

The Greek Church of Cyprus,
the Morea and Constantinople
during the Frankish Era (1196-1303)

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A New Perspective

By

Elena Kaffa

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P U B L I S H I N G

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CONTENTS

Abstract	vi
Acknowledgments	vii
List of Abbreviations	viii
Introduction	ix
Chapter One.....	1
Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Frankish Greece and Cyprus	
Chapter Two	29
The Establishment of the Latin Church in Constantinople, Cyprus and Achaea	
Chapter Three	69
Relations between the Greek Church of Cyprus, Constantinople and the Morea, and the Latin Church	
Chapter Four	134
The Relationship of the Greek Churches of the Morea, Constantinople and Cyprus with the Latin Secular Authority	
Conclusions	152
Bibliography	157
Index.....	165

ABSTRACT

This book provides an analytical presentation of the situation of the Greek Church of Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople during the earlier part of the Frankish Era (1196–1303). It examines the establishment of the Latin Church in Constantinople, Cyprus and Achaëa and attempts to answer questions relating to the reactions of the Greek Church to the Latin conquests. It also considers the similarities and differences in the establishment of the diocesan structure, agreements regarding the fate of the Greek ecclesiastical properties, the payment of tithes and the agreements of 1220–1222.

Moreover, it analyses the relations of the Greek Church of Cyprus, the Greek Church of Constantinople and the Morea with the Latin Church. For instance, it details papal involvement in the affairs of the Church in these three significant areas, the ecclesiastical differences between the Greek and the Latin churches, the behaviour of the Greek patriarchs, archbishops and bishops within the Greek Church, the reaction of the Greeks towards the establishment of the Latin Church, and significant events such as the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Kantara and the promulgation of the *Bulla Cypria*.

The third topic pertains to the relationship of the Greek Church of the Morea, Constantinople and Cyprus with the secular authority. It discusses the attitude of the King of Cyprus, the rulers of the Morea and the Emperor of Constantinople towards the problems between the Latins and Greeks, the relationship of the Latin nobility with the Greeks and the involvement of the crown regarding the ecclesiastical property and possible explanations for the approach of the Latin crown towards the Greeks.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des École françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>Cartulary</i>	<i>The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia</i> , eds. N. Coureas - C. Schabel, Nicosia 1997
<i>EKEE</i>	<i>Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών</i>
<i>EK</i>	<i>Εκκλησιαστικός Κήρυξ</i> , Larnaca 1911–1918
<i>KS</i>	<i>Κυπριακές Σπουδές. Δελτίον της Εταιρείας Κυπριακών Σπουδών</i>
<i>Makhairas</i>	Leontios Makhairas <i>Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled 'Chronicle'</i> , ed. R. M. Dawkins, Oxford 1932
<i>PCRCICO</i>	<i>Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis: Fontes</i> . Series III, 15 vols., Rome, 1943–1990
<i>PG</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina</i> .
<i>PL</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</i> .
Σάθας, M. B.	<i>Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, Bibliotheca Graecae Medii Aevi</i> , ed. C. Sathas, Venice-Paris 1872–1894
<i>Synodicum</i>	<i>The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus 1196–1373</i> , ed. C. Schabel, Nicosia 2001

INTRODUCTION

This book is an examination of the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople, the relationship between the Greek Church and the Latin Church in these places, and the relationship between the Greek Church and the Latin secular authority until 1303, the end of Boniface VIII's papacy.

The subject is important as it sheds light on the ecclesiastical history of three significant places during the Frankish period: Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople. It examines the development of the relationship between the Greek Church and the Latin Church from the first years of their establishment; firstly in Cyprus after the Third Crusade, and following the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople and the Morea, until 1303. In addition, it observes the complex relations of the Greek Church and the papacy and other Greek Churches of the Latin East as they evolved, including Jerusalem and Antioch, and in the west with Sicily and South Italy, and their troubled relations with the Latin Church, comparing the relations between the Latins and Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople. It also compares the experiences of the Church in these three areas, for example how the experience of the Greek Church in Cyprus differed from that of the Greek Church in the Morea, in the hope that what happened in one area can shed light on what happened elsewhere. It raises the question of whether the differences require any new lines of enquiry or prompt the need for new interpretations.

Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople were selected, despite the chronological differences in the establishment of Frankish rule, as they share similarities and many common aspects. In addition, the Greek Church in these three locations has not been studied before in parallel and, unlike the Latin Church there have been no analytical researches or bibliographical surveys.

It is important to note that there is little evidence pertaining to Greece and Constantinople, unlike the material for Cyprus. For instance, there is no cartulary surviving from any Latin church in Greece or Constantinople. When I first started my research, I was of the belief that there would be more applicable information. As a result, I have attempted to make do with what little evidence there is.

CHAPTER ONE

SOURCES FOR THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF FRANKISH GREECE AND CYPRUS

The primary sources for the study of Cyprus and Frankish Greece, and more specifically the Morea and the centre of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, are varied. Evidence pertaining to Latin and Greek evidence in the Morea is limited. The languages of the materials are Latin, Medieval French, Italian, Byzantine Greek and Medieval Cypriot Greek. Most of the materials are chronicles, narrative accounts, decrees, synodal acts and papal letters, which are numerous and of great significance. In addition, there is also archaeological evidence consisting of church buildings, frescoes and icons providing pointers to the relationship between Latins and Greeks.

Latin Documents

The first and the largest collection of documents, which are presented and discussed, consist of the papal letters. A selection of documents from the papal registers has been published in the series of edited papal correspondence in the *Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis (PCRCICO)*. This is a collection of edited important papal letters sent by popes to their subjects, including the Greeks, regarding ecclesiastical affairs like clerical legislation, agreements, administrative issues and doctrines, providing useful information about the relations between the Latin Church and the Greek Church of Constantinople as well as the other local churches of Greece, including the Greek Church of Cyprus and the Morea. The most significant papal letters related to the topic of this book are in the *PCRCICO*. In addition, there is another older and lengthier series of documents: the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (BEFAR)*, which includes almost all of the papal letters, many of them summarized and others printed in full. The *BEFAR* series does not include Innocent III or Honorius III (or Clement V). There are also various other collections of papal letters prior to the *BEFAR* but they seldom contain letters not found in these more

modern collections. Furthermore, there is a small number of letters that are not in the registers, but which survive elsewhere, perhaps because they were preserved by the recipients. There is information about the Pope with regard to Greece and Cyprus in Carmelite, Dominican, Augustinian and Franciscan collections of documents.

