	"	"		
6	659-68	S	B.XXXI,2	"	1953/V-5/11(1)		
7	"	(t)	B.XXXI,5	"	1952/VI-26/2		
8	"	"	"	"		ZDP	
9	"	? Br. gilt	Not in B or other catalogues	Salamis wall	Sal.9.405		With other coins datable to this period

No.	Year	Den.	References	Provenance	Disposition: Cyprus Museum Registration	Disposition: Other	Remarks
10	668/9	S	B.XXXVI,1	?	1951/IV-13/2		CONSTANTINE IV
11-12	670-80	S	" 2	?	1953/V-5/11(2)		
13	"	S	" "	?	OC/Dr.2		JUSTINIAN II
14	685-695	t	" XXXVIII,20 RDAC, 211	Prophites Elias	1939/III-25/1		TIBERIUS II
15	698-705	S	B.XL.8	Lapethus, locality Petromandres	1949/VI-2/1		LEO III
16	720-726	S	B.XLII,10		1941/X-15/1		cf. Cyprus Antiquities Dept., File No. 73/1936 Bl. 25.
17	"	S	"		1945/III-5/1		
18	"	S	"		1945/VII-5/2		
19	"	(s)	" 12		1953/V-5/11(3)		
20	743	AR	B	Kormakitis, Panayia	?		ARTAVASDUS cf.Chapter II.5 p. 265.
21	775-80	AR	B.XLVI,2		1948/IX-14/3		LEO IV
22	803-11	S	B.XLVI,14-15		OC/Dr.2		NICEPHORUS I
23	"	S	"			GDP	cf. Cyprus Museum Photo J.1013
24	833-37	S	B.XLVIII,16	Evdhimou, Melanda locality		Mrs.A. Kontoyiannis, Lefkosia	THEOPHILUS

No.	Year	Den.	References	Provenance	Disposition: Cyprus Museum Registration	Disposition: Other	Remarks
25-6	833-37	S	B.XLVIII,16			GDP	Cyprus Museum photos J.1009 and J.1010
27-9	"	S	"	Ayios Symeon locality Halas-mata/Kastro	1960/II-16/1-3		
30-1	842	S	B.XLIX,14-15			GDP	MICHAEL III cf. Cyprus Museum photos J.1011,1012
32	856-66	S	" 17	Vasilia	1940/IV-25/1		cf. Cyprus Department of Antiquities File no.73/1936, Bl. 104
33	"	S	" "	?		Mrs. Robertson	Identified inthe Cyprus Museum in 1940
34	"	S	" 18	?		GDP	cf. Cyprus Museum Photo J.1014.
							BASIL I
35	869-79	S	B.L,12	? Leonarisso	OC/Dr.2		cf. Cyprus Department of Antiquities File no.127, Red 102, no. 85
36	"	S	"		1953/V-5/11(4)		
							CONSTANTINE VII and ROMANUS
37	919-923	S	B.LII,5		OC/Dr.2		
38	945-59	Br. gilt	Variant B.LIII,12	? Morphou area	1952/I-21/1g		

B. Catalogue of bronze BYZANTINE coins which circulated in Cyprus between 649 and 965.

Abbreviations

Under References: B and RDAC as in Appendix I A.
N = Numismatic Chronicle, Plate,

Under Provenance: A = The Public Baths at Constantia
B = The Basilica " "
W = The late city Wall
Lim = Panayia Limeniotissa, Nea Paphos

The letters and numbers after these refer to the grid plans of the excavated areas, the last number being the layer number.

Under Disposition: Sal. = Salamis (Constantia) excavations record diary; the first number after this refers to the year of excavations; e.g. 9 = 1959.
Cur. = Curium Basilica
Cur. A = Curium: American Excavations
KP = Kato (Nea) Paphos, 1959 excavations
AP = Ayios Philon, Karpasia excavations

Under Hoards: I = Larnaca, 19th C. hoard
II = Soloi Hoard
III = Kyrenia Hoard
IV = Karpasia Hoard

Nos.	Years	Den.	References	Provenance	Cyprus Museum Registration	Hoards I	Hoards II	Hoards III	Hoards IV	Coins with ℧	Remarks
1	VIth.c.	K	RDAC, 211	Kerynia	MMRR 21			1			
2} 45}	610-641	M	- do. -	"	do.			44		2	Heraclius
46	"	K	- do. -	"	do.			1			
47	"	M		B:Central aisle (1)	Sal:6.321					1	
48	"	"			Box 105					1	
49	"	"			Box 130					1	
50	"	"	B.XXIV, 5-7		Box 59					1	
51	"	"	"	B:S.9, packed layer	Sal:8.257					1	
52	"	"	"	W:East,Tr.I (4)	Sal:9.407					1	
53-55	"	"	B.XXVI, 4 N: II, 2	Larnaca (Citium)		3				3	
56	641-646	"	B.xxxl, 14		A.462					1	Constans II
57	"	"	"		Box 130					1	
58	"	"	"	B:AA, 14 (1)	Sal.9.361					1	
59-70	"	"	"		Box 141					11	
71-107	"	"	" } RDAC, 211}	Kerynia	MMRR. 21			37			
108-131	" ?	"		Soloi			24			1	
132-135	641-51	M	RDAC, 211	Kerynia	MMMR 21			4			
136-137	"	"	B:xxxi,15-17	Soloi			2			1	
138-141	"	"	"		Box 130						
142	"	"			F.90						
{143-145	"	"		Cur.	Cur.1072 1074, 1075					1	
{146-148	"	"	" N:II,12}	Larnaca		3				3	
149	"	"	B.xxxii,4	Soloi			1			1	
150	"	"	B.xxxiv,7 Pls. 30/1, 3E		A 489						
151-2	641/51	"	Cox. 82	Cur. A							
153	"	"		AP							
154-8	651/56	"		AP						1	
159-163	"	"	Cox,82,123	Cur.A.						3	
164-294	"		N.II,6-8,11-12	Larnaca		131				131	
295-303	"	"		Soloi			9			8	
301-1	"	"	B:xxxl,18-19		F.94					1	
305-6	"	"	"		F.98					2	
307	"	"	"		F.99						
308	"	"	"		G.1						
309	"	"	"		G.13						
310-314	"	"	"		A470-A473					5	
315	"	"	"		Box 59						
316-325	"	"	"		Box 105					6	
326-334	"	"	"		Box 130					6	
335-336	"	"	"		1951/v-3/3					1	
337	"	"	"	Karpasia	1960/III-28/2					1	
338	"	"	"	B:J:9 (3)	Sal:4.158					1	
339-340	"	"	"	W:Ts.XIII Unstratified	Sal.7.305						
341-342	"	"	"	B: YZ.14 (3)						1	
343	"	"	"	Cur.	Cur.1032					1	
344	653/4	"	Not in BMC	Kornos Cave	1956/X-22/1						cf. p 324, below
345-346	655-657	"	B.XXXI)20 XXIII) 1		G.3					2	
347											
347	"	"	"		Box 105					1	
348	"	"	"		A.474					1	
349	"	"	"		1951/v-3/3						
350-356	"	"	N:II,9		Larnaca	7				7	
357	"	"	B:XXXII,2-3		F.96						
358	"	"	"		F.100						
359	"	"	"		G.1						
360-1	"	"	"		G.2						
362-364	"	"	"		A.475-A.477					3	
365-366	"	"	"		Box 59					2	
367-369	"	"	"		Box 105					3	
370	"	"	"	B.R. 3 (1)	Sal.6.337					1	
371	"	"	"	"	" 6.338					1	
372	"	"	"	B.Ve 5 (3)	" 9.138					1	
373	"	"	"	W:East,Tr.I fill of channel	" 9.369					1	
374	"	"	"	Lim.E.4 (3) Below burial	Lim.111					1	
375-436	"	"	N:II,3	Larnaca		62				62	
437	655-8	"	B.XXXII,5-7		G.12					1	
438	"	"	"		Box 105					1	
439-444	"	"	Cox,82,123	Cur.A.						4	
445-503	"	"	N.II, 14	Larnaca		59				59	

Nos.	Years	Den.	References	Provenance	Cyprus Museum Registration	Hoards I	Hoards II	Hoards III	Hoards IV	Coins with ℔	Remarks
					B/Fwd.						
504-533	655-8	M	B.xxxII,5-7	Soloi			30			29	
534-535	659/60	"	N.II, 13	Larnaca		2				2	
536	"	"	B.xxxii,14	W:East Tr.I (3)	Sal.9.405						
537	"	"	"	AP						1	
538	659/63	"	B.xxxii,8-10	"							
539-541	"	"	Cox,82,123	Cur.A.						2	
542	"	"	B.xxxii,8-10		A.478					1	
543-544	"	"	"		Box 59					2	
545-552	"	"	"	Soloi			8			6	
553	"	"	"		G.6						
554	"	"	"		G.8					1	
555-556	"	"	"		G.9					1	
557	"	"	"		G.10					1	
558-559	"	"	"		G.11						
560-564	"	"	"		Box 105					3	
565-566	"	"	"		" 130					1	
567-568	"	"	"		A.480-A481					2	
569	"	"	"		1948/IX-14/3						
570	"	"	"		1951/v-3/3					1	
571	"	"	"	Lapethus	?						
572	"	"	"	B:G.13 (5)	Sal.4.158						
573	"	"	"	B:N.aisle (1)	" 6,331					1	
574	"	"	"	" S.aisle (1)	" 6,341						
575	"	"	"	" AD. 38 (2)	" 9.123						
576	"	"	"		A.479					1	Of Lead.
577-730	"	"	N.II, 1	Larnaca		160				160	
731	661/2	I	PL30/1,1A		A.485						
732-733	662/3	K	RDAC,211	Kerynia	MMRR.21			2			Nos.731, & 734-747 are not illustrated in BMC or other catalogues. One coin restruck on Sicilian coin of Constans II
734	"	I	PL30/1,1B.	"	Box 59						
735	"	"	var., "		Box 22						
736-737	"	"	var., "		" 141						
738	"	"	Pls 30/1,IC	A.Fill of wall south of west end of south stoa	Sal.4.151						
739	"	"	var., "	W:East Tr.I (3)	Sal:9.405						
740	"	"	Pls 30/31,ID		A.484						
741	"	"	" " 1E	A.II,B.18(Bn)6	Sal.2.404						
742	"	"	" " 3C	A.I. C.3 (5)	" 2.370						
743	"	"	" " 2A		Box 105						
744	663/4	"	" " 2B	A.III.C.21 (3)	Sal. 3.399						
745	"	"	" " 2C		A.482						
746	"	"	" " 2D		A.483						
747	"	"	" " 2E		A.II Bn(21) a						
748-752	664/5	M	N.II, 5	Larnaca		5				5	
753	663/667	M	B.XXXII,11.12	AP							
754-768	"	M		AP. wall				15			Only three of these coins are of the period 663-667; the others are earlier.
769-771	"	"	Cox,82,123	Cur.A.						2	
772-851	"	"	N.II			80				80	
852	"	"	B.XXXII,11-12		Box 22						
853	"	"	"		Box 59						
854	"	"	"		" 130						
855-856	"	"	"		G.4					2	
857	"	"	"		G.5					1	
858-859	"	"	"		G.7						
860-861	"	"	"		1951/v-3/3						
862-864	"	"	"		A.486-A488					1	
865	"	"	"	B.S.aisle (1)	Sal:6.325						
					Totals:	512	74	89	15	656	

No.	Years	Den.	References	Provenance	Cyprus Museum Registration	Private Collections	With JS	Remarks
						B/Fwd,	656	Constantine IV
866	668/9	M	B XXXVII, 16 PL 30/31, 3D		A.495			Sicilian mint.
867	"	"	"	W. East Tr. I (3)	Sal. 9.405		1	Sicilian mint; cf. BMC, II, no.36 for another coin of Constantine IV with JS.
868	670-80	"	B.XXXVII,20	Lapethus	1959/XII-31/7			Sicilian mint?
869	?	K	B.XXXVII,1	B:N.aisle (1)	Sal.6.295			
870	?	I	" XXXVII, 3-4		A. 493			
871	"	I	do. & PL.30/1,3A		A. 494			
872	"	I	" 3B	B:Q.6 (2)	Sal. 9.3			
						Total	657	
								Justinian II
873	685-695	M	B:XXXIX, 13		Box 105			
874	"	"	"	B:Z.39 (1)	Sal.6.297			
875	"	K	PL 30/1,4B		A.496			cf. BMC, XXXIX, 5 for obverse.
876	"	K	do., 4C	A:OC, E.23 dark sandy layer				do.
877	"	"	Cox, PL.X, 733 & 83, 125	Cur. A.				Miss Cox considers this coin as one of Constantine V or Justinian II of the second reign. I think Justinian II's first reign should be preferred. cf. Laffranchi, "La numismatica di Leonzio' Numismatica v (1939) 8 and Tab.I, no.25.
888	687/8	M	Pls.30/31,4A		Box 59			Leontius III. cf. Laffranchi, op.cit. Numismatica IV (1938) 73 fig.1.
889	c.698	K	Pl.30/1,4D	Unknown	A.497			do.
890	"	K		"	Box 105			Tiberius II
891	c700	M	PL 30/1, 4E	"	A.498			Ravenna mint, cf. Laffranchi, op.cit., Numismatica V, p.10, no.31.
892	705-10	M	PL 30/15E	"	A.507			Justinian II, 2nd. reign.
893	"	"		"	1952/V-13/1			
894	802-11	M	B.XLVI, 13	"	G.37			Nicephorus I
895	"	"		"	Box 13c			One of coins nos.894-897 probably comes from Menes, a locality near Kazaphani cf. Cyprus Museum File No.142, Bl. 7.
896-7	"	"		"	A505-506			
898	813-20	"	B.XLVII, 13	"	G.38			Leo V.
899	"	"	"	"		Petrakides		Seen in 1957
900	"	"	" 14	"	Box 23			
901	"	"	"	"		Petrakides		Seen in 1957
902-3	870-9	folles	B.L.19) B.LI 1)	"	G.39			Basil I
904	"		"	"	Box 22			
905	"	"	"	Ayios Epiktetos	1941/XII-5/1A			cf.Cyprus Ant.Dept. File No.73/1936,Bl.129
906	"	"	B.LI 12	Near Statos	1948/V-12/11			Leo VI cf Cyprus Ant.Dept. File No.28/1948 Bl.10.
907	"	"	" 13	Unknown	G.40			
908-910	"	"	" 13	"	Box 20			
911	"	"	" "	"	Box 23			
912	"	"	" "	Lefkosia	1934/VI-6/4			
913	"	"	" "	Unknown		Petrakides		Seen in 1957

APPENDIX 1C.

Catalogue of ISLAMIC COINS of the period 649-965 found in Cyprus.

Abbreviations:

Under Provenance: As in Appendix 1B; in addition NP.FC = Nea Paphos, Castle of Forty Columns.

Under Registration: As in Disposition of Appendix 1B.

References:

ASK: A.S.Kirkbridge "Coins of the Byzantine Arab Transition period QDAP, XIII (1948) 59-63 and Pls. XXIV-XXVI.

Berlin Cat. Berlin Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen I (1898)

Dikigoropoulos-Kharcha: A.I.Dikigoropoulos, 'A Byzantine hoard from Kharcha, Cyprus', NC, XVI (1956) 255-266 and Pl.XVIII.

Miles, RIC = George C.Miles, Rare Islamic Coins, (Num. Notes & Monographs, no.118), (1950).

Miles, Rayy = George C. Miles, The Numismatic history of Rayy, (Numismatic Studies no.2), (1938).

Walker = J.Walker, A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum II (1956).

No.	Year	Provenance	Cyprus Museum Registration	Mint	Illustration	References
1	C.640	Unknown	A.490	Hims/Emesa	PL. 32/3, 1B	Berlin Cat., PL I, 22 Antioch, IV, Fig.97, 12 Walker, 20 nos. 57ff.
2	C.650	"	Box 23	Tiberias	" 1C	Walker, 15, nos. 43ff.
3	"	"	" 105	Helioupolis	" 3C	ibid., 12 nos. 36ff.
4	Uncertain	"	" 105	Uncertain	" 1D	ASK, xxv, 22
5	"	"	" 23	"		do.
6	"	"	" 105	"	" 1E	do.
7	"		F.85	"	" 2A	Imitation of coin of Constans II of type B, of Dikogoropoulos, Kharcha, XVIII, 87 dated 643/4.
8	"	"	F.86	"	" 2B	ASK, XXV, 45 (variant)
9	"	"	F.87	"	" 2C	Imitation of Constans II coin as in 8.
10	"	"	F.89	"	" 2D	do.
11	"	"	A.491	"	" 2E	Walker, 46ff., ASK, xxv,27
12	"	"	A.492	"	" 3A	Walker, 46ff.
13	"	"	Box 105	"	" 3B	ASK, xxiv, 42 & XXVI, 53.
14-15	"	"	" 59	"		Variants PL.32/3, 2 A-E.
16-18	"	"	" 141	"		do.
19	"	"	" 130	"		do.
20	"	B:AC.Ao(2)	Sal.9.507	"		do.
21	"	B.M.6 Burnt layer	Sal.4.164	"		do.
22	Post Reform	Unknown	A.499	Uncertain Syrian	PL.32/3, 3D	Miles, RIC, VI, 98.
23	"	"	A.500	do.	" 3E	do.
24	"	"	A.501	Syrian or Egyptian	" 4A	Walker, XXIII, 638. G.C.Miles, in a private letter dated, 17th.Febr. 1960.
25	"	B:Ve 6 (4)	Sal.9.358	Uncertain Syrian	" 4B	do.
26	"	W.East Tr.I(2)	Sal.9.368	Syrian or Egyptian	" 4C	do.
27	"	Unknown	A.502	do.	" 4D	do. ; cf. also Walker, 206, no.610
28	"	"	A.503	do.	" 4E	As in 24-27.
29	"	Cur.	Cur.1276	Uncertain		cf. Antioch, IV, 109 fig.97.9.
30	718-28	NP, F.C.	F.C.1102	Tiberias ?		Walker, 898? cf. also, ibid, 785 and 928.
31	763/4	Halefka Pass.	1950/III-10/4	Uncertain of AL Mansur	PL.32/3 6C.	½ Dinar
32	766/7	Uncertain	1953/III-28/1	AL Muhammadiya	" 5D	Dirham; cf.Miles, Rayy, 31/51A
33	768/9	"	1952/5-2/5	Madinat al Salam (Baghdad)	" 5C.	
34	769/70	Unknown	A.504	AL Basra	" 5A.	Berlin Cat., no.2080.
35	772/3		OC/Dr.8	As in 33	" 5E.	
36	784/5	Ayios Symean (Halasmata Kastro	1960/11-23/4	Uncertain of AL Mansur	" 6E.	Dinar. Found with coins of Theophilus, nos.27-29 of Appendix I. A.
37	Late 8th.C.	Unknown	OC.	Uncertain	" 5B.	
38	786-806	"	OC/Dr 8	AL Rashid	" 6B	Dirham.
39	806-7	"	OC	do.	" 6D	Dinar
40	809-13	"	OC/Dr 8	AL Amin ?	" 6A	Dirham

APPENDIX II

THE SEALS

The majority of the seals catalogued below are in the collections of the Cyprus Museum. They are presented here for the first time.

Although a detail and analytic study of the seals could not be undertaken, the seals are being presented in three distinctive groups - civil, ecclesiastical and sundries - and an attempt is being made, despite the lack of a prosopographia of Byzantine sources, to identify, where possible, the persons to which the seals belong, with persons known from the sources.[1]

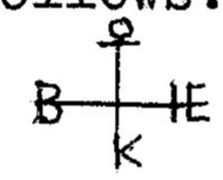
Where a precise dating of the seals has not been possible a date on typological and iconographic reasons has been given. In such cases the dating is, naturally, loose and, in the case of civil seals, cannot help to determine with accuracy the relationship between Cyprus and the Byzantine Empire. Even so, the evidence of such seals does not seem to be in disagreement or in contradiction with the conclusions drawn from the evidence of sources regarding the Island's political status and the relations of the Cypriots with Byzantium during

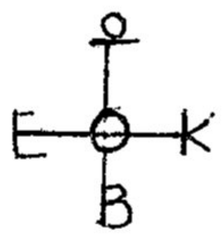
---

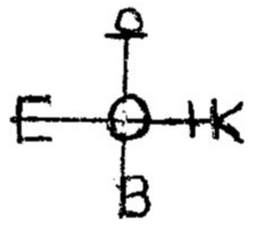
1. At least five Archbishops, referred to in the sources without being dated, have been shown, by the evidence of seals, to belong to the period of this thesis. The names of four others, also of the same period, and previously unknown, may now be added to the list of the Archbishops of Cyprus on the evidence of seals. cf. Chapter II.1.a.v.

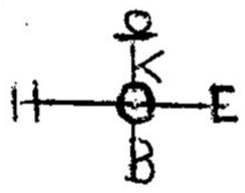
the period of the Arab raids. The majority of the civil seals and of those grouped under Sundries are early and belong to the period before the outbreak of Iconoclasm in Byzantium. It is doubtful whether any seal of any particular significance belongs to the period 730-780. The seals of strategi and other thematic officials of post 730 date are more likely to belong to persons serving Orthodox than to those serving Iconoclast Emperors.

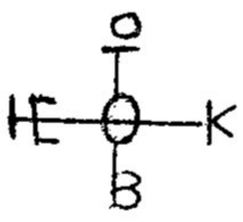
A considerable number of seals have a Cruciform monogram with the invocation ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ on the obverse. At least seven main types of this monogram have been noted. They are as follows:

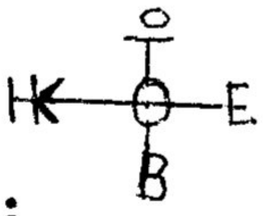
Type 1: 

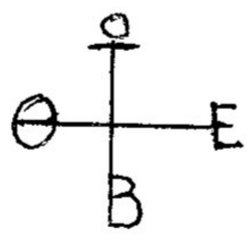
" 2a: 

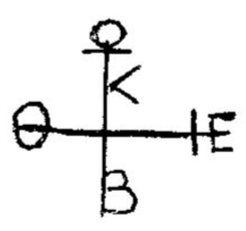
2b: 

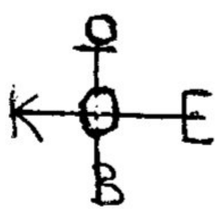
" 3: 

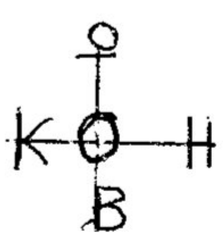
" 4: 

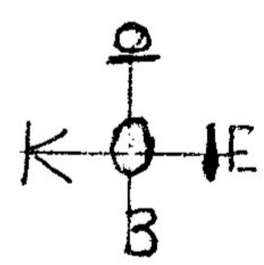
" 5: 

" 6a: 

6b: 

" 7a: 

7b: 

7c: 

Catalogue of BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS

A. Civil

(a) The Emperor

1. CM. no. 2; D.2. 6 cms. (Pl. 34/35 I·1A)

O. Busts of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine, as on solidi of the type BMC, Pl. xxiii, 4, the date of which has been fixed as Ad.613-late 629.[1]

R. The Virgin 'Nikopoeos' between two large crosses.[2]

2. CM. no. 2, a second seal under the same registration identical with no. 1.

(b) Palatine Officials and dignitaries

3. CM. no. 103; D.1. 8 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I.1B)
(7th century)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘΕΟΔΩΡΥ

R. Straight text reading ΕΞ ΚΟ/ΥΒΙΤ/ΟΡΟC
The excubitores were a body of palace guards, originally under the command of a comes. In the 8the century the excubitores were placed under a Domesticus, perhaps following[3] a reorganisation of the palace guards by Leo III.

4. CM. no. Gunther 606; D.2. 1-2.3 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·1C)
(7th century)

O. As on no. 3.

R. Straight text reading ΚΟΥ|ΡΑΤΟΡ|ΟC
The curatores worked under the Μέγας Κουράτωρ[4] who was in charge of the Emperor's οἶκοι καὶ κτήματα

---

1. cf. P. Grierson, 'Solidi of Phocas and Heraclius', NC (1959) 131-153 and Pls. XII-XIV.

2. For other examples of the same seal cf. Schlumberger, MA, 261, 262 n.116; Laurent, Collection, Pl. I.2 and pp. 13-14; Lichacev, Leon III.

3. Bury, IAS, 57.

4. ibid. 100.

5. CM. no. 45; D.2. 1 cms. (Pl. 34/35 I·1D)

O. Eagle with spread wings between which cruciform monogram reading ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

R. Straight text reading + ΜΑΝ/ΔΑΤΩΡ|ΟC ΒΑCΙ|ΛΙΚΩ [1]
The seal is doubtless that of Paul magistrianos sent by Justinian II to the court of Caliph Abd-al-Malik, to sign the treaty of AD.688 whereby the neutralization of Cyprus between the two powers was officially established.[2]

6. Collection of P. Neophytou, Nicosia. (Pl. 34/35, I·1E)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7(b) reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ quartered with Τω Cω Δω Λω

R. Straight text reading + ΧΡΗC/ΤΟΦΟΡΩ Β(ασιλικῶ)/ CΤΡΑΤΟΡ(ι) Ϛ (for καὶ) (ἐπι) Τ(ων) ΥΚΙΑΚ(ωΝ) . [3]

It has been noted that whereas the formula ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιακῶν occurs on seals of the 8th and 9th centuries, it does not appear in sources before AD.1030.[4] Dolger is of the opinion that these early seals did not denote the officer in charge of the Emperor's private fortunes, but minor palatine officials and dignitaries.[5] Laurent, commenting on this view suggested that the very early seals referred to 'intendants généraux gérant simultanément sous la conduite du logothète, tels ensembles importants de la fortune privée'. [6]

The type of the seal does not permit a date for it outside the 8th-9th century period.

---

1. For the status of mandator, cf. Bury, IAS 22, 45.

2. Theophanis, 363, 13-14.

3. For the dignity and functions of the strator cf. Bury, IAS, 22, 117-118.

4. Laurent, Collection, 22.

5. Dolger, Finanzverwaltung, 44, n.3.

6. Laurent, Collection, 22.

7. CM. no. 121; D.2.3-2.7 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·2B)
(8th century)

O. Cruciform Monogram, type 7a.

R. Straight text reading (Λ)ΕΟΝ|ΤΙΩ Β΄(ασιλικῶ) ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΩ [1]

8. Published by G. Schlumberger, as of 7th-8th C. date.[2]

O. Straight text (Α)Ν|ΘΙΜΟΥ| ΚΑΝΔΙ|ΔΑΤΥ

R. Straight text + S (for Kai) ΒΑCΙ/ΛΙΚΟΥ|ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΥ[3]

9. CM. no. 121; D.2.1-2.4 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I.2C)
(c. AD.670)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7c.

R. Straight text : + ΦΛΟ|ΡΥ ΥΠ/ΑΤΟΥ

The active consulate of Roman and Early Byzantine times was terminated by Justinian in AD.542 (Just. Nov. 80). It was revived for a time but only as an imperial privilege. The honorary consulate was maintained but the dignity depreciated with the passage of time and seems to have become meaningless by the end of the 9th century. Leo VI had it suppressed in his Novel 4 but the title continued to be conferred until its disappearance in the 13th century.

From as early as the 6th century both active and honorary consuls were referred to indiscriminately in sources as ἀπὸ ὑπάτων and this practice continued in the following century.[4]

The CM seal is probably that of Φλῶρος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων who was defeated by the Arabs in AD.673/4.[5]

---

1. For the dignity of spatharioi, cf. Bury, IAS, 112 and Guilland, Le protospathaire, 649ff. The spatharioi were often sent as 'ambassadors' or heads of missions in foreign lands.

2. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 593.

3. For the dignity of candidatus cf. Bury, IAS, 113.

4. cf. Guilland, Le Consul; Courtois, Ex-consul; Bury, IAS, 22-23.

5. Theophanis, 354:12.

10. CM. no. 123; D.2.5-2.8 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·2D)
(8th-9th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7b.

R. Straight text : ΒΟΗΘ|Η ΥΠΑΤΙ|(ΩΥ)ΠΑΤ|Ω

11. CM. no. 1934/IV-14/24; D.2.4 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·2E)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Straight text ϹΕΡΓ(Ι)|ΟΥ ΥΠ(Α)|ΤΟΥ

12. Published as of the 8th-9th C.[1]

O. Straight text + ΖΗΝΩΝΟϹ ΥΠΑΤΟΥ

R. Straight text : ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ϹΤΑΥΡΟΥ

13. Br.M. no. CLXXXVI, 18. (7th-8th C.)

O. Straight text (Θ)ΕΟΔ/ΩΡΩΥ|ΠΑΤΩ

R. Straight text, legend blurred.

This and other seals from Cyprus in the British Museum to which reference is made in this catalogue were presented to the Trustees of the BM by Wing Commander Hubbard. Several of the seals are heavily corroded and cannot be identified unless they are cleaned. Unfortunately the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum is against the cleaning of seals on the grounds that they will be destroyed in the process. This view was not confirmed by the British Museum Laboratory. It should be pointed out that the seals will ultimately be destroyed by corrosion unless the Laboratory is allowed to treat them, soon.

14. CM. no. 249; D.1.8-2 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·3B)
(c. AD.650)

O. Straight text (+ΘΕΟ)|ΤΟΚΕ|(Β)ΟΗΘΕΙ|ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ
R. Straight text ΑΠ/Ο ΥΠΑ|ΤΩΝ

Laurent[2] dates seals of this type to the 6th-7th century. Konstantopoulos, on the other hand, dates another example of the CM seal to the 7th-8th century.[3] In view of the fact that another example (No. 16 below) of this seal was found in the vicinity of the Church of Panayia Kanakaria, at Lythrankome, with a coin of Constans II type BMC, XXXI, 14, a date for it in the mid 7th century or later is indicated.

---

1. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 327.
2. Laurent, Collection, 148 no. 278, 155 no. 295 and 157 no.301.
3. Konstantopoulos, AS, 5, no. 33.

15. In the collection of P. Neophytou, Nicosia.

As no. 14.

16. CM. no. 1959/VI-2/3. From the vicinity of the Church of Panayia Kanakaria, at Lythrankome in the Karpas peninsula, together with a folles of Constans II of the type BMC, XXXI, 14.

As no. 14.

17. CM. no. 1934/IV-14/39; D. 1.8-2.1 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I3C)

As no. 14.

18. CM. no. 115; D.1.8-2 cms. (Pl. 34/35 I3D)
(7th C.)

19.

O. Straight text ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΕΙ ΕΠΙ/ΜΑΧΥ [1]

R. Straight text ΑΠ/ΟΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ

20. CM. no. 122; D.2.2 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I3E)
(8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7c.

R. Straight text, unevenly spaced, probably intended for + ΟΝΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ

21. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 9.
(c. AD.650)

O. Straight text + ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕ Β/ΟΗ ΘΕ(Ι)

R. Straight text + ΛΕΟΝΤΙΩ ΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ+

The existence of the ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων in the 6th century is evidenced by Novel Just. 166.[2] They were, still, a high class in the 7th century[3] but fell back to the lowest order in the Kletorologion of Philotheos[4] probably following a downgrading in the 8th century. Both in the 6th and in the 10th centuries the ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων is associated with the Στρατηλάτης: Προβάδμιος τῶν Στρατηλάτου

---

1. cf. nos. 101-104 below, (Pls. 36/37, II.3 B, C) for seals with the same obverse but a different reverse.

2. Corpus Juris Civilis, 3, 753.

3. cf. Bury, IAS, 21.

4. ibid. 22.

Ἐπὶ θεμάτων ἀξία ἤτοι ἡ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ὀνομαζομένη [1]
(Const. Porph. De Cerim (ed. Bonn), 708). The word Στρατηλάτης had a wide meaning in antiquity and was used to denote all sorts of military commandments including that of the commander in chief. After the subdivision of the Empire into Themes under Strategi, the title of stratelates continued to be borne by the commanders of the troops of a city and of the city's district, or of a region or subdivision of a Theme. In the Taktika of Leo VI, we read Μεράρχαι οἱ λεγόμενοι ποτὲ καὶ στρατηλάται νῦν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλούμενοι τουρμάρχαι [2]
The title of stratelates at this later time was reserved for military officers of Themes whereas that of was reserved for civilians and administrative officials of thematic offices. [3]

22. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 12. (7th century; second half)

O. Straight text + Θ Ε / ΟΤΟΚ | Ε ΒΟΗ | Θ Η +

R. Straight text + CΤΕ | ΦΑΝΟΥ / ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡ / ΧΩΝ

23-24. BM. nos. CLXXXVI, 10-11. (7th century; second half)

O. Eagle with wings spread, enclosing cruciform monogram, probably reading CEPΓΙΟ

R. Straight text (K)OCMA AΠO EΠAPXωN

25-27. CM. nos. 1935/V-8/5, 1946/I-4/3, 1948/VI-4/2(50); D.1.5-2.8 cms.

Variants of Nos. 23-24. No monogram between the wings of the eagle on the obverse.

28. CM. no. 118; D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·4A) (8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 4.

R. Straight text, MAN/ZωNOCA/ΠOEΠAPXωN

29. CM. no. 117; D.1.8 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·4B) (8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 2b.

R. Straight text, OΛ | ΘIOYAΠ /OEΠAP/XON

---

1. De Cerim (ed. Bonn) 708.

2. Leonis Taktika, IV, 45.

3. cf. Kyriakides, BM; Guilland, Les Termes, 43-57.

30. CM. no. 1939/VIII-25/1(32). (Pl. 34/35, I·4C)

As no. 29. It was published by Megaw, who read the name as OΛYMΠOY. [1]

31. CM. no. 120; D.2.2-2.6 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·4D) (8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7c.

R. Straight text, CICIN/IOAΠO/EΠAP/XON.[2]

32. CM. no. 102; D.1.9-2.2 cms. (7th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, Γ and Є at ends of horizontal arm, ω and ɣ at bottom and top of vertical arm. Certain reading ΓЄωPTIɣ

R. Straight text, CTPA/THΛA/ TOY.[3]

33. CM. no. 1958/VII-11/2; D.2.2 cms. (7th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, M and H at each end of the horizontal arm Δ and ꝑ at the bottom and top. Certain reading ΔHMHTPIɣ

R. Straight text + CTP/ATHΛ/ATɣ

34-35. CM. nos. 106 and 1958/IX-4/2. D.1.8 cms.

O. Cruciform Monogram, N and A at each end of horizontal arm, H at bottom and M at top of the vertical arm. Certain reading MHNA.

R. Straight text CTR/ATHΛ/ATOY.

36. CM. no. 1939/VIII-25/1(25). D.1.8-2 cms.

O. Cruciform Monogram (partly off flan) probably reading MIXAHΛ

R. Straight text, CTR/ATHΛ/ATɣ.[4]

---

1. cf. RDAC 1937-39, 209 no. 6.

2. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 699 and SBI, no. 30 published seals with a similar obverse but with the reverse reading

3. For a discussion of Stratelates, cf. seal no. 21.

4. It was published by Megaw (RDAC, 1937-39, 209 no. 6 and read as M H N A

37. CM. no. 79. D.2-2.2 cms.

O. Straight text CEP/ΓIO/V.

R. Straight text CTP/ATHΛ/ATϒ

Schlumberger published another example of this seal and dated it 6th-7th C.[1] It is not impossible that this is the seal of Sergios Stratelates, sent, in AD.668, by Savorios, Strategus of the theme of Armeniakon to solicit the help of Muawiya in his revolt against Constans II.[2] Sergius was later put to death by the cubicularius Andreas.[3]

(c) Customs and financial administration

38. Collection of P. Neophytou, Nicosia. (Pl. 34/35, I·5D)

O. The Emperor Constans II, standing facing holding in r. globus cruciger; in field l. two indiction signs; in field r. IΔ and IE one above the other. Also in field r. circular legend reading KωNCTA ... probably continued on to the field l., where it is blurred to read finally KωNCTANTINOY.

R. Straight text ΓЄ(NI)/KOYKOMM/EPKIAPIO(Y)/AΠOΘHKH(C)/(A)CIACKA(P)/(IACLYKIAC).

For the commerciarioi and their seals the important articles by Lihacev and Millet[4] are fundamental. In the 7th century, certainly, and in the 8th century probably, the commerciarioi were in the service of the Emperor, by whom they were selected and appointed and whose effigy they had, for that reason, engraved on the obverse of their seals. They were in charge of an apotheke where goods both for import and export were stored, and they supervised not only the payment of duties but also the distribution of goods to the various cities and provinces.[5]

In the 10th century the commerciarioi were state officials under the Logothetes tou yenikou, an official whose emergence as head of the Byzantine financial administration

---

1. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 269.
2. Theophanis, 349: 1-2.
3. ibid. 350: 12-18.
4. Lihacev, DVP; Millet, Commerciaires.
5. Millet, ibid. 324ff.

dates from the reign of Justinian II.[1] It is certain, however, that the commerciarioi did not come under the control of the Logothetes, in Justinian II's time, and there are reasons to suggest that they remained in the service of the Emperor throughout the 8th century. A seal of a commerciariøus, dated AD.707, published by Schlumberger and republished by Millet,[2] has the effigies of Justinian II and his son Tiberius on the obverse, and another published by Lihacev,[3] has the effigies of Leo IV and his son Constantine on the obverse. It is true, the latter seal is that of an archon ? of the silk factory who is also a general commerciarius, but it would be difficult to argue from this that the effigy of the Emperors was engraved by the owner in his capacity as an archon and not as a commerciarius, as Millet implies.[4] If the commercia were in the 8th century royal commercia, a fact shown by seals of Lihacev's, DVP, type IX, it would follow that the commerciarii were also Imperial agents. Lihacev's seal of Leo IV's reign is the first example of a commerciarius, in the service of an Isaurian Emperor, and others may yet come to light.

A seal with the effigy of Constans II on the obverse and indictions 15 and 1, published by Lihacev and reproduced by Millet,[5] also groups ACIA KAPIA AND LYKIA under one commerciarius.

Lihacev published another seal of a general commerciarius[6]

---

1. Millet, Logothete; Bury, IAS, 86ff.

2. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 37; Millet, Commerciaires, 312.

3. Lihacev, DVP, 204 and Pl. IX.

4. Millet, Lihacev, 605.

5. Lihacev, Nekotorye Starejsie Tipypecati Vizantijkich Imperatorov, Moscow (1911), no. 22; Millet - Commerciaires, Pl. XII, 5. For similar groupings on other seals cf. Millet, ibid. 313.

6. Lihacev, DVP, 174 and Pl. IX, 8.

with indictions 14 and 15 on the obverse and dated them to the beginning of Constans II's reign. This is impossible. Constans II did not succeed to the throne of Byzantium until the end of September, 641, that is after the beginning of the 15th indiction.[1] A seal with indictions 14 and 15 must consequently be dated to the 15th and 16th year of Constans II's reign, i.e. to A.D. 655/6 (September-August) and A.D.656/7 (September-August).

39. CM. no. 244, D.3 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·5B) (8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, type 7b.

R. Straight text ΘΕΟ/ΔΟΡΩ/ Δ(Ο)ΥΛΩ $\overline{\text{ΧΥ}}_{/2}$ Β΄ΑΚΟΥ Κ/ (ΟΜ) ΕΡΚ(Ι) ΑΡΙΟΥ

40-45. CM. no. 105, D.2 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·5A) (7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram reading : ΘΕΟΔΩΡΓ

R. Straight text, KOM/MEPKI/API Ɣ

A Theodorus commerciarius is mentioned in the Chronicon Paschalae. [3]

46. CM. no. 24; D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·4E) (7th-8th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint. In field l. A; in field r. crosslet.

R. Straight text KOM/MEPKI/APIOY.

47. CM. no. 1948/VI-4/2(204); D.2.1-2.2 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·5C) (?9th-10th C.) [4]

O. Straight text; + ΠΤΑ/ΥΛΟΥ

R. Straight text, KOYM/EPKIA/PIOY.

---

1. Theophanis, 341: 11 for the death of Heraclius in March of Indiction 14.

2. For the invocation ΔΟΥΛΩ $\overline{\text{ΧΥ}}$, cf. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 326, a seal with the same obverse.

3. ed. Bonn, 721; cf. also, Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 47.

4. According to Mordtmann, (Plombs, 290 the term commerciarius becomes coumerciarius from the beginning of the 9th century.

48. Published by Schlumberger and Millet,[1] 315, fig. 41.

O. Cruciform Monogram Type 7b.

R. Straight text + ΙωΑΝ|ΝΗ ΥΠΑΤω|ΣΔΙΟΙΚΗΤ´|ΚΥΠΡΥ

The Dioecetai of the time of this seal were responsible to the Logothetes tou yenikou for the fiscal revenue of their district. In Nov. 61 of Leo VI they are referred to as 'τούς ἐπὶ τήν συλλογήν τῶν δημοσίων φόρων καθισταμένους διοικητάς δι'αὐτούς ἡ συνήθως ὁμιλία καλεῖ τοῦδε [2]

49. CM. no. 90. (Pl. 34/35, I·5E)

Rectangular steatite matrix measuring 3.6 x 2.4 cms. of another ´/ωανου δ/ικητου/κυωρου Cursive decadent lettering, probably of the 8th century.

50. to 52. CM. old collection and 1948/VI-4/2(196).
BM. no. CLXXXVI, 16. c. AD.650.

O. Straight text: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ|ΟΥ

R. Straight text ΠΑΛ/ΑΤΙΝ|ΟΥ

The same seal published by Schlumberger[3] as of the 6th-7th century was republished by Millet as probably earlier than the seal of another Palatinus of the time of Constantine IV.[4] Another example of the same seal has been published by Laurent.[5]

The Palatinoi were officials of the comes sacrarum largitionum and resided either in Constantinople or in the provinces.[6]

---

1. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 304; Millet, Commerciaires, 315, fig. 41.

2. Cited by Bury, IAS, 89.

3. Schlumberger, loc.cit. 562.

4. Millet, loc.cit. 308-309.

5. Laurent, Collection, 136-137, no. 253.

6. Millet, loc.cit. 308.

53. CM. no. 1939/VIII-25/1. (8th C.)

O. Straight text ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΥ|C (τραπηλάιτου?) Χ(αρτουλαριου) S(for καί)

R. Straight text: ΠΑ(Λ)ΑΤΙ|ΝΟΥ.

The seal was first published by A. H. S. Megaw.[1] If Mr. Megaw's reading is correct the seal is a very interesting example of the combination of military with fiscal duties.

(d) Others

54. CM. no. 143; D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·2A)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading ΒΟΝΥ

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΥ

The seal is probably that of Bonus (+ 626), left by Heraclius in charge of Constantinople when he left the capital on his Persian expedition. [2]

(e) Thematic and provincial administration

55. CM. no. 1958/IV-14/1A, D.3 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·6C)
From Bellapais, locality Mersinero. (9th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram Var Type 7b;

R. Straight text, ΘΕο/ΔΩΡ/ωπατ/ΡΙΚΙω/SCΤΡΑ/ΤΙΤω/+ flanked by stylised conical shaped trees.

The Strategus is defined in the Taktika of Leo VI as ὁ τοῦ ὑπὸ χεῖραν στρατιωτικοῦ θέματος κορυφαῖος ἄρχων [3].