Pope Celestine III (1191–1198) is the first pope to issue letters that are relevant here. His register has not survived but his bulls concerning Cyprus in *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* have. The *Cartulary* contains some of the most important Latin documents concerning the Church of Cyprus during the Frankish Era. Celestine's letters contain references to significant events, which took place in Cyprus, such as the establishment of the Latin Church on the island, which consisted of an archbishopric and three Suffragan Bishoprics, and the election of the first Latin archbishop, Alan of Nicosia. The Foundation Charters of Celestine III have also been translated by Christopher Schabel in *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus 1196–1373* published in 2001. In the first section of this book, Schabel edited and translated the text of the Nicosia Synodicum, which comprises a mid-fourteenth-century assembly of texts from 1252–1354, concerning the ecclesiastical legislation and acts of councils involving the relations between the Greek and the Latin churches. The second part consists of translated documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus from 1196–1373, mostly from the *PCRCICO*. The most recent work regarding Cyprus is *Bullarium Cyprium*, a massive two-volume edition of papal letters dealing with Cyprus from 1196 to 1314 by Chris Schabel.

After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, the most prominent sources are the letters by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), which were published in the *Patrologia Latina*. The *Patrologia Latina* edition of Innocent III is itself a reprint of a seventeenth-century edition of Innocent's registers. It should be noted that the registers from certain years did not survive. It is worth emphasizing that not all of Innocent's letters were copied into the registers, and such letters were occasionally preserved by the recipients, as happened in the case of the *Cartulary* of St Sophia in Nicosia. Innocent III's letters in the *Patrologia Latina* appear in three volumes (214, 215 and 216). New and improved editions of Innocent III's letters are *Acta Innocentii III* edited by T. Haluskynskyj (*PCRCICO*), which include only the most pertinent letters about Greece. The most recent and reliable edition is *Die Register Innocenz' III*, which aims to publish all the letters of Pope Innocent that survive. Eight volumes have appeared so far, covering the period up to 1206.

Innocent III's letters are extremely important, especially for Constantinople, as they have information about the fall of the city in 1204, the establishment of the Latin Church, the election of a new Latin patriarch in Constantinople, the new situation of ecclesiastical affairs and the reaction of the Greeks to the new status quo. Innocent III's letters provide the only significant information available on the founding of the Latin Church in the Morea, exposing the new reality, which Greeks had to deal with. From his correspondence with the Greek patriarch, John Camateros, the Greek emperor Alexius IV, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, the clergy, his legate in the East and the Latin nobles of Constantinople and others, useful information can be obtained which assists us in forming an accurate picture of the situation in Constantinople. From Innocent's letters, the Pope's efforts to unite the Latin and the Greek Church, to bring back the schismatic Greeks to the right faith, and his belief about the supremacy of the Latin Church are revealed. There are also references to the reactions of the Greeks after the conquest. For instance the Greek clergy and priests in Constantinople and Achaëa were terrified and fled the country, abandoning their churches. Those who remained were forced to show obedience to the Latin Church, as they were scared by the idea of being excommunicated or hanged by the Latins. Furthermore, in the letters, there is evidence of Greek efforts to unite with the Latin Church, the domestic affairs of the local Latin Churches, the commands that the Pope sent to his clergy, and the missions of the papal legates in the East. The later years of Innocent's registers also contain much about the papacy and the Latin Church in Greece. In the *Patrologia Latina* there is interesting information such as evidence of the Latins disturbing the graves of the Greek bishops of Patras when building a fortress, and the disputes between the Latin Church and the new Frankish rulers over the ownership of former Greek ecclesiastical property. The registers also include references to how the Latins modified the old Greek diocesan structure. From this evidence, the differences between the situation in Cyprus and that in Greece can be discerned.

The successor of Innocent III was Honorius III. Most of Honorius' letters are calendared in *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, compiled by A. Pressutti in two volumes. Pressutti provides the full text or extracts of some of Honorius III's letters, but all too often he simply supplies a summary. The drawback of this calendar lies in the fact that his summaries often omit significant details. Some of these letters are also published in *PCRCICO*, *Acta Honorii III*, edited by A L Tautu, and others can be found in older editions such as Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici* or in recent editions such as the Coureas/Schabel edition of the Nicosia *Cartulary*.

Several of Honorius's letters in the Nicosia *Cartulary* refer to the agreements of 1220 and 1222, but most relate to the domestic affairs of the Latin Church, and there are fewer references to the Greek Church than in Innocent III's letters. Honorius wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, the Empress Margarita and others, and his letters shed light on various topics such as, the excommunication of Geoffrey II of Villardouin, Prince of Achaea, and Otho of La Roche, Prince of Athens, the efforts towards the union of the two Churches and the protection of some monasteries by the Pope.

The next pope was Gregory IX (1227–1241). His letters relating to the Greeks and their church are published by Tautu in the same volume as Honorius III's letters, *Acta Honorii III and Gregorii IX*, and in *Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, (BEFAR) in four volumes, edited by L. Auvray, dealing with issues like the schism and the union of the Latin and Greek churches. Two of his letters, his Bulls concerning Cyprus (1231–1240), are translated and published in *Synodicum*, and ten of his letters have been published in the *Cartulary*, referring to some very important events of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus under Frankish rule. During Gregory IX's pontificate the "martyrdom" of the thirteen monks of Kantara took place, an isolated event and the only one in the historical progress of the development in the relation between the Latin and Greek churches in Cyprus. During this period the Greek archbishop and the Greek high clergy of the island went into voluntary exile in Cilician Armenia because they refused to obey the Pope's orders, and were replaced by Latins.

The next pope to follow was Innocent IV and some of his letters connected with the Greek Church can be found in *PCRCICO*, *Acta Innocentii IV*, edited by T. Haluscynskyj and M. Wojnar. Most of his letters are published in *Les Registres de Innocent IV* (BEFAR) in four volumes, edited by E. Berger. They consider theological matters with reference to the union of the two churches and the efforts of the Greeks who sent legates to the Pope regarding this issue, the Greeks, the confirmation of previous agreements by Innocent IV, and other topics. Some of his Bulls (1243–1254) and his Decrees on Greek Rites (1254) are translated in *Synodicum*, while twenty-five of his letters concerning Cyprus are in the *Cartulary*. It is apparent from his correspondence—for example his important letter to his legate Eudes of Châteauroux, the cardinal bishop of Tusculum—that he was trying to improve his relations with the Greeks in Cyprus.