---

1. RDAC, 1937-39, 209, no. 1. For the stratelates as a dignity see nos. 21 and 32-37 above; for the stratelates as a theme functionary see seals nos. 60-61 below; for the chartularius cf. no. 59 below.

2. Chronikon Paschalae (ed. Bonn) 726; Theophanis, 303: 4-5; Nicephorus, 15, 17, 18; cf. also Boak-Dunlap, Two Studies, 151. Another example of the same seal has been published by Laurent, (Collection, 274, no. 570) who also ascribes it to the same Bonus.

3. Leonis, Taktika, I, 10; for the dignity of Patricius cf. Bury, IAS, 20, 22-23.

A seal probably of the same Theodore is published by Konstantopoulos,[1] and another identical with the CM. seal by Ismailov, who dates it to the 7th-8th Century.[2] An 8th-9th century date is, however, more probable. It is not unlikely this is the seal of the 9th C. Theodorus Strategus, to whom we have a letter by Theodore Studites.[3]

56. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 62 (corroded; reverse legend not clear)
(9th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, type 7b, legend slightly off flan.

R. Straight text in three lines; Θ´ΡΩ CT/(P)AT´(ηϱω)S KAIC/(Υ)PIAPX(Υ)

Clisurarchs, coupled with turmarchs are referred to in the Taktikon Uspenskij,[4] but their rank is far below that of Strategus. The coupling of the Strategia with the Kleisurarchia on this seal suggests that Theodorus may have been in charge of more than one frontier region (kleisoura) which taken together would constitute his theme.[5]

57. CM. no. 259; D.2.5-3 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·6D)
(Late 8th-9th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, Type 7b.

R. Straight text: NIK´(ητα)/ΠΑΤΡ´(SC)/ΤΡ´(ατηγῶ)ΤΗ(C)
/BΥ

A seal of Nicetas Strategus, with the same obverse as the CM. seal was published by Konstantopoulos.[6] The dignity of this Nicetas, however, was that of protospatharius. A Nicetas patricius is known from the letters of Theodore Studites.[7]

---

1. Konstantopoulos, BM, 62-63, no. 211.
2. Ismailov, Description, 344-355, Pl. XV, 15.
3. PG, 99, 1436ff.
4. Unspenskij - Ranklist, 124; Benesevic, Ranglisten
5. cf. p. 68 and n.3 above.
6. Konstantopoulos, BM, 63, no. 214.
7. PG, 99, 993ff.

58. CM. Salamis 9.356; D.2.7 cms. 9th C. (probably). (Pl. 34/35, I·6E)
From the 1959 excavations of the church of St. Epiphanius, Constantia.

O. Cruciform Monogram, type 7b.

R. Straight text : ΘΕΟΔ/(Ω)ΡΩ Β΄(ασιλικῶ)ϹΠΑ/Θ΄(αρίω) Ϛ/ϹΤΡ΄(ατηγῶ) ΤΩΝ/(Κ)ΙΒΥΡ΄(ραιωτῶν)

59. CM. no. 256; D.2.2 cms. (Late 8th C.)

O. Straight text : + ΘΕΟ/(Τ)ΟΚΕ(Β)/ΟΗΘ(Η)

R. Straight text ΓΕΟΡ/ΓΙΟ ΧΑ/(Ρ)ΤΟΥΛ/ΑΡΙΟ

The chartularius, of this seal, was probably that of the office of the strategus, who is described in the Taktika of Leo VI as responsible πρὸς τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καταγραφὴν τε καὶ ἀναζήτησιν [1].

60. Collection of P. Neophytou, Lefkosia. (Pl. 34/35, I·3A) (8th-9th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading I Ω A N N O Y, quartered, YI, OY, H, Λ

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ? CTPATIΛAT γ, quartered, BA, CA, K, Ε

A similar though not identical seal is published by Schlumberger and is dated to the 9th century. [2] The seal is probably that of the commander of a turma. For the equation of a turmarch to a stratelates see Leo VI's[3]. For the dignity of stratelates see seal no. 21.

61. Referred to in CM. File no. 142, Blue 39, as from Chytroi (Kythrea), but not traced in the CM. collections. (Late 8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram (not clear in the File).

R. Straight text, given as C T P A/ T H Λ A T γ /S ΔΡγΓΓ/ΑΡΙγ

---

1. Leonis, Taktika, IV, 33.

2. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 13.

3. Leonis, Taktika, IV, 43.

The seal of a drungarius and stratelates was published by Schlumberger, and dated by him 7th-8th C.[1] The drungarius was ‘ὁ μιᾶς μοίρας ἄρχων ἥτις ὑπὸ τό μέρος τοῦ τουρμάρχου τάττεται.’[2]

62. CM. no. 104; D.2.25 cms. (7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram as no. 3 above.

R. Straight text + ΚΟ|ΜΙΤ|ΟC

The comes, as a thematic military officer is defined in the Taktika of Leo VI as ‘ὁ τοῦ ἑνὸς τάγματος ἤτοι βάνδου ἀφηγούμενος.’[3] He was to be found usually in the provinces of a theme.

The Theodore of this seal may be the same Theodore referred to on a limestone seal from Amathus (Ayios Tychon) published by T. B. Mitford as probably of the Vth century.[4] The decadence of the lettering of the inscription does not, however, seem compatible with such early dating.

63. CM. no. 1940/IV-25/2; D.1.9 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I.7B) (9th-10th C.)

O. Cross on steps and circular legend reading + ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΩ CΩ ΔΟΥ ΛΩ (partly off flan).

R. Straight text: + Α(Υ)Ζ|ΕΝΤΙΩ Β΄(ΘΕΜΑΤΙΚΩ)|ΑCΙΑC |Β|Γ ΑΡΧΟΝΤ(ΟC)| ΚΥΠΡΓ

I can find no documentary evidence for the coupling of Asia, Cyprus and the Dodecanese.

The obverse of the seal and the legend are commoner in the 10th century and later. But seals of an earlier

---

1. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 337.

2. Leonis, Taktika, IV, 11.

3. ibid. IV, 12.

4. Mitford, IECC, 157.

date with a similar obverse are not unknown.[1]

64. CM. no. 98. D.1.6-2.1 cms. (Pl. 34/35, I·7A)
(Early 10th C.)

O. Straight text: + ΛЄ/ONTI/OY

R. Straight text: APXO|NTOC| KYΠ|POY

The seal may be that of Leon Symbaticius who is known from Constantinus Porphyroghenitus, De Cerim, 657C (ed. Bonn), to have been an archon of Cyprus at the time of the sojourn of the Byzantine admiral Himerius in the Island.

65. CM. no. 1958/VIII-18/1. (Pl. 34/35, I·7C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint between crosslets (worn).

R. Straight text: A(N)A|CTACI|γΔ(γ)KOC

The duke as a military title goes back to the time of Justinian.[2] It was retained here and there down to the 10th century.[3]

---

1. cf. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 103, 111-112, 142, 167, 205, 214, 263 and 334; SBI, nos. 82, 114, 204-205, 275, 277 and 283 for similar seals dated 8th-9th century.

2. cf. Corpus Juris Civilis, 3, 792, 3, Edict XIII.

3. cf. Kyriakides, BM, 54lff; for a 7th-8th C. seal of a duke cf. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 168.

B. Ecclesiastical

(a) The Archbishops

66-68. CM. nos. 27, 1934/IV-14/10, 1958/VII-11/1. D.2 cms. (Pl. 35/37, II,1B) (7th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. r. crosslet.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading APKAΔIϒ APXIEΠICKOΠ

These seals are doubtless those of Archbishop Arkadius, who occupied the see of Constantia from 627 to 641. The date of Arkadius' election is fixed by two inscriptions from the Constantia Aqueduct, one referring to the construction of 5 arches of the aqueduct under Plutarch in the 8th month of the 13th indiction (April 626) and the other to the construction of 7 arches under Arkadius in the third month of the first indiction (Nov. 627).[1] The death of Arkadius shortly after the accession of Constans II is given by John of Nikiu.[2]

68a. CM. no. 28. D.2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,1C) (7th C.)

Both the obverse and reverse of this seal are variants of seals nos. 66-68; the seal is probably one of the same Arkadius from a different matrix.

69. CM. Gunther Collection no. 608. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,1D) (7th C.)

O. Variant of no. 66: crosslet in f. l. The variation probably arises from a faulty impression; in no. 66 the left part of the seal is off flan, whereas in the case of this seal the right part is off flan.

R. Variant seals nos. 66-68.

The seal is probably that of the same Arkadius from yet another matrix.

---

1. Mitford, IECC, 118-120.

2. R. H. Charles, The chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, (1916) 199.

70-75. CM. nos. 32-33, 1934/IV-14/50, 1934/III-13/25.
British Museum no. CLXXXVI, 64.
Collection of ? Z. or G. D. Pierides, Larnaca.[1]
D. 2.1 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,2D)
(7th C. second half)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. l., crosslet.

R. Cruciform monogram reading KωNCTANTINOY, quartered with (K) Y ΤΡ γ

In view of the similarity between these seals and those of Arkadius they probably belong to an Archbishop not far separated from him. He may have been, perhaps, the successor of Serghius who is known to have been Archbishop in 655.[2]

76-91. CM. nos. 1939/VIII-25/1; 1948/VI-4/2(106-111);
Br. M. nos. CLXXXVI, 71-72. D.2 cms.
(Pl. 36/37, II,2A)
(7th C. second half)

O. Bust of bearded numbused Saint. In f. l. and r. crosslet.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading: ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ.

These seals can safely be dated to the seventh century, in view of the similarity of both their obverse and reverse to those of the seals of Arkadius,nos. 66-68 above. They probably belong to Archbishop Epiphanius who is known to have been Archbishop of the Island at the time of the sixth Oecumenical Synod, in 680.[3]

92. CM. no. 25. D.2.8 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,2B)
(Late 7th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. l. crosslet.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘΕΟΔωΡγ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠγ, quartered with K Y ΤΡ γ.

---

1. The seal was formerly in the collection of D. Pierides of Larnaca. cf. D. Pierides, Ecclesiastical Studies, The Owl, 8 (Dec. 8, 1888) 57.

2. cf. Chapter II. l.a.v, p.125above.

3. Mansi, XI, 584; cf. also Chapter II.l.a.v, p. 126 above.

The Theodore of this seal may have been the successor of Epiphanius of seals nos. 76-91.[1]

93. A seal identical with seal no. 92 in the National Museum of coins, Athens.[2]

94. A third example of the same seal in a private collection on the Continent.[3]

95. National Museum of Coins, Athens.

O. As in nos. 92-94.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΩ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ.

Konstantopoulos who published this seal[4] dated it to the 10th or 11th century. Laurent[5] also accepts a 10th C. date. This is very doubtful. The seal is only a variant of seals nos. 92-94 - it uses the dative instead of the genitive in the Cruciform Monogram - and is probably that of the same Theodore. Variations in the matrixes of seals have already been noted in the case of those of Archbishop Arkadius.

96. Br. M. no. CLXXXVI, 69.

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΙωΑ ΝΝγ ΑΡΧΙ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠγ.

This is doubtless the seal of Ioannes, Archbishop of Constantia-Nea Justinianopolis, who left Cyprus for the Hellespont at the instigation of Justinian II, and who attended the Trullan Council in 691.[6] He may have been the successor of Theodore of seals 92-95.

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 127 above.

2. cf. Konstantopoulos, BM, 296, no. 166a.

3. Laurent, Les Fastes, 160.

4. Konstantopoulos, loc.cit. 50, no. 166.

5. Laurent, Les Fastes, 160.

6. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 127, above.

97. Another example of the same seal in a private collection on the Continent. [1]

98. CM. no. 1954/IV-23/1. D.3 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,1E) (8th C.)[2]

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. r. crosslet.

R. Centre: Cruciform Monogram reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ, type 7b; circular legend reading ΔΑΜΙΑΝΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΩ ΚΥΠΡΟ .

99. CM. no. 43. D.2.8 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,2C) (8th C.)[3]

O. Centre: Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. l and r. crosslet. Circular legend round the Saint of which only ΕΕΠΙ survive on the right hand side. The legend may have read ΑΓΙΕΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΕ ΒΟΗΟΕΙ. For the invocation of St. Epiphanius cf. seal no. 103 below.

R. Centre: Cruciform Monogram reading ΘΩΜΑ; circular legend reading (+ ΑΡ) ΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟ ΚΥΠΡΟ [4]

100. CM. no. 124. D.2.5 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,3A) (8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram type 7a reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ quartered with ΤΩ CΩ ΔΟΥ ΛΩ

R. Straight text, reading ΧΡΙ / CΤΟΦΟ/ ΡΩ C/ ΚΥΠ ΡΟ. [5]

---

1. Laurent, Les Fastes, 160, n.6.

2. The reverse of this seal is of type usually found on seals of the 8th or ninth century. But in view of the similarity of the obverse with that of seals of the 7th century (cf. nos. 66ff above), a date in the first half of the 8th century should be preferred. On Damianos cf. also Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 128, above.

3. The iconography of this seal suggests a date slightly later than that of the seal of Damianos.

4. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 128 above.

5. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, pp. 128-9 above.

101. CM. Gunther collection no. 605. (Pl. 36/37, II,2E)
D.2.5 cms. (c.787)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading XPICTE BOHOEI, quartered with Tω Cω Δγ Λω

R. Straight text reading KωN(C)/TANTI/Nω APX/(I) EπICKO/(πω).

Konstantopoulos published two seals with the same Cruciform Monogram on the obverse and dated them to the 7th-8th century.[1] The invocation XPICTE BOHθEI is also used on a seal published by Schlumberger who dates it to the 7th-8th century. The seals published by Konstantopoulos are not quartered with Tω Cω Δγ Λω and are probably earlier than the Cyprus Museum seal, which, in all likelihood, is that of Archbishop Constantine who attended the 7th Oecumenical Synod at Nicaea.[3]

102. Published by Schlumberger and dated 8th-9th century.[4]

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint between crosslets.

R. Cruciform Monogram, type 7b, read as θEOTOKE BOHθEI, quartered with Tω Cω Δγ Λω; circular legend, read as I ω´(ANNH) APXIEπICKOπω KYπPγ

This Ioannes is not known from literary sources. He may have been the successor of Constantine, of seal no. 101.[5]

---

1. Konstantopoulos, BM, 99, nos. 350 and 351.

2. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 272.

3. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 129, above.

4. Schlumberger, SBI, no. 107.

5. cf. also Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 129, above.

103. A tessera originally published by M. W. Frohner[1] and later by Schlumberger. [2]

O. Straight text reading + Αγ(ιε) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΕ Β΄(οήθει)ΤΩCΩ Δ΄(ούλω)

R. Straight text reading + ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΩ ΚΥΠΡΥ

The obverse legend of this tessera is fairly common on seals of the 8th-9th century. The fact that Δ Υ Λ ω is shortened to Δ΄ suggests that the tessera should be dated to the 9th rather than the 8th century.

Basil may have been the successor of Epiphanius who in 870 wrote to the Patriarch Ignatius.[3]

For the invocation to St. Epiphanius cf. seal no.99 above.

(b) <u>The Bishops</u>

<u>Citium</u>

104. A seal published by D. Pierides, in whose collection it was, in 1888.4

O. Straight text reading ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΥ Ε/ΠΙCΚ΄

R. Straight text reading ΠΟΛ(ΕΟC)/ ΚΙΤ/ΙΥ

This was doubtless the seal of Theodore, bishop of Citium who attended the feast of St. Spyridon at Tremythus, in 655. 5

---

1. M. W. Frochmer, <u>Catalogue of Photiades Pasha Collection</u> (1890) 49, no. 680.

2. Schlumberger, <u>MA</u>, 307.

3. cf. Chapter II.1.a, vpp. 129-30 above.

4. D. Pierides, Ecclesiastical Studies, <u>The Owl</u>, 8 (Dec. 8, 1888) 57.

5. Van den Ven - <u>St. Spyridon</u>, 90.

105. This seal was also published by D. Pierides, in 1888.[1]

O. Straight text reading : ΛЄONΤΙΔ ЄΠΙCKOΠΔ

R. Straight text reading : + ΠOΛЄOC KIΤΙΔ

Leontius may have been the successor of predecessor of Theodore of seal 104.

Soloi

106-107. CM. nos. 115 and 226. D.1.8-2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,3B) (c.650 or later)

O. As nos. 18-19 above.

R. Straight text reading + ЄΠΙCK(οπου)/ COΛΩN/+

I have no doubt that the Epimachus of these seals is the same person as the Epimachus of seals nos. 18-19. It is not impossible that the bishop of Soloi was ἀπὸ ὑπάτων in the exercise of temporal authority.[2] It is more likely however that this was a dignity he had before his election to the see of Soloi. Epimachus is not known from literary sources.

108-109. As nos. 106-107. They were published by Schlumberger.[3]

110-113. CM. nos. 115, 238. D.1.8-2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,3C)

O. as nos. 18-19 and 106-109.

R. Bust of Virgin with Child on her chest.

This is obviously another seal, of the same Epimachus, from a different matrix intended for use in his private capacity.

114. As in nos. 110-113; it is referred to by Schlumberger.[4]

---

1. D. Pierides, loc.cit. 57.

2. On the exercise of temporal authority by bishops cf. Chapter II.1.a, iii, above.

3. Schlumberger, SBI, nos. 301-302.

4. ibid.

115-117. CM. nos. 73 and 248. D.2.3 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,3D) (7th C.)

O. Straight text reading : + |ωA|NNγ

R. Straight text reading : + ЄπICK|OπγCO/ΛωN

118-119. CM. no. 72. D.1.9 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,3E) (7th C.)

O. Straight text reading : + |ωAN|NOY|+ ·

R. Straight text reading : + ЄπICK|OπγCO/ΛωN

These seals probably belong to the same Ioannes as seals nos. 115-117.

120. CM. no. 74. D.1.9 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,4A) (7th C.)

O. Straight text reading : + | KY | POY

R. Straight text reading : ЄπICK°/COΛωN/+

The Cyprus Museum collections include five seals of a Kyros Stratelates, with an identical obverse as that of the above seal. [1] It is not impossible that before the withdrawal of Byzantine authority from Cyprus, the bishops of Soloi had been responsible to the Byzantine Emperor for the operation of the mines near his see, [2] and that consequently the Emperor might have exercised control over the bishops' running of the mines by appointing as bishops of Soloi persons who were his own dignitaries. The fact that Epimachus of seals nos. 106-114 was also, at one time a civil dignitary tends to support this hypothesis.

(c) Other bishoprics

121-122. CM. nos. 30 and 233. D.1.8 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,4B) (7th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint between crosslets.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΑΡΚΑΔΙγ ЄπICKOπγ

---

1. They are CM. nos. 93-95, 97 and 1941/I-30/2.

2. cf. Chapter II.4, p. 233, above.

The similarity of these seals with those of Archbishop Arkadius, suggest that either they belong to the same Arkadius, before his election to the see of Constantia, when he may have been bishop of another see, probably Tremythus, or that they belong to a different Arkadius, who was nevertheless contemporary of the Archbishop. [1]

123. In the collection of Mr. P. Neophytou, Lefkosia. (Pl. 36/37, II,4C) (8th C.)

O. Bust of Virgin between crosslets with Christ Child on her chest.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading : ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ

No bishop of this name is known from the sources as occupying any see in Cyprus. It is not impossible this is the seal of the famous Cretan Archbishop of the 8th century, who bore that name.

124. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 57. (7th-8th C.)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ [2]

125. CM. no. 29. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,4D) (7th-8th C.)

O. Bust of nimbused Saint with short beard.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ [3]

126-127. CM. nos. 1948/VI-4/2, 118-119. D.1.8 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,4E) (c.655)

O. Bust of Virgin with Christ Child on her chest.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΕΥCΕΒΙΟΥ ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ

The seals are doubtless those of Eusebius bishop of Lapethus who attended the feast day of St. Spyridon at Tremythus in 655. [4]

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 135 above.
2. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v. p. 135 n. 3 above.
3. ibid. p. 137 n. 1
4. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 90.

128-130. BM. nos. CLXXXVI, 51, 67, 73.

These seals are identical with seals nos. 126-127 and must belong to the same person.

131. CM. no. 160. D.2.5 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,5A) (7th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ЄΠΙCΚΟΠΥ

132. In the collection of Mr. Pavlos Neophytou, Lefkosia. (Pl. 36/37, II,5B) (¢.787 ?)

O. The Virgin standing.[1]

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘЄΟΔΩΡΥ ЄΠΙCΚΟΠΥ

133-134. CM.; from the 1958 excavations at Salamis-Constantia.[2] D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,5C)

O. The Transfiguration.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘЄΟΔΩΡΥ ЄΠΙCΚΟΠΥ

135. CM. no. 1948/VI-4/2.[3] D.2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,5D)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘЄΟΔΩΡΥ ЄΠΙCΚΟΠΥ

136. CM. no. 1934/II-12/19. D.2.2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,5E)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint; in f. l. crosslet.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΘЄΟΔΩΡΥ ЄΠΙCΚΟΠΥ

137. CM. no. 23. D.2.3 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,6A)

O. Bust of Saint with short beard between crosslets.

R. Straight text reading ΘΩΜΑ/ЄΠΙC/ΚΟΠΟC

It is not unlikely that this is the seal of Thomas who later became Archbishop.[4]

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 132 n. 2 above.

2. ibid. p. 133 n. 1

3. ibid. p. 135 n. 1 for this seal and no. 136 which may belong to the same person.

4. cf. seal no. 99 above.

138-139. CM. nos. 1934/IV-14/14; 1948/VI-4/2, 96.
D.2.3 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,6B)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading |ωANNγ ЄΠ'ICKOΠγ [1]

140-141. CM. nos. 251, 1958/VII-11/1. D.2.3 cms. (Pl. 36/37,II,6C)

O. Bust of Saint with short beard; in f. l. crosslet.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading |ωANNγ ЄΠ'ICKOΠγ

142. In the collection of Mr. Pavlos Neophytou, Lefkosia.
(Pl. 36/37, II,6D)

O. Bust of Saint with short beard, between crosslets.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading |ωANNγ ЄΠICKOΠγ

143. CM. nos. 213, 1948/VI-4/2, 92. D.2.2 cms. (Pl. 36/37,II,7A)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint, between crosslets.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading CЄΡΓΙγ ЄΠICKOΠγ [2]

144. CM. no. 76; D.1.7 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,7B)

O. Straight text reading : + ΠAN|ΘHPI|γ

R. Straight text reading : + ЄΠICK°|APA|Δγ [3]

145. CM. no. 1946/XII-23/4, 10. D.1.7-2 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,7C)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading |ωANNH HΓγMЄNγ

R. Straight text reading + TωN|(?Z)AXAPI|ANωN

146-153. CM. nos. 144, 234, 1939/VIII-25/1, 36, 1948/VI-4/2,
154-158, 1958/IX-4/5. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 36/37, II,7D)

O. Cruciform Monogram reading ΓЄωΡΓΙγ

R. Cruciform Monogram reading MONAXγ [4]

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 133 n. 2 above for these seals and nos. 140-142.

2. cf. Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 137 n. 2 above.

3. cf. p. 12, n.2. The dating of another seal of the same bishop to the V-VIth C. by Schlumberger (SBI, no. 160) is questionable.

4. It is not impossible that this may have been the seal of the famous Cypriot monk Georghios who was condemned at the Iconoclastic Council of 754. (cf. Chapter II.1.a, ii., p. 109 f. above.

C. Sundries.

154. CM. no.1948/VI-4/2,8. D.2.1 cms.(Pl.38/39,III.1A)(8th c.)

O. Bust of Christ over cross flanked by two standing Saints.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ΚωNCTANTINΔ

155. CM. no.237; Diam. 2.1 cm. (Pl.37/39,III.1B) (9th C.)

O, Enthroned Virgin with Christ Child on her lap.

R. Cruciform Monogram reading ЄΠIΦANIΔ

It is not impossible this may have been the seal of Archbishop Epiphanius who occupied the sea of Constancia in c. 870.[1]

A seal with the Enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child on her lap and straight text on the Reverse was published in the BMC of seals and dated to the 7th-8th century.[2]

156. CM. no. 1948/VI-4/2,134. D.2.1 cms. (Pl.38/39,III 1C)

O. Bust of Virgin, between crosslets, with Christ medallion on her chest.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading, probably ANAPoNIKΔ ΠATPIKIΔ

157. CM. no. 11. D.1.9 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.1D)

O. Bust of Virgin with Christ medallion on her chest, above Cruciform monogram reading : ΓЄωPrIΔ

R. Cruciform Monogram of uncertain reading.

158. CM. no. 16; Diam. 2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III 1E)
Late 7th Early 8th C (?)

O. Virgin Hodegetria, with Christ Child on her right arm; Inf. l. crosslet; circular legend in f. r. partly blurred, partly off-flan, probably (Θ´K)Є BO(HΘЄI)

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

159. CM. no. 15. D. 2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.2A)

A variant of seal no. 158 - it does not seem to have had a circular legend on the obverse - it may belong to the same person.

---

1. cf. Chapter II.1,a, (i) and II,1.a.v, pp. 92, 96, 129.

2. Birch, BMC, 91, no. 17951.

160. CM. no. 204; d.1.7 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.2b)
(? Late 7th C.)

O. Virgin Hodegetria; Christ child on l. arm.

R. Straight text reading CE/ ⌐I /OV

161-162. CM. nos. 206, 1939/VIII-25/1. (Pl. 38/39, III.2C)
D.2.1 cms. (? 7th C.)

O. Virgin standing in a 3/4 posture holding Christ Child on her left arm, lifting Him upwards, her right hand assisting. In f. l. crosslet.

R. Straight text reading + IOP/ΔAN/OY

163. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 24.

As nos. 161-162.

164. BM. no. CLXXXVI, 49; oval shaped.

O. Bust of Virgin with Christ medallion on her chest; in f. l. cruciform monogram reading ΘЄOTOKE.[1]

R. Very corroded; reading impossible.

165. CM. no. 31. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.2D)

O. Bust of bearded nimbused Saint.

R. Cruciform monogram reading KωNCTANTINϒ

166-167. CM. nos. 1934/IV-14/9. D.1.5 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.2E)
(Late 7th C.)

O. Bust of bearded ? Saint carrying spear in r. hand.

R. Cruciform monogram reading KωNCTANTINϒ

168. CM. no. 42. D.2.6 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.3A)
(Late 7th-Early 8th C.)

O. Centre; Bust of St. Serghius;[2] circular legend reading (+ AΓ) IE CEPΓIE (BOHΘH)

R. Centre: Cruciform monogram; circular legend, both worn.

---

1. cf. Millet, Plombs, 72 for a seal with the Virgin Hodegetria, and a similar monogram in the f. l.

2. cf. E. Kitzinger, 'On some icons of the seventh century' Late classical and Medieval Studies in honour of A. M. Friend, Jr. (1955) 139-140 and Pl. XXI, 9, for an icon of Sts. Sergius & Bachus, in Kiev, similar in iconography to the St. Serghius of this seal. A late 7th-early 8th century date for this icon is suggested by Kitzinger.

169. CM. no. 114. D.2.1-2.6 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.3B)
(7th-8th C.) [1]

O. Straight text reading ✝ΘЄ/(O)ΤΟΚЄ/ΒΟΗΘ/ЄΙ

R. Straight text reading ΤΓΔ/ΓΛΓϹ/ΓΘЄΟΔ/(O)ϹΙΓ

170-171. CM. nos. 1946/XII-23/4, 7; 1948/VI-4/2, 143.
D.2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.3C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 1, reading ΘЄΟΤΟΚЄ ΒΟΗΘЄΙ

R. Cruciform monogram reading ΛЄΩΝΤΙΩ

172. CM. no. 127. D.2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.3D)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram type 2a, reading ΘЄΟΤΟΚЄΒΟΗΘЄΙ

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading (worn).

173. CM. no. 1934/IV-14/70. D. 2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.3E)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 2b,[2]

R. Cruciform monogram; worn; reading uncertain.

174. CM. no. 128. D.1.7-2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.4A)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, as in 173.

R. Cruciform monogram, reading ΓЄΩΡΓΙΓ

175. CM. no. 130. D.1.7-2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.4B)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 3, reading ΘЄΟΤΟΚЄ ΒΟΗΘЄΙ

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

---

1. A similar seal was published by B. Patchenko, (IRAIC 9 (1904) 368, no. 214) and dated 9th-10th C. This dating is however far too late for this type of seal. For similar seals dated to the 7th-8th C. cf. Schlumberger, Sigillographie, 31, 89, 136, 211.

2. Type III of Laurent's Collection, Pl. LXX.

176. CM. no. 292. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.4C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 4,[1] reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

177. CM. no. 298. D.2-2.3 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.4D)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 176.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

178-180. CM. nos. 228, 229, 293. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.4E)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 176.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

181. CM. no. 1948/VI-4/2-161. D.2.3 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.5A)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 176.

R. Cruciform monogram reading CTEΦANϒ

182. CM. no. 131. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.5B)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 176.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

183. CM. no. 132. D. 2.5 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.5C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 5, reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI

R. Cruciform monogram reading ⟨ωANNγ [2]

---

1. Type I of Laurent's Collection, Pl. LXX.

2. cf. Birch, BMC, 77 no. 17873 for a seal with an identical reverse dated to the 7th century.

184. CM. no. 152. D.1.8-2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.5D)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 6a, reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOH ΘЄI

R. As in 183.

185. CM. no. 1939/VIII-25/1, 19. (Pl. 38/39, III.5E)
D.1.8-2.1 cms. (7th-8th C.)

O. As in 184.

R. Cruciform monogram (worn) between the spread wings of an eagle.

186. CM. no. 133. D.1.6-2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.6B)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 6b, reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertainreading.

187. CM. no. 239. D.2.1 cm. (Pl. 38/39, III.6C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 186.

R. Cruciform monogram, reading ? ΘЄOΔOTΥ

188. CM. no. 136. D.2-2.2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.6D)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform Monogram, type 7b, reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI

R. Cruciform monogram reading ЄYCTAΘIΥ

189. CM. no. 296. D.1.8-2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.6E)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in 188.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

190-191. CM. nos. 135, 1934/IV-14/72. (Pl. 38/39, III.7A)
D.2.1 cms. (7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 7a, reading ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI

R. Cruciform monogram, reading ZAXARIΥ

192-193. CM. nos. 295, 297. D.1.6-1.9 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.7B)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in nos. 190-191.

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

194. CM. no. 294. D.1.8-2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.7C)
(7th-8th C.)

O. As in nos. 190-191.

R. Cruciform monogram reading ΙωΑΝΝΥ

195. CM. old collection. D.2.2 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.7D)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 7a, reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ

R. Cruciform monogram of uncertain reading.

196. CM. no. 134. D.1.7 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.8A)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 7c, reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ

R. Cruciform monogram, reading ΠΑΥΛΥ

197. CM. no. 1948/VI-4/2, 138. D.2.1 cms. (Pl. 38/39, III.8A)
(7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram, type 7b,[1] reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ

R. Cruciform monogram reading ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΥ

198. CM. no. Gunther Collection 610. (Pl. 38/39, III.8B)
D.2-2.3 cms. (7th-8th C.)

O. Cruciform monogram as in 197 between spread wings of eagle.

R. Cruciform Monogram of uncertain reading.

---

1. Type 5 of Laurent's Collection, Pl. LXX.

APPENDIX III

THE POTTERY

Practically nothing is known, and no study has so far been made, of the pottery used in Cyprus during the period of the Arab raids. Up to 1951, excavations in Cyprus were mainly concerned with the remains of the Classical and pre-historic periods and no attention was paid to the upper layers, material from which was being thrown away as of no interest.[1] The fact that, on the whole, the pottery from these late layers belongs to the plain type variety, not easily distinguishable from similar pottery of earlier, or even later periods, may have rendered it even less attractive or interesting.

Between 1951 and 1960, however, the Cyprus Department of Antiquities initiated and carried out excavations at momuments of the Early Byzantine period, at Salamis-Constantia, Kato Paphos, Cape Drepanum and elsewhere in the Island, and all finds from these excavations, including those from the

---

1. A notable exception to this statement are the excavations carried out by Miss Joan du Platt Taylor at Karpasia, before the last war. Miss Taylor is now engaged in the preparation of the publication of the results of her excavations. On the other hand, even as late as 1960, Professor Schaeffer, abandoned on the site, piles of plain ware pottery of the Byzantine period unearthed in a trench dug by him, at Enkome-Alasya, in search of Mycenaean remains.

upper layers have been carefully recorded and preserved.

Among such finds is a group of pottery from a bench built against the west wall of the west stoa of the Public Baths at Constantia, datable by coin evidence to the second half of the seventh century.

Another group of 14 almost intact vessels was accidentally brought to light from a natural cave below Mt. Kornos, in the west end of the Kerynia range, during security operations, in 1955. The similarity of some of the vessels of the Kornos cave with pottery recovered from the Constantia bench suggested that they, too, should be dated to the second half of the seventh century. Subsequent investigations of the cave confirmed this by the recovery of 17 coins of Heraclius and Constans II, one of which dates from the year 653/4.[1]

---

1. No. 344 of Appendix I B. The coin is given as one of Constans II on the basis of the similarity of its obverse with the obverse of coins of Constans II, of the type BMC, nos. 101ff and Pl. XXXI, 15. However the staff which the Emperor on the Kornos cave coin holds in his right hand ends in a  , a detail so far unknown on coins of Constans II. The is found on coins of Justinian I (e.g. BMC, no. 6 and Pl. IV, 10) and the possibility that the Kornos cave coin is one either of Constantine IV or Justinian II, under whom there was a Justinianic revival both in coins and in art in general cannot be excluded. In fact the head of the Emperor on the Kornos cave coin and the position of the right hand are found on other known coins of Constantine IV, e.g. BMC, Pl. XXXVII, 18.
For the Justinianic revival in the late seventh century cf. A. R. Bellinger 'The gold coins of Justinian II' Archaeology, III (1950) 107-111 and E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, 32-33.

The suggestion has been made that the Kornos cave

> may have been the hiding place of some of those who fled to the hills and took refuge in the caves on the occasion of Abul-Awar's expedition of 653/4, only to be dragged out 'like eggs from an abandoned nest'. [1]

It is more likely, however, that the cave was used by people other than refugees from the Arab raids[2] and for some

---

1. A. H. S. Megaw 'Archaeology in Cyprus', Arch. Reports, 1955, 45, citing Hill, 285. The story that the Arab raiders in 653/4 dragged the inhabitants out of caves originated with Michael the Syrian (cf. Michel - Chabot, 442) from whom it was taken up and elaborated by an early 13th century anonymous Syrian chronicler (cf. p. 17, n.1). It is not, as far as I know, found in earlier sources. Even if the story is literally true, there is nothing in the above sources to connect it with the Lapethus area beyond the fact that it is related immediately before the siege and surrender of a town in Cyprus the name of which given by the sources as Pathos has been emended by their editors to Lapethus (cf. p. 19, n.1). But at Lapethus, the inhabitants had taken a pledge for their lives and were not harmed (cf. Michel - Chabot, 442; BarHebraeus, 98) so they could not have been dragged out of caves. And even if they were the Kornos cave could not have been one of the caves reached by the Arabs for it lies at a height of between 2,500 and 3,000 ft. the ground rising in ratio of 1:1 in the last 1,000 ft. with a vertical precipice of over 200 feet not far below the cave. The entrance to the cave is so well concealed by the natural formation of the rocks that the present writer had difficulty in locating it even on the fifth visit. It would have been impossible for the Arabs to have located it even assuming that they had dared into the mountains in search of fugitives.

2. It is of course not impossible that people from the Lapethus area took refuge in the Kornos cave during the raid of 653/4 because the cave was beyond the reach of the Arab raiders. It is however very doubtful whether in fact they did so. For it is difficult to believe that anyone flying up the Kerynia range from the North and going as far up as the Kornos cave would not have crossed over to the South and safer side of the mountains (the cave is only about 200 ft. below the top of the mountain range). Or having used the cave for as long as the Arabs were ravaging settlements in the plains below, they would not have returned to their homes once peace with the Arabs was established, and having done this would not have taken with them their pots and other implements.

other purpose than a hiding place. It is not impossible that we may have here the cell or hermitage of an ascete who lived and died in it in the second half of the seventh century.[1]

The bench against the west wall of the west stoa of the Public Baths at Constantia seems to belong to that phase of repairs and reconstructions of the building which, it has been suggested, were carried out under Justinian II.[2]

The bench was of two distinct layers. The one, layer 9a of the sectional drawing (Pl. 40), consisted of loose earth and rubble fill; the other, layer 9b of the sectional drawing, was very hard, Both layers were faced mainly with sandstones of irregular sizes and shapes, but other material, e.g. a limestone torso from a statue, were also used. At one time, the top of the bench was sealed with a thin layer of plaster, and though this was found to have been worn in several places, the contents of the bench were not contaminated by infiltrations subsequent to the construction of the bench. Both layers of the bench were constructed at the same time since coins of Heraclius were recovered from both. The date of the construction of the bench must be later than the 22nd year of

---

1. The Kornos cave, its use and its contents will be published in the near future by Dr. Catling, who was the first to go down the cave after its discovery, and myself.

2. cf. Chapter II.4, p. 211 above.

Constans II, since one of his coins, dated to that year, was recovered from the bench.[1] A somewhat later date for the construction of the bench than that suggested by the coin of Constans II, is indicated by an almost complete terracotta lamp also recovered from the bench (Pl. 40). Professor Baramki, to whom a photograph and a drawing of the lamp were sent kindly replied:

> The lamp in question belongs to Group III from the lamps discovered by me at Khirbat el Mafjar (cf. QDAP, X, Pl. XVIII). This group of lamps belongs to the first half of the eighth century. It is definitely later than the coins of Heraclius and Constans II, and belongs more to the reign of Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus. [2]

Although I have no doubt that Professor Baramki's dating of the Khirbat el Mafjar lamps is correct, I doubt very much whether the Constantia bench lamp could be dated as late as the reign of Constantine V or even Leo III. The lamps at Khirbet el Mafjar were Islamic, the Constantia bench lamp was, as the cross on the channel from the discus to the wick hole shows, Christian. It is not unlikely that the Khirbet el Mafjar lamps were imitating Byzantine lamps of the type of the Constantia bench lamp, and that these were in use for some time, probably from as early as the late seventh century.

---

1. No. 741 of Appendix I B.

2. Extract from a private letter from Professor Baramki; undated; (1959).

A date for the lamp, and consequently for the construction of the Constantia bench, between that suggested by the coin of Constans II and that suggested by the Khirbet el Mafjar lamps, that is during the first reign of Justinian II, seems to be more probable. The presence of coins of Heraclius and Constans II in the debris of the bench may mean that the filling of the bench came mainly from debris, probably associated with the destructions caused by the mid-seventh century Arab raids, but it could also mean that coins of Heraclius and Constans II continued to be used as late as the reign of Justinian II. And even if the first implication of the evidence of the coins is to be preferred it does not follow from this that all the pottery in the bench is contemporary with the coins. The almost complete dish, no. in the catalogue and the lamp referred to above suggest that these and pottery like them cannot be much older than the date of the construction of the bench.

Whatever the date of the construction of the bench, the fact remains that it contains material not earlier than the middle of the seventh century. Some of this material and 12 of the vessels from the Kornos cave[1] are given in the Catalogue that follows in the hope that this may form the

---

1. One of the vessels, a cooking pot, was not recovered until 1960 and no drawing of it has been obtained. The other, a jug, was lost below the debris of a recent collapse of part of the roof of the cave and could not be recovered.

starting point for future studies of the pottery of the period of the Arab raids in Cyprus.

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY

I. CONSTANTIA BENCH (Pls. 40-42)

A. Red-Washed

1. Rim sherd from dish; (Sal.2.25; Pl. 41, 1). Estimated Diam. 28.2 cms. Form, clay, finish and decoration as in no. 2.

2. Fragmentary dish; (Sal. 2.56 and 2.69; Pl. 41, 2). Ht. c.5.6 cms.; Diam. 24.5 cms. Flat base with incised groove round outer edge; flaring sides; overhanging rim. Compact pinkish buff clay, mixed with some small white grit, evenly fired hard. Surface carefully wet smoothed before application of thin matt red wash, now worn in places. 'Maltese' cross stamped on centre of interior base. Isolated way line ornament gouged on exterior rim in leather hard state. Roulette ornament hatched band on lower exterior body.

3. Rim sherd from dish; (Sal. 2.64; Pl. 41, 3). Estimated diam. 24 cms. Clay finish and decoration as in no. 2. Form variant no.2: two parallel grooves round the rim and another at the joint of the rim and body on the exterior.

4. Base sherd from dish; (Sal. 2.60; Pl. 41, 4). Estimated base Diam. 20 cms. Form, clay and finish as in no. 2.

5. Base sherd from dish; (Sal. 2.53; Pl. 41, 5). Base Diam. 16.5 cms. Form, clay and finish as in no. 2.

6. Base sherd from dish; (Sal. 2.60; Pl. 41, 6). Base Diam. 16.2 cms. Low knob-like vertical sides. Clay and finish as in no. 2.

B. Plain Ware

7. Rim sherd from cooking pot; (Sal. 2.54 and 2.56; Pl. 42, 7). Mouth Diam. 10.7 cms. Short vertical rim with rounded bevel; narrow externally concave shoulder; loop strap handles. Coarse, brick red clay.

8. Sherd from top of cooking pot; (Sal. 2.63; Pl. 42, 8). Mouth Diam. 11.6 cms. Form and clay as in no. 7. Horizontal ribbing round exterior.

9. Sherd from base of jug; (Sal. 2.20; Pl. 42, 9). Externally concave, omphalic or 'dimple' base. Coarse pinkish clay.

10. Sherd from base of jug; (Sal. 2.20; Pl. 42, 10). Form and clay as in no. 9.

11. Sherd from base of jug; (Sal. 2.66; Pl. 42, 11). Omphalic or 'dimple' base, more or less straight on either side of the 'dimple' with short vertical foot-sides. Traces of buff wash.

12. Sherd from base of jug; (Sal. 2.68; Pl. 42, 12). Form and clay as in no. 9.

13. Sherd from base of jug; (Sal. 2.29; Pl. 42, 13). Form and clay as in no. 9; thin buff wash all over.

14. Lamp (Sal. 2.66; Pl. 40). Max. preserved length 9 cms.; maximum ht. 3.3 cms. F. lat base; slanting sides; annular handle; narrow channel rim; short broad channel from discuss to wick hole with a cross in relief; slanting top from rim to the central seam. Geometrical decoration in relief on the sides flanking the channel and discuss. Greyish clay with buff slip.

II. KORNOS CAVE

A. Red-Washed

1. Jug. (Pl. 43, 1); Ht. 23 cms. Rounded body, on low raised ring base. Cylindrical neck, narrowing slightly from shoulder to lip. Compact dull red clay, mixed with some small white grit, evenly fired, medium hard. Surface (where not eroded) lightly polished. Partly covered with a dull red wash; copious drip marking on lower body. Broad wheel-ribbing on shoulder and belly. Roulette ornament - hatching and dots - on lower body.

2. Dish. (Pl. 43, 2); Diam 24.5 cms. Flat base; heavy, overhanging rim. Compact pinkish buff clay, mixed with some small white grit, evenly fired hard. Surface carefully wet smoothed before application of thin matt red wash, now worn in places. 'Maltese' cross stamped in centre of floor. Isolated wavy line ornament gouged on rim in leather hard state. Roulette ornament - hatched band - on lower body. (cf. Constantia bench dish, no. 2 above.)