Innocent's successor was Alexander IV, who is most famous for his *Bulla Cypria* or *Constitutio Cypria* of 1260. The *Bulla Cypria* or *Summa Alexandrina* was an arrangement by Alexander concerning the Greek and

the Latin churches of Cyprus. One of the versions of *Bulla* is preserved in the *Cartulary* and has been translated by Schabel in *Synodicum*. A virtually identical version of the Latin text of the *Bulla* is also preserved in the papal registers. Moreover, there are three groups of Greek translations of the *Bulla* text: one is in *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, edited by Sathas, another in *Patrologiae Graecae* vol. 140, and the third was used by J. Darrouzès in the article “Textes synodaux Chypriotes” in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 37 (1979, 5–122). In addition to the *Bulla*, there are nine more letters of Alexander in the *Cartulary*, some others in *Acta Alexandri IV*, edited by Haluscynskyj (*PCRCICO*), and in *Les Registres D’Alexandre IV*, edited by M. M. de la Roncière et al. for the series of *BEFAR*, which in the case of Alexander’s letters concerning the Greeks, have been printed in full. Alexander’s letters had been sent to the clergy of Achaea and the Morea appealing to them to help the Emperor of Constantinople, to the Greek and Latin bishops of Cyprus asking them to obey the Latin archbishop and his rule. Appeals were also sent to the Queen of Cyprus regarding the payment of ecclesiastical tithes, to the nobles concerning domestic affairs, to the Greek Emperor Theodoros, to the patriarch and the high clergy of Constantinople and others. Some other letters, like number 621 (Reg. 24, c.514, f.74) in *Les Registres*, refer to the ecclesiastical situation in Achaea. In addition, the main topic concerning most of his letters is the union of the two Churches. The Pope believed that it was time the Greeks returned to the mother church—the Latin Church—and he made efforts to convince them. Many references in his letters delineate papal primacy and other ecclesiastical matters.

Urban IV (1261–1265) is another pope who made various efforts to unite the Greeks and the Latins. From his letters we can draw useful conclusions about the situation in Greece and Cyprus during the critical years of his pontificate. His letters are published in *BEFAR*, *Les Registres d’Urban IV*, edited by J. Giraud, in *PCRCICO*, *Acta Urbani IV*, *Clementis IV*, *Gregorii X*, edited by Tautu, and his letter to Archbishop Hugh of Fagiano was translated in *Synodicum*. The *Cartulary* contains six of his letters, which deal with issues relating to the Church of Cyprus. The main topic of his letters is the union of the two Churches, an issue, which concerned every pope, and they consistently tried to bring the daughter (the Greek Church) back to the mother (the Latin Church). It must be maintained that almost all the papal letters refer to, emphasise and repeat the attempts of the Greeks (their letters, their envoys) and those of their emperor, Michael Paleologus, to unite with the western Church. In addition, in his letters he mentions the penalty of excommunication, which was implemented for anyone who was against the right faith and the will

of the Latin Church, the papal primacy, the Pope's importance as the successor of the Apostle Peter and the capture of Constantinople. He refers to the problems the Greeks caused for the Latins, dogmatic matters and Latin and Greek Fathers of the Church, like Gregory Dialogu, Ambrose of Milan, John Damaskinos and Pope Sylvester, in order to emphasize the common faith of the Greeks and the Latins. Moreover, they focus on a time when the Greeks and the Latins lived in peace and the Church was united. The letters, which relate to Cyprus, are extremely interesting as they describe the situation after the *Bulla Cypria*. From Urban's correspondence it is apparent that a significant number of the Greeks, clergy and laity rejected the terms of the *Bulla* and victimized the Greeks who obeyed the Pope. Urban attempted to support the Latin archbishop of Cyprus to enforce the *Bulla*'s provisions and to convince the Greeks to obey the Latins, as demonstrated in his letter to Hugh of Fagiano in *Synodicum*. Furthermore to the letters regarding Greece, printed in full in *BEFAR*, there are also some very brief summaries of twelve letters, which have not been published and pertain to Greece that have been transcribed and read. The letters are from Registers 26 (#326 f.107v) and 29 (#1234 f.98r, #1380 f.123v, #1381 f.123v, #1382 f.123v, #1471 f.137v, #2433 f.284v-285r, #1640 f.162v, #1641 f.163r, #1647 f.163v, #1776 f.180v) and were sent by Urban to the prince of Achaea, Geoffrey of Villehardouin and his barons, the bishop of Olena, and canon of Euboea, and the archbishops of Patras and Thebes. Hardly any of these letters refer to the Greeks but they are still of great interest, as they obtain information about the situation of the Latin Church in the Morea. These letters deal with the Latin Church's domestic affairs, their problems and their relations with the Pope, Prince Geoffrey of Villehardouin and his nobles. The purpose of reading the letters is to extract more useful material about the Greek Church in the Morea and enhance our understanding of the period; thus enabling us to form a more accurate assessment of the situation in Greece during the Frankish Era.

Clement IV's letters regarding the Greeks have been published in one volume of *PCRCICO*, together with the letters of Urban IV and Gregorii X in *Acta Urbani IV*, Clementis IV and Gregorii X, edited by Tautu. They have also been published in *Les Registres de Clement IV*, (*BEFAR*) in one volume edited by E. Jordan and are mainly summaries of letters, which were sent to the King of Cyprus, to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin, to the abbot of Saint Theodosios of Thebes and others. They mainly concerned issues of the Latin Church. An effort has also been made in *BEFAR* to transcribe and read the unpublished letters relating to the Greeks in summary form. Those letters are numbers 1025, 1075, 1164,

1335, 1336 and 1361. Furthermore, there are also thirteen of Clement IV's letters concerning Cyprus in the *Cartulary*. They deal chiefly with doctrine and ecclesiastical matters, like the *Filioque*, purgatory, papal primacy and the seven sacraments of the Greek Church, the formula of the Greek faith, the schism and the union. It is significant to note that in an *Apostolica Sede Vacante* letter, sent by the curia from the papal chancery, to Ralph, legate of the Pope, (Nov. 30, 1268, Sept. 1, 1271, Mar. 23, 1272), letter 29 in *PCRCICO* there is the oath of the Greek Emperor concerning the union of the Latin and the Greek Churches. Clement's letters were sent to various recipients like the Prince of Achaea, the Emperor of Constantinople, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, and the Church of Patras regarding matters of the local Latin Church of Cyprus, and others.