3. Dish. (Pl. 43, 3); Diam. 23 cms. Form, fabric, finish and decoration as No. 2.

B. Plain Ware

4. Two-handled Flask. (Pl. 43, 4); Ht. 21 cms.; greatest width 17.5 cms. Partly restored from fragments; part of body and rim missing. Lentoid body, central omphalos, narrow, flaring neck. Pinkish clay, tempered with small grits, evenly fired, rather soft. Wet-smoothed surface finish, worn.

5. Jug, plain mouth. (Pl. 43, 5); Ht. 23.5 cms; Diam. 17.5 cms. Omphalic, or 'dimple' base, rounded body, neck broadening slightly from shoulder to rim, squarish in section. Gritty, vesicular greenish clay, evenly fired hard. Slightly worn wet-smoothed finish, rather carelessly done. Zone of narrow wheel-ribbing at the rim.

6. Jug, pinched mouth. (Pl. 43, 6); Ht. 26 cms.; Diam. 18 cms. Base as no. 5. Rather angular shoulders to an otherwise rounded body. Pronounced ridge at junction of neck and body. Neck narrows from shoulder to lip. Deep finger impression at handle root. Rather coarse, pinkish clay, with mixed grits, evenly fired, medium hard. Careless wet-smoothed surface finish, giving effect of a white slip. Zone of narrow wheel-ribbing on shoulder. Traces of ? fire-blackening on lip.

7. Jug, pinched mouth. (Pl. 43, 7); Ht. 22.5 cms.; Diam. 17.6 cms. Ring base, surrounding omphalic, or 'dimple' depression as on nos. 5 and 6. Biconical body. Neck widens slightly from shoulder to lip. Rather coarse, vesicular buff clay, with grits, evenly fired, hard. Careless wet-smoothed surface finish. Two zones of broad wheel-ribbing on the body; narrower ribbing at the rim.

8. Small Jug, pinched mouth. (Pl. 43, 8); Ht. 17.5 cms.; Diam. 11.7 cms. Base as no. 5. The characterising features very pronounced. Rounded body, flaring neck, bead rim. Micaceous buff clay, tempered with some small grits, evenly fired medium hard. Narrow zone of wheel-ribbing on shoulder, broad ditto on neck.

9. Small Jug, pinched mouth. (Pl. 43, 9); Ht. 18.7 cms.; Diam. 12.2 cms. Part of lip missing. Base as No. 5. Inverted globular body; flaring rim; horizontal relief band on neck. Micaceous pinkish buff clay, tempered with some grits; evenly fired, rather soft. Wet smoothed surface finish, now rather worn.

10. Small Jug, pinched mouth. (Pl. 43, 10); Ht. 10 cms.; Diam. 8.5 cms. Conical body with sagging base. Compact, micaceous red clay, evenly fired hard. Rather careless wet smoothed surface finish. Broad zone of narrow wheel-ribbing on body.

11. Small Beaker. (Pl. 43, 11); Ht. 9 cms.; Diam. 9 cms. Most of rim missing; flat, raised base, globular body. Pinkish clay tempered with some small grits, evenly fired, hard. Rather careless wet smoothed surface finish. Zone of wheel-ribbing on body.

12. Lamp. (Pl. 43, 12); Ht. 3.5 cms.; length 10 cms. Mould-made closed lamp, with wick and filling holes. Solid knob-handle, ? knife trimmed. Rather coarse pinkish red clay, tempered with small grits, evenly fired, medium hard. Off-white surface colour, from wet smoothing. Surface eroded in places. Blackened at wick hole. On discus, border of elliptical pellets surrounding an equal-arm cross; very lightly moulded rays on lower body.

APPENDIX IV

THE QUESTION OF THE 300 SAINTS

The earliest reference to the migration of 300 Saints from the Holy Land to Cyprus is the 13th century hagiographical source of Leontios Makhairas.[1] Makhairas, writing in the 15th century, gave the names of 42 of these Saints whom he describes as 'Archbishops, bishops, priests and laymen'.[2] In alphabetical order the names given by Makhairas are as follows:

	Saint	Locality
1.	Agapius	Arhodes
2.	Afxouthenius	Akhera
3.	Alexander	Axylou
4.	Anastasius	Peristerona (Mesaoria)
5.	Barlaam	Arhodes
6.	Barnabas	Vasa
7.	Barnabas	Peristerona (Morphou)
8.	Basil	Tamassus
9.	Chariton	Axylou

---

1. Dawkins, 'On a hagiographical source used by Leontios Makhairas', K.X, 11 (1935) 20, 22.

2. Dawkins - Makhairas, 30; cf. also p.145 and n.3 above, and Bodleian MS, Sheld. supra, 14, fols. 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r and 11v.

	Saint	Locality
10.	Christopher	Kophinou
11.	Christopher	Kourdhaka
12.	Constantine	Ormidhia
13.	Demetrianus	Kophinou
14.	Demetrianus	Tamassus
15.	Eirenikus	nr. Zodhia
16.	Elpidius	Kophinou
17.	Epaphroditus (Pamphoditues)	Akhera
18.	Epiktetus	Casa Piphani
19.	Epiphanius	nr. Chytroi
20.	Epiphanius	Axylou
21.	Euphymianus	Lefkoniko
22.	Heliophotus	Akhera
23.	Heraclius	Kophinou
24.	Hilarion the Young	St. Hilarion Castle
25.	Hilarion	Peristerona (Morphou)
26.	Kalantius	Arhodhes
27.	Kassianos	Alektora
28.	Kassianos	Advhimou
29.	Kournoutas	Akhera
30.	Laurentius	Kophinou
31.	Olbianus	Larnaka tes Lapethou
32.	Orestes	Kophinou
33.	Pammegistus	Akhera
34.	Paphnutius	Akhera
35.	Peghon	Kourdhaka
36.	Phanentes	Casa Piphani
37.	Photius	Athienou
38.	Polemius	Morphou
39.	Sozomenus	Potamia
40.	Theodosius	Morphou
41.	Therapon	Sinda
42.	Therapon	Kilanis

With the exception of nos. 17, 18, 28 and 31 of the above list the names given by Makhairas are repeated in the 16th century by Florio Bustron, who calls the Saints hermits

> venuti anche d' Alemania, dalla Francia et da molti altri luoghi. [1]

According to Stephano Lusignano,

> Nel tempo che li Christiani Latini presero la Croce in favore della citta santa di Hierusalem per liberarla dalle mani delli perfidi, veduto che non poteano far'altro, perchè cosi piacea alla maestà divina, trecento di quelli fra Alemanni et Francesi, ma tutti Baroni, Signori, et huomini illustri vennero in Cipro, et quivi si sparsero per li casali a fare vita santa, et cosi feceso tutti. Onde li Greci li tengono tutti in grandissima devotione contra li loro costumi, percioche eglino non vogliono riverire le santi moderni massime Latini. Uno di quelli santi Baroni fù beato Giovanni di Montforte.[2]

In his Description, Lusignano places the migration of the 300 Saints after the fall of Acre in 1291, when according to him

> Trois cents gentilshommes et barons, tant Francais, Flamands que d' Allemagne, compangnons de Jehan de Montfort, voyant qu' ils ne pouvaient avec leur armée recouvrer la Terre-Sainte, se retirèrent aussi en Chypre, où étant séparez en divers villages, menèrent une vie saincte et solitaire, a la maniere des ermites, lesquels ont été honorez des Grecs et tenus pour saints. [3]

Writing about a century later the Cypriot Neophytus

---

1. Bustron, 33.

2. Lusignano, Chorographia, fol. 27 r.

3. Lusignan - Description, fol. 63 r.

Rhodinus accepted and repeated Lusignan's story.[1]

In modern times, the dating of the migration of the 300 Saints after the fall of Acre was accepted by Mas Latrie, despite the fact that he also thought Makhairas had grouped together,

> sur une époque insuffisament determinée d'ailleurs, une serie de faits et de circonstances appartenant à des temps éloignés les uns des autres. [2]

S. Menardos, on the other hand, thought that the seizure of the Holy Land referred to by Makhairas was the capture of Jerusalem by Saladdin in 1187,[3] and this view was accepted by Dawkins[4] and Clerides, who thought that Makhairas' reference to the control of the Island by Ἔλληνες was intended to mean Isaac Commenus, the usurper of Byzantine authority in Cyprus.[5]

A date around 1150 for the migration of the 300 Saints to Cyprus is preferred by Ch. Papadopoulos on the grounds that the Synaxarion of St. Anastasius calls the Saints Orthodox soldiers serving under Alexius and John Commenus.[6]

---

1. cf. Kyprianos, Ἱστορία, 524-525.

2. Mas Latrie - Chypre, 99.

3. S. Menardos, 'Ἱστορικαὶ παροιμίαι ἰῶν Κυπρίων', Λαογραφία 7 (1923) 46.

4. Dawkins - Makhairas, II, 57.

5. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 43, 46.

6. Ch. Papadopoulos, When did the 'German' Saints come to Cyprus (in Greek), K, 8 (1945) 427-428.

A different view was held by K. Sathas, who thought that the conquest of the Holy Land referred to by Makhairas was the first conquest of Palestine by the Arabs in the seventh century and that the Saints came to Cyprus after Justinian II's attempted transplantation of the Cypriots, in 691, when the Arabs who were in control of the Island could be referred to as Ἕλληνες.[1] Sathas, like Mas Latrie, however, agreed that the migration of the Saints took place on various occasions.[2]

Influenced, perhaps by the statements of Bustron and Stephano Lusignano regarding the origin of the Saints, and possibly by the Akolouthiai of some Saints, which he published,[3] Sathas expressed the view that the Saints were Germans.[4] This view was rejected by Delehaye,[5] Hackett and Papaioannou,[6] Dawkins,[7] Clerides[8] and Papadopoulos.[9]

---

1. Sathas - Vies de Saints, 408; cf. also, pp. 41-2 above.
2. ibid. 407.
3. ibid. 412ff.
4. ibid. 408.
5. Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 350-351.
6. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 276 n.276.
7. Dawkins - Makhairas, II, 57.
8. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 48-49.
9. Papadopoulos, loc.cit. 427.

With regard to the Akolouthiai of Cypriot Saints, Clerides pointed out that these were written by imitation of the offices of Saints in the Menaia, from which they often copied word for word, and that this took place after the systematisation and publication of the latter, from 1552 onwards.[1] It follows that any reference to the Cyprus Saints as Germans in their Akolouthiai is based on a very late tradition which in all likelihood originated with Bustron's and Lusignano's unfounded statements that some of the Saints came from Germany.

However, the Akolouthiai of Cypriot Saints do not all agree as to the date of the migration of the Saints a fact suggesting that they do not all belong to the same period. This is confirmed by an examination of the more reliable Synaxaria available for some of the Saints given by Makhairas as of the 300, as well as by other independent evidence:

1. St. Afxouthenius (no. 2 in the above list). He is probably no other than St. Auxentius[2] who is described by his Synaxarion as one of 300 who gave up a military career to become an ascete in Cyprus, in a caved called Ioution, in

---

1. Clerides - St. Theodore, 36.
2. cf. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 278.

the Karpas peninsula. On his death his body was found by the inhabitants of a kome and a Navtokome, who all claimed it for their owh village. It was finally agreed to put the body on an oxen-pulled cart and let the oxen take the body. This was done, and the oxen came to rest and would not move at the place where the Saint wanted them. There, a church was built over his tomb and was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.[1]

2. St. Anastasius (no. 4 on the above list).

The Synaxarion of St. Anastasius describes him as a crusader turned hermit at the time of Alexius and John Comnenus.[2]

3-4. Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion of Peristerona, Morphou. (nos. 7 and 27 of the above list). They are described by their Synaxarion as soldiers of noble descent, serving in the

---

1. Akolouthiai of Saints Anastasius, Chariton, Auxentius, Kendeas, Demetrianus and Constantine the martyr (in Greek), Venice, (1799) 33-35. The village of Ayia Trias, near Yialousa, in the Karpas peninsula may owe its name to the church erected there. A basilican church partly excavated by me, there, in 1957 may date from the late Vth century; no evidence of a tomb was, however, found. That St. Auxentius lived before the 10th century is suggested by the fact that MS.Coisl. 105 of 10th-11th C. dates contains his life (cf. R. Devreesse, Catalogue des Manuscripts Grecs: Le Fonds Coislin, (1945) 92.)

2. Akolouthiai of St. Anastasius ..., loc.cit. 12; Ch. Papadopoulos, When did the 'German' Saints come to Cyprus, op.cit. 428.

army of Theodosius II, who later renounced their worldly goods and became ascetes living in ὄπηλαίοις καὶ ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς ὄπαῖς τῆς γῆς for many years. The sarcophagus containing their relics was later miraculously cast on the shores of Cyprus, near Soloi and was, at the instructions of the Saints, taken, by one Leontios of Soloi, to the locality Lakkia, at Peristerona (Morphou), where a church was erected and dedicated to them.[1]

5. St. Chariton (no. 9 of the above list). His akolouthia tells us nothing about this Saint beyond the fact that he was an ὅσιος and ὁμολογητής.[2] However, his feast day is given as September 28th, the same day as that of St. Auxentius,[3] a fact suggesting that he was thought to be one of the latter's companions.

6-7. St. Christopher of Kophinou and St. Christopher of Kourdhaka (nos. 10-11 of the above list).

---

1. Ch. Papadopoulos 'The Akolouthia of Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion' (in Greek), K.E, 2 (1938) 97. The surviving church of Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion is one of two five domed buildings surviving in Cyprus. It probably dates from the 11th C. Investigations below the modern pavement of the church carried out under my supervision in 1960 brought to light nothing earlier than the 10th century except a red-washed sherd of the type found at Constantia and in the Kornos cave (cf. Appendix III) from an unstratified context.

2. Akolouthiai of St. Anastasius ..., loc.cit. 24ff.

3. ibid. 20.

One of these may have been the pupil of St. Stephen the Younger, who, I have suggested, may have been subsequently elected Archbishop of the Island.[1]

8. St. Constantine of Ormedhia (no. 12 of the above list).

The Synaxarion of St. Constantine describes him as one of 300 who went first to the Holy Places and then to Cyprus, Constantine with some of his friends went to a place called Tracheia where they preached Christ and suffered martyrdom at the hands of the ruler Sabinus, whose orders demanding sacrifice to the pagan gods they refused to obey. Their bodies were taken by Christians and that of Constantine was buried at Ormedhia.[2]

Constantine's Synaxarion does not mention the names of his companions but at least two of these have been preserved by their own Synaxaria. They are St. Ionas and St. Kendeas. Their Synaxaria refer to them as of the 300 who came to Cyprus landing at Paphos.[3] The Synaxarion of St. Ionas tells us that from Paphos the Saint went to the east part of the Island and established himself not far from Tracheia, near Pergamon.[4]

---

1. cf. above, pp. 128-9

2. Akolouthiai of Saints Anastasius ... and St. Constantine, op.cit. 124-125; the place name Tracheia is mentioned in the late seventh century by Anastasius Sinaites (cf. F. Nau, Les Recits, 57). It has survived to the present day.

3. Clerides - St. Inas, 122, Clerides - St. Kendeas, 79.

4. Clerides - St. Ionas, 122.

The Synaxarion of St. Kendeas adds some details to the story of the flight of the Saints from Palestine. According to it, the flight was brought about by the 'apostate' who persuaded the leader of the Blemmyes to expel them. On landing in Cyprus St. Kendeas at first stayed at Paphos in a cliff facing the sea but later moved to Mandres, a locality not far from Tracheia where his friend Ionas had taken refuge.[1]

It is difficult to date precisely St. Constantine of Ormedhia and his companions. A Sabinus, prefect of Cyprus under Licinius (307-324), is mentioned in the Synaxarion of St. Theodote, supposed bishop of Kerynia.[2] But since the historicity of the latter personage has been questioned[3] the date of Sabinus remains undetermined. However, if the word apostates in the Synaxarion of St. Constantine is intended as a reference to Julian the Apostate (361-363) the possibility that Sabinus may have been prefect of Cyprus at that time cannot be excluded. The view of Sathas that Sabinus was a renegade Christian in the services of the Arabs who was placed in control of Cyprus after 691[4] cannot be substantiated.

---

1. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 79-80.
2. Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 99.
3. Hill, 231, n.1; Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 259.
4. Sathas, Vies de Saints, 408. Lusignano - Chorographia, places Sabinus in the reign of Decius (249-251).

With reference to the attack by Blemmyes, Sathas cited some texts referring to such attacks which he dated, with St. Kendeas, to the fourth century.[1] These texts have been shown to be spurious,[2] but there is other evidence for attacks on hermits on Mt. Sinai by 'Saracens' in 373 and on many occasions later;[3] the texts cited by Sathas confuse the Saracens with the Blemmyes and such a confusion may also have existed in the mind of the author of the Synaxarion of St. Kendeas, who may have been recording an otherwise unknown attack on the hermits of Mt. Sinai at the time of Julian the Apostate. On the other hand, the Ethipian tribe of the Blemmyes who were converted to Islam may have been used by the Arabs as mercenaries in their armies from the seventh century onwards. This is suggested by The Life of the twenty martyrs of Sina, which refers to a multitude of Ethiopians taking part in an attack on Sina Monastery in

---

1. Sathas, loc.cit. 407, n.6 citing AS, Jan. I, 936, 954 and AS, March, III, 2.

2. cf. R. Devreesse, Le Christianisme dans la péninsule Sinaitique, Revue Biblique, 49 (1940) 205-227 and A. A. Vasiliev, Notes on some episodes concerning the relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the fourth to the sixth century, DOP, 10 (1956) 306-313.

3. A. Vasiliev, loc.cit. 307 and n.4.

the late eighth century.[1] It is not impossible that the Blemmyes took part in other, unrecorded, earlier raids against hermits in the Sinai desert and that following one such raid, St. Kendeas, St. Ionas, St. Constantine and other hermits may have fled to Cyprus. If the evidence of the Synaxarion of St. Kendeas may be relied upon, such a raid should be dated to the period after Justinian II's reconstruction and renaming of Constantia into Nea Justinianopolis[2] for the place to which the Saint is said to have moved from Paphos is stated to have been near Nea Justiniane.[3]

---

1. AS, March, III, 8. The date given is AM6280 in the 5th indiction, at the times Elias was Patriarch of Jerusalem. F. Halkin (Saint Theoctiste, moine Sabaite et Martyr (+ 897), An. Boll. 73 (1955) 373-374) dates the raid to 797 on the grounds that the AM date is based on the Alexandrinian Calendar calculated according to Maximus the Confessor which calculations would equate AM 6280 to AD 796, and because the 5th indictions falls in 797. The year 797 for the raid was also given by D. Peeters in 'S. Antoine le Neo-Martyr', An. Boll, 31 (1912) 418. Dvornik, Les Slaves, 111, on the other hand, dates the raid to 787. The dates of Elias the Patriarch are not certain (cf. V. Grumel, La chronologie (1958) 452.

2. cf. pp. 31-37 above.

3. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 80; Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, B, 285. The use of Nea Justiniane instead of Nea Justinianopolis by the author of the Synaxarion of St. Kendeas suggests that he was writing after the title of the Archbishop of Cyprus was abbreviated to Nea Justiniane (cf. p. 37 above). The date of this abbreviation is, however, not known. A church dedicated to St. Kendeas exists today at a locality called Mandres, not far from Constantia. (cf. Clerides - St. Kendeas, 39; Gunnis - Historic Cyprus, 154.)

9-10. St. Demetriani of Kophinou and Tamassus (Pera) (nos. 13-14 of the above list).

One of these may have been St. Demetrianus bishop of Chytroi from c.885-c.915.[1]

11. Pamphodites (no. 17 of the above list). He is probably St. Epaphroditus, who is referred to as one of the 70 by the SEC.[2] A rock-cut chapel containing a Byzantine Sarcophagus exists in Cyprus near the village of Nisou.[3]

12. Epiktetus (no. 18 of the above list).

Nothing certain is known about this Saint beyond the fact that he has given his name to one of the villages of Cyprus. Local tradition makes him a companion of St. Auxentius.[4]

13. Euphymianus (no. 21 of the above list). A church dedicated to this Saint lies about two miles S.E. of Lyssi.[5] The wall paintings surviving in the church may be earlier than the 14th century.

---

1. cf. above, p. 136. For the ruins of a church dedicated to St. Demetrianus, at Tamassus cf. Pl. 25.

2. SEC, 694.

3. Gunnis, Historic Cyprus, 355.

4. cf. Gunnis, op.cit. 198. A cave below the modern church dedicated to the Saint may have, originally, been his hermitage.

5. cf. Gunnis, loc.cit. 223.

14. Heliophotus (no. 22 of the above list). He has given his name to a village, in Cyprus, not far from Akhera.

15. Heraclius (no. 23 of the above list). A rock-cut tomb chamber below the ruins of a church reputed to have been dedicated to St. Heraclius, near Kophinou, may have been the Saint's hermitage.[1]

16. Hilarion the Young (no. 24 of the above list).

The evidence of the chapel of St. Hilarion, at St. Hilarion castle, which dates from the second half of the 10th century suggests the existence of a monastery there, before the erection of the castle, from at least this date if not earlier.[2]

It is not impossible that St. Hilarion of the omonymous Castle is no other than St. Hilarion the Iberian (822-875) whose cult may have been brought to Cyprus by Iberian monks in the late 9th or early 10th century.[3]

17. Kalantius (no. 26 of the above list). The tradition recorded by Makhairas may not be unfounded. The church at

---

1. ibid. 282.

2. cf. A short history and description of St. Hilarion Castle, Ant. Dept., Cyprus (1959) 1ff.

3. For Iberian monks in Cyprus cf. Chapter II.1.b, p.141 above. For St. Hilarion the Iberian cf. P. Peeters S. Hilarion d'Ibérie, AB, 32 (1913) 236-239.

Pano Arhodhes is dedicated to St. Kelandion, an obvious corruption of Kalantius.[1]

18. St. Kournoutas (no. 29 of the above list).

Nothing is known about this Saint. His existence and veneration in Cyprus is suggested by the survival of the ruins of a church dedicated to him, near Soloi.[2]

19. St. Orestes (no. 32 of the above list). His Synaxarion associates him with St. Rheginus who is dated by his sarcophagus to the late 3rd century.[3]

20. St. Phanentes (no. 36 of the above list). Their date cannot be later than the 9th century for their relics were seen by St. Constantine Judaeus who visited the Island at that time.[4]

21. St. Sozomenus (no. 39 of the above list).

The Synaxarion of St. Sozomenus refers to him as a protosymboulos of St. Auxentius[5] a fact suggesting that he may have lived at a time subsequent to the Arab conquest of

---

1. cf. Gunnis, op.cit. 177.
2. cf. Pl. 21.
3. cf. above, p. 144 and ns. 1-2
4. AS, Nov. IV, 636.
5. Clerides and others The Saints of Karpasia, κδ' ff.

Palestine and Egypt[1] and after the beginning, at least, of the Arab raids against Cyprus. This is also suggested by a Troparion in the Akolouthia of St. Sozomenus which prays to Christ 'for the subjugation of the Arabs who attack us'.[2]

The Saint has given his name to a village, in Cyprus, near which survives the cave in which he may have lived.[3]

22-23. St. Therapon (nos. 41-42 of the above lists).

The story of St. Therapon is confused. Some accounts

---

1. Theophanis, 356, 370, 395, 404, 431 uses the term protosymboulos to denote the Arab Caliph. The fact that the office of the symboulos is not known outside the Arab administration - the representative of the Caliph among the Christians of a province was known as the symboulos - (cf. Van den Ven - St. Spyridon, 102* n.1, and L. Casson, The Administration of Byzantine and Early Arab Palestine, Aegyptus 32 (1952) 55) lends support to the view that St. Auxentius and St. Sozomenus may have come to Cyprus from Palestine after the Arab conquest. The Synaxarion of St. Sozomenus, however, is certain to use protosymboulos in its literary meaning, that is in the sense of chief adviser.

2. Clerides - St. Sozomenus, 119; it is of course possible that the Troparion was written by someone who lived during the period of the Arab raids and that St. Sozomenus and St. Auxentius had lived much earlier. The same is true of the use of the word protosymboulos, in the Saint's Synaxarion.

3. Clerides - loc.cit. 106-108; Gunnis, op.cit. 205; cf. also Pl. 29.

of his miracles[1] refer to him as dead before Muawiya's raid in 649. The Akolouthia of St. Therapon published in Venice in 1801[2] and his Bios,[3] published in Athens in 1904 refer to him as a pious Orthodox of German origin who was tortured by the iconoclasts and exiled; he subsequently went to Palestine and from there to Cyprus where he was elected bishop of a coastal see where he was killed in an Arab raid whilst celebrating mass; his body was later translated to Constantinople. The Akolouthia gives the feast day as the 14th October, the Bios as May 14th, the SEC as May 25th,[4] and the AS as May 26th. The coastal see and the translation of the Saint's relics are common in all accounts.

It has been suggested that the account given in the Akolouthia is mixed up with the life of St. Ignatius of Methymna, in Lesbos[5] which it seems to have imitated. In

---

1. AS, May VI, 682-692; Deubner, De Incubatione, 123ff, SEC, 709-710.

2. cf. Akolouthia.

3. cf. Bios.

4. The SEC (ibid. 708, 709) gives two dates, May 25th for the Cyprus bishop and May 26th for Therapon the Martyr; the latter may have been the 'bishop' of Sardeis who suffered martyrdom in the 3rd century.

5. Clerides - St. Therapon, 76 n.5.

the circumstances the validity of its evidence becomes doubtful.

The possibility of the existence of two St. Therapontes, a fact also suggested by Makhairas, cannot be discounted,[1] and the confusion that exists in the Akolouthiai and Synaxaria of St. Therapon may have arisen from this fact. A 19th C. MS in the church of the village of Lythrodonta, in Cyprus, refers to yet another St. Therapon, who was a hermit in Egypt, and whose feast day is given as October 30th.[2] It is not impossible this St. Therapon may have been the IVth C. Copt S. Tarabo.[3]

The occupation of the see of Citium by a bishop whose name may have been Therapon is suggested by the name of Turabi Tekke, a Turkish mosque in Larnaca (formerly Citium).[4] Turabi seems to be an Arabic or Turkish corruption of Therapon[5] and the present mosque may rest on the ruins of a former church dedicated to St. Therapon.

The surviving name of the Saint or Saints, however, raises

---

1. cf. Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, 247.

2. Clerides - St. Therapon, 79ff. The Akolouthia of this Saint seems to be based on that of S. Sabba.

3. cf. E. Galtier, Contribution à l'étude de la litterature arabe-copte, Bulletin de l'Institute Francais d'archeologie orientale, 4 (1906) 341-343.

4. cf. Pl. 18; cf. also Chapter II.1.a, v, p. 132, above.

5. cf. H. C. Luke, Cypriote Shrines, London, (1920) 37.

the question as to whether this was really their name. For therapon has the meaning of one who cures, and it may be this was applied to more than one person by way of describing and stressing their qualities. The therapon bishop of Citium would be the bishop who cured, the therapon hermit, the hermit who cured. The curing powers of the bishop Saint are stressed in the Synaxarion of both the Bios and the Akolouthia which inform us that on his arrival in Cyprus the Saint 'was given hospitality by one Sosius, who was seriously ill, and whom he cured ...'.[1]

If this hypothesis is correct the names of the St. Therapontes Saints must remain unknown. But the possibility that one of them may have lived and died in Cyprus in the hands of the Arabs, probably in 743 or 806, cannot be excluded.[2]

Of the other Saints mentioned by Makhairas nothing is known. The conclusions to be drawn from the evidence indicated above however are obvious.

---

1. Bios, 36; Akolouthia, 17.

2. If there is any truth in the claim of the Bios and the Akolouthia that the Cypriot therapon bishop was an Orthodox refugee from Byzantium, he may have arrived in Cyprus either before the Arab raid of 743 or before the raid of 806. In the latter case he may well have been one of those monks who on the advice of St. Stephen the Younger took refuge in Cyprus from the persecutions of Constantine V. In Cyprus he may have been elected bishop of Citium where he was martyred in the Arab raid of 806.

1. Makhairas did not say that the Saints were 'German' and there is no reliable evidence to substantiate such a claim.

2. At the time Makhairas was writing there seems to have existed more than one tradition about local Saints, some of whom, like St. Demetrianus of Chytroi were of Cypriot origin, whilst others were not. In the latter case some local traditions seem to have referred to them as refugees from the Holy Places following Arab persecutions whilst others may have referred to Saints, like St. Orestes, who had suffered martyrdom in Cyprus at a time when Christianity had not, as yet, been established and when the , i.e. the non-Christians were in control of the Island.

It seems to me that Makhairas failed to distinguish between the various traditions and presented them and the events to which they referred in one ambiguous and contradictory statement which, in modern times, has been subjected to many and different interpretations.

S E L E C T B I B L I O G R A P H Y

I. SOURCES

a. Unpublished:

Codex Bodleianus, Baroc, 108, fols. 81-103a, containing Letter of the three Eastern Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilus.

b. Published:

Abulfeda, Annales Moslemici, ed. Reiske and Adler, 1789; Extracts in O.C.

Abu Ma'sar (d. 787) Kitab al-Maghazi, extracts in Caeteni-Annali

Acts of the Oecumenical Synods, cf. Mansi.

Agapius of Menbidj, Kitab al'Unyan (Universal History) ed. and transl. by A. A. Vasiliev, in PO, 7 and 8, 1911-12; extraxts from PO, 8 cited as Agapius.

Alexander Monachus, De Inventione Crucis, PG, 87, 4013-4076, and Laudatio in Apost. Barnabam, ibid. 4087-4106.

Amadi, Chronicle of Cyprus, (in Italian) published by René de Mas Latrie, in Documents inédit sur l'historie de France, 1891, cited as Amadi.

Anastasius Cyprius Sinaites, Διηγήματα Ψυχωφελῆ cf. Nau - Les Recits; Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ Ἀποκρίσεις PG, 89, 311-824.

Baladhuri, (d. 892) The origins of the Islamic State, transl. by P.K. Hitti, 1916, cited as Baladhuri.

Bar Hebraeus (Gregory Abulfaraj) Chronology, transl. by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Vol. I, 1932, cited as BarHebraeus.

Basil in Jalimbana, Notitia Episcopatuum, ed. H. Gelzer Georgii Cyprii Descriptio orbis Romanis, 1890, also in Parthey, Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum.

Florio Bustron, Chronicle of the island of Cyprus (in Italian) published by M. René de Mas Latrie in Collections de Documents inédit sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges Historiques, V, 1886, cited as Bustron.

Cameniata, Ioannes, De excidio Thessalonicensi, in Theophanis Continuatus (ed. Bonn) 487-600; PG, 109, 525-638.

Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium (ed. Bonn) cited as Cedrenus; cf. also PG, 121-122, 1-367.

Chronikon Maroniticum ed. by E.W. Brooks, and I.B. Chabot in CSCO, Scr. Syr., Ser. 3, Vol. IV, containing Chronika Minora, and cited as Guidi-Chronika Minora.

Chronikon Paschalae, (ed. Bonn).

Constantine Porphyroghenitus, De Administrando Imperio, ed. and transl. by G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins, 1949, cited as DAI; De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae, (ed. Bonn) cited as De Cerim., 'Le Livre des Ceremonies', 2 Vols. in 3 parts, 1935, 1939, 1940; for ed. and transl. of Chapters 1-92; De Thematibus, ed. Pertusi, 1952 cited as De Thematibus.

Damaskenus of Thessalonica Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός 1618.

Dionysius of Tell Mahre, Chronicle ed. and transl. by J.B. Chabot, in Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Etudes, Fasc. 112, 1895, cited as Dionysius-Chabot.

Dzāhābi (1274-1348) in Caetani-Annali.

Elias of Nisibin (early 11th c.) Opus Chronologicum, ed. E.W. Brooks, in CSCO, Scr. Syr., Syr. 3, Vol. VII, 1910 with Latin transl. cited as Elias-Brooks; ed. and transl. by L.J. Delaporte in Bibliothèque de l'école des

Hautes Etudes, Fasc. 181, 1910, cited as Elias-Delaporte.

El Makin, Historia Saracenica, transl. by Erpenius, 1625, extracts in O.C.

Eutychius of Alexandria, Annales, P.G, 111, 907-1156.

Excerpta Cypria ed. and transl. by C.D. Cobham, 1908.

Farmer's Law, ed. by W. Ashburner, JHS, 30, 1910, 85-108 and 32, 1912, 68-95.

Genesius, De Regum, (ed. Bonn) 1834; PG, 109, 991-1156.

George of Cyprus, Descriptio orbis Romanis, ed. by H. Gelzer. 1890; cf. also Honigman-Hierokles.

George of Pisidia, De expeditione Persica, PG, 93, 1297-1336.

George the Monk, Chronikon, 2 cols., ed. by de Boor, cited as George the Monk; also in Theophanis Continuatus,(ed. Bonn) 761-924, cited as Georghius Monachos.

Georghios Monachos Cypriot, ed. B.M. Melioranskij, 1901, cited as Melioranskij, Georgij Kiprjanin.

al Harawi, Guide des lieux de Pèlerinage, transl. by J.S*Thomine, 1957.

Hierokles, Synecdemus, cf. Honigman-Hierokles.

Hieronymus, Vita S. Hilarionis, PL, 23, 30-54.

Hūdūd al-'Alam, An anonymous Persian geography of AH 372 (AD 982) transl. and explained by V. Minorsky, 1937.

Ibn al Athir, in O.C., Caetani-Annali, and Amari Storia.

Ibn Hawqal, cf. Sir W. Ouseley.

Ibn Khaldun, in Amari-Storia and Caetani-Annali.

Ibn Khordadbeh, Les livres des routes et Provinces, ed. and transl. by C. Barbier de Meynard, JA, 6th ser. 5, 1865 5-127 and 227-296, 446-532.

Ibn Wadhih (d. 873) in E.W. Brooks, 'Byzantine and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids', EHR, 15, 1900, 728 ff.

Istakhri, Livres des routes et des royaumes, ed. by de Goeje, BAG, I, 1870; extracts in O.C.

Itinerarium Antonini Placentini, cf. P. Geyer, Itin. Hierosol.

John of Damascus, Orationes tres adversus eos qui sacras imagines abiciunt, PG, 94, 1231-1420.

John of Nikiu, Chronicle, ed. and transl. by H. Zottenberg, 1883. English transl. from Zottenberg's Ethiopic text by R.H. Charles, 1916.

Justiniae Novellae, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll in Corpus Juris Civilis, 3, 1954.

Leo Grammaticus, Chronographia, (ed. Bonn) 1842, 1-362.

Leonis Taktika, ed. P. Vari, Sylloge Taktikorum Graecorum, 1917.

Leontios of Neapolis, Homilies, PG, 93, 1597-1612; Life of St. Symeon the Fool, ibid, 1669-1748; Life of St. John Eleëmon, cf. Gelzer-Leontios.

LIVES OF SAINTS:

Acta Sanctorum, Antwerp 1643 - cited as AS

Anastasius of Peristerona (Mesaoria) Cyprus: in Akolouthiai of Saints Anastasius, Chariton, Auxentius, Kendeas, Demetrianus and Constantine the martyr, (in Greek) Venice, 1799.

Andreas Cretensis, AS, Oct. 8, 135ff.

Antonios the Neomartyr, ed. P. Peeters, AB, 31 (1912) 410ff.

Arkadius of Arsinoe, by St. Neophytus, published by Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 197-207.

Auxentius of Karpasia in Cyprus, in Akolouthiai cited under Anastasius of Peristerona.

Auxibius of Soloi, AS, Feb. III, 124-128.

Barnabas and Hilarion, of Peristerona (Morphou), ed. Ch. Papadopoulos in K.Σ, 2, 1938, 81-104.

Basil the Young, PG, 109, 653-664.

Constantine Judaeus, AS, Nov. IV, 1925, 627-656.

Constantine of Ormedhia, Cyprus; in Akolouthiai, cited under Anastasius of Peristerona, above.

Demetrianus of Chytroi, ed. H. Gregoire in BZ, 16, 1907, 204-240, cited as Gregoire - St. Demetrianus; cf. also AS, Nov. III, 300-308.

Diomedes the Young, by St. Neophytus, published by Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 212-220.

Euthymius, ed. by P. Karlin-Hayter, B, 25-27, 1955/57, 1-172. Cf. also de Boor's ed., 1888.

Euthymius the Iberian, ed. P. Peeter, in AB, 36-37, 1917/19, 13ff.

Gregory Decapolites, ed. F. Dvornik, La vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle, 1926.

Ioannicius, monk in Bithynia, AS, Nov. II, 332-383 and 384-435.

Ionas, cf. Clerides - Ionas in section II.

John Eleemon, cf. Leontios of Neapolis, above.

John of Damascus, AS, May II, 723-730.

John of Gothia, AS, June, 26, 190ff.

John Psichaites, ed. P. Van den Ven, Le Museon, N.S., 3, 1902, 11-32.

Kendeas, cf. Clerides - St. Kendeas, in section II.

Macarius Peleketes, ed. I. Van den Gheyn, AB, 16, 1897, 142-163.

Mamas, cf. Clerides - St. Mamas, in section II.

Methodius Patriarch, PG, 100, 1244-1261.

Nicephorus, Patriarch, PG, 100, 41-160; also in de Boor's edition of Nicephorus' Opuscula Historica, 139-217.

Nicetas, AS, April, XXII-XXXII.

Nicolaos Studites, PG, 105, 863-925.

Paul the Young, AS, July 2, 636ff.

Peter of Atroa, ed. A. Laurent, La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa, 1956, cited as, Laurent - St. Pierre d'Atroa.

Philaretus, ed. and transl. by M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, B, 9, 1934, 112ff.

Rheginus and Orestes, Synaxarion, published anonymously, Limassol, 1902.

Romanus the Neomartyr, ed. P. Peeters, AB, 30, 1911, 393ff.

Spyridon, by Theodore of Paphos, ed. by P. Van den Ven, La Légende de S. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte, 1953, cited as Van den Ven - St. Spyridon.

Stephanus the Young, PG, 100, 1069-1186.

Sozomenus, cf. Clerides - St. Sozomenus, in section II.

Tarasius, Patriarch, PG, 98, 1371ff.

Theodora, ed. W. Regel, Analecta Byzantino-Russica, 1891, 1-19.

Theodore Graptus, PG, 116, 653-684.

Theodore of Edessa; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, B, 16, 1942/3, 165-225.

Theodore Studites, (i) PG, 99, 113-232; (ii) PG, 109, 233-328.

Theodore the Cypriot, cf. Clerides - St. Theodore, in section II.

Theophanis confessor, PG, 108, 18-45; PG, 115, 9-29.

Theosebius of Arsinoe by Neophytus, published by Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, 191ff.

Therapon, (i) AS, May VI, 682-692.

(ii) Deubner, L., De Incubatione, 1900, 103ff.

(iii) Bios καὶ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐνδόξου Ἱερομάρτυρος Θεράποντος, Athens, 1904, cited as Bios.

(iv) Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱερομάρτυρος Θεράποντος Published by care of Arch. Michael in Venice, 1801, cited as Akolouthia.

(v) N. Clerides, Προλεγόμενα καὶ κείμενον τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεράποντος τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ K.Δ. 19, 1955, 73-103 cited as Clerides - St. Therapon.

Twenty Martyrs of Sina, The, AS, March, III, 2ff.

Trifyllius, AS, June, II, 681ff.

Willibald, ed. Tobler and Molinier, in Itin. Hierosol, 1880; ed. O. Holder Egger, in MGH, 15, 1 (1887); English translation in Early Travels to Palestine, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, 1898.

Lusignano, Stephano, Chorographia et breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro, 1573, cited as Lusignano - Chorographia.

Lusignano, S., Déscription de toute l'île de Chypre, 1580, cited as Lusignano - Description.

Makhairas, Leontios, Chronicle, ed. and tranls. by R. M. Dawkins, 1932, cited as Dawkins - Makhairas.

Malalas, Chronikon (ed. Bonn).

Mansi, I. D., Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, 1766.

Masudi, (1) The Golden Meadows, transl. by C. Boubierde Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, especially Vol. VIII, 1874, 282, cited as Masudi.

Melitenus, Chronikon (ed. Th. Tafel), 1889.

Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, ed. and transl. by J-B. Chabot, Vol. II, 1901, cited as Michel - Chabot.

Muqaddasi, Descriptio Imperii Moslemici, ed. de Goeje, BGA, 3, 1906; Description of Syria, transl. by G. Le Strange (Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, 1888).

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople,

(i) Opuscula Historica, ed. by de Boor, 1880, cited as Nicephorus.

(ii) Apologeticus Minor, PG, 100, 833-850.

(iii) Antirresis contra Eusebium et Epiphanidem, J. B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense, 1, 1852, 371-503 and IV, 1858, 292-380.

(iv) Refutatio et Eversio; an analysis of this work is given by P. J. Alexander (cf. Alexander - Nicephorus, 180-181.

Nikolaos Mouzalon, Resignation, a poem of 1057 iambic trimeters published by S. Dhonaidou in Ἑλληνικά, 7, 1934, 109-150.

Nikolaos Mystikos, Letter to the Caliph of Bagdad, PG, 111, 27-36.

Paul the Deacon, Hist. Miscella, PL, 95.

Philotheos, Kletorologion, ed. by J. B. Bury, Imperial Administrative System, 1911, 131-179.

Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letter to Stavrakius archon of Cyprus, no. 213 in I. N. Valetta, Letters of Photius (in Greek), 1867, 527; PG, 102, 984-985.

Sebeos, History of Heraclius, transl. from the Armenian into French by F. Macler, 1904: cited as Macler - Sebeos.

Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armeno, PG, 108, 1009-1038.

Strambaldi, Chronicle (a translation of that of Leontios Makhairas) published by R. de Mas Latrie in Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1893.

Symeon Magister Logothetes, in Theophanis Continuatus (ed. Bonn), 603-760.

SEC = Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantino politanae, ed. H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad AS, Novembris, 1902.

Synodikon of Cyprus, ed. N. Cappuyns, B, 10, 1935, 489-504, cited as Cappuyns - Synodikon.

Tabari, (829-923), in Caetani - Annali.

Taktikon Unspenskij, ed. Th. Unspenskij, Byzantine rank lists (in Russian) IRAIC, 3, 1898, 98-138, cited as Unspenskij - Ranklists.

Theodore Studites, Letters, PG, 99, 906-1679, cf. also Mai, PNB, 8, 1, 1871.

Theodore of Paphos, Life of St. Spyridon; cf. under Lives of Saints, St. Spyridon.

Theodore of Tremythus, Life of St. John Chrysostome, cf. Mai, PNB, 6.ii, 1853, 265-290.

Theophanis, Chronographia, (ed. by de Boor), cited as Theophanis.

Theophanis Continuatus, (ed. Bonn); PG, 109, 15-500.

Trophies of Damascus, ed. G. Bardy, PO, XV, 2, 1930.

al-Waqidi, (d.823), in Caetani - Annali.

Yahya ibn Sa'id of Antioch, ed. and transl. by I. Kratchovsky and A. Vasiliev, in PO, 18, 1924.

Zonaras, (ed. Bonn) in 3 vols.

II. SECONDARY MATERIAL

a. List of Abbreviations of Periodicals.