Gregory X's letters have been published in one volume of *PCRCICO* with the letters of Urban IV and Clement IV. Most of the letters were sent to the Greek Emperors Michael and Andronicus Paleologus, and to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. Innocent V's letters concerning the Greeks have been published in *PCRCICO*, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI*, edited by F. M. Delorme and Tautu. As with the letters of previous popes, the union of the two churches is their main topic. They delineate the attempts of the Pope to bring about the return of the Greeks, the oaths that had been made by the Greeks and the agreements between the Latin Church and the Greeks. They also refer to the formula of the right faith in accordance with the Greeks, the *Filioque*, the confession of papal primacy by the Greeks and the consequences for the Greeks who refused to obey.

The next pope whose letters contain references to the Greeks was John XXI. Some of his letters are found in *PCRCICO* in *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI*, edited by Delorme and Tautu. His letters can be viewed as a repetition of the same objectives, the wish for a union with the Greeks, the confession of the Latin faith and the primacy of the Pope, the superiority of the Latin Church as "magistra," and the Pope as the guide, successor of Peter and "doctor" of the right faith. There are also references to the *Filioque*, purgatory, the seven sacraments of the Church, the unleavened bread, and the oath, which Michael and Andronicus Paleologus and the Great Logothetis, George Acropolitis, gave to the Latins. In addition, there is a fascinating letter from the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, John Beccius, to the Pope regarding ecclesiastical matters. Apart from *PCRCICO*, John XXI's letters are published in one volume of *BEFAR*, *Les Registres de Gregoire X et Jean XXI*, edited by Giraud.

The other four popes whose letters relate to the Greeks during this period are Nicholas III, Martin IV, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII. Their letters regarding the Greeks are in *PCRCICO*, in *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI*, edited by Delorme and Tautu. Their letters concerning the Greeks are few and they repeat the same issues as their predecessors. In one letter, Michael Paleologus and the Greek patriarch congratulate Nicholas III on his election as the new pope and renew their oath. In another, Paleologus once more expresses his desire for the union to Martin IV. In the letters of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII, issues such as the sacrament of marriage and the use of unleavened bread are addressed. Letters of these popes are in *BEFAR*, in *Les Registres de Nicholas III*, edited by J. Gay and S. Vitte, in *Les Registres de Martin IV (1285–1287)*, edited by F. Olivier-Martin and *Membres de l'école Française de Rome*, in *Les Registres de Nicholas IV*, edited by E. Langlois and in *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, edited by G. Digard et al., where there are many letters concerning Cyprus, Constantinople and Achaea. A letter of Nicholas IV is also in the *Cartulary*.

The series mentioned is not the only source, as there are more written in Latin. For instance, *Actes Relatives à la Principauté de Morée 1289–1300*, edited by C. Perat and J. Longnon, contains letters concerning the Morea. A letter of great significance was sent by Boniface VIII to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishops of Achaea and Patras regarding the domestic affairs of the Latin Church. Another useful text written in Latin in connection with the ecclesiastical differences between the Greeks and Latins is *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua Consensione libri* by Allatius. The quotation about the “martyrdom” of the thirteen monks of Kantara is of paramount importance. The *Oriens Christianus*, edited by M. Le Quien, also contains useful information about the Latin Church in Greece. Le Quien, in *Oriens Christianus* 1–3 (Paris 1740, reprint, Graz 1958), is more specific and provides a detailed analysis of the situation of the Church throughout Greece, devoting a separate chapter to the Church of Patras. Moreover, there is the work of Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, and the text of the agreement of Ravennika in 1210. The text of the latter, being extremely important to the ecclesiastical history of Greece, has been translated into English by Dr Schabel, for which he used the text of Honorius III, number 48 in *PCRCICO* that he himself had corrected from the original manuscript.

Sources in other medieval European Languages (medieval Italian and medieval French)

There are primary sources found in other medieval European languages such as Italian and French. The information on church history in these sources is, however, not abundant. There are three narrative sources relative to the topic of this dissertation in medieval Italian and they all mainly refer to events after 1303. They are the *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, edited by René de Mas Latrie, and the *Chronique de l'île de Chypre* by Florio Bustron, also edited by de Mas Latrie. These chronicles refer to the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus, which can be inferred from the narration of events, concerning the Greeks and their reactions towards the Latin Church and its actions.

There are also old French narrative sources from the east, those by *The Templar of Tyre* and Philip of Novara, the *Annales de Terre Saint*, *Eracles* and the French and Catalan version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*.

(Byzantine Greek and medieval Cypriot Greek) Greek Primary Sources

The primary sources written in Byzantine Greek and medieval Cypriot used in this dissertation are divided into four groups. The first consists of the sources published in a classic series such as the *Biblioteca Medii Aevi*, the second is the modern edition, while the third comprises articles containing unpublished sources and the last of contemporary narrative accounts.

Of the classical series one of the most important is the edition of C. Sathas, the editor of the series *Biblioteca Medii Aevi*, which includes *Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων*, a narration of the events leading to the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Kantara. In addition to Sathas there is an edition of an earlier version of the *Μαρτύριον* by Theodoros Papadopoulos. Papadopoulos is also the editor of *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα* (1984), which contains a corpus of legal texts containing laws regarding the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, priests who were excommunicated by their bishops, and everyday matters. *Ανώνυμου Σύνοψις Χρονική* describes the capture of Constantinople, and the *Ασσίξεις της Ρωμανίας* belongs to the same series (vol. 6). *Ασσίξεις* contains ecclesiastical laws concerning the Church of Cyprus; for instance the way in which the secular authority influenced the Church.

The *Ορθόδοξος Ελλάς* is another very useful collection of primary Greek sources demonstrating works of Byzantine patriarchs, written in

Greek and edited in 1872 by A. Demetracopoulos. The collection commences with the books of patriarch Photios and is divided into different centuries. The *Ορθόδοξος Ελλάς* contains the works of the Greek patriarchs against the Latins and quotations from their books. Moreover, there are also the editions of the “Short Greek Chronicles” by Peter Schreiner. His *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* is a presentation of Greek chronicles, edited in Vienna, 1975.

The *Patrologia Graeca* by Migne is another significant series concerning the topic of this dissertation. The *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 143 includes the work of Michael Paleologus and George Pachimere. There are published letters and texts regarding ecclesiastical matters by the patriarch of Constantinople, George the Cypriot, Barlaam, Michael Cerularius and Nilos, which discuss issues like the *Filioque*, papal primacy, and leavened and unleavened bread. The *Patrologiae Graeca* contain letters sent by the Greeks to Pope Innocent III, letters of Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Cypriots, and George Acropolitis’ *Χρονική Συγγραφή*.