AB or An.Boll	Analecta Bollandiana.
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institute de Philosophie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slave.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
B	Byzantion.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Héllénique.
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers.
EB	Études Byzantines.
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EHR	English Historical Review.
EO	Echos d'Orient.
IAMK	Izvestia of the Russian Academy for the history of Material Culture.
IRAIC	Izvestia of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
ΚΓ	Κυπριακὰ Γράμματα
Κ·Ε·φ·Σ	Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλλην·φιλολ·Σύλλογος
Κ·Σ	Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαὶ
Κ·Χ	Κυπριακὰ Χρονικὰ

NC	Numismatic Chronicle.
PG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca.
PL	Migne, Patrologia Latina.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis.
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine.
RA	Revue Archéologique.
REG	Revue des Études Grecques.
REI	Revue des Études Islamiques.
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
RN	Revue Numismatique.
SBeN	Studi Bizantini et Neoellenici.
Viz-Vrem	Vizantijskij Vremennik

b. Political, administrative and general.

Adamantiou, A., History of the Byzantine Empire, (in Greek), Athens, 1919-1930.

Adonz, N., 'Sur l'origine de Léon V, empereur de Byzance', Armeniaca, 2, 1927, 1-10.

'Les Légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance' AIPHOS, 2, 1934, 1-12.

'L'age et l'origin de l'Empereur Basil I', B, 8, 1933, 475-550; ibid. 9, 1934, 223-260.

Alexander, P. J., 'Secular Biography at Byzantium', Speculum, 15, 1940, 194-209.

Amantos, K., History of the Byzantine State (in Greek), 2 vols., Athens, 1939/1947.

Amari, M., Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, 3 vols., in 5 parts, 2nd ed., 1933-1939, cited as Amari - Storia.

Andreades, A., 'Deux Livres recent sur les finances byzantines', BZ, 28, 1928, 287ff.

Bach, E., 'Les lois agraires byzantines du Xe siècle Classica et Medievalia', 5, 1942, 70-91.

Baynes, N. H., The Byzantine Empire (Home University Library), 1952/8 ed.

'Byzantine Civilisation', History, 10, 1926, 289-299.

The Hellenistic Civilisation and East Rome, 1946.

The Thought-world of East Rome, 1947.

Byzantine Studies and other Essays, 1955.

'The Emperor Heraclius and the Military theme System', EHR, 67, 1952, 380-381.

Baynes, N. H., and Moss, H. St. L. B., eds. Byzantium, 1948.

Bell, H. I., 'The administration of Egypt under the Ummayad Khalifs', BZ, 28, 1928, 278-286.

Benesevic-Ranglisten = V. N. Benesevic 'Die byzantinischen Ranglisten nach dem Kletorologion Philothei und nach den Jerusalemer Handschriften', BNJ, 5, 1926, 97-167 and 6, 1928, 143-145.

Beza, M., Lands of many religions: Palestine, Syria, Cyprus and Mount Sinai, 1934.

Boak-Dunlap, Two Studies = A. E. R. Boak and J. E. Dunlap, Two Studies in later Roman and Byzantine Administration, 1924.

Bon, A., Le Péloponnese byzantin jusqu'en 1204, 1951.

Bratianu, G. I., Privilèges et franchises municipal dans l'Empire byzantin, 1936.

Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale, 1938.

Brehier, L., 'Les populations rurales au IXe siècle d'après l'hagiographie Byzantine', B, 1, 1924, 175-190.

Le Monde Byzantin, I, Vie et mort de Byzance, 1946; II. Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin, 1949; III. La civilisation byzantine, 1950.

'La marine du Byzance du VIIIe au XIe siècle', B, 19, 1946, 1-16.

Brockelmann, C., Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, 2 vols., 1898, 1902.

Brooks, E. W., 'The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750 from Arabic sources', JHS, 8, 1898, 182ff.

'The campaign of 716-718 from Arabic sources', JHS, 19, 1899, 19-33.

'Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids', EHR, 15, 1900, 728-747, and ibid. 16, 1901, 84-92.

'Arabic lists of the Byzantine themes', JHS, 21, 1901, 67-77.

'The relations between the Empire and Egypt from a new Arabic source', BZ, 22, 1913, 381-391.

Bury, J. B., A history of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (AD 395-800), 1889.

A history of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Irene to the accession of Basil I, (802-867), 1912.

Bury, IAS, The Imperial Administrative System in the ninth century, with a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos, 1911.

The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire, 1909; reprinted in Selected Essays of J.B. Bury, ed. H. Temperley, 1930.

Caetani - Annali = L. Caetani, Annali dell'Islam, 10 vols. Vols. 1-8, Milan, 1905-1918; Vols. 9 and 10, Rome, 1926. Unless otherwise indicated the abbreviation in the text refers to Vol. 7.

Caetani - Chronographia = L. Caetani, Chronographia Islamica, 1912.

Canard - Deus épisodes, 'Des épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabo-byzantines aux Xe siècle', Bulletin des Études Orientales de l'Institute Francaise de Damas, 13, 1949/50, 51-69.

Casson, L., 'The administration of Byzantine and Early Arab Palestine', Aegyptus, 32, 1952, 54-60.

Cesnola, Louis P. di, 'Cyprus, its cities, tombs and temples', 1877.

Charanis, P., 'Nicephorus I, the saviour of Greece from the Slavs', Byzantina-Metabyzantina, 1, 1946, 75-92.

'On the social structure of the later Roman Empire', B, 17, 1944-5, 39-57.

'The aristocracy of Byzantium', Studies in Roman economic and social history in honour of A. C. Johnson, 1951, 336-355.

'A note on the origin of the theme of the Carabisiani', SBeN, 9, 1957, 72-75.

Christodoulou, D., The evolution of the rural land use pattern in Cyprus, 1959.

Cramer, J. A., Anecdota Graeca: Oxford MSS, 4 vols. 1837-1839; Paris MSS, 4 vols. 1839-1841.

Courtois - Exconsul = 'Chr. Courtois, Exconsul: Observations sur l'histoire du consulat a l'époque byzantine', B, 19, 1949, 37-58.

Danstrup, J., 'The State and landed property in Byzantium to 1250', Classica et Medievalia, 8, 1946, 221-262.

Darrouzes, J., 'Manuscripts originaire de Chypre à la Bibl. Nationale', EB, 8, 1950, 162ff.

'Autres Manuscripts originaire de Chypré', EB, 15, 1957, 131-168.

Dendias, M., 'Etudes sur le gouvernement et l'administration à Byzance', SBeN, 5, 1939, 122-145.

Dennett, D.C., 'Pirenne and Muhammad', Speculum, 23, 1948, 165-190.

Diehl, C., Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne (568-751), 1888.

L'Afrique Byzantine. Histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533-709), 1896.

Etudes Byzantines, 1905.

Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin, 1919.

'Leo III and the Isaurian dynasty (717-802)', CMH, IV, 1923, 1-26.

'From Nicephorus to the fall of the Phrygian dynasty', ibid, 27-48.

'The government and administration ofthe Byzantine Empire', ibid. 726-744.

'Byzantine civilisation', ibid. 745-777.

'Le Sénat et le peuple byzantin aux VIIe VIIIe siècles', B, 1, 1924, 201-213.

Figures Byzantines, 1925, 1927.

'L'empereur au nez coupé', in Choses et gens de Byzance, 1926, 173-211.

Dikigoropoulos - The Political Status = A. I. Dikigoropoulos, 'The political status of Cyprus, AD 648-965', RDAC, 1940-48, 1958, 94-114.

Dolger, F., Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostrômischen Reiches (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit; Reihe A, Abt. I), Teil I: 565-1025, 1924.

Byzanz und die Europaische Staaten welt, 1953.

Dolger - Finanzverwaltung = Beiträge zur byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10 u. 11 Jahr, Byzan. Archiv. 9, 1927.

Dolley, R. H., 'A forgotten byzantine conquest of Kypros', Bull. Acad. Roy. Bel., Classe de lettres 34, 1948, 209-224.

'The historical significance of the translation of St. Lazarus from Kypros to Byzantion', B, 19, 1949, 59ff.

Downey, G., A study of the comites orientis and the consulares Syriae, 1939.

Dvornik - Les Slaves = F. Dvornik, Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle, 1926.

Les légendes = F. Dvornik, Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance, 1933.

The Photian Schism, History and legend, 1948.

Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, De Familiis Byzantinis, 1680.

Ensslin, M. W., 'Der Kaiser Herakleios und die Themenverfassung', BZ, 46, 1953, 362-8.

Evangelides, T. E., The Emperor Heraclius and the Byzantine State in the 7th century (in Greek), Odessa, 1903.

Fabricius, I. A., Bibliotheca Graeca (ed. Chr. Harles), Vol. 10, 1807, and XI, 1808.

Fahmy, Aly Mohammed, Muslim sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the seventh to the tenth century, 1950.

Foropoulos, I. A., Irene the Athenian: Empress of the Romans (769-802), (in Greek), 1887.

Frangoudes, E. N., A short history and chorography of Cyprus, (in Greek), 1885, 1890.

Freshfield, E. H., A manual of Roman Law, The Ecloga, 1926.

Gelzer, H., 'Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung', (Abh. d. Kgl. Sächs. Gessellschaft der Wiss.) , Phil - Hist. Kl. 18, 5, 1899.

Geyer, P., Itinera Hierosolyminata in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 38, 1898.

Gibbon, E., The History of the decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. in 7 volumes with introduction, notes, appendixes and index by J. B. Bury, 1923.

Gibb, H. A. R., 'Arab Byzantine relations under the Ummayad Caliphate', DOP, 12, 1958, 219-233.

Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, H., Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire Byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles, 1960 and in BCH, 84, 1960.

Golubovitch, G., Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano, 4, 1923.

Gregoire, H., Recueil des inscriptions grecque chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure, 1922.

'Inscriptions historiques byzantines. Ancyre et les Arabes sous Michel l'Ivrogne', B, 4, 1927-28, 437-468.

Gregoire - Michel III = 'Michel III et Basile le Macedonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre', B, 5, 1929-30, 327-346.

Gregoire - Neuvième siècle = 'Etudes sur le neuvième siècle', REG, 46, 1933, 29-69.

Grumel, V., 'La chronologie des événements du regne de Leon VI', EO, 35, 1936, 5-42.

La Chronologie (Traité d'Etudes Byzantines, I), 1958.

Guilland, R., Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantine, (various articles):-

'Le Cesarat', Or.Chr. Per., 13, 1947, 168-194.

Le drongaire 'Le drongaire et le grande drongaire de la Veille', BZ, 43, 1950, 340-365.

Guilland, R.,

Le Consul — 'Le Consul, B, 24, 1954, 455-578', Index in B, 25-27, 1955-57, 697-711.

Le protospathaire — 'Le protospathaire', B, 25-27, 1955-57, 649-695, Index in B, 28, 1958, 137-161.

'Proconsul, Ἀνθύπατος EB, 15, 1957, 5-41.

Les termes — 'Les termes désignant le commandant en chef des armées Byzantines', EEBS, 29, 1959, 35-80.

Le ptotostrator — Etudes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantine: Le Protostrator, EB, 7, 1950, 156-179.

'Les chefs de la marine byzantine, drongaire de la flotte, Grand drongaire de la flotte, duc de la flotte, megaduc', BZ, 44, 1951, 212-240.

HadjiPsaltes, K., — 'Cyprus during the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century', (in Greek), Ἑλληνικά, 1955, 327-341.

'Cyprus, Byzantium and Islam', (in Greek), K.Σ, 20, 1956, 15-29.

Hanton, E., — 'Lexique explicatif du recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure', B, 4, 1929, 53-136.

Heyd, W., — Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age, 2 vols., 1936.

Hill = Sir George Hill, History of Cyprus, I, 2 ed., 1949.

Hogarth, D. G., — Devia Cypria, 1899.

Honigman - Hierokles = E. Honigman, Le Synecdémos d'Hierocles et l'opuscule géographique de George de Chypre, Brussels, 1939.

Hussey, J. M., — The Byzantine World, 1957.

Ioannides, G. I., Symmikta Cypria, (in Greek), Λαογραφία, 6, 1917, 78-98.

Iorga, N., Histoire de la vie Byzantine, 3 vols., 1934.

Etudes Byzantines, 1939.

'La vie de province dans l'Empire Byzantin', SBeN, 5, 1939, 188-207.

Izeddin, M., 'Un prisonnier Arabe a Byzance au IXe siècle: Haroun-ibn-Yahya', REI, 1941-6, 41-62.

Jeffery, A., 'Ghevond's text of the correspondence between Umar II and Leo III Har.Th.Rev.', 37, 1944, 269-332.

Jenkins, R. J. H., 'Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III', Bull. Acad. Roy. de Bel. Classe de lettres, 34, 1948, 71-77.

'The flight of Samonas,' Speculum, 23, 1948, 217-235.

Jenkins - St. Demetrianus = R. J. H. Jenkins. 'The mission of St. Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad', AIPHOS, 9, 1949, 267-275.

Jenkins - Cyprus = R. J. H. Jenkins, 'Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, AD 688-965', Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson, II, 1953, 1006-1014.

Jenkins, R. J. H., 'The date of Leo VI's Cretan expedition', Melanges St. Kyriakides, 1953, 277ff.

'The classical background of the scriptores post Theophanem', DOP, 8, 1954, 11-30.

'Nine orations of Arethas', BZ, 47, 1954, 1ff, with C. Mango and B. Laourdas.

Johnson, A. C., and West, L. C., Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies, 1949.

Jones, A. H. M., The cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 1937.

Kaestner, I., De Imperio Constantini III (641-668), Leipsig, 1907.

Karayannopoulos, I., 'Die Enstehung der byzantinischen Themenordung', Byz. Archiv, 10, 1959.

Kirsten, E., 'Cyprus' in Reallexikon für Antike und Christendum, 3, 1957, 481ff.

'Die Byzantinische Stadt', Berichte zum XI Inter. Byz. Kongr., V.3, 1958, 1-48.

Kolias, G., 'Leon Choerosphaktes', Texte und Forschungen, 31, 1939.

Koukoules, Ph., Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός: Σχολεῖα: Παίδων ἀνατροφή, παιδιά A.I., 1948.

Krumbacher - Geschichte = K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur, 527-1453; 1897.

Kyriakides, BM = St. P. Kyriakides, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, II-V, Thessalonica, 1937.

Kyprianos, Ἱστορία = Archimandrite Kyprianos, Ἱστορία Χρονολογικὴ τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου, (Venice, 1788), Reprinted in Nicosia, 1902.

Lambros, Sp., Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα Ἐγγραφα, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 14, 1917-20, 14-50, and 15-16, 1921-22, 141-165.

Lammens, H., 'Etudes sur le regne du Calife Omaiyade Mo(awia Ier', Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, I, 1906, 19-21.

Laurent, V., L'Armenie entre Byzance et L'Islam, 1919.

Lemerle - Histoire Agraire = P. Lemerle, 'Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: Les sources et les problemes', Revue Historique, 219, 1958, 32-74; 254-284 and 220, 1958, 43-94.

Levi della Vita, G., 'A papyrus reference to the Damietta raid of 853 A.D.', B, 17, 1944-45, 212ff.

Lewis, A. R., Naval power and trade in the Mediterranean AD 500-1100, 1951.

Lombard, A., Constantin V, empereur des Romains, 1902.

Lopez, R. S., 'The role of trade in the economic re-adjustment of Byzantium in the seventh century', DOP, 13, 1959, 67-85.

Lot, F., 'La fin du Monde Antique et le début du Moyen Age', 1927.

Macri, Chr. M., 'L'organisation de l'economie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macedoine (867-1057)', 1925.

Manandean, H., 'Les invasions Arabes en Armenie', B, 18, 1948, 163-195.

Mango, C. A., 'Nine orations of Arethas, with R. J. H. Jenkins and B. Laourdas', BZ, 47, 1954, 1ff.

Margoliouth, D. S., Ummayads and Abbasids, transl. from G. Zaydan's Islamic Civilisation, E. J. W. Gibb, Memorial Ser. Vol. 4, 1907.

Maricq, A., 'La durée du regime des partis populaire à Constantinople', Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belg., Cl. de lettres, 35, 1949, 63-74.

Mas Latrie, L. de, Histoire de l'île de Chypre, I, 1861.

Menardos, S., 'Toponymikon of Cyprus', (in Greek), Athena, 18, 1906, 315-421.

Millet - Logothète = G. Millet, 'L'origine du logothète général chef de l'administration financière à Byzance', Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age offert à M. Ferdinand Lot, 1925, 565-573.

Mitard, M., Note sur la fonction d' ἐκπροσώπου τῶν θεμάτων, BZ, 12, 1903, 592-594.

Mitford - IEEC = T. B. Mitford 'Some new inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus', B, 20, 1950, 105-175.

Moravcsik, Gyula, Byzantinoturcica, 2 vols., 1942, 1943.

Muir, Sir W., Annals of the Early Caliphate, 1883.

Neisessian, S. der, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, 1947,

O.C. = E. Oberhummer, Die Insel Cypern, 1903.

Orosz, L., The London MS of Nicephorus 'Breviarium', Budapest, 1948.

Ostrogorsky, G., 'Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7 und 8 Jahrh.', BNJ, 7, 1930, 1-56.

'Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages', Cambridge Economic History of Europe, 1, 1942, 194-223, 579-583.

'Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine', (Corpus Brux. Hist. Byz., Subsidia I), Brussels, 1954, French transl. by H. Gregoire and P. Lemerle.

'The Byzantine Empire in the world of the seventh century', DOP, 13, 1959, 1-21.

Ostrogorsky - Steurgemeinde = G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die Ländliche Steurgemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im 10 Jahrh.', Vierteljahrschr. f. sozial. u. Wirtschafstsg., 20, 1927, 1-108.

Ostrogorsky - Byzantine Cities - G. Ostrogorsky, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages', DOP, 13, 1959, 47-66.

Ostrogorsky - History = G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, transl. by Prof. J. M. Hussey, 1956.

'Sur la date de la composition du livre des thémes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thémes d'Asie Mineur', B, 23, 1953, 31-66.

Ouseley, Sir W., The oriental geography of Ebn Hawkal, 1800.

Pandelides, Chr. G., 'Of the medieval Cypriot dialect' (in Greek), BZ, 31, 1931, 325.

Peristianes, I. K., History of Cyprus (in Greek), 1910.

Pernice, A., L'imperatore Eraclio, Florence, 1905.

Pertusi, A., 'La formation des thémes Byzantins', Berichte zum XI Int. Byz. Kong., Munich, 1958, I, 1-40.

Philippou, L., Ἡ ναυμαχία τῆς Κεφαλαίας K.Σ, 6, 1942, 1-5, 'The first Arab raid against Cyprus' (in Greek), K.X, 3, 1925, 164ff.

The Greek letters in Cyprus (in Greek).

Pinto, Olga, and Levi della Vita, G., Il Califfo Mu 'awiya I, 1938.

Rambaud, A., L'Empire grec au dixième siècle, 1870.

Ramsay, W. M., The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia, 2 vols., 1895, 1897.

Rémondon, R., 'A propos de la menace Byzantine sur Damiette sous le regne de Michel III', B, 23, 1953, 245-250.

Rhodhinus, Neophytus, Περὶ ἡρώων, στρατηγῶν, φιλοσόφων, ἁγίων καὶ ἄλλων ὀνομαστῶν ὅπου εὐρήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν νησὶ τῆς Κύπρου

1659, in Kyprianos, Ἱστορία, 496-540, and in K.X, 3, 1925, 1-48.

Rouillard, G., L'administration civile de l'Egypte Byzantine, 2nd ed., Paris, 1928.

Rouillard - La vie rurale = G. Rouillard, La vie rurale dans l'Empire Byzantin, 1953.

Runciman, S., The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign, 1929.

Sakellarios, A., Ta Kypriaka (in Greek), 2 vols., 1885, 1891.

Sathas, MB = K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 7 vols., Venice, 1872-1894.

Schenk, K., Kaiser Leo III, 1880.

Starr, J., The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204, 1939.

Stein, E., Studien zur Geschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches, 1919.

'Post Consulat et Αὐτοκρατορία AIPHOS, 2, 1934, 869-912.

'Introduction à l'histoire et aux institutions byzantins', Traditio, 7, 1949-51, 95-168.

Schlumberger, G., Un empereur byzantin au Xe siècle: Nicephorus Phocas, 2nd ed., 1923.

L'épopée byzantine à la fin du Xe siècle, 3 vols., 1896, 1900, 1905.

Spulber, C. A., L'éclogue des Isauriens, 1929.

Tritton, S., 'Non Muslim subjects of the Muslim State', JRAS, 1942, 36-40.

Vasiliev, A. A., Byzance et Les Arabes, I: La dynastie d' Amorium (820-867). French edition prepared by H. Gregoire and M. Canard, Brussels, 1935.

Byzance et les Arabes, II: La dynastie macédonienne, French edition prepared by H. Gregoire and C. Canard, 2nd part. Extracts from Arab sources transl. by C. Canard, Brussels, 1950; cited as Vasiliev - Byzance et les Arabes II.

History of the Byzantine Empire, Madison, 1952.

'The struggle with the Saracens', CMH, IV, 1923, 138-150.

'On the question of Byzantine feudalism', B, 8, 1933, 584-604.

'The Emperor Michael III in Apocryphal literature', Byzantina-Metabyzantina, 1, 1946, 237-248.

'The second Russian attack on Constantinople', DOP, 6, 1951, 161-225.

'The Iconoclastic edict of the Caliph Yazid II, AD 721', DOP, 9-10, 1955-56, 23-47.

'Notes on some episodes concerning the relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire from the fourth to the sixth century', DOP, 9-10, 1955-56, 306-316.

Vernadsky, G., 'Sur l'origine de la loi agraire', B, 2, 1925, 127ff.

'The Tactics of Leo the Wise and the Epanagoge', B, 6, 1931, 333-335.

'Byzantium and S. Russia', B, 15, 1940-41, 67-86.

Vismara, G., Bizanzio e l'Islam, Milan, 1950.

Vogt, A., Basil I, empereur de Byzance et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du IXe siècle, 1908.

Zachariae a Lingenthal, K. E., 'Jus Graeco-Romanum', 7 vols., 1856-1884.

Zakynthinos, D. A., 'Περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ Κράτει', EEBS, 17, 1941, 208ff.

Zambaur, E. de., Manuel de genealogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam, I, 1927.

Zepos, J. and P., Jus Graeco Romanum, 8 vols., Athens, 1931.

c. Ecclesiastical.

Allatius, L., De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione, 1648.

Alexander, P. J., 'The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and its definition', DOP, 7, 1953, 35-66.

Alexander, Nicephorus = P. J. Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople, 1958.

Anastos, M. V., 'The ethical theory of images formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', DOP, 8, 1954, 151-160.

'The argument for Iconoclasm as presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754', Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honour of A. M. Friend Jr., 1955, 177-188.

'Church and State during the first iconoclastic period, 726-787', (in Greek), in Studies presented to A. S. Alivizatos, Athens, 1958, 8-21.

Baynes, N. H., 'The icons before iconoclasm', Har. Theol. Rev., 44, 1951, 93-106.

Beveridge, W., Pandectae Conciliorum, 1672.

Brehier, L., La guerelle des Images, 1904.

Charalambous, Chr., 'The monasteries of Makhaira and Kanakarka', (in Greek), K.X, 10, 1934, 309-311.

Charanis, P., 'The monastic properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', DOP, 4, 1948, 51-118.

Clerides - St. Ionas = N. Clerides, 'Introduction and Akolouthia of ... St. Ionas, of Pergamon village' (in Greek) K.Σ, 1, 1937, 89-132.

Clerides - St. Kendeas = N. Clerides, 'Introduction and Akolouthia of ... St. Therapon' (in Greek), K.Σ, 19, 1955, 73-103.

Clerides - St. Mamas = N. Clerides, 'Introduction and Akolouthia of ... St. Mamas', (in Greek), K.Σ, 15, 1951, 89-145.

Clerides - St. Sozomenus = N. Clerides, 'St. Sozomenus, Introduction and text of his Akolouthia' (in Greek), K.Σ, 2, 1938, 105-120.

Clerides - St. Theodore = 'The unedited Akolouthia of St. Theodore of Politiko', K.Σ, 3, 1940, 31-50.

Clerides - St. Therapon = N. Clerides, 'Introduction and Akolouthia of ... St. Therapon', (in Greek), K.Σ, 19, 1955, 73-103.

Clerides and others - Sts. of Karpasia = N. Clerides, G. Papacharalambous, K. Spyridakis, 'The Sts. of Karpasia, Philon, Synesius, Thyrsos, Photeine, Sozomenus, Introduction and text of their Akolouthiai', K.Σ, 11, 1947.

Cobham, C. D., The churches and Saints of Cyprus, 1910.

Costa-Louillet, Germaine 'Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe-IXe et Xe siècles', B, 24, 1954, 179-264; 453-511.

Dawes, E. with Haynes, N. H., Three Byzantine Saints, 1948.

Dawkins, R. M., 'On a hagiographical source used by L. Makhairas', K.X, 11, 1935, 10-23.

De Boor, C., 'Nachtrage zu den Notitiae Episcopatuum', Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 12, 1891, 519-534; 15, 1894, 573-599.

Delehaye, St. Jean l'Aumonier = H. Delehaye, 'Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumonier', AB, 45, 1927, 5ff.

Delehaye - Saints de Chypre, H. Delehaye, Saints de Chypre, AB, 26, 1907, 161-297.

Devreesse, R., 'La christianisme dans la péninsule Sinaitique', Revue Biblique, 49, 1940, 205-227.

Dindorfus, G., Epiphanii Episcopi Constantiae, Opera, 1859.

Doukakes, K. X., Megas Synaxaristes (in Greek), 14 vols., Athens, 1889-1896.

Duchesne, L., 'L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IXe siècle', Roma e Oriente, 1912-13, 225-239, 273-285, 349-366 (Greek text and Italian translation of the Letter to the Emperor Theophilus by the three Eastern Patriarchs in 836, from Sakkelion's original publication.

'Les anciens évêchés de la Grèce', Revue d'Archaeologie et d'histoire, 15, 1895, 375-385.

Duckworth, H. T. F., St. John the Almsgiver, 1901.

Dvornik, F., 'The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm', DOP, 7, 1953, 67-98.

Every, G., The Byzantine Patriarchate (451-1204), 1947.

Florovsky, G., 'Origen, Eusebius and the iconoclastic controversy', Church History, 19, 1950, 77-96.

Gardner, A., Theodore of Studium: His Life and times, 1905.

Gedeon, M., Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, 1899.

Gelzer - Ungedruckte = H. Gelzer, 'Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatuum, ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Kirchen und Verwaltungsgeschichte', Abhandlungen der K. Bayer, Akademie d. Wiss. I, Cl. XXI, Bd. III, Munich, 1900.

Georghiou, Ph., History of the Cypriot Church (in Greek), Athens, 1875.

Grumel, Les Regestes = V. Grumel, Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople, Vol. I, Les Actes des Patriarches, 1936.

Grumel, V., 'Recherches récentes sur l'iconoclasme', EO, 29, 1930, 92-100.

Hackett, J., 'History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus', 1901,

Hackett-Papaioannou, Ἱστορία, Greek translation and revision of Hackett's History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, by Chas. Papaioannou in 3 vols., 1923, 1927, 1932.

Halkin, F., 'Les differents éditions de la Synodique à l'Empereur Théophile', AB, 76, 1958, 64.

'Saint Theoctiste, moine Sabaite et Martyr (+ 797)', AB, 73, 1955, 373-374.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 1957.

Honigman, E., 'Die Notitia des Basileios von Jalimbana', B, 9, 1934, 205-222.

'The original lists of the members of the council of Nicaea, the Robber Synod and the Council of Chalkedon', B, 16, 1942-43, 20-80.

Hussey, J. M., Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, (867-1185), London, 1937.

Ioannou, Th., Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά, 1884.

Janin, R., La Geographie ecclesiastique de l'Empire Byzantine, 1er partie t. III, Les Eglises et les Monastères, 1953.

Kirsopp, L., The early days of monasticism on Mt. Athos, 1909.

Konidaris - Αἱ Μητροπόλεις = G. I. Konidaris, Αἱ Μητροπόλεις καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπαὶ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ ἡ τάξις αὐτῶν. Texte und Forschungen, Heft, 13, 1934.

Konidaris - Ἡ θέσις = G. I. Konidaris, Ἡ θέσις τῆς αὐτοκεφάλου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου ἐναντι τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου κατὰ τὸν Θ' καὶ Ι' αἰῶνα, Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 18, 1943, 135-146.

Kyrmitsis, P. I., Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ καθέδρας καὶ καθεδρικοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου Κ.Σ, 4, 1940, 87-112.

Ladner, G., 'Origin and significance of the iconoclastic controversy', Medieval Studies, 2, 1940,127-149.

Laurent - La Notitia = V. Laurent, 'La Notitia de Basile l'Armenien', EO, 34, 1935, 439-472.

Laurent - Le Corpus = V. Laurent, 'Le Corpus notitiarum episcopatuum Ecclesiae orientalis Graecae', B, 7, 1932, 512-526.

Laurent - Les fastes = V. Laurent, 'Les fastes épiscopaux de l'église de Chypre', EB, 6, 1948, 153-169.

Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, 2, 1740.

Loparev, Ch., 'Lives of Byzantine Saints of the 8th and 9th C.', (Russian comments: Greek texts). Viz. Vrem, 17, 1910, 1-224; 18, 1911, 1-147; 19, 1912, 1-151.

Luke, H. C., Cypriote Shrines, 1920.

Mai, PNB = Maius, Cardinal Angelus, Patrum Nova Bibliotheca, 10 vols., 1844-1905.

Martin, E. J., 'A history of the Iconoclastic Controversy'.

Menardos, S., 'St. Helen in Cyprus' (in Greek), Λαογραφία, 2, 1910, 266-298.

Ostrogorsky, G., 'Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilterstreites', Historische Untersuchungen, 5, 1928, 48-51.

'Les débuts de laguerelle des image', Melanges C. Diehl, I, 1930, 235-255.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, IB = A. Pap.-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891, 1894, 1897, 1899.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας 1891.

Papadopaulos, Ch., 'When did the German Saints come to Cyprus?', (in Greek), K.S, 8, 1944, 427-428.

Pargoire, J., 'Saints Iconophiles', EO, 4, 1901, 347-356.

Parthey = G. Parthey, Hierocles Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum, 1866.

Peeters, P., 'De Codice Iberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis', AB, 31, 1912, 301-318.

'St. Hilarion d'Iberie', AB, 32, 1913, 236-269.

'Histoires monastiques Géorgiennes', AB, 36-37, 1917-19, 5ff.

'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie Orientale a l'époque Byzantine', AB, 40, 1922, 241-298.

Philippou, L., 'The election of Archbishops in Cyprus' (in Greek), KS, 7, 1943, 117-125.

'The monastery of the "Priests" or Haghia Mone', (in Greek), K.X, 4, 1926, 310-319.

Pitra, I. B., Juris Ecclesiastici Graecorum (Historia et Monumenta), II, 1868.

Spigilegium Solesmense I, 1852, IV, 1858.

Rhalles, G. A. and Potles, M., Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, 6 vols., Athens, 1852-1859.

Regel, W., Analecta Byzantino-Russica, 1891.

Richard, M., 'Anastase le Sinaite, l'hodegos et le monothélisme', EB, 16, 1958, 29-42.

Salaville, S., 'Le moine Alexandre de Chypre', EO, 15, 1912, 134-137.

Sathas - Vies de Saints = K. N. Sathas, 'Vies des Saints allemands de Chypre', Archives de l'Orient Latin, II, 1884, 405-426.

Themelis, T. P., The eponymics of the Virgin in Cyprus (in Greek), 1926.

Van den Ven, P., 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787', B, 25-27, 1955-57, 325-336.

Zakynthinos, D. Σκέψεις τινές περί εἰκονομαχίας. Τιμητικὸς Τόμος Ἀχιβιδάτου, 1958, 90-102.

d. Art and Archaeology.

Baramki, D. C., 'The pottery from Khirbet el Mefjer', QDAP, 10, 1944, 65-104.

Béès, N., 'Zur sigillographie der byzantinischen themen Peloponnes und Hellas', Viz. Vrem., 21, 1914, 90-110 and 192-235.

Bell, H., 'Byzantine Sealings', BZ, 30, 1929-30, 634-636.

Bellinger, A. R., 'The coins and Byzantine Imperial policy', Speculum, 31, 1956, 70-81.

Coins from Jerash (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 81, 1938).

'The Emperor Theophilus and the Lagbe Hoard Berytus', 8, 1944, 102-106.

Benesevic, V., 'Sur la date de la mosaique de la transfiguration du Mont Sinai', B, 1, 1924, 145-172.

Berlin Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen, 1, 1898.

Birch, BMC = W. de Gray Birch, Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 5, 1898.

BMC = W. Wroth, The British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine coinage, London, 1908.

Breckenridge, J. D., The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (Num. notes and Mon. no. 144, 1959).

Buchthal, H., The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, 1938.

Charanis, P., 'The significance of coins as evidence for the history of Athens and Corinth in the seventh and eighth centuries', Historia, 4, 1955, 165-166.

Cresswell, EMA = K. A. C. Cresswell, Early Muslim Architecture, 2 vols., 1932, 1940.

Cresswell, K. A. C., A short account of Early Muslim Architecture, (ed. Penguin), 1958.

Cox, D. H., Coins from the excavations at Curium, 1932-1953. (Num. notes and Mon. no. 145, 1959.)

Dalton, O. M., Byzantine Art and Archaeology, 1911.

East Christian Art, 1925.

Day, F. E., 'Early Islamic and Christian lamps', Berytus, 7, 1942, 65-79.

Debevoise, de Lorey, E., 'Origin of decorative stucco', AJA, 45, 1941, 45-61.

'Les mosaiques du VIIIe siècle de la mosquée des Ommayades à Damas', Cahiers d'Art, 7, 1929, 305-312, and Monuments Piot, 30, 1930, 1-12.

Demus, O., Byzantine mosaic decoration, 1948.

'The methods of the Byzantine Artist', The Mint, 2, 1948, 64-77.

Diehl, C,, Manuel d'Art Byzantin, 1925.

Dikigoropoulos, Kharcha = A. I. Dikigoropoulos, 'A Byzantine hoard from Kharcha', Cyprus, NC, 16, 1956, 255-265 and Pl. XVIII.

Ebersolt, J., Les arts somptuaires de Byzance, 1923.

'Sceaux byzantins du Musée de Constantinople', RN, 18, 1914, 207-278.

Enlart, C., L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre, 2 vols., 1899.

Frolow, A., 'La mosaique Murale Byzantine', Byzantino Slavica, 12, 1951, 180-209.

Galassi, G., 'Mosaici di Cipro e mosaici di Ravenna', Felix Ravenna, 66, 1954, 5ff.

Grabar, A., L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin, 1936,.

L'Art Byzantin, 1938.

Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique, 2 vols., 1943, 1946.

'The Virgin in a Mandorla of light', Studies in honour of A. M. Friend Jr., 1955, 305-311.

'Notes sur l'iconographie ancienne de la Vierge', Cahiers techniques de l'Art, 1954, 1-9.

Grabar - L'Iconoclasme = A. Grabar, L'Iconoclasme Byzantin: Dossier Archéologique, 1957.

Grierson, Ph., 'The monetary reforms of "Abd al-Malik"', Journal of Economic and Social history of the Orient, III, 3, 1960, 241-264.

'The Kyrenia girdle of Byzantine medallions and Solidi', NC, 15, 1955, 55-70, and Pls. VI-VIII.

'Solidi of Phocas and Heraclius', NC, 19, 1959, 131-153.

Gunnis, R., Historic Cyprus, ed. 1956.

Hamilton, J. A., Byzantine Architecture and Decoration, 1933.

Hamilton, R. W., Khirbat al Mafjar, 1959.

Ismailov - Description, N. B. Ismailov, 'Description of the Byzantine seals of the Russian Academy of the history of material culture', IAMK, 3, 1924, 327-351.

Jefferey, G., 'A description of the historic Monuments of Cyprus', 1918.

Kent, J. P. C., 'The mystery of Leontius II', NC, 14, 1954, 217-218.

Kirkbridge, A. S., 'Coins of the Byzantine Arab transition period', QDAP, 13, 1948, 56-63, and Pls. XXIV-XXVI.

Kitzinger, E., Early Byzantine Art in the British Museum, 1940.

'The cult of images in the age before Iconoclasm', DOP, 8, 1954, 83ff.

'On some icons of the VIIth century', Studies in honour of A. M. Friend Jr., 1955, 132-150.

Kitzinger - Byzantine Art = E. Kitzinger, 'Byzantine Art in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm', Berichte sum XI. Int. Byz. Kong., IV, 1, 1958, 1-50.

Kondakov, N., Iconografia Bogomateri, 1914.

Konstantopoulos - BM = K. M. Konstantopoulos, The Byzantine Seals of the National Museum of Numismatics, Athens, (in Greek), 1917.

Monstantopoulos, AS, K. M. Konstantopoulos, Byzantine Seals of the Collection of A. K. P. Stamboules, (in Greek), Athens, 1930.

Laffranchi, L., 'La numismatica di Leonzio II. Studio su un periodo della monetazione Italo-Byzantina', Numismatica e Scienze Affini, 4, 1938, 73-74; 5, 1939, 7-15; 91-92.

Lassus, J., Sanctuaire Chrétiens de Syrie, 1947.

Laurent - Collection = V. Laurent, Documents de Sigillographie: La Collection C. Orghidan, 1952.

Lethaby, W. R., Medieval Art: From the peace of the Church to the eve of the Renaissance 312-1350, Revised by D. Talbot-Rice, 1949.

Lichacev - DVP = N. Lichacev, 'Datirovannye Vizantijskie Pecati' (in Russian), IAMK, 3, 1924, 153-224.

Lichacev - Leon III = N. Lichacev, 'Sceaux de l'Empereur Léon III', B, 11, 1936, 469-482.

Mango, C. A., 'Documentary evidence on the apse mosaics of St. Sophia', BZ, 47, 1954, 395ff.

Matsulewitsch, L., Byzantinische Antike, 1929.

Mavrodinov, N., 'L'apparition et l'evolution de l'eglise cruciforme dans l'architecture byzantine', SBeN, 6, 1940, 243-253.

Megaw, A. H. S., 'Three vaulted basilicas in Cyprus', JHS, 66, 1946, 48-56.

'Early Byzantine Art in Cyprus', K.Γ, 21, 1956, 171-182.

'Early Byzantine Monuments in Cyprus in the Light of recent discoveries', Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses, 1958, Munich, 1960, 345-351.

'The mosaics in the church of Panayia Kanakaria, in Cyprus', Atti dell VIII Congresso di Studi Bizantini, Roma, 1953, 199-200.

'Archaeology in Cyprus', Annual Reports of archaeological activities in Cyprus in the JHS and since 1955 in Arch. Reports.

Miles, RIC = G. C. Miles, Rare Islamic coins, (Num. notes and Mon. no. 118, 1950).

Miles, Rayy = G. C. Miles, The Numismatic history of Rayy, (Numismatic Studies no. 2, 1938).

Millet, Plombs = G. Millet, 'Plombs Byzantins', BCH, 17, 1893, 69-80.

Millet - Commerciaires = G. Millet, 'Sur les sceaux de commerciaires Byzantins', Melanges Schlumberger, II, 1924, 303-327.

Millet, Lichacev = G. Millet, 'Review of N. Lichacev's DVP', in B, 1 (1924), 603ff.

Mordtmann, A., Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν Μολυβδοβούλλων ΚΕΦΣ 7, 1872-73, 58-81.

'Plombs byzantins de la Grèce et du Péloponnése', RA, 33, 1877, 289-297.

Morey, C. R., Early Christian Art, 1942.

'The sources of medieval style', Art Bulletin, 7, 1924, 35ff.

Pancenko, Katalog = B. A. Pancenko, Kalalog Molivdovulov', IRAIC, 8, 1903, 199-246; 9, 1904, 342-396; 13, 1908, 78-151.

Peirce, H. and Tyler, R., L'Art Byzantin, II, 1934.

Pierides, D., 'Ecclesiastical Studies', The Owl, 8, 8 Dec., 1888, 57.

Ross, M. C., 'A Byzantine gold medallion at Dumbarton Oaks', DOP, 11, 1957, 247ff.

Schlumberger - Sigillographie = G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin, 1884.

Schlumberger - Mélanges, G.Schlumberger - Mélanges d'archaeologie Byzantine, 1895.

Schlumberger, SBI = G. Schlumberger, 'Sceaux Byzantins Inedits'.
Nos. 1-30, REG, 2, 1889, 245-259.
" 31-98, REG, 4, 1891, 111-142.
" 99-145, REG, 7, 1894, 319-336.
" 146-203, REG, 13, 1900, 467-492.
" 204-295, RN, 1905, 321-354.
" 296-336, RN, 1916, 32-45.

Schmit, Th., Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, 1927.

Smirnof, I. I., 'Christian mosaics of Cyprus' (in Russian), Viz. Vrem., 4, 1897, 1-94, transl. into Greek by A. Deliyiahnis in Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κῆρυξ Larnaca, 1911, 43ff.

Soteriou, G. A., 'The church and tomb of St. Barnabas near Salamis, Cyprus', K.Σ, 1, 1937, 175-187.

'Les églises byzantines à Chypre à trois et à cinq coupoles et leur place dans l'histoire de l'architecture byzantine', SBeN, 6, 1940, 401-409.

'An encaustic icon of St. Peter at Sina monastery' (in Greek), AIPHOS, 10, 1950, 607-610.

'An encaustic icon of the Enthroned Virgin at Sina monastery' (in Greek), BCH, 70, 1946, 552.

The basilica of St. Demetrius, Salonica (in Greek), 1952.

Soteriou, BMK = G. A. Soteriou, The Byzantine Monuments of Cyprus (in Greek), A, 1935.

Soteriou, M. G., 'The question of the chronology of the mosaic of the Church of Panayia Angeloktistos', BNJ, 14, 1935, 293ff.

'The domed churches of the transitional period', (in Greek), BNJ, 10, 1934, 236-293.

Stern, H., 'Les representations des conciles dand l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem', B, 11, 1936, 101-152 and B, 13, 1938, 415-459.

Strygowski, J., Origin of Christian Church Art, 1923.

Talbot-Rice, D., Byzantine Art (ed. Penguin, 1954).

The beginnings of Christian Art, 1959.

The Art of Byzantium, 1959.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, III, 1937.

Underwood, P. A., 'The evidence of restorations in the sanctuary mosaics of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea', DOP, 13, 1959, 235-243.

Volbach, W. F., Metallarbeiten des christlichen Kultes, 1921.

Walker, J., A Catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum, II, 1956.

Ward-Perkins, J. B., 'Notes on the structure and building methods of Early Byzantine architecture', The Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, 2nd Report, 1958, 52-104.

Warren, The Hon. J. Leicester, 'On some coins of Constans II and his sons discovered in the Island of Cyprus', NC, n.s. 1, 1861, 42ff.

Weitzman, K., The Fresco cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio, 1951.

Westholm, A., 'A hoard of bronze coins of Constans II', Nordisk Numismatik Arsskrift, 1940, 135-146.

Wittemore, Th., The mosaics of Haghia Sophia at Istanbul, Preliminary Reports, 1933, 1936.

Wulff, D., Altchristl. und Byz. Kunst, 1936.