The *Corpus Fontium Historia Byzantinae* is another major series, of particular value for its coverage of the topic in Volume XIII, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, Volume III, *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae* and Volume II *George Acropolitae Opera*. There is also the earlier Nicetas Choniates *Historia*, edited by Ioannes A. Von Dieten, (1975). Moreover, the series *Βιβλιοθήκη Ιστορικών Μελετών* contains *George Logothetae Acropolitae Chronicon Constantinopolitanum*. Another series is *Δοσιθέου Πατριάρχου Ιεροσολύμων Ιστορία Περί των έν Ιερουσολύμοι Πατριαρχευσάντων* or *Δωδεκάβιβλος* which, among other things, contains letters against the Latins, Joseph Briennios’s letters which talk about the oath which the Greeks gave to the Latins, Germanos’ letters and other topics.

Acta et Diplomata Monasterorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis, edited by Fr. Miklosich-Ios. Müller, and *Παλλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, edited by S. Lampros are yet another two series containing information about the ecclesiastical situation of Greece. There is also the series *Le Patriarchat Byzantin serie I, Le Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Volume 1 Les Actes des Patriarches*, edited by V. Grumel with short summaries of letters of Greek patriarchs, including the patriarch John X. Camateros. Furthermore, the edition of A. Heisenberg *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte de lateinische Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion* (1923), comprises the important text of Nicholas Mesarites, *Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes*, which discusses the efforts made to unify the two Churches.

There are also primary Greek sources edited in more recent editions like *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών Πηγών 4^{ος}-15^{ος} αιώνας*. *Σύνταγμα* edited by B. Neratzi-Varmazi, which belongs to the series of the Cyprus Research Centre *Πηγές και Μελέτες της Ιστορίας της Κύπρου XXIII*. It comprises a collection of texts about medieval Cyprus, between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. The letters of Neophytos Englistos, “Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαίων,” are of great value to the period under discussion, as are the letters of patriarch Germanos to the people of Cyprus, and Gregory of Cyprus’ letters to the king of Cyprus. Moreover, *Σύνταγμα* has many later texts concerning the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus, such as the fourteenth-century letter from Nicephoros Gregoras to the King of Cyprus, John Kantakuzinos’ letter to the bishop of Karpasia, and the most important letters by Joseph Briennios and his study concerning the union of the Church of Cyprus with the Church of Constantinople during the fifteenth century.

In the same series as *Πηγές και Μελέτες της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας* is *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, edited by I. P. Tsiknopoullos. It includes the foundational rules of medieval monasteries of Makhairas and St Neophytos, written by Nilos and Neophytos. The rules written by Nilos contain references to the establishment of the Latin Church, vital details about the structure of the Greek monasteries during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, everyday life in an Orthodox monastery and other historical information. They also mention the financial support of the Byzantine Emperor and the attitude of the local and secular authorities towards the monasteries. The texts of these two Greek monasteries have been translated into English by Nicholas Coureas in his book *The Foundation Rules of Medieval Cypriot Monasteries: Makhairas and St. Neophytos* (2003), for the same series at the Cyprus Research Centre.

Another book of great assistance in the dating of the Cypriot manuscripts and the study of medieval Cyprus is *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570*, edited by Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning.

Another type of text is the synodicon, which is a collection that preserves acts, such as the *Synodicon of Orthodoxy* and the *Synodicon* written by the bishop of Amathunta, Germanos. *The Synodicon of Orthodoxy*, or *Le Synodicon de l’Orthodoxy*, was published in the journal *Travaux et Mémoire* 2, 1967, edited by Jean Gouillard, and discusses subjects concerning the ecclesiastical situation, the Church of Cyprus, its bishops, the saints and the Churches of Monemasia and Patras. The *Synodicon* of the bishop of Amathunta is edited by the Greek historian P. J. Kirimitsis as part of his article “Η Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία της Κύπρου επί

Φραγκοκρατίας” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 47 (1983), and describes in vivid detail the Holy Sacraments of the Orthodox Church, like marriage, baptism and Holy Communion. The topic of “Τακτικόν, ἤτοι αρχιερατικόν ευχολόγιον της επισκοπῆς Καρπασέων και Αμμοχώστου” in *Εκκλησιαστικός Κήρυξ* 2 (1912–1913), edited by H. I. Papaioannou, is similar in context. The *Τακτικόν* was written during the period of the Palaeologoi (1259–1453) and supplies information about the functioning of the Church of Cyprus, the ordination of the bishops, excommunications and the heretics.

In addition to the above-mentioned books are articles, which include primary sources. The most significant articles are: N. Oikonomies, “Cinq actes inédits du Patriarche Michel Autôreanos” in *Revue des Etudes Byzantine* (1967), which has five acts from the thirteenth century Parisinus graecus 1234; A. Papadopoulos-Keramevs, “Θεόδωρος Ειρηνικός, Πατριάρχης Οικουμενικός ἐν Νίκαια” in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1901) that illustrates the Greek patriarch’s standpoint against the Latins and papal primacy; J. Gill “An Unpublished letter of Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1222–1240)” in *Βυζάντιον* 154 (1974), which talks about the *Filioque* and the Latins; Papadopoulos-Keramevs, “Documents Grecs pour servir a l’histoire de la 4me Croisade” in *Revue de L’Orient Latin*, (1893), which contains the mass of St Gregory Dialogou and evidence of the use of leavened and unleavened bread; A. Papadakis and A. M. Talbot, “John X Camateros Comfronts Innocent III: An unpublished Correspondence,” *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972), where the correspondence between the Greek patriarch and the Pope is presented; “Αυτοκρατόρων του Βυζαντίου Χρυσόβουλλα και Χρυσά Γράμματα αναφερόμενα εις την ένωση των Εκκλησιών” in *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 2 (1914), which has documents written by Byzantine emperors regarding the union of the two churches. There are also “Κυπριακά και Άλλα Έγγραφα εκ του Παλατινού Κώδικος 367 της Βιβλιοθήκης του Βατικανού,” which contains some of the documents about the Church of Cyprus in *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 14 (1917), 15 (1921); K. Spiridakis, “Περιγραφή της Μονῆς Κύκκου επί τη Βάσει Ανέκδοτου Χειρογράφου,” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 93 (1943), containing historical information about the decrease in the number of the Greek bishops from fourteen to four, and the transportation of the bishops from cities to villages; and finally Gregorios A. Ioannides, “La Constitutio o Bulla Cypria Alexandri Papae IV del Barberinianus graecus 390,” in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 66 (2) (2000), a very significant article covering a version of the text of the *Bulla Cypria*.

Jean Darrouzès, a French historian, wrote many articles and edited many primary sources about the Church of Cyprus and Greece. For

instance, “Le Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins” in *Revue des Etudes Byzantine* 11 (1963), which discusses dogmatic matters and his series of articles “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre”, which appeared in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 17 (1953), 20 (1956), 22 (1958), 23 (1959), and quotes primary sources and describes events of the daily life of the monks. In addition, there are more articles focusing on the topic, such as “Un obituaire Chypriote, Le Parisinus Graecus 1588” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 15 (1951), which contains the legend of the Church of Constantinople as it is edited in *Acta Sanctorum*, and talks about the Greek Church under the Lusignans, the Latin donations to the Church of Cyprus and contains other historical information. Darrouzès’s article in *Byzantine Zeitschrift* 44 (1951), “Évêque inconnu ou peu connus de Chypre,” is similar. Perhaps the most important of his articles concerning the Greek Church is the article “Textes Synodaux Chypriotes” in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 57, (1979), which contains the text of the *Bulla Cypria* from the Parisinus Graecus 1391, Barberinus 390, and Athos Dionysiou 489 manuscripts. Moreover, “Manuscripts Originaires de Chypre” and “Autre Manuscripts Originaires de Chypre,” in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 8 (1951), 15 (1957), also deal with Cypriot manuscripts and ecclesiastical matters.

K. Hadjipsaltis is a Greek historian who wrote many articles about the Church of Cyprus during the Frankish era, which include primary sources. His articles “Μητροπόλεις και επισκοπές της Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου και το Σχετικό Κείμενο των Τριών Κωδίκων” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 14 (1949), discuss the problem of the number of dioceses in Cyprus according to three manuscripts, Ω 38 of the monastery of Laurus, Παλείος Νομοκάνων and the Paphos code. In another article, “Σχέςσεις της Κύπρου προς το έν Νίκαια Βυζαντινόν Κράτος,” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές*, 15 (1952), there is a letter from the King of Cyprus, Henry I Lusignan (1232–1253) to the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea, John Ducas Vatatzis, and one other letter from Greek Archbishop Neophytos to Emperor Vatatzis, concerning the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Kantara. Neophytos’ letter refers to trust, devotion and love on the part of the Greek clergy of Cyprus towards the patriarch, Germanos. In the third article, “Νεόφυτου Μοναχού και Έγκλειστου Βιογραφικόν σημείωμα, ειδήσεις τινές περί της έν Κύπρω Μονής Ιωάννου του Χρυσοστόμου” in *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 6 (1972–1973), fairly remarkable aspects of the Church of Constantinople and Cyprus are presented. In addition, in his article “Το ανέκδοτο κείμενο του Αλεξανδρινού Κώδικος 176 (366) Παραδόσεις Ιστορία της Μονής Κύκκου” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 94 (1950) there is evidence concerning the domestic affairs of the Greek Church of

Cyprus with references to the fourteen dioceses, and the relationship between the Church and the secular authority. “Εκκλησιαστικά δικαστήρια Κύπρου επί Φραγκοκρατίας” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 98 (1955) is also relative to the ecclesiastical situation. It discusses the Greek legal system during the Frankish Era and the functioning of the ecclesiastical courts of Cyprus, which were subject to the jurisdiction of the papacy (or the Latins). There are two more significant articles by Hadjipsaltis: “Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου και το έν Νίκαια Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο αρχόμενου του ΙΓ μΧ αιώνας” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 17 (1964), and “Εκ της Ιστορίας της Κύπρου κατά την Φραγκοκρατία” in *Κυπριακές Σπουδές* 22 (1958). Both refer to the Church of Cyprus—the first regarding the relationship between the Church of Cyprus and the patriarchate of Nicaea. The second contains two documents, which examine the election of the Greek bishops. In addition, the new version by Alexander Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern Der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, is significant as it contains new editions of texts concerning Cyprus. The texts about the election of the Greek bishops during the Frankish era from Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367, published in Nicosia 2007, are of great significance.

From the narrative sources written in Greek, only two are relevant to the topic of this book. The first is Leontios Makhairas’ *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle,”* (Oxford, 1932, in two volumes). In his first book, Makhairas talks about the establishment of the Latin clergy of Cyprus and provides a list of the Greek bishops on the island. The second narrative source is the Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, edited by Peter P. Kalonaros. The *Chronicle of the Morea* contains information and details about the ecclesiastical situation of the Morea, such as the excommunication of Geoffrey II of Villehardouin by the bishops.

Recent historiography relating to the ecclesiastical history

In this part of the thesis I will present the recent historiography regarding Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople. Firstly, I will consider Cyprus and then Greece, the Morea and Constantinople. As S. G. Michaelides’s book *Ιστορία της κατά Κίτιον Εκκλησίας* (Larnaca 1992) states, the religious history of Frankish Cyprus has largely been viewed as ahistorical from a Greek perspective, with chapter headings such as “The Church in the Dark Ages: Latin Rule.”¹ I find Chris Schabel’s comments

¹ S. G. Michaelides, *Ιστορία της κατά Κίτιον Εκκλησίας* (Larnaca, 1992), 18–19.

on this topic to be very accurate and agree with the opinion expressed in his article about the status of the Greek clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus. According to Schabel, the Greek historian's view purports that:

Religion has been seen as a divisive factor and we have a depressing picture of a Latin clergy that stripped the Greek clergy of its property, forced it into submission, abolished its independence and rights, refused to tolerate its beliefs and practices, attempted to Latinize it (and the population), and persecuted those who would not yield. The strength of the Cypriots' Orthodoxy and Hellenism helped them to survive intact and preserve their identity. Aside from factual errors, this is a logical interpretation based on the modern ideals of democracy, freedom of religion, and self-determination of peoples, perhaps sometimes with a slight dose of Greek Orthodox chauvinism. From a medieval perspective—with very different ideals—the actions of the Latin and Greek clergies become more understandable, and taking Christianity as a unifying element, we see general peace and prosperity, punctuated by relatively few episodes of conflict.²

I will divide the historiographical tradition into three categories. The first is the traditional Greek historiography, the second is the non-Greek traditional historiography and the third consists of modern historians. The first group includes C. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca mediae aevi*, 2 vols (Venice, 1873), G. Philippou, *Ειδήσεις ιστορικαί περί της Εκκλησίας Κύπρου* (Athens 1875, reprint Nicosia 1975), H. T. F. Duckworth, *The Church of Cyprus* (London, 1900), J. Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), C. I. Papiouannou, *Ιστορία της Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας Κύπρου* (Athens, 1923), P. I. Kouritis, *The Orthodox Church in Cyprus in the Frankish Period* (Nicosia, 1907), P. Zannetos, *Ιστορία της νήσου Κύπρου* (Larnaca, 1910, reprint, Nicosia 1997), G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1948, 1041–1104), P. Kirimitsis, “Η Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία της Κύπρου επί Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 47 (1983, 3–108), K. Kyrris, “Η Οργάνωση της Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου κατά τους πρώτους αιώνες της Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 2 (1993, 149–86), Th. Papadopoulos, “Η Εκκλησία Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας” in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου, Δ' Μεσαιωνικόν βασίλειον—Ενετοκρατία, Μέρος Ι*, ed. Th. Papadopoulos (Nicosia 1995,

² C. Schabel, “The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus,” in *Sweet Land ... Cyprus through the Ages: Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, eds. J. Chrysostomides & Ch. Dendrinos, vol. 64–65 (Camberley, Surrey 2006), 169–70.

543–665) and B. Englezakis, “Cyprus as a Stepping-stone between West and East in the Age of the Crusades, the two Churches,” in *XVe Congrès international des Sciences historiques, Rapports* vol. 2 (Bucharest [Romanian Academy of Science], 1980, 216–21).

The second group encompasses historians such as J. Richard, “A propos la Bulla Cypria de 1260” in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996, 14–31), M. Efthimiou, *Greeks and Latins on Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century*, Brookline (MA 1987), C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint, The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*, C. Schabel, “The Latin Bishops of Cyprus, 1255–1313 with a note on bishop Neophytos of Solea,” *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, Vol. 30 (2004), “The Greek bishops of Cyprus, 1260–1340 and the Synodikon Kypriou,” *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*, Vols. 64–65, (2003), “Antelm the Nasty, First Latin Archbishop of Patras (1205–CA 1241)” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, eds. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani & C. D. Schabel (Boston, 2008), “Etienne de Lusignan’s Chrorograffia and the Ecclesiastical History of Frankish Cyprus: Notes on a recent reprint and English translation,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* (Minnesota, 2002–2003), *The Synodicum Nicosiense and other documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus 1196–1373*, introduction (Nicosia, 2001, 17–86), *Bullarium Cyprium, Religion in Cyprus Society and Culture 1191–1374*, eds. A. Konnari & C. Schabel, “The Myth of Queen Alice and the Subjugation of the Greek Clergy on Cyprus,” in *Identitiés Croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre* eds. S. Fourrier & G. Grivaud (2006), “The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus,” in *Sweet Land ...* eds. J. Chrysostomides & Ch. Dendrinou (Surrey, 2006) (the former are the most important and closest related to my topic, as are the articles and books of C. Schabel). The PhD thesis by A. Konnari is also noteworthy, *The Encounter of Greeks and Franks in Cyprus in the Late Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Phenomena of Acculturation and Ethnic Awareness*, particularly her chapter about “Greeks” in *Cyprus Society and Culture*. There are also two books by N. Coureas: *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), in which his chapter about relations between the Latin and Orthodox churches (251–319) is of great assistance, and the continuation of the first book, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, (Nicosia 2010).

These books attempt to present critical assessments of the state of research, examining the strengths and weaknesses of the literature currently available, and the areas where additional research may shed further light on the issue. To begin with, the first group of historians will

be examined, presenting Greek historians such as G. Philippou *Ειδήσεις ιστορικαί περί της Εκκλησίας Κύπρου* who wrote in 1875. His book contains a chapter about the Frankish period, describing in detail the events, which took place during the establishment of the Latin Church in Cyprus. He briefly talks about the monastic communities on the island and then refers to the letter of Celestine III pertaining to the establishment of the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy in Cyprus. It is apparent that he makes some “errors” or misunderstands some of the events, which could have arisen due to a misinterpretation of the primary sources. For instance, he says that Queen Alice wrote to Pope Innocent III requesting a reduction in the bishoprics from fourteen to four, which is not accurate. The reduction of the sees was a result of the agreements of 1222. I choose to start with Philippou’s book as it is an ideal example of how a historian, especially a Greek one, can be heavily influenced by their country’s identity or simply follow suit of previous historians who recorded similar inaccuracies like Giofrancesco Loredano and Etienne de Lusignan.

Returning to Queen Alice, an article written by Schabel explains the myth in some detail. Extreme importance is given to this article as it shows how a myth can be created, and that Alice herself was a separate entity to the myth that evolved. Further information in Philippou’s book is the reference to Pelagius during the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Kantara. However, according to the primary sources, Pelagius was not present and therefore cannot be associated with the martyrdom. Here it is possible to observe the influence of another historian, Sathas, who dated the martyrdom to 1221. Later historians like Papadopoulos then disputed this date. In the introduction to his edition on the martyrdom, Papadopoulos proved that Sathas was incorrect and that the official date was a decade later in 1231.

Sathas appears to be the first Greek historian to influence the next generation of Greek historians. His book, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevii*, published in 1873, contains an introduction to the second volume where he makes serious historical inaccuracies and his viewpoint is probably one of the most biased of all Greek historians.

In addition, another significant historical event often misinterpreted refers to the reaction of Celestine III to the *Bulla Cypria*, which took place in 1260, sixty-five years after the establishment of the Latin Church. Philippou makes mistakes, for instance in using the *Bulla* as the basis for his understanding of what happened in the 1190s. Apart from reflecting his misunderstanding of the sources at hand, Philippou’s book is also problematic due to his prejudiced perspective, highlighted by his use of expressions. He refers extensively to the violence used by the Latins

towards the Greeks, and the great degree of suffering endured by Neophytos to force him to give the oath of obedience.³ In addition, his presentation of the events is very brief and the sources he uses are very few in number, as we can see from the footnotes, and are not contemporary to the events like Makhairas.

Another Greek book, which belongs to the same category, is *The Orthodox Church in Cyprus in the Frankish Period*, published in 1907 by Kouritis. Kouritis was influenced by earlier writers, which led to his chronology being disorderly. This confusion was a direct result of his pre-existing negative views on the Latins' actions. I would like to add that it is quite apparent that Kouritis is biased and very hostile towards the Latins. His use of negative diction is evidence of his anger towards the Latins, as shown by his discussion of Pelagius, Hugh of Fagiano and Allatius in particular, who was a contemporary writer of the martyrdom of the thirteen monks, accusing him of being a friend of the Pope.⁴ Another problem I encountered in his book is the reference to the word "nation." Greece started to sense nationhood only after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, however Kouritis talks about a national conscience⁵ during the Frankish period. This is important as it shows him anachronistically projecting his own nineteenth century national consciousness back to the thirteenth century. Moreover, his sources are not extensive or very reliable as they are mostly later Greek sources and secondary works, and he makes no reference to papal letters. Overall, he interprets the facts and comments on them without having the relevant evidence to prove his observations.

In his book *Ιστορία της νήσου Κύπρου*, published in 1910, and his article "Ορθόδοξα Επισκοπικά Δικαστήρια Εν Κύπρω επί Φραγκοκρατίας," P. Zannetos adheres to the same anti-Latin approach. I believe him to be a mostly unreliable source, due to his biased viewpoint and his use of expressions such as the "tyranny" with regard the Latins. He describes the Latins in a very negative light when he refers to the martyrdom of the thirteen monks of Kantara, placing great emphasis on how hostile the Latins were towards the Greeks. Almost all of his sources are Greek and not Latin and he uses no footnotes at all; thus his opinions remain unsubstantiated. Zannetos' lack of cross-references raises a significant question about historians: Whose aim was it to conduct original

³ G. Philippou, *Ειδήσεις Ιστορικοί περί της Εκκλησίας Κύπρου* (Athens, 1875, repr. Nicosia 1975), 50–51.

⁴ P. I. Kouritis, *The Orthodox Church in Cyprus in the Frankish Period* (Nicosia, 1907), 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

research and who simply attempted to popularise the works of others? Zannetos does more than rewrite the works of Philippou and Kouritis for a popular audience. In other words, he tries to use the original sources available to him, for example from Sathas and Mas Latrie.

P. Kirmitsis' article "Η Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία της Κύπρου επί Φραγκοκρατίας" in *Κυπριακαί Σπουδές* 1983 was very useful. Kirmitsis' presentation of the events is more detailed and he disagrees openly with other Greek historians like Philippou.⁶ There is a significant leap in time to Kirmitsis. Presumably, he also used Hackett or rather the Greek version of Hackett, which was translated by Papaioannou. While he does follow the "model" of other Greek historians, his "mind-set" remains the same. He is anti-Latin and very hostile towards Hugh of Fagiano, while he uses mostly secondary sources. He offers opinions without providing the evidence to back them up⁷ and he is very negative towards Allatius and Le Quien. Yet, his article has a very good bibliography, and most importantly he published the *Synodicon of Amathus*, which while a useful source does not refer directly to the period under study in this thesis as it originates from after 1303. Therefore, due to its irrelevance, I shall not analyse it.

I wish to point out that in this introduction it is impossible to present all the articles and books written about the ecclesiastical history of Frankish Cyprus written by both Greek and Western historians, so I have selected what I consider to be the most important and well-known texts that have influenced the progress of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus. However, presenting the most significant points or comments about all of these books systematically will lead to this introduction being rather lengthy. A. N. Mitsides is a Greek historian who writes about the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus in *The Church of Cyprus*, a short book published 1974, and his chapter about the Greek and Latin churches during the Frankish era is essentially a summary of events. The contents present nothing new and it contains only three footnotes, the author being in agreement with the rest of the Greek historians. The same comments largely apply to B. Englezakis's article, "Cyprus as a Stepping-stone between West and East in the Age of the Crusades: the two Churches" in *XVe International des Sciences historiques*.

It can be argued that K. Kyrris is a very prejudiced historian. One of his most important articles is "Η Οργάνωση της Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου κατά τους πρώτους αιώνες της Φραγκοκρατίας" in *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 2, published in 1993. He starts

⁶ P. Kirmitsis, "Η Ορθόδοξος Εκκλησία της Κύπρου επί Φραγκοκρατίας," *Κυπριακαί Σπουδές* 47 (1983), 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

with the *Bulla Cypria* and presents it as being a consequence of the subordination of the Greek Church by the Latin Church, which commenced during the papacy of Celestine III. He uses a wide variety of both primary and secondary sources by remarkable historians like Edbury, Hussey, Tsilpanlis and others,⁸ and many of the sources, such as Bustron and Amadi, are not contemporary to the events he describes. It is a long, detailed article, and while useful it can at points in my opinion, become rather tedious and confusing to the reader. Another drawback is the fact that he did not use papal letters at all, leading him to rely on speculation. An example of this is when he talks about the *Bulla*, arguing that during the absence of Germanos in Rome, Hugh removed all Greek representatives of the hierarchy from their office,⁹ an event, which is not described in the sources. Another important comment is his reference to the Greek monasteries in paragraph 3.¹⁰

Schabel reverses this theory in his chapter about religion in the book ‘Cyprus, Society and Culture’ 1191–1374.¹¹ My conclusion on this article is that, despite the drawbacks and the fact that he takes the same line as the previous Greek historians, coming with a set of assumptions casting the *Frankokratia* in a negative light, it is quite excellent. The writer appears to be very well read and familiar with this topic, as illustrated by the extensive use of footnotes and the fact that he also refers to archaeological evidence. It is definitely a very valuable article for research about the ecclesiastical history and Kyrris is regarded as one of the most eminent Greek historians.

Together with Kyrris, Papadopoulos is another great Greek historian and their contribution to Cypriot studies is paramount, and despite the “model” they follow they offer a lot to younger historians. Papadopoulos’ most important contribution to Cypriot studies is his role as an editor in a series published in 1995 by the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, the monumental *History of Cyprus*, written in Greek. Papadopoulos wrote the chapter about the Church of Cyprus during the Frankish period. It is an extended chapter, which has been used as a point of reference many-a-time over by historians and students, including myself. Although I disagree with regard his perspective of the events, I believe it is an excellent chapter, informative and well organised with an incredibly useful

⁸ K. Kyrris, “Η Οργάνωση της Ορθοδόξου της Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου κατά τους πρώτους αιώνες της Φραγκοκρατίας,” *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 2 (1993), 168.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 155.

¹¹ See more in pages 191–94.